

A Short Reference Grammar of Standard Slovene

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Preface and acknowledgments

This grammar is meant to be a brief reference for the main grammar points of contemporary standard Slovene, with some notes on salient differences between written and spoken usage, and, as such, it can hardly substitute for much more comprehensive works such as Herrity 2000, intended for readers of English, or Toporišič 2000, intended for native Slovene users, nor the numerous handbooks and studies on specific areas of grammar at which the References section below can only hint.¹ Nevertheless, this grammar attempts to innovate over most or all handbooks on Slovene grammar in at least few ways, e.g., it offers as many contextual examples from real texts as practicable, in the belief that concise statements about usage generally fail to capture the subtleties and robustness of actual usage—context-rich examples partially fill this gap; information about the tonemic accent properties of words are represented in a manner that is more efficient than in traditional Slovene grammars; an attempt has been made to capture at least some salient characteristics of the relationship between standard and substandard codes, especially the spoken language of Ljubljana and its environs. Certain topics—such as the accentuation of nouns in the tonemic pronunciation variant, word-formation, or a complete overview of discourse markers—are so complex that anything approaching a comprehensive survey would so thicken the exposition that it could no longer be considered a brief reference.

The daunting task of writing a grammar of a language—at least to this writer, who has never aspired to do such a thing—has the feel of a fool’s errand. In trying to say at least something about each grammar topic, one becomes aware of how much more there is to say and how many things are still left unsolved. While this grammar tries to be as brief as possible, concessions were made to provide, where appropriate, as much context as possible by excerpting from a variety of contemporary texts (literary, journalistic, advertising), as well as transcripts of actual speech (in particular, the transcripts of the Slovenian Parliament [DZRS],

¹ In this regard the bibliographies in Lenček 1982 and Orešnik and Reindl 2003 give good bibliographical guides to topics in Slovene grammar, both being particularly strong on English-language sources.

which can be queried on-line, see the Nova beseda [NB] search engine in Sources of Material, 9.1.1) so that the user may have a sense of how a given grammar point “lives” in the language. Not only that, but many of the points that had to be passed over can be teased out by the perceptive reader. Because of the brevity of the grammar, the coverage necessarily had to be selective. The selection is based on the author’s (admittedly, imperfect) feel for what is contemporary in the language, which is to say that what was felt to be overly archaic or bookish generally did not find its way into the work. Nevertheless, even archaisms are relevant to the stylistic nuances and regional preferences of speakers and writers of the contemporary language and so, when they were deemed appropriate for inclusion, these archaisms are pointed out. The reader will also note the occasional incursion of diachronic information, a professional defect caused by the author’s historicist proclivities.

The project has been considerably improved by the aid of a handful of experts, the native Slovene speakers among whom also served both as judges of grammatical acceptability as well as adequateness of analysis. My thanks in this regard go to Stephen M. Dickey (University of Kansas), Marta Pirnat-Greenberg (University of Kansas), Marko Jesenšek (University of Maribor), Marko Snoj (Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts), Nada Šabec (University of Maribor). None of these people can be held responsible for mistakes or inadequacies, however—particularly since the text was given to each of them piecemeal—as these must be attributed to the author. I wish to thank Laura Janda (University of North Carolina) for the suggestion to undertake the writing of this grammar and for her encouragement at various stages of the project.

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1 Abbreviations and symbols used

1.1 Abbreviations

| | |
|-------|-------------------------------|
| ACC | accusative |
| ADJ | adjective |
| AN | animate |
| arch. | archaic |
| AUX | auxiliary |
| BCS | Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian |
| CONJ | conjunction |
| CSS | Contemporary Standard Slovene |
| DAT | dative |
| DEF | definite |
| DU | dual |
| F | feminine |
| FIN | finite verb |
| GEN | genitive |
| INF | infinitive |
| IMPF | imperfective |
| IMV | imperative |
| IND | indefinite |
| INST | instrumental |
| INT | intensifier |
| lit. | literal translation |
| LOC | locative |
| LP | L-participle |
| M | masculine |
| MOD | modal |
| N | neuter |

| | |
|-------|---------------------------|
| NEG | negative |
| NOM | nominative |
| PaAP | past active participle |
| PART | particle |
| PF | perfective |
| PIE | Proto-Indo-European |
| PRES | present tense |
| PS | Proto-Slavic |
| PL | plural |
| PPP | past passive participle |
| PrAP | present active participle |
| RFL | reflexive |
| SG | singular |
| SOV | subject-object-verb order |
| sth | something |
| SUB | subordinating |
| SVO | subject-verb-object order |
| [] | phonetic transcription |
| // | phonemic transcription |
| '...' | English glosses |

1.2 Symbols

| | |
|---|--------------------|
| 1 | first person |
| 2 | second person |
| 3 | third person |
| < | comes from |
| > | turned into |
| ← | is derived from |
| → | yields |

| | |
|---|--|
| ~ | varies with |
| * | hypothetical or reconstructed form |
| ? | doubtful or marginally at- tested form |

2 Basic data

Slovene (or Slovenian),² the titular language of the Republic of Slovenia, is spoken by some 2.4 million people, including speakers in bordering areas in Italy, Austria, and Hungary as well as in diaspora communities in Argentina, Australia, Canada, and the US.

Together with Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian, Slovene makes up the western subgroup of the South Slavic branch of the Slavic languages (Indo-European). Slovene transitions to the Čakavian and Kajkavian dialects of Croatian. It is less close to the Štokavian dialect, the basis for the Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian standard languages. Ancient connections to the central dialect of Slovak (West Slavic) are evident.

2.1 Historical sketch

In the 6–7th centuries A.D. Slavs began settling in the Eastern Alpine regions, having employed the Danube, Sava and Drava river systems to migrate westward, occupying lands abandoned by the Langobards; southward Slavic migrations of Proto-Croats, Serbs, Macedonians, and Bulgarians resulted in settlement of the Balkan hinterland. These settlements ultimately gave rise to the modern Slovene, Serbo-Croatian (now corresponding to the Croatian, Bosnian and Serbian standard languages), Macedonian and Bulgarian speech territories. The Proto-Slovene territory reached as far west as the Tagliamento River, the Gulf of Trieste, Linz and the outskirts of Vienna to the north, and the southern end of Lake Balaton to the east. Features of South Slavic provenience in the central dialect area of Slovak point to a time when Proto-Slovene was still contiguous with West Slavic. The Slavic state of Carantania, centered around modern Klagenfurt, Austria, was established in the 7th century. In the 9th century, the state came under Frankish domination, an alliance motivated by

² I find it useful to distinguish the terms *Slovene* and *Slovenian*, whereby the latter term can be seen as a derivative of *Slovenia* (i.e., the *Republic of Slovenia*). By reserving this term for the narrower meaning pertaining to all things connected with the state and its organization, the term *Slovene* can refer more broadly to cultural aspects such as language, art, music, etc., that are not usually or necessarily defined by a government entity.

the Avar threat. Throughout the medieval period, the Proto-Slovene speech territory has gradually diminished as speakers shifted to Friulian, Italian, German and Hungarian, leaving a southern core area today that is equal to the present-day Republic of Slovenia plus border areas in Italy, Austria and Hungary.

The earliest surviving written documents from the Proto-Slovene speech territory are the Freising Folia, consisting of liturgical formulae in the Western rite and a sermon, composed around 1000 A.D. These constitute the oldest attestation of any Slavic language written in the Latin (Carolingian) alphabet. From this time until the middle of the 16th century there are a few surviving documents in Slovene, mostly religious and legal texts. The first printed book in Slovene is Primož Trubar's (1508—1586) *Catechismus* (1550), which, along with Jurij Dalmatin's (1547—1598) translation of the Bible (1584), ushers in the first era in the creation of a Slovene standard language. Trubar was aware of the already considerable dialect differentiation of the Slovene speech territory and employed elements of the Central Slovene dialects, particularly the dialect of Ljubljana and his native Lower Carniolan, as the basis for his written language. The Counter-Reformation put an end to this era, while the Protestants developed a regional literary language for use in Prekmurje, in the northeast. Štefan Küzmič's (1723—1799) translation of the New Testament (1771) remains the major achievement in the local Prekmurje literary language, which is still employed in Protestant churches in the region.

Although some important contributions were made to Slovene literacy by Catholic intellectuals (notably, the monk and grammarian, Marko Pohlin, 1735—1801), the Slovene language remained secondary to the state language, German and, in the western and northeastern peripheries, Italian and Hungarian. The beginning of the modern Slovene standard language can be dated to the work of Jernej Kopitar (1780—1844), whose *Grammatik der slawischen Sprache in Krain, Kärnten und Steyermark* (1809) marks the beginning of a language constructed from selected dialect elements and based on historically-supported spelling. The literary language was raised in prestige by the literary efforts of the Romantic

poet France Prešeren (1800–1849) and the literary circle around Baron Sigismund Zois (1747–1819). The orthographic system that makes up the modern standard, by and large in the form it is found today, was codified in the Slovene–German Dictionary of Maks Pleteršnik (1840–1923), published in 1894–95. Standard Slovene consolidated its individuality throughout the 20th century in the framework of Yugoslavia (1918–1991), though remained in tension with Serbo–Croatian, as it was then called, for its status within the larger state, as well as with languages of the surrounding states where Slovene has remained a significant minority population in border areas (for details see Greenberg 1997, Vidovič–Muha 1998).

2.2 Relation of Slovene to other languages

Slovene is a Slavic and, consequently, an Indo–European language. Its dialects continue the speech territory that at one time covered a wider territory of present–day Austria, southwestern Hungary, and northern Italy, as well as the present–day Republic of Slovenia. Shared innovations with central Slovak dialects indicate that Slovene was closely connected in a dialect chain to more northerly West Slavic dialects, often referred to as Pannonian Slavic, whose speakers shifted to Hungarian and German in the early Middle Ages, before the period of Slavic literacy. Slovene’s closest relations today are the Kajkavian dialect of Croatian, followed by the Čakavian dialect, both of which form continua with the Slovene speech territory (for details see Greenberg 2000). In view of these relations, *Stammbaum* taxonomies of the Slavic languages place Slovene in the western subzone of South Slavic, grouping it together with BCS and separating it from the eastern subzone, which is comprised of Macedonian and Bulgarian.

In one emblematic respect Slovene (and Kajkavian Croatian) has diverged from the majority of Slavic languages in its replacement of the reflex for the pronoun ‘what’, descended from PIE **k^wi-* (PS **čb-[to]* > Russian *čto*, Polish *co*, BCS *što*), with the lative particle **k^weh₂*, akin to Latin *quā*. The development results from the reanalysis, first, of the lative interrogative as a subordinating conjunction and, second, from the addition

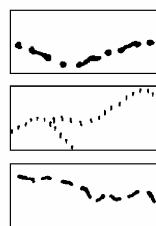
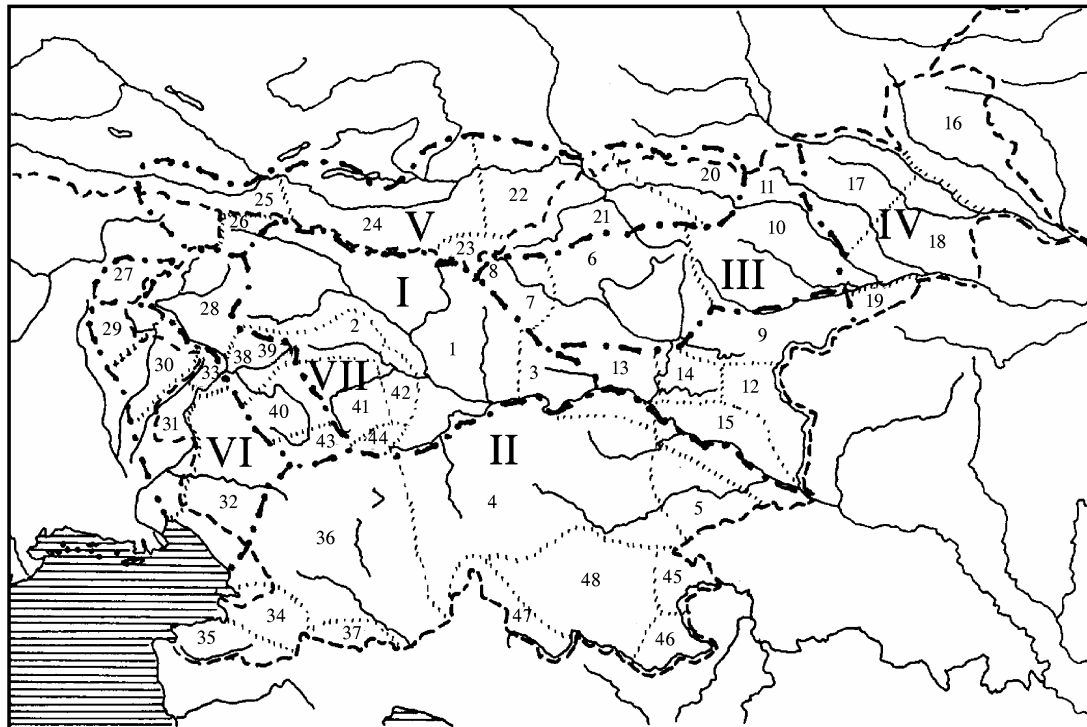
of the pronominal marker **jč*, as the inanimate subject–marking pronoun in main clauses (see Snoj 1997 for details).

2.3 Dialects

The Slovene speech territory is famously dialectally variegated with mutual intelligibility very limited from one end of the territory to the other. Traditionally the dialects are divided into eight “bases,” more or less corresponding to regional affinities arising in the medieval period, and forty–eight individual dialects based on more fine–grained if heterogeneous criteria. The Map of Slovene dialects illustrates these divisions. A not insignificant part of the Slovene speech territory lies outside of the Republic of Slovenia, notably in neighboring Italy, Austria, and Hungary.

The Upper and Lower Carniolan dialects (bases I and II) form the basis for the phonological shape of CSS, though elements from other dialects have been selected for the morphological and syntactic structures. Although the phonology is essentially Carniolan, the lexical shape of the language results not from a single dialect base, but from historical reconstruction taking into account information from virtually all Slovene dialects, a project that crystallized with the compilation of Maks Pleteršnik’s dictionary (see Pleteršnik 1894–95). Adjustments to the lexical representation of Slovene since Pleteršnik’s dictionary have been largely matters of detail. Moreover, the city dialect of Ljubljana, which lies on the borderline between the Upper and Lower Carniolan dialects, formed on the basis of speech from these two areas.

2.3.1 Map of Slovene dialects



Dialects and dialect groups based on Rigler 1963

Subdialects based on Logar and Rigler 1983

National borders

Upper Carniolan dialect (UC). (1) Upper Carniolan proper. (2) Selca dialect. (3) Eastern Upper Carniolan. **II. Lower Carniolan dialect (LC).** (4) Lower Carniolan proper. (5) Eastern Lower Carniolan. **III. Styrian dialect (Sty).** (6) Central Savinja. (7) Upper Savinja. (8) Solčava. (9) Central Styrian. (10) Southern 4 Pohorje. (11) Kozjak. (12) Kozjansko–Bizeljsko. (13) Zagorje–Trbovlje. (14) Laško. (15) (Sevnica–Krško. **IV. Pannonian group (Pan).** (16) Prekmurje. (17) Slovenske gorice. (18) Prlekija. (19) Haloze. **V. Carinthian dialect (Car).** (20) Northern Pohorje–Remšnik. (21) Mežica. (22) Podjuna. (23) Obirsko. (24) Rož. (25) Zilja. (26) Kranjska gora. **VI. Littoral group (Lit).** (27) Rezija. (28) Soča. (29) Ter. (30) Nadiža. (31) Brda (briško). (32) Kras. (33) Banjščice (banjški). (34) Rižana. (35) Šavrini. (36) Inner Carniola. (37) Čičarija. **VII. Rovte group (Rov).** (38) Tolmin. (39) Bača. (40)

Cerkno (cerkljansko). (41) Poljane. (42) Škofja Loka. (43) Črni vrh. (44) Horjul. **Dialects of heterogeneous origin.** (45) Northern Bela krajina. (46) Southern Bela krajina. (47) Kostel. (48) Kočevje.

2.4 The standard language and its relation to spoken language

As a consequence of the artificial nature of the standard language, sketched above, based on historical spelling of the inherited lexicon, as well as structures that, though historically appropriate, had gone out of use in folk speech (e.g., participles), there is a wide gap in the structural characteristics of the written and spoken language, a gap that might be referred to as *diglossia*, though the Fergusonian definition of H(igh) and L(ow) prestige codes would oversimplify matters. To some extent the diglossia label captures a significant piece of reality, however, insofar as educated speakers switch codes in formal (public speech, television, radio, stage) and informal circumstances. Following Toporišič's categorization, the social variants of Slovene speech may be divided into four types (2000: 13ff), as illustrated in the table:

| <i>STANDARD (LITERARY LANGUAGE)</i> | <i>NON-STANDARD</i> |
|--|---|
| Formal (<i>zborni jezik</i>) | Regional colloquial (<i>pokrajinski pogovorni jeziki</i>) |
| Colloquial (<i>splošno- ali knjižnopolgovorni jezik</i>) | Local dialects (<i>zemljepisna narečja</i>) |

Educated Slovenes use—or aim to use—the formal standard language in public address and in most writing. The best exemplars of this kind of speech are generally actors, teachers, journalists, and writers. A high degree of social prestige is assigned to speakers who accurately use the standard literary language in appropriate situations (i.e., most public speech) and there are even rare examples of speakers who use the code exclusively in everyday speech. Acquisition of the formal code constitutes a significant part of basic public education, during which children learn the relationship between their home speech and the target code, the formal literary language. Most educated speakers switch to the colloquial register of the standard language when communicating in less formal cir-

cumstances, but tend to aim for more formal usage in circumstances where educated speakers are present or the company is not exclusively local. The more local or the less educated the speaker and/or addressee(s), the more likely a local dialect or a regional koinè, or even a blend of the formal language with dialect features, will be used. According to Priestly (1999), one can measure the relative awareness of the norm, for example, on the basis of several parameters, i.e., (higher awareness > lower awareness): educated > less educated; family background = central Slovene speakers > family background = peripheral Slovene speakers; female > male; humanities training > other educational background.

3 Phonology

3.1.1 Alphabet, phonemes, allophony

The Slovene alphabet (*abeceda*) is a modification of the Roman alphabet, as adapted from Czech in the 19th century.

LETTER–SOUND CORRESPONDENCES

| LETTER | IPA | EXAMPLE | NOTES |
|--------|------------|--|---|
| A, a | a | <i>sadje</i> ['sá:diɛ] 'fruit' NOM/ACC–SG, <i>kraj</i> [k'ràj] 'region' | |
| B, b | b | <i>beseda</i> [bɛ'sè:da] 'word', <i>oba</i> [ɔ'bà:] 'both' | |
| C, c | ts | <i>cena</i> ['tsé:na] 'price', <i>lice</i> [lí:cɛ] 'cheek' | |
| Č, č | tʃ | <i>čelo</i> ['tʃé:lɔ] 'fore- head', <i>pečē</i> ['pé:tʃɛ] 'bakes' 3–SG | |
| D, d | d | <i>dim</i> ['dim] 'smoke', <i>zmeden</i> [z'mè:dɛn] 'confused' NOM–SG– M | |
| E, e | e, ɛ, ə | <i>pesek</i> ['pésək] 'sand', <i>žena</i> [z'ɛ:na] 'wife', <i>steza</i> [s'téza] 'path' | The orthography does not distin- guish the phonemic contrasts /e/ ≠ /ɛ/ ≠ /ə/, which occur fully only in stressed syllables. The contrast be- tween /e/ and /ɛ/ is neutralized as [ɛ] in short–stressed and un- stressed syllables. Consequently, only [ɛ] and [ə] occur in unstressed syllables. |
| F, f | f | <i>fara</i> ['fá:ra] 'parish', <i>defekt</i> [de'fè:kt] 'de- fect' (noun) | |

| | | | |
|------|------|---|--|
| G, g | g | | |
| H, h | x | | |
| I, i | i | | See 3.1.1.1 |
| J, j | j | | |
| K, k | k | | |
| L, l | l, w | <i>reke</i> ['ré:kəw] | In syllable-final position / is generally realized as [w] or [ɯ], though in some morphological categories and individual words syllable-final l is realized as [l], e.g., <i>stolca</i> [ɯc] or [lc] 'of a small chair', <i>stopalka</i> [lk] or [wk] 'pedal'. In nouns that take a Ø ending in the GEN-PL with stems ending in -l, the realization is [l]: <i>stopal</i> [l] 'of feet'. In borrowings, syllable-final / is realized as [l]: <i>ideal</i> 'an ideal' |
| M, m | m | | |
| N, n | n | | |
| O, o | o, ɔ | <i>golob</i> [gɔ'lò:p] 'pigeon', <i>nosimo</i> 'we carry' [n'ó:simɔ], <i>potok</i> ['pó:tɔk] 'brook', <i>otrok</i> [ɔt'rɔk] 'child' | The orthography does not distinguish the phonemic contrasts /o/ ≠ /ɔ/, which occur fully only in stressed syllables. The contrast between /o/ and /ɔ/ is neutralized as [ɔ] in short-stressed and unstressed syllables. |
| P, p | p | | |
| R, r | r, ɾ | <i>pere</i> ['pére] 'washes' 3-SG, <i>red</i> ['rè:t] 'order, row'; <i>prt</i> ['pèrt] 'tablecloth', <i>rž</i> ['èrʃ] 'rye' | When <i>r</i> appears in syllabic position, i.e., between consonants, it is realized as ə + r. |
| S, s | s | | |
| Š, š | ʃ | | |

| | | | |
|------|----------------------|--|--|
| T, t | t | | |
| U, u | u | <i>suša</i> ['sú:ʃa] 'drought', <i>kruh</i> [k'rùx] 'bread' | See 3.1.1.1 |
| V, v | v, u, w, w̥ | <i>va</i> ['và:l] 'wave', <i>vzeti</i> [u'zé:ti] ~ [w'zé:ti] 'to take', <i>vse</i> 'everything' [u'sè] ~ [w̥'sè] | V is pronounced as a labiodental fricative [v] only before a vowel. Otherwise it is pronounced as a non-syllabic <i>u</i> [u̥], optionally with syllabicity [u]. Before voiceless consonants it may be realized as a voiceless glide [w̥]. |
| Z, z | z | | |
| Ž, ž | ʒ | | |

Several other letters occur in published texts in order to render direct citation of foreign words (those not felt to be in everyday use and thus not nativized), primarily modified Latin letters in European languages familiar to educated Slovenes, e.g., Ç, ç; Ć, ć; Đ, đ; Q, q; W, w; X, x; Y, y; Ś, ś; Ž, ž; Ż, ż. Though written, these are pronounced like the most similar Slovene phoneme, e.g., *Đindić* is pronounced though written *Džindžič*, *Eqrem Çabej* as though written *Ekrem Čabej*, *Kwaśniewski* as though written *Kvašnjevski*, *Wałęsa* as though written *Valensa* or *Vavensa*, *Washington* as *Vašington*.

Ü, ü occurs also in native words to render dialect pronunciation, e.g., *Števan Kühar* (ethnographer from Prekmurje). This sound is characteristic of some eastern and southern dialects of Slovene.

3.1.1.1 Vowel reduction

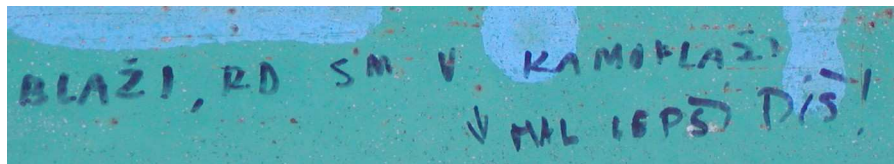
The colloquial language spoken in Ljubljana and the central dialects of Slovene differ in pronunciation in several ways from the standard language, but arguably the feature that structurally affects the structure of most words, both in their stem structure and inflectional endings, is vowel reduction, i.e., the reduction to schwa of short stressed and unstressed *i*, *u* (and sometimes other vowels) and their elimination in final syllables.

In texts imitating colloquial speech with vowel reduction, schwa (ə) is sometimes rendered by an apostrophe, especially when the schwa represents the reduction of a short high close vowel, usually *i* or *u*, e.g., *n'č* ['nətʃ] for standard *nič* ['niʧ] 'nothing', *za crk'nt* [za 'tsərkənt] for standard *za crkniti* [za 'tsərkniʦi] 'you could just die (i.e., from shock, from laughter)'. Sometimes no mark at all is written: *nč*, *crknt*.

VOWEL REDUCTION IN FOLK ORTHOGRAPHY



Vowel reduction in folk orthography. The name of the restaurant *Pr' Jakov Met* stylizes the non-standard pronunciation of *Pri Jakovi Meti* 'at Meta's of the house of Jaka'. Unstressed high vowels have reduced to schwa and then disappeared in final position. (Trzin, NE of Ljubljana).



Vowel reduction in graffiti. The ditty *Blaži, Blaži, rd sm v kamoflaži ↓ mal lepš diš!* 'Blaž, Blaž, I like to be in camouflage ↓ Smell a little better!³ corresponds to the rendering in standard orthography: ...*rad sem v kamoflaži—malo lepše diši!* The short-stressed *a* in *rad* has become a schwa in this dialect (which is very similar to Ljubljana city dialect), identical to the stressed schwa in the copula, *sem*. The *-o-* in *kamoflaži* is a hypercorrection, as unstressed pretonic *o* is dialectally raised to *u*. The unstressed final *-o* in *malo* historically raised to *-u* and later, in the last few cen-

³ Conceivably, the second phrase was written by another hand and could be read *Mal lepš piš* 'Write a little better!', a suggestion by Prof. Nada Šabec. While this interpretation would make more sense in terms of text cohesion—as well as give an illuminating example of native sociolinguistic commentary—than the reading proffered in the caption, the writer would have had to have produced a defective P, missing its tail and having an unusually large loop. Given that the P in the word *lepš*, written by the same hand, is produced normally, I think this reduces the likelihood that the first letter in the last word is a P and not a D. Nevertheless, the second reading cannot be dismissed.

turies, reduced to $-\emptyset$. Final $-i$ also disappeared in this process. A new unstressed final $-i$ appears as the diminutive suffix for the name *Blaž*. The final $-i$ in *v kamoflaži* is evidently preserved to effect the rhyme. (Domžale, NE of Ljubljana).

Unstressed i and u have been restored in the vowel system of Ljubljana colloquial speech as a result of the monophthongization of unstressed sequences of $V + j$ and $V + [u]$, respectively, e.g., *tûki* ‘here’ (standard *tûkaj*), *Mîhu* ‘Miha’s (standard *Mîhov*), *cérku* ‘church’ (standard *cérkev*).

For further details on the colloquial speech of Ljubljana, see Gjurin 1990.

3.1.1.2 Consonant inventory

| | | <i>LABIAL</i> | <i>DENTAL</i> | <i>ALVEOLAR</i> | <i>PALATO-ALVEOLAR</i> | <i>VELAR</i> |
|------------|-----------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|------------------------|--------------|
| Stops | voiceless | p | t | | | k |
| | voiced | b | d | | | g |
| Affricates | voiceless | | | ts | tʃ | |
| | voiced | | | | dʒ | |
| Fricatives | voiceless | f | s | | ʃ | x |
| | voiced | v | z | | ʒ | |
| Nasals | | m | | n | | |
| Lateral | | | | l | | |
| Trill/tap | | | r | | | |
| Glides | | | | | j | |

3.1.1.3 Vowel inventory

| | <i>FRONT</i> | <i>CENTRAL</i> | <i>BACK</i> |
|-----------|--------------|----------------|-------------|
| Close | i | | u |
| Close-mid | e | | o |
| Open-mid | ɛ | ə | ɔ |
| Open | | a | |

3.1.1.4 Word prosody

All words in Slovene that are not clitics have at least one prominent syllable. Prominence is lexically determined, i.e., it is not predictable, so

it is a feature of the word which must be learned along with the segmental sequence and the meaning. Prominence is marked in at least two broadly different ways depending on which dialect area a Slovene speaker comes from. Speakers from Ljubljana, the Upper and Lower Carniolan dialects, or the Carinthian dialect may have a pitch–accent (“tonemic”) system. Speakers from other areas generally have a dynamic stress (“stress”) system. In both the tonemic and stress systems, vestiges of a quantity opposition in stressed syllables may still be realized in many speakers’ systems. With the exception of some peripheral dialects, distinctions between long and short stressed syllables occur in the final or only syllable.

Word–prosodic features are not normally marked in Slovene orthography except in rare instances where a stress distinction resolves an ambiguity (e.g., *têma* ‘theme, topic’, *temà* ‘darkness’; *vâs* ‘village’, *vàs* ‘you’ 2–PL), though these are usually easily differentiated by context. Prominence is traditionally marked in two ways that can be very confusing because of the overlap in the meaning of the diacritic marks. The tonemic system requires three signs: the acute mark (*á*) signifies a long, lowered or “rising” pitch; the circumflex (*â*) marks a long, raised or “falling” pitch; the grave (*à*) marks a short, raised or “falling” pitch. The latter is not contrasted with a short, lowered/rising pitch, so the fact that the short stress matches the pitch properties of the raised/falling pitch is a mere phonetic detail. In addition, many modern Slovene grammars distinguish the close–mid vowels, which occur only in long–stressed syllables, by adding a dot underneath the letter (*ě, ø*). These contrast with corresponding open–mid vowels, which are left plain (*e, o*). Learners who wish to approximate the pitch–accent system may try to lower the pitch in rising pitch syllables about a minor third from surrounding unstressed syllables or raise a minor third for the falling pitch. Imitating a native speaker who uses the tonemic system is of course the only way to get the pitch–accent system right. The process can be frustrating, as the distribution of tonemes and their phonetic realization differ, sometimes radically, from one locality to another. With this caveat in mind, the reader should realize that the indications of pitch–accent below will not always

be correct for some native speakers. Readers are referred to the *SSKJ* for an authoritative source for the distribution of stress and pitch placement, which is based on a canvass of native informants. Most foreign learners opt for the simpler stress system, which is in any case used by native speakers from many dialect areas, primarily on the peripheries of the Slovene speech territory, though some individuals also speak this way even in localities where pitch–accent is prevalent.

In the stress–only system the marks are used differently: the acute (*á*) marks a long–stressed syllable. It also marks the close–mid vowels (*é, ô*), which occur only under stress; to account for the open–mid vowels, the carat is used (*ê, ô*). Short stress is marked by the grave sign (*à*) as in the tonemic system.

In the present grammar, wherever stress is marked on an orthographic form it is intended to represent the tonemic system. (IPA conventions are used whenever the phonetic representation, signaled by square brackets [], is specified. Stress is marked in this work only in the sections of the grammar that concern the phonological, morphophonemic, and morphological structures of words—the stress is not marked in the sections on units of analysis larger than the word.) Normally the stress in this work is marked only insofar as word structure per se is discussed, thus, editorial stress marking is not included in usage examples. Readers who wish to convert these marks to the stress system need only ignore the marks for the lowered vs. raised pitch. Moreover, since the stressed open–mid vowels are marked (i.e., less frequent) in the system, these will be marked with a subscript leftward hook (*vr_éme* ‘weather’, *p_ótok* ‘brook’, *Am_êrika* ‘America’, *prepr_ôščina* ‘naïveté’); the contrasting close–mid vowels, which occur only under long stress but are more frequent than the corresponding low–mid stressed vowels, are not specially marked (*zv_ézda* ‘star’, *p_ót* ‘path, road’). Because this distinction in mid–vowels does not occur in short–stressed syllables, which are low–mid by default, no vowel–quality diacritic is necessary in short–stressed syllables.

| <i>REPRESENTATION IN THIS WORK</i> | <i>TONEMIC SYSTEM</i> | <i>STRESS SYSTEM</i> |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| <i>bráti</i> ‘read’ INF | [b'rá:ti] | [b'ra:ti] |
| <i>brât</i> ‘go read’ SUP | [b'rà:t] | [b'ra:t] |
| <i>bràt</i> ‘brother’ | [b'ràt] | [b'rat] |
| <i>vréme</i> ‘weather’ | [w'ré:me] | [w're:me] |
| <i>zvézda</i> ‘star’ | [z'vé:zda] | [z've:zda] |
| <i>kmèt</i> ‘farmer’, ‘pawn’ | [k'mèt] | [k'mɛt] |
| <i>pótok</i> ‘brook’ | ['pó:tɔk] | ['pɔ:tɔk] |
| <i>pót</i> ‘path, road’ | ['pó:t] | ['po:t] |
| <i>snòp</i> ‘sheaf’ | [s'nòp] | [s'nɔp] |

In instances where the toneme may be realized variably according to authoritative sources (in particular, *SSKJ*, Toporišič 2000), a straight bar is used here. Note that this variability occurs only in long-stressed vowels and, in the case of mid-vowels, only those which are high-mid, thus *katēri* ‘which one’ is read in the tonemic system as either [ka'té:ri] or [ka'tè:ri] or in the stress system as [ka'te:ri].

Finally, it should be noted that the diacritic marks are not used in everyday orthography except in those instances where stress disambiguates homographs, e.g., *vžgi zvezdá svetilke* (AG: 76) ‘light the lamps of the stars’, where *zvezda* must be read as GEN-PL [zvez'dá:], rather than NOM-SG [z'vé:zda] (in the latter case the fragment, albeit with defective punctuation, would be parsed ‘light, oh, star, the lamps’).

3.1.1.4.1 Phonological rules

Slovene spelling is largely phonemic and morphophonemic, thus most of the information for converting spelling into speech in terms of segments and word prosody can be gleaned from the remarks on inventory, given above, though in some cases a letter can stand for two different phonemes (cf. *brâlec* [lɛts] ‘reader’ NOM-SG vs. *brâlca* [ɥts] ‘reader’ ACC/GEN-SG). The major instances of substitution are sketched below. Stress placement, vowel quality in mid-vowels, quantity and pitch values

in stressed syllables are not rendered in orthography nor are they predictable, thus this information must be learned by non-natives either through observation or consulting reference works. Readers may access recordings of speech in Hladnik 2001 (available on-line: <http://www.ff.uni-lj.si/sft/>) as well as in the CD accompanying Šeruga Prek and Antončič 2004 (the latter especially with regard to orthoepy).

Aside from subtle phonetic variation, most of the vowels are pronounced (normatively) the same in both stressed and unstressed syllables (though some of the striking differences in colloquial speech have been noted in the comments to inventory, above). The principal exception to this statement is that the distinction between high-mid and low-mid vowels are neutralized in favor of low-mid pronunciation in unstressed syllables, e.g., *lêp* [l'è:p] 'pretty' M-SG-INDEF vs. *lepô* [lɛ'pò:] 'prettily, nicely'; *hvaléžnost* [hva'lé:žnɔst] 'gratitude' vs. *dolžnôst* [dɔužnò:st] 'obligation'.

The distinction between high-mid and low-mid vowels is neutralized in favor of low-mid in the sequences /ov/ and /ej/, e.g., *bogôvi* [bɔ'gò:vi] 'gods', *sóva* [s'ó:va] 'owl'; *idêja* [i'dé:ja] 'idea', *prêj* [p'ré:j] 'before'. Following the tradition of Slovene grammars, however, the diacritic representation of accent and vowel quality in this work will not reflex this phonetic neutralization.

Voicing of obstruents is neutralized in word-final position, most consistently when words are uttered in isolation or before a pause, e.g., *žlêb* [p] 'sluice, gutter' N/A-SG vs. *žlêba* [ba].

In consonant clusters, the consonants that are paired for voicing (stops, fricatives, affricates, with the exception of *v*) are neutralized for voicing in favor of the voicing value of the last obstruent in the cluster. For example, *gròzd* [st] 'grape' N/A-SG vs. *grózda* [zd] 'grape' G-SG, *izrêzek* [zək] 'cutlet' N/A-SG vs. *izrêzka* [sk] 'cutlet' G-SG; but *brêskve* [kv] 'peach' G-SG. This variation is normally not reflected in orthography except with respect to the preposition *s* and the prefix *z-*, e.g., *s kóm* 'with whom' vs. *z Gôrazdom* 'with Gorazd', *z menój* 'with me'; *shodíti* 'begin walking' vs. *zgovoríti se* 'agree upon sth', *zletéti* 'take off'; and

some other isolated lexemes (e.g., *môž* ‘man, husband’ → *móški* ‘man, male’).

The phoneme /k/ is replaced by /h/ in the preposition *k* ‘towards’ when it precedes a velar stop /g, k/, and this alternation is reflected in orthography. *k máši* ‘to Mass’ vs. *h kmétu* ‘towards the farmer’. In the colloquial speech of Ljubljana and surrounding dialects, the preposition *k* is always realized as *h*.

4 Morphology

4.1.1 General remarks on Slovene morphology

A Slovene word—noun, pronoun, adjective, numeral, participle, verb—is built minimally of two elements, a lexical morpheme or root plus a grammatical morpheme or desinence. The desinence is typically a short morpheme consisting of one to four phonemes or one or two syllables and signifying grammatical categories such as case, grammatical gender, number (noun, adjective) or person, number, gender, and tense (verb).

| <i>ROOT</i> | <i>DESINENCE</i> | <i>WORD</i> |
|---------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>híš</i> 'house' | <i>a</i> NOM-FEM-SG | <i>híša</i> 'house' |
| <i>lép</i> 'beautiful' | <i>a</i> NOM-FEM-SG | <i>lépa</i> 'beautiful' |
| <i>grad</i> 'build' | <i>ím</i> 1-SG-PRES | <i>gradím</i> 'I build' |

Words can be more complex, that is, they may contain one or more suffixes between the root and the desinence. Additionally, one or (in comparatively rare instances) more prefixes may be attached to the left side of the root, creating other lexical meanings or submeanings. More detail is found below in the section on derivational morphology.

4.1.1.1 Morphophonemic segmental alternations in inflection and derivation

On morpheme boundaries, certain morphemes trigger morphophonemic alternations, which are in turn the result of historical sound changes. In the case of velars (*k*, *g*, *h*), there are two sets of alternations that arose as a result of two rounds of historical palatalizations before a front vowel. The first of these, summarized in the chart Velar Alternations I, is found when these consonants occur before certain instances of the vowels *i*, *e* or certain morphemes that contained an erstwhile “front jer”, which in turn came from a prehistorical short *i* sound (**pek-e-hè* > *péčeš* ‘you bake’, **mòg-ьn-ь* > *móžen* ‘possible’). The second, summarized in

the chart Velar Alternations II, arose when the remaining velars occurred before front vowels from new sources (such as new monophthongs developing from diphthongs, e.g., **oi* > *e*), for example, **pek-i* > *péci* ‘bake’ IMP-2-SG. Of these two sets of alternations, set I is encountered much more frequently than II, which have been removed in most instances by analogy. Thus the relatively few instances of set II must be learned on a lexeme-by-lexeme basis.

VELAR ALTERNATIONS I

| <i>BASIC</i> | <i>ALTERNATES WITH</i> | <i>EXAMPLES</i> |
|--------------|------------------------|--|
| k | č | <i>rékel</i> ‘said M-SG’ – <i>rěče</i> ‘says 3-SG’ |
| g | ž | <i>bôg</i> ‘god’ – <i>bôžji</i> ‘god’s’ M-SG’ |
| h | š | <i>krùh</i> ‘bread’ – <i>krūšni</i> ‘bread ADJ-M-SG-DEF’ |

VELAR ALTERNATIONS II

| <i>BASIC</i> | <i>ALTERNATES WITH</i> | <i>EXAMPLES</i> |
|--------------|------------------------|---|
| k | c | <i>otròk</i> ‘child’ – <i>otroci</i> ‘children’ |
| g | z | <i>strîgel</i> ‘cut’ LP-M-SG – <i>strízi</i> ‘cut’ IMV-2-SG |

Another type of alternation is labeled “Jot” Alternations, after the philological designation for the segment *j*. This alternation arose when consonants occurred in a syllable where they were followed by a non-syllabic *i* (i.e., jot) followed by another vowel, e.g., **zem-i-à* > *zémija* ‘earth’, **hòd-i-a* > *hója* ‘walk’. Jot alternations are encountered most frequently in derivational morphology.

“JOT”-ALTERNATIONS

| <i>BASIC</i> | <i>ALTERNATES WITH</i> | <i>EXAMPLES</i> |
|--------------|------------------------|--|
| p | plj | <i>potopîti</i> ‘submerge’ PF – <i>potāpljati</i> ‘submerge’ IMPF |
| b | blj | <i>izgubîti</i> ‘lose’ PF – <i>izgúbljati</i> ‘lose’ IMPF |
| v | vlj | <i>postáviti</i> ‘place stand- ing’ PF – <i>postávljati</i> ‘to place standing’ IMPF |
| m | mlj | <i>sâm</i> ‘alone’ – <i>osâmljenost</i> ‘loneli- ness’ |
| t | č | <i>metáti</i> ‘to throw’ – <i>méče</i> ‘s/he throws’ |
| d | j | <i>hodíti</i> ‘walk’ – <i>izhójen</i> ‘worn out, trampled’ |
| s | š | <i>brísati</i> ‘to wipe’ – <i>brîše</i> ‘wipes’ |
| z | ž | <i>rézati</i> ‘to cut’ – <i>rêže</i> ‘s/he cuts’ |
| sk | šč | <i>iskáti</i> ‘to seek’ – <i>íšče</i> ‘seeks’ |
| st | šč | <i>namastíti</i> ‘make sth greasy’ – <i>namaščéno</i> ‘made greasy’ |

4.1.1.2 Word-prosody patterns

A word (i.e., a lexical morpheme, plus any suffix(es), plus the paradigm of inflectional endings) in Slovene is assigned an accentual pattern on the basis of the concatenation of the prosodic properties of each of the constituent morphemes that constitute it. All non-clitic and non-compound words have one accented syllable. Words may have either fixed or mobile stress (*bràt, bráta* ‘brother’ NOM, ACC/GEN SG vs. *mêd,*

medû ‘honey’ NOM, GEN SG). They may also have tonemic alternations within the inflectional paradigm, e.g., *brátje* ‘brothers’ NOM PL, *brátov* GEN–PL. As a rule of thumb, most instances of variation in stress placement and tonemic alternations within the paradigm are characteristic of inherited Slavic vocabulary in non-derived words. Derived words and borrowings generally have fixed stress and a characteristic toneme throughout the paradigm. See also 5.1.1.1.

4.1.1.3 Nominal morphology

Native and assimilated nouns in Slovene obligatorily have a root and an ending (marking number, gender, case); they may also have a one or more prefixes or suffixes, which occur always in the following order: PREFIX + ROOT + SUFFIX + ENDING. Examples are given in the table below. More than one root is also possible, as in the following examples of compounds: *âvtoindustrija* ‘auto industry’; *delodajâlec* ‘employer’ ← *delo* ‘work’ + *dajalec* ‘giver’.

Nouns distinguish three genders (F, M, N), six cases (NOM, ACC, GEN, DAT, LOC, INST), and three numbers (SG, PL, DU). With respect to inanimate referents, gender is determined by form class, a property of whole paradigms (*prédnost* ‘advantage’ = F, *ríba* ‘fish’ = F, *cérkev* ‘church’ = F, *kozôlec* ‘hayrick’ = M, *pojmovânje* ‘conceptualization’ = N). In terms of grammatical agreement the actual sex of human and animal referents are usually assigned to their respective gender class (e.g., *Milêna Môhorič* = F, *Joân d’Arc* [‘zà:n ‘dà:rk]= F, *gospá* ‘Mrs.’ = F, *Jánež* ‘John’ = M, *Žîga* ‘Ziggy’ = M, *gospôd* ‘Mr.’ = M; *kráva* ‘cow’ = F, *bîk* ‘bull’ = M), though there are some rare exceptions, e.g., *mlâdo deklè* ‘young girl’ = N.

With only the the NOM–SG form, which is the dictionary entry from (except in the case of nouns that occur only in the plural), the gender cannot always be readily determined without further information. For example, nouns ending in *-a* are usually feminine (*míza* ‘table’, *vóda* ‘water’, *žéna* ‘wife’, *zémlja* ‘earth’, *amnestîja* ‘amnesty’), but some are masculine (*kolêga* ‘colleague’, *vôjvoda* ‘duke’, *apartmâ* ‘rental apartment’). Words ending in *-Ø* are usually masculine (*kmèt* ‘farmer’, *môž* ‘man,

husband’, *dežnik* ‘umbrella’, *gôst* ‘guest’), though some are feminine (*nîť* ‘thread’, *cérkev* ‘church’, *kôst* ‘bone’, *pôdlost* ‘vileness’). Nouns ending in *-o* are usually neuter (*mesô* ‘meat’, *testô* ‘dough’, *darílo* ‘gift’), but some are masculine (*Mârko* ‘Mark’, *pîkolo* ‘piccolo’, *kônto* ‘account’). Though these statements imply that there is a low degree of grammatical gender predictability, in fact many of the “exceptional” types can be determined by virtue of somewhat heterogeneous rules regarding the properties of stem shapes or suffixes, e.g., nouns with stems ending in *-kev* are always feminine (*cérkev* ‘church’, *rédkev* ‘radish’, *bûkev* ‘beech’); abstract nouns in *-ost* are always feminine; most borrowed words in *-o* are masculine (*âvto* ‘car’, *lôto* ‘lottery’, *renâult* [rɛ'nò:]).

| <i>PREFIX</i> | <i>ROOT</i> | <i>SUFFIX</i> | <i>NUMBER, GENDER, CASE MARKER</i> | <i>GLOSS</i> |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|--|-----------------------------|
| | <i>míz</i> | | <i>a</i> | ‘table’ F |
| | <i>vôd</i> | | <i>a</i> | ‘water’ F |
| | <i>zémelj</i> | | <i>a</i> | ‘earth’ F |
| | <i>nîť</i> | | ∅ | ‘thread’ F |
| | <i>mát</i> | | <i>i</i> | ‘mother’ F |
| | <i>kmèt</i> | | ∅ | ‘farmer’ M |
| | <i>jézik</i> | | ∅ | ‘tongue, language’ M |
| | <i>ôč</i> | <i>e</i> | ∅ | ‘father’ NOM-SG-M |
| | <i>oč</i> | <i>ét</i> | <i>a</i> | ‘father’ ACC/GEN-SG-M |
| | <i>kolêg</i> | | <i>a</i> | ‘colleague’ M |
| | <i>grîzli</i> | | ∅ | ‘grizzly bear’ NOM-SG-M |
| | <i>grîzli</i> | <i>j</i> | <i>a</i> | ‘grizzly bear’ ACC/GEN-SG-M |
| | <i>mést</i> | | <i>o</i> | ‘city’ N |
| <i>pred</i> | <i>mést</i> | <i>j</i> | <i>e</i> | ‘suburb’ NOM/ACC-SG-N |
| | <i>tel</i> | | <i>ô</i> | ‘body’ NOM/ACC-SG-N |
| | <i>tel</i> | <i>ês</i> | <i>a</i> | ‘body’ GEN-SG-N |
| | <i>brém</i> | <i>e</i> | ∅ | ‘burden’ NOM/ACC-SG-N |
| | <i>brem</i> | <i>én</i> | <i>a</i> | ‘burden’ GEN-SG-N |

| | | | | |
|------------|--------------|--------------|----------|----------------------------|
| | <i>oblik</i> | <i>ovânj</i> | <i>e</i> | 'shaping, designing' N |
| <i>pre</i> | <i>oblik</i> | <i>ovânj</i> | <i>e</i> | 'reshaping, redesigning' N |

4.1.1.3.1 Feminine paradigms

| SINGULAR | MIZA 'TABLE' | VÓDA 'WATER' |
|-----------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| NOM | <i>míza</i> | <i>vóda</i> |
| ACC | <i>mízo</i> | <i>vódo ~ vodô</i> |
| GEN | <i>míze</i> | <i>vóde ~ vodé</i> |
| DAT | <i>mízi</i> | <i>vódi</i> |
| LOC | <i>mízi</i> | <i>vódi</i> |
| INST | <i>mîzo</i> | <i>vódo ~ vodó</i> |

| PLURAL | MIZA 'TABLE' | VÓDA 'WATER' |
|---------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| NOM, ACC | <i>míze</i> | <i>vóde ~ vodé</i> |
| GEN | <i>mîz</i> | <i>vód ~ vodá</i> |
| DAT | <i>mízam</i> | <i>vódam ~ vodàm</i> |
| LOC | <i>mízah</i> | <i>vódah ~ vodàh</i> |
| INST | <i>mízami</i> | <i>vódami ~ vodâmi</i> |

| DUAL | MIZA 'TABLE' | VÓDA 'WATER' |
|-------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| NOM, ACC | <i>mízi</i> | <i>vódi ~ vodé</i> |
| GEN | <i>mîz</i> | <i>vód ~ vodá</i> |
| LOC | <i>mízah</i> | <i>vódah ~ vodàh</i> |
| DAT, INST | <i>mízama</i> | <i>vódamã ~ vodâma</i> |

| SINGULAR | NIT 'THREAD' | KOST 'BONE' | BRESKEV 'PEACH' |
|-----------------|---------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| NOM, ACC | <i>nìt</i> | <i>kôst</i> | <i>brêskév</i> |
| GEN | <i>níti</i> | <i>kostî</i> | <i>brêskve</i> |
| DAT | <i>níti</i> | <i>kôsti</i> | <i>brêskvi</i> |
| LOC | <i>níti</i> | <i>kôsti</i> | <i>brêskvi</i> |
| INST | <i>nîtjo</i> | <i>kostjó</i> | <i>brêskvijo</i> |

| PLURAL | NIT 'THREAD' | KOST 'BONE' | BRESKEV 'PEACH' |
|---------------|---------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| NOM | <i>níti</i> | <i>kostî</i> | <i>brêskve</i> |
| ACC | <i>níti</i> | <i>kostî</i> | <i>brêskve</i> |
| GEN | <i>nîti</i> | <i>kostî</i> | <i>brêskév</i> |
| DAT | <i>nîtim</i> | <i>kostēm</i> | <i>brêskvam</i> |
| LOC | <i>nîtih</i> | <i>kostéh</i> | <i>brêskvah</i> |
| INST | <i>nîtmi</i> | <i>kostmí</i> | <i>brêskvami</i> |

| DUAL | NIT 'THREAD' | KOST 'BONE' | BRESKEV 'PEACH' |
|------------------|---------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| NOM, ACC | <i>nîti</i> | <i>kostî</i> | <i>brêskvi</i> |
| GEN | <i>nîti</i> | <i>kostî</i> | <i>brêskév</i> |
| LOC | <i>nîtih</i> | <i>kostéh</i> | <i>brêskvah</i> |
| DAT, INST | <i>nîtma</i> | <i>kostēma</i> | <i>brêskvama</i> |

4.1.1.3.2 Masculine paradigms

| SINGULAR | KMÈT 'FARMER' | MOŽ 'HUSBAND, MAN' | JÉZIK 'TONGUE, LANGUAGE' |
|-----------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| NOM | <i>kmèt</i> | <i>môž</i> | <i>jézik</i> |
| ACC | <i>kméta</i> | <i>možâ</i> | <i>jézik</i> |
| GEN | <i>kméta</i> | <i>možâ</i> | <i>jezíka</i> |
| DAT | <i>kmétu, h kmêtu</i> | <i>môžu</i> | <i>jezíku, k jezíku</i> |
| LOC | <i>kmêtu</i> | <i>môžu</i> | <i>jezíku</i> |
| INST | <i>kmétom</i> | <i>môžem</i> | <i>jezíkom</i> |

| PLURAL | KMÈT 'FARMER' | MOŽ 'HUSBAND, MAN' | JÉZIK 'TONGUE, LANGUAGE' |
|-----------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| NOM, ACC | <i>kmétje ~ kméti</i> | <i>možjê</i> | <i>jezíki</i> |
| GEN | <i>kmêtov</i> | <i>móž</i> | <i>jezīkov</i> |
| DAT | <i>kmétom</i> | <i>možêm</i> | <i>jezīkom</i> |
| LOC | <i>kmētih</i> | <i>možêh</i> | <i>jezīkih</i> |
| INST | <i>kméti</i> | <i>možmí</i> | <i>jezíki</i> |

| DUAL | KMÈT 'FARMER' | MOŽ 'HUSBAND, MAN' | JÉZIK 'TONGUE, LANGUAGE' |
|------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| NOM, ACC | <i>kméta</i> | <i>možâ</i> | <i>jezíka</i> |
| GEN | <i>kmêtov</i> | <i>móž</i> | <i>jezīkov</i> |
| LOC | <i>kmētih</i> | <i>možêh</i> | <i>jezīkih</i> |
| DAT, INST | <i>kmétoma</i> | <i>možêma</i> | <i>jezīkoma</i> |

| SINGULAR | KOLĚGA 'COLLEAGUE' | BOG 'GOD' | ÓČE 'FATHER' | RENAULT [RENO] 'RENAULT CAR' |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|--|
| NOM | <i>kolêga</i> | <i>bôg</i> | <i>óče</i> | <i>renault</i> [renô] |
| ACC | <i>kolêga</i> | <i>bogâ</i> | <i>očéta</i> | <i>renault</i> [renô] ~ <i>ren- aulta</i> [renôja] |
| GEN | <i>kolêga</i> | <i>bogâ</i> | <i>očéta</i> | <i>renaulta</i> [renôja] |
| DAT | <i>kolêgu</i> | <i>bôgu</i> | <i>očétu, k očétu</i> | <i>renaultu</i> [renôju] |
| LOC | <i>kolêgu</i> | <i>bôgu</i> | <i>očétu</i> | <i>renaultu</i> [renôju] |
| INST | <i>kolêgom</i> | <i>bôgom</i> | <i>očétom</i> | <i>renaultom</i> [renôjem] |

| PLURAL | KOLEGA 'COLLEAGUE' | BOG 'GOD' | ÓČE 'FATHER' | RENAULT [RENO] 'RENAULT CAR' |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|---|
| NOM, ACC | <i>kolêgi</i> | <i>bogôvi</i> | <i>očétje ~ očéti</i> | <i>renaulti</i> [renôji] |
| GEN | <i>kolêgov</i> | <i>bogóv</i> | <i>očétov</i> | <i>renaultov</i> [renôjev] |
| DAT | <i>kolêgom</i> | <i>bogôvom</i> | <i>očétom</i> | <i>renaultom</i> [renôjem] |
| LOC | <i>kolêgih</i> | <i>bogôvih</i> | <i>očétih</i> | <i>renaultih</i> [renôjih] |
| INST | <i>kolêgi</i> | <i>bogôvi</i> | <i>očéti</i> | <i>renaulti</i> [renôji] |

| DUAL | KOLEGA 'COLLEAGUE' | BOG 'GOD' | ÓČE 'FATHER' | RENAULT [RENO] 'RENAULT CAR' |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---|
| NOM, ACC | <i>kolêga</i> | <i>bogôva</i> | <i>očéta</i> | <i>renaulta</i> [renôja] |
| GEN | <i>kolêgov</i> | <i>bogóv</i> | <i>očétov</i> | <i>renaultov</i> [renôjev] |
| LOC | <i>kolêgih</i> | <i>bogôvih</i> | <i>očétih</i> | <i>renaultih</i> [renôjih] |
| DAT, INST | <i>kolêgoma</i> | <i>bogôvoma</i> | <i>očétoma</i> | <i>renaultoma</i> [renôjema] |

4.1.1.3.3 Neuter paradigms

| <i>SG</i> | <i>JABOLKO</i> 'APPLE' | <i>SONCE</i> 'SUN' | <i>BREME</i> 'BURDEN' | <i>DEKLE</i> 'GIRL' | <i>TELO</i> 'BODY' |
|-----------|---------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| NOM, ACC | <i>jábolko</i> | <i>sônce</i> | <i>bréme</i> | <i>deklè</i> | <i>telô</i> |
| GEN | <i>jábolka</i> | <i>sônca</i> | <i>breména</i> | <i>dekléta</i> | <i>telêsa</i> |
| DAT | <i>jábolku</i> | <i>sôncu</i> | <i>breménu</i> | <i>deklētu</i> | <i>telêsu</i> |
| LOC | <i>jábolku</i> | <i>sôncu</i> | <i>breménu</i> | <i>deklētu</i> | <i>telêsu</i> |
| INST | <i>jábolkom</i> | <i>sôncem</i> | <i>breménom</i> | <i>deklétom</i> | <i>s telêsom</i> |

| <i>PL</i> | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| NOM, ACC | <i>jâbolka</i> | <i>sônca</i> | <i>bremêna</i> | <i>deklêta</i> | <i>telêsa</i> |
| GEN | <i>jâbolk</i> | <i>sônc</i> | <i>bremên</i> | <i>deklêt</i> | <i>telêsa</i> |
| DAT | <i>jâbolkom</i> | <i>sôncem</i> | <i>breménom</i> | <i>deklêtom</i> | <i>telêsom</i> |
| LOC | <i>jâbolkih</i> | <i>sôncih</i> | <i>bremênih</i> | <i>deklêtih</i> | <i>telêsih</i> |
| INST | <i>jâbolki</i> | <i>sônci</i> | <i>bremêni</i> | <i>deklêti</i> | <i>telêsi</i> |

| <i>DU</i> | | | | | |
|-----------|------------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| NOM, ACC | <i>jābolki</i> | <i>sônci</i> | <i>bremêni</i> | <i>deklêti</i> | <i>telêsi</i> |
| GEN | <i>jâbolk</i> | <i>sônc</i> | <i>bremên</i> | <i>deklêt</i> | <i>telês</i> |
| LOC | <i>jâbolkih</i> | <i>sôncih</i> | <i>bremênih</i> | <i>deklêtih</i> | <i>telêsih</i> |
| DAT, INST | <i>jābolkoma</i> | <i>sôncema</i> | <i>bremênoma</i> | <i>deklêtoma</i> | <i>telêsoma</i> |

As is clear from the above, Slovene grammar distinguishes three numbers, SG–PL–DU. Logically, then, PL denotes quantities larger than two. However, it should be noted that items that are normally paired (eyes, hands, legs, etc.) are expressed in the PL and take PL agreement, *Imaš lepe oči* 'You have beautiful eyes', *Roke gor!* 'Hands up! However, in marked circumstances, when the pairedness of the items is in focus, the DU can be used: *Drži z obema rokama!* 'Hold on with both hands (i.e., not just one)!'

4.1.1.4 Pronominal morphology

4.1.1.4.1 Interrogative pronouns

Most forms of interrogative pronouns (and adverbs) begin in *k-*, having the same etymological source as the corresponding *wh-*forms in English (both originating in I.E. **kʷ-*).

POSITIVE INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

| | <i>ANIMATE (M)</i> <i>'WHO'</i> | <i>INANIMATE (N)</i> <i>'WHAT'</i> |
|--------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| NOM | <i>kdō</i> | <i>kāj</i> (coll. <i>kogá</i>) |
| ACC | <i>kóga</i> | <i>kāj</i> (coll. <i>kogá</i>) |
| GEN | <i>kóga</i> | <i>čésa</i> |
| DAT | <i>kómu</i> | <i>čému</i> |
| LOC | <i>kóm</i> | <i>čém</i> |
| INSTR | <i>kóm</i> | <i>čīm</i> |

The interrogative pronouns may be modified with the following prefixes:

| <i>PREFIX</i> | <i>GLOSS</i> | <i>EXAMPLE</i> |
|---------------|---------------|---|
| <i>ne-</i> | 'a certain' | <i>Poznam nekoga, ki bi ti utegnil pomagati</i> 'I know someone who might be able to help you'; <i>Našel sem nekaj, kar ti bo ublažilo bolečino</i> 'I found something to ease the pain' |
| <i>màrsi-</i> | 'quite a few' | <i>Marsikdo bi rad imel takšno nadarjenost</i> 'Many a person would like to have such a talent'; <i>Lahko je marsikaj izrečeno, ni pa res, da je vse to tudi zanimivo</i> (VZ: 24) 'All sorts of things can be stated, but it's not true that all of it is interesting' |
| <i>málo-</i> | 'few' | <i>Bolečinam v hrbtu uide le malokdo</i> 'Few are able to escape back pain' |
| <i>rédi</i> | 'scarcely a' | <i>Redko kdo obvlada 19 jezikov</i> 'There's |

| | | |
|----------------------|---------------|--|
| (written separately) | person/thing' | hardly anyone who has mastered 19 languages'; <i>Le redko komu uspe končati študij v štirih letih</i> 'Hardly any one is able to finish his studies in four years' |
|----------------------|---------------|--|

The negated pronouns are formed with the prefix *ni-* and in the oblique cases the suffix *-(e)r*, according to the table below. This suffix is formally related to the relativizing suffix (see below), and it was included in the diachronic formation of the the NOM-SG-ANIM form, *nihče* (< **nikъtъ-že*).

NEGATED INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

| | <i>ANIMATE (M)</i> 'NOBODY' | <i>INANIMATE (N)</i> 'NOTHING' |
|--------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| NOM | <i>nihče</i> (arch. <i>nikdō</i>) | <i>nič</i> |
| ACC | <i>nikôgar</i> | <i>nič</i> |
| GEN | <i>nikôgar</i> | <i>ničêsar</i> |
| DAT | <i>nikômur</i> | <i>ničêmur</i> |
| LOC | <i>nikômer</i> | <i>ničêmer</i> |
| INSTR | <i>nikômer</i> | <i>ničîmer</i> |

4.1.1.4.1.1 Relative pronouns

Formally similar to the negated forms of the interrogative pronouns are the relative pronouns, which are derived with the suffix *-r*.

| | <i>ANIMATE (M)</i> 'WHO, WHICH' | <i>INANIMATE (N)</i> 'WHAT, THAT WHICH' |
|------------|------------------------------------|--|
| NOM | <i>kdôr</i> | <i>kâr</i> |
| ACC | <i>kôgar</i> | <i>kâr</i> |
| GEN | <i>kôgar</i> | <i>čêsar</i> |
| DAT | <i>kômur</i> | <i>čêmur</i> |
| LOC | <i>kômer</i> | <i>čêmer</i> |

| | | |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| INSTR | <i>kômer</i> | <i>čîmer</i> |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|

The homophonous particle *kâr* is also used as an intensifier, e.g., *Film je bil kar v redu* ‘The movie was quite good’; *Kar nadaljuj* ‘Just keep on going’; *Nevihata je trajala kar dve uri* ‘The storm lasted a good two hours’.

The bound suffix *kôli*, usually written separately, ‘any-’, ‘-ever’ is added to the right of the relative pronoun for the indefinite pronominal meanings ‘anyone’, ‘anything’ / ‘whoever’, ‘whatever’, e.g., *Kar koli poskusim, nič ne pomaga* ‘No matter what I try, nothing helps’. In gnomic expressions the plain relative pronoun yields the same indefinite meaning, e.g., *Kdor ne dela, naj ne jé* ‘He who does not work should not eat’; *Naj ga pokaže, kdor ga ima* ‘Flaunt it if you’ve got it’, lit. ‘(s/he) should show it, who has it’.

4.1.1.4.2 Personal pronouns

Slovene personal pronouns distinguish three persons with respect to the speech act (1st = speaker/narrator, 2nd = addressee, 3rd = referent outside of the speech act proper); three numbers (singular, plural, dual); and case. Moreover, the 2nd person plural form functions both as a marker of plural addressees and as an honorific. “*Vi ste, kajpada, župan v teh krajih?*” “‘You are, presumably, the mayor in these parts?’” (ML: 45). At least until World War II, honorific forms were used at least in some families by children with their parents, a usage that was also reflected in third-person narration (i.e., outside of direct address) encompassing this relationship, where plural agreement is used with otherwise singular referents, e.g., *Naš rajnki oče bi se v grobu obrnilj. Ob treh so šlj orat* ‘Our late father would turn over (PL) in his grave. At three o’clock he (PL) would go to plow’ (MM: 22).

In the following chart, clitic forms are given in parentheses; where a clitic form is available, the longer form is used without a preposition only for emphasis.

| | | | | | | |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| | <i>1ST SG</i> | <i>2ND SG</i> | <i>1ST PL</i> | <i>2ND PL</i> | <i>1ST DU</i> | <i>2ND DU</i> |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| NOM | <i>jàz</i> | <i>tî</i> | <i>mî</i> (F <i>mê</i>) | <i>vî</i> (F <i>vê</i>) | <i>mîdva</i> (F <i>mêdve</i>) | <i>vîdva</i> (F <i>vêdve</i>) |
| ACC | <i>mêne</i> (<i>me</i>) | <i>tébe</i> (<i>te</i>) | <i>nàs</i> (<i>nas</i>) | <i>vàs</i> (<i>vas</i>) | <i>náju</i> (<i>naju</i>) | <i>váju</i> (<i>vaju</i>) |
| GEN | <i>mêne</i> | <i>tébe</i> | <i>nàs</i> (<i>nas</i>) | <i>vàs</i> (<i>vas</i>) | <i>náju</i> (<i>naju</i>) | <i>váju</i> (<i>vaju</i>) |
| DAT | <i>méni</i> (<i>mi</i>) | <i>tébi</i> (<i>ti</i>) | <i>nàm</i> (<i>nam</i>) | <i>vàm</i> (<i>vam</i>) | <i>náma</i> (<i>nama</i>) | <i>váma</i> (<i>vama</i>) |
| LOC | <i>méni</i> | <i>tébi</i> | <i>nàs</i> | <i>vàm</i> | <i>náju</i> | <i>váju</i> |
| INSTR | <i>menój</i> ~ <i>mâno</i> | <i>tebój</i> ~ <i>tâbo</i> | <i>nâmi</i> | <i>vâmi</i> | <i>náma</i> | <i>váma</i> |

The ambiguity of reference in the 1st PL and 1st DU—whether it refers to I + you or I + other(s)—is resolved with the construction (Midva/Mi) + z + INST + verb agreeing with the actual number of the subject, e.g., *Z Miranom greva v Lendavo* or *Midva z Miranom greva v Lendavo* ‘Miran and I are going to Lendava’.

A reflexive pronoun is required if within a clause the subject in the NOM case and the object, in whatever other case, refers to the same referent, e.g., *Kupila si je nov zvezek* ‘She bought herself a new notebook’. *Žalila sva se, zmerjala sva se, kričala drug na drugega...* (VZ: 25) ‘We insulted each other, called each other names, yelled at one another...’. In instances where self and reciprocity among plural subject/objects leads to ambiguity as to who is doing what to whom (to oneself? to others?), the ambiguity can be resolved by the addition of a further reflexive phrase such as *med seboj* ‘among themselves’: *Ljudje se skušajo ... med seboj uničiti* (VZ: 25) ‘People try to destroy each other’.

4.1.1.4.2.1 Reflexive

| | <i>1ST SG</i> |
|--------------|--------------------------|
| NOM | --- |
| ACC | <i>sébe (se)</i> |
| GEN | <i>sébe</i> |
| DAT | <i>sébi (si)</i> |
| LOC | <i>sébi</i> |
| INSTR | <i>sebój ~ sâbo</i> |

Third person pronouns in Slovene agree with the grammatical gender of the referent. E.g., *Videl sem ga* may be understood as ‘I saw him’ if the referent is *Ivan*, or ‘I saw it’ if the referent is *tovornjak* ‘truck’.

| | <i>3RD SG</i> | <i>3RD PL</i> | <i>3RD DU</i> |
|--------------|---|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| NOM | <i>òn (M), óna (F), óno (N)</i> | <i>óni (M), óne (F), óna (N)</i> | <i>ónadva (M), ónidve (F, N)</i> |
| ACC | <i>njéga (ga) (M, N); njò (jo, njò) (F)</i> | <i>njih (jih) ~ njé</i> | <i>njíju (ju ~ jih, nju)</i> |
| GEN | <i>njéga (M, N); njé (F)</i> | <i>njih (jih)</i> | <i>njíju (ju ~ jih)</i> |
| DAT | <i>njému (mu) (M, N); njěj (ji) (F)</i> | <i>njim (jim)</i> | <i>njíma (jima)</i> |
| LOC | <i>njém (M, N); njěj (F)</i> | <i>njih</i> | <i>njíju</i> |
| INSTR | <i>njím (M, N); njó</i> | <i>njími</i> | <i>njíma</i> |

See also 6.1.2.3.

4.1.1.4.2.2 Sandhi phenomena with pronouns

With the prepositions *v*, *na*, and *za*, the ACC SG enclitic forms are combined in the following way: *vâme* ‘into me’, *nâme* ‘onto me’, *zâme* ‘for me’; *vâse* ‘into oneself’, *nâse* ‘onto oneself’, *zâse* ‘for oneself’, etc. The 3rd-person pronouns take special forms after prepositions: *vânj* ‘into

him', *nânj* 'onto him', *zânj* 'for him', *pôdenj* 'under him', *prêdenj* 'before him', *čêzenj* 'across/over him'; *zânje* 'for them', *vânje* 'into them'.

After prepositions (and under stress) the *nj*-forms of the 3rd person pronouns are used, e.g., *brez njih* 'without them', *od njiju* 'from the two of them', *zoper njega* 'against him', *zoper njo* 'against her'; otherwise the enclitic *j*-forms (and *ga*, *mu*) are used, *Videli smo jo/ga* 'We saw her/him', *Dali smo ji/mu karto* 'We gave her/him the ticket'. The shorter *j*-forms do not exist for the LOC and INSTR cases as these cases obligatorily occur with prepositions.

4.1.1.5 Adjectival morphology

Native and nativized adjectives agree in number, case and grammatical gender and normally precede the nouns that they modify or to which they implicitly refer (*majhna zakotna trgovina* 'small remote store'; *lepo mlado dekle* 'beautiful young girl'; *bosanskemu državljanu* 'to the Bosnian citizen'; *seldžuških sultanov* 'of the Seljuk sultans'; *Peter je miren in razgledan* 'Peter is calm and worldly'). Moreover, in the NOM-SG-M form, most adjectives distinguish between indefinite and definite forms (*dober pesnik mora kruh zaslužiti* 'a good poet has to earn a living' vs. *dobri pesnik mora kruh zaslužiti* 'the good poet has to earn a living'). The variation in definiteness in NOM-SG-M is lacking in adjectives with stems ending in consonant clusters (except if a *V ~ Ø* alternation appears in the stem termination, e.g., *krátek* 'short' INDEF/*krâtki* 'short' DEF), thus only *anglêški* 'English', *slovénski* 'Slovene', *nikôgaršnji* 'nobody's', *žâbji* 'frog's'.

A small number of native or nativized adjectives have invariant forms, e.g., *drâp blagô* 'beige material', *pocéni parkîranje* 'cheap parking', *rôza pas* 'pink belt'. Adjectives borrowed from other languages and that do not conform to the structure of inherited adjectives are also indeclinable, e.g., *têj fêjst pûnci* 'to this fine girl', *zrâven sâvna pârka* 'next to the sauna park', *v kâmp híšici* 'in a camp cottage', *obmôčje Escâmbia Côuntyja* 'the territory of Escambia County'. The phenomenon is not limited to recent borrowings, however, e.g., *žálik žéna* 'type of nymph', borrowed before 1300 AD from Old High German *sâlig* (ESSJ 4: 436).

| <i>PREFIX</i> | <i>ROOT</i> | <i>SUFFIX</i> | <i>DESINENCE</i> (NUMBER, GENDER, CASE) | <i>GLOSS</i> |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|---|--------------------------|
| | <i>rděč</i> | | ∅ | 'red' NOM-SG-M-INDEF |
| | <i>rděč</i> | | <i>i</i> | 'red' NOM-SG-M-DEF |
| | <i>rděč</i> | | <i>ega</i> | 'red' GEN-SG-M |
| | <i>rděč</i> | | <i>a</i> | 'red' NOM-SG-F |
| | <i>mást</i> | [ə] <i>n</i> | ∅ | 'greasy' NOM-SG-M-INDEF |
| | <i>mást</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>i</i> | 'greasy' NOM-SG-M-DEF |
| | <i>slovén</i> | <i>sk</i> | <i>i</i> | 'Slovene' NOM-PL-M |
| | <i>žâb</i> | <i>j</i> | <i>i</i> | 'frog's' NOM-SG-M |
| | <i>débel</i> | | ∅ | 'fat' NOM-SG-M-INDEF |
| | <i>debél</i> | | <i>i</i> | 'fat' NOM-SG-M-DEF |
| <i>pre</i> | <i>debél</i> | | <i>i</i> | 'too fat' NOM-SG-M-DEF |
| | <i>debel</i> | <i>êjš</i> | <i>i</i> | 'fatter' NOM-SG-M-DEF |
| <i>nàj</i> | <i>debel</i> | <i>êjš</i> | <i>i</i> | 'fattest' NOM-SG-M-DEF |

4.1.1.5.1 Comparatives and superlatives

Gradient adjectives and related adverbs can form comparative and superlative degrees in two ways—in an older, unproductive layer of the lexicon by means of prefixation and suffixation (*lêp* 'pretty'—*lêpši* 'prettier'—*nàjlêpši* 'prettiest'; *débel* 'fat'—*debelêjši* 'fatter'—*nàjdebelêjši* 'fattest') and productively with the addition of analytic forms (*znàn* 'known'—*bòlj znàn* 'better known'—*nàjbòlj znàn* 'best known'). The latter

pattern, *mutatis mutandis*, also forms an inferior degree (*znàn* ‘known’—*mànj znàn* ‘less known’—*nàjmànj znàn* ‘least known’). The older types are divided into two groups. The first of these is a small group formed by the addition of a suffix *-š-* or *-j-* to the stem (minus suffix) (*lêp* ‘pretty’—*lêpši* ‘prettier’) or to a suppletive stem (*dóber* ‘good’—*boljši* ‘better’), which, though small, make up some of the most commonly used comparatives. The second group forms the comparative with the longer suffix *-ejš-*, e.g., *bogàt*—*bogatêjši* ‘rich—richer’, *čîst*—*čîstêjši* ‘clean—cleaner’, *móčen*—*močnêjši* ‘strong—stronger’. Some variation occurs in usage, e.g., *pámeten* ‘smart’ may form both *pametnêjši* and *bòlj pámeten*.

The analytic constructions are productive, e.g., *Daleč najbolj radikalén je bil v podcenjevanju Jugoslovanov ekspert za kolonialna vprašanja Louis Beer* (UL: 100) ‘By far the most radical in underestimating the Yugoslavs was the expert for colonial matters, Louis Beer’. Under some circumstances (i.e., metaphorical extensions) even non-gradient adjectives may occur with superlatives, e.g., *Bolj papeški od papeža* ‘More papal than the Pope’.

The construction *kàr se dá* ‘as much as possible’ is used as an attenuated superlative: *Trgovec s hmeljem si je prizadeval biti kar se da odkritosrčen, ko je požugal ženi s prstom* (JH 236) ‘The hop-trader endeavored to be as forthright as possible as he was wagging his finger at his wife in reproach’.

The unproductive type, mostly monosyllabic stems in the positive, are formed as in the following chart:

| <i>POSITIVE</i> | <i>COMPARATIVE</i> | <i>GLOSS</i> |
|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| <i>dóber</i> | <i>bôljši</i> | ‘good’—‘better’ |
| <i>dáleč</i> | <i>dâljši</i> | ‘far’—‘farther’ |
| <i>globòk</i> | <i>glôblji</i> | ‘deep’—‘deeper’ |
| <i>krátek</i> | <i>krâjši</i> | ‘short’—‘shorter’ |
| <i>láhek</i> | <i>lâžji</i> | ‘easy’—‘easier’ |
| <i>mâjhen</i> | <i>mânjši</i> | ‘small’—‘smaller’ |

| | | |
|---------------|---------------|-------------------|
| <i>mlâd</i> | <i>mlâjši</i> | ‘young’—‘younger’ |
| <i>nízek</i> | <i>nížji</i> | ‘low’—‘lower’ |
| <i>râd</i> | <i>râjši</i> | ‘glad’—‘gladder’ |
| <i>slâb</i> | <i>slâbši</i> | ‘bad’—‘worse’ |
| <i>sládek</i> | <i>slâjši</i> | ‘sweet’—‘sweeter’ |
| <i>vélik</i> | <i>vêčji</i> | ‘big’—‘bigger’ |

Items are compared by one of two syntactic strategies, either X kot Y or X od Y, e.g., *letos je bil dohodek večji kot lani* ‘income was larger than last year’; *letošnji dohodek je bil večji od lanskega* ‘this year’s income was larger than last year’s’.

4.1.1.5.2 Possessive adjectives

Possessive adjectives are formed from nouns referring to individuals and proper nouns by means of a small number of suffixes. These form a supplementary strategy for relating nouns within NPs (for which the GEN case is typically used, see also 6.1.1). Masculine and neuter stems are suffixed with *-ov/-ev*: *brât* ‘brother’ → *brátov*, *-a*, *-o* ‘brother’s’; *Janša* ‘(surname)’ → *Janšev* ‘Janša’s’ *Delo* ‘(name of a Ljubljana-based daily newspaper)’ → *Delov*, *-a*, *-o* ‘*Delo*’s’ (*Delova nagradna križanka* ‘*Delo*’s crossword-puzzle contest’). Feminine stems are suffixed with *-in*: *teta* ‘aunt’ → *tetin* ‘aunt’s’; *Marija* → *Marijin*, *-a*, *-o* (*Marijino vnebozetje* ‘The Assumption of Mary’). F names with stems ending in *-ic-* mutate before this suffix: *Dragica* → *Dragičin* (note that velar stems do not, e.g., *Anka* → *Ankin*, *Aga* → *Agin*). Names with more than one element are typically not adjectivized—rather, an adnominal construction is preferred (*stališče Janeza Janše* ‘Janez Janša’s position’)—though speakers sometime produce adjectives from the last element, e.g., *teta Majdina hiša* ‘Aunt Majda’s house’. Surnames may be suffixed in *-ov* to indicate family affiliation, e.g., in the colloquial usage *Pirnatova Marta* ‘Marta from the Pirnat family’, or standard and neutrally with feminine surnames when they are used together with titles, e.g., *doktor Cerarjeva* ‘Dr. Cerar’. Feminine surnames are used neutrally in texts, especially in journalistic style, as anaphoric references to individuals named fully earlier in the

text. Otherwise, the use of feminine surnames without professional titles is becoming archaic, though with prominent figures born before World War II and with historical figures, with which the feminines were in common use, they are still considered neutral, e.g., (the writer) *Zofka Kvedrova*, (the actress) *Štefka Drolčeva*, (the actress) Ivanka Mežanova. When the feminine surname is used alone, it is also felt as neutral, e.g., *Marija Gimbutasova* → *Gimbutasova*.

Another class of possessives is formed with *-j-*, which is added to the theonym and to classes of animate beings. These also have broader meanings than possession, including general attribution, e.g., *bôg* → *božji* (*božja volja* ‘God’s will’, *božji sin* ‘Son of God’); *žába* ‘frog’ → *žâbji* ‘frog’s’ (*žabji kraki* ‘frogs’ legs’); *govédo* ‘bovine animal’ → *govéja* (*goveja muzika* ‘beef music’ [derogatory term for Alpine-style music]); *otròk* ‘child’ → *otròčji* ‘child’s/childish’ (*otročje obnašanje* ‘childish behavior’).

4.1.1.5.3 Interrogative and pronominal adjectives

Interrogative adjectives decline just as other adjectives (see 4.1.1.5).

| <i>SEMANTIC FIELD</i> | <i>ADJECTIVE/MEANING</i> | <i>EXAMPLES</i> |
|-----------------------|--|--|
| Quality | <i>kākšen, kākšna, kākšno</i> ‘what kind?’ | <i>Kakšna bo korist zame?</i> ‘What do I get out of it?’ lit.: ‘What kind of benefit will be for me?’; <i>S kakšnjimi težavami se največkrat ukvarjaš?</i> ‘What sort of difficulties do you usually deal with?’ |
| Quantity | <i>kōlikšen, kōlikšna, kōlikšno</i> ‘how many?’ | <i>Kolikšen inteligenčni kvocient imaš?</i> ‘What’s your IQ?’ <i>Kolikšno pokojnino bom imel?</i> How big a pension will I get? |
| Individuation | <i>katēri, katēra, katēro</i> ‘which (among alterna- | <i>Kateri elementi tržništva vplivajo na logistiko?</i> ‘Which elements of |

| | | |
|-------------------|--|---|
| | tives)?' | commerce have an influence on logistics? <i>S katero firmo imamo opravka?</i> 'Which company are we dealing with? <i>Katere barve nam je zmanjkalo?</i> Which color (of paint) did we run out of? |
| Possessive | <i>čigáv, čigáva, čigávo</i> 'whose?' | <i>Čigava roka je na sliki?</i> 'Whose hand is in the picture?'; <i>Čigavim interesom to služi?</i> 'Whose interests does this serve?' |

The corresponding response forms are *tákšen, tákšna, tákšno* 'such'; *tôlikšen, tôlikšna, tôlikšno* 'so much'; *nĕkakšen, nĕkakšna, nĕkakšno* 'some sort of (often with a derogatory flavor)'; *nikâkršen, nikâkršna, nikâkršno* 'no such'; *nikôgaršnji, -a, -o* 'nobody's'; *vsâkogaršnji, -a, -o* 'anybody's'. The relative forms are *kâkršen, kâkršna, kâkršno* and *kôlikršen, kôlikršna, kôlikršno*.

Examples: *Lloyd George je ... zavzel zlato sredino in zato na konferenci postal nekakšen neuradni posrednik* (UL: 92) 'Lloyd George ... assumed the golden mean and thus at the conference became a kind of unofficial mediator'; *Tista velika živina ima mastno plačo za skoraj nikakršno delo* 'That bigwig has a fat salary for almost no work'; *Kakršen oče, takšen sin* 'As the father, so the son; a chip off the old block'; *Kolikoršen je delež glasov, tolikšen je delež v parlamentu* 'As many a share of votes (one has), such is the share (of participation) in parliament'; *Predsednika Wilsona, ki je takrat užival tolikšen sloves kot malokateri državnik v zgodovini, so po vojni obtoževali, da je bil med konferenco preveč tog* (UL: 92) 'President Wilson, who had at that time enjoyed a high degree of fame accorded few statesmen in history, was accused after the war of having been too rigid'. *Kateri* corresponds to a range of demonstrative pronouns (see 4.1.1.5.4) and *čigav* to possessive pronouns (see 4.1.1.5.5).

4.1.1.5.4 Demonstratives pronouns

Slovene distinguishes three spatial/temporal demonstrative pronouns oriented around the point of view of the narrator or the locus of a narrative, *tâ* 'this'—*tîsti* 'that'—*ôni* 'that (distal)'. Examples: *Razlika med temi poboji in tistimi v zahodni Evropi, ki so bili veliko bolj množični, je v tem, da za temi poboji stoji oblast* (Mladina website <http://www.mladina.si/tednik/200047/clanek/troha/> 20 November 2000) 'The difference between these massacres and those in Western Europe, which involved many more people, lies in the fact that these were massacres that the authorities stood behind'; *Vsem sodelavcem, tistim iz dosedanje SKB banke in onim iz pridružene francoske podružnice, želiva veselo praznovanje ob prihodu novega leta* (SKB banka website <http://www.skb.si/info/ban/info-ban-2001/info-ban2001-11.html> December 2001) 'To all our co-workers, both those from SKB Bank and those from our associated French branch, the two of us wish a happy holiday upon the coming of the new year'. The paradigms for these are given below.

Morphologically similar are *ták, táka, táko* 'such'; *vsâk, vsâka, vsâko* 'each, every, any'; *drûg, drûga, drûgo* 'other', *nĕk, nĕka, nĕko* 'a kind of'; *enák, enâka, enâko* 'identical'; *îsti, îsta, îsto* 'same', all of which decline (with the necessary adjustments for the N-SG-M-DEF/INDEF) just as *tîsti*.

tâ 'this'

| <i>SG</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>F</i> | <i>N</i> |
|-----------|----------------|------------|-------------|
| NOM | <i>tâ</i> | <i>tâ</i> | <i>tô</i> |
| ACC | <i>tâ/têga</i> | <i>tô</i> | <i>tô</i> |
| GEN | <i>têga</i> | <i>té</i> | <i>têga</i> |
| DAT | <i>têmu</i> | <i>těj</i> | <i>têmu</i> |
| LOC | <i>têm</i> | <i>těj</i> | <i>têm</i> |
| INST | <i>têm</i> | <i>tô</i> | <i>têm</i> |

| <i>PL</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>F</i> | <i>N</i> |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| NOM | <i>tî</i> | <i>tê</i> | <i>tâ</i> |
| ACC | <i>tê</i> | <i>tê</i> | <i>tâ</i> |

| | | | |
|------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| GEN | <i>têh</i> | <i>têh</i> | <i>têh</i> |
| DAT | <i>têm</i> | <i>têm</i> | <i>têm</i> |
| LOC | <i>têh</i> | <i>têh</i> | <i>têh</i> |
| INST | <i>têmi</i> | <i>têmi</i> | <i>têmi</i> |

| <i>DU</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>F</i> | <i>N</i> |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| NOM | <i>tâ</i> | <i>tî</i> | <i>tî</i> |
| ACC | <i>tâ</i> | <i>tî</i> | <i>tî</i> |
| GEN | <i>têh</i> | <i>têh</i> | <i>têh</i> |
| DAT | <i>têma</i> | <i>têma</i> | <i>têma</i> |
| LOC | <i>têh</i> | <i>têh</i> | <i>têh</i> |
| INST | <i>têma</i> | <i>têma</i> | <i>têma</i> |

tîsti 'that'

| <i>SG</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>F</i> | <i>N</i> |
|-----------|----------------------|--------------|----------------|
| NOM | <i>tîsti</i> | <i>tîsta</i> | <i>tîsto</i> |
| ACC | <i>tîsti/tîstega</i> | <i>tîsto</i> | <i>tîsto</i> |
| GEN | <i>tîstega</i> | <i>tîste</i> | <i>tîstega</i> |
| DAT | <i>tîstemu</i> | <i>tîsti</i> | <i>tîstemu</i> |
| LOC | <i>tîstem</i> | <i>tîsti</i> | <i>tîstem</i> |
| INST | <i>tîstim</i> | <i>tîsto</i> | <i>tîstim</i> |

| <i>PL</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>F</i> | <i>N</i> |
|-----------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| NOM | <i>tîsti</i> | <i>tîste</i> | <i>tîsta</i> |
| ACC | <i>tîste</i> | <i>tîste</i> | <i>tîsta</i> |
| GEN | <i>tîstih</i> | <i>tîstih</i> | <i>tîstih</i> |
| DAT | <i>tîstim</i> | <i>tîstim</i> | <i>tîstim</i> |
| LOC | <i>tîstih</i> | <i>tîstih</i> | <i>tîstih</i> |
| INST | <i>tîstim</i> | <i>tîstim</i> | <i>tîstim</i> |

| <i>DU</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>F</i> | <i>N</i> |
|-----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| NOM | <i>tîstâ</i> | <i>tîsti</i> | <i>tîsti</i> |
| ACC | <i>tîstâ</i> | <i>tîsti</i> | <i>tîsti</i> |

| | | | |
|------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| GEN | <i>tîstih</i> | <i>tîstih</i> | <i>tîstih</i> |
| DAT | <i>tîstima</i> | <i>tîstima</i> | <i>tîstima</i> |
| LOC | <i>tîstih</i> | <i>tîstih</i> | <i>tîstih</i> |
| INST | <i>tîstima</i> | <i>tîstima</i> | <i>tîstima</i> |

ôni 'that (distal)'

| <i>SG</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>F</i> | <i>N</i> |
|-----------|------------------|------------|--------------|
| NOM | <i>ôni</i> | <i>ôna</i> | <i>ôno</i> |
| ACC | <i>ôni/ônega</i> | <i>ôno</i> | <i>ôno</i> |
| GEN | <i>ônega</i> | <i>ône</i> | <i>ônega</i> |
| DAT | <i>ônemu</i> | <i>ôni</i> | <i>ônemu</i> |
| LOC | <i>ônem</i> | <i>ôni</i> | <i>ônem</i> |
| INST | <i>ônim</i> | <i>ôno</i> | <i>ônim</i> |

| <i>PL</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>F</i> | <i>N</i> |
|-----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| NOM | <i>ôni</i> | <i>ône</i> | <i>ôna</i> |
| ACC | <i>ône</i> | <i>ône</i> | <i>ôna</i> |
| GEN | <i>ônih</i> | <i>ônih</i> | <i>ônih</i> |
| DAT | <i>ônim</i> | <i>ônim</i> | <i>ônim</i> |
| LOC | <i>ônih</i> | <i>ônih</i> | <i>ônih</i> |
| INST | <i>ônimi</i> | <i>ônimi</i> | <i>ônimi</i> |

| <i>DU</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>F</i> | <i>N</i> |
|-----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| NOM | <i>ôna</i> | <i>ôni</i> | <i>ôni</i> |
| ACC | <i>ôna</i> | <i>ôni</i> | <i>ôni</i> |
| GEN | <i>ônih</i> | <i>ônih</i> | <i>ônih</i> |
| DAT | <i>ônima</i> | <i>ônima</i> | <i>ônima</i> |
| LOC | <i>ônih</i> | <i>ônih</i> | <i>ônih</i> |
| INST | <i>ônima</i> | <i>ônima</i> | <i>ônima</i> |

vès 'all'

| | <i>M</i> | <i>F</i> | <i>N</i> |
|-----|------------------|------------|------------|
| NOM | <i>vès</i> | <i>vsà</i> | <i>vsè</i> |
| ACC | <i>vès/vsèga</i> | <i>vsò</i> | <i>vsè</i> |

| | | | |
|------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| GEN | <i>vsèga</i> | <i>vsè</i> | <i>vsèga</i> |
| DAT | <i>vsèmu</i> | <i>vsèj</i> | <i>vsèmu</i> |
| LOC | <i>vsèm</i> | <i>vsèj</i> | <i>vsèm</i> |
| INST | <i>vsèm</i> | <i>vsò</i> | <i>vsèm</i> |

4.1.1.5.5 Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns agree, as other adjectives, with their head noun (*moj lepi beli konj* ‘my beautiful white horse’). The chart below gives the pattern for *mój*, for which the distinction between the closed *ó* in the N-SG-M and open *ó* in the remaining forms should be noted. The exact same pattern applies also to *tvój*, *tvója* (etc.) ‘your’ (SG and familiar) and *svój*, *svója* (etc.) ‘one’s one’. The pattern for *njegòv* ~ *njegóv*, *njegóva* (etc.) is also identical with the exception of the variation just noted for the N-SG-M form.

mój ‘my’

| <i>SG</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>F</i> | <i>N</i> |
|-----------|-------------------|-------------|---------------|
| NOM | <i>mój</i> | <i>mója</i> | <i>móje</i> |
| ACC | <i>mój/mójega</i> | <i>mójo</i> | <i>mójo</i> |
| GEN | <i>mójega</i> | <i>móje</i> | <i>mójega</i> |
| DAT | <i>mójemu</i> | <i>móji</i> | <i>mójemu</i> |
| LOC | <i>mójem</i> | <i>móji</i> | <i>mójem</i> |
| INST | <i>mójim</i> | <i>mójo</i> | <i>mójim</i> |

| <i>PL</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>F</i> | <i>N</i> |
|-----------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| NOM | <i>móji</i> | <i>móje</i> | <i>mója</i> |
| ACC | <i>móje</i> | <i>móje</i> | <i>mója</i> |
| GEN | <i>mójih</i> | <i>mójih</i> | <i>mójih</i> |
| DAT | <i>mójim</i> | <i>mójim</i> | <i>mójim</i> |
| LOC | <i>mójih</i> | <i>mójih</i> | <i>mójih</i> |
| INST | <i>mójimi</i> | <i>mójimi</i> | <i>mójimi</i> |

| <i>DU</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>F</i> | <i>N</i> |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| NOM | <i>mója</i> | <i>móji</i> | <i>móji</i> |

| | | | |
|------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| ACC | <i>mója</i> | <i>móji</i> | <i>móji</i> |
| GEN | <i>mójih</i> | <i>mójih</i> | <i>mójih</i> |
| DAT | <i>mójima</i> | <i>mójima</i> | <i>mójima</i> |
| LOC | <i>mójih</i> | <i>mójih</i> | <i>mójih</i> |
| INST | <i>mójima</i> | <i>mójima</i> | <i>mójima</i> |

The pattern for the 2-PL and formal (*váš* 'your') and 1-PL (*naš* 'our') possessive adjectives is given below (where only the first consonant need be changed). The 3-SG-F (*njên, njêna, njêno* 'her') and 3-DU (*njûn, njûna, njûno* 'both of their') follow this pattern as well, with the exception that the N-SG-M does not have a stress difference and the N-SG-N form ends in *-o* rather than *-e*.

váš 'your' (PL and formal)

| <i>SG</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>F</i> | <i>N</i> |
|-----------|--------------------|-------------|---------------|
| NOM | <i>váš</i> | <i>váša</i> | <i>váše</i> |
| ACC | <i>váši/vášega</i> | <i>vášo</i> | <i>váše</i> |
| GEN | <i>vášega</i> | <i>váše</i> | <i>vášega</i> |
| DAT | <i>vášemu</i> | <i>váši</i> | <i>vášemu</i> |
| LOC | <i>vášem</i> | <i>váši</i> | <i>vášem</i> |
| INST | <i>vášim</i> | <i>vášo</i> | <i>vášim</i> |

| <i>PL</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>F</i> | <i>N</i> |
|-----------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| NOM | <i>váši</i> | <i>váše</i> | <i>váša</i> |
| ACC | <i>váše</i> | <i>váše</i> | <i>váša</i> |
| GEN | <i>váših</i> | <i>váših</i> | <i>váših</i> |
| DAT | <i>vášim</i> | <i>vášim</i> | <i>vášim</i> |
| LOC | <i>váših</i> | <i>váših</i> | <i>váših</i> |
| INST | <i>vášimi</i> | <i>vášimi</i> | <i>vášimi</i> |

| <i>DU</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>F</i> | <i>N</i> |
|-----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| NOM | <i>váša</i> | <i>váši</i> | <i>váši</i> |
| ACC | <i>váša</i> | <i>váši</i> | <i>váši</i> |
| GEN | <i>váših</i> | <i>váših</i> | <i>váših</i> |

| | | | |
|------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| DAT | <i>vášima</i> | <i>vášima</i> | <i>vášima</i> |
| LOC | <i>váših</i> | <i>váših</i> | <i>váših</i> |
| INST | <i>vášima</i> | <i>vášima</i> | <i>vášima</i> |

4.1.1.6 Adverbs

Adverbs are a morphologically heterogeneous category in Slovene differing from other parts of speech in that they do not inflect for grammatical categories. Adverbs are used to modify verbs, adjectives, or whole clauses.

| SEMANTIC FIELD | EXAMPLES |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Cause | <i>zakáj</i> ‘why?’, <i>zatô</i> ‘because’, <i>takô</i> ‘thus’, <i>slučajno</i> ‘by chance’, <i>nehote</i> ‘unintentionally’, <i>torej</i> ‘therefore’, etc. |
| Iterativity | <i>kôlikokrat</i> ‘how many times?’, <i>vêčkrat</i> ‘many times’, <i>ênkrat</i> ‘once (one time only)’, <i>znova</i> ‘once again’, <i>málokraj</i> ‘a few times’, <i>màrsikdàj</i> ‘many a time’, <i>pogôsto</i> ‘frequently’, etc. |
| Location | <i>kjê</i> ‘where?’, <i>tù</i> ‘here’, <i>tam</i> ‘there’, <i>povsôd</i> ‘everywhere’, <i>nikjêr</i> ‘nowhere’, <i>znótraj</i> ‘inside’, <i>zúnaj</i> ‘outside’, <i>spôdaj</i> ‘below’, <i>zgóraj</i> ‘above’, <i>dáleč</i> ‘far’, <i>blízu</i> ‘near’, <i>domâ</i> ‘at home’, etc. |
| Direction/goal-orientation | <i>kâm</i> ‘whither?’, <i>tjà</i> ‘to there’, <i>sêm</i> [sêm] ‘hither’, <i>gór</i> ‘up’, <i>dôl</i> ‘down’, <i>naprêj</i> ‘forward’, <i>nazáj</i> ‘backward’, <i>navzdòl</i> ‘downward’, <i>nôter</i> ‘into’, <i>domôv</i> ‘homeward’, <i>júžno</i> ‘southwards’, <i>séverno</i> ‘northwards’, etc. |
| Manner | <i>kakô</i> ‘how?’, <i>nêžno</i> ‘gently’, <i>silovîto</i> ‘with force’, <i>neródnô</i> ‘clumsily’, <i>trápastô</i> ‘stupidly’, <i>prídno</i> ‘diligently’, <i>skr̂bno</i> ‘carefully’, <i>lepô</i> ‘nicely’, <i>láhko</i> ‘easily’, <i>postôpoma</i> ‘gradually’, etc. |
| Quantity | <i>kôliko</i> ‘how much?’, <i>nêkaj</i> ‘some’, <i>kàj</i> ‘some’, <i>precêj</i> ‘quite a bit’, <i>velíko</i> ‘a lot’, <i>málo</i> ‘a little’, <i>kômaj</i> ‘barely’, etc. |

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| Relation | <i>profesionâlno</i> ‘professionally’, <i>po domáce</i> ‘like at home’, <i>dejânsko</i> ‘factually’, <i>ideolôško</i> ‘ideologically’, <i>resnîčno</i> ‘truthfully’, etc. |
| Time | <i>kdāj</i> ‘when?’: <i>zdāj</i> ‘now’, <i>tedāj</i> ‘then’, <i>takràt</i> ‘at that time’, <i>tôkrat</i> ‘at this time’, <i>enkràt</i> ‘at some time’, <i>od-slêj</i> ‘from now on’, <i>doslêj</i> ‘until now’, <i>jûtri</i> ‘tomorrow’, <i>poléti</i> ‘in the summer’, <i>pozími</i> ‘in the winter’, <i>jesêni</i> ‘in the fall’, <i>spomlâdi</i> ‘in the spring’, <i>včéraj</i> ‘yesterday’, <i>dânes</i> ‘today’, <i>vêdno</i> ‘always’, <i>včâsih</i> ‘sometimes’, <i>nekôč</i> ‘once upon a time’, <i>zmêraj</i> ‘always’, <i>žè</i> ‘already’, <i>pri priči</i> ‘immediately’, <i>šè</i> ‘yet, still’, etc. |

Deictic adverbs may also be modified with *-le* or (sometimes arch.) *-kaj*, which are used for mild emphasis or even rhythmic (sentence-prosodic) reasons, e.g., *sèmlè* ‘over here’, *sèmkaj* ‘over here’ (arch.), *tjàlè* ‘over there’, *tjàkaj* ‘over there’ (arch.), *tùlè* ‘right here’, *tùkaj* ‘right here’. Although in most instances these elements are added to monosyllabic adverbs, speakers also produce *tùkajlè* ‘right over here’.

4.1.1.6.1 Interrogative adverbs

The following are the interrogative adverbs: *kakô* ‘how’, *kdāj* ‘when’, *kjē* ‘where’, *kôliko* ‘how much’, *zakāj* ‘why’, *kām* ‘whither’. The corresponding negative forms are *nikâkor* ‘(in) no way’, *nikôli/nîkdar* ‘never’, *nikjêr* ‘nowhere’, *nikâmor* ‘nowhere’. The negated form of *kôliko* is the negated inanimate pronoun *nîč* ‘nothing’, for which see: 4.1.1.4.1. Examples:

Kako si spal? ‘How did you sleep?’

Kdaj se bomo vrnil? ‘When shall we return?’

Kje sta bila? ‘Where were the two of you?’

Koliko sem ti dolžan? ‘How much do I owe you?’

Zakaj ne piješ kave? ‘Why aren’t you drinking your coffee?’

Kam naj te peljem? ‘Where should I take you?’

Most of these adverbs may be modified with *-r* to form relative conjunctions (see also 4.1.1.4.1.1 and 6.1.3.2.2).

Janez dela tako, kàkor delajo drugi ‘Janez works the same way as everyone else does’

Pridi na obisk, kàdar ti paše ‘Come for a visit when you feel like it’

Stanuje tam, kjêr si ti nekoč stanovala ‘S/he lives where you used to live’

Ima toliko denarja, kôlikor ga potrebuje ‘S/he has as much money as s/he needs’

Like the interrogative pronouns, the interrogative adverbs in *k-* may be modified with *ne-*, *màrsi-*, or *-kôli*: *nekako* ‘somehow’, *nêkdaj* ‘sometime, once upon a time’, *nekjê* ‘somewhere’, *nekôliko* ‘somewhat’; *màrsikjê* ‘in many a place’; *kàdar kôli* ‘whenever’, *kâmor kôli* ‘wherever (as a goal of a motion verb)’, *od kôder kôli* ‘from wherever’, etc.

4.1.1.7 Numeral morphology

4.1.1.7.1 Cardinals

As in other Slavic languages, the cardinal numbers have idiosyncratic morphologies. The numeral 0 is *nîčla* (coll. *nûla*), which declines as a feminine noun; one may also say *nîč* for ‘zero’. The numeral ‘one’ (*èn, éna, éno*) declines like an adjective, agreeing in number, case and gender with a head noun (when present): *enega fanta* ‘of one boy’, *enemu dekletu* ‘to one girl’, *ob enih* ‘at one o’clock’. The number 1 can also behave as a noun, in which case the M-SG-NOM takes the form *éden* [é:dən] (*Danes je eden tistih dni, ko bi se človek skrila pod odejo in počakal, da se stvari umirijo* ‘Today is one of those days when one could hide under a blanket and wait for things to calm down’). In counting and reading off numbers (as in reciting telephone numbers), the feminine form *éna* is generally preferred. The numbers 2–5 and 100 have the following pattern:

| CASE | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 100 |
|------|--------------------------------------|--|---|------------|------------|
| NOM | <i>dvâ</i> (M), <i>dvê</i> (F, N) | <i>trîje</i> (M), <i>trî</i> (F, N) | <i>štírje</i> (M), <i>štíri</i> (F, N) | <i>pêt</i> | <i>stô</i> |
| ACC | <i>dvâ</i> (M), <i>dvê</i> (F, N) | <i>trî</i> | <i>štíri</i> | <i>pêt</i> | <i>stô</i> |

| | | | | | |
|------|--------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|
| GEN | <i>dvēh</i> | <i>trēh</i> | <i>štīrih</i> | <i>pētih</i> | <i>stótih</i> |
| DAT | <i>dvēma</i> | <i>trēm</i> | <i>štīrim</i> | <i>pétim</i> | <i>stótim</i> |
| LOC | <i>dvēh</i> | <i>trēh</i> | <i>štīrih</i> | <i>pētih</i> | <i>stótih</i> |
| INST | <i>dvēma</i> | <i>trēmi</i> | <i>štīrimi</i> | <i>pétimi</i> | <i>stótimi</i> |

Obâ/obê ‘both’ declines just as *dvâ*, *dvê*.

The numerals *šest* ‘6’, *devêt* ‘9’, *desêt* ‘10’, follow the same pattern as those of *pêt* and *stô*, including the change in vowel quality in the stressed V. The teens and tens follow the same pattern, though without any prosodic or vowel-quality alternations: *enâjst* ‘11’, *dvânajst* ‘12’, *trînajst* ‘13’, *štîrinajst* ‘14’, *pêtnajst* ‘15’, *šêstnajst* ‘16’, *sêdemnajst* ‘17’, *ôsemnajst* ‘18’, *devêtnajst* ‘19’, *dvâjset* ‘20’, *trîdeset* ‘30’, *štîrideset* ‘40’, *pêtdeset* ‘50’, *šêstdeset* ‘60’, *sêdemdeset* ‘70’, *ôsemdeset* ‘80’, *devêtdeset* ‘90’. Similarly, the hundreds are formed by combining the cardinals for 2–9 and *stô*, thus: *dvêsto* ‘200’, *trîsto* ‘300’, *štîristo* ‘400’, *pêtsto* ‘500’, *šêststo* ‘600’, *sêdemsto* ‘700’, *ôsemsto* ‘800’, *devêtsto* ‘900’.

The numerals *sêdem* [‘sédəm] and *ôsem* [‘ósəm] have similar declension patterns, though their toneme in the NOM/ACC is acute and the second syllable contains a V ~ Ø alternation:

| CASE | 7 | 8 |
|------|----------------|---------------|
| NOM | <i>sêdem</i> | <i>ôsem</i> |
| ACC | <i>sêdem</i> | <i>ôsem</i> |
| GEN | <i>sêdmih</i> | <i>ôsmih</i> |
| DAT | <i>sêdmim</i> | <i>ôsmim</i> |
| LOC | <i>sêdmih</i> | <i>ôsmih</i> |
| INST | <i>sêdmimi</i> | <i>ôsmimi</i> |

As was seen above, the teens are written together and are slightly opaque historical contractions of collocations following the pattern **ena na deset* ‘one on ten’ > *enajst*, **dva na deset* ‘two on ten’ > *dvanajst*. Outside of the teens and the decades, ones come before the tens, conjoined by the CONJ *in* ‘and’ and are written together with each numeral element maintaining its own stress: *ênaindvâjset* ‘21’, *pêtinštîrideset*

‘45’, *osemindevêtdeset* ‘98’. These decline just as their corresponding decades. The date 1987 would be read *tîsoč devêtsto sêdeminósemdeset*.

The numbers *tîsoč* ‘thousand’, *milijôn* ‘million’, *milijârda* ‘billion’ decline as ordinary nouns (see 4.1.1.2). When quantified itself, *tîsoč* remains invariable, e.g., *dvâ tîsoč sêdem* ‘2007’.

The numerals are declined when they are used to denote quantities, but not when they are used to denote numbers themselves, e.g., *hotel s petimi zvezdicami* ‘a five-star hotel’ vs. *deset deljeno s pet je dva* ‘ten divided by five is two’ (see also 6.1.1.3).

4.1.1.7.2 Ordinals

Most of the ordinal numbers are formed by adding the adjectival desinences to the stem of the cardinals. The major exceptions are the ordinals for 1—4, where ‘1st’ and ‘2nd’ are suppletive, formed with the stem *p̂rv-* and *drūg-*, respectively; the ordinals for ‘3rd’ and ‘4th’ are formed with related stem variants *trétj-*, *četrt-*. Aside from *tîsoči* ‘thousandth’, the multiples of hundreds, millions, etc., are formed by the stem of the cardinal number plus the addition of an ordinal suffix *-t-*, followed by the adjectival desinences, e.g., *stô* ‘100’ → *stôti*, *-a*, *-o* ‘hundredth’. The following list summarizes these patterns:

| | |
|-----|--|
| 1. | <i>p̂rvi</i> , <i>-a</i> , <i>-o</i> |
| 2. | <i>drūgi</i> , <i>-a</i> , <i>-o</i> |
| 3. | <i>trétji</i> , <i>-a</i> , <i>-e</i> |
| 4. | <i>četrti</i> , <i>-a</i> , <i>-o</i> |
| 5. | <i>péti</i> , <i>-a</i> , <i>-o</i> |
| 6. | <i>šésti</i> , <i>-a</i> , <i>-o</i> |
| 7. | <i>sédmi</i> , <i>-a</i> , <i>-o</i> |
| 8. | <i>ôsmi</i> , <i>-a</i> , <i>-o</i> |
| 9. | <i>devéti</i> , <i>-a</i> , <i>-o</i> |
| 10. | <i>deséti</i> , <i>-a</i> , <i>-o</i> |
| 11. | <i>enájsti</i> , <i>-a</i> , <i>-o</i> |
| 12. | <i>dvanájsti</i> , <i>-a</i> , <i>-o</i> |
| 20. | <i>dvâjseti</i> , <i>-a</i> , <i>-o</i> |

| | |
|------------|------------------------------|
| 21. | <i>ēnaindvâjseti, -a, -o</i> |
| 100. | <i>stôti, -a, -o</i> |
| 1000. | <i>tîsoči, -a, -o</i> |
| 1.000.000. | <i>milijônti, -a, -o</i> |

Orthographically, ordinals are represented by a period after the number: *1. maja* (*prvega maja* ‘on the first of May’), *4. mesto na lestvici* ‘fourth place in the ranking’.

4.1.1.8 Verbal morphology

The Slovene verb distinguishes the categories of tense (present, past, future); person (in the present, past, future indicative and imperative); number; aspect; mood; voice. Note that the future, past, pluperfect, and conditionals are made with an auxiliary + the I-pcp, which distinguishes gender and number. The infinitive and supine forms distinguish aspect and mood; additionally, the supine marks intentionality.

The following tense/mood/voice complexes are distinguished:

| PARADIGM | PERFECTIVE | IMPERFECTIVE |
|----------------------|--|---|
| Infinitive | <i>kúpiti</i> ‘to buy something’ | <i>kupováti</i> ‘to buy things’ |
| Supine | <i>kúpit</i> ‘go with the intention of buying something’ | <i>kupovàt</i> ‘go with the intention of buying things’ |
| Present tense | <i>kúpim</i> ‘I buy’ | <i>kupûjem</i> ‘I am buying’ |
| Future tense | <i>kúpil bom</i> ‘I shall buy’ | <i>kupovàl bom</i> ‘I shall be buying’ |
| Past tense | <i>kúpil sem</i> ‘I bought’ | <i>kupovàl sem</i> ‘I was buying’ |
| Pluperfect | <i>sem bîl kúpil</i> ‘I had bought’ | <i>sem bîl kupovàl</i> ‘I had bought’ |

| | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Conditional | <i>kúpil bi</i> 'I would buy' | <i>kupovâl bi</i> 'I would be buying' |
| Imperative | <i>kúpi</i> 'buy' | <i>kupûj</i> 'keep buying' |
| Present active participle | -- | <i>kupujôč</i> 'buying' |
| Past passive participle | <i>kúpljen</i> 'bought' | <i>²kupován</i> 'having been bought' |
| Verbal noun | <i>nakûp</i> 'purchase' | <i>kupovânje</i> 'the act of buying' |

Formally, Slovene verbs have the following structure, where the optional morphemes are given in parentheses:

(prefix) + root + (suffix[es]) + grammatical ending

Some examples:

| <i>PREFIX</i> | <i>ROOT</i> | <i>SUFFIX: FORM- CLASS</i> | <i>SUFFIX: CATEGORIAL FORMANT</i> | <i>GRAMM. ENDING</i> | <i>MEANING</i> |
|---------------|-------------|------------------------------------|---|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| | <i>kûh</i> | <i>a</i> | | <i>m</i> | 'I cook (IMPF)' |
| <i>s</i> | <i>kúh</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>ti</i> | | 'to cook (PF)' |
| <i>s</i> | <i>kuh</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>l</i> | <i>i</i> | 'they cooked (PF)' |
| | <i>kúp</i> | <i>i</i> | | <i>m</i> | 'I buy (PF)' |
| | <i>kúp</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>ti</i> | | 'to buy (PF)' |
| | <i>kup</i> | <i>ov-á</i> | | <i>ti</i> | 'to buy (IMPF)' |
| | <i>kup</i> | <i>ûj-e</i> | | <i>m</i> | 'I buy (IMPF)' |
| <i>na</i> | <i>kup</i> | <i>ov-á</i> | <i>ti</i> | | 'to go shopping (IMPF)' |

| | | | | | |
|-----------|------------|-------------|----------|----------|-----------------------------|
| <i>na</i> | <i>kup</i> | <i>ov-á</i> | <i>l</i> | <i>i</i> | 'they went shopping (IMPF)' |
|-----------|------------|-------------|----------|----------|-----------------------------|

In addition, verbs may have satellites, such as reflexive particles, which are distributed at the clause level, e.g., *Zapomnila si je številko registrske tablice* 'She remembered the license-plate number'; *nje se strašno bojim* 'I'm terribly afraid of her' (see also 6.1.2.4). Reflexive particles may be lexically assigned, e.g., *bati se* 'to be afraid', *jeziti se* 'to be angry', or may be constructed in order to effect passivization, mutuality, or middle voice/impersonal meanings, e.g., *Kupujejo čevlje* 'People are buying the shoes' vs. *Čevlji se kupujejo* 'The shoes are being bought'; *Pretepel ga je* 'He beat him up' vs. *Pretepla sta se* 'They beat each other up'; *Berem knjigo* 'I'm reading the book' vs. *Knjiga se lepo bere* 'The book reads well/is a nice read'.⁴ Reflexive particles may also change the lexical meaning of a verb, e.g., *rediti* 'to breed, raise animals' vs. *rediti se* 'to get fat'. With a small number of verbs, usually with a colloquial flavor, semantically empty clitics are lexically assigned, e.g., *lomiti ga* 'to goof off, to kid around'; *odkuriti jo* 'to take off in a flash'; *Lani jo je popihala z nekim suplentom in našel sem jo šele v Zagrebu* (JH 237) 'Last year she ran off with some apprentice teacher and I finally caught up with her in Zagreb'.

4.1.1.8.1 Present-tense

The present-tense forms have desinences distinguishing number (singular : plural : dual), person (1 : 2 : 3) in the following pattern (for most verbs):

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

⁴ Speakers will also produce *Knjigo se lepo bere*, though the construction is deprecated in standard speech.

A slightly different set of endings is used for a small number of frequently used verbs, e.g., *bíti/bôm* ‘to be’/‘I will’, *dáti/dám* ‘to give’, *íti/grèm* ‘to go’/‘I go’, *jésti/jém* ‘to eat’/‘I eat’ *védeti/vém* ‘to know’/‘I know’.

| | <i>SG</i> | <i>PL</i> | <i>DU</i> |
|---|-----------|------------------|-------------|
| 1 | <i>-m</i> | <i>-mo</i> | <i>-va</i> |
| 2 | <i>-š</i> | <i>-ste</i> | <i>-sta</i> |
| 3 | <i>-∅</i> | <i>-do ~ -jo</i> | <i>-sta</i> |

The unstressed present-tense forms of *bíti* serve as the auxiliary in the formation of past tense. This verb has the following conjugation:

| | <i>SG</i> | <i>PL</i> | <i>DU</i> |
|---|------------------|------------|------------|
| 1 | <i>sem</i> [səm] | <i>smo</i> | <i>sva</i> |
| 2 | <i>si</i> | <i>ste</i> | <i>sta</i> |
| 3 | <i>je</i> | <i>so</i> | <i>sta</i> |

When used as the verb ‘exist, be’, the above-cited forms are short-stressed.

4.1.1.8.2 Imperative/hortative

The imperative is formed by adding *-i-* to the final present-tense-stem consonant (*nésem* → *nési!* *nésite!* ‘carry!’; *píš-em* ‘I write’ → *píši!* *píšite!* ‘write!’ 2-SG, PL), except when the present-tense stem ends in *-j*, in which case the imperative formant is *-∅-* (*nadaljújem* ‘I continue’ → *nadaljú!* *nadaljújte!* ‘continue!’ 2-SG, PL; *píj-em* ‘I drink’ → *píj!* *píjte!* ‘drink!’ 2-SG, PL), followed by the person-number-marking desinences. Verbs that have the theme vowel *-a-* in the present-tense add the imperative formant *-j* directly to the stem, including the theme vowel (e.g., *končam* ‘I finish’ → *končâj!* *končâjte!* ‘finish!’ 2-SG, PL). The person-number-marking desinences are summarized in the chart below.

| | <i>SG</i> | <i>PL</i> | <i>DU</i> |
|---|-----------|------------|------------|
| 1 | | <i>-mo</i> | <i>-va</i> |
| 2 | <i>-∅</i> | <i>-te</i> | <i>-ta</i> |

Examples: *nēs-i* ‘carry!’ 2-SG, *nēs-i-mo* ‘let’s carry!’, *nēs-i-te* ‘carry!’ 2-PL or honorific; *dêlaj* ‘work!’ 2-SG, *dêlaj-mo* ‘let’s work!’, *dêlaj-te* ‘carry!’ 2-PL or honorific. Velar-stem verbs display stem allomorphy *g* ~ *z* and *k* ~ *c* in the imperative, e.g., **leg-i* → *lézi* ‘lie down!’, **tek-i* → *těci* ‘run!’. In colloquial speech, the alternations are instead *g* ~ *ž* and *k* ~ *č* (*léž*, *těč*).

For the 3-PL hortatives/jussives the *naj* + finite verb construction is used, on which see 6.1.2.3.2.1.4.

4.1.1.8.3 Infinitive and supine

Infinitives are formed by the addition of the desinence *-ti* to the verbal stem. In verbs with vocalic suffixes or with stems ending in *-s* or *-z*, the desinence is added without modification, e.g., *br-á-ti* ‘read’, *víd-e-ti* ‘see’, *dél-a-ti* ‘do, make’, *nēs-ti* ‘carry’, **molz-ti* → *mólsti* ‘milk’.⁵ Unsuffixed stems ending in *-d* or *-t* have allomorphs in which the stem-final consonant mutates to *-s-*: **bred-ti* → *brěsti* ‘wade’, **met-ti* → *městi* ‘sweep’. Stems ending in labial stops display an epenthetic *-s-* between the stem and desinence, e.g., **skub-ti* → *skúbsti* ‘pluck fowl, take sby to the cleaners’, **tep-ti* → *těpsti* ‘beat sby’. With stems ending in a velar consonant (*g*, *k*), the stem truncates and the desinence mutates to *-či*: **mog-ti* → *móči* ‘be able’, **tek-ti* → *těči* ‘run’. With regard to segmental allomorphy, the supine is formed in exactly the same way as the infinitive, except that the desinence is *-t/-č* (*délat*, *těč*). Some supines also differ prosodically from infinitives, e.g., *spáti* vs. *spât* ‘sleep’.

In all but the most formal spoken Slovene, the final *-i* of the infinitive is normally dropped (the “short infinitive”) and, concomitantly, if the

⁵ The orthography requires the writing of the allomorphic *z* as *s* before *-ti*, which reflects the voiceless pronunciation.

preceding vowel is normatively marked for low stress, then the short infinitive has short stress (*kupováti* → *kupovàt* ‘buy’, *spáti* → *spàt* ‘sleep’, *píti* → *pìt* ‘drink’). In substandard speech, the *-t* marker of the infinitive has spread to the velar–stem type in *-č*, viz. *téčt* ‘run’, *tólčt* ‘hit, beat’.

4.1.1.8.4 *L-participle*

The *l*-pcp formed historically as an adjectival form of the verb, hence it agrees in gender and number with its subject, though it is never declined for case. It is formed by adding the formant *-l-* to the stem plus number/gender desinences. The following chart gives the desinences.

| | <i>SG</i> | <i>PL</i> | <i>DU</i> |
|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| M | <i>-∅</i> | <i>-i</i> | <i>-a</i> |
| F | <i>-a</i> | <i>-e</i> | <i>-i</i> |
| N | <i>-o</i> | <i>-a</i> | <i>-i</i> |

All of the *-i-ti* and *-a-ti* verbs, as well as *e*-theme verbs with a vocalic suffix in the INF add the *-l-* formant directly to the infinitival stem, e.g., *misli-l-a* ‘she thought’, *dela-l-i* ‘they worked’, *vrni-l-i* ‘they returned sth’, *vrel-o* ‘it boiled’.

With regard to unsuffixed *e*-themed verbs, the consonantal stems ending in *b, p, d, t, g, k, z, s* are followed by an epenthetic schwa (written *e*) between the stem and the *-l-* formant in the M-SG, but otherwise do not have stem truncation or mutation. In the M-SG form, the *-l-* formant is pronounced [ɥ]. With the other gender/number desinences, the stems, formant, and desinences are concatenated straightforwardly, without changes to the elements: *pométel* ‘he swept’, *pométle* ‘she swept’; *grizel* ‘he bit’, *grizle* ‘she bit’; *môgel* ‘he could’, *môgle* ‘she could’; *nesel* ‘he carried’, *nesle* ‘she carried’; *rêkel* ‘he said’, *rêkle* ‘she said’; *sedel* ‘he sat’, *sedle* ‘they sat’; *tepel* ‘he beat’, *téple* ‘she beat’. To this group also belongs *jêdel* ‘he ate’, *jédle* ‘she ate’; and the exceptional *š[ə]l* ‘he went’, *š[ə]la* ‘she went’ (present *grém* ‘I go’).

E-themed unsuffixed verbs ending in sonorants truncate the consonant before the *-l-* formant, e.g., *del* ‘he put’, *dela* ‘she put’; *pîl* ‘he drank’, *pîli* ‘they drank’.

4.1.1.8.5 Participles

Of the participial forms, the PPP and the PrAP are much more common and productive than the marginal PaAP, though none are used today primarily as a subordinate–clause forming participles. An erstwhile present passive participle can be traced in the history of a very small number of words, e.g., *krâdoma* ‘stealthily’ ← *krâsti* ‘steal’; *vêdoma* ‘cognizantly, knowingly, on–purpose’, *vêdomec* ‘type of spirit’ ← *vêdeti* ‘know’ (*ESSJ* 4: 288–289).

The PrAP forms are typically found as adverbs (**gledéti* → *gledē tega problema* ‘with regard to this problem’), adjectives (*sivéti* ‘become gray’ → *siveča brada* ‘a graying beard’) or as substantivized adjectives (*nosíti* → *noseča* ‘pregnant woman’; *žalováti* ‘to mourn’ → *žalujoči* ‘mourners’); PaAP forms have also become lexicalized as adjectives (*bíti* → *bivši* ‘former’) and substantivized adjectives (*to je moja bivša* ‘this is my ex [wife]’)⁶ (on participial usage see further 6.1.3.2.3). Native grammarians view the distinction functionally, whereby those forms that are adjectival and decline as such are considered *deležniki* and those that are invariant are *deležja* (*-e, -aje, -e/oč, -[v]ši*), following Toporišič (see also

⁶ Marko Jesenšek points out that “during the time that Slovenia was becoming independent, the radio, television, and newspapers used the phrase *bivša Jugoslovanska republika* ‘the former Yugoslav Republic’ for two weeks, after which the language editors (*lektorji*) began to deprecate this usage and—who knows why—substituted the syntagm *nekdanja Jugoslovanska republika* ‘the erstwhile Yugoslav Republic’. Evidently they ‘recognized’ the form *bivši, -a, -e* as an ‘archaism.’ On the other hand, in everyday speech speakers will produce the phrase *bivša punca* ‘ex–girlfriend’ or *to je moja bivša* ‘this is my ex’, which bothers nobody and, moreover, it is only marginally acceptable to say *?nekdanja punca, ?nekdanji fant*.” With regard to *bivša Jugoslovanska republika* it is conceivable that the form is avoided because of the similarity to BCS *bivša Jugoslavija, bivša Jugoslovenska republika*. Note that the problem with using *nekdanji* with animate heads evidently stems from the distinction between transitory and permanent attributes, where *nekdanji fant* requires the primary reading ‘erstwhile boy’, i.e., ‘boy who is no longer a boy’.

Jesenšek 1998: 134–136), regardless of whether the adjectival forms serve as clause-forming entities (i.e., participles *proprie dictu*), as attributes, or substantives.

The distribution of voice and tense are inherent in the participles, with the following distribution.

| | <i>PRESENT</i> | <i>PAST</i> |
|---------|--|--|
| ACTIVE | Subject is agent. Expresses event or state simultaneous with main event or state. Normally IMPF. | Subject is agent. Expresses event or state occurring or completed prior to main event or state. Normally PF. |
| PASSIVE | — | Subject is patient. Expresses event or state occurring or completed prior to main event or state. Normally PF. |

4.1.1.8.5.1 Present (active) adverb

A small number of lexemes preserve the older form of the adverbial participle (properly speaking, the indefinite masculine nominative singular adjectival form, which became reanalyzed as an adverbial participle), e.g., *molčáti* ‘be silent’ → *molčê* ‘silently’, *gred-* → *gredê* ‘going’, *mîmogredê* ‘in passing, by the way’. A small number of adverbs based on the historical accusative and oblique stem are also attested, *rěči* ‘say’ → *rekôč* ‘saying’. More productive are the innovative adverbs in *-âje*, which are formed on the basis of infinitives in *-ati*, e.g., *kazáti* ‘show’ → *kazâje* ‘showing’; *občudováti* ‘be amazed’ → *občudovâje* ‘being amazed’; *meketáti* ‘bleat’ → *meketâje* ‘bleating’. All of these forms are bookish, though the phrase *takô rekôč* ‘so to speak’ has caught on in everyday speech.

4.1.1.8.5.2 Present (active) participle

Present active participles are constructed with the formants *-oč-* and *-eč-* (and marking number, gender, and case as in the adjective declension, on which see 4.1.1.5: *-oč-Ø*, *-oč-a*, *-oč-e*; *-eč-Ø*, *-eč-a*, *-eč-e*,

etc.), the latter from *i*-theme verbs (*goréti* ‘burn’ → *gorèč* ‘burning’; *mísliti* ‘think’ → *mislèč* ‘thinking’) and some unsuffixed *e*-theme verbs (*plúti* ‘sail’ → *plovèč* ‘sailing’; *čúti* ‘hear, feel’ → *čujèč* ‘hearing, sentient, awake’), the former from some unsuffixed *e*-theme verbs (*nésti* ‘carry’ → *nesôč* ‘carrying’; *bráti* → *berôč* ‘reading’). Verbs in *-ovati/-evati* form the participle with *-ujoč-* (*delováti* ‘function’ → *delujōč* ‘functioning’; *zastraševáti* ‘frighten’ → *zastrašujōč* ‘frightening’). Historically, the adjectives *vròč*, *vróča* ‘hot’ (← *vréti* ‘boil’); *rdèč*, *rdéča* ‘red’ (← *rdéti* ‘be red’); and probably also *všèč* ‘like sth’ (← *voščiti* ‘wish’, after a historical vowel reduction, see Snoj 2003: 837) belong to the PrAP formation, though the first two are now lexicalized as adjectives, the third an adverb in the idiomatic construction ‘to like sth’ (see also 6.1.2.3.2.1.1).

4.1.1.8.5.3 Past active

Like the PrAP adverb, the formation of the PaAP is restricted to a relatively small number of verbs, and the use of them is bookish. The adverb is homophonous with the NOM-SG-M form of the adjectival PaAP (which form is given in the examples following). With unsuffixed *e*-theme verbs, the PaAP consists of the past-tense (or “infinitive”) stem + *-ši*, e.g., *rek-* ‘say’ → *rêkši* ‘having said’; nasal-stems of this type behave idiosyncratically: *izvzéti* ‘except’ → *izvzêmši* ‘with the exception of, excepting’; *začéti* ‘begin’ → *začênši* ‘having begun’. Verbs with the INF in *-a-ti*, *-e-ti* and *-i-ti* (of those few that form them) build the PrAP by substituting the INF ending *-ti* with *-vši*, e.g., *bíti* ‘be’ → *bîvši* ‘having been, former(ly)’; *spoznáti* ‘get acquainted with’ → *spoznâvši* ‘having become acquainted with’; *(u)vídeti* ‘see’ → *(u)vidêvši* ‘having seen’.

4.1.1.8.5.4 Past passive

Unlike the stylistic caveats for the other participial forms, the past passive participle is productive and frequently used both in speech and writing.

A small number of monosyllabic-stem unsuffixed verbs (*e*-theme) with roots ending in sonorants are created with the suffix *-t-* attached directly to the infinitive stem, e.g., *ubí-ti* ‘kill’ → *ubî-t*, *-a*, *-o* ‘killed’; *prevzé-ti* ‘to overtake’ → *prevzê-t*, *-a*, *-o* ‘overtaken’; *zaklá-ti* ‘slaugh-

ter' → *zaklá-n, -a, -o* 'slaughtered'; *zaklé-ti* 'curse' → *zaklê-t, -a, -o* 'cursed';

Obstruent stems are formed with *-en-*, e.g., *pretépsti* 'beat up' → *pretepen, pretepena, -o* 'beaten up'; *zaplésti* 'entangle' → *zapletèn, zapleténa, -o* 'entangled, complicated'; velar-stems mutate, e.g., *péči* → *pečèn, pečéna, -o* 'baked'.

The remainder are formed with *-n-* attached to the infinitive stem (*déla-ti* 'make' → *dêla-n, -a, -o* 'made') and, in the case of *i*-theme verbs, *-en-*, in which case the *-i-* theme is truncated and the stem-final consonant mutates (*nosí-ti* 'carry' → *nóš-en, -a, -o* 'carried').

4.1.1.8.5.5 Verbal noun

The formation of the verbal noun follows the distribution of formants described above for the past passive participle; in effect, the M-SG form of the PPP + the suffix *-j-* and the desinence *-e* form the verbal noun in the majority of verbs, e.g., *prevzêtje* 'acceptance, borrowing (of words from one language to another)', *zaklêtje* 'cursing', *nóšenje* 'wearing', *délanje* 'the making of something', *spoznánje* 'acquaintance, becoming acquainted'. A large number of verbs in *-iti* also form the verbal nouns with the suffix *-it[ə]v*, often with alternative meanings, e.g., *delíti* 'divide, apportion' → *deljénje* 'dividing (numbers), passing out (gifts)', → *delítev* 'apportioning, dividing (cells)'. Many verbs in *-ati* derive the verbal noun with *-ava*, again with alternative meanings, e.g., *ménjati* 'change' → *ménjanje* 'changing' (*menjanje pnevmatike* 'changing the tires'), → *menjâva* 'exchange' (*menjava mnenj* 'an exchange of opinions').

Not all formally possible verbal nouns are realized and, instead, other word formations often fill the gap, e.g., *nakûp* 'purchase'; *pretèp* 'fight', *zaplet* 'complication'. Some verbal nouns are formed idiosyncratically, e.g., *živéti* 'live' → *življénje* 'life'; *preživéti* 'survive' → *preživêtje* 'survival'.

4.1.1.8.5.5.1.1.1 Conjugation classes

4.1.1.8.5.6 Athematic stems

For each verb two stems need be considered, an infinitive stem and a present-tense stem, from which virtually all the sub-paradigms can be predicted by the concatenation of stem + (suffix) + ending. For this reason, the relationship between the shape of the infinitive and the present tense is of central importance and these are the two forms that will receive the focus in the following exposition. In a relatively small number of instances there is mismatch between the form of the infinitive and present-tense stems, e.g., *íti* ‘to go’ and *grèm* ‘I go’; *bíti* ‘to go’, *sèm* ‘I am’, *jè* ‘s/he is’. With some verbs the suppletion is only partial, e.g., *iméti* ‘to have’ and *imâm* ‘I have’, *védeti* ‘to know’ and *vém* ‘I know’. These exceptional types relate mostly to the historical Slavic athematic verb conjugations and need to be learned individually (though not in the case of partial suppletion, such as *bráti*, *bérem* ‘to read’).

BÍTI/SÈM ‘AM, IS, ARE’

| | <i>SG</i> | <i>PL</i> | <i>DU</i> |
|---|------------------|------------|------------|
| 1 | <i>sèm</i> [sèm] | <i>smò</i> | <i>svà</i> |
| 2 | <i>sì</i> | <i>stè</i> | <i>stà</i> |
| 3 | <i>jè</i> | <i>sò</i> | <i>stà</i> |

BÍTI/BÔM ‘WILL BE’

| | <i>SG</i> | <i>PL</i> | <i>DU</i> |
|---|------------|--------------------|--------------|
| 1 | <i>bôm</i> | <i>bômo</i> | <i>bôva</i> |
| 2 | <i>bôš</i> | <i>bôste</i> | <i>bôsta</i> |
| 3 | <i>bô</i> | <i>bôjo ~ bôdo</i> | <i>bôsta</i> |

ÍTI 'TO GO'

| | <i>SG</i> | <i>PL</i> | <i>DU</i> |
|---|-------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 | <i>grém</i> | <i>grémo ~ gremò</i> | <i>gréva ~ grevà</i> |
| 2 | <i>grèš</i> | <i>gréste ~ grestè</i> | <i>grésta ~ grestà</i> |
| 3 | <i>grè</i> | <i>gréjo ~ gredò</i> | <i>grésta ~ grestà</i> |

DÁTI 'TO GIVE'

| | <i>SG</i> | <i>PL</i> | <i>DU</i> |
|---|------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1 | <i>dám</i> | <i>dámo</i> | <i>dáva</i> |
| 2 | <i>dáš</i> | <i>dáste</i> | <i>dásta</i> |
| 3 | <i>dá</i> | <i>dájo</i> | <i>dásta</i> |

IMÉTI 'TO HAVE'

| | <i>SG</i> | <i>PL</i> | <i>DU</i> |
|---|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1 | <i>imâm</i> | <i>imâmo</i> | <i>imâva</i> |
| 2 | <i>imâš</i> | <i>imâte</i> | <i>imâta</i> |
| 3 | <i>imâ</i> | <i>imâjo</i> | <i>imâta</i> |

JÉSTI 'TO HAVE'

| | <i>SG</i> | <i>PL</i> | <i>DU</i> |
|---|------------|--------------------|--------------|
| 1 | <i>jém</i> | <i>jémo</i> | <i>jéva</i> |
| 2 | <i>jéš</i> | <i>jéste</i> | <i>jésta</i> |
| 3 | <i>jé</i> | <i>jéjo ~ jedò</i> | <i>jésta</i> |

VÉDETI 'TO KNOW'

| | <i>SG</i> | <i>PL</i> | <i>DU</i> |
|---|------------|--------------------|--------------|
| 1 | <i>vém</i> | <i>vémo</i> | <i>véva</i> |
| 2 | <i>véš</i> | <i>véste</i> | <i>vésta</i> |
| 3 | <i>vé</i> | <i>véjo ~ vedò</i> | <i>vésta</i> |

The verb *povědati, povém* ‘say (PF)’ follows the present–tense pattern of *védeti*.

Aside from the historical athematics, three regular conjugation classes pertain to the present–tense stems, which may be organized according to theme vowel: *-e-*, *-i-*, and *-a-*.

4.1.1.8.5.7 e-stem verbs

4.1.1.8.5.7.1 Unsuffixed stems

4.1.1.8.5.7.1.1 Bare consonantal stems without stem allomorphy

A closed set of *e*-stem verbs pertaining to many of the most basic verbal expressions concatenate the stem directly to the theme vowel in present–tense and to the infinitival suffix in the case of the infinitive. The simplest of this type has no allomorphic variation with regard to the segmental shape of the stem, except for the minor (phonetic and orthographic) adjustment for regressive voicing assimilation *griz-ti* → *gristi*. The verb *něsti* provides a straightforward example (further examples: *grísti, grízem* ‘bit’; *lésti, lězem* ‘crawl’; *mólsti, mólzem* ‘milk (a cow, a goat)’; *pásti, pásem* ‘graze’; *trěsti, trěsem* ‘shake’, *vězti, vězem* ‘embroider’).

NĚSTI ‘TO CARRY’

| | <i>SG</i> | <i>PL</i> | <i>DU</i> |
|----------|--------------|------------------------------|---------------|
| 1 | <i>něsem</i> | <i>něsemo</i> | <i>něseva</i> |
| 2 | <i>něseš</i> | <i>něsete</i> | <i>něseta</i> |
| 3 | <i>něse</i> | <i>něsejo ~ nesó (arch.)</i> | <i>něseta</i> |

Verbs with suffixes in the infinitive (but absent this suffix in the present tense) also belong to this type, e.g., *bráti* ‘read’ (further examples: *drěti, děrem* ‘flay’; *mrěti, mrèm* ‘die’; *odprěti, odprèm* ‘open’; *práti, pérem* ‘launder, wash’; *umrěti, umrèm* ‘die’; *cvrěti, cvrèm* ‘fry’; *iskáti, íščem* ‘seek’; *strěti, strèm* ‘crush, break’; *vrěti, vrè* ‘boil’; *zrěti, zrèm* ‘look

at’; *tkáti*, *tkèm* ‘weave’; *žgáti*, *žgèm* ‘burn’⁷). Note also that the Velar Alternation I occurs in the present tense of the root in *gnáti*, *žénem* ‘drive, propel sth’.

BRÁTI ‘TO READ’

| | <i>SG</i> | <i>PL</i> | <i>DU</i> |
|---|--------------|------------------------------|---------------|
| 1 | <i>bérem</i> | <i>béremo</i> | <i>béreva</i> |
| 2 | <i>béreš</i> | <i>bérete</i> | <i>béreta</i> |
| 3 | <i>bére</i> | <i>bérejo ~ beró</i> (arch.) | <i>béreta</i> |

4.1.1.8.5.7.1.2 Velar stems

In the case of velar stems, the morphology is complicated by morphophonemic alternations. In the infinitive form the concatenation of **-kti* or **-gti* results in *-či*. In the case of a verb such as *téči*, *téčem* ‘run’ 1-SG, INF, the underlying velar termination in the stem can be seen only in the I-pcp forms *tékel* ‘he ran’, *tékla* ‘she ran’; in the present tense, the stem allomorph of *tek-* is *teč-*. The infinitive form of *séči* (*séžem*) ‘to reach’⁸ is homophonous with *séči* (*séčem*) ‘to cut down’ and the underlying stem termination is seen only in the I-pcp, viz. *ségel*, *ségla* ‘reached’ and consequently, *mutatis mutandis*, the present-tense allomorph is *seč-* vs. *sež-*.

SÉČI ‘TO CUT DOWN’

| | <i>SG</i> | <i>PL</i> | <i>DU</i> |
|---|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1 | <i>séčem</i> | <i>séčemo</i> | <i>séčeva</i> |
| 2 | <i>séčeš</i> | <i>séčete</i> | <i>séčeta</i> |
| 3 | <i>séče</i> | <i>séčejo</i> | <i>séčeta</i> |

⁷ The types *tkati*, *žgati* do not have the typically allomorphy of velar-stem verbs presumably because this allomorphic variation is blocked by the consonant cluster structure in the root.

⁸ This form is now felt to be antiquated. It has been replaced by *sékati*, *sêkam*.

SÉČI 'TO REACH'

| | <i>SG</i> | <i>PL</i> | <i>DU</i> |
|---|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1 | <i>séžem</i> | <i>séžemo</i> | <i>séževa</i> |
| 2 | <i>séžeš</i> | <i>séžete</i> | <i>séžeta</i> |
| 3 | <i>séže</i> | <i>séžejo</i> | <i>séžeta</i> |

Further examples: *léči, lěžem* 'lie down'; *pěči, pěčem* 'bake'; *řěči, řěčem* 'say'; *těči, těčem* 'run'; *tólči, tólčem* 'whip, beat'; *vléči, vlěčem* 'drag'.

4.1.1.8.5.7.1.2.1 moči, morem

A singular, although in terms of frequency of usage important, exception to the pattern just mentioned is the verb *móči* (and its prefixed derivatives, e.g., *pomóči* 'to help', *premóči* 'to manage to accomplish sth'), which has the allomorph *mog-* in the l-pcp and *mor-* in the present tense.

MÓČI 'TO BE ABLE TO'

| | <i>SG</i> | <i>PL</i> | <i>DU</i> |
|---|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1 | <i>mórem</i> | <i>móremo</i> | <i>móreva</i> |
| 2 | <i>móreš</i> | <i>mórete</i> | <i>móreta</i> |
| 3 | <i>móre</i> | <i>mórejo</i> | <i>móreta</i> |

4.1.1.8.5.7.1.3 Stems ending in dental stops

Stems ending in dental stops have the allomorphy CV*d/t-* (PRES) ~ -CV*sti* (INF), owing to a historical dissimilation, as in *sésti, sêdem* 'sit' (further examples: *bósti, bôdem* 'stab, prick'; *cvěsti, cvěte* 'bloom'; *gněsti, gnětem* 'knead'; *gósti, gódem* 'play fiddle'; *městi, mēdem* ~ *mětem* 'sweep'; *pásti, pâdem* 'fall'; *plěsti, plětem* 'braid'; *věsti, védem* 'lead').

SÉSTI 'TO SIT DOWN'

| | <i>SG</i> | <i>PL</i> | <i>DU</i> |
|---|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1 | <i>sêdem</i> | <i>sêdemo</i> | <i>sêdeva</i> |
| 2 | <i>sêdeš</i> | <i>sêdete</i> | <i>sêdeta</i> |
| 3 | <i>sêde</i> | <i>sêdejo</i> | <i>sêdeta</i> |

4.1.1.8.5.7.1.4 Stems ending in labial stops

Stems ending in a labial stop pattern just as the *nesti* type except that the infinitive is formed with the addition of *-s-* between the stem and ending, e.g., *grêbsti, grêbem* 'dig, scratch, rake'; *jêbsti, jêbem* 'fuck'; *sôpsti, sôpem* 'breathe hard, pant'; *skúbsti, skúbem* 'pluck, fleece'; *tépsti, tépem* 'beat'; *zêbsti, zêbe* 'to grow cold'.

TÉPSTI 'TO BEAT'

| | <i>SG</i> | <i>PL</i> | <i>DU</i> |
|---|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1 | <i>tépem</i> | <i>tépemo</i> | <i>tépeva</i> |
| 2 | <i>tépeš</i> | <i>tépete</i> | <i>tépeta</i> |
| 3 | <i>tépe</i> | <i>tépejo</i> | <i>tépeta</i> |

4.1.1.8.5.7.1.5 Stems ending in sonorants

Stems ending in sonorants *-n*, *-j* or *-v* elide the final consonant in the infinitive (as in the *l-pcp*), e.g., *čúti, čûjem* 'feel'; *déti, dénem* 'put'; *dúti, dûjem* 'blow'; *péti, pôjem* 'sing'; *píti, píjem* 'drink'; *pléti, plévem* 'pull weeds'; *plúti, plújem* 'float'; *rjúti, rjújem* 'roar'; *sezúti, sezûjem* 'take one's shoes off'; *súti, sûjem* 'scatter, pour'; *štéti, štêjem* 'count'. The verbs *plúti* and *rjúti* also optionally have the (more archaic) present-tense variants *plôvem, rjóvem*.

PÍTI 'TO DRINK'

| | <i>SG</i> | <i>PL</i> | <i>DU</i> |
|---|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1 | <i>píjem</i> | <i>píjemo</i> | <i>píjeva</i> |

| | | | |
|---|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| 2 | <i>píješ</i> | <i>píjete</i> | <i>píjeta</i> |
| 3 | <i>píje</i> | <i>píjejo</i> | <i>píjeta</i> |

4.1.1.8.5.7.1.6 Stems ending in historical nasals

A small subclass is formed by those verbs that have a root allomorph ending in *-e-* in the infinitive and a nasal consonant in the present tense, allomorphy which goes back historically to an alternation between a nasal vowel (before a consonant) and a V + nasal consonant (before a vowel). Some of these exhibit vowel alternations between the present-tense forms (*vzám-e*) and forms related to the INF (*vzě-ti*) Examples: *méti, mánem* ‘rub’; *počéti, počněm* ‘be busy with sth’; *prijéti, prímem* ‘grasp’, *snéti, snámem* ‘remove’; *vzéti, vzámem* ‘take’; *začéti, začněm* ‘start’, *zapéti, zapněm* ‘fasten’.

4.1.1.8.5.7.2 Suffixed stems

4.1.1.8.5.7.2.1 CV(CC)-*n-i-ti*, CV(CC)-*n-e-*

The previous class should not be confused with the much larger, though unproductive, group of PF semelfactive verbs and IMPF processual verbs with the structure CV(CC)-*n-i-ti* (owing to suffixation with **-n-*) in the INF and CV(CC)-*n-e-* in the present tense. (These in turn are separate from verbs in *-iti, -im* that happen to have roots ending in *-n*.) The semelfactive verbs denote instantaneous, momentary actions, e.g., *ganīti, gánem* ‘move, stir sth’; *prekúcniti, prekúcnem* ‘turn sth over’. IMPF verbs of this type usually denote processes culminating in a changed state, e.g., *gásniti, gâsnem* ‘die out, flicker out’; *plahnīti, pláhnem* ‘subside’. Further examples (PF unless otherwise noted): *brúhniti, brúhnem* ‘burst out’; *dřgniti, dřgnem* ‘scrape’; *kíhniti, kîhnem* ‘sneeze’; *lúskniti, lúsknem* ‘peel the husk from’; *maknīti, máknem* ‘move sth’; *obrnīti, obárnem* ‘turn (over)’; *okrniti, okrnem* ‘clip sth’; *pahnīti, páhnem* ‘knock (over), push’; *ríniti, rînem* ‘push (IMPF)’, *sahnīti, sáhnem* ‘dry up’ (IMPF); *vrnīti, vrnem* ‘return sth’; *vtaknīti, vtáknem* ‘stick sth into sth’.

4.1.1.8.5.7.2.2 Verbs in *-a-ti*, *Č-e-*

A many *e*-theme verbs have stem allomorphy owing to the prehistorical loss of a non-syllabic *-i-* (“jot”) suffix in the present-tense form,

which resulted in the Velar Alternations I and the “Jot” Alternations discussed above. Of these, only the *-ov-a-ti*, *-uj-e* type remains productive.

4.1.1.8.5.7.2.2.1 *plati, mleti*, etc.

A small number of verbs in this class come historically from unsuffixed stems with the structure *Co/eR-*ti* in the infinitive, the disinctiveness of which is obscured synchronically, giving rise to anomalous vowel gradations in the verbs in question, e.g., *pláti, póljem* ‘winnow’, *kláti, kóljem* ‘slaughter’, *mléti, méljem* ‘grind, mill’; variant forms of *(u)mréti*, *(u)mrjèm* also belong here. These came from prehistorical **pol-ti*, **pol-i-e-*; **mel-ti*, **mel-i-e-*, etc.

4.1.1.8.5.7.2.2.2 *C-a-ti, Č-e-*

česáti, čéšem ‘comb’; *dájati, dájem* ‘give (IMPF)’; *drémati, drémljem* ‘doze’; *gíbatí, gíbljem* ‘move sth’; *jáhati, jášem* ‘ride (on a horse)’; *jemáti, jémljem* ‘take (IMPF)’; *jokáti, jóčem* (~ *jókam*) ‘cry’; *kázati, kážem* ‘show’; *klepáti, klépljem* ‘hammer’; *klícati, klíčem* ‘call’; *lagáti, lážem* ‘lie’; *mázati, mážem* ‘smear’; *písati, pišem* ‘write’; *metáti, méčem* ‘throw’; *oráti, órjem/órjem* ‘plow’; *peljáti, pëljem* ‘lead, drive’; *pháti, pšèm/phâm* ‘pound, churn’; *rézati, rêžem* ‘cut’; *sijáti, síje* ‘shine’; *plesáti, pléšem* ‘dance’; *posláti, pošljem* ‘send (PF)’; *skákati, skáčem* ‘jump’; *stláti, stêljem* ‘spread out (e.g., straw for animals) (IMPF)’; *ščebetáti, ščebéčem* ‘chirp’; *ščegetáti, ščegéčem* (~ *ščegetâm*) ‘tickle’; *vézati, véžem* ‘tie’; *zíbatí, zíbljem* ‘rock’.

4.1.1.8.5.7.2.2.3 *e/ov-a-ti, uj-e-*

The oldest layer of these verbs has the alternation *-ov-* ~ *-uj-* in the root, e.g., *kováti, kújem* ‘forge’, *rováti, rújem* ‘dig’, *snováti, snújem* ‘plan’. Roots extended with the alternating *-ov-/-uj-* suffix (*-ev-* ~ *-uj-* after roots ending in *č, š, ž, j*) make up a very large and highly productive class, e.g., IMPF: *gostováti, gostûjem* ‘be a guest’; *imenováti, imenûjem* ‘name’; *krščeváti, krščûjem* ‘christen’; *martinováti, martinûjem* ‘celebrate St. Martin’s day’; *ocenjeváti, ocenjûjem* ‘evaluate’; *oglaševáti, oglašûjem* ‘advertize’; *péstovati, péstujem* ‘hold a child in one’s arms’; *poniževáti, ponižûjem* ‘denigrate’; *psováti, psújem* ‘cuss’; *reševáti, rešûjem* ‘solve’; *tekmováti, tekmûjem* ‘compete’; *potujčeváti, potujčûjem* ‘to go native in

another culture'; *usklajeváti, usklajûjem* 'coordinate'; *varováti, varûjem* 'defend, protect'; *vasováti, vasûjem* 'court by going to a village', *zadostováti, zadostûjem* 'be sufficient', *zavojeváti, zavojûjem* 'conquer'; *zmanjkováti, zmanjkûjem* 'run out of sth'; PF verbs are usually prefixed forms of IMPFs: *dopotováti, dopotûjem* 'reach a destination', *preimenováti, preimenûjem* 'rename', *zavarováti, zavarûjem* 'insure'. In some instances the verbs are bi-aspectual: *nasledováti, nasledûjem* 'inherit'; *svetováti, svetûjem* 'advise'; *tlakováti, tlakûjem* 'put down paving stones'; *točkováti, točkûjem* 'get points for sth'.

4.1.1.8.5.8 i-stem verbs (INF in *-i-ti, -e-ti*)

Verbs extended in the PRES by *-i-* have two types of INF, one in *-e-ti* (mostly intransitive) and one in *-i-ti* (transitives and intransitives), the latter being productive. The 3rd PL form in writing sometimes has the ending *-e*, which is marked for high style.

TRDÍTI 'TO HARDEN'

| | <i>SG</i> | <i>PL</i> | <i>DU</i> |
|---|--------------|----------------------|---------------|
| 1 | <i>trdím</i> | <i>trdímo</i> | <i>trdíva</i> |
| 2 | <i>trdiš</i> | <i>trdíte</i> | <i>trdíta</i> |
| 3 | <i>trdí</i> | <i>trdíjo ~ trdé</i> | <i>trdíta</i> |

Examples: (*-e-ti*) *bedéti, bedím* 'keep an eye on', *bledéti, bledím* 'become pale', *boléti, bolím* 'hurt'; *prdéti, prdím* 'fart', *rdečéti, rdečím* 'become red', *slabéti, slabím* 'become weak'; *vídeti, vídim* 'see', *želéti, želím* 'desire'; (*-i-ti*) *búljiti, búljim* 'stare', *carîniti, carîniti* 'impose duty on sth', *dojîti, dojím* 'suckle', *jasnîti, jasním* 'clarify sth', *prevériti, prevêrim* 'affirm, check', *točîti, točím* 'pour', *slîniti, slînim* 'drool', *storîti, storím* 'do sth'. In verbs with stems ending in *č, š,* and *ž*, the suffix *-e-ti* is realized as *-a-ti*: *klečáti, klečím* 'kneel', *ležáti, ležím* 'be in a lying position', *slíšati, slíšim* 'hear', *tiščáti, tiščím* 'squeeze'.

In the spoken language in Ljubljana and central dialects, the archaic *-e* ending in the 3 PL has been reinterpreted as a non-singular marker and is thus extended in theme-stressed verbs to the PL and DU forms along with the generalization of the *-jo* ending in the 3 PL (which

historically originated outside of this class). This pattern, though widespread, is substandard:

TRDÍTI 'TO ASSERT, CLAIM' (COLLOQUIAL)

| | <i>SG</i> | <i>PL</i> | <i>DU</i> |
|----------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1 | <i>trdím</i> | <i>trdémo</i> | <i>trdéva</i> |
| 2 | <i>trdíš</i> | <i>trdéte</i> | <i>trdéta</i> |
| 3 | <i>trdí</i> | <i>trdéjo</i> | <i>trdéta</i> |

4.1.1.8.5.9 a-stem verbs

Stems in *-ati*, *-am* are very productive and produce both PF and IMPF verbs, the latter typically simplex (unprefixed). Examples: *brkljāti*, *brkljâm* 'putter around', *centrîrati*, *centrîram* 'center sth', *cûfati*, *cûfam* 'fray', *dêlati*, *dêlam* 'do, make', *dîhati*, *dîham* 'breathe', *glédati*, *glêdam* 'look at sth', *glódati*, *glódam* 'gnaw', *kídati*, *kídam* 'shovel snow, manure', *lektorîrati*, *lektorîram* 'proofread', *omâgati*, *omâgam* 'become exhausted', *píhati*, *píham* 'blow on', *pêšati*, *pêšam* 'go into decline', *pláčati*, *pláčam* 'pay', *slovenizîrati*, *slovenizîram* 'make sth Slovene', *uporábljati*, *uporábljam* 'use', *vâgati*, *vâgam* 'weigh', *vijūgati*, *vijūgam* 'curve around'.

4.1.1.9 Negation

Verbs in Slovene are negated by means of a proclitic particle *ne* (*ne grem* 'I'm not going', *ne bom šel* 'I shall not go'), between the two of which other clitics, if present, intervene except with present-tense and imperative forms, e.g., *Ne bi ga hotel vznemirjati* 'I wouldn't want to disturb him', *ne ga srati* 'you're kidding!'. The negative particle is bound to the present-tense and imperative forms in such a way that other material does not intervene, e.g., *ne vznemirja ga* 's/he is not disturbing him', *ne serji ga* 'don't goof around!'.

Special negated forms of the PRES (stressed) and homographic (unstressed) auxiliaries of *biti* 'be' as well as of the verb *imeti* 'have' are required, *nisem*, *nisi*, *ni*, *nismo*, *niste*, *niso*, *nisva*, *nista*, *nista*; *nimam*, *nimaš*, *nima*, *nimamo*, *nimate*, *nimajo*, *nimava*, *nimata*, *nimata*.

In the case of *ne + hoteti* ‘to want’, the negative particle and present-tense forms are fused thus: *nočem, nočeš*, etc.

4.1.1.10 Conditionals

The “conditional”, expressing irreal or potential events, is formed by the invariant clitic particle *bi* + the *l*-pcp, e.g., *Vsak bi si mogel kupiti konja* (ML: 63) ‘Each one of them could buy himself a horse’; *Potegnili bi se bili za rojaka, prav gotovo bi se bili zavzeli zanj, ko so opazili, da je izpljunil nekaj krvavega* (ML: 65) ‘They would have rooted for their kinsman, with absolute certainty they would have taken his side when they noticed that he had spit out something bloody’.

4.1.1.11 Aspect and aspectual derivation

As in other Slavic languages, Slovene distinguishes between perfective (PF) and imperfective verbs (IMPF), so that speakers must decide for each use of a verb whether the state or action is viewed as individuated, instantaneous, completed, seen as a whole (PF) or continuous, habitual, incomplete, iterative, or processual (IMPF). According to Dickey (2003), the central opposition is between totality (PF) and open-endedness (IMPF). Thus, for example, the past-tense forms of the verb *brati* ‘read’ (IMPF)—*prebrati* ‘read sth through’ (PF) contrast in the following way: *bral sem knjigo* ‘I was reading a/the book’ (I may or may not have finished it) or general/factual ‘I have read the book’ vs. *prebral sem knjigo* ‘I read the book and finished it’. A similar contrast holds for the future-tense forms, e.g., *bral bom knjigo* ‘I will be reading the book’ or ‘I will read the book’ (I may or may not finish it) vs. *prebral bom knjigo* ‘I will read the book and finish it’. The non-past forms are more complicated, where the uncontextualized PF is marked for intentionality and is thus read as future, e.g., *berem knjigo* ‘I am reading the book’ (IMPF) vs. *preberem knjigo* ‘I’m going to read the book through’ (PF), though, given a repeated or habitual context, the PF can be read as a present-tense form, e.g., *vsak teden preberem knjigo* ‘every week I read a book (all the way through)’. The PF present, read as future, may also be contrasted with the future construction proper, thus *Pridem* ‘I’m coming’ means that the event will take place imminently or with greater certainty, whereas *Prišel*

bom means understood as ‘I shall come’, but without any implication that the event will take place at a particular moment.

In the following examples, the PF—IMPF contrasts are given in the context of narrative: *Vedno se je zgodilo ponoči, vse aretacije brez izjeme so se dogajale ponoči* (GO) ‘It always happened (PF) at night – the arrests invariably were happening (IMPF) at night’. When the repetition is specified adverbially, the PF is used (*vedno se je zgodilo*), but the repetition of the process is foregrounded also by the IMPF without an adverb (*so se dogajale*). Because the PF focuses on totality of an event, it is used also for sequences of events, one occurring after the completion of the last: *Po potegu se ta voda izprazni in školjka se takoj napolni s čisto tekočino*. (DJ 1993: 69) ‘When one flushes, the water empties out (PF) and the bowl immediately fills up (PF) with clean liquid’. The continuation of the narrative demonstrates the use of IMPF when the view of the event is open-ended, emphasized by the use of the adverb *kadar* ‘whenever’: *Kadar človek lula v ameriško školjko, je tako, kot bi lula! v jezero* (DJ 1993: 69) ‘When one pees (IMPF) into an American toilet, it’s as if he’s peeing (IMPF) into a lake’. With regard to a goal-oriented event, the IMPF indicates that the goal has not yet been reached: *Evro prihaja, odbita cena enako ugodno ostaja!* (*Katalog, Drogeriemarkt.si*, summer 2006) ‘The Euro is coming (IMPF), [but] the reduced price remains (IMPF) just as much a bargain!’. Note that in this case, the Euro was to be introduced in Slovenia in January 2007—therefore the action is presented as ‘being in the process of coming’.

If the process itself is not in focus and the totality of the action is emphasized, the PF can be used in the present tense, even with overlapping or simultaneous events, e.g., *H Klarici. Najdeva jo sredi dela, a utegnila bo za naju. Zelo prijazno poda roko mali in ji pogleda v oči* (VZ: 107) ‘We go to Klarica. We find (PF) her working, but she will have time for us. She pleasantly extends her hand (PF) to the young one and looks (PF) her in the eyes’.

Another unexpected use of the PF in the present, from a broader Slavic perspective, is the directional perfective, which is often used in texts describing the scanning of landscapes, e.g., *Alpski lok doseže*

Slovenijo z jugovzhodnim apnenčastim delom... ‘The Alpine range reaches (PF) Slovenia with its southeastern limestone part...’; *Tja, na njive in travnike, imajo kmetje dostop po poljski poti, ki jo prereže gorenjska magistralna proga* ‘Here the farmers have access to their fields and meadows via a field path that the Upper Carniolan main rail line intersects (PF)’. This usage is again conditioned, evidently, by the focus on totality rather than process (explanation and examples from Dickey 2003: 200–201).

Another Slovene peculiarity with respect to Slavic aspect is that performatives, i.e., where the event described by the verb is effected by the uttering of the verb (and thus coincides with the utterance itself), normally occur with the PF, e.g., *Prisežem, da govorim resnico* ‘I swear (PF) I am telling the truth’. Here simultaneity between speech and the event would seem to call for the IMPF, and, indeed, in official or quasi-official acts requiring performatives, the IMPF occurs, e.g., *“Pustite naju sama, Švejk, nekaj morava urediti med seboj.” Švejk je salutiral: “Pokorno javljam, gospod feldkurat, da vaju puščam sama”* (JH: 190) ‘“Leave us alone, Švejk, we have to settle something between the two of us.” Švejk saluted: I humbly report (IMPF), Mr. Chaplain, that I leave (IMPF) you two alone’” (see also Dickey 2003: 199ff.)

PF and IMPF verb pairs are usually related by derivational processes. One very common process is that an IMPF simplex verb is prefixed, yielding a PF verb: *kázati* ‘to show’ → *pokázati* ‘idem’. Prefixation often yields, in addition to perfectivization, a lexical change in the verb, thus *nakazati* ‘to effect a monetary transfer’ (PF) requires suffixal derivation to form an IMPF partner, *nakazovati* ‘to effect monetary transfers’ (IMPF), which constitutes the other common strategy for aspectual derivation.

Both members of an aspectual pair may be signaled by a difference in suffix, e.g., *dvigniti* ‘to lift’ (PF) : *dvigati* ‘idem’ (IMPF), *seči* ‘to reach’ (PF) : *segati* ‘idem’ (IMPF). Suffixation and vowel gradation may also work together to signal this difference, e.g., *obrati* ‘pick fruit, gather’ (PF) : *obirati* ‘idem’ (IMPF), *skočiti* ‘to jump’ (PF) : *skakati* ‘idem’ (IMPF), *sprehodíti se* ‘take a walk’ (PF) : *sprehajati se* ‘idem’ (IMPF), *vléči* ‘to drag’ (PF) : *vlačiti* ‘idem’ (IMPF).

In a relatively small number of cases, aspectual pairs have developed from formally unrelated stems, e.g., *reči* ‘to say’ (PF) : *govoriti* ‘to speak’ (IMPF), *narediti* ‘to make’ (PF) : *delati* ‘to make’ (IMPF), *vreči* ‘to throw’ (PF) : *metati* ‘to throw’ (IMPF).

Many verbs are bi-aspectual, differentiated for PF or IMPF by context, e.g., *Utrujenemu delavcu je teknil sveži kruh* ‘The fresh bread hit the spot for the tired worker’ (PF) vs. *Poleti mi tekne lahka hrana* ‘In the summer I prefer light food’ (IMPF). Further examples: *čičati, čičam* ‘sit’ (in children’s language); *krstīti, krstīm* ‘baptize’, *polarizīrati, polarizīram* ‘polarize’; *zaupati, zauпам* ‘trust’; *žrebetīti, žrebetīm* ‘foal’.

4.1.1.12 Motion verbs

As in other Slavic languages, Slovene distinguishes a special set of motion verbs that behaves as a subset of the broader category of aspect, having a distinction in the unprefixated IMPF between verbs denoting unidirectional motion (determinate) and non-unidirectional motion or manner of motion (indeterminate). In each of the pairs below, the determinate verb means ‘X in one direction’ (*grem v Zagreb* ‘I’m going to Zagreb’; *letim v Zagreb* ‘I’m flying to Zagreb’) and the corresponding indeterminate means ‘move in the manner of X’ (*Noga se je zacelila in zdaj hodi brez težav* ‘Her/His leg has healed and now s/he can walk without difficulty’; *Perut se je zacelila in zdaj lahko leta* ‘Its wing has healed so now it can fly’) or ‘X around’ (*Hodi po Tivoliju* ‘S/he is walking around Tivoli Park’; *Ta mesec leta po Južni Ameriki* ‘This month s/he is flying around South America’) or ‘X in round trips’ (*Več let že hodi v Zagreb* ‘S/he has been going to Zagreb for several years’; *Več let že leta v Zagreb* ‘S/he has been flying to Zagreb for several years’).

| <i>DETERMINATE</i> | <i>INDETERMINATE</i> | <i>SECONDARY STEM</i> | <i>GLOSS</i> |
|------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>íti, grèm</i> | <i>hodīti, hódim</i> | <i>-hâjati, -hâjam</i> | ‘go’, ‘walk’ |
| <i>něsti, něsem</i> | <i>nosīti, nósim</i> | <i>-nâšati, -nâšam</i> | ‘carry sth/sby’ |
| <i>peljāti, pëljem</i> | <i>vozīti, vózim</i> | <i>-vâžati, -vâžam</i> | ‘drive sth/sby’ |
| <i>letéti, letím</i> | <i>létati, létam</i> | | ‘fly’ |
| <i>těči, těčem</i> | <i>têkati, têkam</i> | | ‘run’ |
| <i>jáhati, jāham</i> | <i>jézditi, jêzdim</i> | | ‘ride a horse’ |
| <i>lésti, lézem</i> | <i>láziti, lâzim</i> | | ‘crawl’ |

Prefixation not only changes the lexical meaning of these verbs, but also removes the special aspectual distinction of determinacy within the IMPF. Straight prefixation of the determinate and indeterminate stems results in PF verbs, whereby the prefixed indeterminates normally preserve only an abstract or no connection with motion per se, e.g., *izhodīti* ‘wear sth in (boots, path)’; *shodīti* ‘begin to walk (after an injury, as a toddler)’, *zanosīti* ‘get pregnant’, *uvozīti* ‘import’. Prefixed determinate verbs typically have motion meanings, e.g., *preíti* ‘cross over’; *zaíti* ‘go the wrong way’, *zaněsti* ‘move, carry off in another direction’. The resulting PF verbs require secondary stems to form the IMPF partner for some of the verbs of motion, e.g., *prehâjati* ‘cross over’, *zahâjati* ‘go the wrong way’, *zanâšati* ‘move, carry off in another direction’. The secondary stem also forms the IMPF partner to a verb formed with the prefixed indeterminate stem, e.g., *uvâžati* ‘import’.

With the negated imperative the indeterminate is called for: *Ne hodi čez progo—je smrtno nevarno* (public sign at railway stations) ‘Do not walk across the railroad track—it is life endangering’; the corresponding positive imperative calls for the determinate: *Le pojdi čez progo—kaj me briga, če te bo vlak povozil?* ‘Go ahead and walk across the track—what do I care if a train runs you over?’

5 Derivational morphology

5.1.1.1 General remarks about derivational morphology

The most common processes for creating related sets of lexical items in Slovene are the addition of prefixes and suffixes to roots: *-bòr* ‘pick, choose’ → *iz-bòr* ‘selection’ → *iz-bòr-en* ‘select, outstanding’ ADJ → *iz-bòr-n-ost* ‘selectness, outstandingness’. With respect to core inherited (Slavic) vocabulary, there is an important layer of the lexicon whose derivation is dependent on vowel gradation, either a reflection of inherited I.E. ablaut (*zbráti* ‘to collect’ PF, *béra* ‘group of items available for selection’, *zbòr* ‘assembly, choir’) or Slavic ablaut innovations (*zbîrati* ‘collect’ IMPF, *zbîrka* ‘collection’). Both of these processes are relevant to the shape of lexical morphemes (roots), while the majority of derivational processes involve the addition of prefixes (*gréti* ‘to warm’ IMPF → *pre-gréti* ‘to warm sth through’ PF) or suffixes (→ *gré-t-j-e* ‘heater, heating’) or both (→ *pre-gré-va-ti* ‘to overheat’ IMPF, *pre-gré-va-nj-e* ‘overheating’, *pre-gre-vâ-l-nik-Ø* ‘steam boiler’). While the majority of derivations relying on such additive processes are transparent, some involve the addition of Ø-suffixation (e.g., **běgati* ‘to flee’ → *bég-Ø* ‘flight, escape’) or consonant mutation, the latter being a consequence of historical sound-change processes (e.g., *nos-í-ti* ‘carry, wear’ → **nos-j-a* > *nóša* ‘garb, costume’; *veríg-a* ‘chain’ → **verig-ьn-ь* > *verîžen* ‘chain-, chainlike’). Word-formation is of course a recursive process, thus derivatives themselves may give rise to further derivatives, e.g., *verîžen* → *verîžnik* ‘smuggler’ → *verîžništvo* ‘smuggling ring’. Additionally, words may be formed by compounding (*âvto* ‘car’ + *césta* ‘road’ → *âvtocésta* ‘highway’; *vóda* ‘water’ + *metáti* ‘throw’ → *vodomèt* ‘fountain’; *óče* ‘father’ + *nàš* ‘our’ → *očenàš* ‘Lord’s Prayer’) and conversion (*dežûrni zdravník* ‘the doctor on duty’ ADJ + NOUN → *dežûrni* NOUN ‘person on duty’).

Words formed through derivational processes also display predictable (though rather complex) changes in word prosody, e.g., *mes-ô* ‘meat’ → *mes-ên* ‘carnal, pertaining to meat’, *mes-nàt* ‘meaty’, *mes-ár* ‘butcher’. As a rule of thumb, however, derived words normally have

fixed stressed patterns (i.e., in all case forms) in contrast to non-derived words (nouns and adjectives), which may or may not have stress shifts (e.g., *mesô* NOM, *měsu* DAT) (see 4.1.1.2 and for more details see Toporišič 1988, Greenberg 2003).

The survey of word-formation below can hardly do justice to the scope and complexity of the topic, thus only the most salient points are mentioned.

5.1.1.2 Nouns

Formation of verbal nouns are discussed at 4.1.1.8.5.5. The following chart gives a few examples of common derivatives formed through suffixation, leaving out internationalisms. The list is far from exhaustive.

| <i>SUFFIX</i> | <i>WHAT IT FORMS</i> | <i>EXAMPLES</i> |
|----------------|--|--|
| <i>-∅</i> | N from verb | (<i>izhodíti</i> ‘exit’ →) <i>izhòd</i> ‘exit’; (<i>metáti</i> ‘throw’ →) <i>mèt</i> ‘a throw’ |
| <i>-/ə/c</i> | M agent from a verbal base | (<i>jésti</i> ‘eat’ →) <i>jêdec</i> ‘eater’, (<i>kosíti</i> ‘mow’ →) <i>kósec</i> ‘mower’, (<i>mólsti</i> ‘milk’ →) <i>môlzec</i> ‘milker’ |
| <i>-/ə/c</i> | M noun denoting member of a group | (<i>slovénski</i> ‘Slovene’ →) <i>Slovénc</i> ‘Slovene male’ |
| <i>-/ə/c</i> | M noun denoting male characterized by an adjectival base | (<i>jezikàv</i> ‘mouthy, outspoken’ →) <i>jezikâvec</i> ‘mouthy, outspoken man’ |
| <i>-al/ə/c</i> | M agent noun from a verbal base | (<i>glédati</i> ‘look at, view’ →) <i>gledâlec</i> ‘viewer, spectator’, (<i>měšati</i> ‘mix’ →) <i>mešâlec</i> ‘mixer’ |
| <i>-telj</i> | M agent from verbal base | (<i>pisáti</i> ‘write’ →) <i>pisâtelj</i> ‘writer’, (<i>ravnáti</i> ‘manage sth [arch.]’ →) <i>ravnâtelj</i> ‘school principal’; (<i>sloveníti</i> ‘Slovenize’ →) <i>slovenîtelj</i> ‘one who makes things Slovene, translates into Slovene’; (<i>nájd-</i> ‘finds’ →) <i>najdítelj</i> ‘finder’ |
| <i>-[j]ak</i> | M noun from ADJ base | (<i>dívji</i> ‘wild’ →) <i>divják</i> ‘wild man’, (<i>vesél</i> ‘happy’ →) <i>veselják</i> ‘happy guy’ |

| | | |
|--------------|---|--|
| <i>-nik</i> | M agent noun from base in various word classes | (<i>častihlépen</i> 'vainglorious' →) <i>častihlépnik</i> 'vainglorious man', (<i>dobíti</i> 'receive' →) <i>dobítnik</i> 'receiver', (<i>híša</i> 'house' →) <i>híšnik</i> 'maintenance man'; (<i>na mízi</i> 'on the table' →) <i>namíznik</i> 'tablecloth'; (<i>sóden</i> 'pertaining to judgment' →) <i>sodník</i> 'male judge' (<i>pêtdeset lét</i> '50 years' →) <i>pêtdesetlêtnik</i> '50-year-old man' |
| <i>-ist</i> | M noun denoting specialist in a field | (<i>feminîzem</i> 'feminism' →) <i>feminîst</i> 'feminist'; (<i>slovénski</i> 'Slovene' →) <i>slovenîst</i> 'Slovenist' |
| <i>-ač</i> | M agent noun from noun or ADJ base, usually expressive or pejorative | (<i>jézik</i> 'tongue/language' →) <i>jezikáč</i> 'mouthy, outspoken man' |
| <i>-ač</i> | M agent noun from verbal base, usually expressive or pejorative | (<i>nergáti</i> 'nag' →) <i>nergáč</i> 'nag, complainer'; (<i>stískati</i> 'squeeze' →) <i>stiskáč</i> 'tightwad' |
| <i>-aš</i> | M agent noun from noun or ADJ base | (<i>bogàt</i> 'rich' →) <i>bogatáš</i> 'rich man', (<i>dólga próga</i> 'long track' →) <i>dolgo-progáš</i> 'long-distance runner' |
| <i>-ar</i> | M agent from noun base denoting one who deals with sth | (<i>čebêla</i> 'bee' →) <i>čebelár</i> 'beekeeper'; (<i>kavârna</i> 'coffee house' →) <i>kavârnar</i> 'coffee house owner'; (<i>pése</i> 'sand' →) <i>pêskar</i> 'sand dredger'; (<i>hmêlj</i> 'hops' →) <i>hmeljár</i> 'farmer who grows hops' |
| <i>-arna</i> | F noun denoting place where sth is done, made, traded in, as characteristic of the base | (<i>jéklo</i> 'steel' →) <i>jeklârna</i> 'steel plant' (<i>káva</i> 'coffee' →) <i>kavârna</i> 'coffee house'; (<i>knjíga</i> 'book' →) <i>knjigârna</i> 'bookstore' |
| <i>-kar</i> | M noun from any type | (<i>izostājati</i> 'be repeatedly absent' →) |

| | | |
|-------|--|---|
| | of base, denoting person characterized by or engaged in a negatively or jocularly viewed activity | <i>izostâňkar</i> ‘one who is always absent’, (<i>za pečjô</i> ‘behind the stove’ →) <i>zapêčkar</i> ‘stay-at-home type’; (<i>zastónj</i> ‘for free’ →) <i>zastōňjkar</i> ‘one who tries to get things for free’ |
| -ež | M noun from any type of base, denoting person characterized by or engaged in a negatively or jocularly viewed activity | (<i>bojêč</i> ‘scared’ →) <i>bojêčnež</i> ‘scaredy-cat’; (<i>gnjáviti</i> ‘nag’ →) <i>gnjâvež</i> ‘nagger’; (<i>pravíčen</i> ‘righteous’ →) <i>pravíčnež</i> ‘righteous, holier-than-thou person’ |
| -ba | F noun denoting abstract concept related to base | (<i>sodíti</i> ‘judge’ →) <i>sôdba</i> ‘judicial decision’; (<i>nâjd-</i> ‘finds’ →) <i>nâjdba</i> ‘a find’) |
| -ina | F noun denoting payment for service | (<i>cêsten</i> ‘pertaining to roads’ →) <i>cestnîna</i> ‘road toll’ |
| -ina | F noun denoting substance | (<i>izlôčati</i> ‘excrete’ →) <i>izlôčina</i> ‘excretion’; (<i>mêsen</i> ‘pertaining to meat’ →) <i>mesnîna</i> ‘meat products’; |
| -inja | feminitive | (<i>bôg</i> ‘god’ →) <i>bogínja</i> ‘goddess’; (<i>čudák</i> ‘eccentric man’ →) <i>čudákinja</i> ‘eccentric woman’ |
| -ost | F abstract noun from adjective | (<i>cêl</i> ‘whole’ →) <i>cêlost</i> ‘wholeness’; (<i>bojazljív</i> ‘fearful’ →) <i>bojazlívost</i> ‘fearfulness’; (<i>potrêben</i> ‘necessary’ →) <i>potrêbnost</i> ‘the fact of a need for something’; (<i>častihlépen</i> ‘vainglorious’ →) <i>častihlêpnost</i> ‘vainglory’; (<i>pristránski</i> ‘biased’ →) <i>pristránskost</i> ‘bias’; (<i>slovénski</i> ‘Slovene’ →) <i>slovénskost</i> ‘Sloveneness’; (<i>ušív</i> ‘infested by lice’ →) <i>ušívost</i> ‘lice-infestedness’ |
| -oba | F abstract noun from adjective | (<i>gníl</i> ‘rotten’ →) <i>gnilôba</i> ‘rot, rotting’; (<i>grének</i> ‘bitter’ →) <i>grenkôba</i> ‘bitterness’ |

| | | |
|--------|--|--|
| -ota | F abstract noun from an adjective | (<i>cěl</i> 'whole' →) <i>celóta</i> 'entirety'; (<i>sîv</i> 'gray' →) <i>sivóta</i> 'grayness' |
| -ščina | F noun denoting a language or dialect | (<i>slovénski</i> 'Slovene' →) <i>slovénščina</i> 'Slovene language'; (<i>Dúnaj</i> 'Vienna' →) <i>dúnajščina</i> 'Viennese dialect' |
| -ščina | F noun denoting a collective or collection, formed from nominal base | (<i>bràt</i> 'brother' →) <i>brátovščina</i> 'brotherhood'; (<i>drûg</i> 'other' →) <i>drúščina</i> 'company' |
| -ščina | F noun denoting payment for sth | (<i>dávek</i> 'tax' →) <i>dávščina</i> 'taxation'; (<i>mîlost</i> 'mercy' →) <i>mîloščina</i> 'alms' |
| -ščina | F noun denoting abstraction | (<i>potrêba</i> 'need' →) <i>potrêbščina</i> 'thing needed for a particular purpose'; (<i>sôsed</i> 'neighbor' →) <i>sosêščina</i> 'fact of being a neighbor, neighborhood'; (<i>pogrúntati</i> 'figure sth out' →) <i>pogruntâvščina</i> 'innovative idea' |
| -ščina | F noun denoting state or circumstance, formed from adjectival base | (<i>hinâvski</i> 'hypocritical' →) <i>hinâvščina</i> 'hypocrisy'; (<i>réven</i> 'poor' →) <i>révščina</i> 'poverty' |
| -ica | feminine | (<i>Hrvàt</i> 'Croat [M]' →) <i>Hrvatíca</i> 'Croat [F]'; (<i>kmèt</i> 'farmer [M]') → <i>kmetíca</i> 'farmer [F]' |
| -ka | feminine | (<i>študènt</i> 'student' →) <i>študēntka</i> 'female student'; (<i>čebelár</i> 'beekeeper' →) <i>čebelárka</i> 'female beekeeper'; (<i>slovénski</i> 'Slovene' →) <i>Slovénka</i> 'Slovene female' |
| -ka | F diminutive | (<i>ûš</i> 'louse' →) <i>ûška</i> 'little louse' |
| -stvo | N abstract noun from noun or ADJ base | (<i>hîšnik</i> 'maintenance man' →) <i>hîšništvo</i> 'maintenance work'; (<i>hlâpčevski</i> 'subservient' →) <i>hlâpčevstvo</i> 'subservience'; (<i>sodník</i> 'judge' →) <i>sodništvo</i> 'judging'; (<i>slovénski</i> 'Slovene' →) <i>slovênstvo</i> |

| | | |
|--------------|---|---|
| | | 'Slovenedom'; (<i>stiskáč</i> 'tightwad' →) <i>stiskâšтво</i> 'tight-fistedness' |
| <i>-išče</i> | N noun denoting place where sth is located, occurs | (<i>lâs</i> 'hair' →) <i>lasíšče</i> 'scalp'; (<i>césta</i> 'road' →) <i>cestíšče</i> 'road surface'; (<i>sodíti</i> 'judge' →) <i>sodíšče</i> 'court'; (<i>nájd-</i> 'find' →) <i>najdíšče</i> 'place where sth is found (e.g., in an archaeological dig)' |
| <i>-ilo</i> | N denoting instrument or metaphorical extension of instrument | (<i>ravnáti</i> 'straighten' →) <i>ravnílo</i> 'straight-edge, ruler'; (<i>sodíti</i> 'judge' →) <i>sodílo</i> 'criterion by which sth is judged' |

5.1.1.3 Adjectives

Adjectives formed from participles are discussed at 4.1.1.8.5. Below are some examples of common adjectival suffixes. For each, only the M-SG INDEF form is provided, except where the particular suffix allows only the formation of the DEF, following the practice used in lexicographical entries. The list is far from exhaustive.

| SUFFIX | WHAT IT FORMS | EXAMPLES |
|---------------|--|--|
| <i>-/ə/n-</i> | attributive ADJ | (<i>híša</i> 'house' →) <i>híšen</i> 'pertaining to a house'; (<i>jęzik</i> 'tongue/language' →) <i>jęzichen</i> 'pertaining to the tongue/pertaining to language', 'mouthy'; (<i>káva</i> 'coffee' →) <i>kâven</i> 'pertaining to coffee'; (<i>lâs</i> 'hair' →) <i>lâsen</i> 'pertaining to hair'; (<i>pésesek</i> 'sand' →) <i>peščên</i> 'sandy'; (<i>sodíti</i> 'judge' →) <i>sóden</i> 'pertaining to judgment'; (<i>sodíšče</i> 'court' →) <i>sodíščen</i> 'pertaining to the court'; (<i>celôta</i> 'entirety' →) <i>celôtnost</i> 'entireness'; (<i>célost</i> 'wholeness') → <i>célosten</i> 'holistic, integral' |
| <i>-at-</i> | characterized by qualities implied by base | (<i>káva</i> 'coffee' →) <i>kâvnat</i> 'coffee-like, coffee-colored'; (<i>lâsen</i> 'pertaining to hair' →) <i>lâsnat</i> 'hairlike, thin as a hair'; |

| | | |
|---------------|--|--|
| | | (<i>ósa</i> ‘wasp’ →) <i>osàt</i> ‘stinging’ |
| <i>-at-</i> | characterized by having a lot of what is denoted in the base; full of sth | (<i>lās</i> ‘hair’ →) <i>lasàt</i> ‘having a lot of hair’ |
| <i>-ast-</i> | characterized by qualities implied by base; full of sth | (<i>híša</i> ‘house’ →) <i>híšast</i> ‘houseslike’; (<i>jézik</i> ‘tongue/language’ →) <i>jezíkast/jezíčast</i> ‘tonguelike, tongue-shaped’; (<i>smétana</i> ‘cream’ →) <i>smétanast</i> ‘creamy’; (<i>vāl̂j</i> ‘cylinder’ →) <i>vāl̂jast</i> ‘cylindrical’ |
| <i>-av-</i> | characterized by qualities implied by base; full of sth | (<i>jézik</i> ‘tongue/language’ →) <i>jezikàv</i> ‘mouthy, outspoken’ |
| <i>-iv-</i> | characterized by possibility or tendency implied by verbal base, whereby the modified head is usually the object | (<i>trohnéti</i> ‘rot, decompose’ →) <i>trohnîv</i> ‘rotting, susceptible to rot’ |
| <i>-iv-</i> | characterized by the properties implied by nominal base, full of sth | (<i>ûš</i> ‘louse’ →) <i>ušîv</i> ‘infested by lice’ |
| <i>-kast-</i> | characterized by (attenuated) similarity to the properties implied by the nominal or adjectival base | (<i>pések</i> ‘sand’ →) <i>péskast</i> ‘sandlike’; (<i>rdêč</i> ‘red’ →) <i>rdêčkast</i> ‘reddish’ |
| <i>-ljiv-</i> | characterized by possibility or tendency implied by verbal base, whereby the modified head is | (<i>braníti</i> ‘defend’ →) <i>branljîv</i> ‘defensible’; (<i>zmâgati</i> ‘defeat’ →) <i>zmagljîv</i> ‘defeatable’ |

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|
| | the patient | |
| <i>-j-i</i> | possessive or, by extension, attributive ADJ | (<i>bìk</i> ‘bull’ → <i>bìčji</i> ‘of a bull, pertaining to bulls’; (<i>ûš</i> ‘louse’ → <i>ûšji</i> ‘of a louse, pertaining to lice’ |
| <i>-ljiv-</i> | characterized by possibility or tendency implied by verbal base, whereby the modified head is the agent | (<i>izmúzniti se</i> ‘escape, slip out’ → <i>izmuzljív</i> ‘tending to escape, slip out’; (<i>zapráviti</i> ‘waste sth’ → <i>zapravljív</i> ‘tending to waste things (e.g., money)’ |
| <i>-ljiv-</i> | characterized by the properties implied by nominal base | (<i>bojâzen</i> ‘fear’ → <i>bojazljív</i> ‘fearful’ |
| <i>-ov-</i> | possessive or, by extension, attributive ADJ | (<i>bràt</i> ‘brother’ → <i>brátov</i> ‘brother’s’; (<i>sodník</i> ‘judge’ → <i>sodníkov</i> ‘judge’s’; (<i>Ojdîp</i> ‘Oedipus’ → <i>Ojdîpov</i> ‘Oedipal’; (<i>smétana</i> ‘cream’ → <i>smétanov</i> ‘made out of/with cream’ |
| <i>-ovit-</i> | characterized by qualities implied by base; full of sth | (<i>hríb</i> ‘hill’ → <i>hribovît</i> ‘hilly’; (<i>zmâga</i> ‘victory’ → <i>zmagovît</i> |
| <i>-evsk-i/</i> <i>-ovsk-i</i> | characterized by properties of the noun base, usually a proper name or class of people | (<i>bràt</i> ‘brother’ → <i>brátovski</i> ‘brotherly’; (<i>hlâpec</i> ‘serf, subservient person’ → <i>hlâpčevski</i> ‘subservient’; (<i>máčeha</i> ‘stepmother’ → <i>máčehovski</i> ‘stepmotherly’ |
| <i>-sk-i</i> | characterized by properties of the noun or ADJ base | (<i>pri stráni</i> ‘on a side’ → <i>pristránski</i> ‘biased’; (<i>slovén-</i> ‘Slovene’ → <i>slovénski</i> ‘Slovene’; (<i>stiskáč</i> ‘tightwad’ → <i>stiskáški</i> ‘like a tightwad’; (<i>večína</i> ‘majority’ → <i>večînski</i> ‘pertaining to the majority’ |

5.1.1.4 Adverbs

Many adverbs in Slovene are homographic with the N-SG form of the adjective, though they are not always homophonic in that, depending on the accentual properties of the lexeme, the stress may differ, e.g., *móžen, móžna, móžno* ‘possible’ M, F, N SG; *móžno* ‘possibly’ vs. *lêp, lépa, lépo* ‘beautiful’ M, F, N SG; *lepô* ‘beautifully’ ADV. A survey of adverbial types is also given in 4.1.1.6.

An important group of derived adverbs belong to small classes of suffixal (or prefixal-suffixal) derivations that are no longer productive or are (nearly) unique in the lexicon, e.g., *dôm* ‘home’ → *domâ* ‘at home’, *domōv* ‘homeward’, *zdôma* ‘(the fact of being) away from home’; *krât* ‘a time, an iteration’ → *hkrâti* ‘simultaneously’; *léto* ‘year’ → *lêtos* ‘this year’, *dân* ‘day’ → *dânes* ‘today’; *počâsi* ‘slowly’; *poléti* ‘in the summer’; (*skrivati* ‘hide’ →) *skrivàj* ‘stealthily’. See also 4.1.1.6.1 with regard to interrogative adverbs.

Below is a partial list of derived adverbs that belong either to larger or currently productive formations.

| <i>SUFFIX</i> | <i>WHAT IT FORMS</i> | <i>EXAMPLES</i> |
|---------------|---|---|
| <i>-ič</i> | denotes the number of times an event takes place as specified by the base, focusing on the last | (<i>p̂rvi</i> ‘first’ →) <i>p̂rvič</i> ‘the first time’; (<i>stô</i> ‘100’ →) <i>stôtič</i> ‘the hundredth time’ |
| <i>-krat</i> | denotes the number of times an event takes place as specified by the base, focusing on the total number or quantity | (<i>dôsti</i> ‘quite a bit’ →) <i>dôstikrat</i> ‘quite a few times’; (<i>dvâ</i> ‘two’ →) <i>dvâkrat</i> ‘twice’; (<i>îks</i> ‘x’ →) <i>îkskrat</i> ‘x number of times, many a time’; (<i>p̂rvi</i> ‘first’ →) <i>p̂vikrat</i> ‘the first time’; (<i>stô</i> ‘100’ →) <i>stôkrat</i> ‘a hundred times’ |
| <i>-oma</i> | describes a manner characteristic of the nominal or adjectival base | (<i>mâh</i> ‘wave (of the hand), swing (of a sword)’ →) <i>mâhoma</i> ‘momentarily, in a flash’; (<i>trûd</i> ‘effort’ →) <i>trûdoma</i> ‘through great effort’; (<i>popôln</i> ‘com- |

| | | |
|------|--|--|
| | | plete' →) <i>popôlnoma</i> 'completely'; (<i>večina</i> 'majority' →) <i>večnoma</i> 'mostly, in the majority of cases' |
| -oma | describes a manner characteristic of the verbal base | (<i>ne nêhati</i> 'not stop' →) <i>nenêhoma</i> 'constantly' |
| -oma | describes a spatial or temporal characteristic of the base | (<i>mêsto</i> 'place' →) <i>mêsto</i> 'in places, here and there' |

A small but frequently used group of adverbial formations are made by both prefixation and suffixation. A partial list is given below.

| PREFIX / SUFFIX | WHAT IT FORMS | EXAMPLES |
|---------------------------|--|---|
| <i>do-</i> <i>-a</i> | denotes a complete measure of a whatever is specified by the adjectival base | (<i>dóber</i> 'good' →) <i>dodôbra</i> 'completely, fully'; (<i>cêl</i> 'whole' →) <i>docêla</i> 'totally, wholly' |
| <i>s-/z-</i> <i>-a</i> | denotes a manner as specified by the adjectival base | (<i>hûd</i> 'nasty' →) <i>shûda</i> 'nastily, the hard way'; (<i>lêp</i> 'nice' →) <i>zlêpa</i> 'easily, the easy way' |
| <i>s-/z-</i> <i>-aj</i> | denotes spatial or temporal orientation as specified by the base | (<i>jútro</i> 'morning' →) <i>zjútraj</i> 'in the morning'; (<i>nôter</i> 'into, inside' →) <i>znótraj</i> 'inside'; (* <i>vъn-</i> 'out' →) <i>zúnaj</i> 'outside' |

5.1.1.5 Verbs

Nearly all of the prefixes can have the general meaning of perfectivity with certain lexical items. With the exception of the prefixes *po-* and *s-/z-*, whose primary function function is perfectization (according to Dickey 2005, *s-/z-* is the quintessential *préverbe vide* for Slovene, signifying totality), these generic perfectivizing meanings (*písati* 'write' IMPF → *napísati* 'write' PF; *práti* 'wash' IMPF → *opráti* 'wash' PF) are not mentioned in the listing below. The listing is based on Toporišič 2003:

214—223, with modifications. Among other things, borrowed prefixes are not treated (e.g., *konstruîrati* ‘construct’ → *rekonstruîrati* ‘reconstruct’). This listing is far from exhaustive.

PREFIXES

| PREFIX | MEANING/FUNCTION | EXAMPLES |
|---------------|---|--|
| <i>do-</i> | reach a certain point in space or time with an activity | <i>dozídati</i> ‘build up to a specified point’, <i>doséči</i> ‘reach sth’ |
| <i>do-</i> | engage in an activity up to a certain point or restart an activity to compensate for a deficit | <i>dopláčati</i> ‘pay a difference (e.g., for an upgrade)’, <i>dokúhati</i> ‘finish cooking sth that wasn’t previously fully cooked’ |
| <i>do-</i> | older formations entailing the reaching of a limit (but no longer closely related to the meaning in the root) | <i>doletéti</i> ‘suffer an unexpected event (e.g., death)’, <i>doživéti</i> ‘experience sth’ |
| <i>iz-</i> | move sth out of | <i>izíti</i> ‘exit’, <i>izselíti</i> ‘emigrate’ |
| <i>iz-</i> | do sth and effect a desired outcome | <i>izboríti</i> ‘get sth by struggling’, <i>izprosíti</i> ‘get sth by begging for it’ |
| <i>iz-</i> | complete an action, bring to its logical conclusion | <i>izsušíti</i> ‘dry sth out’, <i>izdélati</i> ‘manufacture sth’, <i>izmúčiti</i> ‘torture sby completely’ |
| <i>na-</i> | direct an action onto a surface | <i>nanésti</i> ‘apply sth to a surface’, <i>nabíti</i> ‘drive sth (e.g., a nail) into sth’ |
| <i>na-</i> | make a small start in a process | <i>načéti</i> ‘take the first piece/bite of sth’, <i>natrgati</i> ‘make a rip in sth’ |
| <i>na-</i> | do sth until a desired outcome is effected | <i>naberáčiti</i> ‘beg until one gets what one wants’, <i>naprosíti</i> ‘ask until one gets what one wants’ |

| | | |
|---------------|---|--|
| <i>na- se</i> | do sth to fullness, surfeit | <i>najésti se</i> 'eat to one's fill', <i>naglédati se</i> 'view sth to one's heart's content', <i>naplésati se</i> 'dance one's feet off' |
| <i>nad-</i> | add on to sth, superordinate or be superordinate by virtue of an activity | <i>nadgradíti</i> 'build on to sth', <i>nadredíti</i> 'make superior in rank', <i>nadzorováti</i> 'supervise' |
| <i>ob-/o-</i> | action directed around sth (both the readings 'around' and 'past') | <i>obíti</i> 'go around, avoid', <i>ozréti se</i> 'look around', <i>obdâjati</i> 'surround, affect by surrounding', <i>obrekováti</i> 'slander, bad-mouth sby' |
| <i>ob-/o-</i> | lose sth in the process | <i>obigráti</i> 'lose sth in a game' |
| <i>ob-/o-</i> | remain in a static position, stop a process | <i>obležáti</i> 'remain lying', <i>obstáti</i> 'just stand there, stop going' |
| <i>od-</i> | separate, move (sth) away | <i>odíti</i> 'depart', <i>odrézati</i> 'cut off', <i>odpeljáti</i> 'take/drive sth away' |
| <i>od-</i> | bring an activity to its conclusion | <i>odpéti</i> 'sing (a song) to the end', <i>odcvetéti</i> 'to finish blooming' |
| <i>od-</i> | undo an action | <i>odčârati</i> 'cast a spell to cause sth to cease', <i>odvíti</i> 'unwind' |
| <i>od-</i> | reciprocate with an action | <i>odgovoríti</i> 'respond, answer', <i>odmévati</i> 'echo' |
| <i>po-</i> | effect a change in a patient | <i>poameričániti</i> 'make sby/sth American', <i>pobârvati</i> 'paint sth', <i>pogasíti</i> 'put out (a fire)' |
| <i>po-</i> | do sth with multiple agents or patients | <i>pomréti</i> '(many people) die', <i>podáviti</i> 'strangle (e.g., several animals)', <i>pozapréti</i> 'shut (e.g., all the windows)' |
| <i>po-</i> | attenuation | <i>posedéti</i> 'sit for a while', <i>pobolévati</i> 'keep getting sick, |

| | | |
|-------------|--|--|
| | | but not seriously' (IMPF), <i>po-zanîmati se</i> 'make an inquiry about sth' |
| <i>po-</i> | begin an action | <i>poletéti</i> 'start flying', <i>pognáti</i> 'start sth moving' |
| <i>po-</i> | inchoativity | <i>pobarbâriti</i> 'become barbarian', <i>polákomniti se</i> 'become greedy', <i>pozakōniti</i> 'make sth a law' |
| <i>po-</i> | damage something by an action | <i>posedéti</i> 'flatten sth by sitting on it', <i>popísati</i> 'mess sth up by scribbling on it' |
| <i>pod-</i> | affect the underside of sth with an action, effect sth by acting on the underside of sth, do sth the result of which is realized below sth | <i>podpréti</i> 'support', <i>pod-minîrati</i> 'undermine', <i>pod-naslovîti</i> 'add subtitles (e.g., to a film)' |
| <i>pod-</i> | do sth on the sly | <i>podkupíti</i> 'bribe', <i>podkrásti se</i> 'sneak up on sb' |
| <i>pre-</i> | go or transfer sth from point A to point B | <i>prenésti</i> 'bring sth over', <i>prečrpati</i> 'pump liquid from one place to another', <i>prevzéti</i> 'take over, accept sth', <i>predáti</i> 'surrender sth' |
| <i>pre-</i> | do sth through a cross section, across a surface, by sth (in passing) | <i>presékati</i> 'cut in half', <i>prebíti</i> 'make a hole through sth', <i>preglódati</i> 'gnaw through sth', <i>preboríti se</i> 'fight one's way through sth', <i>prehitéti</i> 'pass sth (e.g., a car)' |
| <i>pre-</i> | divide into parts | <i>predelíti</i> 'divide sth up into parts' |
| <i>pre-</i> | do an activity again | <i>prebelîti</i> 'whitewash again' |
| <i>pre-</i> | reach a limit by going through | <i>preboléti</i> 'recover from an ill- |

| | | |
|-------------|---|--|
| | sth (space or time) | ness', <i>prenočiti</i> 'spend the night' |
| <i>pre-</i> | do too much of sth | <i>pretírati</i> 'exaggerate', <i>pregréti</i> 'overheat' |
| <i>pre-</i> | cause sth to be transformed by going through a process | <i>predélati</i> 'rework sth to create sth', <i>pregúlití</i> 'wear the surface of sth out', <i>prehladíti se</i> 'catch a cold' |
| <i>pre-</i> | do sth in a series | <i>pregorévati</i> 'burn sth out one after another' |
| <i>pri-</i> | move or move sth closer to a goal or to the subject | <i>príti</i> 'come', <i>priněsti</i> 'bring', <i>pripeljáti</i> 'bring sby/sth by driving/leading' |
| <i>pri-</i> | reach a desired effect with an activity | <i>prihraníti</i> 'save up for sth' |
| <i>pri-</i> | do a small amount of an activity, typically leaving it incomplete | <i>pristríči</i> 'trim sth', <i>pripréti</i> 'close (e.g., a door) partially' |
| <i>pri-</i> | through additional engagement in the activity add onto a result | <i>pripísati</i> 'add text to an existing text', <i>prilíti</i> 'pour more liquid into sth' |
| <i>pro-</i> | go through sth, finish after going through a process | <i>prodréti</i> 'make one's way through sth', <i>proizvésti</i> 'produce, manufacture' |
| <i>raz-</i> | disperse in various directions | <i>razíti</i> 'go off in different directions', <i>razglasíti</i> 'announce, put out the word about sth', <i>razvějati</i> 'fan out' |
| <i>raz-</i> | undo or abrogate the result of a previous action | <i>razveljáviti</i> 'annul, repeal sth', <i>razorožíti</i> 'disarm' |
| <i>raz-</i> | clear away an impediment, obstacle allowing clear perception | <i>razkrínkati</i> 'unmask', <i>razodéti</i> 'reveal, divulge', <i>razložíti</i> 'explain' |
| <i>raz-</i> | develop an activity to a high | <i>razboléti</i> 'become very ill', |

| | | |
|------------------------|---|--|
| | level of intensity | <i>razveselíti se</i> 'become very happy' |
| <i>s-/z-</i> | generic perfectivization, totality (Dickey 2005) | <i>sfabricírati</i> 'fabricate sth', <i>skrâjšati</i> 'shorten sth', <i>zgaráti</i> 'work to exhaustion', <i>zломíti</i> 'break sth' |
| <i>s-/z-</i> | unite, bring together | <i>stkáti</i> 'weave together', <i>zedíniti</i> 'unite', |
| <i>s-/z-</i> | move downwards, off a surface | <i>sléči se</i> 'undress oneself', <i>sestopíti</i> 'get off (of a platform, bus)', <i>snéti</i> 'take sth off' |
| <i>spo-</i> | begin an action | <i>spočéti</i> 'conceive (a child)' |
| <i>spo-se</i> | engage in a mutual action | <i>sporazuméti se</i> 'understand one another', <i>spogledováti se</i> 'flirt' |
| <i>spre-</i> | begin a state or action after failure in a prior period to engage in the action | <i>spreglédati</i> 'see sth for what it really is', <i>sprehodíti</i> 'begin to walk (toddler, adult after an injury)', <i>spregovoriíti</i> 'start talking (after silence)' |
| <i>u-</i> | move away or downward, escape | <i>ubežáti</i> 'run away', <i>uíti</i> 'slip away', <i>umákniti</i> 'move sth away' |
| <i>u-</i> | reduce or ruin sth with an activity | <i>uskočiti se</i> 'shrink', <i>udušíti</i> 'smother', <i>umânjkati</i> 'renege' |
| <i>v-/u-</i> | move or place sth into sth | <i>ubesedováti</i> 'put sth into words', <i>ugrézniti se</i> 'sink into sth', <i>vméšati</i> 'mix sth in' |
| <i>vz-⁹</i> | movement upwards | <i>vzpéti se</i> 'ascend', <i>vzgojíti</i> 'raise (children)' |
| <i>za-</i> | to stop, stop up, lock in or | <i>zapréti</i> 'close', <i>zabarikadírati</i> |

⁹ Some words that historically were prefixed with *vz-* have merged with *s-/z-*, e.g., *zrásti* 'grow up', *zletéti* 'take off (flying)'.

| | | |
|------------|--|---|
| | close off; close off a path of development, in some cases leading to negative result | 'put up a barricade', <i>zapečítiti</i> 'seal sth', <i>zasúti</i> 'cover with sand or pourable dry material', <i>zatakńiti</i> 'get stuck', <i>zańiti</i> 'take a wrong turn' |
| <i>za-</i> | start sth; start sth, leaving it incomplete | <i>zaspáti</i> 'start sleeping', <i>zacvetéti</i> 'start blooming' |
| <i>za-</i> | do sth for too long | <i>zamudńiti se</i> 'be late' |

In the chart below some common suffixes used in derivation of verbs are listed. The list is far from exhaustive.

SUFFIXES

| SUFFIX | WHAT IT FORMS | EXAMPLES |
|------------------------------|---|---|
| <i>-a-</i> | N →: do or be what is characterized by base | (<i>áfna</i> 'monkey' →) <i>afńati</i> 'ape sth, be a show-off'; (<i>jézik</i> 'tongue/language' or <i>jezikáv</i> 'mouthy, outspoken person' →) <i>jezikáti</i> ; 'be mouthy, outspoken'; (<i>vé slo</i> 'oar' →) <i>vesláti</i> 'row' |
| <i>-a-</i> | N →: make what is described in the base | (<i>vózel</i> 'knot' →) <i>vozláti</i> 'tie a knot'; (<i>kóder</i> 'curl, lock of hair' →) <i>kódrati</i> 'curl hair' |
| <i>-a-</i> | ADJ →: make sth characteristic of what is described in the base | (<i>sládek</i> 'sweet' →) <i>sladkáti</i> 'make sth sweet' |
| <i>-e-</i> | ADJ →: be or become what is or is characteristic of the base | (<i>nòr</i> 'crazy' →) <i>noréti</i> 'go/be crazy'; (<i>rumèn</i> 'yellow' →) <i>rumenéti</i> 'become yellow' |
| <i>-eva-</i> <i>/ova-</i> | N →: be or do what is or is characteristic of the base | (<i>hlápec</i> 'serf, subservient person' →) <i>hlapčeváti</i> 'be(have like) a serf, subservient person'; (<i>kúpec</i> 'buyer' →) <i>kupčeváti</i> 'trade in sth'; (<i>mójster</i> 'master' →) <i>mojstrováti</i> 'run a shop, be a master of sth'; (<i>nórec</i> 'fool, crazy person' →) <i>norčeváti se</i> 'mock, make |

| | | |
|-----------|--|--|
| | | a fool of sby' |
| -i- | N →: be what is or is characteristic of the base | (<i>gôbar</i> 'mushroomer' →) <i>gobâriti</i> 'collect mushrooms'; (<i>mójster</i> 'master' →) <i>mojstrîti</i> 'master sth' |
| -i- | N →: make what is described by base | (<i>brât</i> 'brother' →) <i>brâtiti se</i> 'to become (like) brothers'; (<i>smêt</i> 'piece of trash' →) <i>smetîti</i> 'make trash, trash sth' |
| -i- | ADJ →: make sth into sth | (<i>rumèn</i> 'yellow' →) <i>rumenîti</i> 'make sth yellow' |
| -ificira- | N →: make sth as characterized by base | (<i>múmija</i> 'mummy' →) <i>mumificîrati</i> 'mummify' |
| -ira- | N →: be or do what is or is characteristic of the base | (<i>filozôf</i> 'philosopher' →) <i>filozofîrati</i> 'philosophize'; (<i>gestikulácija</i> 'gesticulation' →) <i>gestikulîrati</i> 'gesticulate' |
| -ira- | ADJ →: be or do what is or is characteristic of the base | (<i>dominânten</i> 'dominant' →) <i>dominîrati</i> 'dominate'; |
| -izira- | ADJ →: transform sth into what is described in the base | (<i>slovénski</i> 'Slovene' →) <i>slovenizîrati</i> 'make Slovene, translate into Slovene' |
| -ka- | "sound" →: say sth as described in base | ([l] →) <i>êl/ka</i> 'say / in the wrong place (when one should say [ɥ])'; (<i>š[ɥ]a</i> →) <i>švapâti</i> 'say the dialect form <i>š[ɥ]a</i> instead of standard <i>š[l]a</i> , i.e., pronounce an / before a back vowel as a [ɥ]' |

5.1.1.6 Diminutives and augmentatives

Nouns, adjectives, and verbs may be modified by suffixation to produce diminutives and augmentatives. From a functional perspective these often serve the same purpose as in English adverbial phrases or

adjectival modifiers, e.g., *Na vogalu je ena sama trgovinica* ‘There’s just a tiny store on the corner’, *Samo majčkeno!* ‘(Move) just a tiny bit (so I can get by)!’; *Kar lepo se igrajčkajta* (adult speaking to children) ‘You two just go have a nice little playtime’, *Bi kozarček vina?* ‘Would you like a little glass of wine?’ Examples of common nominal formations are given in the chart below.

| SUFFIX | WHAT IT FORMS | EXAMPLES |
|--------|----------------|---|
| -/ə/c | M diminutive | (<i>bràt</i> ‘brother’ → <i>brâtec</i> ‘little brother’; (<i>zîd</i> ‘wall’ → <i>zîdec</i> ‘small wall’; |
| -/ə/k | M diminutive | (<i>hlâpec</i> ‘serf, subservient person’ → <i>hlâpček</i> ‘little serf, poor little person’; (<i>hlâpčič</i> ‘little serf, poor little person’ → <i>hlâpčiček</i> ‘little serf, poor little person’; (<i>lâs</i> ‘hair’ → <i>lâsek</i> ‘cute little hair’ |
| -ič | M diminutive | (<i>hlâpec</i> ‘serf, subservient person’ → <i>hlâpčič</i> ‘little serf, poor little person’ |
| -ica | F diminutive | (<i>hîša</i> ‘house’ → <i>hîšica</i> ‘small house’; (<i>potrêba</i> ‘need’ → <i>potrêbica</i> ‘a little need’; (<i>rôka</i> ‘hand’ → <i>rôkica</i> ‘little hand’; (<i>kavârna</i> ‘coffee house’ → <i>kavârnicica</i> ‘little coffee house’ |
| -ura | F augmentative | (<i>hîša</i> ‘house’ → <i>hišûra</i> ‘big ugly house’ |

Some verbal diminutives are derived from nominal(ized) diminutives and are thus a function of the base, e.g., *kùp* ‘pile’ → *kùpček* ‘a little pile’ → *kùpčkati* ‘to make little piles’. The diminutive suffix is in many cases added to the right of the verbal suffix or even built on the imperative stem: *igrâti* ‘to play’ → *igrâčka* ‘toy’ → *igrâčkati* ‘to play’ ~ *igrâj* → *igrâjčkati* ‘to play’; *molíti* → *môlčkati* ‘to pray’; *zapój* → *zapôjčkati* ‘to start singing’. In some instances, the suffix is replaced, e.g., *sedéti* → *sêdkati* ‘to sit’. Lexical diminutives (forms used only to speak to small children) themselves can also be further diminutivized, e.g., *čičati* ‘to sit’ → *čičkati*, *pápati* ‘to eat’ → *pápicati*. Verbal diminutive formations are very frequent in the language adults use to talk to children. Augmenta-

tives, which often have a derogatory meaning, are less frequent and are formed by suffixation: *lomíti* → *lòm* 'break' → *lomâst* 'sound something makes when it breaks' → *lomástiti* 'walk noisily, stomp like a large animal'.

6 Syntax

6.1.1 Noun phrases

6.1.1.1 Structure

A noun phrase may consist of a single appellative or proper noun, optionally preceded by one or more adjectives and a demonstrative pronoun or possessive adjective. Additionally, if a MASC SG ADJ is present in the phrase, the distinction between the short and long form marks indefiniteness vs. definiteness. Examples:

| | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| konj | horse |
| bel konj | a white horse |
| beli konj | the white horse |
| naš konj | our horse |
| tisti konj | that horse |
| tisti beli konj | that white horse |
| naš beli konj | our white horse |

Definiteness is not marked in the FEM or NEUT nor in the MASC if the case marking is other than NOM SG.

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| <i>belega konja</i> | a white horse/the white horse MASC SG ACC |
| <i>na belem konju</i> | on a white horse/on the white horse MASC SG LOC |
| <i>bela knjiga</i> | a white book/the white book FEM SG NOM |

In colloquial speech, however, definiteness is marked by the addition of the invariable enclitic particle *ta* + ADJ, regardless of gender, number, or case.

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| <i>ta bel</i> | the white one MASC SG NOM |
| <i>ta bela</i> | the white one FEM SG NOM |
| <i>s ta belo</i> | with the white one FEM SG INST |
| <i>proti ta belemu</i> | against the white one MASC/NEUT SG DAT |

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>pri ta belih</i> | at/near the white ones PL LOC |
| <i>Ta belo obleko obleci!</i> | Wear the white dress! |
| <i>S ta belim avtom so šli</i> | They went with the white car. |

Noun phrases agree in gender, number, and case with the head noun:

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| <i>lepi beli konj</i> | the beautiful white horse MASC SG NOM |
| <i>lepa bela kača</i> | beautiful white snake FEM SG NOM |
| <i>z lepim belim konjem</i> | with the beautiful white horse MASC SG INST |
| <i>z lepo belo kačo</i> | with the beautiful white snake FEM SG INST |

The neutral ordering of elements is always ADJ + NOUN. When the ordering of elements is reversed (NOUN + ADJ), an emotional coloring—positive or negative depending on context—is added, e.g., *baba hudičeva* ‘damned hag!’ (negative), *mož moj dragi* ‘my dear husband’ (positive or negative). ADJ + NOUN order may also indicate stylized archaisms in fixed phrases such as *Srce Jezusovo* ‘Sacred Heart of Jesus’. Note that when a fixed NP such as this is itself modified, it takes a leftward-oriented attribute: *presveto Srce Jezusovo* ‘the most holy Sacred Heart of Jesus’.

NPs may—and in prose writing often do—take adnominal complements both to the left and right of the head noun. Thus, for example, the following sentence contains both adjectival complements (*podobno neprikrito* ‘similarly openly’) to the left of the object (*navdušenje* ‘enthusiasm’), an adnominal complement (*nad vsem* lit. ‘above everything’), the latter itself modified by a subordinate clause (*kar je bilo italijanskega* ‘that was Italian’): *Podobno neprikrito navdušenje nad vsem, kar je bilo italijanskega, je kazal tudi podpolkovnik Sherman Miles* (UL: 105) ‘Even Lieutenant Colonel Sherman Miles demonstrated a similarly unabashed enthusiasm for everything Italian’.

Below are some examples of some common adnominal structures in Slovene.

| STRUCTURE | EXAMPLES |
|---------------------------|--|
| NP + <i>za</i> NP [ACC] | <i>Mednarodni sklad za razminiranje</i> 'International Trust for Demining'; <i>dva televizorja za ceno enega</i> 'two televisions for the price of one' |
| NP + <i>na</i> NP [ACC] | <i>toplotna črpalka na zrak</i> 'heat exchanger' lit: 'heat pump on air' |
| NP + NP [GEN] | <i>mati sedmih otrok</i> 'a mother of seven children'; <i>kriza srednjih let</i> 'middle-age crisis'; <i>zapeljivec svoje sestre</i> 'the seducer of his own sister'; <i>načela mednarodnega prava</i> 'the principles of international law' |
| NP + <i>od</i> NP [GEN] | <i>najmlajši od sedmih otrok</i> 'the youngest of seven children' |
| NP + NP [DAT] | <i>pismo predsedniku</i> 'a letter to the president' |
| NP + <i>k</i> NP [DAT] | <i>pot h gradu</i> 'the path to the castle' |
| NP + <i>o</i> NP [LOC] | <i>knjiga o gobah</i> 'a book about mushrooms' |
| NP + <i>ob</i> NP [LOC] | <i>kosilo ob enih</i> 'lunch at one o'clock'; <i>sprehod ob Ljubljanici</i> 'a walk along the Ljubljanica River' |
| NP + <i>pri</i> NP [LOC] | <i>zajtrk pri Tiffanyju</i> 'breakfast at Tiffany's' |
| NP + <i>v/na</i> [LOC] | <i>delo na polju</i> 'work in the field' |
| NP + <i>s/z</i> NP [INST] | <i>klobuk z rdečimi trakovi</i> 'a hat with red ribbons'; <i>v skladu z daytonskim sporazumom</i> 'in accord with the Dayton agreement' |

6.1.1.1.1 Proper names and toponyms

Strings of first name + last name behave as a string of nouns, e.g., *Marko Žnidaršič* (MASC SG NOM), *od Marka Žnidaršiča* (GEN), *z Markom Žnidaršičem* 'with Marko Žnidaršič' (INST). Masculine last names are not declined when they pertain to a feminine reference, e.g., *Slavka Trampuž*, *od Slavke Trampuž* 'from Slavka Trampuž' (GEN).

In general, binominal toponyms, with the first element a general geographical designation and the second a place name, have both elements declined if the referent is a larger entity, e.g., *mesto Ljubljana* ‘the city of Ljubljana (NOM)’, *v mestu Ljubljani* ‘in the city of Ljubljana (LOC)’, *Republika Slovenija* ‘the Republic of Slovenia’, *iz Republike Slovenije* ‘from the Republic of Slovenia (GEN)’, *reka Sava* ‘the Sava river (NOM)’, *v reki Savi* ‘in the Sava river (LOC)’. With smaller referents, the proper name is used in its NOM form while the descriptive element is declined, e.g., *vas Cankova* ‘the village of Cankova (NOM)’, *proti vasi Cankova* ‘towards the village of Cankova (DAT)’, *v potoku Pšata* ‘in the Pšata stream’ (though the less preferable *?v potoku Pšati* may also occur). More complex names of geographical entities have their own syntax, however, such as *Združene države Amerike* ‘the United States of America’, where the term *Amerika* ‘America’ is an attribute in the genitive case to the phrase *Združene države* ‘United States’. In this instance, the attribute remains in the genitive case when the NP *Združene države* declines according to context, e.g., *Borut je nekaj časa živel v Združenih državah Amerike* ‘Borut lived for a while in the United States of America’. Names of buildings or institutions that have been named after a historical figure also behave as attributes: *pri cerkvi Sv. Primoža* ‘at the church (LOC) of St. Primus (GEN)’, *za cerkvijo Sv. Primoža* ‘behind the church (INSTR) of St. Primus (GEN)’.

6.1.1.2 Meanings and uses of cases and prepositions with cases

6.1.1.2.1 Nominative case

The nominative case marks the agent of an active verb (*Marta vidi Marka* ‘Marta sees Marko’), the subject of an intransitive verb (*Marta spi* ‘Marta is sleeping’), or the patient/object of a passive construction (*hrana je kupljena* ‘the food is bought’). It is also used in direct address, a function taken over historically from the erstwhile vocative case, e.g., *Marta! Marko!*¹⁰ Moreover, the nominative case is used as the headword in dictionary entries for nominal forms.

¹⁰ Traces of the vocative case are evident in forms such as *Jože* ‘Joseph’, *oče* ‘Dad’, which are now interpreted as nominative. The vocative in *Bože (mili)! (Dear) God!* is a

Normally the nominative case does not occur with prepositions, except in the formulaic predicate nominal expression *kaj je za* + NOM ‘what kind of X’, e.g., *Kaj je to za ena zverina?* ‘What kind of beast is this?’

6.1.1.2.2 Accusative case

The accusative case usually marks the patient of an active verb (*Marta vidi Marka* ‘Marta sees Marko’) and, with prepositions, the goal or target of an action taking place over a trajectory (see below with regard to prepositions). Certain impersonal expressions denoting states mark the experiencer with the accusative case, *Zebe me* ‘I’m cold’, *Skomina me* ‘It gives me the chills’, *Boli me* ‘I hurt’, *Strah me je* ‘I’m afraid’, *Zanima me, če ...* ‘I wonder whether ...’; *Sram te bodi!* ‘Shame on you!’; *Mikalo ga je, da bi se pognal v zrak in padel na vodno gladino z večim skokom...* (ML: 148) ‘He felt like jumping in the air and falling onto the water’s surface with a deft leap...’.

6.1.1.2.2.1 Animacy with respect to the accusative case

Masculine singular animate NPs, including the interrogative pronoun *kdo*, in the accusative are assigned genitive marking, as a consequence of the historical loss of overt markers in M-SG-NOM and ACC, which gave rise to ambiguity between the agent vs. patient roles. Compare *Marko je pripeljal stroj domov* or *Stroj je pripeljal Marko domov* (NOM = *stroj*) ‘Marko drove the machine home’ vs. *Marko je pripeljal očeta domov* (NOM = *očē*) ‘Marko drove his father home’. In Slovene, the disambiguation of these roles motivates the assignment to masculine animate actants in the object position formally “genitive” case-marking. This strategy can be seen also in the phenomenon whereby masculine (inanimate) NPs containing an ADJ and an understood (unexpressed) head noun are assigned the genitive rather than the accusative case, e.g., *Želite črni ali beli kruh? Dajte mi črnega* ‘Do you want dark or white bread? Give me a dark one. Another piece of evidence that the broader strategy is disambiguation of NOM vs. ACC (rather than “animacy” *per se*)

borrowing from Serbian. The corresponding native form *bore* has become an adverb ‘pitifully’ and is generally limited to the phrase *bore malo* ‘pitifully little’.

is that adults speaking to infants and small children extend the GEN form in place of the syntactically required ACC to inanimate masculine objects. Evidently this strategy makes the agent vs. patient role more explicit to children in the process of acquiring fundamental grammatical competence, e.g., *Vzemi korenčka* ‘Take the carrot’ (NOM/ACC = *korenček*), *Odpri gobčka* ‘Open your little mouth’ (NOM/ACC = *gobček*), *Podrl je kupčka* ‘He burped’ (NOM/ACC *kupček*). By extension, proper names and names of animate beings used for inanimate objects are treated as animate, e.g., *spiti Črnega Barona* ‘drink a Black Baron (brand of dark beer)’, *voziti opel* ‘drive an Opel’, *imeti raka* ‘have cancer’.

6.1.1.2.2.2 Prepositions requiring the accusative case

With prepositions, the accusative case marks the goal or target of an action that denotes motion (either in a concrete or metaphorical sense). When the same spatial or temporal prepositions are used in stationary or stative meanings, either the locative or instrumental cases are used, depending on the preposition. A chart of the prepositions requiring accusative case are given below with cross references for those that take one of the other cases with stationary/stative meanings.

| | | |
|------|--------------------------------|---|
| čez | ‘across’ | <i>Čez pokrit lesen most prekoračimo Savo in smo v nekaj minutah v Senožetih</i> (ASt: 28) ‘We cross the Sava over a covered wooden bridge and in a few minutes we are in Senožeti’. |
| med⇒ | ‘among’, ‘during, while’ | <i>Če ste s svojo težo zadovoljne, sodite med redke srečnice</i> ‘If you are content with your weight, you are among those rare lucky women’; <i>Grmača se je potlej razlomila in skozi tisto luknjo se je prebil med drevesa in v gozd</i> (DJ 2004: 6) ‘The thicket then broke and he made his way through that hole into the trees and the forest’ |
| na⇒ | ‘on, onto, up against’ | <i>Čedalje več ljudi se vozi s kolesi v službo, na trg, v kino</i> ‘More and more people are riding their bicycles to work, to the marketplace, to the movies’; <i>Tako sva šla na pot</i> ‘That’s how we hit the |

| | | |
|-------|--|---|
| | | road'; <i>Javnost ima izjemen vpliv <u>na</u> odločitev ministra</i> 'The public has an exceptional influence on the decision of the Minister'. |
| nad⇒ | 'above' | <i>Letalo se je dvignilo <u>nad</u> oblake</i> 'The plane rose above the clouds' |
| ob⇒ | 'next to, up against' | <i>Ko je prišel na vrh, je z obrazom oprasnil <u>ob</u> trnje in črne, svetleče robidnice so se mu zamajale pred očmi</i> (DJ 2004: 6) 'When he came to the top, he scraped his face on the thorns and black, shiny blackberries were swinging before his eyes' |
| po⇒ | 'to sth/sby with the intention of retrieval' | <i>Pojdi <u>po</u> očeta!</i> 'Go get your father!'; <i>Segla je v torbico <u>po</u> denar</i> 'She reached in her purse for the money' |
| pod⇒ | 'under' | <i>Ob ozkem grebenčku pridemo <u>pod</u> vršni čok in se vzpneemo na najvišjo točko</i> (ASt: 118) 'We go along a narrow crest and come up under the flattened peak and ascend to the highest point'; <i>Iz močvirnih tal se je dvigovala topla sopara in lezla <u>pod</u> kožo</i> (DJ 2004: 6) 'From the swampy ground a warm humidity rose and crawled under one's skin' |
| pred⇒ | 'in front of' | <i>Ki je naenkrat stala med trsjem in prazno gledala <u>predse</u> in ni več mogla ne naprej, ne nazaj</i> (DJ 2004: 8) '[An animal] that suddenly stood among the reeds and absently gazed in front of itself and could no longer go onward nor from whence it came' |
| skozi | 'through' | <i>Z Grmade ja najlepše sestopiti po poti mimo Sv. Uršule in <u>skozi</u> Setnico</i> (ASt: 114) 'From Grmada it is nicest to go down along the road past St. Ursula and through Setnica' |
| v⇒ | 'in, into' | <i>Čedalje več ljudi se vozi s kolesi <u>v</u> službo, na trg, <u>v</u> kino</i> 'More and more people are riding their bi- |

| | | |
|-------|----------------------------------|---|
| | | cycles to work, to the marketplace, to the movies'; <i>Prednosti vlaganja v vzajemni sklad</i> 'The advantages of investing in a mutual fund' |
| za⇒ | 'behind', 'for, in exchange for' | <i>Vsedel se je za mizo</i> 'He sat down at the table'; <i>Akcija za zdravo življenje</i> 'A program for healthy living'; <i>Zima za trgovsko skupino ni bila lahka</i> (DJ 2004: 92) 'Winter was not easy for the merchant group'; <i>Verjetno so jo zaradi težje pristopnosti ljudje že v prazgodovini izbrali za svoje bivališče</i> (ASt: 120) 'Evidently because of its relative inaccessibility people in prehistory chose it for their settlement' |
| zoper | 'against' | ... <i>zoper to ni mogoče nič ukreniti</i> (VZ: 107) '...it's not possible to take any action against this' |

⇒The prepositions marked with a right-facing arrow are used with verbs denoting movement or trajectory towards the object; when location, rather than trajectory, is denoted, the prepositions take the locative (*na, ob, po, v*) or instrumental case (*med, nad, pod, pred, za*).

6.1.1.2.3 Dative case

Dative case is required by verbs in which a patient role is in turn active, e.g., *Pomagajo Tonetu spraviti seno* 'They are helping Tone to collect the hay' implies *Pomagajo Tonetu, da bi [Tone] spravil seno* 'They help Tone, so that he [Tone] collects the hay', in other words, the patient of the verb *pomagati* 'help', *Tone*, is in turn the implied agent of another action (*spraviti seno* 'collect the hay'). (The passive patient role, in this case filled by *seno*, requires the ACC.) See also 6.1.2.3.2.1.6.

Another central use of the dative case is to refer to a secondary, "indirect" object, in an idealized sense the recipient of a patient or the result of an action, e.g., *Mira je dala bonboniero Juretu* 'Mira gave the candy box to Jure'. In the following example, the dative case is simply the tertiary object in the predicate *upreti se čemu* 'to resist sth', where the direct object is already filled by the reflexive particle in the ACC. *A na dnu*

cele smejalne poplave občutim bolan krč skupinske blaznosti, ki se ji ne morem upreti (VZ: 161) ‘But at the bottom of the whole flood of mirth I feel the sick pang of group insanity, which I am unable to resist. Further, the dative denotes assignment or possession, e.g., *Tebi odločitev ne bo težka* (MM: 68) ‘For you the decision will not be difficult’.

The dative case often marks the experiencer role in impersonal expressions—typically states of emotion—where an overt agent is impossible to assign, e.g., *Odleglo mu je* ‘he was relieved’; *Jasno ji je bilo, da je izgubljen* (MM: 178) ‘It was clear to her that he was lost’; *Ne mudi se mu* ‘He’s in no hurry’; *Kaj ti je?* ‘What’s the matter with you?’; *Vrti se mi v glavi* ‘I’m dizzy’. However, the experiencer role is not limited to impersonal constructions, e.g., *Še v smrti bo naganjal poštenim in pobožnim ljudem strah v kosti* (DJ 2004: 156) ‘Even in death he will arouse fear in the bones of honest and God-fearing people’

Possession of body parts are typically indicated by dative case *Zlomila mi je nogo* ‘she broke my leg’; *Zlomila sem si nogo* ‘I broke my leg’, *Ostrigel mi je lase* ‘He cut my hair’.

The dative case may also be used to indicate empathy on the part of the speaker towards the addressee (“ethical dative”), e.g., *Pametna bodi, glave mi ne povešaj!* (MM: 127) ‘Be wise, don’t hang your head down [for my sake]!’. Yet even when the dative is assigned to the 2nd person, the empathy still references the 1st person: *Mhm, nekaj sem tudi jaz slišal. Eh, življenje ti je čudna reč* (MM: 209) ‘Uh–huh, I’ve heard something like that myself. Yeah, life, y’see, is an odd thing.’ Ethical dative is frequently used in describing events in which a participant is emotionally affected by the event, e.g., *Neko breme mi je padlo z ramen* (VZ: 108); ‘A certain burden fell from my shoulders’, *Oče mi je umrl* ‘My father died’. It is less acceptable, but still possible, when the participant is distanced from the event, e.g., *Hči je rodila sina* ‘(My daughter gave birth to a son’, but not **Hči mi je rodila sina* ‘(My) daughter gave birth to a son’ (a son is related primarily with respect to the mother); rather, *Hči mi je rodila vnuka* can take the ethical dative since *vnuk* ‘grandson’ relates back to the subject (‘grandparent’) and thus directly affects it. In the common (very strong) vulgar expression *Jebem ti mater!* ‘I fuck your mother’, the

ethical dative serves as mechanism to present the subject as superordinate to the interlocutor (Nežmah 1997: 102).

6.1.1.2.3.1 Prepositions requiring the dative case

Spatial metaphors with prepositions (*k* ‘towards’, *kljub* ‘despite’, *proti* ‘towards, against’, *nasproti* ‘against’) present actions or states directed toward, moving to, or placed in opposition to an object, but without touching or penetrating the object. Examples are given in the chart below.

| | | |
|----------|---|--|
| k (h) | ‘towards, to (with regard to people)’ | <i>Naj gre človek <u>h</u> Kalčevim ali <u>k</u> Racetovim ali <u>k</u> Vrvarjevim, povsod se pomenkujejo samo o tem</i> (ML: 29) ‘Whether a person went to the Kaleces, the Races or the Vrvars, everywhere they would discuss only that’ |
| kljub | ‘despite’ | <i><u>Kljub</u> vsem težavam ji je uspelo</i> ‘Despite the difficulties she succeeded’ |
| proti | ‘against, towards, in the direction of’ | <i>Bilo je <u>proti</u> hišnemu redu, da je bila mati že v kuhinji</i> (MM: 21) ‘It was against the [normal] order of the house that mother would already be in the kitchen’; <i>Z vrha Ciclja nadaljujemo <u>proti</u> zahodu do sedla</i> (ASt: 29) ‘From the peak of Cicelj we continue towards the west to the pass’ |
| nasproti | ‘against’ | <i>Premaknila je zabojnik <u>nasproti</u> hlevu</i> ‘She moved the container against the barn’ |

6.1.1.2.4 Genitive case

Genitive case-marking centers around the notions of source (*iz jame* ‘out of the cave’, *zaradi ameriške vojske* ‘because of the U.S. Army’, proximity (*zraven naše mize* ‘next to our table’), separation (*odmaknjeno od vasi* ‘at a distance from the village’), and quantification (*ščepce soli* ‘a pinch of salt’, *tristo hudičev* ‘three hundred devils’). As a metaphor for ‘source’, the GEN case stands in opposition to the ACC, DAT, which can mark goals or targets, e.g., *gre iz gozda* (GEN) ‘s/he goes out of the forest’; *gre v gozd* (ACC) ‘s/he goes into the forest’; *grejo od Hladnikov* (GEN) ‘They are coming from the Hladniks’ *grejo k Hladnikom* (DAT) ‘They

are going to the Hladniks'. With regard to separation and quantification, the GEN stands in opposition to the INST, e.g., *kava brez smetane* (GEN) 'coffee without cream' vs. *kava s smetano* (INSTR) 'coffee with cream'; *izmed dreves* 'out from among the trees' (GEN) vs. *med drevesi* (INSTR) 'among the trees'. These metaphors can be explored in more detail among the examples with prepositions below.

Partitivity is also expressed in a predicate with the GEN case in place of the ACC, e.g., *daj mi juhe* (GEN) 'give me some soup' vs. *daj mi juho* (ACC) 'give me the soup'; or the NOM case, e.g., *Turistov tam kar mrgoli* (GEN) 'It is just teeming with tourists there' vs. *Turisti mrgolijo povesod* (NOM) 'The tourists are crawling all over the place'.

Adnominally, the genitive case marks quantification in terms of partitivity or is coreferential to quantification after quantifiers, e.g., *kepica sladoleda* 'a scoop of ice cream', *kup knjig* 'a pile of books', *kos torte* 'a piece of cake', *več ljudi* 'several people', *veliko znanja* 'a lot of knowledge', *polno obiskovalcev* 'filled with visitors'. Also adnominally, the genitive case marks possession—more precisely, the possessor in the juxtaposition of two NPs, e.g., *avto njegove sestre* 'his sister's car', *roman Vladimirja Bartola* 'Vladimir Bartol's novel'. In a formally identical construction, the GEN case marks an attribute, e.g., *zemljevid Slovenije* 'map of Slovenia', *potovanje svojih sanj* 'the trip of one's dreams', *glavna vrata hiše* 'the main door of the house' (cf. *Slovenski zemljevid* 'Slovenian map', *sanjsko potovanje* 'a dream trip', *glavna hišna vrata* 'the main house doors').

With negated objects that in the positive require the ACC case, the GEN is substituted, *vidim izhod* (ACC) 'I see a way out' vs. *ne vidim izhoda* (GEN) 'I don't see a way out'; *vzela je žlico* (ACC) 'she took the spoon' vs. *ni vzela žlice* (GEN) 'she didn't take the spoon'; *Sušenje sadja je cenen postopek konzerviranja, saj ne potrebuje nobenih dodatkov* (CS: 45) 'Drying fruit is a valued process of preservation, as it does not require any additives'.

Examples of the use of prepositions with the genitive case are given in the chart below.

6.1.1.2.4.1 Prepositions requiring the genitive case

| | | |
|----------|-------------------|---|
| blizu | 'near' | <i>Blizu planine Kisovec se prek širokega gozdnatega sedla vzpnemo v zadnja pobočja pred Malo planino (ASt: 78) 'Near the mountain Kisovec we ascend across the wide forested pass into the last slopes before Mala planina'.</i> |
| brez | 'without' | <i>Sveti Jakob nad Ločnico je brez dvoma eden najbolj prikupnih gričev pri nas (ASt: 127) 'St. Jacob above Ločnica is without a doubt one of the most attractive hills we have'</i> |
| do | '(leading) up to' | <i>Do Velike vasi nas čaka še dober kilometer ceste, do Senožeti pa potem še spust po poti, po kateri smo se vzpeli (ASt: 29) 'There awaits us a good kilometer of road leading up to Velika vas, and up to Senožet there is also the descent along the road along which we first came up'.</i> |
| iz | 'out of, from' | <i>Do planote je iz doline več kot 1100 višinskih metrov (ASt: 78) 'From the valley to the plateau it is more than 1,100 vertical meters'; Avto je bil izdelan iz domačega jekla 'The car was manufactured from local steel'.</i> |
| izmed | 'from among' | <i>Eden izmed nas bo moral iti v trgovino 'One of us will have to go to the store'</i> |
| iznad | 'from above' | <i>Kočarica je dvignila glavo iznad šivanja (MM: 127) 'The poor woman raised her head from above the sewing'</i> |
| izpod | 'from below' | <i>Kakor škodoželjni favn sedi na vodi, kremži lice in gleda norčavo izpod dvignjenih obrvi (ML: 154) 'Like a mischievous faun he sits on the water, screws up his face and looks tauntingly from below his raised eyebrows'</i> |
| izpred ~ | 'from a point | <i>izraz izpred druge svetovne vojne 'An expres-</i> |

| | | |
|----------|----------------------------------|--|
| sprej | 'in front of' | sion from before the Second World War' |
| izza | 'from behind' | <i>Brž ko se je zgostil mrak, na, že so prežali izza grmja, izza vsake vrbe</i> (ML: 26) 'As soon as the dusk thickened, there you have it, they would be lying in wait from behind the bushes, from behind every willow' |
| izven | 'outside of' | <i>Avto se je pokvaril izven mesta</i> 'The car broke down outside of the city' |
| kraj | 'alongside, next to' | <i>Že od daleč sem jo videl, kako čaka na pločniku kraj naše hišice...</i> (VZ: 101) 'From far away I had seen how she was waiting on the sidewalk by our little house...' |
| mimo | 'past' | <i>Vodi mimo ravnega in razglednega grebena nad dolino Črne</i> (ASt: 78) 'It leads past a flat and picturesque ridge above the Črna Valley'. |
| namesto | 'instead of' | <i>Ti pojdi namesto mene!</i> 'You go instead of me!' |
| nasproti | 'across from' | <i>Nasproti cerkvi stoji stoletni hrast</i> 'Across from the church there stands a hundred-year-old oak' |
| od | 'from a source, from, away from' | <i>Še divjad in ptice so se plašile od divjega kričanja</i> (ML: 31) 'Even the game and birds were frightened by the wild screaming'; <i>Njihov pevski zbor ni edini, ki je odvisen od občinskega proračuna</i> 'Their choir is not the only one that is dependant upon the municipal budget'. |
| okoli | 'around, surrounding' | <i>Okoli rezidence je visoka živa meja</i> 'Around the mansion is a high hedge' |
| okrog | 'around, surrounding' | <i>Družina se je zbrala okrog mize</i> 'The family gathered around the table' |
| onkraj | 'on the other side of' | <i>Tisti ubogi ljudje životarijo onkraj nikogaršnje zemlje</i> 'Those poor people eke out a living on the other side of the no-man's land' |

| | | |
|---------|--------------------------------------|---|
| onstran | 'on the other side of' | <i>In [...] se navsezadnje sprošča tudi v Šariki, ki je prišla z <u>onstran</u> meje...</i> (MK: 257) 'And, finally, it [the primordial agrarian nature] releases itself in Šarika, who came from the other side of the border...'; ... <i>veter nalahno premika veje breze <u>onstran</u> ograje</i> (VZ: 83) '...the wind lightly moves the branches of the birch on the other side of the fence' |
| poleg | 'beside, next to, in addition to' | <i>Zvonik ima <u>poleg</u> svetlobnih lin tudi strelnice</i> 'In addition to openings for light, the belfry also has crenels'. |
| prek | 'over a boundary, through a channel' | <i>Blizu planine Kisovec se <u>prek</u> širokega gozdnatega sedla vzpnemo v zadnja pobočja pred Malo planino</i> (ASt: 78) 'Near the mountain Kisovec we ascend across the wide forested pass onto the last slopes before Mala planina'; <i>Stik je bil vzpostavljen izključno <u>prek</u> glasu</i> 'Contact was established exclusively by voice'. |
| spričo | 'because of' | <i>Jaz sem kot poslanec in kot državljan zaskrbljen <u>spričo</u> te diskusije</i> (NB: DZRS: 16. izredna seja, 5.12.1997) As a delegate and a citizen I am disturbed by this discussion' |
| vpričo | 'in the presence of' | <i>Samo slišati bi ga morali, kako se je on menil po laško z baronom iz Odoline, če se vzame, <u>vpričo</u> čednega dekleta</i> (ML: 36) You should have just heard him, how he went on in Italian with the Baron from Odolina, for example, in the presence of the pretty girl'. |
| vzdolž | 'along' | <i><u>Vzdolž</u> reke so vrstili ribiči</i> 'The fishermen |

| | | |
|---------------------|------------------------------------|---|
| | | were lined up along the river’ |
| z (s) ¹¹ | ‘out of, down from, from’ | <i>Z vrha Ciclja nadaljujemo proti zahodu do sedla</i> (ASt: 29) ‘From the peak of Cicelj we continue towards the west to the pass’ |
| zaradi | ‘because of’ | <i>Verjetno so jo zaradi težje pristopnosti ljudje že v prazgodovini izbrali za svoje bivališče</i> (ASt: 120) ‘Evidently because of its relative inaccessibility people in prehistory chose it for their settlement’ |
| znotraj | ‘inside of’ | <i>Znotraj cerkve je veliko lepih fresk</i> ‘Inside the church are numerous beautiful frescoes’ |
| zraven | ‘next to, alongside, accompanying’ | <i>Ivanka je sedela zraven mene</i> ‘Ivanka was sitting next to me’ |
| zunaj | ‘outside of’ | <i>Tour de France bo letos zavl zunaj francoskih meja</i> ‘This year the Tour de France will wind outside of the French borders’. |

6.1.1.2.5 Locative case

Most meanings of the locative case entail stationary (contrasting with ‘motion towards goal’ in the accusative case) contact between objects (contrasting with proximity in the instrumental case), thus the most central examples are *v* ‘in’ (*v hiši* ‘in the house’) and *na* ‘on’ (*na planoti* ‘on the plateau’), where the former is used with respect to containment within a closed space and the latter with respect to placement on an open or flat space. The prepositions are also used metaphorically, e.g. *v Evropski uniji* ‘in the European Union’, *na pravi poti* ‘on the right track’.

The preposition *o* ‘about’ is arguably the most abstract of the prepositions governing the locative case.

6.1.1.2.5.1 Prepositions requiring the locative case

¹¹ The preposition *z* requires the allograph *s* before a voiceless obstruent, e.g., *s Triglava* ‘down from Triglav peak’.

| | | |
|-------------------|---|---|
| na↓ | ‘on, at’ | <i>Danes <u>na</u> planoti še vedno pasejo</i> (ASt: 78) ‘Today on the plateau they still graze cattle’; <i>Paziti moramo, da ne zdrsnemo <u>na</u> strmih travah pod vrhom Male Grmade</i> (ASt: 118) ‘We must be careful not to slip on the steep meadow under the peak of Mala Grmada’; <i><u>Na</u> roki imam ročno uro Timex.</i> ‘I have a Timex wristwatch on my wrist’. |
| o | ‘about, concerning’ | <i>Najprej je spregovoril <u>o</u> telesnem trpljenju</i> (ML: 31) ‘First he spoke about corporeal suffering’ |
| ob↓ | ‘next to, along with’ | <i><u>Ob</u> ozkem grebenčku pridemo pod vršni čok in se vzpnemo na najvišjo točko</i> (ASt: 118) ‘We go along a narrow crest and come up under the flattened peak and ascend to the highest point’; <i><u>Ob</u> poškodbi posebnega dela možganov pacient nima več sposobnosti, da bi prepoznal obraze</i> ‘Along with damage to a particular part of the brain the patient no longer has the ability to recognize faces’ |
| po↓ ¹² | ‘along the trajectory of, on the surface of, according to, with regard to’, ‘after’ | <i>Markacijam sledimo <u>po</u> položnem in poraslem slemenu</i> (ASt: 29) ‘We must follow the demarcations along the gently sloping and overgrown ridge’; <i>Zdravnik je preizkušal njegovo občutenje dotika <u>po</u> telesu</i> ‘The doctor tested his sense of touch over his body’; <i>Tržaški zaliv je izredno pester <u>po</u> številu živalskih in rastlinskih vrst</i> ‘The Gulf of Trieste is extraordinarily rich with regard to fauna and flora’; <i><u>Po</u> dobri uri hoje iz doline smo pri veliki cerkvi Sv. Primoža</i> (ASt: |

¹² The directional meaning of *po* + ACC does not match the locational meaning, but, rather, means ‘to sth/sby with the intention of retrieving it’ (see 6.1.1.2.2), e.g., *iti po očeta* ‘to go get one’s father’, *iti po kruh* ‘to go (buy) bread’.

| | | |
|-----|---|---|
| | | 78) 'After a good hour of walking from the valley we are at the great St. Primus' Church; <i>Dišalo je po scalini, po moškem, po potu, po močvari, po kislem, po zatohlem, po oslinkih, po ostankih hrane in pijače, po muhah, ki so gnezdile na kupčku kosti sredi sobe</i> (DJ 2004: 214) 'It smelled of urine, of a man, of sweat, of a bog, of sourness, of mustiness, of spittle, of the remains of food and drink, of the flies that swarmed around the little pile of bones in the middle of the room'; <i>V sebi tiho gojim željo po avtomobilu tipa Monteverdi ali Lamborghini ...</i> (VZ: 41) 'To myself I silently nurture a desire for a car like a Monteverdi or a Lamborghini ...' |
| pri | 'at, by, with' (often in abstract senses) | <i>Kirurg lahko tako določi, kateri del možganov je aktiven pri posameznem opravilu</i> 'The surgeon can thus determine which part of the brain is active with a particular activity'; <i>... nemara ga je pri zdravju ohranjala prav trmasta odločnost in bojevitost, s katero je sovražil svet, ki se ni menil zanj</i> (BG: 18) 'no doubt he was kept in good health by the very stubborn resoluteness and belligerence with which he hated the world that cared nothing about him'. |
| v↓ | 'in, inside of' | <i>Bil je v pasti, v velikanski betonski kleti brez vsake odprtine...</i> (BG: 19) 'He was in a trap, in a great concrete enclosure without any opening at all...'; <i>Dolgo sem bil v politiki</i> 'I was in politics for a long time'. |

↓ Prepositions in this section marked with a downward-pointing arrow take locative when the position of the subject is viewed as static/located in/at a place; if the subject is viewed as moving toward a goal, then the

accusative case is required marking the NP denoting the goal after the preposition.

6.1.1.2.6 Instrumental case

The instrumental case occurs only with prepositions, the meanings of which can be grouped into three categories: (1) accompaniment (*grem z njo* ‘I’m going with her’); (2) instrument (‘by means of...’) (*pišem z flo-masterjem* ‘I’m writing with a marker’); and (3) stationary proximity denoting an orientation between objects in a three-dimensional space (*med drevesi* ‘among the trees’, *nad oblaki* ‘above the clouds’, *pod pazduho* ‘under one’s arm’, *pred hišo* ‘in front of the house’, *za hišo* ‘behind the house’) or, by extension, in time, e.g., *med kosilom* ‘during lunch’, *pred dvema urama* ‘two hours ago’. Further examples are given below.

6.1.1.2.6.1 Prepositions requiring the instrumental case

| | | |
|------|--------------------------|--|
| med↓ | ‘among, between, during’ | <i>Zanimivo je vprašanje, ali se lahko vzpostavijo dodatne povezave <u>med</u> deli možganov</i> ‘It’s an interesting question whether additional connections can be established between parts of the brain’; <i>Ne pade mi na pamet, da bi kjer koli <u>med</u> Triglavom in Gevgelijo prenočil v avtu kot некоč</i> ‘It doesn’t occur to me to spend the night in the car anywhere between Triglav and Gevgelia as I used to’; <i>Če nekdo <u>med</u> hojo po cesti stopi na bananin olupek, mu bo spodrsnilo</i> ‘If while walking down the street someone steps on a banana peel, he will slip’. |
| nad↓ | ‘above’ | <i>Ali zdaj bi bilo najbolje, da bi snel smrečico <u>nad</u> vrati in jo vrgel v peč</i> (NB: Zofka Kvedrova: <i>Amerikanci/Drama v štirih dejanjih</i> , sentence 98) ‘But now it would be best if you would take down the pine tree above the door and throw it into the stove’ |
| pod↓ | ‘under(neath), below’ | <i>Paziti moramo, da ne zdrsnemo na strmih travah <u>pod</u> vrhom Male Grmade</i> (ASt: 118) ‘We |

| | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------|---|
| | | must be careful not to slip on the steep meadow under the peak of Mala Grmada'; <i>Na jugu pod nami je celotno Ljubljansko barje</i> (ASt: 116) 'Below us to the south is the entire Ljubljana marsh'. |
| pred↓ | 'in front of, before, ago' | <i>Na področju varnosti ni več dosti pred konkurenco</i> 'In the area of safety it's no longer that much ahead of the competition'; <i>Mar niso do pred nekaj rodovi tudi Štrakarjevi otroci pobirali suhljad, gobe in odpadlo sadje?</i> (ML: 35) 'Wasn't it so that until a few generations ago even the Štrakar children gathered twigs, mushrooms and fallen fruit? |
| z (s) ¹³ | 'with, by means of' | <i>Ste zadovoljni s svojo težo?</i> 'Are you satisfied with your weight?'; <i>Čedalje več ljudi vozi v s kolesi v službo, na trg, v kino</i> 'More and more people are riding their bicycles to work, to the marketplace, to the movies'. |
| za↓ | 'after, behind' | <i>Za čebelarским domom se markirana steza vzpne v breg</i> (ASt: 121) 'Behind the beekeepers' house is a demarcated path ascending to the hill'. |

↓ Prepositions in this section marked with a downward-pointing arrow take instrumental when the position of the subject is viewed as static/located in/at a place; if the subject is viewed as moving toward a goal, then the accusative case is required marking the NP denoting the goal after the preposition.

6.1.1.3 Syntax of numerals

Numerals create special complications with regard to agreement in NPs and between subject and verb, as well as case government with quantified NPs. Numerals used as names for numbers, which as such do

¹³ The preposition *z* requires the allograph *s* before a voiceless obstruent, e.g., *s kravo* 'with the cow'.

not decline, take singular and neuter agreement and are thus straightforward: *štiriindvajset je večkratnik števila štiri* ‘24 is a multiple of 4’; *štiriindvajset je deljivo s štiri* ‘24 is divisible by 4’.

When used as quantifiers, numerals decline and agree in the following way: a subject quantified with the number 1 is singular and the agreement depends on the grammatical gender of the head noun: *Za začetek je bila z napravami Powerboss opremljena le ena trgovina...* (Ferol d.o.o. website, <http://www.ferol.si/index.php?id=163>) ‘At the beginning there was only one store equipped with Powerboss machines...’; *Včeraj me je ogovoril en možakar in me vprašal...* ‘Yesterday a man struck up a conversation with me and asked...’. Subjects quantified with the number 2 require dual agreement, e.g., *Živela sta dva psa...* ‘Once upon a time there were two dogs...’. Quantified subjects with 3 and 4 take plural agreement: *Vodilni trije so zmagali* ‘the three leading contenders won’; *Štirje Slovenci so bili v polfinalu* ‘Three Slovenes were in the semifinals’. Quantified subjects from five onward, including compound numbers up to one hundred, regardless of the value of the ones, take plural genitive complements, e.g., *Punčka je enajst let stara* ‘The girl is eleven years old’ and neuter singular; *Pri hiši je bilo šest otrok...* (LK 1985: 143) ‘There were six children in the house...’; *Enaintrideset poškodovancev je bilo operiranih v letih 1996/97* (“Zapleti pri žebljanju petrohanternih zlomov z IMS žebljem. Vpliv učne krivulje,” <http://www.vestnik.sz.d.si/st6-5/st6-5-309-314.htm>) ‘Thirty one injured patients were operated on in the years 1996/97’; *Doslej je skoraj 97 % [odstotkov] Slovencev živelo združenih v avstro-ogrski monarhiji...* (UL: 217) ‘Up to this point nearly 97% of the Slovenes lived united in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy...’; *Več sto let je preteklo...* (MM: 34) ‘many hundreds of years had passed...’.

In principle the subject agreement patterns recapitulate after multiples of 100, e.g., *Sto in en dalmatinec* ‘101 Dalmatians’, *Od tisoč štiristo enega tekmovalca sta končala tekmovanje samo petsto dva* ‘Of one thousand four hundred and one competitors only five hundred and two finished the competition’. However, with multiples of 100 there is a tendency to give precedence to the hundreds rather than the ones, both

within the NP and the agreement with the verb. An interesting example appeared in a Slovene discussion forum in which the following normatively incorrect sentence was proffered by a reader and both agreed and disagreed upon by numerous respondents, suggesting that it has some degree of grammatical acceptability: *Petsto dva malih slončkov se je pozibavalo na pajčevini tam pod drevesom in ko so ugotovili, da stvar je zanimiva, so poklicali še enega slončka* (<https://slo-tech.com/script/forum/izpisitemo.php?threadID=69026&mesto=499>)

‘Five hundred and two little baby elephants [GEN PL] rocked [N SG] on a spiderweb yonder under the tree and when they discovered [PL] it was a fun thing, they called [M PL] another baby elephant’. Normative grammar, however, would call for *Petsto dva mala slončka sta se pozibavala ... in ko sta ugotovila, ..., sta poklicala...* No doubt the dual marking in the verb, *sta ugotovila*, clashes with perceived significant plurality of the subject, which motivates the preference for non-standard plural agreement *so ugotovili, so poklicali*.

Quantified NPs in other non-subject positions normally decline in accord with the number and syntactically-assigned case, e.g., *Smo na Delovi domači strani objavili imena stotih nagrajencev* ‘On the Delo home page we have published the names of hundreds of winners [GEN PL]’. However, when the number itself is modified, the number typically is not declined, though the quantified head of the NP is, e.g., *V španski pokrajini Galicija se gasilci istočasno spopadajo z okoli sto gozdnimi požari* (http://24ur.com/bin/article.php?article_id=3078457) ‘In the Spanish region of Galicia firefighters are simultaneously battling with about 100 forest fires’; *Trajekt z več kot 116 potniki je iz pristanišča Sibolga na severu indonezijskega otoka Sumatra izplul v sredo zvečer...* (‘Potonil trajekt z več kot 116 potniki’, *E-Delo*, 22 June 2006, http://www.delo.si/index.php?sv_path=41,396,144075) ‘A ferry with more than 116 passengers departed from the port of Sibolga in the north of the Indonesian island of Sumatra on Wednesday evening...’;

6.1.2 Clause structure

Neutral word order in Slovene is SVO, e.g., *Otrok bere knjigo* ‘The child reads the book’. As in other Slavic languages, explicit grammatical

roles are marked by the nominal inflection, so that word order can be manipulated to effect focus or elicit stylistic effects without losing information about grammatical function. So, for example, the sentence *Knjigo bere otrok* (OVS) means ‘The child reads the book’, but the term *otrok* is in marked or focused position, so that a better English translation (utilizing a characteristically English cleft construction) might read ‘It’s a child reading the book’ or even, using the passive, ‘The book is being read by a/the child’. There may also be strictly formal reasons for word-order variation, as, for example, in verse. In the following quatrain, the lines 1 and 3 are inverted (OVS) to end with the subject in the nominative case, allowing *postaja* ‘station’ to rhyme with *traja* ‘lasts’ and *vlak* ‘train’ to rhyme with *znak* ‘signal’ in lines 2 and 4 (SVO):

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| Tu je bila končna postaja | Here was the last station |
| začetek vsega kar ne traja | the beginning of all that doesn't last |
| dandanes pelje dalje vlak | nowadays the train goes farther |
| na progi ustavi se na znak | on the rail it stops at the signal |

(TP: 272)

As in other Slavic languages, information is usually distributed in a sentence in such a way that older, given, background information (thematic material) comes first and newer information (rhematic material) is given second, even if this reverses the normal SVO word order. So, for example, in a recipe entitled *Pečena paprika s česnom* ‘Baked peppers with garlic’, after the listing of ingredients, the materials to be used are already known and thus the instructions read as follows with the object coming first in the sentence: *Oprane in obrisane rdeče in zelene mesnate paprike spečemo v pečici v plitvem pekaču* (CS: 47) ‘The cleaned and dried red and green fleshy peppers we bake in the oven in a shallow baking dish’, where the stilted English translation gives a close imitation of the original (OVS) word-order.

6.1.2.1 Infinitive and supine

Subordinate clauses may be condensed into one of two types of infinitival constructions, an infinitive proper (*nedoločnik*) or supine (*namenilnik*). Usually infinitives are limited to use with auxiliary verbs of

cognition, ability, possibility, obligation, permission, volition, inception, or intention, e.g., *Ne znam plesati* (MK: 241) ‘I don’t know how to dance’ *Potlej bomo morali vsak zase živeti* (MK: 60) ‘Now we will each have to live on our own’; *Mati ti tako ne more pomagati* (MK: 224) ‘Your mother can’t help you that way’; *Iti moram* ‘I must go’; *Hočemo ga slišati* ‘We want to hear him’; *Poleg tega se je zasukal in nameraval lesti pravokotno po reki navzdol* (ML: 150) ‘Moreover, he twisted himself and intended to crawl at a right angle downriver’. With phasal verbs, the INF appears in the IMPF: *Tožilec je ponovno pričel groziti* (ML: 121) ‘The prosecutor began once again to make threats’.

Following finite forms of verbs of motion, Slovene requires the use of a special infinitival form marked for intention, the supine, e.g., “*Boš lahko poleti, ko boš doma, hodil z nami igrat*” (MK: 224) “‘In the summer, when you’re at home, you can go with us to play [music]’”; *Mislila bo, da sem šel kegljat* (VZ: 82) ‘She’ll think that I went bowling’; *Gotov vrtanek postavimo vzhajat na lopar ali prtīč, potresen s koruzno moko* (CS: 41) ‘We place the prepared vrtanek (braided egg bread) on a baker’s paddle or a cloth sprinkled with corn flour to rise’.

6.1.2.2 Verbal noun

The verbal noun permits another strategy, akin to impersonal constructions and the infinitive and supine, to focus on an action itself without reference to actant roles surrounding the verb (agent, patient, experiencer/recipient), tense, or mood, but usually preserving the category of aspect. Thus, for example, in the magazine *Mladina* (10 Oct. 2005: 11), a picture of a worker planting a tree and a speaker reading a dedicatory text to an audience is accompanied by the caption *Zasaditev lipe za Iva Štandekerja na Dobrinji* ‘The planting of a linden tree for Ivo Štandeker in Dobrinja’, where the focus is on the act of the planting and the completion of the act (thus perfective aspect is preserved), but not on who is performing the task. The conversion of verb to noun also allows an action, event, or state to function grammatically as a nominal constituent, thus in the following example, *S sodelovanjem na tej konferenci je “Jugoslavija začela svoje mednarodno življenje...”* (UL: 94) ‘With its cooperation at the conference, “Yugoslavia began its interna-

tional political life...”, the act of cooperation is a simultaneous process (IMPF), reflected also in the comitative use of the preposition *s* + INST case, to the event in the main clause ‘began life’. The use of *življenje* could have been substituted by an infinitival construction, e.g., *Jugoslavija je začela živeti* ‘Yugoslavia began to live’, but such a construction would disallow the adjectival markers *mednarodno politično* ‘international political’ that are permitted with the verbal noun.

6.1.2.3 Subject, object, verb and pro-drop

Slovene is a pro-drop language, meaning that subjects, typically agents or experiencers marked by the NOM case, are omitted when the subject is referred to anaphorically. Once the subject is identified either through context or overtly, most typically by a name, successive references to the same subject are understood in the structure of the following VPs so long as other referents are not mentioned in intervening discourse. In the following example the subject *Filip* agrees with the verbs phrases *se oziral* ‘he looked around’, *se hvalil* ‘he thanked’; in the second sentence the subject is understood as ‘Filip’ and accordingly the verbs *zajemal* ‘he took’, *žvečil* ‘he chewed’, and *momljal* ‘he mumbled’, are marked as 3rd person singular masculine forms, albeit without the corresponding nominative pronoun: *Filip se je oziral in hvalil. Zajemal je iz ponve, žvečil in momljal* (ML: 163) ‘Filip looked around and said thanks. He took [some fish] from the pan, chewed and mumbled’.

Explicit nominative subject pronouns are employed in stretches of discourse where reference switches and there is thus the possibility of losing track of referents. In the following example, two referents are kept apart by the use of explicit pronominal subject reference:

Moja žena in jaz prav dobro veva, da je za uspešen zakon treba mnogo narediti. Midva na primer greva vsak teden dvakrat na večerjo v prijetno restavracijo, kjer ob svečah večerjava, ob tem pijevo dobro vino in se pogovarjava. Ona odhaja tja vsako sredo, jaz pa vsak četrtek (Varja Kališnik, “Ločitve”, *Polet* 29 July 2006: 59)
 ‘My wife and I know very well that for a successful marriage it is necessary to do a lot. For example, the two of us go twice every

week to dinner to a pleasant restaurant, where we dine in candle–light, drink good wine and have a conversation. She goes there every Wednesday and I go every Thursday’

A special phenomenon akin to animacy occurs when a masculine adjective appears in the object position and the head noun itself is omitted. In such instances the adjective is assigned genitive case marking, as in the following example, where the term *najhujšega* ‘the worst (one)’ is understood as belonging to an omitted head noun *udarec* ‘blow’, which, had it occurred explicitly, would have been marked with the accusative marker: *Titove tajne službe so imele obdobja vzponov in uspehov, toda dobile so nekaj grdih udarcev. Najhujšega je Služba državne varnosti doživela leta 1966 po Brionskem plenumu, ko so odstavili Rankovića* (Miro Simčič, “Umorjeno med obredom”, *Več*, 30 June 2006: 25) ‘Tito’s secret services had periods of ascents and successes, but they received some nasty blows. The worst one the State Security Service experienced in 1966 after the Brioni Plenum, when they removed Ranković’.

6.1.2.3.1 Impersonal constructions

Slovene possesses several strategies for expressing agentless actions, situations or states, which often correspond to “dummy subject” constructions in English, viz. ‘it (is)’ or ‘there (are)’, e.g., *Večerilo se je* ‘It was becoming night’. Chief among these is passivization, which allows the agent to be omitted.

In the following two examples, states are presented as coming into being of their own accord, i.e., they evidently cannot be assigned to an agent, but rather to a set of circumstances. Thus *storiti* ‘to do (PF)’ is a transitive verb made passive with the addition of the reflexive particle *se*; the event ‘warming [the narrator’s] heart’ is actuated by the situation *ko* [...] *sem* [...] *vedel* ‘when [...] I knew’. Since the situation has no formal or inherent gender or number, it is assigned neuter gender and singular number by default: *Milo se mi je storilo pri srcu, ko sem postal na dvorišču in vedel, da moram naprej ...* (MK: 100) ‘It warmed my heart when I stood in the courtyard and knew that I had to go ahead ...’.

The following example illustrates the autonomy of the agentless construction, where *nesti* ‘to carry’ appears as a neuter singular active verb in the past tense. Of interest here is that, conceivably, *tok* ‘current’ could have been viewed as the agent, and, had it been so, the predicate would have taken masculine agreement. The idiomatic English translation is somewhat deceptive in that the sense of ‘carried off’ is expressed by an active verb in the original Slovene and there is no possible neuter referent available in the text, e.g., *Čoln je bil prepuščen toku, neslo ga je nazaj skoraj do kraja, od koder sta krenila* (ML: 150) ‘The rowboat was left to the current, it [the rowboat] was carried off nearly to the place where the two of them had started out’.

Expressions of possibility and necessity are often formed with impersonal constructions with adverbs *mogoče* ‘possibly’, *možno* ‘possibly’, *treba* ‘necessary’, *nujno* ‘obligatorily’ + copula + INF: “*Vendarle, je rekel, vendarle se je z vami mogoče pogovarjati*” (DJ 2004: 13) “‘After all,’ he said, “after all, it is possible to talk with you””; “*Morda bo treba celo oditi z doma in se poprijeti dela kjerkoli*” (MM: 68) “‘Maybe it will even be necessary to leave home and take up work wherever’; The term adverbial forms may also be omitted in which case the INF alone indicates possibility or necessity, which are understood by context: *Voza ni bilo slišati* (MM: 55) ‘The wagon couldn’t be heard’ (also possible would be: *Voza ni bilo mogoče slišati*), *Ni bilo verjeti, da bi vladarja tako razbesnil ministrov nekorektni postopek* (DJ 2004: 136) ‘It was impossible to believe that the ruler was so angered by the minister’s incorrect action’ (could also have been: *Ni bilo mogoče verjeti..*); “*V vodi skuhati pepelno, je zadovoljno in poznavalsko dejal starec. Potem s to raztopino vsak dan umivati noge konju. Mazati z oljem*” (DJ 2004: 7) “‘(It’s necessary to) cook ash in water,’ the old man said, expertly and with satisfaction, “and with this mixture wash the horse’s leg every day. (And it is necessary then) to smear (them) with oil” (also possible would be: *V vodi je treba skuhati ... s to raztopino je treba vsak dan umivati ...*).

The verbs *morati* and *potrebovati*, marked for person, can also be used for expressing necessity, the former combining with an INF and the

latter with a direct object, e.g., “*Naprej moram [iti],” je rekel, “konja potrebujem”* (DJ 2004: 9) “I must go on,” he said, “I need a horse.”

6.1.2.3.2 *Special constructions*

Below is a heterogeneous listing of syntactic peculiarities in Slovene that occur frequently in the language.

6.1.2.3.2.1.1 *DAT + bíti v^šèč* ‘to like’

To express the concept ‘to like something’ requires the construction *bíti* + the invariant form *v^šèč* where the experiencer is assigned the DAT and the admired object the NOM case with which the copula agrees in number (and, in the past tense, gender). Examples: *Slika mi je v^šèč* ‘I like the picture’; *Ali vam je film v^šèč?* ‘Do you like the movie?’; *Film mi je bil v^šèč* ‘I liked the movie’; *Upam, da ti bo film v^šèč* ‘I hope you will like the movie’; *Filmi so mi bili v^šèč* ‘I liked the movies’.

6.1.2.3.2.1.2 *NOM + ràd (ráda, -i) + finite verb* ‘like to’

The expression ‘want to’ is expressed as in other Slavic languages with *hoteti* + INF, but the habitual sense is conveyed with the construction *ràd* (*ráda*, -i) + finite verb ‘like to’. E.g., *Ta proračun za Liberalno demokracijo Slovenije ni poračun, kot rada reče opozicija, temveč je obračun* (NB: DZRS: 15. izredna seja, 1.10.1997) ‘This budget for the LDS isn’t a budget, as the opposition likes to say, but an act of revenge’; *To je demagogija, ki jo sedaj zganja vlada, ko tako rada včasih očita opoziciji, da zganjamo demagogijo* (NB: DZRS: 23. izredna seja, 15.7.1998) ‘This is demagoguery that the government is engaging in now, while it sometimes rebukes the us in the opposition for engaging in demagoguery’. The corresponding conditional formation has the meaning ‘want to, wish to, would like to’, e.g., *Mimika bi rada mater pomirila* (MM: 21) ‘Mimika would like to calm mother down’; *S sosedi se ne prepiram rad* (VZ: 39) ‘I don’t like to quarrel with my neighbors’; *V komentarju tega predloga ugotavljajo, da je omenjeno območje predmet hudega spora med Jugoslovani in Italijani, ker bi oboji radi dobili jadransko obalo in pristanišča* (UL: 182) ‘In the commentary to this proposal they note that the territory mentioned is the subject of a bitter contest between the

Yugoslavs and the Italians, as both would like to get the Adriatic coast and harbors’.

6.1.2.3.2.1.3 *lahkō* + FIN ‘to be able to’, ‘be permitted to’

The meanings ‘be able to’ or ‘be permitted to’ are expressed in the present tense by an invariant form *lahkō* + a finite form of the verb. Whether the meaning is understood as ability or permission is dependent upon context: *Lahko grem v kino* ‘I can go to the movies’ ~ ‘I may go to the movies’ (i.e., ‘I was given permission to go’). In negated constructions the two meanings require different verbs and the *lahkō* construction is not used: *Ne morem iti v kino* ‘I cannot go to the movies’; *Ne smem iti v kino* ‘I may not go to the movies’. The constructions are parallel in the past and future tenses and conditional, where the positive is formed with *lahkō* + AUX + I-*pcp*: *Je lahkō šel v kino?* ‘Was he able to go to the movies?’ / *Bo lahkō šel v kino?* ‘Will he be able to go to the movies?’ / *Bi lahkō šel v kino?* ‘Could he go to the movies?’ The corresponding negated constructions require the past tense forms of *moči* ‘to be able’ or *smeti* ‘to be permitted’: *Ni mogel iti v kino* ‘He couldn’t go to the movies’, *Ne bo mogel iti v kino* ‘He won’t be able to go to the movies’, *Ne bi mogel iti v kino* ‘He wouldn’t be able to go to the movies’, *Ni smel iti v kino* ‘He was not allowed to go to the movies’, etc.

6.1.2.3.2.1.4 *nāj* + finite verb ‘let, should, must; may it happen that...’

Jussive expressions (request or indirect commands, i.e., to a third person) and optatives (expressions of wishes, desires) are constructed with the invariable particle *naj* plus a finite verb construction, e.g., *Hja, kar na lepem se je pred mano pojavil belo-modri policijski volkswagen, in mi dal znamenje, naj ustavim* (VZ: 134) ‘Well, out of the blue there appeared before me a white and blue police Volkswagen and it gave me the signal [that I must] stop’; *Naj pije, če ga je volja!* (MM: 232) ‘Let him drink if he feels like it!’; *Olje naj bo v dovolj globoki posodi, da med cvrenjem ne prekipi* (CS: 40) ‘The oil should be in a sufficiently deep pot so that during frying it doesn’t boil over’; *Naj živita ženin in nevesta!* ‘(Long) live the groom and bride!’. See also 4.1.1.4.1.1 for further examples.

6.1.2.3.2.1.5 *iméti za* + INF ‘have to do sth’

Usually restricted to the spoken language, the construction *iméti za* + INF means ‘to have to do sth’, e.g., *Sobo imaš za pospraviti!* ‘You must clean your room!’

6.1.2.3.2.1.6 *dáti* + DAT + INF ‘make sby do sth’

The construction *dáti* + DAT + INF, where the INF is an intransitive verb, expresses the situation in which an agent A causes an action or a state (typically a middle-voice event) in agent B that would normally be actuated by the latter, e.g., “*Glej ga, kako mi da čutiti, da je moj farni patron*” (IP: 20) “Look at him, how he makes me feel that he is my parish patron”; *Dal mi je vedeti, da sem slab študent* ‘He let me know that I am a bad student’.

6.1.2.3.2.1.7 *biti* + *videti* + ADJ ‘look like, seem’

Tujec je odpil požirek vina in prav miren je bil videti (DJ 2004: 12) ‘The stranger took a sip of wine and he looked downright placid’; *Stvari še daleč niso tako enostavne, kot so videti na prvi pogled* (DJ 2004: 19) ‘Things are by far not as simple as they appear at first glance’.

6.1.2.3.2.1.8 *ne da bi* + I-pcp ‘without X-ing’

Subordinate clauses containing contra-factitive or irreal propositions corresponding to English ‘with X-ing’ are realized by the fossilized series of clitics *ne da bi* heading a clause containing a verb in the I-pcp form, e.g., *Kako obogateti, ne da bi zadeli na loteriji* (translation of the title of Keith Schreiter’s book *How To Get Rich Without Winning the Lottery*). Note that the clitic ordering differs from the normally expected ordering (see section 6.1.2.4).

6.1.2.4 Clitics

Clitics are lexically unstressed elements (conjunctions, auxiliaries, reflexive particles, pronouns, negative particles, discourse markers) that are arranged within the clause by a hierarchy of syntactic and prosodic rules, the full complexity of which can only be hinted at here (for further details see Toporišič 2000: 670ff, Golden 2003). Slovene clitics generally follow Wackernagel’s prosodic rule in that they normally occur in the sec-

ond place in the clause, generally after the first stressed element or an unstressed conjunction (see also 6.1.3.2.1).

In contrast to other Slavic languages, Slovene allows clitics to occur sentence-initially, as well as in second place. For example, in rejoinders to questions or statements where the main verb can be understood from a preceding explicit statement that included the main verb, an auxiliary, reflexive particle, or other clitic(s) from the predicate are typically used to stand for the verb, e.g., *Ali si dobro spala? Sem* 'Did you sleep well? I did'; *Se ti zdi? Se* 'Do you think so? Yes'; *Ali si ga videla? Sem* 'Did you see him? I (saw) him'. In the following example, the verb *zdeti se* 'to seem to' is used explicitly in the first sentence; in the second, the verb proper is understood by the fact that the reflexive particle is used: *Tudi dejstvo, da se je lahko nemoteno premetaval po posteljah v sodnikovi hiši, kamor ga je noč za nočjo vlekla med svoja bedra njegova hči, se mu ni zdelo dovolj zgovorno. Pa bi se mu lahko* (DJ 2004: 114) 'Even the fact that he could romp through the beds of the judge's house unhindered, whose daughter's loins drew him there night after night, did not seem to him sufficiently convincing. But it could have (seemed to) him'.

A further issue is the order in which more than one clitic in a clause is arranged. In Slovene it is not uncommon for there to be an accumulation of several clitics in a row. The following sentence, consisting of four clauses, gives an array of examples:

- (1) *Ko je nekega dne spet posedal za mizo* (2) *in se zalival z vinom,*
 (3) *mu je šinila v glavo misel,* (4) *ki se je je radostno oklenil* (MM: 232) '(1) One day when he again sat at the table (2) and was getting himself drunk on wine, (3) a thought occurred to him (4) to which he held on with joy'.

Clause (1) contains the subordinating conjunction marking simultaneity *ko* followed by 3-SG AUX *je*, which is required by the past tense construction and belongs syntactically to *posedal* 'sat'. Clause (2) begins with the coordinating conjunction *in* 'and' followed by the reflexive particle *se*, which belongs syntactically to *zalival*, where *zalivati se* is a reflexive construction meaning literally 'to irrigate oneself'. In principal the clause could also have read *in se je zalival* ... with the 3-SG AUX, but the AUX is

left out because it has already been used in the first of the two coordinated clauses and it is understood that the *je* applies both to *posedal* and *zalival se*. Clause (3) contains a M-SG-DAT object *mu* ‘him’ and, now in the main clause, the 3-SG AUX *je* belonging to *šinila* ‘ran, flitted, darted’, whose subject is *misel* ‘thought’. Clause (4) contains the invariant subordinating conjunction *ki* (see 6.1.3.2.1), followed by the reflexive particle *se*, belonging to *oklenil*, the F-SG-GEN anaphoric pronoun *je*, referring to *misel* in the matrix clause and constituting part of the subordinating construction *ki ... je*, and the homophonic 3-SG AUX *je*, belonging to the past tense construction of *okleniti se*.

Further examples:

Razen tega bi me Lida takoj popadla ... (VZ: 39) ‘Besides, Lida would jump on me right away ...’

Uščipnil sem jo v bok... (VZ: 88) ‘I pinched her in her side...’

Želi si, da bi bil obsojen... (VZ: 119) ‘He wishes to be convicted...’

No, pa sem se le vrnil... (JH: 68) ‘Well, I’ve returned after all...’

Zakaj bi se moral nek Američan ukvarjati s temi mrtvimi stvarmi? (UL: 106) ‘Why would some American have to deal with these dead issues?’

Gre za nabit kalašnikov AK47, ki naj bi si ga med vojno skupaj z minometom, ostrostrelskim orožjem in šestimi bajoneti prisvojil neki ameriški vojak (Radio Študent Ljubljana, <http://www.radiostudent.si>, 18 April 2003) ‘In question is a loaded Kalashnikov AK-47, which was supposedly acquired by some American soldier together with a grenade launcher, sharpshooter’s rifle, and six bayonets’

Če bi revizija postala mogoča, bi sprožila plaz, ki bi ga ne bilo mogoče več zaustaviti (Liberalna demokracija Slovenija, <http://www.lids.si/article.cp2?uid=5146&linkid=6>, 4 June 2006) ‘If the revision were to become possible, it would set off an avalanche that would be impossible to stop’

Vsi so mi postali tuji, čeprav se mi je prej, ko sem jih gledal za mizo, zdelo, da jih že vse poznam (MK: 247) ‘All of them became estranged from me, although before, when I looked at them at the table, it seemed to me that I had known them all’

Šel je torej in se predal študiju, ki naj bi ga tudi znanstveno približal snovanju narave (ML: 196) 'So he went and devoted himself to study, which was supposed to have helped him to come closer to a scientific understanding of nature'

The above examples are summarized in the following chart:

| | CONJ | MOD | AUX (S-, BI) | RFL- DAT | RFL- ACC | DAT | ACC/ GEN | AUX (JE, BOM...) | NEG/ PART | |
|-----------------|-----------|------------|--------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|------------------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| | <i>Ko</i> | | | | | | | <i>je</i> | | <i>posedal</i> |
| | <i>in</i> | | | | <i>se</i> | | | | | <i>zalival</i> |
| | | | | | | <i>mu</i> | | <i>je</i> | | <i>šinila</i> |
| | <i>ki</i> | | | | <i>se</i> | | <i>je</i> | <i>je</i> | | <i>oklenil</i> |
| | | | <i>bi</i> | | | | <i>me</i> | | | <i>popadla</i> |
| <i>Uščipnil</i> | | | <i>sem</i> | | | | <i>jo</i> | | | <i>v bok</i> |
| <i>Želi</i> | | | | <i>si</i> | | | | | | |
| | <i>da</i> | | <i>bi</i> | | | | | | | |
| <i>No,</i> | <i>pa</i> | | <i>sem</i> | | <i>se</i> | | | | <i>le</i> | <i>vrnil</i> |
| <i>Zakaj</i> | | | <i>bi</i> | | <i>se</i> | | | | | <i>moral</i> |
| <i>AK-47,</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>naj</i> | <i>bi</i> | <i>si</i> | | | <i>ga</i> | | | |
| <i>plaz,</i> | <i>ki</i> | | <i>bi</i> | | | | <i>ga</i> | | <i>ne</i> | <i>bilo</i> |
| <i>Vsi</i> | | | <i>so</i> | | | <i>mi</i> | | | | <i>postali tuji</i> |
| <i>čeprav</i> | | | | | <i>se</i> | <i>mi</i> | <i>je</i> | | | |
| <i>ko</i> | | | <i>sem</i> | | | | <i>jih</i> | | | <i>gledal</i> |
| <i>da</i> | | | | | | | <i>jih</i> | | <i>že</i> | <i>poznam</i> |
| | <i>ki</i> | <i>naj</i> | <i>bi</i> | | | | <i>ga</i> | | | <i>približal</i> |

Another issue is clitic climbing, i.e., whether clitics from an embedded infinitival clause are assigned to the second place in the sentence or whether they are assigned to the second place in the infinitival clause. In Slovene they can climb in examples such as the following, which condenses two finite clauses *Videl sem ga* 'I saw him' and *Kupoval jo je* 'He was buying it': *Videl sem ga jo kupovati* 'I saw him buying it' (ex. from Franks and King 2000: 47). However, with verbs of perception, climbing does not occur unless one of the clitics is an argument of the perception verb, thus *Videl sem sestro* 'I saw [my] sister' and *Sestra se je smejala* '[My] sister was laughing' combines without climbing: *Videl sem sestro*

smejati se ‘I saw my sister laughing’ (ex. from Franks and King 2000: 46). Such sentences, while grammatically acceptable, have the flavor of linguists’ constructs, as Slovene speakers are more likely to produce constructions that avoid the infinitival phrase altogether, e.g., *Videl sem ga, kako jo kupuje* ‘I saw him buying it’ and *Videl sem sestro, kako se je smejala* ‘He saw his sister laughing’. A thorough discussion of the problem is found now in Golden 2003.

Clitics may also be stressed under certain conditions without being replaced by the full forms (e.g., *ga* by *njega*). This occurs in particular where a pronominal or reflexive clitic is used in a rejoinder to, and stands for, a predicate, e.g., *Si ga videla? Sem ga* ‘Did you see him? I did (see) him; *Ali se umiva? Se* ‘Is s/he washing up? (S/he is)’ (Not: **Sebe*.) Furthermore, clitics receive logical sentence stress, for example, in contrasts: *Si ga videla? Ga, ti pa ne* ‘Did you see him? (I did), but you not (i.e., I did, but you didn’t)’. (For further details see Priestly 1993: 429; Franks and King 2000: 43; Dvořák 2003.)

6.1.2.5 Negation

As in other Slavic languages, a negated pronoun or adverb formed from the interrogatives is negated along with the negated verb (“double negative”), e.g., *Na poti nismo srečali nikogar* ‘We didn’t run into anyone on the way’, *Nič ne sprašujem* ‘I’m not asking anything’, *Nikakor ga ne bi hotel vznemirjati* ‘I would not want to disturb him in any way’; *No, to ni nič takega* (ML: 145) ‘Well, it’s no big deal’; *Tisto drugo ne more biti nič* (BG: 65) ‘That other thing must not be anything’; *“Tu ni nikogar, nikogar, sami smo”* (BG: 65) “‘There’s nobody here, nobody, we’re alone’”; *Pogosto vleče zahodnik in tedaj ne prideš nikamor* (ML: 146) ‘Often a westerly wind blows and then you can’t get anywhere’.

Series of negated objects may be listed using *ne ... ne* or *niti ... niti* ‘neither ... nor’, e.g., *Na vasi ni bilo ne telefona ne telegrafa, vendar so novice krožile naglo* (MM: 58) ‘In the village there was neither phone nor telegraph, yet news circulated quickly’.

Negated direct objects normatively require that the object appear in the GEN case, e.g., *“Zdaj ni časa za taka razmišljanja. Za to je res pre-*

pozno” (MM: 127) “Now there is no time for such thoughts. It’s really too late for that”; *Ni spregovoril niti besedice, ne da bi jo zapisal na trak* (Miro Simčič, “Umorjeno med obredom”, *Več*, 30 June 2006: 25) ‘He didn’t utter the slightest little word without recording it on tape’; “*Sam ne morem voditi župnije*” (LK: 122) “I can’t run the parish by myself”; *Slovenci takrat preprosto niso videli druge rešitve kot le združitev z ostalimi jugoslovanskimi narodi* (UL: 156) ‘The Slovenes at that time simply did not see another solution except unification with the other Yugoslav peoples’. However, in colloquial speech there is vacillation between the use of ACC and GEN—where one may hear variants such as *to pa nimamo ~ tega pa nimamo* ‘we don’t have it’ (in response to a request for an item in a store). This grammar point has yet to be adequately investigated (Orešnik 1999: 147).

6.1.2.6 Passive voice and *se*-constructions

Slovene has two strategies for raising the object to the subject position, one construction being with the past passive participle form of a transitive verb, the other with the reflexive particle and a transitive verb. The former is used predicatively with results of actions, e.g., *Vsi so imeli imena in priimke, vsa zaslišanja so bila takrat opravljena, vse rekonstrukcije, ugotovilo se je celo, kdo je ubil oba rezervna miličnika in je bil izpuščen* ... (DZRS: 32. izredna seja, 10.2.1999) ‘Everyone had first and last names, all the inquiries were made, all the reconstructions, [and] it was even discovered who had killed both reserve police officers and had been released ...’.

The reflexive construction in *se* can also express passive results of actions (with PF verbs), where the agent of a transitive verb is omitted and the focus is on the object and the action itself: *To je verjetno bil srbski praznik, to se pravi, tudi ta se je praznoval v Sloveniji v vipavski kasarni* (NB: DZRS: 6. redna seja, 1.7.1997) ‘This was probably a Serbian holiday, that is to say, even that was celebrated in Slovenia in the Vipava Barracks’; *Zraven se je naredilo celo neko otroško igrišče* (NB: DZRS: 16. redna seja, 21.10.1999) ‘Next to it there was even a children’s playground made’.

In addition to the passive voice using the *se*-construction, other uses of *se* are also found:

Similar to the passive, where the object is raised to the subject position with transitive verbs + *se*, is the construction X *se ne* + 3-SG PRES, which denote prohibitions: *To se ne jé* ‘That’s not to be eaten’; *To se ne dela* ‘That isn’t done’.

Impersonals of the type *Neopazno se je večerilo* (VZ: 53) ‘Night fell unnoticed’, where neither an agent nor a patient can be identified (see also 6.1.2.3.1), or the agent is removed to focus upon the action itself, e.g., *Ljudje so prišli s Hrvaškega, vsak je imel denarja kakor smeti in pilo se je* (NB: Zofka Kvedrova: *Amerikanci/Drama v štirih dejanjih*, sentence 98) ‘People came from Croatia; everyone had money coming out of their ears and there was a lot of drinking going on’. Another type of impersonal allows for an experiencer role, which is expressed in the DAT, e.g., *Mudi se mi na vlak* ‘I’m late for the train’.

Object reflexives, in which an inanimate agent actuates the event and the subject is the patient of a transitive verb, e.g., *Zunaj se je delal mrak* (VZ: 124) ‘Outside dusk was falling’; *Tanke ustnice so se razprle in za njimi je bila vrsta črnih zob...* (DJ 2004: 123) ‘The thin lips opened and behind them was a row of black teeth...’; *Po potegu se ta voda izprazni in školjka se takoj napolni s čisto tekočino.* (DJ 1993: 69) ‘When one flushes, the water empties out and the bowl immediately fills up with clean liquid’; *Testo naj bo čvrsto, ne pretrdo, a tudi ne premehko. Ko se loči od roke in posode, je dovolj umešeno* (CS: 31) ‘The dough should be firm, but not too hard nor too soft. When it separates from the hand and the dish, it is sufficiently mixed’..

Subject reflexives, in which the agent/patient roles are not differentiated; here, the event may be actuated either through the volition of the subject (...*ključavnic[a]...strašno škriplje, kadar se ponoči vračate* (JH: 198) ‘...the lock...squeaks terribly when you return at night’) or without it, e.g., ...*začudila bi se, če bi ji razložil, zakaj je ne boli...* (VZ: 81) ‘...she would be amazed if I were to explain to her why she doesn’t feel the pain...’;.

Reflexives proper, in which the role of agent and patient is differentiated and the subject is understood in both the agent and patient roles with respect to a transitive verb, e.g., *Na pridigo se ni nikoli pripravljaj* (JH: 115) ‘He never prepared himself to give a sermon’.

Verbs with lexicalized *se* denoting intransitives (without the option of a non-*se* variant) typically express the experiencer or role in the dative, *Smejali so se mu* ‘They laughed at him’.

Similar in syntactic behavior, but with a different meaning, are verbs which, with the addition of *se* and expressed in the 3-SG, require the experiencer role in the dative case. These have the meaning of presenting an action or state that is beyond the control of the experiencer, presented as overtaking the experiencer; these examples might be glossed in English as ‘cannot help but...’ or ‘feel like...’, e.g., *Drema se mi/Spi se mi* ‘I’m falling asleep’, i.e., ‘I can’t keep from dozing off’; *Nič se mi ne da / Nič se mi ne ljubi* ‘I don’t feel like doing anything’.

6.1.3 Clause chaining

6.1.3.1 Coordination

Clauses or constituents are typically combined by the conjunction *in*, e.g., *Bil je bos in gol do pasu* ‘He was barefoot and naked to the waist’; *tu in tam* ‘here and there’; *Zločin in kazen* ‘*Crime and Punishment*’. In the written language a higher-order conjunction, *ter*, is used when sets of conjoined constituents are themselves combined, e.g., *Zločin in kazen ter Mojster in Margareta* ‘*Crime and Punishment and Master and Margarita*’. In the spoken language, *pa* is used frequently for simple (non-contrastive) coordination (i.e., as a synonym for *in*), e.g., *Lea pa Beni* ‘Lea and Benny’.

Subordinate clauses may be coordinated as well, e.g., *Jaz imam ravno prav, da ničesar ne pogrešamo, a da vendar venomer gledamo navzgor, beremo in govorimo o ljudeh, ki živijo veliko bolj na široko...* (VZ: 14) ‘I have just enough, so that we lack nothing and that yet we always look upwards, read and speak about people who live much better...’

| CONJUNCTION | MEANING/FUNCTION | EXAMPLE |
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| <i>in</i> | 'and' | <i>Pravkar sta krenila s ceste in se ustavila na dvorišču (ML: 95) 'The two of them [oxen] just moved off of the road and stopped in the courtyard'</i> |
| <i>a</i> | 'but' | <i>Ivan je ostal doma, a Marija se je preselila v Ljubljano 'Ivan remained at home but Maria moved to Ljubljana'; Najdeva jo sredi dela, a utegnila bo za naju (VZ: 107) 'We find her in the middle of work, but she will manage [to find the time] for us'</i> |
| <i>ali</i> | 'or' | <i>S te strani je hrib videti kot visoka zemeljska guba ali velikan-ska kopa 'From this side the mountain looks like a high wrinkle in the earth or an enormous mound'</i> |
| <i>ampak</i> | 'on the contrary, but rather'; introduces a proposition different than or contrary to one previously asserted or assumed | <i>Potres pravzaprav ni pravi potres, ampak smo ga v svoji nerodnosti zagrešili mi, ko smo se zdaj, ko je vsega konec, skušali po tihem umakniti, ko smo skušali odstraniti ulico, razočarani nad izidom poskusa (BG: 111) 'An earthquake isn't really a true earthquake, but rather we have in our clumsiness made an error when, now, after it's all over, we tried to quietly move away when we were attempting to remove a street, disappointed as we were with the outcome of the attempt';</i> |

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| | | <i>Jaz nič ne sprašujem, <u>ampak</u> z vami je hudo</i> (DJ 2004: 12) ‘I’m not asking any questions, but you are in a bad way’ |
| <i>kājti</i> | ‘because, since’; introduces a clause explaining the reason(s) for the proposition in the main clause | <i>Globlje niti ni hotel drezati, <u>kajti</u> tačas je že imel čez glavo opravka z Matildo</i> (DJ 2004: 111) ‘He didn’t even want to pursue it any further, because at that moment he more than had his hands full with Matilda’ |
| <i>natô</i> | ‘then, after that’ | <i>Nezavedno udari po obadu, ki se mu je prisesal na pleče skozi prepoteno srajco, <u>nato</u> se s kavljem oprime brega in zalomasti v grmovje</i> (ML: 144) ‘Unconsciously he swats at the horsefly that had attached itself to his shoulder and began sucking through the sweat-soaked shirt, then with a hook he grabs the embankment and begins to rustle the bushes’ |
| <i>pa</i> | ‘and, but, and then’ (introduces a contrasting state or event); occurs as an enclitic to the first stressed word in the clause | <i>Prišel je mnogo prezgodaj, <u>nahodil se je bil že, sedaj pa</u> je sedel v senci</i> (ML: 151) ‘He arrived much too early, having already walked quite a bit, and now he was sitting in the shade’; The <i>pa</i> contrast can extend over two sentences, e.g., <i>Po naših informacijah naj bi agent, ki ga je ubil, še danes živel udobno življenje visokega državnega</i> |

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| | | <i>upokojenca. Drugi pa je umrl šele pred nekaj leti (Miro Simčič, “Umorjeno med obredom”, Več, 30 June 2006: 22) ‘According to our information the agent who had killed him is said to be living to this day the comfortable life of a high-ranking state pensioner. The other one, however, died only a few years ago.’</i> |
| <i>sicèr</i> | ‘otherwise, on the other hand, yet’ | <i>Za ta podatek je treba vedeti, <u>sicer</u> bo težko razumeti, zakaj so ga prenašali in sprejeli v tem težkem času (DJ 2004: 17) ‘It is necessary to know this piece of information, otherwise it will be difficult to understand why they tolerated him and accepted him in this difficult time’; Politiki v Berlinu in na Dunaju so v njegovem programu videli možnost za pogajanja, <u>sicer</u> pa so bili do njega kritični celo Wilsonovi najbližji sodelavci (UL: 74) ‘The politicians in Berlin and Vienna saw in his program a possibility for negotiations, yet even Wilson’s closest associates were critical of him’</i> |
| <i>in sicèr</i> | ‘namely’; introduces an explanatory clause that presents more detail about the proposition in the | <i>Univerza v Kansasu nudi študij več slovanskih jezikov, <u>in sicer</u> ruščine, poljščine, bosanščine/hrvaščine/srbščine, slovenščine in češčine ‘The Uni-</i> |

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| | preceding clause | versity of Kansas offers the study of several Slavic languages, namely: Russian, Polish, BCS, Slovene, and Czech' |
| <i>tèmveč / mårveč</i> | 'but rather, instead'; introduces a clause presenting an alternative event to a negative proposition in the main clause | <i>Vendar smo mi za stvaren vstop v to zvezo. Ne zaradi Evrope, <u>temveč</u> zaradi Slovenije in njenega prebivalstva</i> (NB: DZRS: 4. izredna seja, 22.5.1997) 'But we are for a real entry into the Union. Not because of Europe, but, rather, because of Slovenia and its inhabitants; <i>Tonek se ni dosti menil za dekle, <u>marveč</u> je sklenil koristno uporabiti ta večer zase...</i> (MM: 66) 'Tonek didn't pay much attention to the girl, but rather made up his mind to put the evening to good use for himself' |
| <i>tõda</i> | 'yet, however'; introduces a contrasting state or event that negates or reverses or casts in a new light the event in the main clause | <i>Nekaj časa je lovil neko misel, zelo prijeten domislek, <u>toda</u> domislek mu je sproti trgala dremavica</i> (ML: 151) 'For a while he would chase a certain thought, a very pleasant idea, however the idea would be cut off in due course by slumber' |
| <i>sàj</i> | 'because, since'; introduces a clause explaining the reason(s) for the proposition in the main clause | <i>Ko so zime mile in z malo snega, ga (motovilec) tudi lahko nabiramo, <u>saj</u> v tem času svežih solat najbolj primanjkuje</i> (CS: 23) 'When we have mild winters and a little less snow, we pick it (a |

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| | | type of lettuce), because in this time of year we have the fewest fresh lettuces available' |
| <i>vèndar</i> | 'but'; usually introduces an alternative proposition | <i>Opazujemo črto Grintovcev, <u>ven-</u><u>dar</u> z druge strani kot iz Ljubljane</i> 'We can observe the line of the Grintovci range [from the north], but from a different direction than from Ljubljana'; <i>Razume me slovenski, ker se mi žalostno nasmehne v odgovor, <u>vendar</u> mi odgovori madžarski</i> (MK: 241) 'She understands me when I speak in Slovene, as she sadly smiles to me in reply, but she answers me in Hungarian' |

6.1.3.2 Subordination

6.1.3.2.1 Constructions with subordinating conjunctions

Subordinate clauses are formed usually by a particle introducing the dependent clause, such as *da* 'that', *ki* 'which', *ker* 'because', *ko* 'when'. Propositions intended to be understood as factual are typically introduced by the first of these, e.g., *Vem, da si bil tu* 'I know that you were here'; this construction is the most common means of converting direct to reported speech.

| CONJUNCTION | MEANING/FUNCTION | EXAMPLE |
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| <i>da</i> | 'that'; presents subordinate clause as fact | <i>Pravijo, da se otroci obeh spolov naravno igrajo skupaj</i> 'They say that children of both genders play together naturally'; <i>General nam je potrdil, da so partizani zamašili kanalizacijo, ko je enota esesovcev hotela skozi cevi zbežati na prosto</i> (Miro Simčič, "Umorjeno med obredom", <i>Več</i> , 30 June 2006: 23) 'The general confirmed to us that the Partisans had blocked the sewer when an SS unit wanted to escape through the pipes' |
| <i>da, da bi</i> | 'so that, in order to' presents subordinate clause of purpose | <i>Danes je delala do štirih, da bo šla jutri lahko pol ure prej iz službe</i> 'Today she worked until four o'clock so that tomorrow she can leave a half hour earlier from work'; <i>Je rekel, da bi bilo treba nekemu Lampretiču klistirja v rit spustiti, da bi sral in sral in bi se na koncu v svojem lastnem dreku zadušil</i> (DJ 2004: 90) 'He said that it would be necessary to take |

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| | | someone like Lampretič and leave an enema in his ass so that he would crap and crap until he suffocated in his own shit' |
| <i>če</i> | 'if, whether'; presents a subordinate proposition that is to be fulfilled in order to validate the proposition in the main clause | <i>Če ima vrtalnik možnost nastavitve vrtljajev, ga lahko uporabimo kot izvijač</i> 'If the drill has a setting for speed, we can use it as a screwdriver'; <i>Naši očetje so živelj brez politike, svojo zemljo so obdelovali, molčali so, stisnili zobe in bili so hvaležni, če jih je ogrevalo sonce</i> (MM: 22) 'Our fathers lived without politics, worked their land, remained silent, gritted their teeth, and were grateful if the sun warmed them'. |
| <i>ali</i> | 'whether'; similar to <i>če</i> , but used typically with all-or-nothing propositions | <i>Važno je to, ali je dovolj pogumen, začeti z ženo življenje na novo, brez vsega, če bo treba, in se zanesti samo na svoje roke</i> (MM: 68) 'What was important was whether he was brave enough to begin life anew with his wife, without anything, in necessary, and rely only on his own hands' |
| <i>ko</i> | 'when'; expresses over- | <i>Čolnar Vid je cvrl jajca s</i> |

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| | lapping or simultaneity of main and subordinate event | <i>slanino v plitvi zamaščeni ponvi, v takšni, ki se opere samo tedaj, <u>ko</u> jo prineseš v hišo</i> (ML: 163) 'Vid the rower would fry eggs and bacon in a shallow, greasy pan, the kind that is washed only when you bring it into the house'; <i><u>Ko</u> sem se spet prebudil, sem bil sam...</i> (VZ: 133) 'When I awoke again I was alone...' |
| <i>dòkler...ne</i> | 'until, so long as'; introduces a second event, the completion of which determines the end point of the event in the primary clause | <i>Predvsem pa naj preložijo vse načrte za ustanovitev Društva narodov, <u>dokler</u> Nemčija <u>ne</u> bo povsem na tleh</i> (UL: 87) 'But, mainly, they should postpone all plans for establishing the League of Nations until Germany is completely down for the count' |
| <i>kàdar (koli)</i> | 'whenever'; introduces a repeated event or state in the subordinate clause that pertains when the event or state in the main clause occurs | <i><u>Kadar</u> <u>koli</u> je pljusnilo na vodi, se je Filip povzdignil</i> (ML: 151) 'Whenever there was a splash on the water, Filip would raise himself up' |
| <i>čèpràv, četûdi, čerávno</i> | 'though, although, even though'; introduces an event that occurs or may occur despite the expectation set up in the main | <i>Vsi so mi postali tuji, <u>čeprav</u> se mi je prej, ko sem jih gledal za mizo, zdelo, da jih že vse poznam</i> (MK: 247) 'All of them became |

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| | clause | estranged from me, although before, when I looked at them at the table, it seemed to me that I had known them all'; <i>Četudi ne boste spoznali tega vrhunskega kuharja, v Ljubljani ne boste lačni</i> 'But even if you don't get to know this top-flight chef, in Ljubljana you won't go hungry' |
| <i>kàkor</i> | 'how'; introduces a clause describing the manner in which an event unfolds | <i>Nihče se ne bo čudil, če bo Slovenija določene nacionalne vrednote zavarovala [...], vendar pričakujejo, da bomo to naredili tako, <u>ka-kor</u> so naredile nekatere druge članice Evropske zveze</i> (NB: DZRS: 4. izredna seja, 22.5.1997) 'Nobody will be surprised that Slovenia has protected certain of its national assets, but they expect that we will do this the way that other EU members have done it' |
| <i>kàkor bi, kàkor da, ko(t) da</i> | 'as though, as if' | <i>Prebral je vsa tri pisma, ki so si bila na las podobna, <u>kakor bi se</u> odpošiljateljji med seboj domenili</i> (MM: 95) 'He read all three letters, which were alike to a letter, as though the senders had all made an agree- |

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| | | ment with each other'; <i>Vzel je gosli v roke, s prsti pobrenkal po strunah, kakor da jih preizkuša, če so uglašene</i> (MK: 224) 'He took the fiddle in his hands, strummed the strings with his fingers as though to test whether they were tuned'; <i>Hodim in gledam predse, delam se, ko da mislim</i> (VZ: 14) 'I walk around and stare ahead of myself, making out as though I were thinking' |
| <i>kâmor</i> | 'whither' | <i>Poglejte, kaj se dogaja samo v razviti Evropi, kamor tudi hočemo</i> (NB: DZRS: 1. izredna seja, 9.1.1997) 'Look what is happening just in the developed part of Europe, where we want to be, too' |
| <i>ker</i> | 'because, since'; introduces a clause explaining the reason(s) for the proposition in the main clause | <i>Žal zaradi tega, ker tudi sodni postopki trajajo izredno dolgo, pa je praktično nemogoče izterjati dolga po sodni poti</i> (MB: DZRS: 1. izredna seja, 8.1.1997) 'Unfortunately, because even the court processes take so long, it is practically impossible to recover the debt through |

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| | | the courts’ |
| <i>kjèr</i> | ‘where’ | <i>... v teh krajih živijo državljani, ki pa morajo zato, da stopajo po asfalt-nem pločniku, debelo uro pešaćiti do avtobusne postaje, <u>kjer</u> čakajo avtobus ... (DZRS: 1. izredna seja, 8.1.1997) ‘... in those areas citizens live who, in order to walk on an asphalt sidewalk, walk more than an hour to a bus stop, where they (have to) wait for a bus...’</i> |
| <i>(od) kôder</i> | ‘(from) whence’ | <i>Res je, na Koroškem, tam, <u>od koder</u> jaz prihajam, so boji [...] trajali še 15. in so se tisti dan končali (DZRS: 16. izredna seja, 11.12.1997) ‘It’s true, in Carinthia, where I am from, the battles lasted until the 15th [of May 1945] and they ended that day’</i> |
| <i>ne da bi</i> | ‘without doing something’; introduces a clause presenting a condition without which the proposition of the main clause cannot be fulfilled | <i>Noben narod ne more preživeti takšne krvavitve, <u>ne da bi</u> umrl (UL: 217) ‘No nation can undergo such a bloodletting without dying’; SKD je stopila v koalicijo na podlagi političnih dogovorov, kar je v parlamentarni</i> |

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| | | <i>demokraciji nekaj običajnega in zaželjenega, <u>ne da bi pri tem prelomila že dano besedo</u> (NB: DZRS: 3. izredna seja, 27.2.1997) ‘The Slovenian Christian Democrats formed a coalition on the basis of political agreements, which in a parliamentary democracy is something normal and desired, without at the same time breaking the promise they had previously given’</i> |
| <i>zakaj</i> | ‘why’; introduces an explanatory clause giving the reason for a proposition in the main clause | <i>House je v dnevnik zapisal, da je velikokrat razmišljal o tem, <u>zakaj je Wilson pristal na to mejo</u> (UL: 98) ‘[Edward M.] House wrote in his diary that he had often wondered why Wilson had agreed to this border’</i> |

Standard Slovene written style is characterized by sometimes lengthy chains of clauses, as in the following example. Following Slovene rules of punctuation, each subordinate clause is set off from its main clause by a comma:

*Ker je glavno poslanstvo hrane in vina kratko in malo sreča, je v Franciji običaj, da kuharji ob koncu šolanja s svojim znanjem osrečijo tiste, ki si sicer njihove umetnosti ne bi mogli privoščiti (Jure Potokar “Džez za ušesa in noge”, *Polet* 29 June 2006: 38)*

‘Because the main mission of food and wine is in the end happiness, in France it is the custom that chefs at the end of their studies bring

happiness to those who would otherwise be unable to afford their art’.

6.1.3.2.1.1 Tense sequencing in *da* clauses

As was noted above, Slovene permits two readings of subordinate clauses beginning in *da*, which introduces either propositions presented as factual or as purposes. (Purpose clauses may also be introduced with the particle *naj*, see 6.1.2.3.2.1.4.) In both instances, the sequence of tenses from the main to the subordinate clause is relatively unrestricted and relates to the temporal frame referenced by the moment of utterance or anchored by the pragmatic context:

Če hočemo, da bo država varna, se morajo vsi narodi medsebojno podpirati (JH: 442) ‘If we want the country to be safe, all the peoples must support one another’

Here the *da*-clause introduces a counterfactual proposition projected into the future with respect to the moment the wish is uttered (*hočemo*);

[Treba je] *poskrbeti, da bodo nove neodvisne države, ki bodo nastale na pogorišču Avstro-Ogrske, vedele, da ZDA ne podpirajo revolucije in da zahtevajo, da spoštujejo zakonite procese in se vzdržijo vseh dejanj nasilja* (UL: 172) ‘It is necessary to make sure that the newly independent countries that will arise on the ashes of Austro-Hungary know that the USA does not support revolution and that it demands that they observe all legal processes and refrain from all acts of violence’

In this instance, the conditions set forth were determined in advance of the utterance and continue to be in effect afterwards, thus present-tense imperfective verbs are chosen. The time frame established by the matrix clause, were it in the past tense, would not require any change in the tense of the subordinate clause:

Iz omare za perilo je vzela še čisto posteljno perilo ter sama prevlekla blazinice in pernice. In bilo je videti, da dela to z ljubeznijo do postelje (JH: 232) ‘She took the sheets from the closet and changed the pillows and the down comforter. It was apparent that she does this out of love for the bed’

Note that the final clause in the previous example would have been more naturally rendered in English ‘...she did it out of love...’, but here the present tense was used to indicate the autonomy of tense choice in the upper and lower clauses.

For further details see also Dejanova 1985 and Browne 1997.

6.1.3.2.2 *Constructions with relative pronouns*

Relative clauses are formed with a relativizing particles, pronouns, and adverbs heading the subordinate clause and normally with the relativized element immediately preceding the relativizer, e.g., *Mož je glava rodbine, žena je pa vrat, ki glavo obrača* (VZ: 26) ‘The husband is the head of the family, whereas the wife is the neck that turns the head’, where the invariant form *ki* is understood to refer to *vrat* ‘neck’ and functions as the (NOM) subject of the subordinate clause. If the relativizer stands in a case other than the NOM, but without a preposition, the clitic of the anaphoric pronoun, agreeing in number and gender with its referent in the main clause, is added to the right of *ki*, e.g., *Nataknil je na nos očala, ki jih je navadno nosil le zaradi lepšega v žepu* (MM: 95) ‘He placed on his nose his glasses, which he normally carried around in his pocket just because he enjoyed doing so’. Other clitics may (more precisely, must) come between *ki* and the anaphoric pronoun when the rules for clitic ordering require it (see 6.1.2.4), e.g., *Materi se je iz zmed, v katerih je neprestano bila, in iz stisk srca, ki so jih povzročile, izvil ta vzklik* (MM: 154) ‘The outburst came from mother out of the complications in which she constantly found herself and out of the pangs of the heart that were caused by them’; *Šel je torej in se predal študiju, ki naj bi ga tudi znanstveno približal snovanju narave* (ML: 196) ‘So he went and devoted himself to study, which was supposed to have helped him to come closer to a scientific understanding of nature’. If the role of the relativized element requires a preposition, then the declined form *kateri* substitutes for *ki* + anaphoric pronoun, e.g., *Upamo, da boste neprijetni položaj, v katerem se nahajamo, pravilno razumeli...* (MM: 95) ‘We hope that you will correctly understand the unpleasant situation in which we find ourselves...’

It is not always the case, however, that the relativized element and the relativizer follow each other directly, as in the following example, where the relativizer must refer back to an animate being (*čigar početje* ‘whose activity’ refers to *natakar* ‘the waiter’), a fact which supplies sufficient context to parse the sentence correctly: *Natakar v smetanastem jopiču, popikljanem z vinskimi madeži, čigar početje sva pospremila s temi besedami, je medtem že dohitel ubežnega gosta...* (BG: 7) ‘The waiter in a cream-colored vest, spotted with wine stains, whose activity we followed with these words, had already caught up with the fleeing guest...’.

The chart below details the forms of the relativizer *ki*, the form of which depends on its case assignment in the subordinate clause. With PREP the long form with *kater-* is obligatory.

| CASE | M | N | F | PL | DU |
|------|--|--|--|--|--|
| NOM | <i>ki</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>ki</i> |
| ACC | <i>ki...ga</i> , PREP + <i>katerega</i> | <i>ki...ga</i> , PREP + <i>katerega</i> | <i>ki...jo</i> , PREP + <i>katero</i> | <i>ki...jih</i> , PREP + <i>katere</i> | <i>ki...ju</i> , PREP + <i>katera</i> , <i>-i</i> |
| GEN | <i>ki...ga</i> , PREP + <i>katerega</i> | <i>ki...ga</i> , PREP + <i>katerega</i> | <i>ki...je</i> , PREP + <i>katere</i> | <i>ki...jih</i> , PREP + <i>katerih</i> | <i>ki...ju</i> , PREP + <i>katerih</i> |
| DAT | <i>ki...mu</i> , PREP + <i>kateremu</i> | <i>ki...mu</i> , PREP + <i>kateremu</i> | <i>ki...ji</i> , PREP + <i>kateri</i> | <i>ki...jim</i> , PREP + <i>katerim</i> | <i>ki...jima</i> , PREP + <i>katerima</i> |
| LOC | PREP + <i>katerem</i> | PREP + <i>katerem</i> | PREP + <i>kateri</i> | PREP + <i>katerih</i> | PREP + <i>katerih</i> |
| INST | PREP + <i>katerim</i> | PREP + <i>katerim</i> | PREP + <i>katero</i> | PREP + <i>katerimi</i> | PREP + <i>katerima</i> |

Below are examples of relativizers used in Slovene.

| RELATIVIZERS | MEANING/FUNCTION | EXAMPLE |
|--------------|---|---|
| <i>čigar</i> | ‘whose’; establishes the last constituent in the main clause as the possessor of the first constituent of the subordinate | <i>Kakšno krivdo ima nekdo, čigar brat je bil po tem zakonu na drugi strani?</i> (NB: DZRS: 14. redna seja, 20.5.1999) ‘What guilt is |

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| | clause | had by someone whose brother was according to this law on the other side of the matter? |
| <i>ki, katêri</i> (used with prepositions—see chart above) | ‘that, that which, which’; establishes as the subject of the subordinate clause the last constituent of the antecedent clause | <i>Mož je glava rodbine, žena je pa vrat, <u>ki</u> glavo obrača</i> (VZ: 26) ‘The husband is the head of the family, whereas the wife is the neck that turns the head’; <i>Plavanje je šport, <u>ki</u> ga lahko treniramo v vseh letnih časih</i> ‘Swimming is a sport that we can practice in every season’; ... <i>pridem pod drevo, <u>na katerem</u> čepi iskana opica</i> (VZ: 106) ‘... I come up under the tree on which the sought-after monkey sits’ |
| <i>kâr</i> (see 4.1.1.4.1.1 for the full paradigm) | relativizes the antecedent clause as the subject of the subordinate clause | <i>Med tekmovanjem se vpliv treme kaže v preveliki napetosti mišic, <u>kar</u> športniku preprečuje, da bi se gibal usklajeno in tekoče</i> ‘During competition the effect of nervousness is indicated by excessive tension of the muscles, which prevents an athlete from moving in an orderly and fluid manner’; <i>Čas je tudi njo potegnil za sabo, postavil je marsikaj na glavo, <u>kar</u> je</i> |

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|----------------|--|---|
| | | <i>nekoč veljalo</i> (MM: 23) 'Time had also pulled her with it, turned many a thing upside down that had once been true' |
| <i>kâkršen</i> | relativizes an adjective from an NP the antecedent clause | <i>Opazoval je ženo z nezaupnim očesom, s kakršnim še ni gledal nanjo...</i> (MM: 140) 'He observed his wife with an untrusting eye, with which the like of he had never looked at her before...' |
| <i>kdôr</i> | relativizes an animate referent from the antecedent clause | <i>In prav tako bom podprl amandma o turistični taksi. Kdor se trudi, tistemu je treba vzeti</i> (DZRS: 43. izredna seja, 21.1.2000) And this is just why I will support the amendment on the tourist tax. It should be taken from the one who works hard [to make some money]. |

6.1.3.2.3 Constructions with participles

Subordinate clauses formed by adverbial or adjectival participial constructions (other than the past passive) are largely a property of high style (written) texts, though some relic forms of the past active participles have persisted, particularly in eastern dialects, and have the status of adverbs and adjectives proper. Usually participles, when used as such (almost invariably in written language only), introduce subordinate clauses with the case, gender, and number of the referent in the main clause determining the case, gender and number of the participle in the subordi-

nate clause, e.g., *Brodi z roko po vrelcu, uživajoč ob dotiku z vedno novimi plastmi vode, ki se s silo izvijajo nekje globlje iz zemlje in prvrejo do njegove dlani, božajoč kakor prilizovanje ljubke živali* (ML 1994: 175) ‘He [NOM-SG-M] wades with his hand over the spring, savoring NOM-SG-M] the touch with each new layer of water that works its way from somewhere deep in the earth and bubbles up to his palm, stroking NOM-SG-M] it like the fawning licks of a beloved pet’—here the *uživajoč* and *božajoč* are in the NOM, agreeing with implicit on ‘he’ [NOM], the subject of *brodi* ‘wades’; *Labov je na lovu za primerki besed v newyorški angleščini, vsebujočih naglašeni samoglasnik [o:] ...* (Orešnik 1999: 146) ‘Labov is hunting for examples of words [GEN-PL] in New York English containing [GEN-PL] the stressed vowel [o:] ...’—here the PrAP *vsebujočih* appears in the GEN case, determined by *besed* ‘of words’ (GEN-PL) in the higher clause.

Frequently the use of active participles as such imbue a narrative with archaic or local color, as in the two following examples. The first has an adverbial past active participle *rekši* ‘having said’, controlled by the subject of the main clause, (implicit) *ti* ‘you’. The second example contains an adjectival present active participle from *sedeti* ‘to sit’ in the animate accusative case, i.e., with genitive singular marking. The examples evoke Prekmurski dialect within a standardized literary text: *Vzel je gosli v roke, s prsti pobrenkal po strunah, kakor da jih preizkuša, če so uglašene, si zakimal in mi jih dal, rekši mi: “Nu – pa mi kaj zaigraj, da te bom slišal...”* (MK: 224) ‘He took the fiddle in his hands, strummed the strings with his fingers as though to test whether they were tuned, nodded to me and gave it to me, saying to me: “Well, then, play me something, so I can hear you”’; ... *sta našla starega Fujsa sedečega pri peči* (MK: 61) ‘... the two of them found old Fujs sitting by the oven’. A more neutral rendering of the previous example would be ... *sta našla starega Fujsa, ki je sedel pri peči*. In part, the dialect coloring is a function of the relatively high frequency of such participial constructions coupled with other grammatical elements characteristic of the dialect. Minus these additional attributes, an example such as the following would merely lend an archaic tone to a text: *Župnik je šel iz sobe in se vrnil s košarico groz-*

dja in belega kruha ter postavil mikavno okusnost na mizo pred učenca, rekoč: “Ko boš znal, pa lahko poješ kruh in pozoblješ grozdje. Zdaj pa le pridno!” (IP: 34) ‘The parish priest went out of the room and returned with a basket of grapes and white bread and placed the tantalizing offerings before the student, saying “When you have learned it, then you can eat the bread and grapes. But now you must get to work!”’ In the following example the participle adds to the lyrical quality of the prose: *Čoln se je vdal, zazibal se je nekoliko in gugajoč se umaknil oškropjeni zadek na sonce* (ML: 148) ‘The boat gave in, rocked a bit and, swinging, moved its sprayed backside into the sun’.

More typically, participles are employed as adverbs or adjectives, e.g., *Brata sta molče stopala med trte...* (MM: 67) ‘The brothers silently stepped among the vineyards...’; *Vsi sodelujoči so na dnu dobri in blagi, samo na videz so nerodni in premalo razumevajoči, ...* (VZ: 112) ‘All of those participating are basically well meaning, it is only on the surface that they were too awkward and had little understanding, ...’; *To je popolnoma miren predgovor k prihajajočemu večeru* (VZ: 113) ‘This is a totally placid prologue to the coming evening’; *nihajoči stoli* ‘swinging chairs’, *bivša Jugoslavija* ‘the former Yugoslavia’; *Neizpiti kozarci so stali na mizi* (MM: 223) ‘The glasses [that had] not [been] drunk stood on the table’. The past passive participle is used frequently in predicate nominal constructions denoting states, e.g., ... *nihče ni zares ujet* ... (VZ: 109) ‘... nobody is really trapped ...’; *Vrnila se je čisto sproščena, dobro razpoložena, nekoliko okajena* (VZ: 126) ‘She returned completely relaxed, in a good mood, and a little tipsy’; *Zadnji del čolna je nekoliko privzdignjen; vgrajen je prijazen oder, na katerem ima čolnar takšno ležišče* (ML: 144) ‘The back part of the rowboat is raised a little; into it is built a pleasant platform on which the rower has a kind of place to recline’.

The phrase *tako rekoč* ‘so to speak’ is formed from the PrAP of *reči*, e.g., *Saj je tako rekoč že dogovorjeno* (LK: 52) ‘So it is, so to speak, all settled’.

| PARTICIPLE | FUNCTION | EXAMPLE |
|-------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Present ac- | Presents a state or event | <i>Videč, da postaja pogovor</i> |

| | | |
|---------------------------------|---|---|
| <p>tive (-č-, adv: -e)</p> | <p>contemporaneous with the event in the main clause. The adjectival participle agrees in case, number, and gender with the subject of the verb. With the adverbial participle, its subject refers to the subject of the main clause.</p> | <p><i>neprijeten, je oberlajtnant Lukaš spet odvedel izo-braženega trgovca s hmel-jem k zemljevidu bojišča...</i> (JH: 236) 'Seeing that the conversation was becoming unpleasant, Captain Lukaš once again led the educated hop-trader to the battle-ground map...'; <i>...nisem se počutil prav nič manj utesnjeno, hodeč po raz-cvetelem drevodredu mimo skupine otrok iz vrtca...</i> (BG: 191) '...I didn't feel any less embarrassed walking along the blooming row of trees past a group of children from the nursery school...'; <i>Molčal je, srkaje peno, ki se je delala vrh kozarca</i> (BG: 9) 'He remained silent, sipping the foam that had formed atop the glass'</p> |
| <p>Past active (-[v]š-)</p> | <p>Presents a state or event prior to the event in the main clause. The adjectival participle agrees in case, number, and gender with the subject of the verb. With the adverbial participle, its subject refers to the subject of the main clause.</p> | <p><i>Zagotovo to po tem pogo-voru nikakor ne bo več mogoče, Italija je jasno obl-jubila Sloveniji, da se to ne bo zgodilo in da bo o tem odločala evropska konfer-enca oziroma dogovor, začeni v Benetkah novem-bra tega leta, pod okriljem Evropske unije, kjer bo</i></p> |

| | | |
|--------------------------------|---|---|
| | | <p><i>Slovenija kot skorajšnja članica Evropske unije nesporo igrala tudi pomembno vlogo (NB: DZRS: 25. redna seja, 22.4.2003) 'Certainly after that conversation it will no longer be possible; Italy has clearly promised Slovenia that it won't happen and that the decision will be made by the European conference, that is, the agreement, having begun in Venice of November of this year, under the aegis of the European Union, where Slovenia as a soon-to-be member of the E.U. played an undeniably important role'</i></p> |
| <p>Past passive (-n-, -t-)</p> | <p>Presents a state or event that is past or complete. The subject of the participial event is the patient.</p> | <p><i>V brezmadežnem dnevu nosim sam sebe s seboj ko težak <u>kovček</u>, <u>nabit z neprijetnostmi in bolečinami</u>, ... (VZ: 39) 'In the immaculate light of day I carry myself like a heavy suitcase, stuffed with unpleasantries and pains, ...'; <i>Fjodor Dostojevski se je rodil očetu Mihailu <u>Andrejeviču</u>, <u>rojenu</u> leta 1789, in materi <u>Mariji Fjodorovni</u>, <u>rojeni Ne-</u></i></i></p> |

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| | | <i>čajevi leta 1800</i> 'Fedor Dostoevsky was born to father Mikhail Andreevich, born in 1789, and mother Maria Fedorovna, née Nečajeva, in 1800' |
|--|--|---|

7 Discourse markers

Discourse markers belong to the structure of grammar larger than the sentence and refer to authorial viewpoint (emotions, deixis, corrections of defective utterances, etc.) towards the narrated events and the discourse itself and, as such, their interpretation is highly dependent upon context. Therefore, it is nearly impossible to give a precise pre-contextual definition of the meanings of these markers. Below is a selection of common first-level particles, tags, and parentheticals that have various and often multiple discourse functions. The categorizations are only approximate and fail to capture the overlapping of meaning in several instances. See also 6.1.3.1 and 6.1.3.2.1 for discourse markers functioning as coordinating and subordinating conjunctions. The listing here is hardly exhaustive.

The majority of the examples below are taken from the transcripts of Slovenian parliamentary debates, which are not only convenient to the analysis because of their ready availability on-line through the NB search engine, but also because this genre is an excellent source of standard, educated speech used in (usually) spontaneous public address.

7.1.1.1.1 Markers of affirmation, negation

jā (coll.; formal = *dā*) ‘yes’

Češ da roke za podaljšanje certifikatov lahko sprejmemo z uredbo. Ja, lahko, ampak ni to problem (NB: DZRS: 12. izredna seja, 29.7.1997) ‘As if we can just pass a decree extending the deadline for privatization vouchers. Yes, we can, but this is not where the problem lies’

nè — ‘no’

[Speaker A:] *Prosim, gospod Hvalica, da se držite dnevnega reda!*

[Speaker B:] *Ne! Ne! Glejte! Moral sem, navajen sem takih medklicev s strani Liberalne demokracije in dovolite gospod predsednik, da tudi reagiram!* (NB: DZRS: 1. izredna seja, 8.1.1997) [Speaker A:] ‘Please, Mr. Hvalica, let’s maintain the agenda!’ [Speaker B:] ‘No! No! Look! I had to [interrupt], I’m used to these shouts out of turn from

the Liberal Democratic Party and allow me, Mr. President, to react to them!

7.1.1.1.1.2 Markers of focus

zdàj — Introduces a focused utterance, a foregrounded narrative frame, the historical present, often hypothetical

Iz njegovih besed lahko razberemo, da je povsem slučajno v Sloveniji več strank, da je to pravzaprav nepotrebno, morda bolj nujno zlo zaradi Evrope, da bistvenih razlik pravzaprav ni, in da lahko zaradi želje po oblasti pravzaprav vsak sodeluje z vsakim in da je to končno lahko celo v nacionalnem interesu. Zdaj, bolj jasnega zgovora teorije pluralizma samoupravnih interesov nismo slišali v Sloveniji že najmanj od leta 1987, ko se je o tem nehalo javno govoriti (NB: DZRS: 3. izredna seja, 27.2.1997) ‘From his words we can discern that it’s just by happenstance that we have several political parties in Slovenia and that this is in fact unnecessary and that for the sake of the desire for power in fact anyone can work with anyone else and that, in the end, this is even in the national interest. Now, in Slovenia we haven’t heard a clearer defense of the theory of pluralism at least since 1987 when public discussion of it ceased’; see also example under *hjà*

tù ~ tûkaj — Introduces a focused utterance, a foregrounded narrative frame, the historical present, often hypothetical

Mi plačujemo davek v krvi. Mislite, da ni to težko, ko človek vidi ob sebi sina, vnuka, ki se mu oddaljujeta in pri tem ne more storiti absolutno nič. On ve, tukaj odteka moja kri (NB: DZRS: 1. izredna seja, 9.1.1997) ‘We are paying the price in blood. You think it’s not hard when a person sees his son and grandson next to him as they are moving away from him and he can do absolutely nothing about it. He knows: here my own blood is draining away’

7.1.1.1.1.3 Markers of mood

nò — Expresses contrition, encouragement, resignation, warning, and other emotional states of the speaker with respect to the proposition following

Torej, tu je veliko tudi novih ministrov, tu so stari ministri z vsemi naglavnimi grehi, ki sem jih prej naštel vred, tu je tudi nenapisano pravilo, da bi morali spoštovati 100-dnevni rok za novo vlado. No, jaz vam obljubljam, da se bo naša stranka, Socialdemokratska stranka Slovenije, tega držala pri novih ministrih, starih pa ne bomo "šparali", ti pravzaprav niso novi ministri, ti so stari, k večjemu bodo sedaj dobili nek povišek plače, torej zakaj bi jih "šparal". (NB: DZRS: 3. izredna seja, 27.2.1997) 'So, here are lots of new ministers, here are old ministers with all the capital sins that I listed before, and here we also have an unwritten rule that we are supposed to observe a 100-day rule for a new government. Well, I promise you that our party, the Social Democratic Party of Slovenia, will hold to this with the new ministers, but we won't "cut any slack" for the old ones—these in fact are not new ministers, these are the old ones, who at best will now get a pay raise—so why should we "cut them any slack"?''

Ste imeli repliko, gospod Terčon? No, se opravičujem. Gospod Terčon, replika (NB: DZRS: 9. izredna seja, 10.7.1997) 'Did you have a response, Mr. Terčon? Well, I apologize. Mr. Terčon, the response'

7.1.1.1.3.1 Emphatic

lè — 'just, nevertheless, anyway, contrary to wishes or expectations'; expresses intensification, surprise, resignation or warning about the narrated event

Čas pa le teče (VZ: 109) 'Time's awasting'

Prijatelji, ali znanci, bi si mislili: torej ga le lomiš, bratec? (VZ: 134) 'Friends or acquaintances would think, "So, are you really losing it, buddy?"'

"Ko boš znal, pa lahko poješ kruh in pozoblješ grozdje. Zdaj pa le pridno!" (IP: 34) "When you have learned it, then you can eat the bread and grapes. But now you simply must get to work!"

Bojim se ga pa le 'Nevertheless, I am afraid of him'

7.1.1.1.3.2 Exasperative

jâ — Expresses speaker's view that the narrated event is or should be obvious; may also express impatience, disagreement, exasperation

Kdo je vendar kriv? Pa ja ne opozicija. Bodite veseli, da je tokrat nastopila opozicija in da vas je rešila pred veliko blamažo (NB: DZRS: 10. izredna seja, 14.7.1997) ‘Who was at fault, after all? It sure wasn’t the opposition. Be glad that the opposition came forward and save you from a big embarrassment’

Zakaj danes tuji podjetniki sprašujejo: ja, saj kako v vaši državi poslovati, ali imate to urejeno ali nimate urejeno (NB: DZRS: 1. izredna seja, 8.1.1997) ‘Why do foreign entrepreneurs ask: well, how does one do business in your country, anyway? Do you have this [law] worked out or don’t you?’

Vendar je žalost še toliko večja, da bo ta gospa, ki je na koncu dobila končno ta električni priključek, s samcato eno žarnico, plačevala iz socialne pomoči še dolgo ta svoj kredit. Bil sem pri njej in jo vprašal “Ja ljubi bog, kaj ta elektrika ne dela? Kaj se je zgodilo?” (NB: DZRS: 1. izredna seja, 8.1.1997) ‘But the pathos is all the greater that this lady, who finally got her electricity hooked up, with a single solitary lightbulb, will be paying her loan off with a welfare payment. I visited her and said ‘Oh, for God’s sake, isn’t the electricity working. What happened?’

hja — Expresses doubt, exasperation, irony, hypotheticality with regard to a proposition

Zdaj, na stara leta, bi rad nekdo iz Avstralije, iz Argentine ali od koderkoli prišel domov umret – ne more, on ni slovenski državljan, ne more. Mogoče bodo tudi drugi slovenski državljani, torej za nas tuji, seveda, ko se bo ta naš, kako bi rekel, kapitalski trg malo odprl, pa se bo – sem prepričan – tamle gor na Karavankah pojavil kakšen Slovenec ameriškega porekla ali pa Kanadčan, pa bo imel malo bolj napolnjene žepe z dolarji, hja, pa mu bomo rekli: “Poslušaj, ti! Ti ne plačuješ davkov, ti nisi Slovenec, ampak denar je pa Slovenec, kar sem čez ga daj!” (NB: DZRS: 45. izredna seja, 20.4.2000) Now, in old age, someone from Australia, Argentina, or anywhere, would like to come home to die; but he can’t—because he’s not a Slovene citizen—he can’t. Maybe they will even be Slovene citizens, though for us, of course, they’ll be foreigners, when our—how shall I put it?—capital market opens up a little. And then—I’m convinced—up there

on the Karavanken Alps [i.e., coming over the border] there'll appear some Slovene of American origin or a Canadian and he'll have his pockets a little more filled with dollars, don't you know, and we'll say to him: "Listen here! You don't pay taxes, you're not a Slovene, just hand it over!"

Hja, kar na lepem se je pred mano pojavil belo-modri policijski volkswagen, in mi dal znamenje, naj ustavim (VZ: 134) 'Well, out of the blue there appeared before me a white and blue police Volkswagen and it gave me the signal [that I must] stop'

7.1.1.1.1.3.3 Hortative

kàr — Expresses encouragement on the part of the speaker

Kar stopi naprej 'Go right ahead', 'Come right in'

Navsezadnje bo pa teoretično lahko davčna služba rekla, res je, da obstaja neskladje v tej zakonodaji, ampak mi tolmačimo, da vi kar delajte to s svojo občinsko davčno službo, potem pa jo organizirajte, kot veste in znate! (NB: DZRS: 9. redna seja, 16.6.1998) 'In the end the revenue service will theoretically be able to say that it's true that there is a loophole in the law, but we are here to interpret it, and that you just go ahead and do this with your municipal revenue service and then organize it the way you know best to do it!'

7.1.1.1.1.3.4 Optative, jussive

da — 'may': Introduces a main clause expressing a wish

Tu, za to govornico, je takrat vsul proti Thalerju niz očitkov. Da jih ne bi ponovil tudi potem, ko je gospod Thaler kandidiral za podpredsednika Državnega zbora (NB: DZRS: 2. izredna seja, 6.2.1997) 'Here, from behind this dais, a series of reproaches was leveled against Thaler. May you not repeat them after Mr. Thaler has run for vice-president of the parliament'

nâj — 'let, may'; see 6.1.2.3.2.1.4

7.1.1.1.1.3.5 Potential

nemâra — 'perhaps' (arch.)

Po mnenju Združene liste Socialnih demokratov je največja socialna varnost delovno mesto. Nemara celo večja, kot je nekoliko višja

plača (NB: DZRS: 14. izredna seja, 26.9.1997) 'In the opinion of the United List of the Social Democrats the greatest social security is a job. Perhaps even greater than a higher salary'

mogôče — 'perhaps'

Kakorkoli že, gospod mandatar, vaš predstavitven govor je, površno gledano, v redu, mogoče je malo preveč samovšečen, preveč prve osebe ednine (NB: DZRS: 1. izredna seja, 8.1.1997) 'Be that as it may, Mr. Secretary, your introduction speech was, at first blush, well, perhaps a little too self-serving, too first-person-singular'

mordà — 'perhaps'

Kolikor je meni znano, ni noben zakon, tako slovenski kot noben zakon iz ranjke Jugoslavije, dopuščal kraje družbenega premoženja. Če mordà za katerega veste, potem prosim, ga tu javno navedite, da bomo pač stvari drugače obravnavali (NB: DZRS: 1. izredna seja, 8.1.1997) 'As far as I know, there is no law, either Slovenian or from the erstwhile Yugoslavia, that would permit the theft of public property. If you, perhaps, know of one, then please cite it here publicly, so that we can treat matters differently from

7.1.1.1.3.6 Presumptive

mendà — 'presumably'

Vedeti moramo, da z vzpostavitevijo avtoceste od Ljubljane do Trsta, menda na 7 peron, pomeni za slovensko gospodarstvo, za Luko Koper precej negativni učinek in negativni udarec za naše gospodarstvo (NB: DZRS: 12. izredna seja, 29.7.1997) 'We have to realize that the establishment of a highway from Ljubljana to Trieste, presumably with 7 lanes, means for the Slovene economy and the Port of Koper a quite negative effect and impact for our economy' [sic]

pač — 'after all, nevertheless, if you like': Expresses resignation about a given circumstance

Takšno je pač življenje 'That's life'

Verjemite mi pač pogojno, ampak vam garantiram, da sem kot prejšnji poslanec imel veliko polemik z ljudmi... (DZRS: 1. izredna seja, 9.1.1997) 'Believe me conditionally, if you like, but I guarantee that when I was previously a delegate I had many debates with people...'

7.1.1.1.1.4 Markers of definition, explanation and inference

čes̑ — Introduces subjective, often unstated (internal) commentary to a proposition

Razen tega bi me Lida takoj popadla čes̑ kaj se vtikam v tuje razprtije (VZ: 39) ‘Besides, Lida would jump on me right away as if to say “what right do I have to interfere in others’ quarrels?”’

Čes̑ da roke za podaljšanje certifikatov lahko sprejmemo z uredbo. Ja, lahko, ampak ni to problem (NB: DZRS: 12. izredna seja, 29.7.1997) ‘As if we can just pass a decree extending the deadline for privatization vouchers. Yes, we can, but this is not the problem’

saj — Introduces an explanation of an underlying assumption pertaining to an assumed or previously stated proposition

“Ta pa je velika izjema,” je rekel stražmojster dostojanstveno, “to je višji oficir, štabni. Saj veste, da Rusi ne bi poslali k nam vohunit kakega korporala.” (JH 2003: 312) ‘“This is a big exception,” said the watchmaster haughtily. “This is a higher officer, from headquarters. After all, the Russians wouldn’t send some mere corporal to spy on us.”’

[... Nemir v dvorani A:] Prosim za mir v dvorani. [B:] *Saj se lahko smejite, saj se lahko smejite. Analizirajmo, kolikokrat ste bili, zame na koncu koncev ni pomembno, v kateri stranki je kdo, ampak pomembno je to, da bi delali.* (NB: DZRS: 1. izredna seja, 9.1.1997) ‘[...Commotion in the hall... Speaker A:] Order in the hall, please. [Speaker B:] Go ahead and laugh, go ahead and laugh. Let’s analyze—in the end it’s all the same to me—who is in which party; it’s only important that we do our work’

7.1.1.1.1.5 Question markers

Ali ~ A ... — Introduces a question

Gospod Thaler je govoril o nezadovoljstvu, ki je med ljudmi zaradi bloka, ki ga po narekovajih, mi ustvarjamo. A mi ga ustvarjamo? (NB: DZRS: 1. izredna seja, 8.1.1997) ‘Mr. Thaler spoke of discontent among the people because of the coalition which, quote–unquote, we create. We create it?’

Mar — ‘Is it really the case that...?’ Introduces a question with the expectation of a contrasting answer or expresses surprise

Zakaj vse to? Mar res ni možno, da bi Slovenija v dobi te tranzicije postopala čisto tako normalno, približno tako kot druge države, saj se tudi tam dogaja kriminal (NB: DZRS: 1. izredna seja, 8.1.1997)

‘What’s this all about? Is it really not possible that Slovenia, in the period of transition, could simply operate normally, on the order of other countries, after all, there is crime there, too’

Mar je res že petindvajset let? ‘Can it really have been already 25 years?’

7.1.1.1.1.6 Tags

a nè ~ kajne — Tag or parenthetical marker inviting the addressee to agree with a proposition by the speaker

Kolikokrat smo mi tukaj v državnem zboru, na delovnih telesih in vsepovsod, tudi vlada se je, tudi se je zavzela za določena vprašanja, pa jih je korektno in pošteno poskušala rešiti. Kadar pa se ji ne "lušta", a ne. (NB: DZRS: 37. izredna seja, 14.7.1999) ‘How many times have we here in the parliament—in the working bodies and everywhere—even the government has, even it has dealt with certain questions and attempted to solve them in a correct and forthright manner? Even when it didn’t “feel like it”, right?’

Gospod predsednik, če tu beremo neko obtožnico, moramo dati zadevo na tehtnico, kajne? Na tehtnico: pluse, minuse, ne moremo samo ene stvari omenjati (NB: DZRS: 11. redna seja, 11.3.1999) ‘Mr. President, if we read here a given charge, we have to weigh the matter, don’t we? Weigh it: the pluses, the minuses, we can’t just mention only certain things’

7.1.1.1.1.7 Markers of affirmation, agreement

rês — ‘really, truly, in fact’, expresses agreement with a proposition

Človek mora biti malce naiven, da se loti takšnih stvari in tudi jaz mislim, da sem verjetno res malce naiven, da se v tejle pozni uri oglašam na predstavitveni nagovor gospoda kandidata za mandatarja (NB: DZRS: 1. izredna seja, 8.1.1997) ‘One has to be a little naïve to take up such matters and I also think that I’m probably really

a little naïve that, in this late hour, I'm responding to the introductory speech of the candidate for office'

že — 'be that as it may'; Expresses categorial, partial or conditional agreement with an assumed or previously stated proposition and implies that contrasting, clarifying or mitigating information will be added

Zdaj pa pred volitvami obljublajo eno, po volitvah pa gredo, seveda, v koalicijo s programsko različno stranko, potem pa se nanjo izgovarjajo, češ, mi bi že, vendar pa ne moremo, ker nas – ne vem – Peterle, Podobnik, kdorkoli, blokira... (DZRS: 11. redna seja, 25.2.1999) 'And now before the elections they promise one thing, but after the elections they go, of course, into a coalition with a party with a different platform and excuse themselves by saying, well, we would do it, but we can't, because—I don't know, Peterle, Podobnik, or whoever, is blocking them...'

Kakorkoli že, gospod mandatar, vaš predstavitven govor je, površno gledano, v redu, mogoče je malo preveč samovšečen, preveč prve osebe ednine (NB: DZRS: 1. izredna seja, 8.1.1997) 'Be that as it may, Mr. Secretary, your introduction speech was, at first blush, well, perhaps a little too self-aggrandizing, too first-person-singular'

7.1.1.1.8 Markers of tense and aspect (durativity, iterativity)

spet — 'again'

Mislím, da bi tukaj morali biti zelo široki, da bi tukaj morali upoštevati dejstvo, da je Slovenec lahko še vedno tisti, ki se v srcu čuti Slovenca, ki ljubi to deželo, ampak je zaradi okoliščin, zaradi nezanimanja zanj, je izgubil slovenski jezik. Obstaja pa velika žeja po tem, da bi se spet naučili svojega maternega jezika (NB: DZRS: 1. izredna seja, 9.1.1997) 'I think that here we should be very open-minded, that we should consider the fact that a Slovene is still the one who feels in his heart he is a Slovene, one who loves this country, but because of circumstances, because of disinterest in him, he has lost the Slovene language. But there is a great thirst for us to learn our mother tongue again'

- šè* — Expresses expectation of an event to occur, continue, or be repeated; expresses that items are to be enumerated
Zakaj tako mislim, torej da pokleknemo? Zato, ker to vlečemo že v nedogled in še bomo vlekli in dovolili bomo vse proceduralne zaplete zato, da se stvar potegne čim dlje v volilno leto (NB: DZRS: 39. izredna seja, 2.2.2004) ‘Why do I think this, that is to say, that we are giving up? Because we have already been dragging this out to unseen lengths and we will keep dragging it out and we’ll allow all the procedural red tape so that it will extend as far as possible into the election year’
- šélè* — Expresses that the time an event takes place is later than expected
Ampak zakaj zaostaja? Zato, ker je Slovenija šele lani junija podpisala sporazum o pridruženem članstvu z Evropsko unijo (NB: DZRS: 3. izredna seja, 27.2.1997) ‘But why has it lagged behind? Because Slovenia didn’t sign the agreement to join the European Union until June of this year’
Lani jo je popihala z nekim suplentom in našel sem jo šele v Zagrebu (JH 237) ‘Last year she ran off with some apprentice teacher and I finally caught up with her in Zagreb’

7.1.1.1.1.9 Marker of limitation

- žè* — Expresses that a limit (e.g., time, quantity) has been reached before a referenced moment
Zdajle sem vprašal tolminskega župana, ali se tam že kaj gradi, in odgovor je bil “ne”. Od potresa bo že jutri mesec in pol in nič se še ne dela (NB: DZRS: 9. redna seja, 28.5.1998) ‘I’ve just asked the mayor of Tolmin whether anything is being built and the answer was ‘no.’ It will have been a month and a half as of tomorrow and still nothing is being done’
Zakaj tako mislim, torej da pokleknemo? Zato, ker to vlečemo že v nedogled in še bomo vlekli in dovolili bomo vse proceduralne zaplete zato, da se stvar potegne čim dlje v volilno leto (NB: DZRS: 39. izredna seja, 2.2.2004) ‘Why do I think this, that is to say, that we are giving up? Because we have already been dragging this out to unseen lengths and we will keep dragging it out and we’ll allow all

the procedural red tape so that it will extend as far as possible into the election year'

7.1.1.1.1.10 Marker of evidentiality

bajè — 'supposedly, allegedly'; Expresses that the speaker is conveying the information second-hand

Na področju železniškega prometa je stanje katastrofalno nezadovoljivo. Čeprav še ni sprejet proračun, se baje naročajo drage študije in projekti, ki so po izkušnjah sodeč bolj namenjeni sami sebi (NB: DZRS: 14. izredna seja, 26.9.1997) 'In the area of the railway transportation the situation is catastrophically unsatisfactory. Although the budget hasn't yet been approved, supposedly they are ordering expensive studies and projects that, to judge by experience, are largely intended for their own ends'

7.1.1.1.1.11 Markers of summation, conclusion

tôrej — Introduces a conclusion, summation, or performative

Danes izvolimo mandatarja, jutri oblikujemo Vlado in pojutrišnjem začnimo producirati to, za kar smo poklicani z zakonodajo, ki bo nam vsem pogodu. Torej danes je priložnost, da dokažemo, da smo sposobni deblokirati situacijo in da si bomo vsaj januarsko plačo zaslužili (NB: DZRS: 1. izredna seja, 8.1.1997) 'Today we are electing a leader, tomorrow we will form the government, and the day after let's begin producing, as we are called upon by law to do, something that will be good for us all. So, today is an opportunity to prove that we are capable of undoing the gridlock so that we can at least earn our January salary'

Saj vemo, o čem govorimo. Torej, jaz se strinjam z gospo Mravljakovo (NB: DZRS: 1. izredna seja, 9.1.1997) 'After all, we know what we're talking about. So, I agree with Mrs. Mravljak'
See also example under *hjà* (7.1.1.1.1.3.2).

7.1.1.1.1.12 Markers of reformulation and resumption

..., mîslim, ... — Introduces a correction to the previously uttered material

Ne vem, gospe in gospodje, če veste, da v tej državi obstajajo kraji, kot so Zasadi, Škrinjarji, Novinci ali pa preko Drave, Jelovice, Grabe

pri Cirkulanah itd., itd. Takšnih krajev je v Sloveniji še več, mislim preveč. Preveč, zato, ker veliko teh krajev, spoštovani, ne poznamo (NB: DZRS: 1. izredna seja, 8.1.1997) ‘I don’t know, ladies and gentlemen, if you know, that in this country there exist places, like Zasadi, Škrinjarji, Novinci, or, across the Drava, Jelovice, Grabe pri Cirkulanah, etc., etc. There are more such places in Slovenia, I mean, too many. Too many, I say, because many of these places, honorable colleagues, we don’t know’

oziroma — Introduces an alternative view of or a correction to the previously uttered material

In zaradi tega pravim, da smo mala država s preveč zemlje. Oziroma zdaj, ob tem, ko bo ta Vlada in še ko bo novi zakon o vladi prišel, spremenjen, bomo tudi dežela, ki ima seveda izjemno veliko vlado, se pravi: majhna država s preveč zemlje in z zelo veliko vlado (NB: DZRS: 3. izredna seja, 27.2.1997) ‘And because of this, I say that we are a small state with too much land. That is to say, look, along with the fact that this government and when the new law on the government will have been introduced, changed, we’ll also be a country that has, of course, an exceptionally big government, that is to say: a little state with too much land and a very big government’

..., se pravi,... — ‘in other words’; Redirects the topic of discourse; introduces a correction to or alternative casting of the previously uttered material

To puščam ob strani. Se pravi, da je ob tem primeru prodal številne “čeje” in “bije”, ampak mislim, da bi bilo prav, da bi parlament videl tukaj jasnejšo linijo in tudi partnerje, ne glede na to, od kje so, seveda ne govorim v njihovem imenu, z manj “čeji” in “biji” (NB: DZRS: 1. izredna seja, 9.1.1997) ‘I’m leaving this issue aside. So, let’s move on: in this case he sold us a number of “ifs” and “maybes”, but I think it would be right for the parliament to see here a clearer line and partners, as well, regardless of where they’re from—of course, I’m not speaking in their name—with fewer “ifs” and “maybes”’; see also example under *oziroma*

8 Texts with interlinear transcription and translation

8.1 Standard literary Slovene

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Stric</i> | <i>Ivan</i> | <i>razločno</i> | <i>čuti</i> | <i>božajoče</i> |
| Uncle NOM-SG | Ivan NOM-SG | distinctly ADV | feel 3-SG-PRES-IMPF | stroking N-SG |
| <i>prelivanje</i> | <i>med</i> | <i>razkrečenimi</i> | <i>prsti.</i> | <i>Ljubkujoče</i> |
| flowing PrAP-ACC-SG-N | between | spread PrAP-INST-PL-M | fingers INST-PL-M | Caressing PrAP-NOM-SG-N |
| <i>mrzlo</i> | <i>gibanje,</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>mu</i> | <i>oblizuje</i> |
| cold NOM-SG-N | movement NOM-SG-N | which SUB CONF | him DAT-SG-M | licks 3-SG-PRES-IMPF |
| <i>prste</i> | <i>in</i> | <i>zapestje</i> | <i>in</i> | <i>mu</i> |
| fingers ACC-PL-M | and CONJ | wrist ACC-SG-N | and CONJ | him DAT-SG-M |
| <i>omogoča</i> | <i>slediti</i> | <i>z</i> | <i>doslednostjo</i> | <i>slučajnemu</i> |
| makes possible 3-SG-IMPF | to follow INF | with | consistency INST-SG-F | random DAT-SG-M |
| <i>domisleku.</i> | <i>In</i> | <i>če</i> | <i>si</i> | <i>zaželi</i> |
| thought DAT-SG-M | and CONJ | if CONJ | self DAT-SG | wishes 3-SG-PRES-PF |
| <i>dima,</i> | <i>si</i> | <i>s</i> | <i>prosto</i> | <i>roko</i> |
| smoke GEN-SG-M | self DAT-SG | with | free INST-SG-F | hand INST-SG-F |
| <i>poišče</i> | <i>tobak</i> | <i>in</i> | <i>si</i> | <i>z</i> |
| looks for 3-SG-PRES-PF | tobacco ACC-SG-M | and CONJ | self DAT-SG | with |
| <i>veščino</i> | <i>uklenjenca</i> | <i>zvije</i> | <i>cigareto.</i> | <i>Nekaj</i> |
| skill INST-SG-F | handcuffed man GEN-SG-M | rolls 3-SG-PRES-PF | cigarette ACC-SG-F | Some ACC-SG-N |

| | | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>truda</i> | <i>ima</i> | <i>s</i> | <i>tem,</i> | <i>nekaj</i> |
| effort GEN- SG-M | has 3-SG- PRES-IMPF | with | this INST- SG-N | some ACC- SG-N |
| <i>več</i> | <i>s</i> | <i>škatico</i> | <i>vžigalic,</i> | <i>toda</i> |
| more | with | box INST-SG- F | matches GEN-PL-F | however CONJ |
| <i>prsti</i> | <i>se</i> | <i>gibljejo</i> | <i>brez</i> | <i>naglice,</i> |
| fingers NOM-PL-M | RFL PART | move 3-PL- PRES-IMPR | without | hurry GEN- SG-F |
| <i>lagodno</i> | <i>in</i> | <i>veščé</i> | <i>kakor</i> | <i>pri</i> |
| easily ADV | and CONJ | knowingly PrAP-ADV | as CONJ | with (in the case of) |
| <i>enorokcu.</i> | <i>Tako</i> | <i>leži</i> | <i>z</i> | <i>desnico</i> |
| on-handed man DAT- SG-M | so ADV | lies 3-SG- PRES-IMPF | with | right hand INST-SG-F |
| <i>v</i> | <i>tolmunu,</i> | <i>s</i> | <i>kolenom</i> | <i>pritegnjenim</i> |
| in | deep pool LOC-SG-M | with | knee INST- SG-M | pulled up INST-SG-M- PPP |
| <i>k</i> | <i>telesu,</i> | <i>in</i> | <i>streže</i> | <i>svoji</i> |
| towards | body DAT- SG-N | and CONJ | serves 3-SG- PRES-IMPF | self's DAT- SG-F |
| <i>misli.</i> | <i>Kadi.</i> | <i>Nad</i> | <i>njim</i> | <i>se</i> |
| thought DAT-SG-F | smokes 3- SG-PRES- IMPF | above | him INST- SG-M | RFL PART |
| <i>vzpne</i> | <i>las</i> | <i>modrikastega</i> | <i>dima,</i> | <i>dvigne</i> |
| rises 3-SG- PRES-PF | hair NOM- SG-M | bluish GEN- SG-M | smoke GEN- SG-M | rises 3-SG-PF |
| <i>se</i> | <i>skoraj</i> | <i>navpično,</i> | <i>ker</i> | <i>je</i> |
| RFL PART | almost ADV | vertically ADV | because SUB CONJ | is 3-SG-IMPF |
| <i>na</i> | <i>Barju</i> | <i>pozno</i> | <i>poletje</i> | <i>brez</i> |

| | | | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------|
| on | Marsh LOC- SG-N | late NOM-SG- N | summer NOM-SG-N | without |
| <i>najrahlješ</i> | <i>sapice...</i> | | | |
| the slight- est GEN- SG-F | breath GEN- SG-F | | | |

Stric Ivan razločno čuti božajoče prelivanje med razkrečnimi prsti. Ljubkujoče mrzlo gibanje, ki mu oblizuje prste in zapestje in mu omogoča slediti z doslednostjo slučajnemu domisleku. In če si zaželi dima, si s prosto roko poišče tobak in si z veščino uklenjenca zvije cigareto. Nekaj truda ima s tem, nekaj več s škatlico vžigalic, toda prsti se gibljejo brez naglice, lagodno in vešče kakor pri enorokcu. Tako leži z desnico v tolmunu, s kolenom pritegnjenim k telesu, in streže svoji misli. Kadi. Nad njim se vzpne las modrikastega dima, dvigne se skoraj navpično, ker je na Barju pozno poletje brez najrahlješ sapice... (ML: 172—173)

Free translation: ‘Uncle Ivan distinctly feels the undulating flow of water between his spread fingers. The caressing cold movement licking his fingers and wrist allows him to concentrate fully on a passing thought. And if he wants a smoke, with his free hand he searches around for the tobacco and with the skill of a handcuffed prisoner rolls a cigarette. He has some trouble with it and a little more with the box of matches, but his fingers move unhurriedly, with the ease and skill of a one-armed man. Thus he lies with his right hand in the deep pool of water, with his knee pulled up to his body, and follows his train of thought. Above him rises a strand of bluish smoke, rising almost perfectly vertically in the air, as it is late summer in the Marsh, without the slightest breath...’

8.2 Ljubljana city speech

| | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>Če</i> | <i>to</i> | <i>ni</i> | <i>en</i> | <i>šit.</i> | <i>A</i> |
| If | this NOM-SG-N | isn't | a NOM-SG-M | shit NOM-SG-M | CONJ |
| <i>smo</i> | <i>se</i> | <i>za</i> | <i>to</i> | <i>boril?</i> | <i>Ma,</i> |
| AUX-3-SG | RFL | for | this ACC-SG-N | fought I-pcp PL-M | Heck/hell, |
| <i>smo</i> | <i>se</i> | <i>mi</i> | <i>en</i> | <i>kurac</i> | <i>boril.</i> |
| AUX-3-SG | RFL | we 1-PL | a NOM-SG-M | [BCS dick NOM-SG-M] | fought I-pcp PL-M |
| <i>S</i> | <i>čim</i> | <i>smo</i> | <i>se.</i> | <i>Boril.</i> | <i>Kurcem,</i> |
| With | what INST-SG | AUX-3-SG | RFL | fought I-pcp PL-M | [BCS: dick INST-SG] |
| <i>vojniče,</i> | <i>riječima</i> | <i>druga</i> | <i>starijeg</i> | <i>vodnika.</i> | <i>Pizda,</i> |
| [BCS: soldier VOC-SG] | [BCS: words INST-PL] | [BCS: comrade GEN-SG] | [BCS: senior GEN-SG-M superlative] | [BCS: sergeant GEN-SG-M] | Cunt NOM-SG-F |
| <i>mislim,</i> | <i>se</i> | <i>bo</i> | <i>res</i> | <i>kar</i> | <i>dan</i> |
| I think 1-SG-PRES | RFL | FUT AUX 3-SG | really | INT | day ACC-SG |
| <i>delu.</i> | <i>Brez</i> | <i>zajebancije.</i> | <i>Ne</i> | <i>se</i> | <i>pustit</i> |
| I-pcp M-SG | Without | messing around GEN-SG-F | Not | RFL | allow INF |
| <i>zmest,</i> | <i>Pero.</i> | <i>Sam</i> | <i>zmest</i> | <i>se</i> | <i>ne</i> |
| confuse | [BCS: | Just | confuse INF | RFL | not |

| | | | | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|--|------------------------|-------------------|
| INF | Pete] | | | | |
| <i>pustit.</i> | <i>Še</i> | <i>ena</i> | <i>kaplca.</i> | <i>Vsak</i> | <i>cajt</i> |
| allow INF | Still, more | one NOM- SG-F | drop NOM- SG-F | Any ACC-SG- M | time ACC- SG-M |
| <i>bo</i> | <i>sonce</i> | <i>nad</i> | <i>toplarno.</i> | <i>Smo</i> | <i>bli</i> |
| FUT AUX 3- SG | sun NOM-SG- N | above | central heating fa- cility INST- SG-F | AUX 1-PL | be I-pcp M-PL |
| <i>mi</i> | <i>power</i> | <i>sami</i> | <i>po</i> | <i>seb,</i> | <i>se</i> |
| we NOM | [Eng] | ourselves NOM-PL-M | by | selves LOC | RFL |
| <i>ni</i> | <i>blo</i> | <i>sploh</i> | <i>kej</i> | <i>za</i> | <i>borit.</i> |
| is not 3-sg | be I-pcp N-SG | at all | what ACC | for | fight INF |
| <i>Smo</i> | <i>šli</i> | <i>v</i> | <i>akcijo,</i> | <i>against</i> | <i>the</i> |
| AUX 1- PL | go I-pcp M-PL | into | action ACC- SG-F | [Eng] | [Eng] |
| <i>odds,</i> | <i>black</i> | <i>metal</i> | <i>gods,</i> | <i>dons</i> | <i>pa</i> |
| [Eng] | [Eng] | [Eng] | [Eng] | today | but |
| <i>kurc,</i> | <i>ne,</i> | <i>vse</i> | <i>eni</i> | <i>bleferji.</i> | <i>Vsak</i> |
| dick NOM- SG-M | y'know | everything NOM-SG-N | ones ('noth- ing but') NOM-PL-M | fakers NOM-PL- M | Any ACC- SG-M |
| <i>cajt</i> | <i>bo</i> | <i>spet</i> | <i>pizdarija.</i> | <i>Vsak</i> | <i>cajt</i> |
| time ACC- SG-M | FUT AUX 3-SG | again | bullshit NOM-SG-F | Any ACC-SG- M | time ACC- SG-M |
| <i>bo</i> | <i>Ljubljani</i> | <i>od</i> | <i>same</i> | <i>svetlobe</i> | <i>film</i> |
| FUT AUX 3- SG | Ljubljana DAT-SG- F | from | very GEN- SG-F | light GEN-SG- F | film NOM- SG-M |
| <i>poču.</i> | <i>Pa</i> | <i>sam</i> | <i>tko,</i> | <i>človek</i> | <i>se</i> |

| | | | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|---|------------------------|-------------------|
| break I- pcp PL- M | but | just | so | person NOM- SG-M | RFL |
| <i>pred</i> | <i>televizijo</i> | <i>usede</i> | <i>pa</i> | <i>par</i> | <i>pirov</i> |
| in front of | television ACC-SG- F | sit 3-SG- PRES | and | couple | beer GEN- PL-M |
| <i>spije.</i> | <i>Pa</i> | <i>par</i> | <i>travaric.</i> | | |
| drink 3- SG-PRES | and | couple | <i>Travarica</i> brandy GEN- PL-F | | |

Če to ni en šit¹⁴. A smo se za to boril¹⁵? Ma, smo se mi en kurac¹⁶ boril. S čim smo se. Boril. Kurcem, vojniče, riječima druga starijeg vodnika. Pizda, mislim, se bo res kar dan delu. Brez zajebancije. Ne se pustit¹⁷ zмест¹⁸, Pero. Sam¹⁹ zмест se ne pustit. Še ena kaplca²⁰. Vsak cajt²¹ bo sonce nad

¹⁴ The form *šit* (from Eng. *shit*) illustrates the practice of adapting the spelling of borrowings to Slovene orthographic norms in the event that the word in question is felt to have become assimilated into the lexicon, in contrast to quotations from foreign languages, illustrated later in the paragraph.

¹⁵ The final *-i* marking M-PL is dropped as a consequence of vowel reduction, but the form is kept separate from the M-SG by virtue of the fact that the newly word-final /i/ is pronounced [i]. In turn, the M-SG forms are spelled in ways that reflect the actual pronunciation, cf. *delu, poču* (vs. standard *delal, počil*) in the paragraph.

¹⁶ Although a native form *kurec/kurc* is available, the text highlights social and, consequently, sociolinguistic contact between Slovene and BCS speakers in the ethnically mixed Fužine neighborhood in eastern Ljubljana. In general, BCS forms of emotionally charged words are often felt to be hipper or more macho and are thus, evidently, preferred by the generation coming of age in the 1990s.

¹⁷ The colloquial language allows the INF to be used in place of the imperative. The construction lends emotional charge (e.g., impatience) to the perlocutionary effect of the command.

¹⁸ Both *pustit* and *zмест* are examples of the short infinitive.

¹⁹ Adverbs ending in *-o* in the standard language are typically substituted by their short forms (a result of raising and, later, eliding final *-o*) in Ljubljana colloquial speech, cf. *lôhk* 'may' (standard *lahkô*).

toplarno. Smo bli mi power sami po seb, se ni blo sploh kej²² za borit. Smo šli v akcijo, against the odds, black metal gods, dons²³ pa kurc, ne, vse eni bleferji. Vsak cajt bo spet pizdarija. Vsak cajt bo Ljubljani od same svetlobe film poču²⁴. Pa sam tko²⁵, človek se pred televizijo usede pa par pirov²⁶ spiše. Pa par travaric. (AS: 5)

Free translation:

If this isn't a load of shit. Is this what we were fighting for? Hell, we didn't fight for a damn thing. With what? Fight, that is. With a piece of shit, soldier, in the words of our comrade senior sergeant. Fuck it, y'know, that'll really make the sun come up. No shitting around. Don't let 'em mess with you, Pete. Just don't let them mess with you. Just another drop. Any moment the sun will come up over the steam plant. We were a power all our own, but there was nothing to fight against. There we went, into action against the odds, black metal gods, but today there ain't shit, y'know, nothing but a bunch of fakes. Any moment the shit will hit the fan again. Any moment in Ljubljana the very light of day will make everything run amok. But that's just the way it is, a guy sits in front of his t.v. and knocks back a couple of beers. And a couple of shots.

²⁰ Cf. standard *kápljica*. Ljubljana speech (as much of the central dialect area) has merged *lj, l > l*. The *-i-* is elided by vowel reduction and the *l* thus is pronounced as a syllable.

²¹ Cf. standard *čas* 'time'; *cajt* < German *Zeit*.

²² Cf. standard *kâj* 'something, anything'. The short *â* is phonetically reduced in the central dialects, often merging with *ə*. In this instance, the phonetic realization is raised to [kèj] because of the following palatal glide.

²³ Cf. standard *danes* [dánəs].

²⁴ The M-SG forms are rendered with a spelling approximating actual pronunciation (see above with regard to the spelling *boril*).

²⁵ In Ljubljana speech the unstressed *a* was evidently reduced to [ə] and eliminated in the vowel reduction process.

²⁶ The Bavarian German borrowing *pir* 'beer' is used instead of the standard *pivo* (which was in turn reintroduced from Czech in the 19th c., see Snoj 2003: 518).

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