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 (Срна Гора/Црна Гора) and Bosnia-Hercegovina, and by four of its ‘nations’ (народи/народи): 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 (ь, ъ) 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 d). 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 \textit{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–Hercegovina (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–Hercegovina 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): crn/црн ‘black’, vrt/врт ‘garden’. ‘Vocalic’ (‘syllabic’) \(r\) (phonetically [\(\mathbf{r}\)]) is not specially marked in normal writing. The pronunciation [\(\mathbf{r}\)] is almost predictable, the rule being \(r \rightarrow \mathbf{r}\) when not next to a vowel (and in a few other exceptional environments).

Reflexes of \(\ddot{e}\), often called \textit{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 \textit{jat'}: \(*\text{rēka} \rightarrow \text{rēka} ‘river’, *\text{vēra} \rightarrow \text{vēra} ‘faith’ (dialect forms are in Latin transcription throughout) except that \(i\) usually appears before \(j\): \(*\text{nov-ēj-bjē} \rightarrow \text{nōvijī} ‘newer’; this holds for the ekavian standard. Some north-central and coastal dialects, termed ikavian, have consistent \(i\) for \textit{jat’}: \(\text{rika}, \text{vira}, \text{nōvijī}\). An area in western Serbia has a distinct reflex, closed \(e\) (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 *e* > *i* both before *j*; *nobilj* and before *o* which is an alternant of *l*: *děltř* > *dlo* ‘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-Hercegovina: *vjěra/*vjěpa in a short syllable, *rijèka/*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 Nijèmac/Нијемац < *нёмъсь* ‘German’ with the sequence of short syllables seen in nijèdan/ниједан < *ni jedънъ* ‘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* [iː]; thus we here adopt Brozović’s *rijèka/*rijèka, Nijèmac/Нијемац. Similarly in examples with falling accent: traditional nijem/нијем, Brozović and here nijem/нијем [niːm] ‘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: *xrěnt* > hrěn/hrěn ‘horseradish’. Compare *reš-* > rješávati/pješávati ‘to solve’ with no preceding consonant, and raz+rješávati/раз+рјешаvati ‘to release’ with intervening morpheme boundary.

The Čakavian dialects are ekavian, ikavian and Ėkavian (having *e* before Proto-Slavonic dental consonant + back vowel, *i* otherwise). Thus from *mēra* ‘a measure’, *mērit* ‘to measure’, *lēpo* ‘beautifully’, *dvě* ‘two’ the first type has *mēra mērit lēpo dvě*, the second *mīra mīrit lipo dvi* and the last *mēra mīrit lipo dvi*. Ėkavian dialects show varied vowel systems, usually with *ē* > [e] or [ě].

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: *rētъ* > *rět*/*nět* ‘five’, *rotpъ* > rūká/*pyka* ‘hand, arm’.

Both jers have developed to *a* in strong position (see chapter 3, section 2.25): *přeřъ* > *pās*/*pāc* ‘dog’, *sβnъ* > *sān/cān* ‘sleep, dream’. In most instances jers drop in weak position, yielding *a* ∼ *ø* alternations: genitives *pβa* > *pśa*, *sβa* > *snā/snā*. Even when weak they develop into *a* if any of certain obstruent–sonorant clusters would arise: *mβlga* > mǎgl/a ‘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): *br*, *br*, *rb*, *rb* all become *r*; *bl*, *bl*, *bs*, *bš* all become *l*. Thus *prvъ–βjβ* > *přv*, *tβrg–β* > *trg*, *gβm–hti* > *grm–*, *krβνъ* > *kρν*, *vβlk–β* > *vlk*, *sβlmъ* > *slmče* > *sλnč*, *sλza* > *slza*, *gβt–ati* > *gltati*. Modern Serbo-Croat preserves *r*, and the standard language (like most dialects) has *u* from *l*: pěvī/pěvī ‘first’, třg/třg ‘town square’, grm(j)eti/*
Serbo-Croat shows normal South Slavonic reflexes of other Proto-Slavonic interconsonantal vowel–liquid groups, namely metathesis with vowel lengthening: er > re, or > ra, el > le, ol > la. The ŋ develops according to the rules for individual dialects. Examples: *u-mer-ti > ijekavian umrijeti/umrijeti, ekavian umrjeti/umrjeti ‘to die’; *gordъ > grad/grad ‘town’; *melko > ijekavian mljeko/mljeko, ekavian mljeco/mljeko ‘milk’; *molt-iti > mlátiti/mlátiti ‘to thrash, 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 especially h [x ~ h], c [t's], d [d'z], ě [t'c], dž [d'z], nj [n = ň], lj [l'].

The Latin alphabetical order is abcdçćdžđefghijkllmnñnor sštuvžž. 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 dl n respectively. The corresponding Cyrillic letters are abçčđđђефгхјкљмњопрштувзж. Cyrillic alphabetical order differs somewhat: abvgđđежзијкљмњопрсђуфхцчш.

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...
part of an abbreviation or foreign prefix coming before a root with \( j \): \( kon + jug\acute{a}cija \) ‘conjugation’. Cyrillic spellings are then наджйв(ж)ети, конжугация.

\( V \) 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 \( \acute{v}o\varsigma/\acute{v}b\varsigmaa \) ‘sheep’ and \( tv\acute{o}/tv\acute{b}oj \) ‘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 \( \acute{a} \), long falling \( \grave{a} \), short rising \( \check{a} \), long rising \( \check{\grave{a}} \). The falling accents occur almost exclusively on first syllables of words, and can occur on monosyllables: говор/говдор ‘speech’, ло$$/л$ш ‘bad’; пр\( v \)/пра\( v \)дати ‘to justify’, град/град ‘city’. The rising accents occur on any syllable but the last, hence not on monosyllables: д\( o \)/д\( o \)лазити ‘to come’, гов\( o \)/гов\( o \)рити ‘to speak’, велич\( i \)/велич\( i \)на ‘size’; гл\( u \)/гл\( u \)мити ‘to act’, гара\( z \)/гар\( a \)жа ‘garage’, гравит\( i \)/гравит\( i \)рати ‘to gravitate’.

Long and short vowels are distinguished under accent or in later syllables in the word. Thus град/град ‘city’, град/град ‘hail’; вал\( j \)/вал\( j \)ати ‘to roll’, вал\( j \)/вал\( j \)ати ‘to be good’. Post-accentual length is noted: \( a \): год\( i \)/год\( i \)на ‘years (GEN PL)’; пр\( v \)/пра\( v \)д\( v \) ‘he/she justifies’, пр\( v \)/пра\( v \)да ‘justice’; велич\( i \)/велич\( i \)нё ‘size (GEN SG)’, величине/велич\( i \)нё ‘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 райбёнк\( i \)/райбёнк\( i \)штава, genitive plural of райбёнк\( i \)/райбёнк\( i \)штво ‘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 brat/брат ‘brother’ would find itself on a non-initial syllable in the group od brata/од брата ‘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: od brata/од брата.

Another type of ‘jumping’ is seen in dialects and in conservative standard Serbo-Croat with such a host word as grad/град ‘city’: u grad/y град ‘to the city’ can yield у град/й град. The difference between brat- and grad- 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 $z$) and ķ respectively when a front vowel followed, survives in Serbo-Croat as a family of $k$, $g$, $x \rightarrow č$, $ž$, $š$ 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: ћенник/ћенник ‘pupil’ → ћеннике/ћенникге, Бог/Бог ‘God’ → Боже/Боже, сиромах/сиромах ‘poor man’ → сиромаше/сиромаше. The accusative plural ending -e/-e does not: ћеннике/ћенникге, сиромахе/сиромаше, бубре /бубре ‘kidney’). The -e/-e in verb present tenses invariably causes it: речи/нежи ‘to bake’, stem рек/-рек-, present речем/нежем, but third person plural реку/нежу, where there is no -e/-e.

Diminutive endings such as -ica/-ица commonly trigger the alternation in question, thus рука/рука ‘hand, arm’ → diminutive руцица/руцица ‘small hand/arm’. But in certain instances a differentiation arises: руцица/руцица meaning ‘handle’ invariably has ъ, but emotional speech, as of or to a baby, may have unchanged ъ in diminutive рука/рука ‘hand/arm’. In some instances the alternation has spread to suffixes having no j or front vowel: ножа/нога ‘leg, foot’ has augmentative нож-ура/нож-ура ‘big ugly foot’, compare глава/глава ‘head’ → глав-ура/глав-ура without j.

Alternation without overt triggering segment characterizes the formation of adjectives with -sk/-ск and its morphophonemic alternants: Америка/Америка, амерички/амерички ‘American’. In Proto-Slavonic this suffix began with a front vowel, -ск-; 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 ъ and ъ respectively. The conditions can be described as ‘same as for k, plus others’: inherited стриц/стрйц ‘father’s brother’ and borrowed принц/принц ‘prince’ have vocative singular стрица/стрйца and принц/принч, but they also show alternation before ov/ob and ev/eb of the ‘long plural’ (section 3.1.2): plural стрица/стрйчеви, принц/принчеви, unlike nouns in k: вук/вук ‘wolf, foot’ has augmentative нож-ура/нож-ура ‘big ugly foot’, compare глава/глава ‘head’ → глав-ура/глав-ура without j.

The third palatalization of velars (see below) produced c and z 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: речи/реци ‘to say’, stem рек/-рек-, imperative singular речи/реци; помоци/помоши ‘to help’, stem помо/-помох-, imperative помози/помози; вици/врци ‘to thresh’, stem врх/-врх-, imperative врси/врси. Here it is stable but not productive, since no new stems can be added.

Further, in two places in noun morphology. Before -и/-и in masculine
nominative plurals, the alternation is almost exceptionless:
уком/уком; агностик/агностик 'agnostic', агностици/агностици; бубрези/бубрези; сиромаши/сиромаси; алманах/алманах 'almanac', алманаси/алманаси. A few recent words escape it, like кок/кок 'coccus bacterium', коки/коки. It is equally regular before the -ima/-има dative-locative-instrumental plural ending: ученцима/ученийцима, агностицима/агностицима, бубрезима/бубрезима.

In the dative-locative singular of the -а declension, the change is common: гака/рука, гучи/ручи (or гучи/ручи); нода/нога 'foot, leg', нози/нози; свриша/сврша 'purpose', сврси/сврси; but it is restricted by phonological, morphological and lexical factors, whose hierarchy is only partially investigated. Some stem-final consonant clusters disfavour it: мацка/мачка 'cat', мацки/мачки, compare д(ж)евожка/д(ж)евожка 'girl', д(ж)евожци/д(ж)евожци. Personal names and hypocoristics avoid it: Милка/Милка, Милки/Милки; бачка/бака 'Granny', бачи/баки. This avoidance is stronger than the tendency for words in -ика/-ика to undergo the change: логика/логика 'logic', логици/логици; Африка/Африка, Африци/Африци; but чика/чика 'Uncle (addressing an older man)', чики/чики. Of the three consonants, к most readily alternates, then г, with л 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: кнёз/кнёз 'prince' but кнёгиня/кнёгиня 'princess'. Only in the formation of imperfective verbs from perfectives can a pattern (dating to early South Slavonic) be discerned, as изрека/изрека to utter', stem из-рек/-йз-рек-; imperfective изрекати/изрекати; подици/подици 'to pick up', stem под-диг-/под-диг-, imperfective подизати/подизати; удыхнит/удыхнит 'to inhale', stem у-дых-ну/-у-дых-ну-, imperfective удисати/удисати.

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 *носенъ 'carried'; *вясокъ 'high', *вясъ 'higher'. Common to all Slavonic languages are the results ш, з from jotation of s, z and the results ч, щ, щ (= 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 п-плj, б-блj, млj, в-влj; the newer sound џ also becomes флj; (2) s, z alternate with щ, з; (3) т, д alternate with ч, щ; (4) к, г, л alternate with ч, з, щ; as in the first palatalization’s reflex, с has also come to alternate with щ; (5) l, n alternate with lj, nj; (6) r and other consonants (palatales of various sorts, also the group шт) are unaffected. Points 2 and 4 are identical throughout Slavonic; the palatalals 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; Ѕтокavian Serbo-
Croat developments of \( tj \) (from older \( tj \) and from \( kt \) before front vowel) and \( dj \) are \(*nokt-i*, *medja > nóc/nõh \text{ ‘night’}, měđa/měţa \text{ ‘boundary’}. Examples of alternations (passive participles of verbs, masculine singular indefinite): ljubiti/ljubiti ‘to kiss, to love’, ljubljen/ljubljen; zašaráfįti/zašárafįti ‘to tighten (a screw)’, zašárafļen/zašárafļen; nősiti/nősiti ‘to carry’, nőšen/nőšen; vrátiti/vrátiti ‘to return’, vrácen/vrāčen; bánći/bánći ‘to throw’, bánćen/báčen (there are no verbs in -kšt/-kšt, -giti/-gšt, -hiti/-hšt, except for the baby-talk kškiti/kaskiti ‘defecate’); hvátiti/hvátiti ‘to praise’, hváljen/hváljen; izgovоrじti/izgovоrじti ‘to pronounce’, izgоворен/изговорен; tůžiti/tůžiti ‘to accuse’, tůžen/tůžen; pǒništíti/pǒniшtíti ‘to cancel’, pǒništen/pǒniштен.

The inherited jotation yields št and žd from st and zd, but these results now compete with šč, žđ (which come from changing the two consonants separately): iskóristiti/iskóristити ‘to use’, iskорошти/išкорошити and išкорошћен/išкорошћен. šč is the only possibility in adjective comparison: густ/gуст ‘thick’, comparative гуšć/rушћь.

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)esto/m(j)ęsto ‘place’, -e/-e in sřce/cřćе ‘heart’ and ůčěnje/ъчěнje ‘teaching, learning’.

The Serbo-Croat rule is now: \( o \rightarrow e \) after palatal consonants and their descendants (č, dž, š, ž, ċ, d, 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 profesőrica/професорица, vocative profesőrice/професорице). Feminine adjectives and feminine pronouns are unaffected. The alternation in -om/-om 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/ob and ev/eb of masculine noun ‘long plurals’ (section 3.1.2); thus grądovi/грăдови ‘cities’ but mùževi/mùжеви ‘husbands’.

The main vowel-zero alternation in present-day Serbo-Croat is \( a \sim \emptyset \). As mentioned in 2.1, the Proto-Slavonic \( jer \) vowels \( b, b \) 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, trgovac/трговац ‘merchant’ and genitive trgovača/трговаца; tujan/тужан ‘sad’ and feminine tujna/tužna; išao/йшао ‘went’ (from ići/йни) and feminine singular išla/йшла. The \( a \) also appears before certain suffixes, as trgovac/трговац + skī/скй → turgovačkī/трговачкй ‘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/Пётар ‘Peter’, genitive Pětra/Пётра (*Petъ); dobar/dōbar ‘good’, feminine dobrа/добра (*dobrъ); the masculine \( l \)-participle of verbs whose stem ends in an obstreperous, as rěkaо/pěkaо ‘said’ (from rěkal < *rekъ). Inserted \( a \) in nominative singulars is frequent in loan-words: kilometar/кйлометар, genitive kilometra/кйлометра; subjekat/сўбјекат or subjekt/cубјект, genitive subjekta/cубјекта.

The Serbo-Croat -ă/-ā genitive plural ending also triggers insertion of \( a \), ‘breaking’ a preceding cluster: trgovaca/трговаца, kilometara/кйлометара, subjekata/сўбјеката, jutara/jyTapa from jutro/jyтро ‘morning’, sestra/сёстра ‘sister’. (Only a few clusters such as st, zd, št, šć, žd, consonant-\( j \) are ‘unbreakable’: cesta/цеста ‘road’, genitive plural cestа/цеста, raskršćе/пакршће ‘crossroads’, genitive plural raskršćа/пакршћа, sázv(ij)ěđe/сазв(и)јежће ‘constellation’, genitive plural sázv(ij)ěđа/сазв(и)јежђа, nár(j) ееје/нár(ж)ееје ‘dialect’, genitive plural nár(j)ěčja/nár(ж)ěчја.) 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 -\( bje \)): grdb/гроб ‘grave’, grblje/гробље ‘cemetery’; cv(ij)ět/цв(и)јет ‘flower’, cv(ij)ěće/цв(и)јење ‘flowers’; grána/gráна ‘branch’, granje/грање ‘branches’ (and verbal nouns like ућене/ућење). \( S \) and \( z \) remain unchanged, as does \( j \): klás/клас ‘ear of grain’, klāje/клаје ‘ears’. The \( a \) remains also after č, š, ţ from 4 and 6: nóga/нора ‘leg, foot’, pōdnōžje/пођножје ‘base, foundation’, and after \( r \): mōre/море ‘sea, primорје/приморје ‘littoral’. Only after palatals proper (će, đ, lj, nj, j) does \( j \) disappear: мěđa/мěђа ‘border’, ržmeđe/рžмеђе ‘division’, St, zd yield

The newest jotation affects a consonant coming before the je reflex of short jat’. In standard jekavian it makes l and n into the corresponding palatals: Proto-Slavonic *lêto, *nêga > ljêto ‘summer’, njêga ‘care’; as Cyrillic writing makes clear, no separate j remains: ljêto, njêga. (The presence of long or short vowel thus leads to alternation of dental and palatal consonant: Nijêmac/Нијемац ‘a German’, but adjective njêmačkî/њемачки.) 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 ĭ 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 slôžiti/сложити ‘to assemble’ but z/z in zgâžiti/згажити ‘to trample’; before suffixes, as уđžbenik/Уђбеник ‘textbook’ from уђити/Уђити ‘to teach, learn’; and when a alternates with zero, as rédak/рёдак ‘a line’, genitive singular rérka/рёрка. Voicing assimilation is almost invariably reflected in writing. Only ă keeps its spelling before s and š: grad/град ‘city’, grâdski/градски ‘urban’; štêta/штёта ‘damage’, ôdšteta/ёдштета ‘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 (svêška/свёска ‘notebook’, from svézati/свётати ‘to bind’, genitive plural svêšêka/свёшêка), whereas one which has become voiced remains so (prim(j)edba/прим(j)едба ‘comment’, from prim(ij)ètitì/прим(ij)èтити ‘to remark’, genitive plural prim(j)èdâbâ/прим(j)ёдабâ).

Assimilation in palatality affects s and z, which are pronounced and written š, ž before č, dž, č, d and lj, nj (though not root-initial lj, nj, nor lj, nj resulting from the newest (jekavian) jotation): râščistiti/рашчистити ‘to clear up’, from prefix raz-/раз- and čistiti/чйстити ‘to clean’; vozňa/вожња ‘driving’, from vóziti/вйзити ‘to drive’ and suffix -nja/-ња; but not in razlùtiti/разљутити ‘to anger’ from ljut/Љът ‘angry, sharp’, nor in jekavian snjêžan/сњежан ‘snowy’ (ekavian snêžan/снёжан).

Serbo-Croat spelling, further, shows changes in consonant clusters. Double consonants simplify: bêznàcìjan/бёзнàцìјан ‘insignificant’ from bez/без ‘without’ and znàcìj/знаком ‘significance’. Dental stops drop before affricates, as in case forms of ôtac/отац ‘father’: genitive ôca/оца.
(from otca), nominative plural đevi/đevi (from otđevi). T and d are also lost between s, z, š and n, l or various other consonants (izraslina/izræsliina 'a growth' from the verb stem rást/páct - 'grow'; the adjective rđostan/rđostan 'joyful' has feminine rđosna/rđosna, from rđost/pđost 'joy'). They remain at prefix-root boundary: ľstlačiti/ístlačiti 'to oppress', from iz/-iz- 'out' and tlačiti/tłačiti '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 đao/dajo 'gave', but feminine dala/dála. In adjectives and nouns it is widespread though lexicalized: masculine singular nominative mjo/mjо 'nice', feminine mjla/mjla, but đhola/ðhola 'haughty' – đhola/ðhola.

If the l-o change yields a sequence oo, this contracts to long ő: thus the masculine singular l-participle of ubosti/ubòsti (stem ubòd/ubòd-) 'to stab' is ubò/ubò. 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/pēk-l – rēkao/pēkao 'said', there are nouns like misl-/mǐsl- → misao/mǐsao 'thought' and adjectives like tōp-l/tōpl- → tōpao/tōpao 'warm' (tōpal/tōpal is rare). If a-insertion fails, as it does in a few loanwords, final l becomes syllabic, not changing to o: bicikl/biçikl '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 (muža/мужа ‘husband’, lâva/лъва ‘lion’), like nominative for inanimates (grâd/гръд ‘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 -ě/-ě, 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/-i in genitive. It includes all feminines apart from a-stems.

The basic o-stem endings are those of прозор/прозор (table 7.2). Grâd/гръд, like most monosyllables and some disyllables, has the ‘long

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>‘city’</th>
<th>‘husband’</th>
<th>‘window’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>grâd/гръд</td>
<td>mûž/муж</td>
<td>prózor/прозор</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>grâde/гръде</td>
<td>mûžu/мужу</td>
<td>prózore/прозоре</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>grâd/гръд</td>
<td>mûža/мужа</td>
<td>prózor/прозор</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>grâda/гръда</td>
<td>mûža/мужа</td>
<td>prózora/прозора</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>grâdu/гръду</td>
<td>mûžu/мужу</td>
<td>prózoru/прозору</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>grâdom/гръдом</td>
<td>mûžem/мужем</td>
<td>prózorom/прозором</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>grâdu/гръду</td>
<td>mûžu/мужу</td>
<td>prózoru/прозору</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>234</td>
<td>grâda/гръда</td>
<td>mûža/мужа</td>
<td>prózora/прозора</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Plural   | grâdovi/гръдови | mûževi/мужеви | prózori/прозори |
| ACC      | grâdove/гръдове | mûževe/мужеве | prózore/прозоре |
| GEN      | grâdovâ/гръдовâ | mûžêvâ/мужêвâ | prózõrâ/прозõрâ |
| DAT-LOC-INST | grâdovima/гръдовима | mûževima/мужевима | prózorima/прозорима |
plural’, adding ov/ob before plural endings (ev/ev 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 -а/-а, with an additional -а inserted to separate most stem-final consonant clusters (section 2.2). A few nouns lacking the long plural take genitive plural -и/-и (often units of measure, as сá-ти/сá-ти ‘hour’) or -иjý/-иjý (гост-iý/гост-иjý ‘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 мűž/мûж. These may end in any palatal or alveo-palatal; words in -ar, -ир optionally come here as well. Soft stems take vocative singular -u/-y where others have -e/-е, and they cause o-e as in instrumental singular -ем/-ем for -ом/-ом (section 2.2); but -u/-y vocatives and -ем/-ем instrumentals do not coincide in scope. -u/-y has spread to some nouns in velars: stráh/стрáх ‘fear’, vocative stráhu/стрáху. Instrumental -ем/-ем is normal with stems in -c, where vocative has -е/-е and the first-palatalization alternation, as отáц/отац ‘father’, vocative дче/дче. -ом/-ом tends to be kept in foreign words and names (Кио/Кий-ом) and in words with e in the preceding syllable: пáдеж-ом/пáдеж-ом ‘case’. For fuller treatment of Serbo-Croat declension see P. Ивич (1972), whom we follow closely here.

Proto-Slavonic masculine i-stem, u-stem and consonant-stem nouns have joined the o-stem declension. *Путь has become пут/пут ‘way, road, journey, time(s)’, genitive пута/пûта. None of this word’s forms continue i-declension endings. *Сын is now син/сýн ‘son’, genitive сина/сýна. *День, *кáмый and *кóрё yield regular o-stems дán/дáнь ‘day’ (genitive дáна/дáна), кáмён/кáмёнь ‘stone’ and кóр(и)ён/кóр(и)ён ‘root’. Words suffixed with *-ан- have -анин as singular stem: градáнин/градáнин ‘city-dweller, citizen’, genitive градáнина/градáнина; and -ан as plural stem: градáни/градáни, genitive градáниа/градáниа. Words in *-тел/- are soft stems without peculiarities: учител/-учитељ ‘teacher’, genitive учителна/-учитеља, plural учителji/-учитељи.

The modern locative singular -u/-y comes from the u-declension, and the ov/ob of the ‘long plural’ has been generalized from the u-stem plural nominative *-ove and genitive *-овъ.

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/-о or -e/-е for the singular and -а/-а for the plural.

Words of the type с(j)ёме/c(j)ёме ‘seed’ (Proto-Slavonic n-stems) have a stem in -мен- taking o-stem endings outside the nominative-vocative-accusative singular: genitive с(j)ёмена/c(j)ёмена.

Neuters like с(j)ён/с(j)ён ‘lamb’ (Proto-Slavonic nt-stems) have a stem in -ет- taking o-stem endings in the oblique singular cases, as genitive
Table 7.3 Neuter o-stems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'place'</th>
<th>'heart'</th>
<th>'study'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM-VOC-ACC</td>
<td>m(j)есто/м(j)есто</td>
<td>срце/срцe</td>
<td>уčење/учењe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>m(j)еста/м(j)еста</td>
<td>срца/срцa</td>
<td>уčења/учењa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT-LOC</td>
<td>m(j)есту/м(j)есту</td>
<td>срцу/срцу</td>
<td>уčењe/учењu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>m(j)естом/м(j)естом</td>
<td>срцем/срцем</td>
<td>уčењем/учењем</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>234</td>
<td>m(j)еста/м(j)еста</td>
<td>срца/срцa</td>
<td>уčења/учењa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM-VOC-ACC</td>
<td>m(j)еста/м(j)еста</td>
<td>срца/срцa</td>
<td>уčења/учењa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>m(j)еста/м(j)еста</td>
<td>срца/срца</td>
<td>уčења/учењa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT-LOC-INST</td>
<td>m(j)естима/м(j)естима</td>
<td>срцима/срцима</td>
<td>уčењима/учењимa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

jа(g)njeta/jа(г)њетa. Their plural stems are usually suppletive: jаgаnjci/jагaњци or jаgnjići/jагњићи masculine plural, or jа(g)njad/jа(г)њад i-stem feminine.

Traces of Proto-Slavonic s-stems (the* slovo type) are seen in alternative plural stems for nёbo/нёбо 'heaven', t(ij)ело/т(и)ело 'body', кудо/кudо 'miracle': nebёsa/небёса, t(и)елёса/т(и)елёса, кудёса/кudёса.


Most a-stems are feminine (table 7.4). Words denoting men (as слуга/слугa, колега/колегa ‘colleague’) and certain animals (горилa/гориlа ‘gorilla’) are masculine, but even these can take feminine agreement in the plural, as тe колегe/тe колегe ‘these colleagues’. Many masculine names (Алекса/Алексa) and hypocoristics (Юка/Юка ‘Joe’) are a-stems; other hypocoristics have nominative -o/-o but other cases like a-stems (Иво/Йво, genitive Јвe/Јвe from Јvan/Йван ‘John’).

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

Non-hypocoristic names have nominative replacing vocative: Мариja/Мариja! Алекса/Алексa!

The dative-locative singular ending causes consonant alternation in
Table 7.4 Feminine (and masculine) a-stems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘woman, wife’</th>
<th>‘manservant’</th>
<th>‘soul’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>žena/жена</td>
<td>sluga/слуга</td>
<td>dúša/ду́ша</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>ženo/жёно</td>
<td>slugo/слу́го</td>
<td>dúšo/ду́шо</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ženu/жёну</td>
<td>slugu/слу́гъ</td>
<td>dúšu/ду́шъ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>ženě/жёне</td>
<td>slugě/слу́гъ</td>
<td>dúšě/ду́шъ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT-LOC</td>
<td>ženi/жёни</td>
<td>slûzi/слу́зи</td>
<td>dúši/ду́ши</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>ženôm/жёнôм</td>
<td>slûgôm/слу́гôм</td>
<td>dúšÔm/дúшÔм</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>234</td>
<td>žene/жёне</td>
<td>slûge/слу́ге</td>
<td>dúše/ду́ше</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM-ACC</td>
<td>žene/жёне</td>
<td>slûge/слу́ге</td>
<td>dúše/ду́ше</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>žene, žene/жёнë, жёне</td>
<td>slûge/слу́ге</td>
<td>dúše/ду́ше</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>ženà/жёнà</td>
<td>slûgu, slûgà/слу́гъ, slûgyà</td>
<td>dúšå/дúшå</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT-LOC-INST</td>
<td>ženàma/жёнàма</td>
<td>slûgàma/слу́гàма</td>
<td>dúšåma/дúшåма</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Nouns with stem-final consonant clusters have lexically conditioned genitive plurals, -ã/-ã (with cluster-breaking ã; section 2.2) or -î/-î: d(j)evõjka/d(j)èvõjka ‘girl’, d(j)èvojåka/d(j)èvojåkã; màjka/måjka ‘mother’, måjkì/måjkî.

Proto-Slavonic i-nominative nouns now have -a: *răbynji > ròbinja/рóбîнъа ‘slave woman’, *spdiî > sùdija/sûdîja ‘judge’.

Feminine i-stems (table 7.5) are a closed class except for those with the productive suffixes -ôst/-ôst ‘-ness’, -âd/-âd ‘collective noun, especially suppletive plural of neuter -et stem’. The instrumental singular is usually in -ju/-jy (Proto-Slavonic *-jîp), causing ‘new jotation’ (section 2.3): kôšçu/кôшце, ljúbav/љûбав ‘love’ ljûbavlju/љûбавлъу; but some items permit or require -i/-ì: čùd/ћуд ‘mood’, čûdi/ћуди.

The i-declension continues Proto-Slavonic i-stems. Proto-Slavonic r-stems yield màti/måtî ‘mother’, genitive màterë/måterë (like a-stems except accusative màtër/måtër) and kôi/kîh ‘daughter’, genitive kêrì/kêhëri (like i-stems). More frequent now are a-stems (from diminutives) màjka/måjka, (k)èrka/(k)hérdka. Proto-Slavonic long *u-stems mostly become a-stems in -va/-va: *cêrky > cîkva/цêквъа ‘church’, *svèkry > svêkrah/свêкра ‘mother-in-law’; but two are i-stems: *ljûby > ljûbab/љûбаб, *kry > krv/kêv ‘blood’.

Besides the declension types given, Serbo-Croat has nouns declining as adjectives. Two noteworthy sets are masculine surnames in -ski/-скî, as Bugârski/Бугâрски, genitive Bugârskog(a)/Бугâрског(a), and country...
Table 7.5  Feminine i-stems

'bone'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>kǔst/kǔst</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>kǔstǐ/kǔstī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>kǔst/kǔst</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>kǔstǐ/kǔstī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>kǔstǐ/kǔstī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>kǔstǐ, kǔśćǔ/kǔstī, kǔśǐhū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>kǔst/kǔstī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

234

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM-VOC-ACC</td>
<td>kǔstǐ/kǔstī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>kǔstǐ, kǔstijū/kǔstī, kǔstijū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT-LOC-INST</td>
<td>kǔstima/kǔstima</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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 mnōme/mnōme, njīme/њǐme, njōme/њōme. Oblique singulars may have accent -ē- instead of -ē-. Si/ci is absent in central Štokavian dialects, but found in some Croatian standard codifications. Archaic and literary usage may have accusatives me/me, te/te, nj/nji, se/ce with prepositions, as prèdā se/prèdā ce ‘in front of oneself’ = pred sèbe/pred sèbe.

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 ordova/ordova ‘this’, ordova/ordova ‘that’ decline like tâj/râj. The ‘movable vowels’ (a), (e), (u) tend somewhat to appear in phrase-final position, otherwise not: o tôme/o tôme ‘about that’, o tôm psǔ/o tôm piç ‘about that dog’. Nāś/nāś and vāś/vāś ‘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/cbōj (reflexive possessive: section 4.8) and kōji/kōji (stem kōj/-kōj-) ‘which’. These, additionally, may contract oje to ð, yielding five possibilities for
Table 7.6  Personal and reflexive pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3 masculine</th>
<th>3 neuter</th>
<th>3 feminine</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>tì/tì</td>
<td>òn/òn</td>
<td>òno/òno</td>
<td>òna/òna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>mène/mène</td>
<td>tèbe/tèbe</td>
<td>njèga/њèga</td>
<td>njèga/њèga</td>
<td>njè/њè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enclitic</td>
<td>me/me</td>
<td>te/te</td>
<td>ga/ра</td>
<td>ga/ра</td>
<td>je/je, ju/jy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>mène/mène</td>
<td>tèbe/tèbe</td>
<td>njèga/њèga</td>
<td>njèga/њèga</td>
<td>njé/њè</td>
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<tr>
<td>Enclitic</td>
<td>me/me</td>
<td>te/te</td>
<td>ga/ра</td>
<td>ga/ра</td>
<td>je/je</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>mèni/mèni</td>
<td>tèbi/tèbi</td>
<td>njèmu/њèmu</td>
<td>njèmu/њèmu</td>
<td>njôj/њôj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enclitic</td>
<td>mi/mi</td>
<td>tì/tì</td>
<td>mu/му</td>
<td>mu/му</td>
<td>jôj/jôj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>njôm/њôm</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>mèni/mèni</td>
<td>tèbi/tèbi</td>
<td>njèmu/њèmu</td>
<td>njèmu/њèmu</td>
<td>njôj/њôj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>mi/mì</td>
<td>vi/vì</td>
<td>òni/òni</td>
<td>òna/òna</td>
<td>òne/òne</td>
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<tr>
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<td>vàs/vàc</td>
<td>njìn/њìх</td>
<td>njìh/њìh</td>
<td>njìh/њìh</td>
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<td>Enclitic</td>
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<td>vás/vàs</td>
<td>ih/ìx</td>
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<td>DAT</td>
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<td>vàma/vàma</td>
<td>njìma/њìма</td>
<td>njìma/њìма</td>
<td>njìma/њìма</td>
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<tr>
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<td>vàm/vàm</td>
<td>im/ìm</td>
<td>im/ìm</td>
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<td>njìma/њìма</td>
<td>njìma/њìма</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Reflexive** |                  |                    |             |          |           |
| SINGULAR/PLURAL |              |                    |             |          |           |
| NOM   | —                 |                    |             |          |           |
| ACC   | sèbe/sèbe        |                    |             |          |           |
| Enclitic | se/se            |                    |             |          |           |
| GEN   | sèbe/sèbe        |                    |             |          |           |
| DAT   | sèbi/sèbi        |                    |             |          |           |
| Enclitic | (si/sì)         |                    |             |          |           |
| INST  | sòböm/sòböm      |                    |             |          |           |
| LOC   | sèbi/sèbi        |                    |             |          |           |
### Table 7.7 Demonstrative and possessive pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'this, that'</th>
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<th>Feminine</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>NOM or GEN</td>
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<td>tû/tû</td>
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<td>tê/tê</td>
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<tr>
<td>DAT-LOC</td>
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<td>tôm(e, u)/</td>
<td>tôj/tôj</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>tîm, tîme/</td>
<td>tîm, tîme/</td>
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</tr>
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<td>234</td>
<td>tâ/tâ</td>
<td>tâ/tâ</td>
<td>tê/tê</td>
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<td>tê/tê</td>
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<td>tîh/tîh</td>
<td>tîh/tîh</td>
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<td>tîm, tîma/</td>
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<tr>
<td>'our(s)'</td>
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<td>nâšeg(a)/</td>
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<td>nâšim/nâšîm</td>
<td>nâšôm/nâšôm</td>
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<tr>
<td>234</td>
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<tr>
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<td>nâših/nâših</td>
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<tr>
<td>DAT-LOC-INST</td>
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<td>nâšim(a)/</td>
<td>nâšim(a)/nâšîm(a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Masculine and neuter dative-locative singular: môjem/môjem, môjemu/ môjemu, môm/môm, môme/môme, môm/môm. The third-person possessives njegov/ŋêgov 'his, its', njen/ŋên or njëzin/ŋëzin 'her', njëhov/ŋëhov 'their' are treated under short-form adjectives (section 3.1.4).

The pronoun *sb has been lost. *Všb ‘all’ has undergone consonant metathesis vs > sv but still behaves as a soft stem (table 7.8).

 Svô/cbô for neuter singular svê/cbê is non-standard but frequent in modifier position.

The interrogative pronouns have stems k-/k-, č-/č- with singular
### Table 7.8 Declension of sāv/cāv ‘all’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>sāv/cāv</td>
<td>svē/sbē</td>
<td>svā/sbā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>nom or gen</td>
<td>svē/sbē</td>
<td>svū/sbū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>svēga/sbēra</td>
<td>svēga/sbēra</td>
<td>svē/sbē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT-LOC</td>
<td>svēmu/sbēmu</td>
<td>svēmu/sbēmu</td>
<td>svōj/sbōj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>svim/sbīm</td>
<td>svim/sbīm</td>
<td>svōm/sbōm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>234</td>
<td>svā/sbā</td>
<td>svā/svā</td>
<td>svē/sbē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Plural** |           |        |          |
| NOM    | svī/sbī   | svē/sbē | svē/sbē  |
| ACC    | svē/sbē   | svē/sbē | svē/sbē  |
| GEN    | svīh/sbīx, | svīh/sbīx, | svīh/sbīx, |
| DAT-LOC-INST | svīm/sbīm, | svīm/sbīm, | svīm/sbīm, |
|          | svīma/sbīma | svīma/sbīma | svīma/sbīma |

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/kākav ‘of what sort’, ovākav/obākav ‘of this sort’.

### Table 7.9 Declension of ‘who’ and ‘what’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘who’ masculine</th>
<th>‘what’ neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>(t)kō/(T)kō</td>
<td>štō, štā/štō, štā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>kōga/kōra</td>
<td>štō, štā/štō, štā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>kōga/kōra</td>
<td>čēga/čēra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT-LOC</td>
<td>kōmu, kōme/kōmu, kōme</td>
<td>čēmu/čēmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>kim, kīme/kīm, kīme</td>
<td>čīm, čīme/čīm, čīme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interrogatives add prefixes or suffixes to give indefinites: nē(t)ko/nē(t)ko ‘someone’, něštō/něšštō ‘something’, někakav/někakav ‘of some sort’. I-/i- means ‘any’ (negative polarity; section 4.6), ni-/-ni- ‘no’, koje/-koje- ‘one and another’ (as kojēšta/kojēštā ‘various things; nonsense’), svā-/sbā- (svē-/sbē-, svū-/sbū-) ‘every’ (svā(t)ko/cbā(t)ko ‘everyone’, svūgd(j)e/cbūgd(j)e (‘everywhere’). Bīlo/bīlo..., ma/ma..., ... gōd/gōd mean ‘... ever’ (thus bīlo gd(j)e/bīlo gđ(j)e, ma gd(j)e/ma gđ(j)e or gd(j)e gōd/gđ(j)e gōd ‘wherever’). The nē-/-nē- type may be used both with and without existence presuppositions:

Něšto se dogđilo!/Něššto se dogđilo!
‘Something has happened!’
Ako se něšto dogodi, rěci mi! / Ако се нёшто дожодй, рёци ми!
‘If anything happens, tell me!’

In the second usage bare interrogatives also occur: Ako se štò dođodì / Ако се штод дожоди . . .

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 -і/-й. The short endings differ in the forms italicized in table 7.10 and in the shortness of single-vowel endings (нёво/нёво versus long нёво/нёвно). Нёв/нёв and some other adjectives distinguish short-long accentually as well (though much inter-speaker variation exists). Short genitives and dative-locatives like нёва/нёва, нёву/нёву are most widespread in the Croat standard. The short genitive ending -а/-а is especially frequent in the qualifying genitive: ѐлв(j)ek добра снка/чов(j)ek добра срца ‘a man of good heart’.

Soft stems differ from hard only in nominative–accusative neuter singular long лёше/лёшё, short лёше/леше ‘bad’, masculine–neuter genitive лёсег(a)/лёшер(a), dative–locative лёсем(u)/лешем(y).

Short and long contrast semantically in modifier position: нёв град/нёв град ‘a new city’, нёв град/нёв град ‘the new city’. Since Vuk Karadžić they have been explained as answering the questions какав/какав? ‘of what sort?’ and койл/кожи? ‘which one?’ respectively. Set-phrases regularly have long forms; thus б(i)еже вук/б(i)еже вук ‘white onion’ means ‘garlic’. Predicate position requires short forms (section 4.3): ѐлв град je нёв/дёв град je нов ‘this city is new’.

Possessive adjectives (sections 3.3.2, 4.9), including нёгов/нёгов ‘his, its’, нёг, нёгезин/нёг, нёгезин ‘her’, нёгов/нёгов ‘their’, have only short endings: Мариин град/Мариин град ‘Marija’s city’, нёг град/нёг град ‘her city’, Йованов град/Йованов град ‘Ivan’s city’. The same is true for the demonstrative-interrogatives in -акав/акав, suit ing their meaning. Adjectives having exclusively long forms include малй/малй ‘small’, л(i)ежи/л(i)ежи ‘left, right’, ordinal numerals like други/други ‘second, other’ and most adjectives derived from nouns, adverbs and verbs (section 3.3.2).

Participles have short and long forms: пёзван/пёзван, пёзван/ пёзван ‘called; called upon’. The present adverb and the л-participle of verbs can be adjectivalized, and then take long forms: идуси/идуси ‘coming, next’, минул/минул ‘bygone’, пал/пал ‘fallen’.

Comparatives and superlatives (the comparative prefixed with наj-/наj-
Table 7.10  Long and short adjective declension

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'new' long</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nòvi/nòbì</td>
<td>nòvo/nòbo</td>
<td>nòva/nòbà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>nòvog(a)/ nòvog(a)</td>
<td>nòvòg(a)</td>
<td>nòve/nòbè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>nòbòt(a)</td>
<td>nòbòt(a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT-LOC</td>
<td>nòvòm(e, u)/ nòvòm(e, u)</td>
<td>nòvòj/nòbòj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>nòvim/nòvim</td>
<td>nòvim/nòvim</td>
<td>nòvim/nòvim</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nòvà/nòbà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nòvi/nòbí</td>
<td>nòva/nòbà</td>
<td>nòva/nòbà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>nòve/nòbè</td>
<td>nòva/nòbà</td>
<td>nòve/nòbè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>nòvik/nòbík</td>
<td>nòvi/nòbík</td>
<td>nòvi/nòbík</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT-LOC-INST</td>
<td>nòvim(a)/ nòvim(a)</td>
<td>nòvim(a)/ nòvim(a)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nòva/nòva</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yields the superlative) decline precisely like soft-stem long adjectives. Most are formed by adding -ij-/-ij-ı to adjective stems: lòš/lòsh ‘bad’, lòšijjı/lòšijjı (lòšijjı/lòšijjı, lòšijjı/lòšijjı ... ) ‘worse’; mùdur/mùdar ‘wise’, mùdrijı/mùdrijı; pòzvan/pòzvàn ‘called upon’, pòzvànijı/pòzvànijı; plemènijı/plèmènijı ‘noble’, plemènitiyi/plemènitiyi. A smaller set add bare endings with old jotation (section 2.3). These are mostly (1) mono-syllables containing long vowel: gust/güst ‘thick’, gùšč-ı/gùšché-ı; skùp/ skùplj-ı/skùplj-ı; (2) disyllables which lose the second
syllable: širok/шйрок 'wide', šiř-ī/шйр-й; slàdak/слàдак 'sweet', slàd-ī/слàд-й. Three adjectives have š/ш comparatives: lāk/лāк 'light, easy', lākšī/лāкшй; mèk/mèk 'soft', mèkšī/mèkшй; l(ī)ēp/l(и)ēp 'beautiful', l(j)ēpšī/лēпшй (лēпшй). Suppletive comparatives are dōbar/дйбар 'good', bōljī/бйлй; lōš/lōš or ĭdav/пйдav or zāo/zāo (stem zl/зл-) 'bad', gōri/гōрй 'worse'; vēlik/vēlik 'large', vēčī/vēчй; māli/māлй or mālen/mален, mānji/mањй; dūg/dūг 'long', dūžī/dуёй or dūljī/дйлй. See section 5.3 for periphrastic comparison of indeclinables.

Derived adverbs take -0/-0 or -e/-e like neuter nominative–accusative singular short adjectives: n6vo/ноvo 'newly', lōše/лόше 'badly', mūdro/мдго 'wisely'. The accent may differ from the neuter. Their comparatives are formed like those of adjectives: lōšije/лόшййе, mūdrie/мддйе, lākšē/лакшйе 'more easily'. However, adverbs from adjectives in -skī/-скй (-škī/-шкй, -ckī/-чкй) end in short -¬/¬ and 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 jēdan/ждан and its stem for the remaining forms jēdn/jēдн-; endings are those of tāj/tàj (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/сто '100' is indeclinable; there is also stōtina/стбтина, which behaves as a feminine noun, but mostly appears as a fixed accusative stōtina/стбтину. '1,000' shows the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7.11 Declension of ‘2, both, 3, 4’</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NOM-ACC-VOC</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GEN</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DAT-LOC-INST</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NOM-ACC-VOC</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GEN</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DAT-LOC-INST</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-8
same behaviour, both тисућа/тисућа (Croat standard) and хиљада/хиљада. 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/-м for first person singular (only two verbs maintain -u/-у < *п, namely хоту, еу/хөй, ћу ‘I will’ and могу/могу ‘I can’); second person singular -š/-ш; and third person singular -0; first person plural -мо/-мо; second person plural -те/-те; -0 for third person plural following a changed stem vowel -у/-у- or -е/-е-. 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 ћу/ћу or full form хоту/хөй (section 4.1 and below), with (imperfective or perfective) infinitive or (especially Eastern) да/да2 + present clause (section 4.5).

Slavko će видети Марију./Славко ће видети Марију.
Slavko će да види Марију./Славко ће да види Марију.
‘Slavko will see Marija.’

If the infinitive precedes the clitic, the final -ti/-ти of the infinitive is lost and the spelling is видjet ћу ‘I will see’ (Croat standard), вид(ј)ећу/вид(ј)ећу (elsewhere). Infinitives in -ći/-ћи preserve this marker: доћи ћу/доћи ћу ‘I will come’.

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

Ми смо видјели Марију./Ми смо видјели Марију.
‘We saw (have seen) Marija.’
Јесмо ли видјели Марију?/Јесмо ли видјели Марију?
‘Have we seen (Did we see) Marija?’

3 Pluperfect: perfect or (rarely) imperfect of ‘to be’ as auxiliary, with l-participle.
Mi smo bili vid(j)eli Mariju./Ми смо били вид(j)ели Марију.
Mi bijásmo (bëjásmo) vid(j)eli Mariju./Ми бија́смо (бëjàсмо) вид(j)ели Марију.
‘We had seen Marija.’

4 Future II: auxiliary будем/будем (extra present of ‘to be’; table 7.16 below) with -participle.

Kàd (åko) будéмо govorili s Marijóм, své çe biti jàsno./Кàд (åко) будёмо говорили с Маријо, свё ће бити јасно.
‘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 kàd/kàd or åko/åko clauses for future time: kàd (åko) nàđëmo Màriju/kàd (åko) нàђëмо Марију … ‘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 (napisati/написати ‘to write’ and all its forms) or imperfective (pisati/писати ‘to write’ with its forms). However, many verbs are bi-aspectual, including some of the commonest: ici/îхи ‘to go’, biti/бйти ‘to be’, razùm(j)eti/разум(j)ети ‘to understand’, kážati/казати ‘to say’, vid(j)eti/вид(j)ети ‘to see’, čùti/чуть ‘to hear’, rùčati/ручати ‘to have lunch’.

Most non-prefixed verbs are imperfective. Prefixing a verb yields a perfective: pisati/писати imperfective ‘to write’ → napisati/написати perfective ‘to write’, pisati/писати → upisati/уписати 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: gùrati/гурати ‘to push’, gùrnuti/гурнути ‘to push once’.

Perfective (especially prefixed perfective) verbs can be imperfectivized by adding suffixes, commonly -ati/-ати, -ivati/-ивати (present -ujem/-ujem) and -ávati/-áвати (-âvam/-âвам). Consonant-stem verbs with -e/-е- themes usually take -ati/-ати with present in -âm/-âм: is-tréš-ti/ис-трéс-ти ‘to shake out’, imperfective istréš-ati/истрé́с-ати, istréšam/îстрёшам. Velar stems, however, prefer -ati/-ати with third-palatalization reflex of the velar and -jëm/-jëm present: izreči/îзрећи (stem iz-rek/-îз-рек-) ‘to express’, imperfective izríc-ati/изрй́ц-ати with present izrîçëm/îзри́чём. An additional mark of imperfectivizing consonant stems is stem-internal -i/-и- or other vowel change, as pôčëti/почёти, pònëm/pòнём ‘to begin’, imperfective pôčinjati/почињати pôčinjëm/почињём; ûmr(i)jëti/îмр(и)јёти ûmrëm/îмрём ‘to die’,
imperfective ǔmirati/ǔмирати ǔmirēm/ǔмирём.

-i/-ити verbs imperfectivize with -ati/-ати (-ām/-āм) (causing internal o-a alternation: otvòriti/отворити ‘to open’, otvárati/отварати), or with the more productive -ivati/-йвати or -āvati/-завис. All three generally cause old jotation (section 2.2): ős(j)etiti/òс(j)етити ‘to feel’, ős(j)ectati/òс(j)ектати; izgrādit/изградити ‘to construct’, izgrādvati/изградвятат; rāniti/ранити ‘to wound’, ranjvati/ранжвати. Verb types in -ati/-ати imperfectivize with -ivati/-йвати or -ēvati/-евати, mostly without jotation: iskāzati/исказати ‘to state’, iskazivati/исказйвати; izorati/изорати ‘to plough up’, izoravati/изорвятат.

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 -ivati/-йвати (present optionally in -īvām/-йвам): darūvati/дарвятати ‘to donate’, imperfective darivati/дарвятати dārīvām/дарйвам or dārujem/даруяям.

There are also suppletive pairs: dōći/dоћи perfective, dolažiti/dолазити 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/дă (section 4.5), and in main clauses it expresses ‘typical action’ if something in the context indicates generalization, as često/често ‘often’:

Stvari često ispadnū (perfective present) drugаčije него што очекувамо./ Ствари често йспаднý (perfective present) другаяHje него што очекујемо.

‘Things often turn out different from what we expect.’

Verbs of motion lack determinate-indeterminate distinctions, thus ĭći/йћи – hōditi/ходити 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 nősiti/носити imperfective ‘to carry’, dōn(ij)eti/дон(ij)ети, stem dornēs/-донас- perfective ‘to bring’ → donősiti/доносити imperfective. Certain motion verbs derive explicit multidirectional: nősati/носати ‘to carry about’. A few verbs make iteratives: vid(j)eti/вид(j)ети → vidati/видати ‘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: Rēcī/рёци! Rècite/рёцйте! Rècimo/рёцимо! ‘Say!’; and the conditional, made with auxiliary bih/бих ‘would’ (section 4.1) and l-participle:

Kād biste me pītali, rēkao bih/Kād бисте ме питали, рēкао 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’:

Kad biste me bili pitali, biho bilo rekao. / Kad biste me bili pitali, biho bih rekao.
‘If you had asked me, I would have told.’

An alternative to kad bих/кад бих ‘if’ in the protasis is da/dа with indicative tense:

dame me pitate/đa me питате
‘if you asked me (now)’
da ste me pitali/đa сте me питали
‘if you had asked me’

A further use of the conditional is in purpose clauses, alternative to da/đа₂:

Pišem da Vas pišem da Vas питам …
‘I write to ask you …’
Pišem da bих Vas pišao/пјшем да бих Вас питао …
‘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:

Knjiga je napisana./Књига je написана.
‘The book has been written.’
Knjiga je bila napisana./Књига je била написана.
‘The book was written.’
Knjiga će biti napisana./Књига ће бити написана.
‘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):

Knjiga se piše./Књига се пише.
‘The book (NOM) is being written.’

Some Western dialects and recent Croatian codifications can keep the underlying object in the accusative (‘impersonal passive’): knjigu se pišе/књигу се пише.

The non-finite forms (for uses see section 4.5) are infinitive (na)pisati/написати ‘to write’; passive participle pisan, napisan/письан, написан ‘written’; verbal noun pisanje/письше ‘writing (of ...)’; two verbal adverbs (‘gerunds’), present pišući/письући and past napisavši/написавши; and the *l*-participle (table 7.12), used in compound tenses (perfect, pluperfect, future II) and conditionals.
Table 7.12  *L*-participle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>(na)písa/(ha)písa</td>
<td>(na)písal/(ha)písal</td>
<td>(na)písal/(ha)písal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>(na)písal/(ha)písal</td>
<td>(na)písal/(ha)písal</td>
<td>as plural</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(na)písal/(ha)písal</td>
<td>(na)písal/(ha)písal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

234 (па)р1$$а1а/(на)пйсала as plural as plural

(па)р1$а1а/(на)пйсала as plural as plural

Plural (па)р1$аН/(на)пйсали (па)р1$а1а/(на)пйсала (па)р{$а1е/(на)пйсале

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/-трéc- ‘to shake’, since *nes- has become irregular and occurs only prefixed.

Do-nèś/-до-нèś- ‘bring’ has corresponding forms from the present stem: donèšem/донèсèм. Its infinitive-stem forms are dò-n(ij)ë-tì/dò-n(ij)ë-tì, dònio/dò-nìo (dòneo/dò-neo) dòn(ij)ëIa/dòn(ij)ëIa, donè-soh/донè-soх, dònese/dònìe or dòn(ij)ëIh/dòn(ij)ëIh, dòn(ij)ëIe/dòn(ij)ëIe, donèsen/donè-sèn or dòn(ij)ëIt/dòn(ij)ëIt, dòn(ij)ëvëI/dòn(ij)ëvëI.


P and b stems: grëb-ëm/грёб-ëm ‘scratch’, grëpsti/грёпстI, grëbao/грёбао, grëbla/грёбла. (ŽIV- ‘to live’ now has the shape žIV(j)Ieti/жыв(j)етI, žIVIim/жывIим.)

K and g stems: rëk-/рëk- ‘say’ has present rëcëm/рёчëм, rëcëš/рёчëш ... rëkù/рёкù or, like other perfective consonant stems, joins the ne/ne type: rëk-n-ëm/рёк-н-ём, rëk-n-ës/рёк-н-ëш ... rëk-n-ù/рёк-н-ù. The imperative is rëci/рёци. Infinitive rëcI/рёчи, aorist rëkoh/рёкох rëcë/рёчë, l-participle rëkao/рёкао, rëklia/рёкла, participle rëcën/рёчëн. One rare verb, ‘to thresh’, is an h-stem: vřëšm/vрëшëм, vřëšë/vрëшë ş ... vřëhù/vрëхù, vřIcí/vрIчë or vri(ij)ëcI/вр(ij)ëхI, vřIhoh/
Table 7.13 Conjugation of an -e/e- verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form made from present stem</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>trësëm/ трëсëм</td>
<td>trësëmo/ трëсëмо</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>trësëš/ трëсëš</td>
<td>trësëšë/ трëсëšë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>trësë/ трëсё</td>
<td>trësë/ трëсё</td>
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<tr>
<td>Present adverb</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tresiići/ трëсiići</td>
<td>tresiići/ трëсiići</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>trësii/ трëсë</td>
<td>trësii/ трëсë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tresijah/ трëсiјах</td>
<td>tresijah/ трëсiјах</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tresijaše/ трëсiјаше</td>
<td>tresijaše/ трэсiјаше</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tresijæše/ трëсiјаše</td>
<td>tresijæše/ трэсiјаше</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forms made from infinitive stem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tresi/ трëсти</td>
<td>tresi/ трëсти</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aorist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tresoh/ трëсох</td>
<td>tresosmo/ трëсосмо</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>trëse/ трëсе</td>
<td>trësose/ трëсоше</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>trëse/ трëсе</td>
<td>trësoše/ трëсоше</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L-participle masculine singular trësao/ трëсо вmasculine singular trësă, feminine singular trësla/ трëсл а</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive participle trësen/ трëсен</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past adverb (po)trêsavši/(по)трëсавши</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

врхох, више/ врше, вихао/ врхао вфла/ врхла, вфшен/ вршен. (Vfšiti/ вршити, višim/ вршим ‘to perform; thres’ is much more frequent.)

N and m stems have infinitive stem in -ë-: pë-le/në-ем ‘to begin’, pëčeti/ pëчети, participle pëčet/ pëчет. Stàn-ëm/ стëн-ëм ‘to stand, step, stop’ has stëti/ стëти, stëh/ стëх, stë/ стë, stëo/ стëо стëла/ стëла.

R stems: ù-mr-ëm/ ù-мр-ëм ‘die’, ùmr(i)ëti/ ùмр(i)ëти, l-participle ùmro/ ùмро ùmrla/ ùмрла.

A few -ra- stems have infinitive -a- alongside present -e-, like bër-ëm/ бëр-ëм ‘pluck’, brëti/ брëти; also zëv-ëm/ зëв-ëм ‘call’, zvâti/ звëти. (*Sësë- ‘suck’ is now sësati/ сëсати, sësëm/ сëшëм or sësëm/ сëсëм.)

Themes in -ne/-не-. These have infinitive stem in -nu/-ну-, usually identifiable as a suffix. An example is dign-ëm/直径-ëм ‘raise’ ( * dvig-), imperative digni/直径ни, infinitive dignuti/直径нути, dignuh/直径нух, dignu/直径ну, dignuo/直径но dignula/直径нула, dignut/直径нут, dignuvši/直径нувши. This, like many consonant -nu/-ну- verbs, has alternative forms lacking -nu/-ну-: дите/直径ни (infinitive like stems in k,
g), di̯goh/di̯gox, di̯že/di̯je, di̯gao/di̯gaو, di̯gla/di̯gla, di̯gavši/
đ̯gavši. No alternatives exist for -nu-/Hu- preceded by vowel: minēm/
minēm ‘pass’, mínuti/minut, mīnuh/mīnuhawk, minū/mīnuž, mīnuo/
mīnuo, mīnula/minula, mīnuvi/minuvši. The few imperfective verbs
can make an imperfect: tōn-ēm/tōn-ēm ‘sink’, tōnuti/tōnut, tōnjāh/
tōnjaž.

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

Like ču-ti/ču-ti ču-jem/ču-jem ‘to hear’ are kri-ti/kri-ti, kri-jem/
kri-jem (< *kryti) ‘to hide’, bi-ti/bi-ti, bi-jem/bi-jem ‘to beat’ and
others. Passive participles take -t/-t, -ven/-ven or -jen/-jen: krit/kriót or
s-kriven/s-kriven, bijen/bijen. (‘To sing’ is now p(j)eva-ti/
p(j)eva-ti, p(j)vevam/p(j)vevam.) Two -je/-je- present verbs involve
metathesis in the infinitive stem: kla-ti/kla-ti (< *kolti) kđljem/kđljem
‘to slaughter’, ml(j)èti/mljèti or mlē-mlē ‘to grind’. (*Bor- is now bòrīti se/bòrīti ce, bòrim se/bòrim ce ‘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 -a-, their present tenses, for instance the rarely used verb d(j)ela-ti/
d(j)ela-ti ‘to act’, go d(j)elam/d(j)elùm d(j)elùš/d(j)elùš w d(j)elà/
d(j)elà, but third person plural d(j)elaju/d(j)elaju.

A similar but tiny type is um(j)eti/um(j)eti ‘to know how to’, present
stem *umē-je- ekavian contracted umēm/umēm, umēs/umēs . . . umējù/

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forms made from present stem</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present čujem/čužem (like trēsem/trêscêm)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present adverb čujuci/čužuhi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative ču/ču</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect čujah/čužah (like trêsijah/trêsijah)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forms made from infinitive stem</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive čuti/čuhi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aorist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>čuh/ču</td>
<td>čusmo/čušmo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ču/ču</td>
<td>čuste/čušte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ču/ču</td>
<td>čuše/čušše</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L-participle ču/ču, čula/čula (as table 7.12)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive participle ču-v-en/ču-v-en</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past adverb čušvi/čušvi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The imperative is ćojem/ćojem, ćojujem. *-je/-je- presents all have -a- in the infinitive stem, which is lost in the present. Consonants undergo jotation: infinitive kaz-a-ti/kaz-a-ti 'to say', present *kaz-je-m → kâžem/kâžem. 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/-Hca- used for adapting loan verbs (section 5.3) has present -iš-a/-iš-a-. Vowel alternations between infinitive and present have been lost (*pša- yields písati/písati, pišem/pišem 'to write'; *jma- has become užimati/užimati, užimâm/užimâm or užimljeti/užimlijem 'to take', the imperfective of užeti/užeti, užemâm/užemâm). However, one new alternation has arisen: *slja- is now slâ-ti/slâ-ti, šâljem/šâljem 'to send'.

Presents from -va/-ba- infinitives, however, almost never show jotation; rather, there is an alternation like darâva-ti/darova-ti 'to donate' and a dozen in -eva-ti/-eva-ti like mačevati mačevati 'to fence' have presents darujem/darujem, -uje/-uyj-/-uyj-. Almost 2,000 derived imperfectives in -iva-ti/-iva-ti, a Serbo-Croat innovation, also have -uj-/-uyj- (: kazivati/kazivati, kâžijem/kâžijem -uyj/-uyj 'to tell'. Serbo-Croat has regularized *-uvati verbs into -uvati/-uvati with the same alternation: pljuvati/pljuvati, pljujem/pljujem ... plju-uyj 'to spit'.

A similar alternation -ava/-ava- ~ -âje/-âje- (without contraction to -â-) occurs in dávati/dâvati imperfective 'to give', dâjem/dâjem ... dâju/dâju; similarly poznavati/poznâvati 'to be acquainted with' and other imperfectives of prefixed forms of znati/znati 'to know'.

Themes in -i/-i-. The infinitives may have -i-ti/-i-ti: mòliti/moliti 'to ask, pray' (table 7.15), -lj-i-ti/-lj-i-ti: vâl(j)eti/vâl(j)eti 'to see' or (after a palatal) -â-ti/-â-ti: držati/držati '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-ë-ti, *zelen-ë-je- here: zelen(j)eti/zelênëti or zelënëti, zelenim/zelênëi 'to turn green'.

The -(j)je/-(j)je and palatal -a/-a subtypes have imperfects vâdâh/vâdâh, držâh/držâh, aorists vâd(j)eh/vâd(j)ex, držâh/držâh, l-participles ijekavian vâdio/vâdio, vâdjela/vâdjela, ekavian vëdio/vëdio, vëdela/vëdela, držao/držao, držâla/držâla, passive participles
Table 7.15  Conjugation of an -i/-ъ- verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singularch</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Forms made from present stem</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 məlim/мəлим</td>
<td>məlimo/мəлимо</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 məliš/мəлиш</td>
<td>məlite/мəлите</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 məli/мəли</td>
<td>mələ/мəле</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present adverb mələći/мəлəћи</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative məli/məли</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect məljəh/мəљəћ (like təsijəh/тросићањ)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Forms made from infinitive stem</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive məlitə/məлити</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aorist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 məlih/мəлих</td>
<td>məlismo/мəлисмо</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 məli/məли</td>
<td>məliste/məлисте</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 məli/məли</td>
<td>məliše/məлише</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L-participle məliо, məliла</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive participle məlj-en/məљ-ен</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past adverb (za)məliви/(за)məливи</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

viđen/виђен, dřžan/д trách, past adverbs vîd(j)əvši/виђ(ј)евши, dřžavši/д tráchви. The spread of old jotation (like d → d: section 2.2) to imperfects and passive participles of the -(j)e/-(j)e subtype is a Serbo-Croat innovation.

Hoditi/ходити ‘to walk’ is like məlitə/məлити: hədəм/хəдим … hədə/хəдə, imperfect hədəh/хəђах, participle pəhοdən/pəхођен ‘visited’. *Vel-ə- is defective, found only in the present: vəlίm/вəлим … vəlέ/вəле ‘say’. *Slyša- has become an -a- present: slišati/слишати, slišam/слишам ‘to quiz’. ‘To sleep’ is now spavati/спавати, spavəм/спаваћ, but prefixed zəspati/zəспати ‘to fall asleep’ has the -i/-и-present zəspim/зəспим.

Athematic presents. Apart from biti/биti ‘to be’, none remain in Serbo-Croat.

‘To be’ is noteworthy for having an extra present tense (table 7.16). Jəsam/jəcəм, clitic sam/cəм is imperfective, whereas bʊdəм/бўдəм is perfective and imperfective: it can denote ‘typical action’, but otherwise occurs only in kəд/кəд or əko/əko clauses, da/da2 clauses and as an auxiliary for the future II. The imperative is bʊdi/бўди, the present adverb bʊduć/бўдућ, from the ‘extra’ stem. The imperfect is ijeκaви bəjəh/бјəћ or bəh/bəх, ekаvi bəjəh/бјəћ, bəh/bəх. Other forms are regular from the stem bи/-би-.

‘To eat’ is a regular -e/-e- present, jədəm/jəдəм, infinitive jəsti/jəсти.
Table 7.16 Presents of *biti/*бйти

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full</th>
<th>Clitic</th>
<th>Negated</th>
<th>Extra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 jesam/jecam</td>
<td>sam/sam</td>
<td>nisam/nисам</td>
<td>bùdèm/bûdèm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 jesi/jeci</td>
<td>si/si</td>
<td>nisi/nиси</td>
<td>bùdëš/bûdëš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 jest(e)/jëst(e)</td>
<td>je/jëst</td>
<td>nije/nìje</td>
<td>bûdë/bûdë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 jësmo/jësмо</td>
<td>smo/sмо</td>
<td>nïsmo/nïсмо</td>
<td>bûdëmo/bûdëmo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 jëste/jëstë</td>
<td>ste/stë</td>
<td>nïste/nïстë</td>
<td>bûdëte/bûdëte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 jësu/jëсu</td>
<td>su/cu</td>
<td>nïsu/nïсu</td>
<td>bûdû/bûдû</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘To give’ is a regular *-je/-je-* present, dâti/dâти, câm/дам ... dâjû/dâjû, though an alternative present exists with *-d-e/-d-e-*: dâdèm/дàдём, -ëš/-ëш ... dâdû/dàдû. Similarly regular but with parallel *-d-e/-d-e-* present forms are: znàti/знàти ‘to know (persons or information)’ znâm/знàм ... znàjû/знàjû or znàdèm/знàдëм ... znàdû/знàдû, imàti/имàти ‘to have’ imàm/имàм ... imàjû/имàjû or imàdèm/имàдëм ... imàdû/имàдû (but negated present nèmàm/nèмàм ... nèmajû/nèмaјû). *Vëdëti, *vëmb ‘know’ is lost.

A verb with suppletive stems is ‘want, will’. The infinitive is ht(j)ëti/хт(j)ëти, with matching aorist and l-participle (ijekavian htto/хтîо, htjela/хтjëла). The presents are as in table 7.17; considerable accentual variation exists in practice.

Table 7.17 Presents of ht(j)ëti/хт(j)ëти

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full</th>
<th>Clitic</th>
<th>Negated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 hocu/hôhy</td>
<td>cu/hy</td>
<td>nècu/nèhy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 hocëš/hôхëш</td>
<td>çëš/hëš</td>
<td>nèceš/nèhëš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 hocë/xôhe</td>
<td>çë/he</td>
<td>nèce/nèhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 hocëmo/xôhëмо</td>
<td>çémo/hëмо</td>
<td>nècëmo/nèhëмо</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 hocëte/xôhëte</td>
<td>çête/hëte</td>
<td>nècëte/nèhëte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 hocë/xôhé</td>
<td>çê/hé</td>
<td>nècë/nèhé</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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/нáпад 'attack' (nápati/нáпати, nápad-n-ěm/нáпад-н-ěм 'to attack'). The verbal noun in -(e)nje/-(e)ње, -će/-че 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/-âње, -enje/-ење, -Vće/-Vче: izdâanje/издâње 'edition' (versus izdávâanje/издáвãње from imperfective, 'publishing'). Further typical deverbal nouns are in -(e)тak/-(e)ћак (a ~ 0 alternation): počêtak/почё таč 'beginning' (početi/почети 'to begin'), -nja/-ња: šétanja/шётња 'stroll' from šetati (se)/шетати (се) 'to stroll' and -âj/-ај: dôgâdâj/dôрâђaj 'event' from dogâđati se/догáђати се 'to occur'.

In de-adjectival abstracts, -öšt/-öст 'ness' is most productive: naívnost/наивност 'naïveté'. -oča/-oча partly replaces -ota/-ота: pun-оča/пун-оча 'fullness'.

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

Productive person noun suffixes are -lac/-лац and -telj/-телј, which compete somewhat: slùšalac/слушалац, slùšatelj/слушатељ 'listener'; further, -âč/-âщ and -âr/-âр, both particularly from -ati/-ати verbs: predâvâč/предâвач 'lecturer', vlâdâr/влâдâр 'ruler' (predâvati/предавати 'to lecture', vlâdâti/владати 'to rule'). Foreign -ik normally becomes Чсаг/-ичар: kriticar/кртичар. -ar/-ап, -ist/-Hист, -aš/-ам and -as/-ац are frequent denominals: гШаг/златар 'goldsmith' (zlato/злато 'gold'), флшит-ист(a)/Фолклóраш 'folk dancer', tekstflac/текетйлац 'textile worker'. The Turkish suffix -džija/-УHжа is somewhat productive: tramvâjdžija 'tram conductor'.

Inhabitant name suffixes include -(j)anin/-(j)анин, -чанин, both of which lose -in/-ин in the plural (see page 320), -ac/-ац: Kanâda/Канâда, Kanâdanin/Канатанин; Ljubljâna/Љубљâна, Ljubljânčanin/Љубљанчанин; Indijja/Индийа, Indijac/Индийац. A few names have Turkish -lija/-лиja: Sarâjiya/Сараплìя 'Sarajevo resident'.

Feminine formation is typically with -ica/-ица: учители-ица 'teacher'; šef/шёф 'chief', šefica/шёфица. -ka/-ка occurs bound to particular suffixes: vlâdârka/владâрка, Ljubljânčanka/Љубљанчанка. -inja/-иня attaches to velars: bôg-inja/бôг-иня 'goddess', Uzbek-inja/Ўзбек-иня-на 'candidate', feministkinja/феминисткиня 'feminist'.

Diminutives of masculine o-stems take -ic/-иц or -čić/-Чиц: brôd/брод 'ship', brôdić/бродић; sin/сён 'son', sinčić/сињчић. Feminines in -a/-а get -ica/-ица: vódâ/vода, vodica/водица. Neuters take -ce/-це or various extended versions: pîsímo/pисмо 'letter', писамце/писамце;
глo/грло 'throat', гrl-ašce/грл-ашце. Masculines and feminines add neuter -че/-че (stem -чe/-чет-) in the meaning 'young ...': чобанин/чобани 'shepherd', чобањче/чобањче 'shepherd boy'; gуска/гуска 'goose', гусче/гусче 'gosling'. Hypocoristics shorten names to (consonant-) vowel-consonant and add -о/-о, -е/-е or а/-а: Јво/Јво or Јве/Јве from Јван/Йван, Мара/Мара, Маре/Маре or Мaja/Маја from Марija/Марија. Augmentatives take -ина/-ина and extensions: brоđ-ина/броđ-ина 'big boat', sob-етина/соб-етина 'big room'.

First members of compounds can be nouns (often with object interpretation), adjectives or combining forms: брод-о-градња/броd-о-градњa 'ship-building = building of ships', нов-о-градња/нов-о-градњa 'new construction', веле-мajстор/веле-маjстор '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 миран/миран 'peaceful'. Relational adjectives do not distinguish long/short. Their citation form is long (мирнови/мирнови 'peace ...') except for certain possessives (-ов/-ов, -ев/-ев, -ин/-ин). Relational adjectives are often replaceable by modifying phrases: миrovni ћуговsr/мiровнй ћуговп or ћуговп о миру/ћуговп о миру 'treaty of peace'.

The most widespread descriptive adjective suffix is -ап/-ан (a ~ 0 alternation: sections 2.1 and 2.2), as in мiран/миран above, with variants -ен/-ен, -вен/-вен. Clearly deverbal is привлачан 'attractive' from привлацiti/привлачiti 'to attract'. Other descriptive suffixes have more specific semantics, as -(lj)iv/(lj)ив 'able, given to ...': плакатi/плакати 'to cry', плациjiv/плациjив 'tearful'. Compounds are formed with -ан or (particularly with body-part nouns in second place) without suffix: kratk-о-трaj-an/кратк-о-траж-ан 'short-lasting', kratk-о-rep/кратк-о-реп 'short-tailed'.

The most general relational-adjective suffix is -ни/-них, with extended forms -енi/-енi, -анi/-анi, -овни/-овнi and others: друстvo/друштво 'society', друстveni сектор/друштvenй сектор 'the public sector'. A deverbal example is продузитi/продузитi 'to extend': продузивтi/продузивтi 'extension cord'; a dephrasal is стар-о-завjет-нi/стар-о-завjет нi 'Old Testament' from старi/старй 'old', завjет/завjет 'testament'.

-Ski/-скй, its allomorphs (s/c, z/z + ski/скй = -skй/-скй, š/ш, ž/ж, h/h, g/g + ski/скй = -skй/-шкй, с/ц, ĉ/ч, k/k + ski/скй = čkй/-чкй, ĉ/ц + ski/скй = -čkй/-хкй) and extended forms (-ačkй/-ачкй, -inskй/-инскй, -ovškй/-овскй ...) form ethnic and geographical adjectives: Аmёrika/Амёрика, амёрикй/амёричкй; and are also the relational suffix for most personal nouns: студентскй живот/студентскй живот
'student life'. The -ski/-скй set encroaches onto the general relational territory of -ни/-нибудь, being predictable on stems in -ij/-и, -ija/-ижа, -ika/-ика, -н/-н, -ar/-ар and other finals: философиya/филозофка, филозофскиy/филозофски, бётон/бетон 'concrete', бетонскиy/бетонски, Animal names typically take -ji/-иж (и/ий): миш/-мйш 'mouse', мишy/-мйшy (мйшy грань/-мйшy пума 'mousehole'). There is overlap with other types: d(j)ёca/d(j)ёца 'children' has d(j)ёжи/d(j)ёжy; orangutan/orаньгутан, orangутанскиy/orаньгутанскиy '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 -ин/-ин for a-stems: студентов/студентов 'student's', мужев/мужев 'husband's', женин/жёнин 'wife's', Теслин/Тёслин 'Tesla's'. Nouns in -v take -лев/-лев: Јаков/Яков 'Jacob', Јаковлев/Яковлев.

Plant names of all declensions favour -ov/-ов: липа/липa 'linden', липопайя липов най 'linden tea'.

Adverbs of place and time form adjectives with -щ/-шнy, -шyнy/-шнyй: јутро/јутро 'morning', јутарнy/-јутарнyй; Јуч(и)/јуч(и) 'yesterday', јурчешнy/-јурчешнyй.

Relational from verbs (or from verbal nouns) can be in -ат/-ати: пишати/piшати 'to write' or пишаније/piшаније 'writing'.

3.3.3 Major patterns of verb derivation

These are suffixation and prefixation. Suffixes forming verbs from nouns include -ат/-ати (present -ат/-ати), -ит/-ити, -ират/-ирати (bi-aspectual, from foreign bases), -оват/-овати (alternant -ат/-ати/-еват/-евати: domestic and foreign, often bi-aspectual): карати/карати се 'to play cards, gamble with cards', боjити/боjити 'to paint, colour with paint/dye (боjа/боjа)', торпедирати/торпедирати 'to torpedo', gostовати/гостовать 'to be a guest', маћевати/маћевати se 'to fence, fight with swords (маћ/мач)'.

More rarely, denominals arise by prefixation-suffixation: po-latin-ити 'to Latinize', обесумити/обешумити 'to deforest' (обезшум-ити/обезшумити 'forest').

Verbs from (descriptive) adjectives mean (1) 'to become ...', (2) 'to make something ...'. Of productive suffixes, -(j)ети/-(j)ети (present -ет/-ети, -ет/-ети, -и/-и 'to become hungry (глaдan/глaдан)'). -ит/-итi yields both transitive киселити/киселити 'to make sour (кисео/кйсео)', with intransitive киселити се/киселити се 'to become sour', and intransitive чоравити/чоравити 'to become blind (чорав/чорав)', -ат/-ати (present -ат/-ати, with both meanings, often attaches to comparatives: јачати/ јачати 'to become stronger'; to strengthen something' from јачи/ јачи 'stronger' (јак/јак 'strong'). Prefixation-suffixation is widespread:
o-sposòb-iti/o-способ-ити ‘to make something/someone capable’ from spòsoban/cпòсобан ‘capable’, o-bes-hràbr-iti/o-бес-храб-ити ‘to discourage’ from hrábar/храбар ‘brave’.

Verbs are made from verbs by prefixation, suffixation or use of the ‘reflexive’ particle se/ce. Se/ce can intransistivize a verb, as dìžati/dржати ‘to hold’, dìžati se/dржати ce with genitive ‘to hold to’; dropping a basic verb’s se/ce can transistivize it, as priblížiti se/приближити ce ‘to come nearer’, priblížiti/приближити ‘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-/y- may represent old *u- ‘away’, as uklòniti/уклонити ‘to eliminate’, but usually means ‘in’, as ùt(j)erati/ýт(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 к/к, с/ц and г/р: gùr-kati/гур-кати ‘to push a little’: п(j)eв-укати/п(j)евкати ‘to hum’ from п(j)евати/п(j)евати ‘to sing’; šet-kàrati/шёт-кàрати ‘to stroll a little (somewhat pejorative)’ from šetati/шётати.

Verb compounds are scanty; compare kriv-o-tvòr-iti/крив-о-творити ‘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.

Slàvko vòdî Ólgu./Славко видй Olgu.
‘Slavko sees Olga.’

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

Jèdan student vòdî pitomu óvcu./Jèdan студент видй питому овцу.
‘A student is leading a tame sheep.’

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

Slàvko Ólgu prèzirè./Славко Олгу прèзирè.
‘Slavko despìses Olga.’
Focused subjects, such as answers to questions, can be final as well.

Q: (T)ko donosi šunku?/(T)ko dōnosī šünkku?
‘Who is bringing the ham?’
A: Šunku dōnosī Slavko./Шунку дόноси Славко.
‘Slavko is bringing the ham.’

Serbo-Croat has a constraint against separating post-verbal subjects from verbs, so we would not normally find ?dōnosī šünkku Slavko/дόноси шünkку Славко. A topicalized element is put first, as ‘Olga’ in the second sentence:

Slavko vǐdí Ōlgu. Ōlgu vǐdīmo i mi./Славко вјдй 0лгу. 0лгу вјдймо и мй.
‘Slavko sees Olga. We too see Olga.’

Certain lexical elements (like nēsto/нёшто ‘something’, tō/tō ‘this, that’, čov(j)ek/чов(j)еk 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 vǐdí nēsto. Slavko nēsto vǐdí. (or: Slavko vǐdí nēsto.)/
?Славко вјдй нёшто. Славко нёшто вјдй. (or: Славко вјдй нёшто.)
‘Slavko sees something.’

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

vǐdí Slavko./БЙДЈ Славко.
‘Slavko does see.’

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

Slavko jāsno vǐdí Ōlgu./Славко јасно вјдй 0лгу.
‘Slavko sees Olga clearly.’
Slavko vǐdí Ōlgu kroz dǐm./Славко вјдй 0лгу кроз дим.
‘Slavko sees Olga through the smoke.’

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

Slavko spāvā./Славко спава.
‘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 stolu leži knjiga. / Ha stolu leži knjiga.
‘On the table lies (is) a book.’

A suppletive present tense of ‘to be’ for existentials is imā/îmā ‘there is’ (negative nēmā/nēma ‘there is not’). It and other tenses of bîtī/bîti with a genitive (singular or plural) subject mean ‘there is/are some . . . , there isn’t/aren’t any . . . ’:

‘In the refrigerator there is some ham (there are some olives).’

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

Na stolu imâ (or: je) knjiga. / Ha stolu imâ (or je) knjiga.
‘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/bih, bi, bismo, biste, bi ‘(I, you, he/she/it, we, you, they) would’
   ću, ćeš, će, ćemo, ćete, ćê/hy, ћеш, ће, ћемо, ћете, ћê ‘(I, you, he/she/it, we, you, they) will’
   sam, si, _____, smo, ste, su/cam, si, _____, smo, ste, su ‘(I) have/did, (I) am’ and so forth
III Dative pronouns:
   mi, ti, mu, joj, nam, vam, im/mi, ti, mu, joj, nam, vam, im ‘(to) me, you, him/it, her, us, you, them’
IV Accusative/genitive pronouns:
   me, te, ga, je, nas, vas, ih/me, te, ga, je, nas, vas, ih ‘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/me and te/te as well. Je + je/je + je is replaced by ju je/jy je.
Examples:
Slavko će je vidjeti. / Славко ће је видети.
‘Slavko will see her.’

Slavko ga se (je) bojao. / Славко га се (је) бојао.
‘Slavko feared it.’

Оlga mu ju je dála. / Олга му ју је дала.
‘Olga gave her to him.’

‘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.

(Моja sестра) će dóći u уторак. / (Мoja сестра) ће доћи у уторак.
Мoja sестra dóći u уторак. / Мoja ће сестра доћи у уторак.
‘My sister will come on Tuesday.’

If the first constituent is comparatively long, as mòja mlàdà sèstra / мòja mlàђá сèстра ‘my younger sister’, one can ‘exclude it from the count’, placing clitics after the (first word of the) next constituent:

Мoja mlàdà sèstra dóći će u уторак. / Мoja млађа сестра доТш у уторак.
‘My younger sister will come on Tuesday.’

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

… da će mòja mlàdà sèstra dóći u уторак. / … да ће мòja млађá сестра доћи у уторак.
‘… 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 / a ‘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:

svih ovih mojih deset crvenih ruža / свих ових моjих десет црvenих руžа
‘(Literally, ‘all these my ten red roses.’) All these ten red roses of mine.’

Any of these might follow the noun in poetic or expressive style: thus, ruža mòja / рuža 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.

knjiga Lëva Tõlstoja u ljepom üvezu / книга Лёва Толстого у л(и)ёпом üвезу
‘a book of (= by) Leo Tolstoy in a nice binding’
Adjectives and participles with complements usually follow nouns:

knjiža žuta od starosti 'a book yellow with age'

But they can precede if their own complements precede them: od starosti žuta knjiža/od starosti žuta knjiža.

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):

Slať vko vidi Olgu?/Slať vko vidi Olgu?
‘Does Slavko see Olga?’

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

Slať vO dl Olgu?/Slať vO dl Olgu?
‘Does Slavko see Olga?’

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

Viđi li Slavko Olgu?/Viđi li Slavko Olgu?
‘Will Slavko see Olga?’

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

Hôče li Slavko vid(j)eti Olgu?/Hôče li Slavko vid(j)eti Olgu?
‘Will Slavko see Olga?’

Dà li/dà li, 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: dà li če Slavko vid(j)eti Olgu?/dà li če Slavko vid(j)eti Olgu?

Affirmative answers to yes–no questions of all types can be dà/dà ‘yes’, repetition of the finite verb (in full form) or both:
A: Да./Да. or Види./Види. or Да, види.
‘Yes. He does. Yes, he does.’

Q: Хоте ли Slavko видиети Олгу? /Хоше ли Славко видете Олгу? Дад ли ёе Slavko видете Олгу? /Да ли ёе Славко видете Олгу?
A: Нё./Нё. or Нё види./Нё види. or Нё, нё види.
‘No. He doesn’t. No, he doesn’t.’

Negative answers are given with нё/нё ‘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):

A: Нё./Нё. or Нё види./Нё види. or Нё, нё види.
‘No. He doesn’t. No, he doesn’t.’

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

‘Doesn’t Slavko see Olga?’

Answers to such negative questions are

Нё, нё види./Нё, нё види.
‘No, he doesn’t.’

or

дад, види/дад, види (probably not merely дад/дад).

Similar to English ‘tag questions’, зар нё?/зар нё? or ё ли?/ё ли? can make yes–no questions from positive or negative statements:

‘Slavko sees Olga, doesn’t he?’

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

‘Does Slavko see Olga or Dora?’

An answer can be:
Ne vidi Olgu nego Doru./Ne видй Олгу него Дору.
‘He doesn’t see Olga but (rather) Dora.’

or simply: Doru/Дору.

WH questions are made with interrogatives such as (t)ko/(τ)ko ‘who’, čiji/чий ‘whose’, zasto/зашто ‘why’. Such words front – come in first position in the sentence – and can be preceded only by coordinating conjunctions and prepositions:

Koga vidi Marija? Koga Mårija vidi?/Kora vйдй Mårija? Kora Mårija vйдй?
‘Whom does Marija see?’
S kim Marija rаdй?/С кйм Mårija rаdй?
‘With whom does Marija work?’

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

Koga je Marija vйд(j)ela?/Kora je Mårija vйд(j)ela?
‘Whom did Marija see?’
S kim ga je vйд(j)ela?/С кйм ga je вйд(j)ela?
‘With whom did she see him?’

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

Koliko Slavko ima novaca?/Koliko Славко йма новача?
‘How much has Slavko money? (How much money has Slavko?)’

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

Koga i gd(j)е Marija vйд(j)ela?/Kora i gd(j)е Mårija vйд(j)ela?
‘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:

Koga je i gd(j)е Marija vйд(j)ela?/Kora je i gd(j)е Mårija vйд(j)ela?
‘Whom did Marija see and where did she see him?’

They may also be after the group: koga i gd(j)е je Marija vйд(j)ela?/kога и гд(j)е je Mårija vйд(j)ela?

‘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):

(T)ko je gd(j)е koga vйdio (вйдео)?/(Т)ko je гд(j)е кога вйдио (вйдео)?
‘Who saw whom where?’

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

`Ne značam dâ li Slavko vidi Olgu (vidi li Slavko Olgu)./Не знам дâ ли Славко види Олгу (види ли Славко Олгу).`

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

`Nisam siguran (t)ko gd(j)e koga vidi./Нисам сигуран (т)кo гд(j)e кoга вијд.`

‘I am not sure who sees whom where.’

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

`Govorili smo o tóme dâ li Slavko vidi Olgu./Говорили смo o тóме дâ ли Славко види Олгу.`

‘We spoke about it whether Slavko sees Olga.’

In some instances the preposition and pronoun are omissible:

`Pitanje (o tome) dâ li Slavko vidi Olgu jôš nije r(ij)ešeno./Питање (o тóме) дâ ли Славко види Олгу још није р(и)јешено.`

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

Commands are given in the imperative:

`Uzmi (plural or formal: Uzmite) krušku!/Узми (plural or formal: Ўзмите) крушку!`

‘Take a pear!’

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

`Uzmi ti krušku!/Узми ти крушку!`

‘You take a pear!’

Negative imperatives require imperfective aspect:

`Ne užimaj krušku!/Не узимај крушку!`

‘Don’t take a pear.’

except for some verbs of involuntary psychological action:

`Ne zabdravi!/Не забдрави!`

‘Don’t forget (perfective)!’

Another, more polite, negative command is with nèmôj/nèmôj (1 PL nèmôjmo/nèmôjmo ‘let’s not’; 2 PL nèmôjte/nèmôjte) plus infinitive (either aspect):
Nемој узимати крушке!/Немој ёзимати крушке!
'Don't take (imperfective) pears.'
Nемој узети крушку!/Немој ёзети крушку!
'Don’t take (perfective) a pear.'

Da/да₂ with present clauses can replace the infinitive, especially in the East: немој да узимаш (да узмеш) крушку/немој да ёзимаш (да ёзмеш) крушку! 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:

Nемој да се то други путь догоди!/Немој да се то други путь догоди!
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 нёка/нёка-present clauses:

Da Славко (не) узима крушке./Да Славко (не) ёзима крушке.
Нёка Славко (не) узима крушке./Нёка Славко (не) ёзима крушке.
'Let (may) Slavko (not) take pears.'

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

Рёкла je да узмём (узмеш) крушку./Рёкла je да ёзмём (ёзмеш) крушку.
'She said I (you) should take a pear.'
Рёкла je da (or нёка) Славко узмё крушку./Рёкла je da (or нёка) Славко ёзмё крушку.
'She said Slavko should take a pear.'

4.3 Copular sentences
The main copula is бити/бити 'to be', used with noun phrase, adjective phrase and adverbial phrase predicates:

Марија je моja сестра./Марија je моja сестра.
'Marija is my sister.'
Марија je вр(и)ёдна kao пчела./Марија je вр(и)ёдна kao пчела.
'Marija is hard-working as a bee.'
Марија je добро./Марија je добро.
'Marija is well.'
Концерт je у осам./Концерт je у осам.
'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:

Шешир je odgovarajуće veličине./Шешир je одговарашјуће величине.
'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:

Marija je učiteljica (učiteljicom)./Марија је учитељица (учитељицом).
‘Marija is a teacher NOM (a teacher INST).’

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

Lako je Mariji biti vr(ij)édna./Лако је Марији бити вр(иј)една.
‘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 biti vr(ij)édan./Важно је бити вр(иј)едан.
‘It is important (for anyone) to be hard-working (NOM М).’

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

Мартин je vr(ij)édan./Мартин je вр(иј)едан.
‘Martin is hard-working (SHORT).’

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

Мартин je маcil./Мартин je малй.
‘Martin is small.’

Ivan je najmanji./Иван je најмањи.
‘Ivan is the smallest.’

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

Obećanje – lúdóm râdovâne./Обећање – лудом радовање.
‘A promise (is) joy for a fool. (Don’t trust promises.)’ (Proverb)

Biti/бйти has frequentative bivati/бивати ‘be from time to time; become; happen’:

Marija je bivala (je pîčêla bivati) sve vrêdnijâ./Марија је бивала (је почаља бивати) све вреднија.
‘Marija was becoming (began to be) more and more hard-working.’
A specialized copula for adverbials of place is nalaziti se/налазити се, perfective nći se/нăћи се ‘be located, be’.

Škola se nalazi dalčko od sела./Школа се налази далеко од села.
‘The school is located far from the village.’

Óstati/остати, imperfective òstajati/остајати ‘to remain; to be left, find oneself’, taking various predicate types, can mean a continuing state or a changed state:

Vláda je òstala упорна, али студенти òstaju na тргу./Влада је остала упорна, али стуђенти остају на тргу.
‘The government remained firm, but the students are staying in the square.’

Pòstati/постати, imperfective pòstajati/почати ‘to become’ takes noun or adjective predicates, both of which can be nominative or instrumental without clear meaning distinctions:

Màrija je pòstala učitèljica (učiteljicôm)./Марија је постала учителеца (учителјицом).
‘Marija became a teacher NOM (a teacher INST).’
Situacija postaje òzbiljna (òzbiljnôm)./Ситуација постаје збилина (збилинном).
‘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/i ‘and’ joins nouns and noun phrases:

Ivan i njègova žena râđe./Иван и његова жена раде.
‘Ivan and his wife are working.’

adjectives and adjective phrases:

Tò je plòdan i dòbro pòznât slîkàr./То je плòдан и добро познат сликар.
‘He is a productive and well-known painter.’

verbs and verb phrases:

Žívi i stvârâ u Ljubljànì./Живи и ствара у Любляни.
‘He/she lives and works in Ljubljana.’

as well as entire clauses:

Zàužêt sam i ne mògu više slùšati./Заузет сам и не могу више слушати.
‘I am busy and I cannot listen any more.’
I/и appears before the last conjunct:

Иван, Марија и Ама/Йван, Мария и Ама
'Ivan, Marija and Ana'

or can be repeated before all conjuncts after the first:

Иван и Марија и Ама/Йван и Мария и Ама
'Ivan and Marija and Ana'

or before all, including the first:

Иван и Марија .../И Йван и Мария ...
'Both Ivan and Marija ...'

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

Иван и Марија, те (ор: kao i) Јосип и Ама/Йван и Мария, те (ор: kao i) Јосип и Ама
'Ivan and Marija, and also (as well as) Josip and Ana'

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

Или/или 'either, or', ни/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:

Роман је дебео, а занимљив./Роман је дебео, а занимљив.
'The novel is thick, and (yet) interesting.'

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

Иван путује, а и Марија путује./Йван путује, а и Мария путује.
'Ivan is travelling, and Marija is travelling too.'

Stronger contrasts are shown by а/или 'but', which also appears just once in a series.

Иван путује, али Марија остаже код куће./Йван путује, али Мария остаже код куће.
'Ivan is travelling, but Marija is staying home.'

An element of a negative statement is corrected by the conjunction него/нёго or већ/вёћ and a following statement:

Не путује Марија, него (већ) Јван./Не путује Мария, нёго (вёћ) Јван.
'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 ótac i májka su dòšli./Њён отац и мајка су дошли.
‘Her (м SG) father and mother have come (м 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 májka su dòšle./Њена сестра и мајка су дошле.
‘Her sister and mother have come (м PL).’

Njéno d(ij)éte i tèle su dòšli./Њено д(i)ете и теле су дошли.
‘Her child (N SG) and calf (N SG) have come (м 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

Májka sa sinom šetá./Мајка са сином шета.
‘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 tòga proizlazi [da je bitka izgubljena]./Из тога произлази [да je битка изгублена].
‘From this (it) follows [that the battle is lost].’

Verb with [object]:

Znám [da je bitka izgubljena]./Знам [да je битка изгублена].
‘I know [that the battle is lost].’
**Noun with [complement]:**

Stižu v(ij)esti [da je bitka izgubljena]./Стйжу в(и)ёсти [да je бйтка изгубљена].
‘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 to/тo strategy is used. Ráđiti se/рάдити се ‘to be a question/matter of’ needs o/o with locative, as in Ráđi se o vlásti/Ради се o власти ‘it is a question of power’, and its complement clause behaves accordingly:

Ráđi se o tôme [da li je bitka izgubljena ili ne]./Ради се o тоби [да ли je бйтка изгубљена 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 будем/буђем compound tense (section 3.2.1) and the present but normally only from an imperfective verb.

Znam [da je Marija napísala knjigu]./Знам [да je Мариja написала књигу].
‘I know [that Marija has written a book].’

Čuo sam [da Marija piše knjigu]./Чуо сам [да Мариja пишё књигу].
‘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 Marija pišê]./Желим [да Мариja пишё].
‘I want that Marija write-imperfective (I want her to write).’
Želim [da Marija napiše knjigu]./Желим [да Мариja напишё књигу].
‘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.

Rекли су da Мариja пишê./Рекли су да Мариja пишё.
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 pōnovō vīd(j)ēli]./Радујемо се [што смо вас пново вид(j)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:

Žīv(j)eti znāčē rāditi./Жив(j)ети значи радити.
‘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 žēli pīsati./Марија жели пишати.
‘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/da₂ complement is used instead.

Mārija žēli da Īvan pīsē./Марија жели да Иван пишё.
‘Marija wants Ivan to write.’

Outside the Croat standard, da/da₂ clauses are frequent even when the same-subject condition holds:

Mārija žēli da pīsē./Марија жели да пишё.
‘Marija wants to write.’

See discussion of the future tense (cū/hy + infinitive or da/da₂) in section 3.2.1 and of nēmōj/nēmōj + infinitive or da/da₂ 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 vrāčā s pōsla p(j)ēvajūcī./Он се враћа с посл с(j)евајући.
‘He returns from work singing’ (he is singing).

The verbal noun in -(e)nje/-e, -če/-he from imperfective verbs participates in complement structures:
Marija je počela s pisanjem knjige. / Marija je pôčêła s písâñjem knjîgê. '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:

Pisanje studenata je zanimljivo. / Písanje студенатã je zanimljivô. 'The students' writing is interesting.'
Pisanje knjige je bîlo têško. / Písanje кнîgê je bîlo têško. 'The writing of the book was difficult.'

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

Marijino pisanje knjige / Marijino пísanñе кнîgê 'Marija's writing of the book'

or with the infrequent passive-agent phrase od stråñê / od странë and genitive:

(?) pisanje knjige od stråñê Marije / písanje кнîgê od странï Marije 'the writing of the book by Marija'

The verbal noun neutralizes the distinction of verbs with se / ce and verbs without: rušenje kuće / рûšêñê êyê can be from rušiti / рûšîti, as in

Marija ruši kuću. / Marija рûшй êyêu. 'Marija destroys the house.'

and from rušiti se / рûšîtî se:

Kuća se ruši. / Êyêa se рûшî. 'The house falls-down.'

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

Kuća je srûšena. / Êyêa je срûшêна. '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 / od 'from' or od stråñê / od странê 'from the side of' plus genitive:
Kuća je srušena v(j)etrom./Kuća je srušena v(j)etrom.
'The house has been destroyed by the wind.'

(?)Kuća je srušena od (od stráně) neprijatelja./Kuća je srušena od (od stráně) neprijatelja.
'The house has been destroyed by the enemy.'

The participle can be in attributive position:

srušenâ kuća/срушена Kyha
'the destroyed house'
kuća srušenâ v(j)etrom, v(j)etrom srušenâ kuća/срушена Kyha srušenâ v(j)etrom,
v(j)etrom srušenâ Kyha
'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 kôjî/kôjî ‘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.

čov(j)ek kôjeg vidîm/чов(ј)ек кôјег вîдîм
'man which-ACC (= whom) I-see'
čov(j)ek s kôjim sam rádio/чов(ј)ек с кôјим сам радио
'man with which-INST I-have worked'

As we see, the relativizer is fronted; as a sentence introducer, clitics (sam/сам) 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):

čov(j)ek što ga vidîm/чов(ј)ек што га вîдîм
'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)kô/ (т)кô ‘who’ or declinable što, štâ/што, štâ ‘what’ depending on the human/non-human distinction (Browne 1986: 112–19):

nêšto što vidîm/nêšto што вîдîм
'something what I see (that I see)'
nêšto o čemu gôvorîm/nêšto o чёму говорîм
'something about what-LOC (about which) I speak'
svâ(t)ko kôga vidîm/sвâ(т)ко кôга вîдîм
'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 ìmá o džokéjá/трй коња, колико йма и джокéя
'three horses, how-many there-are also of-jockeys (three horses, which is how many jockeys there are too)'

'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:

čov(j)ek kòjì mìslìm da vas je vidìō (vìdeo)/чòv(j)ek kòjì мìслìм да вас je вйдио (вйдео)
'the man who I think that _____ saw you'

čov(j)ek kòjeg mìslìm da ste vid(j)eli/чòv(j)ek kòjег мìслìм 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 Ívana gòvorì da ga svì pòdstujì./За Ўвана говорè да га свì поштујì.
'For (about) Ivan, they say that him 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 kòjer 'for whom, for which' and a lower clause without extraction:

čov(j)ek za kòjeg mìslìm da ste ga vid(j)eli/чòv(j)ek za kòjег мìслìм да сте га вйд(j)ели
'the man for (about) whom I think that you saw him'

čov(j)ek za kòjeg mìslìm da vas je vidìō (vìdeo)/чòv(j)ek za kòjег мìслìм да вас je вйдио (вйдео)
'the man for (about) whom I think that he saw you.'

The same strategy is available for questions. Beside
(Т)кô мислîте да me je зам(и)јенио?/(Т)кô мислîте да me je зам(и)јенио? 
'Who do you think that _____ replaced me?'

we can have:

Za кога мислîте да me je зам(и)јенио?/За кога мислîте да me je зам(и)јенио?  
'For (about) whom do you think that he replaced me?'

Another strategy formulates each clause as a separate question, with што/шта 'what' as object of the main verb:

Што мислîте, (т)кô me je зам(и)јенио?/Штô мислîте, (т)кô me je зам(и)јенио?  
'What do you think – who replaced me?'

4.6 Negation

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

Slavko не види Олгу./Славко не види Олгу.  
'Slavko does not see Olga.'

Slavko неêе вид(j)ети Олгу./Славко неêе вид{j}ети Олгу.  
'Slavko will-not see Olga.'

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

Slavko видî ne Олгу нego Мариш./Славко видî не Олгу него Марш.  
'Slavko sees not Olga but Marija.'

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

Slavko не видî Оlgu него Мариш./Славко не видî Олгу него Мариш.  
'Slavko doesn’t see Olga (but Marija).'

One can also negate sentences with the negative conjunction нити/нити 'neither, nor':

Нитî Slavko видî Оlgu, нитî Јван видî Мариш./Нитî Славko видî Олгу, нитî Јван видî Марш.  
'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 нити/нити can contain indefinite forms made from interrogative pronouns and adverbs by prefixing i-/и-: і(t)ко/ї(т)ко ‘anyone’, ігд(j)е/їгд(j)е ‘anywhere’ and the like. (The same items occur in questions, conditional sentences and
second members of comparatives.) A positive sentence could not contain these:

Niti je Slavko vidi, niti t(t)ko ista znà o njoj./Hñiti je Slàvko vîdî, nhñti ñt(t)ko ñtsta znà o njñj.
‘Neither does Slavko see her, nor does anyone know anything about her.’

In sentences containing ne/ne on the verb, i-/n- indefinites add initial n-/n- to become negative forms: nî(t)ko/nî(t)ko ‘nobody’, nìgd(j)e/nìgd(j)e ‘nowhere’ and so forth. So does the conjunction and particle i/n ‘and; also, even’: ni/nî ‘neither, nor; not … either, not even’. Several such items can appear together:

Nî(t)ko nìgd(j)e nè vidi nìkoga./nî(t)ko nhîgd(j)e nè vidi nhîkoga.
‘Nobody nowhere not sees nobody (Nobody sees anybody anywhere).’

Unlike the i-/n- set, ni-/nî- words can appear in isolation:

Nîsta./Nhñsta.
‘Nothing.’ (Or ‘Oh, that’s all right.’)

Prepositions other than bez/без ‘without’ split i/n and ni/nî from the rest of the word:

i s kîm, nî s kîm; i u çemu, nî u çemu/nî s kîm; nî u çemu ‘with anybody, with nobody; in anything, in nothing’

although non-normative usage also has s nîkîm, u nîçemu/nîkîm, u nîçemu.

Infinitive complements are occasionally negated:

Nîsam mûga o ne mîslîti na tô./Nîsam mûga o ne mîslîti na tô.
‘I couldn’t not think of it (I couldn’t avoid thinking of it).’

but usually a special conjunction à da2 ne/à da2 ne is used: Nîsam mûga o à da2 nè mîslîm na tô./Nîsam mûga o à da ne mîslîm na tô. À da1 ne/à da1 ne expresses absence of concomitant action:

Êûsla je à da me nîje pòzdravila./Êûsla je à da me nîje pòzdravila.
‘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 nèmâti/nèmâti (ne + imâti/ne + ımatî) ‘not to have’ and when negation is strengthened by ni/nî, nîjèdan/nîjèdan, nîkakav/nîkakav ‘not even, not a single, no’ (Lj. Popoviç in Ĉtanojčih/Ĉtanojčih et al. 1989: 219). Examples from Menaç/Menac (1978):
Fixed phrases:

obrećati pažnju – neobrećati pažnju or pažnje/obrećati pažnju – neobrećati pažnju or pažnje.
'to pay attention (ACC) – not to pay attention (ACC or GEN)'

Nemati/nemati:

Tada se s(j)etio da nema revolvćra./Tada se c(j)etio da nemâ revolvéra.
'Then he remembered that he didn’t have a pistol (GEN).'

Negation strengthened:

igrati ulogu – neigrati ulogu – neigrati nikakvě ulogê/igrati ulogu – neigrati ulogu – neigrati nikakvě ulogê
'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 postoji r(j)esnje./He nòstojnì p(j)esènè.
'Not exists solution (NOM) (there is no solution).'

Only ne bìti/ne bëti ‘not to be’ (present nemâ/nêmâ) takes genitive subject:

U sobi nema Mârijë./U sobi nemâ Mârijë.
'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: on/ón ‘he’ for masculine gender, ona/ôna ‘she’ for feminine, ono/ôno ‘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:

don(j)ek ... Nè znàm ga. Njèga nè znàm./dòv(j)ek ... Nè znàm ga. Njèga nè znàm.
'man ... I don’t know him. Him I don’t know.'
gràd ... Nè znàm ga. ?Njèga nè znàm./gràd ... Nè znàm ga. ?Njèga nè znàm.
'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:
grad [—animate]: Vidim grad osamljen./град [—animate]: Видим град осамљен.
'city: I see a city (ACC) alone (ACC).'
čov(j)ek [—animate]: Vidim čov(j)ek-a osamljen-og./чов(j)ек [—animate]: Видим чов(j)ек-a осамљен-ог.
'man: I see a man (ACC) alone (ACC).'

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

grad ... Vidim ga osamljen-og./град ... Видим га осамљен-ог.
'city ... I see it alone.'
čov(j)ek ... Vidim ga osamljen-og./чов(j)ек ... Видим га осамљен-ог.
'man ... I see him alone.'

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

A: ‘Немаљ ауто.’ B: ‘Зашто ga нё купйш?’/А: 'Немаљ ауто.' В: 'Зашто га нё купйш?'
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, inter-
rogative or indefinite pronoun of neuter gender, or a clause or infinitive, it
cannot antecedee a personal pronoun (Browne 1986: 29). The neuter
demonstrative tó/tó appears instead.

Óvaj je za тебе. Задржји тó!Óвож je за тёбе. Задржји тё!
'This is for you. Keep it (literally that).'
Марија воли плёсати. Ї ја тó волим./Марија воли плёсати. Ї ја тó волим.
'Marija likes to-dance. I too like it (literally that).'

Apart from this anaphoric function, demonstratives have situational and
textual uses. The three demonstratives óvaj/обај, тај/тај, ònaj/ònaj refer
respectively to things near the speaker (‘this’), near the hearer (‘this, that’)
and further from both (‘that over there’). Ònaj/ònaj is also for recalling
something from a previous situation. Таj/таj is for things already under
discussion, óvaj/обај for things about to be mentioned and ònaj/ònaj for
items to be made precise by a relative clause: та knjiga/та книга 'the
book we’ve been talking about', óvaj knjiga/оба книга 'this book (which I
now turn to)' and ònaj knjiga kôjà dòbijè нàgradu na kòнgresu/ònaj книга
кôjà дòбијé нàграду на конгресu 'the book that gets a prize at the
congress'. Óvaj/обај also serves to show a change in topical noun:

Ivan je razgovárao с Petrem, а óvaj s Маријом./Ýван je разговáрао с Пётром,
a обај с Мариём.
'Ivan talked with Petar, and he (Petar) with Marija.'
Where two items have recently been mentioned, òvaj/òbaj refers to the later and ònaj/òhaj to the earlier. Another equivalent to 'the former, the latter' is


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 I-participle in the verb form) gender.

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:

Márko je dānas zākasnio na rúčak. Ïmao je pūno pòsla u grādu./Mårko je dānas zàkasnio na rúčak. Ïmao je pùno pòsla u gràdu.
'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:

Márko je dānas zākasnio na rúčak. Ïn je ìmao pùno pòsla u grádu. Zàtíim je zabóravi kļūč od àuta i mórao se vráti ti p(j)éšicê./Mårko je dànas zàkasnio na rúčak. Ïn je ìmao pùno pòsla u grádu. Zàtíim je zabòravi kљùc od àuta i mórao se vràti ti p(j)éþiciê.
'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* are omitted when the referent does not figure in the narration:
They are included when rhematic or contrasted:

Rúčak sam sprěmio jā./Ручак сам спрёмио jā.
‘Dinner prepared I (I’m the one who prepared dinner).’
Mårko je dānas zàkasnio, ali jā nīsam./Марко je даниас закаснио, али jа nисам.
‘Marko today came late, but I didn’t.’

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

Mårko? Jā njèga znām!/Марко? Jа њега знам!
‘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:

Slavko īmā nām(j)eru da vīdī Ólgu./Славко йма намферу да вйдй блгу.
‘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:

Slavko je sigūran da vīdī Ólgu./Славко je сйгуран да вйдй блгу.
‘Slavko is certain that (he) sees Olga.’
Slavko je sigūran da ēn vīdī Ólgu a da je jā nē vidīm./Славко je сйгуран да ēн вйдй блгу а да je jа nē видйм.
‘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/cèbe. Like personal pronouns, sèbe/cèbe has full and clitic forms (section 3.1.3). It does not vary for person, gender or number:

Slavko gòvorī o sèbi. Mi gòvorīmo o sèbi./Славко говорй о сёби. Ми говорймо о сёби.
‘Slavko talks about himself. We talk about ourselves.’
but words modifying it show these features:

Slavko govori o sebi sàmom. Mi gòvorimo o sebi sàmima./Славко говорй о сёби сáмом. Ми говорймо о сёби сáмима.
'Slavko talks about himself alone (M SG). We talk about ourselves alone (PL).'

The domain within which сёбе/себе occurs is the clause. Its antecedent is the subject of the clause. The modifier сàм/сàм permits objects as antecedents:

Jà ëu vas prepùstiti sèbi sàmim./Jà ëu вас препùстити сёби сáмим.
'I will leave you, to yourselves, 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 сёбе/себе:

njègovo zaljubljivanje u sèbe/њèгово заљубљйванје у сёбе
'his, infatuation with himself,'

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

zaljubljivanje u sèbe/заљубљйванје у сёбе
'one's, infatuation with oneself,'

Она se ogràdila od zaljubljivanja u sèbe./Она se ограdìла од заљубљйванја у сёбе.
'She, disavowed (her,) infatuation with herself. '

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

Ivan je vrù‰io pòv(j)erenù mu dužnost (not: pòv(j)erenù sèbi)./Йван je вр‰ио пòв(j)рени му дуžност (not пòв(j)рени сёби).
'Ivan, performed entrusted to-him, 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 mnùgo gòvorì o sèbi./У Амèрси се мñùго гòворí о сёби.
'In America (one,) speaks much about oneself.'

The reflexive possessive is svoj/свој. Its antecedent, as with сёбе/себе, can be the subject of a clause or noun phrase.
Slavko govori o svojem kónu./Славко говори о својем копа.
'Slavko talks about his horse.'

оdнос именице prema svom glá golu/однос именице према свом глаголу
'relation of a noun toward its verb.'

If the subject of a clause is third person, svój/cBój is normally obligatory; within noun phrases there is variation between it and the third-person possessives njégov/његов 'his, its', njén, njézin/њеzn, њезин 'her', njihov/њихов 'their'.

Exceptions to subject antecedency like

Постави све на своје м(j)есто!/Постави све на своје м(j)есто!
'Put everything in its place!'

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

Alternatives to svój/cBój for first- or second-person reference are the possessive pronouns mój/Mój 'my', nžtš/наш 'our', tvój/Tvój, všš/ваш 'your'. The choice depends partly on empathy, svój/cBój suggesting distance between the speaker and the possessed noun's referent. The teacher in

Já sam zāhvālan svóm ùčitelju./Jà sam захвалан свом учителю.
'I am grateful to self's teacher.'

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

Já sam zāhvālan móm ùčitelju./Jà sam захвалан мом учителю.
'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 jēdan drūgōg/jēdan другог 'one another'. Both parts inflect for gender, number and case:

Õlga i Mârija vidē jēdna drūgū./Õлга и Мараја виђе једна друғу.
'Olga and Marija see one (F NOM SG) another (F ACC SG).'

Prepositions go before the second member:

Gòvorìmo jēdan o drūgōm./Говоримо један о друғом.
'We speak one about another (about each other).'

Unlike other pronouns, mixed-gender subjects take neuter singular jēdno drūgō/jедно друғо:
Slavko i Olga vđe jedno drugo./Славко и Олга вйде једно дрђо.
'Slavko and Olga see one another.'

The form of jедан/jедан 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

... ако се отворимо једни prema drугима/... ако се отворймо једни prema дрђима
‘... if we-open-up one (NOM PL) to another (DAT PL)’

is headlined

Корист od отвршанja једних prema drugима/Корйст od отврбња једних prema дрђима. (Политика 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:

Slavko i Olga želė vid(j)eti jedno drugo./Славко и Олга жёлё вйд(j)ети једно дрђо.
'Slavko and Olga wish to see one another.'

^dan drugog/jедан дрђор with certain accusative-taking verbs (apparently lexically conditioned) is replaceable by se/ce, the clitic reflexive.

Они bijу (воле, вђде) jедан дрђор./Они биђу (воле, вњде) један дрђор. — Они se bijу (воле, вђде)/Они ce биђу (воле, вњде).
'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 imati/ймати Чо have' (or p6s(j)edovati/nос(j)едовати Чо possess').

Marija ima knjigu./Марија йма књигу.
'Marija has a book.'

Marija ima sestrę./Марија йма сестру.
'Marija has a sister.'

Pripadati/прїпадати ‘to belong to’ has the possessed item as nominative subject and the possessor as dative:
Kuća pripada Mariji./Кућа припада Марији.
'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:

Îmâm vodë./Имам вода.
'I have some water (GEN).'

Compare:

Îmâm vodu./Имам воду.
'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 lâži su krâtkë nôge./У лажи су кратке нôге.
'A lie has short legs. (The truth eventually comes out.)' (proverb)
U Milicë (su) dûge tregavice./У Милицë (су) дуге трëпавице.
'Milica has long eyelashes'. (folk poetry)

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

Ôna je jedënica (u mâjkë)./Ôна je јединица (у мажкë).
'She is the only daughter (her mother has).'

Dative constituents, particularly clitic pronouns, frequently express possessors.

Ôtac mi je ûmro prôšlé godînë./Ôтац ми је умро прôшлë годинë.
'Father to-me (my father) died last year.' (Mihailović 1971: 74)
Slavku je ôtac ûmro./Славку је отац умро.
'Slavko-DAT father died.'

Kućanda (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:

Ràzbio mi je vázu./Разбио ми је вазу.
'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:

Poštar mu se pojávio na vrátima./Пбштар му се появие на вратима.
‘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 Mårka i [sèstru mu]/Позови Марка и [сестру му]. (now usually: i njègovu sèstru/и његову сестру).
‘Invite Marko and his sister.’

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

knjige Mårka Mårkovića/кнйге Марка Марковића
‘books Marko-GEN Marković-GEN (Marko Marković's books)’

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

Mårkove knjige, Mårkovićeve knjige/Маркове кнйге, Марковићеве кнйге
‘Marko's books, Marković's books’
mačkin rëp/mачкин рён
‘the cat's tail’

Compare:

rëp mачкë/rён мачкë
‘the tail of a cat’ (possessor not definite)

knjiga stûdenâtä/књига студената
‘the book of the students’ (not singular)
ime rûžë/йме ружë
‘the name of the rose’ (not human/animal)

rëp møjë mачkë/rён мøjë мачкë
‘the tail of my cat’ (two words)

A departure from adjective/genitive complementarity occurs in instances like:
kip pred(s)jednika/kip preds(j)ednjka
‘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:

Studentski život je l(ij)ëp./Studentski život je l(ij)ëp.
‘Student life is nice.’ (song title)

paraphrasable as život studenata/život studenata ‘the life of students’ and not studentov život/studentov život ‘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 mój/moj ‘my’ in

Otac mi je umro./Otač mi je umro.
‘My father died “on me”.’

because it repeats the dative; nor in

Noga me bolj./Noga me bolj.
‘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.

brójnjé učesnjke/brójnjé učesnjke
‘numerous participants’ (accusative masculine plural)

The numeral jédan/jédan ‘one’ appears in the adjectival pattern:

jédan učesnjik/jédan učesnjik
‘one participant’ (nominative masculine singular)
jédne nòvine/jédne nòvine
‘one newspaper’ (nominative plural feminine on a plurale tantum)
Likewise adjectival in agreement are a set of numerals used with pluralia tantum heads: dvōji/dvōjī ‘2’, trōjī/трōjī ‘3’, up to ‘10’:

dvōji 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/два ‘2’, ḏba/шибка ‘both’ are used with masculine and neuter nouns, dvje (dvē)/двуJE (dvē) and ḏb(j)e/шибка(j)e with feminine nouns.

dvā dōbra stūdenta/два добра студента
‘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 stūdenta su ődsutna./Три студента су őдсутна.
‘Three students are absent.’
Pōzvali smo őba stūdenta./Позвали смо шибка студента.
‘We invited both students.’
Stānujēm s četiri stūdenta./Станујем с четири студента.
‘I live with four students.’ (s/c otherwise demands instrumental)
Nē znām nāslov tē tri knjēge./Нё знам наслов те трй књеге.
‘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)ēćam se tā četiri stūdenta./С(j)ећам се та четири студента.
‘I remember those four students.’ (the verb demands genitive)
??Dājem pōklōn tā cetiri stūdenta./Дајем похлоп та четири студента.
‘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 (većina/бeћињa ‘the majority of, most’; stāv nīz/чїтав нїз ‘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.
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:

the majority of the good-GEN PL students-GEN PL

The other type of genitive-governing quantifier is indeclinable. Besides items shaped like adverbs: mn̄ogo/мн̄о 'much, many', pûno/пûно 'a lot of', mālo/мâло 'few, little; some, a few', it includes numerals from '5' up. Predicate agreement with it is usually the 'default' neuter singular, here -0/-0:

Much water-GEN is spilt.

Many students-GEN has arrived.'

Some indeclinable quantifiers have the shape of accusative nouns:

One hundred students ...

Similarly, tīsuću/т̄шу, hiljadu/х̄йаду '1,000', māsu/mâcy 'a mass of'.

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

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

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

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

I give a gift to these forty students.' (dative indirect object)
Numerals can be compounded, as tri hiljade (тисуе) петсто двадесет седам '3527'. The last word decides the construction used, so двадесет jедан/двадесет jедан '21' has adjectival agreement between jедан/жедан and a singular head noun, петдесет два/петдесет два '52' demands 234 forms, whereas '3527' has genitive plural throughout the phrase and default neuter predicative agreement, like седам/седам '7'.

The 'collective' numerals двојца/двoйца, тројца/тројца, четворица/четворица, петорица/петорица (to '9') and неколицна/неколицна 'a few'. These signify groups of men, are feminine singular nouns in declension and behave like већина/већина within the noun phrase:

svа петорица добрих студената/свa петорица добрих студената 'all-F NOM SG five good-GEN PL students-GEN PL'

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

Genitive personal pronoun heads нaς/нac 'us', вaς/вас 'you', нjих/њих 'them' combine with numerals above '1':

нaс двојца/нac двoйца, нaс двоje/нac двёje, нaс двije (двё)/нac двёнje (двё) 'we two' (male–male, male–female, female–female)
njих неколицна/њих неколицна, njих неколико/њих неколикo '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-MX/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: škòla/шкòла ‘school’ (Italian from Greek). Two are nursery words of indeterminate origin (мàma/мàма ‘mummy’, тàта/тàта ‘daddy’); ninety-seven are inherited from Proto-Slavonic. The next hundred include two Church Slavonicisms: прìчати ‘to tell’ from прі́ча ‘parable’ and вàздùх/вàздûх ‘air’ from вàздûхъ; and a non-Slavonic item: sòba/сòба ‘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). Дàк/ђак ‘pupil’ and лѝвада/лѝвада ‘meadow’ are Greek, мàй/мàй ‘May’ and минùт/минùт ‘a minute’ Latin. French provides автòбус/аятòбус and партìзàн/партизàн, English паrk/пàрк, Hungarian лòпта/лòпта ‘ball’ and German пûшка/пûшка ‘gun’ (originally Ancient Greek). Some origins are less certain; прѝрода/природа may be Czech or Church Slavonic. Our sample also contains љòлскì/џо̀лскй, derived from љòла/џо̀ла, and излѐт/излёт ‘excursion’ and изглеђати/изгледати ‘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 грàна/гра́на ‘branch’, шûма/шûма ‘forest’, кûсà/кûха ‘house’, гòдина/гòдина meaning ‘year’; the second group includes јer/јеп ‘for (conjunction)’ < *ježe, прòд(ј)ече/прòлеће (прòлеће) ‘spring’, рàдити/рàдити ‘to work, do’, рад/рад ‘labour, work’, кìша/кìша ‘rain’, бáцити/бáцити ‘to throw’, тра́жити/тражити ‘to search for’, дòгaђаj/дòгaђаj ‘event’. Дòживљаj/дòживљaj ‘an experience’, a later coinage, is shared with Slovene. Some unexpected meanings have developed within Serbo-Croat: among our 500, we find вòл(ј)ети/вòлети (вòлети) ‘to love’, older ‘to prefer’; јаk/јаk ‘strong’ (Proto-Slavonic *jakъ ‘what kind of’), пòсоa/pòсaо, генitive пòсла/pòсла ‘work, task’ (*pòслъ ‘person who is sent’); ћуvати/чукvати ‘keep’ from the root *чуj- ‘to perceive’ seen in чути/чûти ‘to hear’; врло/врло ‘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 пàtos/пàтос ‘floor’, still characterize the Serbian standard; others like мòрис/мòрьис ‘smell’ occur in all variants. Many religious terms entered Serbian Orthodox terminology through Church Slavonic: идол/
йдол 'idol', iguman/йгуман 'abbot'.

Orthodox religious and abstract vocabulary, if not Greek, is Church Slavonic, often calqued from Greek: prórok/prórok 'prophet' translating Greek прорóхтés, њченik/ђченик 'disciple', later 'pupil', сáв(ij)ěst/сáв(ij)ěст 'conscience', свёшенik/свёштеник 'priest'. As Ivić (Brozović and Ivić 1988: 44) observes, Croat vocabulary (presented here in Latinica) shares some of these religious Grecisms and Slavonicisms (идол, пророк, љщенik), thanks to the Glagolitic writers' wide use of Church Slavonic, and also has many Latinisms (brevijár 'breviary') and domestic coinages (свёченik 'priest'). Опат '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 (дупйн 'dolphin'), many Italian (especially Venetian: сигурan/сигуран 'sure').

Hungarian loans have entered Kajkavian, and some have spread further: кип/кип 'statue', варао/ваоро 'town'. Similarly with Germanisms: кухinja/кухиня 'kitchen', шкода/шкода 'damage'.

Turkish influences on Serbo-Croat begin in the fourteenth century. Some words still mark Muslim milieus, as севдах/севдах 'melancholy, love', сокак/сокак 'alley', whereas others join the general vocabulary: баа/баш 'precisely', джеzва/джеzва 'Turkish coffee pot', ћорсокак/ћорсокак '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 бадава/бадава 'for free', German шницла/шницла 'cutlet', парада́ж/парада́ж 'tomato', the last with exceptional placement of falling accent) is colloquial and its replacement (бесплатно/бесплатно, одрезак/одрезак, рађница/рађница based on раj/pаj '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: оконлост 'circumstance', naslov 'title', преглед 'survey' (from Czech прехлéd by 'undoing' Czech palatalization of *r and spirantization of *g). Some then spread to Serbia: околност, наслов, преглед.

Numerous Greco-Latin words enter during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: литература/литература, интересантан/интересантан, etimологija/етимологија, пoдзija/пoдзija. 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: književnosti/књижевност for 'literature', р(j)есништво/р(j)есништво for 'poetry'. Other proposals failed:
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 > prohůbnica/prohibitija, 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 > pejsmējker/пејсмежкер (also written pace-maker), flower power > flower power/flăuer паuer/флăуер пауер.

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: Dolòres/Долорес (name), lèdi/леди 'lady' (our exposition follows P. Ivič/Π. Ивич 1972 closely). Nouns in final -a join the a-declension and become feminine: korida/корида 'corrida', with stem as seen in genitive korid-ё/корид-ё; Atlanta/Атланта, Atlant-ё/Атлант-ё (city). But -a nouns denoting human males or (sometimes) animals are a-declension masculines: Kaunda/Каунда (surname), gorila/горила '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: kuplung/куплунг 'automobile clutch' (German), genitive kuplung-a/куплунг-а; auto/авто 'car', aut-a/Авт-а; finale/финале 'finale', final-a/финал-а. Nouns in final -i, -u or any long vowel include these segments in their stem: tábu/табу 'taboo', tábu-a/табу-а; bife/бифе 'bar, snack bar', bife-a/бифе-а; Māra/Māра 'Marat (French revolutionary)', Marà-a/Марà-а. J is intercalated between -i/-u, -i/-й and endings: hōbi/хоби 'hobby', hōbi-j-a/хоби-ј-а; žirí/жири 'jury', žirí-j-a/жири-ј-а.

Sub-regularities characterize nouns of particular origins. Turkish forms in -i/u/i/u become a-declension nouns in -ija/-ија, masculine for human males, otherwise feminine: sanatlı/санатлиja 'craftsman', köprü/кљуприja/ћуприja (F) 'bridge'. Europeanisms containing Latin -tio (English -tion) take the form -cija/-ција, a-declension (F): амбиција/амбиција, degradacija/dеградација.

Adjectives usually add a Serbo-Croat adjectival suffix: ābdomināl-nī/абдоминал-ні, nostālgic > nostalgič-an/носталгич-ан, or replace foreign suffixes with native ones: atomic > атом-ски/атом-ски. The resulting forms decline, and are compared if semantically justified: nostalgiciji/nostalгицији, najnostalgičnij/najносталгичниjи 'more, most nostalgic'. Some foreign adjectives however get no suffix, remaining
indeclinable: bёž халjина/бёж хаљина ‘a beige dress’, njihova игра je фёп ‘their playing is sportsmanlike’. They compare periphrastically, if at all: вёш ћер/вишё фёп ‘fairest’, нёвишё фёп ‘fairest’.

Over 2,000 foreign verbs (Matešić 1965–7) add suffixes -ира/-йра-ти, -ова/-ова-ти or -иса/-иса-ти (present stems -ира/-йра-, -уй-е/-уй-е-, -йё-/-йё-е-): erodirati/еродйрати ‘to erode’, paralizovati/парализовати ‘to paralyse’, eliminisati/елиминизати ‘to eliminate’. Doublets exist, with -и-’avati favoured in the Croat standard (paralizirati, eliminirati). Almost all such verbs are bi-aspectual; but pairs with prefixed perfectives appear: provocirati/провоцирати, is-/ис- ‘to provoke’, komentirati/коментйрати, про-/про- ‘to comment (on)’.

Loan verbs can also receive -а/-а-ти (present -а/-а-) and rarely -ну/-ну-ти (present -не/-не-) without intervening suffix (Filipović 1990): стартати/стартати ‘to start (a race)’ perfective; bildati/билдати ‘to engage in body-building’ imperfective; blefnuti/блефнути ‘to bluff’ perfective. Prefixed perfectives can be formed: miksati/миксати ‘to mix’, izmiksati/измиксати ‘to ‘bluff’ imperfective, izmiksati/измиксати 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 ijekavski bijel/бијел, ekavski бёо/боо, бёла/бёла
2 black crн/црн (but note crно вино/црнho вино ‘red wine’)
3 red crven/црвен, also rумen/румен ‘ruddy, as of face (poetic)’
4 green зёлен/зелен
5 yellow жут/жут
6 blue плав/плав ‘blue, also blond (of hair), also мёдар/мёдар, мёдра/мёдра ‘blue, dark blue (frequently poetic)’
7 brown смёд/смёд, браон (браун)/браон (браун) indeclinable, мёк/мёк ‘dark brown, dark’
8 purple ljубицт/љубицист ‘violet’
9 pink рёжичт/рёжичст, роза/rоза indeclinable
10 orange нарёшт, нёрошт/нёрошт ‘orange, orange (of hair)’
11 grey сив/сив; с(и)ед/c(и)ед ‘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: mřk/мрк has frequency 85 (some of which must have meant 'dark, gloomy'), směď/смěђ 42 and brąon/брąон 32, but brąon/брąон is probably least limited in combinability. Ljubičast/Љубичаст, růžičast/рůжичаст and nărâncast/нărâncias, though derived from flowers and fruits (ljubíćica/Љубићица 'a violet', růža/ружа 'a rose', nărâncë/нărâncias 'an orange'), have no serious competition in the senses of colours 8 to 10. Ljubičast/Љубичаст and růžičast/рůжичаст are well established, occurring 21 and 20 times in Lukić. Nărâncast/нărâncias 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>body part</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>genitive singulars</th>
<th>examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>gláva/глава</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>đko/đко</td>
<td>đči/đчи feminine</td>
<td>đčijý/đчијý</td>
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<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td>nòs/nòс, plural nòsovi/nòсови</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ear</td>
<td>ўхо/њфо; Serbian standard also ўво/њфо</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ears</td>
<td>ўши/њфши feminine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>ўста/њфста neuter plurale tantum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hair</td>
<td>kòsa/коса (all the hair on the head); dlàka/длака 'a hair; hair(s) growing on the body'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>neck</td>
<td>vrát/врат, also ѕжа/њжа</td>
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<tr>
<td>arm/hand</td>
<td>rûka/рука</td>
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<tr>
<td>hand</td>
<td>šaka/шака (considered part of rûka/рука; also 'fist')</td>
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<tr>
<td>finger</td>
<td>prst/прст, plural прсти/прсти, genitive прсті/прстјі (прстіјп)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>thumb</td>
<td>палац/палач, палца</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>leg/foot</td>
<td>nòga/нора</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foot</td>
<td>стóпalo/стопало (considered part of nòga/нора)</td>
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<tr>
<td>toe</td>
<td>прст/прст, прст na нòзи/прст на нòзи, нòзни прст/нòзни прст</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>big toe</td>
<td>палац (на нòзи)/палач (на нòзи), нòзни палац/нòзни палац</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chest</td>
<td>прса/прса neuter plural (also 'breast'); grüdi/грюди feminine i-declension plural (also 'breast'), singular rare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>heart</td>
<td>sřce/cрце</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

5.4.3 Kinship terms
mother: mājka/мајка, мати/мати (see section 3.1.2)
father: đtac/дтац, genitive đca/ђца, plural đčevi/ђчеви
sister: sèstra/cèstra. Can include ‘female cousin’, but ròdenâ/pòđenâ (‘born’) sèstra/cèstra is only ‘sister’.

brother: brât/brâť, plural brâća/brâća (declined as feminine singular a-declension; attributive agreement accordingly; neuter plural predicative agreement). Can include ‘male cousin’, but ròdenî brât/pòđenî brât is only ‘brother’.

aunt: têtka/tētka ‘father’s sister, mother’s sister’;

strina/cstrīna ‘father’s brother’s wife’;

újna/ýjna ‘mother’s brother’s wife’

uncle: stric/cstrīć, plural strīčevi/cstrīčevi ‘father’s brother’;

újāk/ýjāk ‘mother’s brother’;

tētak/tētak, genitive tētka/tētka, or tēča/tēča ‘husband of tētka/tētka’

niece: nećākinja/neħâkiña, nèćaka/nèħaka, also sèstrična/sèstrieña ‘sister’s daughter’;

sinòvica/sinòviça, brâtič(i)na/brâtič(i)na, nećākinja/neħâkiña ‘brother’s daughter’

nephew: nèćāk/nèħâk, also sèstrič/cstrīć ‘sister’s son’;

sinòvac/sinòvaç, brâtić/brâtić, nèćāk/nèħâk ‘brother’s son’

cousin (female): sèstra/cèstra; ròđaka/pòđaka, rođākinja/pođākiña ‘relative’;

sèstra od tētkē/cèstra od tētkē ‘daughter of one’s tētkē/tētkē’;

sèstra od strīca/cèstra od strīca ‘daughter of one’s stric/cstrīć’;

sèstra od ûjāka/cèstra od ûjāka ‘daughter of one’s ûjāk/ûjāk’

cousin (male): brât/brâť; ròdāk/pòđāk ‘relative’;

brât od tētkē/brâť od tētkē ‘son of one’s tētkē/tētkē’;

brât od strīca/brâť od strīca ‘son of one’s stric/strīć’;

brât od ûjāka/brâť od ûjāka ‘son of one’s ûjāk/ûjāk’

(Speakers disagree about subclassifications of nieces, nephews and cousins.)

grandmother: bàba/bâba, bâka/bâka (diminutive, but frequent)

d(j)êd/d(j)êd, ekavski also dêda/dêda

žēna/jēṇa (also ‘woman’); sùpruga/cỳprugə (‘spouse’)

husband: mûž/mûž (not usually ‘man’); sûprug/cỳprug (‘spouse’)
6 Dialects

Serbo-Croat speakers, conscious of dialect divisions, identify themselves as kajkavci/кайкавци, čakavci/чакавци or štokavci/штокавци and according to their reflex of jat’ (section 2.1) as ėkačvci/јекавци, (i)jékavci/ (и)јекавци or ikavci/икавци. The main divisions, Kajkavian, Čakavian and Štokavian, are named after their words for ‘what’: kaj < */съ;ь (dialect forms use Latin transcription), ča <*čb and što or šta < *čb-to (a in šta 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: noć ‘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 *е is often low: saelo < *selo ‘village’, zet < *zetb ‘brother-in-law’, unlike that of jat’ as in leto < *leto ‘year’, which is often joined by strong *ь/*ъ: pes < pеsb ‘dog’. */ or *о or both may give closed ə as in *v/къ > вək ‘wolf’, *моъ > мəs ‘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 -а 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 *będę plus /-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

- Sumadija-Vojvodina
- Kosovo-Resava
- Smederevo-Vršac
- Prizren-S. Morava (Torlak)
- Srpska-Zaplanje (Torlak)
- Timok-Lučica (Torlak)
- Bulgarian and Macedonian dialects allied to Prizren-Timok
- Emigrant dialects from N.E. Serbia
- Zeta
- Eastern Hercegovinian
- Long \( \acute{\varepsilon} \), \( \varepsilon \), short \( \acute{\varepsilon} \)
- Eastern Bosnian (remnants)
- Younger Ikavian
- Eastern Serb/Croat Ikavian
- Slavonian
- Krajčevian
- Čakavian

*\( \acute{\varepsilon} \) marks separate \( \acute{\varepsilon} \) reflex, elsewhere ekavian

Dashed-line hatchings (---) indicate Serbo-Croat in predominantly non-Serbo-Croat areas
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 ča). For Proto-Slavonic tj Čakavian has a variety of č transcribed [t’], for dj it has j: not’, meja. In sporadic lexemes *e, which otherwise becomes e, yields a after palatal: *jézyk, *početi > 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 *býxъ. 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 ču 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, bil, 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 neoaucute from falling (neo)circumflex on longs. But the sources of the neoaucute 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-Hercegovina, 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 d (*do- jbešb > doneš ‘you come’) and the new ending -a for o-declension and a-declension genitive plurals. Most of the area has št, žd for older šć, žd (section 2.2), but some ‘šćakavian’ western dialects preserve šč, žd. Shared with part of Kajkavian is the change of *dj to an affricate d (Kajkavian dž), opposed to Čakavian j. Shared with part of Čakavian are the changes čř > cr (črn > crn ‘black’), vř/ vř > u before consonant (prefix and preposition u ‘in’, udovica * vř-dova ‘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 (oko, sestra, glavä, also bàba from Proto-Slavonic acute) but two, rising and falling, distinguished on longs (rising sùša ‘drought’, falling mëso ‘meat’). A newer system neutralizes the long accents: sùša, mëso. Finally, the neo-Štokavian accent shift creates new rising accents on the syllable preceding non-initial accents: sestra > sëstra with new short rising, glavä > glava 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 [ç] (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 ç or ë 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 ɔ for strong *ъ/ь. Final / 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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