
7 *Serbo-Croat*

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1 Introduction

Serbo-Croat(ian) is one of the languages of Yugoslavia. (Even this statement is disputed; see the end of this section.) It is used in four of the country's six republics: Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro (Cr̄nā Gòra/Цр̄nā Gòra) and Bosnia-Hercegovina, and by four of its 'nations' (národi/národu): the Croat(ian)s (approximately 4.5 million), Serbs (8 million), Montenegrins (600 thousand) and Yugoslav Muslims (2 million). (Republics and nations coincide only in part. Serbia, predominantly inhabited by Serbs, incorporates a multilingual northern province Vojvodina with many Croats, Hungarians, Slovaks, Rumanians and Rusyns, and a southern province Kosovo having an Albanian majority. Croatia is about four-fifths Croats, but much of the remaining fifth comprises Serbs. Montenegro is nearly all Montenegrins. Bosnia-Hercegovina, home of the Serbo-Croat-speaking Muslims, is a mixture of all four nations. Slovenes and Macedonians have their own republics and languages.) Citizens (1.2 million in 1981) who assign themselves to no national group ('Yugoslav' or 'Undecided' on censuses) mostly also speak Serbo-Croat. Yugoslavia has no single official language, but Serbo-Croat often functions for inter-ethnic communication.

Yugoslavia was never a political unit until the break-up of Austria-Hungary following the First World War. The two largest nations went through language standardization separately.

Serbia, after Ottoman Turk invaders defeated its culturally advanced medieval state (the most famous of many battles was at Kosovo Polje, 1389), experienced a period of stagnation. Only the Orthodox Church kept literacy and learning alive. The Church's language and Cyrillic-alphabet orthography (first the Serbian recension of Church Slavonic, later the Russian recension) heavily influenced what secular writing was done in Turkish-ruled Serbia and in Vojvodina, which was under Austria-Hungary from about 1700. The resulting 'Slaveno-Serbian', used for literary purposes from the late 1700s, was less of an amorphous mixture than its critics claimed; nevertheless, it varied from writer to writer and was easily

intelligible only to those schooled in the Church language.

Meanwhile the Croats, linked administratively and by their Catholic religion with European countries to the north and west, cultivated literature in neighbouring languages and in their own. Writers on the Adriatic coast employed Latin and Italian, as well as the local language of Dubrovnik (Štokavian dialect; section 6) and Split (Čakavian dialect); those in northern Croatia used German, Hungarian, Latin and their own local (Kajkavian) varieties. Orthography was mainly Latin, rendering non-Latin sounds by Hungarian or Italian-like graphic conventions. Since Croatia manifests the greatest dialect differentiation of all the Serbo-Croat territory, considerable differences existed between writing done in Zagreb or Varaždin in the north and works emanating from the coast. However, books and manuscripts circulated: thus Belostenec's dictionary (compiled 1670, published 1740) notes words from diverse locations.

Croats also had a Church Slavonic tradition. Coastal and island regions, often rather against the hierarchy's wishes, held Catholic services with Glagolitic-alphabet Slavonic texts, a practice lasting into this century on the island of Krk. Glagolitic (see chapter 2) served secular writings too; special Croatian square inscriptional characters and cursive script developed.

In the early 1800s Vuk Karadžić, a largely self-taught writer and folklorist, encouraged by Slavist and enlightened Austrian official Bartholomäus (Jernej) Kopitar, proposed a reformed Serbian literary language based on Štokavian folk usage without Church Slavonic phonological and morphological features. He advocated (i)jekavian Štokavian with neo-Štokavian shifted accentuation and newer declensions (merging plural dative, instrumental and locative cases); see sections 2 and 6. His 1818 dictionary showed how to write his new Serbian in a modified Cyrillic remedying the over- and under-differentiating Church orthography. Offensive to some were his dropping the *jer* letters (ѣ, њ) and his consonant letter *j*; the last was even called a Latin threat to Orthodoxy. After fifty years of polemics conducted by Karadžić and his disciple Duro Daničić, the newly independent kingdom of Serbia adopted his language and alphabet, though his (i)jekavian reflex of *jat'* (section 2.1) yielded to ekavian, typical of Eastern Serbo-Croat.

In Zagreb, the cultural centre of Croatia since the late 1700s, the Illyrian Movement sought unity of all South Slavs in the 1820s–1830s, and hence shifted in writing and publishing from local Kajkavian to the more widespread Štokavian. The writer–editor Ljudevit Gaj introduced Latin letters with diacritical marks (č, š, ž, from Czech, ć from Polish) and digraphs (*lj, nj, dž*, originally also *gj* or *dj* for *đ*). Discussion continued throughout the century about which sort of Štokavian to adopt. Several literary figures made a 'Literary Agreement' with Serbian counterparts in 1850 to standardize on Vuk's (i)jekavian Štokavian, but only when Tomo Maretić based a grammar (1899) on a corpus of Vuk's and Daničić's writings did

this become established in Croat practice, eliminating ikavian *jat'* reflexes and the older differentiated dative, locative and instrumental plural endings. Puristic tendencies led to maintenance or reintroduction of many words from older literature, and to newly coined domestic terms (section 5.2). These terminological differences, some grammatical preferences and virtually exclusive use of Latin orthography lend Croatia's (i)jekavian standard a somewhat different aspect from that of Serbia (ekavian, Cyrillic and Latin alphabets), Montenegro (ijekavian, mostly Cyrillic) and Bosnia-Herzegovina (ijekavian, more Latin than Cyrillic). The name 'Croatian literary language' is favoured for it within Croatia (as in the 1974 Constitution of the Republic of Croatia), and it is often termed a separate language, although this position is equally often rejected in the press and political circles.

[The above was written in 1991. Since then the destructiveness of the war has led to international recognition of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina as independent within their pre-existing boundaries. Serbia and Montenegro have formed a new non-socialist Yugoslavia against which the United Nations has imposed sanctions. Any observer must regret the war damages to civilian and military persons, economic potentials and cultural heritages. The linguist can expect broken contacts to lead to divergence in the language's standards. Mass expulsions and evacuations of refugees will make the dialect landscape much less differentiated and coherent than that shown in map 7.1 (page 383).]

2 Phonology

2.1 Segmental phoneme inventory

The five vowels *i, e, a, o, u* may occur in any position in a word: initial, medial, final. Each can be long or short (see Prosodic phenomena below). In addition, *r* can act as a vowel (long or short): *cr̄n/цр̄н* 'black', *v̄rt/v̄рт* 'garden'. 'Vocalic' ('syllabic') *r* (phonetically [ɾ]) is not specially marked in normal writing. The pronunciation [ɾ] is almost predictable, the rule being *r* → ɾ when not next to a vowel (and in a few other exceptional environments).

Reflexes of *ě*, often called *jat'* (chapter 3, section 2.27) vary geographically, a fact on which one well-known dialect classification is based. Most Eastern Štokavian dialects are ekavian, having *e* from *jat'*: **rěka* > *rěka* 'river', **věra* > *věra* 'faith' (dialect forms are in Latin transcription throughout) except that *i* usually appears before *j*: **nov-ěj-ьjь* > *nòvijī* 'newer'; this holds for the ekavian standard. Some north-central and coastal dialects, termed ikavian, have consistent *i* for *jat'*: *rika, vīra, nòvijī*. An area in western Serbia has a distinct reflex, closed *ɛ* (between *i* and *e*) (Реметић/Remetić 1981), as do some settlers in non-Serbo-Croat surroundings.

Other central and southern-coastal Štokavian dialects have a reflex customarily described as *ije* in long syllables, *je* in short: *rijeka* (long), *vjera* (short); the terms ijekavian and jekavian are both used for such dialects. (They typically have *ě* > *i* both before *j*: *nòvjiī* and before *o* which is an alternant of *l*: **děľ* > *dīo* 'part', but *dijel-* in the rest of the paradigm.) It is this understanding of the (i)jekavian reflex which has led to the traditional spelling and accentuation marking of the standard Serbo-Croat of Croatia, Montenegro and Bosnia-Herzegovina: *vjěra/vjèpa* in a short syllable, *rijěka/rijèka* in a long. It has, however, been demonstrated (Brozović 1973) that the standard language's long-syllable *jat'* reflex does not really consist of two syllables each with a short vowel. Contrasting alleged Nijemas/Нижемац < **něťsь* 'German' with the sequence of short syllables seen in nijedan/ниједан < **ni jedьnъ* 'not one' shows that *ije* in 'German' is optionally one or two syllables but in either case begins with a brief *i* followed by long *e* [iě]; thus we here adopt Brozović's *rijěka/rijéka*, Nijemas/Нижемац. Similarly in examples with falling accent: traditional njem/нјем, Brozović and here nijem/нијем [niēm] 'mute'.

A further (i)jekavian complication is that the short-syllable reflex is *e*, not *je*, after consonant + *r* when all three sounds are in the same morpheme: **xrěň* > *hrěn/xrěn* 'horseradish'. Compare **rěš-* > *rješávati/rješávati* 'to solve' with no preceding consonant, and *raz+rješávati/raz+rješávati* 'to release' with intervening morpheme boundary.

The Čakavian dialects are ekavian, ikavian and ikavian/ekavian (having *e* before Proto-Slavonic dental consonant + back vowel, *i* otherwise). Thus from **měra* 'a measure', **měriti* 'to measure', **lěpo* 'beautifully', **dvě* 'two' the first type has *měra měrit lěpo dvě*, the second *mīra mīrit lipo dvi* and the last *měra mīrit lipo dvi*. Kajkavian dialects show varied vowel systems, usually with *ě* > [ɛ] or [e].

Of other Proto-Slavonic vowels missing in present-day Serbo-Croat, the front and back nasals (chapter 3, section 2.27) have merged with *e* and *u* respectively: **pětь* > *pět/pět* 'five', **rьka* > *rúka/rýka* 'hand, arm'.

Both jers have developed to *a* in strong position (see chapter 3, section 2.25): **рьсѣ* > *pàs/pàs* 'dog', **сьнѣ* > *sàn/càn* 'sleep, dream'. In most instances *jers* drop in weak position, yielding *a* ~ \emptyset alternations: genitives **рьsa* > *pšà/pcà*, **сьna* > *snà/cnà*. Even when weak they develop into *a* if any of certain obstruent-sonorant clusters would arise: **тьгла* > *màgla/màgla* 'fog'.

Syllabic liquids arose in older Serbo-Croat from merger of liquid-jer and jer-liquid groups in interconsonantal position (without distinction of strong and weak *jers*): *ьr, њr, рь, рь* all become *ř*; *ьl, њl, ль, ль* all become *ļ*. Thus **рьrv-ъь* > **řrv-*, **тьrg-ъ* > **trg*, **грьm-ěti* > **grm-*, **кръвь* > **křv*, **ььlk-ъ* > **vļk*, **сьlnьce* > **sļnce*, **сььza* > **sļza*, **гььti-ati* > **gļtati*. Modern Serbo-Croat preserves *ř*, and the standard language (like most dialects) has *u* from *ļ*: *přivī/přivī* 'first', *trg/trp* 'town square', *grm(j)eti/*

гpм(ј)ети 'to thunder', kŕv/кpв 'blood', vŭk/вyк 'wolf', sŭnce/cyнцe 'sun', sŭza/cyзa 'a tear', gŭtati/gytати 'to swallow'.

Serbo-Croat shows normal South Slavonic reflexes of other Proto-Slavonic interconsonantal vowel-liquid groups, namely metathesis with vowel lengthening: *er* > *rě*, *or* > *ra*, *el* > *lě*, *ol* > *la*. The *ě* develops according to the rules for individual dialects. Examples: **u-mer-ti* > ijekavian ūmrijēti/ŭmrijēти, ekavian ūmrēti/ŭmrēти 'to die'; **gordъ* > grād/град 'town'; **melko* > ijekavian mlijéko/млијéко, ekavian mléko/млéко 'milk'; **molt-iti* > mlátiti/млáтити 'to thresh, beat'.

The consonants of Serbo-Croat are shown in table 7.1.

The symbols used here are those of the Latin-alphabet orthography. They largely correspond to the transcription used among Slavists; note specially *h* [x ~ h], *c* [tʃ], *đ* [dʒ], *ć* [tɕ], *dž* [dʒ], *nj* [ɲ = ñ], *lj* [ʎ].

The Latin alphabetical order is a b c č ć d dž đ e f g h i j k l lj m n nj o p r s š t u v z ž. Each letter with a differentiator follows its counterpart without; the digraphs *dž lj nj* behave as units (filling one square of a crossword puzzle, for example) and follow *d l n* respectively. The corresponding Cyrillic letters are а б ц ч њ д џ е ф г х и ј к л љ м н њ о п р с ш т у в з ж. Cyrillic alphabetical order differs somewhat: а б в г д њ е ж з и ј к л љ м н њ о п р с т љ у ф х ц ч џ ш.

The only exceptions to one-to-one correspondence between Latin and Cyrillic writing are instances where Latin *dž* and *nj* notate a sequence rather than a single sound. This occurs when *d* is the final consonant of a prefix and *ž* is part of a root, as *nad*+*živ(j)eti* 'to outlive', and when *n* is

Table 7.1 Serbo-Croat consonants

	<i>Bilabial</i>	<i>Labio-dental</i>	<i>Dental</i>	<i>Alveo-palatal</i>	<i>Palatal</i>	<i>Velar</i>
Obstruents						
Stops						
Voiceless	p		t			k
Voiced	b		d			g
Fricatives						
Voiceless		f	s	š		h
Voiced		v	z	ž		
Affricates						
Voiceless			c	č	ć	
Voiced				dž	đ	
Sonorants						
Nasals						
	m		n		nj	
Liquids						
Laterals			l		lj	
Vibrant			r			
Glide						
					j	

part of an abbreviation or foreign prefix coming before a root with *j*: *kon + jugácija* 'conjugation'. Cyrillic spellings are then наджив(ј)ети, конјугација.

V and *f* are bilabial fricatives, hence obstruents, although *v* is less strident than *f*. However, *v* behaves as a sonorant in never undergoing or causing devoicing. Thus there is no assimilation in овца/овца 'sheep' and твој/твој 'your'.

Prosodic phenomena: accent and vowel length. Some words are proclitic or enclitic, thus having no accented syllable of their own (proclitics: certain conjunctions, most prepositions; enclitics: certain pronoun and verb forms, certain particles; see section 4.1). Apart from these, every word form has one accented syllable (some compound words have one on each element). We say accent, not stress, because pitch and length are involved rather than intensity. Accent can alternate in placement or contour within the paradigm of a word. Accented syllables are termed either rising or falling, and contain a long or a short vowel. Traditional notation in grammars and dictionaries combines these two features, using four accent marks: short falling \grave{a} , long falling \hat{a} , short rising \acute{a} , long rising \acute{a} . The falling accents occur almost exclusively on first syllables of words, and can occur on monosyllables: *gǔvōr/гǔвōр* 'speech', *lǔš/lǔш* 'bad'; *prāvdati/пrāvдати* 'to justify', *grād/грād* 'city'. The rising accents occur on any syllable but the last, hence not on monosyllables: *dǔlaziti/dǔлазити* 'to come', *govōriti/говōрити* 'to speak', *veličina/величина* 'size'; *glūmiti/глūмити* 'to act', *garāža/гарāжа* 'garage', *gravitirati/гравитírати* 'to gravitate'.

Long and short vowels are distinguished under accent or in later syllables in the word. Thus *grād/грād* 'city', *grād/грād* 'hail'; *váljati/váљати* 'to roll', *vàljati/vàљати* 'to be good'. Post-accentual length is notated \bar{a} : *gǔdīnā/гǔдīнā* 'years (GEN PL)'; *prāvda/prāvдā* 'he/she justifies', *prāvda/prāvда* 'justice'; *veličinē/величйнē* 'size (GEN SG)', *veličine/величйнe* 'sizes (NOM/ACC PL)'. Many post-accentual lengths are associated with specific suffixes or grammatical forms (as genitive plural of nouns). One can construct examples with multiple lengths like *rǔzbōjnīštāvā/rǔzbōjnīштāwā*, genitive plural of *rǔzbōjnīštvo/rǔzbōjnīштво* 'banditry', but few people will pronounce all five vowels long; practically every region shortens post-accentual lengths in some positions (P. Ivić 1958 finds a clear hierarchy of dialectal shortenings).

The names of the accents suggest a pitch change on a given syllable. Pitch does ascend within long rising accented vowels, and drops during long fallings. However, short accented vowels have no such obvious pitch rise or fall. Measurements (Lehiste and Ivić 1986) suggest that the only consistent difference between short accents is the relationship with the following syllable: the syllable after a short rising begins equal to or higher in pitch than the accented syllable itself, then declines, whereas the syllable

after a short falling begins distinctly lower. The same relationship (equal to or higher versus lower) holds in the syllables following long rising and long falling, and is hence the factor common to all accentual distinctions, though regional variations in accent contour have led to disagreements among scholars.

An analysis attributing phonemic value to the pitch of the post-accentual syllable, rather than to the 'rising' accented syllable itself, was first proposed by Masing and elaborated by Browne and McCawley (1965). It rationalizes the distributional limitations: 'rising' cannot occur on final syllables because the next syllable must be there to bear the distinctive high pitch. This pitch can thus be on any of the syllables; if it is on the second, speakers perceive a rising on the first syllable, if on the third, they hear rising on the second, and so forth. Distinctive high pitch on the initial syllable yields falling accent. Why do Serbo-Croat speakers perceive the accent in the place where they do? This syllable undergoes lengthening by a factor of 1.5 (a long vowel, whose length is about 1.5 that of a short vowel, becomes $1.5 \times 1.5 = 2.25$ times the length of an unaccented short vowel), and the extra length gives it auditory prominence (Lehiste and Ivić 1986). The accented syllable is the one which bears ictus in verse and carries most sentence intonations.

Falling accents can 'jump' onto proclitics (prepositions, the negation *ne* before verbs, sometimes coordinating conjunctions). This is what we expect if the proclitic forms one phonological word with its host word: a falling accent on the initial syllable of *brāt/brāt* 'brother' would find itself on a non-initial syllable in the group *od brāta/od brāta* 'from the brother', violating the distribution rule for falling accents. In many dialects and the more traditional norm for the standard language, the accentuation rules can apply to the entire group, resulting in accent on the proclitic: *òd brata/òd brata*.

Another type of 'jumping' is seen in dialects and in conservative standard Serbo-Croat with such a host word as *grād/grād* 'city': *u grād/y grād* 'to the city' can yield *ù grād/ÿ grād*. The difference between *brāt-* and *grād-* is that the second has no inherent high pitch; a rule, surviving from Proto-Slavonic, provides an accent to the first syllable of any word (or group) which, at that point in the phonological derivation, has no high pitch marked on any of its syllables.

2.2 Morphophonemic alternations inherited from Proto-Slavonic

The first palatalization of velars, which in Proto-Slavonic changed *k*, *g*, *x* to *č*, *ž* (later *ž*) and *š* respectively when a front vowel followed, survives in Serbo-Croat as a family of *k*, *g*, *h* → *č*, *ž*, *š* alternations in inflection (before *e*) and word formation (before *j*, *i*, *e*, movable *a* and other segments). The conditioning is partly morphological (and lexical), because not every instance of these segments triggers the change. In masculine nouns the

vocative singular ending *-e/-e* causes it: *ùčenĭk/ўченик* 'pupil' → *ùčenĭče/ўчениче*, *Bòg/Бòг* 'God' → *Bðže/Бðже*, *sirðmah/сирðмах* 'poor man' → *sirðmaše/сирðмаше*. The accusative plural ending *-e/-e* does not: *ùčenĭke/ўченике*, *sirðmahe/сирðмахе*, *bùbregе/бўбрегe* (from *bùbreg/бўбрег* 'kidney'). The *-e/-e* in verb present tenses invariably causes it: *pèci/pèhi* 'to bake', stem *pèk-/пèк-*, present *pèčëm/pèčëm*, but third person plural *pèkū/pèkū*, where there is no *-e/-e*.

Diminutive endings such as *-ica/-ица* commonly trigger the alternation in question, thus *rúka/рука* 'hand, arm' → diminutive *rùčica/ручица* 'small hand/arm'. But in certain instances a differentiation arises: *rùčica/ручица* meaning 'handle' invariably has *č*, but emotional speech, as of or to a baby, may have unchanged *k* in diminutive *rùkica/рукица* 'hand/arm'. In some instances the alternation has spread to suffixes having no *j* or front vowel: *nòga/nòга* 'leg, foot' has augmentative *nòž-ūrda/nòж-ўрда* 'big ugly foot', compare *gláva/глава* 'head' → *glàv-ūrda/глав-ўрда* without *j*.

Alternation without overt triggering segment characterizes the formation of adjectives with *-skī/-скй* and its morphophonemic alternants: *Amèrika/Амèрика*, *amèričkī/амèричкй* 'American'. In Proto-Slavonic this suffix began with a front vowel, *-ьsk-*; but Serbo-Croat has no vowel here.

The third palatalization of velars (see below) produced *c* and *z* from earlier Proto-Slavonic *k*, *g*. In Serbo-Croat, almost all *c*, and those instances of *z* which arose from the third palatalization, alternate with *č* and *ž* respectively. The conditions can be described as 'same as for *k*, plus others': inherited *stric/стриц* 'father's brother' and borrowed *přinc/пřинц* 'prince' have vocative singular *strĭče/стриче* and *přĭnče/пřинче*, but they also show alternation before *ov/ов* and *ev/ев* of the 'long plural' (section 3.1.2): plural *strĭčevi/стричеви*, *přĭnčevi/пřинчеви*, unlike nouns in *k*: *vùk/vùк* 'wolf', plural *vùkovi/vùкови*. Similarly *knèz/кнèз* 'prince', vocative *knèže/кнèже*, plural *knèževi/кнèжеви*, since this word had Proto-Slavonic *g* (**kъnъrъz* < **kŭnĭngas*); but *vòz/vòз* 'train, cart', which never underwent the third palatalization, has vocative *vòze/vòze* and plural *vòzovi/vòзови*.

The second palatalization of velars produced *c*, *z* (via *ʒ*) and *s* from Proto-Slavonic *k*, *g* and *x* respectively (chapter 3, section 2.19). Serbo-Croat has three alternations, all of the form *k*, *g*, *h* → *c*, *z*, *s* before *i*, but with different conditioning.

First, in verbs with stem-final *k*, *g* and one rare verb with *h*: *rèci/pèhi* 'to say', stem *rek-/рек-*, imperative singular *rèci/pèци*; *pòmoci/pòmohi* 'to help', stem *romòg-/помòг-*, imperative *romòzi/pòmòзи*; *vřci/vřhi* 'to thresh', stem *vřh-/врх-*, imperative *vřsi/vřси*. Here it is stable but not productive, since no new stems can be added.

Further, in two places in noun morphology. Before *-i/-и* in masculine

nominative plurals, the alternation is almost exceptionless: ŭčenīci/ўченици; agnòstik/агнòстик 'agnostic', agnòstici/агнòстици; bŭbrezi/бўбрези; siròmasi/сирòмаси; àlmanah/àлманах 'almanac', àlmanasi/àлманаси. A few recent words escape it, like kòk/кòк 'cocculus bacterium', kòki/кòки. It is equally regular before the -ima/-има dative-locative-instrumental plural ending: ŭčenīcima/ўченицима, agnòsticima/агнòстицима, bŭbrezima/бўбрезима.

In the dative-locative singular of the -a declension, the change is common: rŭka/рўка, rŭci/рўци (or rŭci/рўци); nòga/нòга 'foot, leg', nòzi/нòзи; svřha/свřха 'purpose', svřsi/свřси; but it is restricted by phonological, morphological and lexical factors, whose hierarchy is only partially investigated. Some stem-final consonant clusters disfavour it: mǎčka/mǎчка 'cat', mǎčki/mǎчки, compare d(j)èvòjka/д(ј)èвòjка 'girl', d(j)èvòjci/д(ј)èвòjци. Personal names and hypocoristics avoid it: Milka/Милка, Mílki/Милки; báka/báка 'Granny', báki/báки. This avoidance is stronger than the tendency for words in -ika/-ика to undergo the change: lògika/лòгика 'logic', lògici/лòгици; Àfrika/Àфрика, Àfrici/Àфрици; but číka/чíка 'Uncle (addressing an older man)', číki/чíки. Of the three consonants, *k* most readily alternates, then *g*, with *h* least susceptible.

The third palatalization of velars (*c*, *z*, *s* from earlier Proto-Slavonic *k*, *g*, *x*) survives as a rare alternation in word formation: knèz/кнèз 'prince' but knèginja/кнèгиња 'princess'. Only in the formation of imperfective verbs from perfectives can a pattern (dating to early South Slavonic) be discerned, as izreći/йзрећи 'to utter', stem iz-rek-/йз-рек-, imperfective izrícati/изрйцати; pòdìci/pòдйћи 'to pick up', stem pò-dig-/пò-диг-, imperfective pòdizati/pòдизати; udàhnuti/удàхнути 'to inhale', stem u-dàh-nu-/у-дàх-ну-, imperfective ùdisati/ўдисати.

Proto-Slavonic had a series of alternations in consonant + *j* groups, termed 'jotations' or 'yodizations' (chapter 3, section 2.10). They appeared *inter alia* in past passive participles of verb stems in -i and in comparatives of some adjectives: *nosi-ti 'to carry', participle *nošenъ 'carried'; *vysoкъ 'high', *vyš- 'higher'. Common to all Slavonic languages are the results š, ž from jotation of *s*, *z* and the results č, ž, š (= first palatalization of velars) from jotation of *k*, *g*, *x*. The Serbo-Croat 'old jotation' resulting from the Proto-Slavonic jotation is: (1) labials add *lj*, thus *p-plj*, *b-blj*, *m-mlj*, *v-vlj*; the newer sound *f* also becomes *flj*; (2) *s*, *z* alternate with š, ž; (3) *t*, *d* alternate with č, đ; (4) *k*, *g*, *h* alternate with č, ž, š; as in the first palatalization's reflex, *c* has also come to alternate with č; (5) *l*, *n* alternate with *lj*, *nj*; (6) *r* and other consonants (palatals of various sorts, also the group *št*) are unaffected. Points 2 and 4 are identical throughout Slavonic; the palatals of 5 are presumed to have existed in all but have been eliminated in most. 1 is absent in two areas: West Slavonic and Modern Bulgarian and Macedonian. 3 presents diverse reflexes; Štokavian Serbo-

Croat developments of *tj* (from older *tj* and from *kt* before front vowel) and *dj* are **nokt-i-*, **medja* > *nôc/nôh* 'night', *mêđa/mêĥa* 'boundary'. Examples of alternations (passive participles of verbs, masculine singular indefinite): *ljúbiti/љубити* 'to kiss, to love', *ljubljen/љубљен*; *zašaráfiti/заšaráfити* 'to tighten (a screw)', *zašarāfljen/заšarāфљен*; *nòsiti/нòсити* 'to carry', *nðšen/нòшен*; *vratiti/вратити* 'to return', *vraćen/vraĥen*; *báciti/бáцити* 'to throw', *bāčen/bāчен* (there are no verbs in *-kiti/-кити*, *-giti/-гити*, *-hiti/-хити*, except for the baby-talk *kákiti/káкити* 'defecate'); *hváliti/хвáлити* 'to praise', *hvaljen/hváљен*; *izgovòriti/изговòрити* 'to pronounce', *izgðvoren/изгðворен*; *túžiti/тúжити* 'to accuse', *túžen/túжен*; *pòništiti/пòништити* 'to cancel', *pòništen/pòништен*. The inherited jotation yields *št* and *žd* from *st* and *zd*, but these results now compete with *šć*, *žđ* (which come from changing the two consonants separately): *iskòristiti/искòристити* 'to use', *iskòrišten/искòриштен* and *iskòrišćen/искòришћен*. *Šć* is the only possibility in adjective comparison: *gúst/гýст* 'thick', comparative *gúšći/гúшћñ*.

The groups *sk*, *zg* before front vowel or *j* (first or second palatalization of velars) and *stj*, *zdj* merge, presumably through a stage *šć*, *žđ*, to yield *št*, *žd* in standard Serbo-Croat (compare the later version of the *j* alternation, section 2.3).

Vowel alternations. Proto-Slavonic fronted certain vowels following a palatal consonant (see chapter 3, section 2.25). The fronting led to the existence of parallel sets of nominal endings in morphology. Serbo-Croat eliminated such parallelism in endings in favour of the **fronted** set (as did Slovene); only the *o-e* change survives as an alternation. Thus neuter *o*-declension nouns (section 3.1.2) have *-o/-o* in *m(j)ěsto/м(ј)ěсто* 'place', *-e/-e* in *sřce/срце* 'heart' and *ùčēnje/учēње* 'teaching, learning'.

The Serbo-Croat rule is now: *o* → *e* after palatal consonants and their descendants (*č*, *dž*, *š*, *ž*, *ć*, *đ*, *j*, *lj*, *nj*, *c*, *št*, *žd*, sometimes *r* and *z*). It acts in nominal declensions and in word formation. A morphological limitation is that it scarcely applies in feminine declensions (only in the vocative singular of most nouns suffixed with *-ica/-ица*, as *profesòrica/професòрица*, vocative *profesòrice/професòрице*). Feminine adjectives and feminine pronouns are unaffected. The alternation in *-om/-ом* endings of the masculine and neuter is widespread, but factors hindering it (section 3.1.2) include vowel dissimilation and foreignness of the noun. The *o-e* alternation has spread to a new Serbo-Croat morpheme, the *ov/ов* and *ev/ев* of masculine noun 'long plurals' (section 3.1.2); thus *grāđovi/грāдови* 'cities' but *mùževi/мùжеви* 'husbands'.

The main vowel-zero alternation in present-day Serbo-Croat is *a* ~ \emptyset . As mentioned in 2.1, the Proto-Slavonic *jer* vowels *ь*, *ъ* developed into *a* or dropped out, depending on position in the word. This leads to *a* appearing in word forms with zero ending, but not in related forms with a vowel ending. Examples are nominative singular masculine of nouns and

indefinite adjectives, masculine singular *l*-participles of verbs; respectively, *třgovac*/тřговац ‘merchant’ and genitive *třgovca*/тřговца; *túžan*/тúжан ‘sad’ and feminine *túžna*/тúжна; *išao*/ишао ‘went’ (from *ići*/ићи) and feminine singular *išla*/ишла. The *a* also appears before certain suffixes, as *třgovac*/тřговац + *skī*/скī → *třgovačkī*/тřговачкī ‘commercial’.

The alternation has been extended to various stem-final consonant clusters (generally containing at least one sonorant) where it had no historical basis. This is termed ‘inserted *a*’ or ‘secondary jer’. Compare *Pětar*/Пěтар ‘Peter’, genitive *Pětra*/Пěтра (**Petrъ*); *dǔbar*/дǔбар ‘good’, feminine *dǔbra*/дǔбра (**dobrъ*); the masculine *l*-participle of verbs whose stem ends in an obstruent, as *rěkao*/рěкао ‘said’ (from *rěkal* < **reklъ*). Inserted *a* in nominative singulars is frequent in loan-words: *kīlometar*/кīлометар, genitive *kīlometra*/кīлометра; *sǔbjekat*/сǔбјекат or *sǔbjekt*/сǔбјект, genitive *sǔbjekta*/сǔбјекта.

The Serbo-Croat *-ā/-ā* genitive plural ending also triggers insertion of *a*, ‘breaking’ a preceding cluster: *třgovācā*/тřговāцā, *kīlometārā*/кīлометārā, *sǔbjekātā*/сǔбјекātā, *jǔtārā*/јǔтārā from *jǔtro*/јǔтро ‘morning’, *sestārā*/сестārā from *sestra*/сестра ‘sister’. (Only a few clusters such as *st*, *zd*, *št*, *žd*, *šč*, *žd*, consonant-*j* are ‘unbreakable’; *česta*/цěста ‘road’, genitive plural *čestā*/цěстā, *rāskršće*/рāскршће ‘crossroads’, genitive plural *rāskršcā*/рāскршћā, *sāzv(ij)ěžde*/сāзв(иј)ěжђе ‘constellation’, genitive plural *sāzv(ij)ěždā*/сāзв(иј)ěжђā, *nār(j)ěčje*/нār(ј)ечје ‘dialect’, genitive plural *nār(j)ěčjā*/нār(ј)ечјā.) The inserted *-a-* then undergoes the other notable effect of this ending, namely vowel lengthening in the syllable preceding. A hierarchy exists: insertion in genitive plural can occur without insertion in nominative singular, but not the reverse.

2.3 Morphophonemic alternations resulting from changes after Proto-Slavonic

Upon the dropping of *jer* vowels in weak position, groups of consonant-*jer-j* (the *jer* was apparently always front) became consonant-*j*. Ensuing changes (‘new jotation’) led to a new set of alternations (it is debatable whether we should seek to collapse the two sets in a description). Points 1, 3 and 5 are as in section 2.2, thus in collective nouns (Proto-Slavonic *-yje*): *grǔb*/грǔб ‘grave’, *grǔblje*/грǔбље ‘cemetery’; *cv(ij)ět*/цв(иј)ět ‘flower’, *cv(ij)ěce*/цв(иј)ěће ‘flowers’; *grāna*/грāна ‘branch’, *grānje*/грāње ‘branches’ (and verbal nouns like *učēnje*/учěње). *S* and *z* remain unchanged, as does *j*: *klās*/клāс ‘ear of grain’, *klāsje*/клāсје ‘ears’. The *j* remains also after *č*, *š*, *ž* from 4 and 6: *nǔga*/нǔга ‘leg, foot’, *pǔdnǔžje*/пǔднǔжје ‘base, foundation’, and after *r*: *mǔre*/мǔре ‘sea, prīmǔrje/прīmǔрје ‘littoral’. Only after palatals proper (*č*, *đ*, *lj*, *nj*, *j*) does *j* disappear: *měđa*/мěђа ‘border’, *rāzmeđe*/рāзмеђе ‘division’, *St*, *zd* yield

only *šč*, *žd*: list/лист 'leaf', lišće/лишће 'leaves'; grōzd/грōзд 'bunch of grapes', grōžde/грōжђе 'grapes'.

The newest jotation affects a consonant coming before the *je* reflex of short *jať*. In standard jekavian it makes *l* and *n* into the corresponding palatals: Proto-Slavonic **lěto*, **něga* > *ljěto* 'summer', *njěga* 'care'; as Cyrillic writing makes clear, no separate *j* remains: љѣто, њѣга. (The presence of long or short vowel thus leads to alternation of dental and palatal consonant: Nijémac/Нижéмац 'a German', but adjective njěmačkī/њѣмачкѣ.) In many dialects this type is more extensive, affecting *t*, *d*; in some, also labials and *s*, *z* (Brozović and Ivić 1988: 13 and 56–77). Such progressions may be of general-phonetic interest.

Partly inherited from Proto-Slavonic, where consonant clusters like *st*, *zd* but not 'sd' 'zt' existed, but greatly extended after the fall of the jers is consonant assimilation in voicing. In any cluster of obstruents, the voiced or voiceless quality of the last member controls that of the others. (Recall that *v* is not an obstruent in behaviour, section 2.1). This is both a phonotactic phenomenon, in that clusters like 'sd' 'bč' 'šg' are still impossible, and a morphophonemic one, since alternations occur in final consonants of prefixes: *s/c* in *slōžiti*/слōжити 'to assemble' but *z/z* in *zgāziti*/згāзити 'to trample'; before suffixes, as *ūdžbenīk*/ўдженѣк 'textbook' from *ūčiti*/ўчити 'to teach, learn'; and when *a* alternates with zero, as *rédak*/рédак 'a line', genitive singular *rétka*/рétка. Voicing assimilation is almost invariably reflected in writing. Only *d* keeps its spelling before *s* and *š*: *grād*/грād 'city', *grādski*/грādскѣ 'urban'; *štěta*/штѣта 'damage', *ōdšteta*/ōдштета 'compensation'.

Assimilation to a voiceless final member and assimilation to a voiced final member might seem part of the same rule, but they interact differently with 'cluster-breaking' in noun genitive plurals: a consonant devoiced in a cluster regains its voicing (*svěska*/свѣска 'notebook', from *svézati*/свѣзати 'to bind', genitive plural *svězākā*/свѣзākā), whereas one which has become voiced remains so (*prīm(j)edba*/прѣм(j)едба 'comment', from *prīm(ij)étiti*/прим(и)ѣтити 'to remark', genitive plural *prīm(j)edābā*/прѣм(j)едāбā).

Assimilation in palatality affects *s* and *z*, which are pronounced and written *š*, *ž* before *č*, *dž*, *ć*, *đ* and *lj*, *nj* (though not root-initial *lj*, *nj*, nor *lj*, *nj* resulting from the newest (jekavian) jotation): *rāščistiti*/рāшчистити 'to clear up', from prefix *raz-*/раз- and *čistiti*/чѣстити 'to clean'; *vōžnja*/вōжња 'driving', from *vōziti*/вōзити 'to drive' and suffix *-nja*/-ња; but not in *razljūtiti*/разљўтити 'to anger' from *ljūt*/љўт 'angry, sharp', nor in jekavian *snjěžan*/сњѣжан 'snowy' (ekavian *sněžan*/снѣжан).

Serbo-Croat spelling, further, shows changes in consonant clusters. Double consonants simplify: *běžnačājan*/бѣзначājan 'insignificant' from *bez*/без 'without' and *znāčāj*/знāчāj 'significance'. Dental stops drop before affricates, as in case forms of *ōtac*/ōтац 'father': genitive *ōca*/ōца

(from *otca*), nominative plural *đčevi/đчеви* (from *otčevi*). *T* and *d* are also lost between *s, z, š, ž* and *n, l* or various other consonants (*izraslina/израслина* ‘a growth’ from the verb stem *rást/раст* – ‘grow’; the adjective *rādostan/радостан* ‘joyful’ has feminine *rādosna/радосна*, from *rādōst/радōст* ‘joy’). They remain at prefix-root boundary: *istlačiti/истлачити* ‘to oppress’, from *iz-/из-* ‘out’ and *tlačiti/тлачити* ‘to press’. Such changes, like *a*-insertion, give Serbo-Croat a high relative frequency of vowels as compared to consonants.

A further vowel-enhancing change is that of the consonant *l* to *o*, which occurred when the *l* was pre-consonantal or word-final. The alternation that results is exceptionless in verb *l*-participles: masculine singular *dāo/дао* ‘gave’, but feminine *dāla/дала*. In adjectives and nouns it is widespread though lexicalized: masculine singular nominative *mlo/мло* ‘nice’, feminine *mīla/мйла*, but *đhol/дохол* ‘haughty’ – *đhola/дохола*.

If the *l*-*o* change yields a sequence *oo*, this contracts to long *ō*: thus the masculine singular *l*-participle of *ubōsti/убōсти* (stem *ubōd/убōд-*) ‘to stab’ is *ūbō/ūбō*.

A-insertion and *l*-*o* are linked. If a word-final cluster of consonant-*l* is split, the *l* almost always becomes *o*. Apart from *l*-participles like *rēk-l/rēк-л* → *rēkao/rēкао* ‘said’, there are nouns like *misl-/мйсл-* → *mīsaο/mйсаο* ‘thought’ and adjectives like *tōpl-/тōпл-* → *tōpaο/tōпаο* ‘warm’ (*tōpal/tōпал* is rare). If *a*-insertion fails, as it does in a few loanwords, final *l* becomes syllabic, not changing to *o*: *bīcikl/бицикл* ‘bicycle’.

3 Morphology

3.1 Nominal morphology

All pronouns, almost all nouns, most adjectives and some numerals decline.

3.1.1 Nominal categories

The grammatical categories shown by declension are number, case, gender and animacy. All these participate in agreement within the noun phrase and outside. Further, adjective forms show definiteness-indefiniteness and comparison.

The numbers are singular and plural. Nouns, adjectives and adjectival pronouns also have a form without case distinction, used accompanying the numerals ‘2’, ‘both’, ‘3’ and ‘4’ (a remnant of the Proto-Slavonic dual). It has had various names; we cite it as the ‘234 form’ (section 4.10).

There are seven cases: nominative, vocative, accusative, genitive, dative, instrumental, locative. Dative and locative have merged; only certain inanimate monosyllabic nouns distinguish them accentually in the singular.

In the plural, nominative and vocative are practically identical, and dative, instrumental and locative are also the same apart from enclitic pronouns which are dative only; hence we write NOM-VOC on one line and DAT-LOC-INST on another in plural paradigms.

Serbo-Croat distinguishes masculine, neuter and feminine genders in singular and plural; the 234 form opposes masculine-neuter to feminine.

Within the masculine singular, the animacy category is important for choosing the accusative of masculine *o*-stem nouns and of pronouns (apart from personal pronouns; section 3.1.3), adjectives and numerals which agree with masculine nouns of any sort. The rule is: like genitive for animates (*mūža*/мужа 'husband', *lāva*/лāва 'lion'), like nominative for inanimates (*grād*/грād 'city').

3.1.2 Noun morphology

There are three main declension types. One has *-o/-o*, *-e/-e* or zero in the nominative singular and *-a/-a* in the genitive singular; it arose from Proto-Slavonic *o*-stems. It includes most masculine and all neuter nouns. A second has nominative singular *-a/-a*, genitive *-ē/-ē*, continuing Proto-Slavonic *a*-stems. It contains most feminine nouns and small classes of masculines. The third type, from Proto-Slavonic *i*-stems, ends in zero in nominative singular, *-i/-и* in genitive. It includes all feminines apart from *a*-stems.

The basic *o*-stem endings are those of *prózor*/прóзор (table 7.2). *Grād*/грād, like most monosyllables and some disyllables, has the 'long

Table 7.2 Masculine *o*-stems

	'city'	'husband'	'window'
<i>Singular</i>			
NOM	<i>grād</i> /грād	<i>mūž</i> /муж	<i>prózor</i> /прóзор
VOC	<i>grāde</i> /грāде	<i>mūžu</i> /мужу	<i>prózore</i> /прóзоре
ACC	<i>grād</i> /грād	<i>mūža</i> /мужа	<i>prózor</i> /прóзор
GEN	<i>grāda</i> /грāда	<i>mūža</i> /мужа	<i>prózora</i> /прóзора
DAT	<i>grādu</i> /грāду	<i>mūžu</i> /мужу	<i>prózoru</i> /прóзору
INST	<i>grādom</i> /грāдом	<i>mūžem</i> /мужем	<i>prózorom</i> /прóзором
LOC	<i>grādu</i> /грāду	<i>mūžu</i> /мужу	<i>prózoru</i> /прóзору
234	<i>grāda</i> /грāда	<i>mūža</i> /мужа	<i>prózora</i> /прóзора
<i>Plural</i>			
NOM-VOC	<i>grādovi</i> /грāдови	<i>mūževi</i> /мужеви	<i>prózori</i> /прóзори
ACC	<i>grādove</i> /грāдове	<i>mūževe</i> /мужеве	<i>prózore</i> /прóзоре
GEN	<i>grādōvā</i> /грāдōvā	<i>mūževā</i> /мужевā	<i>prózōrā</i> /прóзōrā
DAT-LOC-INST	<i>grādivima</i> /грāдивима	<i>mūževima</i> /мужевима	<i>prózorima</i> /прóзорима

plural', adding *ov/ов* before plural endings (*ev/ев* after palatals and *c*; section 2.2).

Nominative plural *-i/-и* and dative-locative-instrumental *-ima/-има* cause consonant alternation (section 2.2).

The genitive plural has *-ā/-ā*, with an additional *-ā* inserted to separate most stem-final consonant clusters (section 2.2). A few nouns lacking the long plural take genitive plural *-ī/-ī* (often units of measure, as *sát-ī/cát-ī* 'hour') or *-ijū/-ijū* (*gòst-ijū/gòst-ijū* 'guest').

A subtype of Proto-Slavonic *o*-stems, the *jo*-stems, had endings preceded by a palatal consonant (originally, by *j*). The descendant of this subtype is the 'soft stems', exemplified by *mūž/mūž*. These may end in any palatal or alveo-palatal; words in *-ar, -ir* optionally come here as well. Soft stems take vocative singular *-u/-y* where others have *-e/-e*, and they cause *o-e* as in instrumental singular *-em/-ем* for *-om/-ом* (section 2.2); but *-u/-y* vocatives and *-em/-ем* instrumentals do not coincide in scope. *-u/-y* has spread to some nouns in velars: *strāh/strāx* 'fear', vocative *strāhu/strāxy*. Instrumental *-em/-ем* is normal with stems in *-c*, where vocative has *-e/-e* and the first-palatalization alternation, as *òtac/òtac* 'father', vocative *ðce/ðce*. *-om/-ом* tends to be kept in foreign words and names (*Kiš-om/Кйш-ом*) and in words with *e* in the preceding syllable: *pádež-om/pádež-om* 'case'. For fuller treatment of Serbo-Croat declension see P. Ivić/П. Ивич (1972), whom we follow closely here.

Proto-Slavonic masculine *i*-stem, *u*-stem and consonant-stem nouns have joined the *o*-stem declension. **Рѡть* has become *pūt/pút* 'way, road, journey, time(s)', genitive *púta/púta*. None of this word's forms continue *i*-declension endings. **Сунъ* is now *sin/sín* 'son', genitive *sina/sína*. **Дьнь*, **кату* and **корѣ* yield regular *o*-stems *dān/dān* 'day' (genitive *dāna/dāna*), *kāmēn/kāmēn* 'stone' and *kōr(ij)ēn/kōr(ij)ēn* 'root'. Words suffixed with **-an-* have *-anin/-анин* as singular stem: *grāđanin/grāđanin* 'city-dweller, citizen', genitive *grāđanina/grāđanina*; and *-an/-ан* as plural stem: *grāđāni/grāđāni*, genitive *grāđānā/grāđānā*. Words in **-telj-* are soft stems without peculiarities: *učitelj/учитель* 'teacher', genitive *učitelja/учителя*, plural *učitelji/учители*.

The modern locative singular *-u/-y* comes from the *u*-declension, and the *ov/ов* of the 'long plural' has been generalized from the *u*-stem plural nominative **-ove* and genitive **-ovъ*.

The neuter endings (table 7.3) differ from the masculine only in the nominative, vocative and accusative. These three cases are always the same, having *-o/-o* or *-e/-e* for the singular and *-a/-a* for the plural.

Words of the type *s(j)ěme/c(j)ěme* 'seed' (Proto-Slavonic *n*-stems) have a stem in *-men-* taking *o*-stem endings outside the nominative-vocative-accusative singular: genitive *s(j)ěmena/c(j)ěmena*.

Neuters like *jā(g)nje/jā(r)ње* 'lamb' (Proto-Slavonic *nt*-stems) have a stem in *-et-* taking *o*-stem endings in the oblique singular cases, as genitive

Table 7.3 Neuter *o*-stems

	'place'	'heart'	'study'
<i>Singular</i>			
NOM-VOC-ACC	m(j)ěsto/м(ј)ѣсто	sřce/срце	ùčēnje/учење
GEN	m(j)ěsta/м(ј)ѣста	sřca/срца	ùčēnja/учења
DAT-LOC	m(j)ěstu/м(ј)ѣсту	sřcu/срцу	ùčēnju/учењу
INST	m(j)ěstom/ м(ј)ѣстом	sřcem/срцем	ùčēnjem/учењем
234	m(j)ěsta/м(ј)ѣста	sřca/срца	ùčēnja/учења
<i>Plural</i>			
NOM-VOC-ACC	m(j)ěsta/м(ј)ѣста	sřca/срца	ùčēnja/учења
GEN	m(j)ěstā/м(ј)ѣстā	sřcā/срцā	ùčēnjā/учењā
DAT-LOC-INST	m(j)ěstima/ м(ј)ѣстима	sřcima/срцима	ùčēnjima/учењима

jà(g)njeta/jà(г)њета. Their plural stems are usually suppletive: jàgānjci/jàgāñци or jàgnjici/jàgñици masculine plural, or jà(g)njad/jà(г)њад *i*-stem feminine.

Traces of Proto-Slavonic *s*-stems (the **slovo* type) are seen in alternative plural stems for nēbo/небо 'heaven', t(ij)ělo/т(иј)ело 'body', čudo/чудо 'miracle': neběsa/небеса, t(j)elěsa/т(ј)елеса, čuděsa/чудеса.

Many masculine names, derivatives and loan-words resemble neuters in having nominative singular in -o/-o or -e/-e: Mārko/Mārko 'Mark', Pāvle/Pāvle 'Paul', nestáško/несташко 'brat', rādio/rādio 'radio', finále/финále 'finale'. The stems are seen in genitive Mārka/Mārka, Pāvla/Pāvla, nestáška/несташка, rādija/rādija, finála/финála. Some names have -et- stems: Mīle/Mīle, genitive-accusative Mīleta/Mīleta.

Most *a*-stems are feminine (table 7.4). Words denoting men (as slúga/slúga, koléga/koléga 'colleague') and certain animals (gorila/gorila 'gorilla') are masculine, but even these can take feminine agreement in the plural, as tè kolége/tè kolége 'these colleagues'. Many masculine names (Àleksa/Àleksa) and hypocoristics (Jóca/Jóca 'Joe') are *a*-stems; other hypocoristics have nominative -o/-o but other cases like *a*-stems (Ívo/Ívo, genitive Ívē/Ívē from Ívan/Ívan 'John').

The old distinction of hard *a*-stems and soft *ja*-stems is gone: endings from the soft paradigm have been generalized (genitive -ē/-ē is from *-ę not *-y; dative-locative -i/-и from *-i not *-ě). Vocative -o/-o has spread from the hard variant; only certain nouns in -ica/-ица take -e/-e (section 2.2).

Non-hypocoristic names have nominative replacing vocative: Mārija/Mārija! Àleksa/Àleksa!

The dative-locative singular ending causes consonant alternation in

Table 7.4 Feminine (and masculine) *a*-stems

	'woman, wife'	'manservant'	'soul'
<i>Singular</i>			
NOM	žèna/жèна	slúga/слýга	đúša/дýша
VOC	žèno/жèно	slúgo/слýго	đúšo/дýшо
ACC	žènu/жèну	slúgu/слýгу	đúšu/дýшу
GEN	žènē/жèнē	slúgē/слýгē	đúšē/дýшē
DAT-LOC	žèni/жèни	slúzi/слýзи	đúši/дýши
INST	žènom/жèнoм	slúgom/слýгoм	đúšom/дýшoм
234	žène/жèне	slúge/слýге	đúše/дýше
<i>Plural</i>			
NOM-ACC	žène/жèне	slúge/слýге	đúše/дýше
VOC	žène, žène/жèне, жèне	slúge/слýге	đúše/дýше
GEN	žènā/жèнā	slúgū, slúgā/слýгū, слýгā	đúšā/дýшā
DAT-LOC-INST	žènama/жèнама	slúgama/слýгама	đúšama/дýшaма

many *a*-stems (second palatalization of velars, section 2.2).

Nouns with stem-final consonant clusters have lexically conditioned genitive plurals, $-\bar{a}/-\bar{a}$ (with cluster-breaking \bar{a} ; section 2.2) or $-\bar{i}/-\bar{i}$: d(j)èvoĵka/д(j)èвоĵка 'girl', d(j)èvoĵkā/д(j)èвоĵкā; mājka/mājka 'mother', mājkī/mājkī.

Proto-Slavonic *i*-nominative nouns now have *-a*: **rabynji* > ròbinja/рòбиња 'slave woman', **srdiji* > sùdija/сùдија 'judge'.

Feminine *i*-stems (table 7.5) are a closed class except for those with the productive suffixes $-\bar{o}st/-\bar{o}st$ 'ness', $-\bar{a}d/-\bar{a}d$ 'collective noun, especially suppletive plural of neuter *-et* stem'. The instrumental singular is usually in $-ju/-ju$ (Proto-Slavonic **-ьjр*), causing 'new jotation' (section 2.3): kòšču/kòшћу, ljúbav/ljúбав 'love' ljúbavlju/ljúбављу; but some items permit or require $-i/-i$: ćud/hǔd 'mood', ćudi/hǔди.

The *i*-declension continues Proto-Slavonic *i*-stems. Proto-Slavonic *r*-stems yield māti/māти 'mother', genitive mātērē/māтерē (like *a*-stems except accusative mātēr/māтер, vocative māti/māти) and kći/kĥī 'daughter', genitive kćeri/kĥeri (like *i*-stems). More frequent now are *a*-stems (from diminutives) mājka/mājka, (k)ćerka/(k)ĥerka. Proto-Slavonic long **u*-stems mostly become *a*-stems in $-va/-va$: **сърку* > cĳkva/цĳква 'church', **свекры* > svĳkrva/свĳкрва 'mother-in-law'; but two are *i*-stems: **ljuby* > ljúbav/ljúбав, **kry* > kĳv/kĳv 'blood'.

Besides the declension types given, Serbo-Croat has nouns declining as adjectives. Two noteworthy sets are masculine surnames in $-\bar{sk}i/-\bar{sk}i$, as Bugàrskī/Бугàрскī, genitive Bugàrskōg(a)/Бугàрскōг(a), and country

Table 7.5 Feminine *i*-stems

‘bone’	
<i>Singular</i>	
NOM	kōst/kōst
VOC	kōsti/kōsti
ACC	kōst/kōst
GEN	kōsti/kōsti
DAT	kōsti/kōsti
INST	kōsti, kōšću/kōsti, kōšћu
LOC	kōsti/kōsti
234	kōsti/kōsti
<i>Plural</i>	
NOM-VOC-ACC	kōsti/kōsti
GEN	kōstī, kōstijū/kōstī, kōstijŭ
DAT-LOC-INST	kōstima/kōstima

names in *-skā/-skā*, like *Frāncūs-kā/Фрāncūc-kā* ‘France’, dative-locative *Frāncūs-kōj/Фрāncūc-kōj*.

3.1.3 Pronominal morphology

The personal and reflexive pronouns oppose full (accented) and clitic (unaccented; section 4.1) forms in genitive, dative and accusative (table 7.6).

Genitive-accusative syncretism is complete (except *njē/њē* versus *njū/њū* and the lack of a genitive reflexive clitic). There is much additional variation. Instrumental singulars used without a preposition are frequently *mnóme/мнóме*, *njíme/њíme*, *njóme/њóме*. Oblique singulars may have accent *-ě-* instead of *-è-*. *Si/си* is absent in central Štokavian dialects, but found in some Croatian standard codifications. Archaic and literary usage may have accusatives *me/ме*, *te/те*, *nj/њ*, *se/се* with prepositions, as *prēdā se/прēdā се* ‘in front of oneself’ = *pred sebe/пред себе*.

Demonstrative, possessive and other pronouns share a set of endings that may be termed pronominal, again with many alternative forms (table 7.7).

The close and distant demonstratives *òvāj/òvāj* ‘this’, *ònāj/ònāj* ‘that’ decline like *tāj/tāj*. The ‘movable vowels’ (*a*), (*e*), (*u*) tend somewhat to appear in phrase-final position, otherwise not: *o tōme/o tōме* ‘about that’, *o tōm psū/o tōм псŭ* ‘about that dog’. *Nāš/нāш* and *vāš/vāш* ‘your (PL)’ are ‘soft’ stems, typified by *o-e* in masculine and neuter endings. Also soft are *mōj/mōj* ‘my’, *tvōj/tvōj* ‘your (SG)’, *svōj/svōj* (reflexive possessive: section 4.8) and *kōjī/kōjī* (stem *kōj-/kōj-*) ‘which’. These, additionally, may contract *oje* to *ō*, yielding five possibilities for

Table 7.6 Personal and reflexive pronouns

	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3 masculine</i>	<i>3 neuter</i>	<i>3 feminine</i>
<i>Singular</i>					
NOM	jā/jā	tī/tī	ōn/ōn	òno/òno	òna/òna
ACC	mēne/mēne	tēbe/tēbe	pjēga/њēга	pjēga/њēга	pjū/њū
Enclitic	me/me	te/te	ga/га	ga/га	je/je, ju/jy
GEN	mēne/mēne	tēbe/tēbe	pjēga/њēга	pjēga/њēга	pjē/њē
Enclitic	me/me	te/te	ga/га	ga/га	je/je
DAT	mēni/mēni	tēbi/tēbi	pjētu/њēму	pjētu/њēму	pjōj/њōj
Enclitic	mi/ми	ti/ти	tu/му	tu/му	jōj/jōj
INST	mnōm/мнōм	tđbōm/тđбōм	pjīm/њīm	pjīm/њīm	pjōm/њōм
LOC	mēni/мени	tēbi/тēби	pjētu/њēму	pjētu/њēму	pjōj/њōj
<i>Plural</i>					
NOM	mī/mī	vī/vī	ōni/ōни	òna/òна	òne/òне
ACC-GEN	nās/nās	vās/vās	pjīh/њīх	pjīh/њīх	pjīh/њīх
Enclitic	nas/nас	vas/vас	ih/их	ih/их	ih/их
DAT	nāta/nāма	vāta/vāма	pjīta/њīма	pjīta/њīма	pjīta/њīма
Enclitic	nam/nам	vam/vам	im/им	im/им	im/им
INST-LOC	nāta/nāма	vāta/vāма	pjīta/њīма	pjīta/њīма	pjīta/њīма
<i>Reflexive</i>					
<i>Singular/plural</i>					
NOM	—				
ACC	sēbe/cēbe				
Enclitic	se/ce				
GEN	sēbe/cēbe				
DAT	sēbi/cēби				
Enclitic	(si/си)				
INST	sđbōm/сđбōм				
LOC	sēbi/cēби				

Table 7.7 Demonstrative and possessive pronouns

	'this, that' <i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
<i>Singular</i>			
NOM	tāj/tāj	tō/tō	tā/tā
ACC	NOM or GEN	tō/tō	tū/ty
GEN	tòg(a)/TÒr(a)	tòg(a)/TÒr(a)	tē/tē
DAT-LOC	tòm(e, u)/ TÒM(e, y)	tòm(e, u)/ TÒM(e, y)	tój/tój
INST	tīm, tíme/ TĪM, TĪME	tīm, tíme/ TĪM, TĪME	tòm/TÒM
234	tā/tā	tā/tā	tē/tē
<i>Plural</i>			
NOM	tī/TĪ	tā/tā	tē/tē
ACC	tē/tē	tā/tā	tē/tē
GEN	tīh/TĪH	tīh/TĪH	tīh/TĪH
DAT-LOC-INST	tīm, tīma/ TĪM, TĪMA	tīm, tīma/ TĪM, TĪMA	tīm, tīma/ TĪM, TĪMA
'our(s)'			
<i>Singular</i>			
NOM	nāš/nāš	nāše/nāše	nāša/nāša
ACC	NOM or GEN	nāše/nāše	nāšu/nāšu
GEN	nāšeg(a)/ nāšeg(a)	nāšeg(a)/ nāšeg(a)	nāšē/nāšē
DAT-LOC	nāšem(u)/ nāšem(y)	nāšem(u)/ nāšem(y)	nāšōj/nāšōj
INST	nāšīm/nāšīm	nāšīm/nāšīm	nāšōm/nāšōm
234	nāša/nāša	nāša/nāša	nāše/nāše
<i>Plural</i>			
NOM	nāši/nāši	nāša/nāša	nāše/nāše
ACC	nāše/nāše	nāša/nāša	nāše/nāše
GEN	nāših/nāših	nāših/nāših	nāših/nāših
DAT-LOC-INST	nāšīm(a)/ nāšīm(a)	nāšīm(a)/ nāšīm(a)	nāšīm(a)/nāšīm(a)

masculine and neuter dative–locative singular: mòjem/mòjem, mòjemu/mòjemu, mòm/mòm, mòme/mòme, mòmu/mòmu. The third-person possessives njàgov/њèгов 'his, its', njenja/њèн or njèzin/њèзин 'her', njihov/њйхов 'their' are treated under short-form adjectives (section 3.1.4).

The pronoun *сь has been lost. *Vьсь 'all' has undergone consonant metathesis vs > sv but still behaves as a soft stem (table 7.8).

Svð/cvð for neuter singular svě/cvě is non-standard but frequent in modifier position.

The interrogative pronouns have stems k-/к-, č-/ч- with singular

Table 7.8 Declension of *sāv/cāv* ‘all’

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
<i>Singular</i>			
NOM	sāv/cāv	svě/cvě	svā/cvā
ACC	NOM or GEN	svě/cvě	svŭ/cvŭ
GEN	svěga/cvěga	svěga/cvěga	svě/cvě
DAT-LOC	svěmu/cvěму	svěmu/cvěму	svôj/cvôj
INST	svim/cvīm	svim/cvīm	svôm/cvôm
234	svā/cvā	svā/svā	svě/cvě
<i>Plural</i>			
NOM	svī/cvī	svā/cvā	svě/cvě
ACC	svě/cvě	svā/cvā	svě/cvě
GEN	svih/cvīx, svijū/cvijŭ	svih/cvīx, svijū/cvijŭ	svih/cvīx, svijū/cvijŭ
DAT-LOC-INST	svim/cvīm, svīma/cvīma	svim/cvīm, svīma/cvīma	svim/cvīm, svīma/cvīma

pronominal endings (table 7.9). The Croat standard codifies the older forms *tkō*, *štō*. Other interrogatives are part of a larger pattern of demonstrative roots and classifying suffixes, thus *kākav/kāka*v ‘of what sort’, *ovākav/ovāka*v ‘of this sort’.

Table 7.9 Declension of ‘who’ and ‘what’

	‘who’ <i>masculine</i>	‘what’ <i>neuter</i>
NOM	(t)kō/(t)kō	štō, štā/штō, штā
ACC	kōga/kōga	štō, štā/штō, штā
GEN	kōga/kōga	čēga/чēga
DAT-LOC	kōmu, kōme/kōму, kōме	čēmu/чēму
INST	kīm, kīme/kīm, kīме	čīm, čīme/чīm, чīме

Interrogatives add prefixes or suffixes to give indefinites: *ně(t)ko/ně(t)ko* ‘someone’, *něšto/něšto* ‘something’, *někakav/něka*kav ‘of some sort’. *I-/и-* means ‘any’ (negative polarity; section 4.6), *ni-/ни-* ‘no’, *koje-/које-* ‘one and another’ (as *kojēšta/којешта* ‘various things; nonsense’), *svā-/cvā-* (*svě-/cvě-*, *svŭ-/cvŭ-*) ‘every’ (*svā(t)ko/cvā(t)ko* ‘everyone’, *svŭgd(j)e/cvŭgd(j)e* ‘everywhere’). *Bīlo/bīlo...*, *ma/ma...*, ... *gd/gd* mean ‘... ever’ (thus *bīlo gd(j)e/bīlo gd(j)e*, *ma gd(j)ě/ma gd(j)ě* or *gd(j)e gd/gd(j)e gd/gd(j)e gd* ‘wherever’). The *ně-/ně-* type may be used both with and without existence presuppositions:

Něšto se dogòdilo!/Нěшто се догòдило!
‘Something has happened!’

Ако се нешто догоди, рѐци ми! / Ако се нешто догоди, рѐци ми!
 'If anything happens, tell me!'

In the second usage bare interrogatives also occur: Ако се штò догоди /
 Ако се штò догоди ...

3.1.4 Adjectival morphology

Serbo-Croat preserves the distinction of long- and short-form adjectives (table 7.10). The citation form of an adjective is the nominative singular masculine short form (long form if short is lacking).

The long endings are those of the pronominal declension, but with length on the first vowel and with nominative masculine singular *-ī/-ī̄*. The short endings differ in the forms italicized in table 7.10 and in the shortness of single-vowel endings (*nòvo/nòvo* versus long *nòvō/nòvō̄*). *Nòv/nòv* and some other adjectives distinguish short-long accentually as well (though much inter-speaker variation exists). Short genitives and dative-locatives like *nòva/nòva*, *nòvu/nòvu* are most widespread in the Croat standard. The short genitive ending *-a/-a* is especially frequent in the qualifying genitive: *čòv(j)ek dòbra sřca/чòв(ј)ек дòбра сřца* 'a man of good heart'.

Soft stems differ from hard only in nominative-accusative neuter singular long *lòšē/lòšē̄*, short *lòše/lòšē* 'bad', masculine-neuter genitive *lòšēg(a)/lòšēḡ(a)*, dative-locative *lòšēm(u)/lòšēm̄(y)*.

Short and long contrast semantically in modifier position: *nòv grād/nòv* град 'a new city', *nòvī grād/nòvī̄* град 'the new city'. Since Vuk Karadžić they have been explained as answering the questions *kàkav/kàkav?* 'of what sort?' and *kòjī/kòjī?* 'which one?' respectively. Set-phrases regularly have long forms; thus *b(ij)ēlī lùk/б(иј)ēлī лùк* 'white onion' means 'garlic'. Predicate position requires short forms (section 4.3): *òvāj grād je nòv/òvāj̄* град је нòв 'this city is new'.

Possessive adjectives (sections 3.3.2, 4.9), including *njègov/њèгов* 'his, its', *njèn, njézin/њèn, њéзин* 'her', *njìhov/њìхов* 'their', have only short endings: *Màrijin grād/Màријин* град 'Marija's city', *njèn grād/њèn* град 'her city', *Ìvanov grād/Ìванов* град 'Ivan's city'. The same is true for the demonstrative-interrogatives in *-àkav/àkav*, suiting their meaning. Adjectives having exclusively long forms include *mālī/māli* 'small', *l(ij)ēvī/l(ij)ēvī*, *děsnī/děsnī̄* 'left, right', ordinal numerals like *drùgī/drùgī̄* 'second, other' and most adjectives derived from nouns, adverbs and verbs (section 3.3.2).

Participles have short and long forms: *pòzvān/pòzvān̄*, *pòzvānī/pòzvānī̄* 'called; called upon'. The present adverb and the *l*-participle of verbs can be adjectivalized, and then take long forms: *ìdūcī/ìдūћī̄* 'coming, next', *mínulī/mínulī̄* 'bygone', *pālī/pālī̄* 'fallen'.

Comparatives and superlatives (the comparative prefixed with *nāj-/nāj-*

Table 7.10 Long and short adjective declension

'new' long	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
<i>Singular</i>			
NOM	pǎvī/hǒvī	pǎvō/hǒvō	pǎvā/hǒvā
ACC	NOM or GEN	pǎvō/hǒvō	pǎvū/hǒvū
GEN	pǎvōg(a)/ hǒvōg(a)	pǎvōg(a)/ hǒvōg(a)	pǎvē/hǒvē
DAT-LOC	pǎvōm(e, u)/ hǒvōm(e, y)	pǎvōm(e, u)/ hǒvōm(e, y)	pǎvōj/hǒvōj
INST	pǎvīm/hǒvīm	pǎvīm/hǒvīm	pǎvōm/hǒvōm
234	pǎvā/hǒvā	pǎvā/hǒvā	pǎvē/hǒvē
<i>Plural</i>			
NOM	pǎvī/hǒvī	pǎvā/hǒvā	pǎvē/hǒvē
ACC	pǎvē/hǒvē	pǎvā/hǒvā	pǎvē/hǒvē
GEN	pǎvīh/hǒvīh	pǎvīh/hǒvīh	pǎvīh/hǒvīh
DAT-LOC-INST	pǎvīm(a)/ hǒvīm(a)	pǎvīm(a)/ hǒvīm(a)	pǎvīm(a)/hǒvīm(a)
<i>'new' short</i>			
<i>Singular</i>			
NOM	pǎv/hǒv	pǎvo/hǒvo	pǎva/hǒva
ACC	NOM or GEN	pǎvo/hǒvo	pǎvu/hǒvu
GEN	pǎvōg(a)/ hǒvōg(a), pǎva/hǒva	pǎvōg(a)/ hǒvōg(a), pǎva/hǒva	pǎvē/hǒvē
DAT-LOC	pǎvōm(e, u)/ hǒvōm(e, y), pǎvu/hǒvu	pǎvōm(e, u)/ hǒvōm(e, y), pǎvu/hǒvu	pǎvōj/hǒvōj
INST	pǎvīm/hǒvīm	pǎvīm/hǒvīm	pǎvōm/hǒvōm
234	pǎva/hǒva	pǎva/hǒva	pǎve/hǒve
<i>Plural</i>			
NOM	pǎvi/hǒvi	pǎva/hǒva	pǎve/hǒve
ACC	pǎve/hǒve	pǎva/hǒva	pǎve/hǒve
GEN	pǎvīh/hǒvīh	pǎvīh/hǒvīh	pǎvīh/hǒvīh
DAT-LOC-INST	pǎvīm(a)/ hǒvīm(a)	pǎvīm(a)/ hǒvīm(a)	pǎvīm(a)/hǒvīm(a)

yields the superlative) decline precisely like soft-stem long adjectives. Most are formed by adding -ij-ī/-ij-ī̄ to adjective stems: lǒš/lǒš 'bad', lǒšijī/lǒšijī̄ (lǒšijē/lǒšijē̄, lǒšijā/lǒšijā̄ ...) 'worse'; múdar/múdar 'wise', mùdrijī/mùdrijī̄; pǎzvān/pǎzvān 'called upon', pǎzvānijī/pǎzvānijī̄; plemēnit/plemēnit 'noble', plemēnitijī/plemēnitijī̄. A smaller set add bare endings with old jotation (section 2.3). These are mostly (1) monosyllables containing long vowel: gǔst/gǔst 'thick', gǔšč-ī̄/gǔšh-ī̄; skǔp/skǔp 'expensive', skǔplj-ī̄/skǔplj-ī̄; (2) disyllables which lose the second

syllable: *širok*/широк 'wide', *šir-ī*/шир-й; *sladak*/сладак 'sweet', *slād-ī*/слāђ-й. Three adjectives have *š*/ш comparatives: *lāk*/лāk 'light, easy', *lākšī*/лākшй; *měk*/мěk 'soft', *měkšī*/мěkшй; *l(j)èp*/л(и)èп 'beautiful', *l(j)èpšī*/лèпшй (лèпшй). Suppletive comparatives are *dōbar*/дōбар 'good', *bōljī*/бōльй; *lōš*/лōш or *řđav*/řђав or *zāo*/zāo (stem *zl*/зл-) 'bad', *gōrī*/гōрй 'worse'; *vèlik*/вèлик 'large', *vècī*/вèћй; *māli*/мāли or *mālen*/мāлен, *mānjī*/мāњй; *dūg*/дūг 'long', *dūžī*/дūжй or *dūljī*/дūльй. See section 5.3 for periphrastic comparison of indeclinables.

Derived adverbs take *-o/-o* or *-e/-e* like neuter nominative-accusative singular short adjectives: *nđvo*/нđво 'newly', *lōše*/лōше 'badly', *mūdno*/мūdно 'wisely'. The accent may differ from the neuter. Their comparatives are formed like those of adjectives: *lōšije*/лōшије, *mūdrije*/мūdрије, *lākše*/лākше 'more easily'. However, adverbs from adjectives in *-skī/-skī* (*-škī/-škī*, *-čkī/-čkī*) end in short *-i/-и*: *ljūdski*/љūдски 'humanly', *gřčki*/гřчки 'in Greek fashion/language'.

3.1.5 Numeral morphology

The cardinal numeral '1' is declined in all genders in singular and (for pluralia tantum) plural. Its nominative masculine singular is *jedan*/jèдан and its stem for the remaining forms *jèdn*/jèдн-; endings are those of *tāj*/tāj (section 3.1.3), but final vowels are short.

'2, both, 3, 4' can be declined (table 7.11). Oblique case forms are rare (and show much accentual and other variation), particularly for '3, 4' and all masculine-neuter forms. Most commonly, the nominative forms are used undeclined (section 4.10).

Higher numerals up to '99' are indeclinable. *Stō*/стō '100' is indeclinable; there is also *stōtina*/стōтина, which behaves as a feminine noun, but mostly appears as a fixed accusative *stōtinu*/стōтину. '1,000' shows the

Table 7.11 Declension of '2, both, 3, 4'

	'2' <i>Masculine-neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	'3'
NOM-ACC-VOC	<i>dvā</i> /двā	<i>dvjje</i> , <i>dvê</i> /двйје, двè	<i>trī</i> /трй
GEN	<i>dvājū</i> /двājū	<i>dvijū</i> , <i>dvéjū</i> /двијū, двèјū	<i>trijū</i> /тријū
DAT-LOC-INST	<i>dvāma</i> /двāма	<i>dv(j)èma</i> /дв(ј)èма	<i>trīma</i> /трима
	'both'		'4'
NOM-ACC-VOC	<i>đba</i> /đба	<i>đb(j)e</i> /đб(ј)e	<i>četiri</i> /чèтири
GEN	<i>obāju</i> /обājу	<i>objū</i> , <i>obéjū</i> /обйū, обèјū	<i>četirjū</i> /чèтиријū
DAT-LOC-INST	<i>ob(j)èma</i> /об(ј)èма	<i>ob(j)èma</i> /об(ј)èма	<i>četirma</i> /чèтирма

same behaviour, both *tisuća/tiŕcyŕna* (Croat standard) and *hiljada/hiljada*. For further numerical forms see section 4.10.

3.2 Verbal morphology

3.2.1 Categories expressed

Serbo-Croat finite forms agree with subjects in person and number. Compound tenses containing the *l*-participle also express gender and the 234 form.

The simple tenses are present, aorist and imperfect. The present-tense markers are *-m/-m* for first person singular (only two verbs maintain *-u/-y* < **ϕ*, namely *hòcu, ću/xòhy, hy* ‘I will’ and *mògu/mòry* ‘I can’); second person singular *-š/-ŕ*; and third person singular *-ŕ*; first person plural *-mo/-mo*; second person plural *-te/-te*; *-ŕ* for third person plural following a changed stem vowel *-u/-y-* or *-e/-e-*. Although aorist and, particularly, imperfect are not found in all dialects, the literary standards retain them as optional past tenses. Their meanings are much discussed. Briefly, the aorist, formed mostly from perfective verbs, serves to narrate events and express surprising perceived events; the imperfect, (almost) exclusively from imperfectives, describes background situations. Both can be supplanted by the perfect.

The compound tenses are as follows:

1 *Future*: auxiliary clitic *ću/hy* or full form *hòcu/xòhy* (section 4.1 and below), with (imperfective or perfective) infinitive or (especially Eastern) *da/da₂* + present clause (section 4.5).

Slávko će vīd(j)eti Màriju./Слávко ће вїд(ј)ети Мàрију.
Slávko će da vīdī Màriju./Слávко ће да вїдї Мàрију.
‘Slavko will see Marija.’

If the infinitive precedes the clitic, the final *-ti/-ti* of the infinitive is lost and the spelling is *vīdjet ću* ‘I will see’ (Croat standard), *vīd(j)ecu/vīd(j)ehy* (elsewhere). Infinitives in *-ći/-ћи* preserve this marker: *dóći ću/dóћи hy* ‘I will come’.

2 *Perfect*: auxiliary clitic *sam/sam* or full form *jèsam/jèсам*, with *l*-participle of the verb. This is the all-purpose past tense.

Mi smo vīd(j)eli Màriju./Ми смо вїд(ј)ели Мàрију.
‘We saw (have seen) Marija.’
Jèsmo li vīd(j)eli Màriju?/Jèсмо ли вїд(ј)ели Мàрију?
‘Have we seen (Did we see) Marija?’

3 *Pluperfect*: perfect or (rarely) imperfect of ‘to be’ as auxiliary, with *l*-participle.

Mi smo bíli víd(j)eli Màriju./Мы смо бѣли вѣд(ј)ели Màрију.
 Mì bĭjásmo (bĕjásmo) víd(j)eli Màriju./Ми бĭjásмо (бĕjásмо) вѣд(ј)ели
 Màрију.
 'We had seen Marija.'

4 *Future II*: auxiliary bŭdēm/бŭдѣм (extra present of 'to be'; table 7.16 below) with *l*-participle.

Kād (āko) bŭdēmo govōrili s Màrijōm, svē ée bīti jāсно./Кād (āко) бŭдѣмо
 говōрили с Màријōм, свē ģe бĭти jāсно.
 'When (if) we speak with Marija (in the future), everything will be clear.'

The future II is usually from imperfectives, since a perfective present tense is usable in kād/kād or āko/āko clauses for future time: kād (āko) nādēmo Màriju/kād (āko) nāĥēmo Màriju ... 'When/if we find Marija (in the future) ...'.

5 *The conditionals*: see under moods below.

Aspect affects a lexical item's whole paradigm; a verb is either perfective (napísati/напĭсати 'to write' and all its forms) or imperfective (písati/pĭсати 'to write' with its forms). However, many verbs are bi-aspectual, including some of the commonest: ĭci/ĭĥi 'to go', bīti/bĭти 'to be', razŭm(j)eti/разŭм(ј)ети 'to understand', kázati/kázати 'to say', víd(j)eti/vĭд(ј)ети 'to see', ĉŭti/ĉŭти 'to hear', rŭcati/rŭчати 'to have lunch'.

Most non-prefixed verbs are imperfective. Prefixing a verb yields a perfective: písati/pĭсати imperfective 'to write' → napísati/напĭсати perfective 'to write', písati/pĭсати → upísati/упĭсати perfective 'to write in, register'. The first example keeps its lexical meaning; but there is no prefix which invariably perfectivizes without changing lexical meaning. A suffix yielding perfectives is -nuti/-нути, added mostly to imperfective -ati/-ати verbs: gŭrati/gŭрати 'to push', gŭrnuti/gŭрнути 'to push once'.

Perfective (especially prefixed perfective) verbs can be imperfectivized by adding suffixes, commonly -ati/-ати, -ívati/-ĭвати (present -ujēm/-ujēm) and -ávati/-ávati (-āvām/-āvām). Consonant-stem verbs with -e/-e- themes usually take -ati/-ати with present in -ām/-ām: is-trés-ti/истрĕс-ти 'to shake out', imperfective istrés-ati/истрĕс-ати, ĭstrĕsām/ĭстрĕсām. Velar stems, however, prefer -ati/-ати with third-palatalization reflex of the velar and -jēm/-jēm present: ĭzreći/ĭзрĕĥi (stem ĭz-rek-/ĭз-рĕк-) 'to express', imperfective ĭzrĭc-ati/ĭзрĭц-ати with present ĭzrĭĉēm/ĭзрĭĉēm. An additional mark of imperfectivizing consonant stems is stem-internal -i/-и- or other vowel change, as pŏĉĕti/pŏĉĕти, pŏĉnēm/pŏĉnēm 'to begin', imperfective pŏĉinjati/pŏĉinjati pŏĉinjēm/pŏĉinjēm; ŭmr(ij)ĕti/ŭmr(ij)ĕти ŭmrēm/ŭmrēm 'to die',

imperfective ùmirati/ўмирати ùmirēm/ўмирēm.

-iti/-ити verbs imperfectivize with -ati/-ати (-ām/-ām) (causing internal *o-a* alternation: otvòriti/отвòрити 'to open', otváрати/отвáрати), or with the more productive -ívati/-ívати or -ávati/-ávати. All three generally cause old jotation (section 2.2): òs(j)etiti/òс(j)етити 'to feel', òс(j)ećati/òс(j)ећати; izgráđiti/изгрáđити 'to construct', izgrađívati/изграђívати; rǎniti/рǎнити 'to wound', ranjávati/рањávати. Verb types in -ati/-ати imperfectivize with -ívati/ívати or -ávati/-ávати, mostly without jotation: iskázati/искáзати 'to state', iskázívati/исказívати; izòrati/изòрати 'to plough up', izorávati/изорávати.

The remaining verb types (-nuti/-нути, -(j)eti/- (j)ети) may use any of a number of methods of imperfectivization. A very few -ovati/-овати and -evati/-евати verbs imperfectivize, taking -ívati/-ívати (present optionally in -ívām/-ívām): daròvati/дарòвати 'to donate', imperfective darívati/дарívати dàrívām/дàрívām or dàrujēm/дàруjēm.

There are also suppletive pairs: dóci/дóћи perfective, dòlaziti/дòлазити imperfective 'to come'.

The present of a perfective verb does not mean future, except in 'when/if' clauses; it forms an 'infinitive substitute' with da/да₂ (section 4.5), and in main clauses it expresses 'typical action' if something in the context indicates generalization, as često/чéсто 'often':

Stvári često ispadnū (perfective present) drugaćije něgo što očekujēmo./
Ствáри чéсто испаднū (perfective present) другаćије něго што очéкуjēмо.
'Things often turn out different from what we expect.'

Verbs of motion lack determinate–indeterminate distinctions, thus ìci/йћи – hòditi/хòдити are not a pair. The first means 'to go (in one or several directions, on foot or by vehicle)', the second 'to walk'. In several instances the old determinate stem appears only prefixed, with the indeterminate stem serving to imperfectivize it, as nòsiti/nòсити imperfective 'to carry', dòn(ij)eti/дòн(иj)ēти, stem donès-/донès- perfective 'to bring' → donòsiti/донòсити imperfective. Certain motion verbs derive explicit multidirectionals: nòsati/nòсати 'to carry about'. A few verbs make iteratives: vīd(j)eti/вїд(j)ети → víđati/вїђати 'to see now and then'.

Moods, besides indicative, include imperative (section 4.2), with second person singular and plural (-te/-те) and first person plural (-mo/-мо) forms: Rěci/rěци! Rěcite/rěците! Rěćimo/rěćимо! 'Say!'; and the conditional, made with auxiliary bih/бих 'would' (section 4.1) and *l*-participle:

Kād biste me pítali, rěkao bih/Kād бисте ме пítали, рěкао бих.
'If you (plural) asked me, I would tell.'

The conditional is used in both clauses of hypothetical *if-then* sentences.

The same form can express past *if-then* relations, but a past conditional is also possible with the *l*-participle of ‘to be’:

Kād biste me bīli pítali, bīo bih rēkao./Кад бисте ме били питали, био бих рēкао.

‘If you had asked me, I would have told.’

An alternative to *kād bih/kād bih* ‘if’ in the protasis is *dā/dā* with indicative tense:

dā me pítate/dā ме пйтате

‘if you asked me (now)’

dā ste me pítali/dā сте ме питали

‘if you had asked me’

A further use of the conditional is in purpose clauses, alternative to *da/da*₂:

Pišēm da Vas pítām/пйшēm да Вас пйтām ...

‘I write to ask you ...’

Pišēm da bih Vas pítao/пйшēm да бих Вас пйтао ...

‘I write in order to ask you ...’

Active and passive voice are distinguished. The passive (section 4.5) consists of a passive participle and a tense of ‘to be’ as auxiliary:

Knjīga je nàpīsana./Књйга је нàпйсана.

‘The book has been written.’

Knjīga je bīla nàpīsana./Књйга је бйла нàпйсана.

‘The book was written.’

Knjīga će bīti nàpīsana./Књйга ће бйти нàпйсана.

‘The book will be written.’

The clitic *se/ce* indicating unspecified human subject can be used to form a quasi-passive (always without agent-phrase):

Knjīga se pišē./Књйга се пйшē.

‘The book (NOM) is being written.’

Some Western dialects and recent Croatian codifications can keep the underlying object in the accusative (‘impersonal passive’): *knjīgu se pišē/knjīgu se pišē*.

The non-finite forms (for uses see section 4.5) are infinitive (na)písati/(на)пйсати ‘to write’; passive participle pisan, nàpisan/пйсан, нàпйсан ‘written’; verbal noun písānje/пйсāње ‘writing (of ...)’; two verbal adverbs (‘gerunds’), present pišūci/пйшўћи and past napísāvši/напйсāвши; and the *l*-participle (table 7.12), used in compound tenses (perfect, pluperfect, future II) and conditionals.

Table 7.12 *L-participle*

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
Singular	(na)ρίσαο/(на)писао	(na)ρίσαλο/ (на)писало	(na)ρίсала/(на)писала
234	(na)ρίсала/(на)писала	as plural	as plural
Plural	(na)ρίсали/(на)писали	(na)ρίсала/(на)писала	(na)ρίсале/(на)писале

3.2.2 Conjugation

One can classify Slavonic verbs by the formants of their present stems, by their infinitive(-aorist) stems or by the relationship between the two (constructing Jakobsonian underlying stems). This treatment is based on present stems: themes in *-e/-e-*, in *-ne/-ne-*, in *-je/-je-*, in *-i/-i-*. Within each, we show infinitive stem shapes.

Themes in *-e/-e-*. The largest subtype has infinitive stem in consonant. Our example (table 7.13) is *trés-/трѣс-* 'to shake', since **nes-* has become irregular and occurs only prefixed.

Do-nès-/до-нѣс- 'bring' has corresponding forms from the present stem: *donèsēm/донѣсѣм*. Its infinitive-stem forms are *dò-n(ij)ē-ti/дò-н(и)ѣ-ти*, *dònio/дòнио* (*dòneo/дòнео*) *dòn(ij)ē-la/дòn(и)ѣ-ла*, *donèsoh/донѣсох*, *dònese/дòнесе* or *dòn(ij)ēh/дòn(и)ѣх*, *dòn(ij)ē/дòn(и)ѣ*, *donèsen/донѣсен* or *dòn(ij)ēt/дòn(и)ѣт*, *dòn(ij)ēvši/дòn(и)ѣвши*.

T and *d* stems: *do-vèd-ēm/до-вѣд-ѣм* 'lead in', infinitive *dòvesti/дòвести*, *dòveo/дòвео*, *dòvela/дòвела* (*tl, dl* become *l*). *Īd-ēm/ĭд-ѣм* 'go' has infinitive *ĭci/ĭћи*, *l*-participle *ĭšao/ĭшао* *ĭšla/ĭшла*, *ĭdoh/ĭдох*. Prefixed forms have *đ* (**jd*): *nádēm/náћѣм* 'find', infinitive *náci/náћи*, *nàšao/nàшао* *nàšla/nàшла*, *nádoh/náћох* *nàđe/naђе*, *nàđen/náђен*, *nàšāvši/nàшāvши*. **Čyt-* is lost ('to read' is *čitati/читати* *čitām/читām*, of the *-a-je/-a-je-* type). **Jad-* is lost ('to ride' is *jāhati/jāхати*, *jāšēm/jāшѣм*).

P and *b* stems: *grèb-ēm/грѣб-ѣм* 'scratch', *grèpsti/грѣпсти*, *grèbao/грѣбао*, *grèbla/грѣбла*. (*Živ-* 'to live' now has the shape *živ(j)eti/жив(ј)ети*, *živīm/живѣм*.)

K and *g* stems: *rèk-/рѣк-* 'say' has present *rècēm/рѣчѣм*, *rècēs/рѣчѣш* ... *rèkū/рѣкū* or, like other perfective consonant stems, joins the *ne/не* type: *rèk-n-ēm/рѣк-н-ѣм*, *rèk-n-ēs/рѣк-н-ѣш* ... *rèk-n-ū/рѣк-н-ū*. The imperative is *rèci/рѣци*. Infinitive *rèci/рѣћи*, aorist *rèkoh/рѣкох* *rèče/рѣче*, *l*-participle *rèkao/рѣкао*, *rèkla/рѣкла*, participle *rèčen/рѣчен*. One rare verb, 'to thresh', is an *h*-stem: *vřšēm/vршѣм*, *vřšēs/vршѣш* ... *vřhū/vрхū*, *vřci/vрћи* or *vr(ij)éci/vр(и)ѣћи*, *vřhoh/vрхох*.

Table 7.13 Conjugation of an -e/e- verb

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>Forms made from present stem</i>	
Present	
1 trēsēm/трéсѐм	trēsēmo/трéсѐмо
2 trēsēš/трéсѐш	trēsēte/трéсѐте
3 trēsē/трéсѐ	trēsū/трéсѹ
Present adverb trēsūci/трéсѹћи	
Imperative trési/трéси	
Imperfect	
1 trēsijāh/трéсијāх	trēsijāsmo/трéсијāсмо
2 trēsijāše/трéсијāше	trēsijāste/трéсијāсте
3 trēsijāše/трéсијāше	trēsijāhu/трéсијāху
<i>Forms made from infinitive stem</i>	
Infinitive trésti/трéсти	
Aorist	
1 trēsoh/трéсох	trēsosmo/трéсосмо
2 trēse/трéсе	trēsoste/трéсосте
3 trēse/трéсе	trēsoše/трéсоше
<i>L-participle masculine singular trēsao/трéсао, feminine singular trésla/трéсла</i> (further see table 7.12).	
Passive participle trésen/трéсен	
Past adverb (po)trēsāvši/(по)трéсāвши	

врѡх, vřše/vřше, vřhao/vřхао vřhla/vřхла, vřšen/vřшен. (Vřšiti/vřшити, vřšim/vřшїм 'to perform; thresh' is much more frequent.)

N and *m* stems have infinitive stem in *-ē-*: pǒčn-ēm/pǒчн-ѐм 'to begin', pǒčēti/pǒчѐти, participle pǒčēt/pǒчѐт. Stān-ēm/stāн-ѐм 'to stand, step, stop' has stāti/stāти, stāh/stāх, stā/stā, stāo/stāo stāla/stāла.

R stems: ūmr-ēm/ўмр-ѐм 'die', ūmr(ij)ēti/ўмр(иј)ѐти, *l*-participle ūmro/ўмро ūmřla/ўмřла.

A few *-ra-* stems have infinitive *-a-* alongside present *-e-*, like bēř-ēm/bēр-ѐм 'pluck', brāti/брāти; also zǒv-ēm/zǒв-ѐм 'call', zvāti/zvāти. (**Sъsa-* 'suck' is now sīsati/sīсати, sīšēm/sīшѐм or sīsām/sīсāм.)

Themes in -ne/-не-. These have infinitive stem in *-nu/-ну-*, usually identifiable as a suffix. An example is dīgn-ēm/dїгн-ѐм 'raise' (c **dvig-*), imperative dīgni/dїгни, infinitive dīgnuti/dїгнути, dīgnuh/dїгнух, dīgnu/dїгну, dīгнуo/dїгнуо dīgnula/dїгнула, dīgnut/dїгнут, dīgnūvši/dїгнўвши. This, like many consonant *-nu/-ну-* verbs, has alternative forms lacking *-nu/-ну-*: dīci/dїћи (infinitive like stems in *k*,

g), *dīgoh/дйгох*, *dīže/дйже*, *dīgao/дйгао*, *dīgla/дйгла*, *dīgāvši/дйгāvши*. No alternatives exist for -nu/-ну- preceded by vowel: *minēm/мінēm* 'pass', *minuti/минути*, *minuh/минух*, *minū/мінū*, *minuo/ми́нуо*, *minula/ми́нула*, *minūvši/мінūвши*. The few imperfective verbs can make an imperfect: *tōn-ēm/тōн-ēm* 'sink', *tōnuti/тōнути*, *tōnjāh/тōњāх*.

Themes in -je-/-je-. The -j- appears on the surface (after a vowel: table 7.14) or causes old jotation (after a consonant: section 2.2). Imperative -i/-i is dropped after surface -j.

Like *čū-ti/чў-ти* *čū-jēm/чў-jēm* 'to hear' are *kri-ti/крй-ти*, *kri-jēm/крй-jēm* (< **kryti*) 'to hide', *bī-ti/бй-ти*, *bī-jēm/бй-jēm* 'to beat' and others. Passive participles take -t/-т, -ven/-вен or -jen/-jen: *krit/крйт* or *s-kriven/с-кривен*, *bijen/бйjen*. ('To sing' is now *p(j)ěva-ti/п(ј)ěва-ти* *p(j)ěvām/п(ј)ěвām*.) Two -je-/-je- present verbs involve metathesis in the infinitive stem: *klā-ti/клā-ти* (< **kol-ti*) *kōljēm/кōљēm* 'to slaughter', *ml(j)ě-ti/млě-ти* or *млě-ти* (< **mel-ti*) *měljēm/мєљēm* 'to grind'. (**Bor-* is now *bōriti se/бōрити се*, *bōrīm se/бōрīm се* 'to struggle'.)

The largest subset (Matešić 1965–7 shows over 5,000 items) of vowel-je-/-je- presents are those with a/a. Thanks to the contraction of -aje- into -ā-, their present tenses, for instance the rarely used verb *d(j)ěla-ti/д(ј)ěла-ти* 'to act', go *d(j)ělām/д(ј)ělām* *d(j)ělāš/д(ј)ělāш* *d(j)ělā/д(ј)ělā*, but third person plural *d(j)ělajū/д(ј)ělajū*.

A similar but tiny type is *ūm(j)eti/ўм(ј)ети* 'to know how to', present stem **umě-je-* > ekavian contracted *ūmēm/ўмēm*, *ūměš/ўмеш* ... *ūmejū/ўmejū*

Table 7.14 Conjugation of a -je-/-je- verb

Forms made from present stem

Present *čūjēm/чўjēm* (like *trésēm/трэсēm*)

Present adverb *čūjūci/чўjўћи*

Imperative *čūj/чўj*

Imperfect *čūjāh/чўjāх* (like *trésijāh/трэсијāх*)

Forms made from infinitive stem

Infinitive *čūti/чўти*

Aorist

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1	<i>čūh/чўх</i>	<i>čūsmo/чўсмо</i>
2	<i>čū/чў</i>	<i>čūste/чўсте</i>
3	<i>čū/чў</i>	<i>čūše/чўше</i>

L-participle *čūo/чўо*, *čūla/чўла* (as table 7.12)

Passive participle *čū-v-en/чў-в-ен*

Past adverb *čūvši/чўвши*

ùmejŷ, ijekavian ùmijēm/ўмијēm, ùmijēš/ўмијēш ... ùmijŷ/ўмијŷ; the imperative is ùmēj/ўмēj, ùmīj/ўмīj. *L*-participles are ekavian ùmeo/ўмео, ùmela/ўмела, ijekavian ùmio/ўмио, ùmjela/ўмјела.

Consonant *-je-/-je-* presents all have *-a-* in the infinitive stem, which is lost in the present. Consonants undergo jotation: infinitive *káz-a-ti/káz-a-ti* 'to say', present **kaz-je-m* → *kāžēm/kāžēm*. The accent change, widespread in this subtype, lends credence to a description with synchronic truncation of the *a*. The type may be termed productive, to the extent that the suffix *-isa-/-иса-* used for adapting loan verbs (section 5.3) has present *-išē-/ишē-*. Vowel alternations between infinitive and present have been lost (**рьsa-* yields *písati/píсати*, *pīšēm/píшēm* 'to write'; **ьта-* has become *ùzimati/ўзимати*, *ùzimām/ўзимām* or *ùzimljēm/ўзимљēm* 'to take', the imperfective of *ùzēti/ўзēти*, *ùzmēm/ўзмēm*). However, one new alternation has arisen: **ьла-* is now *slā-ti/слā-ти*, *šāljēm/шāљēm* 'to send'.

Presents from *-va-/-ва-* infinitives, however, almost never show jotation; rather, there is alternation with *-ujē-/ujē-*. Some 1,000 infinitive stems in *-ova-ti/-ова-ти* like *daròva-ti/dарòва-ти* 'to donate' and a dozen in *-eva-ti/-ева-ти* like *mačèvati se/мачèвати се* 'to fence' have presents *dàrujēm/dàрујēm*, *-ujēš/-ujēш* ... *-ujŷ/-ujŷ*. Almost 2,000 derived imperfectives in *-íva-ti/-íва-ти*, a Serbo-Croat innovation, also have *-ujē-/ujē-*: *kazívati/kазíвати*, *kàzujēm/kàзујēm* ... *-ujŷ/-ujŷ* 'to tell'. Serbo-Croat has regularized **-ьvati* verbs into *-ùvati/-úвати* with the same alternation: *pljùvati/плъúвати*, *pljùjēm/плъúјēm* ... *pljŷjŷ/плъújŷ* 'to spit'.

A similar alternation *-áva-/-áva-* ~ *-ājē-/ājē-* (without contraction to *-ā-*) occurs in *dávati/dáвати* imperfective 'to give', *dájēm/dájēm* ... *dájŷ/dájŷ*; similarly *poznávati/poznáвати* 'to be acquainted with' and other imperfectives of prefixed forms of *znāti/знāти* 'to know'.

Stems like *sījati/síјати*, ekavian *sējati/cèјати* 'to sow' have presents without double *jj*; ijekavian *sījēm/síјēm* ... *sījŷ/síјŷ*, ekavian *sējēm/cèјēm* ... *sējŷ/cèјŷ*.

Themes in -i-/-и-. The infinitives may have *-i-ti/-и-ти*: *mòliti/mòлити* 'to ask, pray' (table 7.15), *-(j)e-ti/-(j)е-ти*: *vīd(j)eti/vīд(j)ети* 'to see' or (after a palatal) *-a-ti/-а-ти*: *dřžati/dржати* 'to hold'. The first subtype is large (over 6,000) and productive. The other two are smaller, a few hundred stems, even though Serbo-Croat has shifted the de-adjectival type **zelen-ě-ti*, **zelen-ě-je-* here: *zelèn(j)eti/зелèнети* or *зелèнети*, *zelènim/зелèнім* 'to turn green'.

The *-(j)e/-(j)e* and palatal *-a/-а* subtypes have imperfects *vīdāh/vīђāх*, *dřžāh/dржāх*, aorists *vīd(j)eh/vīд(j)ех*, *dřžah/dржāх*, *l*-participles ijekavian *vīdio/vīдио*, *vīdjela/vīдјела*, ekavian *vīdeo/vīдео*, *vīdela/vīдела*, *dřžao/dржао*, *dřžāla/dржāла*, passive participles

Table 7.15 Conjugation of an **-i/-и-** verb

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>Forms made from present stem</i>	
Present	
1 mǝlīm/мǝлѝм	mǝlīmo/мǝлѝмо
2 mǝlīš/мǝлѝш	mǝlīte/мǝлѝте
3 mǝlī/мǝлѝ	mǝlē/мǝлѝе
Present adverb mǝlēci/мǝлѝчи	
Imperative mǝli/мǝли	
Imperfect mǝljāh/мǝлѝах (like trésiĵāh/трѝсиĵах)	
<i>Forms made from infinitive stem</i>	
Infinitive mǝliti/мǝлити	
Aorist	
1 mǝlih/мǝлих	mǝlismo/мǝлисмо
2 mǝlī/мǝлѝ	mǝliste/мǝлисте
3 mǝlī/мǝлѝ	mǝliše/мǝлише
L-participle mǝlio/мǝлио, mǝlila/мǝлила	
Passive participle mǝlj-en/мǝлѝ-ен	
Past adverb (za)mǝlīvši/(за)мǝлѝвши	

vīden/вѝџен, dŕžān/дрџāн, past adverbs vīd(j)ēvši/вѝд(ĵ)ѝвши, dŕžāvši/дрџāvши. The spread of old jotation (like *d* → *đ*: section 2.2) to imperfects and passive participles of the *-(j)e/-ĵ)e* subtype is a Serbo-Croat innovation.

Hǝditi/хǝдити 'to walk' is like mǝliti/мǝлити: hǝdīm/хǝдѝм ... hǝdē/хǝдѝе, imperfect hǝdāh/хǝдѝах, participle pǝhođen/pǝхоџен 'visited'. **Vel-ě-* is defective, found only in the present: vēlīm/вѝлѝм ... vēlē/вѝлѝе 'say'. **Slyša-* has become an *-ā-* present: slīšati/слѝшати, slīšām/слѝшāм 'to quiz'. 'To sleep' is now spāvati/спāвати, spāvām/спāvāм, but prefixed zāspati/zāспати 'to fall asleep' has the *-i/-и-* present zāspīm/zāспѝм.

Athematic presents. Apart from bīti/бѝти 'to be', none remain in Serbo-Croat.

'To be' is noteworthy for having an extra present tense (table 7.16). Jēsam/jēsам, clitic sam/сам is imperfective, whereas būdēm/бўдѝм is perfective and imperfective: it can denote 'typical action', but otherwise occurs only in kād/kād or āko/āко clauses, da/да₂ clauses and as an auxiliary for the future II. The imperative is būdi/бўди, the present adverb būdūci/бўдўчи, from the 'extra' stem. The imperfect is ijekavian bījāh/бѝĵах or bĵeh/бĵѝх, ekavian bējāh/бѝĵах, bēh/бѝх. Other forms are regular from the stem bī-/бѝ-.

'To eat' is a regular *-e/-e-* present, jēdēm/jѝдѝм, infinitive jēsti/jѝсти.

Table 7.16 Presents of *bīti*/бїти

	<i>Full</i>	<i>Clitic</i>	<i>Negated</i>	<i>'Extra'</i>
<i>Singular</i>				
1	jèsam/jèsam	sam/сам	nísam/нїсам	bùdēm/бўдēm
2	jèsi/jèsi	si/си	nísi/нїси	bùdēs/бўдēш
3	jèst(e)/jèst(e)	je/je	níje/нїje	bùdē/бўдē
<i>Plural</i>				
1	jèsmo/jèsmo	smo/смо	nísmo/нїсмо	bùdēmo/бўдēмо
2	jèste/jèste	ste/сте	nístе/нїсте	bùdēte/бўдēте
3	jèsu/jècy	su/су	nísu/нїсу	bùdū/бўдў

'To give' is a regular -je-/-je- present, *dāti*/дāти, *dām*/дāм ... *dājū*/дājў, though an alternative present exists with -d-e-/-д-е-: *dádēm*/дāдēm, -ēš/-ēш ... *dádū*/дāдў. Similarly regular but with parallel -d-e-/-д-е- present forms are: *znāti*/знāти 'to know (persons or information)' *znām*/знām ... *znājū*/знājў or *znádēm*/знāдēm ... *znádū*/знāдў, *ìmati*/ìмати 'to have' *ìmām*/ìmām ... *ìmajū*/ìmajў or *ìmádēm*/ìmādēm ... *ìmádū*/ìmādў (but negated present *nēmām*/нēmām ... *némajū*/нémajў). **Vèdēti*, **věmь* 'know' is lost.

A verb with suppletive stems is 'want, will'. The infinitive is *ht(j)èti*/хт(j)èти, with matching aorist and *l*-participle (*ijekavian* *htio*/хтїо, *htjèla*/хтjèла). The presents are as in table 7.17; considerable accentual variation exists in practice.

Table 7.17 Presents of *ht(j)èti*/хт(j)èти

	<i>Full</i>	<i>Clitic</i>	<i>Negated</i>
<i>Singular</i>			
1	hòcu/xòhy	cu/hy	nécu/néhy
2	hòceš/xòheш	ceš/heш	néceš/néheш
3	hòce/xòhe	ce/he	néce/néhe
<i>Plural</i>			
1	hòcemo/xòhemo	ceso/hemo	nécemo/néhemo
2	hòcete/xòhete	cete/hete	nécete/néhete
3	hòcē/xòhē	cē/hē	nécē/néhē

3.3 Derivational morphology

The most thorough treatment, including productivity information, is Babić (1986), relied on throughout this chapter.

3.3.1 Major patterns of noun derivation

These are suffixal; there is also compounding and prefixation. Character-

istic for Serbo-Croat are zero-suffixed nouns from verb roots: nápad/напад 'attack' (nàpasti/напасти, nàpad-n-ēm/напад-н-ēm 'to attack'). The verbal noun in -(ē)nje/-(ē)ње, -će/-ће is highly productive from imperfective verbs in the meaning of an action. As a concrete act or product it is derived from some perfectives (and a few imperfectives) and has accent -ánje/-áње, -énje/-éње, -Vće/-Vће: izdánje/издање 'edition' (versus izdávānje/издávāње from imperfective, 'publishing'). Further typical deverbal nouns are in -(é)tak/-(é)так (*a* ~ \emptyset alternation): počétak/почé так 'beginning' (pòčēti/пòчēти 'to begin'), -nja/-ња: šétnja/шétња 'stroll' from šétati (se)/шétати (се) 'to stroll' and -āj/-āj: dōgađāj/дōгађāj 'event' from dogáđati se/догађати се 'to occur'.

In de-adjectival abstracts, -ōst/-ōст '-ness' is most productive: naivnōst/наивнōст 'naïveté'. -ōca/-ōћа partly replaces -ota/-ота: pun-ōca/пун-ōћа 'fullness'.

Abstracts of many sorts and sources are made with -stvo/-ство: sús(j)ed-stvo/сýс(j)ед-ство 'neighbour-hood', piján-stvo/пијán-ство 'drunken-ness', zakon-o-dáv-stvo/закон-о-дáv-ство 'law-giving, legislation' (zákon/зákон 'law').

Productive person noun suffixes are -lac/-лац and -telj/-тель, which compete somewhat: slūšalac/слўшалац, slūšatelj/слўшатель 'listener'; further, -āč/-āч and -ār/-ār, both particularly from -ati/-ати verbs: predāvāč/предāvāч 'lecturer', vladār/владār 'ruler' (predávati/предávати 'to lecture', vládati/влáдати 'to rule'). Foreign -ik normally becomes -ičār/-ичār: krītičār/крїтичār. -ār/-ār, -ist(a)/-ист(a), -āš/-āш and -ac/-ац are frequent denominals: zlatār/злátār 'goldsmith' (zláto/злáто 'gold'), flaut-ist(a)/флáут-ист(a), folkldrāš/фолклдрāш 'folkdancer', tekstīlac/текстїлац 'textile worker'. The Turkish suffix -džija/-џија is somewhat productive: tramvājđzija/трамвājџија 'tram-driver'.

Inhabitant name suffixes include -(j)anin/-(j)анин, -čanin/-чанин, both of which lose -in/-ин in the plural (see page 320), -ac/-ац: Kanāda/Канáда, Kanāđanin/Канáђанин; Ljubljāna/Љубљána, Ljubljānčanin/Љубљánчанин; Índija/Индїја, Indījac/Индїјац. A few names have Turkish -lija/-лија: Sarājlīja/Сарāјлија 'Sarajevo resident'.

Feminine formation is typically with -ica/-ица: učitelj-ica/учителъ-ица 'teacher'; šēf/шēф 'chief', šēfica/шēфица. -ka/-ка occurs bound to particular suffixes: vladārka/владārка, Ljubljānčānka/Љубљánчāнка. -inja/-иња attaches to velars: bōg-inja/бōг-иња 'goddess', Ūzbek-inja/Ūzbek-иња; and -kinja/-киња often to final *t*: kandidāt-kinja/кандїдát-киња 'candidate', feminīstkinja/феминїсткїња 'feminist'.

Diminutives of masculine *o*-stems take -ić/-ић or -čić/-чић: bród/брód 'ship', brōdić/брōдић; sin/сїн 'son', sinčić/сїнчић. Feminines in -a/-а get -ica/-ица: vōda/вōда, vōdica/вōдица. Neuters take -ce/-це or various extended versions: písmo/пїсмo 'letter', písámce/писámце;

gřlo/гр̄ло 'throat', gřl-ašce/гр̄л-ашце. Masculines and feminines add neuter -če/-че (stem -čet/-чет-) in the meaning 'young ...': čobanin/чобанин 'shepherd', čobānče/чобāнче 'shepherd boy'; gūska/гўска 'goose', gūšce/гўшче 'gosling'. Nurocoristics shorten names to (consonant-) vowel-consonant and add -o/-о, -e/-е or -a/-а: Ívo/Їво or Íve/Їве from Ívan/Їван, Mára/Máра, Máre/Máре or Mája/Máја from Mārija/Māрија. Augmentatives take -ina/-ина and extensions: bròd-ina/брòд-ина 'big boat', sob-ètina/соб-èтина 'big room'.

First members of compounds can be nouns (often with object interpretation), adjectives or combining forms: brod-o-grádnja/брод-о-градња 'ship-building = building of ships', nov-o-grádnja/нов-о-градња 'new construction', vèle-mājstor/vèле-мāјстор 'grand master'.

3.3.2 Major patterns of adjective derivation

These involve suffixation. Descriptive adjectives can be predicated and compared. They distinguish long and short declension, and their citation form is short, as míran/мíран 'peaceful'. Relational adjectives do not distinguish long/short. Their citation form is long (mìròvnī/мìрòвнī 'peace ...') except for certain possessives (-ov/-ов, -ev/-ев, -in/-ин). Relational adjectives are often replaceable by modifying phrases: mìròvnī ùgovōr/мìрòвнī ùговōр or ùgovōr o míru/ùговōр o мíру 'treaty of peace'.

The most widespread descriptive adjective suffix is -an/-ан (*a* ~ \emptyset alternation: sections 2.1 and 2.2), as in míran/мíран above, with variants -en/-ен, -ven/-вен. Clearly deverbal is prīvlačan/прīвлачан 'attractive' from prīvláčiti/прīвлáчити 'to attract'. Other descriptive suffixes have more specific semantics, as -(lj)iv/-(љ)ив 'able, given to ...': plākati/plākati 'to cry', pláčljiv/pláčљив 'tearful'. Compounds are formed with -an/-ан or (particularly with body-part nouns in second place) without suffix: kratk-ò-trāj-an/кратк-ò-трāј-ан 'short-lasting', kratk-ò-rep/кратк-ò-реп 'short-tailed'.

The most general relational-adjective suffix is -nī/-нī, with extended forms -enī/-енī, -anī/-анī, -ovnī/-овнī and others: drúštvo/дрúштво 'society', drúštenī sèktor/дрúштвенī сèктор 'the public sector'. A deverbal example is prodúžiti/prodúжити 'to extend': pròdužnī gājtan/pròдужнī гājтан 'extension cord'; a dephrasal is star-o-záv(j)et-nī/стар-о-зáv(j)ет-нī 'Old Testament' from stārī/stārī 'old', záv(j)et/záv(j)et 'testament'.

-Skī/-скī, its allomorphs (s/c, z/z + skī/скī = -skī/-скī, š/ш, ž/ж, h/x, g/г + skī/скī = -škī/-шкī, c/ц, č/ч, k/к + skī/скī = -čkī/-чкī, ć/h + skī/скī = -ćkī/-ћкī) and extended forms (-ačkī/-ачкī, -inskī/-инскī, -ovskī/-овскī ...) form ethnic and geographical adjectives: Amèrika/Amèрика, amèričkī/amèричкī; and are also the relational suffix for most personal nouns: stùdentskī žìvot/stýдентскī жìвот

'student life'. The -skī/-скій set encroaches onto the general relational territory of -nī/-нй, being predictable on stems in -ij/-иј, -ija/-ија, -ika/-ика, -n/-н, -ar/-ар and other finals: filozōfija/филозо̀дфија, filòzofskī/филозо̀фскй; bêtōn/бѐтѐн 'concrete', bêtōnskī/бѐтѐнскй.

Animal names typically take -jī/-јй (-ijī/-ијй): mīš/миш 'mouse', mīšji/мишјй (mīšjā rūpa/мишјā рұпа 'mousehole'). There is overlap with other types: d(j)ěca/д(ј)ѐца 'children' has d(j)ěčji/д(ј)ѐчјй; orangutan/orангүтан, orangütanskī/orангүтанскй 'orangutan'.

Possessive adjectives from nouns referring to definite singular possessors (section 4.9) take -ov/-ов for *o*-stem nouns, -ev/-ев for soft *o*-stems and -in/-ин for *a*-stems: stùdentov/стүдентов 'student's', mužev/мүжев 'husband's', žènin/жèнин 'wife's', Těslin/Тѐслин 'Tesla's'. Nouns in -v take -ljev/-љев: Jākov/Jāков 'Jacob', Jākovljev/Jāковљев.

Plant names of all declensions favour -ov/-ов: līpa/лйпа 'linden', līpov/лйпов чāj 'linden tea'.

Adverbs of place and time form adjectives with -njī/-нй, -šnjī/-шнй, -ašnjī/-ашнй: jùtro/јүтро 'morning', jùtarnjī/јүтāрнй; jùčē(r)/јүчē(р) 'yesterday', jučērašnjī/јучēрашнй.

Relationals from verbs (or from verbal nouns) can be in -ači/-аңй: pīsači stō(l)/пйсаңй стѐ(л) 'writing table' from pīsati/пйсати 'to write' or pīsanje/пйсāње 'writing'.

3.3.3 Major patterns of verb derivation

These are suffixation and prefixation. Suffixes forming verbs from nouns include -ati/-ати (present -ām/-ām), -iti/-ити, -írati/-йрати (bi-aspectual, from foreign bases), -ovati/-овати (alternant -evati/-евати: domestic and foreign, often bi-aspectual): kártati se/kāртати се 'to play cards, gamble with cards', bđjiti/bđжити 'to paint, colour with paint/dye (bđja/bđја)', torpedírati/торпедйрати 'to torpedo', gostòvati/гостѐвати 'to be a guest', mačèvati se/мачèвати се 'to fence, fight with swords (māč/māч)'.

More rarely, denominals arise by prefixation-suffixation: po-latín-iti/по-латйн-ити 'to Latinize', oběšumiti/обѐшумити 'to deforest' (o-bez-šum-iti/o-без-шум-ити, šūma/шұма 'forest').

Verbs from (descriptive) adjectives mean (1) 'to become ...', (2) 'to make something ...'. Of productive suffixes, -(j)eti/- (j)ети (present -īm/-йм, section 3.2.2) has only the first meaning: gládn(j)eti/гладнети or gládnjeti 'to become hungry (gládan/гладан)'. -iti/-ити yields both transitive kīseliti/kйселити 'to make sour (kīseo/кйсео)', with intransitive kīseliti se/кйселити се 'to become sour', and intransitive ċdraviti/ћдравити 'to become blind (ċdrav/ћдрав)'. -ati/-ати (present -ām/-ām), with both meanings, often attaches to comparatives: jācati/jāчати '(1) to become stronger; (2) to strengthen something' from jāči/jāчй 'stronger' (jāk/jāk 'strong'). Prefixation-suffixation is widespread:

o-sposòb-iti/о-спосòб-ити 'to make something/someone capable' from spòsoban/спòсобан 'capable', o-bes-hràbr-iti/о-бес-хràбр-ити 'to discourage' from hràbar/хràбар 'brave'.

Verbs are made from verbs by prefixation, suffixation or use of the 'reflexive' particle *se/се*. *Se/се* can intransitivize a verb, as *dřžati/држати* 'to hold', *dřžati se/држати се* with genitive 'to hold to'; dropping a basic verb's *se/се* can transativize it, as *priblїžiti se/приблїжити се* 'to come nearer', *priblїžiti/приблїжити* 'to bring nearer'.

Prefixation yields a perfective verb which may or may not coincide semantically or syntactically with the input verb (section 3.2.1). *U-/у-* may represent old **u-* 'away', as *uklòniti/уклòнити* 'to eliminate', but usually means 'in', as *ùt(j)erati/ùt(j)ерати* 'to drive in'.

Apart from aspect changes, suffixation of verbs may also yield iteratives (section 3.2.1) and diminutives, for which the suffixes mostly involve *k/к*, *c/ц* and *r/р*: *gūr-kati/гўр-кати* 'to push a little': *p(j)ev-ùckati/п(j)е-вўцкати* 'to hum' from *p(j)ěvati/п(j)ěвати* 'to sing'; *šet-kàrati/шет-кàрати* 'to stroll a little (somewhat pejorative)' from *šetati/шétати*.

Verb compounds are scanty; compare *kriv-o-tvòr-iti/крив-о-твòр-ити* 'to counterfeit'.

4 Syntax

4.1 Element order in declarative sentences

Element order is determined largely by topic-comment structure. The topic in unmarked order precedes the comment. The simplest situation, a frequent one, is subject = topic, verb + object = comment. If subject and object are both known to the participants in conversation and the verb has unsurprising meaning, the order is SVO.

Slávko vїdї Òlgu./Слávко вїдї Òлгу.
'Slavko sees Olga.'

If arguments and predicate are all new in the discourse, the order is again SVO.

Jėdan stùdent vòdї pїtomu óvcu./Jėдан стўдент вòдї пїтому óвцу.
'A student is leading a tame sheep.'

An element can be made the information focus by placing it sentence-finally:

Slávko Òlgu prėzirė./Слávко Òлгу прėзирė.
'Slavko despises Olga.'

Focused subjects, such as answers to questions, can be final as well.

Q: (T)kò dònosi šunku?/(T)кò доноси шунку?

'Who is bringing the ham?'

A: Šunku dònosi *Slavko*./Шунку доноси *Слávко*.

'*Slavko* is bringing the ham.'

Serbo-Croat has a constraint against separating post-verbal subjects from verbs, so we would not normally find ?dònosi šunku *Slavko*/дòноси шунку Слávко. A topicalized element is put first, as 'Olga' in the second sentence:

Slavko vīdī Ōlgu. Ōlgu vīdīmo i mi./Славко вїдї Ōлгу. Ōлгу вїдїмо и мї.
'Slavko sees Olga. We too see *Olga*.'

Certain lexical elements (like *něšto*/нѐшто 'something', *tò/tò* 'this, that', *čòv(j)ek*/чòв(j)ек in the meaning 'one') have inherent low prominence (contributions to Filipović 1975: 97–104), and are sentence-final only under emphasis. They normally display SOV order:

?Slavko vīdī *něšto*. Slavko *něšto* vīdī. (or: Slavko vīdī *něšto*./

?Слávко вїдї нѐшто. Слávко нѐшто вїдї. (or: Слávко вїдї *нѐшто*.)

'Slavko sees something.'

Departures from topic–comment order yield special effects, such as extra emphasis on a preposed comment:

vīdī Slavko./Вїдї Слávко.

'Slavko DOES see.'

Adverbs modifying a verb tend to precede it, whereas adverbials of other sorts follow:

Slavko jāsno vīdī Ōlgu./Слávко јасно вїдї Ōлгу.

'Slavko sees Olga clearly.'

Slavko vīdī Ōlgu kroz đīm./Слávко вїдї Ōлгу кроз дїм.

'Slavko sees Olga through the smoke.'

Without an object, unmarked order of subject and verb is still SV:

Slavko spāvā./Слávко спāvā.

'Slavko is sleeping.'

However, subjects are frequently put after the verb. One grammaticalized instance is the existential or presentative, announcing the existence or availability of the subject. Here the order is optional time or place frame–verb–subject:

Na stòlu lèžī knjīga./На стòлу лèжī кнjйга.
'On the table lies (is) a book.'

A suppletive present tense of 'to be' for existentials is *imā/ймā* 'there is' (negative *nēmā/нѐма* 'there is not'). It and other tenses of *bīti/бjтj* with a genitive (singular or plural) subject mean 'there is/are some ... , there isn't/aren't any ...':

U frižidėru imā šunkē (māslīnā)./У фрижидėру jмā шjнкѐ (мāслjнā).
'In the refrigerator there is some ham (there are some olives).'

Some speakers use *imā/ймā* with nominative singular subjects, while others (particularly in the Croat standard) require *je/je*:

Na stòlu imā (or: je) knjīga./На стòлу jмā (or je) кнjйга.
'On the table there is a book.'

Clitic-placement rules operate within a simple sentence. Almost all Serbo-Croat clitics have corresponding full forms (though *se/ce* in most uses, those not meaning '... self', has none). Clitic and full personal pronouns were given in table 7.6, of verb forms in tables 7.16 and 7.17. Serbo-Croat clitics are enclitic, forming an accentual group with a preceding word. Clitics display fixed order in a group (contributions to Filipović 1975: 105–34):

I li/ли.

II Auxiliary verbs and present of 'to be' (but not third person singular *je/je*):

bih, bi, bi, bismo, biste, bi/бjх, бj, бj, бjсмo, бjстe, бj '(I, you, he/she/it, we, you, they) would'

ću, ćeš, će, ćemo, ćete, ćē/ћy, ћеш, ће, ћемо, ћете, ћē '(I, you, he/she/it, we, you, they) will'

сам, si, _____, smo, ste, su/сам, сj, _____, смo, стe, сy '(I) have/did, (I) am' and so forth

III Dative pronouns:

mi, ti, mu, joj, нам, вам, im/мj, тj, мy, joj, нам, вам, им '(to) me, you, him/it, her, us, you, them'

IV Accusative/genitive pronouns:

me, te, ga, je, nas, vas, ih/мe, тe, гa, jе, нaс, вaс, их 'me, you, him/it, her, us, you, them'

V *se/ce*, reflexive pronoun and particle.

VI *je/je*, third person singular auxiliary and present of 'to be'. *Se + je/ce + je* usually becomes just *se/ce*; *je/je* occasionally drops after *me/ме* and *te/тe* as well. *Je + je/je + je* is replaced by *ju je/jy je*.
Examples:

Slávko će je vīd(j)eti./Слávко ће је вїд(ј)ети.

'Slavko will see her.'

Slávko ga se (je) bòjao./Слávко га се (је) бòјао.

'Slavko feared it.'

Õlga mu ju je dála./Õлга му ју је дáла.

'Olga gave her to him.'

Vīdī li je Slávko?/Вїдї ли је Слávко?

'Does Slavko see her?'

The clitic group comes in second position in the simple sentence: after the first constituent, or after the first word of the first constituent.

(Mòja sèstra) će dóci u ùtorak./ (Mòja сèстра) ће дóћи у ùторак.

Mòja će sèstra dóci u ùtorak./Mòja ће сèстра дóћи у ùторак.

'My sister will come on Tuesday.'

If the first constituent is comparatively long, as *mòja mlāđā sèstra*/мòја млāђā сèстра 'my younger sister', one can 'exclude it from the count', placing clitics after the (first word of the) next constituent:

Mòja mlāđā sèstra dóci će u ùtorak./Mòja млāђā сèстра дóћи ће у ùторак.

If the sentence begins with a clause introducer, clitics necessarily come immediately afterward, with no exclusions from the count:

... *da* će mòja mlāđā sèstra dóci u ùtorak./... да ће мòја млāђā сèстра дóћи у ùторак.

'... that my younger sister will come on Tuesday.'

Clause introducers are subordinating conjunctions like *da*/да 'that', relative or interrogative words and coordinating conjunctions (but *i*/и 'and', *a*/а 'and, but' do not count).

Ordering of elements within noun phrases is generally fixed (contributions to Filipović 1975: 87–96). Elements before the noun are totalizers ('all', 'every'), demonstratives, possessives, numerals and adjectives, in the order given:

svīh òvih mòjih dēsēt crvenīh rúžā/свїх òвїх мòјїх дēsēt црвенїх рúжā
'(Literally, 'all these my ten red roses.')

Any of these might follow the noun in poetic or expressive style: thus, *rúžā mòja*/рúжа мòја might be a term of endearment. Postposing a numeral does not express approximation.

Elements normally appearing after the noun are genitives, prepositional phrases, relative clauses and complement clauses, in the order given.

knjīga *Lāva Tòlstoja* u l(ij)érom ùvezu/књїга Лāва Тòлстоја у л(иј)éпoм ùvezу
'a book of (= by) *Leo Tolstoj* in a nice binding'

uv(j)erénje *nàprednih ljúdi da je zèmlja òkrùgla*/ув(ј)ерéње *nàпредних љúди да је зéмља òкрùгла*

'the belief of progressive people that the world is round'

uv(j)erénje *kòjè su ljúdi izražávali da je zèmlja òkrùgla*/ув(ј)ерéње *kòjè су љúди изражавали да је зéмља òкрùгла*

'the belief which people expressed that the world is round'

Adjectives and participles with complements usually follow nouns:

knjiga *žúta* od *stàrosti*/књига *жу́та* од *ста̀рости*

'a book yellow with age'

But they can precede if their own complements precede them: *od stàrosti žúta knjiga/од ста̀рости жу́та књига*.

4.2 Non-declarative sentence types: interrogatives and imperatives

Yes–no questions are sometimes marked by intonation. A characteristic contour involves a drop before and during the accented syllable of the focused word, followed by high pitch on the remainder of the word (the 'reverse pattern': Lehiste and Ivić 1986: chapter 3; see also contributions to Filipović 1975: 172–9):

Slá^{vko} *vīdī* Òlgu?/Слá^{vко} *вй̄дй̄* Òлгу?
'Does Slavko see Olga?'

If no word is especially focused, the reverse pattern goes on the main verb:

Slávko *vī^{dī}* Òlgu?/Слáвко *вй̄^{дй̄}* Òлгу?
'Does Slavko see Olga?'

More frequent yes–no question markers are clitic *li/ли* and sentence-initial *dā li/да̄ ли*. The finite verb (auxiliary if there is one, otherwise the main verb) precedes *li/ли* immediately and is thus sentence initial:

Vīdī li Slávko Òlgu?/вй̄дй̄ *ли* Слáвко Òлгу?

A clitic finite verb is replaced in *li/ли* questions by its non-clitic (full) form:

Hóće li Slávko vīd(j)eti Òlgu?/Хóће *ли* Слáвко вй̄д(ј)ети Òлгу?
'Will Slavko see Olga?'

Dā li/да̄ ли, which may be regarded as the full form of *li/ли*, does not constrain the order of the remaining elements. The example above would be: *dā li će Slávko vīd(j)eti Òlgu?*/да̄ *ли* ће Слáвко вй̄д(ј)ети Òлгу?

Affirmative answers to yes–no questions of all types can be *dā/да̄* 'yes', repetition of the finite verb (in full form) or both:

Q: Slávko $v\dot{r}$ $\dot{d}\dot{i}$ Òlgu? Vídī li Slávko Òlgu? Dā li Slávko vīdī Òlgu?/Слávко вѣдї Òлгу? Вїдї ли Слávко Òлгу? Дā ли Слávко вїдї Òлгу?

A: Dā./Дā. or Vídī./Вїдї. or Dā, vīdī./Дā, вїдї.

'Yes. He does. Yes, he does.'

Q: Hōće li Slávko vīd(j)eti Òlgu?/Хōће ли Слávко вїд(j)ети Òлгу? Dā li će Slávko vīd(j)eti Òlgu?/Дā ли ће Слávко вїд(j)ети Òлгу?

A: Dā./Дā. or Hōće./Хōће. or Dā, hōće./Дā, хōће.

'Yes. He will. Yes, he will.'

Negative answers are given with *nè/nè* 'no', and/or repetition of the negated finite verb (recall that paired clitic/full-form verbs have a single negated form; sections 3.2.1 and 4.6):

Q: Slávko $v\dot{r}$ $\dot{d}\dot{i}$ Òlgu? Vídī li Slávko Òlgu? Dā li Slávko vīdī Òlgu?/Слávко вѣдї Òлгу? Вїдї ли Слávко Òлгу? Дā ли Слávко вїдї Òлгу?

A: Nè./Hè. or Nè vīdī./Hè вїдї. or Nè, nè vīdī./Hè, nè вїдї.

'No. He doesn't. No, he doesn't.'

Q: Hōće li Slávko vīd(j)eti Òlgu?/Хōће ли Слávко вїд(j)ети Òлгу? Dā li će Slávko vīd(j)eti Òlgu?/Дā ли ће Слávко вїд(j)ети Òлгу?

A: Nè./Hè. or Nèće./Hèće. or Nè, nèće./Hè, nèće.

Yes–no questions can be formulated negatively by negating the verb.

Slávko *nè* vīdī Òlgu?/Слávко *nè* вїдї Òлгу? Nè vīdī li Slávko Òlgu?/Hè вїдї ли Слávко Òлгу?

'Doesn't Slavko see Olga?'

Answers to such negative questions are

Nè, nè vīdī./Hè, nè вїдї.

'No, he doesn't.'

or

dā, vīdī/дā, вїдї (probably not merely dā/дā).

Similar to English 'tag questions', *zār nè?/zār nè? or jè li?/jè li?* can make yes–no questions from positive or negative statements:

Slávko vīdī Òlgu, zār nè?/Слávко вїдї Òлгу, zār nè?

'Slavko sees Olga, doesn't he?'

Alternative questions contain *ili/или* 'or' between two or more elements in what is otherwise a yes–no question:

Vídī li Slávko Òlgu ili Dóru?/Вїдї ли Слávко Òлгу или Дóру?

'Does Slavko see Olga or Dora?'

An answer can be:

Nè vidī Ōlgu nego Dóru./Нè видї Ōлгу него Дóру.
 'He doesn't see Olga but (rather) Dora.'

or simply: Dóru/Дóру.

WH questions are made with interrogatives such as (t)kǎ/(т)кǎ 'who',
 čijī/чїї 'whose', zǎšto/zǎшто 'why'. Such words front – come in first
 position in the sentence – and can be preceded only by coordinating
 conjunctions and prepositions:

Kǎga vīdī Mǎrija? Kǎga Mǎrija vīdī?/Кǎга видї Мǎриja? Кǎга Мǎриja видї?
 'Whom does Marija see?'

S kīm Mǎrija rǎdī?/С кїм Мǎриja рǎдї?
 'With whom does Marija work?'

A WH word (with preposition if any) counts as a sentence-introducer:
 clitics follow it immediately.

Kǎga je Mǎrija vīd(j)ela?/Кǎга je Мǎриja вид(j)ела?
 'Whom did Marija see?'

S kīm ga je vīd(j)ela?/С кїм га je вид(j)ела?
 'With whom did she see him?'

Fronting can separate a WH word from the rest of its phrase:

Kǎliko Slǎvko ĩmǎ nǎvǎcǎ?/Кǎлико Слǎвко ĩмǎ нǎвǎцǎ?
 'How much has Slavko money? (How much money has Slavko?)'

WH words can be conjoined. The resulting WH group fronts:

Kǎga i gd(j)ǎ Mǎrija vīdī?/Кǎга и гд(j)ǎ Мǎриja видї?

'Whom and where does Marija see? (Whom does Marija see and where does she
 see him?)'

If there are clitics, their best position is after the first WH word:

Kǎga je i gd(j)ǎ Mǎrija vīd(j)ela?/Кǎга je и гд(j)ǎ Мǎриja вид(j)ела?
 'Whom did Marija see and where did she see him?'

They may also be after the group: kǎga i gd(j)ǎ je Mǎrija vīd(j)ela?/кǎга и
 гд(j)ǎ je Мǎриja вид(j)ела?

'Multiple' questions can be formed with non-conjoined WH words. In
 general all are fronted. Clitics are best placed after the first WH word,
 suggesting it differs in syntactic position from the others (Browne 1976):

(Т)кǎ je gd(j)ǎ kǎga vīdio (vīdeo)?/(Т)кǎ je гд(j)ǎ кǎга видїо (вїдео)?
 'Who saw whom where?'

The order of WH words is not fixed; one can also ask, for instance: gd(j)ǎ je

(t)kǒ kòga vīdio (vīdeo)?/гд(ј)ѐ је (т)кǒ кòга вїдио (вїдео)?

All types of direct questions, apart from the intonational yes–no type and the ‘tags’, can also function as indirect questions, as in the position of object to a predicate:

Nè znām dā li Slāvko vīdī Őlgu (vīdī li Slāvko Őlgu)./Нè знām дā ли Слāvко вїдї Őлгу (вїдї ли Слāvко Őлгу).

‘I don’t know whether Slavko sees Olga.’

Nīsam sīgūran (t)kǒ gd(j)ǐ kòga vīdī./Нīсам сїгўран (т)кǒ гд(ј)ѐ кòга вїдї.

‘I am not sure who sees whom where.’

If a question is to be object of a preposition, a form of the pronoun tǒ/tǒ ‘it’ in the required case is intercalated:

Govǒrili smo o tǒme dā li Slāvko vīdī Őlgu./Говǒрили смо о тǒме дā ли Слāvко вїдї Őлгу.

‘We spoke about it whether Slavko sees Olga.’

In some instances the preposition and pronoun are omissible:

Pītānje (o tǒme) dā li Slāvko vīdī Őlgu jǒš nīje r(ij)ǐšeno./Пїтāње (о тǒме) дā ли Слāvко вїдї Őлгу јǒш нїје р(иј)ǐшено.

‘The question (about it) whether Slavko sees Olga is not yet resolved.’

Commands are given in the imperative:

Ūzmi (plural or formal: Ūzmite) krūšku!/Ūзми (plural or formal: Ūзмите) крўшку!

‘Take a pear!’

A second-person subject may be omitted or (less commonly) expressed:

Ūzmi ti krūšku!/Ūзми тї крўшку!

‘You take a pear!’

Negative imperatives require imperfective aspect:

Ne ūzimāj krūšku!/Не ūзимāj крўшку!

‘Don’t take a pear.’

except for some verbs of involuntary psychological action:

Ne zabǒravi!/Не забǒрави!

‘Don’t forget (perfective)!’

Another, more polite, negative command is with nēmōj/nēmōj (1 PL nēmōjmo/nēmōjmo ‘let’s not’; 2 PL nēmōjte/nēmōjte) plus infinitive (either aspect):

Nèmōj ùzimati krūške!/Нèmōј ùзимати крўшке!
 'Don't take (imperfective) pears.'
 Nèmōj ùzēti krūšku!/Нèmōј ùзѐти крўшку!
 'Don't take (perfective) a pear.'

Da/да₂ with present clauses can replace the infinitive, especially in the East: nèmōj da ùzimāš (da ùzmēš) krūšku/nèmōј да ùзимāш (да ùзмēш) крўшку! Da/да₂ clauses can also contain a verb not in the second person, as long as its subject is under the control or influence of the person addressed:

Nèmōj da se tō drūgī pūt dōgodī!/Нèmōј да се тō дрўгī пўт дōгодī!
 Literally, 'Don't that this happens again! (Don't let this happen again!)

Commands to be performed by another person are given as da/да₂-present or nēka/nēka-present clauses:

Da Slāvko (ne) ùzimā krūške./Да Слāvко (не) ùзимā крўшке.
 Nēka Slāvko (ne) ùzimā krūške./Нēка Слāvко (не) ùзимā крўшке.
 'Let (may) Slavko (not) take pears.'

Reported commands are formulated as da/да₂-present clauses, in the third person occasionally as nēka/nēka-present:

Rēkla je da ùzmēm (ùzmēš) krūšku./Рēкла је да ùзмēm (ùзмēш) крўшку.
 'She said I (you) should take a pear.'
 Rēkla je da (or nēka) Slāvko ùzmē krūšku./Рēкла је да (or нēка) Слāvко ùзмē крўшку.
 'She said Slavko should take a pear.'

4.3 Copular sentences

The main copula is *bīti*/бїти 'to be', used with noun phrase, adjective phrase and adverbial phrase predicates:

Mārija je mōja sēstra./Māрија је мōја сēстра.
 'Marija is my sister.'
 Mārija je vr(ij)édna kao pčēla./Māрија је вр(иј)édна као пчēла.
 'Marija is hard-working as a bee.'
 Mārija je dōbro./Māрија је дōбро.
 'Marija is well.'
 Kōncert je u đsam./Кōнцерт је у đсам.
 'The concert is at eight o'clock.'

In the genitive predicate construction, a noun mentions a property of the subject and an adjective specifies that property:

Šēšīr je odgovārajūcē veličīnē./Шēшīр је одговāрајūhē величīнē.
 'The hat is (of) the right size.'

The normal case for noun phrase and adjective phrase copular predicates is nominative. The instrumental on these is archaic or literary, never obligatory:

Màrija je učiteljica (učiteljicōm)./Màрија је учитељица (учитељицōм).
'Marija is a teacher NOM (a teacher INST).'

Even if the sentence contains a subject in another case, the predicate is nominative:

Làko je Màriji bìti vr(ij)édna./Лàко је Màрији бйти вр(иј)édна.
'It is easy for Marija (DAT) to be *hard-working* (NOM).'

If the subject is unexpressed, the copular predicate adjective is nominative masculine singular for arbitrary human referents, otherwise nominative neuter singular.

Vážno je bìti vr(ij)édan./Вàжно је бйти вр(иј)édан.
'It is important (for anyone) to be *hard-working* (NOM M).'

Bìti/бйти and other copulas take only short-form adjectives as predicate:

Màrtin je vr(ij)édan./Màртин је вр(иј)édан.
'Martin is *hard-working* (SHORT).'

But some adjectives lacking a short form (section 3.1.4) can use their long form:

Màrtin je mālī./Màртин је мālī.
'Martin is small.'
Ìvan je nàjmanji./Ìван је nàjмањī.
'Ivan is the smallest.'

A zero copula is found only in proverbs, titles and other compressed styles:

Obećanje – lúdōm rādovānje./Обећање – лудōм рāдовāње.
'A promise (is) joy for a fool. (Don't trust promises.)' (Proverb)

Bìti/бйти has frequentative bívati/бівати 'be from time to time; become; happen':

Màrija je bivala (je rđčela bívati) sve vrèdnijā./Màрија је бивала (је пđчела бівати) све врèднījā.
'Marija was becoming (began to be) more and more hard-working.'

A specialized copula for adverbials of place is *nàlaziti se*/нàлазити се, perfective *náci se*/нáћи се 'be located, be'.

Škòla se nàlazī dalèko od sèla./Шкòла се нàлазī далèко од сèла.
'The school is located far from the village.'

Òstati/òстати, imperfective *òstajati/òстајати* 'to remain; to be left, find oneself', taking various predicate types, can mean a continuing state or a changed state:

Vláda je òstala ùpòrna, ali stùdenti òstajū na trgū./Влáда је òстала ùпòрна, али стùденти òстајū на тргу.
'The government remained firm, but the students are staying in the square.'

Pòstati/pòстати, imperfective *pòstajati/pòстајати* 'to become' takes noun or adjective predicates, both of which can be nominative or instrumental without clear meaning distinctions:

Màrija je pòstala učiteljica (učiteljicòm)./Màрија је пòстала учитељица (учитељицòm).
'Marija became a teacher NOM (a teacher INST).'
Situácija pòstaje òzbiljna (òzbiljnòm)./Ситуáција пòстајè òзбйљна (òзбйљнòm).
'The situation is becoming serious NOM (serious INST).'

4.4 Coordination and comitativity

Two or more syntactic constituents can be joined by a conjunction to form a constituent of the same type. *I/и* 'and' joins nouns and noun phrases:

Ìvan i njègova žena ràdè./Ìван и нjèгова жèна ràдè.
'Ivan and his wife are working.'

adjectives and adjective phrases:

Tò je plòdan i dòbro pòznāt slikaç./Tò је плòдан и dòбро пòзнāt сликáч.
'He is a productive and well-known painter.'

verbs and verb phrases:

Žívī i stvāra u Ljubljāni./Жйвй и ствāра у Љубљāни.
'He/she lives and works in Ljubljana.'

as well as entire clauses:

Zāuzēt sam i ne mògu višè slūšati./Зāузèт сам и не mòгу вйшè слўшати.
'I am busy and I cannot listen any more.'

I/и appears before the last conjunct:

Ìvan, Màrija i Āna/Їван, Màрија и Āна
 'Ivan, Marija and Ana'

or can be repeated before all conjuncts after the first:

Ìvan i Màrija i Āna/Їван и Màрија и Āна
 'Ivan and Marija and Ana'

or before all, including the first:

I Ìvan i Màrija .../И Їван и Màрија ...
 'Both Ivan and Marija ...'

'And' taking scope over items grouped by i/и is *te/те* or *kao i/као и*:

Ìvan i Màrija, te (or: kao i) Jòsip i Āna/Їван и Màрија, те (or: као и) Jòсип и Āна
 'Ivan and Marija, and also (as well as) Josip and Ana'

Pa/па is 'and' for temporal succession: 'and then'.

Їli/Їли 'either, or', ni/ни 'neither, nor' have the same distribution as i/и. *A/a* 'and (on the other hand)' for instances of contrast, joins predicates or clauses and is usually not repeated:

Ròmān je dèbeo, a zanimljiv./Рòmāн је дèбео, а занимљив.
 'The novel is thick, and (yet) interesting.'

A/a 'and' is combinable with i/и 'also, too':

Ìvan pùtujē, a i Màrija pùtujē./Їван пùтујē, а и Màрија пùтујē.
 'Ivan is travelling, and Marija is travelling too.'

Stronger contrasts are shown by *ali/али* 'but', which also appears just once in a series.

Ìvan pùtujē, ali Màrija òstajē kòd kućē./Їван пùтујē, али Màрија òстajē кòд кућē.
 'Ivan is travelling, but Marija is staying home.'

An element of a negative statement is corrected by the conjunction *něgo/нèго* or *věć/věћ* and a following statement:

Ne pùtujē Màrija, něgo (věć) Ìvan./Не пùтујē Màрија, нèго (věћ) Їван.
 'Marija isn't travelling; rather, Ivan is.'

Agreement with conjoined structures has been studied extensively by Corbett (1983 and other works); briefly summarized, modifiers within a conjoined noun phrase agree with the nearest noun:

Njén òtac i mājka su dòšli./Нѐн òтац и мājка су дòшли.
'Her (M SG) father and mother have come (M PL).'

whereas predicates, relative pronouns and anaphoric pronouns are plural and follow gender-resolution rules (neuter plural if all conjuncts are neuter plural, feminine plural – but occasionally masculine plural – if all are feminine, otherwise masculine plural):

Njéna sèstra i mājka su dòšle./Нѐна сèстра и мājка су дòшле.
'Her sister and mother have come (F PL).'

Njéno d(ij)éte i tèle su dòšli./Нѐно д(иј)éте и тèle су дòшли.
'Her child (N SG) and calf (N SG) have come (M PL).'

Agreement with the nearest conjunct is also observed, particularly in predicates preceding their subjects.

The comitative construction, 'mother with son' or 'we with son' in the sense 'mother and son', 'I and my son', is unknown. Examples like

Mājka sa sinom šètā./Mājka са сѝном шètā.
'Mother with son strolls.'

have only the nominative constituent as syntactic and semantic subject.

4.5 Subordination

Major types of subordinate clauses are complement (Browne 1987) and relative clauses.

Verbs and other predicates can lexically permit or require various types of complement clause as subjects or as one of their objects. Nouns, adjectives and prepositions can select a clause as object (= complement). Some examples will be given, followed by a classification of complement clause types.

Verb with [subject]:

Iz tōga *proizlazi* [da je bītka izgubljena]./Из тòга *произлази* [да је бйтка ѝзгубљена].
'From this (it) follows [that the battle is lost].'

Verb with [object]:

Znām [da je bītka izgubljena]./Знāм [да је бйтка ѝзгубљена].
'I know [that the battle is lost].'

Noun with [complement]:

Stižu *v(i)ěsti* [da je bitka izgubljena]./Стїжӯ *в(и)ěсти* [да је бїтка
їзгубљена].
'Are-arriving *reports* [that the battle is lost].'

When a verb, adjective, preposition or noun requires a particular case or preposition + case on its complement, the intercalated *tō/tò* strategy is used. *Ráditi se/ráditi se* 'to be a question/matter of' needs *o/o* with locative, as in *Rádī se o vlāsti/Rádi se o vlāsti* 'it is a question of power', and its complement clause behaves accordingly:

Rádī se o tōme [da li je bitka izgubljena ili ne]./Рádi се о тōме [да ли је бїтка
їзгубљена или не].
'It is a question of [whether the battle is lost or not].'

The chief types of complement clause are those introduced by *da/да₁*, by *da/да₂*, by *što/што* and by question words (section 4.2). The two *da/да* take different verb tenses within their clauses. A *da/да₁* clause, as a reported statement, can contain any tense usable in a declarative main clause: any past tense, the future but not the *būdēm/būdēm* compound tense (section 3.2.1) and the present but normally only from an imperative verb.

Znām [da je Mārija napisala knjīgu]./Знām [да је Мāрија написала књїгу].
'I *know* [that Marija has written a book].'
Čuo sam [da Mārija pišē knjīgu]./Чӯо сам [да Мāрија пїшē књїгу].
'I *heard* [that Marija is writing a book].'

Da/да₂ with the present of imperfective or perfective verbs expresses hypothetical, unrealized actions – like the infinitive or subjunctive of other languages. It has been termed the infinitive substitute.

Želim [da Mārija pišē]./Жēлїм [да Мāрија пїшē].
'I *want* that Marija write-imperfective (I want her to write).'
Želim [da Mārija napišē knjīgu]./Жēлїм [да Мāрија напишē књїгу].
'I want Marija to write-perfective a book.'

Da/да₂ represents imperatives in indirect discourse (section 4.2). Ambiguities can arise between the two *da/да*.

Rekli su da Mārija pišē./Рēкли су да Мāрија пїшē.
Da/да₁: 'They said that Marija is writing.'
Da/да₂: 'They told Marija to write.'

Što/што + statement clauses are factive, usually subordinated to items expressing an emotional reaction:

Rādujēmo se [što smo vas pōnovo vīd(j)eli]./Рāдујемо се [што смо вас пōново вїд(ј)ели].

'We are glad [that we have seen you again].'

The infinitive can be used in many of the same positions as the clause types above. It sometimes occurs as subject:

Živ(j)eti znači ráditi./Жїв(ј)ети знāчї рāдити.

'To live means to work.'

Here the two infinitives have their own understood subject which is unspecified but human.

The most frequent use of the infinitive is as complement to a verb.

Mārija žēlī písati./Māрија жēлї писати.

'Marija wants to write.'

In almost all such instances the understood subject of the infinitive must be the same as the subject of the main verb. If it is identical to the main verb's object, or different from both, a *da/да*₂ complement is used instead.

Mārija žēlī da ĭvan pišē./Māрија жēлї да ĭван пїшē.

'Marija wants Ivan to write.'

Outside the Croat standard, *da/да*₂ clauses are frequent even when the same-subject condition holds:

Mārija žēlī da pišē./Māрија жēлї да пїшē.

'Marija wants to write.'

See discussion of the future tense (*cú/ћу* + infinitive or *da/да*₂) in section 3.2.1 and of *nēmōj/nēmōj* + infinitive or *da/да*₂ in section 4.2.

Further means of subordination are two verbal adverbs, one verbal noun and a participle. The present adverb (from imperfectives) expresses an action simultaneous with that of the main verb. The past adverb (from perfectives), if preceding the main verb, states a prior action, otherwise the sequence of actions is indeterminate (M. Ivić 1983: 155–76). Both background one action *vis-à-vis* the other, and express accompanying circumstance, manner, means, cause or condition. Normally, the understood subject of a verbal adverb is identical with the subject of the main verb:

Ōn se vrācā s pōsla p(j)ēvajūci./Ōн се врāhā с пōсла п(ј)ēвајўћи.

'He returns from work singing' (*he* is singing).

The verbal noun in *-(e)nje/- (e)ње*, *-će/-ће* from imperfective verbs participates in complement structures:

Màrija je pòčela s písānjem knjĭgē./Màрија је пòчела с písāњем књĭгē.
'Marija has begun with (started) the writing of the book.'

where its subject is the same as that of the main verb. It is also used in nominalizations with either the subject or the object expressed by a genitive:

Písānje stùdenāta je zanimljivo./Пísāње стùденāтā је занимљиво.
'The students' writing is interesting.'

Písānje knjĭgē je bilo téško./Пísāње књĭгē је било тешко.
'The writing of the book was difficult.'

Subject and object can cooccur if the subject is expressed as a possessive adjective:

Màrijino písānje knjĭgē/Màријино písāње књĭгē
'Marija's writing of the book'

or with the infrequent passive-agent phrase od strānē/од стрāнē and genitive:

(?)písānje knjĭgē od strānē Màrijē/писāње књĭгē од стрāнē Màријē
'the writing of the book by Marija'

The verbal noun neutralizes the distinction of verbs with se/ce and verbs without: rùšenje kùcē/рùшēње кùћē can be from rùšiti/рùшити, as in

Màrija rùši kùcu./Màрија рùши кùћу.
'Marija destroys the house.'

and from rùšiti se/рùшити се:

Kùca se rùši./Кùћа се рùши.
'The house falls-down.'

The only participle is the 'passive' one with endings -(e)n/-(e)n, -t/-т. It is made primarily from perfective verbs, also from some imperfectives. It forms a passive construction:

Kùca je srùšena./Кùћа је срùшена.
'The house has been destroyed.'

An inanimate agent in a passive is expressed with the instrumental. An animate one is preferably omitted, but may be expressed with od/од 'from' or od strānē/од стрāнē 'from the side of' plus genitive:

Kūća je srūšena v(j)ètrom./Кўћа је срўшена в(ј)èтром.

'The house has been destroyed by the wind.'

(?)Kūća je srūšena od (od stránē) nēpriјatelja./Кўћа је срўшена од (од stránē) нēпријатеља.

'The house has been destroyed by the enemy.'

The participle can be in attributive position:

srūšenā kūća/срўшенā кўћа

'the destroyed house'

kūća srūšenā v(j)ètrom, v(j)ètrom srūšenā kūća/кўћа срўшенā в(ј)èтром,

в(ј)èтром срўшенā кўћа

'the house destroyed by the wind' (section 4.1)

Relative clauses, unlike complements, can be attached to any noun phrase. In Serbo-Croat the head of the antecedent phrase determines the relativizers used. If the head is a noun or personal pronoun, the main relativizer is kōjī/kōjī 'which', which agrees with its antecedent in gender and number and takes case endings (section 3.1.4) according to function in the subordinate clause.

čòv(j)ek kòjeg vīdīm/чòв(ј)ек кòјег вīдīm

'man which-ACC (= whom) I-see'

čòv(j)ek s kòjīm sam rádio/чòв(ј)ек с кòјīm сам ráдио

'man with which-INST I-have worked'

As we see, the relativizer is fronted; as a sentence introducer, clitics (sam/cam) follow it directly. An alternative relativizing strategy introduces the clause with an invariable word što/што 'that': the item agreeing with the antecedent in gender and number is a personal pronoun (in modern usage, always an enclitic, hence not the object of a preposition):

čòv(j)ek što ga vīdīm/чòв(ј)ек што га вīдīm

'man that him I-see (man whom I see)'

If the antecedent's head is an interrogative, indefinite or demonstrative pronoun in the singular (expressed or dropped), the relativizer is (t)kō/(T)Kō 'who' or declinable što, štā/штò, штā 'what' depending on the human/non-human distinction (Browne 1986: 112–19):

nēšto što vīdīm/нēшто што вīдīm

'something what I see (that I see)'

nēšto o čèmu gòvorīm/нēшто о чèму гòворīm

'something about what-LOC (about which) I speak'

svā(t)ko kòga vīdīm/свā(т)ко кòга вīдīm

'everyone whom I see'

Relative clauses also have (overt or dropped) time adverbials and place phrases as antecedents. A Serbo-Croat speciality is relative clauses on quality- and quantity-expression antecedents (Browne 1986: 102–7):

tri kònja, kòliko imā i džokéjā/три кòња, кòлико имā и цокéjā
 ‘three horses, how-many there-are also of-jockeys (three horses, which is how many jockeys there are too)’
 interesāntan ròmān, kākav je ‘Rāt i mir’/интересāнтан ròмāн, кākав је ‘Рāt и мйр’
 ‘interesting novel, what-sort is ‘War and Peace’ (an interesting novel, which is the sort ‘War and Peace’ is)’

In Serbo-Croat constraints on extracting elements from subordinate clauses are not clear-cut in many instances. Examples exist with either subject or object of a subordinate clause fronted to the beginning of the upper clause in relativization and in questioning. Here ‘_____’ shows the ‘starting position’ of the relativized element:

čòv(j)ek kòjī mīslīm da vas je vīdio (vīdeo)/чòв(j)ек кòjй мйслīm да вас је вйдио (вйдео)
 ‘the man who I think that _____ saw you’
 čòv(j)ek kòjeg mīslīm da ste vīd(j)eli/чòв(j)ек кòјег мйслīm да сте вйд(j)ели
 ‘the man whom I think that you saw _____’

Judgments are difficult because two alternative constructions are preferred. One is the *za/za*-topic strategy: the main clause contains a verb of saying or thinking, the preposition *za/за* ‘for’ + accusative and a noun phrase which recurs (in any syntactic role whatever) in the subordinate clause.

Za Ìvana gòvorē da ga svī pòštujū./За Ѐвана гòворē да га свй пòштујū.
 ‘For (about) Ivan₁, they say that him₁ everybody respects.’

(*Za/за* is not the usual preposition ‘about’, which is *o/o* + locative.) This strategy yields a relative clause in which the antecedent is followed by *za kòjeg/за кòјег* ‘for whom, for which’ and a lower clause without extraction:

čòv(j)ek za kòjeg mīslīm da ste ga vīd(j)eli/чòв(j)ек за кòјег мйслīm да сте га вйд(j)ели
 ‘the man for (about) whom I think that you saw him’
 čòv(j)ek za kòjeg mīslīm da vas je vīdio (vīdeo)/чòв(j)ек за кòјег мйслīm да вас је вйдио (вйдео)
 ‘the man for (about) whom I think that he saw you.’

The same strategy is available for questions. Beside

(T)kò mĩslĩte da me je zam(ij)enio?/(T)kò mĩslĩte da me je zam(ij)enio?
 ‘Who do you think that _____ replaced me?’

we can have:

Za kòga mĩslĩte da me je zam(ij)enio?/За кòга мĩслĩте да ме је зам(иј)енио?
 ‘For (about) whom do you think that he replaced me?’

Another strategy formulates each clause as a separate question, with štò/штò, štà/штà ‘what’ as object of the main verb:

Štò mĩslĩte, (t)kò me je zam(ij)enio?/Штò мĩслĩте, (т)кò ме је зам(иј)енио?
 ‘What do you think – who replaced me?’

4.6 Negation

Sentence negation is expressed with ne/не on the finite verb (the auxiliary, if there is one):

Slávko *nè* vidĩ Òlgu./Слávко *nè* видĩ Òлгу.
 ‘Slavko does not see Olga.’
 Slávko *nèće* vid(j)eti Òlgu./Слávко *nèće* вид(ј)ети Òлгу.
 ‘Slavko will-not see Olga.’

Constituent negation is rare, and usually requires explicit statement of the correct alternative.

Slávko vidĩ ne Òlgu nego Màriju./Слávко видĩ не Òлгу него Màрију.
 ‘Slavko sees not Olga but Marija.’

Even then, the normal formulation is as with sentence negation:

Slávko *nè* vidĩ Òlgu (nego Màriju)./Слávко *nè* видĩ Òлгу (него Màрију).
 ‘Slavko doesn’t see Olga (but Marija).’

One can also negate sentences with the negative conjunction nĩti/нĩти ‘neither, nor’:

Nĩti Slávko vidĩ Òlgu, nĩti Ìvan vidĩ Màriju./Нĩти Слávко видĩ Òлгу, нĩти Ìван видĩ Màрију.
 ‘Neither does Slavko see Olga, nor does Ivan see Marija.’

There is a negative-polarity phenomenon and, separate from it, a sort of negative agreement. A sentence negated with preposed nĩti/нĩти can contain indefinite forms made from interrogative pronouns and adverbs by prefixing i-/и-: ì(t)ko/ĩ(t)ko ‘anyone’, ìgd(j)e/ĩgd(j)e ‘anywhere’ and the like. (The same items occur in questions, conditional sentences and

second members of comparatives.) A positive sentence could not contain these:

Nīti je Slāvko vīdī, nīti ī(t)ko īšta znā ò pjōj./Нйти је Славко вїдї, нити й(т)ко йшта зна ò њōj.

'Neither does Slavko see her, nor does anyone know anything about her.'

In sentences containing *ne/не* on the verb, *i-/и-* indefinites add initial *n-/н-* to become negative forms: *nī(t)ko/нй(т)ко* 'nobody', *nīgd(j)e/нйгд(ј)е* 'nowhere' and so forth. So does the conjunction and particle *i/и* 'and; also, even': *ni/ни* 'neither, nor; not ... either, not even'. Several such items can appear together:

Nī(t)ko nīgd(j)e nē vīdī nīkoga./Нй(т)ко нйгд(ј)е нē вїдї нйкога.

'Nobody nowhere not sees nobody (Nobody sees anybody anywhere).'

Unlike the *i-/и-* set, *ni-/ни-* words can appear in isolation:

Nīšta./Нйшта.

'Nothing.' (Or 'Oh, that's all right.')

Prepositions other than *bez/без* 'without' split *i/и* and *ni/ни* from the rest of the word:

ī s kīm, nī s kīm; ī u čemu, nī u čemu/й с кїм, нй с кїм; й у чему, нй у чему
'with anybody, with nobody; in anything, in nothing'

although non-normative usage also has *s nīkīm, u nīčemu/с нйкїм, у нйчему*.

Infinitive complements are occasionally negated:

Nīsam mōgao *ne misliti* na tō./Нїсам мōгао *не мїслити* на тō.

'I couldn't *not think* of it (I couldn't avoid thinking of it).'

but usually a special conjunction *ā da₂ ne/ā да₂ не* is used: *Nīsam mōgao ā da nē mislīm na tō./Нїсам мōгао ā да нē мислїм на тō. Ā da₁ ne/ā да₁ не* expresses absence of concomitant action:

Ūšla je ā da me nīje pōzdravila./Ўшла је ā да ме нйје пōздравїла.

'She entered without greeting me.'

When a verb is negated, its accusative object may appear in the genitive. In present-day Serbo-Croat such genitive objects are archaic and elevated in style except in fixed phrases and in two further circumstances: as object of *némati/нѐмати* (*ne + ĩmati/не + ймати*) 'not to have' and when negation is strengthened by *ni/ни, nijedan/нијѐдан, nīkakav/нйкакав* 'not even, not a single, no' (Lj. Popović in Stanojčić/Stanojčić *et al.* 1989: 219). Examples from *Менац/Менас* (1978):

Fixed phrases:

òbraćati rážnju – ne òbraćati rážnju or rážnjē/òбраћати пажњу – не òбраћати пажњу or пажње.
 'to pay attention (ACC) – not to pay attention (ACC or GEN)'

Némati/нѐмати:

Tàda se s(j)ětio da nēmā revolvéra./Тàда се с(ј)ěтио да нѐмā револвѐра.
 'Then he remembered that he didn't have a pistol (GEN).'

Negation strengthened:

ìgrati ùlogu – ne ìgrati ùlogu – ne ìgrati nìkakvē ùlogē/ìграти ўлогу – не ìграти ўлогу – не ìграти нìкаквѐ ўлогѐ
 'to play a role (ACC) – not to play a role (ACC) – to play no role whatever (GEN)'

The subject in negated sentences remains nominative, even in existential sentences (section 4.1):

Ne pòstoјī r(j)ešénje./Не пòстојī р(ј)ешѐње.
 'Not exists solution (NOM) (there is no solution).'

Only *ne bīti*/не бīти 'not to be' (present *nēmā/nēmā*) takes genitive subject:

U sòbi nēma Màrijē./У сòби нѐмā Màријѐ.
 'Marija (GEN) is not in the room.'

4.7 Anaphora and pronouns

The simplest device for referring again to a noun phrase is a personal pronoun agreeing in gender and number: *òn/òн* 'he' for masculine gender, *òna/òна* 'she' for feminine, *òno/òно* 'it' for neuter, each with its plural. Such a pronoun is available for any antecedent noun phrase headed by a lexical noun, with the limitation that clitic forms (section 3.1.3) are favoured and full forms disfavoured for inanimate antecedents:

òv(j)ek ... Nè znām ga. Njèga nè znām./чòв(ј)ек ... Нѐ знām га. Нѐга nè знām.
 'man ... I don't know him. *Him* I don't know.'
 grād ... Nè znām ga. ?Njèga nè znām./грàд ... Нѐ знām га. ?Нѐга nè знām.
 'city ... I don't know it. *It* I don't know.'

The personal pronoun agrees with the antecedent, but incompletely. Antecedents can be either +animate or –animate, a distinction vital for choosing the accusative singular ending in the masculine *o*-declension and adjective/pronominal declension:

grād [-animate]: Vīdīm *grād òsāmļjen.*/град [-animate]: Вїдїм *град òсāmļєн.*
'city: I see *a city* (ACC) *alone* (ACC).'

čòv(j)ek [+animate]: Vīdīm *čòv(j)ek-a òsāmļjen-òg.*/чòв(j)ек [+animate]: Вїдїм
чòв(j)єк-а òсāmļєн-òг.

'man: I see *a man* (ACC) *alone* (ACC).'

Yet the personal pronoun has the feature [+animate] whether referring to grād/град or to čòv(j)ek/чòв(j)ек, as we see from its own shape and that of its modifier:

grād ... Vīdīm *ga òsāmļjen-òg.*/град ... Вїдїм *га òсāmļєн-òг.*

'city ... I see *it alone.*'

čòv(j)ek ... Vīdīm *ga òsāmļjen-òg.*/чòв(j)ек ... Вїдїм *га òсāmļєн-òг.*

'man ... I see *him alone.*'

A Serbo-Croat personal pronoun can show identity of sense without identity of reference, in instances like:

A: 'Nēmām àuto.' B: 'Zāšto *ga* nè kùpīš?'/ A: 'Hēmām àuto.' B: 'Zāšto *ga* nè kùpīš?'

A: 'I haven't a car.' B: 'Why don't you buy *one* (literally *it*)?'

If the head of a noun phrase is not a noun but a demonstrative, interrogative or indefinite pronoun of neuter gender, or a clause or infinitive, it cannot antecede a personal pronoun (Browne 1986: 29). The neuter demonstrative tò/tò appears instead.

Òvò je za tèbe. Zadržī tò!/Òvò je za tèbe. Задрџи тò!

'This is for you. Keep it (literally *that*).'

Màrija vòlī plésati. Ī jā tò vòlīm./Màrija vòlī plésati. Ī jā tò vòlīm.

'Marija likes to-dance. I too like it (literally *that*).'

Apart from this anaphoric function, demonstratives have situational and textual uses. The three demonstratives òvāj/òvāj, tāj/tāj, ònāj/ònāj refer respectively to things near the speaker ('this'), near the hearer ('this, that') and further from both ('that over there'). Ònāj/ònāj is also for recalling something from a previous situation. Tāj/tāj is for things already under discussion, òvāj/òvāj for things about to be mentioned and ònāj/ònāj for items to be made precise by a relative clause: *tā knjiga/tā knjiga* 'the book we've been talking about', *òvā knjiga/òvā knjiga* 'this book (which I now turn to)' and *ònā knjiga kòjā dòbijē nāgradu na kòngresu/ònā knjiga kòjā dòbijē nāgradu na kòngresu* 'the book that gets a prize at the congress'. Òvāj/òvāj also serves to show a change in topical noun:

Īvan je razgovárao s Pètrom, a òvāj s Màrijòm./Īvan je razgovárao s Pètrom, a òvāj s Màrijòm.

'Ivan talked with Petar, and he (Petar) with Marija.'

Where two items have recently been mentioned, òvāj/òvāj refers to the later and ònāj/ònāj to the earlier. Another equivalent to 'the former, the latter' is

pr̄vi ròmān ... dr̄ugi ròmān / пр̄ви рòмāн ... др̄уги рòмāн
'the first novel ... the second novel'

All these discourse devices function beyond the clause as well as within it. The personal pronoun is most frequently found outside the clause of its antecedent, since if the same entity is repeated within a clause, usually one of the references is in subject position and causes the other(s) to reflexivize (section 4.8).

Serbo-Croat is described as a pro-drop language, one in which a personal pronoun need not be used in subject position. Indeed, many clauses appear with no expressed subject; agreement markers on the verb enable recovery of the person, number and (if there is an *l*-participle in the verb form) gender.

Čitāmo./Читāмо.

'We are reading.' (-mo/-мо, hence first person plural)

Mislila si./Мислила си.

'You (F SG) thought.' (si/си, hence second person singular; -l-a/-л-а, hence feminine)

In discourse, several criteria affect the (non-)use of subject pronouns. An individual being introduced as a topic is first mentioned as a full noun phrase or a first- or second-person pronoun. Thereafter subject pronouns referring to this topic may be omitted:

Mārko je dānas zākasnio na rúčak. Īmao je pūno pòsla u grādu./Mārko je dānas zākasnio na rúčak. Īmao je pūno pòsla u grādu.

'Marko today came-late for dinner. (He) had a-lot-of work in town.'

But an overt subject pronoun need not change topics or introduce a non-coreferential subject. A frequent pattern is for the pronoun to be used on second mention, omitted thereafter:

Mārko je dānas zākasnio na rúčak. Ōn je ĩmao pūno pòsla u grādu. Zātīm je zabòravio kljūč od āuta i mòrao se vrātiti p(j)ěšicē./Mārko je dānas zākasnio na rúčak. Ōn je ĩmao pūno pòsla u grādu. Zātīm je zabòravio kljūč od āuta i mòrao se vrātiti p(j)ěšnicē.

'Marko today came-late for dinner. He had a-lot-of work in town. Then (he) forgot the key to the car and (he) had to-return on-foot.'

Subject^c are omitted when the referent does not figure in the narration:

Znaš, Márko je dânas zâkasnio na rúćak. Mislím da je imao pûno pòsla u grâdu./
Знаш, Мърко је данас зâкаснiо на рúчак. Мiслiм да је имао пûно пòсла у грâду.

'(Y') know, Marko today came-late for dinner. (I) think he had a-lot-of work in town.'

They are included when rhematic or contrasted:

Rúćak sam sprémio *jâ*./Рúчак сам спрéмио *jâ*.

'Dinner prepared *I* (*I*'m the one who prepared dinner).'

Márko je dânas zâkasnio, ali *jâ* nisam./Мърко је данас зâкаснiо, али *jâ* нiсам.

'Marko today came late, but *I* didn't.'

Their use can also indicate emphasis on the sentence as a whole:

Márko? *Jâ* njêga znâm!/Мърко? *Jâ* ньêга знâм!

'Marko? *Certainly* I know him.'

Use of pronoun subjects within complex sentences is more grammaticalized. The subject in a complement clause is dropped when it is obligatorily identical with an argument in the main clause. Thus 'have an intention to ...' requires identity of subjects:

Slâvko imâ nám(j)eru da vîdî Őlgu./Слâвко имâ нâм(j)еру да вîдiŕ Őлгу.

'Slavko has an intention that (he) see Olga.'

Without obligatory identity, as in 'be certain that ...', the pronoun will still be dropped unless a contrast exists:

Slâvko je sîgûran da vîdî Őlgu./Слâвко је сiгûран да вîдiŕ Őлгу.

'Slavko is certain that (he) sees Olga.'

Slâvko je sîgûran da *on* vîdî Őlgu a da je *jâ* nè vidîm./Слâвко је сiгûран да *он* вîдiŕ Őлгу а да је *jâ* nè вiдiм.

'Slavko is certain that *he* sees Olga and that *I* do not see her.'

A different phenomenon, involving omission of subjects as well as other elements, is short answers consisting only of finite verb (section 4.2).

4.8 Reflexives and reciprocals

Repeated reference within a given domain is shown by the reflexive pronoun *sèbe*/сèбе. Like personal pronouns, *sèbe*/сèбе has full and clitic forms (section 3.1.3). It does not vary for person, gender or number:

Slâvko gòvorî o sèbi. Mî gòvorîmo o sèbi./Слâвко гòворî о сèби. Мi гòворîмо о сèби.

'Slavko talks about himself. We talk about ourselves.'

but words modifying it show these features:

Slávko govori o sebi *sámom*. Mi govori \bar{m} o o sebi *sámima*. /Слávко гòворї о сèби *сáмом*. Ми гòворїмо о сèби *сáмима*.
'Slavko talks about himself *alone* (M SG). We talk about ourselves *alone* (PL).'

The domain within which *sèbe/cèbe* occurs is the clause. Its antecedent is the subject of the clause. The modifier *sám/cám* permits objects as antecedents:

Já ću vas prepùstiti sebi *sámim*. /Já ћу вас препùстити сèби *сáним*.
'I will leave you $_1$ to yourselves $_1$ *alone*.'

The domain can also be a noun phrase if it contains a possessor interpretable as a subject. Mihaljević (1990: 151) discusses verbal nouns. A possessive is antecedent to *sèbe/cèbe*:

njègovo zaljubljanje u sebe/njègovo zaľubľivanje u sebe
'his $_1$ infatuation with himself $_1$ '

So is an unexpressed subject, whether arbitrary in reference or controlled by a noun phrase in the clause:

zaljubljanje u sebe/zaľubľivanje u sebe
'one's $_1$ infatuation with oneself $_1$ '

Ona se ográдила od zaljubljanja u sebe./Ona се оградїла од заľубľивања у сèбе.
'She $_1$ disavowed (her $_1$) infatuation with herself $_1$.'

Reflexivization in Serbo-Croat does not extend into adjectival or participial constructions:

Īvan je vršio pòv(j)erenū mu dúžnòst (not: pòv(j)erenū sebi)./Īvan је вршио пòв(j)еренū му дужнòст (not пòв(j)еренū сèби).
'Ivan $_1$ performed entrusted to-him $_1$ duty.'

Se/ce, the reflexive clitic, has many other uses: providing unspecified human subject constructions, making verbs intransitive, being a component of certain lexical items. The unspecified human subject can antecede reflexives:

U Amèrici se mnògo govori o sebi./У Амèрици се мнòго гòворї о сèби.
'In America (one $_1$) speaks much about oneself $_1$.'

The reflexive possessive is *svòj/cvòj*. Its antecedent, as with *sèbe/cèbe*, can be the subject of a clause or noun phrase.

Slávko govori o svòjem kònju./Слáвко гòвори о свòјем кòњу.

'Slavko₁ talks about his₁ horse.'

òdnos imenicē prema svòm glágotu/òднос йменицē према свòм гла́готу
'relation of a noun₁ toward its₁ verb.'

If the subject of a clause is third person, svòj/cvòj is normally obligatory; within noun phrases there is variation between it and the third-person possessives njègov/њèгов 'his, its', njèn, njézin/њèn, њéзин 'her', njìhov/њìхов 'their'.

Exceptions to subject antecedency like

Pòstavi svè na svòje m(j)èsto!/Пòстави свè на свòје м(ј)èсто!

'Put everything₁ in its₁ place!'

are treated by Mihaljević (1990: 152ff.). The key factor is universal quantification of the non-subject antecedent. One could not have nešto/nèšto 'something' or knjìgu/књìгу 'a book' in its stead.

Alternatives to svòj/cvòj for first- or second-person reference are the possessive pronouns mój/mòj 'my', naš/nàš 'our', tvój/tvòj, vaš/vàš 'your'. The choice depends partly on empathy, svòj/cvòj suggesting distance between the speaker and the possessed noun's referent. The teacher in

Jà sam zàhvālan svòm ùčitelju./Jà сам зàхвāлан свòм ùчителю.

'I am grateful to self's teacher.'

is one that I had, just as every student has some teacher.

Jà sam zàhvālan móm ùčitelju./Jà сам зàхвāлан мóm ùчителю.

'I am grateful to my teacher.'

speaks about a concrete teacher with his own name and personal qualities.

Reciprocity is marked by a compound pronoun jèdan drùgōg/jèдан дрùгōг 'one another'. Both parts inflect for gender, number and case:

Òlga i Màrija vīdē jèdna drùgū./Òлга и Màрија вīдē јèдна дрùгū.

'Olga and Marija see one (F NOM SG) another (F ACC SG).'

Prepositions go before the second member:

Gòvorīmo jèdan o drùgōm./Гòворīмо јèдан о дрùгōм.

'We speak one about another (about each other).'

Unlike other pronouns, mixed-gender subjects take neuter singular jèдно дрùгō/jèдно дрùгō:

Slāvko i Ōlga vīdē jèdno drūgō./Слāvко и Ōлга вīдē јèдно дрūгō.
 'Slavko and Olga see one another.'

The form of jèdan/jèдан has been nominative, agreeing with the clause subject, in these examples; it can also be genitive to go with the subject of a noun phrase. A newspaper story about the benefits resulting

... āko se òtvorīmo jèdni prema drūgīma/... āko се òтворīмо јèдни према дрūгīма
 '... if we-open-up one (NOM PL) to another (DAT PL)'

is headlined

Kōrīst od otvārānja jèdних prema drūgīma/Кōрīст од отвārāња јèдних према дрūгīма. (*Полїтика* 28 April 1989)
 'Benefit from opening-up of-one (GEN PL) to another (DAT PL).'

Reciprocals, like reflexives, can occur in an infinitive phrase, but only where coreferential with the understood subject of the infinitive:

Slāvko i Ōlga žèlē vīd(j)eti jèdno drūgō./Слāvко и Ōлга жèлè вīд(j)ети јèдно дрūгō.
 'Slavko and Olga wish to see one another.'

Jèdan drūgōg/jèдан дрūгōг with certain accusative-taking verbs (apparently lexically conditioned) is replaceable by *se/ce*, the clitic reflexive.

Ōni bījū (vòlē, vīdē) jèdan drūgōg./Ōни бīјū (вòлè, вīдè) јèдан дрūгōг. → Ōni се бīјū (vòlē, vīdē)/Ōни се бīјū (вòлè, вīдè).
 'They beat (love, see) one another.'

4.9 Possession

Possession can be expressed by a verb, a possessor constituent in a sentence or a possessor within a noun phrase. The normal verb used in a predication is *īmati/īmати* 'to have' (or *pòs(j)edovati/pòс(j)едовати* 'to possess'). The subject is the possessor, and the accusative object is the possessed item:

Màrija ìmā knjīgu./Màрија ìмā кнjīгу.
 'Marija has a book.'

Màrija ìmā sèstru./Màрија ìмā сèстру.
 'Marija has a sister.'

Prìpadati/прìпадати 'to belong to' has the possessed item as nominative subject and the possessor as dative:

Kūća pripadā Māriji./Кўћа прїпадā Мāрији.
'The house belongs to Marija.'

With *imati*/имати the use of genitive instead of accusative to express partitivity ('some') of plural or mass-noun objects is widespread, though otherwise the partitive genitive is restricted to perfective verbs:

Imām vòdē./Имām вòдē.
'I have some water (GEN).'

Compare:

Imām vòdu./Имām вòду.
'I have the water (ACC).'

The preposition *u/y* with genitive '(1) at the house of, *chez*, among; (2) in the possession of' is now rare. The first meaning is usually rendered as *kod/код* with genitive. The second meaning can form possessive sentences with the possessed as subject and a verb 'to be':

U lāži su krātke nòge./У лāжи су крāтке нòге.
'A lie has short legs. (The truth eventually comes out.)' (proverb)
U Milicē (su) dūge trēpaviće./У Мїлицē (су) дўге трēпавице.
'Milica has long eyelashes'. (folk poetry)

An *u/y* possessor phrase also occasionally appears in a sentence complete without it:

Òna je jedinica (u mājķē)./Òна је јединица (у мājķē).
'She is the only daughter (her mother has).'

Dative constituents, particularly clitic pronouns, frequently express possessors.

Òtac mi je ũmro pròšlē gòdinē./Òтац ми је ũмро прòшлē гòдинē.
'Father to-me (my father) died last year.' (Mihailović 1971: 74)
Slāvku je òtac ũmro./Слāвкy је òтац ũмро.
'Slavko-DAT father died.'

Kučanda (1985: 38) classifies nouns permitting dative possessors: 'parts of the body, kinship terms ... clothes, things the referent of the dative uses or possesses, nouns expressing part-whole relationship'. As his example shows:

Rāzbio mi je vāzu./Рāзбио ми је вāзу.
'He has broken my vase.'

this range goes beyond the traditional inalienably possessed nouns. The item with which the possessor phrase is interpreted is commonly a subject or direct object, but can have other functions:

Pòštār mu se pojāvio na vrátima./Пòштāр му се појāвио на врāтима.
'The postman to-him appeared at door (at his door).'

The possessive dative can mark point of view (empathy): the event is told as if seen by the house owner. The transition to the dative of experiencer is gradual (the 'vase' sentence could be taken as 'He broke the vase "on" me, to my disadvantage').

In the above examples dative clitics, though associated with a noun phrase, occupy their usual position within the sentence. Such clitics can also appear within the possessed phrase.

Pozòvi Mārka i [sèstru mu]/Позòви Mārka и [сèстру му]. (now usually: i njeđovu sèstru/и њèгову сèстру).
'Invite Marko and his sister.'

A possessor can be expressed as a genitive on the possessed phrase:

knjige Mārka Mārковиća/књиге Mārka Mārковића
'books Marko-GEN Marković-GEN (Marko Marković's books)'

Genitive possessors are in almost complete complementary distribution with possessive adjectives in -ov/-ов, -ev/-ев, -in/-ин. If a possessor is definite, singular, human (or animal) and expressed by one word, it forms an adjective:

Mārкове knjige, Mārковиćeve knjige/Mārкове књиге, Mārковићеве књиге
'Marko's books, Marković's books'
māčkin rēp/māчкин рēп
'the cat's tail'

Compare:

rēp māčkē/rēп māчкē
'the tail of a cat' (possessor not definite)
knjiga stūdenātā/књига стūденātā
'the book of the students' (not singular)
ime rúžē/име рúшē
'the name of the rose' (not human/animal)
rēp mòjē māčkē/rēп mòjē māчкē
'the tail of my cat' (two words)

A departure from adjective/genitive complementarity occurs in instances like:

kip prèds(j)ednīka/кѝп прѣдс(ѝ)еднѝка
 'a statue of the president'

where a definite possessor is known only by reputation or professional role (M. Ivić 1986).

The possessive adjective should be distinguished from adjectives showing various relationships, including possession, but not requiring singularity or definiteness of the underlying noun:

Stùdentskī život je l(ij)ěp./Стùдентскѝ жѝвот је л(ѝ)ěп.
 'Student life is nice.' (song title)

paraphrasable as život stùdenātā/жѝвот стùденāтā 'the life of students' and not stùdentov život/стùдентов жѝвот 'the life of the student'.

Finally possessors can be omitted, if identical with another constituent in the sentence (Mihailović 1971: 75–7). One cannot have a possessive mōj/mōj 'my' in

Òtac mi je ũmro./Òтац ми је ũмро.
 'My father died "on me".'

because it repeats the dative; nor in

Nòga me bòlī./Нòга ме бòлѝ.
 'My leg hurts me.'

because it repeats the accusative object me/me.

4.10 Quantification

Noun phrases can contain quantifiers telling the number of items expressed by a count noun or the amount of substance expressed by a mass noun. Two syntactic structures exist: adjectival (agreeing) and governmental (the quantifier imposes a form on the noun). In adjectival quantification, the noun bears the case of the noun phrase as a whole; the quantifier agrees with it in case, number and gender, as is usual for adjectives.

brōjnē ũčesnīke/брōјнѝ ũчеснѝке
 'numerous participants' (accusative masculine plural)

The numeral jēdan/jēдан 'one' appears in the adjectival pattern:

jēdan ũčesnīk/jēдан ũчеснѝк
 'one participant' (nominative masculine singular)
 jēdne nđvine/jēдне нđвине
 'one newspaper' (nominative plural feminine on a plurale tantum)

Likewise adjectival in agreement are a set of numerals used with *pluralia tantum* heads: dvōjī/dvōjī '2', trōjī/trōjī '3', up to '10':

dvōjē nōvine/dvōjē nōvine
'two newspapers'

The usual numerals '2' to '4', as in governmental quantification, impose a specific form on the noun and other agreeing words, the 234 (paucal) form (sections 3.1.1–3.1.3); however, elements of agreeing quantification are seen in the fact that dvā/dvā '2', ōba/ōba 'both' are used with masculine and neuter nouns, dvīje (dvē)/dvīje (dvē) and ōb(j)e/ōb(j)e with feminine nouns.

dvā dōbra stūdentā/dvā dōbra stūdentā
'two good-234 students-234'.

The 234 form does not distinguish case. It can be used as nominative subject or predicate, accusative object, object of any preposition (whatever case the preposition governs) and genitive possessor:

Tri stūdentā su ōdsutna./Три стūдента су ōдсутна.
'Three students are absent.'

Pōzvali smo ōba stūdentā./Пōзвали смо ōба стūдента.
'We invited both students.'

Stānujēm s četiri stūdentā./Стāнујēm с четири стūдента.
'I live with four students.' (s/c otherwise demands instrumental)

Nē znām nāslov tē tri knjige./Нē знām нāслов тē три књиге.
'I don't know the title of those three books.' (for genitive possessor)

It fills the role of an oblique case governed by a verb less successfully:

?S(j)ēcām se tā četiri stūdentā./C(j)ēhām се tā четири стūдента.
'I remember those four students.' (the verb demands genitive)

??Dājēm pōklōn tā cetiri stūdentā./Дāјēm пōклōн tā четири стūдента.
'I give a gift to those four students.' (indirect object needs dative)

The (rare) morphological oblique-case forms of these numerals (section 3.1.5), when used, accompany the desired case of head nouns according to the agreeing pattern.

The largest group of quantifiers governs genitive on the noun being quantified. These fall into two types. One has the shape of a noun or noun phrase (večina/већина 'the majority of, most'; čitav niz/читав низ 'a whole series of, a number of') and is declinable. It bears the case of the entire noun phrase. External attributive and predicative agreement is made with it rather than with the genitive complement.

Vèlikā većina stùdenāta je stìgla./Велика већина студената је стигла.
'Great-NOM SG majority-NOM SG of students-GEN PL has arrived-SG.'

Internal attributive agreement, that is, modifiers of the 'students', will, however, be genitive:

većina dōbrīh stùdenāta/већина добрих студената
'the majority of the good-GEN PL students-GEN PL'

The other type of genitive-governing quantifier is indeclinable. Besides items shaped like adverbs: mnōgo/многo 'much, many', рùно/пùно 'a lot of', mǎlo/мало 'few, little; some, a few', it includes numerals from '5' up. Predicate agreement with it is usually the 'default' neuter singular, here -o/-o:

Mnōgo vòdē je prolivèno./Многo вòдē је проливèно.
'Much water-GEN is spilt.'

Mnōgo stùdenāta je stìglo./Многo студената је стигло.
'Many students-GEN has arrived.'

Some indeclinable quantifiers have the shape of accusative nouns:

Stòtinu stùdenāta je stìglo./Стòтину студената је стигло.
'One hundred students ...'

Similarly, tìsuću/тìсућу, hiljadu/хилјаду '1,000', mǎsu/мǎсу 'a mass of'.

External modifiers of the quantifier-cum-genitive are themselves genitive:

Svīh tih dēsēt stùdenāta je stìglo./Свиx тих дēsēt студената је стигло.
'All-GEN PL these-GEN PL ten students has arrived.'

Pròšlo je dōbrīh pēt sáti./Прòшло је добрих пēt сáти.

'Passed has good-GEN PL five hours-GEN PL (a good five hours passed).'

Like 234 forms, indeclinable quantifiers with genitive are usable in environments requiring various cases:

Stànujēm s mǎsu stùdenāta./Стàнујēm с мǎсу студената.

'I live with a lot of students.' (the preposition s/c calls for instrumental)

Nē znām náslov tih dēsēt knjigā./Нē знām наслов тих дēsēt књигā.

'I don't know the title of those ten books.' (genitive possessor)

S(j)ěćām se tih pēt stùdenāta./С(j)ěћām се тих пēt студената.

'I remember those five students.' (verb requires genitive)

??Dājēm pōklōn òvih četrdēsēt stùdenāta./Дājēm пōклōн òвих четрдēsēt студената.

'I give a gift to these forty students.' (dative indirect object)

Numerals can be compounded, as *tri hiljade (tisuće) pětstō dvádesēt sēdam/три хилјаде (тйсуће) пѣтстō двáдесѣт сѣдам* '3527'. The last word decides the construction used, so *dvádesēt jēdan/двáдесѣт jēдан* '21' has adjectival agreement between *jēdan/jēдан* and a singular head noun, *pedēsēt dvā/педѣсѣт двá* '52' demands 234 forms, whereas '3527' has genitive plural throughout the phrase and default neuter predicative agreement, like *sēdam/сѣдам* '7'.

The 'collective' numerals *dvōje/двōје, трōје/трōје, četvero (četvoro)/чѣтверо (чѣтворо), pētero (pētoro)/пѣтеро (пѣторо), ... up to '9'*, are of the second genitive-taking type. (Grammars cite oblique case forms, but in practice they appear indeclinable.) They are used with mixed-sex groups of people and obligatorily with *d(j)ěca/д(ј)ѣца* 'children':

трōје д(ј)ѣсѣ/трōје д(ј)ѣцѣ

'three children'

трōје стūdenāta/трōје стūденāтā; три стūдента/три стūдента

'three students (mixed sexes); three students (not necessarily mixed sexes)'

Another set of 'collectives' are numerals in *-ica/-ица*: *dvōjica/двōјица, трōjica/трōјица, četvōrica/чѣтвōрица, петōrica/петōрица* (to '9') and *nekolicina/неколицина* 'a few'. These signify groups of men, are feminine singular nouns in declension and behave like *većina/већина* within the noun phrase:

svā petōrica dōbrih stūdenāta/свā петōрица дōбрйх стūденāтā

'all-F NOM SG five good-GEN PL students-GEN PL'

Predicate agreement with *-ica/-ица* phrases is plural on verbs; participles may take *-a/-а* or the semantically natural masculine plural *-i/-и*.

Genitive personal pronoun heads *nās/нас* 'us', *vās/vас* 'you', *njih/њих* 'them' combine with numerals above '1':

nās dvōjica/nās двōјица, nās dvōje/nās двōје, nās dvōje (dvē)/nās двōје (двѣ)

'we two' (male-male, male-female, female-female)

njih nekolicina/њих неколицина, njih nekolicina/њих неколико

'several men', 'several of them (mixed or female)'

5 Lexis

5.1 General composition of the word-stock

Fed by varied dialects, contacts (section 5.2) and more than one standard, the Serbo-Croat vocabulary is large. Academic dictionaries run to many volumes (*JAZU* 1880–1976, 1–23; *САНУ/SANU* 1959–, 1–14+; *МС-МХ/MS-MH* 1967–76, 1–6). Unfortunately, we possess no full ety-

mological dictionary. Skok (1971–4), though abundant in rare and dialectal words, has many lacunae.

Statistical analyses of the vocabulary are also lacking. Word-origin figures might be computed for a dictionary or for running text. We have counted high-frequency vocabulary. Among the first hundred words of a lemmatized frequency count (Lukić 1983) of schoolchildren's writings in Serbia, one is foreign: škōla/шкōла 'school' (Italian from Greek). Two are nursery words of indeterminate origin (māma/māma 'mummy', tāta/tāta 'daddy'); ninety-seven are inherited from Proto-Slavonic. The next hundred include two Church Slavonicisms: pričati/причати 'to tell' from *prītъča* 'parable' and vāzdūh/vāzdūx 'air' from *vъzduxъ*; and a non-Slavonic item: sōba/cōba 'a room' (Turkish or Hungarian). In the top 500 lexemes, five (1.0 per cent) are from Church Slavonic, six or seven (1.2–1.4 per cent) have proximate sources in Turkish (one each originated in Persian, Arabic and Greek). Đāk/ђāk 'pupil' and livada/ливaда 'meadow' are Greek, māj/māj 'May' and mīnūt/минūt 'a minute' Latin. French provides autōbus/аутōбус and partizān/партизāн, English pārk/pāрк, Hungarian lōpta/лōпта 'ball' and German pūška/пūшка 'gun' (originally Ancient Greek). Some origins are less certain; príroda/пříрода may be Czech or Church Slavonic. Our sample also contains škōlski/шкōлскī, derived from škōla/шкōла, and izlēt/излēt 'excursion' and izglēdati/изглēдати 'to appear', calques from German *Ausflug*, *aussehen*.

P. Ivić (Brozović and Ivić 1988: 43–4) enumerates words native in origin but restricted to South Slavonic or to Serbo-Croat. Of the first, our sample contains grāna/грāна 'branch', šūma/шūма 'forest', kūca/kūha 'house', gōdina/gōдина meaning 'year'; the second group includes jēr/jēr 'for (conjunction)' < *ježe, prōl(j)еće/prōлеће (прōлеће) 'spring', ráditi/rāditi 'to work, do', rād/rād 'labour, work', kīša/kīша 'rain', bāciti/bāцити 'to throw', trāžiti/trāжити 'to search for', dōgađāj/dōгађāj 'event'. Dōživljāj/dōживљāj 'an experience', a later coinage, is shared with Slovene. Some unexpected meanings have developed within Serbo-Croat: among our 500, we find vōl(j)eti/vōлети (vōлети) 'to love', older 'to prefer'; jāk/jāk 'strong' (Proto-Slavonic *jakъ 'what kind of'), pōsao/pōсао, genitive pōsla/pōсла 'work, task' (*pōsъlъ 'person who is sent'); čūvati/чūвати 'keep' from the root *čuj- 'to perceive' seen in čūti/чūти 'to hear'; vřlo/vřло 'very' from 'virtuously'.

5.2 Patterns of borrowing

The best sketch is Brozović and Ivić (1988), followed closely here.

Greek loans attest the medieval Serbian state's Byzantine contacts. Some, as pātos/pāтос 'floor', still characterize the Serbian standard; others like mīrīs/мїрїс 'smell' occur in all variants. Many religious terms entered Serbian Orthodox terminology through Church Slavonic: idol/

идол 'idol', iguman/йгуман 'abbot'.

Orthodox religious and abstract vocabulary, if not Greek, is Church Slavonic, often calqued from Greek: *prórok*/прóрок 'prophet' translating Greek *prophētēs*, *učenik*/ученйк 'disciple', later 'pupil', *sáv(j)ěst*/*сáв(й)ěст* 'conscience', *svěštenik*/свѣштенйк 'priest'. As Ivić (Brozović and Ivić 1988: 44) observes, Croat vocabulary (presented here in Latinica) shares some of these religious Grecisms and Slavonicisms (*idol*, *prórok*, *učenik*), thanks to the Glagolitic writers' wide use of Church Slavonic, and also has many Latinisms (*brevijār* 'breviary') and domestic coinages (*svěčenik* 'priest'). *Ōpat* 'abbot', a Latin borrowing from Greek, probably came through Old Bavarian (German).

Romance words have been entering since medieval times, mostly near the coast. Some are Dalmatian Romance (*dūpīn*/дупйн 'dolphin'), many Italian (especially Venetian: *sīgūran*/сйгўран 'sure').

Hungarian loans have entered Kajkavian, and some have spread further: *kīp*/кйп 'statue', *vároš*/вáрош 'town'. Similarly with Germanisms: *kūhinja*/кўхйня 'kitchen', *škōda*/шкōда 'damage'.

Turkish influences on Serbo-Croat begin in the fourteenth century. Some words still mark Muslim milieus, as *sěvdāh*/сєвдāх 'melancholy, love', *sòkāk*/сòкāк 'alley', whereas others join the general vocabulary: *bāš*/бāш 'precisely', *džezva*/џєзва 'Turkish coffee pot', *čòrsokāk*/ћòрсокāк 'blind alley'. Škaljić's (1966) dictionary attests 8,742 Turkisms, many originally Arabic or Persian.

Turkisms and a later layer of Germanisms associated with the Hapsburg monarchy have frequently provoked searches for domestic replacements. Such purism, traditional among Croats, often generates stylistic distinctions: the loan (Turkish *badāvā*/бадāвā 'for free', German *šnicla*/шнйцла 'cutlet', *paradājz*/парадāјз 'tomato', the last with exceptional placement of falling accent) is colloquial and its replacement (*běsplatno*/бєсплатно, *òdrezak*/òдрезак, *rājčica*/рāјчица based on *rāj*/pāj 'paradise') literary.

The nineteenth-century Illyrian movement Croatianized many words from Czech, which had had several decades of experience in finding equivalents for German and general European items: *okólnōst* 'circumstance', *náslov* 'title', *prégled* 'survey' (from Czech *přehled* by 'undoing' Czech palatalization of *r and spirantization of *g). Some then spread to Serbia: *okólnōst*, *náslov*, *prégled*.

Numerous Greco-Latin words enter during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: *literatūra*/литератўра, *interesāntan*/интересāнтан, *etimològija*/етимолòгија, *rđezija*/рòџија. All occur in French, German or other languages; we can speak of a common European 'pool' which various languages tapped. Native-based substitutes for these were sought, sometimes successfully: *knjižėvnōst*/књйжєвнōст for 'literature', *p(j)ěsnīštvo*/п(й)єснйштво for 'poetry'. Other proposals failed:

korenoslovlje/коренословље for 'etymology'. Frequently substitutes are accepted in the Croat standard while internationalisms prevail elsewhere: b̄rzojāv, tèlegram/тèлеграм; zèmljopis, geogrāfija/географѝја.

English loan-words earlier trickled in through German or French, occasionally Russian. Since the Second World War contacts with Britain and America make English the leading source of loans. Filipović (1990) analyses the adaptation of over 5,500 items. Words with Greco-Latin elements behave as members of the European pool: *prohibition* > prohibicija/прохибиѝѝја, *infrastructure* > infrastruktura/инфраструктура. Other words take forms that accord with English spelling or pronunciation, in either event presenting consonant or vowel combinations untypical for Serbo-Croat: *pacemaker* > pejsmèjker/пејсмèјкер (also written *pace-maker*), *flower power* > flower power/flàuer pàuer/флàуер пàуер.

5.3 Incorporation of borrowings

Almost every borrowed noun declines in Serbo-Croat. Only nouns which end in sounds other than *a* and denote women remain indeclinable: Dolores/Долòрес (name), lédi/лèди 'lady' (our exposition follows P. Ivič/П. Ивич 1972 closely). Nouns in final *-a* join the *a*-declension and become feminine: korída/корѝда 'corrida', with stem as seen in genitive koríd-ē/корѝд-è; Atlanta/Атланта, Atlant-ē/Атлант-è (city). But *-a* nouns denoting human males or (sometimes) animals are *a*-declension masculines: Kaunda/Каунда (surname), gorila/горѝла 'gorilla'.

Nouns in final consonant, *-o* or *-e* join the masculine *o*-declension. Their *-o* or *-e* acts as an ending, not part of the stem: kùplung/кùплунг 'automobile clutch' (< German), genitive kùplung-a/кùплунг-a; àuto/àуто 'car', àut-a/àут-a; finále/финàле 'finale', finál-a/финàл-a. Nouns in final *-i*, *-u* or any long vowel include these segments in their stem: tábu/тáбу 'taboo', tábu-a/тáбу-a; bifè/бѝфè 'bar, snack bar', bifè-a/бѝфè-a; Màrà/Màpà 'Marat (French revolutionary)', Marà-a/Màpà-a. *J* is intercalated between *-i/-и*, *-ī/-й* and endings: h̄b̄i/h̄б̄и 'hobby', h̄b̄i-j-a/h̄б̄и-ѝ-а; ž̄ḡi/ж̄й̄ 'jury', ž̄ḡi-j-a/ж̄й̄-ѝ-а.

Sub-regularities characterize nouns of particular origins. Turkish forms in *-i/ü/ı/u* become *a*-declension nouns in *-ija/-ија*, masculine for human males, otherwise feminine: *sanatlı* > zanàtlija/занàтлија (М) 'craftsman', *köprü* > çùprija/хùприја (Ф) 'bridge'. Europeanisms containing Latin *-tio* (English *-tion*) take the form *-cija/-ѝѝја*, *a*-declension (Ф): àmbicija/àмбѝѝѝја, degradácija/деградàѝѝја.

Adjectives usually add a Serbo-Croat adjectival suffix: àbdomināl-nī/àбдоминал-нѝ, *nostalgic* > nòstàlgič-an/ностàлгѝч-ан, or replace foreign suffixes with native ones: *atomic* > àtòm-skī/àтòм-скѝ. The resulting forms decline, and are compared if semantically justified: nòstàlgičnījī/ностàлгѝчнѝѝѝ, najnòstàlgičnījī/најностàлгѝчнѝѝѝ 'more, most nostalgic'. Some foreign adjectives however get no suffix, remaining

indeclinable: *běž hàljina*/бѣж хàљина 'a beige dress', *njñhova ìgra je fêr*/њñхова ìгра је фѣр 'their playing is sportsmanlike'. They compare periphrastically, if at all: *vìšè fêr*/вìшѣ фѣр 'fairer', *nàjvìšè fer*/нàјвìшѣ фѣр 'fairest'.

Over 2,000 foreign verbs (Matešić 1965–7) add suffixes *-ira-ti/-íра-ти*, *-ova-ti/-ова-ти* or *-isa-ti/-иса-ти* (present stems *-ira-/-ира-*, *-uj-e-/-уј-е-*, *-iš-e-/-иш-е-*): *erodírati*/еродíрати 'to erode', *paràlizovati*/парàлизовати 'to paralyse', *eliminísati*/елимíнисати 'to eliminate'. Doublets exist, with *-irati* favoured in the Croat standard (*paralízirati*, *eliminírati*). Almost all such verbs are bi-aspectual; but pairs with prefixed perfectives appear: *provocírati*/провоцírати, *is-/ис-* 'to provoke', *komentírati*/коментírати, *pro-/про-* 'to comment (on)'.

Loan verbs can also receive *-a-ti/-а-ти* (present *-a-/-а-*) and rarely *-nu-ti/-ну-ти* (present *-ne-/-не-*) without intervening suffix (Filipović 1990): *stàrtati*/стàртати 'to start (a race)' perfective; *bildati*/билдати 'to engage in body-building' imperfective; *blefnuti*/блефнути 'to bluff' perfective. Prefixed perfectives can be formed: *mìksati*/мìксати 'to mix' imperfective, *izmìksati*/измìксати perfective.

5.4 Lexical fields

5.4.1 Colour terms

These are adjectives, cited here in masculine singular nominative, with feminines added where necessary to show the stem.

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| 1 white | <i>ijekavski bìjel</i> /бìјел, <i>ekavski bèo</i> /бѣо, <i>béla</i> /бѣла |
| 2 black | <i>cìrn</i> /црн (but note <i>cìrnō vínō</i> /црнō вìнō 'red wine') |
| 3 red | <i>cìven</i> /црвен, also <i>rùmen</i> /рùмен 'ruddy, as of face (poetic)' |
| 4 green | <i>zèlen</i> /зèлен |
| 5 yellow | <i>žút</i> /жùт |
| 6 blue | <i>plāv</i> /плāv 'blue, also blond (of hair)', also <i>mōdar</i> /мōдар, <i>mōdra</i> /мōдра 'blue, dark blue (frequently poetic)' |
| 7 brown | <i>směđ</i> /смѣђ, <i>bràon</i> (<i>bràun</i>)/брàон (<i>брàун</i>) indeclinable, <i>mřk</i> /мрк 'dark brown, dark' |
| 8 purple | <i>ljùbičast</i> /љùбичаст 'violet' |
| 9 pink | <i>rùžičast</i> /рùжичаст, <i>róza</i> /рóза indeclinable |
| 10 orange | <i>nàràncast</i> , <i>nàràndžast</i> /нàрàнчаст, нàрàнцаст |
| 11 grey | <i>siv</i> /сìв; <i>s(ij)ed</i> /с(ìј)ѣд 'grey (of hair)' |

The main entries under 1–6 and 11 are clearly basic (Berlin and Kay 1969: 6), being monolexemic, combinable with many objects, salient and not included under other terms. All occurred over a hundred times in V. Lukić's (1983) 1.5 million words. The choice of basic term for 'brown' is

less obvious: m̃k/m̃k has frequency 85 (some of which must have meant 'dark, gloomy'), směđ/směđ 42 and br̃on/br̃on 32, but br̃on/br̃on is probably least limited in combinability. Ljubičast/љубичаст, r̃žičast/р̃жичаст and ñr̃ančast/н̃р̃анчаст, though derived from flowers and fruits (ljubi(či)ca/љуби(чи)ца 'a violet', r̃ža/r̃ža 'a rose', ñr̃anča/ñr̃anča, ñr̃andža/ñr̃anđica 'an orange'), have no serious competition in the senses of colours 8 to 10. Ljubičast/љубичаст and r̃žičast/р̃жичаст are well established, occurring 21 and 20 times in Lukić. Ñr̃ančast/н̃р̃анчаст is strikingly infrequent (6), appearing only after the fourth year of school. Even for adults its low perceived salience makes its basicness doubtful.

5.4.2 Body parts

Genitive singulars are given where needed; irregular plurals are also cited.

head	gláva/глава
eye	oko/око
eyes	oči/очи feminine <i>i</i> -declension, genitive očijū/очију
nose	nos/nос, plural nosovi (nosevi)/носови (носеви)
ear	uho/ухо; Serbian standard also uvo/уво
ears	uši/уши feminine <i>i</i> -declension, genitive ušijū/ушију
mouth	usta/уста neuter plurale tantum
hair	kosa/kоса (all the hair on the head); dlaka/dлака 'a hair; hair(s) growing on the body'
neck	vrāt/vрāt, also šija/шја
arm/hand	rúka/рука
hand	šaka/шaka (considered part of rúka/рука; also 'fist')
finger	p̃st/p̃ст, plural p̃sti/p̃сти, genitive p̃stī (p̃stijū)/п̃стī (п̃стију); p̃st na rúci/p̃ст на рúци
thumb	p̃lac/p̃лац, p̃lca/p̃лца
leg/foot	noga/nога
foot	stopalo/стопало (considered part of noga/nога)
toe	p̃st/p̃ст, p̃st na nōzi/p̃ст на нōзи, p̃žnī p̃st/ñжнī п̃ст
big toe	p̃lac (na nōzi)/п̃лац (на нōзи), p̃žnī p̃lac/ñжнī п̃лац
chest	p̃sa/p̃са neuter plural (also 'breast'); gr̃udi/гр̃уди feminine <i>i</i> -declension plural (also 'breast'), singular rare
heart	s̃ce/s̃це

5.4.3 Kinship terms

mother	m̃jka/m̃jka, m̃ti/m̃ти (see section 3.1.2)
father	oac/oтац, genitive oca/oца, plural očevi/oчеви

sister	sèstra/cèстра. Can include 'female cousin', but ròđenā/ròђенā ('born') sèstra/cèстра is only 'sister'.
brother	brāt/брѧт, plural brāca/брѧћа (declined as feminine singular <i>a</i> -declension; attributive agreement accordingly; neuter plural predicative agreement). Can include 'male cousin', but ròđenī brat/ròђенī brāt is only 'brother'.
aunt	tètka/тѧтка 'father's sister, mother's sister'; strina/стрина 'father's brother's wife'; ūjna/ўјна 'mother's brother's wife'
uncle	stric/стриц, plural strīčevi/стричѧви 'father's brother'; ūjāk/ўјѧк 'mother's brother'; tètak/тѧтак, genitive tètka/тѧтка, or tēca/тѧча 'husband of tètka/тѧтка'
niece	pečàkinja/нећàкиња, pečaka/нећака, also sèstrična/cèстрична 'sister's daughter'; sinòvica/синòвица, brātič(i)na/брѧтич(и)на, pečàkinja/нећàкиња 'brother's daughter'
nephew	pečāk/нећѧк, also sèstrić/cèстрић 'sister's son'; sinòvac/синòвац, brātić/брѧтић, pečāk/нећѧк 'brother's son'
cousin (female)	sèstra/cèстра; ròđaka/ròђака, rođàkinja/рођàкиња 'relative'; sèstra od tètke/cèстра од тѧткѧ 'daughter of one's tètka/тѧтка'; sèstra od strīca/cèстра од стрīца 'daughter of one's stric/стриц'; sèstra od ūjāka/cèстра од ўјѧка 'daughter of one's ūjāk/ўјѧк'
cousin (male)	brāt/брѧт; ròđāk/ròђѧк 'relative'; brāt od tètke/брѧт од тѧткѧ 'son of one's tètka/тѧтка'; brāt od strīca/брѧт од стрīца 'son of one's stric/стриц'; brāt od ūjāka/брѧт од ўјѧка 'son of one's ūjāk/ўјѧк'
(Speakers disagree about subclassifications of nieces, nephews and cousins.)	
grandmother	bāba/бѧба, bāka/bāка (diminutive, but frequent)
grandfather	d(j)ēd/д(ј)ѧд, ekavski also dēda/дѧда
wife	žena/жѧна (also 'woman'); sùpruga/cùпруга ('spouse')
husband	mūž/мўж (not usually 'man'); sùprug/cùпруг ('spouse')

daughter	(k)ćerka/(к)ћерка, kći/kñi (section 3.1.2)
son	sin/sin.

6 Dialects

Serbo-Croat speakers, conscious of dialect divisions, identify themselves as kajkavci/kájkavци, čakavci/čákovци or štokavci/штоковци and according to their reflex of *jat'* (section 2.1) as ékavci/ékovци, (i)jékavci/(и)јékovци or íkavci/íkovци. The main divisions, Kajkavian, Čakavian and Štokavian, are named after their words for 'what': *kāj* < **kъjъ* (dialect forms use Latin transcription), *čā* < **čь* and *štō* or *štā* < **čь-to* (*a* in *štā* is of later development). The Torlak (Prizren-Timok) group, sometimes termed transitional to Macedonian and Bulgarian (P. Ivić 1958), is generally, as here, included in Štokavian (Brozović and Ivić 1988). The *jat'* reflex is important for subdividing the three groups. The most recent survey, with detailed maps, is in Brozović and Ivić 1988; P. Ivić (1981) phonologically describes seventy-seven localities with historical summaries.

Kajkavian is spoken in north-west Croatia (see map 7.1). Features shared with adjacent Slovene, besides *kaj*, include reflexes *č*, *j* from Proto-Slavonic *tj*, *dj*: *noč* 'night', *meja* 'boundary' (in some places *medža*) and devoicing of final obstruents: *grat* from *grad* 'town'. Final and pre-consonantal *l* remains: *bil* 'was', Štokavian *bio*. Most vowel systems have more than five members and long-short contrasts. The reflex of **e* and **ę* is often low: *sælo* < **selo* 'village', *zæt* < **zętъ* 'brother-in-law', unlike that of *jat'* as in *leto* < **lęto* 'year', which is often joined by strong **ь*/**ъ*: *pes* < *рьсь* 'dog'. **ʃ* or **ϕ* or both may give closed *o* as in **vʃkъ* > *voк* 'wolf', **mъžъ* > *mош* 'man'.

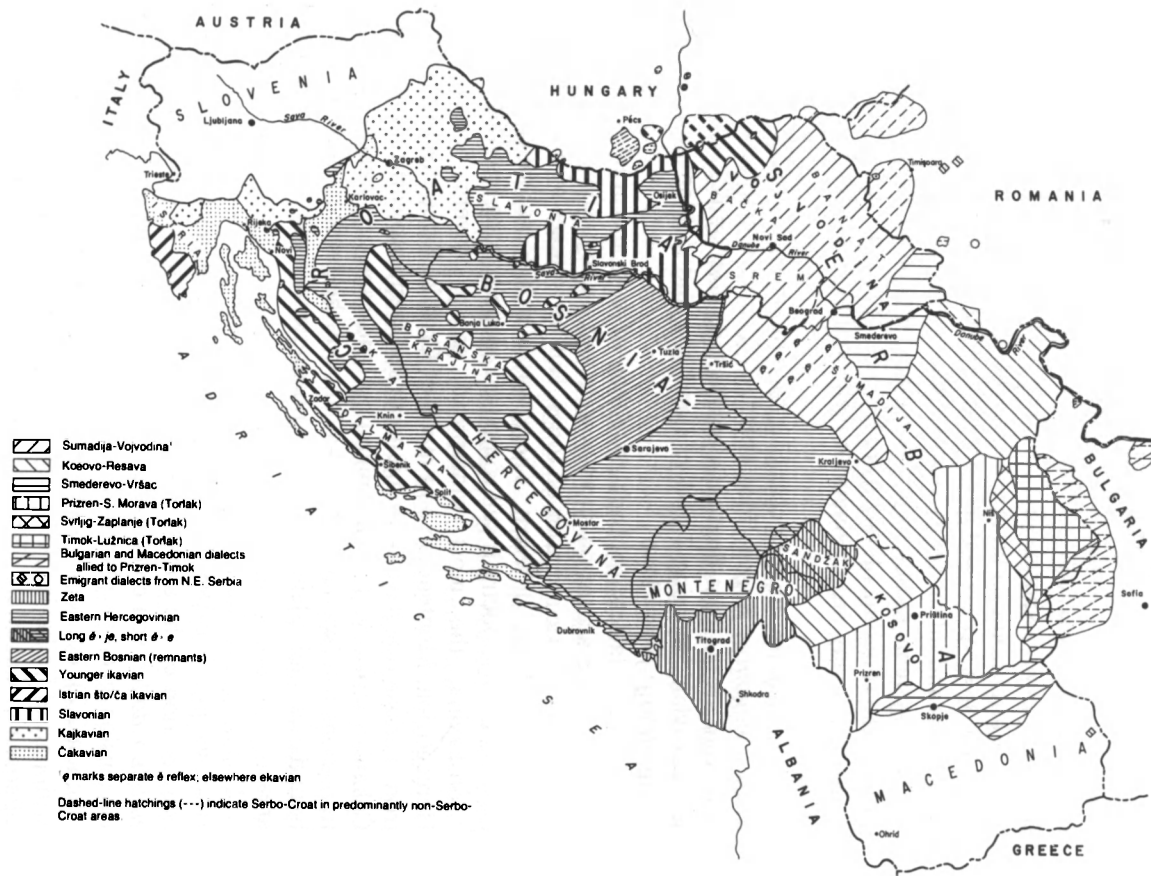
In morphology, nouns preserve old distinctions in the plural cases: nominative masculine *gradi*, feminine *žene*; genitive *gradof*, *žen*; dative *gradom*, *ženam*; instrumental *gradi*, *ženami*; locative *gradeh*, *ženah*. Genitive plural *-ā* and the Štokavian *-ov/-ev-* long plural are lacking. The vocative is lost. Verbs have lost aorist and imperfect. The future, as in Slovene, consists of an auxiliary from **bъdъ* plus *l*-participle: *bom delal* (feminine *delala*) 'I'll work'.

Bases for subclassification are vocalism and accentuation. Kajkavian dialects started from a system with a single accent on short vowels but falling-rising (circumflex-neoacute) contrasts on longs. The dialects then undergo shifts and neutralizations (Brozović and Ivić 1988).

Kajkavian was a medium of literature until the Illyrian movement. Poets and songwriters continue using it to good effect. The Zagreb city sub-standard is a koinéized Kajkavian (five vowels, no length and accent contrasts).

Čakavian occurs on the north and central Croatian coast, Istria and the Adriatic islands. An island area south-west of Karlovac is separated from

Map 7.1 Serbo-Croat Dialects



the coast by later Štokavian settlements. The Burgenland Croats in eastern Austria speak Čakavian and use a Čakavian-based written form.

Defining characteristics include interrogative *ča*, genitive *česa* (some localities lose *ča*, but maintain compounds like *zač* < **za čb*). For Proto-Slavonic *tj* Čakavian has a variety of *ć* transcribed [t'], for *dj* it has *j*: *not'*, *meja*. In sporadic lexemes **ę*, which otherwise becomes *e*, yields *a* after palatal: **jęзыкъ*, **поѣти* > *jazik* (often metathesized: *zajik*) 'tongue', *počati* 'to begin'. The auxiliary for the conditional is *bin*, *biš* ... from Proto-Slavonic **bimь*, whereas Serbo-Croat generally has its auxiliary from **byхъ*. Plural noun endings are mainly the old ones as in Kajkavian. The vocative is lost. Aorist and imperfect are mostly lost. The future has auxiliary verb *ću* and infinitive, as in Štokavian.

Vowel systems mostly have five short vowels and five long; diphthongizations and rounding of long *a* are frequent. Section 2.1 treats *jat'* reflexes. Word-final *l* may drop, remain or yield *-a*, but does not change to *-o*; *bi*, *biļ*, *bija*.

A later feature, final *m* changing to *n* in endings: *govorim* > *govorin* 'I speak', *nogom* > *nogon* 'foot (INST SG)', covers coastal Čakavian and Štokavian areas. Root-final *m* is unaffected: *dim* 'smoke'. Many localities are 'cakavian', merging *č* and *c*, *š* and *s*, *z* and *ž*. Many coastal dialects change *lj* to *j*: *jubav* 'love'.

Čakavian dialects go back to either of two accentual systems, each having a single accent on short vowels and distinguishing rising neoacute from falling (neo)circumflex on longs. But the sources of the neoacute and neocircumflex are different. There was a rich Renaissance literature in Čakavian. Lyric poetry is still composed; popular song festivals flourish.

Štokavian, the most widespread group, covers Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro and much of Croatia. Since the 1400s refugees from Turkish rule have carried it north and west, into earlier Kajkavian and Čakavian territory. The pre-migration landscape presumably had smooth transitions to Čakavian and Kajkavian, but the present map shows abrupt boundaries and islands of older phenomena amid large homogeneous areas.

Features covering most or all of Štokavian include (closely following Brozović and Ivić 1988): interrogative *što* or *šta*, the long plural in *ov/ev*, preservation of the aorist, final *l* becoming *o*, the change of *jd* to *đ* (**do-jьdešь* > *dodeš* 'you come') and the new ending *-ā* for *o*-declension and *a*-declension genitive plurals. Most of the area has *št*, *žd* for older *šč*, *žd* (section 2.2), but some 'ščakavian' western dialects preserve *šč*, *žd*. Shared with part of Kajkavian is the change of **dj* to an affricate *đ* (Kajkavian *dž*), opposed to Čakavian *j*. Shared with part of Čakavian are the changes *čr* > *cr* (*črn* > *crn* 'black'), *vь/vъ* > *u* before consonant (prefix and preposition *u* 'in', *udovica* < **vьdova* 'widow') and metathesis *vs-* > *sv-* in the root 'all'.

Two 'neo-Štokavian' innovations characterizing central Štokavian, as

against the periphery, are neutralization of plural oblique cases (dative-instrumental-locative have endings *-ima*, *-ama* borrowed from the dual) and new (shifted) accentuation. The 'oldest' Štokavian systems resembled Čakavian, with one accent on short vowels (*ǫko*, *sestrǎ*, *glǎvǎ*, also *bǎba* from Proto-Slavonic acute) but two, rising and falling, distinguished on longs (rising *sūša* 'drought', falling *měso* 'meat'). A newer system neutralizes the long accents: *sūša*, *měso*. Finally, the neo-Štokavian accent shift creates new rising accents on the syllable preceding non-initial accents: *sestrǎ* > *sěstra* with new short rising, *glǎvǎ* > *gláva* with new rising on a long.

The *jat'* reflex splits Štokavian dialects into ekavian, (i)jekavian and ikavian. Combining these notions with central/peripheral distinctions permits the establishing of subdialects.

Eastern Hercegovinian, (i)jekavian with new accents and neutralized plurals, is the most widespread type, carried far from its home by migrations. As Karadžić's native dialect, it formed the basis for standard Serbo-Croat.

The Šumadija-Vojvodina type, as its name implies, occupies Serbia's northern province and part of central Serbia south-west of Beograd. It is ekavian (the standard of Serbia inherits ekavism from this type), except for part of Šumadija with [e] (section 2.1). Its accents are new, its plural endings largely new. Unaccented syllables show a tendency to shorten long vowels which becomes stronger in east and south Serbia.

Younger Ikavian, lying between Eastern Hercegovinian and Čakavian, has mostly new accentuation and mostly neutralized plural cases. Parts of the area are šćakavian and share other features with Čakavian.

The Zeta-Lovćen (Zeta-South Sandžak) group occupies southern Montenegro and adjoining areas of Serbia. The accent neutralizes the oldest distinction on long vowels, but is largely unshifted. The plural syncretizes dative and instrumental, but joins locative with genitive. *Jat'* reflexes are mostly (i)jekavian, with the short version, *je*, causing extensive changes in preceding consonants. Some areas have ə or ä for strong *ъ/ь.

East and north of it is the Kosovo-Resava type. Accents and plurals resemble Zeta-Lovćen. *Jat'* development is consistently ekavian, without *i* reflexes before *j* (section 2.1). Lengths in post-accentual syllables shorten.

Between Kosovo-Resava and Šumadija-Vojvodina lies the Smederevo-Vršac ekavian type. The accent is partly (and optionally) shifted. Plural case neutralization agrees with Šumadija-Vojvodina.

The Slavonian dialect in north-eastern Croatia shows a mixture of *jat'* reflexes. Plural cases neutralize only partially. Many localities preserve old place of accent and old rising and falling. The neo-Štokavian long rising is encroaching on Slavonian, yielding three long-vowel accent contours; Lehiste and Ivić (1986) provide measurements.

Eastern Bosnian, jekavian and šćakavian, has partly old accentuation with traces of falling-rising distinctions, but influence of neo-Štokavian-

speaking migrants has been heavy. Plural cases neutralize.

South of Kosovo-Resava is Prizren-Timok. Ekavski, with unshifted accent position but neutralized length contrasts, these dialects have six-vowel systems, showing ə for strong *ъ/ь. Final *l* becomes *a* or remains: *bija, bil*. Of all Serbo-Croat dialects these are most affected by linguistic Balkanisms: apart from the vocative, the case system shrinks to nominative and a generalized oblique, sometimes with a separate dative. However, the aorist and imperfect tenses are vigorous. Clitic doubling of objects is widespread, as are postposed demonstratives used as definite articles; both are features shared with Macedonian.

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