
8 Slovene

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1 Introduction

Standard Literary Slovene (*slovenski knjižni jezik*) is the official language of Slovenia; Slovene, in its various forms, is the native language of nearly 2 million speakers in Slovenia and in adjacent parts of Italy, Austria and Hungary, and of another 400,000 speakers in emigrant communities. For an overview of the demography, and a precise definition of the geographic area involved, see Lencek (1982: 15–22). The name ‘Slovene’ (ethnonym: *Slovenec*; language: *slovensčina* or *slovenski jezik*) has been used in this sense since the early nineteenth century.

Available descriptions and lexical compilations of Slovene (in, for instance, Lencek 1982, Toporišič 1984, the Academy Dictionary, the *Pravopis*) are of the prescribed, standardized *zbōrni jezik* (common language). The diversiform *splōšni pogōvorni jezik* (general colloquial language) remains to be adequately described. Contemporary varieties of Slovene display significant and interesting differences.

The earliest Slavonic settlements in this region were in the sixth century AD. At first, Slovene shared a number of developments with Kajkavian and Čakavian Serbo-Croat (see Lencek 1982: 59–74). From about the twelfth century in general, and prior to that in some localities, the Slovene lands were politically controlled by speakers of Romance and, especially, Germanic; this control restricted the use of Slovene to strictly localized (dialect) forms, and resulted in extensive but sporadic bilingualism. There are only a few extant texts from before the Reformation; among them, the *Freising Fragments* (about AD 1000) are especially noteworthy. In the sixteenth century a written form of the Slovene language was developed by Trubar, Dalmatin, Krelj, Bohorič and others, and some fifty books were printed in Slovene between 1550 and 1598. The Counter-Reformation decelerated the expansion and codification of this written language, but in the nineteenth century the literary forms were reinforced and adopted as the language of a creative intelligentsia. Since then, there has been much discussion (and some disagreement) about the form that the standard language should take; there is still a lively interest in the language question.

The nineteenth-century language planners were faced with many problems, including the results of bilingualism, the heterogeneity of the Slovene dialects, the attractions of competing contemporary theoretical approaches and practical considerations. In particular, there was, on the one hand, pressure for Slovene to surrender to varieties of Slavonic with wider application and, on the other, competition between geographic and historical varieties of Slovene itself; also, there were the puristic influences known elsewhere in Slavonic (see Lencek 1982: 257–78). Eventually, those with influence (re-)modelled the language on the Slovene of the sixteenth century, and adopted many of the archaic features which distinguish it from the colloquial variants in use today. The language of Reformation Slovene had (in the main) been based upon the ‘dialect bases’ of Gorenjsko, Dolenjsko and (to a lesser extent) Notranjsko (see section 6); the first two of these, being the most central, contributed much to the eventual development of Contemporary Standard Slovene. The standard language thus offers a mixture of both spatially diverse and temporally diverse features. The spatial compromise is well exemplified by the co-existence of two equally authorized phonological systems, one with tonemic distinctions and one without, the first typical of some dialects, the second of others. The diachronic compromise can be seen in, for example, the pervasiveness of the dual category, which without learned intervention would not have survived in its full contemporary use. A large number of features that occur in most or all Slovene dialects, such as ‘vowel reduction’, are absent from the standard.

In the former Yugoslavia, the official use of Slovene was supported more by the letter of the law than in practice: as a minority language in the country as a whole, it was exposed to the substantial pressure of a modern bilingual situation as well as the general effects of population movements, mass communications and the like. The subject is complex and unresolved: see Tollefson (1981), Lencek (1982: 278–93), Paternost (1984).

2 Phonology

2.1 Segmental phoneme inventory

The two phonological systems of standard Slovene differ only with respect to prosodic phenomena. The **tonemic system** is here described first, then the **non-tonemic system**. A comparative table shows the relationship between the two. Thereafter all forms are cited according to the tonemic system (with one modification). Non-tonemic transcriptional forms (including the contemporary orthography) may be derived from them by the algorithm provided.

Vowels and prosodic phenomena. Slovene (in both the tonemic and the non-tonemic systems) has eight **vowel phonemes**: /i e ε ə a ɔ o u/. Seven (all except /ə/) occur as long vowels, and six (all except /e o/) occur as short, namely [i: e: ε: a: ɔ: o: u:] and [i ε ə a ɔ u] respectively. Long vowels are always stressed; short vowels may be stressed and unstressed.

Phonetically, /e: o:/ are high-mid and /ε: ɔ:/ are low-mid; short /ε ɔ/ are normally low-mid, but are realized as mid before tautosyllabic /j v/ respectively. /e: o:/ do not occur before tautosyllabic /j v/ respectively. For further phonetic details see Toporišič (1984: 39–44).

The **tonemic system** has distinctive **stress, length and pitch**. A phonological word normally contains either one long vowel, or no long vowels; if it contains a long vowel, this is stressed; if it contains no long vowels, the final vowel is normally stressed; non-final short vowels also are stressed in a brief list of words (see Stankiewicz 1959: 74–5). The long vowels /i: e: ε: a: ɔ: o: u:/ are tonemically either low or high; tonemically high /ε: ɔ:/ are relatively uncommon. The short vowels /i ε a ɔ u/ are always tonemically high; the short vowel /ə/, however, shows the tonemic high versus low contrast on non-final syllables, especially before /r/, compare /pərstnica/ 'phalange' (with stressed tonemically high /ər/) and /pərstanɔc/ 'ring finger' (with stressed tonemically low /ər/). Normally however, /ə/ has predictable tonemicity: high in final syllables and low in non-final syllables. The tonemically high and tonemically low syllables have traditionally (and in part misleadingly) been referred to, respectively, as 'falling' and 'rising'. Phonetic details are very complex: see Srebot-Rejec (1988) and Toporišič (1989).

The distinction between long and short vowels thus generally obtains in final syllables, and exceptionally elsewhere. The distinction between high and low tonemicity obtains on final and non-final syllables. The total number of possible phonetic combinations of vowel with length/brevity and high tonemicity/low tonemicity is as in table 8.1.

The standard transcription for the **tonemic system** cited in the Academy Dictionary (normally in parentheses after the headword) and also provided by Lencek (1982: 'phonemic tone system') and Toporišič (1984: 'tonemski naglas'), is as follows. First, as in Serbo-Croat, **superscript** diacritics are used to indicate differences in pitch on stressed vowels; in Slovene, the acute is marked on long low-pitch, the circumflex on long high-pitch, the grave on short low-pitch and the double grave on short high-pitch vowels. Second, the distinction between /e:/ and /ε:/, and the distinction between /o:/ and /ɔ:/, are shown with **subscript** marks, namely with a subscript dot marked beneath the more close vowel of each pair. In this system, therefore, í, é, é, á, ó, ó, ú represent long low-pitch (traditionally, 'rising') vowels; î, ê, ê, â, ô, ô, û represent long high-pitch ('falling') vowels; and ì, è, à, ò, ù represent short stressed high-pitch ('falling') vowels. The shwa /ə/, represented orthographically as e, carries the double grave or the

Table 8.1 The tonemic vowel system

| | <i>Long</i> | | | | <i>Short</i> | | | |
|---------------|-------------|---|---|---|--------------|---|---|---|
| Stressed | | | | | | | | |
| High tonality | i | | | u | i | | | u |
| | | e | | o | | | | |
| | | ε | ɔ | | | ε | ə | ɔ |
| | | | a | | | | a | |
| Low tonality | i | | | u | | | | |
| | | e | | o | | | | |
| | | ε | ɔ | | | | ə | |
| | | | a | | | | | |
| Unstressed | | | | | i | | | |
| | | | | | | ε | ə | ɔ |
| | | | | | | | a | |

single grave, if stressed. The combination /ər/ is represented as if it were a 'syllabic r': long low-pitch ř, long high-pitch ř̄. Vowels without diacritics are unstressed. Note also the use of the macron, for example ī in *njihov* 'their', for long vowels which may be either tonemically high or low.

The famous dictionary of Pleteršnik (1894–5) used both subscript dots and subscript reversed-cedillas to mark both close /e/ and close /o/; this usage had comparative–historical relevance. Pleteršnik showed shwa with a special graphic variant of e. In this chapter, the 'tonemic' transcription (as just described) is used, except that 'shwa' is consistently represented as ə.

The **non-tonemic system** has distinctive stress and length but does not have distinctive pitch. A phonological word contains either one long vowel, or no long vowels; if it contains a long vowel, this is stressed; if it contains no long vowels, the final vowel is normally stressed (for exceptions, see Stankiewicz 1959: 74–5). The total number of possible phonetic combinations of vowel with length/brevity is thus as in table 8.2.

The normal contemporary transcription (non-tonemic), used – except in the citations in parentheses – in the Academy Dictionary, and used for most of the data in Lencek (1982: 'CSS norm system') and Toporišič (1984: 'jakostni naglas'), is as follows. Subscript diacritics are not used, and the superscript diacritics are used in two ways. The grave, as before, designates short stressed vowels. Long stressed vowels all bear the acute, except for /ε: ɔ:/, which are identified by the (now otherwise unused) circumflex. é, ó thus represent stressed /e: o:/, while ê, ô represent stressed /ε: ɔ:/. The schwa /ə/ is represented orthographically as e. Stressed /ər/ is represented by ř.

The relationship between the tonemic and non-tonemic systems, for

Table 8.2 The non-tonemic vowel system

| | <i>Long</i> | | | | <i>Short</i> | | | | | | |
|------------|-------------|---|---|---|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stressed | i | e | ε | o | u | i | ε | ə | ɔ | u | a |
| Unstressed | | | | | | i | ε | ə | ɔ | | u |
| | | | | | | | | | | | a |

stressed vowels, can be exemplified as in table 8.3. u and a follow the pattern exemplified here for i; o/ɔ follow that shown here for e/ε.

The Slovene forms presented in the modified tonemic transcription in this chapter can be rewritten according to the usual non-tonemic transcription (also modified to show shwa) by the following ordered rules:

- 1 rewrite é, ê as ê and ó, ô as ô;
- 2 rewrite é, ê as é and ó, ô as ó;
- 3 rewrite â, î, û, ř as á, í, ú, ř;
- 4 rewrite ï, è, ð, ã, ò, ù as ì, è, ð, à, ò, ù;
- 5 leave other vowel diacritics unchanged.

Let us now consider how these prosodic distinctions arose. Slovene inherited Proto-Slavonic phonemic length, phonemic pitch and phonemic stress, but – as the result of a number of changes in vocalic length and pitch, and also three major accent shifts with further concomitant changes in pitch – the incidence of prosodic phenomena became very different. In brief (see Lencek 1982: 81–117, *passim*) the following sequential changes occurred subsequent to the ‘neoacute’ accent shift (see chapter 3, section 2.26):

- 1 long rising vowels became short (rising);
- 2 short falling vowels became long (falling);
- 3 stress shifted from long falling non-final syllables one syllable to the right, producing new long falling vowels;
- 4 stress shifted from short final syllables one syllable to the left onto preceding long vowels, producing new long rising vowels;
- 5 old neoacute and all short rising vowels in non-final syllables were lengthened;
- 6 short rising vowels in final syllables became short falling;

Table 8.3 Comparison of the two systems

| <i>Tonemic</i> | <i>Transcription</i> | <i>Non-tonemic</i> | <i>Transcription</i> |
|----------------|----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| Long HT /i/ | ī } | Long /i/ | í |
| Long LT /i/ | í } | | |
| Short HT /i/ | ì | Short /i/ | ì |
| Long HT /e/ | ê } | Long /e/ | é |
| Long LT /e/ | ê } | | |
| Long HT /ɛ/ | ê̇ } | Long /ɛ/ | ê̇ |
| Long LT /ɛ/ | ê̇ } | | |
| Short HT /ɛ/ | è | Short /ɛ/ | è |
| HT /ə/ | ə̇ } | /ə/ | á |
| LT /ə/ | ə̇ } | | |
| HT /ɔr/ | ř } | /ɔr/ | ř |
| LT /ɔr/ | ř } | | |

HT = High Tonality, LT = Low Tonality.

All the above changes occurred over the whole Slovene-speaking territory. The following accent shifts were localized:

- 7 stress shifted from short final syllables one syllable to the left onto preceding short /ɛ ə/, producing new long rising low-mid vowels;
- 8 stress shifted from short final syllables one syllable to the left onto preceding short /ə/, producing new stressed shwa.

Of these two developments, item 7 occurred in the dialects which formed the base of standard Slovene. Although item 8 did not generally occur in those dialects, it is now reflected in optional variants in the standard language, for example *məglà* ~ *məgla* 'mist'.

Developments in the vowel system are extremely complex; in brief, the following changes occurred at different times but all at a relatively early date. In the dialects which were to form the base of standard Slovene, */ě/ results in /e:/, */ę ɔ/ change to /e: o:/, and the two strong *jers* (see chapter 3, section 2.25) change to /a:/ when long, and to /ə/ when short. Examples for the strong *jers*: *dān* < *дънь 'day', *məglà* ~ *məgla* 'mist' < *тѣгла; for other examples, see below.

In addition, all mid vowels tended to be raised and/or diphthongized whenever they occurred both stressed and long, which (see above) was for historical periods of greatly varying duration, depending on their qualitative origin and the syllable in which they occurred. This is why the details of individual changes are so complex (see Rigler 1963, 1967; Lencek 1982: 92–121, *passim*). The distinction between /e: o:/ and /ɛ: ɔ:/ arose

(in the Gorenjsko dialects, which contributed this feature to standard Slovene) because of the relatively recent date of prosodic change 7 above: by this time, all stressed mid vowels had been raised to mid-high [e o]; the newly lengthened mid vowels remained mid-low [ɛ ɔ]; hence words like *žéna* 'wife' < **žená*, *góra* 'mountain' < **gorá*, the stressed vowels of which contrast with those of words with original *jat'* and nasals, for example *césta* 'road' < **cěsta*, *měta* 'mint' < **męta*, *mọka* 'flour' < **mọka*.

Further, unstressed and most short stressed vowels were 'reduced' (that is, many of their mutual oppositions were neutralized) and in some instances elided in most dialects, and especially the central ones. Although the standard pronunciation avoids reduced and elided vowels, these are very common in conversational styles, as in [kəp] 'heap' < *küp*, [prāumo] 'we say' < *prāvimo*.

Among other vocalic changes, vowel + liquid sequences (both initially before consonants and interconsonantly) were metathesized: **öldi*-changed to *lādja* 'boat', **bērza* to *bręza* 'birch' and **bōlto* to *bláto* 'mud'. Syllabic /r/ gave /ər/ and syllabic /l/ gave /ov/ (pronounced [ou]): **krt* > *křt* 'mole', **dlg*- > *dōlg* 'debt'.

Consonants. Slovene has twenty-one consonantal phonemes, as in table 8.4. Their distribution is as follows (here, C/# = consonant or word-boundary and V = vowel):

/dž/ occurs in words of non-Slovene origin; it is not given phonemic status by some analysts.

/c x/ have voiced allophones [dz ɣ] occurring before voiced obstruents, for example *vzlic gróžnji* [... dz gr...] 'in spite of the threat', *vřh drevęsa* [... rɣ dr...] '(at) the top of the tree'.

/n/ is realized as [ŋ] before /k g x/.

/v/ is realized as [u] between V and C/#; [w] between C/# and a resonant or voiced obstruent; [ʍ] between C/# and voiceless ob-

Table 8.4 The consonant system

| | Labials | | Dentals | | Alveolar-palatals | | Velars | |
|------------|---------|---|---------|---|-------------------|----|--------|---|
| Stops | p | b | t | d | | | k | g |
| Fricatives | f | v | s | z | š | ž | x | |
| Affricates | | | c | | č | dž | | |
| Nasals | | m | | n | | | | |
| Glide | | | | | j | | | |
| Roll | | | | r | | | | |
| Lateral | | | | l | | | | |

struent; [v] before V. Between V + /r/ and C/#, /v/ is variously realized as [u] ~ [w] ~ [v].

/j/ is realized as [i] before C/# and [j] before V.

The voiceless obstruents /p f t č s š k/ do not occur before a voiced obstruent; the voiced obstruents /b d dž z ž g/ do not occur before a voiceless obstruent, before a word boundary followed by a vowel or a resonant or in pre-pausal position.

/s z/ do not normally occur before /š č ž dž/.

In the standard consonantal orthography of Slovene the symbols used in table 8.4 are employed orthographically to represent their corresponding phonemes, except as follows:

When affected by the positional voicing and devoicing constraints just described; in these circumstances, the orthography is morphophonemic.

Orthographic v represents /v/, as above, except that the preposition v is optionally pronounced as [v], [u] or [u] before V.

Orthographic l is pronounced [u] or [u] (that is, it represents /v/) in many pre-consonantal and pre-pausal environments; there is some inconsistency in this (see Toporišič 1984: 73; and Lencek 1982: 168). It is always /v/ in the following circumstances: (a) in the masculine singular *l*-participle; (b) in masculine adjectives ending in el /əv/; and, normally, (c) in nouns ending in el /əv/ and in deverbal derivatives containing the sequence lc denoting inanimate agents, and in further derivatives therefrom containing the sequences lč, lk, lsk, lstv. Otherwise, its occurrence has to be specially listed.

Orthographic lj and nj represent respectively /l/ /n/ in pre-consonantal and pre-pausal position, and /lj/, /nj/ – that is, lateral + glide and nasal + glide – in pre-vocalic position.

Orthographic r represents the sequence /ər/ initially before a consonant and interconsonantly.

Orthographic h is used for the phoneme /x/.

When we consider the system from a diachronic perspective, we see that consonantal innovations in the dialects which form the base for the standard language were few in number, and in some cases changes that had occurred were excluded from it. The most important changes were as follows:

All palatal and potentially palatalized consonants were, earlier or later, resolved as non-palatal and non-palatalized. * /ń ř l/ changed to /nj rj lj/ pre-vocalically, /n r l/ elsewhere: **koń-* > *kõnj* /*kõn*/, *kónja* /*kónja*/ 'horse'; **čuvár-* > *čuvár*, *čuvárja* 'keeper'.

* /dl tl/ resulted in /l/, except in past verbal forms: **mydlo* > *milo* 'soap';

- **pletla* > *plétla* 'knit (I-PART F SG)'.
 */dj tj/ changed to /j č/: **medja* > *méja* 'border', **svetja* > *svéča* 'candle';
 however, */zdj/ > /ž/ ~ /žj/: **dъzдж-* > *džž, dožjā* 'rain'; */stj skj/ >
 /šč/: **isk-j-* > *iščem* 'search (1 SG PRS)'.
 */v/ gave /v/ with allophonic distribution as described above.
 */l/ gave /v/ in the limited conditions described above.
 */ž/ changed to /r/ sporadically, for example, in */*možete/* > *mórete* 'be
 able' (2 PL PRS)', */*kъdo + že/* > *kdôr* 'who (REL)'.
 Voiced obstruents were devoiced before voiceless obstruents, before a
 word boundary followed by a vowel or a resonant and in pre-pausal
 position, while voiceless obstruents were voiced before voiced
 obstruents.

2.2 Morphophonemic alternations inherited from Common Slavonic

Alternations in the **position of stress** (reflecting the Proto-Slavonic movable-stress pattern) are preserved in some nouns, for instance, *grādom* (INST SG), *gradôv* (GEN PL) 'castle', and in some verbs, such as *stopīti* (INF), *stópim* (1 PRS) 'tread'.

Vowel-zero alternations, usually reflecting developments of jers, occur in the following environments: obstruent + obstruent, obstruent + sonorant, and sonorant + sonorant.

/ə/ ~ /θ/ is very frequent, but is not automatic; compare in nouns: *pās* (NOM SG), *psā* (GEN SG) 'dog' versus *kās* (NOM SG), *kāsa* (GEN SG) 'repentance'. Other examples in nouns: *stābār* (NOM SG), *stābrā* (GEN SG) 'pillar'; *kāpāl̄j* (GEN PL), *kāplja* (NOM SG) 'drop'; in adjectives, *tāmān* (M NOM SG INDEF), *tāmni* (M NOM SG DEF) 'dark'; in preposition + clitic groups, third person singular masculine: *nānj* 'onto him' *nādanj* 'above him'; and in *l*-participles, *plētāl* (M) *plétla* (F) 'knit'.

/i/ ~ /θ/ occurs in nouns, before /j/: *zārij* (GEN PL), *zārja* (NOM SG) 'dawn'.

/a/ ~ /θ/ occurs in a few nouns, like *dān* (NOM SG), *dnē* (GEN SG) 'day'; *ovāc* (GEN PL), *óvca* (NOM SG) 'sheep'; and, as a variant of the /ə/ ~ /θ/ alternation, in some adjectives, such as *tāmān* ~ *tāmān* (M NOM SG INDEF), *tāmni* (M NOM SG DEF) 'dark'.

The /o/ ~ /e/ alternation – with the latter vowel occurring after /c č dž ž š j/ – is automatic in the context of what were, historically, 'hard' versus 'soft' stems. For examples in declension, see section 3.1.2 (*prijātelj* 'friend', *srcē* 'heart'), section 3.1.4 (*vrōče* 'hot'). The alternation also occurs in derivative suffixes; see section 3.3.3 (*prepisovāti* 'copy' versus *izboljševāti* 'improve').

The **first palatalization** and the **influence of following *j** are extensively preserved in verbal inflection and the formation of comparative adjectives,

but are vestigial in nominal inflection. Together they give the following alternations, some of which show specific Slovene post-Proto-Slavonic developments:

/p ~ plj, b ~ blj, f ~ flj, v ~ vlj, m ~ mlj/;
 /t ~ č, st ~ šč, d ~ j, zd ~ ž, z ~ ž, s ~ š, c ~ č/;
 /n ~ nj, sn ~ šnj, l ~ lj, sl ~ šlj, r ~ rj/;
 /k ~ č, sk ~ šč, g ~ ž, zg ~ ž, h ~ š/.

In verbs they are most apparent in two conjugation classes:

- 1 Class IIIb: in infinitive versus present forms: *gibati*, *gibljem* 'move', *rézati*, *rěžem* 'cut', *klicati*, *kličem* 'call', *iskáti*, *iščem* 'search', *lagáti*, *lážem* 'tell lies';
- 2 Class IV: in infinitive versus past passive participial forms: *pozdrāviti*, *pozdrāvljen* 'greet', *branūti*, *bránjen* 'defend', *misliti*, *mišljen* 'think', *udáriti*, *udárjen* 'strike'.

They also occur elsewhere, as in the present versus *l*-participle forms of *rěčem*, *rékla* 'say', *lěžem*, *légla* 'lie down'.

The alternation occurs in the inflection of only three nouns, see section 3.1.2 (*uhō* 'ear', *okō* 'eye', *igō* 'yoke'); it remains common in the comparison of adjectives (see section 3.1.4).

The **second palatalization** is preserved, but only barely, in verbal and nominal inflection. It comprises the following two alternations: /k ~ c, g ~ z/. The alternants /c z/ occur in derivatives; in the imperative forms of verbs with infinitive in *-či*, such as *rěči*, *rékla*, *recíte* 'say', *striči*, *strigla*, *strizíte* 'cut (hair)'; and in the plural of two masculine nouns: *vōlk*, nominative plural *volcjē* 'wolf' (now considered archaic) and the standard *otrōk* 'child, baby' (see section 3.1.2).

2.3 Morphophonemic alternations resulting from changes after Proto-Slavonic

Many of the numerous and complex changes listed in section 2.1, when added to an inherited system which already featured prosodic alternations, gave rise to even more of the same; none of these alternations are automatic, and very few are regular. Note should be taken especially of the following.

Of the **length alternations**, one is regular in nominal morphology: short vowels in final syllables alternate with long vowels when these syllables are non-final; for examples, see sections 3.1.2 (*hlěb* 'loaf', *deklě* 'girl', *mš* 'mouse') and 3.1.4 (*nōv* 'new'). Length alternations also occur in verbs: *zачněm* (PRS 1 SG), *zачněmo* (PRS 1 PL) 'begin'; *končāl* (*l*-PART M SG), *končála* (*l*-PART F SG) 'finish'. **Alternations of position of stress** are

common in nouns; for examples, see section 3.1.2 (*jézik* 'language', *srebro* 'silver', *vréme* 'weather', *žéna* 'wife', *kôst* 'bone'). Note also the stress retraction in prepositional phrases with some nouns, as in *primêr* 'example (ACC SG)' but *na primer* 'for example'; *vodô* 'water (ACC SG)' but *v vôdo* 'into the water'. Stress alternations occur also in pronouns (see *jâz* in section 3.1.3) and in adjectives, see *mlâd* 'young' in section 3.1.4. They also occur in verbs: *vôzi* (IMP 2 SG), *vozíte* (IMP 2 PL) 'drive'; *razvesêlil* (M PAST), *razveselila* (F PAST) 'gladden'; *grešil* (M PAST IMPFV), *pogrêšil* (M PAST PRFV) 'sin, err'. **Pitch alternations** occur frequently; see, for example, the nouns *grâd* 'castle', *mêsto* 'town', *žéna* 'wife', *kôst* 'bone' in section 3.1.2; the pronoun *óna* 'she' in 3.1.3; and the adjective *médol* 'faint' in section 3.1.4. Examples in verbs include *umrla* (PAST F), *umrilo* (PAST N) 'die'; *viti* (INF), *vît* (supine) 'twist'; *dêlate* (PRES 2 PL), *dêlajte* (IMP 2 PL) 'work'. In numerals: *pêt* (NOM), *pétih* (GEN) 'five'.

Alternations between low-mid and high-mid vowels occur in nouns: *kôst* (NOM SG), *kôsti* (DAT SG) 'bone'; in adjectives: *vêlik* (M NOM SG INDEF), *vêliki* (M NOM SG DEF) 'big'; and in verbs: *krêneš* (PRES 2 SG), *kréni* (IMP 2 SG) 'set out'; *prôsiš* (PRES 2 SG), *prôsi* (IMP 2 SG) 'ask'.

The regular consonantal alternation /l ~ v/ occurs in *l*-participial forms: *bil* /bi:v/ (M SG), *bilâ* (F SG, M DU), *bilî* (F DU, M PL) 'be'; and in nominal morphology also: *misol* /mi:səv/ (NOM), *misli* (GEN) 'thought'. The sporadic change */ž/ > /r/ results in the unique alternation /g ~ r/ in the verb *môci* (INF): *môgla* (PAST F), *môrem* (PRES 1 SG).

The neutralization of the voiced ~ voiceless opposition creates frequent automatic alternations: /d/ in *hûdi brât* '(the) evil brother (DEF)', *hûd brât* '(an) evil brother (INDEF)' versus /t/ in *hûd stric* '(an) evil uncle', *hûd ôce* '(an) evil father', *hûd môtž* '(an) evil husband'; /š/ in *izvršûti* 'to execute' versus /ž/ in *izvršba* 'execution'.

The alternation /k ~ x/ occurs in the preposition *k* 'towards', with /x/ occurring before /k g/: *h kováču* /xk-/ 'towards the smith', *h grâdu* /xg-/ [ɣg-] 'towards the town'; and occasionally elsewhere, as in *nikôgar* (GEN) < *ni + koga + že versus *nihčë* (NOM) < *ni + kъto + že 'nobody'.

3 Morphology

3.1 Nominal morphology

3.1.1 Nominal categories

Nouns, adjectives and pronouns are inflected for number, case and gender (including subgender); also, adjectives are inflected for definiteness and derive comparative and superlative degrees. For the relative frequency of the different subclasses within most of these categories, see Neweklowsky (1988).

Three **numbers** are distinguished: singular, dual and plural. There is dual/plural syncretism in the genitive and locative cases in nouns and adjectives, but no such syncretism obtains in pronouns. For limitations on the use of the dual, see section 4.10.

There are six **cases**: nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, instrumental and locative. There is no separate vocative case. The locative (as in other Slavonic languages), and also the instrumental, occur only in prepositional phrases. As compared with the other Slavonic languages that have full declensions, there is relatively little case syncretism, but two points may be mentioned: in the singular, most nouns and some pronouns have dative–locative syncretism; and in the dual (which also shows number syncretism, see above) there is nominative–accusative syncretism in nouns and adjectives, and dative–instrumental syncretism in nouns, adjectives and pronouns. A few nouns, adjectives and pronouns are indeclinable.

There are three **genders**: masculine, feminine and neuter. Nouns and some pronouns have inherent gender. Gender is expressed by inflection in other pronouns and in adjectives; it is also expressed in the nominative–accusative of one numeral and in the nominative of two others. The gender of nouns is partly predictable from their endings. A very few nouns may have more than one gender; and a very few have gender varying according to number. There is extensive gender syncretism, as in other Slavonic languages, but note that adjectives do not fully neutralize gender oppositions in the nominative–accusative dual and plural. Unusually within Slavonic, gender is expressed in personal pronouns other than the third person singular, namely in all persons dual and plural. The neuter tends to non-productivity: borrowed words normally become either masculine or feminine. The opposition between the two animacy subgenders – animate and inanimate – which is expressed in nouns and their co-referent adjectives and in some pronouns, occurs only in the singular. Only masculine nouns are marked for animacy; animate nouns include, as well as human and animal referents, also makes of car, kinds of illness, names of wines and some other semantic categories (see Toporišič 1984: 212). Pronouns, and also adjectives used pronominally, are marked as animate for masculine and neuter referents (see section 4.7).

The opposition between definite and indefinite is expressed in some adjectives. Where it is expressed, it is generally very limited; in most instances its overt marking is restricted to the masculine nominative singular. Nearly all adjectives (and adverbs derived from them) form analytic or synthetic comparatives and superlatives.

3.1.2 Noun morphology

There are three major classes of declension, labelled here according to their main Proto-Slavonic progenitor classes. The first continues the Proto-Slavonic **o*-stems, masculine and neuter; representatives of Proto-Slavonic

**u*-stems and **jo*-stems are in this class, the latter marked by automatic desinential alternations; nouns deriving from Proto-Slavonic consonantal stems are also subtypes of this class. The second continues Proto-Slavonic **a*-stems, **ja*-stems, **-y* stems and consonantal stems in **-er-*. The third is the continuation of the Proto-Slavonic **i*-stems. In addition to these classes, there are the following: (a) indeclinable nouns, for example acronyms such as *TĀM* (*Tovārna Avtomobilov Mārivor*) 'Maribor Auto Factory'; and (b) nouns with adjectival declensions (such as *dežūrni* 'male person on duty', *dežūrna* 'female person on duty' and many place names such as *Dolēnjsko* (N) ~ *Dolēnjska* (F) 'Lower Carniola').

Declensional type and gender are closely related: *o*-stem nouns are almost all masculine and neuter; *a*-stem nouns are typically feminine, but a few are masculine; all but one *i*-stem nouns are feminine. Neither gender nor declension class is predictable from the nominative singular form: nouns with nominative singular in a consonant are either masculine *o*-stems or feminine *i*-stems, whereby gender is largely predictable from derivative suffixes; nouns in *-a* are typically feminine and atypically masculine; and nouns in *-o*, *-e* are neuter (long-established words) or masculine (more recent borrowings). Some nouns have more than one gender and/or more than one declension, for instance *pōt* 'path', which may be masculine (as *kōt* 'corner') with a variant nominative plural, *pōta*, or feminine (as *kōst* 'bone'). Indeclinable nouns may be masculine, feminine or neuter.

The most productive noun declensions are the masculine *o*-stems like *kōt* 'corner' (table 8.5), the *a*-stems like *lipa* 'linden' (table 8.11), and the *i*-stems like *smr̄t* 'death' (table 8.12). There is usually syncretism of the dative and locative singular (the exceptions being some *o*-stem nouns). Moreover the genitive dual is always identical to the genitive plural, while the locative dual has the same form as the locative plural and so the former are omitted in the paradigms given.

***O*-stem class.** The regular paradigm of *o*-stem (masculine) nouns is illustrated with *kōt* 'corner' (table 8.5). Various nouns which might have been

Table 8.5 *o*-stems (masculine), inanimate

| | SG | DU | PL |
|------|-------|------------|-------|
| NOM | kōt | kōta | kōti |
| ACC | kōt | kōta | kōte |
| GEN | kōta | (= GEN PL) | kōtov |
| DAT | kōtu | kōtoma | kōtom |
| INST | kōtom | kōtoma | kōti |
| LOC | kōtu | (= LOC PL) | kōtih |

Table 8.6 *o*-stems (masculine), animate

| | SG | DU | PL |
|-----|------|------|-------|
| NOM | děd | děda | dědi |
| ACC | děda | děda | děde |
| GEN | děda | | dědov |

used for comparative purposes are irregular; some are illustrated below. Animate nouns have genitive desinences for the accusative *in the singular only*. The first half of the paradigm for *děd* 'grandfather' (which also occurs as *děd*, *děda*) is thus as in table 8.6.

Variants (stem):

- 1 The /ə ~ Ø/ alternation is regular and frequent but not automatic, see section 2.2.
- 2 A few nouns in -əlj /əl/ have, instead of the /ə ~ Ø/ alternation, an extension of this suffix to /-əln-/ before all vocalic endings: thus *nágəlj*, *nágəljna* 'carnation'.
- 3 Most nouns in -r extend the stem to -rj- before all non-zero endings, as in *denár*, *denárja* 'money'. Also, most borrowings ending in vowels extend the final stem-vowel with /-j-/: *alibi*, *alibija* 'alibi'. *Děž* 'rain' extends its stem in the same way: *děžjā*.
- 4 The /-ov-/ infix in the dual and plural, exemplified in *grād* 'castle' (table 8.7) occurs, often as a stylistic variant, with several nouns. Note that the infix *-ev- does not occur. (*grād* has the optional variant genitive singular *gradū*, see item 9 below).
- 5 Many nouns show stress and/or pitch alternations; there are many different paradigmatic patterns. Note especially the alternation between short and long vowels (see section 2.3) in nouns like *hlěb*, *hlěba* 'loaf', *čěp čěpa* 'bung'; these two examples show the neutralization, in the nominative singular, of the high-mid versus low-mid vocalic distinction. Note also stress shifts in, for instance, *jězik*, *jezika* 'language', *trěbuh* *trěbūha* 'belly'.
- 6 *Člóvek* 'man, person' has a regular *o*-stem declension (*člověka* and so on) in the singular and dual (except where dual and plural show syncretism), but has the plural *ljudjě*, *ljudi*, *ljudi*, *ljuděm*, *ljudmi*, *ljuděh*, that is, it has endings much like those of *kōst* 'bone' (see below).
- 7 *Otrōk*, *otrōk/otrōk-* 'child, baby' has plural *otrōci*, *otrōke*, *otrōk*, *otrōkom*, *otrōki*, *otrōcih*.

Table 8.7 *o*-stems (masculine), with *-ov-* infix

| | SG | DU | PL |
|------|--------|-----------|----------|
| NOM | grād | gradôva | gradôvi |
| ACC | grād | gradôva | gradôve |
| GEN | grāda | | gradôv |
| DAT | grādu | gradôvoma | gradôvom |
| INST | grādom | gradôvoma | gradôvi |
| LOC | grādu | | gradôvih |

Variants (ending):

- 8 Stems ending in /j c č š ž dž/ automatically replace /-o-/ with /-e-/ in instrumental singular, dative-instrumental dual and genitive plural and dative plural; these stems represent (and pre-empt) the original **jo*-stem class; for example, *prijatelj* 'friend', respectively *prijateljem*, *prijateljema*, *prijateljev*, *prijateljem*.
- 9 Some nouns have genitive singular /-û/ as a (usually, optional) variant of /-a/, for instance, *sin* 'son', *sina* ~ *sinû*; others have a (normally optional) stress shift in the genitive singular, as *môž* 'husband' below.
- 10 Some nouns have optional nominative plural in unstressed /-je/: thus *golôb*, *golôbi* ~ *golôbje* 'pigeon'; *fânt* 'boy' *fântje* ~ *fânti*.
- 11 The paradigm of *môž* 'husband' (table 8.8) illustrates a number of other common variant endings, especially those with stressed /-ę-/: genitive plural in *-ø*; and instrumental plural in /-mi/.

For *o*-stem (neuter) the regular paradigm, *město* 'town' is given in table 8.9.

Variants (stem):

- 1 The zero ~ vowel alternation is regular and frequent. Two nouns have /-a-/: *dnô* 'ground', genitive plural *dán* ~ *dnôv* ~ *dnôv*; *tlâ* 'floor' (plurale tantum), genitive *tâl*. Nouns with final /-j/ (except a list of nouns with /-nj/ /lj/) have /-i-/: *môrje* 'sea', genitive plural *môrij*. Otherwise, the alternating vowel is /-ǝ-/, as in *súkno* 'cloth' genitive plural *súkǝn*.
- 2 Many nouns show stress and/or pitch alternations: *blagô* 'goods', dative-locative singular *blâgu*; *srebrô* 'silver', dative-locative singular *srēbru* ~ *srêbru*.

Variants (ending):

- 3 Stems ending in /j c č š ž/ automatically replace /-o-/ with /-e-/ in nominative-accusative and instrumental singular, dative-instrumental

Table 8.8 *o*-stems (masculine), irregular

| | SG | DU | PL |
|------|-------|--------|-------|
| NOM | môž | moža | možjê |
| ACC | moža | moža | možê |
| GEN | moža | | môž |
| DAT | môžu | možêma | možêm |
| INST | môžem | možêma | možmí |
| LOC | môžu | | možêh |

Table 8.9 *o*-stems (neuter)

| | SG | DU | PL |
|------|--------|---------|--------|
| NOM | mêsto | mêsti | mêsta |
| ACC | mêsto | mêsti | mêsta |
| GEN | mêsta | | mêst |
| DAT | mêstu | mêstoma | mêstom |
| INST | mêstom | mêstoma | mêsti |
| LOC | mêstu | | mêstih |

dual and dative plural; these represent the original **jo*-stems (see section 2.2). Thus *srcê, sřcem, sřcema, sřcem* 'heart'.

Three subtypes of *o*-stem consonantal extensions are firmly maintained in Slovene: those with /-n-/, those with /-s-/ and those with /-t-/. There are ten '*n*-nouns', fourteen '*s*-nouns' and the '*t*-noun' declension became productive and was extended so that not only young animals (*pīšče* 'chick') but various words for humans (*revšê* 'pitiable child') and men's names (*Tône* 'Tony') have been included; indeed, there are now one feminine and many masculine '*t*-nouns'. In all three instances, the endings are generally those of normal *o*-stem neuter nouns. A typical instance, the '*t*-noun' *jágnje* 'lamb', is given in table 8.10.

Variants (stem):

- 1 All three subtypes have truncated nominative-accusative singular and full stems in all other cases, as above. '*N*-nouns' have *-e* as the truncated stem, *-en-* elsewhere; '*s*-nouns' have *-o* and *-es-* respectively.
- 2 In each subgroup there are some nouns with no prosodic alternations, like *jágnje* 'lamb', for instance *imê imêna* 'name', *drevô drevêsa* 'tree'. Most nouns, however, have stress or pitch alternations: *deklê, deklêta*

Table 8.10 *o*-stems (neuter), consonantal extension

| | SG | DU | PL |
|------|-----------|------------|-----------|
| NOM | jágnje | jágnjeti | jágnjeta |
| ACC | jágnje | jágnjeti | jágnjeta |
| GEN | jágnjeta | | jágnjet |
| DAT | jágnjetu | jágnjetoma | jágnjetom |
| INST | jágnjetom | jágnjetoma | jágnjeti |
| LOC | jágnjetu | | jágnjetih |

genitive singular, *deklęta* nominative plural 'girl'; *vręme, vremęna* 'weather'; and see *uhę* 'ear' below.

- 3 Three nouns have stem consonantal alternations: *uhę uęęsa* 'ear'; *okę, oęęsa* 'eye'; *igę, ięęsa* 'yoke'.

Variants (ending):

- 4 The many masculine '*t*-nouns' – all of which have human referents – have accusative identical with genitive; *ęće, oęęta* 'father'; *fantę, fantęta* 'boy'; *Francę, Francęta* 'Frank'. The feminine/neuter noun *deklę* 'girl' has accusative identical with nominative.

A-stem class. All nouns – both feminine (the vast majority) and masculine (like *slęga* 'man-servant') – have the same general declensional pattern. (The masculine nouns may also decline as animate *o*-stems; see above.) In table 8.11 are shown the regular paradigm, *lipa* 'linden', and the subtype *ęęna* 'wife' (see item 4 below) which represents at most some twenty-five nouns. There are no morphophonemic alternations surviving from the **y*-stems or **-ynji* nouns: for example, *dųęa* 'soul' and *boginja* 'goddess' decline like *lipa*.

Variants (stem):

- 1 The vowel ~ zero alternation is regular and generally predictable. /i ~ \emptyset / occurs in nouns with stems ending in consonant + /j/: *lędja* 'boat', genitive plural *lędij*; *-nja, -lja* nouns must be listed. /a ~ \emptyset / occurs in stems ending in non-resonant + resonant (for instance, *sęstra* 'sister', genitive plural *sęstęř*), non-resonant + resonant + /j/ (*kęplja* 'drop', genitive plural *kępęlj*), some combinations of resonant + resonant, and (rarely and archaically) in other consonant clusters. Nouns like *čęrkęv* 'church' and *brutęv* 'razor' (see 5 below) are regular in this respect. /a ~ \emptyset / is found in a few words, like *ęvca* 'sheep', genitive plural *ęvęc ~ ęvc*.
- 2 Proto-Slavonic consonantal stems in /-r-/ survive in that two nouns have the extension /-er-/ in all cases except the nominative singular:

Table 8.11 *a*-stems

| | SG | DU | PL |
|------|-------------|--------|------------|
| NOM | lípa | lípi | lípe |
| ACC | lípo | lípi | lípe |
| GEN | lípe | | lip |
| DAT | lípi | lipama | lipam |
| INST | lípo | lipama | lipami |
| LOC | lípi | | lipah |
| NOM | žéna | ženê | ženê |
| ACC | ženô | ženê | ženê |
| GEN | ženê ~ ženê | | žen ~ ženā |
| DAT | žéni | ženâma | ženâm |
| INST | ženô | ženâma | ženâmi |
| LOC | žéni | | ženâh |

māti 'mother' and *hči* 'daughter', genitive singular *mátère hčêre*; see 5 below.

Variants (ending):

- 3 The nouns which decline like *žéna* 'wife', that is with stress shifts, such as *góra* 'mountain' and *gláva* 'head', have become largely regularized and usually now decline as *lipa*.
- 4 Nouns with stressed *-â* as the nominative singular ending (all of which can also have regular stem stress) have a number of optional or obligatory long desinential vowels, for example, *stəzâ* 'path', accusative singular *stəzê* ~ *stəzê*, instrumental plural *stəzâmi*.
- 5 The Proto-Slavonic **y*-stems, represented in Slovene by nouns in *-əv*, and the two 'r-nouns' differ from the paradigms displayed here in two respects (in which cases these nouns follow the *i*-stem class): accusative singular in */-θ/* and instrumental singular in */-ijo* ~ *-jo/* (of which the former occurs after two consonants). Examples of accusative singular and instrumental singular: *máter*, *máterjo*; *hčêr*, *hčêrjo*; *čêrkəv*, *čêrkvijo*; *brítəv*, *brítvijo*.

***I*-stem class.** All nouns in this class are feminine except *ljudjê* 'people' (see above). The regular paradigm is that of *smrt* 'death'; also in table 8.12, *kôst* 'bone' exemplifies the stress, pitch and vocalic alternations that are very common in this class.

Variants (stem):

- 1 Four nouns have short vowels in the nominative–accusative singular which alternate with long vowels, for instance, *mîš*, genitive singular

Table 8.12 *i*-stems

| | SG | DU | PL |
|------|--------|---------|--------|
| NOM | smřt | smřti | smřti |
| ACC | smřt | smřti | smřti |
| GEN | smřti | | smřti |
| DAT | smřti | smřtma | smřtim |
| INST | smřtjo | smřtma | smřtmi |
| LOC | smřti | | smřtih |
| NOM | kōst | kosti | kosti |
| ACC | kōst | kosti | kosti |
| GEN | kostí | | kostí |
| DAT | kōsti | kostēma | kostēm |
| INST | kostjō | kostēma | kostmí |
| LOC | kósti | | kostēh |

mīši 'mouse'. Very many monosyllabic and some polysyllabic nouns decline like *kōst* 'bone' above, with pitch and stress alternations. Some nouns have a pitch alternation but no stress alternation, thus *lūč* 'light', genitive singular *lūči*, instrumental singular *lūčjo*; some have qualitative alternations: *ōs* 'axle' dative-locative singular *ōsi*.

- 2 The vowel ~ zero alternation occurs in this declension too: the normal vowel is /-ə-/, occurring when the stem ends in non-resonant + resonant: thus *mīsəl*, *mīsli* 'thought'; *povōdānj*, *povōdnji* 'flood'.

Variants (ending):

- 3 Stems in non-resonant + resonant, and non-resonant + resonant + /j/, have instrumental singular in *-ijo*, dative-instrumental dual in *-ima*, instrumental plural in *-imi*: *mīslijo*, *mīslima*, *mīslimi*.

3.1.3 Pronominal morphology

In the **personal pronouns**, Slovene has separate non-clitic forms for all three persons in all three numbers. All three persons show gender distinctions in the dual and plural, but in the nominative case only; the third person singular distinguishes all three genders in the nominative-accusative and makes a two-way distinction in all other cases. In the nominative a total of eighteen pronominal distinctions are made. There is also a reflexive personal pronoun, unmarked for number, gender and person, lacking a nominative.

The non-nominative dual person pronouns occur as exemplified below and also co-occur with the corresponding form of *dvā* 'two' (3.1.5), for example, *nāju dvā* 'us both (M ACC)', *nāju dvē* 'us both (F ACC)'.

Separate clitic forms obtain in accusative, genitive and dative for all singular persons, for the reflexive, and for the third dual and third plural; there is much syncretism. Note the separate bound clitic forms; see below for their use. First- and second-person pronouns, dual and plural, have clitic forms identical with their non-clitic forms except that they lack stress.

The forms of the first-person non-clitic pronouns *jãz* 'I', *midva*, *mêdve/midve* 'we both', *mî*, *mê* 'we (all)' are given in table 8.13. The second-person non-clitic pronouns *tî* 'you', *vidva*, *vêdve/vidve* 'you both', *vî*, *vê* 'you (all)' can be found in table 8.14. Reflexive non-clitic pronouns are given in table 8.15. The third person singular non-clitic pronouns are *õn*,

Table 8.13 First-person pronouns

| | SG | | DU | | PL | |
|------|-------------------|--------------|--------------------|-----------|-------------|-----|
| | | M | N/F | | M | N/F |
| NOM | <i>jãz</i> | <i>midva</i> | <i>mêdve/midve</i> | <i>mî</i> | <i>mê</i> | |
| ACC | <i>méne</i> | | <i>nãju</i> | | <i>nãs</i> | |
| GEN | <i>méne</i> | | <i>nãju</i> | | <i>nãs</i> | |
| DAT | <i>méni</i> | | <i>nãma</i> | | <i>nãm</i> | |
| INST | <i>menõj/mãno</i> | | <i>nãma</i> | | <i>nãmi</i> | |
| LOC | <i>méni</i> | | <i>nãju/nãma</i> | | <i>nãs</i> | |

Table 8.14 Second-person pronouns

| | SG | | DU | | PL | |
|------|-------------------|--------------|--------------------|-----------|-------------|-----|
| | | M | N/F | | M | N/F |
| NOM | <i>tî</i> | <i>vidva</i> | <i>vêdve/vidve</i> | <i>vî</i> | <i>vê</i> | |
| ACC | <i>tébe</i> | | <i>vãju</i> | | <i>vãs</i> | |
| GEN | <i>tébe</i> | | <i>vãju</i> | | <i>vãs</i> | |
| DAT | <i>tébi</i> | | <i>vãma</i> | | <i>vãm</i> | |
| INST | <i>tebõj/tãbo</i> | | <i>vãma</i> | | <i>vãmi</i> | |
| LOC | <i>tébi</i> | | <i>vãju/vãma</i> | | <i>vãs</i> | |

Table 8.15 Reflexive pronoun

| | |
|------|-------------------|
| ACC | <i>sébe</i> |
| GEN | <i>sébe</i> |
| DAT | <i>sébi</i> |
| INST | <i>sebõj/sãbo</i> |
| LOC | <i>sébi</i> |

óno, *óna* 'he/it, it, she/it' (see table 8.16). The neuter nominative has a stylistic variant *onô*. There is gender syncretism between masculine and neuter in all non-nominative cases. The third person dual and plural non-clitic pronouns *ónadva*, *ónidve/onêdve* 'they both', *óni*, *óna*, *óne* 'they (all)' can be found in table 8.17. Four nominatives have stylistic variants: dual *onâdva*, plural *oni*, *onâ*, *onê*. There is total gender syncretism in all non-nominative cases.

There are special clitic forms for first person singular, second person singular and third person singular, dual and plural. Note the distinction between free and bound clitics (table 8.18). The bound clitics are post-posed to most of the prepositions that take the accusative; in this context the prepositions receive a tonemically high pitch and, if containing a mid vowel, exhibit /ɛ/ or /ɔ/, for example, *nâme* 'on me', *čêzse* 'across oneself', *mêdnju* 'between the two of them', *nâdnje* 'over them'. With the third person singular masculine–neuter *-nj* the /ə ~ Ø/ alternation occurs: *nânj* 'on him/it', *nâdnj* 'over him/it'. In the pre-clitic context the preposition *v* occurs in the otherwise non-occurrent form *va-*: *vâme* 'into me', *vânj* 'into him/it'.

There are pronominal declensions (presented below) differing from adjectival declensions in many particulars, for *tâ* 'this' and *kdô* 'who', *kâj*

Table 8.16 Third person singular pronouns

| | M | N | F |
|------|----|-------|---------------|
| NOM | ðn | óno | óna |
| ACC | | njéga | njô/njô |
| GEN | | njéga | njé |
| DAT | | njému | njéj/njèj/njî |
| INST | | njím | njô |
| LOC | | njém | njéj/njèj/njî |

Table 8.17 Third person dual and plural pronouns

| | M | DU | N/F | M | PL N | F |
|------|--------|------------------|---------------|-----|---------|-----|
| NOM | ónadva | | ónidve/onêdve | óni | óna | óne |
| ACC | | njiju/njîh | | | njîh | |
| GEN | | njiju/njîh | | | njîh | |
| DAT | | njîma | | | njîm | |
| INST | | njîma | | | njîmi | |
| LOC | | njiju/njîh/njîma | | | njîh | |

Table 8.18 Clitic pronouns

| | 1 | 2 | | 3 | | 3 | 3 |
|----------------------|-----|-----|------|-----|------|--------|------|
| | SG | SG | REFL | SG | F | DU | PL |
| | | | | M/N | | | |
| <i>Free clitics</i> | | | | | | | |
| ACC | me | te | se | ga | jo | ju/jih | jih |
| GEN | me | te | se | ga | je | ju/jih | jih |
| DAT | mi | ti | si | mu | ji | jima | jim |
| <i>Bound clitics</i> | | | | | | | |
| ACC | -me | -te | -se | -nj | -njo | -nju | -nje |

'what'. At least two pronouns are fully indeclinable, relative *kī* 'who' and *čigar* 'whose'; and *onē* 'whats'isname' is normally indeclinable. All other pronouns decline like regular adjectives, with nominative masculine singular either only short (ending in a consonant, like *tōlik* 'so large'), or only long (ending in *-i*, like *tisti* 'that'). Pronouns are thus inherently definite or indefinite (see 3.1.4). Possessive pronouns decline like definite adjectives. Most pronouns may be used adjectivally as well as pronominally. The most common are as follows; for a fuller list see Toporišič (1984: 243–8, 271–5).

Demonstrative: *tā* 'this', *tisti* 'that', *ōni* 'that (yonder)'; *onē* 'whats'isname', *tāk*, *tākšən* 'such a'. The first three of these also occur, usually with emphatic meaning, with preposed *le-* or (more usually) with postposed *-le* affixed to fully declined forms: thus *letēga* ~ *tēgale* 'this (EMPH, M GEN SG)'. In non-standard Slovene *tā* may function as a definite article (see 3.1.4).

Interrogative: *kdō* 'who?', *kāj* 'what?', *kākšən* 'what sort of a?', *kōlik* 'how large?', *čigāv* 'whose?', *katēri* 'which?'.
Relative: *kdōr* 'who', *kār* 'what', *katēri*, *kī* 'which', *čigar* 'whose'.

Indefinite: (a) *kdō* 'any(one)', *kāj* 'any(thing)', *katēri* 'anyone/-thing'; (b) prefixed: *nekdō* 'someone' and *nēkaj* 'something'; *nekatēri* 'some', *nēki* 'a'.

Negative: *nihčē* ~ *nihče* ~ *nikdo* 'nobody', *nīč* 'nothing', *nobèn* 'no'.

Possessive: *mōj*, *nājin*, *nāš* 'my, our (DU), our (PL)'; *tvōj*, *vājin*, *vāš* 'your, your (DU), your (PL)'; *njegōv* ~ *njegōv*, *njēn*, *njūn*, *njīhov* 'his/its, her/its, their (DU), their (PL)'; *svōj* 'own'. The above forms alternate with the following in all other cases, numbers and genders: *mōj-*, *tvōj-*, *svōj-*, *nāš-*, *vāš-*, *njegōv-*.

Other: *vās* 'all', *vsāk* 'each', *sām* 'self, mere, the very'.

There are numerous other pronouns, most of them compounds of the preceding ones: *vsàkršōn* 'every kind of', *màlokātēri* 'few', *màrsikdō* 'many a person', *kdōrkōli* 'whoever'. Note that all these pronouns have masculine accusative singular forms identical to the nominative (for inanimate referents) and the same as the genitive (for animate referents); this is signalled by NOM/GEN. *Tā* 'this' (table 8.19) has alternate forms: in the feminine dative-locative singular *těj* and the neuter/feminine nominative-accusative dual *tē*. In the dual, the relevant forms of *dvā* usually co-occur. *Všs* 'all' differs from *tā* only in the nominative singular *všs*, *vsě*, *vsā*, and in that the stem vowels are tonemically high and short. *Kdō* 'who?', *kdōr* 'who (REL)', *nihčē* 'nobody', *kāj* 'what?', *kār* 'what (REL)' and *nīč* 'nothing' decline as in table 8.20; further compounds of *kdō*, *kāj* follow the same pattern.

Table 8.19 Demonstrative pronoun *ta*

| | SG | | | DU | | | PL | |
|------|-----------|-------------|------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| | M | N | F | M | N | F | M | F |
| NOM | <i>tā</i> | <i>tō</i> | <i>tā</i> | <i>tā</i> | <i>tī</i> | <i>tī</i> | <i>tī</i> | <i>tē</i> |
| ACC | NOM/GEN | <i>tō</i> | <i>tō</i> | <i>tā</i> | <i>tī</i> | <i>tī</i> | <i>tē</i> | <i>tē</i> |
| GEN | | <i>tēga</i> | <i>tē</i> | | <i>tēh</i> | | <i>tēh</i> | |
| DAT | | <i>tēmu</i> | <i>těj</i> | | <i>tēma</i> | | <i>tēm</i> | |
| INST | | <i>tēm</i> | <i>tō</i> | | <i>tēma</i> | | <i>tēmi</i> | |
| LOC | | <i>tēm</i> | <i>těj</i> | | <i>tēh</i> | | <i>tēh</i> | |

Table 8.20 *kdō*, *kāj* and pronouns based on them

| | | | | | | |
|------|-------------|--------------|----------------|-------------|--------------|----------------|
| NOM | <i>kdō</i> | <i>kdōr</i> | <i>nihčē</i> | <i>kāj</i> | <i>kār</i> | <i>nīč</i> |
| ACC | <i>kōga</i> | <i>kōgar</i> | <i>nikōgar</i> | <i>kāj</i> | <i>kār</i> | <i>nīč</i> |
| GEN | <i>kōga</i> | <i>kōgar</i> | <i>nikōgar</i> | <i>česa</i> | <i>česar</i> | <i>ničesar</i> |
| DAT | <i>kōmu</i> | <i>kōmur</i> | <i>nikōmur</i> | <i>čemu</i> | <i>čemur</i> | <i>ničemur</i> |
| INST | <i>kōm</i> | <i>kōmər</i> | <i>nikōmər</i> | <i>čim</i> | <i>čimər</i> | <i>ničimər</i> |
| LOC | <i>kōm</i> | <i>kōmər</i> | <i>nikōmər</i> | <i>čem</i> | <i>čemər</i> | <i>ničemər</i> |

Table 8.21 Use of long- and short-form adjectives

| | <i>Indefinite</i> | <i>Definite</i> | |
|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|------|
| Adjective alone | <i>nōv</i> 'a new one' | <i>ta nōvi</i> 'the new one' | (1) |
| Noun alone | <i>en pēs</i> 'a dog' | <i>pēs</i> 'the dog' | (2) |
| Adjective + noun | <i>nōv pēs</i> 'a new dog' | <i>nōvi pēs</i> 'the new dog' | (3a) |
| | <i>en nōv pēs</i> 'a new dog' | <i>ta nōvi pēs</i> 'the new dog' | (3b) |

3.1.4 Adjectival morphology

In Slovene the Proto-Slavonic opposition between **short and long adjectives** survives in the opposition indefinite versus definite, but is formally very circumscribed. This opposition, in its most simple form, is expressed as in table 8.21.

The use of *en* and *ta*, which in many respects act as indefinite article and definite article respectively, is, however, not encouraged in the written literary norm, and is limited in spoken standard Slovene also; in these varieties, the normal adjective + noun phrase is (3a) in table 8.21 rather than (3b), and definite *nóvi* for (1) and indefinite *pēs* for (2) are common. The indefinite versus definite opposition is, moreover, not expressed in all adjectives; and in those where it is expressed it obtains only in the masculine nominative (and accusative inanimate) singular, except in a very few where it extends to some more, or to all, of the declension. The indefinite versus definite opposition is not expressed in several types of adjectives, including the following (which can be used in either function). Denominal derivatives in *-v* and *-in* (like *brátov* 'brother's', *králjev* 'king's', *māterin* 'mother's') have indefinite forms only. Denominal and other derivatives in *-ji*, *-ski*, *-ški*, *-čki* (like *bóžji* 'God's', *slověnski* 'Slovene'), comparative and superlative forms and the words *ōbči* 'common', *prāvi* 'right, proper', *rājni* 'the late' have definite forms only.

In two adjectives the opposition is expressed in all forms. In one it is shown by a prosodic alternation: *vělik*, *veliko*, *velika* (INDEF) versus *věliki*, *věliko*, *vělika* (DEF) 'large'. In the other it is expressed suppletively: *mājhən*, *mājhno*, *mājhna* (INDEF) but *māli*, *mālo*, *māla* (DEF) 'small'. In a few adjectives the opposition is expressed in more than just the masculine nominative singular, but not throughout the paradigm; in all other adjectives (except those listed above with only indefinite, and with only definite, forms) it is expressed in **only the masculine nominative singular**. In a few, the formal expression is by morphophonemic means. Examples (indefinite versus definite): with a qualitative alternation, masculine nominative singular *dōbər* versus *dōbri* 'good'; with a prosodic alternation, feminine nominative singular *bogāta* versus *bogāta* 'rich', *stāra māti* 'an old mother' versus *stāra māti* 'grandmother'; with both qualitative and prosodic alternations, masculine/feminine nominative singular *dēbel*, *debēla* versus *debēli*, *debēla* 'fat'. In the great majority, the masculine nominative singular indefinite has a zero ending, and the definite ends in *-i*.

The adjective *nōv*, *nóv*- 'new' has regular declension; in the masculine (and, rarely, the neuter) accusative singular the choice of nominative versus genitive form depends on animacy (table 8.22).

Variants (stem):

- 1 The alternation of short vowel in the masculine nominative singular indefinite with long vowels elsewhere (see section 2.3), exemplified in *nōv*, is common.

Table 8.22 Regular adjective declension

| | SG | | | DU | | | PL | | |
|------|----------------------|------|------|------|--------|------|------|--------|------|
| | M | N | F | M | N | F | M | N | F |
| NOM | { nŏv } nŏvi } | nŏvo | nŏva | nŏva | nŏvi | nŏvi | nŏvi | nŏva | nŏve |
| ACC | NOM/GEN | | nŏvo | nŏva | nŏvi | nŏvi | nŏve | | nŏve |
| GEN | nŏvega | | nŏve | | | | | nŏvih | |
| DAT | nŏvemu | | nŏvi | | nŏvima | | | nŏvim | |
| INST | nŏvim | | nŏvo | | nŏvima | | | nŏvimi | |
| LOC | nŏvem | | nŏvi | | | | | nŏvih | |

- 2 Several adjectives optionally have mobile accent patterns. Of these, most belong to one type, exemplified by *mlad* (definite *mládi*) 'young': nominative singular *mlâd*, *mladô*, *mlâda*, genitive singular *mlâdega*, *mlâde*, instrumental singular *mlâdim*, *mladô*, etc.
- 3 The vowel ~ zero alternation is common: *otêkəl*, *otêkl-* 'swollen', *mîrən*, *mîrn-* 'tranquil'; often, there is free qualitative/stress variation on the adjectives involved: *médəl* ~ *mədəl* ~ *mədəl* 'faint'. Several adjectives have variants with /a/ as well as /ə/ occurring in the masculine nominative singular: *hládən* ~ *hladân*, *hládna* 'cool'. Those with stress on the ending in the masculine nominative singular definite tend to maintain this throughout the paradigm.

Variants (ending):

- 4 The /o ~ e/ alternation obtains in the nominative-accusative singular: compare *nŏvo* 'new' and *vsakdánje* 'everyday', *vrŏče* 'hot'.

One adjective is used only predicatively and therefore declines for gender and number but has only nominative case, *râd*, *râda* 'happy'. Fully indeclinable are the attributive adjective *pêš* 'by foot' in, for instance, *pêš hŏja* 'walking tour'; and several attributive/predicative adjectives, as for instance, *pocêni* 'cheap': *pocêni pohištvo* 'cheap furniture', *pocêni knjiga* 'cheap book', *knjiga je pocêni* 'the book is cheap'; *tššc* 'unbreakfasted': *s tššc želŏdci* 'with empty stomachs', *óna je tššc* 'she has not breakfasted'; and many relatively recent borrowings: *prima blagŏ* 'first-class goods', *prima film* 'first-class film'; *fâjn člŏvek* 'fine person', *fâjn oblêka* 'fine clothing'; *bêž* 'beige', *fêr* 'fair'. See also section 4.3.

The **comparative** and **superlative** degrees of a given adjective are formed either analytically or synthetically. The analytic phrases use *bolj* 'more' and *nâjbolj* 'most'. Synthetic comparative forms utilize the suffixes *-ši*, *-ji* and *-ejši*, and their superlative degrees add the prefix *nâj-*. Adjectives which use analytic comparative or superlative forms include those

which do not participate in the definite versus indefinite opposition, for example, *divji* 'wild' *bolj divji*, *nājbolj divji*; adjectives derived participially from verbs, for example, *vrōč* 'hot'; specific derivatives, for example, those in *-ast* such as *mūhast* 'capricious'; words for colours; and others such as *mōkōr* 'wet' and *sūh* 'dry'. In synthetic comparison, (a) *-ejši* is added to polysyllabic stems: *rodovītēn* 'fertile' *rodovītnejši*, *nājrodovītnejši*; to monosyllabic stems ending in more than one consonant: *čist* 'clean' *čistējši*, *nājčistējši*; and to a list of monosyllabic stems in single consonants, including *nōv* 'new', *novējši*, *nājnovejši*; (b) *-ji* is, normally, added to stems which end in /ž/, /š/ or /č/ (deriving from the final velar of the positive degree): *drāg* 'dear' *drāžji*, *nājdrāžji*; (c) *-ši* is added to other stems (after palatalization): *mlad* 'young', *mlājši*, *nājmlājši*. If a polysyllabic adjective ends in vowel + /k/, this syllable is deleted, and rules (b) and (c) normally apply: *nizāk* 'low' *nizji*, *nājnizji*. There are several exceptional forms, such as *lēp* 'beautiful' *lēpši*, *nājlēpši*, and suppletive forms like *dōbōr* 'good' *bōljši* 'better' *nāj bōljši* 'best'.

Adverbs derived from adjectives form their comparative and superlative degrees according to the same subclasses (a), (b) and (c) above, but with the following differences: group (a) take *-eje*: *bogāto* 'richly' *bogatēje*, *nāj bogatēje*; group (b) replace *-ji* with *-(j)e*: *blīzu* 'near' *blīž(j)e*, *nāj blīž(j)e*; and group (c) replace *-ši* with, normally, *-še*: *tānkō* 'thinly' *tānše*, *nāj tānše*.

3.1.5 Numeral morphology

Of the **cardinal numerals** '1' has a regular adjectival declension; except in the masculine nominative singular (where there are two forms: *édōn*, used substantivally, and *ēn*, adjectivally) the stem is invariant *én-*, hence masculine genitive singular *énega* and so on. The dual is not used. The plural is used with pluralia tantum words: *éna vrāta* 'one door'. For the function of *ēn* as an indefinite article see section 3.1.3. *Dvā* '2', *trije* '3' and *štirje* '4' decline similarly. All show the opposition masculine versus neuter/feminine in the nominative; '2' shows it in the accusative also (table 8.23). *Obā*, *obē* 'both' declines exactly like *dvā*, *dvē*.

All other numerals, except *tisōč*, *milijōn* and *milijarda* (see below) decline like '5' (table 8.24), but they may also not decline, as noted below. The same pattern is followed by, for example, *šēst* '6', *šēstnājest* ~ *šestnājest* '16', *šēstindvājset* '26', *šēstdeset* '60' and so on. *Sēdam*, *sēdmih* '7' and *ōsōm*, *ōsmih* '8' show the /ə ~ Ø/ alternation. '100' has a unique alternation: *stō*, *stōtih*. Note that compounds between '21' and '99' have the morphemes reversed from their Arabic-numeral order: *énindvājset* '21', *devētindevētdeset* '99'. Note also that in numerals over 100 terminating in non-compounds, only the final word declines: *tisōč dvā/dvē* '1,002'.

The remaining numerals, *tisōč* (M) '1,000', *milijōn* (M) 'million' and *milijarda* (F) 'milliard/billion', decline like nouns.

Table 8.23 'Two', 'three', 'four'

| | M | N/F | M | N/F | M | N/F |
|------|-----|-------|-------|-------|--------|---------|
| NOM | dvâ | dvê | tríje | trí | štírje | štíri |
| ACC | dvâ | dvê | | trí | | štíri |
| GEN | | dvêh | | trêh | | štírih |
| DAT | | dvêma | | trêm | | štirim |
| INST | | dvêma | | trêmi | | štírimi |
| LOC | | dvêh | | trêh | | štírih |

Table 8.24 'Five'

| | |
|------|--------|
| NOM | pêt |
| ACC | pêt |
| GEN | pétih |
| DAT | pétim |
| INST | pétimi |
| LOC | pétih |

The loss of declinability, which is very noticeable in conversational Slovene, may be detected in the standard language in noun phrases headed by prepositions, where numerals above '4' are normally not declined.

Ordinal numerals decline like adjectives: *p̄rvi*, *p̄rva*, *p̄rvo* 'first'; *drugi* 'second', *trêtji* 'third', *četrti* 'fourth', *pêti* 'fifth', *šêsti* 'sixth' and so on.

3.2 Verbal morphology

3.2.1 Verbal categories

Verbs are inflected for number, person and gender. Tense, voice and mood are expressed partly in inflection, partly in compound phrases. Aspect is inherent in verbal forms; normally, there is a derivational relationship between aspectual pairs. Finite verbal forms include the present, imperative, future, past pluperfect, present conditional and past conditional. There is also a series of optative forms. The verb 'be' is expressed in all appropriate numbers, persons and genders, and in three tenses. It has a special negative present-tense form.

The opposition in **number** singular : dual : plural is expressed in all finite verbal forms. There is no number syncretism. See section 4.10 for the use of the dual. In certain ('polite' or 'formal') circumstances, number is used conventionally rather than referentially. There are two conventions: (a) 'Vikanje': the second person plural (which is always masculine!) replaces the second person singular (but never the second person dual);

Table 8.25 Numerals

CARDINALS

édən, én- '1'
 dvā, dvē '2'
 trīje, tri '3'
 štīrje, štīri '4'
 pēt '5'
 šēst '6'
 sēdām '7'
 ōsām '8'
 devēt '9'
 desēt '10'
 enājst '11'
 dvānajst ~ dvanājst '12'
 trinajst ~ trinājst '13'
 štīrinajst ~ štīrinājst '14'
 pētnajst ~ petnājst '15'
 šēstnajst ~ šestnājst '16'
 sēdāmnajst ~ sedāmnājst '17'
 ōsāmnajst ~ osāmnājst '18'
 devētnajst ~ devetnājst '19'

dvājset '20'
 éinindvājset '21'
 trīdeset '30'
 štīrideset '40'
 pētdeset '50'
 šēstdeset '60'
 sēdāmdeset '70'
 ōsāmdeset '80'
 devētdeset '90'
 stō '100'
 dvēsto '200'
 trīsto '300'
 štīristo '400'
 pētsto '500'
 šēststo '600'
 sēdāmsto '700'
 ōsāmsto '800'
 devētsto '900'
 tisōč '1,000'

ORDINALS

pṛvi '1st'
 drūgi '2nd'
 trētji '3rd'
 četṛti '4th'
 péti '5th'
 šésti '6th'
 sédmi '7th'
 ósmi '8th'
 devēti '9th'
 desēti '10th'
 enājsti '11th'
 dvānajsti ~ dvanājsti '12th'
 trinajsti ~ trinājsti '13th'
 štīrinajsti ~ štīrinājsti '14th'
 pētnajsti ~ petnājsti '15th'
 šēstnajsti ~ šestnājsti '16th'
 sēdāmnajsti ~ sedāmnājsti '17th'
 ōsāmnajsti ~ osāmnājsti '18th'
 devētnajsti ~ devetnājsti '19th'

dvājseti '20th'
 éinindvājseti '21st'
 trīdeseti '30th'
 štīrideseti '40th'
 pētdeseti '50th'
 šēstdeseti '60th'
 sēdāmdeseti '70th'
 ōsāmdeseti '80th'
 devētdeseti '90th'
 stóti '100th'
 dvēstóti '200th'
 tristóti '300th'
 štīristóti '400th'
 petstóti '500th'
 šeststóti '600th'
 sedāmstóti '700th'
 osāmstóti '800th'
 devetstóti '900th'
 tisōči '1,000th'

(b) 'Onikanje': dialectally and archaically, the third person plural replaces the second person singular (but never the second person dual) in the same way. Slovene has three **persons** in finite verbal forms. The third person singular and third person plural are used impersonally. There is person syncretism in the dual, where the second and third persons have the same endings. The **gender** opposition masculine : feminine : neuter is expressed

in participles, and hence in the past, future and so on. Unusually for Slavonic, a (now rare and archaic) gender distinction (masculine versus feminine/neuter) may be expressed by optional endings for the dual in the present and imperative: *-va* (M) versus *-ve* ~ *-vi* (F/N) and *-ta* (M) versus *-te* ~ *-ti* (F/N). Slovene distinguishes four tenses: future, present, past and pluperfect; past and pluperfect are opposed only in the indicative. The pluperfect seldom occurs. All except the present, the future of 'be' and one of two expressions of the future perfective are expressed by compounds. The four participles and three gerunds express time simultaneous with or anterior to that of the main verb. Tense is implicit in other categories, such as imperative, supine.

Normally, a given verb is inherently of imperfective or perfective aspect; and normally, aspectually correlative pairs have the same lexical meaning. The imperfective verb is semantically unmarked. The aspectual system is similar to that of the other Slavonic languages, except that the future perfective is expressed both (a) by the non-past form of the perfective, and (b) by the same compound formation that is used for the future imperfective (namely, the future of 'be' and the *l*-participle); the perfective with *verba dicendi* expresses the present tense; and perfective verbs with some temporal adverbs may denote repetition. All verbal categories occur with both aspects, except that both present gerunds and (with one lexical exception) the present active participle only occur in the imperfective. Some verbs are bi-aspectual. These include both native items like *rodūti* 'give birth to' and recent borrowings such as *protestirati* 'protest'. A few perfective verbs, for instance *pogospōditi se* 'put on airs', have no imperfective counterparts; and conversely, a few imperfective verbs, like *poslušati* 'listen to', have no perfective ones. Some half-dozen pairs of imperfective verbs are limited semantically to determinate and indeterminate meaning respectively. These involve verbs of motion like *nositi* versus *nésti* 'carry', *voziti* versus *peljati* 'convey'.

The following moods are expressed: indicative, imperative and conditional. All verbal categories except those listed in this subsection are indicative. A number of modal expressions are semantically close to the imperative and conditional moods. There is, normally, a partial imperative paradigm: the first person dual and plural, the second person singular, dual and plural and the third person singular. The conditional, expressed by compound forms using the invariable word *bi*, obtains in the present and past (with the meanings 'would' and 'would have' respectively). Semantically, the imperative is complemented (and partly overlapped) by present optative compounds (utilizing the particle *nāj*) with the meaning 'let ...'. In addition, there are compound past optatives: *nāj* + *bi* + (*bil*) + *l*-participle, normally equivalent to 'should'. Other modal expressions use invariable auxiliaries like *lahkō* and verbs such as *mōrati*: *lahkō dēla* 'he may work', *mōra dēlati* 'he must work'.

Verbs are, inherently, either transitive or intransitive. For types of, and constructions using, reflexive verbs, see below and section 4.8. The **passive voice** is expressed with the following: (a) a reflexive verb; (b) a zero subject and the verb in the third person plural; (c) the past passive participle + 'be'.

There are five indeclinable **non-finite forms**: infinitive, supine, past gerund, present gerund in *-(j)e* and present gerund in *-č*. There are also four participles: present active, past active in *-(v)ši*, past active in *-l* (the '*l*-participle') and past passive. There is also a verbal substantive *-nje/-tje* (see section 3.3.1). The infinitive : supine opposition is expressed by a formal distinction which is largely neutralized in conversational Slovene. For usage see section 4.5. The two basic gerunds are the present gerund in *-(j)e* and the past gerund. Not all verbs form gerunds. The present gerund is supplemented semantically by the short-form present active participle in *-č*, which acts as a third gerund. Three participles are fully declinable: the present active participle, the (rarely used) past active participle in *-vši* and the past passive participle. The fourth participle, the past active participle in *-l*, is used only in the nominative; its use is restricted to compound verbal expressions, most importantly the past and the future.

There are as many as fifteen **compound-tense** constructions, some of them rare. The most common are here exemplified with the verb *hvaliti pohvaliti* 'praise' in the first person singular; where the perfective prefix *po-* is in parentheses, both aspects may occur. For the auxiliaries, present *sam* and future *bom*, see below.

- 1 Active: past (*sam (po)hvalil* 'I praised'); pluperfect (*sam bil pohvalil* 'I had praised'); future (*bom (po)hvalil* 'I shall praise'); present conditional (*bi (po)hvalil* 'I would praise'); past conditional (*bi bil (po)hvalil* 'I would have praised'); present optative (*naj (po)hvalim* 'I should praise'); and past optatives (*naj bi (po)hvalil* and *naj bi bil (po)hvalil* 'I should have praised').
- 2 Passive: present (*sam (po)hvaljen* 'I am praised'); past (*sam bil (po)hvaljen* 'I was praised'); future (*bom (po)hvaljen* 'I shall be praised'); present/past conditional (*bi bil (po)hvaljen* 'I would be praised'); and imperative (*bodi (po)hvaljen!* 'be praised!').

Three verbs have special present negative conjugations: (a) *ne biti*: *nisam* 'am not', *nisi ni*, *nisva* and then as the present of *biti* (see below); (b) *ne iměti*: *nimam* 'haven't' and so on (see *iměti* below); and (c) *ne hotěti*: *nōčem ~ nēčem* 'don't want to' and so on (see *hotěti* below).

3.2.2 Conjugation

Non-compound verbal categories are formed on the following: (a) the infinitive stem (infinitive, supine, past gerund, past active participle in

-(*v*)š*i*, *l*-participle, past passive participle); and (b) the present stem (present/simple future, imperative, present gerund in -(*j*)*e*, present gerund in -č, present active participle). To these stems are added various affixes.

The **infinitive** is normally formed by the addition of *-ti*; infinitives deriving from Proto-Slavonic forms in **-kti*, **-gti* have *-či*. In conversational Slovene, the final *-i* is elided and (in some verbs) the stress shifts. The **supine** is like the infinitive except that it lacks the final *-i*; hence, *-t* or *-č*. The **past gerund** is in *-ši* (most consonantal stems) or *-vši* (most vocalic stems). The **past active participle** is in -(*v*)š*i* and so is as the past gerund but with regular adjectival desinences. The **past passive participle** adds the normal adjectival endings to one of the affixes *-t*, *-n*, *-en*; these generally follow the normal Slavonic distribution among verbal classes. The **past active participle** in *-l*, the '*l*-participle', is used in compound forms and only in the nominative (see table 8.26).

Table 8.26 *l*-participle endings

| | M | N | F |
|----|-----|-----|-----|
| SG | -l | -lo | -la |
| DU | -la | -li | -li |
| PL | -li | -la | -le |

The **present stem** cannot be predicted from the infinitive, except when certain derivative suffixes are involved (thus, *-niti* verbs have the present in *-ne-*, *-irati* verbs have *-ira-* and so on); there are, however, some regular and productive patterns, especially *-ati* : *-a-* and *-iti* : *-i-*. The present/simple future endings are given in table 8.27.

In the third person plural, verbs in *-ijo* have the variant *-ě* and verbs in *-ějo* (plus a few in unstressed *-ejo*) have the variant *-ó*; most of these variants are stylistically very limited.

Most athematic verbs have different endings from the above only as follows: second-third person dual *-sta*, second person plural *-ste*, third person plural *-do*; there is variation between these and the regular endings

Table 8.27 Present-tense endings

| | SG | DU | PL |
|---|----|-----|-----|
| 1 | -m | -va | -mo |
| 2 | -š | -ta | -te |
| 3 | -∅ | -ta | -jo |

in the third person plural; for example, *bíti* future: *bôm, bôš, bô; bôva bôsta, bôsta; bômô, bôste, bôdo ~ bôjo*. The verb *bíti* (present positive) is more irregular: *sôm, sî, jê; svã, stã, stã; smô, stê, sô*.

The endings of the **imperative** are as follows: second and third person singular *-i ~ -j*; first dual *-iva ~ -jva*; second dual *-iva ~ -jva*; first plural *-imo ~ -jmo*; second plural *-ite ~ -jte*. The alternation *i ~ j* is regular (*-i* with consonantal stems, *-j* with vocalic stems); there are exceptions, such as *stãti, stojim* 'stand' *stôj!*

The **present active participle** endings are: 'class IV' verbs (see below): *-êč, -êč-*; other classes with vocalic stems: *-jôč, -jôč-*; others with consonantal stems, *-ôč, -ôč-*; followed by the normal adjectival endings. The **present gerund** has: (a) generally *-e* after consonantal stems, *-je* after vocalic stems; also (b) as the present active participle with zero ending.

The classification of **conjugation classes** adopted here as suitable for comparative purposes is based on the thematic vowel of the present stem; it derives from a simplified version of Svane (1958: 89–117). This is not the optimal classification for non-comparative descriptions; such a classification would emphasize the productive classes (here, II, IIIc, IV and the *-ovati ~ -evati* verbs in IIIa) and categorize the more restricted verb types in fewer groupings; see also Toporišič (1987). The quoted thematic vowel occurs in all persons and numbers of the present/simple future conjugation (except alternant third person plural forms; see above). (Here, C = consonant, Cj = palatalized consonant, V = vowel):

- Ia (infinitive -C-ti) present -e-**: The old 'consonantal infinitive class' is well maintained; note over ten 'velar' roots in *-či*, all showing the /k ~ c/ or /g ~ z/ alternation, including *móči, môrem, pomózi!, mógəl* 'be able'; and nine 'nasal' roots, including *vzêti, vzámem* 'take'. A total of over seventy roots can be classified in this group.
- Ib (infinitive -a-ti) present -e-**: This class includes *brãti* and *zvãti*, but only five other roots.
- II (infinitive -ni-ti) present -ne-**: Slovene shows an idiosyncratic development of **-nq-* to *-ni-* in the infinitive stem. This class is still very well represented and is productive in native derivations.
- IIIa (infinitive -V-ti) present -je-**: Slovene maintains ten roots in *-uti, -ujem* and fifteen in *-iti, -ijem*. Some *-eti* and *-ejati* verbs in this class have alternative conjugations, with present in *-ejem* and/or in *-em; -ajati* verbs usually have present in *-ajam*. There are some seven roots, like *klãti* and *mlêti*, that display the Proto-Slavonic metathesis. Verbs in *-ovati ~ -evati, -ujem* are numerous.
- IIIb (infinitive -a-ti) present -Cje-**: Many roots display the Proto-Slavonic consonantal palatalizations, for instance *pisãti* 'write', *kãzãti* 'show', *jemãti* 'take' below; see also section 2.2. Many conjugate also according to class IIIc, such as *škripãti* 'creak' present *škripljem ~*

škripam; *súkati* 'twist' present *súkam* ~ *súčem*.

- IIIc (infinitive -a-ti) present -a-**: Contraction of **-aje-* to *-a-* resulted in the extremely productive class exemplified by *dělati* 'work'.
- IV (infinitive -V-ti) present -i-**: This class comprises the very numerous (and derivatively productive) verbs in *-iti* like *molīti* 'pray'; a relatively small group in *-eti* like *velēti* 'command'; an even smaller group in *-ati* like *slišati* 'hear'; and four anomalous verbs like *spāti* 'sleep'.
- V Athematic and irregular**: Slovene has six verbs in the athematic class, namely *bīti* 'beat', *jěsti* 'eat', *dāti* 'give', *děti* 'say; put' and *vědeti* 'know' below, and the present of *īti* 'go', namely *grēm* ~ *grēm*. There are a number of prefixed athematics, like *dobūti* 'obtain' *dobōm*, normally replaced by regularly conjugated forms such as *dobim*. Nearly all athematic verbs have variant forms, and some of the endings have been realigned with non-athematic ones. The originally athematic **ima-* is now regularly conjugated, although its combination of infinitive in *-ěti* and present in *-ām* (present conjugated as class IIIc) is unique. *Hotěti*, *hōčem* 'want to' (present conjugated as class Ia) must also be treated as irregular.

Reflexes of Proto-Slavonic verb classes: Instances where the Modern Slovene reflex of the Proto-Slavonic example shows an atypical morphological shift are here enclosed in square brackets, followed by more regular representatives of the class or subclass in question, if available.

Theme in *-e/-o*

| | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| <i>*nes-</i> , <i>nese-</i> | <i>něsti</i> , <i>něsem</i> 'carry' |
| <i>*ved-</i> , <i>vede-</i> | <i>věsti</i> , <i>vědem</i> 'lead' |
| [<i>*čis-</i> , <i>čьte-</i> | <i>štěti</i> , <i>štějem</i> 'count'] |
| | <i>cvəstī</i> , <i>cvətēm</i> 'blossom' |
| <i>*i-/šьd-</i> , <i>id-</i> | <i>īti/šěl</i> [<i>grēm</i> ~ <i>grēm</i>] 'go' |
| | <i>nájti</i> , <i>nájdem</i> 'find' |
| [<i>*ja(xa)-</i> , <i>jade-</i> | <i>jāhati</i> , <i>jāham</i> ~ <i>jāšem</i> 'ride (horse)'] |
| <i>*gre-</i> , <i>grebe-</i> | <i>grėbsti</i> , <i>grėbem</i> 'rake' |
| [<i>*ži-</i> , <i>žive-</i> | <i>živěti</i> , <i>živím</i> 'live'] |
| | <i>plūti</i> , <i>plóvem</i> 'sail' |
| <i>*reč-</i> , <i>reče-</i> | <i>rěči</i> , <i>rěčem</i> 'say' |
| <i>*načę-</i> , <i>načьn-</i> | <i>začěti</i> , <i>začněm</i> 'begin' |
| <i>*umrě-</i> , <i>umьr-</i> | <i>mrěti</i> , <i>mrēm</i> 'die' |
| <i>*sta-</i> , <i>stan-</i> | <i>stāti</i> , <i>stānem</i> 'cost' |
| [<i>*sъsa-</i> , <i>sъse-</i> | <i>səsāti</i> , <i>səsām</i> 'suck'] |
| <i>*zъva-</i> , <i>zove-</i> | <i>zvāti</i> , <i>zóvem</i> 'call' |
| <i>*bьra-</i> , <i>bere-</i> | <i>brāti</i> , <i>bérem</i> 'read' |

Theme in *-ne*

*dvign-, dvigne-
*min-, mine-

dvígniti, dvignem 'lift'
minīti, mīnem 'elapse'

Theme in *-je*

*ču-, čuje-
*pě-, poje-
*kry-, kŕje-
*bi-, bje-
[*bra-, borje-
*mle-, melje-
[*děla-, dělaje-
*umě-, uměje-

čúti, čujem 'hear, stay awake'
pěti, pójem 'sing'
kríti, krijem 'conceal, cover'
bíti, bijem 'beat'
borīti se, borím se 'fight'
kláti, kóljem 'slaughter'
mlěti, mějlem 'mill'
dělati, dělám 'work'
uměti, umějem ~ uměm 'know how,
understand'
kázati, kážem 'show'
písati, pišem 'write'
jemáti, jémljem 'take'
darováti, darújem 'present'
sejáti, sějem 'sow'

Theme in *-i*

*moli-, moli-
*xodi-, xodj-
*velě-, veli-
*slyša-, slyši-
*sъpa-, sъpi-

molīti, mólim 'pray'
hodīti, hódim 'walk'
velěti, velím 'command'
slíšati, slišim 'hear'
spáti, spím 'sleep'

Athematic and irregular

*by-, (je)s-
*jas-, jas/d-
*da-, das/d-
*dě-, dě-
*vě-, věs/d-
*ima-, ima/e-
*xotě-, xotje-

bíti, səm 'be'
jěsti, jém 'eat'
dáti, dám 'give'
děti, děm 'say; put'
vědeti, věm 'know'
iměti, imâm 'have'
hotěti, hōčem 'want to'

Sample paradigms are given in table 8.28.

3.3 Derivational morphology

In this section, the patterns and forms cited exemplify only the most productive derivations; many others exist.

Table 8.28 Illustrative verb paradigms

| | Ia | IIIc | IV |
|----------------|--------------------|-----------|----------------|
| INF | rěci | dělati | molīti |
| SUP | rěč | dělat | mólit |
| PAST GER | rěkši | podělavši | pomolivši |
| I-PART M SG | rěkəl | dělal | mólil |
| I-PART F SG | rěkla | dělala | molila |
| PAST PASS PART | rečēn | dēlan | móljen |
| PRS 1 SG | rěcem | dēlam | mólīm |
| PRS 2 SG | rěčeš | dēlaš | mólíš |
| PRS 3 SG | rěče | dēla | móli |
| PRS 1 DU | rěčeva | dělava | móliva |
| PRS 2, 3 DU | rěčeta | dělata | mólita |
| PRS 1 PL | rěčemo | dēlamo | mólimo |
| PRS 2 PL | rěčete | dēlate | mólite |
| PRS 3 PL | rěčejo | dělajo | mólijo |
| IMP 2 SG | rěci | dělaj | móli |
| IMP 2 PL | recite | dělajte | molite |
| PRS ACT PART | rekōč ¹ | dělajōč | - ³ |
| PRS GER | - ² | deláje | molē |

Notes:

1 *rekōč*, formally a participle, is used as a present gerund.

2 *rěci*, like most class Ia verbs, has no formal present gerund (see note 1). The verb *iti* 'go' (which has an athematic present conjugation, see above) has a present gerund *gredē* which derives from a class Ia verb.

3 *molīti* has no present active participle; *nosīti* has the form *nosēč* ~ *nosēč*.

3.3.1 Major patterns of noun derivation

Nouns are derived from other parts of speech, and from other nouns; chiefly by suffixation and by compounding, but also by other means.

Suffixation (Bajec 1950–2; Toporišič 1984: 124–47):

-*e*: denominal; offspring and other animate: *faniè* 'young boy' (*fānt* 'boy').

-*ba*: deverbal: *obrāmba* 'defence' (*obranūti* 'defend'), *glāsba* 'music' (*glasīti se* 'sound').

-*oba*: de-adjectival: *grenkōba* 'bitterness' (*grēnək* 'bitter').

-*tov*: deverbal; alternate verbal nouns and/or with more concrete meanings: *molītov* 'act of praying; prayer' (*molīti* 'pray').

-*stvo*: denominal and de-adjectival: *otrōštvo* 'infancy' (*otrōk* 'infant').

-*ava*: deverbal: *izgovarjāva* 'pronunciation' (*izgovārjati* 'pronounce').

-*ota*: mostly denominal and de-adjectival: *lepōta* 'beauty' (*lēp* 'beautiful').

-*ost*: the most common derivative: *lastnōst* 'trait' (*lāstov* 'own').

-*ica*: *děklīca* 'young girl' (*deklē* 'girl'), *bīstrīca* 'mountain brook' (*bīstov*

- 'limpid'); especially productive in *-nica*, *-lnica*: *knjižnica* 'library' (*knjiga* 'book').
- əc*: *lovəc* 'hunter' (*lovīti* 'hunt'); *brātəc* 'little brother' (*brāt* 'brother'); especially productive in *-ləc*: *igrāləc* 'player' (*igrāti* 'play').
- nja*: nomina actionis from verbs: *próšnja* 'request' (*prosīti* 'request').
- an*, *-jan*: *nosān* 'large-nosed man' (*nōs* 'nose'); in compounds, for example, *-čan*: *Ljubljāncan* 'inhabitant of Ljubljana'.
- ina*: *kovīna* 'metal' (*kovāti* 'forge'); especially productive in compounds: *-ovina*: *jeklovīna* 'hardware' (*jéklo* 'steel'); *-ščina*: *slovənsčina* 'Slovene language'.
- telj*: borrowed, from Serbo-Croat and elsewhere: *odpošīljatelj* 'sender' (*odpošīljati* 'dispatch').
- ar*: however early this was first borrowed (from Old High German *-āri* and/or Latin *-arius*), its use was presumably reinforced by centuries of contact with Germanic (see Striedter-Temps 1963: 73–5). It remains in both early and later borrowings (*prīdigar* 'preacher'); and became very productive: *kopītar* 'cobbler' (*kopīto* 'last'), *harpunar* 'harpooner'.
- išče*: location: *krompirišče* 'potato-field' (*krompīr* 'potato').
- je*: de-adjectival abstracts: *mlādje* 'youth' (*mlād* 'young'); phrasal derivatives: *meddōbje* 'interval' (*med* 'between' + *dōba* 'period'); and in compounds, regularly for verbal nouns in *-nje*, *-tje*: *gibanje* 'movement' (*gibati* 'move'), *pītje* 'drinking' (*pīti* 'drink').
- ija*: originally from Latin, this was nativized and remains productive. Alongside borrowings, *traparija* 'stupidity', *filozofija* 'philosophy', are many Slovene derivatives: *sleparija* 'swindle' (*slēp* 'blind', *slepār* 'cheat').
- nik*: replaced original (and now less productive) *-ik*: *črnīlnik* 'inkwell' (*črnīlo* 'ink').
- ək*: *inter alia*, for diminutives: *gūmbək* 'small button' (*gūmb*), and deverbals: *izvlēčək* 'extract' (*izvlēči* 'extract').
- ka*; *inter alia*, in diminutives: *rāčka* 'duckling' (*rāca* 'duck'); derivation of feminines: *cigānka* 'gypsy (F)' (*cigān* 'gypsy (M)'); common in compounds: *-lka*: *igrālka* 'player (F)' (*igrāti* 'play').

Compound nouns (Vidovič-Muha 1988) are normally subordinating, that is, they consist of head plus modifier. The components are usually joined with *-o* ~ *-e*:

Noun + verb base: when the base comprises a noun and a verb, the compound normally places the noun first: *zemljevid* ('land + see') 'map'.

Verb + noun base: more rarely, the verbal component precedes the nominal one: *smrdokāvra* ('stink + crow') 'hoopoe'.

Adjective + verb base: *brzobjāv* ('fast + communicate') 'telegraph'.

Adjective + noun base: *hudoûrnik* ('evil + hour/weather' + suffix) 'mountain torrent'.

Quantifier + noun base compounds are very common: *dvôbôj* ('two + fight') 'duel'; *malodûšje* ('little + spirit') 'faint-heartedness'.

Noun + noun base: *drevorêd* ('tree + row') 'boulevard'.

Juxtaposition – where syntactic strings are combined with no modification other than some loss of stress – is uncommon: *dôlgčas* ('long + time') 'boredom'.

Most productive prefixes are recently borrowed (like *super-*) but many Slavonic prefixes are used productively in nominal derivation: *med-*, *ne-*, *pa-*, *pra-*, *proti-*, *raz-*, and so on: *pâkristâl* 'false crystal', *râzjezuit* 'former Jesuit'.

3.3.2 Major patterns of adjective derivation

Adjectives are derived from verbs and nouns, and from other adjectives; chiefly by suffixation and secondarily by compounding, but also by other means. Adjectives are also derived semantically from participles.

Suffixation (Bajec 1950–2; Toporišič 1984: 147–57):

-ljiv: deverbal: *prizanesljiv* 'lenient' (*prizanesti* 'pardon'); denominal: *bojazljiv* 'timorous' (*bojâzæn* 'fear').

-ov ~ *-ev*: *inter alia*, masculine possessive: *brâtova hiša* 'brother's house' (*brât* 'brother'); animals: *lêvov* 'lion's' (*lêv* 'lion'); plants: *bâmbusov* 'bamboo' (*bâmbus* 'bamboo').

-in: especially for feminine possessive: *sêstrina hiša* 'sister's house' (*sêstra* 'sister'); animals: *levinjin* 'lioness's' (*levinja* 'lioness'); plants: *mirtin* 'myrtle' (*mirta* 'myrtle').

-æn: extremely productive, both alone and in compounds. Alone, especially for deverbals: *vidæn* 'visible' (*videti* 'see'); denominals: *lêšæn* 'wooden' (*lêš* 'wood'); de-adverbials: *hkrâtæn* 'simultaneous' (*hkrâti* 'at the same time'). It occurs in compounds with twenty or more nominal and adjectival suffixes.

-ji: very productive in animate denominals: *otrôçji* 'infantile' (*otrôk* 'infant').

-nji: de-adverbial: *nekdanji* 'old-time' (*nêkdaj* 'once upon a time').

-øk: deverbal: *bridøk* 'painful' (*briti* 'shave'), *rêzøk* 'sharp' (*rêzati* 'cut').

-ski: productive denominally, both simply: *strânski* 'lateral' (*strân* 'side'); and in compounds: *strânkarski* 'factional' (*strânka* '(political) party', *strânkâr* 'party member').

Compound adjectives are both subordinate: *miroljubæn* 'peace-loving' (*mir* 'peace', *ljubûi* 'love') and co-ordinate: *bêlo-môdro-rdêç* 'white-blue-and-red (as of a flag)'. Juxtaposition is rare: *bojaželjæn* 'bellicose'.

Many productive prefixes are of non-Slovene origin, like *anti-* and *ante-*; a few are native, such as *nad-*, *ne-*, *pa-*, *pra-*: *nādpolovičn* 'more-than-half' (*nad* 'over' + *polovičn* 'half'); *pre-* may be prefixed to very many adjectives: *prelep* 'extremely beautiful'.

Adjectivalization of participles is frequent: both *l*-participle and past passive participle forms have become adjectivalized: *dorāsəl* 'fully grown' (*dorāsti* 'grow up'); *poštèn* 'honest' (*poštėti* 'count').

In addition to those that are common in Slavonic, Slovene has some unusual patterns of **adverb derivation**. Note especially:

-oma ~ *-ema*, suffixed to stems deriving from: nouns (*ozīroma* 'respectively', *stōpnjema* 'gradually'); adjectives (*rēdkoma* 'rarely'); verbs (*nenēhoma* 'incessantly', compare *nēhati* 'cease'); and phrases (*natihoma* 'on the quiet'). The pattern is common: Mader (1981), which is based on a 40,000-word corpus, lists sixty-one of these adverbs.

3.3.3 Major patterns of verb derivation

Verbs are derived from other parts of speech, and (especially in the derivation of aspectual pairs) from other verbs; derivation is chiefly by prefixation and suffixation, but also by compounding. Conjugation classes (see section 3.2.2) are given in square brackets. One borrowed derivative suffix is listed here; see also section 5.3.

Normally, there is a derivative relationship between the two members of an aspectual pair. Slovene follows the general Slavonic system quite closely. Two patterns are generally employed: (a) suffixation, sometimes with alternation of the root and/or replacement of another suffix, and normally with change in conjugation; when the derivative suffix is *-θ-*, the root alternation and/or conjugation change become especially salient; (b) prefixation. The derivational patterns tend towards complementarity: imperfectives are most frequently derived from perfectives by suffixation and concomitant changes; perfectives are normally derived from imperfectives by prefixation. Suppletive aspectual pairs exist, but are uncommon, for instance, *govorīti* [IV] (or *prāvīti* [IV]) (IMPFV) / *rēči* [Ia] (PRFV) 'speak', *dēlati* [IIIc] (IMPFV) / *storīti* [IV] (PRFV) 'do'.

Only a few of the many suffixes are exemplified here; for brevity, neither root alternations nor suffixal alternations are noted:

- n-*: *pihati* [IIIc] (IMPFV) / *pihniti* [II] (PRFV) 'blow'.
- j-*: *začėti* [Ia] (PRFV) / *začēnjati* [IIIc] (IMPFV) 'begin'.
- θ-*: *pōčīti* [IV] (PRFV) / *pōkati* (IMPFV) [IIIc] (PRFV) 'explode'.
- ov-* ~ *-ev-*: *izboljšati* [IIIc] (PRFV) / *izboljševāti* [IIIa] (IMPFV) 'improve'.
- av-*: *zaznāti* [IIIc] (PRFV) / *zaznāvati* [IIIc] (IMPFV) 'perceive'.

Imperfective verbs, when prefixed, normally become perfective. Common prefixes are as follows (here, imperfective examples precede perfective ones; unless noted, both members of an aspectual pair have the same conjugation):

do-: *skočiti* [IV] 'jump' / *doskočiti* 'reach by jumping'; *trpěti* [IV] 'suffer' / *dotrpěti* 'die'.

iz-: *trěsti* [Ia] 'shake' / *iztrěsti* 'empty by shaking'.

na-: *lepěti* [IV] 'glue' / *nalepěti* 'affix by gluing'; *glódati* [IIIb] 'gnaw' / *naglódati* 'nibble'.

o-/ob-: *držáti* [IV] 'hold' / *obdržáti* 'keep'.

od-: *loměti* [IV] 'break' / *odloměti* 'break off'; *govorěti* [IV] 'speak' / *odgovorěti* 'reply'.

po-: *molčáti* [IV] 'be silent' / *pomolčáti* 'be silent for a short while'.

pod-: *pisáti* [IIIb] 'write' / *podpisáti* 'sign'.

pre-: *peljáti* [IIIc] 'drive' / *prepeljáti* 'transport'.

pri-: *nésti* [Ia] 'carry' / *priněsti* 'bring'; *rězati* [IIIb] 'cut' / *priřezati* 'clip'.

raz-: *glasěti* [IV] 'sound' / *razglasěti* 'proclaim'.

u-: *pásti* [Ia] 'fall' / *upásti* 'subside'.

v-: *stopěti* [IV] 'tread' / *vstopěti* 'enter'.

vz-: *kipěti* [IV] 'boil' / *vzkipěti* 'fly into rage'.

z-/s-: *bráti* [Ib] 'pick' / *zbráti* 'collect'; *rásti* [Ia] 'grow' / *zrásti* 'grow up'.

za-: *iti* [Ia] 'go' / *zaiti* 'set (sun)'; *řeči* [Ia] 'speak' / *zarěči se* 'make a slip of the tongue'.

Note that in some instances prefixation results in an aspectual change but a minimal change in meaning. The accumulation of prefixes occurs in examples like: *s + po-*: *spoprijateljěti se* [IV] 'make friends'; *pre + po + raz*: *preporazdelěti* [IV] 'redistribute'.

Verbs are derived from other parts of speech, and – apart from aspectual derivation – also from other verbs; chiefly by suffixation, but also by compounding and prefixation (Toporišič 1984: 158–61).

The following patterns exemplify the most common derivations, by suffixation.

-a-: *čencáti* [IIIc] 'gossip' (*čēnča* 'nonsense').

-e-: *belěti* [IV] 'become white' (*běl* 'white'); *bržěti* [IV] 'be in a hurry' (*břz* 'fast').

-i-: *belěti* [IV] 'make white' (*běl* 'white'); *člověčiti* [IV] 'humanize' (*člōvek* 'person').

-ov- ~ *-ev-*: very productive in medieval Slovene, now much less so: *kraljeváti* [IIIa] 'rule as king' (*králj* 'king').

-ir-: marginally productive in the sixteenth century, now used for at least 90 per cent of verbs with borrowed stems (Priestly 1987): *rentgenizirati* [IIIc] 'X-ray'.

Compounding is very uncommon; the same formant (-o- ~ -e-) is used as in compound nouns and adjectives: *dolgočasiti* [IV] 'to be boring', compare the juxtapositionally derived noun *dôlgčas* 'boredom' in 3.3.1.

Prefixation, other than for aspectual derivation, is rare. Unprefixed imperfective versions of the verbs in the following examples are non-occurrent, and derivation from other sources is assumed:

o-/ob-: *obnemóci* ~ *onemóci* [Ia] 'lose vigour' (*nêmôč* 'weakness').
raz-: *razdevičiti* [IV] 'deflower' (*devica* 'virgin').
u-: *unóvčiti* [IV] 'realize as cash' (*nóvəc* 'coin').

4 Syntax

4.1 Element order in declarative sentences

In sentences in which word order is the only device to mark the subject versus object opposition, the verb is normally in second position, preceded by the subject and followed by the object (Bennett 1987; Toporišič 1982: 161–81): *sosédovo téle glêda naše žrebě* 'the neighbour's calf is looking at our foal' versus *naše žrebě glêda sosédovo téle* 'our foal is looking at the neighbour's calf'. Otherwise, Slovene word order is normally determined by functional sentence perspective: as elsewhere in Slavonic, the topic precedes and the comment follows. So, given the components *mója séstra* 'my sister (SUBJECT)', *obišče* 'will visit', *jutri* 'tomorrow', *stáro učiteljico* 'old female teacher (OBJECT)', the word order reflects the old–new status of the components: *jutri obišče stáro učiteljico mója séstra* 'the old teacher will be visited by my sister (not anyone else) tomorrow'; *mója séstra obišče stáro učiteljico jutri* 'my sister will visit the old teacher tomorrow (and not at any other time)', and so on.

Consider the following commonly cited text:

Bil je imenītæn grōf. Tā grōf je šěl v Gôrjance na lōv. Velīka družba prijāteljev in lōvcev ga je spremila. Grōf uglêda medvêda in skôči za njīm. Médved šine v goščāvo ...

'There was an eminent count. This count went to Gorjance to hunt. A large company of friends and hunters accompanied him. The count catches sight of a bear and bounds after him. The bear darts into a thicket ...'

Here (*imenītæn*) *grōf* is new information (and placed last) in the first sentence, and old information (and placed first) in the second and fourth. So also *médved* is new (and placed after the verb) in *grōf uglêda medvêda*, but old (and first) in *médved šine v goščāvo*. The third sentence, however, has the comment *velīka družba prijāteljev in lōvcev* preceding the topical *ga*: this reflects an extra degree of emphasis attached to this particular noun phrase, as compared to the pronoun; unmarked word order would be

spremila ga je velika družba with the topical pronoun preceding the comment noun phrase. As in the last example, emphasis is often marked by word order that conflicts with functional sentence perspective and/or with unmarked subject–verb–object order. Thus the sentence *Potrpljenje željezne duri prebije*, with its subject–object–verb order, emphasizes the object: '(Even) iron gates are broken down by patience'.

The non-emphatic placement of adverbials depends, to a considerable extent, on functional sentence perspective. If more than one adverbial is topical, then adverbials of place and time tend to be placed earlier, and adverbials of manner and degree later (Davis 1989). Many non-focused adverbs are placed centrally in the sentence, and in this case they generally precede the verb they qualify: *fant je moral trdô delati* 'the boy had to work hard'.

A clause normally contains only one group of clitics (for paradigms see section 3.1). If there is more than one element in the clitic group, the elements have fixed internal left-to-right order, whereby they fall into seven classes, as follows (Bennett 1986; Toporišić 1984: 535–40).

- (I) the particle *naj*;
- (II) any past auxiliary (or present copula) except *je* (namely, *sam, si, sva, sta, smo, ste, so*), or the conditional auxiliary (*bi*);
- (III) a reflexive pronoun (*se* or *si*);
- (IV) a dative pronoun (*mi, ti, ji* ...);
- (V) an accusative pronoun (*me, te, jo* ...);
- (VI) a genitive pronoun (*me, te, je* ...);
- (VII) the past auxiliary or present copula *je* or any future auxiliary (*bom, boš, bo*, ...).

The clitic group occurs in the 'second position' in the clause, whereby the 'first position' may be filled by one of the following: (a) a noun phrase, verb phrase, adjectival or adverbial phrase; (b) a subordinate clause; (c) a quotation; (d) a subordinating or (under certain conditions) a coordinating conjunction. The 'first position' may also consist of (e) one of a number of optionally deleted elements (ranging from particles to noun phrases); under such circumstances the clitic group actually occurs in 'first position'. Examples of (a) to (e) follow, with clitic slots identified by numbers used above:

- 1 *brat se bo oženil* '(my) brother will marry' (*se* = III, *bo* = VII); *starjši brat Tone se je oženil* '(my) elder brother Tone has married' (*se* = III, *je* = VII); *starjši bratje so se oženili* '(my) elder brothers have married' (*so* = II, *se* = III); *učil jo je je* 'he taught her it (F)' (*jo* 'her' = V, *je* 'it' = VI, *je* (AUX) = VII); *lani so se starši bratje oženili* 'last year (my) elder brothers married' (*so* (AUX) = II, *se* = III).

- 2 *ko se vrnem, se bo brät ožénil* 'when I return, (my) brother will marry.'
 3 *'dä', mi je rëköl* "'yes", he said to me' (*mi* = V, *je* = VII).
 4 *vëm, da se bo brät ožénil* 'I know that my brother will marry'; but (with coordinating conjunction not occupying 'first position') *ostála bom nëporočéna, tōda brät se bo ožénil* 'I shall remain unmarried, but my brother will marry'.
 5 *se bo brät ožénil?* = *ali se bo brät ožénil?* 'will the brother marry?' *se bo nadaljeväl* = *ta člänök se bo nadaljeväl* '(this article) will be continued'.

The unstressed negative particle *ne* succeeds all other clitics – it occupies position VIII: *prōsi, da naj bi se mu ne smejáli* 'he asks them not to laugh at him' (literally: 'he asks that / OPT-PTL (I)/COND-AUX (II)/REFL (III)/him-DAT (IV)/NEG (VIII)/laugh'). The combination *ne + je* is realized as stressed *ní*, that is, is non-clitic; the combinations *ne + bi*, *ne + bo* (and other future auxiliary forms) are stressed on the second element, which thus becomes non-clitic: *brät se ne bō ožénil* (*se* = III, *ne* = VIII) '(my) brother will not marry'.

If a verb phrase is reduced, concomitant clitics which remain will assume the stress:

Si že končäl dělo? – *Predvčërajšnjim še në, včëraj pa sëm gã* = *Včëraj sëm ga končäl*

'Have you finished the work? – The day before yesterday I hadn't, but yesterday I did (finish it)'.

(Ali) se dōbro počúti? – *Jä, së* = *Jä, dōbro se počútim*

'Do you feel well? – Yes, I do (feel well)'.

Compare *ali si si to izmislil* 'did you think this up for yourself?' and (with deletion of particle) *si si izmislil?*, and (with verb-phrase reduction) *Si si?* Clitic placement is not affected by the preposing of an emphatic adverbial: *vsäj krūha mi dájte* 'at least, give me some bread'. Clitics do not occur inside noun phrases, as they do in Serbo-Croat.

The question of clitics and phrase boundaries has not been investigated much; this is a tentative suggestion. If two or more verb phrases are combined, their several clitics may form a single clitic group (and the clitic-placement rules are followed), as long as the **same subject is 'understood'** for all the verb phrases involved. Hence 'yesterday he wanted to call them both' is normally *včëraj ju je hōtel poklicati*, where *je hōtel* is one verb phrase and *ju poklicati* is another; and the reflexive clitic *se* and its infinitive *umiti* are separated by another verb in *včëraj se je pozábil umiti* 'yesterday he forgot to wash' (*se* = III, *je* = VII). If, however, a **different subject is 'understood'**, a construction of this kind is not grammatical; thus **dánəs sëm se slišäl sëstro smejáti* (where *sëm slišäl* is one verb phrase and *se smejáti* is another) is not acceptable for 'today I heard my sister laugh';

this idea can only be expressed otherwise, for instance, *dánəs səm slišal sestro smejáti se* or *dánəs səm slišal, kakō se sestra sméje*.

Within the noun phrase modifiers (adjectival pronouns, adjectives and so on) normally stand to the left of the head noun: *trúdna máti je imēla sūh obráz, globóke jáme so bilē v njénih licih* 'the tired mother had a thin face, (and) there were deep hollows in her cheeks'. Within sequences of determiners, qualitative adjectives precede relational adjectives (*hládnó jesénsko jútro* 'a cool autumn morning'), and adjectival pronouns precede all other determiners (*vsē tē naše májhne gōzdne živáli* 'all these small forest animals of ours'). Dependent prepositional phrases frequently precede adjectives: *življénje v za evrópske pójme grozljívi rěvščini* 'life in poverty (that is) dreadful for European conceptions', *běžali so pred z nēzadržno hitróstjo približújočo se jim katastrofo* 'they fled before the catastrophe (that was) approaching them with uncontrollable speed'. To the right of the head noun are placed other elements of the noun phrase, such as nouns in apposition (*dělavac zdōmāc* 'worker (who is) migrant' = 'migrant worker', *hlāpāc Jérnej* 'Jernej the farmhand'; noun-phrase attributes in the genitive and other cases (*hiša mójega očēta* 'the house of my father', *himna domovini* 'a hymn to the homeland'); prepositional phrases (*vójna z Nēmci* 'war with the Germans', *stráh pred káznijo* 'fear of execution') and adverbials (*hiša tam* 'the house over there'). Exceptions to these statements are stylistically marked (*prijātelj mój drāgi* 'dear friend of mine').

4.2 Non-declarative sentence types

Yes-no questions are marked by: (1) word order; (2) a special particle; (3) a separate interrogative phrase; (4) interrogative intonation alone with unmarked word order. In both (1) and (2) the sentence bears interrogative intonation; in (3) the interrogative phrase bears this intonation. Corresponding to the positive *razumēli ste* 'you understood' are thus:

- 1 Inversion: *ste rozumēli?* 'did you understand?'
- 2 The use of a particle. The normal particles are *ali* (in conversational Slovene, *a*) and *kaj*: *ali ste rozumēli?* 'did you understand?' The expressive variant *mar* adds a rhetorical and doubtful nuance: *mār tēga rēs ne vēste?* 'don't you really know that?'
- 3 An interrogative phrase preposed or postposed to a positive or interrogative sentence. There are many: *kāj, kajně, kajněda, kajně da ně, ne rēs, da, ali kāj, mar ně* and so on. Examples: *rozumēli ste, kajně?* 'you understood, didn't you?', *ne rēs, da ste rozumēli?* 'isn't it true that you understood?', *ali je čūdno, kāj?* or *je čūdno, ně?* 'it's odd, isn't it?'
- 4 The use of interrogative intonation: *rozumēli ste?*

Positive interrogative sentences may be answered with affirmative/negative particles, or by repetition of all or part of the verb phrase. Thus, in

response to *ste razuméli?* we may find *dā/jā*, *razuméli*, *razuméli smo* 'yes'; *ně*, *nismo*, *nismo razuméli* 'no'. Of the two positive particles, *jā* is more common than *dā*. Other replies are, of course, possible, like *mordā* 'perhaps' and *sevēda* 'of course'. Unambiguous responses to negative interrogative sentences are *pāč* and *ně*; and/or the verb is repeated (with negative marking, as necessary) for clarity: *ali nisi spāl?* 'haven't you slept?' – *pāč/sēm* 'yes (I have)'; *ně/nisem* 'no (I haven't)'; *ali ne smrdi po petrolēju?* – *pāč*, *smrdi/ně*, *ne smrdi* 'there isn't a stink of paraffin, is there? – yes, there is/no, there isn't'.

WH questions are introduced by interrogative pronouns (*kdō?* 'who?', *kāj?* 'what?'), adjectives (*katēri?* 'which?', *kākšən?* 'what sort of?', *čigāv?* 'whose?'), and adverbs (*kjē?* 'where?', *kdāj?* 'when?', *zakāj?* 'why?') and many more. The intonation differs from that of yes–no questions: normally, WH questions have falling, and yes–no questions rising, intonation. The verb may be indicative, optative or infinitive: *kāj bom storil?* 'what shall I do?', *kāj naj storim?* 'what should I do?', *kāj storīti?* 'what is to be done?' These questions may be reinforced with the particle *pa*: compare *kām grēš?* 'where are you going?' and *kām pa grēš?* 'where is it that you're going?' If an interrogative sentence is repeated with one element changed, as a supplementary question, the unchanged elements in the sentence may be deleted and replaced by the particle *pa*: *kāj boš dēlal dānəs?* 'what are you doing today?' ... *pa drēvi?* (= ... *kaj boš dēlal drēvi?*) 'and (what are you doing) this evening?'

Indirect yes–no questions are introduced by the conjunctions *ali*, *če*: *vprāsal me je, ali / če sēm videl njegovēga brāta* 'he asked me if I had seen his brother'. The tense within the indirect question is the tense of the corresponding direct question. Indirect WH questions are introduced by interrogative conjunctions homophonous with those exemplified above: *vprāsal me je, kdāj bodo šli* 'he asked me when they would be going'.

Commands may be expressed with the imperative: both aspects are used in positive and in negative commands; the general meaning of the aspect, as relevant to the verb involved, is operative. Hence, positive: *odpīraj vrāta!* (IMPFV) 'open the gate (as a general rule)' and *odpři vrāta!* (PRFV) 'open the gate (at once)'; negative: *ne odpīraj vrāta!* (IMPFV) 'don't open the gate (ever)' and *ne odpři vrāta!* (PRFV) 'don't open the gate (right now)'.

Among other ways of expressing commands, note the following:

Infinitive, both imperfective: *ně me jezīti!* 'don't keep making me angry!' and perfective: *ně me razjezīti!* 'don't make me really angry!'

Da + conditional: *da bi se v žlici vóde utōpil!* 'may you drown in a spoonful of water!'

Imperative, third person: *pa bōdi po tvójem* 'let it be the way you want'.

Present optative: *naj se zgodī tvója vólja* 'may your will be done'; *lě nāj plēše!* 'just let her dance!'

4.3 Copular sentences

The unmarked copula is *bīti* 'be', expressed in all tenses, persons and numbers. Semantically marked copulas include *postāti* 'become', *imenovāti se* 'be called', *zděti se* 'appear (to be)': *že trětjīč je postál óče* 'he became a father for the third time'. Predicate noun phrases are normally in the nominative. (For the loss of the predicative instrumental, see Štrekelj (1903).) Thus *Bārbara je poročěna (žěna)* 'Barbara is a married woman', *Bārbara je bilā dvě lěti tovārniška dělavka* 'Barbara was a factory worker for two years'; note *otrök se imenūje Jánež* 'the baby is called Janez', *Bārbara se mi zdi pošćěna žěnska* 'to me Barbara seems like an honest woman'.

A predicate following a reflexive *se* may be nominative, or accusative (and marked animate; see 4.7): *pokázal se je hvalěžən/hvalěžnega* 'he proved to be grateful'; *pokázal se je dōbər dělavəc/dōbrega dělavca* 'he proved to be a good worker'.

Noun phrases in apposition to the objects of transitive verbs are accusative: *zapustili so ga siromáka* 'they left him a pauper'; also when introduced by *kot* or *za*: *sosěda smo doslěj smatrali za prijátelja* 'until now we considered (our) neighbour a friend', *poznāl səm te kot otróka* 'I knew you as a child'.

For predicate noun phrases with the negative copula, see 4.6.

Adjectives in the predicate are in their historically 'long' or 'short' form (in so far as this opposition extends) depending on the semantic definite versus indefinite opposition (see 3.1.4).

Predicatives (Toporišič 1984: 347) are indeclinable words which occur as predicate modifiers; when the tense is past the copula is usually *bilō*, even when the predicative is homophonous with a non-neuter noun: thus *dōlgčas mi je po prijátelju* 'I miss my friend', *dōlgčas mi je bilō po prijátelju* 'I missed my friend'; *trěba ga je kaznovāti* 'he must be punished', *trěba bi ga bilō kaznovāti* 'he should have been punished'; *žāl mi je bilō zānj* 'I was sorry for him'; *ne bi bilō nāpak zāte, če bi to storil* 'it wouldn't be a mistake for you to do that'; *sinōći je bil ~ bilō mrāz* 'it was cold last night'. The last example shows a vacillation between substantival and predicative use. 'Impersonal' phrases which comprise neuter forms of adjectives are probably best analysed as predicatives: *oblāčno je / je bilō* 'it is / was cloudy'; *nocōj bo zanimivo* 'it will be interesting tonight'; *grōzno ga je bilō poslūšati* 'it was awful to listen to him'.

4.4 Coordination and comitativity

The conjunctions *in*, *pa* and *ter* are used as coordinators. Of the three, *pa* is more conversational than *in*; and *ter* 'and also; and so' does not often occur as first coordinator. Thus *zěblo mi je in/pa lāčən səm bil* 'I was cold and hungry': *ter* would suggest 'moreover' in this sentence, but not in *fānt*

je prišël do kozolca, stôpil mimo in/ter/pa je izginil za hlêvom 'the boy came up to the hay-rack, walked past and disappeared behind the barn'.

Normally, as in the above examples, the last two coordinated elements have an explicit coordinator, whereas preceding coordination is with zero. Other options (such as *X in X in X*, or *X, X, X*) are common, but stylistically marked. 'Both X and Y' is normally *takô X kâkor (tûdi) Y: film je zbûdil zanimanje takô pri občinstvu kâkor (tûdi) pri kritiki* 'the film aroused interest both with the public and with the critics'; another expression is *bôdisi X bôdisi Y*. 'Either X or Y' is *ali X ali Y: ali dêlaj domâ ali pa pôjdi v svêt* 'either work at home or go into the world', *tjâ bova šlâ (or boš šël) ali ti ali jâz* 'either you or I will go there' (note the possible dual verb). 'Neither X nor Y' is *ne X ne Y* or, more emphatically, *niti X niti Y: nima ne brâta ne séstre* 'he has neither brother nor sister'; *têga ne bomo dočâkali niti mi niti naši otróci* 'neither we nor our children will live to see that'.

The coordinating conjunctions are used to coordinate words, phrases and sentences. In phrases and sentences, deletion of repeated elements may occur. In verb phrases, normally, the auxiliary is deleted: *ozrîla sta se na mâter in obstâla sta srêdi sóbe* > *ozrîla sta se na mâter in obstâla srêdi sóbe* 'they both looked at (their) mother and came to a halt in the middle of the room'. Given clitic phrases, normally, the complete (but *not* the partial) deletion of a repeated clitic phrase may occur. Compare *vidim, da se mu vrti in se mu blêde* and *vidim, da se mu vrti in blêde* 'I see that he is giddy and delirious': here the clitic group *se mu* is either repeated, or deleted, as a whole.

When **verb agreement** in gender with conjoined noun phrases is required, usage varies. The following general rules apply: (a) if two feminine singular nouns are conjoined, the verb is feminine dual; (b) if two singular nouns of any other pairs of genders are conjoined, the verb is more commonly masculine dual: *Milka* (F SG) *in njêna mâčka* (F SG) *sta bilî* (F DU) *zúnaj* 'Milka and her cat were outside', but *Milka* (F SG) *in njêno tèle* (N SG) *sta bilâ* (M DU) *zúnaj* 'Milka and her calf were outside'. So also in the plural: (a) with a conjoined noun phrase where the total is three or more and all the nouns are feminine, the verb is feminine plural; (b) in all other instances, the verb is normally masculine plural: *obê dêklici* (F DU) *in njûna mâti* (F SG) *so bilê* (F PL) *zúnaj* 'both the girls and their mother were outside', but *dvê telêti* (N DU) *in êno žrebê* (N SG) *so bilî* (M PL) *zúnaj* 'two foals and a calf were outside' (Corbett 1983: 183–6). If the subject of a verb is a conjoined noun phrase and one of the conjuncts is first person, the verb will be first person; if, under the same condition, one of the conjuncts is second person, the verb will be second person. Thus, *jâz* (1) *in Tône* (3) *sva* (1 DU) *prišlâ* 'I and Tone have arrived'; *Ti* (2), *Tône* (3) *in Tômo* (3) *ste* (2 PL) *prišli* 'you, Tone and Tomo have arrived' (Corbett 1983: 207–8).

Comitative constructions and simple coordination both occur: thus,

s *Tõnetom sta prišlã* and *ti in Tõne sta prišlã* are equally acceptable for 'you and Tone have arrived'. **Dual comitativity**, as in the above example, may be expressed by *X z Y* where *X* = dual pronoun and *Y* = singular noun or pronoun; so also: *midva z Lõjzom sva sadila* 'Lojz and I were planting'. Since the personal pronoun is normally deleted (see 4.7), the comitative phrase is normally reduced to *z Y*: '*hvãla lëpa!*' *sva rëkla z Jãnezom* "'many thanks!'", said Janez and I'; *z gospodãrjem sva šlã v vinõgrad* 'the master and I went to the vineyard'. Simultaneous reciprocal comitativity and pronoun deletion may result in, for example, *vëm, da se imãta z Marjãncõ rãda* 'I know that he and Marjanca love each other' (= *õnadva z Marjãncõ* = *õn in Marjãncõ*). **Plural comitativity** is expressed in the same way; in this instance, the *Y* in [*X*] *z Y* may be dual or plural: *z njima smo šli na sprehõd* 'we (including the two of them) went for a walk', *z njimi smo šli na sprehõd* 'we (including them PL) went for a walk'; and similarly with the verb in the second person plural. This subject has not been investigated much; but note that because simple coordination also occurs there is much ambiguity: for instance, *z brãtoma smo šli* may mean 'I and my two brothers', 'we two and our two brothers' and 'we (three or more) and our two brothers ... went'.

4.5 Subordination

As generally in Slavonic, there are many types of subordinate clause. A few examples follow. Subject: *kdõp je bolãn, mõra ležãti* 'he who is sick must stay in bed'; *vsëm navzõçim je znãno, da se õčna õra zaçnë ÷ez pët minút* '(the fact) that the lesson begins in five minutes is known to everyone present'. Attribute: *obšlã me je slũtnja, da je domã nëkaj narõbe* 'I was seized with the foreboding that something at home was wrong'; *govoriš o stvarëh, ki jih ne poznãš* 'you're talking about things that you don't know'. Predicate: *Marjãncõ je zdãj, kãr sãm bilã nekõç jãz* 'Marjanca now is what I once was'. Object: *povëdali so, da je miliçnik odšël* 'they told (us) that the policeman had left'; *nimam rãd, ÷e se prepirata* 'I don't like it if you two quarrel'. Adverb: *zveri živijo, kjër so gozdõvi* 'wild animals live where there are forests'; *çãkal bom, doklër se ne zmraçi* 'I'll wait until it gets dark'; *ne grë vën, ker se bojí mrãza* 'he doesn't go outside, for he is afraid of the cold'; *÷e si lãçøn, ti dãm krũha* 'if you're hungry, I'll give you some bread'; *vstõpiš, ne da bi potrkal* 'you come in without knocking'.

There are two relative pronouns, *ki* and *katëri*. The latter is marked and is used (a) with a preposition: *ljudjë, z katërimi bom govõril* 'the people with whom I shall talk' (here the use of *ki* is equally acceptable: *ljudjë, ki bom z njim govõril*); (b) for possessives: *držãva, pod katëre zastãvo plũje tã kitolõvka* 'the country under whose flag this whaleboat sails'; and (c) to avoid the ambiguity which is inherent in the indeclinable *ki*: compare *mãti mójega prijãtelja, katëra (F) je zdãj na Blëdu* 'my friend's mother, who is now in Bled' and *mãti mójega prijãtelja, katëri (M) je zdãj na Blëdu* 'the

mother of my friend, who is now in Bled'. Otherwise, unmarked *ki* is used as follows: alone if nominative: *po juhi smo dobili črno kávo, ki je bilā presládká* 'after the soup we got some black coffee which was too sweet'. In a non-nominative case *ki* is supported by a personal pronoun, normally third person: *filmi, ki jih bomo glédali* 'the films (which them) we shall see'; *tô je tisti, ki mu je vsê zaúpala* 'that's the person to whom she confided everything'. The supporting pronoun may also be first or second person: *tisti sãm, ki mi je vsê zaúpala* 'I am the person to whom she confided everything'.

Extraction constraints have been little investigated. Note, however, that in spoken Slovene a clitic is not normally moved out of its main clause: 'the man whom I think you saw' is *člôvek, ki mislim, da si ga videl* and not **člôvek, ki ga mislim, da si videl*; while 'the man who I think saw you' is *člôvek, ki mislim, da te je videl*. In formal written Slovene extraction is avoided in a number of ways: for example, for 'the man I think you saw': *člôvek, o katêrem mislim, da si ga videl*, literally: 'the man of whom I think that you saw him'.

Gerunds are normally used to express temporal relativity: the present gerund forms for actions simultaneous with, and the past gerund for actions anterior to, that in the superordinate clause: *vrgla se je navpik z visôkega previsa, hotêč (PRS GER) narediti samomôr* 'she threw herself down from a high overhang, wishing to commit suicide'; *a ne umîši (PAST GER), je po mnôgih dnêh zôpet ozdravêla* 'and, not having died, after many days she recovered'.

Participles are used instead of subordinate clauses relatively seldom. In the following, *že pred dvêma ūrama prispêle góste so kónčno pozdrãvili* (literally: 'they finally greeted the already before two hours having arrived guests') 'the guests – who had arrived two hours previously – were finally greeted', *prispêle* is used participially, without an auxiliary; a relative clause would be more usual: *góste, ki so pred dvêma ūrama prispêli, so kónčno pozdrãvili*.

The infinitive occurs as the complement of numerous verbs and verb phrases, for example, *nôčemo dëlati* 'we do not want to work', *ni mârál veliko govôriti* 'he did not care to say much', *dôlžãn sãm vam tô povêdati* 'I am obliged to tell you that', *slišal sãm ptíčko pëti* 'I heard a small bird singing' and so on. In these respects Slovene differs from the other South Slavonic languages, and also in allowing the accumulation of infinitives, as in *môram začëti dëlati* 'I have to begin to work'.

In some contexts, an infinitive and a *da*-clause are interchangeable: *nâša prva nalôga je, da se učimo* = *nâša prva nalôga je učiti se* 'our first task is to learn'. A common conversational construction is X *za* + infinitive; in the standard norm other constructions are preferred, for instance, conversational *imâš kaj za jëst?* 'do you have anything to eat?'; compare standard *imâš kaj jësti?* Similarly: conversational *kúpil si bom strôj za pomívati*

posôdo 'I shall buy a machine to wash the dishes'; compare standard *kúpil si bom strôj za pomivanje posôde*.

The supine is used as the complement of verbs with meanings involving some kind of movement, both explicit: *Spât hódim prêd desêto zvečer* 'I go to bed before ten at night', *šlâ je krúha pëč* 'she has gone to bake some bread', *poslâla je sina študirat* 'she sent her son (away) to study'; and implicit: *môram spât* 'I must (go) to bed' (compare, with infinitive, *môram spâti* 'I must sleep'). The direct object of a supine, formerly in the genitive, is now in the accusative: *grêm domôv sežgât dnëvnik* has thus replaced earlier *grêm domôv sežgât dnëvnika* for 'I'm going home to burn (my) diary'.

4.6 Negation

Although both are possible, sentence negation (with the negative particle preposed to the verb) is normally preferred to constituent negation (with the negative particle preposed to another constituent), even if the semantically negated part of the sentence is that other constituent. Thus *tô se ní zgodilo po môji vólji* is more common than *tô se je zgodilo në po môji vólji* for 'that happened not-according-to-my-will', that is, 'that did not happen according to my will'.

The unmarked negative particle is *ne*; there are special negative forms of the verbs 'want', 'have' and 'be' (see 3.2.1). Note that, since 'be' acts as the auxiliary in past tenses, *ni* replaces *je* as the auxiliary in the third singular: *Jánež je razbîl ôkno* 'Janez broke the window' versus *Jánež ní razbîl ôkna* 'Janez did not break the window'.

If the negative particle (*ne* or the *ni*-prefix on a negative verb) is repeated, the result is a positive sentence: *ne môrem vas ne poslúšati* 'I cannot not listen to you' = *môram vas poslúšati* 'I must listen to you'. In the same way, if a negative particle co-occurs with a negative adjective, the result is positive: *nísëm nespámetën* 'I am not unreasonable' = *sëm (dovôlj) pámetën* 'I am (quite) reasonable'. Other negative elements require the co-occurrence of a negative particle: *nîč nísëm videl* 'I saw nothing', *z nikômër ne govori* 'he talks to nobody', *nikjër jih nisi videl* 'you saw them nowhere'. Many of these other negated elements may co-occur without rendering a sentence positive: *nihčë nam ni nikôli ničësar dâl* 'nobody ever gave us anything'.

Normally, the direct object of a negative verb is genitive, as in the example *Jánež ní razbîl ôkna* above. If it is clear from the sentence structure and/or from prosodic features (stress, intonation) that it is a specific non-verbal constituent that is being negated, the accusative may replace the genitive.

If the copula expresses identity and is negated, subject and predicate are nominative: compare examples in 4.3 with *Bârbara ni poročëna (žëna)* 'Barbara is not a married woman', *Bârbara ní bilâ dvë létì tovarniška*

dělavka ‘Barbara was not a factory-worker for two years’. If, however, the copula expresses existence, usually located spatially or temporally, then it has a single argument, its subject; when the copula is negated, the subject is genitive. Compare *óče je domâ* ‘father is at home’ and *očêta ni domâ* ‘father is not at home’; *za njim so ostáli dolgôvi* ‘there were debts left behind him’ and *za njim ni ostálo dolgôv* ‘there were no debts left behind him’. In these instances it is, however, possible to negate a specific constituent, rather than the whole sentence, namely *óče ni domâ* ‘father is not *at home* (but somewhere else)’; *za njim niso ostáli dolgôvi* ‘it was not *debts* that were left behind him (but something else)’.

4.7 Anaphora and pronouns

The nominative of the personal pronoun is omitted, not only when it is explicit in the verb ending (*kāj dělaš?* ‘what are you doing?’ *bérem* ‘I am reading’) but also when it is not (*kāj bi stôril?* ‘what would I/you/he do?’). Hence, the subject of the verb may not become explicit until later in the context: *Slovenci bi bilî môrali že zdávnaj spoznâti, da nam enakovrédno vključevânje v mednárodno družino ... lahkô samô koristi* ‘(We) Slovenes should have long since realized that incorporation on equal terms in the international family may only be of benefit to us’, where only in the subordinate *da*-clause does the pronoun *nam* identify the person of the subject of *bi bilî môrali*. So also: *otrôk sam bil zmêraj vesêl* ‘(I) as a child was always happy’; *popôtnik, ki mumo grêš ...* ‘(you) traveller who pass by ...’ The pronoun is expressed for contrastive emphasis: *kāj dělaš? – jâz bérem* ‘what are you doing? – I am reading (but someone else perhaps not)’.

The most usual anaphoric pronoun, *ôn, óno, óna*, is thus more frequently implicit than explicit, for example:

Ko je sêdãdesetlêtni óče umíral ..., je nenâdoma obñnil oci v strôp, ... odpřl ústa in kríknil: ‘Vóda.’ Natô je omáhnil nazáj na zglâvje ...
 ‘As the seventy-year-old father was dying ..., (he) suddenly turned his gaze towards the ceiling, ... opened (his) mouth and cried, “Water.” Then (he) collapsed back onto the pillow ...’

In non-nominative cases and when unstressed, the clitic third-person pronouns are used (see 4.1). Note the peculiarly Slovene use of the clitics in discourse contexts where the verb is implicit and the noun phrase or phrases is/are anaphorized: the verb phrase is expressed by repetition of the auxiliary, if any, on its own; and the noun phrase(s) is/are expressed by the clitic forms. Example with verb phrase lacking auxiliary:

Zdãj razúmeš sosêda? – Zdí se mi da gã
 ‘Do you understand your neighbour now? I think that I (understand) him’.

With auxiliaries:

In zakāj je zabōdēl Klementino vèč kot ékrat? Da, zakāj **jo je**?
 'And why did he stab Klementina more than once? Yes, why did he (stab) her?'
 Žariš, kot bi zadēl glāvni dobitāk. – Sāj sām gā
 'You're beaming as if you had won the jackpot. – But I have (won) it'.

In addition, the demonstrative pronouns *tā*, *tisti*, *ōni* are used anaphorically:

Kākšna drevēša so tō? – Tōle je būkev, tistole tām je jávor, ōnole ōnstran rēke pa je vřba
 'What sort of trees are they? – This one's a beech, that one there is a maple, and that one over on the other side of the river is a willow.'

'The former ... the latter' is expressed by *prvi* ... *slédnji*:

Kopitar in Miklošič sta bilā pomēmbna jezikoslōvca; prvi je bil rōjēn v ōsemnajstem, slédnji pa v devētnajstem stolētju
 'K. and M. were important linguists; the former was born in the eighteenth century and the latter in the nineteenth.'

Among other anaphoric expressions, *tō* corresponds to *kār* 'what(ever)', as in *kār je v sřcu, to je tūdi na jeziku* 'whatever is in the heart is also on the tongue'; *tō* may also be elided in this context.

Slovene has a particularly interesting construction known as the 'Orphan Accusative' (Perlmutter and Orešnik 1973). Any masculine or neuter adjective in direct-object position that is used pronominally (namely, in a noun phrase from which the noun is omitted) occurs with what is historically the genitive ending *-ega*: *katēri klobūk hōčete?* 'which hat do you want?' – *hōčem navādni klobūk* 'I want the ordinary hat'; but *hōčem navādnega* 'I want (the) ordinary (one)'. The pronominal adjective is, in other words, marked as animate. There is thus overt case consistency between the use of pronouns and pronominally used adjectives in the singular: feminine: *dājte mi črno oblēko* – *dājte mi jo* – *dājte mi črno* 'give me the black dress' – 'give me it' – 'give me the black one'; neuter: *dājte mi črno vėdro* – *dājte mi ga* – *dājte mi črnega* 'give me the black bucket' – 'give me it' – 'give me the black one'.

4.8 Reflexives and reciprocals

Reflexivity is expressed with reflexive pronouns which may be both clitic and – when emphatic – fully stressed, and both accusative and dative: *se/sēbe*: *umiti se* = *umiti sēbe* 'wash oneself'; *si/sēbi*: *pomāgati si* = *pomāgati sēbi* 'help oneself'. Occasionally, the clitic–non-clitic distinction reflects something other than emphasis: compare *ubīti sēbe* (literally: 'kill oneself') 'commit suicide', but *ubīti se*, which has an impersonal meaning, 'die by accident'.

Reflexivity may, but does not normally, extend across an infinitival

phrase boundary. 'Yesterday he forced himself to wash himself' (with the same subject understood for both verbs) is more rarely *včeraj se je prisilil umiti sé ~ sebe*, and more usually, with the second reflexive pronoun omitted (compare 'he was afraid to laugh' below): *včeraj se je prisilil umiti*. If emphasis is needed, the stressed reflexive pronoun may occur, but reinforced with *sâm*: *včeraj se je prisilil umiti sâmega sebe* 'yesterday he forced himself to wash *himself*'. If the (explicit or implicit) subject of the verbs in question is not the same, the reflexive pronoun is normally ambiguous: *Jôže je prisilil svôja sinôva spoštovati sebe* can mean both 'Joe forced his two sons to respect themselves', and '... to respect him'.

Possible antecedents include not only nominative subjects, as in the above examples, but also implicit subjects in dative ('impersonal') phrases: *potrêbno se mu je umiti* (= *potrêbno mu je + se umiti*, literally: 'it is necessary for him' + 'to wash himself') 'he must wash'; *têbi se pa še ne mudi popraviti* (= *têbi pa še ne mudi + se popraviti*, literally: 'for you it is not yet urgent' + 'to reform yourself') 'you are not yet in a hurry to reform'.

Verbs with *se/si*, which are thus morphologically reflexive, are also used, without reflexive meaning, as follows:

- 1 Idiomatically: with *se* either obligatory: *smejâti se* 'laugh', *prizadévati si* 'to endeavour'; or optional: *jôkati se* = *jôkati* 'weep', *misliti si* = *misliti* 'think'.
- 2 To express impersonal generalizations; with intransitive verbs: *v Slovêniji se veliko hôdi v hribe* 'in Slovenia people do a lot of mountain-walking'; and with transitive verbs, when the reflexive construction is equivalent to a third person plural non-reflexive with an unspecified agent, as in *išče se mlâjša žênska* = *iščejo mlâjšo žênsko* 'a younger woman is sought'. The following alternative construction occurs: reflexive verb + object-ACC: *išče se mlâjšo žênsko*; here the verb is impersonal ('neutral'), compare *iskâlo se bo mlâjše žênske* 'younger women will be sought'. Also, an impersonal reflexive may complement a noun phrase in the dative: *Jânezu se hôče denârja* 'Janez craves some money'. This usage is more limited than elsewhere in Slavonic.

If the usages in items 1 and 2 co-occur, one of the two instances of *se* is usually omitted: *pri njém se ne smêje nikôli* (literally: 'at his house it does not laugh itself never') 'there is never any laughter in his house'. Similarly, if one morphologically reflexive verb has a second such verb dependent on it, the second *se* is usually omitted: *bâl se je* 'he was afraid' + *smejâti se* 'to laugh' > *bâl se je smejàti* 'he was afraid to laugh'.

Reciprocity is expressed (a) with reflexive verbs, both with accusative *se* and with dative *si*: *srêçati se* 'meet one another', *pomâgati si* 'help each other'; and (b) with the explicit reciprocal *drug- drug-* or *ên- drug-*, thus

(paralleling the above reflexives) accusative *sręcati drųg drųgega* ‘meet one another’, dative *pomągati drųg drųgemu* ‘help one another’, and with other cases also: genitive: *bojita se drųg drųgega* ‘they are afraid of each other’; instrumental: *umirajo drųg za drųgim* ‘they are dying one after another’. The last example shows the intermediate position of the preposition. Note that if both persons concerned are female, this may be explicit: *bojita se drųga drųge* ‘the two (women) are afraid of each other’. A reciprocal can occur without a nominative subject antecedent: *tręba je drųg drųgemu pomągati* ‘people should help each other’.

4.9 Possession

The verb *imęti* is used in a wide range of meanings with animate subjects: *imām hišo* ‘I have a house’; *imāš dósti gradiva* ‘you have enough material’; *imā bráta* ‘he has a brother’; *imāva prijátelja na obisku* ‘we (DU) have a friend visiting’; *imāmo dóber spomin* ‘we (PL) have a good memory’; *ávto imáte pokvārjen* ‘you have (your) car wrecked’ = ‘your car is wrecked’; *imājo zājtrk ob ósmih* ‘they have breakfast at eight’; *imęla bo otróka* ‘she’s going to have a baby’ and so on. If the possessor is inanimate, also, *imęti* may be used: *tędęn imā sędęm dni* ‘the week has seven days’; *zákon nima táke dolęčbe* ‘the law does not have such a provision’; but in many instances a prepositional phrase is also possible: *vóda imā prevęč kálcija* = *v vódi je prevęč kálcija* ‘the water has too much calcium’; *plųg imā ročico* = *pri plųgu je ročica* ‘the plough has a handle’.

Possession may be shown by the genitive, but when the possessor is animate, a possessive adjective is very much more common. Thus ‘mother’s house’ may be *hiša mátere* or more likely *māterina hiša*; ‘the dictator’s palace’ may be *paláča diktátorja* or more normally *diktátorjeva paláča*. These phrases exemplify the normal word order: noun in genitive after head, possessive before head. In conversational Slovene possession is often expressed by *od*: *otróci od sosęde* ‘the neighbour’s children’, ‘*Čigáv je tá plášč?*’ – ‘*Od méne*’ ‘“Whose coat is that?” – “Mine”’. The use of the genitive/dative personal pronouns to express possession is considered stylistically marked and somewhat archaic.

4.10 Quantification

‘One’ is adjectival, and agrees with its head noun in number – singular or, for pluralia tantum, plural – gender, case and animacy. ‘Two’ agrees with its head in number (dual), gender and case; the predicate is dual; for example, nominative, *dvā študęnta sta prišlā* ‘two students have arrived’; instrumental, *med dvęma stóloma* ‘between two stools’. Normally, dual forms are used in pronouns and in verbal forms whenever two actual referents are involved, be they explicitly mentioned or only implicit. However, in non-pronominal noun phrases with, for example, body parts that come in pairs like ‘eyes’ and ‘feet’, dual forms tend to be used only when the

quantifiers 'two' or 'both' are explicitly stated in the context, and are replaced by the plural when this quantifier is unstated, even if a pair of referents are obviously implicit: so, *nóge me bolijo* (PL) 'my feet hurt', but *obê nógi me bolita* (DU) 'both my feet hurt'. 'Three' and 'four' agree with their heads in number (plural), gender and case. The predicate is plural: nominative, *trije (štirje) študenti so prišli* 'three (four) students have arrived'; *město je tri (štiri) ūre hodā od tūkaj* 'the city is three (four) hours' walk from here'; instrumental, *s trěmi (štirimi) stōli* 'with three (four) chairs'.

The syntax of higher numerals terminating in *édan, dvā, tri, štiri* is determined by the last element: thus, *stō ēn člōvek je prišl* (singular) '101 people came'; *tisōč dvā člōvėka sta prišlā* (DU) '1,002 people came'; *z dvěsto trěmi stōli* 'with 203 chairs'. 'Five' and higher numerals (other than those terminating in *édan, dvā, tri, štiri*), in non-oblique cases, control the genitive plural; the predicate is neuter singular, for instance, *pět študentov je prišlō* 'five students have arrived', *sręchal sēm pětsto deklět* 'I met 500 girls'. In the other cases, they agree with their referents in number (plural) and case, for instance, instrumental, *s pětimi (pětstotimi) stōli* 'with five (500) chairs'. In these oblique cases the numerals are often not declined (see 3.1.5).

Indeterminates like *mālo* 'little/few', *mānj* 'less/fewer', *veliko* 'much/many', *věč* 'more', *dōsti* 'enough' behave syntactically like the numerals 'five and above', but do not decline: *tūkaj je bilō mānj ljudi* (GEN PL) 'there were fewer people here'; *govōril sēm z mānj ljudmi* (INST PL) 'I talked with fewer people'.

If the amount is unspecified, the genitive alone is sufficient: *naręzal sem krūha in slanine* 'I cut some bread and some bacon'. Similarly, any specified amount also requires the genitive: *steklenica dōbrega črnegā vīna* 'a bottle of good red wine'.

5 Lexis

5.1 General composition of the word-stock

The Slovene word-stock is in many respects extremely idiosyncratic. On the one hand, it has not only retained much of the core of Proto-Slavonic lexis, but even maintained several items that were lost elsewhere; thus *ōl* 'beer' (cognate with English *ale*) survived as a simplex Slavonic word only in Slovene dialects. Other unusual survivals include *brěsti* 'wade' and *dāvi* 'this morning'. Local semantic and phonological developments resulted in further unique items: *ampāk* 'but', *besęda* 'word', *dežela* 'country', *grėnək* 'bitter', *hudič* 'devil', *in* 'and', *jęča* 'prison', *kljüb* 'in spite of', *mājħan* 'small', *obljubīti* 'promise', *slęherni* 'each'. In particular, Slovene managed to develop its native vocabulary in ways that mark it off as very different

from its closest relative, Serbo-Croat (see Brozović 1988). The position of Slovene on the Slavonic periphery resulted in little medieval influence from other Slavonic languages, but the directly inherited lexicon was complemented both by extensive borrowing from contemporary Slavonic languages in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and by the equally extensive coinage of new native derivations for referents in all areas of modern life.

On the other hand, its geography and history ensured that Slovene was subject to extensive non-Slavonic influence both spatially and temporally. Not only was it open to influences on three sides – from Romance, Germanic and Hungarian – but the thousand-year-long lack of political independence had its natural consequences. On the three geographical peripheries the degree of bilingualism, especially among certain classes of society, must at times have been very high: many rural Slovenes had to work for, or to trade with speakers of these other languages. In the urban areas, at least partial bilingualism – most important, Slovene–German bilingualism in Ljubljana – would have been normal for most of the Slovene populace. The relative proportions of lexical items from the three non-Slavonic sources vary greatly from dialect to dialect. In the standard language it is clear that direct influence from Germanic (specifically, Austrian German) far outweighs that from Romance (Venetian Italian, Friulian and so on), if (neo-)Latinisms are excluded. The penetration of items from Hungarian has been minor.

Since the Reformation the incorporation of non-native elements has received some deliberate attention, which developed over time into lesser or greater puristic tendencies; these came to a head in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and are still evident. The various nationalistic movements – Pan-Slavonic, Illyrian, Yugoslav and specifically Slovene aspirations, to mention just four – all had their effect, especially in attempts to replace Germanisms with borrowings from other Slavonic languages.

The coexistence of these concurrent influences has resulted in a standard language which is, potentially, extremely rich, in its wide range of coexisting items – directly inherited native words, modern native coinages, non-Slavonic borrowings and Slavonic borrowings. Thus alongside the international *migrācija*, *migrirati*, *imigrānt*, *emigrānt* there are the derivatives *preseljevanje*, *preseljevati se*, *priseljenec*, *izseljenec*; and alongside the native *porōka* ‘wedding’ there is the Germanic borrowing *ōhcet* ‘wedding’ (compare German *Hochzeit*). In instances of this kind, both semantic and stylistic differentiation have been extensively developed.

5.2 Patterns of borrowing

The non-Slavonic languages of the Balkans contributed a few items which Slovene shares with other South Slavs, such as *diple* ‘musical instrument’ and *gūmb* ‘button’ (originally from Greek); *bākər* ‘copper’ and *čizem*

'boot' (originally from Turkish). A few Hungarian words have penetrated to the standard language through the eastern dialects of Slovene and/or Serbo-Croat, like *būnda* 'warm coat', *cafūta* 'whore' and *hāsнити* 'be of use'.

The contribution from and through Romance has been greater. Some items are shared with other South Slavonic (and in some instances other Slavonic) languages; some have extended only as far as Slovene. Examples: *bājta* 'shack', *briga* 'care', *būča* 'pumpkin', *būrkle* 'fire-tongs', *čik* 'cigarette end', *fānt* 'boy', *kmèt* 'farmer', *križ* 'cross'.

The influence of Germanic (as originating and mediating language) has been particularly strong on the non-standard forms of Slovene; its traces in the standard language are still quite evident (Striedter-Temps 1963). Examples: *u-bōgati* 'obey', *fāra* 'parish', *gāre* 'hand-cart', *glihati* 'haggle', *jā* 'yes', *kégəlj* 'skittle', *krompīr* 'potato', *ōpica* 'ape', *rēgrat* 'dandelion', *risati* 'draw', *ūra* 'hour, clock', *žēmlja* 'bread roll'. Many items were borrowed from Germanic long enough ago to have lost all transparent connection with German, thus *bāsati*, *bāšem* 'fill' (from Old High German *faʒzōn*). There has at times also been extensive calquing of German phrases: *izglēdati* 'look' as in *bolān izglēdaš* 'you look ill'; compare German *aussehen*, literally: 'out-see'. This example, like many others, has a contemporary native equivalent, *si videti*.

Since Slovene is in direct contact with European and North American culture, the influence of modern international vocabulary has been significant, and is much discussed. Sometimes native formations coexist with loans, as in *ptičeslōvje* = *ornitologija* 'ornithology'; sometimes there is a native formation and no loan, as with *kljunāš* 'platypus'.

As if in recompense for the lack of medieval contacts, and for the borrowings from non-Slavonic sources, Slovene has found much of lexical benefit in the Slavonic languages, especially during and since the nineteenth century. Although often the geographic details are unclear, borrowings from nearly all the Slavonic languages can be found; three sources predominate: Czech, Serbo-Croat and Russian.

Czech made a large contribution to Slovene, especially in the nineteenth century, when there were cultural influences on Ljubljana from Prague: when reactions to non-Slavonic influence were strong, it was natural that the model of the puristic Czech should be followed. Examples: *bajeslōvje* 'mythology', *dopisovāti* 'correspond', *gēslo* 'slogan', *kislina* 'acid', *prispevek* 'contribution', *sklādba* 'musical composition', *slavospēv* 'eulogy', *zlītina* 'alloy'.

Borrowings from Serbo-Croat, including items from other Slavonic languages and in particular Russian that came through Serbo-Croat (see Thomas 1987), were numerous before the creation of Yugoslavia and became even more so thereafter; it is too early to decide with certainty on the permanence of some items. Of particular note were the borrowings from this source that (on occasion, by design) replaced non-Slavonic loans;

thus *čaj* 'tea' and *káva* 'coffee' for *tě* and *kofě*, both of which are still extant but only in dialects and non-standard styles. *Čitati* was introduced as a replacement for *bráti* in its meaning 'read', since it was felt that this latter was calqued on German *lesen* 'gather; read'; there has been some dispute about this item.

The influence of Russian was also significant, at least from the mid-nineteenth century on; this influence was reinforced by politico-cultural parallels during the Communist period. Often, loans of non-recent date have resulted in useful semantic differentiation. Often, also, the borrowed word crowded out more native items: thus, for 'dictionary', the nineteenth-century *besednják*, *besednik* and *besedišče* have all been replaced by *slovár*. Examples of politico-cultural loans: *udárnik* 'shock worker', *söcrealīzəm* 'socialist realism', *otrôške jásli* 'day-care'.

5.3 Incorporation of borrowings

There is vacillation in the spelling of borrowings. Thus the *Pravopis* of 1950 gave the spelling *jeep* and the *Pravopis* of 1962 *džip* for 'jeep'; the Academy Dictionary (1970–) has both *pīca* and *pīzza* for 'pizza'. Generally, however, modern borrowings are rapidly nativized, as shown by the spelling of *nylon* and *engineering* as *nājlon* and *inženiring*. Aside from anomalies caused by influences from the orthography and intermediary languages, the closest equivalents of the sounds in the lending language are normally approximated. Exceptionally, the high-mid vowels /e o/ are normally preferred to the low-mid /ε ə/, for instance, *profēsor* /profēsor/ 'professor', *prōmptən* /prōmptən/ 'prompt'. As these words also exemplify, the tonemically high pitch is more common than the tonemically low pitch on borrowed words with long vowels.

Turning to morphology, we find that extremely few borrowed nouns are treated as indeclinables. Normally, if a borrowed noun ends in unstressed *-a*, it is feminine (declined as *lipa*) and otherwise the noun is masculine and declined as *kôf*. Note that nouns ending in *-r* or a vowel add *-j-* before non-zero endings, as in *abonmâ*, *abonmâja* 'subscription'; see also 3.1.2. Note also that virtually no recently borrowed nouns are neuter: hence *nõv kīno* 'new cinema', *nõv komīteť* 'new committee', *nõv alibi* 'new alibi', *nõv kanũ* 'new canoe'. Adjectives, on the other hand, relatively often become indeclinable. Compare the borrowed adjectives in *přvi trije àvti so olivni, drũgi trije krēm ~ krēmasti, in zãdnji trije bęž* 'the first three cars are olive, the next three cream, and the last three beige': the first is declined, the second is optionally declined and the third is not declined. In the sixteenth century many borrowed verbal roots incorporated the *-ov-* ~ *-ev-* suffix but this suffix was – in spite of a puristic attempt to reintroduce it in the nineteenth century – eventually replaced by the extremely productive suffix *-ir-* (which had been borrowed via German from French: see 3.3.3). Apart from *-irati* verbs (conjugation class IIIc), some modern borrowings are

Slovenized by adaptation into conjugation classes IIIc and IV, as *-ati* and *-iti* verbs respectively. As for aspectual differentiation, *-irati* verbs are usually bi-aspectual, the others not: so, for instance, for 'democratize', *demokratizirati* is imperfective/perfective, while *podemokrátiti* is perfective only.

5.4 Lexical fields

5.4.1 Colour terms

Nine colour terms seem to be 'basic' according to derivational criteria: *běl* 'white', *siv* 'grey' and *črn* 'black'; *rděč* 'red', *zelěn* 'green', *ruměn* 'yellow', *módər* 'blue (1)', *sīnji* 'blue (2)' and *rjāv* 'brown'. All nine have adjectival derivatives in *-(i)kast*; verbal 'inchoative' derivatives in *-eti*; and verbal 'factive' derivatives in *-iti*: *bělkast* 'whitish', *belėti* 'become white', *belūti* 'make (something) white'; *sinjkast*, *sinjėti*, *sīnjiti* and so on. Three ('red', 'green', 'brown') may be derived from other 'basic' roots, namely *zěl* 'herb', *rdėti* 'redden', *rjā* 'rust'; this is not true of the remainder. Of the two standard words for blue, *módər* is darker ('the colour of cornflowers') and *sīnji* lighter. The Academy Dictionary defines *sīnji* in terms of *módər*, the more 'basic' of the two. Many speakers use *plāv* as an approximate synonym for *módər*.

The following, in contrast, are apparently not 'basic': they are derived from other simplex words; their adjectival derivatives are either non-existent or different from the above (namely, *-ast* rather than *-kast*); and they appear to lack the normal corresponding verbal derivatives: *orānžən* 'orange'; *rōžnat* 'pink'; and numerous words for shades of purple/mauve/violet, the most common of which is *vijōličən*.

One small curiosity: of the six spectrum colours, three begin with /ər/; and all three are at one end of the spectrum, opposed to the others.

5.4.2 Body parts

The following are straightforward correspondents of English lexical items: *gláva* 'head'; *okō*, *očęsa* 'eye'; *nōs* 'nose'; *uhō*, *ušęsa* 'ear'; *ústa* (N PL) 'mouth'; *lās* (M SG) or (more commonly) *lasję* (M PL) 'hair (on head)'; *vrāt* 'neck'; *srcę* 'heart'. The following involve more ambiguity. *Róka* is 'hand' or 'arm'; as necessary, a part may be specified, for instance, *lāket* (M *o*-stem or F *i*-stem) 'forearm', *dlān* (F *i*-stem) 'palm'. Similarly, *nóga* is 'foot' or 'leg'; specifically, *stopálo* 'foot'; *męča* (N PL) 'calf', *będro* = *stęgno* 'thigh' and so on. The single word *přst* (M) is 'finger' or 'toe'; to specify one or the other, *přst na rókı* and *přst na nógi* can be used. *Přsi* (F PL) is 'chest/breast' (male or female); a specifically female breast is *dōjka*. For the use of dual versus plural forms of names for body parts that come in pairs, see 4.10.

5.4.3 Kinship terms

Many words are used for parents and grandparents. The most common (here, variants are given in the order: more ~ less formal) are *máti* ~ *máma* 'mother', *óče*, *očéta* ~ *áta* 'father'; *stâra máti* ~ *stâra máma* ~ *bábica* 'grandmother', *stâri óče* ~ *stâri áta* ~ *děd* 'grandfather'. Note also *stârši* 'parents', *stâri stârši* (PL) 'grandparents': these may also occur (see 4.10) as (*stâra*) *stârša* (DU) and even as (*stâri*) *stârš* (SG).

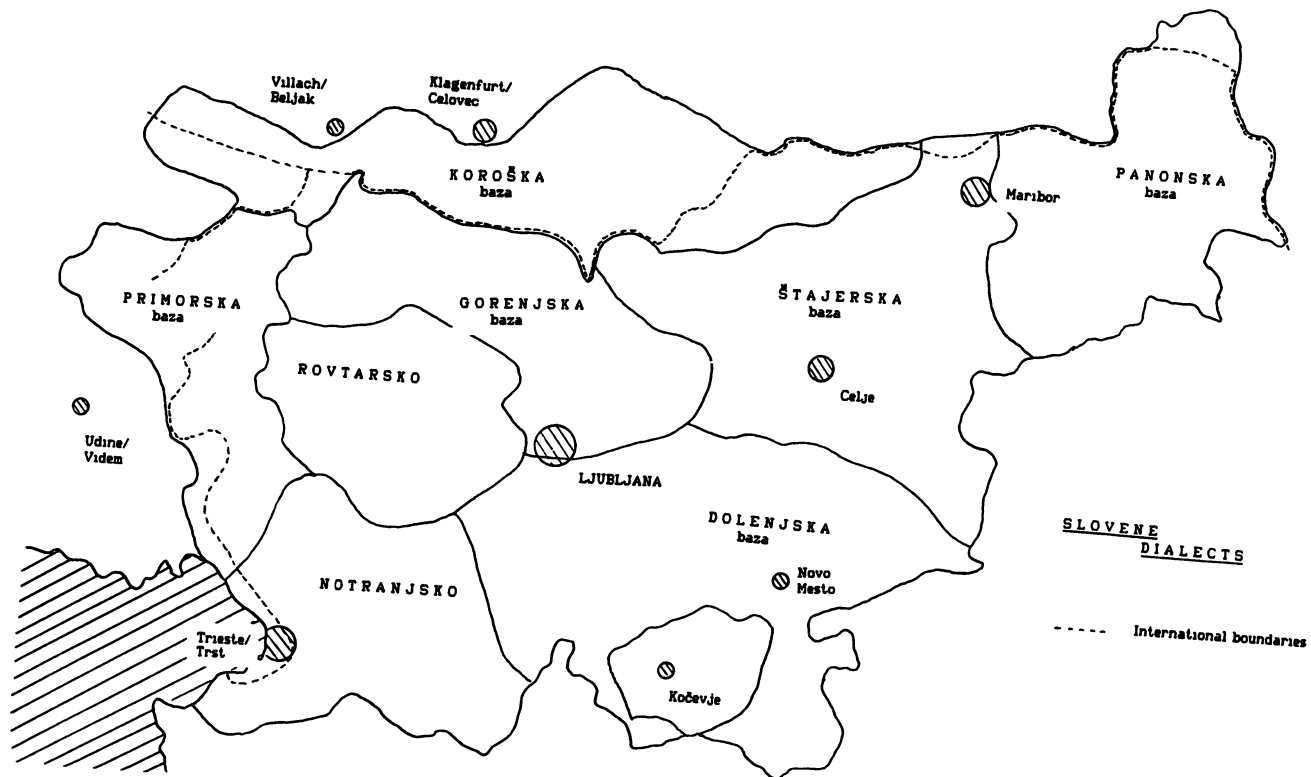
One set of terms is unspecified for sex: *otrök* / *děte děteta* 'child' – also used age-specifically, 'baby, small child'. Otherwise, terminology is exclusively sex-specific: *žéna* 'wife' and *môž* 'husband' (formal *soprôga*, *soprôg* 'spouse (F, M)'); *hčî*, *hčêre* 'daughter', *sin* 'son'; *séstra* 'sister', *brât* 'brother'; *téta* 'aunt' (mother's sister or father's sister); *stric* 'uncle' (mother's brother or father's brother) – note also *újac* and *újna* 'mother's brother/sister', now generally replaced by *stric*, *téta* – *nečákinja* 'niece', *nečák* 'nephew'; *sestrična* 'female cousin', *brátranec* 'male cousin'.

6 Dialects

It is generally acknowledged, although difficult to demonstrate, that Slovene is unique among the Slavonic languages in the heterogeneity of its dialects, especially in relation to the relatively small size of the Slovene-speaking area. This diversity, which exerted some influence on the evolution of the standard language (see section 1), is reflected in some lack of mutual comprehension. It is also reflected in the analyses of dialectologists. Earlier authoritative analyses by Ramovš listed, respectively, thirty-six and forty-six different dialects and subdialects; the most recent map (Logar and Rigler 1986) shows fifty. More important, there has been inconclusiveness with respect to more general groupings. Nevertheless, it is usually accepted that the geographically differing varieties of Slovene can be categorized in eight major groups; this classification serves as a basis for the brief survey below (see Lencek 1982: 133–57).

The chief traditional criteria for distinguishing between dialects are two diachronic vocalic ones: the medieval reflexes (in stressed long syllables) of *-ě* (*jat'*) and the nasals, on the one hand, and of the *jers*, on the other (see Rigler 1963, 1967). By the first criterion the speech area is divided by a south-west/north-east line; by the second, it is divided by a line along the other diagonal. Other criteria result in important (if traditionally less usual) groupings: note in particular the differences in prosodic phonology, and especially the fact that tonemic distinctions have been lost in all but a longitudinally central band of dialects. Not only prosodic changes listed as items 7 and 8 in 2.1, but subsequent changes also, resulted in wide variations in patterns of stress, length and pitch. Other differences relate to specific vocalic systems, for example, inventories of from three to sixteen vowel phonemes; systems rich in diphthongs and those with no diphthongs;

Map 8.1 Slovene Dialects



those with nasal vowels; those with more and those with less vowel reduction; differences in kinds of vowel reduction and so on. Major dialectal consonantal differences from standard Slovene include the following: the fricativization of */g/ > /ɣ/, /h/; */tj/ > /č/; */ń/ > /j/, /n/, /jn/; */í/ > /j/, /l/, /jl/; a (secondary) 'neopalatalization' of velars, namely /k g x/ > /č j š/ (and other reflexes); various reflexes for */l/ and */v/, especially giving /w/ in some and/or all environments; */b/ > /β/, */t/ > /θ/, */k/ > /ʔ/, */f/ > /x/, */x/ > /j/.

Morphological differences have resulted from these phonological changes and from morphological developments. Most of the categories listed in 3.1.1 and 3.2.1 survive in most dialects, but note the following: the generally partial (but in one dialect the complete) loss of the neuter gender; the partial loss of the dual number; syncretism among case distinctions, especially in the oblique plural cases; extensive curtailment of the supine. There are also many dialect differences on the syntactic level, but these have as yet been little described. Depending on their geographical proximity to speakers of other languages – German, Friulian, Italian, Serbo-Croat, Hungarian – dialects show marked differences in lexical composition. Furthermore, dialects differ greatly in their development of the native lexicon.

The following eight groups comprise six '(pan-)dialect bases' and two large transitional areas. Omitted here are the smaller transitional dialects. Statements of vocalic reflexes relate to prototypical medieval stages, not always apparent in the contemporary reflexes.

Primorska baza (Littoral): nasals > low-mid, *ě* (*jat'*) > low-mid, *jers* > */a/. These dialects include the native dialects of Slovene-speakers in the Italian province of Friulia-Venezia Giulia (excluding those in the hinterland of Trst/Trieste); the pressure from Italian-speakers has in these areas at times been strong. Most of these dialects have lost phonemic length and pitch, but keep phonemic stress. Some of them share features with the Koroška dialect base, for instance, the fricativization of */g/ and the prefix */vy-/. Many show the results of Romance–Slovene bilingualism. Within this area are the highly idiosyncratic dialects of the Režija valley, with their *zasopli* (centralized, formerly breathy (?)) vowels and where the aorist and imperfect tense forms have, in one form or another, survived.

Notranjsko (Inner Carniola): nasals > high-mid, *jat'* > high-mid, *jers* > */a/. This area is transitional between the Primorska and the Dolenjska dialect bases and covers dialects formerly classified as such. It includes the first language of the Slovene minority in Trst/Trieste and its hinterland; the pressure from Italian-speakers has been intense here also. All of these dialects have lost phonemic length and pitch, but keep phonemic stress.

Rovtarsko: These dialects (*róvte* means 'backwoods') represent innovative developments resulting from medieval colonization by both neigh-

bouring Slovene-speakers and by speakers of Bavarian German dialects. In many respects, these dialects are transitional; in others, they are idiosyncratic.

Koroška baza (Carinthian): nasals › low-mid, *jat'* › low-mid, *jers* › */e/. These dialects, which generally maintain phonemic pitch and length, are very conservative: note, for instance, the preservation of nasal vowels in one small area; also, features apparently transitional to West Slavonic, such as the fricativization of */g/; */dl tl/ unchanged in nouns; derivational prefix */vy-/. In some respects they are innovative, as in the 'neopalatalization'. As well as areas in Italy and Slovenia, these dialects now comprise the mother tongues of the Slovene minority living in the Austrian province of Kärnten and survive despite heavy sociopolitical pressure from the German majority.

Gorenjska baza (Upper Carniolan): nasals › high-mid, *jat'* › high-mid, *jers* › */a/. This, one of the two central dialect areas, played a major role in the development of standard Slovene; in particular, the monophthongal long stressed vowels of the standard language have their origin here; also, these dialects helped to contribute the standard tonemic framework. Non-standard innovative features include the 'neopalatalization' and the partial loss of the neuter gender. The city of Ljubljana is, geographically, just inside the Gorenjska area, but has its own traditional speech styles.

Dolenjska baza (Lower Carniolan): nasals › high-mid, *jat'* › high-mid, *jers* › */a/. This was the other central dialect base which exerted a strong influence on the development of standard Slovene, especially on its tonemic system; its diphthongized vowels are, however, not reflected in the standard language. Within the Dolenjska area is a linguistic island that was for long inhabited mostly by German-speakers (Gottschee/Kočevje); its present population speaks a dialectal mixture. South of Kočevje the Belokranjsko dialects have some features transitional to Kajkavian Serbo-Croat (see chapter 7, section 6).

Štajerska baza (Styrian): nasals › high-mid, *jat'* › high-mid, *jers* › */e/. This extensive area includes dialects spoken close to the cities of Celje and Maribor. Most have lost phonemic pitch and length, but maintain phonemic stress. Some show features transitional to Kajkavian Serbo-Croat.

Panonska baza (North-east Styrian/Pannonian): nasals › high-mid, *jat'* › high-mid, *jers* › */e/. These dialects have lost distinctive pitch, but keep distinctive stress. Some show transitional Kajkavian Serbo-Croat features; those dialects closest to Hungarian show the influence of Hungarian-Slovene bilingualism, and many lexical innovations. A few speakers of these Slovene dialects live within the boundaries of Hungary.

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