8 Slovene

T.M.S. Priestly

1 Introduction

Standard Literary Slovene (slovénski knjižni jézik) 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: Slovénoc; language: slovénščina or slovénski jézik) 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 zbórní jézik (common language). The diversiform splóšni pogóvorni jézik (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 e ā a ɔ o u/. Seven (all except /ɔ/) occur as long vowels, and six (all except /e o/) occur as short, namely [i: e: a: ɔ: ɔ: u:] and [i ɛ a ɔ u] respectively. Long vowels are always stressed; short vowels may be stressed and unstressed.

Phonetically, /e: o:/ are high-mid and /ɛ: ɔ:/ are low-mid; short /e 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: a: ɔ: u:/ are tonemically either low or high; tonemically high /e: ɔ:/ are relatively uncommon. The short vowels /i ɛ 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 /parstnica/ ‘phalange’ (with stressed tonemically high /əɾ/) and /parstanac/ ‘ring finger’ (with stressed tonemically low /əɾ/). 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 /ɛ:/, 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, i, į, ě, ē, á, ó, ő, ů represent long low-pitch (traditionally, ‘rising’) vowels; i, į, ě, ē, á, ó, ő, ů represent long high-pitch (‘falling’) vowels; and ı, ě, ē, ő, ů 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

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<tr>
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<th>Long</th>
<th>Short</th>
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<tr>
<td>Stressed</td>
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<tr>
<td>High tonality</td>
<td>i  u  i  u</td>
<td>e  o  e  o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low tonality</td>
<td>i  u</td>
<td>e  o  e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unstressed</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ε  e  c  u</td>
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single grave, if stressed. The combination /ər/ is represented as if it were a ‘syllabic r’: long low-pitch ţ, long high-pitch ĵ. Vowels without diacritics are unstressed. Note also the use of the macron, for example ĵ 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 /e: ɔ:/, which are identified by the (now otherwise unused) circumflex. é, ő thus represent stressed /e: ɔ:/, while è, ő represent stressed /e: ɔ:/.

The relationship between the tonemic and non-tonemic systems, for
Table 8.2  The non-tonemic vowel system

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<th>Long</th>
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<th>Short</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stressed</td>
<td>i</td>
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<td>i</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unstressed</td>
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<td>a</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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

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 ё, ё as ё and ó, ó as ò;
2  rewrite ё, ё as Ё and Ø, Ø as Ó;
3  rewrite a, i, á, í as a, i, í, ú, ý;
4  rewrite I, ё, з, а, о, й as i, ё, Ъ, а, о, u;
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;
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 /ε ɔ/, producing new long rising low-mid vowels;
8 stress shifted from short final syllables one syllable to the left onto preceding short /ɔ/, 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 *møglæ ~ møgla ‘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, */ɛ/ results in /ɛ:/, */ɛ ɔ/ change to /ɛ: ɔ:/, and the two strong jers (see chapter 3, section 2.25) change to /ɔ:/ when long, and to /ɔ/ when short. Examples for the strong jers: dans < *dans ‘day’, møglæ ~ møgla ‘mist’ < *møgla; 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 /ɛ: ɔ:/ 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 [e o]; hence words like žena 'wife' < *žená, gora 'mountain' < *gorá, the stressed vowels of which contrast with those of words with original jat' and nasals, for example cesta 'road' < *cěsta, měta 'mint' < *měta, mlčka 'flour' < *młčka.

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 [kɛp] 'heap' < kūp, [prāumo] 'we say' < pravimo.

Among other vocalic changes, vowel + liquid sequences (both initially before consonants and interconsonantal) were metathesized: *öldi- changed to lǎdja 'boat', *běrza to brēza 'birch' and *bółto to bláto 'mud'. Syllabic /r/ gave /ɾ/ and syllabic /l/ gave /ov/ (pronounced [ou]): *krt- > krt 'mole', *dž- > dž '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 vžic grožnji [...]dz gr [...] 'in spite of the threat', vřh drevěsa [...]ry 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-

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<th>Table 8.4 The consonant system</th>
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<td><strong>Labials</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
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<td>Fricatives</td>
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<td>Affricates</td>
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<td>Nasals</td>
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<tr>
<td>Glide</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roll</td>
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<td>Lateral</td>
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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 [i] ~ [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 /or/ 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 ľ/ changed to /nj rj lj/ pre-vocally, /n r l/ elsewhere: *koň- > kőnj /kōn/, kőńja /könja/ ‘horse’; *čuvař- > čuvár, čuvárja ‘keeper’.

*/dl tl/ resulted in /l/, except in past verbal forms: *mydlo > milo ‘soap’;
*pleta > plétla ‘knit (l-PART F SG)’.
*/dj tʃ/ changed to */j ć*: *medja > méja ‘border’, *svetja > svěča ‘candle’; however, */zdj/ > */ž/ ~ */žʃ/: *džzdj > džž, dožjä ‘rain’; */št 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), */křdo + že/ > kôd ‘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, grądóm (INST SG), grádov (GEN PL) ‘castle’, and in some verbs, such as stopüti (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.

/o/ ~ /0/ is very frequent, but is not automatic; compare in nouns: pōs (NOM SG), psā (GEN SG) ‘dog’ versus kōs (NOM SG), kōsa (GEN SG) ‘repentance’. Other examples in nouns: stōbrōr (NOM SG), stōbrā (GEN SG) ‘pillar’; kāpøy (GEN PL), kāpölja (NOM SG) ‘drop’; in adjectives, tōmān (M NOM SG INDEF), tōmni (M NOM SG DEF) ‘dark’; in preposition + clitic groups, third person singular masculine: nānj ‘onto him’ nādōnj ‘above him’; and in -participles, plētol (M) plétla (F) ‘knit’.

/i/ ~ /0/ occurs in nouns, before */j/: zārij (GEN PL), zárja (NOM SG) ‘dawn’.

/a/ ~ /0/ 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 /a/ ~ /0/ alternation, in some adjectives, such as tōmān ~ tōmān (M NOM SG INDEF), tōmni (M NOM SG DEF) ‘dark’.

The /o/ ~ /e/ alternation – with the latter vowel occurring after /c ć dž ž s j/ – is automatic in the context of what were, historically, ‘hard’ versus ‘soft’ stems. For examples in declension, see section 3.1.2 (prijátelj ‘friend’, srcē ‘heart’), section 3.1.4 (vróče ‘hot’). The alternation also occurs in derivative suffixes; see section 3.3.3 (prepisováti ‘copy’ versus izboljševáti ‘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:

\[
\begin{align*}
/p \sim \text{plj}, & \quad b \sim \text{blj}, f \sim \text{flj}, v \sim \text{vlj}, m \sim \text{mlj}; \\
/t \sim \text{č}, & \quad st \sim \text{šč}, d \sim j, zd \sim ž, z \sim ž, s \sim š, c \sim ě; \\
/n \sim nj, & \quad sn \sim šnj, l \sim lj, sl \sim šlj, r \sim ěj; \\
/k \sim \text{č}, & \quad sk \sim šč, g \sim ž, zg \sim ž, h \sim š. \\
\end{align*}
\]

In verbs they are most apparent in two conjugation classes:

1. Class IIIb: in infinitive versus present forms: 
- gibati, gibljem ‘move’,
- rēzati, rēzem ‘cut’,
- klicati, kličem ‘call’,
- iskāti, iščem ‘search’,
- lagāti, lāžem ‘tell lies’;

2. Class IV: in infinitive versus past passive participial forms: 
- pozdrāvīti, pozdrāvljen ‘greet’,
- branīti, brānjen ‘defend’,
- mislīti, mišljen ‘think’,
- udāritī, udārjen ‘strike’.

They also occur elsewhere, as in the present versus /-participle forms of 
- rečem, rekla ‘say’, lēžem, lēgla ‘lie down’.

The alternation occurs in the inflection of only three nouns, see section 3.1.2 (uhę ‘ear’, okę ‘eye’, igę ‘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 ~ ž/. The alternants /c z/ occur in derivatives; in the imperative forms of verbs with infinitive in -či, such as reči, rékla, recite ‘say’, striči, strīgla, strizite ‘cut (hair)’; and in the plural of two masculine nouns: vęlk, nominative plural volcję ‘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 (hlēb ‘loaf’, deklē ‘girl’, mīš ‘mouse’) and 3.1.4 (nōv ‘new’). Length alternations also occur in verbs: začnēm (PRS 1 SG), začnēmo (PRS 1 PL) ‘begin’; končāl (l-PART M SG), končāla (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’, kóst ‘bone’). Note also the stress retraction in prepositional phrases with some nouns, as in primër ‘example (ACC SG)’ but na primer ‘for example’; vodô ‘water (ACC SG)’ but v vodô ‘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: vózi (IMP 2 SG), vozîte (IMP 2 PL) ‘drive’; razvesélil (M PAST), razveselilla (F PAST) ‘gladden’; gresîl (M PAST IMPFV), pogresîl (M PAST PRFV) ‘sin, err’. Pitch alternations occur frequently; see, for example, the nouns grâd ‘castle’, město ‘town’, žéna ‘wife’, kóst ‘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 umîla (PAST F), umîlo (PAST N) ‘die’; vit (INF), vit (supine) ‘twist’; dêlate (PRES 2 PL), dêlajte (IMP 2 PL) ‘work’. In numerals: pët (NOM), pëtih (GEN) ‘five’.


The regular consonantal alternation /l ~ v/ occurs in l-participial forms: bil /bi:v/ (M SG), bilâ (F SG, M DU), bîli (F DU, M PL) ‘be’; and in nominal morphology also: misol /mi:s9v/ (NOM), misli (GEN) ‘thought’. The sporadic change */ž/ > /r/ results in the unique alternation /g ~ r/ in the verb móći (INF): mògla (PAST F), mòrem (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 oče ‘(an) evil father’, hûd môtj ‘(an) evil husband’; /š/ in izvršûi ‘to execute’ versus /ž/ in izvršba ‘execution’.

The alternation /k ~ x/ occurs in the preposition k ‘towards’, with /x/ occurring before /k g/: h kováçu /xk-/ ‘towards the smith’, h grâdu /xg-/ [yg-] ‘towards the town’; and occasionally elsewhere, as in nikògar (GEN) < *ni + koga + že versus nihcë (NOM) < *ni + kьto + 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 (Továrná Avtomobilov Márivor) ‘Maribor Auto Factory’; and (b) nouns with adjectival declensions (such as dežurni ‘male person on duty’, dežurna ‘female person on duty’ and many place names such as Dolěnjsko (N) ~ Dolënjska (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 pót ‘path’, which may be masculine (as kót ‘corner’) with a variant nominative plural, póta, or feminine (as kóst ‘bone’). Indeclinable nouns may be masculine, feminine or neuter.

The most productive noun declensions are the masculine o-stems like kót ‘corner’ (table 8.5), the a-stems like lipa ‘linden’ (table 8.11), and the i-stems like smrt ‘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 kót ‘corner’ (table 8.5). Various nouns which might have been

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>DU (GEN PL)</th>
<th>PL (LOC PL)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>kót</td>
<td>kót</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>kót</td>
<td>kót</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>kót</td>
<td>(= GEN PL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>kótu</td>
<td>kótoma</td>
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<tr>
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<td>kótoma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>kótu</td>
<td>(= LOC PL)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 8.5 o-stems (masculine), inanimate**
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 dèd ‘grandfather’ (which also occurs as dèđ, dèda) is thus as in table 8.6.

Variants (stem):
1. The /ə ~ 0/ alternation is regular and frequent but not automatic, see section 2.2.
2. A few nouns in -olj /əl/ have, instead of the /ə ~ 0/ alternation, an extension of this suffix to /-əln-/ before all vocalic endings: thus nágolj, nágoljna ‘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’. Džž ‘rain’ extends its stem in the same way: dožjá.
4. The /-ov-/ infix in the dual and plural, exemplified in grad ‘castle’ (table 8.7) occurs, often as a stylistic variant, with several nouns. Note that the infix *-ev- does not occur. (grad has the optional variant genitive singular gradu, 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 hlèb, hlèba ‘loaf, čep čepa ‘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, jezik, jezika ‘language’, trëbuh trebùha ‘belly’.
6. Človek ‘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 ljudjé, ljudi, ljudjé, ljuděm, ljudmi, ljuděh, that is, it has endings much like those of kost ‘bone’ (see below).
7. Otròk, otrók/otrók- ‘child, baby’ has plural otróci, otróke, otrók, otrókom, otróki, otrócih.
Table 8.7  o-stems (masculine), with -ov- infix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>gradu</th>
<th>gradova</th>
<th>gradovi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>grad</td>
<td>gradova</td>
<td>gradove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
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<td>gradov</td>
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<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>gradu</td>
<td>gradovoma</td>
<td>gradovom</td>
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<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>gradom</td>
<td>gradovoma</td>
<td>gradovi</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>gradu</td>
<td>gradovoma</td>
<td>gradovih</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Variants (ending):
8 Stems ending in /j c 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, prijáteľ ‘friend’, respectively prijáteľom, prijáteľom, prijáteľom.
9 Some nouns have genitive singular /-ú/ as a (usually, optional) variant of /-a/, for instance, sin ‘son’, sina ~ sinū; 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 /-e-/; genitive plural in -∅; 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; tlā ‘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 /-a-/ as in súkno ‘cloth’ genitive plural súkõn.

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

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<tr>
<th>SG</th>
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<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
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<td>możžà</td>
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<td>możžëma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>możžu</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.9  o-stems (neuter)

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<tr>
<th>SG</th>
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<td>NOM</td>
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<td>męści</td>
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<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
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<td>męsta</td>
<td>męści</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>męstu</td>
<td>męścioma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>męstom</td>
<td>męścioma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>męstu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

dual and dative plural; these represent the original *jo-stems (see section 2.2). Thus srcě, sircem, sircema, sircem ‘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 (piščë ‘chick’) but various words for humans (revšě ‘pitiable child’) and men’s names (Tòne “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’ jâgnje ‘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 jâgnje ‘lamb’, for instance imë imëna ‘name’, drevò drevësa ‘tree’. Most nouns, however, have stress or pitch alternations: deklë, deklëta
Table 8.10  *o*-stems (neuter), consonantal extension

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>DU</th>
<th>PL</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
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<td>jągnjeti</td>
<td>jągnjeta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>jągnje</td>
<td>jągnjeti</td>
<td>jągnjeta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>jągnjeta</td>
<td>jągnjeti</td>
<td>jągnje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>jągnjetu</td>
<td>jągnjetoma</td>
<td>jągnjetom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>jągnjetom</td>
<td>jągnjetoma</td>
<td>jągnjeti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>jągnjetu</td>
<td>jągnjetoma</td>
<td>jągnjeti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Genitive singular, *deklęta* nominative plural ‘girl’; *vrème, vreména* ‘weather’; and see *uhó* ‘ear’ below.

3 Three nouns have stem consonantal alternations: *uhó* *ušésa* ‘ear’; *okó, očésa* ‘eye’; *ígó, ižésa* ‘yoke’.

Variants (ending):

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

**A-stem class.** All nouns – both feminine (the vast majority) and masculine (like *slúga* ‘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 *žéna* ‘wife’ (see item 4 below) which represents at most some twenty-five nouns. There are no morphophonemic alternations surviving from the *ja*-stems or *-ynji* nouns: for example, *đuša* ‘soul’ and *boginja* ‘goddess’ decline like *lipa*.

Variants (stem):

1 The vowel ~ zero alternation is regular and generally predictable. */i ~ 0/ occurs in nouns with stems ending in consonant + */j/: *lāđja* ‘boat’, genitive plural *lāđi*; */nj*/*-ja, -ľja* nouns must be listed. */ə ~ 0/ occurs in stems ending in non-resonant + resonant (for instance, *séstra* ‘sister’, genitive plural *sěstr*), non-resonant + resonant + */j/ ( *káplja* ‘drop’, genitive plural *káplj*), some combinations of resonant + resonant, and (rarely and archaically) in other consonant clusters. Nouns like *cčrkəv* ‘church’ and *bruov* ‘razor’ (see 5 below) are regular in this respect. */a ~ 0/ is found in a few words, like *ovca* ‘sheep’, genitive plural *ovč* ~ *ovč*.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>DU</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
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<td>lípe</td>
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<td>ACC</td>
<td>lípo</td>
<td>lípi</td>
<td>lípe</td>
</tr>
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<td>GEN</td>
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<td>lípe</td>
<td>lípe</td>
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<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>lípi</td>
<td>lípama</td>
<td>lípam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>lípo</td>
<td>lípama</td>
<td>lípami</td>
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<td>lípah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
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<td>ženê</td>
<td>ženê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ženô</td>
<td>ženê</td>
<td>ženê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>ženê ~ ženê</td>
<td>ženê ~ ženê</td>
<td>ženâm</td>
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<td>DAT</td>
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<td>ženâma</td>
<td>ženâm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>ženô</td>
<td>ženâma</td>
<td>ženâmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>žéni</td>
<td>ženâh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[mati\] ‘mother’ and \[hči\] ‘daughter’, genitive singular \[matere hčere\]; 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 lípa.
4 Nouns with stressed -a 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, stazë ‘path’, accusative singular stazê ~ stazë, instrumental plural stazâmi.
5 The Proto-Slavonic *y-stems, represented in Slovene by nouns in -av, 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 /-ô/ and instrumental singular in /-ijo ~ -jo/ (of which the former occurs after two consonants). Examples of accusative singular and instrumental singular: máter, máterjo; hčer, hčerjo; cérkav, cérkvijo; britav, britvijo.

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, miš, genitive singular
Table 8.12  *i*-stems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>DU</th>
<th>PL</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>smřti</td>
<td>smřti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>smřti</td>
<td>smřti ma</td>
<td>smřti m</td>
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<tr>
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<td>smřti jo</td>
<td>smřti ma</td>
<td>smřti mi</td>
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<td>kostí m</td>
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<td>INST</td>
<td>kostí jö</td>
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<td>kostí mi</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>kostí</td>
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</table>

miši ‘mouse’. Very many monosyllabic and some polysyllabic nouns decline like kőst ‘bone’ above, with pitch and stress alternations. Some nouns have a pitch alternation but no stress alternation, thus lűč ‘light’, genitive singular lűči, instrumental singular lűčjo; some have qualitative alternations: ős ‘axle’ dative-locative singular ősi.

2 The vowel ~ zero alternation occurs in this declension too: the normal vowel is /-/o/-/, occurring when the stem ends in non-resonant + resonant: thus misol, misli ‘thought’; povődnj, povődnji ‘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: mislijo, mislima, mislimi.

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 dvá ‘two’ (3.1.5), for example, naju dvá ‘us both (M ACC)’, naju 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 *jaz* ‘I’, *midva*, *mędve/midve* ‘we both’, *mi*, *mê* ‘we (all)’ are given in table 8.13. The second-person non-clitic pronouns *ti* ‘you’, *vidva*, *vędve/vidve* ‘you both’, *vi*, *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 *don*,

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Table 8.13  First-person pronouns</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| DAT | *méni* | *náma* | *náma* | *
| INST | *menój/máno* | *náma* | *náma* | *
| LOC | *méni* | *náju/náma* | *náju/náma* | *

<table>
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<th>Table 8.14  Second-person pronouns</th>
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<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| ACC | *tébe* | *váju* | *váju* | *
| GEN | *tébe* | *váju* | *váju* | *
| DAT | *tébi* | *váma* | *váma* | *
| INST | *tebój/tábo* | *váma* | *váma* | *
| LOC | *tébi* | *váju/váma* | *váju/váma* | *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 8.15  Reflexive pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
όно, óna ‘he/it, it, she/it’ (see table 8.16). The neuter nominative has a stylistic variant onę. There is gender syncretism between masculine and neuter in all non-nominative cases. The third person dual and plural non-clitic pronouns onadva, onidve/onędve ‘they both’, óni, óna, óne ‘they (all)’ can be found in table 8.17. Four nominatives have stylistic variants: dual onadva, plural oni, ona, onę. 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 postposed 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 /ę/ or /o/, for example, nàme ‘on me’, čézse ‘across oneself’, mědnju ‘between the two of them’, nàdnje ‘over them’. With the third person singular masculine–neuter -nj the /e~0/ alternation occurs: nànj ‘on him/it’, nàdɔnj ‘over him/it’. In the pre-clitic context the preposition v occurs in the otherwise non-occurrence form va-: vâme ‘into me’, vânj ‘into him/it’.

There are pronominal declensions (presented below) differing from adjectival declensions in many particulars, for ta ‘this’ and kdò ‘who’, kâj

### Table 8.16 Third person singular pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>ón</td>
<td>óno</td>
<td>óna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>njęga</td>
<td>njęga</td>
<td>njęja/njęja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>njęga</td>
<td>nję</td>
<td>njęj/njęj/njį</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>njęmu</td>
<td>njęm</td>
<td>nję</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>njįm</td>
<td>njį</td>
<td>njįj/njįj/njį</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>njęm</td>
<td>njęj/njįj/njį</td>
<td>njęj/njęj/njį</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 8.17 Third person dual and plural pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DU</th>
<th>N/F</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>ónadva</td>
<td>ónidve/onędve</td>
<td>óni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>njiju/njįh</td>
<td>njidve/njįdve</td>
<td>óni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>njiju/njįh</td>
<td>njίma</td>
<td>ónįh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>njίma</td>
<td>njίma</td>
<td>njίmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>njίma</td>
<td>njίma</td>
<td>njίmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>njįmu/njįh/njίma</td>
<td>njίμa/njίma</td>
<td>njίh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 8.18  Clitic pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
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<th>3</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>M/N</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free clitics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>jo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>je</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>mu</td>
<td>ji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bound clitics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>-me</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>-se</td>
<td>-nj</td>
<td>-njo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘what’. At least two pronouns are fully indeclinable, relative *ki* ‘who’ and *čigar* ‘whose’; and *onê* ‘whats’isname’ is normally indeclinable. All other pronouns decline like regular adjectives, with nominative masculine singular either only short (ending in a consonant, like *tôlik* ‘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**: *tâ* ‘this’, *tisti* ‘that’, *ôni* ‘that (yonder)’; *onê* ‘whats’isname’, *ták*, *tákšon* ‘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 *letęga* ~ *tęgale* ‘this (EMPH, M GEN SG)’. In non-standard Slovene *tâ* may function as a definite article (see 3.1.4).

**Interrogative**: *kdô* ‘who?’, *kâj* ‘what?’, *kâkšon* ‘what sort of a?’, *kôlik* ‘how large?’, *čigáv* ‘whose?’, *katêri* ‘which?’.  

**Relative**: *kdôr* ‘who’, *kâr* ‘what’, *katêri*, *ki* ‘which’, *čigar* ‘whose’.  

**Indefinite**: (a) *kdô* ‘any(one)’, *kâj* ‘any(thing)’, *katêri* ‘anyone/-thing’; (b) prefixed: *nekdô* ‘someone’ and *nêkâj* ‘something’; *nekatêri* ‘some’, *nêki* ‘a’.  

**Negative**: *nihče* ~ *nihce* ~ *nikdo* ‘nobody’, *nîč* ‘nothing’, *nobên* ‘no’.  

**Possessive**: *môj*, *nâjin*, *nâš* ‘my, our (DU), our (PL)’; *tvôj*, *vâjin*, *vâš* ‘your, your (DU), your (PL)’; *njegôv* ~ *njegôv*, *njên*, *njûn*, *njîhov* ‘his/its, her/its, their (DU), their (PL)’; *svôj* ‘own’. The above forms alternate with the following in all other cases, numbers and genders: *môj*-, *tvôj*-, *svôj*-, *nâš*-, *vâš*-, *njegôv*-.  

**Other**: *vôs* ‘all’, *vsâk* ‘each’, *sâm* ‘self, mere, the very’.
There are numerous other pronouns, most of them compounds of the preceding ones: vsäkršon ‘every kind of’, mälokatëri ‘few’, märsïkdö ‘many a person’, kðörkòli ‘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. Tà ‘this’ (table 8.19) has alternate forms: in the feminine dative-locative singular tëj and the neuter/feminine nominative-accusative dual tê. In the dual, the relevant forms of dva usually co-occur. Vòs ‘all’ differs from tà only in the nominative singular vòs, vše, všà, and in that the stem vowels are tonemically high and short. Kdö ‘who?’, kðör ‘who (REL)’, nihché ‘nobody’, kaj ‘what?’, kår ‘what (REL)’ and nìc ‘nothing’ decline as in table 8.20; further compounds of kdö, kaj follow the same pattern.

### Table 8.19 Demonstrative pronoun tà

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>tа</td>
<td>tа</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>tò</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>tëga</td>
<td>të</td>
<td>të</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>tëmu</td>
<td>têj</td>
<td>têma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>têm</td>
<td>têm</td>
<td>têmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>têm</td>
<td>têj</td>
<td>tê</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 8.20 kðö, kaj and pronouns based on them

<table>
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<th></th>
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<th>Definite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
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<td>kdö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>kòga</td>
<td>kògar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>kòga</td>
<td>nikògar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>kòmu</td>
<td>kòmur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>kòm</td>
<td>nikòmar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>kòm</td>
<td>nikòmar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 8.21 Use of long- and short-form adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Indefinite</th>
<th>Definite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adjective alone</td>
<td>növ ‘a new one’</td>
<td>ta növi ‘the new one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun alone</td>
<td>en pöš ‘a dog’</td>
<td>pöš ‘the dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective + noun</td>
<td>növ pöš ‘a new dog’</td>
<td>növi pöš ‘the new dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective + noun</td>
<td>en növ pöš ‘a new dog’</td>
<td>ta növi pöš ‘the new dog’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 növi for (1) and indefinite pãs 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 bråtov ‘brother’s’, kråjlev ‘king’s’, måterin ‘mother’s’) have indefinite forms only. Denominal and other derivatives in -ji, -ski, -ški, -čki (like bóžji ‘God’s’, slovånski ‘Slovene’), comparative and superlative forms and the words ôbći ‘common’, pråvi ‘right, proper’, råjni ‘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: vëlík, veliko, velika (INDEF) versus vëlíki, vëliko, vëlika (DEF) ‘large’. In the other it is expressed suppletively: måjhôn, måjño, måhna (INDEF) but måli, målo, måla (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 dóbor versus dóbri ‘good’; with a prosodic alternation, feminine nominative singular bogåta versus bogåta ‘rich’, ståra måti ‘an old mother’ versus ståra máti ‘grandmother’; with both qualitative and prosodic alternations, masculine/feminine nominative singular débel, debêla versus debêli, debêla ‘fat’. In the great majority, the masculine nominative singular indefinite has a zero ending, and the definite ends in -i.

The adjective növ, növ- ‘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 növ, is common.
Table 8.22  Regular adjective declension

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>DU</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nőv</td>
<td>nóv</td>
<td>nóva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>NÓv</td>
<td>nóv</td>
<td>nóva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>nőve</td>
<td>nőv</td>
<td>nőve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>nóvem</td>
<td>nóvi</td>
<td>nővima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>nővim</td>
<td>nővo</td>
<td>nővima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>nővem</td>
<td>nővi</td>
<td>nővih</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 Several adjectives optionally have mobile accent patterns. Of these, most belong to one type, exemplified by *mlad* (definite *mlād*) ‘young’: nominative singular *mlād*, *mlādō*, *mlāda*, genitive singular *mlādega*, *mlāde*, instrumental singular *mlādim*, *mlādō*, etc.

3 The vowel ~ zero alternation is common: *otēkōl*, *otēkl* ‘swollen’, *mirōn*, *mirn-* ‘tranquil’; often, there is free qualitative/stress variation on the adjectives involved: *mēdōl ~ mēdōl ~ mēdōl* ‘faint’. Several adjectives have variants with /a/ as well as /o/ occurring in the masculine nominative singular: *hlādōn ~ hlādān*, *hlādna* ‘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 *nómo* ‘new’ and *vsakdānje* ‘everyday’, *vróče* ‘hot’.

One adjective is used only predicatively and therefore declines for gender and number but has only nominative case, *rād*, *rāda* ‘happy’. Fully indeclinable are the attributive adjective *pēš* ‘by foot’ in, for instance, *pēš hōja* ‘walking tour’; and several attributive/predicative adjectives, as for instance, *pocēni* ‘cheap’: *pocēni pohištvo* ‘cheap furniture’, *pocēni knjīga* ‘cheap book’, *knjīga je pocēni* ‘the book is cheap’; *tōšč* ‘unbreakfasted’: *s tōšč ĝelōdci* ‘with empty stomachs’, *ōna je tōšč* ‘she has not breakfasted’; and many relatively recent borrowings: *prīma blagō* ‘first-class goods’, *prīma film* ‘first-class film’; *fājn člōvek* ‘fine person’, *fājn oblēka* ‘fine clothing’; *bēž* ‘beige’, *fēr* ‘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 *nājbolj* ‘most’. Synthetic comparative forms utilize the suffixes *-ši*, *-ji* and *-ejši*, and their superlative degrees add the prefix *nāj*-. Adjectives which use analytic comparative or superlative forms include those
which do not participate in the definite versus indefinite opposition, for example, divi ‘wild’ bolj divi, nājbolj divi; 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 mōkor ‘wet’ and sūh ‘dry’. In synthetic comparison, (a) -ejši is added to polysyllabic stems: rodovitn ‘fertile’ rodovunjši, nājrodovunjši; to monosyllabic stems ending in more than one consonant: čist ‘clean’ čistēši, nāčistēši; and to a list of monosyllabic stems in single consonants, including nōv ‘new’, novēši, 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’, mlāši, nājmlāši. If a polysyllabic adjective ends in vowel + /k/, this syllable is deleted, and rules (b) and (c) normally apply: nizōk ‘low’ nizji, nānjizji. There are several exceptional forms, such as lęp ‘beautiful’ lēpši, nājlepši, and suppletive forms like dōbor ‘good’ bōljši ‘better’ nājboljši ‘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, nājbogatēje; group (b) replace -ji with -(j)e: blizu ‘near’ blž(j)e, nājbliž(j)e; and group (c) replace -ši with, normally, -še: tānkō ‘thinly’ tānjše, nājtānjše.

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: edon, used substantivally, and ēn, adjectivally) the stem is invariant ēn-, hence masculine genitive singular ēnega and so on. The dual is not used. The plural is used with pluralia tantum words: ēna vrāta ‘one door’. For the function of ēn as an indefinite article see section 3.1.3. Dvā ‘2’, trije ‘3’ and štrje ‘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’, šestnajst ~ šestnajst ‘16’, šestindvajset ‘26’, šestdeset ‘60’ and so on. Šēdam, sēdmih ‘7’ and ôsm, ôsmih ‘8’ show the /o/ ~ /θ/ alternation. ‘100’ has a unique alternation: stō, stōtih. Note that compounds between ‘21’ and ‘99’ have the morphemes reversed from their Arabic-numeral order: ēnindvajset ‘21’, devētinddevētjdeset ‘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’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M</th>
<th>N/F</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>N/F</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>N/F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>trije</td>
<td>trí</td>
<td>štirje</td>
<td>štiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
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<td>dvė</td>
<td>trije</td>
<td>trí</td>
<td>štirje</td>
<td>štiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
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<td>dvėh</td>
<td>trih</td>
<td>trėh</td>
<td>štirih</td>
<td>štirih</td>
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<td>trėmi</td>
<td>štirimi</td>
<td>štirimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
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<td>trėmi</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
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<td>dvėh</td>
<td>trih</td>
<td>trėh</td>
<td>štirih</td>
<td>štirih</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.24  ‘Five’

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.


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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CARDINALS</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>edan, én- ’1’</td>
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<tr>
<td>dvá, dvé ’2’</td>
<td>énindvajset ’21’</td>
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<tr>
<td>trije, trí ’3’</td>
<td>trideset ’30’</td>
</tr>
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<td>štirje, štiri ’4’</td>
<td>štirideset ’40’</td>
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<td>ŏšom ’8’</td>
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<td>deseti ’10’</td>
<td>stó ’100’</td>
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<tr>
<td>enajsti ’11’</td>
<td>dvésto ’200’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dvánajst ÷ dvanajst ’12’</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>pętnajst ÷ petnajst ’15’</td>
<td>šeststóti ’600’</td>
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<tr>
<td>šestnajst ÷ šestnajst ’16’</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>devetnajst ÷ devetnajst ’19’</td>
<td>tisoč ’1,000’</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORDINALS</th>
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<tr>
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<td>drúgi ’2nd’</td>
<td>énindvajseti ’21st’</td>
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<tr>
<td>tréti ’3rd’</td>
<td>trideseti ’30th’</td>
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<td>četrí ’4th’</td>
<td>štirideseti ’40th’</td>
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<tr>
<td>pěti ’5th’</td>
<td>pétteseti ’50th’</td>
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<tr>
<td>šesti ’6th’</td>
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<td>šedamdeseti ’70th’</td>
</tr>
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<td>ŏšmi ’8th’</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>deveti ’9th’</td>
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<tr>
<td>deseti ’10th’</td>
<td>stóti ’100th’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enajsti ’11th’</td>
<td>dvéstoti ’200th’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dvánajsti ÷ dvanajst ’12th’</td>
<td>tristóti ’300th’</td>
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<td>trinajst ÷ trinajst ’13th’</td>
<td>štristóti ’400th’</td>
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<tr>
<td>devetnajst ÷ devetnajst ’19th’</td>
<td>tisoči ’1,000th’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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 roditi ‘give birth to’ and recent borrowings such as protestirati ‘protest’. A few perfective verbs, for instance pogospodi ti se ‘put on airs’, have no imperfective counterparts; and conversely, a few imperfective verbs, like poslišati ‘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 něsti ‘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 lahko and verbs such as mörati: lahko déla ‘he may work’, mòra délati ‘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 səm and future bom, see below.

1 Active: past (səm (po)hvalil ‘I praised’); pluperfect (səm bil pohvalil ‘I had praised’); future (bəm (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 (səm (po)hvaljen ‘I am praised’); past (səm bil (po)hvaljen ‘I was praised’); future (bəm (po)hvaljen ‘I shall be praised’); present/past conditional (bi bil (po)hvaljen ‘I would be praised’); and imperative (bədi (po)hvaljen! ‘be praised!’).

Three verbs have special present negative conjugations: (a) ne biti: nisəm ‘am not’, nisi ni, nisva and then as the present of biti (see below); (b) ne imeti: nimam ‘haven’t’ and so on (see imeti below); and (c) ne hoteti: nəcem ~ nəcem ‘don’t want to’ and so on (see hoteti 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)ši, 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)ši 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>-l</td>
<td>-lo</td>
<td>-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>-la</td>
<td>-li</td>
<td>-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>-li</td>
<td>-la</td>
<td>-le</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -ę and verbs in -ejo (plus a few in unstressed -ejo) have the variant -ő; 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>DU</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-va</td>
<td>-mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-š</td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>-te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-ø</td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>-jo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
in the third person plural; for example, *biti* future: *bōm*, *bōs*, *bō*; *bōva* *bōsta*, *bōsta*; *bōmo*, *bōste*, *bōdo* ~ *bōjo*. The verb *biti* (present positive) is more irregular: *sōm*, *sī*, *jē*; *svā*, *stā*, *stā*; *smō*, *stē*, *sō*.

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 *stāti*, *sto†im* 'stand' -*stōj*!

The present active participle endings are: ‘class IV’ verbs (see below): -*ēč*, -*ēč*; other classes with vocalic stems: -*jōč*, -*jōč*; others with consonantal stems, -*ōč*, -*ōč*; 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 Toporišić (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 *mōči*, *mōrem*, *pomōzi*, *mōgol* ‘be able’; and nine ‘nasal’ roots, including *vžēti*, *vžāmem* ‘take’. A total of over seventy roots can be classified in this group.

Ib (infinitive -a-*ti*) present -*e*:- This class includes *brāti* and *zvāti*, but only five other roots.

II (infinitive -ni-*ti*) present -*ne*:- Slovene shows an idiosyncratic development of *-nō* 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 *klāti* and *mlēti*, that display the Proto-Slavonic metathesis. Verbs in -*ovati* ~ -*evati*, -*ujem* are numerous.

IIIB (infinitive -a-*ti*) present -Cj-*e*:- Many roots display the Proto-Slavonic consonantal palatalizations, for instance *pisati* ‘write’, *kāzati* ‘show’, *jemāti* ‘take’ below; see also section 2.2. Many conjugate also according to class IIIc, such as *škripati* ‘creak’ present *škripļem* ~
škripam; sukati 'twist' present sükam ~ süčem.

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 moliti 'pray'; a relatively small group in -eti like veleti 'command'; an even smaller group in -ati like slíšati 'hear'; and four anomalous verbs like spáti 'sleep'.

V Athematic and irregular: Slovene has six verbs in the athematic class, namely bůti 'beat', jěsti 'eat', dátí 'give', děti 'say; put' and vědetí 'know' below, and the present of iti 'go', namely grém ~ grèm. There are a number of prefixed athematics, like dobůti 'obtain' dobům, normally replaced by regularly conjugated forms such as dobím. 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 -ęti and present in -am (present conjugated as class IIIc) is unique. Hotěti, hóčem '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
*nes-, nese-
*ved-, vede-
[*čis-, čyte-
*i-/šd-, id-
[*ja(xa)-, jade-
*gre-, grebe-
[*ži-, žive-
*reč-, reče-
*nač-, načn-
*umrě-, umyr-
*sta-, stan-
[*sťsa-, sšse-
*zťva-, zove-
*bťra-, bere-

něsti, něsem 'carry'
věsti, vědem 'lead'
štěti, štějem 'count'
cvāsti, cvatěm 'blossom'
ǐti/ššl [grém ~ grèm] 'go'
nájti, nájdém 'find'
jáhati, jáham ~ jášem 'ride (horse)'
grěbsti, grěbem 'rake'
živěti, živím 'live'
plūti, plódvem 'sail'
réči, réčem 'say'
začěti, začněm 'begin'
mrěti, mrěm 'die'
státi, stánem 'cost'
sosáti, sošám 'suck'
zváti, zóměm 'call'
bráti, běrem 'read'
Theme in -ne
*dvign-, dvigne-
  dvígniti, dvignem ‘lift’
*min-, mine-
  mìniti, mìnem ‘elapse’

Theme in -je
*ču-, čuje-
  čúti, čújem ‘hear, stay awake’
*pê-, poje-
  pêti, pójem ‘sing’
*kry-, krêje-
  krítì, krijem ‘conceal, cover’
*bi-, bëje-
  bítì, bijem ‘beat’
*[bra-, borje-
  borìti se, borím se ‘fight’]
*mle-, melje-
  mlëti, méljem ‘mill’
*[dêla-, dëlaje-
  dëlatì, dëlám ‘work’]
*umê-, uméje-
  umëti, uméjem ~ umëm ‘know how, understand’
*kaza-, kaže-
  kázati, kážem ‘show’
*pësa-, piše-
  pësati, pësem ‘write’
*ima-, jemlje-
  jemáti, jémljem ‘take’
*darova-, daruje-
  darováti, darújem ‘present’
*sêja-, sêje-
  sejáti, sèjem ‘sow’

Theme in -i
*moli-, moli-
  molìti, mòlim ‘pray’
*xodi-, xodj-
  hodìti, hòdim ‘walk’
*velë-, veli-
  velëti, velìm ‘command’
*slyša-, slyši-
  slišati, slišim ‘hear’
*sêpa-, sêpi-
  spáti, spìm ‘sleep’

Athematic and irregular
*by-, (je)s-
  bìti, sìm ‘be’
*jas-, jas/d-
  jësti, jém ‘eat’
*da-, das/d-
  dáti, dàm ‘give’
*dë-, dë-
  dëti, dëm ‘say; put’
*vë-, vës/d-
  vëdetì, vëm ‘know’
*ima-, ima/e-
  imëti, imàm ‘have’
*xotë-, xotje-
  hotëti, hòcìm ‘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

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<thead>
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<td>moliti</td>
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<tr>
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<td>rěč</td>
<td>délat</td>
<td>mólit</td>
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<td>rěkši</td>
<td>podélavši</td>
<td>pomolívši</td>
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<td>délá</td>
<td>mótil</td>
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<td>PRS 1 DU</td>
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<td>-2</td>
<td>deláje</td>
<td>molč</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
1. rekčč, formally a participle, is used as a present gerund.
2. réči, like most class la 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 gredé which derives from a class la verb.
3. moliti has no present active participle; nositi has the form nosč ~ nosčč.

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.

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

-e: nominal; offspring and other animate: fantě ‘young boy’ (fant ‘boy’).
-ba: deverbal: obrámba ‘defence’ (obrani ‘defend’), glásba ‘music’ (glasü ‘sound’).
-oba: de-adjectival: grenkóba ‘bitterness’ (grénok ‘bitter’).
-tov: deverbal; alternate verbal nouns and/or with more concrete meanings: molitov ‘act of praying; prayer’ (moliti ‘pray’).
-stvo: nominal and de-adjectival: otróšto ‘infancy’ (otrök ‘infant’).
-ava: deverbal: izgovarjáva ‘pronunciation’ (izgovarjati ‘pronounce’).
-ota: mostly nominal and de-adjectival: lepota ‘beauty’ (lep ‘beautiful’).
-ost: the most common derivative: lastnóst ‘trait’ (lastn ‘own’).
-ica: děkllica ‘young girl’ (deklė ‘girl’), bistrica ‘mountain brook’ (bistor
– slovene 423

‘limpid’); especially productive in -nica, -lnica: knjižnica ‘library’ (knjiga ‘book’).
-šc: lovšč ‘hunter’ (loviti ‘hunt’); bratšč ‘little brother’ (brat ‘brother’);
especially productive in -loc: igralšč ‘player’ (igrati ‘play’).
-nja: nomina actionis from verbs: prôšnja ‘request’ (prositi ‘request’).
-an, -jan: nosăn ‘large-nosed man’ (nōs ‘nose’); in compounds, for example, -čan: Ljubljănčan ‘inhabitant of Ljubljana’.
-ina: kovina ‘metal’ (kovati ‘forge’); especially productive in compounds:
-telj: borrowed, from Serbo-Croat and elsewhere: odposiljatelj ‘sender’ (odposiljati ‘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 (pridigar ‘preacher’); and became very productive: kopitar ‘cobbler’ (kopito ‘last’), harpunar ‘harpooner’.

•išče: location: krompirišče ‘potato-field’ (krompir ‘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’), pitje ‘drinking’ (piti ‘drink’).
-ija: originally from Latin, this was nativized and remains productive. Alongside borrowings, traparija ‘stupidity’, filozofija ‘philosophy’, are many Slovene derivatives: sleparija ‘swindle’ (slep ‘blind’, slepār ‘cheat’).
-nik: replaced original (and now less productive) -ik: ċrnīnšk ‘inkwell’ (ćrnīlo ‘ink’).
-šk: inter alia, for diminutives: gūmēbšk ‘small button’ (gūmb), and deverbals: izvlēčēk ‘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: igrālška ‘player (F)’ (igrati ‘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: brzojāv (‘fast + communicate’) ‘telegraph’.
Adjective + noun base: *hudoūrnik* (‘evil + hour/weather’ + suffix) ‘mountain torrent’.

Quantifier + noun base compounds are very common: *dvōbōj* (‘two + fight’) ‘duel’; *malodūšje* (‘little + spirit’) ‘faint-heartedness’.

Noun + noun base: *drevorèd* (‘tree + row’) ‘boulevard’.

Juxtaposition – where syntactic strings are combined with no modification other than some loss of stress – is uncommon: *dōlgčas* (‘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: *pàkrístàl* ‘false crystal’, *ràzjezuit* ‘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: *prizaněsljiv* ‘lenient’ (*prizaněsti* ‘pardon’); denominal: *bojazljiv* ‘timorous’ (*bojazn* ‘fear’).
- **-ov ~ -ev**: inter alia, masculine possessive: *brátova hiša* ‘brother’s house’ (*bráti* ‘brother’); animals: *lèvov* ‘lion’s’ (*lèv* ‘lion’); plants: *bàmbusov* ‘bamboo’ (*bàmbus* ‘bamboo’).
- **-in**: especially for feminine possessive: *sèstrina hiša* ‘sister’s house’ (*sèstra* ‘sister’); animals: *levinjin* ‘lioness’s’ (*levinj* ‘lioness’); plants: *mirtin* ‘myrtle’ (*mirt* ‘myrtle’).
- **-an**: extremely productive, both alone and in compounds. Alone, especially for deverbals: *vidan* ‘visible’ (*videti* ‘see’); denominals: *lèsan* ‘wooden’ (*lès* ‘wood’); de-adverbials: *hkratan* ‘simultaneous’ (*hkrati* ‘at the same time’). It occurs in compounds with twenty or more nominal and adjectival suffixes.
- **-ji**: very productive in animate denominals: *otròčji* ‘infantile’ (*otròk* ‘infant’).
- **-njì**: de-adverbial: *nekdànji* ‘old-time’ (*nèkdaj* ‘once upon a time’).
- **-ëk**: deverbal: *brìdëk* ‘painful’ (*briti* ‘shave’), *rëzëk* ‘sharp’ (*rezati* ‘cut’).
- **-ski**: productive denominally, both simply: *strànksi* ‘lateral’ (*stràn* ‘side’); and in compounds: *strànkarski* ‘factional’ (*strànka* ‘(political) party’, *strànkar* ‘party member’).

Compound adjectives are both subordinate: *miroljùbòn* ‘peace-loving’ (*mir* ‘peace’, *ljùbì* ‘love’) and co-ordinate: *bèlò-mòdro-rdèè* ‘white-blue-and-red (as of a flag)’. Juxtaposition is rare: *bojazëljòn* ‘bellicose’.
Many productive prefixes are of non-Slovene origin, like anti- and ante-; a few are native, such as nad-, ne-, pa-, pra-: nādpolovičon ‘more-than-half’ (nad ‘over’ + polovičon ‘half’); pre- may be prefixed to very many adjectives: prelēp ‘extremely beautiful’.

Adjectivalization of participles is frequent: both l-participle and past passive participle forms have become adjectivalized: dorāsöl ‘fully grown’ (dorāsti ‘grow up’); poštēn ‘honest’ (poštēti ‘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 (oziroma ‘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 -∅-, 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 pravīti [IV]) (IMPFV) / reči [Ia] (PRFV) ‘speak’, délāti [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-: začēti [Ia] (PRFV) / začēnjati [IIIc] (IMPFV) ‘begin’.
-∅-: pōčiti [IV] (PRFV) / pōkati (IMPFV) [IIIc] (PRFV) ‘explode’.
-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):

- **iz-**: tréstí [Ia] ‘shake’ / iztréstí ‘empty by shaking’.
- **o-**: držáti [IV] ‘hold’ / obdržáti ‘keep’.
- **po-**: molčáti [IV] ‘be silent’ / pomolčáti ‘be silent for a short while’.
- **pre-**: peljáti [IIIc] ‘drive’ / prepeljáti ‘transport’.
- **raz-**: glásití [IV] ‘sound’ / razglasití ‘proclaim’.
- **u-**: pástí [Ia] ‘fall’ / upástí ‘subside’.
- **v-**: stopůti [IV] ‘tread’ / vstopůti ‘enter’.
- **vz-**: kipětí [IV] ‘boil’ / vzkipětí ‘fly into rage’.
- **za-**: ití [Ia] ‘go’ / zaití ‘set (sun)’; réči [Ia] ‘speak’ / zrěči 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-: spoprijateljůti se [IV] ‘make friends’; pre + po + raz: preporazdelítí [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-**: čenčáti [IIIc] ‘gossip’ (čenča ‘nonsense’).
- **-e-**: belětí [IV] ‘become white’ (bel ‘white’); brzětí [IV] ‘be in a hurry’ (břz ‘fast’).
- **-i-**: belůti [IV] ‘make white’ (běl ‘white’); člověčítí [IV] ‘humanize’ (člověk ‘person’).
- **-ov-** – **-ev-**: very productive in medieval Slovene, now much less so: kraljéváti [IIIa] ‘rule as king’ (kráľ ‘king’).
- **-ir-**: marginally productive in the sixteenth century, now used for at least 90 per cent of verbs with borrowed stems (Priestly 1987): rentgeniziráti [IIIc] ‘X-ray’.
Compounding is very uncommon; the same formant \((-o- \sim -e-)\) is used as in compound nouns and adjectives: *dolgočasiti* [IV] ‘to be boring’, compare the juxtapositionally derived noun *dolgčas* ‘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-occurent, and derivation from other sources is assumed:

\[
\begin{align*}
o-/ob- & : \text{o/nemóči} \sim \text{onemóči} [\text{Ia}] \text{‘lose vigour’ (nemőč ‘weakness’).} \\
\text{raz-} & : \text{razdevičiti} [\text{IV}] \text{‘deflower’ (devica ‘virgin’).} \\
\text{u-} & : \text{unôvčiti} [\text{IV}] \text{‘realize as cash’ (novč ‘coin’).}
\end{align*}
\]

### 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):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sosédovo tèle ględa náše ţrebê} & \text{ ‘the neighbour’s calf is looking at our foal’ versus} \\
\text{náše ţrebê ględa sosédovo tèle} & \text{ ‘our foal is looking at the neighbour’s calf’}.
\end{align*}
\]

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 sêstra* ‘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 sêstra* ‘the old teacher will be visited by my sister (not anyone else) tomorrow’; *mója sêstra 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:

\[
\text{Bil je imenîton grôf. Tâ grôf je šâl v Gôrjance na lôv. Velîka družba prijâteljev in lôcvev ga je spremlja. Grôf uglëda medvêda in skôči za njîm. Mêdved šîne v goščâvo ...}
\]

‘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 (*imenîton*) grôf is new information (and placed last) in the first sentence, and old information (and placed first) in the second and fourth. So also *mêdved* is new (and placed after the verb) in grôf uglëda medvêda, but old (and first) in *mêdved šîne v goščâvo*. The third sentence, however, has the comment *velîka družba prijâteljev in lôcvev* 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 želžne dūri prebijete, 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: fânt je mór al trđo délai ‘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; Toporišič 1984: 535–40).

(I) the particle naj;
(II) any past auxiliary (or present copula) except je (namely, som, 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 brât se bo oženil ‘(my) brother will marry’ (se = III, bo = VII); starēši brât Tone se je oženil ‘(my) elder brother Tone has married’ (se = III, je = VII); starēši brâje 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); lâni so se starši brâje oženili ‘last year (my) elder brothers married’ (so (AUX) = II, se = III).
2 ko se vrnem, se bo brat oženil ‘when I return, (my) brother will marry.’
3 ‘daj’, mi je rekol ‘yes’, he said to me (mi = V, je = VII).
4 vem, da se bo brat oženil ‘I know that my brother will marry’; but (with coordinating conjunction not occupying ‘first position’) ostala bom nëporočena, toda brat se bo oženil ‘I shall remain unmarried, but my brother will marry’.
5 se bo brat oženil? = ali se bo brat oženil? ‘will the brother marry?’ se bo nadaljeval = ta članok se bo nadaljeval ‘(this article) will be continued’.

The unstressed negative particle ne succeeds all other clitics – it occupies position VIII: prs, da naj bi se mu smejet ‘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 ni, 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: brat se ne bo oženil (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 končal delo? – Predvčerajšnjim še nè, vèeraj pa sém gà = V¢eraj sém ga končal ‘Have you finished the work? – The day before yesterday I hadn’t, but yesterday I did (finish it)’.

(Ali) se đobro počuti? – Jà, sè = Jà, đobro se počutìm ‘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: vsàj krùha mi dàjte ‘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 vèeraj ju je hôtel poklicati, where je hôtel is one verb phrase and ju poklicati is another; and the reflexive clitic se and its infinitive umiti are separated by another verb in vèeraj se je pozàbil 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 *dànòs sém se slišal sèstro smejàti (where sém slišal is one verb phrase and se smejàti is another) is not acceptable for ‘today I heard my sister laugh’;
this idea can only be expressed otherwise, for instance, *dànös söm slišal séstro smejáti se or dànös söm slišal, kakò se séstro sméje.*

Within the noun phrase modifiers (adjectival pronouns, adjectives and so on) normally stand to the left of the head noun: *trúdna mátì je imélasúh obràž, globóke jàmé so bìlé v njènih licìh* ‘the tired mother had a thin face, (and) there were deep hollows in her cheeks’. Within sequences of determiners, qualitative adjectives precede relational adjectives (*hládno jesènsko jùtro* ‘a cool autumn morning’), and adjectival pronouns precede all other determiners (*vsè tè nàše màjhne gòzdne žìvàli* ‘all these small forest animals of ours’). Dependent prepositional phrases frequently precede adjectives: *žìvljènje v za evrópske pójme grozłjìvi révšèìni* ‘life in poverty (that is) dreadful for European conceptions’, bëžáli so pred z nèzadùùno hítròstjò priblíùùjoùco se jìm katastròfo ‘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 (*dèlavìc zdùmac* ‘worker (who is) migrant’ = ‘migrant worker’, *hlápcì Jèrnej* ‘Jernej the farmhand’; noun-phrase attributes in the genitive and other cases (*hiùa mòjega oèèta* ‘the house of my father’, *himnà domòvini* ‘a hymn to the homeland’); prepositional phrases (*vòjna z Nèmci* ‘war with the Germans’, *stràh pred kàznìjo* ‘fear of execution’) and adverbials (*hiùa tàùm* ‘the house over there’). Exceptions to these statements are stylistically marked (*prijàtelj mòj dràgi* ‘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 *razùmèli ste* ‘you understood’ are thus:

1. **Inversion:** *ste razùmèli?* ‘did you understand?’

2. **The use of a particle.** The normal particles are *ali* (in conversational Slovene, *a*) and *kaj: ali ste razùmèli?* ‘did you understand?’ The expressive variant *mar* adds a rhetorical and doubtful nuance: *màr tèga rès ne vèste?* ‘don’t you really know that?’

3. **An interrogative phrase preposed or postposed to a positive or interrogative sentence.** There are many: *kàj, kajnè, kajnèda, kajnè da nè, ne rès, da, ali kàj, mar nè* and so on. Examples: *razùmèli ste, kajnè?* ‘you understood, didn’t you?’, *ne rès, da ste razùmèli?* ‘isn’t it true that you understood?’, *ali je čùndo, kàj? or je čùndo, nè?* ‘it’s odd, isn’t it?’

4. **The use of interrogative intonation:** *razùmèli 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 razumēli? we may find dā/jā, razumēli, razumēli smo ‘yes’; nē, nismo, nismo razumēli ‘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 nē; and/or the verb is repeated (with negative marking, as necessary) for clarity: ali nisi spāl? ‘haven’t you slept?’ – pāč/sōm ‘yes (I have)’; nē/nisem ‘no (I haven’t)’; ali ne smrdi po petrolejū? – pāč, smrdi/nē, 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?’, kākšan? ‘what sort of?’, cīgāv? ‘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 grēs? ‘where are you going?’ and kām pa grēs? ‘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 dēl dānos? ‘what are you doing today?’ ... pa drēvi? (= ... kaj boš dēl dēvi?) ‘and (what are you doing) this evening?’

Indirect yes–no questions are introduced by the conjunctions ali, če: vprašal me je, ali / če som videl njegovega brata ‘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: vprašal me je, kdaj 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: odpūraj vratā! (IMPFV) ‘open the gate (as a general rule)’ and odpūi vratā! (PRFV) ‘open the gate (at once)’; negative: ne odpūraj vratā! (IMPFV) ‘don’t open the gate (ever)’ and ne odpūi vratā! (PRFV) ‘don’t open the gate (right now)’.

Among other ways of expressing commands, note the following:

Infinitive, both imperfective: nē me jezūti! ‘don’t keep making me angry!’ and perfective: nē me razjezūti! ‘don’t make me really angry!’

Da + conditional: da bi se v žlici vode utopīl! ‘may you drown in a spoonful of water!’

Imperative, third person: pa bōdi po tvōjem ‘let it be the way you want’. Present optative: naj se zgodī tvōja vōlja ‘may your will be done’; lē 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’, zdēti se ‘appear (to be)’: že trētjič je postāl oče ‘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 poročēna (žēna) ‘Barbara is a married woman’, Bārbara je bilā dvē lēti tovāniška dēlavka ‘Barbara was a factory worker for two years’; note otrōk se imenūje Jānez ‘the baby is called Janez’, Bārbara se mi zdi poštena žēnska ‘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): pokāzal se je hvalēžen/hvalēžnega ‘he proved to be grateful’; pokāzal se je dōbor dēlavoc/dōbrega dēlavc ‘he proved to be a good worker’.

Noun phrases in apposition to the objects of transitive verbs are accusative: zapustili so ga siromāka ‘they left him a pauper’; also when introduced by kot or za: sosēda smo doslēj smatrali za prijātelja ‘until now we considered (our) neighbour a friend’, poznāl som te kot otrōka ‘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 prijātelju ‘I miss my friend’, dōlgčas mi je bilō po prijātelju ‘I missed my friend’; trēba ga je kaznovāti ‘he must be punished’, trēba bi ga bilō kaznovāti ‘he should have been punished’; žāl mi je bilō zânj ‘I was sorry for him’; ne bi bilō nāpak zāte, če bi to storīl ‘it wouldn’t be a mistake for you to do that’; sinōči je bil ~ bilō mraž ‘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 zanimīvo ‘it will be interesting tonight’; grōznō 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 zēblo mi je in/pa lāčon som bil ‘I was cold and hungry’: ter would suggest ‘moreover’ in this sentence, but not in fānt
je prišel do kozolca, stópil mimo in/ter/pa je izginil za hlēvom ‘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 takō X kākor (tūdi) Y: ‘film je zbudil zanimanje takō pri občinstvu kākor (tūdi) pri kritiki ‘the film aroused interest both with the public and with the critics’; another expression is bōdisi X bōdisi Y. ‘Either X or Y’ is ali X ali Y: ali dēlaj domā ali pa pōjdi v svēt ‘either work at home or go into the world’, ijā bova šlā (or boš ščč) ali ti ali jāz ‘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: nīna ne brāta ne sēstre ‘he has neither brother nor sister’; tēga ne bōmo dočākali niti mi niti nāši otrōci ‘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: ozrla sta se na māter in obstāla sta srēdi sōbe > ozrla sta se na māter in obstāla srēdi sōbe ‘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 blēde and vidim, da se mu vrti in blēde ‘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 njēna māčka (F SG) sta bīlī (F DU) zūnaj ‘Milka and her cat were outside’, but Milka (F SG) in njēno tēle (N SG) sta bīlā (M DU) zūnaj ‘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: obē dēklici (F DU) in njūna māti (F SG) so bilē (F PL) zūnaj ‘both the girls and their mother were outside’, but dvē tēlēti (N DU) in eno žrebē (N SG) so bīlī (M PL) zūnaj ‘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, jāz (1) in Tōne (3) sva (1 DU) prišlī ‘I and Tone have arrived’; Ti (2), Tōne (3) in Tōmo (3) ste (2 PL) prišlī ‘you, Tone and Tomo have arrived’ (Corbett 1983: 207–8).

Comitative constructions and simple coordination both occur: thus,
s Tønetom sta prišlå and ti in Tøne sta prišlå 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 Løjzom sva sadila ‘Lojz and I were planting’.

Since the personal pronoun is normally deleted (see 4.7), the comitative phrase is normally reduced to $z Y$: ‘hvåla lépa!’ sva rékla z Jånezom ‘many thanks!’, said Janez and I’; $z$ gospodårjem sva šlå v vinôgrad ‘the master and I went to the vineyard’. Simultaneous reciprocal comitativity and pronoun deletion may result in, for example, $vèm, da se imàta z Marjånco råda ‘I know that he and Marjanca love each other’ (= ónadva z Marjånco = òn in Marjånca). Plural comitativity is expressed in the same way; in this instance, the $Y$ in $[X] z Y$ may be dual or plural: $z njìma smo šli na sprehòd ‘we (including the two of them) went for a walk’, $z njìmì smo šli na sprehòd ‘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, $z brátoma smo šli$ 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: $kdör je bolàn, mòra ležàti ‘he who is sick must stay in bed’; vsèm navzóčim je znànò, da se účna úra zaçnè čez pèt minút ‘(the fact) that the lesson begins in five minutes is known to everyone present’. Attribute: $obšlà me je slûtnja, da je domà nèkJaj naròbe ‘I was seized with the foreboding that something at home was wrong’; govoriò o stvarèh, ki jìh ne poznàò ‘you’re talking about things that you don’t know’.

Predicate: Marjànca je zdàj, kàr sòm bilà nekòò jàz ‘Marjanca now is what I once was’. Object: povèdali so, da je mìlièènik odòèl ‘they told (us) that the policeman had left’; nìnam ràd, èe se prepìràta ‘I don’t like it if you two quarrel’. Adverb: zverì žívijo, kùr so gozdòvì ‘wild animals live where there are forests’; cákàl bom, doklàr se ne zmraèè ‘I’ll wait until it gets dark’; ne grè vòn, ker se boji mràza ‘he doesn’t go outside, for he is afraid of the cold’; èe si làèòn, ti dàm krùhà ‘if you’re hungry, I’ll give you some bread’; vstòòpiò, ne da bi poòìkal ‘you come in without knocking’.

There are two relative pronouns, $ki$ and $katèrì$. The latter is marked and is used (a) with a preposition: ljudjà, z katèrìmi bom govòrìl ‘the people with whom I shall talk’ (here the use of $ki$ is equally acceptable: ljudjà, ki born z njìm govòrìl); (b) for possessives: drçava, pod katère zastàvo plùje tà kitolòvka ‘the country under whose flag this whaleboat sails’; and (c) to avoid the ambiguity which is inherent in the indeclinable $ki$: compare mòtì mòjèga prijàtelja, katèrì (F) je zdàj na Bìèdu ‘my friend’s mother, who is now in Bled’ and mòtì mòjèga prijàtelja, katèrì (M) je zdàj na Bìèdu ‘the
mother of my friend, who is now in Bled’. Otherwise, unmarked *ki* is used as follows: alone if nominative: *po jūhi smo dobili črno kávo, ki je bila preslándka* ‘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: *film, ki jih bomo glédali* ‘the films (which them) we shall see’; *ti je tisti, ki mu je vsë zauèala* ‘that’s the person to whom she confided everything’. The supporting pronoun may also be first or second person: *tisti som, ki mi je vsë zauèala* ‘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 *človek, ki mislim, da si ga videl* and not *človek, ki ga mislim, da si videl*; while ‘the man who I think saw you’ is *človek, 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’: *človek, o katèrem 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 visòkega previsa, hotèè (PRS GER) naredìti samomòr* ‘she threw herself down from a high overhang, wishing to commit suicide’; *a ne umrši (PAST GER), je po mnòigh dnìh zòpet ozdravèà* ‘and, not having died, after many days she recovered’.

Participles are used instead of subordinate clauses relatively seldom. In the following, *že pred dvèma ùrama prispèèe göste so kònì÷no pozdràèìi* (literally: ‘they finally greeted the already before two hours having arrived guests’) ‘the guests – who had arrived two hours previously – were finally greeted’, *prispèèe* is used participially, without an auxiliary; a relative clause would be more usual: *göste, ki so pred dvèma ùrama prispèèi, so kònì÷no pozdràèìi*.

The infinitive occurs as the complement of numerous verbs and verb phrases, for example, *nòèemo dèlatin* ‘we do not want to work’, *ni màral velìko govorùì* ‘he did not care to say much’, *dòlèèn som vam tò povèèdìati* ‘I am obliged to tell you that’, *sliùèal som ptièko pèèì* ‘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 *mòram zaèèti dèlatin* ‘I have to begin to work’.

In some contexts, an infinitive and a da-clause are interchangeable: *nààa prva nàòàga je, da se uèìììn = nààa prva nàòàga je uèììì 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 *imàà kààj za jèèst?* ‘do you have anything to eat?’; compare standard *imàè kààj jèèstì?* Similarly: conversational *kùèìl si bom stròj za pomìvat
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 hôdim pôred deséto zvečer ‘I go to bed before ten at night’, šlá je krûha pêč ‘she has gone to bake some bread’, poslâla je sina štûdirat ‘she sent her son (away) to study’; and implicit: mòram spât ‘I must (go) to bed’ (compare, with infinitive, mòram spâtì ‘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 ni zgodilo po móji vělji is more common than tô se je zgodilo nê po móji vôleji 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: Jânez je razbil ókno ‘Janez broke the window’ versus Jânez ni razbil ókna ‘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 mòrem vas ne poslûšati ‘I cannot not listen to you’ = mòram vas poslûšati ‘I must listen to you’. In the same way, if a negative particle co-occurs with a negative adjective, the result is positive: nísom nespámетод ‘I am not unreasonable’ = som (dovolj) pametûn ‘I am (quite) reasonable’. Other negative elements require the co-occurrence of a negative particle: nîc nísom videl ‘I saw nothing’, z nikêmor ne govori ‘he talks to nobody’, nikjȅr jih nisi videl ‘you saw them nowhere’. Many of these other negated elements may co-occur without rendering a sentence positive: nihcê nam ni nikòli niçesar dâl ‘nobody ever gave us anything’.

Normally, the direct object of a negative verb is genitive, as in the example Jânez ni razbil ókna 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 poroçêna (žêna) ‘Barbara is not a married woman’, Bârbara ni bilâ dvê lêti tovârniška
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 oče je domá ‘father is at home’ and očeta ni domá ‘father is not at home’; za njim so ostali dolgovi ‘there were debts left behind him’ and za njim ni ostalo dolgov ‘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 očeta ni domá ‘father is not at home (but somewhere else)’; za njim niso ostali dolgov ‘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 (kaj dělaš? ‘what are you doing?’ berem ‘I am reading’) but also when it is not (kaj bi stőril? ‘what would I/you/he do?’). Hence, the subject of the verb may not become explicit until later in the context: Slovęnci bi bili mőrali že zdavnaj spoznati, da nam enakovrédno vključevanje v mednárodno družino ... lahkš samš 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 bili mőrali. So also: otrök som bil změraj vesēl ‘(I) as a child was always happy’; popōtnik, ki mumo grēš ... ‘(you) traveller who pass by ...’

The pronoun is expressed for contrastive emphasis: kaj dělaš? – jaz bērem ‘what are you doing? – I am reading (but someone else perhaps not)’.

The most usual anaphoric pronoun, ŏn, ŏno, ŏna, is thus more frequently implicit than explicit, for example:

Ko je sđdamsdetlētni oče umirale ..., je nenādoma obmnil oči v strōp, ... odpri ustā in kriknīl: ‘Vöda.’ Natō je omāhnīl nazāj nā glāvje ...

‘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:

Zdāj razumeš sosēda? – Zdī se mi da gā ‘Do you understand your neighbour now? I think that I (understand) him’.

With auxiliaries:
In zakaj je zabôdal Klementino vêč kot énkrat? Da, zakaj jo je?
‘And why did he stab Klementina more than once? Yes, why did he (stab) her?’
Žarîš, kot bi zadéľ glâvni dobitak. – Säj sam gä
‘You’re beaming as if you had won the jackpot. – But I have (won) it’.

In addition, the demonstrative pronouns tâ, tisti, òni are used ana-
phorically:

Kâkšna drevêsa so tô? – Tôle je bûkev, tistole tâm je jávor, ônole ônstran rêke pa je vrba
‘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 přvi … slêdnji:

Kopitar in Miklošič sta bilâ pomëmbna jezikoslóvca; přvi je bîl rójan v ôsômnajstem, slédnji pa v devêtnajstem stolêtju
‘K. and M. were important linguists; the former was born in the eighteenth century
and the latter in the nineteenth.’

Among other anaphoric expressions, tô corresponds to kâr ‘what(ever),
as in kâr je v sôcu, to je tôdi na jeziku ‘whatever is in the heart is also on the
tongue’; tô 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: katëri klobúk hôçete? ‘which
hat do you want?’ – hôçem navâdni klobúk ‘I want the ordinary hat’; but
hôçem navâdnega ‘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: dâjte mi črno oblêko – dâjte mi jo – dâjte mi črno ‘give
me the black dress’ – ‘give me it’ – ‘give me the black one’; neuter: dâjte mi
črno vêdro – dâjte mi ga – dâjte 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/
sêbe: umiti se = umiti sêbe ‘wash oneself’; si/sêbi: pomâgati si = pomâgati sêbi ‘help oneself’. Occasionally, the clitic–non-clitic distinction reflects
something other than emphasis: compare ubiti sêbe (literally: ‘kill oneself’)
‘commit suicide’, but ubiti 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 se ~ 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 sám: včeraj se je prisilil umiti sámega 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: Jóže je prisilil svoja sinova 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: potrębno se mu je umiti (= potrębno mu je + se umiti, literally: ‘it is necessary for him’ + ‘to wash himself’) ‘he must wash’; tebi se pa še ne mudi popraviti (= tebi 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: smejati se ‘laugh’, prizaděvat si ‘to endeavour’; or optional: jökati se = jökati ‘weep’, misliti si = misliti ‘think’.

2 To express impersonal generalizations; with intransitive verbs: v Slověniji se veliko hędi 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 mlajša ženska = iščejo mlajšo žensko ‘a younger woman is sought’. The following alternative construction occurs: reflexive verb + object-ACC: išče se mlajšo žensko; here the verb is impersonal (‘neutral’), compare iskálo se bo mlajše ženske ‘younger women will be sought’. Also, an impersonal reflexive may complement a noun phrase in the dative: Jánezu se hęce denarja ‘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 směje nikoli (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: bál se je ‘he was afraid’ + smejáti se ‘to laugh’ > bál se je smejáti ‘he was afraid to laugh’.

Reciprocity is expressed (a) with reflexive verbs, both with accusative se and with dative si: srčati se ‘meet one another’, pomáhati si ‘help each other’; and (b) with the explicit reciprocal drág- drág- or én- drág-, thus
(paralleling the above reflexives) accusative sřečati drúg drúgega ‘meet one another’, dative pomágati drúg drúgemu ‘help one another’, and with other cases also: genitive: bojita drúg drúgega ‘help one another’, and with other cases also: genitive: bojita se drúg drúgega ‘they are afraid of each other’; instrumental: umirajo drúg za drúgim ‘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 drúga drúge ‘the two (women) are afraid of each other’. A reciprocal can occur without a nominative subject antecedent: treba je drúg drúge mu pomágati ‘people should help each other’.

4.9 Possession

The verb imeti is used in a wide range of meanings with animate subjects: imám hišo ‘I have a house’; imáš dosti gradiva ‘you have enough material’; imá brata ‘he has a brother’; imava prijatelja na obisku ‘we (DU) have a friend visiting’; imamo dobro spomin ‘we (PL) have a good memory’; avto imâte pokvarjen ‘you have (your) car wrecked’ = ‘your car is wrecked’; imajo zájtrk ob ósmih ‘they have breakfast at eight’; imela bo otroka ‘she’s going to have a baby’ and so on. If the possessor is inanimate, also, imeti may be used: teden imá sedom dni ‘the week has seven days’; zakon nima také dolćbë ‘the law does not have such a provision’; but in many instances a prepositional phrase is also possible: voda imá previč kalcija = v vodi je previč kalcija ‘the water has too much calcium’; plug imá ročico = pri plugu 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 matere or more likely materní hiša; ‘the dictator’s palace’ may be palacá diktátorja or more normally diktátorjeva paláca.

These phrases exemplify the normal word order: noun in genitive after head, possessive before head. In conversational Slovene possession is often expressed by od: otroci od sosđe ‘the neighbour’s children’, Čigav je taj plášč? – ‘Od mene’ ‘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, dvá študenta sta prišla ‘two students have arrived’; instrumental, med dvemá stoloma ‘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 obé 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 hodà od tūkaj ‘the city is three (four) hours’ walk from here’; instrumental, s trēmi (štirimi) stōli ‘with three (four) chairs’.

The syntax of higher numerals terminating in edon, dvà, tri, štiri is determined by the last element: thus, stō ěn človek je prišū (singular) ‘101 people came’; tisōč dvà človeka sta prišlā (DU) ‘1,002 people came’; z dvěsto trēmi stōli ‘with 203 chairs’. ‘Five’ and higher numerals (other than those terminating in edon, dvà, tri, štiri), in non-oblique cases, control the genitive plural; the predicate is neuter singular, for instance, pět študentov je prišū ‘five students have arrived’, srčal som pětsto deklęt ‘I met 500 girls’. In the other cases, they agree with their referents in number (plural) and case, for instance, instrumental, s petimi (pětstotimi) stōli ‘with five (500) chairs’. In these oblique cases the numerals are often not declined (see 3.1.5).

Indeterminates like málo ‘little/few’, mānj ‘less/fewer’, veliko ‘much/many’, vēč ‘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 som z mānj ljudmi (INST PL) ‘I talked with fewer people’.

If the amount is unspecified, the genitive alone is sufficient: narēzal sem kruha in slanine ‘I cut some bread and some bacon’. Similarly, any specified amount also requires the genitive: steklenica dōbrega črēnega vina ‘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 ţl ‘beer’ (cognate with English ale) survived as a simplex Slavonic word only in Slovene dialects. Other unusual survivals include brēstī ‘wade’ and dāvi ‘this morning’. Local semantic and phonological developments resulted in further unique items: ampāk ‘but’, besēda ‘word’, dežēla ‘country’, grēnōk ‘bitter’, hudic ‘devil’, in ‘and’, jēča ‘prison’, kljūb ‘in spite of’, mājhōn ‘small’, obljūbīti ‘promise’, slēherni ‘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 migracija, migrirati, imigrant, emigrant there are the derivatives preseljevanje, preseljevati se, priseljenec, izsıljenac; and alongside the native poroka 'wedding' there is the Germanic borrowing ôhcet '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 gümč 'button' (originally from Greek); bákár 'copper' and čížem
'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 hāsniti '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', kmēt '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', fārə 'parish', gāre 'hand-cart', glihati 'haggle', jā 'yes', kēgolj 'skittle', krompīr 'potato', ėpica 'ape', rēgrat 'dandelion', rīsat 'draw', ùra 'hour, clock', žēmlja 'bread roll'. Many items were borrowed from Germanic long enough ago to have lost all transparent connection with German, thus bašati, bāšem 'fill' (from Old High German fajjon). 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 kljunās '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', kisлина 'acid', prispēvek 'contribution', sklādba 'musical composition', slavospēv 'eulogy', zlitina '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 té and kofe, 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 besednjak, besednik and besedišče have all been replaced by slovár. Examples of politico-cultural loans: udárnik ‘shock worker’, sočrealizom ‘socialist realism’, otróške 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 pîca and pîzza for ‘pizza’. Generally, however, modern borrowings are rapidly nativized, as shown by the spelling of nylon and engineering as nájlon 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 /e ø/, for instance, profesor /profesor/ ‘professor’, prımpton /prımpton/ ‘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 lípa) and otherwise the noun is masculine and declined as kút. Note that nouns ending in -r or a vowel add -j- before non-zero endings, as in abonmá, abonmája ‘subscription’; see also 3.1.2. Note also that virtually no recently borrowed nouns are neuter: hence növ kino ‘new cinema’, növ komité ‘new committee’, növ alibi ‘new alibi’, növ kanú ‘new canoe’. Adjectives, on the other hand, relatively often become indeclinable. Compare the borrowed adjectives in prvi trije avti so olivni, drugi trije krém ~ krêmasti, in zadnji trije bêž ‘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 podemokratiti is perfective only.

5.4 Lexical fields

5.4.1 Colour terms
Nine colour terms seem to be 'basic' according to derivational criteria: bel 'white', siv 'grey' and črn 'black'; redč 'red', zelēn 'green', rumēn 'yellow', módr 'blue (1)', sīnji 'blue (2)' and rjav 'brown'. All nine have adjectival derivatives in -(i)kast; verbal 'inchoative' derivatives in -eti; and verbal 'factitive' derivatives in -iti: bēlkast 'whitish', belēti 'become white', belēti 'make (something) white'; sīnjkast, sīnjetí, sīnjeti and so on. Three ('red', 'green', 'brown') may be derived from other 'basic' roots, namely zēl 'herb', redēti 'redden', rjā 'rust'; this is not true of the remainder. Of the two standard words for blue, módr is darker ('the colour of cornflowers') and sīnji lighter. The Academy Dictionary defines sīnji in terms of módr, the more 'basic' of the two. Many speakers use plāv as an approximate synonym for módr.

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 -(i)kast); and they appear to lack the normal corresponding verbal derivatives: oranžon 'orange'; rōžnat 'pink'; and numerous words for shades of purple/mauve/violet, the most common of which is vijōličon.

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: glāva 'head'; okō, očesa 'eye'; nōs 'nose'; uhō, ušēsa 'ear'; ústa (N PL) 'mouth'; lās (M SG) or (more commonly) lasjē (M PL) 'hair (on head)'; vrāt 'neck'; srcē 'heart'. The following involve more ambiguity. Rōka 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, nōga is 'foot' or 'leg'; specifically, stopālo 'foot'; mēča (N PL) 'calf'; bēdrō = stēgno 'thigh' and so on. The single word pīst (M) is 'finger' or 'toe'; to specify one or the other, pīst na rōki and pīst na nógi can be used. Pīši (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 māti ~ māma ‘mother’, oče, očeta ~ āta ‘father’; stāra māti ~ stāra māma ~ bābica ‘grandmother’, stāri oče ~ stāri āta ~ dēd ‘grandfather’. Note also stārši ‘parents’, stari stārsi (PL) ‘grandparents’: these may also occur (see 4.10) as (stāra) stārša (DU) and even as (stār) stārš (SG).

One set of terms is unspecified for sex: otrōk / dēte dēteta ‘child’ – also used age-specifically, ‘baby, small child’. Otherwise, terminology is exclusively sex-specific: žēna ‘wife’ and mōž ‘husband’ (formal soprōga, soprōg ‘spouse (F, M)’); hči, hcęre ‘daughter’, sin ‘son’; sēstra ‘sister’, brāt ‘brother’; tēta ‘aunt’ (mother’s sister or father’s sister); stric ‘uncle’ (mother’s brother or father’s brother) – note also ūjoc and ūjna ‘mother’s brother/sister’, now generally replaced by stric, tēta – nečākinja ‘niece’, nečāk ‘nephew’; sestrična ‘female cousin’, brātranoc ‘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 -ē (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/ > /γ/, /h/; */tj/ > /č/; */ń/ > /j/, /n/, /jn/; */l/ > /j/, /l/, /jl/; a (secondary) 'neopalatalization' of velars, namely /k g x/ > /č ĵ š/ (and other reflexes); various reflexes for */l/ and */v/, especially giving /w/ in some and/or all environments; */b/ > /β/, */t/ > /θ/, */k/ > /?, */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, ē (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 Rezija 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 (rővte 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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