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Bosnian Croatian Serbian

A Grammar
*with Sociolinguistic
Commentary*

Ronelle Alexander

Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian,
a Grammar

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With Sociolinguistic Commentary

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PREFACE

What this book is about

This book is about the language that used to be called Serbo-Croatian. When Yugoslavia split up into separate component states, this one language was replaced by the three languages now known as Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian.¹ The background of this situation is complex. Some claim that Serbo-Croatian still exists as a unified language and that to call the successor systems separate languages is a political fiction required by the existence of separate states, while others claim that there never was a unified language and that the naming of one was likewise a political fiction required by the existence of a single state. Most thinking falls somewhere between these two poles. What is clear to everyone, however, is that all these languages share a common core, a fact which enables all their speakers to communicate freely with one another. Although all speakers of the languages themselves admit the existence of this common core, they fail to agree on a name for it. In the English-speaking world, the most frequently used name is the abbreviation BCS, whose letters refer to the complex of Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian. Listing them in alphabetical order allows one to refrain from ranking of any sort, and using the letter B allows one to refrain from taking a position on the Bosnian / Bosniak dispute.

The aim of this book is to describe both the common core and the individual languages. The term BCS is used throughout to refer to the common core, and the terms Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian refer to the three separate languages which function as official within the successor states: Croatian in Croatia, Serbian in Serbia-Montenegro, and these two plus Bosnian in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The book consists of two parts. The first part, the *Grammar*, contains a full and systematic description of the grammar of BCS (the common core); embedded within this description are statements identifying the specific points on which Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian differ (index entries allow one to locate all these statements). The second part, the *Sociolinguistic Commentary*, provides the social, political and historical background to this complex situation, and discusses in some detail the question of “one” vs. “more than one” as it pertains to language in the former Yugoslavia. The book’s underlying goal is to show that all of these languages – the common code here called BCS and the three separate codes bearing national-ethnic names – are real and existing systems, and that to admit the existence of any one of them does not deny the existence of any of the others.

... and how it deals with diversity on the practical level

The breakup of Yugoslavia into separate countries was accompanied by (indeed, initiated by) drastic political changes. But the corresponding breakup of Serbo-Croatian into component languages did not initiate drastic linguistic changes, for the simple reason that most of the elements which differentiate the three were in place well before the breakup. Serbo-Croatian had

¹ Two additional points are necessary: 1) Bosnian is also called Bosniak in some circles; 2) some have proposed adding a fourth language, Montenegrin, a move which depends upon the proclamation of Montenegro as an independent state. As of this writing Serbia-Montenegro is still a single state, one whose official language is Serbian.

always been a pluricentric language – a single basic system with several different local implementations, each of which was accepted as the norm in the relevant part of the country. Indeed, this state of affairs had already been elevated to law in 1974. In that year, a newly promulgated Yugoslav constitution had allowed each of the component republics of that country to define its own internal medium of communication for administrative purposes. The separate standard idioms recognized at that point in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina embody much of what is now Croatian and Bosnian. Serbia, by contrast, did not recognize any standard idiom other than Serbo-Croatian, and today's Serbian does not differ markedly from the variety of Serbo-Croatian that was used in Serbia in those days. This is not to say there has been no change, but rather that the change has been not so much in linguistic elements themselves as in the type of focus and emphasis placed on these elements. Namely, those features which marked each of the three as separate from one another have taken on much greater significance: most differences that were once possible variants have become the prescribed norm, and many features that once were perceived as local color are now strongly imbued with national significance.

There were (and are) three basic types of differences. One of these is alphabet. Serbo-Croatian was written in two different alphabets, one of which (Cyrillic) was more frequently used in the eastern regions while the other (Latin) was more frequently used in the western regions. Both, however, were standard and both were taught in schools. Now, Croatian and Bosnian use the Latin alphabet exclusively, while Serbian uses both freely. A second major difference is that of pronunciation. Although there are a number of regional “accents”, the most notable pronunciation difference is also reproduced in the spelling. This difference concerns a frequently occurring sound which in the “ekavian” pronunciation is spoken (and written) as **e**, but which in the “ijekavian” pronunciation is spoken (and written) either as **je** or **ije**. Standard Bosnian and Croatian use only ijekavian pronunciation, while Serbian uses ekavian predominantly but not exclusively: Montenegrins and Bosnian Serbs all use ijekavian, as do some speakers in the southern and western parts of Serbia proper.

Both these differences are of the “either – or” sort. On any one occasion, a person writes in either one alphabet or the other; and any one speaker uses either ekavian or ijekavian pronunciation consistently. But the third difference – that of vocabulary – is more fluid. Some vocabulary items are clearly marked as belonging to either Croatian or Serbian, but others carry mixed markings. Sometimes the affiliation of a word is a matter of personal preference. Other times, a word can be clearly identified as “preferred” by one side, but as it is also used by the other, there is no exclusive marking. Bosnian is a case in point: there are a few vocabulary items which are specifically Bosnian, but in the majority of cases Bosnian uses both the Serbian and the Croatian words interchangeably. Finally, there are a few differences sometimes called “grammatical” (different ways to express the idea “infinitive”, variant spellings of the future tense, etc.).

Because this book describes the grammar of BCS in detail, it of necessity contains a great many examples. The citation of these examples addresses the paradox of one language (BCS) vs. more than one (Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian) in the following manner:

- *Alphabet.* All items in paradigms and word lists are given in the Latin alphabet. Of the remaining examples, which comprise full sentences, 20% are given in Cyrillic and 80% in Latin.
- *Pronunciation.* Some examples are given in ekavian and others in ijekavian; the choice is more or less random. Whenever this is done, a paired set containing the form in question and the “other” form is given immediately below the particular group of examples. The abbreviation **E** refers to the ekavian partner of any one pair and the abbreviation **J** refers to the ijekavian partner.
- *Vocabulary.* Whenever an example contains a word or phrase that is marked as belonging to (or preferred by) one of the three, a paired (or three-way) set is given below the particular group of examples. Here, the abbreviations **B**, **C**, and **S** refer to the languages in question.

How this book is organized

Each of this book's two components, the *Grammar* (chapters 1-20) and the *Sociolinguistic Commentary* (chapters 21-26), has its own index, and the entire book is amply cross-referenced, enabling the reader to move among the different sections at will. There is also a detailed word index, which includes every instance of a BCS word mentioned in the text, in vocabulary or grammar listings, or as an alternate vocabulary item in example set footnotes; a supplementary index lists English words mentioned in the text. Although there is a logical progression to the 26 chapters, readers can approach them in various orders. For instance, one need not have internalized all the grammar in order to profit from the sociolinguistic commentary, and one may pick and choose the areas of grammar one wishes to consult.

The grammar is intended to serve several functions. For those beginning to learn one or more of the languages, it is best used in conjunction with the book it has been designed specifically to accompany, *Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian: a Textbook with Exercises and Basic Grammar*. That book, intended for classroom use, contains interactive dialogues, extensive exercises, vocabulary lists keyed to dialogues and exercises, brief grammar explanations, reading selections, and full glossaries. For those who need only the rudiments of grammar, that book is a self-contained textbook. This book is for those who wish more detailed grammar explanations, and to better understand the social, cultural, and political context of the languages. The order of presentation in the first 16 chapters of this book (*Grammar*) corresponds directly to the order of material in the corresponding lessons of that book (*Textbook*). Bold-faced numbers in the brief grammar sections of that book refer one directly to the relevant section in this book.

For those who wish to review grammar once learned or to have a reference aid at hand, this book can stand alone. The organization is that of a review grammar, in that cases and tenses are presented gradually throughout the first ten chapters; in later chapters, the presentation takes on the form of a reference grammar, one which gives full details about aspect (chapter 15), case usage (chapter 17), word formation (chapter 18), accent (chapter 19), and phonological structure (chapter 20). Full paradigms of nouns, pronouns and adjectives are found in chapter 8, and full paradigms of verbs in chapter 16. The presence of numerous cross-references in grammar discussions, together with the several detailed indexes, should make the book fully accessible to those accustomed to the ordering of topics within traditional reference grammars.

The sociolinguistic commentary which concludes the book can be read alone or as a supplement to the grammar presentation. The first two sections (chapters 21-22) review the history of standardization and discuss the question of linguistic differentiation. Each of the subsequent three chapters is devoted to the relationship between language and identity – in the case of Bosnian (chapter 23), Croatian (chapter 24), and Serbian (chapter 25, also discussing Montenegrin). The book concludes (chapter 26) with a statement of the status quo as of the end of 2005.

...and what is new in this book

It is nothing new to state that a language is simultaneously one and more than one, but it is another thing to give a full description of such a state. This is the first book to have done so for BCS. It is also the most thorough description of BCS grammar in English, and the only grammar to contain extensive sociolinguistic analysis as well. Additionally, it is the first grammar to deal squarely with the issue of accents in a manner that is both true to the facts and accessible to a learner. This is accomplished by separating out the components conveyed by the traditional marks, and then marking these components in a more transparent manner. Although the concept underlying these marks is well known to linguists, it has not been used consistently before now, either in pedagogy or in descriptive grammars. The accentuation described is that which is actually used in Bosnian, and which is traditionally prescribed for use in Serbian and Croatian, with the following reference manuals used as sources: Vladimir Anić, *Veliki rječnik hrvatskoga jezika*

(Zagreb, 2003); L. Hudeček et al., eds., *Hrvatski jezički savjetnik* (Zagreb, 1999); Morton Benson (with the collaboration of Biljana Šljivić-Šimšić), *Serbocroatian-English Dictionary* (Belgrade and Philadelphia, 1971), and the six-volume *Rečnik srpskohrvatskog književnog jezika* (Matica srpska, 1967-1976). The marks used in this book present the full detail of this accentual system, in a manner which allows the acquisition either of this fuller system, or of the more simplified system actually in use by most Serbs and Croats. The marks are defined briefly in chapter 1 and explicated fully in chapter 19, where the issue of the difference between prescribed and actual usage is also discussed.

Other analytic innovations which are useful both to the learner and the scholar include a clear system of verb types (presented in chapter 10 and elaborated on in chapter 16) and new treatments of what traditional grammars call “reflexive verbs” and “impersonal sentences”. In the first instance, true reflexive verbs are distinguished from the larger category called “*se*-verbs”: this allows a more precise and workable analysis of the different functions fulfilled by the particle *se*. In the second instance, impersonal sentences are viewed as a sub-category of what are here called “subjectless sentences”, which in turn are defined in a manner that allows students to grasp a basic grammatical structure more easily and to see the ways in which it embraces a much larger category of sentence types.

Perhaps the most valuable innovative contribution of this book concerns clitic ordering. On the pedagogical side, this consists of a new framework bearing the deceptively simple title “XYZ model”: in this system, any one group of clitics is referred to as “Y” (a rubric with specific subdivisions), and the particular portion of the sentence preceding them in any one instance is referred to as “X”. The use of these simple labels helps clarify this troublesome part of BCS grammar for both students and teachers. On the analytic side, this book provides a new definition of the “first position in the sentence” (the unit referred to as “X” in the pedagogical model). This definition, presented in chapter 19, introduces the term “rhythmic constituent”, which in turn is based on an interpretation of clitic ordering as determined not only by syntax but also by speech rhythm.

How this book came into being

This book originated as a combination of grammar handouts to supplement existing language textbooks, and lectures in a course on the cultural history of Yugoslavia. Earlier manuscript versions of this book have been used by teachers in various universities; the one dated 2003 was conceived of as a fully completed textbook. The present book supersedes that one: both the grammar explanations and the sociolinguistic commentary have been completely rewritten and significantly expanded. In addition, this book now functions explicitly as a reference tool, intended either to stand on its own or to supplement the classroom text *Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian: a Textbook with Exercises and Basic Grammar*, co-authored by myself and Ellen Elias-Bursać.

... with thanks to all who helped along the way

I am indebted to a great many people for help on this project. First of all are the students in my Fall 1999 language class at UC Berkeley, whose gentle but obstinate insistence that I turn grammar handouts into a full-fledged book made me commit to a project of this long-term nature; I am also grateful to several classes of students for pointing out to me which explanations worked for them and which didn't. I acknowledge with gratitude my colleague and friend of many years, Wayles Browne, who read the entire manuscript more than once and caused me to rethink and clarify a great many points of grammar. Teachers and scholars who commented on earlier versions include Henry Cooper, Gordana Crnković, Ellen Elias-Bursać, Radmila Gorup, Vladimir Ivir, Anto Knežević, Snežana Landau, Viktorija Lejko-Laćan, Nada Petković, Prvoslav and Jovanka Radić, Midhat Riđanović, Lada Šestić, Danko Šipka, Catherine Taylor-Škarica, Snježana Veljačić-Akpınar, Aida Vidan and Charles Ward: I am grateful for their input. I also acknowledge the spadework done by authors of textbooks for foreigners who went before: Celia Hawkesworth,

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Another essential part of the process is work with native language consultants. Although I referred frequently to published language manuals, it was not possible to produce an adequate description of the current differences between Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian without the help of educated native speakers of the three current standards. I am deeply grateful to Mirza Fehimović, Miralem Jakirlić, Anto Knežević, Natalie Novta, Darko Poslek, Milorad Radovanović, Jasmina Ridanovic and Jelena Simjanović for their insightful comments and their patience with endless questions about usage. I have not incorporated every one of their suggestions, due to the simple fact that they did not always agree among themselves as to which element was more characteristic of their own Bosnian, Croatian or Serbian speech. In each such instance, I have tried to make the best judgment, and I thank them all for their input. At the more impersonal level, I and co-workers also consulted the following electronic corpora:

<http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/Bosnian/Corpus.html>
<http://www.hnk.ffzg.hr/korpus.html>

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I dedicate this book to the memory of the country I loved, to the future of the new countries which carry on its several heritages, and to the living nature of language. This living nature embraces also the lack of perfection and completeness, and it is here that I take responsibility for any and all mistakes in the pages to come: despite the immense amount of work that has gone into this project, it is too much to hope that a book of this complexity can be completely error-free. Some of these errors will be oversights, which can be corrected given subsequent editions. In other instances, that which may seem erroneous to some simply represents my own best judgment in an ambiguous situation. I remind those who may not agree with all these judgments that language is fluid, and allows for the rich variation that is part and parcel of the human condition.

Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian,
a Grammar

GRAMMAR

CHAPTER 1

1 Alphabets

Two different alphabets are used within the territory covered by BCS. One is based on the Cyrillic alphabet, known worldwide primarily from its variant used in Russian. The other is a variant of the alphabets used to write nearly all European languages, including English, and is known (as are other alphabets derived from the Roman writing system) as the Latin alphabet. Croatian is written exclusively in the Latin alphabet, while Bosnian and Serbian officially accept both alphabets. Outside the Serbian entity of Bosnia-Herzegovina, however, Bosnians almost always use only the Latin alphabet. Within that entity, and throughout Serbia and Montenegro, both alphabets are regularly used: official documents are printed in Cyrillic only, but in all other contexts the Latin alphabet is used freely alongside the Cyrillic. For more on the history of these alphabets, see [169a-b].

Although it would appear from the above that to function anywhere in the broader BCS area one need only learn the Latin alphabet, it is highly advisable that anyone with an interest in the area learn to read both alphabets. For instance, much material that was published during the course of Yugoslavia's life is printed in both alphabets (or in one or the other), and it often occurs that the only copy available might be the Cyrillic one. Students who will be functioning in a Croatian or Bosnian context need only learn to write the Latin letters. Students who will be functioning in a Serbian or Montenegrin context should obviously learn to read Cyrillic (preferably as their primary script), and should also take the trouble to learn to write Cyrillic. Fortunately it is relatively easy to learn the alphabets together since there is almost a perfect one-to-one correspondence between the letters.

Learning to read and pronounce BCS is easy. This is because (with very few exceptions) each letter corresponds to only one sound, and each sound is represented by only one letter. Therefore, one need only learn the basic letter-sound correspondences. Those who know the Russian Cyrillic alphabet already will need to learn six new letters (**Ђ, Ј, Љ, Њ, Џ, Џ**). Those who are seeing the Cyrillic alphabet for the first time should not despair – it is simpler than it looks. As to the Latin alphabet, it is largely the same as that used in English, but with several significant additions. Five new letters are created by the addition of diacritic marks to existing letters (**ć, č, đ, š, ž**), and three additional letters consist of a combination of two already known letters (**dž, lj, nj**). These look like sequences, but each represents a single sound.

1a. The Cyrillic alphabet

Following are the letters of the Cyrillic alphabet as used in Serbian (and as an accepted alternative in Bosnian). Both upper and lower case letters are given, alongside the corresponding Latin letters as used in Croatian and Bosnian, and with an English pronunciation guide. It will be highly worthwhile at the outset to learn by rote the order of letters in the Cyrillic alphabet, as this knowledge is essential in order to find one's way around dictionaries or word lists in Cyrillic.

Cyrillic	Latin	English equivalent	Cyrillic	Latin	English equivalent
А а	A a	father	Н н	N n	net
Б б	B b	bet	Њ њ	Nj nj	canyon
В в	V v	vet	О о	O o	or
Г г	G g	get	П п	P p	speck
Д д	D d	dent	Р р	R r	[trilled r]
Ђ ђ	Đ đ	ginger [didja see it?]	С с	S s	spent, center
Е е	E e	met	Т т	T t	step
Ж ж	Ž ž	treasure	Ћ ћ	Ć c	chick [gotcha!]
З з	Z z	zen	Ү ү	U u	flute
И и	I i	machine	Ф ф	F f	fed
Ј ј	J j	yes, boy	Х х	H h	Bach
К к	K k	sketch	Џ я	C c	its
Л л	L l	left	Ч ч	Č č	church
Љ љ	Lj lj	million	Џ я	Dž dž	junk
М м	M m	met	Ш ѕ	Š š	sugar

1b. The Latin alphabet

Following are the letters of the Latin alphabet as used in Croatian and Bosnian, given with the corresponding Cyrillic letters as used in Serbian, and the same English pronunciation guide. The order of the letters is largely as in English; letters which for English speakers are “additional” (those with diacritics or with a second component) follow directly the base letter upon which they are formed. In cases where the letter **đ** is not available typographically, the sequence **dj** is sometimes used. In handwriting, however, **đ** should always be used.

Latin	Cyrillic	English equivalent	Latin	Cyrillic	English equivalent
A A	А а	father	Л л	Л л	left
B B	Б б	bet	Љ љ	Љ љ	million
C C	Ц ц	its	М м	М м	met
Č Č	Ч ч	church	Н н	Н н	net
Ć Ć	Ћ ћ	chick [gotcha!]	Њ њ	Њ њ	canyon
D D	Д д	dent	О о	О о	or
Dž dž	Џ я	junk	П п	П п	speck
Đ đ	Ђ ђ	ginger [didja see it?]	Р р	Р р	[trilled r]
E e	Е е	met	С с	С с	sent, center
F f	Ф ф	fed	Š š	Ш ѕ	sugar
G g	Г г	get	Т т	Т т	step
H h	Х х	Bach	У у	Ү ү	flute
I i	И и	machine	В в	В в	vet
J j	Ј ј	yes, boy	З з	З з	zen
K k	К к	sketch	Ж і	Ж і	treasure

1c. Spelling of proper names

Names of persons and places from foreign languages are spelled differently in Croatian and Serbian. In essence, Croatian reproduces the spelling of the original, while Serbian spelling (in either alphabet) reproduces the pronunciation of the original. This rule is abandoned in Croatian only in instances where the name is a very common one and has been “adapted” to Slavic spelling. Bosnian accepts both alternatives, but the growing tendency is to use the Croatian form.

name in original	Serbian (Cyrillic)	Serbian (Latin)	Croatian
<i>George</i>	Јорџ	Džordž	George
<i>Mary</i>	Мери	Meri	Mary
<i>Winston Churchill</i>	Винстон Черчил	Vinston Čerčil	Winston Churchill
<i>Charles de Gaulle</i>	Шарл де Гол	Šarl de Gol	Charles de Gaulle
<i>New York</i>	Њујорк	Njujork	New York
<i>Chicago</i>	Чикаго	Čikago	Chicago
<i>California</i>	Калифорнија	Kalifornija	Kalifornija

2 Pronunciation

Moving from writing to speech (and from speech back to writing) in BCS is relatively straightforward: by and large each letter corresponds to a single sound, and vice versa (for more details on the letter-sound correspondence, see [164c-d, 164g]). The accentual system is somewhat more complex, but its components are straightforward.

2a. Pronunciation of vowels and consonants

The main thing English speakers need to note about BCS vowel sounds is that they are pronounced very cleanly and sharply. For instance, the BCS loanwords **kod** and **tim** would seem to be pronounced exactly as their English source words *code* and *team*. In American English pronunciation, however, the vowels in each of these words have what is called an “offglide” – a light but nevertheless perceptible shade into a different vowel sound at the end. One of the characteristics of an “American accent” in BCS is the addition of this offglide. Speakers of American English must practice pronouncing the BCS vowel sounds without it.

The same two words can illustrate another component of a foreign accent in BCS. English has two different ways of pronouncing the consonants *p*, *t*, and *k*. One is at the beginning of the word, as in *pin*, *team* or *code*, and the other is after the consonant *s*, as in *spin*, *steam* or *scold*. As English speakers can verify by holding the palm of the hand before the mouth and then pronouncing these words, a consonant at the beginning of the word is accompanied by a small puff of breath, while the same consonant following *s* is not. BCS consonants are all pronounced without this puff of breath, regardless of their position in the word. Other differences from English concern the consonant **j**, which is always pronounced as English *y* (as in *yes*, *yard*, *boy* and the like), and the consonant **r**, which can on occasion act as a vowel. Words spelled in this manner may initially cause consternation for the foreign learner. However, BCS “vocalic **r**” is actually quite similar to the vowels in English *myrtle* or *shirk*, especially when these English words are pronounced very quickly and abruptly.

Probably the greatest difficulty will come in distinguishing **ć** and **č** (in Cyrillic, **Ћ** and **Ч**), both of which sound like the English sequence *ch*. The two sounds are indeed quite similar, and sometimes even native speakers of BCS have difficulty distinguishing them. The difference is a subtle one, but it is there. In fact English has it as well, as can be verified by pronouncing the words *cheap* and *choose* (and noting the position of the tongue in the mouth). The first of these, with the tongue further forward in the mouth, corresponds to BCS **ć**, and the second to BCS **č**.

The BCS pair **d** and **dž** (in Cyrillic, **ђ** and **њ**) are related in exactly the same way, as English speakers can verify by pronouncing *jeep* and *juice*. It is even better, of course, to listen to those native speakers of BCS who still make the distinctions themselves (though there are now quite a few who pronounce these consonant pairs exactly alike, or at least think they do). The meaning of each such word will be clear however it is pronounced, but one must spell it correctly.

2b. Accent

Every BCS word has one accent (although some very small words are unaccented and are pronounced together with the adjacent word, “sharing” its accent, and some much longer words have a second, less noticeable accent). As in most other languages, the accented vowel is pronounced slightly louder, higher, and longer than other syllables in the word. But in BCS there are two additional facts about the accent, which will be noted in all examples in this book. In brief, most vowels are either long or short, and any accented vowel is either falling or rising. In a few instances, the length of the vowel is all that distinguishes two otherwise identical words. Other than these few instances, however, the foreign learner need only learn the place of accent in order to communicate successfully. Many speakers of Serbian and Croatian no longer observe all the tone and length distinctions, in fact. Bosnian does observe them all, and this gives Bosnian a special, very melodic flavor. For more detailed discussion, see [165a-b].

3 Ekavian and ijekavian

One of the major pronunciation differences within BCS has to do with the letter which in old Slavic was called *jat* (the word is pronounced like English *yacht*). This old Slavic sound is found with a wide variety of different pronunciations throughout Slavic languages and dialects. Within BCS, two of these are accepted as standard. One of these is called *ekavian*, taking its name from the fact that old Slavic *jat* is always pronounced (and written) as -e-. In the other, old Slavic *jat* is pronounced (and written) sometimes as -ije- and sometimes as -je-. This pronunciation is usually called *ijekavian*, though sometimes the term *jekavian* is encountered.

The pronunciation difference is a geographical one and not an ethnic or national one: ijekavian is spoken in the west and south and ekavian in the east (for more detail, see [171c]). In terms of official standards, Croatian and Bosnian use only ijekavian, as does the current Montenegrin standard. Serbs living in more western areas speak ijekavian, and Serbian officially accepts both ijekavian and ekavian, although ekavian is predominant and is by far the more prestigious. The list below includes a few of the many common words which exhibit this difference, and emphasizes the fact that both types are encountered in both scripts.

EKAVIAN		IJEKAVIAN		
где	gde	гђе	gdje	where
овде	ovde	овђе	ovdje	here
леп	lep	лијеп	lijep	beautiful, nice
врёме	vreme	вријёме	vrijeme	time (also weather)
дете	dete	дијёте	dijete	child
река	reka	ријёка	rijeka	river
речник	rečnik	рјечник	rječnik	dictionary

The correspondences are not completely regular: for instance, the ijekavian form corresponding to ekavian **beležnica** “notebook” is not the expected ***bjelježnica** but rather **bilježnica**. It must also be noted that not every instance of -e- is defined as “ekavian”, nor is every sequence

of **-ije-** defined as ijekavian (although nearly all sequences of **-je-** are in fact ijekavian). Rather, the words in question must be learned as such.

Whenever the vowel **-e-** in ekavian words corresponds to the sequence **-ije-** in ijekavian words, the sequence **-ije-** is treated not as two vowels but as a single complex vowel (as if it were a diphthong written *ie*). Accentual information for this single complex vowel always appears on the final segment. Thus, the word **lijep** is considered to be a single syllable, with (obligatory) falling accent on its “only” vowel.

4 Conventions of citation used

Due to all the above complexities, it is not possible to cite examples from BCS in a uniform manner while still covering all the possible variations. Although both Bosnian and Croatian use only the Latin alphabet and only the ijekavian pronunciation and spelling, Serbian uses both alphabets and (in certain areas at least) both pronunciations and spellings. There are also a number of words and phrases which are associated with one or another of the different standards. Furthermore, these differences are not correlated with one another – for instance, one finds both ekavian and ijekavian written in both Latin and Cyrillic alphabets. With respect to words or phrases, Bosnian and Croatian will sometimes use the same word while Serbian uses a different one; other times it is Serbian and Bosnian which use the same word while Croatian uses a different one. Clearly, it is not possible to list each example in all its possible manifestations. Because it is more accessible to foreigners, the Latin alphabet is used exclusively for lists and paradigms. Full sentences are given mostly in the Latin alphabet but sometimes in the Cyrillic alphabet. Words which differ as to ekavian / ijekavian are given sometimes in the one form and sometimes in the other. Every word or sentence is given only once, but anytime there is the possibility of differences in spelling, vocabulary use or word order elsewhere in BCS, both (or all) possible variants are listed below the set of examples. The abbreviations B, C, S, E, J identify the variants as Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, ekavian or ijekavian, respectively.

Accentual markings are given according to a simplified system which separates out the two factors of length and tone. All long vowels are underscored (**ā**), and all rising tones are marked with the grave accent over the vowel (**ā̄**). When no word accent is given, falling tone on the first syllable is to be presumed. In general terms, the markings given are those characteristic of Bosnian, because the accentuation used in Bosnian today is in actuality very close to the complex system according to which the original codifications were worked out (for more detail, see [166a]). The accentuation of spoken Serbian and Croatian is somewhat simpler than that of Bosnian. As a very rough measure, actual Croatian and Serbian accentuation can be derived from Bosnian by ignoring most long vowels in unaccented syllables and ignoring the distinction between rising and falling tone in short syllables (for more detailed discussion, see [167]).

5 Nouns and gender

Every noun in BCS belongs to one of three genders – *masculine*, *feminine* or *neuter*. As might be expected, nouns denoting male and female humans (including personal names) belong to the masculine and feminine gender, respectively. But the masculine and feminine genders also include a great number of nouns referring to objects or concepts. Nouns belonging to the neuter gender almost all refer to objects and concepts, although a few refer to animate beings.

5a. Recognizing a noun's gender

The task of recognizing the gender of a noun is fortunately not difficult: masculine nouns almost always end in a consonant, feminine nouns usually end in **-a**, and neuter nouns always end in **-o** or **-e**. Once this pattern is internalized, the gender of a noun is usually predictable. In the chart below, the “ending” for masculine nouns is listed as **-Ø**, which in grammatical discussions

means “zero”. That is, the final consonant of a masculine noun is equivalent to the absence of an “ending”. For more discussion of zero endings, see [161].

MASCULINE	NEUTER	FEMININE
-Ø	-o / -e	-a
muškárac	man	žena
otac	father	majka
brat	brother	sestra
Jovan	[name]	Mara
pas	dog	mačka
prozor	window	kuća
papir	paper	olovka
	selo	village
	pismo	letter
	pivo	beer
	grlo	throat
	more	sea
	pitanje	question
	polje	field

There are exceptions, of course. First, some masculine nouns can end in a vowel. Those ending in **-o** or **-e** are almost always men’s names; an exception is the common noun **auto** “car”. Those ending in **-a** are men’s names, affectionate terms for family members, or words for roles (historically) played by men. Second, there are feminine nouns which end in a consonant (that is, whose ending is **-Ø**); for more on these nouns, see [31].

MASCULINE	FEMININE
-o / -e	-Ø
Đorđe	[name]
auto	stvar
	ljubav
	thing
	love
	-a
Nikola	[name]
tata	Dad
vođa	leader
sluga	servant

5b. Gender in nouns of professions or nationality

Many nouns denoting profession, and nearly all nouns denoting places of origin (both nationality and place of domicile), have different forms to denote males and females. In BCS, as in a number of other languages, the masculine form has both specific and generic meanings: it can either refer to a male or to any member of the category, regardless of sex. The feminine form, however, has only one meaning: it refers to a female. With respect to profession names, this is similar to English *actor* (either male or unspecified) vs. *actress* (necessarily female). BCS differs from English only in that it makes this distinction in many more profession names than does English (for more on profession names, see [122b]).

Nationality names are quite different, however. English uses the same word in the case of most nationalities, except for a few pairs such as *Englishman* / *Englishwoman*, which are specifically marked as expressing the distinction “male / female”. BCS, by contrast, always makes the distinction with nationality names.

male / generic	female only
student	studentica
profesor	profesórica
nástavník	nástavnica
učeník	učenica
	student [university]
	professor, teacher
	teacher, instructor
	student, pupil

C,B studentica / S studentkinja; C,B profesorica / S profesorka

male / generic	female only
Amerikānac	Amerikanka
Englez	Engleskinja
Bosānac	Bosanka
Hrvat	Hrvatica
Srbin	Srpkinja
Crnogorac	Crnogorka

American (person)
Englishman, -woman
Bosnian (person)
Croat
Serb
Montenegrin (person)

Plural forms of the above nouns follow essentially the same rule, except that the masculine plural takes on a third meaning. Not only can it refer both to a group of males and to the generic idea of plural, but it can also refer to a group of mixed genders. The feminine plural, by contrast, can refer only to a group of females. For discussion of plural endings, see [32].

6 Personal pronouns

There are ten possible subject pronouns in BCS (as opposed to seven in English). These are given below. The differences consist in the fact that BCS has two possible ways to say *you*, and three possible ways to say *they*.

The distinction between singular and plural *you* is like that of most other European languages. The singular **ti** is used to address children, animals, God, and people one knows well and is on familiar terms with (family members, spouses, lovers, classmates, etc.). The plural form **vi** is used to address a person of a higher rank or in situations when politeness requires a certain distance. In this meaning it refers to a single person, and is normally capitalized when written in Serbian; Croatian and Bosnian do so only in very formal style. The pronoun **vi** is also the only form one can use to address a group of people; in this meaning it is not capitalized.

	singular		plural	
first person	ja	<i>I</i>	mi	<i>we</i>
second person	ti	<i>you</i>	vi	<i>you</i>
third person				
(masculine)	on	<i>he, it</i>	oni	<i>they</i>
(neuter)	ono	<i>it</i>	ona	<i>they</i>
(feminine)	ona	<i>she, it</i>	one	<i>they</i>

Third-person pronouns are used when referring to a noun, and must specify that noun's gender. Thus, any noun of masculine gender in BCS must be referred to as **on**, and any noun of feminine gender as **ona**. This may cause problems for English speakers, for whom the masculine and feminine pronouns *he* and *she* normally refer only to humans, and the unmarked pronoun *it* is used elsewhere. In BCS, by contrast, it is the grammatical gender of the noun which determines the form of the pronoun referring to it.

Plural pronouns follow the “specific vs. generic” rules outlined in [5b]. The plural pronoun **one** refers to a group of females (or of feminine nouns) only, and the plural pronoun **ona** refers to a group of neuter nouns only. The plural pronoun **oni**, by contrast, refers either to a group of males or masculine nouns, or to a group of mixed gender (or of nouns of more than one gender).

Finally, personal pronouns are usually used as subjects of the verb in BCS only for emphasis, or when the subject is changed. Otherwise it is the norm to omit them, since the verb carries the necessary markings for person and number.

7 Present tense of verbs

All verbs have six different forms in the present tense: three in the singular and three in the plural. If the verb's intended subject is the speaker(s), a first person form is used, and if the verb's intended subject is the one(s) spoken to, a second person form is used. Third person forms are used in other instances.

7a. Verb conjugation, introduction

There are a number of different verb conjugation types. They are presented in this book according to a standardized format, in which the six persons of the verb are listed in two columns, with singular forms on the left and plural forms on the right. Here is an example of this model, using the English verb *make*, and listed with the subject pronouns of English.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
first person	<i>I make</i>	<i>we make</i>
second person	<i>you make</i>	<i>you make</i>
third person	<i>he / she / it makes</i>	<i>they make</i>

English verbs have two other forms of the present tense. One is made with the auxiliary *be* and the other with the auxiliary *do*. The first indicates an action in progress, as in *I am reading*, and the second indicates either a question, as in *Do I know you?*, or communicates emphasis, as in *Yes, I do know you!* In BCS, the single present tense form carries ALL these meanings. No additional verb form is needed, and none should be added. Rather, the context of usage determines which meaning is intended. Since BCS verb forms normally occur without subject pronouns, they are always listed that way in conjugation charts. The verb's ending identifies the subject as to person (first, second or third) and number (singular or plural).

Here is an example of a BCS verb presented according to this model. All verb conjugations listed in this book will include the infinitive of the verb at the top left hand corner, and the general meaning at the top right. The verb given here means literally “to be called”, and is used most frequently in the expression *my name is...* and the like. This verb has the special characteristic that it must always be accompanied by the particle *se*. This particle obeys particular word order rules, the most important of which is that it can never begin a sentence. For more on these rules, see [12].

<i>zvati se</i>	<i>be called</i>
<i>zovem se</i>	<i>zovemo se</i>
<i>zoveš se</i>	<i>zovete se</i>
<i>zove se</i>	<i>zovu se</i>

7b. The verb *biti*

As in many languages, the verb *to be* is irregular; that is, its conjugational forms are not like the general pattern. The BCS infinitive is **biti**, and there are two different present tense conjugations. One is used only to give commands and after certain conjunctions; its conjugation is given in [53c]. The other, which is used in all other situations, has three different forms: two long forms known as the *full* and the *negated* forms, and a short form known as the *clitic* form, which will be defined and discussed below in [12a-b].

Here are their conjugations. Note that both the full and negated forms are made by prefixing a particle to the clitic form. In the case of negated forms, the particle **ni-** is added throughout, and in the case of the full forms the syllable **je-** is added to five of the six forms. The full form of the 3rd singular must be learned separately. Not only does it not follow this otherwise general rule, but it has two different shapes. The shorter one, **jest**, is more frequently used in Croatian while the longer one, **jeste**, is more frequent in Bosnian and Serbian.

FULL	NEGATED	CLITIC
jesam jesmo	nisam nismo	sam smo
jesi jeste	nisi niste	si ste
jest(e) jesu	nije nisu	je su

C jest / B,S jeste

The clitic forms are used in most instances. They are always unaccented, and are subject to particular word order rules, the essence of which is that clitic forms must immediately follow the first significant unit in the sentence (for more discussion, see [12]). The other two forms are fully accented and can occur in any position in the sentence. Negated forms express negation, and the full forms are used in questions, in single-word answers, and to convey emphasis. Note that in questions a different form of the 3rd singular “full” form is required; for more examples, see [8b].

CLITIC	J <u>a</u> sam student, a <u>tj</u> si profesor. On je Ènglez, a i ona je Èngleskinja.	<i>I'm a student, and you're a professor.</i> <i>He's English, and she is English [too].</i>	
FULL	short answer emphasis question	– Ti si student? – J <u>esam</u> . Mi <u>jesmo</u> studenti! J <u>este</u> li studenti?	<i>"You're a student?" "Yes, I am."</i> <i>[Yes,] we ARE students!</i> <i>Are you students?</i>
NEGATED		Vi <u>ste</u> studenti, ali mi <u>nismo</u> . Ona <u>nije</u> Èngleskinja.	<i>You are students, but we aren't.</i> <i>She's not English.</i>

8 Questions

There are two basic kinds of questions. One type begins with a question word such as *who*, *what*, *where*, *when*, or the like, and requests concrete information. The structure of these BCS sentences is similar to that of their English counterparts. The other type expects either *yes* or *no* as an answer. These BCS questions normally contain the particle **li**.

8a. Questions with question words

Many questions begin with a question word. As in English and a number of other languages, BCS places these question words at the beginning of the sentence. If the question contains either a short form of **biti** or the particle **se**, these clitic forms must immediately follow the question word (for more, see [12]). The sentences below are questions designed to illustrate both the use of the question word **kako** “how” and the placement of the clitic particle **se**.

– Kako se zovete?	“What's your name?”
– Ana. A kako se vi zovete?	“Ana. And what's your name?”

The question word **kako**, generally similar to English *how*, also appears frequently in the question phrase **kako se kaže...**, best translated as “how do you say...”.

Kako ste danas?	<i>How are you today?</i>
Kako se kaže you na hrvatskom?	<i>How do you say you in Croatian?</i>

The question words meaning *who* and *what* have slightly different forms throughout the BCS area. In Bosnian and Serbian these words are **ko** and **šta**, respectively, while in Croatian they are **tko** and **što**, respectively. These words are used as in English: *who* requests information about persons and *what* requests information about animals, things, facts or concepts. Note, how-

ever, that when the BCS word for *what* refers to a person, it requests information about the person's profession or nationality. An English parallel in the first instance would be *What do you do?*, and in the second (in the appropriate context), *What are you?*.

Ko je <u>то</u> ? Шта је <u>ово</u> ?	<i>Who's that? What's this?</i>
Ја сам сту́дент. А шта сте Ви?	<i>I'm a student. And what [do] you [do]?</i>
Он је Хрват. А шта су они?	<i>He's a Croat. And what [nationality] are they?</i>

S,B ko / C tko; S,B šta / C što

8b. “Yes-no” questions

Questions which expect an answer of *yes* or *no* are formed by using the question particle **li** in one of two ways. In the first, the verb begins the sentence and the particle **li** follows it directly. If the primary sentence verb is a form of **biti**, the full form is used. If the verb is 3rd singular, a different “full” form is used: it is spelled exactly like the short form (**je**) but is pronounced fully accented. This type of question formation is found throughout BCS, but it occurs with the greatest frequency in Croatian (when the verb is other than a form of **biti**, Serbian rarely uses this type of question). The second way is to begin with the phrase **da li**, followed immediately by the verb. If the verb is a form of **biti**, the clitic form is required. This type of question formation is frequent in Serbian (and almost universal if the verb is any other than **biti**), and used in Bosnian alongside the other one. Croatian also officially accepts both types, but many Croats will avoid using **da li**.

with li alone	Jèste li vi student? Jèsu li onì Amerikànci? Je li ovo tvoje písmo? Zoveš li se Ána?	<i>Are you a student?</i> <i>Are they Americans?</i> <i>Is this your letter?</i> <i>Is your name Ana?</i>
with da li	Да ли сте Ви сту́дент? Да ли су они Америкàнци? Да ли је ово твоје пíсмо? Да ли се зовеши Ана?	<i>Are you a student?</i> <i>Are they Americans?</i> <i>Is this your letter?</i> <i>Is your name Ana?</i>

B,C,S jeste li / S,B da li ste; B,C,S jesu li / S,B da li su; B,C,S je li / S,B da li je; B,C zoveš li se / S,B da li se zoveš

In a colloquial setting one can ask a question simply by using rising intonation. It is also possible, but only in the spoken language and only the colloquial format, to use the sequence **je li** (often shortened to **jel'**) in place of **da li**.

9 Presentative statements (*ovo je*, etc.)

The words **ovo** “this” and **to** “this, that” are used to identify or present the topic of speech as well as to comment upon it. This is similar to English usage in sentences like *THIS is Sanja*, *THAT's a pencil* or *THAT's nice*. The word **ono** can also be used to identify something further away; for examples see [73f].

These introductory words come at the beginning of the sentence. They are unchanging in form, regardless of whether that which is presented is singular or plural. The verb, however, does change to agree with the number of that which is being presented. Both **ovo** and **to** can sometimes be translated by English *this*. The difference between them is that **ovo** is used to present something that is physically close to the speaker, or is about to be discussed for the first time. Once the topic has been identified, then **to** will be used. For more discussion, see [11b].

<p>– Ko je ov<u>o</u>? – To<u>o</u> je Ana.</p> <p>Ovo su Sanja i Milan. Oni su studenti.</p>	<p>“Who’s this?” “This is [= It’s] Ana.”</p> <p><i>This is Sanja and Milan.</i> <i>They are students.</i></p>
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S,B ko / C tko

10 Conjunctions

BCS has two words meaning *and*, each of which consists of a single letter. One, spelled **i**, implies that the two items or concepts which are connected are similar or on a parallel level. The other, spelled **a**, implies contrast. When used at the beginning of a question, the conjunction **a** emphasizes that the speaker does not expect equivalence (but is rather keeping an open mind). A comma must always be placed before the conjunction **a**. The conjunction **i** has two other meanings. When it is used alone, especially at the beginning of a sentence, it means *even* or *also*. When used in this meaning, it must be placed immediately before the word it refers to. When it is doubled, it means *both ... and*. The conjunction **ali** means *but*; the conjunction **ili** means *or*. When doubled, it means *either ... or*. For more discussion of these conjunctions, see [143a].

<p>i</p> <p>Ana i Tomislav su studenti. I Milan je student. I Azra i Mèhmed su Bosànci. – Da li su mačka i pas prijatelji? – I jesu i nisu.</p>	<p>Ana and Tomislav are students. Milan is a student too. Both Azra and Mehmed are Bosnians. “Are the cat and the dog friends?” “Yes and no” [= they are and they aren’t].</p>
<p>a</p> <p>Ja sam Marko, a on je Mirko. Mi smo studenti. A vi?</p>	<p>I’m Marko, and he’s Mirko. We’re students. And [what about] you?</p>
<p>ali</p> <p>Oni su studenti, ali mi nismo. On se zove Bill, ali nije Amerikancac.</p>	<p>They’re students, but we aren’t. His name is Bill, but he’s not American.</p>
<p>ili</p> <p>– Da li su oni studenti? – Ili jesu ili nisu. Jeste li Vi student ili profesor?</p>	<p>“Are they students?” “They either are or they aren’t.” Are you a student or a professor?</p>

S,B da li su / B,C,S jesu li; B,C,S jeste li / S,B da li ste

11 Adjectives, introduction

The BCS category “adjective” comprises different sorts of words. Their common feature is that, as in English, they refer to specific nouns, and give information about these nouns. BCS adjectives also occur in the same sentence slots as in English – either directly before a noun (*attributive position*), or after a form of the verb “to be” (*predicative position*). The examples below illustrate this with the pronominal possessive adjective form **moja** “my”.

<p>attributive:</p>	<p>Ovo je moja olovka.</p>	<p><i>This is my pencil.</i></p>
<p>predicative:</p>	<p>Olovka je moja.</p>	<p><i>The pencil is mine.</i></p>

What is different about BCS adjectives is that they change in form to match the gender of the noun to which they refer. In the sentences above, **moja** is in the feminine form because it refers to the feminine noun **olovka**. As the examples below illustrate, the adjective must agree with its noun regardless of whether it is placed in attributive or in predicative position.

attributive	Ovo je moj pas.	<i>This is my dog.</i>
predicative	Pas je moj.	<i>The dog is mine.</i>
attributive	Ovo je moje pismo.	<i>This is my letter.</i>
predicative	Pismo je moje.	<i>The letter is mine.</i>

One must take care to note that the agreement is with the *gender* of a noun and not its *form*. For instance, although most nouns ending in -a are feminine, some are masculine. Thus one says **moja mama** “my Mom” but **moj tata** “my Dad”.

11a. Possessive pronominal adjectives

Below are the pronominal adjectives of BCS, given in all three forms of the singular. The choice of the word for *your* depends upon the relationship being referred to. When speaking to someone normally addressed as **ti**, the form **tvoj** is used, but when speaking to someone addressed as **vi** (or to a group), **vaš** is used (both words normally capitalized in Serbian). Neuter forms of adjectives end in either -o or -e, depending on the preceding consonant. In the case of pronominal adjectives, the consonants **j** and **š** require the ending -e. For more on this spelling rule, see [32e]; for more discussion of stems and endings, see [161].

There are two words for the idea *her(s)*, **njen** and **njezin**. Of these, Croatian strongly prefers **njezin**. Serbian uses both but prefers **njen**, while Bosnian uses both more or less equally.

masculine	neuter	feminine	
moj	moje	moja	<i>my, mine</i>
tvoj	tvoje	tvoja	<i>your, yours</i>
njen	njeno	njena	<i>her, hers, its</i>
njezin	njezino	njezina	<i>her, hers, its</i>
njegov	njegovo	njegova	<i>his, its</i>
naš	naše	naša	<i>our, ours</i>
vaš	vaše	vaša	<i>your, yours</i>
njihov	njihovo	njihova	<i>their, theirs</i>

B,C,S njen / B,C njezin

The vowel in a single syllable word ending in -j (such as **moj**) is often long, and usually shortens when another syllable is added. The accent in any word of one syllable is of necessity falling; when another syllable is added this accent can sometimes shift to rising. For more on accent shifts in adjectives, see [166b].

11b. Demonstrative pronominal adjectives: *ovaj, taj, onaj*

Words meaning *this* and *that* are demonstrative pronominal adjectives. English has only two such words, but BCS has three. The relationship among them can be viewed in two different ways – either in terms of distance from the speaker, or in terms of physical space. For instance:

speech context	demonstrative	physical space
1st person: ja	OVAJ	close to speaker
2nd person: ti	TAJ	neutral position
3rd person: on	ONAJ	far from speaker

The fact of this three-way distinction in BCS, vs. a two-way one in English, means that the neutral member of the trio, **taj**, corresponds either to *this* or *that* depending on the context. The chart on the left presents this in schematic terms, reckoning the distinction in terms of physical distance from the speaker. The endings of the demonstrative pronominal adjectives, presented in the chart on the right, are similar to those of the possessive pronominal adjectives. The masculine form contains the syllable **-aj**, which is not present in the feminine or neuter forms.

			masculine	neuter	feminine
	NEAR	FAR	òv <u>aj</u>	òv <u>o</u>	òv <u>a</u>
BCS	òv <u>aj</u>	t <u>aj</u>	t <u>aj</u>	to	ta
English	<i>this</i>	<i>that</i>	òn <u>aj</u>	òn <u>o</u>	òn <u>a</u>

Note also that while the neuter forms of **taj** and **ovaj** look exactly like the unchangeable presentative forms **ovo** and **to**, they do not mean the same thing. Pronominal adjectives always refer to a specific noun, and identify it as *this* or *that* specific one, while presentatives simply introduce the idea that something will be discussed. Here are examples of the difference:

presentative	Òvo je moja žena Sanja.	<i>This is my wife Sanja.</i>
demonstrative	Òv <u>a</u> žena nije Amerik <u>a</u> nka, ali on <u>a</u> žena jeste.	<i>This woman is not an American, but that woman is.</i>
presentative	Da li je to tv <u>o</u> j pas?	<i>Is that your dog?</i>
demonstrative	Taj pas nije moj. Nj <u>e</u> gov je.	<i>That dog isn't mine. It's his.</i>

S,B jeste / C,B jest; S,B da li je / B,C,S je li

12 Word order

In English sentences, the subject almost always precedes the verb, a predicate adjective or noun almost always follows the verb *to be*, and nearly every sentence must contain both a subject and a verb. In BCS, however, things are much more fluid. Pronoun subjects are often omitted, and the order of the predicate noun or adjective and verb *to be* is often reversed. The meaning of the sentence must be derived not so much from the order in which words occur but rather from the individual words, and from the case endings added to them (see [18] for an introduction to the concept of *case*). This point is very important for those whose native language is English.

12a. The role of clitics

When it comes to a small group of words called *clitics*, however, there is no flexibility at all. Clitics are short words, rarely longer than a single syllable each, which never bear accent in the sentence. A parallel in English would be the contracted verb forms in *I'm*, *she'll*, *you're*, and the like. The word “clitic” is derived from a Greek word meaning “lean on”, and refers to the fact that clitics have no accent of their own but rather must be pronounced together with a neighboring word. This term is sometimes encountered in the form *enclitic*.

The word order rules of BCS (both written and spoken) are very sensitive to this fact of speech. Whenever clitics are present, they must always be placed together (in a specific order), and always after the first significant unit in the sentence or clause (the concept “first significant unit” is defined more precisely in [164]). Learning these rules, both in speech and writing, will

take practice. This is because the learner must remember both to place clitics in the right position and to pronounce them without any accent. In addition, because clitics must come in second position regardless of the meaning of the sentence, it sometimes will seem to an English speaker that they occur in “unnatural” positions.

A new model has been designed to help English-speaking learners acquire this complex part of BCS grammar. It is presented initially below, and developed gradually throughout the book.

12b. The XYZ model of clitic placement

The rules of clitic ordering are best learned by visualizing each sentence as composed of three slots, which one may call X, Y and Z, and with sentence information ordered as follows:

X	Y	Z
first significant unit	clitics	remainder of sentence

The central point of this model is that clitics *always* come in slot Y no matter what the meaning of the sentence is. Slot Z can on occasion be empty, but slots X and Y are always occupied if clitics are present. Below are examples of sentences with one clitic each. Clitics learned so far include the clitic forms of **biti**, the question particle **li**, and the verbal particle **se**.

X	Y	Z	
Ona	je	Amerik <u>anka</u> .	<i>She is an American.</i>
Amerik <u>anka</u>	je.		[same]
Zovem	se	Sanja L <u>alić</u> .	<i>My name is Sanja Lalić.</i>
Ja	se	zovem Sanja L <u>alić</u> .	[same]
Jeste	li	student?	<i>Are you a student?</i>
Kako	se	ona zove?	<i>What is her name?</i>

B,C,S jeste li / S,B da li ste

When a sentence contains more than one clitic, they must follow a strictly prescribed order. In particular, the particle **li** must always precede any other clitic. Indeed, although one could view the question phrase **Da li** as a fixed unit, it is more in accord with the structure of BCS to view it as an X-Y sequence, with **li** in second position (this is because the conjunction **da**, to be seen subsequently in a number of other meanings, always occupies slot X). In the examples below, which illustrate the operation of word order rules in sentences containing **li**, the subject pronouns **ti**, **on**, and **ona** are given in parentheses, as a reminder that the sentence may or may not include them, depending on whether or not the identity of the subject is clear from the context (review [6]).

X	Y	Z	
Zov <u>e</u>	li se	(<u>ona</u>) Vesna?	<i>Is her name Vesna?</i>
Da	li se	(<u>ona</u>) zov <u>e</u> Vesna?	[same]
Da	li si	(<u>ti</u>) student?	<i>Are you a student?</i>
Jesi	li	(<u>ti</u>) student?	[same]
Da	li je	(<u>on</u>) Bos <u>anac</u> ?	<i>Is he Bosnian?</i>
Je	li	(<u>on</u>) Bos <u>anac</u> ?	[same]

C,B zove li se / S,B da li se zove; S,B da li si / C,B jesи li; S,B da li je / C,B je li

Although the occupant of slot *X* is usually a single word, this will not always be the case. For instance, the two conjunctions meaning *and* cannot occupy slot *X* alone, but must instead always be followed by another word.

<i>X</i>	<i>Y</i>	<i>Z</i>	
И <u>ја</u> А је	сам ли	студент. <u>он</u> студент?	<i>I'm a student, too.</i> <i>But is he a student?</i>

Note that slot *X* does not always occur at the actual beginning of what is a printed sentence on a page. Whenever there is a pause in speech, the reckoning of *XYZ* starts anew. The examples below illustrate the kind of clear pause that is introduced in writing by a comma. Other times, the sentence may be long enough so as to occasion a pause which is all but imperceptible in speech but which nevertheless requires the *XYZ* reckoning to “start over”; for examples see [85a, 164b].

<i>X</i>	<i>Y</i>	<i>Z</i>	
Да, Ах,	то <u>Ви</u>	су сте	Ана и Томислав. Американец! <i>Yes, that's Ana and Tomislav.</i> <i>Oh, you're an American!</i>

CHAPTER 2

13 Verb conjugation: the present tense

There are numerous different verb types in BCS, but only three basic present tense conjugations. These are the *a*-conjugation, the *e*-conjugation, and the *i*-conjugation. Their names come from the vowel which is characteristic of each conjugation, and which in each case is also the ending of the 3rd singular (3sg.) form. As examples, here are the 3sg. forms of the BCS verbs meaning *read*, *write*, and *speak*:

	a-conjugation	e-conjugation	i-conjugation			
3sg.	čita <u>ₖ</u>	s/he reads	piše <u>ₖ</u>	s/he writes	govori <u>ₖ</u>	s/he speaks

The 1st singular (1sg.) form is made by adding the ending **-m** to the basic (3sg.) form, and the 1st plural (1pl.) form is made by adding the ending **-mo** to the basic (3sg.) form. In like manner, the 2nd singular (2sg.) form is made by adding **-š** to the basic form, and the 2nd plural (2pl.) form is made by adding **-te** to this same basic form. Here are these forms for the same verbs:

	a-conjugation	e-conjugation	i-conjugation		
1sg.	čita <u>ₖ</u>	<i>I read</i>	piše <u>ₖ</u>	<i>I write</i>	govori <u>ₖ</u>
1pl.	čita <u>mo</u>	<i>we read</i>	piše <u>mo</u>	<i>we write</i>	govori <u>mo</u>
2sg.	čita <u>š</u>	<i>you read</i>	piše <u>š</u>	<i>you write</i>	govori <u>š</u>
2pl.	čita <u>te</u>	<i>you read</i>	piše <u>te</u>	<i>you write</i>	govori <u>te</u>
					<i>you speak</i>
					<i>you speak</i>

It is only the 3rd plural (3pl.) form that poses difficulty. In this instance, one must simply learn that *a*-conjugation verbs have the ending **-aju**, *e*-conjugation verbs have the ending **-u**, and *i*-conjugation verbs have the ending **-e**. These same verbs have the following forms:

	a-conjugation	e-conjugation	i-conjugation		
3pl.	čita <u>ju</u>	<i>they read</i>	piše <u>u</u>	<i>they write</i>	govore <u>u</u>

All verb forms consist at least of a *stem* and an *ending*. The most basic part of the stem is the *root*, which may have one or more *prefixes* in front of it, and one or more *suffixes* following it. The root is the part of the word which carries its dictionary meaning (for example, čit- “read” or govor- “speak”). The ending is that which carries the grammatical information. For example, the

endings **-m**, **-š**, **-mo**, **-te** identify a verb form as 1sg., 2sg., 1pl., or 2pl., respectively. The 3sg. ending is always zero. For more on roots, prefixes, suffixes and endings, see [96, 161-163].

In most verbal forms, there is a vowel connecting the stem and the ending, which is called the *theme vowel*. In the present tense, the theme vowel is that which gives each present tense conjugation its name. The reason it is important to be aware of the theme vowel is that this vowel is distinctively long. This is the case for all verbs of the *a*- and *i*-conjugations, and for nearly all verbs of the *e*-conjugation. Exceptionally, the 3pl. form of *a*-conjugation verbs has a short theme vowel and a long final vowel: **-aju**. Here are the three conjugations in standard format:

čítati	read
čítam	čítamo
čítáš	čítate
čítá	čítaju

písati	write
pišem	pišemo
pišeš	pišete
piše	pišu

govoriti	speak
govorim	govorimo
govoriš	govorite
govori	govore

14 Relationship between infinitive and present tense

The infinitive of most BCS verbs ends in **-ti**, which is almost always preceded by a theme vowel. In many verbs of the *a*- and *i*-conjugations, the theme vowel is the same in the infinitive and the present tense. In such happy instances (as in the case of **čítati** and **govoriti**, seen above), the infinitive and present tense forms are directly predictable from one another. But when such a relationship does not hold, it is necessary to learn the present tense stem along with the infinitive of a verb. Fortunately for the learner, such verbs fall into a relatively small number of patterns which with practice will become recognizable. It is useful to learn these patterns according to a head verb (one representing the type in question). Below are several of the more common patterns. Others will be seen at the beginning of chapters 3-9; for a full listing of types, see [103a].

14a. Potential accent shifts

In a number of BCS verbs, there is an accent shift between the infinitive and all forms of the present tense. This can take two different forms: either a rising accent on the infinitive will shift to a falling accent in the present tense (as in **pisati** above), or a non-initial rising accent in the infinitive will shift one syllable towards the beginning in the present tense (as in **govoriti** above); for more on these accent shifts, see [166a]. If such a shift occurs in the present tense of *a*-conjugation verbs, the 3pl. form does NOT make the shift: it keeps the accent of the infinitive. The verb **morati** illustrates this pattern.

morati	must
moram	moramo
moraš	morate
mora	moraju

14b. Type **pisati**

This verb type follows the *e*-conjugation. The infinitive theme vowel is **-a**, preceded by a consonant which shifts to a different consonant in the present tense. In the verb **pisati** “write”, this shift is from **-s** to **-š**; and in the verb **kazati** “say”, it is from **-z** to **-ž**. Most verbs of this type with a rising accent in the infinitive shift it to a falling accent in the present tense. For more on this group of verbs, see [52e, 65a, 153e]. For a full listing of the possible types of consonant shifts, see [112c]. The verbs **pisati** and **kazati** illustrate this pattern.

písati	write
pišem	pišemo
pišeš	pišete
piše	pišu

kázati	say
kažem	kažemo
kažeš	kažete
kaže	kažu

14c. Type *videti* / *vidjeti*

All such verbs have ekavian / ijekavian forms of the infinitive: the infinitive theme vowel is either **e** or **je**. The present tense follows the *i*-conjugation. Most verbs keep the same accent in the infinitive and the present tense. An exception is the verb **voleti** / **voljeti**, which shifts it to falling in the present tense. For more on this type, see [153c].

<i>videti</i> / <i>vidjeti</i>	<i>see</i>
<i>vidim</i>	<i>vidimo</i>
<i>vidiš</i>	<i>vidite</i>
<i>vidi</i>	<i>vide</i>

14d. Type *piti*

This type includes several short verbs without an infinitive theme vowel; the ending **-ti** is rather added directly to the root. The present tense forms add the consonant **j** before the *e*-conjugation endings. The verbal root ends in **i** in nearly all verbs of this type; one of the exceptions is **čuti** “hear”, 1sg. **čujem**. For more on this type, illustrated here by the conjugation of **piti** “drink”, see [153f].

<i>piti</i>	<i>drink</i>
<i>pijem</i>	<i>pijemo</i>
<i>piješ</i>	<i>pijete</i>
<i>pije</i>	<i>piju</i>

14e. Type *kupovati*

In this type, the infinitive theme vowel is **a**, preceded by the suffix **-ov**. In the present tense, which follows the *e*-conjugation, this suffix is replaced by the suffix **-uj**. For more on this type, here illustrated by **kupovati** “buy”, see [152h].

<i>kupòvati</i>	<i>buy</i>
<i>kupujem</i>	<i>kupujemo</i>
<i>kupuješ</i>	<i>kupujete</i>
<i>kupuje</i>	<i>kupuju</i>

14f. The verb *moći*

The verb **moći** “can, be able” is irregular. Its root-final consonant is **-g**, which is lost before the infinitive ending **-ći**. The 1sg. ends in **-u** (rather than the expected **-m**), and the remaining forms follow the *e*-conjugation, with a shift of the final root consonant to **-ž** before the theme vowel **e** (thus, in all forms but 3pl). The accent is rising in the 1sg. only and falling in other forms. The theme vowel is short, except in 3pl. For more on the type to which this verb belongs, see [153r].

<i>moći</i>	<i>can, be able</i>
<i>mògu</i>	<i>možemo</i>
<i>možeš</i>	<i>možete</i>
<i>može</i>	<i>mogu</i>

15 Verb forms of politeness

Certain second-person verbal forms are used in standard politeness formulas. The endings on these forms will be either **-i** or **-ite**, depending on whether the person spoken to is normally addressed as **ti** or **vi**. When addressing a group, of course, one can use only the form ending in **-ite** (just as one can use only the pronoun **vi**). Two words with the meaning *Excuse me* are given below. One (**oprostite**) is Croatian, and the other (**izvinite**) is Serbian and Bosnian. The third word (**izvolite**) has several meanings, depending on the context of usage. It is spoken when inviting someone to pass or to enter, when offering one’s services, or when handing something to someone. These forms should be learned as fixed formulas. Grammatically they belong to the *imperative mood*, discussed in [78]. The accent is as in the infinitive.

singular plural

<i>oprosti</i>	<i>oprostite</i>	<i>Excuse me</i>
<i>izvini</i>	<i>izvinite</i>	[same]
<i>izvoli</i>	<i>izvolite</i>	<i>May I help you? Here you are. Please enter. After you. (etc.)</i>

B,C,S oprosti / B,S izvini; B,C,S oprostite / B,S izvinite

16 Adjectives, continued

Adjectives refer to a specific noun: in technical terms, they *modify* that noun. Adjectives must also carry all the same grammatical markings as the noun they modify: again in technical terms, they must *agree* with that noun. This means that any adjective form must specify gender, number and case. That is, it must be marked as either masculine, feminine or neuter; as either singular or plural; and as expressing one of several cases. For more on gender, see [11]; for more on number see [32a]; for more on case see [18].

16a. Adjectives with single-syllable stems

Adjectives are listed in the dictionary under their masculine singular form. Because the masculine singular ending is “zero” (-Ø), the masculine singular form is seen as equivalent to the *stem* of the adjective (for more on zero endings, see [161]). A single-syllable word always has a falling accent; when endings other than “zero” are added, this accent often shifts to a rising one. For more on accent in adjectives, see [166b].

	masculine	neuter	feminine	
loš	loše	loša	bad	
crn	cr̂no	cr̂na	black	
plav	pl̂avo	pl̂ava	blue	
velik	veliko	velika	big	
lijep	lijepo	lijepa	beautiful, nice	

E lep / J lijep

16b. “Fleeting -a-” in adjectives; voicing assimilation

If the stem of an adjective ends in a sequence of consonants, this sequence is broken up in the masculine singular form by the addition of the vowel **a**. This vowel disappears in all other forms of the adjective: it bears for this reason the name “fleeting -a-”.

Most of the time, no other changes take place in the adjective stem: this is illustrated by the five adjectives in the left-hand column below. Sometimes, however, other changes take place, according to a process called *voicing assimilation*. If two consonants occur adjacent to each other, the pronunciation of the first can be adjusted in the direction of the second, and this pronunciation difference is reflected in the spelling, as illustrated by the five adjectives in the right-hand column. These changes are regular and predictable: for more on voicing assimilation and a full list of possible changes, see [167e], and for more on the relationships between sound and spelling, see [167j]). Sometimes a falling accent in the masculine singular form (with fleeting -a-) may shift to a rising accent in other forms (those without fleeting -a-); for more detail, see [166b].

masc.	neut.	fem.	masc.	neut.	fem.		
dobar	dòbro	dòbra	good	nizak	nìsko	nìska	low, short
tùžan	tùžno	tùžna	sad	tèžak	tèško	tèška	hard, heavy
kratak	kràtko	kràtka	short	sladak	slatko	slàtka	sweet
dugačak	dugačko	dugačka	long	gibak	gipko	gipka	flexible
odličan	odlično	odlična	excellent	uzak	usko	uska	narrow

16c. Adjectives in -o

The masculine singular form of most adjectives ends in a consonant. Several adjectives, however, have a masculine singular form ending in **-o**; this **o** is replaced by **-i** in all other forms of

the adjective. Phrased differently, if an adjective stem ending in **-I** is followed by the zero ending (**-Ø**), then this final **-I** is replaced by **-o** (for more, see [167d]). If the root vowel of such an adjective is one with ekavian and ijekavian variants, the ijekavian forms sometimes follow one pattern and sometimes another. The final **-I** does not always shift to **-o** before the zero ending. In some adjectives (such as **bijel**) it never does, and in others (such as **cijel**) it has both shifted and non-shifted forms. If it does shift to **-o**, then the regular ijekavian sequence **-ije-** is replaced by **-i-**.

The examples below illustrate these shifts. The feminine singular form stands for what happens in all other forms. Note that the first three items in the left-hand chart also have fleeting **-a-**.

masculine	feminine		masculine	feminine	
topao	topla	warm	beo	bela	white
okrugao	okrugla	round	bijel	bijela	
zao	zla	evil	ceo	cela	whole, entire
debeo	debela	fat, thick	cio, cijel	cijela	

E beo / J bijel; E bela / J bijela; E ceo / J cio [cijel]; E cela / J cijela

17 Short and long forms of adjectives

Most adjectives have both *short* and *long* forms (although some have only short forms and some have only long forms). Examples of adjectives in [16] are all short forms. The contrast between short and long is illustrated below by the singular forms of the adjectives **crn** “black”, **crven** “red”, **dobar** “good”, and **mlad** “young”.

	masculine	neuter	feminine		masculine	neuter	feminine
short	crn	crno	crna		crven	crveno	crvena
long	crni	crno <u>o</u>	crna <u>o</u>		crveni	crveno <u>o</u>	crvena <u>o</u>
short	dobar	dobro	dobra		mlad	mlado	mlada
long	dobri	dobro <u>o</u>	dobra <u>o</u>		mladi	mlado <u>o</u>	mlada <u>o</u>

In the written language, the distinction between short and long forms is seen only in the masculine singular: the short form has the zero ending, and the long form has the ending **-i**. By definition, therefore, only the short form can contain a fleeting **-a-**. In neuter and feminine adjectives, short and long forms are distinguished only in speech. The vowels in the endings of the short forms are short, and those of the long forms are long. In addition, the accent of the short-form stem vowel may shift from rising to falling in the long form, or (more rarely), may shift to a rising accent on the preceding syllable. Speakers of Bosnian regularly distinguish long and short forms in this way, but only some speakers of Serbian do. In Croatian, the distinction is sporadic at best (and is nearly lost). For more on length distinctions throughout the BCS area, see [165d].

17a. “Indefinite” vs. “definite”

In terms of meaning, the distinction *short* vs. *long* in adjectives is usually referred to as *indefinite* vs. *definite*. This is because in a number of instances the difference between short and long forms corresponds roughly to that between the English indefinite and definite articles, respectively. Thus, the adjective in the BCS phrase **crn kaput** would correspond to English *A black coat* while that in BCS **crni kaput** would correspond to English *THE black coat*. In other words, speakers use indefinite adjectives to provide “new” information (to introduce an idea for the first time), while they use definite adjectives to identify something that is already known (or “defined”), after which they go on to say something else new about it. For example:

indefinite	Rade, je li <u>to</u> nov kaput? Da. <u>On</u> je nov.	<i>Rade, is that a new coat?</i> <i>Yes. It's new.</i>
definite	Taj novi <u>kaput</u> je moj. Gde je moj novi <u>kaput</u> ?	<i>That new coat is mine.</i> <i>Where is my new coat?</i>

B,C,S je li / S,B da li je; E gde / J gdje

17b. “Short vs. long” and “indefinite vs. definite”

Unfortunately, the correspondence between English articles and BCS adjective endings works in only a few instances. To complicate matters further, the BCS distinction between short and long adjectives is gradually being lost. For adjectives with both short and long forms, all one can say with certainty is that the short forms (those with presumed indefinite meaning) are used frequently in predicative position (as in **Pas je crn**), and that the long forms (those with presumed definite meaning, as in **Taj crni pas je moj**) are used in most other instances. The dictionary form is the masculine singular *short* form.

In general terms, it is advisable for learners to keep the concepts *short* vs. *long* separate from *indefinite* vs. *definite* – not only because the English / BCS correspondence is such an imperfect match, but also because there are a number of adjectives which have only short forms or only long forms. Most grammarians confuse the issue by calling these adjectives “only indefinite” or “only definite”. This is both incorrect and misleading. For instance, adjectives such as **engleski** “English”, **srpski** “Serbian”, **hrvatski** “Croatian”, **američki** “American”, and the like, have only long forms, yet they can be used in both definite and indefinite contexts. There are also adjectives which have only short forms, such as the pronominal adjectives **ovaj** and **moj**; yet the meaning conveyed by these pronominal adjectives is clearly one of definiteness. In addition, the adjective **mali** “small” also exists only in the long form. Some speakers use this single long form in both meanings while others prefer to use a different adjective in the indefinite meaning – one which also means *small* and which does have both long and short forms (**malen** / **maleni**).

18 Cases of nouns, introduction

English has two different ways to express relations between nouns in a sentence: through word order, and by the use of prepositional phrases. BCS uses prepositions as well, and in much the same manner as in English. But the primary means of expressing relations within a BCS sentence is with case endings. Nouns indicate by their endings not only their gender (review [5]) and number (see [32a]), but also their case. Gender (masculine, feminine or neuter) is an inherent property of a noun, and number (singular or plural) depends upon the real-world characteristics being referred to. Case, however, is determined by the function of a noun within the sentence.

The following English paragraph contains seven instances of the noun *car*. In the BCS version of this passage, each of these seven would be in a different case, with different endings added to the noun stem. The numbers in the text identify which case it would be in each instance.

John has a new *car* (4) now. His *car* (1) is the center of his life. He goes everywhere he can by *car* (6). He often checks the tires of the *car* (2), and sometimes he just sits in his *car* (7) and talks to his *car* (3). “Oh, *car* (5)!” he says. “What did I do before you came into my life?”

Each of the seven BCS cases has a separate form in the singular, and six of the seven have a separate form in the plural. Here are the names of these seven cases, together with two sets of abbreviations. One is frequently used to refer to the general case *meaning*, and the other to the case *form* that expresses that meaning.

Case name		Abbreviations			
		(meaning)	(form)		
			singular	plural	
1	nominativ	<i>Nominative</i>	Nom.	Nsg.	Npl.
2	genitiv	<i>Genitive</i>	Gen.	Gsg.	Gpl.
3	dativ	<i>Dative</i>	Dat.	Dsg.	Dpl.
4	akuzativ	<i>Accusative</i>	Acc.	Asg.	Apl.
5	vokativ	<i>Vocative</i>	Voc.	Vsg.	Vpl.
6	instrumental	<i>Instrumental</i>	Instr.	Isg.	Ipl.
7	lokativ	<i>Locative</i>	Loc.	Lsg.	Lpl.
				(DLsg.)*	(DLIpl.)*

* combined forms:
Dative-Locative singular
Dative-Locative-Instrumental plural

From the above it would appear that every noun has fourteen different forms. Fortunately, there are fewer, as endings are shared within different noun classes in numerous instances. For instance, dative and locative singular share the same form (discussed in [66a]), abbreviated DLsg. Additionally, dative, locative and instrumental plural share the same form (discussed in [86]), abbreviated DLIpl. Most grammars still retain the idea of seven separate case *meanings*, however. To aid learning, case endings are presented gradually throughout this and the subsequent six chapters. The full set of case endings which a noun takes is called a *declension*.

There are three declensions in BCS. Masculine and neuter nouns (other than masculine nouns in -a) follow the same basic declension, with certain internal variations. Nouns ending in -a (both feminine and masculine) follow another declension. The third declension (discussed in [31]) is restricted to feminine nouns with a zero ending. For complete declensions of all three types of nouns, see [89].

19 The vocative case

Strictly speaking, the vocative (Voc.) is not a case, since it does not express a grammatical meaning such as subject, object or the like. Additionally, its use is not obligatory with all nouns. The meaning of the vocative is to indicate that a person (or more rarely, a thing) is being addressed in conversation. It is also used to get someone's attention. The vocative is most frequently used with personal names. Masculine names ending in a consonant add -e, and certain feminine names ending in -a replace this by the ending -o. The accent is almost always falling, on the first syllable. For more on the vocative, see [88, 155b].

vocative	Mehmede, šta radiš? Zdravo, Tomislave! Kako je?	Mehmed, what are you doing? Hi, Tomislav! How are things?
	Nđado, što je ovo? – Maro! – Molim?	Nada, what's this? “Mara!” “Yes?”

S, B šta / C što

20 The nominative case

The nominative case (Nom.) expresses the subject of the sentence. It is also used in predicative position, after a form of **biti** “to be”. In addition, predicate nouns in the nominative case can

occur after the verb **značiti** “to mean” and certain other linking verbs. When a noun is in predicative position, it is almost always the case that another noun (also in the nominative case) is the subject. All adjective and noun forms seen till now have been in the nominative case, singular number. For review, here are examples of usage; more discussion of the nominative case can be found in [155a]. To illustrate clearly the distinction between nouns as subject and nouns as predicates, the same nouns are used in both sets of examples.

Noun as subject

masculine	Moj muž se zove Radovan.	<i>My husband is called Radovan.</i>
neuter	Njegovo ime je Vladimir.	<i>His name is Vladimir.</i>
feminine	Majka danas ne radi.	<i>Mother isn't working today.</i>

Øva tajna je naša.
This secret is ours.

Noun as predicate

masculine	Radovan je moj muž.	<i>Radovan is my husband.</i>
neuter	Vladimir je njegovo dete.	<i>Vladimir is his child.</i>
feminine	“Mama” znači “majka”.	<i>“Mom” means “mother”.</i>

Naša ideja je velika tajna.
Our idea is a big secret.

E dete / J dijete

21 The accusative case

The accusative case (Acc.) expresses several meanings, among which is the idea *direct object* (see [22, 156a]). It is also used after a number of prepositions (for a full survey of the uses of the accusative, see [156]). In this case (and only this case) masculine nouns are divided into two separate groups. One, called *animate*, includes nouns which refer to humans and animals. The other, called *inanimate*, includes all other masculine nouns.

21a. Endings of nouns and adjectives

Below are the accusative singular endings (for the plural, see [33]). In masculine inanimate (inan.) nouns, in all neuter nouns, and in feminine nouns with zero ending (discussed in [31]), the Asg. is identical to the Nsg. The Asg. is a separate ending only in masculine animate (anim.) nouns (which add the ending **-a**), and all nouns with Nsg. in **-a** (which take the Asg. ending **-u**). In this and subsequent tables, the fact of variant endings is indicated by a slash.

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR, nouns

	masculine	neuter	feminine
Nsg.	-Ø	-o / -e	-a
Asg.	[anim.] -a	[inan.] -Ø	-o / -e -u

The feminine and neuter Asg. adjective endings are the same as the noun endings. Adjectives modifying masculine nouns are more complex, partly because of the short / long distinction (review [17]), and partly because of the animate / inanimate one. If the noun is inanimate, the Asg. adjective ending is the same as the Nsg. one. But if the noun is animate, the adjective ending is different – not only from the Nsg. one, but also from that of the noun it modifies. That is, the Asg. ending of masculine animate nouns is **-a**, but for adjectives it is **-og**. If the stem-final consonant is *soft*, this ending is **-eg** (for the definition of soft consonants, see [32e]; for more detail see [167c]). The vowels in these endings are always long.

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR, adjectives

	masculine	neuter	feminine
Nsg. short	-Ø	-o / -e	-a
Nsg. long	-i	-ɔ / -e	-a
Asg.	[anim.]	[inan.]	
	-og / -eg	-i	-o / -e
			-u

The chart above gives both short and long endings for Nsg. adjective forms, but only long endings for Asg. adjective forms. In principle, both short or long adjective endings are possible in Asg. as in Nsg. In practice, however, short forms are rarely used in cases other than nominative (but see [42c, 66c]). For simplicity, charts comparing noun and adjective case endings will show both short and long endings in nominative, but only long endings in other cases.

Students may memorize endings alone according to charts like those given above. But they may find it easier (and more effective) to learn case forms using actual adjective + noun combinations. This will be particularly helpful when the noun and adjective endings do not match (as will be the case with nearly all endings yet to be learned). The pairs below give Nsg. and Asg. forms of the masculine nouns **pas** “dog” [anim.] and **grad** “city” [inan.], the neuter noun **ime** “name” and the feminine noun **žena** “woman”. Each is paired with an adjective. One of these (**dobar** “good”) contains a fleeting vowel, and the other three do not. Of these, two end in soft consonants (**loš** “bad”, **smed** “brown”) and the third (**siv** “gray”) ends in what is called a *hard* consonant.

Both short and long adjective forms are given for Nsg. and only long adjective forms for Asg. The masculine noun **gazda** “landlord” is also included, to reinforce the fact that agreement is determined by *gender* and not by form. This noun takes the same endings as the feminine noun **žena**. But because it is masculine in gender, adjectives modifying it must be masculine.

	masc.anim.	masc.inan.	neuter	feminine
Nsg. short	dobar pas	dobar grad	dobro ime	dobra žena
Nsg. long	dobri pas	dobri grad	dobro ime	dobra žena
Nsg. short	smeđ pas	siv grad	loše ime	loša žena
Nsg. long	smedj pas	sivi grad	loše ime	loša žena
Nsg. short	loš gazda			
Nsg. long	loši gazda			
Asg.	dobrog psa	dobri grad	dobro ime	dobru ženu
Asg.	smeđeg psa	sivi grad	loše ime	lošu ženu
Asg.	dobrog gazdu			
Asg.	lošeg gazdu			

21b. Fleeting -a- in nouns, and possible accent shifts

Fleeting -a-, defined as an instance of the vowel **a** which occurs in the final syllable of a Nsg. form and which is lost when a grammatical ending other than Nsg. is added to the word, was first encountered in adjectives (review [16b]). Fleeting vowels also occur in masculine nouns. In adjectives, they occur only in suffixes, and in masculine nouns they occur almost always in suffixes. When fleeting -a- is lost, consonant shifts can be caused by voicing assimilation (for definition see [16b] and for more discussion see [167e]). The concept of fleeting -a- is presented and discussed in some detail in [167g]).

The accentuation of certain animate masculine nouns may also change in the accusative form. Specifically, if the final vowel is long and the preceding vowel carries a rising accent, the accent in the accusative form may shift forward one syllable towards the end. What was a short rising accent on the first syllable is now a long rising accent on the second syllable, a change which is quite noticeable in pronunciation. For a more precise statement of this accent shift, see [166], and for other accent shifts in nouns, see [166b].

Changes in Asg. of masculine nouns

	fleetling -a-	fleetling -a-, cons. shift	accent shift
Nsg. Asg.	pas psa	vra <small>ć</small> bac vrapca	junak junaka
	dog	sparrow	hero

21c. Accusative of interrogative pronouns

The question word meaning *who* (review [8a]) has two different forms in the nominative case, as does the question word for *what*. But whereas the accusative case forms of *what* are the same as the nominative, there is but a single accusative form of *who* corresponding to both nominative forms. Here are the forms; for examples of usage, see the next section.

	WHO	WHAT
Nom.	ko, tko	šta, što
Acc.	koga	šta, što

B,S šta / C što

22 The accusative of direct object

In English, the direct object is usually the noun or pronoun which follows directly after a verb other than *to be*. The examples below illustrate the corresponding usage in BCS. Sometimes a BCS direct object construction (such as **imati pravo** “be right”) corresponds to another type of expression in English. Although most English direct objects will be in the Acc. in BCS, this will not always be the case (for examples, see [60, 69b, 121]).

Direct object

Мара јма бељу мачку.	Mara has a white cat.
Да ли видиш оног црног коња тамо?	Do you see that black horse over there?
– Шта он ради? – Пише писмо.	“What is he doing?” “Writing a letter.”
– А она? – Слуша музiku.	“And she?” “[She’s] listening to music.”
А они гледају филм.	And they are watching a film.”
– Ко је то? Кога видиш тамо?	“Who’s that? Who do you see there?”
– Видим Азру и Мехмеда.	“I see Azra and Mehmed.”

[as phrase]

Имате право – она јесте Босанка.	You’re right – she is Bosnian.
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E belu / J bijelu; S,B da li vidiš / C,B vidiš li; S, šta / C što; B,C,S muziku / C glazbu; S,B ko / C tko

23 The accusative with prepositions

Prepositions require the noun following them to be in a particular case. Most prepositions always take the same case. Some, however, can take different cases in different meanings. One should always learn the case requirement of a preposition along with its dictionary meaning. Three prepositions requiring the accusative case are presented below; for more discussion of these and other prepositions which take the accusative, see [34, 93, 156b].

23a. Accentuation of prepositional phrases

Prepositions are written as separate words. In speech, however, each preposition is pronounced together with its object, and each unit of “preposition + object” has only one accent. For most speakers of BCS, this accent remains on the noun, although in a few instances it can move back onto the preposition. In Bosnian, however, the accent frequently moves back onto the preposition if the noun object carries a falling accent. These accent shifts do not occur with all nouns or with all prepositions, but they tend to be common with prepositions that take the accusative case. Such accentuation is one of the characteristic marks of Bosnian; for more, see [166c].

23b. The preposition *za*

One of the commonest prepositions requiring the accusative is **za**. Nearly all instances of **za** used with the accusative (**za** + Acc.) correspond directly to usage of the English preposition *for*.

★ ZA	Majka <u>radi</u> sve za <u>sina</u> . Kupujem <u>ovo</u> za prijatelja. <u>To</u> je vrlo korisno za zdravlje. Još je rano za <u>rucak</u> . Ovo je šolja za čaj. <u>On</u> uči za inženjera. <u>To</u> je sve za danas!	<i>Mother does everything for [her] son.</i> <i>I'm buying this for a friend.</i> <i>This is very good for [one's] health.</i> <i>It's early yet for lunch.</i> <i>This is a teacup [= a cup for tea].</i> <i>He's studying to be an engineer. [= He's working for an engineering degree.]</i> <i>That's all for today!</i>
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B,C,S za prijatelja / S,B za druga; S,C za zdravlje / B za zdravlje; S,B šolja / C šalica; B za čaj / S,C za čaj

23c. The preposition *u* and days of the week

The preposition **u** + Acc. has a number of meanings (see [55a, 61c, 67, 93, 125a, 125c, 156b]). Used with the name of a day of the week, it locates an event on that day. Below are the days of the week, in both ekavian and ijekavian forms where relevant. As seen in the examples following the chart, **u** locates a specific event on a specific day of the week. If no other adjective is used, the phrase refers to the current week. For other expressions referring to the days of the week, see [61b, 81b, 125a].

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
ponedeljak ponedjeljak	utorak	sreda srijeda	četvrtak	petak	subota	nedelja nedjelja
J ponedeljak / E ponedeljak;	J srijeda / E sreda					

J ponedeljak / E ponedeljak; J srijeda / E sreda

★ U	– Želiš li pogledati film u srijedu? – Ne mogu. Ali mogu u četvrtak. – Vidimo se u četvrtak onda.	“Do you want to see the film on Wednesday?” “I can't. But I can on Thursday.” “See you on Thursday, then.”
------------	---	--

B,C želiš li / S,B da li želiš; J u srijedu / E u sredu

23d. The preposition *na*

The preposition **na** appears frequently with the Acc. in idioms, many of which correspond to English idioms with *to*. Below is one example; for more, see [34c, 156c].

★ NA	Ne znam odgovor na vaše pitanje.	<i>I don't know the answer to your question.</i>
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24 Object pronouns, clitic and full forms

Like nouns, pronouns also use case forms to express grammatical relations within the sentence. There are two sets of accusative pronouns. Sometimes they are called *short* and *long* forms. However, it is preferable to use the more precise terms, *clitic forms* and *full forms*. This will help the student remember that the shorter forms are unaccented and follow specific word order rules. The longer forms, by contrast, are fully accented and are not restricted as to word order.

Every pronoun must agree in number and gender with the noun to which it refers. Its case, of course, is determined by its position in the sentence.

24a. Clitic (short form) object pronouns

The clitic pronoun objects are used in most instances. They are always unaccented, and they must follow the word order rules for clitics (for discussion and examples, see [29b, 64, 76]). The chart below gives the accusative clitic pronouns, along with nominative case pronouns. The forms for 3sg. masculine and neuter are identical: both are **ga**. The 3pl. forms are the same for all genders: **ih**. For 3sg. feminine, however, there are two separate forms: **je** and **ju**. In Croatian, the two are used more or less interchangeably. In Serbian and Bosnian, the form **je** is preferred, and **ju** is used only when the feminine pronoun **je** would occur directly before the 3sg. verb form **je**. For more on this pronoun and its use, see [64].

CLITIC FORMS		SINGULAR		PLURAL	
		Nom.	Acc.	Nom.	Acc.
1st	ja	me		mi	nas
2nd	ti	te		vi	vas
3rd masc	on	ga		oni	ih
3rd neut.	ono	ga		ona	ih
3rd fem.	ona	je / ju		one	ih

- Vidiš li ga? Tamo je.
– Vidim ga. I ona ga vidi.

“Do you see him? He’s over there.”
“I see him. She sees him too.”

- Gdje su moje knjige? Tko ih čita?
Tvoja knjiga nije tu. Ja je čitam.

Where are my books? Who’s reading them?

Your book isn’t here. I’m [the one who’s] reading it.

C,B vidiš li ga / S,B da li ga vidiš; J gdje / E gde; C tko / S,B ko

24b. Full (long form) object pronouns

The similarity of the full form pronouns to the clitic ones is obvious in most cases. Here too, the 3sg. masculine and neuter forms are identical, and the 3pl. form is the same for all three genders. But the feminine singular forms are quite different. The clitic form in the Acc. is **je**, while the full form is **nju**. The chart below gives the full forms, together with subject pronouns (nominative case). In 1pl. and 2pl., the clitic and full forms (**nas** and **vas**) look exactly alike on the printed page. In speech, however, they are clearly differentiated: the full forms are accented, and pronounced with a distinctively long vowel. To specify the distinction in writing (if needed), the full forms are written with a circumflex accent over them: **nâs** and **vâs**.

When the full forms are objects of prepositions, the accent can shift back onto the preposition – consistently in Bosnian, but optionally in Serbian and rarely in Croatian (review [23a], and see [166c]).

FULL FORMS

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	Nom.	Acc.	Nom.	Acc.
1st	ja	mene	mi	nas
2nd	ti	tebe	vi	vas
3rd masc	on	njega	oni	njih
3rd neut.	ono	njega	ona	njih
3rd fem.	ona	nju	one	njih

As the examples below illustrate, the full form pronoun objects occur primarily after prepositions. However, they can also be used to convey a strong sense of contrast or emphasis.

Mi rāđimo sve za njega, a šta
on radi za nas?

We do everything for him, but what
does he do for us?

- Vidjiš li Ānu i njenog muža?
- Nju ne vidim, vidim samo njega.
A njega jasno vidim.

“Do you see Ana and her husband?”
“I don’t see her, only him. But him,
I [can] see clearly.

B za njega / C,S za njega; S,B šta / C što; B za nas / C,S za nas; C,B vidiš li / S,B da li vidiš; B,C,S njenog / C,B njezinog

The sense of full form pronouns is hard to convey in written English translation. For instance, in the first sentence of the final English examples above, one would need to put heavy contrastive stress on the pronouns *her* and *him* in order to reproduce the intended meaning of the BCS original. English speakers, with only one set of object pronouns at their disposal, should use BCS full form pronouns sparingly until they get a good sense of the usage. Except as objects of prepositions (where full form pronouns are required) learners should focus on using the clitic pronoun objects.

25 Negation

Negation is expressed by the segment **ne**. It functions both as a separate word (corresponding to English *no*), and as a particle preceding other words (corresponding to English *not*). When it is a particle, it follows different accentual rules depending on whether the following word is a verb or some other part of speech.

25a. Negation of present tense verbs

Verbs are normally negated by placing the negative particle **ne** immediately before the verb form. The verb **imati** “have” exceptionally expresses negation by means of a separate verb, which is **nemati** “not have”. Two other verbs express negation by a similar fusion of the negative particle with the basic verb form. One is the present tense of *to be* (review [7b]), and the other is the verb meaning *will, want* (for details, see [52d, 95a]). The negative particle is unaccented in the same way as prepositions. Thus, just as the entire unit composed of preposition + object carries only one accent, so does the entire unit composed of **ne** + verb. Furthermore, if the present tense verb form following **ne** has a falling accent (necessarily on the first syllable), this accent will nearly always be shifted onto the negative particle, as a rising accent. In essence, therefore, the two spoken together act as a single word (for more discussion, see [166c]).

Rising accent: no shift		VS	Falling accent: shift	
(affirmative)	(negative)		(affirmative)	(negative)
gòvorim	ne gòvorim		znam	nè znam
čitam	ne čitam		vidim	nè vidim

The strength of this spoken bond (between the negative particle and the verb it negates) is such that nothing can come between them. What this means in terms of clitics and XYZ word order model is that the entire sequence must come either before the clitics or after them. In other words, the sequence **ne** + verb must occupy either slot X or slot Z. Here are examples:

X	Y	Z	
He зове	се	Љиљана.	<i>Her name is not Ljiljana.</i>
Она	се	не зове Љиљана.	[same]
Не чита	га.		<i>She's not reading it.</i>
Она	га	не чита.	[same]

25b. Negation of other parts of speech

When other parts of speech are negated, the negative particle is fully accented. As a single syllable, it necessarily carries falling accent. The fact that this book leaves falling accents on initial (or single) syllables unmarked means that the student must remember that **ne** does not carry its own accent when it precedes a present tense verb form, but that it does carry its own accent in other contexts. Thus, **ne** in the following statement functions as a fully accented word:

Ne u četvrtak, nego u petak. *Not on Thursday [then, but] rather on Friday.*

26 The conjunction **da**

The word **da** has a number of meanings in BCS. When used as a conjunction, it has two primary meanings. One of these is to join two clauses into a single sentence; this meaning is discussed briefly in [26a] and more extensively in [143d]. The other expresses the general idea of the English infinitive; this is discussed briefly in [26b] and extensively in [143e].

26a. **Da** used to introduce statements

The BCS conjunction **da** is most frequently translated by the English conjunction *that*. But although English can often omit the conjunction *that* in similar sentences, BCS can never omit **da**. In the examples below, the English versions all include the word *that*. By reading them aloud, English speakers will easily see that all of these sentences sound perfectly grammatical (and in most cases better) without the conjunction *that*. This makes it even more important for speakers of English to remember that there is no corresponding variant in BCS – that **da** is obligatory. By contrast, while BCS does not need subject pronouns if the identity of each verb's subject is clear from the context, English has no choice – every verb in an English sentence must specify its subject. Note particularly the contrasts in meaning among the last three sentences, which are expressed by pronouns in English and by verb forms in BCS.

Znam da dobro crta.	<i>I know that he draws well.</i>
Misli da znaju njegovo ime.	<i>S/he thinks that they know his name.</i>
Kažu da slušaju muziku.	<i>They say that they're listening to music.</i>

<u>Kažu</u> da sluša muziku. <u>Kaže</u> da slušaju muziku. B,C,S muziku / C glazbu	<i>They say that s/he's listening to music.</i> <i>S/he says that they're listening to music.</i>
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26b. **Da** after verbs of desire

When **da** is used after a verb of desire, the grammar of the BCS sentence may pose problems for English speakers. For instance, English speakers will say quite naturally “I want *him* to come tomorrow” when in fact what they mean is something akin to “I want *that he should* come tomorrow”. In other words, the underlying SUBJECT of this kind of English subordinate clause is expressed as an OBJECT. The corresponding BCS sentences are quite different. The subject of the subordinate clause is either completely omitted (if its identity is clear from the context) or it is expressed in the nominative (as is normal for subjects). The chart below schematizes the source of the difficulty. Each of the two compound sentences consists of two clauses. For the English versions, the two clauses are separated out and labeled (a) and (b), respectively.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Želim da u subotu učimo zajedno.
2. Želimo da ruča i Tomislav. | <i>I want us to study together on Saturday.</i>
<i>We want Tomislav to have lunch as well.</i> |
|--|---|

	sentence 1		sentence 2
(a)	I want	We want	
(b)	we study together on Saturday		Tomislav also has lunch

BCS joins the two clauses simply by adding the conjunction **da**. If the subject of clause (b) is clear from the context, it may be omitted (as in BCS sentence 1, where the verb ending clearly conveys the fact that the subject is **mi** “we”). English, however, must do two things: it must replace the verb of clause (b) with an infinitive, and it must move the subject of that clause up into clause (a) and turn it into an object. This is why the English translation of example 1 replaces *we* with *us*. What is important to note is that the BCS structure is clear and logical, and that it is the more complex rules of English grammar which may cause interference.

26c. “**Da** + present” as possible infinitive replacement

Infinitive forms are frequently used after another verb, as seen below in [27]. When both verbs have the same subject, Croatian almost always uses the infinitive form of the second verb. In Serbian and Bosnian, however, infinitives are frequently replaced by a sequence of “**da** + present tense”. Each of the two verbs must have the same present tense endings, of course (since each has the same subject); for examples, see [27a], and for more discussion, see [143f]. There is no difference in meaning between the infinitive and the phrase containing **da** + present. However, the choice between them has always been a marker of “west” vs. “east”, and in recent years has become even more strongly so (for more discussion of the issue of preferred usage and national identification, see [172b]).

27 Infinitives

As in English, the BCS infinitive functions as the dictionary form of the verb. Infinitives in English are usually (but not always) preceded by the particle *to*. BCS infinitives have one of two endings: either **-ti** or **-ći**.

27a. Infinitives after another verb

When two verbs have the same subject, English must use the infinitive for the second one. Examples are “I want *to go* to the movies” and “She has *to study* tonight”. BCS can express this second verb either as an infinitive or as a sequence of **da** + present tense. As seen in [26c], Croatian prefers the infinitive, Serbian prefers the **da**-phrase, and Bosnian can use either.

C, B	Mora učiti večeras.	S/he has to study this evening.
S, B	Mora da uči večeras.	[same]
C, B	Ne želim gledati taj film.	I don't want to see that film.
S, B	Ne želim da gledam taj film.	[same]

Most of the time BCS infinitives will correspond to English infinitives. English speakers must remember that when the verbs *can*, *must*, and *should* are used in English as infinitives, they do not have the marker *to*. Consequently, English speakers must pay attention to use the BCS infinitive form after the corresponding BCS verbs **moći** “can” and **morati** “must”. One can remember this by thinking of **moći** as “be able *to*” and **morati** as “have *to*”.

Mogu čitati cirilicu.	I can [= am able to] read Cyrillic.
Danas moramo rāditi.	We must [= have to] work today.

C,B mogu čitati / S,B mogu da čitam; C,B moram raditi / B,S, moram da radim

27b. Infinitive subjects

English infinitives are also used to make a statement of general action. In such instances, they follow the introductory word *it*, as in “It's important *to know* [something]”. Here, the infinitive is the subject of the sentence. Such infinitives cannot normally be replaced by “**da** + present” phrases, unless the meaning is quite specific (for more discussion, see [143f]).

general	Važno je znati odgovor.	<i>It's important to know the answer.</i>
	Teško je učiti strani jezik.	<i>It's hard to study a foreign language.</i>
	Dobro je jesti polako.	<i>It's good to eat slowly.</i>
specific	Dobro je da jedeš polako.	<i>It's good for you to eat slowly.</i>

28 Verbal aspect, introduction

Most verbal ideas are expressed in BCS by two separate verb forms. The choice between the two depends on the way the action is conceptualized and described, and the distinction is referred to as the *aspect* of the verb. Normally, one of the two verbs will present an action as a general fact, a frequently repeated instance, or an action in progress, and the other will present it as a single instance with a clearly envisioned sense of closure. The first category is called the *imperfective* aspect, and the second is called the *perfective* aspect. A few verbs have only perfective forms, a few have only imperfective ones, and a few use the same form to express both meanings. The great majority, however, have two separate forms. For more on the forms of verbal aspect, see [53a-b, 83, 96, 146-7], and for more on the meaning of verbal aspect, see [53c, 70, 95e, 106b, 145].

An example is the pair **kupiti** / **kupovati**. According to the dictionary, both verbs mean *buy*. Yet every BCS speaker understands the difference in meaning. The verb **kupiti** refers to a single purchase as an action which is either already complete, or one whose completion is envi-

sioned by the speaker. The verb **kupovati**, by contrast, refers either to an action of purchase in progress (one which has not yet been completed), or to the idea of repeated actions of purchasing.

It is in the nature of verbal tenses that perfective verbs would occur more frequently in other tenses than the present. This is because the general idea of completion or *closure* is more congenial to the meaning of the past tense (in which one speaks of a completed action) or the future tense (in which one envisions, and assumes, the eventual completion of an action). By the same token, imperfective verbs occur more frequently in the present tense, since the general meaning of “present tense” is to describe actions in progress or actions as a general fact. Yet perfective verbs are not limited only to past and future tenses. If the idea of potential closure can be expressed grammatically, then the perfective aspect can be used. The most frequent such context is as an infinitive following another verb. Perfective verbs can also occur in the present tense after the subordinating conjunction **da**.

Imperfective: action in progress	– Vidim da kupuješ hrānu. Možeš li kúpiti nešto i za mene?	“I see you’re buying food. Can you buy something for me too?”
Perfective: specific action, projected completion	– Svakako. Šta želis da kupim?	“Sure. What do you want me to buy?”

B,C možeš li kupiti / B možeš li da kupiš / S,B da li možeš da kupiš; S,C za mene / B za mene; B,S šta / C što

29 Word order

The XYZ rules of word order require clitics to come after the first significant unit. To apply these rules precisely, one must of course be able to define the meaning of “first significant unit”. The meaning of this label will become clear through practice (for detailed discussion and a precise definition, see [164]). One clear instance concerns subordinating conjunctions. These always fill the X position completely: they require clitics to follow them directly, without exception. The most frequent such conjunction is **da** (review [26a]).

But if the definition of the X position must remain for now somewhat fluid, that of the Y position is quite clear: clitics must all be in the Y slot. The rule requiring clitics to be placed in this slot outweighs any word order rules related to the general meaning of a sentence.

29a. Subordinate clauses

As noted above, if clitics are present within a clause introduced by a subordinating conjunction, they must come immediately after that conjunction. Since English does not change the word order in such sentences, this rule of BCS grammar – forcing a change in what to English speakers sounds like normal word order – will be hard for English speakers to acquire. Because of this, they will need to put special effort into acquiring it. This word order pattern is very subtle in speech, and may seem a minor detail. Yet there are few speech errors that mark one so obviously as a foreigner attempting to acquire BCS.

The two examples below each illustrate the shifted word order necessitated by **da**. To emphasize the change that must be made, each subordinate clause is repeated twice, first in its separate, non-subordinated form (showing the original word order) and then in the form it must take when placed after the conjunction **da**. Many other conjunctions will also follow this rule. It is very important to internalize it well.

- (1) Né zna da je to tvoje ime. *He doesn't know that that's your name.*
 (original independent statement) (same statement after **da**)
To je tvoje ime. ... da **je** to tvoje ime.
- (2) Misli da se ona zove Vida. *He thinks her name is Vida.*
 (original independent statement) (same statement after **da**)
Ona se zove Vida. ... da **se** ona zove Vida.

29b. Pronoun objects of infinitives

The reason short form object pronouns are called *clitics* is to underscore the fact that they must occupy the *Y* slot within the *XYZ* model. Furthermore, all clitics must occur together within this slot, and according to an established order. This sequence will be learned gradually; for now one need only know that the interrogative particle **li** precedes all other clitics, including the object clitics. As one begins to work with sentences of increasing complexity, it will be particularly important to remember the functioning of the *XYZ* rule, the essence of which is that although nearly any word of the sentence can occur in the *X* position, all the clitics must invariably come in the *Y* position. For examples and more detailed discussion, see [64, 76, 85, 102, 111, 137, 164a-b].

Examples of sentences with clitic pronouns functioning as direct objects were seen in [24a]. When a clitic pronoun is the object of an infinitive, the sentence may take various forms depending on the form taken to express the idea of infinitive. All such forms of the sentence, however, must follow the *XYZ* rule. For instance, here is the same idea phrased in three different ways using the infinitive form of the verb, and yet a fourth way using the infinitive replacement with **da**:

	<i>X</i>	<i>Y</i>	<i>Z</i>	
infinitive	Zaista	ga	želim vidjeti.	<i>I really want to see him.</i>
	Ja	ga	zaista želim vidjeti.	[same]
	Želim	ga	zaista vidjeti.	[same]
da-replacement	Zaista želim da	ga	vidim.	[same]

E videti / J vidjeti; C,B želim vidjeti / S,B želim da vidim

CHAPTER 3

30 Present tense, continued

Practically all verbs whose present tense is not predictable from their infinitive (and vice versa) belong to the *e*-conjugation. Below are two more “unpredictable” types.

30a. Type *davati*

This conjugation type is restricted to the verb **davati** “give” plus its prefixed forms, and all verbs whose infinitives end in **-znavati**, such as **poznavati** “be acquainted with, know”. Other BCS verbs in **-avati** follow the regular *a*-conjugation, but in these verbs, the sequence **-ava-** in the infinitive is replaced by **-aj-** in the present tense. For more on this type, here illustrated by **davati** “give”, see [153j].

davati	give
dajem	dajemo
daješ	dajete
daje	daju

30b. Type *teći*

The present tense stem of this type ends in **-k**, which shifts to **-č** in all forms but 3pl. This type recalls **moći**, whose stem-final consonant **-g** shifts to **-ž** in all forms but 3pl. (and in that verb alone – in 1sg. as well [14f]). For more on this type, here illustrated by **teći** “flow”, see [153r].

teći	flow
tečem	tečemo
tečeš	tečete
teče	teku

31 Feminine nouns in a consonant

One can generally predict the gender of a noun from its nominative singular form: those ending in a consonant (that is, in **-Ø**, or zero) are masculine, those ending in **-o** or **-e** are neuter, and those ending in **-a** are feminine. However, there is a small number of masculine nouns (all referring to humans) which end in **-a**, and a somewhat larger number of feminine nouns which end in **-Ø**. Masculine nouns in **-a** (such as **gazda** “landlord”) follow the same declension as feminine nouns in **-a**. But feminine nouns in **-Ø** have their own declension, one which is distinct from that of both feminine nouns in **-a** and masculine nouns in **-Ø**.

These nouns have the same form for both Nsg. and Asg. But the adjectives modifying them do NOT have the same form for Nsg. and Asg. This is because adjectives always agree in GENDER with the noun they modify. Sometimes the actual forms will match (as in the Nsg. and Asg. of feminine nouns in **-a**), and sometimes they will not (as in these nouns). One is strongly advised to learn these feminine nouns (indeed, all nouns) together with an adjective so as to fix the fact of their gender in one’s memory. Both feminine declensions are illustrated below by adjective + noun pairs. This is done not only to underscore the point that both are feminine in gender, but also to emphasize that the category *feminine* is associated with two different declension types. The Nsg. adjective **dobra** is given in both short and long forms, but only the long form is given in Asg. The adjective **njegova** occurs only in the short form in nominative and accusative cases.

	feminine in -Ø	feminine in -a
Nominative singular short	dòbra stvar	dòbra knjiga
Nominative singular long	dobra stvar	dobra knjiga
Nominative singular [short]	njègova ljubav	njègova žena
Accusative singular [long]	dobru stvar	dobru knjigu
Accusative singular [short]	njègovu ljubav	njègovu ženu

For such nouns, one must generally learn the gender along with the noun. One helpful aid to vocabulary building, however, lies in the fact that nouns with the suffix **-ost** all belong to this group (as do certain nouns in **-est**); furthermore, all of these nouns refer to abstract ideas or categories.

Feminine nouns in a consonant

nouns in -ost, -est		others	
mladost	<i>youth</i>	jesen	<i>autumn</i>
mogućnost	<i>possibility</i>	krv	<i>blood</i>
stvarnost	<i>reality</i>	ljubav	<i>love</i>
radost	<i>joy</i>	nárap	<i>nature; character</i>
rétkost	<i>rarity</i>	noć	<i>night</i>
starost	<i>[old] age</i>	pomoć	<i>help</i>
sávest	<i>conscience</i>	reč	<i>word</i>
svést	<i>consciousness</i>	stvar	<i>thing</i>

E retkost / J rijetkost; E savest / J savjest; E svest / J svijest; E reč / J riječ

31a. Nouns with more than one gender

A very few nouns which end in a consonant can function as either masculine or feminine nouns. For instance, one can say either **težak bol** or **teška bol**, both in the meaning “severe pain”. Most BCS speakers differentiate between the ideas of physical pain and spiritual anguish, using the masculine word (**težak bol**) to mean the former and the feminine word (**teška bol**) to mean the latter. But the commonest noun with multiple genders is probably the word for *evening*. When used outside the context of a greeting, it is most commonly feminine, as in **jesenja večer** “autumn evening”. In the greeting *Good evening*, however, it can occur in all three genders. In addition, the non-feminine forms can occur either as **večer** or **veče**. All of the greetings given below are heard, therefore (although Serbian has a preference for **dobar veče**, and Croatian for **dobra večer**). Bosnian accepts either.

masculine	neuter	feminine	
Dobar večer	Dobro veče	Dobra večer	<i>Good evening!</i>
Dobar veče			

32 Nominative plural

The Npl. endings are straightforward for all nouns and adjectives. However, there are a number of additional complexities connected with certain nouns, primarily masculines in -Ø.

32a. Endings of nouns and adjectives

The Npl. ending for all neuter nouns is **-a**. All other endings are determined entirely by form. That is, if the Nsg. ends in **-Ø**, the Npl. ends in **-i**, and if the Nsg. ends in **-a**, the Npl. ends in **-e**. The first chart below gives the traditional order, by gender (and within that by form). The second chart gives adjective endings. As always, these are determined strictly by gender. The Npl. endings of adjectives are: masculine, **-i**; feminine, **-e**; neuter, **-a**

NOMINATIVE PLURAL, nouns

		masculine	neuter	feminine
Nsg.	-Ø -a	-o / -e	-a -Ø	
Npl.	-i -e	-a	-e -i	

NOMINATIVE PLURAL, adjectives

	masculine	neuter	feminine
Nsg.	-Ø, -i	-o / -e	-a
Npl.	-i	-a	-e

The following chart gives sample pairs of nominative singular and nominative plural forms. Both short and long forms are given for all adjectives. It is important to note that the Nsg. and Npl. long form masculine adjectives are identical in form, and to be aware that in such instances, a noun must be present in order to know which meaning is intended.

NOMINATIVE PLURAL

		masculine	neuter	feminine
Nsg.short	loš <u>đak</u>	dobar gazda	dugo p <small>i</small> smo	dobra knjiga
Nsg.long	loši <u>đak</u>	dobri gazda	dugo p <small>i</small> smo	dobra knjiga
Npl.short	loši <u>đaci</u>	dobri gazde	duga p <small>i</small> sma	dobre knjige
Npl.long	loši <u>đaci</u>	dobri <u>gazde</u>	duga p <small>i</small> sma	dobre <u>knjige</u>
	<i>bad pupil(s)</i>	<i>good landlord(s)</i>	<i>long letter(s)</i>	<i>good book(s)</i>
				<i>sweet thing(s)</i>

32b. Consonant shifts before **-i**

Masculine nouns whose stem ends in **-k** shift this consonant to **-c** before the plural ending **-i**. Because there are a sizeable number of such nouns, this change is frequently encountered. Masculine nouns whose stem ends in **-g** or **-h** shift these consonants to **-z** or **-s**, respectively, before the plural ending **-i**. As there are considerably fewer such nouns, one encounters this change less frequently. It must be kept in mind that adjective stems ending in these consonants do NOT make this shift. The examples below are given together with adjectives to emphasize the fact that the rule applies to NOUNS ONLY.

	Nom. singular	Nom. plural	
stems in -k	velik pesnik kratak udžbenik visok junak velik rečnik rédak jezik	veliki pesnici kratki udžbenici visoki junaci veliki rečnici r̄etki jezici	<i>great poet(s)</i> <i>short textbook(s)</i> <i>tall hero(es)</i> <i>big dictionary/-ies</i> <i>rare language(s)</i>

E pesnik / J pjesnik; E rečnik / J rječnik; E redak / J rijedak

	Nom. singular	Nom. plural	
stems in -g	jak kovčeg drugi arheolog	jaki kovčezi drugi arheolozi	<i>strong coffer(s)</i> <i>other archaeologist(s)</i>
stems in -h	suh orah visok monarh	suhi orasi visoki monarsi	<i>dry walnut(s)</i> <i>tall monarch(s)</i>
	C,B suh / S suv		

32c. Fleeting -a- in masculine nouns

A number of masculine nouns contain fleeting -a- (review [21b]): this vowel appears when a zero ending (-Ø) follows (that is, in Nsg.), and is dropped when any other ending is added. Only two masculine nouns have fleeting -a- in the root vowel: these are **pas** “dog” and **san** “sleep, dream”. Otherwise fleeting -a- occurs exclusively in suffixes, the most predictable of which are -ac and -ak (given that the latter has a short vowel). The loss of fleeting -a- in masculine nouns is familiar from the Asg. of animate nouns (review [21b]). In the Npl., ALL masculine nouns with fleeting -a- in the stem – animate and inanimate alike – will lose this vowel. Note particularly the final example in each of these two categories, included as a reminder that when fleeting -a- is lost before -k, one must also remember to shift the -k to -c before the Nom.pl. ending -i.

	Nsg.	Asg.	Npl.	
[anim]	Bosàñac Amerikàñac stràñac pìsac vràbac mòmak	Bosàñca Amerikàñca stràñca pìsca vràpcia mòmka	Bosàñci Amerikàñci stràñci pìisci vràpcii mòmci	<i>Bosnian(s)</i> [= person / people] <i>American(s)</i> [= person / people] <i>foreigner(s)</i> <i>writer(s)</i> <i>sparrow(s)</i> <i>young man / men</i>
[inanim]	čàmac pràvac člànak	čàmac pràvac člànak	čàmci pràvcii člànci	<i>small boat(s)</i> <i>direction(s)</i> <i>article(s)</i>
	B,S pravac / B,C smjer			

There is one group of nouns in which this set of changes is quite complex. These include the noun **otac** “father” and nouns ending in -tak or -dak. When the fleeting -a- is lost, sequences of -tc-, -tk- or -dk- are created (and the sequence -dk- immediately assimilates to -tk-). When the final -k of this latter sequence shifts to -c before Npl. -i, this causes the sequence -tc- to appear in all of these nouns. Because this sequence is pronounced as c, it is also spelled that way (for more discussion, see [167f]). The Npl. forms of these nouns, therefore, are somewhat hard to recognize despite the fact that they are formed according to a predictable sequence of rules. The chart below outlines the processes involved, which must occur in the order given as (a) - (d). Examples of the results follow.

order	change	example
(a)	loss of fleeting vowel	dropped when ending added: pretk-a
(b)	possible shift of d to t	d newly adjacent to t : pret-ka
(c)	shift of k to c	k in Nsg. shifts to c in Npl: prec-i
(d)	simplification of tc to c	zadat-ci simplified to zadaci

	Nom.sg.	Acc.sg.	Nom.pl.
[anim]	predak otac	pretka oca	preci oci
[inanim]	zadat̄ak počet̄ak	zadat̄ak počet̄ak	zadaci počeci
			<i>ancestor(s)</i> <i>father(s)</i> <i>task(s)</i> <i>beginning(s)</i>

32d. Accent shifts in the plural

Some masculine nouns have one accent in Nsg. and a different accent in all other forms; this was seen in the Asg. of masculine animate nouns like **junak** (review [21b]). Now that the Npl. is learned, it can be seen that many inanimate masculine nouns also fall into this group (inanimate nouns, by definition, do not have a separate form in Asg.). For more discussion of this accentual difference, which is quite striking in speech, see [166].

	Nsg.	Asg.	Npl.
rising, shift rightward	junak svědok komad fakultet problem	junáka svědōka [komád] [fakultēt] [próblem]	junáci svědōci komádi fakultēti problemi
			<i>hero(es)</i> <i>witness(es)</i> <i>piece(s)</i> <i>university dep't.(s)</i> <i>problem</i>

E svedok / J svjedok

32e. Addition of -ov- / -ev-

Masculine nouns with a monosyllabic stem usually add the syllable **-ov-** before plural endings. If the stem final consonant is soft (as defined in [32f]), the added syllable is **-ev-**. Nouns whose stem ends in **-c** shift this to **-č** before the added syllable **-ev-**. It also happens frequently that a long root syllable will shorten in the plural before the added syllable **-ov- / -ev-**.

	Nom.sg	Nom.pl.
hard stem: -ov-	grad drug član sin	gradovi drugovi članovi sinovi
soft stem: -ev-	muž broj ključ kralj	muževi brojevi ključevi kraljevi
"soft" with shift:	stric zec	stričevi zečevi

S,C stric / B amidža

According to the general rule, monosyllabic masculine nouns add **-ov- / -ev-** in the plural, and polysyllabic ones do not. There are two sets of exceptions to this rule – monosyllabic nouns which do not add it, and disyllabic ones which do. Some members of the first group, such as monosyllabic nouns denoting nationality names, are predictable; others must simply be learned. The second group contains several disyllabic masculine nouns, usually with fleeting **-a** in their second syllable. These plurals are not predictable, but must be learned. In addition, some nouns

have both plurals. Usually there is no difference in meaning, but sometimes (as in the case of **otac** “father”), there is a distinction. Below are examples of both types.

Monosyllabic nouns, Npl. -i

	Nsg.	Npl.	
nationality names	Grk	Grci	<i>Greek(s)</i> [= person / people]
	Čeh	Česi	<i>Czech(s)</i> [= person / people]
other	Rus	Rusi	<i>Russian(s)</i> = [person / people]
	gost	gosti	<i>guest(s)</i>
	dak	daci	<i>pupil(s)</i>
	konj	kónji	<i>horse(s)</i>
	dán	dáni	<i>day(s)</i>
	prst	prsti	<i>finger(s), toe(s)</i>

Disyllabic nouns, Npl. -ovi / -evi

	Nsg.	Npl.	
with fleeting -a-	otac	očevi	<i>father(s)</i>
	otac	oci	<i>forefather(s)</i>
	vetar	vetrovi	<i>wind(s)</i>
	češalj	češljevi	<i>comb(s)</i>
other	slučaj	slučajevi	<i>instance(s)</i>
	golub	golubovi	<i>dove(s), pigeon(s)</i>

E vetar / J vjetar; E vetrovi / J vjetrovi

32f. “Soft” consonants

The consonants requiring **-ev** are the same ones which require **-e** instead of **-o** in masculine-neuter adjective endings (for a full list of these endings see [91a]). By happy chance, BCS spelling in the Latin alphabet helps one remember which consonants these are: they are all consonants with any diacritic mark (including the bar across the **d** and the dot over the **j**) – plus **c**.

“soft” consonants:	č	š	ž	ć	đ	đž	nj	lj	j	+	c
--------------------	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	----	---	---	---

32g. Plurals of nouns in -in

Many singular nouns ending in **-in** refer to a member of a particular religious or ethnic group. Indeed, this suffix is called *singulative* because it means “one of”, and is historically related to English *one*. Knowing this may help one remember that this suffix is DROPPED before plural endings. The same suffix is also found, following the suffix **-an**, in nouns which name inhabitants of cities. All nouns with the singulative suffix are masculine in gender, and refer either to a male member of the category or to the general concept. The plural forms refer either to a group of males, to a mixed group, or to the general concept. The first type is illustrated below by the words meaning Serb, Bulgarian, Arab, Jew, and Christian, respectively, while the second type is illustrated by words referring to inhabitants of the cities Beograd, Zagreb, Split, Novi Sad, and Podgorica (the word **gradanin** “citizen” also forms its plural in this manner).

Feminine forms of these names drop the suffix **-in** and add a suffix marking the concept feminine. Usually this is **-ka**, as is the case for all the nouns below except the one meaning *Serb* (**Srpkinja**). For more on suffixes forming feminine nouns, see [163c], and for more detail on the consonant shifts which take place before the suffixes **-an** and **-in**, see [112c].

Nsg. Root + in	Srbin	Bugarin	Arapin	Jevrejin	krščanin	hrišćanin
Npl. Root alone	Srbi	Bugari	Arazi	Jevreji	krščani	hrišćani
B,S Jevrejin / C Židov; C,B krščanin / S hrišćanin						

Nsg. Root + in	Beògrađanin	Zagrepčanin	Splićanin	Novosàđanin	Pòdgoričanin
Npl. Root alone	Beògrađani	Zagrepčani	Splićani	Novosàđani	Pòdgoričani

32h. Added syllable in neuter plurals

Certain neuter nouns add the syllable **-en** before the plural endings. This syllable, which is always short, carries a rising accent. The most frequently encountered nouns of this type are **ime**, **breme**, and **vreme** / **vrijeme**. When the root vowel of **vrijeme** is shortened, it appears as **e** and not the expected ***je**.

	name	burden	time; weather
Nsg. Root alone	ime	breme	vremè
Npl. Root + en	imèna	bremèna	vremèna
E vreme / J vrijeme			

33 Accusative plural

Feminine and neuter nouns and adjectives use the same form in both Npl. and Apl. Masculine nouns and adjectives, however, take the Apl. ending **-e**. The chart below highlights masculine nouns in order to draw attention to this. As in earlier charts, nominative forms give both short and long adjective forms, and accusative only long; recall that some adjectives occur in only short or only long forms (review [17b]). Examples of usage are below.

	masc.anim.	masc.inan.	neuter	feminine -a	feminine -Ø
Npl.short	dòbri psi		dobra písma	vaše žene	loše stvari
Npl.long	dobrì psi	malì gradovi	dobra písma		loše stvari
Apl.	dobre pse	male gradove	dobra písma	vaše žene	loše stvari

Accusative plural

Vaše žene zovu naše žene.	<i>Your women call our women.</i>
Naši muževi zovu njihove muževe.	<i>Our husbands call their husbands.</i>
Dobrì đaci pišu dobra písma.	<i>Good pupils write good letters.</i>
Nè znaju sví đaci sve riječi.	<i>Not all the pupils know all the words.</i>
Dobrì nástavnici traže dobre đake.	<i>Good teachers seek good pupils.</i>
Strani jezici su vrlo zanimljivi.	<i>Foreign languages are very interesting.</i>
Jako volim strane jezike.	<i>I really like foreign languages.</i>

J riječi / E reči

34 Prepositions, continued

Many of the prepositions used with the Acc. refer to the idea of motion – sometimes seen as occurring through actual physical space, and sometimes perceived in metaphorical terms.

34a. The preposition *kroz*

The preposition ***kroz*** often corresponds to English *through*. The first example below refers to movement through actual physical space, while the second two examples represent more metaphorical usage, in referring to the direction taken by one's gaze. Note that English also uses directional forms in this meaning: the adverbial complements *in* and *out*.

★ KROZ	Koja rijeka teče kroz vaš grad? Mačka često gleda kroz prozor. Što vidиш kad gledaš kroz prozor?	Which river flows through your city? The cat often gazes out the window. What do you see when you look out the window?
---------------	--	--

J rijeka / E reka; C što / S,B šta

34b. The preposition *uz*

When the preposition ***uz*** refers to movement, it conveys the idea *along*, often in an upwards direction. It can also have a non-movement meaning, in which case it conveys the idea *alongside of* (in the sense of accompanying something).

★ UZ	Peka teče uz državnu granicu. Šta želiš da pišeš uz jelo? Lepo je šetati uz obalu.	The river flows along the state border. What do you want to drink with your meal? It's nice to walk along the coast.
-------------	--	--

E reka / J rijeka; S,B šta / C što; S,B želiš da pišeš / C,B želiš piti; B uz jelo / S,C uz jelo; E lepo / J lijepo

34c. The preposition *na*, continued

The preposition ***na*** has a number of meanings, many of which center around the general idea of English *to*, *onto*, *into*. One instance was seen in [23c]; two others are illustrated below. But ***na*** must also sometimes be translated by other English prepositions. In particular, it appears in the frequently-occurring phrase meaning *for example*: ***na primer*** / ***na primjer***. The final example below is noteworthy. This common BCS idiom using ***na*** corresponds to an English idiom using either *of* or *about*. Learners can perhaps remember to use ***na*** in BCS by thinking of this idiom metaphorically as “sending one’s thoughts in a particular direction”.

These examples also illustrate the Bosnian tendency to shift accent from a pronoun object onto the preposition. For more on this phenomenon, see [166c]. It is not illustrated in examples every time it might occur in Bosnian.

★ NA	– Alergičan sam na sve ovdje. – Na što, na primjer? – Na mačke, na pse... Važno je obraćati pažnju na to.	“I’m allergic to everything here.” “To what, for instance?” “To cats, to dogs....” It’s important to pay attention to that.
	Mara stalno misli na Gorana, a Goran očigledno nè misli na nju, već na nešto drugo. Na što on misli?	Mara thinks about Goran constantly, but Goran obviously isn’t thinking of her – [he’s thinking] about something else. What’s he thinking about?

J ovdje / E ovde; C što / B,S šta; J na primjer / E na primer; S,B,C pažnju / C pozornost; B na to / C,S na to;
B,S na nju / C na nju

35 Adverbs

As in English, adverbs provide information about the place, time, or manner of a state or an action. On paper, BCS adverbs look identical to the NAsg. neuter of the corresponding adjective,

although sometimes there are accentual differences. The most important of these concerns vowel length. Most neuter singular adjectives can be either *long* or *short* (distinguished by the length of the final vowel). An adverb, however, only has one form: its final vowel is either long or short. The chart below gives examples of neuter adjectives (each modifying a neuter noun), together with the adverbs derived from them (each given as a verbal modifier). As the examples show, the BCS adverb usually precedes the verb, although it can also on occasion follow it. The sentence below the chart illustrates the fact that forms with the masculine Nsg. ending **-ski** can also be used as adverbs. All others, however, take the neuter Nsg. form.

Adjective		Adverb	
dobro ime	<i>a good name</i>	dobro govoriti	<i>speak well</i>
često pitanje	<i>a frequent question</i>	često pitati	<i>ask often</i>
odlično pismo	<i>an excellent letter</i>	odlično pišati	<i>write very well</i>
brzo čitanje	<i>speed reading</i>	raditi brzo	<i>work fast</i>

Država je finansijski stabilna. *The state is financially stable.*

S,B finansijski / B,C financijski

36 Pronominal adjectives, continued

Adjectives modify a noun and change forms for case, number, and gender to agree with that noun. Pronominal adjectives constitute a specific sub-set of adjectives. As adjectives, they are required to agree with the noun they modify. Unlike other adjectives, however, they do not have long and short forms. Rather, each particular type has *either* a long form *or* a short form. Second, their meaning is usually related in some way to that of a pronoun, such as personal or interrogative pronouns. The pronominal adjectives surveyed below are the interrogatives **kakav**, **koji**, and **čiji**; the inclusive **sav**; and the word **jedan**, which is used both as a number, and in a manner similar to the English indefinite article. Pronominal adjectives are surveyed in greater detail in [91b].

36a. Interrogative pronominal adjectives

There are three different BCS pronominal adjectives which are used to request information. The first, **kakav**, requests new information about a particular noun. Its meaning is somewhere between English *what* and *what kind [of]*; it can also be used in exclamations. It has short forms only, and a fleeting vowel which is lost in all forms other than Nsg.masc. The second, **koji**, asks the question *what, which*. The use of **koji** implies that the speaker is already familiar with a set of items or ideas, and is requesting information that will specify (or better identify) a particular item or idea within that set. The fact that **koji** has long forms only means, among other things, that the Nsg. and Npl. masculine forms are identical. It is the modified noun, and the verb, which allow one to derive the intended meaning. The third, **čiji**, asks the question *whose*. It is also a request for specific information about a known item, and also has long forms only.

kakav	Kакав је <u>он</u> човек? Какве оловке имаш? Каква лепа девојка!	<i>What kind of a person is he?</i> <i>What sort of pencils do you have?</i> <i>What a pretty girl!</i>
koji	Који студент учи овде? Који студенти уче овде? Која девојка је твоја сестра?	<i>Which student is studying here?</i> <i>Which students are studying here?</i> <i>Which girl is your sister?</i>

E čovek / J čovjek; E lepa devojka / J lijepa djevojka; E ovde / J ovdje

čiji	Чија је ова плава оловка? Чија су ова писма? Јесу ли твоја? Чији је тај смеђи пас? Чији су они велики psi тамо?	Whose blue pencil is this? Whose letters are these? Are they yours? Who does that brown dog belong to? Whose big dogs are those over there?
B,C,S jesu li / S,B da li su		

For review, the chart below gives Nsg. and Npl. forms for these three interrogative pronominal adjectives. Note that the first has the short form, and the other two have the long form.

	Singular			Plural			
	masc.	neuter	fem.	masc.	neuter	fem.	
short form	kakav	kakvo	kakva	kakvi	kakva	kakve	what
long form	koji	koje	koja	koji	koja	koje	which
long form	čiji	čije	čija	čiji	čija	čije	whose

36b. Descriptive pronominal adjectives

Other related pronominal adjectives do not request information but rather offer approximate descriptions. They are related to one another along a scale which corresponds to that seen in the pronominal demonstratives **ovaj**, **taj**, **onaj** (review [11b]). The forms are exactly like those of **kakav**, except that the initial **k-** is replaced by the segments **ov-**, **t-**, and **on-**, respectively. Translations vary depending on the context and the speech situation. If the degree of distance from the speaker is evident from the context, any of the three can be translated as *such*. For example, the first sentence below refers to houses in the speaker's immediate vicinity and context, while the second makes no particular distinction between "near" and "far".

ovakav	Ovakve kuće su vrlo skupe.	<i>These kinds of houses are very expensive.</i>
takav	On je takav.	<i>That's [just] the way he is.</i>

The pronominal adjective expressing the idea of English *all* is declined like **kakav**. The masculine and feminine singular forms are not widely encountered, although sometimes they can be used with a particular noun in the meaning *the entire*. Both the neuter singular and masculine plural forms are widely used, however, as they are the all-purpose words meaning *everything* and *everyone*. In addition, all genders of the plural are frequently in use as a regular pronominal adjective modifying nouns, usually translated as *all* [*the*].

	Singular			Plural			
	masc.	neut.	fem.	masc.	neut.	fem.	
short form	sav	sve	sva	svi	sva	sve	all

everything,	Dobro, to je sve za danas.	<i>O.K., that's all for today.</i>
all	Uvек pitam Anu; ona sve zna.	<i>I always ask Ana; she knows everything.</i>
everyone	Njegova knjiga je prvakasn – svi tako kažu.	<i>His book is first-rate – everyone says so.</i>
all [the]	Svi su daci dobri, svi mnogo uče. Sve tvoje olovke su crvene! Sva tvoja pitanja su dobra.	<i>All the pupils are good, they all study a lot. All [of] your pencils are red! All your questions are good [ones].</i>

E uvek / J uvjek; B,C,S prvakasnna / C,B prvorazredna

36c. **Jedan** and the idea “one”

The BCS word **jedan** corresponds to two different meanings in English – the number *one*, and the indefinite article *a, an*. In both uses, **jedan** functions like a pronominal adjective: it must agree with the noun it modifies. The chart below gives its nominative forms only.

When used as a number, **jedan** quite naturally appears in the singular form. It is the only number which functions as an adjective (for the use of other numbers see [46, 58, 123-124]). In this usage, the meaning *one* is interpreted by contrast to something else: either *one* vs. *another*, or *one* vs. *more than one*. But when there is no such contrast implied, the meaning of **jedan** is close to that of the English indefinite article (*a, an*). Unlike English, however, which must use *a* or *an* whenever the meaning expressed by the indefinite article is desired, the use of **jedan** in BCS is optional. When a speaker chooses to use it, s/he sometimes has in mind the additional idea *a certain*. Indeed, the indefinite pronominal adjective **neki** “some, a certain” is often also used in this meaning. In the plural, both **jedan** and **neki** mean *some*.

When English *one* stands for a noun, BCS simply uses a long form of the adjective alone. This is one instance in which the long form of an adjective clearly carries the meaning of definiteness. Speakers of English must AVOID the tendency to use a form of **jedan** here.

	Singular			Plural		
	masc.	neut.	fem.	masc.	neut.	fem.
short form	jedan	jedno	jedna	jedni	jedna	jedne

one, a

<i>one</i>	Jèdan pas je vèliki, a drugi je malen. Jèdna mačka je crna, a druga nije. <u>On</u> čita jedno pismo, a ja čitam drugo. Ona imà samo jednu pticu.	<i>One dog is big and the other is little.</i> <i>One cat is black but the other isn't.</i> <i>He's reading one letter and I'm reading the other.</i> <i>She has only one bird.</i>
<i>a, an</i>	To je jedna vrlo lijepa pjesma. To je vrlo lijepa pjesma. Tražim jednu osobu. Neka devojka te čeka.	<i>That's a very beautiful song.</i> [same] <i>I'm looking for a [particular] person.</i> <i>Some [= a] girl is waiting for you.</i>
[plural]	Jèdni kažu ovo, drugi ono. Tamo rade neke nepoznate žene.	<i>Some say this, others [say] that.</i> <i>Some [sort of] women unknown [to us] are working there.</i>
“the one”	– Koji kaput je tvog? – Ovaj plavi. Naš prozor je onaj vèlikj tamo.	“Which [one] is your coat?” “This blue one.” <i>Our window is that big one over there.</i>

J lijepa pjesma / E lepa pesma; E devojka / J djevojka

37 Speaking of and to “people”

There are several peculiarities of BCS grammar connected with speaking to and about people. First, although personal names are treated as regular nouns, not all take case endings. Second, although the pronoun **vi** takes a plural verb regardless of whether it refers to a single person or a group, it only sometimes requires an adjective in the plural. Finally, the word for *people* itself is grammatically irregular.

37a. Case endings of personal names

Personal names consist of a *name* and a *surname*, sometimes also referred to in English as *first name* and *last name*. Each of these names is considered to be a regular noun in BCS. Names of males are masculine in gender, and names of females are feminine in gender.

All men's names take case endings. For women, however, only first names ending in **-a** take case endings. Women's last names never take case endings. In the following exchange, for instance, each of two names – one referring to a man and one to a woman – occurs twice, once in the nominative and once in the accusative. Three of the four names take Asg. case endings, but the fourth – the woman's surname – does not (and cannot, by the rules of BCS).

Nsg.masc.	– Milan Ilić je naš prijatelj.	“Milan Ilić is our friend.
Nsg.fem.	Njegova žena je Sanja Lalić.	His wife is Sanja Lalić.
	Da li ih poznajete?	Do you know them?”
Asg.masc.	– Poznajem Milana Ilića,	“I know Milan Ilić,
Asg.fem.	a Sanju Lalić ne poznajem.	but I don't know Sanja Lalić.”

S,B da li ih poznajete / B,C poznajete li ih

37b. *Vi*: singular or plural agreement?

When a single person is addressed by the polite form **vi**, a predicate adjective agrees with the pronoun's grammatical status of *plural*. But a predicate noun refers to the real-world fact of a single person, and appears in the singular.

predicate adjective	Vi ste vrlo ljubazni, gospodine.	You are very kind, sir.
predicate noun	Vi ste ljubazan čovjek.	You are a kind person.

J čovjek / E čovek

37c. The words for “person” and “people”

The word meaning *man, person* is **čovjek / čovek**. No plural ending is ever added to this word. Instead, the word **ljudi** is used, in the meaning *people*. No singular form of this latter word exists. Although **čovek / čovjek** can (and does on occasion) refer to females considered in the context of *person*, it is more frequently used in the generic meaning *man*, with all the same overtones of English *man*. The more neutral word **osoba** “person, individual” is increasingly found in use for this neutral meaning; in Serbian the word **lice** is often used in the same meaning. The plurals, however – **osobe** and **lica** – specifically means *individuals*. The neutral word for *people* remains **ljudi**; and this word in turn is considered to be the neutral plural form of **čovjek / čovjek**.

– Ovaj čovjek je naš dobar prijatelj.	This man / person is our good friend.
Ko su ti ljudi? Da li ih poznaješ?	Who are these people? Do you know them?
– Vidiš li one ljudi tamo?	“Do you see those people over there?”
– Ne, vidim samo jednog čovjeka.	“No, I see only one person.
Zašto pitaš?	Why do you ask?
– Pitam zato što tražim jednu osobu.	“I ask because I'm seeking a [certain] individual.”
Napolju čeka neko sumnjivo lice.	There's a suspicious person waiting outside.

J čovjek / E čovek; S,B ko / C tko; S,B da li ih poznaješ / C,B poznaješ li ih; C,B vidiš li / S,B da li vidiš; E čoveka / J čovjeka; S,B napolju / C,B vani; S lice / B,C,S osoba

38 The particle **se** and verbal usage, introduction

A number of BCS verbs include the particle **se** as part of their meaning. This particle must accompany any conjugated form of the verb in question. Although many grammars call the particle **se** a *reflexive particle* (and any verb to which it is affixed a *reflexive verb*), it is more accurate to refer to these verbs simply as *se-verbs*. This is because only a very few BCS verbs are true reflexives – verbs in which the particle **se** carries a meaning similar to English *oneself*. For discussion of these specific verbs, see [97].

By contrast, the full range of meanings covered by **se**-verbs is very broad (for more discussion, see [74, 98]). Perhaps the most frequent meaning of these broader meanings of **se** is that which is the most difficult to define: in essence, the addition of **se** to a verb acts to focus more attention on the verbal idea itself. One way it does this is to make a verb *intransitive*. A transitive verb by definition can (and usually must) take a direct object. Adding **se** to such a verb makes it intransitive: it deprives it of the necessity (and ability) to take a direct object. For example, the verb **zvati** is a transitive verb, requiring a direct object. Usually the object is explicitly stated; if not, the speaker has one in mind. The verb **zvati se**, by contrast, has the particular meaning of identifying someone by name, stating what one is *called*. It is the addition of the particle **se** which effects this change in meaning. Here are examples:

zvati	Majka zove sine svaki dan.	<i>Mother calls [her] son every day.</i>
(transitive)	Njegovi prijatelji ga zovu Toma.	<i>His friends call him Toma.</i>
	Često nas zovu kad nisu tu.	<i>They often call us when they're away.</i>
zvati se	Ja se zovem Ana, a on – Toma.	<i>My name is Ana and his – Toma.</i>
(intransitive)	Svi učesnici se zovu Smith.	<i>All the participants are called Smith.</i>

S,B svi učesnici / C svi sudionici; C,B Smith / S Smit

A second way in which the addition of **se** focuses more attention on the verbal idea itself is by making an active verb *passive*. Here, the central point is that a transitive verb is one with a direct object. When that which would have been the verb's object is expressed as a subject, the sentence has become passive. For example, the verb **kazati** means “say [something]”. That which is said is not always explicitly stated, but it is always present in the speaker's mind in the meaning of the verb. When that which is said becomes the subject of the verb, the particle **se** changes the verb into a passive one, such that **kazati se** means something parallel to English “to be said”. The resulting phrase, **to se kaže**, is used only in the 3sg. form.

kazati (active)	Šta kaže? Ne čujem dobro. Kažu lepe stvari!	<i>What's s/he saying? I can't hear very well. They're saying nice things!</i>
kaže se (passive)	Kako se to kaže na hrvatskom? To se samo tako kaže, znaš!	<i>How do you say that in Croatian? That's just how people talk, you know!</i>

S,B šta / C što; E lepe / J lijepo

The two verbal forms seen above – **zove se** and **kaže se** – are so frequent in BCS as to be fixed expressions, and can for the moment be learned as such. Eventually they will be seen as illustrative of some of the most basic organizing principles of BCS grammar.

39 Word order, continued

According to the XYZ template describing word order when clitics are involved (review [12]), the position identified as X is occupied by the first significant unit. Although this unit usu-

ally consists of a single word, it can also comprise a phrase of two or more accented words. One of the phrases most frequently encountered in the *X* position is a combination of adjective + noun.

<i>X</i>	<i>Y</i>	<i>Z</i>	
Takva stvar	je	rijetka.	<i>Such a thing is rare.</i>
Njegova sestra	je	tamo rođena.	<i>His sister was born there.</i>
Naši ljudi	su	svuda.	<i>Our people are everywhere.</i>

J rijetka / E retka; B,S svuda / C svagdje

When the noun is modified by only a single adjective, Croatian will often keep the adjective in slot *X*, but shift the noun to slot *Z*. This occurs in Serbian and Bosnian as well, but much less frequently (for more on this word order, see [164b], and for discussion of it as a marker of the difference between Serbian and Croatian, see [172b]).

<i>X</i>	<i>Y</i>	<i>Z</i>	
Takva	je	stvar rijetka.	<i>Such a thing is rare.</i>
Njegova	je	sestra tamo rođena.	<i>His sister was born there.</i>

J rijetka / E retka

But if the adjective portion of an adjective + noun unit is a question word, nearly all speakers of BCS will put the adjective only into slot *X* and move the noun to slot *Z*. This pattern is obligatory with the pronominal adjective **kakav**, and vastly preferred with **čiji**. Although some speakers allow both options with **koji**, the first is strongly preferred.

<i>X</i>	<i>Y</i>	<i>Z</i>	
Kakav	je	on čovjek?	<i>What sort of man is he?</i>
Čija	je	ovo plava knjiga?	<i>Whose blue book is this?</i>
Koja	je	devojka tvoja sestra?	<i>Which girl is your sister?</i>
Koja devojka	je	tvoja sestra?	[same]

J čovjek / E čovek; E devojka / J djevojka

When the occupant of slot *X* is a conjunction or single question word, there is no variation: clitics are required without exception to follow this word directly. This, in fact, is the same rule encountered earlier in connection with the conjunction **da** (review [29a]). The first set of examples illustrates this rule with **zašto** and **zato što**, and the second set with the conjunction **da**. This rule is very important in BCS, and must be internalized thoroughly (for more detail, see [164a]).

<i>X</i>	<i>Y</i>	<i>Z</i>	
Zašto	ga	tražiš?	<i>Why are you looking for him?</i>
Zašto	ga	ti tražiš?	<i>Why are you [the one who is] looking for him?</i>
Zato što	je	on moj brat.	<i>Because he's my brother.</i>
Kako	se	to kaže na srpskom?	<i>How do you say that in Serbian?</i>

<i>X</i>	<i>Y</i>	<i>Z</i>	
Hežna	da	je to tvoje ime.	<i>He doesn't know that's your name.</i>
Mislim	da	se ona zove Nada.	<i>I think [that] her name is Nada.</i>
Želim	da	ti tražiš.	<i>I want YOU to [be the one to] look for him.</i>

CHAPTER 4

40 Present tense, continued

The majority of verb types which must be individually learned belong to the *e*-conjugation, although a few belong to the *i*-conjugation.

40a. Type *ići*

Verbs with infinitive in **-ći** always follow the *e*-conjugation. By far the most important of these is **ići** “go”. The present tense stem of this verb ends in **-d**.

ići	go
idem	idemo
ideš	idete
ide	idu

40b. Type *kazivati*

Most verbs with infinitive in **-ivati** follow the same conjugation as those in **-ovati** (review [14e]). This means that **-iva-** in the infinitive is replaced by **-uj-** in the present tense. The infinitive accent is always long rising on **-iv-**, and the present tense is short rising on the syllable preceding **-uj-**. For more on this type, illustrated here by **kazivati** “narrate”, see [153h]; for the relationship between **kazati** and **kazivati** see [83a, 147c].

kazivati	narrate
kazujem	kazujemo
kazuješ	kazujete
kazuje	kazuju

40c. Type *jesti*

Verbs whose infinitives end in **-ti** preceded by **s** all belong to the *e*-conjugation. In one group of these, the **s** of the infinitive is replaced by **d** in the present tense. For more on this type, represented here by **jesti** “eat”, see [153p].

jesti	eat
jedem	jedemo
jedeš	jedete
jede	edu

40d. The verbs *sedeti* and *sjediti*

Nearly all verbs whose infinitive theme vowel derives from old Slavic *jat* belong to the *i*-conjugation, and to the **videti** / **vidjeti** type (review [14c]). The verb meaning *sit* also follows this model, but is distinctive in two ways. First, it has separate ekavian and ijekavian forms in *both* the present tense and the infinitive. Second, whereas the ekavian infinitive form **sedeti** is regular, the older ijekavian infinitive ***sjedjeti** has gone out of use, having been replaced everywhere by **sjediti**. The conjugations in question are given below alongside the base verb for this group, **videti** / **vidjeti**. For more on verbs of “body-position”, see [120].

videti/vidjeti	see
vidim	vidimo
vidiš	vidite
vidi	vide

J vidjeti / E videti

sedeti	sit
sedim	sedimo
sedиш	sedите
седи	седе

E sedeti / J sjediti; E sedim etc. / J sjedim etc.

sjediti	sit
sjedim	sjedimo
sjediш	sjedите
сједи	сједе

41 Possessive pronominal adjectives, continued

Possessive pronominal adjectives (review [11b]) have short forms only in the nominative case. Their meaning is related to that of the personal pronouns. In 1st and 2nd person, these pronominal adjectives can refer only to humans: they correspond to English *my/mine, our(s), your(s)*. 3rd person pronominal adjectives referring to humans correspond to English *his, her(s), their(s)*. If the “possessor” is not human, however, English must almost always use the pronominal adjective *its*. The BCS rules for 3rd person possessives differ from English in this respect. In addition, BCS has another set of possessive pronominal adjectives referring primarily to humans.

41a. Possessive adjectives referring to non-humans

In BCS, it is not the identity of the possessor (human vs. non-human) that determines the form of the 3rd person possessive, but rather the gender of the noun denoting the possessor. Thus, the possessor referred to by the forms **njen**, **njezin** can be a female human, but it can also be any noun of feminine gender. Similarly, the possessor referred to by the form **njegov** can be a male human but it can also be any noun of masculine or neuter gender.

The three sentences below illustrate this fact of usage. The first is centered around the noun **ideja**, which is feminine in gender. This fact of gender requires one to choose the possessive adjective **njen** or **njezin** to refer to it. The second sentence is focused on the neuter noun **pismo**, and the third sentence on the masculine noun **predlog / prijedlog**. The gender of these nouns requires that one to refer to them by the possessive pronominal **njegov**. Note carefully that once one has chosen the proper BCS translation of the English possessive *its*, this BCS possessive form then obeys the rules of any adjective. That is, it must agree with the noun it modifies. In the sentences below, it is masculine in the first two (agreeing with **smisao** and **sadržaj**, respectively), and feminine in the third (agreeing with **važnost**).

ideja (f)	To je prekrasna ideja. Njen opći smisao je vrlo značajan.	<i>This is a fine idea. Its basic meaning is very significant.</i>
pismo (n)	Volim njeeno pismo. Njegov sadržaj je veoma uzbudljiv.	<i>I like her letter. Its content is very exciting.</i>
predlog (m)	To je zanimljiv predlog. Ali možda preuvečavaš njegovu važnost.	<i>That's an interesting proposal. But you might be overestimating its importance.</i>

B,C,S njen / C,B njezin; C,B opći / B,S opšti; E predlog / J prijedlog

41b. Derived possessive adjectives referring to humans

BCS can form a possessive pronominal adjective from another noun by adding a suffix before the adjective endings. Such adjectives are regularly made from personal names; they can also be made from several other nouns denoting humans (and, exceptionally, from nouns denoting non-humans). As with other possessives, it is the gender of the possessor that determines the form of the possessive adjective. If the possessor is feminine, one adds the suffix **-in**; if it is masculine [or neuter] one adds the suffix **-ov** (-ev after a soft consonant; review [32f]). The one exception to this gender-based rule concerns masculine personal names ending in **-a**: these take the suffix **-in**. If the stem-final consonant is **-k** or **-c**, it will shift to **-č**, and if the name itself ends in the sequence **-ov**, the consonant **lj** is added before the suffix. The process comprises the following five steps:

- (1) isolate the stem of the noun identifying the possessor
- (2) make any necessary shifts in the form of the stem
- (3) determine the choice of suffix from the gender of the possessor
- (4) add the suffix
- (5) add adjective endings as required by the particular sentence

possessor	stem	stem shift?	m/f	suffix	adjective	example of use
Jovan	Jovan-		(m)	-ov-	Jovanov	Jovanova knjiga
Mara	Mar-		(f)	-in-	Marin	Marini roditelji
Đorđe	Đord-		(m)	-ev-	Đorđev	Đorđeva pisma
Mirjana	Mirjan-		(f)	-in-	Mirjanin	Mirjanine knjige
Branko	Brank-		(m)	-ov-	Brankov	Brankovo kolo
Petar	Petr-		(m)	-ov-	Petrov	Petrovdan
Nikola	Nikol-		(m) *	-in-	Nikolin	Nikolina ideja
učitelj	učitelj-		(m)	-ev-	učiteljev	učiteljevi udžbenici
Ànkica	Ankic-	Ankič-	(f)	-in-	Ànkičin	Ànkičino pismo
Jakov	Jakov-	Jakovlj-	(m)	-ev-	Jakovljev	Jakovljeve sestre
majka	majk-	majč-	(f)	-in-	majčin	majčina ljubav
otac	oc-	oč-	(m)	-ev-	očev	očev otac
stric	stric-	strič-	(m)	-ev-	stričev	stričev stric
sunce	sunc-	sunč-	(n)	-ev-	sunčev	sunčevi zraci

C,S stric / B amidža; S,B sunčevi zraci / C,B sunčeve zrake

* exception to gender-based rule

These possessive adjectives have only short forms in the nominative singular. In addition, they are formed ONLY from single words. To express possession by a full name (such as **Jovan Ilić**), or an “adjective + noun” phrase (such as **naš učitelj**), the genitive case must be used. For discussion and examples, see [44b].

42 Case forms, continued: the genitive case

The third case to be learned is the genitive. In this case – indeed, in all other cases but nominative and accusative – masculine and neuter nouns follow the same declension. Feminine nouns continue to follow two separate declensions, one for nouns in -a, and another for nouns in -Ø. In Gsg. – and in all singular cases other than Nsg. and Asg. – there are only two sets of adjective endings. One set is used for masculine and neuter nouns, and the other for feminine nouns. If the ending of a masculine-neuter adjective begins with -o, this -o is replaced by -e when the adjective stem ends in a soft consonant (see [32f] for the definition of these consonants, and [167c] for more detailed discussion).

The genitive case is used with many prepositions, and in a number of important meanings. Many of these are connected with the idea of quantification and measurement.

42a. Endings of nouns and adjectives

The Gsg. ending for masculine and neuter nouns is -a. That for feminine nouns in -Ø is -i, and that for feminine nouns in -a is -e; this latter ending is always long. The first chart below gives the endings for nouns. As in the accusative, masculine nouns in -a take the endings listed in the “fem -a” column, but retain their masculine gender.

Adjectives modifying feminine nouns in the genitive singular end in -e, and those modifying masculine and neuter nouns end in -og (which takes the form -eg after soft consonants). The vowels in all these endings are long. The endings in the second chart below are the ones more frequently used in masculine-neuter adjectives. Two other options exist, to be discussed in [42c].

GENITIVE SINGULAR, nouns

	masculine	neuter	feminine
Nsg.	-Ø masculine-neuter	-o / -e -a	-a -Ø
Gsg.		-e	-i

GENITIVE SINGULAR, adjectives

	masculine	neuter	feminine
Nsg. short	-Ø	-o / -e	-a
Nsg. long	-i	-o / -e	-a
Gsg.	-og / -eg		-e

Below are examples of adjective + noun phrases in the genitive case. Both short and long form adjectives are given in Nsg. and only the neutral long form adjectives in Gsg. Note once again that adjective agreement is determined by gender alone. Thus, although the Gsg. of the masculine noun **gazda** is **gazde**, it still must take a masculine adjective.

	masculine	neuter	feminine -a	feminine -Ø
Nsg. short	sladak / smed pas	slatko selo	slatka ideja	slatka stvar
Nsg. long	slatkij / smedij pas	slatkó selo	slatka ideja	slatka stvar
Nsg. short	jak / loš gazda	loše selo	loša ideja	loša stvar
Nsg. long	jaki / loši gazda	loše selo	loša ideja	loša stvar
Gsg.	slatkog / smedeg psa	slatkog sela	slatke ideje	slatke stvari
	jakog / lošeg gazde	lošeg sela	loše ideje	loše stvari

42b. Changes in the stem of masculine nouns

The form of Gsg. masculine-neuter has in fact already been learned: it is identical to that of Asg. masculine animate. As seen in [21b], the stem of an animate masculine noun often takes a different shape when the Asg. ending **-a** is added. One may now extend this statement to cover the Gsg. of ALL masculine nouns, both animate and inanimate. That is, many masculine nouns have two stems, one which occurs in the dictionary form (before the ending **-Ø**) and the other which occurs when any other ending is added. It is customary in reference books to identify this second shape by citing the form of the Gsg. Students are advised to learn the Gsg. form of a masculine noun along with the Nsg. form.

The most frequent changes include the loss of fleeting **-a-** (with the concurrent possibility of voicing assimilation (review [16b] and see [167g, 167e])), and the shift of a rising accent one syllable towards the end of the word (review [21b, 32d], and see [166]). For other possible accentual changes, see [166b].

Type of change	Nsg.	Gsg.
loss of fleeting -a-	zaključak	zaključka
same, + assimilation	nápredak	nápretka
shift of place of rising accent	komád	komáda
	pápir	papíra
	univerzítet	univerzitéta

S,B univerzitet / C sveučilište

42c. Short, long and longer adjective forms

BCS adjectives distinguish *short* and *long* forms in the nominative (review [17]). In masc.sg. there are two separate endings, -Ø and -i. In all other forms, one can make a distinction between short and long only by means of accentual differences which many speakers no longer make. Some adjectives (such as **mali** or **engleski**) have long forms only, and others (such as **moj** or **njegov**) have short forms only. Sometimes, as in the case of **mali**, one has the option of using another adjective with the same meaning that does have both long and short forms: **malen** / **maleni**. The following summarizes these facts about masculine singular adjectives:

Nominative singular	Short	Long
dobar	dobri	<i>good</i>
	mali	<i>small</i>
malen	maleni	<i>small</i>
---	engleski	<i>English</i>
njegov	---	<i>his, its</i>

But in the Gsg. of masculine and neuter nouns (and the Asg. of masculine animate nouns), there are three possible forms of adjectives. These are called here the *short*, *long*, and *longer* forms. The *short* ending is the same as the Gsg. noun ending. The *long* ending is the one which was learned as the Asg. ending for masculine animate nouns (review [21a]), and defined above in [42a] as the neutral adjective ending for masculine-neuter Gsg. The *longer* ending is derived by adding -a to the long ending. Most adjectives have all three forms, although some have only long and longer forms. The pronominal possessive adjectives **moj** and **tvoj** are among those with only long and longer Gsg. forms. However, there are two possible variants of each of these: a full form (**mojeg**, **mojega**) and a contracted form (**mog**, **moga**). The contracted form is used more frequently than the full form (indeed, Bosnian and Serbian use only the contracted form). There is no difference in meaning.

Genitive singular	short	long	longer
dobra	dobrog	dobroga	
malena	malenog	malenoga	
	engleskog	engleskoga	
njégova	njegovog	njegovoga	
	[contracted]	[full]	[contracted]
	mog	møjeg	moga
			møjega

The nominative case distinguishes *short* and *long* only; furthermore, some adjectives have only one or the other form. Those adjectives which have both forms are capable of using them to mark the distinction *indefinite* vs. *definite* (review [17a]). Those which have only one form express both these meanings with the same form (review [17b]).

In the genitive case, *short* forms are possible for those adjectives which also have a short form in the nominative. But whereas these adjectives have only short forms in the nominative, in the genitive they can have all three forms (except for **moj** and **tvoj**). The Gsg. short adjectives used to carry the indefinite meaning. Now, however, they are essentially only stylistic variants. In most areas of BCS their use is restricted to certain set phrases, although recently they have been used with much greater frequency in Croatian. This is particularly true for pronominal and possessive adjectives (**njegov**, **očev**, etc.), for which Croatian almost always uses the short Gsg.

form. The *long* Gsg. adjectives carry neutral meaning, and are the ones used throughout BCS in most contexts. However, the *longer* forms are also encountered quite often. They can be substituted at the speaker's choice, but are usually more frequent in careful or high style speech than in casual speech (and more frequent in Croatian than in Serbian or Bosnian). When no noun is present (that is, when the adjective stands for a noun), the longer form is required.

Thus, the distinction of short vs. long no longer corresponds in all instances to the meaning distinction of indefinite vs. definite; in other words, language change is currently underway. Most grammars still use the term *indefinite* to refer to short adjectives not only in the nominative but also in the genitive (and other cases). Similarly, these grammars use the term *definite* to refer to long adjectives in all instances. Although this was once a correct description of the language, it is now true only of the nominative (and not true in all instances about that case either). It is now more correct to say simply that two different forms are possible in the nominative. For some speakers and in some contexts, the use of short vs. long forms often corresponds to the distinction indefinite vs. definite. But although three distinctly different forms are possible in genitive, there is no consistent difference in meaning among them, other than the rather fluid one of "style".

42d. Genitive forms of pronoun objects

The genitive forms of pronoun objects are identical with the accusative forms (review [24]), with the exception of 3rd person feminine singular. The Gsg. fem. long form is **nje** (as opposed to the Asg. **nju**), and the Gsg. fem. short form is only **je** (whereas the accusative permits both **je** and **ju**).

		3sg. feminine	
	CLITIC	FULL	
Nsg.		ona	
Asg.	je	ju	nju
Gsg.	je		nje

42e. Genitive of interrogative pronouns

The genitive form of the word for *who* is identical to its accusative form (review [21c]). The genitive of *what*, however, is built on a completely different stem. The nominative, accusative, and genitive forms of these pronouns are given to the right.

	WHO	WHAT
Nom.	ko tko	šta što
Acc.	koga	šta, što
Gen.	koga	čega

B,S ko / C tko; B,S šta / C što

43 The genitive with prepositions

Most BCS prepositions require the genitive. In fact, so many prepositions take the genitive that one will do well to learn which prepositions do NOT take it, and then use the genitive as the "default" case. For a full survey of prepositions used with this case, see [157b].

43a. Prepositions meaning "from": *iz*, *od*, *s(a)*

Many prepositions which require the genitive concern the relationship to a limit of some sort. Three of them share the general idea *from*. The most common of these is the preposition **iz**, which means *from* in the sense *out of*, or when indicating origin in general.

★ IZ	Da li je iz Čikaga, ili iz Dalasa? Majka sve čini iz ljubavi. Mali piće iz majčine čaše. Oni su iz Chicaga, a ne iz Dallas.	<i>Is s/he from Chicago, or Dallas?</i> <i>Mother does everything out of love.</i> <i>The child [= small one] drinks from [its] mother's glass.</i> <i>They're from Chicago, not from Dallas.</i>
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S, B da li je / C je li; S,B iz Čikaga / C,B iz Chicaga; S,B iz Dalasa / C,B iz Dallas

The preposition **od** also means *from* in the sense of *by* or *of*, or when the idea *from* is reckoned from a fixed endpoint. In the meaning *from X to Y*, it is usually paired with the preposition **do**; for examples of this usage see [43b]. Often it also refers to the source of something (authorship, composition or materials). In this meaning it frequently corresponds to an English modifier, as in *APPLE juice* (which in BCS is *juice OF APPLE*).

★ OD	Ovo pismo je od njene majke. Moja ogrlica je od zlata. To je vrlo lijepo od Gorana! Ovdje je toplo od kraja ožujka. Ovo je zemlja sastavljena od dva dela. – Kakav sok imate? – Imamo samo sok od jabuke.	This letter is from her mother. My necklace is [made of] gold. That's very nice of Goran! It's warm here from the end of March [on]. This is a land composed of two parts. “What sort of juice do you have?” “We only have apple juice.”
-------------	---	--

B,C,S njene / C,B njezine; J lijepo / E lepo; J ovdje / E ovde; C ožujka / S,B marta; E dela / J dijela

The preposition **s** means *from* in the sense *down from*. In Serbian this preposition very frequently takes the form **sa**. In Croatian, however, this preposition appears as **sa** only when the following word begins with **s**, **z**, **š** or **ž**; otherwise **s** is used. Bosnian uses **sa** more frequently than in Croatian, but less frequently than in Serbian. Because of this variation in form, this preposition is often referred to as **s(a)**. As part of its basic meaning *from*, it frequently occurs in expressions together with the preposition **na** [+ Acc]. One example is given below; for more, see [55a, 67c].

★ S(A)	Отац скида снег са кровла. Она преводи са српског на енглески. Он преводи са немачког на хрватски.	Father removes snow from the roof. She translates from Serbian to English. He translates from German to Croatian.
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E sneg / J snijeg; E nemačkog / J njemačkog

43b. Prepositions meaning “to, by”: **do, pored, kod**

The preposition **do** means *to* in the sense of *next to* or *up to*. When used in expressions of time, it means *to* in the sense of *prior to* (that is, *before*) or *until*. In the meaning *from ... to* (that is, when it concerns two end-points of a trajectory measured in space or time), the preposition **od** is paired with the preposition **do**. The preposition **pored** is similar to **do** in its spatial meaning; it means *next to* in the sense of *alongside*.

★ DO	Ja obično sedim do prozora, a on sedi do tabele. Njegova kancelarija je odmah do parka. Oni rade od jutra do mraka. Da li je daleko od Beograda do Novog Sada? Želim da čujem sve, od početka do kraja.	I usually sit next to the window, but he sits next to the blackboard. His office is [right] by the park. They work from dawn to dusk. Is it far from Belgrade to Novi Sad? I want to hear everything, from beginning to end.
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E sedim / J sjedim; E sedi / J sjedi; S,B do table / C do ploče; S,B njegova kancelarija / C njegov ured; S,B da li je / B,C,S je li; S,B želim da čujem / C,B želim čuti

★ PORED	– Tvoja knjiga je тамо, pored stola. – Naprotiv! Ту је, pored мене. I то је ваžno pored ostalog.	“Your book is there, by the table.” “On the contrary! It's right here, by me.” That's important too [along with the rest].
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The preposition **kod** is difficult to define. When it denotes physical space, it is best translated as *by* or *at*. When the object of **kod** is a person, the entire phrase indicates some sort of association with that person: the meaning is usually that something or someone is in that person's vicinity. If no other contextual information is available, the phrase means "at [someone's] place"; indeed the fixed phrase **kod kuće** means *at home*. The general idea of vicinity can also be taken abstractly: for instance, thoughts, customs, ideas or the like which are connected with a male person are said to be **kod njega**. There is no preposition in English corresponding directly to **kod**, although there are fairly direct parallels in French and German: *chez* (French) or *bei* (German).

In Serbian and Bosnian, **kod** also has directional meaning, indicating a movement towards someone's place of association. For more discussion, and the Croatian equivalents, see [55c].

★ KOD	<p>– Gde su Zlata i Damjan?</p> <p>– Oni su tamo, kod prozora.</p> <p>Mi obično ručamo kod kuće.</p> <p>A ona ruča kod tetke.</p> <p>Zašto su sve moje knjige kod tebe?</p> <p>– Mi slavimo rođendan našeg sina kod njegovе bake.</p> <p>– Tako je i kod nas.</p>	<p>"Where are Zlata and Damjan?"</p> <p>"They're over there, by the window."</p> <p>We usually have lunch at home.</p> <p>But she has lunch at [her] aunt's house.</p> <p>Why is it that all my books are wherever you are [= in your possession]?</p> <p>"We celebrate our son's birthday at his grandmother's."</p> <p>"So do we [= that's how it is with us too]."</p>
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E gde / J gdje; B kod kuće / S,B kod kuće; B kod tetke / S,C kod tetke; B kod tebe / S,B kod tebe; B kod nas / C,S kod nas

43c. The prepositions *bez*, *između* and *oko*

The prepositions **bez** "without", **oko** "around", and **između** "between, among", correspond quite closely to English usage, with the stipulation that **između** usually refers to physical space. For the more abstract meanings of English *among*, see [80b].

★ BEZ	<p>Наша кућа је још увек без кровла.</p> <p>Она то све ради без помоћи.</p>	<p><i>Our house still lacks [= is without] a roof.</i></p> <p><i>She does all that without [any] help.</i></p>
★ OKO	<p>Земља кружи око Сунца.</p> <p>Често се свађају око тога.</p>	<p><i>The Earth revolves around the Sun.</i></p> <p><i>They often argue about that.</i></p>
★ IZMEĐU	<p>Она седи између Марка и Ана.</p> <p>Ово је строго између нас.</p>	<p><i>She's sitting between Marko and Ana.</i></p> <p><i>This is strictly between us.</i></p>

E uvek / J uvijek; E sedi / J sjedi

44. The genitive without prepositions

If two nouns occur together and the second is in the genitive case, the relationship between them can usually be translated by English *of*. Sometimes the meaning is that of straightforward possession, but there are also many other possible meanings. For a full survey of the use of the genitive without prepositions, see [157a].

44a. The adnominal genitive

When two nouns occur adjacent to one another, the first is usually called the *head noun* and the second (which is always in the genitive case) is called an *adnominal* (literally, something adjacent to a noun). Either of the nouns in question may be modified by adjectives, and the head

noun can be in any case. What is relevant is the RELATIONSHIP between the two – that which is expressed by the genitive case endings on the second noun. The following examples are designed to illustrate this relationship. In each sentence of (1) the head noun is in the nominative, while in each sentence of (2) the head noun is in some other case.

(1)	<p>Glàvni gràd Hrvàtske je Zagreb. Gdje je moja čaša mljekà? To je sad stvar prošlosti. Smisao ovog zadatka nije jasan.</p>	<p><i>The capital of Croatia is Zagreb. Where's my glass of milk? That's a thing of the past now. The meaning [= purpose, intention] of this task is not clear.</i></p>
(2)	<p>Ona je iz glàvnog gràda Hrvàtske. Nè vidim tvoju čašu mljekà, gdje je? Objasnjenje smisla ovog zadatka nije jasno.</p>	<p><i>She is from Croatia's capital. I don't see your glass of milk, where is it? The explanation of the purpose [= intention] of this task is not clear.</i></p>

J gdje / E gde; J čaša mljeka / E čaša mleka

This general relationship must often be translated into English in other ways; the word *of* will not always work. However, with some imagination one can usually reformulate the basic idea (if awkwardly) into some approximation of an English *of*-phrase (this has not been spelled out in each example, however). In time, such a learning device will no longer be necessary, as this very frequent (indeed, ubiquitous) usage of the genitive in BCS will soon feel natural.

Čitam pesmu Volta Vitmana.	<i>I'm reading a poem by Walt Whitman.</i>
Koji je tvój broj telefóna?	<i>What's your telephone number?</i>
Voljim ljudé dobre naravi.	<i>I like good-natured people.</i>
Žèlim još više dobrog života.	<i>I want even more of the good life.</i>

E pesmu / J pjesmu; S,B Volta Vitmana / C,B Walta Whitmana

44b. The idea of possession

The idea of possession can thus be expressed in three different ways. One of these remains to be discussed (see [73e]). Of the other two types, the first occurs when the possessor is named by a single word. In such an instance, a possessive pronominal adjective can be formed from the name of the possessor (review [41b]). But if the possessor is referred to either by a sequence of names (such as first and last name) or by a phrase composed of a noun preceded by one or more modifiers, then the genitive case MUST be used. In brief, possessive pronominal adjectives can be used only if the possessor is expressed by a single word.

The examples below contrast the two types. Each set contains two sentences, one with a single-word possessive adjective (P.A.), and the other with possession expressed by the genitive case (GEN.). Single word possessive forms are adjectives and agree with their nouns: the nouns are in whatever case the sentence requires, and the adjectives are in that same case. In all other expressions of the idea of possession, the possessor must be in the genitive case.

GEN.	Gde je kišobran tvóje sestré?	<i>"Where's your sister's umbrella?"</i>
P.A.	Sestrin kišobran je tu, dò mene.	<i>"Sister's umbrella is here, next to me."</i>
GEN.	– Nè volím sve ideje tvog oca.	<i>"I don't like all your father's ideas."</i>
P.A.	– Ja, naprotiv, mislím da su sve očeve ideje sjajne.	<i>"In contrast to you, I think all Father's ideas are brilliant."</i>

GEN.	– Je li <u>to</u> auto Marka Jovanovića?	<i>“Is that Marko Jovanović’s car?”</i>
P.A.	– Da, <u>to</u> je Markov auto.	<i>“Yes, that’s Marko’s car.”</i>
GEN.	– Kakva je knjiga novog učitelja?	<i>“What’s the new teacher’s book like?”</i>
P.A.	– Učiteljeva knjiga je dobra.	<i>“The teacher’s book is good.”</i>

E gde / J gdje; B do mene / S,C do mene; B,C,S je li / S,B da li je

44c. Location indicators: **evo, nema**

The unchanging words **ovo**, **to**, and **ono** are presentatives (review [9]): they function to introduce a new topic and are always followed by a predicate phrase in the nominative. **Ovo** is used to refer to something very close to the speaker, or when something is introduced for the first time; **to** is used elsewhere. A similar set of unchanging words, **evo**, **eto**, and **eno**, function as *location indicators*, identifying a known person or topic. Here too, the choice between them is determined by the relative distance from the speaker: **evo** is used when the focus is on something in the speaker’s immediate vicinity, and **eno** is used to refer to something farther away. A fairly close parallel is seen in the usage of *voici* and *voilà* in French, or of *вот* and *вон* in Russian. The word **eto** is encountered more rarely; for its use in certain colloquial expressions, see [73f].

These words are nearly always used in conversational situations, and are usually followed by the genitive case of the noun or pronoun being identified (here termed “N”). The precise meaning depends upon the context. A speaker can give a simple identification of N’s location, express surprise and pleasure at discovering N, or direct the listener’s attention to N. The word **evo** is also frequently used when handing something to someone.

Где је мој уџбеник? А, ево га. Али не видим твој. А, ено га тамо.	<i>Where’s my [text]book? Oh, here it is. But I don’t see yours. Ah, there it is, over there.</i>
Ено нашег пријатеља и његовог пса!	<i>[Look!] There’s our friend and his dog!</i>
Да ли желиш да видиш моју књигу?	<i>Do you want to see my book? Here it is.</i>
Ево је.	

E gde / J gdje; B,C,S prijatelja / S,B druga; B,C,S njegovog / C njegova; S,B da li želiš da vidiš / B želiš li da vidiš / C,B želiš li vidjeti; J vidjeti / E videti

The unchanging word **nema** communicates the absence of something or someone. It is always followed by the genitive. This word is found in one of the most frequently heard phrases in BCS: **nema problema!** Several more examples of **nema** are given below; its usage is discussed in more detail in [59b]. Note that English sometimes must insert additional words to express the appropriate meaning. For instance, since English speakers cannot normally speak of physical absence without specifying a place, they will usually use an adverb such as *nowhere*.

– Tražim gospodina Jovanovića.	<i>“I’m looking for Mr. Jovanović.”</i>
– Nema ga danas u kancelariji.	<i>“He’s not in the office today.”</i>
Zašto to kažu? Nema dokaza!	<i>“Why do they say that? There’s no proof!”</i>
Nažalost, danas nema čokolade.	<i>“Unfortunately, there’s no chocolate today.”</i>
– Gdje je tvoga knjiga?	<i>“Where’s your book?”</i>
– Ne znam. Nema je.	<i>“I don’t know. It’s nowhere around.”</i>
– Dakle, tri knjige su kod mene, a jedne knjige uopšte nema.	<i>“So that means I have three [of the] books, and one is missing altogether.”</i>
Fino, fino. Nema problema.	<i>“Great, great! No problem!”</i>

B,S u kancelariji / C u uredu; J gdje / E gde; S,C kod mene / B kod mene; S,B uopšte / B,C uopće

Both **evo** and **nema** can be used in the colloquial spoken language to predict an event. This usage is restricted to the 1st person. Thus, the phrase **evo me** communicates to the listener the speaker's imminent presence, and **nema me** predicts the speaker's absence. The ubiquitous adverb **odmah** often accompanies the first of these. Although the literal meaning of **odmah** is "immediately", the real-world time frame can be quite long, and depends on the context.

– Gde si? Čekamo te! – Evo me odmah. Nema me do 9 sati. E gde / J gdje	<i>"Where are you? We're waiting for you."</i> <i>"I'll be right there."</i> <i>I won't be back before 9:00 [at the earliest].</i>
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44d. Identification of colors

English identifies the color of an object simply by using an adjective, either in predicative position, as in *her eyes are BLUE*, or in attributive position, as in *she has BLUE eyes*. BCS uses both these constructions as well. When the color is the focus of the utterance, however, BCS will usually use a phrase composed of the noun **boja** "color" modified by the appropriate adjective. This entire phrase appears in the genitive case, after the noun whose color is being identified.

Njene su oči plave boje. – Koji je tvój auto? – Onaj zelené boje. B,C,S njene / C,B njezine	<i>Her eyes are blue [= of blue color].</i> <i>"Which is your car?"</i> <i>"That green one" [=the one of green color]</i>
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45 Accusative vs. genitive objects and partitive meaning

The case which generally expresses the meaning of direct object is the accusative (review [22]). If a genitive form is used in the direct object position, this conveys the idea of English *some [of]*. That is, an accusative direct object refers to a general idea, the entirety of something, or a specified known quantity. A genitive direct object, by contrast, refers to an unspecified portion of something. This meaning, known as the *partitive genitive*, is often expressed in English by adding the words *some* or *any* (for more on this topic, see [59]). The negative form of the idea of partition (illustrated in the final example) is best translated by the English phrase *not any*.

accusative Molim vas, jedno mleko. Izvolite čašu hladne vode.	<i>I don't drink beer. I don't like beer.</i> <i>One [carton of] milk, please.</i> <i>Here, [have] a glass of cold water.</i>
genitive Želiš li piva? Ili soká? Imate li hladnog piva? Imamo kiselog mleka, ako želite. – Šta oni žeľe? – Nemam pojma.	<i>Do you want some beer? Or [some] juice?</i> <i>Do you have [any] cold beer?</i> <i>We have [some] yogurt, if you want.</i> <i>"What do they want?"</i> <i>"I haven't [the slightest] idea."</i>

E mleko / J mlijeko; C,B želiš li / S,B da li želiš; C,B imate li / B,S da li imate; E kiselog mleka / J kiselog mlijeka; S,B šta / C što

46 Numbers: 2, 3, 4

The number *one* takes the form of an adjective, whose masc.sg. form is **jedan** (review [36c]). Like any adjective, it agrees with the noun it refers to. The form of the number *two* depends on the following noun: if it is masculine or neuter, the number *two* is **dva**, and if it is femi-

nine the number *two* is **dve** (ekavian) or **dvije** (ijekavian). The words for *three* and *four* are **tri** and **četiri**, respectively. The word meaning *both* is parallel in form to that meaning *two*: it is **oba** when referring to masculine or neuter nouns and **obe / obje** when referring to feminine nouns. In colloquial language these numbers sometimes appear in the extended form **obadva** (masculine-neuter), **obadve / obadvije** (feminine).

46a. The “counting form”

After the numbers 2,3,4, nouns take a special form. This form, referred to here as the *counting form*, looks very similar to the genitive singular, but it is NOT identical with it. For masculine and neuter nouns and adjectives the ending is **-a**. For feminine adjectives, the counting form ending is **-e** (but without vowel length), and for nouns it is like the Gsg., but again without vowel length. ALL modifiers, including pronominal adjectives such as **taj**, take the counting form ending. For more discussion of numbers, and of the use of the counting form, see [58, 123a].

Ona ima dvije sestre i tri brata.
A ja imam samo jednu sestruru.
Mara voli životinje. Imala dve ptice,
dva siva psa i četiri crne mačke.
Sve je između tih četiri zida.
Obja tvoje knjige su tu.
Imala dva auta. Obaju su zelena.

J dvije / E dve; J obje / E obe

She has two sisters and three brothers.
But I only have one sister.
Mara likes animals. She has three birds,
two gray dogs, and four black cats.
Everything's between these four walls.
Both your books are here.
S/he has two cars. Both are green.

47 Masculine nouns ending in -o

Nouns which end in **-o** preceded by a vowel shift the **-o** to **-l** whenever the case ending is other than **-Ø**. This is the same phenomenon already seen in adjectives, where the final **-o** in Nsg. masculine short form shifts to **-l** in all other forms (review [16c], and see [167d]). Two of these adjectives are given below for comparison. Nearly all the nouns which make this shift are masculine in gender. One of these nouns is feminine, however: **misao** (Gsg. **misli**) “thought”. Because of its similarity in shape to these masculine nouns, one must be careful with the gender of this noun. Not all nouns make this shift, especially in Croatian. For instance, the word for *table* is **sto** (G.sg. **stola**) in Serbian and Bosnian, but **stol** in Croatian.

The chart below contains words ending in a sequence of vowel + **o**, which is replaced by **l** when a full vowel ending follows. If the vowel preceding **-o** is **e** or **i**, the sequences **-eo** and **-io** are replaced by **-el-** and **-ijel-**, respectively. But if the vowel is **a**, it will drop, and the sequence **-ao** will be replaced simply by **-l-** when a full vowel ending follows. Something like the reverse phenomenon occurs in nouns such as **čitalac** and **pratilac**. Here, a syllable-final **-l** shifts to **-o** whenever the fleeting vowel is lost. This same **o** then turns up in other, related forms of the word (never shifting to **I**). The final examples in the chart below illustrate this process. This latter process is generally restricted to nouns denoting the person who performs an action; for instance, it is absent in the noun **palac** “thumb, toe”, Gsg. **palca**.

	before -Ø	elsewhere
ADJECTIVES		
vowel: e	masc.short dèbeo zao	feminine debèla zla
		<i>fat, thick</i> <i>evil</i>

	before -Ø	elsewhere
NOUNS		
vowel: i / e	Nsg.	Gsg.
vowel: a	dio / deo posao smisao ugao órao * feminine misao	dijela / dela posla smisla ugla órla misli
		<i>part</i> <i>work, job</i> <i>sense, meaning</i> <i>corner</i> <i>eagle</i> <i>thought</i>

NOUNS	Before consonant	Before vowel
	Gsg. pratioca čitaoca	Nsg. pratilac čitalac

J dio / E deo; J dijela / E dela; B,C,S čitalac, čitaoca / C čitatelj, čitatelja

48 Subjectless sentences, introduction

Sentences in English must have a subject. Many BCS sentences, however, do not have an explicit subject. For instance, subject pronouns are normally omitted unless the person or thing concerned is being mentioned for the first time: since the verb gives all the necessary information, the pronoun is usually considered redundant. Such sentences do have a subject of course, which can be stated if necessary, and which is always in the nominative case.

But there are other types of BCS sentences which are truly subjectless. Each has a general focal point, but nowhere is there a nominative case noun or pronoun (either present or underlying) which could be identified as the grammatical subject. Many such sentences correspond to English sentences which begin with *it is...* Because all English sentences must have a subject, English speakers will tend to translate such BCS sentences incorrectly using **to je ...** In BCS, however, a sentence can only contain the phrase **to je** if the pronominal form **to** refers to something specific in the conversation. This is not the case with the English sentences below: none of the instances of English *it* refers to a specifically identifiable antecedent. Therefore, all the corresponding BCS sentences must be subjectless.

The verb in a subjectless sentence is always the 3sg. form: for instance, the verbs in the sentences below are **je**, **nije**, **miriše**, and **ide**. For more discussion see [63, 73g, 105, 141].

Danas je topo.	<i>It's warm today.</i>
- Je li daleko odavde?	<i>"Is it far from here?"</i>
- Nije.	<i>"No, it's not."</i>
Strashno je hladno kod vas.	<i>It's frightfully cold at your place.</i>
Odive divno mirise!	<i>It smells wonderful here!</i>
- Kako ide?	<i>"How's it going?"</i>
- Slabo.	<i>"Not good [= poorly]."</i>

C,B je li / S,B da li je; B kod vas / C kod vas; E ovde / J ovdje

Other BCS subjectless sentences correspond to English sentences beginning with *there is ...* or *there are ...* One type, with **nema**, seen above in [44c], is discussed in more detail in [59b]. Yet another is with the ubiquitous form **može**. This word forms various sorts of subjectless sentences. Some can be translated with English *There's....*, while other times the English translation must use *one* or the impersonal *you* as the subject. Sometimes the word **može** simply

stands alone, in the meaning *O.K.* If another verb follows **može**, the particle **se** is added to this kind of subjectless sentence. For more on this latter type of sentence, see [85b, 140].

Nema dokaza.	<i>There's no proof.</i>
Né može bez toga.	<i>There's no avoiding it. [= You / one can't manage without it.]</i>
Može li ovako?	<i>Is it O.K. like this?</i>
Može se slobodno putovati tamo.	<i>You [= one] can travel freely there.</i>
Né može se tako govoriti.	<i>That's no way to talk! [= You / one can't talk like that!]</i>

B bez toga / C, S bez toga; B,C može li ovako / S,B da li može ovako; B,C,S može se putovati / B,S može da se putuje; B,C,S može se tako govoriti / B,S može tako da se govoriti

49 Adverbs and question words, continued

Many BCS question words can be translated directly by the corresponding English question words. For instance, each of the single words *who*, *what*, *where*, *when*, *why*, *how* is rendered by a single word in BCS. Additionally, each of these words can also become a conjunction. Often, however, English must formulate a question phrase in a more complex manner. For instance, the question word *how* is often combined with an adverb to create question phrases such as *how much*, *how many* or the like. Similarly, English can combine a question word (such as *where*) and a preposition (such as *from*). What can make English questions of this sort complex is the frequent separation of the question word from the preposition, as in English *WHERE are they FROM?* In all these instances, BCS uses single question words. The grammar of BCS questions is thus much simpler than that of English, but the English speaker will need to remember that many English question phrases cannot be translated literally into BCS.

Compound question words

how far	Koliko je <u>to</u> odavde?	<i>How far is it from here?</i>
how much	Koliko <u>to</u> košta?	<i>How much does it cost?</i>
where from	Odakle si?	<i>Where are you from?</i>

Many BCS adverbs are modeled directly after such question words. For instance, the question word **odakle** “where from” is directly related to the adverb **odavde** “from here” and **odande** “from there” (for more, see [126]). A somewhat different sort of relationship obtains between the question word **kakav** “what kind” and **ovakav**, **takav**, and **onakav**, all of which can be translated “such [a kind]”, providing that the distance from the speaker communicated by **ov-** / **t-** / **on-** is taken into account (see [11b, 36b]). Similarly, **koliko** is directly related to **ovoliko**, **toliko**, and **onoliko**, all of which are very hard to translate outside of context. But while the first set (**ovakav**, etc.) are pronominal adjectives and must have a noun to modify, the second set (**ovoliko**, etc.) can be used in many different ways. They can stand alone, taking their meaning from the context, or they can modify another adverb. For their usage with nouns, see [59a].

- Koliko je?	<i>“How big is [it]? ”</i>
- Ovoliko.	<i>“This big.”</i>
- Je li daleko odavde?	<i>“Is it far from here?”</i>
- Nije. Toliko je blizu da ga možeš vidjeti odavde!	<i>“No. It’s so close that you can see it from here!”</i>

B,C,S je li / S,B da li je; J vidjeti / E videti; C,B da ga možeš vidjeti / S,B da možeš da ga vidiš

50 Conjunctions, continued

A conjunction functions to connect two shorter sentences (usually called *clauses*) into a single sentence. Many conjunctions are also question words. The most frequent BCS conjunction is the word **da**, which is often translated by the English conjunction *that* (for more discussion, see [26a, 143d]).

Some conjunctions consist of two words, and often the first of these serves another purpose in the language. For instance, when **kao** is followed by a noun it means *as, like* (the conjunction **i** often accompanies it in this meaning). But if that which follows is a clause, one must use the compound subordinating conjunction **kao što**. The conjunction **da** can also be combined with **kao**. The meaning, however, is different: the compound conjunction **kao da** means *as if*. For more on compound conjunctions, see [143b], and for more on the use of **da** and **što** as conjunctions, see [143g].

da	Znam da si alergičan na mačke. Toliko je blizu da možeš ići pješice.	<i>I know that you are allergic to cats.</i> <i>It's so close that you can [go] on foot.</i>
kao (i) kao što	Moj brat je student kao i ja. Da li si i tij iz Zagreba kao što su tvoji roditelji?	<i>My brother is a student, just like me.</i> <i>Are you also from Zagreb, like your parents [are]?</i>
kao da	Ponaša se kao da je bogat.	<i>S/he behaves as if s/he were rich.</i>

C,B možeš ići / B,S možeš da ideš; J pješice / E pešice; C,B pješice / S peške, pešice; S,B da li si / B,C,S jesli li

51 Word order: embedded questions

Questions which do not anticipate an answer of *yes* or *no* begin with a question word (review [8a]). When such a question is transformed into a statement, it is placed (or *embedded*) within a larger sentence. For instance, the English question *where is your book?* could appear in sentences such as “Tell me *where your book is*, please” or “I don’t know *where your book is*” or “I wonder *where your book is*”. Note that in each of these English statements, the order of subject and verb is reversed. That is, in the question one says *where IS your BOOK?* while in the statement one says ... *where your BOOK IS*”.

The corresponding process in BCS differs in one significant way. As in English, the question word becomes a conjunction. But the BCS word order does NOT change. The examples below illustrate this process. Each pair includes a simple question (noted Q) and a larger sentence (noted S / Q) – which may itself be a question – containing that simple question. English speakers must pay attention not to shift the word order of the simple question when forming the statement containing that question.

Q	Где је твоја књига?	<i>Where is your book?</i>
S / Q	Не знам где је твоја књига.	<i>I don't know where your book is.</i>
Q	Ко су ови људи?	<i>Who are these people?</i>
S / Q	Да ли знаш ко су ови људи?	<i>Do you know who these people are?</i>
Q	Колико је далеко одавде?	<i>How far is it from here?</i>
S / Q	Не знам колико је далеко одавде.	<i>I don't know how far it is from here.</i>
Q	На шта си алергичан?	<i>What are you allergic to?</i>
S / Q	Не зна на шта је алергичан.	<i>He doesn't know what he's allergic to.</i>

Q	Шта <u>раде</u> студенти?	<i>What are the students doing?</i>
S / Q	Ко <u>зна</u> шта <u>раде</u> студенти!	<i>Who knows what the students are doing!</i>
Q	Кад <u>обично</u> <u>рұча</u> ?	<i>When does she usually have lunch?</i>
S / Q	Знаш ли кад <u>обично</u> <u>рұча</u> ?	<i>Do you know when she usually has lunch?</i>

E gde / J gdje; S,B ko / C tko; B na šta / S na šta / C na što; S,B šta / C što; C,B znaš li / S,B da li znaš

A question which expects an answer of *yes* or *no* is formed either with **da li** or by the particle **li** placed after a fully accented verb (review [8b]). When an English speaker incorporates such a question into a statement, s/he usually uses the conjunction *if*, although the conjunction *whether* is also possible. This is why English speakers will be tempted to use the conjunction **ako** “if” when forming such sentences in BCS.

It is critical, therefore, to realize that BCS can form such sentences ONLY with the interrogative marker that introduced the original question: either the phrase **da li** followed by the main verb, or a phrase composed of the main verb plus **li**. (For the BCS translations of other English meanings of *if*, see [132a]). English speakers can avoid this common error by reformulating the English sentence to be translated into BCS. If the conjunction *if* can be replaced with the conjunction *whether* without changing the sentence’s meaning, then this means that the BCS conjunction **ako** cannot be used, and that one of the two interrogative formats must be used instead.

The pairs below illustrate various possible reformulations of simple *yes-no* questions (Q) as questions embedded within sentences (S / Q). Note that all the English sentences are of the sort which allow either *if* or *whether*. This means that the corresponding BCS sentences MUST be phrased with **li** or **da li**.

Q	Da li su dànas kod kuće?	<i>Are they at home today?</i>
S / Q	Nè znam da li su dànas kod kuće.	<i>I don't know if they're at home today.</i> [= I don't know whether ...]
Q	Jèsu li dànas kod kuće?	<i>Are they at home today?</i>
S / Q	Tko zna jèsu li dànas kod kuće!	<i>Who knows if they're at home today!</i> [= Who knows whether ...]
Q	Da li govorì srpski?	<i>Does she speak Serbian?</i>
S / Q	On je pita da li govorì srpski.	<i>He's asking her if she speaks Serbian.</i> [He's asking her whether or not ...]
Q	Gòvorì li hrvatski?	<i>Does he speak Croatian?</i>
S / Q	Nè znam govorì li hrvatski.	<i>I don't know if he speaks Croatian [or not].</i> [I don't know whether ...]

S,B da li su / B,C,S jесу li; C tko / B,S ko; S,C kod kuće / B kod kuće; S,B da li govorи / C,B govorи li

CHAPTER 5

52 Present tense, continued

The unpredictable conjugation types continue to belong to the *e*-conjugation. However, there is one more unpredictable verb type which belongs to the *i*-conjugation.

52a. Type *držati*

Several important verbs with **-ati** infinitives belong to the *i*-conjugation. All such verbs keep the same accent in both infinitive and present tense. The most important are **bojati se** “fear” **držati** “keep, hold”, and **stajati** “stand”. The present tense of **stajati** is irregular in that the root vowel changes: **stojim**, **stojiš**, etc. (For the related verb **stajem**; see [101]). Several verbs which imitate sounds (such as **zviždati** “whistle”) also belong to this group. For more on this overall group, see [153d].

stajati	<i>stand</i>
stojim	stojimo
stojiš	stojite
stoji	stoje

držati	<i>hold, keep</i>
držim	držimo
držiš	držite
drži	drže

52b. Type *doći*

Prefix forms of the verb **ići** belong to the *e*-conjugation (review [54] and see [146a]). All but one have a present tense stem ending in **-d**. The verb **otići** “go away” has two stems, one in **-d** (1sg. **odem**) and one in **-d** (1sg. **otidem**). The first is normally used. For more on this type, represented here by **doći** “come”, see [153s].

doći	<i>come</i>
dođem	dođemo
dođeš	dođete
dođe	dođu

52c. The *budem* present of *biti*

The neutral present tense of **biti** “to be” (review [7b]) is irregular. After conjunctions and in the imperative (see [78]), another present tense of **biti** is used. It is a regular *e*-conjugation verb with the stem is **bud-**.

biti	<i>be</i>
budem	budemo
budeš	budete
bude	budu

52d. The verb *hteti* / *htjeti*

The infinitive of this verb, which means *want*, has both ekavian and ijekavian forms. Its present tense is slightly irregular. First, it is one of only two BCS verbs whose 1sg. ends not in **-m** but in **-u** (the other is **moći** – review [14f]), and second, the 3pl. looks exactly like the 3sg. (they are distinguished in speech by a long vowel in the 3pl. ending). This verb is also notable in that when it is negated, it has a separate conjugation in the present tense. The stem is **neć-** (as opposed to the stem of the affirmative, which is **hoć-**). The negative forms are usually written as a single word, although it has recently become popular in Croatia (and for some Bosnians) to write them separately. For more on other uses of this verb, see [95].

htjeti / hteti want

affirmative		negative		[alternate negative]
ho̚ću	ho̚ćemo	ne̚ću	ne̚ćemo	ne̚ću
ho̚ćeš	ho̚ćete	ne̚ćeš	ne̚ćete	ne̚ćeš
ho̚će	ho̚će	ne̚će	ne̚će	ne̚će

52e. Type pisati, continued

Verbs of the type **pisati** (review [14b]) shift the stem-final consonant of the infinitive to a different consonant in the present tense. The most frequently encountered sound shifts are **s ~ š** (as in **pisati**, 1sg. **pišem**) and **z ~ ž** (as in **kazati**, 1sg. **kažem**). But this conjugation type also includes verbs exhibiting different sound shifts, such as **t ~ č**, **h ~ š**, and **c ~ č**, which are illustrated by the three verbs below. In most such verbs, the accent is rising in the infinitive but falling in the present. For more on this verb type, see [65a, 153e].

kr̚etati	move	m̚ahati	wave	ti̚cati	concern
kr̚ćem	kr̚ćemo	m̚ašem	m̚ašemo	ti̚ćem	ti̚ćemo
kr̚ćeš	kr̚ćete	m̚ašeš	m̚ašete	ti̚ćeš	ti̚ćete
kr̚će	kr̚ću	m̚aše	m̚ašu	ti̚će	ti̚ću

52f. Type uzeti

The perfective verb **uzeti** “take” belongs to the *e*-conjugation. The infinitive theme vowel **e** is replaced by **m** in the present tense. Another major verb of this conjugation type replaces **e** with **n** (**početi**, **počnem** “begin”). For more on this type, see [153m].

uzeti	take
uzmem	uzmemeo
uzmeš	uzmete
uzme	uzmu

53 Aspect, continued

BCS has two separate verbs for nearly every individual verbal meaning. One of these two verbs views the verbal idea as a single complete action, and the other views it as a general fact, or an ongoing or repeated action. The relationship between the two (review [28]) is that of verbal *aspect*, and the two verb types are called *perfective* and *imperfective*, respectively. In each instance, the two separate verbs comprise a single set embracing the overall verbal idea. These two verbs are called *aspect partners*, and make up an *aspect pair*: in most dictionaries they are listed together as part of the same entry.

In nearly all cases, the two partner verbs share the same stem. Furthermore, there are certain formal characteristics marking any one verb as imperfective or perfective. In some instances one can fairly successfully predict the shape of a specific imperfective verb from its perfective partner (and vice versa). In other instances, one is only able to guess which aspect the verb form represents. But there *is* a system, within which the non-native speaker can learn to navigate fairly well. The two major ways in which the verbs of BCS aspect pairs are related to each other are *suffixation* and *prefixation*.

53a. Aspect pairs related by suffixation

For a number of verbal pairs, it is the shape of the suffix which identifies the aspect of the verb. In pairs of this type, the perfective verbs generally belong to the *i*-conjugation and their imperfective partners to the *a*-conjugation. The examples given below illustrate two of the different ways in which the idea *imperfective aspect* can be marked by suffixation. For instance, it frequently occurs that the final vowel in a polysyllabic stem will change its form in the imperfective.

An example is the word for *answer*. The stem **odgovor-** is followed directly by the theme vowel **i** in the perfective. In the imperfective, the final stem vowel shifts to lengthened **a** (**odgovar-**) before the theme vowel **a**. Sometimes the imperfective partner will have a specific suffix preceding the theme vowel **a**. For instance, the stem **uključ-** is followed directly by the theme vowel **i** in the perfective partner. In the imperfective, however, the suffix **-iv** is added before the theme vowel **a** (this type of verb exceptionally belongs to the *e*-conjugation).

same stem, "aspectual" suffixes	perfective	imperfective
	odgovoriti / odgovarati	<i>answer</i>
	uključiti / uključivati	<i>include</i>

Most aspect pairs related to each other by suffixation represent basic verbs which are very frequently used. For more discussion of suffixation in aspect pairs, see [96a, 147a].

53b. Aspect pairs related by prefixation

The other type of relationship is prefixation. There exist a sizeable number of imperfective verbs which do not have aspect partners of the above sort. These imperfective verbs are made perfective by the addition of a prefix. In almost all instances the process of prefixation adds an additional shade of meaning (beyond that of perfective aspect). Three examples are given below. In the first, the basic meaning of the imperfective verb **čekati** is altered markedly by the addition of the prefix **do-**, but not so much as to destroy the original meaning altogether. In the second two, the meaning shift is very slight: indeed, the prefixed perfectives **pojesti** and **popiti** simply indicate individual completed instances of the generalized actions **jesti** and **piti**. The English definitions *eat up* and *drink up* are in fact a shorthand way of saying “have [something] to eat / drink [on a particular occasion] [and finish it]”. In all three, however, the idea *perfective* is clearly present. Each of the verbs views the action in question as a single completed instance. The idea contained in **dočekati** is that the process of waiting for someone is carried out to completion when that person arrives and is received appropriately, and the ideas contained in **pojesti** and **popiti** are that something is consumed in full on a particular occasion.

same stem, prefix makes perfective	imperfective	prefixed perfective
	čekati / dočekati	<i>wait / meet, greet</i>
	jesti / pojести	<i>eat / eat up</i>
	piti / popiti	<i>drink / drink up</i>

Most BCS prefixes are similar in form to (or identical with) prepositions. Each individual prefix has several basic meanings associated with it, and in many cases the meanings are similar to those of the related preposition. For more at the general level, see [96b]; for detailed discussion of the relationship of prefixes to prepositions, see [146a-b]; for discussion of the role of prefixes in perfectivization, see [146c]. On accentual changes associated with prefixes, see [166c].

53c. Usage of aspect in present tense forms

A perfective verb by nature conveys the idea of *closure*. Normally, such closure is most naturally expressed in the past or future tenses. However, perfective verbs may also be used as infinitives following another verb, or in the present tense after conjunctions which express the idea of eventual completion in some way. Each of these contexts provides a grammatical framework for expression of the limitation inherent in the idea of closure. The examples below show how perfective verbs in these contexts focus attention on the potential completion of a particular

action. Note that when the conjunction **da** is used to express the idea “infinitive”, it fits both the above definitions simultaneously.

PERFECTIVE

(1) infinitive	Danas ne mogu doći. Zauzeta sam. U koliko sati možemo poći? Nemoxeš užeti auto, jer nema benzina. Danas moram rano da izadem.	<i>I can't come today. I'm busy.</i> <i>What time can we go?</i> <i>You can't take the car, because there isn't any gas.</i> <i>I have to go out early today.</i>
(2) after conjunction	Želim da danas izaděš rano. Ako pojeděš tri jabuke, koliko ih onda imaš?	<i>I want you to go out early today.</i> <i>If you eat three apples, then how many [of them] do you have?</i>

C,B ne mogu doći / S,B ne mogu da dođem; C,B možemo poći / S,B možemo da podemo; C,B ne možeš uzeti / S,B ne možeš da uzmeš; S,B moram da izadem / C,B moram izači

Imperfective verbs can also appear in these frameworks, of course. That is, an infinitive following another verb or a present tense form following certain conjugations MAY be in the perfective aspect, but it is not required to be. The choice of aspect depends upon the point of view the speaker takes of the verbal action in any one context. For more on aspect choice and verbal meaning, see [95e, 106b, 145a-b]. For instance, the following sentences have imperfective verbs in the same contexts in which the above sentences had perfective verbs. In each case the speaker focuses upon a particular chunk of time, a fact which could potentially be interpreted as expressing closure. But because the action itself is not seen in terms of completion, the speaker uses the imperfective aspect. This puts the focus on the general idea of the action rather than on its eventual completion.

IMPERFECTIVE

(1) infinitive	Šta želiš da radiš ovog vikenda? On može zviždati uz ptičju pjesmu.	<i>What do you want to do this weekend?</i> <i>He can whistle to the bird's song.</i>
(2) after conjunction	Ako svakog dana spavaš do 10, onda ne možeš vidjeti izlazak sunca.	<i>If you sleep till 10:00 every day, then you can't watch the sunrise.</i>

S,B šta / C što; S,B želiš da radiš / C,B želiš raditi; C,B može zviždati / S,B može da zviždi; J uz pjesmu / E uz pesmu; B,C ptičju / S,B ptičiju; J vidjeti / E videti; C,B ne možeš vidjeti / B,S ne možeš da vidiš

54 Aspect pairs of motion verbs

The members of an aspect pair are related to each other by means of suffixation or prefixation (discussed above in [53a] and [53b], respectively). Sometimes both processes are at work within a single set of verbs. The combination might seem complex, but it is in fact highly systematic. A good illustration is furnished by the set of motion verbs derived from the basic verb **ići** “go”. All but one of the verbs derived from **ići** also refer to movement through space. The fact of these concrete meanings, plus the fact that most of the prefixes share the form of well-known prepositions, renders the system fairly transparent.

The chart below gives the base verb, **ići**, in the leftmost column. Adding a prefix to this base verb creates a perfective verb with a separate, more specialized meaning. Because they are perfective verbs, each of them by definition denotes a single complete action. In order to describe the same specialized action without the limitation imposed by the idea of perfectivity, corre-

sponding imperfective verbs are then derived from each one of them. In the case of motion verbs, this is done by replacing the stem completely. The prefix remains, and the new stem is the rarely occurring verb **laziti** (which means “creep, crawl”). The new imperfective verbs contain exactly the same meaning as their perfective partners; the only difference is one of aspect.

MOTION VERBS	base	prefix >	perfective	imperfective
ići	do-	doćí	dolaziti	come
u-	ućí	ulaziti	enter, go in	
iz-	izaćí	izlaziti	leave, go out	
po	poćí	polaziti	set out, go	
s-	síćí	silaziti	come down	
od-	otićí	odlaziti	leave, go away	
na-	naćí	nálati	find	

What is characteristic about this process is its stepwise nature. The first stage adds prefixes to the simple verb, creating from it new perfective verbs with related but more specialized meanings (for more on this stage, see [146b]). The second stage alters these new perfective verbs in various ways to create imperfective verbs with the same specialized meanings, differing only in the meaning of perfective vs imperfective aspect. For more on this stage, and the creation by suffixation of these *derived imperfectives*, see [147c]. Motion verbs are unique in that they replace the stem completely in the derived imperfectives.

55 Motion verbs used with prepositions and adverbs

By definition, motion verbs denote some sort of movement. This movement is usually specified more precisely as to manner or direction or both. As in English, prepositions and adverbs are used together with these motion verbs to make these distinctions more explicit.

55a. Prepositions and the idea of motion

Two of the most important prepositions in BCS are **u** and **na**. They are used with the accusative case to refer to a particular direction of motion. In this meaning, they are variously translated *to*, *toward*, *into*, *onto*, and the like. But despite the seeming overlap in meaning, these two prepositions are not interchangeable. Instead, any one specific noun requires either one or the other. Although the most foolproof way is simply to learn which of the relevant nouns are “**u**-words” and which are “**na**-words”, certain generalizations can be made. Nouns referring to concepts or areas which can be visualized as an enclosure or as a tangible three-dimensional space usually take **u**, while those which are visualized as a surface, an event, or a more abstract destination usually take **na**. Thus, for instance, nouns denoting cities and countries are **u**-words while nouns denoting islands are **na**-words. Care must be taken, however, as much of BCS usage is idiomatic. Several examples are given below; for more discussion, see [67b].

★ U + Acc.	Идем у банку, а затим у биоскоп.	I'm going to the bank, then to the movies.
	Мара иде сваки дан у школу.	Mara goes to school every day.
	Идуће недеље иде у Лондон.	She's going to London next week.
	Уопште не долази у обзир!	Totally out of the question [= in no way does it come into consideration]!

S bioskop / C,B kino; S,B iduće nedelje / B iduće sedmice / C idućeg tjedna; S,B uopšte / C,B uopće

★ NA + Acc.	Ђорђе сад иде на предавање. На коју станицу идете? Мара сад иде на пијацу. Вечерас идемо на концерт.	Dorđe is going to class [= lecture] now. Which station are you going to? Mara's going to the market now. We're going to a concert this evening.
-------------	---	--

S,B жељезничку (жељезничку) станицу / C колодвор; S,B пижаку / C,B тржницу

The prepositions **iz** and **s(a)**, used with the genitive, refer to motion in the opposite direction, and are usually translated *from*. What is particular about BCS is the correspondence between the two sets. Any noun that takes **u** + Acc in the meaning motion *towards* must take **iz** + Gen in the meaning motion *away from*. Correspondingly, any noun that takes **na** + Acc in the meaning motion *towards* must take **s(a)** + Gen in the meaning motion *away from*.

★ U / IZ	Često idе u London, ali nije iz Londona. Stalno izlaze iz jedne kuće, a ulaze u drugu. Kad đaci izlaze iz škole?	S/he often goes to London, but she's not from London. They constantly come out of one house and go into another. When do the children leave school?
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★ NA / S(A)	Dolazim sa sjevera, a idem na istok. Nem znam da li ide rano na fakultet, ali sigurno kasno dolazi s fakulteta. Tko je s Hvar? Želim ići na Hvar. Kako se ide do Hvar?	I come from the north and go to the east. I don't know if s/he goes to campus early [or not], but s/he certainly comes back late from campus. Who is from Hvar? I want to go to Hvar. How does one get to Hvar?
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J sa sjevera / E sa severa; B,S da li ide / C,B ide li; C tko / S,B ko; C,B želim ići / B,S želim da idem

55b. Usage of motion verbs, with and without prepositions

Verbs of motion whose prefixes correspond directly to the basic prepositions of motion must repeat the preposition if the destination is mentioned. Thus, whereas English only needs to use the adverbial marker *into* in a sentence such as *She's going INTO the room*, BCS must use both the verb meaning *go into* (**ulaziti**) and the prepositional phrase with **u** (also meaning *into*). The same applies to other motion verbs used with matching prepositions, such as the combination of the verb meaning *come out of* (**izlaziti**) and the preposition meaning *out of* (**iz**).

Tko izlazi iz te zgrade? Zašto ne ulaziš u kuću? Moraš vrlo pažljivo sići s krova.	Who's coming out of that building? Why aren't you going into the house? You must come down from the roof very carefully.
--	--

C tko / S,B ko; B u kuću / S,C u kuću; C,B moraš sići / S,B moraš da siđeš

55c. Question words concerning location and direction

In English, the word *where* can be used to ask either about the location of something (as in *WHERE is your book?*) or the direction of movement (as in *WHERE are you going?*). In BCS, the corresponding question word concerning location is **gde / gdje**. For questions about the direction of movement, Serbian and Bosnian use either this word or the question word **kuda**. Croatian, however, uses the question word **kamo**. For more discussion and examples, see [84b].

location	Gde su tvoji prijatelji? Znaš li gdje smo sada?	<i>Where are your friends? Do you know where we are now?</i>
movement	Gdje putuješ ovog ljeta? Kuda sada idete? Kamo idete večeras?	<i>Where are you traveling to this summer? Where are you going now? Where are you going this evening?</i>

E gde / J gdje; C,B znaš li / S,B da li znaš; J ljeta / E leta; C kamo / B,S gdje (gde), kuda

55d. Motion verbs and tense meaning

As in English, verbs of motion cover a broad range of time. Their present tense forms can refer to motion in progress, to envisaged future motion, or to the general idea of motion. The following examples demonstrate the similarity with English in this respect; for the use of the genitive without preposition in the meaning of time, see [61b].

in progress	Ah, sve ide tako sporo!	<i>Oh, everything's going so slowly!</i>
in future	Ona dolazi idućeg četvrtka.	<i>She's coming next Thursday.</i>
in general	Obično kasno izlazi iz kuće.	<i>She usually leaves the house late.</i>

B iz kuće / S,C iz kuće

55e. Infinitives following verbs of motion

When a sentence expresses purpose after a verb of motion, the verb naming the intended activity may take the form either of an infinitive or a phrase composed of **da** + present tense. Infinitives are somewhat more frequent in this instance, however, than after other verbs.

Idemo u kino gledati film.	We're going [to the cinema] to see a film.
Idemo u bioskop da gledamo film.	[same]
U pet sati idem na stanicu nekoga dočekati.	At 5:00 I'm going to the station [in order] to pick someone up.

C,B kino / S bioskop; B,C,S gledati / B,S da gledamo; B,S [željezničku (železničku)] stanicu / C kolodvor; B,C,S idem nekoga dočekati / S idem da dočekam nekoga

56 Negation, continued

Negation is expressed in several ways, depending on that which is being negated. When negation is part of the overall sentence meaning, it is almost always expressed by the particle **ne**, written as a separate word (review [25]). When the idea of negation is limited to a single word, however, this is often expressed by adding a prefix. In verbs this prefix can be **ne-** or **ni-**, but in pronouns it is always **ni-**. The rules for forming negated sentences differ in certain ways from those of English, which means that English speakers must pay special attention to these rules.

56a. Negated verbs, negative pronouns and “double negation”

Verbal negation is expressed by placing the particle **ne** before the verb form (review [25a]). There are only three BCS verbs with separate negative forms. All three of them form the negated present tense by fusing the negative particle with the affirmative present tense form to create a different verb form with its own conjugation. Only one of these three carries this process through to the infinitive, however. In this instance, the two verbs **imati** “have” and **nemati** “not have” are viewed as fully separate verbs in both the infinitive and the present tense.

The other two verbs, **biti** and **hteti** / **htjeti**, have both full and clitic forms in the present tense (for full and clitic forms of **biti**, review [7b]; for the full forms of **hteti** / **htjeti** review [52d], and for the clitic forms, see [95a]). The negated form for both **biti** and **hteti** / **htjeti** repre-

sents a fusion of the negative particle with the clitic form. In both instances, this fused form conveys the idea of negation for all meanings of the verb in question, regardless of whether the clitic or the full form would be used in non-negative instances.

AFFIRMATIVE		NEGATIVE	
infinitive	1sg. pres.	infinitive	1sg. pres.
imati	imam	nemati	nemam <i>have</i>
biti	jесам (sam)	[ne biti]	nisam <i>be</i>
hteti / htjeti	hoću (éu)	[ne hteti / htjeti]	neću <i>want</i>

Most interrogative adverbs and pronominal forms can be transformed into negative ones in a similar manner: one places the particle **ni-** before each of them. Each negative form thus created follows the same grammatical rules as its non-negative partner. For instance, the accusative form of both **ko** and **tko** is **koga**; from this one can predict that the accusative form of both **niko** and **nitko** will be **nikoga**. By comparing the BCS forms with their English equivalents in the chart, one can see how much more systematic BCS is than English in this regard. The final word above, **jedan**, though not a question word, has been included because of the parallels in the formation of its negative partner.

When these words are used in a sentence, THE VERB MUST ALSO BE NEGATED. English speakers must pay special attention to this rule. This is because most English speakers are strongly conscious that what in English is called “double negation” is either incorrect or heavily marked for a certain style. In BCS, however, the presence of ANY ONE of these forms requires that negation be marked on everything else in the sentence that can be so marked. The following examples should be studied carefully.

Multiple negation	Ништа овде није добро. Никад нас нико не зове. Никога не познајем тамо. Она га нигде не види. Ми ништа не знајмо.	Nothing here is [any] good. Nobody ever calls us. I don't know anyone there. She doesn't see him anywhere. We don't know anything.
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E ovde / J ovdje; S,B niko / C nitko; E nigde / J nigdje

base word		negative “partner”	
ko	<i>who</i>	niko	<i>no one</i>
tko	<i>who</i>	nitko	<i>no one</i>
šta, što	<i>what</i>	ništa	<i>nothing</i>
kakav	<i>what kind</i>	nikakav	<i>not any</i>
kako	<i>how</i>	nikako	<i>in no way</i>
kada	<i>when</i>	nikada	<i>never</i>
gde	<i>where</i>	nigde	<i>nowhere</i>
gdje	<i>where</i>	nigdje	<i>nowhere</i>
čiji	<i>whose</i>	ničiji	<i>no one's</i>
jedan	<i>one, a</i>	nijedan	<i>not a single</i>

S,B ko / C tko; S,B niko / C nitko; S,B šta / C što; S,B ništa / C ništo; E gde / J gdje; E nigde / J nigdje

56b. Contrastive negation, review

When **ne** precedes a verb, it is unaccented. Whether or not it draws the accent from the verb (review [25a]), there is still only one accent for the entire unit of negation + verb. When **ne** refers to some other part of the sentence, however, it is said to express *contrastive negation*. In such instances, the speaker makes a point of saying ...NOT this BUT that. In these instances, the particle **ne** does bear accent. As an example, the exchange below includes one instance of verbal negation and two of contrastive negation; the contrastive **ne** is marked in SMALL CAPITALS. Note that English *not* in such examples also bears a stronger accent.

– Ne misli na ljubav, već na poeziju.	<i>“S/he thinks not of love but of poetry.”</i>
– Zašto NE na ljubav?	<i>“Why not about love?”</i>
– Zato što voli reči, a NE ljudi.	<i>“Because s/he likes words, not people.”</i>

E reči / J riječi

56c. Negative conjunctions

The English ideas *either ... or* and *both ... and* are expressed by repeating (or *doubling*) the BCS conjunctions meaning *or* and *and*, respectively (review [10]). Similarly, the negative idea of English *neither ... nor* is expressed by doubling the negated conjunction **ni**. The doubled conjunction **niti** can also express this meaning, with a slightly stronger overtone. When the two words which are contrasted are verbs, only the doubled conjunction **niti** can be used.

ili ... ili	Ili dolazi ili ne dolazi!	<i>Either s/he's coming or s/he's not!</i>
i ... i	Mi čitamo i latiničku i ciriličku.	<i>We read both Latin and Cyrillic.</i>
ni ... ni	Ne možeš ni jedno ni drugo.	<i>You can't [do / have] either [the] one or [the] other.</i>
	Ni on ni ja ne mislimo tako.	<i>Neither he nor I think that.</i>
niti ... niti	Niti on niti ja ne mislimo tako. Ona niti jede niti piće.	<i>Neither he nor I think that. She neither eats nor drinks.</i>

When the conjunction **ni** is used alone, it means *not... either or not even* (depending on the context). The verb is still negated. But when the conjunction **niti** appears alone at the beginning of a clause or sentence, it cancels out other negatives. In the first example below, the first verb is negated in the normal manner, with negative marking on both the verb and the pronoun object. But because the second verb is introduced by **niti**, no other negative marking is needed (or possible). Similarly, if **ni** precedes **ne** directly, it is replaced by the non-negative conjunction **i**, as in the third example.

niti alone	Nikoga ne vodi niti išta nosi u školu.	<i>S/he takes no one and nothing to school. [= S/he doesn't take any person / animal nor does s/he take any thing to school.]</i>
ni alone	Ona ni to ne želi da čuje. On i ne želi da sluša.	<i>She doesn't want to hear that either. He doesn't even want to listen.</i>

C,S u školu / B u školu; S,B ne želi da čuje / B,C ne želi čuti; S,B ne želi da sluša / C,B ne želi slušati

56d. Negated questions; “tag” questions

Speakers who ask what is called a yes-no question (review [8b]) either expect an affirmative answer or do not have any particular expectation. But when a speaker expects a negative answer, or when an element of surprise is present in the question, s/he will negate the verb of the question. For example, the English question *are you coming tonight?* is a relatively natural request for information, while the question *aren't you coming tonight?* expresses either surprise, an element of regret at a suspected negative answer, or both.

The meaning of a BCS negative question is similar to that of English. In form, though, it has one additional element. In addition to negating the verb, one also places the particle **zar** at the beginning of the sentence. The following pairs illustrate the contrast: the first member of each pair is a neutral question, and the second is its negated counterpart. The overtones of emotion in

the latter are shown by the added elements in the English translations. In Croatian (and to a lesser extent in Bosnian), it is also possible to add the particle **li** to a sentence with a negated verb.

neutral	Je li naš jezik težak zà vas?	<i>Is our language hard for you?</i>
negated	Zar nìje naš jezik težak zà vas?	<i>Isn't our language [really] hard for you?</i>
	Nìje li naš jezik težak za vas? [C]	[same]
neutral	Možemo li biti vani do 10?	<i>Can we stay out until 10?</i>
negated	Zar nè možemo biti vani do 10?	<i>Can't we stay out until 10? [Why not?]</i>
	Nè možemo li biti vani do 10? [C]	[same]

C,B je li / S,B da li je; B zà vas / S,C za vas; B,C,S zar nìje / C,B nìje li; C,B možemo li / S,B da li možemo; C,B možemo biti / S,B možemo da budemo; C,B vani / S napolju; B,C,S zar ne možemo / C,B ne možemo li

One can also add a *tag question* at the end of a phrase. In English, tag questions repeat a negated form of the verbal auxiliary used in the particular sentence, adding phrases such as *isn't it?* *don't they?* *aren't you?* or the like. BCS, by contrast, adds the unchanging phrase **zar ne** at the end of the statement. When the particle **zar** is used without negation, it conveys a strong sense of surprise (and possible doubt).

tag question	Možemo biti vani do 10, zar ne?	<i>We can stay out until 10, can't we?</i>
	Naš jezik je dosta težak, zar ne?	<i>Our language is pretty hard, isn't it?</i>
	Vì govorìte naš jezik, zar ne?	<i>You speak our language, don't you?</i>
non-negated	Zar je već ovdje?!	<i>S/he's here already?! Is s/he really here?</i>
	Zar to znaju?	<i>Do they really know that? [I wonder...]</i>

C,B možemo biti / S,B možemo da budemo; C,B vani / S napolju; J ovdje / E ovde

57 Genitive plural

There are three Gpl. endings for nouns, **-a**, **-i**, and **-u**, and only one for adjectives: **-ih**. The ending **-u** is found in such a small group of nouns that it is generally considered to be irregular (see [110a]); nearly all nouns take either **-a** or **-i**. But there are a number of unexpected additional features connected with the Gpl. endings. First, these endings are distinctively long – indeed, markedly so. Even speakers who do not otherwise maintain vowel length outside of accented syllables will pronounce Gpl. endings with a long vowel. Second, the ending **-a** requires the addition of an extra syllable in many instances, plus additional changes in the word. Finally, there is a certain unpredictability as to which endings go with which nouns, and which nouns require the addition of the extra syllable.

57a. The genitive plural ending **-a**

The ending **-a** is used by all neuter nouns, practically all masculine nouns, and many feminine nouns. This ending, itself a long vowel, requires that the vowel preceding it also be lengthened, no matter what it is. Very often this preceding vowel is **a**, simply because the Gpl. ending **-a** frequently requires the insertion of another **a**. For masculine nouns with fleeting **-a-**, this inserted vowel is often viewed as a return of the fleeting **-a-**, especially inasmuch as the voicing assimilation occasioned by the disappearance of fleeting **-a-** is now “undone”, and the stem-final consonant of the Nsg. is restored; in the case of nouns ending in **-lac**, one sees the return of the **l** which had shifted to **o** when the fleeting **-a-** was lost (review [47]). For the reasoning behind calling it an inserted vowel rather than a returned fleeting vowel, see [167h].

Other nouns – feminine and neuter as well as masculine – insert **a** whenever the stem ends in two consonants OTHER THAN **-st**, **-zd**, **-št**, **-žd**, **-žt**, or- **šč**, or- **čč**. For these nouns, the addition of this **a** creates an additional syllable in the word, one not present in the Nsg. form. Certain nouns may have variant forms without the inserted **a** (for more discussion, see [157]). Sometimes feminine nouns may surprise one with their stem shape. For instance, the consonant **z** in Gpl. **svezaka** does not occur in any other form of the word **sveska**, nor does the consonant **ž** in Gpl. **bilježaka** occur in any other form of the word **bilješka**.

The examples below illustrate the insertion (or non-insertion) of **a** in Gpl. forms. Note that the vowel preceding the Gpl. ending is always lengthened, regardless of whether it is original or inserted. The Gpl. in **-a** also sometimes causes unexpected accent shifts.

	Nsg.	Gsg.	Npl.	Gpl.
with fleeting -a-	pas	psa	psi	pasa
	Bosanac	Bosanca	Bosanci	Bosanaca
	vrabac	vrapca	vrapci	vrabaca
	predak	pretka	preci	predaka
	pratilac	pratioca	pratioci	pratilaca
with inserted -a-	student	studenta	studenti	studena ^{ta}
	sestra	sestre	sestre	sestar ^a
	devojka	devojke	devojke	devojaka
	sveska	svesk ^e	sveske	svezaka
	pismo	pisma	pisma	pisama
without -a-	most	mosta	mostovi	mostova
	prijatelj	prijatelja	prijatelji	prijatelja
	jezik	jezika	jezici	jezika
	selo	sel ^a	sel ^a	sel ^a
	gnezdo	gnezd ^a	gnezda	gnezda

S sveska / B teka / C bijležnica; E devojka / J djevojka; E gnezdo / J gnijezdo

57b. The genitive plural ending **-i**

The genitive plural ending **-i** is required by all feminine nouns in **-Ø**, a few masculine nouns, and a sizeable number of feminine nouns in **-a** whose stems end in two consonants. Other than this, it is not possible to predict with certainty which nouns will take this ending. Three masculine nouns take it consistently; a few more take it as a variant form (alongside the ending in **-a**). Many more feminine nouns in **-a** take the ending **-i**, although here too there is a great deal of variation. Some take it consistently; many more take it as a variant form. The choice of this ending can be partially predicted by the shape of the stem: certain consonant groups tend to favor **-i** and disfavor **-a**. For more discussion, see [157].

Of the masculine nouns, one, **Ijudi**, occurs only in the plural, and another, **sat**, has two different meanings. The Gpl. ending **-i** is used only in the meaning *hour*; when **sat** means *clock*, the Gpl. ending **-a** is used. The chart below lists these three, as well as several examples of feminine nouns. The Gpl. in **-i** is obligatory for feminine nouns in **-Ø**, but largely optional for feminine nouns in **-a**. Of the latter group, the examples cited below are among the feminine nouns that almost always take **-i**.

	Nsg.	Gsg.	Npl.	Gpl.
masculine	sat	sata	sati	sati
	mesec	meseca	meseci	meseci
	- - -	- - -	ljudi	ljudi
feminine -a	majka	majke	majke	majki
	Bosanka	Bosanke	Bosanke	Bosanki
	borba	borbe	borbe	borbi
feminine -Ø	stvar	stvari	stvari	stvari
	ljubav	ljubavi	ljubavi	ljubavi
	riječ	riječi	riječi	riječi

E mesec / J mjesec; J riječ / E reč

*but Gpl. satova clocks

57c. Nouns and adjectives in genitive plural

The following chart gives examples of noun + adjective phrases in Gpl. The examples are arranged by gender as in earlier charts, despite the fact that the correlations of gender and ending are weak at best in Gpl. This is because noun endings -i and -a are shared among genders (especially the ending -a), and there is no gender distinction at all in adjective endings.

	masculine	neuter	feminine
Nsg.	crn pas	dug mesec	kratko pismo
Npl.	crni psi	dugi meseci	kratka pisma
Gpl.	crnih pasa	dugih meseci	kratkih pisama

E mesec / J mjesec

58 Numbers: 5 - 10 and beyond

Different BCS numbers follow different sets of rules. Those from 1 through 20 are single words (as are multiples of 10 and 100). All other numbers higher than 20 are compounds containing more than one word. In this latter group, it is the final word which determines the form of the following noun. That is, the numbers 21, 31, 41 etc. follow the same rules as the number 1, and the numbers 22-24, 32-34, 42-44 etc. follow the same rules as the numbers 2-4. For more detail, and examples, see [124a]. The following reviews the form of and usage of single-word numbers.

58a. Numbers up to 10, review

The number 1 is an adjective modifying a noun (review [36c]): it takes whatever case is required by the noun in the sentence. The numbers 2, 3, and 4 take the counting form, a form of nouns and adjectives which is similar to Gsg. but not identical with it (review [46a]). The numbers 5 through 10 are followed by the Gpl. form of the noun being counted.

1: various	jedan velik grad jedno važno pitanje jedna lijepa djevojka	I large city I important question I pretty girl
2-4: count form	dva [tri, četiri] velika grada dva [tri, četiri] važna pitanja dve [tri, četiri] lepe djevojke dvije [tri, četiri] visoke zgrade	2 [3, 4] large cities 2 [3, 4] important questions 2 [3, 4] pretty girls 2 [3, 4] tall buildings

5-10: Gpl.

pet velikih gradova	5 large cities
šest važnih pitanja	6 important questions
sedam lijepih djevojaka	7 pretty girls
osam visokih zgrada	8 tall buildings
devet pametnih rukovodilaca	9 intelligent managers
deset američkih studenata	10 American students

J lijepa djevojka / E lepa devojka; E dve / J dvije; J lijepih djevojaka / E lepih devojaka

58b. Numbers beyond 10

Both the teens (11 -19) and the decades (multiples of 10) are formed by adding a suffix to the simple numbers, with certain minor spelling adjustments. The suffix which forms the teens is **-naest**, and that which forms the decades is **-deset**. These numbers are given below; for more detailed discussion, see [123a].

11	jedanaest	20	dvadeset
12	dvanaest	30	trideset
13	trinaest	40	četrdeset
14	četrnaest	50	pedeset
15	petnaest	60	šezdeset
16	šesnaest	70	sedamdeset
17	sedamnaest	80	osamdeset
18	osamnaest	90	devedeset
19	devetnaest	100	sto

58c. Number phrases as subject

If a counted phrase is the subject of a sentence, it takes a singular verb if the number is 1 and a plural verb if the number is 2, 3 or 4. If the number is 5 or more, however, the verb is in the singular. This is because the sentence is considered to be subjectless (review [48] and see [63, 141]). Below are examples; for more, see [124b].

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| 1 | Један студент чита, а други пише.
Познајем само једну такву жену.
Једно писмо је за тебе, друго за њу. | One student reads and the other writes.
I only know one such woman.
One letter is for you and the other for her. |
| 2 | Сутра долазе два студента.
Две студенткиње пишу задатке. | Two students are coming tomorrow.
Two students are writing their homework. |
| 3 | Три су писма код мене.
Сутра долазе моје три сестре. | Three [of the] letters are with me.
My three sisters are coming tomorrow. |
| 4 | Све четири птице певају.
Та четири ћака много уче. | All four birds are singing.
Those four pupils are studying a lot. |
| 5 | Пет дебелих паса иде у град. | Five fat dogs are going to town. |
| 6 | Не учи свих шест студената добро. | Not all six students study well. |
| 7 | Седам патуљака гледа лепотицу. | The seven dwarves gaze at the beauty. |
| 8 | Чека те осам писама. | Eight letters are awaiting you. |

9 | Девет људи долази у госте.

Nine people are coming to visit.

10 | Десет храбрих војника се бори за живот.

Ten brave soldiers are fighting for their lives.

S,C za tebe / B za tebe; S,C za nju / B za nju; E dve / J dvije; S,B zadatke / C zadaće; S,B kod mene / B kod mene; E pevaju / J pjevaju; S,C u grad / B u grad; S,B studentkinje / C,B studentice; E lepoticu / J ljepoticu

59 Partitive genitive, continued

Many of the meanings of the genitive case express measure in one way or another. Numbers express measure, of course, and so does the partitive direct object (review [45]). There are also other words expressing the general idea of measuring, after which the genitive must be used.

59a. Adverbs of measure, and count vs. mass nouns

Adverbs of measure, such as *many*, *few*, *lots*, *several*, and the like, must be followed by the genitive case of the noun in question. If the noun is one denoting objects that can be counted, it is called a *count noun*, and must take the Gpl. form. But if the noun denotes a substance that cannot be divided up into countable units, it is called a *mass noun*, and must take the Gsg. form. Here are examples both of count and mass nouns, and of some of the more common adverbs of measure:

count nouns (Gen.pl.)

Koliko studenata?	<i>How many students?</i>
mnogo djevojaka	<i>many girls</i>
malo momaka	[very] few young men
puno pisama	lots of letters
dosta gresaka	quite a few errors
nekoliko gradova	several cities
mass nouns (Gen.sg.)	
malo vode	<i>a little water</i>
mnogo snega	<i>a lot of snow</i>
dosta kiše	<i>a fair amount of rain</i>

J djevojka / E devojka; E sneg / J snijeg

When such a phrase is the subject of a sentence, the verb is 3sg. and the sentence is technically subjectless. Below are two examples; for more examples and discussion, see [63, 141c].

Mnogo djevojaka ide u grad.
Malo studenata to zna.*Many girls are going to town.
[Only] a few students know that.*

J djevojaka / E devojka; B u grad / S,C u grad

English speakers must take care not to transfer their conceptions of the concepts “count” and “mass” automatically into BCS, as the membership in the two categories is not the same in all instances. For example, the English noun *bread* is a mass noun: in order to make it function as a count noun, English speakers must speak of *a loaf of bread*, *a piece of bread*, or the like. But in BCS, the nouns **kruh** and **hleb / hljeb** can be either count or mass nouns. The same is true for the English noun *money* vs. its BCS counterpart **novac**. For another example, the English nouns *advice* and *information* are mass nouns only, whereas their BCS counterparts are count nouns only.

E mass, BCS mass
E mass, BCS countŽeliš li hljeba?
Evo dva hljeba.*Do you want some bread?**Here's two pieces [/ loaves] of bread.*E mass, BCS mass
E mass, BCS countNe mogu, nemam novca.
Ne mogu, nemam novaca.*I can't, I don't have any money.**[same]*

E mass, BCS count	Imam za tebe dva saveta. Hvala za ta tri obaveštenja.	I have two pieces of advice for you. Thanks for those three bits of information.
-------------------	--	---

C želiš li / S,B da li želiš; J hljeb / E hleb; B,S hljeb (hleb) / B,C kruh; B za tebe / C,S za tebe; E dva saveta / J dva savjeta; S ta tri obaveštenja / C,B te tri obavijesti

59b. “Existentials”: *ima* and *nema*

The verbs **imati** and **nemati** mean *have* and *not have*, respectively. But their 3sg. forms also have a very different meaning, sometimes referred to as *existential*. When used in this context, these forms communicate simply the presence (existence) or absence (non-existence) of something or someone. It is ONLY the 3sg. forms that are used in this meaning. The closest English translation for **ima** is “there is / are [some]”, and the closest English translation for **nema** is “there isn’t / aren’t [any]”. Students who know French, German, Russian or Spanish will find closer equivalents to the BCS existentials, as given below. Note that all these languages also use a 3sg. unchanging verb in this meaning.

	French	German	Russian	Spanish
ima	il y a	es gibt	есть	hay
nema	il n'y a pas [de]	es gibt kein	нет	no hay

When **ima** refers to a singular count noun, it is frequently followed by the word **jedan** and a noun in Nsg. (Croatian can also use **je** in this meaning). Only nouns can be used after **ima** in this way. But when **ima** refers to a mass noun or to any plural noun, or is followed by something other than a noun or noun phrase, it requires the genitive case. The meaning of a sentence with **ima** + plural noun is often a partitive one, which can be conveyed in English by the adjectives *some* or *any*, or by phrases such as *of them*. As the examples below illustrate, however, English can often convey the partitive meaning of **ima** + Gpl. even without such words.

Nema must be followed by the genitive, regardless of whether the noun is singular or plural, mass or count. A phrase containing **nema** + noun can either refer to the simple absence of something, or it can carry the negative partitive meaning conveyed by the English expressions *not a single* or *not any*. In the latter instance, BCS sometimes adds the modifiers **nijedan** “not one” or **nikakav** “no kind”. All instances of **ima** and **nema** followed by the genitive constitute subjectless sentences; for more discussion, see [63, 141c].

ima + Nsg.	Øvde ima jedna debela knjiga. Øvdje je jedna debela knjiga.	There's a big [fat] book here. [same]
ima + Gen.	Tu ima nekoliko debelih knjiga. Danas ima mnogo studenata. Kod vas ima lijepih stvari. Ima li sira ili mlijeka? Koliko ih ima?	There are several big [= fat] books there. There are a lot of students here today. You've [some] very nice things here. Is there [any] cheese or milk? How many [of them] are there?
nema + Gen.	Nema novca! Idemo u banku! Nema vode! Šta da radjimo? Øvde nema nijedne dobre knjige. Øvde nema nikakvih dobrih knjiga.	No money! We're off to the bank! There's no water! What [can] we do? There's not a single good book here. There are no good books here.

E ovde / J ovdje; B kod vas / S,C, kod vas; J lijepih / E lepih; J mlijeka / E mleka; S,B šta / C što

59c. “Distributive” **po**

The idea of distribution is expressed by the preposition **po**, whose object identifies the metric of distribution. English translations often use the words *per*, *each* or *apiece*; the precise translation depends on the context of any one expression. The idea of succession (as in English *one by one*) is also expressed by this preposition. What is unique to both these usages is that the preposition does not require a specific case. Rather, the case of the following noun is determined by the structure of the sentence in which it occurs. Normally, either the nominative or the accusative case follows **po** in these two meanings, as in the examples below. For the forms **svakome** and **im**, see [66], and for their use in these sentences, see [73a].

Nom.	Svi su <u>tu</u> , po jedan iz svake zemlje. A od rakije, svakome po čašica.	<i>Everyone is here, one per country.</i> <i>Everyone gets a small glass of brandy [= as to brandy, a small glass for everyone].</i>
	Ulaze jedan po jedan.	<i>They come in one at a time [= one after another].</i>
Acc.	Daje im svakome po jednu jabuku. Sada ga moraš otkidati list po list.	<i>She gives them one apple apiece.</i> <i>Now you must peel [it] leaf by leaf [= one leaf at a time].</i>

C,B sada ga moraš otkidati / S,B sad moraš da ga otkidaš

60 Verbs taking genitive objects

A few BCS verbs require an object in the genitive case, whereas the corresponding English verb takes a direct object. Indeed, these BCS verbs also look as if they are taking direct objects. Most such verbs are **se**-verbs; since **se**-verbs by definition cannot take an accusative object, this may help the student remember that another case is required. Two very common such verbs are **bojati se** “fear, be afraid [of]” and **sjetiti se** / **setiti se** (imperfective **sjećati se** / **sećati se**) “remember”. Another is **ticati se** “concern”. The latter verb is often used following the conjunction **što**, in a phrase best translated by English *as concerns...* Sometimes, however, the **što** must be translated as *what*. For more on sentences with **što** as subject, see [99, 143h], and for more on **se**-verbs which take objects, see [87b]. For discussion of the particle **god** (seen in the final example) as well as more examples of usage, see [143k].

bojati se	Ne bojim se malih mačaka, bojim se samo velikih pasa.	<i>I'm not afraid of little cats, I'm only afraid of big dogs.</i>
sjećati se	Sjećaš li se naše prve mačke, one bijele?	<i>Do you remember our first cat – that white one?</i>
ticati se	Što se mene tiče, možeš doći kad god želiš, ali rukac je u dva sata.	<i>As far as I'm concerned, you can come when you want, but lunch is at 2.</i>

J sjećati se / E sećati se; C,B sjećaš li se / B,S da li se sjećaš (sećaš); J one bijele / E one bele; C,B možeš doći / S,B možeš da dodeš

61 Time expressions, continued

Most prepositions referring to relationships of time and space take the genitive case; some of these function as adverbs as well. The genitive case is also used, without a preposition, to locate an event in time. Time of the clock is also expressed with prepositional phrases. For more on

time expressions, see [125], and for more on the relationships of prepositions, adverbs, and conjunctions expressing the idea of time, see [143b].

61a. Prepositions and adverbs of time and space

Prepositions meaning *before*, *after*, and *near* take the genitive case. Almost all of these also function as adverbs, with the corresponding meanings *earlier*, *later* (or *afterwards*), and *nearby*. Only the preposition **nakon** “after” does not also do double duty as an adverb. The examples below illustrate usage of these words both as prepositions and adverbs. Note that although the forms are the same, their function within the sentence is not at all the same. On the use of these same words as conjunctions, see [143b].

★ PRE / PRIJE

preposition	Poneđeljak dolazi pre utorka. Nije dobro spavati prije ručka.	<i>Monday comes before Tuesday.</i> <i>It's not good to sleep before lunch.</i>
adverb	Šta obično dolazi prije? Bolje pre nego poslije.	<i>What usually comes first / earliest?</i> <i>Better earlier than later.</i>

★ POSLE / POSLIJE

preposition	Poslije petka dolazi subota. Posle kiše divno miriše. Posle ručka se može spavati.	<i>After Friday comes Saturday.</i> <i>It smells wonderful after the rain.</i> <i>It's O.K. to sleep after lunch.</i>
adverb	Posle, dušo. Sada ne mogu. Bolje prije nego poslije.	<i>Later, sweetheart. I can't [do it] now.</i> <i>Better earlier than later.</i>

★ NAKON

preposition	Nakon ručka se može spavati.	<i>It's O.K. to sleep after lunch.</i>
-------------	------------------------------	--

★ BLIZU

preposition	Ona živi blizu pošte. Ona stoji blizu oca.	<i>She lives near the post office.</i> <i>She's standing near [her] father.</i>
adverb	Vrlo je blizu, možemo pješice.	<i>It's very close [=nearby], we can [go] on foot.</i>

E ponедјелјак / J ponedjeljak; E pre / J прије; B,S шта / C што; J послије / E послије; B,C се може спавати / S,B може да се спава; J пјешице / E пешице; B,C пјешице / S,B пешике (пјешке)

61b. Genitive adjective + noun expressions without preposition

An event can be located in time utilizing a phrase in the genitive case without a preposition. But this can only be done when the BCS point in time is expressed as a phrase including a modifier. If it is expressed by a single word, a preposition must be used (review [23, 67b]). This usage partially corresponds to English, where one must also say *I'll see him NEXT WEEK* (without a preposition). But whereas BCS requires a preposition for days of the week, English allows sentences both with and without a preposition: *I'll see him ON SUNDAY* or *I'll see him SUNDAY*.

Misljam da dolazi idućeg tjedna. Ovog meseca mnogo radimo. Šta radiš iduće godine?	<i>I think he's coming next week.</i> <i>We are working a lot this month.</i> <i>What are you doing next year?</i>
--	--

C идућег тједна / B идуће седмице / S,B идуће недеље (недеље); E недеља / J недеља; E месеца / J мјесеца; B,S шта / C што

61c. Time of the clock

The time of day is identified by the nominative case (with a singular verb), and an event is located at a particular time of day by the preposition **u**. Time before the hour is noted by the preposition **do**, and time after the hour by the conjunction **i**. The word corresponding to English *o'clock* is **sat** "hour" (Gpl. **sati**). In formal announcements of time, Serbian also uses the noun **čas**. The case following the noun is determined by the number. Half past the hour is usually expressed by the adverb **pola** plus the name of the following hour. Numbers do not change form following prepositions.

Nom	Је ли сада четири сата? Сад је један сат.	<i>Is it four o'clock now?</i> <i>It's one o'clock now.</i>
★ U	Ручак је у два сата. Вечера је у осам сати. Предавање је у осам и десет. Обично долази у пет до девет. А ја долазим у пола десет. Воз полази тачно у осам часова.	<i>Lunch is at two o'clock. Dinner is at eight o'clock.</i> <i>The lecture is at ten after eight (8:10).</i> <i>S/he usually comes at five to nine (8:55).</i> <i>But I come at half past nine (9:30).</i> <i>The train leaves at 8:00 sharp.</i>
★ DO	– Колико је сати? – Десет до седам.	<i>"What time is it?"</i> <i>"Ten to seven."</i>

B,C,S je li / S,B da li je; S,B voz / C vlak; S,B tačno / C točno; S časova / C,B sati

62 Non-negative pronouns

When added to interrogative pronouns, the negative prefix **ni-** creates the negative pronouns **niko** / **nitko** "no one" and **ništa** "nothing" (review [56a]). Other prefixes can be added to these same pronouns to create various sorts of non-negative pronouns. One must take particular care with the prefix which creates the indefinite pronouns meaning *someone* and *something*. This is because one might associate the prefix **ne-** with the idea of negation, since it has that meaning when written separately. In this instance, however, it does NOT have negative meaning.

The prefixes **i-** and **sva-** can also be added to create pronouns such as *anyone* / *anything* and *everyone* / *everything*, respectively. Here too, care is necessary, since the pronouns in question are used much less frequently than are their English counterparts. Most instances of English *anyone* or *anything* are used with a negative verb, in which case the BCS negative pronoun must be used. Similarly, the most frequent BCS translations of English *everyone* and *everything* continue to be **svi** and **sve**, respectively (review [36b]). It is more correct to view the pronouns beginning with **i-** as meaning *any at all*, and the ones beginning with **sva-** as *all sorts of*.

prefix ni- no-	Kako nikoga ne čekam?! Baš sada ...	<i>How [can you say] I'm not expecting anyone? Just now ...</i>
prefix ne- some-	... idem na kolodvor dočekati nekoga.	<i>... I'm on my way to the station to pick someone up.</i>
	Netko te čeka, nè znam tko.	<i>Somebody's waiting for you, I don't know who [it could be].</i>
prefix i- any-	Zar ti pišeš čaj bez ičega?	<i>Do you [really] drink tea without anything [at all in it]?</i>
prefix sva- all-	Taj dečak govori svašta.	<i>That boy says all [sorts of nonsense].</i>

C na kolodvor / S,B na železničku (željezničku) stanicu; E železničku / J željezničku; C,B idem dočekati / S,B idem da dočekam; C netko / S,B neko; C tko / S,B ko; E dečak / J dječak

63 Subjectless sentences, continued

There are several sorts of subjectless sentences in BCS. Those with no noun or pronoun present at all usually correspond to English sentences beginning with *it is...* (review [48]). Others do have a noun or pronoun present, but it is not in the nominative case. In such instances, both the meaning of the sentence itself and its English translation lead one to think that this noun somehow ought to be the subject; and some grammarians even speak of such nouns as the *logical subject* of the sentence. Grammatically, however, the sentences still subjectless. This means that the verb is always 3sg. and that the noun in question is in some other case than nominative.

Subjectless sentences in which the logical subject is in the genitive case are of several types: the noun can occur after a number, after an adverb of measure or after the existentials **ima** or **nema**. Clitic pronouns may also serve as the logical subject (if so, they must be in the genitive case). English translations will vary, especially when pronouns are present. The main point is that the verb is always the 3sg. form. Many such sentences concern the composition of groups of people; for more on the use of numbers describing such groups, see [123c, 124c].

A number of idioms also function as subjectless verbs. For example, when it occurs in the idiom meaning *as concerns...*, the verb **ticati se** always takes the 3sg. form.

numbers	Pet devojaka u ^{laži} u sobu. Čeka te sedam pisama. Danas nas je sedam.	<i>Five girls are coming into the room.</i> <i>Seven letters are awaiting you.</i> <i>We are [a group of] seven today.</i>
measure	Koliko ih me ček ^a ? Mnogo te studenata gleda. Malo ih to ^u zna ovih dana.	<i>How many of them are expecting me?</i> <i>Many students are watching you.</i> <i>These days few of them know that.</i>
existential	Koliko vas ima? Nema ih mnogo. Ima nas ovde deset studenata.	<i>How many of you are there?</i> <i>There aren't many of them.</i> <i>We are ten students here [= there are ten of us students here].</i>
ticati se	Što se mene tiče, to nije ni potrebno. Što se ostalog tiče, možete raditi što želite.	<i>As far as I'm concerned, it's not even necessary.</i> <i>As for the rest, you can do what you want.</i>

E devojaka / J djevojaka; E ovde / J ovdje; B,S ostalog / C ostaloga; C,B možete raditi / B,S možete da radite

64 Clitic ordering within the XYZ model

According to the *XYZ* model (review [12b, 29b]), clitics always appear in *Y* position, and must follow a strict order within that position. The *Y* position, in turn, comprises six possible sub-slots. These may now be fully described. The following formula defines the six slots, each occupied either by an abbreviation (representing a word class) or the form of a word itself.

X	Y-1	Y-2	Y-3	Y-4	Y-5	Y-6	Z
	li	be (aux)	dat	acc-gen	se	je	

The abbreviation *be (aux)* in slot *Y-2* refers to the clitic forms of the verb **biti**, minus the 3rd singular form **je**. So far, these forms have been seen in the meaning of *am*, *are*, etc. When these

same forms are used as auxiliary verbs in the past tense (see [69, 104c, 111]), they are placed in the same position in the Y-sequence. Two other types of verbal auxiliary clitics will also come in this position. These are the auxiliaries for the future tense and the conditional mood (for more discussion of these clitics and their usage, see [102] and [137], respectively).

The abbreviations *dat* in slot Y-3 and *acc-gen* in slot Y-4 refer to clitic form object pronouns in the dative case and the accusative/genitive case; for discussion of these clitics, see [66e] and [24a, 42d], respectively. Slots Y-1, Y-5 and Y-6 are occupied by single words, the first two of which are self-explanatory. The third of these, the form **je** of slot Y-6, refers ONLY to the 3sg. form of **biti**. The other form **je**, which means *her, it* (fem.sg. Acc-Gen pronoun object), ALWAYS goes in slot Y-4; for more discussion, see [111]. It is nearly impossible to construct a natural-sounding sentence with all six positions filled; indeed, sentences with five of the six are rare (and usually constructed only by linguists). Sentences with two and three clitics are quite common, however, and even four clitics are heard on occasion. The relevant point is that any time there is more than even one clitic in a single clause, they must ALL occur relative to each other in the order given above.

As the student gains more proficiency in the language, s/he will encounter sentences of greater complexity as concerns clitics. The advantage of the XYZ model is that it can account for all the different kinds of combinations of clitics. The examples below utilize this model to discuss the placement of object clitics in several different sorts of sentences. Sentences 1-4 illustrate a se-verb which takes a genitive object. In this type of sentence, slots Y-4 and Y-5 are occupied. No variation is possible: sentences with such clitics can only take this form. The remaining sets illustrate the placement of object clitics in slot Y-4, especially as concerns the feminine singular object pronoun **je**. If the pronoun is the only clitic in the sentence or clause, the rules are straightforward, as seen in sentences 5-7 and again in sentence 8. However, if the sentence also contains the 3sg. verb form **je** (whose place is slot Y-6), most BCS speakers will substitute the object pronoun **ju** for **je** (in order to avoid the sequence **je + je**). This is seen in sentence 8.

	X	Y	Z	
1	To	1 2 3 4 5 6	nè <u>tiče</u> .	<i>That doesn't concern him.</i>
2	Ne <u>tiče</u>		to.	<i>It doesn't concern him.</i>
3	Da	li	<u>to</u> <u>tiče</u> ?	<i>Does that concern him?</i>
4	<u>Tiče</u>	li	<u>to</u> ?	[same]
5	Ne mogu	je	vidjeti.	<i>I can't see her.</i>
6	Ne mogu da	je	vidim.	[same]
7	Teško je da	je	vidiš.	<i>It's hard to see her.</i>
8	Teško	ju	je	vidjeti. [same]
9	Prijatelji	je	često vide.	<i>Friends see her often.</i>
10	Teško	je	je	vidjeti. <i>It's hard to see her. [B]</i>
11	Prijatelji	ju	često vide.	<i>Friends see her often. [C]</i>

Sentence 8 represents the preferred order in both Croatian and Serbian. But in Bosnian, the sequence **je + je** is also acceptable, and sentences like 10 are heard frequently alongside those like 8. In Croatian, however, only the sequence **ju + je** is possible. Indeed, Croatian sometimes uses **ju** instead **je** even when no contrast is required. Thus, whereas sentences like 8 are the norm throughout BCS, sentences like 11 can also be heard in Croatian.

CHAPTER 6

65 Present tense, continued

In many *e*-conjugation verbs, the shape of the infinitive stem is different from that of the present tense stem. In some instances, the stem-final consonant is altered, according to a complex but predictable set of consonant shifts (for a full list, see [112c]). In other instances, an additional segment is inserted into the present tense stem. It can be a vowel, as in the case of **zvati** (1sg. **zovem**, review [7a]), or it can be a consonant, as in the case of **uzeti** (1sg. **uzmem**, review [52f]). A few verbs make changes in both the consonant and the vowel, and some defy expectations by making no changes at all. The set of conjugation types seems endless, but in fact it is quite manageable if one organizes it into recognizable types, each with its own model verb. These types are being presented gradually; for the full set, see [103a].

65a. Type *pisati*, continued

The characteristic feature of this type is the shift of the stem-final consonant from one form in the infinitive to another in the present. This process is often called *softening*, because the present tense stem consonant is considered to be a softened version of the infinitive stem consonant (for more on consonant softening, see [112]). So far, five such examples have been seen, exemplified by the verbs **pisati** (**s** > **š**), **kazati** (**z** > **ž**), **kretati** (**t** > **ć**), **mahati** (**h** > **š**), and **micati** (**c** > **č**); review [14b, 52e]. A sixth is the shift **g** > **ž**. Two common verbs with this shift are **pomagati** “help” and **polagati** “put; sit [an exam]”. In each of these, the infinitive stem-final consonant **-g** shifts to **-ž** in the present tense stem. For a review of this type, illustrated further here by **pomagati** “help”, see [153e].

pomàgati	help
pòmažem	pòmažemo
pòmažeš	pomažete
pòmaže	pomažu

65b. Verbs which make no consonant shift

Some verbs are considered to belong to the **pisati** type, yet the stem final consonant of the infinitive is the same as that in the present tense. This is usually explained by saying that the consonant is already soft. Here are three such verbs, **orati**, **trajati**, and **počinjati**:

orati	plough
orem	oremo
oreš	orete
ore	oru

trajati	last, endure
trajem	trajemo
traješ	trajete
traje	traju

počinjati	begin
pòčinjem	pòčinjemo
pòčinješ	pòčinjete
pòčinje	pòčinju

65c. Type *slati*

Like **zvati** (review [7a]), the verb **slati** “send” inserts a vowel into the present tense stem. Here, however, the added vowel is **a**. This verb is also unique in that it shifts both the initial stem consonant (**s** > **š**) and the final stem consonant (**l** > **lj**) in the present tense.

slati	send
šaljem	šaljemo
šalješ	šaljete
šalje	šalju

66 Locative and dative cases

The fourth and fifth cases to be learned are the locative and the dative. Because they look the same on the printed page and for all intents and purposes are pronounced identically, the two cases can be considered formally identical. Nearly all grammars list the endings together, using abbreviations such as DLsg. for the singular endings. Some grammars of BCS for foreigners even collapse the two cases altogether and refer only to the dative case. Other grammars, however (and all grammars written by BCS natives), still consider the cases to be separate in terms of meaning. The dative-locative forms are given below as a unit, but the meanings of the two cases are discussed separately: for the usage of the locative, see [67-68], and for the usage of the dative, see [73]. For discussion of the accentual difference which used to distinguish them but now no longer does, see [166b].

66a. Endings of nouns and adjectives

The DLsg. ending for nouns is **-u** for masculine and neuter, and **-i** for all feminines. The DLsg. adjective endings start with **-o**: they are **-om** (masculine-neuter) and **-oj** (feminine). The masculine-neuter ending **-om** appears as **-em** after “soft” consonants (review [32f] and see [167c]), but the feminine ending is always **-oj**, regardless of the shape of the stem-final consonant. The vowels in all these adjective endings are long. As in the Gsg., there are two other possible variants of the masculine-neuter adjective; the one given below is the most frequently used one. For discussion of these endings, review [42c] (Gsg.), and see [66b] (DLsg.).

DATIVE-LOCATIVE SINGULAR, NOUNS

	masculine	neuter	feminine
Nsg.	-Ø	-o / -e	-a
DLsg.	-u		-i

DATIVE-LOCATIVE SINGULAR, ADJECTIVES

	masculine	neuter	feminine
Nsg. short	-Ø	-o / -e	-a
Nsg. long	-i	-o / -e	-a
DLsg.	-om / -em		-oj

If the final consonant of a feminine noun in **-a** is **-k**, **-g** or **-h**, this consonant usually shifts to **-c**, **z** or **-s**, respectively, before the DLsg ending **-i**. This is the same shift undergone by masculine nouns before the Npl. ending **-i** (review [32b]). In the Npl. of masculine nouns, the shift takes place without exception. But in the feminine DLsg. there are numerous exceptions: a number of nouns which are in principle subject to the shift instead retain the Nsg. stem-final consonant in its original form. There is variation on this point, and no way to predict with certainty which nouns make the shift and which do not. In general, however, nouns which usually keep the consonant unshifted include proper nouns, names of professions, and nouns with stems ending in **-čk**, among others. Examples can be found in [68a]; for more discussion, see [158].

Below are examples of noun-adjective phrases in the dative-locative singular. Note once again that adjective agreement is determined by gender. Thus, masculine nouns such as **gazda** follow the declension of feminine nouns in **-a** (DLsg. **gazdi**), but take a masculine adjective.

	masculine	neuter	feminine -a	feminine -Ø
Nsg. short	sladak pas	slatko selo	slatka ideja	slatka stvar
Nsg. long	slatk <small>i</small> pas	slatko selo	slatka ideja	slatka stvar
Nsg. short	smed <small>ž</small> pas	loše selo	dobra bânska	loša stvar
Nsg. long	smed <small>ži</small> pas	loše selo	dobra bânska	loša stvar
Nsg. short	dobar gazda		loša knjiga	
Nsg. long	dobr <small>i</small> gazda		loša knjiga	
Nsg. short	loš gazda		nova svrha	
Nsg. long	loš <small>ž</small> gazda		nova svrha	
Dlsg.	slatk <small>om</small> psu	slatk <small>om</small> selu	slatkoj ideji	slatkoj stvari
	smeđ <small>em</small> psu	loš <small>em</small> selu	dobroj bânci	lošoj stvari
	dobrom gazdi		lošoj knjizi	
	lošem gazdi		novoj svrsi	

66b. Short, long, and longer adjective forms

Just as they do in Gsg., masculine-neuter adjectives also have *short*, *long*, and *longer* forms in DLsg. The short forms, which end in **-u**, are heard only rarely outside Croatia (and they are not particularly common in Croatia, either). The longer forms are used with the same frequency and under the same conditions as in the Gsg. (review [42c]). In addition, two different longer forms are possible in DLsg. One adds the final vowel **-e**, and the other adds the final vowel **-u**.

Bosnian and Serbian use these two longer forms more or less interchangeably. Croatian, however, normally makes a distinction between them. According to Croatian grammarians, the one ending in **-e** carries locative meaning and the one ending in **-u** carries dative meaning (Croatian usage is not completely consistent on this point, however). There is also a difference as concerns the longer forms: Croatian uses them more frequently than do Serbian or Bosnian.

	short	long	longer	
Nsg.	do <u>bar</u> mo <u>j</u> , nj <u>egov</u>	do <u>bri</u> , èngles <u>ki</u>		
DLsg.	do <u>bru</u>	do <u>bro<u>m</u></u> èngles <u>k<small>om</small></u> mo <u>m</u> (mojem) nj <u>egov<u>u</u></u>	[Dative*] do <u>bro<u>m<u>u</u></u> èngles<u>k<small>om<u>u</u></small></u></u> mo <u>m<u>u</u></u> (mojem <u>u</u>) nj <u>egov<u>om<u>u</u></u> **</u>	[Locative*] do <u>bro<u>m<u>e</u></u> èngles<u>k<small>om<u>e</u></small></u></u> mo <u>m<u>e</u></u> (mojem <u>e</u>) nj <u>egov<u>om<u>e</u></u></u>

* distinction usually made in C; interchangeable in B and S

** form possible only in C

66c. Dat-Loc interrogative pronouns

The dative-locative forms for *who* and *what* use the same stems as the genitive forms. There is only one dative-locative form of **šta / što**, and this is **čemu**. In the case of **ko / tko**, however, two forms are possible. The general form is **kome**, which is used throughout BCS in the general dative-locative meaning. Croatian can also use **komu**, usually with dative meaning.

	WHO	WHAT
<i>Nom</i>	ko / tko	šta / što
<i>Acc</i>	koga	šta / što
<i>Gen</i>	koga	čega
<i>Dat</i>	kome, komu	čemu
<i>Loc</i>	kome	čemu

B,S ko, šta / C, tko, što; S,B kome / C kome, komu

66d. Full form object pronouns, dative-locative

The full (long) form object pronouns are exactly the same in the dative and locative cases. The locative case has only full form pronoun objects. The chart below gives these forms, along with the nominative and genitive case forms for comparison.

FULL FORMS	SINGULAR			PLURAL		
	Nom	Gen	Dat-Loc	Nom	Gen	Dat-Loc
1st	ja	mene	meni	mi	nas	nama
2nd	tí	tebe	tebi	vi	vas	vama
3rd masc	on	njega	njemu	oni	njih	njima
3rd neut	ono	njega	njemu	ona	njih	njima
3rd fem	ona	nje	njoj	one	njih	njima

66e. Clitic object pronouns: dative only

The clitic (short) form pronoun objects are used in the meaning *dative* only. They are given below alongside the genitive case clitic pronouns for comparison. If both Dat and Gen-Acc short form pronouns occur in the same clause, the dative must always come first. For discussion and examples presented according to the XYZ model, see [76].

CLITIC FORMS	SINGULAR			PLURAL		
	Nom	Gen	Dat	Nom	Gen	Dat
1 st	ja	me	mi	mi	nas	nam
2 nd	tí	te	ti	vi	vas	vam
3rd masc	on	ga	mu	oni	ih	im
3rd neut	ono	ga	mu	ona	ih	im
3rd fem	ona	je	joj	one	ih	im

In the genitive-accusative, the usage difference between full and clitic forms is very clear: full forms occur only after prepositions and to mark strong emphasis (review [24b]). But in the dative, the difference between full and clitic forms is usually quite slight. Only when dative pronouns occur as verb objects can one say that the relationship between full and clitic forms is similar to that in Gen-Acc. For examples, see [73a-b].

66f. Names of countries and languages

Several frequently used country names are in fact feminine singular adjectives. Because the endings of feminine *a*-stem nouns and adjectives are the same in Nsg., Asg., and Gsg., this fact is less apparent when the country names are used in these case forms. The endings are quite different in DLsg., however, and one must consciously remember to add not noun endings but ADJECTIVE endings to these words. Speakers of English, for whom the proper names *France*, *Germany*, *England* and the like are indisputably nouns, will have to pay particular attention here. All names of languages are also adjectival in form; consequently they must also take adjective endings. Furthermore since language names are masculine in gender, one must remember this fact not only for DLsg., but also for Gsg. This will be less of a problem for English speakers, however, since language names such as *French*, *German*, and *Spanish* look like (and are) adjectives in English too.

In the chart below, forms which may cause confusion for English speakers are identified with an asterisk (*). Note that while English capitalizes both country and language names, BCS

capitalizes only the name of the country. Whenever the adjective ending **-ski** (or any of its variants such as **-čki**, **-čki** or **-ški**) is added to form an adjective from a proper noun (such as the name of a city), the adjective in question is not capitalized. The only exceptions are when such an adjective occurs as the first word of a name. Thus one writes **beogradski način života** “the Belgrade way of life” but **Beogradski univerzitet** “Belgrade University”.

	Nom	Acc	Gen	Dat-Loc	
country language	Fràncuska francuski	Fràncusku francuski	Fràncuske francuskog *	Fràncuskoj * francuskom *	France French
country language	Njèmačka njèmački	Njèmačku njèmački	Njèmačke njèmačkog *	Njèmačkoj * njèmačkom *	Germany German
country language	Èngleska èngleski	Ènglesku èngleski	Èngleske èngleskog *	Èngleskoj * èngleskom *	England English
country language	Španjòlska španjolski	Španjolsku španjolski	Španjolske španjolskog *	Španjolskoj * španjolskom *	Spain Spanish

J Njemačka / E Nemačka; J njemački / E nemački; C,B Španjolska / S Španija; C,B španjolski / S španski

67 The prepositions *u* and *na* with the locative case

The prepositions **u** and **na** are used frequently with the accusative case in a number of meanings (review [23c-d, 34c, 55a-b, 156b-c]). The same two prepositions are also used with the locative case, but with markedly different meanings.

67a. The prepositions *u* and *na* in the meaning location

When the noun following the preposition **u** or **na** is in the Acc., the meaning is often that of *motion towards*. In such instances, **u** and **na** are usually translated by English *to*, *into*, *onto* or the like. But when the noun following either of these prepositions is in the Loc., the idea is one of *location*. When used with the locative, therefore, these prepositions are usually translated by English *at*, *on*, *in*, or the like. The following examples illustrate this use of **u** and **na**. For more on the opposition of motion vs. location, see [67c].

★ U	<p>Мара је сад у школи. Моја свекрва живи у Београду. Шта то држиш у руци? Она студира на Београдском универзитету. Ми сад живимо у Америци. Дивно је унутрашњости земље.</p>	<p>Mara's at school now. My mother-in-law lives in Belgrade. What's that you have in your hand? She's a student [= studies at] Belgrade university. We are living in America now. It's marvelous in the interior [of the country].</p>
★ NA	<p>Вечерас су на концерту. Моји родитељи живе на острву. Зашто се играте на улици? Сада су на факултету. Вероватно слушају предавања. Живе на периферији града.</p>	<p>They're at a concert this evening. My parents live on an island. Why do you play in the street? They're on campus now. Probably they're in class [= listening to lectures]. They live in the outskirts of the city.</p>

S,B šta / C što; S na Beogradskom univerzitetu / B na (Sarajevskom) univerzitetu / C na (Zagrebačkom) sveučilištu;
S,B na ostrvu / C na otoku; E verovatno / J vjerovatno; S,B verovatno (vjerovatno) / C vjerojatno

67b. Specific nouns as **u**-words or **na**-words

The prepositions **u** and **na** can be used with either the accusative or the locative case, depending on the meaning desired. Although both prepositions carry a similar meaning (*motion towards* with Acc. and *location* with Loc.), they are not interchangeable. If a noun can be used as the object of one of these two, it will consistently take either one or the other (regardless of whether it is used with the accusative or the locative). In other words, if a noun takes **u** + Acc., it will also take **u** + Loc., and if a noun takes **na** + Acc., it will also take **na** + Loc.

One can thus speak of such nouns as **u**-words or **na**-words. In some instances, the distinction is obvious and corresponds to that between the English prepositions *in / into* on the one hand, and *on / onto* on the other. In others, the correspondence with English is less direct, but one can still make the same generalization as in the accusative: **u**-words include those referring to enclosures or areas perceived in three-dimensional specific terms, while **na**-words refer to surfaces and areas perceived either in two-dimensional terms or as more abstract concepts (review [55a]). As a last resort, one must simply learn that certain words require **u** and others require **na** (and make a note of which is which).

Below are several examples of **u**-words and **na**-words. The examples are given in the locative case; accordingly, the English translations use the prepositions *in, on, or at*. Each word can also be used in the accusative case with the meaning of motion (in which case the English translations would be with the prepositions *into, onto or to*). The preposition in BCS would be the same; only the case ending of the noun would be different.

usage with **u**usage with **na**

u sobi	<i>in the room</i>	na stolu	<i>on the table</i>
u torbi	<i>in the bag</i>	na zidu	<i>on the wall</i>
u toj zgradi	<i>in that building</i>	na tom spratu	<i>on that floor</i>
u knjizi	<i>in the book</i>	na papiru	<i>on paper</i>
u gradu	<i>in a city</i>	na otoku	<i>on an island</i>
u Hrvatskoj	<i>in Croatia</i> (a country)	na Hvaru	<i>on Hvar</i> (an island)
u Bugarskoj	<i>in Bulgaria</i> (a country)	na Balkanu	<i>in the Balkans</i> (a general region)
u uredu	<i>in the office</i>	na odmoru	<i>on vacation</i>
u razredu	<i>in the classroom</i>	na casu	<i>in class</i>
u skoli	<i>in school</i>	na fakultetu	<i>on campus</i>
u kazaljstu	<i>at the theater</i>	na univerzitetu	<i>at university</i>
u vrtu	<i>in the garden</i>	na predavanju	<i>at a lecture</i>
u bioskopu	<i>at the movies</i>	na koncertu	<i>at a concert</i>
		na rukcu	<i>at lunch</i>
		na prozoru	<i>at the window</i>
		na ulici	<i>in the street</i>
		na sjeveru	<i>in the north</i>
u tom trenutku	<i>at that moment</i>	na slici	<i>in the picture</i>
u svemiru	<i>in the universe</i>	na nebu	<i>in the sky</i>

S,B na spratu / B,C na katu; C,B na otoku / B,S na ostrvu; C u uredu / B,S u kancelariji; B,S na univerzitetu / C na sveučilištu; B,S na času / C,B na satu; C u kazalištu / B,S u pozorištu; B,S u bioskopu / C,B u kinu; C na kolodvoru / B,S na željezničkoj (železničkoj) stanicu; C,B u vrtu / S,B u bašti; J na sjeveru / E na severu; B,C,S u tom trenutku / S u tom momentu; C,B u svemiru / S u vasioni

Sometimes the same noun can be used with both **u** and **na**, but with a clearly perceptible difference in meaning. Again, the examples below are in the locative, but the same distinctions between **u** and **na** hold if the idea of motion is desired.

usage with **u**

u ovom selu	<i>in this village</i>
u sudu	<i>in the courthouse</i>
u poslu	<i>while doing a job</i>
u moru	<i>in the sea [water]</i>
u tom kraju	<i>in that region</i>
u zemlji	<i>in the earth [soil]</i>

usage with **na**

na selu	<i>in the countryside</i>
na sudu	<i>in court</i>
na poslu	<i>at work</i>
na moru	<i>at the sea[side]</i>
na tom kraju	<i>at that edge / end</i>
na zemlji	<i>on the ground</i>

usage with **u***Nema padeža u engleskom.**There are no cases in English [= in the English language].*usage with **na***Kako se to kaže na engleskom?**How do you say that in English?*usage with **u***U toj planini ima bakra.**There is copper [ore] in that mountain.*usage with **na***Volim biti na planini.**I love being in the mountains.*usage with **u***Ekser je duboko uboden u zidu.**The nail is deeply embedded in the wall.*usage with **na***Koliko ima slike na zidu?**How many pictures are there on the wall?*

B,C,S volim biti / S,B volim da budem; S,B ekser / C,B čavao

67c. Case choice and the ideas of motion vs. location

BCS is consistent not only with respect to prepositions and case use, but also with respect to the concepts of motion and location. Words which take **u** in the meaning *motion towards* must take **iz** in the meaning *motion from*; a similar relationship holds between **na** and **s(a)** (review [55a]). The third member of this set concerns the absence of motion. The prepositions continue to be **u** and **na**, but the meaning is now one of location. The chart below summarizes these relationships, and is followed by several sets of examples illustrating usage. The ideas of motion and location can also be expressed metaphorically (review [34c] and 55a]; see also [156b] and [158b]).

CONCEPT	E preposition	BCS case	BCS preposition
point of origin	⊗ ⇒	from	Genitive
destination	⇒ ⊗	to, into, onto	Accusative
location	⊗	in, at, on	Locative

Loc	Она живи у старом делу Загреба.	<i>She lives in the old part of Zagreb.</i>
Acc	Сваки дан иде у Новији Загреб.	<i>Every day she goes to New Zagreb.</i>
Gen	Али није из Новог Загреба.	<i>But she's not from New Zagreb.</i>
Loc	Лепо је бити на Корчули.	<i>It's lovely to be on Korčula [island].</i>
Acc	Овог лета идемо на Корчулу.	<i>We're going to Korčula this summer.</i>
Gen	Јесте ли ви са Корчуле?	<i>Are you from Korčula?</i>
Loc	Оригинал је написан на кинеском.	<i>The original is written in Chinese.</i>
Acc	Мара га сад преводи на енглески.	<i>Mara is now translating it into English.</i>
Gen	Она добро преводи са кинеског.	<i>She translates well from Chinese.</i>

Loc	Наша кућа је на северу.	<i>Our house is [located] in the north.</i>
Acc	Они путују на север.	<i>They're traveling [to the] north.</i>
Gen	Волим зиму. Ја сам са севера.	<i>I like winter. I'm from the north.</i>

E u delu / J u dijelu; E lepo / J lijepo; E ovog leta / J ovog ljeta; B,C,S jeste li / S,B da li ste; B,S original / C iz-vornik; E sever / J sjever

67d. Time expressions: the preposition **u** + months of the year

When used with the accusative, the preposition **u** locates an event on a particular day of the week (review [23c]). It is a quirk of BCS that the same preposition must be used with the *locative* case to locate an event within a particular month of the year. The names of the months are given below, in both Croatian and Serbian versions. Because a number of these have fleeting -a- in the final syllable, the Gsg. forms are given as well. Bosnian is more likely to use the Serbian names, although variation is possible. For other ways to identify the months of the year, see [124b]. Note that unlike English, BCS does *not* capitalize names of the months.

When used after the preposition **u**, the Serbian / Bosnian month names are sometimes preceded or followed by the word **mesec** / **mjesec**: both this word and the name of the month must be in the locative case. Note further that the Croatian word for *November* is an adjective, and must take masculine adjective endings.

	Croatian		Serbian	
	Nsg	Gsg	Nsg	Gsg
January	siječanj	siječnja	januar	januara
February	veljača	veljače	februar	februara
March	ožujak	ožujka	mart	marta
April	travanj	travnja	aprīl	aprīla
May	svibanj	svibnja	maj	maja
June	lipanj	lipnja	juni	juna
July	srpanj	srpnja	juli	jula
August	kolovoz	kolovoza	avgust	avgusta
September	rujan	rujna	septembar	septembra
October	listopad	listopada	oktobar	oktobra
November	studen	studenog(a)	novembar	novembra
December	prosinac	prošinca	decembar	decembra

C kolovoz / S,B avgust / B august

★ U	Мој рођендан је у октобру. Njezin рођендан је у студеном. Ми у сiječњу mnogo rđimo. У марта месецу може бити kišovito.	My birthday is in October. Her birthday is in November. We work a lot in January. It can be rainy in [the month of] March.
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S, B u oktobru / C u listopadu; C u studenom / S,B u novembru; C u siječnju / S,B u januaru; S,B u martu / C u ožujku; E mesec / J mjesec

68 Other prepositions with the locative case

The name of the *locative* case comes from the fact that it most often serves to express the idea of location. This is clearly seen in the meanings of **u** and **na** with the locative, and is carried through in some other prepositions as well, though less markedly. Certain of the examples below also illustrate several of the noun types among feminine nouns in -a which do not participate in the consonant shift noted in [66a].

68a. The prepositions *o*, *po* and *pri*

A preposition used very frequently with the locative case is **o**, which means *about, concerning*. The preposition **po**, when used with the locative, has a number of meanings. These include *according to, in / around, by*, and the like. The preposition **pri** means *near, by, at*.

★ O	O two <u>joj</u> knjizi g <u>ovore</u> le <u>pe</u> stvar <u>i</u> . Mnogo zna <u>o</u> Banjo <u>j</u> Luka <u>i</u> , a malo o Požegi, Ithaki ili Omaha. – O čemu <u>t<u>o</u></u> g <u>ovore</u> tak <u>o</u> živo?	<i>They say nice things about your book.</i> <i>He knows a lot about Banja Luka, but not much about Požega, Ithaca or Omaha.</i> <i>“What are they talking about in such a lively manner?”</i> <i>“They’re talking about your old parrot and her new toy.”</i>
★ PO	– Što kažu majka i tetka? – Po majci je <u>t<u>o</u></u> sve dobro, a po tetki nikako nije. Po mom mišljenju, sve ide po planu. Vole šetati po starom delu grada. Vole da šetaju i po kiši. Saljem ti <u>t<u>o</u></u> po starom prijatelju.	<i>“What do [your] mother and aunt say?”</i> <i>“It’s all fine according to [my] mother, but not at all according to [my] aunt.”</i> <i>In my opinion [= by my thinking], everything’s going according to plan.</i> <i>They like to walk through the old town.</i> <i>They even like to walk in the rain.</i> <i>I’m sending this to you with an old friend.</i>
★ PRI	Moj posao je sad pri kraju. Imaš li <u>t<u>o</u></u> pri ruci?	<i>My work is nearing its end.</i> <i>Do you have it [ready] at hand?</i>

E lepe / J lijepe; C o staroj papigij / B,S o starom papagaju; C,B njeznoj / B,C,S njenoj; C što / B,S šta; B,C vole šetati; S,B vole da šetaju; E po starom delu / J po starom dijelu; B,C,S po prijatelju / S po drugu

69 Past tense, introduction

The BCS past tense is a compound tense, consisting of an auxiliary verb and an active participle, often referred to as the *L-participle*. The several forms of the auxiliary are exactly equivalent to the forms of the present tense forms of the verb **biti**, seen in [7b] and repeated below.

FULL	NEGATED	CLITIC
jesam jesmo	ni <u>š</u> am ni <u>š</u> mo	sam smo
jesi jeste	ni <u>š</u> i ni <u>š</u> te	si ste
jest(e) jesu	ni <u>š</u> je ni <u>š</u> u	je su

C jest / B,S jeste

The auxiliary is the verbal half of the past tense: it agrees in person (1st, 2nd, or 3rd) and number (singular or plural) with the subject of the sentence. By contrast, the other half of the past tense – the half that carries the actual verbal meaning – has the form of a predicate adjective: it agrees in gender (masculine, neuter or feminine) and number (singular or plural) with the subject of the sentence. It is called the L-participle because its characteristic mark is the consonant **l**, followed by the Nsg. short form adjective endings. As in true adjectives whose stems end in **-l** (review [16c]), this **-l** shifts to **-o** in masculine singular.

To form the L-participle of verbs whose infinitives end in **-ti** preceded by a vowel, drop the **-ti** and add the L-participle endings directly (for the L-participle of other verbs, see [104a]). The chart below gives the L-participle endings, and the L-participle of **biti**.

L-participle endings			L-participle of biti		
	masculine	neuter	feminine	masculine	neuter
singular	-o	-lo	-la	bio	b <u>ì</u> lo
plural	-li	-la	-le	bili	b <u>ì</u> la
					bile

Both components of the past tense must agree with the subject of the sentence. If the subject is 3rd person, the gender of the L-participle is the same as the gender of the noun subject. In the 1st and 2nd persons, it is necessary to specify the gender of the person speaking (1st person) or spoken to (2nd person). In the plural, the masculine L-participle is used unless the subjects are all neuter nouns, or all female (or feminine nouns). Since it is very rare for neuter subjects to speak or be spoken to (outside of poetic contexts), most lists of past tense forms give only masculine and feminine in 1st and 2nd persons. The charts below give the full set of past tense forms for the verbs **biti** “be” and **dati** “give”.

PAST TENSE of biti			PAST TENSE of dati		
	masculine	neuter	feminine	masculine	neuter
1sg.	bio sam		b <u>ì</u> la sam	da <u>o</u> sam	d <u>à</u> la sam
2sg.	bio si		b <u>ì</u> la si	da <u>o</u> si	d <u>à</u> la si
3sg.	bio je	b <u>ì</u> lo je	b <u>ì</u> la je	da <u>o</u> je	d <u>à</u> lo je
1pl.	b <u>ì</u> li smo		b <u>ì</u> le smo	d <u>à</u> li smo	d <u>à</u> le smo
2pl.	b <u>ì</u> li ste		b <u>ì</u> le ste	d <u>à</u> li ste	d <u>à</u> le ste
3pl.	b <u>ì</u> li su	b <u>ì</u> la su	b <u>ì</u> le su	d <u>à</u> li su	d <u>à</u> la su
					d <u>à</u> le su

Nearly every infinitive can form an L-participle for the past tense. The past tense of **nemati** however, is formed with the L-participle of **imati** and the negative auxiliary: **nisu imali** “they didn’t have”. Any of the three forms of the auxiliary may be used, depending on the type of sentence. As in the case of **biti**, the full form is used only in questions, single-word answers, and for emphasis. Clitic forms of the auxiliary are used in most instances. Because clitics cannot begin a sentence, past tense forms are usually cited with the clitic following the L-participle, as in the charts above. A past tense sentence may begin with the verb’s subject, with the L-participle portion of the verb, or with another word, depending on the desired focus. However, the clitic forms of the auxiliary must follow the XYZ rules (for examples, see [76, 111]). In addition, if a **se**-verb is used in 3sg., the auxiliary **je** will usually be dropped after the **se**. Thus, whereas the past tense of **ja se igram** “I play” is **ja sam se igrao**, the past tense of **on se igra** “he plays” is normally **on se igrao**. For more on this word order pattern, see [104c, 111].

70 Aspect, continued

Aspect is usually a property of individual verbs: the meaning *perfective* or *imperfective* is contained within the verb itself. In certain instances, the meaning of another word such as a conjunction will depend upon the aspect of the verb used.

70a. Aspect and the past tense

Both aspects are used freely in the past tense: the choice depends upon the meaning which the speaker wishes to convey. Other things being equal, it is more natural to think of present tense actions as continuous and unbounded and past tense actions as completed. Students can thus begin to familiarize themselves with the idea of aspect pairs by contrasting the use of an imperfective verb in the present tense and its perfective partner in the past tense. Several such examples are given below.

stavljati (I) staviti (P)	Stavljam <u>o</u> sliku u p <small>is</small> mo. Stavili smo sliku u p <small>is</small> mo.	We're putting a picture into the letter. We have put a picture into the letter.
pol <u>ag</u> ati (I) položiti (P)	Danas polažem ispit. Danas sam položio ispit.	I'm taking the exam today. I passed the exam today.
pòzdravljati (I) pòzdraviti (P)	Pozdravlja priatelje. Pozdravila je priatelje.	She's greeting [her] friends. She greeted [her] friends.

B,C,S prijatelje / S drugove

However, imperfective verbs can also be used in past tense sentences if the meaning is one of duration, repetition or general fact. The sentences below illustrate the past tense use of the three imperfective verbs given above. For more on the use of aspect in the past tense, see [106b].

Često je u svoja p <small>is</small> ma stavljal <u>a</u> slike. Taj ispit sam već tri puta polagao! Prijatelje su uvijek srdačno pozdravljali.	<i>She often used to put pictures into her letters. I've taken that test three times already! They always used to greet [their] friends warmly.</i>
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B,C,S prijatelje / S drugove; J uvijek / E uvek

70b. Aspect and conjunctions

In a few instances, the concept of aspect moves beyond the level of the category *verb*. This is the case with the conjunction **dok**, especially when this conjunction is used with the negative particle following it. If an imperfective verb follows it, **dok** means *while* (in the sense of simultaneous action); the idea of contrast is also possible. But if a perfective verb follows it, the conjunction **dok** (usually accompanied by **ne**) means *until*. In this instance **ne** is not a negative particle. Rather, it is the entire sequence **dok ne** which contains the meaning *until*. Those who know French will recognize the correspondence with the same “pleonastic *ne*” used with the French conjunction *à moins que* “unless” (as in *à moins qu'il ne vienne* “unless he comes”).

dok + imperfective	Dok ja pijem sok, ti ništa ne pićeš.	<i>I drink juice, but you don't drink anything. All the time I'm drinking juice, you're not drinking anything.</i>
dok + perfective	Oni polažu ispite dok ih ne polože.	<i>They keep on taking the exams until they pass them.</i>

71 Time expressions: the idea of duration

The duration of time over which something happens is expressed by a phrase composed of the number and the time unit, WITHOUT a preposition. If the unit is a single one, the number *one* is not used. Rather, the Asg. form of the time unit is used, followed by a word in the genitive case. The literal English equivalents would be *a year OF DAYS*, *an hour OF TIME*, *a month OF DAYS*, and so on. Note that English uses the present perfect to refer to an action which began in the past but is still going on. BCS, however, uses a combination of the present tense and the adverb **već**. For more on the scope of present tense usage, see [106a].

Semestar traje četiri meseca. Ona tu radi već pet mjeseci. Nastavu slušaju četiri godine, a onda su godinu dana apsolventi.	<i>The semester lasts four months. She's been working here for five months. They take classes for four years, and then they are “absolvents” [= students who are preparing for exams] for a year.</i>
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Već sat vremena sjedim i pišem. Već mesec dana gleda filmove.	<i>I've been sitting here writing for an hour.</i> <i>She's been watching movies for a month.</i>
E mesec / J mjesec; J sjedim / E sedim	

72 Types of reflexive pronominal forms

A reflexive pronoun refers to (*reflects* attention back on) the subject of the sentence in some way or another. Some are personal pronouns and some are pronominal adjectives, but all share this basic fact of reflexivity.

72a. The pronominal possessive *svoj*

The possessive pronominal adjectives **moj**, **tvoj**, etc. are exactly parallel in meaning to English *my*, *your*, etc. In BCS, there is an additional pronominal form, whose literal translation is *one's own*. This word is **svoj**, whose case forms are exactly like those of **moj** and **tvoj**. The pronominal adjective **svoj** is used when the possessor it denotes is simultaneously the subject of the sentence. If the subject is 1st or 2nd person, grammar rules allow one to use either the specific pronominal possessive which corresponds to the subject (thus **ja / moj**, **ti / tvoj**, and the like). In practice, however, **svoj** is almost always used. The examples below sound somewhat artificial; the intention is to identify the possessor of the noun object in the second sentence before demonstrating the use of the possessive pronominal adjective modifying that object.

1st person 2nd person	To je moj pas. Često tamo vodim svoj* psa u šetnju. To je tvoj posao. Da li voliš svoj** posao?	<i>That's my dog. I often walk my dog there.</i> <i>That's your work. Do you like your work?</i>
S,B da li voliš / C,B voliš li * mog possible, not preferred ** tvoj possible, not preferred		

In the third person, the use of **svoj** is obligatory if the appropriate grammatical conditions are met, and impossible if they are not. This often creates difficulties for speakers of English. Third person possessives in English are ambiguous, in that they allow (and force) speakers to determine the identity of the possessor from the context. In both languages, of course, the identity of the possessor is clear from the real-world context of the sentence. The difference is that English speakers rely on this context alone, while BCS speakers are forced by the grammar of their language to specify this identity in grammatical terms. If, for instance, the real world provides a situation in which each of two women owns a cat, each feeds her own cat regularly, and each has agreed to feed the other's cat whenever necessary, then English speakers might have occasion to speak or hear the sentence *she feeds her cat*. If such a sentence is heard out of context, the listener will not know whether the female subject in question is feeding her own cat, or the cat belonging to another female. BCS speakers, however, must specify the distinction by choosing (or not) to use **svoj**. The following two sentences are not (and can never be) interchangeable.

3rd: one's own 3rd: another's	Vida hrani svoju mačku. Vida hrani njenu mačku.	<i>Vida feeds her cat [= her own cat].</i> <i>Vida feeds her cat [= her friend's cat].</i>
B,C,S njenu / C,B njezinu		

Additionally, because the possessor referred to by the adjective **svoj** is always the grammatical subject of the sentence, it follows that **svoj** will not usually modify the noun which is the subject of the sentence. In the following two sentences, the two words meaning *his* refer to the same dog and the same owner of that dog. In the first sentence, the owner is the subject and the

dog is the object: possession of the dog can (and must) be expressed by **svoj**. In the second sentence, however, it is the dog which is the grammatical subject (not the owner). Thus the possessive form **svoj** cannot be used, and **njegov** must be used instead.

<u>On sv<u>o</u>g psa svaki d<u>a</u>n vodi u š<u>e</u>tiju.</u>	<i>He walks his dog every day.</i>
<u>Njegov pas je vrlo drag.</u>	<i>His dog is very sweet.</i>

72b. The object pronouns **sebe** and **sebi**

The long form object pronouns **sebe** and **sebi** can be used when the person referred to is the subject of the sentence. The form **sebe** is used in accusative and genitive meanings, and the form **sebi** in dative and locative meanings. On the use of the dative as indirect object, see [73a].

Acc.-Gen. sebe	<u>J<u>a</u> sebe ne mogu vidjeti u t<u>o</u>j ulozi.</u> Nez <u>avis</u> an je. <u>R<u>adi</u> za sebe.</u> <u>Šta t<u>o</u> im<u>a</u>š k<u>o</u>d sebe?</u>	<i>I can't see myself in that role. He's independent – works for himself. What's that you have [with you] there?</i>
Dat.-Loc. sebi	<u>– O č<u>emu</u> mu pi<u>še</u>?</u> <u>– O sebi, n<u>ar</u>avno. A što drugo?</u> <u>Kupujem sebi nešto.</u> <u>Im<u>a</u>š li pri sebi nov<u>ca</u>?</u>	<i>“What's she writing to him about?” “About herself, of course. What else?” I'm buying something for myself. Do you have [any] money on you?</i>

J vidjeti / E videti; C,B ne mogu vidjeti / S,B ne mogu da vidim; S,B nezavisan / C neovisan; S,B šta / C što; C,B imao li / S,B da li imao

72c. The pronominal form **sam**

The pronominal adjective **sam** usually means *alone, by oneself*. It agrees with the noun or pronoun to which it refers. The root vowel is distinctively long (and pronounced that way by nearly all speakers of BCS). If it becomes necessary in writing to distinguish the Nsg. masculine of **sam** from the 1sg. clitic-auxiliary **sam**, one places a circumflex accent over the vowel in the pronominal adjective, as follows: **sâm**. If it becomes necessary in writing to distinguish the NAsg. neuter form of **sam** from the adverb **samo** “only” one places an acute accent over the pronominal adjective, as follows: **sámo**.

In the meanings *alone, by oneself* the pronominal adjective **sam** occurs most frequently in predicative position. It can also be used alongside a noun (or in *apposition* to it), emphasizing the idea that the actor is functioning alone. In a related meaning, it conveys emphasis or surprise, best translated as *the [very] one*. In this meaning it is used attributively.

predicate	<u>J<u>a</u> sam ovdje sâm [= s<u>am <u>M<u>i</u> smo sâmi. N<u>em</u>a nikog drugog.</u></u></u>	<i>I am alone here. We're alone. There's nobody else [here].</i>
apposition	<u>Ona t<u>o</u> sve r<u>adi</u> sâma.</u> <u>Da li t<u>o</u> vi sâmi tako mislite?</u>	<i>She does it all alone [= by herself]. Do you yourself really think that?</i>
attribute	<u>Pomaž<u>e</u> mu sâm vr<u>ag</u>!</u> <u>Živ<u>im</u> u sâmome centru gr<u>ada</u>.</u> <u>– Je li t<u>o</u> Dejan?</u> <u>– On sâm!</u> <u>Id<u>e</u> danas, na sâmu godišnjicu bit<u>ke</u>.</u>	<i>The devil himself is [= must be] helping him! I live in the very center of town. “Is that Dejan?” “The very one!” He's going today, on the very anniversary of the battle.</i>

B,S nikog drugog / C nikoga drugoga; B,S da li mislite / B,C mislite li; B,C,S samome / B,S samom; B,C,S je li / S,B da li je; B,C,S na godišnjicu / C na obljetnicu

73 The dative case

The forms of the dative case are exactly the same as those of the locative (review [66]); in the singular, the abbreviation DLsg. refers to this common case form. The meanings are quite different, however. The locative case is used exclusively with prepositions (review [67-68]), but the dative case is used in a wide range of meanings. Some of these fall within the general category of verbal object, but others are quite specific to the dative case.

73a. The dative of indirect object

The definition of an *indirect object* is suggested by its name: it denotes something affected less directly by the main verbal action than a direct object would be. In English, indirect objects are often identified by the prepositions *to* or *for*. If there are two objects together (and no preposition), the indirect object is the one that comes first. This can be seen in the two English sentences *She buys HER BROTHER a coat* and *She gives HER SISTER an apple*, where in each case the same meaning can be expressed by changing the word order and using the prepositions *for* and *to* (as in *FOR her brother* and *TO her sister*). When a BCS sentence contains both a direct object and an indirect object, the direct object is always in the accusative case and the indirect object is always in the dative case. If the objects are expressed by nouns, they can occur in either order. But when clitic pronoun objects are used, no variation is possible in the BCS word order. If both dative and accusative clitic pronouns occur in the same clause, the dative object must always precede the accusative one.

The examples below illustrate the possible sequences of direct and indirect objects in BCS. The first sentence in each set is the most neutral word order for noun objects, although the word order in the second sentence is also very frequently used. The two English translations are interchangeable: either is possible for either sentence, and the difference in meaning between the two is equally slight in both English and BCS. But in each of the sentences containing pronoun objects (the third and fourth sentence of each set below), the word order of direct and indirect objects is rigid: the only difference between them is the presence vs. absence of an explicit subject in BCS. For more on the order of object pronouns, see [76].

DIRECT AND INDIRECT OBJECTS

nouns	Kupuje bratu kapt. Kupuje kapt bratu.	<i>She buys [her] brother a coat.</i> <i>She buys a coat for [her] brother.</i>
pronouns	Kupuje mu ga. Ona mu ga kupuje.	<i>She buys it [= the coat] for him.</i> [same]
nouns	Daje sestri jabuku. Daje jabuku sestri.	<i>She gives [her] sister an apple.</i> <i>She gives an apple to [her] sister.</i>
pronouns	Daje joj je. Ona joj je daje.	<i>She gives it [= the apple] to her.</i> [same]

Other verbs which usually take two objects (in both English and BCS) are **kazati** “tell”, **pisati** “write”, **pokazati** “show”, and others. Most of these verbs do not always need to express both objects; sometimes only the indirect object appears. Because English uses the same set of pronouns (*you, me, him, her, us, them*) to signal either direct object or indirect object, this may cause translation difficulties. The critical point is that if a noun or pronoun serves the function of indirect object in a sentence, then it must be in the dative case in BCS. Sometimes the corresponding English sentence will mark this meaning by the prepositions *to* or *for*, but more frequently it will not. For instance, the most neutral form of each of the English translations below is with a simple object pronoun. Where necessary, each sentence has been reformulated to include

to or for to show that the meaning is in fact that of indirect object. To get the correct case in BCS, one must pay close attention to the underlying meaning of the sentence.

Kažem ti, ne mogu više da čekam.	I'm telling you, I can't wait [any] more. [I say TO YOU that....]
Želim da mi pokazesh kako to radiš.	I want you to show me how you do that. [I want you to show this (= the way you do it) TO ME]
Otac im piše, ali ne znam da li im može sve opisati.	Father is writing them, but I don't know if he is able to describe everything for them. [Father is writing TO THEM....]

S,B ne mogu više da čekam / C,B ne mogu više čekati; S,B da li im može / C,B može li im; C,B može im sve opisati / B,S može da im sve opiše

73b. Verbs which take dative objects

Several verbs simply take an object in the dative case, a fact which must be learned along with the meaning of the verb. A few of these correspond to English verbs whose objects are expressed with prepositional phrases using *to* or *for*, but most of them correspond to English verbs which take straight direct objects. Here are a few of the more important ones (given in the imperfective aspect only), with examples of usage. For more discussion, see [158a].

pripadati	belong [to]	Øva knjiga pripada učitelju.	This book belongs to the teacher.
smijati se	laugh [at]	Zašto joj se smiješ?	Why are you laughing at her?
odgovarati	answer	Učitelj đaku ne odgovara odmah.	The teacher does not answer the pupil immediately.
odgovarati	suit	Odgovara li ti øva haljina? To mi ne odgovara.	Does this dress suit you? That doesn't suit [= work for] me.
pomagati	help	Meni to nikako ne pomaze.	That doesn't help me at all.
vjerovati	believe	Ja ti ne vjerujem.	I don't believe you.
smetati	hinder	Nè smeta mi muzika.	The music doesn't bother me.
javljati se	contact	Javlja mi se svaki dan.	He gets in touch with me daily.

J smijati se / E smejeti se; J smiješ se / E smeješ se; C,B odgovara li ti / S,B da li ti odgovara; J vjerovati / E verovati; J vjerujem / E verujem; B,C,S muzika / C glazba

73c. Motion verbs, prepositions, and the dative case

Motion verbs do not usually take a direct object (one exception, however, is **obići ~ obilaziti** “go around”). When dative forms referring to humans are used after motion verbs, they indicate a destination associated in some way with the person(s) referred to. As seen in the examples below, English usually expresses this meaning by adding additional words, or by relying on context. The second example includes an imperative form (discussed in [78]).

Kada nam dolazite?	When are you coming to [see] us?
Dodata nam opet!	Come again [to our house] !

Very few prepositions take the dative case. The most frequent one is **k**, which takes the form **ka** before a word beginning with **k-** or **g-** in Croatian (and optionally before other consonants in Bosnian and Serbian). In Croatian, this preposition also expresses the idea of motion

towards a person or his/her domicile. In Bosnian and Serbian, however, it means *towards* only when the destination is a location (and in fact, the preposition **prema** is used more frequently in this meaning). For more discussion and examples, see [84b]. The preposition **nasuprot** means *opposite* or *across from*; both **nasuprot** and **prema** also occur frequently with the object **tome** (as illustrated below). For more on prepositions and the dative, see [158b].

☆ K(A)	Dodite k nama večeras! [C] Ovaj put ide ka Karlovcu.	Come over to our place tonight! This road goes to Karlovac
☆ PREMA	Ovaj put ide prema Karlovcu. Prema tome ...	[same] Accordingly ...
☆ NASUPROT	Visi na zidu nasuprot vratima. Nasuprot tome ...	It's hanging on the wall opposite the door. On the other hand ...

C k nama / B,S kod nas; B,S ovaj put / C ova cesta

73d. Verbs meaning “like”

In English, the verbs *like* and *love* take direct objects. By contrast, most of the BCS verbs with this general meaning take a dative object. The one which does NOT take the dative is **voleti** / **voljeti**, which means both *like* and *love*. It is followed either by an infinitive or by a noun or pronoun in the accusative. (The verb **ljubiti** also means *love*, but is considered old-fashioned.)

voleti / voljeti

+ Infinitive	Jako volimo putovati. A vi? Ne volim te vidjeti u ovakovom stanju. Mi ne volimo da učimo ujutro.	We really like to travel. Do you? I don't like seeing you in this state. We don't like to study in the morning.
+ Accusative	Volim pse, ali ne volim mačke. Volis li čaj za doručak? Koje predmete više vole? To je fin pas. Očigledno je da te jako voli.	I like dogs, but I don't like cats. Do you like tea for breakfast? Which subjects do they prefer? That's a fine dog. It's obvious that it / he adores you.

E voleti / J voljeti; C,B volimo putovati / S,B volimo da putujemo; C,B ne volim te vidjeti / S,B ne volim da te vidim; B,C,S u ovakovom stanju / C u ovaku stanju; S,B ne volimo da učimo / C,B ne volimo učiti; B,C volis li / S,B da li voliš

The meaning of the English verbs *like* and *love* depends a great deal on the context of usage. Sometimes they refer to what is essentially the same state, with a difference simply in the degree of attachment. Other times they refer to different states, one of which is deep, abiding, and sometimes viewed as inherent, and the other of which is more superficial and transitory (at least in comparison). In addition, the verb *like* is used much more frequently than *love* to describe an initial positive reaction. In BCS, only the verb **voleti** / **voljeti** is used for the specific meaning *love*. It is also the preferred verb to use before infinitives, regardless of whether the meaning is *like* or *love*. Other instances of the meaning *like* are expressed with the verbs **svidati se** and **dopadati se**. Both verbs are used equally in Serbian and Bosnian, but Croatian prefers **svidati se**.

The grammar of these two verbs is very different from that of English *like*. In English, the one doing the liking is the subject, and that which is liked is the object. In BCS, however, the one doing the liking is expressed in the dative case, and that which is liked is expressed in the nominative case. To say “John likes cookies”, therefore, one must construct a sentence on the model “Cookies are pleasing to John”. English speakers will need to pay special attention to these

sentences, not only because the structure is reversed (by comparison to English) but because the *XYZ* rule will frequently come into play. Both verbs require **se**, and sentences expressing the emotions concerned frequently contain clitic pronouns. The dative pronoun must always precede **se** directly. For more discussion, and examples according to the *XYZ* format, see [76].

sviđati se

– Kako ti se sviđa moj novi auto?	<i>“How do you like my new car?”</i>
– Jako mi se sviđa!	<i>“I like it a lot!”</i>
– A njemu se ne sviđa. Čudno.	<i>“But he doesn’t like it. Strange.”</i>
Ani se ne sviđaju slatkiji. I meni se više sviđaju slana jela.	<i>Ana doesn’t like sweets. I also prefer [= like better] savory dishes.</i>
Našemu sinu se ne dopada meso. Dopardaju mu se samo banane.	<i>Our son doesn’t like meat. He only likes bananas.</i>
– Mislim da se sviđaš onom momku.	<i>“I think that young man likes you.”</i>
– Kako mogu da mu se sviđam? U svakom slučaju, on se meni posebno ne sviđa.	<i>“How can he like me? Anyway, I don’t particularly like him.”</i>

B,C,S svidati se / B,S dopadati se; B,S kako mogu da mu se svidam / C,B kako mu se mogu svidati

73e. Possessive dative

The dative is often used in place of possessive pronominal adjectives (**moj**, **twoj**, etc.), especially in the expression of family relationships. Usually only clitic pronouns are used.

Gde ti je tata?	<i>Where’s your dad?</i>
Tri sina su mi sad u vojsci.	<i>Three of my sons are in the army now.</i>
Ne možemo odmah kupiti loptu.	<i>We can’t buy the ball right off. We have to wait while they check its price [= the price of the ball].</i>
Moramo pričekati dok joj ne provjere cijenu.	<i>His mother always talks that way.</i>
Majka mu uvijek tako govori.	

E gde / J gdje; C,B možemo kupiti / S,B možemo da kupimo; C,B moramo pričekati / S,B moramo da pričekamo; J provjere / E provere; J cijenu / E cenu; J uvijek / uvek

73f. Dative of affect

The dative is used broadly within a fairly loosely defined category (which subsumes the possessive usage seen above). For lack of a better term, one may call this category the *dative of affect*. That is, the dative case expresses the various ways in which humans can be affected by a particular state. This can be illustrated by the final example in the previous section. Only the possessive meaning was given above, but in fact the sentence has two possible meanings, illustrated below. If this sentence is taken out of context, nearly all BCS speakers would read it with the first meaning – possessive. In the appropriate context, however, it could also have the second meaning – indirect object. The reason the two BCS sentences are identical in form, of course, is that the clitic pronoun **mu** is required to take the same place in the sentence regardless of its meaning. The area of overlap between these two meanings, one of them the more narrowly defined possessive, and the other is the more general indirect object, can be articulated only by the rather loose statement that the person referred to by the pronoun **mu** is somehow affected by the combination of the relationship and the action.

possessive	Majka mu uvijek tako govori.	<i>His mother always talks that way.</i>
indirect object	[same]	<i>Mother always talks that way to him.</i>

J uvijek / E uvek

A great many common expressions fall under this “affective” rubric. As seen in the sentences below, some are translatable by English phrases with *to* or *for*; one could think of them as indirect objects of a sort. Most instances of the “dative of affect”, however, are contained in subjectless sentences, treated in the following section.

dative of “affect”	Све нам је још врдо ново. Веома ми добро изгледаш! Она му је јако добар друг. Њима су то озбиљне речи.	<i>Everything is still very new to us You look really good [to me]! She's a very good friend to/for him. Those are serious words for them.</i>
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S drug / B,C,S prijatelj; E reči / J riječi

Another type of dative of affect is frequently heard in the spoken language. In this usage, 1st or 2nd person dative clitic pronouns are used as a marker of inclusiveness. By adding them to a statement or question, the speaker emphasizes the communicative bond between participants in a conversation. Although this usage is nearly impossible to translate into English, parenthetical comments have been added to the translations below to give an approximation. This use of the dative of affect, which has sometimes been called the *ethical dative*, can occur in various sorts of conversational statements, but it is especially frequent after the presentative word **ono**, and the location indicator **eto**.

Ovo je <u>Narodni muzej</u> , a ono vam je Gradska kuća.	<i>This is the National museum, and that [you see] is City hall.</i>
Kako si mi <u>tj</u> danas?	<i>How are you today [my friend]?</i>
Dugo sam čekala da mi da <u>to</u> lično, ali ništa. A danas sam dobila pismo i eto ti ga – u pismu je!	<i>I waited a long time for him to give it to me in person but no luck. Then today I got a letter and [you see], there it is, in the letter!</i>

S,B gradска kuća / B,C gradska vijećnica; B,S lično / C osobno

73g. Subjectless sentences and the dative case

Subjectless sentences, first seen in [48], often identify states. If they include dative forms referring to human beings, the meaning is that the humans in question are affected somehow by that state. In English, the person in question is expressed as the subject of the sentence: the person either *is* or *feels* a particular way. BCS grammar, by contrast, ascribes the state in question *to* the person, expressing the person in the dative case. That is, the grammar of the sentence is the same, regardless of whether it is *general* – identifying the state in overall terms, or *specific* – ascribing that state to any one particular person or group of persons. The paired examples below demonstrate that the sentence is subjectless in either instance. The only difference is the addition of the dative noun or pronoun identifying the specific person(s) affected by the state.

general	Toplo je <u>ovde</u> u sobi.	<i>It's warm here in [this] room.</i>
specific	Meni je u <u>ovo</u> j sobi toplo.	<i>I'm [too] warm in this room.</i>
general	Teško je na početku.	<i>It's hard at the outset.</i>
specific	Meni je uvijek na početku teško.	<i>It's always hard for me at the beginning.</i>
general	Qvdje je dosadno.	<i>It's boring here.</i>
specific	Njima je <u>ovdje</u> dosadno.	<i>They're bored [= they find it boring] here.</i>
general	– Kako je? – Dobro je.	<i>“How's it going?” “Fine.”</i>
specific	– Kako ti je? – Dobro mi je.	<i>“How are you? How do you feel?” “I'm fine. I'm O.K. Everything's O.K.”</i>

general	– Kako je? – Grozno je.	"How's it going?" "Awful."
specific	– Kako mu je? – Grozno mu je.	"How's he doing? How does he feel?" "He feels awful. He's in a terrible state."

E ovde / J ovdje; J uvijek / E uvek

Certain very common expressions follow this same grammatical model. Humans who find themselves in the state of being *sorry*, *pleased*, or *indifferent* are identified in the dative case. The grammatical focus of the sentence remains on the state, and the sentence is subjectless.

Nama je žao da <u>to</u> čujemo.	We are sorry to hear that.
Žao nam je da <u>to</u> čujemo.	[same]
– Drago mi je da vas vidim.	"I'm pleased to see you."
– I meni je drago.	"Likewise. Me too."
– Kakva ti se jela svđaju?	"What sort of dishes do you like?"
– Svejedno mi je. [Meni je svejedno.]	"I don't care. It's all the same to me."

73h. The verb *činiti se*

The verb *činiti se* “seem” can also be used in subjectless sentences. The person to whom something seems a certain way is expressed in the dative. But one should avoid literal English translations of the form *it seems to me* This is because although the grammar of the subjectless sentence suggests the more impersonal usage of an English sentence beginning with *it*, these BCS sentences actually convey a much greater real-world involvement of the human being in question in the particular state or situation. Thus, BCS sentences beginning with *čini mi se...* are more correctly rendered in English by *I think* Similar generalizations usually apply in the case of other subjectless sentences where humans are referred to in the dative case.

činiti se	Čini mi se da je sad sve u redu.	I think everything's O.K. now.
	Čini mu se da ništa ne zna.	He thinks he doesn't know anything.
	– Čini mi se da nešto čujem.	"I think I hear something."
	– I meni se tako čini.	"I think so too."

74 Se-verbs, continued

A number of verbs and verbal expressions include **se** as a component part. One type is exemplified by verbs in group 1 below: these are verbs that do not exist at all without **se**. Another is exemplified by group 2 below: these are verbs that do exist in one meaning without **se**, but in a completely different meaning with **se**. It is often the case that these types of **se**-verbs are used only in subjectless sentences. As the meanings of these verbs are quite clear from the definitions, specific examples of usage are not given.

For most verbal pairs, however, one can perceive a basic meaning that joins the two verbs (the one with **se** and the one without it), and can make basic generalizations about the way in which **se** will affect the meaning. It is frequently the case that addition of **se** can make an active verb passive or a transitive verb intransitive (review [38]). This affects a great many verbs; only two examples are listed in group 3, but examples of usage are given for each. But it is the group 4 verbs that are especially interesting here. Each of the two pairs listed in group 4 below shares a basic meaning, and in each case one could say that the addition of **se** makes a transitive verb intransitive or an active verb passive. At the same time, each individual verb has enough of a self-contained meaning to stand separately. Dictionaries vacillate about the status of such **se**-verbs:

some list them separately and some under the “main” verb. The notation “passive?” next to the examples below exemplifies this vacillation. For more on **se**-verbs, see [82, 87, 98].

	with se	without se
Group 1	<p>dešavati se <i>happen</i> svidati se <i>be pleasing to</i> sastojati se [iz] <i>be composed [of]</i> bojati se <i>be afraid of</i></p>	— — — —
Group 2	<p>čini se <i>it seems</i> rādi se [o] <i>it's a matter [of]</i> snalaziti se <i>manage, find one's way</i></p>	<p>činiti <i>make</i> rāditi <i>do, work</i> snalaziti <i>befall</i></p>
Group 3	<p>slušati se <i>be taken [of a class]</i> jesti se <i>be eaten</i></p>	<p>slušati <i>take [a class]</i> jesti <i>eat</i></p>
Group 4	<p>nālaziti se <i>be located</i> zvati se <i>[giving one's name]</i></p>	<p>nālaziti <i>find</i> zvati <i>call</i></p>
Group 3	<p>active Сваки студент слуша чéтири предмета.</p> <p>passive Предмети се слушају чéтири године.</p>	<p><i>Every student takes four classes.</i></p> <p><i>You take classes for four years.</i> [= Classes are taken for four years.]</p>
	<p>active Морам да једем месо редовно. passive Она <u>кажe</u> да се месо <u>мора</u> јести.</p> <p>А <u>ја</u> <u>кажем</u> да се месо <u>не мора</u> јести.</p>	<p><i>I have to eat meat regularly.</i> <i>She says one must eat meat.</i> [= She says that meat must be eaten.]</p> <p><i>But I say one need not eat meat.</i> [= But I say that meat need not be eaten.]</p>
Group 4		
	<p>active Мајка сваки дан зове сина. passive ? Она се зове Берислава.</p>	<p><i>Mother calls [her] son every day.</i> <i>Her name is Berislava.</i> [= that is: “She is called Berislava.”]</p>
	<p>active Сваки пут га тешко налазимо. passive ? Где се то налази?</p>	<p><i>We always have a hard time finding it.</i> <i>Where is it?</i> [=that is: “Where can it be found?”]</p>

S,B moram da jedem / C,B moram jesti; S,B redovno / C redovito; C,B da se meso mora jesti / S,B da meso mora da se jede; E gde / J gdje

75 Nouns with plural form but singular meaning: *vrata* and *kola*

A few nouns which refer to singular objects occur only with plural form. Because the nouns in question end in **-a**, the natural tendency is to think of them as feminine singular. But they are NEUTER PLURAL! Thus, the nominative, accusative, and genitive forms all end in **-a**. Adjectives and verbs agreeing with these nouns must also be in the appropriate plural forms. Students must take special care to remember that for these nouns the plural form has singular meaning.

The most important of these nouns is **vrata** “door”. The noun **kola** “car” also falls into this class. Although most Croats now use the singular noun **auto** in the latter meaning, the word **kola** is still fairly frequently encountered in Bosnian and Serbian. But as the noun **vrata** is the only way to express the very common concept *door*, care must be taken to remember its correct forms. The case forms of these two nouns are given below, together with adjectives to emphasize the fact that the endings on these nouns are plural. Long-form adjectives are given in all cases (including nominative), since they are the ones most frequently used with these nouns. For the DLPl. endings, see [86], and for the usage of the instrumental case illustrated below, see [81a].

Nom-Acc	velika vrata	nova kola
Gen	velikih vrata	novih kola
Dat-Loc-Instr	velikim vratima	novim kolima
big door		new car

Examples of usage: **vrata** “door”

Nom.	Ne mogu ući. Vrata su zatvorena.	I can't get in. The door is shut.
Acc.	Ko može otvoriti ovu vrata?	Who can open this door?
Gen.	Ona je тамо, pored crvenih vrata.	She's over there, by the red door.
Loc.	Neko je na vratima.	Someone's at the door.

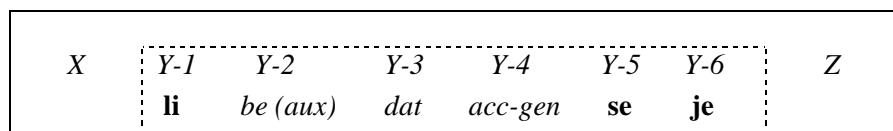
Examples of usage: **kola** “car”

Nom.	– Moja su kola zelena. A tvoja?	“My car is green. What [color] is yours?”
Acc.	– Imam nova kola. Crvena su.	“I have a new car. It's red.
Gen.	Tamo su, ispred tvojih kola.	It's over there, in front of your car.”
Instr.	Obično tamo idemo kolima.	We usually go there by car.

C,B ne mogu ući / S,B ne mogu da uđem; S,B ko / C tko; C,B može otvoriti / S,B može da otvori; S,B neko / C netko

76 Word order: object pronouns and the XYZ model

The model summarizing the placement of clitics within slot Y of the XYZ model was presented in [64], and is repeated here:



Dative clitics (review [66e]) must go in sub-slot Y-3. They occur in a number of different types of sentences. Sentences (1-6) below illustrate the required word order for sentences containing two clitic object pronouns (one direct and one indirect): slots Y-3 and Y-4 must be filled. Each of these sentences happens to concern the giving of a single object to a person, and specifies further that the noun referring to the object is of masculine gender and the recipient is a male. But this is just for illustration. The point is that any time two objects occur in a sentence, whatever the person, number or gender, they must occur in this order.

Sentences (7-12) illustrate the required word order for sentences with a **se**-verb which requires a dative object (such as **svidati se**; review [73d]). Because sub-slot Y-5 is devoted to **se** alone, by definition it must always be filled, and if the dative object is a clitic pronoun, so must

sub-slot *Y-3*. These sentences can also be phrased with a full form dative object (as in example 8), in which case only sub-slot *Y-5* is filled. Sentences (13-19) illustrate the required word order for sentences concerning states which affect human beings (review [73g]). All such sentences are subjectless, requiring the 3sg. form of **biti**. This means that sub-slot *Y-6* is always filled with the 3sg. clitic **je**, whether the sentence is in the present tense (as in examples 13-15) or in the past tense (as in examples 16-19). If the person affected is expressed by a short form clitic, it must come in sub-slot *Y-3*. The word order of other types of sentences in the past tense is discussed in [111]. All the above sentences can also be expressed as questions, which means that the question particle **li** comes into play; it is always in sub-slot *Y-1* (see examples 3-4, 9-10, and 19).

In order to keep the focus on the facts of clitic ordering, each of the example sentences has been kept very short. But no matter the length of the sentence, the same rules apply. The first element of the sentence or clause fills slot *X*, the clitics all come in slot *Y*, each in its appropriate position in relation to the other clitics, and any remaining portion of the sentence or clause comes in slot *Z*. Internalizing this structure is a very important step towards attaining fluency in BCS.

	<i>X</i>	<i>Y</i>						<i>Z</i>
		1	2	3	4	5	6	
1	Dajem			mu	ga.			I'm giving it to him.
2	Ja			mu	ga		dajem.	[same]
3	Da		li	mu	ga		daješ?	Are you giving it to him?
4	Daješ		li	mu	ga?			[same]
5	Ja			mu	ga		nè dajem.	I'm not giving it to him.
6	Nè dajem			mu	ga.			[same]
7	Nè sviđa			mi		se.		I don't like [her].
8	Meni				se		nè sviđa.	[same]
9	Ona			mi		se	nè sviđa.	I don't like her.
10	Da	li		ti		se	sviđa?	Do you like [her]?
11	Sviđa	li		ti		se	[ona]?	[same]
12	Ona		mi		se		sviđa.	I like her.
13	Žao			mi		je.		I'm sorry.
14	Meni				je		žao.	[same]
15	Da	li	ti		je		hladno?	Are you cold?
16	Žao			mi		je	bilo.	I was sorry.
17	Meni				je		bilo žao	[same]
18	Bilo			mi		je	žao.	[same]
19	Da	li	ti		je		bilo hladno?	Were you cold?

CHAPTER 7

77 Present tense, continued

Although most verbs of the *e*-conjugation have infinitives ending in **-ati** or **-iti**, there are some whose infinitives end in **-eti**. Most of these have ekavian and ijekavian forms of the infinitive (and sometimes of the present tense as well).

77a. Type *razumjeti*

A few verbs have ekavian and ijekavian forms in both infinitive and present tense. The theme vowel of the infinitive is short but that of the present is long, which means ijekavian spells the infinitive with **-je-** but the present tense with **-ije-**. For more on this type, see [153n].

razumjeti	<i>understand</i>	razumeti	<i>understand</i>
razumijem	razumijemo	razumem	razumemo
razumiješ	razumijete	razumeš	razumete
razumije	razumiju	razume	razumeju

J razumjeti / E razumeti; J razumijem etc. / E razumem etc.

77b. Type *donijeti / doneti*

Prefixed perfective verbs with present stem is **-nes-** represent a special type. The present is the same in both ekavian and ijekavian, but the infinitive has two different forms (ijekavian in **-nijeti** and ekavian in **-neti**). The final consonant of the present stem is dropped before the infinitive ending.

donijeti / doneti	<i>bring</i>
donesem	donesemo
doneseš	donesete
donese	donesu

J donijeti / E doneti

78 The imperative mood

The imperative mood is used to give commands and issue requests. The speaker desires that a certain action be accomplished, and addresses either a single person or a group to request that this come about. The forms of the imperative differ depending on the number and nature of persons addressed; it is also possible for the speaker to include himself (or herself) into the group who will presumably perform the desired action.

78a. Endings of the imperative mood

The imperative mood is made by adding endings to the imperative stem. Deriving the imperative stem is very easy: drop the final vowel of the 3pl. present (of any of the three conjugations). If what remains ends in **-j**, that is the imperative stem. Otherwise, add the theme vowel **i** to derive the imperative stem. The imperative of **biti** is formed from the present stem **bud-**, and the imperative of **otici** is formed from either of its two present stems: **od-** or **otid-**.

The imperative itself has three endings: singular, plural and inclusive. The singular ending is **-Ø**: that is, the singular imperative is equivalent to the imperative stem. The plural and inclusive endings are **-te** and **-mo**, respectively. The chart below shows the stages in deriving the forms of the imperative. Verbs of group (1), which includes all *a*-conjugation verbs and certain verbs from the other two conjugations, have the simple imperative stem. The accent is that of the present tense, and the vowel before **-j** is always long. All others fall into group (2), and add the

theme vowel **-i**. In most of these imperative forms, the accent is that of the infinitive. Those in the subgroup (2a) make no further changes, while those in subgroup (2b) replace stem-final **-k** and **-g** by **-c** and **-z**, respectively. There are very few such verbs; all have infinitives ending in **-ći**. Of the three examples of this type listed below, the verb **reći** is rarely used in the present tense, but its imperative is very common. The present tense of the verbs **pomoći** and **leći** is given in [94c], where it is seen that their present tense forms include the consonant **n**. One must drop this **n** in order to find their imperative stems.

On the printed page, the imperative forms of *i*-conjugation verbs look exactly like their present tense forms (3sg., 1pl., 2pl.). The speech situation usually provides sufficient clues to distinguish them. In addition to context, there is also vowel length: the theme vowel of the present tense is long and that of the imperative is short.

IMPERATIVE MOOD

		infinitive	3pl pres	stem	singular	plural	inclusive	
1	a-	dòdati čitati putòvati *i-	dòdaju čítaju putúju	dodaj- čítaj- putuj-	dòdaj čítaj putuj	dòdajte čítajte putujte	dòdajmo čítajmo putujmo	add; pass read travel stand
	e-	čuti popiti	čuju popiju	čuj- popij-	čuj popij	čujte popijte	čujmo popijmo	listen drink [up]
	i-	staviti ràditi	stave ràde	stav-i ràd-i	stavi ràdi	stavite ràdite	stavimo ràdimo	put do
	e-	íći do`ći otíći uzeti ódneti jesti pišati kazati biti	idu dođu odu otidu uzmu odnesu	id-i dođ-i od-i otid-i uzm-i odnes-i	idi dođi odi otidî uzmi odnési	ídite dođite odite otidîte uzmite odnèsite	ídimo dođimo odimo otidîmo uzmimo odnèsimo	go come go [away] [same] take take [away] eat write tell be
	i-	reći leći pomoći	[reknu]_ legnu_	rec-i lez-i pomoz-i	reći lezî pomoži	recite lezite pomožite	recimo lezimo pomožimo	say, tell lie down help
					**		**	also pomogni
E odneti / J odnijeti								

* Several verbs of the *i*- and *e*-conjugations which used to be in group 1 have begun forming their imperatives according to the rules of group 2a. Thus the imperative of **brojati** “count” is **broji**, that of **pojiti** “water [animals]” is **poji**, and that of **trajati** “last” is **traji**.

78b. Use of singular and plural imperative forms

The singular imperative form is used when speaking to a person one normally addresses as **ti**. The plural forms are used when speaking to a group, or when speaking to a person one normally addresses as **vi**. By definition, therefore, imperatives of the latter type convey a more polite version of the request or command in question.

singular	Dođi ovamo da ti nešto kažem. Budi miran, sve je u redu. Što želiš? Samo reći! Rađi šta hoćeš, nema veze. Dodaj mi so i biber, molim te. Idi do nje i odnesi joj knjigu.	Come here, I [have] something to tell you. Calm down, everything's O.K. What do you want? Just name it [= say]! Do what you want – it doesn't matter. Pass [me] the salt and pepper, please. Go [to her] and take her the book.
plural / group	Pijte, jedite, veselite se! Ja ne želim ići. Idite vi.	Eat, drink, and be merry! I don't want to go. You [all] go [ahead].
plural / polite	Zovite nas večeras, molim vas. Zatvorite vrata, molim vas. Budite tako dobri ...	Call us this evening, please. Close the door, please. Will you [please] be so good [as to...]

C što / B,S, šta; S,B so / C sol; S,B biber / C papar; S do nje / B do nje / C k njoj

78c. The inclusive imperative, and the form **hajde**

Singular and plural imperative forms convey a command or request. By contrast, the third form, the *inclusive imperative*, simply suggests a course of action, one that includes the speaker as well as everyone spoken to. Translations vary depending upon the context. The last example below is a famous couplet from a poem by Tin Ujević (1891-1955).

inclusive	Uđimo ovamo, da vidimo šta ima. Pričekajmo malo. Recimo da je tako. A šta onda? On je malo, recimo, čudan.	Let's go in and see what's here. How about we [= Let's] wait a bit. Let's assume [= say] it's so. But then what? He's a little, shall we say, strange.
	Plaćimo, plaćimo u tišini Umrimo, umrimo u samoći.	Let us cry, let us cry in silence Let us die, let us die alone [= in solitude].

B,S šta / C što

In more colloquial style, inclusive meaning is expressed by placing the word **hajde** before the infinitive (or **hajde da** before the 1pl. present) of an affirmative verb indicating the proposed action (a negated verb is prefaced only by **hajdemo da**). If the verb is **ići**, then the phrase * **hajde da idemo** is replaced simply by **hajdemo**. When one wishes to push an action along, the form **hajdemo** can also be used alone. One could say, then, that **hajdemo** can also refer to a more metaphorically-envisioned idea of movement. Both **hajde** and the inclusive imperative convey roughly the same meaning. The inclusive imperative is more formal sounding; **hajde** is more frequently used in spoken contexts.

HAJDE	Hajde da ručamo! Gladan sam. Hajde da ne govorimo o tome.	Let's have lunch! I'm hungry. Let's not talk about that.
hajdemo	Jesi li gotov? Hajdemo u grad! Zašto ne pišete zadatak? Hajdemo!	Are you ready? Let's go into town! Why aren't you writing your assignment? Come on, let's get on with it!

S,B hajde da ručamo / B,C hajdemo ručati; C jesi li / S,B da li si; S,C u grad / B u grad; S,B zadatak / C zadaću

78d. The form **neka**

The imperative mood contains forms marked for 1pl. (the inclusive imperative) and for 2sg. and 2pl. (called simply *imperative*). The former suggests a course of action with varying degrees

of insistence, and the latter constitutes a request or command. One can also communicate a similar range of meanings in the 3rd person. This is done by placing the word **neka** before a 3rd person present tense verb form (normally of the perfective aspect). The general meaning is that of an indirectly expressed request; depending on the context, it can be anything from a mild suggestion to a veiled command. Each of the sentences below could have several meanings; not all possibilities are given. The final sentence in the “request” section below is a famous line by the poet-statesman Petar II Petrović Njegoš (1813? - 1851).

On the other end of the scale, **neka** can also introduce a wish or a blessing. In informal spoken contexts, **neka** is often shortened to **nek**. When used alone, **neka** conveys acquiescence; sometimes it is repeated in this meaning.

NEKA

request	<p>Čeka li netko? Neka uđe. Neka prvo napiše domaći zadatak. Ja ne idem; neka ona ide s tobom. Nek onda bude kako ti hoćeš. Neka bude što biti ne može.</p>	<p><i>Is there someone waiting? Have him come in. / Let him come in. He should write his homework first. / Make [~ have] him write his homework first. I'm not going; she should go with you [instead]. / Have her go with you [instead]. Have it your way then [= let it be your way]. / So [let's do it] your way then. Let there come [= be] what cannot be.</i></p>
wish	<p>Neka ti je sa srećom! Nek ti dragi Bog da zdravlje!</p>	<p><i>Good luck! More power to you! [= May it be filled with fortune for you.] May the good Lord grant you health!</i></p>
acquiescence	<p>Neka, ostavi. To je moj posao. Neka, neka! Budi bez brige. Neka, neka!</p>	<p><i>It's O.K., [just] leave [it]. That's my job. It's O.K., [really]! Don't worry. Sure, fine! [Bring it on / let it happen, (etc.)]</i></p>

C netko / B,S neko; C,B čeka li / S,B da li čeka; S,B domaći zadatak / C domaću zadaču

78e. Negative imperatives; aspect choice in the imperative mood

A negative command is in essence a request that an action not be performed. To convey this idea, BCS uses the all-purpose negative imperative stem **nemoj**. To this form, one adds the regular imperative endings: zero for singular, **-te** for polite/plural, and **-mo** for inclusive. This negative imperative form can be used alone if the verbal action to which it refers is understood from the context. Otherwise it is followed by the infinitive (or **da** + present) of the verb in question. The verb can be of either aspect, depending on the speaker's desired focus. Spoken colloquially, after the particle **ma**, the word **nemoj** conveys a sense of surprise or irony.

NEMOJ

+ infinitive	<p>Nemoj ovamo ulaziti – opasno je. Nemoj da tako govoriš! Molim vas, nemojte to čitati. Nemoj me krivo shvatiti!</p>	<p><i>Don't come in here – it's dangerous. Don't talk like that! Please don't read that. Don't misunderstand me!</i></p>
[alone]	<p>Nemoj, molim te! Nemojmo tako.</p>	<p><i>Don't [do that], please! Let's not [be / act] this way.</i></p>
[= irony]	<p>Ma nemoj!</p>	<p><i>You don't say! Are you kidding?</i></p>

C,B nemoj ulaziti / B,S nemoj da ulaziš; B,S nemoj da tako govoriš / C,B nemoj tako govoriti; C,B nemojte to čitati / B,S nemojte to da čitate; B,C nemoj me krivo shvatiti / S,B nemoj da me krivo shvatiš

It is also possible to place the negative particle **ne** before the imperative form of the verb. Normally this is done only with verbs of the imperfective aspect. If **ne** is placed before a perfective verb, it adds a strong overtone of caution, roughly equivalent to English *you'd better not...*

NE + imperative

+ imperfective	Ne <u>pitaj</u> , samo slušaj.	<i>Don't ask, just listen.</i>
	Ne boj se, nema ničega strašnoga.	<i>Don't be afraid, there's nothing [to] fear.</i>
+ perfective	Ne propustite tu priliku!	<i>Don't miss this opportunity! [... if you do, you'll be sorry]</i>
	Ne zaboravi me!	<i>Don't forget me!</i>

B,C,S ničega strašnoga / B,S ničeg strašnog

Both aspects of the verb are used in the affirmative imperative. As elsewhere in aspect usage, the choice depends upon the speaker's focus. Perfective verbs are frequently encountered, since when one gives a command one usually focuses on the desired completion of an action. However, imperfective verbs are also used freely in the imperative mood. A great deal depends upon the individual verb, in fact. Some verbs by nature focus more naturally on achievement-oriented actions, while others focus more naturally on the durative nature of an action (for more discussion of these different aspectual meanings, see [106b]).

Two examples from section [78b] above are repeated below by way of illustration, each spoken with reference to a single occasion. The meaning of the first sentence is more inherently suited to a perfective verb: the speaker specifically requests that the action in question be brought to completion. The meaning of the second sentence, however, is more general and therefore better suited to an imperfective verb: the speaker wishes this action to be undertaken as opposed to some other one, but does not express any particular focus on completion.

perfective	Zatvörte vráta, molím.	<i>Close the door, please.</i>
imperfective	Rádi šta hočeš, nema veze.	<i>Do what you want, it doesn't matter.</i>

B,S šta / C što

79 The instrumental case

The final case to be learned is the instrumental case. It is used to express various adverbial meanings and after a number of prepositions. Many of the meanings are relatively idiomatic.

79a. Endings of nouns and adjectives

The instrumental singular (Isg.) ending for masculine and neuter nouns is **-om**, which takes the form **-em** after soft consonants (review [32f]). Feminine nouns in **-a** also have the ending **-om**, but with two differences. First, the vowel in the feminine ending is always long; second, the preceding consonant has NO effect on the shape of the ending: this ending remains **-om** after soft consonants as well. Feminine nouns in a consonant have two possible endings, **-i** and **-u**. If the latter ending is used, it is usually accompanied by various changes, reviewed in [79b].

The Isg. adjective endings are **-im** for masculine and neuter nouns, and **-om** for feminine nouns, both with a long vowel. In adjectives as well, the feminine ending remains **-om** regardless of the shape of the preceding consonant.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR, NOUNS

	masculine	neuter	feminine
Nsg.	-Ø masculine-neuter	-o / -e -om / -em	-a -om -i, -u
Isg.			

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR, ADJECTIVES

	masculine	neuter	feminine
Nsg.short	-Ø	-o / -e	-a
Nsg.long	-i	-o / -e	-a
Isg.		masculine-neuter -im	-om

Below are examples of adjective + noun phrases in the instrumental singular. As in other case forms, agreement is determined by gender alone. If a masculine noun ends in **-a** preceded by a soft consonant, it obeys the rules for feminine nouns in **-a**: that is, it takes the Isg. ending **-om**. For more on the endings **-i** vs. **-u**, see the following section.

	masculine	neuter	feminine -a	feminine -Ø
Nsg. short	dobar pas	slatko sèlo	slatka ide`ja	slatka stvar
Nsg. long	dobrì pas	slatko sèlo	slatka ide`ja	slatka stvar
Nsg. short	dobar muž	loše pìtanje	loša ide`ja	loša stvar
Nsg. long	dobrì muž	loše pìtanje	loša ide`ja	loša stvar
Nsg. short	jak voda			
Nsg. long	jaki voda			
Isg.	dobrìm psom dobrìm mužem jakim vodòm	slatkìm sèlom lošìm pìtanjem	slatkòm ide`jom lošòm ide`jom	slatkòm stvari [...stvarju] lošòm stvari [...stvarju]

79b. The instrumental ending **-u** in feminine nouns

Some feminine nouns in **-Ø** use the **-i** ending predominantly, and some use the **-u** ending predominantly. The **-u** ending is more complicated to learn (and remember); on the other hand it is often helpful to be able to mark the instrumental case uniquely, since nearly all other case forms of this declension type end in **-i**. The complexity of the ending **-u** lies in the fact that it is only sometimes added directly to the noun stem. More frequently, some other change accompanies the addition of the ending **-u**. If the stem-final consonant can undergo consonant softening, it will do so, after which the ending **-u** is added (for the full list of possible consonant softenings, see [112c]). If the stem-final consonant is **-č** or **-d**, the ending **-u** is added directly. In all other nouns, the ending takes the shape **-ju**.

Nouns ending in **-ost** or **-est** very frequently take the ending **-u**. Many other commonly used nouns almost always take the ending **-i**. The chart below is included to illustrate the different ways the ending **-u** interacts with noun stems. Some of the examples, however, such as **laž** and **stvar**, are almost never encountered with the ending **-u**.

	Nsg.	lsg.	
consonant shift + u			
	pam <u>et</u>	pame <u>ću</u>	<i>mind, memory</i>
	krv	krvlj <u>u</u>	<i>blood</i>
	m <u>isao</u> [Gsg. m <u>isli</u>]	m <u>islj</u> u	<i>thought</i>
	k <u>ost</u>	koš <u>ću</u>	<i>bone</i>
	rado <u>st</u>	radoš <u>ću</u>	<i>joy</i>
	svij <u>est</u>	sviješ <u>ću</u>	<i>consciousness</i>
stem + u			
	no <u>ć</u>	no <u>ću</u>	<i>night</i>
	že <u>đ</u>	že <u>đu</u>	<i>thirst</i>
	ob <u>itelj</u>	ob <u>itelju</u> (ob <u>itelji</u>)	<i>family</i>
stem + ju			
	stvar	stvar <u>ju</u> (stvar <u>i</u>)	<i>thing</i>
	rije <u>č</u>	riječ <u>ju</u> (riječ <u>i</u>)	<i>word</i>
	la <u>ž</u>	laž <u>ju</u> (laž <u>i</u>)	<i>lie [untruth]</i>

J svijest / E svest; C obitelj / B,S porodica; J riječ / E reč

79c. The instrumental of interrogative pronouns

The instrumental forms of **ko** / **tko** and **šta** / **što** are similar to the genitive, dative, and locative forms in that they begin with **k-** and **č-**, respectively. The fact that the two rhyme with one another makes them easier to remember. Both have a long vowel (**kim**, **čim**), and both also have alternative longer forms, each with a long rising accent (**kime**, **čime**). The full set of case forms for these interrogative pronouns is given to the right.

	WHO	WHAT
<i>Nom</i>	ko / tko	šta / što
<i>Acc</i>	koga	šta / što
<i>Gen</i>	koga	čega
<i>Dat</i>	kòme, kòmu	čèmu
<i>Loc</i>	kòme	čèmu
<i>Instr</i>	k <u>im</u> , k <u>ime</u>	č <u>im</u> , č <u>ime</u>

B,S ko / C tko; B,S šta / C što

79d. Instrumental forms of pronoun objects

Pronoun objects in the instrumental case have only full (long) forms. In addition, the 1sg. and 3sg. pronouns have alternate, longer forms. Only the singular forms are new to the learner. The plural forms are the same as those for dative and locative.

FULL FORMS	SINGULAR				PLURAL			
	N	G	D-L	I	N	G	D-L-I	
1st	ja	mene	meni	mno <u>nom</u> , mnóme	mi	na <u>s</u>	nama	
2nd	t <u>í</u>	tebe	tebi	tob <u>om</u>	v <u>í</u>	va <u>s</u>	vama	
3rd masc	on	njega	njemu	nj <u>im</u> , nj <u>ime</u>	oni	nji <u>h</u>	njima	
3rd neut	ono	njega	njemu	nj <u>im</u> , nj <u>ime</u>	ona	nji <u>h</u>	njima	
3rd fem	ona	nje	njo <u>j</u>	njo <u>m</u> , njo <u>me</u>	one	nji <u>h</u>	njima	

The 1st singular instrumental pronouns begin with the sound group **mn-**. This requires a preceding preposition to end with a vowel. Prepositions which do not already end in a vowel add **-a** before this form, and the accent shifts onto this vowel. This happens ONLY in the 1sg. form!

2nd singular	3rd singular		1st singular
s <u>tobom</u>	s <u>njim</u> , s <u>njom</u>	BUT	sà <u>mnom</u> <i>with ...</i>
pred <u>tobom</u>	pred <u>njim</u> , pred <u>njom</u>	BUT	predà <u>mnom</u> <i>before...</i>
nad <u>tobom</u>	nad <u>njim</u> , nad <u>njom</u>	BUT	nada <u>mnom</u> <i>above...</i>

80 Prepositions with the instrumental and other cases

A number of prepositions take the instrumental case; most of them also take other cases as well in other meanings. For one of these prepositions, the meaning specific to the instrumental differs radically from the meaning specific to the genitive. For most of the others, the meaning difference is the “motion / location” one seen earlier in the opposition “Acc. / Loc.”.

80a. The preposition **s(a)** meaning “with”

The most important preposition used with the instrumental case is **s**, also occurring in the form **sa**. The form is the same as the preposition used with the genitive case (review [43a]), but because the meaning is completely different, it is best to think of them as two different prepositions. This one is usually translated into English as *with*. One must take care, however, because not all instances of English *with* are translatable by BCS **s(a)**. For more discussion, see [81a].

★ S(A)	Она са родитељима <u>путује</u> на море. Говоримо с њима о јоном човеку. Који човек? Онај са <u>малим</u> псим? Увек са женом игра цељу ноћ. Да ли пијеш кафу са млеком или без млека? Са чим спремаш омлет? Са сиром?	<i>She's going to the seacoast with her parents.</i> <i>We're speaking with them about that man.</i> <i>Which man? The one with the little dog?</i> <i>He always dances with his wife all night.</i> <i>Do you drink [your] coffee with milk or without?</i> <i>What are you putting in the omelet [= making the omelet with] ? Cheese?</i>
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S,C na more / B na more; E čoveku / J čovjeku; E uvek / J uvijek; B,S igra / C,B plesa; E celu / J cijelu;
S,B da li pićeš / B,C pićeš li; S,B kafu / C kavu / B kahvu; E mleko / J mljeko

80b. Prepositions referring to location

Other prepositions with the instrumental refer primarily to spatial relationships. The most frequently used of these are **među** “among”, **nad** “above”, **pod** “below”, **pred** “in front of”, and **za** “behind”. The latter preposition is used in one idiom which may initially confuse English speakers. When someone is seated with respect to a certain object (indeed, from the English viewpoint, *before* it), English uses the preposition *at*, in expressions such as *AT the table* or *AT the computer*. BCS, however, uses the preposition meaning *behind*, followed by the instrumental. For other meanings of the preposition **za** followed by the instrumental, see [159b].

These prepositions can also be used with the accusative, if the specific meaning of motion is intended. For examples and discussion, see [156b].

★ MEDU	Разговарају о томе међу собом. Међу нама је све свршено.	<i>They're discussing it [among themselves].</i> <i>It's all over with [= between] us.</i>
★ NAD	Над градом има густих облака. Наши хотел је над језером. Шта каже натпис над вратима?	<i>There are dense clouds over the city.</i> <i>Our hotel overlooks [= is situated above] the lake.</i> <i>What does the inscription over the door say?</i>

★POD	<p>Речи ми то под заклетвом! Пас лежи под столом и речки. Најбоље радим под притиском.</p>	<p><i>Say that to me under oath!</i> <i>The dog's lying under the table and growling.</i> <i>I work best under pressure.</i></p>
★PRED	<p>Пред тобом је будућност. Лепо је пред кућом имати траву. Ко за то одговара пред судом?</p>	<p><i>You have [a] future in front of you.</i> <i>It's nice to have grass in front of the house.</i> <i>Who's answering in court [= before the law] for that?</i></p>
★ZA	<p>Он ми увек стоји за вратом. Воли да буде за воланом. Сви су за столом, можемо да једемо. Зашто си стално за компјутером?</p>	<p><i>He's always watching everything I do</i> [= standing behind my neck]. <i>He likes being behind the wheel.</i> <i>Everyone's at table, we can eat.</i> <i>Why are you always at the computer?</i></p>

S,B šta / C što; E lepo / J lijepo; B,S ko / C tko; E uvek / J uvijek; B,S voli da bude / B,C voli biti; B,S za volanom / C za upravljačem; B,S možemo da jedemo / B,C možemo jesti; B,S kompjuterom / C kompjutorom

In fact, many of the above prepositions are more frequently encountered in a somewhat different version, accompanied by the genitive case. In each instance, the prefix **iz-** has been added (which depending on the following consonant may appear as **is-**). The meaning is roughly the same. The preposition **izmedu** is, in fact, by far the more usual way to say *between* (review [43c]). The same is increasingly true for the other compound prepositions, which include **iznad**, **ispod**, **ispred**, and **iza**. Some speakers make a distinction between the nonprefixed prepositions (with the instrumental) and the compound ones (with the genitive), using the former in abstract meanings and the latter in concrete, spatial meanings, but for most speakers they are readily interchangeable. For more discussion, see [157b].

81 The instrumental without prepositions

The instrumental case is frequently used alone. Indeed, its very name is derived from one of its most basic uses, that of identifying the tool or instrument through whose means an action is accomplished: this usage is called the *instrumental of means*. The instrumental case also occurs in a number of idioms which make various sorts of reference to the ideas of time and space.

81a. The instrumental of means

English uses various prepositions to express the BCS instrumental of means, among them *by*, *through*, and *with*. It is very important that English speakers not translate this particular meaning of English *with* by the corresponding BCS preposition. In other words, the instrumental case ALONE carries the full meaning. The idea “means by which an action is accomplished” can refer an actual tool or object, to the manner in which an action is carried out, or to the means of transport. It can also refer to a part of the body, although these expressions can be perhaps viewed simply as idioms using the instrumental case. For the plural forms of the instrumental, see [86], and for more on body-part nouns, see [110a].

tool	<p>Đak piše na ploči bijeom kredom.</p>	<p><i>The pupil writes on the board with</i> [= using] white chalk.</p>
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tool	Tko se može umiti <u>hlădnom</u> vodom? Namaži bebu <u>uljem</u> za <u>sunčanje</u> ! Ti kopaš lopatom, a ja motikom. Na suncu glavu zaklanjam šešjom.	<i>Who can wash with cold water?</i> <i>Put suntan oil on the baby! [= Grease the baby with/using suntan oil]</i> <i>You dig with [= using] a shovel and I [dig] with a hoe.</i> <i>In the sun, I protect my head with a hat.</i>
manner	Nazivā ga pravim imenom. Obično plaćamo čekom. Javi se, ili poštom ili telefonom.	<i>He calls that by [its] proper name.</i> <i>We usually pay by check.</i> <i>Get in touch, either by mail or by phone.</i>
	C,B na ploča / S na tabli; J bijelom / E belom; C tko / B,S ko; C,B se može umiti / B,S može da se umije; S,C na suncu / B na suncu	
transport	Mi obično idemo tramvajem. A vi? Putuje samo vozom, nikad avionom. Vožnja trajektom ne traje dugo. Na posao se vozimo autom.	<i>We usually go by tram. And you?</i> <i>She travels only by train; [she] never [goes] by plane.</i> <i>The ferry ride [= travel by ferry] isn't long.</i> <i>We drive a [= travel by] car to work.</i>
	B,S vozom / C vlakom; B,C,S avionom / C zrakoplovom	
body part	Levak je – piše levom rukom. Veseo pas maše repom. Ko se slaže, neka klimne glavom. Ne kaže ništa, samo sleže ramenima.	<i>He's a lefty: he writes with his left hand.</i> <i>A happy dog wags its tail.</i> <i>Whoever agrees, let him nod [his] head.</i> <i>He doesn't say anything, he just shrugs his shoulders.</i>
	E levak / J ljevak; E levom / J ljevom; S,B ko / C tko; B,C,S klimne / C,B kimne; E sleže / J slikeže	

81b. The instrumental in time expressions

The instrumental is used in several meanings connected with time. In one of these, it conveys the idea that something occurs repeatedly at regular intervals; here, the intervals identified are almost always days of the week. In another, it expresses the idea of an extended duration of time; here, it is nearly always accompanied by the adverb već. In yet another meaning, the instrumental of the word **noć** is used adverbially in the meaning *at night*, in correspondence with which a matching adverb has been formed from the word **dan**. On occasion, the two are used together in a fixed expression corresponding to English *night and day*, but they are more frequently used separately.

intervals	Vežbe imam u torkom i četvrtkom. Nedeljom idemo na izlet.	<i>I have drill sections Tuesday -Thursday.</i> <i>We go on an outing on Sundays.</i>
	ZATVORENO PONEDJELJKOM	<i>CLOSED MONDAYS</i>
	OTVORENO RADNIM DANOM OD 8 DO 5	<i>OPEN WEEKDAYS [= working days]</i> <i>FROM 8 TO 5</i>
duration	Već stoljećima se zna za to. Kiša pada već danima. Već godinama o tome sanjam.	<i>That's been known for centuries.</i> <i>It's been raining for days [on end].</i> <i>I've been dreaming of that for years.</i>

day/night	Dolazi samo noću. Ona uči danju, a ja učim noću.	<i>He comes only at night. She studies by day and I by night.</i>
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E vežbe / J vježbe; E nedeljom / J nedjeljom; E ponедelјkom / J понедјелјком; J stoljeće / E stoljeće;
B,C stoljećima / S vekovima; E vek / J vijek

81c. The instrumental of space

The instrumental case can also denote the path described by a directional trajectory through space. This usage differs both from the meaning of **u** / **na** + Acc. (which focuses on a destination) and **po** + Loc. (which focuses on a non-directional movement within some defined area). When the instrumental is used, it indicates the presumption of a directional endpoint, but one which is not normally stated explicitly. Another frequent way to express the means of motion is with the instrumental case of the noun **put**, which means both *time* (in the sense of *instance*) and *way* (in the sense of *road*). Used in the instrumental, this noun sometimes refers to the concrete path down which one travels, and sometimes to a more general metaphorical sense of means. The word is irregular: its Isg. is **putem** instead of the expected **putom**. Only the form **putem** is used in Serbian and Bosnian. Croatian uses **putem** in the more adverbial sense discussed here, but **putom** when the word is used as a noun (for instance, after a preposition or as part of the noun **autoput** “motorway”). For more on the case forms of this noun, see [89a].

trajectory	Mornari krstare Jadranskim morem. Najbolje je ići osvijetljenom ulicom. Mlađići se jure autoputem.	<i>Sailors cruise the Adriatic sea. It's best to go down a [well]-lit street. Young men race down the freeway.</i>
putem	Kaže da se vratišmo istim putem. Svaki ide svojim putem. To se može riješiti samo sudskim putem.	<i>S/he says to take [= that we should take] the same route back. Everyone goes his or her own way. That can only be settled in the courts [= by way of court procedures].</i>

J osvijetljenom / E osvetljenom; B,S autoputem / C autoputom, autocestom; J riješiti / E rešiti; B,C se može riješiti / S,B može da se reši (riješi)

81d. Verbs which take instrumental objects

Several verbs take an object in the instrumental case: this fact must be learned along with the meaning of the verb. Probably the most frequent of these is **baviti se**, which identifies one's occupation in a broad sense. That is, the word refers not only to profession but also to hobbies, and it can refer either to a general condition or to the specific moment in question. Examples of this and other verbs taking instrumental objects are given below. Many correspond to English verbs used with a prepositional phrase, and some in fact use the preposition *with*. Some such verbs take two objects: the first is in the accusative case and the second in the instrumental case. Examples of such verbs are **služiti** “serve” and **smatrati** “consider [to be]” (for more on this usage of the instrumental, see [159a]).

baviti se	<i>be occupied</i>	– Čime se baviš? – Inženjer sam, a vi? Moja se žena bavi crtanjem.	“What's your occupation?” “I'm an engineer. And you?” <i>My wife goes in for drawing.</i>
trgovati	<i>deal in</i>	Niko ovdje ne trguje oružjem. Naši prijatelji trguju vijnom.	<i>No one here deals in arms. Our friends are wine merchants.</i>

ponòsiti se	<i>take pride in</i>	Strášno se pónosi sinom. Némajú se číme ponósiti!	<i>He's terribly proud of [his] son. They haven't a thing to be proud of!</i>
slùžiti	<i>serve</i>	Poslužili su goste čajem. Číme te mógu služiti?	<i>They served the guests tea. What can I do for you [= what can I serve you with]?</i>
smàtrati	<i>consider</i>	Smatrámo ga sposobním. Ona neéce s njím, jer ga smatra grubijánom.	<i>We consider him [to be] capable. She doesn't want [to go out] with him because she thinks he's a boor.</i>

B,S niko / C nitko; J ovdje / E ovde; C,B mogu te služiti / B,S mogu da te služim

82 Se-verbs, continued

When the particle **se** is added to a 3rd person form of a verb which normally has a human subject, it means that someone feels like carrying out the action in question. This person, that is, the human experiencing this feeling, is expressed in the dative case. Two different shades of meaning can be discerned, depending on the type of verb. The first, which could be called *inclinational*, is restricted to intransitive verbs which describe bodily states. The second, which could be called *desiderative*, includes all other types of verbs.

82a. Inclinational se-verbs

When **se** is added to a 3rd singular form of an intransitive verb referring to a bodily state, it means that the person in question (expressed in the dative case) feels subject to, and indeed is almost overcome by, a state over which s/he has little or no control. These sentences are always subjectless: the verb is always 3sg.

Ah, jako mi se spava!	<i>Oh, I'm really sleepy!</i>
Kažé da mu se nè spava, i da može završiti taj pòsao	<i>He says he's not sleepy, and that he can finish the job.</i>
Povraća li ti se?	<i>Are you sick to your stomach?</i>
Dječaku se povraća.	<i>The boy is about to throw up.</i>
Da li ti se drijema?	<i>Are you drowsy?</i>
Vrti mu se u glavi.	<i>His head is spinning.</i>

C, B može završiti / B,S može da završi; C,B povraća li ti se / S,B da li ti se povraća; J dječaku / E dečaku; J drijemati / E dremati; B,S da li ti se drijema (drema) / C,B drijema li ti se

82b. Desiderative se-verbs

When **se** is added to other verbs, it indicates that a person feels an inclination or desire to perform an action. The verbs can be either transitive or intransitive. These sentences are also normally subjectless, with verbs in 3sg. In Bosnian and Croatian, the generalized phrase **ne da se** "not feel like" is also used. If the verbal action is expressed, the infinitive is added. Usually, however, the action is clear from the context and the phrase stands alone. Sentences with **ne da se** are also subjectless. In place of this expression, Serbian will specify the action, using a desiderative se-verb. Serbian can also use a phrase with **mrziti** in this meaning (see [105] for more detail).

If, however, the verb is a transitive one (capable of taking a direct object) and if the speaker wishes to make explicit his/her desire for that particular object, then the sentence can have a subject. In this case it is the OBJECT DESIRED which is the grammatical SUBJECT of the sentence, and which determines whether the verb is singular or plural.

subjectless	<p>Idę mi se u kino. Hajdemo!</p> <p>Kaže da mu se nè jede.</p> <p>Da li ti se šeta? Meni se šeta.</p> <p>Nè piše mi se sada.</p>	<p><i>I feel like going to the movies. Let's go!</i></p> <p><i>He says he doesn't feel like eating.</i></p> <p><i>Are you up for a walk? I feel like one.</i></p> <p><i>I'm not in the mood for writing just now.</i></p>
ne da se	<p>Nè da mi se ići u podstanare.</p> <p>– Hoćeš li večeras sà mnòm u kino?</p> <p>– Nè da mi se.</p> <p>– Nè ide mi se.</p>	<p><i>I don't really feel like being a tenant.</i></p> <p><i>"Do you want to go to the movies with me tonight?"</i></p> <p><i>"I'm not really up for it."</i></p> <p><i>"I don't feel like going."</i></p>
with subject	<p>– Da li ti se pije kafa?</p> <p>– Ne, hvala, ali pije mi se čaj.</p> <p>Kaže da mu se piju francuska vina.</p> <p>Izgleda da im se tvoja knjiga ne čita.</p>	<p><i>"Do you feel like [drinking] some coffee?"</i></p> <p><i>"No thanks, but I feel like [drinking] tea."</i></p> <p><i>He says he's up for some French wines.</i></p> <p><i>It looks like they're not inclined to be reading your book.</i></p>

S bioskop / B,C kino; S,B da li ti se šeta / C,B šeta li ti se; C,B hoćeš li / B,S da li hoćeš; B,S da li ti se pije / C,B pije li ti se; B,S kafa / C kava / B kahva

The ideas conveyed by all these **se**-verbs can also, of course, be expressed by active verbs such as **hteti** / **htjeti** and **željeti** / **željeti** (or sometimes even **moći**), in which case the person feeling the desire is grammatically the subject. The following pairs illustrate the difference. The English translations of the subjectless sentences are of course approximate, since the exact shade of meaning depends so much on the context of speech.

active	Ne žèlim ići u podstanare.	<i>I don't want to rent a room.</i>
subjectless	Nè da mi se ići u podstanare.	<i>I don't really feel like being a tenant.</i>
	Nè ide mi se u podstanare.	[same]
active	Ne mogu joj sada pìsatì.	<i>I can't write her now.</i>
subjectless	Nè piše mi se sada.	<i>I'm not in the mood for writing just now.</i>

B,C želim ići / S,B želim da idem; C,B mogu joj pisati / S,B mogu da joj pišem

Although the difference in meaning is subtle, one can begin to define it by making reference to the difference in grammatical focus. In the active sentences the focus is on the speaker and the fact that s/he is making an explicit statement of a relatively strong feeling. In the subjectless sentences, by contrast, the focus is less on the speaker and more on the inclination (or absence thereof) to perform the action. The meaning of any one subjectless sentence of this sort depends on the degree of the speaker's actual desire, the conversational context, or both. Thus, if any one speaker chooses to express a desire (or the absence of a desire) with a subjectless sentence, it can mean either that his/her desire is less strongly felt than in the corresponding active sentence, that s/he chooses for whatever reason to express this desire in a less direct, less abrupt manner, or a combination of the two.

83 Aspect, continued

According to the concept of aspect, nearly all verbs come in pairs. They share a general dictionary meaning but differ as to the view taken of that meaning. Perfective verbs view the action as a single complete instance, and imperfective verbs view it as ongoing or repeated, or in general terms (review [28, 53c, 70], and see [145]). Each of the two verbs has a distinct form, and each follows the conjugation rules of its verb type (review [53a-b, 96], and see [147]).

83a. Bi-aspectual verbs

A few verbs, however, have the same form for both aspects: in technical language, they are *bi-aspectual*. That is, one uses the same verb form to express either the idea of a single action with focus on completion (perfective), or both the general idea of an action and an action in progress (imperfective). In addition, certain of these verbs have a separate form (derived according to processes specified earlier) to express the specific imperfective idea of repeated (or *iterative*) action. For nearly all meanings, however, the base bi-aspectual verb is used. The chart below lists the most common of these, together with examples of usage in both the imperfective meaning (I) and the perfective one (P). If a verb has a derived imperfective with markedly iterative meaning, it is noted as (II). For more on derived imperfectives with iterative meaning, see [147c].

ići	I	Tamo idemo često.	We often go there.
	P	Moram da idem, ne mogu čekati.	I have to go, I can't wait.
čuti	I	Čujemo se svaki dan.	We talk [on the phone] every day.
	P	O čemu se radi? Nisam te čula.	What's it about? I didn't hear you.
rucati	I	Volimo rucati vani.	We like to dine outdoors.
	P	Danas ne mogu kod vas rucati.	I can't come for lunch today.
večerati	I	Kada obično večerate?	When do you usually have supper?
	P	Hajde da večeramo!	Let's have supper!
kazati	I	Ko kaže da ne možemo ući?	Who says we can't go in?
	P	Moram da ti kažem da nije tako.	I have to tell you it's not like that.
(kazivati)	II	To nam kazuje sve.	That tells us everything.
vidjeti	I	Vidiš li onu djevojku tamo?	Do you see that girl over there?
	P	Ne možemo se danas vidjeti.	We can't meet today.
(vidjeti)	II	Ranije smo se često vidi.	We used to see each other often.
razumjeti	I	Ja te dobro razumjem.	I understand you well.
	P	Ne želim te pogrešno razumjeti.	I don't want to misunderstand you.
(razumijevati)	II	Oni su se dobro razumijevali.	They got [= used to get] on fine.

S,B moram da idem / B,C moram ići; B,C ne mogu čekati / S,B ne mogu da čekam; C,B volimo ručati / B,S volimo da ručamo; C,B vani / S,B napolju; C,B ne mogu ručati / S,B ne mogu da ručam; S,C kod vas / B kod vas; B,S hajde da večeramo / C,B hajdemo večerati; B,S ko / C tko; C,B ne možemo ući / S,B ne možemo da uđemo; S,B moram da ti kažem / C,B moram ti kazati; J vidjeti / E videti; C,B vidiš li / S,B da li vidiš; J djevojku / E devojku; C,B ne možemo se vidjeti / S,B ne možemo da se vidimo; S,B raniye / C,B prije; J razumjeti / E razumjeti; J razumijem / E razumem; C,B ne želim te razumjeti / S,B ne želim da te razumem (razumijem); J razumijevati / E razumevati

84 Verbs and adverbs of movement, continued

The idea of movement is basic to human activity, and all languages have different ways of conceptualizing movement. BCS has a set of verbs (derived from **ići**) which refer to movement in various directions without necessarily specifying the means of locomotion (review [54]). It also has a set of verbs which refer to the transporting of persons or objects: these verbs make specific reference to the means of locomotion. One can also emphasize the fact that one is walking rather than using some means of transport by using one of the adverbs meaning *on foot*. Finally, the verb **hodati** also means *walk*, but more in the sense of describing the activity itself rather than emphasizing the opposition between walking and riding.

Certain adverbs referring to motion (and to destination) are common throughout BCS. With respect to others, however, Croatian differs markedly from Serbian and Bosnian.

84a. Verbs of transport

The English verb *take* comprises a number of different meanings. In the sense “take into one’s possession”, it is usually rendered by BCS **uzeti**. But if *take* involves the idea of transport (“take [somewhere]”), then it is translated by one of three BCS verbs. These verbs make reference either to the means of transport, to the identity of the transportee, or both. All of them are transitive: that is, they require a direct object.

The most general verb of the three, **nositi**, is sometimes also translated as *carry*. It is used if that which is taken is an object or a living being carried in one’s arms (such as a baby). But if the transportee is a living being capable of moving on his or her own, another verb must be used. Here the means of transport comes into play: if the movement is on foot, then **voditi** is used, but if it is by vehicle, then **voziti** is used. In addition, **voziti** has two different transitive meanings – *drive* [someone somewhere] or *pilot* [a vehicle]. If **voziti** is used with **se**, it means simply *go by vehicle* (for instance, in the sense “drive instead of walk”).

The above three verbs are imperfective. The relationship of aspect in this set of verbs is complex, partly because there is no single perfective partner corresponding to each of these imperfectives, and partly because the several perfective verbs are built on very different stems which themselves are complex. For the sake of example, the chart below gives perfective verbs with the prefix **od-**. For the conjugation patterns of verbs with infinitive in **-sti**, see [94e, 153p-q], and for discussion of this verbal set as a whole, see [107]. Following the chart are examples illustrating the usage of imperfective “verbs of transport”, and of the verb **hodati** “walk”.

VERBS OF TRANSPORT

Basic imperfective		Perfective in od-		
infinitive	1st singular	infinitive	1st singular	
nositi	<u>nosim</u>	<u>odneti</u> / <u>odnijeti</u>	<u>odnesem</u>	<i>take</i> (= carry)
voditi	<u>vodim</u>	<u>odvesti</u>	<u>odvedem</u>	<i>take</i> (= lead on foot)
voziti	<u>vozim</u>	<u>odvesti</u>	<u>odvezem</u>	<i>take</i> (by vehicle)

nositi	Не могу да <u>носим</u> све ове књиге!	<i>I can't carry all these books!</i>
voditi	Често <u>води</u> свог пса у шетњу.	<i>He walks his dog [= takes it for a walk] often.</i>
voziti	Он ме <u>сваки дан вози</u> на посао.	<i>He takes [= drives] me to work every day.</i>
voziti (se)	Он <u>вози</u> свој ауто, а ја се <u>возим</u> .	<i>He drives his car, and I ride [in the car].</i>
voziti se	Ја се <u>сваки дан возим</u> на посао.	<i>I drive to work every day.</i>
hodati	Кад причам телефоном, увек <u>ходам</u> тамо-амо.	<i>When I talk on the phone, I always pace about [= walk to and fro].</i>

S,B ne mogu da nosim / C,B ne mogu nositi; B,C,S svog / C svojeg; E uvek / J uvijek

84b. Prepositions and adverbs referring to motion and destination

When referring to the idea of location, the question word corresponding to English *where* is the same throughout BCS. But when the reference is to destination, there are differences. To say *where* in this sense, Bosnian and Serbian use either **gde** / **gdje** or **kuda**, while Croatian uses

kamo (review [55c]). Croatian also differs from Bosnian and Serbian in several other ways with respect to expressions of motion and destination.

The first concerns the adverb **kuda**, which has a different meaning in Croatian. In Bosnian and Serbian, this adverb requests information about the identity of a destination. In Croatian, however, it requests information about the route one takes to reach that destination. Bosnian and Serbian have no single corresponding question word in this meaning; instead, they use the phrase **kojim putem**. The second two differences concern the prepositions used to express the idea “movement towards”. If the movement is towards a person, Croatian uses **k(a) + Dat.** (or just the dative case alone). Bosnian and Serbian, by contrast, use one of two prepositions taking the genitive case. If the intended meaning is movement towards a person wherever s/he is, the preposition is **do**, but if the intended destination is that person’s place (usually his/her residence), the preposition is **kod**. If the movement is towards a geographical location, Croatian uses only the preposition **prema**. In Bosnian and Serbian, this meaning is expressed by either **prema** or **k(a)**.

Here is a schematic diagram of these relationships, and examples of usage.

	Croatian	Bosnian / Serbian
to a person	k(a) + dative; dative	do + genitive
to a person’s house	k(a) + dative	kod + genitive
towards a location	prema + dative	prema or k(a) + dative
query about destination	kamo	kuda
query about route	kuda	kojim putem

C	Idi ka Goranu, i odnesi mu knjigu.	<i>Go to Goran, and take him the book.</i>
	Odi Goranu, i odnesi mu knjigu.	[same]
B,S	Idi do Vesne i odnesi joj knjigu.	<i>Go to Vesna and take her the book.</i>
C	Večeras idemo k Ivanu.	<i>We’re going to Ivan’s this evening.</i>
B,S	Večeras idemo kod Svetlane.	<i>We’re going to Svetlana’s this evening.</i>
C	Øva cesta ide prema Zagrebu.	<i>This road leads to Zagreb.</i>
B,S	Øvaj put ide ka / prema Beogradu.	<i>This road leads to Belgrade.</i>
C	Putuju prema moru.	<i>They’re traveling in the direction of the sea.</i>
B,S	Putuju ka / prema moru.	[same]
C	Kuda putujete?	<i>Which route are you taking?</i>
B,S	Kojim putem idete?	[same]

All BCS speakers, however, use **prema** in the meaning “according to, compared with”.

Što si ti prema njemu?	<i>You are nothing compared with him! [= What are you compared with him?]</i>
Svi postupaju prema naređenju.	<i>All act in accordance with the order.</i>
C što / B,S šta; B,S prema naređenju / C prema naredbi	

85 Word order, continued

The XYZ model is designed to account for all instances of clitic ordering in BCS, no matter how long or complex the sentence. Certain types of sentence structure require additional com-

mentary, however. Sometimes this has to do simply with the complexity of the ideas being expressed, and sometimes it has to do with variations of word order connected with the usage of infinitives (or their frequent replacement in Serbian, the sequence of **da** + present tense).

85a. “Starting over” with the XYZ model

A basic tenet of the XYZ model is that clitics occur in second position, after the first significant unit of the sentence. This unit is usually a single word, but it can also be a phrase, sometimes even a rather long one. In principle, whenever the phrase in the X position is complete, then the Y position must ensue, with its clitics. In practice, it sometimes happens that speakers finish one X phrase and then immediately begin another one. They do this either for reasons of sentence rhythm, or for emphasis. Typically, they make the first type of choice when the X phrase is simply too long. Because the sentence seems in danger of falling of its own weight, as it were, the speaker makes a minute (usually imperceptible) pause and begins the XYZ model over again. In the second type of choice, a speaker chooses to emphasize something other than the subject of the sentence. Indeed, the one requirement of this sort of sentence is that the new X position (the one that WILL be followed by the Y position) contain a predicate form of some sort (verb or predicate adjective). Thus, speakers often use this “double-X” pattern in order to place particular emphasis on the predicate form that fills the second X position.

Each of the examples below could be interpreted in either way – as a rhythmic choice, or as a desire for emphasis. In short sentences such as these, the latter is the more likely reason for “starting over”: the English translations indicate clearly that the focus of each sentence is on something other than the first X phrase. As the student gains more experience with longer BCS sentences, examples of both types will occur. For more discussion of these issues, see [164b].

<i>X</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>Y</i>	<i>Z</i>
S <u>takvim</u> ljudima	teško	je	rāditi.
U <u>ovoj</u> knjizi	obrađeni	su	rāzličiti takvi primjeri.

People like that are hard to work with.

Various examples of this sort are treated in this book

J primjeri / E primeri

85a. Word order and dependent infinitives

According to the XYZ rules of word order, all the clitics of a sentence must occur together in Y position, after the first significant unit. Since most clitics depend in one way or another on the sentence’s verb, a sentence with two verbs (each with its own dependent clitics) may create a potential problem. These two verbs are invariably a main (conjugated) verb and an infinitive which depends upon this main verb. There are two possible ways such a sentence can obey the XYZ rules: either the clitics can all be grouped together in a single Y slot, or each can remain tied to its own verb in the relevant Y slot(s). The determining factor is the degree of dependence obtaining between the two verbs.

This theoretical problem can be clearly illustrated by contrasting the two ways in which BCS can express the idea *infinitive* (leaving aside for the moment the fact that one of these ways is more prevalent in Serbian and the other more prevalent in Croatian). When the infinitive is expressed as a sequence of **da** + present, clitics depending upon the infinitive must follow the **da**: BCS word order rules allow no other alternative. But when the infinitive is a single word, clitics dependent on it can either join those of the main verb or remain with the infinitive. These different options are illustrated below. For clarity, each sentence is given first with the infinitive as a

da + present phrase, a framework which allows unambiguous identification of the verb on which the clitic depends. Type (1) sentences are those in which infinitive clitics can move to the main verb. Type (2) sentences, which are in general more prevalent, are those in which clitics remain with their own verb. Note that in type (2) sentences there are two obvious instances of the *XYZ* sequence: the version with the single-word infinitive utilizes the “starting over” rules outlined above, according to which it is required to place the infinitive itself in the second *X* slot (followed directly by its clitic). But when type (1) sentences utilize the single-word infinitive, the clitic moves up to the first *Y* position, that associated with the main verb.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (1) [da+pres] Teško je da ga razumiješ.
[inf] Teško ga je razumjeti. | <i>It's hard to understand him.</i>
[same] |
| [da+pres] To ne može da se kaže.
[inf] To se ne može kazaći. | <i>That can't be said.</i>
[same] |
| (2) [da+pres] Čini mi se opasno da se vozí biciklom.
[inf] Čini mi se opasno voziti se biciklom. | |
| [da+pres] Opasno je da se nagniješ kroz prozor.
[inf] Opasno je nagnijati se kroz prozor. | |

The structure of these sentences is more clearly seen if they are diagrammed according to the *XYZ* format, as follows:

<i>X</i>	<i>Y</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>Y</i>	<i>Z</i>
Teško	je		да	га	разумеш
Teško	ga je	разумети.			

It's hard to understand him.

To	ce	ne može	da	ce	kaže.
To	ce	ne može kazaći.			

That can't be said.

Чини	ми се	опасно	да	се	возиш бициклом.
Чини	ми се	опасно	возити	се	бициклом.

I think it's dangerous to ride a bicycle.

Опасно	je		да	се	нагињеш кроз прозор.
Опасно	je		нагињати	се	кроз прозор.

It's dangerous to lean out the window.

CHAPTER 8

86 Dative - locative - instrumental plural

The dative, locative and instrumental plural share the same case forms. For nouns with Nsg. ending in **-a** it is **-ama**, and for all other nouns it is **-ima**. Masculine nouns with stems ending in **-k**, **-g**, or **-h** shift these consonants to **-c**, **-z**, or **-s**, respectively, before the DLIpl. ending **-ima**. The adjective ending is the same for all genders: **-im**, with a long vowel. There is also a longer variant, formed by adding an **-a** (thus **dobrima** alongside **dobrim**). These are similar in form to the longer forms of adjective in the Gsg. (review [42c]) and the DLsg. (review [66b]). But whereas the longer forms of Gsg. and DLsg. can be used both alone and before a noun, the longer forms of DLIpl. are used only when no noun is present. In the noun-adjective pairs below, only the short form adjectives are given for Nsg. and Npl. and only the long (and not longer) forms are given for DLIpl. There are no short forms for DLIpl.

DATIVE-LOCATIVE-INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL, nouns

	masculine	neuter	feminine		
Nsg.	-a	-Ø	-o / -e	-a	-Ø
Npl.	-e	-i	-a	-e	-i
masculine-neuter					
DLIpl.	-ama	-ima	-ama	-ama	-ima

	masculine	neuter	feminine
Nsg.	loš gazda	dobar đak	slatko selo
Npl.	loši gazde	dobiři đaci	slatka sela
DLIpl.	lošim gazdama	dobiřim đacima	slatkim selima

dobra knjiga	slatka stvar
dobre knjige	slatke stvari
dobiřim knjigama	slatkim stvarima

87 Se-verbs, continued

Sometimes the particle **se** adds a certain type of general meaning to a verb. Examples of such meanings are *passive* or *intransitive* (review [38, 74] and see [98]). Another meaning is the idea of *reciprocity* discussed below. In other instances, **se** is simply part of an individual verb's meaning, and needs to be learned as such. No **se**-verb can ever have an object in the accusative case. A number of them, however, do take objects in other cases.

87a. Reciprocal usage of **se**

When used with a plural verb, the particle **se** will sometimes convey the meaning of *reciprocity*, a concept often expressed in English by the phrase *each other*. As the English phrase suggests, such a sentence has two or more subjects, each of which is simultaneously the object of the

sentence's verb. For example, the subjects in the English sentence "John and Mary love one another" are *John* and *Mary*: they are the ones doing the loving. But they are also the objects: they are the ones being loved. BCS expresses this meaning simply by inserting **se**. English sentences with this meaning do not always use the phrase *each other*, of course. But although the English versions of the BCS sentences below all express this idea in other ways, it should nevertheless be clear that the meaning of each includes the idea of reciprocity, and that each one could be reformulated with the phrase *each other* without changing the intended meaning radically. A similar meaning can also be expressed by combining the appropriate forms of the words **jedan** "one" and **drugi** "another"; for discussion and examples, see [160].

Горан и Весна се воле.	<i>Goran and Vesna are in love.</i>
Ми се рѣтко чујемо.	<i>We rarely talk [on the phone].</i>
Да ли се често чујеш са њима?	<i>Do you hear from them often?</i>
Видимо се сутра!	<i>See you tomorrow!</i>
Стално се свађају, као пас и мачка.	<i>They're always fighting like cats and dogs.</i>

E retko / J rijetko; S,B da li se често чујеш / B,C чујеш li se често

87b. Se-verbs that take objects

A number of **se**-verbs take an object in some case other than the accusative – either in the genitive (review [60]), the dative (review [73d]) or the instrumental (review [81d]). Here is an overview of some of the commonest of these **se**-verbs. In the case of genitive and dative objects, one must often pay attention to word order, since these verbs frequently occur with clitic pronoun objects (review [64] for genitive objects and [76] for dative objects). This caution does not concern the instrumental, of course, since the instrumental has only full form pronoun objects.

Many of these verbs can be thought of as an English sequence of verb + prepositional phrase; doing so may help the English speaker remember to use another case than the accusative with their BCS correspondents. The following list gives some suggestions, and the examples below the list illustrate both usage of these verbs and serve as a reminder of word order requirements. The verbs in the list are given in the imperfective aspect only; the examples illustrate both aspects for those verbs whose perfective is frequently used.

bojati se	+ Gen.	fear	(be afraid of)
javljati se	+ Dat.	contact	(get in touch with)
sjećati se	+ Gen.	remember	(keep a memory of)
svidati se	+ Dat.	please	(be pleasing to)
ticati se	+ Gen.	concern	(be of concern to)
baviti se	+ Instr.		> (be occupied / busy with)

J sjećati se / E sećati se

GENITIVE objects

bojati se	Mi se ne bojimo Mirjanine zmije. Da li se zaista bojiš grmljavine? Ne bojim se njega već nje.	We're not afraid of Mirjana's snake. Are you really afraid of thunder? It's not him I fear, but her.
sjećati se (I)	Sjećaš li se moje sestre? Niko se ne seća našeg grada. On se svega sjeća.	Do you remember my sister? Nobody remembers our city. He remembers everything.

sjetiti se (P)	Ne mogu ga se sjetiti.	<i>I can't remember him.</i>
ticati se	Nè <u>tjče</u> me se što <u>radiš</u> kod njega, ali <u>moraš</u> doći do 10 <u>sati</u> . Tebe se <u>to</u> nè <u>tjče</u> . A majke se <u>to</u> , nárvavno, <u>tjče</u> .	<i>What you're doing at his place doesn't concern me, but you must be back by 10. That doesn't concern you. But it does concern mother, of course.</i>

S,B da li se bojiš / C,B bojiš li se; J sječati se / E sećati se; C,B sjećaš li se / B,S da li se sjećaš (sećaš); B,S niko / C nitko; B,C ne mogu ga se sjetiti / B,S ne mogu da ga se sjetim (setim); C što / B,S šta; S,C kod njega / B kod njega; C,B moraš doći / B,S moraš da doděš

DATIVE objects

javljati se (I)	Mi <u>joj</u> se često <u>javljamo</u> , a óna nam se nikad nè <u>javlja</u> . Što <u>radiš</u> ? <u>Javljaš</u> li mu se?	<i>We call her often, but she never calls us.</i>
javiti se (P)	Nè <u>moraš</u> im se <u>javiti</u> <u>tako</u> rano. <u>Javi</u> mu se! <u>On</u> te <u>čeka</u> .	<i>What are you doing? Are you calling him? You don't have to call them that early. Give him a call! He's expecting you.</i>
svidati se (I)	Što misliš? <u>Sviđaš</u> li mu se? Veoma joj se <u>sviđamo</u> , a óna nam se uopšte nè <u>sviđa</u> .	<i>What do you think? Does he like you? She likes us a lot, but we don't like her at all.</i>
svideti se (P)	Znaš, nè <u>moraš</u> im se <u>svidjeti</u> !	<i>It's not obligatory that they like you, you know!</i>

C što / B,S šta; B,C javljaš li mu se / S,B da li mu se javljaš; C,B ne moraš im se javiti / B,S ne moraš da im se javiš; C,B svidaš li mu se / B,S da li mu se svidaš; J svidjeti se / E svideti se; B,S uopšte / C,B uopće; C,B ne moraš im se svidjeti / B,S ne moraš da im se svidiš

INSTRUMENTAL objects

baviti se	Ja se <u>time</u> nè <u>bavim</u> . Ne <u>želi</u> nam reći <u>čime</u> se bav <u>i</u> .	<i>I don't go in for that [sort of thing]. [= I don't do (occupy myself with) that.] S/he doesn't want to tell us what [kind of] work s/he does.</i>
------------------	--	---

C,B ne želi nam reći / B,S ne želi da nam kaže

88 The vocative case, continued

The vocative case is used to get someone's attention, or to identify the person being addressed (review [19]). In poetic usage, it can also indicate address to an object or concept. Some nouns have special forms for the vocative, while others use the nominative case form. If a plural noun is used in the vocative, the form is always that of Npl.

Most masculine nouns denoting persons do have a separate vocative case form in the singular. The ending is usually **-e**, but for a number of nouns it is **-u**. A considerable number of feminine nouns also have a separate vocative form. The ending is usually **-o**, but for a number of nouns it is **-e**. Feminine nouns in a consonant (always referring to objects or concepts) take only the ending **-i** in the vocative. Women's names ending in a consonant, however, use the nominative case form. All neuter nouns use the nominative case form. The accent of the vocative is fairly predictable: it shifts to falling on the initial syllable in most nouns. Predicting which noun will take which ending is somewhat more difficult, but it is still possible. The general statements below summarize the regularities, and the examples following (numbered according to these statements) illustrate the working of these rules. For examples of usage, see [19].

- (1) Most masculine nouns and male names ending in a consonant take **-e**, before which a stem-final **-k** (or **-c**), **-g**, **-h** shifts to **-č**, **-š**, **-ž**, respectively.
- (2) If the stem-final consonant is soft, however, the noun will take **-u**.
- (3) The ending **-u** is also used for nouns of more than one syllable ending in **-h**, and for some personal names.
- (4) Masculine nouns ending in a vowel use the nominative form, unless they end in **-ica**; the rules for these nouns are given in (8) and (9) below.
- (5) Nouns ending in **-r** are split between the two endings: nouns of a single syllable take **-e**, and others take **-u**. Nouns whose stems end in **-ar** or **-ir** can take either ending.
- (6) Feminine nouns in **-a** regularly take the ending **-o**.
- (7) Names of two syllables (female and male) take the ending **-o** only if the root vowel is long rising. Unless they end in **-ica**, all other names use the nominative form; this applies to certain terms denoting relatives as well.
- (8) Nouns in **-ica** which have two syllables, are pejorative terms referring to either males or females, or are non-diminutives referring to items, take the ending **-o**.
- (9) Other nouns in **-ica**, including affectionate terms referring to males, take the ending **-e**.
- (10) Feminine nouns in a consonant take **-i**.

	Nsg.	Vsg.		Nsg.	Vsg.		
(1)	Petar ministar doktor gospodin vuk otac Bog duh	Petre ministre doktore gospòdine vuče oče Bože duše	[name] <i>minister</i> <i>doctor</i> <i>Mr., sir</i> <i>wolf</i> <i>father</i> <i>God</i> <i>spirit</i>	(6)	žena djèvojka sestra máca duša	ženo djèvojko sestro maco dušo	<i>woman, wife</i> <i>girl</i> <i>sister</i> <i>cat, kitty</i> <i>soul, "my dear"</i>
(2)	prijatelj muž konj	prijatelju mužu konju	<i>friend</i> <i>husband</i> <i>horse</i>	(7)	Náda Mára Mića Vesna tetka	Nado Maro Mićo Vesna tetka	[female name] [female name] [male name] [female name] paternal aunt
(3)	siromah Sálih	siromahu Sálihu	<i>poor man</i> [name]	(8)	ptica pijanica šibica	ptico pijanico šibico	<i>bird</i> <i>drunkard</i> <i>match</i>
(4)	Pero guru kolega	Pero guru kolega	[name] <i>guru</i> <i>colleague, co-worker</i>	(9)	učiteljica Drágica gazdarica tatica	učiteljice Drágice gazdarice tatice	<i>teacher (f.)</i> [female name] <i>landlady</i> <i>Daddy</i>
(5)	car šećer poštár gospodár	care šećeru poštare / poštaru gospodare / gospodaru	<i>emperor</i> <i>sugar</i> <i>postman</i> <i>master</i>	(10)	ljubav starost komandir inženjer	ljubavi starosti komandire / komandiru inženjeru	<i>love</i> <i>old age</i> <i>commander</i> <i>engineer</i>

J djevojka / E devojka; B,C,S prijatelj / S drug

89 Review of noun declension

All case forms of nouns have now been learned. Each noun comprises a set of possible forms it can take depending on its usage in the sentence. This set of forms is called the noun's *declension*, and a listing of the possible forms is called a *paradigm*. The following sections survey the declensions of masculine, neuter, and feminine nouns, summarize the major peculiarities associated with each declension, and give sample paradigms. Accental shifts within noun paradigms are discussed separately; see [166b].

Certain facts are shared by all declensions. One is that all Gpl. endings are distinctively long (review [57]). Another is that the same form serves the function of both dative and locative singular: this form is usually abbreviated DLsg. (review [66a]). A third is that the same form serves the function of dative, locative, and instrumental plural: this form is usually abbreviated DLIpl. (review [86]). The case meanings do not merge, however: when meaning is at issue, each is spoken of separately. Finally, all nouns have a form that is neither singular nor plural (review [46a]) which is used after 2,3,4 (as well as compound numbers ending in 2,3,4; review [58, 124a]). Called the *counting form*, it bears the abbreviation CF in the review tables below.

Most grammars written by natives list the case forms of noun paradigms in the order (1) Nominative, (2) Genitive, (3) Dative, (4) Accusative, (5) Vocative, (6) Locative, (7) Instrumental; some grammars even refer to the cases by these numbers alone. Out of respect for tradition, the initial example illustrating the idea of case usage (review [18]) utilized these numbers. All subsequent listings of case forms in this book, however, have followed a more "natural" listing, one which places Asg. between Nsg. and Gsg. (since in masculine nouns the Asg. is sometimes like the one and sometimes like the other), which lists Dsg. and Lsg. together as DLsg. (since their forms are identical), which lists Isg. immediately after them (since in the plural the three case forms are identical, noted DLIpl.), and lists Vsg. last (since it is not a case form in the same way as the others in that it does not signal grammatical relationships within a sentence).

89a. Masculine nouns

Depending on whether they refer to a living being or not, masculine nouns are classed as either *animate* or *inanimate*. It is necessary to make this distinction in order to know the form of the accusative case. For animate nouns, the accusative case looks like the genitive, and for inanimate nouns it looks like the nominative (review [21a]). Some nouns of masculine gender take the case forms of feminine nouns in -a (see [89c]); these nouns have a separate accusative case form. For the declension of male personal names ending in -e or -o, see [89d].

A number of nouns have what is called fleeting -a- in the final stem syllable. This vowel is dropped in all forms but the Nsg. and Gpl. (review [21b, 32c, 57a] and see [167g-h]). If such a vowel is followed by o in Nsg., the -o will be replaced by the consonant l in other case forms of the word (review [47]). Masculine nouns ending in -lac which refer to humans undergo what looks like the reverse process: in this case the consonant l precedes the fleeting vowel in the Nsg., and it is replaced in other cases by o. The l returns, however, in the Gpl. form. Nouns which do not have fleeting -a- but whose stem nevertheless ends in a sequence of consonants are usually required to insert a between these consonants before the Gpl. ending -a (review [57a] and see [167h]). The counting form of nouns is like the Gsg. form, but that of modifiers is different (review [46a] and see [91]).

Most monosyllabic nouns add the syllable -ov before plural endings; this is also true for a few nouns with disyllabic stems, nearly all of which have fleeting -a- in the second stem syllable (review [32e]). This added syllable takes the form -ev after soft consonants (defined in [32f]). The Isg. ending is -om, which takes the form -em after soft consonants. The noun **put** "road, way" exceptionally takes the soft endings throughout all cases in Bosnian and Serbian (but not in Croatian). Nouns with the singulative suffix -in drop this suffix before adding plural endings. All

such nouns refer to humans, and identify them by nationality, religion or place of origin (review [32g]). If a noun's stem ends in **-k**, **-g**, or **-h**, it is replaced by **-č**, **-ž**, or **-š**, respectively, in either of two different contexts. One of these is Npl. (review [32b]), and the other is DLIpl. (review [86]). In the vocative, however, these same consonants are replaced by **-č**, **-ž**, or **-š**, respectively (review [88]); see [112] for more on consonant shifts.

The noun **Turčin** “Turk” displays a number of these phenomena. The stem is in fact **Turk**. Because the singulative suffix **-in** requires a shift from **-k** to **-č**, the stem appears as **Turčin** in all forms of the singular. In the plural, however, this suffix is dropped. The stem **Turk-** then undergoes the regular consonant shift in Npl. and DLIpl., such that these forms are **Turci** and **Turcima**, respectively. In Apl., however, no shift is required and the form is **Turke**. Finally the Gpl. requires the insertion of **a**, such that the form is **Turaka**.

MASCULINE animate nouns

Nsg	konj	muž	júnak	prátيلac	Srbín	Túrčin
Asg	kónja	mužá	júnáka	prátíoca	Srbina	Túrčina
Gsg	kónja	mužá	júnáka	prátíoca	Srbina	Túrčina
DLsg	kónju	mužú	júnáku	prátíocu	Srbínu	Túrčinu
Isg	kónjem	mužém	júnákom	prátíocem	Srbínom	Túrčinom
Vsg	kónju	mužú	júnáče	prátíče	Srbíne	Túrčíne
CF	kónja	mužá	júnáka	prátíoca	Srbina	Túrčina
Npl	kónji	muževi	júnáci	prátíoci	Srbí	Túrči
Apl	kónje	muževe	júnáke	prátíoce	Srbé	Túrke
Gpl	kónja	muževa	júnáka	prátíaca	Srbá	Túraka
DLipl	kónjima	muževima	júnácima	prátíocima	Srbíma	Túrcima

MASCULINE inanimate nouns

Nsg	dán	grád	posao	zadá̄tak	pút
Asg	dán	grád	posao	zadá̄tak	pút
Gsg	dána	gráda	posla	zadatka	púta
DLsg	dánu	grádu	poslu	zadatku	pútu
Isg	dánom	grádom	poslom	zadatkom	pútem
Vsg	dáne	gráde	posle	zadatke *	púte
CF	dána	gráda	posla	zadatka	púta
Npl	dáni	gradovi	poslovi	zadá̄ci	pútevi
Apl	dáne	gradove	poslove	zadá̄tke	púteve
Gpl	dána	gradova	poslova	zadá̄taka	púteva
DLipl	danimá	gradovima	poslovima	zadá̄cima	pútevima

B,S putem, putevi etc. / C putom, putovi etc. * B,C also zadatku

89b. Neuter nouns

Neuter nouns never make a distinction between nominative and accusative: the Nsg. and Asg. always take the same form, as do the Npl. and Apl. Most neuter nouns have the NAsg. ending **-o**, but some have NAsg. in **-e**. The former group takes the Isg. ending **-om**, and the majority of the latter group take the Isg. ending **-em**. All neuter nouns have the same ending in NApL., which is **-a**. For the remainder of the cases (other than Nom. and Acc.), neuter nouns follow the same declension as masculine nouns. The Gpl. ending is **-a** (with a long vowel), and nouns with

stems ending in the appropriate consonant sequence are required to insert **a** between these consonants before the Gpl. ending. In nouns, the counting form is like Gsg. in all but those with Gsg. in **-eta**; in the modifiers, however, it differs from Gsg. (review [46a] and see [91]).

A number of neuter nouns with NAsg. in **-e** fall into a separate group. Among other things, all of them take Isg. ending **-om**. More significantly, each of them adds an additional syllable in a number of cases. Some of these add the syllable **-en** in all cases other than NAVsg. (review [32h]). These include nouns like **vreme / vrijeme** “time; weather”, **ime** “name”, **breme** “burden”, **rame** “shoulder”, and a few others. Others add the syllable **-et** in all cases of the singular other than NAVsg., but *not* in the plural. This group includes nouns like **dete / dijete** “child”, **jaje** “egg”, various male personal names, names of the young of animals, and a number of words for objects (including all words formed with the diminutive suffix **-če**, on which see [163c]). Many of these words have irregular plurals; for that of **dete / dijete**, see [90]. The nouns **oko** “eye” and **oho / uvo** “ear” have a regular neuter declension in the singular, but their plural forms are feminine; for details, see [111a].

NEUTER nouns

Nsg	selo	polje	písmo	gnijézdo	ime	jáje
Asg	selo	polje	písmo	gnijézdo	ime	jáje
Gsg	séla	polja	písmá	gnijézda	imena	jájetá
DLsg	sélu	polju	písmu	gnijézdu	imenu	jájetu
Isg	selom	poljem	písmom	gnijézdom	imenom	jájetom
Vsg	selo	polje	písmo	gnijézdo	ime	jáje
CF	séla	polja	písmá	gnijézda	imena	jája *
Npl	selá	polja	písmá	gnijézda	iména	jája
Apl	selá	polja	písmá	gnijézda	iména	jája
Gpl	séla	polja	písmá	gnijézda	iména	jája
DLpl	selima	poljima	písmima	gnijézdimá	iménima	jájima

J gnijezdo / E gnezdo

* CF jajeta possible for some speakers

89c. Feminine nouns

Whereas masculine and neuter nouns largely follow the same declension (differing only in NAsg. and NApl.), feminine nouns have two completely separate declensions. These usually carry the names of their respective Nsg. forms. Accordingly, the group of nouns usually called “feminines in **-a**” are those whose Nsg. ends in **-a**, and the group called either “feminines in a consonant” or “feminines in **-Ø**” are those whose Nsg. ends in **-Ø** (review [31]). The two declensions share only the fact that in each of them Npl. and Apl. always have the same form (noted below as NApl.).

The first of these two declensions is the only BCS declension with an Asg. form that is not like either the Nsg. or the Gsg. It is also the only BCS declension where vowel length is part of case endings other than Gpl. In this declension, the Gsg. and Isg. endings are distinctively long. The counting form differs from the Gsg. in that it is NOT long. This declension also requires the replacement of stem-final **-k**, **-g** or **-h** by **-c**, **-z** or **-s**, respectively, before the DLsg. ending **-i** (review [66a]). Not all nouns make this replacement; those which fail to make it usually denote certain groups of humans, or are nouns whose stem ends in certain groups of consonants (for additional discussion see [158]). The Isg. ending is like that of masculine and neuter nouns (in **-om**), but unlike these nouns, this ending never changes shape after a stem-final soft consonant; also unlike these nouns, the feminine ending **-om** always contains a long vowel. The Gpl. ending is usually **-a**, usually with insertion of **a** between a qualifying pair of stem-final consonants (review

[57a]). A number of nouns, however, take the Gpl. ending **-i**; furthermore, it is not always possible to predict which nouns will take which ending (review [57b] and see [157]). A few nouns (mostly those denoting body parts, see [111a]) take the Gsg. ending **-u**.

The second feminine declension has considerably fewer case endings. NAsg. are always alike, with a zero ending. Nearly all other case endings are written **-i** (although the Gpl. ending is distinctively long). The DLIpl. ending is **-ima**, and the Isg. ending is either **-i** or **-u**. The latter ending frequently requires a shift in the stem-final consonant (review [79b], and see [112a]). The counting form is identical to Gsg. in nouns, but not in modifiers. The noun **misao** “thought” contains a fleeting **-a-**, as do others formed from the same stem – care must be taken not to assign it to the masculine declension. The noun **kći** “daughter” is irregular: its Asg. is **kćer**, which is the base to which all other endings are added. The noun **mati**, an archaic word meaning *mother*, is similarly irregular, with the Asg. (and stem) **mater**.

FEMININE nouns in **-a**

Nsg	r <u>ú</u> ka	knjiga	djev <u>o</u> jka	tetka	b <u>ò</u> rba	učiteljica
Asg	r <u>uk</u> u	knjigu	djev <u>o</u> ju	tetu	b <u>ò</u> rbu	učiteljicu
Gsg	r <u>ú</u> ke	knjige	djev <u>o</u> jke	tetke	b <u>ò</u> rb <u>e</u>	učiteljice
DLsg	r <u>ú</u> ci	knjizi	djev <u>o</u> jci	tetki	b <u>ò</u> rb <u>i</u>	učiteljici
Isg	r <u>uk</u> om	knjig <u>o</u> m	djev <u>o</u> jk <u>o</u> m	tetk <u>o</u> m	b <u>ò</u> rb <u>o</u> m	učiteljicom
Vsg	r <u>uko</u>	knjigo	djev <u>o</u> jk <u>o</u>	tetka	borbo	učiteljice
NApl	r <u>uke</u>	knjige	djev <u>o</u> jke	tetke	b <u>ò</u> rb <u>e</u>	učiteljice
Gpl	r <u>ú</u> ku	knjiga	djevojaka	tet <u>a</u> / tetki	b <u>ò</u> rb <u>a</u> / borbi	učiteljica
DLIpl	r <u>ukama</u>	knjigama	djev <u>o</u> jkama	tetkama	b <u>ò</u> rbama	učiteljicama

J djevojka / E devojka

FEMININE nouns in a consonant

Nsg	stvar	noć	radost	ljubav	misao	kći
Asg	stvar	noć	radost	ljubav	misao	kćer
GDLVsg	stvari	noći	radosti	ljubavi	misli	kćeri
Isg	stvari / stvarju	noći / noću	radošću	ljubavi / ljubavlju	mišli / mišlju	kćeri / kćerju
NApl	stvari	noći	radosti	ljubavi	misli	kćeri
Gpl	stvar	noć	radost	ljubavi	misli	kćeri
DLIpl	stvarima	noćima	radostima	ljubavima	mislima	kćerima

B,C,S kćerka / B,C kći / S čerka

89d. Declension of personal names

To a certain extent, personal names are like all other nouns – except, of course, for the fact that they do not have plural case forms (review [37a]). Both male and female names ending in **-a** act exactly like nouns of the corresponding genders which end in **-a**. That is, they follow the declension of feminines in **-a**, while male names continue to retain masculine gender (and therefore take masculine modifiers). Male names ending in a consonant follow the regular masculine declension. Some, like **Petar**, contain a fleeting **-a-** in the stem-final syllable.

Male names ending in **-e** or **-o** are more complex, however. Those ending in **-e** are declined like regular masculine nouns if they contain three syllables, or if they are disyllabic names which are not nicknames. Most disyllabic names in **-e**, however, are nicknames (for instance, **Brane** is a

nickname for **Branko**). These follow the declension of neuter nouns like **jaje** (except that the Asg. is like the Gsg., since they refer to animate beings). As to names ending in **-o**, nearly all of which are disyllabic, the declension depends on the accent. Those with a long rising accent (most of which are nicknames) are declined like feminines in **-a**, while those with a falling accent are declined like regular masculine nouns.

Female names which end in anything other than **-a** are not declined. Nearly all native women's names do end in **-a**, and foreign ones often tend to get reformulated so as to end in **-a**. Recently, however, it has become more accepted to give girls names that do not end in **-a** (and which do not take case endings).

MALE names

N	Petar	Nikola	Hrvoje	Dorđe	Brane	Ranko	Ivo
A	Petra	Nikolu	Hrvoja	Dorđa	Braneta	Ranka	Ivu
G	Petra	Nikole	Hrvoja	Dorđa	Braneta	Ranka	Ive
DL	Petru	Nikoli	Hrvoju	Dorđu	Branetu	Ranku	Ivi
I	Petrom	Nikolom	Hrvojem	Dorđem	Branetom	Rankom	Ivom
V	Petre	Nikola	Hrvoje	Dorđe	Brane	Ranko	Ivo

FEMALE names

N	N`ada	Vesna	Dràgica	Ines
A	Nadu	Vesnu	Dragicu	Ines
G	N`ade	Vesne	Dragice	Ines
DL	N`adi	Vesni	Dragici	Ines
I	N`adom	Vesnom	Dragicom	Ines
V	N`ado	Vesna	Dragice	Ines

Men's surnames follow the masculine noun declension, except those ending in **-ski**, which are declined like adjectives. Women's surnames are declined only if they end in **-a**. Surnames do not have a separate vocative form when they are combined with personal names; however, those which can take a separate vocative do so when they follow honorifics. The abbreviations **G.** and **Gda** stand for **Gospodin** “Mr.” and **Gospoda** “Ms.”, respectively; the vocative versions are **Gospodine** and **Gospodo**, respectively.

NAME AND SURNAME

N	Nikola Ilić	Ivo Lalić	Ranko Bugarski	Ana Pavić	Ines Kuna
A	Nikolu Ilića	Ivu Lalića	Ranka Bugarskog	Anu Pavić	Ines Kunu
G	Nikole Ilića	Ive Lalića	Ranka Bugarskog	Ane Pavić	Ines Kune
DL	Nikoli Iliću	Ivi Laliću	Ranku Bugarskom	Ani Pavić	Ines Kuni
I	Nikolom Ilićem	Ivom Lalićem	Rankom Bugarskim	Anom Pavić	Ines Kunom
V	G. Iliću	G. Laliću	G. Bugarski	Gdo Pavić	Gdo Kuna

90 Irregular plurals

The neuter noun **dete / dijete** “child” and the masculine nouns **brat** “brother” and **gospodin** “sir, gentleman” share an irregularity. The plural of each one takes the case forms of a FEMININE SINGULAR noun in **-a**. Furthermore, the stem of each singular noun is altered slightly before the addition of these feminine “singular” endings. The final **-t** of **dete / dijete** is changed to **-c**, and

the final **-t** of **brat** is changed to **-ć**. In the case of **gospodin**, the singulative suffix **-in** is lost (review [32g]). The counting form of **brat** and **gospodin** is like the Gsg., but that of **dete / dijete** usually follows different rules (see [124c]).

The chart below gives the singular and plural forms of these nouns. Viewed in terms of their endings alone, both of the paradigms look like singular ones. Much attention must be paid to remember that the words **deca / djeca, braća**, and **gospoda** are PLURAL in meaning, since not only their endings, but also those of any modifiers, are identical with feminine singular ones. They do, however, take plural verbs. Examples of usage are given following the paradigms.

SINGULAR (regular)

Nsg.	d _è tē	dij _è tē	brat	gosp _ò din
Asg.	d _è tē	dij _è tē	brata	gosp _ò dina
Gsg.	d _è teta	dij _è teta	brata	gosp _ò dina
DLsg.	d _è tetu	dij _è tetu	bratu	gosp _ò dinu
Isg.	d _è tetom	dij _è tetom	bratom	gosp _ò dinom
Vsg.	d _è tē	dij _è tē	brate	gosp _ò idine
CF	[124c]	[124c]	brata	gosp _ò dina

PLURAL (irregular)

Npl.	d _è cā	dj _è ca	braća	gosp _ò da
Apl.	d _è cu	dj _è cu	braću	gosp _ò du
Gpl.	d _è c _è	dj _è c _è	brać _è	gosp _ò d _è
DLpl.	d _è ci	dj _è ci	braći	gosp _ò di
Ipl.	d _è com	dj _è com	braćom	gosp _ò dom
Vpl.	deco	djeco	braćo	gospodo

E dete / J dijete; E deca / J djeca

gospoda

D_àme i gospodo!
Bojim se da gospoda ne razumiju.
Pitajte onu gospodu šta da radimo.

*Ladies and gentlemen!
I fear the gentlemen don't understand.
Ask those gentlemen what we should do.*

braća

Moja braća uvek dolaze na vreme.
Ani se ne svidaju tvoja braća.
Poznaješ li njenu braću?
Radji sa svojom braćom.

*My brothers always come on time.
Ana doesn't like your brothers.
Do you know her brothers?
S/he works with his/her brothers.*

deca / djeca

Majke uvijek misle na svoju djecu.
Šta moja deca rade na ulici?
Deco! Nè igralte se tamo!
Ne razumijem tvoju djecu.
A moja djeca tebe razumiju.

*Mothers always think of their children.
What are my children doing in the street?
Children! Don't play there!
"I don't understand your children."
"But my children understand YOU."*

J razumiju / E razumeju; B,S šta / C što; E uvek / J uvijek; E vreme / J vrijeme; B,C poznaješ li / S,B da li
poznaješ; B,C,S njenu / C,B njezinu; J djeca / E deca

91 Review of adjective declension

Adjectives qualify a noun, and must exhibit all the same grammatical characteristics as that noun (that is, they must *agree* with it). The paradigm of an adjective, therefore, includes not only

forms for all the cases in both singular and plural, but also for all three genders. But although masculine and feminine nouns can each follow two separate declensions (depending on whether the Nsg. ends in **-a** or in a consonant), there is only one form of an adjective for each gender. There are three separate declensions in nominative and accusative (both singular and plural). For the remaining case forms, there are only two declensions in the singular (feminine and masculine-neuter), and only one in the plural.

There are two separate sorts of adjectives, *descriptive* and *pronominal*. Adjectives of the first type give additional information about a noun; most of them have variant forms of different lengths. Adjectives of the second type relate a noun to various real-world situations. They also have forms of different lengths, but according to a more restricted model.

91a. Descriptive adjectives

Most descriptive adjectives have *short*, *long*, and *longer* forms, though only a few case forms admit all three variants (review [17, 42c, 66b]). All case forms have the long variant. Those which have the short variant in all three genders are NAsg. and NApl. and the counting form, and those which have it in masculine and neuter are all remaining singular cases but the instrumental. Those which have the longer variant are Gsg. and DLsg. masculine-neuter and DLIpl. of all genders. The long form is used in most contexts. Short forms are used primarily in predicative position, but can also be used elsewhere, especially in Croatian. Longer forms must be used when the adjective substitutes for a noun, and can be used elsewhere to convey emphasis or at the speaker's desire; they are somewhat more frequent in Croatian than in Serbian or Bosnian. The distinction "short vs. long" used to be correlated with the meaning "indefinite vs. definite" but this is no longer true in all instances. Several adjectives do not have short forms at all.

The difference between short and long forms is invisible on the printed page except for masculine singular adjectives in cases other than Isg., and neuter singular adjectives in Gsg. and DLsg. For all other forms the distinction rests in the length of the final vowel. Long forms are distinguished from longer forms by the addition of a vowel to the long form; this vowel is usually **a**, but in DLsg. it can be either **e** or **u**. Adjectives are listed in dictionaries under the masculine singular short form, which sometimes has a fleeting **-a-** (review [16b]). This vowel is lost in all other forms of the adjective. If the lost vowel is in the suffix **-ak**, the consonant preceding it may shift (as in **težak** vs. **teška**). There may sometimes be a shift in the nature or place of accent between short and long forms. After stem-final soft consonants, the **-o** of masculine-neuter adjective case endings is replaced by **-e** (review [32f]). This does NOT occur in feminine adjectives.

The chart on the next page gives short, long, and longer forms for the adjectives **dobar** "good" and **loš** "bad". The forms given under Asg. masculine adjectives are those used for inanimate nouns only. The Asg. masculine adjective for animate nouns takes the shape of the Gsg. masculine adjective. The vocative is not listed separately; it always takes the nominative form.

	Masculine		Neuter		Feminine	
Nsg.	short	long	short	long	short	long
	dobar	<u>dobri</u>	dòbro	<u>dobro</u>	dòbra	<u>dobra</u>
Asg.	loš	<u>loši</u>	loše	<u>loše</u>	loša	<u>loša</u>
	dobar *	<u>dobri</u> *	dòbro	<u>dobro</u>	dòbru	<u>dobru</u>
Npl.	loš *	<u>loši</u> *	loše	<u>loše</u>	lošu	<u>lošu</u>
	dòbri	<u>dobri</u>	dòbra	<u>dobra</u>	dòbre	<u>dobre</u>
Apl.	loši	<u>loši</u>	loša	<u>loša</u>	loše	<u>loše</u>
	dòbre	<u>dobre</u>	dòbra	<u>dobra</u>	dòbre	<u>dobre</u>
	loše	<u>loše</u>	loša	<u>loša</u>	loše	<u>loše</u>

* inanimate only

	Masculine-Neuter			Feminine	
Gsg.	short dobra *	long dobrog *	longer dobroga *	short	long dobre
DLsg.	loša *	lošeg *	lošega *		loše
Isg.	dobru	dobrom	dobrome, dobromu		dobroj
	lošu	lošem	lošemu		lošoj
CF		dobrim		dobre	dobrom
		lošim		loše	lošom
	dobra	dobra			dobre
	loša	loša			loše

* and animate accusative

	Masculine-Neuter-Feminine	
Gpl.	long dobrijh	longer lošijh
DLpl.	dobrim	dobrima
	lošim	lošima

91b. Pronominal adjectives

Pronominal adjectives belong to different groups depending on the type of pronominal meaning they convey. The distribution of short, long, and longer forms within pronominal adjectives depends on the group to which each type of adjective belongs. All have the possibility of longer forms in certain cases. As in the case of all adjectives, the Asg. masculine form is like the Nsg. if it refers to an inanimate noun and like the Gsg. if it refers to an animate noun. All charts below are constructed on this principle.

The long form-only declension comprises **koji** “which”, **svaki** “each”, **neki** “some”, **koliki** “how [so] big”, **mnogi** “many [a]”, **čiji** “whose”, and pronominal adjectives derived from **čiji** by the addition of a prefix (review [36a]). After the stem final consonant -j, masculine-neuter case endings beginning with -o are replaced by ones beginning with -e. In addition, the Gsg., DLsg., and Isg. masculine-neuter forms (both long and longer) of **koji** have in Serbian optional contracted forms (forms in which the sequence -oje- is reduced to -o- and the sequence -oji- is reduced to -i-). Such contracted forms are rare in Bosnian and practically non-existent in Croatian. Neither the pronominal adjective **čiji** nor any of its derivatives have contracted forms. The charts below give the declensions of **koji** and **neki**.

	Masculine		Neuter		Feminine	
Nsg.	koji	neki	koje	neko	koja	neka
Asg.	koji **	neki **	koje	neko	koju	neku
Npl.	koji	neki	koja	neka	koje	neke
Apl.	koje	neke	koja	neka	koje	neke
	Masculine-Neuter					
	long		longer			
Gsg.	kojeg, kog *	nekog *	kojega, koga *	nekoga *	koje	neke
DLsg	kojem, kom	nekom	kojemu, komu	nekому	kojoj	nekoj
Isg.	kojim, kim	nekim			kojom	nekom

** inanimate only

* and animate accusative

Masculine - Neuter - Feminine					
	long		longer		
Gpl.	ko <small>jih</small>	neki <small>ih</small>			
Dlpl.	ko <small>jim</small>	neki <small>im</small>	ko <small>jima</small>	neki <small>ma</small>	

Demonstrative pronominal adjectives (review [11b]) have a similar declension, except that the masculine NAsg. looks like a short form, since it ends in a consonant (and has a vowel preceding it that is lost in other forms). Additionally, there are two different longer masculine-neuter DLsg. forms, plus a distinctive counting form. This group includes **ovaj** “this”, **taj** “this, that”, and **onaj** “that”. The forms of **ovaj** and **taj** are given; those of **onaj** are like **ovaj**.

	Masculine	Neuter	Feminine
Nsg.	o <small>vaj</small> t <small>aj</small>	o <small>v<u>o</u></small> t <small>o</small>	o <small>v<u>a</u></small> t <small>u</small>
Asg.	o <small>vaj</small> * t <small>aj</small> *	o <small>v<u>o</u></small> t <small>o</small>	o <small>v<u>u</u></small> t <small>u</small>
Npl.	o <small>v<u>i</u></small> t <small>í</small>	o <small>v<u>a</u></small> t <small>á</small>	o <small>v<u>e</u></small> t <small>é</small>
Apl.	o <small>v<u>e</u></small> t <small>é</small>	o <small>v<u>a</u></small> t <small>á</small>	o <small>v<u>e</u></small> t <small>é</small>

* inanimate only

	Masculine - Neuter	Feminine
Gsg.	long o <small>vog</small> * tog *	longer o <small>voga</small> * toga *
DLsg	ovom tom	ovome ** tome **
Isg.	o <small>vim</small> t <small>ím</small>	
CF	ova ta	

* and animate accusative

** Croatian: also ovomu, tomu

Masculine - Neuter - Feminine					
	long		longer		
Gpl.	o <small>vih</small>	t <small>ih</small>			
Dlpl.	o <small>vim</small>	t <small>ím</small>	o <small>vima</small>	t <small>ima</small>	

The pronominal adjective **kakav** “what [kind of]” has short forms in NAsg.-Napl., and long forms elsewhere; it can also have longer forms. The adjectives **takav** “such [a]”, **onakav** and the like have similar declensions (review [36b]). The pronominal adjective **sav** partly follows this model; note also that the final (or only) vowel of Nsg.masc. is lost in other forms. What is different about **sav** is that in some cases it has not long forms but longer forms, but in others it has both. Additionally, it is exceptional in taking “soft” endings (in **-e** instead of **-o**).

	Masculine	Neuter	Feminine
Nsg.	kakav sav	kakvo sve	kakva sva
Asg.	kakav * sav *	kakvo sve	kakvu svu
Npl.	kakvi svi	kakva sva	kakve sve
Apl.	kakve sve	kakva sva	kakve sve

* inanimate only

	Masculine - Neuter				Feminine	
Gsg.	long kàkvog *		longer kàkvoga *	svèga *	kàkve	sve
	kàkvom	svem	kàkvomu	svemu	kakvoj	svoj
	kàkvim	svim		svima	kàkvom	svom

* and animate accusative

	Masculine - Neuter - Feminine			
Gpl.	long kàkvih	svih	longer sviju	
	kàkvim	svim		svima

Possessive pronominal adjectives (review [11a]) fall into two groups. The first includes **moj** “my, mine”, **tvoj** “your(s)”, **svoj** “one’s own”, **naš** “our(s)”, and **vaš** “your(s)”. The NAsg. - NApL. forms are short and the other case forms are long. In the first three of these, the Gsg. and DLsg. case forms have contracted variants. The chart gives the declensions of **moj** and **naš**.

	Masculine		Neuter		Feminine	
Nsg.	moj	naš	moje	naše	moja	naša
Asg.	moj *	naš *	moje	naše	moju	našu
Npl.	moji	naši	moja	naša	moje	naše
Apl.	moje	naše	moja	naša	moje	naše

* inanimate only

	Masculine - Neuter				Feminine	
Gsg.	long möjeg *	našeg *	longer möjega *		našega *	möje naše
	mog *		moga *			
DLsg	möjem,	našem	möjemu,		našemu	möjoj našoj
	möm		möme, mömu			
Isg.	möjim	našim				möjom našom

* and animate accusative

	Masculine - Neuter - Feminine			
Gpl.	long möjih	naših	longer möjima	našima
	möjim	našim		

The remaining possessive pronominal adjectives have short forms in NAsg.-NApL. and in masculine-neuter Gsg. and DLsg.; elsewhere they have long forms. Croatian prefers the short forms while Bosnian and Serbian tend to use the long forms; there is no difference in meaning. Technically, these pronominal adjectives have longer forms as well but these are rarely heard (and are not included in the chart below). This group includes **njen / njezin** “her(s)”, **njegov** “his”, and **njihov** “their(s)” (review [11a]), and all possessive pronominals derived by adding the suffixes **-in** or **-ov** to proper names (as well as a few other nouns; review [41b]). The charts below give the declensions of **njegov** “his” and **mamin** “Mom’s”.

	Masculine		Neuter		Feminine	
Nsg.	njègov	mamin	njègovo	mamino	njègova	mamina
Asg.	njègov *	mamin *	njègovo	mamino	njègovu	maminu
Npl.	njègo <i>vi</i>	mamini	njègova	mamina	njègove	mamine
Apl.	njegove	mamine	njegova	mamina	njegove	mamine

* inanimate only

	Masculine - Neuter				Feminine	
	short		long			
Gsg.	njègova *	mamina *	njègovog *	maminog *	njègove	mamine
DLsg	njègovu	maminu	njègovom	maminom	njègovoj	maminoj
Isg.			njègovim	maminim	njègovom	maminom

* and animate accusative

	Masculine - Neuter - Feminine			
	long		longer	
Gpl.	njègovih	maminih		
DLpl.	njègovim	maminim	njègovima	maminima

92 Review of pronoun declension

A pronoun takes the place of a noun. The most common of these are the personal pronouns (corresponding to *he*, *she*, *it*, *they*, etc. in English). There are no separate pronoun forms for the vocative case. Three of the other six cases have two sets of forms each, clitic and full. Two more have only full forms, and a sixth (the instrumental) has both full and longer forms. Masculine and neuter are distinguished only in Nsg. 3rd person, and none of the genders is distinguished in 3rd plural. In those cases where clitic forms exist, they are used in most instances, while full forms are used after prepositions and for emphasis. Certain accusative form clitics can appear after prepositions (for discussion and examples, see [156b, 167h]).

The case forms of the reflexive pronoun rhyme completely with those of 2sg. personal pronoun, except for the fact that there is no nominative case in reflexive meaning. There is, however, a dative clitic form, but in Croatian only (for more, see [98, 111b]). As the parallelism of these forms suggests, the all-purpose particle **se** is historically an accusative singular pronominal form. It retains this explicit meaning, however, only when used with proper reflexive verbs (see [98]). Certain other **se**-verbs can be interpreted in this way as well, but by no means all of them.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS, singular

	1st		2nd		reflexive		3rd masc / neut		3rd feminine	
	full	clitic	full	clitic	full	clitic	full	clitic	full	clitic
N	ja		tì				on / óno		óna	
A	mene	me	tebe	te	sebe	se	njega	ga	nju	ju, je
G	mene	me	tebe	te	sebe	se	njega	ga	nje	je
D	meni	mi	tebi	ti	sebi	[si]	njemu	mu	njoj	jоj
L	meni		tebi		sebi		njemu		njoj	
I	mn <u>om</u> ,		tob <u>om</u>		sob <u>om</u>		nj <u>im</u> ,		nj <u>om</u> ,	
	mnòme						nj <u>ime</u>		nj <u>ome</u>	

PERSONAL PRONOUNS, plural

	1st		2nd		3rd masc / neut / feminine	
N	full mi	clitic	full vi	clitic	full oni / òna / òne	clitic
A-G	nas	nas	v <u>as</u>	vas	njih	ih
D	nama	nam	vama	vam	njima	im
L-I	nama		vama		njima	

Interrogative pronouns correspond to *who* and *what* in English. A number of other pronominal forms can be made by adding prefixes to these; examples are *nobody* / *nothing*, *somebody* / *something*, and the like (review [62]). Below are the declensions for **ko** / **tko** “who” and one of its derivatives, **netko** / **neko** “someone”, as well as for **šta** / **što** “what” and one of its derivatives, **ništa** “nothing”. Most case forms have both long and longer variants (the longer are more frequent). The nominative case has only long forms, however, and the dative case has only longer forms, in two variants. The locative is given with a preposition; see [93b] for the relevant word order rules when negation is present.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS and words derived from them

	long	longer	long	longer	long	longer	long	longer
N	ko / tko		neko / netko		šta / što		ništa	
A	kog	koga	nekog	nekoga	šta / što		ništa	
G	kog	koga	nekog	nekoga	čeg	čega	ničeg	ničega
D		kome, komu		nekome, nekomu				
L	kom	kome	nekom	nekome	čem	čemu	ni o čem	ni o čemu
I	k <u>im</u>	k <u>ime</u>	neki <u>m</u>	neki <u>me</u>	č <u>im</u>	č <u>ime</u>	nič <u>im</u>	nič <u>ime</u>

Pronominal forms are very important in a language, and are often quite short. Not only this, they often share the same form as another word. One must be on the lookout, therefore, for potential confusions as concerns the following pairs of words. It is very possibly because of this potential for confusion that the contracted forms of **koji** “which” have tended to fall out of use.

False friends

te	Napl., Gsg. fem <i>this</i>	≠	te	conjunction <i>and, then</i>
t <u>e</u>	Napl., Gsg. fem <i>this</i>	≠	te	2sg. Gen-Acc. clitic <i>you</i>
t <u>i</u>	2sg. Nom. full <i>you</i>	≠	ti	2sg. Dat. clitic <i>you</i>
t <u>i</u>	Npl. masc <i>these</i>	≠	ti	2sg. Dat. clitic <i>you</i>
ona	3rd. Nsg. fem. <i>she</i>	≠	óna	3rd. Npl. neut. <i>they</i>
sv <u>om</u>	Isg. fem <i>all</i>	≠	sv <u>om</u> (= svojem)	DLsg. masc-neut <i>own</i>
kom	Loc. <i>who</i>	≠	k <u>om</u> (= kojem)	DLsg. masc-neut <i>which</i>
koga	Acc-Gen. <i>who</i>	≠	k <u>oga</u> (= kojega)	Gsg. masc-neut <i>which</i>
komu	Dat. <i>who</i>	≠	k <u>omu</u> (= kojemu)	DLsg. masc-neut <i>which</i>

93 Review of prepositions

Although some prepositions have identical forms serving as adverbs (review [61a]), true prepositions almost always occur with an object. This object can be a noun (optionally modified

by adjectives), an adjective standing in place of a noun, or a pronoun. Each preposition is pronounced together with its object as a single word (review [23a]). Except for the phrase **sa mnom** “with me”, in which the preposition is obligatorily accented (review [79d]), the accent in Croatian and Serbian usually falls on the object of the preposition. In Bosnian, however, the accent frequently moves back onto the preposition (review [23a] and see [166c]; for prepositional phrases with an accusative clitic object and their accentuation, see [156b]).

English speakers must also remember that the object of a BCS preposition is required to follow it immediately. This is in contrast to English, in which the preposition and its object often occur in different parts of the sentence. For instance, the preposition in the English sentence *What books are you talking ABOUT?* occurs at the very end of the sentence, and its object at the very beginning. BCS, by contrast, can express this idea only as **O kojim knjigama govoris?**

93a. Prepositions and case usage

The identity of the case following a particular preposition is part of its meaning. In some instances, in fact, the meaning of a preposition depends upon the identity of the case which follows it. It is useful to learn prepositions both as individual words (which may have more than one meaning) and as words sharing the grammatical property of requiring a certain case. The chart below lists those prepositions reviewed to this point in alphabetical order, together with a reference to the section number(s) where each was discussed. It is not always possible to give a single meaning for a preposition (even when it takes only one case), as much depends on context.

PREPOSITIONS BY NAME

BEZ	+ Gen.	<i>without</i>	[43c]
BLIZU	+ Gen.	<i>near, close to</i>	[61a]
DO	+ Gen.	<i>to, next to, up to</i>	[43b, 61c]
ISPOD	+ Gen.	<i>under</i>	[80b]
ISPRED	+ Gen.	<i>in front of</i>	[80b]
IZ	+ Gen.	<i>from, out of</i>	[43a, 55a-b, 67c, 74]
IZA	+ Gen.	<i>behind</i>	[80b]
IZMEDU	+ Gen.	<i>between, among</i>	[43c, 80b]
IZNAD	+ Gen.	<i>above</i>	[80b]
K(A)	+ Dat.	<i>to, towards</i>	[73c, 84b]
KOD	+ Gen.	<i>at, by, with; to</i>	[43b, 84b]
KROZ	+ Acc.	<i>through</i>	[34a]
NA	+ Acc.	<i>to, onto</i>	[23d, 34c, 55a, 67c]
	+ Loc.	<i>on, at</i>	[67a-c]
NAD	+ Instr.	<i>over, above</i>	[80b]
NAKON	+ Gen.	<i>after</i>	[61a]
NASUPROT	+ Dat.	<i>opposite, across from</i>	[73c]
O	+ Loc.	<i>about, concerning</i>	[68a]
OD	+ Gen.	<i>from</i>	[43a]
OKO	+ Gen.	<i>around</i>	[43c]
PO	+ Acc.	<i>per, each</i>	[59c]
	+ Loc.	<i>along, according to, in</i>	[68a]
POD	+ Instr.	<i>under</i>	[80b]
PORED	+ Gen.	<i>beside, next to</i>	[43b]
POSLE	+ Gen.	<i>after</i>	[61a]
PRE	+ Gen.	<i>before, preceding</i>	[61a]

PRED	+ Instr.	<i>before, in front of</i>	[80b]
PREMA	+ Dat.	<i>towards, according to</i>	[73c, 84b]
PRI	+ Loc.	<i>near, by, with, at</i>	[68a]
S(A)	+ Gen.	<i>from, down from, off</i>	[43a, 55a-b, 67c]
	+ Instr.	<i>with</i>	[80a]
U	+ Acc.	<i>to, into, on</i>	[23c, 55a-b, 61c]
	+ Loc.	<i>in, at</i>	[67a-d]
UZ	+ Acc.	<i>alongside, up, along</i>	[34b]
ZA	+ Acc.	<i>for</i>	[23b]
	+ Instr.	<i>behind</i>	[80b]

E posle / J poslige; E pre / J prije

PREPOSITIONS BY CASE

Accusative	kroz, na, o, u, uz, za
Genitive	bez, blizu, do, iz, kod, nakon, od, oko, pored, posle, pre, s(a); ispod, ispred, iza, između, iznad
Dative	k(a), nasuprot, prema
Locative	na, o, po, pri, u
Instrumental	nad, pod, pred, s(a), za

Already it is clear that the genitive is by far the favored case among prepositions. For more on prepositions and their meanings, see [156b, 157b, 158b, 159b].

93b. Negated objects of prepositions

When the words **niko** / **nitko** “no one” and **ništa** “nothing” are the object of a verb, they are written as single words. But when they are the object of a preposition, they are broken in two, and the preposition is inserted between the two components. One must take care to remember that this occurs only with the negative prefix **ni-** and not with the indefinite prefix **ne-**. The examples below illustrate the different behavior of these words according to whether they are objects of a verb or of a preposition.

NEGATIVE

object of verb	Ти о томе ништа не знати. Овде никога не познајемо.	You don't know anything about that. We don't know anybody here.
object of preposition	Ово писмо није ни од кога. Ништа ни о чему не каже. Она ни с ким не говори. Он то ни у шта не претвара.	This letter is not from anybody [at all]. He doesn't say anything about anything. She's not talking with anyone. He doesn't transform it into anything else.

INDEFINITE

object of preposition	Ово писмо је од некога важнога. У njemu он пише о нечему важном. Он разговара с неким, не зnam с ким. Он то претвара у нешто друго.	This letter is from someone important. In it he writes about something important. He's talking with someone; I don't know who [= with whom]. He transforms it into something else.
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E ovde / J ovde; S,B šta / C što

CHAPTER 9

94 Present tense, continued

The remaining present tense types all belong to the *e*-conjugation.

94a. Type *prati*

Verbs like **prati** are similar to **slati** (review [65c]) and **zvati** (review [7a]): each inserts a vowel into the present tense stem. While the vowel is **a** in **slati** and **o** in **zvati** (1sg. **šaljem** and **zovem**, respectively), it is **e** in this group. For more on this type, illustrated by **brati** “gather” and **prati** “wash”, see [153k]).

brati	<i>gather</i>
bèrem	bèremo
bèrš	bèrte
bere	beru

prati	<i>wash</i>
pèrem	pèremo
pèrš	pèrete
pere	peru

94b. Type *krenuti*

Verbs whose infinitives end in **-nuti** keep the consonant **n** in the present tense. Nearly all such verbs are perfective, though some (such as **ginuti** “perish”) are imperfective. For more on this type, illustrated here by **krenuti** “move”, see [153g].

krenuti	<i>move, go</i>
kreñem	kreñemo
kreñeš	kreñete
kreñe	kreñu

94c. Infinitives in **-ći**

Verbs with infinitives in **-ći** fall into two general groups. One includes **ići** “go” and others formed from it, such as **doći** “come”. The present stem, seen in **idem** and **dodem**, ends either in **-d** or **-đ**, respectively (review [40a, 52b, 54] and see [153s]). The other includes verbs with present stems in **-k** or **-g**. Verbs of this group include **teći** (review [30b]) and **moći** (review [14f]). The stem-final consonants **-k** and **-g** are seen only in the 3pl. forms **teku** and **mogu** (and for **moći** exceptionally, 1sg.). In all other forms of the present tense, they shift to **-č** or **-ž**, respectively.

Within this type, however, there is a sizeable group of verbs which retain the stem-final consonant **-k** or **-g** throughout the present tense. In these verbs, the consonant **n** is added before the theme vowel. All such verbs are perfective. For more, see [153r].

stići	<i>arrive</i>
stignem	stignemo
stigneš	stignete
stigne	stignu

pomoći	<i>help</i>
pomognem	pomognemo
pomogneš	pomognete
pomogne	pomognu

94d. Type *stati*

The present tense stem of the perfective verb **stati** ends in **-n**. This verb, which has many meanings, also gives rise to an important group of derived verbs (see [101]). The verb **ostati** “remain” illustrates this group.

ostati	<i>remain</i>
ostanem	ostanemo
ostaneš	ostanete
ostane	ostanu

94e. Infinitives in -sti

The final group of verbs comprises those with infinitives ending in **-ti** preceded by the consonant **s**. One must learn the present stem for each of these verbs, as it cannot be predicted from the infinitive. In one set of verbs, in fact, the same infinitive corresponds to two different present tense stems (and two different verbs, of course). These are the perfective verbs of transport (review [84a] and see [107]).

The present stem of this group always ends in a consonant. A few verbs with stem-final **-d** add **n** before the theme vowel: these include **pasti** “fall” and its derivatives, and **sesti / sjesti** “sit” (for more, see [120]).

In other verbs, the theme vowel is added directly. The stem-final consonant, which can be **-s**, **-z**, **-t**, or **-d**, is replaced by **s** in the infinitive, as in **jesti**, 1sg. pres. **jedem** (review [40c]), and verbs such as **gristi** “bite”, **tresti** “shake”, and **plesti** “knit”.

The final consonant of the stem **greb-** is retained before **s** in the infinitive (**grepsti**), and the infinitive **rasti** maintains the sequence **-st-** in the present tense (**rastem**). For more on this entire group, see [153p-q].

òdvesti	<i>drive [away]</i>
odvèzem	odvèzemo
odvèzeš	odvezete
odvèze	odvezu

òdvesti	<i>lead [away]</i>
odvèdem	odvèdemo
odvedeš	odvedete
odvede	odvedu

pasti	<i>fall</i>
padnem	padnemo
padneš	padnete
padne	padnu

sesti	<i>sit [down]</i>	sjesti
sednem	sednemo	sjednem
sedneš	sednete	sjedneš
sedne	sednu	sjedne

gristi	<i>bite</i>
grizem	grizemo
grizeš	grizete
grize	grizu

tresti	<i>shake</i>
trèsem	trèsemo
trèseš	trèsete
trèse	tresu

plesti	<i>knit</i>
plètem	plètemo
plèteš	plètete
plète	plètu

grepsti	<i>scratch</i>
grepem	grepemo
grepes	grepete
grepē	grepbu

rasti	<i>grow</i>
rastem	rastemo
rastes	rastete
raste	rastu

95 Future tense

The BCS future tense is a compound tense, composed of an auxiliary and the infinitive of the verb. The auxiliary is the verb **hteti** / **htjeti**, which also means *want*. In the future tense, this auxiliary can appear in the full form, the negated form or the clitic form. English speakers should take advantage of the similarities between the BCS future tense and the same tense in English. For instance, the future tense of *to go* in English is *[I] will go*, which can also be pronounced in the shortened form *I'll go*. This is a compound tense, composed of an auxiliary and a main verb form in which the auxiliary – which carries the meaning of desire (of *wanting* or *willing* something to happen) – can occur either fully stressed or in shortened, unaccented form. All these statements are also true of the BCS future.

95a. Forms of the future tense and their spelling

The future tense auxiliary is a fully conjugated verb. The full form and the negated form are the same as those of **hteti** / **htjeti** in the meaning *want* (review [52d]). The clitic form, used in

most neutral instances of the future tense, is equivalent to the negated form minus the accented negative prefix **ne-** (for the overlap in meaning between the meaning *want* and the meaning of simple future tense, see [95c]). The alternate negated future auxiliary (with the two components written separately) is used in Croatian alongside the single-word negated auxiliary. As in the present tense of *to be* (review [7b]), the clitic forms are used in most contexts. The full forms are used in questions, single-word answers, and special emphasis. Negation can be expressed only by the negated full form.

Future Auxiliary:	clitic	full	negated	[alternate negated]
ću	ćemo	hoću	neću	nè ću
ćeš	ćete	hoćeš	nećeš	nè ćeš
će	će	hoće	neće	nè će

The meaning of *future tense* is expressed by the combination of the auxiliary and the infinitive. The only time the infinitive can be absent is if its meaning has already been stated and is clear from the context. When the clitic auxiliary is used, it must (like all clitics) come in second position. It follows the question particle **li** and precedes all other clitics; for analysis in terms of the XYZ model, see [102]. When some word other than the infinitive occurs in initial position, any clitics follow immediately. In this case, the infinitive can occur anywhere in the sentence.

Mi ćemo ga sutra vidjeti.	We will see him tomorrow.
Sutra ćemo ga vidjeti.	[same]
Kada će stići?	When will they arrive?
Kada ćete nam opet doći?	When will you come [see] us again?
Ona će ti se javiti.	She will call you.

Serbian can also use the **da** + present form of the infinitive to express future. Although Bosnian can in principle form the future this way, in practice one almost always encounters the infinitive future in Bosnian. Of course, whenever the **da** + present form is used, the clitic objects must go in the clause with the present tense form of the main verb. This means that they are separated from the future clitic (for more discussion, see [102]). The following set repeats the above examples, now with the future tense expressed as **da** + present.

Mи ћемо да га видимо сутра.	We will see him tomorrow.
Сутра ћемо да га видимо.	[same]
Када ће да стигну?	When will they arrive?
Кад ћете да нам дођете опет?	When will you come [see] us again?
Она ће да ти се јави.	She will call you.

When the infinitive begins the sentence, it must necessarily be followed by the auxiliary. In such instances, infinitives ending in **-ti** are pronounced together with the auxiliary. For most verbs, this means that the consonant **t** is absorbed into the **ć** of the future auxiliary. As seen in the examples below, Croatian continues to write the two separately (regardless of how the sequence may be pronounced). Serbian, however, carries this pronunciation into the spelling, and writes the two pieces together as a single word. If the infinitive ends in **-sti**, the resulting combination (**st** + **ć**) is pronounced as **šć**, which is also reproduced in Serbian spelling. Bosnian can use either alternative: formerly the Serbian spelling predominated, but now the Croatian spelling is favored. Note, however, that infinitives ending in **-ći**, however, are ALWAYS written separately.

Infinitive	Future tense begins sentence		
čitati	[C] čitat ćeš	[S] čitaćeš	(you will) read
govoriti	[C] govòrit čemo	[S] govòrićemo	(we will) speak
biti	[C] bit će	[S] biće	(it will) be
jesti	[C] jest ču	[S] ješću	(I will) eat
prevesti	[C] prèvest čete	[S] prevešćete	(you will) translate

Infinitive	Future tense begins sentence		
ići	[B,C,S] ići ču		(I will) go
stići	[B,C,S] stići čete		(you will) arrive
moći	[B,C,S] moći čemo		(we will) be able

95b. Negation and questions

In terms of “yes-no” questions and negative statements, the structure of future tense sentences is very similar to that of present tense predicative sentences (those whose verb is a form of **biti**). The student can use these similarities to learn the basic forms of the future tense. Questions are marked by the particle **li**, either as part of the phrase **da li** (followed immediately by the clitic form) or as a single particle placed immediately after the full-form auxiliary. Questions with **da li** are more characteristic of Serbian and those with **li** alone are more characteristic of Croatian, while Bosnian can use both (review [8b]). Negative statements are the same throughout BCS: the negated full form is required. Its place in the sentence is not regulated by word order rules, although in practice it usually occurs at the beginning. A negative question begins with **zar** followed by the negated auxiliary; Croatian can also place **li** after the negated verb (review [56d]). The following examples contrast present and future tense questions and negative statements.

QUESTIONS

present	Da li ste vi student?	Jèste li vi student?	Are you a student?
future	Da li čete vi biti student?	Hoćete li vi biti student?	Will you be a student?
present	Da li je sve u redu?	Je li sve u redu?	Is everything O.K.?
future	Da li će sve biti u redu?	Hoće li sve biti u redu?	Will everything be O.K.?

NEGATIVE STATEMENTS

present	Nismo studenti.	We're not students.
	Mi nismo studenti.	[same]
future	Nećemo biti studenti.	We won't be students.
	Mi nećemo biti studenti.	[same]

NEGATIVE QUESTIONS

present	Zar niste vi student?	Aren't you a student?
	Niste li vi student? [C]	[same]
future	Zar nećete vi biti student?	Won't you be a student?
	Nećete li vi biti student? [C]	[same]
present	Zar nije tako?	Isn't that the way it is?
	Nije li tako? [C]	[same]
future	Zar neće biti tako?	Isn't that the way it'll turn out?
	Neće li biti tako? [C]	[same]

B,S da li ste / B,C jeste li; B,C vi / S Vi; S,B da li čete / C,B hoćete li; S,B da li je / B,C,S je li; S,B da li će biti / C,B hoće li biti

95c. The verbal ideas “want” and “will”

Because the future tense describes an event that has not yet happened, it necessarily involves prediction, and this in turn involves the speaker’s attitude to a certain extent. It is not by chance that the verbal auxiliary in English, BCS, and certain other languages is related to the idea of wishing or “willing” something to come about. From a philosophical point of view, the BCS situation is even more intriguing, in that in nearly all possible sentence frames the exact same words can mean either future – *he WILL go* – or volition – *he WANTS TO go*. From the standpoint of the language learner, however, this can lead to some frustration. Most of the time one must rely on the context of usage to differentiate the two. Fortunately, this usually works.

When context doesn’t do the job, one has several other options. One is to use another verb meaning *want*, usually **željeti** / **željeti**. Another is to mark one’s statements by intonation. In neutral speech, the central focus of sentence intonation is usually upon the verb, or upon some adverbial form closely related to the verb. If the speaker intends the verb **hteti** / **htjeti** in the meaning *future*, s/he will usually emphasize either the main verb of the sentence (the infinitive) or a related adverbial form. But if s/he uses **hteti** / **htjeti** in the meaning *want*, s/he puts central focus on this verb, and the following infinitive becomes a secondary, dependent verbal idea. In the examples below, small capitals mark the word which is spoken with greater sentence emphasis.

future	Hoćete li DOĆI večeras?	<i>Will you come this evening?</i>
volition	HOĆETE li doći večeras?	<i>Do you want to come this evening?</i>
future	Hoće li BITI tamo?	<i>Is he going to be there?</i>
volition	HOĆE li biti tamo?	<i>Does he want to be there?</i>

In the case of a single-word answer to a question, however, even this intonational clue cannot be used. Here, the only recourse is to context. That is, it is only in the situation itself that one can know whether the answer **Hoću** means “[Yes,] I will” or “[Yes,] I do [want to]”, or whether the answer **Neću** means “[No,] I won’t” or “[No,] I don’t [want to]”. Usually the question to which these words respond has provided the context. But in the case of negation, it is hard to distinguish the two even when the sentence is spelled out. This is because the negated auxiliary draws the sentence intonation to itself much more strongly than does the affirmative one. The following two sentences, for instance, are pronounced with almost exactly the same intonation:

negated future	Neću doći večeras.	<i>I'm not coming this evening.</i>
negated volition	Neću doći večeras.	<i>I don't want to come this evening.</i>

Fortunately, the language structure itself now provides something of a safety valve. Recall that there are two ways to express the idea *infinitive*: one with a single word and the other with a sequence of **da** + present. In all other contexts of BCS, these two have the same meaning (review [26c]). Here, however, they are in principle differentiated. If the negated form of **hteti** / **htjeti** is followed by an infinitive, then the sentence should have future tense meaning. But if the negated form is followed by **da** + present, then the sentence should mean *not want*. According to the rules of grammar, this is the one instance in which Croatian permits (indeed, usually requires) the idea *infinitive* to be expressed as **da** + present. In practice, however, many Croats avoid **da** + present even in this meaning, while Serbs tend to use “**da** + present” in both meanings. The distinction is thus blurred in both Serbian and Croatian. It is relatively well observed in Bosnian, however.

negated future	<u>N</u> e <u>ć</u> u čitati nj <u>è</u> govo p <u>is</u> mo.	<i>I'm not going to read his letter.</i>
negated volition	<u>N</u> e <u>ć</u> u da čitam nj <u>è</u> govo p <u>is</u> mo.	<i>I don't want to read his letter.</i>
negated future	Sigurno ne <u>ć</u> e to r <u>ad</u> iti.	<i>They surely won't do that.</i>
negated volition	Sigurno ne <u>ć</u> e to da rade.	<i>Surely they don't want to do that.</i>

95d. Future tense of existentials and subjectless sentences

Subjectless sentences always have a 3sg. verb in all three tenses. Here are examples of subjectless sentences in both the present and future tenses:

present	Dan <u>as</u> je toplo.	<i>It's warm today.</i>
future	Dan <u>as</u> <u>će</u> biti toplo.	<i>It's going to be warm today.</i>
present	N <u>ad</u> am se da vam n <u>ije</u> h <u>la</u> dno.	<i>I hope you're not cold.</i>
future	N <u>ad</u> am se da vam ne <u>ć</u> e biti h <u>la</u> dno.	<i>I hope you're not going to be cold.</i>
present	Te <u>š</u> ko je re <u>ći</u> .	<i>It's hard to say.</i>
future	Bit <u>će</u> te <u>š</u> ko re <u>ći</u> .	<i>It'll be hard to say.</i>
present	Da li je Goran <u>o</u> vdje dobro?	<i>Is Goran O.K. here?</i>
future	Da li <u>će</u> Goran biti <u>o</u> vdje dobro?	<i>Will Goran be O.K. here?</i>

C,B bit će / S,B biće; S,B da li je / B,C je li; J ovdje / E ovde; S,B da li će / B,C hoće li

In the case of the existential verbs **ima** and **nema**, a special rule operates. The present tense of this type of subjectless sentence uses the verbs **ima** and **nema**. But in the future tense, one must use ANOTHER VERB: this verb is **biti**. Special attention must be paid here!

IMA

present	Dan <u>as</u> na p <u>u</u> tu <u>ima</u> leda.	<i>There's ice on the road today.</i>
future	Dan <u>as</u> <u>će</u> na p <u>u</u> tu biti leda.	<i>There'll be ice on the road today.</i>
present	Im <u>a</u> li jo <u>š</u> ?	<i>Is / Are there any more?</i>
future	Ho <u>će</u> li biti jo <u>š</u> ?	<i>Will there be any more?</i>
present	Da, im <u>a</u> ih jo <u>š</u> mnogo.	<i>Yes, there's still a lot [of them].</i>
future	Da, bi <u>će</u> ih jo <u>š</u> mnogo.	<i>Yes, there'll still be a lot [of them].</i>

NEMA

present	Tamo ne <u>m</u> a nikoga.	<i>There's nobody there.</i>
future	Tamo ne <u>ć</u> e biti nikoga.	<i>There won't be anybody there.</i>
present	Zar ih ne <u>m</u> a vi <u>še</u> ?	<i>Aren't there any more [of them]?</i>
future	Zar ih vi <u>še</u> ne <u>ć</u> e biti?	<i>Won't there be any more [of them]?</i>
present	Dan <u>as</u> me ne <u>m</u> a.	<i>I'm not here today.</i>
future	Dan <u>as</u> me ne <u>ć</u> e biti.	<i>I won't be here today.</i>
	Mene dan <u>as</u> ne <u>ć</u> e biti.	[same]
present	Ni njega ne <u>m</u> a.	<i>He's not here either!</i>
future	Ni njega ne <u>ć</u> e biti.	<i>He won't be here either.</i>

S,B na putu / C,B na cesti; B,C ima li / S,B da li ima; C,B hoće li / S,B da li će; S,B biće / C,B bit će

95e. Verbal aspect and future meaning

The tense of a verb refers to the time of an action: present, past or future. The aspect of a verb refers to the type of action. Imperfective verbs are used to describe an action in progress, a repeated action, or the general fact of an action, whereas perfective verbs are used to focus on a

single action (and usually on its completion). To aid the English speaker in grasping this distinction, the chart below gives some rough parallels, using the English verb *do*. From these examples, one can see that the English progressive tenses (is / was / will be doing) reproduce some (but not all!) elements of the BCS idea “imperfective aspect”. Similarly, one can note that the verbs in perfective sentences all refer in some way to future time: in each instance the verb *do* refers to an action that has not yet *been done*. This also corresponds well to BCS usage, in which perfective verbs are used either as an infinitive after a present tense verb, or after a conjunction which focuses on some sort of envisioned closure (review [53c]).

PRESENT TENSE (English)

Imperfective meaning

action in progress
repeated action
general fact of action

She's not doing anything right now.
She does that all the time.
What does he do?

Perfective meaning

focus on single action
focus on completion
of single action

I have to do something now.
Can you do it for me today?
I'll come after I do this
[= when I finish doing this].

In the future tense, there are no such restrictions on the usage of perfective verbs. Both aspects are used freely in the future; indeed, the only controlling factor is the meaning contained in the idea of each aspect itself. The following examples illustrate this first in English, and then in BCS. The English examples use the verb *do* again, but the BCS examples are chosen to illustrate aspect usage with different sorts of verbs. Note that the idea of future tense itself prescribes a somewhat more limited (or at least different) scope of usage than in the present tense.

FUTURE TENSE (English)

Imperfective meaning

action in progress
repeated action
lack of focus on single
or completed action

What will you be doing at that time?
Will you do that often?
What are you going to do today?

Perfective meaning

explicit focus on single action
focus on completion of
single action

Will you do that for me please?
He'll do [and finish] it right now.

FUTURE TENSE (BCS)

Imperfective

repeated action
duration of action
lack of focus on
completion
duration, no
completion

Od sada čemo izlaziti na vreme.
Bojim se da će kiša padati
cijeli dan.
Šta ćeš danas ræditi?
Čitaću njegov novi roman.

From now on we'll leave on time.
*I'm afraid it's going to rain
all day long.*
What are you going to do today?
*I'm going to read [= be reading]
his new novel.*

J na vrijeme / E na vreme; B,C,S će padati / S će da pada; C,B cijeli dan / S ceo dan; B,S šta / C što; B,C ćeš
raditi / S,B ćeš da radiš; S čitaću / C,B čitat će

Perfective: explicit focus on

single action	Ni dànas nećemo izaći na vrijeme! Pazi, knjige će pasti sa stola!	We're won't leave on time today, either! Careful, the books will fall off the table!
completion	Šta ćeš dànas uraditi? Pročitaću njegov novi roman.	What will you get done today? I'll finish reading his new novel.

B,C nećemo izaći / S,B nećemo da izademo; B,C će pasti / S,B će da padnu; B,C,S uraditi / C učiniti;
S pročitaću / C,B pročitat će

96 Derivation of aspect partners

In any one aspect pair, the two partners usually share the same stem. There are several ways to signal the aspect difference. Most frequently, one adds prefixes or suffixes, although it is also possible for the shape of the stem to be altered. The systematic nature of these relationships, first seen in [53], can be seen more easily when one separates out the individual components of each verb. That is, most verb forms consist of a *stem* and an *ending*, and most also have a *theme vowel*. It is to this sequence that one may (optionally) add *prefixes* and/or *suffixes*. The model below, in which hyphens indicate the boundaries between the different components, illustrates the order of these components. All the examples in the subsequent charts are broken into these several components, all separated by hyphens. Not all forms will have all components.



96a. Aspect partners differentiated by suffixation

When the difference is signaled by adding a suffix, the imperfective partner will always belong to the *a*-conjugation. The perfective partner can belong to various conjugations, although it most frequently belongs to the *i*-conjugation. Sometimes this difference – reflected in the theme vowel – is the only thing that distinguishes the two; this is seen in type (1) below. It is more usual, however, that additional changes will occur in the stem of the imperfective verb. Sometimes the final stem vowel shifts from **o** to **a**, as in types (2) and (5) below, and sometimes a suffix is added before the imperfective theme vowel, as in type (3) below.

The most frequently encountered change is in the shape of the stem-final consonant. These changes are of several types. The final consonant of the perfective stem can be replaced by its softened counterpart (according to a pattern outlined in detail in [112c]); this is seen in type (4) below. More rarely, the consonant shift operates in the reverse direction, as in type (5) below. Finally, the characteristically perfective consonant **n** (found in perfective verbs belonging to the **-nuti** group) is replaced by an unrelated consonant before the imperfective theme vowel **a**, as in type (6) below. The patterns seem complex, but with time they will become familiar; for more discussion and examples, see [147a]. The more one becomes used to these patterns, the faster one will be able to build verbal vocabulary.

IMPERFECTIVE BY SUFFIXATION

Differentiating Feature(s)	Perfective	Imperfective	
(1) theme vowel alone	sprem-i-ti bac-i-ti	> sprem-a-ti bac-a-ti	prepare throw
(2) theme vowel + final stem vowel	odgovor-i-ti pretvor-i-ti odmor-i-ti se	> odgovar-a-ti pretvar-a-ti odmar-a-ti se	answer transform rest

(3) theme vowel + suffix

završ-i-ti	>	završ-av-a-ti	<i>finish</i>
da-ti	>	da-v-a-ti	<i>give</i>
pozna-ti	>	pozna-v-a-ti	<i>know</i>
stav-i-ti	>	stavlja-ti	<i>put</i>
vrat-i-ti	>	vrać-a-ti	<i>return</i>
zaborav-i-ti	>	zaboravlja-ti	<i>forget</i>
polož-i-ti	>	polag-a-ti	<i>put, sit [exam]</i>
skoč-i-ti	>	skak-a-ti	<i>jump</i>
kren-u-ti	>	kret-a-ti	<i>move, set out</i>
skin-u-ti	>	skid-a-ti	<i>remove</i>

(4) theme vowel + consonant shift

(5) theme vowel + final stem vowel
+ opposite consonant shift(6) theme vowel + replacement of
final consonant**96b. Aspect partners differentiated by prefixation**

When the difference is signaled by adding a prefix, it is often the case that the addition of the prefix changes the meaning so much as to produce a new verb altogether. When this happens, an imperfective partner is created (via suffixation) for this new perfective verb. The system of motion verbs, surveyed in [54], gives a hint of this process; for detailed discussion, see [147c].

But there are also a number of verbs where the addition of a prefix adds no other meaning than the idea “perfective”. Such pairs are viewed as straightforward aspect pairs. It is important to note that most of these verbs are capable of hosting more than one prefix, and that all but one of these prefixes WILL create a verb with newly altered meaning (that is, will add additional meaning beyond just the idea “perfective”); for more discussion, see [146b]. In addition, it is not possible to predict for any one verb which prefix (if any) will simply perfectivize it without adding further changes of meaning (for more, see [146c]). For now, it is sufficient to learn that perfective partners to certain imperfective verbs can be created by adding a prefix, and that the identity of the perfectivizing prefix must be learned along with each verb.

The chart below illustrates this process. Verb forms are separated into segments according to the above model. The important point is that the ONLY change differentiating verbs in the imperfective column from those in the perfective column is the addition of the prefix. The rest of the verb – the root, the theme vowel, and any suffixes – remains unchanged; furthermore, the conjugational forms of the verb are the same. All is identical, in fact, except for the presence of the prefix and the addition to the meaning of the fact of perfective aspect.

PERFECTIVE BY PREFIXATION

Differentiating Feature	Perfective	Imperfective
addition of prefix		
	po - pi-ti <	pi-ti <i>drink</i>
	po - jes-ti <	jes-ti <i>eat</i>
	o - pra-ti <	pra-ti <i>wash</i>
	na - pis-a-ti <	pis-a-ti <i>write</i>
	po - češlj-a-ti <	češlj-a-ti <i>comb [hair]</i>
	iz - bris-a-ti <	bris-a-ti <i>erase</i>
	pro - bud-i-ti <	bud-i-ti <i>awaken</i>

97 Reflexive verbs

The term *reflexive* is used in some grammars of BCS to refer to any verb accompanied by the particle **se**. Since only very few **se**-verbs are truly reflexive, however, this terminology is misleading (review [38, 74]). It is now time to examine the verbs which are indeed reflexive.

In sentences where these verbs occur, the particle **se** fulfills the function of direct object, and can be replaced by the full form object **sebe** without changing the sentence's meaning. Practically all such verbs refer to actions taken upon one's own body, actions which *reflect back* on oneself. That is, the grammatical subject and object are one and the same. English translations do not usually include the reflexive object (*oneself* or the equivalent) because the identity of the object is almost always obvious. All such verbs also exist in non-reflexive, transitive variants – that is, with a direct object that is not identical with the subject. When this direct object refers to a portion of one's own body, Croatian can add the dative reflexive particle **si** to emphasize this aspect of indirect reflexivity.

Here is a list of the most common reflexive verbs (together with their non-reflexive variants), followed by examples illustrating the difference between a reflexive verb (in which the object is “oneself”) and a non-reflexive verb (in which the object is something or someone else). In the list, the letter **R** marks a verb as reflexive; in the sentences themselves, of course, the fact of reflexivity is marked by the particle **se**.

REFLEXIVE VERBS

	imperfective	perfective	
R	oblàčiti se oblàčiti	obućí se obućí	<i>get dressed, put [something] on dress [someone]</i>
R	svlačiti se svlačiti	svućí se svućí	<i>get undressed, take [something] off undress [someone]</i>
R	čèšljati se čèšljati	počešljati se počešljati	<i>comb / do one's hair do someone else's hair</i>
R	brijati se brijati	òbrijati se òbrijati	<i>shave shave [someone]</i>
R	umìvati se umìvati	ùmiti se ùmiti	<i>wash [one's face] wash</i>

R čèšljati se čèšljati	Мира се дуго чèшља. Моја сестра ме чèшља.	<i>Mira takes a long time on her hair. My sister is doing my hair.</i>
R oblàčiti se (I) R obućí se (P)	Моја жèна се дуго облачи. Обуците се, брзо!	<i>My wife takes a long time to dress. Hurry up, get dressed!</i>
oblàčiti (I) obućí (P)	Купа дèте, а онда га облачи. Обуци новији пулôвер.	<i>She bathes the child, then dresses it. Put on your new sweater.</i>
R brijati se brijati	Њен муж се нè брије сваки дан. Воли да га брије берберин.	<i>Her husband doesn't shave every day. He likes the barber to shave him.</i>
R umìvati se (P) umìvati (I)	Хајде, децо, умијте се и обуците! Умивам лице и перем руке. Umivam si lice i perem si ruke. [C]	<i>Come on, kids – wash up, and get dressed! I'm washing my face and my hands. [same]</i>

E dete / J dijete; B,C,S njen / C,B njezin; S berberin / C,B brijač; E deco / J djeko; S,B umivam lice / C umivam si lice; S,B perem ruke / C perem si ruke

Several other verbs, normally used transitively with a broad range of meanings, can also take on reflexive meaning by adding **se**. This meaning can only be properly called reflexive, however, if the particle **se** can be translated by the idea *oneself* (or if the full form object **sebe** can be substituted). Verbs which take an object in some other case are often grouped in this category. In these instances, the reflexive object must be the long form (except for Croatian, which can use the short form dative pronoun **si**).

Pogledaj se u ogledalo!	<i>Look at yourself in the mirror!</i>
Mačka se krije kad gosti dolaze.	<i>The cat hides [itself] when guests come.</i>
Kupiće sebi nove cipele.	<i>She'll buy herself [some] new shoes.</i>
Kupit će si nove cipele.	[same]
Ona nažalost ne može vladati sobom.	<i>Unfortunately, she can't control herself.</i>

B,C,S ogledalo / C zrcalo; S,B kupiće / B,C kupit će; S,B kupiće (kupit će) sebi / C kupit će si; B,C ne može vladati / S,B ne može da vlada

98. Review of se-verbs

A number of different **se**-verbs have been discussed. Some are verbs which do not exist without **se** (review [74]). Others are verbs for which the addition of **se** ascribes a particular sort of meaning to the verb in question. These meanings include *reflexive* (review [90]), *reciprocal* (review [87a]), *inclination* (review [82a]) or *desiderative* (review [82b]). Very frequently the addition of **se** makes an active verb passive (review [74] and see [139]). One of the most interesting functions of **se**, however, is to mark an otherwise transitive verb as intransitive. This is a very broad category, into which a number of different verb types fall. The basic definition of a transitive verb is one which takes (and usually requires) a direct object. Some very frequently used **se**-verbs are those which name the idea of an action in markedly non-transitive terms. Taking the **se** away from such a verb makes it *causative*, a verb whose specific meaning is “cause something to come about”. As the following pairs illustrate, the more neutral partner of the two is usually the **se**-verb.

INTRANSITIVE (with **se**) vs. CAUSATIVE (without **se**)

vràtiti se	<i>return</i>	Kada čete se vràtiti?	<i>When are you coming back?</i>
vràtiti	<i>return [tr.]</i>	Moram ti vràtiti knjige.	<i>I must return the books to you.</i>
ljùtiti se	<i>get angry</i>	Nemoj da se ljutíš!	<i>Please don't get angry!</i>
ljùtiti	<i>anger</i>	To me najviše ljuti.	<i>That's what makes me the angriest.</i>
bùditi se	<i>wake up</i>	Uvijek se rano budím.	<i>I always wake up early.</i>
bùditi	<i>awaken</i>	Molim te, probùdi me u 7.	<i>Please wake me up at 7:00.</i>
radovati se	<i>rejoice</i>	Radujem se što si tu.	<i>I'm happy that you're here.</i>
radovati	<i>make happy</i>	To me najviše raduje.	<i>That's what makes me the happiest.</i>
jàviti se	<i>get in touch</i>	On se svaki dan javlja.	<i>He's in touch daily.</i>
jàviti	<i>announce</i>	Uvek javlja dobre vesti.	<i>S/he always communicates good news.</i>

B,C čete se vratiti / S,B čete da se vratite: C,B moram ti vratiti / S,B moram da ti vratim; S,B nemoj da se ljutiš / C,B nemoj se ljutiti; J uvijek / E uvek; E vesti / J vjesti

Another important function of **se** is to mark a statement as *impersonal* (review [48]). The function of **se** in such sentences is to focus attention completely on the action itself. Although verbs in impersonal sentences are all ones which require human subjects, the impersonal usage explicitly avoids identifying any subject, and occurs only with 3sg. verbs. The examples below

contain pairs of verbs used both as active verbs and in impersonal sentences. English has no obvious way to translate impersonal sentences, since all English sentences must have a subject (here, usually *one* or impersonal *you*). For more discussion and examples, see [140].

IMPERSONAL vs. ACTIVE

active	Не могу тако говорити.	<i>I can't talk like that.</i>
impersonal	Не може се тако говорити. Не може се тако да говори.	<i>You can't say such things.</i> [same]
active	Вечерас идемо у позориште.	<i>We're going to the theater this evening.</i>
impersonal	Тамо се најбоље иде трамвајем.	<i>You can get there best by tram.</i>
active	Она не једе месо.	<i>She doesn't eat meat.</i>
impersonal	Тамо се добро једе.	<i>The food's good [= one eats well] there.</i>

C,B mogu govoriti / S,B mogu da govorim; C,B ne može se tako govoriti / B,S ne može tako da se govori;
B,S pozorište / C kazalište

99 Object clauses, introduction

The pronoun **što** / **šta** means *what*. In its *interrogative* meaning it occurs in questions, either direct questions like *WHAT are you doing?* (review [8a]) or embedded ones like *I don't know WHAT I'm doing* (review [51]). The word **što** is a *conjunction*: in this meaning it occurs only in the spelling **što**. The conjunction **što** is frequently used in the meaning *that* after verbs or adjectives expressing emotion. It is also part of compound conjunctions, such as **kao što**, **zato što**, and others (review [50]). For discussion and more examples, see [143b].

Even when it is a conjunction, **što** is still sometimes best translated by English *what*. In these instances, **što** functions to introduce an entire clause which is the subject or the object of a sentence. Frequently, the neuter pronominal adjective **to** is placed before **što** to signal this fact more clearly. BCS sentences with the sequence **to što** are sometimes difficult for English speakers, since the corresponding English phrase – *that what* (or *that which*) – does not often occur in English. Instances of English *what* which are not clearly part of questions or embedded questions must often be translated by BCS **to što**. For more discussion, see [143h].

ŠTA / ŠTO: interrogative

question	Šta <u>to</u> nosiš?	<i>What's that you're carrying?</i>
	Šta će nositi sutra?	<i>What will tomorrow bring?</i>
embedded	Nikad se ne zna šta nosi sutra.	<i>You never know what tomorrow brings.</i>
question	Šta radiš?	<i>What are you doing?</i>
embedded	Ne tiče me se šta radiš kod njega, ali moraš doći do 10.	<i>I don't care what you're doing at his place but you have to get here by 10.</i>

ŠTO: conjunction

“emotion”	Radujemo se što si <u>tu</u> . Žao mi je što ne mogu doći.	<i>We're pleased that you are here. I'm sorry [that] I won't be able to come.</i>
part of compound	Da li si <u>tí</u> iz Zagreba kao što su tvoji roditelji? Pitam zato što tražim nekoga.	<i>Are you from Zagreb, like your parents [are]? I ask because I'm looking for someone.</i>

subj.clause	Odgovara mu <u>to</u> što odgovara i nama.	<i>He likes what we like.</i> [= What suits him is that which suits us as well.]
obj. clause	Ne mogu ocijeniti <u>to</u> što radiš u ovom pogledu. Necu se nervirati bez obzira na <u>to</u> što mi se dogodi.	<i>I can't evaluate what</i> [= that which] <i>you are doing in this regard.</i> <i>I won't get nervous no matter what</i> [= without regard to that which] <i>happens [to me].</i>

B,S šta / C što; B,C moraš doći / S,B moraš da dođeš; B,C ne mogu doći / S,B ne mogu da dođem; J ocijeniti / E oceniti; B,C ne mogu ocijeniti / S,B ne mogu da ocenim (ocijenim); B na to / C,S na to

100 Time expressions, continued

With respect to the idea of time, the preposition **na** followed by the accusative refers to the period of time which one intends (or intended) an action to encompass.

★ NA + Acc	Íći íu u Paríz na mjesec dana. A óna idë samo na nedelju dana. Osüden je na 2 godine zatvora ali je pušten nakon 4 mjeseca.	<i>I'll be going to Paris for a month.</i> <i>But she's only going for a week.</i> <i>He was condemned to 2 years in jail</i> <i>but was released after 4 months.</i>
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J mjesec / E mesec; E nedelja / J nedjelja; S,B nedelju (nedjelju) / B sedmicu / C tjedan

101 Vocabulary building: the **stati** / **stajati** group

The perfective verb **stati** embraces a broad set of meanings, including *stop, start, stand up, stand on, accommodate*, and others; for its relationship to the two imperfective verbs **stajati** (1sg. **stojim**) and **stajati** (1sg. **stajem**), see [120]. What is useful for the student here is to see the relationship between prefixation and vocabulary building. A significant number of verbs – with quite important meanings – are formed by adding a prefix to the pair **stati** (1sg. **stanem**) / **stajati** (1sg. **stajem**). Here are some of the most commonly used ones:

prefix(es)	perfective	imperfective
iz - o -	izostati	izostajati
na -	nastati	nastajati
ne - do -	[nedostati] *	nedostajati
ne -	nestati	nestajati
o -	ostati	ostajati
po -	pòstati	pòstajati
pre -	prestati	prestajati
pri -	pristati	pristajati
sa- (+ se)	sastati se	sastajati se
u -	ustati	ustajati

* perfective rarely used

102 Word order and the future tense

The six subslots of *Y* within the *XYZ* model (review [64, 76]) determine the order of clitics in a sentence. For review, these are:

<i>X</i>	<i>Y-1</i>	<i>Y-2</i>	<i>Y-3</i>	<i>Y-4</i>	<i>Y-5</i>	<i>Y-6</i>	<i>Z</i>
	li	<i>be (aux)</i>	<i>dat</i>	<i>acc-gen</i>	se	je	

As a verbal auxiliary, the clitic portion of the future tense always comes in slot *Y-2*. Even when this clitic is written together with the infinitive form according to the Serbian spelling norm (review [95a]), it is subject to these rules: the infinitive part of the word occupies slot *X* and the clitic part of it the first element in slot *Y*. In the diagrams below, these Serbian “amalgamated” future forms are written with a hyphen to remind one that they are spelled as a single word.

By definition, sentences with future tense verbs very frequently contain clitics; when **se**-verbs or verbs taking pronoun objects are included, then the number of clitics is increased. With practice these sentences will feel natural; the *XYZ* model is intended to smooth this practice.

	<i>X</i>	<i>Y</i>					<i>Z</i>
[spelling]		1	2	3	4	5	6
	Ja		éu	ti		se	jáviti.
[C]	Jávit		ú	ti		se.	<i>I'll call you tomorrow</i>
[S]	Jávi-	-éu	ti			se.	[same]
	Óna		é		me	se	bojati.
[C]	Bojat		é		me	se.	<i>She'll be afraid of me.</i>
[S]	Boja-	-é		me	se.		[same]
	Da	li	é	ti		se	jáviti?
	Hoće	li		ti		se	jáviti?
	Da	li	é		me	se	bojati?
	Hoće	li		me	se		<i>Will she call you?</i>
							[same]
							<i>Will they be afraid of you?</i>
							[same]

When Serbian replaces the infinitive of the future by **da** + present, there are usually two sequences of the *XYZ* model. The model below gives an abbreviated version of the six sub-slots, since the *Y-2* clitic can only occur in the first section, and clitics filling *Y-3*, *Y-4*, and *Y-5* can only occur in the second one.

<i>X</i>	<i>Y</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>Y</i>	<i>Z</i>
	1 2		3 4 5		
Ja	hy	сада	да	му	се
Ja	hy		да	му	се
Да	ли	хете опет	да	ми	се
Да	ли	хете	да	ми	се
Óna	he	одмах	да	ти	
Óna	he		да	ти	

CHAPTER 10

103 Verb conjugation, review

Although there are only three different present tense conjugations in BCS, each named by its theme vowel (*a*, *e* or *i*, review [13]), there are a great many more verb types. In order to predict the form of the infinitive from the form of the present tense, and vice versa, one must know which type the verb belongs to. These several types have been presented in earlier chapters (review [14, 30, 40, 52, 65, 77, 94]). The entire system may now be viewed as a whole.

There are sixteen basic types, only two of which must be divided into sub-types. For each type, the defining feature is the relationship between the infinitive and the present stems. One can best learn the verb system by grasping the principle underlying it, and memorizing the forms of one representative verb (or *head verb*) for each type. When one learns a new verb, therefore, it is necessary only to assign it to the correct type in order to predict all its conjugational forms. It will also be much easier to learn the forms of verbal participles (to be seen in [104a, 117a]) and verbal nouns (to be seen in [108, 116]) when one is familiar with the system of verb types.

103a. Verb types

The following table summarizes the sixteen verb types and suggests a head verb for each. Any one language learner may choose his or her own head verb, of course: what matters is the principle of dividing the verbal vocabulary into types and memorizing one example of each type. For each type, the following information is given: its type number, its two theme vowels (one each for present and infinitive), the 1sg. and 3pl. forms of the head verb, and comments designed to fix its salient characteristics in the learner's mind. In subsequent grammar discussions, verb type numbers appear in italics, to remind one to refer to this chart.

All verbs have a theme vowel in the present tense: it is the vowel which identifies the conjugation type (**a**, **e** or **i**). Most verbs also have a theme vowel in the infinitive: it is the vowel preceding the ending **-ti**. Four types, however, lack a theme vowel in the infinitive. Two of these (*types 13-14*) have the infinitive ending **-ti**, and the other two (*types 15-16*) have the infinitive ending **-ci**. *Type 8* is characterized by the presence of suffixes: it adds the suffix **-uj** before the present theme vowel, and adds one of two suffixes before the infinitive theme vowel, **-ov** in *type 8a* and **-iv** in *type 8b*. The same relationship is seen in *type 9*, where the present theme vowel is preceded by **-j** and the infinitive theme vowel by **-v**. *Type 7* is characterized by the presence of the consonant **n** before both present and infinitive theme vowels.

Several types are characterized by the fact of shifts in the verb stem itself. In *types 5* and *15a* the stem-final consonant of the infinitive softens in the present tense. An additional consonant is added to the present tense stem in *types 6, 11* and *15b*, and an additional vowel is added to the present stem in *type 10*. The stem-final consonant of the present stem is lost (or altered) be-

fore the infinitive ending in *types 13-16*, and the stem-final consonant of the infinitive stem is lost before the infinitive ending in *type 6*. Some verbs of *type 15b* have an alternate infinitive formed by adding **-nuti** to the present stem.

A few verbs do not fit precisely into the above schema, but must rather be described as combinations of more than one type. First, the verbs **pasti** and **sesti / sjesti** (*type 13*) add **n** to the present stem after the manner of *type 15b* (review [94e] and see [120, 153r]). Second, two verbs have infinitives in **-eti / -ijeti**. One has a present tense like *type 11 – umreti / umrijeti* “die”, 1sg. **umrem** (see [153m]), and the other has a present tense like *type 14 – doneti / donijeti* “bring”, 1sg. **donesem** (review [77b] and see [153q]). Third, one verb (**stati**) has a present tense like *type 7* but an infinitive like *type 10* (review [94e] and see [153g]). Fourth, the 1sg. of **moći** is **-u** without consonant softening (review [14f]). Finally, one must learn as separate verbs the present tense forms of **biti** (review [7b, 52c] and see [153u]) and **hteti / htjeti** (review [52d, 95a] and see [153t]). As the above references suggest, full paradigms of all verb types together with discussion of irregularities are given in [152-153].

VERB TYPES

Type	Theme vowel	Head verb	Comment	
	inf.	pres.	infinitive	pres. (1sg, 3pl)
1	-a-	-a-	igrati	igram <u>ı</u> , igraju <u>ı</u>
2	-i-	-i-	staviti	stavim <u>ı</u> , stave <u>ı</u>
3	-e- / -je-	-i-	videti / vidjeti	vidim <u>ı</u> , vide <u>ı</u>
4	-a-	-i-	držati	držim <u>ı</u> , drže <u>ı</u>
5	-a-	-e-	pisati	pišem <u>ı</u> , pišu <u>ı</u>
6	-i-	-e-	piti	pijem <u>ı</u> , piju <u>ı</u>
7	-u-	-e-	krènuti	krènem <u>ı</u> , krènu <u>ı</u>
8a	-a-	-e-	kupòvati	kupujem <u>ı</u> , kupuju <u>ı</u>
8b	-a-	-e-	kaziòvati	kàzujem <u>ı</u> , kàzuju <u>ı</u>
9	-a-	-e-	dàvati	dajem <u>ı</u> , daju <u>ı</u>
10	-a-	-e-	brati	bèrem <u>ı</u> , bér <u>ı</u>
11	-e-	-e-	uzèti	uzmem <u>ı</u> , uzmu <u>ı</u>
12	-e- / -je-	-e-	smeti/ smjeti	smem <u>ı</u> , smeju <u>ı</u> / smijem <u>ı</u> , smiju <u>ı</u>
13	-e-	jesti	jedem <u>ı</u> , jedu <u>ı</u>	shift d or t of present to s in infinitive
14	-e-	gristi	grizem <u>ı</u> , grizu <u>ı</u>	shift consonant to s in infinitive
15a	-e-	teći	teçem <u>ı</u> , teku <u>ı</u>	drop k, g in infinitive, and shift them to č, ž in all forms of present but 3pl..
15b	-e-	stići [stignuti]	stignem <u>ı</u> , stignu <u>ı</u>	add n in present and drop k, g in infinitive
16	-e-	doćí	dođem <u>ı</u> , dođu <u>ı</u>	present stem ends in đ (or d), this consonant is lost in infinitive

104 Past tense, continued

The past tense (review [69]) is a compound tense whose auxiliary is equivalent to **biti**, and whose main verbal form is the L-participle. For verbs with infinitives in **-ati**, **-eti**, **-iti**, or **-uti** (that is, types 1-2 and 4-11), the L-participle is formed by dropping the **-ti** ending of the infinitive and adding the L-participle endings directly. Deriving the L-participle of other verbs is not difficult; the rules are easily grasped once one has internalized the system of verb types.

The forms of the past tense must agree with the subject. The auxiliary does this as a verb (in person and number), and the L-participle does it as a predicate adjective (in number and gender). Certain types of subjects have special agreement rules. The clitic form of the auxiliary is used in most neutral contexts, and must follow the *XYZ* rules; for more discussion, see [104c, 111].

104a. Forms of the L-participle, continued

For review, the possible forms of the past tense auxiliary, as well as the endings of the L-participle (and the L-participle forms of **biti**) are repeated below from [69].

<i>FULL</i>	<i>NEGATED</i>	<i>CLITIC</i>
j��sam j��smo	n��sam n��smo	sam smo
j��si j��ste	n��si n��ste	si ste
jest(e) j��su	n��je n��su	je su

	L-participle endings			L-participle of biti		
	masculine	neuter	feminine	masculine	neuter	feminine
singular	-o	-lo	-la	bio	b <u>ilo</u>	b <u>ila</u>
plural	-li	-la	-le	b <u>ili</u>	b <u>ila</u>	b <u>ile</u>

Verbs of *types 3* and *12* drop the **-ti** of the infinitive and add the L-participle endings directly. In ijekavian, however, the masculine singular form ends not in the expected * **-jeo**, but rather in **-io** (although some verbs may permit the ending **-jeo** as well). Verbs of *types 13-16* add the L-participle endings directly to the PRESENT stem. *Type 13* verbs drop the stem final **-d** or **-t**, and add the L-participle endings directly. All others add the vowel **a** before the masculine singular ending **-o**. *Type 15b* verbs drop the **n** which was added in the present, and *type 16* verbs shift the stem-final **-d** or **-d** to **-š** before L-participle endings. The verbs **hteti / htjeti** and **moći**, irregular in the present, are regular in the L-participle, following *types 3* and *15a*, respectively. The verb **umreti / umrijeti** drops the infinitive theme vowel before the L-participle endings, and the verb **doneti / donijeti** follows the model of *types 3* and *12*. The charts below illustrate the L-participles for all these types, using the head verbs from the table in [103a].

	Masculine	Neuter	Feminine		Masculine	Neuter	Feminine	
type 3		L-participle of vidjeti			type 12	L-participle of smjeti		
Singular	vidio	vidjelo	vidjela			smio	smjelo	smjela
Plural	vidjeli	vidjela	vidjele			smjeli	smjela	smjele
type 13		L-participle of jesti			type 14	L-participle of gristi		
Singular	jeo	jelo	jela			grizao	grizlo	grizla
Plural	jeli	jela	jele			grizli	grizla	grizle

	Masculine	Neuter	Feminine		Masculine	Neuter	Feminine
type 15a	L-participle of teći			type 15b	L-participle of stići		
Singular	tekao	teklo	tekla		stigao	stiglo	stigla
Plural	tekli	tekla	tekle		stigli	stigla	stigle
type 15a	L-participle of moći			type 16	L-participle of daći		
Singular	mogao	moglo	mogla		dōšao	dōšlo	dōšla
Plural	mogli	mogla	mogle		dōšli	dōšla	dōšle
	L-participle of umrijeti / umreti				L-participle of donijeti / doneti		
Singular	umro	umrlo	umrla		donio	donijelo	donijela
Plural	umrli	umrla	umrle		donijeli	donijela	donijele

J vidjeti / E videti; J video / E video; J vidjela etc. / E videla etc.; J smjeti / E smeti; J smio / E smeо; J smjela etc. / E smela etc.; J umrijeti / E umreti; J donijeti / E doneti; J donio / E doneo; J donijela etc. / E donela etc.

The accent of the active participle is nearly always the same as that of the infinitive. The only significant exception is the verb **biti**, which has short falling accent in the infinitive, but long rising accent in all active participle forms except masculine singular.

104b. Statements, negation, and questions in the past tense

Sentences in the past and the future tense share a major structural feature: each must contain an auxiliary verb, and in the majority of instances that auxiliary verb is a clitic. Both past and future tense sentences are thus quite similar in structure to present tense sentences with **biti** as the main verb (review [95b] with respect to the future tense). In the case of the past tense, the similarity is even greater, since the forms of the past tense auxiliary are identical with those of the present tense of **biti**. In questions and statements, the unaccented clitic must be placed in the appropriate slot no matter how the other sentence material is ordered, while in negated statements, the auxiliary is the fully accented negated one. It is also possible in statements for the L-participle to occur in initial position.

STATEMENTS

present	Ôni su sàda kod nàs.	<i>They're at our place now.</i>
past	Ôni su tàda bìli kod nàs.	<i>They were at our place at that time.</i>
present	Sada su kod nàs.	<i>Now they're at our place.</i>
past	Tada su bìli kod nàs.	<i>At that time they were at our place.</i>
	Bìli su tàda kod nàs.	[same]

QUESTIONS

present	Da li su sàda kod vas?	<i>Are they at your place now?</i>
	Jèsu li sàda kod vas?	[same]
past	Da li su tàda bìli kod vas?	<i>Were they at your place at that time?</i>
	Jèsu li tada bìli kod vas?	[same]

NEGATIVE STATEMENTS

present	Ôni nìsu sàda kod vas.	<i>They're not at your place now.</i>
past	Ôni nìsu tàda bìli kod vas.	<i>They weren't at your place at that time.</i>
present	Nìsu sàda kod vas.	[same]
past	Nìsu tada bìli kod vas.	[same]

NEGATIVE QUESTIONS

present	Zar nisu kod vas? [Nisu li kod vas?]	[C]	<i>Aren't they at your place?</i>
past	Zar nisu bili kod vas? [Nisu li bili kod vas?]	[C]	<i>Weren't they at your place?</i>

S,C kod nas / B kod nas; B,S da li su / B,C,S jesu li; S,C kod vas / B kod vas

Similar word order rules are followed in all past tense sentences. Every past tense sentence contains a form of the verb **biti** as verbal auxiliary, plus an L-participle. To express in the past tense the idea that someone arrived, for instance – whether as a statement, a question, a negative statement, or a negative question – one need only substitute the L-participle **stigli** for the L-participle **bili** in each of the above past-tense model sentences. As concerns subject, verb, and basic word order, all other elements of the sentence remain unchanged. Of course, adverbial or prepositional phrases (such as **kod vas** “at your place”, **sinoć** “last night”, for instance) can be added or subtracted according to the desired meaning.

104c. Clitics and word order in the past tense

Past tense sentences usually have at least one clitic, and often more than one. One must thus pay constant attention to word order, especially to the particular rules concerning the 3sg. auxiliary **je**. The first is that **je** must come last in sequence, as opposed to the other auxiliary forms, which come near the beginning of the sequence (review [64]): one may call this the **JE-FINAL RULE**. The second is that if the feminine object pronoun **je** occurs next to the 3sg. auxiliary **je**, the object pronoun is usually replaced by **ju** (review [64]): one may call this the **JU-JE RULE**. The third is that the sequence **se + je** is usually simplified to **se**: one may call this the **SE-MERGER RULE**. Sometimes Croatian retains both **se** and **je**, but Bosnian and Serbian almost always drop **je**. Finally, in certain instances a sequence of **me + je** or **te + je** can also be simplified to **me** or **te**. For discussion and diagrams according to the XYZ format, see [111]. The following chart illustrates the working of these rules. Each of the three sections contains a sentence which is subject to the rule in question, followed by a closely related sentence which is not subject to that rule.

• JE-FINAL rule applies	Mara je željela da ga dala Petru. Da li mu ga je dala?	<i>Mara wanted to give it to Petar. Did she give it to him?</i>
does not apply	Ti si željela da ga dala Ranku. Da li si mu ga dala?	<i>You wanted to give it to Ranko. Did you give it to him?</i>
• JU-JE rule applies	On je Mariji vratio knjigu. On joj ju je vratio.	<i>He gave the book back to Maria. He gave it back to her.</i>
does not apply	Oni su Mariji vratili knjigu. Oni su joj je vratili.	<i>They gave the book back to Maria. They gave it back to her.</i>
• SE-MERGER rule applies	Mara se vratila na vreme.	<i>Mara returned on time.</i>
does not apply	Mi smo se rano vratili.	<i>We returned early.</i>

B,S ona je željela da ga da / C,B ona ga je željela dati; E želeti / J zeljeti; B,S da li mu ga je / C,B je li mu ga dala; B,S ti si željela da ga / C,B ti si ga željela dati; E vreme / J vrijeme

Most expressions of the past tense contain both the auxiliary and the L-participle. When the verbal meaning is understood from the context, one can answer a question without including the L-participle. Only full form and negated auxiliaries can be used in this way however. English has a similar rule, allowing the verbal auxiliaries *do* and *have* to stand alone in these contexts.

There are also two instances when the auxiliary can be omitted. The first concerns certain vivid narrative contexts such as storytelling or newspaper headlines, where the L-participle alone frequently transmits the full idea of past tense. In speech, this usage conveys an emotional reaction to an event which has just occurred. The second instance concerns sentences in which two or more past tense verbs occur with the same subject in the same sentence, in which case it is common for one auxiliary to serve them all. As the final example below illustrates, however, the verbs must be clearly part of the same sentence.

Auxiliary alone		
one-word answers	Jesi li mu k <grave>a</grave> zala vijesti? J <grave>e</grave> sam. – Je li razgov <grave>a</grave> rao s njima o tome? – Još n <grave>i</grave> je.	<i>Did you tell him the news?</i> [Yes,] I did. <i>“Has he talked to them about it?”</i> <i>“Not yet.”</i> [= He hasn’t (yet).]
L-participle alone		
storytelling	Bio j <grave>edn</grave> om jedan kralj ...	<i>Once upon a time there was a king ...</i>
headline	“Antropolozi našli mumiјu!”	<i>“Anthropologists find mummy!”</i>
recent event	Hej! Došao P <grave>e</grave> tar!	<i>Hey! Peter’s here!</i>
shared aux.	Sin <grave>o</grave> ć sam išla u grad i našla se s društvo <grave>m</grave> .	<i>Last night I went to town and met up with [some] friends.</i>
compare:	Išla sam sin <grave>o</grave> ć u grad. Tamo sam se našla s društvo <grave>m</grave> .	<i>Last night I went to town. There, I met up with [some] friends.</i>

C,B jesi li / S.B da li si; J vijesti / E vesti; B,C,S je li / B,S da li je; S,C u grad / B u grad

104d. Agreement in the past tense

The L-participle agrees in number and gender with the noun or pronoun subject (review [69]); in the case of 1st and 2nd persons one must specify the gender of the person(s) speaking or spoken to. If the plural subjects of a verb are all of the same gender, the L-participle takes that gender; but if the subjects are of different genders, the L-participle is masculine. As the examples below illustrate, neuter subjects occur almost exclusively in the third person. Only in very marked poetic contexts will one find them in second person.

The nouns **deca** / **djeca**, **braća**, and **gospoda** are plural in meaning but singular in form. They take feminine singular adjectives, but a plural verb (review [90]). In the past tense they do the same: the adjective-like portion (the L-participle) is feminine singular, but the verbal portion (the auxiliary) is plural. Subject phrases including the numbers 2, 3, 4 and the word *both* are similar: the L-participle takes the counting form (review [58c]), while the verb (the auxiliary) is plural. If the interrogative pronoun **šta** / **što** (or any of its derivatives) is the subject of a sentence, the L-participle is neuter singular. But if the interrogative pronoun **ko** / **tko** (or any of its derivatives) is the subject, the L-participle is masculine singular.

masc.sg. 1st	Ја д <grave>a</grave> нас н <grave>i</grave> сам био на факулт <grave>etu</grave> .	<i>I wasn’t on campus today.</i> [male speaker]
masc.sg. 2nd	Зашто н <grave>i</grave> си био?	<i>Why weren’t you?</i> [male addressee]
masc.sg. 3rd	Горан д <grave>a</grave> нас н <grave>i</grave> је био на факулт <grave>etu</grave> . Где је мој шешир? Ј <grave>у</grave> че је био ту.	<i>Goran wasn’t on campus today.</i> <i>Where’s my hat? It was here yesterday.</i>

fem.sg. 1st	Нѝсам гледала тај филм.	<i>I haven't seen that film. [female speaker]</i>
fem.sg. 2nd	Зашто га нѝси гледала?	<i>Why didn't you see it? [female addressee]</i>
fem.sg. 3rd	Ни Јана нѝје гледала тај филм.	<i>Jana didn't see the movie either.</i>
	Где је књига? Јуће је била ту.	<i>Where's the book? It was here yesterday.</i>
neut.sg. 1st	[none]	
neut.sg. 2nd	Сунце, зашто нѝси сијало?	<i>O sun, why did you not shine? [poetic]</i>
neut.sg. 3rd	Дете је данас проговорило.	<i>The child spoke its first words today.</i>
	Где је налив-перо? Било је ту јуће.	<i>Where's the pen? It was here yesterday.</i>
plural, same gender	Мушкарци су остали у истој соби, док су жене прешле у другу.	<i>The men stayed in the same room, while the women moved to another one.</i>
plural, not same gender	И мушкарци и жене су били задовољни.	<i>Both the men and the women were content.</i>
deca/djeca	Твоја деца су се играла са мојом.	<i>Your children played with mine.</i>
braća	Њена браћа су дошла на време.	<i>Her brothers came on time.</i>
2	Та два јака момка су помогла.	<i>Those two strong young men helped.</i>
3	Она три кратка писма су била тамо на столу – где су сада?	<i>Those three short letters used to be on the table over there – where are they now?</i>
4	Ова четири дебела зида су нас лепо сакрила.	<i>These four thick walls hid us well.</i>
šta / što	Шта се тамо десило?	<i>What happened there?</i>
	Тамо се ништа нѝје десило.	<i>Nothing happened there.</i>
ko / tko	Ко је данас дошао?	<i>Who came today?</i>
	Данас нико нѝје дошао.	<i>Nobody came today.</i>

E gde / J gdje; B,S juče / C,B jučer; S sijalo / B,C sjalo; E dete / J dijete; E deca / J djeca; B,C,S njena / C,B njezina; E vreme / J vrijeme; E lepo / J lijepo; B,S šta / C što; B,S desilo se / B,C,S dogodilo se; B,S ko / C tko; B,S niko / C nitko

104e. Past tense of existentials and subjectless sentences

Subjectless sentences always have a 3sg. verb. When they are in the past tense, the L-participle is always neuter singular: this is illustrated by the following examples (repeated from [95d] but now in the past tense). All subjectless sentences, in fact, take this type of verbal agreement. For more discussion of subjectless sentences, see [141].

present	Данас је топло.	<i>It's warm today.</i>
past	Данас је било топло.	<i>It was warm today.</i>
present	Надам се да вам нѝје хладно.	<i>I hope you're not cold.</i>
past	Надам се да вам нѝје било хладно.	<i>I hope you weren't cold.</i>
present	Teško је реći.	<i>It's hard to say.</i>
past	Teško је било рећи. / Било је тешко рећи.	<i>It was hard to say.</i>
present	Да ли је Горан овдје добро?	<i>Is Goran O.K. here?</i>
past	Да ли је Горан овдје било добро?	<i>Was Goran O.K. here?</i>

J ovđe / E ovđe; S,B da li je / B,C,S je li

As in the future, a special rule operates in the case of the existential verbs **ima** and **nema** (review [95d]). These subjectless sentences use the unchanging forms **ima** and **nema** in the present tense. But in both the past and the future, a DIFFERENT VERB is used, **biti**. The following examples illustrate the use of existentials in all three tenses. Existentials almost always require the genitive case; on occasion, however, **ima** can be followed by a form of the number **jedan** plus Nsg. (review [59b]). In the past tense, the verb can either agree with that noun, or take the subjectless form (neuter singular L-participle).

			IMA			
present	Ima samo jedan takav grad.				There's only one such city.	
future	Bit će samo jedan takav grad.				There will be only one such city.	
past	Bio je samo jedan takav grad.				There was only one such city.	
present	Ima li na putu leda?				Is there ice on the road?	
future	Hoće li na putu biti leda?				Will there be ice on the road?	
past	Je li na putu bilo leda?				Was there ice on the road?	
present	Da li ih ima mnogo?				Are there are lot of them?	
future	Da li će ih biti mnogo?				Will there be a lot of them?	
past	Da li ih je bilo mnogo?				Was there a lot of them?	
			NEMA			
present	Овде нема таквог човека.				There's no such person here.	
future	Овде неће бити таквог човека.				There won't be any such person here.	
past	Таквог човека овде није било.				There was no such person here.	
present	Нема је данас; нема ни њега.				She's not here today, nor is he.	
future	Неће је бити данас; неће бити ни њега.				She won't be here today, nor will he.	
past	Данас је није било; ни њега није било.				She wasn't here today, nor was he.	
present	Вишема нема добрих људи.				There's no good people left.	
future	Вишема неће бити добрих људи.				There won't be any good people left.	
past	Вишема није било добрих људи.				There weren't any good people left.	

C,B bit će / S,B biće; C,B ima li / B,S da li ima; B,S na putu / C na cesti; C,B hoće li / S,B da li će; B,C,S je li bilo / S,B da li je bilo; S,B da li ih ima / C,B ima li ih; B,S da li ih je / C,B je li ih; E ovde / J ovdje; E čoveka / J čovjeka; B,C,S neće / C ne će

105 Subjectless sentences with accusative logical subject

When a human feels an inclination to perform a certain action, the human in question is expressed in the dative case, and the verb denoting the action is a 3sg. **se**-verb (review [82a-b]). But when a human is experiencing a particular state, one defined by a noun, that human is expressed in the accusative case, and the verb is a form of **biti**. The noun denoting the state is in the nominative, but it is not the subject. The fact that these sentences are indeed subjectless is seen by the L-participle of the past tense, which is neuter singular.

The human undergoing the experience in each case is referred to as the *logical subject* of the sentence. In the case of inclinational **se**-verbs, the logical subject is in the dative, and in the case of experienced states, the logical subject is in the accusative. The following examples, given in both present and past tenses, demonstrate the similarities and differences between these types of sentences. The major similarity is that they are subjectless. The differences are in the presence or absence of **se**, the case taken by the logical subject, and the fact that the primary idea in one is conveyed by a verb and in the other by a noun. One idiomatic phrase constitutes an exception to this rule: the logical subject is still in the accusative but the primary idea is conveyed by a verb.

This expression, **mrzi me da ...**, can be seen as the Serbian equivalent to Bosnian and Croatian **ne da mi se** (review [82b]). For more on subjectless sentences, see [141].

Inclination to action: dative logical subject

present	Né spava mi se više.	<i>I'm not sleepy anymore.</i>
past	Više mi se nije spavalо.	<i>I wasn't sleepy any more.</i>
present	Svim studentima se dréma.	<i>All the students feel drowsy.</i>
past	Svim studentima se drémalо.	<i>All the students felt drowsy.</i>

Experience of state: accusative logical subject

present	Stíd ga je, né može s njima razgováratи.	<i>He's shy, he can't talk to them.</i>
past	Bilo ga je stíd, nije mogao govoriti.	<i>He was too shy, and couldn't speak.</i>
present	Tako me je sram! Šta mogu?	<i>I'm so ashamed! What can I [do]?</i>
past	Tako me je bilo sram!	<i>I was so ashamed!</i>
present	Jao, strah me je i pómisliti!	<i>Oh, I dread to even think of it!</i>
past	Jao, bilo me je strah i pómisliti!	<i>Oh, I was afraid even to think of it!</i>
present	Baš me briga!	<i>What do I care??</i>
past	Baš me bilo briga!	<i>What did I care??</i>

Exception: state expressed as verb

present	Mrži me da idem.	[S]	<i>I don't feel like going.</i>
	Mrzilo me je da idem.	[S]	<i>I didn't feel like going.</i>

B,S svim / B,C,S svima; E dremati / J drijemati; S,B šta / C što

106 Verbal tense and verbal aspect

The idea “past tense” covers a broad range of meanings. In English, for instance, the past tense of the verb *do* can be expressed in one of seven ways: *did, was doing, used to do, have done, had done, have been doing, had been doing*. By contrast, BCS expresses nearly all of these meanings with the single compound past tense. Other past tense forms occur on occasion in different areas of BCS (see [122, 149, 150]). All BCS speakers use the compound past tense far more frequently, however; some use it exclusively. The learner should focus attention on the compound past, and on the ways verbal aspect can shape its meaning in any one instance.

106a. Past and present, and scope of tense meanings

The BCS present tense covers a broader scope of meaning than the English present tense. In practical terms, this means that one of the English past tenses – the progressive present perfect (*I have been doing*) – is translated by a BCS PRESENT tense imperfective verb. In such instances, the action conveyed by the verb is one which began at some point in the past and continues into the present. English requires both these ideas to be expressed by verbal means: the fact of present perfect focuses on that point in the past when the action began, and the progressive -ing form specifies that the action is still going on. But BCS focuses all verbal attention on the present moment, on the fact that the action still continues. The point in the past when the action began is specified simply by an adverbial phrase (plus the adverb *već*). The verb, however, is present tense. English speakers must pay attention to avoid confusion and mistranslation.

BCS present / E present perfect

Оне се већ годинама дописују.	<i>They've been corresponding for years.</i>
Ми већ три године живимо у Америци.	<i>We've been living in America for three years.</i>
Чекам те већ сат времена!	<i>I've been waiting for you a whole hour!</i>

106b. Aspect and the past tense

Both aspects are used freely in the past tense. As in the future tense (review [96]), a speaker chooses the aspect of the verb in accordance with his/her intended meaning. Imperfective verbs specify that an action was in progress at a particular point in the past, or that it occurred repeatedly in the past but now no longer does. Imperfective verbs can also refer to a single action if the speaker's focus is more on the general idea of the action itself and not on any aspect of its completion. Perfective verbs, by contrast, imply a focus on a single action, usually on its completion.

Indeed, when a past tense verb refers to a single instance of an action, the meaning of the verb itself will often be significant in determining aspect choice. If the action is inherently more goal-oriented (such as *arrive*, *depart*, *return* and the like), a perfective verb is the more neutral aspect choice. To choose the imperfective aspect of such a verb would be to place explicit focus on the repetition of the action or on its long duration. But if the action is a more general one (such as *eat*, *write*, *do*, *talk*), an imperfective verb is more frequently chosen. In such instances, a perfective verb would signal explicit focus on the completion of one particular instance of an action.

The examples in the first set below illustrate the basic differences between the two aspects in the past tense, while those in the second set illustrate the ways in which the inherent meaning of a verb can contribute to the determination of aspect choice. This group of examples contains four verbs, two of which are inherently goal-oriented and two of which are not.

IMPERFECTIVE VS. PERFECTIVE: basic meanings

Imperfective

repeated past action	Uvek mi je tako odgovarao. Često smo se šetali uz obalu. Sedeo je tamo satima.	<i>He always answered me that way.</i> <i>We often used to stroll along the shore.</i> <i>He would sit there for hours [at a time].</i>
durative past action	Kako smo se lijepo dopisivali!	<i>What nice letters we used to write each other!</i>
fact of action, no focus on completion	Govorio je bez prekida, bez umora. Gledali smo ga izdaleka. Šta si radila sinoć?	<i>He spoke non-stop, without ever tiring.</i> <i>We watched him from a distance.</i> <i>What did you do last night?</i>

Perfective

completion of single action	Juče su izabrani novog predsednika. Vratili smo se kući u 11 sati. Prošlog puta nam je pomogla kafa!	<i>Yesterday they elected a new president</i> <i>We got home at 11:00.</i> <i>Last time coffee helped us!</i>
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E uvek / J uvijek; E sedeo / J sjedio; J lijepo / E lepo; B,S šta / C što; B,S juče / C,B jučer; E predsednik / J predsjednik; S,B kafa / C kava / B kahva

GOAL-ORIENTED VERBS and aspect choice

Goal-oriented: perfective is primary

Perfective [neutral]	Danas sam se probudila u pet. Jesu li kupili kuću?	<i>I woke up this morning at 5:00.</i> <i>Did they buy the house?</i>
Imperfective repetition	Kad smo živjeli u onoj drugoj kući, majka me je budiла u sedam.	<i>When we lived in that other house,</i> <i>Mother used to wake me at 7.</i>
duration	Jako dugo su kupovali tu kuću.	<i>They were a very long time buying that house.</i>

Non goal-oriented: imperfective is primary

Imperfective [neutral]	Lepo smo jeli i pili sinoć. Šta ste rādili dok me nije bilo?	We ate and drank well last night. What did you do while I was gone?
Perfective [completion] [result]	Pojeli smo tri kolāča i popili dve boce šampanjca. Jao, sine! Šta si ti tu urādio?!	We ate three cakes and drank two bottles of champagne. Oh son! What have you done here?!

B,C,S jesu li / S,B da li su; J živjeli / E živelj; E lepo / J lijepo; E dve / J dvije; S,B šta / C što; B,S uradio / C učinio

107 Vocabulary building: verbs of transport

The three different verbs meaning “take [someone/something somewhere]” make reference either to the means of transport, to that which is transported, or both (review [84a]). Although in context each is often best rendered as *take*, they sometimes carry the dictionary definitions of *carry*, *lead*, and *convey* (or *drive*), respectively. The perfective partners of these verbs are made by adding a prefix to a different (but related) stem. Since two of the three share the same infinitive form, one must see the verb in its present or past tense form to be sure of the meaning intended. These three perfective stems do not exist in unprefixed form.

The most neutral perfective partner of each of these verbs is formed by adding the prefix **od-**, not a surprising choice given that the most neutral meaning of the verb *take* is “transport something AWAY FROM its current position to somewhere else”. Other prefixes can be added to specify different directions of movement. For each of these perfective verbs, imperfective partners can be made by adding the same prefix to the base imperfective form, a process outlined in the chart below. The prefix illustrated below is **do-**: adding it alters the directional meaning and creates a new set of verbs best translated by English *bring*. Adding yet other prefixes will create similar sets of verbs paired for aspect, each with a similarly shifted set of meanings. The process is very similar to the derivation of more specific verbs of motion by the addition of prefixes to the basic motion verb **ići** (review [54b]).

In this group of verbs, all the imperfectives belong to *type 2*. Of the two perfectives which share the infinitive form ending in **-vesti**, one belongs to *type 13* and one to *type 14*. The third perfective has ekavian forms ending in **-neti** and ijekavian forms ending in **-nijeti**.

imperfective	perfective	derived imperfective	
infinitive	infinitive	1sg. pres	infinitive
nositi	odnijeti	odnēsem	odnōsiti take (= carry)
voditi	odvesti	odvedēm	odvōditi take (= lead on foot)
voziti	odvesti	odvezēm	odvoziti take [by vehicle]
	donijeti	donēsem	donositi bring (= carry)
	dovesti	dovedēm	dovoditi bring (= lead on foot)
	dovesti	dovezem	dovoziti bring [by vehicle]

J donijeti / E doneti; J odnijeti / E odneti

Prefixed verbs of this sort are usually given in dictionaries as variants of *take*, *carry*, *lead*, or *drive* – that is, *take in*, *lead out*, *carry away*, or the like – and indeed the most basic meaning of each of these verbs is the concrete, movement-based one. In fact, however, they are more frequently used in abstract or idiomatic meanings. In the table below, each verb is given with both

concrete and abstract meanings, the concrete one easily derivable from the meaning of the prefix, and the abstract one derivable with some imagination. In the case of the basic prefixed verb **odneti** / **odnijeti**, the derived imperfective is used more frequently in its abstract meaning (accompanied by **se**), although it can also be used in the concrete meaning.

base (I)	prefixed (P)		derived (I)		
[inf]	[inf]	[1sg pres]	[inf]	[concrete]	[abstract]
n̄ositi	odnijeti	odn̄esem	[odn̄ositi se]		refer to
v̄oditi	odvesti	odvedem	odvoditi		
v̄oziti	odvesti	odvezem	odvoziti		
	pr̄enijeti	prenesem	prenositi	carry across	transmit
	prevesti	prevedem	prevoditi	lead across	translate
	prevesti	prevezem	prevoziti	drive across	transport
	uvesti	uve dem	uvoditi	lead in	introduce
	uvesti	uve zem	uvoziti	drive in	import
	izvesti	izvedem	izvoditi	lead out	perform
	izvesti	izvezem	izvoziti	drive out	export
	zanijeti	zanesem	zanositi	carry beyond	enthall
	zavesti	zavedem	zavoditi	lead behind	seduce
	p̄odnijeti	podnesem	podnositi		endure

J odnijeti / E odneti; J prenijeti / E preneti; J zanijeti / E zaneti; J podnijeti / E podneti

108 Verbal nouns, introduction

Nouns denoting the fact or the process of an action are formed by adding the suffix **-nje** to a verbal stem. The meaning corresponds roughly to that of the English gerundial form in *-ing*, as used in *I've got a headache from STUDYING so much*, or *FISHING is one of my hobbies*. BCS verbal nouns are used much more frequently than the English gerundial forms, however, and are often translated in many different ways: some are verbal nouns only in the technical sense of having been derived from a verb by the addition of **-nje**. For instance, the nouns **pitanje** “question” and **predavanje** “class, lecture” are clearly related to **pitati** “ask” and **predavati** “teach, lecture”, but neither could be translated by an English form in *-ing*.

In essence, there are two groups of verbal nouns, those ending in **-anje** and those ending in **-enje**. The first type is formed from verbs of types 1, 4-5 or 8-10 (that is, those with infinitives ending in **-ati**) by dropping the **-ti** of the infinitive and adding the suffix **-nje**. All others form the verbal noun by dropping the final vowel of the 3pl. present and adding **-enje** (for verbs of types 2-3, whose 3pl. ends in **-e**, this is the same as adding the suffix **-enje** directly). In addition, verbs of types 2-3 and 15 replace the stem-final consonant by its softened partner (according to the correspondences given in [112a]). The accent is usually that of the infinitive, and the vowel preceding the suffix **-nje** is always long.

Verbal nouns are made primarily from verbs of the imperfective aspect (though some perfective verbs can form them as well). Examples of formation are given below. For more discussion of forms and usage, see [116].

VERBAL NOUNS	type	infinitive	3pl. present	verbal noun	
-anje	1	parkirati	parkiraju	parkiranje	parking
		spavati	spavaju	spavanje	sleep, sleeping
	5	znati	znaju	znanje	knowledge
		pisati	pišu	pisanje	writing
-enje	2	učiti	uče	učenje	studying
		misliti	misle	mišljenje	thinking, opinion
	3	vidjeti	vide	viđenje	seeing, view

109 Ordinal numbers, introduction

Cardinal numbers (*one, two, three*, etc.) are used for counting or specifying amounts. Ordinal numbers (*first, second, third*, etc.) identify a place in a series. As in English, BCS ordinal numbers are adjectives: this means they must agree with the nouns they modify. The words for *1st* and *2nd* (that is, the first two ordinal numbers) bear no relationship at all to the words for *1* and *2* (the cardinal numbers): they must be learned as vocabulary items. The remaining ordinal numbers bear a clear similarity to the corresponding cardinal numbers. The first four ordinal numbers are given below; for a full discussion of these numbers, see [123b].

Ordinal numbers are among those adjectives which do not have short forms. As in the case of other adjectives, the adverb is equivalent to the Nsg. neuter form. Examples of usage follow the table; for more on the usage of ordinals, see [124b].

	CARDINAL	ORDINAL	masc sg	fem sg	neut sg	adverb
1	jedan, jedna, jedno	1st	prvi	prva	prvo	prvo
2	dva, dve / dvije	2nd	drugi	druga	drugo	drugo
3	tri	3rd	treći	treća	treće	treće
4	četiri	4th	četvrti	četvrtta	četvrtto	četvrtto

E dve / J dvije

Mara je ученица другог разреда.	<i>Mara is a second grader</i> [= a pupil of second grade].
Већ трећи пут полажем испит!	[This is] the third time I'm taking the test!
Они стањују на првом спрету.	<i>They live on the first floor</i> [= one flight above the ground floor].
Ви идите први. Ми ћemo други, а они ће трећи.	<i>You go first. We'll go second, and they'll go third.</i>

S,B na prvom spratu / C,B na prvom katu

110 Body parts

Names of body parts are often irregular. This is partly because many of them come in pairs, and consequently they retain remnants of the old Slavic dual number. In addition, sentences which communicate the fact of body-aches follow special grammar rules.

110a. Irregular forms of body-part names

In the singular, the words **oko** “eye” and **uhو / uvo** “ear” are neuter. In the plural, however, they are feminine, and take the endings of feminine nouns in a consonant, with Gpl. ending in **-iju**. The stem-final consonant undergoes softening before the plural endings. In the plural of the

word meaning “ear”, this softening is regular in the form **uho**; for the form **uvo** (which is more frequently used in Serbian), it must be learned as an irregularity.

Except for the fact that they also take Gpl. in **-u**, words concerning body limbs follow a more regular declension. Here, the problem for English speakers will be in the scope of meaning. Depending on the context, the same word can refer either to the entire limb or only to its extremity. Thus, **ruka** means either *arm* or *hand*, and **noga** means either *leg* or *foot*. The words for digits and nails are similarly broad in scope: **prst** can mean either *finger* or *toe*, and **nokat** can mean either *fingernail* or *toenail*. Normally, the meaning is clear from the context. If necessary, one can use the more specialized nouns **dlan** “palm [of the hand]” or **šaka** “fist” in the precise meaning *hand*; similarly, one can use the noun **stopalo** “sole [of the foot]” in the precise meaning *foot*.

The words **leda** “back”, **usta** “mouth”, and **prsa** “chest” have neuter PLURAL forms, despite the fact that they have SINGULAR meaning. The third of these also occurs in the form **prsi**, again with singular meaning, and with feminine plural forms. Similarly, the word **grudi** “bosom” occurs only with feminine plural forms. In Bosnian and Serbian, **grudi** has both the generalized meaning of one’s chest and the more specific female meaning (a woman’s breasts). In Croatian, **grudi** has only the specific female meaning: Croats use **prsi** in the general sense of *chest*.

The word **rame** “shoulder”, by contrast, has both singular and plural forms. It is declined like **ime** (review [89b]).

	neut	neut	fem	fem	masc	masc	neut
Nsg	oko	uho / uvo	r <u>u</u> ka	n <u>o</u> ga	prst	nokat	rame
Asg	oko	uho / uvo	r <u>u</u> ku	n <u>o</u> gu	prst	nokat	rame
Gsg	oka	uha / uva	r <u>u</u> k <u>e</u>	n <u>o</u> g <u>e</u>	prsta	nokta	ramena
DLsg	oku	uhu / uvu	r <u>u</u> c <u>i</u>	n <u>o</u> z <u>i</u>	prstu	noktu	ramenu
Isg	okom	uhom / uvom	r <u>u</u> k <u>o</u> m	n <u>o</u> g <u>o</u> m	prstom	noktom	ramenom
Vsg	oko	uho / uvo	r <u>u</u> k <u>o</u>	n <u>o</u> go	prstu	noktu	rame
	fem	fem					
Npl	oči	uši	r <u>u</u> k <u>e</u>	n <u>o</u> ge	prsti	nokti	ramena
Apl	oči	uši	r <u>u</u> k <u>e</u>	n <u>o</u> ge	prste	nokte	ramena
Gpl	očiju	ušiju	r <u>u</u> k <u>u</u>	n <u>o</u> gu *	prstiju *	noktiju *	ramena
DLpl	očima	ušima	r <u>u</u> kama	n <u>o</u> gama	prstima	noktima	ramenima

* also noga, prsti / prsta, noka, nokti

	neut	neut	neut	fem	fem
Nom-Acc	l <u>è</u> da	usta	prsa	prsi	gr <u>ù</u> di
Gen	l <u>è</u> da	u <u>st</u> a	p <u>rs</u> a	prsi <u>j</u> u	gr <u>ù</u> di <u>j</u>
Dat-Loc-Instr	l <u>è</u> dim <u>a</u>	u <u>st</u> ima	p <u>rs</u> ima	prsim <u>a</u>	gr <u>ù</u> dim <u>a</u>

110b. “Body-ache” constructions

When something *hurts*, an English speaker will claim possession of the body part, as in *MY teeth hurt*. BCS, however, expresses the identity of the sufferer in the accusative case. The two languages are similar in that the body part in question is the subject of the sentence – and the verb, of course, must agree with it. The verb in BCS constructions of this sort is **boleti** / **boljeti**. When referring to the onset of the pain, one uses the same verb prefixed by **za-**. Any other prefix, however, will move this verb into a different sphere. None of these other verbs make reference to a body part, and they are almost all intransitive. The prefixes **raz-** and **o-** give the meaning *get*

sick, fall ill, while the prefix **pre-** gives the meaning get well, recover. The prefix **po-**, by contrast, creates a durative verb with the meaning be ailing, do poorly.

no prefix	Jao, јако ме боли гла̄ва! Боле̄ ме и ноге и рӯке. Ако те не боле̄ и ле̄ђа, онда̄ је у реду. Мало ће вас то̄ болети.	Ooh, I have a terrible headache! Both my arms and my legs hurt. Well, if you don't have a backache as well, then [it'll be / you'll be] O.K. This is going to hurt [you] a little.
prefix za-	То̄ је да те срце заболи. Прво ме је заболео зуб, па ме је онда̄ заболела гла̄ва.	It's [enough] to make your heart ache. First I got a toothache [= my tooth began to hurt], and then a headache [= and then my head began to hurt].
prefix raz-	Тамо се разболела од ма̄ларије.	<i>She caught malaria there.</i>
prefix po-	Већ годинама поболева.	<i>He's been in poor health for years.</i>
prefix pre-	Неће преће тугу.	<i>She's not going to get over the grief.</i>

E boleti / J boljeti; E zboleo / J zabolio; E zbolela / J zaboljela; E razbolela / J razboljela; E poboleva / J poboli-jeva; E preboleti / J preboljeti

111 Word order in the past tense

It is in the past tense that the word order rules summarized by the *XYZ* model are seen at their fullest, and with the most variation. Past tense sentences almost always contain one clitic, and frequently they contain several. The *XYZ* model is by now familiar as a guide to the rules of clitic ordering (review [64, 76, 102]), and will be of especial help in working with the past tense. The additional complexities of past tense word order have almost entirely to do with the 3sg. auxiliary **je** (which in the *XYZ* model has a sub-slot all to itself). It is in the nature of language that the majority of sentences contain 3sg. verbs, and this means that one will be constantly faced with these complexities. Short-hand names have been given to three of these complexities to help students remember them (review [104c]). These names are the **JE-FINAL** rule, the **JU-JE** rule, and the **SE-MERGER** rule.

111a. General word order rules

The *XYZ* model, with its six sub-slots defining the order of clitics, is repeated below:

X	Y-1	Y-2	Y-3	Y-4	Y-5	Y-6	Z
	li	be (aux)	dat	acc-gen	se	je	

Nearly all past tense auxiliaries occur in sub-slot *Y-2*, but the 3rd singular auxiliary **je** occurs in sub-slot *Y-6*. This is the essence of the **JE-FINAL** rule. It is easy to state, but it takes much conscious effort to internalize.

The second rule, the **SE-MERGER** rule, has the effect of erasing **je** from a sentence. Whenever what is depicted above as the concatenation of *Y-5* and *Y-6* occurs in a sentence, the **je** merges into the **se**, and in essence drops out. This rule is encountered very often, both because of the great number of **se**-verbs in BCS, and because of the tendency of these verbs to appear frequently in 3sg. The rule is faithfully applied in Serbian and Bosnian, and is frequently applied in Croatian (for more discussion on Croatian, see the following section). A similar merger can take place when **je** follows either of the two accusative clitic pronouns **me** or **te**. In all three cases, the

je slides into the preceding syllable and gets absorbed into it. This rule is optional in the case of **me** and **te**, but it is encountered frequently, especially in the spoken language. A critical point to keep in mind is that the disappearance of **je** does NOT affect the sentence's meaning of "3rd singular past tense".

The third rule, here called the **JU-JE** rule, comes into play when the feminine accusative pronoun **je** would occur immediately before the 3sg. auxiliary **je**. In this case, the auxiliary **je** remains, and the pronoun object **je** is replaced by the pronoun object **ju**. This rule is observed faithfully in Serbian, but less so in Bosnian and Croatian; for discussion, see the following section.

The examples below illustrate the ordering of clitics in past tense sentences. Sentences (1-12) illustrate the **JE-FINAL** rule, and sentences (10-12) additionally illustrate the **JU-JE** rule. The direct object pronoun **ga** in sentences (1-6) refers to a masculine noun (such as **grad** "the city"), and the direct object pronoun **je** in sentences (7-12) refers to a feminine noun (such as **pesma** / **pjesma** "a song"). Sentences (13-18) illustrate word order rules which concern **se**-verbs, and sentences (16-18) illustrate the **SE-MERGER** rule. Finally, sentences (19-20) illustrate the optional nature of the parallel merger after the object pronouns **me** or **te**.

	X	Y	Z	
	1 2 3 4 5 6			
1	Mi	smo	mu ga	pokazali. <i>We showed it to him.</i>
2	Da	li ste	mu ga	pokazali? <i>Did you show it to him?</i>
3	Jeste	li	mu ga	pokazali? [same]
4	Ona		mu ga je	pokazala. <i>She showed it to him.</i>
5	Da	li	mu ga je	pokazala? <i>Did she show it to him?</i>
6	Je	li	mu ga	pokazala? [same]
7	Ti	si	joj je	ispjevala. <i>You sang it to her.</i>
8	Da	li si	joj je	ispjevala? <i>Did you sing it to her?</i>
9	Jesi	li	joj je	ispjevala? [same]
10	Ona		joj ju je	ispjevala. <i>She sang it to her.</i>
11	Da	li si	joj ju	ispjevala? <i>Did you sing it to her?</i>
12	Je	li	joj ju	ispjevala? <i>Did she sing it to her?</i>
13	Vi	ste	mu se	javili. <i>You called him.</i>
14	Da	li ste	mu se	javili? <i>Did you call him?</i>
15	Jeste	li	mu se	javili? [same]
16	Ona		mu se	javila. <i>She called him.</i>
17	Da	li	mu se	javila? <i>Did she call him?</i>
18	Je	li	mu se	javila? [same]
19	Zaboleo		me je	zub. <i>My tooth started to hurt.</i>
20	Zaboleo		me	zub. [same]

S,B da li ste / B,C,S jeste li; B,S da li mu ga je / B,C,S je li mu ga; J ispjevala / E ispevala; S,B da li si / B,C,S jesi li; B,S da li ste / B,C,S jeste li; E zaboleo / J zabolio

111b. Regional variations in past tense word order

The above statements are true of Serbian and to a large extent of Bosnian as well. One point on which Bosnian differs, however, is in the necessity to replace **je** by **ju**, illustrated above in sentences (10-12). There is a growing tendency in Bosnian to avoid **ju** altogether. Thus, a sentence like (21) below would be acceptable in Bosnian but not in either Serbian or Croatian. Indeed, Croatian shows quite the opposite tendency: as noted earlier (review [64]), Croatian will fre-

quently use **ju** even outside the frame of sentences like (10-12) above. Thus, whereas Serbian and Bosnian can express the meaning *I bought it* (referring to a dress, **haljina**) only with sentence (22) below, Croatian permits either (22) or (23).

An additional difference in Croatian revolves around the use of the dative reflexive clitic **si**, which is not used in Serbian at all, and which is rare in Bosnian. As a dative object pronoun, **si** goes in sub-slot *Y-3*. If it occurs in the same sentence with the verbal auxiliary **si** (whose place is sub-slot *Y-2*), the two will be adjacent to one another. This word order is fully permissible, and indeed frequent, in Croatian. Sentences (24) and (25) below both express the idea *You bought it for yourself*, with the purchased item in (24) being of masculine gender and in (25) of feminine gender. Finally, Croatian does not apply the **SE-MERGER** rule as rigidly as Bosnian or Serbian. That is, it permits sentences such as (26) below, in which **se** and **je** occur adjacent to one another.

		X	Y						Z	
			1	2	3	4	5	6		
[B]	21	Ona			joj	je		je	ispjevala.	<i>She sang it to her.</i>
[B,C,S]	22	Ja		sam		je			kupilā.	<i>I bought it.</i>
[C]	23	Ja		sam		ju			kupilā.	[same]
[C]	24	Ti		si	si	ga			kupilā.	<i>You bought it for yourself.</i>
[C]	25	Ti		si	si	je			kupilā.	[same]
[C]	26	Ona			mu		se	je	javila.	<i>She called him.</i>

CHAPTER 11

112 The system of consonant softenings

Certain grammatical forms of a word require that the stem-final consonant be replaced by another, similar sounding consonant. This process is usually referred to as *softening*. The correspondences between the base consonant and its softened version fall into three different groups. The following sections list the correspondences and give examples of the categories in which the several softenings occur. To emphasize the fact that these softenings are restricted to stem-*final* consonants, hyphens in each example mark the end of the stem. For more discussion of the relationship between stem structure and consonant softening, see [167a].

112a. Type A softening

Type A softening occurs in noun declension in three different instances: Npl. of masculine nouns (review [32b]), DLPl. of masculine nouns (review [86]), and DLsg. of feminine nouns (review [66a], and see [158]). In verbs, it occurs in the imperative (review [78a]) and the imperfect tense of *type 15* (see [150b]). It is also encountered in a few instances of verbal derivation, as exemplified in the chart below. Although one must not assume that all verbs of *type 7* form their imperfective partners by this means, the pattern occurs frequently enough that one should be aware of it in building vocabulary.

Only three consonants are involved in Type A softening. The chart below gives the correspondences, and examples of each context where the softening occurs.

TYPE A	base consonant	K	G	H
	softened version	C	Z	S

Base			Softened			
K	G	H	►	C	Z	S
<i>noun, masculine Nsg.</i> vojnik-Ø biolog-Ø		òrah-Ø	►	vojnìc-i bioloz-i		òras-i
<i>noun, masculine Nsg</i> vojnik-Ø biòlog-Ø		òrah-Ø	►	vojnìc-ima bioloz-ima		òras-ima
<i>noun, feminine Nsg.</i> ruk-a knjig-a		svrh-a	►	rùc-i knjiz-i		svrs-i
<i>type 15a-b verb, 3pl. pres</i> obük-ú pomog-nú			►	obùc-i pomòz-i		
<i>type 15a-b verb, 3pl. pres</i> pek-ú strig-n-ú			►	pec-ijah stríz-ijah		
<i>verb (type 7) perfective</i> mák-nuti dig-nuti		däh-nuti	►	mic-atí diz-atí		dìs-atí

112b. Type B softening

Type B softening involves the same three consonants as Type A plus one more, but the results are very different. In nouns, this softening occurs in masculine nouns in the Vsg. (review [88]) and before the singulative suffix **-in** (review [32g]), and in the plural of two irregular nouns (review [110a]). In adjectives it occurs with certain stems (primarily kinship terms) before the possessive suffixes **-in** and **-ov** (review [41b]). In verbs it occurs in all forms of the present tense of type 15a verbs but 3rd plural (and in the case of **moči**, all but 1sg. and 3pl.). Type B softening is found widely in derivation processes, a few examples of which are given below (for more on derivation, see [163b-c]).

TYPE B	base consonant	K	G	H	C
	softened version	Č	Ž	Š	Č

Base				Softened			
K	G	H	C	Č	Ž	Š	Č
<i>noun, masculine Nsg.</i> v <u>uk</u> -Ø	B <u>og</u> -Ø	duh-Ø	otac-Ø	► v <u>uč</u> -e	Bož-e	duš-e	oč-e
<i>noun, masculine Apl.</i> Turk-e				► Turč-in			
<i>noun, neuter sg. (NAsg.)</i> ok-o		uh-o		► oč-i		uš-i	
<i>noun (usually kinship term)</i> majk-a			stric-Ø	► majč-in			strič-ev
<i>type 15a verb, 3pl. present</i> tek- <u>u</u>	mog- <u>u</u>			► teč-eš	mož-eš		
<i>type 15a verb, 3pl. present</i> rek-n <u>u</u>	strig-n <u>u</u>			► reč-en	striž-en		
<i>type 15a verb, 3pl. present</i> rek-n <u>u</u>	strig-n <u>u</u>			► reč-e	striž-e		
<i>verb (types 7, 15b), perfective</i> krík-nuti	izbeg-nuti			► krič-atí	bež-atí		
<i>noun (Nsg.)</i> mrak-Ø	t <u>u</u> g-a	strah-Ø	s <u>unc</u> -e	► mráč-an	t <u>už</u> -an	straš-an	sunč-an

B,C,S uho / S uvo; E izbegnuti / J izbjegnuti; E bežati / J bježati

112c. Type C softening

Type C is by far the most widespread kind of consonant softening in BCS. It is also the most complex, in that it embraces a very large group of consonants (including certain instances of consonant sequences). In terms of the results, one can view it as an expanded version of type B softening (since the first four consonants in the chart below essentially repeat the information of

the type B chart). In terms of implementation, however, it is more effective to regard the two types altogether separately, since the contexts in which they occur are quite different.

Type C softening occurs as follows: In nouns, it is found before the Isg. ending **-u** of feminine nouns in **-Ø** (review [79b]) and in the formation of neuter collective nouns (see [115]), while in adjectives it is found in the comparative degree of many adjectives (see [113b]). In verbs it is found in all forms of the present tense of *type 5*, (review [14b, 52e, 103a] and see [153e]), in the imperfect tense of *types 2-3* (see [150b]), in several types of imperfective derivation (review [97a] and see [147a]), and in two forms of verb *types 2-3* and 15 – the verbal noun (review [108] and see [116]) and the passive participles (see [117a]). Type C softening is also found in various other derivational categories.

Below are the correspondences, and examples. The group **st** usually shifts to **šć**, but it can also shift to **št**; the correct choice must be learned with individual words. Because of the broad range of consonants involved, not every type of shift is illustrated below. The last of the four “base consonants” in the example chart, **/B/**, stands for all the labial consonants – **p, b, m, v or f**.

Type C	base consonant	k	g	h	c	s	z	t	d
	softened version	č	ž	š	ć	š	ž	ć	đ
Type C	base consonant	p	b	v	m	n	l	st	st
	softened version	plj	blj	vlj	mlj	nj	lj	šć	št
		zd	sn	zn	sl	žd	šnj	žnj	šlj

Base				Softened				
T	D	ST	/B/	►	Ć	D	SČ or ŠT	/B/ + LJ
<i>noun, feminine Nsg.</i>					<i>noun, feminine Isg.</i>			
smrt-Ø	gl <u>a</u> d-Ø	k <u>o</u> st-Ø	k <u>r</u> v-Ø	►	smrć-u	gl <u>a</u> đ-u	košć-u	krvlj-u
<i>noun, masculine Nsg.</i>					<i>collective noun (neuter), Nsg.</i>			
cvet-Ø		l <u>i</u> st-Ø	gr <u>m</u> -Ø	►	cveć-e		lišć-e	gr <u>m</u> lj-e
<i>adjective, positive (Nsg.masc. short)</i>					<i>adjective, comparative (Nsg.masc)</i>			
krut-Ø	tv <u>r</u> d-Ø	gu <u>st</u> -Ø	gr <u>ub</u> -Ø	►	kruć-i	tvrd-i	gušć-i	grublj-i
<i>type 5 verb, infinitive</i>					<i>type 5 verb, present (1sg.)</i>			
kret-ati	gl <u>o</u> d-ati		kap-ati	►	kreć-em	glod-em		kaplj-em
<i>types 2-3 verb, infinitive</i>					<i>types 2-3 verb, imperfect (1sg.)</i>			
mlat-iti	v <u>o</u> d-iti		lj <u>u</u> b-iti	►	mlać-ah	vod-ah		ljublj-ah
<i>types 2-3 verb, infinitive</i>					<i>types 2-3 verb, verbal noun (neuter), Nsg.</i>			
pamt-iti	vid-jeti	čist-iti	str <u>em</u> -iti	►	pamć-enje	viđ-enje	čišć-enje	str <u>em</u> lj-enje
<i>types 2-3 verb, infinitive</i>					<i>types 2-3 verb, passive participle (Nsg.m.short)</i>			
plat-iti	rod-iti	pust-iti	k <u>u</u> p-iti	►	plać-en	rođ-en	pušt-en	kuplj-en
<i>verb (type 2), perfective</i>					<i>verb (type 1), imperfective</i>			
vrat-iti	rod-iti	smest-iti	stav-iti	►	vrać-ati	rađ-ati	směšt-ati	stavlј-ati
<i>noun (Nsg.)</i>					<i>derived adjective (Nsg. masc.)</i>			
pset-o	goved-o		krav-a	►	pseć-i	goved-i		kravlj-i

E cvet / J cvjet; E cveće / J cvijeće; J vidjeti / E videti; E smestiti / J smjestiti; E smeštati / J smještati

113 Comparison of adjectives and adverbs

Descriptive adjectives give information about a noun, and adverbs give information about a state or activity. When speakers rank the qualities of any of these, they use special forms called the *comparative* and the *superlative*. English marks the comparative and the superlative degrees in three different ways: by putting the words *more* or *most*, respectively, before the adjective or adverb, by adding the suffixes *-er* or *-est*, respectively, to the adjective or adverb, or by using different words altogether. Here are examples of comparatives and superlatives in English, with the neutral form of the adjective labeled as the *positive* degree.

type	Positive	Comparative	Superlative
add <i>more, most</i>	<i>interesting</i>	<i>more interesting</i>	[the] <i>most interesting</i>
add suffixes <i>-er, -est</i>	<i>strong</i>	<i>stronger</i>	[the] <i>strongest</i>
different words	<i>good</i>	<i>better</i>	[the] <i>best</i>

Comparison of adjectives and adverbs in BCS is simpler in that the superlative form is completely predictable: it is always made by prefixing the syllable **naj-** to the comparative form. Superlatives are always written as a single word, but sometimes they are pronounced almost as if they were two words. The syllable **naj** has a long vowel, and if the superlative form is three syllables or more in length, it may be pronounced with its own accent in addition to the main word accent. If it is prefixed to a word beginning with **j**- (such as **najači** “strongest”), both instances of **j** are pronounced, with a slight pause between them (see [167f] for more discussion). The following discussion will focus on the formation of comparatives, with the understanding that the superlatives are derived by adding **naj-** to any one comparative form.

Comparative adjectives have long (and longer) forms only (review [42c, 66b]). Regardless of the final consonant, masculine and neuter forms never take the variant of an ending beginning with **-o**, but only the one beginning with **-e** (feminine adjective excluded, as in other adjectives). The adverb is equivalent to the neuter Nsg. adjective, but sometimes with a different accent. The accent of the comparative form is predictable: it is short falling on the first syllable unless the suffix **-ij** is present, in which case it is short rising on the syllable immediately preceding **-ij**.

113a. Comparison expressed by suffixes

A great many adjectives add the suffix **-ij** to form the comparative. The stem to which it is added is found by dropping the **-a** of the feminine singular; in other words, it is the form of the stem without a fleeting vowel. This is the default form of the comparative: any adjective not otherwise specified will use this suffix to form the comparative. To save space, all charts give the dictionary form of the positive degree (masc.sg. short form), the three Nsg. forms of the comparative, and the superlative form of the adverb. The comparative adverb and the superlative adjectives can be derived by adding or subtracting the syllable **naj-**, as relevant. Adverbs will often need to be translated either with a different word such as *more nicely*.

Examples of comparatives formed with the suffix **-ij** are given in the first chart, and the three adjectives which add the comparative suffix **-š** are listed in the second chart.

SUFFIX **-ij**

	Positive	Comparative		Superlative
	masc	neut	fem	[adverb]
gibak	gipkiji	gipkija	gipkije	najgipkije <i>flexible</i>
hitar	hitriji	hitrija	hitrije	najhitrije <i>quick</i>
nov	noviji	novije	novija	najnovije <i>new</i>
star	stariji	starije	starija	najstarije <i>old</i>

SUFFIX -š

	Positive		Comparative		Superlative	
	masc	neut	fem	[adverb]		
lijep	ljepši	ljepše	ljepša	najljepše	<i>nice; beautiful</i>	
lak	lakši	lakše	lakša	najlakše	<i>easy; light</i>	
mek	mekši	mekše	mekša	najmekše	<i>soft; gentle</i>	

J lijep / E lep; J ljepši etc. / E lepši etc.

113b. Comparison expressed by consonant softening

Most adjectives of a single syllable simply soften the stem-final consonant to form the comparative. A great many disyllabic adjectives whose second syllable ends in **-k** also follow this model: in their case, the second syllable is dropped and the consonant which remains is the one that is softened. The consonant softening are those of Type C (review [112c]).

The following chart provides a relatively complete listing of the adjectives which form their comparatives in this manner. They are given in two separate groups. The first group comprises all those with monosyllabic stems, plus two disyllabic stems with a fleeting vowel and one whose vowel ought not to disappear but does – **debeo** (note that the stem of this adjective ends in **-l**). The second group includes disyllabic stems whose second syllable (which ends in **-k**) is dropped in the comparative. Two adjectives of this group contain consonants which are already considered to be soft; in these, the syllable ending in **-k** is dropped but no change is made in the consonant. To illustrate the consonant softening process, the stem-final consonant is marked by a hyphen in the base form and the first derived form in the chart (masc.sg. comparative).

Certain of these (in either group) can also occur with the default suffix **-ij**; these are not identified specifically, as there is variation with respect to region and speaker.

softened consonant: group 1

	Positive		Comparative		Superlative	
	masc	neut	fem	[adverb]		
bijesan-Ø	bješnj-i	bješnje	bješnja	najbješne	<i>furious</i>	
blag-Ø	blaž-i	blaže	blaža	najblaže	<i>mild</i>	
blijed-Ø	bljed-i	bljede	bljeda	najbljede	<i>pale</i>	
brž-Ø	brž-i	brže	brža	najbrže	<i>fast</i>	
čest-Ø	češć-i	češće	češća	najčešće	<i>frequent</i>	
čvrst-Ø	čvršć-i	čvršće	čvršća	najčvršće	<i>solid</i>	
debeo-Ø	deblj-i	deblje	deblja	najdeblje	<i>deep</i>	
drag-Ø	draž-i	draže	draža	najdraže	<i>dear</i>	
dug-Ø	duž-i	duže	duža	najduže	<i>long</i>	
	dulji	dulje	dulja	najdulje	[same]	
gluh-Ø	gluš-i	gluše	gluša	najgluše	<i>deaf</i>	
gluv-Ø	gluvlj-i	gluvlje	gluvlja	najgluvlje	[same]	
glup-Ø	gluplj-i	gluplje	gluplja	najgluplje	<i>stupid</i>	
grub-Ø	grublj-i	grublje	grublja	najgrublje	<i>rough, coarse</i>	
gust-Ø	gušć-i	gušće	gušća	najgušće	<i>thick; dense</i>	

Positive		Comparative		Superlative	
	masc	neut	fem	[adverb]	
jak-Ø	jač- <u>i</u>	jače	jača	najjače	<i>strong</i>
kriv-Ø	krivlj- <u>i</u>	krivljе	krivljа	najkrivljе	<i>crooked</i>
kruć-Ø	kruć- <u>i</u>	kruće	kruća	najkruće	<i>stiff</i>
luđ-Ø	luđ- <u>i</u>	luđe	luđa	najluđe	<i>crazy</i>
ljuć-Ø	ljuć- <u>i</u>	ljuće	ljuća	najljuće	<i>angry; spicy</i>
mlađ-Ø	mlađ- <u>i</u>	mlađe	mlađa	najmlađe	<i>young</i>
prijek-Ø	prič- <u>i</u>	priče	priča	najpriče	<i>immediate, pressing</i>
stroğ-Ø	strož- <u>i</u>	strože	stroža	najstrože	<i>strict</i>
suh-Ø	suš- <u>i</u>	suše	suša	najsuše	<i>dry</i>
svl-Ø	svlj- <u>i</u>	svljе	svljа	najsvljе	[same]
tih-Ø	tiš- <u>i</u>	tiše	tiša	najtiše	<i>quiet</i>
tijesan-Ø	tješnj- <u>i</u>	tješnje	tješnja	najtješnje	<i>tight</i>
tup-Ø	tuplj- <u>i</u>	tupljе	tupljа	najtupljе	<i>dull</i>
tvrd-Ø	tvrd- <u>i</u>	tvrdе	tvrdа	najtvrdе	<i>hard</i>
živ-Ø	življ- <u>i</u>	življе	življа	najživljе	<i>lively</i>

J bijesan / E besan; S,B besniji (bjesniji) etc. / C bješnji etc.; J blijed / E bled; J bljedi etc. / E bledi etc.; B,C,S gluh / S gluv; B,C,S gluši etc. / S gluvlji etc.; J prijek / E prek; B,C,S suh / S svu; B,C,S suši etc. / S svlj etc.; J tijesan / E tesan; J tješnji etc. / E tešnji etc.

softened consonant: group 2

Positive		Comparative		Superlative	
	masc	neut	fem	[adverb]	
dal-ek	dalj- <u>i</u>	dalje	dalja	najdalje	<i>far</i>
dub-ok	dublj- <u>i</u>	dublje	dublja	najdublje	<i>deep</i>
glad-ak	glad- <u>i</u>	glade	glada	najglade	<i>smooth</i>
krat-ak	krać- <u>i</u>	kraće	kraća	najkraće	<i>short</i>
niz-ak	niž- <u>i</u>	niže	niža	najniže	<i>low</i>
plit-ak	plić- <u>i</u>	pliće	plića	najpliće	<i>shallow</i>
red-ak	ređ- <u>i</u>	ređe	ređa	najređe	<i>rare</i>
rijed-ak	rјed- <u>i</u>	rјedе	rјedа	najrјedе	[same]
slad-ak	slad- <u>i</u>	slađe	slađa	najslađe	<i>sweet</i>
šir-ok	šir- <u>i</u>	šire	šira	najšire	<i>broad; wide</i>
tan-ak	tanj- <u>i</u>	tanje	tanja	najtanje	<i>thin</i>
težak	teži	teže	teža	najteže	<i>heavy; difficult</i>
uz-ak	už- <u>i</u>	uze	uža	najuže	<i>narrow</i>
viš-ok	viš- <u>i</u>	više	viša	najviše	<i>tall</i>
žest-ok	žešć- <u>i</u>	žešće	žešća	najžešće	<i>harsh</i>

E redak / J rijedak; E redi etc. / J rјedi etc.

113c. Comparison expressed by a different word

Nearly all BCS adjectives form the comparative by adding a suffix of some sort; only four of them use a different word altogether. In the chart below, the positive degree forms are not listed. Obviously, the positive degree adjectives corresponding to (1) and (3) are **dobar** “good” and **velik** “big”. The forms in (2) and (4), however, express comparison for more than one word. Those in (4) express comparison for both **malen** and **mali** “small, little”, while those in (2) express comparison for **loš** “bad” and **zao** “evil”. A third adjective, **rđav**, also exists in the meaning “bad”, but it is rarely used even in the positive forms (much less the comparative).

ADJECTIVES

	Comparative			Superlative			
	masc	neut	fem	masc	neut	fem	
(1)	bolji	bolje	bolja	najbolji	najbolje	najbolja	<i>better / best</i>
(2)	gori	gore	gora	najgori	najgore	najgora	<i>worse / worst</i>
(3)	veći	veće	veća	najveći	najveće	najveća	<i>bigger / biggest</i>
(4)	manji	manje	manja	najmanji	najmanje	najmanja	<i>smaller / smallest</i>

Likewise, there are four adverbs which use a different word altogether in the comparative and superlative forms; these are given below. The meaning of the first two is directly derivable from the corresponding adjective: as in English, the adjective / adverb correspondences are *good* vs. *well* and *bad* vs. *badly*. In the case of the second two, English provides a parallel as well, in that the adverbial forms *more* and *less* are not related to the adjectives *big* and *small*. What is interesting about BCS is that the adverb meaning *less* is identical in form to the neuter meaning *smaller*, and that the adverb meaning *more* is identical in form NOT to the neuter adjective meaning *bigger*, but to the one meaning *taller*. Each of these words should be learned as a separate item, of course. The fact that they share the same form should not be allowed to confuse the issue.

ADVERBS

Positive	Comparative	Superlative	
dobro	bolje	nađbolje	<i>well / better / best</i>
loše / rđavo / zlo	gore	nađgore	<i>badly / worse / worst</i>
mnogo	više	nađviše	<i>much, many / more / most</i>
malo	manje	nađmanje	<i>few, little / less / least</i>

The latter two adverbs share another trait with English: they can be placed in front of an adjective or an adverb to form a comparative or superlative form exactly parallel to English phrases such as *more intriguing* or *least easily*. The adverbs **više** and **nađviše** are normally used only in front of adjectives which are very long, relatively infrequently encountered, or both.

114 Usage of comparative and superlative forms

Comparatives are used much as in English: something is “bigger, fatter, longer” (or the like) *THAN* something else. The other pole of the comparison is not always mentioned but it is necessarily present in the mind of speaker and hearer. When the pole of comparison is mentioned, the function of English *than* is filled either by **od** or **nego**. The preposition **od** takes the genitive, while the conjunction **nego** requires the same part of speech as that which precedes it. If the object is a noun or a pronoun, it follows **nego** directly (there is very little difference in meaning between these sentences and those using **od**). But if the object is a verb or verb phrase, the compound conjunction **nego što** must be used (for more discussion, see [143b]). If the measure of comparison is clear from the context, comparatives and superlative forms frequently stand alone.

The conjunction **nego** can also express the idea of contrast even when no comparison is implied; in this meaning it is very similar to **već**. The sequence of the two conjunctions **nego i** is used in phrases which are equivalent to English *not only ... but also*.

THAN: od	Nj <grave>ezin stroj je tiši od tvoga. On je sposobniji od tebe. Goran je sretniji od tebe. Ovaj restoran je bolji od onoga. On govori bolje od tebe. Ona je ljepša od svoje sestre.</grave>	<i>Her machine is quieter than yours. He is more capable than you. Goran is happier than you. This restaurant is better than that one. He speaks better than you [do]. She's prettier than her sister.</i>
THAN: nego	On govori brže nego ti. Ona je ljepša nego ti. Ona je ljepša nego što si ti. Uvek je bolje napasti protivnikovu strategiju nego njegovu vojnu silu.	<i>He speaks faster than you [do]. She is prettier than you [are]. She is prettier than you are. It's always better to attack an enemy's strategy than [to attack] his manpower.</i>
... nego što	Ona piše bolje nego što govori.	<i>She speaks better than she writes.</i>
[no THAN]	Moj kufer je težak, ali tvoj je teži. Čija je kuća veća? Čija je kuća najveća? Danas je sretniji – pitam se zašto?! Kupi mi bolji kompjutor! Brže! Nećemo stići na vrijeme!	<i>My suitcase is heavy, but yours is heavier. Whose house is bigger? Whose house is the biggest? He's happier today – I wonder why?! Buy me a better computer! Faster! We won't make it on time!</i>
nego “rather”	Ne ležim, nego sjedim. To nije crno, nego bijelo. To nije crno, već bijelo. Ona nije samo lepa, nego je i pametna. Nemam drugog izbora nego da idem.	<i>I'm not lying down, I'm sitting [up]. That's not black – it's white. [same] She's not only beautiful, [but] she's also smart. I don't have any other choice but to go.</i>

B,C njezin / B,C,S njen; C stroj / B,S mašina; B,C,S tvoga / C tvojega; C sretniji / B,S srećniji; J ljepša / E lepša; E uvek / J uvijek; B,C,S napasti / S da napadneš; B,S kufer / C kofer; C kompjutor / B,S kompjuter; B,C nećemo stići / S,B nećemo da stignemo; J vrijeme / E vreme; J sjedim / E sedim; J bijelo / E belo

If the object is a phrase including a predicate adjective, then one must use the compound comparative, formed by adding **više** to the positive forms. The word **više** is also used in several fixed expressions, illustrated below. To express intensified degrees of comparison, one can add modifiers such as **još**, **puno**, or **kudikamo**; the third conveys a significantly higher degree of comparison than the other two. Finally, the comparative form of the adverb **rado** (**radije**) can be used to describe inclinations to actions.

više	On je više dobar nego loš. Radijator je više hlađan nego topao. Njene oči su više plave nego zelene.	<i>He is more good [than he is] bad. The radiator is more cold than it is hot. Her eyes are not so much green as blue.</i>
više voljeti	Tako smo to više voljeli. Više volim ribu nego meso.	<i>We preferred it that way. I prefer fish to meat [= I like fish better than meat].</i>
više ne	Ranije sam to znala, ali sad više ne. Više o tome ne govorimo.	<i>I used to know, but I don't any more. We no longer talk about that.</i>

manje-više	Zar <u>nije</u> <u>to</u> manje-više isto? Nije li <u>to</u> manje-više isto? [B,C]	<i>Isn't it more or less the same thing?</i>
intensifiers	Jučer ih je bilo malo, a danas ih ima još manje. Danas je vrijeme puno ljepše nego [što je bilo] jučer. Ovo će ga još više uvrijediti. Bravo! Pišeš kudikamo bolje nego prošle godine!	<i>Yesterday there were not many, and today there are even fewer.</i> <i>The weather is much nicer today than [it was] yesterday.</i> <i>This will insult him even worse.</i> <i>Bravo! You're writing much, much better than [you did] last year!</i>
radije	Rado putujem, ali radije ostajem kod kuće.	<i>I like to travel, but I like staying at home [even] better.</i>

B,S njene / C,B njezine; J voljeti / E voleti; J voljeli / E voleli; B,C,S zar nije / C,B nije li; C,B jučer / S,B juče; J vrijeme / E vreme; J ljepše / E lepše; B,C,S ovo će ga uvrijediti (uvrediti) / S ovo će da ga uvredi; J uvrijediti / E uvrediti; B kod kuće / S,C kod kuće

114a. **Što** and **sve** used with the comparative

A belief that two instances of comparison depend upon one another is expressed by a sequence of two clauses containing comparatives. The first is headed by the conjunction **što**, and the second by the conjunction **to**; the two are joined by a comma. Only imperfective verbs can be used in this construction. Indeed, many such constructions are aphoristic and contain no verbs at all. A phrase composed of **što** plus the comparative degree of an adverb (or more rarely, of an adjective) expresses the idea of the maximum possible degree. Sometimes a form of the verb **moći** is added to these constructions, but it is not obligatory. English translations cannot convey the intended meaning without adding words such as ...as possible, ...as you can.

The unchanging form **sve** plus a comparative adjective indicates a steadily increasing (or decreasing) rate of something.

što / comp.	Što je brže <u>h</u> odao, <u>to</u> se bolje osećao. Što dalje, <u>to</u> gore. Što više, <u>to</u> veselije. Što nas je više, <u>to</u> je veselije. Što više brođ nestaje, <u>to</u> joj je teže. Dođite što brže! Mnogo je opasnog! Molim vas, pišite nam što pre. Govorio je što je tiše mogao.	<i>The faster he walked, the better he felt.</i> <i>The further [one goes], the worse [it gets].</i> <i>The more the merrier!</i> <i>The more of us there are, the merrier it is.</i> <i>The more distant the boat [= the closer it gets to disappearing], the harder it is on her.</i> <i>Come as fast as you can! Terrible danger!</i> <i>Write as soon as possible, please.</i> <i>He spoke as quietly as he could.</i>
sve / comp.	Taj posao bija sve lakši. U onoj bolnici rade sa sve većim brojem bolesnika. Sve više ljudi je dolazilo da ga vidi.	<i>This job gets easier and easier.</i> <i>In that hospital they are working with an ever increasing number of patients.</i> <i>More and more people kept coming to see him.</i>

E osećao / J osjećao; E što pre / J što prije

115 Collective nouns

The category of number in nouns distinguishes *singular* (= one) and *plural* (= more than one). Masculine and neuter nouns also have a separate *counting form*, used after 2, 3, and 4 (review [46a]) – that is, a specific amount that is more than one but less than five (but see [124a] for more detail). Another type of noun in BCS refers to many items (= more than one) that are

perceived as a single unit (= one). Such nouns are called *collectives*. They are grammatically singular in all respects, yet they clearly have a more plural-like meaning than the singular noun which refers to only one item within the collective. Sometimes these collectives are the only way to express the idea of plural, but often they also exist alongside the more usual plural form. These collectives, illustrated below, are all neuter in gender. The stem-final consonant of the Gsg. of the base noun (the one referring to a single unit of the item in question) undergoes Type C softening, and the neuter singular endings are then added. In the chart below, hyphens after the relevant consonants (in the Gsg. of the base noun and in the Nom. form of the collective noun) illustrate the softening process. Examples following the chart illustrate usage, as well as the fact that the nouns are declined as neuter singulars, and take singular verbs. They do not have plurals of their own.

The chart also illustrates the difficulty of finding a precise English translation for the BCS concept of collective in every instance. English rarely has a corresponding collective noun; usually the best English translation for a BCS collective is simply an English plural. This is because many of the items concerned are usually spoken of as a general idea rather than as individually counted units. For instance, the English plural *flowers* normally refers to bouquets or gardens, or the like, and not to specific blossoms. In BCS, the collective **cveće / cvijeće** means *flowers* in the first, non-countable instance, while the plural **cvetovi / cvjetovi** means *flowers* in those less frequently occurring contexts where each individual blossom is visualized as a unit. English has some collective words which correspond roughly to BCS collectives; examples below are *shrubbery* and *foliage*. Care must be taken in translation, however, because the BCS collective usually has a much broader meaning; for example, **grmlje** could be translated either by *shrubs* or *shrubbery*, depending on the context. Similarly, BCS **lišće** can mean *foliage*, but it also refers to the remnants of such foliage, that which one must rake up in the autumn – in other words, *leaves*.

Singular		Plural	Collective			
Nsg	Gsg		[neuter sgl]	sg / pl	vs.	collective
cvijet	cvijet-a	cvetovi	cvijeć-e	flower (s)		flowers
drvo	drveto-a	drveta	drveć-e	tree (s)		trees
drvo	drv-a	drv	drvlj-e	wood		lumber, wood
grana	gran-e	grane	granj-e	branch (es)		branches, boughs
grm	grm-a	grmovi	grmlj-e	shrub (s)		shrubbery, shrubs
kamen	kamen-a	kamenovi	kamenj-e	stone (s)		rocks, stones
list	list-a	listovi	lišć-e	leaf (-ves)		foliage, leaves
osoba	osob-e	osobe	osoblj-e	person (s)		personnel

J cvijet / E cvet; J cvjetovi / cvetovi; J cvijeće / E cveće

Да ^{на} с се види само ве ^{штак} о цвеће.	You only see artificial flowers these days.
Најбоље пе ^{чурк} е ра ^{сту} под дрв ^{ећем} .	The best mushrooms grow under trees.
Сваке јесе ^{ни} лишће па ^{да} са дрв ^{ећа} .	Leaves fall from the trees each autumn.
Осули су га дрвљем и камењем.	They attacked him viciously [= they showered him with sticks and stones].

E veštačko / J vještačko; S,B veštačko (vještačko) / C,B umjetno; E cveće / J cvijeće; B,S pečurke / C gljive

Three additional nouns (listed below) are often grouped together with the above collectives, since each is neuter singular, each has a general collective-type meaning, and each contains a stem-final consonant which exemplifies Type 3 softening. But none of them fit completely into the above category. In the first instance, the singular noun **grob** “grave” has given rise to a collective noun, **groblje** “cemetery”; however, the original collective has now become a fully fledged noun of its own, with a singular and a plural declension. In the second instance, the singular noun **grozd** itself already has something of a collective meaning: it refers not to a single *grape* but

rather a single *bunch of grapes*. As to the third and fourth, there is no existing singular noun from which they are derived, nor does the collective form have a plural. Each simply refers to the basic category, much as does the English word *fruit*. Individual pieces of either category are referred to by their separate names (as in English *apple, carrot, potato*, etc.).

Some grammarians also consider the nouns **deca / djeca** “children”, **braća** “brothers” and **gospoda** “gentlemen” to be collectives. True collectives, however, are words which also have both singular and plural forms. A more correct description of these three words (review [90]) is “irregular plural”.

Singular	Plural	Collective		
Nsg grob grozd	Gsg grób-a grozd-a	[neuter sg] groblj-e (pl. groblja) grožđ-e	sg / pl grav(es) bunch(es) of grapes	collective <i>cemetery</i> <i>grapes</i>
		voće povrće		<i>fruit(s)</i> <i>vegetable(s)</i>

116 Verbal nouns, continued

Although the suffix of a verbal noun is technically **-nj** followed by the neuter ending **-e**, for practical purposes one can think of verbal nouns as ending in **-anje** or **-enje** (for more on the process of suffixation in nouns, see [163c]). Verbal nouns in the first group are formed from the infinitive stem and those in the second from the present stem; verbs of types 2-3 undergo Type C consonant softening before **-enje** (review [108]). The chart below illustrates this process in more detail. For reasons of space, definitions of the verbs from which these nouns are derived have been omitted; most of these verbs should be familiar to the student by now.

In their most literal meaning, verbal nouns correspond to English gerundial forms in *-ing*. But as the translations below suggest, BCS verbal nouns cover a much broader range of meanings. For some verbs, the verbal noun covers both the idea of process and fact. Other verbs can give rise to two separate verbal nouns, one which refers more to the process of the action and the other more to the fact of an action (or its result). Pairs of this sort are usually differentiated by accent: the noun referring to the process retains the place of the accent of the infinitive, while the one referring to a fact or result will have long rising accent on the suffix. Several pairs of this sort are given in the list below; in most instances, they are derived from the same infinitive. But the process can sometimes span an aspect pair. For instance, the imperfective verb **radati** “give birth” yields the verbal noun **radanje** (with short rising accent on the stem): this verbal noun refers to the process of giving birth. By contrast, its perfective partner **rodit** yields the verbal noun **rođenje** (with long rising accent on the suffix), which refers to the fact of one’s birth. Similarly, the imperfective verb **stvarati** “create” yields the verbal noun **stvaranje** (with long rising on the stem), which refers to the process of creation. Its perfective partner **stvoriti**, however, yields the verbal noun **stvorene** (with long rising on the suffix), which means *creature*.

The sample sentences below contain two instances of such pairs, identified by the notations process and result. The remaining sentences, however, contain verbal nouns whose scope of meaning is sufficiently broad to encompass aspects of both process and result. As to translation, it is often the case that the English gerundial form in *-ing* will convey a rough idea of the BCS verbal noun. Usually, however, the correct English translation is another word. One must also not assume that these are the only nouns made from verbal stems which refer to the processes, facts, and results of verbal actions. For a discussion of other such nouns, see [148, 163c].

VERBAL NOUN

	type	infinitive	3pl. present	verbal noun	
-anje	1	<i>park</i> <i>know</i> <i>conduct self</i> <i>give birth (I)</i> <i>create</i> <i>recall</i> <i>feel</i> <i>travel</i>	<i>parkirati</i> <i>znati</i> <i>ponašati se</i> <i>rađati</i> <i>stvarati</i> <i>sećati se</i> <i>osećati se</i> <i>putovati</i>	<i>parkiraju</i> <i>znaju</i> <i>ponašaju se</i> <i>rađaju</i> <i>stvaraju</i> <i>sećaju se</i> <i>osećaju se</i> <i>putuju</i>	<i>parkiranje</i> <i>znanje</i> <i>ponašanje</i> <i>rađanje</i> <i>stvaranje</i> <i>sećanje</i> <i>osećanje</i> <i>osećanje</i> <i>putovanje</i> <i>putovanje</i>
	4	<i>hold, keep</i>	<i>držati</i>	<i>drže</i>	
	10	<i>call</i>	<i>zvati</i>	<i>zovu</i>	
		<i>wash</i>	<i>prati</i>	<i>peru</i>	
	2	<i>mean</i> <i>think</i> <i>explain</i> <i>clean</i> <i>remember</i> <i>give birth (P)</i> <i>create (P)</i>	<i>značiti</i> <i>misliti</i> <i>objasniti</i> <i>čistiti</i> <i>pamtiti</i> <i>rođiti</i> <i>stvoriti</i>	<i>znače</i> <i>misle</i> <i>objasne</i> <i>čiste</i> <i>pamte</i> <i>rode</i> <i>stvore</i>	<i>značenje</i> <i>mišljenje</i> <i>objašnjenje</i> <i>čišćenje</i> <i>pamćenje</i> <i>rođenje</i> <i>stvorenje</i>
	3	<i>see</i>	<i>vidjeti</i>	<i>vide</i>	
	15	<i>bake, roast</i>	<i>peći</i>	<i>peku</i>	
				<i>pranje</i>	
				<i>washing</i>	
				<i>meaning</i>	
				<i>thinking, opinion</i>	
				<i>explanation</i>	
				<i>cleaning</i>	
				<i>memory</i>	
				<i>birth [fact]</i>	
				<i>creature</i>	
				<i>seeing, meeting</i>	
				<i>baking</i>	
				<i>roast meat</i>	

E sećati se / J sjecati se; E osećati se / J osjećati se: E sećanje / J sjecanje; E osećanje / J osjećanje;
E videti / J vidjeti

1. process	Pomaže majci s pečenjem kruha.	<i>She helps her mother bake the bread</i> [= with the bread baking process]
2. result	Danas imamo jagnjeće pečenje.	<i>Today we're having roast lamb.</i>
1. process	Svjedoci smo rađanja demokracije	<i>We're witnesses to the birth of democracy.</i>
2. result	Rodenje prvog unuka je veliki događaj.	<i>The birth of [one's] first grandchild is a great event.</i>
	Molim vas, napišite datum rođenja.	<i>Write down your date of birth, please.</i>
3. general	Hoćemo li naći mjesto za parkiranje? Pri drugom čitanju bilo je bolje. Počinjemo veliko proljetnje čišćenje. Dosta! Glava me već bolj od učenja. Je li zadovoljna svojim putovanjem? Dosta je čekanja!	<i>Are we going to find a parking place?</i> <i>It was better on second reading.</i> <i>We're starting our major spring cleaning.</i> <i>Enough! My head aches from studying.</i> <i>Is she pleased with her trip?</i> <i>[You've] waited long enough [= there's been enough waiting, time for action].</i>
	Do skorog viđenja!	<i>See you soon! [= "until our imminent seeing", compare French <i>au revoir</i>]</i>

B,C kruha / B,S hljeba (hleba); S,B jagnjeće / C,B janjeće; C,B hoćemo li / S,B da li ćemo; J mjesto / E mesto;
J proletnje / E proletnje; C,B je li / S,B da li je

117 Participles

Participles are adjectives formed from verbal stems. They obey all the grammatical rules of an adjective, and indeed a number of them are indistinguishable from adjectives. Most, however, retain enough of their verbal character to allow them to function in verb-like environments. The *active participle*, for instance, better known as the L-participle, is primarily encountered as a component of compound verbal tenses (where, in grammatical terms, it functions as a predicate adjective). Rules for forming this participle are known (review [69, 104a]), and its primary function in the past tense (review [104, 106b]) is by now familiar. For other compound tenses which contain the L-participle, see [131, 149].

In addition to the active, or L-participle, BCS has a *passive participle*, whose formation is presented below. Active participles are formed from verbs of both aspects, but passive participles are formed primarily from perfective, transitive verbs.

117a. Forms of the passive participle

Whereas the active participle has a single characteristic marker (the consonant **l**), the passive participle has two, the consonants **n** and **t**. As in the case of the verbal noun, some verbs use the infinitive as a base and some the 3pl. present. The latter group includes verbs of *types 2-3* and *13-16*. In these verbs, the vowel of the 3pl. present is dropped and the suffix **-en** is added; in verbs of *types 2-3* and *15*, the stem-final consonant also undergoes Type C softening. Nearly all other verbs drop the **-ti** of the infinitive and add a consonantal marker. This marker is **-t** for verbs of *types 7* and *11*, and **-n** for the remaining verbs. In all these, the vowel preceding the participle marker is long. *Type 6* verbs are complex in that they can follow either the rules for *type 7* or the rules for *type 13*; some verbs have one or the other participle and some have both. The same is the case for certain verbs belonging to *types 1* and *10*.

The participle which has been formed by these means is a Nsg. masculine short form adjective. Other adjective endings are added to it as required by the grammar of the sentences. It is very important to note that while participles ending in **-an** look like adjectives with a fleeting vowel, they are not. They NEVER drop the **a** in other forms of the adjective. That is:

	m.Nsg. short	f.Nsg. short	n.Nsg. short	
Adjective	jasan	jasná	jasno	clear
Participle (from napisati)	napisan	napisana	napisano	written

The chart below illustrates the formation of passive participles. For those verbs which undergo Type C consonant softening, the relevant consonants are identified by hyphens. Those verbs which have variant forms are summarized in a separate chart.

PARTICIPLES	type	infinitive	3rd pl pres	participle	
-n-	1	sačuvati	sačuvaju	sačuvan	preserve / preserved
		izigrati	izigraju	izigran	trick / tricked
	4	držati	drže	držan	keep, hold / held
	5	vezati	vežu	vezan	bind / bound
		napisati	napišu	napisan	write / written
	8	kupovati	kupuju	kupovan	buy / bought
	10	sabratи	sabru	sabran	gather / gathered
		pozvati	pozovu	pozvan	invite / invited

PARTICIPLES	type	infinitive	3rd pl pres	participle	
-t-	7	skinuti	skin <u>u</u>	skin <u>t</u>	take off / taken off
		prekinuti	prekin <u>u</u>	prekin <u>t</u>	interrupt / interrupted
	11	uzeti	uzmu <u>u</u>	uzet	take / taken
		započeti	započnu <u>u</u>	započet	begin / begun
		rásuti	raspu <u>u</u>	rasut	scatter / scattered
		prokleti	prokunu <u>u</u>	proklet	curse / cursed
-en	2	ispłatiti	ispłat-e	ispłać-en	pay / paid
		uręditi	uręd-e	uręd-en	arrange / arranged
		nositi	nos-e	noš-en	carry / carried
		ugrożiti	ugroz-e	ugrož-en	threaten / threatened
		kupiti	kup-e	kuplj-en	buy / bought
		ispuniti	ispun-e	ispunj-en	fill / filled
		izbaćiti	izbać-e	izbač-en	throw out / discarded
	3	vidjeti	vid-e	vid-en	see / seen
		željeti	žel-e	želj-en	desire / desired
	15	reći	[rek-nu]	reč-en	say / said
		peći	pek-u	peč-en	bake / baked
		strići	strig-nu	striž-en	shear / shorn
	13	prevesti	prevedu	preveden	translate / translated
		pomesti	pometu	pometen	sweep / swept
	14	uvesti	uvezu	uvezen	import / imported
		grepsti	grębu	gręben	scratch / scratched

J vidjeti / E videti; J željeti / E želeti

It is harder to predict the passive participle for *type 6* verbs, as well as for certain verbs of *types 1* and *10*. When they take the participle in *-t*, the formation is regular. But when *type 6* verbs take the participle in *-en*, the form is not predictable. It can end in *-jen* (based directly on the 3rd pl. pres), or in *-ven*. In all these verbs, the choice of participle ending needs to be learned individually with each verb. As a rule, however, one can say that the participles in *-t* are losing ground among *type 6* verbs, and those in *-en* are heard much more frequently. With respect to the relevant verbs of *type 1*, participles in *-t* are preferred in Serbian and Bosnian, while participles in *-an* are preferred in Croatian

Type	infinitive	3pl pres	-t- participle	-en- participle
6	popiti	popiju	popit	popijen
	ubiti	ubiju	ubit	ubijen
	sakruti	sakriju	sakrit	sakriven
	naliti	naliju	nalit	naliven
	sašiti	sašiju	sašit	sašiven
1	poznati	poznaju	poznat	
	prodati	prodaju	prodat	prodan
10	poslati	pošalju	poslat	poslan
	samleti	samelju		samleven

E samleti / J samljeti; E samleven / J samljeven

117b. Active and passive participles used as adjectives

As adjectives, participles can be used in either predicative or attributive position (review [11]). The active participle (that is, the L-participle) is almost always used as part of a compound verb tense; this usage follows the grammatical rules for an adjective in predicative position: it follows a form of the verb **biti**, and it agrees with its subject in number and gender. But some L-participles can be used in attributive position. It is a matter of interpretation, in fact, as to whether these are still participles or whether they have now become adjectives in their own right.

verb	L-participle used as adjective	
ostareti “age”	Putuje sa ostarelom majkom.	<i>He travels with his aged mother.</i>
uvenuti “fade”	U sobi imaju mnogo uveljih ruža.	<i>There's many faded roses in the room.</i>
zreti “ripen”	Tako misle ljudi u zrelim godinama.	<i>People on in years think that way.</i>
	Pazi da kupiš samo zrelo voće.	<i>Be careful to buy only ripe fruit.</i>
ostati “remain”	Uzmi jednu od preostalih knjiga.	<i>Take one of the remaining books.</i>
klonuti “collapse”	Sa klonulim čovjekom teško je raditi.	<i>It's hard to work with a worn-out person.</i>

E ostareti / J ostarjeti; E ostarelom / J ostarjelom; J čovjek / E čovek

Similarly, a number of passive participles – all of them clearly derived from verbs according to the rules outlined above – are now perceived more as simple adjectives. Sometimes these are translated by English adjectives which are themselves participial forms; other times English must resort to a participial phrase to translate BCS participles used as adjectives.

verb	Passive participle used as adjective	
otvoriti “open”	Molim te, ostavi vrata otvorena.	<i>Please leave the door open.</i>
zatvoriti “shut”	Radi bolje u zatvorenom prostoru.	<i>S/he works better in a closed space.</i>
poznati “know”	To je marka poznata u cijelom svetu.	<i>That's a brand known world-wide.</i>
ne razviti “not develop”	Počela je da radi sa nerazvijenim zemljama.	<i>She has begun to work with under-developed countries.</i>
pokvariti “spoil”	Dijete ima pokvarene zube.	<i>The child has decayed teeth.</i>
mleti “grind”	Molim Vas, dajte mi mlevenog mesa.	<i>Give me some ground meat, please.</i>
osloboditi “liberate”	Sad smo na oslobođenom terenu.	<i>Now we are in liberated territory.</i>
odliti “pour out”	Uzmi šalicu s odlitom / odlivenom vodom.	<i>Take the cup with [= which has] the water [you] poured off.</i>
pronaći “find”	Ispravićemo pronađenu grešku.	<i>We will correct the mistake [which you have / has been] found.</i>

E celom svetu / J cijelom svijetu; S,B počela je da radi / C,B počela je raditi; J dijete / E dete; E mleti / J mljeti; E mleven / J mljeven; B,C šalica / B,S šoljica (or šolja); S,B ispravićemo / B,C ispraviti ćemo

118 Passive sentences, introduction

The most well known use of passive participles – and the source of their name – is as the predicate portion of a passive sentence. The transitive verbs from which such participles are derived always take an object. A sentence centered around such a verb is an *active sentence*: it contains a subject, a transitive verb, and a direct object; and it focuses its attention on the action that affects that object. The same general idea, however, can also be expressed as a *passive sentence*. Such a sentence focuses attention on that which has resulted from the action in question: it contains a subject and a predicate composed of a form of *to be* and a passive participle derived from

the original transitive verb. As seen earlier (review [74]), BCS can express the idea of passiveness by adding **se** to a transitive verb, a type of sentence quite foreign to English. This type of passive sentence, by contrast, is directly parallel to its English equivalent.

relationship: OBJECT of active sentence → SUBJECT of passive sentence

ACTIVE	subject	transitive verb	object
	<i>My sister</i>	<i>will write</i>	<i>a letter.</i>
	Moja sestra	će napisati	pismo.
PASSIVE	subject	biti “to be”	passive participle
	<i>The letter</i>	<i>has been</i>	<i>written.</i>
	Pismo	je	napisano.

The only significant difference between the English and BCS versions of the above two passive sentences is in the tense form: present perfect in English (*has been*) vs. present in BCS (**je**). This difference results from the fact that the BCS present tense covers a broader scope of meaning than the English present tense (review [106a]). Thus, a passive sentence which refers to a completed action usually requires the past tense in English, while the fact that the very same passive sentence concerns the result of that past action (and its relevance in the present moment) usually requires the present tense in BCS. If, however, the participial form is used adjectivally – if it describes a state rather than a completed action – then English can use the present tense. BCS, of course, uses the present tense in this meaning as well. It is usually clear from the context which of the two meanings is intended. Thus, the simple sentence marked (1) can be translated either by an English present tense or past tense verb, depending on whether the intended meaning is that of a state, or of a result.

(1)	Човек је повређен.	<i>The man IS / WAS wounded.</i>
state	Пази – човек је тешко повређен.	<i>Careful, the man IS badly wounded.</i>
result of action	Човек је повређен стаклом са разбијеног прозора.	<i>The man WAS wounded by glass from the broken window.</i>

E čovek / J čovjek; E povreden / J povrijeden; S,B povreden (povrijeden) / C ozlijeden

Participles by nature carry both verbal meaning and adjectival meaning. Some instances of participles used in predicative position clearly refer to verbal action and others clearly describe present states. Many, indeed, carry some of both meanings. Passive constructions in BCS are discussed in greater detail in [139].

BCS present, English past

Dosta je rečeno! Rezultat je jasan.	<i>Enough [has been] said! The result is clear.</i>
Pronađena je mala crna mačka.	<i>A small black cat has been found.</i>
Prevezena je u veterinarsku stanicu.	<i>It was taken to the veterinary clinic.</i>

BCS present, English past or present

Stvar je riješena.	<i>The matter is / has been decided.</i>
Rasprrava je završena.	<i>The discussion is over / has been concluded.</i>
Dogovoreno. Vidjet ćemo se u 8 sati.	<i>[It's] agreed [then] – we'll meet at 8:00.</i>

J riješena / E rešena; C,B vidjet ćemo / S,B videćemo

119 The verbal idea “need”

The English verb *need* has two different meanings. One concerns the lack of something: it is followed by a direct object, as in “I need A NEW COAT”. The other concerns a sense of obligation and is followed by an infinitive, as in “I need TO LEAVE now”. BCS expresses both these meanings with the verb **trebati**, but according to two different sets of grammatical rules. One set is characteristic of Serbian and the other of Croatian; Bosnian can use both. According to rule set (1), **trebati** functions like **svidati se**. The person who feels the need is expressed in the dative case, and that which is needed is the subject of the sentence, with which the verb must agree. According to rule set (2), **trebati** functions as in English: the person who feels the need is the subject, and that which is needed is the direct object. Here are the rules in schematic terms, followed by examples of usage:

(1)	Dat. usage of	trebati	: <i>X is necessary to me</i>
(2)	Nom. usage of	trebati	: <i>I need X</i>

(1)	Треба <u>ми</u> нов капут. А нама требају само паре! Треба <u>му</u> бољи посао. Требао <u>му</u> је бољи посао. Нима <u>је</u> требала твоја помоћ.	<i>I need a new coat. Well, all we need is money! He needs a better job. He needed a better job. They needed your help.</i>
(2)	Ја <u>требам</u> нов капут. А <u>ми</u> <u>требамо</u> само паре! Он <u>треба</u> болji посао. Требао <u>је</u> болji посао. Требали <u>су</u> твоју помоћ.	<i>I need a new coat. Well, all we need is money! He needs a better job. He needed a better job. They needed your help.</i>

When the need is to perform an action, usage pattern (2) continues to function as in English: the person who needs *to do* something is the subject of **trebati**, and the infinitive follows. In usage pattern (1), however, sentences with **treba** are technically subjectless. The person who needs *to do* something is identified in the **da**-phrase which functions as infinitive, and can also be identified in the nominative. But the verb itself can only be 3sg. (with a past tense neuter L-participle).

(1)	subjectless usage:	treba	<u>ja, ti, on</u> <u>treba</u> + <i>infinitive or da-substitute</i>
(2)	nominative usage:	trebati	<u>ja</u> <u>trebam</u> , etc. + <i>infinitive</i>

(1)	Ту треба <u>чекати</u> . Данас треба <u>да радимо</u> . Требало <u>је да</u> <u>радимо</u> више. Ти треба <u>да</u> <u>ми</u> <u>помогнеш</u> . Требало <u>је да</u> <u>ми</u> <u>помогнеш</u> .	<i>It's necessary [= one needs] to wait here. We need to work today. We needed to work more. You need to help me. You needed to help me.</i>
(2)	Trebash mi pomoći. Trebala si mi pomoći. Trebali smo dugo čekati. Trebatićemo dugo stajati u redu.	<i>You need to help me. You needed to help me. We needed to wait a long time. We'll need to stand in line for a long time .</i>

Earlier, pattern (1) was considered the only acceptable usage throughout BCS, and pattern (2) was seen as substandard. Now, however, pattern (2) is fully acceptable in Bosnian, where it is used alongside pattern (1). Serbian and Croatian differ markedly: only pattern (1) is acceptable in Serbian, and only pattern (2) is acceptable in Croatian. For more on the verb **trebati**, see [127].

120 Verbs of body position

When the human body is at rest, it generally takes one of three positions. The first of these is completely vertical, the second is completely horizontal, and the third – which usually involves a chair-like object – is somewhere in between. The English verbs for these states are *stand*, *lie*, and *sit*, respectively. BCS has two sets of verbs with this meaning. One set refers to stasis: the verbs in this group describe a settled position and are translated either by the neutral English verbs noted above, or by one of the English progressive tenses (such as *be standing* / *sitting* / *lying*). The other set refers to action: these verbs describe the directional movement needed in order to assume the position, and are translated by the same neutral English verbs, used either alone or with a directional adverb (such as *stand UP*, *sit DOWN*, *lie DOWN*). English can sometimes rely on context to express the difference, but BCS must use the correct verb.

The BCS stasis verbs all belong to the *i*-conjugation. Two are *type 4* verbs, one of which exceptionally shifts the stem vowel between infinitive and present tense (review the discussion of **stajati** in [52e]). The third is a *type 3* verb in ekavian and in more archaic versions of ijekavian, but has shifted to *type 2* in most current-day ijekavian areas (review the discussion in [40d]). The action verbs all belong to *type 15b*, although two of them function differently in the infinitive (review [94d] on **stati** and [94e] on **pasti**, whose conjugation is parallel to that of **sjeti** / **sesti**). Technically, the action verbs carry the same meanings as the stasis verbs except for the fact that they specifically denote movement. Since the verb **leći** “lie down” has also taken on the meaning *go to bed*, one would expect the verb **stati** to mean *get up*. Instead, this meaning has been taken over by the prefixed verb **ustati**, also the verb most frequently used in the meaning *stand up*.

stasis verbs

stajati	<i>stand</i>	ležati	<i>lie</i>	sedeti	<i>sit</i>	sjediti
stoјim	stoјimo	ležim	ležimo	sedim	sedimo	sjedim
stoјiš	stoјite	ležiš	ležite	sedиш	sedите	sjediš
stoјi	stoјe	leži	leže	sedи	седе	sjedi

action verbs

stati	<i>stand [up]</i>	leći	<i>lie [down]</i>	sesti	<i>sit [down]</i>	sjeti
stanem	stanemo	legnem	legnemo	sednem	sednemo	sjednem
staneš	stanete	legneš	legnete	sedneš	sednete	sjedneš
stane	stanu	legne	legnu	sedne	sednu	sjedne

S sedeti / C,B sjediti; E sedim etc. / J sjedim etc.; E sesti / J sjeti; E sednem etc. / J sjednem etc.

stasis: *sit*

Mi već tri sata sjedimo ovđje.
Sédeli smo tamо trј sata.

We've been sitting here for three hours.
We sat there for three hours.

stasis: *stand*

Morat ćeš dugo stajati u redу.
Koliko si stajala u redу?

You'll have to stand in line a long time.
How long did you stand in line?

stasis: *lie*

Pas leži pod stolom i reži.
Cijelo je vrijeme tamo ležala.

The dog is lying under the table growling.
She lay there the whole time.

action: <i>sit</i>	Hajde da sednemo i popijemo! Ko je seo na moje mesto?	<i>Let's have a seat, and a drink!</i> <i>Who sat [down] in my seat?</i>
action: <i>stand</i>	Ustani! Dosta čekanja! Ustao sam rano, pa sam već umoran.	<i>Up on your feet! Enough waiting around!</i> <i>I got up early, and am already tired.</i>
	Nadam se da će privreda uskoro stati na noge.	<i>I hope the economy will get moving [= get on its feet] soon.</i>
action: <i>lie</i>	Lèzi odmah da ne padneš. Sinoć smo legli dosta kasno.	<i>Lie down right away, so you don't fall down.</i> <i>We went to bed fairly late last night.</i>

J sjedimo / E sedimo; J ovdje / E ovde; E sedeli / J sjedili; C,B morat ćeš stajati / S,B moraćeš da stojiš; J cijelo vrijeme / E celo vreme; E sednemo / J sjednemo; S,B hajde da sednemo (sjednemo) / C,B hajdemo sjesti; S,B ko / C tko; E seo / J sjeo; E mesto / J mjesto; B na noge / S,C na noge

The stasis verbs are imperfective, and the action verbs are perfective. But they are NOT an aspect pair! Rather, the action verbs have their own imperfective partners, which are given below. These verbs refer to repeated instances of the movement in question. It is only when the action / stasis pair is used as a base for verbal derivation that it begins to function as an aspect pair. In that case, however (review [101]), all the aspect pairs take on quite different meanings altogether. One must take special care with the infinitive **stajati**, which has two different meanings. If the 1sg. is **stojim**, it is a stasis verb, but if it is **stajem**, it is an imperfective action verb.

“action” verbs: imperfective partners

stajati	<i>stand [up]</i>	legati	<i>lie [down]</i>	sedati	<i>sit [down]</i>
stajem	stajemo	ležem	ležemo	sedam	sedamo
staješ	stajete	ležeš	ležete	sedas	sedate
staje	staju	leže	ležu	sedaj	sedaju

E legati / J lijegati; E ležem etc. / J liježem etc.; E sedati / J sjedati; E sedam etc./ J sjedam etc.

action: <i>stand</i>	Tri puta mi već staješ na nogu!	<i>That's three times you've stepped on my foot!</i>
action: <i>lie</i>	Moji roditelji liježu vrlo rano.	<i>My parents go to bed very early.</i>
action: <i>sit</i>	Uvijek sjeda za isti stol.	<i>He always takes a place at the same table.</i>

B na nogu / C,S na nogu; J liježu / E ležu; J uvijek / E uvek; J sjeda / E sada; C stol / S,B sto

121 Titles

There are numerous sorts of *titles*. One kind refers to works of art or institutions, as well as to edifices connected with institutions. Another kind is based on a craft or knowledge that characterizes a particular type of work, and is applied to the person who occupies himself with this work, usually in a professional sense. Titles of the first sort must follow particular grammatical rules when used in a sentence. Titles of the second sort function grammatically as nouns, but they follow certain regular patterns as to their formation, both in reference to the profession in general and to specifically gendered practitioners of it.

121a. Proper names used in apposition

Titles of books or other works of art, as well as names of buildings or organizations, must take case endings just like any other noun. If they occur directly after a generic noun identifying them, however – if they are in *apposition* to another noun – then only that noun takes the case ending and the title remains in the nominative case. Personal names, however, must take case endings even when they are in apposition to a general noun identifying them.

title only	То је цитат из <i>Споредној неба</i> . Читаш ли <i>Травничку хронику</i> ?	<i>That's [a quote] from Sporedno nebo. Are you reading Travnička hronika?</i>
title in apposition	То је из књиге <i>Споредној небо</i> . Она читаје роман <i>Травничка хроника</i> .	<i>That's from [the book] Sporedno nebo. S/he's reading the novel Travnička hronika.</i>
name only	Пише чланак о Јиви <i>Андићу</i> .	<i>S/he's writing an article about Ivo Andrić.</i>
name in apposition	Чланак је о романима чуvenог писца Јве <i>Андића</i> .	<i>The article is about the novels of the famous writer Ivo Andrić.</i>

121b. Names of professions

Nearly all names of professions contain suffixes of some sort which serve to mark the fact that a particular person is a practitioner of that profession. Most of the words formed with such suffixes follow the “general vs. specific” rule (review [5b]), according to which masculine nouns refer either to a male person or to the category in general while feminine nouns refer only to a female person. Not all profession names adhere to this, however; some use the general word regardless of the sex of the person in question. Those which do have a separate word marked as female follow different models in forming this separate word: some add a different suffix to the base stem, and some add an additional suffix to the already existing word signifying the male. One cannot predict for any one profession name which of the three options it will follow.

The following list of professional names gives a rough illustration of the frequency of each of these types. It is not exhaustive, but has rather been chosen to illustrate the versatility of several common suffixes. The profession names are grouped by suffix according to the general term, not the female term (the only exception being two profession names which do not have a male equivalent). Where a female-only term is paired with the male/general term, these are listed with the latter. It should be noted, however, that as social structures (and perceptions of women’s roles) change, the usage of some of these names will probably change as well. One recent trend, evident in the list below, is that Serbian tends to use the generalized term for both men and women, whereas Croatian has introduced a larger number of more female-specific terms.

Many names are common throughout BCS, but a number are perceived as specifically Serbian or Croatian, and are marked [S] or [C], respectively. If Bosnian prefers one or the other of these, the mark [B] is given; in the absence of such a mark, one should assume that Bosnian can use either of the two. Of those profession names which carry no regional marking, some are more common in one region than another, but not so much so as to carry exclusive marking; for more discussion of these issues, see [172b].

suffix	male/general	female	
-ac	glumac pisac sudac [C] sudija [S]	glumica spisateljica sutkinja [C]	actor writer judge
-ač	brijač [C,B] bérberin [S] igrač [S,B] plesač [C,B] krojač plesač [C] igrač [S,B] vozač	igračica [S,B] plesačica [C] krojačica plesačica [C] igračica [S, B] vozačica	barber dancer tailor dancer driver

suffix	male/general	female	
-ar	apotekar bolničar električar fizičar hemičar [S,B] kemičar [C] kemičar [C] hemičar [S,B] kipar [C] vajar [B,S] konobar kuhar [B,C] kuvat [S] kuvat [S] kuhar [B,C] ljekar [B] lekar [S] liječnik [C] mehaničar [S] strojar [C] mesar [B,C,S] kasačin [S] mužičar [B,C,S] glazbenik [C] pekar pisar slikar strojar [C] mehaničar [S] vajar [B,S] kipar [C] veterinar zubar	apotekarica [B,C] apotekarka [S] bolničarka, medicinska sestra fizičarka hemičarka [S,B] kemičarka [C] kemičarka [C] hemičarka [S,B] kiparica [C] vajarka [B,S] konobarica kuharica [B,C] kuvarica [S] kuvarica [S] kuharica [B,C] ljekarka [B] lekarka [S] liječnica [C] mesarica [C] mužičarka [B,C,S] glazbenica [C] pekarica [C] pisarica [C] slikarka [S,B] slikarica [C] vajarka [B,S] kiparica [C] veterinarica zubarica [B,C] zubarka [S]	pharmacist nurse electrician physicist chemist chemist sculptor waiter cook cook doctor mechanic butcher musician baker clerk painter mechanic sculptor veterinarian dentist
-ica		domaćica sekretarica	housekeeper secretary
-ik	činovnik glazbenik [C] mužičar [S] liječnik [C] ljekar [B] lekar [S] nastavnik naučnik [B,S] učenjak [B] znanstvenik [C] odvjetnik [C] advokat [S] pjesnik poljoprivrednik predsjednik rādnik svećenik [C] sveštenik [S] sveštenik [S] svećenik [C] tajnik umjetnik upravnik [BCS] upravitelj [C] vojnuk znanstvenik [C] naučnik [B,S] učenjak [B]	činovnica glazbenica [C] mužičarka [B,C,S] liječnica [C] ljekarka [B] lekarka [S] nastavnica znanstvenica [C] odvjetnica [C] pjesnikinja predsjednica rādnica tajnica umjetnica upravnica [BCS] upraviteljica [C] znanstvenica [C]	clerk musician doctor teacher scholar lawyer poet farmer president worker priest priest secretary artist manager soldier scholar

suffix	male/general	female	
-telj	prevoditelj [C] prevodilac [C,S]	prevoditeljica [C]	<i>translator</i>
	skladatelj [C] kompozitor [S,B]	skadateljica [C] kompozitorika [S,B]	<i>composer</i>
	spisatelj	spisateljica [C]	<i>writer</i>
	upravitelj [C] upravnik [BCS]	upraviteljica [C] upravnica [BCS]	<i>manager</i>
	učitelj	učiteljica	<i>teacher</i>

J ljekar / E lekar; J pjesnik / E pesnik; J pjesnikinja / E pesnikinja; J predsjednik / E predsednik; J predsjednica / E predsednica; J umjetnik / E umetnik; J umjetnica / E umetnica

Of course, the above list is not exhaustive; its intention is to illustrate the usage of certain suffixes in the formation of professional names. A number of professions carry names borrowed directly from Western languages, such as **biolog** “biologist”; these were not listed above unless they corresponded to one of the names using a suffix on the list. For instance, Serbian uses **advokat** for “lawyer” and **kompozitor** for “musician” where Croatian uses **odvjetnik** for “lawyer” and both **kompozitor** and **glazbenik** for “musician”.

These pairs illustrate a growing trend in Croatian to use Slavic-derived words vs. the opposing trend in Serbian to incorporate Western words (for more discussion of this topic, see [172a]). While one cannot go so far as to say that Croatian avoids Western words altogether, there is a tendency in Croatian to mark the difference from Serbian when it can. One way is to avoid adding the final **-a** to a number of borrowed words, especially those ending in **-ist**. Thus, the words for *linguist*, *cellist*, and *architect* are **lingvist**, **čelist**, and **arhitekt** in Croatian, but **lingvista**, **čelista**, and **arhitekta** in Serbian (all are masculine gender). A second trend in Croatian that appears to be increasing is to substitute words ending in **-telj** for those ending in **-nik** or **-lac** (as in **upravitelj** and **prevoditelj** above).

It should also be noted that the intention of the above list is to illustrate the formation of names of profession. While the suffixes in question are frequently encountered in such names, this is not their only use: each also forms a number of nouns with other meanings. For more discussion of the role of suffixes in word formation, see [163b].

CHAPTER 12

122 Past tense, continued

The past tense expression used in nearly all instances is the *compound past* (review [69, 104]). There are two other ways to express simple past action, however, each of which is a *simplex past* tense (that is, all the meaning of “past tense” contained in a single word). These two tenses are called the *aorist* and the *imperfect*. Although they have largely gone out of current use, they are widely employed in literary texts from previous generations, and are still encountered in speech, especially in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro (and to a somewhat lesser extent in Serbia). In general, the foreign learner need not worry about producing the forms of these tenses, but s/he should be able to recognize them when they occur. For more discussion, see [150].

122a. Forms of the aorist and imperfect tenses

The aorist is formed from verbs of both aspects, but occurs more frequently with perfective verbs. The imperfect is formed exclusively from verbs of the imperfective aspect. Common to both aorist and imperfect tenses is the fact that the 2nd and 3rd singular forms are identical. However context is nearly always sufficient to distinguish them. One must also take care to note that the ending for 3rd PLURAL aorist is identical to that for 3rd SINGULAR imperfect, and to watch out for potential misinterpretations. In the case of the aorist, all 2nd and 3rd singular (2-3sg.) forms have zero endings. For some verbs of *types 1-2*, therefore, the 3sg. present and 3sg. aorist look the same on the printed page. Accent distinguishes the forms only in some verbs and only for some speakers; one must pay close attention to context to know which meaning is intended.

The aorist endings are seen in the chart below. For verbs of *types 1-11*, these endings are added directly to the aorist stem, which is found by dropping the **-ti** of the infinitive. For verbs of *types 13-16*, the aorist stem is found by dropping the final vowel of the 3pl. present: in these verbs, the vowel **-e** is added in 2-3sg., and the vowel **-o** is added before the aorist endings in all other forms. Type B softening (review [112b]) takes place before the 2-3sg. ending in *type 15a* verbs. This set of aorist endings is also found in the verb **dati**, as well as a few other verbs (for more details, see [150a]). The imperfect tense stem is derived for some verbs from the infinitive and for others from the present tense. Once the stem is identified, however, there is only one set of endings. Only two examples are given below; for more detail, see [150b]). The imperfect is extremely rarely encountered outside the 3rd person.

The verb **biti** has both aorist and imperfect tense forms. The aorist forms of **biti** are used only in very limited contexts, but the imperfect forms are very common. The imperfect of **biti** has both full and contracted forms in both ekavian and ijekavian.

AORIST TENSE

type	1	2	5	15	16	[1]	biti
infinitive	upitati	svratiti	povezati	reći	úći	dati	biti
3pl. pres.	upitaju	svrate	povežu	reknu	úđu	daju	
1sg.	upitah	svratih	povezah	rekoh	úđoh	dadoh	bih
2-3sg.	upita	svratí	poveža	reče	úđe	dade	bí
1pl.	upitasmo	svratismo	povežasmo	rekosmo	úđosmo	dadosmo	bismo
2pl.	upitaste	svratiste	povežaste	rekoste	úđoste	dadoste	biste
3pl.	upitaše	svratise	povežaše	rekoše	úđoše	dadoše	biše

IMPERFECT TENSE

type	1	2	BITI			
infinitive	gledati	moliti	contracted	full	contracted	full
1sg.	gledah	moljah	bjeh	bijah	beh	bejah
2-3sg.	gledaše	moljaše	bješe	bijaše	beše	bejaše
1pl.	gledasmo	moljasmo	bjesmo	bijasmo	besmo	bejasmo
2pl.	gledaſte	moljaste	bjeste	bijaste	beste	bejaste
3pl.	gledažu	moljahu	bjehu	bijahu	behu	bejahu

J bjeh etc. / E beh etc.; J bijah etc. / E bejah etc.

122b. Usage of the aorist and imperfect tenses

The imperfect tense describes a state or a continuous action. It is used exclusively in narrative contexts, to describe a background setting. That is, it is never a primary verbal form in any one narrative, but must always be accompanied by other verbs that state what then happens against this background. The aorist, by contrast, identifies single instances of actions, things that happen. It may be accompanied by the imperfect but it need not be.

To the extent that the imperfect tense denotes ongoing action and the aorist tense denotes a single action, these descriptive statements bear some similarity to the definitions of the imperfective and perfective aspects, respectively. The two concepts are far from identical, however: aspect covers a much broader range of meaning. For instance, a past tense verb in the imperfective aspect can describe an ongoing action, a repeated action, or a fact of action without specific emphasis on completion, while a verb in the imperfect tense can only describe a background state or ongoing action within a narrative containing other verbs which specify actions occurring in the foreground. Similarly, a past tense verb in the perfective aspect can describe actions of numerous sorts: all that is required is that the idea of boundedness or limitation be present. Within this general scope, however, perfective verbs can convey the idea of repeated complete actions (see [145b]) or can refer to past actions whose results are relevant in the present. A verb in the aorist tense, by contrast, can only refer to the fact of a single past action, and only one which is presented as part of a series of individual actions.

Verbs of speech are among the most frequently encountered in the aorist – not surprisingly, since the narration of a dialogue involves a sequence of individual acts of speaking. The aorist of a motion verb is also often used in the first person, either to introduce one's presence or to announce one's imminent absence. In both cases, the action is visualized as one of a sequence. Imperfect verbs, by contrast, usually describe a state. Except for the 3rd singular imperfect of **biti**, the imperfect is rare in modern contexts. For discussion of its use in older texts, see [151].

aorist	Qvdje si zbog tečaja? – upita Goran. Jesam – odgovorij Marina. Šteta što on neće biti tu – reče Ana. Neće ti nedostajati – reče Ivo. Svratih da te pozdravim. Odoh sad.	“Are you here for the class?” asked Goran. “Yes, I am,” answered Marina. “It’s a pity he won’t be here,” said Ana. “You won’t miss him,” said Ivo. <i>I dropped by to say hello [to you].</i> <i>I’m off now. [= I left]</i>
imperfect	Bijahu jednom kraljević i princeza...	<i>Once upon a time there was a prince and a princess...</i>

J ovdje / E ovde; B,C,S zbog tečaja / S zbog kursa; B,C neće biti / S,B neće da bude; B,C neće ti nedostajati / S,B neće da ti nedostaje; J bijahu / E bejahu

123 Numbers, review

There are several different kinds of numbers. The most important of these are *cardinal numbers* (1, 2, 3, etc.), which are used for counting or specifying amounts (review [46, 58]) and *ordinal numbers* (1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc.), which are used for identifying a place in a series (review [109]). BCS also has two sets of numbers used for identifying groups, called *collective numbers* and *numerical nouns*. Other meanings which can be expressed with numbers include the idea of *fractions* (such as 1/3, 2/5, etc.) and *approximative numbers* (as in the English phrases *ten or so*). All these different numbers are clearly related to each other, but they are not identical. A combination of different suffixes (and in a few cases, different roots) serves to distinguish these meanings. The following sections review all these numbers in some detail.

123a. Cardinal numbers

Cardinal numbers from 1 through 10, given in [58a], are repeated below. Following the norm for counting, the forms for 1 and 2 are in the masculine form. Other numbers do not distinguish gender. The number 1 functions as an adjective (review [36c]), and takes whatever case is required by the sentence. The numbers 2-4 almost always appear as in the first chart, although they do have case forms. These forms, seen in the second chart, are not used in speech but are on occasion encountered in written texts. Numbers 5 and higher have only one form.

	masc	neut	feminine		5	pet	8	osam
1	jèdan	jèdno	jèdna	3	tri	6	šest	9
2	dva		dve / dvije	4	četiri	7	sedam	10

	NA	G	DLI		NA	G	DLI
2 (m-n)	dva	dvaju	dvàma	2 (f)	dve	dveju	dvèma
both (m-n)	oba	obaju	obòma	2 (f)	dvije	dviju	dvjèma
3	tri	triju	trìma	both (f)	obe	obeju	obèma
4	četiri	četiriju	četirima	both (f)	obje	objuju	objèma

E dve / J dvije; E dveju / J dviju; E dvema / J dvjema; E obe / J obje; E obeju / J objuju; E obema / J objema

Numbers from 11-19 and multiples of 10 through 90 are formed by adding the suffixes **-naest** and **-deset**, respectively, to the above numbers (the stem of **četiri** is abbreviated to **četr-**). The spelling of 11, 50, 16, 60 and 90 reflects pronunciation changes which result from the addition of these suffixes. These numbers were seen in [58b] and are repeated below.

11	jedànaest	14	četrìnaest	17	sedàmnaest		40	četrdesèt	70	sedamdesèt	
12	dvànaest	15	pètnaest	18	osàmnaest	20	dvàdesèt	50	pedesèt	80	osamdesèt
13	trìnaest	16	šèsnaest	19	devètnaest	30	trìdesèt	60	šeždesèt	90	devedesèt

The number 100 is **sto**; multiples are derived by prefixing the cardinal number, as in English. Bosnian and Serbian have alternate forms for 200 and 300.

	200	dvjesto (dvjeta)	400	četiristo	600	šeststo	800	osamsto	
100	sto	300	tristo (trista)	500	pètsto	700	sedamsto	900	devetsto

B,C,S dvjesto / B,S dvjeta (dvesta); B,C,S tristo / B,S trista; J dvjesto / E dvesto; J dvjeta / E dvesta

There is an alternate word for *hundred* – **stotina**; and the word for *billion* is **miliarda**. The words for *thousand* and *million* have different forms in Croatian and Serbian; Bosnian uses the Serbian term. All of these words are treated as nouns: after 2, 3, 4 they take the counting form and after 5 and larger they take Gpl.

200	dve stotine	2000	dve hiljade / tisuće	5000	pet hiljada / tisuća
300	tri stotine	3000	tri hiljade / tisuće	6000	šest hiljada / tisuća
400	četiri stotine	4000	četiri hiljade / tisuće	9000	devet hiljada / tisuća

2,000,000	dva miliona / milijuna	5,000,000	pet miliona / pet milijuna
3,000,000,000	tri milijarde	7,000,000,000	sedam milijarda

E dve / J dvije; B,S hiljada / C tisuća; B,S milion / C milijun

Compound numbers are formed as in English, by simply reading the components off in order. The conjunction **i** is optionally placed between the last two items. If a number begins with *one thousand*, or if the word **stotina** (and not **sto**) is the first segment of a number, the Asg. form – **hiljadu** or **tisuću** (1000), or **stotinu** (100) – is used.

45	četrdeset pet / četrdeset i pet	101	sto jedan / sto i jedan [stotinu i jedan]
313	tristo trinaest / tristo i trinaest	356	trista pedeset šest / trista pedeset i šest
1989	hiljadu devetsto osamdeset devet / hiljadu devetsto osamdeset i devet		
2153	dvije tisuće sto pedeset tri / dvije tisuće sto pedeset i tri		
6499	šest hiljada četiristo devedeset devet / šest hiljada četiristo devedeset i devet		

B,S trista, tristo / C tristo; B,S hiljadu / C tisuću; J dvije / E dve

123b. Ordinal numbers

BCS ordinal numbers are adjectives. They have only long and longer forms, and most of them are made by adding the long endings to the cardinal number. They keep the accent of the cardinal, but frequently lengthen the vowel preceding the ending; the **a** in **sedam** and **osam** acts as a fleeting vowel in the formation of the corresponding ordinal number.

CARDINAL	ORDINAL	masculine sg.	neuter sg.	feminine sg.
1	jedan	1st	prvi	prvo
2	dva	2nd	drugi	drugo
3	tri	3rd	treći	treće
4	četiri	4th	četvrti	četvrtu
5	pet	5th	peti	peto
6	šest	6th	šesti	šesto
7	sedam	7th	sedmi	sedmo
8	osam	8th	osmi	osmo
9	devet	9th	dевети	deveto
10	deset	10th	десети	deseto

CARDINAL	ORDINAL	masculine sg.	neuter sg.	feminine sg.
11 jedanaest	11th jedanaesti	jedanaest <i>o</i>	jedanaesta	jedanaesta
12 dvanaest	12th dvanaesti	dvanaest <i>o</i>	dvanaesta	dvanaesta
13 trinaest	13th trinaesti	trinaest <i>o</i>	trinaesta	trinaesta
14 četrnaest	14th četrnaesti	četrnaest <i>o</i>	četrnaesta	četrnaesta
15 petnaest	15th petnaesti	petnaest <i>o</i>	petnaesta	petnaesta
16 šesnaest	16th šesnaesti	šesnaest <i>o</i>	šesnaesta	šesnaesta
17 sedamnaest	17th sedamnaesti	sedamnaest <i>o</i>	sedamnaesta	sedamnaesta
18 osamnaest	18th osamnaesti	osamnaest <i>o</i>	osamnaesta	osamnaesta
19 devetnaest	19th devetnaesti	devetnaest <i>o</i>	devetnaesta	devetnaesta
20 dvadeset	20th dvadeseti	dvadeset <i>o</i>	dvadeseta	dvadeseta

The ordinals of the larger numbers add a somewhat longer suffix, as shown below:

CARDINAL	ORDINAL	masc sg.	neut sg.	fem sg.
100 sto	100th stoti	stoto	stota	
1000 hiljada tisuća	1000th hiljaditi tisući	hiljadito	hiljadita	tisuća
1,000,000 milion milijun	1,000,000th milioniti milijunti	milionito	milionita	
1,000,000,000 milijarda	1,000,000,000th milijardni	milijunto	milijunta	
		milijardno	milijardna	

B,S hiljada / C tisuća; B,S hiljaditi / C tisući, tisućiti; B,S milion / C milijun; B,S milioniti / C milijunti

The ordinals of compound numbers are formed as in English: all segments except the last are cardinal numbers, and only the final one is an actual ordinal. Compound ordinals also have the option to join the final two segments using the conjunction **i**. Examples, in masculine singular:

45th četrdeset peti / četrdeset i peti	101st sto prvi or sto i prvi
313th tristo trinaesti / tristo i trinaesti	356th tristo pedeset šesti / tristo pedeset i šesti
1989th hiljadu devetsto osamdeset deveti / hiljadu devetsto osamdeset i deveti	
2153rd dvije tisuće sto pedeset treći / dvije tisuće sto pedeset i treći	

C tristo / B,S trista, tristo; B,S hiljadu / C tisuću; J dvije / E dve

123c. Collective numbers and numerical nouns

There are two additional ways to count, both of which carry the idea *collective*. In each case there is more emphasis on the idea of the counted group as a unit than there is on the actual sum of whatever is counted. The *numerical noun* refers exclusively to groups composed of male human beings, while the *collective number* usually refers to groups of mixed genders. The stem is derived from the cardinal number in the case of 2, 3, and *both*, and from the ordinal for remaining numbers. The collective number is neuter in gender but rarely takes case endings. Numbers of 4 and above end either in **-ero** (preferred in Croatian) or **-oro** (preferred in Serbian and Bosnian). The numerical noun is declined as a feminine noun in **-a**. Those for numbers through 10 are given below. Forms for larger numbers are made on the same model.

Groups composed entirely of females continue to use the cardinal numbers (**dve** / **dvije**, **tri**, **četiri**, etc.). For discussion and examples of numbers referring to groups, see [124c].

	stem	Collective	Numerical	stem	Collective	Numerical		
2	dv-	dvoje	dvojica	6	šest-	šestero	šestoro	šestorica
<i>both</i>	ob-	oboje	obojica	7	sedm-	sedmero	sedmoro	sedmorka
3	tr-	troje	trójica	8	osm-	osmoro	osmoro	osmorka
4	četv-	četvero	četvorica	9	devet-	devetero	devetoro	devetorka
5	pet-	petero	petorica	10	deset-	desetero	desetoro	desetorka

123d. Fractions and approximative numbers

A *fraction* identifies a precise portion of a whole: the whole is divided into a specific number of parts, and then several of these parts are chosen. In the case of the fraction $\frac{3}{4}$, the number indicating how the unit has been divided up (the *denominator*) is 4, and the number indicating how many of these parts are included into the specified amount (the *numerator*) is 3. Both BCS and English state the numerator with a cardinal number. But whereas English uses the ordinal number for the denominator (as in *three FOURTHS*), BCS uses a distinct word, created by adding the suffix **-ina** to the ordinal number. The form of this feminine noun depends upon the numerator: 1 requires whatever case ending the sentence demands; 2, 3, 4 require the counting form ending **-e**; and larger numbers require the Gpl. The word **posto** is equivalent to English *percent*, and the idea *hundredth* is expressed as **stoti dio** (**stoti deo** in ekavian); the word **postotak** is also used in Croatian. The word for *millionth* given in the chart below does exist, but speakers are much more likely to use the phrases **milijunti dio** (B,C), **milioniti dio** (B), or **milioniti deo** (S).

1/3	[jèdna] trećina	3/4	tri četvrtine
3/8	tri osmine	5/8	pet osmina
11/12	jedanaest dyvanaestina	7/100	sedam stotinja
15/1000	petnaest tisućina	17/1000	sedamnaest hiljadina
1/1,000,000	jedna milijuntina	4/1,000,000	četiri miljutine

B,S hiljadina / C tisućinka, tisućina

As in the case of English *half* and *quarter*, the presence of 2 or 4 in the denominator usually requires a different word. The BCS word for *quarter*, used in many of the same meanings as its English equivalent, is **četvrt** (Gsg. **četvrti**). In addition, Croatian uses **četvrt** and **tri četvrt** to mark quarter hours in telling time. The BCS words for *half* are **polovina** / **polovica**, which are often shortened to **pola** (or **po** / **pol**) when a noun follows. When telling time, **pola** plus the hour number indicates the half hour before that number (review [61c]).

quarter	Dòći će u osam i četvrt. Izašli su iz kuće u četvrt do pet. On požnaje jednu četvrtinu stanovništa, ali u ovoj četvrti nikoga ne poznaje. Molim vas, dajte mi tri četvrt kile mljevenog mesa.	He'll come at 8:15 / quarter past eight. They left the house at 4:45 / quarter to five. He knows one fourth of the [city's] inhabitants, but he doesn't know anyone in this quarter. [May I have] three-quarters of a kilo of ground meat, please.
half	Izašli su iz kuće u pola pet. Dòći ćemo po vas u pet i trideset. Trebat ćeš kilu i pol šećera. Nema ni pola metra te tkanine.	They left the house at 4:30. We'll come for you at 5:30. You'll need a kilo and a half of sugar. There's not even half a meter of that fabric.

C osam i četvrt / B,S osam i petnaest; B,C četvrt do pet / B,S petnaest do pet / C tri četvrt pet; B,C u ovoj četvrti / S,B u ovom kraju; B,C tri četvrti kile / S tri četvrtine kila (kile); J mljeven / E mleven; S,C po vas / B po vas; C pol / B,S po; B,C trebat ćeš / B,C trebat će ti / S trebaće ti

Approximative numbers indicate that a number has been rounded off. English expresses this idea using phrases such as *fifteen or so* or *about twenty*. If the idea of approximation is clear from the context, English can also use a simple cardinal number. In BCS a suffix is used to express the idea of approximation. This suffix, **-ak**, is usually added to the cardinal number; it contains a long vowel, and causes a long rising accent on the syllable preceding it. In general, such forms are usually made only from the decades, though they are also encountered in the teens. The word meaning *a hundred or so* has an extended stem. However, to express the idea *two or three*, BCS often states the two cardinal numbers in a single breath, and writes them connected by a hyphen. English could translate this with *a few*, *a couple of*, or the like.

Cardinal		Approximative	Cardinal		Approximative
deset	10	desétek	pètnaest	15	petnaëstak
dvádeset	20	dvadesétek	pedeset	50	pedesétek
četrdeset	40	četrdesétek	sto	100	stotinjak

J dvije / E dve

Pòznaje dva-trí takva.
Došle su samo dvije-tri.

*He knows a couple like that / a few such.
Only a few [women] came.*

124 Usage of numbers

As in English, cardinal numbers are used in counting and in specifying amounts. In BCS, however, there are specific rules regulating the forms of nouns and verbs that accompany cardinal numbers. Again as in English, ordinal numbers are used to express the place of something in a series. In BCS, however, they have an addition (very important) use – that of naming dates. There is also a separate set of numbers for referring specifically to groups of humans.

124a. Agreement with cardinal numbers

The number *1* is an adjective, agreeing in case and gender with the noun following it. The words for *2* and *both* have different forms depending on the gender of the following noun. The noun itself, however, as well as nouns following *3* and *4*, is in the *counting form* (review [46a]); all modifiers must also take this form. In masculine-neuter nouns the counting form ends in **-a**, and in feminine nouns it is like the Gsg. but without length. Adjectives in the counting form may be either long or short, however. One must take care to note that the above agreement rules are in force for ALL compound numbers whose final segments are *1*, *2*, *3* or *4* (the numbers *11*, *12*, *13* and *14* are not included, as they are considered single segments). All other numbers are followed by the Gpl. In the chart below the abbreviation CF refers to the counting form.

agreement	Feminine	Masculine / Neuter
1 = adj.	1 jéđna lijépa djévojka 31 trídeset jedna lijépa djévojka 1001 híljadu i jéđna noć	jéđan vélík grád trídeset jéđan vélík grád tisuéu i jéđan crn konj
2 + CF	2 dvije lijépe djévojke 52 pedeset i dvije lijépe djévojke 322 trista dvádeset dvije lijépe djévojke	dva crna konja pedeset dva crna konja trista dvádeset dva crna konja

3 + CF	3 tri <u>ružne</u> stv <u>ari</u>	tri v <u>elika</u> i snažna konja
	93 devedeset tri <u>ružne</u> stv <u>ari</u>	devedeset i tri v <u>elika</u> i snažna konja
4 + CF	4 četiri debele knjige	četiri zanimljiva grada
	524 petsto dvadeset četiri debele knjige	petsto dvadeset četiri v <u>elika</u> grada
5 etc. + Gpl	5 pet debelih knjiga	pet velikih gradova
	11 jedanaest lijepih djevojaka	jedanaest hrabrih muževa
	13 trinaest belih zmija	trinaest crnih konja
	20 dvadeset ružnih stvari	dvadeset pametnih pitanja
	197 sto devedeset i sedam dugih noći	sto devedeset i sedam malih sela

J lijepa / E lepa; J djevojka / E devojka; B,S hiljadu / C tisuću; J dvije / E dve; E belih / J bijelih

When a counted unit is the subject of the sentence, the final segment continues to determine the form of the verb. If this segment is (the adjective form) 1, the verb is singular, and the past tense L-participle agrees with the adjective + noun phrase in gender. If the segment is 2, 3, or 4, the verb is plural, and the past tense L-participle has the ending of the appropriate counting form. If the segment is 5 or higher, the verb is 3sg., and the past tense L-participle is neuter.

final segment

1	Zvala te je jedna djevojka. Jedan čovek je došao da te vidi. Dvadeset jedna djevojka čeka da te vidi. Dvadeset jedna djevojka je čekala da te vidi. Petsto četrdeset jedan čovjek sjedi u parku. Petsto četrdeset jedan čovjek je sjedio tamo.	A / One girl called you. A / One man came to see you. 21 girls are waiting to see you. 21 girls were waiting to see you. 541 men are sitting in the park. 541 men were sitting there.
2	Dva jaka momka mi pomazu. Dva jaka momka su mi pomagala. Četrdeset dva jaka momka rade u tvornici. Četrdeset dva jaka momka su radila tamo.	Two strong fellows are helping me. Two strong fellows were helping me. 42 strong fellows are working in the factory. 42 strong fellows were working there.
3	Tri plave ptice pjevaju u sobi. Tri plave ptice su pjevale u sobi. Sva trista trideset i tri crna konja su trčala niz polje.	3 blue birds are singing in the room. 3 blue birds were singing in the room. All 333 black horses were running down the field.
4	Sva ta devedeset četiri grada su na spisku. Sva ta devedeset četiri grada su bila na spisku.	All 94 of those cities are on the list. All 94 of those cities were on the list.
5	Pet umornih žena izlazi iz kuće. Pet umornih žena je izašlo iz kuće.	5 tired women are leaving the house. 5 tired women left the house.
7	Tih devedeset sedam crnih konja trči niz polje. Tih devedeset sedam crnih konja je trčalo niz polje.	Those 97 black horses are running down the field. Those 97 black horses were running down the field.

J djevojka / E devojka; E čovek / J čovjek; J sjedi / E sedi; J sjedio / E sedeо; B,C u tvornici / S,B u fabrici;
J pjevale / E pevale; S,C u sobi / B u sobi; S,B na spisku / C na popisu

When counted units appear in non-subject position, those ending in *I* behave as any “adjective + noun” unit. Other numbers generally do not change form, although it is possible for 2, 3, 4 to do so. After prepositions numbers other than *I* never change form.

numbers after prepositions

Našla sam se sa šest žena.	<i>I met up with six women.</i>
Svih sedam učesnika ga je potpisalo.	<i>All seven participants signed it.</i>
To je reklo hiljadu vojnika.	<i>A thousand soldiers said it.</i>
Čuje se sa stotinu prijatelja.	<i>He's in touch with a hundred friends.</i>
“Tisuću hrvatskih kuna” [novčanica]	<i>“One thousand Croatian kuna” [on money]</i>

B,S sedam učesnika / C sedam sudionika; B,S hiljadu / C tisuću

The same is true of other forms that specify amounts, namely the adverbs of measure seen in [59a]: the nouns following them do not change form after a preposition. The following pair demonstrates the difference between a normal prepositional phrase (where a noun object takes the required case) and a prepositional phrase whose object is “measured” by an adverb.

preposition + noun	Daj mi čašu vode sa ledom.	<i>Give me a glass of water with ice.</i>
preposition + adverb	Daj mi čašu vode sa puno leda.	<i>Give me a glass of water with lots of ice.</i>

124b. Ordinal numbers, and their use in dates

BCS ordinal numbers are used as in English, in phrases like *THIRD grade*, *SEVENTH floor*, *21ST century*, and the like. But their most frequent use is in naming dates. In English this usage is optional: one can say either *June 6* or *June 6th*. In BCS, however it is obligatory: dates are expressed ONLY with the ordinal numbers. In addition, one states the year as an ordinal number, which is very different from English. When a date within a month is named, the ordinal number is masculine singular; the case is usually genitive but can also be nominative. To locate an event on a particular date, however, the genitive case must be used. The name of the month always follows the ordinal number (if it is clear from the context, it may be omitted). In writing, the simple numeral can be used; it is followed by a period to indicate that it is an ordinal number. In Bosnian and Serbian the written form of the case ending can sometimes be added, but not in Croatian.

When such a date includes the year, the final segment of the ordinal number is Gsg. feminine. If only the year is given, it can either be Gsg. without a preposition, or Lsg. after the preposition **u**. The ordinal number can be followed by the noun **godina**, or by nothing. If the century is known, a shortened form (similar to English *the 60s*) can be used.

months	Данас је први август (1. август). Рођендан ми је трећег јануара. Рођендан ми је трећи јануара. Видећеш ме тридесетог децембра. А њу ћеш видети 31. децембра. – Зар се то није десило 6-ог маја? – Не, било је то седмог.	<i>Today is August 1.</i> <i>My birthday is January 3rd.</i> [same] <i>You'll see me on December 30.</i> <i>And you'll see her December 31st.</i> <i>“Didn't that happen on May 6th?”</i> <i>“No, it was on the 7th.”</i>
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B,S avgust / C kolovoz; B,S trećeg januara (treći januar) / C trećeg siječnja (treći siječanj); S videćeš / B vidjećeš / C,B vidjet ćeš; B,S decembra / C prosinca; E videti / J vidjeti; S,B desilo se / B,C,S dogodilo se; B,S 6-og maja / C 6. svibnja

years	To se dogodilo 1. veljače tisuću petsto trideset pete godine. Rđio se hiljadu devetsto dvanaeste.	<i>That happened on February 1, 1535.</i> <i>He was born in 1912.</i>
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Što se dogodilo u tisuću devetsto
šezdeset trećoj godini?
Knjiga je štampana hiljadu osamsto
sedamdeset devete.
Gdje si bila prvih dana dvije tisućite
godine?

B,C,S dogodilo se / B,S desilo se; C 1. veljače / B,S 1. februara; C tisuću / B,S hiljadu; C što / B,S šta; B,S štampa-na / C tiskana; J gdje / E gde; J dvije / E dve; C tisućite / B,S hiljadite

What happened in 1963?

The book was printed in 1879.

*Where were you at the beginning
[= the first days] of 2000?*

years, short

Nisam bila tu od 79-e.
Pedesete godine su bile mirnije od
sezdesetih.
Ništa od toga nisam video. Ja sam
dijete sedamdesetih godina. Rođen
sedamdeset treće, ustvari.

*I haven't been here since '79.
The fifties were more peaceful than
the sixties.*

*I didn't see any of that. I'm a child of
the seventies. Born in '73, in fact.*

J video / E video; J dijete / E dete

As seen in several of the examples above, Croatian uses the old Slavic names for the months, while Bosnian and Serbian use Latin-based names (review [67d]). One also sees the month frequently identified by a Roman numeral. According to this usage, common in many Western countries as well, one writes the date *July 4, 1776* as **4.VII.1776**. BCS carries this into speech as well: the examples below illustrate a very popular way of identifying dates. This means of expression allows speakers to specify a date unambiguously without having to use either markedly Croatian or markedly Serbian month names, which no doubt contributes to its popularity.

4.VII.1776	četvrtog sedmog hiljadu sedamsto sedamdeset šeste
17.XII.1991	sedamnaestog dvanaestog hiljadu devetsto devedeset prve
1.I.2002	prvog prvog dve hiljade druge
6.XI	šestog jedanaestog

B,S hiljadu / C tisuću

In sum, the fullest form of the number naming a date includes three ordinal numbers in the genitive case, the first two masculine and the third feminine. One can remember this sequence by thinking of the nouns which name each of the time periods in question. The following schema, for instance, illustrates the date July 4, 2005 (the *fourth DAY of the seventh MONTH of the two thousand fifth YEAR*):

name [gender]	dan [masculine]	mjesec [masculine]	godina [feminine]
Genitive form:	četvrt-og	sedm-og	dve hiljade pet-e

J mjesec / E mesec; E dve / J dvije; B,S hiljade / C tisuće

124c. Numbers referring to groups

Collective numbers and numerical nouns are used when referring to relatively small groups of humans. If all members of the group are males, the numerical noun is used. This noun takes the case forms of a feminine singular noun in **-a**, as do any adjectives agreeing with it (including the L-participle of the past tense) – but it takes a PLURAL verb. If the members of the group are of mixed genders, the collective number is used. The verb can be either singular (agreeing with the neuter singular form of the collective) or plural (agreeing with the plural idea of the group). If the members of the group are all female, the feminine cardinal number is used.

The noun or pronoun identifying the components of the group is always Gpl. (as in English *the six OF US, the four OF THEM*). If this form is a pronoun it precedes the number form. The noun **deca / djeca** can only be counted by using the collective number (followed by the genitive).

“Group” numbers

males	<i>Idemo nas trojica.</i> Sva četvorica su došla na vrijeme. Uskoro im pridoše dvojica mladića.	<i>The three of us are on our way.</i> <i>All four of them came on time.</i> <i>Soon a pair of youths came to join them.</i>
females	<i>Odmah zatim pridoše dvije djevojke.</i> Sad možemo sve tri otići na kavu. Tada ćemo se susretati <u>nas tri</u> .	<i>Right after that came a pair of girls.</i> <i>Now all three of us can go for coffee.</i> <i>The three of us will meet [often] then.</i>
mixed	<i>Nećemo valjda biti samo nas dvoje.</i> Uskoro će ih biti troje. <u>Ima jedanaestoro dece.</u> Život u dvoje je jeftiniji. Šta kažeće, vas dvoje? Njih dvoje sad žive u Valenciji. Šestero mladih ljudi polako uđoše. Šestero se mladih ljudi tamo skupilo. Četvero njihovih kolega su prasnuli u smijeh.	<i>There probably won't just be us two.</i> <i>Soon they will be three.</i> <i>She has eleven children.</i> <i>Living as a pair is cheaper.</i> <i>What do you say, you two?</i> <i>The two of them live in Valencia now.</i> <i>The six young people went slowly in.</i> <i>The six young people met there.</i> <i>Their four colleagues burst into laughter.</i>

J vrijeme / E vreme; J dvije djevojke / E dve devojke; C kavu / B,S kafu / B kahvu; B,C ćemo se susretati / S,B ćemo da se susrećemo; B,C nećemo biti / S,B nećemo da budemo; E dece / J djece; S,B jedanaestoro / B,C jedanaestero; S,C u dvoje / B u dvoje; B,C šestero / S,B šestoro; B,C četvero / S,B četvoro; J smijeh / E smeh

124d. Distributive expressions

The ideas of distribution and succession are expressed by the preposition **po**, whose object identifies the metric of distribution or succession (review [59c]). In this usage, the case of the noun following **po** is determined by the sentence structure. In most other usages, **po** requires the locative case. Certain such instances are in fact very close to the distributive meaning.

po + N / A	<i>Molim vas, uđite jedan po jedan.</i> <i>Dala je deci po jednu jabuku.</i>	<i>Come in one at at time, please.</i> <i>She gave the children one apple apiece.</i>
po + Loc	<i>Ima otprilike 30 stolica po sobi.</i> <i>Koliki je godišnji dohodak po glavi stanovnika?</i>	<i>There's about 30 chairs per room.</i> <i>What [= how big] is the yearly income per capita?</i>

E deci / J djeци; B,S otprilike / C po prilici

124e. Age

One’s age can be stated either with the verb **imati**, or with the possessive dative (review [73e]); the latter is preferred. The verbs **napuniti** or **navršiti** state that one has reached a particular milestone (usually in years, though other measures are possible). In addition, the word **godište**, which refers to any cohort identified by time frame (such as one’s school class), can be used to identify one’s age. In this usage, it is modified by the ordinal number of one’s year of birth and is (somewhat paradoxically) used in the nominative case.

[dative]	<i>Koliko ti je godina, sine?</i> <i>Bilo mu je tada dvadeset godina.</i>	<i>How old are you, son?</i> <i>He was 20 years old at the time.</i>
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imati	Koliko imate godina? Marko ima pedeset dvije godine, a žena mu ima samo dvadeset jednu.	How old are you? Marko is fifty-two years old, and his wife is only twenty-one.
navršiti	Sutra ču navršiti 21 godinu.	I'm going to be 21 tomorrow.
napuniti	Sutra ču napuniti 21 godinu.	[same]
godište	– Koje si godište? – 78. [= sedamdeset osmo] godište. [Ja sam rođena 78. godine.] – Onda smo ti i ja isto godište.	“What year were you born?” “In '78.” [I was born in '78.] “We're the same age, then.”

J dvije / E dve; C navršiti / B,S napuniti

125 Review of time expressions

There are various ways to express the concept of time in BCS. All such expressions, of course, depend upon the real-world point of reference. Within this frame, one then uses varying grammatical means either to locate an event in time (state *when* something happens) or specify duration (state *how long* something goes on). Sometimes the actual unit of time also plays a role in determining the grammar of such expressions. The following reviews these expressions.

125a. Locating an event in time

Events can be located along the timeline either by a phrase with the preposition **u** or by a phrase in the genitive or accusative case without a preposition. Phrases with **u** are required with the names of days and months when no modifier precedes; they are also one means of referring to years. The case following **u** is the accusative if the point in time is a day of the week or an hour on the clock (review [23c] and [61c], respectively), and it is locative if the specified point in time is a month or a year (review [67d] and [124b], respectively).

Phrases without a preposition are very frequent, especially in the genitive. These phrases are used if a modifier precedes a noun denoting a day of the week or a month of the year (review [61b]). A genitive phrase is the only way to name a date, and it is the most frequent way to name a year (review [124b]). Some frequently used expressions can occur in either the accusative or the genitive; in such instances, the genitive is normally used if the time unit is the focal point in the sentence, and the accusative in more neutral circumstances. The most frequent use of the accusative is to identify a point in time with reference to some previous event (which may or may not be specifically mentioned). The instrumental marks the regular occurrence of an event (review [81b]); this usage is largely restricted to days of the week.

u + Acc	Doći će u utorak. Dolazi redovno u osam sati.	<i>They will come on Tuesday.</i> <i>S/he regularly comes at 8:00.</i>
u + Loc	Radimo najviše u decembru. Bilo je to u mojoj prvoj godini ovdje.	<i>We work the most in December.</i> <i>That was during my first year here.</i>
Gen. alone	Videli smo se prošlog petka. Dolaze idućeg meseca / iduće godine. Šta se desilo 1963. g.? To se desilo 22. novembra.	<i>We met last Friday.</i> <i>They're coming next month / next year.</i> <i>What happened in 1963?</i> <i>It happened on November 22nd.</i>
Gen. / Acc.	Svakoga dana u svakom pogledu sve više napredujem. To se dešava redovno svaki drugi dan. Časopis izlazi svaki drugi mesec.	<i>Every day in every way I'm getting better and better.</i> <i>That happens regularly every other day.</i> <i>The journal comes out every two months.</i>

Acc. alone	Javio se nedelju dana nakon sastanka. Videli smo se dve godine poslije.	<i>He called a week after the meeting. We met two years later.</i>
Instr. alone	Nedjeljom popodne idemo na izlet.	<i>Sunday afternoons we go out.</i>

B,S redovno / C redovito; B,S u decembru / C u prosincu; J ovdje / E ovde; E videli / J vidjeli; E meseca / J mjeseca; B,S Šta / C što; S,B desilo se / B,C,S dogodilo se; B,S 22. novembra / C 22. studenoga; B,S dešava se / B,C,S događa se; E mesec / J mjesec; S,B nedelju (nedjelju) / B sedmicu / C tjedan; E dve / J dvije; J poslije / E posle; J nedjeljom / E nedeljom

125b. Identifying duration of time

The length of time something takes is usually specified by a phrase in the accusative case (review [71]). If the time unit is a single one, the Gpl. **dana** (or the Gsg. **vremena**) will follow. The instrumental can mark a very long period of time; this usage is limited to certain nouns used in the plural (review [81b]).

A period of duration may be identified more precisely by the prepositions **na** or **za** plus the accusative. In this usage, **na** refers specifically to the future, and specifies the anticipated duration of an action; it is usually translated by English *for* (review [100]). As to **za**, this usage may give English speakers difficulty, since **za** is almost always translated *for* in other contexts. In this instance, however, **za** corresponds to English *in*. The tense reference (past, present or future) is not important; the focus is on the limits of the specific time period. In another usage of **za**, the phrase **za vreme / vrijeme + Gen.** is frequently shortened to something that looks like **za + Gen.** This meaning is usually translated by English *during*.

Duration of time passed since the occurrence of an event is marked by the preposition **pre / prije** plus the Asg. of the time period, an expression best translated by English *ago*. In colloquial contexts, the prepositions can be omitted.

Acc. alone	Испит је трајао само један сат. Остао је тамо месец / годину дана. Чекали смо вас сат времена.	<i>The exam lasted only an hour. He stayed there for a month / a year. We waited an hour for you.</i>
Instr. alone	Где си била? Чекали су те сатима!	<i>Where were you? They waited for [= were expecting] you for hours!</i>
na + Acc.	Идемо само на недељу дана. Она иде у Париз на месец дана.	<i>We're going only for a week. She's going to Paris for a month.</i>
za + Acc.	Не могу то да завршим за један дан. Венчаћемо се за десетак дана. То се ради само за време ручка.	<i>I can't finish that in a [single] day. We're getting married in ten days or so [= ten days from now]. That's done only at lunchtime [= during the period of lunch]</i>
[= za + Gen.]	Најбоље је то радити за дана. Ретко је да неко то види за живота.	<i>It's best to do it during the day. You rarely see that in a lifetime. [= It's rare that someone see that during his/her life.]</i>
pre / prije + Acc.	Видео сам га пре пар дана. Каже да је послала писмо пре недељу дана. Све се то догодило пре десет година.	<i>I saw him just a couple of days ago. She says she sent the letter a week ago. All that happened ten years ago.</i>

E mesec / J mjesec; B,S putovaću / B,C putovat će; E nedelju / J nedjelju; B,S nedelju (nedjelju) / B sedmicu / C tjedan; J gdje / E gde; B,C mogu to završiti / S,B mogu to da završim; E venčati / J vjenčati; C,B vjenčat ćemo se / S,B venčaćemo se (vjenčaćemo se); E vreme / J vrijeme; E retko / J rijetko; B,S neko / C netko; E video / J video; B,C,S dogodilo se / S desilo se; E pre / J prije

125c. Times of the day

The hour of the clock is expressed by **u** followed by the relevant number (review [61c, 125a]). Portions of the 24-period comprising *day* and *night* are named as follows:

DAN day				NOĆ night		
jutro	prepodne prije podne	podne	poslepodne / popodne poslijepodne / popodne	veče	večer	ponoć
morning	forenoon	noon	afternoon	evening		midnight

Events are located at these times of day by phrase: some are prepositional phrases while some have become adverbs. The noun **podne** illustrates the transition. If it takes case endings, it adds the syllable **-ev** before all endings other than NAsg. It also occurs without case endings, but still appearing to function as the object of a preposition. The endpoint of the process is reached when the adverbial phrases are transformed into nouns which themselves take the case forms with **-ev**.

noun: NAsg **podne**, Gsg **podneva**

Zovi me do podneva.
Call me before noon.

noun: NAsg **podne**, Gsg **podne**

Zovi me do podne.
Zvao me je tog dana pre podne.
Treba da razgovaramo posle podne.
Ručamo tačno u podne.
Call me in the morning.
He called me that morning.
We have to talk [this] afternoon.
We eat promptly at noon.

preposition **po** + **podne** > adverb

Imam predavanja samo popodne.
I have lectures only in the afternoon.

noun: NA sg **popodne**, Gsg. **popodneva**

Zvao me je već tog poslijepodneva.
Trebamo razgovarati prije popodneva.
He called me that afternoon already.
We have to talk before afternoon.

E prepodne / J prijepodne; S,B treba da razgovaramo / C,B trebamo razgovarati; S,B tačno / C točno; E posle podne / J poslije podne; J poslijepodneva / E poslepodneva; J prije / E pre

Below are words referring to the time of day. The first chart gives the name of each time period (in the top row) and the adverbial or prepositional phrase used to locate an event at that time (in the bottom row): the corresponding words for *day* and *night* are given above the chart. The second chart gives adjectives referring to the times of day. They do not have short forms.

DAN: preko dana				NOĆ: preko noći			
name	jutro	prepodne	podne	poslepodne	popodne	veče	ponoć
“when”	izjutra	pre podne	u podne	posle podne	po podne	uveče	u ponoć
	ujutro	prije podne		poslije podne		navečer	
time	adjective	time	adjective	time	adjective	time	adjective
dan	dnevni	prepodne	prepodnevni	noć	noćni	večer	večernji
podne	podnevni	poslepodne	poslepodnevni	ponoć	ponoćni	jutro	jutarnji

E prepodne / J prijepodne; E prepodnevni / J prijepodnevni; E poslepodne / J poslijepodne; E poslepodnevni / J poslijepodnevni; C,B večer / B,S veče

126 Adverbs and adjectives of time and place

Speakers frequently locate events in time and space by means of adverbs. The relationships between them are quite systematic, which is helpful to the learner building vocabulary. Not surprisingly, many of these systems reckon time relationships from a particular focal point – *NOW* in the case of time, and *HERE* in the case of space. When the measurement is reckoned in days, the focal point (as in English *today*) is the day of the time of speaking, noted *NOW* in the first chart below. To locate an event at one of these general times, one uses either adverbs or prepositional phrases (review [125c]).

To specify the time of an event with respect to *NOW*, special adverbs are used, illustrated in the second chart below. These all contain a suffix consisting of -s preceded by a vowel. When added to the word **noć** “night”, this suffix can refer either to the coming night or the night just concluded, depending on the context. Similarly, when added to the words for the seasons of the year, it can refer to the year on either side of the moment of speech. Thus, these words are ambiguous in the same way as English, where *THIS autumn* can mean either this [coming] autumn or this [last] autumn. The word **sinoć** is formed with a related suffix, but is invariable in its meaning, referring only to the preceding night. The forms referring to times of day can be situated before and after *NOW* by adding the words for those days. Contrary to English, however, which simply replaces the demonstrative *this* with the time adverb (as in *THIS morning* vs. *TOMORROW morning*), BCS must repeat the entire phrase.

time related to now

2 before	1 before	NOW	1 after	2 after
prekjučer <i>day before yesterday</i>	jučer <i>yesterday</i>	danas <i>today</i>	sutra <i>tomorrow</i>	prekosutra <i>day after tomorrow</i>

“this” period of time

jutros <i>this morning</i>	danas <i>today</i>	večeras <i>this evening</i>	sinoć <i>yesterday evening, last night</i>
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“this” = either coming or preceding

proletos / proljetos <i>this spring</i>	letos / ljetos <i>this summer</i>	jesenás <i>this autumn</i>	zimus <i>this winter</i>	noćas <i>tonight / last night</i>
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AT a time related to now

	today [“this...”]	tomorrow	yesterday
morning	jutros	sutra ujutro	jučer ujutro
late morning	danas pre pòdne	sutra prije pòdne	jučer prije pòdne
noon	danas u podne	sutra u pòdne	jučer u pòdne
afternoon	danas po pòdne	sutra po pòdne	jučer po pòdne
evening	večeras	sutra navečer	jučer navečer
night	noćas	sutra preko noći	sinoć

C,B prekjučer / S prekjuče; C,B jučer / S juče; E proletos / J proljetos; E letos / J ljetos; J prije / E pre; B,C,S ujutro / S,B izjutra; B,C navečer / S,B uveče

The most uniform system, however, is that which incorporates not only adverbs of place and time but also question words. In this set, the marker for *NOW* is the consonant s- (seen earlier in time-related suffixes), and the marker for *HERE* is the syllable **ov-** (known from the demonstrative **ovaj**). The marker for both *THEN* and *THERE* is the syllable **on-** (known from the demonstra-

tive **onaj**), and the marker for questions is the consonant **k-**. The chart below summarizes the relationships. For the variable meanings of **gdje / gde**, **kamo** and **kuda**, see [55c, 84b]. The words **dovde**, **donde**, and **donle** are somewhat archaic, and are often replaced by prepositional phrases such as **do ovde** and the like.

Given that the relationship **ovaj – taj – onaj** also spans the gamut from *near* to *far* (review [11b]), one might expect the consonant **t-** to play a greater role in this system. Instead, the few existing adverbs formed on this model with **t-** have less predictable meanings.

Adverbs of time and place

	HERE		THERE		WHERE?
sada	<i>now</i>	onda	<i>then</i>	kada	<i>when</i>
ovde	<i>here</i>	onde	[over] <i>there</i>	gde	<i>where</i>
odavde	<i>from here</i>	odande	<i>from there</i>	odakle	<i>from where</i>
ovamo	<i>this direction</i>	onamo	<i>that direction</i>	kamo	<i>where</i>
ovuda	<i>this way</i>	onuda	<i>that way</i>	kuda	<i>where, which way</i>
dovde	<i>to here</i>	donde, donle	<i>to there</i>	dokle	<i>how far</i>

tada	<i>then</i> [= at that time]	vs.	onda	<i>then</i> [= next]
tamo	<i>there</i> [i.e. location]	vs.	onamo	<i>there</i> [i.e. in that direction]
tuda	<i>that way</i>	=	onuda	<i>that way</i>

E ovde / J ovdje; E onde / J onde; E gde / J gdje

Adjectives can be made from most of the above adverbs; in all instances but one the suffix is **-šnji**. A few have variant forms in **-nji**, such as **sadanji**. None have short forms.

adverb	adjective	adverb	adjective	adverb	adjective
danas	današnji	sada	sadašnji	proletos	prolešnji
večeras	večerašnji	tada	tadašnji	letos	letošnji
noćas	noćašnji	tamo	tamošnji	jesenjas	jesenašnji
jučer	jučerašnji	ovde	ovdašnji	zimus	zimušnji
sutra	sutrašnji	onda	ondašnji		
BUT:	sinoć	sinoćnji			

E letos / J ljetos; E letošnji / J ljetošnji; E proletos / J proljetos; E prolešnji / J proljetošnji; E ovde / J ovdje

127 Verbs meaning “should, ought”

Two verbs express the general idea contained in English *should* and *ought*. One is the verb **trebati**, already encountered in the meaning *need* (review [119]) and the other is the verb **valjati**. Both follow special rules in the meaning *should* / *ought*. The verb **trebati** means *need* both in the sense of having need of something and needing to do something. In the second of these, of course, it must be accompanied by the infinitive of the verb specifying what one needs to do. Similarly, when it means *should* / *ought*, it must also be accompanied by the infinitive of the verb in question. In both these meanings, the verb **trebati** follows two different types of grammatical rules (review [119]). According to type (1), it is a 3rd person subjectless verb while according to type (2), it is an active verb with a subject who *needs* or *ought* to do something. In general, type (1) is the norm in Serbian and type (2) in Croatian; Bosnian uses both.

trebati *need*

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| (1) | Treb <u>a</u> da bud <u>em</u> na p <small>o</small> slu sutra u 7. | <i>I have to be at work at 7:00 tomorrow.</i> |
| (2) | Treb <u>am</u> biti na p <small>o</small> slu sutra u 7. | [same] |

trebati *ought*

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| (1) | Čas je trebalo da se održ <u>i</u> u pet. | <i>The class was supposed to be at 5 p.m.</i> |
| (2) | S <u>at</u> se trebao održati u pet. | [same] |

Although type (2) sentences are generally the norm in Croatian, they are more frequently used in the meaning *need* than in the meaning *should / ought*. Even in Croatian, therefore, one is likely to encounter type (1) sentences (that is, subjectless sentences) in the latter meaning. In this type of sentence, the verb is 3rd singular, and the L-participle of the past tense is neuter singular. The verb which follows can be an infinitive, a sequence of **da** + present tense, or it can be left unstated. If a logical subject is present, it is expressed in the nominative or in the verbal form of the **da** + present version of the infinitive – but the form of **trebati** does not change. Only type (1) is used in this meaning in Serbian, and it is also preferred in Bosnian.

Type (1)

without subject	<p>Томе се н<small>е</small> треба чудити. Пси треба да се често воде у штетњу.</p> <p>Нико не поступа како треба.</p> <p>Требало је вишег учити. Требало је нешто да се каже. Ту је требало упорности.</p>	<p><i>You / one shouldn't be surprised by that. Dogs should be walked often.</i> [= One ought to walk dogs often.] <i>Nobody acts the way they're supposed to.</i> <i>You/one ought to have studied more. Something had to be said. Persistence was required here.</i></p>
logical subject	<p>Ти треба да чекаш овде. Треба да радимо више. Студенти треба да уче 4 сата дневно. Није требало да он сазна. Требало је да одем. Требало је да нам каже раније.</p>	<p><i>You should wait here. We ought to work more. Students should study four hours a day. He wasn't supposed to have found out. I had to leave. He ought to have told us sooner.</i></p>

B,S niko / C nitko; E ovde / J ovdje

Of course, **trebati** can also follow type (2) rules and take personal endings in this meaning, at least in Croatian and Bosnian. This occurs more frequently in the past tense than in the present.

Type (2)	<p>N<small>и</small>si требала доћи, биће ти тешко.</p> <p>Trebao nam je ranije казати.</p>	<p><i>You shouldn't have come, [it] will be hard on you. He ought to have told us sooner.</i></p>
----------	---	---

C,B nisi trebala doći / S,B nije trebalo da dođeš; C,B bit će / S,B biće; C,B trebao je kazati / S,B trebalo je da kaže

The conjugated verb **valjati** means “to be worth [something]”. But when it is used as a 3sg. subjectless verb, its meaning is equivalent to that of **treba** as seen above.

valja	<p>Не valja tako говорити. Valja da dođeš. Porodičне обичаје valja поштovati! Valja nama preko rijeke.</p> <p>(iz pjesme Maka Dizdara)</p>	<p><i>You/one shouldn't talk that way. You'd better come. One should honor family rules! We need [to cross] the river.</i> (from a poem by Mak Dizdar)</p>
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valjalo je	Nije valjalo tako govoriti. Valjalo je nekoga pitati. Valjalo joj je nešto reći.	<i>One ought not to have talked that way. We / one should have asked someone. Someone should have said something to her.</i>
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B,S porodični / C obiteljski; J rijeka / E reka; J pjesma / E pesma

128 *Koji* as interrogative and relative

The pronominal adjective **koji** means *which*; as an adjective, it must agree with the noun it refers to. As a question word, or *interrogative*, it requests identification of one or more units of a known set (review [36a]). Sometimes this interrogative meaning must be translated by English *what*. Speakers also sometimes use **koji** in the indefinite meaning best translated as *some* or *any*.

KOJI as interrogative

which	Koja je tvoja prijateljica? Koji studenti vole da uče nohy? O kojim studentima govorиш?	Which [one] is your friend? Which students like to study at night? Which students are you talking about?
what	Koji je njegov broj telefona? Koja je tvoja adresa?	What's his phone number? What is your address?

KOJI as indefinite

some, any	Biće to sjajno ako ste kojim slučaem u pravu.	If by some chance you are [= happen to be] right, that will be great.
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S,B vole da uče / B,C vole učiti; S, B biće / C,B bit će

The other major meaning of **koji** is as a *relative conjunction*. When used in this meaning, it corresponds to English *who*, *which* or *that*, and occurs only in sentences of more than one clause. The clause in which **koji** occurs is called a *relative clause*, and the function of **koji** in this clause is to stand for a particular word in the sentence's main clause. It is this relationship – between **koji** in its own clause and the word it stands for in the other clause – which binds the entire sentence together. According to the rules of relative clauses, the relative conjunction must take on the number and gender of the word it refers to. Thus, in the first set of examples below, **koji** has Nsg.fem. endings because in each case it stands for the fem.sg. noun **knjiga**. In the second set, it has Npl.masc. endings, because in each case it refers to the masc.pl. noun **studenti**.

Such sentences contain two clauses. The one with **koji** cannot stand on its own: it must be connected to the clause containing the word to which **koji** refers (called its *antecedent*). The clause containing the antecedent, however, is a self-contained statement, which could function as a simple sentence on its own. The grammatical bond between the two clauses is the requirement that **koji** take on the gender and number of its antecedent. The critical point is that **koji** does NOT take the case of its antecedent. Rather, each takes the case required by its own clause. In each sentence below, for instance, the nouns **knjiga** and **studenti** are in different cases; but the relative conjunction **koji** is in the nominative each time, since it is always the subject of its own clause. It is important to study these examples carefully and grasp these facts about their structure.

English translations of **koji** in this meaning vary. A literal translation must render it by *who* if it refers to a human and *which* otherwise (English also allows *that* in either of these meanings). Frequently, however, English can omit it altogether: many of the examples below sound better without the words which are placed in brackets. BCS can NEVER omit **koji**, though.

KOJI as relative

fem. sg.	Čija je knjiga koja tamo leži? Kupuješ li knjigu koja tamo leži?	Whose is the book [which is] lying there? Are you buying the book [which is] lying over there?
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	Pročitala sam <u>to</u> u knjizi koja tamo leži. Šta si uradila sa knjigom koja je tamo ležala?	<i>I read it in the book [which is] lying there. What did you do with the book which was lying over there?</i>
masc.pl.	Studenti koji tamo stoje su njeni priatelji. Poznaješ li studente koji tamo stoje?	<i>The students [who are] standing over there are her friends. Do you know the students [who are] standing over there?</i>
	Koliko ima studenata koji uče francuski?	<i>How many students are there [who are currently] studying French?</i>
	Molim vas, recite studentima koji tamo uče da je vrijeme da uđu.	<i>Please tell the students [who are] studying over there that it's time to go in.</i>

B,S šta / C što; B,S sa knjigom / C,B s knjigom; B,C, S njeni / C,B njezini; J vrijeme / E vreme

129 Verbal adverbs, introduction

Verbal adverbs are non-conjugated forms which identify an action related to that of the sentence's main verb. In English, for instance, one may say *WALKING down the street, he considered his options*, and *HAVING CONSIDERED his options, he decided to act*. The emphasized forms in these sentences would be rendered by *verbal adverbs* in BCS. The present verbal adverb denotes an action which is simultaneous in time with the main verb of the sentence, and the past verbal adverb denotes an action which was completed before that referred to by the main verb in the sentence. The present verbal adverb is formed by adding **-ći** to the 3rd plural present, and the past verbal adverb is formed by adding **-vši** to the masculine singular L-participle form minus the ending **-o**. Several examples are given below; a few of these have become adjectives, with slightly differing meanings. For more examples and more detailed discussion, see [138].

VERBAL ADVERB

present	infinitive	3rd pl. pres.	vbl. adverb
	čitati	čitaju	čitajući
	množiti	množe	množeci
	smijati se	smiju se	smijući se
	[biti]	budu	budući

past	infinitive	L-part masc.sg.	vbl. adverb
	ući	ušao	ušavši
	reći	rekao	rekavši
	[biti]	bio	bivši

present	Množeci <u>to</u> sa 10, dobijamo 1500. – Slažem se, rekla je smijući se.	<i>Multiplying that by 10, we get 1500. “I agree,” she said with a laugh [= laughing].</i>
past	izašavši iz kuće, pošli su ulicom. Ušavši u dućan, odlučili su kupiti cvijeće.	<i>Having left the house, they set off down the street. Having entered the shop, they decided to buy [some] flowers.</i>

B,S dobijamo / C dobivamo; J smijući se / E smejeći se; C,B u dućan, u prodavaonicu / S,B u prodavnici; B,C odlučili su kupiti / S,B odlučili su da kupe; J cvijeće / E cveće

130 “Exact” future, introduction

The compound future tense is composed of the auxiliary **hteti** / **htjeti** and the infinitive (review [95]). It is formed from verbs of both aspects. BCS has a second future tense which in principle can also be formed from verbs of both aspects but in practice is used almost exclusively with imperfective verbs. It is called either the *exact future* or the *second future* (**futur II**). It is composed of the auxiliary **budem**, **budeš**, etc. (review [52c]) and the L-participle (review [69, 104a]). It is used only in subordinate clauses after conjunctions suggesting future completion of some sort. For more discussion and examples of usage, see [144a].

EXACT FUTURE

inf		Singular			Plural		
		masc	neut	fem	masc	neut	fem
ići	1	bud <u>em</u> išao		bud <u>em</u> išla	bud <u>emo</u> išli		bud <u>emo</u> išle
	2	budeš išao		budeš išla	bude <u>te</u> išli		bude <u>te</u> išle
	3	bude <u>e</u> išao	bude <u>e</u> išlo	bude <u>e</u> išla	bud <u>u</u> išli	bud <u>u</u> išla	bud <u>u</u> išle
čuti	1	bud <u>em</u> čuo		bud <u>em</u> čula	bud <u>emo</u> čuli		bud <u>emo</u> čule
	2	budeš čuo		budeš čula	bude <u>te</u> čuli		bude <u>te</u> čule
	3	bude <u>e</u> čuo	bude <u>e</u> čulo	bude <u>e</u> čula	bud <u>u</u> čuli	bud <u>u</u> čula	bud <u>u</u> čule

Kad budeš slavila rođendan, sjetit ćeš se
mene i bit će ti žao što nisi pošla
sa mnom.

*When you celebrate your birthday, you'll
think of me, and you'll be sorry you
didn't go with me.*

J sjetiti se / E setiti se; C,B sjetit ćeš se / S,B setićeš se (sjetićeš se); C,B bit će / S,B biće

CHAPTER 13

131 The conditional mood, introduction

The BCS *conditional mood* is a compound verb form. It is composed of the L-participle and an auxiliary derived from the aorist tense of **biti** (review [122a]). As in other compound tenses, the conditional auxiliary has three forms: full, negated, and clitic. What is different about this auxiliary is that (except for the presence of **ne** in the negated form) all three forms look exactly alike on the printed page. They are differentiated by their accent and by the grammatical rules concerning word order. Namely, the clitic forms are unaccented and obey the word order rules applying to clitics, while the full forms are separately accented words and can occur at any point in the sentence (for more on word order in conditional sentences, see [137]).

FULL		NEGATED		CLITIC	
bih	bismo	nè bih	nè bismo	bih	bismo
bi	biste	nè bi	nè biste	bi	biste
bi	bi	nè bi	nè bi	bi	bi

In spoken Bosnian and Serbian, it is also common to simplify the forms **bih**, **bismo**, **biste**, and to pronounce all six persons of the auxiliary simply as **bi**. The distinctions must be maintained in writing, however. Croatian is also more likely to keep the forms distinct in speech as well, shortening them only in faster, very colloquial speech. The sample paradigms below give the auxiliaries in their fully distinguished form. The L-participle must agree with the verb's subject.

CONDITIONAL

infinitive		Singular			Plural		
		masculine	neuter	feminine	masculine	neuter	feminine
ići	1	išao bih		išla bih	išli bismo		išle bismo
	2	išao bi		išla bi	išli biste		išle biste
	3	išao bi	išlo bi	išla bi	išli bi	išla bi	išle bi
staviti	1	stavio bih		stavila bih	stavili bismo		stavile bismo
	2	stavio bi		stavila bi	stavili biste		stavile biste
	3	stavio bi	stavilo bi	stavila bi	stavili bi	stavila bi	stavile bi

The forms of the conditional mood as given above are used in all meanings of the conditional in Bosnian and Serbian. In Croatian (and in more archaic forms of Bosnian and Serbian), there is also a *past conditional*, in which the verbal auxiliary is the compound past of **biti**.

PAST CONDITIONAL

	Singular			Plural		
	masculine	neuter	feminine	masculine	neuter	feminine
1	bio bih išao		bìla bih išla	bìli bismo išli		bìle bismo išle
2	bio bi išao		bìla bi išla	bìli biste išli		bìle biste išle
3	bio bi išao	bìlo bi išlo	bìla bi išla	bìli bi išli	bìla bi išla	bìle bi išle

The conditional is a mood rather than a tense. Whereas the primary meaning of a verbal *tense* (past, present, or future) is concerned with the idea of time, the primary meaning of a *mood* makes reference to other factors of the speech situation. Thus, the ways in which the conditional mood expresses the idea of time is dependent on each of its different meanings. The most widely used of these is that which gives the conditional mood its name: its use in sentences of the sort *if A, then B*. BCS differentiates three types of such sentences according to the speaker's view of the prediction inherent in such a statement. The conditional mood is also used to soften the force of a statement or request, in the expression of various politeness formulas, to describe past repeated action, and in clauses of purpose. All but the last of these uses parallel those of the English conditional mood, albeit not exactly.

132 Conditional sentences

Conditional sentences take the form *IF A, THEN B*. That is, a speaker first states a condition, and then comments on his/her perception of the consequent result. In other words, a speaker describes something which *will* [or *would*, *might*, or *could*] be the case, and then draws a conclusion as to what *will* [or *should*, *might*, *would*, *would have*, or *might have*] come after. The plethora of helping verbs in the definition above gives some indication of the broad scope of meaning conditional sentences can take.

English conditional sentences are easily recognizable, because they all contain the conjunction *if*: it is the form of the verb in each of the two halves of an English sentence which distinguishes the different possible meanings. By contrast, BCS distinguishes the different sorts of conditional sentences not only by the verb forms in the sentence but also by the choice of conjunction which joins the two halves of the sentence. In order to understand the structure of such sentences in BCS, one must isolate three different sorts of conditions: *real*, *potential* and *hypothetical*. In the first of these, the stated result is fully expected to ensue; in the second, there is a possibility – but no certainty – that the stated result will come about; and in the third, there is no real-world possibility that the stated result could come to pass. It is against this backdrop that the speaker makes the causal connection expressed by the formula *if A, then B*. The time frame of conditional sentences is only partially dependent upon the type of condition. Rather, the primary reference point in most conditional sentences is the speaker's subjective assessment of probabilities inherent in the situation.

132a. Real conditions

A sentence involving a real condition articulates a straightforward causal connection, usually in the form of a prediction. Whether or not the condition stated in the first clause actually takes (or took) place is not relevant. The critical point is that the speaker fully believes that the result stated in the second clause will [or did, or would] ensue. Sentences about real conditions are less “conditional” than the other two types in that the verbs are not usually in the conditional mood. Such sentences are normally phrased in the present with an eye to the future, but they can also be stated about the past. Indeed, the verbs can take almost any form (including the exact future, seen in [130]) except the future tense itself. The conjunction is almost always **ako**.

REAL conditions

non-past	Ako pada _u kiša, onda ne idemo. Ako bude _u padala kiša, nećemo ići. Biće dobro ako to _u uskoro završiš. Ako su ga pozvali, sigurno će doći. Zovi me ako stigne _u na vrijeme. Ako ne uspijem ovaj put, nemam šta više tražiti.	If it rains, then we're not going. If it rains, we won't go. It'll be good if you finish up soon. If they invited him, then he'll surely come. Call me if he gets in on time. If I don't succeed this time, I have nothing else to look for [= no other outcome].
past	Ako si htio ići, zašto nisi rekao? Ako su ga takve ikad i privlačile, odavno su mu dosadile.	If you wanted to go, why didn't you say so? If such [women] ever did attract him, he's long since been bored by them.

S,B biće / C,B bit će; B,C će doći / S,B će da dođe; J vrijeme / E vreme; J uspijem / E uspem; B,S šta / C što; B,C nemam šta (što) više tražiti / S nemam više šta da tražim; J htio / E hteo; B,C htio ići / B,S htio (hteo) da ideš

Other conjunctions can also be used. Two of these (the conjunction **kad** and the particle **li**) are more frequently used with other meanings; the third is the conjunction **ukoliko**. Used in conditional sentences, all three convey the general idea *if*, although **kad** can sometimes be translated *since* in this usage. However, when a conditional sentence expresses a logical deduction, ONLY the conjunction **ako** is possible. But English speakers must be very careful to use **ako** only in conditional meanings. If English *if* can be replaced by *whether* without altering the meaning of a sentence, then the corresponding BCS sentence is NOT a conditional one, but rather an embedded question. In this case, the conjunctions **li** or **da li** must be used (review [51]).

REAL conditions

kad	Kad već imаш toliko novca, možeš mi pozajmiti sto dolara.	If (= Since) you have so much money, you can lend me a hundred dollars.
li	Ustanovite li da smo pogriješili, molim vas da nas obavijestite.	If you discover that we have made [any] errors, please inform us.
ukoliko	Ukoliko ne postignu dogovor, može izbiti rat.	If they don't come to an agreement, war may break out.
ako	Ako je to prsten, mora biti okrugao. Ako zgrada ima jedanaest spratova, sigurno ima lift.	If that's a ring, then it is (= must be) round. If (= Since) the building has 11 floors, it certainly has (= must have) an elevator.

C,B možeš mi pozajmiti / S,B možeš da mi pozajmiš; J pogriješili / E pogrešili; J obavijestite / E obavestite; C,B može izbiti / S,B može da izbije; B,C mora biti / S,B mora da bude; S,B spratova / C katova; B,C,S lift / C dizalo

As seen in the above examples, sentences about *real* conditions do not use the conditional mood. Indeed, as one of the central functions of the conditional mood is to mark some sort of potentiality or unreality, the very absence of these verb forms in the above sentences underscores the realness of the condition. When the conditional mood does occur after **ako**, as in the following example, it indicates a strong skepticism on the speaker's part about the realness of the condition. For more on **ako** followed by the conditional mood, see the following section.

ako	Ako bi oni [slučajno] došli, reci im da me sačekaju.	If they [should happen to] come, tell them to wait for me.
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132b. Potential conditions

Potential conditions are those which may or may not come to pass. The relevant point – that the speaker believes they could possibly come to pass – is indicated by the presence of the conditional mood in BOTH clauses of the sentence. The conjunction is almost always **kad** or **ako**. Some speakers can also use **da** + present tense if it is obvious from the meaning that the condition is a potentially realizable one. By definition, sentences in this overall group do not have a past-time reading, since they concern something that might conceivably still come about. Indeed, their central meaning concerns precisely that potentiality. It is a striking fact about English conditional sentences such as *If he asked you nicely WOULD you go?* that they express this potentiality with a past-tense verb form. BCS, by contrast, does not mark tense at all in these sentences, as the entire SENTENCE is in the conditional mood.

POTENTIAL conditions

kad	Kad bi došao u dv <small>a</small> s <small>a</small> t <small>a</small> , mogao bi slušati cijelo pred <small>a</small> v <small>a</small> nje. B <small>ilo</small> bi bolje kad bi ga pročitao do večeras. B <small>ilo</small> bi pametnije kad bi kr <small>e</small> nuo ranije. Kad bi b <small>ila</small> tu, sve bi b <small>ilo</small> u r <small>edu</small> .	<i>If he came (= were to come) at 2:00, he'd be able to listen to the whole lecture. It would be better if you [would] finish reading it by tonight. It would be wiser if you left (= were to leave) sooner. If she were here, everything would be O.K.</i>
ako	Ako bismo vas p <small>it</small> ali, biste li nam kazali gol <small>u</small> istinu?	<i>If we asked (= were to ask) you, would you tell us the naked truth?</i>
da	Da te pitam, da li bi mi p <small>o</small> mogao? B <small>ilo</small> bi dobro da makar malo znam jézik.	<i>If I asked (= were to ask) you, would you help me? It would be good if I knew even a little of the language.</i>

C,B mogao bi slušati / S,B mogao bi da sluša; J cijelo / E celo; B,C biste li / S,B da li biste; S,B da li bi / C,B bi li

132c. Unreal conditions

Unreal conditions are of two sorts. The first is a former potential condition. It used to be realizable at one point but is now no longer so, because the time frame for its potential fulfillment has run out. It is unreal in the sense that realization is now impossible. The second, by contrast, never was potential in any way. Rather, it is an imaginary, hypothetical condition which the speaker has constructed in order to make a rhetorical point. Both types mark the unreality of the condition by using the conjunction **da** in the first clause, and the conditional mood in the second.

In sentences of the once-potential type, the verb following **da** is in the past tense. The English versions of such sentences, in fact, require a double past-tense marking, using the pluperfect (*if he HAD ASKED me...*), and the past conditional (*... I WOULD HAVE TOLD him*). In BCS, however, the use of the past conditional in such sentences is optional. The meaning of such sentences is just as much in the past as their English versions, but often the use of a clearly perfective, goal-oriented verb is enough to convey the idea of past meaning. In certain instances Croatian may use the past conditional to reinforce the meaning of pastness. Bosnian and Serbian tend to avoid the past conditional and to rely on context for the correct meaning.

In sentences of the hypothetical or imaginary type, the verb following **da** is in the present tense. On occasion, the verb after **da** can be in the past tense in this type of sentence, while the verb in the other clause continues to be in the conditional mood. Here too, the idea of pastness is often conveyed simply by the choice of verb and the structure of the sentence. Croatian will sometimes use the past conditional to reinforce the idea of past completion, but Bosnian and Serbian will rely on context, adverbs, and such to communicate the idea of past.

UNREAL conditions (formerly potential)

da + past	<p>Da si mi k<grave>a</grave>zala o čemu se r<grave>adi</grave>, ostala bih da ti pómognem.</p> <p>Da je b<grave>ila</grave> tu, sad bi sve b<grave>ilo</grave> u r<grave>edu</grave>.</p> <p>Da sam znala, rekla bih ti.</p> <p>Da sam znala, bila bih ti rekla. [C]</p> <p>Da sam bio na tv<grave>om</grave> mjestu, n<grave>e</grave> bih to urádio.</p> <p>Da sam bio na tv<grave>om</grave> mjestu, n<grave>e</grave> bih bio to učinio. [C]</p>	<p><i>If you had told me what it was about, I would have stayed to help you.</i></p> <p><i>Had she been here, all would be O.K. now.</i></p> <p><i>If I had known, I would have told you.</i></p> <p>[same]</p> <p><i>If I had been in your shoes, I would not have done that.</i></p> <p>[same]</p>
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C,B ostala bih ti pomoći / S,B ostala bih da ti pomognem; B,S rekla bih / C bila bih rekla; J mjestu / E mestu; B,S bih uradio C bih bio učinio (uradio)

UNREAL conditions (imaginary)

da + pres	<p>Da je čarobnják, mogao bi da to uradi.</p> <p>Da je čarobnják, bio bi mogao to učiniti. [C]</p> <p>Da je tu, sad bi b<grave>ilo</grave> sve u r<grave>edu</grave>.</p> <p>Eh, da su mi kríla! Da imám kríla, odmah bih izletio odavde.</p>	<p><i>If he were a magician, he would have been able to do it.</i></p> <p>[same]</p> <p><i>If she were here, it would all be O.K. now.</i></p> <p><i>Oh, if only I had wings! If I had wings, I would fly right out of here.</i></p>
da + past	<p>Da je bio bolji glúmac, možda bih mu i pôveroval.</p> <p>Da nije b<grave>ilo</grave> tebe, ovo nikad n<grave>e</grave> bi uspelo.</p>	<p><i>If he had been a better actor, I might have believed him.</i></p> <p><i>If it hadn't been for you, this would never have worked out.</i></p>

B,C mogao bi to uraditi (učiniti) / S,B mogao bi da to uradi; J izletio / E izleteo; E poveroval / J povjerovao; E uspelo / J uspjelo

A number of sentences do not bother to spell out the condition. Nevertheless, even though they do not strictly follow the *if A then B* model, the fact that the speaker has a condition in mind is seen by the presence of the conditional mood in them. As in other conditional sentences, the meaning can be either present or past, with this distinction conveyed by verb choice, sentence structure, and (in Croatian only) the optional use of the past conditional. One must of course realize that in real life such sentences never occur in isolation, but rather in a spoken context that provides numerous cues for interpreting the degree of pastness of any one situation.

CONDITIONAL (condition not spelled out)

non-past	<p>Ah, k<grave>a</grave>ko bih volio da sam doma!</p> <p>Svako bi to primijetio osim glupog muškarca.</p>	<p><i>Oh, how I wish I were home!</i></p> <p><i>Everyone but a stupid man would notice that.</i></p>
past	<p>Svako bi to primjetio, jedino on nije.</p> <p>Svatko bi to bio primijetio osim njega. [C]</p> <p>Ah, kako bih volio da sam bio doma kad je ona svratila!</p>	<p><i>Everyone but him would have noticed it.</i></p> <p>[same]</p> <p><i>Oh, how I wish I had been at home when she came by!</i></p>

J volio / E voleo; C doma / S,C kod kuće / B kod kuće; S,B svako / C svatko; J primijetio/ E primetio; B,C,S osim / S sem

132d. Conditional sentences, summary

English speakers must be careful with BCS conditional sentences, as they differ from their English counterparts in subtle but significant ways. Although English also recognizes the existence of more than one sort of condition, it does not communicate this difference in the same way. For one thing, English uses the conjunction *if* for all three types of conditions, whereas BCS uses a combination of different conjunctions and verb forms depending on the type of condition. For another, English uses exactly the same sentence structure to describe potential conditions and unreal conditions of the hypothetical sort: in both these instances, English speakers will say *If [past tense] then [past conditional]*. BCS, by contrast, has very different grammar requirements for the two types: one of them uses the conjunction **kad** (or **ako**) and the conditional mood, whereas the other uses the conjunction **da** and either present or past tense. The English speaker will do well to identify the type of condition first before attempting to construct the sentence. In addition, s/he must remember that the BCS conditional mood is translatable sometimes by the English present conditional and sometimes by the past conditional. Croatian is closer to English in that it sometimes uses past conditional in the same contexts as English – but this correspondence works only in certain instances.

The basic factor determining the structure of a conditional sentence is the individual speaker's perception of where the condition in question fits on a scale ranging from the totally real to the totally hypothetical. The following may serve as a summary and guide of sorts. The chart outlines the essential grammatical rules, and the set of examples presents the same basic event from differing points of view with respect to the relation between condition and result.

type of condition	IF A		THEN B
	conjunction	tense / mood	tense / mood
REAL	ako	any but future	any but conditional
POTENTIAL	kad, ako	conditional	conditional
UNREAL	da	present or past	conditional

real – present	Kad imam i vremena i novca, zašto ne bih otišao na put?	Since I have both the time and the money, why shouldn't I go on a trip?
real – future	Kad budem imao vremena i novca, ići ću na put.	When I get / have [enough] time and money, I'll go on a trip.
potential	Kad bih imao vremena i novca, išao bih na put. Možda jednog dana ...	If I had the time and money, I would go on a trip. Someday, perhaps ...
unreal (once potential)	Da sam imao vremena i novca, išao bih na put. Šteta! Da sam imao vremena i novca, bio bih išao na put. Šteta!	If I had had the time and money, I would have gone on the trip. Too bad! [same]
unreal (hypothetical)	Da imam vremena i novca, išao bih na put. Ali nemam.	If I had the time and money, I'd go on a trip. But I don't [so there it is].

133 The conditional of politeness

As in English, forms of the conditional mood are used in situations marked by a certain social distance. The base meaning of the verb is the same. What is different is the speaker's attitude towards (and awareness of) the particular context of speech.

133a. “Toned-down” statements

The conditional is often used to soften the force of a verb in particular speech situations. This usage will be easily recognized, as it is similar to English. If a speaker wishes to communicate a certain thought in a less forceful way, s/he can use the conditional instead of the indicative. The following examples illustrate the difference conveyed by the choice of conditional mood. In the (a) version of each pair, a speaker makes a statement in relatively forceful, blunt terms, while in the (b) version, s/he communicates the same thing, but in a gentler, more toned-down manner. The sentences are given first in English and then in BCS.

DIRECT vs. TONED-DOWN

indicative (direct)	conditional (toned-down)
(1a) <i>I say you are wrong.</i>	(1b) <i>I would say you are (= might be) wrong.</i>
(2a) <i>Will you explain your position?</i>	(2b) <i>Would you explain your position?</i>
(3a) <i>I want to learn Spanish.</i>	(3b) <i>I would like to learn Spanish.</i>
(4a) <i>It's better to do it that way.</i>	(4b) <i>It would be better to do it that way.</i>
(5a) <i>What do you like most of all?</i>	(5b) <i>What would you like most of all?</i>
(1a) <i>Кажем да нѝсте у праву.</i>	(1b) <i>Рекао бих да нѝсте у праву.</i>
(2a) <i>Хоћете ли да објасните свој став?</i>	(2b) <i>Бисте ли објаснили свој став?</i>
(3a) <i>Желим да научим шпански.</i>	(3b) <i>Желела бих да научим шпански.</i>
(4a) <i>Боље је тако радити.</i>	(4b) <i>Било би боље тако радити.</i>
(5a) <i>Шта ти се највише свиђа?</i>	(5b) <i>Шта би ти се највише свиђало?</i>

S,B hoćete li (da li hoćete) da objasnite / B,C hoćete li objasnit; S,B stav / B,C stajalište; B,C biste li / S,B da li biste; S,B želim da naučim / B,C želim naučiti; S,B španski / B,C španjolski; E želeta / J željela; B,C ...bih naučiti / S,B ...bih da naučim; S,B šta / C što

The verb **treba** is especially interesting in this regard. In its direct meaning (corresponding to English *should* / *ought* – review [127]), it already communicates a somewhat toned-down version of the idea *must*. Nevertheless, the option to tone down further, while still expressing the idea of *should* / *ought*, is something speakers take frequent advantage of. In the case of this verb, the English versions can give only a rough equivalence of the shades of meaning communicated by the BCS sentences with **treba**.

indicative (direct)	conditional (toned-down)
(6a) <i>You mustn't turn [left or right].</i>	(4b) <i>You shouldn't turn [left or right].</i>
(7a) <i>That's for tomorrow.</i>	(5b) <i>That's supposed to be for tomorrow.</i>
(8a) <i>They should build hospitals far away from city noise.</i>	(6b) <i>They really ought to build hospitals far away from city noise.</i>
(6a) <i>Не treba ni lijevo ni desno.</i>	(6b) <i>Не bi trebalo ni lijevo ni desno.</i>
(7a) <i>To treba za sutra.</i>	(7b) <i>To bi trebalo za sutra.</i>
(8a) <i>Bolnice trebaju grditi daleko od grdske vreve.</i>	(8b) <i>Bolnice bi trebali grditi daleko od grdske vreve.</i>

J lijevo / E levo; C,B trebaju graditi / B trebaju da grade / S treba da grade; C,B bi trebali / S,B bi trebalo

As seen in earlier discussions of **trebati** (review [119, 127]), this verb can appear both in the subjectless 3sg. (as in the examples above) and as a conjugated verb with explicit subject. Furthermore, the past tense conjugated forms are sometimes used in the indicative and conditional with meanings that are the OPPOSITE of the ones outlined above. In the following example of this difference, the indicative (non-conditional) usage of **trebati** in the past tense is restricted to the specific speech situation illustrated, but the conditional usage is more general.

indicative (NB, idiomatic)	conditional (NB, neutral)
<p>Niste trebali! <i>Oh, you shouldn't have! [but of course I'm glad that you did]</i></p>	<p>Nè biste <u>to</u> trebali baš tako raditi. <i>You shouldn't need to do it quite like that.</i> <i>You probably ought not to do it quite like that.</i></p>

133b. Politeness formulas

A straightforward request is made using either the future tense (as in *WILL you PASS me the salt?*) or the imperative (as in *PASS the salt!*). In situations which require (or benefit from) a greater degree of politeness, such requests can be phrased using the conditional mood. As are other usages of the BCS conditional mood, so is this one similar to English usage, to the point sometimes of excessive formality in both languages. When the verb is some version of *want* or *like*, the actual verb can be omitted, allowing the conditional auxiliary to carry the entire meaning. The adverb **rado** increases the meaning of desire, and its comparative version **radije** adds the meaning of *prefer*.

with verb	Biste li <u>bili</u> tako ljubazni da ... Da li biste mi dodali <u>so</u> ? Čime bih vas mogao ponuditi? Mogli bismo vas ponuditi kav <u>om</u> . Bila bih vam itekako zahvalna kad biste mi to objasnili.	Would you be so kind as to ... Would you pass me the salt? What might I be able to offer you? We could offer you some coffee. I would be ever so grateful [to you] if you would explain that to me.
no verb	Biste li nešto popili? Ja bih pivo, molim.	Would you [like] something to drink? I'd [like] a beer, please.
rado	Rado bih malo kolača.	I'd love to have a little cake.
radije	Radije bih malo kolača.	I'd prefer to have a little cake.

C,B biste li / S,B da li biste; B,S so / C sol; C,B mogao bih vas ponuditi / S,B mogao bih da ponudim; C,B mogli bismo vas ponuditi / S,B mogli bismo da vas ponudimo; C kava / S,B kafa / B kahva

134 Other uses of the conditional

There are two other major uses of the conditional mood. The first of these, the *conditional of repetition*, is again parallel to English usage. But the second, the *conditional of purpose*, is quite different, and English speakers will need to pay special attention to learn its correct usage.

134a. The conditional of repetition

The idea of repeated past action can be conveyed in BCS by simple past tense verbs in the imperfective aspect. If one wishes to emphasize the repetition, these verbs can be placed in the conditional mood. A similar usage is found in English, which conveys this idea either by the conditional or by the phrase *used to*. The BCS conditional of repetition often occurs in subordinate clauses introduced the conjunctions **kad god** “whenever”, **gdje god / gde god** “wherever” and the

like (for discussion and more examples, see [143k]). English can use the conditional mood only in the main clause, but BCS more often than not uses it in both clauses.

repetition	<p>Обично би долазио на вр^еме, а понекад би каснио. Чим би завршила посао, узела би да чита књигу. Кад год би ме после тога угледао, чудно би се осмехивао. Куд год би ишао, сви би му се клањали. Након вечер заборавио би све, те би се преместио пред телевизор. Чим би га исекао, оно би у трен израсло. Ви сте моја мала синорита – често би јој рекао учитељ.</p>	<p><i>Usually he came [= would come] on time, but sometimes he was [= would be] late.</i> <i>As soon as she finished work, she would [= used to] take up her book and read.</i> <i>Whenever he caught sight of me after that, he smiled [= would smile] strangely.</i> <i>Wherever he went, everyone bowed [= would bow] to him.</i> <i>After dinner he'd forget everything and plunk himself down in front of the TV.</i> <i>Every time he sawed it down, it grew [= would grow] back in a trice.</i> <i>"You're my little señorita," the teacher would frequently tell her.</i></p>
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E vreme / J vrijeme; B,S ponekad / C,B katkad; E osmehivaو / J osmehivao; B,S kud god / C kamo god; E premostio / J premestio; S,B isekao / C,B prepilio; S,C u tren / B u tren

134b. The conditional of purpose

The idea of purpose is expressed by the conjunction **да**, followed either by the present tense or the conditional mood. The basic meaning is the same, but the conditional puts more focus on the goal. A rough equivalent in English might be the difference between *to* and *in order to*. Two other conjunctions can be used with the conditional in roughly the same meaning. One is **kako**, and the other is **ли** accompanied by the negative particle; the latter is considerably more formal. English speakers must pay special attention to this usage of the conditional because it is the only one to find no parallel at all in English. It may help to think of these sentences with the somewhat archaic English phrase *so that one might* in place of the more modern *in order to*.

CONDITIONAL OF PURPOSE

да	<p>Da bi стварно naučio један језик, човек mora da ide u земљу где se taj језик говори. Stavi pismo tu da bih ga bolje vidjela. Pišemo Vam na Vašem језику da biste potpuno razumeli проблем. Da bih ga stavila na sto, ti bi trebalo da skloniš svoje stvari. Ova knjiga mi treba da bih večeras učila sa prijateljima. To je prekratko vrijeme da bi se naučile makar i osnove.</p>	<p><i>In order to really learn a language, one has to go to the country where they speak that language.</i> <i>Put the letter here so that I can [= so I might] see it better.</i> <i>We write you in your [own] language so that you'll fully understand the problem.</i> <i>For me to [be able to] put it on the table, you'd have to move your things.</i> <i>I need this book in order to study with my friends this evening.</i> <i>You can't even learn the basics in such a short time [= that is too short a time for even the basics to be learned].</i></p>
kako	<p>Potrčao je za njim kako bi mu tajnu šapnuo u uho.</p>	<p><i>He ran off after him in order to [= so he might] whisper the secret in his ear.</i></p>

ne + li	Víkao je na sav glas nè bi li ga čuli.	<i>He shouted at the top of his lungs so they would [= that they might] hear.</i>
	Svud sam gledao nèbih li dragu vidio.	<i>I looked everywhere in search of [= so as to catch sight of] my darling.</i>

E čovek / J čovjek; S,B mora da ide / C,B mora ići; E gde / J gdje; J vidjela / E videla; E razumeli / J razumjeli; B,S sto / C stol; B,S bi trebalo da skloniš / C,B trebao bi (trebala bi) skloniti; B,C,S ova knjiga mi treba / C,B trebam ovu knjigu; J vrijeme / E vreme; B zà njim / S,C za njim; B,C,S uho / S uvo

135 Indirect discourse

A direct quote in English is stated exactly as the person said it. But when it is rephrased and incorporated into another sentence, the primary verb of that sentence may cause a change in the verb of the incorporated quote. Namely, if the verb of the main clause (and by definition the entire sentence) is shifted further into the past, then the verb of the indirect quote must also be shifted further into the past. In the examples below, given to illustrate this rule of English grammar, the two types of quotes are called by their technical names. The term *direct discourse* refers to a direct quote, and the term *indirect discourse* refers to a rephrased quote which has been transformed into a subordinate clause. In the chart below the sign = indicates that the tense of the verb has not been shifted when it becomes an indirect quote, while the sign → indicates that such a shift has taken place. The verbs whose tense has been altered are in SMALL CAPITALS. The critical point, of course, is that it is the past tense verb in the main clause which forces the shift.

English makes a similar tense shift in a subordinate clause following verbs of knowledge or perception. Here too, when the main clause verb is past tense, the subordinate clause verb must also be shifted further into the past. Such sentences must be illustrated differently, of course, as the original state of knowledge or perception is not usually signaled in writing in some way similar to the quotation marks used for direct speech. Nevertheless, the process is the same. Sentence (8) below is particularly important because the shifted verb, the emphasized *would come*, is formally identical to the conditional mood. Of course, all speakers of English know that *would* here does not have conditional meaning, and that it is rather a future tense verb which must take a past tense form of itself because it is subordinated to a past tense verb of knowledge or perception.

DIRECT DISCOURSE		INDIRECT DISCOURSE	
speaker	direct quote	main /	subordinate clause
(1) <i>She says,</i>	<i>"He's coming today."</i>	= <i>She says</i>	<i>he's coming today.</i>
(2) <i>She said,</i>	<i>"He's coming today."</i>	→ <i>She said</i>	<i>he WAS COMING today.</i>
(3) <i>He says,</i>	<i>"I'll see you tomorrow."</i>	= <i>He says</i>	<i>he'll see me tomorrow.</i>
(4) <i>He said,</i>	<i>"I'll see you tomorrow."</i>	→ <i>He said</i>	<i>he WOULD SEE me tomorrow.</i>
(5) <i>They say,</i>	<i>"We didn't go."</i>	= <i>They say</i>	<i>they didn't go.</i>
(6) <i>They said,</i>	<i>"We didn't go."</i>	→ <i>They said</i>	<i>they didn't go / HADN'T GONE.</i>

PRESENT (perception)		PAST (perception)	
(7) <i>She knows</i>	<i>he is coming.</i>	→ <i>She knew</i>	<i>he WAS COMING.</i>
(8) <i>She knows</i>	<i>he will come.</i>	→ <i>She knew</i>	<i>he WOULD COME.</i>

This lengthy foray into English grammar has been necessary in order to highlight the very significant fact that BCS does NOT shift the tense of the verb in this type of subordinate clause. In order to illustrate the lack of the shift in BCS, the exact BCS versions of the above sentences are given below. In other words, as the sign = indicates, the verb in EVERY newly formed subordinate clause is in the same tense as in the original sentence.

DIRECT DISCOURSE		INDIRECT DISCOURSE	
speaker	direct quote	main /	subordinate clause
(1) <u>Kaže</u>	– Dolazi sutra.	= <u>Kaže</u>	da dolazi sutra.
(2) Rekla je	– Dolazi sutra.	= Rekla je	da dolazi sutra.
(3) <u>Kaže</u>	– Vidjet ču te sutra.	= <u>Kaže</u>	da će me vidjeti sutra.
(4) Rekao je	– Vidjet ču te sutra.	= Rekao je	da će me vidjeti sutra.
(5) <u>Kažu</u>	– Nišmo išli.	= <u>Kažu</u>	da nisu išli.
(6) Rekli su	– Nišmo išli.	= Rekli su	da nisu išli.

PRESENT (perception)		PAST (perception)	
(7) <u>Zna</u>	da dolazi.	= Znala je	da dolazi.
(8) <u>Zna</u>	da će doći.	= Znala je	da će doći.

C,B vidjet ču / S,B vidjeću / S videću; J vidjeti / E videti

English speakers learning BCS must pay a great deal of attention to this fact of grammar. In particular, they must take care not to translate the second verb in *She knew he WOULD come* with a BCS conditional (instead of the required future tense), and they must also resist the temptation to use past tense forms after verbs of speaking, knowledge, and perception when a present tense verb is required. The BCS rule is simple to state – but it is hard to internalize, because it forces English speakers to disobey a rule which not only seems natural to them, but which is very deep-seated (and quite unconscious). The best way to avoid these English-related mistakes in BCS sentences such as the following is (a) to stay on the outlook for BCS past tense verbs of speech, knowledge or perception; (b) to rephrase any subordinate clause following such a verb so that it reflects the original state of speech, knowledge or perception; and (c) to remember NOT to change the verb tense in this subordinate clause!

Rekli ste da čete skloniti stvari.	<i>You said you were going to move your things.</i>
Znala sam da čete me potražiti.	<i>I knew you would come to look for me.</i>

136 Relative conjunctions, continued

A conjunction joins two clauses, each of which has its own main verb. The most frequently encountered conjunction is **da** (review [26]; see also [143d]). Others are **kad**, **što**, and the like; for more discussion, see [143g]. A *relative conjunction* is similar to these in that it functions to connect the subordinate clause of a complex sentence to its main clause. It is fundamentally different from other conjunctions, however, not only in the fact that it refers to a specific WORD in the main clause, but it also in the way it is grammatically related to that word. It is this fact of relationship which gives the relative conjunction its name. The word with which the relative conjunction has this relationship is called its *antecedent*. The most common BCS relative conjunction is the pronominal adjective **koji**; other relative conjunctions are discussed in [136b].

136a. Relative clauses with **koji**

In its use as relative conjunction (review [128]), **koji** corresponds to English *who*, *which* or *that*. The fact that these English conjunctions can often be omitted makes it harder for English speakers to recognize when a sentence requires a relative conjunction. In BCS, by contrast, the relative conjunction must ALWAYS be present. Not only that, but it must obey two different specific rules. The first of these is connected with its adjective-like nature: it must agree with its antecedent in number and gender. The second is connected with its conjunction-like nature: it must take the case required by the grammar of its own clause. When composing a BCS sentence containing a relative clause, therefore, students should follow these four steps:

- identify the antecedent (the noun to which **koji** will refer)
- determine the gender and number of the antecedent (but ignore its case)
- put the same gender and number markings on **koji**
- determine the case ending of **koji** according to the grammar of its own clause

To illustrate the mechanics of sentences with relative clauses, each of the following examples identifies the relevant grammatical information both for the antecedent (marked *A*) and the relative conjunction **koji** (marked *R*). Note than in each case it is only the first segment of the identification, that corresponding to the case each is in, which differs. Otherwise, the two match.

In the sentences below (the first four of which are repeated from [128] but now diagrammed in this format), **koji** is the subject of its own clause. This is noted by the presence of N (for *nominative*) in each one of the columns noted *R* (for *relative conjunction*). The antecedent in the first two sentences is also the subject of its clause, which is noted by the presence of N in the column noted *A* (for *antecedent*). In the next two sentences, **koji** continues to be in the nominative case (noted by N in its column), but the antecedent is in some other case – locative (L) in one and genitive (G) in the other. The remaining marks in the columns identify the gender and number of the antecedent – *feminine singular* in the case of **knjiga** (sg.f), and *masculine plural* in the case of **studenti** (pl.m). These marks must always MATCH over the two columns!

<i>A</i>	<i>R</i>		
Nsg.f	Nsg.f	Čija je knjiga koja tamo leži?	<i>Whose is the book [which is] lying there?</i>
Npl.m	Npl.m	Studenti koji tamo stoje su njeni prijatelji.	<i>The students [who are] sitting over there are her friends.</i>
Lsg.f	Nsg.f	Pročitala sam to u knjizi koja tamo leži.	<i>I read it in the book [which is] lying there.</i>
Gpl.m	Npl.m	Koliko ima studenata koji uče francuski?	<i>How many students are there [who are] studying French?</i>
Asg.m	Nsg.m	Uđala se za vojnika koji je bio u Sarajevu u sastavu snaga Ujedinjenih naroda.	<i>She married a soldier who'd been in Sarajevo with the U.N. forces.</i>
Nsg.f	Nsg.f	Øvo je najljepša stvar koja mi se ikad desila.	<i>This is the nicest thing that's ever happened to me.</i>
Apl.m	Npl.m	Obje za sobom ostavljaju dječake koji će umrijeti zbog njih. – iz pjesme Feride Duraković	<i>They both leave behind boys who will die because of them.</i> – from a poem by Ferida Duraković

E sede / J sjede; B,C,S njen / B,C njezin; B,C Ujedinjenih naroda / S Ujedinjenih nacija; J najljepša / E najlepša; B,S desila / B,C,S dogodila; J obje / E obe; B za sobom / C,S za sobom; J dječak / E dečak; J umrijeti / E umreti; B,C će umrijeti / S će da umru; B zbog njih / C,S zbog njih; J pjesme / E pesme

Personal pronouns can also act as antecedents, in which case **koji** agrees with them in person and number. Of course, the verb after **koji** must agree with it in person and number.

<i>A</i>	<i>R</i>		
N-1pl	N-1pl	Mi koji živimo na selu sve to razumemo.	<i>We who live in the country understand all that.</i>
D-2pl	N-2pl	Biće drago vama koji to još niste vidjeli.	<i>You who haven't seen it yet will be pleased.</i>

E razumemo / J razumijemo; S,B biće / C,B bit će; J vidjeli / E videli

If **koji** fills some other grammatical function in its clause, it must be in that case. Below are several examples illustrating this, given according to the same format. Study each sentence to identify the antecedent referred to in the *A* column, and then see how the form of **koji** (referred to in the *R* column) relates to it. Because the corresponding English sentences are often framed quite differently, students may find it a help to reformulate the English sentence first so that it contains a relative pronoun such as *which*, *who* or *whom*. It may not seem like it, but a relative pronoun is always there in the logic underlying the English sentence.

<i>A</i>	<i>R</i>
Asg.f Asg.f	Прво треба купити карту коју ћете дати возачу аутобуса.
Asg.f Lsg.f	Пазите да купите карту на којој је данашњи датум.
Nsg.f Lsg.f	А то је зграда у којој ја стањујем!
Asg.f Gsg.f	Погледајте зграду из које они сад излазе.
Npl.m Apl.m	Студенти које ја познајем нису још спремни за испит.
Npl.m Ipl.m	Студенти с којима сам учио знају вишег о томе него ја.
Lsg.m Lsg.m	Јесам ли на тргу на којем треба да будем?
Nsg.m Asg.m	Да ли је ово трг који сте споменили?

B,C,S treba kupiti / B,S treba da kupite / C,B trebate kupiti; B,C,S ēete dati / B,S ēete da date; B,C,S jesam li / S,B da li sam; B,S treba da budem / C,B trebam biti; S,B da li je / B,C,S je li

<i>A</i>	<i>R</i>
Nsg.m Dsg.m	Како се зове деčак којем си dao лопту?
Nsg.m Asg.m	Je li ово dječak којега си spomenuo?
Nsg.n Lsg.n	Eno vam mjesa na kojem je Gavrilo Princip ubio nadvojvodu Franza Ferdinanda.
Lsg.f Asg.f	Она је bila profesorica u srednjoj školi коју је on pohađao.
Apl.m Apl.m	Novce које сте dali za tečaj могли сте потрошити на нешто друго.
Gsg.m Asg.m	Како nisi svjesna utiska koji ostavljaš?

Apl.m	Apl.m	Ona radi za iste ljudi za koje i on.	<i>She works for the same people he does [= for whom he also (works)].</i>
Asg.m	Lsg.m	Navratila je u kafic u kojem je on radio.	<i>She dropped in at the café where [= in which] he worked.</i>
Gsg.f	Isg.f	Skupio se poput ranjeneivotinje nad kojom kruze lezinari.	<i>He huddled like a wounded animal over which the vultures were circling.</i>
Nsg.n	Gsg.n	Ovaj svijet im bješe kratko boraviste iza kojeg ih vječni život čeka. – iz pjesme A.B. Šimića	<i>This world was but a brief stay after which eternal life awaited them.</i> – from a poem by A. B. Šimić

E dečak / J dječak; S,B kome / C kojemu; C kojega / S,B koga; J mjesta / E mesta; B,C,S tečaj / S kurs; J svjesna / E svesna; B,C,S utisak / C dojam; J svijet / E svet; J bješe / E beše; J vječni / E večni

136b. Other relative conjunctions

Interrogative pronouns such as **čiji** and **kakav** may also be used as relative conjunctions. Technically, they follow the same rules, agreeing with their antecedent in gender and number, but taking the case required by the grammar of their own clause. The following examples are given according to the same format as those for **koji**. Translations are direct in the case of **čiji** (which corresponds more or less exactly to English *whose*), but are much looser in the case of **kakav**. As if to even up the difficulty, however, the underlying structure of sentences with **čiji** is less clear, largely because **čiji** “whose” is sometimes used as a replacement for **iz koje / kojega** “of whom, whose”. This accounts for the notation [Gsg] in the second example below.

A	R		
Asg.f	Asg.f	Ljudi čije su kuće srušene u potresu smješteni su u barake.	<i>The people whose houses were destroyed in the earthquake were housed in shacks.</i>
[Gsg.f]	Asg.f	Danas će govoriti autor čiju knjigu studenti sad čitaju.	<i>The author whose book the students are now reading will be speaking today.</i>
Npl.m	Apl.m	Tamo leži čovjek za čije su nalaze liječnici rekli da su veoma loši.	<i>There lies the man whose test results, according to the doctors [= about whose test results the doctors say] are very bad.</i>
Asg.m	Asg.m	Jeste li kupili kompjuter kakav ste i željeli?	<i>Did you buy the kind of computer [= one of the sort which] you wanted?</i>
Nsg.m	Asg.m	Nadam se da je on čovek kakvog si tražila.	<i>I hope he's the kind of person [= one of the kind which] you've been seeking.</i>

J smješteni / E smešteni; B,C u potresu / S,B u zemljotresu; C liječnici / B ljekari (doktori) / S lekari (doktori); B,C jeste li / S,B da li ste; B,S kompjuter / C kompjutor; J željeli / E želeti; J čovjek / E čovek

The form **što** is also frequently used as a relative conjunction. The meaning of such sentences is exactly the same as if a form of **koji** were used. But since **što** as a conjunction cannot take case endings, it is necessary to add something in order to identify the case function of the relative pronoun. This something which is added is a pronoun object, which agrees with the antecedent in number and gender, but takes the case form required by its own clause. The object is the clitic form wherever possible. If the antecedent is an indefinite pronoun such as **jedini**, **nešto**, **sve**, or the like, then the relative pronouns are **ko** / **tko** or **što** – the former if the antecedent is human, otherwise the latter.

The notation below continues to identify the grammatical requirements which the relative conjunction must satisfy. Now, however, it is the accompanying pronoun which satisfies these requirements in all cases other than nominative. Clitic pronouns must, of course, follow the relevant word order rules – they must always come immediately after a relative conjunction.

A	R		
Nsg.f	Nsg.f	Čija je ona knjiga što tamo leži?	<i>Whose is the book [which is] lying there?</i>
Nsg.f	Asg.f	Je li ovo knjiga što si je spomenula?	<i>Is this the book [which] you mentioned?</i>
Nsg.m	Dsg.m	Kako se zove dečak što ste mu dali loptu?	<i>What's the name of the boy you gave the ball to [= to whom you gave the ball]?</i>
Nom.	Nom.	On je jedini ko to može da uradi.	<i>He's the only one who can do that.</i>
Nom.	Dat.	Svako kome se obratiš će ti pomoći.	<i>Everyone you turn to [to whom you turn] will [be able to] help you.</i>
Acc.	Acc.	Ponesi sve što imas.	<i>Take everything [which] you have.</i>
Nom.	Instr.	Ima li išta čime bi se ona rado bavila?	<i>Is there anything [at all] she would like to do [= with which she might occupy herself]?</i>

B,C,S je li / B,S da li je; E dečak / J dječak; B,S ko / C tko; B,S da uradi / C,B uraditi; B,S svako / C svatko; C,B će ti pomoći / S,B će da ti pomogne; C,B ima li / S,B da li ima

137 Word order, continued

Sentences in the conditional mood follow the XYZ model for clitic placement in the same way as the other compound tenses (review [102, 111]). All the auxiliary forms of the conditional come in slot Y-2; this order is illustrated by sentences (1-4). The full form of the auxiliary, used in questions and in single-word answers, comes in slot X; this order is illustrated by examples (5-7). The final three examples illustrate the use of the negated auxiliary, which acts like a sequence of **ne** + present tense verb. Namely, it functions in the sentence as a single accented word, and must come in either slot X or slot Z.

	X	Y	Z	
		1 2 3 4 5 6		
1	Ja	bih	mu ga	pokazala. <i>I would show it to him.</i>
2	Oni	bi	ga se	bojali. <i>They would be afraid of him.</i>
3	Da	li bi	joj se	javio? <i>Would he call her?</i>
4	Da	li biste	mu ga	dali? <i>Would you give it to her?</i>
5	Bi	li	mu ga	dala? <i>Would she give it to him?</i>
6	Biste	li	joj se	javili? <i>Would you call her?</i>
7	Bih.			<i>I would.</i>
8	Nèbih		mu ga	dao. <i>I wouldn't give it to him.</i>
9	Ja		mu ga	nèbih dao. <i>[same]</i>
10	Zar		se	nèbiste javili? <i>Wouldn't you call him?</i>

CHAPTER 14

138 Verbal adverbs, continued

A verbal adverb is made by adding a suffix to the appropriate verbal stem (review [129]). The subject of the verbal adverb is necessarily the same as the subject of the sentence. The main sentence verb is conjugated, but the verbal adverb is not. The function of the verbal adverb is similar to English gerunds: review the English examples from [129]:

- (1) “*Walking* down the street, he considered his options.”
- (2) “*Having considered* his options, he decided to act.”

These sentences are formed according to the English grammar rule that both the main verb and the gerundial or participial form modifying it (the form italicized in each sentence) must have the same subject. Many English speakers no longer follow this rule, but rather add such forms to any sentence, regardless of the subject of the verb. In BCS, however, the corresponding rule must be followed without exception. A more useful parallel with English lies in the fact that the terms *present* and *past* in the name of the BCS verbal adverbs do NOT refer to tense but rather to simultaneity. That is, present verbal adverbs describe an action which is (or was, or will be) in progress at the same time as that of the main verb, while past verbal adverbs describe an action that was (or will be) completed prior to that of the main verb. In the two English examples above, for instance, all four actions take place in the past. The difference between the two sentences is that the two actions in sentence (1) occur simultaneously, whereas in sentence (2) the first named action was completed before the second named action took place.

Since present verbal adverbs refer to actions in progress and past verbal adverbs refer to completed actions, it should be no surprise that the first are formed only from verbs of the imperfective aspect, while the second are formed from only verbs of the perfective aspect. Verbal adverbs are encountered frequently in written language, but are quite rare in speech. A few have given rise to adjectival forms, however, and these are quite common in everyday speech.

138a. Present verbal adverb

The present verbal adverb is formed by adding *-čí* to the 3pl. present of an imperfective verb. The accent is that of the present tense, except for verbs with long rising in the infinitive which has shifted to long falling in the present tense. These forms usually take the infinitive accent. The verbal adverb of **biti** takes the 3pl. form **budu** as its base. The verbal adverb of **hteti** / **htjeti** is either **hoteći** or **htejući** / **htijući**.

infinitive	znati	hòdati	vòziti	dìžati	pìsati	íči	optužìvati	biti
3pl. present	znaju	hòdaju	voze	drže	pišu	idu	optužuju	budu
pres.vbl. adv.	znajuči	hòdajuči	vozeči	držeči	pišuči	iduči	optužujuči	buduči

present verbal adverb	<p><u>H</u>oda ulicom nè gledajući ni u koga.</p> <p><u>V</u>ozeći se sporednjim ulicama, naišao sam na veoma neobične fasade.</p> <p>Pobegao je trčeći preko mosta.</p> <p>Prihvatali su <u>t</u>o kao Božju volju, ne optužujući ni nebo ni sebe.</p> <p>Pozvali su ga da dođe, znajući dobro da nè može prihvati poziv.</p>	<p><i>S/he walks down the street without [= not] looking at anyone.</i></p> <p><i>I came across some very unusual house fronts as I drove down side streets.</i></p> <p><i>He escaped [by] running across the bridge.</i></p> <p><i>They took it as God's will, finding fault neither in heaven nor in themselves.</i></p> <p><i>They invited him to come, knowing well that he would be unable to accept the invitation.</i></p>
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S,C u koga / B u koga; E pobegao / J pobjegao; C,B može prihvati / S,B može da prihvati

Present verbal adverbs also occur in several semi-fixed adverbial phrases. Many of these are better rendered in English by adverbial phrases that do not contain a gerundial form.

	literal translation	[one] English equivalent
iskreno govoreći	<i>sincerely speaking</i>	<i>to tell the truth</i>
sudeći po tome	<i>judging by that</i>	<i>if we go by that</i>
ćuteći / šuteći	<i>not speaking</i>	<i>in silence</i>
ne tražeći krivca	<i>not seeking to blame anyone</i>	<i>as given</i>
znajući ili ne	<i>knowing or not</i>	<i>unwittingly</i>

S,C po tome / B po tome; E čuteti / J čutjeti; S čuteti / B čutjeti / C,B šutjeti

The adverb **budući** is often combined with the conjunction **da** to create a compound conjunction with the meaning *since, as, inasmuch as* (for more discussion, see [143b]).

<p>Будући да сваки стуђент мора понаособ то да ради, сви су врло заузети.</p>	<p><i>Inasmuch as each student must do it for himself or herself, all [the students] are very busy.</i></p>
S,B mora to da radi / C,B mora to raditi	

138b. Past verbal adverb

The past verbal adverb is formed by adding **-vši** to the masc.sg. L-participle stem (found by dropping the final vowel **-o**). If an ijekavian masculine L-participle in **-io** corresponds to a feminine one in **-jela**, the verbal adverb is formed from the latter root. The accent is that of the active participle except that the vowel preceding the suffix is lengthened. Perfective verbs of type 13 (such as **pojesti**) usually do not form past verbal adverbs, and the past verbal adverb of **umrijeti / umreti** “die” is made not from the L-participle **umro** but from the infinitive. It is also possible in some areas, primarily in Bosnia, to add the simple ending **-v** to certain verbs. Thus, the past verbal adverb of **početi** “begin” would be either **počevši** or **počev**.

infinitive	doći	reći	moći	kreñuti	ispuniti	umrijeti	umreći
masc. L-participle	došao	rekao	mogao	kreñuo	ispunio	[umro]	[umro]
past vbl.adverb	došavši	rekavši	mogavši	kreñuvši	ispunivši	umrijevši	umrevši

J umrijeti / E umreti; J umrijevši / E umrevši

<p>past verbal adverb</p>	<p>Viděvši šta je urádila, zaplakala je.</p> <p>Né mogavši to više pòdneti, okrénuo se i izašao iz sobe.</p> <p>Zašavši za ugao, nestao je u noći.</p> <p>Izvršivši svoju dužnost, dao si primer drugima.</p>	<p><i>Once she saw [= having seen] what she had done, she burst into tears.</i></p> <p><i>Not able [= having become unable] to bear it any more, he turned and left the room.</i></p> <p><i>He turned the corner and [= having turned the corner, he] disappeared into the night.</i></p> <p><i>By doing your duty [= having fulfilled your obligation] you set an example to others.</i></p>
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E videvši / J vidjevši; B,S šta / C što; E podneti / J podnijeti; B,C to više podnijeti / S,B više da to podnese; S,C iz sobe / B iz sobe; E primer / J primjer

138c. Adjectives and adverbs formed from verbal adverbs

Verbal adverbs are unchanging in form. However, there are a number of adjectives which look very similar to verbal adverbs, and are in fact derived from verbal adverbs. In formal terms, the change is that the final *-i* of the verbal adverb endings *-čí* and *-vší* has been reinterpreted as the Nsg.masc. long form adjective ending. The resulting adjective then takes case endings in the same manner as any long form adjective. Sometimes the meaning of the adjective is essentially the same as that of the verbal adverb which gave rise to it, but sometimes there has been a shift in meaning. In many cases, there is also an adverb corresponding to the new adjective; as in the case of other adjectives, the adverb is the same as the Nsg. neuter form, though sometimes with a change in accent.

The examples below contrast several verbal adverbs and the adjectives formed from them. Adjectives are given in all three possible Nsg. forms, to emphasize the fact that although the Nsg. masculine adjective looks on the page identical to the verbal adverb, it is a very different form.

Verbal adverb		Adjective (Nsg. masc, neut, fem)	
present	past		
idući	<i>coming / going</i>	idućí, idućé, idućá	<i>next</i>
tekući	<i>flowing</i>	tekućí, tekućé, tekućá	<i>fluent, current</i>
mogući	<i>being able</i>	mogućí, mogućé, mogućá	<i>possible</i>
vodeći	<i>leading</i>	vodećí, vodeće, vodećá	<i>leading, top</i>
odgovarajući	<i>answering</i>	odgovarajućí, odgovarajućé, odgovarajućá	<i>corresponding, suitable</i>
slijedeći	<i>following</i>	sljedećí, sljedeće, sljedećá	<i>next</i>
budući	<i>being</i>	budućí, budućé, budućá	<i>future</i>
	bivši	bivší, bivše, bivšá	<i>former</i>

J slijediti / E slediti; J sljedeće, slijedeće / E sledeće; C sljedeće / B sljedeće

adjective	<p><u>Imaš</u> li <u>novca</u> na <u>tekućem</u> računu? <u>On</u> je jedan od naših vodećih stručnjaka za privredu. Moguće je da će doći iduće nedelje. Poslat će ga na sve moguće pretrage. Volim slušati umirujuću glazbu. Rodila se u bivšoj Jugoslaviji.</p>	<p><i>Do you have cash in your checking account?</i> <i>He is one of our leading experts on [the]</i> <i>economy.</i> <i>It's possible she'll come next week.</i> <i>They'll send him for all possible tests.</i> <i>I like to listen to relaxing music.</i> <i>She was born in the former Yugoslavia.</i></p>
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B,C imaš li / S,B da li imaš; S,B nedjelje (nedjelje) / B sedmice / C tjedna; C,B poslat će / S,B poslaće; C,B pretrage / S,B ispitivanja; B,C volim slušati / S,B volim da slušam; C glazbu / B,C,S muziku

139 Passive sentences, continued

A passive sentence focuses on the object of a verbal action. Every passive sentence is related to an active, transitive sentence in which the object of the action is grammatically the direct object of the verb. In the corresponding passive sentence, that object becomes the grammatical subject. The idea *passive* is expressed in two different ways in BCS. One, here called the *PP-passive*, expresses it by a predicate containing a passive participle (review [118]). The other, here called the *se-passive*, expresses it by adding the particle **se** (review [38, 74]).

The diagrams below illustrate the relationships between these two types of passives and the active sentences from which they are derived. In the first diagram, repeated from [118], the English translation is a direct one: this is possible because English passive sentences are constructed on a very similar model. In the second diagram, the two possible English translations are given in brackets to emphasize that English in fact has no way to render this type of BCS passive literally. The translation marked (a) is technically more correct, in that it renders the meaning *passive* with an English passive, but that in (b) is closer to the BCS. This is because both this English sentence and the BCS original manage to include an active verb without focus on the actor. BCS is able to do this by making the object a subject and adding **se**, and English does it by supplying the verb with an impersonal subject – either the word *one*, or the impersonal pronouns *you* or *they* (which refer to no specific person or persons).

PP-passive	relationship:	OBJECT of active sentence → SUBJECT of passive sentence	
	ACTIVE	subject transitive verb object	
		Moja sestra će napisati pisma. <i>My sister</i> <i>will write</i> <i>the letters.</i>	
	PASSIVE	subject biti “to be” passive participle	
		Pisma će biti napisana. <i>The letters</i> <i>will be</i> <i>written.</i>	
se-passive	relationship:	OBJECT of active sentence → SUBJECT of passive sentence	
	ACTIVE	subject transitive verb object adverb phrase	
		Svaki student sluša predavanja svaki dan. <i>Each student</i> <i>listens [to]</i> <i>lectures</i> <i>daily.</i>	
	PASSIVE	subject se verb adverb phrase	
		Predavanja se slušaju svaki dan. [(a) <i>Lectures are listened to daily.</i>] [(b) <i>One listens to lectures every day.</i>]	

What the two types share, of course, is the grammar underlying the basic idea of *passive*. In each case, that which was the OBJECT in the active sentence – the letters in the case of the PP-passive sentence and the lectures in the case of the **se**-passive sentence – is the SUBJECT of the passive sentence. Both types also follow the basic rule of any BCS sentence: that the verb must agree with its grammatical subject. In **se**-passive sentences, the verb is the same verb as in the corresponding active sentence, while in PP-passive sentences – which by definition contain a passive participle – the verb is always a form of **biti**. The grammatical difference between these two types is that PP-sentences require the presence of a passive participle, which must agree with its subject in number and gender. Thus, the noun **pisma** in the first sample sentence above requires that the passive participle **napisana** be neuter plural. By contrast, **se**-passive sentences are on the

surface more similar to their active partners: in both the active and the passive versions of the second sentence above, the verb is a form of **slušati**. Because it must agree with the subject, it is 3sg. in the active version, but 3pl. in the passive one.

In terms of meaning, the two types are similar: both express the idea *passive*. But not all instances of passive meaning are the same. In fact, there are relatively few BCS verbs which can express the idea “passive” both as a PP-passive and as a **se**-passive without a change in meaning. Rather, the majority of verbal ideas are best stated in the passive using either one or the other of these two models. In general, PP-passives are used when the focus is more on the result of an action, and **se**-passives are used when the focus is more on the action itself. To a certain extent, this also correlates with aspect, in that passive participles are usually formed from perfective verbs, while **se**-passives tend to occur more frequently in sentences with imperfective verbs.

But as the examples below demonstrate, this is not a hard and fast rule. It does account for the difference between the first two pairs below: the **se**-passives in (1a) and (2a) contain an imperfective verb and focus more on the action itself, while the PP-passives in (1b) and (2b) contain a perfective verb (the participle) and focus more on the result of the action. The second two pairs, however, would seem to violate the rule. The verbs in both (3a) and (3b) are perfective, but those in both (4a) and (4b) are imperfective – and there is no clearly perceptible difference in meaning between the (a) and the (b) sentences in either of the two pairs.

Passive sentences

(1a) se	<u>Ovdje se</u> đaci strogo ocjenjuju.	<i>Pupils are graded strictly here. / They grade pupils strictly here.</i>
(1b) PP	Ocijenjen je pozitivno od komisije.	<i>He was judged favorably by the commission.</i>
(2a) se	Tamo se mnogo razgovaralo o vremenu.	<i>The weather was spoken of a great deal there. / People talked a great deal about the weather there.</i>
(2b) PP	Više puta je rečeno da je tamošnje vreme nepodnošljivo.	<i>Several times it was stated that the weather there was unbearable.</i>
(3a) se	Ja sam se rodila u proljeće.	<i>I was born in the spring.</i>
(3b) PP	Ja sam rođena u proljeće.	[same]
(4a) se	Njene knjige se često čitaju.	<i>Her books are often read. / People often read her books.</i>
(4b) PP	Njene knjige su vrlo čitane.	<i>Her books are read a great deal.</i>

J ovdje / E ovde; J ocjenjuju / E ocenjuju; J ocijenjen / E ocenjen; B,S od komisije / C od povjerenstva; E vreme / J vrijeme; J proljeće / E proleće; B,C,S njen / B,C njezin

The most reliable means of differentiation between the two types, in fact, is only rarely present within the grammar of the sentences themselves. This difference concerns the possible presence of an *agent*. In grammatical terms, an agent is that which causes some sort of effect upon a *patient*. In active, transitive sentences, the agent is the subject. In passive sentences, where the focus is either on the action itself or on its result, the agent is not usually mentioned. If a speaker does choose to specify the agent, s/he does so by stating it as the object of the preposition **od** (or, in official administrative style, placing it after the phrase **od strane**). In the examples below (the first of which repeats the passive sentence (1b) above), the agent is the subject in the active sentence and the object of **od (strane)** in the passive one. Only PP-passives allow the specification of the agent; BCS grammar does not allow such phrases with **se**-passives. Indeed, the expression of

the agent occurs most frequently in official written contexts. While most BCS speakers would accept the first passive sentence below, many find that the second sounds stilted and unnatural.

relationship:		SUBJECT of active sentence → AGENT of passive sentence	
ACTIVE	subject	transitive verb	object
	Ministarstvo <i>The Ministry</i>	je donijelo <i>adopted</i>	odluku. <i>the ruling.</i>
PASSIVE	subject	biti + PPP	agent
	Odluka <i>The ruling</i>	je donešena <i>was adopted</i>	od strane Ministarstva. <i>by the Ministry.</i>
ACTIVE	subject	transitive verb	object
	Komisija <i>The commission</i>	je ocenila <i>evaluated</i>	njegov rad. <i>his work.</i>
PASSIVE	subject	biti + PPP	agent
	Njegov rad <i>His work</i>	je ocenjen <i>was evaluated</i>	od komisije. <i>by the commission.</i>

J donijelo / E donelo; B,S komisija / C povjerenstvo; E ocenila / ocijenila; E ocenjen / J ocijenjen

The difference between PP-passives and **se**-passives, therefore, lies in the possibility of specifying an agent. Even if this agent is not explicitly stated, it is always potentially present in the speaker's conceptualization of the PP-passive sentence in question. Put differently, PP-passives retain more of the logical connection with the corresponding active sentence, in which the agent plays a central role. **Se**-passives, by contrast, put all the focus on the action itself. It is nearly always possible, of course, to conceptualize an agent for the action communicated in a passive sentence. But if a speaker has chosen a **se**-passive over a PP-passive, s/he has done so in order to move the attention away from any agent and onto the action itself.

Each of the examples below is a passive sentence: by definition, each is based upon an underlying transitive verb which allows the idea of an agent to be present. Nevertheless, the difference in focus can be seen, both in the BCS sentences and in their English translations. Both the BCS PP-passives and their English renditions put the verbal information into a participle. This creates a focus on the result of the action, and allows one a glimpse at the role of the agent responsible for the result (even though the agent may not be specified). By contrast, both the BCS **se**-passives and their (optimal) English renditions put the verbal information into a conjugated verb, focusing thereby upon the action itself and reducing the role of the agent to a minimum.

PP-passive	Svi ste pozvani.	<i>You're all invited.</i>
	Bilo je predviđeno da tečaj traje osam nedelja.	<i>It had been planned for the course to last eight weeks.</i>
	Trećina pjesama je posvećena njemu.	<i>A third of the poems are dedicated to him.</i>
	Jedna fotografija je bila umetnuta kao označivač stranica.	<i>A photo had been inserted there as a page marker.</i>
	Tako je valjda suđeno.	<i>I guess that's fate. [= Thus has it probably been judged.]</i>
se -passive	Strani jezik se bolje i lakše uči u manjim grupama.	<i>One learns a foreign language better and more easily in smaller groups.</i>
	Na fotografiji se vidjela malena drvena kuća.	<i>In the photo you could see a small wooden house.</i>

Tišina se samo <u>ondje</u> može dodirnuti rukom.	<i>Only there can you [reach out and] touch the tranquility with your hand.</i>
Øvde se rakija pravi od šljiva.	<i>They make rakija from plums here.</i>
Takva se greška često pravi.	<i>People often make such a mistake.</i>
Talog se ostaví da se slegne.	<i>You let [=leave] the sediment [to] settle.</i>
Meso se mora stavljati na jelovnik.	<i>You have to [=one must] put meat on the menu.</i>

B,C,S tečaj / S kurs; B,S nedjelja (nedelja) / B sedmica / C tjedan; J pjesama / E pesama; J vidjela / E videla; J ondje / E onde; E ovde / J ovdje; B,C meso se mora stavljati / S,B meso mora da se stavlja

140 Impersonal sentences

Impersonal sentences, first presented in [98], are similar to passives in certain ways. With respect to meaning, impersonal sentences also move the focus away from the actor (or the result) and onto the action itself; and with respect to form, the verb in an impersonal sentence is likewise either an active verb accompanied by **se** or a form of **biti** plus a passive participle. The significant difference is that impersonal sentences do not have a subject of any sort. In them, the entire focus is on the action itself. The verb in an impersonal sentence can be either transitive or intransitive, but it must be a verb capable of taking a human subject. As in all subjectless sentences, the verb is always 3sg., and the L-participle of the past tense is always neuter singular. Most impersonal sentences contain an active verb plus **se**. If a passive participle is present, it is neuter singular.

Impersonal sentences of the PP-type are almost always followed by a clause introduced by **da**. If the content of the following clause is understood from the context, the participle can stand alone. Impersonal sentences of the **se**-type frequently include a 3sg. form of the verb **moći**, followed by the infinitive of the verb denoting the action which is (or is not) possible (review [48]). The following examples illustrate these several types of impersonal sentences. Each is given twice, once in the present tense (a) and once in the past tense (b). This is done in order to emphasize the subjectless nature of these sentences, and the manner in which the idea *subjectless* must be expressed (for more on subjectless sentences, see [141]). As in the case of passive sentences, literal English translations are possible only of the PP-type of impersonal sentence. Impersonal sentences with **se** are rendered in various ways, but most frequently by active English verbs with impersonal subjects such as *one* or *you*.

Impersonal sentences

PP (a)	Речено је да се све мења с временом.	<i>It has been said that everything changes with time.</i>
PP (b)	Било је речено да се све мења с временом.	<i>It had been said that everything changes with time.</i>
PP (a)	Већ је доказано да се то не може урадити.	<i>It's already been proven that it can't be done.</i>
PP (b)	Већ је било доказано да се то не може да уради.	<i>It had already been proven that it couldn't be done.</i>
PP (a)	Уређено је да дођете код нас.	<i>It's been arranged that you come to our place.</i>
PP (b)	Било је уређено да дођете код нас.	<i>It had been arranged that you would come to our place.</i>
PP (a)	Договорено [је да...].	<i>Agreed. [It's agreed that...]</i>
PP (b)	Договорено је било [да...].	<i>It was agreed. [It was agreed that...]</i>

se (a)	Види се да вас истински воле.	<i>It's obvious [= one sees] they truly love you.</i>
se (b)	Видело се да вас истински воле.	<i>It was obvious [= one could see] that they truly loved you.</i>
se (a)	Прати се пажљиво како се диже.	<i>You attend it carefully while it rises.</i>
se (b)	Пажљиво се пратило како се диже.	<i>One would attend to it carefully as it rose.</i>
se (a)	Никад се не зна.	<i>You never know.</i>
se (b)	Никад се није могло знати.	<i>It was never possible to know.</i>
se (a)	Од слика се не живи.	<i>You can't live from pictures [alone].</i>
se (b)	Од слика се није могло живети.	<i>One couldn't live from pictures [alone].</i>
se (a)	Тамо се чека дуже и теже је добити сто.	<i>You have to wait longer there, and it's harder to get a table.</i>
se (b)	Тамо се чекало дуже и теже је било добити сто.	<i>You used to have to wait longer there, and it was harder to get a table.</i>
se (a)	Може се слободно путовати из земље у земљу без пасоша.	<i>You can travel from one country to another without a passport.</i>
se (b)	Могло се слободно путовати из земље у земљу без пасоша.	<i>You used to be able to travel from country to country without a passport.</i>
se (a)	О чему се ради у овој књизи?	<i>What's this book about? What does it concern?</i>
se (b)	О чему се радило?	<i>What was it about? What was going on?</i>
se (a)	Не исплати се путовати даље.	<i>It's not worth it to [try to] travel further.</i>
se (b)	Није се исплатило путовати даље.	<i>It wasn't worth it to [try to] travel further.</i>

E menja / J mijenja; C,B može uraditi / S,B može da uradi; S kod nas / B kod nas / C k nama; E video / J vidjelo; E živeti / J živjeti; S,B sto / C stol; B,S bez pasoša / C bez putovnice

141 Subjectless sentences, review

The term *subjectless* has been applied to a number of different kinds of sentences (review [48, 63, 73g, 105, 140]). The unifying factor is grammatical: all lack a nominative subject, and all require a 3sg. verb (and a neuter singular L-participle in the past tense). Most BCS grammarians refer to such sentences as *impersonal*, but with no clear consensus as to how many of these types fall into that rubric. Some define “impersonal” in the grammatical terms given above but include only some of the sentences here called subjectless; others define “impersonal” more in terms of meaning and apply the term (somewhat subjectively) to those sentences which in their view are devoid of what might be called “personal” meaning.

This analysis takes a different stance. The term *impersonal* is used more narrowly, embracing only those passive-like sentences lacking a subject (review [140]). The much broader term *subjectless* includes all sentences which lack a nominative subject and which require 3sg. verbs and neut.sg. L-participles. This term (and the broad coverage it implies) has been chosen consciously to help the foreign learner remember to apply the same grammatical rule to a widely varying set of sentences. The category *subjectless* is further divided into true subjectless sentences – those without a subject of any sort – and sentences which have a logical subject in some case other than the nominative. English versions of the latter sentence types often express this noun as a full grammatical subject.

The following sections review these different types. Examples are given in both present and past tense, to underscore the grammatical rule defining the category *subjectless*. Section [141a]

reviews true subjectless sentences, and sections [141b-c] review subjectless sentences whose logical subjects are in the dative and genitive cases, respectively. For a review of subjectless sentences with accusative logical subjects, see [105].

141a. True subjectless sentences

True subjectless sentences are of three basic sorts. One is the type called *impersonal*, which focuses on actions undertaken by unspecified humans (review [140]): such sentences are often translated as English active sentences with the impersonal subjects *one* or *you*. Another includes sentences which focus on natural states, processes or facts: such sentences are usually translated by English sentences beginning with *it is...* (where *it* has no antecedent, review [48, 73g]). The third comprises modal verbs such as **treba** and **valja** (review [127] and see [142]): these are rendered various ways in English. The conditional mood is frequent in such sentences.

Impersonal sentences

present	Овде се добро једе и пије.	<i>One eats and drinks well here.</i>
past	Тада се врло лепо јело и пило.	<i>At that time one ate and drank really well.</i>
present	Како се иде одавде?	<i>How do you go [= get there] from here?</i>
past	Раније се тамо ишло трамвајем.	<i>You used to [be able to] get there by tram.</i>
present	Може се тако рећи.	<i>You can say it that way.</i>
past	Могло се тако рећи.	<i>You could have said it that way.</i>

Natural states, processes or facts

present	Грми без престанка.	<i>It's thundering non-stop.</i>
past	Грмело је без престанка.	<i>It was thundering non-stop.</i>
present	После киште лепо мирише.	<i>It smells nice after the rain.</i>
past	Тамо је дивно мирисало.	<i>It smelled wonderful there.</i>
present	Прво је топло, па хладно.	<i>First it's hot, and then [it's] cold.</i>
past	Прво је било топло, па хладно.	<i>First it was hot and then [it was] cold.</i>
present	Како иде на послу?	<i>How are things going at work?</i>
past	Како је ишло данас на послу?	<i>How did it go today at work?</i>
present	Није далеко од Беча до Рима.	<i>It's not far from Vienna to Rome.</i>
past	Раније је било далеко од Беча до Рима, а сад више није.	<i>It used to be far from Vienna to Rome, but it's not any more.</i>
present	Тешко је то скрити.	<i>It's hard to hide that.</i>
[cond.]	Тешко би то било скрити.	<i>It would be hard to hide that.</i>

Modal sentences

present	Ваља нешто рећи.	<i>One ought to say something.</i>
past	Ваљало је нешто рећи.	<i>One ought to have said something.</i>
present	Не треба ни лево ни десно.	<i>You mustn't turn [either left or right].</i>
[cond.]	Не би требало ни лево ни десно.	<i>You shouldn't have [had] to turn [either left or right].</i>

E ovde / J ovdje; E lepo / J lijepo; E grmelo / J grmjelo; S prestanka / B,C prekida; E posle / J poslijе; E levo / J lijevo; S ni levo ni desno / C ni lijevo ni desno / B ni lijevo ni desno

141b. Subjectless sentences with dative logical subjects

Certain of the natural states or processes referred to above can be experienced by humans. The sentence expressing this fact continues to be subjectless, but the identity of the human experiencer is added, in the dative case (review [73g]). The person affected by the inclination or desire towards a certain action is also expressed in the dative, and the verb is usually subjectless, with the addition of **se** (review [82a-b]). Two other verbs which function in this manner include **činiti se** “seem” (review [73h]), and **uspeti / uspjeti** “succeed”. English renders the dative logical subject of BCS as a grammatical subject in nearly every one of these types.

Experienced states

present	Drago mi je da vas vidim.	<i>I'm pleased to see you.</i>
past	Drago mi je bilo da vas vidim.	<i>I was pleased to see you.</i>
present	Zar vam nije ovdje dosadno?	<i>Aren't you bored here?</i>
past	Zar vam tamo nije bilo dosadno?	<i>Weren't you bored there?</i>
present	Tužno mu je gledati.	<i>It makes him sad to look.</i>
past	Tužno mu je bilo gledati.	<i>It made him sad to look.</i>
present	U takvim mi situacijama postaje neugodno.	<i>I get uncomfortable in such situations.</i>
past	Odjednom mi je postalo neugodno.	<i>All at once I felt uncomfortable.</i>

J ovdje / E ovde; B,C neugodno / S,B neprljatno

Inclinational and desiderative verbs

present	Više mi se ne spava.	<i>I'm not sleepy anymore.</i>
past	Nije mi se više spavalо.	<i>I wasn't sleepy anymore</i>
present	Svima studentima se dréma.	<i>All the students feel drowsy.</i>
past	Svima studentima se drémalo.	<i>All the students felt drowsy.</i>
present	Jao, povraća mi se.	<i>Ooh, I'm about to throw up.</i>
past	U tom trenútku mi se povraćalo.	<i>Just then I thought I was going to throw up.</i>
present	Ne mogu. Né da mi se.	<i>I can't. I don't feel like it.</i>
past	Nísam mogla. Nije mi se dalo.	<i>I couldn't. I didn't feel like it.</i>
present	Jovanu se sáda né peva.	<i>Jovan's not in the mood to sing now.</i>
past	Jovanu se tada nije pevalo.	<i>Jovan wasn't in the mood to sing then.</i>
present	Meni se né ide, a bratu se ide.	<i>I don't feel like going, but my brother does.</i>
past	Meni se nije išlo, a njemu se išlo.	<i>I didn't feel like going, but he did.</i>

E drema / J drijema; E dremalo / J drijemalo; E peva / J pjeva; E pevalo / J pjevalo

Činiti se, uspeti / uspjeti

present	Čini mi se da nešto čujem.	<i>I think I hear something.</i>
past	Činilo mi se da nešto čujem.	<i>I thought I heard something.</i>
present	Nama se čini da je sve u redu.	<i>We think it's all O.K.</i>
past	Nama se tada činilo da je sve u redu.	<i>At that point, we thought it was all O.K.</i>

present	Kako vam se čini?	<i>What do you make of it?</i>
past	Kako se vama činilo?	<i>What did you make of it?</i>
present	Ako mu uspije, kupit će nećaku stan.	<i>If he manages, he'll buy his nephew an apartment.</i>
past	Uspjelo mu je nećaku kupiti stan.	<i>He managed to buy his nephew an apartment.</i>

J uspije / E uspe; C,B kupit će / S,B kupiće; J uspjelo / E uspelo; B,C nećaku kupiti stan / S,B da nećaku kupi stan

141c. Subjectless sentences with genitive logical subjects

Sentences which express measurement of some sort are structured around adverbs of measure, numbers, or existentials. The noun denoting that which is measured is in the genitive case. When such a measured unit functions as the subject of a sentence, the verb follows the rules for subjectless sentences. Adverbs of measure always take the genitive case (review [59a]), and the existentials **ima** and **nema** nearly always do (review [59b]). Numbers follow several sorts of rules (review [124a]). Those which take the genitive plural require a subjectless verb if they are used as the subject of a sentence.

Adverbs of measure

present	Koliko vas dolazi?	<i>How many of you are coming?</i>
past	Koliko vas je došlo?	<i>How many of you came?</i>
present	Malo ih znaju kineski.	<i>Very few of them know Chinese.</i>
past	Malo ih je znalo kineski.	<i>Very few of them knew Chinese.</i>
present	Puno studenata uči noću.	<i>Lots of students study at night.</i>
past	Ranije je puno studenata učilo noću.	<i>Lots of students used to study at night.</i>
present	Koliko je sati?	<i>What time is it?</i>
past	Koliko je bilo sati?	<i>What time was it?</i>

“Existentials”

present	Danas ih ima mnogo.	<i>There's a lot of them today.</i>
past	Jučer ih je bilo mnogo.	<i>There were a lot of them yesterday.</i>
present	Tamo nema dobrih ljudi.	<i>There are no good people there.</i>
past	Tamo nije bilo dobrih ljudi.	<i>There were no good people there.</i>

Numbers 5 and higher

present	Pet lijepih djevojaka ulazi u sobu.	<i>Five beautiful girls are entering the room.</i>
past	Pet lijepih djevojaka je ušlo u sobu.	<i>Five beautiful girls came into the room.</i>
present	Pedeset učiteljica stupa u štrajk.	<i>Fifty teachers are going on strike.</i>
past	Pedeset učiteljica je stupilo u štrajk.	<i>Fifty teachers went on strike.</i>

B,C jučer / S,B juče; J lijepih djevojaka / E lepih devojaka

142 Modal verbs

Modal verbs express an attitude about the possibility, desirability, or need of an action: examples in English are *can*, *should*, *might*, *must*, *ought* (review [127] for discussion of two of these). As in English, such verbs cannot occur alone: the verb naming the action in question must also be present, either explicitly in the sentence or implicitly in the situation. The technical term

for this second verb is the *complement*. Modal verbs are conjugated like other verbs, and the complement always appears as an infinitive (or its replacement, **da** + present). Some verbs have only modal meaning, and some have both modal and non-modal meanings.

Modal verbs	modal meaning	non-modal meaning
moći	<i>can, be able to, may</i>	
mòrati	<i>must, have to</i>	
smjeti / smeti	<i>dare, be allowed to, may</i>	
trebatì	<i>ought, should</i>	<i>need</i>
umjeti / umeti	<i>know how to, be able to</i>	
valjati	<i>ought, should</i>	<i>be worth [something]</i>
znati	<i>know how to, can, be able to</i>	<i>know</i>

J smjeti / E smeti; J umjeti / E umeti

moći	Možeš li danas doći? Ona može <u>to</u> da radi. Mogu li sada ići?	<i>Can you come today? She is able to do that. May I go now?</i>
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C,B možeš li / B,S da li možeš; B,C možeš doći / S,B možeš da dodeš; S,B može da to radi / C,B može to raditi; B,C mogu li / S,B da li mogu; B,C mogu ići / S,B mogu da idem

morati	Morate stići na vrijeme. Moram večeras da radim.	<i>You must arrive on time. I have to work this evening.</i>
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C,B morate stići / S,B morate da stignete; J vrijeme / E vreme; B,S moram da radim / B,C moram raditi

smjeti / smeti	Tko <u>to</u> smije reći? Sada smete da zapalite. Smijem li vas nešto pitati?	<i>Who dares to say that? Now you may [= it's allowed to] light up. May I ask you something?</i>
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C tko / S,B ko; J smije / E sme; B,C smije to reći / B,S smije (sme) da to kaže; E smete / J smijete; B,S smijete (smete) da zapalite / B,C smijete zapaliti; J smijem / E smem; B,C smijem li vas pitati / B,S da li smijem (smem) da vas pitam

trebatì	Trebalo je da nam <u>kaže</u> ranije. Trebao je da nam <u>kaže</u> ranije.	<i>He ought to have told us sooner. [same]</i>
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J umije / E ume; B,C umije li plivati / B,S da li umije (ume) da pliva; J dijete / E dete

valjati	Ne valja tako govoriti.	<i>You / one shouldn't talk that way.</i>
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znati	Više se ničemu nije znao radovati. Kako ptice da nè znaju letjeti?	<i>He was no longer able to enjoy anything. How can birds not know how to fly??</i>
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C,B više se ničemu nije znao radovati / S,B više nije znao ničemu da se raduje; J letjeti / E leteti

With two exceptions, the examples above all illustrate the use of modal verbs in their conjugated forms. But modals also occur frequently in subjectless usage. Indeed, the modal meaning of **valjati** is possible only in 3sg. subjectless use. Similarly, **trebatì** in its modal meaning is used more frequently as a subjectless (3sg. only) verb than as a conjugated verb. For examples of these verbs, review [127].

In certain contexts, subjectless **treba** is so central a part of the general message that it is omitted, and its infinitive complement stands alone. This occurs in recipes, manuals, and other texts which communicate instructions about what *to do*. Most modals in subjectless usage are also impersonal: this means that the sequence of modal + complement is accompanied by the **se** of the impersonal usage (review [140]). The modal verb **morati** – either subjectless or conjugated – can also be used to state an inference. A similar meaning is expressed by the 3sg. future of **biti**.

Subjectless modal verbs

moći	Nakon r̄učka se može spavati. Né može se reći da je glup. Više se ništa nije moglo.	<i>You [one] can sleep after lunch. You can't [really] say he's stupid. Nothing could be [done] any more.</i>
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C,B se može spavati / S,B može da se spava; C,B može se reći / S,B može da se kaže

morati	Zar mu se mora reći? Što se mora, mora se. Moralo se tako dogoditi.	<i>Does he really have to be told? You do what you have to [= what must be (done), must be (done)]. It was bound to happen like that.</i>
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B,C mu se mora reći / S,B mora da mu se kaže; B,C moralo se dogoditi / S,B moralo je da se dogodi

smeti	Né smije se tako govoriti. Prava se nikome né smiju uskraćivati. Nije se smjelo tako govoriti.	<i>You can't / shouldn't talk like that. No one is to be deprived [= it is not allowed to deprive anyone] of his/her rights. You shouldn't have spoken like that.</i>
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J smije / E sme; B,C se tako govoriti / S,B tako da se govori; B,C se nikome ne smiju uskraćivati / S,B nikome ne smiju (smeju) da se uskrate; J smjelo / E smelo; B,C nije se smjelo tako govoriti / B,S nije smjelo (smelo) da se tako govori

trebatи	Staviti punu džezvu vode na šporet. Primaknuti jednu praznu šoljicu. Čim se voda skuva, treba odliti malo skuvane vode u tu šolju.	<i>Put a "džezva" full of water on the stove. Place an empty [coffee] cup nearby. As soon as the water boils, [you need to] pour a little of the water into that cup.</i>
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B,S šporet / C štednjak; S šoljicu / B,C šalicu; S skuva / B,C skuha; S skuvane / B,C skuhane

Inferential modal verbs

morati	Mora da se zato smiješ. Mora da nas je čekao celu noć. Ti mora da kod kuće čitaš rječnik!	<i>That must be why you are laughing. He must have waited all night for us. I bet you read dictionaries at home!</i>
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J smiješ / E sмејеш; E celu / J cijelu; J rječnik / E rečnik; S,C kod kuće / B kôd kuće

biti	Bit će da je to Vesna na vratima. Biće da su već krēnuli.	<i>That's probably Vesna at the door. They've no doubt left already.</i>
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B,C bit će / B,S biće

English speakers must take care when using negated forms of the modal verbs **moći** and **morati**, as the meanings are quite different from their English counterparts. In the affirmative, **morati** means that one is obliged to do something, that one *must* do something. In its negated form, however, it simply conveys the absence of obligation. The stronger meaning, that one *must*

not do something, is conveyed by the negated form of **moći** (which also has the expected meaning of *not be able*).

Negation

morati	To nè morà biti tako_. Nìsam morao da to jedem.	<i>It doesn't have to be like that. I wasn't obliged to eat it.</i>
moći	Ne mogu više_. Deco, ne možete tamo ući.	<i>I can't [do] any more. You can't [= mustn't] go in there, children.</i>

C,B mora biti / S,B mora da bude; S,B nisam morao da to jedem / C,B nisam to morao jesti; E deco / J djeco; C,B možete ući / B,S možete da uđete

143 Conjunctions, continued

Conjunctions are small words which spell out relationships between items. A few of them can join single words (as in English *students AND teachers*, *black AND white*, *sooner OR later*). Generally, however, a conjunction joins two portions of a sentence – two *clauses* – into a single complex sentence. Conjunctions such as *and*, *but*, *or*, and the like are called *coordinating conjunctions*: the clauses they connect are each able to stand on their own as separate sentences. Most complex sentences, however, contain a main clause and a subordinate clause. This second clause, which would be incomplete without the remainder of the sentence, is introduced by a *subordinating conjunction* such as *if*, *when*, *although*, *after*, and others.

As in English, a number of BCS conjunctions also function as other parts of speech. Many question words, such as **gde / gdje** “where”, **kad** (or **kada**) “when”, **kako** “how” and **koji** “which” are also used as conjunctions, usually with added meaning (for discussion of **kad** in conditional sentences, review [132b]; for discussion of **kako**, see [143c] below; and for discussion of the relative conjunction **koji**, review [128, 136a]). Various adverbs and prepositions can also be made into conjunctions by adding another segment. In this instance, however, BCS differs markedly from English, in which adverbs and prepositions such as *before*, *after*, *because* can also be used as conjunctions without changing form. In BCS, by contrast, some other element must always be added to make the word into a conjunction. If a word functions in the language only as a conjunction, it remains a single word: examples include **ako** “if”, **čim** “as soon as”.

The most important conjunctions in BCS are **da** and **što**. Although both can be used in the general meaning *that*, they are not interchangeable. In addition, each is used with a variety of more specialized meanings.

143a. Coordinating conjunctions: *and, but*

BCS has a number of different conjunctions meaning *and*. Each of them adds a particular specific shade of meaning to the general idea of “joining”.

The most basic of these is **i**: it specifies that two components are parallel in some way; the conjunction **a**, by contrast, specifies the lack of full parallelism on some level (review [10]). The conjunction **te** conveys the idea of addition to a base. Finally, the conjunction **pa** suggests sequentiality, either in terms of time (*and then*) or causation (*and so*). If **a** or **pa** is followed by **i**, this increases the sense of contrast. The conjunction **pak** is used (less frequently) in the same general meaning as **pa**. When used together with the phrase **da ne**, the conjunction **a** becomes a compound subordinating conjunction in the meaning *without*; for examples of usage, see [143b]. The conjunction **dok** is not usually grouped in the general category meaning *and*, yet it also can indicate simultaneity in time (when followed by an imperfective verb); in this meaning it is usually translated *while* (review [70b]). Some grammarians and speakers, however, accept only the conjunction **a** in this meaning.

There is also a group of conjunctions sharing the general meaning *but*. The most basic of these is **ali**. The other two are **već** and **nego**, each of which has the added meaning *but rather* – that is, they always convey the idea of a contrast between something negative and something positive, as in *NOT A BUT rather B*. **Već** and **nego** can be used either to connect smaller segments or at the sentence level. Each also has other meanings: **već** is an adverb meaning *already*, and **nego** is a conjunction meaning *than* (review [114]). In addition, **nego** (which is frequently shortened to **no**) is used to form compound conjunctions (for examples and discussion, see [143b]).

The conjunctions **ali** and **a** both require a comma to be written before them. For the use of conjunctions meaning *or*, *nor*, *either ... or*, and *both ... and*, review [56c].

Conjunctions meaning *and*

I [parallel]	<u>O</u> n dòlazi dànas. I òna dòlazi dànas.	<i>He's coming today and so is she</i> [= and she is coming today].
A [no parallel]	<u>O</u> n dòlazi dànas, a òna dòlazi sutra. <u>O</u> n je visok, a i òna je visòka.	<i>He's coming today and she's coming tomorrow.</i> <i>He's tall, but so is she.</i>
TE [addition]	ìdi te nàmešti krèvet. Kùpit éu nàràndžë, i kruške, i šljive i banàne, te kruh i pecìvo.	<i>Go and make your bed.</i> <i>I'll buy oranges, pears, plums, bananas, and [also] bread and rolls.</i>
PA [sequence]	Nestalo im je novàca, pa su mòrali da se vrate kući. Prvò éu to čitati ja pa onda ti.	<i>They ran out of money and had to come home.</i> <i>I'll read it first and then you [read it].</i>
DOK [concurrence] (or A)	Òna čita dok ja sèdim i pušim. Òna čita, a ja sèdim i pušim.	<i>She reads and [= as, while] I sit and smoke.</i> [same]

Conjunctions meaning *but*

ALI [contrast]	Zaista je čudno, ali je tačno.	<i>It's indeed strange, but it's true</i> [= correct].
VEĆ [not A but B]	Nije tu već je otišao kući. Moja kola nisu zelèna već crna.	<i>He's not here – he went home.</i> <i>My car isn't green but black.</i>
NEGO [not A but B]	Danas ne ràđi nego sèdi kod kuće.	<i>He's not working today but is rather staying [= "sitting"] at home.</i>

E namesti / J namjesti; B,C kupit éu / S,B kupiću; C,B kruh / S,B hleb (hljeb); S,B pa su morali da se vrate / C,B pa su se morali vratiti; B,S tacno / C točno; E sedi / J sjedi; S kod kuće / B kod kuće / C doma

143b. Compound conjunctions

A preposition must be followed by a noun, pronoun or numeral, while a conjunction is usually followed by a *clause* (a phrase including a verb). English speakers need to take note of this distinction because there are a number of instances in English where the same form serves both functions. In the English examples below, the prepositions and conjunctions are rendered in bold-face, and the object of each is underlined. From this it is clear that while the object of a preposition is a noun or a pronoun, the “object” of a conjunction is an entire clause. In a few instances (as in the final example below) English makes a slight distinction between the form of the preposition and the conjunction, but this is not usually the case.

	preposition	conjunction
before	<i>Finish up before dinner.</i>	<i>Finish up before they serve dinner.</i>
after	<i>Call me after class.</i>	<i>Call me after you get out of class.</i>
without	<i>We won't go without you.</i>	<i>We won't leave without seeing you.</i>
because [of]	<i>He's there because of you.</i>	<i>He's there because you are there.</i>

English speakers learning BCS will be tempted to follow the model of English and use prepositions as conjunctions with no change in form. They must take great care to remember that BCS does not allow this. For a BCS preposition to function as a conjunction, it must be supplemented with a conjunction-like element, producing what is called a *compound conjunction*. Sometimes this added element is the conjunction **što** alone, sometimes it is the compound phrase **toga što**, and in one instance it is the conjunction **nego** (or its shortened version **no**) followed either by **što** or **li** (review [114] for the use of **nego** vs. **nego što** with comparatives). Generally, the preposition is retained as part of the compound conjunction. Indeed, in one case it even merges into the conjunction: the compound conjunction **posle toga što** is frequently replaced by the shortened version **pošto**. In two instances, the conjunction **što** is added not to a preposition but to an adverb. The principle is the same, however: the single word adverb stands alone while the compound conjunction introduces a clause.

The conjunction **da** also participates in what could be called compound conjunctions. In most such instances, the relationship is less obvious because the word to which **da** is added is not always easily defined as either preposition or adverb. In one instance, in fact, there is no formal relationship at all between the simple function word and the compound conjunction. The preposition **bez** means *without*, and the function words **a ne** mean *and not*. The fact that the compound conjunction **a da ne** means *without* must be learned as an individual vocabulary item. Students must also remember that although English usually uses the gerundial form of the verb after the conjunction *without* (as in *He won't leave without SEEING you*), BCS uses a regularly conjugated form of the verb (*Neće otići a da te ne vidi*).

The examples below illustrate these relationships: prepositions and adverbs are labeled P and A, respectively, while the related compound conjunctions are labeled CC. For more on the conjunctions **kao što** and **kao da**, see [143g]; for discussion of the particle **ma**, see [143h].

BEFORE		
P = prije	Zovi me prije ručka.	<i>Call me before lunch.</i>
CC = prije nego što	Zovi me prije nego što izadeš.	<i>Call me before you go out.</i>
P = prije	Ona obično dolazi prije njega.	<i>She usually comes before him.</i>
CC = prije nego li	Prije nego li kupimo kuću, želimo da je i vi vidite.	<i>Before we buy the house, we want you to see it too.</i>
J prije / E pre		
AFTER		
P = posle	Baka spava posle ručka.	<i>Grandma sleeps after lunch.</i>
CC = posle toga što	Shvatio je njene reči tek posle toga što je izašao.	<i>He got the gist of her words only after he'd [already] left.</i>
pošto	Stigla je tek pošto je izašao.	<i>She arrived after he'd gone.</i>
P = nakon	Hajdemo na kafu nakon toga.	<i>Let's go for coffee after that.</i>
CC = nakon što	Zaspao je odmah nakon što je završio priču.	<i>He fell asleep immediately after finishing [= after he finished] [his] story.</i>

E posle / J poslije; B,C,S njene / C,B njezine; E reči / J riječi; B,S kafu / C kavu / B kahvu

THAN

P = **nego**
 CC = **nego što**

On govori brže nego ti.
Ona bolje piše nego što govori.

*He speaks faster than you.
 She writes better than she speaks.*

BECAUSE

P = **zbog**
 CC = **zbog toga što**

Došli smo zbog vas.
 Došli smo zbog toga što
 trebamo s vama razgovarati.
Nemoj to samo radi mene!
 Priča sa njom radi toga što hoće
 da joj pomoigne.

*We came because of you.
 We came because we need to talk
 to you.
 Don't [do] it just on my account!
 S/he talks with her because s/he
 wants to help her.*

A = **zato**
 CC = **zato što**

... i zato je ne volimo.
Pitam zato što tražim jednu
 osobu.

*... and that's why we don't like her.
 I ask because I'm looking for a
 [particular] person.*

S,C zbog vas / B zbog vas; C,B trebamo razgovarati / S,B treba da razgovaramo; C,S sa njom / B sa njom

JUST, ONLY

A = **tek**
 CC = **tek što**

Pročitao je tek polovinu knjige.
 Tek što smo popravili jedno,
 pokvarilo se drugo.

*He's finished only half the book.
 The minute we fixed one [thing],
 another [one] broke.*

EXCEPT

A = **osim**
 CC = **osim [toga] što**

Svi su tu – svi osim njega.
 Osim što je kasno počeo,
 koncert je bio izvanredan.

*Everyone's here – all but him.
 Other than starting late, the concert
 was outstanding.*

BESIDE

A = **pored**
 CC = **pored toga što**

Na stolu je, pored zida.
 Pored toga što piše pjesme,
 čime se još bavi?

*It's on the table, next to the wall.
 What else does she do besides
 writing poems?*

J pjesme / E pesme

SUCH, THUS, SO

A = **tako**
 CC = **tako da**

Nemoj tako govoriti.
 Sjedni kraj prozora tako da
 možeš bolje vidjeti.

*Don't talk like that [= such].
 Sit by the window so [in such a
 way that] you can see better.*

C,B nemoj tako govoriti / S,B nemoj tako da govorиш; J sjedni (sjedi) / E sedi (sedni); J vidjeti / E videti; C,B možeš bolje vidjeti / B,S možeš bolje da vidiš

BEING, SINCE

A = **budući**
 CC = **budući da**

Budući očev sin, nije izgubio
 vrijeme.
 Budući da će živjeti s njim,
 želim upoznati njegove
 roditelje.

*Being [= as he was] his father's
 son, he didn't lose any time.
 Since I'm going to be living with
 him I want to meet his parents.*

J vrijeme / E vreme; J živjeti / E živeti; C,B želim upoznati / S,B želim da upoznam

WITHOUT

P = bez	Sve je <u>t</u> <u>o</u> napravio bez ičije pomoći.	<i>He did it all without anyone's help.</i>
CC = a da ne	Ne može da <u>izade</u> , a da ne <u>lupi</u> vratima.	<i>He can't go out without slamming the door.</i>

B,S ne može da izade / C,B ne može izaći

143c. The conjunction *kako*

In its function as a question word, **kako** means *how*. As a conjunction, its most frequent meaning is *as, since*. It is also used quite often after verbs of perception such as *see, hear, notice, find*, and the like. Speakers of English will have difficulty with this second usage of **kako**, arising from the fact that questions can often be incorporated into sentences (as *embedded questions*, review [51]). That is, English speakers will naturally be tempted to translate the phrase **gledati kako rade** as *watch HOW they work*, when in fact it means *watch THEM WORK* (or *watch THEM WORKING*). In addition, English speakers must beware of the false correspondence suggested by the English gerundial form in *-ing*, and not use a verbal adverb in place of **kako** + present.

The conjunction **kako** can also be used in place of **da** in certain meanings. One of these is the conditional of purpose (review [134b]). Another is the more general meaning *that*. In Bosnian and Serbian, **kako** can be substituted for **da** in this meaning only when it retains something of the meaning of *manner*: the following verb must be imperfective and must describe an ongoing action. In Croatian, however, the conjunction **kako** can be used before verbs of either aspect, in the more general meaning *that*.

KAKO (conjunction)

<i>as, since</i>	Kako sada stoje stvari, to neće biti moguće. Uvijek radi sve kako treba. Ima pet godina kako / otkako ih nismo vidjeli.	<i>As things stand now, that won't be possible.</i> <i>He always does everything as he ought.</i> <i>It's been five years since we've seen them.</i>
[perception]	Gleda ih kako igraju kolo. Vidi kako dupini skaču! Video ih je kako kradu jabuke. Pronašli su ih kako leže u besvesnom stanju pored druma. Primjetili su vlak kako stiže.	<i>He watches them dance the "kolo".</i> <i>Look at the dolphins leap / leaping!</i> <i>He saw them steal the apples.</i> <i>They found them lying unconscious by the road.</i> <i>They noticed the train arriving.</i>
<i>that</i>	Sanjala je kako je napada. Ispricali su nam kako su lutali po brdima. Gledao je kako se oblaci razilaze. Video je kako su se oblaci razisli.[C] Izjavili su kako će poduzeti potrebne mjere. [C]	<i>She dreamed [that] he was attacking her.</i> <i>They told us [that / how] they were roaming the hills.</i> <i>He watched the clouds lift.</i> <i>He saw that the clouds had lifted.</i> <i>They announced that they would take the necessary measures.</i>

J uvijek / E uvek; J vidjeli / E videli; C dupini / B,S delfini; E video / J video; E besvesnom / J besvjesnom; S druma / B,C ceste; J primjetili / E primetili; C vlak / B,S voz; B,C poduzeti / S,B preduzeti; J mjeru / E mere

143d. The conjunction *da* and statements

When the conjunction **da** introduces a statement, it is either translated by English *that*, or is not translated at all (review [26a]). In the majority of the English translations below, the conjunc-

tion *that* is given in brackets. This enables English speakers not only to see how most such English sentences are grammatical either with or without the conjunction *that*, but also to remind them to pay special attention to the fact that BCS does NOT have this option. BCS must ALWAYS include the conjunction **da**.

In this meaning of **da**, the verb in the main clause must be one that takes a human subject, although the sentence itself can be subjectless. In a slightly more specialized usage, **da** can be placed after subjectless **nema**; this puts more emphasis on the speaker's belief in the non-existence in question. In this usage, the grammatical function of **da** is similar to that of a relative pronoun. Recall also that **da** after subjectless **mora** or **bit će / biće** indicates a presupposition (review [142]). In a related meaning, **da** + present tense can signify the perception of an action; **kako** is more frequently used, however (review [143c]).

DA (= English *that*)

statement	<p>Siguran sam da će stići na vreme.</p> <p>Rekla je da <u>nema</u> para.</p> <p>Mislim da je <u>to</u> dobro.</p> <p>Nema sumnje da je <u>to</u> bilo namjerno.</p> <p>Sanjala sam da me napoladaju.</p> <p>Pa znam da znaš!</p>	<p><i>I'm sure [that] s/he will come on time.</i></p> <p><i>She said [that] she has no money.</i></p> <p><i>I think [that] that's good.</i></p> <p><i>There's no doubt [that] it was deliberate.</i></p> <p><i>I dreamed [that] they were attacking me.</i></p> <p><i>Well, I know [that] you know!</i></p>
subject-less	<p>Rečeno je da se ništa ne menjia.</p> <p>Öćito je da im je ponestalo novca.</p> <p>Pričalo se da je bolestan.</p> <p>Vidi se da vas istinski voli.</p>	<p><i>It's been said that nothing [ever] changes.</i></p> <p><i>It's obvious [that] they've run out of money.</i></p> <p><i>The word went around [= it was said] that he was sick.</i></p> <p><i>One can see [that] they truly love you.</i></p>
after nema	<p>Nema lekara da ne zna za tu bolest.</p> <p>Nije bilo žene da nije znala presti.</p>	<p><i>There's not a doctor that doesn't know about that disease.</i></p> <p><i>There wasn't a single woman who [= that] didn't know how to spin.</i></p>
presupposition	<p>Mora da je zbog nje došao.</p> <p>Bit će da je <u>to</u> razlog.</p>	<p><i>He must have come because of her [= it must be because of her that he came].</i></p> <p><i>That must be the reason.</i></p>
perception	<p>Čujem ga da se penje uza stepenice.</p>	<p><i>I hear him coming up the stairs.</i></p>

E vreme / J vrijeme; E lepo / J lijepo; J namjerno / E namerno; E menjia / J mijenja; B,C novca / S,B novaca; S,B lekara (ljekara) / C liječnika; S,C zbog nje / B zbog nje; C,B bit će / S,B biće

The conjunction **da** nearly always depends upon a verb. However, on occasion it can follow a noun. In such instances, English speakers must pay special attention to **da**, since the corresponding English sentence normally contains *of* plus a gerundial form.

noun + da	<p>Примили смо вест да ће доћи.</p> <p>To nije dobar начин да се то уради.</p>	<p><i>We got the news of their arrival [= the news that they are coming].</i></p> <p><i>That's not a good way of doing it [= a good way for it to be done].</i></p>
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E vest / J vijest

143e. The conjunction **da** and potential actions

In its second major meaning, the conjunction **da** expresses the speaker's attitude about an action that has not yet been accomplished: most such sentences concern a wish or a request. The verb in the subordinate clause is almost always in the present tense. The overall sense is that of the English infinitive, which is why it is helpful for English speakers to translate **da** by English *to* in this meaning (keeping in mind, however, that the rules of English grammar do not allow the particle *to* after English modal verbs such as *let*, *can*, *should* and the like). If the subject of the main clause is different from that of the infinitive, all speakers of BCS will use a **da**-clause. It is only when the two subjects are the same that a BCS infinitive can be used (review [26c] and see [143f] for further discussion).

When the two subjects are different, English speakers often have difficulty translating to and from BCS, due to the fact that English requires the subject of such an infinitive to appear as an object (review [26b]). Sometimes, in fact, it helps to reformulate the English infinitive as a clause containing *that* followed by a modal verb such as *might*, *should*, *may*. Although such English sentences range from stilted to awkward, they will serve their purpose if they help English speakers learn to form the corresponding BCS sentences correctly. In the following examples, each English sentence is reformulated in this manner: the underscored sections correspond to the BCS “**da** + conjugated verb” phrases. The final example is grammatically complex: not only is the **da**-phrase quite long, but the English version also contains the verb *let*, which does not allow one to see the presence of the infinitive as easily.

DA (= English *to*)

potential
action

Hoću da sada <u>odeš</u> .	<i>I want you to leave now.</i> [= I desire <u>that you should leave now.</u>]
Očekuju da im <u>pišem</u> .	<i>They expect me to write them.</i> [= They expect <u>that I would write them.</u>]
Rekla mi je da <u>dodam</u> sutra.	<i>She told me to come tomorrow.</i> [= She said <u>that I should come</u> tomorrow.]
Zamoli ga da <u>uđe</u> .	<i>Ask him to come in.</i> [= Request of him <u>that he might come in.</u>]
Prisilili su ga da <u>prizna</u> .	<i>They forced him to confess.</i> [= They forcibly insisted <u>that he should confess.</u>]
Daj mi prvo da sjednem!	<i>Let me first sit down!</i> [= Allow me first <u>that I might sit down.</u>]
Ne smete dopustiti da vas neka gramatička pravila iz engleskog navedu na pogreške.	<i>You mustn't let some English grammar rules confuse you.</i> [= Don't allow <u>that some grammar rules of English should lead you to errors.</u>]

J sjednem / E sednem; E smete / J smijete

When a **da**-clause stands alone, this also communicates a wish, desire or request. It may help the student to view such clauses as shortened versions of compound sentences whose main verbs are ones such as *wish*, *want*, *hope*, or *must*. Accordingly, the following examples are given together with a longer version which might be thought to underlie them. When such a phrase is formulated as a question, the English translation must supply the accompanying modal verb. In these instances, of course, the context of the BCS sentence must be known in order to choose the

appropriate modal verb. Note that when **da** is followed by a first person plural verb, the meaning is very similar to the usage of **da** as seen after **hajde** (review [78c]).

A self-standing **da**-clause with a negated verb has two possible interpretations. If the sentence is a question, then it conveys the hope that something is not the case. But if it is a statement with the verb in the past tense, it communicates a command in the form of a veiled threat.

DA [single clause]

wish	Da si mi živ i zdrav! [= Želim da budeš živ i zdrav.] Samo da daska ne pukne! [= Nadam se da neće puknuti.] Da vas upoznam. [= Željela bih da vas upoznam.] Da se zna. [= Treba da se zna.]	<i>May you be happy!</i> [= I want you to be alive and well.] <i>If only the board doesn't break!</i> [= I hope (that) the board won't break!] <i>Let me introduce you.</i> [= I would like to introduce you.] <i>Let it be known [that...]</i> [= It should be known (that...)]
request	Gde da stavim kompjutor? [= Gde mogu / treba da stavim...] Da ga stavim ovde? [= Mogu li ja / treba li da ga stavim ovde?] Hmm. Da se nàgodimo? [= Možemo li da se nàgodimo?]	<i>Where may / should I put the computer?</i> [same] <i>May / Should I put it here?</i> [same]
[hajde]	Da se nàgodimo. Hajde da se nàgodimo.	<i>Hmm. Can / Shall we make a deal?</i> [same]
hope	Da nisi bolestan? Da mu se nije nešto dogodilo? Bože, da niste vi privatni detektiv?!	<i>I hope you're not sick?</i> <i>Let's hope nothing happened to him.</i> <i>Oh God, you're not a private detective, are you?</i>
threat	Da se nitko nije maknuo! Da to više nikad nisi učinio!	<i>Don't anybody move!</i> <i>Don't you ever do that again!</i>

C,B sretan / S srećan; J željela / E želeta; E gde / J gdje; B,S kompjutor / C kompjuter; S,B treba da stavim / C,B trebam staviti; E ovde / J ovdje; C nitko / S,B niko

In a related meaning, **da** expresses purpose or intention. The verb form following **da** can be either in the present tense or the conditional mood (on the latter, review [134b]). In either case, the general meaning is one of future time: the verbal action in the main clause is undertaken so that the action or state of the subordinate clause *will* (or will not) *be* achieved. English often uses additional modal verbs to express such meanings.

DA [= E to, so as to]

purpose [+pres]	Idemo tamo da jedemo kruške. Učvrsti to da se ne klima. Govorio je tiho da ne probudi ostale. Zasukao sam nogavice da ih ne uprljam. Otišla je da kupi cigarete.	<i>We're going there to [= so we can] eat pears.</i> <i>Fix that [tight] so it doesn't wobble.</i> <i>He spoke quietly so as not to wake others.</i> <i>I rolled up my trouser legs so as not to</i> [= so I wouldn't] <i>get them dirty.</i> <i>She went out to buy cigarettes.</i>
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purpose [+condl]	Podigla je novac iz banke da bi poslala djeci. Zasukao sam nogavice da ih ne bih uprljao.	<i>She took money out of the bank [in order] to send [it] to the children.</i> <i>I rolled up my trouser legs so as not to [= so I wouldn't] get them dirty.</i>
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B,S otišla je da kupi / C,B otišla je kupiti

143f. The conjunction *da* as infinitive replacement, continued

If an infinitive which follows another verb has the same subject as that verb, it is possible to replace the infinitive by a phrase composed of **da** plus a conjugated present tense form of the verb. There is no change in meaning: both mean *infinitive*. The **da**-phrase is preferred in Serbian, the infinitive is preferred in Croatian, and Bosnian uses both (review [26c]). In a few instances, however, it is the grammar and not the national origin of the speaker which tends to condition the choice. One such instance concerns sentences in which the underlying infinitive acts as the subject of the sentence. The **da**-clause is usually used if the infinitive has an explicit subject: the idea of *subject* can be conveyed either by the verb form ending, or in the form of a dative pronoun (expressing a logical subject). But if there is no explicit subject, then the infinitive is usually used (although an impersonal **da**-clause is possible). Another grammatically determined factor which may influence the choice (at least for some speakers) is word order. Namely, if the infinitive follows the main verb directly, it is more likely to be expressed as an infinitive, but if any other word (such as a pronoun object) intervenes, a **da**-clause becomes more acceptable.

DA + present vs. infinitive

Geographical / national

da [S,B] inf [C,B]	Želimo da učimo zajedno. Želimo učiti zajedno.	<i>We want to study together.</i> [same]
da [S,B] inf [C,B]	To ne može da se uradi. To se ne može uraditi	<i>That can't be done.</i> [same]
da [S,B] inf [C,B]	Počeo je da viče. Počeo je vikati.	<i>He began to shout.</i> [same]
da [S,B] inf [C,B]	Namjeravamo da kupimo novu kuću. Namjeravamo kupiti novu kuću.	<i>We intend to buy a new house.</i> [same]

Explicit subject for infinitive?

yes: da	Najbolje je da se prvo upoznamo.	<i>It's best we get acquainted first [= It's best for us to get acquainted first].</i>
yes: da	Najbolje je da odmah platиш.	<i>The best way is for you to pay immediately.</i>
yes: da	Teško mu je da živi sam.	<i>It's hard for him to live alone.</i>
no: infinitive **	Najbolje je platiti odmah. Najbolje je da se odmah platи.	<i>The best way is to pay immediately.</i> [same]
no: infinitive **	Živjeti sam je teško. Teško je da se živi sam.	<i>It's hard to live alone.</i> [same]

Word order: intervening items?

yes: da **	Zaboravio sam da vam kažem. Zaboravio sam vam reći.	<i>I forgot to tell you.</i> [same]
yes: da **	Nije želio da nam piše. Nije nam želio pisati.	<i>He didn't want to write us.</i> [same]

no: infinitive **	Zaboravio sam reći.	<i>I forgot to say.</i>
no: infinitive **	Zaboravio sam da kažem.	[same]
	Nije želio pišati.	<i>He didn't want to write.</i>
	Nije želio da piše.	[same]

J namjeravamo / E nameravamo; J živjeti / E živeti; J želio / E želeo ** also possible

The factor of individual variation also plays a role: not all speakers make the same choices (to replace or not) every time. Two predictions can be made with certainty, however. One is that Croats will use infinitives much more frequently than they will use **da** + present and that Serbs will follow the reverse pattern (they will use **da** + present much more frequently than infinitives). The other is that some types of infinitives will be replaced more frequently than others. Although these tendencies can sometimes be stated in grammatical terms, many of the choices made by speakers depend a great deal upon situational and social contexts. For more discussion of this complex sociolinguistic issue, see [171d].

143g. The conjunctions **što** and **da**

Both the conjunctions **što** and **da** can introduce subordinate clauses, and both are translatable in this meaning by English *that*. Although there is a certain overlap in usage, there are two types of sentences which require either one or the other.

In the first type, the determining factor is the verb of the main clause. If this verb concerns what may be called a mental action, it is followed by **da**. But if it expresses an emotional state, it is followed by **što**. The first two examples in the listing below illustrate the distinction, and the remainder provide additional examples of **što** following verbs of emotion follow (for more examples of **da** following verbs of mental states, review [143d]). The distinction is operative not only after verbs with expressed subjects but also in subjectless expressions which describe states. Nouns expressing emotion can also be followed by **što** if they are clearly related to verbs expressing emotion. As in the case of **da** preceded by a noun, English speakers must remember that the corresponding English sentence will use not a verb, but rather a prepositional phrase of some sort. In addition, English speakers must remember that while the conjunction *that* can be omitted in many English sentences, the corresponding BCS conjunction (whether **da** or **što**) cannot.

DA: fact / **ŠTO:** emotion

da	Rekli su da ga nema.	<i>They said that he wasn't around.</i>
što	Čudili su se što ga nema.	<i>They were surprised that he wasn't around.</i>
verb + što	Raduje se što si došao. Šteta što oni neće biti tu. Bio je zadovoljan što ih je bilo toliko mnogo. Razočarana sam što opet pijes.	<i>He's happy [that] you came. It's a pity [that] they won't be here. He was pleased [that] there were so many of them. I'm disappointed that you're drinking again.</i>
	Nemoj se ljutiti što nisi izabran. Vesele se što za pet dana odlazim.	<i>Don't get angry that you weren't chosen. They're happy that I'm leaving in five days.</i>
state + što	Žao mi je što si izgubio posao. Tužno mu je bilo što odlazi. Djvno je što ste došli.	<i>I'm sorry [that] you lost your job. He was sad [that] he was leaving. It's great [that] you've come.</i>
noun + što	Obuzela ga je radost što je ona tu.	<i>He was overcome by joy at her presence [= that she was here].</i>

B,C nemoj se ljutiti / S,B nemoj da se ljutiš

In the second type of sentence, the difference between **da** and **što** is both more subtle and more significant. In these sentences it is the conjunction itself (and not the preceding verb) that carries the meaning distinction. Namely, verbs in clauses introduced by **što** relate established facts, while those in clauses introduced by **da** describe a situation which has not yet come into full being. These situations can be of several sorts: simply a possibility, something imminent and about to happen, or something already in the initial stages. In other words, these **da**-phrases are equivalent to infinitives (review [143e]), which is shown by the alternate phrasing of the **da**-sentences below. The essential point here is that they are not completed results, and can therefore not yet be viewed as established facts. This general distinction also accounts for the difference between the compound conjunctions **kao što** and **kao da** (review [50]).

ŠTO: fact / **DA:** potentiality

što	Strah me je što ideš tamo.	<i>It frightens me that you're going there.</i>
da	Strah me je da idem tamo. [Strah me je ići tamo.]	<i>I'm afraid to go there.</i>
što	Bilo je veoma korisno što sam prvo pročitao upute!	<i>It was very useful to have read [= that I read] the instructions first.</i>
da	Bilo bi korisno da pročitate upute. [Bilo bi korisno pročitati upute.]	<i>It would be useful to read the instructions.</i>
što	Drago mi je što se čujemo.	<i>I'm glad that we're talking [on the phone].</i>
da	Drago mi je da vas vidim. [Drago mi vas je vidjeti.]	<i>I'm happy [at the opportunity] to see you.</i>
što	Postalo mi je neugodno što pred njim tako govorim.	<i>I started to feel uncomfortable about [= that I was] talking like that in front of him.</i>
da	Malo me je stid da priznam, ali stvarno volim sapunice. [Malo me je stid priznati, ali stvarno volim sapunice.]	<i>I'm a bit ashamed to admit it, but I really love soap operas.</i>
kao što	Da li si i ti iz Zagreba kao što su i tvoji roditelji?	<i>Are you from Zagreb, like [= as are] your parents?</i>
kao da	Ponaša se kao da je bogat.	<i>He behaves as if he were rich.</i>

C,B upute / S,B uputstva; B pred njim / S,C pred njim; B,S da li si / C,B jesli

143h. Subject and object clauses, continued

It is frequently the case that an entire clause functions either as the subject or the object of a sentence (review [99]). Such clauses are almost always introduced by the conjunction **što**. Obviously, the meaning of “established fact” (as discussed in the previous section) is part of this meaning as well. To illustrate this, two of the above examples are repeated below. The subject of each BCS sentence is underscored, and the English translations have been reformulated to include the phrase *the fact that*, emphasizing that it is the entire **što**-clause which is the subject. Accental information is omitted in these and similar sentence sets, as individual length marks will interfere with the marking of the subject.

što-clause as subject

Bilo je veoma korisno što sam prvo
procitao upute!
 Drago mi je što se čujemo.

*Reading the instructions first [= the fact that I read the instructions first] was very helpful.
 The fact that we're talking [on the phone] pleases me.*

The above translations are worded so as to underscore the factual nature of a **što**-clause. It is particularly important for the foreign learner to grasp this idea of FACT, since the tendency will be to translate English *that* with **da** (due to the simple fact that **da** occurs so much more frequently overall in the language than **što**). In learning to use such BCS sentences, therefore, it is helpful to remember the distinction between fact-clauses (introduced by **što**) and potentiality-clauses (introduced by **da**) that was discussed in the previous section. This is because the corresponding English sentences rarely use the phrase *the fact that*. Instead, English uses a wide variety of expressions, as illustrated in the examples below. The full subject of each BCS sentences is underscored, and the subject in each English translation is rephrased to include the phrase *the fact that...* If students encounter difficulty translating a particular sentence into BCS, they may try reformulating the sentence using the phrase *the fact that* to see if the English sentence is one which requires a subject clause introduced by **što**.

BCS **što** / E *the fact that...*

Problem je samo što ništa od toga
neće biti.

The only problem is [that] nothing will come of it. [= The fact that nothing will come of it is the sole problem.]

Ne tiče me se što ne znaš igrati šah.

It's not my concern that you don't know how to play chess. [= The fact that you don't know how to play chess doesn't concern me.]

Smeta mi što se ovdje ne puši.

*I'm annoyed there's no smoking here.
 [= The fact that one can't smoke here (is what) annoys me.]*

Dobro je što čete ih vidjeti.

It's good you're going to see them. [= The fact that you will see them is good.]

B,C neće biti / S,B neće da bude; B,C ne znaš igrati / S,B ne znaš da igraš; J ovdje / E ovde; J vidjeti / E videti; B,C čete ih vidjeti / S,B čete da ih vidite

Many such BCS sentences spell out the factual nature of the **što**-clause more explicitly by placing the pronoun **to** before **što**. This pronoun, which can also be placed before other clause-introducing elements such as question words, allows the clause to function as either subject or object within a larger sentence. The literal English rendering of **to što** is *that what* (or, in more grammatical English, *that which*). Students may use the similarity of this phrase to the previously discussed one, *the fact that...*, as a guide to understanding these sentences; certain of the examples below have been rephrased in this manner. When the phrase is introduced by **što** and is the subject of the sentence, the **to** can sometimes be omitted. Otherwise, it is obligatory. When the phrase functions as the object of a preposition, the **to** must appear in the appropriate case.

to + conjunction (**što**, **kako**, etc.)

Nom.	Da li vam smeta <u>to što ne pušim?</u> Dobro je i <u>to što čete ga vidjeti.</u> <u>Savršeno je to što sam tako blizu fakulteta.</u>
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<i>Does my not smoking [= the fact that I don't smoke] bother you? It's also [a] good [thing] that you will see him. [= The fact that you'll see him is also good.] It's ideal to be so close to campus. [= The fact that I live so close to campus is perfect.]</i>
--

Acc.	Uvek ёу misliti na <u>то</u> што je moglo biti. Не ёу se nervirati bez obzira na <u>то</u> што mi se dogodi.	I'll always think about what [= that which] might have been. I won't get nervous no matter what [= without regard to that which] happens [to me].
Gen.	Da pođemo od toga što već znamo.	Let's start from what [= that which] we already know.
	Sve zavisi od toga kako ёе se ponašati Rusija.	Everything depends on how [= the way in which] Russia behaves [= will behave].
Loc.	Bolje je ne misliti o tome što bi bilo da je bilo. Problem je u tome što mi nemamo dovoljno sredstava. Razgovarali smo o tome kako danas svi voze kola. Razmisljam o tome gde bi se to moglo dobiti.	It's better not to think of what [= that which] might have happened had it been [thus]. The problem is [= lies in the fact that] we don't have enough funds. We talked about how [= the fact that] everyone drives [a car] these days [= today]. I'm thinking about where [= the place in which] one might get it.
Instr.	Oduševljen sam time što dolazi. Ohrabrili ste nas time što ste tu.	I'm ecstatic [about the fact] that s/he's coming. You've given us courage [just] by [the fact of] being here.

B,S da li vam smeta / C,B smeta li vam; J vidjeti / E videti; B,C ёете ga vidjeti / S,B ёете da ga vidite; B,C ne ёu morati ići / S,B ne ёu morati da idem; E uvek / J uvijek; B,C moglo biti / S,B moglo da bude; C sto / B,C šta; B,S zavisi / C ovisi; E gde / J gdje; C,B se moglo dobiti / S,B moglo da se dobije

In the above sentences, the question word **што** introduces a clause, and the function word **to** preceding it serves to emphasize this fact. Because it is a question word, it cannot change form. But **to** (or the related form **ono**) can also precede the relative pronoun **што**, acting as its antecedent (review [136c]). As in any relative clause, the antecedent and the relative pronoun each can (and must) take the appropriate case forms required by the grammar of the respective clause. In the following examples, the case of the antecedent (**to** or **ono**) and the case of the relative pronoun (**што**) are given in the abbreviated form A / R.

Relative clauses

A / R	= [case of antecedent / case of relative pronoun]	
N / N	Случај је <u>оно</u> што одређује место сваког од нас. Свиђа му се <u>оно</u> што се свиђа и нама.	It's fate that [= fate is that which] determines the lot of each one of us. He likes what we like. [= What pleases him is that which pleases us as well.]
N / A	То што имам не вреди много.	What [= that which] I have isn't worth much.
A / A	Показаћу ти <u>оно</u> што сам добио.	I'll show you what [= that which] I got.
A / A	Не могу да оценим <u>то</u> што ради у вези с тим.	I can't evaluate what [= that which] s/he is doing in this regard.
	Слушала је пажљиво то што је рекао.	She listened carefully to what [= that which] he said.
N / D	Опет сте прекинули? То није <u>оно</u> чему сам се надао.	You've broken up again? That's not what [= that which] I was hoping [to hear].

E mesto / J mjesto; S,C od nas / B od nas; E vredi / J vrijedi; S,B pokazaču / C,B pokazat ёu; E oceniti / J ocijeniti; S,B ne mogu da ocenim (ocijenim) / B,C ne mogu ocijeniti

143j. Doubled conjunctions expressing comparison

Most doubled conjunctions in BCS correspond to non-equivalent conjunctions in English. For instance, the BCS pair **i ... i** is translated by English *both ... and*, and the BCS pairs **ili ... ili** and **ni ... ni** by English *either ... or* and *neither ... nor*, respectively (review [56c]). But there are two instances in which the relationship is the reverse. One concerns phrases such as *the more the better*: English uses the parallel forms *the ... the*, where BCS uses the non-parallel forms **što ... to** (review [114a]). The other concerns English comparisons of equivalence expressed with the basic pair *as ... as* (which can also take the form *as ... so*).

BCS has no one equivalent to this second English construction, which can sometimes cause translation difficulties for English speakers. The corresponding BCS sentences require a sequence of conjunctions, one a question word beginning with **k-**, and the other an adverb or pronominal adjective beginning with **t-** (less frequently **on-**); the conjunction **i** can sometimes precede the second of these. The most frequent such pair is **kako ... tako**. But a number of others also are possible, such as **kad ... tad**, **koliko ... toliko**, **kud ... tud**, and the like. The choice of the words themselves is determined by the grammatical requirements of the sentence, but it is the fact that they rhyme which expresses the equivalence between the two poles of comparison.

In shorter sentences, such phrases often function idiomatically; a number of examples are given below (including one of the pair **što ... to**, which occurs in this meaning usually only in formalized expressions). The final example, which also illustrates the difficulties of translating such constructions into English, is a riddle by the 19th century Serbian author Jovan Jovanović Zmaj. The student should also be on the lookout for such phrases in longer sentences. One may not realize that a particular instance of **kako** is part of such a pair until one encounters its partner **tako**: in a very complex prose passage, for instance, the **kako** and the **tako** may be separated by two or more printed lines on the page. Additionally, the sequence **kako ... tako i** is often used in the meaning *both ... and*, particularly in longer sentences.

Comparison / equivalence

kako ... tako	Kako Pàriz, tako i cijèla Francuska. Kako siješ, tako céš i žeti. Kako se ti ponašaš prema ljudima, tako cé se i oni prema tebi. Kako došlo, tako prošlo. Kako došlo, tako i otišlo.	<i>As in Paris, so in all of France.</i> [= The rest of France goes the way Paris goes.] <i>As ye sow, so shall ye reap.</i> <i>People will treat you the way you treat them.</i> <i>Easy come, easy go.</i> [same]
kako ... tako i	To biva kako u gradu, tako i na selu.	<i>It happens both in town and in the country.</i>
kud ... tud	Kud svi, tud i mi. Kud brod, tud i barka.	<i>We go with the crowd</i> [= where all (go), so we (go) too]. <i>One goes with the flow</i> [= where the ship goes, there too goes the fishing boat].
što ... to	Što joj se htilo, to joj se i snilo.	<i>She got what she wanted in her dreams</i> [= as she wished, so she dreamed].
toliko ... koliko	Uzet éu toliko kolačé koliko mi prija.	<i>I'll take as much cake as I want.</i>
onoliko ... koliko	– Koliko je od neba do zemljé? – Od neba do zemljé je tamán onoliko koliko je od zemljé do neba.	<i>“How far is it from heaven to earth?”</i> <i>“It's exactly as far from heaven to earth as it is from earth to heaven.”</i>
	– Jovan Jovanović Zmaj	

J cijela / E cela; J siješ / E seješ; J što / E šta; J htilo (htjelo) / E htelo; C,B uzet éu / S,B uzeću

143k. “Indefinite” conjunctions and pronouns

Various particles can be added to pronouns or conjunctions in BCS to express the idea of indefiniteness conveyed in English by the suffix *-ever* (as in *whatever*, *whoever*, *whenever*, etc.) or the phrase *no matter ...* (as in *no matter what*, *no matter how*, etc.). The particles **bilo** and **god** are used throughout BCS; the particle **ma** is used frequently in Bosnian and Serbian, but much less frequently in Croatian.

The particles **bilo** and **ma** are placed before the conjunction in question and are always written separately. The particle **god** is placed after the conjunction in question. If it is written together with the conjunction as a single word, it has essentially the same meaning as **ma** or **bilo**: all refer to a potential (non-factual) situation. If a **da**-phrase follows, this increases the sense of potentiality; English translations can sometimes render this by adding modal verbs such as *might*.

When the particle **god** is written and pronounced separately, the meaning is less potential. It may not always refer to an actual situation of fact: the point is that it is possible for it to do so.

Indefinite conjunctions

bilo	Pitaj bilo koga, svi će znati. Bilo ko da zvoni, ne otvaraј vrata. Bojim se da on nije pouzdan izvor; reći će ti bilo šta. Nije važno kud idemo, hajdemo bilo kud.	Ask anyone [at all]; everyone will know. Don't open the door, no matter who rings [the bell]. I fear he's not a reliable source, he'll tell you [just] any old thing. It's not important where we go, let's just go somewhere [= anywhere].
S,B ko / C tko;	S,B bilo šta / C bilo što;	B,S kud / C kamo
ma	Ma gdje gledaš, svud je isto. Sačekaću te ma kad da dođeš. Uzeo bi ma šta.	No matter where you look, it's the same everywhere. I'll wait for you no matter when you come. He would / could take any old thing.
J gdje / E gde;	B,S svud / C svugdje;	B,S sačekaću / C,B sačekat ču;
-god	Hće li tkogod biti kod kuće? Idete li kad god u bioskop?	Will there be anyone at home? Do you ever go to the movies?
B,C hoće li biti / S,B da li će da bude;	C tkogod / B,S kogod;	S,C kod kuće / B kod kuće / C doma;
/ S,B da li idete;	S bioskop / C,B kino	B,C idete li
god	Šta god je uradio, dobro je uradio. Kad god putujem, čitam novine. Uzmi koji god kolač želiš. Nemoj mi reći kakve cipele da kupim. Kupiću kakve god hoću. Koliko god je učio, nije uspio naučiti francuski.	What[ever] he did, he did well. I read the paper whenever I travel. Take whichever of the cakes you want. Don't tell me what sort of shoes to buy. I'll buy whatever [= the] kind I want. No matter how much he studied, he didn't manage to learn French.
B,S šta god / C što god;	C,B nemoj mi reći / S,B nemoj da mi kažeš;	S,B kupiću / C,B kupit ču;
C,B naučiti / S,B da nauči		J uspio / E uspeo;

Question words used after the verbs **imati** and **nemati** also convey the idea of indefiniteness, but with a somewhat more poetic stylistic connotation. If the question word is an interrogative pronoun, the meaning is equivalent to a sentence with the corresponding indefinite (or negative) pronoun (review [56a]). If other question words are used, the translation must insert addi-

tional words. The first two examples below illustrate the use of interrogative pronouns in this way. Example (1) is taken from an everyday speech context: (1a), with the interrogative pronoun, is a shorter and quicker way to express the basic idea, and is often used in such contexts rather than its synonym (1b). Example (2a) is quoted from a book of aphorisms by the Belgrade radio announcer Dušan Radović. If the aphorism had been stated using negative pronouns, the relevant portions would appear as given in (2b). The meaning is the same; yet much of what makes Radović's expression aphoristic is the use of the interrogative pronoun in this indefinite meaning, rather than the more conventional negative pronoun.

The third example, quoted to illustrate the use of a question word, reproduces the initial stanza of a poem by the Serbian poet Desanka Maksimović. Here, the question word **kad** "when" cannot be replaced by a pronoun: the only possible replacement is a noun such as **vremena** "time". Although the meaning is "the same", the use of the question word definitely adds to the poetic expression of the line.

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| 1a | <u>Немам</u> с <u>ким</u> да идем у град. | <i>I don't have anyone to go to town with.</i> |
| 1b | <u>Нема</u> никога с <u>ким</u> бих ишао у град. | |
| 2a | Страшно је то кад имате нешто
важно да испричате, а немате
коме. А још је страшније кад
имате коме, а немате шта.
—Душан Радовић | <i>It's terrible when you have something
important to say and nobody to say it
to, but it's worse when you have some-
one to talk to and nothing to say.</i>
—Dušan Radović |
| 2b | [... нема никога коме бисте могли испричати]
[... немате ништа испричати] | |
| 3a | Немам више времена за дуге реченице
Немам кад да преговарам.
—Десанка Максимовић | <i>I have no more time for long sentences
I don't have time to negotiate.</i>
—Desanka Maksimović |

S,B da idem / C,B ići; S,C u grad / B u grad; B,S da ispričate / C,B ispričati; B,S šta / C što

CHAPTER 15

144 Expressions of future meaning

The idea of *future* involves the prediction that a particular action will be taken or a particular state will come about. Not surprisingly, this idea is most frequently expressed by the *future tense* – a compound comprising a conjugated form of **hteti** / **htjeti** plus the infinitive of either a perfective or an imperfective verb, depending on the desired meaning (review [95-96]). But the idea of future action itself can also be expressed by certain present tense verbs. For instance, the present tense of imperfective verbs of motion can be used to refer to an expected result of that motion (review [55d], and the reminder example below). Speakers also frequently have occasion to refer to two future actions in the same sentence, one of which is nearer to the present time than the other. The action which the speaker expects to be completed first is stated by a present tense perfective verb, and the action which is expected to follow is stated in the future tense (or, if the situation requires it, the imperative). In such sentences, the perfective present tense verb always follows a conjunction which refers in some way to the envisioned completion of an action. These conjunctions include **kad**, **ako**, **ćim**, and the like. Because English uses present tense verbs to express the same types of future expectations, these sentences will seem quite natural to English speakers. One must remember, in fact, that although the future tense can be used in almost any kind of BCS sentence, the one place it is NOT allowed is precisely after these conjunctions.

The **budem** forms of the verb **biti** (review [52c]) belong with those perfective present tense forms used after conjunctions implying futurity. This particular verb is most frequently used as part of the *exact future* (review [130] and see [144a]), and is also used as the imperative of **biti** (review [78a]). When used after one of the above conjunctions or after the particle **neka** (review [78d]), it sometimes carries a quasi-subjunctive meaning best translated with English *may* or *should*; other times it is simply translated with a form of *be*.

Future tense

imperfective	Сутра ћу цео дан учити.	<i>Tomorrow I will study all day.</i>
perfective	Учи, па ћеш научити.	<i>Study, and [eventually] you'll learn [it].</i>

Present tense, future meaning

imperfective	Долазе идућег месеца.	<i>They're coming next month.</i>
perfective	Кад дођу, све ће нам казати. Ако се врати данас, видећеш га. Јави се чим завршиш.	<i>When they arrive, they'll tell us all. If he gets back today, you'll see him. Call me as soon as you get done.</i>

S ceo dan / C,B cijeli dan; E meseca / J mjeseca; E videti / J vidjeti; S,B videćeš (vidjećeš) / C,B vidjet ćeš

budem

future	Ако од тога нешто буде, јавићу се. Кад будеш у Риму, видећеш много тога.	If something comes of it, I'll call [you]. When you are in [= get to] Rome, you'll see a lot of things.
"subjunctive"	Бићемо ту, па шта буде, буде. Боже, дај да буде он! Нека буде што бити не може. (из Горског вијенца П.П. Његоша)	We'll be there, come what may [= let be what will be]. Oh God, let it be him! Let what cannot be come to pass. (from Njegoš's <i>The Mountain Wreath</i>)

S,B javiću se / C,B javit ēu se; S,B bićemo / C,B bit ēmo; S,B šta / C što

144a. The exact future, continued

BCS has two different ways of expressing the idea that one future action is contingent upon the completion of another future action. The first action, the one nearer in time to the moment of speaking, can be expressed with a present tense perfective verb, as seen above in [144]. But it can also be expressed with the tense called the *exact future*. This tense comprises a conjugated form of **budem** and the L-participle (see [130] for a sample paradigm). BCS grammarians also use the term *second future* (**futur II** or **futur drugi**) for this tense – with the intent, of course, of distinguishing it from the future tense with **hteti** / **htjeti** (which, if necessary, they call the *first future*, or **futur I** / **futur prvi**). The exact future is used only after conjunctions such as **kad**, **ako**, **čim**, and the like – those conjunctions noted above which express some sense of completion, and after which one may not use the first future.

Although in principle the exact future can be formed from verbs of both aspects, in practice it is almost always used with imperfective verbs. When used with a perfective verb, it is identical in meaning to the present tense form of that verb used after that conjunction; in nearly all instances, therefore, speakers express this particular type of future idea with the simpler present tense form. When used with an imperfective verb, however, the exact future does change the meaning, in a way which makes the connection between the two future actions more precise. The verb in the exact future (the one expressing the action nearer in time to the moment of speaking) is imperfective, and by definition lacks the closure of a perfective verb. At the same time, the combination of the conjunction (whose meaning implies completion) and the use of the exact future (instead of the present) does add a certain amount of closure. In other words, the exact future expresses an aspectual meaning which is somewhere between perfective and imperfective: it allows a speaker to express more of a sense of completion than is inherent in an imperfective verb, but not so much as that inherent in a perfective verb. The English translations given below attempt to demonstrate the more specifically goal-oriented (and thus more perfective-like) meaning which an imperfective verb takes on when used in the exact future.

The exact future can also be used after relative conjunctions (primarily **koji**) in a particular sort of indefinite meaning, underscoring the fact that the identity of the antecedent is not yet known. Sometimes the English indefinite pronouns *whoever* and *whichever* can render this meaning. The imperfective present can usually be used in these sentences in the same meaning.

Exact future

after kad , ako , etc.	Kad budem imao pet tisuća eura, kupit ēu sebi polovan auto. Ako budeš dobro učio, ovaj put ćeš položiti ispit. Osjećat ēu se bolje čim budem čitala svoje sopstvene knjige.	When I have [= get] 5,000 euros, I'll buy myself a second-hand car. If you [manage to] study well, you'll pass the exam this time. I'll feel better once I [am able] to read my own books.
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after koji , etc.	Ne kupuj kola koja ne budu išla (= idu) sto milja na sat. Nagradu će osvojiti tko bude imao (= ima) najviše bodova. Venut će trava kud bude prolazila neprijateljska vojska.	<i>Don't buy a [= any] car that doesn't do 100 miles per hour.</i> <i>The one [= whoever] has the most points will get the prize.</i> <i>Wherever the enemy army passes, the grass will wither.</i>
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C tisuću / B,S hiljadu; C,B eura / S,B evra, C,B kupit će / S,B kupiću; J osječati / E osećati; C,B osjećat će / S,B osećaću (osjećaću); B,S sopstvene / C vlastite; C tko / B,S ko; C,B venut će / S,B venuće

145 Aspect usage, continued

The essential part of a perfective verb's meaning is the idea of boundedness, or limitation. If a perfective verb is chosen to describe an action, then some sort of closure is present in the verbal meaning, usually in the form of viewing an action as a *single completed instance*. By contrast, the essential part of an imperfective verb's meaning is the absence of this boundedness or limitation. If an imperfective verb is chosen to describe an action, then this absence of closure is part of the intended meaning. For instance, to describe an action *in progress* means to take focus away from the closure of its potential completion; to describe an action as *repeated* by definition excludes the closure inherent in the idea of a one-time action; and to describe an action as a *generic fact* excludes the closure which is present in the description of a single instance of that action. Within these broad constraints, each aspect is able to express a number of subsidiary meanings, depending on the grammatical context in which it is used. Although BCS has fewer tenses than English, it can render very precise shades of meaning through the combination of tense and aspect.

145a. Specific meanings of the imperfective aspect

Imperfective verbs are used freely in the *present tense*. As the verb of a sentence's main or only clause, imperfective verbs can occur in all three of the basic meanings outlined above. They can also be used after conjunctions in subordinate clauses, given that no closure is implied. Imperfective present tense verbs can also be used in the narration of past tense events; for discussion and examples see [145c].

In the *past tense*, by contrast, the use of an imperfective verb usually conveys some additional meaning other than simple past; most frequently, this additional meaning is the idea of repeated action. Speakers of English must also pay particular attention to the seemingly obvious fact that imperfective verbs in the past tense also carry the information that the action no longer continues in the present. The reason this may create problems is because the neutral English past tense, the simple past, usually communicates closure as well. To reproduce the correct meaning of a BCS past imperfective verb, therefore, one must find a way to express the idea *past* without expressing closure. This can be done in various ways depending on the meaning of the particular verb. For instance, the idea of repetition can be expressed in English by using the conditional (review [134a]) or the habitual auxiliary form *used to*. Sometimes, in fact, the English simple past is sufficient if it is clear from the meaning that no closure is intended. But this absence of closure is a very important part of a BCS imperfective verb. Indeed, BCS speakers are so aware of it that they often translate imperfective verbs incorrectly into English, using the English progressive tenses (*am doing, was doing, will be doing*) for ALL imperfective verbs, and not just those that specifically refer to actions in progress. For their part, English speakers must take care to avoid the present perfect when translating BCS past imperfective verbs, since this English tense (the present perfect) usually corresponds to a present tense imperfective verb in BCS (review [106a]).

In the *first future*, imperfective verbs describe repeated actions, and actions without closure. If a speaker wishes to express more closure but still not use a perfective verb, s/he uses the *exact*

future (review [144a]). Certain imperfective verbs can also be used in the first future with something akin to a conditional-like meaning, which suggests the likelihood of something which might come about. This is the only time the first future can be used after a conjunction introducing a subordinate clause.

Imperfective verbs are used freely in the *imperative* mood, either to express the general idea of an action, or to express repeated action. After the negative particle **ne**, however, an imperfective imperative has the meaning of both aspects (review [78e]).

An *infinitive* is used either as the subject of a sentence or after another verb. Aspect choice in the infinitive depends almost completely on the intended meaning. However, only imperfective infinitives can be used after the verbs **početi / počinjati** “begin”, **nastaviti / nastavljati** “continue”, and **prestati / prestajati** “stop, cease”.

PRESENT

repeated action	Moja žena gleda televiziju, a ja idem na pijacu.	<i>My wife watches TV, and I go [= I am the one who goes] to the market.</i>
action in progress	Moja žena ide u samouslugu, da kupi hleb i mleko.	<i>My wife is going to the [self-service] market to buy bread and milk.</i>
fact of action	Ja skupljam marke.	<i>I collect stamps.</i>
[subordinate clause]	Ne prekidaj me dok govorim! Jedino žalim što odleću ptice.	<i>Don't interrupt me while I'm talking!</i> <i>I'm only sorry that the birds are leaving [= flying off].</i>

S,B pijacu / B,C tržnicu; S,B samouslugu / C,B samoposlugu; E hleb / J hljeb; S,B hleb (hljeb) / B,C kruh; E mleko / J mlijeko; E odleću / J odlijeću

PAST

repeated action	Obično je taj ples izvodio. Cijelog dana im je to demonstrirao. Tamo smo se okupljali svake nedelje.	<i>He usually performed that dance.</i> <i>He would demonstrate it for them [over and over] all day long.</i> <i>We used to get together there every Sunday.</i>
action in progress	U dubini srca ga je morio težak problem.	<i>Deep down [= in the depths of his heart] a serious problem was tormenting him.</i>
fact, no closure	Svakome se radovao. Tamo je radio, gle čuda, Vlado.	<i>He was glad [to see] everyone.</i> <i>And what do you know, that's where Vlado worked.</i>
[completed in past]	Tamo je radio pet godina.	<i>He worked there for five years.</i>

C,B taj ples / S tu igru; J cijelog / E celog; E nedelje / J nedjelje

FUTURE

repeated action	Od svih vas sada ću jedino sretati nju, a nju najmanje volim vidjeti! Uvijek se bojim da će mi se rugati.	<i>Of all of you, now she's the only one I am going to be meeting, and she's the one I least like to see!</i> <i>I'm always afraid that people will make fun of me.</i>
no closure	Danas nećemo ništa učiti, samo ćemo razgovarati.	<i>We won't learn any [grammar] today, we'll just talk [among ourselves].</i>

likelihood	Gospođa će se sjećati što je <u>tu</u> <u>bilo</u> . Bit će da ga još nije vidjela.	<i>Madam surely remembers [= will probably remember] what happened here. Probably [= it will no doubt be the case that] she hasn't seen him yet.</i>
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J vidjeti / E videti; B,C volim vidjeti / S,B volim da vidim; J uvijek / E uvek; B,C samo čemo razgovarati / S,B samo čemo da razgovaramo; J sjećati / E sećati; C,B će se sjećati / S,B će da se seti (sjeti); C što / S,B šta; C,B bit će / S,B biće; J vidjela / E videla

IMPERATIVE

repeated action	Пишите нам чешће!	<i>Write us more often!</i>
lack of closure	Пијте, једите, веселите се!	<i>Eat, drink and be merry!</i>
after ne	Не тражите ме тамо, пријатељу. Не говорите на тај начин.	<i>Don't look for me there, [my] friend. Don't talk in that manner.</i>

145b. Specific meanings of the perfective aspect

Perfective verbs are used in the *present tense* in a number of different instances. The most frequent of these is after conjunctions which contain a meaning of potential closure, such as **kad**, **ako**, **da**, and the like (review [53c]). When the meaning specifically projects the completion of an action into the future, one could in principle use the exact future, but in fact speakers almost always use the perfective present (review [144a]). The perfective present after such conjunctions can also refer to repeated (or potentially repeatable) actions. Even though this meaning is somewhat closer to the idea of an imperfective verb, the perfective-like meaning of the conjunction usually requires the use of a perfective verb.

Another frequent usage of present-tense perfective verbs is to describe repeated instances of the same completed action. Such usage would seem to contradict the basic idea of aspect differentiation, since it combines the meanings of perfective aspect (completed action) and imperfective aspect (repeated action). In a purely technical sense, the primary meaning of these sentences is imperfective, yet speakers frequently use a perfective verb in order to put emphasis on the fact of completion each time the action is undertaken.

Two other instances of the perfective present have implied future meaning. One of them also refers to repeated actions, predicting a particular future result of an action each time it occurs. The other occurs after the introductory phrase **zaštò ne**, and functions as a suggestion that the action in question be carried out; in a sense, it is a covert imperative. Finally, present tense verbs can be used in narration of past events; for discussion and examples, see [145c].

Perfective verbs are used very frequently in the *past tense*. Indeed, the meaning of a perfective verb accords naturally with the meaning *past*, since most instances of past action concern single completed actions. In addition, repeated past action can also be described with perfective past tense verbs if one desires to focus on the fact that the action was completed each time. English almost always uses the simple past to translate BCS perfective past tense verbs. However, if the context includes a reference to another past action which was completed subsequent to the past action in question, English usually requires the pluperfect. BCS does have a pluperfect tense (for discussion, see [149]), but uses it relatively rarely. The combination of perfective aspect in the past tense and context usually convey the intended meaning.

In the *future tense*, most verbs are perfective, since the basic idea of the future tense is to announce the prediction of a completed action. Perfective verbs are also used quite frequently in the *imperative* mood, again due to the basic idea of the imperative, which is to request that a single action be performed to completion. If a perfective imperative is used after the negative particle **ne**, a strong overtone of caution is added to the basic command (review [78e]).

PRESENT

after kad , etc. [future]	Upòznat cete ih kad mi dođu u posjet. Ako umrem, ti i on sve dijelite na dva dijela. Kad se oporavite, možemo tamo zajedno otici.	<i>You'll meet them when they come to visit me.</i> <i>If I die, you and he divide everything up into two [equal] parts.</i> <i>When you get better, we can go there together.</i>
[repeated]	Kad obuče bluzu, izgleda kao beli oblakiza šarene duge.	<i>When[ever] she puts the blouse on, she looks like a white cloud behind a colorful rainbow.</i>
repeated completed action	Ništa me drugo tako ne opusti kad se vratim s posla. Obično to završi za jedan dan.	<i>Nothing relaxes me so well [each time]</i> <i>I get home from work.</i> <i>S/he usually finishes it in a single day [each time].</i>
predicted result	Glad i vuka iz šume istjera. Ko prođe, prođe.	<i>Hunger will drive even a wolf from the forest.</i> <i>Whoever [is able to] get through [will] get through.</i>
after zašto ne	Zašto ne preskočimo taj deo?	<i>Why don't we [just] skip this part?</i>

B,C upoznat cete / B,S upoznaćete; J posjet, posjeta / E poseta; B,S u posjetu (posetu) / C u posjet; J dijelite / E delite; J dijela / E dela; C,B možemo otici / S,B možemo da odemo; E beli / J bijeli; J istjera / E istora; S,B ko / C tko; E deo / J dio

PAST

single action	Jednoga dana mu se izjadao. Poletio je da ga pronađe.	<i>One day he poured out his heart to him.</i> <i>He flew off to find him.</i>
repeated completed action	On je svaki put poželio da se vine u zrak, ali je to uvijek žalosno svršilo.	<i>Each time he wanted to rise up into the air, but it [= each attempt] always ended badly.</i>
prior completed action	Bilo mi ga je tužno gledati. Skupio se tamo poput ranjenog životinja. Postupao je prema njemu kao da pred sobom ima poslovnog partnera, a ne strica koji ga je othranio.	<i>It saddened me to look at him. He was huddled there [= had contracted himself] like a wounded animal.</i> <i>He acted as if he were dealing with a business partner, and not the uncle who had raised him [from childhood].</i>

J poletio / E poleteo; B,C zrak / S,B vazduh; J uvijek / E uvek; C,B svršilo / S,B završilo; B,C bilo mi ga je tužno gledati / S,B bilo mi je tužno da ga gledam

FUTURE

projected completion	Prijatejji, sve čemo vam objasniti. Pjesma će vam sve reći. Sutra će ga operirati.	<i>Friends, we will explain everything to you.</i> <i>The poem will tell you all.</i> <i>They will operate on him tomorrow.</i>
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J pjesma / E pesma; B,C će vam reći / S,B će da vam kaže; B,C će ga operirati / S,B će da ga operišu

IMPERATIVE

single action	Pozdravi Ljubicu. Molim te, dodaj mi <u>so</u> i biber.	<i>Give Ljubica my greetings. Please pass the salt and pepper.</i>
ne [caution]	Ne zaboravi da <u>kupiš</u> mleko. Ne zezaj se sa mnom!	<i>Don't forget to buy milk [if you want some in your coffee in the morning]. Don't mess with me!</i>

S,B so / C sol; S,B biber / C papar; S,B ne zaboravi da kupiš / C ne zaboravi kupiti

145c. Aspect use in narrative contexts

An English narrative of past tense events is told largely in the simple past. It may also contain a few verbs in the pluperfect (specifying events that had been completed before the past tense narrative begins), and there may be a few verbs in the past progressive (describing ongoing actions within any one scene). By and large, however, the simple past carries the tale. By contrast, a BCS narrative of past events takes advantage not only of aspectual distinctions but also shifts between present and past tense, all according to specified patterns.

There are several ways a narrative can be constructed. One is to set the stage using a series of past tense imperfective verbs. A common way to begin a narrative is with the verb **nalaziti se**. The narrator can say, for instance, **U tom i tom gradu nalazio se lijepi vrt** “In such and such a city there was a beautiful garden”, and then go on to describe the garden, its inhabitants, and their usual practices, all using verbs of the imperfective aspect. Once this background is established, the narrator then begins the actual story. A frequent way to introduce the story line is with the adverbial phrase **Jednoga dana...** “One day...”, invariably followed by a verb of the perfective aspect. This switch into perfective aspect signals that things will now begin to happen. Throughout the rest of the narrative, events that constitute the core of the story will be related in the perfective aspect, while events that constitute important descriptive material will be related in the imperfective aspect.

Linguists call these two aspects of narrative style *backgrounding* and *foregrounding*: backgrounded events set the stage for a narrative, and foregrounded events move the narrative along. Almost invariably, imperfective verbs relate backgrounded events and perfective verbs relate foregrounded events. Narrators can also begin a story abruptly, with a foregrounded action event in the perfective aspect, such as **Danas su u našu sobu smjestili još jednog pacijenta** “Today they moved a new patient into our room”. After such a beginning, a narrator will then shift into the imperfective aspect to fill in the necessary background before resuming the foregrounded story line. This basic principle – of alternating backgrounded narration in the imperfective aspect and foregrounded narration in the perfective aspect – is often augmented by shifts into the present tense in the backgrounded portions. Narrators frequently adopt this latter mode in order to make the story more vivid: they present the backgrounded material as if the reader is actually present within the story. Since these backgrounded portions take place in an artificially created present time, it is also possible to use future tense verbs in them.

These two narrative techniques are illustrated below by passages taken from a short story called **U zagrljaju rijeke** “In the River’s Embrace”, by Miro Gavran. The story relates the encounter in a hospital between two men, one of whom is the first-person narrator of the tale, and the other a new patient named Šimun with whom the narrator develops a friendship. The first quoted excerpt is told entirely in the past tense: the foregrounded material is related by perfective verbs and the backgrounded material by imperfective verbs. In the second passage, the backgrounded sections are told primarily in the present tense, while the foregrounded sections continue to be narrated by past tense verbs of the perfective aspect. In the two excerpts quoted below, past tense perfective verbs are identified by boldface letters and past tense imperfective verbs by italics; non-past verbs are in small capitals. To underscore the difference between these two BCS

modes of narration and their English translations, the translation carries through this same marking system. That is, even though the English verbs of the translation are marked in three different ways, it is obvious that they are almost all simple past tense verbs. The BCS narration, by contrast, shifts between different tense and aspect forms. To conserve space, paragraph breaks of the original are not reproduced; accents are omitted so as to keep the focus on narrative.

Text 1

Poslije podne se **pojavio** Marko. Brzim korakom **prišao je** Šimunovu krevetu, **pružio** mu ruku, **sjeo** na rub ležaja i **započeo je** razgovor, kao da pred sobom IMA poslovnog partnera, a ne strica koji ga **je othranio**. *Osjećao sam* da u njegovim pitanjima o Šimunovu zdravlju NEMA istinske zainteresiranosti za to kako SE OSJEĆA njegov stric. *Držao sam* novine pred sobom, ne mogavši ih čitati, jer *sam* slučajno *bio* svjedok njihova razgovora. Marko **je** na trenutak **pošutio**, a potom netaktično **progovorio**.

That afternoon Marko **appeared**. With a swift step he **approached** Šimun's bed, **extended** a hand to him, **sat down** on the edge of the bed and **began** to talk as if he **WERE SPEAKING** with a business partner and not the uncle who **had brought** him **up**. *I did not feel* that there **WAS** any real concern in his questions about Šimun's health about how his uncle really **FELT**. *I held* the newspaper as if reading it, but couldn't, since *I was* a chance witness to their conversation. Marko **was silent** for a moment, and then he **spoke out tactlessly**.

Commentary to text 1:

This excerpt begins at a moment when the narrator is moving the story line forward briskly with news of Marko's arrival: Marko appears, approaches the bed, offers a greeting, sits down, and starts to talk. The narrator states these events in a purely objective manner. He then shifts the narrative into his own point of view, during which he relates opinions and actions of his own before resuming the more objective narration which concludes the passage, in which Marko falls silent for a moment and then starts to speak.

Not counting the verbal adverb phrase “ne mogavši ih čitati”, this segment includes fourteen verbs. The first five and the final two are foregrounded narration, and the intervening seven constitute backgrounded narration. While all the verbs in the foregrounded sections are past tense perfective verbs, those in the backgrounded sections vary. When the narrator describes his own perceptions or actions, the verbs are past tense imperfectives (“osjećao sam”, “držao sam”, “bio sam”). Verbs which are subordinated to verbs of perception are required by the rules of BCS to be in the present tense (review [135]). There is one perfective past tense verb in the backgrounded section. This verb, “othranio je”, must be perfective because it expresses pluperfect meaning. The organizing principle of this narrative segment, however, is that the narrator's perceptions of the scene (and those actions of his which are related to his perceptions) form the background against which the drama of Marko's conversation with his uncle takes place.

Text 2

Noć JE. Svi moji supatnici SPAVAJU. Svi osim Šimun. Samo njegova noćna svetiljka škrto OBASJAVA_knjigu koju DRŽI_u ruci. **Primijetio je** moj pogled. – Ako Vam smeta, ugasit ču svjetlo – **predložio je**. – Ne, ne. I tako mi se ne spava – **odgovorio sam**. Sutra u podne ĆE GA OPERIRATI. Noć uoči operacije teško JE usnuti. Tako *je bilo* i prije moje operacije.

It **WAS** night. All my fellow sufferers **WERE SLEEPING**. All except Šimun. Only his meager nightlight **ILLUMINATED** the book which he **WAS HOLDING** in his hand. He **noticed** my glance. “If it bothers you, I'll turn out the light,” he **offered**. “No, no, I'm not sleepy either,” I **answered**. Tomorrow they **WERE GOING TO OPERATE** on him. It's always hard to fall asleep the night before an operation. That's how it *was* before my operation as well.

Commentary to text 2:

The “action” in this excerpt consists primarily of a quoted conversation, given in the present tense in both the original and the English translation. The verbs within the conversation are not analyzed here since technically they stand outside the narrative: they are neither actions moving the story line ahead nor are they events which provide the necessary background for this story line. In this excerpt, then, there are three foregrounded verbs: one sets up the conversation and the other two identify the speeches and the speakers. All three are perfective past tense verbs. The backgrounded section, which sets the scene for the conversation and relates the narrator’s thoughts about it, contains seven verbs, four of which precede the conversation and three of which follow it, and only one of which (the last one, “*bilo je*”) is in the past tense. In the section which precedes the conversation, the narrator uses the present tense to set the scene. This has the effect of making the scene much more vivid and drawing the reader in more.

In the section following the conversation, the narrator makes three observations. The first is a statement of fact about an upcoming event, Šimun’s operation. Within the base-line present tense narration, this statement has to be in the future tense in BCS; the indirect discourse rules of English, however, require that a re-narration of this statement be shifted further past (review [135]). The second observation states a generic truth, which English also relates in the present tense, and the narrator’s third observation is a small factual statement drawn from his own history. Only this final verb of the backgrounded section is in the past tense.

Another way in which a narrative can be rendered more lively is through the use of present tense verbs of both aspects. This mode of narration, called the *historic present*, also makes use of aspectual distinctions of foregrounding and backgrounding. Below are two short excerpts, the first illustrating foregrounded narration, and the second illustrating backgrounded narration. It is clear that the verbs in the first excerpt advance the story line: they are perfective, foregrounded verbs. The second excerpt, by contrast, describes a scene. Without the context of the rest of the passage, the first verb could conceivably be one that advances the story line. The context, however, makes it clear that it is part of the background to action yet to be related. All the verbs are therefore imperfective, backgrounded verbs. In these excerpts, perfective verbs are again marked in boldface, and imperfective verbs in italics (verbs in subordinate clauses which by the rules of BCS are in indirect discourse are not marked). What is of interest is that although both stories clearly narrate past actions, all the verbs in both excerpts are in the present tense. English uses this narrative style on occasion, but much less frequently than in BCS. In addition, this style in English is highly colloquial. In BCS, by contrast, it is found in all levels of literary writing, and is considered to be a mark of high quality narrative prose.

Text 3

Пође дечак на пут. **Дође** до раскрнице, **примети** стару баку са кесом у руци. Она **га упита** куд иде, и **покаже** му кесу. **Узме** је од ње и **настави** пут.

The boy **set out** on his travels. He **came** to a crossroads and **noticed** an old woman with a bag in her hand. She **asked** him where he was going and **showed** him the bag. He **took** it from her and **continued** on his way.

Text 4

Jašu oni kroz noć. Sija mjesec i pokazuje put. S obje strane puta gledaju ih visoka tamna drveta. Jure i žure, jer znaju da za njima trče hajduci.

They *rode / were riding* through the night. The moon *shone* down and *pointed* the way. Tall, dark trees *looked* down on them from both sides of the road. They *were in a rush* because they *knew* that the bandits were racing after them.

146 Prefixation and verbal meaning

A prefix adds an additional shade of meaning to a verb. There are a number of prefixes in BCS, each of which has several meanings associated with it. Not every instance of the same prefix has the same meaning, and not all meanings are readily recognizable, but there is a certain amount of predictability to the system. Although English uses prefixes much less frequently, the process can be illustrated by the English prefix *re-*. Its most frequent (and most obvious) meaning is that of repetition: one can *rethink* one's opinions, *replant* a seedling, *rewrite* a paper, *refill* someone's glass, or *reset* a clock. But it also has the general idea of pushing away: one can *reject* an idea, *recoil* from a suggestion, *repulse* an enemy, *recline* in a chair, or *reproach* a colleague.

Another fact about prefixes is that not every one can be added to every verb. Some BCS verbs are capable of receiving only one prefix – the one which turns it from an imperfective verb into a perfective one. More frequently, however, a BCS verb can take several different prefixes, each of which modifies its basic meaning in a different way. This process can also be illustrated in English by the verb *do*. In its basic meaning, this verb communicates the fact that one can *do* something. But prefixes allow one to state that one can *undo* something, *redo* it, *overdo* it, or *underdo* it – or *outdo* someone else. That is, in each case the prefix alters the meaning of the verb significantly, but each of the new verbs still retains the basic idea of *do*. Of course, English also frequently modifies the meaning of a verb by adding adverbs. For instance, one can *get* milk from the store, but one can also *get ahead* in life, *get back* at someone, *get away* with something, *get over* an illness, *get together* with friends, or *get down* to work. Here, the original meaning of *get* is recoverable only in a few instances.

But although prefixation does exist in English, it is a relatively infrequent manner of modifying verbal meaning. Instead, English usually uses different words. In addition, when English does use prefixes, it usually adds them to partial segments of words and not to words capable of standing on their own. In BCS, however, the process of prefixation is an absolutely central part of the verbal system. Furthermore, with very few exceptions, BCS prefixes are added to verbs which do have a separate existence of their own. This produces a complex set of interrelationships of meaning. Understanding this system of relationships is an immense aid to building vocabulary.

146a. The prefixes of BCS

Many BCS prefixes are closely related to prepositions. Some prefixes have the exact same form as the related preposition and some have a slightly altered form. The two groups of words are not identical, however: not every preposition can be used as a prefix, and not every prefix also exists as a preposition. For instance, there are no prepositions corresponding to the prefixes **raz-**, **pro-**, and **ob-**, and whereas there are ekavian and ijkavian forms of the preposition **pre / prije**, the verbal prefix usually only has the form **pre-**. Furthermore, even when preposition and prefix are identical in form, the prefix will not have all the same meanings as the preposition.

The relationship between preposition and prefix is most clearly seen when the added meaning of the prefix refers to concrete notions of space relationships, as in the system of motion verbs (review [54]). The following list gives the verbal prefixes of BCS. Examples are drawn from the set of motion verbs (prefixed forms of **iči**), since this is the verb which has the largest number of prefixed partners. The four prefixes which are not combinable with **iči** are illustrated with different verbs. In this and subsequent lists, only perfective verbs are used to illustrate prefixation; for the relationship between prefixation and aspect, see [147b]. Only one meaning is given for each prefix in this list, and only for those prefixes for which a sufficiently concrete definition can be identified.

prefix		base verb		prefixed verb	
DO-	<i>up to</i>	íći	go	dóći	<i>come</i>
IZ-	<i>out from</i>	íći	go	ízači, izíći	<i>go out, leave</i>
NA-		íći	go	naiči	<i>come upon</i>
[NA-]		íći	go	[nači]	<i>[find]</i>
NAD-	<i>above</i>	íći	go	nadiči	<i>surpass</i>
O-		piti	drink	ópti	<i>intoxicate</i>
OB-	<i>around</i>	íći	go	običi	<i>go around</i>
OD-	<i>away from</i>	íći	go	otíći	<i>go away</i>
PO-		íći	go	poči	<i>set out</i>
POD-	<i>under</i>	íći	go	podbáčiti	<i>throw under</i>
PRE-	<i>across</i>	íći	go	préči	<i>cross</i>
PRED-	<i>before</i>	videti	see	prévideti	<i>foresee</i>
PRI-	<i>near</i>	íći	go	priči	<i>approach</i>
PRO-	<i>through</i>	íći	go	proči	<i>go through</i>
RAZ-	<i>[dispersal]</i>	íći	go	ražíći se	<i>scatter</i>
S-	<i>down from</i>	íći	go	siči	<i>descend</i>
U-	<i>into</i>	íći	go	úči	<i>go in, enter</i>
UZ-	<i>up along</i>	íći	go	uziči	<i>ascend</i>
ZA-	<i>behind</i>	íći	go	záči	<i>set [of sun]</i>

E preči / J prijeći; E videti / J vidjeti; E predvideti / J predvidjeti

146b. Concrete and abstract meanings of verbal prefixes

Most prefixes which resemble prepositions also carry at least one of the meanings of that preposition. For instance, each of the above prefix definitions is rendered in terms of movement through space. If a verb can be conceptualized in such terms, even if only metaphorically, there is a good possibility that one can use the above definitions as a guideline to guess the meaning a verb will take on when that prefix is added to it. Examples illustrating this are given below. While interpreting these and subsequent examples, the student should remember that a final -d or -z will shift to -t or -s before a verbal root beginning with a voiceless consonant, and that any two instances of the same consonant will be simplified to a single instance. Thus, when the prefix **iz-** is added to the verb **seliti**, the **z** first shifts to **s**, and then the two instances of **s** are collapsed into a single one. For more on these processes of assimilation and simplification, see [167e, 167f].

Meanings added by prefixes

prefix		base verb		prefixed verb	
DO-		dati	give	dodati	<i>add</i>
		čekati	wait	dočekati	<i>meet, greet</i>
		stiči	arrive	dostiči	<i>catch up, attain</i>

IZ-	kopati	dig	iskopati	<i>excavate</i>
	seći	cut	iseći	<i>cut off</i>
	seliti	move	iséliti	<i>emigrate</i>

E seći / J sjeći; E iseći / J isjeći

NAD	igrati	play	náigrati	<i>defeat, outplay</i>
	kriti	cover	nátkriti	<i>cover over, roof</i>
	gráditi	build	nadgráditi	<i>add onto</i>

OD-	vèzati kriti biti	<i>tie</i> <i>cover, hide</i> <i>strike</i>	odvèzati òtkriti òdbiti	<i>untie</i> <i>discover, lay bare</i> <i>knock off, repulse</i>
POD-	pìsati nositi cèniti	<i>write</i> <i>carry</i> <i>evaluate</i>	potpìsati podnòsiti potcèniti	<i>sign one's name</i> <i>bear, endure</i> <i>underestimate</i>
E ceniti / J cijeniti; E potceniti / J potcijeniti				
PRE-	dati gledati sàditi	<i>give</i> <i>look</i> <i>plant</i>	prèdati prègledati presàditi	<i>render, give over</i> <i>examine, inspect</i> <i>transplant</i>
PRED-	plàtiti staviti stajati	<i>pay</i> <i>put</i> <i>stand</i>	preplàtiti prèdstaviti prèdstojati	<i>prepay</i> <i>present</i> <i>be imminent</i>
PRI-	stùpiti stajati družiti se	<i>step</i> <i>stand</i> <i>be friends</i>	pristùpiti pristajati pridružiti se	<i>approach</i> <i>support, sympathize</i> <i>join a group</i>
PRO-	biti pùstiti čitati	<i>strike, beat</i> <i>allow, let go</i> <i>read</i>	probìti propùstiti pročitati	<i>break through</i> <i>let by, omit, miss</i> <i>read through to the end</i>
RAZ-	staviti pìtati pasti	<i>put</i> <i>ask</i> <i>fall</i>	ràstaviti raspìtati se raspasti se	<i>separate, disconnect</i> <i>ask around, inquire</i> <i>fall apart</i>
S-	krènuti liti pusstiti	<i>move</i> <i>pour</i> <i>allow, let go</i>	skrènuti sliti spusstiti	<i>turn aside</i> <i>pour down / pour into</i> <i>lower, let down</i>
U-	metnuti brojiti pisati	<i>put</i> <i>count</i> <i>write</i>	ùmetnuti ubrojiti upìsati se	<i>insert, put in</i> <i>add in, reckon among</i> <i>enroll</i>
UZ-	bùditi praviti leteti	<i>awaken</i> <i>do, make</i> <i>fly</i>	uzbùditi úspraviti uzleteti	<i>excite, agitate</i> <i>set upright</i> <i>rise up, fly up, take off</i>

E leteti / J letjeti; E uzleteti / J uzletjeti

Just as many prepositions have more than one meaning, so do prefixes. For example, the prefix **s-** also means *with*. In this meaning, it can appear either as **s-** or **sa-**. In the case of certain verbs, there are even homonyms in which one verb uses the prefix **s-** in the meaning *down from* and the other in the meaning *with* (one such pair is given in the above list, with the two different meanings separated by a slash). In addition, as seen in the examples above, the prefixes **pre-** and **pro-** do not correspond directly to any one preposition. Rather, they share certain of the meanings of the preposition **preko**. Finally, there are three prefixes which bear little or no relationship to the corresponding prepositions: these are **po-**, **na-**, and **za-**. There are only one or two instances where the prefix **za-** carries the meaning *after* or *behind*, and there are no practical correlations that can be drawn at all between the prepositions **na** and **po** and the corresponding prefixes. Indeed, each of these three carries several quite separate meanings when used as a verbal prefix. One of them, **po-**, imparts the idea that an action is done for a short period of time, while another, **za-**, adds the idea that an action is beginning. The prefix **na-** is the most complex. On the one hand, it imparts the idea that a particular portion of an action is brought to completion. On the other hand, when it is combined with the particle **se**, it conveys the idea of an action carried through to total satiation. Here are examples of these various meanings:

prefix	base verb		prefixed verb	
S- / SA-	brati	<i>pick, gather</i>	sabrati	<i>assemble</i>
	rasti	<i>grow</i>	srasti	<i>grow together</i>
	liti	<i>pour, flow</i>	sliti	<i>flow together/down/into</i>
PO-	svirati	<i>play (music)</i>	posvirati	<i>play [music] for a bit</i>
	pričati	<i>talk, tell</i>	popričati	<i>have a chat</i>
	plakati	<i>cry</i>	poplakati	<i>weep a while</i>
NA-	govoriti	<i>speak</i>	nagovoriti	<i>persuade</i>
	pisati	<i>write</i>	napisati	<i>finish writing something</i>
NA- + se	piti	<i>drink</i>	nápti se	<i>drink one's fill</i>
	jesti	<i>eat</i>	nájesti se	<i>stuff oneself</i>
ZA-	jahati	<i>ride [horse]</i>	zájahati	<i>mount [horse]</i>
	ljubiti se	<i>kiss</i>	zaljubiti se	<i>fall in love</i>
	pjevati	<i>sing</i>	zapjevati	<i>start to sing</i>
	plakati	<i>cry</i>	zaplakati	<i>break into tears</i>

J pjevati / E pevati; J zapjevati / E zapevati

146c. Prefixes and perfectivization

Perhaps the most important lesson for the student of verbal prefixes, however, is that there is NO certain rule – even the statement that the addition of a prefix turns an imperfective verb into a perfective one is not without exception (see [147b] for discussion and examples). Nearly all prefixes do add the meaning *perfective*, however; and a number of them do not add any meaning other than the idea of an action which is carried through to completion in one way or another.

This provides something of a dilemma for the language learner. According to the system of aspect in BCS, nearly all verbs come in pairs, every simple imperfective verb has a perfective partner which carries the same dictionary meaning (except for the difference in aspect), and it is usually the presence of a prefix which adds the meaning *perfective*. The natural question to ask, therefore – for verbs that can host more than one prefix – is: Which of them is the “neutral” perfective? For some verbs, dictionaries and speakers all agree on the identity of this neutral perfective, but for others the choice remains unclear. The shades of meaning are very subtle, and much

depends on context. For instance, all of the following verb pairs are considered to be neutral aspect pairs. In some cases, one can see that the prefix might add a slight additional meaning, while in others the question of whether there is added meaning is unclear, at least without seeing the verb used in context. Indeed, a few of the verbs below are repeated from the list above. In these verbs, the manner in which the prefix alters the meaning of the imperfective verb in the process of making it perfective accords so well with the basic meaning of that verb that the prefixed form in question is considered the “neutral” perfective partner.

Perfective partners

	imperfective	perfective		imperfective	perfective	
IZ-	brisati lēčiti	izbrisati izlēčiti	erase heal	gubiti vaditi	izgubiti izvaditi	lose extract
NA-	p̄isati učiti	napišati naučiti	write [down] learn	terati punuti	naterati napuniti	make, induce fill
O-	gr̄aničiti kūpati	ogr̄aničiti okūpati	set boundary bathe	pravdati prati	opravdati oprati	justify wash
OB-	radovati	obradovati	make happy	tužiti	optužiti	accuse
OD-	plōviti	otplōviti	sail [off]	putōvati	otputōvati	travel
PO-	jesti žuriti	pojesti požuriti	eat hurry	tonuti slušati	potonuti pošlušati	sink obey
PRI-	gušiti	prigušiti	muffle	bl̄ižiti se	približiti se	approach
PRO-	čitati širiti	procitati proširiti	read [through] widen	buditi šetati	probuditi prošetati	awaken stroll
RAZ-	ljutiti	razljutiti	anger	veseliti	razveseliti	cheer up
S-	gr̄aditi hraniti	sagr̄aditi sahr̄aniti	build preserve	kuhati šiti	skuhati sašiti	cook sew
U-	činiti loviti	učiniti uloviti	do, make hunt / catch	gasiti krasti	ugasiti ukrasti	extinguish steal
ZA-	br̄aniti moliti	zabraniti zamoliti	forbid / ban request	kasniti tražiti	zakasniti zatražiti	be late seek; demand

E lečiti / J liječiti; E izlečiti / J izlijiječiti; E terati / J tjerati; E naterati / J natjerati; C,B kuhati / S kuvati; C,B skuhati / skuvati

It is also possible for a verb to have more than one prefix. Examples of such verbs are given below. Here too, the prefixes alter the meaning of the base verb, although it is usually more difficult to separate out the meanings of individual prefixes when analyzing the meaning of the pre-fixed verbs as a whole.

Multiple prefixes

prefixes	base verb		prefixed verb	
IZ-, O-	stati	<i>stand</i>	izostati	<i>be missing</i>
PRE-, DO-	misiliti	<i>think</i>	predomisliti se	<i>change one's mind</i>
RAZ-, PRO-	dati	<i>give</i>	rasprodati	<i>sell out</i>
U-, PO-	znati	<i>know</i>	upožnati	<i>make acquaintance</i>
UZ-, PO-	rediti	<i>arrange</i>	usporeediti	<i>compare</i>
ZA-, U-	staviti	<i>put</i>	zaustaviti	<i>hold back, stop, hold up</i>
NA-, DO-	platiti	<i>pay</i>	nadoplatiti	<i>pay extra</i>

147 Aspect pairs, continued

It is clear that the distinction of *aspect* is a critical one within the BCS system. Consequently, it is very important to be able to tell whether a particular verb is perfective or imperfective. In order to be able to express any one verbal idea satisfactorily in all contexts, it is also necessary to be able to move freely between the partners of an aspect pair. Students by now are able to predict that most verbs belonging to the *a*-conjugation will be imperfective, and that most prefixed verbs will be perfective. This is not a foolproof rule, however. There are non-prefixed perfective verbs (some of which even belong to the *a*-conjugation), and there are numerous prefixed verbs which nevertheless belong to the *a*-conjugation. Yet despite what sounds like a thicket of exceptions, the set of relationships between aspect partners is quite systematic. There are three basic types of aspect pairs, which may be called *simplex*, *prefixed*, and *derived*.

147a. Simplex aspect pairs

The word *simplex* used with respect to aspect pairs technically means that neither partner is prefixed. Rather, the relationship between them is expressed by different sorts of suffixation (review [96a]).

In simplex aspect pairs, the imperfective partner almost always belongs to *type 1*, and the perfective partner usually belongs to *type 2*. Sometimes the theme vowel is the only differentiating mark. Nearly all the pairs illustrated below carry this mark, which refers to the identity of the imperfective theme vowel **a**. Usually there are additional changes as well. For instance, the stem-final consonant frequently undergoes Type C softening as well (review [112c]). In addition, the shape of the root vowel can sometimes shift as well: if the perfective verb is of *type 2*, the root vowel **o** shifts to **a**, while in other types of pairs it shifts to **i**. In one instance, Type B consonant softening takes place (review [112b]). The direction of change is reversed, however: it is the stem-final consonant of the perfective partner which undergoes the softening, not that of the imperfective partner.

But the perfective partner can also belong to *type 7*. Indeed, when a *type 7* verb is perfective, the stem-final **-n** (the characteristic mark of a *type 7* verb) functions as a marker of this perfective meaning, and the absence of this consonant as a marker of imperfective meaning. The imperfective partners of these verbs belong to *type 1*, with the theme vowel **a**. In each case, the stem final consonant of the imperfective verb is one that is not present in the perfective verb. Sometimes it appears simply to be added; more frequently the consonant preceding the **n** of the perfective verb undergoes Type A softening (review [112a]). When this happens, the shape of the root vowel usually shifts as well. Several perfective verbs which follow this pattern belong to *type 15*, and one belongs to *type 13*. The unifying factor for all these verbs is that they nearly always in-

clude the consonant **n** in some form – either as the only present tense form or an alternate present tense form, and sometimes an alternate infinitive as well (review [94c] and see [153r]).

One verb of *type 10* forms its imperfective partner in a similar manner, but without any consonant softening. In addition, the shift of the root vowel takes place with respect to the present tense stem of the perfective verb, not its infinitive stem. One verb of *type 15a* also follows a similar pattern: in this case, however, an additional consonant is inserted before the shifted root vowel, and the imperfective partner belongs not to *type 1* but to *type 2*. These verbs are exceptional in that both members of the pairs are imperfective; the “errant” imperfectives in the perfective column are marked by an asterisk. A very few verbs form the imperfective partner by adding a form of the suffix **-va**. One of these belongs to the expected pairing *type 2 / type 1*. The other two, however, are quite different. In one, it is the perfective partner which belongs to *type 1*, while the imperfective partner belongs to *type 9*; and in the other, the perfective partner belongs to *type 2* and the imperfective partner to *type 8a*. In both instances, the suffix in question is the defining mark of the verbal type itself.

The chart below gives a summary of these different types together with examples. The final column identifies the formal elements which characterize the imperfective partner. Suffixes or segments added in the imperfective verb are noted as such; other changes are symbolized to the right.

symbol	meaning
a , i	theme vowel a or i
sft-A,B,C	Type A,B or C consonant softening
vwl	shift in root vowel
-n	lack of stem marker N
+C	“added” final stem consonant

PERFECTIVE		IMPERFECTIVE		relationship
type		type		
2	báčiti	1	báčati	<i>throw</i> [a]
	primiti		prímati	<i>receive</i> [a]
	pružiti		prúžati	<i>extend, give</i> [a]
	jáviti		jávljati	<i>announce</i> [a, sft-C]
	pústiti		púštati	<i>allow, let</i> [a, sft-C]
	sjetiti se		sjećati se	<i>recall</i> [a, sft-C]
	staviti		stavljati	<i>put</i> [a, sft-C]
	vratiti		vráćati	<i>return</i> [a, sft-C]
	rođiti		rađati	<i>give birth</i> [a, sft-C, vwl]
	skočiti		skákati	<i>jump</i> [a, -sft-B, vwl]
7	krenuti	1	krétnati	<i>move</i> (intr) [a, -n, +C]
	maknuti		micati	<i>move</i> (tr) [a, -n, sft-A, vwl]
	dahnuti		dísati	<i>breathe</i> [a, -n, sft-A, vwl]
15b	taći [taknuti]	1	tícati	<i>touch</i> [a, -n, sft-A, vwl]
	dići [dignuti]		dizati	<i>lift</i> [a, -n, sft-A, vwl]
	stići [3pl. stignu]		stizati	<i>arrive</i> [a, -n, sft-A, vwl]
13	pasti [3pl. padnu]	1	padati	<i>fall</i> [a, -n]
10	* brati [3pl. beru]	1	bírati	<i>gather</i> [a, vwl]
15a	* vući [3pl. vuku]	2	vláčiti	<i>pull</i> [i, sft-B, vwl, +I]
2	desiti se	1	dešávati se	<i>happen</i> [a, sft-C, +ava]
1	dati	9	dávati	<i>give</i> [+va]
2	kúpiti	8a	kupovati	<i>buy</i> [+ova]

J sjetiti / E setiti; J sjećati / E sećati; B,S desiti se / B,C,S dogoditi se; B,S dešavati se / B,C,S dogadati se

* imperfective

Some verbs which follow this pattern appear to be prefixed. Despite this, they are usually classed within the simplex type of aspect pairs. This is because the corresponding non-prefixed forms either do not occur, or occur with such a different meaning that they cannot be seen as aspect pairs derived by prefixation. In addition, the relationships which connect the two members of the aspect pair are of the same sort as those connecting two non-prefixed verbs.

PERFECTIVE	IMPERFECTIVE	
type	type	relationship
2	1	
pripr̄emiti spr̄emiti	pripr̄emati spr̄emati	<i>prepare</i> [a]
položiti	polagati	<i>put aside, store</i> [a]
složiti se	slagati se	<i>put down</i> [a, -sft-B, vwl]
pokloniti	poklanjati	<i>agree</i> [a, -sft-B, vwl]
skloniti	sklanjati	<i>give</i> [a present] [a, sft-C, vwl]
dogoditi se	događati se	<i>put away</i> [a, sft-C, vwl]
otvoriti	otvarati	<i>happen</i> [a, sft-C, vwl]
prevoriti	pretvārati	<i>open</i> [a, vwl]
stvoriti	stvārati	<i>transform</i> [a, vwl]
obuhvatiti	obuhvaćati	<i>create</i> [a, vwl]
prihvati	prihvaćati	<i>encompass</i> [a, sft-C]
shvatiti	shvaćati	<i>accept</i> [a, sft-C]
15b	1	<i>understand</i> [a, sft-C]
pomoći [3pl. pomognu] odmoći [3pl. odmognu]	pomagati odmagati	<i>help</i> [a, vwl]
11	1	<i>hinder</i> [a, vwl]
uzeti [3pl. uzmu] oteći [3pl. otmu]	uzimati otimati	<i>take</i> [a, vwl]
umreći [3pl. umru] početi [3pl. počnu]	umirati počinjati	<i>grab</i> [a, vwl]
začeti [3pl. začnu] raspeti [3pl. raspnu]	začinjati raspinjati	<i>die</i> [a, vwl]
		<i>begin</i> [a, sft-C, vwl]
		<i>conceive</i> [a, sft-C, vwl]
		<i>crucify</i> [a, sft-C, vwl]

C obuhvaćati / B,S obuhvatati; C prihvaćati / B,S prihvati; C shvaćati / B,S shvatati; E umreći / J umrijeti

147b. Prefixation and aspect pairs

Prefixation is the most obvious means of deriving aspect pairs. This happens in two different ways. In the first, the imperfective verb is of nearly any verb type, and its perfective partner is formed by adding a prefix. One cannot predict the identity of the prefix: for each verb one must know which prefix forms its perfective partner. The two verbs still belong to the same conjugation type; the only difference in form between them is the presence of the prefix. The first chart below gives several examples, one for each verb type which can form this type of aspect pair.

In the second type, both partners are prefixed, and they belong to different verb types. This second type comes about, in fact, by adding one and the same prefix to the partners of a simplex aspect pair. Technically, these pairs continue to be of the simplex type, because it is not the prefix which is carrying the distinction of aspectual meaning. Rather, the prefix is adding its meaning to the pair, and creating a related pair with a new meaning (review [146b]). Sometimes an existing pair is modifiable by only one or two prefixes, but sometimes a basic pair gives rise to a sizeable group of aspect pairs. Three such groups are illustrated in the second chart below; in each case only some of the many possible prefixed combinations are listed. The final column defines the relationship: the abbreviation [prfx] in the first group obviously means that the perfective partner

is identified by the addition of a prefix. In the second group, the addition of a prefix in each case is presumed to be obvious, and the abbreviations refer to the identifying marks of the imperfective partner: for the meaning of these abbreviations, see introduction to the previous section.

Verbs of the final group, formed from the pair **staviti** / **stavlјati**, deserve special attention. This is because these verbs are very similar to the set of verbs created by adding prefixes to the **stati** / **stajati** group (review [101]), leading to possible confusion. In some instances, the verbs not only look alike but also have similar meanings. The critical difference between the two sets is that verbs in the **stati** / **stajati** group are intransitive: they cannot take a direct object. By contrast, verbs in the **staviti** / **stavlјati** group are transitive, and usually require a direct object.

Prefixation to create aspect pair

IMPERFECTIVE		PERFECTIVE		relationship
type		type		
1	kupati	1	okupati	<i>bathe</i> [prfx]
2	gubiti	2	izgubiti	<i>lose</i> [prfx]
3	želeti	3	poželeti	<i>desire</i> [prfx]
4	trčati	4	potrčati	<i>run</i> [prfx]
5	rezati	5	prorezati	<i>slice</i> [prfx]
6	piti	6	popiti	<i>drink</i> [prfx]
7	tonuti	7	potonuti	<i>sink</i> [prfx]
8a	putovati	8a	otputovati	<i>travel</i> [prfx]
10	prati	10	oprati	<i>wash</i> [prfx]
11	mleti	11	samleti	<i>grind</i> [prfx]
13	jesti	13	pojesti	<i>eat</i> [prfx]
14	rasti	14	porasti	<i>grow</i> [prfx]
15a	peći	15a	ispeći	<i>bake</i> [prfx]

E želeti / J željeti; E poželeti / J poželjeti; E mleti / J mljeti; E samleti / J samljeti

Prefixation of existing aspect pair

PERFECTIVE		IMPERFECTIVE		relationship
type		type		
13	pasti [3pl. padnu] dopasti se ispasti napasti otpasti pripasti spasti	1	padati dopadati se ispadati napadati otpadati pripadati spadati	<i>fall</i> [a, -n] <i>be pleasing (like)</i> [a, -n] <i>fall out, turn out</i> [a, -n] <i>attack</i> [a, -n] <i>fall off</i> [a, -n] <i>belong [to]</i> [a, -n] <i>fall off, be reduced</i> [a, -n]

B,S dopasti se / B,C,S svidjeti se (svideti se); B,S dopadati se / B,C,S svidati se

11		1		
uzeti [3pl. uzmju]		uzimati		
izuzeti		izuzimati		<i>take</i> [a, vwl]
obuzeti		obuzimati		<i>exclude</i> [a, vwl]
oduzeti		oduzimati		<i>overcome</i> [a, vwl]
poduzeti		poduzimati		<i>take away</i> [a, vwl]
preduzeti		preduzimati		<i>undertake</i> [a, vwl]
preuzeti		preuzimati		<i>undertake</i> [a, vwl]
zauzeti		zauzimati		<i>assume, adopt</i> [a, vwl]
				<i>occupy</i> [a, vwl]

B,S preduzeti / C poduzeti; B,S preuzimati / C poduzimati

2	staviti izostaviti nastaviti ostaviti postaviti predstaviti prepostaviti sastaviti uspóstaviti zaustaviti	1	stavlјati izostavlјati nastavlјati ostavlјati postavlјati predstavlјati prepostavlјati sastavlјati uspostavlјati zaustavlјati	put leave out continue leave place, put up represent assume assemble establish stop, halt	[a, sft-C] [a, sft-C] [a, sft-C] [a, sft-C] [a, sft-C] [a, sft-C] [a, sft-C] [a, sft-C] [a, sft-C] [a, sft-C]
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Comparison of transitive and intransitive pairs

Intransitive	Transitive
P / I	P / I
izostati / izostajati ostati / ostajati sastati se / sastajati se	be absent remain, stay meet, assemble
	izostaviti / izostavlјati ostaviti / ostavlјati sastaviti / sastavlјati
	leave [something] out leave [something] behind put [something] together

147c. Derived imperfectives as aspect partners

The third type of aspect pair, which combines elements of the previous two relationships, is present whenever the addition of a prefix to an imperfective verb has created a perfective verb in which the meaning shift is more than just the addition of the idea *perfective*. In such cases, a new imperfective verb is created via suffixation. Because they do not exist in simplex form but rather come into being in order to provide each corresponding prefixed perfective with a partner, these verbs are usually called *derived imperfectives*.

Some grammarians, in fact, use a different term altogether, preferring to call these *iterative* imperfective verbs. This term comes from a conception of BCS aspect not as a two-membered system but a three-membered one. In this view, perfective verbs are called **trenutni** (*momentary*), and imperfectives are divided into two groups, **trajni** (*durative*) and **učestali** (*iterative*). The applicability of all three terms to the system of BCS aspect is obvious: the term *momentary* captures what is perhaps the most basic meaning of a perfective verb, and the terms *durative* and *iterative* isolate the two most basic meanings of an imperfective verb. The reason the terms are little used today is simply because very few verbs have all three forms. Despite the fact that any one imperfective verb has a type of suffix which can usually be identified as either durative OR iterative, that one verb form is usually the only imperfective instance of the verb in question; thus it is necessarily used with both meanings. Many speakers nevertheless feel that the specific idea of iterativity, or repeated action, is a clear part of the meaning of a number of verbs. Furthermore, the iterative suffix has a clearly recognizable sound: the vowel preceding the theme vowel **a** is always long rising; the fact that it also causes any other vowels in the verb stem to shorten makes it even more noticeable.

The clearest examples of markedly iterative forms are seen in bi-aspectual verbs. These are verbs with only one form for both perfective and imperfective meanings (review [83a]). In fact, what this one bi-aspectual form expresses is both the momentary (that is, perfective) and durative imperfective meanings. But if one wishes to express iterative imperfective meaning, one uses a different form. In the examples below, the iterative imperfective form of the verb meaning *see* displays the characteristics of an imperfectivizing suffix (theme vowel **a** preceded by Type C softening). But it also has transformed the short falling accent of **vidjeti** into the long rising one of **vidati**. In a similar manner, the iterative imperfective form of *understand* displays other charac-

teristic marks of an imperfectivizing suffix (theme vowel **a** preceded by the suffix **-va**), but it has also transformed the preceding vowel (the original short theme vowel of the non-derived form) into a long rising one.

Bi-aspectual verbs

momentary (perf.)	=	durative (imperf.)	iterative (imperf.)	
vidjeti / videti		vidjeti / videti	v̄idati	see
razumjeti / razumeti		razumjeti / razumeti	razumijevati / razumevati	understand

J vidjeti / E videti; J razumjeti / E razumeti; J razumijevati / E razumevati

The process of creating derived imperfectives illustrates another aspect of this relationship. An aspect pair created by prefixation usually consists of a durative imperfective and a prefixed perfective. But when this same formal process creates a perfective prefixed verb with a new meaning, the aspect partner for this new verb is NOT the original durative imperfective, but the newly derived iterative imperfective.

The relationships are best seen in those durative verbs which can host several different prefixes, forming thereby different perfective verbs – each with its own meaning, and each paired with a separate iterative imperfective. The abbreviations are given to the right, and the dotted boxes in the chart below identify the aspect pairs as they are listed in standard dictionaries.

Abbreviations

I	durative imperfective
P	[prefixed] perfective
II	iterative imperfective

I	>	P	>	II	
pisati		napisati			write
pisati		opisati		opisivati	describe
pisati		potpisati		potpisivati	sign one's name
pisati		prepisati		prepisivati	copy; prescribe [medicine]
pisati		propisati		propisivati	issue, regulate

This means of forming aspect pairs is widespread in BCS, and verb nests of the above sort are extremely common. There are several different iterative suffixes, all of which have the same characteristic long rising syllable immediately before the theme vowel **a**. The most frequent are **-iva** and **-ava**. Indeed, two verb types (review the list in [103a]) are defined solely by the presence of such a suffix (one which creates iterative imperfectives). These are *type 8b*, with the suffix **-iva** (present tense form **-uj**, with a short vowel), and *type 9*, with the suffix **-ava** (present tense form **-aj**, with a long vowel). Both of these suffixes are also found conjugated according to *type 1* (with no shift in the suffix in the present tense). Although one cannot predict with certainty which derived (iterative) imperfectives will take which suffix, there are certain guidelines. Namely, *type 9* includes only iterative imperfectives from **znati** and **dati**, and the **-iva** suffix conjugated according to *type 1* is usually limited to iterative imperfectives derived from verbs of *type 6*. Sometimes the derived imperfective does not include either of these suffixes but rather uses suffixed formations of the simplex type (review [147a]), with the addition of the characteristic long rising vowel.

SUFFIX **-AVА**

	[I]	>	[P]	>	[II]	
Type:	1		1		9	
	znati					know
		saznati	>	saznавати [3pl. saznaјu]		find out
		upožnati	>	upožnавати [3pl. upožnaјu]		make acquaintance
		prepoznati	>	prepožnавати [3pl. prepoznjaјu]		recognize
	davati /	dati				give
		prodati	>	prodавати [3pl. prodajaјu]		sell
		dodati	>	dodавати [3pl. dodaju]		add
		predati	>	predавати [3pl. predajaјu]		hand over
		[none]		predавати [3pl. predajaјu]		lecture

	[I]	>	[P]	>	[II]	
Type	4		4		1	
	držati					hold, keep
		zadržati	>	zadržавати [3pl. zadržavaјu]		keep, preserve
		održati	>	održавати [3pl. održavaјu]		hold
		sadržati	>	sadržавати [3pl. sadržavaјu]		hold, contain

	[I]	>	[P]	>	[II]	
Type	2		2		1	
	vŕšiti					do
		dovŕšiti		dovršавати [3pl. dovršavaјu]		bring to an end
		izvršiti		izvršавати [3pl. izvršavaјu]		do, carry out
		završiti		završавати [3pl. završavaјu]		end, finish

	[I]	>	[P]	>	[II]	
Type	3		3		1	
	živeti					live
		doživeti		doživljавати [3pl. doživljavaјu]		live to see
		preživeti		preživljавати [3pl. preživljavaјu]		survive
		nadživeti		nadživljавати [3pl. nadživljavaјu]		outlive

E živeti / J živjeti; E doživeti / J doživjeti; E preživeti / J preživjeti; E nadživeti / J nadživjeti

SUFFIX **-IVА**

	[I]	>	[P]	>	[II]	
Type:	2		3		8b	
	raditi		uraditi			do
		izraditi		izrađivati [3pl. izrađuju]		produce, make
		obraditi		obrađivati [3pl. obrađuju]		process, work out
		zaraditi		zarađivati [3pl. zarađuju]		earn

	[I]	>	[P]	>	[II]	
Type:	5 kazati		5		8b	
	dokazati			dokazivati [3pl. dokazuju]		<i>say</i>
	prikazati			prikazivati [3pl. prikazuju]		<i>prove</i>
	pokazati			pokazivati [3pl. pokazuju]		<i>review, present</i>
						<i>show</i>
	[I]	>	[P]	>	[II]	
Type:	6 liti		6		1	
	doliti			dolivati [3pl. dolivaju]		<i>pour</i>
	odliti			odlivati [3pl. odlivaju]		<i>top off</i>
	preliti			prelivati [3pl. prelivaju]		<i>pour off</i>
						<i>pour over</i>
	[I]	>	[P]	>	[II]	
Type:	10 zvati		10		1	
	nazvati			nazivati [3pl. nazivaju]		<i>call</i>
	pozvati			pozivati [3pl. pozivaju]		<i>name</i>
	prizvati			prizivati [3pl. prizivaju]		<i>invite</i>
	sazvati			sazivati [3pl. sazivaju]		<i>invoke</i>
						<i>convocate</i>

E dolivati / J dolijevati; E odliti / J odlijevati; E prelivati / J prelijevati

Other

	[I]	>	[P]	>	[II]	
Type	2 govoriti		2		1	
	odgovoriti			odgovarati [3pl. odgovaraju]		<i>speak</i>
	ugovoriti			ugovarati [3pl. ugovaraju]		<i>answer</i>
	progovoriti			progovarati [3pl. progovaraju]		<i>agree on, contract</i>
	misliti					<i>start to talk</i>
	pomisliti					
	razmisliti			razmisljati [3pl. razmisljaju]		<i>think</i>
	izmisliti			izmisljati [3pl. izmisljaju]		<i>ponder</i>
	zamisliti			zamisljati [3pl. zamisljaju]		<i>invent</i>
						<i>imagine, plan</i>

Sometimes two different derived imperfective forms are possible in the same meaning: a number of verbs can form the derived imperfective either in **-ivati** or in **-avati**; in these instances, Croatian shows a preference for the form in **-ivati**. Only rarely is there a difference in meaning.

The astute student will have noticed that a number of the imperfective partners in simplex relationships (review [147a]) are in fact iteratives. Historically, each of these iterative verbs was derived from a durative verb according to the process outlined above. Sometimes the basic durative verb is one which is either very little used or is now quite archaic, such that the iterative form is for all intents and purposes the only imperfective verb with the meaning in question: this is illustrated below by type 2 verbs with type 1 imperfective partners. Sometimes, however, a verb participates in both sets of relationships. That is, its basic aspect pair is one of the simplex sort:

neither partner is prefixed, and aspect is marked by suffixation. But when prefixes are added to the base perfective, the derivational processes seen above produce imperfective partners for these prefixed verbs. This is illustrated below by a classic simplex pair composed of a *type 2* (perfective) and a *type 1* (imperfective) verb. But when the perfective is prefixed, derived imperfectives of *type 8b* are produced.

Both instances demonstrate the extent to which the process of imperfective derivation is a central and firmly established a part of the language.

archaic or little used base verb

	[I]	>	[P]	>	[II]	
Type:	2		2		1	
tvoriti						<i>create</i> *
	stvòriti		stvàrati [3pl. stvàraju]			<i>create</i>
	otvòriti		otvàrati [3pl. otvàraju]			<i>open</i>
	pretvòriti		pretvàrati [3p. pretvàraju]			<i>transform</i>
zdraviti						<i>greet</i> **
	pozdràvitati		pozdràvljati [3pl. pozdràvljaju]			<i>greet</i>
	nàzdraviti		nazdràvljati [3pl. nazdràvljaju]			<i>make a toast</i>
	òdzdraviti		odzdràvljati [3pl. odzdràvljaju]			<i>answer a greeting</i>
					* relatively rarely used	
					** archaic	

both types of pairs

	[I]	/	[P]	>	[II]	
Type	1		2		8b	
jàvljati			jàviti			<i>send word</i>
						<i>announce</i>
			najàviti		najavljàvati [3pl. najàvljuju]	<i>publish, promulgate</i>
			objàviti		objavljàvati [3pl. objàvljuju]	<i>appear</i>
			pojavìti se		pojavljìvati se [3pl. pojavljuju se]	<i>inform, report</i>
			prijàviti		prijavljìvati [3pl. prijàvljuju]	

CHAPTER 16

148 Verbal nouns, continued

Most verbs can form a noun which refers either to the process of the action or its result. This form, called the *verbal noun*, is made from many imperfective verbs, as well as a few perfective ones, by adding the suffix **-nje** (review [108, 116]). A smaller group of nouns can form a different sort of verbal noun, one with a more abstract meaning and which can refer only to the result of a verbal action and never its process. This noun is formed by dropping the **-ti** of the infinitive and adding the suffix **-će**. Verbs which can form such nouns are limited to *types 6, 7, 11*, and those verbs of *type 15b* which can take an alternative infinitive ending in **-nuti**. A related sort of formation is found in verbs of *type 8* which include the root **čest-**: in this case one drops the entire sequence **-vovati** from the end of the infinitive to form the verbal noun. The vowel before the suffix **-će** is always long, and in all but the latter type also rising.

VERBAL NOUN

	type	infinitive	verbal noun
-će	6	<i>discover</i> otkriti <i>cover</i> pokriti <i>drink</i> piti <i>shed + blood</i> prolići krv	otkriće pokriće piće krvoproljće
	7	<i>breathe in</i> nadahnuti <i>dawn</i> svanuti <i>sprain</i> uganuti <i>be revived</i> uskrsnuti	nadahnuće svanuće uganuće uskrsnuće
	11	<i>exempt from</i> izuzeti <i>undertake</i> poduzeti <i>undertake</i> preduzeti <i>conceive</i> začeti	izuzeće poduzeće preduzeće začeće
	15b	<i>achieve</i> dostignuti <i>disappear</i> isčeznuti <i>depose</i> svrgnuti <i>raise up</i> uzdignuti	dostignuće iščeznuće svrgnuće uzdignuće
	8	<i>participate</i> učestvovati <i>commiserate</i> saučestvovati	učešće saučešće

B,C poduzeti, / B,S preduzeti; C poduzeće / B,S preduzeće; B,S učestvovati / C sudjelovati;
B,C,S saučešće / C sućut

149 Compound verbal tenses, review

BCS has six compound tenses, each composed of an auxiliary and another verbal form. One of these tenses, the *first future*, uses a present tense form of **hteti** / **htjeti** as the auxiliary, combining it with the infinitive (review [95]). The other five use some form of **biti** as the auxiliary, combining it with the L-participle. The most widely used of these, the *compound past*, uses the basic present tense forms of **biti** (review [69, 104]), while the *exact future* uses the secondary present tense of **biti** (review [130, 144a]), and the *conditional* uses an archaic form of the aorist tense of **biti** (review [131]). Of these four tenses, all but the exact future have the choice to use clitic form auxiliaries or full form auxiliaries, although in the case of the conditional the two look the same on the printed page. Only clitic auxiliaries are given in the review paradigms below. The L-participle must agree in number and gender with the subject; only masculine singular forms are given in the review paradigms below.

	first future	compound past	conditional	exact future
1sg.	íći ču	íšao sam	íšao bih	budem íšao
2sg.	íći češ	íšao si	íšao bi	budeš íšao
3sg.	íći če	íšao je	íšao bi	bude íšao
1pl.	íći čemo	íšli smo	íšli bismo	budemo íšli
2pl.	íći čete	íšli ste	íšli biste	budete íšli
3pl.	íći če	íšli su	íšli bi	budu íšli

The two remaining tenses use a compound auxiliary. One, the *past conditional*, combines the L-participle of **biti** with the aorist forms of **biti** (review [131]), while the other, the *pluperfect*, uses a past tense form of **biti** as its auxiliary. This auxiliary, in turn, can take the form either of the compound past or the imperfect. Although in principle these two tenses are used in all situations where English would use the corresponding English tenses, in practice these BCS tenses are much more rarely encountered. In most situations, perfective verbs in the conditional or the compound past convey the same meaning. Croatian uses the compound tenses somewhat more frequently in the spoken language than Bosnian and Serbian, which prefer overall to phrase sentences so as to communicate the same meaning in other ways. Both the pluperfect and the past conditional are encountered in literary prose throughout BCS, however. The final example in the set on the next page is taken from a story by the 19th century Serbian writer Laza Lazarević.

	Past conditional	Pluperfect	
	compound auxiliary	imperfect auxiliary	
1sg.	bio bih íšao	bio sam íšao	bijah íšao
2sg.	bio bi íšao	bio si íšao	bijaše íšao
3sg.	bio bi íšao	bio je íšao	bijaše íšao
1pl.	bili bismo íšli	bili smo íšli	bijasmo íšli
2pl.	bili biste íšli	bili ste íšli	bijaste íšli
3pl.	bili bi íšli	bili su íšli	bijahu íšli

J bijah / E beh; J bijaše / E beše; J bijasmo / E besmo; J bijaste / E beste;
J bijahu / E behu

past conditional	Da sam ⁱ mao vremena i nòvca, bio bih oputovao. [C] Da sam imao vremena i nòvca, otputovao bih. [B,S]	<i>Had I had the time and money, I would have gone on a trip. [same]</i>
pluperfect	Nije ga bilo. Već je bio ⁱ zašao kad se ona jàvila. [C] Nije ga više bilo kad se ona jàvila, izgleda da je već ⁱ zašao. [B,S] Čita naglas onu polovinu Očenaša što je već bio naučio.	<i>He wasn't there. He had already gone out when she called. He wasn't there when she called; apparently he [had already] gone out. He recited aloud that half of the Lord's Prayer that he had already learned.</i>

150 Simplex verbal tenses, review

A simplex tense is one which carries all its meaning in a single form. The *present* is the primary BCS simplex tense. It has six different forms – three in the singular and three in the plural. The other two simplex tenses are the *aorist* and the *imperfect*. They have five different forms each – two in the singular and three in the plural. The present is used in a wide variety of contexts, including the *historic present*, a means of more vivid past narration (review [145c]). The aorist and imperfect, by contrast, are used only in certain types of past tense narrative contexts (review [122b]). Although these tenses are heard relatively infrequently in speech, it is important to be able to recognize them in writing, since nearly all literary texts from the past make full use of these verb forms. One cannot achieve any sense of the narrative richness of this literary heritage without an understanding of these verbal tenses.

150a. Forms of the aorist, continued

The aorist forms (review [122a]) are straightforward for verbs of *types 1-11*: the **-ti** of the infinitive is dropped and the aorist endings are added directly. The aorist for verbs of *types 13-16* is formed by dropping the final vowel of 3pl. present and adding **-e** in 2-3sg. (which occasions Type B softening in verbs of *type 15a*) and **-o** before the other endings. In addition, certain *type 1* verbs have an aorist modeled on those of *types 13-16*. The primary verb of this group is **dati**, whose aorist is formed from the stem **dad-**. Several frequently used verbs have borrowed this pattern of formation. Although each can also form the aorist in the manner which is regular manner for a *type 1* (or *type 12*) verb, the aorist forms given below are more frequently encountered. When the verb is one which otherwise has a durative meaning (such as **znati** or **imati**), these aorist endings give a meaning more like that of a momentary verb. These verbs, plus **dati**, have secondary present tense forms built on this stem, which belong to the *e*-conjugation (**znadem**, **imadem**, etc.), as well as imperfect forms built on this present tense stem. For full conjugations of these and other verb types, see [153] and following sub-sections.

AORIST	single form	[alternate aorist forms]			
infinitive	dati	stati	znati	imati	smjeti
1sg.	dadoh	stadoh	znadoh	imadoh	smjedoh
2-3sg.	dade	stade	znađe	imade	smjede
1pl.	dadosmo	stadosmo	znadosmo	imadosmo	smjedosmo
2pl.	dadoste	stadoste	znadoste	imadoste	smjedoste
3pl.	dadoše	stadoše	znadoše	imadoše	smjedoše

J smjeti / E smeti; J, smjedoh / E smedoh; J smjede / E smede; J smjedosmo etc.
/ E smedosmo etc.

A major characteristic of *type 15b* verbs is that they have alternate infinitive forms, one ending in **-ći** (according to *type 15*) and the other ending in **-nuti** (on the model of *type 7*), and that their present tense forms frequently contain the consonant **n** (again on the model of *type 7*). Their past tense forms, however, are nearly always made according to the *type 15* model. Although a few of these verbs may form alternate L-participles with **nu** (on the model of *type 7*), the aorist is always formed according to *type 15*. Some verbs which belong completely to *type 7* also have alternate aorist forms made on the model of *type 15*.

TYPES 7 and 15

	<i>sit</i>	<i>lift</i>	<i>jerk, recoil</i>	<i>kneel</i>	<i>shrug</i>
infinitive	[15] sesti	dići			sleći
	[7]	dignuti	trgnuti	kleknuti	slegnuti
1sg. pres.	[15]				
	[7]	sednem	dignem	kleknem	slegnem
masc.sg.	[15] seo	digao	trgao	kleknuo	slegao
L-participle	[7]		trgno		slegnuo
1sg. aor.	[15] sedoh	digoh	trgoh	klekoh	slegoh
2-3sg. aor.	[15] sede	diže	trže	kleče	sleže
[1sg. aor.]		dignuh	trgnuh	kleknuh	slegnuh

E sesti / J sjesti; E sednem / J sjednem; E seo / J sjeo; E sedoh / J sjedoh; E sede / J sjede

150b. Forms of the imperfect, continued

The imperfect endings are noteworthy for the presence of a theme vowel, which is long **a**, followed by the imperfect endings (**-h**, **-še**, **-smo**, **-ste**, **-hu**). Verbs of *types 1, 4-5, 8-10* – that is, those with infinitive ending in **-ati** – drop **-ati** from the infinitive and add these endings directly. All other verbs add these endings to a stem derived dropping the final vowel of the 3pl. present. *Type 6* verbs add the imperfect endings directly to this stem, while the stem-final consonant in verbs of *types 2-3, 7, 13-16* undergoes Type C softening before the addition of these endings. There is also a variant set of longer imperfect endings, in which the syllable **-ij-** is inserted between the stem and the endings. Verbs which can take these variant endings are those of *types 2, 10-15*; if a *type 10* verb takes this ending, it adds it not to the infinitive stem but to the stem derived from 3pl. present. Type A softening takes place in *type 15a* verbs before the longer endings, but not in any others.

IMPERFECT

Type	1	4	5	9	10	
infinitive	igrati	stajati	písati	dávati	brati	(brati)
3pl.pres	(igraju)	(stoje)	(pišu)	(daju)	(beru)	beru
1sg.	igrah	stajah	písaḥ	dávah	brah	bérījah
2-3sg.	igraše	stajaše	písaše	dávase	braše	bérījaše
1pl.	igrasmo	stajasmo	písaſmo	dávásmo	brasmo	bérījasmo
2pl.	igraste	stajaste	písaſte	dávaste	bráste	bérījaste
3pl.	igrahu	stajahu	písaſhu	dávahu	brahu	bérījahu

Type	2	3	6	15a	16
infinitive	(n̄ositi)	(ž̄iveti)	(čuti)	(teći)	(ići)
3pl.pres	nose <u> </u>	žive <u> </u>	čuju <u> </u>	teku <u> </u>	idu <u> </u>
1sg.	nošah / nosijah	življah	čujah	tečah / tecijah	iđah
2-3sg.	nošaše / nosijaše	življše	čujaše	tečaše / tecijaše	iđaše
1pl.	nošasmo / nosijasmo	življasmo	čujasmo	tečasmo / tecijasmo	iđasmo
2pl.	nošaste / nosijaste	življaste	čujaste	tečaste / tecijaste	iđaste
3pl.	nošahu / nosijahu	življahu	čujahu	tečahu / tecijahu	iđahu

E živeti / J živjeti

151 Tense use in narrative contexts

A major feature of narrative structure is the marking of foregrounded and backgrounded elements (review [145c]). In the contemporary language, these text features are marked primarily by aspect: perfective verbs designate foregrounded portions of the text and imperfective verbs designate backgrounded portions. In the literary language of previous generations, however, tense choice played a much greater role in shaping narrative structure. Writers had three different past tense forms to choose from instead of just one, and could consequently manipulate the distinction between foregrounding and backgrounding in a much more nuanced manner. In the older language, in fact, the aorist and imperfect were the primary past tense forms (roughly comparable to the English simple past and progressive past, respectively), while the compound past had a more restricted meaning. Namely, it denoted the results of past actions which continued to be relevant at the time of speaking, in a manner roughly comparable to the English present perfect.

In terms of narrative structure, the aorist tense marked sharply foregrounded actions, and the imperfect tense marked actions that were specifically backgrounded with respect to a particular time period within the narrative (usually that portion of the narrative which was being related in the aorist). In contrast, the function of the compound past was to outline a more generalized background, which itself could have different degrees of focus. The historic present was also used to great effect, giving a much more vivid flavor to backgrounded passages. Although the imperfect tense was restricted to verbs of the imperfective aspect, the other tenses occurred freely among verbs of both aspects. But although aspect played a role as well, it is clear that prose narratives of the 19th century and the early 20th century depended much more on the interactions of tense than of aspect. Only in the last several decades has the verbal system taken on the narrative structure it has today.

These complex relations are best demonstrated through examples. Four sample texts are analyzed below. Two are taken from short stories of the 19th century, one by the Croatian writer Ksaver Šandor Đalski (1854-1935), whose surname is sometimes encountered in the spelling Gjalski; and one by the Serbian writer Laza Lazarević (1851-1890). The third is taken from Vuk Karadžić's 1847 translation of the New Testament, and the fourth is a well-known Bosnian song of the genre known as "sevdalinka" (roughly "song of unfulfilled love", sometimes written "sevdahlinka"). In each text, aorist forms are marked in **boldface** and imperfect forms by *italics*, compound past tense forms are underlined and present tense forms are given in SMALL CAPITALS. In those instances where the forms could equally well be aorist or present tense, the boldfaced verb forms are preceded by an asterisk (*). The same markings are made in the English translations. Verbs which report direct or indirect speech, or which serve as infinitive complement, are not analyzed as they are not directly relevant to the organization of the narrative. The English rendering of the Biblical text is based on the King James version, but is altered in those places where it is necessary to give a more literal rendering of Vuk's usage of verbal tenses.

Text 1. From the story **Na groblju** (At the Graveyard), by K.S. Dalski

Pala je prva jesenska kiša. Stari je Janko, lugar brezovački, javio da su šljuke došle. Od toga časa starac Batorić ne imađaše više mira kod kuće, i tek što se sunce opet pokazalo pa nastali oni nježno svijetli dani prve jeseni, **podosmo** u lov. Nisam bio strastven lovac, ali se ipak tako svaki put **pridružih**, jer JE plandovanje po tim dragim zagorskim brdima uvijek puno tolikoga čara. Od rana jutra **lovismo**. Dječurlija što nam je za pogoniče služila gotovo smalaksala, no Batorić još uvijek nije htio prestati. – Jedino jošte u Breziku – **odluči** već kasno poslije podne – tamo ih mora biti na jata. Zar ne, Janko? A onda za danas kraj! Da dodemo onamo, bilo nam je ići preko seoskoga groblja. **Udosmo** na razrušena, polupana vrata. Lugari i pogoniči **odoše** naprijed da se poređaju, a mi **otpočinimo**. Ovako umorni **povalismo** se na prvu ledinu.

The first autumn rains had fallen. Old Janko, the Brezovica forester, announced that the woodcocks had come. From that time on, the elder Batorić *did not have* any more peace in the house, and as soon as the sun came out again and those sweet light days of early autumn started up, we set out for the hunt. I was not a passionate hunter, but I joined in each time nevertheless, because time spent in those dear Zagorje hills WAS always so full of charm. We hunted from early morning. The kids who served as beaters were nearly exhausted, but still Brezović did not want to stop. “Just in Brezik,” he decided in the late afternoon. “There still must be flocks of them there, don’t you think, Janko? And then that’s it for today!” To get there, we had to go through the village cemetery. We went in through the dilapidated, broken down gate. The foresters and beaters went off ahead to line things up and we rested a bit. Then, tired, we spread out over the first field.

Commentary to text 1:

This excerpt, the opening paragraphs of the story in question, focuses attention almost immediately on the first major action, that of the hunt. The background is set by two perfective verbs in the compound past. Although these verbs (“*pala je*”, “*javio je*”) concern completed actions, the focus here is less on the actions themselves than it is on their result: they initiate the time period during which the action denoted by the imperfect tense verb “*imađaše*” takes place. Immediately following are two more perfective verbs in the compound past (“*pokazalo je*”, “*nastali su*”), which play a similar role in the narrative. That is, the results of these completed actions lay more background and build up the narrative tension which will be resolved by the narrative’s first perfective aorist, “*podosmo*”. The narrator, who uses the generalized compound past to note that he is not a passionate hunter (and therefore not a central figure in the action), then uses an aorist form (“*pridružih se*”) to describe what seems like background information – the fact that he frequently used to join such a hunting party. This seeming incongruity is no doubt intentional on the part of the author. By switching into the aorist here, and presenting the narrator’s conscious decision to join this hunting party (and any of its sort) as foregrounded action, the author underscores the narrator’s validity as a witness of the events to come.

The primary narration begins with the aorist form “*lovismo*”. The tense of the verb (aorist) marks it as foregrounded, while its aspect (imperfective) opens the way for the narrator to add backgrounded information in the compound past (“*je služila*”, “[*je*] *smalaksala*”, “[*je*] *nije htio*”). This again builds up the narrative tension, which is again resolved by the perfective aorist “*odluči*”. The text then moves into a narrative segment in which a sequence of actions is related primarily in perfective aorists.

Text 2. From the story **Prvi put s ocem na jutrenje** (First Matins with Father), by L. Lazarević

Моја мати **клону** крај ковчега и **онесвести се**. Сестра **врискну**. Ја **скоичих** из постелье. И Ђокица **скочи**. **Седосмо** доле на патос крај ње, **љубисмо** јој руку. Она **метну** руку на моју главу и **шапуташе** нешто. Онда **скочи**, **упали** свитац, па **прижеје** кандило пред светим Борђем. – Одите, децо, молите се Богу да нас избави од напасти – **рече** она. Глас јој звони као звено, а очи **СВЕТЛЕ** као вечерњача на небу. Ми **потрчасмо** њој под икону и сви **клекосмо**, а Ђокица **клекао** пред мајку, **окренуо се** лицем њој, ***крсти се** и, сироче, ***чита** наглас ону половину оченаша што је већ **био научио**. Онда ***се** опет **крсти** и ***љуби** матер у руку, па опет ***гледа** у њу. Из њених очију **ТЕКУ** два млаза суз. Оне **беху** управљене на свеца и на небо. Тамо горе **беше** нешто што је она **видела**; тамо њен бог, ког је она **гледала** и који је у њу **гледао**. И онда јој **се** по лицу **разли** некако блаженство и некаква светлост, и мени **се учини** да је бог **помилова** руком, и да **се светац наслеши**, и да аждаја под његовим копљем **зену**.

Mother collapsed by the chest and fell into a swoon. Sister screamed. I jumped out of bed, and Đokica did too. We sat down on the floor by her, and kissed her hand. She put her hand on my head and whispered something. Then she leapt up, kindled a brand and lit the lamp before the icon of St. George. “Come, children, and pray to God to deliver us from temptation,” she said. Her voice rang out like a bell, and her eyes shone like the evening star in the heavens. We ran to her side by the icon and all bowed down, and Đokica, having bowed before mother and turned his face to her, crossed himself, poor baby, and recited aloud the half of the Our Father which he had already learned. Then he crossed himself again and kissed her hand, and looked at her again. Two streams of tears flowed from her eyes. Her eyes were turned to the saint and to the sky. There, on high, was something she saw; there was her God, whom she looked upon and who looked upon her. And then some sort of blessedness and illumination diffused her face and it seemed to me that God had caressed her and that the saint had smiled, and that the mouth of the dragon under his spear had yawned wide.

Commentary to Text 2:

This excerpt is taken from the middle of the story, at a highly dramatic moment when the mother and children have just learned of the family’s impending bankruptcy. The first section of the excerpt contains a series of aorist verbs, whose function is not only to foreground the actions in question but to emphasize their quick succession. Within this sequence is embedded the one verb in the imperfect tense, “šaputaše”. The use of the imperfect here is a subtle but very effective way to keep the focus on the emotions of the young boy whose voice is narrating the story. An aorist verb would merely have stated that the mother had said something to the boy in a whisper, but the imperfect verb emphasizes the calming effect of the fact that the whispering continued for a specific time period – from the time the boy’s mother lay her hand on his head until the point when she got up to light the icon candle. The drama of the latter moment is heightened by present tense backgrounded verbs, describing the mother’s voice and eyes as she prepares to pray.

There follow two more foregrounded aorist verbs, after which the author names actions of the youngest child, using a contracted form of the compound past, L-participles without the auxiliary (“klekao”, “okrenuo se”). The sequence of verbs which follows describing the child’s actions is ambiguous: these imperfective verb forms could be read either as aorist (in which case they would emphasize the fact that the child’s actions occurred in sequence) or as present tense; in the latter case their backgrounded function would place into higher (and more poignant) focus the child’s recitation of the only piece of a prayer that he had managed to learn by then (which fact is noted in the pluperfect, “je bio naučio”). The conclusion of the passage is extremely dramatic: the backgrounded narration communicates the fact of the mother’s tears (“teku”, historic present) and the existence of a two-way relationship between her and the Almighty. The compound past is

used very effectively here: the verbs “je videla”, “je gledala” and “je gledao” focus attention not on the actions of seeing and looking themselves but on their results. In this way, they create the tension which will be resolved by the sequence of foregrounded verbs in which the child communicates his own vision.

Text 3. Luke 1: 5-12 (translation by V.S. Karadžić)

5. U vrijeme Iroda cara Judejskoga *bijaše* neki sveštenik od reda Avijna, po imenu Zarija, i žena njegova od plemena Aronova, po imenu Jelisaveta.
 6. A *bijahu* oboje pravedni i pred Bogom, i *življahu* u svemu po zapovijestima i uredbama Gospodnjim bez mane.
 7. I ne *imadijahu* djece; jer Jelisaveta *bješe* nerotkinja, i *bijahu* oboje već stari.
 8. I **dogodi se**, kad on *služaše* po svome redu pred Bogom
 9. Da po običaju sveštenstva **dode** na njega da izide u crkvu Gospodnju da kadi.
 10. I sve mnoštvo naroda *bijaše* na polju i *moljaše* se Bogu u vrijeme kadenja.
 11. A njemu **se pokaza** andeo Gospodnji koji *stajaše* s desne strane oltara kadio-noga.
 12. I kad ga **vidje** Zarija **uplaši se** i strah **napade** na nj.
5. There was in the days of Herod, the king of Judea, a certain priest named Zacharias, of the course of Abia; and his wife was of the daughters of Aaron, and her name was Elisabeth.
6. And they were both righteous before God, and lived in all ways according to all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless.
7. And they had no child, because Elisabeth was barren, and they both were now well stricken in years.
8. And it came to pass, that while he executed the priest's office before God in the order of his course,
9. According to the custom of the priest's office, his turn came to burn incense when he went into the temple of the Lord.
10. And the whole multitude of the people were without and were praying at the time of incense.
11. And there appeared unto him an angel of the Lord standing on the right side of the altar of incense.
12. And when Zacharias saw him, he was troubled, and fear fell upon him.

Commentary to text 3:

It is the nature of Biblical narration to focus on foregrounded action. This text, like much of the Bible, contains only aorist and imperfect tense forms. The narrative takes place during a specified time, the days of Herod. The text begins with several verbs in the imperfect tense which describe the state and the actions of Zacharias and his wife over that specified period. The foregrounded narration is introduced with the aorist forms “dogodi se” and “dode”. This ties the imperfect verb forms which follow more specifically to a particular time period. That is, it was during the time when Zacharias was serving in the priesthood (“služaše”, imperfect) that it came his turn (“dode”, aorist) to burn the incense. The time frame is then narrowed still more: it was during the time that Zacharias was burning the incense that the multitude was out in the field and was praying (“bijaše”, “moljaše”, both imperfects). This segment concludes with the major foregrounded action verbs describing the appearance of the angel and Zacharias's reaction, all of which are in the aorist. Within this sequence is embedded another verb in the imperfect, “stajaše”. The use of the imperfect here instead of the compound past puts clear emphasis on the duration of the time period: the angel remained standing by the altar throughout the entire narrative segment (which continues beyond this particular quotation).

Text 4. Bosnian folk song

Kad ja **pođoh** na Bentbašu, na Bentbašu na vodu
 Ja **povedoh** bijelo jagnje, bijelo jagnje sa sobom.
 Sve od derta i sevdaha, od tuge i žalosti
 Svud sam iš'o, svud sam gled'o, ne bi l' dragu vidjeo.
 Sve djevojke Bentbašanke na kapiji *stajahu*.
 Samo moja mila draga na demirli pendžeru.
 Ja joj **nazvah** dobro veče – Dobro veče, djevojče.
 Ona meni: Doj' do veče, doj' do veče, dilberče.
 Ja ne **odoh** isto veče. Već ja **odoh** drugi dan.
 Moja draga drugog dana za drugog se udala.

When I **went** to Bentbaša, to Bentbaša for the water
 I **took along** a white lamb, a white lamb with me.
 Filled with anguish and love, with sadness and sorrow,
I went everywhere and looked all over in hopes I might see my love.
 All the Bentbaša maidens stood in the doorways.
 Only my beloved behind an iron window grate.
I wished her good evening: “Good evening, my girl”.
 And she to me: “Come by evening, by evening my beloved.”
I didn't go that same evening; rather, I **went** the next day.
 On the next day my beloved was married to another.

Commentary to text 4:

This short song illustrates beautifully the narrative interactions of the three major tenses. The foregrounded actions, related in the aorist, concern the narrator's trip to the Bentbaša suburb (the name is transcribed in some versions as Bembaša), his speech with his beloved there, and his subsequent movements (and non-movements). The description of his emotions, a part of backgrounded narration, is amplified by the use of the compound past form “išao sam” and “gledao sam”, which, although they refer to protracted actions, communicate the emotional state as much as the action. The one verb in the imperfect, “stajahu”, emphasizes the fact that all the other maidens remained in the more accessible public spaces throughout the time of his conversation with his beloved (who was in a space inaccessible to him). The final instance of the compound past, “se udala”, concludes the story on a very poignant note: when the narrator arrives in Bentbaša a day later than requested, he is faced with the result of an already completed action, one which has painful repercussions for him.

Of course, modern narratives also use the aorist (and, very rarely, the imperfect). But the balance has shifted significantly since the above narratives were composed. Now, the compound past is the primary mode of narration, with the aorist used on occasion as an alternate form to enliven the narration. Although the shades of meaning found in earlier texts are largely absent, the aorist and the imperfect still obey the basic rules outlined above: the aorist can only be used to narrate foregrounded actions which occur in a sequence, and the imperfect can only be used to describe an action or a state which was in effect over the duration of a specified period of time.

152 Verbal conjugation, review

Every verb has a number of different forms. For conjugational purposes, the most important of these are the *infinitive*, the *present*, the *imperative*, and the *L-participle*. The *passive participle* is also relevant for its role in passive constructions. The *aorist* and the *imperfect* are relevant pri-

marily for reading literary texts, and although the *verbal noun* and *verbal adverbs* can be learned as separate vocabulary items, it is good to see their relationship to the verbal system.

The forms can be categorized with respect to the function they perform in sentences. Both the infinitive and the verbal noun can be grouped within the general category [noun]. The verbal noun, of course, is a noun in all ways, capable of taking all case endings within a sentence. The infinitive, strictly speaking, does not fit into any particular category. But even though it does not take case endings, it can on occasion function as the subject of a sentence; one can therefore provisionally classify it at the level of a noun. The category [verb] is the central one, of course. In BCS, this category includes the three forms of the imperative mood (singular, plural, and inclusive), and the three simplex tenses (present, aorist, and imperfect), each of which has separate forms in singular and plural – six for the present and five each for the aorist and imperfect. The category [adjective] is also central, as one of the two adjectival forms plays a pivotal role in forming the compound tenses of BCS. The adjectival forms can take all case and gender endings in both singular and plural, although the L-participles appear almost exclusively with nominative endings, due to their prominent role in compound tenses. The category [adverb] is relatively subsidiary within the language; nevertheless the two verbal adverbs also play their part when needed.

The following chart summarizes these forms. In theory, any one verb will have a separate form corresponding to each of the slots occupied by an abbreviation designated in boldface. Although in practice not every verb has every single one of these forms, the full inventory is surprisingly close to complete for each verb. Any “holes” are almost always a function of aspectual meaning. Imperfective verbs frequently do not have forms for the past verbal adverb and sometimes also lack forms for the passive participle, while perfective verbs usually lack forms for the present verbal adverb and the verbal noun, and can never be used in the imperfect tense. The abbreviations given below for verb forms (1sg., 2sg., etc.) are customary. Those for gender are more elliptic than usual, and are used primarily for space reasons; it should be clear that m.sg. refers to masculine singular, f.sg. to feminine singular, etc.

Verb inventory

[noun]		infinitive					verbal noun
[verb]	present	1sg.	2sg.	3sg.	1pl.	2pl.	3pl.
	aorist	1sg.	2sg.	3sg.	1pl.	2pl.	3pl.
	imperfect	1sg.	2sg.	3sg.	.pl.	2pl.	3pl.
	imperative		sing.		incl.	plur.	
[adjective]	L-part	m.sg.	n.sg.	f.sg.	m.pl.	n.pl.	f.pl.
	pass. part.	m.sg.	n.sg.	f.sg.	m.pl	n.pl.	f.pl.
[adverb]		present			past		

153 Full verb paradigms

The verb types given in [103a] should by now be relatively familiar to the student. The charts below give more detailed information about these types. For each type, one representative verb is listed with all its possible forms. The accompanying commentary discusses the major points of variation, including regular consonant softenings (review [112]) and accent shifts. When no direction is stated for an accent shift, it is assumed that the shift is from rising in the base form (represented by the infinitive) to falling in the other specified forms (always including the present tense) or from rising on an non-initial syllable to rising one syllable closer to the beginning of the word (for more discussion of this pattern, see [166a]). Where a particular form does not exist for the model verb, a corresponding form from a related verb is given in brackets.

This verb classification differs in certain ways from those found in standard native grammars. The verb classes here are defined in such a way as to make the system as clear as possible for the foreign learner. Once the basic forms and categories have been learned, it should be easy to navigate within one of the more technically oriented handbooks written by and for natives.

153a. Type 1 (*gledati*)

This type is the most regular. One must remember that the imperative stem ends in **-j**, and that the preceding vowel is always lengthened. The vowel in the passive participle suffix, **-an**, is also lengthened. The accent can remain on the same syllable in all forms of the word, or it can shift in the present tense (in all forms except 3pl.), the imperfect, and the passive participle. One verb of this group, **imati**, has a special negated form: **nemati**.

In the simplex tenses, certain verbs of this group (**dati**, **znati**, **imati**) have a second set of forms (normally used in more archaic contexts), which follow *type 13* (**dadem**, **znadem**, **imadem**, etc.). The first of these verbs can also have present tense forms of *type 7* (**dadnem**, etc.); for more discussion, see the commentary to *type 15b*. The verb **dati** obligatorily forms its aorist according to *type 13* (**dadoh**, etc.), and the other two verbs form the aorist either on the model of *type 13* or on the more regular *type 1* model. Two of these verbs can also take passive participle forms after *type 6*, either as a variant (**prodat** vs. **prodan**) or as the only form (**poznat**).

Type 1

	gledati					
N						gleđanje
V	present	gleđam	gleđaš	gleđa	gleđamo	gleđate
	aorist	gleđah	gleđa	gleđa	gleđasmo	gleđaste
	imperfect	gleđah	gleđaše	gleđaše	gleđasmo	gleđaste
	imperative		gleđaj!		gleđajmo!	gleđajte!
Adj	L-part	gleđao	gleđalo	gleđala	gleđali	gleđala
	pass. part.	gleđan	gleđano	gleđana	gleđani	gleđana
Adv		gleđajući			[pogledavši]	gleđane

153b. Type 2 (*nositi*)

This type is also quite regular. If the stem-final consonant is one which can undergo Type C softening, this will occur without exception in the verbal noun, the passive participle, and the imperfect. In more archaic style, there is an alternate form of the imperfect tense using the suffix **-ij**; in this case the stem final consonant does not undergo softening (**stavijah**, etc.). If the verbal stem ends in **-j**, the imperative stem does as well (for instance, the imperative of **krojiti** is **kroj**, **krojmo**, **krojte**). The majority of verbs of this type shift the accent in the present, the imperfect, the passive participle and the present verbal adverb (unlike the model verb below).

Type 2

	nositi					nošenje
N						
V	present	nosim	nosij	nosij	nosimo	nosite
	aorist	nosih	nosij	nosij	nosismo	nosiste
	imperfect	nošah	nošaše	nošaše	nošasmo	nošaste
	imperative		nosij!		nosimo!	nosite!
Adj	L-part	nosio	nosilo	nosila	nosili	nosila
	pass. part.	nošen	nošeno	nošena	nošeni	nošena
Adv		noseći			nosivši	nošene

153c. Type 3 (*videti* / *vidjeti*)

This type includes a small number of basic verbs – all of which have a very high frequency of usage – and a larger number of derived verbs which share the general meaning of taking on a particular quality (see [153a]). If the stem-final consonant is one which can undergo Type C softening, this takes place in the verbal noun, passive participle, and imperfect. Ekavian and ijekavian forms are differentiated in the infinitive, past verbal adverb, aorist and L-participle. In ijekavian the masculine singular L-participle ends in **-io**; all other forms of the L-participle have the sequence **-je-**. The ijekavian verb corresponding to ekavian **sedeti** has shifted to *type 2* (**sjediti**). Normally verbs of this type keep the same accent in all forms.

Type 3 (ekavian)

N		videti				viđenje
V	present	vidim	vidiš	vidi	vidimo	vidite
	aorist	videh	vide	vide	videsmo	videste
	imperfect	viđah	viđaše	viđaše	viđasmo	viđaste
	imperative		viđi!		viđimo!	viđite!
Adj	L-part	video	videlo	videla	videli	videla
	pass. part.	viđen	viđeno	viđena	viđeni	viđena
Adv		videći			viđevši	viđene

Type 3 (ijekavian)

N		vidjeti				viđenje
V	present	vidim	vidiš	vidi	vidimo	vidite
	aorist	vidjeh	vidje	vidje	vidjesmo	vidjeste
	imperfect	viđah	viđaše	viđaše	viđasmo	viđaste
	imperative		viđi!		viđimo!	viđite!
Adj	L-part	vidio	vidjelo	vidjela	vidjeli	vidjela
	pass. part.	viđen	viđeno	viđena	viđeni	viđena
Adv		videći			viđevši	viđene

153d. Type 4 (*držati*)

This type occurs in a relatively small number of verbs, whose stems end in **-ž**, **-č**, **-j**, **-žd** or **-št**. These verbs have a rising accent in all forms. The verb **stajati** “stand” has a different stem in the present, imperative, and present verbal adverb (**stojim**, etc.). If the verbal stem ends in **-j**, then so does the imperative stem; the preceding vowel is also lengthened (for instance, the singular imperative of **stajati** is **stoj**).

Type 4

N		držati				držanje
V	present	držim	držiš	drži	držimo	držite
	aorist	držah	drža	drža	držasmo	držaste
	imperfect	držah	držaše	držaše	držasmo	držaste
	imperative		drži!		držimo!	držite!
Adj	L-part	držao	držalo	držala	držali	držala
	pass. part.	držan	držano	držana	držani	držana
Adv		držeći			državši	držane

153e. Type 5 (*pisati*)

This type includes a sizeable number of verbs. If the stem-final consonant is one which can undergo Type C softening, this takes place in all forms of the present and imperfect tenses, in the imperative, and in the present verbal adverb. Most of these verbs shift the accent in the present, imperfect, and passive participle. The verb **slati** is a merger of this type (in the fact that it undergoes consonant softening in the present tense), *type 10* (as concerns the inserted vowel in the present tense), and *type 6* (as concerns the passive participle). Some verbs have alternate present tense forms belonging to this type and to *type 1*; for instance, the present tense forms of **nazivati** can be either **nazivljem** (*type 5*) or **nazivam** (*type 1*). Most of these verbs with alternate forms are gradually moving over to *type 1*.

Type 5

N		<u>p</u> isati				
V	present	pišem	pišeš	piše	pišemo	pišete
	aorist	pisah	pisa	pisa	pisasmo	pisaste
	imperfect	pisah	pisaše	pisaše	pisasmo	pisaste
	imperative		piš!		pišimo!	pišite!
Adj	L-part	pisao	pisalo	pisala	pisali	pisala
	pass. part.	pisan	pisano	pisana	pisani	pisana
Adv		pišući			pisavši	

153f. Type 6 (*piti*)

This type includes a number of verbs with monosyllabic roots. In most instances the root vowel is **-i-**, but in a few verbs it is **-u-**; the most frequently occurring of the latter type is **čuti** “hear”. The root vowel is short except in the imperative and past verbal adverb. The form of the passive participle is varied. It can end either in **-t** (as in the model verb below), in **-ven** (as in **čuven**), or in **-jen** (as in **dobijen**). Some verbs have more than one passive participle formation. The accent depends upon the form of the participle. In most verbs of this group, the passive participle forms ending in **-en** are preferred to those ending in **-t**.

Type 6

N		piti				
V	present	pijem	piješ	pije	pijemo	pijete
	aorist	pih	pi	pi	pismo	piste
	imperfect	pijah	pijaše	pijaše	pijasmo	pijaste
	imperative		pij!		pijmo!	pijte!
Adj	L-part	pio	pilo	pila	pili	pila
	pass. part.	[popit]	[popito]	[popita]	[popiti]	[popita]
		[popijen]	[popijeno]	[popijena]	[popijeni]	[popijena]
Adv		pijući			[popivši]	[popijene]

153g. Type 7 (*krenuti*)

Most verbs of this type are perfective; indeed the markers **-ne-** (in the present) and **-nu-** (in the aorist and the participles) often carry with them the idea of sharp or instantaneous one-time action (for discussion and examples, see [162a]). Some verbs of this type are imperfective, however. The passive participle always has the suffix **-t**, and the preceding **-u-** is always long. Those perfective verbs which can form a verbal noun add the ending **-će** (also with a long vowel preceding). Imperfective verbs can have a verbal noun formed on the model of *type 2* (for instance, the

verb **tonuti** “sink” has **tonjenje**). The model verb has long rising accent which shifts in the relevant forms, but it should be noted that most verbs in this group have short falling accent.

Many verbs in this group share certain forms with *type 15b*. In those forms, the stem-final consonant is the one which appears in the verb’s imperfective partner. From the pair **krenuti** / **kretati**, for instance, one can predict that the model verb below might have two sets of aorist forms: **krenuh**, etc. and **kretoh**, etc. Indeed, part of the reason for the duplication of forms (that is, the possibility of forms from both *types 7* and *15b*) is that certain forms of a perfective *type 15b* verb are indistinguishable from those of a *type 5* imperfective verb. For instance, one cannot tell whether the present tense **dizem** corresponds to the imperfective **dizati** (*type 5*) or the perfective **dicí** (*type 15b*).

The verb **stati** “stand, become, stop” belongs partly to this type, although its infinitive, L-participle, and past verbal adverb follow *type 10* (**stati**, **stao**, **stala**, etc., **stavši**). Its present tense and imperative belong here (**stanem**, etc., **stani**), but its aorist follows either *type 10* (**stah**, etc.) or *type 13* (**stadoh**, etc.).

Type 7

		krenuti				
N		krenem	kreneš	krene	krenemo	krenete
V	present	krenem	kreneš	krene	krenemo	krenete
	aorist	krenuh	krenu	krenu	krenusmo	krenuste
	imperfect	[tonjah]	[tonjaše]	[tonjaše]	[tonjasmo]	[tonjaste]
	imperative		kréni!		krenimo!	krenite!
Adj	L-part	krénuo	krénuolo	krénuula	krénuuli	krénuule
	pass. part.	[dignut]	[dignuto]	[dignuta]	[dignuti]	[dignuta]
Adv		[dizući]			krenuvši	

153h. Types 8a-8b (*kupovati*, *kazivati*)

The primary feature of *type 8a* is the replacement of the sequence **-ova-** by the sequence **-uj-** in the present tense, imperative, and present verbal adverb. As in other verbs whose imperative stem ends in **-j**, the preceding vowel is lengthened; similarly, as in other verbs whose passive participle takes the suffix **-n**, the vowel before this suffix is lengthened. If the verb root ends in a soft consonant, the sequence **-ova-** can appear as **-eva-** (as in, for instance, **vojevati** “wage war”). If the verbal root is a monosyllabic one, the sequence **-uj-** in the present tense can correspond to an infinitive either with **-ova-** (as in **kovati** “forge”) or **-uva-** (as in **pljuvati** “spit”). The accent can shift in the present tense, imperfect, imperative, and present verbal adverb, as in the model verb. In many verbs of this type, however, it remains on the same syllable. It is often the case that it shifts to the very first syllable in both the L-participle and passive participle forms.

Type 8a

		kupovati				
N		kupujem	kupuješ	kupuje	kupujemo	kupujete
V	present	kupujem	kupuješ	kupuje	kupujemo	kupujete
	aorist	kupovah	kupova	kupova	kupovasmo	kupovaste
	imperfect	kupovah	kupovaše	kupovaše	kupovasmo	kupovaste
	imperative		kupuj!		kupujmo!	kupujte!
Adj	L-part	kupovao	kupovalo	kupovala	kupovali	kupovala
	pass. part.	kupovan	kupovano	kupovana	kupovani	kupovana
Adv		kupujući			kupovavši	

Verbs of *type 8b* are very similar to *type 8a* verbs; the only formal difference is that *8b* verbs have **-iva-** wherever *8a* verbs have **-uva-**. Verbs in this group are all derived imperfectives (review [147c]). Their clearly imperfective meaning prevents the appearance of a past verbal adverb in any verb of this type. Wherever **-iva-** appears, the accent is long rising on the first syllable of this sequence, and wherever **-uj-** appears, the accent is short rising on the preceding syllable.

Type 8b

N		kazivati					kazivanje
V	present	kazujem	kazuješ	kazuje	kazujemo	kazujete	kazuju
	aorist	kazivah	kaziva	kaziva	kazivasmo	kazivaste	kazivаше
	imperfect	kazivah	kazivăše	kazivăše	kazivăsmo	kazivăste	kazivăhu
	imperative		kazuj!		kazujmo!	kazujte!	
Adj	L-part	kazivao	kazivalo	kazivala	kazivali	kazivala	kazivale
	pass. part.	kazivan	kazivano	kazivana	kazivani	kazivana	kazivane
Adv			kazujući				

153j. Type 9 (*davati*)

These verbs are also derived imperfectives. This type includes only imperfectives derived from either **dati** or **znati** (or their compounds). The major point to remember is that the sequence **-ava-** is replaced by **-aj-** in the present, imperative, and present verbal adverb. The accentuation is similar to that of *type 8b* verbs: the accent is long rising on the first syllable of **-ava-** in the infinitive, and short rising on the syllable preceding the sequence **-aj** (which retains its long vowel) in the present (thus, **poznавati**, **poznajem**). Only the present tense of **davati** has long falling on **-aj**. The accent in the imperfect tense is either long rising or long falling.

Type 9

N		davati					davanje
V	present	dajem	daješ	daje	dajemo	dajete	daju
	aorist	davah	dava	dava	davasco	davaste	davaše
	imperfect	davah	davaše	davaše	davasco	davaste	davahu
	imperative		daj!		dajmo!	dajte!	
Adj	L-part	davao	davalо	davala	davali	davala	davale
	pass. part.	davan	davano	davana	davani	davana	davane
Adv		dajući			davavši		

153k. Type 10 (*brati*)

Verbs in this group insert a vowel into the stem in the present, imperative, and present verbal adverb. There are also alternate forms of the imperfect tense made on this stem (**berijah**, **berijaše**, etc.). The inserted vowel is usually **-e-** (as in this verb, **prati** “wash”, **drati** “fleece” and a few others). It can also be **-o-** (as in **zvati** “call”) or **-a-** (as in **slati** “send”, whose present tense softens the stem-initial consonant after the manner of *type 5* verbs: **šaljem**, etc.). The verb **mleti** / **mljeti** exceptionally has **-e-** in the infinitive, but forms its present tense on this model, with inserted **-e-** (**meljem**). Its past participle, however, is **mleven** / **mljeven**.

Type 10

N		brati				branje
V	present	bérəm	bérəš	bérę	béręmo	béręte
	aorist	brah	bra	bra	brasmo	braste
	imperfect	brah	braše	braše	brasmo	braste
	imperative		beri!		berimo!	berite!
Adj	L-part	brao	bralo	brala	brali	brala
	pass. part.	bran	brano	brana	brani	brana
Adv		béręći		bravši		brane

153m. Type 11 (*uzeti*)

This group includes a number of different verbs. The common feature is that the infinitive stem ends in **-e** (or **-u**), and the present stem ends in a consonant. This consonant is **-m** in the group of verbs related to **uzeti** “take” and **-n** in the group of verbs related to **početi** “begin”. But it can also be **-p**, as in the group of verbs related to **rasuti** “scatter” (1sg. **raspem**). The verb **kleti** “curse” is similar, except that it also inserts a vowel in the present stem (1sg. **kunem**). Most verbs in this group are perfective and do not have imperfect tense forms; in the few which do, the stem final consonant undergoes Type C softening in the imperfect.

Type 11

N		uzeti				[poduzeće]
V	present	uzmém	uzmeš	uzme	uzměmo	uzměte
	aorist	uzeh	uze	uze	uzesmo	uzeste
	imperfect	[kunijah]	[kunijaše]	[kunijaše]	[kunijasmo]	[kunijaste]
	imperative		úzmi!		úzmimo!	úzmite!
Adj	L-part	uzeo	uzelo	uzela	uzeli	uzela
	pass. part.	uzet	uzeto	uzeta	uzeti	uzeta
Adv		[kunući]		uzevši		uzete

C,B poduzeće / B,S preduzeće

153n. Type 12 (*umjeti* / *umjeti*)

This group differentiates ekavian and ijekavian forms throughout all paradigms. It includes **smjeti** / **smeti** “dare” and **razumjeti** / **razumeti** “understand”. In more archaic style, the verb **smjeti** / **smeti** can take aorist and imperfect forms like the more archaic ones of **dati** (**smjedoh** / **smedoh**, etc., **smjedijah** / **smedijah**, etc.). The verb **mrijeti** / **mreti** “die” follows a similar pattern but has separate ekavian and ijekavian forms only in the infinitive and the aorist; in addition, its imperative is **mri** and its L-participle forms are **mro**, **mrla**, etc.

Type 12 (ekavian)

N		umeti				umeće
V	present	umém	umeš	ume	umesmo	umete
	aorist	umeh	ume	ume	umesmo	umeste
	imperfect	umejah	umejaše	umejaše	umejasmo	umejaste
	imperative		umej		umejmo	umejte
Adj	L-part	umeo	umelo	ümela	ümeli	ümela
	pass. part.					umele
Adv		umejući		umevši		

Type 12 (ijekavian)

N		umjeti					umijeće
V	present	umijem	umiješ	umije	umijemo	umijete	umiju
	aorist	umjeh	umje	umje	umjesmo	umjeste	umješe
	imperfect	umijah	umijaše	umijaše	umijasmo	umijaste	umijahu
Adj	imperative		umij		umijmo	umijte	
L-part	umio	umjelo	umjela	umjeli	umjela	umjela	
pass. part.		umijući		umjевši			
Adv							

153p. Type 13 (*jesti*)

The stem of all verbs in this group ends in either **-d** or **-t**. This stem final consonant shifts to **-s** in the infinitive, and is lost in the L-participle. The aorist adds **-o** before the endings (-e in 2-3sg.). The imperfect has two possible forms: in one the stem final consonant undergoes Type C softening (**jedah**, etc.) and in the other it does not (**jedah**, etc.).

Type 13

N		jesti					jedenje
V	present	jedem	jedeš	jede	jedemo	jedete	jedu
	aorist	jedoh	jede	jede	jedosmo	jedoste	jedoše
	imperfect	jedah	jedaše	jedaše	jedasm	jedaste	jedahu
Adj	imperative		jedi!		jedimo!	jedite!	
L-part	jeo	jelo	jela	jeli	jela	jele	
pass. part.	jeden	jedeno	jedena	jedeni	jedena	jedene	
Adv	jedući		jedavši				

153q. Type 14 (*tresti*)

Verbs of this group have various stem final consonants, though the most frequent are **-s** (as in the model verb below) or **-z** (as in **gristi** “bite”, 1sg. **grizem**). The stem-final **-b** of **grevsti** “scratch” (1sg. **grebem**) is maintained in the infinitive, but the stem final sequence **-st** in **rasti** “grow” (1sg. **rastem**) is simplified in the infinitive and in the L-participle (**rastao**, **rasla**, etc.). All add **-o** in the aorist (-e in 2-3sg.), and **-a** in the masculine singular L-participle form. Some have an alternate imperfect of the form **tresijah**, etc. The passive participle frequently shifts the accent towards the end of the word in all but Nsg.masc. short form. The verbal root **-nes-** drops the final consonant in the infinitive and L-participle; in addition both of these forms have ekavian and ijekavian forms (**doneseti** / **donijeti**; and **doneo**, **donela**, etc. / **donio**, **donijela**, etc.). Other forms are regular, however: **donesem**, etc., **donesi**, **donesen**, etc.

Type 14

N		tresti					tresenje
V	present	tresem	treseš	trese	tresemo	tresete	tresu
	aorist	tresoh	trese	trese	tresosmo	tresoste	tresoše
	imperfect	tresah	tresaše	tresaše	tresasm	tresaste	tresahu
Adj	imperative		tresi!		tresimo!	tresite!	
L-part	tresao	treslo	tresla	tresli	tresla	tresle	
pass. part.	tresen	treseno	tresena	treseni	tresena	tresene	
Adv	tresući		tresavši				

153r. Types 15a-b (*teći, stići*)

The stems of *type 15a* verbs end in **-k** or **-g** (there is one very rare verb whose stem ends in **-h**). These stem final consonants undergo Type A softening in the imperative and imperfect, and Type B softening in the passive participle, the verbal noun, all forms of the present tense but 3pl., and 2-3sg. aorist. In the case of **moći**, the 1sg. present ends in **-u**, and there is no softening. As in the previous group, the aorist forms add **-o** before the endings (**-e** in 23sg.) and **-a** is added in the masculine singular L-participle. The passive participle forms usually shift the accent towards the end of the word in all forms but Nsg.masc. short form.

Type 15a

	teći						
N							tečenje
V	present	tečem	tečeš	teče	tečemo	tečete	teku
	aorist	teko <u>h</u>	teče <u>h</u>	teče <u>h</u>	teko <u>smo</u>	teko <u>ste</u>	teko <u>še</u>
	imperfect	tecijah	tecija <u>še</u>	tecija <u>še</u>	tecijasmo	tecijaste	tecijahu
	imperative		teci!		tecimo!	tecite!	
Adj	L-part	teka <u>o</u>	te <u>klo</u>	te <u>kla</u>	te <u>kli</u>	te <u>kla</u>	te <u>kle</u>
	pass. part.	te <u>čen</u>	te <u>čeno</u>	te <u>čena</u>	te <u>čeni</u>	te <u>čena</u>	te <u>čene</u>
Adv		te <u>kući</u>		[te <u>ka</u> vši]			

Most *type 15b* verbs also have stems ending in **-k** or **-g**, and follow the same rules as *type 15a* in the aorist, imperfect, imperative, L-participle, and passive participle. The difference between the two sub-types is that *type 15b* verbs have a number of alternate forms following the model of *type 7*. These forms are almost always used in the present tense, and on occasion in other paradigms as well.

The extent to which any one verb permits these alternate forms varies. The model verb, for instance, is also known under the infinitive form **stignuti**, and uses only the **-ne-** forms in the present, imperative, and passive participle (the *type 15* passive participle formation is illustrated by forms from the verb **strići** “shear”). Other past tense forms of **stići**, however, all follow *type 15a*. The verb **dići** “lift” is similar, in that the infinitive **dignuti** is also used, and only present tense forms with **-ne-** are used. This verb also forms the passive participle on the model of *type 7* (**dignut**). Its other past tense forms, however, are formed on the model of *type 15a*.

In addition, two very common verbs with stems in **-d** also follow this model. These are **pasti** “fall” and **seći / sjesti** “sit”. Both their present tense and imperative forms follow *type 7*, although the imperative of the latter verb has forms of both types: **sjedni / sedni** (*type 7*) and **sed / sjedi** (*type 15*). Their past tense forms follow *type 13* (**padoh, pade**, etc., **pao, pala**, etc.).

Type 15b

	stići						
N							stizanje
V	present	stignem	stigneš	stigne	stignemo	stignete	stignu
	aorist	stigo <u>h</u>	stiž <u>e</u>	stiž <u>e</u>	stigo <u>smo</u>	stižo <u>ste</u>	stigo <u>še</u>
	imperfect	stizah	stiza <u>še</u>	stiza <u>še</u>	stizasmo	stizaste	stizahu
	imperative		stigni!		stignimo!	stignite!	
Adj	L-part	stigao	stiglo	stigla	stigli	stigla	stigle
	pass. part.	[strižen]	[striženo]	[strižena]	[striženi]	[strižena]	[strižene]
Adv		stižućí		stigavši			

153s. Type 16 (*doći*)

This type is restricted to the verb **ići** “go” and its prefixed derivatives. The stem of nearly all these verbs ends in **-d**, but that of **ići** itself ends in **-d** (**idem**, etc.). The stem final consonant is replaced by **-š** in the L-participle, and **-a** is added in the masc.sg. form. The root vowel is long in all prefixed forms of **ići**, but is shortened in the L-participle.

Type 16

N	doći					
V	present dođem	dođeš	dođe	dođemo	dođete	dođu
	aorist dođoh	dođe	dođe	dođosmo	dođoste	dođoše
	imperfect [iđah]	[iđaše]	[iđaše]	[iđasmo]	[iđaste]	[iđahu]
	imperative dođi!			dođimo!	dođite!	
Adj	L-part došao	došlo	došla	došli	došla	došle
	pass. part. [nađen]	[nađeno]	[nađena]	[nađeni]	[nađena]	[nađene]
Adv		[idući]		došavši		

153t. The verb *hteti* / *htjeti*

This verb has both clitic and full forms in the present tense, and a special negated form. The clitic forms carry only the meaning *future tense*; other present tense forms carry both this meaning and the meaning *want*; the remaining forms mean carry only the meaning *want*. In the present tense, the 1sg. ends in **-u**, and the 3pl. ends in **-e** (it is distinguished from 3sg. by vowel length). The aorist can also take the form **htedoh** / **htjedoh**, etc., and the imperfect can also take the form **hotijah**, etc. or **htijah**, etc. The present verbal adverb can also take the form **hteći** / **htijući**, and the past verbal adverb can also take the form **hotevši** / **hotjevši**. In certain perfective-like contexts, the alternate present tense forms **htednem** / **htjednem** are possible. Both ekavian and ijekavian conjugations are given below.

HTETI (ekavian)

N	hteti					htenje
V	present ću	ćeš	će	ćemo	ćete	će
		hoću	hoćeš	hoće	hoćemo	hoćete
		neću	nećeš	neće	nećemo	nećete
	aorist hteh	hte	hte	htesmo	hteste	hteše
		htedoh	htede	htede	htedosmo	htedoste
	imperfect hoćah	hoćaše	hoćaše	hoćasmo	hoćaste	hoćahu
		hotijah	hotijaše	hotijaše	hotijasmo	hotijaste
	imperative htijah					hotijahu
Adj	L-part hteo	htelo	htela	hteli	htela	htele
	pass. part. hoteći			hotevši		
Adv						

HTJETI (ijekavian)

N		htjeti				
V	present	ću	ćeš	će	ćemo	ćete
		hoću	hoćeš	hoće	hoćemo	hoćete
		neću	nećeš	neće	nećemo	nećete
	aorist	htjeh	htje	htje	htjesmo	htjeste
		htjedoh	htjede	htjede	htjedosmo	htjedoste
	imperfect	hoćah	hoćaše	hoćaše	hoćasmo	hoćaste
		hotijah	hotijaše	hotijaše	hotijasmo	hotijaste
Adj	imperative					htejnje
L-part		htio	htjelo	htjela	htjeli	će
pass. part.						hoće
Adv		hoteći		htjevši		neće

153u. The verb *biti*

This verb has both clitic and full forms in the present tense, and a special negated form. Expanded variants of five of the six negated forms of the present tense (**nijesam**, **nijesi**, **nijesmo**, **nijeste**, **nijesu**) are used in certain areas, especially in Montenegro. The alternate present in **budem** etc. is used after subordinating conjunctions and as an auxiliary in the exact future. In addition to the full forms listed in the model, the imperfect tense also has contracted variants. These are **beh**, **beše**, **besmo**, **beste**, **behu** (ijekavian **bjeh**, **bješe**, **bjesmo**, **bjeste**, **bjehu**).

BITI

N		biti				
V	present	sam	si	je	smo	ste
		jesam	jesi	jeste	jesmo	jeste
		nišam	niši	niže	nišmo	nište
		budem	budeš	bude	budemo	budete
	aorist	bih	bi	bi	bismo	biste
	imperfect	bejah	bejaše	bejaše	bejasmo	bejaste
			budi!		budimo!	budite!
Adj	imperative					bejahu
L-part		bio	bilo	bila	bili	bile
pass. part.						
Adv		budući		biyši		

E bejah etc. / J bijah etc.; B,S jeste / C jest

CHAPTER 17

154 Cases of nouns, review

Nouns in English essentially have two forms, singular and plural. The possessive form, expressed by 's, is also used in certain instances, but as many English speakers are uncertain as to its correct usage (especially in writing), it can no longer be viewed as a central part of the English noun system. In BCS, by contrast, each noun can express seven different case meanings in both singular and plural (with an additional form used after the numbers 2, 3, 4). To function effectively within BCS, it is crucial to know not only the different case forms a noun can take, but also when each should (or can) be used. The set of these case forms is called a *declensional paradigm*.

The basic paradigms of BCS are by now familiar (review [89]). In a number of instances, the same case form carries more than one meaning; the meanings, however, remain separate. Each preposition requires the noun or pronoun which follows it to be in a particular case. Most prepositions have more than one meaning: sometimes they require the same case no matter what the meaning, and sometimes they require a different case depending on the meaning.

The following reviews the usage of the different cases, with and without prepositions.

155 The nominative and vocative cases

The nominative and vocative cases often share the same form. Their functions are quite different, however. As their names indicate, the *nominative case* names something, and the *vocative case* serves to call someone. The nominative is the case form under which nouns are listed in the dictionary, and the form one uses to identify a noun.

155a. The nominative case

The *nominative case* (review [20]) expresses the ideas *subject* and *predicate noun*. A subject heads a sentence, and requires the verb to agree with it. A predicate noun follows a form of the verb **biti**, which itself follows the subject of the sentence. The nominative case can also express the predicate after the verbs **zvati** “call”, **značiti** “mean”, **postati** “become”, **praviti se** “pretend to be”, and a few others; the instrumental can also be used in certain of these contexts (see [159a]). If a title of a book or institution is used in apposition to another noun (review [121a]), that title is in the nominative regardless of the case of the other noun. If a noun is presented as equivalent to another noun in the nominative, usually after connectives such as **kao** or **nego**, it also appears in the nominative case. Prepositions are in general not used with the nominative. An exception is the preposition **po** in its meaning of distribution or succession (review [59c, 124d]): unlike most instances of preposition usage, which require a specific case for a specific meaning, the preposition **po** – in this meaning only – takes whatever case the sentence meaning requires.

The pronominal adjective **svoj** expresses possession, and specifically indicates that the possessor is the grammatical subject of the sentence. In normal usage, therefore, one would not be able to use **svoj** in the nominative case, since the identities of possessor and that which is pos-

sessed cannot logically be one and the same. In more metaphorical usage, however, **svoj** can modify a noun in the nominative case. In this usage, it means *one's own* either in the sense of being autonomous and independent, or in the sense of being part of a group considered as *one's own*. In the second usage, context is of course critical in order to define the group in question.

The nominative subject of a BCS sentence is not always translated as an English subject. English sentences almost always place the subject before the verb. In BCS, however, the verb frequently precedes the subject. This places more emphasis on the verb than on the subject, and such emphasis is frequently translated by another phrase altogether in English.

NOMINATIVE

subject	Goran čeka pred zgradom.	<i>Goran waits in front of the building.</i>
predicate	Vi ste mi jedini nasljednici. Pravila su pravila! Taj čin je bio povod za Prvi svjetski rat. Zvali su ga Petar. Posle je postao predsednik. Goran se pravi važan.	<i>You are my only heirs.</i> <i>Rules are rules!</i> <i>That act was the cause of the First World War.</i> <i>They called him Peter.</i> <i>Later he became president.</i> <i>Goran is putting on airs [= pretending to be important].</i>
apposition	Radi u preduzeću Orbis. Oduševljena je romanom Rat i mir.	<i>He works for the firm [called] Orbis.</i> <i>She's enchanted by the novel War and Peace.</i>
kao	U knjigu je bila umetnuta fotografija kao podsjetnik.	<i>A photograph had been placed in the book as a reminder.</i>
	Mogla bi proći kao rođena Meksikanica.	<i>She could pass for a native-born Mexican.</i>
po	Ulaze jedan po jedan.	<i>They come in one by one.</i>
svoj	On je svoj čovjek. Svoj čovjek sluša samo sebe i nikoga drugoga. Svoji smo. [= Naši smo.]	<i>He's his own person.</i> <i>[Someone who is] his own person obeys only himself and no one else.</i> <i>We're [among] our own.</i>
inverted word order	Ostalo ga nije previše ni zanimalo. Prodaje se kuća. Traži se kućna pomoćnica.	<i>He wasn't really interested in the rest [= the rest didn't really interest him].</i> <i>There's a house for sale [= a house is being sold].</i> <i>Housekeeper sought [= one seeks a housekeeper].</i>

J nasljednici / E naslednici; J svjetski / E svetski; E posle / J poslije; E predsednik / J predsjednik; S,B u preduzeću / C,B u poduzeću; J podsjetnik / E podsetnik; C,B mogla bi proći / B,S mogla bi da prođe; J čovjek / E čovjek

155b. The vocative case

The *vocative case* (review [19, 88]) is used to attract someone's attention, or to indicate the addressee of a particular statement. For many nouns, the form of the vocative is identical to the nominative. When it does take a separate form, however, this is quite noticeable. Quite naturally, the vocative is used most frequently with personal names, although it is also used with other terms denoting human beings; in highly poetic style, objects can also be addressed. Adjectives modifying a vocative form always take the nominative case.

The vocative is also used in certain instances to refer to people without necessarily addressing them. If followed by the form **jedan** it can convey either a very strong insult or a grudging and affectionate admiration. Often it is used with the pronominal adjective **moj** to convey endearment. In epic folk poetry, the vocative is often used in the meaning *nominative*, expressing the subject of a sentence. Although surnames otherwise never take the vocative form, epic poetry allows either the personal name or the family name to appear in the vocative. The reason for this is purely metrical, since it allows a masculine name to acquire the extra syllable that allows it to fill out a line of poetry in a verse form which has very rigid metrical requirements. In any one epic song, therefore, male names can appear in any one line either in the nominative or the vocative, with no difference in meaning.

VOCATIVE

calling	Мехмеде! Дођи овамо!	<i>Mehmed! Come here!</i>
address (in speech)	Децо, шта ту радите? Седи, пријатељу. Све ћу да ти кајем.	<i>What are you doing here, children? Sit down, [my] friend. I'll tell you all [about it].</i>
(in poetry)	О звездо светла!	<i>Oh, bright star!</i>
insult	Свињо једна! Лопове један!	[Dirty] swine! [Rotten] crook!
grudging praise	Мангупе један! Враже један!	<i>You little rascal, you! Why you devil, you!</i>
endearment	Душо моја! Срећо моја!	<i>My darling [= my soul]! My one and only [= my happiness]!</i>
subject (epic poetry)	Кад то зачу Бановић Секуле... Вино пије Краљевићу Марко.	<i>When Sekul Banović heard that... Marko Kraljević is drinking wine.</i>

E deco / J djeco; B,S šta / C što; E sedi (sedni) / J sjedi (sjedni); S,B sve ču da ti kažem / C,B sve ču ti reći;
E zvezdo / J zvijezdo; E svetla / J svjetla

156 The accusative case

The form of the *accusative case* is identical to that of the nominative for many nouns, and to that of the genitive for singular animate masculine nouns (review [21a, 89a]). It has a separate form only for singular feminine nouns in -a (review [21a, 89c]) and for plural masculine nouns (review [33, 89a]). The accusative is used in a wide range of meanings, both with and without prepositions.

156a. The accusative without a preposition

The most frequent use of the preposition-less accusative is as direct object (review [22]). This usage normally poses no difficulties for English speakers, since most instances can be literally translated with English direct objects. Sometimes, however, a BCS direct object is translated by an English prepositional phrase. Two other sentence types refer to humans in the accusative. One of these concerns body aches: the person who feels the ache is named in the accusative and the part of his or her body which hurts is named in the nominative (review [110b]). Because the verb is always **boleti** / **boljeti** “hurt”, one could view this instance of accusative as a metaphorical direct object (the body part HURTS the person). The other type concerns emotional states such as fear, shame, will, and the like. Here, too, the person who experiences the state is named in the accusative and the state itself is named in the nominative (review [105]). Because the verb is **biti**, however, it is not possible to view this as a direct object of any sort. One must simply remember

to name the person in the accusative in these sentences. In the case of *fear*, that which one is afraid of is expressed in the genitive. In one exceptional instance, the state is expressed as a 3sg. verb (review [105]).

Some Croat grammarians claim that in Croatian one can now express the idea of a se-passive with an accusative object. Normally, a passive sentence expresses its relationship to an active sentence through the transformation of the active sentence's object into the passive sentence's subject; the fact of *passive* is marked either by the presence of a passive participle or by the particle **se** (review [139]). For all Serbs and Bosnians, and for most Croats as well, this is the only way to construct a proper passive sentence. Examples of the proposed Croatian passive with accusative object are given below; it must be noted, however, that Bosnians and Serbs cannot say such sentences at all, and that many Croats reject them as well.

ACCUSATIVE as object

direct object	Primijetila je moj pogled. Prodao je svoju kuću i vinograd.	<i>She noticed my glance.</i> <i>He sold his house and vineyard.</i>
[phrase in E]	Koju srednju školu pođađa? Sutra će ga operirati. Koliko si plaćio tu knjigu? Okrenuo sam 37. stranicu.	<i>What high school does he go to?</i> <i>They will operate on him tomorrow.</i> <i>How much did you pay for that book?</i> <i>I turned to page 37 [= the 37th page].</i>
body-ache	Jako me bolji glava! Koga od vas bolji zub?	<i>I have a terrible headache.</i> <i>Who among you has a toothache?</i>
state	Strah ga je gušteri. Radim kad me je volja.	<i>He's afraid of lizards.</i> <i>I work when I feel like it [= when the will is there].</i>
state as verb	Mrzi me da ide tamo.	<i>I don't feel like going there.</i>
Croatian se- passive (optional)	(Prodaje se kuću.) [C] (Traži se kućnu pomoćnicu.) [C]	<i>There's a house for sale [= someone is selling a house].</i> <i>Housekeeper sought [= one seeks a housekeeper].</i>

J primijetila / E primetila; B,C operirati / S operisati; C,B će ga operirati / S,B će da ga operišu (operiraju)

The accusative also occurs in a number of adverbial phrases. These usually specify time, but can also identify a measure of space. Time-phrases, in turn, normally specify the duration of time over which an event occurs (review [125b]). But they can also identify a point in time, either a point in the past seen in relation to another point in the past, or a point in the present. If a period or point in time is the logical subject of the sentence, the sentence is subjectless (review [141]) and the time period is expressed in the accusative.

ACCUSATIVE as adverbial

duration	Три месеца су путовали по земљи.	<i>They were traveling around the country for three months.</i>
	Био је тамо недељу дана.	<i>He was there [for] a week.</i>
	Течај обично траје годину дана.	<i>The course usually lasts a year.</i>
	На дијети сам цео дан.	<i>I'm on a [restricted] diet all day.</i>
point in time	Видео их је недељу дана касније. Дан уочи последњег часа срео га је на улици.	<i>He saw them a week later.</i> <i>The day before the last class he met him on the street.</i>

subjectless	Од конференције је прошло недељу дана.	A week had gone by since the conference.
space	Стотињак метара низводно је место на којем је Гаврило Принцип убио надвојводу.	About a hundred meters downstream is the spot where Gavriilo Princip killed the Archduke.

E meseca / J mjeseca; S,B nedelju (nedjelu) / B sedmicu / C tjeđan; B,C,S tečaj / S kurs; S ceo dan / B,C cijeli dan; E video / J video; E poslednjeg / J posljednjeg; B,S časa / S sata; S stotinak / C,B stotinjak; E mesto / J mjesto

156b. The accusative with prepositions

Many of the prepositions used with the accusative convey the explicit idea of *motion towards* (review [55a, 67c]). The particular trajectory of the motion is identified by the preposition. Nearly all such prepositions occur with another case as well: in each case the meaning of physical space is the same, but the idea of motion is absent (see [158c, 158b]). Only three of them – **kroz**, **niz**, and **uz** – occur in the accusative alone. Most of the prepositions taking the accusative also occur in a compound form which takes the genitive case. These compound prepositions carry a broader meaning than simply *location*; for more discussion, see [157b].

Two other prepositions denote physical motion when used with the accusative and something else when used with another case. In each instance, however, the non-accusative meaning bears relatively little relationship to the accusative one. A third, **u**, both participates in the *motion / non-motion* opposition, and has a completely separate meaning when used with the genitive case. Finally, the preposition **po** in its distributive meaning takes the accusative when the sentence structure requires it (but the nominative otherwise).

	Motion	Location	[neutral]
through	KROZ	accusative	
between, among	MEDU	accusative	instrumental IZMEDU genitive
on	NA	accusative	locative
over, above	NAD	accusative	instrumental IZNAD genitive
down along	NIZ	accusative	
under, below	POD	accusative	instrumental ISPOD genitive
before, in front of	PRED	accusative	instrumental ISPRED genitive
in	*U	accusative	locative
along, alongside	UZ	accusative	
behind	ZA	accusative	instrumental IZA genitive
[Other]			
against, on	O	accusative	locative
for	PO	accusative	locative
[see 157b]	*U		genitive

For most of the above prepositions, the English translations given above correspond most closely to the meaning found in the Location column. When used with the accusative, the prepositions **medu**, **nad**, **pod**, **pred**, and **za** denote movement *into* the position specified. The prepositions **u** and **na** with the accusative are usually best translated simply as *to*, however. In certain instances **u** corresponds to English *into* and **na** to English *onto*, but in general one must simply learn which nouns take **u** and which ones take **na** (review [67b]). In the case of the final two prepositions, the English translations given above with the accusative are limited specifically to that case. Each of these two prepositions occurs much more frequently used with the locative, and with a very different meaning (review [68b-c], and see [158c]). With the accusative, **o** means

movement *against*, in the sense of striking something, while **po** indicates the goal of movement undertaken; in this meaning it is used only after verbs of motion.

The idea of motion can also be conceived of metaphorically. Sometimes this can still be perceived of in a directional sense, but more often the idea is one of intention. The vast majority of such examples are with the prepositions **u** and **na**.

ACCUSATIVE: motion in space

kroz	Kroz <u>tu</u> planinu kopa <u>j</u> u tun <u>el</u> .	<i>They're digging a tunnel through the mountain.</i>
među	Pogodio ga je među oči.	<i>He hit him [right] between the eyes.</i>
na	Popela se na moj krevet. Nasloniла je glavu na jastuk. I ja idem na isti fakultet. Stavio je kapu na glavu.	<i>She climbed up onto my bed.</i> <i>She lay her head on the pillow.</i> <i>I go to the same college too.</i> <i>He put the cap on his head.</i>
nad	Nagnuo sam se nad nju da vidim kako je.	<i>I leaned over her to see how she was.</i>
pod	Spustili smo se niz vodu. Šetali su se ruku pod ruku.	<i>We rode [e.g. a raft] downstream.</i> <i>They strolled arm in arm.</i>
pred	Mačka se podvukla pod pokrivač.	<i>The cat crawled under the blanket.</i>
Marina	Marina je stigla pred zgradu Centra tačno u dva.	<i>Marina arrived in front of the Center building precisely at 2:00.</i>
premestio	Premaestio se pred televizor.	<i>He sat himself down in front of the TV set.</i>
u	Preselili su se u Zagreb.	<i>They moved to Zagreb.</i>
teretanu	Idem u teretanu da vežbam.	<i>I'm going to the gym to work out.</i>
rijeku	Idemo uz rijeku.	<i>We're going [on the river] upstream.</i>
za	Molim vas, stavite to za vrata.	<i>Put it behind the door, please.</i>
šank	Sjeli su za šank.	<i>They sat down at the bar.</i>
o	Začu se zvuk kucanja čaše o čašu.	<i>The sound rang out of one glass being tapped against another.</i>
udario	Uđario je nogom o sto.	<i>He hit his leg on [= against] the table.</i>
po	Idi po doktora! Došao sam po času vode.	<i>Go get a doctor!</i> <i>I came to get a glass of water.</i>

S,C nad nju / B nad nju; C,S niz vodu / B niz vodu; C,S pod ruku / B pod ruku; C pod pokrivač / B pod deku / S pod ēeve; S,B tačno / C točno; E premestio se / J premestio se; E vežbam / J vježbam; S,B idem da vežbam (vježbam) / C,B idem vježbiti; J rijeku / E reku; J sjeli / E seli; B,S sto / C stol; S o sto / C o stol / B o sto

ACCUSATIVE: metaphorical motion (or intention)

kroz	Sunce prođire kroz prozirne zavese. Mačka gleda kroz prozor.	<i>The sun comes [right] through the net [= transparent] curtains.</i> <i>The cat is looking out the window.</i>
na	Poslati će ga na sve moguće pretrage. Žurim na posao. Sutra idem na pregled. Bacio je pogled na fotografiju. Lijecnik je viškao na nju.	<i>They will send him for all possible tests.</i> <i>I'm in a hurry to get to work.</i> <i>I'm going tomorrow for a checkup.</i> <i>He glanced at the photograph.</i> <i>The doctor shouted at her.</i>

na	Òdlaze <u>zajedno</u> na kafu. Onda <u>je</u> pogledao na sat. Prišivala je dugme na bluzu. Skoči Sekul na noge lagane.	<i>They go out with each other for coffee. Then he looked at his watch. She was sewing a button on the blouse. Sekul jumped lightly to his feet.</i>
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B,C poslat će / B,S poslaće; C,B pretrage / S,B ispitivanja; C liječnik / B ljekar (doktor) / S lekar (doktor); S,C na nju / B na nju; B,S kafu / B kahvu / C kavu; B na noge / S,C na noge

u	Dòći <u>će</u> mi dànas u posjet. Jedva čekam povratak u svakodnevnici. Ovi su me ljudi uvukli u svoju priču. Padoše jedno drugom u zagrljaj. Idem s Ljubicom u šetnju. Jeste li se ikad pogledali u ogledalo? Molim vas, umotajte ih u lep papir. Odjeven je u dres nogometnog kluba Real Madrid. Uvlačila je kònac u iglu. – Slušaj – rekla je u slušalicu.	<i>They'll come to visit me today. I can hardly wait for a return to normal [= to everyday life]. These people have drawn me into their [life] story. They fell into each other's arms. I'm going for a walk with Ljubica. Have you ever looked [at yourself] in the mirror? Wrap them up in [some] nice paper, please. He's wearing [= has dressed himself in] the Real Madrid team soccer uniform. She was threading [= putting thread into the eye of] the needle. "Listen," she said into the receiver.</i>
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C u posjet / B u posjetu / S u posetu; B,C čekam povratak / S,B čekam da se vratim; B,C,S u svakodnevnicu / C u svakodnevcu; B,C,S jeste li / B,S da li ste; B,C,S ogledalo / C zrcalo; E lep / J lijep; J odjeven / E odevan; B,C nogometnog / B,S fudbalskog

The accusative with prepositions also expresses the idea of *time*. The preposition **na** is primarily used to specify the length of time one intends to spend on an action, and is also used in certain idiomatic expressions. The preposition **pred** refers to a point in time immediately preceding an impending action, while the preposition **pre** / **prije** specifies a time point in the past with relation to the present: it is translated by English *ago*. The preposition **u** locates an event in time when it happens on a day of the week or at an hour on the clock; it can also refer to a specified period of time. Finally, the preposition **za** indicates the duration of time that elapses before an action is expected to be completed.

ACCUSATIVE: time

na	Idem u Španjolsku na tri mjeseca. Uvijek se vraćao na vrijeme. Na Novu godinu se rano probudio.	<i>I'm going to Spain for three months. He always returned on time. On New Year's Day, he awoke early.</i>
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B,C u Španjolsku / B,S u Španiju; J mjeseca / E meseca; J uvijek / E uvek; J vrijeme / E vreme

pre / prije	Da si otisao na pregled prije mjesec dana, sad bi imao bolje izglede. Napisao je to pre skoro tri godine.	<i>If you had gone for a checkup a month ago, you'd now have better prospects. He wrote it almost three years ago.</i>
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J prije / E pre; J mjesec / E mesec

pred	Osjećali su se slično srednjoškolcima pred maturu. Bilo je to pred Božić.	<i>They felt like high school kids on the verge of graduation. It happened just before Christmas.</i>
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J osjećali / E osećali

u	<p>Ispit je sutra u <u>podne</u>. U <u>utorak</u> mi je rođendan. Čudim se što ga u ovu tri dana nisu posjetili. Ona je ulazila u isto vrijeme. Iz dana u dan letio je sve bolje. Zove u svakog doba dana.</p>	<p>The exam is tomorrow at noon. My birthday is on Tuesday. I'm amazed that they haven't come to visit him in the last three days. She was coming in at the same time. From day to day he got better at flying. S/he calls at any hour of the day.</p>
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J posjetili / E posetili; J vrijeme / E vreme; S,C u dan / B u dan; J letio / E leto

za	<p>Za tjedan dana će me otpustiti. <u>Kaže</u> da joj smjena završava za sat vremena. Vjenčat ćemo se za desetak dana. Za nekoliko dana došao je drugi.</p>	<p>They're letting me go in a week. She says her shift will be done in an hour. We're getting married in ten days or so. A few days later, another [of them] arrived.</p>
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C za tjedan / B,S za nedjelju (nedelju) / B za sedmicu; J smjena / E smena; S,C za sat / B za sat; J vjenčati se / E venčati se; B,C vjenčat ćemo se / S,B venčaćemo se (vjenčaćemo se)

The prepositions **uz** and **za** usually mean *along[side]* and *for*, respectively. The latter, however, can often be translated by other prepositions. In particular, it can frequently mean *about*. The preposition **po** can signify distribution, or specify occurrence in a sequence.

ACCUSATIVE: individual

uz	<p>Uz fotografiju su priložili nekakav tekst. <u>On</u> im je uz osmijeh pružio ruku. Živjeti uz rijeku, to je tako posebno. Nemam novaca uza se.</p>	<p>They put some words [= some sort of text] next to the photograph. He held out his hand to them with a smile. Living by the river is really special. I don't have any money on me.</p>
za	<p>Za doručak volim jesti šunku. Ruže su za moju ženu. Saznali su za njegovu tugu. A evo Šimuna, za čije nalaze liječnici kažu da su veoma loši. Vidiš da te zezaju za nju.</p>	<p>I like to eat ham for breakfast. The roses are for my wife. They learned of his sadness. And here is Šimun, [about] whose test results the doctors say [they] are very bad They're teasing you about her, you know.</p>
po	<p>Radi po cijeli dan. Ulaze jedan po jedan.</p>	<p>He works all day long. They come in one by one.</p>

J uz osmijeh / E uz osmeh; J živjeti / E živeti; J rijeku / E reku; C,B novaca / S,B novca; C,B volim jesti / S,B volim de jedem; C liječnici / B ljekari (doktori) / S lekari (doktori); B za nju / S,C za nju; J cijeli / E celi; B,C cijeli dan / S ceo dan

Although prepositions almost always require full form pronoun objects, certain clitic form objects can be used after prepositions in ACCUSATIVE MEANING ONLY. This alternate usage occurs mostly in high-style written forms. If the preposition ends in a consonant, the vowel **a** is added to it. This usage is restricted to the clitic objects **me**, **te**, and **se**; the clitic object **ga** takes the form **nj** in these cases. The preposition always takes the accent (usually in the form of a falling accent on the first syllable).

Alternate forms of pronoun objects

	full form object	clitic form object	
KROZ	kroz mene	krož me	through / past me
NA	na njega	na nj	to / onto him / it
NAD	nad tebe	nadž te	over you
POD	pod sebe	podž se	under oneself
PRED	pred mene	predž me	in front of me
U	u tebe	u te	to you
UZ	uz sebe	uzž se	along with oneself
ZA	za njega	za nj	for him / it

156c. The accusative with prepositions in idiomatic usage

Many instances of the accusative after prepositions must simply be learned as a part of individual expressions. As in English, individual verbs may require a particular prepositional phrase as part of their object, and commonly used phrases will require particular prepositions. The prepositions **u** and **na** are particularly frequently used in such phrases. Sometimes a BCS prepositional phrase (usually with either **na** or **za**) corresponds to an adjective + noun phrase in English. Some instances of verb-dependent idiomatic usage may not seem very different from the metaphorical expressions of motion illustrated in the previous section; most are a matter of interpretation. Overall, it is best to learn all of these simply as facts of vocabulary.

ACCUSATIVE + preposition after verbs

na	Bácio je pogled ná nju. Sve čete dijeliti na dva dijela. Govório je na sav glas. Možemo íći tamo na pecanje. Kćerka vam više sliči na suprugu. Némoj se ljutiti ná njega! Nagovárao me je ná to. Našli smo na dobar restoran. To će vas návesti na pogreške. Odgovorite na pitanje, molím vas. Svi se osmjehnúše na taj odgovor. Molím te, pazi na djecu. Plaća se na sat. Ná njega si potrošio više nego ná mene. Svu je krívnju prebacila ná njega. Preveo je knjigu na engleski. Nísam se mogao priviknuti na ritam velikog grada. Prodaju ga samo na litar. Grijanje na struju je najskuplje. On je slijep na jedno oko.	<i>He glanced at her.</i> <i>You will divide everything in two.</i> <i>He was speaking at the top of his lungs.</i> <i>We can go fishing there.</i> <i>Your daughter looks more like your wife.</i> <i>Don't get angry at him!</i> <i>He tried to talk me into it.</i> <i>We happened upon a good restaurant.</i> <i>That will cause you to [make] errors.</i> <i>Answer the question, please.</i> <i>They all smiled at that reply.</i> <i>Keep an eye on the children, please.</i> <i>You have to pay by the hour.</i> <i>You spent more on him than you did on me.</i> <i>She put all the blame on him.</i> <i>He translated the book into English.</i> <i>I couldn't get used to the rhythm of [life in] the big city.</i> <i>They sell it only by the liter.</i> <i>Electric heating [= heating by current] is the most expensive.</i> <i>He's blind in one eye.</i>
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B ná nju / S,C na nju; J dijeliti / E deliti; J dijela / E dela; B,C možemo íći / S,B možemo da idemo; B,C,S kćerka / S čerka / B,C kći; C sliči / B,S liči; B,C nemoj se ljutiti / S,B nemoj da se ljutiš; B ná njega / S,C na njega; B ná to / S,C na to; S,B našli / C nabasali; J osmjehnúše / E osmehnuše; J djecu / E decu; S,C na mene / B na mene; C,B krivnju / S,B krivicu; B,C nisam se mogao priviknuti / S,B nisam mogao da se priviknem; S,B na litar / C na litre; J grijanje / E grejanje; J slijep / E slep

u	Prasnuše u glasan smijeh. Rekli su <u>to</u> u jédan glás. Tiskao ga je u vlastitoj nakladi, u samo stotinjak primjeraka. Národi su vjerovali u nebo.	<i>They burst into uproarious laughter. They said it [as if] in one voice. He published it on his own, in [a run of] only a hundred copies or so. [Various] peoples believed in Heaven.</i>
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J smijeh / E smeh; C tiskao / B,S štampao; C vlastitoj nakladi / S,B sopstvenom izdanju; C,B stotinjak / S stotinak; J primjeraka / E primeraka; J vjerovali / E verovali

za	Držali smo ga za pametnog čoveka. Udala se za španjolskog vojnika. Uzela ga je za ruku. Za njega se zna da je vrlo bogat.	<i>We took him to be an intelligent person. She married a Spanish soldier. She took him by the hand. He's known to be very rich.</i>
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E čoveka / J čovjeka; B,C španjolskog / B,S španskog; B za ruku / S,C za ruku; S,C za njega / B za njega

ACCUSATIVE in phrases

na	na taj način na primjer na vrijeme ljubav na prvi pogled pegla na paru štednjak na drva na zdravlje! bez obzira na	<i>like that, in that manner for example on time love at first sight steam iron wood-burning stove Cheers! To your health! regardless of</i>
u	u isto vrijeme sve u svoje vrijeme u neku ruku	<i>at the same time everything in its [proper] time to a certain extent</i>
za	za uzvrat za razliku od za dlaku vrijeme za spavanje daska za peglanje pribor za pecanje lijek za kašalj mesto za parkiranje služba za zapošljavanje	<i>in return as distinguished from, unlike by a hair's breadth bedtime ironing board fishing gear cough medicine parking place employment office</i>

J primjer / E primer; J vrijeme / E vreme; B,S pegla / C glačalo; C štednjak / B,S šporet; S,B peglanje / C glačanje; J lijek / E lek; E mesto / J mjesto

157 The genitive case

The form of the genitive case is often given along with the nominative in dictionaries. This is done partly to identify gender, since nouns whose Nsg. ends in a consonant (that is, in -Ø) can be either masculine or feminine. Some dictionaries give the designations (*m.*) and (*f.*) after such nouns, but many give the Gsg. form. Thus, the entry **posao**, **posla** identifies the noun in question as masculine while the entry **misao**, **misli** identifies the noun in question as feminine. The Gsg. form also gives important information about changes in the stem. Among these changes, the most frequently encountered is the loss of a fleeting vowel. That is, although the dictionary form (Nsg.) contains a fleeting vowel, the stem for all other case forms lacks this vowel. Other changes which

may occur include a shift in the form of the stem-final consonant, or in the accent of the stem. The Gsg. form, therefore, provides the form of the stem for all other cases. For instance, the entry **momak**, **momka** means that all other forms of the noun will add endings to the stem **momk-** and not to the stem **momak-**. For more on fleeting vowels, see [167g], for more on consonant shifts due to assimilation, see [167e], and for more on accent shifts, see [166, 166b].

The Gpl. form of nouns is often problematic, and many dictionaries give the Gpl. form of a noun as well. Some nouns take the ending **-a** and some take the ending **-i**; the vowels in these endings are always long. Most (but not all) nouns which take the ending **-a** will insert an extra **-a-** in the preceding syllable; this **-a-** is also long (for more on these inserted vowels, see [164f]). The rules are relatively straightforward for most nouns (review [57a]), but it is much harder to predict the Gpl. ending of a feminine noun in **-a**. Many dictionaries give more than one possibility for a number of these nouns, and not all dictionaries agree. Two tendencies can be identified, however. One is that nouns referring to female humans generally take **-i** (except for **devojka / djevojka**). The other is that if a noun's stem ends in **-pt**, **-tk**, **-vk**, **-žb**, **-db**, **-lb**, **-rb**, **-rm**, **-kv**, **-šnj**, **-dnj**, or **-tnj**, it is likely at least to have variant endings. The ending **-i** is also somewhat more likely to be chosen in Serbian than in Croatian. Some nouns retain the ending **-a** but without the inserted vowel; this is the least frequent variant. The list below gives a very rough sense of the variation for certain nouns. Forms in parentheses are somewhat less likely to occur.

variation in Genitive plural

	Nsg.	Gpl.	[or]	
female human	djevojka majka Bosanka	djevojaka majki Bosanki	(djevojki) (majka) <i>Bosnian [female]</i>	
other (by stem final consonant)	tetka börba lopta bitka olovka izložba svadba molba norma crkva trešnja radnja patnja	tetki borbi lopti bitki olovki izložbi svadbi molbi normi crkvi trešnji radnji patnji	tetaka borba (lopta) bitaka olovaka izložaba (svadaba) molba norma crkava trešanja (radnja) pañnja	<i>girl</i> <i>mother</i> <i>Aunt [paternal]</i> <i>struggle</i> <i>ball</i> <i>battle</i> <i>pencil</i> <i>exhibition</i> <i>wedding</i> <i>request</i> <i>norm</i> <i>church</i> <i>cherry</i> <i>store; act</i> <i>suffering</i>

157a. The genitive without a preposition

The basic meanings of the genitive case have to do with the idea of limitation, a concept inherent in most of the meanings of the English preposition *of*. In its most widespread use, the genitive marks the second in a sequence of two nouns, just as does English *of* in the sequence *[noun] OF [noun]* (review [44a]). That is, the second noun gives information which defines and limits the scope of the meaning of the first noun in some way. For instance, Zagreb is not just any capital, but the capital *OF* Croatia, and a particular drink is usually a drink *OF* some sort (which information is often quite helpful to know before one actually imbibes the drink in question). Such phrases occur very frequently in BCS, often within sentences where the first noun serves some other grammatical role. These phrases are rendered in English in a number of ways – some-

times with the preposition *of*, sometimes with another preposition, and quite frequently as a simple *noun compound* (a phrase composed of two nouns in which the first acts like an adjective). In a somewhat poetic style of usage, the genitive can denote a quality: this usage is equivalent to English *of* as in *a man OF good taste*. Such phrases must include an adjective.

The genitive can also occur as the object of a sentence. This usually includes the idea of limitation as well. Most such objects convey the meaning called *partitive*, usually rendered in English by the phrases *some [of]* or *not any* (review [45]). Sometimes the object of a negated verb appears in the genitive; in these cases, partitive meaning is usually present as well, but sometimes not so much as to require marking in English translation. Certain verbs (most of which are **se**-verbs) require a genitive direct object, and while the idea of limitation may not be an obvious part of their meaning, it can sometimes be inferred metaphorically. The meaning of limitation is also clear in the use of the genitive after the existentials **ima** and **nema** (review [59b]), where the translations *some, any, none* or *not any* are frequent. Finally, the genitive is used after adverbs of measure (review [59a]), after most numbers (review [58, 124a, 124c]), and after location indicators such as **evo** (review [44c, 73f]).

GENITIVE: in phrases

<i>of</i> -phrase	Prešelio se nakon gubitka sina. Promjenio je način života. Nosim ti pozdrave prijatelja. Pojavio se u pravnji advokata. Nije svjesna utiska koji ostavlja. Centar za učenje stranih jezika	<i>He moved after losing his son</i> [= after the loss of his son]. <i>He changed his way of life.</i> <i>I bring you greetings from friends</i> [= the greetings of friends]. <i>He came accompanied by a lawyer</i> [= in the company of a lawyer]. <i>She's not conscious of the impression she makes</i> [= leaves]. <i>Center for the Study of Foreign Languages</i>
quality	grad širokih ulica osoba dobrih namjera mladić krupnih očiju	<i>a city of wide streets</i> <i>a well-intentioned person</i> <i>a wide-eyed young fellow</i>
noun compound	označivač stranica ravnatelj tvornice red vožnje pisanje eseja klimanje glave dress nogometnog kluba profesorica biologije tragovi cipela Ulica Augusta Šenoa	<i>page marker</i> [= marker of pages] <i>factory director</i> [= director of the factory] <i>timetable</i> [= order of the driving] <i>essay writing</i> [= writing of essays] <i>nod</i> [= bowing of the head] <i>soccer uniform</i> [= uniform of the soccer team] <i>biology teacher</i> [= teacher of biology] <i>footprints</i> [= traces of shoes] <i>August Šenoa street</i> [= street of / named after the writer August Šenoa]

J promjenio / E promenio; B,S advokata / C,B odvjetnika; J svjesna / E svesna; B,S utiska / C,B dojma; J čovjek / E čovek; J namjera / E namera; C ravnatelj / S,B direktor; C,B tvornice / S,B fabrike; C,B nogometni / S fudbalski; C,B profesorica / S profesorka

GENITIVE: as object

<i>partitive</i>	Xoćeš li kolaka? [Da] vode! Uzeo je sira.	<i>Do you want some cake?</i> <i>Water!</i> <i>He took some cheese.</i>
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se-verb	Он као да се ничега не боји. Окани се таквих мисли!	<i>It's as if he's not afraid of anything. Stop thinking that way! [= Abandon those sort of thoughts!]</i>
neg. object	Радо се сећам добрих људи. Немам ни браће ни сестара. Није тражио кривца Знам да немам шансу код ње.	<i>I remember good people with pleasure. I have no brothers or sisters. He didn't seek to blame [anyone]. I know I don't have a chance [= any chances] with her.</i>
	Није узео сира. Немам за то времена. Не знам ни речи латинског.	<i>He didn't take any cheese. I don't have the time for that. I don't know a word of Latin.</i>
	B,C,S hoćeš li / B,S da li hoćeš; E sećam se / J sjećam se; B kod nje / S,C kod nje; E reči / J riječi	

GENITIVE: existentials, adverbs, numbers

ima / nema	Није било гужве. Без бриге. Јма времена. Нема бензина.	<i>It wasn't crowded [= there wasn't a crowd]. Don't worry. There's [enough] time. No gas. Out of gas.</i>
measure	Одиграли су неколико утакмица. Требаће ти кило кромпира. Шесторо младих људи уђоше.	<i>They played several matches. You'll need a kilo of potatoes. Six young people entered.</i>
evo etc.	Ево наших пријатеља! Ено новина тамо.	<i>Here are our friends! There's the newspaper, over there.</i>

S trebaće / B,S trebat će; B,S trebaće ti / C,B ti ćeš trebati; B,S kilo / C kila; B,S krompira / C krumpira; B,S šestoro / C,B šestero

The genitive case also occurs adverbially, in expressions of time. Here too, the idea of limitation is present: the time period in question must be specified by an adjectival form of some sort. Such adverbial phrases – which must contain a modifier – usually refer to a specific point in time, but can also refer to a repeated time or to a period of duration (review [61b]).

GENITIVE as adverbial

point in time	Jednoga dana mu se izjadao. Umrla je prošle jeseni. Htio je da ga dovede još tog poslijepodneva.	<i>One day he poured his heart out to him. She died last autumn. He wanted to bring him that very afternoon.</i>
repeated	Tu smo se okupljali svake nedelje.	<i>We used to get together there every Sunday.</i>
duration	Prenijela je pozdrave prijatelja koji su se proteklih dana raspitivali o meni.	<i>She brought greetings from friends who had been asking about me over the last [several] days.</i>

J htio / E hteo; B,S htio (hteo) je da ga dovede / C,B htio ga je dovesti; J poslijepodneva / E poslepodneva; E nedelje / J nedelje; J prenijela / E prenela

157b. The genitive with prepositions

The great majority of BCS prepositions require the genitive case to follow them. Nearly all of them can be described in terms of relationships of space or time, both in the concrete sense and in the more abstract sense. The remaining ones describe relationships of similarity, separation or

causality. Several prepositions are also compounds, composed of two prepositions fused into a single word. Sometimes the base preposition also takes the genitive, and sometimes it takes another case (the accusative or the instrumental). Compounds always take the genitive, however. Many of these prepositions can also be used as adverbs; these are noted in the third column below. Starred forms in this column are now used primarily as adverbs. For compounds whose simple form takes the instrumental case, see the charts in [156b, 159b].

		simple	compound	[adverb]
space	<i>near</i>	BLIZU		
	<i>by, next to</i>	DO		
	<i>along</i>	DUŽ	UZDUŽ	
	<i>from, out of</i>	IZ		
	<i>by, with</i>	KOD		
	<i>next to, alongside</i>	KRAJ	NAKRAJ, POKRAJ	
	<i>among, between</i>		IZMEDU	
	<i>through, along, beside</i>	MIMO		
	<i>in place of</i>	MJESTO	UMJESTO	
	<i>above</i>		IZNAD	
	<i>under</i>	NIŽE		niže
	<i>from, away from</i>	OD		
	<i>around</i>	OKO, OKOLO		
	<i>below, under</i>		ISPOD	
	<i>next to, by</i>	PORED		
	<i>in front of, before</i>		ISPRED	
	<i>across</i>	PREKO		preko
	<i>against</i>	PROTIV	NAPROTIV	protiv
	<i>down from</i>	S, SA		
	<i>amid</i>	SRED	NASRED, USRED	
	<i>inside</i>	UNUTAR		unutra*
	<i>outside</i>	VAN	IZVAN	van*
	<i>above</i>	VIŠE	POVIŠE	više*
	<i>above</i>	VRH	NAVRH, POVRH	
	<i>with, by [possession]</i>	U		
	<i>behind, after</i>		IZA	
time	<i>until</i>	DO		
	<i>after</i>	NAKON		nakon
	<i>since</i>	OD		
	<i>after</i>	POSLIJE		poslje
	<i>before</i>	PRIJE		prije
	<i>on the eve of</i>	UOČI		
	<i>during</i>	ZA		
other	<i>without</i>	BEZ		
	<i>except for</i>	OSIM		
	<i>like, similar to</i>		POPUT	
	<i>due to, for the sake of</i>	RADI	PORADI, ZARADI	
	<i>because of</i>	ZBOG		

J mjesto / E mesto; J umjesto / E umesto; J poslige / E posle; J prije / E pre; B,C,S osim / S sem

The meanings of most of these are self-explanatory (the preposition **u**, better known in its use with the accusative and locative, has when used with the genitive a meaning very similar to

that of **kod**). Although prepositions whose basic meaning concerns space can in principle be used to denote concrete spatial relationships, most are used with more abstract (though clearly related) meanings. Prepositions whose basic (or alternate) meaning concerns time usually are restricted to the more concrete meaning of time. Since numbers do not take case forms after prepositions, the idea of a case form is in fact a moot point in most time expressions.

The derivation of a compound prepositions by the addition of the preposition **iz** (**ispod**, **ispred**, **iza**, **između**, **iznad**) originally added a more specific meaning of motion to the prefix in question: *OUT FROM under*, *OUT FROM behind*, etc. Now, however, each of these compound prepositions carries all the meanings of the respective non-prefixed preposition except directional motion. Thus, while **iznad** can refer both to something *located over* something else, or something (such as an airplane) *moving over* something else, only **nad** can refer to the movement which brings something *into a position over* something else.

GENITIVE: space (concrete and metaphorical)

blizu	To je blizu naš <u>e</u> kuć <u>e</u> . Dijete stoji blizu majke <u>e</u> .	<i>It's close to our house.</i> <i>The child is standing close to its mother.</i>
do	Došao sam do sāme obale. Osjećao je da je proživio život do kraja.	<i>I went to the very edge of the bank.</i> <i>He felt as if he had lived life fully up to the end.</i>
duž	Idi duž rijeke <u>e</u> .	<i>Go down [the length of] the river.</i>
iz	Sutra izlazim iz bolnice <u>e</u> . Sve je to kao iz sapunice <u>e</u> .	<i>I'm getting out of the hospital tomorrow.</i> <i>It's all as if in [= out of] a soap opera.</i>
kod	Ona je sada kod frizer <u>a</u> . Nemam šansi kod nje <u>e</u> .	<i>She's at the hairdresser's now.</i> <i>I don't have a chance with her.</i>
kraj	Azra je stajala kraj nje <u>e</u> . Kraj takvih kandidata šanse su mi male <u>e</u> .	<i>Azra was standing next to her.</i> <i>Next to [= compared with] such candidates, my chances are slim.</i>
mimo	Vlak ide mimo naše kuće <u>e</u> . To je mimo dogovora.	<i>The train goes by our house.</i> <i>That goes against the agreement.</i>
mjesto / mesto	Ko će to reći mjesto tebe?	<i>Who will say it in your place [= instead of you] ?</i>
niže	Stanuju niže crkve <u>e</u> .	<i>They live below [= down the hill from] the church.</i>

J dijete / E dete; J osjećao / E osećao; J proživio / E proživeo; J rijeke / E reke; S,C kod nje / B kod nje; S,C kraj nje / B kraj nje; C vlak / B,S voz; S,B ko / C tko; J mjesto / E mesto

od	Bolnica bi trebali gradići daleko od gradske vreve <u>e</u> . Od toga neće biti ništa.	<i>They should build hospitals far away from urban activity.</i> <i>Nothing will come of that.</i>
oko	Zemlja kruži oko Sunca. Digla se veliku buna oko plača <u>e</u> .	<i>The Earth revolves around the Sun.</i> <i>A big fuss arose over salaries.</i>
pored	Tamo je, pored kase <u>e</u> . Pored sve hrabrosti nije uspio.	<i>It's over there, by the cash register.</i> <i>Despite all his courage, he did not succeed.</i>
preko	Žive preko puta. Valja nama preko rijeke <u>e</u> .	<i>They live across the street.</i> <i>We need to cross the river.</i>

– M. Dizdar

– M. Dizdar

protiv	Nemam ništa protiv toga.	I don't have anything against that.
s(a)	Vraćam se kasno sa posla. Prepoznao sam je s fotografije.	I get off [= return from] work late. I recognized her from the photograph.
sred	Sunce je usred svemira.	The Sun is in the middle of the universe.
vrh	Vrh hrđi crne trne zadnji rumeni zrak. – A. Šantić	Atop the black cliff the last crimson ray disappears. – A. Šantić
između	To je između stola i vrata. Treba izabrati između njih.	It's between the table and the door. You have to choose between them.
iznad	Stanuju iznad nas. To je iznad očekivanja.	They live [on the floor] above us. That surpasses [all] expectations.
ispod	Ispod njegovog potpisa bio je upisan jučerašnji datum.	Under his signature was inscribed yesterday's date.
ispred	Čekaću te ispred kuće.	I'll wait for you in front of the house.
iza	Iza toga se nešto krije. Iza njih ostala su dva sina.	There's something hidden behind it. They left two sons. [= When they died, two sons remained behind.]

B,C trebali bi graditi / S,B trebali bi da grade; C,B oko plaća / S oko plata; B,S pored kase / C pored blagajne; J uspij / E uspeo; J rijeke / E reke; B,S usred svemira / C usred vasione; B,S rumeni zrak / C rumena zraka; B,C,S treba izabrati / B,S treba da izabereš / B,C trebaš izabrati; B,S čekaću / C,B čekat će

GENITIVE: time

do	Radio je tu do prije 10 godina.	He worked here up until ten years ago.
iz	Iz dana u dan letio je sve dalje.	From one day to the next he flew further.
nakon	Tako je nakon napornog ravnog tjedna.	That's how it is after a hard week at work.
od	Od sutra sam opet na poslu.	I'll be back at work as of tomorrow.
poslije	Poslije časova izlaze na kafu.	They go out for coffee after classes.
preko	Mačka preko dana spava.	The cat sleeps during the day.
prije	Teško je bilo prije operacije.	It was hard before the operation.
unutar	Treba to završiti unutar dva dana.	You must finish it within two days.
uoči	Zanimalo ih je o čemu je dan uoči bijega pričao s nama.	They were interested [to learn] what he had said to us on the eve of his escape.
za	Pojavio se za nekoliko dana.	He appeared a few days later.

J prije / E pre; B u dan / S,C u dan; J letio / E leteo; C radnog tjedna / S,B radne nedelje (nedjelje) / B radne sedmice; J poslije / E posle; S,B časova / C satova; S,B kafu / C kavu / B kahvu; J bijega / E bega

GENITIVE: other

bez	Radio je sve bez greške. Doručak bez novina nije pravi doručak.	He did it all error-free. Breakfast without the newspaper isn't a real breakfast.
osim	Svi spavaju. Svi osim njega. Postoje i druge stvari osim knjiga.	They're all asleep. All but him. There are other things [in life] than books.

poput	Blistalo je poput <u>sunca</u> .	<i>It sparkled like the sun.</i>
radi	Nemoj <u>to</u> samo radi mene. Izloženo je tako <u>do</u> radi uštede <u>prostora</u> .	<i>Don't [do] it just for my sake.</i> <i>It's presented this way for reasons of space [= for economy of space].</i>
u	U njega je želja za lètenjem bila vrlo jaka.	<i>He had a very strong desire to fly.</i>
zbog	Sretan je zbog mog uspeha. Ovdje sam zbog tečaja.	<i>He's happy because of my success.</i> <i>I'm here for [= because of] the class.</i>

B,C,S osim / S sem; C,B sretan / S srećan; E uspeha / J uspjeha; J ovdje / E ovde; B,C,S zbog tečaja / S zbog kursa

157c. The genitive with prepositions in idiomatic usage

Several verbs occur together with the preposition **do** in an idiomatic matter that is not literally translatable into English. Two of these form subjectless sentences. As in the case of the accusative, there are also a number of such phrases which correspond to fixed phrases in English.

GENITIVE with **do**

biti do	Nije mi bilo do šetnje. Nije mu baš do šale. Meni je do suza.	<i>I wasn't up for a walk.</i> <i>He's not in the mood for a joke.</i> <i>I could cry.</i>
stati do	Njemu je stalo samo do novca. Mnogo mu je stalo do toga.	<i>All he cares about is money.</i> <i>He's extremely interested in that.</i>
doći do	Uključio je u knjigu sve pjesme do kojih je mogao doći. Nezadovoljstvo biraća došlo je do izražaja na vrlo jasan način. Došlo je do svađe.	<i>He put into the book all the poems he could get [hold of].</i> <i>The voters' dissatisfaction was voiced [= came to expression] very clearly.</i> <i>Things led to a quarrel.</i>

C,B biti do suza / S biti do plakanja; J pjesme / E pesme; C,B mogao doći / S,B mogao da dođe

GENITIVE in phrases

bez	bez obzira na [+ Acc.]	<i>regardless of, no matter what</i>
	bez veze	<i>silly, foolish</i>
	bez reda	<i>any which way, at random</i>
iz	iz toga slijedi ...	<i>hence [it follows from this that ...]</i>
između	između ostalog	<i>among others</i>
kod	kod kuće	<i>at home</i>
od	od strane [+ Gen.]	<i>by</i>
osim	osim toga	<i>besides</i>
pored	pored ostalog	<i>in addition, among other things</i>
	pored svega toga	<i>despite all that</i>
preko	preko mere	<i>excessive</i>
	preći preko	<i>close one's eyes to</i>
radi	radi ilustracije	<i>by way of illustration</i>
	ređa radi	<i>as a formality, for the sake of appearances</i>
	promjena radi promjene	<i>change for its own sake</i>

s	s(a) jedne strane s(a) druge strane	on the one hand on the other hand
van	van sumnje [bez sumnje] van sebe	without a doubt beside oneself

J slijedi / E sledi; S,C kod kuće / B kod kuće; E mere / J mjere; E preći / J prijeći; J promjena radi promjene / E promena radi promene

158 The dative and locative cases

The meanings of the *dative case* and the *locative case* are separate, but their forms are the same. The locative is used exclusively after prepositions, and the dative is used rarely after prepositions but very frequently in a wide range of other meanings. The endings of the dative and locative are straightforward (review [66a]) except for those of feminine nouns in -a. The stem of such a noun usually undergoes Type A softening (review [112a]), but not always. It is difficult to know for sure which nouns undergo the shift and which do not; indeed, for some nouns both possibilities exist. Not all dictionaries give this information, and those which do are not always in agreement. Place names and names denoting ethnic identity, profession or place of origin often fail to make the shift; nouns whose stems end in -čk and -žg also fall into this category. The behavior of nouns indicating family relationships is particularly hard to predict.

variation in Dative-Locative singular

	Nsg.	DLsg.	[or]
female humans	Amerikanka	Amerikanki	American [female]
	Bosanka	Bosanki	Bosnian [female]
	fizičarka	fizičarki	physicist [female]
	Struga	Strugi	[place name]
	Požega	Požegi	[place name]
	majka	majci	mother
	tetka	tetki	aunt [paternal]
	baka	baki	grandmother
family relation	seka	seki	Sis [endearment]
	kćerka	kćerci	daughter
	tačka	tački	point
	patka	patki	duck
other	lutka	lutki	doll
	sluga	sluzi	[man] servant
	snaha	snahi	daughter-in-law
	uteha	utehi	(utesi)
	pripovetka	pripovetki	consolation
	čestitka	čestitki	story, tale
			greeting card

B,C,S kćerka / S čerka / B,C kći; B,S tačka / C točka; E uteha / J utjeha;
C,B snaha / S snaja; E pripovetka / J pripovijetka

158a. The dative without a preposition

The *dative case* signifies connectedness of various sorts. If a verb has two objects, the second is usually in the dative case; this is the same relationship known in English as the *indirect object*. Sometimes the relationship of indirect object (as expressed by *to* or *for* in English) is present in the sentence without a direct object being there as well (review [73a]). A sizeable number

of verbs simply take a dative object; sometimes these correspond to direct objects in English and sometimes to prepositional phrases (review [73b]).

The other major use of the dative is to signal that someone or something is affected by the action or state expressed by the verb of the sentence (review [73f]). A person can experience a state, or the desire to undertake an action (review [82]), or a person can simply be affected by an action. Generally, the affected person appears as the grammatical subject in English versions of the sentences in question. The *possessive dative* expresses the connectedness of ownership (review [73e]), and the *ethical dative* is sometimes used by speakers to include the addressees in the communication.

DATIVE: as object

direct + indirect	Prinio sam fotografiju očima. Pružio mu je ruku. Donijela mi je štrudlu od jabuka. Hoću ti nešto predložiti.	<i>I brought the photo to my eyes.</i> <i>He extended his hand to him.</i> <i>She brought me apple strudel.</i> <i>I want to propose something to you.</i>
indirect only	Trećina pjesama posvećena je Dunavu, mojoj rijeci. Neka njemu knjige! Godila mi je njezina pažnja. Uskoro im mladići priješ.	<i>A third of the poems are dedicated to the Danube, my river.</i> <i>Let him have his books!</i> <i>Her attention pleased me.</i> <i>Soon the young men approached them.</i>
verb object	Bojim se da će mi se rugati. Mnogo im je pomogao. Ipak ti ne verujem. Zahvalio sam joj poljupcem. Više se ničemu nije znao radovati. Godina se bliži kraju.	<i>I'm afraid they'll make fun of me.</i> <i>He helped them a lot.</i> <i>I still don't believe you.</i> <i>I thanked her with a kiss.</i> <i>He wasn't able to take pleasure in anything any more.</i> <i>The year is nearing its end.</i>

J prinio / E prineo; J donijela / E donela; B,C,S štrudlu / C savijač; C,B hoću ti nešto predložiti / S,B hoću nešto da ti predložim; J pjesama / E pesama; J rijeci / E reci; B,C njezina / B,C,S njena; B,C,S pažnja / C pozornost; E verujem / J vjerujem; B,C se nije znao radovati / S,B nije znao da se raduje

DATIVE: “affectedness”

state	Одједном ми је постало непријатно.	<i>Suddenly I felt uncomfortable.</i>
desire for action	Жао ми је што га нећу видети. И тако ми се не спава. Вишеми се не чека.	<i>I'm sorry that I won't see him.</i> <i>I'm not sleepy anyway.</i> <i>I don't feel like waiting any longer.</i>
affected by action	Марина је ишла граматика. Њему ће недостајати течaj. Мени се она заиста свиђа. Они су ми досадили. Успело ми је да купим нећаку стан.	<i>Marina was good at grammar.</i> <i>He's going to miss the course.</i> <i>I really like her.</i> <i>I've gotten bored with them.</i> <i>I succeeded in buying my nephew an apartment.</i>
possessive	Отело ми се питање ... Весељу није било краја. Супер ти је фризура! Смена ми завршава за сат.	<i>I couldn't help but ask... [= the question was torn from me...]</i> <i>There was no end to the rejoicing.</i> <i>Your hairdo is great!</i> <i>My shift is over in an hour.</i>

possessive	Ви сте ми једини наследници. Ћерка вам више личи на супругу.	You are my only heirs. Your daughter looks more like your wife.
"ethical"	Овде ти нисам професорка. Како си ми данас?	Well, I'm not a teacher here, you know. How are you today, my friend?

S neprijatno / B,C neugodno; E videti / J vidjeti; E uspeti / J uspjeti; S,B uspelo (uspjelo) mi je da kupim / C,B uspjelo mi je kupiti; E smena / J smjena; E naslednici / J nasljednici; B,C,S kćerka / S čerka / B,C kći; S,B liči / C sliči; E ovde / J ovdje; S profesorka / B,C profesorica

158b. The dative with prepositions

The dative is used with very few prepositions. Indeed, some manuals disagree as to whether certain prepositions take the dative or the locative. Most agree that the dative is used with **k(a)**, **unatoč**, **nasuprot**, and **uprkos**; the latter two are also allowed (in varying degrees of acceptance) with the genitive. Some manuals put the preposition **prema** with the dative (no doubt because of its similarity in meaning to **k**) and some with the locative. Sometimes various adverbs act as if to introduce an indirect object, thus behaving as if they were prepositions taking the dative case.

prepositions with dative	<i>toward</i> <i>opposite, across from</i> <i>in spite of, notwithstanding</i> <i>despite</i>	K(A) NASUPROT UNATOČ UPRKOS
B,C unatoč / B,C,S uprkos		

DATIVE with prepositions and adverbs

k	Dođite večeras k nama!	Come see us this evening!
nasuprot	Sedeo je nasuprot oču.	He was sitting across from his father.
unatoč	Dobar je on čovjek unatoč njegovim nedostacima.	He's a good man, his defects notwithstanding.
uprkos	Stići ćemo uprkos teškoćama.	We'll get there, despite the difficulties.
ususret	Izašao je ususret našim željama.	He managed to fulfill our desires.
slično	Svi se osjećaju slično gimnazijalcima pred maturu.	All of them feel like [= similar to] high school kids at graduation time.
	I ovde, slično ostalim školama, učenici imaju mnogo časova.	Here as in other schools pupils have many classes.

C k nama / B,S kod nas; E sedeо / J sjedio; J čovjek / E čovek; B,C unatoč / S,B uprkos; J osjećaju / E osećaju; E ovde / J ovdje; S,B časova / C,B satova

158c. The locative case

The locative case is used exclusively with prepositions. Some of these prepositions are used with the accusative as well, with the specifically added meaning of movement (review [156b]), and some are used only with the locative. Most are translatable by prepositional phrases in English but a number also correspond to a simple noun phrase in English.

prepositions with locative	<i>on, in, at</i> <i>about, concerning</i> <i>through, with, by, after</i> <i>according to</i> <i>near, with, during</i> <i>in, at</i>	NA O PO PREMA PRI U
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Of these, the prepositions **u** and **na** occur with by far the greatest frequency. As in the accusative, they can convey both a concrete spatial meaning (in this case, that of location), and the metaphorical extension of this meaning.

LOCATIVE: physical location

na	Na drvetu sédij veverica. Na zemljji nam je ostati zauvijek. Sédimo na klúpi u parku. Na stolu je bila knjiga. Njena kniga. Ne tražite me na dalekim cestama. Sreli su se na košarkaškom igralištu. Sudarile su se na vratima. Sjedila je na fotelji nedaleko od njih.	<i>There is a squirrel sitting in the tree.</i> <i>We are [fated] to stay on earth forever.</i> <i>We're sitting on a bench in the park.</i> <i>On the table was a book. Her book.</i> <i>Seek me not on distant roads.</i> <i>They met at the basketball court.</i> <i>They bumped into each other at the door.</i> <i>She sat in an armchair not far from them.</i>
u	Sad nas je šestero u sobi. U toj kućici smo držali pribor. Platilo mu je studije u inozemstvu. Noćna svetiljka obasjava knjigu koju drži u ruci. Svinje se valjaju u blatu. Razgovarali su u kafiću. Njih dvoje sad žive u Valenciji.	<i>Now there are six of us in the room.</i> <i>We kept the gear in that little house.</i> <i>He paid for his studies abroad [= in a foreign country].</i> <i>The night light illuminates the book he is holding in his hand.</i> <i>Pigs roll in the mud.</i> <i>They chatted in the café.</i> <i>The two of them live in Valencia now.</i>

E sedi / J sjedi; E veverica / J vjeverica; J zauvijek / E zauvek; E sedimo / J sjedimo; B,C,S njena / B,C njezina; C na cestama / S,B na putevima; B,C sjedila / S sedela; B,S u fotelji / C u naslonjaču; B,C šestero / B,S šestoro; C u inozemstvu / B,S u inostranstvu; E svetiljka / J svjetiljka

LOCATIVE: metaphorical extension of idea "location"

na	Dobro je da se na prvom času upoznamo. Na dijeti sam cijeli dan. Na lícu mu ne primjećujem závist. Ona je stroga na biologiji. Na kraju časa dobit ćeće potvrde. Odgovorila je na francuskom. Na svadbi su sèdeli zajedno.	<i>It's good to get acquainted during [= at] the first class.</i> <i>I'm on a diet all day.</i> <i>I see no envy on his face.</i> <i>She's very strict in [the] biology [class].</i> <i>You'll get certificates at the end of class.</i> <i>She answered in French.</i> <i>They sat together at the wedding.</i>
u	Došao je u pravnji advokata. Iščitao sam pjesmu u jednom dahu. Sad se otkrio u pravom svjetlu. Nije stvar u izgledu. Ovo je stvarno kao u bajci. Šta si videla u tom snu? Svi su u nečemu bili najbolji.	<i>He came in the company of a lawyer.</i> <i>I read through the poem in a single breath.</i> <i>Now he's been exposed in his true colors.</i> <i>How it looks isn't important.</i> <i>This is really like in a fairy tale.</i> <i>What did you see in that dream?</i> <i>Everyone was best at something.</i>

B,C na času / S na satu; J cijeli dan / E ceo dan; J primjećujem / E primećujem; B,C na španjolskom / B,S na španskom; B,C dobit ćeće / S dobićete; E sedeli / J sjedili; B,S advokata / C,B odvjetnika; J pjesmu / E pesmu; J svjetlu / E svetlu; B,S šta / C što; E videla / J vidjela

Of the other prepositions with the locative, **o** is the most consistent in meaning: it nearly always means *about, concerning*. The others have a relatively wide range of meanings.

LOCATIVE: individual

o	Raspitivali su se o mom zdravlju. Bolje je ne misliti o tome. Ona sanja o nekom fudbaleru. O čemu govorite? Sabrazao je pjesme o vodi. Znao je raspitati se o redu vožnje. Oni pričaju samo o politici.	<i>They kept asking about my health. Better not to think about that. She's dreaming about some soccer player. What are you talking about? He gathered poems about water. He was able to ask about the timetable. They talk only about politics.</i>
po	Cijela soba je zamirisala po cimetu. Razlikovali su se samo po stilu. Uzalud su ga tražili po gradu. Čula sam da je dobra frizerka, a po tvojoj frizuri vidim da je to zbilja tačno. Po završetku časa su se razišli. Moja žena se lupila po čelu.	<i>The whole room took on the fragrance of cinnamon. They differed only in style. They looked for him in vain throughout the city. I heard she was a good hairdresser, and I see by your hairdo that it's really true.</i>
prema	Šta si ti prema njemu? Radji to iz ljubavi prema vama. Pazi da sve radiš prema uputama.	<i>At the end of the class they went their separate ways. My wife struck herself on the forehead. You're nothing compared with him! S/he does it out of love for you. Be careful to do everything according to the directions.</i>
pri	Držite ga pri niskoj temperaturi. Rađnja je pri kraju ulice. Nije pri zdravoj pameti. Pri radu je zabranjen razgovor.	<i>Keep it at a low temperature. The shop is at the end of the street. He's taken leave of his senses. No talking during working hours.</i>

B,S o fudbaleru / C,B o nogometasu; J pjesme / E pesme; C,B znao je raspitati se / S,B znao je da se raspita; J cijela / E cela; C,B zamirisala po cimetu / S zamirisala na cimetu; B,S tačno / C točno; B,S časa / C sata; B,S šta / C što; C,B uputama / S uputstvima; B,S radnja / C dućan / B prodavnica; C pri radu / B,S za vrijeme (vreme) rada

Of the prepositions which take the locative, only **u** is normally used in time expressions: it specifies time as to month (and optionally, year). The preposition **po** can be used in certain expressions meaning *during* and in archaic usage, the preposition **o** can identify a point in time.

LOCATIVE: time

u	Bilo je to u martu mesecu. Napravio je sve u jednom danu. Napravio je sve u toku jednog dana. Oženio se tek u pedesetoj godini. U šezdesetim godinama je bilo mnogo toga.	<i>That was in the month of March. He did it all in a single day. [same] He got married only at 50 [= in his fiftieth year]. There was a lot of that in the sixties.</i>
po	On radi po danu, a ona po noći.	<i>He works by day, and she works by night.</i>

o	... o Mitrovu jesenjem danu ... o jesenju Mitrovome danu o Božiću	on autumnal St. Mitar's day ... [same] at Christmastime
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B,S u martu / C u ožujku; E mesecu / J mjesecu; B,S u toku / C u tijeku

As in other cases, there are a number of fixed phrases composed of prepositions plus the locative case.

LOCATIVE: fixed phrases

na	hvala na pitaju na kraju krajeva na lici mesta svirati na klaviru	thanks for asking after all outright, on the spot play the piano
o	izveštaj o stanju na putevima o svom trošku radi se o ... potvrda o uspješno završenom času	road report at one's own expense it's a matter of ... certificate of completion of a course
po	po mom mišljenju po majci / ocu po glavi stanovnika po običaju	in my opinion on one's mother's / father's side per capita usually, customarily
prema	prema tome prema legendi	accordingly, consequently, therefore according to legend
pri	pri tome kad smo već pri tome pri svemu tome	at that while we're at it, while we're on the topic for all that
u	u drugom stanju u toku već u godinama	pregnant in progress; during on in years

E na licu mesta / J na licu mjesta; B,C,S na klaviru / C na glasoviru; E izveštaj / J izvještaj; S,B izveštaj (izvještaj) / C izvješće; B,S na putevima / C na cestama; B,C o času / S o satu; J uspješno / E uspešno; B,S u toku / C u tijeku

159 The instrumental case

The final case is the instrumental. In the singular, it is remarkable as the only case which ends in a consonant: nearly all instances of Isg. end in **-om**. Feminine nouns in a consonant, however, have two possible endings, one in **-i** and one in **-u** (review [79b]). The **-u** ending is the historically correct one, but it is gradually being replaced by the **-i** ending. Although both are now possible, most speakers use **-i** in most instances (and always after a preposition). Certain nouns, primarily those ending in **-ost**, use the **-u** ending more frequently, however.

159a. The instrumental without a preposition

The most frequent use of the preposition-less instrumental is to indicate the means of an action. This meaning can be both concrete, referring to an actual tool or instrument, or it can be metaphorical, referring to various ways in which an action is carried out (review [81a]). A number of verbs and adjectives require the instrumental case to follow them; their English equivalents use either a direct object or a prepositional phrase (review [81d]). Predicate nouns can on occasion appear in the instrumental, after verbs such as **zvati**, **činiti**, **pokazati se**, and the like.

INSTRUMENTAL of means

concrete	<p>Putovao je autobusom u Niš. Možemo li platiti čekom? Bolje je to poslati poštom. Pod vodom se snima specijalnim fotoaparatom. Zahvalio sam joj poljupcem. Odmah ga je pozvala telefonom.</p> <p>Dodirnuo sam prstima hladnu vodu.</p>	<p><i>He traveled by bus to Niš. May we pay by check? It's better to send it by mail. Underwater photography is done with a special camera. I thanked her with a kiss. She immediately called him on [= by means of] the phone.</i></p> <p><i>I dipped my fingers in [= touched with my fingers] the cold water.</i></p>
abstract	<p>Brzim korakom prišao je krevetu. Ceremonija je počela dizanjem zastave. Uz fotografiju je bila poruka kojom se svi koji su ga videli mole da to prijave. Gledala ga je uplašenim očima. Srpski se piše i cirilicom i latinicom. Posula je kolache šećerom. Napisano je rukom.</p>	<p><i>He came briskly [= with a brisk stride] up to the bed.</i></p> <p><i>The ceremony began when they raised [= with the raising of] the flag.</i></p> <p><i>Next to the photo was a notice asking [by means of which was asked] anyone who had seen him to report it.</i></p> <p><i>She looked at him with terror in her eyes [= with terrified eyes].</i></p> <p><i>Serbian is written in both Cyrillic and Latin [letters].</i></p> <p><i>She dusted the cakes with sugar.</i></p> <p><i>It was in handwriting [= written by hand].</i></p>

B,C možemo li platiti / S,B da li možemo da platimo; E videli / J vidjeli

INSTRUMENTAL as object

noun	<p>Čime se bavite? Svakij put zalupi vratima. Hvalila se svojim uspjehom. Slegnuo je ramenima. Kimnuo sam glavom. Ponosi se svojim nećakom. Pas maše repom. Dobro vlađa ruskim jezikom. Dijete ne može vlađati sobom. Upravlja velikim domaćinstvom.</p>	<p><i>What sort of work do you do? He slams the door every time. She boasted of her success. He shrugged his shoulders. I nodded my head. He's proud of his nephew. The dog wags its tail. S/he's fluent in Russian. The child can't control itself. She runs a large household.</i></p>
adjective	<p>Liječnik je do jučer bio zadovoljan mojim oporavkom. Bili smo neugodno iznenadeni njenim drskim prijedlogom. Nišam baš oduševljen filmom.</p>	<p><i>Up until yesterday the doctor was satisfied with my recovery.</i></p> <p><i>We were unpleasantly surprised at her brazen proposal.</i></p> <p><i>I'm not too crazy about the film.</i></p>

J uspjehom / E uspohem; J dijete / E dete; B,C ne može vladati / S,B ne može da vlada; C liječnik / B ljekar (doktor) / S lekar (doktor); C,B jučer / S,B juče; B,C,S njenim / B,C njezinim; J prijedlogom / E predlogom

INSTRUMENTAL as predicate

Taj čin, kasnije prozvan Sarajevskim attentatom, bio je povod za Prvi svjetski rat.	<i>That act, subsequently called the Sarajevo assassination, was the cause of the First World War.</i>
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Rādi kako ti se čini ispravnim.	<i>Do as you think fit [= as seems fit to you].</i>
Ne želim da ispadnem smešnim.	<i>I don't want to appear ridiculous.</i>
To ja zovem dobrim obrokom!	<i>[Now] that [is what] I call a good meal!</i>

J svjetski / E svetski; B,S želim da ispadnem / C,B želim ispasti; E smešnim / J smiješnim

The instrumental is used in numerous adverbial phrases to specify the time of an action, the space over which an action takes place, or the different aspects of the way an action is carried out (review [81b-c]). With the exception of the word **zorom** “at dawn”, time phrases in the singular refer to regularly repeated actions. Time phrases in the plural refer to long periods of time (lasting several of the units mentioned). The beginning, middle, and end of a particular time period may also be noted in the instrumental. With respect to space, the instrumental denotes the path of a movement (but not its destination). The final example below is from a poem by the Croatian poet Antun Gustav Matoš (1873-1914).

INSTRUMENTAL: adverbial

intervals	Недељом идемо на пецање. Радним даном устајем рано. Шта обично радиш викендом?	We go fishing on Sundays. I get up early on weekdays [work days]. What do you usually do on weekends?
but:	Крениули су раном зором.	They set out at the crack of dawn.
long periods	Годинама се нисмо видели. Снег је падао данима. Седела је тамо сатима.	We haven't seen each other for years. It snowed for days [on end]. She sat there for hours [at a time].
measure	Долазим почетком августа. Курс завршава средином маја. Крајем године путују у Польску.	I'm coming at the beginning of August. The course ends in the middle of May. They're going to Poland at the end of the year.
space	Монотоне сјене ријеком пливају. — A.G. Matoš	The flat shadows drift along the river. — A.G. Matoš

E nedeljom / J nedjeljom; S,B šta / C što; E videli / J vidjeli; E sneg / J snijeg; E sedela / J sjedila; B,S avgusta / C kolovoza; B,S maja / C svibnja; J sjene / S sene; J rijekom / E rekom

159b. The instrumental with prepositions

The instrumental is used with a relatively small number of prepositions. Most of these refer to relationships defined in terms of concrete space relationships (as well as their metaphorical extensions). Some of these prepositions are also used with the accusative, with the added idea of directional motion (review [156b]). With the instrumental, however, the idea of motion is absent. The preposition **za** has two very separate meanings, one referring to space and the other to strong emotion.

The most frequently used preposition, **s(a)** “with”, does not denote a concretely defined spatial relationship, although it could be viewed as a metaphorical extension of one. Its range of meaning is similar to that of the instrumental without a preposition, and there is a certain amount of overlap in usage. The rule of thumb is that the preposition should be used only when its English equivalent *with* means “in association with, together with”. If English *with* means “by means of”, then the instrumental alone should be used.

prepositions with instrumental

<i>among, between</i>	MEĐU
<i>above</i>	NAD
<i>below</i>	POD
<i>before, in front of</i>	PRED
<i>with</i>	S(A)
<i>behind, after</i>	ZA (za-1)
<i>for [desire, etc.]</i>	ZA (za-2)

INSTRUMENTAL

među	Ovo je strogo među nama. Što se vidjeli među golim granama?	<i>This is strictly confidential [= between us].</i> <i>What can you see amidst the bare branches?</i>
nad	Crni oblaci se nadvijaju nad selom. Nestrpljivi lešinari kružili su nad ranjenom životinjom.	<i>Black clouds are gathering over the village.</i> <i>Greedy [= impatient] vultures cruised in circles above the wounded animal.</i>
pod	Sve je sad pod vodom. Polja su pod vinogrădom. On je pod mojom zaštitom. Žive pod Velebitom.	<i>It's all under water now.</i> <i>The fields are cultivated in vineyards.</i> <i>He's under my protection.</i> <i>They live at the foot of Mt. Velebit.</i>
pred	Dugo je čekala pred zgradom. Kleče pred ikonom.	<i>She waited a long time in front of the building.</i> <i>They kneel in front of the icon.</i>
s	Dugi dimovi se izmjenjuju s kratkim rečenicama. Čitanje je razgovor s najumnijim ljudima iz neke zemlje. Čitam Prohujalo s vihorom. Okrenuo sam stranicu s posvetom.	<i>Long stretches of smoking alternate with short sentences.</i> <i>Reading is a conversation with the most intelligent people of a [certain] country.</i> <i>I'm reading Gone With the Wind.</i> <i>I turned to the page with the dedication.</i>
za-1	Puši cigaretu za cigaretom. Stajali su za šankom. Ostavlja za sobom ženu i dvoje djeca.	<i>S/he smokes one cigarette after another.</i> <i>They stood at [= behind] the bar.</i> <i>He leaves [behind] a wife and two children.</i>
za-2	On je lud za tobom! Njegova je želja za letenjem bila vrlo jaka. Njihova je žudnja za materijalnim bestidna. Ne žalim ni za čim.	<i>He's crazy about you!</i> <i>He had a very strong desire to fly.</i> <i>Their thirst for material [pleasures] is indecent [= without shame].</i> <i>I don't regret a thing.</i>

C što / B,S šta; E lešinari / J lješinari; J izmjenjuju / E izmenjuju; J djece / E dece; C,S za tobom / B za tobom

In addition to the fixed phrases containing instrumental case forms, several nouns in the instrumental now are used as adverbs, and one preposition normally used with the instrumental functions very productively to create both adjectives and nouns (see [163a] for more discussion).

INSTRUMENTAL: phrases

među-	međunarodni međusobni međugradske međučin međuvrijeme međuprostor međutim	international mutual, reciprocal interurban, intercity intermission [theater] interval, interim space, gap however, on the other hand
pod	pod brdom pod znakom pitanja pod time mislim pod uslovom da pod uvjetom da	at the foot of the hill questionable by this I mean on condition that [same]
pred	pred ovim činjenicama	<i>in light of these facts</i>
s	sa zadovoljstvom s vremenom	gladly, with pleasure in time, with time
za	(nešto) ide (nekome) za rukom	(someone) succeeds at (something)
(adverbs)	mahom posredstvom rodom srećom šaptom, šapatom većinom	primarily, chiefly by means of, via, through of origin, by birth fortunately <i>sotto voce</i> mainly, mostly, predominantly

J međuvrijeme / E međuvreme; B,S pod uslov / C pod uvjet

160. Expressions with “jedan drugi”

Certain reciprocal relationships corresponding to the English phrase *each other* can be expressed by **se**-verbs such as **voleti se** / **voljeti se** “be in love; love one another” or **svadati se** “argue [with one another]” (review [87a]). The most frequent way to express this meaning, however, is with the phrase **jedan drugi**. Both components are normally in the singular, **jedan** in the nominative and **drugi** in whatever case the sentence grammar requires. The verb is plural. If the group in question is of mixed genders (usually one male and one female), **jedno** is used in place of **jedan**.

Although this phrase technically refers only to a single subject and a single object, it can also be used to make general statements about a larger population. But when reference is made to interactions among a group of individuals, then the phrase **jedni drugi** (with both components in the plural) is used. This second usage may be problematic for speakers of English. This is because English will use the plural subject pronoun *they* in all such sentences, regardless of how many individuals are actually concerned. For instance, if the topic of discussion is collaborative work on homework assignments, one might have occasion to say (or hear) the English sentence *they help each other [~ one another] with their homework*. Without further context, however, an English speaker would have no way of knowing whether this sentence concerns just two students (each of which is helping the other) or whether it concerns a larger group with more complex interrelationships.

The major task facing students with such phrases is to remember to use the correct case with the component **drugi**. It is for this reason that the examples below are arranged by case usage. If the sentence refers to a larger group of specifically identified individuals, then one must remember to use the phrase **jedni drugi** instead of **jedan drugi**.

jedan drugi [jedni drugi]

Acc.	Пазите да један друго га не увредите. Шетају држећи се један друго га за руке. Упознајмо једни друге!	<i>Be careful not to offend one another.</i> <i>They stroll along hand in hand [= holding one another by the hand].</i> <i>Let's get to know one another!</i>
Gen.	Плаши е се један друго га . Седе недалеко један од друго га .	<i>They're afraid of one another.</i> <i>They're not sitting far apart [from one another].</i>
[pl.]	Сви се ми и плаши мо једни других.	<i>All of us are afraid of one another.</i>
Dat.	Дани наликују један другоме. Све групе помажу једна друго ј . Студенти помажу један другоме. Падоше један другом у загрљај. Студенти помажу једни другима.	<i>The days are starting to be all alike [to resemble one another].</i> <i>Each of the groups helps the other.</i> <i>Students [as a rule] help one another.</i> <i>They fell into each other's arms.</i> <i>[These] students are helping one another.</i>
Loc.	Мало знају један о другоме. Нашли су један у другоме близког пријатеља. Ми једни о другима не знамо доволјно.	<i>They know [very] little about one another.</i> <i>Each found in the other a close friend.</i> <i>We don't know enough about each other.</i>
Instr.	Улазе један за другим. Те две приче немају везе једна са другом. Не могу у се заменити једна другом.	<i>They enter singly [= one after the other].</i> <i>Those two stories have no connection with one another.</i> <i>They are not interchangeable [= they cannot replace one another].</i>
Instr. + Dat.	Ако се два броја множе један другим, биће тако добијени бројеви једнаки један другом.	<i>If two numbers are multiplied by each other, the result will be the same [= the obtained numbers will be equal to one another].</i>

E uvredite / J uvrijedite; E sede / J sjede; B,S nalikuju / C počinju sličiti; E dve / J dvije; E zameniti / J zamijeniti; S,B ne mogu da se zamene (zamijene) / C,B ne mogu se zamijeniti; S,B biće / C,B bit će; S,B dobijeni / C,B dobivani

CHAPTER 18

161 Word formation

The many words which make up the vocabulary of BCS are related to one another through a complex interweaving of roots, prefixes, and suffixes. The process by which these segments are combined with one another is usually called *derivation*, referring to the fact that new words are derived in this way from existing words (or pieces of words). Grammarians make a distinction between word forms related by derivation and those related by *inflection*: the latter term refers exclusively to the forms of a conjugational or declensional paradigm. Although derivational relationships are not so precise as to allow one either to predict the composition of any one word, or to derive the meaning of a word unambiguously from its derivational components, there are a number of easily recognizable patterns. The more familiar one is with these patterns, the faster one is able to build vocabulary. The key to recognizing these patterns is to be aware of the different components of a word. There are only a few words in BCS which are not divisible into components; all the others are most easily analyzed in terms of these basic components. This chapter will first define the components of a word, and will then demonstrate how verbs, nouns, and adjectives are created from each other by way of these components.

The first division to note is that which characterizes all nouns, verbs, and adjectives: each is composed of a *stem* and an *ending*. The ending is that portion of the word which carries the grammatical information – person and number for verbs, and case, number, and gender for nouns and adjectives. As its name indicates, this component occurs at the end of the word. Some word forms, such as the Nsg. of most masculine nouns, all Nsg. masculine short form adjectives, or the singular imperative forms of certain verbs, have what is called a *zero ending* (labeled -Ø). In these words, the form appears to consist of the stem alone. For most grammarians, however, any word form which belongs to a regular declensional or conjugational paradigm necessarily consists of a stem and an ending: if no ending is evident, then the space for that ending is simply left blank (that is, it is occupied by the component called zero). Although such reasoning may seem circuitous, its result is in the end very useful. For instance, the accentuation of certain paradigmatic types can be explained quite elegantly by placing an accent mark over a segment which is not manifested in any obvious way (for explication and examples, see [166]).

The stem is then further divisible. Every stem always has a *root*: this is the portion of the word that carries the basic dictionary, or *lexical*, meaning. Although it is possible for the root to stand alone, it is usually the case that additional segments are added, or *affixed*, to the root. Such segments add different shades of meaning to the basic root. There are two kinds of affixes, differentiated by the position they take with respect to the root. An affix placed before the root is called a *prefix*, while an affix placed after it is called a *suffix*. Some words contain only a prefix, some contain only a suffix, some contain one of each, and some contain more than one of each.

In this diagram of the formation of a word, the obligatory elements appear in upper case, and the optional elements in lower case letters. The sample “word” is given with two prefixes and two suffixes, but such a model is not the most common one. The important point is that any one word can have none, one, or more than one affix, and that the entire combination of the root and its affixes – that is everything except the *ending* – is usually reckoned together as the *stem* of the word.

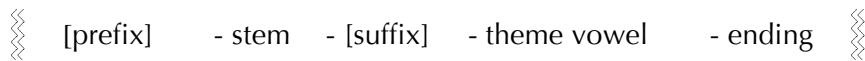
----- Stem -----					
prefix	prefix	ROOT	suffix	suffix	ENDING

Each of the elements in the lower half of the chart is what linguists call a *morpheme*. This is a technical term denoting the smallest possible combination of sounds which can be associated with a meaning of some sort. Discussions of derivation frequently divide words up into their component morphemes. This is done not only to help one see the structure of the word and the ways in which the meanings of individual morphemes combine to give the word its overall meaning, but also because such divisions help one understand better the relationship between sound and spelling. Anyone learning BCS cannot fail to notice the various sorts of alterations in pronunciation and spelling between related words or different paradigmatic forms of a word. These changes – which include the loss of fleeting vowels, the simplification of consonant groups, the replacement of **o** by **e** at various points, and different sorts of changes in the shape of consonants – invariably concern segments which occur at either end of a morpheme. In other words, these changes occur at *morpheme boundaries* (for more discussion of these changes, see [167a-j]).

Space does not permit the listing of all possible derivational patterns. Rather, the examples given in the following sections are intended to acquaint the student with a number of frequently encountered patterns and to sensitize him/her to be on the lookout for others as s/he gains more experience with the language.

162 Word formation in verbs

The division of verbs into types (review [103a, 152, 153a-s]) is based on a number of factors, primary among which is the relationship between the form of the infinitive and that of the present tense. Another basic relationship concerning verbs is that between aspect pairs. When the two members of a pair are related by prefixation (review [53b, 96b, 146b, 147c]), the formal difference is clear and straightforward, amounting simply to the presence or the absence of a prefix. But when the two members of a pair are related by suffixation (review [53a, 96a, 147a, 147c]), the formal relationship is more complex, similar in many ways to that between infinitive and present tense. The crux of the similarity is in their morphemic structure. This structure was described earlier (review [96]) as



According to this diagram, every verb must have a stem, a theme vowel, and an ending. At first glance, it would seem that this diagram contradicts the one given at the top of this page. That diagram presented the *stem* as containing all segments other than the ending (and the *suffix* as including everything which is not a prefix, root or ending) while this diagram appears to use the term *stem* in place of *root*, and to introduce a new segment called a *theme vowel*.

Both diagrams are correct, however: they simply represent different points of view among analysts. The concept of *stem* is a flexible one, and within the context of verbs it is generally more acceptable to speak of verbal stems rather than verbal roots. The segment which carries the name *theme vowel* is both significant and problematic. It is significant because it serves to separate verbs into conjugation types, and it is problematic because it is halfway between an ending

and a suffix. Endings by definition occur at the end of a word, while theme vowels by definition precede verbal endings. Furthermore, the category *ending* is restricted to morphemes which carry the very specific sort of meanings marking the distinctions of a grammatical paradigm (person, number, case, or gender); the more technical term *desinence* is sometimes used in this meaning. *Suffixes*, by contrast, occur in non-final position, and carry a much broader range of meanings. Furthermore, their meaning is usually of the lexical sort, although some suffixes come close to carrying purely grammatical meaning (such as those which mark a verb as imperfective). For all these reasons, linguists usually choose to use the specific term *theme vowel* for the segment which identifies a verb's class, while continuing to use the terms *suffix* and *ending* for other segments which occur in non-final and final positions, respectively.

Verbs can be derived from a number of sources via suffixation, and from other verbs via prefixation. Most such instances are connected with the marking of conjugation types or the formation of aspectual pairs, phenomena which have been reviewed extensively in previous chapters. There are several points which are specifically relevant to the study of derivation, however. One is the fact that certain suffixes carry more than one type of meaning: that is, they not only define a verb as belonging to a particular type but also endow many verbs of that type with a partially predictable shade of meaning. Another is the relationship between the verbal suffix and the type of root to which it is added. In certain instances, one can partially predict the meaning of the derived verb from the grammatical class of the root to which it is added. Prefixation, by contrast, is straightforward: the fact that most prefixes add another shade of meaning to the verb is one of the central facts of aspect derivation, a process which has already been discussed in detail (review especially [146b]). Although one can rarely predict with full certainty the meaning that any one prefix will add to any one verb, certain generalizations can be made (see [162b]).

162a. Verbs derived by suffixation

Many verbal suffixes are identified with (indeed, they define) specific verb types (review [103a]). A number of these are sometimes also associated with various types of specialized meanings. In the chart below (and in subsequent charts), the suffix is listed in the left-most column and the derived form, in this case a verb, is given in the right-most column. The central columns of each chart suggest the path of derivation. When the derivations are obvious (as they are in most instances), the actual process has not been spelled out. Instead, the presumed source of the derivation is given, usually in the form of a *base word* (the word which expresses the meaning of the root in the simplest, most neutral fashion). In the few instances when the actual form of the root is not obvious from the base word itself, the *root* is identified in the adjacent column.

The suffix **-ne** / **-nu** which defines type 7 verbs often denotes the idea of a very brief, often instantaneous single action, and can be added to verbs of other classes to derive a verb with this particular meaning. Often, however, it is hard to tell whether such a verb has been derived with this particular added meaning or whether it is simply the perfective partner of the imperfective verb in question. In such instances, the particular meaning of the suffix acts both to define a verb type as a whole and to allow the derivation of new verbs with a very specific meaning.

	root	base word	derived word
-ne	jecati	sob (v.)	jecnuti
	kucati	knock (v.)	kucnuti
	mig	nod, wink (n.)	nàmignuti
	rika	roar (n.)	rìknuti
	skok	skočiti	skoknuti
		vriškati	vrišnuti

Two other suffixes, by contrast, both define a verb class and have separate, specific meanings. One of these is the suffix **-e / -je**, which is not only associated with *type 3* verbs but can also carry the specific idea of *becoming*: something or someone gradually takes on a certain characteristic. These verbs are usually derived from the adjective roots denoting the characteristic in question. The imperfective partner denotes the process and the perfective one denotes a completed stage of that process. The perfective is formed by prefixation; in the chart below, the prefixes in question are given in parentheses before the imperfective form of the verb.

-e / -je	root	base word	derived word	
gladn-	blijed	pale	(po) blijeđjeti / (po) bledeti	turn pale, fade
	crven	red	(za) crvenjeti se / (za) crveneti se	(start to) blush
	gladan	hungry	oglađnjeti / ogladneti	be / get hungry
	star	old	(o) starjeti / (o) stareti (za) starjeti / (za) stareti	age, grow old get out of date
tamn-	taman	dark	(po) tāmnjeti / (po) tamneti	get dark
	žut	yellow	(po) žutjeti / (po) žuteti	[grow] yellow

J blijed / E bled; J blijeđjeti / E bledeti; J crvenjeti / E crveneti; J oglađnjeti / E ogladneti; J starjeti / E stareti; J tāmnjeti / E tamneti; J žutjeti / E žuteti

The other suffix which is identified both with a specific verb class and a particular meaning is **-i**, which is the marker of *type 2* verbs. This suffix is sometimes associated with the general idea of *causation*. That is, a verb denoting an action which brings about (or causes) a particular result is derived from the adjective or the noun denoting that result. Verbs in the first group below illustrate this meaning. Most verbs of *type 2* have a much more general meaning, however. Verbs of this sort, illustrated in the second group below, do denote results of actions, and are clearly derived from nouns or adjectives. But they cannot be said to have the same sort of strictly causative meaning as those in the first group. Yet a third group of verbs within this type also describes results in a more general manner. What distinguishes this group is the source of derivation: they appear to contain a series of prefixes. In fact, however, each is formed from a stem composed of a preposition plus another root, to which a prefix is then added.

-i	root	base word	derived word	
causative	bistr-	bistar	clear [of water]	razbistriti
	dub-	dubok	deep	udubiti
	kras-	krasan	beautiful	krasiti
	mut-	mūtan	turbid, troubled	mūtiti
	šir-	širok	wide	širiti
result	grad	city	grāditi	build
	krst	cross	krstiti	christen
			krstiti se	cross oneself
	krug	circle	kružiti	circulate
	mir	peace	mīriti	reconcile
	rad	work, project (n.)	raditi	work, do
	tovar	load (n.)	tovariti	load
	trag	trace (n.)	tražiti	seek, look for
	žen-	woman, wife	ženiti	marry [a woman]

S,B krst / C križ; S,B krstiti se / C križati se

	base phrase	derived word		
result	bez + čast bez + gláva bez + hrábar bez + um iz + dvoje na + rúka ne + náda ob + jásan	without + honor without + head without + brave without + mind out of + two on, at, to + hand no + expectation around + clear	obeščastiti obezgláviti obeshrábri izbezumiti izdvojiti narúčiti iznenáditi objásniti	dishonor, desecrate deprive of a leader discourage drive crazy separate order surprise explain

A third instance is the suffix **-ova**, which defines the class of type 8a verbs. This suffix also forms verbs from various sorts of non-verbal roots. Although it is helpful to recognize the connection between the noun root and the verb, the suffix **-ova** does not supply any other particular meaning in addition to the general idea of verbal action.

-ova	base word	derived word		
	doručak dug glad ljeto put radost rat rob strah škola tuga vjera	breakfast debt hunger summer trip, road joy war slave fear school sorrow faith	doručovati dugovati gladovati ljetovati putovati radovati se ratovati robovati strahovati 	have breakfast owe starve take summer holiday travel be happy wage war be enslaved be apprehensive receive education grieve believe

J ljeto / E leto; J ljetovati / E letovati; J vjera / E vera; J vjerovati / E verovati

162b. Verbs derived by prefixation

The role of prefixation in the derivation of verbs is a central part of BCS grammar and as such has been reviewed extensively in earlier sections. There, it was demonstrated that the addition of a prefix to a verb can either make it perfective (review [146c, 147b]), alter its meaning to a certain extent (review [146b]), or both. There is no certainty of prediction: no prefix adds one and only one meaning. At the same time, there is a gradation of sorts. Some prefixes have a relatively limited scope of possible meanings and others cover an extremely broad scope.

Generalizations can be made, but they are often quite metaphorical and subjective. In the end it is best for the student simply to gather examples and derive his or her own sense of the generalized meaning of the several prefixes. The following lists are presented merely as an illustration of an obvious but often overlooked point: namely, the extent to which verbs with the same prefix (such as those in the lists below) share a central meaning related to that prefix is to a large extent a matter of personal interpretation.

Prefix	base verb	prefixed verb		
NA-	gaziti grditi gristi metnuti pasti spvati staviti	tread on build bite put fall sleep put, place	ngaziti nagrditi nagristi nmetnuti napasti nasvati se nastaviti	step on reward take a bite of impose attack get enough sleep continue

PRE-	gledati nociti psati skociti spvati svuci se tjerati tvoriti ivjeti	look spend the night write jump sleep get undressed chase, drive make, create live	pregledati prenociti prepsati preskociti prespvati presvuci se pretjerati pretvoriti preivjeti	examine stay overnight copy skip over sleep through; oversleep change clothes exaggerate transform live through, survive
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J tjerati / E terati; J pretjerati / E preterati; J ivjeti / E ivet; J preivjeti / E preziveti

ZA-	gledati grditi kovati pjevati raditi tei zidati	look build forge sing work flow build	zagledati se zagraditi zakovati zapjevati zaraditi zatei zazidati	stare at fence in hammer into place start singing earn catch, find [someone] wall in
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J pjevati / E pevati; J zapjevati / E zapevati

Several very large “nests” of derived verbs are formed from certainly frequently used base verbs by means of prefixation. Two very common examples were presented in earlier sections. One concerns verbs derived from the basic transport verbs **nositi** “carry”, **voditi** “lead”, and **voziti** “drive” and their perfective partners (review [107]). Although these derived forms can be used to speak of more directionally-specific instances of physical transport, they are much more frequently used in their abstract, metaphorical meanings. The other example concerns verbs derived from the basic body-position pair **stati** / **stajati** “stand”. Although the base pair is not an aspect pair, all verb pairs derived from it by prefixation do constitute aspect pairs (review [101]). These prefixed derivatives, all of which are intransitive, are among some of the most common and important verbs in the language. In addition, roughly the same set of prefixes can be added to the transitive aspect pair **staviti** / **stavljati** “put”, deriving another set of common and important verbs (review the final sections of [147b]).

163 Word formation in nouns and adjectives

Descriptions of derivational morphology are usually divided into two sections – that concerned with *verbal derivation* and that with *nominal derivation*. Although the name of this second

category is clearly derived from the word *noun*, the category itself includes both nouns and adjectives. The relevant feature distinguishing the ideas *verbal* and *nominal* is the type of paradigm and the grammatical distinctions expressed by paradigmatic forms: verbs express person and number, while both nouns and adjectives express case, number, and gender. The only systemic grammatical difference between nouns and adjectives, in fact, is that nouns express gender inherently while adjectives express it through endings. In terms of derivation, they follow very similar processes. In addition, adverbial forms are sometimes created via derivational processes that are nominal in type.

Verbal derivation is characterized primarily by a very rich use of prefixation versus a relatively sparse use of suffixation. Nominal derivation is the reverse: prefixation is used relatively little but suffixation is highly productive. In addition, a number of nouns are formed by a process called *compounding*, in which two nouns are joined together to form a single one.

163a. Prefixation and compounding in nominal derivation

Prefixation in BCS is by and large similar to prefixation in English: the prefix alters the meaning of the noun to which it is added in a fairly transparent manner. This process works in a parallel manner for both nouns and adjectives, which are listed together below. The English equivalents given for the prefixes each capture the general meaning of the prefix. The actual English translations of individual examples, however, often express the idea of the prefix in very different ways. This is especially true in the case of the negative prefix **ne-**, which lacks a direct equivalent in English. The reason for this is not just because English has a number of different negative prefixes (*un-*, *in-*, *im-*, *ir-*, etc.): it is also because the best English translation is often simply an antonym.

A number of other words which appear to contain prefixes are in fact formed from a base which is either a prefixed verb, or a preposition + noun sequence. Since each of these usually contains a suffix as well, they are discussed in the sections devoted to suffixes ([163b-c]).

Prefixation				
prefix	base form		derived form	
ne-	[neg.]	čist	clean, pure	nečist
		spretan	skilled, clever	nespreatan
		vernik	believer	nevernik
		miran	peaceful	nemiran
		pošredan	mediated, indirect	neposredan
		borač	fighter	něborac
		prijatelj	friend	neprijatelj
		sreća	fortune, happiness	něsreća
		moć	power	nemoć

E vernik / J vjernik; E nevernik / J nevjernik

polu-	half-	vrème	time	poluvrème	half [sports]
		mesec	moon	polumesec	crescent
		sprat	floor	polusprat	mezzanine
		cilindar	top hat	polucilindar	derby hat
		pismen	literate	polupismen	semi-literate

E vreme / J vrijeme; E poluvreme / J poluvrijeme; E mesec / J mjesec; E polumesec / J polumjesec;
B,S sprat / C,B kat; B,S polusprat / C,B polukat

prefix		base form		derived form	
među-	<i>inter-</i>	čin vr̄eme narodni gradski	act time national urban	međučin međuvr̄eme međunarodni međugradski	<i>intermission</i> <i>interval, interim</i> <i>international</i> <i>interurban</i>
E međuvreme / J međuvrijeme					
nad-	<i>super-</i>	vojvoda ljudski moćan prirodan	duke human powerful natural	nadvojvoda nadljudski nadmoćan natprirodan	<i>archduke</i> <i>superhuman</i> <i>superior</i> <i>supernatural</i>
pred-	<i>pre-</i>	osjećaj govor jelo	feeling speech dish of food	predosjećaj predgovor predjelo	<i>presentiment</i> <i>preface</i> <i>hors d'œuvre</i>
J osjećaj / E osećaj; J predosjećaj / E predosećaj					
samo-	<i>self-</i>	[učiti] stan ubistvo svjestan	[learn] apartment, living space murder conscious	samouk samostan samoubistvo samosvjestan	<i>self-taught person</i> <i>monastery [place of religious seclusion]</i> <i>suicide</i> <i>self-conscious</i>
C,B samostan / B,S manastir; S,B ubistvo / C ubojstvo; S,B samoubistvo / C samoubojstvo; J svjestan / E svestan; J samosvjestan / E samosvestan					
više-	<i>multi-</i>	boj kut sprit [značiti]	battle [poetic] angle floor [mean]	višeboj višekutnik višepratnica višezačan	<i>all-round competition</i> <i>polygon</i> <i>high-rise building</i> <i>Polysemantic</i>
C,B kut / B,S ugao; C,B višekutnik / B,S višeugaonik; S,B višepratnica / C višekatnica					
pra-	<i>[great-]</i> <i>pre-</i>	djed unuk čovjek jezik slika star	grandfather grandson man language picture old	pradjed präunuk pračovjek prajezik praslika prastar	<i>great-grandfather</i> <i>great-grandson</i> <i>primitive man</i> <i>protolanguage</i> <i>prototype</i> <i>primeval</i>
J djed / E ded; J pradjed / E praded; J čovjek / E čovek; J pračovjek / E pračovek					
sa- / su-	<i>co-</i>	radnik vlasnik putnik rađnja	worker owner traveler action	saradnik svlasnik saputnik saradnja	<i>co-worker</i> <i>joint owner</i> <i>fellow traveler</i> <i>collaboration</i>
S,B saradnik / C,B suradnik; B,S saputnik / C suputnik; S,B saradnja / C,B suradnja					

Compounding is a very productive derivational process in English. By contrast, there are relatively few compound words in BCS. Compounds are connected by a joining vowel, which is usually **o**. Although one type looks like it contains the joining vowel **i**, it is more correct to interpret the verbal portion of it as an imperative form, and the nominal portion as its object. In the most frequent type of compound, the vowel **o** links a noun (or adjective) root and a verb root; this vowel can also connect two noun roots.

Compounding

[verb]	[noun]		
kazati say	prst finger	kažiprst	<i>index finger</i>
pamtiti remember	vek century, age	pamtivek	<i>time immemorial</i>
vaditi remove	čep cork	vadičep	<i>corkscrew</i>

E vek / J vijek; E pamtivek / pamtivjek; B,S vadičep / C otvarač za boce

[noun]	[verb]		
voda water	padati fall	vodopad	<i>waterfall</i>
ruka hand	pisati write	rukopis	<i>manuscript, handwriting</i>
noga leg	mětnuti put	nogomet	<i>soccer</i>
kiša rain	braniti defend	kišobran	<i>umbrella</i>
brod ship	lomiti break	brodolom	<i>shipwreck</i>
miš mouse	moriti kill, torture	mišomor	<i>rat poison</i>
list leaf	padati fall	listopad	<i>October</i>
list leaf	padati fall	listopadni	<i>deciduous</i>
koloto wheel	voziti drive	kolovoz	<i>August</i>
koloto wheel	mazati smear	kolomaz	<i>wheel grease</i>
koloto wheel	seći cut	kolosek	<i>track, platform</i>
[adj]	[verb]		
dobar good	tvoriti create	dobrotvor	<i>benefactor</i>
brz fast	javiti announce	brzojav	<i>telegram</i>
pravi right, true	pisati write	pravopis	<i>orthography manual</i>

C,B nogomet / S,B fudbal; C listopad / B,S oktobar; C kolovoz / B august / B,S avgust; E seći / J sjeći; E kolosek / J kolosijke; C,B brzojav / B,S telegram

[noun]	[noun]		
drvo tree	řed row, line	drvored	<i>row of trees, avenue</i>
život life	opis description	životopis	<i>biography</i>
polje field	privreda economy	poljoprivreda	<i>agriculture</i>
[adj]	[noun]		
sladak sweet	led ice	sladoled	<i>ice cream</i>

C,B životopis / B,S biografija

Compounds usually consist of two segments joined by a linking vowel. Sometimes, the compounding process uses a second member which does not exist as a word by itself. The formation of each these second portions is suggested below by noting a base word and a suffix; for instance the components of the non-existing word ***bolja** (as seen in **glavobolja** “headache”) are found by combining the root seen in the base word (here, the verb **boljeti** “hurt”) and the suffix **-ja**. All such words use the linking vowel **o**. This linking vowel also frequently appears in compound adjectives. Although the primary derivational process in these words is compounding,

most compound adjectives also include the suffix **-an**. Suffixation as a process is not treated per se until the subsequent section; nevertheless the principle underlying the formation of the following examples should be clear.

Compounding

[noun]		[verb]		[suffix]	[noun]	
glava	<i>head</i>	boljeti	<i>hurt</i>	-ja	glavobolja	<i>headache</i>
miš	<i>mouse</i>	loviti	<i>hunt</i>	-ka	mišolovka	<i>mousetrap</i>
knjiga	<i>book</i>	vézati	<i>bind</i>	-ac	knjigovézac, -sca	<i>bookbinder</i>
vatra	<i>fire</i>	gasiti	<i>extinguish</i>	-ac	vatrogásac, -sca	<i>firefighter</i>
písmo	<i>letter</i>	nositi	<i>carry</i>	-ja	písmoša	<i>letter carrier</i>
gost	<i>guest</i>	primiti	<i>receive</i>	-stvo	gostoprístvo	<i>hospitality</i>

S,B knjigovezac / C,B knjigoveža

[noun / adjective]		[noun]		[suffix]	[adjective]	
sjever	<i>north</i>	zapad	<i>west</i>	-an	sjeverozapadni	<i>northwest</i>
zvijézda	<i>star</i>	lik	<i>look, form</i>	-an	zvjezdolik	<i>star-shaped</i>
kratak	<i>short</i>	vid	<i>view</i>	-an	kratkovídan, -dna	<i>short-sighted</i>
kratak	<i>short</i>	rok	<i>time limit</i>	-an	kratkoročan, -čna	<i>short-term</i>
star	<i>old</i>	móda	<i>fashion</i>	-an	staromódan, -dna	<i>old-fashioned</i>
prvi	<i>first</i>	razred	<i>class</i>	-an	prvorázredan, -dna	<i>first-class</i>
velik	<i>large</i>	duša	<i>soul</i>	-an	velikodušan, -šna	<i>generous</i>
jédan	<i>one</i>	duša	<i>soul</i>	-an	jednodušan, -šna	<i>unanimous</i>
jédan	<i>one</i>	krevet	<i>bed</i>	-an	jednokrévetna [soba]	<i>single [room]</i>

J sjever / E sever; J sjeverozapadni / E severozapadni; J zvijezda / E zvezda; J zvjezdolik / E zvezdolik

163b. Suffixation in nominal derivation

A proper treatment of the role of suffixation in the nominal morphology of BCS requires an entire separate book. The following discussion can only give a brief overview of the possible suffixes, their range of meaning, and the types of roots to which they can be added. The illustrative lists accompanying the discussion should be used not as a reference guide but rather as a jumping off point: students should actively begin to add to the list as they expand vocabulary knowledge.

Some suffixes have such a strong association with grammatically defined groups of words that many grammarians do not consider them to be a part of the derivational system. Nevertheless, they are suffixes too, in that they are morphemes (meaningful units) added to stems in order to produce words with a newly altered meaning. Below is a list of the “grammatical” suffixes which have been treated elsewhere in this book.

“Grammatical” suffixation

	word class	suffix	example	discussed in
NOUNS	verbal noun	-nje -će	pisanje, učenje dostignuće	[108, 116] [148]
	collective noun	[softening]	grožđe	[115]
	group numbers	-orica -oro, -ero	petorica, petoro, petero	[123c]
	fractions	-ina	trećina	[123d]
	approximatives	-ak	desetak	[123d]

word class	suffix	example	discussed in
ADJECTIVES	comparatives	-ij -š [softening]	stariji lakši brži
	possessives	-ov / -ev -in	Jovanov, očev Katin, majčin
	ordinal numbers	-i, etc.	peti, etc.
	L-participle	-o, -la, etc.	radio, radila, etc.
	passive participle	-t	poznat
		-en -an	izbačen napisan
verbal adverb	-ći	odgovarajući	[129, 138]
	-vši	vrativši	[129, 138]

B,S petoro etc. / C,B petero etc.

The process of suffixation can be viewed from several different standpoints. The primary one, of course, concerns the suffixes themselves. Most suffixes are readily recognizable as such: they do not change form, except for the existence of fleeting *-a-* in a very few. Furthermore, the accent of a suffix is usually constant. A number of suffixes cause certain changes in the stem (primarily softening of the stem-final consonant); once one gets used to the patterns of these changes, one can usually recognize the stem fairly easily. Meaning is more tricky: some suffixes allow one to predict the meaning of the derived word with a fair degree of certainty; others have a wide range of meaning. Furthermore, a number of words contain a series of suffixes: the first shifts the meaning of the root in a certain direction and creates a new idea, the next takes this new idea and shifts it in yet a different direction, and so on. With practice, however, one is usually able to predict the meanings of derived words, even those with more than one suffix.

When naming particular suffixes, it is necessary to consider the relationship between a *suffix* and an *ending*. Although it might appear that the “same” suffix can occur with nouns of different genders, the meanings are usually completely different. For instance, the suffix **-in** followed by the zero ending of a masculine noun usually means “one of” a particular category. But the suffix **-in** followed by the **-a** ending of a feminine noun can refer either to a quality, to a type of meat, or to something large and/or unpleasant. In fact, the strength of the association between individual suffixes and the gender of the nouns they create is so great that many manuals simply collapse the sequence “suffix + ending” into one. Thus, since the suffix **-stv** creates a noun of the neuter gender, it is usually listed together with the Nsg. neuter ending **-o**, in the form **-stvo**. Similarly, since the suffix **-ot** creates a noun of the feminine gender, it is usually listed as **-ota**. Most suffixes belong only to one gender, but a few come in pairs, such as the masculine suffix **-nik** and the feminine suffix **-nica**.

It is also necessary, of course, to consider the base to which a suffix can be added. Technically, a suffix is added to a root. But the idea of a *root* is an abstract one, largely remaining within the realm of grammatical analysis. In actual practice roots do not occur in isolation. For this reason, it is usually easier to associate each root with a *base*, roughly defined as the word which contains the root in question in its simplest, most neutral form. For instance, the noun **mladost**

“youth” is derived from the adjective **mlad** “young” by adding the suffix **-ost**, and the adjective **govorljiv** “talkative” is derived from the verb **govoriti** “talk” by adding the suffix **-ljiv** to the verbal stem **govor-**. In the first case, the base is an adjective and in the second the base is a verb. Grammarians take this into account when classifying derivational patterns: they are concerned not only with the form of the suffix but also with the word class of the base. Words like **mladost** are accordingly classed as *deadjectival nouns* (nouns derived from adjectives) and words like **govorljiv** are classified as *deverbal adjectives* (adjectives derived from verbs).

163c. Examples of suffixed nouns and adjectives

The following lists are organized according to the gender of the derived word, and within that by suffix. No attempt has been made to spell out the process of derivation, since it is fairly obvious in most cases (sometimes sound shifts such as consonant softening are associated with derivation; for more discussion, see [167a]). Examples are given together with base words, which are listed in their dictionary form and identified by word class (V for verb, A for adjective, N for noun, and PN for a sequence of preposition plus noun). This format allows one to get at least some sense of the range of derivation covered by any one suffix. Suffixes with fleeting vowels include **-ac**, **-lac**, and **-ak** (for nouns) and **-ak** and **-an** (for adjectives). Gsg. forms are given for all such noun examples and fem.sg. forms for all such adjective examples; Gsg. forms are also given for derived masculine nouns with an accent shift in the stem, as well as to draw attention to those few nouns in which the vowel of the suffix does NOT drop (for more discussion of the factors which allow one to predict which vowels will drop and which will not, see [167g]).

Suffixes are listed in alphabetical order: those which might be considered variant forms of a suffix, however, are listed together with the primary suffix which they resemble. Only the most frequently encountered suffixes are included. For economy’s sake, the examples below are largely limited to words with a single suffix. Yet anyone with even a rudimentary knowledge of the system will easily be able to see that the word **božanstven** “divine” consists of the root **bog** plus the three suffixes **-an**, **-stv** and **-en**, each of which, taken in order, adds its particular shade of meaning (although in this case the suffix **-an** serves primarily to link two other suffixes).

The range of meanings of any one suffix can be roughly deduced from the examples given below. Although it is obviously not possible to cover all existing meanings, a few general meanings deserve discussion. One of these is the set of meanings linguists call *agentive*: such nouns refer to someone who carries out an action. One subset of these, nouns referring to profession names, has been discussed earlier (review [121b]). The suffixes in question carry much broader meanings than simply names of professions, however: for instance, they also form nouns identifying people who hunt or play musical instruments, and dogs who watch over something or someone. Agentive suffixes can express either masculine or feminine gender, depending on the actor referred to. Another category represents the meaning set called *diminutive*. This category includes, as its name suggests, nouns referring to smaller versions of something. But its scope is much wider: it also includes nouns conveying a sense of affection or intimacy. Suffixes denoting this meaning usually include the consonants **c**, **č** or **ć**. These suffixes form nouns of all three genders, taking different forms for each. They are identified below in the list of suffixes by the notation *[dim]* after the name of the suffix, or after the relevant set of meanings within that suffix’s listing.

Some nouns have no suffix, yet they are often listed in discussions of derivation. This is either because they are derived from “preposition + noun” combinations, or because they represent the nominal form of a verbal idea. In the latter instance, it is often difficult to tell which is the more basic form, the noun denoting the result or fact of the action, or the verb denoting the action itself. Examples of such nouns are given in the lists below with the “suffix” identified as “zero”.

MASCULINE NOUNS

suffix	base word	type		derived word
[zero]	bez + kraj	PN	<i>without + end</i>	beskraj
	na + slovo	PN	<i>on + letter</i>	náslov
	ob + lik	PN	<i>around + figure</i>	oblik
	dočekati	V	<i>greet, meet</i>	doček
	ispitati	V	<i>examine</i>	ispit
	izlaziti	V	<i>go out</i>	izlaz
	izázvati	V	<i>provoke, challenge</i>	izazov
	nadzirati	V	<i>supervise</i>	nádzor
	napadati	V	<i>attack</i>	nápad
	násipati	V	<i>fill in</i>	násip
	odabratí	V	<i>choose</i>	ódbor
	pokretati	V	<i>move</i>	pokret
	pristupiti	V	<i>approach</i>	prístup
	prózréti	V	<i>see through</i>	prozor
	ráspadati se	V	<i>disintegrate</i>	ráspad
	sastaviti	V	<i>put together</i>	sástav
	uzrasti	V	<i>grow up</i>	uzrást
	zaboraviti	V	<i>forget</i>	zaboráv
	zatvoriti	V	<i>close, shut</i>	zátvor
-ja	voditi	V	<i>lead</i>	vođa

-ac	pisati	V	<i>write</i>	pisac, písca	<i>writer</i>
	loviti	V	<i>hunt</i>	lovac, lovča	<i>hunter</i>
	svet	A	<i>holy</i>	svétac, svéča	<i>saint</i>
	crn	A	<i>black</i>	crnac, crnca	<i>black man</i>
	star	A	<i>old</i>	starac, starca	<i>old man</i>
	mrtav	A	<i>dead</i>	mrtvac, mrtváca	<i>dead person</i>
	mudar	A	<i>wise</i>	múdrac, mudraca	<i>wise man</i>
	Bosna	N	<i>Bosnia</i>	Bosánac, Bosánca	<i>Bosnian [person]</i>
	Slovenija	N	<i>Slovenia</i>	Slovenac, Slovénca	<i>Slovene [person]</i>
-an-ac	Amerika	N	<i>America</i>	Amerikáñac, -ánca	<i>American [person]</i>
	Afrika	N	<i>Africa</i>	Afrikáñac, -ánca	<i>African [person]</i>
-lac	čitati	V	<i>read</i>	čítalac, čítaoca	<i>reader</i>
	gledati	V	<i>watch</i>	gledalac, gledaoca	<i>spectator</i>
	tužiti	V	<i>accuse</i>	tužilac, tužioca	<i>plaintiff</i>
	znati	V	<i>know</i>	ználac, zná�ca	<i>connoisseur</i>

B,S čitalac / C čitatelj; B,S gledalac / C gledatelj; B,S tužilac / C tužitelj

-ač	nositi	V	<i>carry</i>	nósac, nosáča	<i>porter</i>
	izdávati	V	<i>give out, publish</i>	izdáváč, izdaváča	<i>publisher</i>
	voziti	V	<i>drive</i>	vozač, vozáča	<i>driver</i>
	otváratí	V	<i>open</i>	otvarač, otvaráča	<i>can opener</i>
	prekidati	V	<i>interrupt, stop</i>	prekidač, prekidača	<i>switch</i>

B,C,S izdavač / C nakladnik

suffix	base word	type		derived word	
-ak	izvaditi	V	<i>take out</i>	izvadak, izvatka	<i>excerpt</i>
	odlomiti	V	<i>break off</i>	odlomak, odlomka	<i>fragment</i>
	rúčati	V	<i>have lunch</i>	rúčak, rúčka	<i>lunch</i>
	nestati	V	<i>disappear</i>	nestanak, něstanaka	<i>disappearance</i>
	nad + ime	PN	<i>above + name</i>	nádimak, nádímka	<i>nickname</i>
	levi	A	<i>left</i>	levák, leváka	<i>left-handed person</i>
	uman	A	<i>intelligent</i>	umnják, umnjaka	<i>wisdom tooth</i>
	veseo	A	<i>cheerful</i>	veseljak, veseljaka	<i>cheerful fellow</i>
	lud	A	<i>crazy</i>	ludák, ludáka	<i>madman</i>
	čudan	A	<i>strange</i>	čudák, čudáka	<i>eccentric person</i>
	mrvatinji	A	<i>ant (adj.)</i>	mrvatinjak	<i>anthill</i>
	struká	N	<i>line of work</i>	struknják, -aka	<i>specialist</i>
	sélo	N	<i>village</i>	seljak, seljáka	<i>peasant</i>
-tak	gubiti	V	<i>lose</i>	gubitak, gubitka	<i>loss</i>
	završiti	V	<i>finish</i>	završetak, -etka	<i>end, ending</i>
	početi	V	<i>begin</i>	početak, početka	<i>beginning</i>
	izuzeti	V	<i>exempt</i>	izuzetak, izuzetka	<i>exception</i>
	ostati	V	<i>remain</i>	ostatak, ostatka	<i>remainder</i>
	deset	#	<i>ten</i>	desetak	<i>ten or so</i>
-ak [dim]	smijeh	N	<i>laugh</i>	smiješak, smješka	<i>smile</i>
	trák	N	<i>band, strip</i>	tráčak, tráčka	<i>ray [of hope]</i>

E levi / J lijevi; E levak / J ljevak; B,S ludak / C luđak; S,B mrvatinji / C,B mrvavlji; J smijeh / E smeh; J smješak / E smešak

-aj	doživljavati	V	<i>experience</i>	doživljaj	<i>experience</i>
	namotati	V	<i>roll up</i>	namotaj	<i>skein, coil</i>
	ležati	V	<i>lie</i>	ležaj	<i>bed, couch</i>
-ar	zídati	V	<i>build, lay bricks</i>	zídar, zidára	<i>mason, bricklayer</i>
	vládati	V	<i>rule</i>	vládar, vladára	<i>ruler</i>
	čuvati	V	<i>guard</i>	čuvár, čuvára	<i>guard</i>
	ovca	N	<i>sheep</i>	ovčár, ovčára	<i>shepherd</i>
	govedo	N	<i>cattle</i>	govedár, govedára	<i>cowherd</i>
-aš	gajde	N	<i>bagpipe</i>	gajdaš, gajdaša	<i>bagpipe player</i>
	košarka	N	<i>basketball</i>	košarkaš, košarkáša	<i>basketball player</i>
	krst	N	<i>cross</i>	krstaš, krstaša	<i>Crusader</i>
	međa	N	<i>boundary</i>	međaš, međaša	<i>boundary stone</i>

B,C krstaš / C križar

-ić	sestra	N	<i>sister</i>	sestrić	<i>sister's son</i>
	brat	N	<i>brother</i>	bratić	<i>brother's son</i>
-ić [dim]	grad	N	<i>city</i>	gradić, gradića	<i>small town</i>
	nož	N	<i>knife</i>	nožić	<i>penknife</i>
-čić [dim]	prozor	N	<i>window</i>	prozorčić	<i>porthole</i>
	kamen	N	<i>stone</i>	kaménčić	<i>pebble</i>
	hotel	N	<i>hotel</i>	hotelčić	<i>cute little hotel</i>

suffix	base word	type	derived word	
-in	Srbija	N	<i>Serbia</i>	<i>Serb</i>
	Bugarska	N	<i>Bulgaria</i>	<i>Bulgarian</i> [person]
	Kanada	N	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Canadian</i> [person]
	Beograd	N	<i>Belgrade</i>	<i>Belgrader</i>
	Pariz	N	<i>Paris</i>	<i>Parisian</i>
	Evropa	N	<i>Europe</i>	<i>European</i> [person]
	Rim	N	<i>Rome</i>	<i>Roman</i> [person]
	krst	N	<i>cross</i>	<i>Christian</i>
	Hrist	N	<i>Christ</i>	<i>Christian</i>
	grad	N	<i>city</i>	<i>citizen</i>
	varos	N	<i>town</i>	<i>townsman</i>

S,B Evropa / C,B Europa; S,B Evropljanin / C,B Europljanin; C,B kršćanin / S,B hrišćanin; S,B Hrist / C Krist

-telj	rođiti	V	<i>give birth</i>	rođitelj	<i>parent</i>
	učiti	V	<i>teach, learn</i>	učitelj	<i>teacher</i>
	prijati	V	<i>please</i>	prijatelj	<i>friend</i>
	stvoriti	V	<i>create</i>	stvoritelj	<i>creator</i>

-nik	učiti	V	<i>study</i>	učenik	<i>pupil</i>
	iseliti	V	<i>emigrate</i>	iseljenik, iseljenika	<i>emigrant</i>
	govoriti	V	<i>speak</i>	govornik	<i>speaker</i>
	dopisivati se	V	<i>correspond</i>	dopisnik	<i>correspondent</i>
	bolestan	A	<i>sick</i>	bolesnik, bolesnika	<i>patient</i>
	dužan	A	<i>in debt, owing</i>	dužnik, dužnika	<i>debtor</i>
	jadan	A	<i>poor, miserable</i>	jadnik	<i>miserable wretch</i>
	grijeh	N	<i>sin</i>	grešnik	<i>sinner</i>
	vlast	N	<i>power</i>	vlasnik	<i>owner</i>
	do + uho	PN	<i>to + ear</i>	doušnik	<i>informer</i>
	reč	N	<i>word</i>	rečnik	<i>dictionary</i>
	jaje	N	<i>egg</i>	jajnik	<i>ovary</i>

J grijeh / E greh; E rečnik / J rječnik

NEUTER NOUNS

suffix	base word	type	derived word	
[zero] -ce [dim]	na + čelo	PN	<i>on + forehead</i>	načelo
	selo	N	<i>village</i>	seoce
-ence	pile	N	<i>chick</i>	pilence
-ance	pismo	N	<i>letter</i>	pisamce
-če [dim]	momak	N	<i>young man</i>	momče, -eta
	patka	N	<i>duck</i>	pače, pačeta
	mačka	N	<i>cat</i>	mače, mačeta
	sirot-an	A	<i>poor</i>	siroče, -eta

suffix	base word	type		derived word	
-ište	kázati igrati odmáratí se pristati oganj noć	V V V V N N	say play rest land, agree to fire [poetic] night	kázalište igralište odmaralište pristanjšte ognjište noćište	theater playing field resort, hideaway pier, quay hearth overnight shelter

C kazalište / B,S pozorište

-ivo	váriti peći mazati	V V V	cook bake grease, spread	varivo pecivo mazivo	cooked vegetables rolls lubricant
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-je	bez + náda bez + zákon na + sila po + gláva pod + nogá pred + grád pri + more sa + zvezda	PN PN PN PN PN PN PN PN	without + hope without + law on + force about + head under + foot before + city by + sea with + star	béznađe bezákonje násilje poglavlje podnožje predgráde primorje sazvežđe	hopelessness lawlessness violence chapter pedestal suburb littoral, coast area constellation
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E zvezda / J zvijezda; E sazvežđe / J sazviježđe (zviježđe)

-lo	mjeriti voziti oglédati se pojiti lud šaren	V V V V A A	measure drive look at oneself water animals mad variegated	mjerilo vozilo oglédalo pojilo ludilo šarenilo	scale, criterion vehicle mirror watering hole madness medley, mélange
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J mjeriti / E meriti; J mjerilo / E merilo; B,C,S oglédalo / C zrcalo

-stvo	bogat pijan mnogi siromah junak drug prijatelj	A A A N N N N	rich drunk many poor person hero companion friend	bogatstvo pijanstvo mnoštvo siromáštvo junáštvo društvo prijateljstvo	richness drunkenness multitude poverty heroism
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FEMININE NOUNS

suffix	base word	type		derived word	
[zero]	hráni <u>t</u> i	V	<i>feed</i>	hrána	<i>food</i>
	hváli <u>t</u> i	V	<i>praise</i>	hvála	<i>praise, thanks</i>
	nastaviti	V	<i>continue</i>	nástava	<i>instruction</i>
	odlučiti	V	<i>decide</i>	odluka	<i>decision</i>
	opeći	V	<i>burn</i>	opeka	<i>brick</i>
	pobúni <u>t</u> i	V	<i>rise up</i>	pobuna	<i>rebellion</i>
	představiti	V	<i>present</i>	představa	<i>performance</i>
	presuditi	V	<i>judge</i>	presuda	<i>verdict</i>
	pretplatiti	V	<i>prepay</i>	pretplata	<i>subscription</i>
	příčati	V	<i>narrate</i>	příča	<i>tale, story</i>
	stváratí	V	<i>create</i>	stvár	<i>thing</i>
	svádati se	V	<i>quarrel</i>	sváda	<i>quarrel</i>
	trčati	V	<i>run</i>	trka	<i>chase, race</i>
	upravljati	V	<i>manage</i>	uprava	<i>administration</i>
	zaštítiti	V	<i>defend, protect</i>	zaštita	<i>protection; defense</i>

-ad	pile	N	<i>chick</i>	pilad	<i>chicks (flock)</i>
	prase	N	<i>piglet</i>	prasad	<i>piglets (group)</i>
	téle	N	<i>calf</i>	telad	<i>calves (group)</i>
	momče	N	<i>lad</i>	momčad	<i>group of youths</i>

-ba	svat	N	<i>wedding guest</i>	svadba	<i>wedding</i>
	seliti	V	<i>move</i>	seoba	<i>migration</i>
	primětiti	V	<i>notice</i>	primedba	<i>remark</i>
	žuriti se	V	<i>hurry</i>	žurba	<i>hurry</i>

E primetiti / J primjetiti; E primedba / J primjedba

-ica	prijatelj	N	<i>friend (m.)</i>	prijateljica	<i>friend (f.)</i>
	učitelj	N	<i>teacher (m.)</i>	učiteljica	<i>teacher (f.)</i>
	Hrvat	N	<i>Croat (m.)</i>	Hrvatica	<i>Croat (f.)</i>
	iz + magla	PN	<i>from + fog</i>	izmaglica	<i>haze, mist</i>
	o + grlo	PN	<i>around + neck</i>	ogrlica	<i>necklace</i>
	izbeći	V	<i>escape</i>	izbeglica	<i>refugee</i>
-nica	dopisivati se	V	<i>correspond</i>	dopisnica	<i>postcard</i>
	ludeti	V	<i>go mad</i>	ludnica	<i>insane asylum</i>
[dim]	majka	N	<i>mother</i>	majčica	<i>dear mother</i>
	kuća	N	<i>house</i>	kućica	<i>small house, hut</i>
	rijeka	N	<i>river</i>	rječica	<i>stream, rivulet</i>
	muha	N	<i>fly</i>	mušica	<i>little fly</i>
	knjiga	N	<i>book</i>	knjižica	<i>pamphlet, booklet</i>

E izbeći / J izbjeci; E izbeglica / J izbjeglica; E ludeti / J luditi; J rijeka / E reka; J rječica / E rečica

suffix	base word	type		derived word	
-ina	prázan	A	<i>empty</i>	praznina	<i>emptiness</i>
	břz	A	<i>fast</i>	brzina	<i>speed</i>
	dalji	A	<i>farther</i>	daljina	<i>distance</i>
	visok	A	<i>tall</i>	visina	<i>height</i>
	ceo, cela	A	<i>entire</i>	celina	<i>entirety</i>
	rep	N	<i>tail</i>	rěpina	<i>big ugly tail</i>
	zid	N	<i>wall</i>	zidina	<i>thick town wall</i>
	ljudi	N	<i>people</i>	ljudina	<i>fine person</i>
	tele	N	<i>calf</i>	teletina	<i>veal</i>
	pile	N	<i>chick</i>	piletina	<i>chicken meat</i>
-[e]vina	svinja	N	<i>pig</i>	svinjetina	<i>pork</i>
	gráditi	V	<i>build</i>	grádevina	<i>construction</i>
	píliti	V	<i>saw</i>	píljevina	<i>sawdust</i>
-bina	miješati	V	<i>mix</i>	mješavina	<i>mixture</i>
	suditi	V	<i>judge</i>	sudbina	<i>fate</i>
	otac	N	<i>father</i>	otadžbina	<i>fatherland</i>

E ceo / J cio (cijel); E cela / J cijela; E celina / J cjelina; J miješati / E mešati; J mješavina / E mešavina; S,B otadžbina / C domovina

-inja	Čeh	N	<i>Czech</i> (m.)	Čehinja	<i>Czech</i> (f.)
-kinja	junak	N	<i>hero</i>	junakinja	<i>heroine</i> (f.)
	Srbin	N	<i>Serb</i> (m.)	Srpkinja	<i>Serb</i> (f.)
	Rus	N	<i>Russian</i> (m.)	Ruskinja	<i>Russian</i> (f.)
	Englez	N	<i>Englishman</i>	Èngleskinja	<i>Englishwoman</i>

-ka	Bugarin	N	<i>Bulgarian</i> (m.)	Bugarka	<i>Bulgarian</i> (f.)
	Bosànan	N	<i>Bosnian</i> (m.)	Bosànska	<i>Bosnian</i> (f.)
	olovo	N	<i>lead</i>	òlovka	<i>pencil</i>
	deset	#	<i>ten</i>	desétká	<i>No. 10</i> [etc.]
	prépirati se	V	<i>squabble</i>	prépirka	<i>argument</i>

-nja	vòziti	V	<i>drive</i>	vòžnja	<i>ride, drive</i>
	nòsiti	V	<i>wear</i>	nošnja	<i>folk costume</i>
	ráditi	V	<i>work</i>	rádnja	<i>shop, store</i>
	paziti	V	<i>take care</i>	pažnja	<i>attention</i>
	šètati	V	<i>walk, stroll</i>	šètnja	<i>walk, stroll</i>
	mržiti	V	<i>hate</i>	mržnja	<i>hatred</i>

-oča	težak	A	<i>difficult</i>	teškoča	<i>difficulty</i>
	hládan	A	<i>cold</i>	hladnoča	<i>cold</i>
	čist	A	<i>clean</i>	čistoča	<i>cleanliness</i>
-ota	sram	N	<i>shame</i>	sramota	<i>disgrace</i>
	dobar	A	<i>good</i>	dobra	<i>goodness</i>
	lijep	A	<i>beautiful</i>	ljepota	<i>beauty</i>

J lijep / E lep; J ljepota / E lepota

suffix	base word	type		derived word	
-ost	mlad	A	<i>young</i>	mladost	<i>youth</i>
	žao	A	<i>sorry</i>	žalost	<i>sorrow, regret</i>
	zreo	A	<i>ripe, mature</i>	zrelost	<i>maturity</i>
	hrabar	A	<i>brave</i>	hrabrost	<i>courage</i>
	ne + za + posao		<i>not + for + work</i>	nezaposlenost	<i>unemployment</i>
	bez + pomoć	PN	<i>without + help</i>	bespomoćnost	<i>helplessness</i>

ADJECTIVES

suffix	base word	type		derived word	
-an	bez + obraz	PN	<i>without + cheek</i>	bezobrazan, -zna	<i>impudent, shameless</i>
	bez + plod	PN	<i>without + fruit</i>	bесплодан, -dna	<i>infertile</i>
	bez + smrt	PN	<i>without + death</i>	бесмртан, -tna	<i>immortal</i>
	do + slovo	PN	<i>to + letter</i>	doslovan, -vna	<i>literal</i>
	po + sebe	PN	<i>about + self</i>	посебан, -bna	<i>special</i>
	prijati	V	<i>please</i>	prijatan, -tna	<i>pleasant</i>
	budit	V	<i>awaken</i>	budan, -dna	<i>alert, awake</i>
	priroda	N	<i>nature</i>	prirodan, -dna	<i>natural</i>
	sila	N	<i>power, force</i>	silan, silna	<i>powerful</i>
	vek	N	<i>century, age</i>	večan, večna	<i>eternal</i>
-ov-an	vrh	N	<i>summit</i>	vrhovni	<i>supreme</i>
	svijet	N	<i>world (n.)</i>	svjetovni	<i>secular, worldly</i>
	duh	N	<i>spirit, mentality</i>	duhovan, -vna	<i>spiritual</i>
	knjiga	N	<i>book</i>	književni	<i>literary</i>
	duša	N	<i>soul, psyche</i>	duševan, -vna	<i>spiritual</i>

E vek / J vijek; E večan / J vječan; J svijet / E svet; J svjetovni / E svetovni

-ast	ljubičica	N	<i>violet (n.)</i>	ljubičast	<i>violet, purple</i>
-kast	pepeo	N	<i>ash</i>	pepeljast	<i>ashen</i>
	zelen	A	<i>green</i>	zelenkast	<i>greenish</i>

-at	brada	N	<i>beard</i>	bradat	<i>bearded</i>
	krilo	N	<i>wing</i>	krilat	<i>winged</i>
-av	groznica	N	<i>fever</i>	grozničav	<i>feverish</i>
	krv	N	<i>blood</i>	krvav	<i>bloody</i>
	grba	N	<i>hump</i>	grbav	<i>hunchbacked</i>
	žila	N	<i>vein, tendon</i>	žilav	<i>tough, sinewy</i>

-en	led	N	<i>ice</i>	leden	<i>icy</i>
	svila	N	<i>silk</i>	svilen	<i>silken</i>
	staklo	N	<i>glass (n.)</i>	staklen	<i>glass (adj.)</i>
	pismo	N	<i>letter, missive</i>	pismen	<i>literate</i>
[stv]-en	bez + zlo	PN	<i>without + evil</i>	bezazlen	<i>guileless</i>
	jedinstvo	N	<i>unity</i>	jedinstven	<i>unique</i>
	božanstvo	N	<i>divinity</i>	božanstven	<i>divine</i>

suffix	base word	type	derived word	
-it	istina	N	<i>truth</i>	istinit
	pleme	N	<i>tribe</i>	pleménit
	kamen	N	<i>stone</i>	kaménit
	riječ	N	<i>word</i>	rječit
-ov-it	kiša	N	<i>rain</i>	kišòvit
	duh	N	<i>spirit</i>	duhòvit
	strah	N	<i>fear</i>	strahòvit
	múnya	N	<i>lightning</i>	munjèvit

J riječ / E reč; J rječit / E rečit

-j	riba	N	<i>fish (n.)</i>	riblji	<i>fish (adj.)</i>
	Bog	N	<i>God</i>	Božji	<i>God's</i>
	čovek	N	<i>man</i>	čovečji	<i>man's</i>

E čovek / J čovjek; E čovečji / J čovječji

-ljiv	čitati	V	<i>read</i>	čitljiv	<i>legible</i>
	razumjeti	V	<i>understand</i>	razumljiv	<i>comprehensible</i>
	osetiti	V	<i>feel</i>	osétljiv	<i>sensitive</i>
	snalaziti se	V	<i>manage, cope</i>	snalažljiv	<i>resourceful</i>
	podnosititi	V	<i>endure</i>	podnošljiv	<i>bearable</i>

E razumjeti / J razumjeti; E osjetiti / J osjetiti; E osjetljiv / J osjetljiv

-ski	muž	N	<i>husband</i>	muški	<i>male, masculine</i>
	žena	N	<i>woman, wife</i>	ženski	<i>female, feminine</i>
	grad	N	<i>city</i>	gradski	<i>urban</i>
	Englez	N	<i>Englishman</i>	engleski	<i>English</i>
	Francuz	N	<i>Frenchman</i>	francuski	<i>French</i>

CHAPTER 19

164 Clitic placement and BCS syntax: rhythmic constituents

The ordering of clitics within sentences is a major part of BCS grammar. Two requirements must always be fulfilled whenever clitics are present. One is that they must all occur together in a particular order. The other is that the chunk of clitics (properly ordered) must occur at a particular point in the sentence. Some manuals of the language identify this point as “after the first word in the sentence”, and others identify it as the “second position in the sentence”. Neither statement is adequate. The first is contradicted by the many instances in which clitics are placed after the second, third, or even fourth word of a sentence; and although the second statement is closer to the truth, it too is not very helpful. That is, without a clear and practical way of knowing what the “first position” in a sentence is, one cannot know with certainty where the second position will be in any given instance.

Previous discussions of clitic ordering in this book have used the phrase *first significant unit*. Word order diagrams have made reference to what is here called the *XYZ model*, in which the string of clitics is identified by the symbol *Y* and the first significant unit is labeled simply as *X*. A more precise linguistic term for this significant unit is *constituent*. This term denotes a group of words which are closely bound together both by meaning and by grammatical function. A constituent can be a single word, or it can be a sequence of words (that is, a phrase). The primary determining characteristic of “constituency” is grammar. For instance, one of the most frequently occurring constituents in many languages is the sequence of a noun plus its modifiers. But the relevant constituent can be smaller or larger than this: other factors also play a part.

When it comes to clitic placement, in fact, the rules of BCS are so complex that it is better to use a different term altogether, one chosen specifically for the purpose. This is because the definition of the concept *first significant unit* in BCS must pay attention not only to the grammatical relationships between words but also to the pronunciation rhythm according to which these words are spoken. Thus, the term *rhythmic constituent* (RC) is used to denote that portion of a sentence after which clitics may (or, in some cases, must) occur. It is difficult to give a precise definition of a rhythmic constituent. This is because the membership in this category is somewhat fluid. Certain individual BCS words are *obligatory* RC’s: this means that any clitics occurring in the same clause are required without exception to come immediately after them. Other words are *optional* RC’s: this means that they may fulfill the function of RC in a sentence, or they may be placed elsewhere in the sentence (in which case some other word will function as RC in that sentence). In fact, nearly any fully accented word in BCS has the potential to function as the RC given the appropriate sentence structure.

164a. Obligatory rhythmic constituents

Obligatory RC’s fall into two groups: subordinating conjunctions and question words. Both respond to the rhythmic requirements of BCS. It is consistent with the rhythm of spoken BCS, for instance, for a subordinating conjunction to act as a “magnet” for clitics. Thus, whenever a main

clause is transformed into a subordinate clause, any clitics in the clause must move to a position immediately after the subordinating conjunction. Students will have become used to the behavior of the conjunction **da** in this regard (review [29a]); they need to develop similar awareness for other conjunctions such as **ako**, **kad**, **dok**, **čim**, **što**, **koji** (as relative conjunction), and others. Compound conjunctions follow this rule as well: in this instance, one can view the RC either as the entire conjunction or as the final portion of it, which is usually itself a conjunction such as **da** or **što** (review [143b]).

Question words are also marked by a clear spoken rhythm (as in many languages). In BCS this rhythmic rule embraces not only single question words such as **gde / gdje**, **ko / tko**, **šta / što**, and the like, but also interrogative pronominal forms such as **koji**, **kakav**, and **čiji**. Indeed, the latter instance demonstrates clearly the need to distinguish between a grammatical constituent and a rhythmic constituent. In grammar, the concatenation of modifier (or *determiner*) + noun is regarded as one of the most basic of grammatical constituents. But when the determiner is an interrogative pronominal form, it is obliged to act on its own as a rhythmic constituent, and this means that one must dismantle the grammatical constituent in order to isolate the rhythmic constituent.

In the examples below, each sequence of an RC plus its dependent clitics is underscored. In these, and nearly all examples of complex BCS sentences, the obligatory binding of the clitic form to its RC frequently forces the clitic to be separated, often quite radically, from its own grammatical constituent. For instance, a **se**-verb (a verb requiring **se**) cannot fill its function in a sentence unless the particle **se** is present. The fact that the **se** may be placed very far away in the sentence from the verb to which it belongs is often very disorienting to the learner. Acquiring these word order patterns takes considerable practice, and the student must not lose heart if mastery does not come immediately.

Obligatory rhythmic constituents (RC's): conjunctions

da	Muslim <u>da</u> će za nekoliko dana stvar biti jasnija.	<i>I think it [= the thing] will be clearer in a few days.</i>
što	Šteta <u>što</u> se to nije moglo raditi.	<i>It's a pity it couldn't be done.</i>
što / da	Čudim se <u>što</u> se oni prave kao <u>da</u> <u>me</u> ne čuju.	<i>I'm surprised that they pretend not to hear me.</i>
koji	Glavna pitanja na <u>koja</u> će se tražiti odgovori su sledeća.	<i>The primary questions to which answers will be sought are the following.</i>
ako	Ako <u>se</u> pri tom radi o drugim standardima, to je druga stvar.	<i>If it's a matter in this instance of other standards, that's another thing.</i>

Obligatory rhythmic constituents (RC's): question words

kada	<u>Kada</u> će <u>se</u> to nastaviti?	<i>When will it be continued?</i>
kako	<u>Kako</u> bi <u>se</u> to najbolje izrazilo?	<i>How would that best be expressed?</i>
ko / tko	Policija još ne zna <u>tko</u> su počinitelji pljačke.	<i>The police still don't know who the robbers [= the perpetrators of the robbery] are.</i>
koji	<u>Koja</u> <u>se</u> firma bavi trgovinom boja?	<i>Which firm handles trade in paints?</i>
koliko	<u>Koliko</u> ih je došlo?	<i>How many of them came?</i>
kakav	U <u>kakvim</u> <u>si</u> knjigama takvu stvar pročitala?	<i>What sort of books did you read such a thing in?</i>

B,C se to nije moglo raditi / S,B to nije moglo da se radi; E sledeća / J sljedeća; C,B će se nastaviti / S,B će da se nastavi; C tko / S,B ko

164b. Optional rhythmic constituents

The category of optional RC's includes both words and phrases. When phrases are at issue, the choice of RC is closely bound up with the structure of the sentence. Although the word order rules of BCS are sufficiently fluid that nearly any type of phrase can begin a sentence, most sentences begin with one of two major word groups. One type of group is clustered around a noun and is called a *noun phrase*: it can contain a noun plus determiners, a group of nouns connected by case relationships (such as the *of* relationship signified by the genitive case), or a noun plus other elements which are closely dependent on it. If the group of words is relatively short, and if the words are closely enough bound in terms of grammatical relations, an entire noun phrase can function as RC. It is also possible for the phrase to be broken up and for its first element to function as RC. This is the same sort of "dismantling" of a grammatical constituent that is obligatory in interrogative phrases, except that in non-interrogative phrases it is optional. Croatian prefers constructions with a dismantled RC, whereas Bosnian and Serbian prefer to keep the noun phrase together.

The other major word group clusters around a verb and is called a *verb phrase*. Such phrases can contain verbal auxiliaries, predicate adjectives or nouns, or other closely dependent elements such as adverbs. Verb phrases of more than one word rarely function as RC's. If the verb begins the sentence, then its central verbal element will be placed first and will act as RC. This element is either a conjugated form (imperative or present tense) or the non-auxiliary portion of a compound form (the L-participle or the infinitive).

Most sentences tend to begin with noun phrases, typically the sentence's subject. Frequently, such a phrase will function as RC. In these instances, therefore, a rhythmic constituent is also a grammatical constituent. But the length of grammatical constituents varies considerably: some consist of a single word, some are as short as two to three words, but some are quite long. Rhythm, therefore, becomes a particularly important element here. There are no set rules; rather, the permissible length of an RC is a matter of any one speaker's decision in any one speech situation. Sometimes speakers will allow a very long noun phrase to function as RC. Other times, the same speakers will treat the same phrase differently. Either they will rephrase the sentence so as to place the long noun phrase in some other spot than the beginning, or they will adopt the speech model referred to here informally as "starting over" (review [85a]). That is, they will pause imperceptibly after producing the noun phrase and then begin the verbal portion of the sentence. When the sentence reaches this point, an obligatory RC rule comes into play: the RC must be a single word which is the central accented element of a verb phrase – either a conjugated verb, an L-participle or infinitive from a compound tense, or a predicate noun or adjective. Students should be aware that this model is encountered quite frequently, especially in writing.

Below are examples of these several types of RC's; the sentences are typical both of speech and writing. The complex of RC plus clitic(s) in the BCS sentence is in each case underscored.

Optional rhythmic constituents (RC's): full noun phrases

<u>Moja knjiga je</u> tamo na stolu.	<i>My book is there on the table.</i>
<u>Predmet ovoga rada su</u> koncepције...	<i>The topic of this paper is the conceptions...</i>
<u>Referati na konferenciji će se izložiti</u> na engleskom.	<i>Papers at the conference will be delivered in English.</i>

Optional rhythmic constituents (RC's): "dismantled" noun phrases

<u>Moja je</u> knjiga tamo na stolu.	<i>My book is there on the table.</i>
<u>Predmet su</u> ovoga rada koncepције...	<i>The topic of this paper is the conceptions...</i>

C moja je knjiga / B,S moja knjiga je; C predmet su ovoga rada / B,S predmet ovog rada su

Optional rhythmic constituents (RC's): verb phrases

<u>Vidi se</u> jasno u čemu je stvar.	<i>It's obvious what's at issue.</i>
<u>Izložit će</u> se referati na engleskom	<i>The papers will be delivered in English.</i>
<u>Izložila je</u> referat na engleskom.	<i>She delivered the paper in English.</i>

C,B izložit će / S,B izložiće

Optional rhythmic constituents (RC's): long noun phrases

<u>Amerika i Engleska ipak</u> su otišle predaleko.	<i>Still, America and England have gone too far.</i>
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Optional rhythmic constituents (RC's): “starting over” with a verb

Parametri za analizu tih problema <u>videće se</u> iz odgovarajućih tabela.	<i>The parameters of analysis of these problems can [= will] be seen in the corresponding charts.</i>
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E videti / J vidjeti; S,B videće (vidjeće) / B,C vidjet će

165 Accent in BCS

Handbooks of BCS commonly refer to its *four-accent system*. This label derives from the fact that every stressed vowel is either long or short, and carries either falling or rising tone. Any stressed vowel is marked by one of the four possible combinations of these traits, and is thus either *short falling*, *long falling*, *short rising* or *long rising* (the corresponding BCS terms are **kratkosilazni**, **dugosilazni**, **kratkouzlazni**, and **dugouzlazni**). Each name clearly includes two separate characteristics, and the features in question would seem to be measurable along two separate and discrete parameters for any one vowel. Yet it has long been the case that each of the four is viewed as a single, indivisible unit, identified by its own characteristic diacritic mark. Traditionally, therefore, learning the language has meant learning its four “accents”.

The canonical marks which define and designate the four separate “accents” were devised by Vuk Karadžić and his assistant Đuro Daničić (for more on their roles in language standardization, see [170a, 170c]). Three of the four diacritical marks (acute, grave and circumflex) are commonly found in other European languages (most frequently in French). The fourth is a double grave accent. Long vowels after the accented vowel in any one word are usually marked by the macron (in some texts, especially older ones, they can also be marked by the circumflex). Although accent is not marked in everyday prose – and not even in all reference books – it is invariably these standard diacritic marks that are used whenever accent is noted. Despite the elegance of these marks (which are not difficult to work with once one is accustomed to them), both natives and foreigners tend to regard the “four-accent system” with trepidation, and many avoid discussion of accent whenever possible.

“Canonical” four accent system

	Rising	Falling	unaccented
Long	' gláva	^ prâvda	— òvâj
Short	` vòda	`` kôra	

The system is admittedly somewhat opaque. But it can easily be rendered more transparent if one consistently separates out the two factors of length and tone. In order to demystify the system for the foreign learner, just such a procedure has been devised for this book. Indeed, the separation is graphic as well: the fact of length is marked UNDER the vowel and the fact of tone is

marked OVER the vowel in question. Not every vowel is marked: thus both the presence and the absence of a mark carry meaning. With respect to length, the marking system is based on the fact that every vowel must be either long or short: long vowels are marked with an underscore and short vowels are left unmarked. With respect to tone, the marking system is based on the fact that distinctive tone can occur only on accented vowels and that accented vowels with falling tones occur only in initial syllables (for the few exceptions to this rule, see [167]). This means that one need only mark the presence of rising tone: if there is no mark for tone on a word, then this automatically means that the first syllable of the word is accented, and that it carries a falling tone. This rising tone is, is marked by the grave accent over the syllable in question.

Thus, a single tone mark (`a) indicates a short rising accent, while a single length mark (a) indicates a long falling accent. The combination of two marks, one above and one below the vowel (à) indicates a long rising accent, and the absence of any marks at all (a) indicates a short falling accent.

This book's presentation of four-accent system	Rising	Falling	unaccented
Long	gl <u>à</u> va	pr <u>à</u> vda	òv <u>à</u> j
Short	vòda	kora	

165a. The nature of the “four accents”

The four-accent system has traditionally been a source of frustration to some and an object of wonder and fascination to others. Regardless of how deeply the foreign learner wishes to delve into this system, s/he should take solace in the fact that its internal functioning is much more systematic than would seem at first glance. The key to this system lies in the actual nature of the distinctions codified in the traditional four-accent system.

From Vuk's time onward, it was believed that each of the four “accents” was a single prosodic unit. Written analyses of accents often referred to these units by descriptive names (such as *quick*, *slow*, *long*, or the like), or simply just by the diacritics themselves. Near the end of the 19th century, however, a German scholar living in St. Petersburg named Leonhard Masing made a significant discovery. Working with émigrés speaking what later became BCS, he discovered that the tone of a falling accent was fully contained within the syllable marked for that accent, but that the tone of a rising accent encompassed not just the marked syllable but also the following one. Native scholars paid little regard to this observation, partly because it contradicted the already well-ingrained Vukovian conception, and partly because it emanated from a foreigner. Half a century later, however, a Yugoslav-American team (comprising the Serbian linguist Pavle Ivić and the American phonetician Ilse Lehiste) undertook extensive laboratory investigations of the same issue, and proved without a doubt that Masing had been right. They made many precise measurements, and carried out numerous experiments with native speakers. In the most dramatic of these, they requested speakers first to identify a number of single-syllable segments as rising or falling, and then to identify the same syllables, now played together with the following syllable, as rising or falling. The identifications in the first round were random guesses, but those in the second round were correct each time. What this means in practical terms is that any syllable carrying one of the canonical four marks given above is spoken with high tone. If this tone falls off sharply at the end of the syllable, then the marked syllable belongs to the category *falling*. But if this tone continues on through the following syllable, then the marked syllable belongs to the category *rising*. By definition, therefore, rising accents require the presence of a following syllable. This is why monosyllabic words in BCS can carry only falling accent, and why no BCS word can be accented on the final syllable.

These discoveries, made according to laboratory analyses of 20th-century speech, also give a clear representation of language history. In its current state, the accentual system of BCS is the

result of a change which took place approximately six centuries ago. At that point in the history of the language, there were no distinction of tone: effectively, all vowels were “falling” in nature. This far-reaching change, referred to either as the *neo-štokavian retraction* or the *neo-štokavian shift*, had two components. One was that every accent on a non-initial syllable was shifted one syllable towards the beginning of the word, and the other was that each of the newly shifted accents took on the character now known as “rising”. Accents on initial syllables were not affected: they retained the original place of accent and the original “falling” tone. This change embraced a large part of the area known as the štokavian dialect (for definition and discussion, see [171a]); the group of dialects which underwent it are called neo-štokavian.

The historical fact of the shift is best seen by comparing neo-štokavian words with their counterparts both in areas of BCS where the shift did not take place, and in other Slavic languages. The chart below gives several examples. Standard BCS words (exhibiting the neo-štokavian retraction) are given with accents transcribed according to the system of this book. Underneath them are given the same words as found in those related Slavic languages which maintain the original place of accent: in these words, the place of accent is marked by the grave (˘). Comparing these forms shows that all rising accents in BCS are due to this historical retraction. For a practical application of this historical fact to the understanding of modern BCS, see [166].

BCS rising

BCS	glàva	tràva	ježik	govòriti	vèliki
Russian	голова	трава	язык	говорить	великий
Bulgarian	глава	трева	език		велик

BCS falling

BCS	pravda	zlatò	možeš	pivo	pamet
Russian	правда	золото	можешь	пиво	память
Bulgarian	правда	злато	можеш	пиво	памет

165b. Accent and prescriptivism in BCS

Language descriptions are normally of two sorts, *prescriptive* and *descriptive*. The former type focuses on the correct form of the language, and serves as a reference point to help speakers know what choices to make whenever they are in doubt. The latter type focuses on actual usage, and serves as a valuable connection with the reality of the present day. The ideal for most modern languages, including BCS, is for the same grammar to serve both goals. That is, the proper language (which people are told they SHOULD speak) should ideally correspond to the language they actually DO speak. Indeed, most BCS speakers are aware that their language was codified with these precise goals in mind, and they are by and large content with the way in which its grammar actually reflects their speech. On the topic of accent, however, feelings run high. Many feel the four-accent system is needlessly complex and out of touch with reality. Part of this dissatisfaction is with the opacity of the traditional Vukovian accentual marks.

In most instances, however, the reason speakers are dissatisfied with the system of marks is because they believe it does not accurately reflect the way they actually speak. In some cases this non-congruence (between prescriptive statements of accentuation and descriptive statements of actual usage) is due to language change: the accentuation of the modern language is simply no longer the same as it was when Vuk and Daničić made their codifications. More frequently, however, it is due to the great diversity of speech types over the broader BCS area and to specific facts connected with the history of modern codification processes. For a variety of reasons, the modern language is based almost completely upon the speech of Vuk Karadžić’s native East Her-

zegovina (for more discussion, see [170]). That is, when linguists sat down to compile the dictionaries and the grammars which became the core of BCS prescriptive grammar, they took the East Herzegovinian neo-štokavian dialect as their model, believing it to be the purest and most representative speech type. All elements of grammar were codified to follow that dialectal pattern, including the specific accentual characteristics of each individual word. The speech of Eastern Herzegovina was especially rich in accentual distinctions – as it is still today – and those speakers of BCS whose native speech is similar to it have no trouble hearing and producing all four “accents” in all positions, according to the now-canonical system.

Those whose native speech is quite different from Vuk’s, however, must learn the standard form of the language in school. Learning the endings of words is relatively easy, but learning the accents is quite another matter. In particular, it is almost impossible to make a consistent distinction between short rising and short falling accents unless one is accustomed to hearing these accents since childhood. Most Bosnians make all the standard distinctions naturally, and they are quite proud of the fully melodic (not to say traditional Vukovian) character of Bosnian. The majority of Serbs and Croats, however, do not make the full set of distinctions. Some attempt to learn them, and experience a fair degree of success. Others – even if they are not completely successful in learning the accents – believe that this system is part of their heritage and that the language should continue to maintain all the codified distinctions, if only as an ideal to strive for. Yet others, however, believe that the codified forms of Serbian and Croatian should be revised in order to reflect more accurately the way Serbs and Croats actually speak. They do not feel that educators should need to work so hard to force students to learn something which is both very difficult to learn, and (in their view) unnaturally artificial. They believe the current language should be revised according to the very principle which governed its original codification, and that the idealized standard should represent actual speech as it is today. The great majority of Serbs or Croats who cannot distinguish short falling from short rising accents feel there should be only a single “short” accent; they also feel that the language should codify only those long unaccented vowels which are consistently spoken as long (such as the Gpl. endings).

165c. Non-initial falling accents

But although there is considerable discussion among linguists on all aspects of this issue, feelings run especially high on the issue of *non-initial falling accents*. The dictum of the Vukovian system is that falling accents are allowed only in initial position. This is because all non-initial accents historically represent retractions, and all retracted accents are rising (review [165a]). It follows from this, therefore, that words with a falling accent on a non-initial syllable are being pronounced incorrectly and should be adapted to the Vukovian system. Since a number of speakers of BCS come from areas where the neo-štokavian retraction was not fully carried out, schoolteachers regularly teach these speakers these speakers to pronounce the words in question with consistently retracted accents. This general pedagogical experience has strengthened the belief of prescriptive grammarians that any non-initial accent must be scrutinized. If it is pronounced as falling, then it has not been properly retracted and this must be corrected.

Now, however, linguists and educated speakers are beginning to realize that their speech does indeed include words with non-initial falling accents, and that these falling accents are not in error. Rather, they represent the natural pronunciation of a number of words, a pronunciation which need not (and should not) be corrected according to some abstract principle. For Bosnian linguists (and others who look to Bosnian as a model of accentual “purity”), the most convincing evidence is that Bosnians also pronounce these words with non-initial falling accents. The number of these words is not large, but it is significant enough to make the point. Many of the words are foreign borrowings, a number of which end in **-ent** (such as **absolvent** “fifth year university student”). Others are native words which are relatively long, often consisting of a number of morphemes (such as **poljoprivreda** “agriculture”).

For some, this is simply another facet of the abstract issue of prescriptive vs. descriptive grammars. But the presence of non-initial falling accents poses a serious issue for the system of accentual markings proposed in this book. The very simplicity and clarity of this system depends upon two factors. One is the ability to separate length from tone – something which is not only easily done but also highly desirable with regard both to correspondence with reality and ease of understanding. The other is the ability to identify tone by means of a single mark. This can be done easily only if one assumes that falling accents occur predictably in initial position (and that one can consequently designate them by leaving them unmarked). If indeed falling accents are possible outside of initial position, then the Vukovian system, which provides actual marks in the meaning “falling”, would seem superior. But this is not a real impediment. It is certainly easy enough to provide an additional mark (such as a dot over the vowel) for the few words with non-initial falling accents. This accentuation has not been noted as such on words in language examples of preceding chapters. But the existence of this accentuation, and the issues of prescriptivism vs. descriptivism, should continue to be actively debated. Particularly since this revision of the accentual system finds support from (at least some) linguists from all three sides – Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian – it should clearly be integrated into the descriptive framework in some way.

165d. Variant accentuation

It is the job of prescriptive manuals to specify the “correct” way to speak. Such manuals are invaluable to teachers, editors, writers, journalists, and others whose job it is to maintain the official standard language and to provide a benchmark for others by perpetuating a written and spoken norm that is generally recognized as the desirable and proper way to speak and write one’s language (for students learning the language, of course, such manuals are an absolute necessity). The primary prescriptive manuals are grammars and dictionaries. The role of grammars is to specify the correct declensional and conjugational forms of words and to spell out the rules which allow one to construct well-formed sentences; and the role of dictionaries is to provide both the correct spelling and the appropriate definitions of individual words.

When it comes to accent, language specialists are faced with a dilemma. The detailed codification of what is now BCS took place in the second half of the 19th century (for more discussion, see [170c]): during this process every word was assigned marks corresponding to its accentuation in the ideal base speech system, Vuk’s East Herzegovinian dialect. These marks, which constitute the system of traditional Vukovian accentuation, are felt to be such a central part of the history of the language (and of its “pedigree”, so to speak) that many feel that this system must be maintained in the reference books essentially unchanged. Yet all recognize that the language is in a state of flux on this point, and that even speakers who observe the greatest number of accentual distinctions – who speak a form of the language closest to that codified by Vuk and Daničić – do not speak exactly as the reference books say they should. Some dictionaries “solve” this problem by not accenting words at all, but most serious dictionaries do include accentual information, using the traditional marks and reproducing by and large the original Vukovian assignment of these marks. The student will find, however, that there will not be full agreement among the various dictionaries and manuals; furthermore, the differences usually represent general variation in usage, and cannot be correlated with Croatian vs. Serbian accentuation (as of the current writing there is no dictionary of Bosnian which provides accentual marks). It is a positive sign that newer dictionaries now mark non-initial falling accents as an acceptable variant in several words. This is proof that the Vukovian system can be adapted to correspond more closely to actual usage.

166 Accent shifts in BCS

BCS accentuation is complex not only because of the interactions of length and tone comprising the traditional “four-accent system”. In some words, the accent also takes on different manifestations in different grammatical forms of the word. That is, learning the accent of a word

does not automatically allow one to predict the accentuation of all forms of that word. Here, too, however, the system seems much more complex than it really is. If the student has grasped the basic facts of the neo-štokavian retraction (that all rising accents represent a shift one syllable away from the original place of accent) and the phonetics of modern BCS (that falling tones are realized within a single syllable but that rising tones cover both the marked syllable and the one following it [review 165a]), then s/he is already has grasped the principle which allows easy description of the accent shifts of modern BCS. In essence, this principle is that the underlying PLACE of accent is on the originally accented syllable. When the accent is falling, the PLACE of accent is indeed on the marked syllable. But when the accent is rising, the PLACE of accent is on the syllable following the one which bears the mark. Accent shifts which seem complex and obscure are much easier to interpret if one views them in this way. That which shifts is the PLACE of accent; this shift is then translated into the FORM of accent as traditionally marked.

For example, many verbs shift the accent between the infinitive and the present tense: the accent in the present tense is one syllable closer to the beginning of the word than in the infinitive. Below are three different ways of viewing this shift. The first column identifies the underlying PLACE of accent by means of a bold-faced capital letter. The second two columns mark the FORM of the accent: the middle column uses the traditional Vukovian marks, which combine the factors of length and tone into a single mark; and the right-hand column uses the system of accentual marking devised for this book, which separates out the factors of tone and length. It is critical to note that vowel length has no connection with the place of accent. In this example, for instance, the root syllable **kaz-** contains a long vowel, but this fact in itself has nothing to do with the place of accent. The only reason that this fact of length is combined together with the fact of tone in the “Vukovian” diacritical marks is “tradition”: that is the way Vuk (and Daničić) marked it.

	PLACE	FORM: Vukovian	FORM: this book
infinitive	kazAti	kázati	kážati
1sg. present	kAžem	kâžém	kážem

An even more dramatic example is provided by masculine nouns such as **junak**, which have a zero ending in Nsg., and endings beginning with a vowel in all other case forms. From the presentations given in dictionaries and grammars, it appears that such nouns have one accent in the Nsg. form and a different accent in all other case forms. In actuality, such nouns do not shift the accent at all. What makes it look like there is a shift is the presence of a zero ending. Namely, the PLACE of accent in such nouns is always on the first (or only) syllable of the grammatical ending. Because of the nature of accent, which must have a pronounceable syllable in order to be manifested, the functional place of the accent is on the last actual syllable. But since BCS words of more than one syllable cannot have a marked accent on the last actual syllable, the FORM of the accent is rising, on the syllable preceding its functional place. Thus, although according to the traditional formulation the accent of such nouns alternates between short rising on the first syllable in Nsg. and long rising on the second syllable in other forms, it is much easier (and equally correct) to say that the second syllable is always long, and the underlying accent is always on the last pronounceable syllable.

A similar pattern is found in nouns like **dak**, which appear to alternate between long falling in Nsg. and long rising in all other cases. Here too, the accent is in actuality on the last pronounceable syllable, realized according to the rules of BCS which permit a rising accent only if another syllable follows. Thus the Nsg. form **dak**, a single syllable stem with a zero ending, can only have a falling accent, while all the other forms have a rising accent. The two paradigms are given below: the PLACE of accent is marked in boldface, and the FORM of the accent is marked both according to the system used in this book and the traditional Vukovian four-accent system.

PLACE	Vukovian	this book		PLACE	Vukovian	this book
junak-Ø	jùnāk	junák	Nsg.	đak-Ø	đâk	đák
junak-A	junáka	junáka	Gsg.	đak -A	đáka	đák
junak-U	junáku	junáku	DLsg.	đak -U	đáku	đák
junak-Om	junákom	junakom	Isg.	đak -Om	đákom	đák
junac-I	junáci	junáci	Npl.	đac -I	đáci	đaci
junak-E	junáke	junake	Apl.	đak -E	đáke	đake
junak-A	junákā	junáka	Gpl.	đak -A	đákā	đák
junac-Ima	junácima	junacima	DLapl.	đac -Ima	đácima	đacima

A number of BCS words partake in what are known as *morphophonemic accentual alternations*: the PLACE of accent changes in accordance with the particular grammatical form of the word. Whereas the accent shifts outlined above are purely phonological, morphophonemic shifts combine the two factors: they are phonological because they are part of the sound system but morphological because they are part of the meaning of specific grammatical morphemes. Many speakers no longer make several of these shifts, but some of them are still very much a part of BCS grammar and are quite noticeable in pronunciation. Again, it is much easier to understand BCS accentuation (and accent shifts) if one remembers that length is a property of individual vowels, and that it is independent of the place of accent. That is, only the PLACE of accent shifts. The realization of the underlying PLACE of accent then integrates information as to whether or not particular vowels are long. As long as the shift does not include an initial syllable, it can simply be viewed as a shift in the place of a rising accent mark. When initial syllables are included, however, one must take account of the fact that the place of accent is that initial syllable. In this case, accent is either marked as falling (as in the traditional system) or left unmarked (as in the current system). The sections below illustrate this principle in various different grammatical categories.

166a. Accent shifts in verbs

The most important accentual alternation in verbs is that between the present tense on the one hand, and the infinitive and L-participle on the other. This shift is very common in verbs of types 2, 5, 8b and 9, and is also encountered in certain verbs of types 1, 7, and 8a. Namely, the accent of the infinitive and the L-participle shifts one syllable towards the beginning of the word in the present tense. In verbs of type 1, where the 3rd plural ending is two syllables, the accent of the infinitive is “restored” in the 3rd plural (but only there). Certain verbs of types 13-16 also shift the accent, but in the opposite direction: the accent of the infinitive and L-participle shifts one syllable towards the end of the word in the present tense. When a prefix is added, nearly all verbs (of all types) keep the same accentual pattern. The PLACE of accent does not change. However, if the unprefixed verb carries an accent on the initial syllable (necessarily manifested as falling), then the prefixed form will carry a rising accent on the prefix – the syllable preceding the PLACE of the accent. If one knows the accent of the unprefixed verb forms, therefore, one can almost always predict the accent of the prefixed forms by viewing the place of accent in this way.

The infinitive and present tense forms of several verbs are given below. The “infinitive” accent is found both in the infinitive itself and in the L-participle (exemplified here by the feminine singular form). The “present” accent is found throughout the present tense (with the exception of certain 3pl. forms). The prefixed form of each is given directly below the non-prefixed form. In studying the charts, one should begin by focusing on the column noted PLACE. One should first compare prefixed and non-prefixed forms, in order to see that the PLACE of accent is the same in both forms. One should then compare the infinitive and the present tense of each pair, in order to see that the PLACE of the accent in the present tense is one syllable closer to the beginning of the word than it is in the infinitive. After this, one should move to the right and compare the marking of the PLACE of the accent with the marking of its FORM. In the first set, the FORM is

marked in two different ways, once according to the traditional Vukovian system and once according to the system used in this book; in the following sets, it is marked only the second way.

Shift BACK from infinitive to present

type		PLACE	Vukovian	this book
2	- PRF infinitive	vratIti / vratIla	vrátili / vrátila	vratìti / vratìla
	+ PRF	navratIti / navratIla	navrátili / navrátala	navràtiti / navràtala
	- PRF present	vrAtim / vrAte	vrâtím / vrâté	vratìm / vratìe
	+ PRF	navrAtim / navrAte	nàvrâtím / nàvrâté	navràtìm / nàvratìe
5	- PRF infinitive	kazAti / kazAla	kázati / kázala	kàzati / kàzala
	+ PRF	dokazAti / dokazAla	dokázati / dokázala	dokàzati / dokàzala
	- PRF present	kAžem / kAžu	kâžem / kâžu	kàžem / kàžu
	+ PRF	dokAžem / dokAžu	dòkâžem / dòkâžu	dokažem / dokažu

type		PLACE	this book
1	- PRF infinitive	čuvAti / čuvAla	čuvati / čuvala
	+ PRF	sačuvAti / sačuvAla	sačuvati / sačuvala
	- PRF present	čUvam / čuvAju	čuvam / čuvaju
	+ PRF	sačUvam / sačuvAju	sačuvam / sačuvaju
7	- PRF infinitive	krenUti / krenUla	krenuti / krenula
	+ PRF	pokrenUti / pokrenUla	pokrenuti / pokrenula
	- PRF present	krEnem / krEnu	kreñem / kreñu
	+ PRF	pokrEnem / pokrEnu	pokreñem / pokreñu

Shift FORWARD from infinitive to present

type		PLACE	this book
13	- PRF infinitive	trEsti / trEsla	tresti / tresla
	+ PRF	istrEsti / istrEsla	istresti / istresla
	- PRF present	tresEm / tresU	tresem / tresu
	+ PRF	istresEm / istresU	istresem / istresu

The accent of the passive participle is usually that of the present tense. In the passive participles of type 13-15 verbs the accent is on the ending. This means that there is an apparent shift between the Nsg. masculine short form and all other forms, as seen in **rečen**, **rečena** (this is the same sort of purely phonological shift seen above in **junak**). In nearly all verbs, the accent of the L-participle is the same as that of the infinitive, but there is variation in certain verbs (especially those of types 8a and 16). If the imperative ending is other than zero, the accent of the imperative is usually that of the infinitive. Sometimes there are particular regional variations in accent. In Serbian, for instance, a number of common verbs shift the accent to the ending in the 1st and 2nd plural present. One would hear, for instance, both **idemo** and **idèmo**. This accentuation is rarely heard in Bosnian and never in Croatian.

166b. Accent shifts in nouns and adjectives

The most noticeable accent “shift” in nouns is not a shift at all but rather consistent placement of the accent on the last possible syllable (review [166b]). That is, the presence of a zero ending in nouns like **junak** simply means that the accent appears to move one syllable toward the beginning of the word in Nsg. One could of course, depending on one’s starting point, say that it appears to move one syllable toward the end of the word in all forms other than Nsg.

Another change which is usually connected with zero endings is a shift in vowel length. Several nouns with a long vowel before a zero ending shorten this vowel when other endings are added. But although this pattern occurs frequently with zero-ending nouns, it also occurs in certain nouns when a fleeting vowel is lost – and in what seems to be a reverse pattern. Namely, the stem syllable is short when the fleeting vowel is present but is lengthened when the fleeting vowel is lost. What unites the two types is the shape of the syllable. If a vowel follows, then the root syllable is short, but if a consonant or zero follows, then the root syllable is long.

	vowel follows: short		zero or consonant follows: long		
Gsg.	dom - a	doma	Nsg.	<u>dom</u> - Ø	<u>dom</u> house
Gsg.	kraj - a	kraja	Nsg.	<u>kraj</u> - Ø	<u>kraj</u> end
Nsg.	lov - ac	lovac	Gsg.	<u>lov</u> - ca	<u>lovca</u> hunter
Nsg	star -ac	starac	Gsg	<u>star</u> - ca	<u>starca</u> old man

Most monosyllabic masculine nouns add **-ov** or **-ev** in the plural. The singular forms of these nouns thus consist of one syllable (Nsg.) or two syllables (other case forms). Their plural forms, however, consist of at least three syllables (and in DLIpl., four). In many such nouns a long root syllable is maintained in the singular but shortened in the plural. This is simply a tendency, however, and not a full-fledged rule.

	1 or 2 syllables: length		3 or more syllables: no length		
Nsg.	grad - Ø	grad	Npl.	grad - ov - i	gradovi city (-ies)
Gsg.	grad - a	grada	Gpl.	grad - ov - a	gradova
Nsg.	muž - Ø	muž	Npl.	muž - ev - i	muževi husband(s)
Gsg.	muž - Ø	muža	Npl.	muž - ev - a	muževa

Accentual shifts also occur frequently with the genitive plural. However, these are hard to predict. The only certainty is that the ending is long, as is the required inserted vowel. Sometimes the accent may shift to the ending in the Gpl. only (and be realized as a rising accent on the long inserted vowel): an example is Nsg. **prijatelj** vs. Gpl. **prijatelja**. Sometimes, however, an accent which is otherwise on a non-initial syllable may shift to the initial syllable in the Gpl. only. This can happen both in nouns with long root syllables such as **pismo** (Gpl. **pisama**) and those with short root syllables, such as **jezik** (Gpl. **jezika**). Such changes must be learned with each noun.

True morphophonemic accentual alternations are relatively rare in nominal declension, and those which once existed are in the process of disappearing from the language. Some manuals describe these alternations as still in existence while others do not mention them at all: such alternations should therefore be regarded as part of the heritage of the language, but not as something which the student need actively acquire. One is found in feminine nouns in **-a** with rising accent (that is, with the underlying place of accent on the final syllable) in the Nsg. Nouns which participate in this alternation shift the accent to the initial syllable in Asg. and in NApl. (but maintain

it on the original place in all other forms) This shift is noteworthy because it moves not just one syllable towards the beginning of the word, but all the way to the beginning of the word.

Another alternation concerns nouns which have a zero ending in Nsg. and which denote inanimate objects. These nouns, all of which have accent on the stem syllable in most of their case forms, shift it to the ending in Lsg. Both of these alternations, once an active part of the language, are heard today only sporadically and are considered archaic. It is likely that both will soon disappear from the language altogether.

Nouns with Nsg. -a

	base: end accent		alternant: stem accent	
Nsg.	glav - A	glava	Asg.	glAv - u
			Napl.	glAv - e
Nsg.	srijed - A	srijeda	Asg.	srijEd - u
			Napl.	srijEd - e
Nsg.	nog - A	noga	Asg.	nOg - u
			Napl.	nOg - e
Nsg.	planin - A	planina	Asg.	plAnin - u
			Napl.	plAnin - e

J srijeda / E sreda

Nouns with Nsg. -Ø

	base: stem accent		alternant: end accent	
Nsg.	grAd - Ø	grad	Lsg.	grad - U
	grAd - a	grada		gr <u>a</u> d - u
Nsg.	stvAr - Ø	stvar	Lsg.	stvar - I
	stvAr - i	stvari		stv <u>a</u> r - i

There is only one significant accentual alternation in adjectives, and it only occurs in a few adjectives. However, this alternation appears to be more stable in the language than those described above for nouns. That is, speakers continue actively to make the distinction for those few adjectives in which it is relevant. The distinction is between long and short forms (and is roughly correlated with the meaning opposition definite vs. indefinite, review [17b]). It consists of a shift in the PLACE of accent of the indefinite form one syllable towards the beginning of the word in the definite form. Masculine and feminine forms are given for each of the two categories.

adjectives	PLACE	current
indefinite	crn - Ø / crn - A	crn / crna
	cRn - i / cRn - a	c <u>ri</u> n / c <u>ra</u> n
definite	zelen - Ø / zelen - A	zelen / zelena
	zelEn - i / zelEn - a	z <u>e</u> leni / z <u>e</u> lena

Adjectives which contain a fleeting vowel sometimes seem to shift the accent between the Nsg. masculine short form and the remaining short forms. The reason for this is that a fleeting vowel is not an accentable syllable. This can be seen by comparing the accentuation of the adjective **dobar** in its short form with the accentuation of the noun **junak**. As the chart below demonstrates, both have a zero ending in Nsg., which forces the PLACE of the accent to shift to the first accentable syllable. In the noun **junak** this is the final syllable, but in the adjective **dobar** it is the prefinal (or first) syllable. Thus, although the -a- in **dobar** looks like a real syllable, the feminine form **dobra** shows that it is not, at least as concerns accentuation. That is, the Nsg.masc. form **dobar** is for the purposes of accent a single syllable, and therefore required to have falling accent (while the Nsg.fem. form **dobra** contains two syllables and is allowed to have a rising accent). By contrast, the Gsg. form **junaka** shows that the -a- in **junak** is indeed a real, accentable syllable: this allows the presence of a rising accent in Nsg. **junak**.

non-accentable vowel			accentable vowel		
Nsg. masc.	dobar - Ø	dobar	Nsg.	junak - Ø	junak
Nsg. fem.	dobr - A	dobra	Gsg.	junak - A	junaka

166c. Accent shifts between words

The reason that one can predict the accent of a *prefixed verb* from its unprefixed form (review [166a]) is that the process of adding a prefix to a verb consists simply in adding another syllable to a word with stable accentuation. That is, the underlying PLACE of accent does not change. Rather, the word's accentuation embraces the prefix. When one adds a prefix to an unprefixed verb with rising accent, the accentuation of the prefixed form remains rising, on the same syllable. By contrast, when one adds a prefix to an unprefixed verb with falling accent on the first syllable, the accent is realized as rising accent on the prefix. It is important to note that this is NOT a shift in accent. It is simply the realization of the form of the accent on the syllable preceding its PLACE (review [166c]). For example, the relationship **kažem** (falling on initial syllable) vs. **dokažem** (rising on prefix) is completely predictable.

Exactly the same thing happens in the *negated present tense* of verbs: the negative particle **ne** is in essence a prefix. If the verb's accent is rising, then the negated form of the verb will have the same rising accent. But if the verb has falling accent on the initial syllable, then this will be realized as rising accent on the immediately preceding negative particle. In speech, therefore, a negated verb sounds (and acts) exactly like a prefixed verb. The only difference is that the negative particle is written separately from the verb. One must take care not to be confused by this fact of writing, and by the fact that the negative particle is indeed pronounced separately in other instances (review [25b]). When the negative particle precedes the present tense of the verb, it follows the accentual rules of prefixes.

To a certain extent, a similar phenomenon can be noted with *prepositions*. The student has seen that prepositions are in many ways like prefixes: the two categories share similar (indeed, sometimes identical) forms, and they often express similar meanings (review [146a]). In an earlier stage of the language, prepositions also shared the accentual characteristics of prefixes. That is, if the noun object of a preposition had a rising accent, the accent remained unchanged in a prepositional phrase. But when a noun with falling accent on the initial syllable was the object of a preposition, it yielded its accent to the preposition, according to the same model seen in prefixed verbs and negated present tense verbs. This accent shift was less predictable than the above two, however. That is, one could (and can) predict with certainty both that a nonprefixed verb with initial falling accent would have rising accent on the prefix, and that a present tense verb form with initial falling accent would have rising accent on the negative particle; but one could

not predict this accentuation with such certainty in prepositional phrases. Still, retraction of the accent onto prepositions was frequent in the older language, and retraction sometimes occurred onto conjunctions as well in frequently spoken phrases.

In the current state of the language, such retractions are largely viewed as archaic. One hears retraction of this sort in modern Serbian and Croatian only in certain fixed phrases, such as **i jedno i drugo**. Otherwise it is relatively rare. But in Bosnian, retraction onto prepositions and conjunctions is much more frequent. Indeed, this phenomenon, which Bosnians call **skakanje** (“jumping” [of the accent to the preposition]), is regarded as a particularly characteristic Bosnian trait. It occurs regularly whenever the object of the preposition is a pronoun, and in a fair number of common expressions. Even though many Bosnians are also now beginning to view these retracted accents as slightly archaic, such accens are still encountered frequently in Bosnian, and are still clearly a part of the characteristic melody of spoken Bosnian

CHAPTER 20

167 The sound structure of BCS

In its primary form, language is spoken. Writing originally came into being in order to preserve utterances of language beyond the actual moment of speech, and to make these utterances available to a wider audience. In time, of course, the written word took on a character of its own. Nevertheless, for most languages it is still the case that the written word is derived from the spoken word: that which appears on the page is a representation of the way something is (or would be) spoken, rather than vice versa. In the case of languages which were codified recently according to the principle embedded in the maxim *write as you speak*, the written language is a very close representation of the spoken language. BCS definitely falls into this latter category: once the correspondence between letters and sounds has been learned, it is very easy to read a written text aloud; conversely, it is equally easy to make a correct written transcription of an instance of speech. In general, this is a desirable state of affairs. Yet it must be noted that there is no completely ideal way to reproduce sound in writing. It is good to reproduce pronunciation as much as possible, but it is also good to reproduce the relationships between words to the extent possible.

Language is a highly structured system, whose basic elements are sounds and meaningful combinations of these sounds. Examples of sounds are consonants such as **t** or **k**, and vowels such as **a** or **e**. Examples of meaningful combinations of these sounds (or *morphemes*, defined in [161]) are **raz-**; **rek-**; and **-ac**. Each sound exists in an idealized version which may or may not be what is actually spoken: in order to understand that which is spoken one sometimes needs to reconstruct the idealized, underlying version of it. This is particularly important in languages such as BCS, in which morphemes interact in such complex ways. In addition, these underlying sounds usually affect one another in various ways precisely at the point where one morpheme comes into contact with another. These points of contact, or *morpheme boundaries*, give very important insight into the structure of language.

There are a number of general sound processes which tend to occur at morpheme boundaries in BCS. Among these are palatalization, vowel shifts, voicing assimilation, cluster simplification, vowel loss, and vowel insertion. Many find that gaining an insight into the working of these processes makes the language much easier to learn: this chapter is for them. Others should be aware that the material in this chapter, while potentially interesting and helpful, is not essential.

167a. Palatalization

One cannot learn BCS without encountering (and eventually mastering) the system of consonant softenings. These relationships, which have been presented as a series of shifts called Type A, Type B and Type C consonant softenings (review [112]), are the result of historical processes known under the general term *palatalization*. When a consonant occurred adjacent to a vowel pronounced further to the front of the mouth (such vowels are called by linguists *front vowels*), the tongue would tend to come closer to the hard palate while producing that consonant. Gradually the pronunciation of these consonants came to be significantly different from the pronunciation of the same consonants when they occurred adjacent to vowels pronounced further back in the mouth (called by linguists *back vowels*) – so much so that they were perceived as different sounds. There thus arose a whole new series of consonants, generally called *palatal* consonants or *soft* consonants.

Although palatalization took place at all levels of the language (that is, any time the appropriate vowels and consonants were spoken adjacent to one another), the most important instances of palatalization are those which occurred at morpheme boundaries. The three different types which the student has encountered correspond to three different historical processes. The consonants partaking in what is here called Type B softening are known to historical linguists as the results of the *First Palatalization*, and those partaking in what is called here Type A softening are known to linguists as the results of the *Second* and *Third Palatalizations*. These palatalizations occurred in all Slavic languages. But the consonants partaking in what is here called Type C softening result from a change particular to the history of what is now BCS. Because they were occasioned not by an adjacent front vowel but by the consonant **j** (called *jod* or *jot* by linguists), these consonants are referred to not as *palatal* consonants but as *jotated* consonants.

The charts below give a brief review of palatalization as it is connected with morpheme boundaries. Since these processes have been reviewed in detail elsewhere (see [112] and the relevant grammar sections), only one example is given of each type encountered; furthermore, the three types are grouped together for the sake of economy. The notation *etc.* in the translation column indicates that other forms in the verbal paradigm in question are affected as well. The different palatalizations are usually connected with individual morphemes, either inflectional morphemes (grammatical endings) or derivational ones. The student has by now internalized most of the palatalizations connected with inflectional morphology. S/he has also learned to recognize a few of the palatalizations of derivational morphology, such as that connected with the suffix forming imperfective verbs from perfective ones. A number of other suffixes cause palatalizations of various sorts. Because these palatalizations are often combined with other processes (discussed in subsequent sections), they are sometimes hard to spot.

Palatalization: grammatical ending affects stem-final sound

Type	base word	ending	stem + ending		
Vsg. masc. Npl. masc DLpl. masc. DLsg. fem. Isg. fem.	vuk	-e	vuk	-e	> vuče <i>wolf</i>
	vojnik	-i	vojnik	-i	> vojnici <i>soldiers</i>
	vojnik	-ima	vojnik	-ima	> vojnicima <i>soldiers</i>
	ruka	-i	ruk	-i	> ruci <i>hand</i>
	smrt	-ju	smrt	-ju	> smrću <i>death</i>
collective	drveta	-je	drvet	-je	> drveće <i>trees</i>
possessive fem. possessive masc. possessive neut.	majka	-in	majk	-in	> majčin <i>mother's</i>
	otac, oca	-ev	oc	-ev	> očev <i>father's</i>
	sunce	-ev	sunc	-ev	> sunčev <i>sun's</i>
comparative	jak	-i	jak	-i	> jači <i>stronger</i>
pres. tense pres. tense imperative aorist imperfect	mogu	-eš, etc.	mog	-eš	> možeš <i>you can, etc.</i>
	pisati		pis	-em	> pišem <i>I write, etc.</i>
	obuku	-i	obuk	-i	> obuci <i>get dressed</i>
	[reknu]	-e	rek	-e	> reče <i>said</i>
	nositi	-ijah, etc.	nos	-ijah	> nošah <i>I wore, etc.</i>
participle verbal noun	obuku	-en	obuk	-en	> obučen <i>dressed</i>
	pamtiti	-enje	pamt	-enje	> pamćenje <i>memory</i>

Palatalization: derivational suffix affects stem-final sound

suffix	base word		stem + suffix		
-a -ti	vratiti	<i>return</i> (P)	vrat - a -ti	> vraćati	<i>return</i> (I)
-ak	smijeh	<i>laugh</i>	smijeh - ak	> smiješak	<i>smile</i>
-an	tuga	<i>sorrow</i>	tug - an	> tužan	<i>sad</i>
-anin	Pariz	<i>Paris</i>	Pariz - anin	> Parižanin	<i>Parisian</i>
-enje	pamtiti	<i>remember</i>	pamt - enje	> pamćenje	<i>memory</i>
-evina	graditi	<i>build</i>	grad - evina	> građevina	<i>construction</i>
-in	Turke	<i>Turks</i>	Turk - in	> Turčin	<i>Turk</i>
-nja	voziti	<i>drive</i>	voz - nja	> vožnja	<i>driving, ride</i>

J smijeh / E smeh; J smješak / E smešak

167b. Vowel shifts from ancient “ablaut”

The vowel **o** in BCS alternates in a systematic way with other vowels, and in one case even with a consonant. One can perhaps better remember these alternations by understanding something of their historical source.

One of these alternations concerns root vowels, and dates from a very early point in the history of the language. At this point, related forms of the same root contained different vowels depending on the grammatical function of the word within which the root occurred. According to one set of these relationships (the technical term for which is *ablaut relationships*) the root would contain the vowel **o** if the word was a noun and the vowel **e** if the word was a verb. According to another set of relationships, the final root vowel of a verb would be **o** if the verb was what is now called perfective, and **a** if it was what is now called imperfective. Grammarians who reconstructed these earlier stages of the language viewed these different forms as gradations of a single underlying form, and called them *grades*. In the case of the noun-verb relationship, therefore, they spoke of the *o-grade* or the *e-grade* of a particular root. The language today contains relatively few examples of such relationships, but these few are striking, and helpful in vocabulary building. The *e-grade* is found in the present tense of certain perfective *e*-conjugation verbs and the *o-grade* in related nouns (and in some cases in imperfective verb forms as well).

“Ablaut” relations in roots

noun / verb	noun: -o-	verb: -e-	
prinos	<i>contribution</i>	prinesem	<i>contribute</i>
odbor	<i>commission</i>	odaberem	<i>choose</i>
prevoz	<i>transportation</i>	prevezem	<i>transport</i>
prevod	<i>translation</i>	prevedem	<i>translate</i>

E prevod / J prijevod (prevod)

The other remnant of an old ablaut relationship is much more widespread. According to this relationship, the root vowel was **o** in what is now a perfective verb, and **a** in what is now an imperfective verb. This is encountered in a sizeable number of *type 2* perfective verbs with *type 1* imperfective partners. Stem final consonants undergo softening before the **a**.

"Ablaut" relations in roots

aspect of verb	perfective: -o-		imperfective: -a-	
nasloniti	<i>lean</i>		naslanjati	<i>lean</i>
obnoviti	<i>renovate</i>		obnavljati	<i>renovate</i>
odgovoriti	<i>answer</i>		odgovarati	<i>answer</i>
odmoriti se	<i>rest</i>		odmarati se	<i>rest</i>
osloboditi	<i>liberate</i>		oslobađati	<i>liberate</i>
pokloniti	<i>give [gift]</i>		poklanjati	<i>give [gift]</i>
ponositi se	<i>be proud</i>		ponašati se	<i>behave</i>
progoniti	<i>drive out</i>		proganjati	<i>drive out</i>
skočiti	<i>jump</i>		skakati	<i>jump</i>

167c. Vowel shifts akin to palatalization

Another historical change followed upon the changes called palatalization (review [167a]). Once these changes were completed, there was a tendency to shift certain instances of the vowel **o** after these consonants into a more “fronted” vowel, namely **e**. This change was restricted to the occurrence of **o**, and to certain well-defined morphemes. As the morphemes in question are contained primarily in the endings of masculine and neuter nouns, the student is well acquainted with them by now, and with the group of consonants which condition this shift (review [32f]).

Vowel shifts in suffixes and endings

Type:	non-soft + -o			soft + -e		
Noun endings						
NAsg.neuter	sel	- o	<i>village</i>	polj	- e	<i>field</i>
Isg.masc.	grad	- om	<i>city</i>	muž	- em	<i>husband</i>
Adjective endings						
Gsg. masc.-neut.	dobr	- og	<i>good</i>	loš	- eg	<i>bad</i>
DLsg. masc.-neut.	dobr	- om	<i>good</i>	loš	- em	<i>bad</i>
Noun suffix						
masc.pl. [Nom] possessive	grad	- ov-i	<i>cities</i>	muž	- ev- i	<i>husbands</i>
	nastavnik	- ov	<i>teacher's</i>	učitelj	- ev	<i>teacher's</i>

167d. The shift of **I** to **o**

The final sound shift which concerns the vowel **o** is one with which the student is also quite familiar. In this instance, the sound **o** in one form of a word corresponds to the sound **I** in other forms of the same word. This represents a historical change in the language which occurred much later than those noted above. When the consonant **I** – preceded by a vowel – occurred at the end of a word, it tended to be pronounced with the lips more rounded (in technical terms, it was *labialized*). Gradually this sound became indistinguishable from the vowel **o**, and began to be written that way. This change is seen in the Nsg. of certain nouns with a zero ending, in the masculine singular short form of certain adjectives (review [47, 16c]), and in the masculine singular form of all L-participles (review [69, 104]). With very few exceptions, this change occurred only in word-final position – before the boundary with the morpheme “zero”. But it also occurred in nouns and adjectives before certain suffixes. When the suffix is **-lac**, there is an alternation between **I** and **o** in the case forms of the noun. Otherwise the alternation is between a base verb and a derived noun, or a base noun and a derived adjective.

This change did not take place in all dialects of BCS. In particular, it is absent in the čakavian and kajkavian dialects (for definition of these dialects and discussion, see [171a]). Recently,

Croatian has restored the final **-I** in a number of nouns and adjectives, out of regard for the important place occupied by these dialects in Croatian history (for more discussion, see [179]).

Shift from **I** to **o**

	form with I		form with o	
noun	posla	[Gsg.]	posao	[Nsg.] <i>work</i>
	misli	[Gsg.]	misao	[Nsg.] <i>thought</i>
	stola	[Gsg.]	sto [C stol]	[Nsg.] <i>table</i>
adjective	bela / bijela	[Nsg.fem.]	beo / bio [C bijel]	[Nsg.masc.] <i>white</i>
L-participle	okrugla	[Nsg.fem.]	okrugao	[Nsg.masc.] <i>round</i>
	rekla	[f.sg.]	rekao	[m.sg.] <i>said</i>
	čitala		čitao	<i>read</i>
with suffix				
-lac	čitalac	[noun, Nsg.]	čitaoca	[Gsg.] <i>reader</i>
	tužilac	[noun, Nsg.]	tužioca	[Gsg.] <i>plaintiff</i>
-ba	seliti	[verb] <i>migrate</i>	seoba	[noun] <i>migration</i>
	deliti / dijeliti	[verb] <i>divide</i>	deoba / dioba	[noun] <i>division</i>
-ski	selo	[noun] <i>village</i>	seoski	[adjective] [of] <i>village</i>

E bela / J bijela; E beo / J bio (bijel); E deliti / J dijelit; E deoba / J dioba

167e. Voicing assimilation

Most BCS consonants come in pairs, such that one is *voiced* and one is *unvoiced* (or *voiceless*). This feature of pronunciation, which refers to the presence or absence of vibration in the vocal cords, is found in English as well. English speakers can verify this by placing their fingers against the throat and pronouncing the words *pin* and *bin*. The greater vibration one feels when pronouncing *b-* in *bin* is voicing. In many languages, when voiced and voiceless consonants occur next to one another, the pronunciation of the one is adapted to that of the other. This change is called *voicing assimilation*. Logically, assimilation can occur in either direction: the end result of a sequence of AB can be determined by the first consonant (which would yield AA, a case of *progressive assimilation*), or by the second one (which would yield BB, a case of *regressive assimilation*). Regressive assimilation is the rule in BCS.

In BCS, whenever two consonants unlike as to voicing come into contact with one another, the first one is pronounced with the voicing characteristics of the second one. If voiced consonants are symbolized *B* and voiceless ones *P*, then this can be represented schematically as in the chart to the right.

underlying	actualized
B P	> P P
P B	> B B

Such “contact” is always connected in some way with morpheme boundaries. It occurs most frequently in derivation, at the boundary between a prefix and a root or between a root (or stem) and a suffix. But it can also occur within a suffix, when a fleeting vowel is lost due to the replacement of a zero ending by an ending beginning with (or consisting of) a vowel. This latter instance is represented schematically below in the chart on the left, and using actual words in the chart on the right. The important thing to remember is that this is a change in pronunciation which also appears in spelling, but it is NOT a change in the underlying consonant. In the word **vrabac** “sparrow”, for instance, the final consonant of the root remains **b**: it is simply pronounced (and spelled) **p** in certain instances.

	underlying	actualized
Nsg.masc.	B a P - Ø	= B a P - Ø
Gsg.masc.	B P - a	> PP - a

	underlying	actualized
Nsg.masc.	vrabac-Ø	= vrabac
Gsg.masc.	vrabc-a	> vrapca

The student is no doubt by now very familiar with voicing assimilation. The chart below gives the BCS consonants which are paired as to voicing, and the list of examples illustrates both the extent of the process in BCS and its systematic nature. Because BCS carries this pronunciation change into the spelling, one must be aware that the written form of a word may not always represent its underlying form. Thus, if one does not recognize a particular word immediately, it is always helpful to think of the voiced (or voiceless) form of the sound in question, and this will usually bring the desired morpheme to mind.

unvoiced	p	t	k	s	š	ć	č
voiced	b	d	g	z	ž	đ	dž

Assimilation: stem-initial sound affects prefix (or prefix-like form)

prefix	stem	combination	prefixed word
iz-	-kop-	iz + kop-ati	iskopati
od-	-kri-	od + kri-ti	otkriti
pod-	-pis-	pod + pis-ati	potpisati
pred-	-plat-	pred + plat-it-i	preplatiti
raz-	-pit-	raz + pit-ati	raspitati se
uz-	-prav-	uz + prav-it-i	uspraviti
bez-	-kraj-	bez + kraj	beskraj
bez-	-plod-	bez + plod + an	besplodan

Assimilation: suffix affects stem-final sound

stem	suffix	combination	suffixed word
svat-	-ba	svat + ba	svadba
primet-	-ba	primet + ba	primedba
uč-	-benik	uč + benik	udžbenik
rob-	-stvo	rob + stvo	ropstvo
služ-	-kinja	služ + kinja	sluškinja
Srb-	-kinja	srb + kinja	Srpkinja
burek-	-džija	burek + džija	buregdžija
drug-	-čiji	drug + čiji	drukčiji

Assimilation: loss of fleeting vowel affects final consonant of stem

with fleeting vowel	without fleeting vowel	
Nsg.masc.short	Nsg.fem.short	
slad -ak	slat-ka	sweet
tež -ak	teš-ka	heavy, hard
uz -ak	us-ka	narrow
Nsg.masc.	Gsg.masc.	
vrab -ac	vrap-ca	sparrow
pred -ak	pret-ka	ancestor
drvorez -ac	drvores-ca	woodcarver
tronož -ac	tronoš-ca	three-legged stool

The one instance of progressive assimilation concerns the noun **mozak** “brain”. When the fleeting vowel is lost, one would expect the **z** to assimilate to the **k**, and for the Gsg. to be spelled ***mos-ka**. Uncharacteristically, the opposite occurs: the Gsg. of this word is **mozga** (plural **mozgovi**).

167f. Cluster simplification

A more straightforward change that can happen when two consonants come together over a word boundary is simplification: if the final consonant of one morpheme and the initial consonant of the adjacent one are the same, one of them is dropped. This process, known by the technical term of *cluster simplification*, is carried out very thoroughly in BCS. The only instance where it fails to occur consistently concerns the prefix **naj-**, which is added to comparative forms of adjectives in order to produce the superlative forms of these adjectives (review [113]). If the comparative form to which this prefix is added begins with the consonant **j**, then no simplification occurs. Both instances of the sequence **jj** are spoken and written. Indeed, although the form **naj** is always written together with the comparative form to which it is prefixed, it is usually spoken as if it were a separate word, with its own accent and with a slight break in speech between it and the following morpheme (this break is called *juncture* by linguists). Examples of the **-jj-** sequence are seen in **najjači** “strongest” and **najjednostavnije** “most simply”. In a few other cases, the final consonant of a prefix is retained when it is felt that its loss would create significant misunderstanding. A “sub-dialect”, therefore, is a **poddialekt** (and not a ***podialekt**).

But although cluster simplification seems straightforward, there are two things that must be kept in mind. The first is that it makes reference to spoken sounds and not to written letters. This is particularly important when it concerns the sounds written as **c** and **č**. When pronounced, these two sounds are indistinguishable from the sequences **ts** and **tš**, respectively. Thus, the sound **t** will disappear not just before another **t**, but also before **c** and **č**. That is, the spoken sequence **tt̪s** (written **tc**) simplifies to **ts** (written **c**), and the spoken sequence **tt̪š** (written **tč**) simplifies to **tš** (written **č**). The second is that cluster simplification subsumes voicing assimilation. This is easiest to remember simply by thinking of the two processes in sequential terms. That is, one must first allow voicing assimilation to take place. If the product of voicing assimilation is a sequence of identical sounds, then drop one of them. Examples of this are seen in the second chart below.

Simplification: of prefix (or prefix-like element) + stem sequence

prefix	stem	[identical sounds]	prefixed word	
bez-	- zakon-	bez - zakon - j - e	bezakonje	<i>lawlessness</i>
nad-	- dlan-	nad - dlan - ic - a	nadlanica	<i>back of hand</i>
nad-	- do-grad-	nad - do - grad - nja	nadogradnja	<i>annex</i>
od-	- drž-	od - drž - a - ti	održati	<i>organize</i>

Simplification: of assimilated sounds over morpheme boundary

prefix	stem	[assimilation creates identical sounds]		
iz-	- sel-	is - sel - i - ti	iseliti	<i>emigrate</i>
iz-	- skok-	is - skok - i - ti	iskočiti	<i>jump out</i>
od-	- tvor-	ot - tvor - i - ti	otvoriti	<i>open</i>
od-	- cen-	ot - [ts]en - i - ti	oceniti	<i>evaluate</i>
od-	- ček-	ot - [tš]ek - iv - a - ti	očekivati	<i>expect</i>
pet-	- deset-	ped - deset	pedeset	<i>fifty</i>
raz-	- stav-	ras - stav - i - ti	rastaviti	<i>separate</i>

E oceniti / J ocijeniti

Simplification: of stem - suffix sequence

stem	suffix		suffixed word	
mač-ka	- če	mač - če	mače	<i>kitten</i>
pat-ka	- če	pat -[tš]e	pače	<i>duckling</i>
sirot-	- če	sirot -[tš]e	siroče	<i>little orphan</i>
		[assimilation > identical]		
nglež-	- ski	engles -ski	engleski	<i>English</i>

Another instance of simplification occurs when the sequence **st** comes into contact with the consonants **n** or **l**. The first happens regularly upon the disappearance of the fleeting vowel in the suffix **-an**, and the second upon the disappearance of the fleeting vowel of the masc.sg. L-participle. In both instances, the **t** disappears in pronunciation, and in spelling as well.

Simplification: of sequence arising due to loss of fleeting vowel

with fleeting vowel: masc.sg.		without fleeting vowel: fem.sg.	
Adjective:	bolest -an-Ø	boles -n-a	<i>sick, ill</i>
	svest -an-Ø	sves -n-a	<i>conscious</i>
L-participle	rast -ao-Ø	ras -l-a	<i>grew</i>

E svestan / J svjestan; E svesna / J svjesna

Some instances of cluster simplification over morpheme boundaries took place at an earlier stage in the history of the language. Strictly speaking, these do not fit the definition of cluster simplification given above, since the sequences which simplified do not contain identical consonants. Knowing that they did take place, however, may help students to see the structure of the language more easily. One set of simplifications concerns the sequences **tl** and **dl**, in which the first consonant was dropped. This historical change accounts for the present day rule requiring one to drop the stem-final **-t** or **-d** before the L-participle endings, which constitutes the sole feature differentiating verbs of *type 13* from those of *types 14-15*. The other simplification concerns the sequence **bv**, in which the second consonant was lost. The result of this change is seen in words which contain the prefix **ob-** and a root beginning with **v-**.

type	infinitive	3pl pres		fem.L-part. [earlier]	currently	
13	jesti	jedu	<i>eat</i>	[jed -l-a]	jela je	[she] <i>ate</i>
13	plesti	pletu	<i>knit</i>	[plet -l-a]	plela je	[she] <i>knitted</i>
14	tresti	tresu	<i>shake</i>	[tres -l-a]	tresla je	[she] <i>shook</i>
14	gristi	grizu	<i>bite</i>	[griz -l-a]	grizla je	[she] <i>bit</i>
15	moći	mogu	<i>can</i>	[mog -l-a]	mogla je	[she] <i>could</i>
15	peći	peku	<i>bake</i>	[pek -l-a]	pekla je	[she] <i>baked</i>

root with v-		ob + root with v-	
vlast	<i>power</i>	ob -	vlast
vratiti	<i>return</i>	ob -	vratiti
vr̥-eti	<i>spin</i>	ob -	vr̥ti
s-vuči	<i>take off (P)</i>	ob -	vuči
s-vlačiti	<i>take off (I)</i>	ob -	vlačiti
			oblast
			obratiti
			obrt
			obuči
			oblačiti
			<i>region</i>
			<i>turn</i>
			<i>rotation</i>
			<i>put on (P)</i>
			<i>put on (I)</i>

E vrteti / J vrtjeti

167g. Fleeting vowels

Certain nouns and adjectives have a vowel that appears in only one or two case forms of the word but is lost in all its other case forms. This vowel, which in BCS is always **a**, is known as fleeting -*a*- (the BCS term for it is **nepostojano a**, which literally means “unstable *a*”). If one were concerned only with the function fulfilled by this vowel in the language, it would be more correct to call it “inserted *a*”, since what it does is to break up a group of consonants that would otherwise be difficult to pronounce. But because the form of a word which does contain it is almost always the form by which the word is known – the dictionary or citation form – one is used to thinking of this vowel as an integral part of the word’s being. Therefore one regards it as something which is basically present and then disappears on occasion (it “fleets”) rather than as something which is basically absent which then appears on occasion.

From a purely practical point of view, a fleeting vowel may be defined as a short **a** which is inserted to break up an otherwise unpronounceable sequence of consonants occurring at the end of a word’s stem. Usually, the sequence is unpronounceable because it is followed by a “zero” ending. This difficulty is resolved when an ending starting with a vowel is added: the presence of a vowel following allows the consonant sequence to be split between two syllables, which makes it pronounceable. The word for *writer* may be taken as an example. The stem is **pisc-** and the Nsg. ending is zero. This single syllable is considered unpronounceable by the rules of BCS. When an ending starting with a vowel is added, however (such as the Gsg. ending **-a**), the consonant sequence **sc** is split between two syllables, which makes it pronounceable. The same thing happens with many adjectives. For instance, the stem of the adjective meaning *empty* is **prazn-**. When this stem is followed by the Nsg.masc. ending zero, the single syllable is considered unpronounceable, but when the Nsg.fem. ending **-a** is added, the sequence **zn** is split between two syllables, and becomes pronounceable.

The zero ending carries grammatical meaning, so it must be retained as such. To make forms with zero endings pronounceable, therefore, the vowel **a** is inserted before the stem-final consonant. This process is illustrated in the chart to the right, where the hyphen indicates the boundary between stem and ending, and the slash indicates the break between syllables. The left-hand column shows the sequence of stem + ending in its underlying form, and the right hand column shows the actualized, pronounceable forms.

	underlying	actualized
Nsg.	pisc -Ø	pis / ac -Ø
Gsg.	pisc -a	pis / c -a
masc.sg.	prazn -Ø	praz / an -Ø
fem.sg.	prazn -a	praz / n -a

If the second consonant of a stem-final sequence is **I**, the same thing happens. The process is more difficult to perceive, however, due to the fact that this **I** sometimes shifts to **o** (review the final set of examples in [167b]), especially before a zero ending. It is easiest to understand these kinds of examples by visualizing the earlier stage of the language, before the shift of final **-I** to **-o** had taken place. If a sequence of consonants was followed by a zero ending, the word was considered unpronounceable, and the vowel **a** was inserted to render it more pronounceable. After the final consonant was transformed into a vowel (when **I** came to be pronounced as **o**), the inserted vowel was technically no longer needed for the purposes of pronounceability, yet it continued to be pronounced. This means not only that the stem of masculine singular forms ends in **o** while that of all other forms ends in **I**, but also that the masculine singular “ending” contains two syllables while the endings of other forms contain only one.

The processes described above occur most frequently in the L-participle of verbs of types 13-16 (review [104a, 153q-s]); they also occur in a number of adjectives (review [16c]) and in a few nouns (review [47]). They are illustrated in the chart below, which depicts two different states of the language – before and after the change of **I** to **o**. Here too the hyphen indicates the

boundary between stem and ending, and the slash indicates the break between syllables. It is important to note that the process schematized in the two columns devoted to the older stage of the language is exactly the same as that illustrated in the chart above (containing the words **pisac**, **pisca**, **prazan** and **prazna**). To see the workings of the present stage of the language, therefore, one should visualize a sequence of two underlying forms (labeled here U-1 and U-2). These, in fact, reproduce the presumed sequence of events in the older stage of the language. All that has happened to reach the final, actualized, stage is that the final **I** has been transformed into **o**.

	older stage		Present stage		
	underlying	actualized	U-1	U-2	actualized
Adjective:	masc.sg.	topl -Ø	top / al -Ø	topl -Ø	top / a / o -Ø
	fem.sg.	topl -a	top / l -a	topl -a	top / l -a
L-participle:	masc.sg.	pekl -Ø	pek / al -Ø	pekl -Ø	pek / a / o -Ø
	fem.sg.	pekl -a	pek / l -a	pekl -a	pek / l -a
noun:	Nsg.	posl- Ø	pos / al -Ø	posl -Ø	pos / a / o -Ø
	Gsg.	posl- a	pos / l -a	posl -a	pos / l -a

Fleeting vowels almost always occur in suffixes: it is very unusual for them to appear within the root of a word. Among the very few instances in native words are the masculine nouns **pas** “dog” (Gsg. **psa**) and **san** “sleep, dream” (Gsg. **sna**) and the pronominal adjective **sav** “all” (Nsg.fem. **sva**). In foreign words, there is variation: sometimes a fleeting vowel is inserted and sometimes not. Normally Serbian will insert the vowel while Croatian will not. Thus, one encounters both **talenat** and **talent** “talent” (Gsg. **talenta**), both **fakat** and **fakt** “fact” (Gsg. **fakta**), and the like. But the student’s primary attention should be on suffixes in which the fleeting vowel is required. These suffixes (which are usually named with the fleeting vowel present) are **-ac** and **-ak** (nouns) and **-ak** and **-an** (adjectives). When learning words with these suffixes, however, the student must take care to note that only those vowels which satisfy the definition given earlier will disappear. In other words, the vowel will REMAIN if its disappearance will cause an unpronounceable consonant cluster, or if it is long. The latter category includes all passive participles with the suffix **-an**, which means that the vowel NEVER disappears in the masc.sg. forms of these participles.

Non-fleeting vowels

	vowel is long		breaks up cluster	
Nsg.	j <small>u</small> n <small>ä</small> k-Ø	n <small>ä</small> p <small>ü</small> s <small>ä</small> n-Ø	m <small>ä</small> r <small>ü</small> tvac-Ø	m <small>ä</small> udrac-Ø
Gsg.	j <small>u</small> n <small>ä</small> k-a	n <small>ä</small> p <small>ü</small> s <small>ä</small> n-a	m <small>ä</small> r <small>ü</small> tvac-a	mudrac-a

167h. Inserted vowels

The short **a** discussed above was defined as a “fleeting vowel” – that is, one that is dropped rather than inserted. Giving it this definition allows one to distinguish it from a very different sort of inserted vowel, the long **a** in the genitive plural. This **a**, the truly inserted one, occurs in nearly all Gpl. forms within the syllable preceding the ending **-a**. The vowel is always long, and it serves no obvious purpose other than to somehow mark these words more strongly as being Gpl. Schematically, the differences between the two vowels may be represented as follows:

	case forms	long?	purpose
fleetling -a-	Nsg.noun / Nsg.masc.adj. / L-part.masc.sg.	no	pronounceability
inserted -a-	Gpl. (syllable preceding ending -a)	yes	obey grammar rule

Indeed, the only reason one might be tempted to confuse the two is that masculine nouns with fleetling -a- in Nsg. also have inserted -a- in Gpl. For example, the noun which is **vrapca** in Gsg. and **vrapci** in Npl. has the form **vrabac** in Nsg. (with a fleetling vowel) and **vrabaca** in Gpl (with an inserted vowel). Except for the ending, therefore, the two look exactly the same in writing, since the second syllable of both is spelled **bac**. In speech, however, they sound quite different due to the fact that the Gpl. forms have two instances of distinctively long **a** in succession. Furthermore, the grammar rules require one to insert **a** whenever the Gpl. ending -a- is present, and this rule affects many more nouns than just those masculine nouns with fleetling -a- (an instance of the vowel **a** which is present in Nsg. and absent everywhere else but Gpl.). The fact that the role of this inserted vowel is NOT to break up an otherwise unpronounceable consonant cluster is seen by its (required) presence in the Gpl. forms of certain masculine nouns which do not insert it in Nsg., as well as in the Gpl. of nouns of other genders. The historical source of this inserted **a** is not completely understood.

In the examples below, hyphens separate stem and ending. The fleetling -a- in Nsg., a short vowel, is part of the suffix which appears only before the zero ending. The inserted -a- in Gpl., a long vowel, is an augment to the stem which is required specifically before the Gpl. ending -a. Students should note that most language manuals refer to both of these as “fleetling -a-”. Note that most of the words below also have long root vowels; this is unrelated to the presence or absence of fleetling or inserted vowels.

	Nsg. fleetling -a- / Gpl. inserted -a-			Npl. no fleetling -a-, Gpl. inserted -a-		
Nsg.	vrabac -Ø	p <small>í</small> sac -Ø	r <small>ú</small> čak -Ø	student -Ø	p <small>í</small> sm -o	svesk -a
Gsg.	vrapc -a	p <small>í</small> sc -a	r <small>ú</small> čk -a	student -a	p <small>í</small> sm -a	svesk -e
Gpl.	vrabac -a	p <small>í</small> sac -a	r <small>ú</small> čak -a	studenat -a	p <small>í</small> sam -a	svezak -a

The two instances of **a** discussed so far are restricted to particular case forms; one (called here “fleetling -a-”) breaks up consonant clusters and the other (called here “inserted -a-”) obeys a particular grammar rule. A third insertion, which happens in both speech and spelling, occurs after prepositions and prefixes ending in a consonant. In these cases, the vowel **a** is inserted to separate the final consonant of the preposition or prefix from the initial consonant of the following root or word. Normally this happens when the following root or word begins with a like-sounding consonant, but it can also occur other times.

Vowel insertion after prefixes is either part of a word or it is not. It is not fully predictable, and usually must be learned with individual words. Some prefixed verbs require the insertion, as seen in the table to the right. A few others allow forms both with and without inserted vowels, as seen below.

prefix	verb	prefixed verb	
iz-	slati	send	izaslati
iz-	zvati	call	izazvati
od-	brati	gather	odabraty
od-	peti	lift	odapeti
raz-	brati	gather	razabraty
raz-	znati	know	razaznati

prefix	verb		prefixed verb			
iz-	gnati	drive	izagnati	OR	izgnati	expel
iz-	tkati	weave	izatktati	OR	istktati	finish weaving
raz-	peti	lift	razapeti	OR	raspeti	hoist

Vowel insertion after prepositions is largely optional, and tends to depend upon speakers. It is obligatory only in one instance: this is when the pronominal form **mnom** follows a preposition ending in a consonant. In the case of the two prepositions which consist of a single consonant, namely **s** and **k**, vowel insertion is geographically conditioned. That is, Serbian will often insert **a** regardless of the following sound, while Croatian will insert it only when the two consonants would otherwise fall completely together; Bosnian falls somewhere in between.

The remaining instances of vowel insertion are stylistic in nature; all are optional. Speakers choose (or not) to insert vowels according to the style of speech. If the following word is a noun or pronoun beginning with a like-sounding consonant, the insertion of a vowel gives a slightly more formal sound to the speech. The inserted vowel is usually short, but if the noun or pronoun following is a short monosyllable, the inserted vowel can be long. Such stylistically-motivated insertion happens in the case of prepositions plus accusative pronoun objects. According to the rule, prepositions are followed by full form pronoun objects. However, in somewhat more poetic style, one can also use clitic form pronoun objects after prepositions requiring the accusative case. In such instances, prepositions ending in a consonant insert **a**; it is always accented and always long (prepositions containing a vowel take the accent and lengthen the vowel).

	obligatory	Serbian	Croatian	high style	archaic
k		ka vama ka gr <u>adu</u>	[k vama] ka gradu		
s	s`a mn <u>om</u>	sa nama sa sestrom	[s nama] sa sestrom		
kroz				krož <u>a</u> san	krož <u>a</u> me
pred	pred <u>a</u> mn <u>om</u>				pred <u>a</u> te
nad	nad <u>a</u> mn <u>om</u>				nad <u>a</u> se
uz				už <u>a</u> stranu	už <u>a</u> nj

167j. Sound structure and spelling

BCS is a language whose spoken form is reproduced closely by its spelling. The actual relationship of the written form to the spoken form has been a matter of much debate in the modern period. In the early stages of the codification of what became BCS, there were two separate principles, each connected with one of the two major codification efforts. According to one of these principles, writing should correspond as closely as possible to the actual pronunciation of words, and should allow one to move directly from speech to writing and vice versa. This principle, and the maxim *write as you speak*, is associated with the language reform program of Vuk Karadžić (defined and discussed in [170a]). According to the other principle, writing should reflect the integrity of words and allow one to recognize the different forms of a word easily. This principle, and the maxim *write for the eye*, is associated with the Illyrian reform movement (defined and discussed in [170b]). Linguists would call the first of these approaches to spelling *phonological*, because it pays primary attention to sounds. They would call the second *morphophonemic*, because it pays primary attention to the relationship between sounds and morphemes.

No one disputes the fact that spelling should, if at all possible, approximate the sounds of speech: anyone who has suffered through learning to spell English can fully appreciate this principle. But there are different ways to “approximate the sounds of speech”. Each of the two ap-

proaches defined above has its advantages and disadvantages. A phonological spelling system – one in which everything is written exactly as it is pronounced – makes it extremely easy to learn to write, to take down dictation, or to read a text aloud. But a morphophonemic system allows one to recognize the relationship between different words more easily, which in turn makes it easier to see, understand, and remember the structure of a language. Neither gives a perfect solution to the many dilemmas of spelling, and neither system is intrinsically better or worse. They are just two different ways to approach the issue.

The decisions which affected the initial codification of BCS favored the phonological approach of Vuk Karadžić, and this is why the spelling of BCS corresponds so closely to its pronunciation, reproducing the speech facts of voicing assimilation and cluster simplification in the written form. With practice, speakers and learners of the language are able to remember the underlying form of morphemes. For example, they will be able to recognize that some instances of **pot-** represent the morpheme **pod-**, and that some words beginning with **is-** might represent **iz-** or even **izs-**. Stated differently, they will be able to read past the voicing assimilation in both examples and the cluster simplification in the second. But if too many of these changes happen all at once, a strictly phonological spelling makes it too hard to recover the components of the words from the written form. Recognizing this, the codifiers of BCS relaxed the rules in one instance, and allowed morphophonemic spelling instead of phonological spelling. This one instance concerns the sequences **d + s** and **d + š** at morpheme boundaries, and makes reference to the fact that the sequences **ts** and **tš** (which would result from the devoicing of **d**) are identical in sound to **c** and **č**, and that a phonologically based spelling would require them to be written thus. What this means in practice is that whenever one of the prefixes **od-, pod- or pred-** is added to a root beginning with **s-** or **š-**, the spelling remains unchanged.

The chart below summarizes the processes of voicing assimilation (review [167c]) and cluster simplification (review [167d]), both of which characterize all of spoken BCS. The intent of this chart is to demonstrate how phonological spelling reproduces pronunciation, while morphophonemic spelling reproduces word structure. To illustrate the connections between pronunciation and word structure more clearly, the phonological spelling chart also includes words in which neither voicing assimilation (VA) nor cluster simplification (CS) has taken place. What is interesting is that the words which are spelled morphophonemically are pronounced in various ways. In rapid speech, assimilation and simplification are carried through fully. In careful speech, one hears speakers make more of an attempt to pronounce the words as they are spelled.

Phonological spelling

Morphemes	processes		pronunciation	spelling	
	VA?	CS?			
vrab-	-ac	no	no	vrabac	<i>sparrow</i> (Nsg.)
vrab-	-ca	yes	no	vrapca	<i>sparrow</i> (Gsg.)
pis-	-ac	no	no	pisac	<i>writer</i> (Nsg.)
pis-	-ca	no	no	pisca	<i>writer</i> (Gsg.)
pod-	-držati	no	yes	podržati	<i>support</i>
pod-	-zemlje	no	no	podzemlje	<i>underground</i>
pod-	-pisati	yes	no	potpisati	<i>sign</i> [name]
od-	-držati	no	yes	održati	<i>Maintain</i>
od-	-padak	yes	no	otpadak	<i>garbage</i>
od-	-baciti	no	no	odbaciti	<i>throw out</i>
pred-	-platiti	yes	no	pretplatiti	<i>prepay</i>
iz-	-držati	no	no	izdržati	<i>hold</i>
iz-	-seliti	yes	yes	iseliti	<i>emigrate</i>

Morphophonemic spelling

Morphemes		processes		pronunciation		spelling
		VA?	CS?	rapid	careful	
pred-	-staviti	yes	yes	prectaviti	pretstaviti	predstaviti <i>present</i>
pod-	-sjetiti	yes	yes	pocjetiti	potsjetiti	podsjetiti <i>remind</i>
od-	-šetati	yes	yes	očetati	otšetati	odšetati <i>stroll off</i>
od-	-seliti	yes	no	oceliti	otseliti	odseliti <i>move away</i>

J sjetiti / E setiti; J podsjetiti / E podsetiti

The idea of phonological spelling (which, as noted earlier, is identified with the Vukovian principles of language codification) continues as the primary principle of BCS spelling. But the idea of morphophonemic spelling, historically connected with the Illyrian movement, has remained important in the development of Croatian. From the Illyrian days up through the present, many Croat linguists have continued to argue that the morphophonemic principle should be given greater prominence; this principle was in fact elevated to law during one period of Croatian history (for more discussion, see [181]). However, there is no consistent agreement among Croatian grammarians as to which words should be spelled more “for the ear” than “for the eye”. For example, phonological spelling rules require that the plural of words such as **predak** be spelled **precí** – that is, with both voicing assimilation and cluster simplification reflected in the spelling. According to the morphophonemic principle, however, this plural form could be spelled either **pretcí** (without simplification) or **predci** (without either simplification or assimilation). Although some Croats now use one or the other of the latter two spellings, many continue to follow the phonological rule.

SOCIOLINGUISTIC COMMENTARY

CHAPTER 21

168 Introduction

The preceding chapters have presented a description of BCS; this complex in turn may be defined as the common core underlying Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian. These chapters have also identified the major grammatical points on which the three separate systems diverge. No consistent attempt has been made to account for vocabulary differences, although individual examples have been supplied with notations identifying any variant forms which are generally viewed as characteristic of only one or two of the three systems. The examples themselves, however, were chosen solely to illustrate general grammatical points; the extent to which they happened to contain variational elements is purely random.

Taken as a whole, the description contained in these chapters demonstrates without a doubt that the core of BCS functions as a single linguistic system, just as the numerous references to Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian within these chapters have demonstrated that each of these individual systems has its own noteworthy identifying characteristics. The question of whether what has been described herein is one language or more than one has occasioned a great deal of discussion among professionals and laymen alike. The answer, of course, is that both statements are true: the language is simultaneously one and more than one. Everyone admits that Serbs, Croats, Bosnians (both Muslims and Christians), and Montenegrins can understand each other without difficulty, and that the reason they can do so is because the languages they speak share the same grammar, and because the vast majority of vocabulary items are the same. That grammar, together with its common core of vocabulary items, constitutes the single language here called BCS.

At the same time, it is now a fact that this grammar is a property shared among more than one language. As of this writing (late 2005), three languages – Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian – have been officially recognized. Should Montenegro become an independent state, a fourth is very likely to be recognized. Although each of these languages serves more of a symbolic function than a communicative one (since “BCS” is what all their speakers use to communicate with each other), the traits which separate Croatian and Serbian from one another are quite real and clearly identifiable; and whereas those which separate Bosnian from either Serbian or Croatian are both less in number and less striking in content, they are also clearly identifiable. Whether or not Montenegrin should be separated from Serbian linguistically is unclear; what is clear is that there are a number of differences which carry strong symbolic meaning for Montenegrins (for more discussion, see [189a]).

Most of the differences between Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian have been mentioned in the preceding chapters, as facts of grammar, pronunciation, vocabulary or usage. The remaining chapters shift the focus to the social, cultural, political and historical context within which these differences function. The intent of these chapters is to provide the background which allows one to see beyond the seeming paradox of a language which is simultaneously one and more than one.

The second half of the term *sociolinguistic* reminds one that the topic continues to be language. The first half, however, refers to the fact that language is now being viewed not so much as a communicative tool but rather as a symbolic system, the force of whose symbols are comprehensible only when seen in the context of a highly complex social situation. This social situation, in turn, is the result of historical processes in which the issues of language, politics and ethnic identity have been intricately intertwined for the entire modern era.

This section of the book – the sociolinguistic commentary – begins with a brief outline of the history of writing systems in the BCS lands and a summary of the major events connected with language standardization of the common language. It then surveys the major parameters of variation over the geographical area covered by BCS, and discusses the role of these differences in distinguishing the several separate linguistic standards. Following this, issues of language and identity are treated in three separate chapters, one each devoted to Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian (plus Montenegrin). The concluding chapter revisits the issue of the relationship between Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian on the one hand, and BCS on the other.

169 Writing systems

The two major writing systems of BCS are the alphabets called *Cyrillic* and *Latin* (review [1]). Each has strong religious associations for most BCS speakers: the Cyrillic alphabet with the Eastern Orthodox religion (to which Serbs and Montenegrins adhere), and the Latin alphabet with the Roman Catholic religion (to which Croats adhere). Yet neither was the original Slavic alphabet. That alphabet, called *Glagolitic*, is not in active use any more, but its place in the history of Slavic letters is known to all educated Slavs. Indeed, Slavs from the Balkans feel particular pride in the events which underlay the beginnings of Slavic literacy.

169a. The Glagolitic and Cyrillic alphabets

The story begins in the middle of the 9th century, with the desire of the Moravian prince Rastislav that his subjects be converted to Christianity not in Latin but in their own language. Accordingly, Rastislav requested the Byzantine emperor, Michael III, to send him liturgical books written in Slavic and missionaries who could give religious instruction in Slavic. Michael commissioned the brothers Constantine and Methodius to undertake this task. They were chosen not just because of their experience as missionaries but also because they were natives of the city of Solun (modern Thessaloniki, today the second largest city of Greece). This fact was relevant because, as the emperor pointed out in a much-quoted passage, everyone knew that all inhabitants of Solun were speakers of Slavic. The brothers set to the task of devising an alphabet and translating the liturgy into Slavic. The letters they created consisted of various ingenious combinations of circles, triangles and crosses, all important Christian symbols; and the alphabet comprising these letters was what became known as *Glagolitic* (the name is taken from the old Slavic verb meaning *speak*). Together with their disciples, the brothers traveled to Moravia in 862-863.

Their mission there was successful, though not without difficulty. In 869, the brothers were required to travel to Rome to defend the then-heretical idea that the Gospel should be written in any other language than Latin, Greek or Aramaic. Only Methodius returned: Constantine died in Rome, having taken monastic orders and the name Cyril on his deathbed. Methodius continued the work, but eventually he and his disciples came to be so persecuted that they had to flee for home. Methodius died on the way in 885 (in Pannonia, now modern Hungary), and only seven of the original disciples made it back home to the Balkans. Some remained in the western South Slavic regions, teaching the new alphabet to Slavic churchmen there, especially along the Dalmatian coast. Others returned to the core Byzantine lands, and settled at the court of the Bulgarian king Boris who welcomed them warmly, since he was intent on converting his own people to Christianity and had need both of books in Slavic and teachers to instruct his scribes. At this point, Bulgaria had been a functioning state for some two hundred years already. The spoken lan-

guage was Slavic, but the language of writing was Greek, and Boris's scribes chose not to learn the new and very exotic Glagolitic alphabet. Instead, they adapted their own Greek letters to the Slavic sounds, and the alphabet derived in this manner was given the name *Cyrillic* – in honor of Constantine-Cyril, the founder of Slavic letters.

As the Balkan Slavs gradually embraced Christianity, they also gained the ability to write in their own language. Both the Glagolitic and the Cyrillic alphabets (called in BCS **glagoljica** and **ćirilica**) spread throughout the Balkans along with books and the missionaries who spread Christianity. The establishment of the Serbian Orthodox church in the early 13th century was an important milestone in Serbian history, and the Cyrillic alphabet has been associated indelibly with the Serbian Orthodox church from that time onward. Indeed, the clearly marked connection of the alphabet to the Serbian church and to its medieval roots has always provided a strong conservative bulwark within Serbian letters. The 19th century drive to modernize the alphabet in Serbia faced extremely strong opposition from the conservative clergy (for more discussion, see [170a, 185]). There are some today, in fact, who feel that Serbian Cyrillic should undo some of the modernization and resume a more archaic form (for more discussion, see [187a]). The “canonical” form of pre-modern Cyrillic, therefore, was that used by the medieval Serbian men of letters. Further to the west, Christians in Bosnia also wrote in Cyrillic. These letters, based roughly on cursive Cyrillic, developed such a different form that the resulting alphabet came to be known by the regionally-based term **bosančica**, despite the fact that it was still a recognizably Cyrillic writing system. Muslim Slavs in pre-modern Bosnia gradually developed a version of the Arabic script in which to write their native Slavic, and this alphabet was called **arebica**. Others in Bosnia wrote in various forms of the Roman alphabet, all called **latinica**.

169b. The Latin alphabet

Although Croatian today is written exclusively in the Latin alphabet, the Croats have a very multi-graphic history. Some inland Croats wrote in the Cyrillic called **bosančica**, and many on the coast wrote in Glagolitic. Indeed, Croatian Glagolitic was sufficiently widespread to have developed two regional styles, one with rounder letters and one with more angular letters. The former is called **obla glagoljica**, and the latter is called **uglasta** (or **uglata**) **glagoljica**. Glagolitic took on great symbolic importance in pre-modern Croatia: those who wrote in this script could assert an identity which was separate both from Orthodoxy (symbolized by the Cyrillic script) and from a slavish dependence on Roman Catholicism (symbolized by the Latin script). In certain remote parts of Croatia, Glagolitic was in use up to the early 20th century, and the letters are being revived today as part of various national symbols. However, the Latin alphabet gained predominance early, and it is now the single script not only of Croats but also of all non-Orthodox South Slavs. Orthodox Slavs use it freely as well alongside Cyrillic, as it is obviously advantageous to also be able to use an alphabet in which one can communicate more easily with Europe and the West.

In pre-modern times, those who used the Latin alphabet frequently wrote (or at least knew) other languages as well. Depending on the area and the time in history, these other languages were Latin, Italian, German, and Hungarian. The spelling conventions used to write Slavic sounds were adopted from these different languages; those living further south usually used Italian spelling rules and those living further north usually used Hungarian spelling rules. One of the goals of the pan-South Slavic language reform movement of the 19th century, the *Illyrian movement* (for definition and discussion, see [170b]), was to standardize the spelling. Some of the letters chosen were taken from Czech, with its superscript diacritical marks (such as č, ž, š and the like); others were the personal creation of the movement's leader, Ljudevit Gaj. In honor of this historical figure, and in the desire for heightened cultural autonomy, some Croats today have begun calling their alphabet **gajica** instead of the more traditional term **latinica**.

170 Language standardization

The two language reform movements which led to what has become modern BCS can both be dated roughly to the second quarter of the 19th century. In modern commentaries, one most often sees them referred to by the adjectives *Vukovian* and *Illyrian*. The first of these terms refers to the indefatigable folklorist, language reformer and lexicographer Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787-1864), while the second of them refers to the Illyrian cultural (and eventually political) reform movement centered in Zagreb, whose acknowledged leader was Ljudevit Gaj (1808-1872). Both of these movements wished to create a “language of the people”, a language that would not only unify a broad swath of South Slavs, but would also underscore the idea of independence – political independence from the Ottoman Turks in the case of the Serbs and cultural independence within the Habsburg Empire in the case of the Illyrians. Although the Vukovian movement was the cornerstone of all language standardization work after 1859, the heritage of the Illyrian movement remained important, especially among Croats (for more discussion, see [179]).

170a. Vuk Karadžić and language reform

Vuk, who has become such a legendary figure in the South Slavic lands that he is referred to by his first name only, was the seventh son of a poor but proud family who were fully conscious of their roots in the eastern Herzegovinian lands. Because he was lame (and therefore unfit for more manly occupations), his father sent him to a monastery to learn to read and write. Using these skills, he eventually became scribe to Karageorge, the leader of the (briefly) successful Serbian uprising of 1804 -1806. When this rebellion was crushed by the Ottomans in 1813, Vuk fled along with others to Austria, and settled in Vienna. There he submitted for publication a manuscript containing South Slavic folk songs along with a brief discussion of the language in which these songs were sung. Because the book’s topic accorded so well with current Romantic interests in folk poetry and in the promotion of popular (that is, spoken) languages as written standards, it sparked the interest of the Slovene Jernej Kopitar, who headed the Austrian bureau charged with approving all publications in Slavic. Together with his influential friends Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm, Kopitar secured enough backing for Vuk to begin to work full time on the two projects which modern scholars would call folklore collection and language reform.

Vuk dedicated his entire life to the cause of a people’s Serbian language (which for him was identical with Serbian folk literature), as well as to the cause of Serbian independence. His maxim, adopted from the German Johann Christoph Adelung, was *Write as you speak* (**Piši kao što govoriš**). Although now this phrase is taken to refer to what some call the “phonological” spelling of BCS (review [167j]), in Vuk’s days it had much broader resonance. Because the Serbian written language of the early 19th century contained so many high-style words connected with the Orthodox church, including a large number from the Russian church language, it was inaccessible to all but the most elite strata of the population. In addition, there was no normative standard for the written language; rather, every author wrote in his own highly creative manner. Vuk’s proposal was to abandon this written language entirely and to create a new one, based on the language of folk poetry (and especially the famous epic songs of the heroic past). Furthermore, he proposed that the new written language take as its standard the speech of a particular area. This was to be the iječavian East Herzegovinian speech of the region whence he himself originated, an area which was known to be a stronghold of traditional epic singing.

Vuk was extremely strict in his principles: he would not admit into the dictionary or the grammar of this new language any word or grammatical form that did not exist naturally in this East Herzegovinian speech. In terms of spelling, Vuk promoted the simplified system which, although it has since become indelibly associated with his name, was in fact developed by the cleric Sava Mrkalj (1783-1833). The principle underlying this system was *one sound – one letter*, which meant both that every sound should be represented by only one letter, and that each distinctive sound of the spoken language should have a letter corresponding to it alone. Both spelling and

vocabulary were issues on which Vuk faced considerable opposition from the higher echelons of the Serbian clergy. The proposed spelling reforms were particularly disagreeable to these conservative churchmen, who saw the very form of the alphabet then in use as a concrete bond with their medieval past. They could see no reason to abandon nearly fifteen of these alphabet letters (despite the fact that many of them referred to sounds indistinguishable from one another in speech) or to introduce five new ones (despite the fact that these new letters did a much better job of representing these five sounds than any of the older ones). Indeed, the fact that one of these new letters was an import from the distrusted and feared Roman Catholic alphabet – the letter **j** – caused many to brand Vuk as a traitor and a presumed Habsburg spy.

When it came to grammar and vocabulary, the clergy could not take seriously Vuk's insistence on the spoken East Herzegovinian dialect as a basis for the new language. Viewed from the clergy's base of operations in southern Hungary (now the area around modern Novi Sad), this dialect was almost a foreign tongue. To the clergy, the language of these songs (and the songs themselves) sounded backwards and simple. But Vuk never wavered in his conviction that the language of these epic songs was the natural and appropriate language for the Serbs. His travels throughout the land, especially to Montenegro and the Dalmatian coastal city of Dubrovnik, assured him that the ijekavian speech of his ancestors was spoken over a very broad area, and that it was consequently worthy of becoming the official standardized speech of the Serbian people who were then slowly consolidating their independence from Ottoman Turkish rule. Vuk's struggle was long: his first linguistic publication was in 1814, and the Serbian government did not fully accept his language reforms until 1868, four years after his death. Today, Vuk's language is the basis of modern BCS.

170b. The Illyrian movement and language reform

In contrast to Vuk, who was a single, highly focused activist, the Illyrian movement was the work of a collective of cultural reformers. Their goal was to promote South Slavic – rather than Latin, Hungarian, Italian or German – as the language of cultural expression. Although the movement was based in Zagreb, and has subsequently been identified with Croatian linguistic schools, the ultimate Illyrian goal was the union of all South Slavs. This was to be accomplished by the promotion of the common Illyrian language. There were several reasons for choosing the name *Illyrian*. First, it was assumed that the ancient Illyrians were among the original inhabitants of the Balkan peninsula; and second, it was believed at that time that the Croats were direct descendants of the Illyrians. In addition, the term had a long history of describing South Slavic Christians (it was used mostly by Catholics but also by some Orthodox clergy). Third, it had been the official name of a province of the Roman Empire; and finally, it had been the name chosen by Napoleon for his own short-lived Balkan coastal province, just three decades past. Therefore, the Illyrian activists argued, it was an appropriate name for the language of a united South Slavic people. Although the members of the Illyrian movement were obviously Romantic idealists, they were realistic enough to see that there could be no one form of Illyrian that would correspond to the speech of all South Slavs. Rather, they saw Illyrian as a written language that would unite the South Slavs: each would continue to speak in his own manner, but all would write the same way.

The Illyrian slogan was *Write for the eye and not for the ear* (**Piši za oko, a ne za uho**). One of their most noteworthy proposals, in fact, was to spell the old Slavic sound *jat'* using a single letter. This letter, called the “horned e” [ě], was – like many other letters in their proposed spelling system – taken from Czech spelling (indeed, today it is the letter used by specialists to refer to the ancient letter and its sound). Had this principle been adopted, the present “ekavian – ijekavian – ikavian” differences would remain at the spoken level only, and all would write the same (with the result being similar to the British and American pronunciations, respectively, of words like *tomato* and *rather*). Additionally, the Illyrians proposed that the spelling and the grammar should be such as to allow one to recover the history of the language. Their goal was not so much to retain older forms for the sake of tradition (as was that of the Serbian clergy who op-

posed Vuk); rather, it was to create a language that would recapitulate in its forms the different stages of its evolution. Both movements were quintessentially Romantic: Vuk's in its radical devotion to the "language of the people", and the Illyrians in their adherence to a model which was not only based on the language of the people but also made reference to evolutionary principles.

The Illyrians were additionally faced with the dilemma of an extremely non-unified speech area. Whereas Serbia is relatively monolithic linguistically, the area of Croatia encompasses three very distinct dialects – čakavian, kajkavian, and štokavian (for definition and brief descriptions, see [171a] and Map 2) – each much more different from the other than today's standard Serbian is from today's standard Croatian. To attain the practical goal of South Slavic unification, therefore, the Illyrians realized they must not only choose just one of these dialects as their base, but must furthermore choose the one that had the most similarity to the language found throughout Serbia. They chose the štokavian dialect, largely for geographical reasons. Although the revolutions of 1848 spelled the end of the Illyrian movement as an organization devoted to Slavic cultural (and political) autonomy, the fruits of language reform were lasting. In 1850, Croat representatives met with Vuk in Vienna, and concluded an agreement whereby Serbian and Croatian were viewed as one language with the same grammar but written in two alphabets.

170c. Vienna and beyond

It was easy for the signers of the Vienna agreement to agree that the joint language should be ijekavian only: this was not only Vuk's native Herzegovinian speech but was also the native speech of Montenegro, western Bosnia and southern Croatia (see [171c] and Map 4). It was considerably more difficult to reach agreements on individual points of grammar and spelling, due to the fact that the Illyrian principles of reproducing history through grammar and "writing for the eye and not the ear" both clashed with Vuk's overriding precept expressed in the maxim "write as you speak". Although Vuk's system won out and was codified into practice, the several schools of Croatian linguists have continued to support Illyrian principles to one extent or another.

Vuk was accompanied in Vienna by his assistant Duro Daničić (1825-1882). On the conclusion of the Vienna agreement, Daničić relocated to Zagreb, where he spent the remainder of his life in work on codifying the language. The principles were stated by Vuk (and have been associated since then with his name), but their actual implementation was worked out by Daničić. He was assisted in this effort by a group of Croatian scholars who became known unofficially as the Croatian Vukovians (**hrvatski vukovci**). In 1861, the Cyrillic alphabet was introduced in the schools (alongside the Latin alphabet); and in 1866 the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (**Jugoslavenska akademija nauka i umjetnosti**, or JAZU) was established, thanks to the work of the highly influential (and independently wealthy) Catholic Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer (1815-1905). The following year, Pero Budmani published the first grammar to use the name Serbo-Croatian in its title (*Grammatica della lingua serbo-croata*; Vienna, 1867). The Vukovian-based effort of language standardization lasted the remainder of the century, and culminated in the 1899 publication of Tomo Maretić's ***Gramatika i stilistika hrvatskoga ili srpskoga književnog jezika*** (*Grammar and Stylistics of the Croatian or Serbian Literary Language*).

Throughout this period, Croatia was still part of Austro-Hungary. The Serbs, however, had achieved not only a fully independent state, but also a flourishing national culture based in Belgrade and Novi Sad. Despite the Vienna agreement (and the assiduous work of the Croatian Vukovians in establishing ijekavian in Croatia), the Serbs had by this time switched to ekavian, which was the native speech of their two cultural capitals as well as of the great majority of the Serbian population (see [171c] and Map 3). The degree of their attachment to ekavian, in fact, can be deduced from the content of a proposal made in 1913 by the influential Serbian literary critic Jovan Skerlić. In the interests of Serb – Croat unity, he suggested that the Serbs would give up the Cyrillic script and write in Latin only, if the Croats in turn would adopt Serbian vocabulary and ekavian pronunciation (Skerlić died in 1914, and the idea did not survive long after that).

The first Yugoslav state, formed in the collapse of the empires after 1918, bore the name *Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes*. According to the official ideology, which was that the three peoples were eventually to become fused into one, the official language was named **srpsko-hrvatsko-slovenački** (*Serbo-Croato-Slovene*). It soon became clear to everyone that Slovene was a completely different language, and the third component of the name was quietly dropped. Although the language shared by the Serbs and Croats was still considered to be a single language, it remained without an officially accepted name. A variety of names were used, depending on one's point of view and one's location. The most common option was to use some sort of combination of the two names: one example is the phrase **hrvatski ili srpski** (*Croatian or Serbian*). But because the interwar Yugoslav state was clearly centered around Serbia, the language of administration (and of much of the culture) continued to be based upon Serbian.

170d. Novi Sad and beyond

Although the signatories of the 1850 Vienna agreement concluded that Serbs and Croats spoke one language with one grammar written in two different alphabets, they did not specify a name for this one language. This lacuna was filled in Titoist Yugoslavia. According to the Novi Sad agreement of 1954, the language was again seen as one language with one grammar written in two different alphabets. Now, however, it also had two official names and two official pronunciations. The two alphabets were Cyrillic and Latin, of course; the two names were the mirror-image terms **srpskohrvatski** (*Serbo-Croatian*) and **hrvatskosrpski** (*Croato-Serbian*). Although in its narrow sense the label *pronunciation* referred only to ekavian and ijekavian, it was generally assumed to cover other differences as well. That is, even in the days of greatest presumed unity, everyone accepted the existence of a set of binary differences.

Indeed, the label **varijanta** “variant” was accepted as a technical linguistic term in the 1960s; henceforth one spoke not of two pronunciations but rather of the **istočna varijanta** (*eastern variant*) and the **zapadna varijanta** (*western variant*) of the language. The eastern variant – henceforth (E) – was based on the educated speech of Belgrade, and the western variant – henceforth (W) – was based on the educated speech of Zagreb. In unofficial usage, however, many continued to use the terms **srpski** (*Serbian*) and **hrvatski** (*Croatian*), respectively, especially in casual situations. The most obvious differences between the two variants were the use of the Latin alphabet (W) vs. the Cyrillic alphabet (E), and ijekavian pronunciation / spelling (W) vs. ekavian pronunciation / spelling (E). There were a few other noticeable differences, such as the tendency to use the single-word infinitive (W) vs. a phrase composed of **da** + present (E). But most of the differences were in vocabulary. Despite the fact that the vast majority of words continued to be the same in both variants, there were a number of words which were marked as belonging to one variant or the other. Most of these were words which had long been accepted as characteristic of Croatian on the one hand vs. Serbian on the other (for more discussion of “east / west” differences, see [172]).

A major intent of the Novi Sad agreement had been to find a balance acceptable to both Serbs and Croats. In this it was ultimately unsuccessful. Croat dissatisfaction with the agreement, which first surfaced in the early 1960s, culminated in 1967 in the proclamation of a separate Croatian language within Croatia and the resulting “Croatian Spring” movement (for more discussion, see [182a]). The movement itself was put down by the Titoist government in 1971, but by then the point had been clearly made that the binary conception of eastern vs. western variants was not a satisfactory (or sufficient) description of the language situation. Consistent with growing trends towards decentralization within Yugoslavia, a new constitution was promulgated in 1974. A striking feature of this constitution was that no official languages were named. Rather, each of the constituent republics was allowed to determine which “standard linguistic expression” it would use as its official administrative language. This amounted to a tacit admission that there were not two but four regional idioms of the language, corresponding to the cultural centers of the

four republican capitals where Serbo-Croatian (or Croato-Serbian) was spoken – Belgrade (Serbia), Zagreb (Croatia), Sarajevo (Bosnia-Herzegovina) and Titograd (now Podgorica, Montenegro). The distinction between Belgrade and Zagreb (and between east and west) continued to be the major axis of differentiation. Now, however, what used to be the “eastern variant” was called simply Serbo-Croatian, while what used to be the “western variant” was called Croatian (the official full form of the name was “the Croatian literary language, the standard form of the popular [i.e. people’s, or folk] language of the Croats and Serbs in Croatia, which is called Croatian or Serbian”). Montenegro chose the iječavian variant of Serbo-Croatian as its official administrative language, while Bosnia-Herzegovina named the single language “Croato-Serbian / Serbo-Croatian”, in the iječavian pronunciation, and also mentioned the “Bosno-Herzegovinian standard linguistic expression” (**bosanskohercegovački standarnojezički izraz**).

Prior to this point, no one had paid particular attention to the characteristic speech of Bosnia-Herzegovina: everyone thought of it simply as a speech style combining traits of east and west. The pronunciation was consistently iječavian, but the vocabulary was something of a melting pot. Often both members of an “east/west” pair were used, more or less as synonyms. Sometimes (particularly if the difference was one of spelling) only one of the two was used, and in this case it was usually the eastern or Serbian member of the pair. In addition, Bosnians used a number of their own characteristic words which were derived from Turkish, although this usually occurred more frequently in colloquial, specifically Bosnian contexts, and less in the formal written language (for more discussion, see [176a]). In fact, the commonality of east and west represented by the Novi Sad agreement suited Bosnians well, for it allowed them to straddle the Serb/Croat divide without having to align themselves with one side or the other; at the same time it allowed them to maintain the communicative code which had served them for centuries – a fluid mix of Serbian and Croatian features together with a characteristic Bosnian overlay – without needing to put a name to it. Now, however, the growing decentralization of the 1970s forced them to recognize more explicitly the multivalent nature of Bosnian speech. By using both the terms Serbo-Croatian and Croato-Serbian to name their officially accepted administrative language, they recognized the existence within Bosnia-Herzegovina of what used to be called the eastern and western variants; and by giving a semi-official name to the mix which had gone unnamed since the late 19th century, they laid the groundwork for an eventual Bosnian language, should it come to a split between Serbian and Croatian.

CHAPTER 22

171 Dialect differences

South Slavic languages and dialects cover the geographical expanse from the Julian Alps in the northwest to the Aegean Sea and the Black Sea in the southeast. The northwestern corner of this area is inhabited by speakers of Slovenian, and the southern and southeastern areas are inhabited by speakers of Macedonian and Bulgarian. The broad range in between these two poles is inhabited by speakers of BCS (except, of course, for those inhabitants who speak non-Slavic languages such as Albanian or Turkish, or who speak West Slavic languages such as Slovak). In political terms, the BCS area contains the states (as of 2005) of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Serbia-Montenegro. Map 1 shows the location of these states with respect to neighboring states.



Map 1. Political boundaries of South Slavic states

Croatian is the official standard language of Croatia, Serbian is the official standard language of Serbia (and, at the present writing, of Montenegro), and all three languages are official in Bosnia-Herzegovina. But if one wishes to describe how people actually speak over this broad geographical expanse, one must speak in terms of different local dialects, which shade gradually into one another as one moves from the far northwest to the far southeast. Speakers of any one dialect can understand the neighboring dialect easily, but the further away one moves from one's native locale, the harder it is to understand the local speech. Furthermore, the differences are not directly correlated with political boundaries. For instance, villagers living on either side of the border separating any two states are able to understand each other quite easily even though they are technically speaking dialects of two different languages. Indeed, they usually understand their neighbors immediately across the border more easily than they understand their own compatriots who live near the opposite border of their own state.

There are a great number of dialectal differences within the BCS area, all of which are defined in both linguistic and geographical terms, and only a few of which are part of the conscious awareness of their speakers. Those divisions of which speakers are aware, however, have strong associations for them with factors of national identity and/or cultural history.

171a. Štokavian, čakavian, and kajkavian dialects

The primary division within BCS, one of which all BCS speakers are highly conscious, operates at a very broad level. There are three major dialects, each of which is so distinct from the others that speakers of any one of them usually have considerable difficulty understanding speakers of the other two. Indeed, if one follows the general linguistic criterion of mutual intelligibility, these three dialects would qualify much more readily as different languages than do standard Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian (at least in their current state).

The names of these three dialects are *štokavian*, *čakavian* and *kajkavian*. Most discussions of the former Yugoslavia which mention these dialects usually define them – correctly – by observing that their names derive from the word used for *what* in each dialect (*što*, *ča*, and *kaj*). Unfortunately, most of these discussions stop at this point, leaving their readers with the illusion that the three dialects differ only in terms of certain words, whereas in fact the differences are much more extensive. For instance, both kajkavian and čakavian have radically divergent accentual systems (differing not only from štokavian but also from each other), something which already makes their spoken form harder to understand. There are also other differences in the overall sound systems, as well as the grammar. For instance, where štokavian speakers will say **ja ēu ići** for the 1sg. future tense of the word *go*, a male kajkavian speaker will say **ja bom išel**. That is, the lexical verb form is the L-participle (and a different form of it at that) rather than the infinitive, and the auxiliary is taken from a conjugation that does not exist in either štokavian or čakavian. Describing these three dialects is made even more difficult by the fact that there is great internal variation within each: there is no one single canonical čakavian, or kajkavian, or štokavian dialect.

Each of the three is spoken over a broad, geographically definable area, as illustrated in Map 2. The štokavian dialect covers by far the broadest territory: all of Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia, and significant portions of eastern and southern Croatia. Standard BCS is štokavian only: indeed, it was largely the broad expanse over which this dialect is spoken naturally that dictated its choice as the basis for all the literary standards subsumed within BCS. Čakavian is spoken on all but the southernmost islands off the Dalmatian coast, as well as in certain areas on the coastal mainland, including the major port cities of Split and Rijeka, and in portions of the Istrian peninsula in the far northwest. Kajkavian is spoken in a relatively compact area of northwestern Croatia, which includes the capital city of Zagreb; there are also several regions of mixed čakavian and kajkavian. The region in the far southeast is sometimes grouped within štokavian and sometimes viewed as a separate group called *Torlak*.



Map 2: Major dialect divisions within the BCS region

171b. Literary štokavian, čakavian, and kajkavian

One should not assume that the relatively constricted area of čakavian and kajkavian speech indicates a lesser degree of importance for either of them. On the contrary, both have a rich literary history, dating from the early 16th century and lasting into the present day. Furthermore, the literature in these two dialects was from the beginning modeled more or less after the spoken language. Literature in čakavian is the oldest: indeed, the first literary work in the Croatian vernacular, published in 1501, was written by the Split resident Marko Marulić, in his native čakavian. For the next two centuries, the Dalmatian coast hosted a vibrant and highly developed cultural tradition, referred to in current literary scholarship as the Dalmatian Renaissance. The centers of activity were the coastal cities of Zadar, Split and Dubrovnik, as well as the islands of Hvar and Korčula. Literature in Dubrovnik was written in štokavian, as that was the native speech of that city; elsewhere in Dalmatia, however, all literature written in Croatian was in the čakavian dialect. Although the 18th century saw the center of cultural activity move to the north and east, into the kajkavian and štokavian realms, people remained aware of the glory and might of the Dalmatian Renaissance period, and one of the central goals of the Illyrian movement of the 1830s and 1840s was to revive this tradition. Today there are newspaper columns written in čakavian (mostly in Split but also in other cities), poetry published in both čakavian and kajkavian, and radio and TV programs broadcast in both these dialects. There are also active movements among certain cultural figures to reincorporate elements of the čakavian tradition into today's Croatian.

Literary activity in kajkavian, centered largely around Zagreb, was at its zenith in the 18th and early 19th centuries, when it was the accepted mode of expression for literature written in Croatian in those northern areas. Even today, kajkavian remains the everyday informal speech of Zagreb residents, although they speak the štokavian standard in all formal situations and with all who are not from Zagreb. The importance of kajkavian as a symbol of Zagreb, as well as of the surrounding Zagorje (and parts of Pannonia), is crucial to understanding the history of the Croatian language issue. The conscious choice of the Illyrians to adopt the form of speech closest to that of Vuk was significant not so much because it was ijekavian, but because it was štokavian. Croats of the 1830s primarily saw their cultural heritage as being embodied in čakavian (the older days, redolent with images of richness and glory) and kajkavian (the recent and at that time cur-

rent cultural scene). Only the fact that štokavian was part of their identity as well, both from the earlier times in the form of the literature of Dubrovnik, and from more recent times in the form of Catholic literature based in southern Croatia and northwestern Bosnia, made the shift to štokavian at all palatable to them. To the present day, there remains a great sense of loss at the abandonment of kajkavian. One of the great artistic achievements of 20th century Croatian literature is Miroslav Krleža's **Balade Petrice Kerempuha** (*The Ballads of Petrica Kerempuh*). This is a book-length poem written entirely in kajkavian: not the kajkavian of folk speech but a recreated and artistically expanded kajkavian – what that literary language could have become had it not been forsaken.

Of course, the great expanse of the štokavian area also was home to considerable cultural activity. Until Vuk's proposals began to gain momentum, however, the only broad-based literary activity in a štokavian that more or less mirrored the spoken language was in Dubrovnik. The enormous effect of Vuk's work was to raise the prestige of spoken štokavian (which for him already had prestige as the language of heroic oral epic poetry) into something that could become the language of literary expression throughout the land. The heritage of Dubrovnik, and the Renaissance literary activity based there, was of crucial importance to the success of Vuk's language reform activity. Before he visited Dubrovnik, Vuk's program demanded radical adherence to the principle which he phrased *Write as you speak* (and which in fact meant *Write as I speak*, since he insisted that his own East Herzegovinian dialect be the basis of the new literary language). His discovery that the speech of Dubrovnik was nearly the same as his own was an epiphany for him: this meant that his own speech, the speech of epic poetry, had also been the language of high literary culture during an important historical period.

It was due to this realization that he was able to relax his strict phonetic principles in two regards. One was to restore the sound **h**, which had been completely lost in his own speech and in most of Serbia. Hearing it in Dubrovnik, reading it in the literature of Dubrovnik, and knowing that it was part of the history of the language, convinced him that it should be admitted into the spelling of modern Serbian as well, even though many (among them he himself) no longer pronounced it. The other was to restore the sequences **tj** and **dj** to their original form. Because these sounds had been transformed into **č** and **đ** in Vuk's East Herzegovinian speech, that is how he wrote them. The word for *girl*, for instance, was for him not **djevojka** (as in standard ijakavian of today), but **devojka**. Here again, however, Vuk became convinced that the prestigious speech of Dubrovnik should supersede his own. This decision paid important dividends in the cause of eventual Serb – Croat (and Yugoslav) unity, for it allowed the Illyrians to see that Vuk shared, even if only in a limited way, their views that the form of language should both reflect current speech and recapitulate the history of the language.

Vuk's travels, which included a visit to Montenegro, were revelatory in yet another way, for they allowed him to realize the sheer breadth of the štokavian-speaking area. Schooled by Kopitar and the brothers Grimm in German Romantic principles, according to which *one language = one people*, Vuk saw that since the Serbian language was that of nearly the whole land, this meant the Serbian people populated nearly the whole land. This realization fueled yet more strongly his work for the independence of his people (the Serbian people) and their language (the Serbian language). Although the phraseology is that of nationalist expansion, Vuk did not see it that way. For him it was simple arithmetic: whoever spoke the same language was one of the same people, and this “people” could be of all three faiths. Serb politicians of later generations, however, used Vuk's writings consciously to promote the cause of what was known then (and now) as Greater Serbia. That is, they felt that the territory of Serbia should embrace at least all areas where Serbs (defined as those of the Serbian Orthodox faith) lived, no matter who else might live there as well.

The heritage of the 19th century is strongly present today in many ways. With respect to the history of štokavian, čakavian and kajkavian, it is seen not only in the Serbian belief that a single štokavian speech should be the basis of a strong, umbrella-like Serbian state (and the great bitter-

ness of Serbs that this historical right has been denied them), but also in the Croat devotion to their tri-dialectal heritage, their belief that all three dialects should remain part of their identity and be re-integrated into it (and their own great bitterness that the choice to relinquish kajkavian voluntarily did not bring them into the harmonious greater South Slav state that they had envisioned and worked for).

171c. Ekavian, ikavian, and (i)jekavian dialects

The historical development of the old Slavic letter called *jat'* is the source of the single most readily perceptible pronunciation difference among štokavian speakers of BCS. Roughly a millennium and a half ago, all Slavs pronounced this vowel in the same way, more or less similar to the vowel in English *bad*. Through the course of the centuries, its pronunciation was altered to different forms in different areas. Within the South Slavic regions, it developed either into **i**, **e**, or a complex of **je** or **ije**. Speakers who pronounce it as **i** belong to the *ikavian* dialect, while those who pronounce it as **e** belong to the *ekavian* dialect. Those who pronounce it sometimes as **je** and sometimes as **ije** belong to a dialect which is usually called *ijekavian*, though sometimes one hears the term *hekavian*. Both terms refer to the same set of speakers.

The ekavian and ijekavian pronunciations are familiar to anyone who has learned BCS: the former is the primary (and for many, only) form of Serbian, and the latter is the official pronunciation of Croatian and Bosnian. Only the ekavian and the ijekavian pronunciations are accepted as standard within BCS. The third pronunciation, the ikavian, is nevertheless quite common in certain areas. Not only is it heard in two major cities on the Dalmatian coast (Rijeka and Split) and in a large number of local dialects, but it also played an important role in the history of Croatian (and to a lesser extent, Bosnian) letters. The following chart demonstrates the relationship of ikavian pronunciation to the other two better known ones. Standard accentual characteristics are marked for ekavian and ijekavian, but only length is given for ikavian, as the tonal structure of most ikavian dialects is quite different from that of ekavian and ijekavian ones.

ekavian	ijekavian	ikavian	
dete	dijete	dite	<i>child</i>
lepo	lijepo	lipo	<i>nicely, fine</i>
mleko	mljeko	mliko	<i>milk</i>
ovde	ovdje	ovdi	<i>here</i>
pesma	pjesma	pisma	<i>song, poem</i>
reč	riječ	rič	<i>word</i>
sneg	sniјeg	snig	<i>snow</i>
vera	vjera	vira	<i>faith, belief</i>
vrème	vrijeme	vriime	<i>weather; time</i>

There is no overlap: any one speaker or writer uses one of the three types consistently. One can make a complete shift from one type to another, however: the famous Yugoslav writer Ivo Andrić, who is also the only Nobel prize winner during that country's existence, was born into an ijekavian speaking family, and wrote his first literary works in ijekavian. After he settled in Belgrade for good, however, he made the conscious switch to ekavian, which he then used throughout the remainder of his life (he used ijekavian in his literary works only when quoting the speech of a character from an ijekavian-speaking area). It is also not infrequent that an ekavian speaker will be married to an ijekavian one, and each will choose to keep his (or her) own pronunciation.

These three pronunciations are the result of a complex of historical changes. Each group is associated with a certain area within štokavian. These areas are defined in rough geographical terms, which are illustrated in Maps 3-5. The area of *ekavian* speech, seen in Map 3, covers most

of Serbia (as well as all of Macedonia and the western part of Bulgaria). The relevant point, however, is that while *ekavian* speech covers much of Serbia, including its major cultural capitals, it does NOT include all of it, nor any part of Montenegro.



Map 3: Area of *ekavian* pronunciation



Map 4: Area of *ijekavian* pronunciation

The area of *ijekavian* speech, seen in Map 4, covers the remaining areas of Serbia, all of Montenegro, and much of Bosnia and Croatia. Here, however, the relevant point is that *ijekavian* is NOT the only speech characteristic of Bosnia and Croatia.

The area covered by *ikavian* speech, illustrated in Map 5, covers the rest of Bosnia-Herzegovina, much of the Croatian coastline, and various pockets elsewhere (including a group of Croatian speakers who live in the northernmost part of Serbia).



Map 5: Area of ikavian pronunciation

171d. Dialectal divisions and language change

As noted above, the expanse of South Slavic dialects represents a continuum in which one speech form shades gradually into another as one moves southwest (or northeast, depending on the starting point). There are a number of different ways in which the geographically defined differences can be identified. Maps 2-5 above articulate the most well-known differences, but there are a great many others which contribute to the full diversity.

Even a limited awareness of this diversity is of great help in understanding the relationship between the several standards which have evolved over the last two centuries. Above all, it is important to realize that *standard languages* – defined as symbolic-communicative systems which have been formulated so as to unite a group of people and serve as a sort of flag representing their national identity – are a relatively recent phenomenon. When one describes *dialects*, however, one refers to the actual spoken forms which South Slav residents of the Balkans have used to communicate with one another over the last millennium and a half. Change in these speech systems (which are also languages) is slow, gradual, and usually imperceptible. As each new generation of children learns to speak by listening to its parents, it unconsciously formulates its own organizational framework of its language. If the reformulation is too radical, children speak in a way that the older generation deems unacceptable: these changes are weeded out by parents who repeatedly correct their children’s “mistaken” formulations until the children “get it right” (in other words, the learning generation revises its conception of the language’s organizational framework sufficiently to produce the desired result). But there are many subtle changes made by learners which go largely undetected from one generation to the next, and it is the accretions of these small subtle changes which lead to large-scale language change over the course of centuries. Indeed, although population movements cause the geographical spread of certain of these changes, it is a curious fact about language that some changes seem to take hold and spread

(or, as the renowned American linguist Edward Sapir said, they “drift”) throughout a landscape of stable populations.

Many of the differences which are now proposed as marks distinguishing the several recently-evolved standards from one another are due to long-range, gradual, unconscious changes such as these. Now, however, speakers and language planners are very conscious of these distinctions, and invest a great deal of emotion in the results of changes which in themselves have no obvious connection with any one socially-defined group. For instance, there is nothing intrinsically meaningful in the pronunciation of **e** rather than **i** or **ije** in various words. Yet residents of Belgrade and Novi Sad value ekavian pronunciation very highly, since they associate it so closely with their own cultural and historic traditions. Residents of Sarajevo and other Bosnian cities value ijekavian pronunciation very highly, for similar reasons. The strength of the emotional identification with these two pronunciations became starkly evident during the 1990s when government officials attempted (with clearly nationalistic design) to impose ekavian on an ijekavian-speaking population (for more details, see [187b]).

The most interesting example, however, concerns an instance of language change which is still in progress, the loss of the infinitive. This change, according to which the single-word expression of the infinitive is being replaced by a phrase composed of the conjunction **da** and a conjugated form of the present tense, is slowly moving from east to west. In the eastern half of the Balkan peninsula, the change is complete, and the infinitive as a language form has disappeared completely. Everywhere in Bulgaria and Macedonia, and in a large part of southeastern Serbia, people say only **želim da radim** (or its local equivalent): the phrase **želim raditi** (or its local equivalent) simply does not occur. In most parts of Serbia, the infinitive is still used but is heard much less frequently than “**da** + present”. The further west one goes, the less one hears “**da** + present” and the more one hears the infinitive. Still, the process is clearly underway: statements of diminishing frequencies simply mean that it has not yet taken hold as strongly. Only in the far northwest of the peninsula is there no evidence of this process.

In purely linguistic terms, the change is a natural, unconscious one. It came about when the infinitive ending **-ti** ceased being pronounced in a certain class of verbs. When the resulting shortened form became confused with the third singular present, it became reinterpreted as a second clause and the conjunction was added; gradually the pattern spread to other verbs as well. The fact that this process is still under way is somewhat harder to see, since the adoption of a standard language requires a decision as to which is the “right” way to speak and write. That is, when a standard language is formulated on the model of popular speech, it is desirable to be able to proclaim that the way people speak naturally is also the “right” way to speak. What happens when a language which is in the course of changing is transformed into such a standard language is that the trajectory of change gets essentially frozen, and its current point is judged to be that which is “right”. Thus, in the case of infinitive loss, only the **da** + present form can be seen to be “right” in Bulgarian and Macedonian, and only the infinitive form can be seen to be “right” in Slovenian. In the BCS area, however, both must be allowed to be “right”, since the change is underway everywhere but not completely accomplished anywhere. Because the change has proceeded much further along its trajectory in Serbia, it feels more natural, and somehow “more right”, to use **da** + present in Serbia. Conversely, because the change is only in the initial stages in Croatia, it feels more natural (and “more right”) to use the infinitive in Croatia. In Bosnia, which is midway between the two, the change is midway in its trajectory: both ways feel equally “right”.

For all these reasons, the codifiers of Serbo-Croatian / Croato-Serbian stated that both ways to express the idea *infinitive* were acceptable. Later, when the existence of eastern and western variants was acknowledged, one of the most frequently mentioned differentiating traits was the way to express the idea *infinitive*: although both forms were possible in both variants, the western variant tended to prefer the single-word infinitive and the eastern variant tended to prefer **da** + present. The descriptions were always phrased in terms of tendencies, however, since on both

sides of the east/west divide both expressions continued to be encountered. At the same time, these tendencies were accompanied by varying degrees of emotion, mostly centered upon the small word **da**. In most of its meanings (such as *yes*, *in order to*, and the like), the word **da** is neutral, like the vast majority of words in a language. But when it is used in place of the infinitive, it takes on a clear “Balkan” marking. Those who feel pride in their Balkan identity (as do most Serbs) accept it as a natural and preferred way to speak. But those who attach negative connotations to the idea “Balkan” (as do most Croats) tend to avoid it whenever possible.

Just as emotions concerning ekavian and ijekavian have increased in intensity since the breakup of Yugoslavia, so have emotions about **da** increased in intensity as Croatian language planners have sought to distance Croatian as much as possible from Serbian. Formerly Croats simply preferred the single-word infinitive to the **da** + present phrase: now most Croats feel it necessary to avoid **da** + present whenever possible. Indeed, many Croats have developed negative associations with the word **da** in other meanings as well; these speakers avoid the interrogative phrase **da li** and tend to substitute the conjunction **kako** for **da** whenever possible. Others, although they do avoid the **da** + present in the meaning “infinitive”, continue to use **da** freely in other contexts.

In summary, dialectal differentiation comes about via unconscious mechanisms of language change that are close to universal, which happen in all languages. When various groups attach emotional meanings to these differences, these differences can then become tools of the process called “language engineering”, and eventually of political power.

172 East vs. west

The Novi Sad agreement, and the subsequent acceptance of the existence of eastern and western variants of the language (review [170d]), accustomed many to thinking in terms of binary oppositions. Indeed, it has become common to view the entire sociolinguistic history of BCS in bipolar terms, according to which religion, nationality, cultural dominance and pronunciation all fall into either a western or an eastern sphere of influence, as follows:

	WEST	EAST
Religion	Catholic	Orthodox
Nationality	Croatian	Serbian
Cultural center	Zagreb-centered	Belgrade-centered
[Pronunciation]	[ijekavian]	[ekavian]

The last parameter is given in brackets as a reminder that the reality is more complex, especially in Serbia (review [171c] and Maps 3-4; and see [187b]). Indeed, where language is concerned, the reality is almost always more complex. The “east vs. west” model provided an outline and an organizational schema, and attempted to account for the fact that a single communicative system was not monolithic but was rather characterized by relatively consistent patterns of variation. So long as it was taken with a considerable dose of salt (not to say tolerance as well), this model could give a rough (but nevertheless reasonably accurate) picture of the situation.

172a. The eastern and western variants

Handbooks of Serbo-Croatian (especially those intended for foreign learners) frequently gave sample listings of the major differences between the eastern and western variants. Almost invariably, these lists began by associating ekavian and **da** + present with the eastern variant, and

ijekavian and the infinitive with the western variant. The remainder of the lists were usually devoted to individual words. Sometimes the difference was in spelling, and sometimes it was in the choice of a different suffix added to the same root (or different root followed by the same suffix). Most of the time, however, the words were altogether different. Although it was impossible for the foreigner to predict with certainty which word belonged to which variant, there were some guidelines. The most reliable of these was that the eastern word would be borrowed from a European language, while the western word would contain native Slavic roots. Some list-makers identified the western variant clearly as Croatian and the eastern one as Serbian, while others were careful to limit themselves to the more neutral geographical terminology.

The following list contains some of the more frequently cited words. Obviously, the *western* column corresponds to present-day Croatian and the *eastern* column to present-day Serbian. In accordance with current usage, Serbian words are given in both Cyrillic and Latin while Croatian words are given in Latin only. The left-hand column identifies the parameter of differentiation.

Type	Western [C]	Eastern [S]		
word form	tko što jučer uopće sretan suh kava kavana prevest će	ко шта јуче уопште срећан сув кафа кафана превешће	<i>who</i> <i>what</i> <i>yesterday</i> <i>altogether</i> <i>happy</i> <i>dry</i> <i>coffee</i> <i>café, coffeehouse</i> <i>[s/he] will translate</i>	
suffix/prefix	studentica sudac redovito kontrolirati neovisan	studentkinja sudija redovno kontrolisati nezavisan	студенткиња судија редовно контролисати независан	<i>student (f)</i> <i>judge</i> <i>regularly</i> <i>to control</i> <i>independent</i>
root	kazalište točan otok sudionik	pozorište tačan ostrovo učesnik	позориште тачан острово учесник	<i>theater</i> <i>precise</i> <i>island</i> <i>participant</i>
word (neutral)	tjedan vlak kat doma kolodvor	nedelja voz sprit kod kuće stanica	недеља воз спрат код куће станица	<i>week</i> <i>train</i> <i>floor, story</i> <i>at home</i> <i>station</i>
word (native vs. international)	odvjetnik sveučilište sustav tiskati knjižnica stroj samostan	advokat univerzitet sistem štampati biblioteka mašina manastir	адвокат универзитет систем штампати библиотека машина манастир	<i>lawyer</i> <i>university</i> <i>system</i> <i>to print</i> <i>library</i> <i>machine</i> <i>monastery</i>

Type	Western [C]	Eastern [S]		
word (native vs. international)	siječanj veljača ožujak travanj svibanj lipanj srpanj kolovoz rujan listopad studen prosinac	januar februar mart april maj juni juli avgust septembar oktobar novembar decembar	јануар фебруар март април мај јуни јули август септембар октобар новембар децембар	January February March April May June July August September October November December

Only in the final rubric can one articulate a clear principle of differentiation – namely, that Serbian readily incorporates words from other languages, whereas Croatian prefers words formed from Slavic roots wherever possible. Both Serbs and Croats have been conscious of this principle throughout the entire modern period, and each group places high value upon its own adherence to this principle. Serbs are proud that their language is so rich in vocabulary, and able to express so many degrees of detail: in many instances Serbian has two words for the same concept (one native and one foreign-derived), each of which has taken on a slightly different shade of meaning. For their part, Croats are proud of the degree to which their language is able to express its deeply-ingrained Slavic roots: the fact that Croatian can transmit all manner of meanings with minimal recourse to foreign borrowings is proof to them of its inherent value as a communicative system. In recent years, this two-pronged principle has grown in importance, especially in Croatia (for more discussion, see [183]).

In all the other rubrics of the above list, the differences are more or less conventional: for various historical reasons one word happens to have taken root in the east and another in the west. Sometimes this is a result of regular sound change. For instance, the sound **h** has largely been lost in Serbian, which accounts for pairs such as **suh** (W) / **suv** (E) (as well as **kuhar** (W) / **kuvar** (E) “cook”, and several others). Other words in the group labeled *word form* represent similar types of sound changes. Some differences, such as **tko** (W) / **ko** (E) and **što** (W) / **sta** (E) are due to historical chance: the pairs represent random pronunciation variations, one of which happened to become characteristic of one side and one of the other. The spelling difference between **prevest** če (W) / **prevešće** (E) reflects adherence to the morphophonemic (W) vs. the phonological (E) spelling principles (review [167j]).

In the case of prefixes and suffixes, the historical background of the several choices is not always clear, except for the verbal suffixes **-irati** ([W], borrowed from German) vs. **-isati** ([E], borrowed from Greek). It is interesting, however, to note the different expressive paths taken to the same end. For instance, each of the two words for *island* contains the same prefix (meaning *around*) added to a root with the general idea of *current* or *flow*; both words, of course, encapsulate the idea that an island is something defined by the fact of water flowing around it. Similarly, the words for *theater* each contain a root with the general idea of *show* or *watch*, added to the same suffix denoting a place where something happens.

The above list is illustrative of the differences accepted as characteristic of eastern vs. western variants in the relatively stable years of Titoist Yugoslavia. The form of the list appears to

support the binary model, since it indicates that one set of words characterizes the west (that is, Croatian) and the other the east (that is, Serbian). In most instances this is an oversimplification.

172b. Gradations between east and west

The binary model of the above word list – and of any list which opposes elements marked (W) to those marked (E) – rests on the assumption that all speakers in the west always use only the western-marked word on every possible occasion while all speakers in the east always use only the eastern-marked word on every possible occasion. In reality, this is true only for certain speakers and only for certain words. In the majority of cases, it is more correct to speak in terms of tendencies and frequencies. That is, instead of a model which allows only one alternative or the other, one should view things in terms of a continuum extending from one pole to another, and attempt to plot the frequency of words along this continuum. In other words, one should not be satisfied with slotting a word into one group or the other, but should attempt to learn who uses which word and on what occasions. This would give a more complex, but doubtless more accurate, view of the situation. If one then plotted usage along a continuum such as the following, one would see various sorts of scatter-plotting: some words would largely cluster around one pole or the other but have significant overlap between the two poles of usage, and others would show an almost random distribution.

W < ===== > E

There are several factors at work here. One, of course, concerns Bosnian. Many Bosnians use both the (E) word and the (W) word as synonyms. In other instances, some Bosnians prefer the (E) word and others the (W) word. But the major point is not only that Bosnian cannot be characterized as belonging only to one side or the other, but also that its characteristic mix of (E) and (W) marks it as a unique system all its own (for more discussion, see [177]). Another obvious factor concerns the particular speech situation. When two people from the same locale speak to one another, they tend to use more words and phrases marked as belonging to their own specific local area. But when they speak with outsiders, they tend to use more general, less specifically-marked words and phrases. Sometimes they are conscious of these choices, but often they are not: it is simply another possible way of speaking which they have at their disposal and which they may (or may not) take advantage of. It is also the case that many speakers simply enjoy the latitude available to them by the presence of synonyms, and the ability to use one word on some occasions and another word on other occasions. Sometimes one or the other of these may be lightly marked as coming “from elsewhere”, and sometimes it may not. Sometimes one is able to choose a third, more neutral alternative: for instance, one can also use ordinal numbers to express the names of the months (review [124b]). All these kinds of factors need to be taken into account when describing any language situation; consequently, they cannot be ignored in this one either.

The above remarks refer to the level of words. But one can also extend the discussion to phrases. For example, it is frequently the case that language manuals (including this one) will describe two different means of expression and then comment, “There is no difference in meaning”. This is illustrated below by four examples, only the first of which exemplifies the word level as such. The second concerns the expression of the idea *infinitive* (review [171d]), the third concerns two different possible applications of the grammatical rules of clitic ordering (review [164]), and the fourth concerns two different forms of the genitive singular adjectival ending (review [42c]). The first two are frequently listed as part of the type of canonical E/W differences discussed in [172a], while the second two are not usually noted in such lists.

WEST	EAST
siječanj	januar
	<i>January</i>
želim raditi	želim da radim
	<i>I want to work</i>
moja je sestra učiteljica	moja sestra je učiteljica
	<i>My sister is a teacher</i>
Gramatika francuskoga jezika	Gramatika francuskog jezika
	<i>Grammar of the French language</i>

For many speakers, there indeed exists a polarity of perception in these four instances: the form of expression on the left is marked as characteristically western (or Croatian), and the form on the right is marked as characteristically eastern (or Serbian). The point, of course, is that in none of these examples can one really talk of meaning: in each case, there is no other possible translation than the one given above. Yet if one were to ask Serbs or Croats which of the two choices sounded more natural to them, most Serbs would choose the variant on the right and the vast majority of Croats would choose the variant on the left. Furthermore each of these would probably identify the other variant as belonging to the other group. That is, despite the fact that there is no identifiable difference in meaning, there is a consciousness on the part of most speakers that the two variants are clearly not the same. The consciousness is stronger in the case of the first two examples, but it also exists in the case of the latter two as well.

The source of difference in the first two examples has been mentioned above: the word for *January* illustrates the Serbian tendency to incorporate international words as opposed to the Croatian tendency to prefer indigenous Slavic words (review [172a]), and the infinitive phrase illustrates what happens when various stages of a change in progress are frozen in place and codified into different regional standards (review [171d]). But the third and fourth examples can only be described as variant ways to say things. Each is possible according to the rules of the language, and it is largely by chance that one has become more frequent in the east and the other more frequent in the west. In both these instances, however, Croatian language planners have taken an existing situation of frequency and drawn conscious attention to the fact that such a way of speaking is to be preferred because it sounds somehow more Croatian. When pressed to elaborate, many Croats will say that it sounds more elegant to place the clitic form after the first accented word, even if it breaks up an adjective + noun phrase; similarly they also believe it sounds more elegant to use the longer form of the masculine Gsg. adjective. By contrast, if Serbs are asked to elaborate, they usually say that it sounds more natural and straightforward to keep nouns and adjectives together, and to use the shorter form of the adjective. (It is interesting to note the extent to which these beliefs are frequently correlated with emotional attitudes about identity – both one's own and that of the other.)

The most important point, however, is that it is erroneous to describe such a situation in polarized terms. There always exist degrees of gradation, both with respect to the range of examples one could cite and to the gamut of speakers covered by the umbrella term “BCS”. In terms of specific examples, for instance, it is safe to say that speakers are much more conscious of the distinction in the first two examples than they are in the second two. That is, practically all speakers

of BCS would identify **siječanj** as Croatian, and **želim da radim** as Serbian. A growing number of speakers would also assign the third and fourth examples to one side or the other, but the identification would probably not be so immediately obvious for them. Indeed, the fourth example carries stylistic differentiation for many Serbs as well as for most Croats: adding a final **-a** to the adjective form is preferred in elevated styles of speech for both groups. In neutral speech, however, it is the case that Croats use the longer form of the adjective more frequently than do Serbs.

The more significant point concerns the entirety of BCS speakers, and the existence of a broad range of speech activities which cannot be described in binary terms. That is, most instances of variation in usage cannot simply be assigned to one side or the other. Rather, the attitudes of speakers towards what they speak span an entire gamut. If one again takes the above examples as indicative, it is possible to identify a continuum of reactions to them. At one end would stand the speakers for whom these examples are clearly marked as one or the other, and at the other end would stand the speakers who perceive little or no difference between them. As in any continuum, there will be many instances of individuals who fall at various points between these two extremes. It is also relevant to note that not every speaker has the same attitude at any one point in time or in any one instance of speech. Finally, one must not lose sight of the human factor, which can be illustrated here by the first line of a poem written by the Bosnian poet Enes Kišević in 1968-1969. The meaning of the line depends on the dichotomy between the members of the first example quoted above, **siječanj** vs. **januar**.

Bio je sijčanj ili januar, ne sjećam se. *It was either January or January, I can't recall.*

The literal English translation is meaningless. That is, since both words clearly refer to the same 31-day period, there is simply no way to render the distinction in English. But the line of poetry is not meaningless at all. What Kišević is saying is that he knows very well what month it was; that is not at issue. What distresses him is that he cannot remember where he was or who he was with. These human factors are obviously much more important for the speaker – and this is the whole point of the line of poetry – than either the actual calendar time of year or the necessity to align himself firmly with either the eastern or the western variant of speech.

173 Distinguishing Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian

Language planners, politicians, and many individual citizens are clearly conscious of differences between Croatian and Serbian. Similarly, Bosnian Muslim language planners and politicians (as well as a number of Bosnian citizens) also feel the differences between themselves and either Serbs or Croats. Since in each case it is language that is at issue, it follows that it is the job of the linguist to articulate the linguistic basis of these differences. This requires the linguist to establish objective parameters according to which s/he can make judgments of *same* vs. *different*.

173a. Same vs. different

It is the job of any linguist who is concerned with more than one linguistic system to find a systematic way to confront the concepts *same* vs. *different*. When the issue is dialectology, the linguist must catalogue thoroughly all the regional variations of speech, and then classify them into discrete different local dialects. For instance, the division of the BCS area into štokavian, čakavian and kajkavian (review [171a]) requires one first to decide what (other than the form of the word for *what*) defines any one of the three as distinctive, and then to decide where any one local dialect belongs with respect to this grouping. Some instances are obvious: it is intuitively clear where a particular speech system belongs. Others are more difficult, because they straddle the boundary in one way or another. Some features of a dialect exhibit čakavian traits, while others exhibit kajkavian traits. Which system is it more like (the *same as*) and which is it more un-

like (*different from*)? Even the division into ekavian, ijekavian and ikavian (review [171c]) is not as obvious as it might seem. While most local dialects clearly belong to one or another of these groups, there are some where the evidence seems to be mixed almost at random: some words act like ekavian and others like ikavian (or ijekavian). In other words, even in those areas where linguistic science can provide objective parameters of measurement, decisions of perception and judgment must still be made. Similarly, it is the job of sociolinguists to describe and catalogue the different variants of speech that correlate with socially-defined markers such as age, ethnicity, sex, social class, occupation and the like.

To carry out their respective tasks, both groups of linguists must constantly calculate degrees of similarity and difference. Dialectologists must determine the exact points (both on the map and within linguistic structure) at which a particular dialect stops being like that of its neighbors and becomes a separate dialect of its own, and sociolinguists must determine the point at which the particular social parameter does indeed appear to be identified with the speech trait in question. It is true that there exist established scientific disciplines which provide them with parameters according to which such decisions can be made. Nevertheless, most of the decisions continue to rest upon perceptions – both those of the linguist and those of the speakers themselves. Not surprisingly, there are numerous instances of dispute.

Linguists are also concerned with the difference between language and dialect, and with establishing criteria for deciding precisely what is the point at which a particular linguistic system stops being a dialect of a language, and becomes so different that it should be considered a separate language. The general criterion is *mutual intelligibility*: if speakers can understand each other they are said to be speaking the same language, and if they cannot, they are said to be speaking different languages. But this criterion is also imprecise, and largely dependent not only on perception but also on emotion (and, to an extent, on the educational level of the speakers). Objective linguists may determine that two speech systems clearly represent different languages, yet if speakers of these two systems want badly enough to understand each other they will manage to do so, and will claim (with varying degrees of emotional exaggeration) that they are speaking the same language. Conversely, objective linguists may decide that two speech systems clearly represent the same language; yet if speakers of these two systems are sufficiently convinced by external factors that they will not be able to understand each other, then that will usually turn out to be the case, and the speakers in question will claim they are speaking different languages.

The point is that although objective measurements are both possible and necessary, such measurements can rarely do the entire job. Other elements will almost always play a significant role: these include factors of educational level and (especially) perception and emotion – at both the individual, general socio-cultural, and often also the political level. The current linguistic situation in the successor states to Yugoslavia is one where several linguistic standards are in operation, with a fair amount of overlap among them. Although a great deal is *the same*, it is critically important to aim for a correct and objective statement of what is *different* among them, and to discuss these differences dispassionately. It is equally important to realize that while these goals can never be achieved completely, one must continually do one's best to approach them.

173b. Parameters of differentiation

The generally accepted distinctions between east and west (review [172]) include religion, nationality, cultural affiliation, and pronunciation. Only the first and the last of these have an obvious linguistic correlate. Religion is correlated with alphabet in that the Latin alphabet is associated with the Catholic church (and by extension, Croatian), while the Cyrillic alphabet is associated with the Orthodox church (and by extension, Serbian). Pronunciation, of course, concerns consistent sound changes – in this case, the distinction between ekavian, ijekavian and ikavian. The question here is whether either of these – or any other linguistic parameter – can function as diagnostic in an unambiguous identification of Bosnian, or Croatian, or Serbian.

With respect to alphabet, the answer is clearly negative. Neither the Latin nor the Cyrillic alphabet defines any one of them exclusively. It is true that one faction of Serbian linguists has proposed legislating “Cyrillic only” for Serbian, but they are in the minority. The decision of the Committee for the Standardization of Serbian was clearly in favor of retaining both alphabets for Serbian (for more discussion, see [187a]). It is also true that both Croatian (and Bosnian, outside Republika Srpska) are written exclusively in the Latin alphabet, but this does not define either one of them specifically with respect to the other two.

As to pronunciation, the answer is also negative, for similar reasons. Ijekavian characterizes both Bosnian and Croatian, and does not define either one exclusively. It is true that ekavian is found only within Serbia, but again – contrary to the wishes of certain Serbs who would promote ekavian only (for more discussion, see [187b]) – the majority decision has been that Serbian will continue to permit both pronunciations. The decision of Serbs to maintain the diversity of alphabets and pronunciations that once characterized Serbo-Croatian may well make it difficult to arrive at an eventual standardization of Serbian, but it does mean that Serbs are resolutely determined not to take a path of exclusivity.

Grammatical distinctions such as the single-word infinitive vs. **da** + present, or spelling distinctions such as **prevest će** vs. **prevešće**, could potentially be cited. The first is a noteworthy distinction in that speakers are clearly conscious of it; yet as seen above (review [171d]) it can properly only be defined in terms of greater vs. lesser frequency of usage. The second is a clearly diagnostic difference between Croatian and Serbian, although Bosnian can use both. But a language cannot be defined simply in terms of a spelling rule.

The outside linguist wishing to find objective correlates by which Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian can be defined with respect to one another is thus left with vocabulary. Many local linguists also consider this to be a major defining feature, and have put considerable effort into the construction of word lists which purport to define one or more of the systems in question as a separate language.

173c. Vocabulary lists and “differential” dictionaries

While the vast majority of words used by speakers of BCS are the same, there are still quite a few words which Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian linguists, respectively, claim as their own unique property. Of course, it must always be kept in mind that one can rarely make a categorical assertion that any one word truly belongs to one group alone and is never used by any speakers of either of the other two groups (review [172b]). At the same time, each group feels a clear identification with a number of words which it considers to be clearly derived from its own specific heritage; furthermore in many instances, most speakers of the other two groups will agree with their identifications.

For Bosnians, these are usually Turkish-derived words, which relate to their Islamic cultural heritage. For Serbs, these can be either words with a more “Balkan” tinge to them (again related to their own heritage which has both clear affiliations with Orthodoxy as well as a certain Turkish overlay) or words which have been incorporated from European languages and are now used alongside native words with a similar but not identical meaning. For Croats, the words in question derive from their own cultural past and are ideally formed from purely Slavic roots. It is also very important for Croats that the words not have any tinge of Serbian-ness to them: in their view, such words are to be avoided and replaced with Croatianisms.

Of the three groups, Croats have been the most concerned with this issue and the most sensitive to it. For the greater part of a century now they have been compiling word lists of the “differential” type – word lists which explicitly focus on the difference between that which is Croatian and that which is not Croatian (i.e., which is considered to be Serbian). The purpose of such lists is twofold. One goal is to prove that the number of words which can be judged to be distinctly Croatian is sufficiently large to justify the existence of a separate Croatian language, and

the other is to aid the public in transforming the vocabulary of active everyday use into as pure a Croatian as possible. Some of the lists are simply that: a column of Serbian words with their Croatian equivalents. Others function as actual dictionaries, in which individual entries are marked with notations identifying the degree of their “Croatian-ness” or “Serbian-ness”. The compilation and publication of these lists has contributed significantly to the enrichment of Croatian vocabulary and to the revival of older, once forgotten words. At the same time, the requirement of categorization carries a certain element of danger. This is because such dictionaries are more than just inventories of words: they also contain judgments. Furthermore, in most cases these judgments are made not by a commission of scholars but by separate individual Croats, each working from a standpoint imbued with nationalist zeal and emotion. Finally, it is hard to know which of the words proposed as “pure Croatian” are fully integrated into active usage and which represent simply wishful thinking. Such issues can be resolved only by actual frequency counts, information that is available to a certain extent, but which most laymen will not know how to (or bother to) access. In addition, a number of words which are claimed to be exclusively Croatian are also used by Serbs, such that the actual “difference” may not be as great as is claimed.

Bosnians have also compiled large lists of what they call their “characteristic lexicon”. These lists also have a twofold goal, similar to that of the Croatian ones. First, these Bosnian language activists wish to demonstrate that Bosnian is not just a mix of Serbian and Croatian but that it has a great number of words which are specifically Bosnian. Second, of course, they want to encourage the Bosnian public to bring these words – many of them archaisms – into active use, thereby increasing the separate, differentiated character of Bosnian. The linguists who have compiled these word lists are Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims), and the words are almost all connected with Bosnia’s Islamic past in one way or another. The extent to which these words have actually been integrated into active use is highly variable, especially given the more multivalent nature of Bosnian society.

Both sets of language planners – Croats and Bosniaks – have made it their task to emphasize that their language is different from Serbo-Croatian (which both perceive as essentially Serbian), and both have done this through a return to their own specific cultural past and a search for characteristic words which embody that past. Serbs, by contrast, who were always in the dominant position (both politically and linguistically), have not felt a need to distance themselves from Serbo-Croatian (which they correctly perceive as having an essentially Serbian base). What they do focus on, however, is the ability of Serbian to absorb words from a variety of different sources without prejudice, and the consequent richness of their lexicon.

The goal of this detailed discussion has been to demonstrate the lack of purely LINGUISTIC correlates which can be used to separate Bosnian, Croatian or Serbian clearly from one another. What defines each group’s language – for it is abundantly clear that each group recognizes, believes in, and values the existence of its own language – is the symbolic role it plays for its population. Each is a repository of the cultural heritage that embodies a people’s identity and helps them maintain pride in that identity. To understand the nature of each of these languages, therefore, one must look less at elements of linguistic structure and more at facts of identity and cultural history. This is the purpose of the following three chapters.

CHAPTER 23

174 Defining Bosnia

Of the three groups denoted by the acronym BCS, the Bosnians are the hardest to define. In part, this is because one must usually approach the idea *Bosnian* – at least within the context of the former Yugoslavia – in the context of the ideas *Serbian* and *Croatian*. Each of the three groups traces its history back to an independent medieval kingdom of distinction. The Croatian state flourished in the 10th and 11th centuries, while the Serbian and Bosnian medieval states each came to power in the late 12th century and survived through the mid-15th century, up until the final Ottoman conquest of each. Although all three medieval states professed the Christian faith, they were nevertheless distinguished even then by religion, partly because the schism between the eastern and western branches of the Christian church (formalized only in the mid-11th century) cut through the future Yugoslav lands. Croatia lay firmly on the western, Catholic side of the boundary; indeed, Croatia's strong adherence to the Catholic faith was a major factor in its decision to come voluntarily under the Hungarian crown in 1102. Medieval Serbia, on the other hand, wavered between the eastern and western branches of Christianity before finally opting for Orthodoxy (and not before being granted the right to establish its own independent, or autocephalous, Orthodox church).

Bosnia lay between the two, in terms of both geography and religious confession. Where other Christian states made a clear alliance with either mainstream Catholicism or mainstream Orthodoxy, Bosnia was able to remain aloof within its relatively inaccessible mountainous region and to develop its own individual form of Christianity, one with a much simpler theology and a much less politically defined structure. The extent to which the Bosnian church was identified with an ill-understood spiritual movement called Bogomilism is unclear, though some Bosnians now claim to trace their roots to this movement. The more important point is that the Bosnian church, though Christian, was neither markedly Catholic nor markedly Orthodox. This, together with the structure of local spiritual practices, helped facilitate large-scale conversions to Islam within Bosnia once the Ottoman Turkish occupation became established reality. Not all inhabitants chose Islam, of course; a great many remained Christian and became (or continued to be) allied with one of the two established Christian churches. Those who did accept Islam took on the beliefs and the cultural practices of that religion, but continued to speak their native Slavic tongue and to maintain life patterns similar to their Christian neighbors. This continuity of language and non-religious cultural practices, however, did not prevent their Christian neighbors from identifying them with the conqueror: they applied the epithet *Turk* to those of their brethren who had converted to Islam. When a number of these same Bosnian Muslims fled to Turkey proper during the decline of the Ottoman state, the ethnic Turks living there applied the name *boşnak* to any immigrant who continued to speak his or her native Slavic tongue, and this word was borrowed back into Slavic as **bošnjak**, in the general meaning “inhabitant of Bosnia”. It is only since 1991 that this term has taken on the exclusive meaning “Bosnian Muslim”.

But the Muslims are only one part of Bosnia, a land which has been throughout the centuries a functioning multi-faith, multicultural society with a strong awareness of *place*. Indeed, this

sense of geographical rootedness is one of the major distinctions between Serbs and Croats on the one hand and Bosnians on the other. While the former saw their medieval kingdoms shift borders and then cease to exist altogether during the long Ottoman occupation, the political unit called Bosnia kept both its name and its territorial integrity over a continuous period of more than 700 years. Medieval Bosnia lasted from roughly 1190 up to the final Ottoman conquest in 1463; near the end of this time (in 1448), Herzeg (= Duke) Stjepan established his dukedom as the independent unit which came to be known as Herzegovina. When the Ottomans took the region, they divided their holdings into smaller political units, two of which they named Bosnia and Herzegovina. The term for this political unit was a *sanjak* (the word is spelled *sancak* in Turkish, and **sandžak** in BCS, where it is now better known as the name of an area in southwestern Serbia). As the core Bosnian lands grew to be the center of what was called “Turkey in Europe”, these two sanjaks (together with the sanjak of Zvornik to the east) were incorporated into a *vilayet* (larger political unit), which also bore the name Bosnia. This unit in turn remained stable until 1878. At that point, the Congress of Berlin created the Austro-Hungarian protectorate of Bosnia-Herzegovina, a unit with the current political boundaries. Thus it is that Bosnia has been a place on the map with recognizable, stable boundaries since the late 12th century. Only between the years 1929 and 1945 was there no separate place called Bosnia.

The early 19th century historical processes usually referred to as national reawakening (or national revival) allowed both Serbs and Croats to hone their conception of national identity and develop plans for the future based on a shared sense of the past. For both Serbs and Croats, these movements drew much of their momentum from Christian victories over the Muslim Ottoman state, and from a growing awareness that the foreign invader would soon be driven back to Asia. Both Serbs and Croats were eager for this process to be completed so that those whom they perceived as the real inhabitants of the Balkan states could start to reclaim their rightful identities. Both groups – Serbs in the east and Croats in the west – were intent on freeing the inhabitants of Bosnia from what they viewed as enslavement to the Ottoman yoke. Indeed, it was a tenet of Serbian nationalist belief that the inhabitants of Bosnia (as well as other lands to the north and west of it) were really Serbs, despite the fact that some of them had accepted the Muslim or the Catholic faiths. Similarly, it was a tenet of Croatian national belief that the inhabitants of Bosnia were really Croats, despite the fact that some of them had accepted the Muslim or the Greek (that is, Orthodox) faiths. Both sides were overjoyed at the prospect of welcoming home so many prodigal sons, and both were bitterly disillusioned when Bosnians chose not to return to the putative Serb or Croat homeland, but rather to retain their Bosnian (and in many cases Muslim) identity. This sense of loss and resentment on the part of both Serbs and Croats has remained in varying degrees to the present day, and explains in part why the Bosnian war of the 1990s was so brutal.

175 The role of language in the “Protectorate”

That which allowed both Serbs and Croats to believe in all sincerity that the Bosnians were part of their separate national families was the realization that they all spoke the same language. Despite the fact that this language was called by different names, that it displayed regional differences, and that it was written in two and sometimes three different scripts, everyone knew that the inhabitants of Bosnia spoke the same language as their neighbors, both east and west. The Austrian authorities were also well aware of this fact, and of the growing desire among many Slavs for a broad cultural (and political) union based upon this South Slavic linguistic commonality. To this, the Austrians responded with a policy of “divide and rule”. In addition to introducing various practices designed to increase enmity between Serbs and Croats, they attempted to establish an explicitly separate Bosnian identity. The Austro-Hungarian administrator in charge of Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1882 and 1903, Benjámin Kalláy, became very involved in this issue, and appeared truly to believe in the ideal of a multi-faith common Bosnian culture (termed at the time **bošnjaštvo**). The spirit of the times was such, however, that his stance was supported only by

some Muslims. Other Bosnians (some Muslims, most Croats, and practically all Serbs) viewed the idea of a common Bosnian culture as a ploy to separate and weaken them.

One of the major arenas in which this struggle took place was that of school instruction. The native language spoken by Bosnian Slavs was called by several different names, but Kalláy's administration ruled that only the name **bosanski** (Bosnian) could be used in schools throughout Bosnia. In the face of extremely strong resistance to this proposal among non-Muslims, this particular ruling was rescinded, but Kalláy refused to abandon his vision. He simply scaled it down, and proposed that a grammar of the Bosnian language be produced for secondary schools. The scholar commissioned to write the grammar, Professor Franc Vuletić, requested that the title include both the names Serbian and Croatian in some form. The two names could be in either order and could be connected either by a hyphen or by the word *or*. Thus any of the following variants would be accepted: **srpsko-hrvatski**, **hrvatsko-srpski**, **srpski ili hrvatski** or **hrvatski ili srpski**. When government officials rejected all these proposals, Vuletić then asked that the preface state clearly that the grammar bore the name Bosnian (**bosanski**) only at the government's insistence. When this request was also rejected, Vuletić withdrew his name altogether. This is why the 1890 **Gramatika bosanskoga jezika za srednje škole** (*Grammar of the Bosnian Language for Middle Schools*) was published simply under government authorship. Measures requiring schools to add the rubric Bosnian language (**bosanski jezik**) to their curricula and to their annual reports met with stiff resistance, especially among Serbs, and the issue became highly politicized. In 1896, Kalláy convinced the eminent scholar Vatroslav Jagić (1838-1923), then a highly respected professor at Vienna University, to address a government delegation on the issue of the legitimacy of a common Bosnian identity. When Jagić said that the expression used by the local government did in fact correspond to the name of the country and that it had been in use for some two centuries already, his remarks caused street protests in Vienna as well as an outcry in the South Slavic lands (in his memoirs, Jagić later claimed he had stressed the unity of the language between Belgrade, Sarajevo, and Zagreb, and that his remarks had been taken out of context).

Kalláy eventually gave up his efforts, and in 1901 he announced himself ready to call the language any name on which the various local groups could agree. In 1907, Parliament changed the official name of the language from **bosanski** to **srpskohrvatski**, while still allowing Muslims to use the term **bosanski** within specifically Muslim institutions (they also continued to use the term **zemaljski** ["of the land"] when making general reference to the language of the three major groups). In 1908, Vuletić's grammar was reissued intact, under the title **Gramatika srpsko-hrvatskog jezika**, and the language was henceforth known by that name. This grammar (which was reprinted in 1994 by Bosnian Muslim activists in Switzerland, under its original title and still without a stated author) is a very interesting document. Originally published in both alphabets, it sought to find a balance between Serbian and Croatian elements; in many instances it simply described two options and stated that both were acceptable. It demonstrated, in fact, that the language of late 19th-century Bosnia was neither strictly Serbian nor strictly Croatian, but was rather an amalgam of the two with a broad but nevertheless workable range of variation. In 20th-century Bosnia, this communicative system continued to function in the same manner throughout nearly the entire lifespan of Yugoslavia. After the dissolution of Yugoslavia, it was transformed into the current Bosnian language, whose name is still a matter of dispute (for discussion, see [177]).

176 Bosnians in Yugoslavia

The name of the country known as the "first Yugoslavia" (1918-1941) – *Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes* – identified only three of the constituent ethnic groups within it. Yet the organization of the country into regions was highly favorable to Bosnians, in that their regional-administrative identity was largely preserved. This in turn was ultimately due to Kalláy's efforts in promoting a modern "Bosnian" identity. Among other things, he had sponsored a journal called *Bošnjak*, which appeared weekly between 1891 and 1910, and the founding of Muslim religious

organizations and political parties (along with parallel organizations for Serbs and Croats within Bosnia). Individual Bosnian Muslim intellectuals had identified with Serb or Croat causes at various points, even to the point of declaring themselves as Muslim Croats or Muslim Serbs, but by the time the new state was founded, the identity of Bosnian Muslims as a separate political force was sufficiently well established that its spokespeople could argue for some degree of autonomous Bosnian identity within the new Yugoslav state. Thus it was that Bosnia continued much as before – a well-defined place with no one religious or cultural majority where the several faiths and cultures lived together in an atmosphere which surprised outside visitors with its degree of tolerance and civility.

176a. The Bosnian idiom

The language spoken by Bosnians continued to be a fluid but functioning mix of Serbian and Croatian, with an overlay of words marked by their Turkish origin. Since the Turks had been a presence throughout the Balkans for several centuries, the language of all Balkan inhabitants – Christian and Muslim alike – had absorbed Turkish words, many of which are such an integral part of Serbian and Croatian today that speakers are often not aware of their origin. The language of Bosnia differed only in its greater frequency of these words. Furthermore, there was no one standard of measurement decreeing which of these **turcizmi** (Turkish-derived words), now belonged to the language of modern Bosnians and which did not. Rather, it was a matter of context, situation and personal preference. For instance, when the topic was the Muslim religion, it was to be expected that one's speech (or written text) would include a sizeable number of Turkish-derived words referring to religious ideas and practices (many of which themselves had entered Turkish from Arabic or Persian). Similarly, many Bosnians (Muslim or not) continued to use Turkish-derived words when referring to secular customs or concepts that derived in some way from Ottoman times, such as family relationships, items of clothing, or food preparation.

In a number of instances, both the Turkish-derived term and the native Slavic word were in common use, and it was the speaker's attitude at any one moment which determined which s/he would use. The Slavic word was the more neutral one, and the Turkish word imparted a sense of local coloring which, depending on the context, connoted either a sense of nostalgia and warmth or an ironic, provincialist point of view. One well-known example is seen in the title of Ivo Andrić's famous novel **Na Drini čuprija** (*The Bridge on the Drina*). The word **čuprija**, derived from the Turkish *köprü*, means “bridge”, as does the native Slavic word **most**. The former word is used to refer to an arched stone bridge from the Ottoman period (and in the novel in question, particularly to the bridge constructed over the river Drina in the mid-16th century), while the latter word means simply a bridge of any sort.

As Bosnian society became gradually more modern, some of these words fell out of use altogether, and some became restricted to certain stylistic contexts. A number of others, however, survived, and some even entered the general vocabulary of non-Bosnians while still retaining their Bosnian cultural color. An example of the latter would be the word **čef** (from Turkish *keyif*), which means roughly “the choice to enjoy life without hurrying”. In general, however, words identified as “Turkisms” were viewed as regional and particularly Bosnian. In certain contexts, such as poetry, literature and song, they were highly valued for their special, uniquely Bosnian flavor; in others, they were seen as archaic and provincial, bound up with an outmoded past.

176b. Bosnian Muslims as a national group

The growing secularization of Yugoslav society meant that Muslims gradually came to see themselves (and be seen) less as a religious community and more as a group bound together by common traditions and practices (not unlike the majority of diaspora Jews today). They were thus able to retain their group identity without difficulty when Tito's Communist regime took over. For Tito, in fact, identity was formulated largely in terms of nationality. Following the Stalinist

system, he accorded each component republic of the federation a national identity with which minorities in other republics could identify. Thus, each of the five national identities in Yugoslavia – Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins and Macedonians – had its primary home base, its charter republic. Bosnia-Herzegovina, however, was a primary republic to no one, because every group in it was technically a minority. When the time came for individual citizens to declare their national (that is, ethnic) affiliations on census forms, Bosnians had to choose between the categories *Serb*, *Croat*, *Muslim Serb*, *Muslim Croat*, or an alternate category (such as *undetermined Muslim* in the 1948 census, or *undetermined Yugoslav* in the 1953 census). Not surprisingly, over 90% of Bosnian Muslims chose these “undetermined” categories. Eventually, it was recognized that the term *Muslim* was not a religious but rather a political (national-ethnic) label, and the word **Musliman** (written with a capital letter) was given the technical meaning “member of a national-ethnic group within Yugoslavia”, to differentiate it from the word **musliman** (written without the capital letter), which continued to denote an adherent of Islam regardless of domicile. This distinction, understood (though not accepted) by everyone in the former Yugoslavia, has caused considerable difficulty in the West, which comprehends the term *Muslim* only in the religious sense; this misunderstanding almost certainly contributed to the widespread perception of the Yugoslav wars as exclusively religious wars.

It was the 1974 constitution which officially elevated the national-ethnic category *Muslim* to the status of a **narod**, or nation, henceforth to be viewed on an equal level with the other ethnic groups who had a primary or charter republic. The achievement of this status by Muslims, and the religious revival initiated in 1970 with the publication of an Islamic treatise by the future political leader Alija Izetbegović, contributed to the growing ethnic-national polarization within Yugoslavia. Much of this polarization had been expressed in linguistic terms, since it had first burst to the surface with the 1967 declaration by Croatian intellectuals of the existence of a separate Croatian language (for more discussion, see [182a]). In the case of Bosnian Muslims, however, the move towards separatism was motivated not by linguistic reasons but simply by self-defense. They knew well that no matter how significant they might become as a separate **narod**, it would always be the Serb-Croat coalition that kept the country together. Further, they knew well that Bosnia's stability depended on the multi-faith, multicultural coexistence that had worked for centuries, and that this Bosnian multiculturalism could only work within a larger multicultural state that was also relatively stable. If the Croatian drive for a separate language succeeded, and Serbs and Croats both established separate languages and eventually separate states, then the fight to reclaim the Bosnians which these two groups had always believed were “theirs” at heart, would be bitter indeed. Thus, the Bosnian Muslims began in earnest to revive the **bošnjaštvo** of the Austro-Hungarian period, and to build a separatist political movement around it. The zeal with which they did so has been viewed by many in fundamentalist terms (religious and otherwise), but it is clear that had Milošević's Serbs and Tudjman's Croats not been so stridently nationalistic, Izetbegović's Muslims would not have needed to become so either.

177 The Bosnian / Bosniak language

The revival of the Bosnian language must be viewed in the context of the rising nationalism of the 1980s and 1990s. In one sense, *Bosnian* is the language of all who live in Bosnia, and continues to be the same communicative code they have used for decades. That is, it continues to be a fluid mix of Serbian and Croatian traits (but without cultural marking for either Serbian-ness or Croatian-ness), with a certain Bosnian overlay, consisting primarily of a number of Turkish-derived words. But in another sense, *Bosnian* is marked as the language of Bosnian Muslims, who feel strongly that it should transmit their own specific Islamic cultural history in the same way that Serbian transmits its specific Orthodox cultural history and Croatian transmits its specific Catholic cultural history. Many on the outside feel that these two different views of the concept *Bosnian language* should carry different names, and that the term **bosanski jezik** should apply

only to the first, broader understanding. That is, they claim, since all agree that the term **Bošnjak** now carries the specific meaning *Bosnian Muslim*, it follows that the language which consciously seeks to characterize that specific cultural identity should be called **bošnjački jezik**. But the codifiers of this language claim the right to call their language by whatever name they choose, and the name they choose is **bosanski**. The English translations for the ethnic terms **Bosanac** and **Bošnjak** are *Bosnian* and *Bosniak*, respectively. The distinction between these two terms is not disputed by English speakers, though even those who understand the ramifications of the distinction will occasional use them interchangeably. But it is harder to agree on a name for the language, either in English or in the original. One cannot deny the inhabitants of Bosnia the right to call their language whatever name they wish; therefore, some say, if they choose to call it **bosanski**, they should be allowed to do so, and outside usage should respect this choice by using the term *Bosnian* (the fact that the Dayton accords of 1995 call the language Bosnian is also often cited). At the same time, some means should be found to respect the wishes of those inhabitants of Bosnia who do not wish the language prescribed by Muslim intellectuals to be legislated as their only official language: one way to do this would be to use the term *Bosniak* for that language. As of the current writing, the situation has not yet been resolved, and both terms are found in use.

The form and the content of the Bosnian / Bosniak language is gradually being defined, though it is unclear how many of the changes proposed by the Bosnian Muslim intellectuals who are at work on language planning will make it into actual everyday usage. One of the proposed changes is to restore the letter (and sound) **h** to a number of words which originally had it (and which, in a number of local dialects, still do have it). These words include both Turkish-derived words such as **kahva** “coffee” and **sahat** “clock, hour”, and native Slavic words such as **lahak** / **lahka** “light, easy”, and **mehak** / **mehka** “soft”. Some Bosnians now write **h** in these words, but many still use the former spellings **kafa**, **sat**, **lak** / **lak** and **mek** / **meka**. The other major change is in vocabulary: here, too, it is proposed to expand the number of Turkish-derived words by reintroducing words which revive ties with the Islamic cultural heritage. Some writers make a concerted effort to use as many such words as possible (usually in writing for periodicals with a strong national-religious orientation), but general usage has not seen a concerted rise in the frequency of such words. The third noticeable change is not specifically Bosnian in content, but rather consists in a gradual reorientation from Serbian in the direction of Croatian. Thus, one now sees the spelling **opcina** instead of **opština** “municipality”, and encounters on occasion the proposed Croatian spelling **ne Će** instead of **neće**. But this change is not radical, either: the earlier balance between Serbian-marked and Croatian-marked words (and the extent to which such pairs are in common use as synonyms) is still present to a great degree.

In sum, a number of changes have been proposed; certain of these are being implemented to varying degrees. In essence, however, the Bosnian language of today does not differ radically from the “Bosno-Herzegovinian standard linguistic expression” of 1974.

CHAPTER 24

178 Defining Croatia

Linguistically, Croatian identity is a very complex issue. It encompasses all three major dialects (čakavian, kajkavian and štokavian), as well as the regionally-marked speech of several quite discrete areas. Medieval Croatia itself ceased to exist as an independent state in 1102, and the separate regions were affiliated variously with Hungary and Venice and eventually (though at different times) became part of Austro-Hungary.

The area of *Istria*, located on the Istrian peninsula in the far northwest, has close ties with Italy and Slovenia, while the north central plains of *Slavonia* share much of the history (and culture) of neighboring Hungary. Although the far northern area of the coast is referred to as the Kvarner gulf, the majority of the coastline is known as *Dalmatia*. The hinterlands of Dalmatia were poor and backward, but both the coastal area and the islands off the coast have a rich cultural history and strong historical and cultural ties with Venice and Italy. Much of coastal Dalmatia's sense of history is connected with the literary and cultural glory of Renaissance times. Within Dalmatia, the coastal cities of Rijeka, Zadar, and Split each have their own separate histories (and complex ties with Italy and Venice), and several of the islands off the coast (such as Hvar, Vis and Korčula) have historically functioned almost as civilizations of their own. The town of Dubrovnik was a separate republic, known under the name of *Ragusa*, and was a major factor in international trade and diplomacy for centuries. Even Croatia proper was divided into two separate regions. One, *Military Croatia*, comprised the region of the Austrian military border zone known in Croatian as the Krajina; for several hundred years this region (itself part of a larger unit called in German the *Militärgrenze*) served the critical purpose of keeping the Ottoman Turks at bay. The other, called *Civil Croatia*, comprised the area around the capital city of Zagreb. Even today, the official Croatian coat of arms contains symbolic representations of the five different regional components (Istria, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Dubrovnik, and Croatia proper).

Forging all this into a single language that adequately represents its speakers as a community has been no small task. Croats have always had a strong sense of culture, however: it is partly for this reason that the idea of language has been such a central part of their sense of identity.

179 Language standardization in the pre-Yugoslav Croatian lands

Although many consider that language standardization in Croatia began only with the Illyrian movement of the 1830s and 1840s, serious contributions were made considerably before that time. The first printed grammar of Croatian, entitled *Institutionae linguae illyricae*, was published in 1604 by Bartol Kašić. According to this grammar, the prestige speech of the time was primarily čakavian but contained štokavian elements as well. This descriptive statement established a precedent that many Croats feel is more representative of their linguistic heritage than the uni-dialectal štokavian base which was adopted in the 19th century. The 1836 Illyrian proposal itself was a compromise, in that the choice of štokavian ijekavian was made with a view to eventual South Slavic unity, but the goal of spelling "for the eye rather than the ear" was made in awareness of the literary traditions of past centuries (review [170b]). Another element of the Il-

lyrian proposal was the retention of archaic case forms. The merger of the dative, locative, and instrumental plural cases into a single form, characteristic of Vuk's native dialect, was not known in any of the major Croatian-based dialects, and the Illyrians refused to accept these plural case forms. They insisted on the inherited forms (for instance, Dpl. **knjigam**, Lpl. **knjigah**, and Ipl. **knjigama** for the feminine noun **knjiga**), and became known as the *ahavians* or *ahavci* (those who insist on the ending **-ah**).

Indeed, the Illyrians were caught in the middle. Supporters of Vuk Karadžić's proposals (known as *Vukovians*, or **vukovci**) praised them for agreeing to adopt the štokavian ijkavian dialect, but criticized them for wishing to retain archaic case forms and for preferring morphophonemic over phonological spelling (review [164g]). Other Croats, while supporting the Illyrians' insistence on more "traditional" spelling, criticized them for abandoning the ikavian elements of their cultural heritage (referring, of course, to the many literary works produced in ikavian over the centuries, not only in Dalmatia but also in Slavonia). But the Illyrians could point to one major literary success: they were able to revive the great works of the Dalmatian Renaissance of the 16th and 17th centuries, a period which was of immense importance for Croatian national pride. One particularly notable achievement concerned Ivan Gundulić's epic poem *Osman*. This was an epic poem written in 1632, comprising twenty cantos. Over the centuries, two of these cantos – occupying a dramatically critical point in the epic tale – had somehow disappeared. The Illyrian poet Ivan Mažuranić (1814-1890) was able to revive Gundulić's Renaissance language so well that he composed the two missing cantos as if the original poet himself had written them.

But it was the Vienna agreement of 1850, and the victory of the Vukovian principles of language standardization, which set the course for the future. The Croatian Vukovians held sway in Zagreb, and worked in concert with Vuk's assistant Đuro Daničić to codify the language (review [170c]), aided by supporters of the Yugoslav ideal such as Bishop Strossmayer. But although these voices reigned, they were not the only ones. A number of Croatian intellectuals protested what they saw as a linguistic "sell-out". They continued to argue for different forms of the plural cases and for the greater appropriateness of ikavian spelling over ijkavian for Croatian. Indeed, it is highly ironic that by the time ijkavian became established as the norm in Zagreb, the Serbs – the original Vukovians – had switched to ekavian usage (for more discussion, see [185]). But the primary complaint of the Croatians who had not joined with the Vukovians concerned lexicography. In this area, they protested the principles underlying not only the shorter dictionary of Ivan Broz and Franjo Ivezović (published in 1901) but also the massive JAZU dictionary project. This undertaking, to which Daničić and others after him devoted their lives, eventually produced 23 large volumes under the title *Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika* (*Dictionary of the Croatian or Serbian Language*), spanning the period 1880 -1975. Both dictionaries included only štokavian words, and indeed both seemed primarily focused on those words from the folklore sources which had provided the basis for Vuk's own dictionary of Serbian. This perceived imbalance, and the need to mine the riches of their full, multi-dialectal linguistic heritage (in the words of one Croatian linguist, **zakopano blago jezika** "the buried treasure of language") has been a hallmark of Croatian language planning ever since.

180 Croatia and the Yugoslav idea

Croats were an important force in the pro-Yugoslav movement; indeed, it had been a specifically Croatian, pro-Yugoslav idea to call the JAZU the *Yugoslav* Academy of Sciences and Arts (the adjective *Yugoslav* in the name was replaced by the adjective *Croatian* only in the 1990s). Many felt that the heroes of Kosovo, in their 14th-century resistance to the Ottoman Turkish onslaught, should become the emblematic core of a general Yugoslav myth (not just a Serbian one), and a number of Croats worked to make this a reality. In 1889, Bishop Strossmayer had used his prestige to organize, in Zagreb and in the face of direct opposition from the Austrian government, an observance of the 500th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo. Prominent cultural

figures from Dalmatia, including the dramatist Ivo Vojnović (1857-1926) and the sculptor Ivan Meštrović (1883-1962), also created powerful works of art based upon the Kosovo myth.

The new South Slavic state which came into being at the conclusion of World War I was based on the idea of a unified “Yugoslav” cultural identity (and language). This idealized unity was epitomized in the language name **srpsko-hrvatsko-slovenački** (Serbo-Croato-Slovenian), and in Skerlić’s proposal (according to which Serbs would relinquish Cyrillic if Croats would take on ekavian spelling and Vukovian vocabulary). Hope in these ideals died quickly. Croats realized with dismay that the Yugoslav state for which they had worked, and in which most of them had fully believed, was to be run from Belgrade, with Belgrade-based attitudes as the rule of the day in nearly all spheres. The initial euphoria was replaced by bitterness, and tensions between Serbs and Croats quickly worsened. These tensions led to bitter arguments on the floor of Parliament, one of which (in June of 1928) resulted in gunfire aimed at several Croat deputies. Among the wounded were the Croat leader Stjepan Radić, who subsequently died of his wounds. On January 6, 1929, King Alexander suspended the constitution, officially renamed the country Yugoslavia, and imposed a unitary, Serb-based political system. At that point, the right-wing Croat Ante Pavelić moved to Italy and began organizing (with Mussolini’s help, and according to fascist principles which were quite popular at the time) the Ustashe movement, whose goal was Croatian independence.

180a. Language in Yugoslavia between 1929 and 1941

Issues of language also moved yet more in the direction of Serbian. Orthographic manuals published in Serbia in the first decades of the century had brought spelling conventions more in accord with modern Belgrade usage (and away from some of the original Vukovian spellings). Now, as part of the governmental reorganization of 1929, the Ministry of Education required that all schoolbooks throughout the country use the same spelling and same terminology – that of the Serbian orthography associated with the name of the eminent Serbian linguist Aleksandar Belić (1876-1960). While educators had no choice but to comply, writers and intellectuals in Croatia began to look back to kajkavian, the native dialect of Zagreb and the prevailing literary language prior to the Illyrian movement. Two important works were published to mark the hundredth anniversary, in 1936, of the Illyrian revival. One was a major linguistic study entitled *The Language of Kajkavian Croats (Jezik Hrvata kajkavaca)*, and the other was Krleža’s masterwork, *Balade Petrice Kerempuhu* (*The Ballads of Petrica Kerempuh*) – a complex poetic work written in a revitalized literary kajkavian whose centerpiece is a bitter statement about the funeral of KAJ.

The political situation gradually improved, and 1939 brought an agreement creating a quasi-independent Croatia (with its own parliament) within a significantly reorganized Yugoslavia. The following year saw the publication of a booklet entitled *Razlike između hrvatskoga i srpskoga jezika* (*Differences between the Croatian and Serbian Languages*). The book included an essay justifying the existence of a separate Croatian language, and a long list of Serbian words not used in Croatia as well as a list of Croatian words not used in Serbian. The book was discounted by Serbs, predictably, but not just for political reasons. Rather, they pointed (with some justification) to the fallacy in the assumption that every word could carry equally clear marking as either *Serbian* or *Croatian*, and to the fact that some of the words listed as Croatian were used frequently by Serbs as well, while some of words listed as Serbian were archaic or dialectal, and used very rarely by most Serbs (review [173c] on the problems inherent in making vocabulary lists). In Croatia, the booklet was wildly successful.

181 The Independent State of Croatia

At this point, Europe was already at war. Yugoslavia had so far managed to stay neutral, but in late March, 1941, the Yugoslav government signed a treaty with Nazi Germany allowing the Germans passage through Yugoslavia. Citizens in Belgrade rioted in protest and overthrew the

government. Hitler reacted in fury, ordering his forces to attack Belgrade with particular savagery. This attack came on April 6, 1941: four days later (and a full week before the capitulation of Yugoslavia), Pavelić re-entered Croatia and founded the openly fascist Independent State of Croatia. The Croatian name of this state, which had complete German and Italian support, was *Nezavisna država Hrvatska*; it was commonly referred to by its initials, NDH. Within days, the Cyrillic alphabet was banned, and before the month was out, the new state established the **Hrvatski državni ured za jezik**. This, the Croatian State Office for Language, was charged with four major tasks: monitoring all aspects of Croatian language use, preparing school textbook and language reference materials, enforcing language laws, and carrying out linguistic propaganda. That is, the Ustashe government officially took on the task of “cleansing” the Croatian language, with the aim of eradicating all Serbian-based “impurities”, and continued to pursue this goal assiduously throughout its entire time in office.

Throughout the existence of NDH (1941-1945), the state (through its Office for Language) paid great attention to propaganda. For instance, it organized weekly radio broadcasts (beginning in May, 1941), the goal of which was both to define and defend the notion of a separate Croatian language, and to issue instructions as to the permissible words and expressions in this language. It also required newspapers to print (at their own expense) similar pronouncements. Its most explicit regulations, however, concerned spelling. In August, 1941, a law was passed requiring morphophonemic rather than phonetic spelling of Croatian. According to the exact wording of the law, one “was to use root-oriented orthography rather than phonetic orthography” (**na hrvatskom se jeziku ima pisati po korienskom, a ne po zvučnom pravopisu**). By this act, the work of the Vukovians was overthrown and the Illyrian principle of “writing for the eye and not the ear” was signed into law. In addition, the ijkavian sequence **-ije-** was proclaimed to be a single-syllable diphthong, and was now to be written without the **-j-**. Thus the word for *root*, formerly written **korijen**, was now to be written **korien** (as were similar syllables in all other affected words). Because confusion reigned over the precise implementation of this law, a manual entitled **Koriensko pisanje** (roughly, “Root-Oriented Writing”) was written. This manual appeared in early September, 1942, and a four-month grace period was allowed for adaptation. After this, one could be arrested for misspelling – presumably on suspicion of anti-Ustashe sympathies. Although the Ustashe regime was defeated along with other Axis forces in 1945, many of the puristic language sentiments remained alive. As their final statement published just weeks before the capitulation, the State Office for Language reminded Croats of their holy duty to continue efforts to keep the Croatian language pure, as a matter of pride and honor.

182 Croatia in Titoist Yugoslavia

World War II was a time of ferocious conflict in the lands of Yugoslavia, during which its inhabitants fought not only the Nazis but also each other. The three factions were the Serbian royalist Chetniks, the Croatian fascist Ustashe, and the Communist-led Partisans. Part of the reason for the eventual victory of the latter group was their broad-based, populist program. In particular, they promised each of the two peoples who had felt most oppressed by the Serbian royalist regime – the Macedonians and the Croats – not only separate administrative rule in a new, reformulated socialist Yugoslavia, but also the right to their own separate language. Accordingly, the founding of Titoist Yugoslavia saw the proclamation of four official languages: Slovenian, Macedonian, Serbian and Croatian. All state documents were initially published in all four languages, and the paper money bore inscriptions in four languages throughout that state’s existence. The theme of the Titoist state was **bratstvo i jedinstvo**, or *brotherhood and unity*. Those who put more faith in the “brotherhood” half of the equation, expecting that each brother would be able to function with relative independence, soon saw that the “unity” half would predominate more than they might have liked.

In the case of language, this trend led to the Novi Sad agreement of 1954, which proclaimed the existence of a single language with two equal instantiations, Serbo-Croatian and Croato-Serbian (review [170d]). A language commission was set up and charged with producing two orthographic manuals and two sets of dictionaries. The actual work was assigned to the cultural-publishing organizations known as *Matica srpska* (based in Novi Sad) and *Matica hrvatska* (based in Zagreb). Each of these organizations would produce the reference tools in question using its own alphabet and own pronunciation, and would list the other pronunciation as well. The orthographic manuals were produced on schedule in 1960, and work on the dictionaries was underway. Already it was clear, however, that the differences between east and west went beyond those of alphabet and pronunciation, and that it was necessary to find some way to describe these differences more successfully. The concept of eastern and western variants was introduced (and the technical linguistic term **varijanta** was adopted in 1965). But there remained considerable unrest among Croat linguists, who did not agree with the suggested “models” according to which these variants should be defined.

182a. The Croatian “Declaration” and the Croatian Spring

The unrest erupted into outright rebellion when the first volumes of the joint dictionary appeared in 1967: the content of these books convinced Croat intellectuals that the ultimate Serbian intent was to impose Serbian speech models upon them by whatever means possible. In March, 1967, they published the famous statement known as the *Deklaracija o nazivu i položaju hrvatskoga književnog jezika* (*Declaration on the Name and Position of the Croatian Literary Language*). By this act they repudiated their signatures on the Novi Sad agreement, withdrew from the joint dictionary project (after having produced two volumes of their own), and proclaimed Croatian to be the official language within the Croatian republic. Their declaration was limited to those points. They affirmed both their loyalty to the existing political unity and to the continued existence of the joint language at the over-arching federal level; furthermore their tone assumed that Serbs were free to (and would wish to) establish Serbian as the official language within their own republic.

The initial response from Serbia was to take this proposal at face value. Several Serb writers signed a document called *Predlog za razmišljanje* (*A Proposal to Ponder*) in which they noted that since the Croats had unilaterally abandoned the 1954 agreement, they (the Serbs) had no choice but to accept this new state of affairs, despite the fact that they still considered the agreement legitimate. The document went on to discuss ways in which each side might develop independently within its own republic while assuring equal rights to all (and especially to Croats within Serbia and Serbs within Croatia). But this turned out to be a minority response. In 1968 the Titoist government condemned “certain tendencies to attempt to plant nationalist ideas ... in the public as scientific discussions of language”, and went on to state that the language question could not be solved “outside of a sociopolitical context”. Croat intellectuals essentially ignored these rebukes and continued with language planning, and the enthusiasm generated by the language issue grew into the larger political movement known as the “Croatian Spring”. In 1970 the linguist Dalibor Brozović published a book containing theoretical arguments for the existence of a separate Croatian language, and in early 1971 he circulated a document called “Ten Theses on the Croatian Language”.

In October of that year, as the new *Croatian Orthography* (*Hrvatski pravopis*) was eagerly awaited, three Serbian linguists wrote an open letter to the Belgrade newspaper *Politika*. In their letter, they expressed concern about “unprotected” Serbs within Croatia, and protested the idea that the Croatian language might be imposed on these Serbs by force. Later in October, when the Croatian Parliament inquired about delays in publication of their orthographic manual, they were told that there were unresolved “linguistic-political questions concerning Serbian schoolchildren in Croatia”. On December 1, 1971, Tito cracked down, purging not only Croat but also Serb politicians and intellectuals (and destroying all extant copies of the orthographic manual). The man-

ual was then published in London (from a manuscript copy which had been taken out of the country prior to this point) and circulated widely among Croats in diaspora. Three years later, in 1974, the new constitution allowed all republics (Croatia included) to determine the local idiom of internal use. Croatia immediately chose the Croatian standard language as its local idiom.

183 The Croatian language

By 1991 and Croatian independence, the Croatian language was a full-fledged reality: language planners had been at work for decades establishing the form of a separate Croatian language, one which would be pure of Serbian influence and “corruption”. The zeal of certain language purists was such that some began to fear the reinstitution of a language-policing regime similar to that of Ustashe, especially when the 1942 *Koriensko pisanje* was reissued in 1992. As it turned out, however, this republication was done primarily for historical interest, and only a small number of authors set out to use *koriensko* spelling consistently.

But the issue of vocabulary was taken very seriously, and considerable attention was paid to instructing the public in the usage of “pure Croatian” words. Anything remotely suggestive of Serbian – including the borrowing of words from foreign languages – was to be avoided, and pure Croatian words were to be preferred at every step of the way. Manuals, newspaper columns, and dictionaries were published to help the public acquire these words. The words themselves were taken from a number of different sources. Some were coined anew, but most were recovered from the past and proposed for return to active use. Because these recovered words were unfamiliar to all but historians of the language, however, they seemed just as new to the general public. Both this general sense of newness, and the intensity and the extent of the language purification process of the 1990s, led to the use of the term **novohrvatski**, or *new Croatian*. Although most Croats feel a natural pride in their heritage and their language, many viewed this process with a certain amount of skepticism, and tended to avoid some of the more radical innovations. During the years of Franjo Tuđman’s heavily nationalist rule (1991–1999), the use of new Croatian was (to varying degrees) a political necessity. Nevertheless, there was a range of different attitudes seen in the many dictionaries and language manuals that appeared: some were radically new and some were more moderate. One more moderate dictionary (that is, one whose political stance on the language issue was more moderate) provides an interesting insight on several aspects of the language issue. Under the entry for **zrakomlat** (literally, *air-beater*, a word created in order to replace the foreign loan word **helikopter**), one finds two definitions: 1) “helicopter”; 2) [mocking] “someone who occupies himself with making up all sorts of new words”.

Sociolinguists of the future will have much to study in Croatia. Language planners in Croatia have put a great deal of effort into creating a linguistic norm which would crystallize and express the specifically Croatian national-ethnic identity and which would explicitly be something other than Serbo-Croatian (which they perceive as essentially Serbian). Only the future will tell how many of these linguistic innovations take root in actual usage.

CHAPTER 25

184 Defining Serbia

From the outset, the Serbian language and the Serbian Orthodox Church have been closely intertwined. This is partly because Orthodox Slavs are very conscious of the fact that the Cyrillic alphabet was created for the express purpose of bringing the word of God to Slavs; as such, it carries obvious religious significance for all Orthodox Slavs. This close connection is also due to a particular fact about the Serbian medieval state, to which Serbs trace their identity and with which they feel indelibly bound. This is that the state was connected with the church through family ties: the founder of the independent church (St. Sava) was the youngest son of Stefan Nemanja, the founder of the medieval Serbian dynasty. Serbs feel great pride in their medieval past, both for this reason and because of the many monuments of art, architecture, and literature which date to that time.

Somewhat paradoxically, the strongest identification for nearly all Serbs is with the date June 28, 1389 – the day of their defeat at the Battle of Kosovo. Although most outsiders find it strange that a people should celebrate a military defeat, for Serbs the moral and spiritual importance of Kosovo is unparalleled in their history. To them, the physical defeat is transcended by the spiritual victory, by the knowledge that they did not flinch in the face of near certain defeat, and that one of their own managed to slay the enemy leader nonetheless. But if standing tall at Kosovo is one strand of their national myth, movement and migration is another. Many fled north and west as the Ottomans approached, and many more migrated purposely to the borderlands of Austria in the mid-16th century to settle in the newly created *Militärgrenze* (Military Border) where the Emperor offered them homesteads in return for army service. The Serb settlements in western Slavonia and (until 1995) in southeastern Croatia – the Krajina – date from this time.

The largest movement of peoples, called by the Serbs their *velika seoba* (Great Migration), took place in 1690. The early stages of Ottoman rule had been relatively benign for Christian subjects, and the Serbs had been allowed to continue their religious practices more or less unhindered. But after the Ottoman military defeats of 1689, the Serbs feared massive reprisals and decided to emigrate. In response to a Habsburg offer to re-establish itself in southern Hungary, the entire Serbian church hierarchy, together with many of the faithful, took to the road and resettled the church headquarters north of the Danube, in what is now Sremski Karlovci. The promised religious tolerance soon evaporated, however, and in face of strong pressure to convert to Catholicism the Serbs sent urgent appeals to Russia for Orthodox teachers and churchmen. These teachers and churchmen arrived en masse in 1726, and by 1740 there was an entire generation of Serbs educated in a mix of the Russian and Serbian church languages.

185 Language standardization in the pre-Yugoslav Serbian lands

Until that point, the language of literacy and instruction (to the extent that any existed) had been the relatively archaic Serbian church language; after the Russians arrived, there arose a strange blend of Russian and Serbian church languages mixed with the Serb vernacular, which

eventually became known as Slavo-Serbian (**slaveno-serbski**). Although literature was produced in this language, it had no set of rules; everyone wrote his own version of it. Two language reformers attempted to modernize this language and to shape it into what they felt a proper Serbian language should be. One was the well-loved Enlightenment figure Dositej Obradović (1741-1811), a relative moderate; and the other was the activist and rebel Vuk Karadžić, a decided radical (review [170a]). Both faced a highly conservative clergy who did not wish any changes in the traditions that had kept Serbs going for centuries.

It is ironic that the Serb patriot Vuk, who became such a hero elsewhere during his lifetime (as well as after his death in his own land), was so reviled by the guardians of Serbian literacy. But both sides refused to compromise. The church would not allow any changes in the alphabet or the vocabulary; for his part Vuk would accept neither any alphabet letters that did not correspond to existing sounds, nor any words that were not part of the rural folkloric vocabulary. Vuk's conflicts with his perceived enemies – the church hierarchy at Sremski Karlovci and the secular conservatives at the Matica srpska in Novi Sad – were so extreme that Daničić chose to entitle his history of Vuk's reforms (published in 1847) *Rat za srpski jezik i pravopis* (*The War for the Serbian Language and Orthography*). Vuk's eventual victory has been well documented; less well known is the price that it exacted. The church language may have been written in an outmoded alphabet, but it contained many beautifully expressive high-style words which nearly disappeared altogether from the language as a result of Vuk's radically clean-sweeping broom. Indeed, one of the reasons for the immense popularity among Serbs of the Montenegrin cleric, statesman and poet known as Njegoš (1813? --1851) is that his poetry combined the best of both Vuk's popular speech and the church's traditional high style, doing so in a way that no other poet has managed to match (see [188a] for more discussion of Njegoš).

By the end of the 19th century, the Serbs had their independent state, a developing urban culture in its capital Belgrade, and a well-developed national myth with two basic elements – the need to avenge the loss at Kosovo and regain the seat of their medieval empire, and the desire to bring together in a single state their brethren who had of necessity migrated afar. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, the Serbian language had developed according to what was known as the “Belgrade style”. This was a Serbian which had been refined on the basis of French and European models, which embodied positive attitudes towards a vocabulary containing international loanwords, and which was moreover decidedly ekavian. That is, Serbs had by then adopted the ekavian speech native to Belgrade and Novi Sad, despite the Vienna agreement of 1850 and the work of the Croatian Vukovians in establishing ijekavian in Croatia (review [170c]). This choice may have been partly motivated by the fact that Serbia's political priorities at this point were not in the west, but rather to the south and the east. The wars which would drive Turkey from the Balkans for good were imminent, and Serbia was thirsting to regain the lands of its medieval past, not just Kosovo but also the areas further south. The reason for adopting ekavian was not just because it was the speech of their capital (Belgrade), their other major cultural center (Novi Sad), and their core lands of central Serbia. Ekavian was also the speech of those lands they wished to regain: southern Serbia and the area they called “old Serbia”, which is now modern Macedonia (review [171c] and Map 3).

186 Serbia and Yugoslavia

Serbia regained Kosovo during the First Balkan War of 1912 (against Turkey), and won the rights to most of Macedonia during the Second Balkan War of 1913 (against Bulgaria). The Serbs fought valiantly in World War I (against Austro-Hungary), including a heartbreaking and appallingly costly retreat through Albania in the winter of 1915-16. When victory came and with it the newly independent union of the South Slavs, most Serbs felt justified in taking the dominant role in the new state and in accepting a member of the Serbian royal family as the ruler of that state: not only was the Serb population the most numerous and the most widespread, but this same

population had paid heavily by fighting three wars in less than a decade. Through these wars they had gained territory both in the north (portions of southern Hungary) and in the south (Kosovo, southern Serbia and Macedonia).

But there were still many Serbs living outside the borders of Serbia proper – in Montenegro, in Bosnia, in western Slavonia and in the Krajina. Some, such as the Montenegrins, lived in what they regarded as their original homeland, but many of the others had participated in one of the several migrations of Serbian history. Serbs, who were (and are) acutely conscious of where their co-nationals live, even have two different words meaning *Serb*. The more general word **Srbin** refers to a Serb regardless of domicile, while the derived form **Srbijanac** refers to a Serb living within Serbia proper. There is also the term **prečanin** (derived from the adverb **preko** “across”), which denotes a Serb who, due to migrations, now lives on the other side of some boundary line (usually a river). Indeed, the most famous Serbian novel of all times, published in 1929 by Miloš Crnjanski (1893-1977), bears the simple title *Seobe* (*Migrations*). Set in the 1740s, it was intended to be the first in a six-volume series which would conclude in the 1870s, bringing the migratory family back home to Serbia (ironically, political events which caused Crnjanski’s own migration prevented him from finishing this project).

The Serbian desire to unify their people whom migration had spread far and wide was (and remains) acute, and the fact that nearly everyone in the new state – the “first Yugoslavia” – spoke the same basic language as they did was for them yet further indication that the union should be a Serb-based one. But the “second Yugoslavia” – Titoist Yugoslavia – was constructed so as to make this impossible. Tito did this by splitting into separate pieces the region that was previously all Serbia. The southern portion became the separate republic of Macedonia (with its own language); the southwestern portion, with a majority population of Albanians, became the autonomous province of Kosovo-Metohija (later simply Kosovo); and the northern portion, with a plurality of Hungarians, became the autonomous province of Vojvodina. In subsequent years, this perceived “territorial emasculation” led to a resurgence of nationalism under Slobodan Milošević, but in the first decades of Tito’s rule, Serbs cooperated willingly in the sense of brotherhood and unity. Indeed, most sincerely thought they were now working together with other republics in harmony, and many could not understand why Croats were continually so resentful. Each side had made compromises, they felt, and things should now go forward smoothly. In the case of language, most Serbs rejected (and still reject) Croatian claims that Serbo-Croatian was always an artificial creation. To them, Serbo-Croatian was a real and living language, with different local variations: it was the language which many Serbs called (and which many of them still believe to be) their native tongue. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, as the republics of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro were moving to create their own separate norms and their own accepted modes of standard linguistic expression (corresponding to educated usage in Zagreb, Sarajevo, and Titograd, respectively), Serbs considered whether they too should establish a separate Serbian norm. They eventually decided, in 1982, not to do so. As separatist movements gained power elsewhere in the land, this simple choice led to the unfortunate situation whereby anyone who insisted that Serbo-Croatian was still a functioning language was branded as a Serbophile.

187 The Serbian language

The breakup of Yugoslavia left Serbs with a number of linguistic issues to resolve. While confessing to a certain sense of relief that the Croats had finally gone their own way, most Serbs felt that everyone else in the country still spoke Serbo-Croatian. However, with the establishment of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina as independent states (and the beginning of the war to determine the future of the latter), Serbs had no choice but to rename their language Serbian. This in turn forced the issue of what exact form standard Serbian should take. The two most burning issues concerned the alphabet, and the spelling of old Slavic *jat'*. Both issues were not only linguistically complex but also politically charged, the more so in that they coincided in time with war,

sanctions, and the totalitarian rule of Slobodan Milošević. The question of the Bosnian language was also problematic. In the view of Serbs, Bosnian was essentially the same as ijekavian Serbian, and they saw no justification for a separation. But when the Dayton accords sanctioned the existence of a Bosnian language in addition to Serbian and Croatian, this issue also had to be faced by Serb linguists.

187a. Alphabet and spelling

With respect to alphabet, the major issue was whether Serbia should adopt a Cyrillic-only policy, similar to the choice made by Croatians to adopt Latin only. All agreed that the Cyrillic alphabet was a major part of their cultural past and a source of great national pride. At the same time, Serbs had for decades also taken pride in their ability to work with both alphabets. Linguistic moderates argued, on the basis of this pride, that both scripts should continue to be used unchanged. They pointed not only to the fact that this had been the practice throughout Serbia for decades, but also to the greater ease of using the Latin script when dealing with Western nations. If Serbia wished to keep its connections with the West, these linguists claimed, it would be economically and politically impractical to ban the Latin script.

Others agreed that both alphabets should be retained, but believed that the Serbian version of the Latin alphabet should be altered. Specifically, they wished to restore the original Latin alphabet letters proposed by Daničić – **đ**, **lj**, **ń**, and **ǵ**, (for **dj**, **lj**, **nj**, and **dž**, respectively). In other words, they proposed that the alterations which had been introduced by Croatian Vukovians should be done away with. A third group, more radically nationalist in orientation, insisted not only that the government should ban the Latin alphabet, but also that it should “cleanse” the Cyrillic alphabet of western-oriented reforms (specifically the letter -**j**-). This group even proposed the restoration of the Cyrillic letter for *jat*', arguing that it would make the spelling of ekavian and ijekavian easier (ironically, the substance of this argument was exactly that of the Illyrian movement in the 1830s and 1840s).

187b. Ekavian and ijekavian

The issue of ekavian and ijekavian was if anything more politically charged. This is because whereas ekavian is the prestige speech of Belgrade and Novi Sad, ijekavian is the speech of Montenegro, of Serbs in the Sandžak, and of Serbs in Bosnia (Republika Srpska). As a separate component republic within Yugoslavia, Montenegrins already (and especially after the 1974 reforms) had a clear sense of their own linguistic normm and this norm was resolutely ijekavian. Most Serbian linguists proposed retaining both ekavian and ijekavian, despite the difficulties inherent in maintaining dual standards. Part of their reasoning was the awareness that Montenegro would have more reason to secede if an ekavian-only policy were legislated: by keeping both standards, they believed, they would be better able to retain the union with Montenegro. Some linguists went even further and proposed a shift to ijekavian only, claiming the need to return more fully to Vuk's original language.

But in Bosnia, the new political unit called Republika Srpska used this linguistic distinction as an overt political tool. In September 1993, the leader of Republika Srpska, Radovan Karadžić, imposed ekavian by force on a solely ijekavian-speaking population. The reason for this move was purely political: Karadžić wished to cement solidarity with Serbia proper and to increase the distance between Republika Srpska and the remainder of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This act led to considerable furor. Politicians approved of it, and some politically-motivated linguists also gave it grudging approval. But the vast majority of intellectuals and language scholars disapproved strongly of this openly political attempt to change the natural pronunciation of a population. Many meetings of “discussion” and protest were organized in the spring of 1994, and the issue simmered for quite some time. It was only in February of 1998 that the decree was officially re-

scinded. Since that time, both pronunciations have been officially permitted (and the population continues to speak its native ijekavian).

187c. The Committee for the Standardization of Serbian

Within Serbia and Montenegro, polemics continued with increasing bitterness, and different newly published orthographic manuals competed for recognition. Finally, scholars representing academies and universities in Serbia, Montenegro and Republika Srpska agreed in 1997 to establish a Committee for the Standardization of Serbian. The following year, a dissenting group of extreme nationalist intellectuals published a pamphlet called *Slovo o srpskom jeziku* (*Doctrine on the Serbian Language*), in which they denied the existence of the Croatian and Bosnian languages, claimed that all štokavian speakers were Serbs, and branded anyone who would allow the “dismemberment” (*čerečenje*, literally *quartering*) of the Serbian language as a Croat nationalist. Although much more attention was paid to this pamphlet abroad than in Serbia (where it was clearly recognized as a wildly extremist statement), the Committee nevertheless took time to issue a firm rebuttal to these charges, while continuing on with its work. The fall of the Milošević regime in late 2000 brought about a more balanced climate of opinion, though many of the above issues continue to be debated. At present, standard Serbian continues to be written in both alphabets and in both pronunciations, and its norms of usage continue largely to reflect those of Serbo-Croatian as used among Serbs.

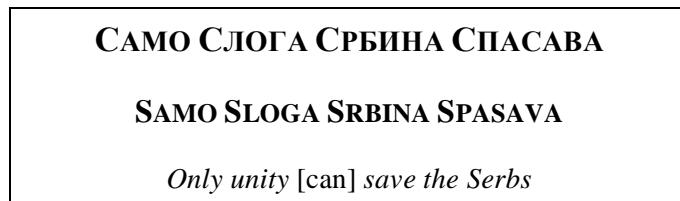
188 Defining Montenegro

The traditional bond between Serbs and Montenegrins has been described by the following aphoristic phrase: “All Montenegrins are Serbs, but not all Serbs are Montenegrins.” This pithy formula expresses both the strong historical and spiritual bond between the two peoples, and the Montenegrin’s fierce pride in his own unique identity. Although nearly all older Montenegrins would accept this description of themselves, a growing number of younger Montenegrins would reject the first half of it, just as they now regard its author (Milovan Djilas, one of Montenegro’s more famous native sons) as out of line with current political thinking. But although the drive for Montenegrin independence is strong, it cannot of itself eradicate the deep historical ties between the two peoples. Indeed, it is the very strength of this bond which makes the current bid for Montenegrin political and linguistic independence so difficult for both sides.

Montenegro itself is a land of contrasts. The coastal area had historical ties with Venice (and later Italy), and the long coastal strip, especially along the Bay of Kotor, is beautiful and inviting. But the prevailing image of Montenegro (both among its own people and those on the outside) is provided by the hinterland region, the rocky, forbidding landscape which gives it its name: both the original Slavic form, **Crna Gora**, and the Italian version by which the country is known in other languages, *Montenegro*, mean “Black Mountain” (even the Albanian name, *Mal i Zi*, also means “Black Mountain”). It is told that when God finished creating the world, he emptied out his sack of leftover rocks onto the spot of earth which became Montenegro. Proud of their ability to survive in this harsh terrain, Montenegrins like to refer to themselves as **brdani**, or “mountain men”. Their national hero, Njegoš, insisted on being buried high atop Mt. Lovćen, the highest of many a high peak in this craggy land, and none of his countrymen would have expected anything else.

Like other lands in the Balkans, Montenegro was occupied by the Ottoman Turks. In this case, however, the occupation was largely nominal, as the Ottoman armies were never physically able to subdue the inner reaches of Montenegrin territory. As such, it became a bastion of refuge, both in actuality and as a mythical symbol. It was in Montenegro that the Serbian Orthodox faith was kept alive, and that the tradition of heroism and resistance exemplified for Serbs by Kosovo lived on the most strongly. This shared historical and spiritual link – of adherence to Orthodoxy, resistance to the Turk, and willingness and ability to fight bravely and ferociously to defend one’s

land – constitutes the core of the emotional bond between Serbs and Montenegrins, a bond symbolized by the traditional Montenegrin logo. This design, which is embroidered on the cap of the Montenegrin men's folk costume (and seen in many other places), takes the form of a cross with the Cyrillic letter C in each corner. These four letters stand for the sentence



188a. Montenegro and Njegoš

Despite the clear ties to Serbia, it is obvious to all that Montenegro is unique in many ways. Until recently, the prevailing unit of social organization was the clan (the word **pleme** “tribe” is used in BCS), and it was a tricky job for any ruler even to keep peace among the several clans, let alone balance the needs and desires of them all, particularly when the institution of formalized revenge between clans (commonly known as “blood feuding”) continued to be a major element of the social structure. Up until the mid 19th century, the Montenegrin ruler bore the title **vladika**, a word usually translated as *Prince-Bishop*. As the dual nature of the translation indicates, the ruler’s role was to lead his people in both secular and spiritual affairs.

The most famous holder by far of this post is usually referred to simply as Njegoš, even though his full name was Petar II Petrović Njegoš (the “II” is used because he was the second of these rulers to bear the name Petar Petrović). Njegoš was a towering figure (physically as in all other ways) who negotiated with the Great Powers of Europe, single-handedly brought his people into the modern age, and created philosophical and poetic works of art which have never been equaled. No other figure in Montenegrin (or Serbian) history better encapsulates both the uniqueness of Montenegrin identity, and the close organic bond between Serb and Montenegrin. His best-known work, revered by both Serbs and Montenegrins as the masterpiece of each of their literary traditions, is the long epic poem *Gorski vijenac* (*The Mountain Wreath*), published in 1847. In poetry that is stirring and majestic, it treats the issue of distrust, schism and eventual violence between Orthodox Christian Montenegrins and their brothers who had converted to Islam through the description of actual historical events. Serbs consider this book to constitute the supreme poetic expression of their identity, partly because it abounds in references to the Kosovo legend and glorifies the fighting spirit, and partly because it is dedicated to Karageorge, the instigator of the first Serbian revolt. Montenegrins take it as their own work not only because it is about heroes and battles from their own history with all the characters and scenes drawn from real life in Montenegro (the central character, Prince-Bishop Danilo, is a historical figure, who ruled Montenegro between 1697 and 1735), but also because the language in which it is written is the same as that still spoken by many Montenegrins. For Serbs, by contrast, the language of Njegoš functions in a manner parallel to that of Shakespeare within the English-speaking world: it is the language of an acknowledged literary masterpiece which, although it is noticeably archaic, is at the same time eminently quotable, having supplied the modern language with numerous proverbial expressions.

Montenegro and Njegoš were also important to Vuk’s language efforts. Vuk’s ancestors had in fact come from Montenegro, and the specific East Herzegovinian dialect which became the basis for the štokavian standard is very similar to the dialect which is native to Montenegro. Thus, when Vuk and Njegoš met, they found common ground not only in their belief that the language of epic poetry could and should be elevated to the status of a literary language, but also in the fact that they literally spoke the same language. The publication in 1847 of *Gorski vijenac* – a major work of literary epic poetry written in “Vukovian” Serbian – was seen as a crowning achievement

for Vuk's language program, especially as the same year had also seen the publication of Vuk's translation of the New Testament into the popular language. Furthermore, the preceding year had seen the publication of another major literary epic whose central concern was the struggle of Montenegrin heroes against the Turks, and which was also based upon real characters and events. This was Ivan Mažuranić's *Smrt Smail-Age Čengića* (*The Death of Smail-Aga Čengić*), considered by Illyrians to be the literary masterpiece of their movement. Although the two landmark epic poems belonged at the time to different literary and cultural circles, it is significant that both were written not only in the same language, but also in the same poetic meter as the traditional oral epic poetry. It is likely that these facts, plus the obvious literary merit of both poems, played a role in the success of the Vienna agreement and in the choice of ijekavian as the standard written form of the language of Serbs and Croats. Montenegrins viewing these events in retrospect take great pride in them.

189 Montenegro in Yugoslavia

During the second half of the nineteenth century, most Serbs adopted the ekavian speech native to their cultural centers of Belgrade and Novi Sad (review [185]). But they also continued to regard Njegoš as their greatest poet, and the strong bond of spiritual unity between Serb and Montenegrin remained unbroken. To the delight of some Montenegrins and the chagrin of others, Montenegro was incorporated directly into Serbia during the “first Yugoslavia” (1918-1941). But in Titoist Yugoslavia it became a separate republic. Throughout this entire period, the name of its language was *Serbian*, followed (after 1954) by *Serbo-Croatian*.

Along with the decentralization allowed by the 1974 constitution, each of the different republics developed its own regional norms of the language. Within Croatia (and later, in Bosnia-Herzegovina) intellectuals worked first to develop their own regional standard and then to elevate this regional standard to the status of a separate language. In both instances, these intellectuals sought to recover a particular historical past and to crystallize a particular sense of national identity through the codification of a language standard that was explicitly something other than Serbo-Croatian (which they perceived as essentially Serbian). Croatian linguistic and cultural identity was focused on a multi-dialectal base (including čakavian, kajkavian and ikavian) and the Catholic religion (review [183]), while Bosnian Muslim linguistic and cultural identity was focused on its Islamic past and on a large Turkish-derived vocabulary (review [177]). But in the Montenegrin case, the idea of forging an identity that would be seen as explicitly separate from Serbian is more difficult. The religious difference is slight, since both Serbs and Montenegrins are Eastern Orthodox; furthermore, both groups share a common cultural history based largely on this shared Orthodox identity. Nor is there a clearly marked linguistic difference. It is true that all Montenegrins speak ijekavian, but so do Serbs in Croatia, Bosnia, eastern Herzegovina, and southwestern Serbia. In light of these commonalities, a movement to establish a separate Montenegrin language would have seemed impossible until recently (indeed, such an idea still strikes many Montenegrins, and nearly all Serbs, as highly unrealistic).

187a. A Montenegrin language?

Nevertheless, such a movement has come into being, largely on the initiative of a single scholar, Vojislav Nikčević. Furthermore, it appears to have been gaining momentum in recent years. Many who support this idea, both in Montenegro and outside Montenegro (in Croatia, Bosnia and the West), see this movement more in terms of potential political independence than linguistic separatism. Yet a number of Montenegrin youth now consciously use words marked as “Montenegrin” as a mark of solidarity with the push for political independence.

The movement can be said to have begun in 1994, when the PEN center of Montenegro (that is, the Montenegrin branch of the international writers' association called PEN) adopted a declaration about the constitutional status of the Montenegrin language. That same year, Nikčević

published a manual called *Piši kao što zboriš* (*Write As You Speak*), whose title is a direct quote of Vuk's slogan, but substituting the characteristically Montenegrin word for *speak*. Three years later, Nikčević published the book-length *Crnogorski pravopis* (*Montenegrin Orthography*). His basic claim – which has been soundly rejected by Slavic linguistic scholarship – is that Montenegrins are the only original speakers of ijekavian, and that ijekavian then spread (via migrations and the expansion of Vuk's language) among the ekavian Serbs and the ikavian Bosnians and Croats. It follows from this, says Nikčević, that the future of the "Montenegrin language" requires restoring ijekavian to its full, undiluted extent. This should be done, he says, in two ways. One is to restore the archaic negated forms of **biti** (**nijesam**, etc.) as well as the original endings of certain pronominal and adjectival case forms, such as Gpl. **tijeh starijeh ljudi** (in place of **tih starih ljudi**) or DLIpl. **tijem starijem ljudima** (in place of **tim starim ljudima**). The other is to reproduce in the spelling certain consonant softenings which he claims to be Montenegrin (but which in fact are dialectal East Herzegovinian pronunciation): this would involve introducing three new letters into the alphabet (š, ž and ȝ), and increasing the frequency of č and đ. He thus proposes spelling the ijekavian words **osjećati**, **zjenica**, **tjerati** and **djevojka** as **ošećati**, **ženica**, **ćerati**, and **devojka** (the letter ȝ represents the sound **dz**, which occurs rarely). Other proposals wold introduce certain dialectal pronunciations into the written language, such as **šutra** for **sutra**.

Because so many of the markers of the proposed "Montenegrin language" are connected with ijekavian, these proposals create a particularly difficult situation for Serbs. At the present writing, Serbia and Montenegro still are joined in a single political unit. Although there have been signs of impending Montenegrin separation for several years, the joint political unit currently enjoys a certain semblance of stability. It is abundantly clear, however, that the maintenance of the union between Serbia and Montenegro depends (at least in part) upon the assurance that the language of this political unit continues to allow both ekavian and ijekavian expression, with convincing guarantee of equal prestige for both.

CHAPTER 26

190 One language, or more than one?

It is appropriate to conclude this sociolinguistic commentary by returning to the question of whether it is more correct to speak of BCS as a single language, or to consider that Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian are three separate languages. The goal of this book has been to present the grammar of BCS as a single (though complex) code of communication, while attempting at the same time to identify the major points on which the separate codes of Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian differ from one another. When it is an issue of grammar or of grammatical function words, the differences have been stated in general, overall terms. When it concerns particular vocabulary items, the differences have usually been noted systematically only in the footnoted commentary to individual examples. That is, the scope of vocabulary differentiation itself has been described on a more or less random basis: it has been noted (when relevant) only for those items which happen to have occurred in any one set of examples.

In other words, no focused attempt has been made to characterize vocabulary differences at a general level. This is partly because the goal of this book has been to describe grammar and not vocabulary, and partly because of the general nature of vocabulary differentiation. While some vocabulary items can be identified unambiguously as belonging to either Croatian or Serbian, a larger number of them can only be described in terms of frequency of usage: despite the efforts of Croatian language planners, it is still the case that there is a fair amount of overlap. Namely, although some words may be used more frequently in Serbian, they are nevertheless also used by Croats; therefore, one cannot say that they are exclusively Serbian. Similarly, while others may be used more frequently in Croatian, they are also used by Serbs; therefore, one cannot say that they are exclusively Croatian. Sometimes the words in question are used on both sides with differing frequencies but in the same meaning, and sometimes they are used with slightly different overtones (review [172b, 173]). The question of Bosnian is if anything more complex. In many cases, the words which carry generalized markings as Serbian or Croatian are used with equal frequency in Bosnian, more or less as synonyms. In others, Bosnian usage sometimes favors the Croatian-marked one and sometimes the Serbian-marked one. The instances in which Bosnian has its own unique word are relatively rare; furthermore, such words are almost always used alongside another one which is known in either Serbian or Croatian or both.

Whenever differences noted as B, C, or S have been specified in the footnoted commentary to example sets, they have necessarily been presented as characteristic of one side or another: it has not been possible to represent gradations of usage of individual items. Synonymy in Bosnian has been noted by the expedient of identifying one form as characteristic of Serbian and Bosnian (S,B) and the other as characteristic of Croatian and Bosnian (C,B). Yet such gradation definitely exists in the usage of some of these words as well. In addition, not every instance of variation has been noted. That between the two implementations of the idea *infinitive*, for example (the single-word infinitive in Croatian vs. the **da** + present infinitive in Serbian) has been noted in each instance. But variation in the usage of long vs. longer adjectives (**visokog** vs. **visokoga**), to take

another example, or in the ordering of clitic forms (**moja je sestra učiteljica** vs. **moja sestra je učiteljica**), has not been noted in the footnoted commentary to examples.

In sum, the grammar section of this book (comprising chapters 1-20) has described BCS as a single language with a certain amount of internal differentiation. The sociolinguistic commentary, by contrast, has focused on that which defines Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian as separate entities. The initial portion of this commentary (chapter 21) summarized the history of standardization prior to the wars which split Yugoslavia asunder. The following portion (chapter 22) discussed parameters of differentiation over the broader BCS area and asked whether or not one can delineate the distinctions among the three (Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian) on a purely linguistic level. The overall answer was negative: although internal differentiation does exist, its distribution cannot be correlated in any systematic way with the boundaries of the states now associated with the three newly-defined separate languages. The purpose of the subsequent discussion (chapters 23-25) was to demonstrate that the three systems are indeed clearly differentiated from one another, and that each of these three systems plays a very important role in transmitting and affirming the historical and cultural identity of the people in question. In other words, the differences which separate Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian are not so much linguistic but symbolic, and function not on the level of everyday communication but rather on the level of political and national representation. If one calls the language of cultural and national representation an “S-language” (where S means symbol) and the language of everyday interaction a “C-language” (where C means communication), one can say that each of the three new S-languages is the medium of communication of a distinct people, each with its own history, culture, and sense of self. At the same time, speakers of these three S-languages communicate with one another using the same grammar and (largely) the same vocabulary – in other words, they speak one and the same C-language.

Natives have traditionally referred to this situation by describing their language as **jedan ali ne jedinstven** “one but not uniform”. Using technical linguistic terminology, one could call it a *pluricentric language*, or a language which serves different populations in different states, taking on different guises as necessary. Such a situation is not at all uncommon in the world today: all four of the major Western languages (English, French, German, and Spanish) are pluricentric languages. In fact, some linguists have argued that since Serbo-Croatian was also a pluricentric language (uncharacteristically functioning within a single state rather than within different states), BCS should be regarded not only as the successor to Serbo-Croatian but in fact identical with it. The only difference, these linguists claim, is that the breakup of Yugoslavia has transformed the language into a more characteristic (more “normal”) pluricentric language, in that it now functions within a number of different states rather than within a single state. Others feel that the linguistic situation has changed just as radically as has the political one has, and that the names – both of the several S-languages or the single C-language – must reflect this change.

No one can deny that change has occurred (and not just in the names of languages). Language engineering has taken place on a number of different levels, and an entire generation is now nearing the completion of its schooling in the newly separate states. The most extensive work dedicated to language transformation has been that undertaken in Croatia, where a large number of devoted language specialists have worked with great enthusiasm and national fervor to implement a Croatian language which would be clearly distinct from Serbo-Croatian. In like manner, a devoted and diligent group of Bosniak intellectuals undertook the more or less parallel task of establishing a language that would also be distinct from Serbo-Croatian – a language which they call Bosnian but which many outside Bosnia believe should bear the name Bosniak. No parallel efforts were made by Serbs to develop a separate Serbian language. Rather, Serbs attempted to find ways to maintain a pluralistic status quo, since most of them considered that Serbian and Serbo-Croatian were (and continued to be) largely the same.

The decade of the 1990s was thus one of intense activity and rapid change. Although it is perhaps too soon to tell whether a state of rest has actually been reached, by 2005 it was clear that

the rate of change had slowed dramatically. In addition, it appeared by that point safe to say that the changes themselves were nearly all in terms of focus rather than substance. That is, nearly every element which now functions to differentiate Croatian from Serbian (or Bosnian from either of them) was already present as a variant means of expression. What has changed is the degree of emphasis that is placed on these particular elements as representative of national groups, and the conscious attention paid to these elements by speakers and (especially) by politicians and language planners.

The current state is best described as three distinct systems of symbolic cultural representation (three S-languages) which share a common core of communicative expression (one C-language) which in each instance bears an overlay of its own distinct representation. The three separate systems are Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian, of course, and their common core is BCS. The names *Croatian* (**hrvatski**) and *Serbian* (**srpski**) are unproblematic: each refers to a clearly defined national and cultural group. Furthermore, since each term has in the past also referred to that group's language, it is natural for it to do so now. The name *Bosnian* (**bosanski**) is somewhat more problematic. The intense language planning efforts which have elevated Bosnian to its current status have been undertaken by Bosnian Muslim (Bosniak) intellectuals; consequently, much of what differentiates Bosnian from Serbian or Croatian is identifiable with the Bosniak Islamic heritage. Non-Muslim Bosniaks (as well as other BCS speakers) accordingly claim that since the language bears so many Bosniak national traits, it should also bear the name *Bosniak* (**bošnjački**). The Bosniak language planners, however, claim the right to call their language by whatever name they choose, and are resolute in their insistence that the name of the language should be not Bosniak but Bosnian (**bosanski**). At the present writing (and for the foreseeable future), this issue remains unresolved.

Naming the common core, here called BCS, is more difficult. For outsiders, the idea of an abbreviation is a welcome solution. In English, for instance, *BCS* is more than adequate: it is not only easily pronounceable ("bee-see-ess") and compact to write, but also communicates all the necessary information. The alphabetical order of the components allows one to avoid any sort of value-ranking, and the use of the initial B rather than a full name even allows one to refrain from taking a position on the Bosnian / Bosniak dispute. Native speakers of what is here called BCS, however, would rarely find a reason to use such a term. In fact, the vast majority of these speakers continue a practice which has served them well for many decades. Namely, when the situation requires them to identify what they are speaking, they use either the more localized term which identifies their own particular area, or they use the all-embracing phrase **naš jezik** "our language" (or its abbreviated form, the adjective **naški**). That is, they allow the situation to determine whether they will use the specific or the general mode of identifying their speech. Obviously, the generalized adjective *our* has the great advantage of specifying the commonality of the code while not placing any specific national or geographic limits on the group using the code. Thus, the phrase "*our language*" can refer to a language community as small a single village or as large as a supranational far-flung global complex of speakers (the word may also take on political overtones: when the name *Croatian* was taboo during the early 1970s, many Croats used the term **naš jezik** with a sort of ironic satisfaction to denote "their" language). Of course, this lack of specification within the word itself places considerable burden on the particular context within which it is used. In addition, the explicit personal involvement conveyed by the fact of the first person pronoun *our* renders the term too emotional and personal to be used in any scientific context – and there is also the obvious fact that the term is not available to an outsider, even the most sympathetic one.

In the end, however, names are perhaps not everything. It continues to be true, after all, that a rose by any other name will smell as sweet. Accordingly, one might also say that Yugoslavs by any other name still have their speech, just as Bosniaks / Bosnians, Croats and Serbs have their individual speech. This book is for all these speakers, as well as for all others – whoever and wherever they may be – who wish to talk to, with, or about any of these speakers.

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