

## Matej ŠEKLI

PhD, Full Professor, Department of Slavic Studies, University of Ljubljana (Aškerčeva 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia)  
E-mail: [matej.sekli@guest.arnes.si](mailto:matej.sekli@guest.arnes.si)  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1886-3723>

# THE ETYMOLOGICAL ORIGIN OF SLOVENIAN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES WITH THE MORPHEME *-OV-/-EV-*

## Abstract

Bringing into the analysis the geographical names with the morpheme *-ov-/-ev-* in Slovenian (e.g. *Volovica, Rakovica, Bukovica, Brezovica*, etc.), the article aims to account for the origin of the morpheme *-ov-/-ev-* in these type of proper names. The Proto-Slavic suffix *\*-ov-/-ev-* initially arose within Proto-Slavic *u-* and *ū-*stem nouns, and their derivatives. Due to formal and semantic analogy, the suffix in question started to spread from this original position to other masculine and feminine nouns, especially to Proto-Slavic *o-* and *ā-*stems, with adjectives in *\*-ov-ь* playing the decisive role. In terms of semantics, in the analysed names, the morpheme *-ov-/-ev-* is present in the continuations of those Proto-Slavic *u-* and *ū-*stem nouns and those Proto-Slavic *o-* and *ā-*stems that belong to semantic fields typical of the *u-* and *ū-*stems, i.e. plants and/or parts of plants, geomorphological terminology, animal species etc. The author shows that the studied Slovenian toponyms display the following etymological and derivational formations: 1) adjectives in *\*-ovь* (e.g. *Vrhovo, Bukovo, Brezovo*); 2) *nomina attributiva*, derived from adjectives in *\*-ov-ь* with the suffixes *\*-ьcbь, \*-ikь, \*-ica, \*-ьkь, \*-ьka* (e.g. *Vrhovec, Bukovec, Brezovec*), as well as concretised *nomina qualitatis* in *\*-ina* of the same derivational type (e.g. *Bukovina*); 3) *nomina collectiva*, originally derived from the stem in *\*-ov-* with the suffix *\*-ьje* (e.g. *Vrhovje, Bukovje*); 4) *nomina originis* with the suffix *\*-jane*: *\*-ov-jane > \*-ovlāne ≥ Sln. -ovlje* (e.g. *Vrhovlje, Bukovlje*); 5) extended adjectives in *\*-ov-ьnь, \*-ov-ьskь, \*-ov-ьjь* (e.g. *Cerkovni vrh, Brezovski potok, Volovja reber*) and their subsequent derivatives (e.g. *Bukovnik, Brezovnik*).

**Keywords:** toponymy; geographical names; word formation; historical morphology; suffix *-ov-/-ev-*; Proto-Slavic; Slovenian

## For citation

Šekli, M. (2024). The Etymological Origin of Slovenian Geographical Names with the Morpheme *-ov-/-ev-*. *Voprosy onomastiki*, 21(3), 178–192. [https://doi.org/10.15826/vopr\\_onom.2024.21.3.037](https://doi.org/10.15826/vopr_onom.2024.21.3.037)

*Received on 11 December 2023*

*Accepted on 3 March 2024*

**Матей ШЕКЛИ**

PhD, профессор кафедры славистики, Люблянский университет (Aškerčeva 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija)

E-mail: matej.sekli@guest.arnes.si

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1886-3723>

**ЭТИМОЛОГИЯ СЛОВЕНСКИХ  
ГЕОГРАФИЧЕСКИХ НАЗВАНИЙ,  
СОДЕРЖАЩИХ МОРФЕМУ *-OV/-EV-*****Аннотация**

Статья посвящена объяснению происхождения морфемы *-ov/-ev-* в словенских топонимах типа *Volovica, Rakovica, Bukovica, Brezovica* и т. д. Изначально праславянский суффикс *\*-ov/-ev-* присоединялся к праславянским существительным с основами на *u-* и *ī-* и их производным. Вследствие формальной и семантической аналогии рассматриваемый суффикс постепенно распространился на другие существительные мужского и женского рода, особенно на существительные с основами на *o-* и *ā-*, причем решающую роль в этом процессе играли прилагательные на *\*-ov-ъ*. В семантическом плане в анализируемых названиях морфема *-ov/-ev-* присутствует в континуантах тех праславянских существительных с *u-* и *ī-* основами, а также тех праславянских *o-* и *ā-* основ, которые относятся к семантическим полям, типичным для существительных с основами на *u-* и *ī-*: к названиям растений и/или частей растений, видов животных, элементов ландшафта и т. д. Автор показывает, что анализируемые в статье словенские топонимы относятся к следующим этимолого-деривационным типам: 1) прилагательные на *\*-ovъ* (например, *Vrhovo, Bukovo, Brezovo*); 2) *nomina attributiva*, образованные от прилагательных на *\*-ov-ъ* с помощью суффиксов *\*-ьць, \*-икъ, \*-ica, \*-ькъ, \*-ька* (например, *Vrhovec, Bukovec, Brezovec*), а также отдельных *nomina qualitatis* на *\*-ina* того же деривационного типа (например, *Bukovina*); 3) *nomina collectiva*, первоначально образованные от основы на *\*-ov-* с помощью суффикса *\*-ьje* (например, *Vrhovje, Bukovje*); 4) *nomina originis* с суффиксом *\*-jane*: *\*-ov-jane > \*-ovlane ≥ словен. -ovlje* (например, *Vrhovlje, Bukovlje*); 5) сочетания географических терминов с прилагательными на *\*-ov-ьпъ, \*-ov-ьскъ, \*-ov-ьжъ* (например, *Cerkovni vrh, Brezovski potok, Volovja reber*), а также их вторичные производные (например, *Bukovnik, Brezovnik*).

**Ключевые слова:** топонимия; географические названия; словообразование; историческая морфология; суффикс *-ov/-ev-*; праславянский язык; словенский язык

**Для цитирования**

Šekli M. The Etymological Origin of Slovenian Geographical Names with the Morpheme *-ov/-ev-* // Вопросы ономастики. 2024. Т. 21, № 3. С. 178–192. [https://doi.org/10.15826/vopr\\_onom.2024.21.3.037](https://doi.org/10.15826/vopr_onom.2024.21.3.037)

*Рукопись поступила в редакцию 11.12.2023*

*Рукопись принята к печати 03.03.2024*

## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The Proto-Slavic morpheme *\*-ov-/-ev-* is of dual origin. It is bound to the masculine nouns continuing the Proto-Indo-European *u*-stems and their derivatives as well as to the feminine nouns continuing the Proto-Indo-European *ū*-stems and their formations: 1) the reflexes of Proto-Indo-European *u*-stems in Proto-Slavic, e.g. PSl. *\*vòlъ*, gen. sg. *\*volù*, nom. pl. *\*volòve* ‘ox’ (> OCSl. *volъ*, gen. sg. *volu*, nom. pl. *volove*, Sln. *vòl*, gen. sg. *vóla*, nom. pl. *volòvi*), adj. PSl. *\*volòvъ* ‘of/relating to ox’ (> CSl. *volovъ*, Sln. *vólov*); 2) the reflexes of Proto-Indo-European *ū*-stems in Proto-Slavic, e.g. PSl. *\*búky*, gen. sg. *\*búkvьe*, acc. sg. *\*búkvъ* ‘beech, *Fagus*’ (> OCSl. *buky*, gen. sg. *bukъve*, acc. sg. *bukъvъ*, Sln. nom./acc. sg. *búkev*, gen. sg. *búkve*), adj. PSl. *\*búkovъ* ‘of/relating to beech’ (> CSl. *bukovъ*, Sln. *búkov*).<sup>2</sup> Thus, the morpheme in question was originally characteristic of some oblique-case forms of *u*-stems as well as of the derivatives belonging to both declensional types. Because of the frequency of such derivatives and due to formal and semantic analogy connected with them, the suffix *\*-ov-/-ev-* started to spread from the original *u*- and *ū*-stems to the other masculine and feminine nouns. It is very probable that in the process of this analogical spread the adjectives in *\*-ov-ъ/-ev-ъ*, derived from both *u*- and *ū*-stems (e.g. PSl. *\*volòvъ*, *\*búkovъ*), played a decisive role. These started to spread to other declensions, first of all to Proto-Indo-European *o*- and *ā*-stems: 1) the reflexes of Proto-Indo-European *o*-stems in Proto-Slavic, e.g. PSl. *\*rākъ*, gen. sg. *\*rāka* ‘crayfish’ (> CSl. *rakъ*, gen. sg. *raka*, Sln. *rāk*, gen. sg. *rāka*), adj. PSl. *\*rākovъ* ‘of/relating to crayfish’ (> CSl. *rakovъ*, Sln. *rākov*); 2) the reflexes

<sup>1</sup>The geographical names of the types *Volovica*, *Bukovica* as well as *Rakovica*, *Brezovica*, etc. are not characteristic only of the Slovenian linguistic area but are also found in some other Slavic languages. However, in the present contribution the analysis will be limited to Slovenian. Where not indicated otherwise, the geographical names subject to discussion have been harvested from the *Atlas Slovenije* [AS], the lexicon *Slovenska krajevna imena* [SKI], *Slovenska krajevna imena v Italiji* [Merkù 1999], and *Slovenska krajevna imena na avstrijskem Koroškem* [Zdovc 2010] (taking into consideration the reverse dictionary of these names in [Furlan 1993]). The study deals with toponyms (tpn.), hydronyms (hdm.), oronyms (orn.), as well as with *vulgo* names (*vulgo* n.), i.e. names of the farmhouses and other types of buildings in the countryside as presented in [AS]. Although *vulgo* names are formally close to anthroponyms (personal names), given that they generally denote the householder, the semantic motivation of those *vulgo* names that refer to the position of the house or the estate in the countryside assimilates them rather to toponyms *stricto sensu* (e.g. *Vrhovnik*, originally *\*the one who lives on the top of the hill*).

<sup>2</sup>When available, the Proto-Slavic reconstructions are taken from [ESSJa; Bezlaj 1976–2007; Snoj 2016; Furlan 2013a], in other cases they are my own. The reconstruction of the Proto-Slavic accent is based on the works of Ch. S. Stang [1957] and V. A. Dybo [1981; 2000] as well as the interpretations of M. S. (i.e. Marko Snoj) and M. F. (i.e. Metka Furlan) in [Bezlaj 1995; 2005], and [Snoj 2016; Furlan 2013b]. Apart from the mentioned etymological dictionaries, the attested Slavic linguistic material is taken from the following sources: Old Church Slavonic [SS], Church Slavonic [Miklosich 1862–1865], and Slovenian [Pleteršnik 2006; SSKJ].

of Proto-Indo-European  $\bar{a}$ -stems in Proto-Slavic, e.g. PSl. *\*bĕrza* ‘birch, *Betula*’ (> CSl. *brĕza* ‘birch,’ Sln. *bréza*), adj. *\*berzovъ* ‘of/relating to birch’ > Sln. *brézov*).<sup>3</sup>

The Proto-Slavic morpheme *\*-ov-/-ev-* is very frequent in Slovenian geographical names. Its etymological origin has to be sought in the derivatives from *u-* and  $\bar{u}$ -stem nouns occurring in exactly those two types of proper names (e.g. PSl. *\*volov-* → Sln. orn. *Volovica*, PSl. *\*bukov-* → Sln. tpn. *Bukovica*). From such nominal formations the morpheme *\*-ov-/-ev-* then spread to other masculine and feminine stems, receiving crucial support from the adjectives in *\*-ov-ъ/-ev-ъ* derived from all kinds of stems (e.g. PSl. *\*rakov-* → Sln. tpn. *Rakovica*, PSl. *\*berzov-* → Sln. tpn. *Brezovica*). Analysing the geographical names with the morpheme *-ov-/-ev-* in Slovenian, the article will aim to account for the origin of the morpheme *-ov-/-ev-* in this type of proper names. First, the formation of the Proto-Slavic suffix *\*-ov-/-ev-* within *u-* and  $\bar{u}$ -stem nouns (e.g. *\*volov-*, *\*bukov-*) will be presented. Second, the process of analogical spread of the suffix in question from the original *u-* and  $\bar{u}$ - to other nominal stems, especially those in *o-* and  $\bar{a}$ - (e.g. *\*rakov-*, *\*berzov-*), will be illustrated. Finally, the Slovenian geographical names with the morpheme *-ov-/-ev-* will be analysed from the point of view of their morphology and their grammatical, more specifically word-formational, meaning as well as the lexical meaning of the nouns from which the names are derived.

## 2. Analysis of the linguistic material

### 2.1. Proto-Slavic masculine *u*-stem nouns

From the Proto-Indo-European *u*-stem nouns, which displayed a quantitative ablaut *\*-u-/-eu-* in the suffix, an adjective with the suffix *\*-o-* and the original meaning ‘of/relating to *x*’ (where *x* is the derivational base) could be derived [Brugmann 1906: 199–200; Darms 1978: 81; Fritz & Meier-Brügger 2021: 341–342, 354; NIL: *passim*; Miklosich 1872: 90–91; 1875: 49–51]. This Proto-Indo-European word-formational pattern (usually with the full grade of the suffix *\*-eu-* and the full grade of the root) was inherited into Proto-Slavic, where alongside masculine *u*-stem nouns (i.e. nom. sg. *\*-ъ*, gen. sg. *\*-u*, the oblique-case stem also in *\*-ov-*) an adjective in *\*-ov-ъ* normally occurs, e.g. PIE *\*med<sup>h</sup>u-/med<sup>h</sup>eu-* ‘honey’ > Lith. *medūs*, gen. sg. *medaūs*, PSl. *\*medъ*, gen. sg. *\*medu* (> OCSl. *medъ*, gen. sg. *medu/meda*, Sln. *mêd*, gen. sg. *medû*) vs. PIE *\*med<sup>h</sup>eu-o-s* ‘of/relating to honey’ > PSl. *\*medovъ* (> CSl. *medovъ*); and PIE *\*suh-nu-/suh-neu-* ‘son’ > Lith. *sūnūs*, gen. sg. *sūnaūs*, PSl. *\*synъ*, gen. sg. *\*synu*, nom. pl. *\*synove* (> OCSl. *synъ*, gen. sg. *synu*, nom.

<sup>3</sup>For the origin of the *\*berzovъ*-type adjectives exemplified on the Slovenian linguistic material, see [Šekli 2019].

pl. *synove*, Sln. *sîn*, gen. sg. *sinû*, nom. pl. *sinôvi*) vs. PIE *\*suh-neu-o-s* ‘of/relating to the son’ > PSl. *\*synovъ*.<sup>4</sup> However, Proto-Slavic adjectives in *\*-ov-ъ/-ev-ъ* derived from masculine *u*-stem nouns are not all attested directly from the earliest period of Slavic literacy (i.e. in (Old) Church Slavonic and other Slavic languages), but can be reconstructed indirectly on the basis of their derivatives containing the morpheme *\*-ov-/-ev-* (e.g. PSl. *\*medovъ* vs. *\*medovitъ* > Sln. *medovît* ‘bringing honey’; and PSl. *\*synovъ* vs. *\*synovъskъ* > Sln. *synôvski* ‘relating to the son’).

In Slovenian geographical names featuring the morpheme *-ov-/-ev-*, the following Proto-Slavic masculine *u*-stems with their respective adjectives in *\*-ov-ъ/-ev-ъ* are attested: *\*vьrxъ*, *\*jilъ*, *\*tьrgъ*, *\*volъ*, *\*polъ*, and *\*sadъ*.

PSl. *\*vьrxъ*, gen. sg. *\*vьrxû* ‘top, peak’ (= Lith. *viršûs*, gen. sg. *viršaiûs*) > OCSl. *vrъxъ*, gen. sg. *vrъxu*, Sln. *vřh*, gen. sg. *vřha*; adj. PSl. *\*vьrxónъ* ‘high, supreme’ (cf. Sln. *vrhóven*): *\*vьrxovъ* → tpn. *Vrhovo*; *\*vьrxovъje* > tpn. *Vrhovje*; *\*vьrxovъjane* ≥ tpn. *Vrhovlje*; *\*vьrxovъсь* > vulgo n. *Vrhovec*; *\*vьrxovъka* > orn. *Vrhovka*; *\*vьrxovъnikъ* > vulgo n. *Vrhovnik*; *\*vьrxovъnjakъ* > vulgo n. *Vrhovnjak*; *\*vьrxovъskъ* → tpn. *Vrhovska vas*.

PSl. *\*jilъ*, gen. sg. *\*jilu* ‘clay, argil’ ≥ CSl. *ilъ*, dial. Sln. *íl*, gen. sg. *ila*; adj. PSl. *\*jilovъ* ‘of/relating to clay, argil’ > CSl. *ilovъ*, Sln. *ilov*: *\*jilovъ* > tpn. *Ilova Gora*; *\*jilovъje* > tpn. *Ilovje*; *\*jilovъсь* > hdn. *Ilovec* (in Štokavian standardisation *Ilovac*).

PSl. *\*tьrgъ*, gen. sg. *\*tьrgû* ‘market’ (= Lith. *tuĩrgus*, gen. sg. *tuĩrgaus* ‘market’) ≥ OCSl. *trъgъ*, gen. sg. *trъga* ‘market,’ Sln. *třg*, gen. sg. *třga* ‘square, market’; adj. PSl. *\*tьrgónъ* ‘of/relating to market’ (cf. Sln. *trgovina* ‘shop,’ *trgôvec* ‘merchant, tradesman,’ *trgôvski* ‘commercial, mercantile,’ *trgováti* ‘to trade’): *\*tьrgovišče* > tpn. *Trgovišče*.

PSl. *\*volъ*, gen. sg. *\*volû* ‘ox’ > OCSl. *volъ*, gen. sg. *volu* ‘ox,’ Sln. *vòl*, gen. sg. *vóla* ‘ox’; adj. PSl. *\*volónъ* ‘of/relating to ox’ > CSl. *volovъ* (cf. Sln. *volóvski*, *volóvji*, both ‘relating to ox’): *\*volovica* > orn. *Volovica*; *\*volovъnikъ* > tpn. *Volovnik*; *\*volovъjъ* → orn. *Volovja reber*; *\*volovъjъkъ* > vulgo n. *Volovjek*; *\*volovъščъkъ* > vulgo n. *Volovšek*.

PSl. *\*pòlъ*, gen. sg. *\*pòlu* ‘half’ > OCSl. *polъ*, gen. sg. *polu* ‘half,’ Sln. *pól*, gen. sg. *póla* ‘half’; adj. PSl. *\*pòlovъ* ‘of/relating to a half’ (cf. Sln. *polôven* adj. ‘half,’ *polovica* ‘half’): *\*polovъnikъ* > orn. *Polovnik*.

<sup>4</sup>The velarisation of the Proto-Indo-European sequence *\*-eu-* to *\*-ou-* before non-front vowels in the immediately following syllable (e.g. PIE *\*-euos* > PSl. *\*-ovъ*) is a common Proto-Baltic and Proto-Slavic positional sound change (e.g. PIE *\*neuos* ‘new, young’ > Hettite *nēuāš* ‘new,’ Old Indic *návas* ‘new, fresh, young,’ Greek *\*νέφος* > *νέος* ‘young, new,’ Latin *novus*, Old Lith. *navas*, PSl. *\*novъ* ‘new’ > OCSl. *novъ*, Sln. *nòv*).

PSl. *\*sâdъ*, gen. sg. *\*sâdu* ‘plant’ > OCSl. *sadъ*, gen. sg. *sadu* ‘plant,’ Sln. *sâd*, gen. sg. *sadû* ‘fruit’; adj. PSl. *\*sâdovъ* ‘of/relating to a plant’ > CSL. *sadovъ* ‘of garden’ (cf. Sln. *sadôven*): *\*sadovъnikъ* > *vulgo* n. *Sadovnik*.

As a consequence of morphological reanalysis of the type *\*vol-ъ*, gen. sg. *\*vol-u* vs. *\*vol-ovъ*, an independent morpheme *\*-ov-ъ* arose that served in the derivation of adjectives from masculine *u*-stem nouns. Due to the so-called four-part analogy [cf. Hock 2021: 200–207], the adjectives in *\*-ov-ъ* started to spread from masculine *u*-stems to masculine (and neuter) *o*-stems: a = PSl. *\*vol-ъ*, a' = adj. *\*vol-ovъ* vs. b = *\*rak-ъ*, thus b' = adj. *\*rak-ovъ*. Some adjectives in *\*-ov-ъ/-ev-ъ* derived from *o*-stems are documented relatively early, reaching back to the (Old) Church Slavonic period (e.g. CSL. *rakovъ* ‘of a crayfish,’ *dъbovъ* ‘of a tree,’ *trъnovъ* ‘thorny’). The independent suffix *\*-ov-ъ/-ev-ъ* was originally characteristic of nouns of both the *genus inanimatum* (e.g. *\*medovъ*, *\*jilovъ*, *\*sadovъ*, *\*dъbovъ*, *\*trъnovъ*) and the *genus animatum* (e.g. *\*synovъ*, *\*volovъ*, *\*rakovъ*). In the individual Slavic languages this suffix became particularly productive in the derivation of “possessive” adjectives from masculine nouns (primarily animates). Consequently, adjectives with a “non-possessive” meaning (in place of those derived from inanimate masculine nouns), were further derived with the help of some other more productive adjectival suffixes such as *\*-ьнъ*, *\*-ьскъ*, *\*-ьжъ*, *\*-енъ*, *\*-атъ*, etc. (i.e. the so-called “structural” suffixes),<sup>5</sup> e.g. PSl. *\*dъžъžъ*, gen. sg. *\*dъžъžu* ‘rain’ (> OCSl. *dъždъ*, Pol. *deszcz*, gen. sg. *deszczu*) vs. *\*dъžъževъ* ‘of/relating to rain’ > OCSl. *dъždevъ* vs. *\*dъžъževънъ* > Sln. *dežéven* [dăžévəŋ] ‘rainy’; PSl. *\*volovъ* ‘of/relating to ox’ > CSL. *volovъ* vs. *\*volovъskъ* > Sln. *volóvski*, *\*volovъjъ* > Sln. *volóvji*, both ‘relating to ox.’

In Slovenian geographical names containing the morpheme *-ov/-ev-*, there are a number of erstwhile Proto-Slavic masculine *o*-stems, whereby in several cases the corresponding adjective in *\*-ov-ъ/-ev-ъ* is found attested in an early period of language documentation: PSl. *\*bъzъ* and *\*bъzъ* > Sln. *\*bâz* and *bëz* [bəs] ‘elder, *Sambucus*,’ adj. *bezóv* [bəzóv];<sup>6</sup> PSl. *\*bъzgъ* > Sln. *bezëg* [bəzəg], gen. sg. *bezgă* [bəzgă] ‘elder, *Sambucus*,’ adj. *bezgóv* [bəzgóv]; PSl. *\*bòrъ* > Sln. *bòr*, gen. sg. *bóra* ‘pine, *Pinus*,’ adj. *boróv*; Romance *\*CERRU(M)* → Slavic *\*cèrъ* > Sln. *cèr*, gen. sg. *céra* ‘Turkey/Austrian oak, *Quercus cerris*,’ adj. *ceróv*; PSl. *\*dôbъ* > Sln. *dôb* ‘oak, *Quercus robur*,’ adj. Sln. *dóbov*; PSl. *\*děrnъ* and *\*děrnъ* > Sln. *drèn*, gen. sg. *dréna* and *drén*, gen. sg. *dréna* ‘cornel, *Cornus mas*,’ adj. *drénov*; PSl. *\*grăbrъ* ≥ Sln. *gáber* ‘hornbeam, *Ostrya carpinifolia*, *Carpinus betulus*,’ adj. *gábrov*; PSl. *\*xvórstъ* ‘tree; shrubs, brushwood’ > Sln. *hrást*, gen. sg. *hrásta* ‘oak, *Quercus*,’

<sup>5</sup>For the term Polish *suffix strukturalny* cf. [Sławski 1974; 1976; 1979, *passim*].

<sup>6</sup>In Slovenian, the lexeme PSl. *\*bъzъ* exhibits two accentual variants, viz. PSl. *\*bъzъ* > dial. Sln. *\*bâz* which is directly attested in micro-toponyms like the dial. Sln. *Bâz* [Šekli 2008: 70], vs. PSl. *\*bъzъ* > dial. Sln. *bëz* [bəs].

adj. *hrástov*; PSl. *\*ǫvorъ* > Sln. *jávor* ‘maple, *Acer*,’ adj. *jávorov*; PSl. *\*ǫsenъ* ≥ Sln. *jésen*, gen. sln. *jeséna* ‘ash, *Fraxinus excelsior*,’ adj. *jesénov*; Romance *\*CASTANEA(M)* → Slavic *\*kostǫnъ* > Sln. *kóstanj*, gen. sg. *kostánja* ‘chestnut, *Castanea sativa*,’ adj. *kostánjev*; PSl. *\*krakъ* > Sln. *krāk* ‘*Conferva rivulans*’; PSl. *\*orěxъ* > Sln. *óreh*, gen. sg. *oréha* ‘nut tree, *Nux*,’ adj. *oréhov*; PSl. *\*topòlъ* > Sln. *tópol*, gen. sg. *topóla* ‘poplar, *Populus*,’ adj. *topólov*. As can be gleaned from this list the enumerated nouns belong to the semantic field of plants, specifically tree and bush species, as well as their parts (PSl. *\*tǫrnъ* > Sln. *tǫn* ‘thorn,’ adj. *tǫnov*). The sole exceptions seem to be PSl. *\*bǫrdo* > Sln. *bǫdo* ‘hill; weaver’s reed’ and PSl. *\*rǫkъ* > Sln. *rǫk* ‘crayfish, *Cancer*,’ adj. *rǫkov*. As an example, proper names derived from PSl. *\*rakъ* will be presented.

PSl. *\*rǫkъ*, gen. sg. *\*rǫka* ‘crayfish’ > CSl. *rakъ*, gen. sg. *raka*, Sln. *rǫk*, gen. sg. *rǫka*;<sup>7</sup> adj. PSl. *\*rǫkovъ* ‘of/relating to crayfish’ > CSl. *rakovъ*, Sln. *rǫkov* ‘of crayfish’: *\*rakovъ* → tpn. *Rakov Škocjan*; *\*rakovjane* ≥ tpn. *Rakovlje*; *\*rakovъсь* > tpn. *Rakovec*; *\*rakovica* > tpn. *Rakovica*; *\*rakovъnikъ* > tpn., hdnr., *vulgo* n. *Rakovnik*; *\*rakovъskъ* → orn. *Rakovski grič*; hdnr. *\*rakovъščьkъ* > hdnr. *Rakušek*, *\*rakovъščakъ* > tpn. *Rakušak*.

## 2.2. Proto-Slavic feminine *ǫ*-stem nouns

In Proto-Slavic, the so-called Proto-Indo-European *ǫ*-stem nouns or, more accurately, nouns in *\*-uh<sub>2</sub>*, display the original stem in *\*-ǫv/-ǫv-* and its secondary variant in *\*-ov/-ev-* (e.g. PSl. *\*bukǫv-* and *\*bukov-* ‘beech’).<sup>8</sup> Both nominal stems functioned as derivational bases in the formation of adjectives with the suffix *\*-ǫ* [Miklosich 1875: 49–51] (e.g. PSl. *\*bukǫv-ǫ* and *\*bukov-ǫ* ‘of/relating to beech’). The Proto-Slavic nominal stem in *\*-ǫv/-ǫv-* was inherited from Proto-Indo-European (cf. PIE acc. sg. *\*-uh<sub>2</sub>-m̃* > *\*-u-im* > *\*-uǫ-im* > PSl. *\*-ǫv-ǫ*), while the stem in *\*-ov/-ev-* was built in Proto-Slavic analogically on the basis of the former. The origin of the nominal stem of the type *\*bukov-* and, consequently, of the adjectives of the type *\*bukov-ǫ* has not found a satisfactory explanation in the scholarly literature.<sup>9</sup> Whatever the origin of the forms containing

<sup>7</sup>Dial. Sln. *rǫk*, gen. sg. *rǫku*, cf. Zilja/Gail dialect in the locality of Potoče/Potschach *rǫk*, gen. sg. *rǫku*, *rǫka* [Pronk 2009: 260] would point to an *u*-stem noun.

<sup>8</sup>In Old Church Slavonic, both the oblique-case stem and the word-formational base in *-ov-* are attested. Note here that the vowel *-o-* in the morpheme *-ov-* is old and surely not a result of the process of “vocalisation” of *-ǫ-* to *-o-* in Eastern South Slavic (e.g. OCSl. *smoky*, gen. sg. *smokъve* ‘fig, *Ficus*’ vs. instr. sg. *smokoviję* (*Sava’s Book*) and the derivative *smokovъnica* (*Ostromir Gospels*), instr. sg. *smokovъniceję* — *Codex Zographensis*) [Rozwadowski 1914–1915: 14–17].

<sup>9</sup>According to one of the interpretations, adjectives like *\*bukovъ* (as well as the later documented adjectives of the type *\*lipovъ* type ‘of/relating to (a) lime (tree)’ were formed on analogy with the adjectives such as *\*medovъ*, *\*jilovъ*, *\*dǫbovъ* types [Vondrák 1924: 524]. What weakens this

*\*-ov/-ev-* may be, the fact is that on the basis of the Slavic linguistic material it is possible to reconstruct the Late Proto-Slavic innovatory nominal stem *\*bukov-* (alongside the inherited one, i.e. *\*bukъv-*) as well as a category of adjectives of the type *\*bukovъ*, derived with the suffix *\*-ъ* from exactly this secondary nominal stem: e.g. PSI. *\*bukovъ* ‘of/relating to beech’ (> CSl. *bukovъ*, Sln. *búkov*); PSI. *\*berskovъ* ‘of/relating to (a) peach (tree)’ (> Sln. *bréskov*); PSI. *\*smokovъ* ‘of/relating to (a) fig (tree)’ (> Sln. *smókov*, younger variant *smôkrov*). However, not all Proto-Slavic adjectives in *\*-ovъ/-evъ* derived from feminine *û*-stem nouns are attested directly but can be reconstructed indirectly on the basis of their derivatives containing the morpheme *\*-ov/-ev-* (e.g. PSI. *\*cerъkovъ* ‘of/relating to church’ vs. *\*cerъkovenъ* > Sln. *cerkóven*). Thus, parallel to primary nominal stems of the type Sln. *bukv-*, *breskv-*, *smokv-*, *cerkv-*, the secondarily formed nominal stems of the type Sln. *bukov-*, *breskov-*, *smokov-*, *cerkov-*, etc. arose in Late Proto-Slavic and were inherited from Proto-Slavic into Slovenian.

In Slovenian geographical names containing the morpheme *-ov/-ev-* the following Proto-Slavic feminine *û*-stems with the corresponding adjective in *\*-ovъ/-evъ* are documented: *\*buky*, *\*kruši*, *\*cъrky*/*\*cerъky*, *\*loky*, and *\*žьrny*.

PSI. *\*bŭky*, gen. sg. *\*bŭkъve*, acc. sg. *\*bŭkъvъ* ‘beech, *Fagus*’ > OCSl. *buky*, gen. sg. *bukъve*, acc. sg. *bukъvъ*, Sln. *búkev* [búkəu], gen. sg. *búkve*; adj. PSI. *\*bŭkovъ* ‘of/relating to beech’ > CSl. *bukovъ*, Sln. *búkov*: *\*bukovъ* → trn. *Bukova Gora*, trn. *Bukovo*; *\*bukovъje* > trn., mtrpn., orn. *Bukovje*; *\*bukovъjane* ≥ trn. *Bukovlje*; *\*bukovъсь* > trn., orn., mtrpn., vulgo n. *Bukovec*; *\*bukovъica* > trn., hdrn., orn., vulgo n. *Bukovica*; *\*bukovъina* > orn., vulgo n. *Bukovina*; *\*bukovъnikъ* > mtrpn., orn., vulgo n. *Bukovnik*; *\*bukovъnica* > trn., mtrpn., hdrn. *Bukovnica*; *\*bukovъščьkъ* > mtrpn., vulgo n. *Bukovš(č)ek*; *\*bukovъščica* > trn., mtrpn., hdrn. *Bukovš(č)ica*.

explanation is the fact that adjectives of the type *\*bukovъ* are not derived from derivational bases of the type *\*bukъv-*, since in that case the adjective would have been *\*\*bukъv-ovъ*. Another approach explains the origin of the *\*bukov*-type stems as a consequence of an inter-paradigmatic analogical process following the inflectional pattern of the type PSI. *\*kamy*, acc. sg. *\*kamenъ* ‘stone.’ Accordingly, the influencing and the influenced inflectional paradigms would have matched in the nominative singular (PSI. *\*kamy* = *\*buky*), so that on the basis of the full-grade suffix of the influencing paradigm (e.g. PSI. acc. sg. *\*ka-menъ*) a new “full-grade” analogical form in the influenced paradigm would have arisen (e.g. PSI. acc. sg. *\*bukъvъ* ≥ *\*buk-ovъ*) [Furlan 2010: 209–210]. However, in this case it is difficult to account for the sound change *\*-eŭ-* to *\*-oŭ-* before front vowels in the next syllable in Late Proto-Slavic. If the assumption of an analogical remodelling of the inflectional pattern of the *\*buky*-type on the basis of the *\*kamy*-type is correct, the analogy must have occurred at a time when the sound change *\*-eŭ-* to *\*-oŭ-* was still ongoing and the nominative singular of both inflectional patterns had already merged phonetically (PIE *\*-uh<sub>2</sub>* > *\*-û* > PSI. *\*-y* in the *\*buky*-type vs. PIE *\*-ons* > *\*-ōn* + *\*-s* > PSI. *\*-y* in the *\*kamy*-type).



PSl. *\*krúši*, gen. sg. *\*krúšve*, acc. sg. *\*krúšovъ* ‘pear (tree), *Pirum*’;<sup>10</sup> adj. *\*krúševъ* ‘of/relating to (a) pear (tree)’ > Sln. *hrúšev*: *\*kruševo* > trn. *Hruševo*; *\*kruševъje* > trn. *Hruševje*; *\*kruševjane* ≥ trn. *Hruševlje*; *\*kruševъсь* > trn. *Hruševec*; *\*kruševica* > trn. *Hruševica*; *\*kruševъka* > trn. *Hruševka*; *\*kruševъскъ* → orn. *Hruševski hrib*.

PSl. *\*cъrky/cerъky*, gen. sg. *\*cъrkъve/cerъkъve*, acc. sg. *\*cъrkъvъ/cerъkъvъ* ‘church’ > OCSl. *crъky*, gen. sg. *crъkъve*, acc. sg. *crъkъvъ*, Sln. *cérkev* [cérkəu], gen. sg. *cérkve*; adj. PSl. *\*cerъkovъ* ‘of church’ (cf. Sln. *cerkóven*):<sup>11</sup> *\*cerъkovjane* ≥ trn. *Cirkulane*; *\*cerъkovъnъ* → orn. *Cerkovni vrh*, trn. *Cerkovna*; *\*cerъkovъnikъ* > hdmn. *Cerkovnik*; *\*cerъkovъnica* > vulgo n. *Cerkovnica*, orn. *Cirkovnica*, *\*cerъkovъnъкъ* > trn. *Cerkovnek*.

PSl. *\*lokъ*, gen. sg. *\*lòkъve*, acc. sg. *\*lokъvъ* ‘pool, puddle’ > OCSl. *loky*, gen. sg. *lokъve*, acc. sg. *lokъvъ*, Sln. *lòkev* [lòkəu], gen. sg. *lòkve*, later form *lòkva*; adj. PSl. *\*lokòvъ* (?): *\*lokovъсь* > trn., hdmn. *Lokovec*; *\*lokovica* > trn. *Lokovica*; *\*lokovina* > trn. *Lokovina*; *\*lokovъnikъ* > vulgo n. *Lokovnik*; *\*lokovъščъкъ* > hdmn. *Lokovšek*.

PSl. *\*žъrny*, gen. sg. *\*žъrnъve*, acc. sg. *\*žъrnъvъ* ‘quern, hand mill’ > OCSl. *žrъny*, gen. sg. *žrъnъve*, acc. sg. *žrъnъvъ*, dial. Sln. *žrnev* [žrnəu], gen. sg. *žrņve*; adj. PSl. *\*žъrnovъ* (?): *\*žъrnovъnikъ* > trn. *Žirovnik*, *Žerovnik*; *\*žъrnovъnica* > trn. *Žirovnica*, *Žerovnica*.

The morphological segmentation of the type (*\*buk-y vs.*) *\*buk-ъv-ъ vs.* *\*buk-ov-ъ* engendered new forms like *\*buk-ъ* (> Sln. *bûk* ‘beech’) and gave rise to a productive word-formational pattern, which then spread to other feminine nouns, primarily to feminine *ā*-stems (i.e. the reflexes of Proto-Indo-European *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>-stems*), in the individual Slavic languages. The exact pattern of the four-part analogy involved in these processes would be as follows: a = PSl. *\*buk-y/buk-ъ*, a' = adj. *\*buk-ovъ vs.* b = *\*berz-a* ‘birch,’ thus b' = adj. *\*berz-ovъ*. The adjectival suffix *\*-ov-ъ/-ev-ъ* was originally characteristic of inanimate concrete nouns with a specific lexical meaning. Due to analogical spread from the original *ū*-stem nouns driven by semantic proximity, adjectives in *\*-ov-ъ/-ev-ъ* derived from *ā*-stem nouns figure in the following semantic fields: forest trees and bushes (e.g. *bûkov* → *brézov*), fruit trees and their fruits (e.g. *bréskov*, *hrúšev* → *slívov* ‘of/relating to (a) plum (tree),’ *čěšņjev* ‘of/relating to (a) cherry (tree)’), bush plants and their berries (e.g. *malínov* ‘of/relating to raspberry’), other edible plants (e.g. *gòbov* ‘of/relating

<sup>10</sup>For the reconstruction of the original PSl. *\*gruši*, gen. sg. *\*grušve* alongside the secondary form PSl. *\*gruška*, see [Janczulewicz 2020: 202–203].

<sup>11</sup>In the majority of Slavic languages, a variant form of this lexeme is attested, namely PSl. *\*cъrky*, gen. sg. *\*cъrkъve*, acc. sg. *\*cъrkъvъ* ‘church’ > OCSl. *crъky*, gen. sg. *crъkъve*, acc. sg. *crъkъvъ* [Snoj 2016: 101; 2009: 91].

to mushroom'), as well as some other nouns denoting stuff etc. (e.g. *smétanov* 'of/relating to sour cream').

Proto-Slavic feminine *ā*-stem nouns from which geographical names with the morpheme *-ov/-ev-* are derived in Slovenian as well as their corresponding adjectives in *-ov/-ev-* are the following: PSl. *\*bērza* > Sln. *bréza* 'birch, *Betula*,' adj. *brézov*; PSl. *\*jedlá* > Sln. *jéla* '(silver) fir, *Abies (alba)*,' adj. *jelóv*; PSl. *\*jěľša* > Sln. *jělša* 'alder, *Alnus (glutinosa)*,' adj. *jělša*; PSl. *\*līpa* > Sln. *līpa* 'lime (tree), *Tilia*,' adj. *līpov*; PSl. *\*lěšká* > Sln. *lěska* 'hazel, *Corylus (avellana)*,' adj. *lěskov*; PSl. *\*orkýta* > Sln. *rakíta* 'osier, *Salix incana*,' adj. *rakítov*; PSl. *\*smērka* > Sln. *smrěka* 'pine, *Pinus*,' adj. *smrėkov*; PSl. *\*vrbá* > Sln. *vřba* 'willow, *Salix*,' adj. *vřbov*; PSl. *\*tīsa* > Sln. *tīsa* 'yew, *Taxus baccata*,' adj. *tísov*. As is evident from this list, all of the enumerated nouns belong to the semantic field of plants, i.e. tree and bush species. As an example, proper names derived from PSl. *\*berza* will be presented.

PSl. *\*bērza* 'birch, *Betula*' (> CSl. *brěza* 'birch,' Sln. *bréza*); adj. PSl. *\*bėrzovъ* > Sln. *brézov*: *\*berzovъ* → tpn. *Brezova Gorica*, tpn. *Brezovo*; *\*berzovъcbъ* > tpn., orn., vulgo n. *Brezovec*; *\*berzovikъ* > tpn. *\*Brezovik* > *Brezovk*,<sup>12</sup> *\*berzovica* > tpn., hdn., orn. *Brezovica*; *\*berzovъskъ* → hdn. *Brezovski potok*; *\*berzovъnikъ* > tpn., orn., vulgo n. *Brezovnik*, *\*berzovъnjakъ* > tpn. *Brezovnjak*; *\*berzovъščьkъ* > vulgo n. *Brezovšek*, *\*berzovъščina* > mtpn. *Brezovščina*.

### 3. Conclusion

As can be discerned from the above linguistic analysis, the derivatives containing the morpheme *\*-ov-/\*-ev-* represent a rather productive and multiform type of geographical names in Slovenian. In the ensuing systematisation of the derivational types, the focus will be on two aspects of these noun formations, namely their form and their word-formational semantics, both providing an illustration of the derivational processes involved.

*Type 1.* PSl. *\*-ov-ъ*

Adjectives in *\*-ov-ъ* are preserved as such in proper names, be it in their original adjectival function (e.g. *Bukova Gora*, *Brezova Gorica*) or substantivised (e.g. *Vrhovo*, *Bukovo*, *Brezovo*).

<sup>12</sup>The oldest attested form of the present-day *Brezovk* near Kožbana is *Bressawicz* (1523) [see Kos 1954: 189]. The fact that almost the exact same form *Brezawicz* is documented in 1341 for the present-day *Brezovica* [Snoj 2009: 80] would imply that the original form of the place-name *Brezovk* was in fact *\*Brezovica*, a derivative in *\*-ica*, and was later supplanted by *\*Brezovik*, a productive type in *\*-ikъ*. The current form *Brezovk* is first attested in 1864 as *Bresouk* in the Baptismal register of Kožbana [ŠAK Ž Kož MMK 3]. The older attestations of this name (1826: *Bresovic*, *Bresovig*, *Bresovico*) [ŠAK Ž Kož MMK 1], however, point to the fact that *Brezovk* reflects the so-called (Slovenian) modern vowel reduction [see Ramovš 1920]. I owe this addition to the kind intervention of an anonymous reviewer.

Type 2. PSI. *\*-ov-ьць, \*-ov-икъ, \*-ov-ica, \*-ov-ькъ, \*-ov-ька, \*-ov-ina*

Derivatives in *\*-ov-ьць, \*-ov-икъ, \*-ov-ica, \*-ov-ька, \*-ov-ькъ, and \*-ov-ina* are based on adjectives in *\*-ov-ъ* with the suffixes *\*-ьць, \*-икъ, \*-ica, \*-ькъ, \*-ька,* and *\*-ina* respectively. The suffixes are used in the formation of de-adjectival nouns, specifically concrete *nomina attributiva* in *\*-ьць, \*-икъ, \*-ica, \*-ькъ, and \*-ька* (e.g. Sln. *stār* ‘old’ → *stārec* ‘old man,’ *staríca, stārka* ‘old woman’), and abstract *nomina qualitatis* in *\*-ina*, which were subsequently concretised (e.g. Sln. *mlād* ‘young’ → *mladína* ‘young people’). Examples of such proper names are Sln. *Vrhovec, Bukovec, Brezovec; Brezovik; Bukovica, Brezovica; Vrhovka; Bukovina*, etc.

Type 3. PSI. *\*-ov-ьje*

The interpretation of the origin of the formations in *\*-ov-ьje* (e.g. *Vrhovje, Bukovje*) is less unambiguous. The suffix *\*-ьje* can feature in the derivation of *nomina qualitatis* from adjectives (e.g. Sln. *vesěl* ‘glad’ → *vesélje* ‘gladness’), which can also be concretised, and *nomina collectiva* from nouns (e.g. Sln. *líst* ‘leaf’ → *lístje* ‘foliage’). Although one cannot deny the possibility that what we are dealing with is a hypothetic concretisation of an underlying *nomen qualitatis*, it is more reasonable to assume an original *nomen collectivum* derived from the oblique stem. On the basis of the relation such as Sln. *il* vs. *ilov* vs. *ilovje*, the conglomerate suffix *-ov-je* started to spread from these primary formations to other stems that do not possess an oblique stem in *-ov-*.<sup>13</sup>

Type 4. PSI. *\*-ov-jane*

The original Proto-Slavic suffix *\*-ě,ne/ \*-ane* was used to form *nomina originis* from nouns denoting a locality, e.g. PSI. *\*dǫlъ* ‘cavity, cave, valley’ (> CSI. *dolъ* ‘hole,’ Sln. *dōl* ‘valley’) → *\*dolěne* ‘inhabitants of a valley’ (cf. Sln. *dolén-j-ec*); PSI. *\*gorà* ‘mountain’ (> OCSl. *gora*, Sln. *góra*) → *\*gorěne* ‘inhabitants of a mountain’ (cf. Sln. *gorén-j-ec*); PSI. *\*pǫlě* ‘field’ (> OCSl. *polje*, Sln. *pōlje*) → *\*poláne* ‘inhabitants of a field’ (> CSI. *poljane* ‘the tribe of the Polanes,’ cf. Sln. *polján-ec*); PSI. *\*potokъ* ‘stream, brook’ (> OCSl. *potokъ*, Sln. *pótok*) → *\*potočane* ‘inhabitants near to the brook’ (> Sln. nom. sg. *potočàn*); PSI. *\*bergъ* ‘height, shore’ (> OCSl. *brěgъ*, Sln. *brêg*) → *\*beržane* ‘inhabitants of a height, shore’ (> Sln. nom. sg. *brežàn*). However, the allomorph *\*-ane* that existed after palatal consonants was eventually re-interpreted as *\*-jane* and became very productive, at least in Slovenian (e.g. Sln. *doljàn, gorjàn*). Thus, the formations in *\*-ov-jane* > *\*-ovláne* must originally

<sup>13</sup>In contrast to Slovenian, Polish geographical names display a more archaic state of affairs by exhibiting a clear complementary distribution of the suffixes *\*-ьje* and *\*-ov-ьje, \*-ьje* being characteristic of *o-* and *ā-*stem derivational bases (e.g. *\*dǫbьje* > Pol. *Dąbie*, *\*berzьje* > Pol. *Brzezie*), while the suffix *\*-ov-ьje* occurs with *ū-*stems (e.g. *\*bukovьje* > Pol. *Bukowie*) [Janczulewicz 2021].

have been *nomina originis* in *\*-jane* derived from nominal stems in *\*-ov-* (e.g. *\*cerьkov-* ‘church’ → *\*cerьkovjane* > *\*cerьkovlāne* ‘inhabitants of church’s land’ > Sln. *\*Cerkovljane* > *Cirkulane*). In Slovenian toponymy, the original formations in *\*-jane* are very rare and were ultimately reinterpreted as feminine *plurale tantum* (e.g. *Cirkulane*) on the basis of the original Slovenian *accusativus directionis* in *\*-ę* (e.g. *\*Cerkovljaneę*). In the majority of cases, a new nominative in *\*-ję* was built on the basis of the original dative, locative, and instrumental plural that ended in *\*-jamъ*, *\*-jaxъ* and *\*-jami* (e.g. PSI. *\*połane*, dat. pl. *\*połanmъ* > *\*połamъ*, loc. pl. *\*połansъ* > *\*połasъ* ≥ *\*połaxъ*, instr. pl. *\*połanmi* > *\*połami*, cf. CSl. loc. pl. *poljaxъ*): cf. Sln. loc. pl. *Doljah* → *\*Doljane* ≥ *Dolje*; loc. pl. *Gorjah* → *\*Gorjane* ≥ *Gorje*; loc. pl. *Potočah* → *\*Potočane* ≥ *Potoče*; loc. pl. *Brežah* → *\*Brežane* ≥ *Breže*. Examples of such place names are Sln. *Vrhovlje*, *Bukovlje*, etc.

*Type 5.* PSI. *\*-ov-ьnъ*, *\*-ov-ьskъ*, *\*-ov-ьjbъ*

Adjectives in *\*-ov-ьnъ*, *\*-ov-ьskъ*, and *\*-ov-ьjbъ* are derived from the original adjectives in *\*-ov-ъ* with the help of more productive “structural” suffixes such as *\*-ьnъ*, *\*-ьskъ*, and *\*-ьjbъ*. In the analysed geographical names both the original adjective and its substantivisations occur: *\*-ov-ьnъ* (e.g. *Cerkovni vrh*, *Cerkovna*), *\*-ov-ьskъ* (e.g. *Brezovski potok*), *\*-ov-ьjbъ* (e.g. *Volovja reber*). From such complex adjectives *nomina attributiva* were then formed, using the suffixes such as *\*-ikъ*, *\*-ica*, *\*-ьkъ/’-ьkъ*, *\*-akъ*, *\*-jakъ*. Some analysed geographical names display a series of such conglutinate suffixes. Especially frequent seem to be the complex suffixes *\*-ov-ьn-*, *\*-ov-ьšč-*, and *\*-ov-ьj-*.

*Type 6.* PSI. *\*-ov-ьn-ikъ/-ov-ьn-jakъ*, *\*-ov-ьn-ica*

The derivatives in *\*-ьn-ikъ/-ьn-jakъ* and *\*-ьn-ica* were originally *nomina attributiva* derived from adjectives in *\*-ьnъ* (e.g. PSI. *\*grěxъ* ‘sin’ → *\*grěš-ьnъ* ‘sinful’ → *\*grěšьn-ikъ* ‘who (man) is sinful’ / *\*grěšьn-ica* ‘who (woman) is sinful’; PSI. *\*тъма* ‘darkness’ → *\*тъм-ьnъ* ‘dark’ → *\*тъмьn-ica* ‘who/what is dark’; PSI. *\*žitо* ‘corn’ → *\*žit-ьnъ* ‘of/relating to corn’ → *\*žitьn-ica* ‘the one that is of/relating to corn’). However, because of grammatical association with other parts of speech, more specifically verbs and nouns, as well as subsequent morphological reanalysis and semantic reinterpretation of the derivatives in question, new conglutinate suffixes arose. If the derivative was associated with a verb, the complex suffixes *\*-ьn-ikъ* and *\*-ьn-ica* arose, forming *nomina agentis* (PSI. *\*grěš-i-ti* ‘to sin’ → *\*grěš-ьnikъ* ‘the one (man) who sins’ / *\*grěš-ьnica* ‘the one (woman) who sins’). On the other hand, if the derivational base of the derivative was associated with a noun, the conglutinate suffix would generally form a *nomen relationis* (e.g. Sln. *děž* [děš] ‘rain’ → *dežěv-nik* ‘the one relating to rain; earthworm’).

When the derivational base denoted a place, the derivatives could be semantically interpreted as *nomina loci* (PSl. \**tьma* ‘darkness’ → \**tьm-ьnica* ‘where darkness is’; PSl. \**žito* ‘corn’ → \**žit-ьnica* ‘where corn is’). Since in Slovenian there are no adjectives of the type \*\**bukoven*, the derivatives like *Bukovnik*, *Bukovnica* must surely go back to the nominal stem *bukov-*, conveying the original meaning of the type \*‘where there are beech trees,’ etc. It was from this type of complex derivatives that the conglomerate suffixes at hand were abstracted and began to spread to other stems (e.g. *Brezovnik*, *Brezovnjak*).

Type 7. PSl. \*-ov-ьšč- and \*-ov-ьj-

These derivatives are based on adjectives in \*-*ьskъ* and \*-*ьjъ* and are normally augmented with noun-deriving suffixes like \*-*ькъ* (e.g. *Bukovš(č)ek*, *Brezovšek*), \*-*jакъ*, \*-*ica* (e.g. *Bukovš(č)ica*), or \*-*ina* (e.g. *Brezovščina*), etc.

### Abbreviations

#### Languages

Lith.	Lithuanian	Pol.	Polish
(O)CSl.	(Old) Church Slavonic	PSl.	Proto-Slavic
PIE	Proto-Indo-European	Sln.	Slovenian

#### Other abbreviations

acc.	accusative	mtpn.	micro-toponym
adj.	adjective	nom.	nominative
dat.	Dative	orn.	oronym
dial.	dialect	pl.	plural
gen.	genitive	sg.	singular
hdrn.	hydronym	tpn.	toponym
instr.	instrumental	<i>vulgo</i> n.	<i>vulgo</i> name
loc.	locative		

### References

- AS — *Atlas Slovenije* (1996). (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, Geodetski zavod Slovenije.
- Bezlaj, F. (1976–2007). *Etimološki slovar slovenskega jezika* (Vols. 1–5). Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Inštitut za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša ZRC SAZU.
- Brugmann, K. (1906). *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen. II. Lehre von den Wortformen und ihrem Gebrauch. 1. Allgemeines. Zusammensetzung (Komposita). Nominalstämme* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner.
- Darms, G. (1978). *Schwäher und Schwager, Hahn und Huhn. Die Vrddhi-Ableitung im Germanischen*. München: Kitzinger.
- Dybo, V. A. (1981). *Slavianskaia aktsentologija* [Slavic Accentology]. Moscow: Nauka.
- Dybo, V. A. (2000). *Morfologizovannye paradigmicheskie aktsentnye sistemy* [Morphonological Paradigmatic Accent Systems]. Moscow: Iazyki russkoi kul'tury.

- ESSJa — Trubachev, O. N., et al. (Eds.). (1974–). *Etimologičeskiy slovar' slavianskikh iazykov*, [Etymological Dictionary of Slavic Languages] (Vols. 1–). Moscow: Nauka.
- Fritz, M., & Meier-Brügger, M. (2021). *Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft* (10<sup>th</sup> ed.). Berlin; Boston: Walter de Gruyter.
- Furlan, M. (1993). *Odzadnji slovar zemljepisnih imen po Atlasu Slovenije*. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU, Inštitut za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša.
- Furlan, M. (2010). Porabskoslovensko óvca 'osa'. Praslovenska sinonima \*(v)osva : \*(v)osa v slovenščini. *Slavia Centralis*, 3(1), 205–213. <https://doi.org/10.18690/scn.3.1.205-213>.2010
- Furlan, M. (2013a). *Novi etimološki slovar slovenskega jezika: Poskusni zvezek*. Ljubljana: Inštitut za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša ZRC SAZU, Založba ZRC.
- Furlan, M. (2013b). Miklošičev adjektivizirajoči "suffix ъ": da ali ne. In J. Grkovich-Mejdzhor, & A. Loma (Eds.), *Miklosichiana Bicentennialia: Zbornik v chast dvestote godishnyitse rodzheniya Frantsa Mikloshicha* (pp. 247–263). Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti.
- Hock, H. H. (2021). *Principles of Historical Linguistics* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). Berlin; Boston: Walter de Gruyter.
- Janczulewicz, P. (2020). Identyfikacja tematów na \*-j(ū) w material polskim in slowiańskim. *LingVaria*, 15(1), 201–212. <https://doi.org/10.12797/LV.15.2020.29.13>
- Janczulewicz, P. (2021). O pewnym archaizmie derywacyjnym: dystrybucja sufiksów \*-bje i \*-ov-bje w collectiwach (na podstawie polskiego materiału toponomastycznego). *Język Polski*, 101(3), 110–112. <https://doi.org/10.31286/JP.101.3.8>
- Kos, M. (1954). *Srednjeveški urbarji za Slovenijo 3: Urbarji Slovenskega Primorja 2*. Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti v Ljubljani.
- Merkù, P. (1999). *Slovenska krajevna imena v Italiji: priročnik / Toponimi sloveni in Italia: manuale*. Trst: Mladika.
- Miklosich, F. (1862–1865). *Lexicon Palaeoslovenico-Graeco-Latinum*. Wien: Wilhelm Braumüller.
- Miklosich, F. (1872). *Die slavischen Ortsnamen aus Appellativen*. Wien: Wilhelm Braumüller.
- Miklosich, F. (1875). *Stammbildungslehre der slavischen Sprachen*. Wien: Wilhelm Braumüller.
- NIL — Wodtko, D. S., Irslinger, B., & Schneider, C. (2008). *Nomina im Indogermanischen Lexikon*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- Pleteršnik, M. (2006). *Slovensko-nemški slovar* (Vols. 1–2; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. by M. Furlan). Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Inštitut za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša ZRC SAZU.
- Pronk, T. C. (2009). *The Slovene Dialect of Egg and Potschach in the Gailtal, Austria*. Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi.
- Ramovš, F. (1920). Slovenische Studien. Einleitung. I. Die moderne Vokalreduktion. *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, 37, 123–174, 289–330.
- Rozwadowski, J. (1914–1915). Przyczyunki do historycznej fonetyki języków słowiańskich. *Rocznik slawistyczny*, 7, 9–21.
- ŠAK Ž Kož MMK 1 — *Škofjski arhiv Koper: Kožbana. Matična knjiga krščenin, zvezek I, 1785–1826*. Retrieved from <https://data.maticula-online.eu/sl/slovenia/koper/Kozbana/>
- ŠAK Ž Kož MMK 3 — *Škofjski arhiv Koper: Kožbana. Matična knjiga krščenin, zvezek III, 1853–1899*. Retrieved from <https://data.maticula-online.eu/sl/slovenia/koper/Kozbana/>
- Šekli, M. (2008). *Zemljepisna in osebna lastna imena v kraju Livek in njegovi okolici*. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU.
- Šekli, M. (2019). Izvor pridevnikov tipov *bukov* in *lipov/češnjev* v slovenščini. *Slavistična revija*, 67(2), 281–289.
- SKI — Jakopin, F., Korošec, T., Logar, T., Rigler, J., Savnik, R., & Suhadolnik, S. (1985). *Slovenska krajevna imena*. Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba.

- Sławski, F. (1974–1979). Zarys słowotwórstwa prasłowiańskiego. In F. Sławski (Ed.), *Słownik prasłowiański* (Vol. 1, pp. 58–141; Vol. 2, pp. 13–60; Vol. 3, pp. 11–19). Wrocław; Warszawa; Kraków; Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowy Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk.
- Snoj, M. (2009). *Etimološki slovar slovenskih zemljepisnih imen*. Ljubljana: Modrijan.
- Snoj, M. (2016). *Slovenski etimološki slovar* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). Ljubljana: Založba ZRC.
- SS — Tseytlin, R. M., Večerka, R., & Blagova, E. (Eds.). (1999). *Staroslovjanskii slovar' (po rukopisiam X–XI vekov)* [Old Slavonic Dictionary (Based on Manuscripts of the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> Centuries)] (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Moscow: Russkii iazyk.
- SSKJ — Bajec, A., et al. (Eds.). (2014). *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; Vols. 1–2). Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Inštitut za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša ZRC SAZU.
- Stang, Ch. S. (1957). *Slavonic accentuation*. Oslo: I Kommissjon Hos H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard).
- Vondrák, W. (1924). *Vergleichende Slavische Grammatik: I. Lautlehre und Stammbildungslehre* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Zdovc, P. (2010). *Slovenska krajevna imena na avstrijskem Koroškem / Die slowenischen Ortsnamen in Kärnten*. Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Razred za filološke in literarne vede.