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## ABSTRACT

The second volume in this series contains seven articles dealing with various aspects of Serbo-Croatian-English contrastive analysis. They are: "Derivation in Serbo-Croatian and English," by Zeljko Bužas; "Predicative Patterns for English Adjectives and Their Contrastive Correspondents in Serbo-Croatian," by Vladimir Ivir; "Numeratives and Quantitatives in English and Serbo-Croatian," by Dora Macek; "Linking Verb+Complement in English and Serbo-Croatian," by Midhat Ridžanović; "The English Possessive Adjectives 'My', 'Your', 'His', 'Her', 'Its', 'Our', 'Their' and Their Serbo-Croatian Equivalents," by Leonardo Spalatin; "The English Demonstratives 'This', 'These', 'That', 'Those', and Their Serbo-Croatian Equivalents," by Leonardo Spalatin; and "Lexico-Grammatical Features of 'Must', 'Should' and 'Ought to' and Their Equivalents in Serbo-Croatian," by Damir Kalogjera. (CLK)

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THE YUGOSLAV SERBO-CROATIAN - ENGLISH  
CONTRASTIVE PROJECT

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A. REPORTS

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Washington, D. C. USA

# THE YUGOSLAV SERBO-CROATIAN - ENGLISH CONTRASTIVE PROJECT

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## A. REPORTS

2

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Željko Bujas: Derivation in Serbo-Croatian and English ✓	1
Vladimir Ivir: Predicative Patterns for English Adjectives and Their Contrastive Correspondents in Serbo-Croatian ✓	10
Dora Maček: Numeratives and Quantitatives in English and Serbo-Croatian	56
Midhat Ridžanović: Linking Verb + Complement in English and Serbo-Croatian ✓	77
Leonardo Spalatin: The English Possessive Adjectives <u>my</u> , <u>your</u> , <u>his</u> , <u>her</u> , <u>its</u> , <u>our</u> , <u>their</u> and Their Serbo-Croatian Equivalents ✓	94
Leonardo Spalatin: The English Demonstratives <u>this</u> , <u>these</u> , <u>that</u> , <u>those</u> and Their Serbo-Croatian Equivalents	103
Damir Kalogjera: Lexico-Grammatical Features of MUST, SHOULD and OUGHT TO and Their Equivalents ✓ in Serbo-Croatian	120

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The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian - English Contrastive Project is an international venture involving the cooperation of Yugoslav and American scholars. Its primary aim is to facilitate the teaching of English as the second language to speakers of Serbo-Croatian. The results should also have relevance for the teaching of Serbo-Croatian to English speakers. It is further hoped that these results will afford new insight into the linguistic structures of the two languages and will constitute a contribution to contrastive linguistics.

The Project is directed by Rudolf Filipović, Professor of English and Director of the Institute of Linguistics of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb, Yugoslavia, and coordinated by the Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D.C., U.S.A., represented by William Nemser, Director of the Center's Foreign Language Program.

The Project is supported jointly by the governments of Yugoslavia and the United States, and by the Ford Foundation.

The results of the Project research are presented in three series:

A. Reports; B. Studies; C. Pedagogical Materials.

## DERIVATION IN SERBO-CROATIAN AND ENGLISH

### Part One: A Brief Survey of Standard Grammatical Statements

1.0. This report deals exclusively with lexical derivative morphemes, as opposed to inflectional morphemes with a grammatical function (of the type: -ly, -s, -ed, etc.).

1.1. There is considerable parallelism between the basic inventory of lexical derivation patterns in English and Serbo-Croat:

Type of Derivation		English	Serbo-Croat
Nominal	Prefixal	mis-fortune	ne-sreća
	Suffixal	employ-ec	namješten-ik
Adjectival	Prefixal	un-pleasant	ne-prijatan
	Suffixal	earth-en	zemlj-an
Verbal	Prefixal	dis-arm	raz-oružati
	Suffixal	wid-en	šir-i-ti*
Adverbial	Prefixal	super-naturally	nad-naravno
	Suffixal	quick-ly	brz-o

\*With the following components: stem - stem ending - suffix

1.11. It should be pointed out that the standard, textbook description of Serbo-Croat — with its neogrammarian emphasis upon a historical approach — assigns prefixal formation to Composition, probably because of its greater /historically viewed/ semantic independence.

1.11.1. The above survey, however, ignores this in favour of a classification following the standard English description. The resulting table reflects, we believe, more realistically the diagnostic /analytical/ and productive /synthetic/ procedures of the Serbo-Croat learner of English.

## Part Two: Contrastive Analysis

2.1. A full coverage of Derivation inventories would require compiling formidable lists of affixes for either language. Thus, Zandvoort's Handbook of English Grammar /henceforth: ZAND/ -- in spite of its modest volume and ambitions -- provides a total of 98 affixes /34 prefixes and 64 suffixes/. A similar work for Serbo-Croat, Gramatika hrvatskoga ili srpskog jezika by Brabec, Hraste and Živković /henceforth: BHŽ/, lists in excess of 200 affixes /165 suffixes, 45 prefixes and a number of infixes/.

2.2. However, the present author does not see much point in such compilatory efforts. The lists thus obtained would be sure to include a sizable share of stylistically marked derivatives /hypocoristics, jocular appellations, terms of opprobrium, rusticalia, etc./. As such, they would be of questionable value for the practical teaching of English -- regardless of the contrastive patterns possibly revealed through them.

2.3. This deliberate limitation of the material under investigation to high-frequency items /comparatively at least/ absolves us from the requirements of a total contrasting coverage. permutational /every  $L_g$  item with each  $L_t$  item/ and categorial /every aspect of  $L_g$  items with all aspects of  $L_t$  items/.

2.4. We, thus, adopt a pragmatic approach. First, examples illustrating affixal lists in ZAND and BHŽ are mentally, ad hoc, translated. Both the  $L_g$ -to- $L_t$  and  $L_t$ -to- $L_g$  directions are tried. Use is then made of previously compiled observations on the English translation equivalents of Serbo-Croat affixes and vice versa. The compilations in question are either a personal effort /by the present researcher/ or result from a number of supervised undergraduate essays. Both dictionary material and parallel

/Serbo-Croat and English/ texts have served as sources for them.

2.3. The translation equivalents thus obtained can be classified into several contrastive-patterning categories. Their boundaries will depend on what we understand by contrastive patterning.

2.51. Formally interpreted, this will mean the parallel bilingual presence — or absence — of structures on the same level of description. thus, a prefix in Serbo-Croat, like ne-, opposite the English un-, non-, in-, etc.

2.51.1. Psychologically, this formal interpretation is closer to the "first-go" learning efforts, whose frequent and significant deceptive grammatical analogies are the primary source of errors that contrastive analysis proposes to diagnose and aid in eliminating.

2.52. A semantic interpretation of patterning allows these structures to be rank-shifted or to adopt a completely different makeup — as long as they operate as patterns /i.e. show unifying regularity of composition/ and meet semantic requirements /i.e. are acceptable translation equivalents/. Thus, for instance, the same /cf. 2.51./ Serbo-Croat prefix ne- may operate in contrast to the English groups absence of / lack of / want of and failure to.

2.52.1. This semantic interpretation is psychologically closer to the "second-go" learning efforts, with their groping away from the immediate "grammatical" / item-for-item transfer. As a tool, it will, consequently, prove effective for the post-diagnostic, corrective, statements of contrastive analysis.

2.6. We envisage, as logically /permutationally/ possible, the following five contrastive-patterning categories /formal or semantic/:

Category	Serbo-Croat	to	English
1.	+		-
2.	+		+
3.	+		/+/-/
4.	-		-
5.	-		-

2.61. The plus signs mark the presence, minus signs the absence, of the patterning in the other language. The symbol /+/ indicates the presence of overlapping /primarily phrasal/ patterns.

2.62. This researcher has adopted the  $L_s$  - to -  $L_t$  direction of both the analysis and descriptive statement, because he is a firm believer in the greater teaching and learning efficiency of this approach, harnessing, as it were, the powerful patterning habits of the mother tongue and the irrepressible, constant process of the learner's mental translation from his native language.

2.71. First Category

Serbo-Croat derivation pattern has no correspondent in

English:

<u>naprst-ak</u>	:	<u>thimble</u>
<u>opleć-ak</u>	:	<u>bodice, chemis-ette</u>
<u>teleć-ak</u>	:	<u>pack, knap=sack</u>
<u>čest-it</u>	:	<u>honest, righte-ous</u>
<u>plemen-it</u>	:	<u>noble, noble-minded,</u> <u>high-minded</u>
<u>razbor-it</u>	:	<u>sens-ible, judici-ous,</u> <u>reason-able, prud-ent</u>

2.72. Second Category

Serbo-Croat derivation pattern has a correspondent in

English, either isotaxic /similar in structure and order/ or  
anisotaxic /different in structure and order/:

<u>2.72.1.</u>	<u>Isotaxic</u>	<u>Vb + -nje</u>	<u>Vb + -ing</u>
e. g.	<u>hoda-nje</u>	:	<u>walk-ing</u>
	<u>kupova-nje</u>	:	<u>buy-ing</u>
	<u>cрта-nje</u>	:	<u>draw-ing</u>



2.72.11. Evidently, these examples are acceptable only in a pragmatic /simplified, practical-teaching/ approach which consciously disregards such possible non-patterning translation equivalents as walk /n/, buy /n/ or purchase /n/, all bare stem, and the affixal draughtsmanship. A strict formal interpretation would, doubtless, treat these cases as overlap and assign them to the third category.

## 2.72.2. Anisotaxic

a) N + -ik : N + N<sub>(grove/forest/orchard)</sub>

e.g. bor-ik : pine grove, pine forest

sljiv-ik : plum orchard

b) N + -etina : { Adj + Adj + N  
(great + big; big + ugly)  
N<sub>(mammoth)</sub> + N  
N<sub>(monster)</sub> + of + a + N

e.g. rib-etina : { great big fish  
big ugly fish  
mammoth fish  
monster of a fish

c) Num + -ak : { Num + -odd  
Num + or + so  
Num + or + thereabouts  
some/about + Num

e.g. trideset-ak : { thirty-odd  
thirty or so  
thirty or thereabouts  
some thirty, about thirty

2.73. Third Category

Being wider, the Serbo-Croat derivation pattern contrasts with no single English pattern - covering instead several semantically narrower /often rank-shifted/ patterns, or overlapping with a number of other patterns, in that language.

- a) { Adj + -nean  
N + -ity/ -ty/ -tion/ etc.  
/descript. / Adj + -ost : Adj + N (quality/character/etc)  
being + Adj  
Adj + manner

- e.g. blag-ost : mild-ness  
smjel-ost : audac-ity  
životn-ost : existential quality  
opravdan-ost : being justified  
ležern-ost : relaxed manner

- b) bez- + Adj : N + -less

- e.g. bez-mesan : meat-less  
bez-bolan : pain-less

- (!) bez-obziran : \*consideration-less  
(correct: ruthless, inconsiderate)

- c) { INFpres/perf + one's + fill  
na- + INF + se : INFpres/perf + enough  
to have ( + had) + enough + of + Vbing  
idiomatic

e. g.			<u>to dance/have danced one's fill</u>
	<u>naplesati se</u>	:	<u>to dance/have danced enough</u>
			<u>to have /had/ enough of dancing</u>
	<u>naspavati se</u>	:	<u>to have /had/ a good sleep</u>
			<u>to have /had/ a good night's rest</u>

#### 2.74. Fourth Category

Absence of a derivation pattern from both Serbo-Croat and English.

Evidently, this merely hypothetical category is meant simply as a "combinatorial filler", to secure all the possible pairings in terms of presence or absence of items.

Finding examples for this category is likewise both unnecessary and impossible. Unless, of course, we take some alien derivation feature from a third language and demonstrate its absence from both Serbo-Croat and English.

#### 2.75. Fifth Category

Serbo-Croat has no formal correspondent to an English derivation pattern.

	descript. phrase	:	N + <u>-wise</u>
e. g.	<u>u smjeru kazaljke na satu</u>	:	<u>clockwise</u>

### Part Three: Teaching Implications

3.1. In the beginning and early intermediate stages of learning English /up to, say, a 2,000-word vocabulary/, there may be little need to utilize any observations, resulting from the contrastive analysis of derivation in Serbo-Croat and English.

Beyond this stage, however, as the learner realizes the deplorable absence of "lexical" or "vocabulary" rules in the standard textbooks and

courses — and parallel with his budding ability to draw /often wrong/ analogies — the following general suggestions may be offered to the teacher of English /or the textbook (course) dictionary writer/ in the Serbo-Croat areas of Yugoslavia:

3.21. You should first intervene in third-category cases where the learner is liable to misinterpret a frequent and easy-to-observe pattern of derivation correspondence /e.g. blag-ost; mild-ness/ as a foolproof rule.

3.22 Warned of the limited applicability of formal derivation correspondences, the learner should now be made aware of the operation of semantic /rank-shifted/ correspondences.

3.23. This will make the learner more receptive for a regular application of such correspondences /patterns/ to second-category examples, i.e. for new productive, vocabulary-expanding learning habits.

3.24. The approach should be positive /i.e. based primarily on the presence, not absence, of items/, and from Serbo-Croat. Consequently, the first and the fifth category may, for practical purposes, be disregarded by the teacher.

3.3. On a more applied level, the obvious suggestions are:

3.31. Draw up lists of high-frequency Serbo-Croat derivation patterns and their formal /same-level/ English correspondents.

3.32. Compile lists of non-formal /rank-shifted, periphrastic/ English correspondents. /For this, use translations, dictionaries and available concordances./

3.33. Make use of these lists /cf. 3.31. and 3.32./ to design exercises specifically aimed at acquiring vocabulary-expansion habits based on patterns of formal and, especially, non-formal correspondents.

3.34. Design translation exercises which will activate the learner in further instances of productive patterning among translation

equivalents.

3.35. Pay special attention to "deceptive cognates" /Cf. V. Ivir,  
Serbo-Croat — English False Pair Types, SRAZ, 25-26, 1968. pp.  
149-159/.

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PREDICATIVE PATTERNS FOR ENGLISH ADJECTIVES AND THEIR  
CONTRASTIVE CORRESPONDENTS IN SERBO-CROATIAN<sup>(1)</sup>

0. Introductory

0.1. English adjectives can occupy several different positions in the sentence, but it is now generally agreed that the predicative position is crucial, in the sense that it serves as a source from which at least some of the other possible positions are filled transformationally.

0.2. The predicative position is the slot in the kernel sentence structure following a form of the verbs to be or to seem; thus,

$$NP + Tns + \left. \begin{matrix} be \\ seem \end{matrix} \right\} + Adj$$

This formula will generate numerous English sentences with predicative adjectives in the sentence-final position:

- (1) The girl is beautiful.<sup>(2)</sup>
- (2) The boy seems young.
- (3) The roof is red.
- (4) The answers were correct.
- (5) The streets seemed wide.

The same formula can be postulated for Serbo-Croatian, with the verbs biti and činiti se, and the corresponding sentences will be the following.

- (1SC) Djevojka je lijepa.
- (2SC) Dječak se čini mlad.
- (3SC) Krov je crven.
- (4SC) Odgovori su bili ispravni.
- (5SC) Ulice su se činile široke.

It is seen here that the structural pattern is the same in the two languages, and consequently no difficulty is to be expected on the part of the Serbo-Croatian learners of English in mastering this particular construction.

0.3. Serbo-Croatian adjectives agree with the subjects to which they refer in gender and number /and also in case, which is perhaps less important here because the subject noun is always in the nominative/.

dječak - mlad  
djevojka - lijepa  
krov - crven  
odgovori - ispravni  
ulice - široke

No interference is predicted as far as the gender and the case are concerned, since the learner will find nothing in English to correspond to Serbo-Croatian gender and case endings. In teaching, it will be sufficient to point to this characteristic lack of agreement in English and the consequent lack of formal items to signal it.

A certain amount of interference can, however, occur in the sphere of number agreement, because the learner may decide to equate adjectives with nouns in English with respect to the formation of the plural /as they are equated in Serbo-Croatian/ and produce mistakes of the following type:

(4a) \*The answers were corrects.

(5a) \*The streets seemed widen.

on the analogy with:

(4aSC) Odgovori su bili ispravni. (\*ispravan)

(5aSC) Ulice su se činile široke. (\*široka)

While this kind of error is certainly possible, classroom experience seems to indicate that it is not too frequent. (It is much less frequent, for instance, than a similar type of mistake with pronominal adjectives:

\*corrects answers, \*widen streets).

0.4. Serbo-Croatian adjectives are in certain cases marked for definiteness, notably in the singular masculine and neuter genders. In the

predicative position that we are discussing, the distinction applies only to masculine adjectives, and they take the indefinite, not the definite, form:

(3aSC) Krov je crven. (\*crveni)

(2aSC) Dječak se čini mlad. (\*mladi)

however, this fact is contrastively irrelevant for Serbo-Croatian learners of English and no interference can be expected.

0.5. The linking verbs that appear between the nominal phrase and the adjective in this particular structure are usually given as be or seem.

But other linking verbs can also function there:

(6) They remained motionless.

(7) She became unhappy.

(8) I feel happy.

(9) He looked tired.

(10) The argument sounded hollow.

(11) It smells good.

With these verbs, however, the accompanying Serbo-Croatian form is not necessarily adjectival:

(6SC) Oni su ostali nepokretni / nepokretnima. (3)

(7SC) Ona je postala nesretna / nesretnom.

(8SC) Osjećam se sretan / sretnim / sretno.

(9SC) On je izgledao umoran / umorno.

(10SC) Argumentat je zvučao šuplje.

(11SC) Miriše dobro.

The verbs izgledati and osjećati se accept not only adjectives but also adverbs and can thus be regarded as full rather than linking verbs. Nevertheless, their linking character is prominent in those cases in which adjectives are acceptable:

(12SC) Ovaj vlak izgleda spor. (\*sporo)

(13SC) Taj zadatak ne izgleda težak. (\*teško)



In such cases, Serbo-Croatian learners of English will experience no difficulty in the use of adjectives:

(12) This train appears slow.

(13) The task does not seem difficult.

But they are likely to have considerable difficulties with adjectives in those instances in which Serbo-Croatian prescribes the use of adverbs:

(14SC) On se osjeća dobro / \*dobar.

(15SC) Izgledate sjajno / \*sjajan.

(16SC) Njegova priča zvuči istinito / \*istinita.

(17SC) Miriše dobro / \*dobar.

The interference of the mother tongue will probably push the learner in the direction of the English adverb:

(15) \*You look beautifully.

(16) \*His story sounds truly.

(17) \*It smells well.

The fact that (14) He feels well contains a form that the learner will readily identify as an adverb (though it is actually a predicative adjective) will only further complicate matters for him. The teaching of this form is therefore best postponed until the time when the use of adjectives with linking verbs has been fully mastered.

Another problem that may make things difficult for the learner is that of the double nature of some of those verbs in English:

(18) He looked hard.

(18a) He looked hard and inflexible.

(18b) He looked hard to see if anything had been left in the room that could give him a clue to the identity of the victim.

(19) She felt strong and confident.

(20) She felt strongly that something ought to be done about this.

Again, the use of such verbs as non-linking verbs accompanied by adverbs should only be taught at a rather more advanced level, and then they should be presented in contrast with the same verbs in their linking functions.

0.6 Nothing has been said here about the nature of the qualities that are expressed adjectivally or adverbially in Serbo-Croatian, because these are difficult to formulate. While the difference between the linking and the non-linking uses in English seems to reside in the verb itself, and is sometimes reflected in the choice of the Serbo-Croatian verb in translation so that one can speak, in English, of two verbs look, for instance - look<sub>1</sub>, linking verb and look<sub>2</sub>, full verb, the difference between the use of adjectives and adverbs with Serbo-Croatian verbs which clearly correspond to English linking verbs can perhaps be described merely in terms of the (relatively) "permanent" vs. "transient" qualities ascribed to the subject. Thus, for instance, in He looked hard and inflexible, the verb will be translated by izgledati; in He looked hard to see..., the verb gledati will be chosen in Serbo-Croatian. In She felt strong and confident vs. She felt strongly that..., the difference is expressed in Serbo-Croatian by the choice of the reflexive verb in the first instance (osjećati se) and the non-reflexive transitive in the second instance (osjećati /nešto/). In Serbo-Croatian, on the other hand, the choice of the adjective or the adverb rests upon a distinction that English does not seem to make syntactically:

(21aSC) On izgleda mlad. (He looks young and, by implication, probably is.)

- (21aSC) On izgleda mlado. (He looks young - the  
implication being that, perhaps, he is not.)

Both English and Serbo-Croatian can make the distinction by using prosodic devices:

- (22) He LOOKS young.  
(22SC) On IZGLEDA mlad.

This would explain why only adverbs, and not adjectives, are used with such verbs when referring to qualities that are not normally regarded as inherent in the subject:

- (15SC) Izgledate sjajno.  
(16SC) Njegova priča zvuči istinito.

Pedagogically, the distinction that Serbo-Croatian makes at this point can probably be disregarded, at least at the early stages of learning English. the learner can simply be told to use adjectives with such linking verbs in English, irrespective of whether adjectives or adverbs appear as the corresponding structural items in Serbo-Croatian.

0.7. Among the English linking verbs one also finds the verbs to taste and to turn, and these two pose special problems. As linking verbs, both are followed by adjectives in English, but their translation in Serbo-Croatian involves several steps which change the structure completely. With to taste, the verb is nominalized, biti or imati is introduced, and the adjective is preserved as prenominal or predicative:

- (23) This apple tastes sour.  
(23aSC) Okus ove jabuke je kise. ("The taste of this  
apple is sour.")  
(23bSC) Ova jabuka je kiselog okusa. ("This apple is of  
a sour taste.")  
(23cSC) Ova jabuka ima kisel okus. ("This apple has a  
sour taste.")

A more radical (and perhaps more natural) translation will eliminate taste altogether:

(23dSC) Ova jabuka je kisela. ("This apple is sour.")

If taste + Adj is our target structure /as against be + Adj/, the concept of "taste" will have to be brought into the message /to avoid the perfectly possible This apple is sour/ and then shown as a nominal element in Serbo-Croatian and a verbal element in English.

The problem with the verb to turn (and to a certain extent also with to get, to grow and to become) is different. here the adjective is verbalized in Serbo-Croatian, and the meaning of the English verb is contained in the resultative form of the Serbo-Croatian verb;

(24) The milk turned sour.

(24SC) Mlijeko se ukiselilo.

(25) His face turned red.

(25SC) Lice mu je po crvenilo.

The teaching problem here is to try to make the students aware that both the adjective and the notion of "turning" or "becoming" are present in the Serbo-Croatian verb and both can be expressed in English by using the turn + Adj construction. (Sometimes a verb will exist in English corresponding to the Serbo-Croatian resultative verb:

(25a) His face reddened.

(24a) The milk soured.

but the usage levels of His face reddened and His face turned red are not the same.)

Some adjectives do not readily form verbs in Serbo-Croatian either, then the verb postati + Adj is used, and students will have to be taught to use turn (with its added semantic dimension not expressed in Serbo-Croatian)

rather than become:

(26) Their attitude toward me suddenly turned hostile.

(26SC) Njihov stav prema meni iznenada je postao neprijateljski.

0.8. Certain other verbs also collocate with adjectives in English

/e.g. run wild, run dry, loom large, prove true, wear thin, fly open, blush red, fall sick, tear loose, keep still, etc./ and can to that extent be said to operate as linking verbs. However, their ranges of adjective collocation are very limited and can probably be simply listed. This paper leaves them out of consideration.

0.9. We have now examined the use of adjectives in sentence-final predicative position and their relation to the linking verbs with which they are structurally bound in that position. The following chapters will deal with the syntactic relations that hold between the adjective and the nominal phrase with which it is connected via the linking verb, with the possible expansions of the sentence-final predicative adjective, and with the transformations that account for the use of adjectives in other positions in the sentence.

## 1. The unexpanded predicative adjective

1.1. The normal relationship between the noun phrase and the unexpanded predicative adjective in an English kernel sentence is descriptive, with the noun phrase acting as the subject and the be + Adj combination as one of the possible types of predicate:

(27) I'm tired.

(28) The water is cold.

(29) Machines are useful.

(30) The book is bulky.

The same subject-predicate relationship between the noun phrase and the adjective as part of the verb phrase that obtains on the surface obtains also in the deep structure of such sentences. the noun phrase is both surface structure and deep structure subject in the nominative case. The same is true of such noun phrases and adjectives in Serbo-Croatian, so that no serious difficulty will be encountered by Serbo-Croatian students of English in dealing with this particular structure:

(27SC) Umoran sam.

(28SC) Voda je hladna.

(29SC) Strojevi su korisni.

(30SC) Knjiga je opsežna.

1.2. However, deep and surface subjects do not always match so perfectly, a fact which English does not reflect, while Serbo-Croatian does:

(31) This room is hot.

(32) This soup is hot.

The two sentences, though superficially alike, are in fact different. Only the second has the deep structure subject in the nominative case; in the first, it is in the locative, as a paraphrase will readily show:

(31a) It is hot in this room. (vs. (32a) \*It is hot in this soup.)

As in so many other instances, Serbo-Croatian surface realizations seem to remain closer to the common deep structure:

(32SC) Ova juha je vruća.

as against:

(31SC) U ovoj sobi je vruće. (\*Ova soba je vruća.)

It is interesting that Serbo-Croatian has an option between the descriptive and the locative statement:

(33SC) /Idemo u ovu sobu. / Ova je soba toplija. (descriptive)

(34SC) /Idemo u ovu sobu. / U ovoj je sobi toplije. (locative)

So does English, too, if the speaker chooses to make the distinction:

(33) This room is warmer. (Potentially ambiguous:  
descriptive and locative)

(34) It is warmer in this room. (unambiguous: locative)

An example of ambiguity that English can resolve only by going beyond the sentence is the use of cold in:

(35) She is cold.

(4)

meaning (a) She is unemotional. (b) She is experiencing cold.

Serbo-Croatian, on the other hand, has two distinct surface realizations to show that the subject is in the nominative in the first case and in the dative /benefactive/ in the second:

(35aSC) Ona je hladna.

(35bSC) Njoj je hladno.

Similarly in the pair of sentences:

(36) The chair is comfortable.

(37) I'm comfortable.

Notice the Serbo-Croatian dative in the second example as against the nominative in the first:

(36SC) Stolica je udobna.

(37SC) Meni je udobno.

The errors that can be contrastively predicted in the speech of Serbo-Croatian learners of English are of two kinds: first, an acceptable English form can be produced but not the one that the teacher is aiming at; second, the form that the learner produces is unacceptable in English because the language simply fails to stop at the level of structure at which Serbo-Croatian stops. Thus, starting from his native language structure, the learner will produce the following correct English sentence:

(37) It is hot in this room.

In order to teach him the desired structure, it will be necessary to point out that another step is possible in English, though not in Serbo-Croatian:

(38a) This room is hot.

It will also be pointed out that the step is optional in this example but obligatory in the following examples:

(39) \*To her it is cold. (\*It is cold to her.)

--> She is cold.

(40) \*To me it is comfortable. (\*It is comfortable to me.) --> I'm comfortable.

1.3. Some other errors, a direct consequence of the failure to take the required step in English, can also be expected and are indeed regularly recorded in the speech of students at lower levels of proficiency.

First, the dummy subject-slot filler it is dropped, because nothing corresponding to it is found in Serbo-Croatian sentences of this type when the locative or the dative case introduces the subject:

(41) \*In this room is hot.

(42) \*To her is cold.

(43) \*To me is comfortable.

Some students will drop it even when the case expression follows the adjective

(41a) \*Is hot in this room.

(42a) \*Is cold to her.

(43a) \*Is comfortable to me.

Second, those who slavishly follow the surface word order of Serbo-Croatian are likely to treat the adjective as the subject and put it in the front position:

(44SC) Hladno joj je.

(44) \*Cold is (to) her. (or even: \*Cold (to) her is.)



1.4. Two interesting observations can be made in relation to the errors that the discrepancy between deep and surface structure in English produces in the speech of Serbo-Croatian learners of English. one, that they seem to relate their dative intuitively to the English preposition to /rather than, say, for<sup>(5)</sup>; two, that they do not - as one might expect - normally interpret hladno, udobno, vrúće as adverbs, i.e. they do not say:

(41b) \*It is hotly in this room.

(42b) \*To her is coldly.

(43b) \*I'm comfortably.

## 2. Prepositionally expanded predicative adjectives

2.1. It is perhaps not very frequent in either English or Serbo-Croatian that adjectives operate as sole exponents of be-predication. much more often they are expanded in that position by prepositional phrases and clauses. Clausal expansion always involves transformational generation from more than one source sentence, while the prepositional expansion may have its source in one kernel sentence or, in case of the prepositional infinitive, in two or more sentences at deeper levels of structure.

2.2. When an adjective is expanded by Prep + NP, the effect is usually to limit the range of its descriptive application:

(45) He is red in the face.

(46) They were rude to her.

(47) The room is full of people.

(48) This weather is unusual for this time of the year.

Again, the same kind of expansion is possible in Serbo-Croatian /except that case endings sometimes express the relations that are expressed in English by prepositions/, and no serious difficulty is experienced in either teaching or learning such structures. The learner starts from his mother

tongie structures such as the following:

(45SC) Crven je u licu.

(46SC) Oni su bili grubi prema njoj.

(47SC) Soba je puna ljudi.

(48SC) Ovakvo vrijeme je neobično za ovo doba godine.

Expanded predicative structures should be carefully distinguished, however, from similar-looking but syntactically different prepositional phrases used in adverbial functions:

(49) The sky was red in the evening.

(50) They were rude to the highest possible degree.

(51) Some houses were visible in the distance.

An attempt at making the distinction by testing the relative mobility of the prepositional phrases in question, or by trying to see whether the NP in the Prep + NP construction is replaceable by the pronoun fails to produce conclusive results. Adverbial phrases are of course movable, though not all of them move with equal ease:

(49a) In the evening the sky was red.

(50a) To the highest possible degree, they were rude.

(51a) In the distance, some houses were visible.

But there are contexts in which the fronting of the prepositional phrase in the predicate is at least marginally grammatical:

(45a) ?In the face, he is red.

(46a) To her they were rude.

(47a) ?Of people, the room is full.

(48a) For this time of the year, this weather is unusual.

Also, while the replacement of NP by Pron is ungrammatical in the adverbial position, it is not effected with equal ease in all instances of predicative expansion either:

(49b) \*The sky is red in it. (i.e. the evening)

- (50b) \*They were rude to it. (i.e. the highest possible degree)
- (51b) \*Some houses were visible in it. (i.e. the distance)
- (45b) ?He is red in it. (i.e. the face)
- (46b) They were rude to her. (i.e. the woman)
- (47b) The room is full of them. (i.e. the people)
- (48b) ?This weather is unusual for it. (i.e. this time of the year)

It seems that the line between the two constructions is blurred and that both interpretations are sometimes possible:

- (52) The stars were visible in the water.
- (52a) The stars were visible there.  
Where were the stars visible? (cf. The houses were visible in the distance. Where were the houses visible?)
- (52b) The stars were visible in it.  
What were the stars visible in? (cf. They were rude to her. Who were they rude to?)

Such phenomena as those just described will present no problem to the learner, since his mother tongue seems to operate with the same set of structural limitations as English:

- (49bSC) \*Nebo je crveno u njoj. (i.e. večer)
- (50bSC) \*Oni su bili grubi u njoj. (i.e. najvećoj mogućoj mjeri)
- (51bSC) \*Neke su se kuće vidjele u njoj. (i.e. daljini)

2.3. Where the learner may experience a considerable degree of difficulty, however, is in selecting the right preposition to follow the adjective. Sometimes the direct translation of the Serbo-Croatian preposition will do:

- (53SC) Ova je vijest važna za nas sve.
- (53) The news is important for all of us.
- (54SC) Njegov stav je nespoljiv s njegovim položajem.

- (54) His attitude is incompatible with his position.  
(55SC) Dobre pripreme neophodne su za uspjeh pothvata.  
(55) Good preparations are necessary for the success  
of the mission.

But more often than not, English will require a preposition different from the one that the student customarily regards as an automatic equivalent of his native expression:

- (56SC) Ova pogreška usporediva je a pogreškom  
u tvojoj prvoj zadaći.  
(56) This mistake is comparable to the mistake  
in your first paper. (With is also possible here  
but is not as straightforward as to.)  
(57SC) Što je tako smiješno na njoj?  
(57) What is so funny about (\*on) her?  
(58SC) Ja sam bijesan na tebe.  
(58) I'm furious with (\*on) you.  
(59SC) On je nesposoban za bilo kakav potez.  
(59) He is incapable of (\*for) any kind of move.  
(60SC) On je vrlo ponosan na svog sina.  
(60) He is very proud of (\*on) his son.  
(61SC) Ovaj uređaj je osjetljiv na svaku promjenu  
temperature  
(61) This device is sensitive to (\*on) any change  
in temperature.

To deal with this difficulty, it is important to present such adjectives in contexts requiring prepositional expansion and to drill the Adj + Prep groups as lexical units. It will also be useful to draw the student's attention to the different prepositions in English and Serbo-Croatian. Serbo-Croatian-English dictionary entries should systematically list adjectives together with their prepositions in the two languages.

2.4. It has already been shown that some of the English prepositional constructions following predicative adjectives find their counterparts in Serbo-Croatian case endings. Contrary to what one might expect, learners do not seem to have much trouble associating their native case endings with certain English prepositions. The reason is probably that such links are firmly established by ample practice not just with adjectives but with all other parts of speech that operate in English sentence structure:

(62) This building is quite similar to the one at the corner.

(62SC) Ova je zgrada sasvim slična zgradi na uglu.

(63) You're not conscious of your mistakes.

(63SC) Ti nisi svjestan svojih pogrešaka.

(64) The results were contrary to our expectations.

(64SC) Rezultati su bili suprotni našim očekivanjima.

Mistakes can occur when the preposition used in English to express a given case relationship is not the one which the learner is accustomed to expect as a correspondent of his native case ending (see also fn. 3, p. 14.):

(65SC) Kasniji autobus mi neće biti tako zgodan.

(65) A later bus will not be so convenient for (\*to) me.

### 3. Clause-expanded predicative adjectives

3.1. Another type of adjective extension in both English and Serbo-Croatian is the dependent clause. With a few adjectives the subject is personal and the dependent clause is basically the same kind of extension that the adjective in question will accept in the form of a prepositional phrase: the preposition, in fact, regularly precedes the clause, except when the latter is introduced by that. Transformationally, the clause merely replaces the dummy NP in the matrix sentence with the relative clause referring to the same NP in the insert sentence:

- (66) You + are + not + conscious + of + NP,  
 You + have + done + NP. --> NP + that (which) +  
 you + have + done ...

- (66a) You + are + not + conscious + of + NP + that (which)  
 + you + have + done.

The NP in both cases is indefinite (thing, something) and is replaced,  
 together with the relative that or which, by what:

- (66b) You are not conscious of what you have done.

Similarly we obtain:

- (67) The results were contrary to what we expected.

Serbo-Croatian adjectives are expandable in the same way, except that they  
 require the presence of a noun-like element to which the relative clause is  
 attached:

- (66bSC) Ti nisi svjestan onoga što si uradio.

- (67SC) Rezultati su bili suprotni onome što (onima koje)  
 smo očekivali.

In the first of these two sentence, the next transformational step is possible,  
 as in English:

- (66cSC) Ti nisi svjestan što si uradio.

English, on its part, will normally stop short of this last step when the NP  
 is definite:

- (68) You're not conscious of the crime that you've  
 committed. --- ? You're not conscious of what  
 you've committed.

3.2. When the clause that follows the adjective is a that-clause, no  
 preposition intervenes:

- (69) I'm happy that you could come.  
 (70) He's certain that he can win.

- (71) You're lucky that I'm too busy to worry about this now.
- (72) She was grateful that we could help her.

In Serbo-Croatian, da- or što-clauses are used with such adjectives, and taking these as their point of departure, students have no difficulty acquiring the target /English/ construction:

- (69SC) Sretan sam da (što) ste uspjeli doći.
- (70SC) Siguran je da može pobijediti.
- (71SC) Sretni ste da (što) sam previše zaposlen da o tome sada brinem.
- (72SC) Ona je bila zahvalna da (što) smo joj pomogli.

3.3. We have noted above that only a few adjectives are clause-expandable in this way while their subjects are personal. There is a much larger list of those that are thus expanded only when the surface subject is the impersonal it that prepares the way for the real subject - in the form of a that-clause - which comes after the adjective:

- (73) It is obvious that they can't help us.
- (74) It is possible that you may find her there.
- (75) It is evident that no solution is yet available.
- (76) It is natural that I wish to help you.

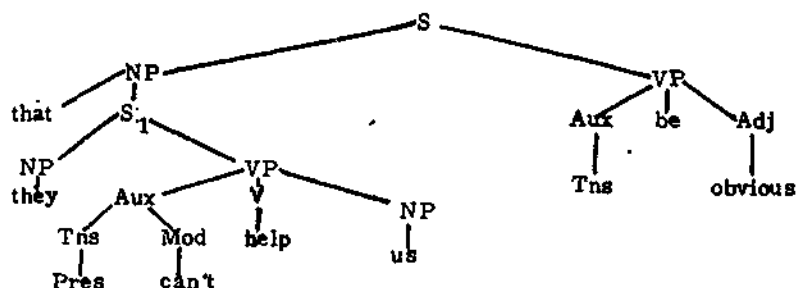
Other adjectives that can be used in this pattern include the following.

likely, miraculous, tragic, probable, certain, evident, true, shameful, pitiful, scandalous, incredible, wrong, right, interesting, strange, sad, wonderful, good, nice, marvelous, fine, curious, apparent, sure, surprising, (un)fortunate, obvious, clear, urgent, desirable, advisable, important, imperative, fitting, etc. Some of the adjectives in this group actually have a double potential and are used both with personal and impersonal

subjects:

- (77) I'm sad that you can't come. (cf. \*I'm obvious that you can't come.)
- (78) It's sad that you can't come. (cf. \*It's happy that you could come.)

The derivation of sentences of the kind illustrated here can be shown roughly in the following way to demonstrate that two sentences are involved:



X + Pres + be + obvious

X + Pres + be + that + they + Pres +  
can + not + help + us

-----  
That + they + Pres + can + not + help +  
us + Pres + be + obvious

What we thus get is the sentence:

- (79) That they can't help us is obvious.

with the unexpanded adjective as the sole exponent of predication following the verb to be

When the subject clause is moved to the back of the sentence, the empty it steps in to formally hold the place of the deep structure subject:

- (79a) It + Pres + be + obvious + that + they + Pres + can  
not + help + us.



(79b) It is obvious that they can't help us.

Serbo-Croatian counterparts of such sentences are formed in the same way through the following stages:

(79cSC) X je očigledno.

X je da nam oni ne mogu pomoći.

\*Da nam oni ne mogu pomoći je očigledno. -->

Da nam oni ne mogu pomoći, to je očigledno. -->

To je očigledno da nam oni ne mogu pomoći. -->

Očigledno je da nam oni ne mogu pomoći.

A short cut from \*Da nam oni ne mogu pomoći je očigledno to Očigledno je da nam oni ne mogu pomoći, bypassing the two stages in the derivation between them, would be counter-intuitive and would make the subsequent derivation of the two intervening sentences rather difficult.

3.4. When we contrast the surface structures of English and Serbo-Croatian sentences of this type - generated as we have seen from an identical set of deep-structure relationships - we note that certain differences exist which may cause the learner some trouble in acquiring the English adjectival structures. First, the learner may, and in fact often does, interpret the neuter form of the Serbo-Croatian adjective /očigledno, prirodno, moгуће, etc. / as an adverb, which then prompts him to produce non-sentences in English:

(80) \*It is obviously that they ca 'nt help us.

(81) \*It is naturally that I wish to help you.

(82) \*It is possibly that you may find her there.

Second, the beginning learner may decide to drop the introductory subject it, which is optional (and not often expressed) in Serbo-Croatian and obligatory in English:

(80a) 'Is obvious that they can't help us.

(80b) \*Obvious is that they can't help us.

Third and most important, Serbo-Croatian counterparts of English sentences of this kind may not contain adjectives at all but rather adverbs and nouns. In such cases, clearly, the learner is under a considerable pressure of his mother tongue, which results in his generating either the constructions which are grammatical but not very idiomatic in the context in which he uses them, or those which are perfectly acceptable but not the ones the teacher is trying to teach.

It is significant that the English adjectival construction is transformable into a sentence adverb formed from the adjective in question:

- (83) It is unfortunate that we have to wait.
- (83a) Unfortunately, we have to wait.
- (84) It is evident that there is no other choice.
- (84a) Evidently, there is no other choice.
- (85) It is probable that they will try to influence you.
- (85a) Probably they will try to influence you.

Thus, the learner will speak grammatical English if he follows the adverbial construction of Serbo-Croatian:

- (83aSC) Na žalost moramo čekati.
- (84aSC) Očevidno, drugoga izbora nema.
- (85aSC) Vjerojatno će pokušati na vas djelovati.

Both languages have a choice here between the adjectival and the adverbial construction, though the use of the adjective in Serbo-Croatian is somewhat strained:

- (83SC) Žalosno je da moramo čekati.  
(My feeling here is that the meaning of žalosno je  
is not as neutral as that of na žalost.)

Certain restrictions operate in English and Serbo-Croatian on some of the adjectives in this group and block the adverbial transformation:

- (86) It is true that she hates him.
- (86a) Truly she hates him.
- (86aSC) \*Istinito ona ga mrzi.
- (87) It is essential that we should see him.
- (87a) \*Essentially, we should see him.
- (87aSC) \*Bitno, mi ga moramo vidjeti.
- (88) It is nice that you believe me.
- (88a) \*Nicely, you believe me.
- (88aSC) \*Lijepo, vi mi vjerujete.

Since the restrictions seem to affect both English and Serbo-Croatian, their contrastive significance is not very great.)

3.5. Another Serbo-Croatian correspondent of the English clause-expanded adjective is the noun:

- (89) It is lucky that they still trust us.
- (89SC) Sreća je da oni još uvijek imaju povjerenja u nas.
- (90) It is true that she hates him.
- (90SC) Istina je da ga ona mrzi.
- (91) It is miraculous that he has survived at all.
- (91SC) Čudo je da je uopće preživio.

Two nominal constructions are possible in English, one of which is formally closer to the English adjectival construction and the other to the Serbo-Croatian nominal construction:

- (89a) It is /our/ luck that they still trust us.
- (89b) ?/Our/ luck is that they still trust us.
- (90a) It is the truth that she hates him.
- (90b) The truth is that she hates him.
- (91a) It is a miracle that he has survived at all.
- (91b) The miracle is that he has survived at all.

Different degrees of acceptability characterize the Serbo-Croatian adjectives derived from such nouns and used in this particular construction:

- (91SC) Čudnovato je da je uopće preživio.  
The adjective is acceptable, but the meaning is

"strange" rather than "miraculous". This is probably why the noun is normally used and not the adjective. /

(90SC) ?Istinito je da ga ona mrzi.

(89SC) \*Sretno je da oni još uvijek imaju povjerenja u nas.

The interference of the mother tongue is likely to be strongest and most persistent in those cases in which Serbo-Croatian uses nouns to the exclusion of adjectives. There the learner will tend to use the noun instead of the more natural and idiomatic adjective in English. Surface differences between the two languages seem to be very serious for the learner, and it is quite possible that these are responsible for a considerable proportion of errors in idiomaticity - the ones that do not necessarily block communication / as would the violation of the rules at deeper levels of structure / but that do make for the unnaturalness of expression and lack of native-like command of the foreign language. It is at these higher levels of complexity, therefore, rather than at the level of basic structural relationships, that contrastive analysis is most relevant in making the learner aware of the different steps that different languages take in the generation of sentences.

#### 4. Infinitive-expanded predicative adjectives

4.1. The discussion of the prepositional phrases following adjectives 'sections 2.1 through 2.4 above / excluded the prepositional infinitive /to Inf / as a possible type of adjective expansion. The reason for the exclusion was that the syntactic relations within the sentence containing a predicative adjective followed by the infinitive are different and more complex; such sentences are, in fact, best regarded as transforms derived from two underlying kernels:

(92) I'm happy to be here.

(92a) I'm happy. I'm here.

(93) You're lucky to have come so far.

(93a) You're lucky. You've come so far.

Such sentences can easily be resolved into that-clauses, and then their derived nature becomes obvious:

(92b) I'm happy that I'm here.

(93b) You're lucky that you've come so far.

Notice that the subject in both components of the sentence is identical, which also means that the subject of the sentence is the subject of the infinitive.

Serbo-Croatian does not allow the infinitive after such adjectives, and the transformation stops with the da- (or, što-) clause:

(92SC) Sretan sam da /što/ sam ovdje.

(93SC) Sretni ste da /što/ ste došli dovde.

It can be assumed that the learners will be inclined to pattern their English sentences on the same model. Therefore, an explanation of the way in which the infinitive construction is generated in this pattern, coupled with a certain amount of structural drilling, will be necessary.

4.2. Adjectives discussed in the preceding section, those that can be expanded by either the clause or the infinitive, differ from some other adjectives which, though followed by the infinitive, cannot be followed by a that-clause:

(94) She was willing to listen. (\*She was willing that she listened.)

(95) We're ready to go. (\*We're ready that we go.)

(96) You're free to do what you like. (\*You're free that you do what you like.)

It is not quite clear how these sentences are generated. one's intuitive reaction is to regard them as kernels (similar to The room is full of people).

in which the prepositional phrase limits the application of the adjective but does not necessitate complex derivation from two underlying sentences. Differences in nominalization potentials between this group and the group described in 4.1 are also significant:

- (92c) ?My happiness to be here.
- (92d) My happiness in being here.
- (93c) ?Your luck to come so far.
- (93c) Your luck in coming so far.
- (94a) her willingness to listen
- (95a) our readiness to go
- (96a) your freedom to do what you like

Interesting, and contrastively relevant, differences between the correspondents of the two groups of adjectives are noted in Serbo-Croatian. The first group, as we have seen, is clause-expandable, and the infinitive is ungrammatical:

- (92SC) \*Sretan sam biti ovdje.
- (93SC) \*Sretni ste doći dode.

In the second group, the infinitive-expansion of the adjective is preferred in the Croatian variety of Serbo-Croatian:

- (94SC) Ona je bila voljna slušati.
- (95SC) Spremni smo ići.
- (96SC) Slobodni ste raditi što vas je volja.

But the da-clause is also possible and is actually preferred in the Serbian variety:

- (94SC) Ona je bila voljna da sluša.
- (95SC) Spremni smo da idemo.
- (96SC) Slobodni ste da radite što vas je volja.

Notice, however, that the da-clause here is different from the da-clause in the former construction, while da could be replaced by što in that case, it cannot be so replaced here:

- (92SC) Sretan sam što sam ovdje.

but:

(99SC) \*Ona je bila voljna što sluša.

(95SC) \*Spremni smo što idemo.

(96) \*Slobodni ste što radite što vas je volja.

This fact can be exploited in teaching to warn learners against the possible errors of the type:

(94SC) \*She was willing that she listened.

4.3. Another group of adjectives which can be followed by the infinitive of complex derivation, are characterized by certain syntactic properties that distinguish them from the group discussed in 4.1.

(97) He was foolish: to behave like this.

The two underlying sentences are the following:

(97a) He was foolish.

(97b) He behaved like this.

The subjects are again identical, but notice the transformational potentials

(97c) To behave like this was foolish of him. (cf. \*To be here is happy of me.)

(97d) Behaving like this was foolish of him. (cf. \*Being here is happy of me.)

(97e) It was foolish of him to behave like this. (cf. \*It was happy of me to be here.)

The subjects in the two underlying sentences must remain identical, or the derived sentence will be ungrammatical:

(98) \*They were careless for us to spill the coffee.

The incompatibility of different subjects stems from the deep structure itself, where the pairing of such sentences is not allowed:

(98a) \*They were careless. We spilt the coffee.

Quite a sizeable group of adjectives behave in this manner: kind.

(un)wise, rude, right, wrong, cruel, nasty, careless, mean, generous, silly, clever, sensible, mad, crazy, stupid, bad, polite, honest, absurd, foolish.

rash, courageous, ambitious, selfish, etc. In Serbo-Croatian, the personal subject construction requires the da- or što- clause and not the infinitive:

(97SC) Bio je glup da (što) se tako ponašao.

(97SC) \*Bio je glup tako se ponašati.

The infinitive-subject construction is just about possible, but not very likely to occur to the student as a possible model for his English sentences.

(97SC) Ovako se ponašati bilo je glupo od njega.

Finally, the formal it-subject construction has the impersonal construction counterpart in Serbo-Croatian, with the empty subject commonly, though not obligatorily, deleted:

(97SC) Bilo je glupo od njega da (što) se tako ponaša.

(97SC) Bilo je to glupo od njega da se tako ponaša.

It is clear that the learner's main problem, stemming from the situation in his native language, will be to learn to use the infinitive after the adjective rather than the clause, which would result in ungrammatical English sentences:

(97f) \*He was foolish that he behaved like this.

(97g) ?It was foolish of him that he behaved like this.

Another problem will be encountered if the target construction is the one with the infinitive subject. There, the (not very frequent) Serbo-Croatian construction can be used as a useful point of departure, followed by a considerable amount of drill work.

4.4 With some adjectives the subject of the sentence differs from the subject of the following infinitive. A well-known example of this kind is the following:

(99) John is easy to please.

Here obviously the underlying kernels are not:

(99a) \*John is easy. John pleases.



but rather something like this:

(99b) Somebody pleases John. It is easy.

The syntactic properties of the construction are seen in its transformational potentials:

(99c) It is easy to please John.

(99d) To please John is easy.

Both of them reflect the fact that John is the object and not the subject of the underlying sentence.

Other adjectives that belong to this class include the following: difficult, nice, hard, convenient, boring, interesting, good, useful, impossible, dangerous, fine, safe, pleasant, painful, etc.

A certain amount of cross-classification with other classes of adjectives is required, since an adjective like nice can belong to this group and to the preceding one and can be used to create ambiguity:

(100) He is nice to teach.

Two interpretations of this sentence can be seen in the following two sets of possible transforms:

(100a) <u>He is nice to teach.</u>	(100b) <u>He is nice to teach.</u>
He is nice. He teaches.	*He is nice. †He teaches.
*It is nice. He teaches.	It is nice. †He teaches
*It is nice. *Somebody teaches him.	It is nice. Somebody teaches him.
It is nice of him to teach.	*It is nice of him to teach.
It is nice that he teaches.	*It is nice that he teaches
He is nice that he teaches.	†He is nice that he teaches.
*To teach him is nice.	To teach him is nice.
*Teaching him is nice.	Teaching him is nice.

Serbo-Croatian surface structure reflects the deep-structure relationships of both English and Serbo-Croatian more closely than does English surface

structure; for

(99) John is easy to please.

Serbo-Croatian has

(99SC) *Johna je lako zadovoljiti.*

where John is in the accusative and lako with the verb iti is the predicative component in the sentence in which the formal subject to is obligatorily deleted. Thus, the learner will have no difficulty in establishing John as the object of the sentence but he is quite likely to produce the sentence:

(99c) It is easy to please John.

with possible errors, at low levels of proficiency, consisting in dropping it or interpreting lako as an adverb:

(99e) \*Is easy to please John.

(99f) \*Easy is to please John.

(99g) \*It is easily to please John.

The two errors can combine in the same sentence:

(99h) \*Is easily to please John.

(99i) \*Easily is to please John.

If necessary, it can be demonstrated that lako is an adjective and not an adverb:

(107SC) *Johna je lako zadovoljiti.*

(101aSC) *Nešto je lako. Što je lako? To je lako.  
Zadovoljiti Johna je lako.*

(101bSC) \**Johna je s lakoćom zadovoljiti.*

as against:

(102SC) *Oni su Johna lako zadovoljili.*

(102aSC) *Oni su Johna s lakoćom zadovoljili.)*

Basically, the student will have to learn that English takes a transformational step that Serbo-Croatian does not take:

(103) To please John is easy. --> It is easy to please  
John. --> John is easy to please.

- (103SC) Zadovoljiti Johna je lako. --> Lako je zadovoljiti Johna. --> \*John je lak zadovoljiti (da se zadovolji).

He will profit by having this feature of the English language brought into a broader perspective of points at which English proceeds one step further than Serbo-Croatian like the one already discussed:

- (31) It is hot in this room. --> This room is hot.  
(31SC) U ovoj je sobi vruće. --> \*Ova soba je vruća.

Sometimes the intermediary step is not a grammatical sentence of English, while it is the only acceptable form in Serbo-Croatian.

- (37) \*To me it is comfortable. --> I'm comfortable.  
(37SC) Meni je udobno. --> \*Ja sam udoban.

4.5. What has just been said about the different transformational potentials of English and Serbo-Croatian adjectives holds equally true for a subgroup of English adjectives, which, like those discussed in the preceding section, are followed by the infinitive whose subject is not the surface subject of the sentence, thus, one might claim that the following are identical syntactic structures:

- (104) It is easy to please John.  
(105) It is possible to please John.

as the deep structure of the first is:

- (104a) Somebody pleases John.  
It is easy.

and that of the second:

- (105a) Somebody pleases John.  
It is possible.

But while the transformational range of the first, as already shown, is the following:

- (104b) To please John is easy. --> It is easy to please John. --> John is easy to please.

that of the second is one step shorter:

- (105b) To please John is possible. --> It is possible  
to please John. --> ? John is possible to please. (6)

However, both admit of certain other transformations:

- (104c) It is easy for somebody to please John.  
(104d) It is easy for John to be pleased by somebody.  
(105c) It is possible for somebody to please John.  
(105d) It is possible for John to be pleased by somebody.

On the other hand, the infinitive following adjectives of the easy-class is always that of a transitive verb followed by an object, whereas the infinitive with the possible-class may or may not be accompanied by an object. The example above was transitive, with the object, the following example is intransitive and no object follows:

- (106) It is possible to exist on bread alone.

The subject of the infinitive is commonly introduced by a prepositional phrase following the adjective.

- (106a) It is possible for them to exist on bread alone.

The sentence is now superficially identical with the type described in

4.3:

- (97e) It was foolish of him to behave like this.

But again, the transformation that would make the subject of the infinitive the surface subject of the sentence is only possible with foolish, not with possible:

- (97) He was foolish to behave like this.

- (107) \*He was possible to behave like this.

Other adjectives in the possible-class include rare, desirable, important, odd, common, illegal, instructive, relevant, necessary, etc.

Serbo-Croatian learners of English will sometimes start from a verbal

instead of adjectival construction:

(106aSC) Oni mogu živjeti samo o kruhu.

And in still other cases, the Serbo-Croatian formal correspondent of the English adjective will be an adverb:

(108SC) Oni rijetko žive samo o kruhu.

In such cases, the teaching will have to concentrate on showing the student that the perfectly acceptable English sentences

(106b) They can exist on bread alone.

(108) They rarely exist on bread alone.

can be replaced by other equally acceptable ones:

(106a) It is possible for them to exist on bread alone.

(108a) It is rare for them to exist on bread alone.

just as Serbo-Croatian can, if necessary, say:

(108bSC) Rijetko je da oni žive samo o kruhu.

When the learner's mother tongue does provide for the use of an adjective instead of a verb or adverb, the main obstacle will be the proper placement of the subject of the infinitive and the choice of the infinitive instead of the clause after the adjective. Unless drilled otherwise, students will tend to produce sentences of the following kind:

(109) It is necessary that they (should) exist on bread  
alone. instead of:

(109a) it is necessary for them to exist on bread alone.

In (109) they would also have to be taught the use of the subjunctive. With some Serbo-Croatian adjectives in this group, the prepositional phrase providing the deep subject for the infinitive in the English sentence can precede the adjective;

(110SC) Za mene je važno da budem tamo na vrijeme.

An alternative is to use the non-prepositional dative, instead of the prepositional phrase:

(110aSC) Važno mi je da budem tamo na vrijeme.

(110) It is important for me to be there in time.

These types of sentences can be used to bridge the gap between the student's source structures and the target structures that he is trying to master.

It can be pointed out in teaching that the step away from the clause toward the infinitive is only possible when the prepositional phrase or the dative following the adjective can serve as the subject of the infinitive as in (110) above. When this is not the case, then English, like Serbo-Croatian, uses clausal rather than infinitival expansion:

(111SC) Važno mi je da oni budu tamo na vrijeme.

(111) It is important for me that they should be there in time.

## 5. Conclusion

The foregoing examination of predicative adjective patterns in English and their contrastive correspondents in Serbo-Croatian has illustrated the complexity of syntactic relationships that are found in this small segment of English grammar. It has also demonstrated that an exhaustive study of predicative adjectives could be undertaken in terms of transformational matrices rather than in terms of rigid classifications. Such an analysis, it is hoped, has considerable intrinsic interest, in addition to providing valuable aids in the teaching of English to native speakers of Serbo-Croatian.

# APPENDIX

Adjective	NP <sub>1</sub> +be+Adj+ +that+NP <sub>1</sub> + +VP	NP <sub>1</sub> +be+Adj+ +that+NP <sub>2</sub> + +VP	It+be+Adj+ +that+NP+VP	NP <sub>1</sub> +be+Adj+ + Inf	It+be+Adj(+of+ +NP <sub>1</sub> )+Inf (+NP <sub>2</sub> )	It+be+Adj (+for+NP <sub>2</sub> )+ Inf(+NP <sub>1</sub> )	NP <sub>1</sub> +be+Adj+ +for+NP <sub>2</sub>
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
old	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
happy	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
true	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
eager	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
silly	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
easy	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
nice	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
possible	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
ready	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
able	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
sure	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
quick	-	-	-	+	-	-	-

### Comments

This table contains a minimum set of syntactic criteria for the analysis of clausal and infinitival expansion of predicative adjectives. These criteria are sufficient to distinguish predicative adjectives according to the syntactic patterns into which they enter when expanded by that-clauses and to-infinitives. Other structural patterns, not minimally distinctive, are derivable from these, and will be discussed below. Contrastive statements will accompany comments about different adjectival structures and together with them provide structural labels for an English-Serbo-Croatian dictionary of adjectives.

(1)  $NP_1 + be + Adj + that + NP_1 + VP$

The subject of the main clause and that of the that-clause have the same referent. (See also section 3.2. above.) Only animate subjects are accepted. Serbo-Croatian counterparts of adjectives in this group are also adjectives, the structural formula is similar to the one used in English:  $NP_1 + biti + Adj + da/\text{što} + NP_1 + VP$ , with the possible deletion of the pronoun subject and the transposition of the adjective and the linking verb:  $Adj + biti + da/\text{što} + NP_1 + VP$ . (The deletion of the pronoun subject is also possible in the subordinate clause but will not be considered here because it is governed by a general rule of the language and does not affect the adjective.)<sup>(7)</sup>

(2)  $NP_1 + be + Adj + that + NP_2 + VP$

The referents of the main clause and that-clause subjects are different. While the main clause subject is animate, the subject of the that-clause may be either animate or inanimate. The Serbo-Croatian correspondent for.



mula is  $NP_1 + \text{biti} + \text{Adj} + \text{da}/\text{što} + NP_2 + VP$ . (The remarks made above concerning the possibility of subject deletion apply here too.)

Interesting differences between different English adjectives that meet the two syntactic criteria just discussed are revealed contrastively.

I'm happy that I could come.  
 I'm happy that you could come.  
 Sretan sam da/što sam mogao doći.  
 Sretan sam da/što ste mogli doći.  
 I'm sure that I can come.  
 I'm sure that you can come.  
 Siguran sam da (\*što) mogu doći.  
 Siguran sam da (\*što) možete doći.

The difference is confirmed by further syntactic manipulation in English.

I'm happy that I could come.  
 \*I could come. I'm happy.  
 I'm happy that you could come.  
 \*You could come. I'm happy.  
 I'm sure that I can come.  
 I can come. I'm sure.  
 I'm sure that you can come.  
 You can come. I'm sure.

### (3) $It + \text{be} + \text{Adj} + \text{that} + NP + VP$

The introductory it is the dummy subject (not the personal pronoun subject, for the clause that is the real subject, as shown by the possible deletion of it and its replacement by the that-clause:  $\text{that} + NP + VP + \text{be} + \text{Adj}$ . In Serbo-Croatian, it has no surface correspondent and the neuter form of the adjective comes to the beginning.  $\text{Adjn} + \text{biti} + \text{da}/\text{što} + NP + VP$ . However, the dummy subject to suddenly appears when the subordinate clause opens the sentence.  $\text{da}/\text{što} + NP + VP + \text{to} + \text{biti} + \text{Adj}$ . Some of the English adjectives that operate in this pattern have Serbo-Croatian nouns as their

correspondents, with the rest of the pattern unchanged:  $NP_{adj} + biti + da + NP + VP$ . (See also sections 3.3. and 3.4. above.)

(4)  $NP_1 + be + Adj + Inf$ .

This is by far the most complex predicative adjective structure - a telescoped version of numerous syntactic relationships that involve the subject, the adjective and the infinitive.<sup>(8)</sup>

(a) With adjectives of the happy-class the infinitive is a reduction of the that-clause whose subject is identical with the subject of the main clause /see also section 4.1. above/:

I'm happy that I work here.  $\rightarrow$  I'm happy to work here.

1. Serbo-Croatian only the clause can follow in such cases, not the infinitive:

Sretan sam da/što sam ovdje.  $\rightarrow$  \*Sretan sam biti ovdje.

(b) With adjectives of the eager-class the infinitive is the result of the transformed for-phrase ( $NP_1 + be + Adj + for + NP_2$ ), in which  $NP_2$  serves as the source of the infinitive:

he + is + eager + for + something  $\rightarrow$  he + is + eager + to + V.

Serbo-Croatian has either a da-clause or a za-phrase as an expansion of the adjective of this class; thus we get:

$NP_1 + biti + Adj + da + NP_1 + VP$   
or  $NP_1 + biti + Adj + za + NP_2$ .

Although the English infinitive usually has the subject of the sentence as its deep subject (e.g., He is eager to go.), which is reflected in the fact that the two NP's in the correspondent Serbo-Croatian construction are identical, it is possible to have a situation where the passive relationship, with two deep subjects, obtains, e.g., The soup is ready to eat. Ambiguous sentences can be formed too: They are ready to eat. However, ready is different from

adjectives of the easy-class (which enter into passive relations with the following infinitives), as the transformational changes will demonstrate.

Good soup is hard to find.  
 It is hard to find good soup.  
 \*Good soup is hard for finding.  
 The soup is ready to eat.  
 \*It is ready to eat the soup.  
 The soup is ready for eating.

Serbo-Croatian reflects the difference too:

Dobru juhu teško je naći.

with the accusative showing the verb-object relationship between the English surface subject and the infinitive. However, in

The soup is ready to eat.  
 Juha je gotova da se jede.

the English subject remains the subject (in the nominative) in Serbo-Croatian, and the infinitive is resolved into a reflexive construction which indicates the passive relationship. In some instances, za-phrases can be used in Serbo-Croatian:

The apartment is ready to move into.  
 Stan je spreman za useljenje.

In others, an active da-clause follows the adjective, with an inferred subject and the accusative pronoun of the subject noun of the main clause.

The troops are ready /for us/ to send.  
 Trupe su spremne da ih pošaljemo.

(c) With adjectives of the silly-class the transformational pattern that distinguishes them minimally from those of the easy-class is the one that introduces the dummy subject it and, optionally, an of + NP element in which the NP is the same as the surface subject of the NP + be + Adj + Inf construction, as seen in column 5 of the table. Like in other cases in which the dummy

subject appears on the surface, the replacement of it by the infinitive is possible, to give: Inf (+NP<sub>2</sub>) + be + Adj (+ of + NP<sub>1</sub>).

Serbo-Croatian reflects the fact that adjectives of the silly-class are also expandable by that-clauses, the structural pattern corresponding to the English NP<sub>1</sub> + be + Adj + Inf is the following: NP<sub>1</sub> + biti + Adj + da/što + NP<sub>1</sub> + VP, as in (1) above. The pattern that corresponds to the English It + be + Adj (+of + NP<sub>1</sub>) + Inf. (+ NP<sub>2</sub>) is the same as in (3) above. But see also (5) below.

(d) Adjectives of the easy-class transform differently from those of the silly-class, although they both have surface realizations in the NP<sub>1</sub> + be + Adj + Inf pattern. The minimally distinctive transform for the easy-class is It + be + Adj (+for + NP<sub>2</sub>) + Inf + NP<sub>1</sub>, with the possibility of moving the infinitive and its object NP to the subject position to replace it:

Inf + NP<sub>1</sub> + be + Adj (+ for + NP<sub>2</sub>). The for-phrase can also move with the infinitive, unlike the of-phrase in (c) above: (for + NP<sub>2</sub>) + Inf + NP<sub>1</sub> + be + Adj vs. (of + NP<sub>1</sub>) + Inf. (+ NP<sub>2</sub>) + be + Adj. There are also some adjectives with double valency, like nice, which are potentially ambiguous in this structure, as shown by the fact that they are transformable according to both column 5 and column 6 criteria.

Certain adjectives, like possible, fail to follow the NP<sub>1</sub> + be + Adj + Inf pattern, even though they easily operate in the pattern It + be + Adj (+for + NP<sub>2</sub>) + Inf + NP<sub>1</sub>.

Others, like ready /cf. (4b) above/, are clearly bivalent in pattern 4 but do not fit in either pattern 5 or pattern 6, which presumably underlie 4.

Serbo-Croatian correspondents of the easy-class adjectives in the NP<sub>1</sub> + be +

Adj + Inf pattern are neuter adjectives, while the NP is in the accusative and is regularly interpreted as the object of the infinitive:  $NP_{acc} + biti + Adj_n + Inf$ . The accusative NP accompanies the infinitive in the pattern which corresponds to the English pattern: It + be + Adj + Inf + NP:  $Adj_n + biti + Inf + NP_{acc}$ , or with different emphasis:  $Adj_n + biti + NP_{acc} + Inf$ . There is also a nonstandard Serbo-Croatian pattern with the adjective followed by za + Inf:  $NP + biti + Adj + za + Inf$ , e. g.:

This subject is easy to learn.

Ovaj je predmet lagan za naučiti.

(e) With adjectives of the able-class the infinitive is a necessary complement, so that He is able to come is not the product of He is able and lie or nes but rather of He is able + Comp and He comes. The infinitive complement affects the meaning of the adjective in a way similar to that in which a prepositional phrase affects it:

He is red in the face. - \*He is red.

He is apt to come. - \*He is apt.

The Serbo-Croatian correspondents of such infinitive-complement expanded adjectives include adjectives followed by noun phrases ( $NP_1 + biti + Adj + NP_2$ , where  $NP_2$  is semantically connected with the verb represented by the English infinitive. He is prone to fall. - Sklon je padanju.) and modal verbs followed by infinitives ( $NP + Modal + Inf$ : He is able to come. - On može doći. He is due to come. - On mora doći.)

The same class of adjectives embraces adjectives like quick, which again take the infinitive complement:

He was quick to point out. - \*He was quick.

Their Serbo-Croatian correspondents are adverbs, with the infinitive becoming a finite verb, and the construction that we thus get is not unlike the one that English has as a possible transform with the same adjectives:

NP + Adv + VP:

He was quick to point out.

He quickly pointed out.

-----

On je brzo istakao.

(5) It + be + Adj (+of + NP<sub>1</sub>) + Inf (+NP<sub>2</sub>)

The pattern has been discussed in connection with pattern 4. It can be added here that of + NP<sub>1</sub> is regularly deleted when the NP is unspecified:

It is silly of somebody to do this. --> It is silly to do this.

No matter whether the of + NP<sub>1</sub> is preserved or deleted, the replacement of it by the infinitive and the subsequent transformation of the infinitive into the gerund is possible: Inf (+ NP<sub>2</sub>) + be + Adj (+of + NP<sub>1</sub>) --> Inf + ing (+ NP<sub>2</sub>) + be + Adj (+ of + NP<sub>1</sub>).

Serbo-Croatian correspondent patterns contain clause-expanded neuter adjectives when the of + NP<sub>1</sub> is undeleted in English: E. It + be + Adj + of + NP<sub>1</sub> + Inf (+ NP<sub>2</sub>) -- SC. Adj<sub>n</sub> + biti + od + NP<sub>1</sub> + da/što + NP<sub>1</sub> + VP. (The NP<sub>1</sub> in the da/što-clause is obligatorily deleted, but the person is recoverable from the form of the VP:

It is silly of him to do such things.

Glupo je od njega što (\*on) radi takve stvari.

The correspondent pattern for cases in which the English infinitive is fronted or transformed into the gerund remains the same, or the da- (not što-, clause gets moved to the front, in which case the dummy subject to precedes the Adj: da + NP<sub>1</sub> + VP + to + biti + Adj<sub>n</sub> + od + NP<sub>1</sub>. (In this and the

preceding case, the NP<sub>2</sub> following the English transitive infinitive is contained in the Serbo-Croatian VP.)

With the of + NP<sub>1</sub> phrase deleted in English, Serbo-Croatian uses the infinitive to expand the neuter adjective: E. It + be + Adj + Inf (+NP<sub>2</sub>) -> SC.

Adj<sub>n</sub> + biti + Inf (+NP<sub>2</sub>). The fronting of the infinitive is also possible to produce a pattern that will correspond to both the front infinitive and the front gerund in English: Inf (+ NP<sub>2</sub>) + biti + Adj<sub>n</sub>.

(6) It + be + Adj (+ for + NP<sub>2</sub>) + Inf (+ NP<sub>1</sub>)

The pattern has already been discussed in connection with pattern 4. In addition to its movability to the front of the sentence to replace it (as shown in (4d) above), the infinitive is also transformable into the gerund:

Inf + ing (+NP<sub>1</sub>) + be + Adj (+ for + NP<sub>2</sub>). The Serbo-Croatian correspondent of both the infinitive and the gerund is the infinitive: Inf (+NP<sub>1</sub>) + biti + Adj<sub>n</sub> (+ NP<sub>2</sub> dat). (English for + NP<sub>2</sub> has NP<sub>2</sub> dat as its Serbo-Croatian correspondent, whose actual placement depends on whether it is a noun or a pronoun, how long it is, how well it fits into the rhythm of the sentence, what the desired emphasis is, etc.):

Johna mi je lako zadovoljiti.

Meni je Johna lako zadovoljiti.

Johna je svima njegovim znancima lako zadovoljiti.

Johna je lako zadovoljiti svima onima koji ga dobro poznaju.)

It was noted in (4d) that some adjectives, like possible, meet the criterion of column 6 while failing to meet that of column 4. Adjectives of the easy- and nice-classes, too, fail to operate in column 4 when the infinitive that follows them is that of an intransitive verb, or when a transitive infinitive is used with its object deleted, in other words, column 6 serves as a

transformational basis for column 4 only when the infinitive is accompanied by an object which can become the surface subject in pattern 4:

It is easy to run. --> \* ? is easy to run.

It is easy to teach. --> \* ? is easy to teach.

It is nice to sleep. --> \* ? is nice to sleep.

It is nice to teach. --> \* ? is nice to teach.

(It is assumed of course that the introductory it in all of these sentences is the dummy subject, not the personal pronoun it.) Again, regardless of whether the object is preserved or not (i.e. whether pattern 4 is possible or not), the infinitive can be brought to the front of the sentence to replace it and it can also be transformed into a gerund.

The Serbo-Croatian counterpart pattern also allows for the transposition of the infinitive but it does not so easily accept the gerund.

(7)  $NP_1 + \text{be} + \text{Adj} + \text{for} + NP_2$

This pattern, with an  $NP_2$  that supplies the infinitive in pattern 4, serves to discriminate between adjectives of the eager-class and those of the able-class in the way described in (4b) and (4e) above. For + NP is also used with descriptive adjectives of the old-class but is then not transformable into an infinitive (unless the adjective is accompanied by too or enough, as shown in fn. 2 of this Appendix.)

A note on the contrastive procedure: The starting point in the foregoing analysis is the English adjective and its syntactic features. The starting point for the learner, in striving toward the mastery of those features, is a set of Serbo-Croatian correspondents. The analysis therefore brings the



two together, thus enabling the analyst to draw inferences of a pedagogical nature regarding the possible interference of particular Serbo-Croatian correspondents in the acquisition of certain English adjectival patterns.

#### NOTES

1. I am grateful to Dr. William Nemser and Dr. William W. Gage of the Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D.C., for their valuable critical comments on an earlier version of this paper.
2. English sentences are numbered consecutively for easy reference. Their Serbo-Croatian counterparts bear the same numbers followed by the abbreviation SC. Transformational relationship is shown by the letters a, b, c ... after the numbers.
3. The instrumental form of the adjective in Serbo-Croatian is contrastively significant only to the extent that it may puzzle the learner, who will look for some correspondent in English, not that it may result in any direct predictable interference.
4. It is noteworthy that, transformationally, only the first interpretation can eventually result in premodification:

The woman is cold. --> a cold woman

The second does not allow the transformation to take place:

The woman is cold (i.e. shivering) -->

\*a cold woman.

This is also clear in the examples which follow:

The chair is comfortable. --> a comfortable chair.

The baby is comfortable. --> ?a comfortable baby.

5. This can be explained by the fact that they find to used in many instances as a surface realization of the deep structure English dative and a correspondent of their mother tongue dative, especially in positions in which the preposition-less form is not allowed:

They said this to me.

Send it to your aunt.

Give it to us.

Tell it to the class.

6. It is interesting that impossible takes that last step quite freely:

John is impossible to please.

7. That-clauses can follow many other adjectives in English when these are preceded by the intensifier so:  $NP_1 + be + so + Adj + that + NP_{1,2} + VP$ . In Serbo-Croatian the intensifier tako produces the same effect:  $NP_1 + biti + tako + Adj + da + NP_{1,2}$ . The restrictions in both languages are those that determine the use of intensifiers with adjectives.
8. Excluded from this formula are the cases of adjectives preceded by too or followed by enough and expanded by the infinitive. The syntactic relations that obtain in such cases are those that obtain with unmodified adjectives that enter this pattern:

He is old enough to go.

He is old enough to send.

He is too old to go.

He is too old to send.

Ambiguities are also possible:

He is old enough to eat.

He is too old to ear.

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## NUMERATIVES AND QUANTITATIVES IN ENGLISH AND SERBO-CROATIAN

### 0. INTRODUCTION

Lexical items used in E and SC to express numerical and quantitative relations can be roughly divided into those expressing definite and those expressing indefinite quantity<sup>1</sup>. Here we propose to examine the items mentioned according to the above division.

#### 0.1.1. Definite number and quantity in E is expressed by:

a) numerals (cardinals, fractions, decimals)

b) the noun determiners: both, all, no /none/<sup>2</sup>

c) the open set of nouns expressing quantity, measure, degree and similar notions, e.g. armful, cup/ful/, mouth/ful/ - grade, step, notch- couple, pair, triplet, duo, foursome, decade - pound, gallon, acre, piece - centimeter, cubit, inch, mile, yard - acre, township - bushel, liter, teaspoon<sup>3</sup>.

0.1.2. In SC the expression of definite number and quantity parallels that in E. SC employs: a/ numerals, b/ numeratives and quantitatives like oba, svi, sve, nitko, ništa, nijedan, c/ various members of the open set of nouns /which differs as a system from the E nominal class, but shows lexical equivalence/ expressing numerative and quantitative notions.

#### 0.2.1. Indefinite number and quantity in E is expressed by:

a/ some of the members of the closed set of function words<sup>4</sup> e.g. some, any, much, etc.,

b/ the open sets of adjectives of the type: numerous, abundant, innumerable, untold etc., and nouns like: heaps, plenty, multitude, nominal phrases like: a couple, a little bit, a large number,

no end etc.<sup>5</sup>,

c/ the indefinite numeral umpteén<sup>6</sup>, the plural of the numerals dozen, hundred, thousand, and higher /i.e. dozens, millions etc., as well as two of these numerals in a phrase with the preposition of /tens of thousands/, further phrases like: numeral + odd /five odd/, some + numeral /some three/, about + numeral /about ten/, up to + numeral /up to four/, over + numeral /over twenty/ and others, and derivatives from numerals formed by means of the suffix - ish /sevenish/.

0.2.2. Equivalents of the above E expressions in SC exhibit structural differences<sup>7</sup>. the closed set of function words is paralleled by:

a<sub>1</sub> /a closed set of indefinite pronouns/ e.g. *nekolik*, -a, -o/, a<sub>2</sub> 'indefinite adverbs' /*nešto*, *mnogo*/, a<sub>3</sub> /indefinite numeral nouns *nekolicina* and a<sub>4</sub> /noun in the genitive /*vode*, *ljudi*/.

b) the open set has an equivalent in the SC open set of nouns like masa, mnoštvo and nominal phrases like: *veliki broj* etc.<sup>8</sup>

c) the indefinite numeral has an equivalent in SC: "iks", and the E phrases can be translated with similar phrases like: indef. pron. *neki*, -a, -o gen. pl. or dual - numeral /*nekih sto*, *neka četiri*/, oko + numeral /*oko sto*/, do + numeral /*do sto*/, preko + numeral, /*preko sto*/, phrases with the plural of the numerals deset, sto, tisuću etc. /*deseci tisuća*/ and others.

0.3.- In our further analysis we shall concentrate on 1. the closed set of numerals and 2. the closed set of function words expressing numerical and quantitative relations, considering morphological, syntactic and semantic characteristics of the sets in contrasting E and SC equivalents for the sake of description classification and clarification

of difficulties encountered by the SC learner of E.

## 1. NUMERALS

The numerical system of E and SC are semantically corresponding and at this point represent no difficulty for the SC learner. Furthermore, they are in both languages sometimes classed as a separate part of speech on the grounds of their morphological peculiarities. In E and SC numerals are formed from a closed set of stems and characteristic suffixes, which however possess the capacity of entering various combinations, thus forming an infinite number or new words or phrases. Syntactically numerals share their function with some other word classes which are not the same in E and SC, so that the main difficulties for a SC learner of E can be anticipated in the syntactic patterning of the numerals.

### 1.1. CARDINALS

#### 1.1.1. Definite number

1.1.1.1. The closed set of stems that is the basis for the formation of numerals consists of the following morphemes and allomorphs /given in brackets/:

1 one /a/	5 five /fif-/	9 nine /nin-/
2 two /tu-/	6 six	10 ten
3 three /thir-/	7 seven	11 eleven
4 four /for-/	8 eight /eigh-/	12 twelve /twelf-/

Numerals can be expressed by formulas as follows:

- 1.12  $F_1^9$  = stem  
 13-19  $F_2$  = allomorph or stem + -teen  
 20, 30...  $F_3$  = allomorph + -ty  
 21-29, 31-39...  $F_4$  =  $F_3 + F_1$   
 100, 101, 102 etc.  $F_5$  =  $F_1$  + hundred + /and/ +  $F_{1,2,3,4}$ /  
 1 000, 2 000 ...  $F_6$  =  $F_{1,2,3,4,5}$  + thousand + /and/ +  $F_{5,4,3,2,1}$ /

1,000,000, 1,000.001 ...  $F_7 = F_{1,2,3,4,5,6} + \text{million} + \text{and} /$   
 $+ / F_{6,5,4,3,2,1} /$

These formulas could be extended to all other high numerals, actually existing or potential.

In most cases numerals in E are not inflected, but occasionally they can occur with the plural suffix <sup>11</sup> -s and in that case function as r un occupying the position of head in a nominal phrase:

They came in by twos.

Numerals can function in the same way even without the plural suffix If they are preceded by a noun determiner:

The two were no good.

These two are mine.

Any two will do.

When uninflected, numerals function as noun determiners <sup>12</sup> themselves.

Four pitifully dilapidated houses...

Seven carnations will make a nice bouquet.

Owing to their meaning, numerals require agreement of other word classes that have distinct forms for singular and plural. One requires singular agreement, all other numerals require the plural:

One day and two nights.

Note also the plural with the phrase one and a half:

One and a half acres are for sale.

but:

One acre and a half is for sale.

which can be explained as two parallel sentences, each with a singular agreement /i.e. One acre is... and Half an acre is.../ combined into one, with the two numerals still kept separate by the conjunction and thus requiring the same agreement as before. The meaning of

cardinal numerals is thus either singularity /one/ or plurality/all other cardinal numerals/. in both cases the number is definite, which means that cardinal numerals are expressions of definite number /or quantity/.<sup>13</sup>

1.1.1.2. Besides the total lexical parallelism, there is considerable similarity in the formation of numerals in E and SC. There is a closed set of stems in SC used to form cardinal numerals from 1-10, which would correspond to  $F_1$  in E.  $F_2$  is expressed by means of the stem and the suffix-naest.  $F_3$  shows a slight difference, as SC employs two stems of which the second is always deset /trideset, osamdeset/ instead of using the stem and a suffix.

In  $F_2$  and  $F_3$  stems occur either in their basic form or as an allomorph /petnaest, četrnaest, četrdeset/, or they undergo various changes such as assimilation and/or elision /šezdeset, pedeset/.

$F_4$  is the same in E and SC.

$F_5$ ,  $F_6$ ,  $F_7$  and formulas for larger numerals consist of the numeral nouns stotina, tisuća /hiljada/, million /milijun/ etc. or the adverbs sto /sta/, tisuću /hiljadu/, million etc. as members of a phrase, other members /if present/ being expressed with  $F_{1,2,3,4}$ . The members are linked with the optional conjunction i, the position of which differs from E in that it is placed before the digits.

As regards inflection most numerals in SC resemble E numerals in being uninflected, the exceptions being jedan and dva, which have distinct forms for gender /jedan, jedna, jedno - dva, dvije/ and plural /only jedan/ with the corresponding paradigms of case inflection. These numerals function like adjectives as modifiers



of the nominal head /dviije mačke/ or as head /Imam samo dviije/

SC numerals require agreement of noun and adjective is number according to their meaning, except for jedan which with pluralia tantum occurs in the plural, i. e. is in agreement with the number of the noun /jedne rukavice/. Thus, jedan and any numeral ending with jedan requires the singular,<sup>14</sup> dva, tri, četiri and any numeral ending in one of them require the dual, all other numerals from five on require the genitive plural of the noun phrase, but the neuter singular of the verb. That is to say that apart from requiring agreement in number, numerals from five on also govern the case of the noun and the number and gender of the verb. Jedan and dva on the other hand agree in gender and case with the nominal head /dvjema starim ženama..., jedan oveći kamen ga udari ..., but: šest mališana je stajalo.../.

Numeral nouns that would correspond to the E twos and the two are expressed by the so called collective numerals /dvoje, petero/ or by numeral nouns formed from the collective numerals and the suffix -ica /četvorica/

#### 1.1.1.3. Teaching implications.

a) It should be noted that the list of numeral stems in E has two more items than in SC, and therefore students should learn the numerals from 1 to 12 as separate lexical items.<sup>15</sup>

b) The British English numeral billion has as an equivalent in SC the numeral bilijun; the same numeral in American English has as SC equivalent the numeral milijarda. This is likely to cause confusion if it is not explained. Moreover it should be noted that there is no such word as milliard in E, but thousand million is the equivalent of SC milijarda.

c) In E it is customary to regard numerals from thousand to nine thousand as tens of hundreds, i.e. 1,200 would be read "twelve hundred" more frequently than one thousand two hundred. In naming years this practice is obligatory; e.g.

In the year nineteen hundred and seventy /1970/.  
As this will be unfamiliar to SC speakers the teacher should not omit to point out the usage.

Another difficulty for the SC learner may arise from the colloquial form of the above mentioned numerals, which consists of two parts, both of which are expressed as if they were in tens; the numeral hundred is also often omitted in numerals from 101 to 999:

325 - three twenty-five.

All this is absent in SC except that such shortenings seem to be entering some technical jargons where four digit numbers are expressed in this way.

d) Further it should be noted that the position of the optional respective conjunctions and and i are slightly different. In E it is placed after the hundreds /or after any larger numeral if only one more item follows/ e.g. two million and one thousand, a thousand and four hundred/, in SC after the tens.

e) Students should be also warned not to omit the numeral one, or the allomorph a in front of hundred, thousand etc., where jedan is omitted in SC:

stotinu knjiga - a /one/ hundred books

f) Difficulties are also to be anticipated in the ordering of possessives and numerals, where the SC order depends mostly on emphasis, while in E the order possessive - numeral is obligatory,

unless the preposition of is introduced; thus:

my two books	or two of my books	two my books
moje dvije knjige	or dvije od mojih knjiga	or dvije moje knjige

1.1.2. Cardinal numerals are expressions of definite number par excellence.

and, as mentioned in the introduction. except for the colloquial expressions like umpteen or X-teen, there is no cardinal numeral that would express indefinite number of quantity by itself, but various phrases have to be used instead.<sup>16</sup>

In SC we can also find a colloquial form of indefinite numeral which is iks, and similar phrases as in E.

The SC phrase which might create interference is:

četiri pet /dana/ dvanaest trinaest 'ljudi'

i.e. two numerals in sequence without a conjunction. This may be wrongly used in E by the learner as follows:

'four five /days/ \*twelve thirteen /people/

instead of several possible variants, the nearest to the SC phrase

being two numerals linked by the conjunction or:

four or five /days/ twelve or thirteen /people/

Other possibilities are:

some four days	some thirteen people
five days or so	twelve people or something

## 1.2. ORDINALS

### 1.2.1 Definite order.

1.2.1.1. Ordinal numerals are not expressions of quantity, but they are numerals by virtue of their morphological characteristics and therefore will be included in this study. Ordinals refer to definite items of a series, and thus typically occur with the definite article.  
the second, the fifth, the last,

and other definite determiners:

my first day off, every third page<sup>17</sup>

In the noun phrase ordinals follow determiners proper / . e.g. the, my, some etc. /, but precede other numerals as well as adjectives:  
the last three /few/ yellow leaves<sup>18</sup>

- 1.2.1.2. The numerals first, second and third can be taken as separate lexical items, while other ordinals are formed from the stems /and their allomorphs/ given in 1.1.1.1., as well as from the derived or compound numerals quoted in the same paragraph.

The formula for the formation of ordinals is:

$F_8 = F_1, F_2, F_4, F_5, \dots + \text{-th}$

$F_9 = F_3, + \text{-eth /with a change in spelling of -y into -i-:}$   
twentieth, seventieth/

- 1.2.1.3. As in E, ordinal numerals in SC denote a definite item of a series.

The definiteness is expressed in the definite adjectival inflection of SC ordinals, which can be taken to correspond in a way to the use of the definite article with ordinals in E.

- 1.2.1.4. The first three ordinals, i.e. prvi, -a, -o, drugi, -a, -o, treći, -a, -e can in SC, as in E, be regarded as separate lexical items, and so can posljednji, -a, -e and zadnji, -a, e, the formula for the remaining ordinals being:

$F_8 = F_1 \text{ etc. } + \text{-ti, -ta, -to}$

In numerals with the stem hiljada, the allomorph hiljadi is used plus the suffix: e.g. trihiljaditi /but: tritisući/.

In compound numerals only the last member takes the suffix /dvjesto osamdesetpeti/.

- 1.2.1.5. Teaching implications.

Besides the many similarities in the system of E and SC ordinals

there are some differences in usage which may lead to errors in the speech of learners.

a) The usage of ordinals in expressing years, and mostly also pages, sections, chapters and the like /tisućudvjestota godina, glava prva, strana peta/, and indeed a similar practice often found in older E authors, can be the cause of the erroneous usage of the ordinal in E expressions such as:

\*the year one thousand two hundred first  
page second chapter first etc.

where in contemporary E a cardinal numeral would be appropriate, in the year twenty-five twenty-five.

Only the phrase number two - broj dva etc. contains cardinal numerals in both languages.

It should also be pointed out that there are two cases where E agrees with SC in using ordinal numerals, i. e. when the numeral precedes the noun:

the first page /but: page one/

and in names of rulers:

Henry the First.

b) The absence of articles in SC is likely to interfere in a learner's speech when ordinal numerals are used in E. They may frequently occur without the definite article:

\*Give me first book on your right.

It might be of some help to the student if he is reminded of the similarity in function of the E definite article and the SC definite declension of adjectives.

c) The fact that in SC the numeral drugi is identical in form with the noun determiner drugi - E other can lead to the identification

of the noun determiner with the E numeral second, which need not always lead to misunderstandings, like in:

I don't want this book but the second one /if there are only two books/  
but: \*I didn't see it on this side, but on the second, is a case where second is less acceptable.

### 1.2.2. Indefinite order.

As can be expected, indefinite numerals are the colloquial:  
umpteenth, with the SC equivalent iksti, enti and various phrases  
like: the fifth or so, the fifth or the sixth etc., SC peti, šesti etc.

### 1.3. FRACTIONS

- 1.31. The fraction 1/2 is to be regarded as a separate lexical item: one half, to which can be added the expression one quarter for 1/4, which however can also be expressed, like all other fractions, by the formula:

$$F_{10} = F_{1,2,3,4,5} + F_{8,9}$$

one fourth, one sixth /or: a sixth/, five thirty-seconds etc.

Unlike the cardinal and ordinal numerals, fractions function as nouns in a noun phrase.

With larger numbers it is common to express fractions by the phrase:

a hundredth part of ....

- 1.3.2. In SC fractions parallel E fractions in meaning, structure and function:

1/2 is a separate lexical item /jedna polovina/ and all other fractions can be expressed by the formula:

$$F_{10} = F_{1,2,3,4,5} + F_8 + - na /dviije petine, sedam dvadesetina/$$

Only 1/100 has the form stot-nina.

Like in E fractions of larger numerals can be expressed by the phrase.  
stoti dio...

1.3.3. The expression 50% is in E

fifty per cent /or percent/

which differs from the SC expression in that it contains a different  
Latin preposition:

pedeset procenata /or: posto/

It should also be noticed that SC uses the expression in the plural,  
whereas in E only the singular is appropriate, the following frequent  
error is thus unacceptable:

\*fifty per cents.

1.4. DECIMALS

There is a difference between E and SC in the writing of decimal  
numbers, and accordingly in reading them.

E 1.5 is read "one point five" while

SC 1,5 is read "jedan cijeli pet" or "jedan zarez pet" or "jedan  
koma pet", and again,

E 0.5 (.5) is read "point five", while

SC 0,5 is read "nula cijelih pet" etc.

Always avoid spelling with a comma, as well as reading the phrases  
as "one whole five tenths" or "one comma five" etc.

1.5. FREQUENTATIVES

The first two frequentatives are single words, all others are phrases  
with the formula

$F_{11} = F_{1,2,3,4,5} + \underline{\text{times}}$

once                      three times

twice                     four times

/thrice = archaic/

In SC the formula resembles the E formula:

$F_{11} = F_{1,2,3,4,5} + \text{puta /or -put/}$  dva puta /dvaput/

Jedan puta /jedamput/ has also a variant: jednom.

In both languages frequentatives have an adverbial function.<sup>19</sup>

#### 1.6. MULTIPLICATIVES

- 1.6.1. In E the multiplicatives consist of two sets of adverbials, some of which are synonymous. The more common forms of multiplicatives are

$F_{11} = F_{1,2,3,4,5} + \text{-fold;}$

all other multiplicatives should be learnt on the level of lexis.

single

double

twofold

treble

triple

threefold

quadruple

fourfold etc.

- 1.6.2. IN SC the suffix -struk/i/, -a, -o can be added to any numeral stem, the expression functioning as and adjectival or an adverbial. The learner should be made aware that there is no such system in E.

#### 1.7. ZERO

The numeral zero has to be regarded apart from the system of numerals, owing to its special formal characteristics.

It has several forms:

zero

"o" ou

used in reading figures

nought, naught

" " arithmetic /only in Britain/

cipher, cypher

" " reading figures /only in Britain/

love

" " games only

There is also an ordinal formed from zero, i.e. zeroeth /zeroth/.

- 1.8. In E as in SC there are still some numerical expressions, vestiges of older numerical systems:



dozen	tuce	= 12 in E uninflected, in SC neuter
score		= 20 inflected as a noun in E, no equivalent in SC

An old numerical expression, now used only in card games or in tennis, meaning "40 all, game all" is

deuce	džus	= 2
-------	------	-----

The plural dozens is an indefinite numeral, rendered in SC by stotine or deseci.

- 1.9. Many other words, some of them mentioned in the introduction, are derived from numerical stems and express quantitative notions.

E	twin /adj. / twins /n/	SC	dvo-, dvostruk; dvojci pl. /blizanci sg. & pl. /
	century		stoljeće
	triplet/s/		trostruk; trojci etc.
	quartet		kvarter etc.
	duplicate		duplikat etc.
	quadruped		četveronožac, kvadruped etc.
	sixpence		
	fortnight		dva tjedna /British E only/
	hundredweight		
	myriad		mirijada
	primary		primaran etc.
	secondary		sekundaran etc.
	bilateral		dvojni, bilateralan etc.
	twosided		dvostran

Many of the stems are not of E origin, but even where they are E words they are best learnt as lexical items.<sup>20</sup>

## 2. NON-NUMERICAL EXPRESSIONS OF NUMBER AND QUANTITY

Under this heading we propose to examine some expressions of number and quantity not formed from numerical stems, nor by affixes characteristic for numerals. Thus they morphologically do not belong to the system of numerals, and yet they share some

syntactical functions with them, and are semantically correlated.

Here belong the open sets of nouns and adjectives mentioned in 0.2.1.b/ and phrases with such nouns, and the following members of the closed set of function words<sup>21</sup>: all, any, both, either, enough, few, a few, many, more, most, much, neither, no, none, some, several, whole, and the indefinite ordinals: last, next.

These expressions are primarily expressions of indefinite number and quantity, except for both and either which always refer to two referents, and such open set members as /a/ pair and couple, where couple has an indefinite pair, i.e. a couple.<sup>22</sup>

In wider contexts, where some definite numeral has been already mentioned, it can be referred to by all, no/none/ or enough, whole. In the same way, i.e. depending on the context, the ordinals last and next can express definite order.

## 2.1. FUNCTION WORDS

The members of the set of function words can be subdivided according to their order in the noun phrase /2.1.1./ or according to their function /2.1.4./<sup>23</sup>

2.1.1.	Predeterminers or Designators	all, both
	Determiners proper	any, either, enough, neither, no some
	Indefinite ordinals	last, next
	Numerals	few, a few, little, many, much, several
	Contrastives	more, whole, less

### 2.1.2.

#### 2.1.2.1. Noun Determiners<sup>24</sup>

NDs are words without inflection, which occupy the same position as the article, i.e. in front of the noun or preceding all modifiers

of a head.

All the items listed above can function as ND, except none, which can be regarded as an allomorph of no with a different distribution. Either and neither refer to "one of two" and thus require singular agreement of the noun. The plural is required by both, several, many, few, a few; enough, less and more agree with the singular of uncountable nouns and the plural of countables; all, any, some, no, last and next agree with both the singular and the plural of all nouns<sup>25</sup>, and much and little only with uncountable nouns. Whole requires the plural if not preceded by the definite article or other determiner, in which case it is followed by a singular noun. E.g.

Neither brother got married.

Both sisters got married.

They had enough oxygen.

They had enough soldiers.

She sings all day.

All members were present.

Who would like some tea?

The last act was too long.

There were whole armies of ants.

The whole loaf was full of ants.

These NDs can also function in prepositional phrases with of where the noun is the head of the phrase, the ND and preposition functioning as determiners together:

both of them

few of the people

In this case even much and little can be used with the singular of countables:

They didn't see much of the film, because they were late.

#### 2.1.2.2. Function Nouns<sup>26</sup>

FNs are words without inflection or derivation, but occupying nominal positions in the noun phrase, and can sometimes be preceded by an article.

All the above listed items, except for no, can occupy nominal positions. Instead of no, none is used. E. g.

That is all.

Did you have enough?

Who came last? He was the last. I need the whole.

Always with the definite article is used the whole, always with the indefinite article a few<sup>27</sup>. If followed by a relative clause few, little, many, several take the definite article:

The few that liked the music....

The many that came to see him...

The little that there was left...

More and less can also be preceded by the definite article in the phrase:

the more the merrier

the less the better

and the like.

Many can occur with both the definite and indefinite article if preceded by another modifier, usually great:

The were a great many.

The great many that came...

- 2.2. The translation equivalents of the E closed set of function words used to express quantitative notions are as follows:<sup>28</sup>
- nouns expressing indefinite quantity, adjectives of indefinite quantity and adverbs of indefinite quantity. This classification has been carried through according to the morphological properties of the word classes in SC.

- 2.2.1. SC noun, no matter whether the word functions as ND or FN in E:  
 most - većina /most people - većina ljudi, most were annoyed - većina  
 je bila ojadjena/
- 2.2.2. SC adjective for both functions in E:  
 all - svi, -e, -a /all books - sve knjige, all came - svi su došli/
- 2.2.3. SC adverb for both functions in E:  
 much - mnogo /much bread - mnogo kruha, that's not much to nije  
 mnogo  
 more - više, još /more bread - više kruha, I have more - imam još/  
 enough - dovoljno, dosta /enough bread - dosta kruha, that is enough -  
 dovoljno je/
- 2.2.4. SC nouns, adjectives, adverbs for both functions in E:  
 both - oba, obje, obe; obojica, obje, oboje  
 few - malo, rijetko koji, -a, -e  
 a few - nekoliko, nekolicina  
 many - mnogi, mnogo /noun plural/ /many people - mnogi ljudi<sup>29</sup>  
 no/none - nijedan, -a, -, partitive genitive of plural noun or pronoun  
 and verb with negation /no windows were broken - nijedan  
 prozor nije bio razbijen; there were no people - nije /ih/  
 bilo/ljudi/  
 several - nekoliko, nekolicina, više  
 some - neki, -e, -a, nekolicina

### 2.3. Teaching implications.

An important feature which most of the above pairs of E and SC items have in common, no matter how varied they may be, is their ability to occupy both the prenominal and nominal positions in the sentence. Moreover, in the prenominal position they characteristically precede other nominal modifiers in both languages:

all these old books - sve ove stare knjige  
 though in this case the SC word order may permit other combinations

of the members.

Points that should be liable to interference are more due to the E system itself than to interlingual factors, and are these:

- 2.3.1 Allomorphs like no/ND/ - none /FN/ and their distribution.
- 2.3.2 The use of any as a counterpart of some in interrogative and negative sentences when the presupposition of the speaker is neutral.
- 2.3.3 The use of ND with only some of the members of the group of FN<sup>30</sup>

#### NOTES

1. "Quantity" is here used in the widest sense of the word, including concepts like distance, weight etc.
2. All, no /none/ can also be expressions of indefinite number.
3. Items under c) will not be further treated in this paper, but are one possible subject for later study. For further examples see Roget's International Thesaurus /Quantity, Order, Number, Dimensions, etc./
4. "Function words are words largely devoid of lexical meaning which are used to indicate various functional relationships among the lexical words of an utterance". Francis, "Structure of American English"
5. As mentioned earlier, open sets will not be further treated in this paper.
6. Used only colloquially.
7. These will be discussed in some detail in chapter 2.
8. It is to be noted that all the diversity of forms expressing quantitative relations are not very important for teaching tactics, because the essential is the semantic function of the expressions, which is parallel in both the languages of our concern.
9. ... formula

10. This is a potentially open set of stems used to form large numerals.
11. On the plural of hundred, thousand etc. see 1.1.2.
12. Under "determiner" I understand function words that occur with nouns as their markers. They occupy prenominal positions.
13. For Indefinite cardinal numerals and phrases with cardinal numerals expressing indefinite number or quantity see 1.1.2.
14. Except when used in plural /jedne rukavice/
15. Attention should be paid to the spelling of some numerals when stem allomorphs are likely to create confusion, e.g. \*fourty. Learners should also be taught to write *l* and *7* instead of *1* and *7*. In E texts thousands are divided from hundreds by commas and not by dots /1,000/. Farther, if numerals are spelled by means of letters, the tens and digits are linked by hyphens /twenty-two/.
16. See: Introduction. On dozens see 1.8.
17. Occurrences of ordinal numerals with an indef. art. /a first-night/ or without article /at first glance/ can be explained a/ as compound nouns with the numeral classifying the head, and b/ as set phrases respectively.
18. In cases with a reverse word order /the three first students/, numeral and noun can be regarded as a unit, the ordinal classifying the noun head.
19. The phrase "at once" functions as an adverbial, but the numeral functions as head of the prepositional phrase, i.e. primary, or noun. In E and in SC once and jednom can also be used as adverbs of time. While once can only refer to the past, jednom can refer both to past and future.
20. This section is meant only as an illustration; a detailed analysis is not within the scope of this paper.

21. In traditional grammars they are usually called indefinite pronouns and adjectives.
22. For open set members see Introduction.
23. The first subdivision follows W. Gage, "Contrastive Analysis of English and Russian", the second is based on W. N. Francis, "Structure of American English".
24. Further referred to as ND.
25. Being ordinals, last and next mostly occur with a definite article. When used as function nouns they can occur without it, which is not the case with ordinal numerals like the fifth. /she was last... , she was the fifth/.
26. Further referred to as FN.
27. A few is a fixed phrase and to be distinguished from few, being different in meaning.
28. A detailed analysis will be attempted when the corpus becomes available.
29. Many a and mnogi with noun singular in both languages are archaic.  
/many a man - mnogi čovjek/.
30. Again, we hope to be able to supply more details after the examination of the corpus and some other material which is not yet available.



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# LINKING VERB + COMPLEMENT IN ENGLISH AND SERBO-CROATIAN

The discussion will involve the following E linking verb structures:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>(1) be + <math>\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{Adj} \\ \text{PrepP} \\ \text{Loc} \end{array} \right\}</math></p> | <p>(2) become<br/>remain<sup>1</sup> + <math>\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{Adj} \end{array} \right\}</math></p> |
| <p>seem<br/>look</p>   | <p>get<br/>turn</p>   |
| <p>(3) taste + Adj<br/>feel<br/>***</p>  | <p>(4) run + Adj<br/>go</p>   |

We will treat each of the four structures separately. First, here are some examples of sentences with be as the linking verb:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>(1) a. He is a poet.<br/>b. He is tall.<br/>c<sub>1</sub>. The matter is of considerable importance.<br/>c<sub>2</sub>. We are of the same opinion.<br/>c<sub>3</sub>. The plank is not the right width.<br/>d<sub>1</sub>. He is in the room.<br/>d<sub>2</sub>. He is there.</p> | <p>On je pjesnik. or Pjesnik je.<br/>On je visok. or Visok je.<br/>Stvar je od velikog značaja.<br/>Mi smo istog mišljenja.<br/>Ova daska nije prave širine.<br/>On je u sobi.<br/>On je tamo.</p> |
|---|--|

The examples illustrate the simplest cases of relationships that may hold between the two languages in this type of sentence, and demonstrate that there is, on the whole, a great deal of similarity in this area between E and SC. Only the sentences of (c<sub>3</sub>) display a contrastive difference: to the genitive noun phrase prave širine in SC corresponds the E predicate

nominative the right width / the E nominative is not obligatory and could be replaced by the of-genitive/. In spite of the similarity, learning problems may arise in either direction, especially at more advanced stages and in handling more complicated structures. A major difficulty for E learners of SC might be learning the patterns of gender and number agreement of adjectives, while two main difficulties of native speakers of SC learning E could be. 1) the use of the article with nominal predicates, 2) word order. The former difficulty results from the fact of the non-existence of the article in SC, the second is due to the greater "freedom" with which the elements linked by be can be manipulated in SC as compared with E.

At beginning stages of learning E, speakers of SC tend to leave out the article entirely. If the noun to which the article is to be attached is the head of the predicative structure linked to the subject by the verb to be, the problem can be handled by providing extensive drills that will make learners produce sentences of the type:

I am a student.  
You're the teacher.  
He's a pilot. etc.

Such drills would help the learner develop a sense of rhythm for this type of sentence, so that eventually the syllable occupied by the article is felt as an indispensable rhythmic unit. The aim of these drills should be the development of the feeling within the learners which will make a non-sentence like \*This is house "grate on their ears". There is some danger here in overdrilling, since the learners might extend the pattern to the cases where no article is needed, as with proper and mass nouns. However, since such cases are far less numerous, especially in structures with the link'ng be,

the problem is a minor one and can be handled by exercises which would point out the contrast between the structures with the article and those without one, e.g.

This is a boy. - This is Peter.

This is a bottle. - This is milk.

The problem of the choice of the article in terms of the opposition definite vs. indefinite, which is of particular importance in linking-verb structures, is a considerable learning problem for all Slavic learners of E. As it is handled under a special heading within the present Project, I will limit myself here to calling the Project researchers' attention to a simple yet excellent treatment of the problem in an article published in Language Learning: "The Teaching of the English Articles to Speakers of Slavic" by Henrik Kaluža, Lg Lng, vol. 13 /1963/, No. 2, pp.113-124.

We now come to the problem of word order. Apart from the minor difference /from the point of view of learning problems/ between E and SC which results in the fact that, in SC, it is possible to leave out the subject /cf. examples 1a. and 1b. /, which would not seem to present serious learning problems to SC learners of English, there are many instances which display "contrastively" important differences of word order between the two languages. First, let us take the simple case of both elements linked by be being nouns;

Peter is a poet.            Petar je pjesnik.

Pjesnik je Petar.

We see that the E sentence has two SC sentences corresponding to it<sup>2</sup>. The second sentence, with the predicate noun before the linking verb, can be considered a stylistic variant of the first with, perhaps, an emphasis on pjesnik corresponding to a stronger phonetic stress on the word poet in the E example. (It could be used, for instance, in a context emphasizing Peter's

"poetic" response to an event to which other people responded in a more straightforward way. / This "reversal" of the standard word order in SC Subject-Linking verb-Predicate seems to be more frequent in sentences in which the subject and predicate nouns are modified in various ways:

Najbolji dokaz njegove lojalnosti bila je njegova predanost radu.

His devotion to work was the best proof of his loyalty

The form of the linking verb in the SC sentence shows that the noun phrase following it functions as the formal subject /although from a notional standpoint either noun phrase could be taken as the subject if, as is often the case in this type of sentence, there exists a relation of semantic identity between the elements linked by be/. Since E does not have a grammatical device for making the first of two noun phrases linked by be the predicate of the sentence, the SC sentences with the "reversed" order of subject and predicate will not have E sentences with the same predicate. subject order corresponding to them. This might present a learning problem, especially in going from SC to E, that could be handled by translation exercises emphasizing the difference between E with its obligatory order Subject NP - be - Predicate NP and SC with the possible order Predicate NP - biti - Subject NP. Further examples of this contrastive difference are shown in the following sentences, which also illustrate a possible translation exercise for overcoming the learning problems involved in the difference:

Bolje im je što nemaju djece;  
gnjavaža su djeca.

They're better off without kids;  
kids are a nuisance.

Lijeni se možda nekako mogu i  
ubijediti da rade, ali problem su  
oni studenti koji nemaju baš ni-  
kakvog interesa.

The lazy ones can perhaps be somehow  
persuaded to study, but the students  
without any interest whatsoever are the  
problem. (or "the problem is the students  
...")

Pravo su uživanje bile naše  
šetnje pored jezera.

Our walks by the lake were  
a real delight.

Nemoj samo meso jesti. Uzmi  
i jabuka. Dobra hrana je i  
svježe zrelo voće.

Don't just eat meat. Have some  
apples. Fresh ripe fruit is  
also a good diet.

Let us now consider the case of either or both elements linked by be realized as pronouns. First, as we can see from examples (1a) and (1b), a personal pronoun used as the subject in an E linking-verb structure may not be expressed at all in the surface structure of the corresponding SC sentence. Although this difference is likely to present a problem for E learners of SC, it seems highly unlikely to cause serious difficulties for SC learners of E.<sup>3</sup> An English personal pronoun used as the predicate in a be + NP structure is nowadays mostly in the oblique case; e.g. (pointing at a picture we say:)

This is me. <sup>4</sup>	Ovo sam ja.
The one on the left is you.	Onaj lijevo si ti.
That blonde girl is her.	Ona je ona plava djevojka.
The group in the back is us.	Ona grupa straga, to smo mi.
The people in the middle row,	Oni u srednjem redu, to su oni.
that's them.	

There are some other points of interest for contrastive analysis in the type of sentence illustrated in these examples. They can be summed up as follows:  
The occurrence of a personal pronoun in SC on either side of the linking be brings the linking verb into grammatical agreement with the pronoun, regardless of the grammatical nature of the other element linked by be. Witness the ungrammatical \*Ovo je ja and \*Onaj lijevo je ti. The E situation is exactly opposite: it is the structure "on the left" of be that governs the form of be, as witnessed by the fact that the literal translations of the starred SC sentences are perfectly grammatical in E /with, of course, the personal

pronoun in the oblique case). There is, however, one important remark to make in connection with the rule as formulated for E: a plural structure may not precede be if the latter is followed<sup>5</sup> by a personal pronoun. The last of the E examples on the bottom of page 5 would be unacceptable if reworded so as to read \*The people in the middle row are them, as would be \*Those are us, \*The boys in the background are you, \*These are them,<sup>6</sup> etc. This type of grammatical restriction does not exist in SC: Ovi momci u sredini ste vi is perfectly grammatical, although colloquial SC seems to prefer the form Ovi momci u sredini, to ste vi, thus coming closer to the English. If both elements linked by "be" are personal pronouns, then the pronoun appearing first governs the form of be in both E and SC:

Ja ntsam ti.	(*Ja nisi ti.)	
Nisam ja ti.	(*Nisi ja ti.)	I am not you. (*I are not you.)
Ti nisi ja.		You are not me.
On nije ti.		He is not you.

Pedagogical implications of the points made in the foregoing paragraph are evident enough not to require further discussion. Special attention in teaching should be given to the highly frequent E structures These are NP and Those are NP which also display important differences from the corresponding SC structures.

Another point of difference between SC and E in the area of pronouns occurring with linking-verb structures involves the relationship between svi and svako on the one side all and everybody on the other. Syntactically, svi corresponds to all in demanding the plural form of a following linking be, while svako corresponds to everybody in demanding the singular form of be in the same position. However, if we bear in mind pedagogical applications of contrastive analysis, we must take into account other factors beyond mere syntax. Among

the most important of the other factors is the range (and frequency) of usage of a particular item. In our case, the range and frequency of the four Pronouns in the two languages differ as follows: in SC the range and frequency of the plural pronoun svi is considerably larger than that of the singular svako, whereas in E /especially in colloquial usage/ the frequency and range of the singular pronoun everybody is considerably larger than that of the plural all<sup>7</sup>. Thus, although it is possible to translate the SC sentence Svi su protiv rata more "literally" by using the pronoun all, there are many contexts in which the use of everybody is obligatory and others in which it is stylistically preferable. Students of E with SC language background should first be warned of the differences between all and everybody and then be given sufficient exercise to overcome the problems involved in the contrast between "Svi su..." and "Everybody is...".

The problems of word order that arise if the nominal predicate is an adjective, a prepositional phrase (locative or non-locative), or an adverb have certain features in common and can be discussed together. If we look at the E examples (1b) through (1d<sub>2</sub>) on page 1, we will see that their SC counterparts do not display any "disturbing" differences of word order. However, if we interrogate the subject in sentences of this type, the answers will show differences between the two languages that are of interest to contrastive analysis.

Examples:

a. What is important in the struggle for racial equality, attitude or action?

- Action is important.<sup>8</sup> (not: \*Important is action.)

Što je važno u borbi za rasnu jednakost, stav ili akcija?

- Važna je akcija. (equally as good in this context as:

- Akcija je važna.)

b. What is more important in the struggle for racial equality, attitude or action?

-More important is action. (in addition to: Action is more important.)

Što je važnije u borbi za rasnu jednakost, stav ili akcija?

-Važnija je akcija. (more common than: Akcija je važnija.)

c. What is particularly important in the efforts made for the realization of the

project? -Of considerable importance are the researchers' freedom from other obligations, their frequent contact, and adequate financial support.

(in addition to the more common order Subject-Predicate.)

Šta je osobito važno u naporima koji se čine za ostvarenje projekta? -Od velikog značaja su sloboda istraživača od ostalih obaveza, njihov česti kontakt i odgovarajuća financijska pomoć.

d. Who is of the same opinion on this matter? -Of the same opinion are George,

Seymour, Hassan, and Eagle Eye. (in addition to the "regular" word order.)

Ko je istog mišljenja o ovoj stvari? -Istog mišljenja su Djordje, Simur, Hasan i Orlovo Oko.

e. Which did you say was the right size, the box or the chest?

- The box is the right size. (not \*The right size is the box.)

Šta si rekao da je odgovarajuće veličine, kutija ili sanduk?

- Kutija je odgovarajuće veličine. or -Odgovarajuće veličine je kutija.

f. What is in the room? -In the room (there) is a big round table. (as well

as "There's a big round table in the room.")

Šta je u sobi? -U sobi je jedan veliki okrugli sto.

An important contrastive datum yielded by comparison of the answers in (a)

and (b) in E and SC is the following: while in SC both the subject and the

predicate may begin a sentence of the type NP jesam Adj, regardless of

whether the adjective is modified or not, the corresponding E structure must

begin with the NP, unless the adjective is modified and is used to emphasize

or contrast with something else in the same context the idea expressed by

the subject of the sentence. Another factor which "moves" the adjectival

structure to the beginning of the sentence is the relative length of the



structure functioning as subject. Additional examples illustrating the points just made are:

Very striking is the idea of some big power politicians that armament may help peace. But not \*Striking is the idea of some big power politicians that armament may help peace., or \*Very striking is the idea.

Most ridiculous was his proposal for the solution of the racial problem.

His analysis was brilliant, but still more brilliant was his proposal.

Much nicer, in fact, was the house where we spent the week-end.

Equally disturbing is the problem of the population explosion.

The predicate adjectives that come before the linking verb are modified either by emphatic words, sometimes called intensifiers, such as very, quite, rather, extremely, or by the contrasting comparative and superlative more and most.<sup>9</sup>

Much the same situation holds if an of-genitive noun precedes the linking verb. Thus, example (c) has the intensifying considerable modifying the noun importance, while the opinion of (d) has the comparative word same before it. However, if it happens that the of is omitted, as in (c<sub>3</sub>) on page 1 and (e) on page 8, we get a predicate - nominative, which is not subject to front-shifting, regardless of whether or not it occurs in an emphatic or contrastive context, cf. the ungrammatical \*The same size is the box.

Perhaps the least resistant to front-shifting of all the predicates in example (a) through (f) on page 7 is the locative phrase of (f).<sup>10</sup> Still, a locative phrase preceding be is not the preferred word order in E, as is generally the case in the corresponding SC structure, which is a contrastive datum to be taken into account in the preparation of teaching materials.<sup>11</sup> A lengthy subject in E will again favor front-shifting of the locative phrase. We frequently find there inserted before the linking be, especially if the subject is short, as in example (f).

We now turn to structures with become and remain followed by either a noun phrase or an adjective. Become plus an adjective in E corresponds in a large number of cases to single verbs in SC of what is known as "inchoative aktionsart".<sup>12</sup> This is especially the case with more frequent expressions, such as:

- |                      |                             |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| (2) a. become old    | ostarjeti                   |
| b. become happy, sad | obradovati se, rastužiti se |
| c. become ill, well  | razboljeti se, oporaviti se |
| d. become dark       | smrknuti se                 |
| e. become silent     | ušutjeti                    |

Long adjectives in SC as well as those that constitute relatively recent additions to the language (through borrowing or derivation) seem to be more resistant to the formation of inchoatives. Instead, the combination postati + Adj is used:

- postati važan, značajan
- postati zanimljiv
- postati upečatljiv
- postati spektakularan
- postati šik
- postati moderan /but promoderniti se is heard too/

In cases where the E structure become + Adj corresponds to a single inchoative verb in SC, the SC learners of E should be made aware of this derivational phenomenon in their language and, perhaps, told what prefixes in SC tend to have inchoative meaning. Some exercises accompanying the explanations and showing to grammatical relations with E should, of course, help in mastering this difference between the two languages.

Become + NP in E corresponds to the SC postati + NP and should not pose serious problems in either direction. It is only rarely that a noun in SC

may serve as the basis of an inchoative verb (gospodin - progospoditi se) and these cases should be brought to the learners' attention.

There does not seem to be anything of contrastive significance in the relation of remain + NP or Adj to its SC counterpart ostati + NP or Adj. The only thing that comes to mind at this point is the relation of the E structure to the possible translation equivalent in SC biti i dalje + NP or Adj, as in:

They published his story, but Objavili su mu priču, ali je i dalje ostao  
he remained a nobody (unknown). niko i ništa (nepoznat).

Another contrastive fact involving remain is the following: if the E structure be + Adj corresponds to a single verb in SC, as be silent - šutjeti, be happy - rado-  
vati se, be careful - paziti, be noisy - bučati, la- ati, etc., then remain + the  
appropriate adjective 's commonly expressed in SC as i dalje + the corresponding  
verb (the verb may, of course, precede i dalje); e. g.:

Upitao sam ga opet, ali I asked him again, but  
je on i dalje šutio. he remained silent.

(I dalje + Verb can also be expressed by continue to be + Adj or NP, e. g. "I dalje je larmao" - "He continued to be noisy", "I dalje je dosadljivao" - "He continued to be a bore". Although somewhat different in range, this useful correspondence could be practised at the same time as the one with remain + NP or Adj on the E side.)

The differences of word order in E and SC structures with become, remain and (p)ostati are not specific to these structures (unlike those with the linking be) and are therefore to be covered under the Project heading dealing with the general topic of word order.

A general "contrastive rule" for a group of verbs in the third type of structure illustrated on page 1 could be formulated as:

$$E \cdot V_{pe} + Adj \rightleftharpoons SC \cdot V_{pe} + Adv^{13}$$

The relations represented by this rule are illustrated by:

- |                  |  |  |
|------------------|--|--|
| (3)a.            | These flowers smell beautiful.                           | Ovo cvijeće divno miriše.                        |
| b <sub>1</sub> . | That tune sounds sad.                                    | Ta melodija zvuči tužno.                         |
| b <sub>2</sub> . | Her story rings true.                                    | Njena priča zvuči istinito.                      |
| c.               | Their house looks beautiful<br>with trees all around it. | Njihova kuća izgleda lijepo<br>okružena drvećem. |

The verbs in these sentences could be called "verbs of perceptual effect" ( $V_{pe}$ ) since they describe the "effect" on our perceptions produced by the entity expressed in the subject. The nature of the effect is expressed by an adjective in E and by an adverb in SC. (The same verbs could be used as activity verbs showing actions performed by means of the appropriate senses, as in "She smelled the flowers daintily", such usage falls outside the present topic and is not covered by our contrastive rule). The above examples illustrate verbs of perceptual effect involving three senses: smell, hearing (3b<sub>1</sub> and b<sub>2</sub>), and sight. The verbs referring to the remaining two senses, taste and touch, occur in analogous patterns in E but not in SC:

- |        |                        |                                   |
|--------|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (3) d. | This dish tastes good. | Ovo jelo je ukusno.               |
| e.     | The cloth felt smooth. | Tkanina je bila glatka pod rukom. |

The verb seem, which refers to something that can be described as a "general perceptual effect" (i. e. one involving all or most of the senses) also follows the E structural formula given in our contrastive rule. Its SC counterparts, izgleda and čini se, while deviating from the pattern of the regular SC  $V_{pe}$ 's, still show a regular pattern in that they normally take adjectives to express the nature of the "general effect". Moreover, čini se may take an adjective in the instrumental case, e. g.:

- |                      |                     |  |
|----------------------|---------------------|--|
| (3) f <sub>1</sub> . | He seems good.      | Izgleda dobar.                             |
| f <sub>2</sub> .     | She seems reliable. | Čini se pouzdana. or<br>Čini se pouzdanom. |

The verb look seems to be capable of being used also with the sense of "seem", i.e. to denote a general perceptual effect rather than just the effect produced by the sense of sight. This is suggested by two possible SC renderings of the E sentence:

She looks nice.

(a. She looks attractive.)

(a) Izgleda fino.

(b. She looks like a nice person.)

(b) Izgleda fina.

The "seem" sense of look is confirmed by an example such as "She looks generous", "generosity" being a trait not usually perceived solely by the sense of sight. In other words, the E verb look has two different senses corresponding to two different SC constructions with the verb izgledati. Izgledati<sub>1</sub>, parallel to mirisati and zvučati, is modified by an adverb, and izgledati<sub>2</sub>, parallel to činiti se, has an adjective complement.

We thus find that all the E linking verbs of "perceptual effect" behave structurally alike in that they take an adjective for their complement, as contrasted with the corresponding SC verbs of which one (more numerous) type takes an adverb: two synonymous verbs take adjectives, while the perceptual effects of touch and taste are expressed "idiomatically". This situation indicates a more or less "direct method" approach in teaching the E structural pattern to SC learners, rather than an approach based on the fairly complicated relations existing between the two languages in this area. The E pattern can be presented quite simply within E itself. a common set of semantic relations (expressions of perceptual effects produced by the senses) is expressed by a uniform structural pattern (V + Adj). All that is needed in the way of contrastive explanation is a "warning" that the E adjective often corresponds to an adverb in SC.

The last structure to be discussed here as a linking verb structure<sup>14</sup> is the one consisting of a verb such as get, turn, run, go and an adjective, the whole

denoting a "change of state"; e.g.:

- |                                     |                        |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|
| (4) a. He got tired.                | Umorio se.             |
| b. The leaves have turned yellow.   | Lišće je požutjelo.    |
| c. He went blind.                   | Osljepio je.           |
| d. The creek has run dry.           | Potok je presušio.     |
| e. She fell ill.                    | Razboljela se.         |
| f. They grew hungrier and hungrier. | Sve su više gladnjeli. |

As with become + Adj (see page 10) these structures mostly have single verbs as their SC counterparts, again of the inchoative aktionsart. The problem which is of interest to contrastive analysis is that of determining which E linking verb is to be used in the structure  $V_L$  + Adj with the meaning of "change of state", since it seems that SC does not make formal distinctions corresponding to the various E verbs that fit into the  $V_L$  slot. A degree of formal correspondence appears to exist only with the verb grow which denotes a gradual change of state or the process of change itself, which often corresponds to a verb of imperfective rather than perfective aspect, as in example (4f) above. Provided the SC students of E are made aware of the inchoative meaning of some SC verbs and taught to recognize such verbs, the remaining learning problems pertaining to the choice of the appropriate linking verb in E must be handled on a semantic basis. The students should be told that the most frequent and the most "neutral" verbs denoting a change of state are get and become (get being more common in colloquial E). They can be used with any adjective that fits this grammatical context, while the others are limited in various ways. Thus turn suggests gradual change (or a process of change prior to the new "state") and tends to be used mostly with colors. Go is used when there is a suggestion that the new state is somehow undesirable. run and fall seem to be limited to the adjectives dry and dead respectively<sup>15</sup> (although run wild and run amuck may also have this meaning in some grammatical environments, such as present perfect).

These explanations should be accompanied by exercises demonstrating typical uses of the verbs in association with adjectives.

### NOTES

1. The verb stay may be used in colloquial style with the same pattern and the meaning of "remain".
2. The second of the two SC sentences is, in fact, grammatically ambiguous since pjesnik can be interpreted as either the subject or the predicate. We will disregard the interpretation which makes pjesnik the subject as this would correspond to a different E sentence, namely The poet is Peter.
3. I have experimented with some learners at an elementary level asking them to translate into E such "subjectless" sentences as Visok je, Djak je and have received basically correct translations with the personal pronoun as the subject. This seems to strengthen Chomsky's argument about the psychological reality of deep structure while weakening the argument of some structuralists about the primacy of the physically observable elements of an utterance.
4. This is not to say that the predicate personal pronoun in the nominative case is non-existent today. We can still hear people answering telephone calls and saying "This is she" or "This is he". Such usage, however, is generally considered "overcorrect" and sometimes branded as linguistic snobbery. It should not, I think, be considered in a study whose ultimate aim is to help foreign learners pick up a type of E that would be most generally accepted.
5. It is often difficult to decide which of two elements linked by be or jesam (or biti) is the subject and which the predicate. I would be inclined to analyze ovo and ono as subjects in the sentences Ovo sam ja and Ono si ti in spite of the fact that the linking verb is not in grammatical agreement with them. (Writers of SC grammars have also analyzed as subject the element that does not necessarily govern the form of jesam, cf. M. Stevanović, *Gramatika srpsko-hrvatskog jezika*, Beograd 1951, p. 315). In fact, in going from one language to the other in a learning situation it is the distribution of elements in

relation to be that is far more important than the determination of subject and predicate. That is why I sometimes resort to calling these elements "the one on the left of be", or the one "preceding" or "following" be.

5. There is some disagreement in native speakers' judgements of the grammaticality of these four examples. Some feel that they are of questionable grammaticality, others reject them as non-sentences. Whatever the case may be, I believe that they should be considered unacceptable in the context of a pedagogically oriented contrastive analysis. After all, we do not want to add to the (unfortunately unavoidable) stock of the learner's E sentences of questionable grammaticality.
7. All is different from everybody in several important ways. First, all can be used to refer to both inanimate and animate entities, while everybody refers only to animates (more specifically, humans). Second, all seems to be tied more closely to the occurrence of antecedents in the same text. E.g., "Consider the leaders of the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., Great Britain, and France; all are (but not everybody is) against war if we are to believe their public statements."
8. A more common answer to this and the other five questions of this series would probably be to simply provide the subject interrogated. This, however, would deprive us of the linking verb structure needed for our analysis. The "inverted" word order as it appears in statements of examples (b) through (f) is, of course, not restricted to the kind of context provided in our series.
9. It is interesting to observe that a comparative or a superlative which is not also an endocentric adjectival structure does not meet the requirements for "front-shifting". Thus while "\*Better is the idea that..." and "\*Best is the idea that..." are ungrammatical, "Still better is the idea that..." and "By far the best is the idea that..." would be perfectly grammatical.
10. There is very little difference in the syntactic behavior of locative phrases and time adverbials such as "The concert is tomorrow" or "The show is at 8 o'clock" in E linking verb structures, perhaps because they both indicate "location", one kind - location in space, the other - in time. Consequently, the contrastive grammar of time adverbials in relation to SC is pretty much the same.



11. In elementary textbooks of E we often find a teaching unit with a question of the type "What is in the classroom" as the central element. Since the preferred word order of SC in an answer to such a question is to have the locative phrase begin the sentence, the interference tends to yield such grammatically questionable and stylistically undesirable E sentences as "In the classroom is a table" or "In the classroom are students".
12. The German term "Aktionsart" (mode of action) created to distinguish semantic variations based on the same verbal stem but falling outside the variations of aspect, is here retained in keeping with the general practice among English grammarians.
13. A "contrastive rule" would seem to be conveniently represented with two arrows between the formulae standing for the structures contrasted, thus showing that the instruction "rewrite" is applicable in either direction. The abbreviated name of the language contrasted appears before each structural formula.
14. Traditional grammarians have generally included under the heading of "linking verb" more than the four types of verbs considered in this paper; cf. Curme, Syntax (Boston, 1931), pp. 26-8. I have followed the more recent trend of including under this heading only the verbs with a minimum of their own contribution to the meaning of the entire predicate.
15. SC translations of the E sentences "He was shot and fell dead on the spot" and "She got pregnant" - "Bio je pogodjen i ostao na mjestu mrtav" and "Ostala je trudna" (as well as "Zatrudnjela je") suggest that something like a sudden, radical change of state may sometimes be expressed by the SC structure ostati + Adj (contrasting with postati + Adj). Since, however, there is no one E pattern that would correspond to this SC structure, this piece of contrastive information would be of greater value in teaching SC to E-speaking learners than in the opposite direction.

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THE ENGLISH POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVES my, your, his, its, our, their  
AND THEIR SERBO-CROATIAN EQUIVALENTS

1. An Outline of the English System

1.1 Distribution according to persons: my for the Possessor in the first person, etc.

1.2. Gender: his and her are used when the reference is to a male or a female Possessor respectively; its is used with reference to a sexless Possessor, or, occasionally, with reference to animals<sup>1</sup> or babies.

1.3. The possessives are used to express "Possession"<sup>2</sup>; their occurrence or non-occurrence depends on whether an expression of possession is intended or not:

"She lifted her glass" as against "She lifted the glass". /See also Note 4. /

1.4 The possessives are very frequent when the Possessor and the Actor are identical and the Possession is a noun of the "articles of clothing" or the "parts of the body" lexical sets<sup>3</sup>:

He blew out his brains /he scratched his head/ he put his hand in his pocket<sup>4</sup>.

1.4.1. The article the is used instead of a possessive when the Actor is the subject of a reflexive verb:

He shot himself through the head.

1.4.2. The occurs also when the Possession is part of a noun or adjective qualifier /a postnominal or postadjectival modifier/<sup>5</sup>:

She has an infection of the ear /he had a cold in the head/  
He became very red in the face

1.4.3. With nouns of these sets as Possessions, the is frequent when the Actor and the Possessor are not identical:

The policeman shot the thief through the arm /They have winter

staring them in the face /I gripped him by the collar.

1.4.5. Thus also in the passive:

A gift horse should never be looked in the mouth /He was shot through the arm/ He was hanged by the neck.

1.5. Possessives are obligatory when the Possessor is co-textually indicated  
The pain in her mind has been much beyond that in her head /His eyes  
seemed ... / the beating of her heart...

1.6. The emphatic form of the possessives is rendered by the addition of  
/very/ own:  
He hates his own family.

2. Unconditioned Translation Equivalence

An E possessive quite frequently has more than one SC equivalent with  
no or slight difference in meaning. Thus "I took off my hat" can be  
translated as "Skinuo sam moj/svoj/ ø šešir. "The following table con-  
tains the possible groups of SC equivalent variants, including also one-  
member groups. The figures following the groups indicate the number  
of such groups found in our pilot corpus:

Possessive Adjective: 27

Possessive Adjective/Reflexive-Possessive: 3

Possessive Adjective/Zero: 5

Possessive Adjective/Weak Dative of Personal Pronoun: 60

Possessive Adjective/Reflexive-Possessive/Zero: 5

Reflexive-Possessive/Zero: 92

Zero: 75

Weak Dative: 5

2.1. Gender

	njegov/mu	njezin/njen/joj <sup>6</sup>
his	43	
her		36
its	1	

3. An Outline of the Distribution of Serbo-Croatian Equivalents

3.1 Distribution according to persons: moj/mi for the Possessor in the first person, etc. Svoj, si, se do not distinguish grammatical persons.

3.2. The gender of a third person Possessor is mostly natural; the gender of a Possession is mostly grammatical in all persons:  
Ivan /possessor: male, human/ i njegov /possessive for the third person male Possessor "Ivan" but in the feminine form because the Possession, "knjiga", is feminine/knjiga /Possession: feminine/ : John and his book.  
When the Possessor is an animal, the selection of the third person singular possessive word is grammatical, that is, it follows the usual gender signals of SC:

Lav /m/ i njegov /m/ rep: The lion and its/his tail

Koza /f/ i njezin /f/ rep: The goat and its/his tail.

This is true of unmarked forms. Marked forms follow the natural sex:

Unmarked: koza i njezin rep: A goat and its/his tail

Marked: jarac i njegov rep: a billy-goat and his tail

koza i njezini mladi: a nanny-goat and her young.

3.3. The possessives are used to express "possession"; their occurrence or non-occurrence depends on whether an expression of possession is intended or not.

"Pogleda svoju čašu" as against "Pogleda čašu".

3.4. When the Possessor and the Actor are identical, the possessive-reflexive word svoj is used:

"Što?" upita ponosna na ton u svom glasu /"What?" she asked proud of the tone in her voice/.

A possessive adjective is frequently found instead of svoj when the

Possessor is not in the third grammatical person:

Uzet ću moju /instead of svoju/ knjigu /I'll take my book/

- 3.4.1. Zero instead of svoj is frequent with Possessions belonging to the sets "parts of the body" and "articles of clothing":  
Tada ona trzajem izvuče glavu /Then she wrenched her head away/  
Tony svuče kabanicu /Tony took off his slicker/
- 3.4.2. Zero instead of svoj seems to be the rule when a noun of the "articles of clothing" or the "parts of the body" set occurs in an adjunct phrase consisting of a preposition and a noun group:  
Postao je crven u licu /Pocrvenio je u licu/ He turned red in the face/
- 3.4.3. Zero instead of svoj occurs also in the construction "noun-genitive noun".  
Ona dodirne jagodicama prstiju znakove umora pod njegovim očima  
/She touched, with the tips of her fingers, the marks of fatigue under his eyes/
- 3.4.4. Zero is normal instead of svoj when the Possession is in the genitive case and the construction in which the genitive occurs functions as an adjunct:  
... reče Jeff... još uvijek zatvorenih očiju /... Jeff said, still with his eyes closed/.
- 3.4.5. With nouns of these sets, si /reflexive adverb of interest/ is frequently found colloquially:  
Prostrijelio si je glavu /He blew out his brains/  
Se occasionally alternates with si:  
Počeše se po glavi /Počeše si glavu/ He scratched his head /
- 3.4.6. Nouns denoting family relations frequently have zero instead of svoj.  
Pažljivo je izbjegavao da prodje uz majku /He carefully avoided going close to his mother/
- 3.5. Possessive adjectives occur mostly when the Possessor and the Actor are not identical:  
Bio je obradovan njenom ljepotom /He was pleased with her beauty/

- 3.5.1 In this situation, zero frequently occurs with parts of the body preceded by a preposition:  
 Uhvati je za ruku /He caught her arm. He caught her by the arm/
- 3.5.2 Instead of a possessive adjective, weak dative forms of the corresponding personal pronouns occur<sup>7</sup>:  
 Podigao joj je prstima kapak /He raised her eyelid with his fingers/  
 Vidiš li mu sestru? /Do you see his sister?/
- 3.5.2.1. The dative is especially frequent with parts of the body:  
 Nadvije se nada nj i poljubi mu čelo . She leaned over and kissed his forehead/<sup>8</sup>
- 3.6. Possession is expressed in a similar way also when the Possessor is indicated co-textually:  
Njegovo lice, obasjano kosim svjetlom zalaza, izgledalo je... /His face, illuminated by the oblique sunset light, seemed .../  
Oči su mu izgledale kao... /His eyes seemed .../
- 3.7. Emphatic forms:  
 "svoj/š-vlastiti" or "Possessive Adjective-vlastiti":  
 Bio je u svojoj/š vlastitoj sobi /He was in his own room/  
 Što je s tvojom vlastitom ženom? 'What' about your own wife?/
4. Contrastive Analysis of the Two Systems
- 4.1. There will be very little interference in the selection of the gender forms, except in cases where the Possessor is the name of an animal.  
 For humans, both languages seem to use the forms his, her and njegov, njezin respectively almost exclusively<sup>9</sup>. SC uses njegov, njezin for animals where E has mostly the sexless its. SC njegov/njezin and the corresponding E form its for inanimates occur very rarely.
- 4.2 The SC svoj and possessive adjectives will have possessive adjectives as their E equivalents.
- 4.3. The SC weak datives of personal pronouns will offer little difficulty

once the learner has had his attention turned to this way of expressing possessivity in SC. The problem will consist mostly in distinguishing the datives functioning as indirect objects or the "Ethical Datives" from those expressing possession; but this problem lends itself to a comparatively simple solution, syntactic or semantic.

- 4.4. The greatest difficulty will be the zero in SC and almost obligatory use of possessive adjectives with some lexical sets in E in certain environments. Zero in SC and the extremely frequent possessive adjectives in E occur with the same lexical sets, mostly the sets of "parts of the body" and "articles of clothing" in situations where the Actor and the Possessor are identical. In SC, zero alternates with the possessive-reflexive svoj or the reflexive adverb of interest si<sup>10</sup>; in E, possessive adjectives alternate with the definite article.

- 4.4.1. The contrast, starting from SC, can be stated as follows: -SC zero: E possessive adjective, when Actor is identical with the Possessor and the Possession belongs to the sets "articles of clothing", "parts of the body" or "members of a family":

Tony svuče š kabanicu : Tony took off his slicker

Stavi š ruku u š džep : He put his hand in his pocket

Pažljivo je izbjegavao da prodje uz š majku : He carefully avoided going close to his mother.

In SC svoj is possible, though not very usual, in the above sentences.

Where svoj is not possible, E, in this environment, will have the definite article:

Imala je upalu uha : She had an infection of the ear

Postao je crven u licu : He turned red in the face.

- 4.4.2. In the cases enumerated in 343/4, E will have a possessive adjective:  
Ona dodirne jagodicama prstiju znakove umora pod njegovim očima :  
She touched, with the tips of her fingers, the marks of fatigue under

his eyes

... reče Jeff ... još uvijek zatvorenih oči : ... Jeff said, still with his eyes closed.

4.5. SC si:

E definite article, with reflexive verbs when the Actor is identical with the Possessor and the Possession belongs to the sets "articles of clothing" or "parts of the body":

Prostrijelo si je glavu : He shot himself through the head

E possessive adjectives in the same situation but with non-reflexive verbs:

Prostrijelo si je mozak : He blew out his brains.

4.6. When the Actor is not identical with the Possessor, the nouns of these sets have no possessive in SC; in E, they are preceded by the definite article:

Zgrabio sam ga za ovratnik : I gripped him by the collar

Policajac ga je ustrijelio u ruku : The policeman shot him through the arm

Ustrijeljen je u ruku : He was shot through the arm.

4.7. Emphatic

"svoj/zero-vlastiti" : "possessive adjective-own":

Bio je u svojoj/š vlastitoj sobi : He was in his own room.

"moj, etc., -vlastiti" : "possessive adjective-own":

Što je s tvojom vlastitom ženom? : What about your own wife?

NOTES

1. The unmarked forms of nouns denoting animals are frequently masculine.
2. The term "belonging" has been suggested. We have kept the term "Possession" because its phonetic resemblance to the term "Possessor" reflects the closeness of their semantic relation. Of course, neither term is quite adequate because quite frequently the meaning of "possessing something" is absent, as in "She lifted her glass" where the glass belongs to the restaurant in which she found herself.



3. A possessive occurs only if the Possession is represented as the only Possession of its kind which the Possessor has at a given time in a given place:

He selected a tie from among the ties he had

He put on the tie he had selected from among the ties he had

He put on his tie /in a situation where only one tie is involved/ Cf. dictionary entries: have one's appendix taken out : have a tooth taken out

This seems to be a wider question concerning the function of the definite article. The definite article serves to present the referent of a noun as unique in a given situation, or it signals the presence of an extralinguistic situation. In the case of a linguistic situation, the article is due to the second mention of the referent in the form of a repeated noun or its (nonce - ) synonym(s): "A dog bit me. The dog was a huge brute." "A dog bit me; but the wretched creature ran away." "He had a grin on his face... I didn't like the smirk." In this case we speak of co-textual uniqueness.

The definite article signals extralinguistic uniqueness if a referent is unique as a consequence of a definite situation /a shared frame of reference/ which is not necessarily linguistically expressed, as when "Shut the window" is said in a definite room with only one window open. The situation has to be definite, otherwise the indefinite article or the zero article occurs. In "He entered a room. The room had a small dirty window" the indefinite article is used with the noun window, although it was the only window in that particular room, because the situation itself is described as indefinite /a room/. A contextually unique noun does not occur with the indefinite article before it takes the definite article, as a co-textually unique noun does. There are situations where there are no co-textual or contextual justifications for the use of the definite article, and the indefinite article is inappropriate because of its meaning of "a unidentified member of a multi-member group." In such situations, a possessive adjective is often a way out, because it conveys the meaning of uniqueness in itself, without a co-text of a context. If a car is a familiar one to the speaker he cannot say "I saw the car" because the interlocutor will react by asking "What car?" But if the speaker says "I saw my car", this will normally elicit no question about the identity of the car from the interlocutor.

A situation is definite also when there can be only one such referent. In this sense contextual uniqueness approaches the built-in uniqueness of the possessives, so that we can say either "I gripped him by the neck" or "I

gripped him by his neck".

4. It seems that a possessive in this environment is not likely if the Possession is co-textually unique, that is, if it is of the type: "Once upon a time there lived a king. The king had three sons." Thus, a possessive word is not likely with the second occurrence of the noun hand in:  
His hand was badly hurt. He did not know what to do about it. Finally, he decided that the best course to take would be to go home with all possible speed, to bandage the hand and to ring up a doctor.
5. Here "the" imparts a generic meaning to the noun, in the same way as it imparts the generic meaning to the noun "horse" in "The horse is a useful animal".
6. The morpheme - z i - is a bound deictic, mostly redundant.
7. A weak dative can be interpreted as the indirect object or the possessive. It functions as the possessive when it is not possible to combine it with a possessive adjective referring to a person different from the person to which the dative refers. In "Razara mi zdravlje" mi refers to the first person /I/, and a possessive adjective referring to the second, or some other, person tvoj cannot be inserted. \*"Razara mi njegovo zdravlje". When a dative functions as the indirect object any possessive adjective can be inserted: "Da-de mi moju, tvoju, etc., knjigu".
8. The construction containing the weak dative of personal pronouns followed by an object noun belonging to the "parts of the body" set has a free variant in the construction containing a weak form of a personal pronoun in the object slot followed by a preposition and a noun of the "parts of the body" set. Thus, instead of "Poljubi mu čelo" /She kissed his forehead/ the construction "Poljubi ga u čelo" /She kissed him on the forehead/ is very frequent.
9. Also for such groups of humans as are the names of countries, etc. "Indija i njeno stanovništvo" : "India and its/her population."
10. The classification of "si" as an adverb is not found in SC grammars. We believe that the inclusion of "si" among adverbs, rather than among pronouns, would reconcile the quite natural use of "si" in Western-variant speech with the grammars' insistence on "sebi". As an adverb, "si" would no longer be interpreted as the weak form of "sebi" but as an independent unstressed particle.

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THE ENGLISH DEMONSTRATIVES this, these, that, those AND THEIR  
SERBO-CROATIAN EQUIVALENTS

The analysis will comprise the following points:

- i. Delicacy of analysis
- ii. Unconditioned equivalence probability
- iii. Conditioned equivalence probability
- iv. Serbo-Croatian demonstratives having English equivalents other than the demonstratives
- v. Pedagogical implications.

I. DELICACY OF ANALYSIS

1. General

- 1.1. This and these refer to what is thought of as near in space or time, or what is in the center of interest; that and those to what is farther away and remote:

Nearness in space: You may have this book and that one

Nearness in time: I saw him this morning

Center of interest. He is a heavy drinker and this absorbs much of his family income

Remoteness in space: You may have this book and that one

Remoteness in time. Ladies' clothes were very impractical in those days /the days of Queen Victoria/

- 1.2. That is frequently used anaphorically to point back to an antecedent.

The antecedent can be:-

a/ a word /co-textual reference/: Another area in which distortion is immediately recognizable is clearly that of syntax

b/ a statement or a situation /contextual reference/: Do you drive a car?

- No. - That's a lie /Don't roll your eyes like that

This is occasionally used cataphorically to point to what follows:

Fold it like this / This is how it begins: "By this time..."

The "center of interest" consideration takes precedence over all other considerations. In "I have just read Galsworthy's dramas. I find these works as interesting as his novels" the anaphora would require that, but this occurs instead, because of the "center of interest" consideration.

## 2. Adjectives

2.1. The adjectives this, these, that, those are used for humans and non-humans.

2.2. That/those and, less frequently, this/these can have an affective meaning, which may range from endearment to contempt:

a. Simple that/those / this/these/. Do you think the girls would consider it narrow if I asked them to stop that dancing and whooping?

b. Double genitive (emotional meaning particularly frequent).

Structure. "that/those+noun+of+possessive". Do look at that silly wife of yours

That/those and this/these appear in the double genitive construction also in unemotional context: This sudden death of his.

c. "This+noun+of+a/n/+noun", where the first noun acts as a kind of modifier to the second noun: Bring him into this silly fool of a world

2.3. This/these and that/those appear with the prop-word one:

Dora often stopped to admire this one and that one.

## 3. Pronouns

3.1. This and that as pronouns are seldom used of persons, these and those are freely used so. Thus, this or that cannot be substituted for the underlined noun group in the following sentence:

He was strong enough to rebuke King Ethelwald when that monarch broke the Church's laws (cf. ... to rebuke kings when these broke...)

- 3.2. This/these and that/those, however, are used across the copula from nouns denoting persons for the purpose of identification:

a/ This is my brother John / These aren't my students

b/ They appear with nouns denoting persons also when the reference is not to the person but to noise and the like made by that person. In such cases, that is the more frequent form, and it can be interpreted as an emphatic version of it. In "Is that (or it) you, John?" the meaning is something like "Is the noise I hear made by you, John?"

c/ This is /i.e. I, the speaker, am/ Mr. Smith /at the telephone/<sup>1</sup>

- 3.3. This and that referring to the predicative /so is preferred/:

She assured me she would not stir till I was ready. This I quickly was / Listen friend - dear, dear friend ... I may call you so, for you have been that to me.

- 3.4. Phrases:

and that

at that

4. Determinatives

- 4.1. That and those are called determinatives when they are defined by a following:

prepositional phrase: those books on the table

relative clause: those books that you lent me

contact relative clause. these books and those we bought yesterday  
adjective<sup>2</sup>. a breakfast long remembered by those fortunate enough to attend it

participle. She is at another gate - that leading into Fir-tree Grove /

another secret engagement was that entered into with Turkey

adverb: this window and that one upstairs

or a combination of these elements: I like those of your friends whom  
I have met

The determinatives that and those are often replaced by the one and the ones respectively when the reference is to a countable noun:

She is at another gate - I mean the one leading into Fir-tree Grove.  
the one(s) is especially frequent before a contact clause:

Have you seen my knife - the one I bought yesterday?

The one or the ones is seldom used when that is determined by an of-phrase: Give this letter with your own hands into those of Miss Fonblanque.

- 4.2. Determinatives can have an antecedent: This hat and that of John's  
/ This book and that one which you hold in your hand. Determinatives  
can occur without an antecedent. In life I admire most those of a simple  
contented mind / there was no time, no opportunity for those on board  
to save themselves / those who do such things cannot be trusted.

#### 5. Adverbs

- 5.1. That: I didn't think he was that young or: as young as (all) that / (all)  
that much better.

Also used like "so", pointing to a following clause of result:  
I'm that hungry, I could eat a horse.

- 5.2. That much. I should be sorry to take that much consolation from you.  
5.3. This much: This much I hold to be true / this much is certain

#### 6. Nouns<sup>3</sup>

- 6.1. This - "this place": I shall leave this tomorrow<sup>4</sup>  
6.2. "this time": Between this and breakfast<sup>4</sup>  
6.3. "this letter": This is to inform you...

#### 11. UNCONDITIONED EQUIVALENCE PROBABILITY<sup>5</sup>

	onaj	ovaj	taj	pers.pron.	evo	odavde	ovakav	ovako
this		62	83	7	1	1	1	2
that	95		37	3				

	ovoliko	ovo mjesto	sada	š	antecedent noun	nešto	i	to
this	2	1	1	3	22			
that						6	3	
<hr/>								
	a osim toga	takav	tako	toliko	?			
this								
that	4	2	10	3	4			

The table shows that, generally speaking, there will be very little interference from the form onaj, which almost always has that as its E equivalent. This is also true of ovaj, which is, according to our data, always this. Of the Serbo-Croatian /SC/ forms other than ovaj, taj, onaj, those containing the ov- element will have this as their E equivalent, and those containing ig t- will have that.

The most serious source of interference will be taj, which is more frequently this than that. When the reference is to a contextual or co-textual antecedent taj is used almost exclusively in SC. It seems that anaphoric this in E fulfils two distinct functions: one is the function of indicating nearness in space or time /that book and this one/, and the other is the function of actualization, of showing that the idea expressed by the antecedent continues to be the center of interest. The SC taj always points back to an antecedent. As this is anaphoric in both functions, i.e. has an antecedent, a speaker of SC automatically connects anaphora with taj or onaj, and taj or onaj with that because that is the form that points back to an antecedent in the same way taj and onaj do. The equation taj/onaj equals that is to a large extent due to teaching because a learner is taught right from the beginning to equate onaj and taj with that, and ovaj with this. This initial statement is very seldom corrected at a later learning stage.

SC equivalents of E demonstratives which give semantic results other than ovaj, taj, onaj will not cause interference but will probably present areas of uncertainty, and in such areas the most astonishing forms can occur.

When this appears in correlation with that, SC will translate this as ovaj: You may have this book and that one : možeš uzeti ovu knjigu i onu/tu.<sup>6</sup>

this is /was/ how ... : evo: This is how it begins : evo kako počinje  
this is /was/ what ... : evo: This is what he said : evo što je rekao  
that is /was/ how ... : eto: that was how it began: eto kako je počelo  
that is /was/ what ... : eto: that was what he said: eto što je rekao

### III. CONDITIONED EQUIVALENCE PROBABILITY

(The numbers refer to the numbers in I. DELICACY OF ANALYSIS)

#### 2. Adjectives

##### 2.1. Table of equivalents:

	onaj	ovaj	taj
this		38	38
that	21		6

The SC demonstrative adjectives onaj, oni, ovaj, ovi, taj, ti are used of humans and non-humans, the same as the E adjectives this, these, that, those.

The table shows that ovaj will have this as its E equivalent; onaj will have that. Taj will have this when it can alternate with ovaj, or that when it cannot alternate with ovaj:

ovaj: there appeared to be no other door ... going straight to this  
 one : činilo se da nema drugih vratiju ... koja bi išla ravno do ovih  
onaj: the keynote of those last years before the First World War was  
 militancy : osnovni ton tih posljednjih godina prije prvog svjetskog rata  
 bila je ratobornost



taj/ovaj: I have spoken briefly of three scholars. I now desire to direct your attention to another. This one, Henry Sweet, I shall treat at some length: ... O tom/ovom, Henryju Sweetu, govorit ću opširnije

taj: most modern writers on methods of language teaching insist on the need to base the teaching of a given language on contrastive analyses and studies of that language and the language of the students involved ... na kontrastivnim analizama tog jezika ...

The substitution of ovaj for taj is quite common in situations in which the actualizing this is used in E. In E this combines the function of indicating nearness in space or time with actualizing function; in SC taj combines the function of indicating remoteness in space from the speaker but closeness to the interlocutor with actualizing function. In this way, both this and taj utilize for actualization that part of their meaning which means "near", only in E "near" means "near to the speaker and interlocutor" and in SC the meaning is "near to the interlocutor but remote from the speaker", and it is precisely the meaning "remote from the speaker" which makes a speaker of SC use that instead of this as an equivalent of taj when taj is used as an actualizer.

## 2.2. That, less frequently this, used emotionally:

a/ Simple that, this: taj/onaj. Taj and onaj seem to be in SC the demonstratives most frequently used emotionally, and a speaker of SC will tend to use that as their E equivalents everywhere, which will not cause any difficulty as the emotional that can be used instead of this without any appreciable change of meaning: These/Those inexperienced maids are always breaking dishes. te/one neiskusne djevojke uvijek razbijaju tanjure

In some instances a possessive adjective will translate the emotional that. I am coming soon to see that dear little grandson: Daskora dolazim da vidim svog dragog unučića.

b/ Double genitive<sup>7</sup>. The E construction "that/this+noun+of+possessive" has as its SC equivalent mostly the construction "taj/onaј/+ovajј+possessive+noun"

that : onaј : That piquant squirrel face of hers was giving him much unrest : Ono njezino ... / and then I sit and think of that dear wife of mine that I lost a quarter of a century ago : ... mislim o onoј moјoj/svoјoj dragoј ženi...

this : ovaj : This beloved home of ours . Ovaj naš voljeni dom / this broad land or ours : ova naša široka zemlja.

this : taj/ovaj : Upon my word, of all the horrid men that I ever heard of this publisher of yours is the worst : ... ovaj/taj tvoj izdavač ...

Of course, it is hard to conclude anything definite about the emotional imports of the respective constructions.

c/ "That+noun+of+ [-a (n)] + noun" : "onaј+noun+od+noun" : She pays 'he debts of that scoundrel of a husband . Plaća dugove onog gada od muža / that clever little wretch of a Rebecca : Onaj lukavi mali gad od Rebeke.

2 3 With the prop-word one, the distribution of the forms is the same as with other adjectival uses. The equivalence formula is as follows:

E modified noun ... this/that one : SC modified noun ... ovaj/taj/onaј /noun/ : I think this present generation of women is a happier one than that one was : Mislim da je sadašnja generacija žena sretnija nego što je ona /generacija/ bila / You may have this book and that tone . Možeš uzeti ovu knjigu i onu.<sup>8</sup>

### 3. Pronouns

	onaј	ovaj	taj	pers.pron.	tako	ovdje	?
this		18	46	7		3	
that	6		19	2	2		3

"ovaj/taj" test: The teacher introduces the whole class to numbers from one to ten. These are later drilled in the groups : Nastavnik upozna cijeli razred s brojevima od jedan do deset. Ti/Ovi se kasnije uvježbavaju u grupama

Narrowminded? You admit they are that? : Uskogrudni? Priznaješ da to /\*ovo/ jesu?

- 3.1. In SC taj, ovaj, onaj can be used of persons: "Bio je toliko jak da je mogao ukoriti kralja Ethelwalda kad bi ovaj/taj prekršio crkvene zakone.

As the pronouns this and that are used in connection with nouns denoting persons only in some special cases, the free use of the SC demonstratives for persons in a possible source of interference in cases like the following: No, taj je zabrijao stvar : Well, that /i.e. that fellow, man, etc. / has made a mess of it.

- 3.2. Identification /this/that with nouns denoting persons/:

a/ This is my brother John : Ovo je moj brat Ivan

b/ Is that you? : Jesi li to ti?

c/ This is Sarah : Ovdje Sara /telephone conversation/<sup>9</sup>

In all these cases (with the exception of c/, which uses a different construction) SC has the invariable neuter forms to, ono, ovo which seem to signal identification. The same neuter forms are used also in identifying non-humas: Ovo je mjesto gdje se naš klub sastaje : This is the place our club meets in / Ovo nisu moje knjige : These are not my books / Ovo je slika moje žene : This is the (a) picture of my wife.

- 3.3. That as a substitute of the predicative : SC neuter to or takav: I thought he was only a beast. - He is that, too, of course, but he is worse: Mislio sam da je samo životinja. - On je to/takav, dakako, ali je još i gori<sup>10</sup>

- 3.5. Phrases:

and that : I to: I had only seen her once, and that six years ago : Vidio sam je samo jednom, 1 to pred šest godina

like this

adverb : ovako: Fold it like this

adjective: takav/ovakav: but to make cards like this needs no skill

like that

adverb : tako: Don't roll your eyes like that!

adjective: takav : Can any of you show me a woman like that?

and that : a osim toga, uz to, pri tom. She charged me twice the normal price for the tomatoes, and they were rotten at that

"that's a good+noun" : budi tako dobar, baš si zlatan, ti si dobar+noun, etc. :

Bring me my slippers ... action ... that's a good boy: Donesi mi papuče ... action ... baš si zlatan

Bring me my slippers, that's a good boy: Budi tako dobar pa mi donesi papuče / donesi mi papuče, budi tako dobar

Thank you, John, that's a good boy : Hvala, Ivane, ti si dobar dečko.

In some instances the SC equivalents of the E demonstrative pronouns are personal pronouns or demonstrative adjectives preceding the repeated antecedent nouns:

that: He looked at his beautiful hands. He had those left : Pogledao je svoje lijepe ruke. One su mu ostale.

this. As for the illustrations, these, if not rich, at least are strange : Što se ilustracija tiče, one su, ako ne bogate, a ono barem neobične / So that new perspectives will come into view with all the social and economic potentialities that these will bring . Tako da će se otkriti novi vidici sa svim društvenim i privrednim mogućnostima koje će ti vidici donijeti.

Personal pronouns will be equivalents of the E demonstrative pronouns when they occur near their antecedents. They will not cause the SC speaker to generate ungrammatical E sentences. In all the examples, personal pronouns are possible (He looked at his hands. He had them left) but the SC personal pronouns may forever prevent the SC speaker

from producing such elegant E sentences as the one above beginning

"As for the illustrations..."

4. Determinatives.

4.1. The only determinative forms are that and those followed by:

- prepositional phrase

a/ with an antecedent

"that/those+preposition other than of" : onaj/antecedent noun  
repeated+preposition: Hand me the books on the table and those on  
the window : Dodaj mi knjige na stolu i one na prozoru

The equivalent is quite natural if the antecedent is close to the

determinative. If it is not, the antecedent is usually repeated:

The pain in her mind has been much beyond that in her head . bol u njenoj  
duši bila je mnogo jača od bol u njenoj glavi.

b/ without an antecedent:

those : oni : These was no time for those on board to save themselves  
Nije bilo vremena za one na brodu da se spase  
there is /was/ that ... : ima (bilo je) nečega: There was that <sup>11</sup>  
in her innocence which rendered light talking impertinence before  
her.

that of

a/ with an antecedent

"that/those+of" : "antecedent noun+genitive noun" (most frequently).  
The face before me was that of a young man of thirty years : lice  
preda mnom bilo je lice mladog čovjeka od trideset godina / The  
reasons for it are not those of the eighteenth century : Razlozi za  
to nisu razlozi / or oni iz / osamnaestog stoljeća / Another area  
in which distortion is immediately recognizable is clearly that of  
syntax . Drugo je područje na kojem se iskrivljenje odmah prepozna  
očito područje sintakse

b/ without an antecedent

"These+of" : "oni+koji+imaju": In life I admire most those of a simple mind : u životu se najviše divim onima koji imaju jednostavan duh  
+koji (je)su: najviše se divim onima koji su jednos-  
tavnog duha

-relative clause

a/ with an antecedent

"that+which" : "antecedent noun repeated+koji": The depth of feeling in this book surpasses that which I have observed in his other works

"onaj koji": They choose between the cinemas available to them that which is showing the film they most want to see

"those+who" : oni koji : It will ... not do if the dialogue takes place only between the teacher and one or two of the pupils, those for instance who are sitting in the front row

b/ without an antecedent

"that+which" : "ono što" : It will make the person rootless, cut him off from that to which he must feel he belongs

"those+who" : "oni koji" : Particularly for those who lack the young child's ability to "pick up" a pronunciation

"those+that" : "oni koji" : Those that are called the uneducated classes : oni koji se nazivaju neškolorani slojevi

-contact clause

"that+ø" : "onaj koji" : Instead of seeking contrivances for this purpose, they have lost those ø they formerly had : ... izgubili su one koje su ranije imali

: ono /identifying function, see 3.2. /" What was that ø you said? :

Što si ono rekao?

-present participle

a/ with an antecedent

"that+pp" : "onaj koji+finite verb form": Another secret engagement was that entered into with Turkey : ... onaj u koji se stupilo s Turskom

b/ without an antecedent

"those+pp" : "Oni koji biti pp" : I was among those specially invited to the festival : Bio sam među onima koji su bili naročito pozvani na svečanost<sup>12</sup>

..adjective

"those+adj" : "oni+koji+biti / or some other verb of existence / + adverb" : A party composed of those lower in the social scale . Stranka koja se sastojala od onih koji su / or: stoje / niže na društvenoj ljestvici.

Adjective that as a determinative

"that/those+noun+which" : "onaj/oni+noun+koji" . He hasn't yet returned those books which I lent him last summer.

that/those followed by one appears in the same structures. It has the same SC equivalents as the determinative pronouns that/those (one has no equivalent).

## 5. Adverbs

this : ovako, ovoliko : I've never been this hungry . nikad nisam bio ovako / ovoliko / gladan

that : tako, toliko : I'm that sleepy : tako / toliko / sam pospan

Pointing to a following clause of result:

that "tako, toliko .... da" : I am that hungry I could eat a horse : tako / toliko / sam gladan da bih pojeo vuka

Phrases:

this much : ovoliko / ? / : This much is certain : ovoliko je sigurno

that much : toliko : You know even that much, do you?

## 6. Nouns

6.1. This : ovo mjesto : The roads between this<sup>4</sup> and Sotherton

: odavde : I shall leave this<sup>4</sup> tomorrow : Sutra odlazim odavde

6.2. : ovo vrijeme : Between this<sup>4</sup> and breakfast

6.3. : ovo : This / a letter / is to inform you : Ovim Vas obavještavamo.

#### IV. SC DEMONSTRATIVES HAVING IN E EQUIVALENTS OTHER THAN DEMONSTRATIVES

to . it : He said she must go, and he said it with a peculiar look of determination in his eyes. Rekao je da mora ići, a rekao je to s naročitim izgledom odlučnosti u očima

onaj koji . the one contact clause. These books are more important than the ones I lent you last time : Ove su knjige važnije od onih koje sam ti posudio posljednji put

See other determinatives which can be substituted by the one/s/

taj noun . the noun: In his old castle there lived once a king who had an only child, a daughter. The /This/ daughter was very beautiful

#### V. PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

We believe that for a speaker of SC to master the use of E demonstratives it is not necessary to know the complete distribution pattern of demonstratives in E. Where there is one-one equivalence between the two languages, it is quite sufficient, for teaching purposes, to point out this equivalence without identifying the equivalents as pronouns, adjectives or determinatives. A tentative distribution of E demonstratives based on this principle would look something like this:

The basic statement concerns the equivalents of onaj and ovaj. Onaj is always that in E; ovaj is this. This general statement will have to be completed by the following additional statements:

onaj prepositional phrase/relative clause that/the one prepositional phrase/relative clause. Dodaj mi knjige na stolu i one na prozoru: Hand me the books on the table and those on the window / Jesi li vidio moj nož - mislim onaj koji sam kupio jučer : Have you seen my knife - I mean the one I bought yesterday?



repeated noun+prepositional phrase : that+prepositional phrase: Bol u njenoj duši bila je mnogo jača od boli u njenoj glavi : The pain in her mind has been much beyond that in her head.

repeated noun+genitive noun : that+of: Lice preda mnom bilo je lice mladog čovjeka od trideset godina : The face before me was that of a young man of thirty years.

The questions of contact relative clauses for SC relative clauses with connectors, as well as of participles for SC finite verb forms, are general ones, not specific to the demonstratives.

ovako, tako : this, that /adverbs/ in colloquial style.

ovo mjesto, pismo, odavde : this /noun/ is a lexical question, as are certain phrases containing this or that /osim toga : at that; budi tako dobar, etc. : that's a good boy, and others/

The greatest problem will be the E equivalents of taj. This can be solved by a correct approach to taj, something along the lines suggested on pages 6 and 7.

SC demonstratives having in E equivalents other than demonstratives, notably it and the, will have to be dealt with in the contrastive analysis of personal pronouns and the definite article respectively.

#### NOTES

1. In these cases, it is usual to speak of the "neuter" this or that. The non-neuter this or that is used of persons only to express contempt. Would you like to marry Malcolm? Fancy being owned by that.

2. What is required is a phrase introduced by an adjective, rather than a bare adjective. We cannot say "those fortunate/good/necessary/ black/lower". The adjective is part of an elliptical relative clause /... those who were fortunate enough to attend it/ which qualifies the head those. Without the relative clause, both those and the adjective would be interpreted as modifiers of a head which is, ungrammatically, omitted: "... remembered by those fortunate /people/".
3. Here are included instances where the demonstrative has a noun understood after it, so that it is semantically a (modified) noun.
4. My American informants refused to accept these examples taken from O. Jespersen.
5. Unconditioned translation equivalence probability is an over-all equivalence probability of an item, regardless of the functions of the item. Thus, the unconditioned equivalence probability of an imaginary item A could be a=.50, b=.50. But this item functions as an adjective or a pronoun. If these functions are taken into account, what results is conditioned equivalence probability, which could turn out to be: Aadj=.1, Apron=.1; that is, every Aadj has as its equivalent a, and every Apron has as its equivalent b.
6. The choice between onaj and taj depends on the nearness of the object to the interlocutor (taj) or its remoteness from the speaker and the interlocutor (onaj).
7. In SC it is quite common to have a construction like "demonstrative+possessive+noun" as in "To njegovo lice" /That his face/; therefore learners should be warned against combining E possessive adjectives with the articles, the demonstratives and numerals, and to use the double genitive instead.
8. The noun is more likely to be repeated if a longer string of words intervenes between it and its first occurrence.
9. The SC equivalents of the E phrase "Am I speaking to Mr. Smith?" will contain the demonstrative to: "Je li to g. Kovač?"
10. In substandard SC gender forms taj, ta, to are occasionally used "Mi mornari smo svi veseljaci, a i kapetan je taj"; We sailors are all jolly men, and the captain himself is that too.

11. "Something" is more usual.
12. This is a question of the SC equivalents of the E present participle rather than a special case of that.

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"LEXICO-GRAMMATICAL FEATURES OF MUST, SHOULD, AND  
OUGHT TO AND THEIR EQUIVALENTS IN SERBO-CROATIAN"

M u s t

1. Lexis

Must is regularly translated by the SC verb morati. Their high degree of lexical correspondence is evident in the fact that both morati and must have two principal meanings: (i) obligation, (ii) conclusion, e. g.

- (i) He must do as I say.                      Mora učiniti kako ja kažem.
- (ii) There must be a hundred people there.      Mora(biti) da tamo ima sto ljudi.

It is very important to be aware of the two meanings of must because the patterning of the two homonyms is different.

2. Sequence of tenses

(i) Must has no pair like can-could, may-might etc., and in a subordinate clause introduced by a verb in the past tense one of two things may happen to the obligational must. Either the "obligational" must remains unshifted:

He said we must keep together.      Kazao je da se moramo držati zajedno.  
or the form had to is introduced and it emphasizes the past time reference which is suitable to certain contexts:

He said we had to keep together.      Kazao je da se moramo držati zajedno.

Notice that the SC verb tenses in both examples remain unchanged.

(ii) The "conclusion" must is shifted in a special way, namely, by making use of the perfect instead of the present infinitive:

He said there must have been a hundred people there.  
Kazao je da tamo mora biti sto ljudi.

(iii) In order to facilitate the teaching of the sequence of tenses in English it seems useful to stick to the principle of changing something in the verbal predicate of the subordinate clause when introduced with a verb in the past tense, and consequently had to for obligational must (and must+have+past participle for conclusion must) ought to be drilled at the lower stage of proficiency.

3. Past time reference

The two homonyms of must have different means to refer to the past time in main clauses, namely, had to for obligation and must+have+past participle for conclusion:

I had to work hard last year.

Morao sam mnogo raditi prošle godine.

You must have worked very hard last year.

Mora (biti) da ste mnogo radili prošle godine.

4. Future time reference

(i) Must+present infinitive refers to the future only in the sense of obligation:

He must come tomorrow.

Mora doći sutra.

In the sense of conclusion must+present infinitive is not normally used with future reference. However if the continuous infinitive follows must, the dominant interpretation will be that of conclusion:

He must be coming tomorrow.

(ii) A comparable difference in the interpretation of morati in SC seems also to be due to the difference in the construction of this verb. When used in a "single clause" construction with future reference, morati is normally interpreted in the sense of obligation:

On mora doći sutra.

whereas in the construction:

Mora (biti) da sutra dolazi.

morati is primarily interpreted as expressing conclusion.

A comparison of this kind may be of some help to the advanced learner.

(iii) As the reader will have seen, in all the examples quoted we have had in view "dominant" interpretations. It is hard to find totally non-ambiguous sentences with must and morati in written language. The stress and intonation normally contribute to their interpretation in spoken language.

## 5. Negation

Here again it is useful to keep the two principal meanings of must separated, i.e. conclusion must and obligation must

### (1) Obligation must

He mustn't go.

Ne smije ići.

Cars must not be parked in front of the entrance.

Kola se ne smiju parkirati pred ulazom.

The English examples and their SC translations show that must cannot be translated by morati when must is in the negative. In some way that negative element seems not to make must itself negative but the following full verb (He must - not go. Mora - ne ići.). Thus Must+negative+full verb expresses the obligation not to perform the "action" of the full verb. This is expressed in SC by the negative of the verb smjeti.

Note that the addition of the negative to the SC verb morati makes its principal meaning, that of obligation, negative; i.e. the negative element belongs to the verb morati itself. But note also the English translation equivalents:

On mora ići.

He must go.

On ne mora ići.

He need not go. He hasn't got to go.

The English examples illustrate that in order to express the absence of obligation - the semantic negative of must - need not and haven't go to are normally used.

(ii) Conclusion must

Examine the following examples and their translation equivalents:

There must be a hundred people there. Mora biti sto ljudi tamo.

There mustn't be a hundred people there. Ne smije biti sto ljudi tamo.

The first example is, of course, ambiguous both in English and in SC, but what is important here is that it may be interpreted as containing

conclusion must, while the second example cannot have such interpretation.

The second example with must in the negative can only be interpreted as prohibition as it is so translated. This means that in order to express the negative of the conclusion, other means have to be made use of, not only in

English but in SC as well, e.g.

There can't be a hundred people there. Ne može biti sto ljudi tamo.

As is evident, in order to express the negative of conclusion must and of the corresponding morati, the negative of the verb can and its most common translation equivalent in SC moći are used.

6. Negation and Learning Problems.

The negation of must may reasonably be expected to present a learning problem. It is not only a lexico-grammatical contrastive problem but also, for a foreign learner, an unexpected inconsistency of the English verbal system.

The textbook writer will certainly need to introduce a certain amount of translation exercises of patterns containing the affirmative and negative obligation must in order to develop the feeling for the semantic difference between the two forms. It is a good thing to devise "self-explanatory"

English examples containing must, mustn't, needn't and haven't got to.

Difficulties are not expected with the negation of conclusion must since it shows great similarity to the corresponding morati in SC.

7. Ambiguous sentences with must.

(i) We have found it useful to keep the two principal meanings of must apart in our presentation of this modal. By now it will have become clear that many sentences containing must are ambiguous in the sense that they may be interpreted as both obligation and conclusion when taken out of the wider context. This is also true of corresponding sentences in SC. However either owing to the wider context or to certain signals within the sentence this will probably not represent a teaching problem. The sentence:

I must be dreaming.

Mora biti da sanjam.

will be normally interpreted only as conclusion "in view of the unusual nature of the demand that one be dreaming". On the contrary:

He must go.

On mora ići.

will be readily interpreted as obligation.

The ambiguity seems to be resolved best in SC by the use of the construction mora (biti) da e.g.

On mora raditi

Oni mora (biti) da rade

Mora (biti) da oni rade

where only the first example is ambiguous.

(ii) It may be of some use to the teacher to know that according to some statistics (M. West) about 86 per cent of the occurrences of must in texts are used in the sense of obligation and only about 12 per cent in the sense of conclusion. We have given a certain amount of importance



to the two different meanings as we feel that the textbook writer should be well aware of them. His duty will be to grade the problem appropriately.

(iii) Must seems to be used too frequently by the learners of SC language background at the expense of have to, should, and ought to.

(iv) Morati has been used as the most appropriate translation equivalent of must. This has also been confirmed by some limited statistical surveys at our disposal. It is needless to say that in some cases trebati may replace morati.

## Should

### 1. Lexis

Should can be considered the partner of shall in the English modal system as it fits there like will and would, may and might, etc., but it has many more uses and meanings than shall.

In the following selected patterns we shall illustrate the meanings of should and point to their translation equivalents in SC.

- (1) They should ask my permission first.
- (2) It is very odd that he should do that.
- (3) It was unfortunate he should be ill just then.
- (4) Should I see him I'll tell him.
- (5) I bought the book so that you should be able to read it.
- (6) Who should I see but Bob!
- (7) Why should you suspect me?
- (8) He'll stay for good, I should think.
- (9) He should be there by now.

For the purpose of dealing with the meaning of should the patterns could be divided into 3 groups: (i), (ii), (iii).

(i) Pattern (1) illustrates should expressing obligation. This should is in most cases replaceable by ought (but cf. the comparison between ought to and should). Its most frequent translation equivalent seems to be trebati (less frequently morati) in the indicative and the conditional:

- (1) Oni treba da me najprtje pitaju za dozvolu (Oni bi trebali ...)

(ii) Patterns (2) through (8) illustrate should used as a grammatical element, very often as an empty word, which could be translated by various means into SC.

- (2) Vrlo je žudno da to radi.

- (3) Bilo je žalosno da se baš tada razbolio. Žalosno je da se baš tada razbolio.

After expressions like it is odd, it is strange, it is lucky, it is surprising etc. should is normally used. For practical teaching purposes it may be considered automatic and taught within its context.

Its translation equivalents in SC are indicative tenses and thus there is no signal to the SC speaker to use should. To complicate the issue this should is replaceable by the present or past tense in English:

It is very odd that he does it.

It was unfortunate that he fell ill just then.

It seems natural that the SC speaker will tend to use the examples with the indicative tenses. Such use is not incorrect, but it is a loss in precision and in idiomatic expression if the patterns with should are neglected.

Pattern (5) illustrates a similar use of should, this time after the conjunction so that. In SC translation we can have either the present tense or conditional:

- (5) Kupio sam knjigu da je ti možeš /da bi je ti mogao/ pročitati.

Should is also used after the (literary) conjunction lest:

I hid it lest he should see it

Skrio sam to da on ne vidi/ne bi vidio

Replacement of should with the present tense seems to be possible in these cases as well. The possibility of using the conditional in the corresponding type of sentences in SC might signal to the speaker to use should and not only the present tense, but still drills with should in contexts of this kind are recommended.

Should in pattern (4) is also replaceable in English with the present tense:

If I see him I'll tell him.

Note that this type of conditional sentence in SC can also have two variants:

(4) Ako bih ga vidio, reći ću mu.

Ako ga vidim, reći ću mu.

the first being more hypothetical and perhaps in this way nearer to the English pattern (4) with should.

Patterns (6) and (7) illustrate further idiomatic uses of should which may remain neglected, as their translation in SC do not signal to the speaker the necessity to go outside the indicative:

(6) Koga ću vidjeti već. Boba!

(7) Zašto da sumnjaš na mene?

Pattern (8) illustrates the use of should (again replaceable by the present tense) as a kind of cliché at the beginnings or ends of statements. Corresponding structures in SC have either the present tense or conditional (depending on the verb):

(8) Ostat ću stalno, rekao bih./mislim.

Here belong I shouldn't imagine, I should say, etc.

(iii) Should in pattern (9) is used in the sense of conclusion (cf. ought)

(9) On bi trebao biti sada tamo.

## 2. Time reference

Should normally refers to the present or future (it is not the past tense of shall!) in main clauses when followed by the present infinitive. It can refer to past time in subordinate clauses when the verb in the main clause is in the past tense (cf pattern (3)).

Should refers to the past in the main clause when followed by the perfect infinitive. Its translation equivalent in this use is the past tense of the verb trebati or morati:

I should have gone yesterday.

Trebao (morao) sam ići jučer. (Trebalo je da idem jučer.)

Neither of the two SC versions carries the meaning of a non-completed action which is clearly stated by the English pattern. As with most modal verbs this pattern may be expected to produce interference problems and therefore should be elaborated in the textbook.

### 3. Sequence of tenses

Should + pres infinitive is reported, with the past tense form of the reporting verb, as should:

He said I should leave. (You should leave.)

Rekao je da treba (bi trebalo) da otidjem.

(The above sentence also reports You shall leave which may be translated in the same way.

Should+perf. infinitive remains unchanged in reporting:

I said he should have come. (reported: He should have come)

Rekao je da je trebalo da dođe (trebao doći).

### 4. Pedagogical implications

In the simplified English the learners with SC as their mother tongue use, there is a noticeable tendency to use must to express all kinds of obligation. Should therefore has to be presented and drilled. We have seen that certain grammatical contexts (cf. patterns (2) to (7)) require should, and this may help in preparing the drills. However if a non-native speaker wants to write drills for obligational should with a view to delimitate it from ought to and must, he should rely strictly on texts written by native speakers.

## O u g h t

### 1. Lexis

Ought to expresses obligation and conclusion. This suggests that there is a potential ambiguity in certain sentences containing ought to, but there are clues in the context which increase or decrease the ambiguity. If the following three sentences are examined:

- (1) You ought to see him.
- (2) You ought to see him tomorrow.
- (3) You ought to be seeing him regularly.

it seems that the first and the second would hardly invite any other interpretation but obligation, while the third - which may be interpreted as obligation - suggests conclusion as forcefully. The signals which suggest different interpretations here are the verbal aspects and the adverbials.

Ought to is most frequently translated by the SC verb trebati, and less frequently by morati, both by the indicative tenses and the conditional of these verbs. The three examples above may be translated as follows:

- (1t) Treba (trebalo bi) da ga vidiš.
- (2t) Treba (trebalo bi) da ga vidiš sutra.
- (3t) Mora biti (treba) da ga vidjaš redovito.

There is no doubt that apart from the narrow context (co-text) the wider context helps in resolving the potential ambiguity.

### 2. Past time reference

There is no special form of ought to refer to the past time and this is done by the use of the perfect infinitive:

- (4) I ought to have gone yesterday.
- (4t) Trebalo je da idem jučer. Trebao sam jučer ići.

Note however that the SC sentence is not an adequate translation of the English sentence containing ought to+have+pp because the latter signals

the incompletion of the action of the main verb. In the two SC versions the question of whether the action has or has not been completed is left open and depends on interpretation (or additional context). E. g. .

(4a) Trebao sam jučer ići (trebalo je da jučer idem) pa sam i otišao.

(4b) Trebao sam jučer ići (trebalo je da jučer idem) ali nisam.

The English sentence (4) signals only the meaning of (4b) and the following sentence would not be possible in English:

\*I ought to have gone yesterday and so I went.

N. B. In order to express the meaning of the Serbo-Croatian

sentence (4) had to is made use of:

I had to go yesterday and so I went.

### 3. Sequence of tenses

In reported speech ought to remains unshifted:

He said you ought to go.

Kazao je da bi trebalo da ideš  
(trebao ići)

He said you ought to have gone.

Kazao je da si trebao ići.

Note that ought to reports ought to, and ought to have+past participle reports ought to have+past participle.

### 4. Future time reference

Ought to refers also to the future:

I ought to see him tomorrow.

Treba da ga sutra vidim.  
Trebalo bi da ga sutra vidim

Ought to have+past participle can refer to the future perfect, i. e.

a period preceding but going up to a future point of time:

I ought to have done it by the time I come back.

Treba (trebalo bi) da to učinim do povratka.

Although not frequent, this use of ought represents a difficulty to the learner, and it should be connected with the pres. perfect and future perfect

5. Negation

The negative of ought to does not mean the opposite of ought, i. e. the absence of obligation to perform the action of the main verb, but the obligation not to perform this action (cf. must), e. g.

He ought to go but you ought not to.

On bi trebao ići, ali ti ne bi trebao (bolje da ne ideš)

He ought to go but you needn't.

On bi trebao ići, ali ti ne trebaš (tebi nije potrebno, ti nisi potreban tamo)

The distinction between the meanings of oughtn't and of needn't seem to be partly covered in SC by translating oughtn't with the conditional and needn't by the present tense of the verb trebati. Here is another illustration:

Ought I to go? You oughtn't.

Treba li da idem? Ne bi trebalo. (Ne bi bilo dobro da ideš)

Ought I to go? You needn't.

Treba li da idem? Ne treba. (Nisi potreban).

6. Pedagogical implications

A learning problem of a non-contrastive character is that ought is always followed by the particle to which distinguishes it from most modal verbs; this has to be drilled

The reader will have seen that trebati has been treated as the most adequate translation equivalent of ought to. According to some statistical surveys trebati translates ought more frequently than other verbs and expressions do, however, in many cases, the meaning would not be impaired if morati replaced trebati.

Note that there is a correspondence between ought to have+past participle and the past tense of trebati except when that construction refers to the future (cf. Future time reference).



Must, (have to), should, ought to

1. These modal verbs express obligation. In some contexts they appear to be nearly synonymous and in some others they may be in contrast.

The same is true of their translation equivalents in SC: trebati and morati.

2. Must and have to show no contrast. They are synonymous in expressing obligation. Native speakers feel that the latter is less compelling and less formal. This perhaps explain why have to has a slightly higher frequency in texts according to some limited statistical counts.

The tenses of the verb morati are the most frequent translation equivalents of both must and have to.

3. Should and ought to are highly synonymous. "Ought to is generally felt to express a stronger sense of obligation than should; and it often replaces should when a more resounding word is felt to be necessary." Ought to is less frequent in texts than should and particularly in the negative and the interrogative. Ought to is perhaps more formal.

Should and ought to are most frequently translated by the tenses and the conditional of the verb trebati. The conditional is very rare in translating must and have to.

4. Must and have to, according to one interpretation, express that the person or thing concerned is not considered free to avoid the required action:

You must go (there is no possibility to stay);

should and ought to, on the other hand, suggest that the subject is considered free to avoid it:

You should (ought to) go (but you might stay as well).

As we have seen in 2.0 and 3.0 this contrast seems to be covered by morati for must and have to, and trebat (in the indicative and in the conditional) for ought to and should. The hypothetical character of ought to and should is well covered by the conditional of trebat.

Moraš ići (ne možeš ostati).

Treba bi ići (ali se može i ne ići).

5. All the verbs discussed here may express conclusion (likelihood, inference). In this sense they occur less frequently. In dealing with them individually we have tried to point out some contextual elements which influence their interpretation as expressing either the obligation or conclusion. But still most sentences containing these verbs may be ambiguous in this respect.

6 In spite of prescriptivism with regard to trebat in some SC grammars I have followed present-day developments and differentiated only when necessary between e. g. Oni trebaju ići and Oni treba da idu.

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Tisak: Kućna tiskara Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Trg M. Tita 14