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Serbo-Croatian Enclitics for English-Speaking Learners*

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Certain Serbo-Croatian personal pronouns, particles, and verb forms are always unaccented and follow different word-order rules than other words in the sentence do. They cannot stand by themselves but always require a preceding accented word to lean or "incline" on; hence their name "enclitics". There is not just one rule governing their use in sentences, but several rules which form a system. Violating any one of the rules can give an incorrect SC sentence, so that they all have to be mastered by the learner of SC. Unfortunately, every presentation of the rules so far in SC grammars and textbooks has been incomplete or even wrong.¹ This paper is an attempt to fill the gap.

* Originally published in Rudolf Filipović, ed., *Contrastive analysis of English and Serbo-Croatian/Kontrastivna analiza engleskog i hrvatskog ili srpskog jezika 1*. Zagreb: Institute of Linguistics 1975, 105–34. Long-tune JSL readers will note that, since this is a reprint, there are deviations from the standard JSL stylesheet in organization, presentation of examples, bibliographic citation style, etc.

¹ For example, Magner mentions personal pronouns in the dative and accusative cases, but does not tell where the genitive comes in the enclitic group. Since verbs like *bojati se* take an object in the genitive, a student using Magner's rules would not know how to say 'Vera is afraid of you' (*Vera se boji*). Magner states (p. 332): "The enclitic forms may appear in any part of the sentence immediately after an accented verb form." Brabec-Hraste-Živković make a similar statement: "Enklitika može uvijek stajati iza glagola bez obzira na kojem se mjestu on nalazi." ("Whatever position in the sentence the verb is in, an enclitic can come after it." p. 221.) If a student accepts these rules, he will produce incorrect sentences like **Ova doći će u ulazak*, instead of *Ova će doći u ulazak* 'She will come on Tuesday'.

Neither Magner nor Brabec-Hraste-Živković point out that enclitics must follow clause-introducers immediately; so a learner might conclude that he could say **Mama odgovara da ona su u ormanu*. (See example (3–12).) Neither grammar states the rule about enclitics after the first word of a predicate. Discussing the example *Marko Marulić otac je hrvatske književnosti*, Marko Marulić is the father of Croatian literature', Brabec-Hraste-Živković say "... enklitiku prenosimo iza trećeg mjestila" ("We move the enclitic to after the third position", p. 221) But the example could just as well have been *Spilčarini Marko Marulić otac je hrvatske književnosti*. Then they would have had to make a rule about putting the enclitic after the fourth word of the sentence. A sentence like *Čuveni Spilčarini Marko Marulić otac je hrvatske književnosti* 'The famous inhabitant of Split, Marko Marulić, is the father of Croatian literature' would have required another rule in order to put the enclitic after the fifth word, and so on.

We can expect the enclitics to be more difficult for English-speaking students than, say, for French-speakers, because (unlike French, Spanish, and many other languages) English has nothing really corresponding to the unaccented enclitic forms with their special rules. English does have special unaccented forms of pronouns, verbs, and the particle *not* (written as contractions: *I'd*, *he'll*, *it'll*, *it'll*, *can't*), but there are not separate rules for placing these forms in the sentence the way there are in SC. Another difference is that English contracted forms are used mainly in conversational style, while SC enclitics must be used in all styles, both spoken and written, conversational and formal.

As far as possible, we will illustrate our rules by giving actual incorrect sentences produced by English-speaking learners of SC (identified by their initials, such as /AA/). The correct form of each sentence will always be given too.

The rules for SC enclitics apply to *simple sentences* (not containing more than one subject and predicate) and to *clauses* that are joined together to make a complex or compound sentence. From now on, when we say "clause" we will mean simple sentences as well.

1. *All clitics in a clause must come together*; we say that they form an *enclitic group*. Here are some examples where this rule has not been followed:

(1-1) *Onda se vratiti ću na fakultet u Minesoti. /TL/

The mark * indicates an ungrammatical (incorrectly formed) sentence. The correct form is:

Onda ću se vratiti na fakultet u Minesoti.

'Then I will go back to college in Minnesota.'

Engelsfeld makes the position of the enclitics in the sentence depend on whether or not there is a subject: "But if the subject (the personal pronoun) is not expressed, the pronominal enclitic follows the verb e.g.,

Ne vidim ga. Nisam mu rekao.
'I do not see him.' 'I did not tell him.'"

(p. 183), leading the unwary reader to believe that the correct order would also be **Sad ne vidim ga*. **To nisam mu rekao*. instead of *Sad ga ne vidim*. Now I do not see him,' and *To mu nisam rekao*. 'I did not tell him that.'

(1-2) *... pa onda se oblačio sam. /KA/
... pa sam se zatim oblačio.

'And then I used to get dressed.'

(1-3) *... jer je znao da je mogao me pobijediti. /BB/
... jer je znao da me je mogao pobijediti.

'For he knew that he could have defeated me.'

(1-4) *da li ste rekli mu da idete sutra u Ljubljanu? /SF/
da li ste mu rekli da idete sutra u Ljubljanu?

'Did you tell him that you were going to Ljubljana tomorrow?'

2. The enclitics in the enclitic group must be arranged in the *proper order*. If they are not, the result is grammatically unacceptable:

(2-1) *Svida se mi pjevanje. /KA/
Svida mi se pjevanje.

'I like singing'

(If the meaning is 'I like to sing (myself)', then this should be *Volim pjevati*.)

(2-2) *Katkad sam učio u biblioteci i kasnije se sam vraćao /KA/
kući.

... a zatim sam se vraćao kući.

'I used to study in the library sometimes and afterwards I would go back home.'

(2-3) *Bilo je mi jako zabavno. /BB/
Bilo mi je jako zabavno.

'It was lots of fun for me.'

(2-4) *... znam da je mu zbog toga život sretniji. /MP/
... znam da mu je zbog toga život sretniji.

'I know that his life is happier because of that.'

- (2-5) *Tražao te sam. /CC/
 Tražio sam te.
 'I was looking for you.'

- (2-6) *Vera je zahvalila Ani na pozivu i rekla je joj da je dolazi. /DD/
 Vera je zahvalila Ani na pozivu i rekla joj je da dolazi.
 'Vera thanked Ana for the invitation and told her that she was coming.'

Here is a list of the enclitics, showing the order in which they come in the enclitic group. In parentheses we give the full form corresponding to each enclitic. (Full forms do not follow the same rules that enclitics do. Their use will be explained later.) Not all these enclitics will occur in any one enclitic group, but those that do must come in the proper relative order.

First in the group is the particle *li*, used for making yes-no questions. The finite verb form (the one taking person endings) is put first in the clause, and *li* comes right after it. For example, the question from

Marko studira medicinu.
 'Marko is studying medicine.'

is:

Studira li Marko medicinu?
 'Is Marko studying medicine?'

Ana želi ostan̄i kod roditelja.
 'Ana wants to stay at her parents.'

gives the question

Želi li Ana ostan̄i kod roditelja.
 'Does Ana want to stay at her parents?'

and not

*Ostan̄i li Ana želi...

because *želi*, and not the infinitive *ostan̄i*, is the finite verb form.²

² **Rekli li mu ste, da idete u Ljubljanu sutra?* /PL/ is wrong because of this rule: the finite verb is *ste*, not the form *rekli* which does not take endings for person. In order to make a question with *li*, we need the full form of *ste* (see the section on full forms below): *Jeste li*

(The full form corresponding to *li* is *da li*. *Da li* comes at the beginning of the clause and does not cause inversion of the finite verb; for example *Da li Ana želi ostan̄i kod roditelja?*)

Second are the auxiliary verbs *ću* (for making the future tense), *bih* (for the conditional), and *sam* (for the past tense or 'perfect'). *Sam* is also the present tense of *biti* 'to be'.

1.SG.	ću	'I will'	(full form <i>hoću</i>)
2.SG.	ćeš	'you will'	(<i>hoćeš</i>)
3.SG.	će	'he, she, it will'	(<i>hoće</i>)
1.PL.	ćemo	'we will'	(<i>hoćemo</i>)
2.PL.	ćete	'you will'	(<i>hoćete</i>)
3.PL.	će	'they will'	(<i>hoće</i>)
1.SG.	bih	'I would'	(full form <i>bih</i> : like <i>bih</i> but accented)
2.SG.	bi		(<i>bi</i>)
3.SG.	bi		(<i>bi</i>)
1.PL.	bismo		(<i>bismo</i>)
2.PL.	biste		(<i>biste</i>)
3.PL.	bi		(<i>bi</i>)

Instead of *bih*, *bismo*, and *biste*, Serbo-Croatian speakers often say *bi* for both the enclitics and the full forms; but this is considered not to be correct in the standard language.

1.SG.	sam	'I am'	(full form <i>jesam</i>)
2.SG.	si		(<i>jesi</i>)
3.SG.			
1.PL.	smo		(<i>jeste</i>)
2.PL.	ste		(<i>jeste</i>)
3.PL.	ju		(<i>jesu</i>)

One line has been left blank. The 3rd person singular of *sam* is *je*, but it does not come in this position; it comes at the end, after all the other

mu rekli da idete u Ljubljanu sutra? 'Did you tell him that you were going to Ljubljana tomorrow?'

The enclitic *li* can also be used in sentences which are questions already, like *Gdje mi je sestra?* 'Where is my sister?' *Li* comes after the first word, i.e. the question word: *Gdje li mi je sestra?* and emphasizes that the speaker is asking himself the question. We could translate our example as 'I wonder where my sister is.'

³ In the colloquial style, *je li* or *je l'* is used in the same way as *da li*.

enclitics. This is why example (2-5), 'I was looking for you', is *Tražio sam te*, but 'He was looking for you' would be *Tražio te je*. And *rekla si joj* 'You told her' is the correct order, but in the 3rd person it has to be *rekla joj je*, as in example (2-6).

Third: the dative-case forms of the personal pronouns.

1.SG.	mi	'to me'	(full form <i>meni</i>)
2.SG.	ti		(<i>tebi</i>)
3.SG.	M & N	mu	(<i>njemu</i>)
3.SG.	F	joj	(<i>njoj</i>)
1.PL.	nam		(<i>nama</i>)
2.PL.	vam		(<i>vama</i>)
3.PL.	M, N, F	im	(<i>njima</i>)

An example of these datives coming after *li*:

Daj⁴š li joj poklone?

(*Daj⁴š joj li poklone?)

'Do you give her presents?'

We have just given an example of datives following auxiliary verbs: *rekla si joj*. Some others:

Oni su mi dali poklon.

(*Oni mi su dali poklon.)

'They gave me a present.'

Poslat ćemo vam novac.

'We'll send you the money.'

Mogli bismo mu pomoći.

'We could help him.'

Fourth come the accusatives and genitives of the personal pronouns.⁴

1.SG.	me	'me'	(full form <i>mene</i>)
2.SG.	te		(<i>tebe</i>)
3.SG.	M & N	ga	(<i>njega</i>)
3.SG.	F	je (or <i>ju</i> ACC)	(<i>nju</i> ACC, <i>nje</i> GEN)
1.PL.	nas		(<i>nâs</i> - accented)
2.PL.	vas		(<i>vâs</i>)
3.PL.	M, N, F	ih	(<i>njih</i>)

The accusative form *ju* is used before the auxiliary verb *je*; that is, *ju je*, not **je je*. (*Ju* in place of *je* is also frequently heard outside this position, especially in Zagreb speech.)

Example showing that *li* comes before these pronouns:

Poznaj⁴š li ga?

(*Poznaj⁴š ga li?)

'Do you know him?'

Auxiliary verbs before these pronouns: (2-5) and

Sutra ću ga vidjeti.

(*Sutra ga ću vidjeti.)

'I'll see him tomorrow.'

⁴ What happens when there is an accusative and a genitive enclitic together? We can make the experiment in two ways: either with a verb that takes one object in the accusative and the other in the genitive, or with a quantity word taking the genitive plus a verb taking the accusative. *Lišiti* 'deprive someone (ACC) of something (GEN)' according to one speaker gives *Lišiti su ih* (GEN) *ga* (ACC). 'They deprived him (e.g. the peasant) of them (e.g. his rights)'. But a different accusative pronoun gives the order *Lišiti su me* (ACC) *ih* (GEN). 'They deprived me of them.' Another speaker understands *Lišiti su ih ga* as 'They deprived them of him.' Other speakers consider such sentences "very unusual", and all find it hard to make consistent judgements and therefore try to avoid such cases.

The quantity word *nekoliko* 'some' can be followed by a genitive enclitic: *Nekoliko ih je došlo*. 'Some of them came.' When used together with a verb and an accusative clitic, the first speaker prefers the order *Nekoliko ih* (GEN) *ga* (ACC) *je udario*. 'Some of them hit him.', while the second speaker allows either *ih ga* or *ga ih* in this meaning. Most commonly one would say *Udario ga je njih nekoliko*. that is, with the full form of the genitive.

For practical purposes, then, we can say that there is only one position, which can be filled either by a genitive enclitic or by an accusative enclitic.

Datives before accusatives:

- (2-7) *Ja ću ih joj dati kad je vidim.
 Ja ću joj ih dati kad je vidim. /WS/
 'I'll give them to her when I see her.'

Likewise:

- Pročitaj mi ga!
 (*Pročitaj ga mi!)
 'Read it to me.'

Fifth in order is *se*, which is both the accusative of the reflexive pronoun ('myself, yourself, oneself, etc.') and a particle used with certain verbs and constructions. When it is a form of the reflexive pronoun, it corresponds to the full form *sebe*; as a particle, it has no corresponding full form. Thus the verb *desiti se* 'happen' always has *se*, never *sebe*; and the same is true of the "impersonal" construction with *se*:

- Ovdje se mnogo radi.
 'One works a lot here, people work a lot here.'

where *se* is used with the verb to indicate that the subject of the verb is unspecified persons or people in general.

Example of order *li – se*:

- Bojiš li se?
 (*Bojiš se li?)
 'Are you afraid?'

- Radi li se?
 (*Radi se li?)

'Are people working? Are you people here working?'

Auxiliary verb – *se*: see (2-2). Also:

- Mi smo se kupali.
 (*Mi se smo kupali.)
 'We bathed, we went swimming.'

Marko će se oženiti u septembru.

(*Marko se će...)

'Marko will get married in September.'

Dative enclitic – *se*:

- (2-8) *... ali ne znam je li se im svidala.
 ... ali ne znam da li im se svidala (je li im se svidala). /FS/
 'But I don't know if they liked it.'

More examples: (2-1) and

- Predstavio mi se.
 (*Predstavio se mi.)
 'He introduced himself to me.'
 Djeca bi nam se smijala.
 (*Djeca bi se nam...)
 'The children would laugh at us.'

Genitive enclitic – *se*:

- Vera te se boji.
 (*Vera se te boji.)
 'Vera is afraid of you.'
 Lišit će ga se.
 (*Lišit će se ga.)
 'He will deprive himself of it.'

In the standard language, we don't have accusative enclitics together with *se*. But there is a form of the *se*-impersonal construction, frequently found in Croatian speech and literature even though not considered correct, which has the two together:

- Veterani ... su ... uvidjeli, da ih se vara.
 'The veterans realized that people were fooling them.'
 (Krileža)

and here we can see that the accusative enclitics come before *se* as well.⁵

[*Author's note:* Since 1975, when this article first appeared, Croatian grammarians have begun to permit and even recommend the maintenance of accusative objects, including enclitic pronouns, in the *se*-impersonal (*se* for unspecified human subject). Katičić 1986, §251 and 419a, describes a transformation impersonalizing V NP_{ACC} by the addition of *se*, but calls it "a mark of less careful usage". Barić et al. 1990, §1144-48, gives a similar description but no longer calls it "less careful". Such accusatives with *se* do not normally occur in Bosnian and Serbian.]

Last in the enclitic group is the 3rd person singular verb form *je* (corresponding full form *jest* or *jeste*, but *je* if used before *li*). *Je* does not occur together with other auxiliary verb forms (*ću*, *bih* etc.). We have already given examples of *je* coming after dative, genitive, and accusative enclitics:

Rekla joj je.

Nekoliko ih je došlo. (footnote 4)

Tražio te je.

When *se* and this *je* come together, *je* follows:

Smijala se je.

(*Smijala je se.)

'She laughed.'

But usually a rule is applied which removes *je* after *se*: *se+je=se*.⁶ For example:

⁵ We also occasionally find an accusative and a *se* together when there is a verb requiring *se*, followed by an infinitive construction that has an accusative object of its own. (See the section on infinitive constructions below.) Thus if the main verb is *nije se usudio* 'he didn't dare' and the infinitive construction is *zabraniti ga* 'to forbid it', we can have either *Nije se usudio zabraniti ga* or *Nije ga se usudio zabraniti*. 'He (the bishop) didn't dare to forbid it (the meeting)' (E. Radečić, *Istorski zapisi*, Zagreb 1969, p. 358). Again, we see that an accusative enclitic precedes *se* when they come together. This accusative *ga* + *se* would be considered substandard in the eastern variant of SC [i.e. standard Serbian in Serbia] (I thank M. Ivrić for this and a number of other useful comments).

⁶ *Je* can also be removed after *me* and *te* (*vidio me je = vidio me; pozvano te je = pozvano te*). This happens especially in spoken style. But still it is more common to leave the *je* in. This contrasts with the dropping of *je* in *se je*, which is normal (and some speakers insist on it).

Smijala se.

Ivan se bojao mraka

(= Ivan se je bojao mraka.)

'Ivan was afraid of the dark.'

Order of the enclitics:

1	2	3	4	5	6
II	AUX	DAT	ACC	se	AUX
	Verbs	PRO	or GEN		verb je
	ću... bih... sam...	mi, ti ... me, te ...	PRO		
	(but not je)				

3. There are several rules for where the enclitic group comes in the clause or sentence. They all contain the idea of *second position*: the enclitic group must come after some element in the clause. Students find this point easy to learn: we don't find mistakes with the enclitics coming at the very beginning of a sentence, like

*Me gledaju. *Su ga jučer vidjeli.

instead of

Gledaju me. Jučer su ga vidjeli.

'They are looking at me. They saw him yesterday.'

But the individual rules for placing the enclitic group cause more difficulty, and we often find mistakes like:

(3-1) *Sada samo se smijem i kažem: ...

/TL/

Sada se samo smijem i kažem: ...

'Now I only laugh and say: ...'

(3-2) *Zašto Stanku potrebna je soba?

/BB/

Zašto je Stanku potrebna soba?

'Why does Stanko need a room?'

- (3-3) *Sada mislim da u septembru ću se oženiti.
 ... da ću se oženiti u septembru. /J/
 'Now I think I'll get married in September.'

We will take up the rules one by one, explaining the observed mistakes as we go.

Usually the enclitic group comes *after the first element* in the clause. This element can be a *single word*:

- Sestra će doći sutra.
 (*Sestra doći će sutra.)
 '(My) sister will come tomorrow.'
 Sutra će doći sestra.
 (*Sutra doći će sestra.)

Now we can see the trouble with (3-1). Some other examples:⁶⁸

- (3-4) *Tada jako sam se ljutila.
 Tada sam se jako ljutila. /TL/
 'Then I was very mad.'
 (3-5) *On trebat će knjigu.
 On će trebati knjigu.
 'He'll need a book.'
 (3-6) *Ujutro Mladen će ići u školu.
 Ujutro će Mladen ići u školu. /AH/
 'In the morning, Mladen will go to school.'

A preposition and the word after it are treated as one single word, and the enclitics follow:

⁶⁸ Some of the sentences given here with "*" become more acceptable if emphasis is put on the first word or a pause is put after it:
 U školi učiti će bez knjige (as opposed to kod kuće).
 Zbog toga došao sam u Jugoslaviju.
 Ujutro, Mladen će ići u školu.
 U utorak, doći će sestra.

See the discussion of pauses below.

- U utorak će doći sestra.
 (*U utorak doći će sestra.)
 '(My) sister will come on Tuesday.'

Examples:

- (3-7) *Zbog toga došao sam u Jugoslaviju.
 Zbog toga sam došao u Jugoslaviju. /JB/
 'Because of that I came to Yugoslavia. That's why I came to Yugoslavia.'
 (3-8) *U školi učiti će bez knjige.
 U školi će učiti bez knjige. /AH/
 'In school he'll study without a book.'

Since the preposition is not treated as a word by itself, we do not get *Zbog sam toga...; *U će školi...

I, a, and ni also don't count as separate words. So we never have *i sie, *a mi se, etc. Likewise ne + verb count as one word:

- (3-9) *Ne ih vidim.
 Ne vidim ih. /SY/
 'I don't see them.'
 (3-10) *Ja ne se sjećam.
 Je se ne sjećam. /SY/
 'I don't remember.'

I + ne + verb, accordingly, acts as a single word:

- (3-11) *... ljudi postaju nervozni i neudobni i me ne gledaju. /TL/
 ... ljudi postaju nervozni, osjećaju se neugodno i ne gledaju me.
 'People get nervous and uncomfortable and don't look at me.'

Here the first word of the last clause is *ne gledaju*, and the enclitic has to come after it.

Ne and the verb, in fact, form a single unit in the sentence, and can never be divided by enclitics or anything else. This rule is a frequent source of errors, as in (3-9) and (3-10), especially because other languages

that the learner may have studied previously do put enclitics between negation and verb, e.g., French *Je ne les vois pas*, Spanish *No los veo*.

The *first element in the clause*, after which the enclitic group is put, can also be a *phrase* (two or more words making one grammatical unit). For example, the subject:

Moja sestra će doći u utorak

'My sister will come on Tuesday.'

Moja mlada sestra će doći u utorak

'My younger sister will come on Tuesday.'

Lav Tolstoj je veliki ruski pisac.

'Leo Tolstoj is a great Russian writer.'

The object:

Sovjetske goste je primio i predsjednik Republike Austrije Jonas.

'The President of the Republic of Austria, Mr. Jonas, also received the Soviet guests.'

An adverbial phrase:

Prošle godine su otvorili ugostiteljsku školu.

'Last year they opened a hotel-and-catering school.'

In all these examples, it would also be possible for the enclitics to come after the *first word*:

Moja će sestra doći u utorak.

Moja će mlada sestra doći u utorak.

Lav je Tolstoj veliki ruski pisac.

Sovjetske je goste primio.

Prošle su godine otvorili ugostiteljsku školu.

The choice between "first word" and "first phrase" in placement of enclitics is often a matter of individual taste, and different speakers and writers may express different preferences. In general it is more old-fashioned and literary to break up a phrase by putting the enclitics after

the first word. This is especially true when a name is broken up, as in *Lav je Tolstoj*, or when there are more than one enclitic: a sentence like

Lav bi te se Tolstoj sigurno uplašio.

'Leo Tolstoj would certainly be frightened of you.'

would be quite unusual. In everyday and conversational style, enclitics are more likely to be put after the whole phrase.

Let's consider again what is wrong with (3-1). The enclitic *se* is not after *sada*, the first word, and it is not after the first phrase either, since *sada* 'now' and *samo* 'only' don't go together to make a phrase in this sentence.

We will see, however, that in some situations the enclitics must come after the first word; the option of putting them after the first phrase is not open.

If the clause begins with a *clause-introducer*, the enclitics must come *right after this element*: no other position in the clause is possible. The clause-introducers include subordinating conjunctions, relative words, interrogative words, and a few other conjunctions. This rule is bound to be a problem for English speakers, because English clause-introducers have no such effects on the placement of words in the sentence. The most frequent mistakes made by learners are with the subordinating conjunction *da*, since this is the most frequent clause-introducer:^{6b}

(3-12) *Mama odgovara da one su u ormaru.

Mama odgovara da su one u ormaru.

'Mama answers that they are in the wardrobe.'

/AH/

Of course, the same clause without *da* would have the order

One su u ormaru.

But when *da* is added, the order must be changed. Other examples:

(3-13) *Činio mi se da bila je to zemlja gdje mogu živjeti.

Činilo mi se da je to zemlja gdje mogu živjeti.

/MB/

'It seemed to me that that was a country where I could live.'

^{6b} *Da* meaning 'yes' is a different word—not a clause-introducer at all, and not even counted as part of the sentence.

Da, Ivan ju je vidio.

'Yes, Ivan saw her.'

- (3-14) *Činilo mi se da fotografije ... su naročito lijepo. /PH/
 Činilo mi se da su fotografije ... naročito lijepo.
 'It seemed to me that the photographs were specially beautiful.'

Other subordinating conjunctions act the same way. For example, *što*:

- Drago mi je što vas vidim opet među nama. (*što vidim vas)
 'I'm glad to see you among us again.'

Ako:

- Ako ga slučajno vidiš, nazovi me.**
 (*Ako slučajno ga vidiš, *Ako slučajno vidiš ga)
 'If by chance you see him, call me.'

Prije nego što:

- (3-15) *Prije nego što američki je kritičar ... bio uhapšen... /TB/
 Prije nego što je američki kritičar ... bio uhapšen...
 'Before the American critic was arrested,...'

The writer of this sentence has learned the rule about putting enclitics after the first word of the sentence, but does not know that *prije nego što* is treated as a part of the sentence too and must have enclitics directly after it.

Relative pronouns and other relative words also give trouble to the English-speaking learner, for the same reason: he tends to leave the enclitics where they'd be in the clause if the relative word were not there.

- (3-16) *I za njega koji lično me ne pozna ... /MP/
 I za njega, koji me lično ne poznaje, ...
 'And for him, who does not know me personally, ...'

(Without *koji*, we would indeed have the order

Lično me ne poznaje.)

- (3-17) *Kad bila sam mala ... /PH/
 Kad sam bila mala ...
 'When I was little ...'
 (Compare: *Bila sam mala*.)

Interrogative words, too, require the enclitics directly after them. In very simple sentences with a subject and an auxiliary verb, such as

- Marko je oputovao.
 'Marko left.'

learners arrive at the correct question word-order without trouble:

- Kad je Marko oputovao?
 'When did Marko leave?'

- Zašto je Marko oputovao?
 'Why did Marko leave?'

Putting the auxiliary verb before the subject reminds them of the inversion of subject and auxiliary in English. More complicated sentences, with more enclitics or more other elements, cause difficulties:

- Marko ti ih je poslao.
 'Marko sent them to you.'

- Kada ti ih je Marko poslao?
 'When did Marko send them to you?'

- Odakle ti ih je Marko poslao?
 'From where did Marko send them to you?'

- Da li ti ih je Marko poslao?
 'Did Marko send them to you?'

See (3-2). Here is another example with the interrogative *da li*:

- (3-18) *Da li vi se sjećate to? /TB/
 Da li se vi toga sjećate?
 'Do you remember that?'

In SC the interrogative does not always form a phrase with the word(s) that it governs. We can see this in questions like

Koliko imate godina?

'How old are you? (Literally: How many years do you have?)'

where the unit *koliko godina* can be broken up by moving only *koliko* to the front of the clause but leaving *godina* in object position, after the verb. This is why it is preferable to ask

Koje su boje gradski autobusi u Jugoslaviji?

'What color (literally: of what color) are city busses in Yugoslavia?'

rather than

Koje boje su gradski autobusi u Jugoslaviji?

The interrogative *koje* does not form a tightly knit phrase with *boje*, and so the preferred place for the clitics is right after the interrogative word *koje* (although the other position, after *koje boje*, is also possible).^{6c}

Other conjunctions that require the enclitics immediately after them include *niti* 'neither, nor', and *nego* and *već* in the meaning 'but' (used after a negative clause):

Niti ga znam niti sam ga ikad vidio.

(*niti ikad sam ga ...)

'I neither know him nor have I ever seen him.'

Nisam bio kod njegova nego (or već) smo se sreli na ulici.

(*nego sreli smo se)

'I wasn't at his house but we met on the street.'

Unfortunately, we can't make a rule that *all* conjunctions require the enclitics to come after them. We have already seen that *i*, *a*, and *ni* cannot be followed by enclitics, because they don't count as separate words. *Dakle* and *prema tome* 'therefore, so, hence' usually do not count for enclitic placement. At the beginning of a sentence they are followed by a pause

(shown as a comma); then the sentence starts 'over again', with the enclitics in the proper place in it.

(3-19) *Dakle su pozvali mnogo prijatelja i znanaca na ručak. /RM/

Dakle, pozvali su mnogo...

'So they have invited a lot of friends and acquaintances to lunch.'

Ali, ili, and *jer* optionally take the enclitics after them.

Marko je danas počeo raditi ali je pitanje / ali pitanje je da li će ostati.

'Marko started working today but it's a question whether he'll stay.'

Pa, and also *ali*, behave differently in different meanings. When it means 'and, and then, and so', *pa* is followed by the enclitics:

Pojeli smo sav kruh pa sam otišao da kupim još.

*Pojeli smo sav kruh pa otišao sam ...

'We ate up all the bread so I went to buy more.'

But as an interjection, in objecting to something, *pa* and *ali* do not count and are not followed by enclitics:

Zašto nisi kupio voće?—Ali, kupio sam jabuke.

*Ali sam kupio jabuke.

Pa, kupio sam jabuke.

*Pa sam kupio jabuke.

'Why didn't you buy fruit?'—'But, I bought apples.'

If a clause begins with a verb, or with a form of 'to be' plus a predicate (predicate noun, predicate adjective, participle, adverb, prepositional phrase), the enclitics come after the first word. Here the alternative of putting them after a whole phrase is not open.

Nastala je gužva.

*Nastala gužva je.

'There was a big hassle.'

^{6c} *Kakvo (su) boje* for 'what color' is also acceptable, and several speakers of the Eastern variant insisted on it instead of *koje*.

Doći će uskoro i Marija.
 *Doći uskoro će i Marija.
 'Mary will come soon too.'

Bio sam mu rekao da...
 *Bio rekao sam mu da...
 'I had told him that...'

Dao mi je članak.
 *Dao članak mi je.

'He gave me an article.'

Žele me vidjeti sutra.

*Žele vidjeti me sutra.

'They want to see me tomorrow.'

Bio je odličan student.

*Bio odličan student je.

'He was an excellent student.'

In this position when an adjective modifies a noun, or an adverb modifies an adjective, the two together form a phrase, and the enclitics, again, must come after the first word of the phrase:

Odičan je student.

*Odičan student je.

'He is an excellent student.'

Jako si mi dosadan.

*Jako dosadan si mi.

'You're very boring (to me).'

Jako mi je dosadna njegova posljednja knjiga.

*Jako dosadna mi je ...

'His last book is very boring (to me).'

As we have already seen, a preposition forms a single unit with the word after it, and does not count as a separate word itself. Thus the enclitics do not go directly after a preposition, but after the first preposition+word unit:

U sobi su.
 *U su sobi.

'They're in the room.'

U drugoj su sobi.

*U drugoj sobi su.

'They're in the other room.'

If a clause has a number of words before the verb (or predicate), the enclitics can be put after the first word of the verb (predicate) instead of after the first element of the clause. It is as if the beginning of the clause were being "ignored" and the clause really started with the verb (predicate). This "ignoring" is a tendency rather than a rule; there are various factors that can encourage or discourage it in a given example. We know that clause-introducers always take the enclitics; so they can never be ignored. Longer and more complicated items are easier to "ignore" than short simple ones:

*Ona doći će u utorak.

Ona će doći u utorak.

'She will come on Tuesday.'

*Sestra doći će u utorak.

Sestra će doći u utorak.

'(My) sister will come on Tuesday.'

?Moja sestra doći će u utorak.⁷

Moja će sestra doći u utorak.

Moja sestra će doći u utorak.

'My sister will come on Tuesday.'

Moja mlada sestra doći će u utorak.

also:

Moja će mlada sestra ...

Moja mlada sestra će ...

'My younger sister will come on Tuesday.'

⁷ The mark "?" means that the sentence is questionable, but not as bad as "***".

Sestra i njen muž doći će u utorak.

also:

Sestra će i njen muž ...

Sestra i njen muž će...

'(My) sister and her husband will come on Tuesday.'

A pause after an element may cause the sentence to "start over again", i.e. the preceding element is ignored:⁸

Njegova posljednja knjiga ... ovaj ... dosadna mi je.

'His latest book ... er ... is boring.'

(Putting the enclitics right after a pause:

Njegova posljednja knjiga ... ovaj ... mi je dosadna.

is not as good, because it creates an effect similar to putting them at the very beginning of a clause.)

Besides those due to hesitation, pauses can be due to the make-up of the sentence. This is a very difficult area to say anything concrete about at present, but we can mention one type of sentence structure which frequently produces a pause: when the first part of the clause introduces a topic which is going to be spoken about (the *theme*), there is often a pause before the second part (the *rheme*) which states something about this theme. For instance, if *moja djevojka* is a new topic in the conversation, there might well be a pause in the sentence.

⁸ Czech has rules for enclitics very much like those of Serbo-Croatian. Here is the testimony of a Czech linguist: "One might perhaps mention ... a speech habit which the present writer has himself experienced. If he formulates a sentence slowly, he usually puts enclitic pronouns and verbal forms behind the word form to which they belong. In reading such sentences for the second time, however, he always shifts such enclitics to the front of the sentence, before the concerned words. In other words, when the sentence is being formed for the first time, it is analysed into its parts more sharply, and as an enclitic is not allowed to stand at the beginning of a sentence section, it has to be placed behind the word to which it belongs. When, however, the formed sentence is implemented, it is experienced more as a coherent whole, and thus the enclitic is shifted to the first word of the whole sentence." Vilém Mathesius, "On the Potentiality of the Phenomena of Language", in J. Vachek, *A Prague school reader in linguistics* (Bloomington, IN, 1964), p. 16.

Moja djevojka / pause/ ide sutra na more.

'My girl friend // is going to the coast tomorrow.'

'You know my girl friend? // She's going to the coast tomorrow.'

This could lead to putting the enclitics after the verb:

Moja djevojka // vidjela je jučer medvjeda.

'My girl friend saw a bear yesterday.'

and even:

Moja djevojka // napustila me je.

'My girl friend has left me.'

The last sentence, however, would be rare except in quite emotional style, because putting the enclitics at the very end of a clause is disfavoured if there is any other possible place for them. Compare:

Moja mlada sestra doći će u utorak.

?'My girl friend will come on Tuesday.'

Newspaper and official style is specially fond of putting enclitics after the verb without regard to theme-rheme structure or pauses. Cf. the following, from an article whose theme is the king of Afghanistan:

Prvi sekretar afganistanske ambasade u Rimu izjavio je da će kralj provesti noć u prostorijsama ambasade. (Vjesnik, 18. VII 1973.)

'The First Secretary of the Afghan Embassy in Rome announced that the king would spend the night on the Embassy premises.'

A preferable order in ordinary style might be:

Prvi je sekretar ... izjavio

or, for many speakers even better,

Prvi sekretar afganistanske ambasade u Rimu je izjavio

Sometimes we find that only part of the elements before the verb are being ignored:

UMAG, 17. srpnja.—Član Izvršnog komiteta CK SKH Ena Derosi-Bjelajac, u utorka je u Umagu govornja širem političkom akhivju Bujštine o novim ustavnim promjenama. (ibid.)

UMAG, 17 July.—'Ena Derosi-Bjelajac, a member of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, spoke to a meeting of politically active citizens of the Buje region in Umag on Tuesday about the new constitutional changes.'

In this example the subject is rather long and difficult to break up with an enclitic. Also, it is a theme in the sentence. The writer separated it from the rest of the sentence with a pause (note his use of the comma); then he treated *u utorka* as the new first element for the purpose of placing *je*.

There is one type of element in the sentence which has to be "ignored": *subordinate clauses*. Enclitics from the main clause usually do not go directly after them, and never inside them:

²⁷Da Ivan voli Mariju mi je jasno.

*Da mi je Ivan voli Mariju jasno.

The enclitics must be put after one of the words of the main clause according to the rules we have discussed:

Da Ivan voli Mariju jasno mi je.

Da Ivan voli Mariju sasvim mi je jasno.

'That Ivan loves Marija is (quite) clear to me.'

The best solution would be to invert the sentence, putting the predicate first:

Jasno mi je da Ivan voli Mariju

Sasvim mi je jasno da Ivan voli Mariju.

Since *sasvim jasno*, in the last example, is the predicate, *mi je* must go after the first word. Compare.

*Sasvim jasno mi je da Ivan voli Mariju.

Another possibility would be to add a pronoun, *to* 'it, that', which refers back to the subordinate clause but takes over the role of subject

itself. Then the enclitics come after the pronoun, since it is the first element in the main clause:

Da Ivan voli Mariju, to mi je jasno.

It is possible to do the same thing in English, i.e. use *that* as a subject referring back to a subordinate clause:

That Ivan loves Marija—that is clear to me.

but in SC this is done much more commonly. *To* can be used to refer back to other things as well (infinitives, long phrases, lists of nouns): we will see examples with infinitives shortly.

Subordinate clauses, as we have said, are ignored for enclitic-placement purposes. After a subordinate clause, the main clause "starts over again". So in an example like

(3-20) *Neki ljudi kojih sam pitao nisu slazili se.

Neki ljudi koje sam pitao nisu se slazili.

/TB/

'Some people I asked didn't agree.'

the new beginning of the sentence is after *pitao*; the enclitic *se* must come after *nisu*, which is now the first word.

Infinitive constructions. Infinitives can either behave like separate (subordinate) clauses or like parts of the main clause. It depends on how they are used.

If an infinitive is used as the complement to a verb (that is, the verb "takes" the infinitive after it), the infinitive does not usually count as a separate clause. The enclitics belonging to it (object pronouns, *se*) come up into the main clause and are put in the proper position. Thus not

*Ivan želi vidjeti me.

but

Ivan me želi vidjeti.

'Ivan wants to see me.'

If the main clause has enclitics in it already, they all come together:

Ivan me je želio vidjeti.
'Ivan wanted to see me.'

This point is a very frequent source of errors:

(3-21) *On morat će umivati se. /AH/
On će se morati umivati.
'He'll have to wash (himself).'

(3-22) *Zašto ne može Stanko tuširati se u kupaonici? /BB/
Zašto se ne može Stanko (better: zašto se Stanko ne može)
tuširati u kupaonici?
'Why can't Stanko take a shower in the bathroom?'

(3-23) *Pokušajju ponašati se kao ne postojam. //TL/
Pokušavajju se ponašati kao da ne postojim.
'They try to act as though I don't exist.'

See also (1-3). Clearly it is hard for English speakers to learn to detach objects from the verbs they belong with, since this is never done in English. (In French, too, object pronouns stay with their infinitives:

*Jean nous a voulu voir.
Jean a voulu nous voir.
'John wanted to see us.'

which could make the Serbo-Croatian rule more difficult for people who had studied French.)

On the other hand, if the infinitive is used as an independent part of the sentence (usually as the subject), it can either be treated as a separate clause or not. If the infinitive is "bare", with no accompanying words, main-clause enclitics can come right after it:

Radiš im je teško.
'To work is hard for them.'

Thus a bare infinitive does not act like a clause. But one having other words in the same construction with it, like *radiš u rudniku* or *tražiš ga u mraku*, prefers to behave like a clause: its enclitics stay with it (after the

first element in the construction), and enclitics belonging to the main clause are not so likely to come right after the infinitive construction (and certainly not to go inside it).

?Radiš u rudniku im je teško.
?Radiš im je u rudniku teško.
'To work in the mine is hard for them.'

A better way to say the same thing is with the enclitics of the main clause after *teško* (this requires a small break, so that *teško* can be treated as the first element of the main clause):

Radiš u rudniku // teško im je.
or to use *to* to refer back to the infinitive phrase:

Radiš u rudniku, to im je teško.
or, even better, to put the predicate first and the subject second:

Teško im je radiš u rudniku.
If there are enclitics in the infinitive construction, they remain inside it:

Tražiš ga u mraku // teško je.
*Tražiš u mraku teško ga je.
'To look for it in the dark is difficult.'

If, however, the infinitive construction comes after the predicate, we have a choice: the enclitics either stay inside it or come out into the main clause. In other words, the construction either acts like other subjects, or like a complement:

Teško je tražiš ga u mraku.
Teško ga je tražiš u mraku.

We said that enclitics come after the first element in the infinitive construction; but in all our examples so far, the first element has been the infinitive itself. If some other word is first in the infinitive construction the

enclitics follow our normal rules and come after this first word, as the following example shows:

Nije lijepo tako se ponašati.⁹
'It is not nice to behave like that.'

4. *The full forms.* We saw that the enclitics have no accent of their own, and have to "lean on" a preceding word that has an accent. The full forms have their own accent, and do not need a preceding word; they can come at the beginning or anywhere else in a sentence, following the same rules for word order as normal words.

The full forms are used only in particular situations, which we will now list; in all other situations, the enclitics are required.

Any word must be accented if it is emphasized. So the full form must be used to carry emphasis in sentences like:

Svjedok je **TEBE** okrivio.
'The witness accused **YOU**.'

If we use *te*, there is no emphasis on 'you'; some other word may be emphasized, or there may be no emphasis in the sentence at all.

Svjedok te je **OKRIVIO**.
'The witness **ACCUSED** you.'

Svjedok te je okrivio.
'The witness accused you.'

Contrasted words also must be accented.

Okrivio je **njih**, a nije okrivio **tebe**.
Njih je okrivio, a **tebe** nije (okrivio).

'He accused **them**, but he didn't accuse **you**.'

So one couldn't use the enclitic forms:

⁹ Another example:

... nije preporučljivo dugo se izlagati suncu prije kupanja.
'... it is not advisable to expose oneself to the sun for a long time before going swimming.'
(Oslobodenje, Sarajevo, Aug. 5, 1973)

*Okrivio ih je, a nije te okrivio.

just as one can't say the sentence in English with the two pronouns unaccented:

*He accused them, but he didn't accuse you.

An example showing how a full form is required to express contrast:

(4-1) 'Ne sviđa mi se...' *'Ne sviđa mi se i ja.'
'Ne sviđa mi se...' 'Ni meni se ne sviđa.'
I don't like... 'I don't like it either.' /WS/

W.S. knew that a different form had to be used in the second sentence to show the contrast between the first speaker and the second; but he did it by putting in the nominative *ja* which doesn't fit with *sviđati se* (the dative case is required).

Auxiliary verbs use full forms for emphasis and contrast in the same way.

*Marko neće doći, ali Slavko će.
Marko neće doći, ali Slavko hoće.

'Marko won't come, but Slavko will.'

"Nisu ovdje." "Jesu! Ako ja kažem da jesu, onda jesu.'

"They're not here." "They are! If I tell you they are, then they are."

Words which add emphasis (*i* 'also, even', *baš* 'just, precisely', *samo*, *jedino* 'only', *sâm sama samo* '...self', etc.) naturally require the full forms of the words they modify.

*Okrivio je i te.
Okrivio je i tebe.

'He accused you too.' 'He accused even you.'

Neće doći. —A možda i hoće.
'He won't come. —But maybe he will, too.'

Okrivio je baš tebe. (*Baš te)
'He accused YOU.' 'He accused you, of all people.'

Rekao sam to **njemu samom**.
'I said that to *him himself*.'

Samo tebe volim. (*Samo te)
'Only you do I love.'

A word specially asked about in a question has to be accented, just as in English.

Je li okrivio mene (ili nekog drugog)?
'Did he accuse me (or somebody else)?'

In the same way, the word in the answer to a question which supplies the new information has to be accented:

Koga je okrivio?—Okrivio je **njih**. (or just: **njih**.)
'Who(m) did he accuse?—He accused **them**. (Them.)'

Okrivio ih je, could not be the answer, just as 'He accused 'em,' with the pronoun unaccented, could not be the answer in English.

Da li će doći?—**Hoće**. Rekao mi je da **hoće**.
'Will he come?—He will. He told me he would.'

Bi li on to prihvatio?—Da, bi. Mislim da bi. (accented **bi**'s)
'Would he accept that?—Yes, he would. I think he would.'

At the beginning of the sentence, full forms must be used. If pronouns come at the beginning, it's usually because of emphasis or contrast; but many speakers say

Meni se čini da...
'It seems to me that...'

as a fixed expression, with no special emphasis or contrast, as well as

Čini mi se da...
with the clitic *mi*.

Full forms of pronouns are also sometimes used at the beginning of a sentence in order to refer to something mentioned immediately before: that is, the full form can be used at the beginning if it is a known theme.

Današnja emisija je posvećena pijanistiци Ani Karim. Nju ćemo čuti u nizu suvremenih djela.

'Today's (radio) program is devoted to the pianist Ana Karim. We will hear her in a number of contemporary works.'

But in such cases it is equally possible to use the enclitic, which of course goes in second place:

Današnja emisija je posvećena pijanistiци Ani Karim. Čut ćemo je u nizu suvremenih djela.

As we have seen, there is a rule that yes-or-no questions with *li* put the verb first (*Studira li Marko medicinu?*). Auxiliary verbs are often put at the beginning because of this rule; then they appear in the full forms.

Hoće li Marko doći?
'Will Marko come?'

Jesu li djeca stigla?
'Have the children arrived?'

Jesmo li svi spremni?
'Are we all ready?'

Remember that *je* is used as a full form before *li*:

Je li Milan tu?
'Is Milan here?'

As we said, the answers will also be full forms: *Hoće, Jesu, Jesmo*, but *Jesti* (rather than *Je*, because the verb is no longer before *li*).¹⁰

¹⁰ In colloquial style, especially in Zagreb, many speakers use *je* for the long form under all circumstances:

Je li Milan tu?—*Je*. Mislim da *je*.
'Is Milan here?—Yes, he is. I think he is.'

In the standard language, this answer would be *Jesti*. *Mislim da jesti*. (Western variant) or *Jeste*. *Mislim da jeste*. (Eastern). Eastern Serbo-Croatian uses *jesti* only in the expression *to*

In the middle of a sentence, too, full forms are used if there is nothing for enclitics to lean on. This comes up particularly with auxiliary verb forms. For example, enclitics should not lean on a subordinate clause (at least in the literary language), so we have e.g.,

Jedino rješenje koje se može prihvatiti jest (to) da prodamo kuću.

'The only solution that can be adopted is for us to sell the house.'

(But this rule is losing ground, and one often finds e.g.

Jedino rješenje koje se može prihvatiti je da prodamo kuću.

with the enclitic used anyway. How acceptable this is depends on the type and length of subordinate clause.^{10a})

An enclitic can never be joined to another word by a conjunction ('and', *ni* 'nor', *ili* 'or', *nego* 'but', 'than', *već* 'but', etc.) Full forms must be used. This is true both of pronouns and for verb forms.

*Doveli su me i ga.

Doveli su mene i njega.

'They brought him and me.'

*Ja ti i Milanu nisam ništa rekao.

Ja tebi i Milanu nisam ništa rekao.

'I didn't say anything to you and Milan.'

*Ili joj, ili mu treba pripisati dobre rezultate.

Ili njoj, ili njemu treba pripisati dobre rezultate.

'The good results should be attributed either to her or to him.'

*Djeca ne samo da izgledaju umorna, već su.

Djeca ne samo da izgledaju umorna, već jesu.

'The children don't just look tired, they are.'

jest 'that is, i.e. '; otherwise *jest*: *jest* can also be used in the Eastern variant in the meaning 'yes' (to answer a question that may have some other verb in it).

^{10a} It also depends on which enclitic is involved.

Jedina rješenja koja se mogu prihvatiti su da...

'The only solutions that can be adopted are...'

is less acceptable than the corresponding example with *je*. 'In speech all right, in writing one would correct it', was one speaker's reaction. *je* is thus a less "strict" enclitic than *su*.

Of course, some of these sentences would have to have full forms because of contrast as well; see above.

A pronoun used as the object of a preposition is always full form.¹¹

iz mene (*iz me), bez tebe (*bez te), izvan sebe (*izvan se), k nama (*k nam), prema meni (*prema mi), za njih (*za ih), uz nju (*uz je).

Another situation that may require a full form is a clash of enclitics, as in footnote 4: *Nekoliko njih ga je udarilo*.

When a pronoun is used together with a quantity expression in a single phrase, the full form is used:

Njih dvojica 'the two of them' (two men)

Njih dvoje 'the two of them' (mixed group, children)

Njih dvije 'the two of them' (women)

Njih pet 'the five of them'

Vas pet 'the five of you, you five'

Njih nekoliko 'several of them'

Nas deset 'the ten of us, we ten'

(The genitive form of the pronoun is required by the numerals and other quantity expressions.) We can make a generalization that covers many of the cases above too: when a pronoun has another word in the same phrase with it, the full form has to be used.

If none of the above reasons exists, using a full form instead of an enclitic generally makes the sentence unacceptable. In this example

¹¹ With prepositions taking the accusative, one sometimes finds *me, te, se*, and *ni, njih, it'*: *zá te* (= *za tebe* 'for you'), *gleda ná nj* (= *gleda na njega* 'looks at him/it'), *izadi predá nj* (= *izadi pred njega* 'go out in front of him/it'). This use is now archaic or literary. E.g., in a poem from the 19th century, now sung as a song:

Ko je, srce, ú te dirn'o,

Da si tako sad nerumno?

{Preradović}

'Who has touched thee, heart,

That thou art now so troubled?'

The forms *me, te, se* are not the same as the normal enclitics. The preposition + pronoun group has an accent, as indicated, and it can be joined by a conjunction with another, contrasting group (which enclitics could not be), for example in the saying

Uzdaj se ú se i u svoje kljuse!

'Rely on yourself and your horse.'

- (4-2) *Skuvala sam kavu za njih, ali ne znam da li njima to se
 svidela. /SH/
 Skuhala sam im kavu, ali ne znam da li im se svidjela.¹²
 'I made them some coffee, but I don't know if they liked it.'

'they' have already been mentioned in the first clause, so there is no reason to emphasize or contrast them by using *njima* instead of *im* in the second. In the same way, unless there is some reason to stress 'me' ('Can you buy ME some bread?'), the full form is out of place in

- (4-3) *Da li možete meni kupiti kruha? /RF/
 Da li mi možete kupiti kruha?
 'Can you buy me some bread?'

5. *Ne + verbal enclitic*. We said before that *ne + verb* counted as one word. This rule holds for the verbal enclitics too: *ne + enclitic* always comes together and forms a single word. This word is accented (on the *ne*) and can come anywhere in the sentence; it no longer behaves like an enclitic. There is no distinction between full and enclitic in these forms with *ne*:

nisam	neću	ne bih	(spelled as two words,
nisi	nećeš	ne bi	but functioning as one)
nije	neće	ne bi	
nismo	nećemo	ne bismo	
niste	nećete	ne biste	
nisu	neće	ne bi	

That is, *nisam* must be used in place of *ne + sam* and in place of *ne + jesam*. *Neću* is used for *ne + ću* and for *ne + hoću* ("ne hoću" is a traditional mistake made by foreign learners). One cannot have auxiliary verb enclitics in their normal place and *ne* somewhere else in the sentences:

- (5-1) *To će ti ipak ne isplatiti. /KS/
 To ti se ipak neće isplatiti.
 'That still won't be worth it for you.'

¹² *Skuvala* is a good Eastern form; the correct sentence in the Eastern variant [Serbian Standard] would be

Skuhala sam im kavu, ali ne znam da li im se svidjela.

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From the Editors

This issue of *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* is dedicated to the topic of Slavic clitics, with particular focus on the behavior of pronominal clitics in these languages. The five articles published here are based on papers originally presented at a workshop on the topic of Slavic pronominal clitics hosted by the Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft in Berlin, which took place on February 8–9, 2001. All submissions have however undergone significant revision as the result of *JSL*'s standard double-blind review process. The issue also contains a review by Loren Billings of Bošković's 2001 book on Slavic clitics, as well as our introduction to the volume, which incorporates much of Steven Franks' presentation at the original workshop, "Pronominal Clitics in Slavic: Issues and Puzzles". Finally, as a special archival feature, we reprint an inaccessible but classic paper by Wayles Browne from 1975, one of the first studies to approach Slavic clitics from a modern generative perspective.

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Uwe Junghanns
Paul Law
Guest Editors

Steven Franks
Editor-in-Chief

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