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Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	n	neuter
AOR	aoorist	NEG	negative
AP	active participle	NOM	nominative
AUX	auxiliary verb	P	perfective (aspect)
COL	collective	PC	particle
DAT	dative	PL	plural
f	feminine	PP	passive participle
FU	future I	PR	present
GEN	genitive	R	reflexive
I	imperfective (aspect)	RPOS	reflexive possessive pronoun
IMP	imperative	SC	Serbo-Croatian
INF	infinitive	SUB	subordinator
INST	instrumental	VOC	voc
IRG	interrogative particle	1	1st personative
LOC	locative	2	2nd person
m	masculine	3	3rd person

0. Socio- and geolinguistic data

0.1. Genealogical placing and number of speakers

The language which in linguistic literature is most commonly called Serbo-Croatian (SC) belongs to the Southern branch of the Slavonic group of the Indo-European language family. It is spoken by approximately 17 million people in four of the six republics of the former Yugoslavia: Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina. After the disintegration of Yugoslavia, each of the three countries which emerged from the four republics now calls this language according to its ethnic identity: Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian.¹ It is also spoken by expatriates, particularly in Western Europe, and certain cities in the North and South America and Australia.



0.2. Dialects and the standard language

Of the three dialects spoken in the area of the present-day SC (Štokavian, Kajkavian, Čakavian), in the 19th century, the Štokavian was chosen for the basis of the standard SC language because it was the most widely spread dialect: it was spoken in all Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, and a larger part of Croatia, east and south-east of the Čakavian and the Kajkavian dialect (see Map 1).²

MAP 1: Serbo-Croatian Dialects



Within the Štokavian dialect variations in the pronunciation of the old phoneme "jat" (ě) can be distinguished: the ekavian pronunciation *sneg* 'snow', *pesma* 'song', the (i)jekavian pronunciation *snijeg*, *pjesma*, the ikavian pronunciation *snig*, *pisma*. The (i)jekavian pronunciation is the standard form in Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, while in Serbia, in addition to the (i)jekavian, the dominant ekavian pronunciation is also standard.

1. Phonology

1.1. Vowels

1.1.1. There are 5 vowels in SC: /i, e, a, o, u/. The vowels of SC are shown in the Table 1 (their frequency is shown in the Diagram 1 on the page 7):

TABLE 1: Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low	a		
	Unrounded		Rounded

Each vowel can be long or short. The vowels are not reduced even when not stressed.

1.1.2. In addition to the vowels, /r/ can also be syllabic:

- between two consonants (or a consonant and a sonant) *prst* 'finger', *prvi* 'first', *krv* 'blood', *crn* 'black';

- at the beginning of a word in front of a consonant *rt* 'cape', *rzati* 'to neigh', *rdati* 'to rust';

- at the boundary between a prefix and a consonant *zardati* 'to get rusty', *porvati se* 'to wrestle'.

In foreign words and dialect toponyms /l/ and /n/ can also be syllabic: *bicikl* 'bicycle', *njutr* 'newtn'.

1.2. Consonants

1.2.1. There are 25 consonants in SC. The consonants of SC are shown in the Table 2 (their frequency is shown in the Diagram 1 on the page 7):

TABLE 2: Consonants

			Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Palatal	Velar
Obstruent	Stop	Voiced	b		d				g
		Voiceless	p		t				k
	Fricative	Voiced		v	z		ž		
		Voiceless		f	s		š		h
	Affricate	Voiced					dž	d	
		Voiceless			c		č	ć	
Sonorant	Nasal		m			n		nj	
	Liquid	Lateral				l		lj	
		Vibrant				r			
	Glide							j	

Note: In IPA terms /ž/ = [ʒ], /dž/ = [dʒ], /d/ = [ɟ], /l/ = [l], /nj/ = [ɲ], /š/ = [ʃ], /č/ = [tʃ], /ć/ = [tɕ].³

1.2.2. The phoneme /v/ is a fricative and therefore obstruent, but it behaves as a sonorant in not taking part in the assimilation in voicing (see 1.3.1.1.), e.g. *ovca* 'sheep', *ovčar* 'shepherd', *tvoj* 'your'.

1.2.3. Voiced phonemes remain voiced at the end of the word as well.

1.2.4. The graphic system follows the phonetic one. There are two alphabets: Latin and Cyrillic (only in Croatia, in the last few years, the official alphabet has been exclusively the Latin one). Latin and Cyrillic letters are: Aa/Aa, Bb/Бб, Cc/Цц, Čč/Чч, Ćć/Ћћ, Dd/Дд, Dždž/Дж, Đđ/Ђђ, Ee/Ee, Ff/Фф, Gg/Гг, Hh/Xx, Ii/Ии, Jj/Jj, Kk/Kк, Ll/Лл, Llj/Љљ, Mm/Mм, Nn/Нн, Nnj/Њњ, Oo/Oo, Pp/Пп, Rr/Pp, Ss/Cc, Šš/Шш, Tt/Tt, Uu/Yy, Vv/Bb, Zz/Зз, Žž/Жж. The order they are given in here is Latin, whereas the Cyrillic ordering is somewhat different: а, б, в, г, д, њ, е, ж, з, и, ј, к, л, љ, м, н, њ, о, п, р, с, т, х, у, ф, х, ц, ч, ц, ш.

1.2.5. The orthography is based on the phonetic principle ("words are written in the way they are pronounced", with some exceptions). In writing this principle does not extend beyond the word level.

1.3. Morphophonemic alternations

1.3.1. Consonant alternations

1.3.1.1. Assimilation in voicing. In word formation or in declension when two consonants which differ in voicing are found next to each other, the former always gets adapted in voicing to the latter (assimilation is regressive) *težak* - *teška* 'heavy: m-f, učiti 'to study' - *učbenik* 'textbook'. Assimilation is reflected in writing except in *d* followed by *s* or *š*: *brod* 'ship' - *brodski* 'of a ship'.

³ The meaning of the words containing č or ć remains the same even if the speaker does not realize a dissimilar pronunciation of č and ć. Therefore it is not necessary to pay a special attention to realizing a dissimilar pronunciation of č and ć in the spoken language. The majority of native speakers pronounce both č and ć in the same way, making no difference between them. The same holds for dž and d as well.

¹ There are tendencies to establish Montenegrin as well, see V. Nikčević, *Crnogorski jezik*, Cetinje 1993. In the past SC was in the grammar books and dictionaries also called *Iliric*, *Slavonian*, *Dalmatian* etc.

² In the 19th century, in Zagreb (one of the language standardization centres) the decision not to take the Kajkavian but the Štokavian as the basis for the standard language was the peculiarity of the standardization because Zagreb is situated in the middle of the Kajkavian language community. It was done in this way in order to help the unification of Croatian Kingdom, in which Zagreb became the capital, with two more Austria-Hungarian provinces Slavonian Kingdom and Dalmatian Kingdom in the one Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian Kingdom. The words "Slavonian-Dalmatian" were later dropped out of this name and the today's name "Croatia" remained. Istria is later joined to Croatia.

1.3.1.2. Assimilation in palatality. Consonants *s* and *z* are pronounced and written *š* and *ž* when followed by palatals *dž*, *č*, *d*, *ć*, *lj*, *nj*, e.g. *paziti* 'to pay attention' - *pažnja* 'attention', *čistiti* 'to clean' - *raščistiti* 'to clean up'. This assimilation does not affect *s* and *z* followed by *lj*, *nj* that are root-initial, e.g. *ljutiti* - *razljutiti* 'to make someone angry: I-P', or which are the result of the latest, "jekavian" jotation, e.g. (i)jekavian *sljepoća* versus ekavian *slepoća* 'blindness'.

1.3.1.3. Simplification of consonant clusters in pronunciation and writing. When two identical consonants are found next to each other, one is omitted: *od* + *dvojiti* = *odvojiti* 'to separate'. The same happens when the consonants have become identical due to assimilation: *iz* + *stupiti* = *istupiti* 'to step out'. Reduplication is possible only in the superlative (reduplication of *j*), e.g. *najjači* 'the strongest'. Dental stops are omitted when followed by affricates: *otac* - *oca* 'father: NOM-GEN' (instead of *otca*). They are also omitted between *s*, *z*, *ž* and *n*, *l* or some other consonants: *bolestan* 'ill' - *bolesnik* 'ill person' (instead of *bolesnik*), *žalostan* - *žalosna* 'sad: m-f' (instead of *žalostna*). They are not omitted at the prefix-root boundary: *iz* + *tlačiti* = *istlačiti* 'to oppress'.

1.3.1.4. Alternation of velars *k*, *g*, *h* into palatals *č*, *ž*, *š*⁴ *a* in front of *e* in inflexion, but not always, e.g. in masculine nouns the vocative singular ending *-e* causes palatalization *radnik* - *radniče* 'worker: NOM-VOC', and the accusative plural ending *-e* does not cause palatalization *radnik* - *radnike*; in the present of verbs with stems ending in a velar *pečem* - *peku* 'I bake - they bake'; b) in front of *j*, *i*, *e* in word formation *sluga* 'servant' - *služiti* 'to serve', *prah* 'powder' - *prašina* 'dust', but not always, for instance the diminutive forming suffix *-ica* causes palatalization, but sometimes in addition to the palatalized, the unchanged stem is also possible *noga* 'leg' - *nožica* - *nogica* 'little leg'.

1.3.1.5. Alternation of velars *k*, *g*, *h* in front of *i* into *c*, *z*, *s* in the imperative of verbs with stems ending in a velar, e.g. *rekao* - *reci* 'he said - say!', in the nominative, dative, locative, and instrumental of masculine plurals, e.g. *radnik* - *radnici* - *radnicima* 'worker - workers - to workers', in the dative and locative of feminine singulars, e.g. *ruka* - *ruci* 'arm - to arm' (but *mačka* - *mački* 'cat' and, in personal names, *Branka* - *Branki*).

1.3.1.6. Alternation of consonants in front of *j*, the so-called "jotation", appears in the passive participle verbs with the infinitive stem ending in *-i*, in the present of verbs with the infinitive stem ending in *-a* and the first person singular present ending *-(i)jem* (except when in the infinitive stem *r* or *v* is in front of *a*), in the comparative of certain adjectives, in the instrumental of *i*-type nouns, in word formation: a) *s*, *z* alternate with *š*, *ž*, e.g. *nositi* 'to carry' - *nošen* 'carried', *pisati* 'to write' - *pišem* 'I write', *nizak* 'low' - *niži* 'lower'; b) *t*, *d* alternate with *ć*, *đ*, e.g. *roditi* 'to give birth' - *rođen* 'born', *smrt* - *smréu* 'death: NOM-INST'; c) *k*, *g*, *h* alternate with *č*, *ž*, *š*, e.g. *dug* 'long' - *duži* 'longer', *mahati* 'to wave' - *mašem* 'I wave'; d) *l*, *n* alternate with *lj*, *nj*, e.g. *dalek* 'far' - *dalji* 'farther'; e) *lj* is added after labials, e.g. *ljubiti* 'to kiss' - *ljubljen* 'kissed', *glup* 'stupid' - *gluplji* 'more stupid'.

1.3.2. Vowel alternations

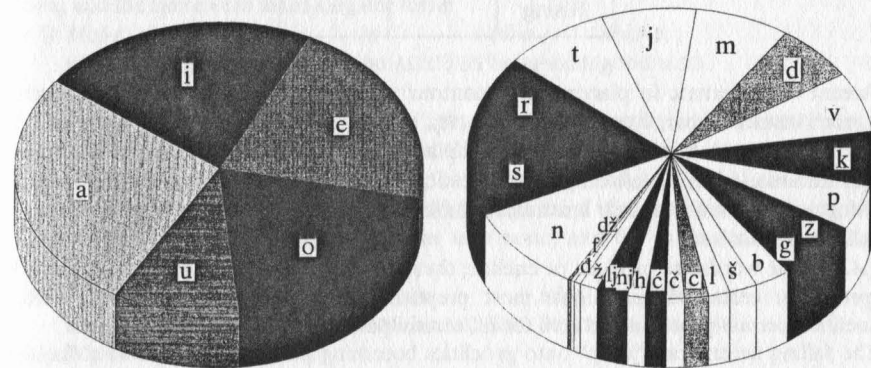
1.3.2.1. At the end of a word or a syllable there is the *l* - *o* alternation: in the active participle of masculine singular without exceptions *radila* - *radio* 'she worked - he worked' and in the nouns derived from it *radionica* 'workshop'; in adjectives and nouns

with exceptions *mila* - *mio* 'dear: f-m', *posla* - *posao* 'job: GEN-NOM/ACC', but *bola* - *bol* 'pain: GEN-NOM/ACC'.

1.3.2.2. Alternation *a* - \emptyset (the so-called "movable *a*"). This alternation affects the final consonant cluster (which often includes a sonorant): in the nominative singular and the genitive plural masculine of nouns *podatak* 'fact', *podataka* - *podatku*, *momak* 'young man', *momaka* - *momku*; in the nominative singular masculine of indefinite adjectives *dobar* 'good' - *dobri*, *gladan* 'hungry' - *gladni*; in the genitive plural feminine of nouns *kruška* 'pear' - *krušaka*, *sestra* 'sister' - *sestara*; in the nominative singular masculine of pronouns *sav* 'all' - *svi*, *kakav* 'of what sort' - *kakvi*; in the active participle of masculine singular of some verbs with stems ending in an obstruent *rekao* 'he said' - *rekli*, *došao* 'he arrived' - *došli*. The alternation *a* - \emptyset is frequent in loan-words such as *metar* 'meter' - *metri*, *centar* 'centre' - *centri*. It does not affect clusters *st*, *zd*, *št*, *žd*, *šč*, *žd*, as well as the consonant plus *j* clusters: *cesta* 'road' - *cesta*, *plašt* 'robe', *prst* 'finger'.

Insertion of the vowel *a* as well as alternations such as omission of one of two identical consonants and omission of dental stops give SC a high relative frequency of vowels as compared to consonants (45% : 55% in the written language with the (i)jekavian alternation of "jat"; see the Diagram 1).

DIAGRAM 1: Frequency of vowels (45%) and consonants (55%)



a 27%, i 22%, e 21%, o 20%, u 10%

n 9,9%, s 9,1%, r 8,8%, t 8,3%, j 7,6%, m 7,4%, d 6,6%, v 6,5%, k 6,3%, p 5,0%, z 3,4%, g 3,1%, b 2,7%, š 2,3%, l 1,8%, c 1,7%, č 1,6%, ć 1,5%, h 1,4%, nj 1,4%, lj 1,3%, ž 1,3%, d 0,5%, f 0,4%, dž 0,03%

1.3.2.3. The alternation *o* - *e* after *č*, *dž*, *š*, *ž*, *ć*, *đ*, *j*, *lj*, *nj*, *c*, *št*, *žd* and sometimes *r*. It is applied in masculine and neuter declensions: in instrumental singular nouns *park* 'park' - *parkom*, *kralj* 'king' - *kraljem* (sometimes prevented by the dissimilation of a vowel *zec* 'rabbit' - *zecom*) and in the infix for long plural *nož* 'knife' - *noževi*; in all cases neuter singular adjectives and pronouns (except in the instrumental), e.g. *novo* 'new' - *tude* 'somebody else's', *njihovog* 'their' - *našeg* 'our', and in the genitive, dative, accusative, and locative masculine singular adjectives and pronouns *novom* - *tudem*, *njihovog* - *našeg*. In

⁴ This alternation, as well as the others that will be mentioned, has its roots in the history of the language, which cannot be dealt with here due to the scope of the book.

feminine declension it is applied only in the vocative singular of most nouns with the suffix *-ica*, while in feminine adjectives and pronouns it is not applied.

1.3.2.4. The alternation *ije - je - e - i*. Instead of the Old Slavonic "jat" (*ě*), in the ekavian pronunciation there is the vowel *e*, whereas in the (i)jckavian pronunciation there are alternations: *ije* in long syllables, *je* in short ones, e.g. *svijet* 'world' - *svjetski* 'wordly', *razumjeti - razumijevati* 'to understand: P-I'; *i* in front of *o* which is the alternant of *l*, e.g. *dio* 'part' - *dijela*, *vidio* 'he saw' - *vidjela* 'she saw'; *e* in a short syllable after a consonant and *r*, e.g. *vrijeme* 'time' - *vremena*.

1.4. Accent

1.4.1. SC has four accents, which include features of length and pitch: short falling (˘), long falling (˙), short rising (ˆ), long rising (ˊ), e.g. *brāt* 'brother', *grād* 'town', *vōda* 'water', *rūka* 'hand'.

TABLE 3: Accents

Length Pitch	Short	Long
Falling	˘	˙
Rising	ˆ	ˊ

Accent can alternate in placement or contour within the paradigm of a word: *imena* 'name' GEN.SG, *imēna* NOM.SG, *iménā* GEN.PL.

1.4.2. The accent on polysyllables is never placed on the last syllable. The falling accent appears on monosyllables; on polysyllables it can appear only on the first syllable. The rising accent cannot appear on monosyllables; on polysyllables it can appear on any syllable but the last.

1.4.3. Some words are proclitic or enclitic, thus having no accented syllable of their own (proclitics: certain conjunctions, most prepositions, the negation *ne* before verbs; enclitics: certain pronoun and verb forms, certain particles; see 8.2.4.).

The falling accent can "jump" onto proclitics becoming the rising accent: *trēbā* 'he/she needs' - *nē trebā* 'he/she doesn't need'.

1.4.4. Post-accentual length is notated (˘), e.g. *pōplava* 'flood' NOM.SG - *pōplāvā* GEN.PL.

1.4.5. Accent and post-accentual length are not indicated in writing⁵, except in those rare instances (in the GEN.PL) when an ambiguity could arise.

2. Nouns

2.1. Nominal categories

Grammatical categories visible in the declension of nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and some numerals are number, gender, case, and animacy. All these participate in

⁵ This fact proves at the same time that the non-distinguishing of the pronunciation of the four accents does not disturb the spoken communication as well (those who learn SC should pay attention to the place of the accent, although the wrong place of the accent mostly does not change the meaning of the word; the accent occurs most often on the first syllable).

agreement within and without the noun phrase. Adjectives manifest also definiteness-indefiniteness and comparison.

2.1.1. The numbers are singular and plural. There is also a remnant of the dual (with numerals 2, 3, and 4).

2.1.1.1. Some nouns are singularia tantum: *čov(j)ek* 'man', *brat* 'brother', *d(ij)ete* 'child', *gospodin* 'gentleman'. As their plurals there are: the suppletive plural *ljudi* 'people' (pluralia tantum), collective nouns *braća* 'brothers', *d(j)eca* 'children', *gospoda* 'gentlemen' (feminine singular in form). Agreement with *braća*, *d(j)eca*, *gospoda*: modifiers and parts of the predicate which express gender take feminine singular form, and the finite verb takes plural form:

- (1) *Moj-a brać-a su bil-a dobr-a.*
my-NOM.f.SG brothers-NOM.f.SG be:AUX.3.PL be:AP-f.SG good-f.SG
'My brothers were good.'
- (2) *Putuj s moj-om brać-om!*
travel:IMP.2.SG with my-INST.f.SG brothers-INST.f.SG
'Travel with my brothers!'

Collective and mass nouns are usually singularia tantum. By form they are: a) feminine *braća* 'brothers'; b) neuter *voće* 'fruit', *povrće* 'vegetables'. Agreement with the neuter nouns: modifiers and parts of the predicate that express gender take neuter singular form, and the finite verb takes singular form:

- (3) *Moj-e voć-e je bil-o dobr-o.*
my-NOM.n.SG fruit-NOM.n.SG be:AUX.3.SG be:AP-n.SG good-n.SG
'My fruit was good.'

2.1.1.2. Apart from the noun *ljudi* 'people', pluralia tantum are also some nouns denoting objects made of two or more parts. By form they are: a) feminine *hlače* 'trousers', *naočale* 'glasses', *novine* 'newspapers', *grudi* 'chest'; b) neuter *kola* 'car', *leđa* 'back', *usta* 'mouth'. Agreement with pluralia tantum: modifiers and parts of the predicate which express gender take the same gender and number as a noun, and the finite verb takes plural form:

- (4) *Moj-e novin-e su bil-e dobr-e.*
my-NOM.f.PL newspaper-NOM.f.PL be:AUX.3.PL be:AP-f.PL good-f.PL
'My newspaper was good.'
- (5) *Moj-a kol-a su bil-a dobr-a.*
my-NOM.n.PL car-NOM.n.PL be:AUX.3.PL be:AP-n.PL good-n.PL
'My car was good.'
- (6) *Putuj moj-im kol-ima!*
travel:IMP.2.SG my-INST.n.PL car-INST.n.PL
'Travel by my car!'

2.1.2. The gender is grammatical: masculine, feminine, and neuter.

2.1.2.1. Most masculine nouns in the nominative singular end in a consonant, e.g. *sin* 'son', *stol* 'table', *dan* 'day'. A smaller group of masculine nouns in the nominative singular end in *-o* that originates from *-l*, e.g. *posao* 'job', *anđeo* 'angel', *smisao* 'sense'. Some personal names end in *-o* or (after a palatal) in *-e*, e.g. *Marko*, *Slavko*, *Hrvoje*. Many words of foreign origin that in the nominative singular end in vowels *-i*, *-o*, *-e* or *-u* are also masculine, e.g. *taksi* 'taxi', *auto* 'car', *pire* 'mashed potatoes', *intervju* 'interview'. All nouns with masculine grammatical gender belong to the *a*-type declension (see 2.2.).

2.1.2.2. Most feminine nouns in the nominative singular have the ending *-a*, e.g. *žena* 'woman', *klupa* 'desk', *tuga* 'sadness'. Some nouns with masculine natural gender also end in *-a* and have feminine grammatical gender, e.g. *kolega* 'colleague', *papa* 'pope', *sluga* 'servant'. Modifiers and parts of predicate agreeing with this nouns take in singular masculine form, and in plural feminine form:

(7) *Moj koleg-a je bio dobar.*
my:NOM.m.SG colleague-NOM.f.SG be:AUX.3.SG be:AP.m.SG good:m.SG
'My colleague was good.'

(8) *Moj-e koleg-e su bil-e dobr-e.*
my:NOM.f.PL colleague-NOM.f.PL be:AUX.3.PL be:AP-f.PL good-f.PL
'My colleagues were good.'

Some personal names whose natural gender is masculine end in *-o* in the nominative singular and have feminine grammatical gender, e.g. *Vlado*, *Franjo*, *Ivo*. Modifiers and parts of predicate agreeing with this nouns take in singular masculine form:

(9) *Moj Vlado je bio dobar.*
my:NOM.m.SG Vlado be:AUX.3.SG be:AP.m.SG good:m.SG
'My Vlado was good.'

All this nouns with feminine grammatical gender belong to the *e*-type declension (see 2.2.).

A group of nouns ending in a consonant are feminine, e.g. *ljubav* 'love', *večer* 'evening', *noć* 'night'. This group includes all abstract nouns with the suffix *-ost*, e.g. *mladost* 'youth', *radost* 'joy', *žalost* 'sorrow'. Also, all collective nouns with the suffix *-ad*, e.g. *burad* 'barrels', *mladunčad* 'offspring'. Several nouns that in the nominative singular end in *-o* that originates of *-l* are feminine, e.g. *misao* 'thought'.

The nouns with feminine grammatical gender which end in a consonant or in *-o* that originates from *-l* belong to the *i*-type declension (see 2.2.).

2.1.2.3. Neuter nouns in the nominative singular end in *-o* or in *-e* (mostly after palatals): *selo* 'village', *polje* 'field', *nebo* 'sky', *pile* 'chicken'. One neuter noun ends in *-a*: *doba* 'season'. It has the declension of the neuter, but it is mostly used in the cases that have the same ending as the nominative. Some words of foreign origin that end in *-o* are neuter, e.g. *korzo* 'promenade', *kino* 'cinema'.

All nouns with neuter grammatical gender belong to the *a*-type declension (see 2.2.).

2.1.3. There are seven cases: nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative, locative, and instrumental.

Independent cases are nominative and vocative (see the syntax of cases in 2.3.). The vocative is used for calling, for direct addressing. The genitive can express possessive, partitive, ablative, and other meanings. It is used both with and without prepositions. The dative denotes direction and the addressee. It is usually used without prepositions. The accusative has the general meaning of wholeness (unlike the genitive, which expresses the partitive meaning) and of dynamics (unlike the locative and instrumental, which express the static relation). The accusative is used with and without prepositions. The locative denotes the position statically (but it has other meanings as well). It is always used with prepositions. The instrumental most often denotes means (most often used without prepositions), accompaniment (with a preposition), place, time.

2.1.4. The category of animacy is manifest in the accusative singular of the masculine nouns and of the pronouns, adjectives and numerals agreeing with them: nouns denoting

animate have the accusative identical to the genitive whereas nouns denoting inanimate have the accusative identical to the nominative:

(10) *Vidim sin-a, konj-a / stol-ø, oblak-ø.*
see:PR.1.SG son-ACC.m.SG horse-ACC.m.SG table-ACC.m.SG cloud-ACC.m.SG
'I see my son, a horse / a table, a cloud.'

The category of grammatical animacy does not always coincide with the category of natural animacy (more in Kordić 1995, 1995b). Thus, for instance, the nouns *mtvac* 'dead man', *pokojnik* 'the deceased', *as* 'ace', *kec* 'ace', and the names of chess pieces are grammatically animate. With car brand names there are both possibilities:

(11) *Vidim ford-a, opel-a / ford-ø, opel-ø.*
see:PR.1.SG Ford-ACC.m.SG Opel-ACC.m.SG Ford-ACC.m.SG Opel-ACC.m.SG
'I see a Ford, an Opel.'

2.2. Declension types

2.2.1. There are three basic declension types, named after the genitive singular ending: the *a*-type, the *e*-type, and the *i*-type.

The *a*-type includes nouns with masculine and neuter grammatical gender (see 2.1.2.1. and 2.1.2.3.).

The *e*-type includes nouns with feminine grammatical gender that end in *-a* or *-o* in the nominative singular (see 2.1.2.2.).

The *i*-type includes nouns with feminine grammatical gender that end in the zero ending or in *-o* that originates from *-l* in the nominative singular (see 2.1.2.2.).

2.2.2. In each of the declension types the dative and the locative always have the same endings. It is only in plural that the dative, locative, and instrumental have the same endings, in addition to the nominative and vocative which, also, have the same endings.

TABLE 4: Declension of the *a*-type nouns (masculine)

	SG	PL
NOM	-ø	-i
GEN	-a	-ā
DAT	-u	-ima
ACC	= NOM or GEN	-e
VOC	-e/-u	= NOM
LOC	= DAT	= DAT
INST	-om/-em	= DAT

	SG		
NOM	učenik-ø	pržatelj-ø	krāj-ø
GEN	učenik-a	pržatelj-a	krāj-a
DAT	učenik-u	pržatelj-u	krāj-u
ACC	učenik-a	pržatelj-a	krāj-ø
VOC	učenič-e	pržatelj-u	krāj-u
LOC	učenik-u	pržatelj-u	krāj-u
INST	učenik-om	pržatelj-em	krāj-em

	PL		
NOM	učenic-i	prjatelj-i	kràjev-i
GEN	učenik-ā	prjatelj-ā	kràjev-ā
DAT	učenic-ima	prjatelj-ima	kràjev-ima
ACC	učenic-e	prjatelj-e	kràjev-e
VOC	učenic-i	prjatelj-i	kràjev-i
LOC	učenic-ima	prjatelj-ima	kràjev-ima
INST	učenic-ima	prjatelj-ima	kràjev-ima

2.2.3. Notes on the declension of the *a*-type nouns:

2.2.3.1. Monosyllabic nouns get the infix *-ov-* in front of the plural ending (or the infix *-ev-* after palatals, see 1.3.2.3.). Exceptions are: *gost* 'guest', *prst* 'finger', *dan* 'day', *zub* 'tooth', *pas* 'dog', *crv* 'worm', *mrav* 'ant', *sat* 'hour' (only in that meaning). Some disyllabic nouns with the movable *a* also get the infix *-ov-*, e.g. *mozak* 'brain', *mozga* GEN.SG - *mozgovi* NOM.PL, *mozgova* GEN.PL; *pljusak* 'shower', *pljuska* - *pljuskovi*, *pljuskova*; *ritam* 'rythm', *ritma* - *ritmovi*, *ritmova*; *ručak* 'lunch', *ručka* - *ručkovi*, *ručkova*.

2.2.3.2. Nominative and vocative plural *-i*, as well as dative, locative, and instrumental plural *-ima* cause consonant alternation, e.g. *učenik* 'pupil' - *učenici*, *učenicima* (see 1.3.1.5.).

2.2.3.3. In the nominative singular and genitive plural there appears the movable *a* in order to separate most of the stem-final consonant clusters, e.g. *nokat* 'fingernail' - *nokti* (see 1.3.2.2.).

2.2.3.4. The vocative ending *-e* causes consonant alternation *radnik* - *radniče* 'worker', *stric* - *striče* 'uncle' (see 1.3.1.4.).

2.2.3.5. Stems ending in a palatal cause vowel alternation in the instrumental singular ending, e.g. *učenikom* 'pupil' - *prijateljem* 'friend' (see 1.3.2.3.), and in the vocative they have the ending *-u* (these two alternations do not completely coincide in the range of nouns they include), e.g. *učeniče* - *prijateljju*.

2.2.3.6. In the genitive plural several monosyllabic masculine nouns which do not have the *ov/ev* infix have the ending *-i* or *-iju*, e.g. *ljudi* 'people', *prstiju* 'fingers'. Some disyllabic nouns also have the ending *-i* in the genitive plural, e.g. *m(j)esec* NOM.SG - *m(j)eseci* GEN.PL 'month' (only in that meaning).

2.2.3.7. Nouns whose stem in the nominative singular ends in *-anin* have the stems ending in *-an* in plural: *Evropljanin* 'European' - *Evropljani* NOM.PL, *Evropljana* GEN.PL.

2.2.3.8. Many male names and foreign words, similarly to neuter nouns, have *-o* in the nominative singular. Such nouns also have the vocative identical to the nominative, e.g. *Darko*, *auto* 'car'.

TABLE 5: Declension of the *a*-type nouns (neuter)

	SG	PL
NOM	-o/-e	-a
GEN	-a	-ā
DAT	-u	-ima
ACC	= NOM	= NOM
VOC	= NOM	= NOM
LOC	= DAT	= DAT
INST	-om/-em	= DAT

	SG		
NOM	sèl-o	pòlj-e	ìme ⁶
GEN	sèl-a	pòlj-a	ìmen-a
DAT	sèl-u	pòlj-u	ìmen-u
ACC	sèl-o	pòlj-e	ìme
VOC	sèl-o	pòlj-e	ìme
LOC	sèl-u	pòlj-u	ìmen-u
INST	sèl-om	pòlj-em	ìmen-om

	PL		
NOM	sèl-a	pòlj-a	imèn-a
GEN	sèl-ā	pòlj-ā	imén-ā
DAT	sèl-ima	pòlj-ima	imèn-ima
ACC	sèl-a	pòlj-a	imèn-a
VOC	sèl-a	pòlj-a	imèn-a
LOC	sèl-ima	pòlj-ima	imèn-ima
INST	sèl-ima	pòlj-ima	imèn-ima

2.2.3.9. Neuter endings differ from the masculine ones only in the nominative, accusative, and vocative: in all three cases neuter nouns in singular have the ending *-o/-e*, in plural *-a*.

Certain neuter nouns expand the stem with the infix *-en-* or *-et-* (except in the nominative, accusative, and vocative singular) *ime* 'name' - *imena*, *pile* 'chicken' - *pileta*. Plural in nouns with the infix *-et-* is usually suppletive, e.g. *pilići* 'chickens' (masculine plural).

Neuter nouns *oko* 'eye' and *uho* 'ear' form the plural of the *i*-type declension.

TABLE 6: Declension of the *e*-type nouns

	SG	PL
NOM	-a	-e
GEN	-ē	-ā, (-ī)
DAT	-i	-ama
ACC	-u	= NOM
VOC	-o, (-a), (-e)	= NOM
LOC	= DAT	= DAT
INST	-ōm	= DAT

⁶ Is *-e* part of the stem or is it not in such nouns - this question is not always answered in the same way in grammar books.

	SG		
NOM	žèn-a	kùć-a	lúk-a
GEN	žèn-ē	kùć-ē	lúk-ē
DAT	žèn-i	kùć-i	lúk-i
ACC	žèn-u	kùć-u	lúk-u
VOC	žèn-o	kùć-o	lúk-o
LOC	žèn-i	kùć-i	lúk-i
INST	žèn-ōm	kùć-ōm	lúk-ōm

	PL		
NOM	žèn-e	kùć-e	lúk-e
GEN	žén-ā	kùć-ā	lúk-ā
DAT	žèn-ama	kùć-ama	lúk-ama
ACC	žèn-e	kùć-e	lúk-e
VOC	žèn-e	kùć-e	lúk-e
LOC	žèn-ama	kùć-ama	lúk-ama
INST	žèn-ama	kùć-ama	lúk-ama

2.2.4. Notes on the declension of the *e*-type nouns:

2.2.4.1. Most personal names have the vocative identical to the nominative, e.g. *Ana*, *Branka*.

Nouns formed with the suffix *-ica* have the ending *-e* in the vocative, e.g. *Ružica* - *Ružice*, *doktorica* 'female doctor' - *doktorice*.

2.2.4.2. In the dative and locative singular the ending *-i* causes consonant alternation, e.g. *banka* 'bank' - *banci* (see 1.3.1.5.).

2.2.4.3. In the genitive plural nouns that have the stem-final consonant cluster there appears the movable *a* in order to separate the consonant cluster (see 1.3.2.2.), or the ending *-i* is used: *olovka* 'pencil' - *olovaka*, *olovki*.

Only three nouns have the ending *-u* in the genitive plural: *ruku* 'arms', *nogu* 'legs', *slugu* 'servants'.

TABLE 7: Declension of the *i*-type nouns

	SG	PL
NOM	-∅	-i
GEN	-i	-ī
DAT	-i	-īma
ACC	=NOM	=NOM
VOC	-i	=NOM
LOC	=DAT	=DAT
INST	-i/-ju	=DAT

	SG	PL
NOM	smřt-∅	smřt-i
GEN	smřt-i	smřt-ī
DAT	smřt-i	smřt-īma
ACC	smřt-∅	smřt-i
VOC	smřt-i	smřt-i
LOC	smřt-i	smřt-īma
INST	smřt-i (smřć-u)	smřt-īma

2.2.5. Notes on the declension of the *i*-type nouns:

2.2.5.1. In the instrumental singular, apart from the ending *-i*, the ending *-ju* is also used and it causes consonant alternation ("jotation", see 1.3.1.6.), e.g. *bolesti/bolešću* 'by illness'.

2.2.5.2. Neuter nouns *oko* 'eye' and *uho* 'ear' form plural of the *i*-type declension. Agreement with the plural *oči* and *uši*: modifiers and parts of predicate agreeing with this nouns take feminine plural form:

- (12) *Njegov-e oč-i su bil-e bolesn-e.*
 his-NOM.f.PL eye-NOM.f.PL be:AUX.3.PL be:AP-f.PL ill-f.PL
 'His eyes were ill.'

This nouns have the ending *-iju* in the genitive plural: *očiju*, *ušiju*. The noun *kost* 'bone' can have the ending *-iju* in the genitive plural.

2.2.6. Some groups of nouns are declined as adjectives: a) names of states with suffixes *-ska*, *-ška*, *-čka*, e.g. *Francuska* 'France', *Norveška* 'Norway', *Slovačka* 'Slovakia', b) personal surnames with suffixes *-ski*, *-ški*, *-čki*, e.g. *Puhovski*, *Paroški*, *Grabovački* (see declension of adjectives in 3.1.).

2.3. Case syntax

2.3.1. The main functions of the nominative are the subject, the part of the predicate with the copula, and the non-agreeing attribute:

- (13) *Ahmed je glavn-i lik u roman-u "Derviš i smrt".*
 Ahmed:NOM.m.SG be:PR.3.SG main-NOM.m.SG character:NOM.m.SG in
 novel-LOC.m.SG Dervish:NOM.m.SG and death:NOM.f.SG
 'Ahmed is the main character of the novel "The Dervish and the Death".'

2.3.2. The vocative has no syntactic function within a sentence:

- (14) *Zoran-e, što si to napravio?*
 Zoran-VOC.m.SG what be:AUX.2.SG that do:AP.m.SG
 'Zoran, what have you done?'

2.3.3. The main functions of the genitive:

2.3.3.1. Indirect object:

- (15) *Čuvaj se ps-a!*
 beware:IMP.2.SG R dog-GEN.m.SG
 'Beware of the dog!'

2.3.3.2. Partitive variation of the direct object:

- (16) *Pil-a sam vod-e.*
 drink:AP-f.SG be:AUX.1.SG water-GEN.f.SG
 'I drank some water.'

2.3.3.3. Variation of the direct object with negated transitive verbs (the so-called Slavic genitive)⁷:

- (17) *Noćas nisam ok-a sklopio.*
 tonight NEGbe:AUX.1.SG eye-GEN.n.SG close:AP.m.SG
 'I didn't get a wink of sleep last night.'

2.3.3.4. Object of the preposition:

- (18) *Sv-e zavis-i od Mark-a.*
 everything-NOM.n.SG depend:PR.3.SG of Marko-GEN.m.SG
 'Everything depends on Marko.'

2.3.3.5. Logical subject:

- (19) *Ima li sutra nastav-e?*
 have:PR.3.SG IRG tomorrow teaching-GEN.f.SG
 'Are there classes tomorrow?'

2.3.3.6. Attribute (often with possessive, qualitative or material meaning):

- (20) *Zna-š li sadržaj knjig-e?*
 know-PR.2.SG IRG contents:ACC.m.SG book-GEN.f.SG
 'Do you know the contents of the book?'

2.3.3.7. Adverbial (often expressing time, place, cause or manner):

- (21) *Svak-og jut-r-a on bez žurb-e rad-i*
 every-GEN.n.SG morning-GEN.n.SG he without haste-GEN.f.SG do-PR.3.SG
gimnastik-u pored prozor-a.
 gymnastics-ACC.f.SG by window-GEN.m.SG
 'Every morning he without haste does his physical exercises by the window.'

2.3.4. The main functions of the dative:

2.3.4.1. Indirect object:

- (22) *Turist-i se div-e katedral-i.*
 tourist-NOM.m.PL R admire-PR.3.PL cathedral-DAT.f.SG
 'Tourists are admiring the cathedral.'

2.3.4.2. Logical subject:

- (23) *An-i je zlo.*
 Ana-DAT.f.SG be:PR.3.SG sick:NOM.n.SG
 'Ana feels sick.'

2.3.4.3. Attribute (which can have possessive meaning):

- (24) *To mu je otac.*
 that he:DAT be:PR.3.SG father:NOM.m.SG
 'That is his father.'

2.3.4.4. Adverbial:

- (25) *Kreć-emo se prema zapad-u.*
 move-PR.1.PL R towards West-DAT.m.SG
 'We are going westward.'

2.3.4.5. Syntactically redundant, the so-called ethical dative:

- (26) *Kako si mi?*
 how be:PR.2.SG I:DAT
 'How are you?'

2.3.5. The main functions of the accusative:

2.3.5.1. Direct object:

- (27) *Treba-m jedn-u knjig-u.*
 need-PR.1.SG one-ACC.f.SG book-ACC.f.SG
 'I need a book.'

2.3.5.2. Object of the preposition:

- (28) *Misl-imo na Marij-u.*
 think-PR.1.PL on Marija-ACC.f.SG
 'We are thinking of Marija.'

2.3.5.3. Logical subject:

- (29) *An-u bol-i glav-a.*
 Ana-ACC.f.SG hurt-PR.3.SG head-NOM.f.SG
 'Ana has a headache.'

2.3.5.4. Attribute:

- (30) *Udžbenik za početnik-e nije nov.*
 textbook:NOM.m.SG for beginner-ACC.m.PL NEGbe:PR.3.SG new:NOM.m.SG
 'The textbook for beginners is not new.'

2.3.5.5. Adverbial (often expressing time, place or manner):

- (31) *U petak sam išl-a u muzej.*
 in Friday:ACC.m.SG be:AUX.1.SG go:AP-f.SG in museum:ACC.m.SG
 'On Friday I went to the museum.'

2.3.6. The main functions of the locative:

2.3.6.1. Object of the preposition:

- (32) *Govoril-i ste o projekt-u.*
 talk:AP-m.PL be:AUX.2.PL about project-LOC.m.SG
 'You talked about the project.'

2.3.6.2. Attribute:

- (33) *To je roman o apsurd-u.*
 it be:PR.3.SG novel:NOM.m.SG about absurd-LOC.m.SG
 'It is a novel about the absurd.'

2.3.6.3. Adverbial (of time, place, manner):

- (34) *Stoj-im u tramvaj-u.*
 stand-PR.1.SG in tram-LOC.m.SG
 'I'm standing in the tram.'

2.3.7. The main functions of the instrumental:

2.3.7.1. Indirect object:

- (35) *On se bav-i tenis-om.*
 he:NOM R occupy-PR.3.SG tennis-INST.m.SG
 'He plays tennis.'

2.3.7.2. Object of the preposition:

- (36) *Oni odugovlač-e s odgovor-om.*
 they:NOM drag out-PR.3.PL with answer-INST.m.SG
 'They are slow in answering.'

⁷ The Slavic genitive in modern SC appears: a) in set phrases, b) in negation emphasized by *ni, nijedan, nikakav* 'nor, none, of no kind', c) with the verb *nemati* 'not have'.

2.3.7.3. The part of the predicate with certain copulas:

- (37) *Postao je pametnij-im.*
 become:AP.m.SG be:AUX.3.SG more clever-INST.m.SG
 'He has become more clever.'

2.3.7.4. Attribute:

- (38) *Kupil-i smo album s tvrd-im korica-ama.*
 buy:AP-m.PL be:AUX.1.PL album:ACC.m.SG with hard-INST.f.PL cover-INST.f.PL
 'We bought an album with hard covers.'

2.3.7.5. Adverbial (of time, place, manner):

- (39) *Subot-om šeta-mo park-om.*
 saturday-INST.f.SG walk-PR.1.PL park-INST.m.SG
 'On Saturdays we walk in the park.'

3. Adjectives

3.1. Morphological characteristics

3.1.1. Nominal categories expressed by adjectives agreeing with a noun are number, case, gender, and animacy (see 2.1.). In addition, adjectives also have definiteness-indefiniteness and comparison.

3.1.2. Adjectives have the definite and the indefinite form. In masculine and neuter singular these two forms are manifested by different endings, which form the so-called long and short adjective forms. Definiteness is expressed by the long form of an adjective, and indefiniteness by the short one.

3.1.3. The endings for long forms are identical to pronoun declension endings, except in the nominative singular masculine, in which they have *-i* (and they also have the post-accentual length on the first vowel of the ending in all cases).

3.1.4. The endings for short forms of masculine and neuter are identical to the *a*-type noun declension endings, except in the instrumental singular and the genitive plural (the vocative of the indefinite form of adjectives is not used).⁸

3.1.5. In the nominative singular masculine of short forms there often appears the movable *a* in order to separate the stem-final consonant cluster, e.g. *dobar - dobro* 'good: m-n' (see 1.3.2.2.).

3.1.6. Palatal stems cause vowel alternation in the nominative, accusative, and vocative of neuter singular and in the genitive, dative, and locative of masculine and neuter singular of long forms (see 1.3.2.3.).

TABLE 8: Long (definite) adjective declension

	SG			PL		
	m	n	f	m	n	f
NOM	-ī	-ō/-ē	-ā	-ī	-ā	-ē
GEN	-ōg(a) / -ēg(a) ⁹			-ih		
DAT	-ōm(e,u) / -ēm(u)			-im(a)		
ACC	= NOM or GEN	= NOM	-ū	-ē	= NOM	= NOM
VOC	= NOM	= NOM	= NOM	= NOM	= NOM	= NOM
LOC	= DAT			= DAT		
INST	-im			= DAT		

	SG			PL		
	m	n	f	m	n	f
NOM	<i>stâr-ī</i>	<i>stâr-ō</i>	<i>stâr-ā</i>	<i>stâr-ī</i>	<i>stâr-ā</i>	<i>stâr-ē</i>
GEN	<i>stâr-ōg(a)</i>	<i>stâr-ōg(a)</i>	<i>stâr-ē</i>	<i>stâr-ih</i>	<i>stâr-ih</i>	<i>stâr-ih</i>
DAT	<i>stâr-ōm(e,u)</i>	<i>stâr-ōm(e,u)</i>	<i>stâr-ōj</i>	<i>stâr-īm(a)</i>	<i>stâr-īm(a)</i>	<i>stâr-īm(a)</i>
ACC	<i>stâr-ī</i> or <i>stâr-ōg(a)</i>	<i>stâr-ō</i>	<i>stâr-ū</i>	<i>stâr-ē</i>	<i>stâr-ā</i>	<i>stâr-ē</i>
VOC	<i>stâr-i</i>	<i>stâr-ō</i>	<i>stâr-ā</i>	<i>stâr-ī</i>	<i>stâr-ā</i>	<i>stâr-ē</i>
LOC	<i>stâr-ōm(e,u)</i>	<i>stâr-ōm(e,u)</i>	<i>stâr-ōj</i>	<i>stâr-īm(a)</i>	<i>stâr-īm(a)</i>	<i>stâr-īm(a)</i>
INST	<i>stâr-īm</i>	<i>stâr-īm</i>	<i>stâr-ōm</i>	<i>stâr-īm(a)</i>	<i>stâr-īm(a)</i>	<i>stâr-īm(a)</i>

TABLE 9: Short (indefinite) adjective declension

	SG			PL		
	m	n	f	m	n	f
NOM	-∅	-o / -e	-a	-i	-a	-e
GEN	-a			-ih		
DAT	-u			-im(a)		
ACC	= NOM or GEN	= NOM	-u	-e	= NOM	= NOM
VOC	—	—	—	—	—	—
LOC	= DAT			= DAT		
INST	-im			= DAT		

⁹ The alternation *o/e* appears after palatal consonants. Vowels in brackets as a rule appear when an adjective is used as a nominal, e.g. *Razgovarala sam s poznatim ljudima.* / *Razgovarala sam s poznatima.* 'I talked with some well-known people. / I talked with the well-known.'; *Daj to novom studentu.* / *Daj to novome.* 'Give that to the new student. / Give that to the new one.'

⁸ The long-form endings have pushed away the short-form endings completely in the oblique cases. In the last few years, there are attempts in Croatia to bring back again the short forms in the usage. This attempts are the part of the new sociolinguistic politics to bring back the archaic words and forms in the usage and to construct new words, neologisms, in place of customary words - all that with the aim to make the language in the west of the SC language community as different as possible from the language in the east of the SC language community. Leaders of the new language politics proclaim as incorrect what was customary, and as correct what was rare, archaic or even did not exist in the usage, and then they carry it out in practice through the control of the media, text-books etc. Such inversion of the criteria for what is correct and what is not correct in the language usage makes the native speakers unsure and frustrated.

	SG			PL		
	m	n	f	m	n	f
NOM	<i>stār-∅</i>	<i>stār-o</i>	<i>stār-a</i>	<i>stār-i</i>	<i>stār-a</i>	<i>stār-e</i>
GEN	<i>stār-a</i>	<i>stār-a</i>	<i>stār-ē</i>	<i>stār-ih</i>	<i>stār-ih</i>	<i>stār-ih</i>
DAT	<i>stār-u</i>	<i>stār-u</i>	<i>stār-ōj</i>	<i>stār-īm(a)</i>	<i>stār-īm(a)</i>	<i>stār-īm(a)</i>
ACC	<i>stār</i> or <i>stār-a</i>	<i>stār-o</i>	<i>stār-u</i>	<i>stār-e</i>	<i>stār-a</i>	<i>stār-e</i>
VOC	—	—	—	—	—	—
LOC	<i>stār-u</i>	<i>stār-u</i>	<i>stār-ōj</i>	<i>stār-īm(a)</i>	<i>stār-īm(a)</i>	<i>stār-īm(a)</i>
INST	<i>stār-īm</i>	<i>stār-īm</i>	<i>stār-ōm</i>	<i>stār-īm(a)</i>	<i>stār-īm(a)</i>	<i>stār-īm(a)</i>

3.1.7. The difference in distribution between long and short adjective forms: only a short form adjective can be the predicate complement or the part of the predicate with the copula:

- (40) *On je došao kuć-i umoran.*
 he be:AUX.3.SG come:AP.m.SG home-DAT.f.SG tired:NOM.m.SG
 'He came home tired.'
- (41) *Moj prijatelj je star.*
 my:NOM.m.SG friend:NOM.m.SG be:PR.3.SG old:NOM.m.SG
 'My friend is old.'

Only the long form of an adjective is used in a phrase after possessive or demonstrative pronouns:

- (42) *Moj star-i prijatelj je došao.*
 my:NOM.m.SG old-NOM.m.SG friend:NOM.m.SG be:AUX.3.SG come:AP.m.SG
 'My old friend has come.'

3.1.8. Possessive adjectives are derived from nouns denoting something animate: a) with the suffix *-ov* or *-ev* (after palatals) from masculine nouns, e.g. *profesorov* 'professor's', *učitelj* 'teacher's'; b) with the suffix *-in* from feminine nouns, e.g. *Anin* 'Ana's', *sestrin* 'sister's'. Possessive adjectives have only the short form in the nominative, e.g. *Martinov prijatelj* 'Martin's friend'.

3.1.9. Adjectives of origin are derived from nouns by suffixes, for instance *-sk-*, *-šk-*, *-čk-*, *-n-*, *-j-*, and they have only long forms, e.g. *francuski* 'French', *češki* 'Czech', *slovački* 'Slovakian', *uvozni* 'imported', *vražji* 'devilish'. Most adjectives derived from adverbs also have only long forms, e.g. *današnji* 'present-day', *donji* 'lower' (ordinal numerals as well, e.g. *prvi* 'first', *drugi* 'second').

3.2. Comparison of adjectives

Adjectives have three degrees of comparison: positive, comparative, and superlative.

3.2.1. The comparative is most often formed by adding the suffix *-ij-* to adjective stems, e.g. *nov* 'new' - *noviji*, *novija* 'newer: m-f'; *pamet* 'clever' - *pametniji*, *pametnija* 'more clever: m-f'. A smaller group of adjectives in the comparative is subject to jotation (see 1.3.1.6.): monosyllabic adjectives with a long vowel, e.g. *brz* - *brži* 'fast - faster', *glup* - *glupiji* 'stupid - more stupid'; certain bisyllabic adjectives that in the comparative lose the final syllable *visok* - *viši* 'tall - taller', *dalek* - *dalji* 'far - farther'. Three adjectives form the comparative with the suffix *-š-*: *lak* - *lakši* 'easy - easier', *mek* - *mekši* 'soft - softer', *l(ij)ep* -

l(ij)epši 'pretty - prettier'. Suppletive comparatives are *dobar* - *bolji* 'good - better'; *zao* 'evil' or *loš* 'bad' - *gori* 'worse'; *velik* - *veći* 'big - bigger'; *mal* or *malen* - *manji* 'small - smaller'; *dug* - *dulji* (or *duži*) 'long - longer'.

3.2.2. The superlative is formed by adding the prefix *naj-* to the comparative: *noviji* - *najnoviji* 'newer - newest', *brži* - *najbrži* 'faster - fastest', *bolji* - *najbolji* 'better - best'.

The comparative and the superlative are declined as definite forms of adjectives with stems ending in a palatal.

3.3.3. In comparative constructions the word *kao* 'as' is used with adjectives in the positive:

- (43) *Crven si kao rak.*
 red:NOM.m.SG be:PR.2.SG as crab:NOM.m.SG
 'You are as red as a beat-root.'

With adjectives in the comparative, the word *od* 'than' is used with the genitive of a noun, pronoun or an adjective:

- (44) *Ona je starij-a od tebe.*
 she be:PR.3.SG older-NOM.f.SG than you:GEN
 'She is older than you.'
- (45) *Sel-o je mirnij-e od grad-a.*
 village-NOM.n.SG be:PR.3.SG calmer-NOM.n.SG than city-GEN.m.SG
 'A village is calmer than a city.'

The alternative comparative construction is *nego* 'than' plus the nominative:

- (46) *Ona je starij-a nego ti.*
 she be:PR.3.SG older-NOM.f.SG than you:NOM
 'She is older than you.'

Nego is used primarily for comparison in front of adverbials and subordinate clauses (see also 14.5.3.):

- (47) *Tu su knjig-e skuplj-e nego kod nas.*
 here be:PR.3.PL book-NOM.f.PL more expensive-NOM.f.PL than at we:GEN
 'Here the books are more expensive than in our town.'
- (48) *Danas je toplij-e mor-e nego jučer.*
 today be:PR.3.SG warmer-NOM.n.SG sea-NOM.n.SG than yesterday
 'The sea is today warmer than yesterday.'
- (49) *On je pametnij-i nego što sam mislil-a.*
 he be:PR.3.SG more clever-NOM.m.SG than what:SUB be:AUX.1.SG think:AP-f.SG
 'He is more clever than I thought.'

3.2.4. Adjective gradation can also be expressed by the prefix *pre-*, e.g. *presretan* 'overjoyed'. This prefix often denotes the degree above normal or allowed: *prejednostavan zadatak* 'too simple task', *prebrza vožnja* 'too fast driving'.

Gradation can be expressed lexically as well: *izuzetno dobar* 'extremely good', *suviše dobar* 'too good'.

3.2.5. Certain adjectives of foreign origin are not declined and have periphrastic comparison: *šik* - *više šik* - *najviše šik* 'chique - more chique - most chique', *lila* - *više lila* - *najviše lila* 'violet - more violet - most violet'. The weakening of a quality is also expressed periphrastically: *kič* - *manje kič* - *najmanje kič* 'kitch - less kitch - least kitch'.

4. Pronouns and pro-forms

4.1. Personal pronouns and the reflexive pronoun

4.1.1. Personal pronouns distinguish between three persons in the singular and three persons in the plural. Only in the third person singular and third person plural there is also a distinction between three genders, while the first and the second person do not manifest the category of gender.

The second person plural is also used with singular reference to denote respect in addressing a person. It is then written with the capital, *Vi*, and the verb that agrees with the pronoun takes the masculine plural form.

4.1.2. The reflexive pronoun *sebe/se* 'oneself' is used for all persons, numbers, and genders to denote that the object is co-referential with the subject of the clause.

4.1.3. Personal pronouns of the first and the third person singular and plural have suppletive forms in declension.

4.1.4. All personal pronouns have both the full and the enclitic forms in the genitive, dative, and accusative. Unlike them, the reflexive pronoun does not have the enclitic form in the genitive.

4.1.5. The genitive and the accusative of those pronouns are syncratic, excepting the full forms of the feminine *nje - nju* 'her'. Of the two enclitic forms of the third person accusative singular feminine, the form *je* is more often used, while the form *ju* is used only to prevent the doubling of forms if *je* appears next to the third person singular enclitic of the verb *būi* 'to be', because this enclitic also has the form *je*:

- (50) *Ja je nisam našao, ali on ju je*
 I she:ACC NEGbe:AUX.1.SG find:AP.m.SG but he she:ACC be:AUX.3.SG
našao.
 find:AP.3.SG
 'I haven't found her, but he has.'

TABLE 10: Declension of personal pronouns

	1	2	3 m	3 n	3 f
	SG				
NOM	<i>jā</i>	<i>tī</i>	<i>ōn</i>	<i>ōno</i>	<i>ōna</i>
GEN	<i>měne, me</i>	<i>těbe, te</i>	<i>njěga, ga</i>		<i>njě, je</i>
DAT	<i>měni, mi</i>	<i>těbi, ti</i>	<i>njěmu, mu</i>		<i>njōj, joj</i>
ACC	= GEN	= GEN	= GEN		<i>njū, je, ju</i>
VOC	—	<i>tī</i>	—		—
LOC	<i>měni</i>	<i>těbi</i>	<i>njěmu</i>		<i>njōj</i>
INST	<i>mnōm</i>	<i>tōbōm</i>	<i>njūm, njūme</i>		<i>njōm, njōme</i>
	PL				
NOM	<i>mī</i>	<i>vī</i>	<i>ōni</i>	<i>ōna</i>	<i>ōne</i>
GEN	<i>nās, nas</i>	<i>vās, vas</i>	<i>njīh, ih</i>		
DAT	<i>nāma, nam</i>	<i>vāma, vam</i>	<i>njīma, im</i>		
ACC	= GEN	= GEN	= GEN		
VOC	—	<i>vī</i>	—		
LOC	<i>nāma</i>	<i>vāma</i>	<i>njīma</i>		
INST	<i>nāma</i>	<i>vāma</i>	<i>njīma</i>		

TABLE 11: Declension of the reflexive pronoun

NOM	—
GEN	<i>sěbe</i>
DAT	<i>sěbi, si</i>
ACC	<i>sěbe, se</i>
VOC	—
LOC	<i>sěbi</i>
INST	<i>sōbōm</i>

4.1.6. Full forms are used less frequently than the enclitic ones. The use of full forms is obligatory:

a) almost always after a preposition

- (51) *Gleda-m u nju.*
 look-PR.1.SG in she:ACC
 'I'm looking at her.'

b) in contrasting

- (52) *Traž-im tebe, a ne njega.*
 look for-PR.1.SG you:ACC but not he:ACC
 'I'm looking for you, not him.'

c) if they form a sentence (or are placed sentence-initially for emphasis)

- (53) *Koga traž-iš? - Tebe.*
 who:ACC look for-PR.2.SG you:ACC
 'Who are you looking for? - You.'

4.1.7. The form of the reflexive pronoun does not change according to person, gender or number, but the words that modify the reflexive pronoun do show gender and number:

- (54) *Čudio se sam-om sebi. / Čudio-a se*
 wonder:AP.m.SG R oneself-DAT.m.SG R:DAT wonder:AP-f.SG R
sam-oj sebi.
 oneself-DAT.f.SG R:DAT
 'He wondered at himself. / She wondered at herself.'

The scope of the pronoun *sebe* is the clause. The antecedent of the reflexive pronoun is the subject of the clause. The scope can also be a noun phrase if it contains a possessor interpretable as the subject:

- (55) *Nismo zapazil-i njegov-o povlačenj-e u sebe.*
 NEGbe:AUX.1.PL notice:AP-m.PL his-ACC.n.SG withdrawal-ACC.n.SG in R:ACC
 'We haven't noticed his turning introvert.'

Reflexivization does not extend to an adjectival or participial construction:

- (56) *Nije zapazil-a poklonjen-u joj pažnj-u.*
 NEGbe:AUX.3.SG notice:AP-f.SG given-ACC.f.SG she:DAT attention-ACC.f.SG
 **Nije zapazil-a pažnj-u poklonjen-u sebi.*
 NEGbe:AUX.3.SG notice:AP-f.SG attention-ACC.f.SG given-ACC.f.SG R:DAT
 'She hasn't noticed the attention given to her.'

4.1.8. The enclitic form of the reflexive pronoun, *se*, has numerous usages: provides unspecified human subject constructions, turns transitive verbs into intransitive, it is a part of certain lexical units.

4.2. Possessive pronouns

4.2.1. Possessive pronouns are derived from the corresponding personal pronouns and the reflexive pronoun (from their stems in oblique cases). Therefore they also have three persons in singular and three persons in plural: *ja - moj* 'I - my'; *ti - tvoj* 'you - your'; *on, ono - njegov* 'he, it - his, its'; *ona - njen/njezin* 'she - her'; *mi - naš* 'we - our'; *vi (Vi) - vaš (Vaš)* 'you - your'; *oni, one, ona - njihov* 'they - their'.

The reflexive possessive pronoun is *svoj* 'one's'.

Possessive pronouns, as well as adjectives, agree in gender, number, case, and animacy with the noun they modify (see 2.1.).

TABLE 12: Declensional pattern of possessive pronouns

	1 SG		
	m	n	f
NOM	<i>mòj-ø</i>	<i>mòj-e</i>	<i>mòj-a</i>
GEN	<i>m-òg(a), mòj-eg(a)</i>		<i>mòj-ě</i>
DAT	<i>m-òm(e,u), mòj-em(u)</i>		<i>mòj-òj</i>
ACC	= NOM or GEN	= NOM	<i>mòj-u</i>
VOC	= NOM	= NOM	= NOM
LOC	= DAT		= DAT
INST	<i>mòj-ìm</i>		<i>mòj-òm</i>

	1 PL		
	m	n	f
NOM	<i>mòj-i</i>	<i>mòj-a</i>	<i>mòj-e</i>
GEN	<i>mòj-ih</i>		
DAT	<i>mòj-ìm(a)</i>		
ACC	<i>mòj-e</i>	= NOM	= NOM
VOC	= NOM	= NOM	= NOM
LOC	= DAT		
INST	= DAT		

4.2.2. Vowels in brackets appear when the pronoun is used as a nominal: *Razgovarala sam s tvojim roditeljima. / Razgovarala sam s tvojima.* 'I've spoken with your parents.'

4.2.3. Pronouns *moj, tvoj, svoj* in oblique cases of masculine and neuter singular have short forms as well (except in the instrumental).

4.2.4. In the genitive (in masculine also in the accusative if it is identical to the genitive), dative, and locative singular masculine and neuter there is alternation of the ending vowel *o - e* when the stem ends in a palatal (see 1.3.2.3.). In neuter, the ending in the nominative, accusative, and vocative singular as well is *e* when the stem ends in a palatal.

4.2.5. The antecedent of the reflexive possessive pronoun, as well as the antecedent of the reflexive pronoun *sebe*, is the subject of the clause or the noun phrase:

- (57) *Pokazao je svoj-u slik-u.*
 show:AP.m.SG be:AUX.3.SG RPOS-ACC.f.SG picture-ACC.f.SG
 'He has shown his picture.'

- (58) ...*odnos majk-e prema svoj-oj beb-i...*
 relationship:NOM.m.SG mother-GEN.f.SG towards RPOS-LOC.f.SG baby-LOC.f.SG
 '...the relationship of the mother towards her baby...'

If the subject of the clause is the third person, then the use of the pronoun *svoj* is as a rule obligatory. If the subject of the clause is the first or the second person, then the alternatives to the pronoun *svoj* are possessive pronouns of the first and second person. The choice depends on empathy: *svoj* implies the distance between the speaker and the possessed noun's referent. The exception to the rule that the antecedent has to be the subject is when antecedents are universal quantifiers:

- (59) *Pronadi sv-emu svoj uzrok!*
 find:IMP.2.SG everything-DAT.n.SG RPOS:ACC.m.SG cause:ACC.m.SG
 'Find the cause for everything!'

4.3. Demonstrative pronouns

4.3.1. Demonstrative pronouns indicate the degree of distance from the speaker: *ovaj* 'this' close to the speaker (proximal), *taj* 'this/that' close to the addressee (medial), *onaj* 'that' more distanced both from the speaker and the addressee (distal).

They are used both as deixes and as anaphors and cataphors (see 15.1.).

4.3.2. In addition to these demonstrative pronouns, there are also demonstrative pronouns denoting quality *ovakav* 'such as this', *takav* 'such as this/that', *onakav* 'such as that', and quantity *ovoliki* 'of this size', *toliki* 'of this/that size', *onoliki* 'of that size'.

4.3.3. The same three degrees in indicating distance, connected with consonant alternation *v / t / n*, can be noted in pro-adverbs and presentatives (see 4.6. and 4.7.).

TABLE 13: Declensional pattern of demonstrative pronouns

	SG			PL		
	m	n	f	m	n	f
NOM	<i>t-áj-ø</i>	<i>t-ò</i>	<i>t-a</i>	<i>t-ì</i>	<i>t-â</i>	<i>t-ě</i>
GEN	<i>t-òg(a)</i>		<i>t-ě</i>	<i>t-ih</i>		
DAT	<i>t-òm(e,u)</i>		<i>t-òj</i>	<i>t-ìm, t-ìm(a)</i>		
ACC	= NOM or GEN	= NOM	<i>t-ù</i>	<i>t-ě</i>	= NOM	= NOM
VOC	-	-	-	-	-	-
LOC	= DAT		= DAT	= DAT		
INST	<i>t-ìm, t-íme</i>		<i>t-òm</i>	= DAT		

4.3.4. The vowels in brackets appear when the pronoun is used as a nominal: *Daj to ovim studentima! / Daj to ovima!* 'Give it to these students! / Give it to these ones!'

4.3.5. The demonstrative pronouns *ovaj* and *onaj* are declined as *taj*.

4.3.6. The demonstrative pronouns *ovakav, takav, and onakav* are also declined as *taj*, but they have the movable *a* in the nominative singular masculine. The movable *a* disappears in other cases and genders: *ovakvog zadatka* 'such as this task: GEN.m.SG', *ovakvu knjigu* 'such as this book: ACC.f.SG'. This pronouns can be declined as indefinite adjectives: *ovakva zadatka* GEN.m.SG.

4.3.7. The demonstrative pronouns *ovoliki, toliki, and onoliki* are declined as definite adjectives: *ovolikovog zadatka* GEN.m.SG, *ovoliku knjigu* ACC.f.SG (see Table 8). In the

genitive, dative, and locative singular masculine they can also be declined as indefinite adjectives: *ovolika zadatka* GEN.M.SG.

4.3.8. Like adjectives, demonstrative pronouns agree in gender, number, case, and animacy with the noun they modify (see 2.1.).

4.4. Interrogative and relative pronouns

4.4.1. Interrogative pronouns can be substantival and adjectival. Substantival pronouns are *tko (ko)* 'who' and *što (šta)* 'what'. (*T*)*ko* is used for human, *što* for non-human. Both pronouns have only singular. (*T*)*ko* behaves as masculine, *što* as neuter.

TABLE 14: Declension of the pronouns (*t*)*ko* and *što* (*šta*)

	SG	
NOM	(<i>t</i>) <i>kō</i>	<i>štō (štā)</i>
GEN	<i>k-ōga, k-ōg</i>	<i>č-ēga, č-ēg</i>
DAT	<i>k-ōme, k-ōmu</i>	<i>č-ēmu</i>
ACC	= GEN	= NOM
VOC	-	-
LOC	= DAT	= DAT
INST	<i>k-īm, k-īme</i>	<i>č-īm, č-īme</i>

4.4.2. Adjectival interrogative pronouns are *koji* 'which', *čiji* 'whose', *kakav* 'what kind', *koliki* 'how large'. They have both singular and plural and all the three genders. They are declined as definite adjectives (see Table 8).

Pronouns with the stem ending in a palatal have the alternation of the ending vowel *o - e* in masculine and neuter (see 1.3.2.3. and Table 8): *kojeg, kojem / kakvog, kakovom*.

4.4.3. Relative pronouns are identical in form with interrogative pronouns. They have the role of a subordinator in a complex sentence and at the same time have a syntactic function within the relative clause (see 14.2.).

4.5. Indefinite, universal, and negative pronouns

4.5.1. Indefinite, universal, and negative pronouns are formed by adding prefixes (less often suffixes) to interrogative pronouns.

4.5.2. The prefix *ne-* means indefiniteness, e.g. *ne(t)ko* 'someone', *nešto* 'something', *nečiji* 'someone's'. The prefix *ni-* means negation. It is used in negative clauses (see 12.3.) whereas the prefix *ne-* is used in affirmative clauses:

(60) *On ništa ne zna. / On zna nešto.*

he nothing:ACC not know:PR.3.SG he know:PR.3.SG something:ACC

'He knows nothing. (He doesn't know anything.) / He knows something.'

The prefix *sva-* denotes totality, universality. The prefixes *sva-* and *ne-* are not added to the pronoun *koji* but the corresponding forms are *svaki* and *neki*.

The prefix *i-* means 'any' (it is used in affirmative clauses). Preposed particles *bilo, ma* and the postposed particle *god* mean 'ever': *bilo kakav, kakav god* 'whatever'.

4.5.3. Indefinite, universal, and negative pronouns have the same declension as interrogative pronouns from which they are formed.

4.5.4. Indefinite pronouns with the prefix *ne-* can be used with and without presupposition:

(61) *Nek-ome je pozlil-o. / Ako nek-ome pozl-i,*
 someone-DAT be:AUX.3.SG sicken:AP-n.SG if someone-DAT sicken-PR.3.SG
pozovi me!
 call:IMP.2.SG I:ACC

'Someone got sick. / If someone gets sick, call me!'

In the latter usage, bare interrogatives can also be used:

(62) *Ako k-ome pozl-i, pozovi me!*
 if who-DAT sicken-PR.3.SG call:IMP.2.SG I:ACC
 'If someone gets sick, call me!'

TABLE 15: Formation of indefinite, universal, and negative pronouns

		(<i>t</i>) <i>kō</i>	<i>štō/štā</i>	<i>kōjī</i>	<i>čijī</i>	<i>kākav</i>	<i>kolikī</i>	
Prefixes	<i>ni-</i>	+	-/+	+	+	+	-	Negative
	<i>sva-</i>	+	-/+	<i>svākī</i>	+	+	-	Universal
	<i>ne-</i>	+	+/-	<i>nēkī</i>	+	+	-	Indefinite
	<i>i-</i>	+	-/+	+	+	+	-	
	<i>koje-</i>	+	-/+	+	+	+	-	
	<i>po-</i>	-	-	+	-	-	-	
	<i>pone-</i>	+	+/-	<i>pōnekī</i>	+	-	-	
	<i>gd(j)e-</i>	+	+	+	-	-	-	
	<i>što-</i>	-	-/+	-	-	-	-	
Prepositional particles	<i>bilo</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	Indefinite
	<i>ma</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	
	<i>malo</i>	+	+	+	+	-	-	
	<i>bog zna</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Suffixes	<i>-god</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Postpositive particles	<i>god</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	
	<i>bilo</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	

TABLE 16: Declension of the universal pronoun *sva*

	SG			PL		
	m	n	f	m	n	f
NOM	<i>sāv-∅</i>	<i>sv-ě</i>	<i>sv-ā</i>	<i>sv-ī</i>	<i>sv-ā</i>	<i>sv-ě</i>
GEN	<i>sv-ēga, sv-ēg</i>		<i>sv-ě</i>	<i>sv-īh, sv-ijū</i>		
DAT	<i>sv-ēm, sv-ēm</i>		<i>sv-ōj</i>	<i>sv-īma, sv-īm</i>		
ACC	= NOM or GEN	= NOM	<i>sv-īl</i>	<i>sv-ě</i>	= NOM	= NOM
VOC	= NOM	= NOM	= NOM	= NOM	= NOM	= NOM
LOC	= DAT		= DAT	= DAT		
INST	<i>sv-īm, sv-īme</i>		<i>sv-ōm</i>	= DAT		

4.6. Pro-adverbs

4.6.1. A certain group of adverbs, pro-adverbs, is directly related to different types of pronouns: to demonstrative, interrogative and relative, universal, indefinite, and negative (compare the Tables 15 and 17).

4.6.2. Pro-adverbs are non-declinable.

4.6.3. Demonstrative pro-adverbs have the same consonant alternation for denoting the three degrees of distance as demonstrative pronouns (*v / t / n*).

TABLE 17: Formation of pro-adverbs

		Locative			Manner	Measure	Temporal
		Position	Direction	One's way			
Demonstrative	<i>ov-</i>	<i>óvd(j)e</i>	<i>òvāmo</i>	<i>ovùdā</i>	<i>ovāko</i>	<i>ovòlikō</i>	<i>sād(a)</i> ¹⁰
	<i>t-</i>	<i>tū</i>	<i>tāmo</i>	<i>tùda</i>	<i>tākō</i>	<i>tolikō</i>	<i>tād(ā)</i>
	<i>on-</i>	<i>ónd(j)e</i>	<i>ònāmo</i>	<i>onùdā</i>	<i>onākō</i>	<i>onòlikō</i>	<i>ðnda</i>
Interrogative and relative	<i>k-</i>	<i>gd(j)ě</i>	<i>kāmo</i>	<i>kùd(ā)</i>	<i>kāko</i>	<i>kolikō</i>	<i>kād(a)</i>
Negative	<i>ni-</i>	<i>něgd(j)e</i>	<i>nīkamo</i>	<i>nīkud(a)</i>	<i>nīkako</i>	<i>nīkoliko</i>	<i>nīkad(a)</i>
Universal	<i>sva-</i>	<i>svāgd(j)e</i>	<i>svākamo</i>	<i>svākud(a)</i>	<i>svākako</i>	—	—
Indefinite	<i>ne-</i>	<i>něgd(j)e</i>	<i>nēkamo</i>	<i>nēkud(a)</i>	<i>nēkako</i>	<i>nēkoliko</i>	<i>nēkad(a)</i>
	<i>i-</i>	<i>ìgd(j)e</i>	<i>īkamo</i>	<i>īkud(a)</i>	<i>īkako</i>	<i>īkoliko</i>	<i>īkad(a)</i>
	<i>koje-</i>	<i>kojěgd(j)e</i>	<i>kojèkamo</i>	<i>kojekùd(ā)</i>	<i>kojekāko</i>	—	—
	<i>pone-</i>	<i>pònegd(j)e</i>	—	—	—	<i>pònekolikō</i>	<i>pònekad(a)</i>
	<i>gd(j)e-</i>	<i>gd(j)ěgd(j)e</i>	—	—	—	—	<i>gd(j)ěkad(a)</i>
	<i>bilo</i>	<i>bílo gd(j)ě gd(j)ě bílo</i>	<i>bílo kāmō kāmō bílo</i>	<i>bílo kùd(ā) kùd(ā) bílo</i>	<i>bílo kākō kākō bílo</i>	<i>bílo kolikō kolikō bílo</i>	<i>bílo kād(a) kād(a) bílo</i>
	<i>ma</i>	<i>mā gd(j)ě</i>	<i>mā kāmō</i>	<i>mā kùd(ā)</i>	<i>mā kākō</i>	<i>mā kolikō</i>	<i>mā kād(a)</i>
	<i>malo</i>	<i>mālo gd(j)ě</i>	<i>mālo kāmō</i>	<i>mālo kùd(ā)</i>	—	—	<i>mālo kād(a)</i>
	<i>bog zna</i>	<i>bòg zna¹¹ gd(j)ě</i>	<i>bòg zna kāmō</i>	<i>bòg zna kùd(ā)</i>	<i>bòg zna kākō</i>	<i>bòg zna kolikō</i>	<i>bòg zna kād(a)</i>
	<i>-god</i>	<i>gd(j)ěgod</i>	—	—	—	—	<i>kādgod</i>
<i>god</i>	<i>gd(j)ě gòd</i>	<i>kāmō gòd</i>	<i>kùd(ā) gòd</i>	<i>kākō gòd</i>	<i>kolikō gòd</i>	<i>kād(a) gòd</i>	

¹⁰ *Sad(a)* is not the form of *ov-*.

¹¹ The accent is *bòg zna* only in cases when there is a wish to place emphasis on each word.

4.7. Presentatives

4.7.1. SC has three presentatives: *evo* 'here', *eto* 'here/there', *eno* 'there'. They are non-declinable. They have the same consonant alternation for denoting the three degrees of distance as demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative pro-adverbs (*v / t / n*).

4.7.2. In most of their usage, it is characteristic for the presentatives that they focus the attention to the appearance of a person or an object and at the same time to the place. Examples of their usages are the following:

4.7.3. The presentative *evo* 'here':

- refers to the appearance of someone or something near the speaker; in this usage it governs the genitive or the nominative:

(63) *Evo moj-e knjig-e!*
here my-GEN.f.SG book-GEN.f.SG
'Here is my book!'

(64) *Evo pepeljar-a!*
here ashtray-NOM.f.SG
'Here is the ashtray!'

or it precedes an independent clause:

(65) *Evo, tu me bol-i.*
here here I:ACC hurt-PR.3.SG
'Here, it's here that I hurt.'

or it introduces a subordinate clause:

(66) *Evo kako me nisu izgrizl-i komarc-i!*
here how I:ACC NEGbc:AUX.3.PL bite:AP-m.PL mosquito-NOM.m.PL
'Here, see how mosquitos have not stung me!'

- refers to the appearance of someone who was waited for; governs the genitive (unlike personal pronouns, nouns can sometimes also be in the nominative):

(67) *Evo ih konačno!*
here they:GEN finally
'Here they are at last!'

- it is used as a response at someone's call; governs the genitive:

(68) *Evo me!*
here I:GEN
'Here I am!'

- follows the gesture of giving something to the addressee; governs the dative and the nominative (seldom the genitive):

(69) *Evo ti jedn-a krušk-a!*
here you:DAT one-NOM.f.SG pear-NOM.f.SG
'Here's a pear for you!'

- has a cataphoric role in a text; introduces a subordinate clause:

(70) *Evo što ću ti reći...*
here what will:AUX.1.SG you:DAT say:INF
'This is what I'm going to tell you...'

or it occurs in front of an independent clause:

(71) *Evo, sada ću ti sv-e ispričati...*
here now will:AUX.1.SG you:DAT everything-ACC.n.SG tell:INF
'Here, now I'll tell you all...'

4.7.4. The presentative *eto* 'here/there':

- refers to someone or something close to the addressee; governs the genitive:

- (72) *Gd(j)e su mi rukavic-e? - Eto ih pored tebe.*
 where be:PR.3.PL I:DAT gloves-NOM.f.PL there they:GEN beside you:GEN
 'Where are my gloves? - There they are next to you.'

- refers to someone or something that is not necessarily close to the addressee and that need not be the real present time; governs the genitive (seldom the nominative):

- (73) *Oni su kao sijamsk-i blizanc-i: čim*
 they:NOM be:PR.3.PL like Siamese-NOM.m.PL twins-NOM.m.PL as soon as
obol-i jedan, eto i drug-og bolesn-og.
 get sick-PR.3.SG one:NOM.m.SG there too other-GEN.m.SG sick-GEN.m.SG
 'They are like Siamese twins; as soon as one gets sick, the other one is sick too.'

- has an anaphoric role in a text; introduces a subordinate clause:

- (74) *Eto kako je to bil-o.*
 there how be:AUX.3.SG it be:AP-n.SG
 'This is how it was.'

or it occurs in front of an independent clause:

- (75) *...Eto, to je sv-e što o njemu zna-mo.*
 there it be:PR.3.SG everything-NOM.n.SG what about he:LOC know-PR.1.PL
 '...So, that is all we know about him.'

4.7.5. The presentative *eno* 'there':

- refers to someone or something at the distance from both the speaker and the addressee; governs the genitive or the nominative:

- (76) *Eno brod!*
 there ship:NOM.m.SG
 'There's a ship!'

5. Numerals and other quantifiers

5.1. Cardinal and ordinal numerals

On the basis of their different semantic, morphological and syntactic properties, a distinction is drawn between cardinal, ordinal, and collective numerals.

TABLE 18: Cardinals

1 - <i>jèdan</i>	11 - <i>jedànaest</i>	10 - <i>dèset</i>	100 - <i>stô, stòtina</i>
2 - <i>dvâ</i>	12 - <i>dvánaest</i>	20 - <i>dvâdesèt</i>	200 - <i>dv(j)èsto, dv(ŕj)e stòtinê</i>
3 - <i>trî</i>	13 - <i>trînaest</i>	30 - <i>tridesèt</i>	300 - <i>trîsto, trî stòtinê</i>
4 - <i>čètiri</i>	14 - <i>četînaest</i>	40 - <i>četrdèsèt</i>	...
5 - <i>pèt</i>	15 - <i>pètnaest</i>	50 - <i>pedèsèt</i>	1000 - <i>tisuća, hiljada</i>
6 - <i>šèst</i>	16 - <i>šèsnaest</i>	60 - <i>šezdèsèt</i>	
7 - <i>sèdam</i>	17 - <i>sedârnaest</i>	70 - <i>sedamdèsèt</i>	21 - <i>dvâdesèt (i) jèdan</i>
8 - <i>òsam</i>	18 - <i>osârnaest</i>	80 - <i>osamdèsèt</i>	22 - <i>dvâdesèt (i) dvâ</i>
9 - <i>dèvet</i>	19 - <i>devètnaest</i>	90 - <i>devedèsèt</i>	...

5.1.1. Most cardinal numerals are not declined. The exceptions are numerals 1, 2, 3, and 4. The numeral 1 is declined in all genders in singular and plural as definite-form

adjectives (see Table 8). Its nominative singular masculine is *jèdan*, the stem for all other forms is *jèdn-*.

5.1.2. The numerals 2, 3, and 4 are declined, but in all cases except the dative and instrumental without prepositions the frequently used form is the nominative. The numeral 2 has one form for masculine and neuter, and another for feminine, while the numerals 3 and 4 have one form for all three genders.

TABLE 19: Declension of the numerals *dva*, *tri*, and *čètiri*

	m	n	f
NOM	<i>dv-â</i>		<i>dv-ŕje, dv-ê¹²</i>
GEN	<i>dv-âjũ</i>		<i>dv-ŕjũ, dv-êjũ</i>
DAT	<i>dv-âma</i>		<i>dv-jèma, dv-éma</i>
ACC	= NOM		= NOM
VOC	= NOM		= NOM
LOC	= DAT		= DAT
INST	= DAT		= DAT

NOM	<i>tr-î</i>	<i>čètir-i</i>
GEN	<i>tr-ŕjũ</i>	<i>četir-ŕjũ</i>
DAT	<i>tr-îma</i>	<i>četir-îma</i>
ACC	= NOM	= NOM
VOC	= NOM	= NOM
LOC	= DAT	= DAT
INST	= DAT	= DAT

5.1.3. The numerals from 5 to 99 are non-declinable (in compound numerals, for instance 31, 43, 62, declension is determined by the last figure in the numeral: if it is declinable, it is declined within the compound numeral as well).

5.1.4. *Sto*, '100', is non-declinable. There is also the form *stotina*, a feminine noun, but it occurs mostly as the fixed accusative *stotinu*. The same applies to the feminine nouns *tisuća*¹³ and *hiljada* 'thousand' and *milijarda* 'billion'. *Milijun*¹⁴ and *milion* 'million' are masculine nouns and they are also mostly used as the fixed accusative.

5.1.5. Ordinal numerals have the same stems as cardinals, e.g. *pet* - *peti* 'five - fifth', *deset* - *deseti* 'ten - tenth'. Only the numerals 1-4 have suppletive or somewhat changed stems *jèdan* - *prvi* 'one - first'; *dva* - *drugi* 'two - second'; *tri* - *treći* 'three - third'; *čètiri* - *četvrti* 'four - fourth', whereas the numerals *sto*, *tisuću*, *hiljadu*, *milijun* 'hundred, thousand, million' have the infix *-(i)t-* *stoti*, *tisućiti*, *hiljaditi*, *milijunti* 'hundredth, thousandth, millionth'.

All ordinal numerals are declined as definite-form adjectives in all three genders (see Table 8), e.g. *šest* - *šesti*, *šestog*, *šestom*, *šesta*, *šesto* 'six - sixth'.

¹² The first form is (i)jekavian and the second one is ekavian.

¹³ Croatian standard.

¹⁴ Croatian standard.

In compound numerals only the final element has the form of an ordinal, while the others have the form of a cardinal numeral, e.g. *sto osamdeset prvi* 'one hundred and eighty-first'. The final element is also the only one that is declined.

5.2. Syntactic features of quantifiers

Noun phrases with quantifiers can be divided into two groups according to their syntactic structures: adjectival (agreeing) and governmental.

5.2.1. In adjectival quantification the noun carries grammatical categories of the phrase, and the quantifier agrees with it in gender, number, case, and animacy, as it is usual for adjectives. Such a quantifier is the numeral *jedan* 'one'. A group of numerals that are used only with pluralia tantum also has the characteristics of adjectives (*dvije naočale* 'two pairs of glasses', *dvoja kola* 'two cars'), but unlike the numeral *jedan* these quantifiers appear almost exclusively with the nominative and accusative of nouns.

5.2.2. In governmental quantification the quantifier imposes the form on the noun.

5.2.2.1. The numerals 2, 3, and 4 belong to this group because they require a special form of the noun and of other agreeing words in the phrase, the so-called paucal form (the remnant of the dual). The paucal form of the noun has the same ending as the genitive singular: *tri muškarca / stola / žene / noći / sela* 'three men, tables, women, nights, villages'. However, the agreement of modifiers shows that it is not the genitive singular:

- (77) *Ov-a (*Ov-og) tri muškarca putuj-u.*
 this (*-GEN.SG) three man travel-PR.3.PL
 'These three men are traveling.'

The numeral 2 has also elements of agreeing quantification manifested by the fact that the form *dva* is used with masculine and neuter nouns, and the form *dv(ij)e* with feminine nouns.

5.2.2.2. Governmental quantification includes all non-declinable numerals from 5 on, which require the genitive plural noun.

5.2.2.3. The genitive plural of the noun (and the singular of an uncountable noun) is required also by non-declinable quantifiers shaped like adverbs. The predicate that agrees with these quantifiers takes neuter singular form:

- (78) *Bil-o je malo turist-a u hotel-ima.*
 be:AP-n.SG be:AUX.3.SG little tourist-GEN.m.PL in hotel-LOC.m.PL
 'There were few tourists in hotels.'

5.2.3.4. The fixed accusatives *stotinu, tisuću, hiljadu, milijardu* 'hundred, thousand, billion' also govern the genitive plural of the noun, and the predicate that agrees with them takes neuter singular form:

- (79) *Došl-o je stotin-u žen-a.*
 come:AP-n.SG be:AUX.3.SG hundred-ACC.f.SG woman-GEN.f.PL
 'A hundred women came.'

Like the numerals 2, 3, and 4, non-declinable quantifiers are used in contexts that require different cases, except the dative and the instrumental without prepositions.

5.2.2.5. The collective numerals *dvije, troje, četvero/četvoro, petero/petoro* 'two, three, four, five' etc. are used as non-declinable (nor can their non-declinable forms be used in a context that requires the dative or the instrumental without prepositions), they govern the genitive plural of the noun, and their predicate takes neuter singular form. They are used with mixed-sex groups of people and obligatorily with the noun *d(j)eca* 'children':

- (80) *Došl-o je troj-e podstanar-a.*
 come:AP-n.SG be:AUX.3.SG three:COL-NOM lodger-GEN.m.PL
 'There came three lodgers (mixed sexes).'

In compound collective numerals only the final element has the form of a collective numeral, while the others have the form of a cardinal numeral.

TABLE 20: Declension of the collective numerals *dvije, troje, and četvero*

NOM	<i>dvōj-e</i>	<i>trōj-e</i>	<i>čētvor-o, čētvor-o</i>
GEN	= NOM	= NOM	= NOM
DAT	<i>dvō-ma</i>	<i>trō-ma</i>	<i>čētvor-ōma</i>
ACC	= NOM	= NOM	= NOM
VOC	= NOM	= NOM	= NOM
LOC	= DAT	= DAT	= DAT
INST	= DAT	= DAT	= DAT

5.2.2.6. Collective numerals with the suffix *-ica* (*dvójica, trojica* 'two, three' etc.) denote a group of men, are declined as feminine singular, and govern the genitive plural of the noun. The predicate that agrees with them takes plural form, and the participle in the predicate can agree either grammatically or semantically:

- (81) *T-a trojic-a studenat-a su nešto*
 that-NOM.f.SG three-NOM.f.SG student-GEN.m.PL be:AUX.3.PL something:ACC
pital-a / pital-i.
 ask:AP-f.SG ask:AP-m.PL
 'Those three (male) students have asked something.'

5.2.2.7. Genitive personal pronoun heads *nas, vas, njih* 'us, you, them' combine with numerals above 1: *vas tri* 'you three' (female), *nas trojica* 'we three' (male), *nas troje* 'we three' (mixed).

5.2.2.8. Declinable quantifiers that govern the genitive of the noun can be nouns or noun phrases (e.g. *mnoštvo* 'crowd', *velik broj* 'a large number'):

- (82) *Obratio se mnošt-v-u ljud-i.*
 address:AP.m.SG R crowd-DAT.n.SG people-GEN.m.PL
 'He addressed the crowd.'

The predicate agrees with such a declinable quantifier:

- (83) *Na ulic-ama se okupil-o mnošt-v-o ljud-i.*
 on street-LOC.f.PL R gather:AP-n.SG crowd-NOM.n.SG people-GEN.m.PL
 'A crowd of people gathered in the streets.'
Na ulicama se okupio velik broj
 on street-LOC.f.PL R gather:AP-m.SG large:NOM.m.SG number:NOM.m.SG
ljud-i.
 people-GEN.m.PL
 'A large number of people gathered in the streets.'

6. Verbs

6.1. Verbal categories

Grammatical categories expressed by finite verb forms are person, number, mood, aspect, tense, voice, and transitivity.

Finite verb forms agree with the subject in person and number. Compound tenses containing the active participle express the gender of the subject as well.

6.2. Non-finite verb forms

The non-finite verb forms are infinitive, active participle, passive participle, present participle, and past participle.

6.2.1. Infinitive

6.2.1.1. The infinitive consists of the stem and the ending *-ti* or, far less often, *-ći*: *govori-ti* 'to speak', *na-ći* 'to find'.

The infinitive stem is used for forming: the infinitive (its syntactic functions can be seen in 14.1.8. and 14.1.10.), the active participle, the passive participle of most verbs, the present participle, the aorist, the imperfect of certain verbs.

6.2.1.2. When in the infinitive the ending *-ti* is preceded by *-s-*, then the infinitive stem most often ends in a consonant different from that in the infinitive itself because *-s-* is the result of:

- consonant alternation *s < t* or *d*, so the infinitive stem is *met-* from *mesti* 'to sweep', *doved-* from *dovesti* 'to bring';

- consonant alternation *s < s* or *z*, so the infinitive stem is *tres-* from *tresti* 'to shake', *dovez-* from *dovesti* 'to drive';

- consonant alternation *s < ∅* after *p* or *b*, so the infinitive stem is *greb-* from *grepsi* 'to scratch'.

6.2.1.3. When the infinitive ending is *-ći*, the infinitive stem ends:

- in *-k-*, *-g-* or *-h-* although these consonants are no longer visible in the infinitive: *peći < pek-ti* 'to bake', *moći < mog-ti* 'can';

- in *-d-* although that consonant is no longer visible in the infinitive: *ići < id-ti* 'to go' and the infinitives derived from *ići*, e.g. *doći, ući, naći* 'to come, to come in, to find'.

6.2.2. Active participle

The active participle is formed from the infinitive stem and the suffix *-l*. The endings for the three genders and two numbers are added to that suffix:

TABLE 21: Formation of the active participle

	m	n	f
SG	-∅	-o	-a
PL	-i	-a	-e

	m	n	f
SG	govòri-o-∅	govòri-l-o	govòri-l-a
PL	govòri-l-i	govòri-l-a	govòri-l-e

6.2.2.1. The masculine singular has the alternation *l : o* (see 1.3.2.1.).

6.2.2.2. When the infinitive stem ends in a consonant, in masculine singular the vowel *-a-* is inserted between the stem and the suffix (see 1.3.2.2.): *moći (<mog-ti)* 'can' - *mogao* 'could: AP.m.SG', *mogli* m.PL, *mogle* f.SG.

6.2.2.3. The verb *ići* 'to go' and the verbs derived from it apart from the vowel *-a-* in masculine singular also get the consonant *-š-* in all numbers and genders: *ići (<id-ti)* - *išao, išla, išli* 'to go - went'; *naći - našao, našla, našli* 'to find - found'.

6.2.2.4. Verbs with infinitive stems ending in *-t-* or *-d-* form the active participle without that consonant: *mesti (<met-ti)* - *meo* 'to sweep - swept'; *jesti (<jed-ti)* - *jeo* 'to eat - ate'.

6.2.2.5. When the infinitive stem in the (i)jekavian pronunciation ends in *-je-*, and in the ekavian in *-e-*, then in the (i)jekavian the masculine singular of the active participle has the alternation *je : i* in front of the suffix: *vidjeti (videti)* - *vidio (video)*, *vidjela (videla)*, *vidjeli (videli)* 'to see - saw'.

6.2.2.6. Certain verbs, such as *umrijeti (umreti)* 'to die', *poduprijeti (podupreti)* 'to support' form the participle by omitting the final *-ije-* (*-e-*): *umro, umrla, umrli; podupro, poduprli, poduprli*.

6.2.2.7. The active participle is used in compound tenses (perfect, pluperfect, and future II) and conditionals.

6.2.2.8. The active participle of intransitive perfective verbs that denote a state can be used as an adjective. It then gets all the morphological characteristics of an adjective:

- (84) *Iz pokisl-e kos-e kapljal-a je vod-a.*
 from wetted-GEN.f.SG hair-GEN.f.SG drip:AP-f.SG be:AUX.3.SG water-NOM.f.SG
 'Water was dripping from wet hair.'

6.2.3. Passive participle

The passive participle is formed from the infinitive, or less often, the present stem and the suffix *-n/-en/-ven/-jen/-t-*: *govoren* 'spoken', *postignut* 'achieved'. Like the active participle, it has the categories of gender and number: *govorene* f.PL, *govoreno* n.SG.

6.2.3.1. The passive participle is used for forming the passive.

6.2.3.2. It can be used as a proper adjective as well. Then it has all the morphological characteristics of an adjective:

- (85) *Na slomljen-øj ruc-i više nije imao*
 on broken-LOC.f.SG arm-LOC.f.SG more NEGbe:AUX.3.SG have:AP.m.SG
gips.
 plaster:ACC.m.SG
 'He no longer had plaster on his broken arm.'

6.2.4. Present participle

The present participle is formed from imperfective verbs by adding the suffix *-ći* to the third person present plural: *govoreći* 'speaking', *gledajući* 'watching'.

6.2.4.1. It denotes the action simultaneous with the action denoted by the main verb. It can also express manner, cause, condition, concession etc. Its presupposed subject is identical to the subject of the main verb.

6.2.4.2. Certain present participles can be used as adjectives as well. When used like that, they have all the morphological characteristics of an adjective:

- (86) *Ostanite u ležec-em položaj-u!*
 remain:IMP.2.PL in lying-LOC.m.SG position-LOC.m.SG
 'Stay lying!'

6.2.5. Past participle

The past participle is formed from perfective verbs by adding the suffix *-(a)vši* to the infinitive stem: *izgovorivši* 'having spoken', *pogledavši* 'having looked at'.

6.2.5.1. Most often it denotes the action anterior to the action denoted by the main verb. It can also express manner and cause. Its presupposed subject is identical to the subject of the main verb.

6.2.5.2. Only the past participle of the verb *biti* 'to be' can be used as an adjective:

- (87) *Pokazao nam je svoj-u bivš-u*
 show:AP.M.SG we:DAT be:AUX.3.SG RPOS-ACC.F.SG be:PP-ACC.F.SG
žen-u.
 wife-ACC.F.SG
 'He showed us his ex-wife.'

6.3. Tenses

The simple tenses are present, aorist, and imperfect, while the compound tenses are perfect, pluperfect, future I, and future II.

6.3.1. Present

6.3.1.1. The present tense, apart from the present, can also express the past and the future:

- (88) *Dod-em ja jučer na fakultet...*
 come(P)-PR.1.SG I:NOM yesterday on faculty:ACC.M.SG
 'I came yesterday to the Faculty...'
 (89) *Vid-imo se sutra!*
 see-PR.1.PL R tomorrow
 'We'll see each other tomorrow!'

Only imperfective verbs are used to express the absolute present (see 6.4.).

6.3.1.2. The present stem is used for forming: the present, the imperative, the present participle, the imperfect of most verbs, the passive participle of certain verbs. It is obtained by omitting the ending in the third person plural present.

6.3.1.3. According to the present stem and the endings, there are three conjugation classes of verbs.

1. The 1st conjugation class includes most verbs with the vowel *-a-* in front of the infinitive ending *-ti*: *gleda-ti* 'to watch', *čeka-ti* 'to wait'. Their present stems also end in *-a-*. The endings in that class are:

TABLE 22: The endings of the 1st conjugation class

	SG	PL		SG	PL
1	-m	-mo	1	<i>glědā-m</i>	<i>glědā-mo</i>
2	-š	-te	2	<i>glědā-š</i>	<i>glědā-te</i>
3	-ø	-jū	3	<i>glědā-ø</i>	<i>glědā-jū</i>

This class also includes certain verbs whose infinitive stem in the (i)jekavian pronunciation ends in *-je-* that in the present stem becomes *-ije-* (in the ekavian pronunciation it is *-e-* both in the infinitive and in the present stem): *smje-ti* (*sme-ti*) 'to dare' / *smije-m* (*sme-m*), *smi-ju* (*sme-ju*).

2. The 2nd conjugation class includes verbs

- that have the vowel *-i-* in front of the infinitive ending *-ti*, and their present stem ends in a consonant: *kupi-ti* 'to buy' / the present stem *kup-*;
- some verbs that have *-je-* in the (i)jekavian pronunciation (after *lj*, *nj*, and *r* they have *-e-*) in front of the infinitive ending, have *-e-* in the ekavian pronunciation, and their present stem ends in a consonant: *volje-ti* (*vole-ti*) 'to love' / the present stem *vol-*;

- verbs that have *-a-* after *č*, *ž*, *j*, *št*, *žd* and in front of the infinitive ending, and their present stem ends in a consonant: *drža-ti* 'to hold' / the present stem *drž-*.
 Present endings in that class are:

TABLE 23: The endings of the 2nd conjugation class

	SG	PL		SG	PL
1	<i>-īm</i>	<i>-īmo</i>	1	<i>kūp-īm</i>	<i>kūp-īmo</i>
2	<i>-iš</i>	<i>-īte</i>	2	<i>kūp-iš</i>	<i>kūp-īte</i>
3	<i>-ī</i>	<i>-ē</i>	3	<i>kūp-ī</i>	<i>kūp-ē</i>

3. The 3rd conjugation class includes several subclasses. The endings are:

TABLE 24: The endings of the 3rd conjugation class

	SG	PL
1	<i>-ēm</i>	<i>-ēmo</i>
2	<i>-ēš</i>	<i>-ēte</i>
3	<i>-ē</i>	<i>-ū</i>

3.1. subclass includes verbs whose infinitive stem ends in *-ova-*, *-eva-*, *-iva-* or *-uva-*, and the present stem ends in *-uj-*: *putova-ti* / *putuj-em* 'to travel - I travel'; *careva-ti* / *caruj-em* 'to reign - I reign'; *objavljuva-ti* / *objavljuj-em* 'to publish - I publish'; *pljuva-ti* / *pljuj-em* 'to spit - I spit'. Verbs *davati*, *poznavati* and those derived from them have the infinitive stem in *-ava-*, and the present stem in *-aj-*: *dava-ti* / *daj-em* 'to give - I give'; *poznavati* / *poznaj-em* 'to know someone - I know'.

3.2. subclass includes verbs whose infinitive stem ends in *-a-*, and the present stem ends in an alternated consonant, whose alternation has been caused by *-j-* added to the position of the vowel *-a-* (see jotation 1.3.1.6.): *pisa-ti* / *piš-em*, *piš-u* 'to write - I write, they write'; *vika-ti* / *vič-em*, *vič-u* 'to shout - I shout, they shout'.

3.3. subclass includes verbs whose infinitive stem ends in *-i-* or *-u-*, and the present stem after those vowels also has *-j-*: *dobi-ti* / *dobij-em* 'to get - I get'; *ču-ti* / *čuj-em* 'to hear - I hear'; *pi-ti* / *pij-em* 'to drink - I drink'.

3.4. subclass includes verbs whose infinitive stem ends in *-nu-*, and the present stem in *-n-*: *gurnu-ti* / *gurn-em* 'to push - I push'; *krenu-ti* / *kren-em* 'to start going - I start going'.

3.5. subclass includes verbs whose infinitive and present stems are identical, but in the infinitive due to consonant alternation in front of the infinitive ending *-ti* there is *-s-* as the result of:

- consonant alternation *s < t* or *d*: *mes-ti* 'to sweep' / *met-em*; *doves-ti* 'to bring' / *doved-em*;
- consonant alternation *s < s* or *z*: *tres-ti* 'to shake' / *tres-em*; *doves-ti* 'to drive' / *dovez-em*;
- consonant alternation *s < ø* after *p* or *b*: *greps-ti* 'to scratch' / *greb-em*.

Certain verbs after *t* or *d* in the present stem get also *-n-*: *sres-ti* 'to meet' / *sretn-em*; *pas-ti* 'to fall' / *padn-em*.

3.6. subclass includes verbs that have the infinitive ending *-ći*, and their infinitive and present stems end in *-k-*, *-g-* or *-h-*: *pe-ći* 'to bake' / *peč-em*, *pek-u*; or the present stem has been jotated: *do-ći* 'to come' / *dod-em*, *dod-u* (in the verb *ići* 'to go' it has not been

jotated: *id-em, id-u*); or the present stem has an additional *-n-*: *pore-ći* 'to deny' / *porekn-em, porekn-u*.

3.7. subclass includes verbs whose infinitive stem ends in *-a-*, and the present stem after that vowel has also *-n-*: *sta-ti* 'to stop' / *stan-em*.

3.8. subclass includes verbs whose infinitive stem has *-a-*, and the present stem instead of that vowel has the inserted *-e-*: *pra-ti* 'to wash' / *per-em*; or it has inserted *-o-*: *zva-ti* 'to call' / *zov-em*.

3.9. subclass includes verbs whose infinitive stem ends in *-e-*, and the present stem instead of that vowel has *-n-*: *poče-ti* 'to start' / *počn-em*.

3.10. subclass includes verbs whose infinitive stem ends in *-u-*, and the present stem instead of that vowel has *-p-*: *prosu-ti* 'to spill' / *prosp-em*.

4. Irregular verbs *biti* 'to be', *ht(j)eti* 'will', *moći* 'can' have specific forms of the present:

TABLE 25: Present of the verb *biti*

		Full	Enclitic	Negated	Perfective
SG	1	<i>jěsam</i>	<i>sam</i>	<i>nįsam</i>	<i>bűděj</i>
	2	<i>jěsi</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>nįsi</i>	<i>bűdějš</i>
	3	<i>jěst(e)</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>nįje</i>	<i>bűdē</i>
PL	1	<i>jěsmo</i>	<i>smo</i>	<i>nįsmo</i>	<i>bűdějmo</i>
	2	<i>jěste</i>	<i>ste</i>	<i>nįste</i>	<i>bűdējte</i>
	3	<i>jěsu</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>nįsu</i>	<i>bűdū</i>

TABLE 26: Present of the verb *ht(j)eti*

		Full	Enclitic	Negated
SG	1	<i>hòću</i>	<i>ću</i>	<i>něću</i>
	2	<i>hòćeš</i>	<i>ćeš</i>	<i>něćeš</i>
	3	<i>hòće</i>	<i>će</i>	<i>něće</i>
PL	1	<i>hòćemo</i>	<i>ćemo</i>	<i>něćemo</i>
	2	<i>hòćete</i>	<i>ćete</i>	<i>něćete</i>
	3	<i>hòćē</i>	<i>će</i>	<i>něćē</i>

TABLE 27: Present of the verb *moći*

		SG	PL
1		<i>mògu</i>	<i>mòžemo</i>
2		<i>mòžeš</i>	<i>mòžete</i>
3		<i>mòže</i>	<i>mògū</i>

6.3.2. Perfect, Aorist, Imperfect, and Pluperfect

6.3.2.1. The perfect is an unmarked, most widely applicable past tense. It can be used instead of any other past tense. It is formed by the present tense of the auxiliary *biti* 'to be' (mostly its enclitic forms, see Table 25) and the active participle of the main verb (perfective or imperfective):¹⁵

¹⁵ The auxiliary is omitted in the 3.SG if the active participle is formed from a reflexive verb.

(90) *On je pisao pism-o.*
he:NOM be:AUX.3.SG write(I):AP.m.SG letter-ACC.n.SG
'He wrote a letter.'

(91) *Mi smo napisal-i pism-o.*
we:NOM be:AUX.1.PL write(P):AP-m.PL letter-ACC.n.SG
'We wrote a letter.'

6.3.2.2. The aorist and imperfect, as marginal past tenses, are seldom used. The aorist is almost exclusively formed from perfective verbs. The following endings are added to the infinitive stem:

TABLE 28: The endings of the aorist

SG	1	<i>-h</i>	<i>-oh</i>	SG	1	<i>vįknu-h</i>	<i>păd-oh</i>
	2	<i>-ø</i>	<i>-e</i>		2	<i>vįknű-ø</i>	<i>păd-e</i>
	3	<i>-ø</i>	<i>-e</i>		3	<i>vįknű-ø</i>	<i>păd-e</i>
PL	1	<i>-smo</i>	<i>-osmo</i>	PL	1	<i>vįknu-smo</i>	<i>păd-osmo</i>
	2	<i>-ste</i>	<i>-oste</i>		2	<i>vįknu-ste</i>	<i>păd-oste</i>
	3	<i>-še</i>	<i>-oše</i>		3	<i>vįknu-še</i>	<i>păd-oše</i>

The imperfect is almost always formed from imperfective verbs. The following endings are added to the present stem or, less often, the infinitive one:

TABLE 29: The endings of the imperfect

SG	1	<i>-(ā)h</i>	<i>-jāh</i>	<i>-ijāh</i>
	2	<i>-(ā)še</i>	<i>-jāše</i>	<i>-ijāše</i>
	3	<i>-(ā)še</i>	<i>-jāše</i>	<i>-ijāše</i>
PL	1	<i>-(ā)smo</i>	<i>-jāsmo</i>	<i>-ijāsmo</i>
	2	<i>-(ā)ste</i>	<i>-jāste</i>	<i>-ijāste</i>
	3	<i>-(ā)hu</i>	<i>-jāhu</i>	<i>-ijāhu</i>

6.3.2.3. The semantic difference between the aorist and the imperfect lies in the fact that the former refers to an action accomplished immediately before being spoken of, and expresses surprising perceived events, while the latter expresses the duration of an action completed in the past. The remnants of the aorist appear in speech:

(92) *Pade mi olovk-a!*
fall(P):AOR.3.SG I:DAT pencil-NOM.f.SG
'My pencil has fallen down!'

as well as in literature when special dramatic impact is desired. On the other hand, the use of imperfect today is restricted to literature, where it is used when a more archaic tone is desired.

6.3.2.4. The pluperfect denotes an action that occurred before some other action in the past. It is compounded from the perfect (seldom the imperfect) of the auxiliary *biti* 'to be' and the active participle of the main verb:

(93) *Mi smo već bil-i popil-i čaj*
we:NOM be:AUX.1.PL already be:AP-m.PL drink out:AP-m.PL tea:ACC.m.SG

kad je on došao.
 when be:AUX.3.SG he:NOM come:AP.m.SG
 'We had already had our tea before he came.'

6.3.3. Future I and Future II

6.3.3.1. The future I is compounded from the present of the auxiliary *ht(j)eti* 'will, want' (primarily its enclitic forms, see Table 26) and the infinitive of the main verb, or, especially in the eastern part of the SC language community, *da* plus the present of the main verb:

(94) *On će gledati film.*
 he:NOM will:AUX.3.SG watch:INF film:ACC.m.SG
 'He will watch a film.'

(95) *On će da gleda film.*
 he:NOM will:AUX.3.SG SUB watch:PR.3.SG film:ACC.m.SG
 'He will watch a film.'

The infinitive can precede the enclitic. In that case the infinitive ending *-ti* is not pronounced in speech, which is reflected in writing, either a) completely (the east of the SC language community):

(96) *Gledaće film.*
 watch will:FU.3.SG film:ACC.m.SG
 'He/she will watch a film.'

or, b) partially (the west of the SC language community):

(97) *Gledat će film.*
 watch:INF will:AUX.3.SG film:ACC.m.SG
 'He/she will watch a film.'

The verbs having the infinitive ending *-ći* retain it:

(98) *Naći će hotel.*
 find:INF will:AUX.3.SG hotel:ACC.m.SG
 'He/she will find a hotel.'

6.3.3.2. The future II is used only in subordinate clauses, primarily in conditional and in temporal ones that express some potential future action which is expected to be completed before or simultaneously with some other future action. It is compounded from a special, perfective present of the auxiliary *biti* 'to be' (see Table 25) and the active participle of the main verb:

(99) *Kad bud-eš došl-a, pokazat ću ti fotografij-e.*
 when be(P)-PR.2.SG come:AP-f.SG show:INF will:AUX.1.SG you:DAT
 photograph-ACC.f.PL
 'When you come, I will show you the photographs.'

The future II is often replaced by the present of perfective verbs:

(100) *Kad dod-eš, pokazat ću ti...*
 when come(P)-PR.2.SG show:INF will:AUX.1.SG you:DAT
 'When you come, I will show you...'

6.4. Aspect

6.4.1. As far as aspect is concerned, verbs are divided into perfective and imperfective. Some verbs are bi-aspectual such as *jesti* 'to eat', *telefonirati* 'to telephone'.

6.4.2. Most non-prefixed verbs are imperfective; by adding prefixes to them, they can be turned into perfective ones: *učiti* 'to learn: I' - *naučiti* 'to learn up: P', *čitati* 'to read: I' - *pročitati* 'to read up: P', *gledati* 'to look: I' - *pogledati* 'to take a look: P'. Prefixing a verb usually creates at the same time a new derivative sense: *pisati* 'to write: I' - *napisati* 'to write over', *prepisati* 'to rewrite', *ispisati* 'to write out', *upisati* 'to write into', *opisati* 'to describe', *nadopisati* 'to write in'.

The only suffix that turns imperfectives into perfectives (making them semelfactive) is *-nu*: *vikati* 'to shout: I' - *viknuti* 'to give a shout: P', *mahati* 'to wave: I' - *mahnuti* 'to wave: P'.

6.4.3. Perfective verbs can be turned into imperfective by suffixes, most often by *-ati*, *-ivati*, *-avati*, e.g. *prepisati* - *prepisivati* 'to rewrite: P-I', *pogledati* 'to look: P' - *pogledavati* 'to glance occasionally: I', *smanjiti* - *smanjivati* 'to reduce: P-I'.

6.4.4. The difference in aspect can be indicated by both vocal alternation and change of accent: *dārovati* - *darivati* 'to endow: P-I', *lūpiti* - *lupati* 'to beat: P-I', *pūstiti* - *pūštati* 'to let: P-I'; or just by the change of accent: *pōgledati* 'to look: P' - *poglēdati* 'to glance occasionally: I'.

6.4.5. There are suppletive pairs of verbs: *reći* 'to say: P' - *govoriti* 'to speak: I', *doći* - *dolaziti* 'to come: P-I'.

6.4.6. Perfective verbs can be used only in the relative present:

a) expressing a typical activity in main clauses when a certain word indicates generalization

(101) *Ona svaki put pročita knjig-u do kraj-a.*
 she:NOM every time read(P):PR.3.SG book-ACC.f.SG till end-GEN.m.SG
 'She always reads up the book.'

In such a clause it is also possible to use the present of an imperfective verb:

(102) *Ona svaki put čita knjig-u do kraj-a.*
 she:NOM every time read(I):PR.3.SG book-ACC.f.SG till end-GEN.m.SG
 'She is always reading up the entire book.'

b) expressing future in subordinate clauses as in

(103) *Kad pročita-m knjig-u, vratit ću je.*
 when read(P)-PR.1.SG book-ACC.f.SG return:INF will:AUX.1.SG she:ACC
 'When I read up the book, I will return it.'

In such a clause it is not possible to use the present of an imperfective verb:

(104) **Kad čita-m knjig-u, vratit ću je.*
 when read(I)-PR.1.SG book-ACC.f.SG return:INF will:AUX.1.SG she:ACC

6.4.7. Only imperfective verbs are used as complements of phasal verbs:

(105) *Ona je počel-a čitati knjig-u.*
 she:NOM be:AUX.3.SG start:AP-f.SG read(I):INF book-ACC.f.SG
 'She has started reading a book.'
 **Ona je počel-a pročitati knjigu.*
 she:NOM be:AUX.3.SG start:AP-f.SG read(P):INF book-ACC.f.SG

6.5. Moods

6.5.1. In SC, modes include the indicative, the imperative, the conditional I, and the conditional II. There are also remnants of the optative; it has no morphological form of its own, but it is expressed by the active participle:

- (106) *Dobro došli!*
well come:AP-m.PL
'Welcome!'

6.5.2. The imperative is formed from the present stem and endings: 2nd SG *-j/-i/-ø*; 1st PL *-jmo/-imo/-mo*; 2nd PL *-jte/-ite/-te*, e.g. *Piši! Pišite!* 'Write!', *Čitaj! Čitajte!* 'Read!'. It is possible to convey commands for the third person by *neka* 'let' and the 3rd person present of the given verb: *Neka Marko piše!* 'Let Marko write!' *Neka Marko i Petar pišu!* 'Let Marko and Petar write!' (about imperative see also 10.).

6.5.3. The conditional I is compounded from the aorist of the auxiliary *biti* 'to be' (*bih, bi, bi, bismo, biste, bi*) and the active participle of the main verb:

- (107) *Ja bi-h pisao.*
I:NOM be-AOR.1.SG write:AP.m.SG
'I would like to write.'

It is used to express possibility for performing an action; it indicates willingness, intention or a wish to do something as well as the condition under which an action can be accomplished. The conditional is used in both clauses of the irreal *if-then* sentence:

- (108) *Kad bi-h znao-a, rekl-a bi-h ti.*
when be-AOR.1.SG know:AP-f.SG say:AP-f.SG be-AOR.1.SG you:DAT
'If I knew, I would tell you.'

In an *if*-clause it is possible to replace the conditional by *da* plus the indicative tense:

- (109) *Da zna-m, rekl-a bi-h ti.*
if know-PR.1.SG say:AP-f.SG be-AOR.1.SG you:DAT
'If I knew, I would tell you.'
Da sam znao-a, rekl-a bi-h ti.
if be:AUX.1.SG know:AP-f.SG say:AP-f.SG be-AOR.1.SG you:DAT
'If I had known, I would have told you.'

Conditional is also used in purpose clauses as an alternative to the present:

- (110) *Došao sam da te pita-m...*
come:AP.m.SG be:AUX.1.SG SUB you:ACC ask-PR.1.SG
'I have come to ask you...'
Došao sam da bi-h te pitao...
come:AP.m.SG be:AUX.1.SG SUB be-AOR.1.SG you:ACC ask:AP.m.SG

Conditional can also indicate a real habitual past action:

- (111) *Usred razgovor-a ona bi ustal-a i*
middle conversation-GEN.m.SG she:NOM be:AOR.3.SG stand up:AP-f.SG and
otišl-a u kuhinj-u.
go:AP-f.SG in kitchen-ACC.f.SG
'In the middle of the conversation she would stand up and go to the kitchen.'

6.5.4. The conditional II is formed from the conditional I of the verb *biti* 'to be' and the active participle of the main verb:

- (112) *Ja bi-h bio došao da sam znao*
I:NOM be-AOR.1.SG be:AP.m.SG come:AP.m.SG if be:AUX.1.SG know:AP.m.SG

- koliko je to važno.*
how much be:PR.3.SG it important
'I would have come if I had known how important it was.'

It indicates irreal actions that are exclusively related to the past. It can be replaced by the conditional I:

- (113) *Ja bih došao da sam znao...*
I:NOM be-AOR.1.SG come:AP.m.SG if be:AUX.1.SG know:AP.m.SG

6.6. Active and Passive

6.6.1. In addition to the active, most transitive verbs can be used in the passive voice as well (except, for instance, the verb *imati* 'to have'). The passive is formed from a tense of the auxiliary *biti* 'to be' and the passive participle of the main verb. The predicate agrees in person, number, and gender with its subject:

- (114) *Kuć-a je sagraden-a.*
house-NOM.f.SG be:AUX.3.SG build:PP-f.SG
'The house is built.'
(115) *Kuć-a je bil-a sagraden-a.*
house-NOM.f.SG be:AUX.3.SG be:AP-f.SG build:PP-f.SG
'The house was built.'
(116) *Kuć-e će biti sagraden-e.*
house-NOM.f.PL will:AUX.3.PL be:INF build:PP-f.PL
'The houses will be built.'

The agent can be expressed by the phrase *od strane* 'by' plus genitive, but most often it is left out.

6.6.2. The quasi-passive is formed from transitive verbs by adding the enclitic *se*, that indicates an unspecified human agent. The predicate agrees in number with its subject (and in gender if it contains the active participle):

- (117) *Kuć-e se grad-e.*
house-NOM.f.PL R build-PR.3.PL
'The houses are being built.'
(118) *Kuć-e su se gradil-e.*
house-NOM.f.PL be:AUX.3.PL R build:AP-f.PL
'The houses were being built.'

6.6.3. The enclitic *se* is also used for forming impersonal clauses from intransitive verbs. In such clauses the verb is always in the 3rd person singular (of neuter gender):

- (119) *Nekad se manje putoval-o.*
once R less travel:AP-n.SG
'There was less travel in the past.'
(120) *Spava mi se.*
sleep:PR.3.SG I:DAT R
'I feel sleepy.'

6.6.4. In the active the enclitic *se* is an indicator of the reflexiveness of a verb. There are verbs which a) obligatorily appear together with the enclitic *se*, e.g. *nadati se* 'to hope', *bojati se* 'to fear', b) appear either with the enclitic *se* or with the object in the accusative, e.g. *hvaliti se/prijatelja* 'to praise (a friend)', *prati se/bebu* 'to wash oneself (a baby)' - only

with the latter the reflexive pronoun can appear in its full form *sebe*. The enclitic *se* is also used to denote reciprocity. Reciprocity cannot be denoted by the full form *sebe*:

- (121) *Oni se ljub-e.*
they:NOM R kiss-PR.3.PL
'They are kissing each other.'
- (122) *Oni se tuk-u.*
they:NOM R fight-PR.3.PL
'They are having a fight.'

7. Adverbs

7.1. Adverbs belong to non-declinable words. The adverbs derived from the adjectives that have the category of comparison also have comparison. Such adverbs are, in their form, identical to the neuter singular of an adjective: *pošteno* 'honestly: adj.n.sg and adv.' with comparison *poštenije* 'more honestly', *najpoštenije* 'most honestly'. Like adjectives, they can be graded in other ways as well, e.g. *prepošteno* 'too honestly', *suviše pošteno* 'far too honestly'.

7.2. Some adverbs, pro-adverbs, are directly related to various types of pronouns (see 4.6.).

7.3. From the semantic point of view, adverbs can be divided into the following basic groups: manner, place, time, causality, quantity (see Table 17).

7.4. They modify the meaning of verbs, adverbs, adjectives, pronouns, and nouns while sentence adverbs modify the meaning of the whole sentence:

- (123) *On brzo čita.*
he:NOM fast read:PR.3.SG
'He reads fast.'
- (124) *On suviše brzo čita.*
he:NOM too much fast read:PR.3.SG
'He reads too fast.'
- (125) *Ov-a pojav-a nije tako čest-a.*
this-NOM.f.SG phenomenon-NOM.f.SG NEGbe:PR.3.SG so frequent-NOM.f.SG
'This phenomenon is not so frequent.'
- (126) *Onaj dečko tamo nije mi poznat.*
that:NOM.m.SG boy:NOM.m.SG there NEGbe:PR.3.SG I:DAT known:NOM.m.SG
'That boy over there is not known to me.'
- (127) *Oni su sigurno već stigli kuć-i.*
they:NOM be:AUX.3.PL surely already come:AP-m.PL home-DAT.f.SG
'They have surely arrived home by now.'

8. Order of constituents

8.1. Word order in a noun phrase

8.1.1. Word order in a noun phrase is generally fixed. The noun is preceded by (sequentially from the farthest to the closest to the noun) universal pronouns, demonstratives, possessives, numerals, and adjectives:

- (128) *sv-ih t-ih Vaš-ih osam dobr-ih*
all-GEN.m.PL this-GEN.m.PL your-GEN.m.PL eight good-GEN.m.PL

studentat-a

student-GEN.m.PL

'all these eight good students of yours'

In poetic or expressive style each of the above-mentioned elements can follow the noun.

8.1.2. The noun is followed by genitives, prepositional phrases, relative clauses / complement clauses:

- (129) *poraz atletičar-a na takmičenj-u*
defeat:NOM.m.SG athlete-GEN.m.PL on competition-LOC.n.SG
koj-i je sve iznenadio
which-NOM.m.SG be:AUX.3.SG all:ACC.PL surprise:AP.m.SG
'the defeat of the athletes at the competition that has surprised everybody'

If the noun has both a relative clause and a complement clause as its modifiers, the first one after the noun is the complement clause:

- (130) *želj-a da dod-eš koj-a se nije*
desire-NOM.f.SG SUB come-PR.2.SG which-NOM.f.SG R NEGbe:AUX.3.SG
ostvaril-a
come true:AP-f.SG

'the desire for you to come that has not come true'

Adjectives and participles with complements usually follow nouns:

- (131) *cipel-e pokidan-e od penjanj-a po brd-u*
shoe-NOM.f.PL torn-NOM.f.PL from climb-GEN.n.SG on hill-LOC.n.SG
'the shoes torn by hill-climbing'

But they can precede if their own complements precede them: *od penjanja po brdu pokidane cipele*.

8.1.3. The noun functioning as the qualitative genitive is always used with a modifier if the non-modified noun is semantically redundant, such as:

- (132) *manekenk-a crn-e kos-e*
fashion model-NOM.f.SG black-GEN.f.SG hair-GEN.f.SG
'a dark-haired fashion model'

The modifier must be used also with the noun functioning as the time adverbial in the genitive or accusative (without preposition):

- (133) *Vratio se proš-og petk-a / proš-i*
return:AP.m.SG R last-GEN.m.SG Friday-GEN.m.SG last-ACC.m.SG
petak.
Friday:ACC.m.SG
'He returned last Friday.'

8.2. Order of constituents in declarative sentences

8.2.1. While the word order within noun phrases is relatively fixed, the order of the basic sentence constituents is relatively free in the sense that it is not so much determined by syntactic factors as by pragmatic ones. It can be said that the syntactically neutral order of the constituents is Subject - Verb - Object.¹⁶ Pragmatically unmarked order of the

¹⁶ Thus leading to wrong spontaneous interpretation of syntactically ambiguous sentences such as:
as: *M(j)esec je prekrilo oblak.*
moon:NOM/ACC.m.SG be:AUX.3.SG cover:AP.m.SG cloud:NOM/ACC.m.SG
'The moon has (been) covered (by) the cloud.'

constituents is Topic-Comment. Very often the subject is also the topic while the object and the verb are the comment. If the subject and the object are known to the participants in conversation and if the verb does not introduce any unexpected meaning, the order of the constituents is SVO. If the subject, the object, and the verb are all new in discourse, the order of the constituents is again SVO.

8.2.2. The subject as a topic often appears after the verb as well. In existential sentences the order is, as a rule, the following: adverbial of place or time, verb, subject. In such sentences the verb *biti* 'to be' is used in all tenses except for the present, where the 3rd person sg of the verb *imati* 'to have' is used (*ima* 'has' / *nema* 'has not'). The subject is in the nominative (singular) or in the genitive (singular or plural):

- (134) *U centr-u grad-a ima muzej i*
in centre-LOC.m.SG town-GEN.m.SG have:PR.3.SG museum:NOM.m.SG and
jedn-a dobr-a galerij-a.
one-NOM.f.SG good-NOM.f.SG gallery-NOM.f.SG
'In the centre of the town there is a museum and a good gallery.'

- (135) *Preko praznik-a nije bil-o studenat-a*
during holiday-GEN.m.PL NEGbe:AUX.3.SG be:AP-n.SG student-GEN.m.PL
na fakultet-u.
on University-LOC.m.SG
'During the holiday there were no students at the University.'

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

- (136) *On je dugo radio u Americ-i.*
he:NOM be:AUX.3.SG long work:AP.m.SG in America-LOC.f.SG
'He has worked for a long time in America.'

8.2.4. The order of enclitics in the sentence is strictly fixed. They are grouped in the second position in the sentence in the following order:

a) interrogative enclitic *li*;

b) verbal enclitics:

- present of the auxiliary *biti* 'to be' (except for the 3rd person singular *je*): *sam, si; smo, ste, su*;

- present of the auxiliary *ht(j)eti* 'will': *ću, ćeš, će; ćemo, ćete, će*;

- aorist of the auxiliary *biti* 'to be': *bih, bi, bi; bismo, biste, bi*;

c) pronominal enclitics in the dative: *mi, ti, mu, joj; nam, vam, im*;

d) pronominal enclitics in the accusative: *me, te, ga, je; nas, vas, ih*;

e) reflexive pronoun *se*;

f) verbal enclitic *je* (3rd person singular present of the auxiliary *biti*).

8.2.5. The second position in the sentence, the one to be occupied by enclitics, can be after the first constituent or after the first word of the first constituent:

- (137) *Moj-a majk-a je jučer došl-a.*
my-NOM.f.SG mother-NOM.f.SG be:AUX.3.SG yesterday arrive:AP-f.SG
'My mother arrived yesterday.'
- Moj-a je majk-a jučer došl-a.*
my-NOM.f.SG be:AUX.3.SG mother-NOM.f.SG yesterday arrive:AP-f.SG

If the first constituent is relatively long, then the enclitic can exceptionally follow the second constituent (or the first word of the second constituent):

- (138) *Moj-a prijateljic-a koj-a studira u*
my-NOM.f.SG friend-NOM.f.SG which-NOM.f.SG study:PR.3.SG in
Madrid-u jučer je došl-a.
Madrid-LOC.m.SG yesterday be:AUX.3.SG arrive:AP-f.SG
'My friend who is studying in Madrid arrived yesterday.'

9. Interrogative sentences

9.1. The most frequent marker of yes/no questions is the enclitic *li*. The word order in such a sentence is the following: a finite verb, the enclitic *li*, other constituents:

- (139) *Ti znaš Zlatka. / Zna-š li ti Zlatk-a?*
know-PR.2.SG IRG you:NOM Zlatko-ACC.m.SG
'You know Zlatko. / Do you know Zlatko?'

In such questions the enclitic finite verb is replaced by its non-clitic form:

- (140) *Dugo su putovali. / Jesu li dugo putoval-i?*
be:AUX.3.PL IRG long travel:AP-m.PL
'They travelled long. / Did they travel long?'

- (141) *Dugo će putovati. / Hoće li dugo putovati?*
will:AUX.3.PL IRG long travel:INF
'They will travel long. / Will they travel long?'

Only the form *je* (3rd person singular present) is used both as the enclitic finite form in a declarative sentence and before the enclitic *li* in an interrogative sentence:

- (142) *Ona je jučer došla. / Je li ona jučer došl-a?*
be:AUX.3.SG IRG she:NOM yesterday arrive:AP-f.SG
'She arrived yesterday. / Did she arrive yesterday?'

9.2. As a marker of the yes/no questions the *da li* construction is also often used. It is placed at the beginning of a sentence, followed first by the enclitics and then by other constituents:

- (143) *Ti znaš Maricu. / Da li ti zna-š Maric-u?*
IRG you:NOM know-PR.2.SG Marica-ACC.f.SG
'You know Marica. / Do you know Marica?'

- (144) *Dugo su putovali. / Da li su dugo putoval-i?*
IRG be:AUX.3.PL long travel:AP-m.PL
'They travelled long. / Did they travel long?'

- (145) *Ona je jučer došla. / Da li je ona jučer došl-a?*
IRG be:AUX.3.SG she:NOM yesterday arrive:AP-f.SG
'She arrived yesterday. / Did she arrive yesterday?'

9.3. A declarative sentence, both affirmative or negative, can be turned into a yes/no question by adding *zar ne?* (question tag) at the end of the sentence:

- (146) *Ti zna-š Maric-u, zar ne?*
you:NOM know-PR.2.SG Marica-ACC.f.SG IRG
'You know Marica, don't you?'

9.4. Yes/no questions can be marked only by intonation, which is then raised at the focused word:

- (147) *Ti znaš Jasnu. / Ti ZNAŠ Jasnu? / Ti znaš JASNU?*
'You know Jasna. / Do you KNOW Jasna? / Do you know JASNA?'

9.5. Wh-questions are formed by means of interrogative pronouns and adverbs placed at the beginning of a sentence, followed by enclitics and then by other constituents:

(148) (T)ko je jučer došao?
who:NOM be:AUX.3.SG yesterday arrive:AP.m.SG
'Who arrived yesterday?'

(149) Kada je ona došla?
when be:AUX.3.SG she:NOM arrive:AP-f.SG
'When did she arrive?'

Wh-words can be preceded by prepositions and coordinating conjunctions:

(150) O kome ste razgovarali?
about who:LOC be:AUX.2.PL talk:AP-m.PL
'Who did you talk about?'

(151) Od kada se zna-te?
since when R know-PR.2.PL
'Since when do you know each other?'

(152) Ona je jučer došla, a kada si ti došla?
she:NOM be:AUX.3.SG yesterday arrive:AP-f.SG and when be:AUX.2.SG
you:NOM arrive:AP-f.SG
'She arrived yesterday and when did you arrive?'

Wh-words can be connected by a conjunction:

(153) (T)ko je, kada i kako došao?
who:NOM be:AUX.3.SG when and how arrive:AP.m.SG
'Who has arrived? When and how?'

A "multiple" question can be formed with no conjunctions between WH-words:

(154) (T)ko je što kome dao?
who:NOM be:AUX.3.SG what:ACC who:DAT give:AP.m.SG
'Who has given what to whom?'

In these questions wh-words, as usual, are always placed at the beginning of the sentence. Their order is not completely fixed (the tendency is S-DO-O). A enclitic comes most often after the first wh-word.

9.6. All the above-mentioned types of direct questions, except for those made by intonation or by means of *zar ne*, can function as indirect questions as well:

(155) Ne zna-m (t)ko je što kome dao.
not know-PR.1.SG who:NOM be:AUX.3.SG what:ACC who:DAT give:AP.m.SG
'I do not know who has given what to whom.'

If an indirect question happens to be the object of a preposition, a form of the demonstrative pronoun *to* 'this, it' in the required case is inserted:

(156) Sve zavis-i od t-oga da li će on pristati.
all:NOM depend-PR.3.SG from this-GEN.n.SG IRG will:AUX.3.SG he:NOM
agree:INF
'It all depends on whether he agrees or not.'

Sometimes both the preposition and the demonstrative pronoun can be omitted.

9.7. In addition to the above-mentioned unmarked questions, marked questions that already contain a presupposition can also be formed.

9.7.1. In case when the speaker expects the addressee to negate the propositional content of his question, the question is formed by *zar* at the beginning of a sentence. *Zar* is followed by enclitics:

(157) Zar vam ništa nisu rekli?
IRG you:DAT nothing:ACC NEGbe:AUX.3.PL tell:AP-m.PL
'Have you been told nothing at all?'

9.7.2. The questions in which the speaker expresses his doubt or irresolution concerning the realization of the content of an interrogative sentence are most frequently formed by *da* at the beginning of the sentence and interrogative intonation. The verb is always in the present. *Da* is followed by enclitics. *Da* can be regarded as a contracted form of *da li* *da*:

(158) Da napravim večeru? / Da li da napravim večer-u?
IRG SUB make-PR.1.SG dinner-ACC.f.SG
'Shall I make dinner?'

9.7.3. The questions by which the speaker presupposes the truth of what he is denying by his question are most often formed by *da* at the beginning of the sentence and interrogative intonation. They always contain a negative verb. *Da* is followed by enclitics. This *da* cannot be replaced by *da li da*:

(159) Da ga niste krivo shvatili?
he:ACC NEGbe:AUX.2.PL wrongly understand:AP-m.PL
'Haven't you misunderstood him?'

9.7.4. Similar meaning is expressed by interrogative sentences having a negative finite verb at their beginning, followed by the interrogative particle *li*:

(160) Niste li ga krivo shvatili?
NEGbe:AUX.2.PL IRG he:ACC wrongly understand:AP-m.PL
'Haven't you misunderstood him?'

10. Imperative sentences

10.1. Commands are expressed by the imperative of the verb (see 6.5.2.): *Piši to!* 'Write it down!: 2.SG', *Pišite to!* 'Write it down: 2.PL'.

10.2. Prohibitions are expressed by the negative imperative. The negative imperative is formed in two ways. The first one is by the proclitic negation *ne* before the imperative form of the verb:

(161) Ne piš-i t-o! / Ne piš-ite t-o!
not write(1)-IMP.2.SG that-ACC.n.SG not write(1)-IMP.2.PL that-ACC.n.SG
'Don't write it down!'

Such negative imperatives are primarily formed from imperfective verbs.

The other way is by means of *nemoj* (2nd sg), *nemojmo* (1st pl), *nemojte* (2nd pl) plus the infinitive of the verb:

(162) Nemoj / Nemoj-te t-o pisati!
let not:IMP.2.SG let not:IMP-2.PL this-ACC.n.SG write:INF
'Don't write it down!'

Such negative imperatives are much more polite and they are formed from both perfective and imperfective verbs. The infinitive can be replaced by *da* and the present of the verb:

- (163) *Nemoj da piš-eš!*
let not:IMP.2.SG SUB write-PR.2.SG
'Don't write it down!'

Such a construction is especially frequent in the eastern part of the SC language community.

Nemoj is also used for expressing the imperative meaning in front of a subordinate clause introduced by *da* which contains the present of the verb agreeing with the other subject:

- (164) *Nemoj da te čeka-m!*
let not:IMP.2.SG SUB YOU:ACC wait-PR.1.SG
'Don't let me wait for you!'

10.3. A very strict command or prohibition can be expressed by means of *da* at the beginning of the sentence and the perfect or present of the verb:

- (165) *Da si t-o odmah napravio!*
be:AUX.2.SG this-ACC.n.SG at once do:AP.m.SG
'Do it at once!'

- (166) *Da te tu više nisam vid(j)el-a! / ne vid-im!*
you:ACC here more NEGbe:AUX.1.SG see:AP-f.SG not see-PR.1.SG
'I don't want to see you here any longer!'

- (167) *Da čuj-em!*
hear-PR.1.SG
'Let me hear!'

10.4. Command or prohibition can be also indicated by the future or present with imperative intonation:

- (168) *Ti ćeš ostati! / Ti ostaj-eš!*
you:NOM will:AUX.2.SG stay:INF you:NOM stay-PR.2.SG
'You stay!'

11. Copular sentences

11.1. The basic copula is *biti* 'to be' (its enclitic forms). It is used with noun phrases, adjective phrases, and adverbial phrases in the predicate:

- (169) *Davor je student / visok / daleko.*
Davor:NOM.m.SG be:PR.3.SG student:NOM.m.SG tall:NOM.m.SG far away
'Davor is a student / tall / far away.'

11.2. The usual case of the noun and adjective phrases in the copulative predicate is the nominative (the instrumental being archaic or very literary). The adjective agrees in number and gender with the subject. If the adjective has both the long and short form, it always appears as part of the copulative predicate in its short (indefinite) form.

11.3. In genitive constructions of the predicate, the noun expresses a property of the subject, while the adjective specifies that property:

- (170) *Cipel-e su odgovarajuć-e veličin-e.*
shoe-NOM.f.PL be:PR.3.PL answering-GEN.f.SG size-GEN.f.SG
'The shoes are of the right size.'

11.4. The copula may not be left out, except in titles and proverbs, where its omission is formally marked by a dash: *Izložba - događaj godine* 'Exhibition - Event of the Year'.

11.5. Other forms used as copulas are: *bivati* 'to be' (frequentative of *biti*); *nalaziti se* 'be located' - the copula specialized for adverbials of place; *ostati/ostajati* 'to remain: P-I'; *postati/postajati* 'to become: P-I' - this copula is followed by nouns or adjectives in the nominative or in the instrumental without a clear difference in meaning.

12. Negation

12.1. Sentence negation is expressed by negating a finite verb by means of the proclitic *ne* 'not':

- (171) *Oni ne studira-ju.*
they:NOM not study-PR.3.PL
'They are not studying.'

If the sentence contains an auxiliary, then it is the auxiliary which is given in its negative form:

- (172) *Oni neće studirati.*
they:NOM NEGwill:AUX.3.PL study:INF
'They will not study.'

- (173) *Oni nisu studiral-i.*
they:NOM NEGbe:AUX.3.PL study:AP-m.PL
'They did not study.'

- (174) *Oni ne bi studiral-i.*
they:NOM not be:AOR.3.PL study:AP-m.PL
'They would not study.'

12.2. Individual sentence constituents are seldom negated. When it is done, it usually requires an explicit declaration of the correct alternative:

- (175) *Mark-o je naručio ne sok, nego piv-o.*
Marko-NOM.m.SG be:AUX.3.SG order:AP.m.SG not fruit juice:ACC.m.SG but beer-ACC.n.SG
'Marko ordered not a fruit juice, but beer.'

In the same way a subordinate clause can be negated:

- (176) *Mark-o je rekao ne da dolaz-i, nego da će telefonirati.*
Marko-NOM.m.SG be:AUX.3.SG say:AP.m.SG not SUB come-PR.3.SG but da će telefonirati.
SUB will:AUX.3.SG telephone:INF
'Marko didn't say he was coming; he said he was going to call us on the phone.'

Still, even in these examples in which the correct alternative is explicitly stated, it is more customary to make the whole sentence negative:

- (177) *Marko nije naručio sok, nego pivo.*
Marko-NOM.m.SG NEGbe:AUX.3.SG order:AP.m.SG fruit juice:ACC.m.SG but beer-ACC.n.SG
'Marko didn't order a fruit juice, but beer.'

- (178) *Marko nije rekao da dolazi, nego da će telefonirati.*
Marko-NOM.m.SG NEGbe:AUX.3.SG say:AP.m.SG SUB come-PR.3.SG but da će telefonirati.
SUB will:AUX.3.SG telephone:INF

'Marko didn't say that he would come, but that he would telephone.'

12.3. Two coordinated additive clauses can be both turned negative by the negative conjunction *niti...niti* 'neither...nor':

- (179) *Niti sam tražil-a knjig-u, niti sam*
 neither be:AUX.1.SG search:AP-f.SG book-ACC.f.SG nor be:AUX.1.SG
rekl-a drug-ima da je traž-e.
 say:AP-f.SG other-DAT.PL SUB she:ACC search-PR.3.PL
 'Neither did I ask for a book, nor did I tell others to look for it.'

The sentences turned negative by *niti* can contain indefinite pronouns and adverbs formed from interrogative pronouns and adverbs by means of the prefix *-i* (the same units appear in questions and in conditional clauses). The sentence that is not negated cannot contain these words. In the sentence where the verb is negated by *ne*, there are no indefinite forms of pronouns and adverbs; instead there are negative forms formed by adding the prefix *ni-* to interrogative pronouns and adverbs. In these sentences double negation is obligatory since the verb must also be negative if the sentence contains a negative pronoun or a negative adverb or the word *nijedan* 'no one':

- (180) *Ni(t)ko nije došao.*
 no one:NOM NEGbe:AUX.3.SG come:AP.m.SG
 'No one has come.'
- (181) *On nije našao nikoga.*
 he:NOM NEGbe:AUX.3.SG find:AP.m.SG no one:ACC
 'He has found no one.'
- (182) *Mi nikamo ne putuj-emo.*
 we:NOM nowhere not travel-PR.1.PL.
 'We are not travelling anywhere.'
- (183) *Vi nikada ne zakasnite.*
 you:NOM never not late-PR.2.PL
 'You are never late.'
- (184) *Ona nije bil-a ni u jedn-*o*j galerij-i.*
 she:NOM NEGbe:AUX.3.SG be:AP-f.SG not in one-LOC.f.SG gallery-LOC.f.SG
 'She has not been in any gallery.'

It is possible to have three or more negative forms in a sentence; even each of its constituents can be negated:

- (185) *Nikad ni(t)ko nije nigd(j)e nikoga prevario.*
 never no one:NOM NEGbe:AUX.3.SG nowhere nobody:ACC cheated:AP.m.SG
 'No one has ever cheated anyone anywhere.'

Negative forms of pronouns or adverbs can stand on their own unlike the indefinite ones:

- (186) *Oh, oprost-ite! - Ništa.*
 oh excuse-IMP.2.PL nothing:NOM
 'Oh, excuse me! - It's O.K.'
- (187) *Hoćeš li t-o napraviti? - Nikad!*
 will:AUX.2.SG IRG this-ACC.n.SG make:INF never
 'Will you make it? - Never.'

12.4. Sometimes the infinitive as complement is negated, but more often a special conjunction *a da ne* is used, followed by a finite verb:

- (188) *Ti nisi mogao ne znati za njen-u*
 you:NOM NEGbe:AUX.2.SG can:AP.m.SG not know:INF for her-ACC.f.SG
situacij-u.
 situation-ACC.f.SG
 'You couldn't have not known about her situation.'
- (189) *Ti nisi mogao a da ne zna-š za*
 you:NOM NEGbe:AUX.2.SG can:AP.m.SG but SUB not know-PR.2.SG for
njen-u situacij-u.
 her-ACC.f.SG situation-ACC.f.SG
 'You couldn't but know about her situation.'

12.5. When the verb is negative, its accusative object can appear in the genitive, which is usually archaic or poetic except when it is the object of the verb *nemati* 'not have' or in fixed phrases:

- (190) *Nema-m vremen-a.*
 NEGhave-PR.1.SG time-GEN.n.SG
 'I don't have time.'

12.6. The subject in a negative sentence remains in the nominative. Only the existentially used verb *ne biti* 'not be' (with the suppletive present *nema* 'not have') comes with the subject in the genitive:

- (191) *U sob-i nije bil-o profesor-a.*
 in room-LOC.f.SG NEGbe:AUX.3.SG be:AP-n.SG teacher-GEN.m.SG
 'There was no teacher in the room.'
- (192) *U sob-i nema profesor-a.*
 in room-LOC.f.SG NEGhave:PR.3.SG teacher-GEN.m.SG
 'There is no teacher in the room.'

13. Coordination

13.1. Two or more syntactic constituents can be connected by a conjunction into a constituent of the same type. The conjunction *i* 'and' connects: nouns and noun phrases, pronouns and pronoun phrases, adjectives and adjective phrases, verbs and verb phrases, adverbs and adverb phrases as well as entire clauses.

The conjunction *i* is most often placed before the last connected element. However, it can also be repeated before each of the connected elements including the first one, thus emphasizing each of the given elements:

- (193) *On je mlad, pametan i*
 he:NOM be:PR.3.SG young:NOM.m.SG clever:NOM.m.SG and
discipliniran.
 disciplined:NOM.m.SG
 'He is young, clever, and disciplined.'
- (194) *On je i mlad i pametan i*
 he:NOM be:PR.3.SG and young:NOM.m.SG and clever:NOM.m.SG and
discipliniran.
 disciplined:NOM.m.SG
 'He is both young and clever and disciplined.'

13.2. Additional emphasis of the second successive statement in additive clauses is obtained by means of *ne samo...nego i* 'not only...but also':

- (195) *On je ne samo pametan nego (je) i*
 he:NOM be:PR.3.SG not only clever:NOM.m.SG but (be:PR.3.SG) and
vrlo discipliniran.
 very disciplined:NOM.m.SG
 'He is not only clever, but also very disciplined.'

13.3. Conjunctions *te* 'and', *kao i* 'as well as' also have additive meaning:

- (196) *Jupiter i Saturn te / kao i Neptun i Pluton...*
 'Jupiter and Saturn, as well as Neptune and Pluto...'

The conjunction *pa* denotes temporal succession 'and then' and consequence.

13.4. Conjunctions *ni* 'nor' and *ili* 'or' have the same distribution as *i* 'and'.

13.5. The conjunction *a* 'and (on the other hand)', used for contrast, connects predicates or clauses:

- (197) *Ja stoj-im, a on leži.*
 I:NOM stand-PR.1.SG and he:NOM lie-PR.3.SG
 'I am standing, and (yet) he is lying.'

The conjunction *a* in its non-contrastive use can be combined with *i* 'also, too':

- (198) *Per-o je pijanic-a, a i njegov*
 Pero-NOM.m.SG be:PR.3.SG drunk-NOM.f.SG and also his:NOM.m.SG
sin.
 son:NOM.m.SG
 'Pero is a drunk, and so is his son.'

13.6. The conjunction *ali* 'but' expresses a sharper contrast and is not repetitive.

13.7. One element from the negated statement is corrected by the conjunction *nego* 'but' or *već* 'but' and the statement that follows:

- (199) *Nije Zemlj-a ravn-a, nego okrugl-a.*
 NEGbe:PR.3.SG earth-NOM.f.SG flat-NOM.f.SG but round-NOM.f.SG
 'The earth is not flat, but round.'

13.8. Agreement with conjoined structures:

- modifiers within a coordinated noun phrase agree with the noun closest to them:

- (200) *moj brat i sestr-a*
 my:NOM.m.SG brother:NOM.m.SG and sister-NOM.f.SG
moj-a sestr-a i brat
 my-NOM.f.SG sister-NOM.f.SG and brother:NOM.m.SG
 'my brother and sister; my sister and brother'

- predicates, relative pronouns, and anaphoric pronouns are in plural and follow the rules of agreement in gender (neuter plural if all the coordinated elements are neuter plural; feminine plural if all the elements are feminine; in all other cases masculine plural):

- (201) *Moj brat i sestr-a su*
 my:NOM.m.SG brother:NOM.m.SG and sister-NOM.f.SG be:AUX.3.PL
otputoval-i.
 travel:AP-m.PL
 'My brother and sister went on a journey.'

- (202) *Krušk-e i jabuk-e koj-e su zrele*
 pear-NOM.f.PL and apple-NOM.f.PL which-NOM.f.PL be:AUX.3.PL ripe:AP-f.PL

- otpal-e su s drvet-a.*
 fall:AP-f.PL be:AUX.3.PL from tree-GEN.n.SG
 'Pears and apples that are ripe have fallen off the tree.'

- if the predicate precedes the subject, then it can agree both in number and gender with the element closest to it:

- (203) *Naden-a je torb-a i novac.*
 find:PP-f.SG be:AUX.3.SG bag-NOM.f.SG and money:NOM.m.SG
 'The bag is found as well as the money.'

14. Subordination

14.1. Complement clauses

14.1.1. Verbs and other predicates can lexically permit or require various types of complement clauses as their subjects or objects:

- (204) *Meni odgovara da kren-emo ujutro.*
 I:DAT suit:PR.3.SG SUB start-PR.1.PL in the morning
 'It suits me to start tomorrow morning.'
- (205) *Oni su rekl-i da će krenuti ujutro.*
 they:NOM be:AUX.3.PL say:AP-m.PL SUB will:AUX.3.PL start:INF in the morning
 'They said they would start in the morning.'

14.1.2. Nouns, adjectives, and prepositions can select a clause as the complement:

- (206) *Nije mu trebal-a potvrd-a da je bio bolestan.*
 NEGbe:AUX.3.SG he:DAT need:AP-f.SG certificate-NOM.f.SG SUB be:AUX.3.SG
bio bolestan.
 be:AP.m.SG sick:NOM.m.SG
 'He did not need any certificate that he was sick.'

- (207) *Siguran da je dobro obavio posao*
 sure:NOM.m.SG SUB be:AUX.3.SG well do:AP.m.SG job:ACC.m.SG
vraćao se kuć-i.
 go back:AP.m.SG R home-DAT.f.SG
 'Sure of having done his job well, he was going back home.'

- (208) *Otvori poklon, um(j)esto što ga gleda-š!*
 open:IMP.2.SG present:ACC.m.SG instead SUB he:ACC look-PR.2.SG
 'Open your present instead of looking at it!'

14.1.3. When a verb, adjective, noun or preposition require their complement to be in a particular case, the demonstrative pronoun *to* 'this, it' is inserted; it then expresses the case of the complement clause:

- (209) *Posao se sastoj-i u t-ome da nadzir-eš*
 job:NOM.m.SG R consist-PR.3.SG in this-LOC.n.SG SUB supervise-PR.2.SG
učenik-e.
 student-ACC.m.PL
 'Your job consists of supervising the students!'

14.1.4. The basic types of complement clauses are introduced by the conjunctions *da*, *da₂*, and *što* 'that' as well as by interrogative pronouns and adverbs. The two *da* conjunctions differ in the use of various verb tenses in the clauses they introduce.

14.1.5. *Da₁* clauses can contain any verbal tense used in declarative main clauses (any past tense; future I but not future II; present but normally only from imperfective verbs):

- (210) *Vid-ite da u Berlin-u pada / *padn-e*
see-PR.2.PL SUB in Berlin-LOC.m.SG fall(t):PR.3.SG fall(P)-PR.3.SG
kiš-a.
rain-NOM.f.SG
'You see that it's raining in Berlin.'

Sometimes instead of the conjunction *da*₁ the conjunction *kako* 'how' can be used:

- (211) *Pričao je da / kako je dobro prošao na*
say:AP.m.SG be:AUX.3.SG that how be:AUX.3.SG well pass:AP.m.SG on
ispit-u.
exam-LOC.m.SG
'He spoke about how successful he was at the exam.'

14.1.6. *Da*₂ clauses contain the present of imperfective or perfective verbs and they express hypothetical, unrealized actions:

- (212) *Hoću da konačno pada / padn-e kiš-a.*
will:PR.1.SG SUB finally fall(t):PR.3.SG fall(P)-PR.3.SG rain-NOM.f.SG
'I wish it started raining already.'

*Da*₂ introduces imperative clauses in indirect speech:

- (213) *Naredil-i su da dođ-eš.*
order:AP-m.PL be:AUX.3.PL SUB come-PR.2.SG
'They ordered you to come.'

14.1.7. Declarative clauses with *što* are factive and they are usually complements to items expressing emotional reaction:

- (214) *Vol-im što pada kiš-a.*
like-PR.1.SG SUB fall(t):PR.3.SG rain-NOM.f.SG
'I like that it is raining.'

14.1.8. The infinitive is most often used as the complement of the verb:

- (215) *Oni vol-e putovati.*
they:NOM like-PR.3.PL travel:INF
'They like to travel.'

In almost all such instances the understood subject of the infinitive must be the same as that of the main verb. If it is not the same, then *da*₂ complement clause is used instead of the infinitive:

- (216) *Oni vol-e da njihov-a majk-a putuj-e.*
they:NOM like-PR.3.PL SUB their-NOM.f.SG mother-NOM.f.SG travel-PR.3.SG
'They like their mother to travel.'

In the eastern part of the SC language community, *da*₂ complement clause is frequently used even when the condition of the identical subjects is fulfilled:

- (217) *Oni vol-e da putuj-u.*
they:NOM like-PR.3.PL SUB travel-PR.3.PL
'They like to travel.'

As the complement of the verb the infinitive can appear in the position of:

- nominative subject:

- (218) *Praviln-o je tako postupiti.*
proper-NOM.n.SG be:PR.3.SG so treat:INF
'It is proper to do it this way.'

- nominative predicate:

- (219) *Zaposliti se znač-i osamostaliti se.*
get a job:INF R mean-PR.3.SG become independent:INF R
'To get a job is to become independent.'

- genitive:

- (220) *Boj-im se putovati noć-u.*
afraid-PR.1.SG R travel:INF night-INST.f.SG
'I am afraid of travelling by night.'

- dative:

- (221) *Vršnjac-i su ga učil-i pravilno govoriti.*
peer-NOM.m.PL be:AUX.3.PL he:ACC teach:AP-m.PL properly speak:INF
'His peers taught him how to speak properly.'

- accusative:

- (222) *Oni vol-e svirati.*
they:NOM like-PR.3.PL play:INF
'They like playing.'

- object of preposition:

- (223) *On je odustao postaviti pitanj-e.*
he:NOM be:AUX.3.SG refrain:AP.m.SG put:INF question-ACC.n.SG
'He refrained from asking a question.'

14.1.9. In the above examples, instead of the infinitive, a verbal noun in the corresponding case can be used as the complement. It is formed from imperfective verbs by the suffix *-(e)nje*: *postupanje* 'doing', *putovanje* 'travelling', *govorenje* 'speaking', *sviranje* 'playing'.

Some verbs have as their complements exclusively: a) infinitive, b) subordinate clause. These verbs do not permit a verbal noun as their complement:

- (224) *Nam(j)erava-m napisati knjig-u.*
intend-PR.1.SG write:INF book-ACC.f.SG
'I intend to write a book.'

- (225) *Mi se nismo dal-i prevariti.*
we:NOM R NEGbe:AUX.1.PL give:AP-m.PL cheat:INF
'We did not let ourselves to be cheated.'

14.1.10. The infinitive can be the complement of a noun or an adjective:

- (226) *Nema sva(t)ko mogućnost studirati u Americ-i.*
NEGhave:PR.3.SG everyone:NOM possibility:ACC.f.SG study:INF in
America-LOC.f.SG

America-LOC.f.SG

'Not everyone is given the possibility of studying in America.'

- (227) *Oni su dužn-i reći istin-u.*
they:NOM be:PR.3.PL oblige:PP-m.PL tell:INF truth-ACC.f.SG
'They are obliged to tell the truth.'

14.2. Relative clauses

14.2.1. Unlike complement clauses, relative clauses can be attached to any noun phrase. They are relatively frequent in the modern SC since they have expanded as attributes at the expense of the participles performing that function.

14.2.1. The antecedent determines the usage of the relativizer (the word that introduces the relative clause). If the antecedent is a noun or a personal pronoun, the main relativizer is *koji* 'which', which agrees in gender and number with its antecedent, while its case ending depends on its function in the relative clause.¹⁷

- (228) *Zna-m pacijent-a koj-i je upravo*
 know-PR.1.SG patient-ACC.m.SG which-NOM.m.SG be:AUX.3.SG just
ušao.
 come in:AP.m.SG
 'I know the patient who has just come in.'

The relativizer stands at the beginning of a relative clause. Enclitics follow immediately after it.

14.2.3. An alternative relativizing strategy is the use of a non-declinable word *što* 'that' to introduce a relative clause. This word is used together with a resumptive pronoun, namely a personal pronoun that agrees in gender and number with the antecedent, while its case form depends on its function in the relative clause. The resumptive pronoun never appears in the function of the subject. In the function of the direct object it appears whenever the antecedent denotes something animate and almost without exception when it denotes something inanimate:

- (229) *Onaj poznanik što si ga*
 that:NOM.m.SG acquaintance:NOM.m.SG that be:AUX.2.SG he:ACC
pozdravio... (Onaj poznanik koj-eg si pozdravio...)
 greet:AP.m.SG which-ACC.m.SG
 'That acquaintance that (whom) you have said 'hello' to...'

A resumptive pronoun is always enclitic and this can be one of the reasons why the relativizing strategy with the non-declinable *što* and a resumptive pronoun is never used in the function of the object of the preposition:

- (230) **Prijatelj što na njega mož-eš računati... (Prijatelj na*
 friend:NOM.m.SG that on he:ACC can-PR.2.SG count:INF
kojeg možeš računati...)
 which:ACC.m.SG
 'A friend that (who) you can count upon...'

14.2.4. If the antecedent's head is an interrogative, indefinite or demonstrative pronoun in the singular (expressed or dropped), the relativizer is *(t)ko* 'who' or declinable *što* 'what' depending on the human/non-human distinction:

- (231) *(Onaj) (t)ko žel-i putovati, neka se jav-i.*
 that:NOM.m.SG who:NOM want-PR.3.SG travel:INF let R call-PR.3.SG
 'The one who wants to travel is called upon.'

¹⁷Agreement of the relativizer *koji* with its antecedent has to include, as a rule, the category of animacy. However, in everyday speech practice disagreement between the relativizer *koji* with its antecedent could have been noticed for quite a while; it is evident in the expansion of the formal sign for the animate to include antecedents that mark the inanimate, in other words, it is evident as the expansion of genitive-accusative syncretism. It is even possible to speak about an advanced stage of this phenomenon (though grammar books ignore it) since the genitive-accusative syncretism does not only include direct object but prepositional object of that pronoun as well; at the same time it involves not only masculine, but neuter gender as well (see Kordić 1995b: 113-128, 302 and Kordić 1995).

- (232) *Naš-l-i su (on-o / sv-e / nešto)*
 find:AP-m.PL be:AUX.3.PL that-ACC.n.SG all-ACC.n.SG something:ACC
što su tražil-i.
 what:ACC be:AUX.3.PL search:AP-m.PL
 'They have found what / all / something they were looking for.'

- (233) *Sv-e o čemu sam govorio ima-te*
 all-NOM.n.SG about what:LOC be:AUX.1.SG speak:AP.m.SG have-PR.2.PL
u knjiz-i.
 in book-LOC.f.SG
 'All I have spoken about is in the book.'

There are examples with the object or subject extracted from the relative clauses and placed before the relativizer:

- (234) *Kuč-u takv-e veličin-e (t)ko žel-i kupiti*
 house-ACC.f.SG such-GEN.f.SG size-GEN.f.SG who:NOM want-PR.3.SG buy:INF
mora dati mnogo novac-a.
 must:PR.3.SG give:INF much money-GEN.m.PL
 'Whoever wants to buy a house of that size must give a lot of money.'

- (235) *On što jednom zamisl-i t-o mora biti.*
 he:NOM what:ACC once conceive-PR.3.SG that-NOM.n.SG must:PR.3.SG be:INF
 'Whatever he sets his mind to must be realized.'

14.2.5. When the antecedent is the whole clause, the relativizer is declinable *što* 'what':

- (236) *Otrpve je položio ispit, čemu smo se*
 from first be:AUX.3.SG pass:AP.m.SG exam:ACC.m.SG what:DAT be:AUX.1.PL R
jako obradovol-i.
 very make happy:AP-m.PL
 'He passed his exam in the first attempt, which made us very happy.'

14.2.6. Relative clauses have adverbials of place, time, and manner as antecedents. Then relativizers can be either a pronoun *koji* 'which' or adverbs *gd(j)e* 'where', *kada* 'when', *kako* 'how' and so on:

- (237) *Na otok-u na koj-em / gd(j)e sam proveo*
 on island-LOC.m.SG on which-LOC.m.SG where be:AUX.1.SG spend:AP.m.SG
odmor bil-o je malo turist-a.
 holiday:ACC.m.SG be:AP-n.SG be:AUX.3.SG few tourist-GEN.m.PL
 'There were few tourists at the island at which / where I spent my holidays.'

- (238) *Gledal-a ga je na ist-i način na*
 watch:AP-f.SG he:ACC be:AUX.3.SG on same-ACC.m.SG way:ACC.m.SG on
koj-i / kako ga je i jučer gledal-a.
 which-ACC.m.SG how he:ACC be:AUX.3.SG and yesterday watch:AP-f.SG
 'She watched him in the same way in which she did yesterday.'

14.2.7. Antecedents can express quality or quantity. Then relativizers are the pronoun *kakav* 'what sort', the pronoun *koliki* 'how big', and the adverb *koliko* 'how many':

- (239) *Tako dobar aut-o kakav je*
 such good:ACC.m.SG car-ACC.m.SG what sort:NOM.m.SG be:PR.3.SG
ovaj teško ćeš naći.
 this:NOM.m.SG hard will:AUX.2.SG find:INF

'It is hard that you will find a car as good as this one.'

- (240) *Ni(t)ko nije mogao zgrnuti tolik-a*
 no one:NOM NEGbe:AUX.3.SG can:AP.m.SG amass:INF that size-ACC.n.PL
bogatstv-a kolik-a je zgrnuo Abdul.
 fortune-ACC.n.PL how big-ACC.n.PL be:AUX.3.SG amass:AP.m.SG Abdul:NOM
 'No one could amass a fortune like the one amassed by Abdul.'

- (241) *Poslat ćemo pet katalog-a, koliko ima*
 send:INF will:AUX.1.PL five catalogue-GEN.m.PL how many have:PR.3.SG
i zainteresiran-ih kupac-a.
 and interested-GEN.m.PL customer-GEN.m.PL
 'We will send five catalogues as there are interested customers anyway.'

14.2.8. Possessivity is expressed by the relativizer *čiji* 'whose':

- (242) *T-o su knjig-e čij-i je*
 this-NOM.n.SG be:PR.3.PL book-NOM.f.PL whose-NOM.m.SG be:PR.3.SG
sadržaj sv-ima poznat.
 contents:NOM.m.SG all-DAT.m.PL known:NOM.m.SG
 'These are the books whose contents are known to everyone.'

Alternatively, possessivity can also be expressed by the possessive genitive of the pronoun *koji* 'which'. In modern SC the order of elements within such a phrase most often implies that the possessive genitive of the pronoun *koji* follows the noun denoting the possessed item (whereas in the early 20th century it was vice versa, Kordić 1995a):

- (243) *To su knjig-e sadržaj koj-ih*
 this-NOM.n.SG be:PR.3.PL book-NOM.f.PL contents:NOM.m.SG which-GEN.f.PL
je sv-ima poznat.
 be:PR.3.SG all-DAT.m.PL known:NOM.m.SG
 'These are the books whose contents are known to everyone.'

In a very limited sense, possessivity can also be expressed by the possessive dative of the pronoun *koji*. Such a dative primarily appears with nouns denoting parts of the body as well as clothes or people who are relatives or in some other kind of close relation:

- (244) *Došao je pacijent koj-emu je*
 come:AP.m.SG be:AUX.3.SG patient:NOM.m.SG which-DAT.m.SG be:AUX.3.SG
ruk-a natekl-a.
 hand-NOM.f.SG swell:AP-f.SG
 'A patient has come whose arm is swollen.'

14.3. Conditional clauses

14.3.1. Considering the possibility of fulfilling given conditions there are three types of conditional clauses: real, potential, and unreal. These types of clauses also differ in their use of particular conjunctions (*ako*, *kad*, *da* 'if') and particular verb forms.

14.3.2. In real clauses the conjunction is *ako* 'if'. The use of verb forms is the following: the present condition is expressed by the present of imperfective verbs, the all-time condition is expressed by the present of imperfective and perfective verbs, the future condition by the present of perfective verbs or by future II, the past condition by the perfect or pluperfect:

- (245) *Ako ona to zna, sigurno skač-e od sreč-e.*
 if she:NOM this know(1):PR.3.SG surely jump(1)-PR.3.SG from joy-GEN.f.SG

'If she knows it, she surely jumps with joy.'

- (246) *Ako biljk-a dobij-e dovoljno vod-e, neće*
 if plant-NOM.f.SG get(P)-PR.3.SG enough water-GEN.f.SG NEGwill:AUX.3.SG
se osušiti.
 R dry(P):INF

'If the plant gets enough water, it will not get dry.'

- (247) *Ako sv-e nauč-ite / bud-ete naučil-i,*
 if all-ACC.n.SG learn(P)-PR.2.PL be(P)-PR.2.PL learn(P):AP-m.PL
položiti ćete ispit.
 pass(P):INF will:AUX.2.PL exam:ACC.m.SG

'If you learn all, you will pass the exam.'

- (248) *Ako je dobio novac, sigurno ga*
 if be:AUX.3.SG get(P):PA.m.SG money:ACC.m.SG surely he:ACC
je već potrošio.
 be:AUX.3.SG already spend(P):AP.m.SG

'If he got the money, he had surely spent it already.'

The all-time condition can also be expressed by *kada* 'when' and the present in the conditional and in the main clauses:

- (249) *Kad biljk-a ima dovoljno vod-e, ne*
 when plant-NOM.f.SG have(I):PR.3.SG enough water-GEN.f.SG not
osuš-i se.
 dry(P)-PR.3.SG R
 'When the plant has enough water, it does not get dry.'

The all-time and future conditions can be expressed without the conjunction if a finite verb is placed at the beginning of a clause and then followed by the particle *li*:

- (250) *Ima li biljk-a dovoljno vod-e, ne*
 have(I):PR.3.SG PC plant-NOM.f.SG enough water-GEN.f.SG not
osuš-i se.
 dry(P)-PR.3.SG R
 'If the plant has enough water, it does not get dry.'

14.3.3. In potential clauses the future condition is expressed by a) the conjunction *kad* or *ako* and the conditional I of a verb, b) the conjunction *da* and a perfective verb in the present. The verb of the main clause is in the conditional I:

- (251) *Kad / ako biste sv-e naučil-i, položil-i biste*
 when if be:AOR.2.PL all-ACC.n.SG learn:AP-m.PL pass:AP-m.PL be:AOR.2.PL
ispit.
 exam:ACC.m.SG
 'If you learned everything, you would pass the exam.'

- (252) *Da sv-e nauč-ite, položil-i biste ispit.*
 if all-ACC.n.SG learn(P)-PR.2.PL pass:AP-m.PL be:AOR.2.PL exam:ACC.m.SG
 'If you would learn everything, you would pass the exam.'

14.3.4. In unreal clauses the present condition is expressed by a) the conjunction *kad* and the conditional I of the verb, b) the conjunction *da* and the present of an imperfective verb. The verb of the main clause is in the conditional I. The past condition is expressed by the conjunction *da* and the past tense. The verb of the main clause is in the conditional I or II.

- (253) *Kad bih imao više slobodn-og vremen-a,*
when be:AOR.1.SG have:AP.m.SG more free-GEN.n.SG time-GEN.n.SG
putovao bih na mor-e.
travel:AP.m.SG be:AOR.1.SG on sea-ACC.n.SG
'If I had more time to spare, I would travel to the seaside.'
- (254) *Da ima-m više slobodn-og vremen-a, putovao bih na more.*
if have(I)-PR.1.SG more free-GEN.n.SG time-GEN.n.SG
'If I had more time to spare, I would travel to the seaside.'
- (255) *Da sam imao više slobodn-og vremen-a,*
if be:AUX.1.SG have:AP.m.SG more free-GEN.n.SG time-GEN.n.SG
putovao bih na more / bio bih putovao na mor-e.
be:AP.m.SG be:AOR.1.SG travel:AP.m.SG on sea-ACC.n.SG
'If I had had more time to spare, I would have travelled to the seaside.'

14.4. Temporal clauses

14.4.1. The most frequent temporal subordinator is *kad(a)* 'when'. In temporal clauses that express simultaneity of actions the subordinators *kad(a)* and *dok* 'while' are used. *Dok* can additionally indicate that actions in the subordinate and in the main clause are of the same duration.

- (256) *Kad smo šetal-i, srel-i smo Petr-a.*
when be:AUX.1.PL walk:AP-m.PL meet:AP-m.PL be:AUX.1.PL Petar-ACC.m.SG
'While we were having a walk, we met Peter.'
- (257) *Dok sam čital-a, razmišljaj-a sam o vama.*
while be:AUX.1.SG read:AP-f.SG think:AP-f.SG be:AUX.1.SG about you:LOC.PL
'While I was reading, I was thinking about you.'

14.4.2. Anteriority of action in the subordinate clause with respect to that in the main clause is indicated by the subordinators *nakon što* 'after that', *kad* 'when', *čim* 'as soon as', *tek što* 'just as'. *Čim* and *tek što* stress the fact that the action in the main clause begins immediately after the completion of the one in the subordinate clause.

- (258) *Nakon što / kad je pročitao knjig-u, otišao je šetati.*
after that when be:AUX.3.SG read:AP.m.SG book-ACC.f.SG go:AP.m.SG
be:AUX.3.SG walk:INF
'After / when he had read the book, he went for a walk.'
- (259) *Čim / tek što je prestal-a kiš-a, zasjal-o je sunc-e.*
as soon as just as be:AUX.3.SG stop:AP-f.SG rain-NOM.f.SG shine:AP-n.SG
be:AUX.3.SG sun-NOM.n.SG
'As soon as / just as the rain stopped, the sun came out.'

The subordinate clause denotes the beginning of the realization of the situation indicated in the main clause by means of *otkad* and *otkako* 'since':

- (260) *Otkad / otkako je završio studij, ne dolaz-i više na fakultet.*
since when since how be:AUX.3.SG finish:AP.m.SG study:ACC.m.SG not
come-PR.3.SG more on University:ACC.m.SG
'Since he finished his studies, he has not been coming to the University.'

14.4.3. Posteriority of action in the subordinate clause with respect to that in the main clause is indicated by *pr(ij)e nego što* 'before'. Sometimes the subordinators *kad* 'when' and *dok* 'until' can also be used, for instance, when temporal relation is obvious due to the use of the pluperfect in the main clause as well as of the particle *već* 'already'.

- (261) *Pr(ij)e nego što je otišl-a šetati, skuhal-a je ručak.*
before than that be:AUX.3.SG go:AP-f.SG walk:INF cook:AP-f.SG be:AUX.3.SG
lunch:ACC.m.SG
'Before she went out for a walk, she had prepared lunch.'
- (262) *Dok / kad smo mi došl-i, oni su već bil-i otišl-i.*
until when be:AUX.1.PL we:NOM arrive:AP-m.PL they:NOM be:AUX.3.PL
already be:AP-m.PL go:AP-m.PL
'Until / when we arrived, they had already been gone.'

14.4.4. Duration of the action in the main clause until the completion of the situation indicated in the subordinate clause is expressed by *dok* 'until'. The verb of the main clause is most often negative, but the overall meaning of the clause remains affirmative:

- (263) *Ostat ću kod kuć-e dok ne prestan-e kiš-a.*
stay:INF will:AUX.1.SG at home-GEN.f.SG until not stop(P)-PR.3.SG
rain-NOM.f.SG
'I will stay at home until the rain stops.'

14.5. Other most frequently used subordinators

14.5.1. The most frequently used causal subordinators are *jer* 'because', *zato što* 'because of', *budući da* 'since'; the concessive ones are *iako*, *premda*, *makar*, *mada* 'though, although'; the consecutive one is *da* 'that' (usually with adverbial or adjectival correlative in the main clause *tako* 'thus', *takav* 'such', *toliki* 'so much'); the instrumental ones are *tako što*, *time što* 'by'.

14.5.2. The use of the final subordinators is linked with the use of the corresponding verb form in the subordinate clause: *da* 'so that' goes with the present or conditional I; *kako* 'so that' goes with the conditional I; *li* with the negative conditional I at the beginning of a final clause (but the meaning of the clause remains positive):

- (264) *Uzeo je taks-i da stign-e / da bi stigao na početak predstav-e.*
take:AP.m.SG be:AUX.3.SG taxi:ACC.m.SG that arrive-PR.3.SG that be:AOR.3.SG
arrive:AP.m.SG on beginning:ACC.m.SG performance-GEN.f.SG
'He has taken a taxi so that he can arrive / would arrive in time for the beginning of the performance.'
- (265) *Uzeo je taks-i kako bi stigao na početak predstave.*
how be:AOR.3.SG arrive:AP.m.SG
'He has taken a taxi so that he can arrive...'
- (266) *Uzeo je taks-i ne bi li stigao na početak predstave.*
not be:AOR.3.SG PC arrive:AP.m.SG
'He has taken a taxi so that he can arrive...'

14.5.3. The subordinators of comparison can be divided into two groups. The first one consists of subordinators of equality: *kao što* 'as' (in real situations), *kao da* 'as if' (in hypothetical situations), *kako* 'how, as', *koliko* 'how much'.

(267) *Postupil-a je kao što / kako joj je rečen-o.*
do:AP-f.SG be:AUX.3.SG as that how she:DAT be:AUX.3.SG tell:PP-n.SG
'She did as she was told.'

(268) *Lič-i na tebe kao da ti je brat.*
resemble-PR.3.SG on you:ACC as if you:DAT be:PR.3.SG brother:NOM.m.SG
'He resembles you as if he were your brother.'

The second group of the subordinators of comparison indicates inequality: *nego što* 'than' (in real situations), *nego da* 'than' (in hypothetical situations). In the comparative clause there always is either a) an adjective or an adverb in the comparative, or b) the adjective or the adverb *drugačije* 'unlike' or similar.

(269) *Film je bolj-i nego što sam*
film:NOM.m.SG be:PR.3.SG better-NOM.m.SG than that be:AUX.1.SG
očekival-a.
expect:AP-f.SG

'The film is better than I expected.'

(270) *Umorio sam se više nego da sam čitav*
get tired:AP.m.SG be:AUX.1.SG R more than if be:AUX.1.SG entire:ACC.m.SG
dan radio.
day:ACC.m.SG work:AP.m.SG

'I got tired more than I had worked all day long.'

Proportional relationship in comparison is expressed by means of the subordinator *što* and the comparative in the main and in the subordinate clause (in the main clause there is often the correlative *to*).

(271) *Što je više jeo, to je*
how much be:AUX.3.SG more eat:AP.m.SG so much be:AUX.3.SG
bio gladnij-i.
be:AP.m.SG hungrier-NOM.m.SG

'The more he ate, the hungrier he was.'

15. Discourse related phenomena

15.1. Anaphora

15.1.1. The simplest device for referring backwards to the noun phrase is the personal pronoun in the third person, which agrees in gender and number with the noun (*on* 'he', *ona* 'she', *ono* 'it', and their plural forms, see Table 10). These pronouns can refer to any antecedent in which the head is lexically a noun. For inanimate antecedents enclitic forms of these pronouns are primarily used. These pronouns do not reflect the animate/inanimate distinction, so, in that respect, they do not agree with the masculine nouns, which show distinction in the accusative singular. The personal pronoun of masculine gender has the form +animate regardless of the antecedent:

(272) *Vid-iš li mog nov-og prijatelj-a? - Vid-im*
see-PR.2.SG IRG my:ACC.m.SG new-ACC.m.SG friend-ACC.m.SG see-PR.1.SG
ga.
he:ACC

'Do you see my new friend? - I see him.'

(273) *Vid-iš li moj nov-i sat? - Vid-im*
see-PR.2.SG IRG my:ACC.m.SG new-ACC.m.SG watch:ACC.m.SG see-PR.1.SG
ga.
he:ACC

'Do you see my new watch? - I see it.'

A personal pronoun as the anaphora can also indicate only conceptual identity without referential identity:

(274) *Upravo prav-im tort-u. - I ja je ponekad*
just make-PR.1.SG cake-ACC.f.SG and I:NOM she:ACC sometimes
prav-im.
make-PR.1.SG

'I am just making a cake. - Sometimes I make it, too.'

15.1.2. If the head of a noun phrase is not a noun but a demonstrative, interrogative or indefinite pronoun of neuter gender or a clause or an infinitive, it cannot be anaphorically referred to by a personal pronoun but by the neuter demonstrative *to* 'this, it' (Browne 1986:29):

(275) *On ti je dao nešto. - T-o*
he:NOM you:DAT be:AUX.3.SG give:AP.m.SG something:ACC this-NOM.n.SG
mi ne treba.
I:DAT not need:PR.3.SG

'He has given you something. - I don't need it.'

(276) *Oni mnogo puš-e. T-o nije*
they:NOM much smoke-PR.3.PL this-NOM.n.SG NEGbe:AUX.3.SG
zdrav-o.
healthy-NOM.n.SG

'They smoke a lot. This is not healthy.'

15.1.3. The demonstrative pronouns *ovaj* 'this', *taj* 'this/that', *onaj* 'that' have deictic, anaphoric, and cataphoric uses. *Ovaj* has a cataphoric use for announcements before the column:

(277) *Žel-im ti reći ov-o:...*
want-PR.1.SG you:DAT tell:INF this-ACC.n.SG
'I want to tell you this:...'

Taj has a cataphoric use before a subordinate clause:

(278) *Šta ti mog-u reći? Možda t-o da*
what:ACC you:DAT can-PR.1.SG tell:INF maybe that-ACC.n.SG SUB
sam tada bio vrlo mlad.
be:AUX.1.SG then be:AP.m.SG very young:NOM.m.SG
'What can I tell you? Maybe that I was very young then.'

Before the restrictive relative clause the pronoun *onaj* is used:

(279) *Pozdravio je on-e koj-i su*
greet:AP.m.SG be:AUX.3.SG that-ACC.m.PL which-NOM.m.PL be:AUX.3.PL
doš-i.
come:AP-m.PL
'He greeted those who came.'

Taj is used for anaphoric reference:

- (280) *Došl-a je jedn-a žen-a. T-a*
 come:AP-f.SG be:AUX.3.SG one-NOM.f.SG woman-NOM.f.SG this-NOM.f.SG
žen-a je bil-a mlad-a.
 woman-NOM.f.SG be:AUX.3.SG be:AP-f.SG young-NOM.f.SG
 'A woman came. This woman was very young.'

The neuter form of the demonstrative pronoun *to* is used for anaphoric reference to clauses and whole passages. Though anaphoric function is typical for the pronoun *taj*, sometimes the anaphoric function is performed by the pronoun *ovaj* and its neuter form *ovo*.

When two subjects have just been mentioned, then *ovaj* refers to the closer one while *onaj* refers to the one previously mentioned. *Ovaj* indicates a change in the topical noun:

- (281) *Mark-o je razgovarao s Josip-om, a*
 Marko-NOM.m.SG be:AUX.3.SG talk:AP.m.SG with Josip-INST.m.SG and
ovaj s An-om.
 this:NOM.m.SG with Ana-INST.f.SG
 'Marko was talking to Josip, who was talking to Ana.'

Onaj evokes something from a previous situation:

- (282) *S(j)eća-š li se kako glas-i onaj*
 remember-PR.2.SG IRG R how voice-PR.3.SG that:NOM.m.SG
poznat-i stih iz sonet-a?
 famous-NOM.m.SG verse:NOM.m.SG from sonnet-GEN.m.SG
 'Do you remember the famous verse from the sonnet?'

15.2. Pro-drop

SC is a pro-drop language, one in which a personal pronoun does not have to be used when it functions as the subject. Agreement markers on the verb show person, number and, if the participle is in the predicate, the gender of the subject:

- (283) *Rad-im.*
 work-PR.1.SG
 'I am working.'
- (284) *Što si čital-a jučer?*
 what:ACC be:AUX.2.SG read:AP-f.SG yesterday
 'What did you read yesterday?'

There is a few discourse criteria for introducing/dropping the subject pronoun. The person introduced as the topic is mentioned for the first time as a full noun phrase or the first- or second-person pronoun. After that the subject pronoun referring to the topic can be dropped. However, if the pronoun is not dropped it does not have to change the topic or introduce a non-coreferential subject. Very often the subject pronoun is used when the subject is mentioned for the second time, and then it is dropped. The subject appears when it is rhematic or contrasted:

- (285) *Bicikl sam popravil-a ja.*
 bicycle:ACC.m.SG be:AUX.1.SG repair:AP-f.SG I:NOM
 'It was I who repaired the bicycle.'

Its appearance can indicate emphasis on the whole sentence:

- (286) *Taj aut-o žel-iš imati? Zna-š li*
 this:ACC.m.SG car-ACC.m.SG want-PR.2.SG have:INF know-PR.2.SG IRG
ti koliko taj aut-o košta?!
 you:NOM how much this:ACC.m.SG car-ACC.m.SG cost:PR.3.SG
 'Is this the car you want to have? Do you know how much it costs?!'

16. Text

Rekao bih da je tet-a imal-a
 say(P):AP.m.SG be(I/P):AOR.1.SG that be:AUX.3.SG aunt-NOM.f.SG have(I):AP-f.SG

barem pedeset godina-a, ali nije se mogl-o točno
 at least fifty year-GEN.f.PL but NEGbe:AUX.3.SG R can(I):AP-n.SG exactly

odrediti, jer ona kao da je već otprije
 determine(P):INF because she:NOM as if be:AUX.3.SG already from before

odredil-a svoj izgled, kao što se više puta
 determine(P):AP-f.SG RPOS:ACC.m.SG looks:ACC.m.SG as that R more time

dogod-i sa žen-ama koje ustanov-e da
 happen(P)-PR.3.SG with women-INST.f.PL which-NOM.f.PL establish(P)-PR.3.PL that

su prešl-e godin-e za udaj-u pa se
 be:AUX.3.PL pass(P)-PR.3.PL age-ACC.f.PL for marriage-ACC.f.SG and then R

počn-u oblačiti pomalo emancipirano a pomalo starački, shvaćajući
 start(P)-PR.3.PL dress(I):INF slightly emancipated and slightly old understanding(I)

svoj položaj tet-e profesionalno. Ali poznaval-a
 RPOS:ACC.m.SG status:ACC.m.SG aunt-GEN.f.SG professionally but know(I):AP-f.SG

je i suvremen-e pisc-e i sv-e
 be:AUX.3.SG also modern-ACC.m.PL writer-ACC.m.PL and all-ACC.n.SG

što se događal-o, kao da joj je t-o
 what:NOM.n.SG R happen(I):AP-n.SG as if she:DAT be:AUX.3.SG this-NOM.n.SG

spadal-o u dužnost da bi mogl-a voditi
 belong(I):AP-n.SG in duty:ACC.f.SG SUB be(I/P):AOR.3.SG can(I):AP-f.SG lead(I):INF

konverzacij-u, također je znal-a i za
 conversation-ACC.f.SG also be:AUX.3.SG know(I):AP-f.SG also for

izložb-e i teatar, govoril-a je o
 exhibition-ACC.f.PL and theatre:ACC.m.SG speak(I):AP-f.SG be:AUX.3.SG about

sv-emu kompetentno, ali bez ikakv-oga žar-a ili
 everything-LOC.n.SG competently but without any sort-GEN.m.SG zeal-GEN.m.SG or

jetkost-i, kao da ništa ne teč-e već je
 bitterness-GEN.f.SG as if nothing:NOM.n.SG not flow(1)-PR.3.SG but be:AUX.3.SG

sv-e protekl-o, o sv-emu se mož-e
 everything-NOM.n.SG flow by(P):AP-n.SG about everything-LOC.n.SG R can(1)-PR.3.SG

distancirano razgovarati. "Tet-a i sam-a piš-e",
 distanced talk(1/P):INF aunt-NOM.f.SG also oneself-NOM.f.SG write(1)-PR.3.SG

reč-e Zit-a. "Tako", rekao sam, nelagodno
 say(P)-AOR.3.SG Zita-NOM.f.SG so say(P):AP.m.SG be:AUX.1.SG embarrassingly

pomišljajući na to da ću nešto morati
 thinking(1) on this:ACC.n.SG that will:AUX.1.SG something:ACC.n.SG must(1):INF

čitati. Nije se vidjel-o da bi tet-i
 read(1):INF NEGbe:AUX.3.SG R see(1/P):AP-n.SG that be(1/P):AOR.3.SG aunt-DAT.f.SG

bil-o neugodno, ili da bi odmahnu-a ruk-om.
 be(1/P):AP-n.SG embarrassingly or that be(1/P):AOR.3.SG wave(P):AP-f.SG hand-INST.f.SG

"Nikad nisam imal-a prav-oga uspjeh-a s
 never NEGbe:AUX.1.SG have(1):AP-f.SG real-GEN.m.SG success-GEN.m.SG with

ručn-im rad-om." "Tet-a, sjeti se
 handmade-INST.m.SG work-INST.m.SG aunt-VOC.f.SG remember:IMP.2.SG R

on-oga štrikeraj-a. Pa, on-o ti je
 that-GEN.m.SG knitting-GEN.m.SG that-NOM.n.SG you:DAT be:AUX.3.SG

bil-o ajnc a." "Kad sam se već primil-a posl-a,
 be(1/P):AP-n.SG when be:AUX.1.SG R already accept(P):AP-f.SG job-GEN.m.SG

onda sam ga i obavil-a do kraj-a. Ali
 then be:AUX.1.SG he:ACC also accomplish(P):AP-f.SG to end-GEN.m.SG but

ručn-i me rad nije dovoljno
 handmade-NOM.m.SG I:ACC work:NOM.m.SG NEGbe:AUX.3.SG enough

zabavljao. Odlučil-a sam da umjesto t-oga
 amuse(1):AP.m.SG decide(P):AP-f.SG be:AUX.1.SG that instead this-GEN.n.SG

pokuša-m nešto napisati, pa sam
 try(P)-PR.1.SG something:ACC.n.SG write(P):INF and then be:AUX.1.SG

vidjel-a da mi je t-o puno draž-e i
 see(1/P):AP-f.SG that I:DAT be(1):PR.3.SG this-NOM.n.SG much dearer-NOM.n.SG and

zanimljivij-e." "Jeste li što objavil-i?"
 more interesting-NOM.n.SG be:AUX.2.PL IRG what:ACC.n.SG publish(P):AP-m.PL

"Nisam." "Misl-ite li što objaviti?" "Tet-u
 NEGbe:AUX.1.SG think(1)-PR.2.PL IRG what:ACC.n.SG publish(P):INF aunt-ACC.f.SG

štampanj-e ne interesira", reče Anita-a.
 publishing-NOM.n.SG not interest(1):PR.3.SG say(P)-AOR.3.SG Anita-NOM.f.SG

"T-o mi je indiferentn-o. Zabavlja me
 this-NOM.n.SG I:DAT be(1):PR.3.SG indifferent-NOM.n.SG amuse(1):PR.3.SG I:ACC

sam posao, sastavljaj-e tekst-a, ali ne
 oneself:NOM.m.SG work:NOM.m.SG composing-NOM.n.SG text-GEN.m.SG but not

žel-im ništa svijet-u reći, nek-u
 want(1)-PR.1.SG nothing:ACC.n.SG world-DAT.m.SG say(P):INF some-ACC.f.SG

nov-u misao, ili pak nešto od svog
 new-ACC.f.SG thought:ACC.f.SG or something:ACC.n.SG from RPOS:GEN.n.SG

vlastit-oga iskustv-a, nešto o sebi." "Od
 personal-GEN.n.SG experience-GEN.n.SG something:ACC.n.SG about R:LOC from

čega onda polaz-ite?" "Od postojeć-ih knjig-a. On-ih
 what:GEN.n.SG then start(1)-PR.2.PL from existing-GEN.f.PL book-GEN.f.PL that-GEN.f.PL

koj-e sam pročitao, naravno." O-vo mi nikada
 which-ACC.f.PL be:AUX.1.SG read(P):AP-f.SG naturally this-NOM.n.SG I:DAT never

nije pal-o na pamet. Nisam, osim
 NEGbe:AUX.3.SG fall(P):AP-n.SG on prudence:ACC.f.SG NEGbe:AUX.1.SG besides

t-oga, mogao zamisliti da bih pisao
 this-GEN.n.SG can(1):AP.m.SG think(P):INF that be(1/P):AOR.1.SG write(1):AP.m.SG

nešto, a da ne bih pomišljao da
 something:ACC.n.SG end yet that not be(1/P):AOR.1.SG think(1):AP.m.SG that

ću za t-o dobiti novac. Ali vrijeme ovdje
 wil:AUX.1.SG for this-ACC.n.SG get(P):INF money:ACC.m.SG but time-NOM.n.SG here

nije ništa značil-o. Umjesto da vez-e
 NEGbe:AUX.3.SG nothing:ACC.n.SG mean(1):AP-n.SG instead that embroider(1)-PR.3.SG

ili hekla, ona je pisal-a. Pa, kao što
 or crochet(1)-PR.3.SG she:NOM be:AUX.3.SG write(1):AP-f.SG as that

bi uzimal-a muštr-e iz žurnal-a pa
 be(1/P):AOR.3.SG take(1):AP-f.SG pattern-ACC.f.PL from magazine-GEN.m.SG end then

malo promijenil-a boj-e...
 a bit change(P):AP-f.SG colour-ACC.f.PL

I would say that Auntie was at least fifty but it could not be set for sure because she appeared to have already chosen her looks, as it often happens with women who, once they discover they have passed the age for getting married, start dressing in a slightly liberated and slightly conservative way, taking professionally their status of an aunt. Still, she was also familiar with modern authors and all social events as it were her duty to be able to make conversation. She also knew both of exhibitions and of the theatre and spoke about everything competently, though with no zeal or bitterness as if nothing were going on and everything had already passed and everything could be discussed with detachment.

- Auntie herself writes - Zita said.

- Does she? - I said, thinking, with an uneasy feeling, that I would have to read some of it.

Auntie showed no sign of being embarrassed nor would she wave her hand in denial.

- I have never been really successful with my handiwork.

- Auntie, just remember that knitting. It was 'ajnc a'.

- Well, once I took on the job, I completed it. But handiwork was not enough fun for me. Instead, I decided to try writing something and I saw I liked it more and found it more interesting.

- Have you published anything?

- No.

- Do you intend to?

- Auntie is not interested in publishing - said Anita.

- I am indifferent to it. I am amused by the work itself, the creating of the text, but I do not want to say anything to the world, a new idea or something from my personal experience, something about myself.

- Well, what do you start from then?

- From the existing books. The ones I have read, of course.

This has never occurred to me. Moreover, I could not imagine writing anything without thinking of getting money for it. But time here meant nothing. Instead of crocheting or embroidery, she took to writing. So, as if she would take patterns from magazines and changed their colours a bit...

(Ivan Slamnig, *The Better Side of Courage*)

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