A Handbook of Bosnian, Serbian, and Croatian

by Wayles Brown and Theresa Alt

© SEELRC 2004
Acknowledgements

We are grateful to many teachers, colleagues, friends and other speakers who helped us over the years; particularly to the late Prof. Rudolf Filipović who brought us into contact with most of these valued people. He organized the contrastive grammar projects, which we both worked on in Zagreb, and directed W. Browne’s thesis. We further thank Milka Ivić and the late Pavle Ivić, professors under whom W. Browne earlier studied in Novi Sad.

We thank Grace Fielder for inviting us to create the present site for inclusion in the University of North Carolina/Duke University series; Edna Andrews, head of the Slavic and East European Language Resource Center; Troy Williams, both Slavist and computer expert, and his colleague Cal Wright at the Center who both did valiant work converting our archaic fonts into universally-readable .pdf format.

Bernard Comrie and Greville Corbett kindly invited W. Browne to write the Serbo-Croat chapter (Browne 1993) for their book *The Slavonic Languages*. Much of this web publication stems from Browne 1993, but has been rewritten for clarity and simplicity. Most of what Browne 1993 said about accents, language history and dialects is not used here, so those interested will still need to look there. This text also includes material that did not fit into Browne 1993 because of length limits. Finally, this text includes much new material.

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

Our gratitude also goes to Sasha Skenderija of the Cornell Law School Library for letting us use the Text Samples from his short story “ToFa”.
Table of Contents

Abbreviations 6

0. Introduction 7
   0.1 Geography 7
   0.2 History 7
   0.3 Dialects 8
   0.4 Standard languages 9

1. Sound system 10
   1.1 Vowels and consonants 10
      1.1.1 Vowels 10
      1.1.2 Consonants 12
      1.1.3 Alphabets 12
   1.2 Accent and vowel length 15
      1.2.1 Long and short vowels 15
      1.2.2 Accents 15
   1.3 Alternations 16
      1.3.1 Consonant changes 16
      1.3.2 Vowel changes 18
      1.3.3 Alternations from later sound changes 19

2. Morphology 21
   2.1 Noun, pronoun and adjective endings 21
      2.1.1 Categories 21
         2.1.1.1 Numbers 21
         2.1.1.2 Cases 21
            2.1.1.2.1 Uses of the cases 21
            2.1.1.2.2 Fewer case forms in plural 28
         2.1.1.3 Genders 28
      2.1.2 Noun declensions 28
         2.1.2.1 Nouns with -a in genitive singular 29
            2.1.2.1.1 Masculine zero-ending nouns 29
            2.1.2.1.2 Neuter -o/-e ending nouns 30
         2.1.2.2 Nouns with -e in genitive singular 31
         2.1.2.3 Nouns with -i in genitive singular 32
         2.1.2.4 Nouns declining as adjectives 32
      2.1.3 Pronoun declensions 33
         2.1.3.1 Personal and reflexive pronouns 33
         2.1.3.2 Demonstrative, possessive and other pronouns 33
         2.1.3.3 'All' 35
         2.1.3.4 Interrog. pronouns, demonstrative and interrogative forms 35
      2.1.4 Adjectival declensions 36
         2.1.4.1 Long and short endings 38
         2.1.4.2 Soft stems 38
         2.1.4.3 Short and long contrasted 38
         2.1.4.4 Possessive adjectives 38
         2.1.4.5 Passive participles 38
         2.1.4.6 Comparatives and superlatives 38
2.1.4.7 Adverbs derived from adjectives 39
2.1.5 Numeral declensions 39
2.2 Verbal forms 39
  2.2.1 Categories expressed 39
    2.2.1.1 Finite forms vs. compound tenses 39
    2.2.1.2 Simple tenses 40
    2.2.1.3 Compound tenses 40
    2.2.1.4 Aspect 41
    2.2.1.5 Verbs of motion 41
    2.2.1.6 Imperative and conditional 42
    2.2.1.7 Active and passive 42
    2.2.1.8 Non-finite verb forms, L-participle 43
  2.2.2 Conjugation 43
    2.2.2.0 General remarks about conjugations 43
    2.2.2.1 Present tenses in -e- 44
    2.2.2.2 Present tenses in -a- 47
    2.2.2.3 Present tenses in -i- 48
    2.2.2.4 The verb 'to be' 49
    2.2.2.5 The verb 'to eat' 49
    2.2.2.6 The verb 'want, will' 49
2.3 Word formation 50
  2.3.1 Major patterns of noun derivation 50
  2.3.2 Major patterns of adjective derivation 51
  2.3.3 Major patterns of verb derivation 53
3. Syntax 53
  3.1 Element order in declarative sentences 53
    3.1.1 Topic-comment structure 53
    3.1.2 Adverbs and adverbials 54
    3.1.3 Typical subject-verb order 54
    3.1.4 Existential verbs 54
    3.1.5 Enclitic placement 55
    3.1.6 Ordering of elements within noun phrases 56
  3.2 Non-declarative sentence types 57
    3.2.1 Interrogative sentences 57
    3.2.2 Commands 59
3.3 Copular sentences 60
3.4 Coordination 62
3.5 Subordination 64
  3.5.1 Complement clauses as subjects or objects 64
  3.5.2 Verbal adverbs, verbal noun, participle 66
  3.5.3 Relative clauses and their antecedents 67
  3.5.4 Relative clauses and order of elements 68
3.6 Negation 69
  3.6.1 Sentence negation 69
  3.6.2 Negative conjunction 'niti' 69
  3.6.3 Agreement in negativity 69
Abbreviations

ACC  accusative
ADJ  adjective
AG   accusative and genitive
AN   animate
AUX  auxiliary
BCS  Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian
DAT  dative
DL   dative and locative
DLI  dative, locative, and instrumental
F    feminine
GEN  genitive
IL   instrumental and locative
INST instrumental
LOC  locative
LP   L-participle
M    masculine
N    neuter
NA   nominative and accusative
NAV  nominative, accusative, and vocative
NOM  nominative
NV   nominative and vocative
PF   perfective
PL   plural
SG   singular
SOV  subject-object-verb order
SV   subject-verb order
SVO  subject-verb-object order
VOC  vocative
[ ] phonetic transcription
'...' English glosses
1    first person
2    second person
3    third person
234  234 (numerals)
<    comes from
>    turned into
⇠    is derived from
⇢    yields
0. Introduction
Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian are three standardized forms based on very similar linguistic material. For many people the term "language" means standardized form of a language, and in this meaning we can speak of a Bosnian language, a Croatian language, and a Serbian language. "Language" can also be a system that permits communication, and in this meaning we can consider all three to make up one language. Serbo-Croatian was the traditional term. The non-native learner will usually want to choose to concentrate on Bosnian or Croatian or Serbian, but learning any of these actively plus some knowledge of the differences will permit the learner to take part in the communication system throughout the whole area. This description will use the term BCS to denote what the three standards have in common. The differences in grammar are not very numerous and will be discussed as we go along. The differences in vocabulary are more numerous; some will be pointed out in the vocabulary section.

0.1 Geography
0.1.1 Standard Croatian is used in Croatia. Standard Serbian is used in Serbia and Montenegro (Crna Gora), presently a single country, until recently called Yugoslavia (1991-2003). Standard Bosnian is used in Bosnia-Hercegovina, although some residents prefer standard Croatian or standard Serbian. Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina were four of the six republics of former Yugoslavia (1945-1991).
0.1.2 Croatia has just over 4.4 million inhabitants, nearly all of whom speak Croatian. Census figures are incomplete for the other new countries. Bosnia-Hercegovina has a population of over 3.5 million, virtually all speakers of the language. Serbia and Montenegro have about 10.5 million inhabitants, but Serbia's multilingual northern province Vojvodina includes many Hungarians, Slovaks, Romanians and Rusyns, and a disputed southern province Kosovo has an Albanian majority of over one million.
0.1.3 There are Serbs who have lived within present-day Romania and Hungary for several centuries. There are Croatians who have lived in eastern Austria, Slovakia, Hungary and Romania for hundreds of years. There are also scattered emigrant communities that preserve the language in the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Argentina, Chile, and other countries. In the neighboring countries of Slovenia and Macedonia many people speak Bosnian, Croatian or Serbian as a second language.
0.2 History

0.2.1 Slavic speakers arrived in the Balkans and spread throughout their present territories in approximately the sixth and seventh centuries AD. They settled in small scattered groups interspersed with groups of speakers of other languages. Only gradually over many centuries did any of these languages come to be spoken over large, contiguous areas. Those South Slavs who settled closer to the Adriatic soon came under the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, whereas those further east came under the Byzantine Empire and its Eastern Orthodox Church. The cultural division between the Eastern and Western churches predated by several centuries the formal split of 1054. Eastern Orthodoxy came to be a distinguishing mark of the Serbs and Roman Catholicism of the Croatians.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

0.4.2 Modern standards

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

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

0.4.2.3 Medieval Bosnia shared an early Cyrillic-alphabet Church Slavonic heritage with Serbia. Under Ottoman rule, Turkish was the language of government. The local language was sometimes written in Cyrillic or an offshoot of it called Bosančica, sometimes in Latin letters, and sometimes in the Arabic alphabet by Moslem scholars. When Bosnia-Hercegovina reemerged as a part of Yugoslavia, it adopted the Ijekavski standard and consciously used both the Latin and Cyrillic alphabets.
1. Sound system
1.1 Vowels and consonants
1.1.1 Vowels
The five vowels i, e, a, o, u may occur in any position in a word: beginning, middle, end. Each can be long or short (see 1.2 Accent and vowel length below). i and e are classified as front vowels, while a, o and u are back vowels.
1.1.1.1 In addition, r can act as a vowel: long in crn 'black', short in vrt 'garden'. This "vocalic" ("syllabic") r is not specially marked in normal writing. The pronunciation is almost completely predictable, the rule being r → vowel when not next to another vowel (and in a few other rare instances).
1.1.1.2 Medieval Slavic had an extra vowel ě (linguists call it jat). Knowing its later developments (reflexes) is important for understanding the classification of dialects, the difference between the standard languages, and the spelling rules of the Croatian, Bosnian, and Montenegrin standards. Reflexes of jat vary geographically, a fact on which one well-known dialect classification is based. Most Eastern Štokavski dialects are Ekavski, having e from jat: rěka > reka 'river', věra > vera 'faith'; this holds for the Ekavski standard. Some north-central and coastal dialects, termed Ikavski, have consistent i for jat: rika, vira. An area in western Serbia has a separate vowel between i and e (Remetić 1981), as do some settlers in non-BCS surroundings. Other central and southern-coastal Štokavski dialects have a reflex customarily described as ije in long syllables (see 1.2), je in short: rijeka (long), vjera (short); the terms Ijekavski and Jekavski are both used for such dialects. (They typically have ě > i before o which comes from i: dio 'part', but dijel- in the rest of the forms of this word.) It is this understanding of the (I)jekavski reflex which has led to the traditional spelling and accentuation marking of the standard language of Croatia, Montenegro and Bosnia-Hercegovina: vjȅra in a short syllable, rijèka in a long. It has however been demonstrated (Brozović 1973) that standard Croatian's long-syllable jat reflex does not really consist of two syllables each with a short vowel. Contrasting alleged Nijèmac from němac 'German' with the genuine sequence of short syllables seen in ni jèdan 'not one' shows that ije in 'German' is optionally one or two syllables but in either case begins with a brief i followed by long e [iē]; thus we here adopt Brozović's notation rijèka, Nijèmac. Similarly in examples with falling accent: traditional nȉjem, Brozović and here nijȇm [niēm] 'mute'. Šonje's dictionary (2000) writes / or \ over the entire group ije to indicate a long rising or long falling accent on the group (see 1.2).
1.1.1.2.1 A further (I)jekavski complication is that the short-syllable reflex is e, not je, after consonant + r when all three sounds are in the same root: hrën > hrȅn 'horseradish'. Compare rěš- > rješavati 'to solve' with no preceding consonant, and raz+rješavati 'to release' when z is part of a prefix.
1.1.1.2.2 The Čakavski dialects are Ekavski, Ikavski and mixed Ikavski/Ekavski. Kajkavski dialects show varied vowel systems, usually with ě > e.
1.1.2 The consonants of BCS are shown in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>obstruents</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labio-dental</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveo-palatal</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stops</td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricatives</td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ř</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>ž</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affricates</td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>ĉ</td>
<td>č</td>
<td>č</td>
<td>ĉ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>dž</td>
<td>đ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sonorants</td>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liquids</td>
<td>laterals</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td>lj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glide</td>
<td>vibrant</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: BCS consonants

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

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

1.1.3.2 The Latin alphabetical order is a b c č ď d đ e f g h i ĵ i ķ ļ l l j m n nj o p r s š t u v z ž. Each letter with a differentiator follows its counterpart without; the digraphs dž lj nj behave as units (filling one square of a crossword puzzle, for example) and follow d l n respectively. The corresponding Cyrillic letters are а б ц ч ћ д ђ ĕ е ф г х ј и ќ ћ ћ ј к л љ м њ о р с т ћ у ф х ц ч ш. A few Cyrillic letters have handwritten shapes different from those of Russian:
\( \Psi, \psi \) is written like \( i \) with a vertical stroke below.
1.1.3.3 The alphabets are shown in Tables 2 and 3.

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

Table 2: The Latin alphabet in alphabetical order
1.1.3.4 As the sample sentence illustrates, there is a one-to-one correspondence between Latin and Cyrillic writing:

Đačić pita, hodža odgovara.
Ђачић пита, хоџа одговара.
'The little pupil asks; the religious teacher answers.'

1.1.3.5 The only exceptions to one-to-one correspondence between Latin and Cyrillic writing are instances where Latin dž and nj notate a sequence rather than a single sound. This occurs when d is the final consonant of a prefix and ŵ is part of a root, as nadživ(j)eti PF 'to outlive', and when n is part of an abbreviation or
foreign prefix coming before a root with j: kon+jugacija 'conjugation'. Cyrillic spellings are then наджив(ј)ети, конјугација.

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

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

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

1.2.2.1 Falling accents can "jump" onto a preceding word: ne + znȃm = nè_znām 'I don't know', ne + bi = nè_bi 'would not'. In the modern language this happens when ne is added to a verb form, and in a few preposition + object phrases:
sämnmäm 'with me', säs sobom 'with oneself'. Bosnian usage has a larger number of prepositional phrases with 'jumping', as: ū_Bosni'in Bosnia'.

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

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

1.3.1 Consonant changes

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

1.3.1.1.1 Diminutive endings such as -ica commonly trigger the alternation in question, thus ručica 'small hand/arm'. But in certain instances a differentiation arises: ručica meaning 'handle' invariably has č, but emotional speech, e.g. about or to a baby, may have unchanged k in diminutive ručica 'hand/arm'. In some instances the alternation has spread to suffixes having no j or front vowel: noga 'leg, foot' has augmentative nož-urda 'big ugly foot', compare glava 'head' → glav-urda without j.

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

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

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

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

1.3.1.2.2 Further, in two places in nouns. Before -i in masculine nominative plurals, the alternation is almost exceptionless: učenik 'pupil', učenići; agnostik 'agnostic',agnostici; bubreg 'kidney', bubrezи; siromah 'poor person', siromасi; almanah 'almanac', almanаси. A few recent words escape it, like kok 'coccus bacterium', koki. It is equally regular before the -ima dative-locative-instrumental plural ending: učenicima, agnosticima, bubrezima, siromасima, almanасi.
1.3.1.2.3 In the dative-locative singular of the -a declension, the change is common: *ruka* 'hand, arm', *ruci*; *noga* 'foot, leg', *nozi*; *svrha* 'purpose', *svrsi*. But it is restricted by phonological, morphological and lexical factors, whose interaction is only partially worked out. Some stem-final consonant clusters disfavor it: *mačka* 'cat', *mački*, compare *d(j)evojka* 'girl', *d(j)evojci*. Personal names and affectionate forms avoid it: *Milka* (woman's name), *Milki*; *baka* 'Granny', *baki*. This avoidance is stronger than the tendency for words in -ika to undergo the change: *logika* 'logic', *logici*; *Afrika*, *Africi*; but *čika* 'Uncle (addressing an older man)', *čiki*. Of the three consonants, k most readily alternates, then g, with h least susceptible.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.3.3.3 Partly inherited from Proto-Slavic, where consonant clusters like st zd but not "sd" "zt" existed, but greatly extended after the fall of the jers is consonant assimilation in voicing. In any cluster of obstruents, the voiced or voiceless quality of the last member controls that of the others. Voiceless consonants are p t k f s š h c Ć ć, see Table 1; all others are voiced. P t k s š Ć ć have corresponding voiced consonants, namely b d g z Ž đ Ć. F, c, and h do not. (Note that v is not an obstructant in behavior, section 1.3.3.3.2.) This both cuts down on the number of possibilities, in that clusters like "sd" "bć" "šg" are still impossible, and leads to alternations, as in final consonants of prefixes: s in složiti PF 'to assemble' but z in zgaziti PF 'to trample'; before suffixes, as udžbenik 'textbook' from učiti 'to teach, learn'; and when a alternates with zero, as redak 'a line', genitive singular retka. Voicing assimilation is almost invariably reflected in writing. Only d keeps its spelling before s and š: grad 'city', gradski 'urban'; šteta 'damage', odšteta 'compensation' (but the pronunciations are with t).

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

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

21
1.3.3.4 Assimilation in palatality affects s and z, which are pronounced and written š ž before č dž č d and lj nj (though not root-initial lj nj, nor lj nj resulting from the newest [Jekavski] jotation): raščistiti PF 'to clear up', from prefix raz- and čistiti 'to clean'; vožnja 'driving', from voziti 'to drive' and suffix -nja; but not in razljutiti PF 'to anger' from ljut 'angry, sharp', nor in Jekavski snježan 'snowy' (Ekavski snežan).

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

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

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

1.3.3.6.2 The standard language insists on the correct use of l-o preceding the suffix -(a)c in numerous agent nouns, so that the nominative singular is e.g. čitalac 'reader', but the genitive singular, like all other forms in which the l comes before the c, becomes čitaoca; the genitive plural, due to the insertion of -a- between the two final consonants of the stem, is again čitalaca. But substandard forms like čitaoc are frequently encountered.

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

2. Morphology: How prefixes and endings change words

2.1 Noun, pronoun and adjective endings

All pronouns, almost all nouns, most adjectives and some numerals decline (change their endings to indicate grammatical categories).
2.1.1 Categories represented
The grammatical categories shown by declension are number, case, gender and animacy. All these participate in agreement within the noun phrase and outside. Further, adjective forms show definiteness-indefiniteness and comparison.

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

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

2.1.1.2.1 Uses of the cases
Every case has multiple uses.
2.1.1.2.1.1 The nominative is the case of the subject of almost every verb (3.1.1):

Slavko vidi Olgu.
Slavko-NOM sees Olga-ACC
'Slavko sees Olga.'

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

Slavko je student.
is student-NOM
'Slavko is a student.'

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

Lav
lion-NOM
(on a cage at the zoo)

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

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

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

In poetic usage one can address things in the vocative:

- O Kanado!
  'Oh Canada-VOC'

It is used for expressions of endearment:

- Ljubavi moja!
  'My love!'

or insults:

- Svinjo!
  'You pig!'

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

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

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

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

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

- Čekamo već c(ij)elu godinu.
  We wait already whole year-ACC
  'We've been waiting (for) a whole year already.'

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

- Platili smo jako mnogo za kuću.
  paid AUX very much for house-ACC
  'We paid a lot for the house.'

Poklon je za tebe.
Present is for you-ACC
'The present is for you.'
The prepositions *na, u* have locative case for position, accusative case for motion:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Verbs that normally take an accusative object occasionally get a genitive instead if they are negated, see 3.6.5 to 3.6.5.3 for details.
2.1.1.2.1.4.3 Three exclamations take a noun or pronoun in the genitive:

- Evo Olge!
  here-is Olga-GEN
  'Here’s Olga!’
- Eto je!
  there-is she-GEN
  'There she is!’
- Eno je!
  'There she is over there!’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The rule for (a) in s(a) is: the Serbian and Bosnian standards use sa; the Croatian standard uses s (sa only before s, z, š, ž: sa sela ‘from the countryside’). If the
object is a person, the prepositions for position, motion, and 'from' are kod (old-fashioned u) with genitive, k with dative and od with genitive:

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

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

- pod jorganom
  - under quilt-INST
  - is a place to keep warm, while
- ispod jorgana
  - below quilt-GEN
  - is 'further down than the quilt'. So we might think of this set as 'in between', 'out in front', 'around behind', 'up above' and 'down below'.

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

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

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

- Pomažem studentu.
  - I-help student-DAT

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

- Sviđa nam se Taj film
  - Pleases we-DAT reflexive that film-NOM
  - 'That film pleases us; we like that film.'
- Ti si mi potreban.
  - You are me-DAT necessary
  - 'You are necessary to me; I need you.'
- Ti mi trebaš.
  - You me-DAT be-necessary
  - 'You are necessary to me; I need you.'
- Ti mi nedostaješ.
  - you me-DAT lack
  - 'I miss you, I feel the lack of you.'
Hladno mi je.
Cold me-DAT is
'It's cold, I feel cold.'
Žao mi je.
Sorry me-DAT is
'I'm sorry.'
Žao mi je tog siromaha.
Sorry me-DAT is that poor man -GEN
'I'm sorry for that poor man.'

The dative can show a possessor, see 3.9.3.
2.1.1.2.1.5.1 A few prepositions take the dative such as prema 'towards, according to', k(a) 'towards'.
2.1.1.2.1.6 The instrumental case shows 'by means of, with':
Putujemo autom.
we-travel car-INST
'We travel by car.'
It also shows manner ('how'):
Putujemo velikom brzinom.
we-travel great speed-INST
'We travel with great speed.'
It is occasionally used with 'to be' as a predicate describing a subject (but the nominative is more normal, 3.3.1.2).
2.1.1.2.1.6.1 It is used on a predicate telling about an object. This happens mainly with the verb smatrati 'consider':
Smatramo Slavka odličnim piscem.
We-consider Slavko-ACC excellent writer-INST
'We consider Slavko to be an excellent writer.'
On a noun that means a place, the instrumental can express 'through, across':
Hladan v(j)etar poljem piri.
Cold wind field-INST blows
'A cold wind blows across the field' (song title)
Two uses involving time: to show parts of a period:
početkom mjeseca, sredinom l(j)eta, krajem godine...
beginning-INST month-GEN, middle-INST summer-GEN, end-INST year-GEN
'at the beginning of the month, in the middle of summer, at the end of the year'
and with singular nouns meaning days (translated as a plural):
utorkom, radnim danom
Tuesday-INST, work day-INST
'on Tuesdays, on work days'
A set of verbs take the instrumental; they mean 'control, yield' and the like:
upravljati dućanom, upravljati autom, vladati državom, rodit plodom...
manage store-INST, drive car-INST, govern country-INST, bear fruit-INST
There is also:

\[ \text{ženiti se Marijom} \]
\[ \text{marry reflexive Marija-INSTR} \]
(used when a man marries somebody).

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

\( sa \) Slavkom, \( s \) Olgom/sa Olgom
with Slavko-INSTR, with Olga-INSTR

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

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

\[ \text{Govorimo o ratu.} \]
we-speak about war-LOC
'We speak about war.'

\[ \text{Pendrek mu visi o pojasu.} \]
Club he-DAT hangs on belt
'His club is hanging on his belt.'

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

\[ \text{Ured je pri Ujedinjenim Nacijama.} \]
office is at United Nations-LOC
'The office is at (but maybe not part of) the UN.'

\[ \text{pri vrhu planine, pri kraju dana} \]
at summit-LOC mountain-GEN, at end-LOC day-GEN
'near (not \( na = \at \) the top of the mountain, near the end of the day.'

\[ \text{Uređaj radi pri sobnoj temperaturi.} \]
device works at room temperature-LOC
'The equipment works at room temperature.'

\[ \text{Govori i pri tom nudi čašu.} \]
speaks and that-LOC offers glass
'(S)he speaks and along with that offers a glass.'

\[ \text{pri svemu tome} \]
all-LOC that-LOC
'despite all that'

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

\[ \text{Mačka hoda po krovu.} \]
cat walks roof-LOC
'The cat is walking on the roof.'

\[ \text{Putnici s(j)ede i po krovu autobusa.} \]
travelers sit even all-over roof-LOC bus-GEN
'Passengers are even sitting on the roof of the bus.'
Compare:

Mačka s(j)edi na krovu.

'on'

'The cat is sitting on the roof.'

'after' (an event)

po dolasku

'after arriving'

po podne

'after noon' [doesn't change for case]

'afternoon' (also posl(i)je podne)

'according to' (like prema)

po našem mišljenju

our thinking

'according to (=in) our opinion'.

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>'city'</th>
<th>'husband'</th>
<th>'window'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>grad</td>
<td>muž</td>
<td>prozor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>grade</td>
<td>mužu</td>
<td>prozore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>grad</td>
<td>muža</td>
<td>prozor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>grada</td>
<td>muža</td>
<td>prozora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>gradu</td>
<td>mužu</td>
<td>prozoru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>gradom</td>
<td>mužem</td>
<td>prozorom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>gradu</td>
<td>mužu</td>
<td>prozoru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>plural</th>
<th>gradovi</th>
<th>muževi</th>
<th>prozori</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NV</td>
<td>gradove</td>
<td>muževe</td>
<td>prozore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>gradove</td>
<td>muževe</td>
<td>prozore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>gradovā</td>
<td>mūžēvā</td>
<td>prozōrā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DLI</td>
<td>gradovima</td>
<td>muževima</td>
<td>prozorima</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Masculine zero-ending nouns

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

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

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

2.1.2.1.1.3 A subtype of these masculines is the "soft stems", exemplified by muž. These may end in any palatal or alveo-palatal consonant or in c; words in -ar, -ir optionally come here as well. Soft stems take vocative singular -u where others have -e, and they cause o - e as in instrumental singular -em for -om (section 1.3.2.1.1). But -u vocatives and -em instrumentals do not coincide in scope. -u has spread to some nouns in velars: strah 'fear', vocative strahu. Instrumental -em is normal with stems in -c, where vocative has -e and the first-palatalization alternation, as otac 'father', instrumental ocem, vocative oče. -om tends to be kept in foreign words and names (Kiš-om) and in words with e in the preceding syllable: padež-om 'case'. For fuller treatment of BCS declension see P.Ivić 1972, whom we follow closely here.
2.1.2.1.1.4 Words suffixed with -an- meaning 'member of a group, inhabitant of a place' have -anin as singular stem: građanin 'city-dweller, citizen', genitive građanina, and -an as plural stem: građani, genitive građana. Some additional ethnic names also lose -in in the plural: Srbin 'a Serb', pl. Srbi; Bugarin 'a Bulgarian', pl. Bugari.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NAV</td>
<td>m(j)esto</td>
<td>m(j)esta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>m(j)est a</td>
<td>m(j)êstā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL</td>
<td>m(j)estu</td>
<td>m(j)estima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>m(j)estom</td>
<td>m(j)estom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Neuter o / e nouns

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

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

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

2.1.2.1.2.3 Three neuter nouns have alternative plural stems: nebo 'heaven', t(j)i(j)elo 'body', čudo 'miracle': usually plural neba, t(j)i(j)ela, čuda, but occasionally nebesa, t(j)i(j)elea, čudesa.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nom</th>
<th>Voc</th>
<th>Acc</th>
<th>Gen</th>
<th>Dative-locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'woman, wife'</td>
<td>žena</td>
<td>ženo</td>
<td>ženu</td>
<td>ženē</td>
<td>ženi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'manservant'</td>
<td>sluga</td>
<td>sluggo</td>
<td>slugu</td>
<td>slugē</td>
<td>sluzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'soul'</td>
<td>duša</td>
<td>dušo</td>
<td>dušu</td>
<td>dušē</td>
<td>duši</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nom</th>
<th>Voc</th>
<th>Acc</th>
<th>Gen</th>
<th>Dative-locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'woman, wife'</td>
<td>žena</td>
<td>ženo</td>
<td>ženu</td>
<td>ženē</td>
<td>ženi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'manservant'</td>
<td>sluga</td>
<td>sluggo</td>
<td>slugu</td>
<td>slugē</td>
<td>sluzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'soul'</td>
<td>duša</td>
<td>dušo</td>
<td>dušu</td>
<td>dušē</td>
<td>duši</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Feminine (and masculine) a nouns

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

2.1.2.2.1 A-nouns typically have vocative in –o: ptica, ptico 'bird'. Bosna, Bosno; zemlja, zemljo. Two-syllable affectionate forms in -a from personal names (both male and female) have –o: Brana, Brano, Kata (from Katarina), Kato. 3-syllable or longer nouns ending in -ica have -ice in the vocative: učiteljica 'teacher', učiteljice; Milica (woman's name), Miliće; Katica (affectionate for Katarina), Katice; Milića (man's name), Milićice.

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

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

2.1.2.2.4 Nouns with stem-final consonant cluster have three ways to make the genitive plural, depending on the individual word: -ā (with cluster-breaking ā, section 1.3.2.2), -ā (without breaking up the cluster), or -i: d(j)ēvōjkā 'girl', d(j)ēvojkā; gōzbā 'feast', gōzbā / gōzbī; mājka 'mother', mājki.
2.1.2.3 Nouns with -i in genitive singular

`'bone'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular Form</th>
<th>Plural Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>kost</td>
<td>kosti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>kosti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>kost</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>kosti</td>
<td>kosti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>kosti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>kosti, košću</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>kosti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Feminine zero nouns

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3 masculine</th>
<th>3 neuter</th>
<th>3 feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>ono</td>
<td>ona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>mene, me</td>
<td>tebe, te</td>
<td>njega, ga</td>
<td>njega, ga</td>
<td>nju, je, ju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>mene, me</td>
<td>tebe, te</td>
<td>njega, ga</td>
<td>njega, ga</td>
<td>nje, je</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>meni, mi</td>
<td>tebi, ti</td>
<td>njemu, mu</td>
<td>njemu, mu</td>
<td>njoj, joj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>mnom</td>
<td>tobom</td>
<td>njim</td>
<td>njim</td>
<td>njom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>meni</td>
<td>tebi</td>
<td>njemu</td>
<td>njemu</td>
<td>njoj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|       |        |        |             |          |           |
| plural |        |        |             |          |           |
| NOM    | mi     | vi     | oni         | ona      | one       |
| AG     | nas, nas | vas, vas | njih, ih  | njih, ih | njih, ih  |
| DAT    | nama, nam | vama, vam | njima, im | njima, im | njima, im |
| IL     | nama   | vama   | njima       | njima    | njima     |

|       |        |        |             |          |           |
| reflexive |        |        |             |          |           |
| singular/plural |   |        |             |          |           |
| NOM    | ——     |        |             |          |           |
| ACC    | sebe, se |        |             |          |           |
| GEN    | sebe   |        |             |          |           |
| DAT    | sebi, (si) |    |             |          |           |
| INST   | sobom  |        |             |          |           |
| LOC    | sebi   |        |             |          |           |

Table 8: Personal and reflexive pronouns

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

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

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

2.1.3.2.1 The close and distant demonstratives *ovaj* 'this', *onaj* 'that' decline like *taj*. The "movable vowels" (a), (e), (u) tend somewhat to appear in phrase-final position, otherwise not: *o tome* 'about that', *o tom psu* 'about that dog'. *Naš* and *vaš* 'your PL' are "soft" stems, typified by *o-e* in masculine and neuter endings. Also soft are *moj* 'my', *tvoj* 'your SG', *svoj* (reflexive possessive, section 3.8.1.4) and *koji* (stem *koji*) 'which'. These, additionally, may contract *oje* to *o*, yielding five
possibilities for masculine and neuter dative-locative singular: *mojem, mojemu, mom, mome, momu*. The third-person possessives *njegov* ‘his, its’, *njen* or *njezin* ‘her’, *njihov* ‘their’ are treated under short-form adjectives (section 2.1.4).

### 2.1.3.3 ‘All’ (n- in other Slavic languages) is s- but behaves as a soft stem, Table 10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masculine</th>
<th>neuter</th>
<th>feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>NOM</strong></td>
<td>sav</td>
<td>sva</td>
<td>sva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ACC</strong></td>
<td>NOM or GEN</td>
<td>sve</td>
<td>svu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GEN</strong></td>
<td>svega</td>
<td>svega</td>
<td>sve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DL</strong></td>
<td>svemu</td>
<td>svemu</td>
<td>svoj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INST</strong></td>
<td>svim</td>
<td>svim</td>
<td>svom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 234

- sva
- sva
- sva

#### plural

|        |  |  |  |
|--------|  |  |  |
| **NOM** | svi | sva | sva |
| **ACC** | sve | sva | sva |
| **GEN** | svi, sviju | svi, sviju | svi, sviju |
| **DLI** | svim, svima | svim, svima | svim, svima |

**Table 10: Declension of sav ‘all’**

### 2.1.3.3.1 *Svo* for neuter singular *sve* is non-standard but frequent in modifier position: *svo vr(i)jeme* ‘for sve vr(i)jeme ‘all the time’.
2.1.3.4 The interrogative pronouns have stems k-, č- with singular pronominal endings (Table 11). The Croatian standard insists on the older forms tko, što. Other interrogatives (Wh-words) are part of a larger pattern of demonstrative roots and classifying suffixes (Table 12).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'who' masculine</th>
<th>'what' neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>(t)ko</td>
<td>što, šta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>koga</td>
<td>što, šta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>koga</td>
<td>čega</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL</td>
<td>komu, kome</td>
<td>čemu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>kim, kime</td>
<td>čim, čime</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ovako 'in this way'</th>
<th>ovoliko 'as much/many as this'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tako 'in this/that way'</td>
<td>ovoliki 'as great as this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>onako 'in that way'</td>
<td>toliko 'as... as this/that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kako 'in what way, how'</td>
<td>onoliko 'as great as that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ovd(j)e 'here'</td>
<td>koliko 'how much/many'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tu 'here/there', tamo 'there'</td>
<td>ovd, ovuda 'to/through here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ond(j)e 'there'</td>
<td>sad, sada 'now'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gd(j)e 'where'</td>
<td>tad, tada 'then, at that time'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ovamo 'to here'</td>
<td>onuda 'then, next'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kamo 'to where'</td>
<td>ond, onuda 'to/through there'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: Partial table of demonstratives and interrogatives
2.1.3.4.1 Interrogatives add prefixes or suffixes to give indefinites: *ne(t)ko*
'someone', *nešto* 'something', *nekakav* 'of some sort'. *i* means 'any' (indefinite forms in a negative context, section 3.6.2), *ni* 'no' (3.6.3), *koje* 'one and another' (as *kojesta* 'various things; nonsense'), *sва* (sve-, svu-) 'every' (sва(t)ko 'everyone', svugd(j)e or svuda 'everywhere'). *Bilo*... , *ma*... , ... *god* mean '... ever' (thus *bilo gd(j)e, ma gd(j)e* or *gd(j)e god* 'wherever'). The *ne-* type may be used both with and without existence presuppositions:

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

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

2.1.4 Adjectival declensions
BCS distinguishes long and short-form adjectives (Table 13). The citation form (in a dictionary or word list) of an adjective is the nominative singular masculine short form (long form if short is lacking).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'new' long</th>
<th>masculine</th>
<th>neuter</th>
<th>feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>novi</td>
<td>novo</td>
<td>nova</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>NOM or GEN</td>
<td>novo</td>
<td>novu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>novog(a)</td>
<td>novog(a)</td>
<td>nove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL</td>
<td>novom(e,u)</td>
<td>novom(e,u)</td>
<td>novoj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>novim</td>
<td>novim</td>
<td>novom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>234</td>
<td>nova</td>
<td>nova</td>
<td>nove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>novi</td>
<td>nova</td>
<td>nove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>nove</td>
<td>nova</td>
<td>nove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>novih</td>
<td>novih</td>
<td>novih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DLI</td>
<td>novim(a)</td>
<td>novim(a)</td>
<td>novim(a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.1.4.6 Comparatives and superlatives (the comparative prefixed with naj- yields the superlative) decline precisely like soft-stem long adjectives. Most are formed by adding -ij-i to adjective stems: loš 'bad', lošiji (lošije, lošija...) 'worse'; mudar 'wise', mudrijij ; pozvan 'called upon', pozvaniji ; plemenit 'noble', plemeniti. A smaller set add bare endings with "old jotation" (section 1.3.1.4). These are mostly 1) one-syllable words containing a long vowel: gȗst 'thick', gušć-i ; skȗp 'expensive', skuplj-i ; 2) two-syllable words which lose the second syllable: širok 'wide', šir-i ; sladak 'sweet', slađ-i. Three adjectives have š comparatives: lak (Bosnian also lahak, stem lahk-) 'light, easy', lakši ; mek (Bosnian also mehak, stem meh-k-) 'soft', mekši ; l(ij)ep 'beautiful', l(j)epši. Comparatives using different roots are dobar 'good', bolji ; loš or (Serbian) rđav or zao (stem zl-) 'bad', gori (or lošiji) 'worse' ; velik 'large', veći ; mali or malen 'small', manji ; dug 'long', duži or dulji. Long vowels always become short (and ije → je) in a comparative. The accentuation is ' before –ij-ī, \ in all others: lȍšijī, plemenitijī, skȗpljī, lȁkšī etc., r(ij)edak 'rare' → r(j)ȅđī. The superlative is accented nȃjlošijī 'worst', nȃjskȕpljī.
'most expensive', nȃjlȁkšī etc.; \ can also remain: nȃjplemenitijī, najplemenitijī, nȃjplemenitijī. See section 4.3.2 for phrasal comparison of indeclinables.

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

2.1.5 Numeral declensions

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masculine-neuter</th>
<th>feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NAV</td>
<td>dva</td>
<td>dvije,dve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>dvaju</td>
<td>dviju,dveju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DLI</td>
<td>dvama</td>
<td>dv(j)ema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'both'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAV</td>
<td>oba</td>
<td>ob(j)e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>obaju</td>
<td>obiju,obeju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DLI</td>
<td>ob(j)ema</td>
<td>ob(j)ema</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masculine-neuter</th>
<th>feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NAV</td>
<td>oba</td>
<td>ob(j)e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>obaju</td>
<td>obiju,obeju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DLI</td>
<td>ob(j)ema</td>
<td>ob(j)ema</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

2.2.1 Categories expressed

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

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

2.2.1.3 The compound tenses are:

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

Slavko će vid(j)eti Mariju.
Slavko će da₂ vidi Mariju.
'Slavko will see Marija.'

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

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

Mi smo vid(j)eli Mariju.
'We saw (have seen) Marija.'

Jesmo li vid(j)eli Mariju?
'Have we seen (Did we see) Marija?'

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

Mi smo bili vid(j)eli Mariju.
'Mi bijasmo (bejasmo) vid(j)eli Mariju.
'We had seen (Did we see) Marija?'

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

Kad (ako) budemo govorili s Marijom, sve će biti jasno.
'When (if) we speak with Marija [in the future], everything will be clear.'
The future II is usually from imperfectives, since a perfective present tense in *kad* or *ako* clauses can show future time: *Kad (ako) nađemo Mariju...* 'When/if we find Marija [in the future]...'. 
2.2.1.3.5 Conditionals: see 2.2.1.6.2 below.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.2.1.5 Verbs of motion lack the determinate-indeterminate distinctions of other Slavic languages; thus ići - hoditi are not a pair. The first means 'to go (in one or
several directions, on foot or by vehicle), the second 'to walk'. In several instances the old determinate verb appears only as a perfective verb with a prefix, and the indeterminate verb serves to imperfectivize it. Thus nositi is imperfective 'to carry', and there is no verb "n(ij)eti`. Don(ij)eti, present dones-em is perfective 'to bring', and donositi is the corresponding imperfective. Certain motion verbs derive explicit multidirectionalis: nosati 'to carry about'. A few verbs make iteratives: vid(j)eti → viđati 'to see now and then'.

2.2.1.6 BCS also has an imperative and a conditional.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'The book (Nominative) is being written.'

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

Knjigu se piše.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masculine</th>
<th>neuter</th>
<th>feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>(na)pisao</td>
<td>(na)pisalo</td>
<td>(na)pisala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>234</td>
<td>(na)pisala</td>
<td>as plural</td>
<td>as plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>(na)pisali</td>
<td>(na)pisala</td>
<td>(na)pisale</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15: L-participle
2.2.2 Conjugation

2.2.2.0 General remarks about conjugations

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-ēm, -ām, -īm</td>
<td>-ēmo, -āmo, -īmo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-ēš, -āš, -īš</td>
<td>-ēte, -āte, -īte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-ē, -ā, -ī</td>
<td>-ū, -ajū, -ē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

2.2.2.0.3 Many verbs keep the accent on the same syllable in all forms. We cannot give a complete treatment of accent changes in other verbs, but there is one particularly widespread (and still spreading) shift that can be summed up as "present tense → falling or leftward." We will point it out in each large type of verb that has it.
**2.2.2.1 Present tenses in -e-.** The largest subtype has infinitive stem in a consonant. Our example (Table 17) is *tres-* 'to shake'. Stems with -z behave similarly, but note the spelling of the infinitive: *grizem gristi* 'to bite'.

Forms made from present stem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 tresem</td>
<td>tresemo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 treseš</td>
<td>tresete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 trese</td>
<td>tresu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Present adverb *tresući*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>tresi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperfect singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 tresijah</td>
<td>tresijasmo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 tresijaše</td>
<td>tresijaste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 tresijaše</td>
<td>tresijahu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Forms made from infinitive stem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive tresti</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aorist singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 tresoh</td>
<td>tresosmo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 trese</td>
<td>tresoste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 trese</td>
<td>tresoše</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passive participle tresen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| Past adverb (po)tresetvši |

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

**2.2.2.1.1 Do-nes- PF 'bring'** has corresponding forms from the present stem: *donesem*. Its infinitive-stem forms are *do-n(ij)e-ti, donio (doneo) don(ij)ela*, aorist *donesoh donese or don(ij)eh don(ij)e*, particle *donesen or don(ij)et, don(ij)evši*.

**2.2.2.1.2 T and d stems:** *do-ved-em PF 'lead in', infinitive dovesti, doveo dovela* (*ti, d* become *l*). *Id-em* 'go' has infinitive *iči, L-participle išao išla*, aorist *idoh*. Prefixed forms of 'go' have *đ: nādem PF 'find', infinitive nači, našao našla, nādoh nađe, nāden, našavši*.

**2.2.2.1.3 P and b stems:** *greb-em 'scratch', grepsti, grebao grebla*. (*Živ-* 'to live' now has the shape *živ(j)eti živim.*
2.2.2.1.4 K and g stems: rek- PF 'say' has present rečem rečeš ... reku or, like other perfective consonant stems, joins the ne type: rek-n-em rek-n-eš ... rek-n-u. The imperative is reci. Infinitive reći, aorist rekoh reče, L-participle rekao rekla, participle rečen. Moći 'can, be able' is special in having first person singular mogu; the rest is as we expect: možeš može možemo možete mogu, mogao mogla. One rare verb, 'to thresh', is a h stem: vršem vršeš ... vrhu, vrci or vrr(j)eci, vrhoh vrše, vrrhao vrrhla, vrršen. (Vršiti vrršim 'to perform; thresh' is much more frequent.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>čujem</td>
<td>čujemo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>čuješ</td>
<td>čujete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>čuje</td>
<td>čuju</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Present adverb čujući
Imperative čuj
Imperfect čujah (like tresijah)

Forms made from infinitive stem
Infinitive čuti
Aorist

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>čuh</td>
<td>čusmo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ču</td>
<td>čuste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ču</td>
<td>čuše</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

L-participle čuo, čula (as Table 15)
Passive participle ču-v-en
Past adverb čuvši

Table 18: Conjugation of a -je- verb

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

2.2.2.1.9.2 A similar tiny type is um(j)eti 'to know how to', present stem umě-je- > Ekavski umem uměš ... uměju, ljekavski umijem umiješ ... umiju; the imperative is umej, umij. L-participles are Ekavski umeo umela, ljekavski umio umjela. Razum(j)eti 'to understand' and dosp(j)eti PF 'to arrive, succeed' also fit here.

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

2.2.2.1.9.4 Presents from -va- infinitives, however, almost never show jotation; rather, there is a change to present with -uje-. Some 1000 infinitive stems in -ova-ti like darova-ti PF 'to donate' and a dozen in -eva-ti like mačevati se 'to fence' have
presents darujem -uješ ... -uju. If the infinitive is accented -òvati, the present has \ on the syllable preceding - uj. Almost 2000 derived imperfectives in -iva-ti, a BCS innovation, also have present -uje-, all with the accent \ on the preceding syllable: kazivati kàzujem ... -uju 'to tell'. A handful of -uvati verbs have the same change to –uj: pljuvati pljujem ... pljuju 'to spit'.

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

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

2.2.2.2 Present tenses in -a-. A very large set of verbs (over 5000 items, see Matešić 1965-67) are infinitives in -ati with present in -am. Thus čitati, present čitam, čitaš, čita, čitamo, čitate, čitaju. The imperative is čitaj. A subset of these has/accents on the syllable preceding -ati, such as čuvati 'to keep', odobrávati 'to approve'. All verbs in this subset have the "falling or leftward" accent change: čùvàm čùvàš čùvà čùvàmo čùvàte but čùvajù, odòbràvàm odòbràvàš odòbràvà odòbràvàmo odòbràvàte but odobrávajù. The imperative also has this shift: čùvàj, odobrávàj.

Forms made from present stem
Present

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>čitam</td>
<td>čitamo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>čitaš</td>
<td>čitate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>čita</td>
<td>čitaju</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Present adverb čitajući
Imperative čitaj
Imperfect čitah (like tresijah)

Forms made from infinitive stem
Infinitive čitati
Aorist

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>čitah</td>
<td>čitasmo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>čita</td>
<td>čitaste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>čita</td>
<td>čitaše</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

L-participle čitao, čitala
Passive participle čitan
Past adverb (pro)čitavši

Table 19: Conjugation of an -a- verb
2.2.2.3 Present tenses in -i-. The infinitives may have -i-ti: moliti 'to ask, pray' (Table 20), -(j)e-ti: vid(j)eti 'to see' or (after a palatal) -a-ti: držati 'to hold'. The first subtype is large (over 6000) and productive. The other two are smaller, a few hundred stems, even though BCS has shifted the earlier deadjectival type zelen-ě-ti zelen-ě-je- here: zelen(j)eti, zelenim 'to turn green', from zelen 'green'.

Forms made from present stem

Present

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>molim</td>
<td>molimo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>moliš</td>
<td>molite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>moli</td>
<td>mole</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Present adverb moleći

Imperative moli

Imperfect moljah (like tresijah)

Forms made from infinitive stem

Infinitive moliti

Aorist

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>molih</td>
<td>molismo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>moli</td>
<td>moliste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>moli</td>
<td>moliše</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

L-participle molio, molila

Passive participle molj-en

Past adverb (za)molivši

Table 20: Conjugation of an -i- verb

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

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

2.2.2.3.3 Most, though not all, -iti infinitives with / or \ accent on the syllable before -iti have the "falling or leftward" shift: mōliti, mōlim, ráditi 'to do, work', rādīm, govōriti 'to speak', gōvorīm, poljūbiti PF 'to kiss', pōljūbīm.
The verb 'to be' is unique.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>full</th>
<th>enclitic</th>
<th>negated</th>
<th>&quot;extra&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>jesam</td>
<td>sam</td>
<td>nisam</td>
<td>budem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>jesi</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>nisi</td>
<td>budeš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>jest(e)</td>
<td>je</td>
<td>nije</td>
<td>bude</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| plural |          |          |         |         |
|        | jesmo    | smo      | nismo   | budemo  |
|        | jeste    | ste      | niste   | budete  |
|        | jesu     | su       | nisu    | budu    |

Table 21: Presents of *biti*

'To be' is noteworthy for having an extra present tense (Table 21). Jesam, enclitic sam is imperfective. The 3rd person singular is jest in the Croatian standard, jeste in Serbian, both in Bosnian, but all standards use the expression to jest 'that is, i.e.' In asking a question with li, the 3rd person singular is Je li. Budem is perfective and imperfective: it can denote 'typical action' but otherwise occurs only in kad or ako clauses, da₂ clauses and as an auxiliary for the future II. The imperative is budi, the present adverb budući, from the "extra" stem. The imperfect is ljekavski bijah or bjeh, Ekavski bejah, beh. Other forms are regular from the stem bi-

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Full</th>
<th>Enclitic</th>
<th>Negated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>hoću</td>
<td>ću</td>
<td>neću</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>hoćeš</td>
<td>češ</td>
<td>nećeš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>hoče</td>
<td>če</td>
<td>neče</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>hoćemo</td>
<td>čemo</td>
<td>nećemo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>hoćete</td>
<td>čete</td>
<td>nećete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>hoče</td>
<td>če</td>
<td>neče</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3 Word formation

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

2.3.1 Major patterns of noun derivation

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

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

2.3.1.2 In making nouns from adjectives, -ost '-ness' is most productive: naivnost 'naïveté' from naivan, -oća and -ota can also be used: pun-oća 'fullness' ↔ pun 'full', grozoća 'horror' ↔ grozan 'awful'. Colloquial deadjectivals can condense a specific phrase, as minimal(a)c from minimalni lični dohod(a)k 'minimum personal wage', realka from realna gimnazija 'non-classical secondary school'. A similar device is used terminologically, as tuđica = tuđa r(i)ječ 'loanword = foreign word'.
2.3.1.3 Abstract nouns of many sorts and sources are made with –stvo: sus(j)ed-
stvo 'neighbor-hood', pijan-stvo 'drunken-ness', zakon-o-dav-stvo 'law-giving,
legislation' (zakon 'law').

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

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

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

2.3.1.7 Diminutives of masculine zero-stems take -ič or –čić: brod 'ship', brodić
'small boat'; sin 'son', sinčić. Feminines in -a get –ica: soba 'room', sobica 'little
room', d(j)jevojka, d(j)jevojčica 'little girl'. Neuters take -ce or various extended
versions: pismo 'letter', pisamce; grlo 'throat', grl-ašce. Masculines and feminines
add neuter -če (stem -čet- before all endings) in the meaning 'young ...': čobanin
'shepherd', čobanče (genitive čobančeta) 'shepherd boy'; guska 'goose', gušče
gosling'. All of these can be affectionate diminutives. There is also a special
affectionate type that shortens names to (consonant)-vowel-consonant and adds
-0,-e or –a: Ivo or Ivo from Ivan, Mara, Mare or Maja from Marija. Augmentatives
take -ina and extensions: brod-ina 'big (ugly) boat', sob-etiņa 'big (ugly) room'.

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

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

57
2.3.2 Major patterns of adjective derivation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.3.3 Major patterns of verb derivation
These are suffixation and prefixation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.3.3.7 Verb compounds are not numerous; one is kriv-o-tvor-iti 'to counterfeit' ← kriv 'wrong', tvoriti 'to make, create'.
3. Syntax
3.1 Element order in declarative sentences
3.1.1 Element order is determined largely by topic-comment structure. The topic (starting point for the communication) most typically precedes the comment (what we want to tell about that topic). The simplest situation, a frequent one, is subject = topic, verb+object = comment. If subject and object are both known to the participants in conversation and the verb has unsurprising meaning, the order is subject-verb-object (SVO).

   Slavko vidi Olgu.
   'Slavko sees Olga.'

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

   Jedan student vodi pitomu ovcu.
   'A student is leading a tame sheep.'

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

   Slavko Olgu PREZIRE.
   'Slavko DESPISES Olga.'

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

   Q. (T)ko donosi šunku?
   'Who is bringing the ham?'
   A. Šunku donosi SLAVKO.
   'SLAVKO is bringing the ham.'

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

   ?Donosi šunku Slavko.

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

   Slavko vidi Olgu. OLGU vidimo i mi.
   'Slavko sees Olga. We too see OLGA.'

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

   ?Slavko vidi nešto. Slavko nešto vidi. (or: Slavko vidi NEŠTO.)
   'Slavko sees something.'

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

   VIDI Slavko.
   'Slavko DOES see.'
3.1.2 Single-word adverbs modifying a verb tend to precede it, whereas adverbials of other sorts follow:

Slavko jasno vidi Olgu.
'Slavko sees Olga clearly.'
Slavko vidi Olgu kroz dim.
'Slavko sees Olga through the smoke.'

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

Slavko spava.
'Slavko is sleeping.'

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

Na stolu leži knjiga.
'On the table lies (is) a book.' 'There is a book on the table.'

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

U frižideru ima šunke (maslina).
'In the refrigerator there is some ham (there are some olives).'

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

Na stolu ima (or: je) knjiga.
'On the table there is a book.'

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

ZAČUO se zvižduk.
'Was heard a whistle, i.e., 'There was a whistle.'

U Pragu se dogodila nesreća.
'In Prague occurred an accident, i.e. 'There was an accident in Prague.'

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

3.1.5.1 Examples:

Slavko će je vid(j)eti.
'Slavko will see her.'
Slavko ga se (je) bojao.
'Slavko feared it.'
Olga mu ju je dala.
'Olga gave her to him.'
Vidi li je Slavko?
'Does Slavko see her?'

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

3.1.5.2.1 First: li
3.1.5.2.2 Second: Auxiliary verbs and present of 'to be' (but not 3rd singular je):
bih, bi, bi, bismo, biste, bi'(l, you, he/she/it, we, you, they) would'
ću, ćeš, će, čemo, čete, će'(l, you, he/she/it, we, you, they) will'
sam, si, ___, smo, ste, su'I have/did, I am' and so forth
3.1.5.2.3 Third: Dative pronouns:
mi, ti, mu, joj, nam, vam, im'(to) me, you, him/it, her, us, you, them'
3.1.5.2.4 Fourth: Accusative/genitive pronouns:
me, te, ga, je, nas, vas, ih'me, you, him/it, her, us, you, them'
3.1.5.2.5 Fifth: se, reflexive pronoun and particle
3.1.5.2.6 Sixth: je, third person singular auxiliary and present of 'to be'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First</th>
<th>Second</th>
<th>Third</th>
<th>Fourth</th>
<th>Fifth</th>
<th>Sixth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>li</td>
<td>bih, bi, bismo, biste, bi</td>
<td>mi, ti, mu, me, te, ga, se</td>
<td>je</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ću, ćeš, će, čemo, čete, će</td>
<td>joj, nam, je/ju, nas,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sam, si, ___, smo, ste, su</td>
<td>vam, im</td>
<td>vas, ih</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 23: Enclitic order

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

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

[Moja sestra] će doći u utorak.
Moja će sestra doći u utorak.
'My sister will come on Tuesday.'

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

Moja mlada sestra doći će u utorak.

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

...DA će moja mlada sestra doći u utorak.
'...that my younger sister will come on Tuesday.'

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

3.1.6 Ordering of elements within noun phrases is generally fixed (Browne and Nakić, 1975: 87-96).
3.1.6.1 Elements before the noun are totalizers ('all', 'every'), demonstratives, possessives, numerals and adjectives, in the order given:

svih ovih mojih deset crvenih ruža
'all these my ten red roses'

'll these ten red roses of mine'

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

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

knjiga Lava Tolstoja u lijepom uvezu
'a book of (= by) Leo Tolstoy in a nice binding'

uvjerene naprednih ljudi DA1 JE ZEMLJA OKRUGLA
'the belief of progressive people THAT THE WORLD IS ROUND'

uvjerene koje su ljudi izrazavali DA1 JE ZEMLJA OKRUGLA
'the belief which people expressed THAT THE WORLD IS ROUND'

3.1.6.3 Adjectives and participles with complements usually follow nouns:

knjiga žuta od starosti
'a book yellow with age'

But they can precede if their own complements precede them:

od starosti žuta knjiga
3.2 Non-declarative sentence types: interrogatives and imperatives

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

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

\[
S_{I_a}^{\text{vko}} \text{ vidi Olgu?}
\]

'Does SLAVKO see Olga?'

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

\[
\text{Slavko}_{i}^{\text{di}} \text{ vidi Olgu?}
\]

'Does Slavko see Olga?'

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

\[
\text{Vidi li Slavko Olgu?}
\]

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

\[
\text{Hoće li Slavko vid(j)eti Olgu?}
\]

'Will Slavko see Olga?'

Bi li Slavko vidio/video Olgu?

'Would Slavko see Olga?'

Je li Slavko vidio/video Olgu?

'Did Slavko see Olga?'

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

\[
\text{Da li će Slavko vid(j)eti Olgu?}
\]

The Croatian standard prefers verb+\textit{li} questions rather than the \textit{da li} type.

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

\[
\text{Q. Slavko}_{i}^{\text{di}} \text{ Olgu? Vidi li Slavko Olgu? Da li Slavko vidi Olgu?}
\]

A. \textit{Da}. or Vidi. or \textit{Da}, vidi.

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

\[
\text{Q. Hoće li Slavko vid(j)eti Olgu? Da li će Slavko vid(j)eti Olgu?}
\]

A. \textit{Da}. or Hoće. or \textit{Da}, hoće.

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

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

\[
\text{Q. Slavko}_{i}^{\text{di}} \text{ Olgu? Vidi li Slavko Olgu? Da li Slavko vidi Olgu?}
\]

A. \textit{Ne}. or \textit{Ne} vidi. or \textit{Ne}, ne vidi.

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

\[
\text{Q. Hoće li Slavko vid(j)eti Olgu? Da li će Slavko vid(j)eti Olgu?}
\]
A. Ne. or Neće. or Ne, neće.

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

Slavko ne vidi Olgu? Ne vidi li Slavko Olgu?
'Doesn't Slavko see Olga?'

Answers to such negative questions are

Ne, ne vidi.
'No, he doesn't.'
or

Da, vidi.
(probably not merely da).

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

Slavko vidi Olgu, zar ne?
'Slavko sees Olga, doesn't he?'

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

Vidi li Slavko Olgu ili Doru?
'Does Slavko see Olga or Dora?'

An answer can be:

Ne vidi Olgu nego Doru.
'He doesn't see Olga but (rather) Dora.'
or simply:

Doru.

See 3.4.8.

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

Koga vidi Marija? Koga Marija vidi?
'Whom does Marija see?'

S kim Marija radi?
'With whom does Marija work?'

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

Koga je Marija vid(j)ela?
'Whom did Marija see?'

S kim ga je vid(j)ela?
'With whom did she see him? Who did she see him with?'

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

Koliko Slavko ima novaca?
'How much has Slavko money? (How much money does Slavko have?')

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

Koga i gd(j)e Marija vidi?
'Whom and where does Marija see? (Whom does Marija see and where does she see him?)'

If there are enclitics, their best position is after the first Wh-word:
They may also be after the group:

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

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

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

'Who saw whom where?'

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

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

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

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

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

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

'I am not sure who sees whom where.'

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

Govorili smo o tome da li Slavko vidi Olgu.

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

In some instances the preposition and pronoun can be omitted:

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

'The question (about it) whether Slavko sees Olga is not yet resolved.'
3.2.2 Commands are given in the imperative:
   Uzmi (plural or formal: Uzmite) krušku!
   'Take a pear.'

3.2.2.1 A second person subject may be omitted or (less commonly) expressed:
   Uzmi TI krušku!
   'YOU take a pear!'

3.2.2.2 Negative imperatives require imperfective aspect:
   Ne uzimaj krušku!
   'Don't take a pear.'

except for some verbs of involuntary psychological action:
   Ne zaboravi!
   'Don't forget (perfective)'

Another, more polite, negative command is with *nemoj* (1 PL *nemojmo* 'let's not', 2 PL *nemojte*) plus infinitive (either aspect):
   Nemoj uzimati kruške!
   'Don't take (imperfective) pears.'
   Nemoj uzeti krušku!
   'Don't take (perfective) a pear.'

*Da*2 with present clauses can replace the infinitive after *nemoj*, especially in Serbian:
   Nemoj da2 uzimaš (da2 uzmeš) krušku.

*Da*2 clauses can also contain a verb not in the second person, as long as its action is under the control or influence of the person addressed:
   Nemoj da2 se to drugi put dogodi!
   Literally, 'Don't that this happens again! (Don't let this happen again!)'

3.2.2.3 Commands to be performed by a third person are given as *da*2-present or *neka*present clauses:
   Da Slavko (ne) uzima kruške.
   Neka Slavko (ne) uzima kruške.
   'Let (may) Slavko (not) take pears.'

3.2.2.4 Reported commands are formulated as *da*2-present clauses, in the third person occasionally as *neka*-present:
   Rekla je da2 uzmem (uzmeš) krušku.
   'She said I (you) should take a pear.'
   Rekla je da2 (or: neka) Slavko uzme krušku.
   'She said Slavko should take a pear.'
3.3 Copular sentences
3.3.1 The main copula is *biti* 'to be', used with noun phrase, adjective phrase and adverbial phrase predicates:

- Marija je moja sestra.
  'Marija is my sister.'
- Marija je vr(ij)edna kao pčela.
  'Marija is hard-working as a bee.'
- Marija je dobro.
  'Marija is well.'
- Marija je vr(ij)edna.
  'Marija is hard-working.'
- Koncert je u osam.
  'The concert is at 8 o'clock.'

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

- Šešir je odgovarajuće veličine.
  'The hat is (of) the right size.'

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

- Marija je učiteljica (učiteljicom).
  'Marija is a teacher NOM (a teacher INST).'

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

- Lako je Mariji biti vr(ij)edna.
  'It is easy for Marija (DAT) to be hard-working (NOM).'

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

- Važno je biti vr(ij)edan.
  'It is important (for anyone) to be hard-working (NOM M).'
- Li(j)epo je.
  'It is beautiful (NOM N)' (said while looking at a picture or a landscape).

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

- Martin je vr(ij)edan [not vr(ij)edni].
  'Martin is hard-working (SHORT).'

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

- Martin je mali.
  'Martin is small.'

3.3.1.4 Recall that comparatives and superlatives have only long forms:

- Ivan je najmanji.
  'Ivan is the smallest.'

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

- Obećanje - ludom radovanje.
  'A promise [is] joy for a fool. (Don't trust promises.)' (Proverb)
3.3.3 *Biti* has frequentative *bivati* 'be from time to time; become; happen':
Marija je bivala (je počela bivati) sve vrednija.
'Marija was becoming (began to be) more and more hard-working.'
Bivala je u Beču.
'She has several times been in Vienna.'

3.3.4 A specialized copula for adverbials of place is *nalaziti se*, perfective *naći se* 'be located, be'.
Škola se nalazi daleko od sela.
'The school is located far from the village.'

3.3.5 *Ostati*, imperfective *ostajati* 'to remain; to be left, find oneself', taking various predicate types, can mean a continuing state or a changed state:
Vlada je ostala uporna, ali studenti ostaju na trgu.
'The government has remained firm, but the students are staying in the square.'
Vojnik je ostao na m(j)estu mrtav.
'The soldier fell dead on the spot.'

3.3.6 *Postati*, imperfective *postajati* 'to become' takes noun or adjective predicates, both of which can be nominative or instrumental without clear meaning distinctions:
Marija je postala učiteljica (učiteljicom).
'Marija became a teacher NOM (a teacher INST).'
Situacija postaje ozbiljna (ozbiljnom).
'The situation is becoming serious NOM (serious INST).'

3.3.7 Two verbs formally transitive with accusative objects but often used as copulas are *predstavljati*, *predstaviti* PF 'represent' and *činiti*, *učiniti* PF 'form, make up':
Te države predstavljaju carinsku uniju (= su carinska unija).
'These states represent (= are) a customs union.'
Polovicu delegata čine studenti (= Polovica delegata su studenti).
'Students form (= are) half the delegates.'
3.4 Coordination
Two or more syntactic constituents can be joined by a conjunction to form a constituent of the same type.

3.4.1 'and' joins nouns and noun phrases:
Ivan i njegova žena rade.
'Ivan and his wife are working.'

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

verbs and verb phrases:
Živi i stvara u Ljubljani.
'He/she lives and works in Ljubljana.'

as well as entire clauses:
Zauzet sam i ne mogu više slušati.
'I am busy and I cannot listen any more.'

3.4.2 If more than two items are joined, 'i' appears before the last conjunct:
Ivan, Marija i Ana
'Ivan, Marija and Ana'
or can be repeated before all conjuncts after the first:
Ivan i Marija i Ana
'Ivan and Marija and Ana'
or before all including the first:
I Ivan i Marija......
'Both Ivan and Marija...'

Items containing an 'i' can be grouped together by 'te or kao i':
Ivan i Marija, te (or: kao i) Josip i Ana
'Ivan and Marija, and also (as well as) Josip and Ana'

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

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

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

'A' 'and' is combinable with 'i' 'also, too':
Ivan putuje, a i Marija putuje.
'Ivan is travelling, and Marija is travelling too.'

3.4.4 Stronger contrasts are shown by 'ali' 'but', which also appears just once in a series:
Ivan putuje, ali Marija ostaje kod kuće.
'Ivan is travelling, but Marija is staying home.'
3.4.5 An element of a negative statement is corrected by the conjunction *nego* or *već* and a following statement:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Verb with [subject]:**

Iz toga *proizlazi* [da je bitka izgubljena].

'From this (it) follows [that the battle is lost].'

**Verb with [object]:**

Znam [da je bitka izgubljena].

'I know [that the battle is lost].'

**Noun with [complement]:**

Stižu *v(i)esti* [da je bitka izgubljena].

'Are-arriving reports [that the battle is lost].'

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

Radi se o tome [da li je bitka izgubljena ili ne].

'It is a question of [whether the battle is lost or not].'

3.5.1.1 The chief types of complement clause are those introduced by *da₁*, by *da₂*, by što and by question words (section 3.2.1.3). The two *da* take different verb tenses within their clauses.

3.5.1.1.1 A *da₁* clause is a reported statement and can contain any tense usable in a main-clause statement: any past tense, the future but not the *budem* compound tense (section 2.2.1.3.4), and the present but normally only from an imperfective verb.

Znam [da₁, je Marija napisala knjigu].

'I know [that Marija has written a book].'

Čuo sam [da₁, Marija piše knjigu].

'I heard [that Marija is writing a book].'

3.5.1.1.2 *Da₂* with the present of imperfective or perfective verbs expresses hypothetical, unrealized actions—like the infinitive or subjunctive of other languages. It has been termed the infinitive substitute.

Želim [da₂, Marija piše].

'I want that Marija write-imperfective (I want her to write).'

Želim [da₂, Marija napiše knjigu].

'I want Marija to write-perfective a book.'

*Da₂* expresses the indirect-discourse version of imperatives (section 3.2.2). Ambiguities can arise between the two *da*. 
Rekli su da Marija piše.

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

*Da₂:* 'They told Marija to write.'

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

Radujemo se [što smo vs ponovo vid(يلي)]

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

Many speakers will also say *da₂* here.

Radujemo se *da₂*, smo vs ponovo vid(يلي).

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

To je razlog što šef nije došao.

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

This also could be *da₁*.

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

Živ(يلي)eti znači raditi.

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

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

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

Marija želi pisati.

'Marija wants to write.'

In almost all such instances the understood subject of the infinitive must be the same as the subject of the main verb (in this example, it is Mary who is going to write). If it is identical to the main verb's object, or different from both, a *da₂* complement is used instead.

Marija želi *da₂* Ivan piše.

'Marija wants Ivan to write.'

#### 3.5.1.2.2 Outside the Croatian standard, *da₂* clauses are frequent instead of the infinitive, even when the same-subject condition holds:

Marija želi *da₂* piše.

'Marija wants to write.'

See discussion of the future tense (*ću* + infinitive or *da₂*) in section 2.2.1.3.1 and of *nemoj* + infinitive or *da₂* in section 3.2.2.2.

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

Učio sam ga plivati.

'I taught him to swim.'

Pomogli smo mu graditi kuću.

'We helped him build a house.'

Good in all standards are:

Učio sam ga *da₂* pliva.

Pomogli smo mu *da₂* gradi kuću.
3.5.2 Further means of subordination are two verbal adverbs, one verbal noun and a participle.

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

- On se vraća s posla p(j)evajući.  
  'He returns from work singing.' *(He is singing.)*
- Otp(j)evavši himnu, p(j)evačica je s(j)ela.  
  '(After) having sung the national anthem, the singer sat down.' *(She had sung it.)*

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

- Marija je počela s pisanjem knjige.  
  'Marija has begun with (start) the writing of the book.'

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

- Pisanje studenata je zanimljivo.  
  'The students' writing is interesting.'
- Pisanje knjige je bilo teško.  
  'The writing of the book was difficult.'

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

- Marijino pisanje knjige  
  'Marija's writing of the book'

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

- (?)pisanje knjige od strane Marije  
  'The writing of the book by Marija,'

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

- Marija ruši kuću.  
  'Marija destroys the house.'

and from *rušiti se*:

- Kuća se ruši.  
  'The house falls-down.'

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

- Kuća je srušena.  
  'The house has been destroyed.'
3.5.2.3.1 An inanimate agent in a passive is expressed with the instrumental. An animate one is preferably omitted, but may be expressed with od 'from' or od strane 'from the side of' plus genitive:

Kuća je srušena v(j)etrom.
'The house has been destroyed by the wind.'
(?)Kuća je srušena od (od strane) neprijateljja.
'The house has been destroyed by the enemy.'

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

srušena kuća
'the destroyed house'
srušena v(j)etrom, v(j)etrom srušena kuća
'the house destroyed by the wind' (section 3.1.6.3).

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

čov(j)ek koji je došao
'man which-nominative has come'
čov(j)ek kojeg vidim
'man which-accusative (= whom) I-see'
čov(j)ek s kojim sam radio
'man with which-instrumental I-have worked'

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

čov(j)ek što ga vidim
'man that him I-see (man whom I see)'

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

čov(j)ek što je došao
'man that has come'

If the antecedent's head is an interrogative, indefinite or demonstrative pronoun in the singular (expressed or dropped), the relativizer is (t)ko 'who' or declinable što, šta 'what' depending on the human/nonhuman distinction (Browne 1986: 112-19):

nešto što vidim
'something what I see (that I see)'
nešto o čemu govorim
'something about what-LOC (about which) I speak'
sva(t)ko koga vidim
'everyone whom I see'
3.5.3.2 Relative clauses can also have (overt or dropped) time adverbials and place phrases as antecedents. A BCS speciality is relative clauses on quality and quantity-expression antecedents (Browne 1986: 102-07):

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

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

- Mislim da, vas je taj čov(j)ek vidio (video)...
  I think that that man saw you...

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

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

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

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

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

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

- Za Ivana govore da, ga svi poštuju.
  'For (about) Ivan they say that him everybody respects.'

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

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

3.5.4.2 The same strategy is available for questions. Beside

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

we can have:

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

3.5.4.3 Another strategy formulates each clause as a separate question, with što, šta 'what' as object of the main verb:
What do you think - who replaced me?

3.6 Negation

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

- Slavko ne vidi Olgu.
  - 'Slavko does not see Olga.'
- Slavko neće vidjeti Olgu.
  - 'Slavko will-not see Olga.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- Ni(t)ko nigd(j)e ne vidi nikoga.
  - 'Nobody nowhere not sees nobody (Nobody sees anybody anywhere).'

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

- Ništa.
  - 'Nothing.' (Or: 'Oh, that's all right.‘)

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

- *i* s kim, *ni* s kim; *i* u čemu, *ni* u čemu
  - 'with anybody, with nobody; in anything, in nothing'
although non-standard usage also has *s nikim, u ničemu*. With *bez*, the phrases run:

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

3.6.4 Infinitive complements are occasionally negated:

Nisam mogao ne misliti na to.
'I couldn't not think of it (I couldn't avoid thinking of it).'
but usually a special conjunction *a da*_2 *ne* is used:

Nisam mogao a da_2 ne mislim na to.
*A da_1 ne* expresses absence of accompanying action:

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

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

3.6.5.1 Fixed phrases:

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

3.6.5.1 Nemati:

Tada se s(j)etio da_1 nema revolvera.
'Then he remembered that he didn't have a pistol (GEN).'

3.6.5.3 Negation strengthened:

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

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

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

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

U sobi nema Marije, nije bilo Marije, neće biti Marije.
'Marija (GEN) is not in the room, was not in the room, will not be in the room.'
3.7 Using pronouns in discourse
The simplest device for referring again to a noun phrase is a personal pronoun agreeing in gender and number: on 'he' for masculine gender, ona 'she' for feminine, ono 'it' for neuter, each with its plural. Such a pronoun is available for any antecedent noun phrase headed by a lexical noun, with the limitation that enclitic forms (section 2.1.3.1) are favored and full forms disfavored for inanimate antecedent:

čov(j)ek ... Ne znam ga. Njega ne znam.
'man ... I don't know him. HIM I don't know.'

grad ... Ne znam ga. ?Njega ne znam.
'city ... I don't know it. IT I don't know.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ivan je razgovarao s Petrom, a ovaj s Marijom.
'He talked with Petar, and she (Petar) with Marija.'

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

prvi roman... drugi roman
'the first novel ... the second novel'.

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

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

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

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

Misliš li.
'You (F SG) thought.' (si, hence 2nd person singular; -l -a, hence feminine.)

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

Marko je danas zakasnio na ručak. Imao je puno posla u gradu.
'Marko today came-late for dinner. (He) had a-lot-of work in town.'

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

Marko je danas zakasnio na ručak. On je imao puno posla u gradu.
'Marko today came-late for dinner. He had a-lot-of work in town. Then (he) forgot the key to the car and (he) had to-return on-foot.'

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

Znaš, Marko je danas zakasnio na ručak. Mislim da je imao puno posla u gradu.
'(Y) know, Marko today came-late for dinner. (I) think he had a-lot-of work in town.'

They are included when they are the main point of the sentence or are contrasted:
Ručak sam spremio JA.
'Dinner prepared I (I'M the one who prepared dinner).'
Marko je danas zakasnio, ali ja nisam.
'Marko today came late, but I didn't.'

Their use can also indicate emphasis on the sentence as a whole.
Marko? Ja njega znam!
'Marko? Certainly I know him.'

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

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

Slavko ima nam(j)eru da vidi Olgu.
'Slavko has an intention that (he) see Olga.'

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

Slavko je siguran da vidi Olgu.
'Slavko is certain that (he) sees Olga.'
Slavko je siguran da, ON vidi Olgu a da, ja JA ne vidim.
'Slavko is certain that HE sees Olga and that I do not see her.'

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

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

Slavko govori o sebi. Mi govorimo o sebi.

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

but words modifying it show these features:

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

'Slavko talks about himself alone (M SG) (or: about his own self, precisely about himself). We talk about ourselves alone (PL).'  

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

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

Ja ću vas prepustiti sebi samim.

'I will leave you to yourselves alone.'

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

njegovo zaljubljivanje u sebe

'his infatuation with himself.'

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

zaljubljivanje u sebe

'one's infatuation with oneself,'

Ona se ogradila od zaljubljivanja u sebe.

'She disavowed her infatuation with herself.'

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

Ivan je vršio povjerenu mu dužnost (*not*: povjerenu sebi).

'Ivan performed entrusted to-him duty.'

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

U Americi se mnogo govori o sebi.

'In America (one) speaks much about oneself.'

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

Slavko govori o svojem konju.

'Slavko talks about his horse.'

odnos imenice prema svom glagolu

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

3.8.1.5 Exceptions to subject antecedency like

Postavi sve na svoje m(j)esto!
'Put everything, in its, place!'

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

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

Ja sam zahvalan svom učitelju.
'I am grateful to self's teacher.'
is one that I had, just as every student has some teacher.

Ja sam zahvalan mom učitelju.
'I am grateful to my teacher.'
speaks about a concrete teacher with his own name and personal qualities.

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

Olga i Marija vide jedna drugu.
'Olga and Marija see one (F NOM SG) another (F ACC SG).'

Prepositions go before the second member:

Govorimo jedan o drugom.
'We speak one about another (about each other).'

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

Slavko i Olga vide jedno drugo.
'Slavko and Olga see one another.'

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

...ako se otvorimo jedni prema drugima
'...if we-open-up one (NOM PL) to another (DAT PL)'
is headlined

Korist od otvaranja jednih prema drugima (Politika 28.4.1989.)
'Benefit from opening-up of-one (GEN PL) to another (DAT PL).'

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

Slavko i Olga žele vid(j)eti jedno drugo.
'Slavko and Olga wish to see one another.'
3.8.2.2 *Jedan drugog* with certain accusative-taking verbs (apparently lexically conditioned) is replaceable by *se*, the enclitic reflexive.

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

'They beat (love, see) one another.'
3.9 Possession
Possession can be expressed by a verb, a possessor constituent in a sentence or a possessor within a noun phrase.

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

Marija ima knjigu.
'Marija has a book.'
Marija ima sestru.
'Marija has a sister.'

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

Kuća pripada Mariji.
'The house belongs to Marija.'

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

Imam vode.
'I have some water (GEN).'

Compare:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Otac mi je umro prošle godine.
'Father to-me (my father) died last year.' (Mihailović 1971: 74)
Slavku je otac umro.
'Slavko-DAT father died.'
Kučanda (1985: 38) classifies nouns permitting dative possessors: 'parts of the body, kinship terms ... clothes, things the referent of the dative uses or possesses, nouns expressing part-whole relationship ....' As his example shows:

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

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

Poštar mu se pojavio na vratima.
'The postman to-him appeared at door (at his door).' The possessive dative can mark point-of-view (empathy): the event is told as if seen by the house owner. The transition to the dative of experiencer is gradual (the 'vase' sentence could be taken as 'He broke the vase "on" me, to my disadvantage').

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

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

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

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

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

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

Compare:

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

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

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

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

kip preds(j)ednika
'a statue of the president'
where a definite possessor is known only by reputation or professional role (M. Ivić 1986). Thus

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

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

Studentski život je lijep.
'Student life is nice.' (song title)
paraphrasable as život studenata 'the life of students' and not studentov život 'the life of the student'.

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

Otac mi je umro.
'My father died "on me".'
because it repeats the dative; nor in
Noga me boli.
'My leg hurts me.'
because it repeats the accusative object me.
3.10 Quantification
3.10.1 Noun phrases can contain quantifiers telling the number of items expressed by a count noun or the amount of substance expressed by a mass noun. Two syntactic structures exist: adjectival (agreeing) and governmental (the quantifier imposes a form on the noun).

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

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

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

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

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

- dvoje novine
  'two newspapers'.

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

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

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

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

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

- ?S(j)ećam se ta četiri studenta.
  'I remember those four students.' *(The verb demands genitive.)*
Dajem poklon ta četiri studenta.
'I give a gift to those four students.' (Indirect object needs dative.)

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

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

Velika većina studenata je stigla.
'Great-NOM SG majority-NOM S of students-GEN PL has arrived-SG.'

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

većina dobrih studenata
'the majority of the good-GEN PL students-GEN PL.'

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

Mnogo vode je proliveno.
'Much water-GEN is spilled.'
Mnogo studenata je stiglo.
'Many students-GEN has arrived.'
Deset studenata je stiglo.
'Ten students-GEN has arrived.'

3.10.7 Some indeclinable quantifiers have the shape of accusative nouns:

Stotinu studenata je stiglo.
'One hundred students...'

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

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

Svih tih deset studenata je stiglo.
'All-GEN PL these-GEN PL ten students has arrived.'
Prošlo je dobrih pet sati.
'Passed has good-GEN PL five hours-GEN PL (a good five hours passed).'

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

Stanujem s masu studenata.
'I live with a lot of students.' (S calls for instrumental.)
Ne znam naslov tih deset knjiga.
'I don't know the title of those ten books.' (Genitive possessor.)
S(j)ećam se tih pet studenata.
'I remember those five students.' (Verb requires genitive.)

Dajem poklon ovih četrdeset studenata.
'I give a gift to these forty students.' (Dative indirect object.)

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

3.10.10 The 'collective' numerals dvoje, troje, četvero (četvoro), petero (petoro), ... up to 9, are of the second genitive-taking type. (Grammars cite other case-forms, but in practice they appear indeclinable.) They are used with mixed-sex groups of people and obligatorily with d(j)eca 'children':
- troje d(j)eca
  'three children'
- troje studenata; tri studenta
  'three students (mixed sexes); three students (not necessarily mixed sexes)'

3.10.11 Another set of 'collectives' are numerals in –ica : dvojica, trojica, četvorica, petorica (up to 9) and nekolicina 'a few'. These signify groups of men, are feminine singular nouns in declension and behave like većina within the noun phrase:
- sva petorica dobrih studenata
  'all-F NOM SG five good-GEN PL students-GEN PL'
Predicate agreement with -ica phrases is plural on verbs; participles may take -a or the semantically natural masculine plural -i.

3.10.12 Genitive personal pronoun heads nas 'us', vas 'you', njih 'them' combine with numerals above '1':
- nas dvojica, nas dvoje, nas dvije (dve)
  'we two' (male-male, male-female, female-female)
- njih nekolicina, njih nekoliko
  'several men', 'several of them (mixed or female)'.

3.10.13 Po before a numeral means 'so-and-so many apiece/each':
- Imamo po jednog psa.
  'We have one dog apiece' (each of us has one).
Unlike other Slavic languages, BCS po does not change the case of the numeral or the noun, and it can be used next to a preposition:
- Došli su sa po pet konja.
  came with apiece 5 horses
'They came with 5 horses each.'
Došli su sa po oko pet konja.
came with apiece about 5 horses
'They came with about 5 horses each.'
4. The vocabulary
4.1 General composition of the word-stock
4.1.1 Fed by varied dialects and contacts (section 4.2) and more than one standard, the BCS vocabulary is large. Academic dictionaries run to many volumes (JAZU 1880-1976 1-23; SANU 1959-1-14+; MS-MH 1967-76 1-6). Unfortunately we possess no full etymological dictionary. Skok (1971-74), though abundant in rare and dialectal words, has many gaps (but one should check in the index, part 1 of volume 4, before concluding a word is missing). Gluhak (1993) takes a smaller set of words and seeks to trace them far back into the past (again, one should look words up in the index as well as in the main listing).

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

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

4.2 Patterns of borrowing (the main sources)
The best sketch is Brozović and Ivić (1988); we follow it closely here.
4.2.1 Greek loans bear witness to the medieval Serbian state's Byzantine contacts. Some, as patos 'floor', still characterize the Serbian standard; others like miris 'smell' occur in all of BCS. Many religious terms entered Serbian Orthodox terminology through Church Slavonic: idol, iguman 'abbot'.

93
Orthodox religious and abstract vocabulary, if not directly from Greek, is Church Slavonic, often translating a Greek word literally: prorok 'prophet' calquing Greek prophētēs, učenik 'disciple', later 'pupil', sav(i)jest 'conscience', sveštenik 'priest'. As Ivić (Brozović and Ivić 1988, 44) observes, Croatian vocabulary shares some of these religious Grecisms and Slavonicisms (idol, prorok, učenik), thanks to the Glagolitic writers' wide use of Church Slavonic, and also has many Latinisms (brevijar 'breviary') and domestic coinages (svećenik). Opat 'abbot', a Latin borrowing from Greek, probably came through Old Bavarian (German).

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

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

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

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

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

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

English loanwords earlier trickled in through German or French, occasionally Russian. Since World War II, contacts with Britain and America have made English the leading source of loans. Filipović (1990) analyzes the adaptation of over 5,500 items. Words with Greco-Latin elements behave as members of the European pool: prohibition > prohibicija, infrastructure > infrastruktura. Other words take forms that accord with English spelling or pronunciation, in either event presenting
consonant or vowel combinations untypical for BCS: pacemaker > pejsmejker (also written pace-maker), flower power > flower power / flauer pauer.

4.3 Incorporation of borrowings

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

head glava
eye oko
eyes oči feminine i-declension, genitive očiju
nose nos, plural nosovi (nosevi)
ear uho; Serbian standard also uvo (genitive uva, more rarely uveta)

ears uši feminine i-declension, genitive ušiju
mouth usta a neuter plural word
hair kosa (all the hair on the head); dlaka 'a hair; hair(s) growing on the body'
neck vrat, also: šija
chest prsa neuter plural (also 'breast'); grudi feminine i-declension plural (also 'breast'), singular rare
heart srce
arm/hand ruka
hand šaka (considered part of ruka; also 'fist')
finger  prst, plural prsti, genitive prsti (prstiju); prst na ruci
thumb   palac, palca
leg/foot noga
foot    stopalo (considered part of noga)
toe     prst, prst na nozi, nožni prst
big toe palac (na nozi), nožni palac

4.4.3 Kinship terms

mother   majka, mati (see section 2.1.2.3.1)
father  otac, genitive oca, plural očevi
sister  sestra. Can include 'female cousin', but rođena ('born') sestra is only 'sister'.
brother  brat, plural braća (declined as feminine singular a-declension; adjectives agree accordingly; neuter plural predicative agreement). Can include 'male cousin', but rođeni brat is only 'brother'.
aunt   tetka 'father's sister, mother's sister'; strina 'father's brother's wife', ujna 'mother's brother's wife'
uncle  stric, plural stričevi 'father's brother'; ujak 'mother's brother'; tetak, genitive tetka, or teča 'husband of tetka'
niece  nećakinja, nećaka, also sestrična 'sister's daughter'; sinovica, bratič(i)na, nećakinja 'brother's daughter'
nephew nećak, also sestrič 'sister's son'; sinovac, bratić, nećak 'brother's son'
cousin (female) sestra; rođaka, rođakinja, rodica 'relative'; sestra od tetke 'daughter of one's tetka'; sestra od strica 'daughter of one's stric'; sestra od ujaka 'daughter of one's ujak'
cousin (male) brat; rođak 'relative'; brat od tetke 'son of one's tetka'; brat od strica 'son of one's stric'; brat od ujaka 'son of one's ujak'
(Speakers disagree about subclassifications of nieces, nephews and cousins.)
grandmother  baba, baka (diminutive, but frequent)
grandfather  d(j)ed, Ekavski also deda
wife   žena (also 'woman'); supruga ('spouse')
husband  muž (not usually 'man'); suprug ('spouse')
daughter  (k)ćerka, kći (section 2.1.2.3.1)
son     sin
5. Dialects
Speakers are conscious of dialect divisions and identify themselves as Kajkavci, Čakavci or Štokavci and according to their reflex of jat (section 1.1.1.2) as Ekavci, (I)jekavci or Ikavci. The main divisions, Kajkavski, Čakavski and Štokavski, are named after their words for 'what': kaj, ča, and što or šta (a for o in šta is a later development). The Prizren-Timok group, sometimes termed a separate group ("Torlak") transitional to Macedonian and Bulgarian (P. Ivić 1958), is generally included in Štokavski (Brozović and Ivić 1988). The jat reflex is important for subdividing each of the three groups. The most recent survey, with detailed maps, is in Brozović and Ivić 1988; P. Ivić, ed. (1981) describes the sound systems of 77 localities with historical summaries.

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.2.2 Vowel systems mostly have five short vowels and five long; diphthongizations and rounding of long a are frequent. Section 1.1.1.2 treats jat reflexes. Word-final l may drop, remain or yield -a, but does not change to -o: bi, bil, bija.
5.2.3 A later feature, final *m* changing to *n* in endings: *govorim* > *govorin* 'I speak',
*nogom* > *nogn* 'foot, instrumental singular', covers coastal Čakavski and Štokavski areas. Root-final *m* is unaffected: *dim* 'smoke'. Many localities are "cakavski", merging *č* and *c*, *š* and *s*, *z* and *ž*. Many coastal dialects change *lj* to *j*: *jubav* 'love'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.3.3.2 The Šumadija-Vojvodina type, as its name implies, occupies Serbia's northern province and part of central Serbia southwest of Beograd. It is Ekavski (the standard of Serbia inherits Ekavism from this type), except for part of Šumadija with a separate vowel [ě] (section 1.1.1.2). Its accents are new, its plural endings largely new. Unaccented syllables show a tendency to shorten long vowels which becomes stronger in East and South Serbia.
5.3.3.3 Younger Ikavski, lying between Eastern Hercegovinian and Čakavski, has mostly new accentuation and mostly neutralized plural cases. Parts of the area are Šćakavski and share other features with Čakavski.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

obitelji. Ili obrnuto. Stari joj radi u pilani i
family Or reversed. Old [man] her works in sawmill and
F DAT SG M NOM SG F DAT SG 3 SG F LOC SG

najpoznatiji je preparator divljači u Glamočkom polju;
best-known is taxidermist game in Glamoč field
M NOM SG superlative 3 SG M NOM SG F GEN SG ADJ N LOC SG N LOC SG

mama je domaćica. Ima stariju sestru Razu i
mother is housewife has older sister Raza and
F NOM SG 3 SG F NOM SG 3 SG F ACC SG F ACC SG F ACC SG

mlađeg brata Elvira. Kad su bili
younger brother Elvir When were
M ACC SG AN M ACC SG AN M ACC SG AN AUX 3 PL LP M PL

klinci i kad bi starom kasnila pošiljka umjetnih očiju
kids and when would old be late shipment artificial eyes
M NOM PL 3 SG M DAT SG LP F SG F NOM SG F GEN PL F GEN PL

iz Gradiške, vadio bi oči iz njihovih lutaka i
from Gradiška would take out eyes from their dolls and
F GEN SG LP M SG 3 SG F ACC PL F GEN PL F GEN PL

plišanih meda. Fatima je pohađala medicinsku školu, najprije
plush teddybears Fatima attended medical school first
M GEN PL M GEN PL F NOM SG AUX 3 SG LP F SG F ACC SG F ACC SG
Fatima is from Glamoč. Actually from a village near Glamoč, with forty or so houses, which has taken its name from her family, or vice versa. Her old man works in the sawmill and is the best-known taxidermist for wild game in the Glamoč Plain region; her mama is a housewife. She has an older sister Raza and a younger brother Elvir. When they were kids and when a shipment of artificial eyes from Gradiška for the old man would be delayed, he used to take the eyes out of their dolls and teddy bears. Fatima attended vocational school for nurses, first in Banja Luka and then in Travnik. She was working at the Medical Center in Glamoč when the Serb nationalist forces rose up. Then she fled with her brother via Banja Luka to Travnik....
Fatima lives in Buffalo, New York State. She is 28 years old. She looks good: dark, with a slightly boney face, warm dark green eyes, elegant movements and posture. Dressed in simple, tastefully chosen "threads" in darker colors, she looks very good; with tiny oval eyeglasses on her face, almost aristocratic. At first glance I wouldn't recognize her as a Bosnian, I would more likely place her in the family of some Iranian emigrants from the beginning of the 1980s or in one of the clans of Greeks from Queens.

From "ToFa: a crying game," short story by the contemporary Bosnian writer Saša Skenderija (Ithaca, N.Y.). Used by permission.
Bibliography


Ivić, Pavle, ed. (1981) Fonološki opisi srpskohrvatskih / hrvatskosrpskih, slovenačkih i makedonskih govora obuhvaćenih opšteslovenskim lingvističkim atlasom = Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna izdanja, knjiga LV, Odjeljenje društvenih nauka, knjiga 9, Sarajevo.


Jakobson, Roman (1948) 'Russian conjugation' Word 4, 155-167.


MS-MH (Matica Srpska, Matica Hrvatska) (1967-76) *Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika* 1-6, Novi Sad-Zagreb.


Nakić, Anuška and Wayles Browne (1975) ‘The intonation of questions in Serbo-Croatian and English’ in Rudolf Filipović, (ed.) The Zagreb English-Serbo-
SANU (Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti) (1959-) *Rečnik srpshovratskog književnog i narodnog jezika* 1-16 (as of 2001), Beograd.
Web resources

A corpus is a collection of pieces of text in some language. You can search it to find examples of usage: what forms of a given word exist, how frequently are they used, what are the favorite object nouns that a verb takes or the other way around (do you "ask" a question? Not in BCS: the phrase is postaviti pitanje 'put a question', not pitati pitanje).

At present there are two corpuses, or corpora, from the BCS area available on the Web: the Croatian National Corpus (Hrvatski nacionalni korpus) at http://www.hnk.ffzg.hr/korpus.htm and the Oslo Corpus of Bosnian Texts at http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/Bosnian/Corpus.html. Each has its own advantages and disadvantages. The Croatian corpus allows you to search for a word, or different forms of a word (pitanj% will get pitanje, pitanja, pitanjem, pitanjima etc.). The smaller Bosnian corpus allows searching for a word or a phrase ("postav.*" "pitanj.*" with quotation marks as shown will get postaviti pitanje, postavljam pitanja, etc.). You need to get permission before beginning to use it (which takes a day or two). A Serbian corpus is planned for the near future; see http://www.serbian-corpus.edu.yu/indexie.htm.

You can also treat the whole World Wide Web as a corpus. Some search engines will let you search for words or phrases in Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian web pages. Using Google at http://www.google.com/, you can choose Preferences and make the Interface Language Bosnian (or Croatian, or Serbian). Then when you search for, let's say, "postaviti pitanje" (quotation marks around a desired phrase), Google displays pages—in their original character set—that contain this phrase. To search for Serbian pages that use Cyrillic, you need to choose Russian as Interface Language (or some other language that uses Cyrillic).
That topic is not covered in the present grammar
Articles are not a feature of this language
This topic is not addressed in the present grammar.