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## ABSTRACT

The fifth volume of this series contains ten articles dealing with various aspects of Serbo-Croatian-English contrastive analysis. They are: "On the Word Order of Subject and Predicate in English and Serbo-Croatian from the Point of View of Functional Sentence Perspective," by Ljiljana Bibovic; "The English Personal Pronoun and Their Serbo-Croatian Equivalents," by Maja Dubravcic; "Subject Composed of Clause," by Zorica Grdanicki; "Verbs with One Object in English and Serbo-Croatian," by Draginja Pervaz; "The English Pronoun 'It' and Its Serbo-Croatian Equivalents" and "The English Preterit Tense and Its Serbo-Croatian Equivalents, both by Leonardo Spalatin; "Verbs with Two Objects in English and Serbo-Croatian," by Radmila Sevic; "The Imperative and Its Periphrasis," by Mira Vlatkovic; "Notes on Linking Verbs and Complements in English and Serbo-Croatian," by Vladimir Ivir; and "More on Linking Verb+Complement in English and Serbo-Croatian," by Midhat Ridjanovic. (CLK)

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# THE YUGOSLAV SERBO-CROATIAN-ENGLISH CONTRASTIVE PROJECT

Director: Professor Rudolf Filipović, Ph. D.

## A. REPORTS

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A. R E P O R T S

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Edited by  
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ZAGREB, 1971  
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ON THE WORD ORDER OF SUBJECT AND PREDICATE IN ENGLISH AND  
SERBO-CROATIAN FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF FUNCTIONAL SENTENCE  
PERSPECTIVE

1. It is the chief aim of this paper to point out instances of the word order Predicate - Subject, known as inversion (henceforth P - S) in declarative sentences in SC, where English has the so-called normal word order, Subject - Predicate (henceforth S - P).

2. The approach adopted in this paper is based on the theory of 'functional sentence perspective' (= FSP) developed by the linguists of the Prague School, a theory which has been particularly fruitful in explaining the phenomena of word order both in English and Czech and on which some comparative word-order studies have been based. The way in which the principle of functional sentence perspective affects word order is summarized by Jan Firbas in the following quotation:

The principle of FSP (we shall explain later why we prefer this term to possible other ones) causes the sentence to open with thematic and close with rhematic elements. Very roughly speaking, thematic elements are such as convey facts that constitute the communicative basis of the sentence, such as contribute least towards the developments of the discourse and consequently convey the lowest degree(s) of communicative dynamism (= CD) within the given sentence. Rhematic elements, on the other hand, are such as contribute most towards the development of the discourse and consequently convey the highest degree(s) of CD within the given sentence. <sup>1</sup>

Thus, within the theory of FSP the crucial terms are theme and rheme; in languages which observe FSP the theme usually precedes the rheme. The difference between English and Czech in this respect, which has been pointed out with such clarity by the Czech linguists, wholly applies to E and SC, so that it may not be amiss to quote the same author again on this particular point, as this is a starting point for the comparison of the two word orders.

Whereas in Czech - as Prof. M. has convincingly shown - it is the principle of FSP, in English it is the grammatical principle<sup>2</sup>, that plays the decisive role in determining the order of words. This explains why a non-cmotive English sentence is less ready to observe the theme-rheme sequence than its Czech counterpart. FSP, however, is a formative factor of considerable weight and English has found means with which to make amends - at least to a certain extent - for the mentioned lack of readiness to observe the theme-rheme sequence.<sup>3</sup>

3. Among the means which English has found "to make amends" the author includes various passive constructions.<sup>4</sup> It has been noticed that there is a correlation between E passive and SC active constructions, both of which follow the theme-rheme sequence.

Consider the following example:

- (1) The painting was bought, along with other pictures, by a wealthy American collector (E. P. I., p. 8)
- (1SC) Sliku je kupio, kao i druge slike, jedan bogat Amerikanac, kolekcionar.

While E sticks to the grammatical principle, keeping the order S - P by turning the sentence into the passive, SC is capable of leaving the sentence in the active and beginning the sentence with the object, due to the inflectional

ending by which the object is marked. But both languages observe the THEME-RHEME sequence, for it is the object in the sentence which is the theme, and in both (1) and (1SC) the theme begins the sentence, the surface subject in the English example being the DEEP OBJECT.

Moreover, (1SC) shows the inversion of the subject and predicate, which is the normal word order in such sentences in SC; thus, there is a correlation not only between passive and active, but also between passive and the word-order P - S in E and SC. Thus we have:

English

Passive

Word order: S - P

Serbo-Croatian

Active

Word order: P - S

(O-V-S)

Theme:

Surface subject

(deep object)

Theme:

Surface object

(deep object)

Further examples illustrate the same point:

(2) This ability was first noticed by her father.

(Alexander, p. 14)

(2SC) Ovu sposobnost je prvi zapazio njen otac.<sup>5</sup>

(3) The new library was opened by the Mayor.

(E. P. I., p. 25)

(3SC) Novu biblioteku otvorio je predsednik opštine.<sup>6</sup>

(4) He is being backed by a number of other people, too.

(E. V. I., p. 7)

(4SC) Njega podržavaju i mnogi drugi ljudi.

But notice that in SC in case the object pronoun is not stressed, it cannot remain in initial position.<sup>7</sup>

\*Ga podržavaju i mnogi drugi ljudi.

(5) Podržavaju ga i mnogi drugi ljudi.

The result is the word order V - S.<sup>8</sup> This is also illustrated by the following examples:

(6) He was given away by one of his accomplices.  
(E. V. I., p. 111)

(6SC) Izdao ga je jedan od njegovih saučesnika.

(7) He was seen out by the mistress of the house.  
(E. V. I., p. 241)

(7SC) Izvela ga je domaćica.

4. Another device noticed by Mathesius<sup>9</sup> with which English shifts the rhematic, non-thematic subject towards the end of the sentence is the preparatory there or an adverbial at the beginning of the sentence. SC in such cases usually has recourse to inversion:

(8) There appeared a man at the door. (FL, p. 15)

(8SC) Na vratima se pojavi jedan čovek.

(9) There took place between him and his son a violent and painful scene. (FL, p. 15)

(9SC) Između njega i njegovog sina odigrala se burna i mučna scena.

(10) Once upon a time there was a king ...

(10SC) Jednom davno beše jedan kralj ...

(11) On a small round table stands a glazed earthenware bowl of jonquils, short in the stem, closely bunched, exquisitely painted.  
(The L, 8 Apr. 1971)

(11SC) Na okruglom stočiću stoji gledjosana glinena zdela sa lužanjima, kratkih stabljika, zbijenim u kitu, izvanredno naslikanim.

5. In E there may occur in sentences which are defined semantically as expressing an event ("appearance on the scene").<sup>10</sup> (8) is a typical example of that kind. Other examples are:

(12) There was a whistle.<sup>11</sup>

(12SC) Začu se zvižduk.

(13) There was a to-do when the thousands of football fans poured on to the railway platform. (E. C. I., p. 71)

(13SC) Nastala je gužva kada su hiljade ljubitelja fudbala pohrlili na stanični peron.

In Czech and Russian, according to Firbas and Adamec, sentences in which the verb is one of "appearing on the scene" show the word order V - S.<sup>12</sup>

This is also true of similar sentences in SC. There only occasionally occurs in their E counterparts (as in the above examples). Notice the following pairs of sentences:

(14) A party of schoolchildren arrived, along with their teacher.  
(E. P. I., p. 8)

(14SC) Stigla je grupa djaka, zajedno sa svojim učiteljem.

(15) A motor coach arrived with a party of tourists to see over the factory. (E. V. I., p. 241)

(15SC) Stigao je autobus sa grupom turista koji su želeli da razgledaju fabriku.

(16) The spring has come.

(16SC) Došlo je pročiće.

(17) The hostess appeared.

(17SC) Pojavila se domaćica.

(18) The storm broke. (A. L. D.)

(18SC) Izbi oluja.



(19) A new difficulty has arisen. (A. L. D.)

(19SC) Iskrsla je nova teškoća.

Moreover, Adamec has shown that in some of these sentences in Russian there is "a certain semantic connection or interdependence between the verb and the subject." He takes the subject to be an obligatory complement to the verb.<sup>13</sup>

When his observations are applied to SC, it becomes obvious that this is also true of SC. Thus after the verb razlegati se the possible subjects are. piska, cika, buka, plač, lelci, janakanje - after the verb nastupiti: zima, proleće, trematak, faza, period, tišina, ćutanje - after the verb iskrsnuti, teškoća, problem, okolnost, pitanje, etc.

This word order belongs to what within the theory of FSP is called "semantic word order."

6. Semantic word order is also demonstrated by sentences containing "a situational determination of time and place" ("situational background") and the action taking place in it.<sup>14</sup>

Such sentences usually show the word order P - S in SC, as is attested by the following example:

(20) U Pragu se juče dogodila saobraćajna nesreća.<sup>15</sup>

"A traffic accident occurred in Prague yesterday."

7. Another example of semantic word order is represented by those utterances which denote "localisation of an object", and those which denote "occurrence of an object in a particular situation."<sup>16</sup>

Localisation of an object is illustrated by the following pair of sentences:

(21) The book is on the table.

(21SC) Knjiga je na stolu.

Both E and SC display the word order S - P. Similarly,

(22) The boy is in the garden.

(22SC) Dečak je u bašti.

But if "occurrence of an object in a particular situation" is expressed, E uses the construction with there, and SC displays inversion.

(23) There is a book on the table.

(23SC) Na stolu je (se nalazi) knjiga.

(24) There is a boy in the garden.

(24SC) U bašti je neki dečak.

8. To show that E is characterized by a lack of susceptibility to FSP, Firtus quotes the example. A boy came into the room.<sup>17</sup> He attaches great importance to the articles in E as a means with which it is possible to mark out the theme (i. e. what is known) and the rheme (i. e. what is new).

There is a difference between E and SC in this respect: where E employs the articles to mark out what is given and what is new, SC uses different word orders.<sup>18</sup>

Compare:

(25) A boy came into the room.

(25SC) U sobu je ušao jedan dečak.

(26) The boy came into the room.

(26SC) Dečak je ušao u sobu.

In conclusion, it may be said that in SC inversion is obligatory in certain types of declarative sentences, which is either due to the observance of FSP or to certain semantic factors. Such a word order is normal here and "inverted

word order" or "inversion" is a misleading term suggesting that it is a deviation from the normal, "non-inverted" word order.

#### NOTES

1. Jan Firbas, "Thoughts on V. Mathesius' Conception of the Word-Order System in English Compared with that in Czech", Brno Studies in English, Vol. 4, Praha 1964, p. 112.
2. "... the principle of grammatical function manifests itself in that the sentence position of an element is determined by the syntactic function of that element. In accordance with this principle the English sentence puts the element that is to function as subject before the element that is to function as predicative verb, which in its turn is made to precede the element that is to function as object." Ibid., p. 112.
3. Ibid.
4. Cf. also Vilém Mathesius, "On Linguistic Characterology with Illustrations from Modern English." A Prague School Reader in Linguistics, compiled by Josef Vachek, Indiana University Press, Bloomington 1964, pp. 59-67.
5. It is also possible to say: Ova sposobnost je prvi njen otac zapazio, with the main verb following the subject, but in this case the subject is emphasized.
6. Note that when an adverbial ends the sentence, the main verb follows the subject, but in that case it is the adverbial which is the rheme:  
Novu biblioteku je predsednik opštine otvorio u 5 sati popodne.
7. In SC, as well as in Czech (cf. B. Trnka, "On Word Order in Structural Linguistics", Travaux linguistiques de Prague, Academia, Prague 1968, p. 48) many unstressed monosyllables are excluded from the front position in sentences.
8. Enclitics, i.e. the unstressed elements of footnote 7, follow the main verb (or another sentence element) in SC and make a single unit with it.

9. Firbas, op. cit., p. 112.
10. Cf. Eduard Beneš, "On Two Aspects of Functional Sentence Perspective", *Travaux linguistiques de Prague*, Academia, Éditions de l'Académie Tchèqueoslovaque des Sciences, 1967, p. 268.
11. The example is from ibid.
12. Cf. Beneš, op. cit., p. 267
13. P. Adamec, "Porjadok slov v ačrešennom russkom jazyke", *Rozpravy Československé Akademie Věd, Řada společenských věd, Ročník 76 - Sešit 15*, p. 51.
14. Beneš, op. cit., p. 268.
15. The original example is in Czech in ibid.
16. Ibid., p. 271.
17. Firbas, op. cit., p. 113.
18. For English see Jan Firbas, "On the Problem of Non-Thematic Subjects in Contemporary English". *Časopis pro moderní filologii* 39, 1957, pp. 22-42 and 165-173.

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## THE ENGLISH PERSONAL PRONOUNS AND THEIR SERBO-CROATIAN EQUIVALENTS

### 1. Introduction

1.1. The English personal pronouns, I, you, he, she, it,<sup>1</sup> we, they, have been traditionally defined as substitutes for previously mentioned or understood nouns.<sup>2</sup> It may, indeed, be said that personal pronouns behave like nouns in their syntactic function including their capacity to follow prepositions.

But the differences between nouns and personal pronouns are still more numerous:

- a) Personal pronouns cannot occur with articles and other determiners which are commonly used with nouns.
- b) Personal pronouns form a closed system, nouns are par excellence an open system.
- c) Morphologically, personal pronouns as a class distinguish the categories of person, number, case and gender, nouns distinguish only the categories of case, number and sometimes gender.

1.2. The English personal pronouns can therefore be viewed as a complex system characterized by the features of:

- a) person
- b) number
- c) case
- d) gender

Stress should also be taken into consideration when personal pronouns are being analyzed in connected speech. Normally personal pronouns in English

have no inherent stress and they have more or less constant "weak" realization in unstressed positions in connected speech. But when strong stress is rendered necessary by various aspects of situation or context, the phonetic realization is different.

In Serbo-Croatian, personal pronouns, ja, ti, on, ona, ono,<sup>1</sup> mi, vi, oni, one, ona, are characterized by the same five distinguishing features as their English counterparts. Therefore it seems convenient to analyze the English personal pronouns with regard to the categories of person, number, case, and gender.

It might be possible to establish certain correspondences, differences and, what is most important for our purposes, interferences between the English and Serbo-Croatian systems of personal pronouns.

1.3. But the essential point of difference between the English and SC personal pronouns can be stated right at the beginning of the analysis, as it is one of the obvious and well-established differences in the systems of the two languages. In the majority of frames in which in English a personal pronoun occupies the subject position, the zero pronoun will more often than not be found in SC "equivalents whenever the referent in question is perfectly clear and there is no special emphasis on the subject pronoun.

(1) He watched George with open mouth.  
(1SC) Promatrao je Georgea otvorenih usta.

(2) They made their beds on the sand.  
(2SC) Složiše ležaje na pijesku.

(3) I forgot again.  
(3SC) Opet sam zaboravio.

In all the above sentences the pronouns are not expressed in Serbo-Croatian, but they are implied in the verbal inflections which also make clear the person, number and gender<sup>3</sup> of the pronoun in question.

(4) It ain't the same if I tell it.

(4SC) Nije isto ako ja pripovijedam.

(5) Now, you see, I've seen Greek troops wear what they call kilts.

(5SC) Vidite, ja sam vidio grčke vojnike obučene u ono što oni nazivaju kiltovima.

In the above sentences the subject pronouns in English are emphasized. If that is the case the subject pronoun in Serbo-Croatian is always expressed and this fact alone, even without the emphatic stress, gives them emphatic value.

1.3.1. But the situation is not always so simple. Sometimes the subject pronouns in Serbo-Croatian seem to be expressed without any special reason.

(6) "Dolphin", the old man said aloud. "Big dolphin."

He shipped his oars and brought a small line from under the bow.

(6SC) -Lampuge - reče starac glasno. - Velike lampuge.

On složi vesla u čamac i dohvati mali povraz ispod pramca.

(7) He picked up a piece and put it in his mouth and chewed it slowly.

(7SC) On uze jedan komad, stavi ga u usta i stade polako žvakati.

In the above sentences the referents are clear enough and there does not seem to be any special emphasis. Yet the subject pronouns are used in the SC equivalents, although the alternatives with the zero pronoun are also possible. It is very difficult to say what made the translator decide in favour of using the pronouns. It might be his feeling for the rhythm of the particular SC sentences, or it might be his own individual style. In any case the reasons are not easily detectable on the level of surface structure.



1.3.2. If an English personal pronoun functions as an object, in Serbo-Croatian the corresponding object form will appear in the majority of frames.

(8) The boy left him there...

(8SC) Dječak ga<sup>4</sup> tako ostavi...

(9) "I'll wake you in time."

(9SC) "Probudit ću te na vrijeme."

In the above SC sentences the pronominal function is not expressed either in the verbal inflections or any other form. Consequently the pronoun must be retained for the sake of meaning.

1.3.3. Even in the object function personal pronouns in Serbo-Croatian can be optionally deleted.

(10) You needn't trouble to go out to tea, I'll bring it to you.

(10SC) Ne trebaš se truditi da izlaziš na čaj, ja ću ti (ga) donijeti.

The deletion of the object pronoun is possible after certain verbs such as dati, pozajmiti, kupiti, donijeti. The deletion of the object pronoun is usually not possible after the English equivalents of the above verbs: give, lend/borrow, buy, bring.<sup>5</sup> This difference between the two systems may bring about incorrect English sentences of the type:

(11) \*He doesn't understand the use of the English definite article.  
I'll try and explain him.

The above sentence stands for the Serbo-Croatian:

(11SC) On ne razumije upotrebu engleskog odredjenog člana.  
Pokušat ću mu (je) objasniti.

1.3.4. The use of the zero pronoun in Serbo-Croatian in the frames in which a personal pronoun is obligatory in English does not cause much interference

in SC learners of English, because the pronoun does exist in the deep structure and is deleted as redundant in the surface structure. It is always felt to be present in the verbal inflections.

Incidentally, the English usage may influence the SC translators of English by making them use personal pronouns in many places where they are superfluous in Serbo-Croatian. Although that is not an error in the grammatical sense, it should be avoided, because it gives Serbo-Croatian an unnatural, somewhat English flavour.

## 2. Contrastive Analysis of the English Personal Pronouns and Their SC Equivalents with regard to Person, Number, Case and Gender

### 2.1. Person

2.1.1. English distinguishes first person singular I, first person plural we, third person singular he, she, it, third person plural they, and second person singular and plural you.

In Serbo-Croatian there are separate forms for all the persons in the singular and plural.

Both in English and Serbo-Croatian the referents are the same; i.e. the first person singular denotes the speaker, the second the person(s) addressed, and the third a referent (personal or otherwise) spoken of. The first person plural denotes the speaker + one or more others, the third person plural stands for more than one referent spoken of.

2.1.2. The first person plural we can be used in the generic sense, meaning that the statement is applicable to everybody including the speaker or writer.

(12) We live to learn.

(13) We are all apt to believe what we wish to believe.

In Serbo-Croatian the usage is parallel to the English:

(12SC) Živimo da učimo.

(13SC) Svi smo mi skloni vjerovati ono što želimo vjerovati.

2.1.3. The so-called "editorial we" which is used in English by authors and writers out of modesty or in order to establish a closer connection with their readers is used in Serbo-Croatian with the same stylistic flavour.

(14) We are convinced that this book supplies a long felt want.

(14SC) Uvjereni smo da ova knjiga ispunjava potrebu koja se već dugo osjeća.

(15) But we must not forget that it was their energy that made the undertaking possible.

(15SC) Ali ne smijemo zaboraviti da je taj pothvat bio moguć samo zahvaljujući njihovoj energiji.

2.1.4. The so-called royal we is used both in English and Serbo-Croatian.

However, the semantic value of this usage seems to be changing. We which was once used of the speaker (=I) can nowadays also mean the speaker (a royal personage or head of a country) and his associates.

(16) We have been led to make these reflections by a visit we paid to a meeting of the Central Branch.

(16SC) Na ovakva razmatranja nas je navelo naše prisustvovanje jednom sastanku Central Branch-a.<sup>6</sup>

2.1.5. We can also be used of the person(s) addressed (=you). Then it sounds patronizing and is used specially by adults speaking to children or by nurses addressing patients. We find exactly parallel usage in Serbo-Croatian.

(17) Can't we open our mouth a little wider?

(18) How are we this morning?

The SC equivalents are common in the same situations:

(17SC) Zar ne bismo mogli malo više otvoriti usta?

(18SC) Kako smo jutros?

2.1.6. The second person pronoun you is also used in the generic sense.

The meaning is then very similar to one used generically.

(19) When you want to make a cake you usually mix eggs with sugar and butter.

The SC second person singular ti and plural vi may be used in the same way:

(19SCa) Kad želite napraviti kolač obično miješate jaja sa šećerom i maslacem.

There is also another possibility:

(19SCb) Kad se želi napraviti kolač obično se miješa jaja sa šećerom i maslacem.

2.1.7. You is not normally included with the imperative. When included it is strongly emphatic.<sup>7</sup>

(20) You stay in!

The SC usage is parallel to the English:

(20SCa) Ti ostani unutra!

(20SCb) Vi ostanite unutra!

The two possibilities correspond to the distinction in number which characterizes the second person personal pronoun in Serbo-Croatian.

2.1.8. The third person plural pronoun they may refer to people in general, especially in the phrase they say:

(21) They say it's going to be another cold winter.

The same possibility exists in Serbo-Croatian:

(21SC) Kaži da će opet biti jedna hladna zima.

2.1.9. The distinctions of person in the English personal pronouns, being similar to those in the Serbo-Croatian ones, should not cause any difficulty to the SC learners of English. However, the essential point of difference between the two languages should not be forgotten, i. e. the fact that in Serbo-Croatian the category of person, as well as some other distinguishing features, is generally expressed in the verbal inflections, whereas the pronoun itself is frequently deleted.

## 2.2. Number

2.2.1. Both in English and Serbo-Croatian there are separate forms of the personal pronouns to be used in the singular and in the plural.

The only point of difference between the two languages is the second person, in which Serbo-Croatian distinguishes between one person addressed, ti, and more than one, vi, whereas in present-day English there is only one form you used for the singular and plural.<sup>8</sup>

Thus e. g. the sentence:

(22) You should finish this book by Monday.,

is ambiguous, for without a wider context we do not know whether there is just one addressee or more than one.

In Serbo-Croatian the equivalents of (22) are:

(22SCa) Treba bi završiti ovu knjigu do ponedjeljka.

(22SCb) Trebala bi završiti ovu knjigu do ponedjeljka.

(22SCc) Trebali biste završiti ovu knjigu do ponedjeljka.

(22SCd) Trebale biste završiti ovu knjigu do ponedjeljka.

(23SCc) is ambiguous without a proper context because of still another dimension in which the second person personal pronoun operates in Serbo-Croatian, i. e. it can be used as a form of respect to a single addressee.

The difference in the number system between the English and SC second person personal pronoun does not cause much interference in SC learners of English. They readily adopt the simplified English system and generally do not try to transfer the distinctions of their native language into English.<sup>9</sup>

A difficulty arises with the plural form of respect in Serbo-Croatian. In SC translations of English (particularly film scripts) the plural of respect is occasionally used as the mode of address between two people whose relationship is intimate enough to suggest the use of ti. On the other hand the familiar ti is sometimes used where there is no real indication for its use. This is, of course, a socio-linguistic and semantic problem rather than grammatical. Still, since among the SC learners of English there are potential future translators from English, their attention should be drawn to the ludicrous or awkward situations that can be created by the erroneous application of the SC distinctions to the English system.

2.2.2. Us is sometimes used instead of me especially after an imperative.

(23) Let's have a look. (The referent is singular, i. e. I)

The Serbo-Croatian usage is parallel to the English:

(23SCa) Da pogledamo.<sup>10</sup>

(23SCb) Da vidimo.

2.2.3. The third person plural pronoun they generally refers to a plural

antecedent:

(24) The girls say they would like some more cake.

It can also refer to two or more singular antecedents:

(25) Mary and Jane say they would like some more cake.

If or is substituted for and in (25) there are two possibilities:

(26) Mary or Jane says she would like some more cake.,

when the semantic referent is singular, or:

(27) Mary or Jane says they would like some more cake.,

when the semantic referent is plural.

There is no difference in the SC usage:

(24SCa) Djevojke kažu da bi željele još kolača.

(24SCb) Djevojke mole još kolača.

(25SCa) Mary i Jane kažu da bi željele još kolača.

(25SCb) Mary i Jane mole još kolača.

(26SCa) Mary ili Jane kaže da bi željela još kolača.

(26SCb) Mary ili Jane moli još kolača.

(27SCa) Mary ili Jane kaže da bi željele još kolača.

(27SCb) Mary ili Jane mole još kolača.

2.2.4. When collective nouns are used as antecedents, both singular and plural personal pronouns are used to refer to them, depending on the two aspects of the concept of these nouns.

However, in American English this difference is not so strictly observed and it tends to be used irrespective of the meaning of the antecedent.

(28) I rang up the Telephone Company and they said the bill had already been sent.

(29) If the Government wishes a wide response it should see that...

(30) The policy which the Government have followed since they assumed office ...

In Serbo-Croatian there is a similar vacillation in the use of the singular or plural pronoun to refer to collective nouns.

(28SC) Nazvao sam telefonsku centralu i rekli su mi da je račun već poslan.

(29SC) Ako vlada želi širi odaziv, mora se pobrinuti ...

(30SC) Politika koju vlada slijedi otkako je došla na vlast ...

When personal pronouns refer back to collective nouns the possibility of interference is practically non-existent as regards the number of the pronoun. For the usage in the two languages is very much alike. Even if the SC learner, under the influence of the mother tongue usage, uses a singular pronoun where the English structure might prefer the plural one, the damage done is not very great.<sup>11</sup>

2.2.5. When the third person plural pronoun they is used with the indefinite meaning it sometimes refers to a singular semantic referent.

(31) They say in this book... (the referent is most probably the author of the book)

In the SC equivalent the subject is not expressed:

(31SC) U ovoj knjizi se kaže ...

2.2.6. They is often used if it is unknown whether the referent is singular or plural:

(32) They have planted a bomb. (The referent is indefinite.)

(33) They have hijacked another plane.



Both these actions may have been performed by a single person. There is often a note of disapproval, complaint or deprecation in this usage of they for personal referents whose number and gender are uncertain.

In Serbo-Croatian the usage and the meaning are the same:<sup>12</sup>

(32SC) Podmetnuli su bombu.

(33SC) Ugrabili su još jedan avion.

2.2.7. When the English and SC systems of personal pronouns are analyzed from the point of view of number distinctions, it follows that the two systems overlap to a considerable degree. Apart from a few minor interferences, number in personal pronouns should not cause much difficulty to SC learner of English.

### 2.3. Case

2.3.1. The present-day E personal pronouns distinguish two cases (except the second person singular and plural you and the third person singular it, which have a single form for both cases): the case of the subject and the case of the object. Because of its manifold functions, the case of the object has been given various names, such as the oblique case, the independent form and the unmarked form.

The subject position is a well-marked territory of the I-series, whereas the object function is the province of the me-series. But the me-series is widely distributed in other functions such as that of the prepositional object. There is also an uncertain territory where members of both series can be used. It appears, however, that in present-day colloquial English the me-series

encroaches more and more on the territory of the I-series.<sup>13</sup> Thus the function of the I-series seems to be marked for the subject-function, whereas the me-series covers a wider range of functions.

2. 3. 2. In Serbo-Croatian, personal pronouns, like nouns, distinguish seven cases. Consequently, there are certain differences in usage which might cause interference.

2. 3. 3. Me instead of I is nearly always found in the so-called absolute use.

(34) What! Me fight a big chap like him? Not me!

(35) I said: "I'm in love." - "Me too."

In Serbo-Croatian nominative is always used in such cases:

(34SC) Što! Zar ja da se idem tući s tim klipanom!  
Ja ne! (Ja is emphatic on both occasions)

(35SC) Rekao sam: "Zaljubljen sam." - "I ja takodjer."

This discrepancy of usage may cause the SC learners to use the subjective pronoun in this type of function, which may be claimed to be correct but sounds odd, formal and pedantic in the type of English usually taught nowadays. It is therefore necessary to introduce drills and exercises in order to teach the correct colloquial forms.

2. 3. 4. There is a general tendency to use the object form always after the verb although the subjective form may have been originally used in OE. The tendency results from the fact that a noun or pronoun following the verb is usually its object.

2. 3. 4. 1. The object form is fairly universally accepted as correct in It is me,  
That is me.<sup>14</sup>

(36) I said, "That's me, me'am. Please come in."

When the pronoun is the nominal part of the predicate both forms can be used but the object-form is preferred.

(37) I do not recognize him. It may have been he, or it may not.

(38) He used to carry on long and intimate conversations with me, thinking I was her.

2.3.4.2. In the construction and + personal pronoun + statement of circumstances the object-form is generally used:

(39) It was awful to think of him dying quite near, and me never knowing.

2.3.4.3. In colloquial and rather careless English the object form can replace the subjective form, and be used as part of the subject when the verb does not immediately follow.

(40) They understood one another all right, Jack and her.<sup>15</sup>

2.3.4.4. In Serbo-Croatian the case of the pronoun generally corresponds exactly to the function the pronoun is allotted in a particular sentence.

(36SC) Rekla sam, "To sam ja, gospodjo. Molim vas udjite."

(37SC) Ne prepoznajem ga. To je možda bio on, a možda i nije.

(38SC) Znao je voditi duge i prisne razgovore sa mnogom misleći da je to ona.

(39SC) Bilo je strašno pomisliti da on umire tu sasvim blizu, a da ja to uopće ne znam.

(40SC) Dobro su se razumjeli, Jack i ona.

2.3.4.5. The interference of the SC system will certainly make the SC learners of English decide in favour of the subjective. As was said before, this usage is correct and can certainly be heard, but in the type of English which should be taught, i. e. colloquial speech, the object forms are preferred in the above-

mentioned and similar sentences. Moreover, that type of English exactly corresponds to the type of Serbo-Croatian in which the subject forms are used in the same structures. That is why this point of difference between the two languages should not be disregarded and exercises should be devised to help the speakers of Serbo-Croatian master this use of the object forms.

2.3.5. It is sometimes maintained that a relative clause attached to a personal pronoun determines the case form of the pronoun.

(41) It was he who saved her. (It was him. He saved her.  
He = subject of the relative clause)

(42) It is me he misjudges. (It is me. He misjudges me.  
Me = object of the relative clause)

But even in this type of construction the object form seems to be gaining ground.

(43) It's me that's going to go there (The object form me is used as subject but it sounds perfectly natural)

(43a) It's I that's going to go there. (Sounds odd)

(43b) It's I that am going to go there. (Sounds extremely odd)

2.3.5.1. The structure It's me that ... is one of the syntactic means of conveying emphasis. There are several possible Serbo-Croatian equivalents, but the pronoun must always be emphasized.

(41SC) On ju je (zapravo) spasio. (On has emphatic stress)

(41SCa) Baš on ju je spasio.

(42SC) On mene krivo ocjenjuje (Emphatic full form mene is used for contrast)

(42SCa) Ja sam taj koga on krivo osudjuje. (Emphatic stress on ja)

(43SC) (Baš) ja ću tamo otići.

(43SCa) Ja sam taj koji će tamo otići.

But in Serbo-Croatian it is possible to say also:

(43SCb) Ja sam taj koji ide tamo.

(43SCc) Ja sam taj koji idem tamo. (?)

The discussion of so-called relative attraction in English proves once more that the SC personal pronoun in the subject function should be in the nominative and the pronoun functioning as object in the accusative. This regular correspondence between function and the category of case in Serbo-Croatian should be borne in mind when teaching the prevailing preference for the object-forms in certain subject functions in English. <sup>16</sup>

2.3.6. After the conjunctions as, but, than one would expect the form of the personal pronouns to be determined by their function in the abridged clause.

That is the case in the following sentences:

(44) I blame you as much as he. (i.e. as he does)

(45) He is taller than I. (than I am)

(46) It'll take you longer to get dressed than me. (than it will take me.)

However, the distinction is not strictly observed in colloquial speech and the object-form is found frequently even when as, but, than clearly function as conjunctions:

(47) Why aren't other people as good as me? (as I am)

(48) I am much older than him. (than he is)

(49) It is not he who has been bewildered but them. (but they have been bewildered)

Since as, but, than can function both as conjunctions and prepositions, the confusion might stem from the fact that the two functions cannot always be precisely differentiated. In addition, the natural preference for the object

forms in English accounts for the frequent use of the object-forms after as, but, than.

2.3.6.1. After such as both alternatives can be found:

(50) Such men as he are intolerable.

(51) I cannot tolerate such men as him.

2.3.6.2. The prepositions except, like should normally be used with the object-form.

(52) They are all lazy except him.

(53) People like us...

But the subject-form can also sometimes be heard after these prepositions which is probably the result of their being taken for conjunctions.

(54) Everyone except I went there. (very odd)

(55) The people like you and I... (common usage me)

2.3.6.3. Due to a mistaken attempt at correction the subject-form is occasionally used in places in which the object-form would normally be expected.

(56) Between you and I... (odd)

(57) He could only find tickets for you and I. (odd)

(58) Let you and I be friends! (odd)

2.3.6.4. In Serbo-Croatian the case form always strictly follows the function of the pronoun:

(44SC) Krivim te isto toliko kao i on.

(45SC) On je viši nego (što sam) ja.

(45SCa) On je v ši od mene. (od preposition and is consequently followed by the genitive)

- (46SC) Tebi će dulje trebati da se obučeš nego meni. (meni=dative)
- (47SC) Zašto drugi ljudi nisu (tako) dobri kao (što sam) ja?
- (48SC) Mnogo sam starija od njega.
- (49SC) U stvari nije on bio zbunjen nego oni. (Both pronouns are emphasized        for contrast)
- (50SC) Ljudi kao (što je) on su nepodnošljivi.
- (50SCa) Ljudi poput njega su nepodnošljivi. (poput=preposition)
- (51SC) Ne podnosim ljude kao (što je) on.
- (51SCa) Ne podnosim ljude poput njega.
- (52SC) Svi su ljepi osim njega.
- (53SC) Ljudi kao što smo mi...
- (53SCa) Ljudi poput nas...
- (54SC) Svi su tamo otišli osim mene.
- (55SC) Ljudi kao (što smo) ti i ja...
- (55SCa) Ljudi poput tebe i mene...
- (56SC) Medju nama...<sup>17</sup>
- (57SC) Mogao je samo naći karte za tebe i za mene.
- (58SC) Budimo nas dvoje prijatelji!<sup>17</sup>

2.3.7. The two-case system of the English personal pronouns will most probably not be very difficult for the SC learners of English. The only potential source of interference is the English disregard for the functional categories and the prevailing use of the object form in all the functions following the verb. By strictly adhering to the exact correspondence between the case form and function of the pronoun the SC learners might not commit very serious errors in English but all the same this should not be tolerated because the English that will result will not be of the type the SC learners are taught to aim at.

## 2.4. Gender

2.4.1. English personal pronouns distinguish gender only in the third person singular. the masculine pronouns are he, him, the feminine pronouns she, her, and the neuter pronoun it.

As it has been pointed out, "gender in English is basically a lexical feature, it is almost identical with sex distinctions,"<sup>18</sup> which means that the masculine pronouns correlate with natural males, the feminine pronouns with natural females, whereas the neuter pronoun stands for everything sexless.

2.4.2. Gender in Serbo-Croatian is a grammatical category with formal rather than semantic distinctions. That is to say that gender does not as a rule correspond to natural distinctions of sex. In addition, gender in Serbo-Croatian is expressed in the form and inflections of nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and certain non-finites and in their relation with the gender of the noun they correlate with.<sup>19</sup>

2.4.3. Although the gender systems of English and Serbo-Croatian are so essentially different they both behave similarly with respect to personal pronouns which are used to represent animate, generally human referents, i. e. both the English masculine pronoun he and its SC equivalent on generally correlate with a male lexical referent, the English feminine pronoun she and the SC pronoun ona with a female referent.<sup>20</sup>

(59) Where's father? Here he comes.

(59SC) Gdje je otac? Evo ga dolazi.

(60) Have you heard from your sister lately? I had a letter from her this morning.

(60SC) Je li vam se sestra javljala u posljednje vrijeme? Jutros sam od nje dobio pismo.



As a result, no interference problems for SC learners need be expected whenever an animate lexical referent can be represented by he and he alone, or, on the other hand, by she and she alone.

2.4.4. It is in the neuter class that the English and Serbo-Croatian systems of personal pronouns diverge most and where serious interference might occur. Whereas in English it correlates with all inanimate lexical referents,<sup>21</sup> in Serbo-Croatian any one of the three pronouns, on, ona, ono can be used to refer to inanimate referents depending on purely arbitrary criteria.

(61) This is an extremely interesting book. Can I have a look at it?  
(61SC) Ovo je jedna neobično zanimljiva knjiga. Mogu li je pogledati?

(62) Look at this tree! Isn't it magnificent?  
(62SC) Pogledaj ovo stablo! Zar nije veličanstveno?<sup>22</sup>

(63) What have you done with the old cupboard? Oh, I sold it while you were away.  
(63SC) Što si uradila sa starim ormarom? Proдала sam ga dok si (ti) bio odsutan.

It is not unusual to hear some SC learners of English say:

(61a) \*This is an extremely interesting book. Can I have a look at her?  
(63a) \*What have you done with the old cupboard? Oh, I sold him while you were away.

Errors of this type are of the worst possible kind and should be counteracted from the very start by insisting on the consistent use of it in reference to all inanimate referents irrespective of occasional vacillations in the English usage.

2.4.5. There are a few classes of semantic referents in referring to which the English usage allows the choice between two or more pronouns.

2.4.5.1. If a third person singular personal pronoun is used to correlate with

a member of the group of nominals which represent humans but have a single form for both males and females, the choice between he and she should be made. The choice depends on the sex of the referents.

(64) She is a very good doctor.

(65) What did the doctor say? He said I should be very careful of what I eat.

SC learners of English will normally have no difficulty in using the right pronoun to refer to nominals of this kind, because the gender systems in the two languages overlap almost completely on the level of human referents. The equivalent nominals in Serbo-Croatian usually have separate forms for the masculine and feminine respectively but this does not affect the choice of the pronoun.

(64SC) Ona je veoma dobar liječnik.

(64SCa) Ona je vrlo dobra liječnica.

(65SC) Što je rekao doktor? Rekao je da moram paziti što jedem.

2.4.5.2. The lack of a common gender pronoun in the third person singular is felt when it is necessary to refer to one of the indefinite pronouns or indefinite nouns correlating with human referents. In colloquial English, and particularly in American English, the third person plural pronoun they is used to refer to singular indefinite pronouns nobody, no-one, everybody, everyone, anybody, anyone.<sup>23</sup> He or she, and he alone, are more usual in British than American English. Finally, if sex of the referent is known he or she respectively may be used.

(66) He observed everybody who came in, as they shook snow from their hats.

(67) If a person had not got the money, then he or she just could not pay.

(68) The customer is merely a body to be served as quickly as possible, so that he can be replaced by another body.

In Serbo-Croatian the pronoun agrees in gender and number with the referent.

(66SC) Promatrao je sve koji su ušli dok su otresali snijeg sa šešira.

(66SCa) Promatrao je svakoga koji bi ušao dok je otresao snijeg sa šešira.

(67SC) Da čovjek nema novaca onda ne bi mogao platiti.

(68SC) Mušterija je samo netko koga se mora što brže poslužiti da bi ga se zamijenilo s nekim drugim.

SC learners of English will not encounter any special difficulties as long as they choose a pronoun out of the masculine/feminine class to refer to the above indefinites. They should be taught, however, that he is preferable to she if sex of the referent is not known. The use of he or she and they (for singular referents) will require special drills and exercises.

2 4. 5. 3. Nominals denoting children can correlate with any one of the three third person singular pronouns. The choice depends on whether the sex of a particular referent is known to the speaker, on the speaker's attitude towards the referent in question, and on the habitual usage of the speaker.

(69) "No child," continued my niece, "ever put more than twopence into a money-box, unless she knew how to open it."

(70) A baby should have one bath every day and if strong he may have two.

In Serbo-Croatian the pronoun agrees in gender with the noun which may be either neuter (dijete, dojenče) or one out of the masculine/feminine class (dječak, djevojčica).

(69SC) "Nema djeteta", nastavila je moja nećakinja, "koje bi ikad stavilo više od dva penny-a u štednu kasicu kad ne bi znalo kako da je otvori."

(70SC) Dojenče treba kupati jedanput dnevno, a ako je jako može ga se kupati i dva puta.

SC learners of English will tend to use the neuter pronoun it, since the majority of nouns denoting young children are neuter in Serbo-Croatian. This tendency need not be discouraged since it is in this case the safest pronoun for the learners to use.

2.4.6. Nominals denoting animals may be said to belong to the neuter class and to correlate with it. This is a slight oversimplification, but is, nevertheless, a very good starting-point in teaching SC learners.

Some designations of animals, however, indicate sex and in reference to them the corresponding pronoun recognizing sex distinctions is usually used. It is a possible alternative.

(71) The stallion sulked, perhaps his crash into the wall had sobered him.

(72) The mare whinnied when she saw her master.

In Serbo-Croatian the pronoun reflects the gender of the noun.

(71SC) Pastuh je bio zlovoljan, možda ga je udarac o zid otriježnio.

(72SC) Kobila je veselo zahrzala kad je ugledala gospodara.

If nouns of this kind are taught as separate lexical items, SC learners need not be in any way confused by the possible choice of the pronoun. But they

should also be aware that it is an acceptable alternative in accordance with the general principle.

2.4.6.1. In referring to animals which have a common form for both sexes, it is advisable for SC learners always to use it although native speakers may occasionally use he and in a very few cases she when sex of the animal is unknown or unimportant. Though it is by no means an error for a SC learner to use (on the analogy with the SC gender system) she when referring to the noun cat or else the masculine pronoun he when referring to the English noun dog, this analogy should not be allowed to go too far because it may lead to erroneous usage.<sup>24</sup> It is possible to say:

(73) The cat jumped on to the bed and coiled herself up.<sup>25</sup>  
on the analogy to:

(73SC) Mačka je skočila na krevet i tamo se smotala u klupko.  
It is not possible, however, to say:

(74) \*You'll scare the bird if you shout at her.,  
on the analogy to:

(74SC) Preplašit ćeš pticu ako na nju vičeš.

2.4.7. Personification is a stylistic device by means of which masculine or feminine gender can be assigned to inanimate referents. Personification is resorted to at various levels of usage. in literary or newspaper language and on the more colloquial level to indicate the speaker's interest and affection for certain inanimate things.

(75) The moon had risen. How pale and ghostly the roofs looked in her silvery light. (literary)

(76) France has made it plain that she will reject the proposal.  
(newspaper)

(77) They put their shoulders to the boat and had her launched.  
(showing affection)

In all the above and similar examples it is a possible, only stylistically unmarked, alternative.

Serbo-Croatian is stylistically the poorer for the lack of personification. As inanimates may normally be members of the masculine/feminine gender classes the SC equivalents of the English sentences are stylistically unmarked. The gender of the pronoun agrees with the gender of the noun, which is not necessarily the same as the gender of the English personified noun.

(75SC) Mjesec je bto izašao. Kako su blijedo i sablasno izgledali krovovi u njegovom srebrenastom svjetlu.

(76SC) Francuska je jasno dala do znanja da će odbiti prijedlog.

(77SC) Podmetnuli su ledja pod brod i porinuli ga u more.

Personification could be disregarded in teaching English to SC learners, especially at the elementary and intermediate stages, because like other stylistic devices it requires complete mastery of and a feeling for a language, and too frequent use of personification as well as the application of an incorrect pronoun may lead to serious errors.

2.4.8. The differences between the English and SC gender systems are likely to bring about some interference problems for SC learners of English. The interferences can result in a very serious kind of error, on the one hand, and in confusion and uncertainty concerning usage, on the other. The transference of the SC gender categories into English is a frequent though not very persistent error at the early stages of learning. It could be eradicated by applying

carefully constructed drills and exercises. The uncertainty about usage usually occurs at a more advanced level. Examples of British and American usage should be pointed out to the learners and more advanced exercises devised to practice the various points of usage.

### NOTES

1. It and its SC equivalents are dealt with separately. See: L. Spalatin, "The English Pronoun "It" and Its SC Equivalents," pp. 117-130.
2. This definition is only partially correct. It has been observed that personal pronouns actually "replace" whole noun phrases (NP) rather than nouns. Thus in:

The old man said he would return.,  
he may be said "to stand for" the NP the old man.

The problem of pronominalization has been given a lot of attention in transformational grammar. Postal even claims that in the deepest structure the so-called personal pronouns are in fact nothing but types of definite article which are "as a result of certain transformational operations in many cases assigned a derivative noun status in surface structure" (Postal, 1966, p. 179).

However, what interests us in this paper is the surface structure occurrence and behaviour of the English personal pronouns and their SC equivalents.

3. In (2SC) a kind of common gender is used, because the artist in Serbo-Croatian has single forms for the third persons singular and plural. Since the subject pronoun is deleted, the exact gender of the referents is not known. (See also note 22)
4. In the genitive, dative, and accusative, personal pronouns in Serbo-Croatian have two possible sets of forms, the "weak" ones (so-called "enclitic"), and the "strong" forms which are used in a restricted number of frames, one of them being when it is desired to emphasize the pronoun.

(Brabec, Hraste, Živković, 1952, p. 73; Maretić, 1967 pp. 189-190)  
Thus an English emphatic pronoun phonetically realized as the "strong"  
form requires a "strong" form of the SC personal pronoun.

5. See Ljiljana Mihajlović, "On Differences in Pronominalization in English and Serbo-Croatian, in R. Filipović, ed., YSCECP-B. Studies 2, Institute of Linguistics, Zagreb 1970, p. 57.
6. The SC equivalent sentence is in the active voice.
7. For the imperative with expressed subject see M. Vlatković, "Imperative and Its Periphrasis", pp. 159-172.
8. Formerly, there also existed separate forms for the second person singular and plural, i. e. thou and ye. These forms can nowadays be found in the Bible, the Liturgy, various old texts and occasionally in translations of foreign texts to give them rural flavour.
9. The form you all is used in colloquial English to make the plural meaning clear. Although this form is still considered to be substandard it is quite frequently used, especially in American English.
10. But the English sentence. Give us a cigarette, there's a good fellow., where us stands for me would hardly be rendered into Serbo-Croatian by Budi srcc., daj nam cigaretu. The singular form mi is the natural equivalent. This English usage, though colloquial, appears to be very rare.
11. For a comprehensive treatment of number in collectives see V. Ivir, "Number Agreement in English and Correspondent Structures in Serbo-Croatian" in R. Filipović, ed, YSCECP-A. Reports 4, Institute of Linguistics, Zagreb, 1971, pp. 40-42.
12. In Serbo-Croatian the third person plural pronoun oni is sometimes used in the kajkavian dialect to refer to the third person singular. E. g.  
Gospon nisu doma. Prešli su van.  
Oni su mi rekli... (speaking of one's senior or master)  
This form of address expresses high respect (children referring to parents), or social inferiority (servants referring to masters).
13. This is only a tentative and impressionistic statement as it has not been based on any reliable counts.
14. This is she may be heard on the telephone in answer to "Can I speak to Miss X?" (or a similar opening cliché). It is she may also be considered as a long-established cliché.
15. In the reversed word order she and her are possible: "... she and Jack" and "... her and Jack."



16. The case system of the English personal pronouns seems always to have been loose and tending towards simplification in the same way as the case system of nouns.
17. These SC sentences are equivalents but not correspondents.
18. See Dora Maček, "Gender in English and Serbo-Croatian", in R. Filipović, ed., YSCECP-A. Reports 1, Institute of Linguistics, Zagreb, 1969, p. 45.
19. See Dora Maček, *ibid.* p. 45.
20. Even in the few cases of SC nouns in which the formal expression of gender does not correspond to the sex of the referent the personal pronouns may reflect its sex (see Dora Maček, *ibid.* p. 46)
21. The cases of it standing for animate referents as well as of he/she (alternating with it) corresponding to inanimate ones are dealt with in 2.4.5.3., 2.4.6., 2.4.6.1. and 2.4.7. of this paper.
22. In (62SC) the pronoun is deleted. Sometimes, through the deletion of the pronoun, the gender of the pronoun may remain unknown. E. g. :  
Sutra će dobiti nove cipele.  
The things that can be detected about the referent are that it is the subject of the sentence, that it should be referred to by one of the third person pronouns singular or plural and that it is most probably human. Consequently, when this or similar sentences are taken out of their contexts the meaning is ambiguous as regards gender and number. This kind of ambiguity is non-existent in English because the subject pronoun is always expressed.
23. In this case the considerations of gender and number are equally important.
24. See Dora Maček, *ibid.* p. 48
25. When household pets are referred to it is usual to use one of the pronouns which reflect natural sex of the animal.

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## SUBJECT COMPOSED OF CLAUSE

### 1. Introductory

1.1. A clause in the subject slot appears as a result of the transformation which converts an NP + VP string (called constituent) into the nominal constituent of another NP + VP string (called matrix).<sup>1</sup>

In this operation the constituent string may undergo certain structural changes and one of the following markers must be attached to it: that, whether, a wh-word.<sup>2</sup>

The matrix strings, which are as a rule selective as to the kind of nominal they are able to receive, resemble some of the most common types of elementary sentence patterns:

(1) NP +  $\begin{cases} \text{be} \\ V_c \end{cases}$  + Adj/Noun

(2) NP + V<sub>tr</sub>

Here are a few products of such nominalization:

- (1) What he says is not true.
- (2) That he is dead seems tolerably certain.
- (3) Whether he will come is another question.
- (4) Whoever is here gets a prize.
- (5) Why she should come here at all puzzles me.
- (6) How he did it will remain a mystery.

1.2. Serbo-Croatian has basically the same construction - complex sentence with a nominalized clause in the subject slot and an impersonal verb phrase in the matrix, which is (1) be or a copulative with adjectival or nominal predicate, or (2) a verb requiring an object:

(1SC) Što on kaže nije tačno.

(2SC) Da je mrtav izgleda prilično izvesno.

(3SC) Da li će on doći - drugo je pitanje.

(4SC) Ko god je ovde dobija nagradu.

(5SC) Zašto ona uopšte ovamo dolazi - (to) mene buni.

(6SC) Kako je on to učinio ostaće tajna.

1.3. One of the possible subdivisions of subject clauses, which is based on differences in derivational history and transformational potential, is into that-clauses, whether-clauses, wh-questions, and reduced relative clauses. The results of the analysis will be presented in that order.

## 2. That-clauses

2.1. These are rightly considered to be structurally "the least distorted" nominals in the group. The nominalization proceeds via prefixing that to the NP + VP constituent string and subsequently including it into the matrix. If we use X as a dummy symbol for the string to be embedded, we have:

X is clear.

He is coming.

X (That he is coming) is clear.

2.2. A similar transformation can be applied to the corresponding SC strings, but it may be necessary to perform a rearrangement of elements so that the enclitic (if any) fills the position immediately after da/što:

On će zadocniti.

(7SC) Da će on zadocniti je očigledno.

Oni su to učinili.

(8SC) Da su oni to učinili je činjenica.

No serious problem of interference is expected here, since mistakes of the type

(7) \*That will he be late. . .

(8) \*That have they done it. . .

are not likely to occur, except possibly in very poor word-for-word translation.

A few transformation drills will suffice to teach the learner that the E construction is invariably the result of the simple transformation given in 2.1., which entails straight inclusion of the ~~that~~ that string as it is, plus that, into the matrix.

2.4. Although (7SC) and (8SC) and similar examples are acceptable, it must be admitted that the placement of verbal enclitic immediately after the subject clause is rather bad stylistically. In fact, two variants of the construction, to be discussed presently, seem to be widely preferred. One is with an optional dummy subject to introduced into the matrix, giving

(7aSC) Da će on zadocniti - to je očigledno.

(8aSC) Da su oni to učinili - to je činjenica.

The other involves the reversal of the clauses, as in

(7bSC) Očigledno je da će on zadocniti.

(8bSC) Činjenica je da su oni to učinili.

The latter examples bring us to the question of extraposition of the subject clause.

2.5. Sentence with a clause in the subject slot can, for stylistic reasons, undergo an optional transformation whereby the subject clause is shifted to the

sentence-end position. This extraposition transformation requires an E obligatory addition of the dummy it in the subject slot:

- (9) It is certain that we have become lost.  
(10) It is important that we do something at once.  
(11) It was splendid that you were able to come.

2.6. Contrastively, an important feature of the SC product of the extraposition transformation is the lack of the surface correspondent of the dummy subject it. This, together with the fact that the adjective opening the sentence is in neuter form and thus easily mistaken for the isomorphic adverbial, is quite often a source of interference.

- (9SC) Sigurno je da smo se izgubili.  
(10SC) Važno je da nešto odmah preduzmemo.  
(11SC) Divno je bilo što ste mogli da dodjete.

It would not be unusual for the SC learner to produce sentences which are ungrammatical in E, such as

- (9a) \*Certainly is that we have become lost  
(11a) \*Splendidly was that you were able to come

which are obviously due to the negative transfer discussed in this section. It has been suggested that recourse to deep structure analysis might prove helpful in teaching this structure. The analysis reveals complete structural identity of the VP in the matrix strings ( $V_c + \text{Adj}$ ), as in

- It is certain.  
To je sigurno.

However, in SC the adjective appears in neuter form as a result of concord in gender and number between the subject and its complement, and thus should

be pointed out. In both languages, the embedding transformation leaves the VP of the matrix unchanged, e. g.

That we have become lost is certain.  
Da smo se izgubili je sigurno.

It is the extraposition transformation which brings about a change in the surface structure of E and SC.

The matrix string, which is now initial in the sentence, has dummy it in the subject slot in E; while in SC it opens with the adjective.

It is certain that we have become lost.  
Sigurno je da smo se izgubili,

2.7. Another common mistake is predictable when there is a prepositional phrase in the E predicate, and in the SC counterpart there is a prepositional phrase or a nominal in the dative case:

(12) It was a surprise for ali that he had won.

(13) It was clear to everyone that she was mistaken.

Here there is a tendency to drop the subject-filler it and to place the prepositional group at the beginning of the sentence, which results in unacceptable constructions:

(12a) \*For ali was a surprise that he had won

(13a) \*To everyone was clear that she was mistaken

Such errors can be readily accounted for by the SC structures

(12SC) Za sve je bilo iznenadjenje...

(13SC) Svima je bilo jasno...

2.8. The major problems of interference just described stem from the surface differences in two languages, while the deep structure relationships are the same. Theoretically it is of importance to know that the extraposition transformation in SC is performed through several stages of derivation, not all of which have parallels in E. (This is presented in Ivir's paper *Predicative Patterns for English Adjectives and Their Contrastive Correspondents in SC*, pp. 29, 45). For teaching purposes, however, we should limit ourselves to practicing the derivational sequence in the target language. It is believed that this and similar complex structures can be taught efficiently, and interference reduced to a minimum, with the aid of transformation drills which will teach the learner how to combine (automatically) simple structures and how to perform the desired structural changes (if any) involved in these operations.

2.9. The extraposition of that-clauses appears to be obligatory in both languages (1) for sentences with an intransitive verb with no complement in the matrix, since the cognate sentences in which the extraposition has not applied are ungrammatical

- (14) It turns out that John is right.  
(14a) \*That John is right turns out.

- (14SC) Ispada da je Džon u pravu.  
(14aSC) \*Da je Džon u pravu ispada.

and also (2) when the clause is the subject of a question:

- (15) Is it quite certain that he will refuse?  
(15a) \*Is that he will refuse quite certain?  
(16) Does it surprise you that she is so stupid?  
(16a) \*Does that she is so stupid surprise you?



(15SC) Je li sasvim sigurno da će on odbiti?

(15aSC) \*Je li da će on odbiti sasvim sigurno?

(16SC) Da li vas iznenadjuje što je ona tako glupa?

(16aSC) \*Da li što je ona tako glupa vas iznenadjuje?

In the first case we may expect the omission of the dummy it, which more often than not creates difficulties for SC learners and must be treated with special care. As for the second construction, it has often been observed in class that SC learners at lower levels of proficiency tend to construct this type of interrogative sentence by putting whether at the beginning of the sentence:

(15b) \*Whether it is quite certain that he will refuse  
or even

(15c) \*Whether is quite certain...

(16b) \*Whether (it) surprises you that she is so stupid

Such mistakes are the consequence of the wrong matching of da li/je li with whether, which when once mastered for use in indirect yes/no questions can be rather confusing. A simple drill will help learners see quite clearly that the interrogative sentence is the transform of its "affirmative counterpart" and follows the elementary rules for interrogative patterns.

2.10. In colloquial English when the subject clause is in extraposition, that can be optionally deleted to form a contact clause:

(17) it is a pity (that) she is so stupid.

(18) It is possible (that) I may not be able to come.

In corresponding SC constructions, the deletion of da/što is not permitted.

Although of marginal importance, the structure has been mentioned as a case in point showing that in contrastive analysis no interference problems are

anticipated when an optional choice in the foreign language is matched by an obligatory choice in the learner's native language.

2.11. Often it is possible to insert the fact before that, converting the that-clause (in the subject slot) into an appositive:

(19) (The fact) that many people are superstitious. . .

(20) (The fact) that (28) and (29) do not entail the indicative. . .

The structure is closely paralleled in SC and should cause no trouble:

(19SC) (Činjenica) da su mnogi ljudi sujeverni. . .

(20SC) (Činjenica) da (28) i (29) ne zahtevaju indikativ. . .

### 3. Whether-clauses

3.1. Subject clauses marked by whether are yes/no questions made into "indirect" questions and embedded in the matrix. In the process of embedding they undergo in English an obligatory rearrangement of elements - back to "normal" word order:

Will she turn up at the meeting? (constituent struktura)  
(21) Whether she will turn up at the meeting remains to be seen.

Was this the true explanation?  
(22) Whether this was the true explanation did not concern him.

Did she know the truth or not?  
(23) Whether she knew the truth or not is not your problem.

3.2. In SC the verbal question is simply embedded in the subject slot of the matrix:

Da li će se ona pojaviti na sastanku?  
Hoće li se ona pojaviti na sastanku?

(21SC) Da li će se ona pojaviti na sastanku - ostaje da se vidi.  
Hoće li se ona pojaviti na sastanku - (to) ostaje da se vidi.

Da li je to bilo pravo objašnjenje?  
Je li to bilo pravo objašnjenje?

(22SC) Da li je to bilo pravo objašnjenje - nije ga se ticalo.  
Je li to bilo pravo objašnjenje - nije ga se ticalo.

3.3. Here we are faced with a difference in the surface structure which proves to be contrastively significant. If we add that the transformation rules for extraposition are the same as for that- and da/što-clauses, we will conclude that a SC learner may have interference problems both when the whether-clause is initial in the sentence and when it occurs in the end-position.

3.4. In cases when the subject clause opens the sentence, the whether-question may be produced in the form of a "direct" question, since this is roughly how the pattern operates in the learner's mother tongue:

(21a) \*Will she turn up at the meeting remains to be seen.

(22a) \*Was this the true explanation did not concern him.

(23a) \*Did she know the truth or not is not your problem.

The same error may be anticipated when the order of clauses is reversed:

(21b) \*It remains to be seen will she turn up at the meeting.

(22b) \*It did not concern him was this the true explanation.

If the VP in the matrix is be + Adj, or if it contains a prepositional phrase, the learner's problems are apt to multiply. In that case, the E "counterpart" of

(24SC) Neizvesno je da li bi se to isplatilo  
might be

\*Doubtful is would it be worth while

or

\*Doubtfully is...

instead of the correct

(24) It is doubtful whether it would be worth while.

Instead of the correct

(25) It must in each case be stated whether the application is optional or obligatory

we may get

(25a) \*In each case must be stated is the application optional or obligatory

which correlates formally with

(25SC) U svakom slučaju se mora navesti da li je primena neobavezna ili obavezna.

The source of these errors has already been explained in connection with that-clauses (2.6. & 2.7.). Therefore similar drills are recommended. Learners should be taught that there are transformational relationships holding between structures in the following sequence. 1) direct yes/no question. 2) whether-clause in extraposition.

3.6. Like that-clauses, some whether-clauses can be transformed into appositives by inserting the question or the question of before whether:

(26) (The question) whether they are too complex to be used is irrelevant.

The SC pattern is similar to the E pattern the question whether:

(26SC) (Pitanje) da li su oni suviše složeni da bi se koristili nije relevantno.

#### 4. Question-word questions

4.1. It is common classroom practice to teach that questions are systematic transformations of basic sentence patterns, i.e. that certain rules convert statements into yes/no questions and other rules transform these into wh-questions. The products of the latter transformation all open with a wh-word, which is a substitute for an element of the sentence - subject, object or adverbial.

4.2. The set of wh-words, called interrogators, comprises items such as who (whom, whose), what, which, when, where, how, why. All pronouns in the set have the same form whether they derive from singular or plural or occur as subjects or objects. (The form whom in the object position is optional for most speakers, except in rather formal style<sup>3</sup>. In prepositional constructions, there is a tendency to place the preposition at the end of the construction.

4.3. English interrogators are matched by the following set of SC question-words: ko (čiji), šta, koji, kada, gde, kako, zašto. The pronouns in the set are inflected for case, number and gender, except ko and šta, which are inflected only for case. The preposition always precedes the question-word.

4.4. While differences in the inflectional behavior of E wh-words and corresponding SC question-words would constitute a serious learning problem for E learners of SC, the SC learner of E is faced with the difficulty of mastering the syntactic patterning of E interrogators.

4.5. It has been mentioned that the wh-transformation begins from the interrogative (yes no) string and has the appropriate consequences of that origin, i.e. the subject and auxiliary are inverted. The nominalization rule for wh-questions requires an obligatory re-reversal of the subject and finite verb (which must be effected whenever the wh-word is not the subject):

Where does he live? (constituent string)  
(27) Where he lives is unknown to me.

Why did he leave?  
(28) Why he left is no business of mine.

Which book shall I choose?

(29) Which book I shall choose will depend on the price.

Who will be Prime Minister in fifty years?

(30) Who will be Prime Minister in fifty years does not interest him.

4.6. A very common mistake predictable in this area is offering the nominalized clause in its "source form", which results in ungrammatical constructions:

(27a) \*Where does he live is unknown to me.

(28a) \*Why did he leave is no business of mine.

(29a) \*Which book shall I choose will depend on the price.

Some SC interrogative patterns of basic sentence structures differ significantly from the corresponding E patterns. A detailed comparison, which might reveal the "true" source of difficulty in each particular case, will not be attempted in this paper. Nevertheless, experience suggests that this type of error may be due to the persistence of the pattern (interrogative yes/no pattern) which was learnt first, and not necessarily to interference. If, for instance, the SC pattern were followed closely, examples like (27) would always be rendered correctly since the embedded clauses happen to coincide structurally:

Where he lives is unknown to me.

Gde on živi meni je nepoznato.

4.7. When a wh-word is the object of a preposition, the preposition often occurs at the end of the embedded clause:

(31) What you write with is irrelevant.

(32) Who you are going to give it to is unimportant.

(33) Where you come from does not concern us.

This feature of English syntax is taught as part of the mechanism for making questions out of statements, but it usually takes some effort to develop in SC learners a preference for this pattern. In such structures they may tend (1) to omit the preposition altogether (i. e. forget to use it), as in

\*Who are you going to give it?

instead of

Who are you going to give it to?

or

\*What do you want to talk to me?

instead of

What do you want to talk to me about?

or (2) find it difficult to make the proper choice (considering some collocational and lexical problems).

The learners' problems are even greater when they are constructing more complicated structures, such as complex sentences. Therefore they must be given ample practice with "direct" questions first, and then taught the rules for their embedding.

#### 5. Reduced relative clauses

5.1. Wh-words (called "relatives without antecedent" or "relatives with implied antecedent") with which these clauses begin can all be considered as reductions of noun phrases consisting of a nominal and its relative (a relative pronoun or a relative adverb). This is warranted by the fact that every subject clause opening with a marker of this type is exactly matched by the structure composed of a nominal modified by a relative clause:

(34) Whoever buys at the opening will be given a souvenir.

(34a) Everyone who buys at the opening...

(35) Whatever you say will be approved.

(35a) Anything that you say...

(36) Where the water is deep is best for diving.

(36a) The place where the water is deep...

5.2. The set of *wh*-relatives introducing the subject clauses includes words such as which, what, where, when and the corresponding compounds in -ever (whichever, whatever, wherever, whenever). The -ever compound either (1) emphasizes the generic quality, or (2) is an optional choice:

(1) (37) Wherever he lives will be good enough for me.

(2) (38) What (whatever) you do is your own business.

The obligatory form of the reduced relative pronoun for persons seems to be whoever. The form who, which modern English rejects, is archaic (cf. *Who laughs last laughs best* - proverb).

5.3. As far as the overall makeup is concerned, there is a good deal of similarity between the corresponding structures of this type in E and SC. Every reduced relative clause in SC is correlated with a structure composed of a nominal modified by a relative clause:

(34SC) Ko god (nešto) kupi na otvaranju dobiće suvenir.

(34aSC) Svako ko (nešto) kupi na otvaranju...

(35SC) Što god kažete biće prihvaćeno.

(35aSC) Sve što kažete biće prihvaćeno.

(36SC) Gde je voda duboka, najbolje je za ronjenje.

(36aSC) Mesto gde je voda duboka...

5.4. Such complexes in SC are transformable into sentences with two subjects - the reduced relative clause and a pronominal or adverbial word



correlated with it:

(34bSC) Ko god kupi nešto na otvaranju, taj će dobiti suvenir.

(35bSC) Što god kažete, to će biti prihvaćeno.

(36bSC) Gde je voda duboka, onde je najbolje za ronjenje.

Modern English does not readily make use of similar structures:

(34b) ?Whoever buys at the opening, he will be given a souvenir.

(35b) ?Whatever you say, that will be approved.

5.5. The set of E relatives in -ever is matched by a set of SC words compounded with various particles (ko god, što god, gde god; ma ko, ma šta, ma gde; bilo ko, bilo šta, bilo gde). It may prove necessary to make learners aware of some differences in the behavior of these forms in SC and E. For example, the compounded parts of SC forms ko god, što god, etc. can be separated by verbal or pronominal enclitics:

(39SC) Koji je god što tražio našao je.

(40SC) Što je god zamislilo bilo je dobro.

(41SC) Koji li je god pao u ruke, platio je glavom.

or the relative word can appear in inflected form:

(42SC) Ma čega se latio ozbiljno doneće ti radost.

### NOTES

1. Clauses are defined as structures of predication with a finite verb. Traditionally, the constituent string is called a subordinate clause, while the matrix is referred to as the main clause.
2. These words are of two kinds. Some only mark the structure as "subordinate" and have no grammatical function of their own in the clause. Traditionally, these are conjunctions (that, whether). Wh-words, also called "functioning connectives", are words with dual function. They serve to subordinate the clause and also fill a given slot within it. They are subdivided into interrogators (traditionally, interrogative pronouns, interrogative adjectives and interrogative adverbs) and relatives (relative pronouns, relative adjectives, relative adverbs).
3. "English has the form who for subjects and whom for objects, though in fact the form whom, even in educated speech, tends to be limited to positions immediately following verbs or prepositions (i. e. non-inverted interrogatives):  
    You said you gave it to whom?  
Initially (i. e. in the normal wh-questions) only who occurs with regularity, whether it functions as the subject or object:  
    Who went to the movies?  
    Who did you see?  
    Who did you go to the movies with?  
    Who is that for?"  
(Stockwell, p. 225.)

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## VERBS WITH ONE OBJECT IN ENGLISH AND SERBO-CROATIAN

1. Both in English and SC the object of a sentence is taken to be the noun phrase following a transitive verb.

1.1. Transitive verbs may be followed by one NP, in which case we are normally dealing with a direct object, or by two NP's, in which case we are normally dealing with indirect and direct objects.

This paper is concerned with sentences containing only one object. \*

1.2. There are cases of transitive verbs being followed by two NP's, the second being a complement of the first.

1.3. Instead of an NP, a transitive verb may have an embedded sentence, or one of its transforms, following it and functioning as its object.

2. In order to be able to decide whether an NP is functioning as object or not, we must have certain criteria at our disposal.

2.1. In SC, object NP's are formally marked, the normal direct object case being the accusative. In English, which is lacking in an overtly marked case system, such structures are signalled by word order.

2.2. Since some verbs appear to be used both transitively and intransitively,

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\*It is inevitable that a paper of this type should overlap at some points with other papers approaching the same phenomena from different angles.

criteria other than word order must also be taken into account when establishing whether the NP following a verb is functioning as object of transitive verb or as an adverbial modifying an intransitive verb. E. g. :

- (1) He will pay the bill  
(1SC) On će platiti račun
- (2) She will pay the next time  
(2SC) Ona će platiti idući put

In such cases a simple pronominalization can settle the matter. Since only the NP's in (1) and (1SC) can be substituted for by pronouns, thus giving.

- (3) He will pay it  
(3SC) On će ga platiti

they - unlike those in (2) and (2SC) - should be interpreted as objects of pay and platiti respectively, and the verbs themselves as transitive.

2.3. Another criterion by which verbs are classified into transitive and intransitive is their capability, or the lack of it, to undergo a passive transformation. Only a transitive verb has two forms, active and passive, the passive form being a transform of the active. As a result of the passive transformation, the object of the active becomes the subject of the passive form. E. g. :

- (4) The police dispersed the crowd  
(4SC) Policija je rasturila gomilu
- (5) The crowd was dispersed by the police  
(5SC) Gomila je rasturena od strane policije

2.3.1. However, there is a small group of transitive verbs in English that have no corresponding passive form. This group includes: cost, fit, have, resemble, suit. E. g.:

(6) This costs ten dollars

(6SC) Ovo staje deset dolara

(7) This key doesn't fit the lock

(7SC) Ovaj ključ ne odgovara bravi

(8) She has beautiful hair

(8SC) Ona ima lepu kosu

(9) He resembles his father

(9SC) On liči na svoga oca

(10) This climate doesn't suit me

(10SC) Ova mi klima ne prija

If the passive transformation were applied to these, the following ungrammatical strings would result:

(6a) \*Ten dollars is cost by this

(7a) \*The lock is not fitted by this key

(8a) \*Beautiful hair is had by her

(9a) \*His father is resembled by him

(10a) \*I am not suited by this climate

2.3.2. With some verbs, and in certain contexts, the application of the passive transformation may produce grammatical sentences, but not without making them sound rather odd or without affecting their meaning. E. g.:

(11) She changed her clothes

(11a) \*Her clothes were changed by her

(11SC) Promenila je odeću/Presvukla se

- (12) I drank a glass of wine  
(12a) \*A glass of wine was drunk by me  
(12SC) Popio sam čašu vina  
(13) He smokes about ten cigarettes a day  
(13a) \*About ten cigarettes a day are smoked by him  
(13SC) On popuši oko deset cigareta dnevno

2.3.3. The use of the passive, and therefore the applicability of the passive transformation, is less extensive in SC than in English. Such a simple statement as:

(14) This poem was written by T. S. Eliot

will in SC normally appear only in the active, i. e.,

(14SC) Ovu pesmu napisao je T. S. Eliot

2.4. In order to identify object NP's, the what cleft sentence transformation can also be applied. It is especially useful where the passive transformation fails as a test. E. g.:

(15) He has a big library

The passive transformation will result in an ungrammatical string, i. e.,

(15a) \*A big library is had by him

while the what cleft sentence transformation will produce a grammatical one, i. e.,

(15b) What he has is a big library

2.4.1. There appears to be no great need for this test in SC since one of its results is the removal of the feature [+acc] in the original object NP, which is now placed after a form of the verb jesam. E. g.:

(15SC) On ima veliku biblioteku

(15SCa) Ono što on ima jeste velika biblioteka

2. 5. While the what cleft sentence transformation is restricted only to nonhuman objects, an it cleft sentence transformation is applied to human and nonhuman objects alike. E. g. :

- (16) They killed their last president, not the previous one
- (16a) It was their last president that they killed, not the previous one
- (16b) It was their last president, not the previous one, that they killed
- (17) They sold their car, not their house
- (17a) It was their car that they sold, not their house
- (17b) It was their car, not their house, that they sold

Although none too perfect, these five criteria will be made use of, separately or in conjunction, as a test or tests for object noun phrases.

3. It appears that the same selectional restrictions on the kinds of nouns that may serve as objects of particular verbs are at work in both languages. Many verbs may take both animate and inanimate objects in English as well as in SC. E. g. :

- (18) I hate this man
- (18SC) Mrzim ovog čoveka
- (19) I hate this chair
- (19SC) Mrzim ovu stolicu

3. 1. Some verbs in English, as well as their equivalents in SC, may choose as objects either nouns which are [+concrete] or nouns which are [-concrete].

E. g. :

- (20) They killed their neighbour
- (20SC) Ubili su svoga suseda
- (21) This is how I kill my time
- (21SC) Ovako ja ubijam svoje vreme

3.2. To those verbs in English that choose human objects correspond verbs in SC with the same property. E. g. :

(22) He surprised my friend

(22SC) Iznenadio je mog prijatelja

In neither language would the following be considered acceptable.

(23) \*He surprised my chair

(23SC) \*Iznenadio je moju stolicu

(24) \*He surprised my intelligence

(24SC) \*Iznenadio je moju inteligenciju

3.3. In neither language do verbs of saying have human direct objects. In both languages, therefore, the following are not grammatical sentences.

(25) \*She speaks several people

(25SC) \*Ona govori nekoliko ljudi

(26) \*He said somebody

(26SC) \*Rekao je nekog

The last two examples, of course, are not to be confused with sentences containing the same string of words but having different intonation contours, represented in writing as:

(26a) He said: "Somebody"

(26SCa) Rekao je: "Neko"

The choice of direct object with these verbs is restricted to nouns which have the feature [-human]. Therefore, the following sentences are grammatical in both languages:

(27) She speaks several languages

(27SC) Ona govori nekoliko jezika



(28) He said something

(28SC) Rekao je nešto

If used with human objects such verbs are followed by prepositions. E. g. :

(29) She was speaking of her daughter

(29SC) Govorila je o svojoj kćeri

The verb think behaves in a similar fashion. E. g. :

(30) I'll think of you

(30SC) Misliću na vas

3. 3. 1. One English verb of saying, tell, appears to behave differently, since in the surface structure of English we find sentences like.

(31) He must have told you

(31SC) Mora da ti je (on) rekao

The passive transformation will produce a grammatical string, i. e.,

(31a) You must have been told by him

while the what cleft sentence transformation will fail to do so, producing.

(31b)\* What he must have told was you

The conclusion to be drawn here is that tell belongs to that class of transitive verbs which require two objects, indirect and direct, either of which may be deleted. E. g. :

(32) Tell me the truth

Tell me a story

(32SC) Reci mi istinu

Ispričaj mi (neku) priču

(33) Tell the truth

Tell a story

(33SC) Reci istinu

Ispričaj (neku) priču

(34) Tell me

Tell me

(34SC) Reci mi

Ispričaj mi

Since the passive transformation operates on the NP immediately following a transitive verb, it is to be expected that the indirect object too, if it precedes the direct object, can be raised as the subject of the sentence to which this test has been applied. This, then, is the way in which sentence (31) is to be explained.

3.3.2. As can be seen from the above, SC verbs corresponding to tell are structured in the same way and they too allow object deletion.

However, a sentence like (31a) is not possible in SC, in which only the direct object of an active sentence can be raised as subject of the passive sentence, regardless of whether it immediately follows the verb or not.

4. It has been stated already that in English the NP which immediately follows a transitive verb functions as its object. In SC, which has a freer word order, an object NP may but need not immediately follow the verb, but it is marked for case, with  $\emptyset$  as a possible marker.

4.1. The direct object case in SC is normally the accusative, which is generally distinguishable from all other cases. E.g.:

(35) On najviše voli istoriju

(35E) He likes history best

Cf.:

(36) Istorija je njegov najdraži predmet

(36E) History is his favorite subject

There are exceptions to this rule, however, in the case of neuter nouns, e.g.:

(37) On najviše voli crtanje

(37E) He likes drawing best

Cf. :

(38) Crtanje je njegov najdraži predmet

(38E) Drawing is his favorite subject

and in the case of masculine nouns which have the feature [-animate], e. g. :

(39) Ona voli ovaj grad

(39E) She likes this town

Cf. :

(40) Ona voli ovog dečaka

(40E) She likes this boy

4.2. Corresponding to direct objects in English, some cases other than the accusative are also found in the surface structure of SC, namely,

the genitive

(41) Everybody remembered his name

(41SC) Svako se sećao njegovog imena

the dative

(42) Nobody believes that man

(42E) Niko ne veruje tom čovjeku

the instrumental

(43) HK will conduct the orchestra

(43SC) HK će dirigovati orkestrom

All of these can become passive subjects in English, while their translation equivalents will normally remain in the active, i. e.,

(41a) His name was remembered by everybody

(42a) That man is believed by nobody

(43a) The orchestra will be conducted by HK

4.2.1. in cases where the adverbial nature of the NP following the verb is felt, the passive transformation will not produce grammatical sentences.

E. g.:

- (44) He beat his fist on the table  
(44a) \*His fist was beaten on the table by him  
(44SC) Lupao je pesnicom o sto  
(45) He nodded his head  
(45a) \*His head was nodded by him  
(45SC) Klimnuo je glavom

4.3. Some verbs in SC may be followed by object NP's in the accusative or some other case.

4.3.1. Verbs of eating and drinking, as well as the verb imati, can be followed by the accusative or the genitive case depending on the semantic content of the noun. For whole or defined entities the accusative is employed, while the genitive expresses a part of what the object noun denotes. E. g.

- (46) Popio je vino  
(46E) He drank the wine  
(47) Pio je vina  
(47Ea) He drank wine  
(47Eb) He drank some wine  
(48) Jeo je hleb (koji si mu ostavila)  
(48E) He ate the bread (you left for him)  
(49) Nije jeo hleba  
(49E) He didn't eat bread  
(50) Još uvek ima novac (koji je nasledio)  
(50E) He still has the money (he inherited)  
(51) Ne brini. On ima novca.  
(51Ea) Don't worry. He has money.  
(51Eb) Don't worry. He has some money.

Such differences are reflected in English in the choice of the article, the and z or some respectively.

4. 3. 2. The verbs pomoći and služiti can be followed by either the accusative or the dative, with a concomitant change in meaning. E. g. :

(52) Ona pomaže svog oca, koji je siromašan  
(52E) She helps her father, who is poor

(53) Ona pomaže svom ocu u poslu  
(53E) She helps her father in his work

(54) On služi dva gospodara  
(54E) He serves two masters

(55) On služi svojoj zemlji i svom narodu  
(55E) He serves his country and his people

4. 4. To direct objects in English may correspond prepositional objects in the surface structure of SC. E. g. :

(56) Answer my question  
(56SCa) Odgovori na moje pitanje  
(56SCb) Odgovori mi na pitanje

(57) We discussed that plan in detail  
(57SCa) Diskutovali smo o tom planu detaljno

Cf. : (57SCb) Prodiskutovali smo taj plan detaljno

(58) They entered the room  
(58SC) Ušli su u sobu

(59) He left the house  
(59SCa) Otišao je od kuće

Cf. : (59SCb) Napustio je kuću

(60) He treats his wife badly  
(60SC) On loše postupa sa svojom ženom

4.5. To direct objects in SC may correspond prepositional objects in the surface structure of English. E. g. :

(61) Sanjao sam vas

(61E) I dreamed about you

This sentence is taken to mean 'I had a dream about you'. It has also another meaning whose equivalent in SC would be 'Sanjao (sanjario) sam o vama'.

(62) Ne odobravam njegovo ponašanje

(62E) I don't approve of his behavior

(63) Slušali smo muziku

(63E) We listened to the music

(64) Čekaću te kod kuće

(64E) I shall wait for you at home

4.6. In some cases similar to these we may really be dealing with English phrasal verbs rather than with ordinary verbs followed by prepositions. E. g.

(65) The wind blew down the chimney

In its written form and in isolation this sentence is ambiguous since it can mean either that the wind went down the chimney or that the wind knocked off the chimney, so that we can get the following two sentences.

(66) The wind blew down the chimney

(66SC) Vetar je duvao niz dimnjak

(67) The wind blew down the chimney

(67SC) Vetar je oduvao dimnjak

If the meaning of (67) is intended, the word down can be separated from the verb and moved to a position after the object noun, namely,

(67a) The wind blew the chimney down

In case the object NP is a pronoun, the word down obligatorily follows the pronoun:

(68) The wind blew it down

The passive transformation can be applied only to (67) and (87a), where the NP the chimney is the object of the phrasal verb blew down and not of the preposition down as in (66), thus giving:

(67b) The chimney was blown down by the wind

The passive transformation can, of course, be applied to (68) as well.

5. The object NP may be a noun or a noun cluster, illustrations of which have been given in the preceding section.

5.1. Both languages have verbs with cognate objects, but a full correspondence is not to be expected. E. g. :

(69) She sang a beautiful song

(69SC) Pevala je jednu lepu pesmu

Such constructions seem to be characteristic more of the written than of the spoken language. E. g. :

(70) They fought a merciless fight

(70SC) Bili su nemilosrdnu bitku

Cf. :

(71) They fought mercilessly

(71SC) Bili su se nemilosrdno

5.1.1. The corresponding SC equivalents may contain an adverb of manner used with an intransitive verb:

(72) She laughed a merry laugh

(72SC) Veselo se smejala

- (73) She smiled a happy smile  
(73SC) Srećno se osmehivala

5.1.2. The corresponding SC noun phrase may also be in the instrumental.

E. g. :

- (74) He died a violent death  
(74SC) Umro je nasilnom smrću

The adverbial nature of the NP's in (72), (73), and (74) is proved by the fact that these sentences permit neither the passive nor the cleft sentence transformation.

The pronominalization test would also yield ungrammatical strings.

- (72a) \*She laughed it  
(73a) \*She smiled it  
(74a) \*He died it

5.2. Some idiomatic phrases in English are composed of a verb followed by an object noun. Corresponding to these we find in SC either similar idiomatic phrases or other constructions, involving transitive or intransitive verbs. E. g.:

- (75) He takes care of his mother  
(75SCa) On vodi brigu o svojoj majci  
(75SCb) On se brine o svojoj majci  
(76) Take care! (= AE watch out!)  
(76SC) Pazi!

Some such phrases may be impersonal, for instance:

- (77) it took place in 1890  
(77SC) Desilo se to 1890

As it stands, sentence (77) would resist passive transformation. It should,



however, be distinguished from another take place with a human subject and different meaning:

(78) Somebody else took his place

(78SC) Neko drugi je zauzeo njegovo mesto

which allows the passive transformation, thus giving:

(78a) His place was taken by somebody else

(78SCa) Njegovo mesto je bilo zauzeto. . .

5. 3. Basically, both languages treat noun modifiers in the same way. Of course, we are concerned here only with some of those modifiers that occur with nouns functioning as direct objects.

5. 3. 1. In both English and SC, demonstratives agree in number with the noun they occur with. E. g. :

(79) He knows this girl

(79SC) On poznaje ovu devojku

(80) He knows these girls

(80SC) On poznaje ove devojke

5. 3. 2. In SC, however, demonstratives as well as all other modifiers must also agree in case and gender with the noun they occur with. E. g. :

(81) On poznaje ovog čovjeka

(81E) He knows this man

(82) On poznaje ovu ženu

(82E) He knows this woman

(83) On poznaje ovo dete

(83E) He knows this child

Since the two languages differ in the kind of gender they possess, there are more rules to be observed in SC, which has grammatical gender, than in English, which has natural gender. E. g. :

(84) On poznaje ovaj grad

(84E) He knows this town

(85) On poznaje ovu zemlju

(85E) He knows this country

(86) On poznaje ovo selo

(86E) He knows this village

A notion of animateness-inanimateness runs through and affects the morphology of modifiers in SC, as can be seen from examples (81) and (84), which both contain masculine nouns, animate and inanimate respectively.

5.3.3. English articles occurring with object nouns in English may but need not always have explicit equivalents in the corresponding SC sentences. E. g. :

(87) She married a doctor

(87SC) Udala se za (jednog) doktora

If nouns functioning as objects are preceded or followed by another modifier, an equivalent of the English indefinite article is present in the corresponding SC sentence. E. g. :

(88) She married a famous doctor

(88SC) Udala se za jednog čuvenog doktora

(89) She married a doctor from Boston

(89SC) Udala se za jednog doktora iz Bostona

The definite article too may or may not have explicit equivalents in the

corresponding SC sentences. E. g. :

- (90) Don't say anything more. I know the scoundrel.  
(90SC) Nemoj ništa više reći. Poznajem (tog) nitkova.

If the object noun is followed by a modifier, an equivalent of the definite article may but need not be present in the corresponding SC sentence. E. g. .

- (91) I met the man you were telling me about  
(91SC) Srela sam (onog) čoveka o kome si mi govorila

The modifier following the object noun need not be expressed for the definite article to be 'translated' into SC, but must be recoverable. E. g. :

- (92) She married the doctor  
(92SCa) Udala se za onog doktora  
(92SCb) Udala se za dóktora

with something like 'she intended to' or 'she was going with' understood.

5. 3. 4. While SC possessives agree in number with the noun they occur with, English possessives have only one form for singular and plural. E. g. .

- (93) On poznaje vašeg sina  
(93E) He knows your son  
(94) On poznaje vaše sinove  
(94E) He knows your sons

5. 3. 4. 1. The same rules that apply to demonstratives in 5. 3. 2. apply to possessives too, however. E. g. :

- (95) On poznaje vašeg oca  
(95E) He knows your father  
(96) On poznaje vaš grad  
(96E) He knows your town

(97) On poznaje vašu majku  
(97E) He knows your mother

(98) On poznaje vaše dete  
(98E) He knows your child

5. 3. 4. 2. There is, however, a rule in SC that changes 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person possessives to an all-person possessive svoj if the subject of the sentence and the possessor are identical. E. g.:

(99) On poznaje svoju majku  
(99E) He knows his (own) mother

Cf.:

(100) On poznaje njegovu majku  
(100E) He knows his mother

Sentence (100E) is ambiguous out of context since it may mean either that he knows somebody else's mother, as the SC does, or that he knows his own mother with the word own deleted.

This possessive also observes the rule of animateness and inanimateness. E. g.

(101) On poznaje svoga oca  
(101E) He knows his (own) father

(102) On poznaje svoj grad  
(102E) He knows his (own) town.

If the object noun denotes a part of one's body, the possessive svoj is obligatorily deleted in SC. E. g.:

(103) He hurt his arm  
(103E) Ozledio je ruku

Cf.:

(103WSC) Ozledio si je ruku

The same applies to nouns denoting parts of one's clothing. E. g.:

(104) He put his hand into his pocket

(104SC) Stavio je ruku u džep

5.3.5. Before mass nouns or plural count nouns some and any express an indefinite quantity. Some is used in affirmative and any in negative and interrogative sentences. Some may also be used in questions if an affirmative answer is expected.

No (not any) can occur before singular as well as plural nouns.

(105) I'd like to buy some sugar

(105SC) Želela bih da kupim šećera

(106) I'd like to buy some apples

(106SC) Želela bih da kupim jabuka

(107a) I don't have any sugar

(107b) I have no sugar

(107SC) Nemam šećera

(108a) I don't have any brothers

(108b) I have no brothers

(108SC) Nemam braće

(109) Do you have any sugar?

(109SC) Imate li šećera?

(110) Do you have any brothers?

(110SC) Imate li braće?

(111) Would you like some sugar?

(111SC) Želite li šećera?

As can be seen, SC employs the genitive for notions that in English are expressed by some, any, and no.

5.3.6. The notion of animateness-inanimateness affects also the morphology of adjectives modifying object nouns in SC. E. g.:

(112) Ona poznaje jednòg siromašnòg čòveka

(112E) She knows a poor man

(113) Ona poznaje ovòg siromašnòg čòveka

(113E) She knows this poor man

(114) Ona poznaje jedan siromašan grad

(114E) She knows a poor town

(115) Ona poznaje ovaj siromašni grad

(115E) She knows this poor town

In addition, rules of definiteness in (113) and (115), and indefiniteness in (112) and (114), have to be observed in SC.

6. Personal pronouns functioning as objects have the feature [ acc ] in both languages. E. g.:

(116) You know me/him/her/us/them

(116SC) Vi poznajete mene/njega/nju/nas/njih

6.1. Two of the English personal pronouns, however, have one form for the nominative and the accusative case, namely you (2nd person singular and plural) and it (neuter 3rd person singular). E. g.:

(117) I know you

(117a) You are known to me

(117SC) Ja poznajem tebe/vas

(117SCa) Ti si mi poznat/ Vi ste mi poznati

In such cases SC uses two different forms depending on the nominative-accusative distinction on the one hand, and the singular-plural distinction on the other. The fact that the plural pronoun can refer to one person only is irrelevant here.

6.1.1 Although one would expect to find the same situation as regards the 3rd person neuter personal pronoun in SC as in English, one finds ono in the nominative and (n)jega in the accusative, the fuller, originally masculine, form being avoided. E. g.:

(118) Don't you hear the bell? I keeps ringing  
(118SC) Zar ne čuješ zvonce? (Ono) stalno zvoni

(119) Didn't you hear the bell? He heard it  
(119SC) Zar nisi čuo zvonce? On ga je čuo

6.1.2. SC has two sets of personal pronouns in the accusative, emphatic (mene 'ebe 'njega, 'nju, 'njih), and non-emphatic (me/te, 'ga, 'je, ju/ih). The personal pronouns of the 1st and the 2nd person plural have only one form, nas and vas respectively, for both emphatic and non-emphatic usage.

6.2. Interrogative pronouns can also function as objects in both languages.

E. g.:

(120) Who(m) do you want to see?  
(120SC) Koga želite da vidite?

The presence of the feature [+acc] is optional in English today, especially in the spoken language.

(121) What do you want?  
(121SC) Šta želite?

(122) Which shall I take?  
(122SC) Kóji/koju/koje da uzmem?

6.3. The word one functions as a noun substitute in English and as such can replace an object NP. E. g.:

- (123) Do they have a car? I think they have (one)  
(123SC) Imaju li oni auto? Mislim da (ga) imaju

6.4. Demonstrative, possessive, and indefinite pronouns can also function as objects regardless of whether the feature [+acc] results in a new form or not. The relevant forms may be found in the morphology of English and SC and will therefore not be discussed here. However, the possessive pronouns require a few comments in connection with object deletion (See 12.8.).

6.5. Both languages treat identical NP's with identical reference within a simple sentence in the same way by applying pronominalization and reflexivization.

E. g.:

- (124) My sister hurt herself  
(124SC) Moja sestra se ozledila

These sentences were probably derived in the following way:

- (124a) \*My sister hurt my sister  
(124b) \*My sister hurt her  
(124) My sister hurt herself  
  
(124SCa) \*Moja sestra je ozledila moju sestru  
(124SCb) \*Moja sestra je ozledila nju  
(124SCc) Moja sestra je ozledila sebe  
(124SC) Moja sestra se ozledila

As these examples show, SC has at least two more rules. one that changes the personal pronoun for an all-person reflexive sebe and the other that changes the stressed form to the unstressed se, which is then moved before the verb.



Further rules change (124SC) to a sentence containing the possessive dative, so that the sentence normally reads:

(125SC) Sestra mi se ozledila

It should be mentioned here that sentences containing reflexives as objects do not permit either the passive or the what cleft sentence transformation.

6.5.1. Verbs which can take identical subject and object NP's form a special class of transitive verbs and are known as reflexive verbs.

Not all verbs that are reflexive in SC are treated as such in English. E. g. .

(126) Umila se

(126E) She washed her face

(127) Očešljala se

(127E) She combed her hair

Unlike comb, the verb wash can be reflexive in English too, but its meaning is slightly different and may involve washing more than one's face. E. g. .

(128) She washed herself

(128SC) Oprala se

Needless to say, sentences (126E) and (127E) can have closer equivalents in SC than (126) and (127), namely,

(126a) Umila/oprala je lice

(127a) Očešljala je kosu

6.5.2. There are some verbs in English, however, that are not reflexive except in idiomatic phrases and involving different constructions. E. g. .

(128) Opio se

(128E) \*He drank himself

but cf.:

(129) He drank himself unconscious

(129SC) Opio se do besvesti

(130) He drank himself to death

(130SC) (Umro je od pića)

It would appear that the English verb drink and the SC verb piti are normally followed by inanimate, non-human objects, while the SC verb opiti is followed by animate, human objects. Cf.:

(131) Opio je celo društvo

(131E) He got the whole company drunk

Consequently opiti can become a reflexive verb, namely opiti se.

6.6. The word se is not always a sign of a truly reflexive verb in SC.

It is also found in the surface structure of SC in situations where two subjects perform the same kind of action upon each other, in other words, where reciprocal objects are involved. E. g.:

(132) Oni se vole

(132Ea) They love each other

(132Eb) They love one another

Sentence (132) is not to be confused with a similar sentence in which there is an identity of the NP' functioning as the subject and the NP functioning as the object of the sentence, a truly reflexive situation. E. g.:

(133) Oni vole sebe

(133E) They love themselves

It should be noted that neither sentences containing reciprocal objects in the active have corresponding passive constructions.

6.7. The word se may also express an unspecified direct object in SC. E. g.:

(134) Tuče se/Bije se

(134E) He is beating somebody

This does not mean, however, that the object is unspecifiable. E. g. :

(135) Why are you beating me?

can be translated into SC as:

(135SCa) (Za)što me tučeš? / (Za)što me biješ?

(135SCb) (Za)što se tučeš? / (Za)što se biješ?

The list of such verbs is limited in SC and contains only those verbs that denote physical actions which are looked upon with disapproval.

Such verbs if followed by se may also have an additional feature which points to something habitual with the actor. E. g. :

(136) On se samo grli i ljubi

(136E) He does nothing else but embrace and kiss people

6.8. There are some verbs in SC that take an obligatory reflexive se that seems to have no semantic value or, in M. Ivić's words (1967, p. 991).

'Se is here an empty morph bound to the verbal lexeme'. E. g. :

(137) Smejao se

(137E) He laughed

Cf. :

(138) He laughed himself helpless

(138E) Smejao se do iznemoglosti

(139) Složio se

(139E) He agreed

(140) Žalio se

(140E) He complained

The verb žaliti se is not to be confused with the reflexive verb žaliti sebe, which obligatorily takes the full reflexive pronoun. There is also a difference

in meaning involved, which comes out in its English equivalents:

(141) On je žalio sebe

(141Ea) He pitied himself

(141Eb) He felt sorry for himself

6.9. To English passives with an unspecified agent correspond impersonal reflexives in SC. E. g.:

(142) Everybody speaks English here

(142a) English is spoken here by everybody

(142SC) Ovde svako govori engleski

(143) English is spoken here

(143SC) Ovde se govori engleski

In SC the word engleski remains throughout the object of the sentence and stands for the cluster engleski jezik (as does English for the English language).

7. A small group of verbs in English, such as call, elect, find, make, and think, may be followed by two NP's, the second of which functions as the object complement. E. g.:

(144) Don't call Tom a liar

(144SC) Ne nazivaj Toma lažljivcem

(145) They elected John president

(145SC) Izabrali su Džona za predsednika

Cf.

(145a) They elected John as president

(145b) They elected John for their president

(146) I find her an excellent student

(146SC) Smatram je odličnom učenicom

(147) She made him a good husband

(147SC) Napravila je od njega dobrog muža

Although newspaper headings are not good examples to use as they need not be 'grammatical', the following happens to illustrate the point well:

(148) Police Think Missing Man Murderer's Victim

(148SC) Policija misli nestali čovek je žrtva ubice

The passive test will show that these sentences have only one object, not two, and that the verb may be viewed as forming one semantic unit with the object complement. E. g. :

(144a) Tom is not to be called a liar

7.1. Adjectives are also frequently found as object complements with these verbs. E. g. :

(150) I find this girl amusing

(150SC) Smatram tu devojkju zabavnom

As can be seen, corresponding to such sentences in English, various constructions are found in SC. instrumentals, prepositional objects, and clauses.

These constructions are not to be confused with sentences containing object clauses, such as:

(151) I find that this girl is amusing

(151SC) Smatram da je ta devojkja zabavna

8. Embedded in noun phrases (whatever their function) we find relative clauses which may contain a transitive verb which requires an object noun phrase. E. g. :

E. g.

(152) the man who(m)/that I saw last night

(152SC) čovek koga sam video sinoć

(153) the town which/that I visited last year

(153SC) grad koji sam posetio prošle godine

(154) the woman who(m)/that he adores

(154SC) žena koju obožava

(155) the child who(m)/that everybody likes

(155SC) dete koje svako voli

(156) the village which/that I like best

(156SC) selo koje najviše volim

It is thus evident that the two languages differ in their treatment of relative pronouns functioning as objects. The form of the relative pronouns in English depends on the features of the head noun in the relativized noun phrase. The relative pronoun who(m) will occur when the noun has the feature [human], which when it has the feature [-human], while that has no such restrictions, having the feature [<sub>i</sub> human].

These three pronouns are also used for plural nouns.

Of these, only whom shows the accusative transformation applied to who.

There is, however, an increasing frequency of the form who being used instead of whom, so that the presence of the objective morpheme {-m} is now optional.

More will be said on relative object clauses in the section on object deletion.

(See 12.10.)

8.1. In SC there are a number of rules to be observed with respect to gender, case, and number, as well as the animate-inanimate distinction, of the noun head of the relativized NP. In order to shorten the discussion the following table is given:

	masculine	feminine	neuter
Nsg	koji	koja	koje
Asg	kojeg, koga/koji	koju	koje
Npl	koji	koje	koja
Apl	koje	koje	koju/koja

8.1.1. Under certain conditions it is possible in SC for the pronoun što to replace these gender, case, and number distinctive forms, with or without the relevant personal pronoun in the accusative following it. E. g. :

(157) the money that he has sent  
(157SCa) novac što (ga) je poslao

which, of course, is also possible with the required form of the koji-type pronoun, i. e.,

(157SCb) novac koji je poslao

8.1.2. The animate-inanimate distinction is reflected in the accusative singular forms of masculine nouns, and the accusative plural forms of neuter nouns.

9. An embedded sentence can also function as a complement in subject and object NP's and be introduced by one of the complementizers. Such

embedded sentences pass both the passive and what cleft sentence tests.

9.1. The clause complementizer that, which is to be distinguished from the relative that, signals a noun phrase complement. The following sentence contains an embedded sentence:

(158) Everybody knows (that) he is rich

(158SC) Svako zna da je on bogat

That the clause that he is rich functions as an object NP is proved by the passive and what cleft sentence tests. E. g.:

(158a) That he is rich is known by everybody

(158SCa) Da je on bogat poznato je svakom

(158b) What everybody knows is that he is rich

(158SCb) Ono što svako zna to je da je on bogat

This phrase will also pass the pronominalization test, i. e.,

(159) Do you know (that) he is rich?

- Everybody knows it.

(159SC) Znate li da je on bogat?

- To svako zna.

The complementizer that is deletable in most cases, except those in which an object noun or pronoun precedes it. E. g.:

(160) It irritates me that he is always late

(160SC) Nervira me što uvek zakašnjava

9.2. The infinitive complementizer for... to introduces a noun phrase complement in the following object NP's:

(161) \*She wants for Tom to leave

(161a) She wants Tom to leave

(161SC) Ona hoće da Tom ode



- (162) \*She wants for him to leave  
(162a) She wants him to leave  
(162SC) Ona hoće da on ode

In (162) we can see a case transformation at work, which changes the pronoun form he into him after for which has prepositional properties. Only after that may for be deleted.

9.2.1. In the case of identical NP's with the same reference in the main and embedded sentences, both the for part of the infinitive complementizer and the NP in the embedded sentence are obligatorily deleted. E. g.:

- (163) \*Tom wants for Tom to leave  
(163a) Tom wants to leave  
(163SC) Tom hoće da ode

- (164) \*He wants for him to leave  
(164a) He wants to leave  
(164SC) On hoće da ode

9.3. The gerundive complementizer 's...-ing' introduces a noun phrase complement in the following object NP's:

- (165) Tom prefers the boy's leaving  
(165SC) Tom više voli da dečak ode  
(166) Tom prefers the boys' leaving  
(166SC) Tom više voli da dečaci odu

9.3.1. In the case of identical NP's with the same reference in the main and embedded sentences, both the NP in the embedded sentence and the first part of the gerundive complementizer are obligatorily deleted. E. g.:

- (167) \*The boy prefers the boy's leaving  
(167a) The boy prefers leaving  
(167SC) Dečak više voli da ode

- (168) \*The boys prefer the boys' leaving  
(168a) The boys prefer leaving  
(168SC) Dečaci više vole da odu

9.3.2. A subcategorization of verbs is needed in English, since not all verbs taking complements can occur with every complementizer. (See Bresnan, p. 298). E. g.:

- (169) They decided that their children to be happy  
\*They decided for their children to be happy  
\*They decided their children's being happy  
(170) They managed for their children to be happy  
\*They managed that their children were happy  
\*They managed their children's being happy

9.3.3. SC treats the corresponding constructions in a different way by simply introducing the complementizer da between the two underlying sentences, thus keeping their subjects explicit in the verb inflection, and, of course, by obligatorily deleting the object pronoun to before the da-clause. E. g. .

- (171) \*Ja hoću to Tom ide  
(171a) (Ja) hoću da Tom ide  
(172) \*Ja hoću to Ja idem  
(172a) (Ja) hoću da (ja) idem  
(173) \*Ja hoću to Dečaci idu  
(173a) (Ja) hoću da dečaci idu  
(174) \*Oni hoće to Oni idu  
(174a) (Oni) hoće da (oni) idu

The presence or absence of the subject pronouns in SC is governed by the subject deletion rules. Unlike in English, identical subjects may be expressed in SC for the sake of emphasis.

In cases of identical NP's, SC may also delete the complementizer da together with the second NP and use an infinitive instead of the inflected verb. E. g.:

(175SC) On hoće spavati

(175E) He wants to sleep

(176SC) On više voli spavati

(176E) He prefers to sleep

9.4. Questions can also function as objects, but here too a distinction is made between yes/no and wh-questions.

9.4.1 A yes/no question is introduced as an object by if or whether preceding the statement with the question constituent. E. g.:

(177) \*I don't know ... Q She is coming

(177a) I don't know if she is coming

(177b) I don't know whether she is coming (or not)

(177SC) (Ja) ne znam da li ona dolazi (ili ne)

SC simply introduces the words da li between the two sentences.

However, another construction is also possible in SC in which the question is simply joined to the main sentence, i. e. ,

(177SCa) (Ja) ne znam dolazi li ona (ili ne)

When the subject of the main sentence and the subject of the whether sentence are identical, a construction with the infinitive may replace the original

construction of the embedded sentence. E. g. :

- (178) I don't know whether I should go (or not)
- (178a) I don't know whether to go (or not)
- (178SC) (Ja) ne znam da li da (ja) idem (ili ne)

9.4.2. Wh-questions are differently treated when embedded as NP complements, depending on the function of the Nt<sup>3</sup> containing the feature (+WH) in the embedded sentence.

9.4.2.1. If the (+WH) word functions as subject, the surface question sentence is simply added to the main sentence, i. e. ,

- (179) \*I don't know Who did it?
- (179a) I don't know who did it
- (179SC) Ne znam ko je to uradio
- (180) \*Tell me What caused the explosion?
- (180a) Tell me what caused the explosion
- (180SC) Reci mi šta je prouzrokovalo eksploziju

As can be seen, the procedure is exactly the same in both languages.

9.4.2.2. If functioning as object, the (+WH) word, which has been replaced by a wh-pronoun, precedes the rest of the statement, in other words, the embedded question follows OSV word order. E. g. :

- (181) \*I know .. Q you want to see (+WH)
- (181a) I know who(m) you want to see
- (181SCa) Znam koga želiš da vidiš
- (181SCb) Znam koga želiš videti
- (182) \*Do you know... Q It means (+WH)
- (182a) Do you know what it means?
- (182SC) Znae li šta to znači?

Again, the procedure is exactly the same in both languages. Yet SC learners of English often confuse this procedure with the preceding one and add non-embedded surface questions to the main sentence, thus producing ungrammatical strings. E. g.:

(182b) \*Do you know what does it mean?

9.4.2.3. When the subjects of the main and wh-sentence are identical, an infinitive construction may replace the original construction of the embedded sentence. E. g.:

(183) Do you know who(m) you should ask?

(183a) Do you know who(m) to ask?

(183SC) Znao li koga treba da pitate?

(184) He asked them what he should do

(184a) He asked them what to do

(184SC) Pitao ih je šta treba da radi

9.4.2.4. Wh-words when, where, why, and how may occur in embedded question sentences and function as NP complements. When embedded in object NP's they are treated like those described in the last two sections. E. g.:

(185) I don't know when they do that

(185SC) Ne znam kada (oni) to rade

(186) I don't know where they do that

(186SC) Ne znam gde (oni) to rade

(187) I don't know why they do that

(187SC) Ne znam zašto (oni) to rade

(188) I don't know how they do that

(188SC) Ne znam kako (oni) to rade

9.4.2.5. When the subjects are identical, we get the following strings:

- (189) I don't know when to do that  
(189SC) Ne znam kada da to uradim  
(190) I don't know where to do that  
(190SC) Ne znam gde da to uradim  
(191) I don't know how to do that  
(191SC) Ne znam kako da to uradim

The word why seems to block this particular transformation. Cf. .

- (192) I don't know why I should do that  
(192SC) Ne znam zašto treba da to učinim

9.5. After a small number of verbs, imperatives can be embedded into NP's functioning as objects. Before showing in the surface structure, they are transformed into infinitives, however. Eg.:

- (193) \*He asked me Speak English  
(193a) He asked me to speak English  
(193SC) Zamolio me je da govorim engleski  
(194) \*He asked me Don't speak English  
(194a) He asked me not to speak English  
(194b) He asked me to not speak English (WDS)  
(194SC) Zamolio me je da ne govorim engleski

Cf.:

- (195) \*He didn't ask me Speak English  
(195a) He didn't ask me to speak English  
(195SC) Nije me zamolio da govorim engleski

9.6. Quoted speech can also function as object after a limited group of verbs.

- E.g.:
- (196) They said "He'll come"  
(196SC) Kazali su "On će doći"

Quoted speech can never be introduced by the that complementizer. E. g.:

- (197) \*They said that "He'll come"
- (197a) They said (that) he'd come
- (197SC) Kazali su da će doći

The books say that tell, unlike say, cannot have quoted speech as its object. E. g.:

- (198) \*They told me "he'll come"
- (198a) They told me (that) he would come
- (198b) They told me (that) he'll come (AE:WDS)

10. Verbs of saying, fearing, hoping, imagining, supposing and thinking, can be followed by a quasi-object so replacing the entire object clause. E. g.:

To the question. Do you think he'll come? one could give answers like the following:

- (199) Yes, I think (that) he will (come)
- (199a) Yes, I think so
- (199SC) Da, mislim da će doći
- (199SCa) Da, mislim (da hoće)
  
- (200) No, I don't think (that) he will (come)
- (200a) No, I don't think so
- (200 SC) Ne, ne mislim da će doći
- (200SCa) Ne, ne mislim (da hoće)

The negative replies can also be given in a construction that does not involve the word so, namely,

- (201) No, I think (that) he won't (come)
- (201a) No, I think not (BE?)
- (201SC) Ne, mislim da neće doći
- (201SCa) Ne, mislim da neće

This is, by the way, the only possible negative construction with the verb hope, both in AE and BE.

The examples are given in the future for sake of parallelism; this use of so, however, is applicable to clauses containing other tenses as well.

10.1. Some collocations with so have become set phrases. E. g.:

- |                           |                    |
|---------------------------|--------------------|
| (202) You don't say so    | (Ma nemoj reći)    |
| (203) You may well say so | (Moglo bi se reći) |
| (204) So you say          | (To ti kažeš)      |
| (205) So to say           | (Da kažemo)        |

Other translation equivalents are, of course, also possible.

11. It as direct object is far too complicated for a full analysis to be attempted here. It appears, however, that as object it performs two functions: a) as an object in its own right, and b) as a dummy object usually anticipating an object clause.

11.1. It may refer to something previously mentioned and thus represent the pronominalization of either an NP or a clause. E. g.:

- (206) Do you know their address?  
- I don't, but she knows it

(206SC) Znae li njihovu adresu?  
- Ja je ne znam, ali ona je zna

(207) They say he is rich but I don't believe it  
(207SC) Kažu da je (on) bogat ali ja to ne verujem

11.1.1. Since so also replaces clauses, the difference would seem to lie in the fact that so is a substitute for the whole statement, whereas it can refer to



part of the preceding utterance. E. g.:

(20?) - She must believe that she is a beauty.

- Of course she believes it

(208SC) - Ona mora da veruje da je lepotica.

- Naravno da veruje .

There are cases where it and so are interchangeable, and cases where they clearly are not: cf. (199a) and (200a).

11.1.2. In addition, it seems to point to the substance rather than the exact words of the preceding statement as so does. E. g.:

(209) He is very old though you'd hardly believe it

(209SC) On je vrlo star mada ćete to teško poverovati

Cf.:

(210) Did she say (that) he was very old?

- I believe so

(210SC) Je li (ona) rekla da je (on) vrlo star?

- Verujem da jeste

11.2. It may be used as an anticipating object. As such it is often replaced by a phrase such as 'the fact'. E. g.:

(211) They concealed it that he was there

(211SC) Prikrili su (to) da je on (bio) tamo

(212) They concealed the fact that he was there

(212SC) Prikrili su činjenicu da je on (bio) tamo

11.2.1. It is used before object clauses beginning with if or when. E. g.:

(213) I could not stand it if anything should happen to you

(213SC) Ne bih mogao podneti da ti se bilo šta desi

(214) He hates it when I speak loudly

(214SC) On mrzi kada (ja) govorim glasno

11.2.2. It is used in constructions resembling appositions, such as the following:

(215) She has stolen the money, believe it or not

(215SC) Ona je ukrala novac, verovao (to) ili ne

(216) I am sorry to say it, but he's too young for that

(216SC) Žao mi je da to kažem, ali on je premlad za to

11.2.3. It is used in concessive or conditional clauses preceding a sentence that functions as an object in the clause. E.g.:

(217) Though you won't believe it, I have seen enough of this before

(217SC) Mada (to) nećeš verovati, već sam dosta toga video

11.3. It is used with verbs that form a semantic unit with a following preposition in sentences preceding a that clause. E.g.:

(218) I'll answer for it that she will do it

(218SC) Odgovaram za to da će ona to učiniti

Cf.:

(219) I'll answer that she will do it

(219SC) Odgovoriću da će ona to učiniti

11.3.1. It is used in constructions containing an adverbial of place preceding a that or an infinitive clause. E.g.:

(220) He got it into his head that she was guilty

(220SC) Uvrteo je sebi u glavu da je ona kriva

(221) He hasn't got it in his heart to do that

(221SC) On nema srca da to uradi

11.4. It may be used before a gerund construction functioning as object. E. g.:

(222) You must find it dull living by yourself

(222SC) Mora da vam je dosadno da živite sami

11.5. It is used before nouns and adjectives preceding infinitive constructions.

E. g.:

(223) I think it my duty to say something

(223SC) Smatram svojom dužnosti da kažem nešto

Cf.:

(224) I think it is my duty to say something

(224SC) Smatram da mi je dužnost da nešto kažem

(225) I think it advisable to stop here

(225SC) Smatram pametnim da ovde prestinemo

Cf.:

(226) I think it may be advisable to stop here

(226SC) Smatram da bi bilo pametno da ovde prestinemo

12. Both languages tolerate object deletion. In other words, in English and SC inherently transitive verbs may be used without an object. E. g.:

(227) Does he smoke? Yes, he does.

(227SC) Da li on puši? Da, puši.

Cf.:

(228) What does he smoke? He smokes cigars.

(228SC) Šta on puši? Puši cigare.

Since the choice of possible objects is limited, the object noun or pronoun can safely be deleted as in (227) and (227SC). What is deleted, however, is not anything specific like cigarettes, cigars, or a pipe, but rather something like 'a tobacco preparation'.

12.1. The choice of possible objects may be a very limited one, as in the cause of such verbs as sing, dream, and cook. E. g.:

(229) She sang beautifully

(229SC) Pevala je divno

What is deleted may be a song, the song, songs, in any case only something that can be sung, as for instance tune, music, Mozart.

12.2. With some verbs there is no difference in meaning regardless of whether the object pronoun is deleted or not. E. g.:

(230) I try to play the piano but I can't play (it) well yet

(230SC) ? Pokušavam da sviram klavir, ali još ne umem da (ga) dobro sviram.

12.3. With another group of verbs the meaning may differ depending on whether the object pronoun is deleted or not. E. g.:

(231) John is a bad boy and steals cars, but Jack is good and would not steal them

(213SC) Džon je loš dečak i krade automobile, ali Džek je dobar i on ih ne bi krao

(232) John is a bad boy and steals cars, but Jack is good and he would not steal

(232SC) Džon je loš dečak i krade automobile, ali Džek je dobar i on ne bi krao

in (231) the deleted object is them, a pronoun standing for cars, and the pronoun ih stands for automobile in (231SC). In (232) and (232SC) the deleted object is anything or (n)išta respectively. (See: J. W. Brennan)

12.4. Some implicitly reflexive verbs can be used in English, but not in SC, without an object pronoun. E. g.:

(233) He never shaves on Sundays

As it stands, the sentence is ambiguous and may mean two things, namely,

(233a) He never shaves himself on Sandays

(233b) He never shaves anyone on Snddays

In SC, however, if the subject NP and the object NP are identical, the occurrence of the reflexive pronoun is obligatory. If they are not identical, the object is deletable.

(233SCa) On se nikad ne brije nedeljom

(233SCb) On nikad (nikog) ne brije nedeljom

In (233b) and (233SCb) the subject pronouns are taken to refer to a barber.  
(See Lyons, p. 361).

12.5. Deletion of some reciprocal objects is also possible in English. E. g.:

(234) They kissed (each other)

(234SC) Ljubili su se

(235) They embraced (each other)

(235SC) Grlili su se

12.6. With some verbs, whose list is fairly restricted, deletion of the object pronoun seems to be obligatory. Such is the verb change, for instance, meaning 'change one's clothes'. E. g.:

(236) I must go and change

(236SC) Moram otići da se preobnčem

12.7. The object pronoun is deleted in English after verbs like want, wish and bear, if it is identical with the subject and followed by an infinitive phrase.

E. g.:

(237) I don't want to go

(237SCa) Ne želim da idem

(237SCb) Ne želim ići

- (238). She wished to stay  
(238SCa) *Želela je da ostane*  
(238SCb) *Želela je ostati*

12.8. In English, an object noun preceded by a possessive is usually deleted under identity, and the possessive adjective changed for the corresponding possessive pronoun. E. g.:

- (239) He likes his job and she likes her job  
(239a) He likes his job and she likes hers  
(239SC) *On voli svoj posao a ona voli svoj (posao)*  
(240) He likes your job and she likes my job  
(240a) He likes your job and she likes mine  
(240SC) *On voli tvoj posao a ona voli moj (posao)*

Further transformations involving verb deletion are possible in both languages but are irrelevant here.

12.8.1. There being no difference between the possessive adjective and the possessive pronoun in SC, the object deletion transformation is not followed by any other transformations concerning the possessives. It should be added, however, that this transformation is optional in SC, not near-obligatory as in English.

12.9. In answers to yes/no questions the object is deleted in English if the main verb is replaced by the verb do. If the main verb is kept, the object cannot be deleted. E. g.:

- (241a) Does she know him? Yes, she does  
(241b) Does she know him? Yes, she knows him  
(241SC) *Da li ga ona poznaje? Da, poznaje (ga)*

In SC, which has no substitute verbs for verbs like know, the object deletion is optional.

12.10. The relative pronoun which is the object of a defining relative clause is optionally deleted in English, but is not at all deletable in SC. E. g. :

(242a) The man who(m) you saw yesterday is here

(242b) The man you saw yesterday is here

(242SC) Čovek koga si juče videla je ovde

(243a) The scene which he described was painful

(243b) The scene he described was painful

(243SC) Prizor koji je opisao bio je mučan

(244a) Is this the book that you want to read?

(244b) Is this the book you want to read?

(244SC) Je li to knjiga koju želiš da pročitaš?

13. In both languages the normal word order in a simple affirmative sentence is subject-verb-object (SVO).

13.1. Positions of verb and object may be reversed in SC, but only rarely so in English. Positions of subject and verb do not concern us here.

13.2. The positions of verb and object in SC depend, among other things, on whether the NP functioning as direct object has been pronominalized. The order SVO is kept unchanged if the object is a noun or noun cluster. E. g. :

(245) Ona voli svoga brata

(245E) She likes her brother

13.2.1. The word order changes to SOV if an unstressed pronoun functions as object. E. g. :

(246) Ona ga voli

(246E) She likes him

13.2.2. A stressed pronoun can take almost any position in SC, but normally takes a position after the verb in English. E.g.:

(247a) Ona voli njéga

(247b) Ona njéga voli

(247c) Njéga ona voli

(247E) She likes him

13.2.3. If we want to put special emphasis on the object, the word order may be changed to OSV in English too, but such word order normally suggests a different attitude to somebody or something else. E.g.:

(248) Him I like (but not her)

(248SC) Njéga volim (ali ne i nju)

(249) The teacher I like (but not his subject)

(249SC) Učitelj volim (ali ne i njegov predmet)

The string (249) differs in the spoken language from (250) in having a different utterance contour:

(250) The teacher I like (is away)

(250SC) Učitelj koga volim (je odsutan)

13.3. Subject deletion is possible in SC, but not in English. In such cases the object normally follows the verb, regardless of whether a noun or a pronoun functions as object. E.g.:

(251) Volim svoga brata

(251E) I like my brother

(252a) Volim njega

(252b) Volim ga

(252E) I like him



13.4. The same rules apply to the word order in negative sentences. E. g.:

(253a) (Ona) ne voli svoga brata

(253b) (Ona) svoga brata ne voli

(253Ea) She doesn't like her brother

(253Eb) She doesn't like her brother

(254a) (Ona) ne voli njega

(254b) (Ona) njega ne voli

(254Ea) She doesn't like him

(254Eb) She doesn't like him

(255a) Ona ga ne voli

(255b) Ne voli ga

(255E) She doesn't like him

13.5. Questions beginning with da li usually keep the normal word order if the NP functioning as object is a noun or a noun cluster. Subject deletion is possible in both cases. E. g.:

SVO (256) Da li ona voli svoga brata?

VSO (257) Da li voli ona svoga brata?

(256-7E) Does she like her brother?

13.5.1. If a pronoun functions as object, the following are possible word orders in questions beginning with da li?

SVO (258) Da li ona voli njega?

VSO (259) Da li voli ona njega?

OSV (260) Da li njega ona voli?

OVS (261) Da li njega voli ona?

If the pronoun is one of the unstressed ones, the following two word orders

are found in questions beginning with da li:

OSV (262) Da li ga ona voli?

OVS (263) Da li ga voli ona?

To all of these only one SVO sentence corresponds in English, but with varying sentence stresses. Sentence (262) could be taken as the unmarked, normal question in SC corresponding to the English sentence:

(258-263E) Does she like him?

in which no word is specially emphasized.

13.6. Questions formed by the insertion of li after the verb take the following word orders, with a possible deletion of the subject:

VSO (264) Voli li ona njega?

VOS (265) Voli li njega ona?

VOS (266) Voli li ga ona?

13.6.1. With a full or stressed pronoun functioning as object, the verb and the object may also reverse their positions and take the following word order.

OSV (267) Njega li ona voli?

The equivalent of this sentence in English is not a simple question like Does she like him?, but a tagged one, as is the following:

(267E) She likes him, does she?

with emphasis on the object pronoun.

Both the English and SC constructions belong to a colloquial style and both express wonder or surprise.

13.7. It often happens that the two languages have the same order of NP's, but differ in the voice they employ and consequently in the way they treat these

NP's. In other words, corresponding to English sentences in the passive, we may find SC sentences either in the passive or in the active with a OVS order.

E.g.:

- (268) The next few moments will be devoted to the war in Vietnam  
(268SC) Nekoliko sledećih trenutaka biće posvećeno ratu u Vijetnamu  
(268SCa) Nekoliko sledećih trenutaka posvetićemo ratu u Vijetnamu

In situations such as news broadcasts the word order may also be reversed to OSV in English sentences in the active. E.g.:

- (268a) The next few moments we shall devote to the war in Vietnam

13.8. Although fairly fixed as SVO, word order in English may change to OSV or OVS, but mostly for stylistic reasons. In fact, all such sentences are more characteristic of the literary than the spoken language, in which they normally have their SVO counterparts. E.g.:

- (269) Not a word did he say  
(269a) He didn't say a word  
(269SC) Ni reči nije rekao  
(269SCa) Nije rekao ni reči

- (270) 'No' said the man  
(270a) The man said 'No'  
(270SC) 'Ne' reče čovek  
(270SCa) Čovek reče 'Ne'

- (271) Such people he hated  
(271a) He hated such people  
(271SC) Takve ljude je mrzeo  
(271SCa) Mrzeo je takve ljude

- (272) The phonograph he took away, but the piano he left behind  
(272a) He took away the phonograph, but he left the piano behind  
(272SC) Gramofon je odneo, ali je klavir ostavio  
(272SCa) Odneo je gramofon, ali je ostavio klavir

13.8.1. In nursery rhymes and tales for children the word order is sometimes changed to OSV. E. g.:

- (273) Thirty days has September  
(273SC) Trideset dana ima septembar

- (274) Four children had the mother, two sons and two daughters  
(274SC) Četvoro dece imala je majka, dva sina i dve kćeri

13.9. The normal SVO word order is in English obligatorily changed to OSV only in two cases:

13.9.1. Wh-questions, i. e.,

- (275) Who(m) do you want to see?  
(275SC) Koga želite da vidite?

- (276) What do you want?  
(276SC) Šta želite?

- (277) She didn't know who(m) to obey  
(277SC) Nije znala koga da poslušati

- (278) He didn't know what to do  
(278SC) Nije znao šta da radi

13.9.2. Relative clauses, i. e.,

- (279) The man(whom) they kidnapped was not the man (that) they wanted to kidnap  
(279SC) Čovek koga su kidnapovali nije bio čovek koga su hteli da kidnapuju

(280) The book (that) he recommended is very good

(280SC) Knjiga koju je preporučio je vrlo dobra

14. The basic principles connected with the object being more or less the same in both languages, one could conclude that the teaching/learning problems would not be too great either for speakers of SC learning English or speakers of English learning SC.

In what follows, attention is drawn to those points in English grammar that are most likely to cause faulty generation in speakers of SC learning English.

14.1. Since cases other than the accusative are found in the surface structure of SC corresponding to direct objects in English, generation of structures like the following should be prevented:

(41) \*Everybody remembered of his name

(41SC) Svako se sećao njegovog imena

(42) \*Nobody believes to that man

(42SC) Niko ne veruje tom čoveku

(43) \*HK will conduct with the orchestra

HK će dirigovati orkestrom

(47Ea) \*He drank of wine

(47Eb) \*He drank of some wine

(47) Pio je vina

(52E) \*She helps to her father in his work

(53) Ona pomaže svome ocu u poslu

(55E) \*He serves to his country and to his people

(55) On služi svojoj zemlji i svom narodu

14.2. ' Prepositional objects in SC corresponding to which we find direct objects in English may cause generation of strings like the following:

(56) \*Answer to my question

(56SCa) Odgovori na moje pitanje

(57) \*We discussed about that plan in detail

(57SC) Diskutovali smo o tom planu detaljno

(58) \*They entered into the room

(58SC) Ušli su u sobu

(59) \*He left from the house

(59SCa) Otišao je od kuće

(60) \*He treats with his wife badly

(60SC) On loše postupa sa svojom ženom

14.3. A speaker of SC may produce the following ungrammatical strings since in his language the corresponding verbs are or may be used without a preposition:

(61E) \*I dreamed you (about)

(61) Sanjao sam vas

(62E) \*I don't approve his behavior (of)

(62) Ne odobravam njegovo ponašanje

(63E) \*We listened the music (to)

(63) Slušali smo muziku

(64E) \*I shall wait you at home (for)

(64) Čekaću te kod kuće

14.4. Phrasal verbs would certainly require special attention for SC speakers to be able to distinguish between:

(66) The wind blew down the chimney

(66SC) Vetar je duvao niz dimnjak

(67) The wind blēw down the chīmney  
(67SC) Vetar je oduvao dimnjak

and produce a sentence like:

(67a) The wind blew the chimney down

14.5. Speakers of SC should be taught not to produce sentences without possessives in the following situations:

(103) \*He hurt arm (his)  
(103SC) Ozledio je ruku  
(104) \*He put hand into pocket (him, his)  
(104SC) Stavio je ruku u džep

14.6. Some, any, and no are likely not to be used by speakers of SC.

(105) \*I'd like to buy (?of) sugar (some)  
(105SC) Želela bih da kupim šećera  
(106) \*I'd like to buy (?of) apples (some)  
(106SC) Želela bih da kupim jabuka  
(107a) \*I don't have sugar (any)  
(107SC) Nemam šećera  
(108a) \*I don't have brothers (any)  
(108SC) Nemam braće

Instead of:

(107b) I have no sugar  
(108b) I have no brothers

14.7. One and it may be confused by SC learners of English. Answering the question Do they have a car? they may say:

(123) \*I think they have it (one)  
(123SC) Mislim da (ga) imaju

14.8. Since not all verbs that are reflexive in SC are treated as such in English, the following are possible mistakes made by speakers of SC:

(127E) \*She combed herself

(127) Očešljala se

(128E) \*He drank himself

(128) Opio se

while the English equivalents of (127) and (128) are:

(127E) She combed her hair

(128Ea) He got drunk

14.9. Speakers of SC should be made aware of the difference between reflexive and reciprocal objects in order to avoid generating the following ungrammatical strings:

(132E) \*They love themselves (each other)

(132) Oni se vole

(133E) \*They love each other (themselves)

(133) Oni vole sebe

14.10. Whether the following constructions are to be expected or not is difficult to say, but analogy with same verbs but in different constructions may help to create them:

(137E) \*He laughed himself

(137) Smejao se

Cf.:

(138) He laughed himself helpless

(138SC) Smejao se do iznemoglosti



14.11. Constructions containing the object complement may give rise to mistakes like the following:

- (145)\* They elected John for president
- (145SC) Izabrali su Džona za predsednika

Cf.:

- (145a) They elected John as president
- (145b) They elected John for their president
- (145SCa) Izabrali su Džona za predsednika
- (145SCb) Izabrali su Džona za svoga predsednika

14.12. As regards relative pronouns functioning as objects, the use of which instead of whom seems to be the most common of the possible mistakes. E. g.:

- (155)\* the child which everybody likes
- (155SC) dete koje svako voli

14.13. Speakers of SC are probably more guilty of overusing the relative that than the wrong deletion of it. They should therefore practice forming constructions like:

- (155a) the child that everybody likes
- (155SC) dete koje svako voli

14.14. The same is true of the complementizer that. Sentence (158) is more likely to be used by SC learners of English than (158a):

- (158) Everybody knows that he is rich
- (158a) Everybody knows he is rich
- (158SC) Svako zna da je on bogat

14.15. The infinitive complementizer for...to is likely to be replaced by the that complementizer even where they are not interchangeable in English.

E. g.:

(161)\* She wants that Tom leaves

(161SC) Ona hoće da Tom ode

instead of:

(161a) She wants Tom to leave

(163)\* Tom wants that he leaves

(163SC) Tom hoće da ode

instead of:

(163a) Tom wants to leave

14.16. The same may be true with the gerundive complementizer, and especially so in cases of identical NP's. E. g.:

(167)\* The boy prefers that he leaves

(167SC) Dečak više voli da ode

instead of:

(167a) The boy prefers leaving

14.17. Since there is no surface difference between embedded and non-embedded questions in SC, speakers of SC are inclined to make the following mistakes when embedding questions:

(177ab)\* I don't know if she coming (or not)

(177SC) (Ja) ne znam da li ona dolazi (ili ne)

(181a)\* I know whom do you want to see

(181SCa) Znam koga želiš da vidiš

(181SCb) Znam koga želiš videti

(182a)\* Do you know what does it mean?

(182SC) Znate li šta to znači?

(185) \*I don't know when do they do that

(185SC) Ne znam kada (oni) to rade

(186) \*I don't know where do they do that

(186SC) Ne znam gde (oni) to rade

(187) \*I don't know why do they do that

(187SC) Ne znam zašto (oni) to rade

(188) \*I don't know how do they do that

(188SC) Ne znam kako (oni) to rade

14.17.1. Omission of the word how in the following construction is also one of the very common mistakes made by SC speakers:

(191) \*I don't know to do that

(191SC) Ne znam (kako) da to uradim

14.18. Involving the imperative, we may expect the following faulty generations:

(193a) \*He asked me that I speak English

(193SC) Zamolio me je da govorim engleski

instead of:

(193a) He asked me to speak English

(194a)\* He asked me that I didn't speak English

(194SC) Zamolio me je da ne govorim engleski

instead of:

(194a) He asked me not to speak English

(194b) He asked me to not speak English

14.19. The object clause replacement by so does not come naturally to speakers of SC. To the question Do you think he'll come? they are likely

to give the following answers:

(199) Yes, I think (that) he will(come)

(199a) \*Yes, I think (so)

(199SC) Da, mislim da će doći

(199SCa) Da, mislim (da hoće)

(200) No, I don't think (that) he will (come)

(200a) \*No, I don't think (so)

(200SC) Ne, ne mislim da će doći

(200SCa) Ne, ne mislim (da hoće)

14.20. It as direct object may, especially in earlier stages, be replaced by masculine or feminine 3rd person personal pronouns, depending on the gender the noun it stands for has in SC. E. g.:

(206) Do you know their address?

\* - I don't but she knows her (it)

(206SC) Znae li njihovu adresu?

- Ja je ne znam, ali ona je zna

14.21. It which replaces clauses may be replaced by this, which corresponds to the neuter singular demonstrative to in SC. E. g.:

(207a) They say he is rich but I don't believe this

(207SC) Kažu da je (on) bogat ali ja to ne verujem

14.22. The pronoun it may be omitted by speakers of SC in the following situations by analogy with SC where the corresponding pronoun is optional or not used at all:

(208) She must believe that she is a beauty

\* - Of course she believes (it)

(208SC) Ona mora da veruje da je lepotica

- Naravno da veruje

- (213) \*I could not stand if anything should happen to you (it)  
(213SC) Ne bih mogao podneti da ti se nešto desi
- (214) \*She hates when I speak loudly (it)  
(214SC) On mrzi kada (ja) govorim glasno
- (215) \*She has stolen the money, believe or not (it)  
(215SC) Ona je ukrala novac, verovao (to) ili ne
- (217) \*Though you won't believe, ... (it)  
(217SC) Mada nećeš verovati, ...
- (220) \*He got into his head that she was guilty (it)  
(220SC) Uvrteo je sebi u glavu da je ona kriva
- (225) \* I think advisable to stop here (it)  
(225SC) Smatram pametnim da ovde prekinemo

14.23. Since English tolerates reflexive and reciprocal object deletion, speakers of SC would probably err in the other direction by not deleting at all.

14.24. In answers to yes/no questions, speakers of SC may omit the object pronoun even when the main verb has not been replaced by the verb do. E. g.:

- (241b)\* Does she know him? Yes, she knows  
(241SC) Da li ga ona poznaje? Da, poznaje (ga)

14.25. Students should be discouraged from experimenting with the word order in English, and drilled to stick to SVO arrangement. Since they tend to form sentences like:

(268a) The next few moments we shall devote to the war in Vietnam even in situations where such strings are unacceptable, it seems advisable not to introduce them before fairly advanced stages in the learning process,

and teach the passive forms instead, i.e.,

(268) The next few moments will be devoted to the war in Vietnam

The very common mistake of starting sentences with active objects is probably due to a reinforcement of the SC pattern by the English passive construction.

E.g.:

(14) This poem was written by T.S.Eliot

(14SC) Ovu pesmu napisao je T.S.Eliot

14.26. It should be impressed upon SC speakers of English that no adverb or adverbial can ever be inserted between the verb and its object:

(60) \*He treats badly his wife

(60SC) On loše postupa sa svojom ženom

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## THE ENGLISH PRONOUN "IT" AND ITS SERBO-CROATIAN EQUIVALENTS

We propose to distinguish two basic types of this pronoun - the type where "it" is a deictic pointing back to an antecedent, and the type where the deictic function is absent.

The second type, the "absolute it", is most frequent in instances where there is no semantic subject to a finite, third person singular, verb form. As finite verb forms require a subject, this is supplied by "it" as a semantically empty nominal whose function is purely syntactic.

Another use of the absolute (non-antecedent) "it" is seen in sentences like "You're in for it." There is no formal antecedent to this "it" but it could be argued that "it" has a built-in semantic antecedent, or rather referent, which means "something unpleasant." This use stands on the border between the two types of "it".

Another borderline use of "it" is seen in instances where "it" points to an understood situation although the situation is not explicitly stated. An example of this is found in the question "Who is it?" asked upon hearing a noise, where the antecedent of "it" is something like "the noise I hear."

There is a non-antecedent use of "it" where "it" functions as a noun-headed nominal group or as a predicative adjective:



Who is it? ("in the game of 'tag', etc., the player who must do some specific thing, as trying to touch or find another." New World Dictionary)

In mathematics he is it (= excellent)

The last instance of the non-antecedent "it" is concerned with conversion of nouns into verbs, as in "to hotel it", where "it" serves to signal that the preceding item is to be interpreted as a verb.

The deictic "it" is used to point to a neuter-gender noun or to the meaning of a stretch of text of varying length. There are two subdivisions of this latter case depending on whether the stretch of text could be substituted for "it" or not, i. e. whether the antecedent is a unit which syntactically behaves like a nominal group or not.

The emphatic formula "It is/was [John] who/that [did that]" is treated separately.

#### 1. NON-ANTECEDENT "IT"

1.1. The basic equivalence relation between the two languages as regards this type of "it" ("formal subject") could be stated as follows: Whenever in SC a noun or pronoun cannot fill the subject slot to a verb occurring without a subject in the third person, E will have "it" as the subject of the finite verb.

In SC the subject is very often left out as redundant, the person of the verb being signaled by verb endings. Thus there is no nominal subject with the verbs of the second sentence in: "Peter je došao. Ě Kaže da Ě želi s tobom govoriti" (Peter has arrived. Says that wants to talk to you). Although the

subject is not expressed, it could be easily supplied from the context in the form of "Petar" or its substitute "on" (he). In a sentence like "Vruće je" (Hot is = It is hot), however, the context, if any, does not contain the omitted subject. It may be possible to supply a subject like "Vrijeme je vruće" (The weather is hot), but the subject is not derived from the context, or rather context, it is inferred from the logic of the situation and a number of other subjects would do as well, such as "dan" (day), "ljetu" (summer), etc., and the introduction of a subject results in a change of meaning, that is, the result is a sentence different from the one containing the impersonal verb. Most SC verbs used in this way will have in E as their equivalents verbs with "it" as a semantically empty subject, as in

- (1) Vruće je : It is hot
- (2) Daleko je do Londona : It is a long way + London
- (3) Kasno je : It is getting late

A predicative adjective with a verb used in this way is in the neuter gender, a form which is the same as the form numerous adverbs take. As there is no nominal element which could, by its gender agreement with the predicative adjective, indicate that what is involved is an adjective rather than an adverb, confusion in translating into E or ambiguity in SC occasionally results.

In "Dijete je dobro", dobro is either an adjective, and the sentence means "The child is good", or an adverb, in which case the sentence means "The child is well". It is not surprising, therefore, that a speaker of SC may feel tempted to translate "Vruće je" (Hot [adjective or adverb by form] is) as "(It) is hotly."

1.1.2. This is the use of "it" which in E grammars is usually described as occurring with expressions of time, distance, and weather conditions. A better name for this last term would be "the state of the environment", as this "it" is found also in cases where "the weather" is man-made (It is hot in this room. Will you turn off the heating?) or where there is no reference to the weather at all, whether natural or man-made, as in: It was smoky in the cave.

1.1.3. Even in cases where E has a semantic subject, SC keeps the impersonal verb and the E subject finds an equivalent in a nominal group in the dative case: "I am hot" : Vruće mi je" (To me is hot).

1.1.4. This "it" occurs also in other "impersonal" statements, such as:

(4) It says in the Bible that all men are liars  
(4SC) Biblija kaže da su svi muškarci lažljivci

(5) It is nice to sleep late  
(5SC) Lijepo je dugo spavati

1.1.5. It must be said in all fairness that, although our statement about the SC structure requiring "it" in its E equivalent is more formal, the semantic definition (time, distance, state of the environment) is more comprehensive as it covers also the cases where in a time indication E has "it" for a noun subject, or at least nominal material in subject position, in SC, as in

(6) Subota je (Saturday is)  
(6E) It is Saturday

Also, the semantic definition is more directly applicable, without the necessity of having recourse to transformation, as in:

(8) Kiša pada → Kiši : It is raining

1.2. Another type of non-antecedent "it" is seen in instances like

- (9) to lay it on with a trowel
- (10) to get it in the neck
- (11) you're in for it
- (12) hang it all

1.2.1. This "it" occurs mostly in what is usually called "idioms" which in most cases cannot be translated into SC word-for-word. Therefore, there is no SC formal correspondence for it, if by formal correspondence we mean a lexical or grammatical item which appears recurrently for a definite item in another language and which plays a similar role in the structure of the two languages. It is probably not quite correct to say that this "it" has no antecedent. It is true there is no linguistically expressed formal antecedent, but there is a built-in semantic antecedent, or rather referent, which stands for something pleasant or, human nature being what it is, more frequently something unpleasant.

1.3. There is a mixed type of "it" which is not clearly antecedent or non-antecedent. It involves cases where "it" refers to a situation which is not linguistically expressed or is expressed rather vaguely. An instance of this type of "it" is seen in a situation where somebody sitting in a room reacts to the noise proceeding from the next room with the question, "Is it you, John?" where the antecedent of "it" is "the noise I hear". "Is the noise I hear (made by) you, John?" Another example is found in the exclamation of the detective made upon entering a room containing a corpse lying on the floor with a knife handle sticking from its back. "It's a murder" where "it" refers to the situation of the corpse lying on the floor, etc. This situation can find a linguistic expression

somewhere in the text but even in this case it is not clearly the formal antecedent of "it". This "it" is very consistently rendered as "to" in SC: "Jesi li to ti, Ivane?"; "To je ubojstvo."

1.4. Another type of non-antecedent "it" is the one in which "it" has the meaning of "the important thing", "excellent", and the like, as in

(13) In a cigarette it is the taste

(14) In mathematics he is IT

1.4.1. SC will render this "it" as "ono najvažnije" (Kod cigarete ulus je ono najvažnije), "glavni" (Glavni je u matematici - slightly slangy), or in some other similar way.

1.5. There is a type of "it" which one is tempted to regard as a conversion morpheme to convert a noun or, more rarely, an adjective into a verb, as in

(15) to rough it

(16) to hotel it

(17) to foot it

1.5.1. There is no consistent SC equivalent of this "it". SC will use description here, as in "odsjesti u hotelu" (stay in a hotel) for "to hotel it," "Spavati u šatoru" (sleep in a tent) or something else depending on the context for "to rough it", etc.

2. ANTECEDENT "IT"

2.1. The antecedent is a noun-group.

2.2.1. The antecedent refers mostly to inanimate referents, occasionally to animals or even babies:

(18) This is my watch. It is a Swiss one

(19) Where is the cat? - It is in the garden .

(20) She is expecting a baby and wants to name it  
after one of her parents

2.2.2. This "it" is most frequently translated into SC as zero. Instead of the zero a noun or, more frequently, a pronoun agreeing with the antecedent noun is possible, although in some cases it would be rather awkward:

(21) If he should catch a fox he would say it was an elephant

(21SC) Da uhvati lisicu, rekao bi da je ø (or "ona" : "she" because  
"lisica" : "fox" is feminine in its unmarked form) slon

(22) How much does it (the rifle) weigh?

(22SC) Koliko je ø/ona (puška) teška?

2.2.3. "it" is translated as "ø" mostly when the noun substituted by "ø" would be in the nominative case:

(23) (rifle) How much does it weigh?

(23SC) (puška) Koliko je ø teška?

(24) (dynamite) I know what it is for

(24SC) (dinamit) Znam čemu ø služi

(25) (medicine) It cures everything

(25SC) (lijek) ø liječi sve

2.2.4. In the case of a verb phrase containing a past participle, the zero reference to the antecedent is supplemented by a gender suffix of the participle echoing the gender of the antecedent:

(26) (hair) It's almost grown out now

(26SC) (kosa - feminine) Sad je ø već skoro narasla (f.)

2.2.5. A predicative adjective will also show the same gender as the antecedent

referred to by "ø":

(27) (face) It was almost round

(27SC) (lice - neuter) ø Bilo je gotovo okruglo (n.)

2.2.6. When the substituted noun would be in an oblique case, it is mostly represented by the corresponding personal pronoun:

(28) (rifle) Do you wish to study it now?

(28SC) (most) Želiš li ga sad proučavati?

(29) (absinthe) But I poured it into the water

(29SC) (absint) Mi ja sam ga nalio u vodu

(30) (medicine) I bought it in Madrid

(30SC) (lijek) Kupio sam ga u Madridu

2.2.7. A combination of "ø" (for the nominative repetition of the antecedent) and personal pronoun (for the non-nominative repetition) is seen in:

(31) (rifle) One man can carry it but it is heavy

(31SC) (puška) Jedan je (accusative) čovjek može nositi, ali ø (nominative) je teška

2.2.8. A personal pronoun is obligatory with prepositions:

(32) (rifle) How many rounds have you for it?

(32SC) (puška) Koliko imate metaka za nju?

2.2.9. Personal pronouns are obligatory also with the instrumental case, where the colloquial style often uses the preposition "s(a)":

(33) Golz looked at the pencil, then tapped his teeth with it

(33SC) Golz je pogledao olovku, a zatim pokucao (sa) njome po zubima

2.2.10. The antecedent noun is repeated in situations where it is desired to avoid ambiguity or where the antecedent would be too widely separated from "ø". In either case, "ø" is possible.

2.2.10.1. Ambiguity arises in cases where there are two possible antecedents, one human and the other non-human. In E, the use of "it" excludes the reference to the human antecedent. In SC, with its grammatical gender, "ø" would be ambiguous, but so would a personal pronoun be if the antecedents are of the same gender:

- (34) The man had a hat on his head. It (only "the hat") was rather old  
(34SC) Čovjek (m.) je imao šešir (m.) na glavi. ø (the man or the hat)  
bio je prilično star. On (m. - the man or the hat) bio je prilično star  
Šešir (the hat) je bio prilično star  
Čovjek (the man) je bio prilično star

2.2.10.2. The occurrence of a lexical item used only of humans or non-humans will solve the ambiguity also when only "ø" is used:

- (35) Čovjek je imao šešir na glavi. ø bio je vremešan.  
("rather old" - used only of humans.)

2.2.10.3. The antecedent noun is repeated if it would be separated from "ø" by too long a string of words, although "ø" is also possible:

- (36) ... pass ... Below, where the road turns out of sight in the trees,  
it drops suddenly  
(36SC) ... klanac ... Dolje, gdje se cesta gubi u drveću, klanac (or ø)  
se naglo spušta

2.2.11. The neuter demonstrative "to" in the nominative case is the equivalent of "it" when in SC a nominal group functions as complement after the linking verb "biti":

- (37) ... a long name ... It is a nickname  
(37SC) ... dugačko ime ... To je nadimak  
(38) Cf. ... a long name ... It has ten letters  
(38SC) ... dugačko ime ... ø (or ono, or ime) ima deset slova



2.3. The antecedent is the meaning, or part of the meaning, of a previously expressed statement:

He came home late. It provoked his father

2.3.1. The most frequent SC equivalent of this "it" is the neuter demonstrative "to" which occurs also in oblique cases. "To" is frequent as the object of a verb or a preposition:

(39) (to take the life of another...) I will do it whenever necessary  
(39SC) Ja ću to učiniti kad je god potrebno

(40) (I would kill the sentry...) We will leave them to those who enjoy it  
(40SC) Ostavit ćemo ih onima koji to vole

2.3.2. "To" is obligatory with the copula followed by a complement other than a neuter-gender adjective:

(41) (It is by doing nothing here that we are able to live in these mountains...) It is the principle of the fox  
(41SC) To je načelo lisice

(42) (It was then I found the girl where she had run from the train to the rocks and she ran with us...) It was the only good thing we have done  
(42SC) Bila je to (or To je bila ...) jedina dobra stvar što smo učinili

(43) (I found her hidden in the rocks ...) It was when we were leaving  
(43SC) Bilo je to (or To je bilo...) kad smo odlazili

2.3.3. In some cases there seems to be an antecedent, but in reality the reference is not to this apparent antecedent but to the meaning of the preceding statement in which the quasi-antecedent also figures:

(44) Somebody sat behind him but I could not see who it (that is "somebody sitting behind him" rather than "somebody") was

2.3.3.1. That this "it" does not refer to a human antecedent but to a situation involving a human referent, can be concluded from the fact that "it" does not change into "they" when the quasi-antecedent is plural, as in:

(45) Who is it making all that noise? - It's the children playing upstairs

2.3.3.2. "It" is useful in cases like these because it does away with the necessity of selecting one of the sex pronouns, while the occurrence of "who" clearly shows that a human referent is involved.

2.3.3.3. A similar use is seen also in:

(46) I don't know who it was

2.3.3.4. This "it" occurs with question words "who", "which", and "what", functioning as copula complements. SC will have here "to" or "Ø":

(44SC) Ktko je sjedio iza njega ali nisam mogao vidjeti tko je Ø, to

(46SC) Ne znam tko je Ø/to bio

2.3.4. Zero for "to" is quite frequent in the construction "copula in the third person combined with a neuter-gender adjective":

(47) We can go if it is necessary

(47SC) Možemo ići, ako je Ø/to potrebno

(48) (I do not like to kill animals) With me it is the opposite

(48SC) Kod mene je Ø/to obratno

2.3.5. "It" in subject or object position quite frequently represents a (logical) non-nominal subject or object. The subject or object substituted by "it" most frequently consists of, or contains, an infinitive, gerund, or dependent clause:

(49) E always pays to tell the truth (to tell the truth always pays)

(50) It has been just splendid meeting you here

(51) I find it difficult to believe that

(52) You must find it rather dull living here all by yourself

(53) It is natural that you should think so

(54) I took it for granted that you would stay with us

2.3.5.1. The verb following the "anticipatory subject it" is in most cases the copula "to be".

2.3.5.2. In such cases, SC will mostly use "ø" subject and an equivalent of the E verb following "it":

(55) It is cruel to beat a dog like that

(55SC) Okrutno je tako tući psa

(56) It always pays to tell the truth

(56SC) Uvijek se isplati govoriti istinu

2.3.5.3. This SC construction is the same as the "impersonal" construction (1.1.), the only difference being that in this construction a non-nominal subject could be supplied from the body of the sentence, although it would be rather awkward:

(55) Tako tući psa je okrutno

(56) Govoriti istinu uvijek se isplati

2.3.5.4. With expressions of time and distance the anticipatory "it" cannot be very well substituted by the following infinitive:

(57) It is time to go → \*To go is time

(58) It is not far to walk → \*To walk is not far

2.3.5.5. For this "it" in the object position, SC in most cases has no object so that each sentence has to be treated individually. The difficulties here will be largely due to lexical differences, so that most of the cases the speaker of SC

will have to memorize as phrases. It is impossible for a speaker of SC to arrive at the sentence "I find it difficult to believe that" from the equivalent SC sentence "To mi je teško vjerovati" (That to me is difficult to believe). Particularly difficult are sentences containing a gerund, represented by "it" in either subject or object position, as the gerund will have a dependent clause or an infinitive as its SC equivalent:

(59) It was nice having you to tea

(59SC) Bilo je lijepo što ste bili na čaju

(60) You must find it rather dull living here all by yourself

(60SC) Mora da vam je prilično dosadno živjeti ovdje sasvim sami /da ovdje živite sasvim sami

2.3.6. The emphatic formula "it is/was... that/who or that/which"

2.3.6.1. This construction is rendered into SC by means of the emphatic stress on the part filling the slot. In writing, the construction is either ignored or the part filling the slot is brought into relief by giving it end position; but this syntactic signal is not obligatory.

(61) It was John that/who did it

(61SC) IVAN je to učinio  
To je učinio Ivan

2.3.6.2. A plural noun filling the slot will make the construction even more difficult for the SC speaker, who will be confused by the plural subject noun followed by a plural verb in his language as against the subject "it" followed by the singular "is" or "was" in E:

(62) It was the children who did that

(62SC) Djeca (subject, pl., emphatic stress) su (pl.) to učinila  
To su učinila djeca

2.3.6.3. As the possible SC equivalents have no resemblance to the E construction, the SC speaker will either learn the E construction ignoring his mother tongue, or he will, in speech, give the emphasized part strong stress and make it the subject of the sentence:

(63) JOHN did it.

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## THE ENGLISH PRETERIT TENSE AND ITS SERBO-CROAT EQUIVALENTS<sup>1</sup>

### 1. TEMPORAL USE

#### Simple Preterit

1.1. The temporal Preterit is used to locate a verb action in the primary past.

(1) I bought this bronze when I was in Naples

The simple Preterit is neutral as to the completion or duration of the action located in the primary past:

(2) He sat for a long time not saying a word.

See also 2.2.1.

1.2. The secondary past is expressed by the Past Perfect:

(3) It was funny I had never noticed it

Both E tenses have, in their use outside indirect speech, the Perfekt as their most frequent SC equivalent, with approximately the same probability value (.7). Hence, the Perfekt is of little value in itself to the speaker of SC as a possible signal for the selection of the correct past tense in E. The Preterit, on the other hand, is more frequent than the Past Perfect, so that, in spite of the same translation equivalence probability, the SC Perfekt will more frequently translate the E Preterit than the Past Perfect.

1.3. Follows a discussion of the most frequent SC equivalents of the Preterit.

The equivalents are arranged in descending order of probability.

#### 1. 4. Perfekt

1. 4. 1. The most frequent SC equivalent of the temporal Preterit is the Perfekt.

This tense, when combined with adverbials clearly standing for the primary past period, is a fairly reliable signal for the occurrence of the Preterit in E.

The most frequent such past-time adverbials are. "onda" (then), "prije" + noun indicating time (noun + ago), "taj" + noun indicating time (that + noun), "jučer" (yesterday), "jednom" (once, once upon a time), "sinoć" (last night), "neko veče" (the other night), "prošli put" (last time), "lani" (last year), and similar:

(4) I thought of it yesterday when I was visiting her  
(4SC) Toga sam se sjetila jučer kad sam bila kod nje u posjeti

(5) The sergeant handed them to me half an hour ago  
(5SC) Dao mi ih je vodnik prije pola sata

#### 1. 5. Prezent

1. 5. 1. The adverbials "nowadays," "today", "now" and the like are frequently used for simultaneity rather than for the present time. The SC equivalents of these adverbials ("danas," "dan," "sada") frequently require the Prezent, even in a past-time context:

(6) It took longer for the Colonel to recover nowadays  
(6SC) Danas treba pukovniku dulje da se oporavi

(7) Buggins was in power in many places today  
(7SC) Buggins je danas na snazi na mnogo mjesta

(8) It was a world which now had no time for gentl. .nen and gentlemen  
had little time for the world they were living in

(8SC) Ovo je svijet koji sada nema vremena za džentlmene, a džentlmeni  
imaju malo vremena za svijet u kojem sada žive

A past-time tense is not at all rare:

(9) He now confronted Dixon near the porter's lodge

(9SC) On sad stajaše pred Dixonom pokraj vratarnice

This difference in tense distribution in the two languages reflects the general differences in sequence-of-tense rules, which are not the subject of this paper as they do not concern the E Preterit tense and its SC equivalents alone. The following paragraphs only illustrate some of the differences.

1.5.2. Also without these adverbials, the Prezent is very frequent, particularly the Prezent of perfective verbs (Narrative Present). This Prezent can in all instances be substituted by the Perfekt (or, less frequently, by the Aorist), with a resulting loss of vividness of narration or, in the case of the Aorist, with the introduction of a rustic flavor. It is used mostly if the past is indicated contextually (10), if it is signaled by an explicitly past-time adverbial ("jučer," "pred tjedan dana," "lani," etc.) the Prezent is less likely (10a):

(10) The boy indicated a tall dingy house

(10SC) Dječak pokaže visoku prljavu zgradu

(10a) Yesterday the boy indicated a tall dingy house

(10aSC) Jučer je dječak pokazao (?pokaže) visoku prljavu zgradu

1.5.3. The Prezent of imperfective verbs is the most common equivalent of the E Preterit in object clauses introduced by the connector "da" (mostly in indirect or represented speech) and having a past-time verb form in the main



clause:

(11) He said that he hated me

(11SC) Rekao je da me mrzi

(12) John believed that nothing could be done. The Colonel hated him and nobody could persuade him to change his attitude

(12SC) Ivan je bio uvjeren da se ništa ne može učiniti. Pukovnik ga mrzi i nitko ga ne može nagovoriti da promijeni svoj stav

1.5.4. in indirect versions of imperatives, the Prezent of perfective verbs can occur with a past-time verb form in the main clause, but the E equivalent of this perfective Prezent is the infinitive rather than the Preterit:

(13) Rekao mi je da dodjem

(13E) He told me to come

Some other SC sentence types with the same distribution of tenses and with the connector "da" give the same result in E:

(14) Došao je da me vidi

(14E) He came to see me

1.5.5. In these cases the SC Prezent does not refer to the present time but to the same time period as the introductory past-time transitive verb.

Some more examples:

(15) Then I knew it was all right between us : Tada sam shvatila da je medju nama sve u redu.

(16) No other professor in Great Britain, he thought, set such store by being called Professor : Pomisli kako nijedan drugi profesor u Velikoj Britaniji ne drži toliko do toga da ga zovu profesorom

(17) He comforted himself for having said this by the thought that at least he knew it didn't mean anything (where the clause "that at least he knew it didn't mean anything" is the object of the verbal noun "thought"); On se utješio da je to rekao pomislivši (the participle "pomislivši" translating the E verbal noun "thought") da bar on zna kako to ništa ne znači

- (18) Satisfaction was when he felt that failure did not matter anyway .  
Zadovoljstvo bi nadošlo kad bi osjećao da neuspjeh ipak ništa ne  
znači

1. 5. 6. With perfective verbs, the Perfekt occurs in this environment translating the E Past Perfect:

- (19) Pitao sam ga što radi (Prezent, imperfective)  
(19E) I asked him what he was doing  
(19a) Pitao sam ga što je uradio (Perfekt, perfective)  
(19aE) I asked him what he had done

1. 5. 7. The Prezent for the Preterit is quite common in expressions which come close to proverbs with all-time import:

- (20) What convinced in January wouldn't necessarily convince in August  
(20SC) Što te osvjedočuje u siječnju, ne će te nužno osvjedočiti u kolovozu  
(21) Woman complicated things  
(21SC) Žena zamršuje stvari  
(22) You took what you could get  
(22SC) Uzmeš što možeš dobiti

The above sentences were probably not meant to have any proverbial overtone in the original, but the translator's use of the Prezent, coupled with the semantics of the lexical items involved, makes them definitely sound like proverbial expressions in the SC translation, this overtone is lost if the Prezent is substituted by the Perfekt (Uzimao si što si mogao dobiti, etc.)

1. 5. 8. The Prezent is the only possible equivalent of the Preterit following the permissive with "let":

- (23) Let the English think what they wished  
(23SC) Neka Englezi misle što hoće

The Perfekt occurs if the E infinitive "think", SC Present in (23SC), is rendered as Perfekt: Neka su Englezi mislili što su htjeli.

1.5.9. The Prezent is obligatory in represented questions:

(24) Where was Welch?

(24SC) Gdje je Welch?

That is, the represented question in SC is rendered as a direct question, as represented speech (not to be confused with indirect speech) is rather infrequent in SC.

1.6. Prezent/Aorist

1.6.1. A number of SC verbs have homographic forms for the third person singular of the Prezent and the Aorist. For numerous speakers these forms are also homophonous. The Prezent/Aorist form can be substituted by the Perfekt.

This use resembles closely the Narrative Prezent:

(25) Sturge then handed me the cheque for the full amount

(25SC) Sturge mi tada pruži (or with the Perfekt: pružio je) ček za puni iznos.

1.8. Imperfekt and Aorist

1.8.1. In addition to the Perfekt, two other tenses used for the primary past occur as equivalents of the E temporal Preterit. They are much less frequent than the Perfekt, and their use often signals rusticity or pseudo-poetic style, at least in my idiolect:

1.8.2. Aorist

(26) I took that sheet of paper Isabel had given me

(26SC) Izvadih (or with the more usual Perfekt: izvadio sam) onaj papir što mi ga je dala Izabela

1.8.3. Imperfekt

(27) The other hands pointed to five past nine

(27SC) Ostale dvije kazaljke pokazivahu (or with the Perfekt, pokazivale su) da je devet sati i pet minuta.

1.9. Kondicional

1.9.1. The Kondicional is occasionally used for a repeated, habitual, past-time action:

(28) When they met they never had time to talk as they used to talk

(28SC) Kad bi se sastali, nikad ne bi imali vremena . . .

1.9.2. This Kondicional is frequent with adverbials indicating repeated occurrence, such as "ponekad" (sometimes), "katkada" (sometimes, occasionally), "od vremena do vremena" (from time to time), "kad god" (whenever, each time), and the like:

(29) Sometimes a bowl shone deep blue; then became livid

(29SC) Ponekad bi neka zdjela zaejala u dubokoj modrini, koja bi se načas pretvorila u olovno plavetnilo

(30) Every time she mentioned Snow's she said "we" with faint selfconsciousness

(30SC) Kad bi god spomenula Snow, govorila je u množini s izvjesnom nelagodnošću

Continuous Preterit

2.1. The continuous Preterit is used when it is desired to explicitly stress the duration of an action. "He was walking to the station" as against "He walked to the station."

2.2. Otherwise, this Preterit is most frequent in two-part sentences<sup>2</sup> where the meaning of duration is combined with the meaning of incompleteness and the

resulting overlap:

(31) When he came, I was writing a letter

2. 2. 1. The simple Preterit stands for non-duration or measurable duration;  
the continuous form signals unmeasurable duration:

(32a) The band was playing while I wrote

(32b) \*The band was playing for two hours while I wrote

(32c) The band was playing while I wrote for two hours

2. 3. In SC both duration and incompleteness are expressed by means of the  
imperfective aspect:

(31SC) Kad je došao, ja sam pisao pismo

2. 4. The consistency of the SC aspectual equivalence of the continuous  
element in E can be, occasionally, utilized as a signal for the use of the  
continuous Preterit.

(33) When I saw him he was running away

(33SC) Kad sam ga ugledao, bježao je (imperfective)

(34) When I saw him, he ran away

(34SC) Kad sam ga ugledao, pobjegao je (perfective)

2. 5. The incompleteness of the action expressed by the continuous Preterit  
in two-part sentences results in temporal overlapping of the two actions involved,  
the incomplete action sharing some space of time with the action expressed by  
the simple Preterit. When the overlap is absent, the simple Preterit is used:

(35) As the clock struck, he died

The lack of overlap is reflected in the use of the perfective aspect in SC:

(35SC) Kad je sat otkncao, umro je

2.6. The continuous Preterit is used as a frame action round a point-time action, which is again a result of the underlying meaning of incompleteness

(36) He was sitting in a café when I saw him

2.7. Aside from the aspectual element (which excludes the Aorist as a possible equivalent as well as perfective forms of other possible temporal equivalents), the same imperfective SC tenses occurring as equivalents of the simple Preterit are also equivalents of the continuous Preterit:

(37) He knew where he was going

(37SC) Znao je kamo ide

(38) He was losing his boyish look. Eleanor thought

(38SC) Gubi svoj dječjački izgled, pomislila je Eleanor

(39) It was as if she were asking me for protection

(39SC) Činilo se kao da od mene traži zaštitu (see 4. MODAL USE)

(40) He was sitting in a café when I saw him

(40SC) Sjedio je (Sjedjaše) u kavani kad sam ga ugledao

### 3. FUTURE IN THE PAST

3.1. This preterit is used for any tense referring to the future in a past-time context:

(41) I will come tomorrow → He said that he would come the next day : Rekao je da će doći slijedećeg dana (or "kao sutra")

(42) Are you returning to Uxbridge? → I asked him if he was returning to Uxbridge : Pitao sam ga da li se vraća u Uxbridge

(43) Both officers have drunk all night and they will feel ill and irritable when he wakes them → Both officers had drunk all night and they would feel ill and irritable when he woke them : Oba su oficira pila cijelu noć, pa će se osjećati bolesnim i razdraženim kad ih probudi (or bude probudio)

(44) The boat leaves tomorrow → I thought that the boat left the next day : Mislio sam da brod odlazi slijedećeg dana

3.2. The SC equivalents of the future in the past are the same as those occurring as equivalents of expressions of true futurity (see D. Kalogjera, "Modals" and L. Spalatin "Present").

#### 4. MODAL USE

4.1. This Preterit form presents a verb action as imagined or not fulfilled. The time of the action thus presented is the same as the time of the verb in the main clause or the time the speaker is referring to. Thus, the modal Preterit is in the present time in:

(45) I don't know. I wish I did

(46) He acts as if he knew English perfectly

(47) If I had money I'd buy a house

and in the past time in:

(48) He said with relief as though that settled matters

4.2. The modal Preterit for cotemporaneity is found after

(a) I'd rather, I'd sooner, I'd better, I'd just as soon, and similar expressions:

(49) I'd rather you went now

(b) It is (high) time:

(50) It is high time that the people born and brought up in the suburbs of Britain found a spokesman

4.3. In this modal use, the verb "to be" can employ the form were in all persons:

(51) I feel as though I were admitting some infection to my room

(52) It is as if she were still alive

4.4. The SC Prezent translates the imaginative Preterit when the verb of the main clause is non-past (Prezent or Kondicional I). The unfulfilment of imaginativeness is signaled by the connectors "da," "kao da" and the like.

(53) You use the word as though it were an insult

(53SC) Ti upotrebljavaš tu riječ kao da je uvreda

(54) "If you weren't so young," she said, "I'd call the police"

(54SC) "Da niste tako mladi," reče, "pozvala bih policiju"

4.5. With a past-time verb form in the main clause, the modal Preterit is translated either by the Prezent or the Perfekt (see 1.4., 1.5.3., and L.

Spalatin, "Present"):

(56) He laughed again as though it were all

(56SC) On se ponovno nasmije kao da je to sve

(57) Everything seemed intensely real, as if I were watching myself take part in a documentary film

(57SC) Sve je izgledalo tako neumljivo stvarno kao da sam promatrao samoga sebe kako sudjelujem u nekom dokumentarnom filmu

#### 4.6. PHRASES:

4.6.1. The phrase "as it were" is variously translated into SC, one of the possibilities being the phrase "tako reći":

(58) St. Gregory the Great stood to the west to complete the symbol, as it were, of the coming of faith to England

(58SC) Sv. Grgur Veliki stajao je zapadno da tako reći upotpuni simbol dolaska vjere u Englesku

4.6.2. The Preterit form of either "have" or "will" is found in "I'd better," "I'd rather," "I'd sooner," "I'd just as soon," and the like, which are best taught as phrases, as there is, in most cases, no consistent and satisfactory SC equivalence.



NOTES

1. This is a revised version of the report printed under the same title in Reports 4.
2. Perhaps a clear example of a two-part sentence which requires the was ... -ing form is one of this type: "When John came home, Mary — the dinner, but it wasn't done." With any verb which is not habitual, the only form which will fill the blank is an -ing phrase — was cooking, was preparing, was arranging, and so on ... The fact that the sequence but it wasn't done requires was cooking can then be used to isolate at least one component of the was ... -ing construction, namely, that the action indicated is not complete. (Hill, A. A., Introduction to Linguistic Structures, p. 209)

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## VERBS WITH TWO OBJECTS IN ENGLISH AND SERBO-CROATIAN

1. In addition to those verbs in English which take only one object, i. e., the Direct Object<sup>1</sup>, some transitive verbs may take two objects:

- (1) She sent me a book.
- (2) He told Mary the truth.

The same is true of Serbo-Croatian:

- (1SC) Poslala mi je knjigu.
- (2SC) Rekao je Martji istinu.

1.1. The two objects in E are called the Indirect and the Direct Object and they occur in the following order. IO - DO, immediately following the verb:

- (3) He owes me money.
- (4) They gave their son a dog.
- (3SC) Duguje mi novaca.
- (4SC) Poklonili su sinu psa.

In such cases the IO usually denotes a person, the DO a thing. Therefore the IO often takes the form of a personal pronoun, while the DO is almost invariably a noun, or a noun-headed group, since a pronoun is normally a weakly stressed word and rarely occupies the final position in a sentence. If the DO happens to be a pronoun, it is usually a so-called "heavy pronoun", capable of receiving a stress:

- (5) He told my brother everything.
- but not:  
\*He told my brother it.

Sometimes both objects can be nouns:

(6) The teacher gave Mary a book.

In some cases both objects can denote persons, or - things.

Nevertheless, even here no ambiguity occurs, because when two nouns in E follow a verb and neither of them is accompanied by a preposition, the first one is always recognized as Dative and the other as Accusative, i. e., the first one as IO and the second one as DO:

(7) They recommended him another doctor.

(8) I never gave the matter a thought.

1.1.1. E sentences with a personal pronoun used as an IO in position after a DO can be encountered, but only if both objects are pronominal. Such examples, however, seem to be limited to British English:

(9) He told it me with such direct simplicity. . .

1.2. In SC the IO takes the Dative form, the DO the Accusative:

(10) Majka je dala detetu jabuku.

(10E) The mother gave the child an apple.

Sometimes the DO can take the form of Genitive, in which cases some usually precedes the noun in E:

(11) Majka je dala detetu hleba.

(11E) The mother gave the child some bread.

(12) Kupi mi mleka,

(12E) Buy me some milk.

If in SC the IO is a personal pronoun, it often takes the enclitic form:

(13) Rekao sam joj sve.

(13E) I told her everything.

(14) Napísaó sam mu dugačko písmo.

(14E) I wrote him a long letter.

2. Besides the IO, another kind of object can accompany the DO in E. That object often takes the preposition to and the generally accepted term for such an object is Prepositional Object<sup>2</sup>:

(15) He gave a book to his friend.

(15SC) Dao je knjigu prijatelju.

There is a group of verbs which can take only a to-PO as their second object. Here is a list of these verbs: describe, explain, introduce, mention, remember, report, say, speak.

(16) I described the route to my friend.

(16SC) Opisao sam put svome prijatelju.

(17) There was no one to report the accident to the police.

(17SC) Nije bilo nikoga da policiji podnese izvještaj o nesreći.

The preposition for can also be used with the PO but much less frequently than the preposition to. When for is used with the PO, it often slightly modifies its meaning, i. e., it indicates that the action of the verb is done "for the sake of", "to the benefit of" what is expressed by the noun or the pronoun in the PO.

A list follows of those verbs which, when accompanied by a double object, take only a for-PO as their second object: cash, close, correct, fill, fix, open, pronounce, sign, translate.

(18) When are you going to translate this passage for me?

(18SC) Kada ćeš mi prevesti ovaj odlomak?

(19) Let me correct these sentences for you.

(19SC) Dajte da vam ispravim te rečenice.

When used with repeat the for-PO can be substituted by the to-PO,

but not by the IO:

(20) Repeat your answer for her.

(20') Repeat your answer to her.

but not:

\*Repeat her your answer.

When used metaphorically the to-PO can substitute the for-PO with the verb open:

(21) Open the door to whoever comes.

but:

(22) Open the door for me.

2.1. The DO - PO instead of the IO - DO order is preferred (a) when both objects are pronominal, (b) when the DO is a pronoun, especially the weakly stressed it, (c) when the PO is longer, or more prominent, than the DO, or (d) when it contains a phrase or a clause:

(23) He showed them to me.

(24) I gave it to the teacher.

(25) I gave the book to your elder brother.

(26) ... give my window frame and my cat with one eye to that new girl who has come to town...

2.1.1. A large number of verbs can take either the IO + DO or DO + PO. The following list enumerates those verbs which alternate the IO with the to-PO:

advance, address, allow, bring, deliver, deny, drop, extend, feed,  
furnish, give, grant, hand, issue, lend, loan, mail, offer, owe, pass, pay,  
present, phone, promise, read, relay, sell, send, serve, show, sing, slip,

supply, take, teach, tell, trade, throw, type, whisper, write.

Other verbs can alternate the IO with the for-PO:

bake, boil, build, buy, call, catch, choose, close, cook, dial, dig, do,  
earn,  fry, find, gather, guarantee, hire, land, leave, light, make, mix,  
name, order, pack, paint, peel, pour, print, reach, reserve, save, sew,  
shoot, spare, win.

A limited number of verbs can take all three combinations of objects:

IO - DO, DO - to-PO, IO - for-PO. These are the verbs: play, quote, type,  
vote.

(27) Play us another song.

(28) Now, I am going to play a song for our host.

(29) He played his act to the audience.

When used with the verbs prepare (qua make) and keep (qua save) the  
for-PO can be substituted by the simple IO form:

(30) Have you prepared him a meal?

(31) Keep me a seat, will you.

When used in their other meanings keep and prepare always take a  
for-PO:

(32) Have you prepared your exercises for the teacher?

(33) She kept the shop for her father.

Send used in the meaning of fetch demands the preposition for:

(34) They sent her for the doctor.

In its other meanings send can take either the IO or the to-PO:

(35) Send me word of your arrival.

(36) I won't send another check to him.

2.2. The normal position of the PO is after the DO. Nevertheless, the PO can sometimes precede it, especially if the DO is longer, or modified by a phrase or a clause:

(37) I bought for my friend a book that described Yugoslav folk music.

(38) Three months ago I wrote to my English friend a letter which she never answered.

3. In SC there is no division of objects into IO and PO. Thus both the IO and the PO in E are rendered in SC by Dative forms.<sup>3</sup> In fact, the SC Dative never takes a preposition when functioning as an object, although a preposition often accompanies the Dative when used in some of its other meanings, e.g., direction, goal.<sup>4</sup>

(39) He sold me his old car.

(39SC) Prodao mi je svoja stara kola.

(40) They bought Mary a nice present.

(40SC) Kupili su Mariji lep poklon.

(41) I said 'Good Morning' to you.

(41SC) Rekao sam Vam 'Dobro jutro'.

(42) John opened the door for me.

(42SC) Jovan mi je otvorio vrata.

3.1. Although the preposition to, which is most commonly used with the PO, has no equivalent in SC, the preposition for sometimes corresponds to the preposition za in SC:

(43) I want to buy a present for a two year old boy.

(43SC) Želim da kupim poklon za dvogodišnjeg dečaka.

Often a for-PO corresponds to a simple Dative form in SC:

(44) Do a favour for me!

(44SC) Učini mi uslugu!

Sometimes both possibilities in SC are equally valid:

(45) She has made coffee for all of us.

(45SC') Skuvala je kafu za sve nas.

(45SC'') Skuvala nam je svima kafu.

4. It is possible to find verbs in E which can take only a PO. In some of these examples the DO has obviously been deleted:

(46) You can write to Marie, I'll write to Phil...

(47) The woman gave regularly to the poor.

However, there are some verbs in E which take the PO as the only object.

Some of these verbs take only a PO when used in one of their meanings.

With other meanings they take a Double Object. Thus the semantic factor plays here an important role<sup>5</sup>:

(48) I did not know John had proposed to Mary.

(49) We should all apologize to him.

Most of these examples are matched by simple Dative forms in SC:

(46SC) Možeš pisati Mariji, ja ću napisati Filu...

(47SC) Žena je redovno davala siromasima.

(49SC) Trebalo bi svi da mu se izvinemo.

The PO in example (29) corresponds to SC DO:

(48SC) Nisam znala da je Jovan zaprosio Mariju.

The verb služiti, when used in the meaning of serve, alternates Dative and Accusative as the only object:

(51) ... mi služimo svome narodu, a vi neprijatelju.

(52) Ova knjiga me je dobro služila mnoge godine.

In E the SC Dative and Accusative forms are matched by the DO:

(51E) ... we serve our people; and you, the enemy.

(52E) This book has served me well for many years.



4.2. Besides the prepositions to and for, some other prepositions, such as on, at, from, of, etc., can be used in front of nominals following the DO:

- (53) He spends a good deal on expensive clothes.

(53SC) Mnogo troši na skupu odeću.

(54) They accused him of theft.

(54SC) Optužili su ga za kradju.

but, since they cannot undergo a passive test<sup>6</sup>, they are not considered in the present paper.

4.3. Some verbs in SC, like trgovati, rukovoditi, upravljati, take the Instrumental as the only object:

(56) Stane trgovati svinjama...

(56E) On je rukovodio radovima na kanalu za navodnjavanje.

(57) U socijalizmu radnici upravljaju fabrikama.

(56E) He started trading in pigs...

(56E) He supervised the works on an irrigational canal.

(57E) Under socialism the workers run the factories.

4.4 Some other verbs like zahvaljivati, zavideti are accompanied by two objects, one of them taking the form of the Dative, the other of the Locative with the preposition na:

(58) Pri polasku svi domaćinu zahvaljuju na gostoprimstvu.

(59) Zavidim vam na divnoj bašti.

(58E) On the way out everybody thanked the host for his hospitality.

(59E) I envy you your fine garden.

4.5. There is a small group of verbs in E taking two objects that cannot easily be distinguished as either DO or IO: ask, teach, envy<sup>7</sup>. In SC the two

objects can both be Accusative:

(60) Ask him something.

(60SC) Upitaj ga nešto.

In the example:

(61) I asked him the reason.

the second object is rendered in SC by a prepositional Accusative form:

(61SC) Upitao sam ga za razlog.

Sometimes one of the objects corresponds to the Dative in SC, the other to the Accusative:

(62) The teacher taught the boys Latin.

(62SC) Nastavnik je dečacima predavao Latinski.

(63) I'll teach you a new song.

(63SC) Naučiću vas novoj pesmici.

4.6. Sometimes an E DO is omitted in SC, especially when in E it has the form of some, any. In such cases the DO in SC can be derived from the context:

(64) Did you leave me any?

(65) I'll buy you some.

(66) Please save some for your sister.

(64SC) Jeste li i meni ostavili?

(65SC) Kupiću ti.

(66SC) Molim vas, ostavite i svojoj sestri.

5. Although the two languages, one of them being more an analytic language, the other more synthetic, differ in devices they employ to express basically identical relationships - IO - DO; DO - PO, in E, versus Dative.

Accusative in SC<sup>8</sup> - there does not seem to be too much difficulty in mastering the correct use of the IO - DO or DO - PO sequences in E as L<sub>1</sub> from SC as L<sub>2</sub> point of view. The use of prepositions with the Prepositional Objects will be mastered together with the use of other prepositions corresponding to case endings in SC. However, in cases when there is no direct IO - DO - Dative - Accusative, or DO - PO - Accusative - Dative correspondence in E and SC, the student is expected to face difficulties:

(67) Slagao mi je. / Slagao me je.

(67E) He told me a lie.

(68) Reci mi koliko je sati.

(68E) Tell me the time.

The preposition for causes more difficulty to the students than the preposition to, probably because of its other meanings. Because of that special attention should be paid to the verbs taking the preposition for with the PO and to sufficient drilling.

5.1. Among the difficulties liable to arise, there will certainly be those concerning the position of the two objects within the sentence. In E the position of the object is almost exclusively immediately after the verb, while in SC the objects are not limited to only one position in the sentence:

(69) Pismo je uručio zameniku komandanta.

(69E) He delivered the letter to the second in command.

(70) Pretho joj je pismo.

(70E) He handed her the letter.

(71) Možete li mi nabaviti jedan primerak te knjige?

(71E) Can you get me a copy of that book?

(72) Učitelj im je održao čas engleskog.

(72E) The teacher gave them an English lesson.

Not only is the position of objects in the sentence fixed, but also the relationship between the verb and its objects is so tight that no other part of the sentence can separate them. On the other hand, in SC case inflections are strong enough to indicate the verb - object relationship even if they are widely separated:

(73) Poverila mi je nerado svoju tajnu.

(73E) She reluctantly confessed her secret to me.

but not:

\*She confessed to me reluctantly her secret.

Mistakes connected with the position of objects in E are often made.

5.1.1. Although, due to the syntactic nature of SC, an object can take several positions in a sentence without essentially changing the basic grammatical relations, this does not mean that the word order in SC is completely free. A certain position of one, or both, objects is often conditioned by the meaning of the whole sentence, or by the prominence of some of its parts:

(74) Nikome neću tu tajnu poveriti.

(74E) I won't tell that secret to anyone.

Also, prosodic, or stylistic, considerations can greatly influence the position of objects in SC:

(75) Odjednom k meni miris paljevine vjetar donese s garišta mog sela...

(75E) Suddenly the wind brought me the smell of ashes from my burnt-down village...

(76) Nevolja čoveka svačemu nauči.

(76E) Trouble teaches a man many things.

(77) ... i u ovoj, još uvek nerazjašnjenjnoj misteriji psihickom činioeu ne može da se ne pripíše znatna uloga.

(77E) ... and in this, still unexplained mystery, it is impossible not to attribute an important role to the psychological factor.

5.1.2. It should be noted here that due to its nature the enclitic Dative form when used as the IO can never take the initial or the final position in a SC sentence.

(78) Učitelj im je zadao domaći zadatak.

(79) Njima je poveren taj težak zadatak.

but not:

\*Im je zadao domaći zadatak.

\*Poveren je taj težak zadatak im.

5.2. Although very rarely, some variations of the standard word order in E are also possible. IO, PO or DO can take the initial position when they are especially emphasized, or in contrast with the previous statement, or to what had been expected:

(80) My youngest son, she brought a nice present; to the other children, she forgot to bring anything.

(81) She confides in anybody, but her mother she tells nothing.

(80SC) Mom najmladjem sinu donela je lep poklon, a zaboravila je da bilo šta donese ostaloj deci.

(81SC) Svakome se poverava, a svojoj majci ništa ne govori.

5.2.1. In SC an IO or a DO can also have front position on account of emphasis, which often corresponds to the final position on E:

(82) Nikome ne pozajmljujem svoje knjige.

(83) Ništa joj ne odbija.

(82E) I don't lend my books to 'anyone.

(83E) He denies her 'nothing.

A similar example can be found in the following E pattern:

(84) It is to 'me that he promised the money, not to 'you.

(84SC) Meni je on obećao novac, a ne vama.

6. The verbs explain, say, speak, talk and tell often confuse a student of E as L, since they all, with the exception of the last, take the preposition to, which students tend to drop, or to use after tell:

(85) May I explain to you the reason why I am late?

(85SC) Mogu li vam objasniti zašto sam zakasnio?

(86) Say something to me!

(86SC) Reci mi nešto!

(87) I can't speak to anyone at the moment.

(87SC) Trenutno ne mogu ni sa kim razgovarati.

(88) I want to talk to you.

(88SC) Želim da razgovaram s tobom.

(89) Will you ever tell me the truth?

(89SC) Hoćeš li mi ikada reći istinu?

A common mistake in this case would be:

\*Will you ever tell to me the truth?

or with other verbs:

\*Will you explain me this problem?

Verbs like speak, talk, etc., cause additional difficulties because the to-PO they take is matched in SC by an Instrumental preceded by the preposition sa.<sup>9</sup>

## 7. Conclusion

7.1. As far as verbs followed by two objects are concerned, the student of

E as  $L_1$  is not expected to face too great difficulties in mastering their proper use. Both the IO - DO and the DO - PO sequences correspond to the Dative - Accusative sequences in SC, or with a limited number of verbs to Dative - Instrumental, Dative - Locative, or Accusative - Accusative sequences.

7.2. The students' attention should be drawn to the word order, first to the position of the IO and PO in relation to the DO, and then to the position of both objects within the sentence. The students should be warned not to use E objects in initial position in unemphatic speech.

7.3. The use of PO instead of IO with some E verbs should be explained and drilled on a lexical level, together with the possible transformations from IO into PO and vice versa.

7.4. Special attention should be paid to the use of the Instrumental and Locative as object in SC with some verbs and to their equivalents in E, as well as to those cases when in SC the DO is deleted but in E it appears in form of some and any.

#### NOTES

1. Verbs with only the Direct Object will be treated in a separate paper.
2. Some authors prefer to classify it as a prepositional adjunct. (Cf. Scheurweghs, G., Present-Day English Syntax. -London, 1959.)
3. In SC grammars the Dative Object is often called "dalji" objekat - the "further" object, or "nepravi" objekat - the "sham" object. In order to avoid ambiguity and to simplify terminology none of these terms have been used in the present paper.

4. In SC the most commonly used prepositions with the Dative are ka (k) and prema.

Deca su'odjurila ka majci.  
The children rushed to their mother.

Čovek je išao prema reci.  
The man was going towards the river.

5. Propose when used in the meaning of "make offer of marriage" takes only one object - the to-PO.
6. The passive test was employed throughout the present paper as a criterion when it was necessary to decide whether a complement to the verb should be treated as an object, or not.
7. Envy has been treated in 4.4.
8. The problem of the Object in J, together with the Double Object - IO + DO, DO + PO - has been treated in detail by the grammarians of the English language, which cannot be said of the corresponding part of the SC grammar. This is probably due to the fact that SC possesses a highly inflected case system which attracts the main attention of our grammarians so that they, as a rule, do not pay enough attention to the syntactical aspects. Because of this when attempting a contrastive description of the Double Object in the two languages it was necessary to start from the E situation and compare the prominent examples of E use with the equivalents in SC. In some cases, however, it was indispensable to start from SC in order to illustrate a problem better.
9. The opinion expressed in several of the most prominent Grammars of SC, that in SC "any case form except the Nominative and the Vocative can serve as an object of a verb", was adopted in the present paper.

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### THE IMPERATIVE AND ITS PERIPHRAIS

1.0. The imperative form in E. is equal to the base of the verb, it is one of the verbal forms that do not require an expressed subject, and it is used in address to one or more persons, ordering, instructing or entreating them to perform the "action" of the verb. One imperative form in E. refers to the second persons sg. and pl. which are distinguished in SC.

The full paradigms in both languages are:

Let me go	Da idem
Go	Idi
Let him go	
her	Neka ide
it	
Let's go	Idimo
Go	Idite
Let them go	Neka idu

The English imperatives for the first and third persons sg. and pl. are periphrastic forms constructed with

let + personal pronoun in non-subject form (or a noun)  
+ base of the verb

in standard SC. the third persons are constructed with the operator neka, while in the first person sg. da is more usual.

1.1. The similarity (parallel verbal forms without expressed subjects) of the 2nd persons in both languages probably accounts for the lack of interference

among SC. learners of English; errors here are extremely rare.

The use of the subject cases in the third persons sg. and pl. of SC. as opposed to the object cases in English does not seem to bother our learners, either. Difficulty arises with the use of the negation which for the second persons requires the auxiliary do:

(1) Don't go there!

(ISC) Ne idi tamo!

where a beginner may sound Shakespearean by saying

\*Go not there.

Interference with the source language can hardly be blamed for the error, since there is no corresponding word order in SC., although the use in SC. of a simple negative word is certainly pertinent in the omission of the auxiliary.

Never can be substituted for don't in certain cases, mainly when the imperative is used for general suggestions or advice:

(2) Never neglect your eyes!

If the negative command is meant as a threat or warning intended to prevent the repetition of an action, don't (you) ever may be used:

(3) Don't ever play with matches again!

Instead of ne + imperative in SC. it is even more frequent to use nemoj, nemojmo, nemojte + infinitive, a pattern that can be pointed out to students as practically identical in structure with the E. don't + base (infinitive). It is also possible to say Nemoj! by itself; just as it is common to say Don't! by itself.<sup>2</sup>

1.1.2. Negated let is likely to produce a more serious dilemma, because its

meanings, both in the positive and in the negative, change according to person from almost purely hortatory in the 1st person pl., which is commonly used to make suggestions including the speaker,

(4) Let's go now!

(4SC) Hajdemo sad ! Idimo !

with the negative

(5) Let's not go yet!

(5SC) Ne idimo još ! Nemojmo još ici!

to the strictest command:

(6) Let him finish at once!

(6SC) Neka to smjesta završi!

The British usage has let's negated by don't: which in American English is considered dialectal.<sup>3</sup>

A full form of the personal pronoun following let would indicate that we had an imperative of the lexical verb let:

(7) Mother, let us eat it now!

(7SC) Mama, daj nam da to sad pojedemo!

Mama, dopusti nam da to sad pojedemo!

with the negative form:

(8) Mother don't let us be eaten by the bear!

(8SC) Mama, ne dopusti da nas medvjed pojede!

Mama, nemoj dopustiti da nas medvjed pojede!

1.2. The auxiliary used with the imperative for emphasis is do<sup>4</sup>

(9) Do go now!

(9SC) Hajde, idi sad! Daj, idi sad!

1. SC. the emphasis can be expressed by đaj and hajde (ajde, ajd' etc.); the latter is a Turkish word meaning "odlazi". It has received endings for the 1st and 2nd persons pl., hajdemo, hajdete, (ajmo, ajte), although it was originally uninflected. It can be followed by an infinitive

(10) Hajdemo učiti!

or it can remain without endings and pattern with paradigmatic forms of the SC. imperative or da+prezent

(11) Hajde, učini mi to!  
Hajde, učinimo to odmah!

or

(12) Hajde da učimo!

Emphatic do precedes the verb have, and it is the only auxiliary to be used with be:

(13) Do have another cup!

(14) Do be good!

2. Verbal forms of the type have done are rare, and when they do occur they usually have future reference.<sup>5</sup> They may be interpreted as either showing aspect (perfective) or else as revealing impatience or urgency to such a degree that the speaker wishes his command or request complied with almost before it was uttered. Other instances of this structure are parallel in usage to the future perfect tense, as in:

(15) Don't have done anything foolish by the time you come back.

(15SC) Da nisi učinio nikakvu glupost dok se ne vratiš.

SC. has a device not unlike the English structure by using da+perfekt or da+prezent: da nisi učinio! and da ne učiniš! Silić' argues that here the imperative morpheme is the intonation by which alone it is possible to distinguish between da+perfekt

or prezent as a command and the same structure in hypothetical conditional clauses in SC. Wayles Browne<sup>7</sup> does not accept this statement because he feels that da used in the command has something to do with the da in reported SC. commands. Rekao mi je da dodjem. Maretić<sup>8</sup> lists it among conjunctions of wish (željni veznici) together with eda, kada, neka and provides another list for conditional conjunctions which also includes da. He admits a possible link in certain cases, which may be hard to classify strictly as belonging to either one or the other group.

2.1. A rarer form of the imperative is the continuous with be+ing, more commonly found in the negative than in the positive.

(16) Don't be standing there so helplessly!

(16SC) Ne stoj tu tako bespomoćno! Nemoj stajati tu...

which may contain a ring of irritation or insistence, such as characterizes continuous forms.

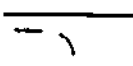
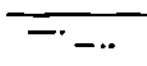
3. The imperative as a mood has a whole gamut of varieties ranging from the strictest order to encouragement, entreaty and suggestion. These shades can sometimes be shaped by lexical devices but intonation patterns certainly have a decisive role here.

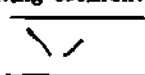

B. Strang quotes Halliday in this respect, who says that for positive imperatives a falling tune can be taken as neutral. 'Come here' and falling rising as a milder variant. 'Come here: In the negative rising tune is neutral. 'Don't talk so much' and falling is marked as strong. 'Don't talk so much!

3.1. Arnold and O'Connor find a different meaning for the imperative in each of the ten tone groups they set up for British English.<sup>9</sup>

3.2. There is little material available on SC. intonation patterns in commands. Some general observations from a study in progress<sup>10</sup> and from my experience can be briefly summarized thus:

- a) The range between the highest and the lowest pitch is smaller in SC than it is in English (British).
- b) Neutral commands seem to start about halfway between the highest and the lowest pitch.

E. : Come here:  SC. : Dodji ovamo: 

- c) A more severe command in SC would be marked by intensity rather than a change in pitch.
- d) A rise of the pitch would not occur as an attenuating element in SC, although it might be heard in certain regions (Novi Sad, and Zagreb, I think,) e. g. Dodji! 
- e) High falling tunes are possible, but the fall would reach only about halfway toward the lowest point, in cases which might be termed cheerful exhortations, or exclamations rather than commands proper, e. g. Ustanite! 

3.3. It is important to point out the significance of intonation, because, as Arnold and O'Connor emphasize<sup>11</sup>, native speakers of English are able to make a good deal of allowance for wrong sounds or ungrammatical sentences, but being themselves unaware of the far-reaching consequence of an intonation pattern used in the wrong situation, may hold the foreigner responsible for "rude manners".<sup>12</sup>

4. It is common to use the imperative in E. without its subject. When the subject is expressed it is used to indicate contrast, selection or emphasis. In the affirmative it must precede the verb:

(17) You go if you want to, - she said. I don't care to.

(17SC) Idi ti ako hoćeš, reče ona. Meni nije stalo.  
Ti idi ako hoćeš, reče ona. " " "

(18) Don't you dare come here again!

(18SC) Da se nisi usudio opet doći!

4.1. In addition to the 2nd person personal pronoun you which is the natural pronoun as subject for the imperative, it is common to use 3rd person indefinite pronouns somebody, everybody, anybody, nobody, whoever+clause, numerals, and all, some, a few etc. in "an indefinite imperative when no precise 'you' is meant by the speaker".<sup>13</sup>

(19) Everybody come to my room!  
Come to my room, everybody!

(19SC) Dodjite svi u moju sobu!  
Svi dodjite u moju sobu!

With these subjects, the reflexive pronouns, if used, are often logically third person pronouns, rather than "yourself, yourselves":

(20) Don't anybody say a word about himself!

(20SC) Neka nitko ne kaže ni riječi o sebi!

4.2. The vocative is often used with imperatives. It can either precede or follow the verb. Nouns are sometimes found apposited to the pronoun both in E. and in SC.

(21) Mary, pick it up!

(22) Don't shout, boys!



(21SC) Marice, po'kupi to!

(22SC) Ne vičite, momeci!

(23) Stop talking nonsense, you fool!

(23SC) Prestani govoriti gluposti, ti budalo!

5. Other uses

5.1. Besides the meanings discussed above, the imperative is found in expressions of wish in colloquial style:

(24) Have a good time! Enjoy yourself!

5.2. The imperative in proverbs is known both in E. and in SC. (gnomski imperativ). Instances of it are:

(25) Waste not, want not!

Ne troši ludo pa ne češ oskudijevati!

(26) Čini dobro, ne kaj se,

čini zlo, nadaj se.

where the meaning is one of condition or perhaps cause and result.

5.3. There is an idiomatic use of the conjunction and connecting two coordinate clauses, the first of which is an imperative expressing condition:<sup>14</sup>

(27) Utter one word and you are a dead man.

(27SC) Samo pisni i gotov si!

5.3.1. Try and is often used for try to in expressions of encouragement and exhortation:

(28) Try and come again soon!

(28SC) Nastoj opet skoro doći!

Try and is possible in non-imperative forms, but not in inflected forms if the meaning is to be one of purpose.<sup>15</sup>

(29) He tried to persuade her. .

but not: He tried and persuaded her, which is a grammatical sentence but with a different meaning.

5.3.2. Go (and expresses purpose and is often found in the imperative. The actual meaning of go is obscured much in the same way as hajde is in SC.

Go and find him; Hajde, nadji ga.

5.4. Certain set phrases common to both E. and SC. can be illustrated by the following examples:

(30) If I were to lend him, say, five pounds. . .

(30SC) Da mu pozajmam, recimo, pet funti. . .

The interesting contrast is that the form is 2nd person sg. or pl. in E., while it is the 1st person pl. in SC. It is possible to argue that the E. form too might be a truncated let's say or shall we say but it is not necessarily so.

6. Teaching English would be an easy job if every other section of grammar were as congenial to the SC learner as the imperative appears to be. Minor errors may be encountered at initial stages of learning, but on the whole "imperative lessons" are a gratifying experience. Sometimes a student may fail to recognize the imperative and try to interpret it as a noun, and consequently be unable to decode the sentence, but in general no special difficulties are found here.

7. The problem that does arise as a learning difficulty is the imperative in reported speech. There are a number of changes taking place in the process:

- a) the reporting verb in the finite form conveys the idea of ordering, commanding, asking, requesting etc. Tell and in American usage say are also common.

- b) a direct object representing the subject of the imperative is introduced.
- c) the imperative becomes the corresponding infinitive with to.
- d) in the negative, the infinitive with to is preceded by not.

(31) Go away, Mary told her little brother.

(31a) Mary told her little brother to go away.

(32) Don't shut the door, Peter.

(32a) She asked Peter(him)not to shut the door.

The SC indirect command patterns in a different way, similarly to other declarative (object) clauses which use the conjunction da.

(31SC) Makni se, rekla je Mary svom malom bratu.

(31aSC) Mary je rekla svom malom bratu da se makne.

(32SC) Nemoj zatvoriti vrata, Perice.

(32aSC) Zamolila je Pericu da ne zatvori vrata.

The use of the conjunction da in SC. often leads to similar structures in English, so that ungrammatical sentences of the following pattern might occur, usually at initial stages of learning:

\*Mary told her little brother that he go / goes away.

With some practice this error is easily corrected. The next trouble is the position of not. Even at a more advanced level errors of the type

\*He advised me to not go to the seaside

are not rare. Their origin might be traced to the word order in SC 'da ne idem'.

8. In The Structure of English<sup>16</sup> C. C. Fries says that in the corpus he used as the basis for his book, "requests" furnished less than 7 per cent of the bulk of the body as compared to more than 60 per cent taken up by "statements"

and something over 28 per cent by "questions". So much for statistics.

This ratio may be changing now with the development of mass media that have brought about a flood of imperatives in the English of advertising. The style is safely making its way to other languages including SC., where, in my opinion, they often sound stiff and affected. Suffice it to mention the "do-it-yourself" series with a bad "uradi-to-sam" or a more recent "uradi sam" translation equivalent in SC. With more imperatives shot from the TV and the radio I am sure all these imperatives will begin to sound natural very soon.

#### NOTES

1. English grammars do not seem to be unanimous in respect to whether the imperative is a finite or a non-finite form. More recent literature appears to classify it under non-finites, while older authors include only infinitives and participles under that heading. Dictionaries define finites as "limited by number and person".  
In SC the imperative is obviously a finite.
2. Suggested by Wayles Browne.
3. Dwight Bolinger, "The Imperative in English", To Honor Roman Jakobson, 1967, the Hague.
4. Although please cannot exactly be considered an imperative operator, its collocation with imperatives is extremely frequent. It can also be an imperative substitute: Shall I do it now? - Yes, please! instead of: Yes, do! As it is an equivalent of the SC. molim, which is often followed by a personal pronoun object, the SC. learner should be warned against parallel patterning in E. At an early stage of learning, he might be tempted to say: \*Please you, come, according to SC. Molim vas, dodjite.  
Another common error connected with please as an erroneous equivalent of molim occurs in situations when the speaker is asked to repeat his words,

instead of the usual. I beg your pardon (British) or. Pardon me (American). SC learners of English find it easy to misuse please in response to Thank you, again by analogy with SC usage. This error should also be pointed out. It has been suggested in books that please should preferably precede the imperative, as it may be considered less courteous after the sentence. To really be polite, says Wayles Browne, please should be used with some conditional, e.g. could you, please, would you, please, or will you, please.

7. Speaking of the time notion involved in the expression of the imperative, it is usually considered as future. Generativists corroborate this statement by generating an imperative sentence like close the door from and underlying phrase marker You will close the door with optional deletion of you and obligatory deletion of will, since will is used in tags after the imperative: Close the door, will you. The conclusion hence is that the imperative must refer to the future.

It is a fact however that some modals can be employed in the function of tags after the imperative according to circumstances. Shut up, can't you. Come here, could you! Call him again, would you! etc. Even may can figure in a case like: Let me help you, may I!

On the other hand will may be taken to stand for be willing to, e.g. Help me, are you willing to? In which case there is little or no futurity. (Bolinger, op. cit.)

It is somewhat surprising to note that the auxiliary do used in negation has not been thought of as a possible deleted Aux. in the transform. It seems to me that it would be the most natural auxiliary because it also occurs as the emphatic operator in the positive, even though, we must admit, it is impossible in the tag.

In trying to dispute the "futurity" of the imperative, Bolinger has found a number of cases in which the imperative must be taken as referring to present time. "A person holding a lottery ticket not yet examined, and hearing the announcement of the winning number, might say, before turning the ticket over, Please be the right number".

Continuing his discussion on imperatives in the past Bolinger has another example "In a telephone conversation, A invites B to come over and share the contents of a bottle. B says, I'm on my way, and then in an undertone, Only for God's sake don't have three fourths of it drunk already, knowing the condition in which his friend will be once that amount has taken effect." Instances of this kind show that, because they are rare and are felt, in a way, to be fabricated for the purpose, the imperative is understood as referring to futurity, even though this notion may not be evident from the verbal form alone.

To return to the starting point then, to the question of whether the imperative form carries the notion of time, the answer is no. "When we interpret the imperative to refer to the future we do so because that is in the nature of the stimulus-response relationship" (Bolinger, op. cit.).

6. Josip Silić, Pristup aintaktičkoj fonetici hrvatskoarpskog jezika, Magistarska radnja u rukopisu, Zagreb 1970.
7. Wayles Browne, private communication.
8. Tomo Maretić, Gramatika hrvatskoga ili srpskoga književnog jezika, 1963, Zagreb.
9. J. D. O' Connor and G. F. Arnold, intonation of Colloquial English, 1961, London.
10. Anuška Nakić, M. A. Thesis (forthcoming).
11. Op. cit.
12. An instance of this was the embarrassment of one Zagreb student in London, whose pronunciation was outstanding, and who said in what she thought was her politest way, to a shop assistant in a bookshop. 'Will you 'bring me 'that \book ,please.  
to which the answer was. 'Why don't you 'get it yourself. It turned out that she had sounded unintentionally peremptory. She ought to have said: 'Will you 'bring me 'that \book ,please.
13. Dwight Bolinger, op. cit.
14. Bolinger explains the structure as a conditional clause where if has been lost and and added. In SC. this interpretation would not be acceptable because of the distinctive imperative morpheme.
15. Leo Spalatin, "infinitive after try in educated spoken English", SRAZ, Zagreb, 1958, No. 5.
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14. J. P. Thorne, "English imperative sentences", Journal of Linguistics, London, 1966, vol. 2., No. 1.

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NOTES ON LINKING VERBS AND COMPLEMENTS IN ENGLISH AND  
SERBO-CROATIAN

The following notes have been prompted by M. Ridjanović's paper entitled "Linking Verb + Complement in English and Serbo-Croatian".<sup>1</sup> They follow the order of presentation in that paper pretty closely and refer to the examples given there. Some of the remarks I wish to make are concerned with substantive issues, while others deal with details of description and interpretation.

M. Ridjanović begins with a list of four structures involving linking verbs and complements that he proposes to discuss. While it is possible to arbitrarily list the types of structures to be considered, it would have been useful also to show what has been excluded. Conspicuous by their absence in this paper are complement infinitives and clauses - both of them contrastively highly productive.

Another both generally and contrastively interesting facet of the problem that one would like to see discussed would be the uses of the verb to be in linking and auxiliary functions:

The gate is closed at six. (aux.)

Vrata se zatvaraju u šest sati.

Whenever I come there, the gate is closed. (link.)

Kad god dodjem, vrata su zatvorena.



Making distinctions between the two uses is not always easy:

Five pages are missing from this book. (aux. ? link. ?)

(\*Five pages miss from this book.)

Most interestingly, perhaps, the array of syntactic relations with linking verbs is quite rich:

The boy is a student.

The boys are students.

The book is three dollars. (Is this still a linking verb?)

The books are three dollars.

Rose is seventeen.

The city is no more.

Their duty is to go there. (To go there is their duty.)

Their house is to go. (\*To go is their house.)

Their parents are to blame.

Their mistakes are to blame.

A contrastive investigation along these lines, with the English structural relations described in considerable detail before the actual contrasting is attempted, would undoubtedly yield valuable results. I now turn to the paper itself and the statements that are made in it.

The first linking verb structure illustrated by Ridjanović is the one involving be + NP, Adj, PrepP, Loc. I agree with the author (fn. 8, p. 92) that there is little difference in syntactic behavior between locatives and time adverbials, but I would still include both in the table (or find a cover term for them), since there is no way of deciding whether Loc or Time is representative of both.

The be + PrepP construction presents considerable problems. First, I would disagree with the way it is illustrated in the paper: "He is in the room" should be regarded as an example of PrepP and not of Loc (which can be exemplified by "He is here"). Second, a careful analysis of different PrepP's would show that they are used to express different syntactic relationships:

- He is in the room. (place)
- The concert is at eight. (time)
- They are in love. (description)
- The book is by Chomsky. (agency)
- They are in a hurry. (description?)
- They are in need of ... (idiom?)
- He is in command. (idiom?)

Such sentences should be tested for their transformational potentials before they can be assigned definite structural meanings. Third, I would not include sentence  $c_3$  among those that have PrepP as a complement because this raises the whole issue of what is derived from what. if "The plank is not the right width" is actually "The plank is not of the right width", why not say then that "The matter is of considerable importance" is in fact transformed "The matter is considerably important"? I think that in the approach adopted in this paper - and the approach is perfectly legitimate for contrastive analysis purposes - one ought to respect the surface structure from which one starts, only when the taxonomy is completed should one proceed to a systematic transformational testing of all structures to determine their syntactic ranges, differences and similarities, etc.; finally, when this is done, there comes the actual contrasting. By that time

it becomes rather difficult to state that we are faced with "the simplest cases of relationships that may hold between the two languages in this type of sentence...". The simplicity of relationship is only superficial, and is in this sense contrastively irrelevant.

There is one more interesting observation that can be made about examples  $c_1$ ,  $c_2$ , and  $c_3$ : all three examples illustrate what Professor M. Ivić calls non-omissible determiners:

The matter is of considerable importance. - ?The matter is of importance.

Stvar je od velikog značaja. - ?Stvar je od značaja.

We are of the same opinion. - We are of the opinion that... -  
\*We are of the opinion.

Mi smo istog mišljenja. - Mi smo mišljenja da... - \*Mi smo mišljenja.

It is contrastively significant that English and Serbo-Croatian do not always agree in this matter:

He is a man of great wisdom. - He is a man of wisdom.

On je čovjek velike mudrosti. - \*On je čovjek mudrosti.

In the case of  $c_3$ , "The plank is not the right width", we are again faced with a non-omissible determiner (\*The plank is not the width), but the translation "Ova daska nije prave širine" is unnatural. A more natural translation (Ova daska nam ne odgovara. Ova daska je preuska/preširoka.) would not allow us to establish a contrastively useful correspondence.

How deceptive the simplicity of syntactic relationship can be is easily illustrated by the construction be + Adj:

He is tall. - On je visok.

He is cold. - Njemu je hladno.

The room is cold. - U sobi je hladno.

Furthermore, the relations between the linking verb and its complement can hardly be uninfluenced by the kind of subject preceding the linking verb:

The story is true. - Priča je istinita.

It is true that... - Istina je da...

Another factor to be considered is the possible expansion of the complement:

He is a student. - He is a student of languages.

On je student. - On studira (proučava) jezike. (\*On je student jezika.)

The problem of "This is a bottle" and "This is milk" (p. 79) does not properly belong here since the same difference will crop up whenever 'bottle' and 'milk' are used. In other words, the most economical way of tackling this would be by discussing the articles either as a separate topic or in connection with different classes of nouns (e.g. count - non-count), with no more than paragraph references in all other chapters in which the article plays a role. (The present paper does this and also provides a useful bibliographical reference, but it also makes certain statements on pp. 78-79 which are too generalized to be of much use.)

The Serbo-Croatian sentence "Pjesnik je Petar" is a correspondent of "Petar is a poet" only in special circumstances which can be defined in purely stylistic terms. In this sense, I suggest, it belongs here only marginally, perhaps in a footnote showing its deviance from the straightforward pattern "Petar je pjesnik".

The example "Najbolji dokaz njegove lojalnosti bila je njegova predanost radu", on the other hand, is a different kind of sentence altogether. This could be stated in the following way: in "Petar je pjesnik", Petar belongs to the class of people who are 'pjesnici', and the linking verb does not

equates 'Petar' with 'pjeanik' (Petar ≠ pjeanik); that is why the two are not normally transposable; in "Najbolji dokaz... je... njegova predanost", the two nominal groups are equated by the linking verb, which is borne out by the fact that they are easily transposable without any stylistic features being added: najbolji dokaz = njegova predanost; njegova predanost je najbolji dokaz. This is seen even more clearly in English, where the transposition is impossible in the first case and perfectly easy in the second:

Peter is a poet. - \*A poet is Peter.

His devotion to work is the best proof of his loyalty. -

The best proof of his loyalty is his devotion to work.

The commentary that follows this example (p. 80) would have to be changed if this analysis of class-inclusion be vs. equation je is accepted. The contrastive statement would also have to be changed accordingly. As for the learning problem, it is doubtful that one would like to teach the stylistically heavily charged pattern "Pjesnik je Petar".

The example "Ovi momci u sredini ste vi" (p. 82), though perhaps acceptable, is not 'perfectly grammatical'. An attempt to translate other English examples according to the same pattern results in sentences which are hardly grammatical: \*Ljudi u srednjem redu su oni. \*Oni smo mi. \*Ovi su oni. (Natural translations "Ono smo mi" and "Ovo su oni" have singular and not plural forms to the left of biti.)

The difference between all and everybody is well captured and is probably worth further elaboration and exemplification. It may be necessary to bring into this not only SC svi but also svatko, so that the relationship is not one-to-one but two-to-two, involving a set of very complex and

Interesting relations among them, e.g.:

Everybody is against war. - Svi su protiv rata.

Everybody who knew him liked him. - Svatko tko ga je poznavao, taj ga je i volio.

All who knew him liked him. - Svi koji su ga poznavali, ti su ga i voljeli.

I have many friends and all are young. - Ja imam mnogo prijatelja i svi su mladi.

Everybody can have two pieces of cake. - Svatko može dobiti dva komada kolača.

(As seen here, it will probably be necessary to consider the use of all and everybody in structures other than those involving linking verbs alone.)

My remaining comments will be concerned with Ridjanović's other three groups of linking verbs: group (2) involving become, remain, etc. + NP; Adj; group (3) involving seem, look, taste, feel, etc. + Adj; and group (4) involving get, turn, run, go + Adj.

First, turn will probably have to go with become and remain,

because it also accepts NP's as complements:

He turned a traitor.

Second, seem also accepts NP, at least in some varieties of English:

He seems a nice chap.

(And also, a little differently: It seems ages since we last met.)

The possibility should also be mentioned of the construction look, feel,

taste + like + NP:

He looked like a fool.

I felt like a newborn baby.

It tasted like nothing.

Third, get can hardly belong to the same group with run and go, in view of the heavy collocational restrictions in the case of the last two verbs. Also, group (4) is the one in which three dots at the end of the list would be more justified than anywhere else in this paper; in fact, an attempt should be made to list other verbs, possibly with the limited list of adjectives each of them accepts: keep quiet, fall sick, blush red, fly open, tear loose, wear thin, loom large, prove true, etc. It will be necessary to examine the extent to which these verbs are free in their linking functions: loom large, \*loom small, \*loom innocent; prove true, prove necessary, prove indispensable, \*prove young; keep quiet, keep still, keep busy, \*keep hungry.

In the case of become and get, one would have to show how their non-linking functions (e. g., "He became a teacher", "I got two letters from him this morning") differ from their linking functions. Similarly, a distinction should be made between "The apple tasted sour" and "He tasted the apple"; "He felt weak" vs. "He felt the cold" vs. "He felt the surface to see if there were any rough points in it"; "He looked careful" vs. "He looked carefully". With remain, the complement can also be Loc: "He remained there".

If the infinitive is also included as one of the linking verb complements, it will be interesting to observe how it behaves with different verbs in the four groups. We have already seen how it complements be. With other linking verbs there are various restrictions:

- He seemed to be happy.
- \*He looked to be young.
- \*He became to be a teacher.
- He got to be known.

The formation of inchoatives from adjectives (p. 86) also requires further exploration. It is doubtful that only length is involved, and even if it is, it should be carefully defined. A "long" adjective like bolestan gives razboljeti se, while a shorter one like važan does not give \*uvažniti se.

In discussing the use of adjectives with linking verbs in English and their contrastive correspondents in Serbo-Croatian, Ridjanović captures the contrastively relevant fact that "the nature of the effect [produced by these verbs in combination with adjectives] is expressed by an adjective in E and by an adverb in SC" (p. 88). However, this general statement can be modified in several interesting ways (see my "Predicative Patterns...",<sup>2</sup> pp. 14, 15). First, the verb izgledati ('look') accepts both adjectives and adverbs in Serbo-Croatian:

On izgleda umoran/umorno.

(The example "She looks nice" - "Izgleda fina" on p. 89 is unconvincing.)

Second, in some cases the adjective is the only acceptable form:

Vlak izgleda spor/sporo.

(It would be interesting to see what restrictions operate in such cases.)

Third, ambiguities like "He looked hard" could also be mentioned here.

Fourth, "Ovo jelo je ukusno" would presumably give not only "This dish tastes good" but also "This dish is tasty", and it might be useful to outline the semantics involved. Fifth, another meaning of feel, not mentioned here, has a correspondent in Serbo-Croatian which accepts both adjectives and adverbs:

I feel tired.

Osjećam se umoran/umorno.



There are a few minor points in the paper where one tends to disagree with the translation or interpretation offered by the author. Thus, example (e) on p. 84 is extremely stilted in Serbo-Croatian. The example "These flowers smell beautiful" on p. 88 has a collocation which is not the most straightforward one. The example would be more natural with an adjective like fine, nice, sweet.

On p. 12 the author suggests that the direct method may be profitably applied in the teaching of English structural patterns involving linking verbs and adjectives. While the direct approach may prove useful, I feel that a little more than a mere 'warning' is needed to make Serbo-Croatian learners of English aware of the differences involved. Errors with the verbs smell and taste in particular, and with look and feel to a somewhat less extent, make a more detailed explanation necessary. The number of verbs involved is admittedly small, but their frequency of use is rather high.

One final remark of a more general nature. On p. 5 and throughout the paper reference is made to English learners of Serbo-Croatian: I am not sure whether presenting Serbo-Croatian to speakers of English is still part of the Project's objectives. If it is, systematic investigations in this direction are needed in all areas of the Project; if it is not, it is perhaps better to avoid dealing with it in all papers.

NOTES

1. Printed in R. Filipović, ed, The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian - English Contrastive Project, Reports 2, Zagreb 1970, pp. 77-93.
2. Vladimir Ivić: "Predicative Patterns for English Adjectives and Their Contrastive Correspondents in Serbo-Croatian", in R. Filipović, ed., The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian - English Contrastive Project, Reports 2; Zagreb 1970, 10-55.

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MORE ON LINKING VERB + COMPLEMENT IN ENGLISH  
AND SERBO-CROATIAN

This supplement to my report "Linking Verb + Complement in English and Serbo-Croatian"<sup>1</sup> is based on V. Ivir's comments and criticisms which appear in the present issue of Reports as "Notes on Linking Verbs and Complements in English and Serbo-Croatian".

A number at the beginning of a paragraph refers to the correspondingly numbered section in Ivir's article. Unless discussed, his comments and criticisms are accepted as they stand.

(1) At the beginning of his "Notes" Ivir suggests that my list of four English linking verb structures (Reports 2, p. 77) was too limited and should have also included, among others, complement infinitives and clauses. The reason for the limited coverage of E linking verb structures in my paper was the particular division of topics planned in the Sarajevo group, according to which my first paper in this area was to cover only the linking verb plus verbless subject complement, while two of the topics to be covered by another Sarajevo analyst, Gordana Gavrilović, were to include structures with the linking verb + infinitive and that-clause respectively, as is seen from the calendar for the Sarajevo group. However, the qualification 'verbless' was omitted from the title of my paper (I had second thoughts about the appropriateness of such a qualification), which may also be responsible for

the misunderstanding of its proposed subject-matter and scope.

(2) Another general remark that Ivir makes about my article is that the rich array of syntactic relations with linking verbs deserves to be described in considerable detail before the actual contrasting is attempted. While such a methodology would be commendable and would undoubtedly yield valuable results, it would quite likely also lead to discussions of those points of E grammar that have already been described by other authors or that might have very little or no contrastive relevance. I think that our time is, unfortunately, too limited for us to be able to afford such an approach. The first four of Ivir's 10 examples on page 174 of his "Notes" do not seem to have any contrastive relevance as far as the linking verb structure is concerned, the following two illustrate 'idiomatic' uses of to be (which I wish I had covered although I still don't see how one can approach the idiomatic aspects of contrastive analysis in a systematic way; any 'random' approach is bound to be limited in coverage and its results insufficiently general), and the last four examples contain complement infinitives which, as pointed out above, 'all outside the scope of my proposed topic.

(3) I will now discuss the various individual points raised by Ivir. The first one concerns my use of the symbol Loc to cover both location in space and location in time, which is criticised by Ivir as insufficient representation of what is intended, although he agrees with me that there is little difference in syntactic behavior between E locatives and time adverbials. The real reason for the use of symbols as they appear in the

structures on page 77 of my article is the fact that, at the beginning stage of my work on linking verbs, I was not aware of (or rather I did not think of) the similarity in syntactic behavior between locatives and time adverbials. In fact, the temporal complements of the linking be did not come into the picture until I had written the first part of the paper dealing with structures listed under (1) on page 77. That is why there is only passing reference to time adverbials in a footnote (footnote 10 in the published version).

Following Ivir's suggestions, I would like to propose that the symbol Loc be changed to Loc-Time. Such an alternative label gives a more precise description of the type of complements involved, while keeping the possibility of breaking the label up into the two elements, should either a locative or a time adverbial prove to be different from the other with respect to some feature in its syntactic behavior. Besides, Loc-Time will serve nicely to symbolize the possibility of simultaneous occurrence in a sentence of both types of adverbials.

(4) Although it is true that, as Ivir says, the sentence "The plank is not the right width" does not belong among those that illustrate complements expressed by prepositional phrases, I am very much disinclined to include this sentence among those that illustrate noun phrase complements such as in "He is a poet". The genitive meaning of the NP in the former sentence is so apparent that any native speaker is likely to associate it with an of-NP complement rather than with a nominative-NP complement. The of form of the genitive complement, being always a possible variant of the form without of, is very much part of a native speaker's linguistic awareness

about a sentence with this type of complement. Every sentence with a genitive complement without 'of' that he says or hears he may have said or heard with 'of' many times before. In cases like these the superficial structure seems to become so superficial as to be almost detrimental as a starting point of an analysis.

On the basis of observations contained in the preceding two paragraphs, as well as under the influence of another critical remark in paragraph 4 of Ivir's "Notes", I would like to make the following alterations in my paper as it appears in Reports 2. The Loc appearing as the last of four symbols in structure (1) on page 77 should be replaced by Loc-Time. Example (1C<sub>3</sub>) should be deleted from the same page and treated as an 'of-less' variant of the genitive complement with the consequent contrastive problem of relating a SC genitive to an E nominative. Two more examples would be added to illustrate the complements expressed by some other types of prepositional phrases:

(c<sub>3</sub>) He is in the room.

(c<sub>4</sub>) The concert is at eight.

Example (d<sub>2</sub>) should be moved up to take the place of example (d<sub>1</sub>), and the sentence "The concert is tomorrow" should be included as the new (d<sub>2</sub>).

It ought to be noticed that some prepositional phrases may function as locative adverbials (e.g. c<sub>3</sub>) or as adverbials of time (e.g. c<sub>4</sub>). Other functions of prepositional phrases include the 'comitative' function of "He is with his brother", the 'benefactive' of "This is for you", and

various figurative uses of phrases introduced by at, in, within and some others. It seems more convenient, however, to treat all prepositional phrases under a separate structural unit, reserving the symbols Loc and Time for the adverbials expressed by adverbs or noun phrases.

Ivir and I seem to fully agree on the difficulty presented by the construction be + Prep Phrase. The above examples and especially those listed by Ivir on page 175 of his "Notes" show the variety of syntactic functions that may be performed by various prepositional phrases used as complements of be and the resulting difficulty of finding anything systematic in their syntactic behavior which would at the same time be contrastively relevant. But I would say that the fact that this is so is contrastively relevant: it suggests that the E construction be + Prep Phrase frequently relates to the corresponding SC structure in an idiomatic fashion. The pedagogical implications of such a correspondence point to the need for singling out some of the more frequently occurring idiomatic expressions with the structure be + Prep Phrase and for providing drills that would give students practice in relating them to their SC semantic counterparts.

(5) The interesting observation made by Ivir that some non-omissible determiners in SC may be omissible in E and vice versa is, unfortunately, difficult to develop into a useful generalization without extensive research on a corpus. However, since the omissibility of determiners seems to concern a deep-structure syntactic constraint, it is my feeling that languages will largely agree in this respect. Differences will exist in a

relatively small number of idiomatic expressions peculiar to each language. In a teaching situation, the 'different' cases would be isolated from the target language and practised. Some E examples that deserve this special attention in relation to SC are

- a man of wisdom
- a man of means
- a man of talent
- a plan with possibilities
- a job with opportunities
- a man of letters (although SC has "čovjek od pera")

(By the way, according to my linguistic 'intuitions' as well as those of several native speakers of E and SC whom I have consulted, the determiners of the complements in (1c<sub>1</sub>) from page 77 are omissible in both E and SC, though it may not seem so from the very general examples deprived of any context, as they appear in my article. But consider the examples

Od značaja je : podatak da ...  
[Ovaj neobični podatak je od značaja.

It is not just one aspect of the matter that is important,  
the whole complex matter is of importance.)

(6) The following discussion of a grammatical contrast between E and SC is prompted by some remarks and examples in paragraph (6) of Ivir's "Notes". The contrast is illustrated by:

He is cold. - Njemu je hladno. or Hladno mu je.

If one of a limited list of E adjectives is used predicatively to describe a (subjective) feeling experienced by a human (more rarely animal) subject, then the corresponding SC structure is an impersonal one with a neuter



adjective, the human subject is expressed by a nominal in the dative case, while the impersonal subject never appears in surface structure. The structure, if translated literally into E (as is often done by Yugoslav students of E), yields the unacceptable \*It is cold to him. It is important to emphasize that the state expressed by the E adjective must be experienced by the subject for the corresponding SC structure to be an impersonal one. If the state is ascribed to the subject, the corresponding SC structure is not impersonal. Thus He is cold used as a judgement on somebody's reserved personality would not be rendered into SC by an impersonal adjectival structure.

Analogous to the distinction outlined above is another one which is also contained within a structure of the type NP + be + Adj with an inanimate surface subject. This can be illustrated by using Ivir's example The room is cold (page 176) for which he gives only one SC rendering: U sobi je hladno. I think that this SC sentence expresses only one meaning of the sentence, i.e. the one which describes the subjective feeling of cold by those in the room. If, however, we want to ascribe the quality of coldness to the room regardless of whether there may be people in it or not - which is a second meaning of the E sentence - we need to add another SC rendering: Soba je hladna. Again, the 'objective' meaning is expressed in SC by a 'direct' translation from E, while the 'subjective' meaning is rendered by an impersonal structure.

Some other E adjectives that may be used to refer to a state experienced by a human subject are shown in the examples below along

with their usual SC counterparts:

I am chilly. - (Pro)hladno mi je.

She is warm/hot. - Njoj je toplo/vruće.

I am glad. - Drago (milo) mi je.

They are bored. - Dosadno im je.

We are fine. - Dobro (fino, udobno) nam je.

I am comfortable. - Udobno mi je.

He is/feels uncomfortable about asking her. - Neprijatno mu je da je zamoli.

As shown by the last example, the same idea may be expressed in E by the use of feel instead of the linking be. Some adjectives, like uncomfortable, seem to associate with feel in this type of sentence more readily than with be, with some others (like hot, chilly, sorry) either be or feel is used without a major change of meaning, with fine used in reference to health there seems to exist a difference of meaning related to the use of be or feel (e. g. "I stayed in bed for a couple of days and I am fine now" versus "The doctor says I should stay in bed although I feel fine"), while with funny and strange only feel can be used ("I am funny about asking her"), and glad does not allow the use of feel.

The frequent use in colloquial E of phrases like I am cold/warm/sorry/glad/etc. lends to the contrastive statement above special importance in the teaching of E to speakers of SC. Two kinds of learners' mistakes may be predicted: first, the use of the impersonal structure in E it is + Adj followed by a dative NP (or even by an accusative in the case of pronouns, e. g. \*it is cold him), and second, the use of the adverb corresponding to the required adjective because of the formal similarity of SC neuter adjectives and

adverbs, resulting in something like \*it is comfortably to me. Pedagogical materials should be constructed so as to counter the possibility of such mistakes.

(7 & 8) I was delighted to learn about the distinction that Ivir brought to my attention (page 177 f. of his "Notes") between linking verb structures with be designating class membership and those in which be simply equates the two NP's linked. And I have nothing to add to what he says about the transposability of NP's in E in the case of the equation-be structures and their non-transposability in the case of the structures with the class-membership be. I do, however, find that SC is somewhat different from E in that it allows the predicate NP to precede the class-membership biti, and I would therefore not agree with Ivir who says that the NP's of a sentence such as Petar je pjesnik "are not normally transposable" (p.178). Though the transposition of NP's in this particular sentence may result in a stylistically marked structure, there are many contexts in which the predicate NP in pre-biti position is not only possible but preferable, as in:

Student je i Petar. Ipak ponekad zaradi više nego neki zaposlen čovjek.

The same can be said of the first SC example on page 80 of my article as well as of both examples on top of page 81, which, however, were not included in the version which prompted Ivir's comments.

The second example on page 80 illustrates an equation-be structure with both possible orders: The students... are the problem and The problem is the students.... It is noteworthy, however, that the use of the indefinite

article with the word problem would reassign to be the function of class-membership indicator and would make it impossible for the new predicate a problem to take the initial position in the sentence. This suggests a very convenient rule for the use of the article with predicate NP's: the indefinite article is used if the predication denotes class membership, while the definite article is used with the predicate which is being "equated" with the subject. This rule can be used to explain the difference between She is a teacher and She is the teacher much more elegantly than is usually done. Furthermore, the 'predicate' of an equation-be structure may precede be, while that of a class-membership-be structure may not, in fact, it seems redundant to talk about the predicate or the subject in the case of the equation-be structures since the NP's linked are semantically equated to an extent which makes them of equal grammatical status as well. This view is supported by the complete freedom of ordering the NP's around an equation be, as in The tall guy is the teacher and The teacher is the tall guy, without anything more than a 'topic-comment' kind of difference between the two NP's resulting from the change of order. (The change of order is, however, constrained if one of the NP's is a pronoun: the NP's of I am the teacher cannot normally be transposed. It seems to me that this constraint is the result of a more general rule of E grammar affecting the relationship of be to a pronoun NP appearing in the same grammatical constituent.)

(9) Regarding Ivir's comment about the sentence "Ovi momci u sredini ste vi" I can only say that I feel this sentence to be nothing less than

'perfectly grammatical', although colloquial SC, as I said in the article, may prefer "Ovi momci u sredini, to ste vi". Our different feelings about the sentence may, then, be the result of different views of grammaticality. I feel pretty much the same about "Ljudi u srednjem redu su oni", but I agree with Ivir that demonstrative pronouns introducing a structure of biti + personal pronoun must be in the singular.

(10) The first draft of my paper on which Ivir based his comments discussed the relationship of all and everybody to svi, but not to svako, which Ivir thinks should have been included. The same criticism was made by the Zagreb group of the Project analysts and, as a result, svako was included in the discussion of the relationship as it appears in the printed version of my article (pages 82-3). Ivir's comments came too late for me to make any further alterations. I realize that my discussion of this relationship does not exhaust all that is contrastively relevant in this area. In fact, I have only tried to outline some contrastive features of this set of pronouns that were brought into focus by my discussion of linking verb structures in E and SC.

(11) Ivir's remaining comments are concerned with the other linking verbs which I covered in my article dividing them into these groups (shown on page 77) on the basis of meaning and syntactic patterning.

(12) I agree with Ivir's first comment that turn belongs in the same group with become and remain rather than with get, run, and go, since it may be followed either by an adjective or by an NP. However,

his example He turned a traitor would sound much better without the article, although the article is needed if the complement noun is modified by an adjective, as in He turned a vicious traitor. Another verb that might be considered for inclusion into the become group is fall on account of its use in the phrase fall victim to something, unless this solitary case of fall + noun is explained as an 'idiom'.

(13) The use of seem with a following NP is not a feature of standard American English and was therefore not included in my analysis. American English, I had understood, was the only type of English that could be used by the Project analysts.

(14) Since the basis of the classification of the linking verb structures to be covered by my analysis was meaning in conjunction with syntactic patterning, I did not find anything wrong with putting get in the same group with run and go, despite of the collocational restrictions of the latter verbs. The restrictions are, in fact, discussed in the commentary following the examples (p. 90), although not as exhaustively as Ivir suggests they should have been. One reason for the apparent incomprehensiveness of my analysis is to be found in my desire to limit the discussion to the more 'pure' linking verbs, i.e. those that contributed nothing or very little of their own 'meaning' to the meaning of the entire proposition. This, of course, is largely a subjective distinction, but it can be made more precise by means of a formal test. The test that I had in mind when deciding what to consider a 'pure' linking verb was the following: does the action

or state expressed by the entire proposition involve the action of the verb considered independently? If this question is answered in the negative, then the structure that is tested is a linking verb structure; otherwise we are dealing with a regular verb (mostly intransitive) + an adjective complement. Does "turning yellow" involve "turning" in the sense of The car is turning? No. If not, The leaves are turning yellow is a linking verb structure. Does "tearing loose" involve "tearing"? Yes. If so, then He tore the page loose is not a linking verb structure. Sometimes the answer to the question is not a clear "yes" or "no". For example, does "running dry" involve "running"? "Yes" in one sense, "no" in another. I think that a still more positive proof of the non-linking nature of a verb would be a test which would show that the adjective following the verb indicates the result of the action of the verb, or, simply, a state that came about upon the completion of the verbal action. This test would exclude run of run dry from the class of linking verbs and would, along with the previously described test, definitely establish as non-linking the verbs of blush red, fly open, tear loose, wear thin, prove NP true.

An interesting confirmation of the validity of these tests comes from the fact that many verbs that fail the tests but are sometimes classed as linking, such as shine, may be used with a following adverb as well as an adjective, e. g. "The moon shone bright or brightly". Since a manner adverb can never function as complement of a linking verb, shine is obviously a simple intransitive verb.

Although these tests establish as linking all the verbs used in the examples illustrating my group (4) of linking verbs, they also show that I did not cover all that might have been included under this heading. Ivir's list on page 180 includes the following phrases containing verbs that I would like to call linking: keep quiet/, still, /busy and prove true/necessary/in-  
dispensable.

Since writing the original article I have had the opportunity to study the sections on "Copulas" in the excellent Grammar of Late Modern English by H. Poutsma (Groningen 1928, sections 2-12, pp. 2-30), and I would now like to apply my two tests to the examples quoted by Poutsma (mostly from literature) to add to the list of linking verbs contained in my original article and in the present supplement. (I am not including Poutsma's examples that fail the tests or those that are no longer in current use; also, some of the following are not directly from Poutsma but are prompted by his examples):  
bulk large, go hungry, naked/ unpunished/unrewarded/contrary to something  
(the last phrase is different from go bad which is an inchoative), lie unknown/un-  
discovered, look oneself/one's age, make (so) bold/free (as) to, make  
sure/certain/a good linguist/poet/brigand/one of a company, ring true,  
run wild (used duratively, not inchoatively), sit high, stand firm/in need  
of/in fear of/possessed/committed/adjourned, fight shy of, hold good/true/  
valid, rest assured/easy/unknown, come true/due/open/loose/untied,  
fall short/silent/flat/ due/vacant/ victim to/out of favor.

The interesting problem of 'freedom' of a particular verb to link various adjectives, nouns, or adverbials to the subject of the sentence, which



Ivir brings up in his "Notes" (pp. 179-180), can hardly be resolved without a very extensive textual analysis. At this stage I can only offer the examples in this and my earlier paper as illustrations of the currently more frequent linking verbs in typical association with certain adjectives and, more rarely, nouns and prepositional groups.

In teaching the E linking verb structures to foreign learners it might be convenient to divide the verbs into three groups on the basis of collocational restrictions on the choice of the complement. The first group would be made up of be, become, get, and remain, which display minimal restrictions. The second group would include a fairly limited number of verbs which require the complement adjective (or noun) to be marked by a specific semantic feature, but do not impose restrictions on lexical items as such. Thus, for example, go will take almost any adjective as complement as long as it contains the semantic feature of "undesirability" in a given context, and turn seems to demand the same feature of its noun complement (besides such 'idiomatic' expressions as turn twenty-one/of age) while preferring the feature "color" in its adjective complements. The third group would consist of verbs which admit only a very limited number of adjectives as their complements, sometimes only one (as bulk which admits only the adjective large), more usually anything between two and about a dozen (as is the case with most verbs on our list above). These adjectives also tend to be bound together by semantic ties - they are usually synonyms or near-synonyms and may include antonyms as well (e. g. prove necessary/helpful/indispensable,

but also prove unnecessary/valueless).

(15) At the beginning of this section, Ivir gives two examples designed to show non-linking functions of become and get. "He became a teacher" and "I got two letters from him this morning". I do not see how become can be considered to have a non-linking function in this, or any other, sentence. become simply cannot occur without a complement, and it has other semantic-syntactic features which distinguish it from simple intransitives (such as dwell) which are also obligatorily followed by a complement. The second example has an NP immediately following the verb get, which automatically divests this verb of the linking function. This is implied by the list of linking verb structures given in the opening paragraph in my article, where get appears as the first verb in structure (4) requiring an adjective for its complement. It is true that nearly all the verbs in structures (3) and (4) may be used in other grammatical contexts as non-linking, but not in construction with the categories appearing after the + sign in my list on page 77. I think that it is pedagogically more advisable to strictly delimit the grammatical context of linking verbs before teaching them, pointing out that a change of the context would take away their linking function, and illustrating this with an example or two, rather than to introduce their other functions at the same time and thus complicate the picture for the learner. If it happens, however, that a change of function may arise without a change of the grammatical category in the complement, then this should be brought up in teaching the particular linking verb(s). This, for example, is possible with the verb turn, since beside he turned (a vicious) traitor, we have he turned his head.

she turned a somersault, and they turned the corner.

(16) The use of the infinitive as the linking verb complement was outside the intended scope of my article.

(17) As for the comment about the formation of SC inchoatives from adjectives, I share Ivir's doubt that the length of the adjective is the only thing involved, and this doubt is expressed by the wording of the appropriate sentence in my text (page 86). I still think that there is more weight in the argument that length is a factor than Ivir seems to admit. For one thing, his 'counter-examples' (p. 181) are not valid: razboljeti se is not derived from the adjective bolestan but from the noun bol (otherwise this would be reflected in the morphological make-up of the verb, as it is in razbješnjeti from bijesan, isprazniti from prazan, and many others), and although važan does not give važniti se, it gives the verb važiti and, at least in the speech of some people in Sarajevo, also provaž(n)iti se. Furthermore, a look at a dictionary of SC (especially a 'backwards dictionary') will convince anyone that a much larger number of inchoatives in SC are derived from adjectives of one, two, or three syllables than from those of more than 3 syllables. Even without consulting a dictionary, a native speaker of SC can test the validity of the argument by trying to form inchoatives from the adjectives raspoložen and neraspoložen raspoložiti (se) will still sound natural while oneraspoložiti (se) begins to sound clumsy.

(18) This brings us to the last group of Ivir's comments and criticisms, those pertaining to my structure (3), i. e. the class of linking verbs that I

have called "verbs of perceptual effect", in association with adjectives. (I would like to remind the reader that Ivir's comments were based on an earlier version of my article, without the changes which were made in the published version, which makes some of Ivir's comments inapplicable.) Ivir first brings up the problem of izgledati which, as we both noted before, accepts both adjectives and adverbs. He does not, however, seem to accept my explanation that the adjective is used to describe a 'general (perceptual) effect' while the adverb refers only to the 'visual effect' (if that is meant by his saying that my example izgleda fina is unconvincing).<sup>2</sup> I would still maintain that such a distinction is a valid one and will now give additional evidence in support of it.

Sentences of the type NP izgleda Adverb are unacceptable either when the subject NP expresses an abstract entity and is thus incapable of producing a visual effect (\*Njegova ideja izgleda interesantno), or when the complement is to refer to a quality which cannot be observed visually (\*Ta žena stvarno izgleda velikodušno<sup>3</sup>). In fact, NP izgleda Adj is, in each case, a transform of izgleda da S where S contains the NP of the former string as its subject, while NP izgleda Adverb is not a result of such a double-base transformation. This explains the unacceptability of the interesting example mentioned by Ivir \*Vlak izgleda sporo. The corresponding grammatical sentence Vlak izgleda spor can only result from a double-base transformation of the strings underlying the two clauses of izgleda da vlak ide/kreće se sporo, which, according to our rule, must yield NP izgleda Adj in the surface structure.

It should be noted that it is irrelevant for the operation of this transformation whether the embedded S contains a be-predicate adjective or an adverb of manner - in both cases they must show up as Adj in surface structure.

Ambiguities like He looked hard are, no doubt, worth discussing. I see that Ivir has discussed the problem of such ambiguities in his "Predicative Patterns for English Adjectives and Their Contrastive Correspondents in Serbo-Croatian". (Reports 2, pp. 13-14) and will therefore not concern myself with it here.

I agree that Ovo jelo je ukusno would give not only This dish tastes good but also This dish is tasty, and I would add that the latter might be a more likely rendering of the SC sentence by Yugoslav learners of E. If it turns out to be so, a "transformation exercise" will be needed to help the students go from the latter to the former, more idiomatic, E sentence.

Although feel in I feel tired is not a linking verb according to my definition. I would offer the following explanation for the fact that the corresponding SC sentence Osjećam se umoran/umorno accepts both the adjective and the adverb. the adjective must occur if the sentence derives transformationally from the two clauses of Osjećam da sam umoran, although the adverb can also be used if no such transformation is involved, the meaning being very much the same in the two cases. The learners should be warned against using the adverb in the corresponding E sentences. (But the adverbs can be used if feel has the meaning of 'sense', cf. Ivir's example 20 in "Predicative Patterns"..., p.14)

(19) As for Ivir's remark that my SC example (e) on p. 84 is 'extremely stilted', I find that a wider context would easily 'take the stilts from under it'. Consider the following:

A to B (looking at a shop window): Pazi onu kutiju odmah pored onog sanduka. Zar ne bi odgovarala veličinom za Perino violin-čelo.

B to A (the next day): Šta si (ono) rekao da je odgovarajuće veličine, kutija ili sanduk?

I think that my example These flowers smell beautiful is more beautiful than, though perhaps not as straightforward as, the ones that Ivir suggests.

(20) Finally, I would say that it is very difficult for either of us to assert with anything approaching certainty whether the direct or some other method is the best way of teaching the E linking verbs of the 'look' -type to Yugoslav learners. The final decision, I think, must rest with the experts in teaching methodology.

#### NOTES

1. Printed in R. Filipović, ed., The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian - English Contrastive Project, Reports 2, Zagreb 1970, pp. 77-93.
2. Ivir's own view (see his "Predicative Patterns for English Adjectives and Their Contrastive Correspondents in Serbo-Croatian", Reports 2, p. 14) is that the distinction can be described in terms of "permanent" vs. "transient" qualities ascribed to the subject. I think that such a qualification is often correct but would consider it a logical consequence of the difference between 'general' and 'visual' effects.

3. It is, of course, sometimes possible to experience a quality both 'visually' and 'mentally' (i. e. 'in a general way') in which case either the adverb or the adjective can be used, e. g. Ona inače izgleda pošteno/poštena. On the other hand, some people will use izgleda as a synonym for djeluje, which can only take adverbs for complements, so that izgleda becomes capable of associating with a larger number of adverbs. Thus, as the grammatical choice of the complement of izgledati rests on 'the shifting sands of semantics', it is obvious that the grammatical rules governing the choice can be anything but rigid.

THE YUGOSLAV SERBO-CROATIAN - ENGLISH CONTRASTIVE PROJECT

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