

Tabriak: 1,300 speakers reported in 1981, near Chambri, along the lower Karawari River, East Sepik Province. Also called Karawari. Speakers are highly bilingual in Tok Pisin. Distinct from the Karawari dialect of Alamlak.

Tuwari: 125 speakers reported in 1981, in the middle Sepik region, on the upper Leonhard Schultze River, and a few near Akiapmin, south of the Central Range, West Sepik Province. A few speakers can understand Tok Pisin.

Walio: 145 speakers reported in 1981, in West Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea. Has 12 percent lexical similarity with Yabio. Speakers have limited comprehension of Tok Pisin.

Yabio: 100 speakers reported in 1977, ten miles east of Duranmin in Woswori village, West Sepik Province.

Yimas: 350 speakers reported in 1981, near Chambri, along the Arafundi and middle Karawari rivers, East Sepik Province.

SERBO-CROATIAN is a South Slavic language, most closely related to Slovenian, and less closely related to Bulgarian and Macedonian. [See Slavic Languages.] With more than seventeen million speakers, it is the main language in all the republics which make up Yugoslavia, except for Macedonia and Slovenia—though several other languages are used by sizeable minorities. For standard references, see Meillet & Vaillant 1969, Partridge 1972, and Naylor 1980.

There are three main dialect groups: Čakavian and Kajkavian are now spoken in relatively small areas, in the west and north respectively, while Štokavian predominates elsewhere. Its three subdialects, Ikavian, Ekvavian, and Ijekavian, are named according to their treatment of the Common Slavic vowel *ě; thus the word 'child' is *dite*, *dete*, and *dijete*, respectively. Ikavian is found mainly in the extreme west; Ekvavian in most of Serbia; and Ijekavian in the western part of Serbia, Montenegro, the east of Bosnia and Hercegovina, and most of Croatia. Ekvavian is the basis of the eastern variety of the literary language, which has Belgrade as its center. Ijekavian, the foundation of the western variety, whose focal point is Zagreb, is written in the Latin alphabet; the eastern variety was traditionally written in Cyrillic, but now uses the Latin alphabet. The varieties differ too in lexis: different words are used for some everyday items, and in scholarly vocabulary. There are fewer borrowings in the west, predominantly from German, Latin, and Czech, and correspondingly more calques and neologisms. Borrowing is more common in the east, from Turkish, Greek, Russian, Church Slavic, and recently also from French and English. Most of the dif-

ferences are a matter of frequency of usage. The status of the two varieties is sensitive, because of the cultural and political implications. Shared features and the ease of mutual comprehension suggest one language with two main varieties, but some feel it important to recognize Croatian and Serbian as distinct languages. Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro have intermediate varieties. This article presents Ekavian forms and the Latin alphabet.

1. Writing system. The original alphabet was Glagolitic. From the 12th century onward, it was replaced by Cyrillic in the eastern, Orthodox area. In the west, the Latin alphabet was introduced in the 14th century under Catholic influence. In his Serbian dictionary of 1818, Vuk Karadžić (1787–1864) introduced a simplified version of Cyrillic, which was finally adopted despite great initial opposition. The equivalent reform for the Latin alphabet was carried out slightly later by Ljudevit Gaj (1809–72); both these men had major influence on the development of the literary language. The modern alphabets are given together in Table 1, in the Latin order; the Cyrillic order is: А, Б, В, Г, Д, Ђ, Ћ, Е, Ж, З, И, Ј, К, Л, Љ, М, Н, Њ, О, П, Р, С, Т, Ћ, У, Ф, Х, Ц, Ч, Џ, Ш. The exact correspondence between the two alphabets makes transliteration automatic; spelling follows pronunciation with unusual consistency.

2. Phonology. Serbo-Croatian's inventory of segmental phonemes is small by Slavic standards (cf. Gvozdenović 1980). It has twenty-five consonants, shown in Table 2; *r*, which is trilled, can be syllabic, as in *trg* 'square'. In addition, there is a straightforward five-

TABLE 1. *The Alphabets of Serbo-Croatian*

Latin	Cyrillic	Latin	Cyrillic
A	а	L	л
B	б	Lj	љ
C	ц	M	м
Č	ч	N	н
Ć	ћ	Nj	њ
D	д	O	о
Dž	џ	P	п
Đ	ђ	R	р
E	е	S	с
F	ф	Š	ш
G	г	T	т
H	х	U	у
I	и	V	в
J	ј	Z	з
K	к	Ž	ж

TABLE 2. *Serbo-Croatian Consonants (Orthographic Representation)*

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Stops						
Voiceless	p	t				k
Voiced	b	d				g
Affricates						
Voiceless		c		č	ć	
Voiced				dž	đ	
Fricatives						
Voiceless	f		s	š		h
Voiced	v		z	ž		
Nasals	m	n			nj	
Lateral		l			lj	
Vibrant			r			
Semivowel					j	

vowel system, *i e a o u*. Vowels are long or short; one vowel in a word is accented, with either a rising or a falling tone contour (cf. Lehiste & Ivić 1986). These prosodic features are transcribed as in Table 3.

The accent symbols are used mainly in reference works; we shall include them when discussing morphology. Certain morphological oppositions depend on the accentual system; there are few minimal pairs like *grād* 'city', *grād* 'hail' and *pās* 'belt', *pās* 'dog'. The distribution of tone, length, and accent is restricted. In the 15th century, Štokavian moved the accent one syllable closer to the beginning of the word; hence accent now does not occur word-finally, except in monosyllables and in some recent borrowings. The 'rising' and 'falling' tones are more complex phonetically than those terms imply, and considerable variation exists among speakers.

3. Morphology. Serbo-Croatian has seven cases, two numbers and three genders. Table 4 shows the main noun declensions.

The morphology is predominantly fusional; gender correlates strongly with declensional class. The vocative involves a mutation of consonants for many masculine nouns: *drūg* 'comrade', voc.sg. *drūže*, a result of the Slavic first palatalization. [See Slavic Languages.] The Slavic second palatalization is also well preserved, as in the nom. pl. of masculine nouns, e.g. *izlozi* from *izlog*

'shop window'. The innovative mutation *l ~ o* also affects nominal paradigms: *pèpeo* 'ash', gen. sg. *pèpela*. Genitive/accusative syncretism is found with masculine animate nouns in the singular. The major innovation in the nominal paradigms is the gen. pl. *-ā* for most nouns. As the first noun in Table 4 shows, the length and tone of the accented syllable may change within a paradigm; the position of the accent may also move. Almost all nouns are declined—even vowel-final borrowings like *birō* 'office', gen. sg. *birā*—unless they are feminine. By contrast, most numerals are now indeclinable.

A multi-tense system of verbal morphology is in the

TABLE 4. *Serbo-Croatian Nominal Declension*

	a-Stem	Masc. o-Stem	Neuter o-Stem	i-Stem
Singular				
Nom.	žèna 'woman'	zákon 'law'	sèlo 'village'	stvâr 'thing'
Voc.	žèno	zákone	sèlo	stvâri
Acc.	žènu	zákone	sèlo	stvâr
Gen.	žèně	zákona	sèla	stvâri
Dat.	žèni	zákonu	sèlu	stvâri
Inst.	žènōm	zákonom	sèlom	stvârju, stvâri
Loc.	žèni	zákonu	sèlu	stvâri
Plural				
Nom.	žène	zákoni	sèla	stvâri
Voc.	žène	zákoni	sèla	stvâri
Acc.	žène	zákone	sèla	stvâri
Gen.	žénā	zákōnā	sèlā	stvâri
Dat.	žènama	zákonima	sèlima	stvârima
Inst.	žènama	zákonima	sèlima	stvârima
Loc.	žènama	zákonima	sèlima	stvârima

TABLE 3. *Serbo-Croatian Accentuation*

	Long	Short
Accented Syllables		
Falling Tone	ŵ	ᵛ
Rising Tone	ŵ	ᵛ
Unaccented Syllables	ŵ	ᵛ

process of being replaced by one in which aspect has a central role. The main conjugations can be classified by the vowel in the present tense forms; see Table 5.

The 1sg. *-m* has spread from a handful of verbs to all except *mògu* 'I can' and *hòću* or *ću* 'I want'. (Subject personal pronouns are normally omitted unless under contrastive or emphatic stress.)

Before noting the remaining simple tenses, we must consider aspect. In broad outline, the aspectual system of Serbo-Croatian is similar to that of Russian [q.v.]. In terms of morphology, perfectives are typically derived from imperfectives by prefixation, and imperfectives from perfectives by suffixation. In semantics, the perfective views a situation as a single whole, while the imperfective views it as having internal constituency. Unlike Russian, however, Serbo-Croatian forms a present tense from perfective verbs, distinct from the future; this has a range of uses, but is not employed for events occurring at the moment of speech. The two remaining simple tenses are the imperfect and the aorist; the former indicates action in process in the past, while the latter is normally used for a completed single action in the past. Both are particularly used for events witnessed by the speaker. Not surprisingly, given their meanings, the imperfect is formed only from imperfective verbs, and the aorist usually from perfectives. However, as part of the growing importance of the aspectual opposition, both tenses are being supplanted by a compound past tense, particularly in Croatia. It employs the past participle of the verb, which agrees with the subject in gender and number; this is illustrated in Table 6 with the verb *znàti* 'to know'.

TABLE 5. Serbo-Croatian Conjugation Types

		I Conju- gation (-ā-)	II Conju- gation (-ī-)	III Conju- gation (-ě-)
Infinitive		<i>pěvati</i> 'to sing'	<i>nòsiti</i> 'to carry'	<i>trěsti</i> 'to shake'
Present				
Singular	1	<i>pěvām</i>	<i>nòsīm</i>	<i>trěsēm</i>
	2	<i>pěvāš</i>	<i>nòsīš</i>	<i>trěsēš</i>
	3	<i>pěvā</i>	<i>nòsī</i>	<i>trěsē</i>
Plural	1	<i>pěvāmo</i>	<i>nòsīmo</i>	<i>trěsēmo</i>
	2	<i>pěvāte</i>	<i>nòsīte</i>	<i>trěsēte</i>
	3	<i>pěvājū</i>	<i>nòsē</i>	<i>trěsū</i>
Imperative				
Singular	2	<i>pěvāj</i>	<i>nòsi</i>	<i>trěsi</i>
Plural	1	<i>pěvājmo</i>	<i>nòsimo</i>	<i>trěsimo</i>
	2	<i>pěvājte</i>	<i>nòsite</i>	<i>trěsite</i>

TABLE 6. Forms of the Serbo-Croatian Past Participle

	Masculine	Feminine	Neu
Singular	<i>znào (< znal)</i>	<i>znàla</i>	<i>zně</i>
Plural	<i>znàli</i>	<i>znàle</i>	<i>zně</i>

The other element of the compound past is the present tense forms of *bli* 'to be', which are enclitic. (They are also full forms, used for emphasis and in question. If there is no other word preceding, the participle stands before the enclitic; see Table 7.)

The past tense can be formed from the verbs of both aspects: {*Pisala, Napisala*} *je písamo* 'She {was writing} a letter.' There are also an infrequently used pluperfect tense, a conditional, and (mainly in the western variety) a past conditional. Unlike other compound tenses, the future tense is formed with *htěti* 'to want' (usually in its enclitic forms) plus the infinitive, e.g. *Žèna će znàti* 'The woman will know.' It too is formed with verbs of both aspects.

4. **Syntax.** Serbo-Croatian enclitics are familiar to many linguists because of the problems they have posed for transformational theory (Browne 1974). Enclitics stand in second position in a clause. There are six 'slots' and each may be occupied by one enclitic:

- (I) Interrogative particle: *li*
- (II) Verbal auxiliaries: *sam, si, smo, ste, su* (not *je, ću, ćeš, će, ćemo, ćete, će; bih, bi, bi, biste, bi*)
- (III) Dative pronouns: Singular *mi, ti, mu, joj* (reflexive *si* in west only); Plural *nam, vam, im*
- (IV) Genitive pronouns: Singular *me, te, ga, je*; Plural *nas, vas, ih*
- (V) Accusative pronouns: identical to the genitive pronouns with the addition of the reflexive *se* and *ju*
- (VI) 3sg. form of *biti*: *je*

Consider the following examples:

TABLE 7. Compound Past Tense in Serbo-Croatian. The table uses the verb *znàti* 'to know' as an example.

Singular	1	<i>znào, znàla sam</i>	
	2	<i>znào, znàla si</i>	
	3	<i>znào, znàla, znàlo je</i>	
Plural	1	<i>znàli, znàle smo</i>	
	2	<i>znàli, znàle ste</i>	
	3	<i>znàli, znàle, znàla su</i>	

- (1) *Gde ste me videli?*
where are(ENCL.II) me(ENCL.V) seen
'Where did you see me?'
- (2) *Želim mu ih dati.*
wish to.him(III) them(V) to.give
'I wish to give them to him.'
- (3) *Našao ga je.*
found it(V) is(VI)
'He found it.'

If the combination *se je* is expected, then *je* is dropped; but this rule is not absolute in the west. The combination **je je* is replaced by *ju je*, e.g. *Video ju je* 'He saw her' (lit. 'saw her[V] is[VI]'). The notion of 'second' position is complex. Clitics regularly stand after the first accented constituent:

- (4) *Taj pesnik mi je napisao pesmu.*
'That poet wrote me a poem.'

An initial constituent may be discounted:

- (5) *Ove godine, taj pesnik mi je napisao pesmu.*
'This year, that poet wrote me a poem.'

Surprisingly, enclitics may come after the first accented word within a phrase:

- (6) *Taj mi je pesnik napisao pesmu.*
that to.me(III) is(VI) poet written poem
'That poet wrote me a poem.'

A second point of syntactic interest is the replacement of the infinitive, which occurs mainly in the eastern variety, and is a Balkan areal feature. The infinitive is most likely to be replaced when the meaning is that of purpose. Thus examples like this occur freely in both varieties:

- (7) *Jovan je došao da kupi knjigu.*
J. is come that buys book
'Jovan came to buy a book.'

Both infinitival and replacement constructions occur with verbs like *želeći* 'to wish'; but in the west, the infinitive is more usual, and in the east its replacement is more common. In the east, the construction with *da* has spread into the ordinary future: *Jovan će da kupi knjigu* 'Jovan

will buy a book.' The infinitive becomes rarer as one moves eastwards.

In view of the problems discussed, it is not surprising that SC data have figured in various theoretical debates, and that the language is also of special interest to those concerned with issues of language planning.

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SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY LINGUISTICS. See History of Linguistics, *article on Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Europe*.

SEX AND LANGUAGE. We can use the term 'gender/sex' to designate the sociocultural, psychological, and political implications of people's biological sex categorizations. In contrast to grammatical gender, social gender involves non-linguistic constructs. Linguistics, however, offers useful perspectives on the complex interactions of biological sex and social gender with languages and their uses. Gender/sex research in linguistics and related disciplines addresses important and difficult questions about linguistic change and diversity, communicative success and linguistic privilege, the relation between language and thought, and the biological and cultural bases of language acquisition.

Social gender systems—e.g. clothing, hairstyle, games,