

A Handbook of
Bosnian, Serbian and Croatian

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Material of all these sorts has been checked against the Oslo Bosnian corpus at <http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/Bosnian/Corpus.html> and the Croatian National Corpus at <http://www.hnk.ffzg.hr/korpus.htm> (see web resources in the Bibliography), and we hereby express our gratitude to both these corpora.

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Abbreviations

ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
AG	accusative and genitive
AN	animate
AUX	auxiliary
BCS	Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian
DAT	dative
DL	dative and locative
DLI	dative, locative, and instrumental
F	feminine
GEN	genitive
IL	instrumental and locative
INST	instrumental
LOC	locative
LP	L-participle
M	masculine
N	neuter
NA	nominative and accusative
NAV	nominative, accusative, and vocative
NOM	nominative
NV	nominative and vocative
PF	perfective
PL	plural
SG	singular
SOV	subject-object-verb order
SV	subject-verb order
SVO	subject-verb-object order
VOC	vocative
[]	phonetic transcription
'...'	English glosses
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
234	234 (numerals)
<	comes from
>	turned into
←	is derived from
→	yields

0. Introduction

Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian are three standardized forms based on very similar linguistic material. For many people the term "language" means standardized form of a language, and in this meaning we can speak of a Bosnian language, a Croatian language, and a Serbian language. "Language" can also be a system that permits communication, and in this meaning we can consider all three to make up one language. Serbo-Croatian was the traditional term. The non-native learner will usually want to choose to concentrate on Bosnian or Croatian or Serbian, but learning any of these actively plus some knowledge of the differences will permit the learner to take part in the communication system throughout the whole area. This description will use the term BCS to denote what the three standards have in common. The differences in grammar are not very numerous and will be discussed as we go along. The differences in vocabulary are more numerous; some will be pointed out in the vocabulary section.

0.1 Geography

0.1.1 Standard Croatian is used in Croatia. Standard Serbian is used in Serbia and Montenegro (Crna Gora), presently a single country, until recently called Yugoslavia (1991-2003). Standard Bosnian is used in Bosnia-Herzegovina, although some residents prefer standard Croatian or standard Serbian. Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina were four of the six republics of former Yugoslavia (1945-1991).

0.1.2 Croatia has just over 4.4 million inhabitants, nearly all of whom speak Croatian. Census figures are incomplete for the other new countries. Bosnia-Herzegovina has a population of over 3.5 million, virtually all speakers of the language. Serbia and Montenegro have about 10.5 million inhabitants, but Serbia's multilingual northern province Vojvodina includes many Hungarians, Slovaks, Romanians and Rusyns, and a disputed southern province Kosovo has an Albanian majority of over one million.

0.1.3 There are Serbs who have lived within present-day Romania and Hungary for several centuries. There are Croatians who have lived in eastern Austria, Slovakia, Hungary and Romania for hundreds of years. There are also scattered emigrant communities that preserve the language in the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Argentina, Chile, and other countries. In the neighboring countries of Slovenia and Macedonia many people speak Bosnian, Croatian or Serbian as a second language.

0.2 History

0.2.1 Slavic speakers arrived in the Balkans and spread throughout their present territories in approximately the sixth and seventh centuries AD. They settled in small scattered groups interspersed with groups of speakers of other languages. Only gradually over many centuries did any of these languages come to be spoken over large, contiguous areas. Those South Slavs who settled closer to the Adriatic soon came under the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, whereas those further east came under the Byzantine Empire and its Eastern Orthodox Church.

The cultural division between the Eastern and Western churches predated by several centuries the formal split of 1054. Eastern Orthodoxy came to be a distinguishing mark of the Serbs and Roman Catholicism of the Croats.

0.2.2 In the 860s, prior to the complete breakup of the two churches, two Byzantine missionaries, Cyril and Methodius, worked in Moravia. They created a special Slavic alphabet called Glagolitic, which was very well suited to the early Slavic sound system. Disciples of theirs took the alphabet hundreds of miles south. It took root in the Adriatic coastal regions. Further east the system of Glagolitic was preserved but the shapes of the letters were revised to look like the Greek alphabet. The result is what we now call Cyrillic. It came to be used by all the different Eastern Orthodox peoples, including the Serbs.

0.2.3 There were medieval Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian states with shifting boundaries. In the 14th century the Ottoman Turks began to take over large parts of the Balkans. Considerable populations were displaced. Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina were under Turkish rule for 400 to 500 years. During this period many Bosnians converted to Islam. In general, the cultural impact of the Ottoman Empire was greatest in Bosnia. Northernmost Serbia (Vojvodina) and much of Croatia were conquered later by the Turks and broke away earlier. The Dalmatian coast was never under Turkish rule but was heavily influenced by Italian states. Northwestern Croatia did not fall to the Turks but to the Habsburgs. Montenegro remained independent throughout.

0.2.4 As the Ottoman Empire receded, the rest of inland Croatia and Vojvodina became parts of the Habsburg Empire (Austria-Hungary). In the late 17th century the Habsburg Empire enticed Serbs to cross over and in exchange for various privileges populate the Military Frontier around the Ottoman borders. In the early 19th century the part of Serbia immediately south of Beograd broke away from the Ottoman Empire and become an independent kingdom. Over a century more parts joined until by 1913 none of Serbia was left under Turkey. Bosnia and Herzegovina remained Ottoman until 1878, when it was given to Austria-Hungary to administer.

0.2.5 World War I brought fighting throughout the Balkans and the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In the aftermath a new country, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (Yugoslavia), was created within the approximate boundaries of the later (1945-1991) Yugoslavia. It thus included most areas populated by speakers of Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian as well as Slovenian-speaking areas in the northwest and Macedonian-speaking areas in the southeast. Thanks in part to internal dissensions, the whole country fell to, or allied with, Germany and Italy in World War II. The victorious Partisans, under Tito, who eventually liberated it, reconstituted it in 1945 as a federation of republics that took language and national identities into account. However, identity conflicts remained. Slovenia, Croatia and Macedonia declared independence in 1991, Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992. In 2003, acknowledging reality, the remaining Yugoslavia changed its name to Serbia and Montenegro.

0.3 Dialects

0.3.1 Speakers are conscious of local dialects and are able to name the one they belong to. There are three main dialects called Štokavski, Čakavski and Kajkavski.

They are named for the question word 'what', which is *što* (or *šta*), *ča* or *kaj*. In fact these dialects differ not only in this word but in sounds, accent patterns, endings, the case and tense system, and vocabulary. Some of these differences presumably go back to the time when the Slavs first reached the Balkans, i.e. the sixth century. Undoubtedly the boundaries have moved. Štokavski now covers a much bigger area than the other two put together. It covers all of Bosnia, all of Montenegro, all of Serbia except for an area in the southeast that shades into Macedonian and Bulgarian (some scholars call this a fourth dialect named Torlak), and a large part of Croatia. Čakavski covers parts of the Croatian coast and most of the islands. Kajkavski is spoken around Zagreb near the Slovenian border. Štokavski was the dialect of the first populations that fled northward and westward from the advancing Turks, and this brought it to formerly Kajkavski and Čakavski areas.

0.3.2 Štokavski is subdivided into Ekavski, Ikavski and Ijekavski also called Jekavski. In most of Serbia (including Torlak areas) people say *dete* for 'child'. This is Ekavski pronunciation. It is also the basis of the standard language in Serbia. Montenegro has *dijete*, which is called Ijekavski pronunciation. So does a large part of Bosnia-Hercegovina and parts of inland Croatia. Ijekavski is the basis for the standard language in Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro. Several scattered areas have the pronunciation *dite*, but this is not used as a standard language.

0.3.3 Note that neither the older dialect divisions into Štokavski vs. Čakavski vs. Kajkavski nor the later subdivision into Ekavski vs. Ijekavski vs. Ikavski correspond geographically to the major religious, cultural and political boundaries. See section 5 for more details.

0.4 Standard languages

0.4.1 Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian went through language standardization separately.

0.4.1.1 Serbia had a culturally advanced medieval state. After defeat by Ottoman Turk invaders (the most famous of many battles was at Kosovo Polje, 1389), Serbia experienced a period of stagnation. Only the Orthodox Church kept literacy and learning alive. The Church's language and Cyrillic-alphabet writings in Church Slavonic heavily influenced what secular writing was done in Turkish-ruled Serbia and in Vojvodina, which was under Austria-Hungary from about 1700. The resulting "Slaveno-Serbian", used for literary purposes from the late 1700s, varied from writer to writer and was easily intelligible only to those schooled in the Church language.

0.4.1.2 Meanwhile the Croats, linked administratively and by their Catholic religion with European countries to the north and west, cultivated literature in neighboring languages and in their own. Writers on the Adriatic coast employed Latin and Italian, as well as the local language of Dubrovnik (Štokavski dialect) and Split (Čakavski dialect); those in northern Croatia used German, Hungarian, Latin and their own local (Kajkavski) varieties. Orthography was mainly Latin, rendering non-Latin sounds by Hungarian or Italian-like graphic conventions. Since Croatia manifests the greatest dialect differentiation of all the BCS territory, considerable

differences existed between writing done in Zagreb or Varaždin in the north and works emanating from the coast.

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

0.4.2 Modern standards

0.4.2.1 In the early 1800s for Serbs Vuk Karadžić, a largely self-taught writer and folklorist, proposed a reformed Serbian literary language based on Štokavski folk usage without Church Slavonic features. He advocated Ijekavski Štokavski. His 1818 dictionary showed how to write his new Serbian in a modified Cyrillic. After fifty years of polemics the newly independent kingdom of Serbia adopted his language and alphabet, though his Ijekavski yielded to Ekavski, typical of most of Serbia.

0.4.2.2 In Zagreb, the cultural center of Croatia since the late 1700s, intellectuals resented Austrian and Hungarian domination. Their Illyrian Movement sought unity of all South Slavs in the 1820s-1830s, and hence shifted in writing and publishing from local Kajkavski to the more widespread Štokavski. They introduced a Latin-alphabet system borrowing diacritical marks from Czech and Polish. Discussion continued throughout the century about which sort of Štokavski to adopt. Eventually they standardized on Vuk's Ijekavski Štokavski. Puristic tendencies led to maintenance or reintroduction of many words from older literature, and to newly coined domestic terms. These terminological differences, some grammatical preferences and virtually exclusive use of Latin orthography lend Croatia's Ijekavski standard a somewhat different aspect from that of Serbia (Ekavski, Cyrillic and Latin alphabets) and Montenegro (Ijekavski, mostly Cyrillic).

0.4.2.3 Medieval Bosnia shared an early Cyrillic-alphabet Church Slavonic heritage with Serbia. Under Ottoman rule, Turkish was the language of government. The local language was sometimes written in Cyrillic or an offshoot of it called Bosančica, sometimes in Latin letters, and sometimes in the Arabic alphabet by Moslem scholars. When Bosnia-Hercegovina reemerged as a part of Yugoslavia, it adopted the Ijekavski standard and consciously used both the Latin and Cyrillic alphabets.

1. Sound system

1.1 Vowels and consonants

1.1.1 Vowels

The five vowels *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u* may occur in any position in a word: beginning, middle, end. Each can be long or short (see 1.2 Accent and vowel length below). *i* and *e* are classified as front vowels, while *a*, *o* and *u* are back vowels.

1.1.1.1 In addition, *r* can act as a vowel: long in *crn* 'black', short in *vrt* 'garden'.

This "vocalic" ("syllabic") *r* is not specially marked in normal writing. The pronunciation is almost completely predictable, the rule being $r \rightarrow$ vowel when not next to another vowel (and in a few other rare instances).

1.1.1.2 Medieval Slavic had an extra vowel *ě* (linguists call it jat). Knowing its later developments (reflexes) is important for understanding the classification of dialects, the difference between the standard languages, and the spelling rules of the Croatian, Bosnian, and Montenegrin standards. Reflexes of jat vary geographically, a fact on which one well-known dialect classification is based. Most Eastern Štokavski dialects are Ekavski, having *e* from jat: *řeka* > *reka* 'river', *věra* > *vera* 'faith'; this holds for the Ekavski standard. Some north-central and coastal dialects, termed Ikavski, have consistent *i* for jat: *rika*, *vira*. An area in western Serbia has a separate vowel between *i* and *e* (Remetić 1981), as do some settlers in non-BCS surroundings. Other central and southern-coastal Štokavski dialects have a reflex customarily described as *ije* in long syllables (see 1.2), *je* in short: *rijeka* (long), *vjera* (short); the terms ljekavski and Jekavski are both used for such dialects. (They typically have *ě* > *i* before *o* which comes from *l*: *dio* 'part', but *dijeł* in the rest of the forms of this word.) It is this understanding of the (l)jekavski reflex which has led to the traditional spelling and accentuation marking of the standard language of Croatia, Montenegro and Bosnia-Herzegovina: *vjěra* in a short syllable, *rijěka* in a long. It has however been demonstrated (Brozović 1973) that standard Croatian's long-syllable jat reflex does not really consist of two syllables each with a short vowel. Contrasting alleged *Nijěmac* from *němac* 'German' with the genuine sequence of short syllables seen in *ni jědan* 'not one' shows that *ije* in 'German' is optionally one or two syllables but in either case begins with a brief *i* followed by long *e* [iē]; thus we here adopt Brozović's notation *rijěka*, *Nijěmac*. Similarly in examples with falling accent: traditional *nijem*, Brozović and here *nijēm* [niēm] 'mute'. Šonje's dictionary (2000) writes / or ◌ over the entire group *ije* to indicate a long rising or long falling accent on the group (see 1.2).

1.1.1.2.1 A further (l)jekavski complication is that the short-syllable reflex is *e*, not *je*, after consonant + *r* when all three sounds are in the same root: *hrěň* > *hrěn* 'horseradish'. Compare *řěš* > *rješavati* 'to solve' with no preceding consonant, and *raz+rješavati* 'to release' when *z* is part of a prefix.

1.1.1.2.2 The Čakavski dialects are Ekavski, Ikavski and mixed Ikavski/Ekavski. Kajkavski dialects show varied vowel systems, usually with *ě* > *e*.

1.1.2 The consonants of BCS are shown in Table 1.


		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveo-palatal	Palatal	Velar
obstruents	stops						
	voiceless	p		t			k
fricatives	voiced	b		d			g
	voiceless		f	s	š		h
affricates	voiced		v	z	ž		
	voiceless			c	č	ć	
sonorants	nasals						
	liquids	m		n		nj	
glide	laterals			l		lj	
	vibrant			r			
						j	


Table 1: BCS consonants


1.1.3 The letters for consonants should be familiar to Slavic scholars. We can add the following comparisons with English: *c* = *ts* as in *bats*, *j* = *y* as in *boy* or *yet*, *lj* = *l* with a simultaneous *y*-sound (as in *million*, but closer together), *nj* = *n* with a simultaneous *y*-sound (as in *canyon*, but closer together), *h* varies between English *h* and German *ch* as in *Bach*. *Č* is like English *ch* as in *church*; the tip of the tongue is raised to a point just behind the upper teeth. *Dž* is like English *j* as in *judge*, again with the tongue tip raised. *Ć* is similar to *č*, but the entire tongue is raised towards the palate (roof of the mouth); English speakers may practice saying *cheap* and *each* and smiling while doing it. *Đ* is similar to *dž*, but with the entire tongue raised; practice saying *squeegie* while smiling.


1.1.3.1 If a typewriter or a computer font lacks *Đ đ*, writers frequently use *Dj dj* as a replacement, even though this can lead to ambiguities.


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

B 

D 

g 

p 

t 

Ų, ų is written like i with a vertical stroke below.

Ų ų
Ų ų

1.1.3.3 The alphabets are shown in Tables 2 and 3.

A	a
B	b
C	c
Č	č
Ć	ć
D	d
Dž	dž
Đ	đ
E	e
F	f
G	g
H	h
I	i
J	j
K	k
L	l
Lj	lj
M	m
N	n
Nj	nj
O	o
P	p
R	r
S	s
Š	š
T	t
U	u
V	v
Z	z
Ž	ž

Table 2: The Latin alphabet in alphabetical order

Cyrillic		Latin Equivalent
А	а	a
Б	б	b
В	в	v
Г	г	g
Д	д	d
Ђ	ђ	đ
Е	е	e
Ж	ж	ž
З	з	z
И	и	i
Ј	ј	j
К	к	k
Л	л	l
Љ	љ	lj
М	м	m
Н	н	n
Њ	њ	nj
О	о	o
П	п	p
Р	р	r
С	с	s
Т	т	t
Ђ	ђ	ć
У	у	u
Ф	ф	f
Х	х	h
Ц	ц	c
Ч	ч	č
Џ	џ	dž
Ш	ш	š

Table 3: The Cyrillic alphabet in alphabetical order

1.1.3.4 As the sample sentence illustrates, there is a one-to-one correspondence between Latin and Cyrillic writing:

Ђачић пита, хоџа одговара.

Ђачић пита, хоџа одговара.

'The little pupil asks; the religious teacher answers.'

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

foreign prefix coming before a root with *j*: *kon+jugacija* 'conjugation'. Cyrillic spellings are then наджив(ј)ети, конјугација.

1.2 Accent and vowel length

A small number of words have no accented syllable of their own (certain conjunctions, most prepositions and the word *ne* 'not' before a verb are proclitics and hang on to the next word; certain pronoun and verb forms, and the question marker *li* are enclitics, hanging on to the previous word, see section 3.1.5). Apart from these, every word form has one accented syllable (some compound words have one on each element). We say accent, not stress, because pitch and length are involved rather than intensity. Accent can alternate in placement or contour within the paradigm of a word. Accented syllables are termed either rising or falling, and contain a long or a short vowel. Traditional notation in grammars and dictionaries combines these two features, using four accent marks: short falling \ as in *à*, long falling \frown as in *â*, short rising \ as in *â*, long rising / as in *á*. The falling accents occur almost exclusively on first syllables of words, and can occur on monosyllables: *gòvōr* 'speech', *lòš* 'bad'; *prâvdati* 'to justify', *grâd* 'city'. The rising accents occur on any syllable but the last, hence not on monosyllables: *dòlaziti* 'to come', *govòriti* 'to speak', *veličina* 'size'; *glúmiti* 'to act', *garáža* 'garage', *gravítirati* 'to gravitate'.

1.2.1 Long and short vowels are distinguished under accent or in later syllables in the word. Thus *grâd* 'city', *gräd* 'hail'; *vâljati* 'to roll', *vâljati* 'to be good'. Post-accentual length is notated with a macron: *gòdīnā* 'years, genitive plural'; *prâvdā* 'he/she justifies', *prâvda* 'justice'; *veličinē* 'size, genitive singular', *veličine* 'sizes, nominative/accusative plural'. Many post-accentual lengths are associated with specific suffixes or grammatical forms (as genitive plural of nouns). One can construct examples with multiple lengths like *râzbōjništāvā*, genitive plural of *râzbōjništvo* 'banditry', but few people will pronounce all five vowels long; practically every region shortens post-accentual lengths in some positions (P. Ivić 1958 finds a clear hierarchy of dialectal shortenings).

1.2.2 The names of the accents suggest a pitch change on a given syllable. Pitch does ascend within long rising accented vowels, and drops during long fallings. However short accented vowels have no such obvious pitch rise or fall. Measurements (Lehiste and Ivić 1986) suggest that the only consistent difference between short accents is the relationship with the following syllable: the syllable after a short rising begins equal to or higher in pitch than the accented syllable itself, then declines, whereas the syllable after a short falling begins distinctly lower. The same relationship (equal to or higher versus lower) holds in the syllables following long rising and long falling, and is hence the factor common to all accentual distinctions, though regional variations in accent contour have led to disagreements among scholars.

1.2.2.1 Falling accents can "jump" onto a preceding word: *ne + znām = nè_znām* 'I don't know', *ne + bi = nè_bi* 'would not'. In the modern language this happens when *ne* is added to a verb form, and in a few preposition + object phrases:

sǎ_mnōm 'with me', *sǎ_sobom* 'with oneself'. Bosnian usage has a larger number of prepositional phrases with 'jumping', as: *ù_Bosni* 'in Bosnia'.

1.2.3 How important are the accents and long vowels? A large proportion of users of standard Croatian—especially those with Zagreb backgrounds—can tell a long accented vowel from a short vowel, but don't reliably distinguish rising from falling, and say their post-accentual vowels all short. They tend not to shift the accent from one syllable to another when making different forms of a word: *govOríti* 'to speak', present *govOrim*, where standard dictionaries would call for *govòriti*, *gòvorīm*. Speakers of standard Serbian tend to distinguish long rising from long falling, keep short rising and short falling apart but not in all words, and have lost most of the older post-accentual lengths. In Bosnian usage all the old distinctions survive well. Post-accentual long vowels are heard clearly, while post-accentual short vowels (especially *i* and *u*) may drop out ("*Zen'ca*" for the city of Zënica). But Bosnians are accustomed to dealing with speakers who make fewer accent and length distinctions.

1.2.3.1 Given this situation, this text will omit almost all accents and length marks from here on. It will mention certain noun, adjective, and verb endings that contain a long vowel, because the length will be noticeable in one-syllable words (*zīlī* 'the evil...' and *znām* 'I know' have long *i* and *a*). Only the most important instances where an accent shifts from syllable to syllable will be listed (*šěšīr* 'hat', but with an ending *šěšīra*, *šěšīru*, etc.). For more extensive information see the tables and discussion in Browne 1993. The best source for accents, long/short vowels, and shifts is Benson's (1971 and later editions) dictionary; in his dictionary, words without a mark (*brat*) are to be read with short falling \ on the first syllable. For standard Croatian see Anić (1991) and Šonje (2000). Many less familiar Bosnian words are given with accents in Jahić (1999).

1.3 Alternations

1.3.1 Consonant changes

1.3.1.1 The first old Slavic palatalization of velars changed *k*, *g*, *h* to *č*, *dž* (later *ž*) and *š* respectively when a front vowel followed. It survives in BCS as a family of *k*, *g*, *h* → *č*, *ž*, *š* alternations in inflection (before *e*) and word-formation (before *j*, *i*, *e*, movable *a* and other sounds). Not every instance of these sound combinations triggers the change. In masculine nouns the vocative singular ending *-e* causes it: *učeník* 'pupil, student' → *učeniče*, *Bog* 'God' → *Bože*, *siromah* 'poor man' → *siromaše*. The accusative plural ending *-e* does not: *učenike*, *bubrege* (from *bubreg* 'kidney'), *siromahe*. The *-e-* in verb present tenses invariably causes it: stem *pek-*, present *pečem* but 3rd person plural *peku* where there is no *-e-* (infinitive *pečí* 'to bake').

1.3.1.1.1 Diminutive endings such as *-ica* commonly trigger the alternation in question, thus *ruka* 'hand, arm' → diminutive *ručica* 'small hand/arm'. But in certain instances a differentiation arises: *ručica* meaning 'handle' invariably has *č*, but emotional speech, e.g. about or to a baby, may have unchanged *k* in diminutive *rukica* 'hand/arm'. In some instances the alternation has spread to suffixes having

no *j* or front vowel: *noga* 'leg, foot' has augmentative *nož-urda* 'big ugly foot', compare *glava* 'head' → *glav-urda* without *j*.

1.3.1.1.2 Alternation without an overt triggering sound characterizes the formation of adjectives with *-ski* and its alternants: *Amerika*, *američki* 'American'. In Proto-Slavic this suffix began with a front vowel, but BCS has no vowel here.

1.3.1.1.3 The third palatalization of velars (see 1.3.1.3 below) produced *c* and *z* from earlier Slavic *k*, *g*. In BCS, almost all *c*, and those instances of *z* which arose from the third palatalization, alternate with *č* and *ž* respectively. The conditions can be described as "same as for *k*, plus others": inherited *stric* 'father's brother' and borrowed *princ* 'prince' have vocative singular *striče* and *prinče*, but they also show alternation before *-ov-* / *-ev-* of the "long plural" (section 2.1.2.1.1): plural *stričevi*, *prinčevi*, unlike nouns in *k*: *vuk* 'wolf', plural *vukovi*. As a rare exception *knez* 'prince' has vocative *kneže*, plural *kneževi*, since this word had Proto-Slavic *g*. The majority of words with *z* never underwent the third palatalization. Thus *voz* 'train, cart' (Serbian) has vocative *voze* and plural *vozovi*.

1.3.1.2 The second palatalization of velars produced *c*, *z* (via *dz*) and *s* from Proto-Slavic *k*, *g* and *h* respectively. BCS has three alternations, all of the form *k*, *g*, *h* → *c*, *z*, *s* before *i*, but with different sets of conditions.

1.3.1.2.1 First, in verbs with stem-final *k*, *g* and one rare verb with *h*: stem *rek-*, imperative singular *reci* (infinitive *reći* PF 'to say'); stem *pomog-*, imperative *pomози* (infinitive *pomoći* PF 'to help'); stem *vrh-*, imperative *vrси* (infinitive *vrći* 'to thresh'). Here it is stable but not productive, since no new verbs can be added to the set.

1.3.1.2.2 Further, in two places in nouns. Before *-i* in masculine nominative plurals, the alternation is almost exceptionless: *učenik* 'pupil', *učenici*; *agnostik* 'agnostic', *agnostici*; *bubreg* 'kidney', *bubrezi*; *siromah* 'poor person', *siromasi*; *almanah* 'almanac', *almanasi*. A few recent words escape it, like *kok* 'cocculus bacterium', *koki*. It is equally regular before the *-ima* dative-locative-instrumental plural ending: *učenicima*, *agnosticima*, *bubrezima*, *siromasima*, *almanasima*.

1.3.1.2.3 In the dative-locative singular of the *-a* declension, the change is common: *ruka* 'hand, arm', *ruci*; *noga* 'foot, leg', *nozi*; *svrha* 'purpose', *svrsi*. But it is restricted by phonological, morphological and lexical factors, whose interaction is only partially worked out. Some stem-final consonant clusters disfavor it: *mačka* 'cat', *mački*, compare *d(j)evojka* 'girl', *d(j)evojci*. Personal names and affectionate forms avoid it: *Milka* (woman's name), *Milki*; *baka* 'Granny', *baki*. This avoidance is stronger than the tendency for words in *-ika* to undergo the change: *logika* 'logic', *logici*; *Afrika*, *Africi*; but *čika* 'Uncle (addressing an older man)', *čiki*. Of the three consonants, *k* most readily alternates, then *g*, with *h* least susceptible.

1.3.1.3 The third palatalization of velars (*c*, *z*, *s* from earlier Slavic *k*, *g*, *h*) survives as a rare alternation in word-formation: *knez* 'prince' but *kneginja* 'princess'. Only in the formation of imperfective verbs from perfectives can a pattern (dating to early South Slavic) be discerned, as imperfective *izricati* (present tense *izričem*) from stem *iz-rek-* PF (infinitive *izreći* PF 'to utter'); imperfective *podizati* (*podížem*) from stem *po-dig-* PF (infinitive *podići* PF 'to pick up'); imperfective *udisati* (*udišem*) from stem *u-dah-nu-* PF (infinitive *udahnuti* PF 'to inhale').

1.3.1.4 Proto-Slavic had a series of alternations in consonant+*j* groups, termed "jotations". They appeared, among other places, in past passive participles of verb

stems in *-i* and in comparatives of some adjectives: *nosi-ti* 'to carry', participle *nošen* 'carried'; *vysok* 'high', *vyš* 'higher'. Common to all Slavic languages are the results *š ž š* from jotation of *s z* and the results *č ž š* (= first palatalization of velars) from jotation of *k g h*. The BCS "old jotation" resulting from the Proto-Slavic jotation is: 1) labials add *lj*, thus *p-plj*, *b-blj*, *m-mlj*, *v-vlj*; the newer sound *f* also becomes *flj*. 2) *s z* alternate with *š ž*. 3) *t d* alternate with *ć đ*. 4) *k g h* alternate with *č ž š*; as in the first palatalization's reflex, *c* has also come to alternate with *č*. 5) *l n* alternate with *lj nj*. 6) *r* and other consonants (palatals of various sorts, also the group *št*) are unaffected. Examples of alternations (passive participles of verbs, masculine singular indefinite): *ljubiti* 'to kiss, to love', *ljubljen*; *zašarafiti* PF 'to tighten (a screw)', *zašaraffjen*; *nositi* 'to carry', *nošen*; *vratiti* PF 'to return', *vraćen*; *baciti* PF 'to throw', *bačen* (there are no verbs in *-kiti-giti-hiti*, except for the baby-talk *kakiti* 'defecate'); *hvaliti* 'to praise', *hvaljen*; but *izgovoriti* PF 'to pronounce', *izgovoren*; *tužiti* 'to accuse', *tužen*; *poništititi* PF 'to cancel', *poništen*. The inherited jotation yields *št* and *žd* from *st* and *zd*, but these results now compete with *šč žđ* (which come from changing the two consonants separately): *iskoristiti* PF 'to use', *iskorišten* and *iskorišćen*. *Šć* is the only possibility in adjective comparison: *gust* 'thick', comparative *gušći*.

1.3.1.4.1 The groups *sk*, *zg* before front vowel or *j* (first or second palatalization of velars) and *stj*, *zdj* merge, presumably through a stage *šč*, *žđ*, to yield *št*, *žd* in the BCS standards (compare the later version of the *j* alternation, section 1.3.3).

1.3.2 Vowel changes

1.3.2.1 Proto-Slavic made some back vowels into front vowels following a palatal consonant. The fronting led to the existence of parallel sets of noun case endings. BCS eliminated such parallelism in endings in favor of the **fronted** set; only the *o-e* change survives as an alternation. Thus neuter *o/e*-declension nouns (section 2.1.2.1.2) have the ending *-o* in *m(j)esto* 'place', but the ending *-e* in *srce* 'heart' and *učenje* 'teaching, learning'.

1.3.2.1.1 The BCS rule is now: *o* → *e* after palatal consonants and their descendants (*č, dž, š, ž, ć, đ, j, lj, nj, c, št, žd*, sometimes *r* and *z*). It acts in declensions and in word formation. A limitation is that it scarcely applies in feminine declensions (only in the vocative singular of most nouns suffixed with *-ica*, as *profesorica*, vocative *profesorice*). Feminine adjectives and feminine pronouns are unaffected. The alternation in *-om* endings of the masculine and neuter is widespread, but factors hindering it (section 2.1.2.1) include vowel dissimilation and foreignness of the noun. The *o/e* alternation has spread to a new BCS morpheme, the *-ov/-ev* of masculine noun "long plurals" (section 2.1.2.1.1); thus *gradovi* 'cities' but *muževi* 'husbands'.

1.3.2.2 The main vowel-zero alternation in present-day BCS is *a* / zero. The Proto-Slavic "jer" vowels developed into *a* or dropped out, depending on position in the word. This leads to *a* appearing in word forms with zero ending, but not in related forms with a vowel ending. Examples are nominative singular masculine of nouns and indefinite adjectives, masculine singular L-participles of verbs; respectively *trgovac* 'merchant' and genitive *trgovca*, *tužan* 'sad' and feminine *tužna*, *išao* 'went'

(from *íci*) and feminine singular *išla*. The *a* also appears before certain suffixes, as *trgovac + ski* → *trgovački* 'commercial'.

1.3.2.2.1 The alternation has been extended to various stem-final consonant clusters (generally containing at least one sonorant) where it had no historical basis. This is termed "inserted *a*" or "secondary jer". Compare *Petar* 'Peter', genitive *Petra* (*Petr-*); *dobar* 'good', feminine *dobra* (*dobr-*); the masculine L-participle of verbs whose stem ends in an obstruent, as *rekao* PF 'said' (from *reka* < *rekl*). Inserted *a* in nominative singulars is frequent in loanwords: *kilometar*, genitive *kilometra*; *subjekat* or *subjekt*, genitive *subjekta*.

1.3.2.2.2 The BCS *-ā* genitive plural ending also triggers insertion of *a*, "breaking" a preceding cluster: *trgovaca*, *kilometara*, *subjekata*, *jutara* from *jutro* 'morning', *sestara* from *sestra* 'sister'. (Only a few clusters such as *st*, *zd*, *št*, *žd*, *šč*, *žd*, consonant-*j* are "unbreakable": *cesta* 'road', genitive plural *cesta*, *raskršće* (Serbian and Bosnian) 'crossroads', genitive plural *raskršća*, *sazv(ij)ežđe* 'constellation', genitive plural *sazv(ij)ežđa*, *nar(j)ečje* 'dialect', genitive plural *nar(j)ečja*.) The inserted *-a* then undergoes the other notable effect of this ending, namely vowel lengthening in the syllable preceding. A hierarchy exists: insertion in genitive plural can occur without insertion in nominative singular, but not the reverse. Thus *student* 'student' has genitive plural *studenta*.

1.3.3 Alternations resulting from later (after Proto-Slavic) sound changes

1.3.3.1 When the "jer" vowels (which were always very short) dropped out, groups of consonant-*jer-j* became consonant-*j*. Ensuing changes ("new jotation") led to a new set of alternations. As in section 1.3.1, in collective and abstract nouns (Proto-Slavic *jer-j-e*) labials add *lj*, thus *p-plj*, *b-blj*, *m-mlj*, *v-vlj*: *grob* 'grave', *groblje* 'cemetery'; *t d* alternate with *ć đ*: *cv(ij)et* 'flower', *cv(ij)eće* 'flowers'; *l n* alternate with *lj nj*: *grana* 'branch', *granje* 'branches' (and verbal nouns like *učenje* 'studying'). *s* and *z* remain unchanged, as does *j*: *klas* 'ear of grain', *klasje* 'ears'. The *j* remains also after *č š ž* from *k g h*: *noga* 'leg, foot', *podnožje* 'base, foundation', and after *r*: *more* 'sea', *primorje* 'coastal area'. Only after palatals proper (*ć đ lj nj j*) does *j* disappear: *međa* 'border', *razmeđe* 'division'. *st*, *zd* yield only *šč*, *žd*: *list* 'leaf', *lišće* 'leaves'; *grozd* 'bunch of grapes', *grožđe* 'grapes'.

1.3.3.2 The newest jotation affects a consonant coming before the *je* reflex of short jat. In standard Jekavski it makes *l* and *n* into the corresponding palatals: Proto-Slavic *lěto*, *něga* > *ljet* 'summer', *njeta* 'care'; as Cyrillic writing makes clear, no separate *j* remains: лето, њега. (The presence of long or short vowel thus leads to alternation of dental and palatal consonant: *Nijemac* / Нијемац 'a German', but adjective *njemački* / њемачки.) In many dialects this type is more extensive, affecting *t d*; in some, also labials and *s z* (Brozović and Ivić 1988, 13 and 56-77).

1.3.3.3 Partly inherited from Proto-Slavic, where consonant clusters like *st zd* but not *"sd" "zt"* existed, but greatly extended after the fall of the jers is consonant assimilation in voicing. In any cluster of obstruents, the voiced or voiceless quality of the last member controls that of the others. Voiceless consonants are *p t k f s š h c č ć*, see Table 1; all others are voiced. *P t k s š č ć* have corresponding voiced consonants, namely *b d g z ž dž đ. F, c, and h* do not. (Note that *v* is not an

obstruent in behavior, section 1.3.3.3.2.) This both cuts down on the number of possibilities, in that clusters like "sd" "bč" "šg" are still impossible, and leads to alternations, as in final consonants of prefixes: *s* in *složiti* PF 'to assemble' but *z* in *zgaziti* PF 'to trample'; before suffixes, as *udžbenik* 'textbook' from *učiti* 'to teach, learn'; and when *a* alternates with zero, as *redak* 'a line', genitive singular *retka*. Voicing assimilation is almost invariably reflected in writing. Only *d* keeps its spelling before *s* and *š*: *grad* 'city', *gradski* 'urban'; *šteta* 'damage', *odšteta* 'compensation' (but the pronunciations are with *t*).

1.3.3.3.1 Assimilation to a voiceless final member and assimilation to a voiced final member might seem part of the same rule, but they interact differently with "cluster-breaking" in noun genitive plurals. A consonant which devoiced in a cluster regains its voicing: Serbian *svezati* PF 'to bind' gives *sveska* 'notebook' but genitive plural *svezaka*; Croatian *svezak*, GEN *sveska*, GEN PL *svezaka* makes the same point. On the other hand a consonant which has become voiced remains so: *prim(j)etiti* PF 'to remark' gives *prim(j)edba* 'comment' and genitive plural *prim(j)edaba*.

1.3.3.3.2 *V* and *f* are, phonetically speaking, bilabial fricatives, hence obstruents, although *v* has less friction than *f*. However *v* behaves as a sonorant in never undergoing or causing devoicing. Thus there is no assimilation in *ovca* 'sheep' and *tvoj* 'your'.

1.3.3.3.4 Assimilation in palatality affects *s* and *z*, which are pronounced and written *š ž* before *č dž ć đ* and *lj nj* (though not root-initial *lj nj*, nor *lj nj* resulting from the newest [Jekavski] jotation): *rašćistiti* PF 'to clear up', from prefix *raz-* and *čistiti* 'to clean'; *vožnja* 'driving', from *voziti* 'to drive' and suffix *-nja*; but not in *razljutiti* PF 'to anger' from *ljut* 'angry, sharp', nor in Jekavski *snježan* 'snowy' (Ekavski *snežan*).

1.3.3.3.5 BCS spelling shows changes in consonant clusters. Double consonants become single: *beznačajan* 'insignificant' from *bez* 'without' and *značaj* 'significance'. Dental stops *t, d* drop before affricates, as in case-forms of *otac* 'father': genitive *oca* (from *otca*), nominative plural *očevi* (from *otčevi*). *T* and *d* are also lost between *s z š ž* and *n, l* or various other consonants (*izraslina* 'a growth' from the verb stem *rast-* 'grow'; from *radost* 'joy' the adjective is *radostan* 'joyful' but feminine *radosna*, neuter *radosno*, etc.). They remain at prefix-root boundary: *istlačiti* PF 'to oppress', from *iz-* 'out' and *tlačiti* 'to press'. Such consonant losses, combined with *a*-insertion, give BCS a high relative frequency of vowels as compared to consonants.

1.3.3.3.6 A further vowel-enhancing change is that of the consonant / to *o*, which occurred when the / was pre-consonantal or word-final. The alternation that results is exceptionless in verb L-participles: masculine singular *dao* PF 'gave', but feminine *dala* and neuter *dalo*. In adjectives and nouns it is widespread though some words avoid it: masculine singular nominative *mio* 'nice', feminine *mila*, but *ohol* 'haughty', feminine *ohola*.

1.3.3.6.1 If the /- *o* change yields a sequence *oo*, this contracts to long *ō*: thus the masculine singular L-participle of *ubosti* PF (stem *ubod-*) 'to stab' is *ubō*.

1.3.3.6.2 The standard language insists on the correct use of /-*o* preceding the suffix *-(a)c* in numerous agent nouns, so that the nominative singular is e.g. *čitalac* 'reader', but the genitive singular, like all other forms in which the / comes before

the *c*, becomes *čitaoca*; the genitive plural, due to the insertion of *-a* between the two final consonants of the stem, is again *čitalaca*. But substandard forms like *čitaoc* are frequently encountered.

1.3.3.6.3 *A*-insertion and */-o* are linked. If a word-final cluster of consonant-*/is* split, the */* almost always becomes *o*. Apart from L-participles like *rek-/ → rekao* PF 'said', there are nouns like *mis/- → misao* 'thought' and adjectives like *top/- → topao* 'warm' (*topa/* is rare). If *a*-insertion fails, as it does in a few loanwords, final */* becomes syllabic, not changing to *o*: *bicikl (bi-ci-kl)* 'bicycle'.

2. Morphology: How prefixes and endings change words

2.1 Noun, pronoun and adjective endings

All pronouns, almost all nouns, most adjectives and some numerals decline (change their endings to indicate grammatical categories).

2.1.1 Categories represented

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

2.1.1.1 The numbers are singular and plural. Nouns, adjectives and adjectival pronouns also have a form without case distinction, used accompanying the numerals 2, 'both', 3 and 4 (a remnant of the Proto-Slavic dual). It has had various names; we cite it as the 234 form (section 3.10.4).

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

2.1.1.2.1 Uses of the cases

Every case has multiple uses.

2.1.1.2.1.1 The nominative is the case of the subject of almost every verb (3.1.1):

Slavko vidi Olgu.

Slavko-NOM sees Olga-ACC

'Slavko sees Olga.'

It is used as a predicate with the verb 'be' (3.3.1.2).

Slavko je student.

is student-NOM

'Slavko is a student.'

It is the "citation form", used outside of a sentence.

Lav

lion-NOM

(on a cage at the zoo)

and in answering a question like 'How do you say "lion"?'

Lav.

2.1.1.2.1.2 The vocative is used for calling or addressing a person or animal:

Gospodine Markoviću!
Sir-VOC Marković-VOC
'Mr. Marković!'
Draga gospođo preds(j)ednice
dear madam-VOC president-VOC
'Dear Madam President'

In poetic usage one can address things in the vocative:

O Kanado!
Oh Canada-VOC

It is used for expressions of endearment:

Ljubavi moja!
love-VOC my
'My love!'

or insults:

Svinjo!
swine-VOC
'You pig!'

Insults can be strengthened by adding jedan/jedno/jedna 'one' depending on the gender of the noun:

Svinjo jedna!	Variant: Svinjo nijedna!
swine-VOC one-FEM	swine-VOC not-even-one-FEM
'Why you pig!'	

2.1.1.2.1.3 The accusative is for the object of most verbs that have an object:

Slavko vidi (zna, voli, bira, zove...) Olgu.
Slavko sees (knows, loves, chooses, calls...) Olga-ACC.

On units of measure, it tells 'how much', 'how long' etc.:

Čekamo već c(ij)elu godinu.
We wait already whole year-ACC
'We've been waiting (for) a whole year already.'
Auto košta jednu mjesečnu plaću.
'A car costs one monthly salary-ACC.'

A number of prepositions take the accusative, such as *za* 'for, in exchange for, intended for':

Platili smo jako mnogo za kuću.
paid AUX very much for house-ACC
'We paid a lot for the house.'
Poklon je za tebe.
Present is for you-ACC
'The present is for you.'

The prepositions *na*, *u* have locative case for position, accusative case for motion:

u Zagreb
Zagreb-ACC
'to Zagreb'
u Zagrebu
Zagreb-LOC
'in Zagreb'
na koncert
concert-ACC
'to the concert'
na koncertu
concert-LOC
'at the concert'
na krov
roof-ACC
'onto the roof'
na krovu
roof-LOC
'on the roof'

The prepositions *pred* 'in front of', *za* 'behind', *nad* 'above', *pod* 'below', *među* 'among, between' have instrumental case for position, accusative for motion:

Stojim pod tušem.
I-stand under shower-INST
'I am standing under the shower.'
Idem pod tuš.
I-go under shower-ACC
'I'm getting into the shower.'

2.1.1.2.1.4 The genitive has many uses. Several of them correspond to English 'of'. It shows the possessor of something (3.9.4, 3.9.4.1).

knjige Marka Markovića
books Marko-GEN Marković-GEN
'books of Marko Marković; Marko Marković's books'

It is used after expressions of quantity (3.10.5) telling 'how many of something', 'how much of something'.

2.1.1.2.1.4.1 A few verbs have genitive subjects, particularly *ima* 'there is some..., there are some...' and *nema* 'there isn't/aren't any...' (3.1.4, 3.6.6).

2.1.1.2.1.4.2 A number of verbs take their object in the genitive. These are mostly verbs with *se*: *bojati se* 'to fear', *čuvati se* 'to beware of', *držati se* 'to hold to', *najesti se* PF 'to eat one's fill of' and other verbs made with *na*...and *se*. *Lišiti* PF 'to deprive of' takes an accusative and a genitive:

Lišili su izb(j)eglice svih prava.
deprived AUX refugees-ACC all rights-GEN
'They deprived the refugees of all rights.'

Verbs that normally take an accusative object occasionally get a genitive instead if they are negated, see 3.6.5 to 3.6.5.3 for details.

2.1.1.2.1.4.3 Three exclamations take a noun or pronoun in the genitive:

Evo Olge!
here-is Olga-GEN
'Here's Olga!'

Eto je!
there-is she-GEN
'There she is!'

Eno je!
'There she is over there!'

2.1.1.2.1.4.4 Time expressions (telling 'when') are mostly in the genitive:

Stigli smo prošlog petka.
Arrived AUX last-GEN Friday-GEN
'We arrived last Friday.'

but only if they consist of two or more words. A one-word expression in almost all instances needs a preposition:

Stigli smo u petak.
Arrived AUX on Friday-ACC
'We arrived (on) Friday.'

2.1.1.2.1.4.5 A phrase (two or more words) in the genitive can describe a noun:

šešir odgovarajuće veličine
hat right-GEN size-GEN
'a hat of the right size'
žena duge kose
woman long-GEN hair-GEN
'a woman with ('of') long hair'
osoba bugarske nacionalnosti
person Bulgarian-GEN nationality-GEN
'a person of Bulgarian nationality'

This kind of genitive phrase can also be used as a predicate with 'to be', see 3.3.1.1.

2.1.1.2.1.4.6 The majority of prepositions take their object in the genitive: *protiv* 'against', *preko* 'across, via', *pr(ij)e* 'before' and many others. Note specially *iz* 'from, out of' and *s(a)* 'from, off of'. If a noun takes *u* with locative for position and accusative for motion, it also takes *iz* for 'from':

iz Zagreba
from Zagreb-GEN

If it takes *na* with locative for position and accusative for motion, it also takes *s(a)* for 'from':

s(a) koncerta
from concert-GEN
s(a) krova
from/off roof-GEN

The rule for (*a*) in *s(a)* is: the Serbian and Bosnian standards use *sa*; the Croatian standard uses *s* (*sa* only before *s*, *z*, *š*, *ž*: *sa sela* 'from the countryside'). If the

object is a person, the prepositions for position, motion, and 'from' are *kod* (old-fashioned *u*) with genitive, *k* with dative and *od* with genitive:

kod sestre
sister-GEN
'at my sister's'
k sestri (Serbian and Bosnian usually *kod sestre*)
sister-DAT
'to my sister('s)'
od sestre
'from my sister('s)'

2.1.1.2.1.4.7 *Iz* is also part of a group of two-part prepositions: *između* 'between', *ispred* 'in front of', *iza* (← *iz* + *za*) 'behind', *iznad* 'above', *ispod* 'below'. These all take genitive. They differ from *među* 'between, among', *pred* 'in front of', *za* 'behind', *nad* 'over', *pod* 'under' in stressing separation more:

pod jorganom
under quilt-INST
is a place to keep warm, while
ispod jorgana
below quilt-GEN

is 'further down than the quilt'. So we might think of this set as 'in between', 'out in front', 'around behind', 'up above' and 'down below'.

2.1.1.2.1.5 The dative is for the indirect object of a verb, translatable with 'to' or 'for':

Dajem Olgi poklon.
I-give Olga-DAT gift-ACC
'I give a gift to Olga, I give Olga a gift.'
Kupujem Olgi poklon.
I-buy Olga-DAT gift-ACC
'I buy a gift for Olga, I buy Olga a gift.'

Some verbs take just a dative object and not an accusative:

Pomažem studentu.
I-help student-DAT

With some verbs and other predicate words, the dative shows the experiencer of a feeling:

Sviđa nam se taj film
Pleases we-DAT reflexive that film-NOM
'That film pleases us; we like that film.'
Ti si mi potreban.
You are me-DAT necessary
'You are necessary to me; I need you.'
Ti mi trebaš.
You me-DAT be-necessary
'You are necessary to me; I need you.'
Ti mi nedostaješ.
you me-DAT lack
'I miss you, I feel the lack of you.'

Hladno mi je.
Cold me-DAT is
'It's cold, I feel cold.'
Žao mi je.
Sorry me-DAT is
'I'm sorry.'
Žao mi je tog siromaha.
Sorry me-DAT is that poor man -GEN
'I'm sorry for that poor man.'

The dative can show a possessor, see 3.9.3.

2.1.1.2.1.5.1 A few prepositions take the dative such as *prema* 'towards, according to', *k(a)* 'towards'.

2.1.1.2.1.6 The instrumental case shows 'by means of, with':

Putujemo autom.
we-travel car-INST
'We travel by car.'

It also shows manner ('how'):

Putujemo velikom brzinom.
we-travel great speed-INST
'We travel with great speed.'

It is occasionally used with 'to be' as a predicate describing a subject (but the nominative is more normal, 3.3.1.2).

2.1.1.2.1.6.1 It is used on a predicate telling about an object. This happens mainly with the verb *smatrati* 'consider':

Smatramo Slavka odličnim piscem.
We-consider Slavko-ACC excellent writer-INST
'We consider Slavko to be an excellent writer.'

On a noun that means a place, the instrumental can express 'through, across':

Hladan v(j)etar poljem piri.
Cold wind field-INST blows
'A cold wind blows across the field' (song title)

Two uses involving time: to show parts of a period:

početkom mjeseca, sredinom l(j)eta, krajem godine...
beginning-INST month-GEN, middle-INST summer-GEN, end-INST
year-GEN

'at the beginning of the month, in the middle of summer, at the end of the year'

and with singular nouns meaning days (translated as a plural):

utorkom, radnim danom
Tuesday-INST, work day-INST
'on Tuesdays, on work days'

A set of verbs take the instrumental; they mean 'control, yield' and the like:

upravljati dućanom, upravljati autom, vladati državom, roditi
plodom...
manage store-INST, drive car-INST, govern country-INST, bear fruit-
INST

There is also:

ženiti se Marijom
marry reflexive Marija-INST

(used when a man marries somebody).

2.1.1.2.1.6.2 An important preposition taking the instrumental is *s(a)* 'with, together with'. Serbian mostly uses *sa*, Croatian has *s* but *sa* before *s*, *z*, *š*, *ž* and in the phrase *sa mnom* 'with me'; Bosnian uses both.

sa Slavkom, s Olgom/sa Olgom
with Slavko-INST, with Olga-INST

Other prepositions are in the "instrumental for position, accusative for motion" set discussed under the accusative above in 2.1.1.2.1.3.

2.1.1.2.1.7 The locative is used only with a few prepositions. *U* 'in' and *na* 'on, at' were discussed above, 2.1.1.2.1.3. *O* means 'about, concerning', also 'around, hanging on':

Govorimo o ratu.
we-speak about war-LOC
'We speak about war.'
Pendrek mu visi o pojasu.
Club he-DAT hangs on belt
'His club is hanging on his belt.'

Pri states a somewhat vague connection: 'near, in conjunction with, in conditions of'. Its object is a situation, place, action, or abstract word.

Ured je pri Ujedinjenim Nacijama.
office is at United Nations-LOC
'The office is at (but maybe not part of) the UN.'
pri vrhu planine, pri kraju dana
at summit-LOC mountain-GEN, at end-LOC day-GEN
'near (not *na* = at) the top of the mountain, near the end of the day.'
Uređaj radi pri sobnoj temperaturi.
device works at room temperature-LOC
'The equipment works at room temperature.'
Govori i pri tom nudi čašu.
speaks and that-LOC offers glass
'(S)he speaks and along with that offers a glass.'
pri svemu tome
all-LOC that-LOC
'despite all that'

Po with locative (or dative; the distinction is now largely academic) means 'moving over, at various points on':

Mačka hoda po krovu.
cat walks roof-LOC
'The cat is walking on the roof.'
Putnici s(j)ede i po krovu autobusa.
travelers sit even all-over roof-LOC bus-GEN
'Passengers are even sitting on the roof of the bus.'

Compare:

Mačka s(j)edi na krovu.
on

'The cat is sitting on the roof.'

'after' (an event)

po dolasku
arrival-LOC

'after arriving'

po podne

after noon [doesn't change for case]

'in the afternoon' (also *posl(ij)e podne*)

'according to' (like *prema*)

po našem mišljenju
our thinking

'according to (=in) our opinion'.

2.1.1.2.2 In the plural, nominative and vocative are identical, and dative, instrumental and locative are also the same apart from enclitic pronouns which are dative only; hence we write NV on one line and DLI on another in tables of forms.

2.1.1.3 BCS distinguishes masculine, neuter and feminine genders in singular and plural; the 234 form opposes masculine-neuter to feminine. Masculine and feminine genders do not match 100% with male and female persons. *Crnogorac* M normally means a male Montenegrin, and the feminine noun made from it, *Crnogorka* (2.3.1.6), means a female Montenegrin. But masculine plurals like *Crnogorci* can cover males or mixed sexes. Some animal names distinguish the two sexes, like *mačka* 'cat in general; female cat' vs. *mačak* 'male cat'; others do not (*miš* M for a 'mouse' of either sex). *D(ij)ete* 'child' and other names of young creatures are neuter, 2.3.1.7.

2.1.1.3.1 Names of plants and inanimate things get their gender from the form of the noun. *Čaj* 'tea' is masculine because it ends in a consonant; *voda* 'water' is feminine because of the *-a*; *vino* 'wine' is neuter because of *-o*.

2.1.1.3.2 Within the masculine singular, the animacy category is important for choosing the accusative of masculine zero or *o/e*-stem nouns and of pronouns (apart from personal pronouns, section 2.1.3.1), adjectives and numerals which agree with masculine nouns of any sort. The rule is: accusative is like genitive for animates (humans and animals: *muža* 'husband', *lava* 'lion'), like nominative for inanimates (*hrast* 'oak tree', *grad* 'city').

2.1.2 Noun declensions

There are three main sets of case-and-number endings or declension types. One has *-o*, *-e* or zero in the nominative singular and *-a* in the genitive singular. It includes most masculine and all neuter nouns. A second has nominative singular *-a*, genitive *-e*. It contains most feminine nouns and small classes of masculines. The third type ends in zero in nominative singular, *-i* in genitive. It includes all feminines apart from *a*-stems.

2.1.2.1 Nouns with *-a* in genitive singular

2.1.2.1.1 Masculine zero-ending nouns

	'city'	'husband'	'window'
singular			
NOM	grad	muž	prozor
VOC	grade	mužu	prozore
ACC	grad	muža	prozor
GEN	grada	muža	prozora
DAT	gradu	mužu	prozoru
INST	gradom	mužem	prozorom
LOC	gradu	mužu	prozoru
234	grada	muža	prozora
plural			
NV	gradovi	muževi	prozori
ACC	gradove	muževe	prozore
GEN	gradōvā	mùžēvā	prozōrā
DLI	gradovima	muževima	prozorima

Table 4: Masculine zero-ending nouns

The basic masculine endings are those of *prozor*, Table 4. *Grad*, like most monosyllables and some disyllables, has the "long plural", adding *ov* before plural endings (*ev* after palatals and *c*, section 1.3.1.1.3 and 1.3.2.1.1). A few nouns take *ev* after a *non*-palatal consonant: *put* 'road, journey', *putevi*.

2.1.2.1.1.1 Nominative plural *-i* and dative-locative-instrumental *-ima* cause consonant alternation (section 1.3.1.2.2).

2.1.2.1.1.2 The genitive plural has *-ā*, with an additional *ā* inserted to separate most stem-final consonant clusters (section 1.3.2.2.2). A few nouns lacking the long plural take genitive plural *-ī* (often units of measure, as *sat-ī* 'hour') or *-ijū* (*gost-ijū* 'guest').

2.1.2.1.1.3 A subtype of these masculines is the "soft stems", exemplified by *muž*. These may end in any palatal or alveo-palatal consonant or in *c*; words in *-ar*, *-ir* optionally come here as well. Soft stems take vocative singular *-u* where others have *-e*, and they cause *o - e* as in instrumental singular *-em* for *-om* (section 1.3.2.1.1). But *-u* vocatives and *-em* instrumentals do not coincide in scope. *-u* has spread to some nouns in velars: *strah* 'fear', vocative *strahu*. Instrumental *-em* is normal with stems in *-c*, where vocative has *-e* and the first-palatalization alternation, as *otac* 'father', instrumental *ocem*, vocative *oče*. *-om* tends to be kept in foreign words and names (*Kiš-om*) and in words with *e* in the preceding syllable: *padež-om* 'case'. For fuller treatment of BCS declension see P.Ivič 1972, whom we follow closely here.

2.1.2.1.1.4 Words suffixed with *-an-* meaning 'member of a group, inhabitant of a place' have *-anin* as singular stem: *građanin* 'city-dweller, citizen', genitive *građanina*, and *-an* as plural stem: *građani*, genitive *građana*. Some additional ethnic names also lose *-in* in the plural: *Srbīn* 'a Serb', pl. *Srbi*; *Bugarin* 'a Bulgarian', pl. *Bugari*.

2.1.2.1.1.5 The majority of nouns are accented on the same syllable in all their forms. A smaller number shift their accent from syllable to syllable. Students should be aware of zero-ending masculine nouns like *šěšīr* 'hat'. Whenever there is an ending, the accent moves to the syllable before the ending: *šěšīra*, *šěšīru*, *šěšīri*, *šěšīrima* etc. This type includes many native and foreign names and other nouns (*restòrān*, *restorána* 'restaurant', *Japan* 'Japan', *Hrvat* 'a Croatian', *Pariz* 'Paris'); those made with the suffixes *-ar*, *-ač*, *-aš*, *-ak* are specially likely to belong to it. Any noun given in a dictionary with the ... \ – pattern like *šěšīr*, *restòrān* has the *šěšīr*-type accent shift (there are thousands of examples and only a handful of exceptions).

2.1.2.1.2 Neuter *-o / -e* ending nouns

	'place'	'heart'	'study'
singular			
NAV	m(j)esto	srce	učenje
GEN	m(j)esta	srca	učenja
DL	m(j)estu	srcu	učenju
INST	m(j)estom	srcem	učenjem
234	m(j)esta	srca	učenja
plural			
NAV	m(j)esta	srca	učenja
GEN	m(j)êstā	sřcā	učenjā
DLI	m(j)estima	srcima	učenjima

Table 5: Neuter *o / e* nouns

The neuter endings (Table 5) differ from the masculine only in the nominative, vocative and accusative. These three cases are always the same, having *-o* or *-e* for the singular and *-a* for the plural.

2.1.2.1.2.1 Neuter words of the type *s(j)eme* 'seed' have a stem in *-men-* taking regular endings outside the nominative-accusative-vocative singular: genitive *s(j)emena*.

2.1.2.1.2.2 Neuters like *ja(g)nje* 'lamb' have a stem in *-et-* taking regular endings outside the NAV singular cases, as genitive *ja(g)njeta*. Their plural stems usually differ from the singular: *jaganjci* or *jagnjići* masculine plural, or *ja(g)njad* *i*-stem feminine.

2.1.2.1.2.3 Three neuter nouns have alternative plural stems: *nebo* 'heaven', *t(ij)elo* 'body', *čudo* 'miracle': usually plural *neba*, *t(ij)ela*, *čuda*, but occasionally *nebesa*, *t(ij)elesa*, *čudesas*.

2.1.2.1.2.4 Many masculine names, derivatives and loanwords resemble neuters in having nominative and vocative singular in *-o* or *-e*: *Marko* 'Mark', *Pavle* 'Paul', *nestaško* 'brat', *medo* 'teddy bear', *radio* 'radio', *finale* 'finale'. The genitive is *Marka*, *Pavla*, *nestaška*, *meda*, *radija*, *finala*, and for animate nouns the accusative is also in *-a*. Some masculine names have *-et-* stems: *Mile*, genitive-accusative *Mileta*.

2.1.2.2 Nouns with *-e* in genitive singular

	'woman, wife'	'manservant'	'soul'
singular			
NOM	žena	sluga	duša
VOC	ženo	slugo	dušo
ACC	ženu	slugu	dušu
GEN	ženē	slugē	dušē
DL	ženi	sluzi	duši
INST	ženōm	slugōm	dušōm
234	žene	sluge	duše
plural			
NA	žene	sluge	duše
VOC	žene	sluge	duše
GEN	žénā	slùgū, slúgā	dúšā
DLI	ženama	slugama	dušama

Table 6: Feminine (and masculine) *a* nouns

Most *a* nouns are feminine. Words denoting men (as *sluga*, *kolega* 'colleague') and certain animals (*gorila*) are masculine, but even these can (particularly in Bosnian and Serbian) take feminine agreement in the plural, as *te kolege* 'these colleagues'. Many male personal names (*Nikola* 'Nicholas', *Saša* 'Sasha') and affectionate forms for male names (*Brana*, short for *Branislav* or *Branimir*) are *a*-nouns, with genitive *-e*, accusative *-u*, etc. Another frequent type of affectionate male name has two syllables and ends in *-o* or *-e*: *Ivo*, short for *Ivan* 'John', *Mate* or *Mato*, short for *Matej* 'Matthew'. These also have *a*-noun endings: gen. *Ive*, *Mate*, acc. *Ivu*, *Matu*.

2.1.2.2.1 *A*-nouns typically have vocative in *-o*: *ptica*, *ptico* 'bird'. *Bosna*, *Bosno*; *zemlja*, *zemljo*. Two-syllable affectionate forms in *-a* from personal names (both male and female) have *-o*: *Brana*, *Brano*, *Kata* (from *Katarina*), *Kato*. 3-syllable or longer nouns ending in *-ica* have *-ice* in the vocative: *učiteljica* 'teacher', *učiteljice*;

Milica (woman's name), *Milice*; *Katica* (affectionate for *Katarina*), *Katice*; *Milojica* (man's name), *Milojice*.

2.1.2.2.2 Names that are not affectionate forms, aside from the *-ica* ones, have nominative instead of vocative: *Marija! Nikola!*

2.1.2.2.3 The dative-locative singular ending causes consonant alternation in many *a*-stems (second palatalization of velars, section 1.3.1.2).

2.1.2.2.4 Nouns with stem-final consonant cluster have three ways to make the genitive plural, depending on the individual word: *-ā* (with cluster-breaking *ā*, section 1.3.2.2.2), *-ā* (without breaking up the cluster), or *-ī*: *d(j)ěvōjka* 'girl', *d(j)ěvojākā*; *gòzba* 'feast', *gòzbā / gòzbī*; *mâjka* 'mother', *mâjkī*.

2.1.2.3 Nouns with *-i* in genitive singular

	'bone'
singular	
NOM	kost
VOC	kosti
ACC	kost
GEN	kosti
DAT	kosti
INST	kosti, košću
LOC	kosti
234	kosti
plural	
NAV	kosti
GEN	kòstī, kòstijū
DLI	kostima

Table 7: Feminine zero nouns

Feminine zero nouns, Table 7, are a closed class except for those with the productive suffixes *-ost* 'ness', *-ad* 'collective noun, often used instead of plural of neuter *-et* stem'. The instrumental singular is usually in *-ju*, causing "new jotation" (section 1.3.3.1): *košću, ljubav* 'love' *ljubavlju*. But some items permit or require *-í*: *ćud* 'mood', *ćudi*.

2.1.2.3.1 Two irregular feminine nouns add *-er* outside the nominative: *mati* 'mother', genitive *materē* (like *a*-nouns except accusative *mater*, vocative *mati*) and *kí* 'daughter', genitive *kćeri* (like zero nouns). More frequent now are *a*-nouns (from diminutives) *majka* 'mother', *(k)ćerka* 'daughter'.

2.1.2.4 Besides the declension-types given, BCS has nouns declining as adjectives. Two noteworthy sets are masculine surnames in *-ski*, as *Bugarski*, genitive *Bugarskog(a)*, and country names in *-ska*, like *Francuska* 'France', genitive *Francuske*, dative-locative *Francuskoj*. If the bearer of a *-ski* surname is a woman, *-ski* remains unchanged in all the cases.

2.1.3 Pronoun declensions

2.1.3.1 The personal and reflexive pronouns contrast full (accented) and enclitic (unaccented, section 3.1.5) forms in genitive, dative and accusative (Table 8).

	1	2	3 masculine	3 neuter	3 feminine
singular					
NOM	ja	ti	on	ono	ona
ACC	mene, me	tebe, te	njega, ga	njega, ga	nju, je, ju
GEN	mene, me	tebe, te	njega, ga	njega, ga	nje, je
DAT	meni, mi	tebi, ti	njemu, mu	njemu, mu	njoj, joj
INST	mnom	tobom	njim	njim	njom
LOC	meni	tebi	njemu	njemu	njoj
plural					
NOM	mi	vi	oni	ona	one
AG	nas, nas	vas, vas	njih, ih	njih, ih	njih, ih
DAT	nama, nam	vama, vam	njima, im	njima, im	njima, im
IL	nama	vama	njima	njima	njima
reflexive					
singular/plural					
NOM	---				
ACC	sebe, se				
GEN	sebe				
DAT	sebi, (si)				
INST	sobom				
LOC	sebi				

Table 8: Personal and reflexive pronouns

2.1.3.1.1 Genitive and accusative are the same (except for gen. *njê, je* versus acc. *njû, je / ju* and the lack of a genitive reflexive enclitic). There is much additional variation. Instrumental singulars used without preposition are frequently *mnome, njime, njome*. *Si* is absent in central Štokavski dialects, but found in some Croatian standard codifications. Archaic and literary usage may have accusatives *me, te, nj, se* with prepositions, as *za nj* 'for him' = *za njega, preda se* 'in front of oneself' = *pred sebe*.

2.1.3.2 Demonstrative, possessive and other pronouns have a characteristic set of endings, again with many alternative forms (Table 9).

'this, that'				
	masculine	neuter	feminine	
singular				
NOM	taj	to	ta	
ACC	NOM or GEN	to	tu	
GEN	tog(a)	tog(a)	te	
DL	tom(e,u)	tom(e,u)	toj	
INST	tim,time	tim,time	tom	
234				
	ta	ta	te	
plural				
NOM	ti	ta	te	
ACC	te	ta	te	
GEN	tih	tih	tih	
DLI	tim,tima	tim,tima	tim,tima	
'our(s)'				
	masculine	neuter	feminine	
NOM	naš	naše	naša	
ACC	NOM or GEN	naše	našu	
GEN	našeg(a)	našeg(a)	naše	
DL	našem(u)	našem(u)	našoj	
INST	našim	našim	našom	
234				
	naša	naša	naše	
plural				
NOM	naši	naša	naše	
ACC	naše	naša	naše	
GEN	naših	naših	naših	
DLI	našim(a)	našim(a)	našim(a)	

Table 9. Demonstrative and possessive pronouns

2.1.3.2.1 The close and distant demonstratives *ovaj* 'this', *onaj* 'that' decline like *taj*. The "movable vowels" (*a*), (*e*), (*u*) tend somewhat to appear in phrase-final position, otherwise not: *o tome* 'about that', *o tom psu* 'about that dog'. *Naš* and *vaš* 'your PL' are "soft" stems, typified by *o* → *e* in masculine and neuter endings. Also soft are *moj* 'my', *tvoj* 'your SG', *svoj* (reflexive possessive, section 3.8.1.4) and *koji* (stem *koj-*) 'which'. These, additionally, may contract *oje* to *ō*, yielding five

possibilities for masculine and neuter dative-locative singular: *mojem, mojemu, mom, mome, momu*. The third-person possessives *njegov* 'his, its', *njen* or *njezin* 'her', *njihov* 'their' are treated under short-form adjectives (section 2.1.4).

2.1.3.3 'All' (*vs-* in other Slavic languages) is *sv-* but behaves as a soft stem, Table 10.

	masculine	neuter	feminine
singular			
NOM	sav	sve	sva
ACC	NOM or GEN	sve	svu
GEN	svega	svega	sve
DL	svemu	svemu	svoj
INST	svim	svim	svom
234			
	sva	sva	sve
plural			
NOM	svi	sva	sve
ACC	sve	sva	sve
GEN	svih, sviju	svih, sviju	svih, sviju
DLI	svim, svima	svim, svima	svim, svima

Table 10: Declension of *sav* 'all'

2.1.3.3.1 *Svo* for neuter singular *sve* is non-standard but frequent in modifier position: "*svo vr(ij)eme*" for *sve vr(ij)eme* 'all the time'.

2.1.3.4 The interrogative pronouns have stems *k-*, *č-* with singular pronominal endings (Table 11). The Croatian standard insists on the older forms *tko*, *što*. Other interrogatives (Wh-words) are part of a larger pattern of demonstrative roots and classifying suffixes (Table 12).

	'who' masculine	'what' neuter
NOM	(t)ko	što, šta
ACC	koga	što, šta
GEN	koga	čega
DL	komu, kome	čemu
INST	kim, kime	čim, čime

Table 11: Declension of 'who' and 'what'

ovako 'in this way'	ovakav, F ovakva... 'of this sort'
tako 'in this/that way'	takav 'of this/that sort'
onako 'in that way'	onakav 'of that sort'
kako 'in what way, how'	kakav 'of what sort'
ovoliko 'as much/many as this'	ovoliki 'as great as this'
toliko 'as... as this/that'	toliki 'as great as this/that'
onoliko 'as ... as that'	onoliki 'as great as that'
koliko 'how much/many'	koliki 'how great'
ovd(j)e 'here'	ovamo 'to here'
tu 'here/there', tamo 'there'	tamo 'to there'
ond(j)e 'there'	onamo 'to there'
gd(j)e 'where'	kamo 'to where'
ovud, ovuda 'to/through here'	sad, sada 'now'
tud, tuda 'to/through here/there'	tad, tada 'then, at that time'
onud, onuda 'to/through there'	onda 'then, next'
kud, kuda 'to/through where'	kad, kada 'when'

Table 12: Partial table of demonstratives and interrogatives

2.1.3.4.1 Interrogatives add prefixes or suffixes to give indefinites: *ne(t)ko* 'someone', *nešto* 'something', *nekakav* 'of some sort'. *-* means 'any' (indefinite forms in a negative context, section 3.6.2), *ni-* 'no' (3.6.3), *koje-* 'one and another' (as *koješta* 'various things; nonsense'), *sva-* (*sve-*, *svu-*) 'every' (*sva(t)ko* 'everyone', *svugd(j)e* or *svuda* 'everywhere'). *Bilo...*, *ma ...*, ... *god* mean '... ever' (thus *bilo gd(j)e*, *ma gd(j)e* or *gd(j)e god* 'wherever'). The *ne-* type may be used both with and without existence presuppositions:

Nešto se dogodilo!
'Something has happened!
Ako se nešto dogodi, reci mi!
'If anything happens, tell me.'

In the second usage bare interrogatives also occur: *Ako se što dogodi...*

2.1.4 Adjectival declensions

BCS distinguishes long and short-form adjectives (Table 13). The citation form (in a dictionary or word list) of an adjective is the nominative singular masculine short form (long form if short is lacking).

'new' long				
	masculine	neuter	feminine	
singular				
NOM	novi	novo	nova	
ACC	NOM or GEN	novo	novu	
GEN	novog(a)	novog(a)	nove	
DL	novom(e,u)	novom(e,u)	novoj	
INST	novim	novim	novom	
234	nova	nova	nove	
plural				
NOM	novi	nova	nove	
ACC	nove	nova	nove	
GEN	novih	novih	novih	
DLI	novim(a)	novim(a)	novim(a)	
'new' short				
	masculine	neuter	feminine	
singular				
NOM	<i>nov</i>	novo	nova	
ACC	NOM or GEN	novo	novu	
GEN	novog(a), <i>nova</i>	novog(a), <i>nova</i>	nove	
DL	novom(e,u), <i>novu</i>	novom(e,u), <i>novu</i>	novoj	
INST	novim	novim	novom	
234	nova	nova	nove	
plural				
NOM	novi	nova	nove	
ACC	nove	nova	nove	
GEN	novih	novih	novih	
DLI	novim(a)	novim(a)	novim(a)	

Table 13: Long and short adjective declension

2.1.4.1 The long endings are those of the pronoun declension (Table 9), but with length on the first vowel and with nominative masculine singular *-i*. The short endings differ in the forms italicized in Table 13 and in the shortness of single-vowel endings (*nòvo* versus long *nòvō*). *Nòv* and some other adjectives distinguish short-long accentually as well (though much variation among speakers exists). Short genitives and dative-locatives like *nova*, *novu* are most widespread in the Croatian standard. The short genitive ending *-a* is specially frequent in the qualifying genitive: *čov(j)ek dobra srca* 'a man of good heart'.

2.1.4.2 Soft stems differ from hard only in nominative-accusative neuter singular long *lošē*, short *loše* 'bad', masculine-neuter genitive *lošeg(a)*, dative-locative *lošem(u)*.

2.1.4.3 Short and long contrast semantically in modifier position: *nov grad* 'a new city', *novi grad* 'the new city'. Since Vuk Karadžić they have been explained as answering the questions *kakav?* 'of what sort?' and *koji?* 'which one?' respectively. Set-phrases regularly have long forms; thus Serbian and Bosnian *b(ij)eli luk* 'white onion' is a single concept meaning 'garlic' (= Croatian *češnjak*). Predicate position requires short forms (section 3.3.1.3): *ovaj grad je nov* 'this city is new'.

2.1.4.4 Possessive adjectives (sections 2.3.2.6, 3.9.4.1 and 3.9.5), including *njegov* 'his, its', *njen* and the Croatian preferred form *njezin* 'her', *njihov* 'their', have only short endings: *Marijin grad* 'Marija's city', *njen grad* 'her city', *Ivanov grad* 'Ivan's city'. The same is true for the demonstrative-interrogatives in *-akav*, suiting their meaning. Adjectives having exclusively long forms include *mali* 'small', *l(ij)evi* 'left', *desni* 'right', ordinal numerals like *drugi* 'second, other' and most adjectives derived from nouns, adverbs and verbs (section 2.3.2).

2.1.4.5 Passive participles have short and long forms: *pozvan*, *pozvani* 'called; called upon'. The present adverb and the L-participle of verbs can be adjectivalized, and then they take long forms: *idući* 'coming, next', *minuli* 'bygone', *pali* 'fallen'.

2.1.4.6 Comparatives and superlatives (the comparative prefixed with *naj-* yields the superlative) decline precisely like soft-stem long adjectives. Most are formed by adding *-ij-i* to adjective stems: *loš* 'bad', *lošiji* (*lošije*, *lošija...*) 'worse'; *mudar* 'wise', *mudriji*; *pozvan* 'called upon', *pozvaniji*; *plemenit* 'noble', *plemenitiji*. A smaller set add bare endings with "old jotation" (section 1.3.1.4). These are mostly 1) one-syllable words containing a long vowel: *gûst* 'thick', *gušć-i*; *skûp* 'expensive', *skuplj-i*; 2) two-syllable words which lose the second syllable: *širok* 'wide', *šir-i*; *sladak* 'sweet', *slađ-i*. Three adjectives have *š* comparatives: *lak* (Bosnian also *lahak*, stem *lahk-*) 'light, easy', *lakši*; *mek* (Bosnian also *mehak*, stem *mehk-*) 'soft', *mekši*; *l(ij)ep* 'beautiful', *l(ij)epši*. Comparatives using different roots are *dobar* 'good', *bolji*; *loš* or (Serbian) *rđav* or *zao* (stem *zł-*) 'bad', *gori* (or *lošiji*) 'worse'; *velik* 'large', *veći*; *mali* or *malen* 'small', *manji*; *dug* 'long', *duži* or *dulji*. Long vowels always become short (and *ije* → *je*) in a comparative. The accentuation is \ before *-ij-ī*, \ \ in all others: *lòšijī*, *plemenitijī*, *skùpljī*, *lākšī* etc., *r(ij)edak* 'rare' → *r(j)ěđī*. The superlative is accented *nājlošijī* 'worst', *nājskùpljī*

'most expensive', *nâjläkši* etc.; \ can also remain: *nâjplemenitij̄, najplemenitij̄, nâjplemenitij̄*. See section 4.3.2 for phrasal comparison of indeclinables.

2.1.4.7 Adverbs derived from adjectives take *-o* or *-e* like neuter nominative-accusative singular short adjectives: *novo* 'newly', *loše / zlo* 'badly', *mudro* 'wisely'. The accent may differ from the neuter. Their comparatives are formed like those of adjectives: *lošije* or *gore, mudrije, lakše* 'more easily'. However adverbs from adjectives in *-ski* (*-ški, -čki*) end in short *-i*: *ljudski* 'humanly', *grčki* 'in the Greek fashion/language' (comparative *-ije*: *ljudskije*).

2.1.5 Numeral declensions

2.1.5.1 The cardinal numeral 'one' is declined in all genders in singular and (for plural-only words) plural. Its nominative masculine singular is *jedan* and its stem for the remaining forms *jedn-*; endings are those of *taj*, section 2.1.3.2, but final vowels are short.

2.1.5.2 'Two, both, three, four' can be declined, Table 14. (An alternative for 'both' is *obadva, obadv(ij)e* etc.) Case forms other than the nominative are rare (and show much accentual and other variation), particularly for 'three, four' and all masculine-neuter forms. Most commonly the nominative forms are used undeclined, section 3.10.4.

	'2'		'3'
	masculine-neuter	feminine	
NAV	dva	dvije,dve	tri
GEN	dvaju	dviju,dveju	triju
DLI	dvama	dv(j)ema	trima
	'both'		'4'
	masculine-neuter	feminine	
NAV	oba	ob(j)e	četiri
GEN	obaju	obiju,obeju	četiriju
DLI	ob(j)ema	ob(j)ema	četirma

Table 14: Declension of '2, both, 3, 4'

2.1.5.3 Higher numerals up to 99 are indeclinable. *Sto* '100' is indeclinable; there is also *stotina* which behaves as a feminine noun, but mostly appears as a fixed accusative *stotinu*. '1000' shows the same fixed accusative behavior as *stotina*, both *tisuća* (Croatian and Bosnian) and *hiljada* (Serbian and Bosnian). For further numerical forms see section 3.10.

2.2 Verbal forms

2.2.1 Categories expressed

2.2.1.1 BCS finite forms are the ones that distinguish tenses and agree with their subjects in person and number. Compound (two-word) tenses containing the L-participle also express gender and the 234 form.

2.2.1.2 The simple (one-word) tenses are present, aorist and imperfect. The present-tense markers of person and number are *-m* for first person singular (only two verbs have *-u*, namely *hoću, ću* 'I will' and *mogu* 'I can'); second singular *-š*; and third singular *-zero*; first person plural *-mo*; second person plural *-te*; *-zero* for third plural following a changed stem vowel *-u-* or *-e-*. Although aorist and, particularly, imperfect are not found in all dialects, the literary standards retain them as optional past tenses. Their meanings are much discussed. Briefly, the aorist, formed mostly from perfective verbs, serves to narrate events and express surprising perceived events; the imperfect, (almost) exclusively from imperfectives, describes background situations. The student can always safely use the perfect instead of the aorist or imperfect.

2.2.1.3 The compound tenses are:

2.2.1.3.1 Future: auxiliary enclitic *ću* or full form *hoću*, section 3.1.5 and below, with (imperfective or perfective) infinitive or (especially Serbian) *da₂* + present clause, section 3.5.1.1.

Slavko će vid(j)eti Mariju.

Slavko će da₂ vidi Mariju.

'Slavko will see Marija.'

If the infinitive precedes the enclitic, the final *-ti* of the infinitive is lost and the spelling is *vidjet ću* 'I will see' (Croatian standard), *vid(j)eću* (Serbian). Bosnian has both spellings. Infinitives in *-ći* preserve this marker: *doći ću* PF 'I will come'.

2.2.1.3.2 Perfect: auxiliary enclitic *sam* or full form *jesam*, with L-participle of the verb. This is the all-purpose past tense.

Mi smo vid(j)eli Mariju.

'We saw (have seen) Marija.'

Jesmo li vid(j)eli Mariju?

'Have we seen (Did we see) Marija?'

2.2.1.3.3 Pluperfect: perfect or (rarely) imperfect of 'to be' as auxiliary, with L-participle.

Mi smo bili vid(j)eli Mariju.

Mi bijasmo (bejasmo) vid(j)eli Mariju.

'We had seen Marija.'

2.2.1.3.4 "Second future" (Future II): auxiliary *budem* (extra present of 'to be', Table 21 below) with L-participle. Used only in subordinate clauses (mostly clauses beginning with *kad(a)* 'when' or *ako* 'if').

Kad (ako) budemo govorili s Marijom, sve će biti jasno.

'When (if) we speak with Marija [in the future], everything will be clear.'

The future II is usually from imperfectives, since a perfective present tense in *kad* or *ako* clauses can show future time: *Kad (ako) nađemo Mariju...* 'When/if we find Marija [in the future]...'

2.2.1.3.5 Conditionals: see 2.2.1.6.2 below.

2.2.1.4 Aspect affects a lexical item's whole paradigm; a verb is either perfective (*napisati* 'to write' and all its forms) or imperfective (*pisati* 'to write' with its forms). However many verbs are bi-aspectual, including some of the commonest: *ići* 'to go', *biti* 'to be', *razum(j)eti* 'to understand', *kazati* 'to say', *vid(j)eti* 'to see', *čuti* 'to hear', *ručati* 'to have lunch'.

2.2.1.4.1 Most non-prefixed verbs are imperfective. Prefixing a verb yields a perfective: *pisati* imperfective 'to write' → *napisati* perfective 'to write', *pisati* → *upisati* perfective 'to write in, register'. The first example keeps its lexical meaning (it is still 'to write') when we add *na-*; but there is no prefix which invariably perfectivizes without changing lexical meaning. A suffix yielding perfectives is *-nuti* added mostly to imperfective *-ati* verbs: *gurati* 'to push', *gurnuti* PF 'to push once'.

2.2.1.4.2 Perfective (especially prefixed perfective) verbs can be imperfectivized by adding suffixes, commonly *-ati*, *-ivati* (present *-ujem*) and *-avati* (*-avam*).

Consonant-stem verbs with *-e-* presents usually take *-ati* with present in *-am*: *istres-ti* PF 'to shake out', imperfective *istres-ati*, *istresam*. Velar stems, however, prefer *-ati* with third palatalization (*k* → *c*, *g* → *z*) of the velar and additional consonant change in the *-em* present: *izreći* PF (stem *iz-rek*) 'to express', imperfective *izric-ati* with present *izričem*. An additional mark of imperfectivizing a consonant stem can be stem-internal added *-i-* or other vowel change, as *početi* *počnem* PF 'to begin', imperfective *počinjati* *počinjem*; *umr(j)eti* *umrem* PF 'to die', imperfective *umirati* *umirem*.

2.2.1.4.3 *-liti* verbs imperfectivize with *-ati* (*-am*) (causing internal *o* - *a* alternation: *otvoriti* PF 'to open', *otvarati*), or with the more productive *-ivati* or *-avati*. All three suffixes generally cause "old jotation" (section 1.3.1.4): *os(j)etiti* PF 'to feel', *os(j)jećati*; *izgraditi* PF 'to construct', *izgrađivati*; *raniti* PF 'to wound', *ranjavati*. Verb types in *-ati* imperfectivize with *-ivati* or *-avati*, mostly without jotation: *iskazati* PF 'to state', *iskazivati*; *izorati* PF 'to plow up', *izoravati*.

2.2.1.4.4 The remaining verb types (*-nuti*, *-(j)eti*) may use any of a number of methods of imperfectivization. A very few *-ovati* and *-evati* verbs imperfectivize, taking *-ivati* (present optionally in *-ivam*): *darovati* PF 'to donate', imperfective *darivati* *darivam* or *darujem*.

2.2.1.4.5 There are also pairs based on different roots: *doći* perfective, *dolaziti* imperfective 'to come'.

2.2.1.4.6 The present of a perfective verb does not mean future, except in 'when/if' clauses; it forms an 'infinitive substitute' with *da₂* (section 3.5.1.1.2), and in main clauses it expresses 'typical action' if something in the context indicates generalization, as *često* 'often':

Stvari često ispadnu (perfective present) drugačije nego što očekujemo.

'Things often turn out different from what we expect.'

2.2.1.5 Verbs of motion lack the determinate-indeterminate distinctions of other Slavic languages; thus *ići* - *hoditi* are not a pair. The first means 'to go (in one or

several directions, on foot or by vehicle)', the second 'to walk'. In several instances the old determinate verb appears only as a perfective verb with a prefix, and the indeterminate verb serves to imperfectivize it. Thus *nositi* is imperfective 'to carry', and there is no verb "*n(ij)eti*". *Don(ij)eti*, present *dones-em* is perfective 'to bring', and *donositi* is the corresponding imperfective. Certain motion verbs derive explicit multidirectionals: *nosati* 'to carry about'. A few verbs make iteratives: *vid(j)eti* → *vidati* 'to see now and then'.

2.2.1.6 BCS also has an imperative and a conditional.

2.2.1.6.1 The imperative (section 3.2.2) has second-person singular and plural (-*te*) and first-person plural (-*mo*) forms: *reći* P 'to say' → *Reci! Recite!* 'Say! Recimo!' 'Let's say!'

2.2.1.6.2 The conditional is made with auxiliary *bih* 'would' (section 3.1.5.2) and L-participle:

Kad biste me pitali, rekao bih.
'If you (plural) asked me, I would tell.'

The conditional is used in both clauses of hypothetical *if-then* sentences. The same form can express past *if-then* relations ('If you had asked me, I would have told.'), but a past conditional is also possible with the L-participle of 'to be':

Kad biste me bili pitali, bio bih rekao.
'If you had asked me, I would have told.'

An alternative to *kad bih* 'if' in the if-clause is *da* with present or past tense:

Da me pitate
'If you asked me (now)'
Da ste me pitali
'If you had asked me'

A further use of the conditional is in purpose clauses, alternative to *da₂*:

Pišem da₂ Vas pitam...
'I write to ask you...'
Pišem da bih Vas pitao...
'I write in order to ask you...'

2.2.1.7 Active and passive are distinguished. The passive (section 3.5.2.3) consists of a passive participle and a tense of 'to be' as auxiliary:

Knjiga je napisana.
'The book has been written.'
Knjiga je bila napisana.
'The book was written.'
Knjiga će biti napisana.
'The book will be written.'

The by-phrase in a BCS passive is preferably left out, but can be expressed with *od* 'from' or *od strane* 'from the side of' plus genitive:

Knjiga je napisana od (od strane) poznatog autora.
'The book has been written by a famous author.'

The enclitic *se* indicating unspecified human subject can be used to form a quasi-passive (always without a 'by' phrase):

Knjiga se piše.

'The book (Nominative) is being written.'

Some Western dialects and recent versions of standard Croatian can keep the underlying object in the accusative ("impersonal passive"):

Knjigu se piše.

2.2.1.8 The remaining verb forms (non-finite, compare 2.2.1.1) are infinitive (*(na)pisati* 'to write' (see 3.5.1.2); passive participle *pisan, napisan* 'written' (see 2.2.1.7 and 3.5.2.3); verbal noun *pisanje* 'writing (of...)' (see 3.5.2.2); two verbal adverbs (also called "gerunds"), present *pišući* and past *napisavši* (see 3.5.2.1); and the L-participle (Table 15), used in compound tenses (perfect [see 2.2.1.3.2], pluperfect [see 2.2.1.3.3], future II [see 2.2.1.3.4]) and conditionals (see 2.2.1.6.2).

	masculine	neuter	feminine
singular	(na)pisao	(na)pisalo	(na)pisala
234	(na)pisala	as plural	as plural
plural	(na)pisali	(na)pisala	(na)pisale

Table 15: L-participle

2.2.2 Conjugation

2.2.2.0 General remarks about conjugations

2.2.2.0.1 Different grammars classify verbs by the vowel in their present stems, by their infinitive(-aorist) stems, or by the relationship between the two (constructing underlying stems as in Jakobson 1948). This treatment is based on present stems in *-e-*, (including *-ne-* and *-je-*), in *-a-*, in *-i-*. Within each, we show infinitive stem shapes.

2.2.2.0.2 The endings for the present tense contain a long vowel (Table 16):

	singular	plural
1	-ēm, -ām, -īm	-ēmo, -āmo, -īmo
2	-ēš, -āš, -īš	-ēte, -āte, -īte
3	-ē, -ā, -ī	-ū, -ajū, -ē

Table 16: Endings for present tenses in *-e-*, *-a-*, and *-i-*

The length on the vowel is specially audible in one-syllable forms like *znām* 'I know', *vrī* 'it boils'.

2.2.2.0.3 Many verbs keep the accent on the same syllable in all forms. We cannot give a complete treatment of accent changes in other verbs, but there is one particularly widespread (and still spreading) shift that can be summed up as "present tense → falling or leftward." We will point it out in each large type of verb that has it.

2.2.2.1 Present tenses in *-e-*. The largest subtype has infinitive stem in a consonant. Our example (Table 17) is *tres-* 'to shake'. Stems with *-z* behave similarly, but note the spelling of the infinitive: *grizem gristi* 'to bite'.

Forms made from present stem

	Present singular	plural
1	tresem	tresemo
2	treseš	tresete
3	trese	tresu

Present adverb tresući

Imperative tresi

Imperfect

	singular	plural
1	tresijah	tresijasmo
2	tresijaše	tresijaste
3	tresijaše	tresijahu

Forms made from infinitive stem

Infinitive tresti

Aorist

	singular	plural
1	tresoh	tresosmo
2	trese	tresoste
3	trese	tresošē

L-participle masculine singular tresao, feminine singular tresla (further see Table 15).

Passive participle tresen

Past adverb (po)tresavši

Table 17: Conjugation of an *-e-* verb

2.2.2.1.1 *Do-nes-* PF 'bring' has corresponding forms from the present stem:

donezem. Its infinitive-stem forms are *do-n(ij)e-ti*, *donio (doneo) don(ij)ela*, aorist *donesoh donese* or *don(ij)eh don(ij)e*, participle *donesen* or *don(ij)et, don(ij)evši*.

2.2.2.1.2 *T* and *d* stems: *do-ved-em* PF 'lead in', infinitive *dovesti, doveo dovela (tl, dl/become l)*. *Id-em* 'go' has infinitive *íci*, L-participle *išao išla*, aorist *idoh*. Prefixed forms of 'go' have *đ*: *nađem* PF 'find', infinitive *naći, našao našla, nađoh nađe, nađen, našavši*.

2.2.2.1.3 *P* and *b* stems: *greb-em* 'scratch', *gresti, grebao grebla*. (*Živ-* 'to live' now has the shape *živ(j)eti živim*.)

2.2.2.1.4 *K* and *g* stems: *rek-* PF 'say' has present *rečem rečeš ... reku* or, like other perfective consonant stems, joins the *ne* type: *rek-n-em rek-n-eš ... rek-n-u*.

The imperative is *reci*. Infinitive *reći*, aorist *rekoh reče*, L-participle *rekao rekla*, participle *rečen*. *Móci* 'can, be able' is special in having first person singular *moğu*; the rest is as we expect: *možeš može možemo možete moğu, moġao moġla*. One rare verb, 'to thresh', is a *h* stem: *vršem vršeš ... vrhu, vrći* or *vr(ij)eći, vrhoh vrše, vrhao vrhla, vršen*. (*Vršiti vršim* 'to perform; thresh' is much more frequent.)

2.2.2.1.5 *N* and *m* stems have infinitive stem in *-e*: *po-čn-em* PF 'to begin', *početi*, participle *počet*. *Stan-em* PF 'to stand, step, stop' has *stati, stah sta, stao stala*.

2.2.2.1.6 *R* stems: *u-mr-em* PF 'die', *umr(ij)eti*, L-participle *umro umrla*.

2.2.2.1.7 A few *-ra-* stems have infinitive *-a* alongside present *-e*, like *ber-em* 'pluck', *brati*; also *zov-em* 'call', *zvati*.

2.2.2.1.8 Present tenses in *-ne-*. These have infinitive stem in *-nu-*, usually identifiable as a suffix. An example is *dign-em* PF 'raise', imperative *digni*, infinitive *dignuti, dignuh dignu, dignuo dignula, dignut, dignuvši*. This, like many consonant-*nu-* verbs, has alternative forms lacking *-nu-*: *dići* (infinitive like stems in *k, g*), *digoh diže, digao digla, digavši*. No alternatives exist for *-nu-* preceded by vowel: *minem* PF 'pass', *minuti, minuh minu, minuo minula, minuvši*. The few imperfective verbs can make an imperfect: *ton-em* 'sink', *tonuti, tonjah*.

2.2.2.1.8.1 If the infinitive has rising accent (/ or \) on the syllable before *-uti*, the present gets \ on the preceding syllable: *pokrénuti* PF, present *pòkrēnēm* 'set something in motion'; *potònuti* PF, present *pòtonēm* 'sink'. If there is no preceding syllable, the present gets a falling accent ˘ or \: *krénuti* PF, *krēnēm* 'start moving', *tònuti, tònēm*.

2.2.2.1.9 Present tenses in *-je-*. The *-j-* appears in pronunciation (after a vowel, Table 18) or causes "old jotation" (after a consonant, section 1.3.1.4). Imperative *-i* is dropped after a pronounced *-j*.

Forms made from present stem

Present

	singular	plural
1	čujem	čujemo
2	čuješ	čujete
3	čuje	čaju

Present adverb čujući

Imperative čuj

Imperfect čujah (like tresijah)

Forms made from infinitive stem

Infinitive čuti

Aorist

	singular	plural
1	čuh	čusmo
2	ču	čuste
3	ču	čuše

L-participle čuo, čula (as Table 15)

Passive participle ču-v-en

Past adverb čuvši

Table 18: Conjugation of a *-je-* verb

2.2.2.1.9.1 Like *ču-ti ču-jem* 'to hear' are *kri-ti kri-jem* 'to hide', *bi-ti bi-jem* 'to beat' and others. Passive participles take *-t*, *-ven* or *-jen*: *krit* or *s-kriven*, *bijen*. Two *-je-* present verbs gain a vowel in the present stem: *kla-ti koljem* 'to slaughter', *ml(j)e-ti meljem* 'to grind'.

2.2.2.1.9.2 A similar tiny type is *um(j)eti* 'to know how to', present stem *umě-je* > Ekavski *umem umeš ... umeju*, Ijekavski *umijem umiješ ... umiju*; the imperative is *umej, umij*. L-participles are Ekavski *umeo umela*, Ijekavski *umio umjela*.

Razum(j)eti 'to understand' and *dosp(j)eti* PF 'to arrive, succeed' also fit here.

2.2.2.1.9.3 Consonant-*-je-* presents all have *-a-* in the infinitive stem which is lost in the present. The preceding consonant undergoes jotation: infinitive *kaz-a-ti* 'to say' perfective and imperfective, present *kaz-je-m* → *kažem, kažeš, kaže, kažemo, kažete, kažu*. The type is small (a few hundred verbs) but may be termed productive, to the extent that the suffix *-isa-* used for adapting loan verbs in Serbian and Bosnian (section 4.3.3) has present *-išem*. As *kázati* → *kâžēm* shows, this type has the "falling or leftward" accent shift in the present; *pokázati* PF 'to show' becomes *pòkâžēm*. The same shift applies to \ before *-ati*: *òrati* 'to plow', *òrēm*; *klepètati* 'to clatter', *klèpècēm*.

2.2.2.1.9.4 Presents from *-va-* infinitives, however, almost never show jotation; rather, there is a change to present with *-uje-*. Some 1000 infinitive stems in *-ova-ti* like *darova-ti* PF 'to donate' and a dozen in *-eva-ti* like *mačevati se* 'to fence' have

presents *darujem -uješ ... -uju*. If the infinitive is accented *-òvati*, the present has \ on the syllable preceding *-uj*. Almost 2000 derived imperfectives in *-íva-ti*, a BCS innovation, also have present *-uje-*, all with the accent \ on the preceding syllable : *kazívati kàzujem ... -uju* 'to tell'. A handful of *-uvati* verbs have the same change to *-uj*: *pljuvati pljujem ... pljuju* 'to spit'.

2.2.2.1.9.5 A similar alternation *-ava- /-aje-* occurs in *dávati* imperfective 'to give', *dâjem ... daju* ; similarly *poznavati* 'to be acquainted with' and other imperfectives of prefixed forms of *znati* 'to know'; present *pòznājēm* with leftward-shifted accent.

2.2.2.1.9.6 Stems like *sijati*, Ekavski *sejati* 'to sow' have presents with only one *j*: ljevakvski *sijem ... siju*, Ekavski *sejem ... seju*.

2.2.2.2 Present tenses in *-a-*. A very large set of verbs (over 5000 items, see Matešić 1965-67) are infinitives in *-ati* with present in *-ām*. Thus *čitati*, present *čitam, čitaš, čita, čitamo, čitate, čitaju*. The imperative is *čitaj*. A subset of these has /accent on the syllable preceding *-ati*, such as *čúvati* 'to keep', *odobrávati* 'to approve'. All verbs in this subset have the "falling or leftward" accent change: *čûvām čûvāš čûvā čûvāmo čûvāte* but *čûvajū, odòbrāvām odòbrāvāš odòbrāvā odòbrāvāmo odòbrāvāte* but *odobrávajū*. The imperative also has this shift: *čûvāj, odòbrāvāj*.

Forms made from present stem

Present

	singular	plural
1	čitam	čitamo
2	čitaš	čitate
3	čita	čitaju

Present adverb čitajući

Imperative čitaj

Imperfect čitah (like tresijah)

Forms made from infinitive stem

Infinitive čitati

Aorist

	singular	plural
1	čitah	čitasmo
2	čita	čitaste
3	čita	čitaše

L-participle čitao, čitala

Passive participle čitan

Past adverb (pro)čitavši

Table 19: Conjugation of an *-a-* verb

2.2.2.3 Present tenses in *-ĭ*. The infinitives may have *-i-ti*: *moliti* 'to ask, pray' (Table 20), *-(j)e-ti*: *vid(j)eti* 'to see' or (after a palatal) *-a-ti*: *držati* 'to hold'. The first subtype is large (over 6000) and productive. The other two are smaller, a few hundred stems, even though BCS has shifted the earlier deadjectival type *zelen-ě-ti zelen-ě-je* here: *zelen(j)eti, zelenim* 'to turn green', from *zelen* 'green'.

Forms made from present stem

Present

	singular	plural
1	molim	molimo
2	moliš	molite
3	moli	mole

Present adverb *moleći*

Imperative *moli*

Imperfect *moljah* (like *tresijah*)

Forms made from infinitive stem

Infinitive *moliti*

Aorist

	singular	plural
1	molih	molismo
2	moli	moliste
3	moli	moliše

L-participle *molio, molila*

Passive participle *molj-en*

Past adverb (za)*molivši*

Table 20: Conjugation of an *-ĭ* verb

2.2.2.3.1 The *-(j)e* and palatal-*a* subtypes have imperfects *viđah držah*, aorists *vid(j)eh držah*, L-participles Ijekavski *vidio vidjela* Ekavski *video videla, držao držala*, passive participles *viđen držan*, past adverbs *vid(j)evši državši*. The spread of "old jotation" (like *d* → *đ*, section 1.3.1.4) to imperfects and passive participles of the *-(j)e* subtype is a BCS innovation.

2.2.2.3.2 *Hoditi* 'to walk' is like *moliti*: *hodim ... hode*, imperfect *hođah*, participle *pohođen* 'visited'. *Vel-ě* is found only in the present: *velim ... vele* 'say'. 'To sleep' is *spavati spavam*, but prefixed *zaspati* PF 'to fall asleep' has the *-ĭ* present *zaspim*.

2.2.2.3.3 Most, though not all, *-iti* infinitives with / or \ accent on the syllable before *-iti* have the "falling or leftward" shift: *mòliti, mǒlīm, ráditi* 'to do, work', *rādīm, govòriti* 'to speak', *gòvorīm, poljúbiti* PF 'to kiss', *pòljübīm*.

2.2.2.4 The verb 'to be' is unique.

	full	enclitic	negated	"extra"
singular				
1	jesam	sam	nisam	budem
2	jesi	si	nisi	budeš
3	jest(e)	je	nije	bude
plural				
1	jesmo	smo	nismo	budemo
2	jeste	ste	niste	budete
3	jesu	su	nisu	budu

Table 21: Presents of *biti*

2.2.2.4.1 'To be' is noteworthy for having an extra present tense (Table 21).

Jesam, enclitic *sam* is imperfective. The 3rd person singular is *jest* in the Croatian standard, *jeste* in Serbian, both in Bosnian, but all standards use the expression *to jest* 'that is, i.e.' In asking a question with *li*, the 3rd person singular is *Je li*. *Budem* is perfective and imperfective: it can denote 'typical action' but otherwise occurs only in *kad* or *ako* clauses, *da*₂ clauses and as an auxiliary for the future II. The imperative is *budi*, the present adverb *budući*, from the "extra" stem. The imperfect is Ijekavski *bijah* or *bjeh*, Ekavski *bejah*, *beh*. Other forms are regular from the stem *bi-*.

2.2.2.5 'To eat' is a regular -*e*- present, *jedem*, infinitive *jesti*. 'To give' is a regular -*a*- present, *dati dam ... daju* PF, though an alternative present exists with -*d-e*: *dadem -eš ... dadu*. Similarly regular but with parallel -*d-e*- present forms are: *znati* 'to know (persons or information)' *znam ... znaju* or *znadem ... znadu*, *imati* 'to have' *imam ... imaju* or *imadem ... imadu* (but negated present *nemam ... nemaju*).

2.2.2.6 A verb with multiple stems is 'want, will'. The infinitive is *ht(j)eti* with matching aorist and L-participle (Ijekavski *htio*, *htjela*). The presents are as in Table 22; considerable accentual variation exists in practice.

	full	enclitic	negated
singular			
1	hoću	ću	neću
2	hoćeš	ćeš	nećeš
3	hoće	će	neće
plural			
1	hoćemo	ćemo	nećemo
2	hoćete	ćete	nećete
3	hoće	će	neće

Table 22: Presents of *ht(j)eti*

2.3 Word formation

Words may be formed from roots or from other words. Productive formations, on which we concentrate here, take identifiable words or word-like combining forms as input. The most thorough treatment of derivation, including productivity information, is Babić (1986), relied on throughout this sampling of types. Without giving a separate treatment of derivational morphophonemics, we note that part of the word underlying a derivation may be lost, often a suffix, as in *Saraj-evo* → *Saraj-lija* 'inhabitant of Sarajevo'.

2.3.1 Major patterns of noun derivation

Most nouns are made with suffixes; there is also compounding and prefixation.

2.3.1.1 Characteristic for BCS are zero-suffixed nouns from verb roots: *napad* 'attack' from *napasti napad-n-em* PF 'to attack', *osuda* 'judgement' from *osuditi* PF 'to judge, condemn'. The verbal noun in *-(e)nje, -će* in the meaning of an action is made from nearly every imperfective verb. In the meaning of a concrete act or product it is derived from some perfectives (and a few imperfectives) and has accent *-ánje, -énje, -éće, -úće, -íce*: *izdánje* 'edition' from perfective *izdati* 'to publish' versus *izdávánje* 'publishing' from imperfective *izdavati*. Further typical nouns from verbs are in *-(e)tak* (*a* / zero alternation): *početak* 'beginning' (*početi* PF 'to begin'), *-nja*: *šetnja* 'stroll' from *šetati (se)* 'to stroll', and *-aj*: *dogadžaj* 'event' from *dogadžati se* 'to occur', *poremećaj* 'disturbance' from *po-remetiti* PF 'to disturb'. The slightly productive *-ba* and *-idba*, as in *berba* 'picking' (*brati, berem* 'to pick') and *ženidba* 'marriage' from *ženiti se* 'to marry', have served for making loan-translations particularly in Croatia: *predbilježba* 'reservation', *sklonidba* 'declension' (*pred-* 'pre-' plus *bilježiti / beležiti* 'to note', *skloniti* PF 'to bend, remove').

2.3.1.2 In making nouns from adjectives, *-ost* '-ness' is most productive: *naivnost* 'naïveté' ← *naivan*. *-oća* and *-ota* can also be used: *pun-oća* 'fullness' ← *pun* 'full', *grozota* 'horror' ← *grozan* 'awful'. Colloquial deadjectivals can condense a specific phrase, as *minimal(a)c* from *minimalni lični dohod(a)k* 'minimum personal wage', *realka* from *realna gimnazija* 'non-classical secondary school'. A similar device is used terminologically, as *tuđica* = *tuđa r(ij)eč* 'loanword = foreign word'.

2.3.1.3 Abstract nouns of many sorts and sources are made with *-stvo* : *sus(j)ed-stvo* 'neighbor-hood', *pijan-stvo* 'drunken-ness', *zakon-o-dav-stvo* 'law-giving, legislation' (*zakon* 'law').

2.3.1.4 Productive person noun suffixes are *-lac* and *-telj*, which compete somewhat: *slušalac* (genitive *slušaoca*, 1.3.3.6.2) and (specially Croatian) *slušatelj* 'listener', further *-ač* and *-ar*, both particularly from *-ati* verbs: *predavač* 'lecturer', *vladar* 'ruler' (*predavati* 'to lecture', *vladati* 'to rule'). Foreign *-ik* normally becomes *-ičar* : *kritičar*. *-ar*, *-ist(a)*, *-aš* and *-ac* are frequent suffixes added to nouns: *zlatar* 'goldsmith' (*zlato* 'gold'), *flaut-ist(a)* (*-ist* in Croatian, usually *-ista* in Bosnian and Serbian) ← *flauta* 'flute', *folklor-aš* 'folkdancer' ← *folklor*, *tekstilac* 'textile worker' ← *tekstil*. The Turkish suffix *-džija* is somewhat productive: *tramvajdžija* 'tram-driver' ← *tramvaj* 'streetcar'.

2.3.1.5 Inhabitant name suffixes include *-(j)anin*, *-čanin*, both of which lose *-in* in the plural, and *-ac* : *Kanada*, *Kanađanin* ; *Ljubljana*, *Ljubljančanin* ; *Indija*, *Indijac*. A few names have Turkish *-lija* : *Sarajlija* 'Sarajevo resident'.

2.3.1.6 Nouns denoting females are typically made with *-ica* added to the male noun: *učitelj* 'teacher', *učitelj-ica* 'female teacher'; *šef* 'chief', *šefica*. *-ka* occurs after a few particular suffixes: *vladar-ka*, *Ljubljančan-ka*. *-inja* attaches to velars *k*, *g*, *h* : *Čeh-inja* 'Czech', *bog-inja* 'goddess', *Uzbek-inja*, and *-kinja* often to final *t* : *kandidat-kinja*, *feministkinja*.

2.3.1.7 Diminutives of masculine zero-stems take *-ić* or *-čić* : *brod* 'ship', *brodić* 'small boat'; *sin* 'son', *sinčić*. Feminines in *-a* get *-ica* : *soba* 'room', *sobica* 'little room', *d(j)evojka*, *d(j)evojčica* 'little girl'. Neuters take *-ce* or various extended versions: *pismo* 'letter', *pisamce* ; *grlo* 'throat', *grl-ašce*. Masculines and feminines add neuter *-če* (stem *-čet-* before all endings) in the meaning 'young ...': *čobanin* 'shepherd', *čobanče* (genitive *čobančeta*) 'shepherd boy'; *guska* 'goose', *gušče* 'gosling'. All of these can be affectionate diminutives. There is also a special affectionate type that shortens names to (consonant)-vowel-consonant and adds *-o*, *-e* or *-a* : *Ivo* or *Ive* from *Ivan*, *Mara*, *Mare* or *Maja* from *Marija*. Augmentatives take *-ina* and extensions: *brod-ina* 'big (ugly) boat', *sob-etina* 'big (ugly) room'.

2.3.1.8 The usual surname type is in *-ić* (earlier 'descendant of'), also *-ović* / *-ević* containing the possessive-adjective suffix: *Bel-ić*, *Bijel-ić*, *Petr-ović*, *Kralj-ević*.

2.3.1.9 First members of compounds can be nouns (often with object-of-a-verb interpretation), adjectives or combining forms: *brod-o-gradnja* 'ship-building = building of ships', *nov-o-gradnja* 'new construction', *vele-majstor* 'grand master', *hidro-centrala* 'hydroelectric power station'.

2.3.2 Major patterns of adjective derivation

These involve suffixation. There are different suffixes for descriptive adjectives than for relational adjectives, so we have to make the distinction clear.

2.3.2.1 Descriptive adjectives are those that can be predicated and compared: *dan je miran* 'the day is peaceful', *noć je mirnija* 'the night is more peaceful'. They distinguish long and short declension, and their citation-form is short, as *miran* 'peaceful'. Relational adjectives are put together with a noun to give the meaning of a subtype (a peace treaty is a subtype of treaties). They do not make comparatives and hardly ever show up in the predicate (to stay with our English example, one

peace treaty is not more peace or less peace than another). They do not distinguish long/short. Their citation-form is long (*mirovni* 'peace...', having to do with peace'). Relational adjectives are often replaceable by modifying phrases: *mirovni ugovor* 'peace treaty' or *ugovor o miru* 'treaty of peace'.

2.3.2.2 Descriptive adjectives may be unanalyzable: *dobar* 'good', *tud* 'foreign', *gorak* 'bitter' etc. Many are made with suffixes from nouns or verbs. The most widespread descriptive adjective suffix is *-an* (*a* / zero alternation, sections 1.3.2.2), as in *miran* above, with variants *-en*, *-ven*, such as *brojan* 'numerous' from *broj* 'number' or *brojiti* 'to count', *sunčan dan* 'sunny day' from *sunce* 'sun', *društven čov(j)ek* 'sociable person' from *društvo* 'society'. Clearly from a verb is *privlačan* 'attractive' from *privlačiti* 'to attract'. Other descriptive suffixes have more specific semantics, as *-(lj)iv* '-able, given to ...ing': *plakati* 'to cry', *plačljiv* 'tearful', *objasniti* PF 'to explain', *objašnjiv* 'explicable'. Another somewhat productive example is *-av* 'tending to...' from verbs, 'having (something negative)' from nouns: *lepršati* 'to flutter' *lepršav* 'fluttery', *šuga* 'mange' *šugav* 'mangy'. Compounds are formed with *-an* or (particularly with body-part nouns in second place) without suffix: *kratk-o-traj-an* 'short-lasting', *kratk-o-rep* 'short-tailed'.

2.3.2.3 The most general relational-adjective suffix is *-ni*, with extended forms *-eni*, *-ani*, *-ovni* and others: *društvo* 'society', *društveni sektor* 'the public sector'. Most relational adjectives are made from nouns. An example made from a verb is *produžiti* PF 'to extend' → *produžni gajtan* 'extension cord'; one made from a whole phrase is *star-o-zav(j)et-ni* 'Old-Testament' from *stari* 'old', *zav(j)et* 'testament'.

2.3.2.4 *-Ski*, its related forms (*s*, *z* + *ski* = *-ski*, *š ž h g* + *ski* = *-ški*, *c č k* + *ski* = *-čki*, *ć* + *ski* = *-čki*) and extended forms (*-ački*, *-inski*, *-ovski*, ...) form ethnic and geographical adjectives: *Amerika*, *američki*, and are also the relational suffix for most personal nouns: *studentski život* 'student life'. The *-ski* set makes relational adjectives instead of *-ni* out of nouns that end in *-ji*, *-ija*, *-ika*, *-n*, *-ar* and other finals: *filozofija* 'philosophy', *filozofski* 'philosophical, having to do with philosophy'; *beton* 'concrete', *betonski*.

2.3.2.5 Animal names typically take *-ji* (in Serbia and Bosnia often *-iji*): *miš* 'mouse', *mišji* (*mišja rupa* 'mousehole') or *mišiji*, *pile* 'chicken' (stem *pilet-*) + *ji* = *pileći* ("new jotation", 1.3.3.1). There is overlap with other types: *d(j)eca* 'children' has *dječji* / *d(j)ečiji*; *orangutan*, *orangutanski*.

2.3.2.6 Possessive adjectives from nouns referring to definite singular possessors (section 3.9.4.1 and 3.9.5) take *-ov* for masculine zero-ending or *o* / *e* nouns, *-ev* for the same after palatal consonants, and *-in* for *a* nouns: *studentov*, *mužev* 'husband's', *ženin* 'wife's', *Teslin* 'Tesla's' (masculine surname *Tesla*). Nouns in *-v* take *-ljev*: *Jakov* 'Jacob', *Jakovljev*.

2.3.2.7 Plant names of all declensions favor *-ov*. *lipa* 'linden', *lipov čaj* 'linden tea'.

2.3.2.8 Adverbs of place and time form adjectives with *-nji*, *-šnji*, *-ašnji*: *jutro* 'morning', *jutarnji*; *tamo* 'there', *tamošnji* 'of that place, local'; *juče(r)* 'yesterday', *jučerašnji*.

2.3.2.9 Relationals from verbs (or: from verbal nouns) can be in *-aći*: *pisaći sto(l)* 'writing table' from *pisati* 'to write' or *pisanje* 'writing'.

2.3.3 Major patterns of verb derivation

These are suffixation and prefixation.

2.3.3.1 Suffixes forming verbs from nouns include *-ati* (present *-am*), *-iti*, *-irati* (often bi-aspectual, from foreign bases), *-ovati* (domestic and foreign bases, often bi-aspectual, rare alternant *-evati*): *kartati se* 'to play cards, gamble with cards', *bojiti* 'to paint, color with paint/dye (*boja*)', *torpedirati* 'to torpedo', *gostovati* 'to be a guest, be on tour', *mačevati se* 'to fence, fight with swords' (*mač*).

2.3.3.2 More rarely verbs are made from nouns by prefixation-suffixation: *po-latin-iti* PF 'to Latinize', *obešumiti* PF 'to deforest' (*o-bez-šum-iti*, *šuma* 'forest').

2.3.3.3 Verbs from (descriptive) adjectives mean 1) 'to become ...', 2) 'to make something ...'. Of productive suffixes, *-(j)eti* (present *-im*, section 2.2.2.3) has only the first meaning: *gladn(j)eti* 'to become hungry (*gladan*)'. *-iti* yields both transitive *kiseliti* 'to make sour (*kiseo*)', with intransitive *kiseliti se* 'to become sour', and intransitive *ćoraviti* 'to become blind (*ćorav*)'. *-ati* (present *-am*), with both meanings, often attaches to comparatives: *jačati* '1) to become stronger, 2) to strengthen something' from *jači* 'stronger' (*jak* 'strong'). Prefixation-suffixation is widespread: *o-sposob-iti* PF 'to make something/someone capable' from *sposoban* 'capable', *o-bes-hrabr-iti* PF 'to discourage' from *hrabar* 'brave'.

2.3.3.4 Verbs are made from verbs by prefixation, suffixation or use of the 'reflexive' particle *se*. *Se* can intransitivize a verb, as *držati* 'to hold', *držati se* with genitive 'to hold to'; dropping a basic verb's *se* can transitivize it, as *približiti se* PF 'to come nearer', *približiti* PF 'to bring nearer'.

2.3.3.5 Prefixation yields a perfective verb which may or may not coincide semantically or syntactically with the input verb (section 2.2.1.4). *U-* may represent the old prefix 'away', as *ukloniti* PF 'to eliminate', but usually means 'in', as *ut(j)erati* PF 'to drive in'.

2.3.3.6 Apart from aspect changes (2.2.1.4.2), adding suffixes to verbs may also yield iteratives, section 2.2.1.5, and diminutives, for which the suffixes mostly involve *k*, *c* and *r*. *gur-kati* 'to push a little' from *gurati* 'to push', *p(j)ev-uckati* 'to hum' from *p(j)evati* 'to sing', *šet-karati* 'to stroll a little (somewhat pejorative)' from *šetati*.

2.3.3.7 Verb compounds are not numerous; one is *kriv-o-tvor-iti* 'to counterfeit' ← *kriv* 'wrong', *tvoriti* 'to make, create'.

3. Syntax

3.1 Element order in declarative sentences

3.1.1 Element order is determined largely by topic-comment structure. The topic (starting point for the communication) most typically precedes the comment (what we want to tell about that topic). The simplest situation, a frequent one, is subject = topic, verb+object = comment. If subject and object are both known to the participants in conversation and the verb has unsurprising meaning, the order is subject-verb-object (SVO).

Slavko vidi Olgu.

'Slavko sees Olga.'

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

Jedan student vodi pitomu ovcu.

'A student is leading a tame sheep.'

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

Slavko Olgu PREZIRE.

'Slavko DESPISES Olga.'

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

Q. (T)ko donosi šunku?

'Who is bringing the ham?'

A. Šunku donosi SLAVKO.

'SLAVKO is bringing the ham.'

BCS has a constraint against separating post-verbal subjects from verbs, so we would not normally find

?Donosi šunku Slavko.

A topicalized element is put first, as 'Olga' in the second sentence:

Slavko vidi Olgu. OLGU vidimo i mi.

'Slavko sees Olga. We too see OLGA.'

3.1.1.1 Certain lexical elements (like *nešto* 'something', *to* 'this, that', *čov(j)ek* in the meaning 'one') have inherent low prominence (Nakić, 1975, 97-104), and are sentence-final only under emphasis. They normally display SOV order:

?Slavko vidi nešto. Slavko nešto vidi. (or: Slavko vidi NEŠTO.)

'Slavko sees something.'

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

VIDI Slavko.

'Slavko DOES see.'

3.1.2 Single-word adverbs modifying a verb tend to precede it, whereas adverbials of other sorts follow:

Slavko jasno vidi Olgu.

'Slavko sees Olga clearly.'

Slavko vidi Olgu kroz dim.

'Slavko sees Olga through the smoke.'

3.1.3 Without an object, the most typical order of subject and verb is still SV:

Slavko spava.

'Slavko is sleeping.'

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

Na stolu leži knjiga.

'On the table lies (is) a book.' 'There is a book on the table.'

3.1.4 A special present tense of 'to be' for existentials is *ima* 'there is' (negative *nema* 'there is not'). It and other tenses of *biti* with a genitive (singular or plural) subject mean 'there is/are some..., there isn't/aren't any...':

U frižideru ima šunke (maslina).

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

Some speakers use *ima* with nominative singular subjects, while others (particularly in the Croatian standard) require *je* :

Na stolu ima (or: je) knjiga.

'On the table there is a book.'

Other widely used existential verbs are *nalaziti se* 'to be located', *postojati* 'to exist', etc., but particular lexical subjects may call for different existential verbs:

Začuo se zvižduk.

Was heard a whistle, i.e., 'There was a whistle.'

U Pragu se dogodila nesreća.

In Prague occurred an accident, i.e. 'There was an accident in Prague.'

Širi se smrad.

Spreads a stink, i.e. 'There is a stink.'

3.1.5 Enclitic placement

A lot of information in BCS sentences is carried by short, unaccented words called "enclitics". The hearer is assisted in understanding because these words show up at a specified place in the sentence. There can be as many as four enclitics together. The whole enclitic group is always the second element in the sentence. Within the group there is a particular sequence for the different enclitics.

3.1.5.1 Examples:

Slavko će je vid(j)eti.

'Slavko will see her.'

Slavko ga se (je) bojao.

'Slavko feared it.'

Olga mu ju je dala.

'Olga gave her to him.'

Vidi li je Slavko?

'Does Slavko see her?'

3.1.5.2 Enclitic placement rules operate within a simple sentence. Almost all BCS enclitics have corresponding full forms (though *se* in most uses, those not meaning '...self', has none). Enclitic and full personal pronouns were given in Table 8, verb forms in Table 21 and 22. BCS enclitics form an accentual group with a preceding word. Enclitics display fixed order in a group (Browne, 1975, 105-34):

3.1.5.2.1 First: *li*

3.1.5.2.2 Second: Auxiliary verbs and present of 'to be' (but not 3rd singular *je*):

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

ću, ćeš, će, ćemo, ćete, će '(I, you, he/she/it, we, you, they) will'

sam, si, ____, smo, ste, su 'I have/did, I am' and so forth

3.1.5.2.3 Third: Dative pronouns:

mi, ti, mu, joj, nam, vam, im '(to) me, you, him/it, her, us, you, them'

3.1.5.2.4 Fourth: Accusative/genitive pronouns:

me, te, ga, je, nas, vas, ih 'me, you, him/it, her, us, you, them'

3.1.5.2.5 Fifth: *se*, reflexive pronoun and particle

3.1.5.2.6 Sixth: *je*, third person singular auxiliary and present of 'to be'

First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth
li	bih, bi, bi, bismo, biste, bi ću, ćeš, će, ćemo, ćete, će sam, si, ____, smo, ste, su	mi, ti, mu, joj, nam, vam, im	me, te, ga, je/ju, nas, vas, ih	se	je

Table 23: Enclitic order

Se + je usually becomes just *se*; *je* occasionally drops after *me* and *te* as well. *Je + je* is replaced by *ju je*.

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

[Moja sestra] će doći u utorak.

Moja će sestra doći u utorak.

'My sister will come on Tuesday.'

If the first constituent is comparatively long, as *moja mlađa sestra* 'my younger sister', one can 'exclude it from the count', placing enclitics after the (first word of the) next constituent:

Moja mlađa sestra doći će u utorak.

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

...DA će moja mlađa sestra doći u utorak.

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

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

3.1.6 Ordering of elements within noun phrases is generally fixed (Browne and Nakić, 1975: 87-96).

3.1.6.1 Elements before the noun are totalizers ('all', 'every'), demonstratives, possessives, numerals and adjectives, in the order given:

svih ovih mojih deset crvenih ruža

all these my ten red roses

'all these ten red roses of mine'

Any of these might follow the noun in poetic or expressive style: thus *ruža moja* might be a term of endearment. Postposing a numeral does not express approximation (unlike Russian).

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

knjiga *Lava Tolstoja* u l(ij)epom uvezu

'a book of (= by) *Leo Tolstoy* in a nice binding'

uv(j)erenje *naprednih ljudi* DA₁ JE ZEMLJA OKRUGLA

'the belief of *progressive people* THAT THE WORLD IS ROUND'

uv(j)erenje *koje su ljudi izražavali* DA₁ JE ZEMLJA OKRUGLA
'the belief *which people expressed* THAT THE WORLD IS ROUND'

3.1.6.3 Adjectives and participles with complements usually follow nouns:

knjiga žuta od starosti
'a book yellow with age'

But they can precede if their own complements precede them:

od starosti žuta knjiga

3.2 Non-declarative sentence types: interrogatives and imperatives

3.2.1 Interrogative sentences are of three types: yes-no questions, alternative questions, and Wh-questions.

3.2.1.1 Yes-no questions are sometimes marked by intonation alone. A characteristic contour involves a drop before and during the accented syllable of the focused word, followed by high pitch on the remainder of the word (the "reverse pattern", Lehiste and Ivić 1986: Chapter 3; see also Nakić and Browne, 1975: 172-79):

Slavko vidi Olgu?
'Does SLAVKO see Olga?'

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

Slavko vidi Olgu?
'Does Slavko see Olga?'

3.2.1.1.1 More frequent yes-no question markers are enclitic *li* and sentence-initial *da li*. The finite verb (auxiliary if there is one, otherwise the main verb) precedes *li* immediately and is thus sentence-initial:

Vidi li Slavko Olgu?

An enclitic finite verb is replaced in *li* questions by its non-enclitic (full) form (see also 2.2.2.4.1):

Hoće li Slavko vid(j)eti Olgu?
'Will Slavko see Olga?'
Bi li Slavko vidio/video Olgu?
'Would Slavko see Olga?'
Je li Slavko vidio/video Olgu?
'Did Slavko see Olga?'

3.2.1.1.2 *Da li*, which may be regarded as the full form of *li*, gets the enclitics right after it, and does not constrain the order of the remaining elements. The example above would be:

Da li će Slavko vid(j)eti Olgu?

The Croatian standard prefers verb+*li* questions rather than the *da li* type.

3.2.1.1.3 Affirmative answers to yes-no questions of all types can be *da* 'yes', repetition of the finite verb (in full form) or both:

Q. Slavko vidi Olgu? Vidi li Slavko Olgu? Da li Slavko vidi Olgu?

A. Da. or Vidi. or Da, vidi.

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

Q. Hoće li Slavko vid(j)eti Olgu? Da li će Slavko vid(j)eti Olgu?

A. Da. or Hoće. or Da, hoće.

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

3.2.1.1.4 Negative answers are given with *ne* 'no', and/or repetition of the negated finite verb (recall that paired enclitic/full-form verbs have a single negated form, sections 2.2.2.4 and 2.2.2.6 and 3.6):

Q. Slavko *v*_i^{di} Olgu? Vidi li Slavko Olgu? Da li Slavko vidi Olgu?

A. Ne. *or* Ne vidi. *or* Ne, ne vidi.

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

Q. Hoće li Slavko vid(j)eti Olgu? Da li će Slavko vid(j)eti Olgu?

A. Ne. *or* Neće. *or* Ne, neće.

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

Slavko *n*_e^{vidi} Olgu? Ne vidi li Slavko Olgu?

'Doesn't Slavko see Olga?'

Answers to such negative questions are

Ne, ne vidi.

'No, he doesn't.'

or

Da, vidi.

(probably not merely *da*).

3.2.1.1.6 Similar to English "tag questions", *zar ne?* or *je li?* can make yes-no questions from positive or negative statements:

Slavko vidi Olgu, zar ne?

'Slavko sees Olga, doesn't he?'

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

Vidi li Slavko Olgu ili Doru?

'Does Slavko see Olga or Dora?'

An answer can be:

Ne vidi Olgu nego Doru.

'He doesn't see Olga but (rather) Dora.'

or simply:

Doru.

See 3.4.8.

3.2.1.3 Wh-questions are made with interrogatives such as *(t)ko* 'who', *čiji* 'whose', *zašto* 'why'. Such words front—come in first position in the sentence—and can be preceded only by coordinating conjunctions and prepositions:

Koga vidi Marija? Koga Marija vidi?

'Whom does Marija see?'

S kim Marija radi?

'With whom does Marija work?'

A fronted Wh-word (with preposition if any) counts as a sentence-introducer: enclitics follow it immediately.

Koga je Marija vid(j)ela?

'Whom did Marija see?'

S kim ga je vid(j)ela?

'With whom did she see him? Who did she see him with?'

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

Koliko Slavko ima novaca?

'How much has Slavko money? (How much money does Slavko have?)'

Wh-words can be conjoined. The resulting Wh-group fronts:

Koga i gd(j)e Marija vidi?

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

If there are enclitics, their best position is after the first Wh-word:

Koga je i gd(j)e Marija vid(j)ela?

'Whom did Marija see and where did she see him?'

They may also be after the group:

Koga i gd(j)e je Marija vid(j)ela?

3.2.1.4 "Multiple" questions can be formed with a series of Wh-words. In general all are fronted. Enclitics are best placed after the first Wh-word, suggesting it differs in syntactic position from the others (Browne 1976):

(T)ko je gd(j)e koga vidio (video)?

'Who saw whom where?'

The order of Wh-words is not fixed; one can also ask, for instance:

Gd(j)e je (t)ko koga vidio (video)?

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

Ne znam da li Slavko vidi Olgu (vidi li Slavko Olgu).

'I don't know whether (= if) Slavko sees Olga.'

Nisam siguran (t)ko gd(j)e koga vidi.

'I am not sure who sees whom where.'

3.2.1.6 If a question is to be object of a preposition, a form of the pronoun *to* 'it' in the required case is inserted:

Govorili smo o tome da li Slavko vidi Olgu.

'We spoke about [it] whether Slavko sees Olga.'

In some instances the preposition and pronoun can be omitted:

Pitanje (o tome) da li Slavko vidi Olgu još nije r(ij)ešeno.

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

3.2.2 Commands are given in the imperative:

Uzmi (plural or formal: Uzmite) krušku!

'Take a pear.'

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

Uzmi TI krušku!

'YOU take a pear!'

3.2.2.2 Negative imperatives require imperfective aspect:

Ne uzimaj krušku!

'Don't take a pear.'

except for some verbs of involuntary psychological action:

Ne zaboravi!

'Don't forget (perfective)!'

Another, more polite, negative command is with *nemoj* (1 PL *nemojmo* 'let's not', 2 PL *nemojte*) plus infinitive (either aspect):

Nemoj uzimati kruške!

'Don't take (imperfective) pears.'

Nemoj uzeti krušku!

'Don't take (perfective) a pear.'

Da₂ with present clauses can replace the infinitive after *nemoj*, especially in Serbian:

Nemoj *da₂* uzimaš (*da₂* uzmeš) krušku.

Da₂ clauses can also contain a verb not in the second person, as long as its action is under the control or influence of the person addressed:

Nemoj *da₂* se to drugi put dogodi!

Literally, 'Don't that this happens again! (Don't let this happen again!)

3.2.2.3 Commands to be performed by a third person are given as *da₂*-present or *neka*-present clauses:

Da Slavko (ne) uzima kruške.

Neka Slavko (ne) uzima kruške.

'Let (may) Slavko (not) take pears.'

3.2.2.4 Reported commands are formulated as *da₂*-present clauses, in the third person occasionally as *neka*-present:

Rekla je *da₂* uzmem (*uzmeš*) krušku.

'She said I (you) should take a pear.'

Rekla je *da₂* (or: *neka*) Slavko uzme krušku.

'She said Slavko should take a pear.'

3.3 Copular sentences

3.3.1 The main copula is *biti* 'to be', used with noun phrase, adjective phrase and adverbial phrase predicates:

Marija je moja sestra.

'Marija is my sister.'

Marija je vr(ij)edna kao pčela.

'Marija is hard-working as a bee.'

Marija je dobro.

'Marija is well.'

Koncert je u osam.

'The concert is at 8 o'clock.'

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

Šešir je odgovarajuće veličine.

'The hat is (of) the right size.'

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

Marija je učiteljica (učiteljicom).

'Marija is a teacher NOM (a teacher INST).'

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

Lako je *Mariji* biti *vr(ij)edna*.

'It is easy for *Marija* (DAT) to be *hard-working* (NOM).'

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

Važno je biti *vr(ij)edan*.

'It is important (for anyone) to be *hard-working* (NOM M).'

L(ij)epo je.

'It is *beautiful* (NOM N)' (said while looking at a picture or a landscape).

3.3.1.3 *Biti* and other copulas take only short form adjectives as predicate:

Martin je *vr(ij)edan* [not *vr(ij)edni*].

'Martin is *hard-working* (SHORT).'

But some adjectives lacking a short form (section 2.1.4.4) can use their long form:

Martin je mali.

'Martin is small.'

3.3.1.4 Recall that comparatives and superlatives have only long forms:

Ivan je najmanji.

'Ivan is the smallest.'

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

Obećanje - ludom radovanje.

'A promise [is] joy for a fool. (Don't trust promises.)' (Proverb)

3.3.3 *Biti* has frequentative *bivati* 'be from time to time; become; happen':

Marija je bivala (je počela bivati) sve vrednija.

'Marija was becoming (began to be) more and more hard-working.'

Bivala je u Beču.

'She has several times been in Vienna.'

3.3.4 A specialized copula for adverbials of place is *nalaziti se*, perfective *naći se* 'be located, be'.

Škola se nalazi daleko od sela.

'The school is located far from the village.'

3.3.5 *Ostati*, imperfective *ostajati* 'to remain; to be left, find oneself', taking various predicate types, can mean a continuing state or a changed state:

Vlada je ostala uporna, ali studenti ostaju na trgu.

'The government has remained firm, but the students are staying in the square.'

Vojnik je ostao na m(j)estu mrtav.

'The soldier fell dead on the spot.'

3.3.6 *Postati*, imperfective *postajati* 'to become' takes noun or adjective predicates, both of which can be nominative or instrumental without clear meaning distinctions:

Marija je postala učiteljica (učiteljicom).

'Marija became a teacher NOM (a teacher INST).'
Situacija postaje ozbiljna (ozbiljnom).
'The situation is becoming serious NOM (serious INST).'

3.3.7 Two verbs formally transitive with accusative objects but often used as copulas are *predstavljati*, *predstaviti* PF 'represent' and *činiti*, *učiniti* PF 'form, make up':

Te države predstavljaju carinsku uniju (= su carinska unija).
'These states represent (= are) a customs union.'
Polovicu delegata čine studenti (= Polovica delegata su studenti).
'Students form (= are) half the delegates.'

3.4 Coordination

Two or more syntactic constituents can be joined by a conjunction to form a constituent of the same type.

3.4.1 /'and' joins nouns and noun phrases:

Ivan i njegova žena rade.
'Ivan and his wife are working.'

adjectives and adjective phrases:

To je plodan i dobro poznat slikar.
'He is a productive and well known painter.'

verbs and verb phrases:

Živi i stvara u Ljubljani.
'He/she lives and works in Ljubljana.'

as well as entire clauses:

Zauzet sam i ne mogu više slušati.
'I am busy and I cannot listen any more.'

3.4.2 If more than two items are joined, *i* appears before the last conjunct:

Ivan, Marija i Ana
'Ivan, Marija and Ana'

or can be repeated before all conjuncts after the first:

Ivan i Marija i Ana
'Ivan and Marija and Ana'

or before all including the first:

I Ivan i Marija.....
'Both Ivan and Marija...'

Items containing an *i* can be grouped together by *te* or *kao i*:

Ivan i Marija, te (or: kao i) Josip i Ana
'Ivan and Marija, and also (as well as) Josip and Ana'

Pa is 'and' for a sequence of events: 'and then'.

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

Roman je debeo, a zanimljiv.
'The novel is thick, and (yet) interesting.'

A 'and' is combinable with /'also, too':

Ivan putuje, a i Marija putuje.
'Ivan is travelling, and Marija is travelling too.'

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

Ivan putuje, ali Marija ostaje kod kuće.
'Ivan is travelling, but Marija is staying home.'

3.4.5 An element of a negative statement is corrected by the conjunction *nego* or *već* and a following statement:

Ne putuje Marija, nego (već) Ivan.
'Marija isn't travelling; rather, Ivan is.'

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

Nje(zi)n otac i majka su došli.
'Her (M SG) father and mother have come (M PL).'

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

Njena sestra i majka su došle.
'Her sister and mother have come (F PL).'

Njeno d(ij)ete i tele su došli.
'Her child (N SG) and calf (N SG) have come (M PL).'

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

Došao je njen otac i majka.

3.4.7 Unlike other Slavic languages, the construction 'mother with son' or 'we with son' in the sense 'mother and son', 'I and my son', is unknown in BCS. Examples like

Majka sa sinom šeta.
'Mother with son strolls.'

have only the nominative constituent as syntactic and semantic subject (the verb has to agree with 'mother', not with 'mother and son').

3.4.8 If two yes-no questions are joined with 'or', only the first gets a /i':

Vraćaju li se u Zagrebu ili ostaju na Rijeci?
'Are they returning to Zagreb, or are they staying in Rijeka?'

3.5 Subordination

Major types of subordinate clauses are complement (Browne 1987) and relative clauses. We will first discuss complement clauses and other constructions which are "condensed" versions of clauses, and then take up relative clauses.

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

Verb with [subject]:

Iz toga *proizlazi* [da je bitka izgubljena].
'From this (it) *follows* [that the battle is lost].'

Verb with [object]:

Znam [da je bitka izgubljena].
'I *know* [that the battle is lost].'

Noun with [complement]:

Stižu *v(ij)esti* [da je bitka izgubljena].
'Are-arriving *reports* [that the battle is lost].'

When a verb, adjective, preposition or noun requires a particular case or preposition+case on its complement, the added *to* strategy is used. *Raditi se* 'to be a question/matter of' needs *o* with locative, as in *Radi se o vlasti*. 'It is a question of power', and its complement clause needs to add *to* (locative *tome*).

Radi se o tome [da li je bitka izgubljena ili ne].
'It is a question of [whether the battle is lost or not].'

3.5.1.1 The chief types of complement clause are those introduced by *da*₁, by *da*₂, by *što* and by question words (section 3.2.1.3). The two *da* take different verb tenses within their clauses.

3.5.1.1.1 A *da*₁ clause is a reported statement and can contain any tense usable in a main-clause statement: any past tense, the future but not the *budem* compound tense (section 2.2.1.3.4), and the present but normally only from an imperfective verb.

Znam [da₁ je Marija napisala knjigu].
'I *know* [that Marija has written a book].'
Čuo sam [da₁ Marija piše knjigu].
'I *heard* [that Marija is writing a book].'

3.5.1.1.2 *Da*₂ with the present of imperfective or perfective verbs expresses hypothetical, unrealized actions—like the infinitive or subjunctive of other languages. It has been termed the infinitive substitute.

Želim [da₂ Marija piše].
'I *want* that Marija write-imperfective (I want her to write).'
Želim [da₂ Marija napiše knjigu].
'I want Marija to write-perfective a book.'

*Da*₂ expresses the indirect-discourse version of imperatives (section 3.2.2). Ambiguities can arise between the two *da*.

Rekli su da Marija piše.

*Da*₁: 'They said that Marija is writing.'

*Da*₂: 'They told Marija to write.'

3.5.1.1.3 *Što* + statement clauses let the listener assume that the statement is true and are usually subordinated to items expressing an emotional reaction:

Radujemo se [što smo vas ponovo vid(j)eli].

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

Many speakers will also say *da*₁ here.

Radujemo se *da*₁ smo vas ponovo vid(j)eli.

Što can also come after *razlog* 'reason'.

To je razlog što šef nije došao.

'That is the reason that the boss didn't come.'

This also could be *da*₁.

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

Živ(j)eti znači raditi.

'To live means to work.' (English: To live is to work.)

Here the two infinitives have their own understood subject which is unspecified but human. It is the *same* understood subject: 'For a person to live means for that same person to work.'

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

Marija želi pisati.

'Marija wants to write.'

In almost all such instances the understood subject of the infinitive must be the same as the subject of the main verb (in this example, it is Mary who is going to write). If it is identical to the main verb's object, or different from both, a *da*₂ complement is used instead.

Marija želi *da*₂ Ivan piše.

'Marija wants Ivan to write.'

3.5.1.2.2 Outside the Croatian standard, *da*₂ clauses are frequent instead of the infinitive, even when the same-subject condition holds:

Marija želi *da*₂ piše.

'Marija wants to write.'

See discussion of the future tense (*ću* + infinitive or *da*₂) in section 2.2.1.3.1 and of *nemoj* + infinitive or *da*₂ in section 3.2.2.2.

3.5.1.2.3 In Croatian two verbs permit an infinitive to refer to their object: 'teach' and 'help'.

Učio sam ga plivati.

'I taught him to swim.'

Pomogli smo mu graditi kuću.

'We helped him build a house.'

Good in all standards are:

Učio sam ga *da*₂ pliva.

Pomogli smo mu *da*₂ gradi kuću.

3.5.2 Further means of subordination are two verbal adverbs, one verbal noun and a participle.

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

On se vraća s posla p(j)evajući.

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

Otp(j)evavši himnu, p(j)evačica je s(j)ela.

'(After) having sung the national anthem, the singer sat down.' (*She* had sung it.)

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

Marija je počela s pisanjem knjige.

'Marija has begun with (started) the writing of the book.'

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

Pisanje studenata je zanimljivo.

'The students' writing is interesting.'

Pisanje knjige je bilo teško.

'The writing of the book was difficult.'

Subject and object can co-occur if the subject is expressed as a possessive adjective:

Marijino pisanje knjige

'Marija's writing of the book'

or with the infrequent 'by' phrase *od strane* and genitive:

(?)pisanje knjige od strane Marije

'The writing of the book by Marija.'

The verbal noun neutralizes the distinction of verbs with *se* and verbs without: *rušenje kuće* 'the destruction of the house; the collapse of the house' can be from *rušiti*, as in

Marija ruši kuću.

'Marija destroys the house.'

and from *rušiti se* :

Kuća se ruši.

'The house falls-down.'

3.5.2.3 The only participle used in "condensed" structures is the "passive" one with endings *-(e)n, -t*. It is made primarily from perfective verbs, also from some imperfectives. It forms a passive construction:

Kuća je srušena.

'The house has been destroyed.'

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

Kuća je srušena v(j)etrom.

'The house has been destroyed by the wind.'

(?)Kuća je srušena od (od strane) neprijatelja.

'The house has been destroyed by the enemy.'

The participle can be in attributive position next to a noun:

srušena kuća

'the destroyed house'

kuća srušena v(j)etrom, v(j)etrom srušena kuća

'the house destroyed by the wind' (section 3.1.6.3).

3.5.3 Relative clauses, unlike complements, can be attached to any noun phrase (their antecedent). In BCS the head of the antecedent phrase determines the relativizers used (Browne 1986). If the head is a noun or personal pronoun, the main relativizer is *koji* 'which', which agrees with its antecedent in gender and number and takes case endings (section 2.1.3.2) according to function in the subordinate clause.

čov(j)ek koji je došao

'man which-nominative has come'

čov(j)ek kojeg vidim

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

čov(j)ek s kojim sam radio

'man with which-instrumental I-have worked'

As we see, the relativizer is fronted, that is, moved to the beginning of the sentence. It is a sentence introducer, so enclitics (*sam*) follow it directly. An alternative relativizing strategy introduces the clause with an invariable word *što* 'that': the item agreeing with the antecedent in gender and number is a personal pronoun (in modern usage, always an enclitic, hence it can be the object of a verb in genitive, dative, or accusative, but not the object of a preposition):

čov(j)ek što ga vidim

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

If the item agreeing with the antecedent would be the subject of a verb, it is dropped and *što* is used alone:

čov(j)ek što je došao

'man that has come'

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*, *šta* 'what' depending on the human/nonhuman distinction (Browne 1986: 112-19):

nešto što vidim

'something what I see (that I see)'

nešto o čemu govorim

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

sva(t)ko koga vidim

'everyone whom I see'

3.5.3.2 Relative clauses can also have (overt or dropped) time adverbials and place phrases as antecedents. A BCS speciality is relative clauses on quality and quantity-expression antecedents (Browne 1986: 102-07):

tri konja, koliko ima i džokeja
'three horses, how-many there-are also of-jockeys (three horses,
which is how many jockeys there are too)'
interesantan roman, kakav je "Rat i mir"
'interesting novel, what-sort is "War and Peace" (an interesting novel,
which is the sort "War and Peace" is).'

3.5.4 In BCS, relative clauses often make it possible for the speaker to move to the beginning of a sentence an element that otherwise would occur later. Thus instead of saying:

Mislím da₁ vas je taj čov(j)ek vidio (video)...
I think that that man saw you...

a speaker can start from 'the man' and say:

čov(j)ek koji mislim da₁ vas je vidio (video)...
'the man who I think that ___ saw you...'

where ___ shows the "starting position" of the relativized element. Or if 'you' saw 'the man',

čov(j)ek kojeg mislim da₁ ste vid(j)eli
'the man whom I think that you saw ___'.

Thus we see examples with either subject or object of a subordinate clause fronted to the beginning of the main clause in relativization and in questioning. However, speakers find it difficult to judge when they can actually do this.

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

Za Ivana govore da₁ ga svi poštuju.
'For (about) Ivan₁ they say that him₁ everybody respects.'

(*Za* is not the usual preposition 'about', which is *o* + locative.) This strategy yields a relative clause in which the antecedent is followed by *za kojeg* 'for whom, for which' and a lower clause that doesn't have anything moved out of it:

čov(j)ek za kojeg mislim da₁ ste ga vid(j)eli
'the man for (about) whom I think that you saw him'
čov(j)ek za kojeg mislim da₁ vas je vidio (video)
'the man for (about) whom I think that he saw you.'

3.5.4.2 The same strategy is available for questions. Beside

(T)ko mislite da₁ me je zam(ij)enio?
'Who do you think that ___ replaced me?'

we can have:

Za koga mislite da₁ me je zam(ij)enio?
'For (about) whom do you think that he replaced me?'

3.5.4.3 Another strategy formulates each clause as a separate question, with *što*, *šta* 'what' as object of the main verb:

Što mislite, (t)ko me je zam(ij)enio?
'What do you think - who replaced me?'

3.6 Negation

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

Slavko ne vidi Olgu.
'Slavko does not see Olga.'
Slavko neće vid(j)eti Olgu.
'Slavko will-not see Olga.'

Recall that *ne + sam, si, je... → nisam, nisi, nije...* (Table 21). Negation of only one constituent is rare, and usually requires explicit statement of the correct alternative.

Slavko vidi ne Olgu nego Mariju.
'Slavko sees not Olga but Marija.'

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

Slavko ne vidi Olgu (nego Mariju).
'Slavko doesn't see Olga (but Marija).'

3.6.2 One can also negate sentences with the negative conjunction *niti* 'neither, nor':

Niti Slavko vidi Olgu, niti Ivan vidi Mariju.
'Neither does Slavko see Olga, nor does Ivan see Marija.'

A sentence negated with preposed *niti* can contain indefinite forms made from interrogative pronouns and adverbs by prefixing *ī*: *ī(t)ko* 'anyone', *īgd(j)e* 'anywhere' and the like. (The same items occur in questions, conditional sentences and second members of comparatives.) A positive sentence could not contain these:

Niti je Slavko vidi, niti i(t)ko išta zna o njoj.
'Neither does Slavko see her, nor does anyone know anything about her.'

3.6.3 There is a sort of agreement in negativity. In sentences containing *ne* on the verb, *ī* indefinites add initial *n-* to become negative forms: *nī(t)ko* 'nobody', *nīšta* 'nothing', *nīgd(j)e* 'nowhere', *nīkamo* '(to) nowhere', *nīkud(a)* 'through no place', *nīkad(a)* 'never' and so forth. So does the conjunction and particle *i* 'and; also, even': *nī* 'neither, nor; not...either, not even'. Several such items can appear together:

Nī(t)ko nīgd(j)e ne vidi nīkoga.
'Nobody nowhere not sees nobody (Nobody sees anybody anywhere).'

Unlike the *ī* set, *nī* words can appear in isolation:

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

Prepositions other than *bez* 'without' split *i* and *nī* from the rest of the word:

i s kim, nī s kim; i u čemu, nī u čemu
'with anybody, with nobody; in anything, in nothing'

although non-standard usage also has *s nikim, u ničemu*. With *bez*, the phrases run:

bez ičega
without anything
bez igd(j)e ikoga
without anywhere anyone (that is, without anyone anywhere).

3.6.4 Infinitive complements are occasionally negated:

Nisam mogao ne misliti na to.
'I couldn't not think of it (I couldn't avoid thinking of it).'

but usually a special conjunction *a da₂ ne* is used:

Nisam mogao a da₂ ne mislim na to.

A da₁ ne expresses absence of accompanying action:

Ušla je a da₁ me nije pozdravila.
'She entered without greeting me.'

3.6.5 When a verb is negated, its accusative object may appear in the genitive. In present-day BCS such genitive objects are archaic and elevated in style except in fixed phrases and in two further circumstances: as object of *nemati* (*ne + imati*) 'not to have' and when negation is strengthened by *ni, nijedan, nikakav* 'not even, not a single, no' (Lj. Popović in Stanojčić et al. 1989: 219). Examples from Menac (1978):

3.6.5.1 Fixed phrases:

obraćati pažnju - ne obraćati pažnju *or*: pažnje
'to pay attention (ACC) - not to pay attention (ACC or GEN)'

3.6.5.1 Nemati:

Tada se s(j)etio da₁ nema revolvera.
'Then he remembered that he didn't have a pistol (GEN).'

3.6.5.3 Negation strengthened:

igrati ulogu - ne igrati ulogu - ne igrati nikakve uloge.
'to play a role (ACC) - not to play a role (ACC) - to play no role whatever (GEN)'

3.6.6 The subject in negated sentences remains nominative, even in existential sentences (section 3.1.4):

Ne postoji r(j)ešenje.
'Not exists solution (NOM) (there is no solution).'

Only *ne biti* 'not to be' (present *nema*) and occasionally *ne bivati* 'not to be frequently' takes genitive subject:

U sobi nema Marije, nije bilo Marije, neće biti Marije.
'Marija (GEN) is not in the room, was not in the room, will not be in the room.'

3.7 Using pronouns in discourse

The simplest device for referring again to a noun phrase is a personal pronoun agreeing in gender and number: *on* 'he' for masculine gender, *ona* 'she' for

feminine, *ono* 'it' for neuter, each with its plural. Such a pronoun is available for any antecedent noun phrase headed by a lexical noun, with the limitation that enclitic forms (section 2.1.3.1) are favored and full forms disfavored for inanimate antecedent:

čov(j)ek ... Ne znam ga. Njega ne znam.
'man ... I don't know him. HIM I don't know.'
grad ... Ne znam ga. ?Njega ne znam.
'city ... I don't know it. IT I don't know.'

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

grad [-animate]: Vidim grad osamljen.
'city: I see a city (ACC) left-alone (ACC).'
čov(j)ek [+animate]: Vidim čov(j)ek-a osamljen-og.
'man: I see a man (ACC) left-alone (ACC).'

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

grad ... Vidim ga osamljen-og.
'city ... I see it left-alone.'
čov(j)ek ... Vidim ga osamljen-og.
'man ... I see him left-alone.'

3.7.2 A BCS personal pronoun can show identity of sense without identity of reference, in instances like:

A: "Nemam auto." B: "Zašto *ga* ne kupiš?"
A: 'I don't have a car.' B: 'Why don't you buy *one* (literally *it*)?'

3.7.3 If the head of a noun phrase is not a noun but a demonstrative, interrogative or indefinite pronoun of neuter gender, or a clause or infinitive, it cannot be referred to by a personal pronoun (Browne 1986: 29). The neuter demonstrative *to* appears instead.

Ovo je za tebe. Zadrži to!
'This is for you. Keep it (literally *that*).'
Marija voli plesati. I ja to volim.
'Marija likes to-dance. I too like it (literally *that*).'

3.7.4 Apart from this function, demonstratives have situational and textual uses. The three demonstratives *ovaj*, *taj*, *onaj* refer respectively to things near the speaker ('this'), near the hearer ('this, that') and further from both ('that over there'). *Onaj* is also for recalling something from a previous situation. *Taj* is for things already under discussion, *ovaj* for things about to be mentioned, and *onaj* for items to be made precise by a relative clause: *ta knjiga* 'the book we've been talking about', *ova knjiga* 'this book (which I now turn to)' and *ona knjiga koja dobije*

nagradu na kongresu 'the book that gets a prize at the congress'. *Ovaj* also serves to show a change in topical noun:

Ivan je razgovarao s Petrom, a ovaj s Marijom.

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

Where two items have recently been mentioned, *ovaj* refers to the later and *onaj* to the earlier. Another equivalent to 'the former, the latter' is *prvi ... drugi*:

prvi roman... drugi roman

'the first novel ... the second novel'.

3.7.5 All these discourse devices function beyond the clause as well as within it.

The personal pronoun is most frequently found outside the clause of its antecedent, since if the same entity is repeated within a clause, usually one of the references is in subject position and causes the other(s) to reflexivize, section 3.8.1.

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

Čitamo.

'We are reading.' (-*mo*, hence 1st person plural.)

Mislila si.

'You (F SG) thought.' (*si*, hence 2nd person singular; -/*a*, hence feminine.)

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

Marko je danas zakasnio na ručak. Imao je puno posla u gradu.

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

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

Marko je danas zakasnio na ručak. On je imao puno posla u gradu.

Zatim je zaboravio ključ od auta i morao se vratiti p(j)ešice.

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

Subjects are omitted when the referent does not figure in the narration:

Znaš, Marko je danas zakasnio na ručak. Mislim da₁ je imao puno posla u gradu.

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

They are included when they are the main point of the sentence or are contrasted:

Ručak sam spremio JA.

'Dinner prepared I (I'M the one who prepared dinner).'

Marko je danas zakasnio, ali ja nisam.

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

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

Marko? Ja njega znam!

'Marko? Certainly I know him.'

If the order is verb first (*Znam ja njega*), it may suggest that 'he' is somehow notorious: 'Yeah, I know him all right.'

3.7.7 Use of pronoun subjects within complex sentences is more a matter of grammar. The subject in a complement clause is dropped when the main verb requires it to be identical with an item in the main clause. Thus 'have an intention to...' requires identity of subjects:

Slavko ima nam(j)eru da₂ vidi Olgu.

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

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

Slavko je siguran da₁ vidi Olgu.

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

Slavko je siguran da₁ ON vidi Olgu a da₁ je JA ne vidim.

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

3.7.8 A different phenomenon, involving omission of subjects as well as other elements, is short answers consisting only of finite verb (section 3.2.1.1.3-5).

3.8 Reflexives and reciprocals

3.8.1 Repeated reference to the same person or thing within the same clause is shown by the reflexive pronoun *sebe*. Like personal pronouns, *sebe* has full and enclitic forms (section 2.1.3.1). It does not vary for person, gender or number:

Slavko govori o sebi. Mi govorimo o sebi.

'Slavko₁ talks about himself₁. We₁ talk about ourselves₁.'

but words modifying it show these features:

Slavko govori o sebi samom. Mi govorimo o sebi samima.

'Slavko₁ talks about himself₁ alone₁ (M SG) (or: about his own self, precisely about himself). We₁ talk about ourselves₁ alone₁ (PL).'

(Here ₁ is a notation showing that 'himself' refers to the same person as 'Slavko', 'ourselves' refers to the same people as 'we'.)

3.8.1.1 The domain within which *sebe* occurs is the clause. Its antecedent is the subject of the clause. But if it has the modifier *sam*, it can also refer to an object as its antecedent:

Ja ću vas prepustiti sebi samim.

'I will leave you₁ to yourselves₁ alone.'

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

njegovo zaljubljanje u sebe

'his₁ infatuation with himself₁'.

So is an unexpressed subject, whether unspecified human ('someone, one') in reference or referring farther back to a noun phrase elsewhere in the clause:

zaljublivanje u sebe

'one's₁ infatuation with oneself₁'

Ona se ogradila od zaljublivanja u sebe.

'She₁ disavowed (her₁) infatuation with herself₁.'

3.8.1.2 Reflexivization in BCS does not extend into adjectival or participial constructions:

Ivan je vršio pov(j)erenu mu dužnost (*not*: pov(j)erenu sebi).

'Ivan₁ performed entrusted to-him₁ duty.'

3.8.1.3 *Se*, the reflexive enclitic, has many other uses: providing unspecified human subject constructions, making verbs intransitive, being a component of certain lexical items. The unspecified human subject can be the antecedent to a reflexive:

U Americi se mnogo govori o sebi.

'In America (one₁) speaks much about oneself₁.'

3.8.1.4 The reflexive possessive is *svoj*. Its antecedent, as with *sebe*, can be the subject of a clause or noun phrase.

Slavko govori o svojem konju.

'Slavko₁ talks about his₁ horse.'

odnos imenice prema svom glagolu

'relation of a noun₁ toward its₁ verb'

If the subject of a clause (here *Slavko*) is third person, *o njegovom konju* would mean 'about someone else's horse', so *svoj* is normally obligatory; within noun phrases there is variation between it and the third-person possessives *njegov* 'his, its', *njen*, *njezin* 'her', *njihov* 'their'.

3.8.1.5 Exceptions to subject antecedency like

Postavi sve na svoje m(j)esto!

'Put everything₁ in its₁ place!'

are treated by Mihaljević (1990: 152ff.). The key factor is universal quantification ('everything', 'all') of the non-subject antecedent. One could not have *nešto* 'something' or *knjigu* 'a book' instead of *sve* here.

3.8.1.6 Alternatives to *svoj* for first or second person reference are the possessive pronouns *moj* 'my', *naš* 'our', *tvoj*, *vaš* 'your'. The choice depends partly on empathy, *svoj* suggesting distance between the speaker and the possessed noun's referent. The teacher in

Ja sam zahvalan svom učitelju.

'I am grateful to self's teacher.'

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

Ja sam zahvalan mom učitelju.

'I am grateful to my teacher.'

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

3.8.2 Reciprocity is marked by a compound pronoun *jedan drugog* 'one another'. Both parts inflect for gender, number and case:

Olga i Marija vide jedna drugu.

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

Prepositions go before the second member:

Govorimo jedan o drugom.

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

Unlike other pronouns, a reciprocal pronoun for mixed gender subjects goes in the neuter singular, *jedno drugo* :

Slavko i Olga vide jedno drugo.

'Slavko and Olga see one another.'

The form of *jedan* has been nominative, agreeing with the clause subject, in these examples; it can also be genitive to go with the subject of a noun phrase. A

newspaper story about the benefits resulting

...ako se otvorimo jedni prema drugima

'...if we-open-up one (NOM PL) to another (DAT PL)'

is headlined

Korist od otvaranja jednih prema drugima (*Politika* 28.4.1989.)

'Benefit from opening-up of-one (GEN PL) to another (DAT PL).'

3.8.2.1 Reciprocals, like reflexives, can occur in an infinitive phrase, but only when they refer to the same item as the understood subject of the infinitive:

Slavko i Olga žele vid(j)eti jedno drugo.

'Slavko and Olga wish to see one another.'

3.8.2.2 *Jedan drugog* with certain accusative-taking verbs (apparently lexically conditioned) is replaceable by *se*, the enclitic reflexive.

Oni biju (vole, vide) jedan drugog. → Oni se biju (vole, vide).

'They beat (love, see) one another.'

3.9 Possession

Possession can be expressed by a verb, a possessor constituent in a sentence or a possessor within a noun phrase.

3.9.1 The normal verb used in a predication is *imati* 'to have' (or *pos(j)edovati* 'to possess'). The subject is the possessor, and the accusative object is the possessed item:

Marija ima knjigu.

'Marija has a book.'

Marija ima sestru.

'Marija has a sister.'

Pripadati 'to belong to' has the possessed item as nominative subject and the possessor as dative:

Kuća pripada Mariji.

'The house belongs to Marija.'

3.9.1.1 With *imati* the use of genitive instead of accusative to express 'some' with plural or mass-noun objects is widespread, though otherwise the "partitive genitive" is restricted to perfective verbs:

Imam vode.

'I have some water (GEN).'

Compare:

Imam vodu.
'I have the water (ACC).'

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

U laži su kratke noge.
'A lie has short legs. (The truth eventually comes out.)' (proverb)
U Milice [su] duge trepavice.
'Milica has long eyelashes.' (folk poetry)

An *u* possessor phrase also occasionally appears in a sentence that would be complete without it:

Ona je jedinica (u majke).
'She is the only daughter (her mother has).'

3.9.3 Dative constituents, particularly enclitic pronouns, frequently express possessors.

Otac mi je umro prošle godine.
'Father to-me (my father) died last year.' (Mihailović 1971: 74)
Slavku je otac umro.
'Slavko-DAT father died.'

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

Razbio mi je vazu.
'He has broken my vase.'

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

Poštar mu se pojavio na vratima.
'The postman to-him appeared at door (at his door).'

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

3.9.3.1 In the above examples dative enclitics, though associated with a noun phrase, occupy their usual position within the sentence. Such enclitics can also appear within the possessed phrase, though this is old-fashioned.

Pozovi Marka i [sestru mu]. (now usually: *i njegovu sestru*).
'Invite Marko and his sister.'

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

knjige Marka Markovića
'books Marko-GEN Marković-GEN (Marko Marković's books)'

3.9.4.1 There is a rule for using genitive possessors as opposed to possessive adjectives in *-ov*, *-ev*, *-in*. If a possessor is definite, singular, human (or animal) and expressed by one word, it forms an adjective instead of going into the genitive:

Markove knjige, Markovićeve knjige
'Marko's books, Marković's books'
mačkin rep
'the cat's tail'.

Compare:

rep mačke
'the tail of a cat' (possessor not definite)
knjiga studenata
'the book of the students' (not singular)
ime ruže
'the name of the rose' (not human/animal)
rep moje mačke
'the tail of my cat' (two words)

This also means that a personal pronoun, as possessor, must be made into a possessive adjective:

njegova knjiga (not: knjiga njega)
'his book' (not: 'book of him')

A departure from the adjective/genitive rule occurs in instances like:

kip preds(j)ednika
'a statue of the president'

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

grob Branka
the grave of Branko

must be a reference to Branko = the 19th century poet Branko Radičević, whereas the grave of a friend or relative would be *Brankov grob* 'Branko's grave'.

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

Studentski život je l(ij)ep.
'Student life is nice.' (song title)

paraphrasable as *život studenata* 'the life of students' and not *studentov život* 'the life of the student'.

3.9.6 Finally, possessors can be omitted, if identical with another constituent in the sentence (Mihailović 1971: 75-77.). One cannot have a possessive *moj* 'my' in

Otac mi je umro.
'My father died "on me".'

because it repeats the dative; nor in

Noga me boli.
'My leg hurts me.'

because it repeats the accusative object *me*.

3.10 Quantification

3.10.1 Noun phrases can contain quantifiers telling the number of items expressed by a count noun or the amount of substance expressed by a mass noun. Two syntactic structures exist: adjectival (agreeing) and governmental (the quantifier imposes a form on the noun).

3.10.2 In adjectival quantification, the noun bears the case of the noun phrase as a whole; the quantifier agrees with it in case, number and gender as is usual for adjectives.

malobrojna publika
'sparse audience' (both words are nominative feminine singular)
brojne učesnike
'numerous participants' (both are accusative masculine plural)

The numeral *jedan* 'one' appears in the adjectival pattern:

jedan učesnik
'one participant' (nominative masculine singular)
jedne novine
'one newspaper' (nominative plural feminine on a plural-only word)

3.10.3 Likewise adjectival in agreement are a set of numerals used with plural-only nouns: *dvoji* 'two', *troji* 'three', up to ten:

dvoje novine
'two newspapers'.

3.10.4 The usual numerals 'two' to 'four', as in governmental quantification (3.10.5), impose a specific form on the noun and other agreeing words, the 234 (sometimes called "paucal") form (sections 2.1.1.1 and 2.1.1.3); however elements of agreeing quantification are seen in the fact that *dva* 'two', *oba* 'both' are used with masculine and neuter nouns, *dvije* (*dve*) and *ob(j)e* with feminine nouns.

dva dobra studenta
'two good-234 students-234'.

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

Tri studenta su odsutna.
'Three students are absent.'
Pozvali smo oba studenta.
'We invited both students.'
Stanujem s četiri studenta.
'I live with four students.' (*s* otherwise demands instrumental.)
Ne znam naslov te tri knjige.
'I don't know the title of those three books.' (for genitive possessor)

It fills the role of a case required by a verb less successfully:

?S(j)ećam se ta četiri studenta.
'I remember those four students.' (The verb demands genitive.)

??Dajem poklon ta četiri studenta.

'I give a gift to those four students.' (Indirect object needs dative.)

The rare non-nominative case forms of these numerals (section 2.1.5.2-3), when used, go into the same case as the head nouns according to the agreeing pattern.

3.10.5 The largest group of quantifiers governs genitive on the noun being quantified. These fall into two types. One has the shape of a noun or noun phrase (*većina* 'the majority of, most'; *čitav niz* 'a whole series of, a number of') and is declinable. It bears the case of the entire noun phrase. Other parts of the sentence agree with it rather than with the genitive complement.

Velika većina studenata je stigla.

'Great-NOM SG majority-NOM SG of students-GEN PL has arrived-SG.'

Modifiers of the 'students', will however be genitive:

većina dobrih studenata

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

3.10.6 The other type of genitive-governing quantifier is indeclinable. Besides items shaped like adverbs: *mnogo* 'much, many', *puno* 'a lot of', *malo* 'few, little; some, a few', it includes numerals from 'five' up. Predicate agreement with it is usually the 'default' neuter singular, here *-o*:

Mnogo vode je proliveno.

'Much water-GEN is spilled.'

Mnogo studenata je stiglo.

'Many students-GEN has arrived.'

Deset studenata je stiglo.

'Ten students-GEN has arrived.'

3.10.7 Some indeclinable quantifiers have the shape of accusative nouns:

Stotinu studenata je stiglo.

'One hundred students...'

Similarly *tisuću* (Croatian), *hiljadu* 'one thousand', *masu* 'a mass of'.

3.10.8 Modifiers of the quantifier-plus-genitive are themselves genitive:

Svih tih deset studenata je stiglo.

'All-GEN PL these-GEN PL ten students has arrived.'

Prošlo je dobrih pet sati.

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

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

Stanujem s masu studenata.

'I live with a lot of students.' (*S* calls for instrumental.)

Ne znam naslov tih deset knjiga.

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

S(j)ećam se tih pet studenata.
 'I remember those five students.' (Verb requires genitive.)
 ??Dajem poklon ovih četrdeset studenata.
 'I give a gift to these forty students.'. (Dative indirect object.)

3.10.9 Numerals can be compounded, as *tri hiljade (tisuće) petsto dvadeset sedam* '3527'. The last word decides the construction used, so *dvadeset jedan* '21' has adjectival agreement between *jedan* and a singular head noun, *pedeset dva* '52' demands 234 forms, whereas 3527 has genitive plural throughout the phrase and default neuter predicative agreement, like *sedam* '7'. But note that the 'teens' *jedanaest, dvanaest, trinaest...*, since they do not end in *jedan, dva, tri*, also take genitive plural within the noun phrase and default neuter in the predicate.

3.10.10 The 'collective' numerals *dvoje, troje, četvero (čtvoro), petero (petoro), ...* up to 9, are of the second genitive-taking type. (Grammars cite other case-forms, but in practice they appear indeclinable.) They are used with mixed-sex groups of people and obligatorily with *d(j)eca* 'children':

troje d(j)ece
 'three children'
 troje studenata; tri studenta
 'three students (mixed sexes); three students (not necessarily mixed sexes)'

3.10.11 Another set of 'collectives' are numerals in *-ica*: *dvojica, trojica, četvorica, petorica* (up to 9) and *nekolicina* 'a few'. These signify groups of men, are feminine singular nouns in declension and behave like *većina* within the noun phrase:

sva petorica dobrih studenata
 'all-F NOM SG five good-GEN PL students-GEN PL'

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

3.10.12 Genitive personal pronoun heads *nas* 'us', *vas* 'you', *njih* 'them' combine with numerals above '1':

nas dvojica, nas dvoje, nas dvije (dve)
 'we two' (male-male, male-female, female-female)
 njih nekolicina, njih nekoliko
 'several men', 'several of them (mixed or female).'

3.10.13 *Po* before a numeral means 'so-and-so many apiece/each':

Imamo po jednog psa.
 we-have apiece one-ACC dog-ACC
 'We have one dog apiece' (each of us has one).

Unlike other Slavic languages, BCS *po* does not change the case of the numeral or the noun, and it can be used next to a preposition:

Došli su sa po pet konja.
 came with apiece 5 horses

'They came with 5 horses each.'
Došli su sa po oko pet konja.
came with a piece about 5 horses
'They came with about 5 horses each.'

4. The vocabulary

4.1 General composition of the word-stock

4.1.1 Fed by varied dialects and contacts (section 4.2) and more than one standard, the BCS vocabulary is large. Academic dictionaries run to many volumes (JAZU 1880-1976 1-23; SANU 1959- 1-14+; MS-MH 1967-76 1-6). Unfortunately we possess no full etymological dictionary. Skok (1971-74), though abundant in rare and dialectal words, has many gaps (but one should check in the index, part 1 of volume 4, before concluding a word is missing). Gluhak (1993) takes a smaller set of words and seeks to trace them far back into the past (again, one should look words up in the index as well as in the main listing).

4.1.2 Statistical analyses of the vocabulary are also lacking. Word-origin figures might be computed for a dictionary or for running text. We have counted a sample of high-frequency vocabulary. Among the first 100 words of a frequency count (Lukić 1983) of schoolchildrens' writings in Serbia, one is foreign: *škola* 'school' (Italian originally Ancient Greek). Two are nursery words of indeterminate origin (*mama* 'mommy', *tata* 'daddy'); 97 are inherited from Proto-Slavic. The next hundred include two Church Slavonicisms: *pričati* 'to tell' from *prit'ča* 'parable' and *vazduh* 'air' from *v'zdux'*, and a non-Slavic item: *soba* 'a room' (Turkish or Hungarian). In the top 500 words, five (1.0%) are from Church Slavonic, six or seven (1.2-1.4%) came in from, or via, Turkish (one each originated in Persian, Arabic and Greek). *Đak* 'pupil' and *livada* 'meadow' are Greek, *maj* 'May' and *minut* 'a minute' Latin. French provides *autobus* and *partizan*, English *park*, Hungarian *lopta* 'ball' and German *puška* 'gun' (originally Ancient Greek). Some origins are less certain; *priroda* may be Czech or Church Slavonic. Our sample also contains *školski*, derived from *škola*, and *izlet* 'excursion' and *izgledati* 'to appear', which are calques (words translated piece by piece) from German *Ausflug*, *aussehen*. Similar statistics result from the much larger Croatian frequency count Mogoš, Bratanić and Tadić (1999).

4.1.3 P. Ivić (Brozović and Ivić 1988: 43-44) enumerates words Slavic in origin but restricted just to South Slavic or to BCS. Of the first, our sample contains *grana* 'branch', *šuma* 'forest', *kuća* 'house', *godina* meaning 'year'; the second group includes *jer* 'for (conjunction)', *prol(j)eće* 'spring', *raditi* 'to work, do', *rad* 'labor, work', *kiša* 'rain', *baciti* 'to throw', *tražiti* 'to search for', *dogadjaj* 'event'. *Doživljaj* 'an experience', a later coinage, is shared with Slovene. Some unexpected meanings have developed within BCS: among our 500, we find *vol(j)eti* 'to love', older 'to prefer'; *jak* 'strong' (Proto-Slavic *jak* 'what kind of'), *posao*, genitive *posla* 'work, task' (from 'person who is sent'); *čuvati* 'keep' from the root *čuj-* 'to perceive' seen in *čuti* 'to hear'; *vrlo* 'very' from 'virtuously'.

4.2 Patterns of borrowing (the main sources)

The best sketch is Brozović and Ivić (1988); we follow it closely here.

4.2.1 Greek loans bear witness to the medieval Serbian state's Byzantine contacts. Some, as *potos* 'floor', still characterize the Serbian standard; others like *miris* 'smell' occur in all of BCS. Many religious terms entered Serbian Orthodox terminology through Church Slavonic: *idol*, *iguman* 'abbot'.

4.2.2 Orthodox religious and abstract vocabulary, if not directly from Greek, is Church Slavonic, often translating a Greek word literally: *prorok* 'prophet' calquing Greek *prophētēs*, *učenik* 'disciple', later 'pupil', *sav(ij)est* 'conscience', *sveštenik* 'priest'. As Ivić (Brozović and Ivić 1988, 44) observes, Croatian vocabulary shares some of these religious Grecisms and Slavonicisms (*idol*, *prorok*, *učenik*), thanks to the Glagolitic writers' wide use of Church Slavonic, and also has many Latinisms (*brevijar* 'breviary') and domestic coinages (*svećenik*). *Opat* 'abbot', a Latin borrowing from Greek, probably came through Old Bavarian (German).

4.2.3 Romance words have been entering since medieval times, mostly near the coast. Some are Dalmatian Romance (*dupin* 'dolphin'), many Italian (especially Venetian: *siguran* 'sure').

4.2.4 Hungarian loans have entered Kajkavski, and some have spread farther: *kip* 'statue', *varoš* 'town'. Similarly with Germanisms: *kuhinja* 'kitchen', *škoda* 'damage'.

4.2.5 Turkish influences on BCS begin in the fourteenth century. Some words still mark Muslim milieus, as *sevdah* 'melancholy, love', *sokak* 'alley', whereas others join the general vocabulary: *baš* 'precisely', *džezva* 'Turkish coffee pot', *ćorsokak* 'blind alley'. Škaljić's (1966) dictionary attests 8,742 Turkisms, many originally Arabic or Persian.

4.2.6 Turkisms and a later layer of Germanisms associated with the Hapsburg monarchy have frequently provoked searches for domestic replacements. Such purism, traditional among Croats, often generates stylistic distinctions: the loan (Turkish *badava* 'for free', German *šnicla* 'cutlet', *paradäjz* 'tomato', the last with exceptional placement of falling accent) is colloquial and its replacement (*besplatno*, *odrezak*, *rajčica* based on *raj* 'paradise') literary.

4.2.6.1 The nineteenth-century Illyrian movement Croatianized many words from Czech, which had had several decades of experience in finding equivalents for German and general European items: *okolnost* 'circumstance', *naslov* 'title', *pregled* 'survey' (from Czech *přehled* by "undoing" the Czech palatalization of *r* and the Czech change *g > h*). Some, including these three, then spread to Serbia and Bosnia.

4.2.7 Numerous Greco-Latin words enter during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: *literatura*, *interesantan*, *etimologija*, *poezija*. All occur in French, German or other languages; we can speak of a common European "pool" which various languages tapped. Native-based substitutes for these were sought, sometimes successfully: *književnost* for 'literature', *p(j)esništvo* for 'poetry'. Other proposals failed: *korenoslovlje* for 'etymology'. Frequently substitutes are accepted in the Croatian standard while internationalisms prevail elsewhere: *telegram* and specifically Croatian *brzjav*; *geografija* and specifically Croatian *zemljopis*.

4.2.8 English loanwords earlier trickled in through German or French, occasionally Russian. Since World War II, contacts with Britain and America have made English the leading source of loans. Filipović (1990) analyzes the adaptation of over 5,500

items. Words with Greco-Latin elements behave as members of the European pool: *prohibition* > *prohibicija*, *infrastructure* > *infrastruktura*. Other words take forms that accord with English spelling or pronunciation, in either event presenting consonant or vowel combinations untypical for BCS: *pacemaker* > *pejsmejker* (also written *pace-maker*), *flower power* > *flower power* / *flauer pauer*.

4.3 Incorporation of borrowings

4.3.1 Almost every borrowed noun declines (takes case endings) in BCS. Only nouns which end in sounds other than *a* and denote women remain indeclinable: *Dolores* (name), *ledi* 'lady' (our exposition follows P. Ivič 1972 closely). Nouns in final *-a* join the *a*-declension and become feminine: *korida* 'corrida, bullfight', with stem as seen in genitive *korid-e*; *Atlanta*, *Atlant-e* (city). But *-a* nouns denoting human males or (sometimes) animals are *a*-declension masculines: *Kaunda* (surname), *gorila* 'gorilla'.

4.3.1.1 Nouns in final consonant, *-o* or *-e* join the masculine zero and *o* / *e*-declension. Their *-o* or *-e* acts as an ending, not part of the stem: *kuplung* 'automobile clutch' (< German), genitive *kuplung-a*; *auto* 'car', *aut-a*; *finale* 'finale', *final-a*. Nouns in final *-i*, *-u* or any long vowel include these segments in their stem: *tabu* 'taboo', *tabu-a*; *bifē* 'bar, snack bar', *bifē-a*; *Marā* 'Marat, French revolutionary', *Mara-a*. *J* is inserted between *-i* and endings: *hobi* 'hobby', *hobi-j-a*, *žiri* 'jury', *žiri-j-a*.

4.3.1.2 Sub-regularities characterize nouns of particular origins. Turkish forms in *-i /ü /ı /u* become *a*-declension nouns in *-ija*, masculine for human males, otherwise feminine: *sanatlı* > *zanatlija* masculine 'craftsman', *köprü* > *čuprija* feminine 'bridge'. Europeanisms containing Latin *-tio* (English *-tion*) take the form *-cija*, feminine *a*-declension: *ambicija*, *degradacija*.

4.3.2 Adjectives usually add a BCS adjectival suffix: *abdominal-ni*, *nostalgic* > *nostalgič-an*, or replace foreign suffixes with native ones: *atomic* > *atom-ski*. The resulting forms decline, and are compared if this is semantically justified: *nostalgičniji*, *najnostalgičniji* 'more nostalgic, most nostalgic'. Some foreign adjectives however get no suffix, remaining indeclinable: *bež haljina* 'a beige dress', *njihova igra je fer* 'their playing is sportsmanlike'. They compare, if at all, by adding *više* 'more': *više fer* 'fairer', *najviše fer* 'fairest'.

4.3.3 Over 2000 foreign verbs (Matešić 1965-67) add suffixes *-ira-ti*, *-ova-ti* or *-isa-ti* (present stems *-ira-*, *-uje-*, *-iše-*): *erodirati* 'to erode', *paralizovati* 'to paralyze', *eliminirati* 'to eliminate'. Doublets exist, with *-irati* favored in the Croatian standard (*paralizirati*, *eliminirati*). Almost all such verbs are bi-aspectual. But pairs with prefixed perfectives also appear: *provocirati*, *isprovocirati* PF 'to provoke', *komentirati*, *prokomentirati* PF 'to comment (on)'.

4.3.4 Loan verbs can also receive *-a-ti* (present *-a-*) and rarely *-nu-ti* (present *-ne-*) without intervening suffix (Filipović 1990): *startati* 'to start (a race)' perfective; *bildati* 'to engage in body-building' imperfective; *blefnuti* 'to bluff' perfective. Prefixed perfectives can be formed: *miksati* 'to mix' imperfective, *izmiksati* perfective.

4.4 Lexical fields

4.4.1 Color terms

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

1. white *ljekavski bijel, bijela, Ekavski beo, bela*
2. black *crn* (but note *crno vino* 'red wine')
3. red *crven*, also *rumen* 'ruddy, as of face; poetic'
4. green *zelen*
5. yellow *žut*
6. blue *plav* 'blue, also blond (of hair)', also *modar, modra* 'blue, dark blue; frequently poetic'
7. brown *smeđ, braon (braun)* indeclinable, *mrk* 'dark brown, dark'
8. purple *ljubičast* 'violet'
9. pink *ružičast, roza* indeclinable
10. orange *narančast, narandžast*
11. gray *siv; s(ij)ed* 'gray (of hair)'

The main entries under 1-6 and 11 are clearly basic (Berlin and Kay 1969, 6). All occurred over 100 times in V. Lukić's (1983) 1.5 million words. The choice of basic term for 'brown' is less obvious: *mrk* has frequency 85 (some of which must have meant 'dark, gloomy'), *smeđ* 42 and *braon* 32, but *braon* is probably least limited in combinability. *Ljubičast*, *ružičast* and *narančast*, though derived from flowers and fruits (*Ljubi(ći)ca* 'a violet', *ruža* 'a rose', *naranča, narandža* 'an orange'), have no serious competition in the senses of colors 8 to 10. *Ljubičast* and *ružičast* are well established, occurring 21 and 20 times in Lukić. *Narančast* is strikingly infrequent (6), appearing only after the fourth year of school. Even for adults it is a much rarer word than 'red' or 'yellow'.

4.4.2 Body parts

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

- | | |
|----------|---|
| head | <i>glava</i> |
| eye | <i>oko</i> |
| eyes | <i>oči</i> feminine <i>i</i> -declension, genitive <i>očiju</i> |
| nose | <i>nos</i> , plural <i>nosovi (nosevi)</i> |
| ear | <i>uho</i> ; Serbian standard also <i>uvo</i> (genitive <i>uva</i> , more rarely <i>uveta</i>) |
| ears | <i>uši</i> feminine <i>i</i> -declension, genitive <i>ušiju</i> |
| mouth | <i>usta</i> a neuter plural word |
| hair | <i>kosa</i> (all the hair on the head); <i>dlaka</i> 'a hair; hair(s) growing on the body' |
| neck | <i>vrat</i> , also: <i>šija</i> |
| chest | <i>prsa</i> neuter plural (also 'breast'); <i>grudi</i> feminine <i>i</i> -declension plural (also 'breast'), singular rare |
| heart | <i>srce</i> |
| arm/hand | <i>ruka</i> |
| hand | <i>šaka</i> (considered part of <i>ruka</i> ; also 'fist') |

finger	<i>prst</i> , plural <i>prsti</i> , genitive <i>prsti</i> (<i>prstiju</i>); <i>prst na ruci</i>
thumb	<i>palac</i> , <i>palca</i>
leg/foot	<i>noga</i>
foot	<i>stopalo</i> (considered part of <i>noga</i>)
toe	<i>prst</i> , <i>prst na nozi</i> , <i>nožni prst</i>
big toe	<i>palac</i> (<i>na nozi</i>), <i>nožni palac</i>

4.4.3 Kinship terms

mother	<i>majka</i> , <i>mati</i> (see section 2.1.2.3.1)
father	<i>otac</i> , genitive <i>oca</i> , plural <i>očevi</i>
sister	<i>sestra</i> . Can include 'female cousin', but <i>rođena</i> ('born') <i>sestra</i> is only 'sister'.
brother	<i>brat</i> , plural <i>braća</i> (declined as feminine singular <i>a</i> -declension; adjectives agree accordingly; neuter plural predicative agreement). Can include 'male cousin', but <i>rođeni brat</i> is only 'brother'.
aunt	<i>tetka</i> 'father's sister, mother's sister'; <i>strina</i> 'father's brother's wife', <i>ujna</i> 'mother's brother's wife'
uncle	<i>stric</i> , plural <i>stričevi</i> 'father's brother'; <i>ujak</i> 'mother's brother'; <i>tetak</i> , genitive <i>tetka</i> , or <i>teča</i> 'husband of <i>tetka</i> '
niece	<i>nećakinja</i> , <i>nećaka</i> , also <i>sestrična</i> 'sister's daughter'; <i>sinovica</i> , <i>bratič(i)na</i> , <i>nećakinja</i> 'brother's daughter'
nephew	<i>nećak</i> , also <i>sestrić</i> 'sister's son'; <i>sinovac</i> , <i>bratić</i> , <i>nećak</i> 'brother's son'
cousin (female)	<i>sestra</i> ; <i>rođaka</i> , <i>rođakinja</i> , <i>rodica</i> 'relative'; <i>sestra od tetke</i> 'daughter of one's <i>tetka</i> '; <i>sestra od strica</i> 'daughter of one's <i>stric</i> '; <i>sestra od ujaka</i> 'daughter of one's <i>ujak</i> '
cousin (male)	<i>brat</i> ; <i>rođak</i> 'relative'; <i>brat od tetke</i> 'son of one's <i>tetka</i> '; <i>brat od strica</i> 'son of one's <i>stric</i> '; <i>brat od ujaka</i> 'son of one's <i>ujak</i> ' (Speakers disagree about subclassifications of nieces, nephews and cousins.)
grandmother	<i>baba</i> , <i>baka</i> (diminutive, but frequent)
grandfather	<i>d(j)ed</i> , Ekavski also <i>deda</i>
wife	<i>žena</i> (also 'woman'); <i>supruga</i> ('spouse')
husband	<i>muž</i> (not usually 'man'); <i>suprug</i> ('spouse')
daughter	<i>(k)ćerka</i> , <i>kći</i> (section 2.1.2.3.1)
son	<i>sin</i>

5. Dialects

Speakers are conscious of dialect divisions and identify themselves as Kajkavci, Čakavci or Štokavci and according to their reflex of *jat* (section 1.1.1.2) as Ekavci, (I)jekavci or Ikavci. The main divisions, Kajkavski, Čakavski and Štokavski, are named after their words for 'what': *kaj*, *ča*, and *što* or *šta* (*a* for *o* in *šta* is a later development). The Prizren-Timok group, sometimes termed a separate group ("Torlak") transitional to Macedonian and Bulgarian (P. Ivić 1958), is generally

included in Štokavski (Brozović and Ivić 1988). The jat reflex is important for subdividing each of the three groups. The most recent survey, with detailed maps, is in Brozović and Ivić 1988; P. Ivić, ed. (1981) describes the sound systems of 77 localities with historical summaries.

5.1 Kajkavski is spoken in northwest Croatia. Features shared with adjacent Slovene, besides *kaj*, include reflexes *č, j* where the standard languages have *ć, đ* from Proto-Slavic *tj, dj*: *noč* 'night', *meja* 'boundary' (in some places *medža*); and devoicing of final obstruents: *grat* from *grad* 'town'. Final and preconsonantal *l* remains: *bil* 'was', Štokavski *bio*.

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

5.1.2 Bases for subclassification are vowel and accent systems (Brozović and Ivić 1988).

5.1.3 Kajkavski was a medium of literature until the Illyrian movement. Poets and songwriters continue using it to good effect. The Zagreb city sub-standard is a simplified Kajkavski (five vowels, loss of length and accent contrasts).

5.2 Čakavski occurs on the north and central Croatian coast, Istria and the Adriatic islands. An inland area southwest of Karlovac is separated from the coast by later Štokavski settlements. The Burgenland Croats in eastern Austria mostly speak Čakavski and use a Čakavski-based written form.

5.2.1 Defining characteristics include interrogative *ča*, genitive *česa* (some localities lose *ča*, but maintain compounds like *zač* < *za č*'). For Proto-Slavic *tj* Čakavski has a variety of *ć* transcribed [*t'*], for *dj* it has *j*: *not'*, *meja*. A few words have *a* after palatal in place of *e*: *jazik* (often metathesized: *zajik*) 'tongue', *počati* 'to begin'. The auxiliary for the conditional is *bin, biš...*, whereas BCS generally has an auxiliary *bih*. Plural noun endings are mainly the old ones as in Kajkavski. Aorist and imperfect are mostly lost. The future has auxiliary verb *ću* and infinitive, as in Štokavski.

5.2.2 Vowel systems mostly have five short vowels and five long; diphthongizations and rounding of long *a* are frequent. Section 1.1.1.2 treats jat reflexes. Word-final *l* may drop, remain or yield *-a*, but does not change to *-o*: *bi, bil, bija*.

5.2.3 A later feature, final *m* changing to *n* in endings: *govorim* > *govorin* 'I speak', *nogom* > *nogon* 'foot, instrumental singular', covers coastal Čakavski and Štokavski areas. Root-final *m* is unaffected: *dim* 'smoke'. Many localities are "cakavski", merging *č* and *c*, *š* and *s*, *z* and *ž*. Many coastal dialects change *lj* to *j*: *jubav* 'love'.

5.2.4 Čakavski dialect accentual systems have one kind of accent on short vowels but distinguish two kinds on longs. The accent is often one syllable later than in Štokavski: *glāvā* 'head'. There was a rich Renaissance literature in Čakavski. Lyric poetry is still composed; popular song festivals flourish.

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

5.3.1 Features covering most or all of Štokavski include (closely following Brozović and Ivić 1988): interrogative *što* or *šta*, the long plural in *-ov* / *-ev*, preservation of the aorist, final */* becoming *o*, and the new ending *-ā* for genitive plurals. Most of the area has *št*, *žd* for older *šč*, *žd* (section 1.3.1.4.1), but some "ščakavski" western dialects preserve *šč*, *žd*. Shared with part of Čakavski are the changes *čr* > *cr* (*črn* > *crn* 'black'), *v* > *u* before consonant (prefix and preposition *u* 'in', *udovica* < *v'dova* 'widow') and metathesis *vs-* > *sv-* in the root 'all'.

5.3.2 Two "neo-Štokavski" innovations characterizing central Štokavski, as against the periphery, are neutralization of plural cases (dative-instrumental-locative have endings *-ima*, *-ama* borrowed from the dual) and new (shifted) accentuation. The "oldest" Štokavski systems resembled Čakavski, with one accent on short vowels (*ōko*, *sestrā*, *glāvā*, also *bāba* from Proto-Slavic acute) but two, rising and falling, distinguished on longs (rising *sūša* 'drought', falling *mēso* 'meat'). A newer system neutralizes the long accents: *sūša*, *mēso*. Finally the neo-Štokavski accent shift creates new rising accents on the syllable preceding older non-initial accents: *sestrā* > *sēstra* with new short rising, *glāvā* > *glāva* with new rising on a long.

5.3.3 The jat reflex splits Štokavski dialects into Ekavski, (I)jekavski and Ikavski. Within these there are sub-dialects.

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

5.3.3.2 The Šumadija-Vojvodina type, as its name implies, occupies Serbia's northern province and part of central Serbia southwest of Beograd. It is Ekavski (the standard of Serbia inherits Ekavism from this type), except for part of Šumadija with a separate vowel [ě] (section 1.1.1.2). Its accents are new, its plural endings largely new. Unaccented syllables show a tendency to shorten long vowels which becomes stronger in East and South Serbia.

5.3.3.3 Younger Ikavski, lying between Eastern Hercegovinian and Čakavski, has mostly new accentuation and mostly neutralized plural cases. Parts of the area are Šćakavski and share other features with Čakavski.

5.3.3.4 The Zeta-Lovćen (Zeta-South Sandžak) group occupies southern Montenegro and adjoining areas of Serbia. The accent neutralizes the oldest distinction on long vowels, but is largely unshifted. The plural syncretizes dative and instrumental, but joins locative with genitive. Jat reflexes are mostly (I)jekavski, with the short version, *je*, causing extensive changes in preceding consonants.

5.3.3.5 East and north of it is the Kosovo-Resava type. Accents and plurals resemble Zeta-Lovćen. Jat development is consistently Ekavski, without *i* reflexes before *j* (section 1.1.1.2). Lengths in post-accentual syllables shorten.

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

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

5.3.3.8 Eastern Bosnian, Jekavski and Šćakavski, has partly old accentuation with traces of falling-rising distinctions, but influence of neo-Štokavski-speaking migrants has been heavy. Plural cases neutralize.

5.3.3.9 South of Kosovo-Resava is Prizren-Timok. Ekavski, with unshifted accent position but without contrasts of short and long vowels, these dialects have six-vowel systems, having a vowel *ǎ* as in Bulgarian. Final / becomes *a* or remains: *bija*, *bil*. Of all BCS dialects these are most affected by linguistic Balkanisms: apart from the vocative the case system shrinks to nominative and a single "oblique" case for other uses, sometimes with a separate dative. The aorist and imperfect tenses are vigorous. Enclitic doubling of objects is widespread, as are postposed demonstratives used as definite articles; both are features shared with Macedonian.

6. Text Samples

Fatima	je	iz	Glamoča.	Zapravo	iz	sela	pored	Glamoča
Fatima	is	from	Glamoč	Actually	from	village	near	Glamoč
F NOM SG	3 SG		M GEN SG			N GEN SG		M GEN SG

sa	četrdesetak	kuća	koje	nosi	ime	po	njezinoj
with	approx. 40	houses	which	bears	name	according	her
		F GEN PL	N NOM SG	3 SG	N ACC SG	to	F DAT SG

obitelji.	lli	obrnuto.	Stari	joj	radi	u	pilani	i
family	Or	reversed.	Old [man]	her	works	in	sawmill	and
F DAT SG			M NOM SG	F DAT SG	3 SG		F LOC SG	

najpoznatiji		je	preparator	divljači	u	Glamočkom	polju;
best-known		is	taxidermist	game	in	Glamoč	field
M NOM SG superlative		3 SG	M NOM SG	F GEN SG		ADJ N LOC SG	N LOC SG

mama	je	domaćica.	Ima	stariju	sestru	Razu	i
mother	is	housewife	has	older	sister	Raza	and
F NOM SG	3 SG	F NOM SG	3 SG	F ACC SG	F ACC SG	F ACC SG	

mlađeg		brata	Elvira.	Kad	su	bili
younger		brother	Elvir	When		were
M ACC SG AN		M ACC SG AN	M ACC SG AN		AUX 3 PL	LP M PL

klinci	i	kad	bi	starom	kasnila	pošiljka	umjetnih	očiju
kids	and	when	would	old	be late	shipment	artificial	eyes
M NOM PL			3 SG	M DAT SG	LP F SG	F NOM SG	F GEN PL	F GEN PL

iz	Gradiške,	vadio	bi	oči	iz	njihovih	lutaka	i
from	Gradiška	take out	would	eyes	from	their	dolls	and
	F GEN SG	LP M SG	3 SG	F ACC PL		F GEN PL	F GEN PL	

plišanih	meda.	Fatima	je	pohađala	medicinsku	školu,	najprije
plush	teddybears	Fatima		attended	medical	school	first
M GEN PL	M GEN PL	F NOM SG	AUX 3 SG	LP F SG	F ACC SG	F ACC SG	

u	Banjoj	Luci	a	zatim	u	Travniku.	Radila	je
in	Banja	Luka	but	then	in	Travnik	Worked	
	F LOC SG ADJ	F LOC SG			M LOC SG	LP F SG		AUX 3 SG

u	Medicinskom	centru	u	Glamoču	kad	su	se	podigli
in	medical	center	in	Glamoč	when			arose
	M LOC SG	M LOC SG		M LOC SG		AUX 3 PL	reflexive	LP M PL

četnici.	Tada	je,	preko	Banje	Luke,	pobjegla	s
četniks	Then		via	Banja	Luka	fled	with
M NOM PL		AUX 3 SG		F GEN SG ADJ	F GEN SG	LP F SG	

bratom	u	Travnik....
brother	to	Travnik
M INST SG		M ACC SG

Fatima is from Glamoč. Actually from a village near Glamoč, with forty or so houses, which has taken its name from her family, or vice versa. Her old man works in the sawmill and is the best-known taxidermist for wild game in the Glamoč Plain region; her mama is a housewife. She has an older sister Raza and a younger brother Elvir. When they were kids and when a shipment of artificial eyes from Gradiška for the old man would be delayed, he used to take the eyes out of their dolls and teddy bears. Fatima attended vocational school for nurses, first in Banja Luka and then in Travnik. She was working at the Medical Center in Glamoč when the Serb nationalist forces rose up. Then she fled with her brother via Banja Luka to Travnik....

Fatima	živi	u	Buffalu,	država	New York.	Dvadeset	osam	joj
Fatima	lives	in	Buffalo	State	New York	twenty	eight	her
F NOM SG	3 SG		M LOC SG	F NOM SG	M NOM SG			F DAT SG

je	godina.	Izgleda	dobro:	tamnoputa,	blago	koščatog	lica,
is	years	looks	good	dark-complexioned	mildly	boney	face
3 SG	F GEN PL	3 SG	adverb	F NOM SG		N GEN SG	N GEN SG

toplih	tamno	zelenih	očiju,	elegantnih	pokreta	i	držanja.
warm	dark	green	eyes	elegant	movements	and	posture
GEN PL	adverb	GEN PL	F GEN PL	GEN PL	M GEN PL		N GEN SG

Odjevena	u	jednostavne,	s	ukusom	odabrane	krpice
dressed	in	simple	with	taste	chosen	"rags"
F NOM SG		F ACC PL		M INST SG	F ACC PL	F ACC PL

tamnijih		tonova,	izgleda	vrlo	dobro;	sa	ovalnim	minijaturnim
darker		tones	looks	very	good	with	oval	miniature
GEN PL comparative		M GEN PL	3 SG		adverb		INST PL	INST PL

naočalima	na	licu	gotovo	otmjeno.	Na	prvi	pogled	ne
eyeglasses	on	face	almost	aristocratic	At	first	glance	not
F INST PL		N LOC SG		adverb		M ACC SG	M ACC SG	

bih	u	njoj	prepoznao	Bosanku,	prije	bih	je	locirao
would	in	her	recognize	Bosnian	rather	would	her	place
1 SG		F LOC SG	LP M SG	F ACC SG		1 SG	F ACC SG	LP M SG

u	porodicu	kakvih	iranskih	emigranata	iz	ranih	osamdesetih
in	family	some	Iranian	emigrants	from	early	eightieth
	F ACC SG	GEN PL	GEN PL	M GEN PL		GEN PL	GEN PL

ili	u	neki	od	klanova	queenskih	Grka.
or	in	some	of	clan	Queens	Greeks
		M ACC SG		M GEN PL	ADJ GEN PL	M GEN PL

Fatima lives in Buffalo, New York State. She is 28 years old. She looks good: dark, with a slightly boney face, warm dark green eyes, elegant movements and posture. Dressed in simple, tastefully chosen "threads" in darker colors, she looks very good; with tiny oval eyeglasses on her face, almost aristocratic. At first glance I wouldn't recognize her as a Bosnian, I would more likely place her in the family of some Iranian emigrants from the beginning of the 1980s or in one of the clans of Greeks from Queens.

From "ToFa: a crying game," short story by the contemporary Bosnian writer Saša Skenderija (Ithaca, N.Y.). Used by permission.

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Web resources

A corpus is a collection of pieces of text in some language. You can search it to find examples of usage: what forms of a given word exist, how frequently are they used, what are the favorite object nouns that a verb takes or the other way around (do you "ask" a question? Not in BCS: the phrase is *postaviti pitanje* 'put a question', not *pitati pitanje*).

At present there are two corpuses, or corpora, from the BCS area available on the Web: the Croatian National Corpus (Hrvatski nacionalni korpus) at <http://www.hnk.ffzg.hr/korpus.htm> and the Oslo Corpus of Bosnian Texts at <http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/Bosnian/Corpus.html>. Each has its own advantages and disadvantages. The Croatian corpus allows you to search for a word, or different forms of a word (*pitaj%* will get *pitaje, pitanja, pitanjem, pitanjima* etc.). The smaller Bosnian corpus allows searching for a word or a phrase ("*postav.**" "*pitaj.**" with quotation marks as shown will get *postaviti pitanje, postavljam pitanja*, etc.). You need to get permission before beginning to use it (which takes a day or two). A Serbian corpus is planned for the near future; see <http://www.serbian-corpus.edu.yu/indexie.htm>.

You can also treat the whole World Wide Web as a corpus. Some search engines will let you search for words or phrases in Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian web pages. Using Google at <http://www.google.com/>, you can choose Preferences and make the Interface Language Bosnian (or Croatian, or Serbian). Then when you search for, let's say, "*postaviti pitanje*" (quotation marks around a desired phrase),

Google displays pages—in their original character set—that contain this phrase. To search for Serbian pages that use Cyrillic, you need to choose Russian as Interface Language (or some other language that uses Cyrillic).