

THE VERBS *ZNATI* AND *UM(J)ETI* IN  
SERBIAN, CROATIAN AND BOSNIAN

A Case Study in the Grammaticalisation of  
Habitual Auxiliaries

Matias Hellman

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## ABBREVIATIONS

B&D approach	Bybee&Dahl approach
CCL	Corpus "Klasici hrvatske književnosti"
CNC	Croatian National Corpus
HCS AUX	Use of <i>znati</i> and <i>um(j)eti</i> as auxiliaries denoting habitual, characteristic or sporadic activity
HCS	Habitual/characteristic/sporadic
MA AUX	Use of <i>znati</i> and <i>um(j)eti</i> as auxiliaries denoting mental ability
NS	<i>Nykysuomen sanakirja</i>
PS	<i>Suomen kielen perussanakirja</i>
OCBT	Oslo Corpus of Bosnian Texts
PHC	SCB Past Habitual Conditional
RJA	<i>Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika</i>
RSKJ	<i>Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika</i>
RSKNJ	<i>Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog i narodnog jezika</i>
SCB	Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian language(s)
TMA	Tense, aspect, mood and modality
Ipfv.	Imperfective (aspect)
Pfv.	Perfective (aspect)

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My family has always given me unreserved support, and I am grateful for that every day.

I hope that the reader finds useful information in this book, or simply enjoys the linguistic discussion.

Matias Hellman  
Sarajevo, July 2005



# 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Topic of study

The goal of this study is to cast light on a specific use of the verbs *znati* ‘to know (how to)’ and *um(j)eti*<sup>1</sup> ‘to know how to’ in the Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian language(s) (SCB)<sup>2</sup>. I will show that both of these verbs can be used as auxiliaries denoting habitual, characteristic or sporadic activity. (The abbreviation *HCS AUX* will be employed to refer to such use, while *HCS* alone is used to refer to the semantic field of habitual, characteristic or sporadic situations.) I endeavour to

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<sup>1</sup> See section 2.1 for an explanation of the two forms *umeti* and *umjeti*.

<sup>2</sup> The abbreviation SCB will be used in this study to refer to what was formerly widely known as Serbo-Croatian and what can today be seen as three or four – depending on the exclusion or inclusion of the standard used in Montenegro – distinctive literary standards, or, alternately, variants of one literary standard. I will not take a firm stand on whether this is a case of one or more languages, since language is a notoriously elusive term – from a political and sociological viewpoint, we are today obliged to speak of “the Serbian language”, “the Croatian language”, “the Bosnian language” etc., while from a strictly structural viewpoint, these are clearly instances of one single language, since their speakers in a vast majority of cases will not have major difficulties in understanding each other (the possible exception being, as is the case with so many languages, certain peripheral dialects). (Cf. Bugarski 2002a: 9-22; Bugarski 2002b: 11-154; Mønnesland 2002: 11-26.) This

prove that this meaning is distinct from the core meaning(s) of the two verbs and can be seen as being partially grammaticalised. I will also attempt to offer possible explanations as to how the meaning of the verbs *znati* and *um(j)eti* has been extended from dynamic modality to HCS.

## 1.2 Methodological and theoretical background

My research method is largely based on the “Bybee & Dahl approach” (B&D approach), as defined by Dahl (2000a: 6-8). The label refers to Dahl (1985), Bybee (1985), Bybee and Dahl (1989) and Bybee et al. (1994), a series of interrelated typological studies dealing with tense, *aspect*, mood and modality (often abbreviated as TMA) in a grammaticalisation perspective<sup>3</sup>.

A salient characteristic of the B&D approach is that *grams*<sup>4</sup>, things like Progressive in English or the *Konditionaali* in Finnish, are the basic units of description.

Notions like tense, aspect and mood are seen as ways of characterizing the semantic content of *grams*, or domains from which their meanings are chosen, but do not, in the typical case, represent structurally significant entities in grammatical systems. Many if not most, *grams* combine elements from several domains in their semantics... (Dahl 2000a: 7)

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study deals with (at least) three various standards of SCB, since it uses sources from Croatia, Bosnia and Serbia. Some observations will also be made on differences between the variants with regard to the topic of the study.

<sup>3</sup> The B&D approach is essentially the same as what Lindstedt (2001: 768-770) calls the “substantialist approach”, as opposed to the traditional structuralist approach.

<sup>4</sup> Dahl (2000a: 23) says the term “gram” was coined originally by William Pagliuca and that it is a matter of taste whether it should be seen as an abbreviation of “grammatical morpheme”.

An important tenet of the B&D approach is that most grams can be classified into a relatively small set of cross-linguistic gram types, the manifestations of which at the language-specific level are the individual grams.

I will not claim that all languages use the same TMA categories but only that the overwhelming majority of all categories found in the TMA systems of the world's languages are chosen from a restricted set of category types. (Dahl 1985: 31)

Further, Bybee and Dahl (1989: 57) suggest that “paths along which grams develop may be the same or similar across languages, and that the differences among the meanings expressed by tense and aspect grams across languages correspond to the location the particular gram occupies along one of these universal paths at a particular time”. The theory of universal paths of grammaticalisation and ample research on grammaticalisation processes has recently lead to the publishing of a “World Lexicon of Grammaticalization” (Heine and Kuteva 2002). It is a reference work that collects together data on documented cases of grammaticalisation in different languages, to illustrate attested paths of grammaticalisation.

The present study draws on the B&D approach in several ways. I will use the gram-based approach as a starting point for my study, as I believe that the use of *znati* and *um(j)eti* to denote habitual, characteristic or sporadic events may combine elements of different notional categories. Accordingly, I will attempt to provide a semantic description of this use by applying universal or typological definitions of tense, aspect and modality, rather than language-internal oppositions or traditional descriptions of SCB.

Further, I believe the uses of *znati* and *um(j)eti* that I am looking at are either a result of grammaticalisation or in

the process of grammaticalisation. As far as I am aware, this particular development has not been described anywhere in linguistic literature. I will attempt to illuminate it by making use of recent theories of grammaticalisation (most significantly Hopper and Traugott 2003 and Heine et al. 1991) and existing typological studies, as I believe that documented cases of semantic change in other languages may provide support for theories on how the HCS use of the two SCB verbs may have come about.

Finally, I hope that the present work could make a small contribution to the universal and typological research on the grammaticalisation of TMA (tense, mood and aspect) grams in the languages of the world.

Although the emphasis of my work is on the aforementioned principles and goals, I also wish to make this study maximally relevant for other researchers on the Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian language. Therefore I will not restrict my analysis to issues that are important for the typological or the grammaticalisation discussions. Rather, I shall freely use a range of different approaches to present a comprehensive description of the HCS AUX use of *znati* and *um(j)eti*, therefore making best use of the wealth of data that I have gathered on this specific feature of SCB, which – according to my information – never before has been the sole topic of a linguistic study.

### 1.3 Sources

I used several different sources in my research. Because the subject of the study was very narrow, a large pool of “raw material” was needed to enable me to extract a sufficient amount of relevant data and to enable me the make reliable conclusions.

I much regret that I did not have at my disposal a corpus of spoken SCB, as I believe that the HCS auxiliaries are firmly rooted in the spoken language, probably more so than in literary SCB. I did not consider it feasible to create a corpus of my own by recording and transcribing live discussions, because, despite the time and expense involved, there was no guarantee that I would have found sufficient HCS AUX occurrences for making plausible conclusions.

### *Corpora*

In this study I used two corpora of literary SCB, both of them available on the Internet. The main reason was that a large body of text was necessary so that a sufficient number of HCS AUX occurrences could be amassed, to allow a thorough description of the various aspects of HCS AUX use.

The homepage of the *Oslo Corpus of Bosnian Texts* (OCBT) is located at <<http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/Bosnian/Corpus.html>>. This corpus was compiled at the University of Oslo. The corpus contains approximately 1.5 million words and comprises several different genres: fiction (novels and short stories), essays, children's stories, folklore, Islamic texts, legal texts, and newspapers and journals. The texts were written by authors from Bosnia and Herzegovina and for the most part were published in the 1990s. (A simplified list of sources is contained in Appendix 1; full data is available at <<http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/Bosnian/toc.html>>.) The OCBT is available for non-commercial academic research after obtaining permission from the University. The corpus can be queried on the Internet and it features possibilities for various complicated types of queries.

The *Croatian National Corpus* or *Hrvatski nacionalni korpus* (CNC) is accessible at <<http://www.hnk.ffzg.hr/>>. The

homepage gives hardly any information on who compiled the corpus, but it is obviously maintained by staff from the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Zagreb. The CNC does not feature a sophisticated user interface with multiple query types as the OCBT does, but the possibilities offered by it were nevertheless sufficient for the purposes of this study. The corpus contains over 9 million words and comprises the following genres: fiction, informative literature, magazines, newspapers, essays and other. All indicated years of publication are 1990 or later. (A simplified list of sources is contained in Appendix 2; full data is available at <<http://www.hnk.ffzg.hr/sources.htm>>.) The CNC also contains a corpus of old texts called *Klasici hrvatske književnosti* ‘classics of Croatian literature’; I refer to it with the abbreviation *CCL*. It consists almost exclusively of fiction (novels), ranging from year 1556 to 1950, the bulk being from between 1871 and 1927 (the list of sources is located at <[http://www.hnk.ffzg.hr/klasici\\_izvori.htm](http://www.hnk.ffzg.hr/klasici_izvori.htm)>). The CNC is available free of charge on the Internet for anyone to use.

When sentences or longer excerpts from one of the three corpora (OCBT, CNC, CCL) are presented in this paper, they are followed by the following information in brackets: abbreviation of the corpus in question, the source from which the excerpt is taken (for abbreviations, please refer to the Internet addresses given above for lists of sources within the Appendices 1 and 2), and, for the CNC, the location of the quoted excerpt within the source.

The OCBT was searched for all occurrences of the verbs *znati* and *um(j)eti*, while the CNC was mainly searched for past tense occurrences of *znati*. I marked each sentence that I considered to represent HCS AUX use, as opposed to other uses/meanings of the two verbs. These occurrences were further analysed and coded for several factors, such as verb form,

person and number of subject, animate/inanimate subject, main verb, temporal adverbials, (Slavic) verbal aspect and thematic role. An overview of the findings is presented in 2.4 and more detailed results are discussed throughout chapter 2.

While the OCBT and the CNC were of great importance to this study, the absence of a similar corpus of contemporary Serbian language was very lamentable. Since this study deals in one part with distinctions between the Ekavian variant used in Serbia and the Ijekavian variant used in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, such a corpus would have been very useful. The Internet archive of the Belgrade-based daily newspaper *Politika* was used partially as a substitute for a corpus of Serbian language, but it cannot be queried in the same way as the OCBT and the CNC. The lack of a Serbian corpus is particularly regrettable because the OCBT and the CNC provide very little data on HCS AUX *um(j)eti*, which, at the same time, is much more common in the Serbian variant than the other SCB variants.

### *Questionnaire studies conducted in Zagreb and Belgrade*

Two similar identical questionnaire studies were conducted for this study. The first one was carried out with the kind assistance of Prof. Damir Kalogjera on 15 January 1998 in Zagreb, Croatia, with 31 students of English Language and Literature at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb. The second one was conducted with the kind assistance of Prof. Ivana Trbojević-Milošević and Ivana Mitrović, student of English Language and Literature, on 10 and 12 May 2003 in Belgrade, Serbia, with a total of 44 students of English Language and Literature at the Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade.

I originally modelled my questionnaires after the questionnaire used by Dahl (1985). There are, however, great differences in the objectives of my questionnaire studies compared with his. First, Dahl was looking at a large number of languages and the questionnaire enabled him to make direct comparisons and to draw parallels between the languages. In my case, the questionnaires were only intended to be used with SCB speakers.<sup>5</sup>

Second, Dahl in many cases did not have exact expectations as to which grams might turn up from a particular language. Again, my situation was different, since I started with a single potential gram in focus. Finally, a less significant difference is that Dahl was looking at a large number of different TMA gram types, while I am focusing on a single gram and gram type. I did, however, include some sentences that could be interesting for studies on other SCB grams, but I did so only to avoid having the informants figure out the topic of my study.

The main goal of my questionnaire studies was to test, whether certain – or any – contexts would prompt a significant proportion of language users to employ the HCS auxiliaries, and what these sentences would tell us about the semantics and other features of this potential gram.

The questionnaires used in Zagreb were tested with a few informants before they were put to use. On the basis of experiences from Zagreb, some questions of the questionnaires were left out or amended, and the Belgrade questionnaires therefore differ from the ones used in Zagreb. Some questions were, however, retained, in order to enable comparison between the two groups of informants.

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<sup>5</sup> I did, eventually, present Belgrade questionnaire A or parts of it to native speakers of Slovenian, Bulgarian, Albanian and Mandarin Chinese.

All informants first received a “Questionnaire A” (Appendix 3 is the questionnaire A used in Zagreb and Appendix 4 is the questionnaire A used in Belgrade) with 20 or 21 sentences/narratives given in English that they were asked to translate into their own language. Verbs in the sentences/narratives were given in the infinitive form in order to avoid leading the informants to use any particular verb form. Most of the sentences/narratives contained habitual meanings, but not all, to avoid excessive repetition of similar constructions. An important methodological detail of the questionnaires was that the informants were not given any information about the topic of the study. Overt English markers of habituality, such as *would* or *used to*, were not used in the questions, except in the last narrative (“*have a habit*”) <sup>6</sup>. Further, the first questionnaire did not contain any forms of the words *znati* and *um(j)eti*. Therefore all occurrences of HCS auxiliaries in the responses to questionnaire A can be regarded as natural and unprompted, rather than an attempt to come up with specific markers of characteristic or habitual behaviour when asked to do so.

After finishing questionnaire A, the informants received a “Questionnaire B” (Appendix 5 is the questionnaire A used in Zagreb and Appendix 6 is the questionnaire A used in Belgrade), which differed from questionnaire A significantly in that the HCS auxiliaries were explicitly offered to the informants. In Zagreb, this questionnaire consisted of four multiple-choice questions in which the informants were asked to evaluate a number of translations offered to a particular

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<sup>6</sup> The overt use of constructions like “<CAN> <BE>” Questions 4, 6, and 7 of the Belgrade questionnaire A could perhaps be seen as another exception, but I believe that the modal auxiliary *can* is not likely to prompt the use of *znati* or *um(j)eti* as such, since it would be usually translated with the SCB modal verb *moći* and it is only in a specific context that it can act as a HCS marker.

sentence, on a four-grade scale from “fully acceptable translation” to “one cannot say that!”. In the Belgrade questionnaire, there were similar multiple-choice questions, but with different contents. In Belgrade, the questionnaire B also contained three questions in which the informants were asked to translate English sentences with overt HCS markers or meanings (“used to”, “tends to”, “can be”). In both Zagreb and Belgrade the informants were offered sentences and asked to give their opinion on the acceptability of HCS AUX *znati* when used with negation. Further, the Belgrade informants were asked to assess the acceptability of HCS AUX *znati* when used in a question.

When responses to questionnaires are quoted in this study, the following formula will be used: X Ym (Xn) in which X represents *Bg* (Belgrade) or *Zg* (Zagreb), Y represents *A* or *B*, to differentiate the two questionnaires, m is the number of the question (1-21) and n is the number of the informant (1-44). Accordingly, the response of Belgrade informant no. 2 to question 4 of the Belgrade questionnaire A would be presented in the following manner:

BgA4. (Bg2) [Lecturing about literature.]  
 Branislav Nušić <CAN> <BE> very  
 sarcastic in his comedies.  
*Branislav Nušić ume da bude veoma*  
*sarkastičan u svojim komedijama.*

Belgrade Questionnaire A was also completed by 13 persons whose mother tongue is Slovene. However, this did not take place under controlled conditions and the questionnaires were submitted by email. I do not consider these questionnaires to form a part of my actual sources, but I will make passing reference to them.

*Other sources*

In addition to the corpus and questionnaire studies, I have used the Internet as a source for HCS AUX occurrences. I performed most Internet searches with the Google search engine (<<http://www.google.com>>). All searches were conducted between January and September 2003. Except where otherwise indicated, all individual Internet addresses referred to were accessed on 1 April 2004.

Finally, I have consulted several native speakers on miscellaneous questions; I occasionally refer to the information given by them. I also quote one sentence that I transcribed from a real-life discussion in which I took part.

*Technical issues*

Some technical issues to be noted are that all English-language translations of example sentences as well as quotes from sources in languages other than English are mine.

For the sake of convenience, quotes from texts originally printed in Cyrillic script are presented in Latin script. In quotes from the RJA, modern orthography has been used.

In example sentences from the corpora and other sources, I have marked in bold the main verb or verb chain (e.g. finite form of auxiliary *znati* + infinitive form of the main verb it governs) under observation. Sometimes other words or expressions of interest in the source sentence are underlined. Corresponding parts in the English-language translation are marked in a similar manner.

## 2

### DESCRIPTION OF *ZNATI* AND *UM(j)ETI* AS HCS AUXILIARIES

This chapter provides a detailed description of the use of *znati* and *um(j)eti* as auxiliaries denoting habitual, characteristic or sporadic activity (HCS AUX). Using a variety of sources and methods, I will move from a semantic analysis of HCS AUX to a syntactic analysis and finally to some notes on issues such as differences between the two HCS auxiliaries and differences between SCB variants.

#### 2.1 Other meanings expressed by *znati* and *um(j)eti*

##### *Znati*

Before moving on to the HCS AUX properties of *znati* and *um(j)eti*, let us have a brief broader look at the two verbs that are the focus of this study.

***Znati*** is a verb of Indo-European origin, related to Lat. *noscere*, Fr. *connaître*, G. *können* and Eng. *can* (Skok 1971-1974, Gluhak 1993). It has expanded from a lexical verb expressing knowledge to an auxiliary that expresses mental ability.

- (1) *Ne znamo gdje se odselila i čime se sada bavi.* (CNC N143\_11 4546)

‘**We don’t know** where she has moved to and what she is doing now.’

Whereas in (1) *znati* denotes **knowledge of facts** (or lack thereof), it can also refer to **familiarity with something**, as in (2) and (3):

- (2) *Ne znamo ih imenom i prezimenom, ali ih znamo po videnju.* (CNC me971015\_c01 2357)

‘**We don’t know** them by name and surname, but **we know** them by appearance.’

- (3) *Neka ne ulazi nitko, tko ne zna geometriju.* (CNC BRAJICIC\_FIL 101545)

‘Let no one enter who **does not know** geometry.’

In all above examples *znati* has taken either a noun, pronoun or a dependent clause as a complement. A syntactically different situation is when *znati* acts as an auxiliary verb, to denote the ability to perform the activity referred to by the main verb of the construction. Sentences (4), (5) (6) and (7) are examples of such use. Note that the main verb can appear either as an infinitive form, as in (4) and (5) or as a present tense finite form, preceded by the complementiser *da*, as in (6) and (7). The former syntactic construction is typical of the Western variants of SCB – in modern Croatian literary language it is almost exclusive and it is predominant in Bosnian, while the latter variant is typical of Eastern variants and predominant in the Serbian literary standard.

- (4) *Zna se on sam za sebe brinuti.* (CNC F92stahuljak 9218)

‘**He can take care** of himself’ / ‘**He knows how to take care** of himself’ / ‘He is able to take care of himself’

- (5) *Moja mama ne zna kuhati. Sve joj kipi, ne umije zasoliti...* (CNC stojsav\_dnev 5374)  
 ‘My mother **can’t cook**. Everything is boiling over, she doesn’t know how to use the salt... ‘
- (6) *Zna da šutira loptu; ne tako dobro da bi uvijek igrao u prvom timu, ...* (OCBT B/FS/PO/96)  
 ‘**He can kick** the ball; not so well as to always play in the first team, ...’
- (7) *Partizani su znali najbolje da se maskiraju.* (OCBT D/MA/PK/94)  
 ‘The partisans **were the best at camouflaging**’  
 (literally: ‘The partisans knew best how to camouflage’)

Applying Palmer (2001: 76-7), the meaning expressed by *znati* in (4) - (7) would be *ability*, as a subcategory of *dynamic modality*. More specifically, it could be called *mental ability*. Accordingly, Bybee et al. (1994: 176-194) differentiate *mental ability* from *physical ability* and *general ability*. This division is discussed later in 3.2 and (107).

It is important to note that in examples (4) to (7) the subject is both human and the agent of the main verb. This is to be expected since mental ability (which can also be paraphrased as *skill*) by definition is mainly applicable to wilful/animate subjects, and most typically to humans.<sup>7</sup> The issue of human/animate vs. inanimate subjects will be re-visited in 2.9, as it is highly relevant for discussion on the level of grammaticalisation of HCS AUX *znati* and *um(j)eti*.

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<sup>7</sup> It must be noted that *znati* is also used as an auxiliary with inanimate subjects, but such use can usually be interpreted as metaphorical. Cf. comment by Bybee and Dahl (1989: 63-4) on English *want* and *will*.

*Um(j)eti*

*Um(j)eti* is a derivative from *ûm* (Lat. ‘ratio’), a noun of Common Slavic origin. Due to the different reflections of the Common Slavic *jat* in modern-day SCB variants, the verb has two forms in modern SCB literary standards: *umeti* (present tense *ume-*) in the Ekavian literary standard used in Serbia; and *umjeti* (present tense *umije-*, which is in writing identical to the present tense of the verb *umiti* ‘to wash’) in the Ijekavian areas, i.e. Croatia, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Another common verb derived from the word *ûm* is *razum(j)eti* ‘to understand’.

*Um(j)eti* expresses only one part of the meanings of *znati*. It is an auxiliary verb that expresses mental ability, almost identical to *znati* in examples (4) to (7):

- (8) *A siromašan je čovjek koji ne umije sanjati.* (OCBT B/BN/LS/94)  
 ‘And poor is he who **does not know how to dream.**’
- (9) *On se umije maskirati tako da ga nitko ne može prepoznati.* (CNC F92stahuljak 372289)  
 ‘He **is able to disguise** himself so that nobody can recognise him.’
- (10) *Sve je u ovome snu-filmu grozotno, samo ne umijem da to opišem...* (OCBT E/IA/AZ/94)  
 ‘Everything is terrible in this dream film, I just **cannot describe** it...
- (11) *Onda mu daš instrument ... pa dete proba da svira ono što već ume da peva.*  
 (<<http://www.nin.co.yu/2001-05/24/18068.html>>)  
 ‘You give him an instrument ... and the child will try to play what **he** already **can sing.**’

In the subsequent chapters, I will employ the abbreviation *MA AUX* to refer to the use of *znati* (and *um(j)eti*) as a modal auxiliary that expresses mental ability.

*Um(j)eti* can never take on a noun complement (*\*umem pisanje*) and it cannot express knowledge or familiarity with facts or entities like *znati*. In certain phrase-like expressions, as in (12), *znati* and *um(j)eti* appear together, without complement.

- (12) ..., *svatko se snalazi kako **zna i umije.*** (CNC  
VJ981114p 34844)  
'..., everyone gets on how they best **can.**'

## 2.2 How the HCS AUX properties of *znati* and *um(j)eti* have been described in dictionaries and grammars

The use of *znati* and *um(j)eti* to denote HCS meaning has been recorded very rarely in linguistic literature. This is the case in particular with regard to *um(j)eti*. The HCS meaning of *znati* has been described in several significant works, if not with great attention.

### *Dictionaries*

The RSKNJ gives a total of 13 meanings for *znati*, out of which the 6<sup>th</sup> (*imati običaj, običavati* 'to have a habit, to be in the habit of'), the 7<sup>th</sup> (*dešavati se, događati se, bivati* 'to happen, to occur habitually/occasionally') and possibly the 8<sup>th</sup> (*biti u stanju, moći*, 'to be capable, to be able') fall within HCS. In effect, the authors have treated the HCS AUX properties of *znati* as two separate meanings, depending on whether or not

the subject is animate or inanimate. Accordingly, under the 6<sup>th</sup> meaning there are six example sentences, all with human subjects, as in *Profesor Jagić znao je često doći, da vidi, čim se bave njegovi slušači* ‘Professor Jagić would/used to often come to see what his listeners were doing’. Only one example is given under the 7<sup>th</sup> meaning: *U misecu travnju zna poviše dana duvati južina* ‘In the month of April the wind often blows from the South for several days’. Under the 8<sup>th</sup> meaning there is at least one example which may be interpreted as HCS meaning: *Čista literatura zna vrlo često i najbogatije duhove ... odvratiti od života oko nas* ‘Pure literature can often distract even the richest spirits from the life around us’. Unfortunately, the multi-volume RSKNJ has not reached the volume that would contain *um(j)eti*.

The RSKJ’s description of the HCS properties of *znati* is similar to that of the RSKNJ, but less clear. It lists 10 meanings for *znati*, out of which the 4<sup>th</sup> (*imati običaj, običavati* ‘to have a habit, to be in the habit of’) is identical to the 6<sup>th</sup> meaning listed in the RSKNJ and all quoted examples under this meaning involve a human subject. The 5<sup>th</sup> meaning (*biti u stanju, moći, hteti* ‘to be capable, to be able, want/will’) is very similar to the 8<sup>th</sup> meaning of the RSKNJ and gives the same example that has been quoted above. Therefore, an example with an inanimate subject is again listed under a separate meaning. The RSKJ gives three meanings for *umeti*, none of which relates to HCS.

Anić’s (1998: 1381) dictionary of the Croatian language lists nine different meanings for *znati*. The fourth one he describes in the following way: *imati običaj, često raditi, običavati* ‘to have a habit, to do often, to be in the habit of’. Anić does not provide any example sentences, while the previous, second edition of his dictionary did. Interestingly, Anić

labels this use *razgovorno*, a colloquialism. One must note that in Anić's terminology (1998: 1432) this does not mean that a word or an expression cannot be used in literary language. Rather, it means that it is used naturally, spontaneously and regularly in speech. This description is consistent with my hypothesis that HCS AUX is a use that has risen and is still being created through language use. Such expressions are expected to be found in the spoken language first, before making their way into the literary standard. Anić gives only one meaning for *umjeti*: *vladati kojom veštinom, biti sposoban za što* 'to possess a skill, to be capable of something'.

I have not made a comprehensive search in dictionaries of SCB dialects, but it could be mentioned that a dictionary of the Čakavian dialect of Orlec on the Island of Cres lists an example with the verb *znàt* that is clearly an expression of HCS:

*tù znâ se i brôt prehitit* 'it even happens that ships are overturned there' (Houtzagers 1985, incl. the translation)

The RJA lists the HCS meaning not only for *znati*, but also for *umjeti*. Due to the historical nature of the material I will, however, defer the discussion of description and examples given by RJA to chapter 4.5 in which HCS AUX will be discussed from a diachronic perspective.

Benson's (1971) well-known "Serbocroatian-English Dictionary" lists four meanings for *znati*, none of which relate to HCS. For *um(j)eti*, there is a short entry that essentially only quotes the "to know how" meaning.

In conclusion it can be stated that major modern one-language dictionaries of SCB do list several (sub)meanings for *znati* that are relevant for the topic of this study. They are listed below and illustrated with examples from the OCBT and the CNC:

**to have a habit** – see example (13)

**to do often** – see example (14)

**“to happen” (occasionally/habitually)** – see examples (15) and (16)

**can / to be capable/able (with inanimate subjects)**  
– see examples (17) and (18)

- (13) *Nema je više. Ubilo je negdje u jurišu. Kad je stigla u ove krajeve, Mladenka nam **je znala pričati** o zalascima sunca i večerima na morskoj obali...* (CNC grlic\_memoar 140810)  
‘She is no longer [alive]. She was killed in an assault somewhere. When she arrived in this region, Mladenka **used to tell** us about sunsets and evenings at the seashore...’
- (14) *Toliko **smo** puta **znali da sjedimo** ovdje zajedno pijuckajući čaj.* (OCBT B/FM/TJ/96)  
‘So many times **we used to sit** here together, sipping tea.’
- (15) *Bojim se da sam halucinirala. **Znalo mi se to dogoditi** kad sam bila mala.* (CNC drakulic\_gla 158691)  
‘I’m afraid I was hallucinating. That **used to happen to me** when I was small.’
- (16) *Stizala je vruća oluja koja svakoga maja po nekoliko puta **zna da osvoji** grad.* (OCBT B/FM/TJ/96)  
‘A hot storm was arriving, one that **will capture** the town a few times every May.’
- (17) *Suočiti se s njima ponekad znači sresti samoga sebe. A to **zna biti** neugodno.* (OCBT B/IJ/BJ/96)  
‘To confront them sometimes means to face oneself. And that **can be** unpleasant.’
- (18) *Malarija **zna da dovede** čovjeka i pred samoubistvo.* (OCBT B/FM/TJ/96)

‘Malary **can** even **bring a man** to the brink of suicide.’

My hypothesis is that these meanings are interrelated and stem from a single process of semantic change and grammaticalisation. This is why I have decided to treat them in this study as one meaning, which I call habitual, characteristic or sporadic activity – “habitual” correlating with *to have a habit* above, “characteristic” correlating largely with *can / to be capable/able* and “sporadic” correlating with *”to happen” (occasionally/habitually)*.

I have been unable to find a mention of HCS AUX properties of *um(j)eti* in modern-day dictionaries of SCB, but it will be shown in this study that *um(j)eti* can be used to express HCS meaning in a very similar manner as *znati*. Look at the meanings that were listed above for *znati*:

**to have a habit** – compare with example (19)

**to do often** – compare with example (20)

**“to happen” (occasionally/habitually)** – compare with example (21)

**can / to be capable/able (with inanimate subjects)**  
– compare with examples (22) and (23)

- (19) *Umeo je da kaže: Mirko, ti nikada nećeš biti bogat.*  
([http://www.politika.co.yu/2003/0608/01\\_27.htm](http://www.politika.co.yu/2003/0608/01_27.htm))

‘**He used to say:** Mirko, you will never be rich.’

- (20) *Umela je ona često da doprati svoje đake do udaljenih kuća...* (<http://www.politika.co.yu/ilustro/2101/12.htm>)

‘She **would** often **escort** her pupils to far-away homes...’

- (21) *Sudbina ume ponekad da se gorko našali.*  
(<http://www.politika.co.yu/ilustro/2231/2.htm>)

‘Destiny sometimes **makes** bitter **jokes**.’

(22) *U Francuskoj ručak **ume da potraje** i satima, jer je to prilika za druženje i razgovor.* (<<http://www.politika.co.yu/viva/2001/04/v0408.htm>>)

‘In France, lunch **can last** for hours, because it is an occasion for socialising and conversation.’

(23) *Sjeti se samo kako komedija, kada kaže šta treba, **umije da bude** ozbiljna.* (OCBT B/FM/MS/96)

‘Just remember how comedy, when it says the right things, **can be** serious.’

### Grammars

Katičić (1991: 322-323) does make a vague reference to HCS AUX use of *znati* as part of a semantic group which he calls *glagoli htijenja* ‘verbs of volition’. Within that group he mentions *moći*, *smjeti* and *znati* as verbs which express a possibility for the volition to be fulfilled and gives one example with *znati*: *Našlo se doduše još uvijek nepopravljivih optimista koji su se krizi usprkos znali da istruse dobar broj čašica* ‘There were, however, still incurable optimists who would, despite the crisis, drink up a good number of glasses’. Katičić does not provide any further analysis of HCS AUX.

Stevanović (1974: 37) mentions *umeti* as a modal verb, alongside with *moći*, *morati*, *trebati*, *vredeti* and *smeti* (Stevanović leaves the group open). He does not discuss their meanings, but rather their role in forming “complex predicates” with main verbs. He does quote (1974: 598) one sentence that could contain HCS meaning: *Davil je umeo da sluša vezirove pesimističke sudove* ‘Davil used to / knew how to listen to the vezir’s pessimistic views’, but does not discuss its meaning. Mønnesland (2002: 204) lists *umjeti* and *znati* among eight modal verbs (also he leaves the group open), but only refers to their mental ability meaning.

## 2.3 Preliminary observations on questionnaire studies

### *Overview of HCS AUX occurrences in questionnaire responses*

Table 1 gives a summary of HCS AUX use in Questionnaire A, both for Zagreb and Belgrade. As I explained in 1.3, some sentences were included in both questionnaires, while some were different for the two studies. In my opinion, the most important observation to be made on the basis of these results is that the questionnaires produced a considerable number of HCS AUX occurrences despite the fact that the informants were not aware that verbs *znati* and *um(j)eti* were the topic of the study, nor were they explicitly prompted to use those verbs. Particularly interesting is the fact that in certain sentences (ZgBgA3, ZgBgA9 and BgA4) almost or even over half of the informants used HCS auxiliaries, which strongly suggests that they are the default gram in particular contexts, or one of a limited number of constructions naturally available to the language user. In this and the following chapters I will elaborate in more detail on why the HCS auxiliaries were used so frequently in certain contexts, while in others – which were also designed with an expectation that they might yield HCS AUX occurrences – they were not.

SENTENCE	Total % of HCS AUX in Zg and Bg	% of HCS AUX znati in Zg	Total % of HCS AUX in Bg	% of HCS AUX znati in Bg	% of HCS AUX umeti in Bg
ZgBgA3 [Present time context] It [weather] <BE> very nice, but sometimes <BE> rather cold there.	47%	61%	36%	18%	18%
ZgBgA9 [Past time context] It [weather] <BE> very nice, but sometimes <BE> rather cold there.	45%	45%	45%	25%	20%
ZgBgA11 [Present time context] He <BE> extremely boring. He <TALK> about his cats for hours.	9%	6%	11%	7%	5%
ZgBgA11 [Present time context] He <BE> extremely boring. He <TALK> about his cats for hours.	7%	10%	5%	2%	2%
ZgBgA8 [Past time context] She <BE> very efficient in her university studies - every month she <PASS> one exam.	4%	3%	5%	2%	2%
ZgA20/BgA21 When I <BE> small, I <HAVE A HABIT> <PLAY> on a building site near our home.	3%	6%	0%	0%	0%
ZgA10 [Past time context] Well, our exams <BE> (quite often / sometimes) rather difficult.		10%			
ZgA19 [Past time context] I <BE> (often) depressed, because I <BE> far from home,		6%			
BgA4 Branislav Nušić <CAN> <BE> very sarcastic in his comedies.			70%	32%	39%
BgA6 When there is a lot of urgent work to be done, I [it can happen] <STAY> in the office the whole night.			7%	7%	0%
BgA13 [Past time context] He <BE> extremely boring. He <TALK> about his cats for hours.			5%	2%	2%

Table 1. Percentage of HCS AUX in certain sentences of Questionnaire A (overview for Zagreb and Belgrade)

BgB2. [Talking to a new colleague]: Watch out - the boss <b>can be</b> really nasty with new employees.	Total	%
<i>ume da bude</i>	26	60%
<i>zna da bude / zna biti</i>	13	30%
<i>može biti / može da bude</i>	3	7%
<i>zna/može/ume da bude</i>	1	2%
Total	43	100%

Table 2. Distribution of translations for *can be* in BgB2

Table 2 shows us that the vast majority of informants used one of the two HCS auxiliaries in sentence BgB2. The sentence was included in the Belgrade questionnaire to test the use of HCS AUX in a pragmatically loaded context in which the speaker wishes to convey to the hearer that his/her assertion on characteristic or possible activity is based on empiric evidence. From a pragmatic viewpoint, the speaker in BgB2 is obviously telling the hearer that there is a possibility that a certain situation may occur in the future. The context (more experienced employee speaking to a new colleague) also indicates that the speaker's utterance is likely to be based on empiric evidence – i.e. that the boss has on earlier occasions been nasty with new employees. Table 2 shows that as many as 90% of the informants used one of the two HCS auxiliaries to translate the English modal auxiliary<sup>8</sup> *can* and that more than two thirds of those chose *umeti*. Only three out of 43 informants chose to use *moći*, which is the default SCB equivalent for *can*. It is submitted that the abovementioned pragmatic factors probably led the informants to choose HCS auxiliaries over the otherwise far more common modal *moći* and I maintain that HCS auxiliaries are the default SCB

<sup>8</sup> The classification of *can* is after Quirk et al. (1985: 236)

expression for such contexts. Related discussion will be continued in 3.2.

BgB3. He <b>tends to be</b> stubborn when he thinks he's right.	Total	%
<i>ume da bude</i>	18	42%
<i>zna da bude / zna biti</i>	8	19%
No peripheral verbal construction or temporal ADV	5	12%
ima običaj da bude	3	7%
<i>Obično je</i>	2	5%
<i>ima tendenciju da bude</i>	2	5%
<i>nastoji da bude</i>	2	5%
other responses	3	7%
Total	43	100%

Table 3. Distribution of translations for *tends to be* in BgB3

Sentence BgB3 (*He tends to be stubborn when he thinks he's right*) was included in the Belgrade questionnaire to test the use of HCS AUX in a context that strongly indicates a characteristic pattern of behaviour. Table 3 shows us that almost 60% of informants used one of the two HCS auxiliaries to translate the English marginal modal auxiliary<sup>9</sup> *tends*. *Umeti* was again chosen by over two thirds of the HCS AUX users.

The results of BgB3 and BgB2 seem to indicate that the two HCS auxiliaries are the primary expression for characteristic behaviour in SCB, or at least Serbian. Further, it transpires that *umeti* is clearly the more common HCS auxiliary used in Belgrade for this purpose, but also that *znati* is far too frequent to be called marginal.

<sup>9</sup> The classification of the verb *tend* is after Quirk et al. (1985 236)

BgB1. [Speaking about a grandfather, who is no longer alive] He <b>used to surprise</b> children with small gifts.	Total	%
<i>imao je običaj da iznenadi/obraduje/...</i>	26	60%
<i>umeo je da iznenadi</i>	6	14%
<i>iznenadio bi</i> (Past Habitual Conditional)	5	12%
<i>znao je da iznenadi</i>	2	5%
other responses	4	9%
Total	43	100%

Table 4. Distribution of translations for *used to surprise* in BgB1

Sentence BgB1 (*he used to surprise children with small gifts*) was designed to test the use of HCS auxiliaries in a sentence that is overtly marked with the English past habitual marker *used to*. Table 4 shows the distribution of expressions used by the Belgrade informants. To my surprise, less than 20% of responses contained an HCS auxiliary, while the majority of informants chose to use the SCB (predominantly Serbian) periphrastic construction *imati običaj da* + [finite form of main verb] ‘to have a habit to + [main verb]’, possibly in an attempt to employ a clearly explicit habitual form, to match the English construction “used to” whose habitual meaning is well known.

### *Observations on the level of idiolects*

Looking at Table 1, one could perhaps assume that the low-frequency HCS AUX occurrences in queries BgA4 (3 occurrences), BgA6 (2), BgA11 verb <BE> (5) BgA11 verb <TALK> (2), BgA13 verb <BE> (2) and BgA13 verb <TALK> (2) would have come largely from a small group of informants who are

particularly keen on using HCS AUX. Surprisingly, this was not the case, and in fact, the 16 HCS AUX occurrences in the abovementioned sentences came from a total of 14 different informants.

Table 5 shows that every Belgrade informant used one of the HCS auxiliaries at least once in questionnaire A or the three translation sentences in questionnaire B. Even if we restrict our observations to questionnaire A, we will only find 6 out of 42 informants (14%) who did not use HCS auxiliaries at all. Further, we can note that as many as 16 (38%) of the informants used both HCS auxiliaries in their responses. Considering that most (79%) informants used a HCS auxiliary in 2 to 5 different sentences, I regard this as a relative high figure which shows that in the Serbian SCB variant, both HCS auxiliaries are often actively utilised by a single language user.

	Questionnaire A	Questionnaire A + sentences B1-B3
Used both HCS auxiliaries	9	16
Used only <i>umeti</i>	15	16
Used only <i>znati</i>	12	10
Used no HCS auxiliaries	6	0

Table 5. Number of Belgrade informants who used neither, only one, or both of the two HCS auxiliaries. Only those 42 informants were included who completed both questionnaires.

These facts indicate that as far as the Belgrade-dominated SCB variant is concerned, practically all language users make use of the HCS auxiliaries, with varying frequency. Mixed usage of both *znati* and *um(j)eti* is not uncommon on the level of idiolects. Although the scope of this study did not allow me to conduct follow-up questions with informants, I presume that most informants would have accepted HCS AUX use in all or almost all of the sentences listed in Table 1.

## 2.4 Overview of corpus findings

### *The Oslo Corpus of the Bosnian Language*

As I pointed out in 1.3.2, the Oslo Corpus of Bosnian Texts (OCBT) was examined more thoroughly with respect to *znati* and *um(j)eti* than the Croatian National Corpus (CNC). A total of 4590 occurrences of *znati* and 78 of *umjeti* found in the OCBT were analysed for the purposes of this study. All occurrences in Present tense, Past tense (Perfect), Infinitive and Future were included. Forms of *znati* and *umjeti* in the Imperfect Tense were intentionally left out of the analysis due to their insignificant number (less than ten for the two verbs in total), and so were Gerund forms. No forms of *umeti* (i.e. the Ekavian variant of *umjeti*) were found.

Table 6 and Table 7 show the distribution of various forms, and for each form, the distribution according to use/meaning.<sup>10</sup> For *znati*, each occurrence was categorised either as knowledge/familiarity<sup>11</sup>, MA AUX or HCS AUX. For *umjeti*, only the two latter categories exist.

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<sup>10</sup> Past tense occurrences are listed in Table 7 only according to form, as MA AUX occurrences were not coded for person. Distribution of HCS AUX past tense occurrences along person, number and gender is contained in Table 11. Same applies to the CNC, Table 10 and Table 12 respectively.

<sup>11</sup> As described in 2.1.1. Sentences like *znam hrvatski* were also included in this category, mainly for syntactic reasons, i.e. because *znati* is not functioning clearly as an auxiliary, although the expression could be interpreted as being an elliptic form of *znam govoriti hrvatski*.

	Total of occurrences	Occurrences in AUX function	MA AUX occurrences	HCS AUX occurrences	HCS AUX out of all occurrences	HCS AUX out of all AUX occurrences
<i>znam</i>	1286	17	17	0	0%	0%
<i>znaš</i>	461	13	13	0	0%	0%
<i>zna</i>	941	59	33	26	3%	44%
<i>znamo</i>	134	4	4	0	0%	0%
<i>znate</i>	156	3	3	0	0%	0%
<i>znaju</i>	247	37	29	8	3%	22%
<i>znan</i>	624	95	61	34	5%	36%
<i>znala</i>	258	46	24	22	9%	48%
<i>znalo</i>	41	11	4	7	17%	64%
<i>znali</i>	226	31	19	12	5%	39%
<i>znale</i>	7	11	11	0	0%	0%
<i>znati</i>	206	15	15	0	0%	0%
<i>znat</i>	3	1	1	0	0%	0%
Sum total	4590	343	234	109	2%	32%

Table 6. Occurrences of various forms of the verb *znati* in the OCBT.

	Total of occurrences in OCBT	HCS AUX occurrences	HCS AUX out of all occurrences
<i>umijem</i>	13	0	0%
<i>umiješ</i>	3	0	0%
<i>umije</i>	17	1	6%
<i>umijemo</i>	1	0	0%
<i>umijete</i>	0	0	n/a
<i>umiju</i>	14	1	7%
<i>umio</i>	17	4	24%
<i>umjela</i>	4	0	0%
<i>umjelo</i>	0	0	n/a
<i>umjeli</i>	4	1	25%
<i>umjele</i>	2	0	0%
<i>umjeti</i>	3	0	0%
<i>umjet</i>	0	0	n/a
Sum total	78	7	9%

Table 7. Occurrences of various forms of the verb *umjeti* in the OCBT

Each occurrence of HCS AUX was coded for various properties, which will be looked at in the following chapters. A number of significant observations will be made here based on Table 6 and Table 7. First, *znati* is immensely more frequent than *umjeti*. This is mostly due to the fact that over 90% of the 4590 occurrences fall in the knowledge/familiarity category. But even when those are left out, there are 343 occurrences of *znati* in auxiliary function, compared with 78 of *um(j)eti*. Further, within the auxiliary uses, the proportion of HCS AUX is much higher (32%) with *znati* than with *umjeti* (9%). We can therefore conclude that *znati* is the primary auxiliary used to express both mental ability (four times as frequent as *umjeti*) and HCS meaning (15 times as frequent as *umjeti*) in the sample contained in the OCBT. Accordingly, in the syntactic func-

tion of AUX, *umjeti* is far more restricted to mental ability use than *znati*.

Since the text sources OCBT are divided into seven genres or “kinds of text”, I decided to see whether any interesting results would emerge from an analysis of HCS AUX occurrences in that respect – Table 8 and Table 9 show the results of that exercise. Note that figures related to HCS AUX *umjeti* must be perceived critically because they represent a total of only seven occurrences. The strongest conclusion that can be made based on these results is that HCS AUX *znati* is relatively most frequent in fiction and essays. Its relative frequency in those genres is over three times higher than it is in newspapers and journals or children’s stories.

Kind of text	Distribution of words in OCBT	Distribution of znati	Distribution of HCS AUX znati	Distribution of umjeti	Distribution of HCS AUX umjeti
Fiction	43%	64%	54%	53%	43%
Essays	30%	19%	38%	15%	29%
Newspapers and journals	17%	9%	6%	23%	29%
Children’s stories	6%	6%	2%	8%	0%
Islamic texts	3%	2%	0%	1%	0%
Legal texts	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Folklore texts	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 8. Distribution of HCS auxiliaries in OCBT by genre

Kind of text	Total number of words	Number of HCS AUX occurrences	Frequency of HCS AUX znati
Fiction	655250	59	0.0090%
Essays	453123	41	0.0090%
Newspapers and journals	258070	7	0.0027%
Children's stories	91643	2	0.0022%
Islamic texts	43483	0	0.0000%
Legal texts	23078	0	0.0000%
Folklore texts	3774	0	0.0000%
Total	1528421	109	0.0071%

Table 9. Frequency of HCS AUX *znati* in OCBT by genre

### *The Croatian National Corpus*

A comparison of findings from the OCBT and the CNC can serve at least two purposes: first, to verify any conclusions, i.e. to reduce the possibility that the particular qualities of one corpus would somehow bias the results; and second, to observe possible differences between the two language variants that are sampled in the two corpora.

Several factors have to be taken into account if results from the OCBT and the CNC are to be contrasted. First, any differences between the findings could be attributable to the fact that the distribution of text types is very different in the two corpora: the most striking discrepancy is that fiction accounts for less than 10% of the CNC sample, but 43% for the OCBT. Conversely, the proportion of texts from newspapers and journals is ca. 60% in the CNC compared with 17% in the OCBT. Second, it is necessary to keep in mind that only past time occurrences of *znati* were analysed in the CNC.

The last column of Table 10 shows us that the in the CNC, when *znati* is used as an auxiliary in the Past tense, it more often (if only slightly) expresses HCS meaning than mental ability, 53% of all AUX occurrences being HCS AUX. The corresponding figure in the OCBT is 39%. Particularly strong was the proportion of HCS AUX compared to MA AUX with the form *znalo*. I will return to this issue in section 2.9.

	Total of occurrences	Occurrences in AUX function	MA AUX occurrences	HCS AUX occurrences	HCS AUX out of all occurrences	HCS AUX out of all AUX occurrences
<i>znao</i>	1472	353	186	167	11%	47%
<i>znala</i>	553	120	58	62	11%	52%
<i>znalo</i>	202	42	4	38	19%	90%
<i>znali</i>	784	182	83	99	13%	54%
<i>znale</i>	66	33	11	22	33%	67%
Sum total	3077	730	342	388	13%	53%

Table 10. Past tense occurrences of the verb *znati* in the Croatian National Corpus, by forms and uses.

Table 10 indicates that the relative proportion of HCS AUX among the various uses of *znati* is higher in the CNC than in the OCBT. However, the overall frequency of HCS AUX *znati* in the Past tense was slightly higher in the OCBT (0.0049%) than in the CNC (0.0042%). I maintain, however, that this is mainly due to the difference in the selection of texts between the two corpora, as described above. Namely, we have seen in Table 9 that HCS AUX *znati* is most frequent in fiction – a genre that is under-represented in the CNC compared to the OCBT – and far less frequent in newspapers and journals – a genre that is over-represented in the CNC compared to the OCBT. Therefore it is submitted that, should these discrepancies be rectified, one would be able to conclude

that HCS AUX *znati* has a stronger position in the SCB variant represented in the CNC (conditionally called “Croatian”) than in the SCB variant represented in the OCBT (conditionally called “Bosnian”).

## 2.5 Distribution of HCS AUX along person and number

In this section I will look at the distribution of HCS AUX use in different persons as well as between singular and plural. Statistical data from the CNC and the OCBT will be used for this purpose.

Table 11, Table 12 and Table 13 show us the distribution of HCS AUX *znati* occurrences in the CNC and the OCBT by tense, person, number and gender. Predominant are occurrences in 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular, followed by 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural. It is not surprising that 3<sup>rd</sup> person forms dominate the corpus findings. The majority of corpus sources are texts that relate to third parties, that is, to entities other than the writer or the reader. It would be reasonable to expect a relatively higher proportion of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person forms in spoken language, particularly in conversation. This is, however, only a hypothesis, and it would have to be verified with a study using a corpus of spoken language – something that was not at disposal for the present work.

Further, a superficial analysis of Internet searches on habituals of some other languages (Eng. *used to*, Swedish *bruka* and Finnish *olla tapana*) would seem to indicate roughly similar distributions over person and number as the figures in Table 12, Table 11 and Table 13.

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	Total	%
1sg	3	4	0	7	9%
1pl	2	0	0	2	3%
2sg	1	1	0	2	3%
2pl	0	0	0	0	0%
3sg	30	16	7	53	71%
3pl	10	0	1	11	15%
Total	46	21	8	75	100%

Table 11. Past tense occurrences of HCS AUX *znati* in OCBT, by person, number and gender

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	Total	%
1sg	19	13	0	32	8%
1pl	21	1	0	22	6%
2sg	1	1	0	2	1%
2pl	2	0	5	7	2%
3sg	147	43	38	228	59%
3pl	76	21	0	97	25%
Total	266	79	43	388	100%

Table 12. Past tense occurrences of HCS AUX *znati* in CNC, by person, number and gender

	Total	%
1sg	0	0%
1pl	0	0%
2sg	0	0%
2pl	0	0%
3sg	26	76%
3pl	8	24%
Total	34	100%

Table 13. Present tense occurrences of HCS AUX *znati* in OCBT, by person and number

Table 13 indicates that in the OCBT (the only one of the two corpuses that was systematically analysed for present tense occurrences), all HCS AUX *znati* occurrences were 3<sup>rd</sup> person, singular more than plural. Other sources have, however, provided examples of HCS AUX in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person, for the sake of illustration.

Below, examples (from all available sources) will be given of *znati* and *um(j)eti* occurring in various persons, number and tenses.

### *First person*

Of the two corpora, only the CNC offered examples of *znati* used as HCS AUX in Present tense 1<sup>st</sup> person singular or plural:

- (24) *I danas se znam zaustaviti, prignuti glavu i izgovoriti: Vjerujem, Gospodine!* (CNC GK9635\_25 9122)

‘Even today I (sometimes) **stop**, lower my head and say: I believe, Lord!’

- (25) *...da sam ja Dalmatinac, a mi smo, kao što znate, ponekad teški na jeziku, znamo biti grubi.* (CNC N128\_06 25795)

‘...that I am a Dalmatian, and we, as you know, sometimes use heavy language, **we can be** rude.’

The only example I have found of HCS AUX *um(j)eti* used in Present tense 1<sup>st</sup> person, in this case singular, is an alternative offered by an informant:

- (26) BgA6 (Bg13) [I work really hard.] When there is a lot of urgent work to be done, I [**it can happen**] <STAY> in the office the whole night.

*Kada ima puno posla koji hitno treba uraditi, ostajem cele noći u kancelariji. [umem/znam da provedem i čitavu noć...]*

Occurrences of HCS AUX *znati* in Past tense 1<sup>st</sup> person plural, such as (27), appeared in both corpora.

- (27) *Često **smo znali** preko radija **zamoliti** ako netko ima tako veliki broj, neka ih daruje borcu kojem trebaju na bojištu.* (CNC mucalo\_sboji 171152)

‘We **would** often **ask** on the radio that if someone has [=wears] such a big size, they should give them [boots] to a fighter in need on the battlefield’

### *Second person*

It is to be expected that occurrences of HCS markers are rare in the second person, be it singular or plural, because one seldom has the need to tell other people what they habitually do. However, such situations are possible, as can be seen from the following examples.

[From a poem]

- (28) *Znao si biti pripit i agresivan* (<[http://www.cip.hr/pm/site/Text.asp?film\\_id=104&>](http://www.cip.hr/pm/site/Text.asp?film_id=104&>))

‘You **used to be** drunk and aggressive.’

- (29) *Ti Vera **znala si** toliko **pripovijedati** o vašem drugovanju u školi, a sada ste vrlo rijetko zajedno...* (OCBT B/BA/M/96)

‘You Vera **used to tell** so many stories about your friendship at school, and now you are very seldom together...’

- (30) *Nekada, zbog tvoje mladosti, **znao si biti** kočoperan kao kokot.* (CNC pavelic\_izme 272032)

‘Sometimes, because you were young, you **would be** a real pompous cock.’

[From a newspaper horoscope]

- (31) *Niste tvrdoglavi kako **znate biti**...* (N151\_R02 13705)

‘You are not (being) stubborn as **you usually/often are...**’

[From a newspaper interview with a football player]

- (32) *Pamtim i da **ste** zbog driblerskih nestašluka **znali izgubiti** loptu i primiti pogodak...* (CNC N138\_24 21222)

‘I also remember that **you would sometimes lose** the ball because of some dribbling trick and receive a goal...’

### *Third person*

Both HCS auxiliaries appear commonly in the third person – in both the singular and the plural, in both the Present tense and the Past tense, and in all three genders. Additional example sentences can be found e.g. in 2.2 and elsewhere throughout the study.

- (33) *Znate koliko **se** puta **zna desiti** da muž i žena žive u braku dvadeset godina i da jedno od njih ili oboje imaju dvostruki život za koje ovo drugo nikad ne sazna.* (OCBT B/AM/GO/97)

‘You know how **often it happens** that a husband and wife live married for twenty years and one or both of them have a parallel life which the other one never finds out.’

- (34) Ipak, stručnjaci u ovoj ustanovi kažu da je i ranijih godina u januaru **umelo da bude** ovako hladno.  
([http://www.politika.co.yu/2003/0114/01\\_03.htm](http://www.politika.co.yu/2003/0114/01_03.htm))  
‘Nevertheless, the experts in this institution say that also in previous years there **used to be** cold (weather) like this.’
- (35) *Sklonost ka kockanju: da, najviše vole sportske kladionice u kojima **umeju da ostave** dosta novca...*  
(<http://www.astrolook.com/magazin/doc/49.shtml>)  
‘An inclination to gamble: yes, they love best the sports betting shops in which **they may/can/often leave** quite a sum of money...’
- (36) *Sestre **su znale ležati** na hladnom podu kapelice i moliti se.* (CNC vrkljan\_zid 12694)  
‘The sisters **used to lie** on the cold floor of the chapel and pray.’

## 2.6 HCS auxiliaries and verbal aspect

Like all other Slavic languages, SCB features two verbal aspects: Imperfective (Ipfv.) and Perfective (Pfv.). The Slavic verbal aspect and habituality (called *iterativity* by some) have been traditionally linked to each other, habituality being listed as one of the two main functions of the imperfective aspect (Mønnesland 1983: 54). Indeed, Ipf. verbs are used in Slavic languages to denote non-total situations which occur repeatedly. Mønnesland, however, shows that there is strong variation across the Slavic languages particularly as to which verbal aspect is used in sentences denoting “TOT F-HAB meaning”, ie. total situations which occur repeatedly. While some Slavic languages, such as Russian, will always use Ipfv.

forms, others, such as Czech or Slovak, will typically use Pfv. forms. Mønnesland places SCB closer to the latter group as far as the present tense is concerned but maintains that in the past tense, the use of Pfv. verbs in TOT F-HAB sentences “cannot be considered a feature of standard Serbo-Croatian” (Mønnesland 1983: 67). This may lead to ambiguity when it is important to make the total/non-total distinction in past time reference sentences. In such situations, the SCB Past Habitual Conditional (PHC) may be used (the PHC will be discussed in more detail in 2.12), and Mønnesland (1983: 62) says it is indeed predominantly used with Pfv. verbs when referring to situations of total nature.

In the case of HCS AUX constructions, the main verb will not have to express habituality, since habitual meaning is expressed by the HCS auxiliary. Therefore we can expect the main verb to be free to express the total/non-total distinction by means of the Slavic aspect.

Corpus data supports such a hypothesis. All HCS AUX occurrences in the CNC and the OCBT were coded for verbal aspect as *Perfective*, *Imperfective* or “other”. The last category contains several verbs that are effectively exceptions to the standard aspect dualism: some only have one aspectual form, such as *biti* ‘to be’, *imati* ‘to have’, *čuti* ‘to hear’, while verbs ending in *-irati* are biaspectual. Between the first two categories, Perfective forms were more common in both the CNC (63% against 37%) and the OCBT (70%-30%). Sentences (37) (Pfv. Aspect) and (38) (Ipfv. Aspect) seem to indicate that in some contexts both aspects are possible.

- (37) Često **se znalo dogoditi** da bi na povratku kući našli sama pusta zgarista. (CNC grlic\_memoar 158480)  
 ‘It often **used to happen** that upon returning home we would only find burnt remains [of houses].’

(38) *Znalo mi se često događati da ujutro kada se probudim ustanovim kako je pištolj nategnut i metak u cijevi...* (CNC rem-citatih 187105)

‘It often **used to happen** to me that in the morning when I wake up I realise that the pistol is cocked and that the bullet is in the barrel...’

In multiple-choice questions B1-B3 of the Zagreb questionnaire the informants had to assess various possible translations to a sentence involving habitual meaning. The informants were presented with various grammatical solutions (only main verb; HCS AUX *znati*; PHC; semi-lexical auxiliary *običavati*; combination of PHC and HCS AUX) in the main verb phrase, and each solution was further given in two variants – with Pfv. and Ipfv. verb forms.

The results presented in Table 14, Table 15 and Table 16 allow us to make two conclusions. First, in all three cases, the informants preferred the use of a Pfv. main verb to an Ipfv. main verb in constructions with HCS AUX *znati*. A similar pattern is visible also with respect to all other periphrastic constructions. Second, when no periphrastic construction was employed to express habituality, the informants preferred the use of Ipfv. main verbs in sentences with past and future time reference, while they slightly preferred the use of a Pfv. main verb in sentence ZgB2 with present time reference. This apparent inconsistency may be partly due to the fact that in ZgB2, the situation referred to by the main verb was more clearly total in nature than in ZgB1 or ZgB3. The responses to ZgB1 clearly support Mønnesland’s notion that in SCB, Pfv. verbs are usually not used in TOT F-HAB sentences with past time reference.

Source sentence: Every Sunday we visited our grandmother.	Average score (scale: 0-3)
<i>Mi smo svake nedjelje posjećivali baku</i> (Ipfv. verb)	2.55
<i>Mi bismo svake nedjelje posjećivali baku.</i> (PHC + Ipfv. Verb)	2.05
<i>Znali smo svake nedjelje posjećivati baku.</i> (HCS AUX znati + Ipfv. verb)	1.64
<i>Običavali smo svake nedjelje posjećivati baku.</i> (Običavati + Ipfv. verb)	2.18
<i>Znali bismo svake nedjelje posjećivati baku.</i> (HCS AUX znati + PHC + Ipfv. verb)	1.45
<i>Mi smo svake nedjelje posjetili baku.</i> (Pfv. verb)	0.91
<i>Mi bismo svake nedjelje posjetili baku.</i> (PHC + Pfv. verb)	2.14
<i>Znali smo svake nedjelje posjetiti baku.</i> (HCS AUX znati + Pfv. verb)	2.05
<i>Običavali smo svake nedjelje posjetiti baku.</i> (Običavati + Pfv. verb)	2.23
<i>Znali bismo svake nedjelje posjetiti baku.</i> (HCS AUX znati + PHC + Pfv. verb)	1.64

Table 14. Summary of answers to question ZgB1. (Scale: 3 – fully suitable translation, 2 – fairly suitable translation, 1 – unsuitable translation, 0 – “You can’t say that”)

Source sentence: Every morning he makes me a big sandwich.	Average score (scale: 0-3)
<i>Svakog jutra mi pravi velik sendvič.</i> (Ipfv. verb)	2.50
<i>Svakog jutra zna mi praviti velik sendvič.</i> (HCS AUX znati + Ipfv. verb)	0.96
<i>Svakog jutra običava mi praviti velik sendvič.</i> (Običavati + Ipfv. verb)	1.42
<i>Svakog jutra napravi mi velik sendvič.</i> (Pfv. verb)	2.83
<i>Svakog jutra zna mi napraviti velik sendvič.</i> (HCS AUX znati + Pfv. verb)	1.46
<i>Svakog jutra običava mi napraviti velik sendvič.</i> (Običavati + Pfv. verb)	1.79

Table 15. Summary of answers to question ZgB2. (Scale: 3 – fully suitable translation, 2 – fairly suitable translation, 1 – unsuitable translation, 0 – “You can’t say that”)

Source sentence: I am sure that she will often visit us.	Average score (scale: 0-3)
<i>Sigurno će nas često posjećivati.</i> (Ipfv. verb)	3.00
<i>Sigurno će nas znati često posjećivati.</i> (HCS AUX znati + Ipfv. verb)	0.68
<i>Sigurno će nas običavati često posjećivati.</i> (Običavati + Ipfv. verb)	0.46
<i>Sigurno će nas često posjetiti.</i> (Pfv. verb)	1.96
<i>Sigurno će nas znati često posjetiti.</i> (HCS AUX znati + Pfv. verb)	1.00
<i>Sigurno će nas običavati često posjetiti.</i> (Običavati + Pfv. verb)	0.71

Table 16. Summary of answers to question ZgB3. (Scale: 3 – fully suitable translation, 2 – fairly suitable translation, 1 – unsuitable translation, 0 – “You can’t say that”)

In query BgB1 (*He used to surprise children with small gifts*) all seven informants who translated the habitual meaning with HCS AUX used the Pfv. aspect in the main verb (e.g. *umeo je da iznenadi*). Also, all but two of the 26 informants who translated the habitual meaning with the phrase *imati običaj* ‘have a custom/habit’ employed the Pfv. aspect.

## 2.7 Temporal adverbials and HCS AUX

Applying a typological approach, Xrakovskij writes that the functional/semantic field (Xrakovskij uses the abbreviation FSF) of plurality (of situations) includes the following components:

- (1) semantic classes of verbs or, rather, predicates correlating with the meanings of plurality,
- (2) words and word combinations expressing plurality lexically and, correspondingly, combining in the sentence with semantic verb classes which represent the first component of the FSF,

(3) grammatical categories specially designed to express the meanings of this semantic attribute, and/or grammatical categories expressing these meanings occasionally, as well as many other grammatical means,

(4) contextual elements outside the sentence providing for a singular or plural interpretation of a given verb form. (Xrakovskij 1997: 18)

Xrakovskij (id.) further writes that “[c]ombining with each other and jointly expressing one or another meaning of plurality, the FSF components form a unity which is described as ‘the long semantic component’, each of its elements contributing to the emergence and expression of the general meaning”.

Xrakovskij divides group (2) further into five categories: adverbials of (a) cyclicity (e.g. *every Saturday*), (b) interval (e.g. *sometimes*), (c) habituality (e.g. *usually*), (d) reiteration (e.g. *five times*) and (e) complex adverbials (*several times a year*). We are primarily interested in categories (a), (b) and (c), because they carry meaning similar to those expressed by the HCS auxiliaries – repeated situations ranging from cyclic and regular to occasional occurrences and habituality. Mønnesland’s (1983: 53) classification – concerning specifically Slavic languages – is very similar, but he effectively splits Xrakovskij’s category (b) into three separate categories: high frequency, low frequency and sporadic frequency.

Following Xrakovskij’s argumentation, the presence of an adverbial expressing plurality in a sentence does not preclude the use of a habitual gram, but rather, the combination of the two will form the overall meaning of the sentence. However, Xrakovskij (1997: 57) points out that while adverbials of cyclicity freely occur in CPA<sup>12</sup> with “iterative verbs”, adverbials

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<sup>12</sup> CPA is Xrakovskij’s abbreviation for “constructions with predicate

of habituality and interval are less common, and adverbials synonymous with the main verbs are apparently not used: *I used to lose my temper sometimes/\*usually*.<sup>13</sup> Actually, Xrakovskij (1997: 49) discusses whether adverbials such as *usually* belong in the domain of grammar.

In this section we will look at HCS AUX occurrences containing adverbials expressing plurality in our sources.

In my analysis of sentences collected from the two corpora, I have partially followed Xrakovskij's and Mønnesland's classification of temporal adverbials and divided them into the following main categories relevant for this study:

- a) **Adverbials of high frequency**, such as *često* 'often' and *češće* 'more often' – see sentences (39), (40), (41) and (42).
- b) **Adverbials of sporadicity**, such as *ponekad* 'sometimes', *povremeno* 'occasionally' and *s vremena na vr(ij)eme* 'from time to time' – see sentences (43) and (44).
- c) **Adverbials of plurality** (close to Xrakovskij's adverbials of iteration), such as *više puta* 'several times', *koji put* 'a few times', *toliko puta* 'so many times', *ne jednom* 'more than once' (literally "not once") – see sentences (45) and (46).

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actants", a notion that seems to come close to auxiliaries. He mentions English constructions with the verbs *used* and *will* (*used to*, *would*) and the German construction with the verb *pflügen* as examples of CPAs expressing "iterative meaning".

<sup>13</sup> In the Russian-language original of the article, Xrakovskij (1989: 48) first quotes the English-language example and then a Russian equivalent, which he also marks as unnatural as far as the combination of two synonymous expressions is concerned. A SCB equivalent would be approximately *Imao sam običaj da ponekad/\*obično izgubim strpljenje* or *Običavao sam ponekad/\*obično izgubiti strpljenje*.

- d) **Adverbials of (extended) duration**, such as *satima* ‘for hours’, *danima* ‘for days’, *godinama* ‘for years’, *po četiri mjeseca* ‘for four months’, *cijeli dan* ‘all day’ – see sentences (46), (85), (86) and (87).
- (39) “*Često znam reći da se trči maraton, a ne sprint*”, *zaključio je Valentić*. (CNC N158\_05 4826)  
 “**I often say** that one is running marathon, not a sprint”, Valentić concluded.’
- (40) *Iz tih rukopisa često zna zabljesnuti živost izraza...* (OCBT E/LI/LI/94)  
 ‘Liveliness of expressions **often sparkles** from those manuscripts...’
- (41) *...Bane je ostao u redakciji cijelo popodne, čekajući sumrak baš onako kako je često znao da čeka i u Sekretarijatu*. (OCBT B/FM/TJ/96)  
 ‘...Bane stayed in the office all afternoon, waiting for the twilight just as he **often used to wait** at the Secretariat.’
- (42) *Dok se Marinko Lučić znao sve češće požaliti kako njegova kći više ne trenira i igra žarom kao nekada...* (CNC N141\_19 20048)  
 ‘While Marinko Lučić **would increasingly often complain** that his daughter no longer practised nor played with passion as before...’
- (43) *Istina, znaju ponekad i u ovom listu i u “Dnevnom avazu” pohvaliti ponekog komunistu...* (OCBT PU/SV/65/97)  
 ‘True, **sometimes** also this paper or the “Dnevni avaz” **may applaud** some communist...’
- (44) *Kuznjecov je znao da, s vremena na vrijeme, na betonski pod sobe izlije kantu vode, a ova bi rashlađivala koliko je mogla*. (OCBT B/FM/TJ/96)

‘From time to time, Kuznietsov **would pour** a bucket of water on the concrete floor, and it would cool as much as it could.’

- (45) *...da je međunarodna zajednica ranije pokazala da je i te kako spremna ... primijeniti sankcije prema «neposlušnima», što su i Hrvatska i Hrvati u BiH više puta **znali osjetiti** na vlastitoj koži.* (CNC VJ981121g 14391)

‘...that the international community had earlier shown that it was certainly prepared ... to apply sanctions against the “ill-behaved”, which Croatia and Croats in BiH [Bosnia and Herzegovina] **would several times experience** themselves.’

- (46) *Ne jednom je ban **znao satima ružiti** Grgura trudeći se da od njega sakrije svoje prave misli...* (OCBT E/TN/VK/96)

‘More than once the Ban **would scold** Grgur for hours, trying to hide his real thoughts from him...’

Table 17 shows statistics on HCS AUX occurrences in the two corpora with certain types of adverbials, as described above. We can clearly see that adverbials of high frequency are far more common than any other types of adverbials. Figures in all four categories are strikingly similar in the two corpora.

	CNC	OCBT
Adverbials of high frequency	12% (46/388)	14% (15/109)
Adverbials of sporadicity	4% (15/388)	4% (4/109)
Adverbials of plurality	4% (14/388)	3% (3/109)
Adverbials of duration	3% (11/388)	6% (6/109)

Table 17. HCS AUX *znati* sentences with certain types of adverbials, percentage out of all coded HCS AUX *znati* occurrences in the CNC and the OCBT.

Out of individual adverbials, *često* ‘often’ appears more often in the same sentence with HCS AUX than any other adverbial that expresses plurality. In the OCBT, it appeared in 11% (12/109) of VPs with HCS AUX *znati*, while the figure was 8,5% (33/388) in the CNC, for sentences with past time reference.

**Adverbials of cyclicity** and **habituality**, as defined by Xrakovskij, were extremely rare in the corpus findings. Less than five adverbials of cyclicity (some were borderline cases, e.g. *gotovo svake večeri* ‘almost every evening’ in (47)) were found, such as (48), while (49) was the only occurrence with an adverbial of habituality. I submit that the reason lies in the fact that the core meaning of the HCS auxiliaries is not one of regular or cyclic activity, but rather that of irregular repetition of situations.

- (47) *Začudo te večeri nije došao, a gotovo svake večeri je **znao doći**, Grga Bauštelac, jedan veseli čovjek...*  
(OCBT PU/SV/67/97)

‘Strangely, that night Grga Bauštelac, one cheerful man, did not come, although he **used to come** almost every night...’

- (48) *Prepoznali su tek Baneta Repčića i Ragiba Žugu, poznata lica koja **su** ovdje **znali da sretnu svakodnevno**.* (OCBT B/FM/TJ/96)

‘They only recognised Bane Repčić and Ragib Žuga, well-known persons whom they **used to meet** here every day.’

- (49) *Mogućnost im jednog jasnijeg nacionalnog deklariranja nije, dakle, bila rigorozno uskraćena, kao što **se** to **obično zna proglasiti**, kad se za vlastite propuste i nedosljednost krivci traže isključivo u drugima.* (OCBT E/MO/CI/96)

‘Therefore, they were not deprived of the possibility to make a clearer declaration of nationality, as **it is usually claimed** when one seeks exclusively in others the guilt for one’s own failures and inconsistency.’

It is important to note that the adverbials of (extended) duration, such as *danima* ‘for days’ in (50), do not express plurality. Actually, they can co-occur in the same sentence with adverbials of plurality, as in (46) (*ne jednom* ‘more than once’ and *satima* ‘for hours’). They describe a single occurrence of the activity denoted by the main verb, as opposed to the adverbials of plurality, which relate to the entire series of occurrences that is referred to by the HCS AUX construction. The relevance of adverbials of (extended) duration to this study will be discussed in chapter 2.11.

(50) *Život se danima znao odvijati u haustorima zazidanim vrećama sa pijeskom, podrumima, prostorijama što su bile namijenjene za odlaganje smeća.* (OCBT B/BN/LS/94)

‘Life **would go on for days** in hallways fortified with sandbags, in the cellars, in spaces intended for garbage disposal.’

Questionnaire studies can also provide us with some material relevant for this chapter. When devising the questionnaires, I already suspected that the meaning of adverbials such as *often* and *sometimes* was close to the meaning of the HCS auxiliaries. I therefore included them in several sentences, either explicitly (as in ZgBgA3 and ZgBgA9 – see Table 1), or as guidance in brackets (as in ZgA4). It turned out that these sentences produced a high number of answers with HCS auxiliaries, as opposed to sentence ZgBgA2 with an adverbial of cyclicity (*every month*), which did not produce a single answer with HCS AUX. This supports the view that

the core meaning of HCS AUX is that of irregular, not regular repetition.

I further attempted to explore the correlation of HCS AUX to different types of adverbials in questions BgA16-BgA20 of the Belgrade questionnaire, in which I offered the same source sentence with five different adverbials: *usually*, *sometimes*, *often*, *rarely* and *every time*. There was variation in terms of verbal aspect and the use of the Past Habitual Conditional, but unfortunately, these questions did not produce any HCS AUX occurrences and therefore cannot help us in examining the topic of this chapter.

In my opinion, it is inevitable that the conventionalisation of the implicature “Person A has the skill to perform activity X” → “Person A sometimes engages in activity X” took place first and only then did it become possible to combine adverbials of interval with such constructions. It would run against our understanding of the world to state that “person A sometimes has the skill to perform activity X”.

If the primary meaning of the HCS auxiliaries was regular habituality, they would very likely occur more frequently with adverbials of cyclicity, because regularity – by definition – requires the existence of a pattern or a rule. Therefore, this rule – e.g. “every Friday at 6 o’clock Jim goes to the pub” – will have to be spelled out, probably using an adverbial of cyclicity.

## 2.8 Observations on the syntactic behaviour of HCS auxiliaries

### *Infinitive vs. da+finite form*

A well-known difference between the Western (Ijekavian) and the Eastern (Ekavian) SCB variant is that in the former, aux-

iliaries<sup>14</sup> are complemented by main verbs in the infinitive form (e.g. *moraš spavati* ‘you have to sleep’), while in the latter, they are often complemented by a *da* + finite form construction (e.g. *moraš da spavaš*). This distinction is visible also with regard to HCS AUX constructions. The RSKNJ says under two HCS related meanings of *znati* that they usually appear with the infinitive construction. Let us see what the sources used in this study can reveal on this question.

In the CNC, all analysed HCS AUX occurrences had main verb complements in the infinitive – see e.g. sentences (24) and (27). This is in line with most normative presentations of contemporary “Croatian”. Responses to the Zagreb questionnaire supported these results: only the infinitive construction was used by the informants.

In the OCBT, 76% of HCS AUX *znati* occurrences had main verb complements in the infinitive and 24% had the *da* + finite form construction. Out of the seven HCS AUX *umjeti* occurrences in the OCBT, three were with the *da* + finite form construction and four with the infinitive construction.

A preliminary search on the website of the Serbian newspaper *Politika* (<<http://www.politika.co.yu>>) indicates that both syntactic constructions are used with HCS auxiliaries, the *da* + finite form construction being far more common, especially with HCS AUX *umeti*. Responses to the Belgrade questionnaire confirm that the *da* + finite form construction is more common in the Serbian SCB variant – all occurrences

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<sup>14</sup> I apply the term *auxiliary* to verbs such as *žel(j)eti*, *vol(j)eti*, *znati* and *um(j)eti* despite the fact that they are traditionally not always described or classified as auxiliaries in SCB grammars. The results of Bybee et al. (1994: 188) show that the great majority of grams expressing ability and root possibility are expressed with auxiliaries. Indeed, this clearly seems to be the case also in SCB. This question will be further discussed in 4.9.

of HCS AUX *umeti* used this construction while both syntactic constructions were used with HCS AUX *znati*.

We can conclude that the syntactic form of the main verb complement of HCS auxiliaries depends most of all on the SCB variant in question. In the Croatian variant, the infinitive construction is used virtually exclusively; in the Bosnian variant, the infinitive construction is predominant; in the Serbian variant, the *da* + finite form construction prevails. Both HCS auxiliaries can be used with both constructions, but it may be that among users of the Serbian SCB variant, HCS AUX *umeti* combines relatively less often with the infinitive than HCS AUX *znati*. To prove this hypothesis, one would have to have more data on the level of idiolects in order to show that individual language users tend to use one syntactic construction with one HCS auxiliary and another syntactic construction with the other HCS auxiliary.

### *HCS AUX with negation*

Before entering a discussion on how HCS AUX may or may not combine with markers of negation, we must ask ourselves what the combination of habituality and negation is from the viewpoint of semantics. Let us look at three different possibilities: in (51) we have a habitual construction with no negation; in (52) the habitual marker is in the scope of the negation – let us call this *outer negation*; and in (53) we have only the lexical main verb in the scope of the negation – let us call this *inner negation*.

(51) *I'm in the habit of locking the door when I go out.*

HAB(X)

(It is usually/habitually the case that X happens)

- (52) *I'm not in the habit of locking the door when I go out.*  
NEG(HAB(X))

(It is not the case that X usually/habitually happens)

**outer negation**

- (53) *I'm in the habit of not locking the door when I go out.*  
HAB(NEG(X))

(It is usually/habitually the case that X does not

happen) **inner negation**

It is important to note that, while their pragmatic function may differ, the truth-value of (52) and (53) is effectively identical: whenever (s)he goes out, in majority of cases (s)he will not lock the door.

This apparent similarity between “outer” and “inner negation” will, however, disappear, if we look at sporadic repetition of situations (sentences (54), (55) and (56)), as opposed to regular habituality in the previous examples. While (56) makes perfect sense, (55) sounds almost unnatural and would be sensible only in very specific pragmatic circumstances. (Cf. Horn 1989: 204-267 for a detailed discussion of negation and quantity from the point of view of logic.)

- (54) *I sometimes lock the door when I go out.*  
SPORADIC(X)

(It is sometimes the case that X happens)

- (55) *I don't sometimes lock the door when I go out.*  
NEG(SPORADIC(X))

(It is not the case that X sometimes happens)

**outer negation**

- (56) *I sometimes don't lock the door when I go out*  
SPORADIC(NEG(X))

(It is sometimes the case that X does not happen)

**inner negation**

I suggested in chapter 2.7 that the core meaning of the HCS auxiliaries is that of irregular repetition of situations, something that could be paraphrased with such adverbials as *often* and *sometimes*. Therefore, it is not surprising that I have found very few occurrences of *znati* and *um(j)eti* with “outer negation” that could be interpreted as HCS AUX. There are some borderline occurrences (ones that could be interpreted either as HCS or MA AUX) such as (57), (58), (59) and (60) that could be paraphrased as “does not” or “did not”, i.e. rule-like habituality. That is consistent with Palmer’s (2001: 91) remark that “Not possible” equals “Necessary not” (while “Not necessary” equals “Possible not”).

- (57) *Jedina mu je mana što se ne zna hvaliti!* (CNC N153\_11 5557)  
 ‘His only weakness is that **he doesn’t (know how to) brag!**’
- (58) *Naivni, kakvi su bili, nisu se znali zaustaviti ni kad bi stranka donijela odluku kako se ne smije davati izjave komunističkim novinama.* (CNC VJ981122g 21003)  
 ‘Naïve as they were, **they wouldn’t stop** even when the party decided that it was prohibited to give statements to communist newspapers.’
- (59) *Zaključak je porazan ... ova naša sredina nije nikad znala cijeniti svoje umjetnike...* (CNC crnkovic 4733)  
 ‘The conclusion is miserable ... this society of ours **has never appreciated** its artists...’
- (60) *Pjesnici mogu i da omanu, pretjeraju, ali ne i da slažu. Srce ne umije lagati.* (OCBT E/PM/SR/93)  
 ‘Poets can err and exaggerate, but they can’t lie. The heart **does not (know how to) lie.**’

In (61), HCS AUX *znati* is syntactically combined with “outer negation”, but the negation is “irreal”, because the writer actually means that high pressure can be dangerous, and (s)he may even be suggesting that the media knowingly overlooked this.

- (61) *Ništa strašno, izvijestiše mediji, samo malo mučnine zbog visokoga tlaka, kao da visko [sic] tlak **ne zna biti opasan**.* (<<http://www.slobodnadalmacija.hr/20020322/novosti01.asp>>)

‘Nothing grave, reported the media, just a little nausea due to high pressure, as if high pressure **couldn’t be dangerous**.’

“Inner negation” with HCS AUX is also extremely scarce, I have only found sentences (62) and (63), and the latter is actually ambiguous since it does not seem to involve repetition of situations.

[About a person who used to work for the speaker.]

- (62) *Zna da **ne bude** lojalna.* (Written down from a live discussion)

‘She **can be** disloyal (at times).’

- (63) *Kako su kuga i stalne pobune i dalje trajali, biskup, Nikola Ferić, **znao je** po pet godina **ne dolaziti** u biskupiju (1811-1816).* (CNC lucic 62576)

‘As the plague and the constant riots still went on, the bishop, Nikola Ferić, **would not come** to the bishopry for five years (1811-1816).’

When designing the questionnaires, I already suspected that the combination of HCS AUX and negation was very rare and I assumed it would be very unlikely that any translation tasks (such as in Questionnaire A) would produce any

instances of HCS auxiliaries with negation, no matter how I would compose the source sentences. I therefore decided to simply offer the informants sentences with a negated HCS auxiliary and ask them whether in their opinion these sentences could have the same meaning as sentences with a lexical (or semi-lexical) unambiguous marker of habituality. Importantly, an adverbial of interval (*često* ‘often’) was included in the sentences to stress their habitual meaning.

ZgB5. Može li po vašem mišljenju rečenica “*Nismo znali ići često u kino.*” značiti otprilike isto kao rečenica “*Nismo običavali ići često u kino.*”?

ZgB6. Može li po vašem mišljenju rečenica “*Ne znamo ići često u kino.*” značiti otprilike isto kao rečenica “*Ne običavamo ići često u kino.*”?

BgB6. Može li po vašem mišljenju rečenica “*Nismo znali ići često u bioskop.*” značiti otprilike isto kao i rečenica “*Nismo imali običaj ići često u bioskop.*”?

BgB7. Može li po vašem mišljenju rečenica “*Ne znamo ići često u bioskop.*” značiti otprilike isto kao i rečenica “*Nemamo običaj ići često u bioskop.*”?

Table 18 summarises the results of questions ZgB5-6 and BgB6-7. We can see that a total of 38% of the informants accepted the NEG(HCS AUX) construction with present time reference, and 60% with past time reference. Both groups (Zagreb and Belgrade) of informants assessed the construction with past time reference as more acceptable than present time reference. We can conclude that the use of HCS AUX *znati* with negation (of the auxiliary) is at least potentially possible and acceptable to a significant portion of language users, although we haven’t come across such sentences in corpora or other sources. If such constructions were to be introduced by

language users, we could perhaps expect such a development to take place first in contexts with past time reference.

	Total	Zagreb	Belgrade
Present time reference (ZgB6, BgB7)	38%	26%	47%
Past time reference (ZgB5, BgB6)	60%	61%	59%

Table 18. Percentage of positive answers out of those who answered yes or no to questions testing whether sentences with negation + *znati* could have approximately the same meaning as sentences with negation + *običavati* or negation + *imati običaj*.

If we were to semantically analyse the sentence *Nismo znali ići često u kino* as it would be understood by a native speaker, it could probably be paraphrased as ‘we did go to the cinema sometimes, but not often’<sup>15</sup>. For, if the agents of the activity referred to by the sentence never went to the cinema, it would be misleading to use a habitual form. Instead, it would make sense to say *Nismo (nikad) išli u kino* ‘We did not go to the cinema’ (‘We never went to the cinema’). It seems that it is the adverbial *često* and the “super-regularity” (cf. Xrakovskij 1997a: 48) expressed by it that is naturally understood to be in the scope of the negation in sentences ZgB5-6 and BgB6-7. It seems very likely that the results presented in Table 18 would be radically different if the adverbial *često* were left out or substituted with e.g. *ponekad* ‘sometimes’.<sup>16</sup>

The apparent independent interaction of *često* with negation naturally limits the probative value of the results in Table 18 as far as the question of the ability of HCS AUX to appear with negation is concerned. Another possible limiting

<sup>15</sup> A native informant has confirmed this interpretation to me.

<sup>16</sup> A native informant has told me that the sentence *Nismo znali ići u kino* sounds very strange.

factor is posed by the possible semantic differences of the lexical markers of habituality appearing in the sentence pairs.

Confusingly, the RJA contains several historical examples of *um(j)eti* with negation, listed under the meaning *običavati, imati običaj* ‘to be in the habit of, to have a habit’. They will be reviewed in section 4.5.

### *HCS AUX in questions*

Corpus queries and Internet searches did not yield any occurrences of HCS AUX in questions. There probably are pragmatic reasons because of which language users do not have a strong need to use habituais in questions, although such sentences are possible in some other languages.

The lack of HCS AUX use in questions could be largely explained with a hypothesis that the core meaning expressed by HCS AUX is sporadicity rather than regularity or habituality *sensu stricto*. Sporadic meaning can be paraphrased with the adverbial *from time to time* and if we look at questions such as *What do you from time to time eat for breakfast?* or *Where does he from time to time go on holidays?*, we find them unnatural, while the same sentences would sound perfectly normal if the adverbial *from time to time* were replaced with *usually*.

Another explanation for the lack of HCS AUX in questions may be potential ambiguity between the mental ability meaning and HCS meaning. Obviously, questions with *znati* and *um(j)eti* as MA auxiliaries are perfectly common, since in human communication there is a natural need to be able to ask whether someone is able to do something or not.

In question BgB8, the informants were presented with a sentence containing a yes/no-question in which HCS AUX *znati* was used. They were asked whether this sentence could

have approximately the same meaning as a question sentence otherwise identical, but with an *Ipfv.* verb instead of the HCS AUX construction. As we can see in Table 19, two thirds of the informants accepted the HCS AUX question sentence. Despite such a high rate, as I indicated above, I have not come across any actual occurrences of HCS AUX in questions.

	Yes	No	Don't know
Can the sentence “ <i>Da li je on znao i tebe posećivati?</i> ” mean approximately the same as “ <i>Da li je on i tebe posećivao?</i> ” (‘Did he use to visit you, too?’)?	67%	28%	5%

Table 19. Summary of answers to question BgB8, shown by percentage

## 2.9 Animate vs. inanimate subjects, passive voice

According to Bybee and Dahl (1989: 63-64), the absence of lexical and contextual restrictions on the occurrence of highly developed grams is an important correlate of the abstractness and generality of grammatical meaning. This principle is highly relevant for showing that the HCS AUX use of the lexemes *znati* and *um(j)eti* is more abstract and general – and therefore more grammatical – than the other uses of those verbs. We will look at two factors through this prism: first, in this chapter, the classes of subjects that can combine with the HCS auxiliaries, and second, in chapter 2.10, the thematic roles that the subjects can have.

When *znati* and *um(j)eti* are used to express knowledge or mental ability (skill), they can normally only be used with animate (usually human) subjects, both these uses involving mental activity on the part of the agent/subject. Metaphorical uses with inanimate subjects are not uncommon, but even

then, the subject is almost invariably an entity that in some way involves human participation (organisations, states, towns etc.), as in (64).

- (64) *A u stvari, HDZ ne bi ni znao vladati kada bi se njegovim čelnicima oduzeo taj monopol...* (CNC N154\_07 7053)

‘But actually, the HDZ [one of the leading political parties in Croatia] **would not** even **know how to rule** if its leaders were deprived of that monopoly...’

A survey of sentences in which *znati* and *um(j)eti* appear as HCS auxiliaries clearly reveals that in this use both of these verbs regularly take on inanimate subjects – see e.g. (21), (40), (50) and (65). In the OCBT, 66% (72/109) of all HCS AUX *znati* occurrences were with an animate subject. The rest 34% (37/109) were with inanimate subjects, no subject at all (see e.g. (37), (38) and (66)) or in passive voice (see e.g. (67) and (68)). Also the last two categories are incompatible with the knowledge or mental ability uses of *znati* and *um(j)eti*. The percentage of HCS AUX sentences with an animate subject was somewhat higher in the CNC (79%) – this may be partially due to the fact that only past tense occurrences were included.

- (65) *Ispred Matijasa bilo je takvo jezerce što je ljeti znalo presušiti do uskoga mlaza.* (CNC F92stahuljak 15106)

‘In front of Matijas there was a type of lake that **used to dry up** to a narrow stream during the summer.’

- (66) *Znalo je biti neugodno, ponekad i opasno.* (CNC N150\_21 16614)

‘It **would (often) be** unpleasant, sometimes even dangerous.’

(67) *Iz tog podruma se znala čuti glazba, preglasna i silovita.* (CNC stojisav\_dnev 38210)  
 ‘Music **could often be heard** from that basement, very loud and vigorous.’

(68) *I meni se znao netko svidjeti.* (CNC grlic\_memoar 224574)  
 ‘I, too, **would (sometimes) be attracted** to someone.’

HCS AUX sentences with no subject turned up also in the questionnaire studies, most notably (in almost half of all answers) in ZgBgA3 and ZgBgA9 as we saw in Table 1, but also in BgA6. Below are some examples of actual responses – (69), (70) and (71) respectively – from the informants.

(69) ZgBgA3 (Zg10)  
 [A: What is the weather usually like in your hometown?]  
 B: It <BE> very nice, but **sometimes** <BE> rather cold there.  
*Lijepo je, ali zna biti dosta hladno.*

(70) ZgBgA9 (Bg26)  
 [A and B are talking about B’s previous home town. A: What was the weather usually like in your hometown?]  
 B: It <BE> very nice, but **sometimes** <BE> rather cold there.  
*Bilo je vrlo lepo, ali ponekad je umelo da bude i hladno.*

(71) BgA6. (Bg18)  
 [I work really hard.]  
 When there is a lot of urgent work to be done, I **[it can happen]** <STAY> in the office the whole night.  
*Kada ima puno važnog posla koji treba obaviti, ume da se desi da ostanem u kancelariji celu noć.*

## 2.10 Thematic roles

Since it is my working hypothesis that the use of *znati* and *um(j)eti* have assumed uses beyond those of knowledge/familiarity or mental ability, I thought that it would be useful to look at occurrences of HCS *znati* and *um(j)eti* through the theory of thematic roles<sup>17</sup>. When *znati* and *um(j)eti* are used to denote mental ability, the syntactic subject of the sentence can logically only have the thematic role of an agent, ie. the main verb of the auxiliary construction must be one which involves active participation on behalf of the subject of the sentence, as in *Umem da plivam* ‘I can swim’.

In contrast, we can expect that similar constraints do not apply to HCS AUX use, because situations can be habitually, characteristically or sporadically repeated regardless of what role the syntactic subject of a sentence has in them.

The findings of the corpus studies confirmed these expectations, at least with regard to *znati*. Even if we exclude all generic sentences and sentences with inanimate subjects (all discussed in the previous chapter), we encounter a considerable number (7% in both the CNC and the OCBT) of HCS AUX *znati* occurrences where the thematic role of the syntactic subject is other than agent. In most of these cases, the thematic role could be said to be that of experiencer (as in (48), (72) or (73)), while in some other cases it could be labelled as recipient (74), undergoer (75), patient (76) and possessor (77).<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> I am applying the theory of thematic roles loosely according to Croft (1991).

<sup>18</sup> I recognise that the labelling of the thematic roles could be very different from mine.

- (72) *Znao sam osjetiti da nas drugi s topline gledaju kako se slažemo i funkcioniramo kao obitelj...* (CNC GK9651\_38 3232)

‘**I would (often) sense** that others were watching warmly how we fit together and function as a family...’

- (73) *Vrlo često znam čuti ljude kako smatraju da će s ekonomskim razvitkom ostvariti svakojaki boljitak.* (CNC GK9652\_71 3280)

‘I very often **hear people** say that with economical development they will realise all kinds of improvement.’

- (74) *Znao bih dobiti i po sto buketa.* (CNC N151\_26 10494)

‘**I would (sometimes) receive** as many as a hundred bouquets.’

- (75) *Znala sam dobivati batine i kada bih na treningu izgubila od momaka koji su tri-četiri godine stariji od mene.* (CNC N145\_22 7519)

‘**I would be beaten up** also when I lost at the practice against boys that were three-four years older than me.’

- (76) *Često sam znao biti optužen za nešto što i nisam napravio...* (CNC GK9634\_k01 2471)

‘Often **I would be accused** of something that I actually hadn’t done...’

- (77) *Poslije izvjesnog vremena vratila bi se, znala bi pri tom imati i modricu ispod oka...* (CNC me981125\_c03 1389)

‘After a while she would return, and **she would (often) have** a bruise under her eye...’

- (78) *U hrvatskim filmovima koji se dotiču Domovinskog rata često znamo biti iznervirani opširnim iznošenjem činjenica o agresiji Srbije na Hrvatsku...* (CNC hf12\_97 41634)

‘With Croatian films that concern the Homeland War, **we are often irritated** by the extensive presentation of facts about the aggression of Serbia on Croatia...’

The use of HCS AUX *znati* with main verbs denoting thematic roles other than agent – experiencer, undergoer, patient, recipient – obviously indicates an expansion of the meaning of *znati*. The original meaning of mental ability is naturally incompatible with the aforementioned thematic roles, because these are situations that cannot require skill or mental ability.

Further, sentences (32) and (75) are interesting because they refer to events that are highly negative from the point of view of the syntactic subject. That seems to constitute additional evidence that HCS AUX use is categorically different from the mental ability meaning of *znati* and *um(j)eti*.

## 2.11 HCS AUX and markers of exceptionality

Many occurrences of HCS AUX contain what I have decided to call “markers of exceptionality”. This category comprises (but is not limited to) the words/expressions *i*, *čak*, *čak i* (all three translate as *even*, or *too*, *also*, *as much as*, etc.) and *također* ‘also’. What is common for all these expressions is that they in some way augment the meaning of the sentence. Sentences (18), (74), (79) and (80) fall within this group.

- (79) *Osebujnošću i britkošću svojih formulacija Kraus je **znao iznenaditi** i čitatelje navikle na lucidnost velikih aforističara...* (CNC zmegac\_b 137381)  
 ‘With the peculiarity and sharpness of his formulations, Kraus **would/could surprise even** readers accustomed to the lucidity of great aphorists...’
- (80) *On je čak **znao tući** svoga oca.* (CNC GK9629\_k01 4768)  
 ‘He even **used to beat** his father.’

In most cases, the speaker/writer conveys to the hearer/reader something that is emphasised as out-of-ordinary, exceptional or superseding expectations in one way or another. This “exceptionality” is very clearly visible in (80) (to beat up one’s father). The negative connotation of the sentence makes it obvious that the meaning of *znati* is purely HCS and does not even overlap with skill/ability.

Often the exceptionality is further emphasised by various adverbials of measurement or quantity, as in sentences (81), (82) and (83) below.

- (81) *...pa su u jednom krevetu **znala ležati i po dva bolesnika**...* (CNC delorko 42361)  
 ‘so sometimes two patients **would lie** in one bed...’
- (82) *Njih **se znalo nakupiti i po dvjesto četrdeset do dvjesto pedeset**, i tada im zaista postaje tijesno...* (OCBT B/KD/ID/89)  
 ‘As many as 240-250 of them **would gather**, and then it would really become crowded...’
- (83) *Sa drugom Raškom Radovićem ... **umeo je da odluta i po petnaestak kilometara daleko od kuće u potrazi za izazovima**.* (<<http://www.politika.co.yu/ilustro/2300/3.htm>>)  
 ‘With (his) friend Raško Radović ... **he would wander off as far as 15 kilometres** from the house, searching for challenges.’

We already briefly discussed in chapter 2.7 adverbials of (extended) duration. Many of them are very similar to the adverbials described here, except that they belong to the domain of temporal, not spatial or numeric relations. In (84) we see a combination of *i* and an adverbial of (extended) duration. In sentences (85), (86), (87) and (88) the adverbials of (extended) duration act as markers of exceptionality on their own.

- (84) *...koristila sam Edin atelijer samo preko ljeta kad **bi on znao i po četiri mjeseca provesti** slikajući na moru.* (CNC N150\_18 14375)  
 ‘...I used Edo’s atelier only during the summer when he **could spend** up to four months painting at the sea.’
- (85) *Satima sam ga **znala promatrati** kako radi svoje emisije.* (CNC mucalo\_sboji 55796)  
 ‘For hours **I used to watch** him do his broadcasts.’
- (86) *Po pet sati **sam znala čekati**, pod granatama.* (OCBT B/MV/RI/96)  
 ‘**I would (sometimes) wait for five hours**, under shelling.’
- (87) *Po čitavo prije ili poslijepodne **znali su oni razgovarati**, a da nikad ničim nijesu dotakli se samih sebe i onoga što ih je vezalo.* (OCBT B/BA/M/96):  
 ‘They **could spend an entire morning or afternoon conversing**, without ever discussing themselves or what they had in common.’
- (88) ZgBgA11 (Bg6)  
 [A and B are talking about B’s neighbour. (A has never seen him.) A: What is he like?  
 B: He <BE> extremely boring. **He <TALK>** about his cats for hours.  
*On je vrlo dosadan. Ume da priča o svojim mačkama satima.*

Sometimes the word *i* marks an exception from a general tendency<sup>19</sup>, as in (70) and (89).

<sup>19</sup> Finnish features a similar use of mental ability marker *osata*: *Tufi osaa käskystä istua, tulla luokse ja antaa sorkkaa... Tosin jos se on jotain päättänyt, se **osaa olla** itsepäininkin* (Helsingin Sanomat 8.9.2003 p. B1) ‘Tufi [a pet pig] can sit down when told to, come to you and offer his hoof... But if he has put his mind on something, he **can be** stubborn, too.’

- (89) *Jeste li pobjednik ili gubitnik? Pobjednik. Znao sam i izgubiti, ali češće sam dobivao.* (CNC N147\_16 22755)

‘Are you a winner or a loser? A winner. **I would also lose sometimes**, but more often I would win.’

Since I don’t have a precise definition for the category of “markers of exceptionality”, I cannot give exact statistical figures on their frequency in HCS AUX sentences. However, more than 10 percent of the occurrences in both the CNC and the OCBT involved one of the expressions *i, čak, čak i* or *takoder* in this function, and the figure will be between 15 and 20 percent if adverbials of extended duration are included.

## 2.12 Other SCB markers of habituality and how they can combine with the HCS auxiliaries

### *Lexical and semi-lexical markers of habituality*

We have seen in 2.2 that the meaning of the HCS auxiliaries is paraphrased in several dictionaries with the periphrastic construction *imati običaj* (or *imati naviku*) (translates literally as “to have a habit/custom”) or with the semi-lexical habitual auxiliary *običavati*. Both expressions are closely related to the adverbial *obično* ‘usually/normally’. Reference to them has been made also in 2.3, 2.6 and 2.8. In the Serbian SCB variant, *imati običaj* is more common than *običavati*. In the Croatian variant, apparently both are used.

We have seen in 2.2 that one segment of the meaning expressed by HCS AUX, that of habitual activity, is often paraphrased in dictionaries with *imati običaj* and *običavati*. It was also shown that the HCS meaning contains other as-

pects, which are not paraphrased with these two expressions. Accordingly, it seems that sporadicity is the main semantic notion differentiating HCS AUX from *imati običaj* and *običavati*. While these two expressions denote regular repetition of situations, i.e. habituality, HCS AUX commonly denotes possible or irregular repetition.

Could *imati običaj* and *običavati* be regarded as grammaticalised markers of habituality? Several factors speak against that: first, they are phonologically very heavy; second, their lexical meaning is very much overtly visible; and third, their frequency is very low. In the OCBT, *imati običaj* appears six times (see e.g. (90)), *imati naviku* once and *običavati* (see e.g. (91)) four times, as opposed to 109 occurrences of HCS AUX *znati*.

- (90) *Martin G. je imao običaj da ih par puta godišnje posjeti. I svaki bi se put čudio...* (OCBT E/LA/UZ/96)  
 ‘Martin G. **used to visit** them a couple of times a year. And every time he would wonder...’
- (91) *U Sarajevu nisu običavali dolaziti u sukob sa zakonom te su se tim lakše približavali samom vrhu društvene ljestvice.* (OCBT B/AM/GO/97)  
 ‘In Sarajevo **they weren’t in the habit of conflicting** with the law and so they moved closer to the very top of the social ladder.’

We have already seen in Table 4 that *imati običaj* was the most common translation used by the Belgrade informants in sentence BgB1. Possible reasons for this could be that the source sentence contained an explicit habitual marker *used to*, and that the activity referred to by the sentence wasn’t marked as sporadic or irregular in any way.

*SCB Past Habitual Conditional*

The use of the SCB Conditional to express past time habitual-ity (I will call such use *Past Habitual Conditional* or *PHC*) is well documented in all relevant works on SCB grammar and aspectology. (E.g. Stevanović 1974: 710-720, Katičić 1991: 68-69, Ružić 1943: 116-117.) Mønnesland (1984: 71-72) draws a parallel between SCB and English and looks at the mechanism that may have led to the use of conditional forms to denote habituality:

There is a clear parallelism between future/conditional and F-HAB:

- (52) a. If she drinks a glass of brandy she'll get drunk  
 b. When(ever) she drinks a glass of brandy she'll get drunk  
 c. If she drank a glass of brandy she would get drunk  
 d. When(ever) she drank a glass of brandy she would get drunk

This parallelism is striking in Serbo-Croatian, where the conjunction *kad* is used both in conditional and temporal sentences:

- (52) c'. Kad bi popila čašu rakije, napila bi se  
 d'. Kad god bi popila čašu rakije, napila bi se

In both Serbo-Croatian and English the function of the 'conditional' has been extended to general F-HAB sentences:

- (53) a. Every morning she would get drunk if she had the opportunity  
 b. Every morning she would get drunk when she was on holiday

I don't have any exact data on the frequency of PHC, but it is probably close to that of its English counterpart. In my opinion, it is a well-established marker of habituality with a

highly predictable meaning and contexts in which it occurs. Compared with the HCS auxiliaries, the meaning expressed by the PHC is much more regular, lawlike habituality, which is explained by its origins.<sup>20</sup>

*The roles of HCS AUX and SCB PHC in narratives*

The semantic and pragmatic differences between HCS AUX and PHC are most evident in narrative texts, especially ones that speak of concatenations of events which (the concatenations) were repeated in the past. HCS auxiliaries (or one of the expressions presented in the first part of 2.12) usually appear first, giving the general framework for a situation that sometimes used to occur in the past. After that, PHC is used – sometimes several forms one after another – to describe how a single situation, or a concatenation of events, would be internally construed. Examples (92), (93), (94) and (95) all illustrate this.<sup>21</sup>

(92) *Bojim se da sam halucinirala. **Znalo** mi **se to dogoditi** kad sam bila mala. Dobila bih naglu glavobolju i...*

(CNC drakulic\_gla 158691)

‘I’m afraid I was hallucinating. It **used to happen** to me when I was small. I would get a sudden headache and... ’

(93) *Ponekad, zbog velikog napora **znala sam biti** nervozna. Vikala bih na ljude, na bliske ljude, i to jako, visokofrekventno. (<<http://www.vecernji-list.hr/2001/12/24/Pages/javnais.html>>)*

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<sup>20</sup> PHC can also combine with adverbials of sporadicity, but the default meaning is nevertheless that of regular repetition.

<sup>21</sup> Example (90) indicates that imati običaj may in this respect behave similarly as the HCS AUX.

‘Sometimes, due to great strain, **I used to be** nervous. I would yell at people, at people close to me, and loud, in high frequency.’

- (94) ZgA20 (Zg6) [A: I will tell you what happened to me a few times when I was a child.]

A: When I <BE> small, I <**HAVE A HABIT**> <PLAY> on a building site near our home. I <CLIMB UP AND DOWN>, <RUN AROUND>. Sometimes I <NOT BE CAREFUL> and <STEP> on a nail or something. Then I <START TO CRY> and <RUN> home. My mother <CLEAN> the wound and <PUT> a plaster on it.

*Kad sam bila mala često **sam se znala igrati** na gradilištu blizu naše kuće. Pentrala sam se gore dolje, trčkarala uokolo. Ponekad sam bila i neoprezna pa bih stala na čavao ili nešto slično. Tada bih zaplakala i otrčala kući. Moja bi mama očistila ranu i stavila flaster na nju.*

- (95) *Ruski Ivan je u petak uveče bivao osobito aktivan. Voleo je njeno okupano sveže telo... **Znao je da bude** goropadan i u nedelju poslepodne kada bi prilegli posle ručka. Tada bi je ljubio, maltene sisao pod pazuhom, po vratu i za ušima, po čemu je Glavata Nata shvatila da se Ruski pali na miris parfema. (<<http://www.rastko.org.yu/rastko-hu/WebsajtStori/AAAmirisi.htm>>)*

‘Ivan the Russian used to be particularly active on Friday evenings. He loved her newly bathed body...

He also often **went wild** on Sunday afternoons when they would lie down after lunch. Then he would kiss her, almost suck her under the armpit, on the neck and behind the ears, from which Bigheaded Nata gathered that the Russian was aroused by the smell of perfume.

In (95) there are three types of markers of habituality in one narrative. First, a sg3 past tense of verb *bivati*, which is a kind of a habitual counterpart of the verb *biti* ‘to be’. Then, HCS AUX *znati*, which is parallel to *bivati* in its narrative

function, both marking a factual statement of the following type: “during an extended period of time, situation X was often actual when certain temporal conditions (i.e. a certain day of the week) were fulfilled”. Now that the reader already knows that a certain situation was actual on more than one occasion, with the conjunction *tada* ‘then’ the narrator enters “one” of the situations, using PHC.

In (96), the use of HCS AUX *znati* after a PHC form is somewhat unusual, but not in conflict with my hypothesis. According to an informant, HCS AUX could not be used in place of PHC in the first clause, but it would be perfectly normal to substitute the HCS AUX with PHC in the second clause.

(96) *Kad bih rekao da sam Libanonac, znali su mi govoriti.* “O, čuli smo mi za Gadafi!” (CNC me980211\_m01 2932)

‘When I would say I was Lebanese, they used to tell me: “Oh, we have heard of Gaddafi!”’

In (97) we see a HCS AUX *znati* in the main clause and HCS AUX *znati* combined with PHC in the dependant temporal clause. This actually does runs against my generalisation that HCS AUX, even when combined with PHC (see next section), always refers to habituality as a whole and not to a single situation within the series of repeated situations. Also the occurrence of two HCS AUX forms in a single sentence/text seems unusual, which it would not be for PHC. Also sentence (98) constitutes counter-evidence to my theory, since it contains a dependent “*kada*-clause” with HCS AUX *znati*, this time not combined with PHC. Since my extensive searches in the corpora did not produce any other similar sentences, they can be regarded as deviations that do not void my generalisation.

- (97) *Pokojni Branko Bošnjak često je znao reći, kad bi na površinu znao isplivati taj problem: Filozofi su dobri ljudi.* (CNC BRAJICIC\_FIL 358304)

‘The late Branko Bošnjak often **used to say**, when that problem **would come up**: Philosophers are good people.’

- (98) *Kad su se Aki i Hus znali udaljivati, ja sam ih zbližavao i mislim da bez mene Parnog valjka ne bi bilo.* (CNC N154\_21 7478)

‘When Aki and Hus **would move away [from each other]**, I used to bring them closer together, and I think [the rock band] Parni Valjak would not exist without me.’

### *Combination of HCS AUX and PHC*

The SCB Past Habitual Conditional and the habitual *znati* can also be combined, effectively merged into a single structure. In this case, *znati* acts formally as the main verb for the Conditional auxiliary *bi(h)/biste/bismo*. I am not aware of any discussion of this phenomenon in the literature, but dictionaries do provide a few examples:

- (99) *Mnogo puta znao bi biti u društvu svojih dragih osobito veseo.* (RSKNJ: znati)

‘Often **he would be** particularly cheerful in the company of his beloved ones.’

- (100) *Ne očajavaj, oče! – znala bi ga tješiti Zejna.* (RSKJ: znati)

‘Don’t despair, father! – Zejna **would comfort** him.’

While the Belgrade questionnaire did not produce a single occurrence in which habituality was marked simultaneously with HCS *znati* and the PHC, the Zagreb questionnaire produced one:

(101) ZgA9. (Zg4) [A and B are talking about B's previous home town.]

B: It <BE> very nice, but sometimes <BE> rather cold there.

*Bilo je lijepo, ali **znalo bi biti** i dosta hladno.*

Queries in the two corpora revealed a clear asymmetry in relation to the frequency of HCS *znati* combined with PHC. While the OCBT provided only two occurrences (3% or 2/75 out of all past time reference occurrences of Habitual *znati*), the CNC yielded a total of 38 sentences (9,8% or 38/388). In addition to sentences (74), (77) and (84), below are two examples from the corpora:

(102) *Veselje zbog kuhanoga graha **znala bi** na samom kraju **pokvariti** granata.* (CNC mucalo\_sboji 81101)

'The joy over cooked beans **would** eventually **be spoiled** by a grenade.'

(103) *O njegovom ocu nije dala progovoriti. 'Benjamin je samo moj', **znala bi reći**.* (OCBT PU/ZE/97)

'She would not allow discussion about his father. "Benjamin is mine alone", **she would say**.'

It would be logical to assume that *um(j)eti* could also be combined with the Past Habitual Conditional, but I have been virtually unable to find such occurrences from any sources. The only two occurrences I have found – (104) and (105) – are taken from the Internet:

[From an obituary]

(104) *Pun razumevanja za druge, **umeo bi i ovako da se našali**: "I sebi bih mnogo štošta zamerio... da nisam tolerantan."* (<<http://www.energoprojekt.co.yu/home/list/9906/08zika.htm>>, accessed in April 2003, page no longer available)

‘Full of understanding towards the others, he **would sometimes joke** by saying: I would condemn many things about myself... if I were not tolerant.’”

- (105) *Kada bi djaci pominjali Madjarsku, profesorka Nikačević **bi umela da pripreti**...* (<[http://www.geocities.com/topla\\_voda/dobrovoljno.htm](http://www.geocities.com/topla_voda/dobrovoljno.htm)>, accessed in April 2003, page no longer available)

‘When the pupils would mention Hungary, Mrs. Nikacevic **would threaten** them:...’

In my opinion this is very weak proof that HCS AUX *um(j)eti* is regularly used in combination with PHC, since these occurrences could be merely innovations of two language users. In any case, such use must be rare at its best, because a preliminary scan of over a hundred occurrences of HCS AUX *um(j)eti* (all sources combined) only yielded the two examples shown above. For instance, 33 occurrences of HCS AUX form *umeo* on the website of the Belgrade daily newspaper *Politika* did not contain any with PHC, whereas 15% of all occurrences HCS AUX form *znavo* in the CNC were in combination with PHC.

## 2.13 Comparison of the two HCS auxiliaries

Evidence from the two corpora indicates that in the Bosnian SCB variant, *znati* is clearly the more common one of the two HCS auxiliaries. In the Croatian SCB variant, HCS AUX *umjeti* seems to be even rarer. The Belgrade questionnaire study does, however, show that *umeti* has a strong standing as a HCS marker in the Serbian SCB variant and that the two HCS markers in that variant are largely interchangeable.

Due to the lack of sufficient material from the Serbian SCB variant, I am, however, unable to assert with certainty

to what extent some of the observations regarding HCS AUX *znati* made in this chapter apply to HCS AUX *um(j)eti*. Some features, such as use in sentences with no subject, are obviously shared by the two auxiliaries, but I have virtually no evidence of HCS AUX use of *um(j)eti* in other than 3<sup>rd</sup> person, or with other thematic roles than that of agent<sup>22</sup>.

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<sup>22</sup> As we saw in Table 1, all (three) HCS AUX answers to BgA6 were with *znati*, not *umeti*.

## 3

### ANALYSIS OF HCS AUX AS A TMA MARKER

In this chapter I will discuss the semantic content of HCS AUX as a construction belonging to the domain of TMA (tense, mood/modality and aspect) grams. I will use typological studies of aspect and modality as a basis for my discussion.

#### **3.1 Analysis of HCS AUX in light of theories of aspect**

In several places in chapter 2, I have already indicated that HCS AUX denotes sporadicity, or irregular repetition of situations, rather than regular habituality. I will now look at how this characterisation fits into theories of habituality, which is usually considered to belong to the domain of aspect.

Comrie (1976: 3) offers the following general definition of aspect: “aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation”. In his classification, habituality is a subcategory of the imperfective aspect. According to Bybee (1985: 21), aspect refers exclusively to the action or state described by the verb. For her (1985: 141), habituality is one of the more specific functions within the imperfective

aspect, others including continuous and durative. Dahl (1985) analysed the following categories under aspect: perfective:imperfective, progressive, and a group that he labelled “habituals and generics”.

In accordance with the B&D approach discussed in 1.2, it is irrelevant from the viewpoint of this study whether habituality is a subcategory of the imperfective aspect or not. In fact, it is virtually unimportant whether habituality is even seen as aspectuality or not. What is clear is that HCS AUX seems to be close to a universal gram-type often labelled as “habitual”, and that is the main issue of interest to me in this section.

### *Definition of habituality*

Comrie (1976: 27-28) makes a distinction between habituality and iterativity (which can be referred to with a perfective form and involves a limited number of repeated occurrences which can be viewed as a single situation). He says that habituals “describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period”. According to Comrie, the question of what constitutes a characteristic feature of an extended period of time (rather than an accidental situation) is conceptual, rather than linguistic. Therefore it depends on the language user whether (s)he will apply a habitual form to express something that was repeated three, five, ten or fifty times.

The definition of habituality taken above from Comrie’s *Aspect* (1976) is much quoted in TMA-related literature, but his book on tense also provides a useful description. Comrie (1985: 39-40) writes that “habitual meaning lies on the bound-

ary of the three systems of tense, aspect and mood” and says that “[s]entences with habitual aspectual meaning refer not to a sequence of situations recurring at intervals, but rather to a habit, a characteristic situation that holds at all times”.

Bybee et al. (1994: 127) write that “[h]abitual situations are customarily repeated on different occasions” and quote Comrie (1976), saying that his “definition is well put”. In his description, Comrie does, however, go beyond the definition given Bybee et al.:

Secondly, a situation can be referred to by a habitual form without there being any iterativity at all. In a sentence like *the Temple of Diana used to stand at Ephesus*, there is no necessary implication that there were several occasions on each of which this temple stood at Ephesus, with intervening periods when it did not; with this particular sentence, the natural interpretation is precisely that the temple stood at Ephesus throughout a certain single period, without intermission. (1976: 27)

This analysis by Comrie is surprising, considering that he sees habituality as one of the two main sub-meanings of imperfective, the other one being continuousness. His discussion seems to be dominated by the specific uses of the English construction *used to* + INF (which he, by the way, calls “the Habitual Aspect”). I will restrict my definition of habituality to situations that are repeated on separate occasions.<sup>23</sup>

It may, however, be worthwhile to stop to wonder whether there could be a universal semantic link between habitual

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<sup>23</sup> Tatevosov (forthcoming) suggests that habituales are related to the “plurality of episodic situations”, and quotes Verkuyl’s (1993: 325-327; 1995) view that habituality involves “unbounded pluralisation of temporal intervals” associated with corresponding episodic clauses. According to Dahl (1985: 97), habitual grams (“categories” in his terminology) indicate that what is expressed in a sentence took place in the majority of occasions that the sentence describes.

meaning and the seemingly idiosyncratic meaning “was, but is no more” expressed by the English construction *used to* + INF.<sup>24</sup> It seems to be a potential conversational implicature of any utterance in which a past habitual form is used because if the habituality described in the sentence was still actual, the speaker could use a present tense form, unless there was a specific reason (e.g. harmony of tense forms, reference to a particular time period in the past while the present situation is irrelevant) for using a past tense form. Being a tense-specific implicature that is not realised in all habitual grams, “was, but is no more” cannot be considered an element of habitual meaning *per se*.

Several sentences in our sources included adverbials such as *prije* ‘before’ or *ranije* ‘earlier’, indicating that the habitual situation referred to by HCS AUX no longer is actual. In (13), this is very clearly the case since the agent of the action referred to by *znati* no longer is alive. If “was, but is no more” were a sufficiently common implicature/inference, it could perhaps through further grammaticalisation start to make its way to form a part of the conventional meaning of HCS AUX. This hypothesis is supported by the results in Table 19, which show that informants found past time form of HCS AUX unsuitable in a sentence that refers to a habitual situation that extends to the present moment.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> According to Mønnesland (1983: 59), also Czech “habitual verbs” can denote “stative habitual” meaning, ie. a situation which occurred in the past but involved no iteration. Comrie (1976: 27) quotes a similar example from Russian: *ja ego znavaľ*. Dahl (1985: 102) says that there may be a connection between past habitual and remote past time reference; he, too, makes reference to Czech “iterative” forms.

<sup>25</sup> My original impetus for looking at this question came from Ivić, who suggests (1995: 43-44) that the PHC is also unsuitable in such sentences, because the PHC is used for “evocative” (*evokativno*) as opposed to matter-of-fact (*faktografsko*) expression of actions repeated in the past.

Source sentence: He used to visit her every Thursday, which he, by the way, still does today.	Average score (scale: 0-3)
On je nju svakog četvrtka posećivao, što, uostalom, i dan-danas čini. (Ipfv. main verb)	2.44%
Umeo je da je poseti svakog četvrtka, što, uostalom, i dan-danas čini. (HCS AUX umeti + Pfv. main verb)	0.95%
On bi nju svakog četvrtka posetio, što, uostalom, i dan-danas čini. (PHC + Pfv. main verb)	1.41%
Imao je običaj da je poseti svakog četvrtka, što, uostalom, i dan-danas čini. (Semi-lexical expression imati običaj + Pfv. main verb)	2.59%

Table 20. Summary of answers to question BgB4. (Scale: 3 – fully suitable translation, 2 – fairly suitable translation, 1 – unsuitable translation, 0 – “You can’t say that”)

I have also found one example in which *znati* actually does not seem to refer to any sort of plurality or repetition of situations, but rather to a past continuous situation, characteristic of a period of time, which is no longer actual:

(106) *Danas u gradu ne postoji nijedna košara za smeće, iako ih je u gradu ranije znalo biti.* (<<http://www.rama.co.ba/smece.htm>>, accessed in April 2003, page no longer available)

‘Today there’s not a single trashcan in the city, although **they used to exist** in the city before.’

An interpretation of (106) provided by a native speaker of Serbian is that trash cans existed in the city before *here and there*, that is, perhaps continuously in temporal, but not a spatial sense. This interpretation would therefore suggest that the speaker metaphorically applied the sporadic meaning denoted by *znati* to a spatial instead of a temporal dimension.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Such a metaphorical extension would seem to go against the categorical metaphor SPACE-TO-TIME presented by Heine et al (1991), according to which the first category (space) forms the metaphorical vehicle and the second (time) the metaphorical topic.

An alternative analysis is that from the point of view of the speaker, the sporadicity of the previous existence of trashcans was nevertheless temporal, if he concretely came across them every now and then in the city. Yet one more option is to assume that trashcans had existed in the city before from time to time. In any case, because (106) is an isolated example, we cannot conclude that the use of *znati* or *um(j)eti* as HCS AUX to refer to continuous situations is generally acceptable.

### *Habitual grams in a typological perspective*

Bybee et al. (1994: 125, cf. Comrie 1985: 39) say that habitual is “sometimes expressed by a more general imperfective or present gram and sometimes has its own expression”. In my opinion, this formulation should be made more precise. Namely, if we look at a habitual sentence containing a general gram, such as the English Present in *That lady usually buys a newspaper at this newsstand*, the habitual meaning is actually not expressed by the Present form *buys*. Rather, it only allows the presence of the adverbial *usually*, which carries the habitual meaning. (Note that e.g. the Progressive would normally not allow the presence of *usually*.) In contrast, a specific habitual form, such as the English *used to* or the Swedish *bruka* actually carries the habitual meaning, instead of merely being applicable in a habitual sentence. We have seen in chapter 2 an abundance of examples in which the HCS auxiliaries *znati* and *um(j)eti* carry the habitual meaning in sentences that do not contain any adverbials of plurality. That unambiguously shows that HCS AUX belongs to the second group of grams discussed in this paragraph.

According to Bybee et al. (1994: 151-160), habitual is highly affected by tense. Their corpus of 94 languages contained

19 cases (in 17 languages) of overt grams which express habitual in all tenses, 10 cases (in 9 languages) of specifically past habitual grams, and only two specifically present habituais, both cases of zero expression. They say that specific, overt grams coding habitual meaning were much less common in their data than other aspectual grams of similar specificity of meaning (progressive or anterior grams).

Bybee and Dahl (1989: 55) do not list habitual as one of the six major gram-types, but do mention it among other gram-types, saying that their surveys turned it up in several languages. Thieroff (2000: 295-297) lists six languages with fully grammaticalised habitual categories among his sample of 40 European languages. Thieroff adds that there are weakly grammaticalised habitual constructions in other languages and actually omits e.g. Swedish *bruka* and German *pflügen*, as well as the SCB Past Habitual Conditional.

I have earlier suggested that a specific characteristic of HCS AUX is that it denotes sporadic (or occasional) repetition of situations rather than regular habituality. None of the works mentioned in this chapter discuss sporadicity as a related category or a subcategory of habituality.

On the one hand, sporadicity seems to differentiate HCS AUX from the typical habitual grams described in the literature. For instance, Dahl (1985: 97) says that “the cases where HAB is typically used are those in which the adverb *usually* is possible in English”, making reference to those questionnaire sentences that turned up the highest number of grams coded as habituais. Most of those sentences contain the adverbial *usually*, and my conclusion based on all available information is that SCB informants would not use HCS AUX in those sentences. One SCB native informant said she would probably use PHC in Dahl’s past time reference sentences and the

regular Present in the other sentences. According to her, HCS AUX does not go well together with *usually*, because it typically refers to something that is not the rule, but an exception or perhaps one of several options<sup>27</sup>.

On the other hand, HCS AUX still largely fits within the standard definitions of habitual grams. It does denote situations that are “customarily repeated on different occasions”, it does express “plurality of episodic situations” and often refers to something that is a “characteristic feature of an extended period of time rather than an accidental situation”.

In conclusion, though HCS AUX does fall within the boundaries of habituality as it is commonly described in the literature, its core meaning clearly deviates from the meaning of the most typical representatives of the universal habitual gram-type.

### **3.2 Analysis of HCS AUX in light of theories of modality**

Although we have seen above that HCS AUX could be described as an aspectual construction, it may well also combine semantic elements of modality. Such a combination of the two domains would be fully consistent with the B&D approach. An attempt to place HCS AUX strictly in one of the two categories would be artificial and would not contribute in any way to the semantic description. (Cf. Lindstedt 2001: 770 on what he calls the “substantialist approach”.)

This section primarily relates to the component of HCS AUX meaning that we have so far called “characteristic”. It

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<sup>27</sup> This comment relates to Dahl’s questionnaire sentence 18: “Q: What your brother usually DO after breakfast? A: He WRITE letters” and related sentences. See also section 2.11 and sentences (70) and (89). The informant described a possible meaning of HCS AUX as “exception from a rule”.

seems to have something to do with modality, since it refers to a possibility that something will happen, as in (18) or questionnaire sentence BgB2 (see Table 2). I will look at both dynamic and epistemic modality as possible notional categories into which these meanings could fit.

### *General remarks*

According to Palmer (2001: 1), modality is closely associated with tense and aspect in that all three categories are categories of the clause and are generally, but not always, marked within the verbal complex. He writes that all three are concerned with the event or situation that is reported by the utterance. Palmer says modality is concerned with the status of the proposition that describes the event.

Scholars have used different terminology for dividing modality into subtypes. Palmer (2001: 8-9) has separated epistemic, evidential, deontic and dynamic modality; Bybee et al. (1994: 177-180) agent-oriented, speaker-oriented and epistemic modality and Sweetser (1990: 49) root and epistemic modality. I find Palmer's definition of epistemic modality useful: with epistemic modality speakers express their judgments about the factual status of the proposition.

In chapter 2.1 I have already categorised the "mental ability" use of *znati* and *um(j)eti* as a subcategory of dynamic modality under Palmer's classification.<sup>28</sup> I will further clarify the SCB expressions of dynamic modality with the help of Bybee (1988) who argued that the meaning of English *can* went through the stages shown in (107):

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<sup>28</sup> Bybee et al. (1994) classify ability under "agent-oriented modality".

(107) *Can* predicates that

- (i) mental enabling conditions exist in the agent
  - (ii) enabling conditions exist in the agent
  - (iii) enabling conditions exist
- for the completion of the main predicate situation  
(after Bybee et. al. 1994: 192)

In modern SCB, meaning (i) (mental ability or skill) is usually expressed with auxiliaries *znati* or *um(j)eti*, whereas (ii) (general, i.e. mental/physical ability) and (iii) (root possibility) are normally expressed with *moći*. The physical ability use was tested in the Belgrade questionnaire with the following query:

BgA10. [Talking about a weightlifter.]

He <CAN> <LIFT> 150 kilos!

The most common response to BgA10 was *On može da podigne 150 kila!* – the modal auxiliary *moći* was used by more than 80% of the informants while the rest did not use any marker of modality (e.g. *On diže 150 kg*).<sup>29</sup>

In contrast, English mostly uses only one modal (*can*) to cover the three types of ability, while e.g. Finnish has three in frequent use (*osata* for mental ability, *pystyä* for physical ability and *voida* for general ability) and several more that are archaic or otherwise infrequent as markers of ability (*ta-ittaa*, *kyetä*, *saattaa*). Palmer (2001: 77-8) also illustrates how the number of distinctions made within the field of ability can vary greatly from language to language. He notes that some

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<sup>29</sup> I interpret general ability somewhat differently from Bybee et al., who (1994: 190) see sentences such as *I know how to shoot a crossbow* as expressions of general ability. I acknowledge that such capabilities, which involve both mental and physical requirements, could be referred to by SCB *znati* and *um(j)eti*. However, when purely physical ability is concerned, *znati* and *um(j)eti* are not applicable.

European languages, French for example, make a distinction between mental and other types of ability. SCB obviously falls into the same group of languages in that respect.

### *Modality of HCS AUX*

I will now discuss whether some occurrences of HCS AUX could be seen as expressing general ability or root possibility, as described in (107) (ii) and (iii). I will also look at a possible connection to epistemic modality. In her discussion of modal verbs as a means of expressing epistemic modality, Trbojević-Milošević (1999: 255-272) lists *umeti* as a “peripheral epistemic modal” alongside *trebati* ‘to need’, *smeti* ‘may, to be allowed’ and *hteti* ‘will, to want’. She says that *umeti* usually expresses ability and therefore falls under root modality (roughly equivalent to Palmer’s *event modality*, which comprises deontic and dynamic modality), more specifically dynamic modality. She then goes on to explain that *umeti* (and *hteti*) can also behave in a similar way as the auxiliary *moći* ‘can’ in a “‘sporadic’, existential use”:

(108) Ta infekcija **ume** jako da se pogorša u vlažnim uslovima.

(109) Ta infekcija **hoće** jako da se pogorša u vlažnim uslovima. (razg.)

(110) Ta infekcija **može** jako da se pogorša u vlažnim uslovima.

‘That infection can get much worse in wet conditions’

Trbojević-Milošević says that since will, willing and skill are related predominantly to animate (and primarily human) subjects, (108) (109) are examples of a metaphoric extension, personification of inanimate subjects. She interprets the use

of *umeti* and *hteti* in (108) and (109) as borderline epistemic modality and offers the following logical paraphrases for it: “*There is **occasionally** the possibility that...*” and “*My premises don’t prevent me from **occasionally** concluding that...*”

Although analogy or metaphor obviously has played a part in the semantic development of *umeti*, I believe it is incorrect to claim that (108) in itself represents personification of an inanimate subject. I will attempt to demonstrate below that (108) as an expression of root or epistemic possibility is an implicature of the HCS meaning, and not a metaphoric extension of the mental ability meaning.

According to Trbojević-Milošević, the English-language equivalent of *umeti* in this use is always *can*. However, the equivalent of HCS AUX in past tense sentences is almost always something else (adverbials *often* or *sometimes*, the Habitual Conditional, or *used to*). As to the present tense, *can* is often the equivalent but not always – see e.g. sentences (24), (39), (49), (69) and (73).

I agree with Trbojević-Milošević’s paraphrasing of the meaning of *umeti* in (108) with the adverbial *occasionally*, since it corresponds to my claim that HCS AUX expresses sporadic repetition of situations.

Does the “sporadic, existential use” of *umeti* (and thereby of *znati*) fall within root possibility as dynamic modality, or does it fall under epistemic modality? The connection between the latter two categories is well known and Bybee et al. (1994: 176-242) have argued that epistemic modality has its origins in dynamic modality.<sup>30</sup>

In my opinion, sentences such as (108), (109) and (110) illustrate well the borderline between dynamic and epistemic

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<sup>30</sup> See also Sweetser’s (1990: 49-75) excellent account on the close relation of root modality [including ability] and epistemic modality.

modality. I believe that the effect of plurality of situations may help to analyse such borderline sentences in some cases. Actually, all three sentences in some sense present a rule, tendency or a generally existing possibility. They are not expressions of actual epistemic modality<sup>31</sup>, but rather root possibility that exists beyond the limits of a given situation. The speaker does not present a judgment about the factual status of the proposition “that infection gets worse in wet conditions”, but rather, (s)he states as a fact that there is a general (or root) possibility that the infection gets worse in wet conditions.

This leads us to a small, yet significant difference between *moći* and *umeti* in (108) and (110). The use of *znati* and *um(j)eti* to denote root possibility always requires some sort of plurality of situations or law-likeness. In contrast, *moći* can well be used to refer to actual epistemic possibility that does not involve plurality of situations or law-likeness, as in (111). A similar use of *znati* or *um(j)eti* would not be possible – see (112).

(111) Ta infekcija **može** da se pogorša večeras.

‘That infection may get worse tonight.’

(112) \*Ta infekcija **ume/zna** da se pogorša večeras.

Further, (108) could be paraphrased as “according to the information that I possess, an infection of that sort regularly/ occasionally/sometimes gets worse in wet conditions”. In comparison, (110) would be paraphrased as “according to the information that I possess, there is a possibility that an infection of that sort may get worse in wet conditions”. The crucial difference is that the use of *umeti* implicates some sort or knowledge of empiric proof, while *moći* merely states the existence

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<sup>31</sup> See Palmer’s definition of epistemic modality above.

of a possibility, not giving any reasons for it.<sup>32</sup> Indeed Comrie (1985: 40) writes that “[h]abituality can also be modal, since it involves induction from limited observations about the actual world to a generalisation about possible worlds”.

The paraphrase given for sentence (108) in the previous paragraph stresses the importance of understanding the interaction between modality and habituality, which is highly relevant for the topic of this chapter and this study as a whole. The root possibility interpretation of *umeti* in (108) and similar sentences is closely tied to the habituality meaning: the existence of a root possibility for X to happen is a precondition for X to happen habitually (or sporadically).

Sentences (108) and (110) could be practically identical from a pragmatic viewpoint, if the speaker’s intention was, for example, to warn the listener that the her/his infection could get worse if (s)he left the house because it was raining outside.<sup>33</sup> In this sense, actual single-situation epistemic possibility would be a conversational implicature of (108). I maintain, however, that it cannot be regarded as a grammaticalised meaning of HCS AUX *znati* or *um(j)eti*.

In conclusion, I submit that habituality is the primary (or core) meaning of the HCS auxiliaries, although theories

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<sup>32</sup> This hypothesis was tested with a native speaker, who, asked to assess whether there is any difference in meaning between sentences (108) and (110), said there was a small difference, namely that (108) would be based on “previous experience” and would indicate that out of a given number of situations described by the sentence (infection under wet conditions), the activity described by the main verb (worsening) would take place in a certain percentage. On the other hand, (110) would simply indicate that there is a possibility for the worsening to take place. The informant said, however, that the two sentences practically have the same meaning.

<sup>33</sup> In that case, (108) would seem to be an even more effective assertion because it would imply that the speaker’s claim was backed with empirical proof.

of modality are highly relevant for a deeper understanding of the semantics and pragmatics of the various uses of HCS AUX. Root possibility is a conventional implicature (which may or may not be relevant in a particular occurrence) of the primary HCS AUX meaning, while epistemic possibility is a possible conversational implicature.

The English auxiliary *can* actually provides an interesting comparison. Palmer (1988: 113-117) discusses two uses of *can* that resemble HCS AUX. First, he says that *can* is used to “indicate characteristic behaviour of people, often in a derogatory sense”, as in *He can tell awful lies* or *She can be very unkind at times*. Palmer says this “may have something in common” with another use, which he calls “existential”, as in *Lions can be dangerous*. According to Palmer, *can* in this use expresses ‘some’ or ‘sometimes’.

In an earlier version of Palmer (1988), the author suggested that the first use (e.g. *He can tell awful lies*) is related to the basic ability use in the same way as the “characteristic” use of *will* (e.g. *She’ll sit there for hours doing nothing*) is related to the basic volition use but claims that there is a difference in that *can* refers to “possible or sporadic action rather than habitual behaviour” and collocates with adverbials such as *at times* (Palmer 1974: 117-118).

## HCS AUX FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF GRAMMATICALISATION

In this chapter I will analyse HCS AUX in light of theories of grammaticalisation. I will first attempt to establish to what extent the HCS AUX use of *znati* and *um(j)eti* can be seen as grammaticalised, or a result of grammaticalisation. Then, I will try to provide possible explanations for the development of HCS auxiliaries from other uses of the lexemes *znati* and *um(j)eti*.

### 4.1 Definition of grammaticalisation

Hopper and Traugott (2003: xv) define grammaticalisation as “the change whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions and, once grammaticalised, continue to develop new grammatical functions”. According to Heine et al. (1991: 2), “[w]here a lexical unit or structure assumes a grammatical function, or where a grammatical unit assumes a more grammatical function, we are dealing with grammaticalization”. Lehmann (1995: 11) characterises grammaticalisation as “a

process which may not only change a lexical into a grammatical item, but may also shift an item from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status". Bybee et al. (1994: 4-5) employ the term *grammaticization* – pointing out that it is interchangeable with *grammaticalization*. They stress that their interest is not restricted to the transition between lexical and grammatical status, but rather in a long chain of developments which may be discussed under the rubrics of semantic, functional, grammatical and phonological changes.

## 4.2 Motivation of grammaticalisation

Heine et al. (1991: 27-30), arguing that concrete concepts are employed in order to describe less concrete phenomena, suggest that a major driving force behind grammaticalisation is problem solving – a need for presenting a certain grammatical function in discourse leads to the recruitment of a lexical form for the expression of this function.

Bybee et al. (1994: 297-300) take a very different stand, refusing to appeal to motivations or to functional teleology. According to them, one cannot claim that a language *needs* a particular gram-type because no gram-type is universal. Further, they say that two markers can arise to fulfil very similar communicative needs (Heine et. al (1991) do actually acknowledge this.) Third, they argue that inflectional markers are often redundant in context.

Hopper and Traugott (2003: 71) seem to side with the view of Bybee et al., saying that "the phenomena that give rise to language change are so complex that they will perhaps never be understood in enough detail for us to state precisely why a specific change occurred in the past or to predict when one will occur".

In the case of HCS AUX, it seems particularly problematic to claim that it would represent a gram that arises to fulfil a need – after all, we saw in 3.1 that the majority of the world’s languages don’t have specific habitual grams. Obviously, every language must have some means to denote habitual meaning, but they could be lexical, not necessarily grammatical expressions.

### 4.3 Mechanisms of semantic change

Heine et al. (1991) consider metaphorical transfer to be one of the main driving forces in the development of grammatical categories. They also discuss context-induced reinterpretation and metonymy as relevant mechanisms. Bybee et al. (1994) also stress the significance of metaphor and inference and additionally discuss generalisation and harmony. Hopper and Traugott (2003) mention reanalysis as the most important mechanism for grammaticalisation and also discuss at length pragmatic inferencing, metaphor and metonymy.

In sum, the major recent works on grammaticalisation use partly different terminology to analyse, describe and explain the mechanism of semantic change, but they all assign an important role to metaphor as well as to implicatures or inferencing. Significantly, they also share the view that semantic change and grammaticalisation are largely unidirectional (for counterexamples, see e.g. Hopper and Traugott 2003: 130-8), and similar in nature across languages.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Bybee et al. (1994: 14-15) employ the term “universal path”. Hopper and Traugott (2003: 6) provide a useful overview of various terminology, including “cline”, “pathway”, “continuum”, “grammaticalization channel” and “grammaticalization chain”.

## 4.4 Grammaticality of HCS AUX

### *Semantics, morphology and syntax*

...if we find two different uses of a given element, or two etymologically related elements, where one shows the effects of decategorialization and erosion whereas the other does not, then we can argue that the latter is less grammaticalized and then reconstruct a directionality from the latter to the former, rather than the other way around. (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 9)

Following the definition of grammaticalisation, I will attempt to determine the level of grammaticality of HCS AUX. I assume the position – supported by all abovementioned studies of grammaticalisation – that there is no clear cut-off point between lexical and grammatical items. According to Hopper and Traugott (2003: 7), most linguists would agree that there is a “cline of grammaticality” of the following type:

content item > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix

Three hypotheses form the basis for discussion in this section: that the use of *znati* and *um(j)eti* as auxiliaries denoting HCS meaning (HCS AUX) has developed from the mental ability use (MA AUX) of the same verbs; that HCS AUX is more grammatical than MA AUX; and that the HCS use has moved on along the grammaticalisation cline after it first appeared in SCB. Several differentiating factors between the two uses are relevant in this respect:

(113)

*1) Disappearance of contextual restraints and generalisation of meaning*

1a) Subject nounphrase with MA AUX is mainly confined to wilful/human referents, while HCS AUX

can take inanimate subjects and be used in constructions with no subject.

1b) In mental ability constructions, the subject has to have the thematic role of an agent with regard to the main verb. HCS auxiliaries can combine with other thematic roles.

## 2) Decategorisation

2a) *Znati* and *um(j)eti* as HCS auxiliaries have lost some of the typical verb-like features.

2b) HCS AUX can be seen as a member of a closed class more clearly than MA AUX.

I will now discuss each differentiating factor separately, in light of the aforementioned theories of grammaticalisation.

1a) This factor, discussed in 2.9, is perhaps the single most convincing factor that places the change from mental ability to HCS AUX use on universal clines of grammaticalisation. The fact that the HCS auxiliaries take inanimate subjects and even appear in sentences with no subjects indicates disappearance of contextual restraints and generalisation of meaning. It also correlates with a scale of “metaphorical abstraction” presented by Heine et al. (1991: 49), which leads from “person” through “object” to “activity”.

Heine (1993: 53-70) defines auxiliaries as linguistic items that cover some range of uses along a “Verb-to-TAM chain”. Heine assumes that all languages have such grammaticalisation chains – ones that are made up of a verbal/lexical structure at one end and of a grammatical marker of tense, aspect, modality, etc. at the other. Further, Heine (1993: 58-66) presents a 7-stage schema (A-G) of the Verb-to-TAM chain and corresponding developments such as desemanticisation, decategorialisation, clitisation and erosion. At Stage A, the verb has its full lexical meaning and at Stage G, the verb is purely a grammatical marker, reduced typically to a monosyl-

lable affix. In Heine's schema, one of the factors that separate Stage C items from Stage B items is the ability to take other subjects than wilful/human referents.

Bybee and Dahl (1989: 63-64) write that an "important correlate of the abstractness and generality of grammatical meaning is the absence of lexical and contextual restrictions on the occurrence of highly developed grams". According to them, "[l]exical verbs and auxiliary verbs in early stages of development often are restricted to sentences with certain types of subjects". Bybee and Dahl exemplify this with the case of English *want* and *will*: "*Want* expresses an internal state or drive that is only possible for animate beings, while *will* has lost this specific element of meaning in its most common uses, which makes it applicable to subjects of all sorts". Heine et al. (1991: 174-5) present a very similar case from Swahili.

1b) This factor, discussed in 2.10, is another indicator of disappearance of contextual restraints and generalisation of meaning. Bybee et al. (1994: 135) describe the grammaticalisation of the English Progressive in one part by saying that it probably originally involved subjects that were agents in the activity, but possibly later extended to predicates in which the subject is an experiencer. Bybee and Dahl (1989: 63) write that auxiliary verbs in the early stages of development are often restricted to certain types of main verbs.

2a) Decategorisation is a significant feature of grammaticalisation processes. Several indicators suggest that *znati* and *um(j)eti* are less verb-like in HCS AUX than in MA AUX use:

(114)

1. MA AUX expresses independent (lexical) verbal meaning more than HCS AUX.

2. MA AUX can take certain (although a limited choice of) adverbial modifiers, such as *savršeno* ‘perfectly’, *slabo* ‘badly, not well’, *nekako* ‘somehow’ (e.g. *Savršeno znam da to uradim* ‘I know exactly how to do that’).

For HCS AUX this is not possible. (Cf. Hopper and Traugott 1993: 105)

3. Modal auxiliaries such as *morati* or *žel(j)eti* can govern MA AUX *znati* and *um(j)eti* (E.g. *Moraš znati da odgovoriš na to pitanje* ‘You have to be able to answer that question’.) This is not possible with HCS AUX.

4. MA AUX can take pronoun complements (such as *to* or *sve*), HCS AUX cannot.

5. HCS AUX can normally not be negated (see 2.8)

6. HCS AUX is not used with the Imperative or the Future

2b) Do the HCS auxiliaries belong to a closed class of auxiliaries? Reference grammars of SCB don’t support such a proposition<sup>35</sup>, but that is of little significance to this study. The group of SCB verbs that can take an infinitive complement (and therefore could be labelled auxiliaries) is restricted, but contains well over ten items and several of them are not only phonetically heavy but also seem clearly more lexical than grammatical in nature: *nameravati* ‘intend’, *početi* ‘start’, *prestati* ‘stop’, *nastaviti* ‘continue’, *odbiti* ‘refuse’.

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<sup>35</sup> Katičić (1991) defines auxiliaries in a narrow sense, including only highly grammaticalised forms of the verbs *biti* and *hteti* and excluding modal verbs such as *morati*, *trebati*, *smjeti* and *željeti*. He defines auxiliaries roughly as verbs that only have grammatical meaning and take a finite form when the main verb is in an infinite form. Theoretically this definition could encompass modal verbs, but the examples Katičić offers only concern *biti* and *htjeti*. He does, however, introduce another category: *glagoli htijenja* (*verba voluntatis*) in which he curiously places verbs such as *morati*, *trebati*, *smjeti* and *znati*, but also strongly lexical items such as *čeznuti* and *željeti*. Stevanović’s (1974) approach is similar.

The HCS auxiliaries could, however, be seen as members of a more restricted closed class. Only a small number of SCB auxiliaries can appear as predicates in sentences with no subject, complemented by a main verb carrying lexical meaning which is in the infinitive or in the *da* + finite form construction. As far as I can see, this class includes only the following verbs: *trebati* (*Treba pitati profesora* ‘One needs to ask the professor’), *morati* (*Mora [biti] da je to zadnji tramvaj večeras* ‘That must be the last tram tonight’), *moći* (*Može biti da je autobus već otišao* ‘Perhaps [literally: “it can be that”] the bus has gone already’), *valjati* (*Valja ga ozbiljno shvatiti* ‘One should take him seriously’), *vredeti/vrediti* (*Ne vredi trošiti reči na njega* ‘You shouldn’t waste words on him), HCS AUX *znati* (see sentence (66)), HCS AUX *um(j)eti* (see sentence (70)) and possibly *imati* (Stevanović 1974: 764).

Heine et al. (1991: 28) write that “whereas the membership of “concrete concepts” is open-ended, grammatical concepts are expressed by means of linguistic categories forming closed classes”. According to Bybee and Dahl (1989: 59), membership in a closed class is the defining property of grams that distinguishes them from lexical morphemes. They write that it may be difficult to determine whether a class is closed or not, and auxiliary constructions are mentioned as an example. Lehmann also points out that it may be difficult to decide whether periphrastic constructions should be considered part of grammar. He illustrates this with an example from English:

Thus *want* does not participate in analytic verb forms since *I want to write* is formed according to the same rules of syntax as *I intend to write* and similar constructions with an open set of governing verbs. But *will* does participate in analytic verb forms because there is a paradigm containing *I will write* and a few similar constructions. (Lehmann 1995: 135)

Hopper and Traugott (2003: 107) speak of a “cline of categoriality” (major category (> intermediate category) > minor category), e.g. verb being a major category and auxiliary verb a minor category. Applying the schema of Heine (1993), virtually all factors mentioned in this section support the view that *znati* and *um(j)eti* are more auxiliary-like in the role of HCS than mental ability markers.

### *Frequency*

According to Hopper and Traugott (1993: 126-130), token frequency of a given form is one indicator of its grammaticality. Frequency is a highly relative measurement, but I will attempt to make a few relevant observations.

As discussed in 2.12, the HCS auxiliaries seem to be more frequent than *običavati* or *imati običaj/naviku*, which I have classified as lexical or semi-lexical markers of habituality. I also compared the frequency of HCS AUX *znati* in the corpora with that of modal auxiliary *smjeti* ‘may, to be allowed to’, ‘to dare’ which can express deontic modality (permission) or dynamic modality (ability “couragewise”, cf. (Palmer 2001: 78)). It turned out that in the present tense, *smjeti* was almost eight times as frequent as HCS AUX *znati* (268/34) in the OCBT, while in the past tense it was only slightly more frequent in the OCBT (111/75) and less than twice as frequent in the CNC (694/388).<sup>36</sup>

Krug (2000) studied English modals using various corpora of the English language. He presents a list of the 100 most frequent verbs in spontaneous speech included in the

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<sup>36</sup> An interesting question for another study could be why the distribution of forms of *smjeti* by person differed drastically between the two corpora.

British National Corpus. The Past Habitual construction *used to* ranks approximately 50<sup>th</sup> with a frequency of ca. 0.055%. That is over ten times more than the frequency of past time HCS AUX *znati* occurrences in the OCBT (0.0049%) and the CNC (0.0042%). I do not find this surprising, considering the high level of grammaticalisation of *used to* and the somewhat more complex semantics of HCS AUX. *Dare (to)*, another “marginal modal” in Krug’s terminology, ranked far lower with a frequency slightly lower than that of *znati* in the OCBT.

We saw in Table 6 that in the OCBT, *znati* in an auxiliary function more often denoted MA than HCS meaning. On the other hand, Table 10 showed us that in the CNC past time occurrences of *znati* were more often in HCS than MA use. One could expect the overall frequency of *znati* and *um(j)eti* as auxiliaries to have risen as they assumed a new meaning (habituality), but I have no evidence of that.

#### 4.5 A brief look at the diachronic perspective

In this section I will briefly review findings from two historical sources: the RJA and the CCL mentioned in 1.3. The data, and/or the analysis thereof, is insufficient for the making of far-reaching conclusions on the diachronic development of HCS AUX *znati* and *um(j)eti*, but a few significant observations can be made that may deepen our knowledge about the topic at hand.

Sentences (115), (116), (117), and (118) from the RJA indicate that the HCS AUX use of *um(j)eti* has existed for over 400 years ago<sup>37</sup>:

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<sup>37</sup> The reader should note that English-language translations in this section are mine and should be seen only as tentative.

- (115) *Dubrovčani ih [t.j. fazane] **ne umiju neg' pečene jesti.*** (RJA, from Marin Držić, writer from Dubrovnik, 2<sup>nd</sup> half of 16<sup>th</sup> century)  
 'The people of Dubrovnik **don't eat** them (pheasants) in any other form than roasted.'
- (116) *Ovce ... **ne umiju domom it, dokle ih ne nadju.*** (RJA, from A. Sasin, writer from Dubrovnik, 2<sup>nd</sup> half of 16<sup>th</sup> century)  
 'The sheep ... **will/do not go** home until they are found.'
- (117) *Znaš .... **da veće krati na otok ovi s kraja umije lav i medved doplivati.*** (RJA, from G. Palmotić, writer from Dubrovnik, 17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 'You know ... that a lion and a bear often (many times) **swim** to this island from the shore.'
- (118) *Vrijedni vitez **ne umije nego vrijedno djelovati.*** (RJA, from G. Palmotić, writer from Dubrovnik, 17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 'A worthy knight **only acts in a worthy manner.**'
- (119) *Zvirad ... **slidit narav ume, koja lude i živinu uči, ludo da ne ginu.*** (RJA, from V. Došen, Croatian author, 18<sup>th</sup> century)  
 'Beasts ... **follow** an instinct which tells people and animals not to die in vain.'

A tentative conclusion based on the analysed material is that *znati* has developed into an auxiliary as well as an HCS marker later than *um(j)eti*. Sentences (120), (121), (122) and (123) are among the oldest that I know of that could be interpreted as HCS AUX. The RJA provides several examples, many of them dating from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but I am only quoting (120), due to ambiguity, insufficient context or lack of year of origin in the others. Whereas the oldest examples with *um(j)eti* are all Štokavian from Dubrovnik, the sentences below with *znati* are Kajkavian, or Štokavian from Slavonia.

- (120) *Kad pobožni kršćeniki **znaju** na čislo **moliti**? Po sobotneh, nedeljneh i svetečneh dneveh.* (RJA, from J. Muliš: *Škola Kristuševe kršćanskoga navuka obilno puna*, 1744.)  
 ‘When **do** devout Christians **pray** the rosary? On Saturdays, Sundays and holy days.’
- (121) *...jerbo kockar sve **proigrat znade**.* (CCL, also mentioned in the RJA, from M. A. Relković: *Satir iliti divji čovik*, 1762)  
 ‘...for a gambler **gambles away** everything’
- (122) *Tu se pramaliti je rajsko uvič mladi **nit venut zna** cvitje, koje se prisadi...* (CCL, from A. Kanižlić: *Sveta Rožalija panormitanka divica*, 1780)  
 ‘It is an eternal spring here, and flowers that are planted (**will**) **never wither**...’
- (123) *Kad piva, za njime **zanesti se znade pamet**.* (CCL, from A. Kanižlić: *Sveta Rožalija panormitanka divica*, 1780)  
 ‘When he sings, **one’s mind gets carried away** with him.’

Very interestingly, (116), (118) and (122), as well as (124), a newer occurrence, all contain “outer negation”. I will return to this issue in the next section.

- (124) *...budite uvjereni, gospodine Ribi... Ribičeviću, da Zorka **ne zna vrijeđati ljude!*** (CCL, from E. Kumičić: *Gospoda Sabina*, 1884)  
 ‘...be assured, Mister Ribi... Ribičević, that Zorka **does not insult** people!’

Tornow’s (1989: 393-394) dictionary of Burgenland Croatian<sup>38</sup> dialects lists *können* as one meaning of *znàti* and one

<sup>38</sup> Burgenland Croats migrated in the 16<sup>th</sup> century to an area mainly within today’s Burgenland province of Austria, as well as bordering areas in Slovakia and Hungary.

of the given examples implies that this comprises not only ability but also HCS meaning: *Ūndak znâ i kòd nas Vlâhov, Hrvátov jáko vèselo bit* (a tentative translation: ‘Then it can be / often is very cheerful amongst us Vlahs, Croats’). Another dictionary of Burgenland Croatian (Palkovits 1987) gives the following description:

*zn'a:t* pf können, vermögen, wissen, zn'a: b'it es kann sein

The apparent existence of HCS AUX *znati* (or a similar use) in Burgenland Croatian obviously cannot be taken as proof that this use existed in the 16<sup>th</sup> century when the Burgenland Croats were separated from the rest of the Serbo-Croatian speaking community. It could have developed independently or it could have risen in all present day forms of Serbo-Croatian as a result of influence of another language. However, this finding does provide circumstantial evidence for a hypothesis that the HCS use of *znati* has been present since the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

#### 4.6 Grammaticalisation of HCS AUX

In this section I will discuss mechanisms of semantic change that may have been present when the HCS AUX use of *znati* and *um(j)eti* has first appeared, and then developed further.

- (125) ...*msgr. Kokša je u najtežim vremenima znao pronaći prosvijetljene odluke koje su bile od iznimne važnosti za hrvatski narod...* (CNC VJ981203p 13115)  
 ...during the hardest times, Monsignor Kokša **was able to come up with (or: find)** enlightened decisions that were of extraordinary significance for the Croatian nation...‘
- (126) *Duhovit momak znao je kod svoje ljepotice izazvati češće i glasan hihot.* (OCBT I/ME/OB/93)

‘A witty boy **would/could** often **make** his beautiful girl giggle loudly.’

- (127) *I u ovim trenucima bljesne taj mostarski duh o kome je tako lijepo **znao da priča** Zuko Džumhur.* (OCBT E/MO/VV/95)

‘Also at these times that Mostar spirit appears, the one that Zuko Džumhur so beautifully **used to talk** about.’

- (128) *Kultura bez tradicije ne može kao što ne može drvo bez korijenja. Stari su to lijepo **znali reći** : nije na nama ni postalo ni prestalo.* (OCBT E/LI/LI/94)

‘Culture without tradition is impossible, as is a tree without roots. Old people **used to say** it well: we are neither the first nor the last.’

- (129) *I o svojoj baki Gugi Danko je **znao** zanimljivo **pričati**.* (CNC grlic\_memoar 262988)

‘Danko also **used to talk** interestingly about his grand mother Guga’

Let us first look at occurrences of *znati* that are ambiguous between the mental ability and HCS meanings. Sentences (125) to (129) could all be interpreted in both ways. What they have in common is that they all have a human subject and they denote a “positive” activity that the speaker/writer considers to be a worthy accomplishment. It is submitted that ambiguous sentences similar to these may have been crucial for the rise of the HCS AUX use of *znati* and *um(j)eti*.

The mechanism that could explain the semantic change arising from such sentences is inference or (conversational) implicature. Bybee et al. describe the interrelation of the two concepts well:

Note first that inference and implicature are two sides of the same coin: the speaker **IMPLIES** more than s/he asserts, and the hearer **INFERS** more than is asserted. (Bybee et al. 1994: 285)

In the case at hand, this would mean the following: if person A has the skill/ability to engage in activity X (the assertion of the speaker), (s)he also does (possibly/occasionally/habitually) engage in activity X (the implication of the speaker and the inference of the hearer). Also, the hearer can assume that if a speaker knows about person A's ability to engage in activity X and decides to tell someone about it, (s)he is likely to have witnessed him do so – that further reinforces the hearer's inference that A (possibly/occasionally/habitually) engages in X.

In their discussions regarding this sort of semantic change, both Heine et al. (1991: 72) and Hopper and Traugott (2003: 82) make reference to Dahl:

if some condition happens to be fulfilled frequently when a certain category is used, a stronger association may develop between the condition and the category in such a way that the condition comes to be understood as an integral part of the meaning of the category. (Dahl 1985: 11)

Heine et al. use the term “context-induced reinterpretation” and define three idealised stages involved in the process:

*Stage I:* In addition to its focal or core sense A, a given linguistic form F acquires an additional sense B when occurring in a specific context C. This can result in semantic ambiguity since either of the senses A or B may be implied in context C. Which of the two senses is implied usually is, but need not be, dependent on the relevant communication situation. It is equally possible that the speaker means A and the hearer interprets him or her as implying B or that the hearer understands B whereas the speaker intends to convey A.

*Stage II:* The existence of sense B now makes it possible for the relevant form to be used in new contexts that are compatible with B but rule out sense A.

*Stage III:* B is conventionalised; it may be said to form a secondary focus characterized by properties containing elements not present in A (cf. Dahl 1985:11) – with the effect that F now has two “polysemes,” A and B, which may develop eventually into “homophones.” (Heine et al. 1991: 71-72)

In the case of HCS AUX, Stage I will have involved sentences similar to (125) to (129). Sentence (130) could be placed somewhere between Stage I and Stage II, as it is ambiguous whether the activity in it can sensibly be seen as “positive” and involving ability. Stage II could be illustrated with any sentence involving inanimate subjects – e.g. (21), (22) or (23) or ones in which the main predicate denotes an activity that is incompatible with the skill reading – see e.g. sentences (35), (72) and (73).

- (130) *Mudri Meša Selimović ... zapisao je kazujući o Bosni: “Nisu anđeli, nisu sotone, ali **znaju da budu** i jedno i drugo, dobri su i zli... (OCBT E/PM/SR/9)*  
 ‘The wise Meša Selimović ... wrote down speaking about Bosnia: “They are not angels, they are not devils, but they **can be** one and the other, they are good and bad... ‘

The process described above can be further analysed by applying the principle which suggests that reanalysis and analogy are major mechanisms involved in grammaticalisation, in that order. According to Hopper and Traugott (2003: 39), reanalysis is the most important mechanism for grammaticalisation, because it is a prerequisite for the implementation of change through analogy. Analogy, in their view, does not effect rule change in itself, but rather effects rule spread.

Returning to the stages defined by Heine et al., it seems that Stage I primarily has to do with reanalysis, since reanalysis is about interpreting a linguistic form in a new way.

In the case of HCS AUX, a result of semantic reanalysis is that the habitual reading becomes more than an inference, it will be seen as a meaning of its own right.

Whereas reanalysis, often linked with metonymy, operates along the “syntagmatic” axis, analogy, linked with metaphor, operates on the paradigmatic axis and equals to rule generalisation (Hopper and Traugott 2003). Analogy is heavily involved in Stage II of Heine et al. – the reanalysed meaning B enables form F to begin to be analogously applied in contexts where it could not be used with meaning A. In the case of HCS AUX, this involves expansion e.g. to subjects with inanimate subjects. As analogous uses become conventionalised (and thereby cease to be experienced as metaphorical by language users), the grammaticalisation process advances to Stage III. I maintain that there is ample data to show that HCS AUX use of both *znati* and *um(j)eti* has reached this stage. For instance, the results presented in Table 1, Table 2 and Table 3 indicate that *znati* and *um(j)eti* are the default expression of HCS meaning in certain contexts.<sup>39</sup>

How does the historical data at our disposal correlate with the theory on diachronic development presented in this section? With the exception of (122) and (123) (both from the same author, end of 18<sup>th</sup> century), all sentences in 4.5 do contain animate subjects, but that is hardly sufficient information for making any conclusions about whether inanimate subjects or sentences with no subjects were non-existent or less common with HCS AUX before 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is not impossible

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<sup>39</sup> According to Dahl (2000a: 9), “the property of being obligatory in certain semantically or syntactically defined contexts is often mentioned as characteristic of grammatical elements”. I don’t believe that the use of HCS AUX is strictly obligatory in any contexts, certainly not grammatically or syntactically defined contexts.

that the grammaticalisation of HCS auxiliaries was at Stage II or even Stage III already in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, although I suspect that it had not got further than Stage I or II.

It is, however, the sentences with “outer negation” amongst the historical data that present the greatest challenge for the hypotheses outlined above. First, similar occurrences are very scarce in contemporary sources and, second, the implicatures/inferences are different with negation. I believe that both apparent inconsistencies can be sensibly accounted for.

I have already pointed out in section 2.8 that negating sporadic habitual meaning is problematic. Therefore it wouldn't be surprising if the HCS AUX use, once grammaticalised, would not have developed an analogous use with negation. Instead, it is submitted that sentences with negated MA AUX *znati* and *um(j)eti* may well have entered the path of semantic change through a different implicature/inference. We already noted in section 2.8 Palmer's (2001: 91) remark that “Not possible” equals “Necessary not”. Accordingly, the entailment of “person A does not have the skill/ability to engage in activity X” is not “person A possibly/occasionally/habitually does not engage in activity X”, but simply “person A does not engage (ie. never engages) in activity X”. Both the historical and the contemporary occurrences of *znati* with “outer negation” are compatible with this explanation. The frequency of such occurrences is low in the corpus findings, and it may have been higher in the past, but that cannot be known for sure. In any case, it would seem that the implicature/inference of negation has remained on Stage I or moved very little towards Stage II, since all quoted examples involve an animate subject in the thematic role of agent and most could be interpreted also as MA AUX occurrences.

#### 4.7 Retention of earlier meaning

Can the grammaticalisation process outlined above account for some of the idiosyncracies of HCS AUX described in chapter 2? According to Bybee et al. (1994: 15-19) and Bybee & Dahl (1989: 97), semantic nuances of the source construction (in our case the mental ability meaning of *znati* and *um(j)eti*) can affect the grammatical meanings (in our case the HCS AUX use of *znati* and *um(j)eti*) of a form long after the grammaticalisation has begun.

Retention of earlier meaning could well provide an explanation as to why markers of exceptionality frequently occur with these verbs when they are used as HCS auxiliaries. It is logical to presume that a skill to do something is usually mentioned in discourse only when it relates to something that one is not automatically expected to know. This segment of the mental ability meaning may be reflected in the HCS AUX use through the markers of exceptionality.

Retention of earlier meaning could also explain why HCS AUX expresses sporadicity rather than regular habituality, as well as why some HCS AUX occurrences seem to border with modality, more precisely root or epistemic possibility. (This explanation does not preclude the pragmatic factors leading to modality readings discussed in 3.2.) The original ability meaning obviously carries a nuance of possibility in it – if person A has the skill/ability to engage in activity X, it implies that there is a possibility that (s)he will engage in activity X. The effect of the possibility implicature on HCS AUX meaning could perhaps be paraphrased as “under circumstances C, there is a possibility that activity A will take place”.

The significance of this implicature is more evident if we compare HCS AUX with other habitual grams, such as the English *used to* or the SCB Past Habitual Conditional, which

do not carry a residual meaning of ability or possibility, and denote regular or rule-like habituality, the latter of which could be paraphrased as “under circumstances C, activity A will take place”.

The same paraphrase applied to the PHC can be used to explain the different roles of HCS AUX and PHC in narratives. As we saw in 2.12, Mønnesland (1984: 71-72) illustrated the link between conditional and habituality with the sentence *When(ever) she drank a glass of brandy she would get drunk*. The ability connotation of HCS AUX are incompatible with such contexts: *\*When(ever) she drank a glass of brandy she would know how to get drunk*.

## 4.8 Similar phenomena in other languages

### *Unrelated languages*

In this section I will look at other known cases of semantic change or grammaticalisation that resemble the case of HCS AUX. Heine and Kuteva (2002) suggest that evidence from other languages may help understand grammaticalisation processes in a particular language, because the concrete instances of grammaticalisation (e.g. how and why different grammatical meanings can be related to one another) are often the same across languages and they are almost always unidirectional. The information provided by Heine and Kuteva (2002: 186-7) supports the schema of grammaticalisation that I have presented for HCS AUX. They list KNOW > ABILITY and KNOW > HABITUAL as existing paths of grammaticalisation in several languages of the world.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> There can, of course, be several universally attested paths leading to expressions of a certain gram-type. Heine and Kuteva (2002: 331) do mention also the following possible sources for habitual: CONTINUOUS, GO, ITERATIVE, LIVE, REMAIN, SIT and USE.

The first path (KNOW > ABILITY) obviously corresponds with the development of the meaning of *znati* from knowledge and familiarity into to mental ability. I assume that sentences similar to (131) – a close equivalent of the English construction *know how to* – may have been involved in that process. The suggested path is shown in (132). For the sake of comparison, we can note that in English it would be impossible to replace the construction *knows how to* with *knows* or *knows to*.

(131) *Alkemičar koji zna kako napraviti zlato* (<<http://www.vjesnik.hr/html/2003/02/06/Clanak.asp?r=spo&c=4>>)

‘An alchemist who knows how to make gold’

(132) *Alkemičar koji zna kako napraviti zlato* → *Alkemičar koji zna napraviti zlato*

*An alchemist who knows how to make gold*

\**An alchemist who knows (to) make gold*

Under the second path (KNOW > HABITUAL), an example from Moré is listed which does not indicate a route through ability.<sup>41</sup> Curiously, Heine and Kuteva do not mention ABILITY > HABITUAL as a path of its own right, but they point out that “[i]n pidgin and creole language there appears to be a fairly common grammaticalization: KNOW > ABILITY > HABITUAL”. Examples are quoted from Tok Pisin, Haitian French-based Creole, Negerhollands Dutch-based Creole and Papiamentu, classified by Heine and Kuteva as a Spanish/Portuguese-based creole.

Further indication of a connection between ability and habituality can be found in Mandarin Chinese. Palmer (2001: 102) quotes Li and Thompson (1981: 173-88) and mentions *huì*

<sup>41</sup> Bybee et al. (1994: 154-5) say that little is known about how lexical verbs meaning ‘to live’ and ‘to know’ develop into habituais but suggest that they meaning of the two verbs may converge very early in a general sense of ‘to experience’.

in a group of semantically modal Mandarin Chinese auxiliary verbs and lists the meaning(s) ‘will, know how’ for it. Further, Palmer (2001: 78) refers to Hockett’s (1968: 62) description of *hui* which strongly resembles the use of SCB HCS auxiliaries, but seems to express characteristic or even law-like activity rather than sporadic patterns of behaviour: one of Hockett’s examples, as quoted by Palmer, is “one can say ... that an electron *hwei* behave in accordance with the equations of wave mechanisms”<sup>42</sup>. The similarity between SCB HCS auxiliaries and *hui* has been also confirmed by Christine Lamarre (personal communication). Further, Tatevosov (forthcoming) quotes Ching-hsiu Chang’s (2001) discussion of *hui* and gives examples of its uses in expressing habituality and ability. Finally, a native Mandarin Chinese speaking informant has confirmed to me that *hui* could be used in several of the questionnaire sentences that yielded responses containing HCS AUX.

Also some of the Finnish modals have or have had uses that are interesting for the topic at hand. The main modal that is used to denote skill – *osata* – can sometimes be used in a similar way as HCS AUX, as was demonstrated above in footnote 19. The modal verb *saattaa*, a marker of epistemic possibility, and more rarely, root possibility<sup>43</sup>, can denote sporadic activity in the present and in the past and seems to share with HCS AUX the nuance of exceptionality<sup>44</sup>. (Cf. PS)

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<sup>42</sup> Palmer does not clarify why two different forms or orthographies are used: *hui* and *hwei*

<sup>43</sup> E.g. in *Matka saattoi vihdoinkin alkaa* ‘Finally the journey could begin’.

<sup>44</sup> E.g. in *...hän saattoi polttaa oveliaan punaista valoa kaksikin viikkoa ilman että edes sihteeri olisi saanut tulla sisään* ‘he would sometimes have the red light on his door for as long as two weeks without letting even the secretary come in’ <<http://www2.helsinginsanomat.fi/klik/alkulukku/tietokirjat/matamunanmuistelmamat9710b.html>>.

A historical occurrence with skill/ability meaning has also been recorded from a dialect (NS). Another modal verb, *ta-ittaa*, acts today mainly as a marker of epistemic probability. It can also be used to denote skill/ability, but this meaning is today mainly visible in derived words. (Cf. PS)

### *Genetically or geographically related languages*

Belgrade questionnaire A was completed by 13 Slovene informants and the results indicate that (a cognate of) *znati* is used in Slovene much in the same way as SCB HCS AUX – it was used by seven informants in BgA4, by four in BgA9 and by three in BgA3. The most common marker of habituality (and ability) seems to be the adverb *lahko*. (Cf. SSKJ for both *znati* and *lahko*)

As to Macedonian, sentence (133), which contains a cognate of *znati*, is strongly reminiscent of the HCS AUX use of SCB *znati* and *um(j)eti*.

(133) *Celosno e seriozen, no znae da bide i mnogu duhovit.*

(<<http://www.top.on.net.mk/intervju1.htm>>)

‘He is completely serious, but he can also be very funny.’<sup>45</sup>

In Albanian, *di* is a possible case of a form that has acts both as a marker of mental ability and habituality, but I have been unable to confirm this. According to an informant, Bulgarian does not employ cognates of *znati* or *um(j)eti* to express habitual meaning.

If indeed Slovene and Macedonian (and possibly Albanian) have grams similar to SCB HCS AUX, it might indicate the existence of a “gram family”, as defined by Dahl:

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<sup>45</sup> The translation is mine and should be considered only tentative.

A gram family is basically a set of language-specific grams that can be hypothesized to have arisen through one and the same historical process – either by being inherited from a common parent language or as a result of language contact. Gram families, then, differ from gram types in having a location in time and space rather than being universally available, as the latter are. (Dahl 2000a: 7-8)

### *An alternative analysis*

Using data mainly from Nakh-Daghestanian languages, Tatevosov (forthcoming) argues a possible grammaticalisation path enabling the development of habituais to futures via possibility and suggests an opposite direction of change from the one that I have hypothesised. According to him, a shift from the habitual meaning to the meaning of possibility essentially relies on the following principle:

(18) If x performs p regularly (that is, there is a plurality of p(...x...)), then x is *able* to perform p.

Indeed, general knowledge of the world implies that ability to do something is a prerequisite for doing something on a regular basis, and information concerning regularity can be easily reanalyzed as indicating ability. In fact, in the null context, a statement like *He speaks German* is likely to be interpreted as describing one's capacity rather than the very fact that one happens to demonstrate this capacity regularly.

As soon as the ability use of a habitual gram is established, this gram can enter the path of diachronic development of modals expressing possibility, that is, acquire meanings of 'root possibility' and 'epistemic possibility' as represented in (19).

(19) ABILITY → ROOT POSSIBILITY → EPISTEMIC  
POSSIBILITY (Bybee et al. 1994:199)  
(Tatevosov, forthcoming)

I agree with Tatevosov's linking of habituality and ability through inference, but maintain that the direction of this development, at least in the case of *znati* and *um(j)eti*, is opposite from what he suggests.

#### 4.9 Relation of form and meaning

Bybee and Dahl (1989: 53-57) say that they had both independently discovered in their earlier studies that certain correlations between meaning and mode of expression exist for grams cross-linguistically: certain categories usually have periphrastic marking, while others typically have bound expression. Within the latter category, correlations can be found between the generality of meaning and the degree to which inflections have fused with the stem.

The development of *znati* and *um(j)eti* into TMA markers of mental ability and habituality seems to represent a typical case of lexical verbs with a general meaning developing into auxiliaries expressing modal or aspectual meaning. (Cf. e.g. Heine et al. 1991: 244, Heine 1993: 53-66, Palmer 2001: 102.) Specifically, habitual grams are frequently expressed periphrastically (see Dahl 1985: 183-184, cf. Bybee 1985: 145). In the GRAMCATS sample used by Bybee et al. (1994), 3 out of 17 general habitual grams and 5 out of 10 past habitual grams had auxiliary expression.

#### 4.10 Homonymy vs. polysemy

Grammaticalisation and semantic change does not necessarily mean that when a given form acquires a new meaning, it will lose its earlier meanings. We have discussed (at least) four meanings of *znati* (knowledge, familiarity, mental ability, HCS) and (at least) two meanings of *um(j)eti* (mental ability, HCS). Are they cases of homonymy (same form, unconnected different meanings) or polysemy (same form, conceptually related meanings)?

According to Hopper and Traugott (2003: 77-78), there is little agreement across various subfields of linguistics on exactly how to characterise the relationship between the various senses of a form. They say that from the perspective of grammaticalisation, it is methodologically essential to assume polysemy if there is a plausible semantic relationship. They mention cross-typological comparison as a possible criterion for establishing such a relationship. We have already seen that a plausible semantic relationship between the various senses of *znati* and *um(j)eti* is supported by cross-typological evidence, and I have also presented possible mechanisms that link the various meanings. Therefore I consider the aforementioned various senses of *znati* and *um(j)eti* to represent polysemy.

Heine et al. (1991: 220-229) apply the term *grammaticalization chain* (some other scholars have used the term *continuum*) to refer to various interlinked senses of a given grammatical form. They describe them as linear family resemblance categories that are defined with reference to their endpoints, one of which is the grammaticalised form of the other. No attribute is common to all senses of the chain and none of the senses in the chain combines all the attributes distinguished, but each sense has several attributes in common

with other senses. Figure 1 presents the polysemies of *znati* and *um(j)eti* in the form of a grammaticalisation chain.

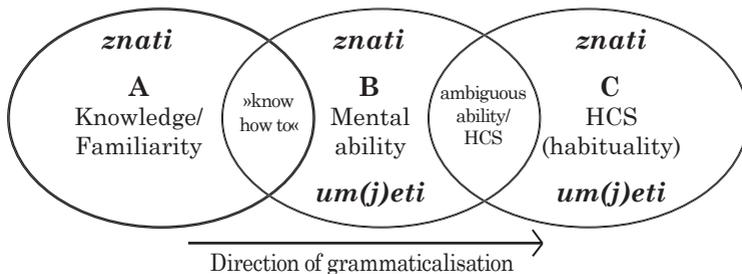


Figure 1. Polysemies of *znati* and *um(j)eti* presented as a simplified grammaticalization chain.

## 5

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In chapter 2, I have described through various prisms the use of SCB lexemes *znati* and *um(j)eti* as auxiliary verbs that denote habitual, characteristic or sporadic plurality of situations (HCS AUX) in the past or in the present. We have seen that this meaning, usually described in major dictionaries as a marginal submeaning of the lexemes, is well established in language use and clearly separable from the other meanings of the lexemes (mental ability, and in the case of *znati*, knowledge/familiarity).

The results presented e.g. in Table 1 clearly show that the use of *znati* and *um(j)eti* to express HCS meaning is not merely a stylistic, phrase-like phenomenon employed occasionally by language users. Instead, it is a construction that seems to be almost obligatory in certain contexts, as illustrated in Table 2 and Table 3.

A semantic analysis conducted in chapter 3 allows us to place the HCS AUX uses of *znati* and *um(j)eti* within the boundaries of the cross-linguistic gram-type “habitual”. They do, however, have certain idiosyncratic nuances that differentiate them from typical habitual grams. These nuances – sporadicity and “exceptionality” as well the fact that some HCS

AUX occurrences border with modality – can be explained with the polysemy of the lexemes and the grammaticalisation path leading from mental ability to habituality, as argued in chapter 4.

In the grammaticalisation process leading to HCS AUX use, implicatures and inferencing have played a central part in the first phase, allowing some occurrences of *znati* and *um(j)eti* to be reanalysed as denoting habituality rather than mental ability. Analogy (metaphor) later allowed such use to become more widespread, easing the lexical constraints associated with the mental ability use. Eventually, the HCS AUX use became conventionalised; historical data suggests that this occurred in the 19<sup>th</sup> century at the latest, but possibly much earlier – the oldest available occurrences of *um(j)eti* that resemble HCS meaning date from the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The discussion in chapters 3 and 4 indicates that *znati* and *um(j)eti* are (potential) grams at a relatively early stage of grammaticalisation. This follows mainly from two features: first, *znati* and *um(j)eti* as auxiliaries represent morphologically a low level of grammaticality, and second, the meanings expressed by the two auxiliaries – mental ability and (sporadic) habituality – are not among the highly grammatical meanings typical of major gram-types such as perfective, imperfective, progressive, future, past and perfect. That said, it is clear that out of the two main uses of the auxiliaries, (sporadic) habituality is the one that is more grammatical in both senses.

It does not seem necessary to try to determine any further whether *znati* and *um(j)eti* indeed qualify as “grams”. Using the language of Bybee et al. (1994: 181), we could perhaps call *znati* and *um(j)eti* items that belong to the “outer margins of grammar”, where the boundaries between lexical and grammatical forms are the least clear.

Against the background of typological studies, the relation of HCS AUX meaning and form of expression is not in the least out of the ordinary, as auxiliaries commonly express modal and aspectual meanings, and habituality is often marked periphrastically. I have also demonstrated that the semantic change that *znati* and *um(j)eti* have undergone is not unique. Similar cases are documented in several languages of the world that are unrelated to SCB, and the cases of *znati* and *um(j)eti* actually constitute further evidence in support of a universal grammaticalisation path from (mental) ability meaning to habitual meaning, involving lexical items related to mental activities.

Long ago, *znati* and *um(j)eti* have probably arrived at the mental ability meaning through different paths: *znati* through knowledge, *um(j)eti* possibly through mental capacity/activity. At some point they have entered a similar path towards HCS. We may never find out which verb was the first one to enter that path, but it is very possible that the other one then followed suit by analogy. A related question is the possible existence of a gram family in SCB and related languages. Further study is necessary for showing the exact meanings of the apparently similar auxiliaries quoted in 4.8 and their historical development.

One clear drawback of the present study is the predominantly synchronic character of my approach and sources. Grammaticalisation by definition – as all language change – is a process that takes place over a period of time, and it would therefore make sense to pay greater attention to historical sources than what I have done. However, apart from the CCL corpus, such sources were not readily available, and my resources did not even allow me to analyse in detail the data contained in the CCL.

Another regrettable feature of this study is the bias of my approach in favour of *znati*, at the loss of *um(j)eti*, due to the absence of a publicly available corpus of the Serbian language. A large part of chapter 2 is based on results from the corpus studies and virtually only deal with HCS AUX *znati*.

I nevertheless decided to discuss *znati* and *um(j)eti* jointly, since in the SCB variant used in Serbia, the status of *umeti* as a HCS auxiliary seems to be similar to that of *znati*, if not even stronger. Also, it seems that they share most features when used to denote HCS meaning. The two verbs are not identical, however, and possible differences in their uses and meanings – either as MA AUX or HCS AUX – present an obvious topic for further study. Particularly intriguing would be to look at the interrelation of the two HCS auxiliaries in the Serbian SCB variant.

I am not aware of any previous works describing *znati* or *um(j)eti* as auxiliary verbs marking habitual meaning (with the exception of Trbojević-Milošević (1999) on the “existential” use of *umeti*). Speaking about the research method involving the use of a translation questionnaire, Dahl (2000a: 5) says that “if forms turn up that are not listed in the grammar, we know that the grammar is not adequate”. Perhaps *znati* and *um(j)eti* only turn up in specific (sporadic) habitual contexts, but we can nevertheless ask ourselves whether existing grammars of SCB are adequate, considering that they do not list *znati* and *um(j)eti* as auxiliaries, and certainly not as markers of habitual meaning. I hope this study on its part helps illustrate this interesting use of the two verbs.



## 6

### REFERENCES

*Please note: except where otherwise indicated, all individual Internet addresses referred to in this paper were accessed on 1 April 2004.*

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- RSKJ = *Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika* 1-6 1967-1976. Novi Sad-Zagreb: Matica srpska i Matica hrvatska.
- RSKNJ = *Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog i narodnog jezika* I-XIV 1959-1989. Beograd: Institut za srpsko-hrvatski jezik.
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## Appendix 1 – Sources of the Oslo Corpus of Bosnian Texts

### *Fiction*

- B/AM/GO/97 Gunnar Johansson (= Ajanović Midhat): Goeteborg. 1997.
- B/BA/M/96 Bjelevec Abdurezak Hifzi: Minka. 1996.
- B/BN/LS/94 Bazdulj-Hubijar Nura: Ljubav je sihirbaz, babo. 1994.
- B/FM/MS/96 Fehimović Mirza: Miris šejtana from the novel “To jest žizni njet”. In the magazine “Lettre international”, Sarajevo, mart/april 1996.
- B/FM/TJ/96 Fehimović Mirza: To jest žizni njet. 1996.
- B/BFS/PO/96 Fetahagić Sead: Poljubi pa ostavi. 1996.
- B/BI/PG/94 Horozović Irfan: Prognani grad. 1994.
- B/BI/S/96 Horozović Irfan: Smetljari. In “Lettre international”, as above.
- B/IA/KN/95 Isaković Alija: Kafana na Hietzingu. In the magazine “Most”, issue 90, Mostar, septembar 1995.
- B/IJ/BJ/96 Imamović Jasmin: Besmrtni jeleni. 1996.
- B/IJ/UR/95 Imamović Jasmin: U rijeci mjesečev luk. In “Most” 90, as above.
- B/IN/PN/96 Ibrišimović Nedžad: Pisar Neferti from the novel “Vječnik”. In “Lettre international”, as above.
- B/IN/U/96 Ibrišimović Nedžad: Ugursuz. 1996.
- B/JD/VZ/96 Janjić Dragoslav: Voz za Minhen in “Lettre international”, as above.
- B/JM/B/95 Jergović Miljenko: Biblioteka. In “Most” 90, as above.

- B/JM/TP/96 Jergović Miljenko: Tri priče. In "Lettre international", as above.
- B/KD/ID/89 Karahasan Dževad: Istočni diwan. 1994 (first ed. 1989).
- B/KN/IP/95 Kurspahić Nermina: Iščekavanje plavih jahača. 1995.
- B/KN/SD/96 Krstić Nikola: S druge strane rijeke. In "Lettre international", as above.
- B/KT/NP/96 Kulenović Tvrtko: Na putu. In "Lettre international", as above.
- B/MA/HN/96 Muradbegović Ahmed: Haremske novele. 1996.
- B/MJ/MR/94 Musabegović Jasmina: Most (roman). 1994.
- B/MV/RI/96 Mrkić Vlado: Riječi. In "Lettre international", as above.
- B/OS/B/96 Omeragić Sejo: Bunda. In "Lettre international", as above.
- B/RH/PO/96 Ramadan Hajrudin: Priče od kiše. 1996.
- B/SM/LN/92 Šunjić Marsela: Laku noć, Grade fragments of a novel by the same name, published in "Most", issue 92.
- B/TS/MU/96 Trhulj Sead: Mačka u kući. In "Lettre international", as above.
- B/TZ/B/96 Topčić Zlatko: Brada. In "Lettre international", as above.
- B/UD/ZI/96 Uzunović Damir: Zapis iz rata (1991-1995). In "Lettre international", as above.
- B/VM/NN/96 Vešović Marko: Nikada neću stići u Kordovu. In "Lettre international", as above.
- B/VN/DP/96 Veličković Nenad: Dva, pet, osamnaest. In "Lettre international", as above.
- B/ZK/SK/96 Zaimović Karim: Slučaj kojeg neko i sudbinom zove. In "Lettre international", as above.

*Children's stories*

- D/DA/LP/94 Dubočanin Alija: Lađarski put. 1994.  
 D/DR/OZ/94 Džafić Rizo: Očev zavičaj. 1994.  
 D/HA/CO/94 Hozić Advan: Čudo od djeteta. 1994.  
 D/HA/PV/94 Hromadžić Ahmed: Patuljak vam priča. 1994.  
 D/HI/VA/94 Horozović Irfan: Vauvan. 1994.  
 D/KH/PU/94 Kikić Hasan: Provincija u pozadini. 1994.  
 D/KS/GD/94 Kulenović Skender: Gromovo đule. 1994.  
 D/MA/PK/94 Musić Aljoša Alija: Poljana kod Šeste vodenice. 1994.  
 D/MK/DP/94 Mahmutefendić Kemal: Djetinjstvo pod Vrtaljicom. 1994.  
 D/PS/SJ/94 Pandžo Šukrija: Samo još kosovi zvižduću. 1994.

*Essays*

- E/AE/ZS/94 Arslan Šekib Emir: Zašto su Muslimani zaostali, a drugi napredovali. 1994.  
 E/AM/SU/93 Ajanović Midhat: Smrt u Sarajevu. 1993.  
 E/BE/BD/95 Đenana Buturović: BRAĆA MORIĆI CARSKI ODMETNICI I ŠEHITI. In the magazine "Behar", IV year, issue 21, Zagreb, XI-XII 1995.  
 E/BE/GD/95 Dženet Garibović: SMRT JE BILA BOLJA. In "Behar", as above.  
 E/BE/IA/95 Alija Isaković: NAŠA PODSJEĆANJA I POUKE. In "Behar", as above.  
 E/BE/KIB/95 Ibn Kajan: UVODNIK / ANDERSEN I HRVATSKI BOŠNJACI. In "Behar", as above.

- E/BE/KIH/95 Ibrahim Kajan: ZELENI ČOVJEK NA IZVORU ŽIVOTA. In "Behar", as above.
- E/BE/KS/95 Šefket Krčić: POLOŽAJ ISLAMA U SANDŽAKU DANAS. In "Behar", as above.
- E/BE/MM/95 Muhamed A. Mujić: ŠEJH JUJO U SVJETLU KNJIŽEVNO-HISTORIJSKE GRAĐE. In "Behar", as above.
- E/BE/MN/95 Noel Malcolm: ŽIDOVI U BOSNI (prevedeno sa engleskog). In "Behar", as above.
- E/BE/NA/95 Alija Nametak: ŠEJH JUJO. In "Behar", as above.
- E/BE/OS/95 Ševko Omerbašić: KRIŽARSKI RATOVI I ISLAMSKI SVIJET. In "Behar", as above.
- E/BE/PA/95 Alija Pirić: TEMELJNA INFORMACIJA. In "Behar", as above.
- E/BE/RG/95 Goran Beus Richembergh: NIJEMCI U BOSNI. In "Behar", as above.
- E/DS/OS/94 Đulabić Sakib: Od Spahe do Alije. 1994.
- E/GV/LP/95 Gunić Vehid: Ljepota povratka u Bosnu. 1995.
- E/IA/AZ/94 Isaković Alija: Antologija zla. 1994.
- E/IN/RI/96 Ibrišimović Nedžad: Ruhani i šejtani - inspiracija (članci i intervjui 1990-1995). 1996.
- E/KD/DS/95 Karahasan Dževad: Dnevnik selidbe. 1995.
- E/LA/UZ/96 Lazarevska Alma: U znaku ruže. 1996.
- E/LI/KD/96 Karahasan Dževad: Seoba granica. In "Lettre international", Sarajevo, mart/april 1996.
- E/LI/LI/94 Lovrenović Ivan: Labirint i pamćenje. 1994.

- E/LI/RZ/96 Radeljković Zvonimir: Intelektualna staza do zelene grane. In "Lettre international", as above.
- E/MO/BB/96 Mesud Sabitović: Budućnost Bosne. In «Most» 90, as above.
- E/MO/CI/96 Enes Ratkušić: Čovjek ispred vremena. In «Most» 90, as above.
- E/MO/HR/95 Alija Pirić: Historijska retrospekcija imena bosanskog jezika. In "Most" 90, as above.
- E/MO/IZ/96 Elbisa Ustamujić: Iskorak iz zemljinih sila u luk. In "Most" 90, as above.
- E/MO/JI/96 Džemal Humo: Jedinka i čopor. In "Most" 90, as above.
- E/MO/KB/95 Alija Pirić: Kultura Bošnjaka. In "Most" 90, as above.
- E/MO/MR/96 Alija Isaković: Medijski rat. 1995.
- E/MO/VC/95 Mensur Seferović: Vrijeme čavki. In "Most" 90, as above.
- E/MO/VI/96 Hivzija Hasandedić: Velikan i baštinik. In "Most" 90, as above.
- E/MO/VV/95 Muhamed Šator: Vrijeme velikih zala. In "Most" 90, as above.
- E/MO/ZS/96 Jusuf Kurtović: Životna sredina područja Mostara i zdravlje čovjeka. In "Most" 90, as above.
- E/PM/SR/93 Prstojević Miroslav: Sarajevo - ranjeni grad. 1993
- E/SD/NP/97 Sokolović Džemal: Nacija protiv naroda. 1997.
- E/TN/VK/96 Tanović Nenad Bosanski: Vitezi Kulina bana. 1996.

*Islamic texts*

- I/E/2/94 "Evlad", issue 2, published by "Islamski centar Mostar". December 1994.
- I/E/3/95 "Evlad", issue 3. January 1995.
- I/E/4/95 "Evlad", issue 4. February 1995.
- I/E/5/95 "Evlad", issue 5. March 1995.
- I/ME/OB/93 Muftić Edib: Običaji Bosanskih Muslimana. 1993.
- I/OS/IC/94 Omerbašić Ševko: Islamska čitanka. 1994.
- I/PR/95 "Preporod", Islamske informativne novine, issue 3/574. March 1995.

*Folklore texts*

- N/NP/94 "Narodne pripovijetke Bosne i Sandžaka". 1994.

*Legal texts*

- PR/SL/11/93 "Službeni list R BiH", 10 May 1993.
- PR/SL/15/94 "Službeni list R BiH", 24 June 1994.
- PR/SL/18/92 "Službeni list R BiH", 7 October 1992.
- PR/SL/27/93 "Službeni list R BiH", 31 December 1994.
- PR/SL/37/95 "Službeni list R BiH", 2 October 1995.
- PR/UF/95 "Ustav Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine". 1995.
- PR/UR/95 "Ustav R BiH". 1995.

*Newspapers and journals*

- PU/OS/96 Daily newspaper "Oslobođenje", 5 October 1996.
- PU/SV/13/96 "Svijet", issue 13, published by "Oslobođenje International Ljubljana". 1996.
- PU/SV/43/96 "Svijet", issue 43. 1996.
- PU/SV/46/96 "Svijet", issue 46. 1996.
- PU/SV/61/97 "Svijet", issue 61. 1997.
- PU/SV/62/97 "Svijet", issue 62. 1997.
- PU/SV/65/97 "Svijet", issue 65. 1997.
- PU/SV/66/97 "Svijet", issue 66. 1997.
- PU/SV/67/97 "Svijet", issue 67. 1997.
- PU/VN/96 "Večernje novine". 1996.
- PU/ZE/97 Magazine "Žena 21". May 1997.

## Appendix 2 – Sources of the Croatian National Corpus

### Non-fiction

#### *Books*

B_STULLI	Bošković-Stulli, Maja: Priče i pričanje, MH, Zagreb 1997.
BITI	Biti, Vladimir: Upletanje nerečenog, MH, Zagreb 1994.
FIZIKA	Boranić, Borko-Pokaz, Vladimir: Zbirka zadataka iz fizike za vježbe i natjecanja u osnovnoj školi, Empirija, Zagreb 1998.
BRAJICIC_FIL	Brajičić, Rudolf S.J.: Filozofski fragmenti, Filozofsko-teološki fakultet Družbe Isusove, Zagreb 1999.
BURZE_DI	Papuga, Marinko-Orsag, Silvije-Adrović, Zdenko-Mikac, Aleksandar: Uvod u financijsko tržište i tržište vrijednosnih papira, I. dio, Zagrebačka poslovna škola, Zagreb 1990.
EKO_POLJ	Znaor, Darko: Ekološka poljoprivreda, Nakladni zavod Globus, Zagreb 1996.
FANUKO_S	Fanuko, Nenad: Sociologija, Profil, 1996.
HR_MUZEJ	Muzeji i galerije Hrvatske, Ministarstvo kulture RH, Zagreb 1992.

- HR\_ODLIK Adanić, Stjepan-Kašpar, Krešimir-Prister, Boris-Ružić, Ivan: Hrvatska odlikovanja, Narodne novine, Zagreb 1996.
- JURIC Jurić, Stipe: Što je Bog rekao o patnji, Hrvatska dominikanska provincija-Nakladni zavod Globus, Zagreb 1997.
- KALINIC Kalinić, Pavle: Andrija Hebrang, Narodne novine, Zagreb 1996.
- KATICIC Katičić, Radoslav: Na ishodištu, MH, Zagreb 1994.
- KELEMEN\_PORU Kelemen, Milko: Poruka pateru Kolbu, Durieux, Zagreb 1995.
- KOSCEVIC Košćević, Remza: Antička bronca iz Siska, Institut za povijesne znanosti, Zagreb 1991.
- LASIC\_HERMEN Lasić, Stanko: Hermeneutika individualnosti i ontološki strukturalizam, Durieux, Zagreb 1994.
- LOVRENOVI\_UZ Lovrenović, Ivan: Unutarnja zemlja, Durieux, Zagreb 1999.
- LUCIC Lučić, Ivo: Selo moje Ravno, Hrvatska hercegovačka zajednica »Herceg Stjepan«, Zagreb 1992.
- MAKOVIC Maković, Zvonko: Vilko Gecan, MH, Zagreb 1997.
- MAROEVIC\_ZG Maroević, Ivo: Zagreb, njim samim, Durieux, Zagreb 1999.
- MIKROPED Bratanić, Marija: Mikropedagogija, Školska knjiga, Zagreb 1990.

- MRAOVIC                      Mraović, Branka: Pobjednici i gubitnici, Nakladni zavod Globus, Zagreb 1995.
- MUCALO\_SBOJI              Mučalo, Marina: S domovinskih bojišta, NZMH, Zagreb 1993.
- NICK\_DIPLOMA              Diplomacija: metode i tehnike, Barbat, Zagreb 1997.
- NICK\_DIPL\_LEX              Nick, Stanko: Diplomatski leksikon, Barbat, Zagreb 1999.
- PERISIN\_FINA              Perišin, Ivo: Financijski mehanizam i hrvatska zbilja, Barbat , Zagreb 2000.
- PIVCEVIC                    Pivčević, Edo: Na tragu fenomenologije, Nakladni zavod Globus, Zagreb 1997.
- PODRUMAR                 Zoričić, Milorad: Podrumarstvo, Nakladni zavod Globus, Zagreb 1995.
- POZAIC\_CUVAR              Pozaić, Valentin: Čuvari života, Filozofsko-teološki fakultet Družbe Isusove, Zagreb 1998.
- PPOLITOL                    Milardović, Anđelko: Uvod u politologiju, Pan liber, Zagreb-Osijek 1997.
- R\_TUMORI                    Šamija, Mirko-Šarcevic, Božena-Rudan, Igor: Rijetki tumori, Nakladni zavod Globus, Klinika za tumore, Hrvatska liga protiv raka, Zagreb 1997.
- RADIOTER                    Šamija, Mirko-Krajina, Zdenko-Purišić, Anka: Radioterapija, Nakladni zavod Globus, Klinika za tumore, Hrvatska liga protiv raka, Zagreb 1996.

- SOMEN Sömen, Branka: John Malkovich, ni heroj ni odmetnik, Filmski festival Pula, Zagreb 1991.
- STIPCEVIC\_A Stipčević, Aleksandar: O savršenom cenzoru, NZMH, Zagreb 1994.
- STIPCEVIC Stipčević, Ennio: Glazba iz arhiva, MH, Zagreb 1997.
- STRANKE Milardović, Anđelko (ur): Političke stranke, Pan liber, 1996.
- TOMIC\_B Tomić, Radoslav: Barokni oltari i skulptura u Dalmaciji, MH 1995.
- TRINAJST Trinajstić, Nenad: Ogledi o znanosti i znanstvenicima, MH, Zagreb 1998.
- UVOD\_MED Grmek, Mirko Dražen-Budak, Antun: Uvod u medicinu, Nakladni zavod Globus, Zagreb 1996.
- VINOGRAD Mirošević, Nikola: Vinogradarstvo, Nakladni zavod Globus, Zagreb 1996.
- ZMEGAC\_B Žmegač, Viktor: Bečka moderna, MH, Zagreb 1998.
- ZOVKO1 Zovko, Jure: Pogovor hrvatskom izdanju u: Pivčević, Edo: Na tragu fenomenologije, Nakladni zavod Globus, Zagreb 1997.
- ZOVKO2 Zovko, Jure: Schlegelova hermeneutika, Nakladni zavod Globus, 1997.

*Magazines*

AUTOBXXYY_ZZ	Auto Blic, where XX stands for the year, YY stands for the issue number and ZZ stands for the article number.
BUGXX_YY	Bug, where XX stands for the issue number and YY stands for the article number.
KONTXXYY_ZZ	Kontura, where XX stands for the year, YY stands for the issue number and ZZ stands for the article number.
HFL12_97	Hrvatski filmski ljetopis 12/1997.

*Daily journals*

VJXXYYZZR	Vjesnik, from 1st November 1998 to 19th January 1999, where XX stands for the year, YY stands for the month, ZZ stands for the day and R stands for the section.
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*Weekly journals*

NAXXXYYZ	Nacional, issues 118-160, where XXX stands for the issue, YY stands for the article number and Z stands for the section (R) or column (K).
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- GKXXYY\_ZZ Glas koncila, issues 18/1996-1/1999, where XX stands for the year, YY stands for the issue number and ZZ stands for the article number.
- MEXXYZZ\_WWW Međimurje, from 17th April 1996 to 13th January 1999, where XX stands for the year, YY stands for the month, ZZ stands for the day and WWW stands for the article number.

## **Fiction**

### *Novels*

- BOGISIC Bogišić, Rafo: Dnevnik vladike Deše, Naprijed, Zagreb 1993.
- BRUCIC Bručić, Zoran: Diploma za smrt, Stvarnost, Zagreb 1990.
- DRAKULIC\_GLA Drakulić, Slavenka: Božanska glad, Durieux, Zagreb 1995.
- FABRIO\_VRONS Bručić, Zoran: Diploma za smrt, Stvarnost, Zagreb 1990.
- F90IVIN Ivin, Danijel: Hrvatsko pitanje, Forum, Zagreb 1990-1991.
- F91LAUSIC Laušić, Jozo: Armagedon, Forum, Zagreb 1991.
- PAVELIC\_IZME Pavelić, Dragan: Između prije i poslije, Durieux, Zagreb 1998.

F94SABOLOVIC	Sabolović, Mirko: Među zvijezdama, Forum, Zagreb 1994-1996.
F92STAHULJAK	Stahuljak, Višnja: Zlatna vuga, Forum, Zagreb 1992-1996.
STOJAN	Stojan, Slavica: Priča po Pavlu, MH, Zagreb 1993.
STOJSAV_DNEV	Stojsavljević, Vladimir: Ljetni dnevnik rata, Ital Merkur, Zagreb 1991.
SEGEDIN	Šegedin, Petar: Svijetle noći, Naprijed, Zagreb 1993.
STIKS_DVORAC	Štiks, Igor: Dvorac u Romagni, Durieux, Zagreb 2000.
F94VUKUSIC	Vukušić, Stjepan: Duh u kamenu, Forum, Zagreb 1994-1995.

*Short stories*

F92SUR_PUHL	Šur-Puhlovski, Marina: Podzemlje, Forum, Zagreb 1992-1993.
DRAGOJEVIC_C	Dragojević, Danijel: Cvjetni trg, Durieux, Zagreb 1996.
JERGOVIC_KAR	Jergović, Miljenko: Karivani, Durieux, Zagreb 1995.
JERGOVIC_MAM	Jergović, Miljenko: Mama Leone, Durieux, Zagreb 2000.
JERGOVIC_SAR	Jergović, Miljenko: Sarajevski Marlboro, Zagreb 1996.
PRICA_DUGAUL	Prica, Čedo: Priče iz Duge ulice, Durieux, Zagreb 1994.
REHAK_PREOBR	Rehak, Eta: Preobrazbe potonule uljanice, Durieux, Zagreb.

VRKLJAN\_ZID Vrkljan, Irena: Pred crvenim zidom, Durieux, 1994.

*Journals, travel journals*

DELORKO Delorko, Olinko: Dnevnik bez nadnevaka, MH, Zagreb 1996.

**Mixed publications**

*Imaginative-factographic*

ANDRIC Andrić, Stanko: Povijest Slavonije u sedam požara, Gordogan, Zagreb 1992.

GRLIC\_MEMOAR Grlić, Eva: Memoari, Durieux, Zagreb 1997.

IVANKOV\_700D Ivanković, Željko: 700 dana opsade, Durieux, Zagreb 1995.

PAVLICC1 Pavličić, Pavao: Rukoljub, Slon, Zagreb 1995.

*Essays, speeches*

CRNKOVIC Crnković, Zlatko: Spoj pripovjedaštva i znanstvenosti u: Pavličić, Pavao: Rukoljub, Slon, Zagreb 1995.

CORAK\_MITTER Čorak, Željka: Oproštajno pismo gospodinu Mitterandu, Durieux, Zagreb 1993.

- GOTOVAC Gotovac, Vlado: Znakovi za Hrvatsku, Nakladni zavod Globus, Zagreb 1995.
- JERGOVIC\_NAC Jergović, Miljenko: Naci bonton, Durieux, Zagreb 1998.
- PAIC\_POSTMOD Paić, Žarko: Postmoderna igra svijeta, Durieux, Zagreb 1996.
- REM\_CITATIHR Rem, Goran: Čitati Hrvatsku, Durieux, Zagreb 1994.

### Appendix 3 – Questionnaire A used in Zagreb

GODINA ROĐENJA:

SPOL: Ž    M

MJESTO U KOJEMU STE ŽIVJELI  
NAJVEĆI DIO VAŠEG ŽIVOTA:

#### UPITNIK A

Vaša je zadaća u svakom od sljedećih 20 upita (A1-A20) prevesti, ili točnije – izraziti na svojem jeziku, značenje debelim slovima tiskane engleske rečenice (u kojoj su glagoli u infinitivu). Uloga teksta u uglatim zagradama je objašnjavanje konteksta. Doslovan prijevod nije potreban, niti poželjan. **Važno je da nastojite izraziti značenje polazne rečenice što prirodnije na svojem jeziku.** Vi možete dodati potrebne riječi i izostaviti nepotrebne.

- A1. [A and B are talking about B's home town. A: What is the weather usually like in your home town?]  
B: **The weather there <BE> nice.**
- A2. [A and B (university students) are talking about a friend of theirs. A: She really studies hard, doesn't she?]  
B: **Oh yes, every month she <PASS> one exam.**
- A3. [A: What is the weather usually like in your home town?]  
B: **It <BE> very nice, but sometimes <BE> rather cold there.**

- A4. [A and B are talking about their (present) university studies. They do not study at the same faculty. A: Luckily our exams aren't usually very difficult. What about your's?]  
B: **Well, our exams <BE> (quite often / sometimes) rather difficult.**
- A5. [A: Do dogs meow?]  
B: **No, they <BARK>.**
- A6. [A is talking about his sister]  
A: **I always <GET VERY ANGRY> when she <CRITICISE> me.**
- A7. [A and B are talking about B's previous home town. A: What was the weather usually like there?]  
**The weather there <BE> nice.**
- A8. [A is telling about his sister's (who is 40 years old) youth.]  
A: **She <BE> very efficient in her university studies - every month she <PASS> one exam.**
- A9. [A and B are talking about B's previous home town. A: What was the weather usually like in your home town?]  
B: **It <BE> very nice, but sometimes <BE> rather cold there.**
- A10. [A and B (both are 40 years old) are talking about their university studies in the past. They did not study at the same faculty. A: Luckily our exams weren't usually very difficult. What about yours?]  
B: **Well, our exams <BE> (quite often / sometimes) rather difficult.**

- A11. [A and B are talking about B's neighbour. (A has never seen him.) A: What is he like?]  
**B: He <BE> extremely boring. He <TALK> about his cats for hours.**
- A12. [My life is a complete disaster.]  
**Whatever I <TRY>, I always <FAIL>.**
- A13. [(Speaking to a child:) You must be nice to animals.]  
**If you <TEASE> a cat, it <MEOW>.**
- A14. [A: Why did your brother quit his job? B: Well, it simply wasn't the right job for him. A: How do you mean?] B:  
**Whatever he <DO>, he <FAIL>.**
- A15. [A is talking about his sister, who is going to have a big exam next week.]  
**A: Every month (during the last three years) she <PASS> an exam - surely she <PASS> this time.**
- A16. [A: I will tell you what often happened to me last winter.]  
**A: I <SIT> home and <READ>. Someone <KNOCK> at the door. I <LOOK/PEEP> between the curtains <TO SEE> who it <BE>. If it <BE> my brother, I <NOT OPEN>, because i <BE> angry at him.**
- A17. [Do you see that dog over there? It's a really angry dog.]  
**If you <TEASE> it, it <BITE> you.**
- A18. [A and B are walking in the city. A sees a shop in which he has been.]

**A: I <BUY> (drinking) glasses in that shop once, many years ago. None of them <REMAIN> (they are all gone), but I <REMEMBER> that they <BE> very dangerous, because they <BREAK> very easily.**

A19. [A and B are talking about two friends that B had in Canada when she spent one year there ten years ago. (She is not in contact with them any longer.) A: What were they like?]

**B: They <BE> lovely people. I <BE> (often) depressed, because I <BE> far from home, but always when they <SEE/NOTICE> that, they <COMFORT> me.**

A20. [A: I will tell you what happened to me a few times when I was a child.]

**A: When I <BE> small, I <HAVE A HABIT> <PLAY> on a building site near our home. I <CLIMB UP AND DOWN>, <RUN AROUND>. Sometimes I <NOT BE CAREFUL> and <STEP> on a nail or something. Then I <START TO CRY> and <RUN> home. My mother <CLEAN> the wound and <PUT> a plaster on it.**

## Appendix 4 – Questionnaire A used in Belgrade

GODINA ROĐENJA:

POL:     Ž     M

MESTO GDE STE ŽIVELI NAJVEĆI DEO VAŠEG  
ŽIVOTA:

KOJI JE VAŠ MATERNJI JEZIK (JEZIK KOJI  
NAJBOLJE ZNATE):

### UPITNIK A

*UPUTSTVA:*

- Vaš zadatak je da svako od sledećih 20 pitanja (A1-A20) prevedete, ili tačnije - izrazite na Vašem jeziku značenje **rečenice napisane debelim slovima** na engleskom jeziku (u kojoj su glagoli u infinitivu).
- Uloga teksta u uglastim zagradama je objašnjavanje konteksta. Obratite pažnju na to, dešava li se radnja u prošlosti, sadašnjosti ili budućnosti.
- Doslovan prevod nije potreban, niti poželjan. *Važno je da nastojite da izrazite značenje polazne rečenice što prirodnije na Vašem jeziku.*
- Možete dodati potrebne reči i izostaviti nepotrebne.

- A1. **When I <ARRIVE> at the party yesterday, my friends already <EAT> all the food.**
- A2. [A: She really studies hard, doesn't she?]  
B: **Oh yes, every month she <PASS> one exam.**
- A3. [A: What is the weather usually like in your hometown?]  
B: **It <BE> very nice, but sometimes <BE> rather cold there.**
- A4. [Lecturing about literature.]  
**Branislav Nušić <CAN> <BE> very sarcastic in his comedies.**
- A5. [A: Do dogs meow?]  
B: **No, they <BARK>.**
- A6. [I work really hard.]  
**When there is a lot of urgent work to be done, I [*it can happen*] <STAY> in the office the whole night.**
- A7. **Pythons <CAN> <GROW> up to 10 meters long!**
- A8. [A is telling about his sister's (who is 40 years old) youth.]  
A: **She <BE> very efficient in her university studies - every month she <PASS> one exam.**
- A9. [A and B are talking about B's previous home town. A: What was the weather usually like in your hometown?]  
B: **It <BE> very nice, but sometimes <BE> rather cold there.**

- A10. [Talking about a weightlifter.]  
**He <CAN> <LIFT> 150 kilos!**
- A11. [A and B are talking about B's neighbour. (A has never seen him.) A: What is he like?]  
**B: He <BE> extremely boring. He <TALK> about his cats for hours.**
- A12. [My life is a complete disaster.]  
**Whatever I <TRY>, I always <FAIL>.**
- A13. [Let me tell you about a roommate I once had.]  
**He <BE> extremely boring. He <TALK> about his cats for hours.**
- A14. **When you <TALK> to your sister tomorrow, <TELL> her <CALL> me.**
- A15. [A is talking about his sister, who is going to have a big exam next week.]  
**A: Every month during the last three years she <PASS> an exam - surely she <PASS> this time.**
- A16. [When I was a child, my grandfather visited us often, although he lived far away.]  
**He usually <STAY> for an entire week.**
- A17. [same as in A16]  
**He sometimes <STAY> for an entire week.**
- A18. [same as in A16]  
**He often <STAY> for an entire week.**

A19. [same as in A16]

**He rarely <STAY> for an entire week.**

A20. [same as in A16]

**Every time he <STAY> for an entire week.**

A21. [Talking about childhood.]

**When I <BE> small, I <HAVE A HABIT> <PLAY> on a building site near our home. I <CLIMB UP AND DOWN>, <RUN AROUND>. Sometimes I <NOT BE CAREFUL> and <STEP> on a nail or something. Then I <START TO CRY> and <RUN> home. My mother <CLEAN> the wound and <PUT> a plaster on it.**

## Appendix 5 – Questionnaire B used in Zagreb

### UPITNIK B

U svakoj od točaka B1 – B4 procijenite kako dobro značenje svakog prijevoda odgovara značenju polazne rečenice i smjestite ih (odnosno odgovarajuća slova a, b, c itd.) prema tome u tabelu koja se nalazi ispod prijevoda. **Prijeviđi ne trebaju biti doslovni, važnije je da je prijevod prirodan u vašem jeziku.**

B1. “Every Sunday we visited our grandmother.”

- a) Mi smo svake nedjelje posjećivali baku.
- b) Mi bismo svake nedjelje posjećivali baku.
- c) Znali smo svake nedjelje posjećivati baku.
- d) Običavali smo svake nedjelje posjećivati baku.
- e) Znali bismo svake nedjelje posjećivati baku.
- f) Mi smo svake nedjelje posjetili baku.
- g) Mi bismo svake nedjelje posjetili baku.
- h) Znali smo svake nedjelje posjetiti baku.
- i) Običavali smo svake nedjelje posjetiti baku.
- k) Znali bismo svake nedjelje posjetiti baku.

potpuno prikladni prijevodi:.....  
(najbolji prijevod:.....)

prilično prikladni prijevodi:.....

neprikladni prijevodi:.....

“Tako se uopće ne može reći!” .....

**B2. "Every morning he makes me a big sandwich."**

- a) Svakog jutra mi pravi velik sendvič.
- b) Svakog jutra zna mi praviti velik sendvič.
- c) Svakog jutra običava mi praviti velik sendvič.
- d) Svakog jutra napravi mi velik sendvič.
- e) Svakog jutra zna mi napraviti velik sendvič.
- f) Svakog jutra običava mi napraviti velik sendvič.

potpuno prikladni prijevodi:.....  
 (najbolji prijevod:.....)

prilično prikladni prijevodi:.....

neprikladni prijevodi:.....

"Tako se uopće ne može reći!" .....

**B3. "I am sure that she will often visit us."**

- a) Sigurno će nas često posjećivati.
- b) Sigurno će nas znati često posjećivati.
- c) Sigurno će nas običavati često posjećivati.
- d) Sigurno će nas često posjetiti.
- e) Sigurno će nas znati često posjetiti.
- f) Sigurno će nas običavati često posjetiti.

potpuno prikladni prijevodi:.....  
 (najbolji prijevod:.....)

prilično prikladni prijevodi:.....

neprikladni prijevodi:.....

"Tako se uopće ne može reći!" .....

**B4. "After the wedding we never met him again although he had often visited us in the past."**

- a) Poslije svadbe nismo ga nikada više sreli, mada nas je u prošlosti redovito posjećivao.
- b) Poslije svadbe nismo ga nikada više sreli, mada nas je u prošlosti bio redovit posjećivao.
- c) Poslije svadbe nismo ga nikada više sreli, mada nas je u prošlosti znao redovito posjećivati.
- d) Poslije svadbe nismo ga nikada više sreli, mada nas je u prošlosti bio znao redovito posjećivati.
- e) Poslije svadbe nismo ga nikada više sreli, mada bi nas u prošlosti redovito posjećivao.
- f) Poslije svadbe nismo ga nikada više sreli, mada bi nas u prošlosti bio redovito posjećivao.
- h) Poslije svadbe nismo ga nikada više sreli, mada nas je u prošlosti običavao redovito posjećivati.
- i) Poslije svadbe nismo ga nikada više sreli, mada nas je u prošlosti bio običavao redovito posjećivati.

potpuno prikladni prijevodi:.....  
(najbolji prijevod:.....)

prilično prikladni prijevodi:.....

neprikladni prijevodi:.....

"Tako se uopće ne može reći!" .....

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B5. Može li po vašem mišljenju rečenica ”**Nismo znali ići često u kino.**” značiti otprilike isto kao rečenica ”**Nismo običavali ići često u kino.**” ?

DA    NE    NE ZNAM    (zaokružite)

B6. Može li po vašem mišljenju rečenica ”**Ne znamo ići često u kino.**” značiti otprilike isto kao rečenica ”**Ne običavamo ići često u kino.**” ?

DA    NE    NE ZNAM    (zaokružite)

## Appendix 6 – Questionnaire B used in Belgrade

### UPITNIK B

#### *UPUTSTVO:*

*U pitanjima B1-B3 Vaš zadatak je da prevedete, na Vaš jezik, rečenice napisane debelim slovima.*

**B1.** [Speaking about a grandfather, who is no longer alive]

He used to surprise children with small gifts.

**B2.** [Talking to a new colleague]:

**Watch out – the boss can be really nasty with new employees.**

**B3. He tends to be stubborn when he thinks he's right.**

#### UPUTSTVO:

**U pitanjima B4 i B5 Vaš zadatak je da ocenite koliko dobro značenje svakog ponuđenog prevoda odgovara značenju polazne rečenice i smestite ih (odnosno odgovarajuća slova a, b, c itd.) prema tome u tabelu koja se nalazi ispod prevoda.**

**B4. He used to visit her every Thursday, which he, by the way, still does today.**

- a) On je nju svakog četvrtka posećivao, što, uostalom, i dan-danas čini.
- b) Umeo je da je poseti svakog četvrtka, što, uostalom, i dan-danas čini.

- c) On bi nju svakog četvrtka posetio, što, uostalom, i dan-danas čini.
- d) Imao je običaj da je poseti svakog četvrtka, što, uostalom, i dan-danas čini.

potpuno prikladni prevodi:.....  
(najbolji prevod:.....)

prilično prikladni prevodi:.....

neprikladni prevodi:.....

“Tako se uopšte ne može reći!” .....

**B5. “I am sure that she will be contacting us often.”**

- a) Sigurno će nas često kontaktirati.
- b) Sigurno će nas znati često kontaktirati.
- c) Sigurno će nas umeti često kontaktirati.
- d) Sigurno će znati da nas često kontaktira.
- e) Sigurno će umeti da nas često kontaktira.
- f) Sigurno će imati običaj da nas često kontaktira.

potpuno prikladni prevodi:.....  
(najbolji prevod:.....)

prilično prikladni prevodi:.....

neprikladni prevodi:.....

“Tako se uopšte ne može reći!” .....

-----

**B6.** Može li po vašem mišljenju rečenica “**Nismo znali ići često u bioskop.**” značiti otprilike isto kao i rečenica “**Nismo imali običaj ići često u bioskop.**”?

DA    NE    NE ZNAM    (zaokružite)

**B7.** Može li po vašem mišljenju rečenica “**Ne znamo ići često u bioskop.**” značiti otprilike isto kao i rečenica “**Nemamo običaj ići često u bioskop.**”?

DA    NE    NE ZNAM    (zaokružite)

**B8.** Može li po vašem mišljenju rečenica «**Da li je on znao i tebe posećivati?**» značiti otprilike isto kao i rečenica «**Da li je on i tebe posećivao?**» ?

DA    NE    NE ZNAM    (zaokružite)





GLAGOLI ZNATI I UM(J)ETI  
U SRPSKOM, HRVATSKOM I  
BOSANSKOM JEZIKU

Studija slučaja u gramatikalizaciji  
habitualnih pomoćnih glagola

Sažetak na srpskom  
(Serbian-language abstract)

# UVOD

## Tema studije

Cilj ove studije je opisati jednu specifičnu upotrebu glagola *znati* i *um(j)eti* u srpskom, hrvatskom i bosanskom jeziku (SCB)<sup>1</sup>. Pokazaću da se oni upotrebljavaju kao pomoćni glagoli za izražavanje habitualne, karakteristične ili sporadične aktivnosti. (Koristiću skraćenicu *HCS AUX* za takvu upotrebu tih glagola, a *HCS* će se odnositi na semantičku oblast habitualnih, karakterističnih ili sporadičnih situacija.) Nameravam da dokažem da je ovo značenje donekle gramatikalizovano, i da se jasno razlikuje od drugih značenja ovih glagola. Pružiću neka moguća objašnjenja za to kako se upotreba glagola *znati* i *um(j)eti* proširila od dinamičke modalnosti na HCS AUX.

## Metodološka i teoretska pozadina

Primenjena metoda istraživanja uveliko se zasniva na „pristupu Bybee/Dahl“ (vidi Dahl 2000a: 6-8), koji se odnosi na seriju tipoloških studija o jezičkim kategorijama vremena, aspekta, načina i modalnosti iz ugla gramatikalizacije. Osnovne jedinice gramatičkog opisa se nazivaju *gramemama*<sup>2</sup>,

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<sup>1</sup> Skraćenica *SCB* upotrebljavaće se u ovoj studiji za ono što je ranije bilo poznato kao srpskohrvatski jezik, a što se danas može smatrati kao tri ili četiri – zavisno od toga da li je izdvojen standard koji se koristi u Crnoj Gori – odvojene književne standardizacije, ili, alternativno, varijante jednog standarda.

<sup>2</sup> *Gramema* je moj prevod za engleski termin *gram*.

koje mogu kombinovati semantičke elemente iz sve tri navedene kategorije. Pokušaću da pružim semantički opis HCS AUX upotrebe primenjujući međujezičke definicije aspekta i modalnosti, umesto unutarjezičkih opozicija ili tradicionalnih opisa SCB-a.

## Izvori građe

HCS AUX glagoli se relativno retko pojavljuju u tekstovima te je jedino korišćenjem velikog broja raznih izvora bilo moguće sakupiti dovoljno informacija za donošenje uverljivih zaključaka. Urađena su dva delimično identična istraživanja sa upitnicima: jedan u Zagrebu 15.1.1998. sa 31 [gd][Hb]\_ca , i jedan u Beogradu 10. i 12.5.2003. sa ukupno 44 ispitanika. Glavna svrha je bila da se testira da li će određeni konteksti navesti značajan broj korisnika jezika da upotrebe HCS AUX.

Dva korpusa su korišćena za ovu studiju: *Korpus bosanskih tekstova na Univerzitetu u Oslu (OCBT)* (<<http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/Bosnian/Corpus.html>>) i *Hrvatski nacionalni korpus (CNC)* (<<http://www.hnk.ffzg.hr/>>). CNC takođe sadrži poseban korpus starih tekstova (od 1556. do 1950.) koji se zove *Klasici hrvatske književnosti (CCL)*. Internet arhiva beogradskog dnevnika *Politika* je donekle služila kao zamena za korpus srpskog jezika. Nažalost nisam imao na raspolaganju korpus govornog SCB-a. Neke dodatne informacije sam stekao pomoću Internet pretraživača Google (<<http://www.google.com>>).

## OPIS HCS AUX UPOTREBE GLAGOLA *ZNATI* I *UM(J)ETI*

### Druga značenja glagola *znati* i *um(j)eti*

*Znati* je glagol indoevropskog porekla, povezan sa Lat. *noscere*, Fr. *connaître*, G. *können* i Eng. *can*. Značenje mu se proširilo od znanja i poznavanja činjenica i (*Ne znamo gdje se odselila*) do izražavanja mentalne sposobnosti<sup>3</sup> (*Zna se on sam za sebe brinuti*, za razliku od fizičke sposobnosti ili opšte sposobnosti; vidi Bybee et al. 1994: 176-194). U takvim rečenicama subjekat je uvek živ i u ulozi "agensa" glavnog glagola, što je prirodno, jer se znanje i mentalna sposobnost (što se može parafrazirati i kao *veština*) po definiciji vezuju za živa bića, pre svega ljude.

*Umeti/umjeti*<sup>4</sup> je izvedenica od imenice *ûm* (Lat. 'ratio') praslovenskog porekla. *Um(j)eti* izražava mentalnu sposobnost gotovo na isti način kao *znati* ali ne pokriva druge upotrebe tog glagola. Koristiću skraćenicu *MA AUX* za *znati* i *um(j)eti* u ulozi pomoćnog glagola sa značenjem mentalne sposobnosti, odnosno veštine.

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<sup>3</sup> U ovom procesu su možda važnu ulogu imale rečenice tipa *Alkemičar koji zna kako napraviti zlato*, od kojih bi se moglo doći do rečenica tipa *Alkemičar koji zna napraviti zlato*.

<sup>4</sup> Zbog raznih refleksa praslovenskog jata oblik glagola se razlikuje zavisno od standarda SCB-a, i u ovom radu ću se pozivati na oba oblika zajednički sa *um(j)eti*

## Opisi HCS AUX osobina glagola *znati* i *um(j)eti* u rečnicima

Upotreba glagola *znati* i *um(j)eti* za izražavanje HCS značenja je veoma oskudno obrađena u lingvističkoj literaturi. Za *um(j)eti*, RJA ju jedini opisuje, sa nekoliko istorijskih primera. Za *znati*, HCS AUX upotreba je na razne načine opisana u rečnicima RSKNJ, RSKJ, RJA i Anić (1998) i približno se može svesti na sledeća značenja:

1. **imati običaj** – npr. - - *Mladenka nam je znala pričati o zalascima sunca i večerima na morskoj obali* - - (CNC grlic\_memoar 140810)
2. **raditi nešto često** – npr. *Toliko smo puta znali da sjedimo ovdje zajedno pijuckajući čaj.* (OCBT B/FM/TJ/96)
3. **“desiti se“ (povremeno/habitualno)** - *Znalo mi se to dogoditi kad sam bila mala.* (CNC drakulic\_gla 158691)
4. **moći / imati sposobnost (kod neživih subjekata)** – npr. *Malaria zna da dovede čovjeka i pred samoubistvo.* (OCBT B/FM/TJ/96)

Moja je hipoteza da su ova značenja međusobno povezana i da vuku korene iz istog procesa semantičke promene i gramatikalizacije. Ovo je razlog zbog koga sam odlučio da ih obrađujem u ovoj studiji kao jedno značenje, koje ću zvati “habitualna (odnosi se pre svega na podznačenja 1 i 2), karakteristična (podznačenje 4) ili sporadična (podznačenje 3) aktivnost“. Pokazaću takođe da *um(j)eti* u velikoj meri može da na sličan način izrazi HCS značenje kao i *znati*.

## Zapažanja o rezultatima upitnika

Najznačajniji rezultat istraživanja sa upitnicima jeste da su oni proizveli veliki broj HCS pomoćnih glagola iako ispitanici nisu bili svesni da su glagoli *znati* i *um(j)eti* predmet studije, niti je od njih bilo eksplicitno traženo da ih koriste. Čini se da odgovori na BgB3 i BgB2 ukazuju na to da su HCS pomoćni glagoli primarni instrument za izražavanje karakterističnog ponašanja, bar u srpskoj varijanti SCB-a. Drugi važan zaključak jeste da praktično svi govornici beogradske varijante SCB-a koriste HCS pomoćne glagole, s time što varira stepen učestalosti. Mešana upotreba dvaju HCS pomoćna glagola nije neobična na nivou idiolekata.

## Pregled istraživanja sa korpusima

U OCBT-u je izvršena pretraga svih oblika glagola *znati* i *um(j)eti*. *Znati* se pojavilo 4590 puta, i od toga 343 puta u ulozi pomoćnog glagola, uključujući 109 puta sa HCS značenjem. Glagol *umjeti*, koji uvek služi kao pomoćni glagol, pojavio se 78 puta, i od toga sedam puta sa HCS značenjem. HCS AUX glagoli se relativno češće pojavljuju u beletristici i esejima nego npr. u novinskim tekstovima.

U CNC-u, zbog veličine korpusa i ograničenih resursa, analizirana je samo upotreba HCS AUX glagola *znati* u prošlom vremenu. Od 3077 pojavljivanja 730 je bilo u ulozi pomoćnog glagola, od čega 388 sa HCS značenjem. S obzirom na različit sastav dvaju korpusa, smatram da je položaj HCS pomoćnog glagola *znati* donekle izraženiji u CNC-u (koji uslovno rečeno sadrži „hrvatski jezik“) nego u OCBT-u (koji uslovno rečeno sadrži „bosanski jezik“).

## **Distribucija HCS AUX po licima i broju**

Velika većina rečenica sa HCS AUX glagolima u OCBT-u (86%) i CNC-u (84%) bila je u trećem licu, češće jednine nego množine. HCS AUX glagoli se najređe pojavljuju u drugom licu. Pretpostavljam da je veća učestalost prvog i drugog lica u govornom jeziku, posebno u razgovorima.

## **Glagolski vid i HCS AUX**

Poznato je da se nesvršeni glagolski vid u slovenskim jezicima koristi za označavanje nesvršenih situacija koje su se ponavljale u prošlosti. Glagolski vid se takođe može upotrebiti za razlikovanje svršenih od nesvršenih situacija. Kada se govori o svršenim situacijama koje su se ponavljale u prošlosti, u nekim od slovenskih jezika, npr. u ruskom, uvek se koristi nesvršen vid, a u drugim, kao u češkom ili slovačkom, obično se koristi svršeni vid. Mønnesland (1983: 67) svrstava SCB bliže drugoj grupi jezika kad se radi o prezentu, ali ne i kada se radi o prošlom vremenu.

S druge strane, u slučaju HCS AUX konstrukcija nije potrebno da glavni glagol izražava habitualnost, jer je to značenje naznačeno HCS pomoćnim glagolom. Zato glavni glagol može da, putem glagolskog vida, slobodno izražava svršenost/nesvršenost odgovarajuće situacije. Podaci iz korpusa podržavaju ovu hipotezu.

## **Vremenski prilozi i HCS AUX**

Donekle prateći Hrakovskijevu i Mønneslandovu klasifikaciju, podelio sam vremenske priloge u sledeće glavne grupe za potrebe ove studije:

	CNC	OCBT
<b>Prilozi velike učestalosti</b> , npr. <i>često</i> i <i>češće</i>	12% (46/388)	14% (15/109)
<b>Prilozi sporadičnosti</b> , npr. <i>ponekad</i> i <i>povremeno</i>	4% (15/388)	4% (4/109)
<b>Prilozi pluralnosti</b> , npr. <i>više puta</i> , <i>koji put</i> , i <i>ne jednom</i>	4% (14/388)	3% (3/109)
<b>Prilozi produženog trajanja</b> , npr. <i>satima</i> , <i>danima</i> , <i>godinama</i> , <i>po četiri mjeseca</i> i <i>cijeli dan</i>	3% (11/388)	6% (6/109)

Tabela 1. Procenat HCS AUX rečenica u korpusima sa određenim vrstama vremenskih priloga

Od pojedinačnih priloga *često* se najčešće pojavljuje zajedno sa HCS AUX glagolima. Prilozi cikličnosti (npr. *svakodnevno*) i habitualnosti (npr. *obično*) su bili izuzetno retki u nalazima iz korpusa. Smatram da razlog leži u tome što srž HCS AUX značenja nije regularna ili ciklična aktivnost, već sporadično ponavljanje situacija.

Moja je hipoteza da je prvo došlo do ustaljivanja implikature „*Osoba A ima veštinu da obavlja aktivnost X*“ → „*Osoba A se ponekad bavi aktivnošću X*“. Tek onda je postalo moguće kombinovanje priloga vremenskih intervala sa HCS AUX glagolima. Bilo bi protivno našem shvatanju sveta da se kaže „osoba A ponekad ima veštinu da obavlja aktivnost X“.

## Zapažanja o sintaksičkom ponašanju HCS AUX glagola

Čini se da sintaksička forma glavnog glagola u HCS AUX konstrukcijama pre svega zavisi od varijante SCB-a u pitanju. Konstrukcija sa infinitivom se koristi skoro isključivo u hrvatskoj varijanti i u bosanskoj varijanti pretežno, dok je u srpskoj varijanti dominantna konstrukcija *da*+prezent.

Svakako se oba HCS AUX glagola mogu koristiti sa obe konstrukcije, ali je moguće da se među korisnicima srpske varijante *umeti* ređe upotrebljava sa infinitivom nego *znati*.

Kad posmatramo spojivost HCS AUX glagola sa negacijom, moramo razlikovati „spoljnu“ i „unutrašnju“ negaciju. U prvom slučaju negacijom je obuhvaćen pomoćni glagol, a u drugom slučaju samo glavni glagol. Naišao sam na svega nekoliko rečenica (vidi npr. (1)) sa spoljnom negacijom, a i one se graniče sa MA značenjem. Eventualna habitualnost u ovim rečenicama nije sporadična, već regularna, što se može objasniti logičnom implikacijom negirane sposobnosti/mogućnosti (vidi Palmer 2001: 91). HCS AUX rečenice sa unutrašnjom negacijom još su ređe, ali ne i nemoguće, što dokazuje primer (2).

- (1) *Jedina mu je mana što **se ne zna hvaliti!*** (CNC N153\_11 5557)

[O osobi koja je radila za govornika]

- (2) ***Zna da ne bude lojalna.*** (Zapisano iz živog razgovora)

U korpusima i na internetu nije nađena nijedna upitna rečenica sa HCS AUX glagolima. To bi se moglo objasniti hipotezom da je srž HCS AUX značenja sporadičnost a ne regularnost ili habitualnost *stricto sensu*. Sporadično značenje se može parafrazirati prilogom *ponekad*, ali nam rečenice tipa *Šta ponekad jedeš za doručak?* ili *Gde on ponekad ide na odmor?*, deluju neprirodno, dok bi iste rečenice zvučale potpuno normalno kad bismo prilog *ponekad* zamenili sa *obično*.

## Odsutnost leksičkih i kontekstualnih ograničenja

Prema Bybee i Dahlu (1989: 63-64), odsutnost leksičkih i kontekstualnih ograničenja u upotrebi visoko gramatikalizovanih gramema je važan korelat apstraktnosti i opštosti gramatičkog značenja. Kao prvo, ovaj princip je relevantan za moju temu po tome što se HCS AUX glagoli često koriste sa neživim subjektima ili u bezličnim ili pasivnim rečenicama, dok je MA AUX upotreba moguća samo sa živim subjektima.

Drugo zapažanje je vezano za tematske uloge subjekta u odnosu na glavni glagol. Kad se *znati* i *um(j)eti* upotrebljavaju za označavanje mentalne sposobnosti, sintaksički subjekat rečenice logično može imati samo tematsku ulogu agensa, tj. glavni glagol mora da podrazumeva aktivno učešće od strane subjekta rečenice, kao npr. u *On ume da pliva*.

Takva ograničenja ne važe za HCS AUX: situacije se mogu ponavljati bez obzira na to kakvu ulogu sintaksički subjekat rečenice ima u njima. Čak i ako izuzmemo rečenice bez subjekta ili sa neživim subjektom, sintaksički subjekat HCS AUX glagola *znati* je u 7% slučajeva imao tematsku ulogu koja nije bila agens, npr. ulogu primaoca u (3).

- (3) **Znao bih dobiti** i po sto buketa. (CNC N151\_26 10494)

## HCS AUX i markeri izuzetnosti

Mnoge HCS AUX rečenice sadrže jedan od priloga *i*, *čak*, *čak i* i *također* koje sam nazvao „markerima izuzetnosti“. Često se pojavljuju zajedno sa priložima produženog trajanja (vidi primer (4)), koji su semantički veoma slični, ali spadaju u domen vremenskih a ne prostornih ili numeričkih relacija.

- (4) - - *koristila sam Edin atelijer samo preko ljeta kad **bi on znao i po četiri mjeseca provesti** slikajući na moru.*  
(CNC N150\_18 14375)

Više od 10% HCS AUX rečenica u CNC-u i OCBT-u sadržavalo je jedno od gore navedenih “markera izuzetnosti“, a procenat je između 15 i 20 odsto ako uključimo i priloge produženog trajanja. Ovu grupu priloga možemo smatrati važnom karakteristikom HCS AUX upotrebe glagola *znati* i *um(j)eti*.

### **HCS AUX u odnosu na druge SCB markere habitualnosti**

(Polu)leksički izrazi *imati običaj* (ili *imati naviku*) i *običavati* su blisko povezani sa prilogom *obično*. Gore predstavljen opis semantike HCS AUX glagola nas navodi na zaključak da je osnovna semantička razlika u tome što *imati običaj* i *običavati* izražavaju regularno ponavljanje, tj. habitualnost, dok HCS pomoćni glagoli često označavaju neregularno ponavljanje situacija.

Upotreba kondicionala SCB-a u izražavanju habitualnosti u prošlom vremenu (*habitualni kondicional, PHC*), dobro je dokumentovana u svim relevantnim delima o gramatici i aspektologiji SCB-a (vidi npr. Stevanović 1974: 710-720, Katičić 1991: 68-69). Smatram je čvrsto ukorenjenim markerom habitualnosti sa veoma predvidljivim značenjem i kontekstima u kojima se pojavljuje.

Semantičke i pragmatičke razlike između HCS AUX glagola i habitualnog kondicionala najbolje su vidljive u narativnim tekstovima, posebno onima koji opisuju nekakav lanac događaja koji se ponavljao u prošlosti. HCS AUX (ili (polu)leksički izrazi pomenuti na početku ovog poglavlja) se obično pojavljuju prvi, dajući okvir za situaciju koja se

ponekad dešavala u prošlosti. Onda se primenjuje PHC – nekad više puta za redom – da bi se opisao (unutrašnji) tok događaja unutar jedne situacije, odnosno lanca događaja.

Habitualni kondicional i HCS AUX *znati* mogu biti i kombinovani tako da *znati* bude formalno glavni glagol pomoćnog glagola kondicionala *bi(h)/biste/bismo* (npr. *Mnogo puta **znao bi biti** u društvu svojih dragih osobito veseo*). Procenat takvih konstrukcija od svih HCS AUX *znati* rečenica je bio mnogo veći u CNC-u (10%) nego u OCBT-u (3%). Mada bi bilo logično pretpostaviti da *um(j)eti* može da se u ovom pogledu ponaša kao i *znati*, nisam uspeo da nađem primere takve upotrebe HCS AUX glagola *um(j)eti*, osim dve rečenice na internetu koje mogu biti jednostavno rezultat idiosinkratičnosti dvaju korisnika jezika.

## HCS AUX KAO TMA MARKER

U ovom poglavlju ću razmatrati kako se semantički sadržaj HCS AUX glagola uklapa u domen takozvanih TMA (vreme, način/modalnost, aspekt) gramema. Baziraću svoju diskusiju na tipološkim studijama aspekta i modalnosti.

### HCS AUX i teorije aspekta

Prema Comrieu (1985: 39-40), “habitualno značenje se nalazi na granici triju sistema vremena, aspekta i načina” i “rečenice sa habitualnim aspektualnim značenjem ne odnose se na sekvencu događaja koja se ponavlja u intervalima, već na običaj, karakterističnu situaciju koja važi uvek”. Prema Bybee et al. (1994: 125, vidi i Comrie 1985: 39), nekada se u jezicima sveta habitualno značenje izražava nekom opštom gramemom (npr. prezentom) a nekada ono ima poseban izraz. Potrebno je precizirati da u prvom slučaju, npr. u rečenici *Ta gospoda obično kupuje novine u ovoj trafici*, nosilac habitualnog značenja nije glagol, već nešto drugo, u ovoj rečenici prilog *obično*. U drugom slučaju, npr. u rečenici *Znalo mi se to dogoditi kad sam bila mala* (CNC drakulic\_gla 158691), nosilac habitualnog značenja je poseban habitualni izraz, u ovoj rečenici HCS AUX glagol *znati*. Stoga, možemo zaključiti da HCS AUX spada među grameme koje ne samo što su kompatibilne sa habitualnim značenjem, već ga i nose u sebi.

Bybee i Dahl (1989: 55) ne svrstavaju habitual među šest glavnih vrsta gramema, ali ga pominju među drugim vrstama gramema. Čini se da sporadičnost razlikuje HCS AUX od tipičnih habitualnih gramema kakve su opisane u literaturi. Na primer, Dahl (1985: 97) piše da su “slučajevi gde se upotrebljava HAB obično takvi gde je moguće prilog

*usually* ('obično') u engleskom jeziku". Moj zaključak na osnovu svih raspoloživih informacija jeste da govornici SCB-a u normalnim okolnostima ne bi koristili HCS AUX u takvim rečenicama. HCS AUX ipak uveliko spada u standardne definicije habitualnih gramema.

## HCS AUX i teorije modalnosti

Prema Bybee (1988), značenje engleske reči *can* prošlo je kroz faze prikazane u (5):

- (5) *Can* označava da
- (i) u agentu postoje mentalni uslovi koji omogućuju
  - (ii) u agentu postoje uslovi koji omogućuju
  - (iii) postoje uslovi koji omogućuju
- da se izvrši radnja glavne naznačene situacije  
(prema Bybee et. al. 1994: 192, prevod je moj)

U današnjem SCB-u, značenje (i) – mentalnu sposobnost ili veštinu – obično izražavaju pomoćni glagoli *znati* i *um(j)eti*, a značenja (ii) – generalnu, odnosno mentalnu/fizičku sposobnost – i (iii) – korensku mogućnost – obično izražava pomoćni glagol *moći*.

Ivana Trbojević-Milošević (1999: 255-272) pominje da je glagol *umeti* periferni epistemički modalni glagol koji se može ponašati slično kao pomoćni glagol *moći* u "sporadičnoj", egzistencijalnoj upotrebi" (vidi (6) i (7)).

- (6) Ta infekcija **ume** jako da se pogorša u vlažnim uslovima.
- (7) Ta infekcija **može** jako da se pogorša u vlažnim uslovima.

Dok Trbojević-Milošević smatra ovakvu upotrebu metaforičkom ekstenzijom, personificiranjem neživih subjekata, moje hipoteze upućuju na zaključak da je epistemička ili korenska mogućnosti u (6) zapravo implikatura HCS značenja. Zato upotreba glagola *znati* i *um(j)eti* za izražavanje korenske mogućnosti uvek zahteva nekakvu pluralnost situacija, ili zakonitost. *Moći*, s druge strane, može da se bez problema koristiti za označavanje stvarne epistemičke mogućnosti koja ne sadrži nikakvu pluralnost situacija, ili zakonitost, kao u (8), što bi bilo nemoguće sa *znati* or *um(j)eti* - vidi (9).

(8) Ta infekcija **može** da se pogorša večeras.

(9) \*Ta infekcija **ume/zna** da se pogorša večeras.

Ispitanici su potvrdili moju hipotezu da upotreba HCS AUX glagola *umeti* implicira nekakvo znanje o empirijskim dokazima, dok *moći* prosto izražava postojanje mogućnosti ne dajući razloge za to. (Uporedi Comrie 1985: 40) Korenska mogućnost je konvencionalna (ali ne uvek i relevantna) implikatura HCS AUX značenja, a epistemička mogućnost je potencijalna razgovorna implikatura.

## HCS AUX IZ UGLA GRAMATIKALIZACIJE

### **Definicija gramatikalizacije**

Prema Hopperu i Traugott (2003: xv), gramatikalizacija je “promena kojom leksičke jedinice i konstrukcije u određenim lingvističkim kontekstima počinju da služe u gramatičke svrhe i, nakon što su se gramatikalizovale, nastavljaju da razvijaju nove gramatičke funkcije”.

### **Motivacija gramatikalizacije**

Heine et al. (1991: 27-30) smatraju da je gramatikalizacija motivisana potrebom da se u diskursu izražava neka gramatička funkcija. Ja sam više sklon da prihvatim stav Bybee et al. (1994: 297-300) koji podsećaju da nijedna vrsta gramema nije univerzalna. Stoga ne bi bilo ubedljivo tvrditi da je HCS AUX nastao iz specifične potrebe da se HCS značenje izrazi gramatičkim putem, jer većina jezika sveta nema posebnu habitualnu gramemu. (Bybee et al. 1994: 151-160)

### **Mehanizmi semantičkih promena**

Najznačajniji noviji radovi iz oblasti gramatikalizacije koriste donekle različitu terminologiju u analizi, opisivanju i objašnjavanju mehanizama semantičkih promena, ali oni svi pridaju veliki značaj metafori i implikaturama, kao i zaključivanju odnosno inferencijama. Oni takođe prepoznaju postojanje raznih puteva promene koji su univerzalne prirode. Proces gramatikalizacije je postepen i nemoguće je jasno razgraničiti leksičke i gramatičke jedinice.

## Gramatičnost HCS AUX glagola

Nalazi mog istraživanja podržavaju tri hipoteze u vezi sa glagolima *znati* i *um(j)eti*: njihova HCS AUX upotreba nastala je iz MA AUX upotrebe; HCS AUX upotreba je više gramatička nego MA AUX upotreba; i HCS AUX upotreba se pomerala na putu gramatikalizacije nakon što se izvorno pojavila u SCB-u. Za ove hipoteze relevantne su sledeće osobine koje razlikuju HCS AUX od MA AUX upotrebe dotičnih glagola:

(10)

1) Nestajanje kontekstualnih ograničenja i uopštavanje značenja

1a) MA AUX se uglavnom pojavljuje sa ljudskim ili drugim živim subjektima, dok se HCS AUX kombinuje sa neživim subjektima i pojavljuje se u bezličnim rečenicama

1b) Kod MA AUX subjekat mora da ima tematsku ulogu agensa u odnosu na glavni glagol, dok se HCS AUX kombinuje i sa drugim tematskim ulogama

2) Dekategorizacija

2a) HCS AUX je izgubio neke tipične osobine glagola

2b) HCS AUX se može jasnije smatrati članom zatvorene klase nego MA AUX

Učestalost, iako je veoma relativno merilo, može nam reći nešto o stepenu gramatikalizacije. HCS AUX glagol *znati* se u korpusima pojavljuje mnogo češće nego izrazi *imati običaj/naviku* i *običavati*, ali ređe nego modalni pomoćni glagol *smjeti*. Nije iznenađujuće što je učestalost HCS AUX glagola mnogo manja u poređenju sa visoko gramatikalizovanim engleskim izrazom *used to*. S druge strane, ona je veća od učestalosti marginalnog modalnog glagola *dare (to)*.

## Kratak pogled na dijahroničnu dimenziju

Više rečenica u RJA-u, npr. (11), ukazuje na to da HCS AUX upotreba glagola *um(j)eti* možda postoji duže od 400 godina.

- (11) *Dubrovčani ih (t.j. fazane) ne umiju neg' pečene jesti*  
(RJA, Marin Držić, pisac iz Dubrovnika, druge polovine 16. veka)

Moguće je da je glagol *znati* kasnije od *um(j)eti* počeo da se koristi u HCS AUX funkciji. Primer (12) je među najstarijim rečenicama u mojoj građi u kojima se *znati* može tumačiti kao HCS AUX.

- (12) *Kad pobožni kršćeniki znaju na čislo moliti? Po sobotneh, nedeljneh i svetečneh dneveh.* (RJA, J. Mulih: *Škola Kristuševa kršćanskoga navuka obilno puna*, 1744.)

## HCS AUX kao rezultat gramatikalizacije

Moja je hipoteza da su u nastanku HCS AUX upotrebe glagola *znati* i *um(j)eti* važnu ulogu mogle imati rečenice koje je moguće tumačiti na dva načina: sa značenjem mentalne sposobnosti, ili alternativno sa HCS značenjem, kao u (13). Uglavnom takve rečenice imaju ljudski subjekat i označavaju aktivnost koja se može smatrati pozitivnom.

- (13) *Kultura bez tradicije ne može kao što ne može drvo bez korijenja. Stari su to lijepo znali reći: nije na nama ni postalo ni prestalo.* (OCBT E/LI/LI/94)

Zaključivanje odnosno (razgovorna) implikatura je mehanizam koji može objasniti semantičku promenu koja nastaje pomoću takvih rečenica: ako osoba A ima sposobnost/

veštinu da se bavi aktivitetom X (tvrđnja govornika), ona se (potencijalno/povremeno/habitualno) njime i bavi (implikacija govornika i zaključak/inferencija slušaoca).

Reanaliza i analogija se smatraju važnim mehanizmima u gramatikalizaciji. U slučaju HCS pomoćnih glagola, rezultat semantičke reanalize je da habitualnost postane više od zaključka/inferencije i bude tumačena kao samostalno značenje. Analogijom je upotreba HCS AUX glagola proširena na nežive subjekte i bezlične rečenice.

### Međujezička perspektiva

Prema Heineu i Kutevi (2002: 186-7), putevi gramatikalizacije KNOW>ABILITY (znati>sposobnost; u slučaju glagola *znati* ova promena može biti vezana za rečenice tipa *Alkemičar zna [kako] napraviti zlato*) i KNOW>HABITUAL (znati>habitual) postoje u mnogim jezicima sveta, što podržava moju teoriju o gramatikalizaciji HCS AUX. Ima indikacija da se glagoli srodni SCB glagolu *znati* koriste u slovenačkom i makedonskom jeziku veoma slično kao SCB HCS AUX glagoli. Albanski *di* je još jedan potencijalno sličan slučaj. Ovo bi moglo ukazati na postojanje “porodice gramema” (vidi Dahl 2000a: 7-8).

### Homonimija ili polisemija?

Čini se da između raznih značenja glagola *znati* i *um(j)eti* postoje uverljivi mehanizmi semantičke promene koje podržavaju i međujezička tipološka istraživanja. To predstavlja polisemiju (uporedi Hopper and Traugott 2003: 77-78) na koju možemo primeniti termin *lanac* (ili *kontinuum*)

*gramatikalizacije*. Figura 1 predstavlja polisemije glagola *znati* i *um(j)eti* u obliku lanca gramatikalizacije. (Uporedi Heine et al. 1991: 220-229)

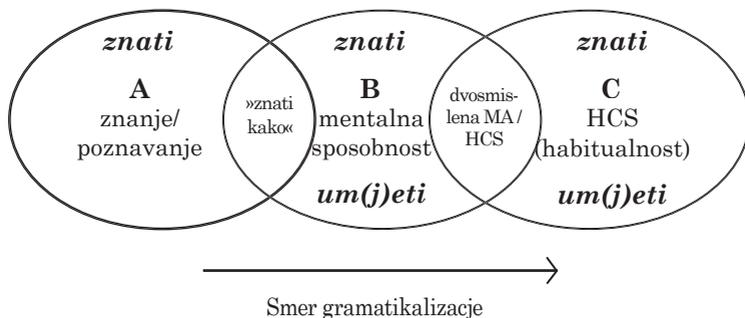


Figura 1. Polisemije glagola *znati* i *um(j)eti* u obliku pojednostavljenog lanca gramatikalizacije.

## ZAKLJUČAK

Opisao sam kroz razne prizme kako se *znati* i *um(j)eti* upotrebljavaju za izražavanje habitualne, karakteristične ili sporadične pluralnosti situacija (HCS AUX) u prošlom ili sadašnjem vremenu. Videli smo da je ova upotreba, koja se u obimnijim jednojezičnim rečnicima opisuje u najboljem slučaju kao marginalno podznačenje, čvrsto uspostavljena u jeziku (i, čini se, gotovo obavezna u određenim kontekstima) i može se jasno razlikovati od drugih značenja dotičnih leksema. HCS AUX podržava teoriju o postojanju univerzalnog puta gramatikalizacije od (mentalne) sposobnosti do habitualnog značenja, sa učešćem leksema koje se odnose na mentalne aktivnosti.

HCS AUX spada unutar granica međujezične vrste gramema “habitual”, ali ima određene idiosinkratične nijanse koje ga razlikuju od tipičnih habitualnih gramema. Te nijanse – sporadičnost i “izuzetnost” kao i činjenicu da se HCS AUX graniči sa modalnošću – moguće je objasniti procesom gramatikalizacije i polisemijom leksema *znati* i *um(j)eti*. Odnos sintaksičke forme i semantičke sadržine nije neobičan kod HCS AUX glagola i možemo ih smatrati tipičnim slučajevima leksičkih glagola sa opštim značenjem koji se razvijaju u pomoćne glagole sa modalnim ili aspektualnim, npr. habitualnim značenjem.

Implikature i zaključivanje/inferencije su odigrale centralnu ulogu u prvoj fazi procesa gramatikalizacije HCS AUX upotrebe, dozvoljavajući da se značenje glagola *znati* i/ili *um(j)eti* u nekim kontekstima reanalizira kao habitualnost umesto mentalne sposobnosti. Olakšavajući leksička ograničenja vezana za MA AUX rečenice, analogija (metafora) je onda omogućila da se takva upotreba proširi. HCS

AUX se ustalila najkasnije u 19. veku, ali možda već mnogo ranije, s obzirom da iz 16. veka datiraju najraniji raspoloživi primeri rečenica u kojima se *um(j)eti* može tumačiti kao HCS pomoćni glagol. Možda nećemo nikad zasigurno saznati koji je od dva glagola prvi krenuo na put semantičke promene, ali je veoma moguće da ga je drugi pratio po analogiji. Ovo pitanje bi dodatno mogle rasvetliti detaljnije informacije o mogućem postojanju porodice gramema u SCB-u i srodnim jezicima.

Jedan nedostatak ove studije je to što se ona donekle više odnosi na glagol *znati* nego na glagol *um(j)eti*, pre svega zbog nedostatka dostupnog korpusa srpske varijante SCB-a. Svejedno odlučio sam da obradim ova dva glagola zajednički, jer su rezultati upitnika iz Beograda pokazali da je status HCS AUX glagola *um(j)eti* u srpskoj varijanti SCB-a čak jači od glagola *znati*, i izgleda da oni dele veći deo glavnih karakteristika u HCS AUX upotrebi. Razlike dvaju glagola – u MA kao i HCS značenju – očigledno predstavljaju interesantnu temu za dodatno istraživanje.

*Znati* i *um(j)eti* se pojavljuju samo u specifičnim (sporadičnim) habitualnim kontekstima, ali se ipak možemo zapitati jesu li postojeće gramatike SCB-a adekvatne, s obzirom da ne pominju *znati* i *um(j)eti* kao pomoćne glagole i sigurno ne kao markere habitualnog značenja. Nadam se da će ova studija dati doprinos rasvetljavanju ove zanimljive upotrebe ovih dvaju glagola.





