

# 7 Serbo-Croat

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## 1 Introduction

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

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

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

intelligible only to those schooled in the Church language.

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 2 Phonology

### 2.1 Segmental phoneme inventory

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

г̀р̀м(j)ети 'to thunder', k̀r̀v/k̀r̀v 'blood', v̀uk/v̀uk 'wolf', s̀unce/c̀ỳnce 'sun', s̀uza/c̀ỳza 'a tear', g̀utati/g̀utati 'to swallow'.

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

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

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

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

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

**Table 7.1 Serbo-Croat consonants**

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

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

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

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

Long and short vowels are distinguished under accent or in later syllables in the word. Thus *grǎd/грǎд* 'city', *grǎd/грǎд* 'hail'; *vǎljati/vǎљати* 'to roll', *vǎljati/vǎљати* 'to be good'. Post-accentual length is notated  $\bar{a}$ : *gǔdīnā/гǔдǎнǎ* 'years (GEN PL)'; *prǎvdā/пǎвдǎ* 'he/she justifies', *prǎvda/пǎвда* 'justice'; *veličinē/величǎнē* 'size (GEN SG)', *veličine/величǎнe* 'sizes (NOM/ACC PL)'. Many post-accentual lengths are associated with specific suffixes or grammatical forms (as genitive plural of nouns). One can construct examples with multiple lengths like *rǎzbōjnīštāvā/рǎзбōјнǎштǎvǎ*, genitive plural of *rǎzbōjnīštvo/рǎзбōјнǎштво* 'banditry', but few people will pronounce all five vowels long; practically every region shortens post-accentual lengths in some positions (P. Ivić 1958 finds a clear hierarchy of dialectal shortenings).

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

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

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

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

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

## 2.2 Morphophonemic alternations inherited from Proto-Slavonic

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



nominative plurals, the alternation is almost exceptionless: ŭčenīci/ўченици; agnòstik/агнòстик 'agnostic', agnòstīci/агнòстици; bŭbrezi/бўбрези; siròmasi/сирòмаси; ālmanah/āлманах 'almanac', ālmanasi/āлманаси. A few recent words escape it, like kǫk/kǫk 'cocculus bacterium', kǫki/kǫki. It is equally regular before the -īma/-има dative-locative-instrumental plural ending: ŭčenīcima/ўченицима, agnòstīcima/агнòстицима, bŭbrezīma/бўбрезима.

In the dative-locative singular of the -a declension, the change is common: rūka/рука, rūci/руци (or rūci/руци); nòga/nòга 'foot, leg', nòzi/nòзи; svřha/svřха 'purpose', svřsi/svřси; but it is restricted by phonological, morphological and lexical factors, whose hierarchy is only partially investigated. Some stem-final consonant clusters disfavour it: mǎčka/mǎчка 'cat', mǎčki/mǎчки, compare d(j)ěvǫjka/д(ј)ěвǫјка 'girl', d(j)ěvǫjci/д(ј)ěвǫјци. Personal names and hypocoristics avoid it: Milka/Мйлка, Mīlki/Мйлки; bāka/bāка 'Granny', bāki/bāки. This avoidance is stronger than the tendency for words in -īka/-ика to undergo the change: lǫgīka/lǫгика 'logic', lǫgīci/lǫгици; Āfrika/Āфрика, Āfrīci/Āфрици; but čīka/чйка 'Uncle (addressing an older man)', čīki/чйки. Of the three consonants, *k* most readily alternates, then *g*, with *h* least susceptible.

The third palatalization of velars (*c*, *z*, *s* from earlier Proto-Slavonic *k*, *g*, *x*) survives as a rare alternation in word formation: kněz/kněz 'prince' but kněginja/kněгиња 'princess'. Only in the formation of imperfective verbs from perfectives can a pattern (dating to early South Slavonic) be discerned, as izreći/йзрећи 'to utter', stem iz-rek-/йз-рек-, imperfective izrīcati/изрйцати; pòdīci/pòдйћи 'to pick up', stem pò-dig-/пò-диг-, imperfective pòdizati/pòдизати; udāhnuti/удāхнути 'to inhale', stem u-dāh-nu-/у-дāх-ну-, imperfective ūdisati/ўдисати.

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

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

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

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

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

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

indefinite adjectives, masculine singular *l*-participles of verbs; respectively, *tŕgovac*/трговац ‘merchant’ and genitive *tŕgovca*/тргѡвца; *túžan*/түжан ‘sad’ and feminine *túžna*/түжна; *išao*/ишао ‘went’ (from *ići*/ићи) and feminine singular *išla*/ишла. The *a* also appears before certain suffixes, as *tŕgovac*/трговац + *skī*/скї → *tŕgovačkī*/тргѡвачкї ‘commercial’.

The alternation has been extended to various stem-final consonant clusters (generally containing at least one sonorant) where it had no historical basis. This is termed ‘inserted *a*’ or ‘secondary jer’. Compare *Pëtar*/Пëтар ‘Peter’, genitive *Pëtra*/Пëтра (\**Petrъ*); *dǔbar*/дѡбар ‘good’, feminine *dǔbra*/дѡбра (\**dobrъ*); the masculine *l*-participle of verbs whose stem ends in an obstruent, as *rëkao*/рëкао ‘said’ (from *rëkal* < \**reklъ*). Inserted *a* in nominative singulars is frequent in loan-words: *kīlometar*/кїлометар, genitive *kīlometra*/кїлометра; *sùbjekat*/сѡбјекат or *sùbjekt*/сѡбјект, genitive *sùbjekta*/сѡбјекта.

The Serbo-Croat *-ā/-ā* genitive plural ending also triggers insertion of *a*, ‘breaking’ a preceding cluster: *tŕgovācā*/тргѡвāцā, *kīlometārā*/кїлометārā, *sùbjekātā*/сѡбјекātā, *jūtārā*/jūtārā from *jūtro*/jūtро ‘morning’, *sestārā*/сестārā from *sèstra*/сèстра ‘sister’. (Only a few clusters such as *st*, *zd*, *št*, *žd*, *šč*, *žd*, consonant-*j* are ‘unbreakable’; *cèsta*/цèста ‘road’, genitive plural *cèstā*/цèстā, *ráskršće*/рáскршће ‘crossroads’, genitive plural *ráskršcā*/рáскршћā, *sázv(ij)ěžde*/сáзв(иј)ěжђе ‘constellation’, genitive plural *sázv(ij)ěždā*/сáзв(иј)ěжђā, *nár(j)ecje*/нár(ј)ечје ‘dialect’, genitive plural *nár(j)ěčjā*/нár(ј)ěчјā.) The inserted *-a-* then undergoes the other notable effect of this ending, namely vowel lengthening in the syllable preceding. A hierarchy exists: insertion in genitive plural can occur without insertion in nominative singular, but not the reverse.

### 2.3 Morphophonemic alternations resulting from changes after Proto-Slavonic

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

only *šć*, *žđ*: list/лист 'leaf', lišće/лишће 'leaves'; grōzd/грōзд 'bunch of grapes', grōžđe/грōжђе 'grapes'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

A further vowel-enhancing change is that of the consonant *l* to *o*, which occurred when the *l* was pre-consonantal or word-final. The alternation that results is exceptionless in verb *l*-participles: masculine singular *đāo/дāо* ‘gave’, but feminine *dāla/дāла*. In adjectives and nouns it is widespread though lexicalized: masculine singular nominative *mīo/мīо* ‘nice’, feminine *mīla/мīла*, but *đhol/đхол* ‘haughty’ – *đhola/đхола*.

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

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

### 3 Morphology

#### 3.1 Nominal morphology

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

##### 3.1.1 Nominal categories

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 3.1.2 Noun morphology

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

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

**Table 7.2 Masculine *o*-stems**

	'city'	'husband'	'window'
<i>Singular</i>			
NOM	<i>grād</i> /грād	<i>mūž</i> /муж	<i>prōzor</i> /прóзор
VOC	<i>grāde</i> /грāде	<i>mūžu</i> /мужу	<i>prōzore</i> /прóзоре
ACC	<i>grād</i> /грād	<i>mūža</i> /мужа	<i>prōzor</i> /прóзор
GEN	<i>grāda</i> /грāда	<i>mūža</i> /мужа	<i>prōzora</i> /прóзора
DAT	<i>grādu</i> /грāду	<i>mūžu</i> /мужу	<i>prōzoru</i> /прóзору
INST	<i>grādom</i> /грāдом	<i>mūžem</i> /мужем	<i>prōzorum</i> /прóзором
LOC	<i>grādu</i> /грāду	<i>mūžu</i> /мужу	<i>prōzoru</i> /прóзору
234	<i>grāda</i> /грāда	<i>mūža</i> /мужа	<i>prōzora</i> /прóзора
<i>Plural</i>			
NOM-VOC	<i>grādovi</i> /грāдови	<i>mūževi</i> /мужеви	<i>prōzori</i> /прóзори
ACC	<i>grādove</i> /грāдове	<i>mūževe</i> /мужеве	<i>prōzore</i> /прóзоре
GEN	<i>grādōvā</i> /грāдōвā	<i>mūževā</i> /мужевā	<i>prōzōrā</i> /прóзōрā
DAT-LOC-INST	<i>grādivima</i> /грāдовима	<i>mūževima</i> /мужевима	<i>prōzorima</i> /прóзорима

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 7.3 Neuter *o*-stems

	'place'	'heart'	'study'
<i>Singular</i>			
NOM-VOC-ACC	m(j)ěsto/м(ј)ѐсто	sřce/срце	ùčēnje/учѣње
GEN	m(j)ěsta/м(ј)ѐста	sřca/срца	ùčēnja/учѣња
DAT-LOC	m(j)ěstu/м(ј)ѐсту	sřcu/срцу	ùčēnju/учѣњу
INST	m(j)ěstom/ м(ј)ѐстом	sřcem/срцем	ùčēnjem/учѣњем
234	m(j)ěsta/м(ј)ѐста	sřca/срца	ùčēnja/учѣња
<i>Plural</i>			
NOM-VOC-ACC	m(j)ěsta/м(ј)ѐста	sřca/срца	ùčēnja/учѣња
GEN	m(j)ěstā/м(ј)ѐстā	sřca/срца	ùčēnja/учѣња
DAT-LOC-INST	m(j)ěstima/ м(ј)ѐстима	sřcima/срцима	ùčēnjima/учѣњима

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

Traces of Proto-Slavonic *s*-stems (the \**slovo* type) are seen in alternative plural stems for nēbo/нѐбо 'heaven', t(ij)ělo/т(иј)ѐло 'body', čudo/чўдо 'miracle': nebēsa/небѐса, t(j)elēsa/т(ј)елѐса, čudēsa/чудѐса.

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

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

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

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

The dative-locative singular ending causes consonant alternation in



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

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

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

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

Proto-Slavonic *i*-nominative nouns now have *-a*: \**rabynji* > rōbinja/рōбиња 'slave woman', \**srdiji* > sūdiĵa/сūдиĵа 'judge'.

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

The *i*-declension continues Proto-Slavonic *i*-stems. Proto-Slavonic *r*-stems yield māti/māти 'mother', genitive māterē/māтерē (like *a*-stems except accusative mātēr/māтēr, vocative māti/māти) and kći/kћи 'daughter', genitive kćeri/kћери (like *i*-stems). More frequent now are *a*-stems (from diminutives) mājka/mājka, (k)ćerka/(k)ћерка. Proto-Slavonic long \**u*-stems mostly become *a*-stems in  $-va/-va$ : \**сърку* > сrĵkva/цrĵква 'church', \**свекры* > svĵkrva/свĵкрва 'mother-in-law'; but two are *i*-stems: \**ljuby* > ljúbav/љýбав, \**kry* > křv/kрв 'blood'.

Besides the declension types given, Serbo-Croat has nouns declining as adjectives. Two noteworthy sets are masculine surnames in  $-skī/-скй$ , as Bugārskī/Бугārскй, genitive Bugārskōg(a)/Бугārскōг(a), and country

**Table 7.5** Feminine *i*-stems

‘bone’	
<i>Singular</i>	
NOM	kōst/kōст
VOC	kōsti/kōсти
ACC	kōst/kōст
GEN	kōsti/kōсти
DAT	kōsti/kōсти
INST	kōsti, kōšću/kōсти, kōшћу
LOC	kōsti/kōсти
234	kōsti/kōсти
<i>Plural</i>	
NOM-VOC-ACC	kōsti/kōсти
GEN	kōstī, kōstijū/kōстī, kōстијū
DAT-LOC-INST	kōstima/kōстима

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

### 3.1.3 Pronominal morphology

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

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

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

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

**Table 7.6 Personal and reflexive pronouns**

	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3 masculine</i>	<i>3 neuter</i>	<i>3 feminine</i>
<i>Singular</i>					
NOM	jā/jā	tī/tī	ōn/ōn	òno/òno	òna/òna
ACC	mēne/mēne	tēbe/tēbe	pjēga/њēга	pjēga/њēга	pjū/њū
Enclitic	me/me	te/te	ga/га	ga/га	je/je, ju/jy
GEN	mēne/mēne	tēbe/tēbe	pjēga/њēга	pjēga/њēга	pje/њe
Enclitic	me/me	te/te	ga/га	ga/га	je/je
DAT	mēni/mēni	tēbi/tēbi	pjētu/њēму	pjētu/њēму	pjōj/њōj
Enclitic	mi/ми	ti/ти	tu/му	tu/му	jōj/jōj
INST	mnōm/мнōм	tđbōm/тđбōм	pjīm/њīm	pjīm/њīm	pjōm/њōм
LOC	mēni/mēni	tēbi/tēbi	pjētu/њēму	pjētu/њēму	pjōj/њōj
<i>Plural</i>					
NOM	mī/mī	vī/vī	ōni/они	òna/она	òne/оне
ACC-GEN	nās/nās	vās/vās	pjīh/њих	pjīh/њих	pjīh/њих
Enclitic	nas/nac	vas/vac	ih/их	ih/их	ih/их
DAT	nāta/nāma	vāta/vāma	pjīta/њйма	pjīta/њйма	pjīta/њйма
Enclitic	nam/nam	vam/vam	im/им	im/им	im/им
INST-LOC	nāta/nāma	vāta/vāma	pjīta/њйма	pjīta/њйма	pjīta/њйма
<i>Reflexive</i>					
<i>Singular/plural</i>					
NOM	—				
ACC	sēbe/cēbe				
Enclitic	se/ce				
GEN	sēbe/cēbe				
DAT	sēbi/cēbi				
Enclitic	(si/си)				
INST	sđbōm/сđбōм				
LOC	sēbi/cēbi				

**Table 7.7** Demonstrative and possessive pronouns

	'this, that' <i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
<i>Singular</i>			
NOM	tāj/tāj	tō/tō	tā/tā
ACC	NOM or GEN	tō/tō	tū/tū
GEN	tòg(a)/tòr(a)	tòg(a)/tòr(a)	tē/tē
DAT-LOC	tòm(e, u)/ тòm(е, у)	tòm(e, u)/ тòm(е, у)	tój/tój
INST	tīm, tíme/ тйм, тїме	tīm, tíme/ тйм, тїме	tòm/tòm
234	tā/tā	tā/tā	tē/tē
<i>Plural</i>			
NOM	tī/tī	tā/tā	tē/tē
ACC	tē/tē	tā/tā	tē/tē
GEN	tīh/tīx	tīh/tīx	tīh/tīx
DAT-LOC-INST	tīm, tīma/ тйм, тїма	tīm, tīma/ тйм, тїма	tīm, tīma/ тйм, тїма
'our(s)'			
<i>Singular</i>			
NOM	nāš/nāš	nāše/nāše	nāša/nāša
ACC	NOM or GEN	nāše/nāše	nāšu/nāšu
GEN	nāšeg(a)/ нāшег(а)	nāšeg(a)/ нāшег(а)	nāšē/nāšē
DAT-LOC	nāšem(u)/ нāшем(у)	nāšem(u)/ нāшем(у)	nāšōj/nāšōj
INST	nāšīm/nāšīm	nāšīm/nāšīm	nāšōm/nāšōm
234	nāša/nāša	nāša/nāša	nāše/nāše
<i>Plural</i>			
NOM	nāši/nāši	nāša/nāša	nāše/nāše
ACC	nāše/nāše	nāša/nāša	nāše/nāše
GEN	nāšīh/nāšīx	nāšīh/nāšīx	nāšīh/nāšīx
DAT-LOC-INST	nāšīm(a)/ нāшїм(а)	nāšīm(a)/ нāшїм(а)	nāšīm(a)/nāšīm(a)

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

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

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

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

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

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
<i>Singular</i>			
NOM	sāv/cāv	svě/cvě	svā/cvā
ACC	NOM or GEN	svě/cvě	svũ/cvũ
GEN	svěga/cvěga	svěga/cvěga	svě/cvě
DAT-LOC	svěmu/cvěму	svěmu/cvěму	svôj/cvôj
INST	svim/cvim	svim/cvim	svôm/cvôm
234	svā/cvā	svā/svā	svě/cvě
<i>Plural</i>			
NOM	svi/cvi	svā/cvā	svě/cvě
ACC	svě/cvě	svā/cvā	svě/cvě
GEN	svih/cvih, svijũ/cvijũ	svih/cvih, svijũ/cvijũ	svih/cvih, svijũ/cvijũ
DAT-LOC-INST	svim/cvim, svima/cvima	svim/cvim, svima/cvima	svim/cvim, svima/cvima

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

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

	‘who’ <i>masculine</i>	‘what’ <i>neuter</i>
NOM	(t)kō/(t)kō	štō, štā/штō, штā
ACC	kōga/kōga	štō, štā/штō, штā
GEN	kōga/kōga	čēga/чēga
DAT-LOC	kōmu, kōme/kōmu, kōme	čēmu/чēmu
INST	kim, kime/kim, kime	čim, čime/чим, чиме

Interrogatives add prefixes or suffixes to give indefinites: *ně(t)ko/ně(t)ko* ‘someone’, *něšto/něšto* ‘something’, *někav/někav* ‘of some sort’. *I-/и-* means ‘any’ (negative polarity; section 4.6), *ni-/ни-* ‘no’, *koje-/које-* ‘one and another’ (as *kojēšta/којешта* ‘various things; nonsense’), *svā-/cvā-* (*svě-/cvě-*, *svũ-/cvũ-*) ‘every’ (*svā(t)ko/cvā(t)ko* ‘everyone’, *svũgd(j)e/cvũgd(j)e* ‘everywhere’). *Bilo/было...*, *ma/ма...*, ... *gd/gд* mean ‘... ever’ (thus *bilo gd(j)e/было гд(j)e*, *ma gd(j)ě/ма гд(j)ě* or *gd(j)e gd/gд(j)e гд* ‘wherever’). The *ně-/ně-* type may be used both with and without existence presuppositions:

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

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

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

### 3.1.4 Adjectival morphology

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

The long endings are those of the pronominal declension, but with length on the first vowel and with nominative masculine singular *-ī/-ī̄*. The short endings differ in the forms italicized in table 7.10 and in the shortness of single-vowel endings (*пòво/нòво* versus long *пòvō/нòvō̄*). *Нòv/нòv̄* and some other adjectives distinguish short-long accentually as well (though much inter-speaker variation exists). Short genitives and dative-locatives like *пòва/нòва, пòву/нòву* are most widespread in the Croat standard. The short genitive ending *-a/-a* is especially frequent in the qualifying genitive: *чòв(ј)ек дòбра с̄ца/чòв(ј)ек дòбра с̄ца* 'a man of good heart'.

Soft stems differ from hard only in nominative-accusative neuter singular long *лòšē/лòшē̄*, short *лòše/лòше̄* 'bad', masculine-neuter genitive *лòšēg(a)/лòшēг(a)*, dative-locative *лòšēm(u)/лòшēm(y)*.

Short and long contrast semantically in modifier position: *пòv г̀рад/нòv̄ г̀рад* 'a new city', *пòvī г̀рад/нòvī̄ г̀рад* 'the new city'. Since Vuk Karadžić they have been explained as answering the questions *kàkav/kàkav?* 'of what sort?' and *kòj̄/kòj̄?* 'which one?' respectively. Set-phrases regularly have long forms; thus *б(и)ѐл̄ л̀ук/б(и)ѐл̄ л̀ук* 'white onion' means 'garlic'. Predicate position requires short forms (section 4.3): *òvāj г̀рад је нòv̄* 'this city is new'.

Possessive adjectives (sections 3.3.2, 4.9), including *п̀jègov/њ̀jèгов* 'his, its', *п̀jèn, п̀jèzin/њ̀jèn, њ̀jèзин* 'her', *п̀jìhov/њ̀jìхов* 'their', have only short endings: *М̀arijin г̀рад/М̀аријин г̀рад* 'Marija's city', *п̀jèn г̀рад/њ̀jèn г̀рад* 'her city', *Ìvanov г̀рад/Ìванов г̀рад* 'Ivan's city'. The same is true for the demonstrative-interrogatives in *-àkav/àkav*, suiting their meaning. Adjectives having exclusively long forms include *м̀ālī/м̀āли* 'small', *л(и)̀jèvī/л(и)̀jèви*, *д̀ešnī/д̀eснī* 'left, right', ordinal numerals like *др̀ugī/др̀yгī* 'second, other' and most adjectives derived from nouns, adverbs and verbs (section 3.3.2).

Participles have short and long forms: *п̀òzvān/п̀òзвān, п̀òzvānī/п̀òзвānī̄* 'called; called upon'. The present adverb and the *l*-participle of verbs can be adjectivalized, and then take long forms: *ìdūcī/ìдyћī̄* 'coming, next', *м̀inulī/м̀инулī̄* 'bygone', *п̀ālī/п̀āлī̄* 'fallen'.

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

**Table 7.10 Long and short adjective declension**

'new' long	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
<i>Singular</i>			
NOM	pǎvī/nǒvī	pǎvō/nǒvō	pǎvā/nǒvā
ACC	NOM or GEN	pǎvō/nǒvō	pǎvu/nǒvu
GEN	pǎvōg(a)/ nǒvōg(a)	pǎvōg(a)/ nǒvōg(a)	pǎvĕ/nǒvĕ
DAT-LOC	pǎvōm(e, u)/ nǒvōm(e, y)	pǎvōm(e, u)/ nǒvōm(e, y)	pǎvōj/nǒvōj
INST	pǎvīm/nǒvīm	pǎvīm/nǒvīm	pǎvōm/nǒvōm
234	pǎvā/nǒvā	pǎvā/nǒvā	pǎvĕ/nǒvĕ
<i>Plural</i>			
NOM	pǎvī/nǒvī	pǎvā/nǒvā	pǎvĕ/nǒvĕ
ACC	pǎvĕ/nǒvĕ	pǎvā/nǒvā	pǎvĕ/nǒvĕ
GEN	pǎvīh/nǒvīx	pǎvīh/nǒvīx	pǎvīh/nǒvīx
DAT-LOC-INST	pǎvīm(a)/ nǒvīm(a)	pǎvīm(a)/ nǒvīm(a)	pǎvīm(a)/nǒvīm(a)
<i>'new' short</i>			
<i>Singular</i>			
NOM	pǎv/nǒv	pǎvo/nǒvo	pǎva/nǒva
ACC	NOM or GEN	pǎvo/nǒvo	pǎvu/nǒvu
GEN	pǎvōg(a)/ nǒvōg(a), pǎva/nǒva	pǎvōg(a)/ nǒvōg(a), pǎva/nǒva	pǎvĕ/nǒvĕ
DAT-LOC	pǎvōm(e, u)/ nǒvōm(e, y), pǎvu/nǒvu	pǎvōm(e, u)/ nǒvōm(e, y), pǎvu/nǒvu	pǎvōj/nǒvōj
INST	pǎvīm/nǒvīm	pǎvīm/nǒvīm	pǎvōm/nǒvōm
234	pǎva/nǒva	pǎva/nǒva	pǎve/nǒve
<i>Plural</i>			
NOM	pǎvi/nǒvi	pǎva/nǒva	pǎve/nǒve
ACC	pǎve/nǒve	pǎva/nǒva	pǎve/nǒve
GEN	pǎvīh/nǒvīx	pǎvīh/nǒvīx	pǎvīh/nǒvīx
DAT-LOC-INST	pǎvīm(a)/ nǒvīm(a)	pǎvīm(a)/ nǒvīm(a)	pǎvīm(a)/nǒvīm(a)

yields the superlative) decline precisely like soft-stem long adjectives. Most are formed by adding -ij-ī/-ij-ī to adjective stems: lǒš/lǒš 'bad', lǒšijī/lǒšijī (lǒšijĕ/lǒšijĕ, lǒšijā/lǒšijā ...) 'worse'; múdar/múdar 'wise', mùdriji/mùdriji; rǒzvan/pǒzvan 'called upon', rozvanijī/rozvanijī; plemènit/plemènit 'noble', plemènitijī/plemènitijī. A smaller set add bare endings with old jotation (section 2.3). These are mostly (1) monosyllables containing long vowel: gúst/gúst 'thick', gǔšĕ-ī/gǔšĕ-ī; skǔp/skǔp 'expensive', skǔplj-ī/skǔplj-ī; (2) disyllables which lose the second

syllable: *širok*/широк 'wide', *šir-ī*/шир-ий; *sladak*/сладак 'sweet', *slād-ī*/слад-ий. Three adjectives have *š*/ш comparatives: *lāk*/лак 'light, easy', *lākšī*/лакшій; *měk*/мек 'soft', *měkšī*/мекшій; *l(j)ěp*/л(и)еп 'beautiful', *l(j)ěpšī*/лєпшій (лєпшій). Suppletive comparatives are *dōbar*/дōбар 'good', *bōljī*/бōльї; *lōš*/лōш or *řđav*/řđав or *zào*/зào (stem *zl*/зл-) 'bad', *gōrī*/гōрї 'worse'; *vèlik*/вèлик 'large', *vècī*/вèћї; *māli*/мāлї or *mālen*/мāлен, *mānjī*/мāњї; *dūg*/дūг 'long', *dūžī*/дūжї or *dūljī*/дūльї. See section 5.3 for periphrastic comparison of indeclinables.

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

### 3.1.5 Numeral morphology

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

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

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

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

	'2' <i>Masculine-neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	'3'
NOM-ACC-VOC	<i>dvā</i> /двā	<i>dvjje</i> , <i>dvē</i> /двїје, двē	<i>tri</i> /трї
GEN	<i>dvājū</i> /двājū	<i>dvijū</i> , <i>dvėjū</i> /двїјū, двėjū	<i>trijū</i> /трїјū
DAT-LOC-INST	<i>dvāma</i> /двāма	<i>dv(j)ěma</i> /дв(j)ěма	<i>trīma</i> /трїма
	'both'		'4'
NOM-ACC-VOC	<i>đba</i> /đба	<i>đb(j)e</i> /đб(j)e	<i>četiri</i> /чєтири
GEN	<i>obāju</i> /обājū	<i>objū</i> , <i>obėjū</i> /обїјū, обėjū	<i>četirjū</i> /чєтирїјū
DAT-LOC-INST	<i>ob(j)ěma</i> /об(j)ěма	<i>ob(j)ěma</i> /об(j)ěма	<i>četirma</i> /чєтирма



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

## 3.2 Verbal morphology

### 3.2.1 Categories expressed

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

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

The compound tenses are as follows:

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

*Slávko će vīd(j)eti Mārīju./Слávко ће вīд(ј)ети Mārīју.*

*Slávko će da vīdī Mārīju./Слávко ће да вīдī Mārīју.*

‘Slavko will see Marija.’

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

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

*Mi smo vīd(j)eli Mārīju./Ми смо вīд(ј)ели Mārīју.*

‘We saw (have seen) Marija.’

*Jèsmo li vīd(j)eli Mārīju?/Jèсмо ли вīд(ј)ели Mārīју?*

‘Have we seen (Did we see) Marija?’

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

Mi smo bili vid(j)eli Mariju./Мы смо были вид(ј)ели Марију.  
 Mi biјasmo (bēјasmo) vid(j)eli Mariju./Ми бйјасмо (бѣјасмо) вид(ј)ели  
 Марију.  
 'We had seen Marija.'

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

Kād (āko) bŭdēmo govōri(i)li s Mārijōm, svē ēe bīti jāсно./Кад (āко) бŭдѣмо  
 говōри(i)ли с Мāријōм, свѣ ѣе бйти јасно.  
 'When (if) we speak with Marija (in the future), everything will be clear.'

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

5 *The conditionals*: see under moods below.

Aspect affects a lexical item's whole paradigm; a verb is either perfective (napisati/написати 'to write' and all its forms) or imperfective (pisati/pисати 'to write' with its forms). However, many verbs are bi-aspectual, including some of the commonest: ići/йћи 'to go', bīti/бйти 'to be', razŭm(j)eti/разŭм(ј)ети 'to understand', kázati/kázати 'to say', vid(j)eti/вид(ј)ети 'to see', čŭti/чŭти 'to hear', rŭcati/rŭчати 'to have lunch'.

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

Perfective (especially prefixed perfective) verbs can be imperfectivized by adding suffixes, commonly -ati/-ати, -ívati/-ívати (present -ujēm/-ujēm) and -ávati/-ávati (-āvām/-āvām). Consonant-stem verbs with -e/-e- themes usually take -ati/-ати with present in -ām/-ām: is-trés-ti/истрѣс-ти 'to shake out', imperfective istrés-ati/истрѣс-ати, istrēsām/йстрѣсām. Velar stems, however, prefer -ati/-ати with third-palatalization reflex of the velar and -jēm/-jēm present: izreći/изређи (stem iz-rek-/из-рек-) 'to express', imperfective izríc-ati/изрйц-ати with present izrīčēm/изрйчѣм. An additional mark of imperfectivizing consonant stems is stem-internal -i/-и- or other vowel change, as pōčēti/pōчѣти, pōčnēm/pōчнѣм 'to begin', imperfective pōčinjati/pōчйнјати pōčinjēm/pōчйнјѣм; ŭmr(ij)ēti/ŭмр(иј)ѣти ŭmrēm/ŭмрѣм 'to die',

imperfective ùmirati/ўмирати ùmirēm/ўмирēm.

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

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

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

The present of a perfective verb does not mean future, except in 'when/if' clauses; it forms an 'infinitive substitute' with da/да<sub>2</sub> (section 4.5), and in main clauses it expresses 'typical action' if something in the context indicates generalization, as često/чéсто 'often':

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

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

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

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

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

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

Kād biste me bīli pítali, bīo bih rēkao./Кад бисте ме били питали, био бих рēкао.  
 ‘If you had asked me, I would have told.’

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

dā me pítate/dā ме пйтате  
 ‘if you asked me (now)’  
 dā ste me pítali/dā сте ме питали  
 ‘if you had asked me’

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

Pišēm da Vas pítām/пйшēm да Вас пйтām ...  
 ‘I write to ask you ...’  
 Pišēm da bih Vas pítao/пйшēm да бих Вас пйтао ...  
 ‘I write in order to ask you ...’

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

Knjīga je nàpīsana./Књйга је нàпйсана.  
 ‘The book has been written.’  
 Knjīga je bīla nàpīsana./Књйга је бйла нàпйсана.  
 ‘The book was written.’  
 Knjīga će bīti nàpīsana./Књйга ће бйти нàпйсана.  
 ‘The book will be written.’

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

Knjīga se pišē./Књйга се пйшē.  
 ‘The book (NOM) is being written.’

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

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

**Table 7.12** *L-participle*

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

### 3.2.2 Conjugation

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

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

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

*T* and *d* stems: *do-vèd-ēm/до-вѣд-ѣм* 'lead in', infinitive *dòvesti/дòвести*, *dòveo/дòвео*, *dòvela/дòвела* (*tl, dl* become *l*). *ĭd-ēm/ĭд-ѣм* 'go' has infinitive *ĭci/ĭћи*, *l*-participle *ĭšao/ĭшао* *ĭšla/ĭшла*, *ĭdoh/ĭдох*. Prefixed forms have *đ* (≪ *\*jd*): *náđēm/náђѣм* 'find', infinitive *náci/náћи*, *nášao/náшао* *nášla/náшла*, *náđoh/náђох* *náđe/нађе*, *náđen/náђен*, *nášāvši/náшāvши*. *\*Čyt-* is lost ('to read' is *čitati/читати* *čitām/читām*, of the *-a-je/-a-je-* type). *\*Jad-* is lost ('to ride' is *jāhati/jāхати*, *jāšēm/jāшѣм*).

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

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

Table 7.13 Conjugation of an -e/e- verb

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

врѡх, врѡше/врѡше, врѡао/врѡао врѡла/врѡла, врѡен/врѡен. (Vřiti/врѡити, vřim/врѡим 'to perform; thresh' is much more frequent.)

*N* and *m* stems have infinitive stem in *-ē-*: рѡ-ѡн-ѡм/пѡ-ѡн-ѡм 'to begin', рѡѡти/пѡѡти, participle рѡѡт/пѡѡт. Stān-ѡм/стāн-ѡм 'to stand, step, stop' has stāti/стāти, stāh/стāх, stā/стā, stāo/стāo stāla/стāла.

*R* stems: ū-mr-ѡм/ŷ-mr-ѡм 'die', ūmr(ij)ѡти/ŷmr(ij)ѡти, *l*-participle ūmro/ŷmro ūmrla/ŷmrla.

A few *-ra-* stems have infinitive *-a-* alongside present *-e-*, like бѡр-ѡм/бѡр-ѡм 'pluck', брāти/брāти; also зѡв-ѡм/зѡв-ѡм 'call', звāти/звāти. (\*Sъsa- 'suck' is now sīsati/сйсати, sīšēm/сйшѡм or sīsām/сйсāм.)

**Themes in -ne/-не-**. These have infinitive stem in *-nu/-ну-*, usually identifiable as a suffix. An example is dīgn-ѡм/дйгн-ѡм 'raise' (с \**dvig-*), imperative dīgni/дйгни, infinitive dīgnuti/дйгнути, dīgnuh/дйгнух, dīgnu/дйгну, dīгнуo/дйгнуo dīgnula/дйгнула, dīgnut/дйгнут, dīgnūvši/дйгнūвши. This, like many consonant *-nu/-ну-* verbs, has alternative forms lacking *-nu/-ну-*: dīci/дйћи (infinitive like stems in *k*,

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Forms made from present stem

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

Present adverb *čūjūci/чўjūћи*

Imperative *čūj/чўj*

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

#### Forms made from infinitive stem

Infinitive *čūti/чўти*

Aorist

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

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

Passive participle *čū-v-en/чў-v-en*

Past adverb *čūvši/чўвши*

ùmejŷ, ijekavian ùmijēm/ўмијѐм, ùmijēš/ўмијѐш ... ùmijŷ/ўмијŷ; the imperative is ùmēj/ўмѐј, ùmīj/ўмīј. *L*-participles are ekavian ùmeo/ўмео, ùmela/ўмела, ijekavian ùmio/ўмио, ùmjela/ўмјела.

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

Presents from *-va-/-ва-* infinitives, however, almost never show jotation; rather, there is alternation with *-ujē-/ujѐ-*. Some 1,000 infinitive stems in *-ova-ti/-ова-ти* like *daròva-ti/дарòва-ти* 'to donate' and a dozen in *-eva-ti/-ева-ти* like *mačèvati se/мачѐвати се* 'to fence' have presents *dàrujēm/dàрујѐм, -ujēš/-ujѐш ... -ujŷ/-ujŷ*. Almost 2,000 derived imperfectives in *-íva-ti/-íва-ти*, a Serbo-Croat innovation, also have *-ujē-/ujѐ-*: *kazívati/казíвати, kàzujēm/kàзујѐм ... -ujŷ/-ujŷ* 'to tell'. Serbo-Croat has regularized \**-ьvati* verbs into *-ùvati/-úвати* with the same alternation: *pljùvati/плъúвати, pljùjēm/плъúјѐм ... pljùjŷ/плъúјŷ* 'to spit'.

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

Stems like *sījati/síјати, ekavian sèjati/cèјати* 'to sow' have presents without double *jj*; ijekavian *sījēm/síјѐм ... sījŷ/síјŷ*, ekavian *sèjēm/cèјѐм ... sèjŷ/cèјŷ*.

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

The *-(j)e/-(j)e* and palatal *-a/-а* subtypes have imperfects *vīdāh/vīђāх, dīžāh/dīжāх*, aorists *vīd(j)eh/vīд(j)ех, dīžah/dīжāх*, *l*-participles ijekavian *vīdio/vīдио, vīdjela/vīдјела*, ekavian *vīdeo/vīдео, vīdela/vīдела, dīžao/dīжао, dīžāla/dīжāла*, passive participles



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

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>Forms made from present stem</i>	
Present	
1 mǝlīm/мǝлїм	mǝlīmo/мǝлїмо
2 mǝlīš/мǝлїш	mǝlīte/мǝлїте
3 mǝlī/мǝлї	mǝlē/мǝлє
Present adverb mǝlēci/мǝлєћи	
Imperative mǝli/мǝли	
Imperfect mǝljāh/мǝлѣх (like trėsijāh/трєсиѣх)	
<i>Forms made from infinitive stem</i>	
Infinitive mǝliti/мǝлити	
Aorist	
1 mǝlih/мǝлих	mǝlismo/мǝлисмо
2 mǝlī/мǝлї	mǝliste/мǝлисте
3 mǝlī/мǝлї	mǝliše/мǝлише
<i>L-participle</i> mǝlio/мǝлио, mǝlila/мǝлила	
Passive participle mǝlj-en/мǝлѣ-ен	
Past adverb (za)mǝlīvši/(за)мǝлївши	

vīden/вїћен, dǝžān/дрѣжāн, past adverbs vīd(j)ēvši/вїд(ј)євши, dǝžāvši/дрѣжāvши. The spread of old jotation (like *d* → *ǝ*: section 2.2) to imperfects and passive participles of the -(j)e/-(j)e subtype is a Serbo-Croat innovation.

Hǝditi/хǝдити 'to walk' is like mǝliti/мǝлити: hǝdīm/хǝдїм ... hǝdē/хǝдє, imperfect hǝdāh/хǝдѣх, participle pǝhođen/pǝхођен 'visited'. \**Vel-ě-* is defective, found only in the present: vėlīm/vėlїм ... vėlē/vėlє 'say'. \**Slyša-* has become an *-ā-* present: slīšati/слїшати, slīšām/слїшām 'to quiz'. 'To sleep' is now spāvati/spāvati, spāvām/spāvām, but prefixed zǝspati/zǝspati 'to fall asleep' has the *-i/-и-* present zǝspīm/zǝспїм.

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

'To be' is noteworthy for having an extra present tense (table 7.16). Jēsam/jēsam, clitic sam/сам is imperfective, whereas būdēm/бўдєм is perfective and imperfective: it can denote 'typical action', but otherwise occurs only in kǝd/kǝd or āko/āko clauses, da/да<sub>2</sub> clauses and as an auxiliary for the future II. The imperative is būdi/бўди, the present adverb būdūci/бўдўћи, from the 'extra' stem. The imperfect is ijekavian bījāh/bїјѣх or bjēh/bјєх, ekavian bējāh/bєјѣх, bēh/bєх. Other forms are regular from the stem bī-/бї-.

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

**Table 7.16 Presents of *bīti*/бїти**

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

'To give' is a regular -je-/-je- present, *dāti*/дāти, *dām*/дāм ... *dājū*/дājū, though an alternative present exists with -d-e-/-д-е-: *dádēm*/дāдēm, -ēš/-ēш ... *dádū*/дāдū. Similarly regular but with parallel -d-e-/-д-е- present forms are: *znāti*/знāти 'to know (persons or information)' *znām*/знām ... *znājū*/знājū or *znádēm*/знādēm ... *znádū*/знādū, *ìmati*/ìмати 'to have' *ìmām*/ìmām ... *ìmajū*/ìmajū or *ìmádēm*/ìmádēm ... *ìmádū*/ìmádū (but negated present *nēmām*/нēmām ... *némajū*/нémajū). \**Vèdēti*, \**věť* 'know' is lost.

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

**Table 7.17 Presents of *ht(j)ěti*/хт(j)ěти**

	<i>Full</i>	<i>Clitic</i>	<i>Negated</i>
<i>Singular</i>			
1	hòcu/xòhy	cu/hy	nécu/néhy
2	hðćeš/xðheš	ćeš/hesh	nèceš/něhesh
3	hðće/xðhe	će/he	nèce/něhe
<i>Plural</i>			
1	hðćemo/xðhemo	ćemo/hemo	nècemo/něhemo
2	hðćete/xðhete	ćete/hete	nèceete/něhete
3	hòcē/xòhē	cē/hē	nécē/něhē

### 3.3 Derivational morphology

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

#### 3.3.1 Major patterns of noun derivation

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

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

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

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

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

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

Feminine formation is typically with -ica/-ица: učitelj-ica/учителъ-ица 'teacher'; šěf/шěф 'chief', šěfica/шěфица. -ka/-ка occurs bound to particular suffixes: vladārka/владārка, Ljubljāncānka/Љубљáнчāнка. -inja/-иња attaches to velars: bōg-inja/бōг-иња 'goddess', Ūzbek-inja/Ūzbek-иња; and -kinja/-киња often to final *t*: kandidāt-kinja/кандїдāt-киња 'candidate', feminīstkinja/феминїсткїња 'feminist'.

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

gřlo/гр̄ло 'throat', gřl-ašce/гр̄л-ашце. Masculines and feminines add neuter -če/-че (stem -čet/-чет-) in the meaning 'young ...': čòbanin/чòбанин 'shepherd', čòbānče/чòбāнче 'shepherd boy'; gũska/гũска 'goose', gũšče/гũшче 'gosling'. Hurcoristics shorten names to (consonant-) vowel-consonant and add -o/-о, -e/-е or -a/-а: Ívo/Їво or Íve/Їве from Ívan/Їван, Mára/Mára, Máre/Máре or Mája/Mája from Mārija/Māрија. Augmentatives take -ina/-ина and extensions: bròd-ina/брòд-ина 'big boat', sob-ètina/соб-èтина 'big room'.

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

### 3.3.2 Major patterns of adjective derivation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Plant names of all declensions favour -ov/-ов: lra/lйпа 'linden', lprov čaj/лйпов чјј 'linden tea'.

Adverbs of place and time form adjectives with -njī/-нй, -šnjī/-шнй, -ašnjī/-ашнй: jùtro/jүтро 'morning', jùtarnjī/jүтәрнй; jùčē(r)/jүчē(r) 'yesterday', jučērašnjī/jучēрашнй.

Relationals from verbs (or from verbal nouns) can be in -ačī/-аһй: písaci stō(l)/пйсаһй стō(л) 'writing table' from písati/пйсати 'to write' or písānje/пйсāње 'writing'.

### 3.3.3 Major patterns of verb derivation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 4 Syntax

### 4.1 Element order in declarative sentences

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

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

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

Jèdan stùdent vòdї pìtomu óvсу./Jèдан стùдент вòдї пìтому óвцу.  
'A student is leading a tame sheep.'

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

Slávko Òlgu prèzirē./Слávко Òлгу прèзирē.  
'Slavko despises Olga.'

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

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

'Who is bringing the ham?'

A: Šunku dònosi *Slavko*./Шўнку доноси *Слáвко*.

'*Slavko* is bringing the ham.'

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

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

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

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

?Слáвко вїдї нєшто. Слáвко нєшто вїдї. (or: Слáвко вїдї *нєшто*.)

'Slavko sees something.'

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

vīdī Slavko./Вїдї Слáвко.

'Slavko DOES see.'

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

Slavko jāsno vīdī Ōlgu./Слáвко јáсно вїдї Ōлгу.

'Slavko sees Olga clearly.'

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

'Slavko sees Olga through the smoke.'

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

Slavko spāvā./Слáвко спáвā.

'Slavko is sleeping.'

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

Na stòlu lèži knjiga./На стòлу лèжй кнйга.  
'On the table lies (is) a book.'

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

U frižidėru imā šunkē (māslīnā)./У фрижидėру ймā шўнкѐ (мāслйнā).  
'In the refrigerator there is some ham (there are some olives).'

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

Na stòlu imā (or: je) knjiga./На стòлу ймā (or je) кнйга.  
'On the table there is a book.'

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

- I    *li/ли*.
- II    Auxiliary verbs and present of 'to be' (but not third person singular *je/je*):  
*bih, bi, bi, bismo, biste, bi/бих, би, би, бисмо, бисте, би* '(I, you, he/she/it, we, you, they) would'  
*ću, ćeš, će, ćemo, ćete, će/ћу, ћеш, ће, ћемо, ћете, ће* '(I, you, he/she/it, we, you, they) will'  
*сам, си, \_\_\_\_\_, смо, сте, су/сам, си, \_\_\_\_\_, смо, сте, су* '(I) have/did, (I) am' and so forth
- III    Dative pronouns:  
*mi, ti, mu, joj, нам, вам, im/ми, ти, му, јој, нам, вам, им* '(to) me, you, him/it, her, us, you, them'
- IV    Accusative/genitive pronouns:  
*me, te, ga, je, нас, вас, ih/ме, те, га, је, нас, вас, их* 'me, you, him/it, her, us, you, them'
- V    *se/ce*, reflexive pronoun and particle.
- VI    *je/je*, third person singular auxiliary and present of 'to be'. *Se + je/ce + je* usually becomes just *se/ce*; *je/je* occasionally drops after *me/ме* and *te/те* as well. *Je + je/je + je* is replaced by *ju je/ју је*.  
Examples:



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

'Slavko will see her.'

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

'Slavko feared it.'

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

'Olga gave her to him.'

Vīdī li je Slávko?/Вїдї ли је Слávко?

'Does Slavko see her?'

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

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

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

'My sister will come on Tuesday.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*svīh òvīh mòjīh dēsēt crvenīh rúžā*/свїх òвїх мòјїх дēsēt црвенїх рúжā  
'(Literally, 'all these my ten red roses.') All these ten red roses of mine.'

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

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

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

uv(j)erénje *nàprednih ljudi da je zèmlja òkrùgla*/ув(ј)ерéње *напредних људи да је зéмља òкрùгла*

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

uv(j)erénje *kòjè su ljudi izražavali da je zèmlja òkrùgla*/ув(ј)ерéње *кòјè су људи изражавали да је зéмља òкрùгла*

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

Adjectives and participles with complements usually follow nouns:

knjiga *žúta* od *stàrosti*/књига *жу́та* од *ста̀рости*  
'a book yellow with age'

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

#### 4.2 Non-declarative sentence types: interrogatives and imperatives

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

Slá<sup>vkò</sup> vīdī Òlgu?/Слá<sup>вкò</sup> вй̄дй̄ Òлгу?  
'Does Slavko see Olga?'

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

Slávko vī<sup>dī</sup> Òlgu?/Слáвкò вй̄<sup>дй̄</sup> Òлгу?  
'Does Slavko see Olga?'

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

Vīdī li Slávko Òlgu?/вй̄дй̄ ли Слáвкò Òлгу?

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

Hòće li Slávko vīd(j)eti Òlgu?/Хòће ли Слáвкò вй̄д(ј)ети Òлгу?  
'Will Slavko see Olga?'

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

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

Q: Slávko v<sub>1</sub>đī Òlgu? Vīdī li Slávko Òlgu? Dā li Slávko vīdī Òlgu?/Слávко ви<sup>дї</sup> Òлгу? Вїдї ли Слávко Òлгу? Дā ли Слávко вїдї Òлгу?

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

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

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

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

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

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

Q: Slávko v<sub>1</sub>đī Òlgu? Vīdī li Slávko Òlgu? Dā li Slávko vīdī Òlgu?/Слávко ви<sup>дї</sup> Òлгу? Вїдї ли Слávко Òлгу? Дā ли Слávко вїдї Òлгу?

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

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

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

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

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

Slávko nè vīdī Òlgu?/Слávко nè<sup>вїдї</sup> Òлгу? Nè vīdī li Slávko Òlgu?/Hè вїдї ли Слávко Òлгу?

'Doesn't Slavko see Olga?'

Answers to such negative questions are

Nè, nè vīdī./Hè, nè вїдї.

'No, he doesn't.'

or

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

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

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

'Slavko sees Olga, doesn't he?'

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

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

'Does Slavko see Olga or Dora?'

An answer can be:

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

or simply: Dóru/Дóру.

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

Kòga vīdī Màrija? Kòga Màrija vīdī?/Кòга вїдї Мàрија? Кòга Мàрија вїдї?  
 'Whom does Marija see?'

S kīm Màrija rādī?/С кїм Мàрија рãдї?  
 'With whom does Marija work?'

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

Kòga je Màrija vīd(j)ela?/Кòга је Мàрија вїд(j)ела?  
 'Whom did Marija see?'

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

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

Kòliko Slávko ìmā nòvācā?/Кòлико Слãвко ìмã нòвãцã?  
 'How much has Slavko money? (How much money has Slavko?)'

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

Kòga i gd(j)è Màrija vīdī?/Кòга и гд(j)è Мàрија вїдї?  
 'Whom and where does Marija see? (Whom does Marija see and where does she see him?)'

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

Kòga je i gd(j)è Màrija vīd(j)ela?/Кòга је и гд(j)è Мàрија вїд(j)ела?  
 'Whom did Marija see and where did she see him?'

They may also be after the group: kòga i gd(j)è je Màrija vīd(j)ela?/кòга и гд(j)è је Мàрија вїд(j)ела?

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

(Т)кǎ је гд(j)è kòga vīdio (vīdeo)?/(Т)кǎ је гд(j)è кòга вїдио (вїдео)?  
 'Who saw whom where?'

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

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

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

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

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

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

‘I am not sure who sees whom where.’

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

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

‘We spoke about it whether Slavko sees Olga.’

In some instances the preposition and pronoun are omissible:

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

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

Commands are given in the imperative:

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

‘Take a pear!’

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

Ūzmi ti krūšku!/Ūзми тї крўшку!

‘You take a pear!’

Negative imperatives require imperfective aspect:

Ne ūzimāj krūšku!/Не ūзимāj крўшку!

‘Don’t take a pear.’

except for some verbs of involuntary psychological action:

Ne zabǒravi!/Не забǒрави!

‘Don’t forget (perfective)!’

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

Nèmōj ùzimati krūške!/Нèmōј ùзимати крўшке!

'Don't take (imperfective) pears.'

Nèmōj ùzēti krūšku!/Нèmōј ùзѐти крўшку!

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

Da/да<sub>2</sub> with present clauses can replace the infinitive, especially in the East: nèmōj da ùzimāš (da ùzmēš) krūšku/nèmōј да ùзимāш (да ùзмēш) крўшку! Da/да<sub>2</sub> clauses can also contain a verb not in the second person, as long as its subject is under the control or influence of the person addressed:

Nèmōj da se tō drūgī pūt dōgodī!/Нèmōј да се тō дрўгī пўт дōгодī!

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

Commands to be performed by another person are given as da/да<sub>2</sub>-present or nēka/nēka-present clauses:

Da Slāvko (ne) ùzimā krūške./Да Слāvко (не) ùзимā крўшке.

Nēka Slāvko (ne) ùzimā krūške./Нēка Слāvко (не) ùзимā крўшке.

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

Reported commands are formulated as da/да<sub>2</sub>-present clauses, in the third person occasionally as nēka/nēka-present:

Rēkla je da ùzmēm (ùzmēš) krūšku./Рēкла је да ùзмēm (ùзмēш) крўшку.

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

Rēkla je da (or nēka) Slāvko ùzmē krūšku./Рēкла је да (or нēка) Слāvко ùзмē крўшку.

'She said Slavko should take a pear.'

### 4.3 Copular sentences

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

Màrija je mòja sèstra./Màрија је мōја сѐстра.

'Marija is my sister.'

Màrija je vr(ij)édna kao pčèla./Màрија је вр(иј)édна као пчèла.

'Marija is hard-working as a bee.'

Màrija je dōbro./Màрија је дōбро.

'Marija is well.'

Kōncert je u ôsam./Kōнцерт је у ôсам.

'The concert is at eight o'clock.'

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

Šēšīr je odgovárajūcē veličīnē./Шēшїр је одговáрајўhē величїнē.

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

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

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

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

*Lako je Mariji biti vr(ij)édna./Лáко је Màрији бѝти вр(иј)édна.*  
'It is easy for *Marija* (DAT) to be *hard-working* (NOM).'

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

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

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

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

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

*Martin je máli./Màртин је máли.*  
'Martin is small.'  
*Ivan je najmanji./Иван је најмањи.*  
'Ivan is the smallest.'

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

*Obećanje – lúdōm rādvānje./Обећање – лúдōм рāдвāње.*  
'A promise (is) joy for a fool. (Don't trust promises.)' (Proverb)

*Biti/бѝти* has frequentative *bívati/бѝвати* 'be from time to time; become; happen':

*Marija je bivala (je pōčēla bívati) sve vrēdnijā./Màрија је бѝвала (је пōчēла бѝвати) све врēднѝјā.*  
'Marija was becoming (began to be) more and more hard-working.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### 4.4 Coordination and comitativity

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

Ìvan i njègova žena ràdē./Ìван и нјèгова жèна ràдē.  
'Ivan and his wife are working.'

adjectives and adjective phrases:

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

verbs and verb phrases:

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

as well as entire clauses:

Zàuzēt sam i ne mògu višē slūšati./Zàузēt сам и не mòгу вйшē слūшати.  
'I am busy and I cannot listen any more.'



I/и appears before the last conjunct:

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

or can be repeated before all conjuncts after the first:

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

or before all, including the first:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Njén otac i mājka su došli./Њѐн отац и мājка су дошли.  
'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):

Njēna sēstra i mājka su došle./Њѐна сѐстра и мājка су дошле.  
'Her sister and mother have come (F PL).'

Njēno d(ij)éte i tēle su došli./Њѐно д(иј)ѐте и тѐле су дошли.  
'Her child (N SG) and calf (N SG) have come (M PL).'

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

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

Mājka sa sinom šētā./Mājka са сѝном шѐтā.  
'Mother with son strolls.'

have only the nominative constituent as syntactic and semantic subject.

#### 4.5 Subordination

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

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

*Verb* with [subject]:

Iz tōga *proizlazi* [da je bitka izgubljena]./Из тōга *произлази* [да је бѝтка ѝзгубљѐна].  
'From this (it) follows [that the battle is lost].'

*Verb* with [object]:

Znām [da je bitka izgubljena]./Знāм [да је бѝтка ѝзгубљѐна].  
'I know [that the battle is lost].'

*Noun* with [complement]:

Stižu *v*(*ij*)*ě*sti [da je bitka izgubljena]./Стїжү *v*(*иј*)*є*сти [да је бїтка їзгубљена].  
'Are-arriving *reports* [that the battle is lost].'

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

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

The chief types of complement clause are those introduced by *da/да*<sub>1</sub>, by *da/да*<sub>2</sub>, by *što/што* and by question words (section 4.2). The two *da/да* take different verb tenses within their clauses. A *da/да*<sub>1</sub> clause, as a reported statement, can contain any tense usable in a declarative main clause: any past tense, the future but not the *būdēm/būdēm* compound tense (section 3.2.1) and the present but normally only from an imperative verb.

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

*Da/да*<sub>2</sub> with the present of imperfective or perfective verbs expresses hypothetical, unrealized actions – like the infinitive or subjunctive of other languages. It has been termed the infinitive substitute.

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

*Da/да*<sub>2</sub> represents imperatives in indirect discourse (section 4.2). Ambiguities can arise between the two *da/да*.

*Rekli su da Mārija pišē*./Рѐкли су да Мāрија пїшē.  
*Da/да*<sub>1</sub>: 'They said that Marija is writing.'  
*Da/да*<sub>2</sub>: 'They told Marija to write.'

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

Rãdujẽmo se [što smo vas p̄onovo vïd(j)eli]./Рãдујẽмо се [што смо вас п̄оново вïд(ј)ели].

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

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

Živ(j)eti znãċi ráditi./Жив(ј)ети знãċи rádити.

'To live means to work.'

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

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

Màrija žèlĭ písati./Màрија жèлĭ písати.

'Marija wants to write.'

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

Màrija žèlĭ da Ìvan pišẽ./Màрија жèлĭ да Ìван пйшẽ.

'Marija wants Ivan to write.'

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

Màrija žèlĭ da pišẽ./Màрија жèлĭ да пйшẽ.

'Marija wants to write.'

See discussion of the future tense (*ću/ћу* + infinitive or *da/да*<sub>2</sub>) in section 3.2.1 and of *nẽmõj/nẽmõj* + infinitive or *da/да*<sub>2</sub> in section 4.2.

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

Õn se vrãċã s p̄õsla p(j)ẽvajũci./Õн се врãĥã с п̄õсла п(ј)ẽвајũћи.

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

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

Màrija je pòčela s písānjem knĭgē./Màриja je pòчела с писāњем кнĭгē.  
'Marija has begun with (started) the writing of the book.'

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

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

Písānje knĭgē je bilo téško./Писāње кнĭгē је било тешко.  
'The writing of the book was difficult.'

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

Màrijino písānje knĭgē/Màриjino писāње кнĭгē  
'Marija's writing of the book'

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

(?)písānje knĭgē od strānē Màrijē/писāње кнĭгē од стрāнē Màриjē  
'the writing of the book by Marija'

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

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

and from rùšiti se/рùшити се:

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

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

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

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

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

'The house has been destroyed by the wind.'

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

'The house has been destroyed by the enemy.'

The participle can be in attributive position:

srūšenā kūća/срўшенā кўћа

'the destroyed house'

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

в(ј)èтром срўшенā кўћа

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

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

čōv(j)ek kōjeg vīdīm/чōв(ј)ек кōјег вīдīm

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

čōv(j)ek s kōjīm sam rādīo/чōв(ј)ек с кōјīm сам рādīo

'man with which-INST I-have worked'

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

čōv(j)ek što ga vīdīm/чōв(ј)ек што га вīдīm

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

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

nēšto što vīdīm/нēшто што вīдīm

'something what I see (that I see)'

nēšto o čemu gōvorīm/нēшто о чему гōворīm

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

svā(t)ko kōga vīdīm/свā(т)ко кōга вīдīm

'everyone whom I see'

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

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

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

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

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

Za Ìvana gòvorē da ga svī pòštujū./За Ѐвана гòворē да га свй пòштујū.  
 ‘For (about) Ivan<sub>1</sub> they say that him<sub>1</sub> everybody respects.’

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

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

The same strategy is available for questions. Beside

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

we can have:

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

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

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

#### 4.6 Negation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

Nīti je Slāvko vīdī, nīti ī(t)ko īšta znā ò njōj./Нйти је Слāvко вїдї, нїти й(т)ко йшта знā ò њōj.

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

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

Nī(t)ko nīgd(j)e nē vīdī nīkoga./Нї(т)ко нїгд(ј)е нē вїдї нїкога.

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

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

Nīšta./Нїшта.

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

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

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

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

Infinitive complements are occasionally negated:

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

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

but usually a special conjunction *ā da<sub>2</sub> ne/ā да<sub>2</sub> не* is used: *Nīsam mōgao ā da nē mislīm na tō./Нїсам мōгао ā да нē мислїм на тō. Ā da<sub>1</sub> ne/ā да<sub>1</sub> не* expresses absence of concomitant action:

Ūšla je ā da me nīje pōzdravila./Ūшла је ā да ме нїје пōздравила.

'She entered without greeting me.'

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

## Fixed phrases:

òbràcati rážnju – ne òbràcati rážnju *or* rážnjē/òбраћати пажњу – не òбраћати пажњу *or* пажњē.  
 ‘to pay attention (ACC) – not to pay attention (ACC or GEN)’

## Némati/нѐмати:

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

## Negation strengthened:

ìgrati ùlogu – ne ìgrati ùlogu – ne ìgrati nìkakvē ùlogē/ìграти ùлогу – не ìграти ùлогу – не ìграти нìкаквѐ ùлогē  
 ‘to play a role (ACC) – not to play a role (ACC) – to play no role whatever (GEN)’

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

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

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

U sòbi nēma Màrijē./У сòби нѐмā Màријē.  
 ‘Marija (GEN) is not in the room.’

**4.7 Anaphora and pronouns**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

pr̄vi ròman ... dr̄ugi ròman / пр̄ви рòман ... др̄уги рòман  
'the first novel ... the second novel'

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

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

Čitāmo./Читāмо.

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

Mislila si./Мислила си.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Subject<sup>o</sup> are omitted when the referent does not figure in the narration:

Znaš, Márko je dânas zâkasnio na rúčak. Mîslîm da je îmao pûno pòsla u grâdu./  
Знаш, Мърко је данас зâкаснiо на рúчак. Мîслîм да је îмао пûно пòсла у грâду.

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

They are included when rhematic or contrasted:

Rúčak sam sprémio *jâ*./Рúчак сам спрémио *jâ*.

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

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

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

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

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

'Marko? *Certainly* I know him.'

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

Slávko îma nám(j)eru da vîdî Òlgu./Слâвко îмâ nám(j)еру да вîдî Òлгу.

'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:

Slávko je sîgûran da vîdî Òlgu./Слâвко је сîгûран да вîдî Òлгу.

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

Slávko je sîgûran da *òn* vîdî Òlgu a da je *jâ* nè vîdîm./Слâвко је сîгûран да *òn* вîдî Òлгу а да је *jâ* nè вîдîм.

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

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

#### 4.8 Reflexives and reciprocals

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

Slávko gòvorî o sèbi. Mî gòvorîmo o sèbi./Слâвко гòворî о сèби. Мî гòворîмо о сèби.

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

but words modifying it show these features:

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

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

Já ću vas prepùstiti sebi *sátim*. / Já ћу вас препùстити сèби *сáним*.  
'I will leave you<sub>1</sub> to yourselves<sub>1</sub> *alone*.'

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

њèгово zaljublјivanje u sebe/њèгово заљубљивање у сèбе  
'his<sub>1</sub> infatuation with himself<sub>1</sub>'

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

zaljublјivanje u sebe/заљубљивање у сèбе  
'one's<sub>1</sub> infatuation with oneself<sub>1</sub>'

Она се оградила од zaljublјivanja u sebe. / Она се оградила од заљубљивања у сèбе.  
'She<sub>1</sub> disavowed (her<sub>1</sub>) infatuation with herself<sub>1</sub>.'

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

Ѐvan je vršio pòv(j)erenū mu dūžnòst (not: pòv(j)erenū sebi). / Ѐван је вршио пòв(j)еренū му дūжнòст (not пòв(j)еренū сèби).  
'Ivan<sub>1</sub> performed entrusted to-him<sub>1</sub> duty.'

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

У Амèрици се мнòго гòворї о сèби. / У Амèрици се мнòго гòворї о сèби.  
'In America (one<sub>1</sub>) speaks much about oneself<sub>1</sub>.'

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

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

'Slavko<sub>1</sub> talks about his<sub>1</sub> horse.'

òdnos imenicē prema svòm glágotu/òднос йменицē према свòm гла́готу  
'relation of a noun<sub>1</sub> toward its<sub>1</sub> verb.'

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

Exceptions to subject antecedency like

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

'Put everything<sub>1</sub> in its<sub>1</sub> place!'

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

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

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

'I am grateful to self's teacher.'

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

Jà sam zàhvālan mòm ùčitelju./Jà сам зàхвāлан мòm ùчителю.

'I am grateful to my teacher.'

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

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

Òlga i Mārija vidē jèdna drùgū./Òлга и Māрија видē јèдна дрùгū.

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

Prepositions go before the second member:

Gòvorimo jèdan o drùgōm./Гòворимо јèдан о дрùгōм.

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

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

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

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

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

is headlined

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

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

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

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

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

#### 4.9 Possession

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

Màrija ìmā knjīgu./Màрија ìmā кнјīгу.  
 'Marija has a book.'

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

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



Kùća pripadā Māriji./Кѹћа прѣпадā Мāрији.  
'The house belongs to Marija.'

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

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

Compare:

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

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

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

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

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

Dative constituents, particularly clitic pronouns, frequently express possessors.

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

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

Ràzbio mi je vāzu./Рāзбио ми је vāзу.  
'He has broken my vase.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Compare:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

because it repeats the dative; nor in

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

because it repeats the accusative object me/me.

#### 4.10 Quantification

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

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

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

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

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

dvòjē nðvine/dvòjē nðvine  
'two newspapers'

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

dvā dòbra stùdenta/dvā dòbra stùdenta  
'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 stùdenta su òdsutna./Три стùдента су òдсутна.  
'Three students are absent.'

Pòzvali smo ðba stùdenta./Пòзвали смо ðба стùдента.  
'We invited both students.'

Stànujēm s četiri stùdenta./Стàнујēm с четири стùдента.  
'I live with four students.' (s/c otherwise demands instrumental)

Nè znām náslov tè tri knjige./Нè знām násлов tè три књиге.  
'I don't know the title of those three books.' (for genitive possessor)

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

?S(j)ěcām se tà četiri stùdenta./С(j)ěhām се tà четири стùдента.  
'I remember those four students.' (the verb demands genitive)

??Dàjēm pòklòn tà cetiri stùdenta./Дàјēm пòклòn tà четири стùдента.  
'I give a gift to those four students.' (indirect object needs dative)

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mnōgo vòdē je prolivèno./Мно̀го во̀дē је проливèно.  
 'Much water-GEN is spilt.'

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

Some indeclinable quantifiers have the shape of accusative nouns:

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

Similarly, tìsuću/тѝсућу, hiljadu/хѝљаду '1,000', mǎsu/ма̀су 'a mass of'.

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

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

Pròšlo je dōbrīh pēt sáti./Прòшло је добри́х пѐт сáти.  
 'Passed has good-GEN PL five hours-GEN PL (a good five hours passed).'

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

Stànujēm s mǎsu stùdenāta./Стàнујѐм с ма̀су студената.  
 'I live with a lot of students.' (the preposition s/c calls for instrumental)

Nè znām náslov tih dēsēt knjigā./Нè зна́м на́слов тих дѐсѐт књига́.  
 'I don't know the title of those ten books.' (genitive possessor)

S(j)ěcām se tih pēt stùdenāta./С(ј)ѐхам се тих пѐт студената.  
 'I remember those five students.' (verb requires genitive)

??Dājēm pōklōn òvīh četrdēsēt stùdenāta./Дàјѐм пōклōн òви́х четрдѐсѐт студената.

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

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

The 'collective' numerals *dvòje/dvòје, tròje/tròје, četvero (čètvoro)/чѣтверо (чѣтворо), pètero (pètoro)/пѣтеро (пѣторо), ...* up to '9', are of the second genitive-taking type. (Grammars cite oblique case forms, but in practice they appear indeclinable.) They are used with mixed-sex groups of people and obligatorily with *d(j)èca/d(j)èца* 'children':

*tròje d(j)ècē/tròје д(j)èцē*  
'three children'

*tròje stùdenāta/tròје студенāтā; tri stùdenta/три студента*  
'three students (mixed sexes); three students (not necessarily mixed sexes)'

Another set of 'collectives' are numerals in *-ica/-ица*: *dvòjica/dvòјица, tròjica/tròјица, četvògica/чѣтвòрица, petògica/петòрица* (to '9') and *nekolicina/неколицина* 'a few'. These signify groups of men, are feminine singular nouns in declension and behave like *većina/већина* within the noun phrase:

*svā petòrica dōbrih stùdenāta/svā петòрица дōбрйх студенāтā*  
'all-F NOM SG five good-GEN PL students-GEN PL'

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

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

*nās dvòjica/nās двòјица, nās dvòje/nās двòје, nās dvìje (dvè)/nās двìје (двè)*  
'we two' (male-male, male-female, female-female)  
*njih nekolicina/њих неколицина, njih nekoliko/њих нѣколико*  
'several men', 'several of them (mixed or female)'

## 5 Lexis

### 5.1 General composition of the word-stock

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

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

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

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

## 5.2 Patterns of borrowing

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

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

идол 'idol', iguman/игуман 'abbot'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

### 5.3 Incorporation of borrowings

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

Nouns in final consonant, *-o* or *-e* join the masculine *o*-declension. Their *-o* or *-e* acts as an ending, not part of the stem: kùplung/кùплунг 'automobile clutch' (< German), genitive kùplung-a/кùплунг-a; àuto/àуто 'car', àut-a/àут-a; finále/финále 'finale', finál-a/финál-a. Nouns in final *-i*, *-u* or any long vowel include these segments in their stem: tábu/табу 'taboo', tábu-a/табу-a; bifē/бифē 'bar, snack bar', bifē-a/бифē-a; Mārā/Mārā 'Marat (French revolutionary)', Marā-a/Марā-a. *J* is intercalated between *-i/-и*, *-ī/-ѝ* and endings: h̄b̄i/h̄б̄и 'hobby', h̄b̄i-j-a/h̄б̄и-j-a; ž̄ḡi/ж̄ѝи 'jury', ž̄ḡi-j-a/ж̄ѝи-j-a.

Sub-regularities characterize nouns of particular origins. Turkish forms in *-i/ü/t/u* become *a*-declension nouns in *-ija/-ија*, masculine for human males, otherwise feminine: *sanatlı* > zanātlija/занātлија (М) 'craftsman', *köprü* > çüprija/чүприја (Ф) 'bridge'. Europeanisms containing Latin *-tio* (English *-tion*) take the form *-cija/-ѝѝја*, *a*-declension (Ф): àmbicija/àмбѝѝѝја, degradácija/деградáѝѝја.

Adjectives usually add a Serbo-Croat adjectival suffix: àbdomināl-nī/àбдоминāl-нѝ, *nostalgic* > postàlgic-an/ностàлгич-ан, or replace foreign suffixes with native ones: *atomic* > àtòm-skī/àтòm-скѝ. The resulting forms decline, and are compared if semantically justified: postàlgicnījī/ностàлгѝѝнѝѝ, najnostàlgicnījī/најностàлгѝѝнѝѝ 'more, most nostalgic'. Some foreign adjectives however get no suffix, remaining

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

Over 2,000 foreign verbs (Matešić 1965–7) add suffixes *-ira-ti/-ира-ти*, *-ova-ti/-ова-ти* or *-isa-ti/-иса-ти* (present stems *-ira-/-ира-*, *-uj-e-/-uj-e-*, *-iš-e-/-иш-е-*): *erodirati*/еродѣрати 'to erode', *paràlizovati*/парàлизовати 'to paralyse', *eliminisati*/елимѣнисати 'to eliminate'. Doublets exist, with *-irati* favoured in the Croat standard (*paràlizirati*, *eliminirati*). Almost all such verbs are bi-aspectual; but pairs with prefixed perfectives appear: *provocirati*/провоцѣрати, *is-/ис-* 'to provoke', *komentirati*/коментѣрати, *pro-/про-* 'to comment (on)'.

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

## 5.4 Lexical fields

### 5.4.1 Colour terms

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

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

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

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

#### 5.4.2 Body parts

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

head	gláva/глава
eye	oko/око
eyes	oči/очи feminine <i>i</i> -declension, genitive očijū/очижū
nose	nos/nос, plural nosovi (nosevi)/носови (носеви)
ear	uho/ухо; Serbian standard also uvo/уво
ears	uši/уши feminine <i>i</i> -declension, genitive ušijū/ушијū
mouth	usta/уста neuter plurale tantum
hair	kosa/kоса (all the hair on the head); dlaka/dлака 'a hair; hair(s) growing on the body'
neck	vrāt/vрāt, also šija/шја
arm/hand	rūka/рука
hand	šaka/шāка (considered part of rūka/рука; also 'fist')
finger	p̃rst/p̃рст, plural p̃rsti/p̃рсти, genitive p̃rstī (p̃rstijū)/п̃рстī (п̃рстијū); p̃rst na r̃uci/p̃рст на р̃уци
thumb	p̃lāc/p̃лац, p̃lāca/p̃алца
leg/foot	noga/nога
foot	stopalo/стопало (considered part of noga/nога)
toe	p̃rst/p̃рст, p̃rst na nōzi/p̃рст на нōзи, p̃žnī p̃rst/nōжнī п̃рст
big toe	p̃lāc (na nōzi)/п̃лац (на нōзи), p̃žnī p̃lāc/nōжнī п̃лац
chest	p̃rsa/p̃рса neuter plural (also 'breast'); gr̃udi/гр̃уди feminine <i>i</i> -declension plural (also 'breast'), singular rare
heart	s̃rce/c̃рце

#### 5.4.3 Kinship terms

mother	mājka/māјка, māti/māти (see section 3.1.2)
father	otac/отац, genitive oca/оца, plural očevi/очеви

sister	sèstra/cèстра. Can include 'female cousin', but ròđenā/ròђенā ('born') sèstra/cèстра is only 'sister'.
brother	brāt/брàт, plural brāca/брàћа (declined as feminine singular <i>a</i> -declension; attributive agreement accordingly; neuter plural predicative agreement). Can include 'male cousin', but ròđenī brat/ròђенī brāt is only 'brother'.
aunt	tètka/тèтка 'father's sister, mother's sister'; strīna/стрина 'father's brother's wife'; ūjna/ўjna 'mother's brother's wife'
uncle	stric/стриц, plural strīcevi/стричеви 'father's brother'; ūjāk/ўjāk 'mother's brother'; tètak/тèтак, genitive tètka/тèтка, or téca/тèча 'husband of tètka/тèтка'
niece	nećakinja/нећакинђа, nećaka/нећака, also sèstrična/cèстрична 'sister's daughter'; sinòvica/синòвица, brātič(i)na/брàтич(и)на, nećakinja/нећакинђа 'brother's daughter'
nephew	nećāk/нећàк, also sèstrić/cèстрић 'sister's son'; sinòvac/синòвац, brātić/брàтић, nećāk/нећàк 'brother's son'
cousin (female)	sèstra/cèстра; rođaka/рођака, rođakinja/рођакинђа 'relative'; sèstra od tètke/cèстра од тèткè 'daughter of one's tètka/тèтка'; sèstra od strīca/cèстра од стрīца 'daughter of one's stric/стриц'; sèstra od ūjāka/cèстра од ūjāka 'daughter of one's ūjāk/ўjāk'
cousin (male)	brāt/брàт; rođāk/рођàк 'relative'; brāt od tètke/брàт од тèткè 'son of one's tètka/тèтка'; brāt od strīca/брàт од стрīца 'son of one's stric/стриц'; brāt od ūjāka/брàт од ūjāka 'son of one's ūjāk/ўjāk'
(Speakers disagree about subclassifications of nieces, nephews and cousins.)	
grandmother	bāba/бàба, bāka/бàка (diminutive, but frequent)
grandfather	d(j)èd/д(ј)èд, ekavski also dèda/дèда
wife	žena/жèна (also 'woman'); sùpruga/сўпруга ('spouse')
husband	mūž/мўж (not usually 'man'); sùprug/сўпруг ('spouse')

daughter	(k)ćerka/(k)ћёрка, kći/kñī (section 3.1.2)
son	sin/sīn.

## 6 Dialects

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

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

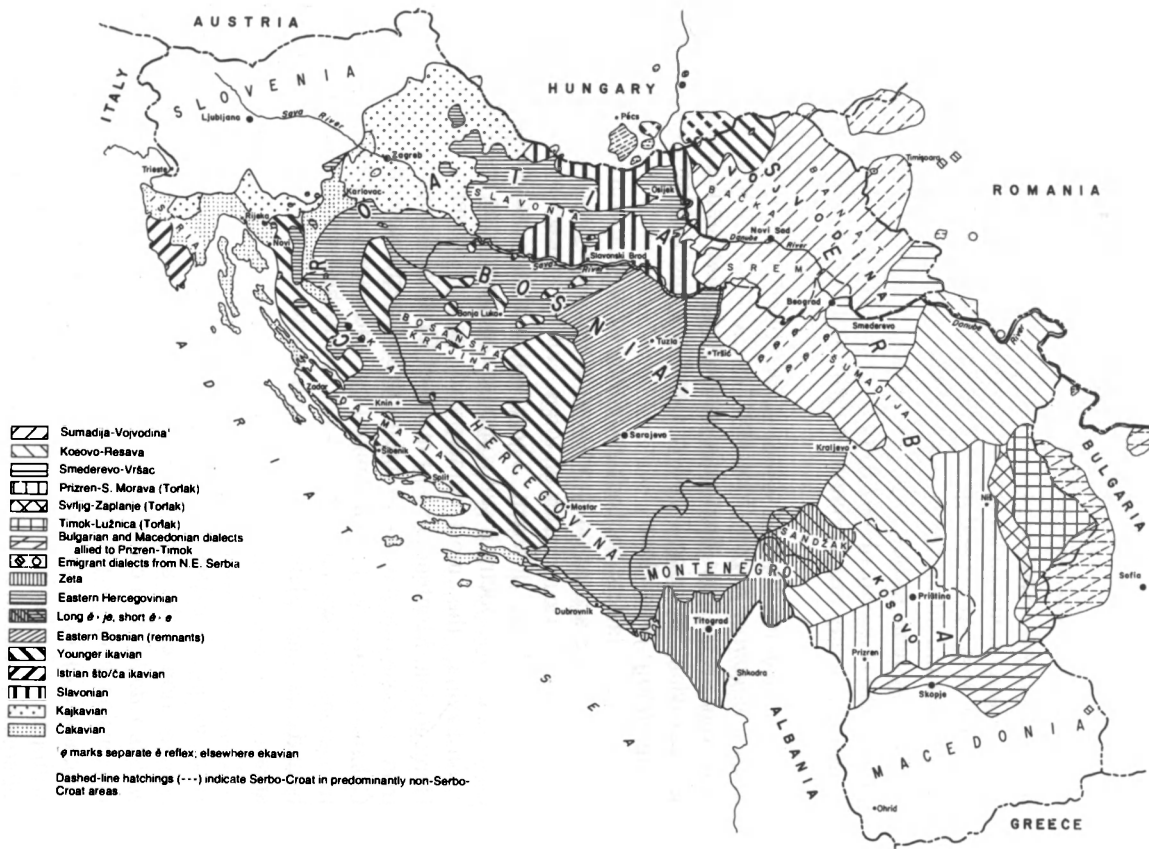
In morphology, nouns preserve old distinctions in the plural cases: nominative masculine *gradi*, feminine *žene*; genitive *gradof*, *žen*; dative *gradom*, *ženam*; instrumental *gradi*, *ženami*; locative *gradeh*, *ženah*. Genitive plural *-ā* and the Štokavian *-ov*/-*ev*- long plural are lacking.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

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

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

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

**Map 7.1 Serbo-Croat Dialects**



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



speaking migrants has been heavy. Plural cases neutralize.

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

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