

# Functional Domain of the Croatian Complementizer *da*

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In this paper I address the function of the complementizer *da* in Croatian. Craig (1975), Frajzyngier (1995), Frajzyngier (1996), Vrzic (1996), and Krapova (1999) have contributed much literature about this particular complementizer. However, such studies focused on the analysis of the syntactic properties of *da*, that is, the structure of sentences in which this complementizer occurs. Using the principle of functional transparency and independent coding means, introduced by Frajzyngier and Shay (M.S.), as the point of departure, the goal of the present study is to uncover the function of this complementizer and what it is the coding means of. Drawing on older publications, an ample selection of sentences from the online National Data Corpus of the Croatian Language (NDC), and further elicited examples (NSE) and judgments from native speakers of Croatian (NSJ), I will show that *da* is an independent coding means and that its semantic function is to code modality. In particular, I will reveal that *da* is a coding means of potentially realizable habitual events, and that as such it belongs to the *de dicto* domain.

## Introduction

According to Jakab, the *da*-complementizer introduces a complement clause, which is frequently used in place of an infinitival complement (1999, 217).<sup>1</sup> The complement clause therefore provides a filler, that is, additional information for the previous predicate of mention. And although *da* functions to introduce a complement clause, this is not its only function. But before proceeding into an investigation of the more exact function of *da*, a couple of important facts must first be established.

- A. In their work, referred to in Edit Jakab (1999, 219), Progovac (1993) and Vrzic (1996) proposed two semantically separate but homophonous *da* complementizers. I will show that there is one and only one *da*-complementizer and provide sufficient evidence for distinction between *da*-comp and any other homophonous '*da*'.
- B. I will illustrate that although it is the case that verbs are subcategorized for specific complements, that no verb licenses the *da* complementizer. This in turn will lead toward the conclusion that *da* must be an independent marker, a morpheme that is used as a means of coding a specific semantic function of and by itself, irrespective of the verb or any other utterance it occurs with.
- C. Once all the necessary distinctions and specifications have been made, I will introduce the testing methods, which will reveal the actual function of our complementizer.
- D. The last section of this paper gives a brief overview of the most crucial arguments about the functional nature of the *da* complementizer and offers some concluding remarks.

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1. I must mention, however, that in the Croatian standard stokavsko-jekavski dialect infinitival formations are still much preferred to *da*-constructions, but this is not the case with other dialects.

## 1. Preliminary Discussion

### 1.1. Homophonous *da(s)*

#### 1.1.1. *Dati* ‘to give’

One ‘*da*,’ for which distinction must be made, is the third person singular form of the verb *dati* ‘to give.’ This verb is ditransitive and typically takes two NP complements, which are realized as a clitic in the embedded clause and precede the verbal form ‘*da*.’

- (1) Igor hoce njemu dati novi auto. (NSE)  
 Igor want-3sg him-DAT give new-Acc car-Acc  
*Igor wants to give him a new car.*
- (2) On hoce *da* mu ga *da*. (NSE)  
 he want-3sg *da* him-DAT it-ACC give-3sg  
*He wants to give it to him.*
- 

Unlike the verbal form, *da* complementizer must have a clause following it and cannot occur sentence finally (see examples (15) and (18) in section 2.1 for additional comparison).

#### 1.1.2. Allegations of two homophonous but semantically distinct *da*-complementizers

In her 1996 paper, Vrzić claims that there exist two homophonous *da* complementizers: “modal” and “declarative” *da*. She bases her statement on her observation that the modal *da* “is only compatible with the present tense verb..., [while] the declarative *da* is compatible with imperfective verbal aspect only” (307). Vrzić offers an extensive list of examples purportedly providing evidence for her claims. Here are some of her examples (305-6):

- (3) Kaze *da* Vesna čita ovu knjigu.  
 say-3sg **DM** Vesna-Nom read-3sg this-Acc book-Acc  
*He says that Vesna reads/is reading this book.*
- (4) Zelim *da* čitam ovu knjigu.  
 wish-1sg **MM** read-1sg this-Acc book-Acc  
*I wish to read this book.*
- (5) Tvrdim *da* čitam ovu knjigu.  
 claim-1sg **DM** read-1sg this-Acc book-Acc  
*I claim that I’m reading this book.*

Example (3) has a present tense matrix verb *kazati* ‘to say’ and is followed by a *da*-complement. According to Vrzić, because *da* follows a non-imperfective present tense

verb, it is declarative. In example (4), the matrix verb has the imperfective aspect, *željeti* (imperfective) (vs. *poželjeti* (perfective)), and so she claims that the *da* complementizer is subjunctive-like. It is important to note here that although *želim* ‘I wish’ is coded for the imperfective aspect, that it is also in the present tense. The two categories, aspect and tense, are not mutually exclusive. Vrzić’s explanation about the distribution and patterning of the *da* complements falls short here. Example (5), shows a verb in the imperfective aspect and present tense, *tvrditi* (imperfective) vs. *potvrditi* (perfective), but the complementizer is claimed to be declarative. If Vrzić were correct in her analysis, the *da* complementizer in the last example should be modal and so should be the mood of the sentence, yielding something along the lines of: *I claim that I ought to read this book*. This is not one of the possible meanings for the sentence though.

Let us consider some additional examples offered by Jakab (219). Aligning with Vrzić, he claims that the presence of the declarative *da* brings about the indicative mood, whereas the modal *da* renders the modality subjunctive-like. Consider example (6) below. The matrix verb is in the present tense form and the sentence in the indicative mood. The complementizer is claimed to be *declarative*. Sentence (9) appears to be identical to sentence (6) except for the lexical entry of the matrix verb, which is also in the present tense. According to Vrzić, sentence (9) should be interpreted as being in the subjunctive-like mood, in part because of the presence of a semantically different *da*. However, I am not convinced that either Jakab’s or Vrzić’s examples support their claims in full.

(6) Kaze **da**<sub>1</sub> Petar cita ovu knjigu. (Jakab, 219)  
 say-3sg **da** Petar-Nom read-3sg this-Acc book-Acc  
*He says that Petar is reading this book.*

(7) ?Kaze **da**<sub>2</sub> Petar cita ovu knjigu. (NSE/NSJ)  
 say-3sg **da** Petar-Nom read-3sg this-Acc book-Acc  
 \**He says that Petar would read this book.*

(8) Kaze **da**<sub>1</sub> je Petar citao ovu knjigu. (Jakab, 219)  
 say-3sg **da** Aux Petar-Nom read-pst3sg this-Acc book-Acc  
*He says that Petar has read this book.*

vs.

- (9) Zelim **da<sub>2</sub>** Petar cita ovu knjigu. (Jakab, 219)  
 wish-1sg **da** Petar-Nom read-3sg this-Acc book-Acc  
*I wish for Peter to read this book.*
- (10)?Zelim **da<sub>1</sub>** Petar cita ovu knjigu. (NSE/NSJ)  
 wish-3sg **da** Petar read-3sg this-Acc book-Acc  
 \**He wishes Peter is reading this book.*
- (11) Katkad pozelim **da** Petar cita ovu knjigu. (NSE/NSJ)  
 occasionally perf-wish-1sg **da** Petar-Nom read-3sg this-Acc book-Acc  
*Sometimes I wish for Peter to read this book.*  
 \**Sometimes I wish Peter is reading this book.*

If the presence of a different *da* complementizer yields a different mood, then substituting these complementizers should cause a change in the mood of the clause. This doesn't appear to be the case as illustrated in the NSE example in (7). Placing a modal *da* inside of a clause doesn't render the meaning subjunctive-like. The same applies to example (10). The declarative *da* doesn't yield an indicative mood for the clause. NSE solicited example (11) shows a sentence with a perfective present tense matrix clause verb and a *da* complement. The meaning of the sentence is judged by the native speaker to be 'wishful thinking' and the mood subjunctive-like with no possibility of indicative interpretation.

So, at a closer look, the data presented by Vrzić and Jakab do not provide adequate evidence for the existence of two homophonous yet semantically distinct *da*-complementizers. However, I do agree with them that sentence (6) is in the indicative mood, whereas sentence (9) codes a subjunctive-like modality. A more advanced and detailed research may ultimately prove that there exist two semantically-different yet homophonous *da*(s). For the time being, however, it might be more feasible to posit that the subcategorization properties of a verb, which specify verbal complement preferences, provide an environment for the appearance of a *da*-complement. The overall modality of a clause then depends on the combination of a complementizer with the lexical as well as aspectual properties of the verb. To claim otherwise, there would have to be some kind of a formal distinction between the two sentences using '*da<sub>1</sub>*' and '*da<sub>2</sub>*', be it syntactic, configurational or semantic difference. And there isn't one. The above examples show that both *da<sub>1</sub>* and *da<sub>2</sub>* occur in identical syntactic constructions, do not change the meaning of the clauses if swapped.

## 1.2. Verbs and their complements

Although it is true that some verbs prefer *da*-complements, I found only one case in which a verb primarily takes the *da*-complement. This verb is *smatrati* 'to consider'

(please see *Appendix B* for examples). However, as the NDC<sup>2</sup> examples (12) and (13) illustrate, even this verb does not exclusively take a *da*-complement:

(12) “...i zapravo je **smatram** gitarom s plasticnim zicama.” (NDC: N146\_24 15397 11)  
and actually it consider guitar with plastic wires  
*...and actually I consider it to be a guitar with plastic wires.*

(13) “Sebe uopce ne **smatram** diskriminiranom zato sto sam zena.” (NDC: N135\_K10 4513457 45)  
refl really not consider discriminated because am woman  
*I don't consider myself discriminated against just because I'm a woman.*

The fact that there is no one verb that always triggers the *da*-complementizer (and therefore a *da*-clause) contradicts the claim made by Krapova and Petkov (1999) that the *da*-comp is “licensed,” in the traditional sense of the word, by the verb that precedes it. If an item were “licensed” by another utterance, it would always have to occur in conjunction with this trigger. Since no singular utterance triggers the existence of a *da*-complementizer, and since its omission causes ungrammaticality (see examples (16), (19), (22), and (24) in section 2.1), *da*-comp must be an independent coding means.

The notion of independent coding means has been proposed by Frajzyngier and Shay (M.S.). They assert that inflectional coding, which subsumes complementizers, is “not triggered by any other component of an utterance” (9). They say that this claim has been supported by an abundance of cross-linguistic evidence confirming that inflectional lexical items are found “in utterances lacking any potential trigger of inflection” (9).

The notion of independent coding means, compounded with the principle of functional transparency, bears important implications on the function of the *da* complementizer. The principle of functional transparency states that “every utterance must have a transparent function within the discourse” and that this function must be transparent to the hearer (Frajzyngier and Shay, 3). Along the lines of these two premises, the *da*-complementizer is an utterance that is expected to code a specific function within the discourse. It is further predicted that as an inflectional marker, *da* will occur independently of any trigger utterances and that its function is readily available to the native speakers. The following section shows that the above-mentioned premises hold for the *da*-complementizer, and it attempts to draw out its function.

## 2. Methods

In order to tease out the function of the *da*-complementizer, I use examples and discussion from older publications as the springboard. I further include an ample selection of sentences containing this complementizer and other relevant data (specific verbs, other complementizers, etc.), which I acquired from the National Data Corpus (hereafter NDC) of the Croatian Language, a search engine located at <http://www.hnk.ffzg.hr/>. I then augment the examples gathered from older publications and NDC with a set of sentences with omitted or inserted *da*-comps or otherwise changed

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2. Examples with the link style references following an example, such as NDC: N146\_24 15397 11, are taken directly out of the search engine and point to the addresses from the online National Data Corpus (NDC) of Croatian language where that sentence is located.

sentence structure. These I presented to several native speaker of Croatian, including myself, with the goal of acquiring native speaker judgments (NSJ) about the grammaticality and acceptability of the original and augmented sentences.

The total of the analysis then consists of the following three steps:

- a. Focusing on the data gathered from the NDC and older publications, I look at where *da* occurs and how it is used. (please see *Appendix C* for examples)
- b. Then using the original and augmented examples, I solicit native speaker judgements (NSJ). I then incorporate these judgments, based on the native speaker intuition, and discuss any relevant findings.
- c. Finally, I contrast sentences with *da*-comp against those that are identical in structure except that they contain other main Croatian complementizers, namely *sto* and *kada*. The purpose of doing this is to test the altered sentences for any change in meaning.

The present premise is as follows:

If a clause remains fully comprehensible and grammatical after the *da*-comp has been omitted (or inserted), retaining its original meaning, then this will provide evidence that *da* has no semantic function within the discourse utterance. If, however, the meaning changes drastically or a clause is rendered incomprehensible or ungrammatical, then *da* must play an important function.

If the latter claim is realized, I will seek to draw out the function of *da* on the bases of the change in the meaning (especially focusing on the changes created when complementizers are interchanged).

### 2.1. Instances where *da* occurs

First and foremost, as examples (15) and (18) illustrate, the *da*-complementizer cannot stand alone and must always be followed by a clause. Second, omission of the *da*-complementizer either renders the sentence ungrammatical or it may bring about a new meaning (see examples (16), (19), (22), (24)).

(14) Uputili su se u setnju *da* se umire. (NSE)

went-3pl Aux-3pl refl in walk *da* refl calm-3pl  
*They went for a walk (in order) to calm themselves.*

(15)\*Uputili su se u setnju *da* ∅. (NSE/NSJ)

went-3pl Aux-3pl refl in walk *da*  
*They went for a walk (in order) [to calm themselves].*

(16)\*Uputili su se u setnju ∅ se umire. (NSE/NSJ)

went-3pl Aux-3pl refl in walk refl calm-3pl  
*(no alternative meaning rendition)*

(17) Otivam tam (za) da kupja xljab.

Otisao je tamo **da** kupi kruh. (NSJ translated Penchev, 351)  
 left-3sgM Aux-3sg there **da** buy-3sg bread-Acc  
*He went there (so that/in order) to buy bread.*

(18) \*Otisao je tamo **da** ø. (NSE/NSJ)

left-3sgM Aux-3sg there **da**  
*He went there (so that/in order) [~~to buy bread~~].*

(19) \*Otisao je ø kupi kruh. (NSE/NSJ)

left-3sgM Aux-3sg buy-3sg bread-Acc  
*(alternative meaning rendition: “He left, so go buy some bread.” –not a standard dialect version)*

(20) Kaza **da** dojdeš. (Penchev, 348)

say-3sgM **da** come-2sg  
*He said that you should come.*

(21) Rekao je **da** dođeš. (NSE/NSJ for standard Cro dialect of (20))

say-3sgM Aux-3sg **da** come-2sg  
*He told you to come.*

(22) \* Rekao je ø dođeš. (NSE/NSJ)

say-3sgM Aux-3sg come-2sg  
*(no alternative meaning rendition)*

(23) Rekao je **da** ćeš doći. (NSE/NSJ)

say-3sgM Aux-3sg **da** FUT come-2sg  
*He said that you would come.*

(24) \* Rekao je ø ćeš doći. (NSE/NSJ)

say-3sgM Aux-3sg FUT come-2sg  
*(alternative meaning rendition: “He said: ‘Will you come?’ ”)*

When used appropriately, **da** appears in several different constructions. One such construction involves adverbial clauses of purpose. Within these clauses **da** is used to express the reasoning for the action of the matrix clause and thus provides a logical reason for the conclusion (see examples (14) and (17)).

**da** also denotes potentially realizable events as seen in examples (21) and (23). **da** further appears in the function of a conjunction between two finite clauses (examples (25))

and (26)), but the meaning of a clause changes depending on the presence of other utterances in the embedded clause:

(25) Zabranih mu **da** dode ovdje. (NSJ translated Penchev, 348: Zabranix mu da idva tuk)  
 forbid-1sg him-DAT **da** come-3sg here  
*I forbade him to come here.*

(26) Zabranih mu **da** bi dosao ovdje. (NSJ translated Penchev, 348: Zabranix mu, za da idva tuk)  
 forbid-1sg him-DAT **da** would-2/3sg come-sgM here  
*I forbade him so that he would come here.*

Another point that ought to be made is that *da*-clauses are sequentially dependent. In a sentence with multiple embedded clauses, each *da*-clause expresses something more about the matrix predicate in its superordinate clause:

(27) Osjecala se inhibiranom[kada je trebalo[**da** govori o sopstvenim knjigama]]  
 feel-1sgF refl inhibited-F when Aux-3sg needed **da** speak-3sg about own books  
*She felt inhibited about discussing her own books.* (Bibovic (1984), 377)

(28) “..ako se zna [**da** su tamo ubacivali bombe], [**da** su prijekali], [**da** su svecenike  
 if its known **da** Aux-3pl there drop bombs **da** Aux-3pl threaten **da** Aux-pl priests

fizicki maltretirali]...”

(NDC: GK9634\_23 2976 6)

physically abused

*...if it is known that they were dropping bombs there, that they were threatening, that they physically abused the priests...*

Here we see evidence that complementizers function as connective tissue between clausal complements and that which appears before them. This is why sentences such as (29) are ungrammatical, precisely because we don't know to which sentence *da*-clause is a complement.<sup>3</sup>

(29) \*rekao je [**da** je umoran] [svima je jasno] (NSE/NSJ)  
 say-3sgM Aux-3sg **da** be-3sg tired-sgM everyone be-3sg clear  
*?He said [that he is tired] and this became obvious to everyone.*

or

*? He said that it became obvious to everyone that he is tired.*

Instances where a *da*-clause occurs sentence initially, or has moved and no longer immediately follows that which it is a complement of, faithfully maintains its

3. See Frajzyngier (1996, 94) for additional discussion.



complement function to the modifying segment. Subordinate clauses without a complementizer cannot move freely out of their complement positions. If moved, as example (33) shows, they render the sentence meaningless.

- (30) *[Da si mi ti to rekao], ne bih ti vjerovala.* (NSE)  
*da* Aux-2sg me-Dat you-Nom that-Acc say-3sgM not would-1sg you-Dat believe-1sgF  
*If you had told me that, I wouldn't have believed you.*
- (31) *Ne bih ti vjerovala [da si mi ti to rekao].* (NSE)  
 not would-1sg you-Dat believe-1sgF *da* Aux-2sg me-Dat you-Nom that-Acc say-3sgM  
*I wouldn't have believed you if you had told me that.*
- (32) *Ti si mi to rekao.* (NSE)  
 you-Nom Aux-2sg me-Dat that-Acc say-3sgM  
*You told me that.*
- (33) *\*Ti si mi to rekao ne bih ti vjerovala.* (NSE/NSJ)  
 you-Nom Aux-2sg me-Dat that-Acc say-3sgM not would-1sg you-Dat believe-1sgF  
*\*You told me this I wouldn't have believed you.*

## 2.2. Omissions

Native speaker judgments show a pattern that if *da* is omitted, not only must the whole complement clause be removed, but also much of the superordinate sentence. And then the original meaning has been completely lost. The fact that native speakers cannot omit *da* and retain the intended meaning answers the question about whether *da* has a function at all, and whether this function is transparent to the hearer. It must be that it does, and that it is, otherwise its absence would not make any difference with respect to the meaning of a sentence. So, what is the function of *da*?

To answer this question, let us return to some rudimentary properties of *da*. As mentioned in the earlier sections, a group of verbs (like *smatrati* ‘to consider and *htjeti* ‘to want’) take *da*-complements with a higher degree of frequency. This suggests that some verbs are subcategorized for or prefer, but do not license, *da*-complements. When *da*-comp is used in conjunction with these verbs, it behaves as a complementizer information filler. That is, *da* announces additional information contained within the embedded clause about its immediately preceding predicate. But this is not unexpected. Other complementizers, *sto* in (34) and *kada* in (35) for instance (*what* and *when*, respectively), also provide additional information about the matrix predicate. They do so by virtue of introducing a complement clause whose function, as Frajzyngier (1996) explains, is to behave as “anaphora referring to something that was previously mentioned in speech” (100).

(34) Rekao sam im ono [**sto** mi je palo na pamet]... (NDC: jergovic\_sar 97087 3)  
 say-1sgM Aux-1sg them-Dat that-Acc **sto** me-Dat Aux-3sg fall on mind  
*I told them that which first came to me...*

(35) ...svi su osjetili olaksanje [**kada** sam otisao]... (NDC: VJ981216s 8517 61)  
 all Aux-3pl feel-pl relief-Acc **kada** Aux-1sg leave-1sgM  
*...everyone felt a relief when I left...*

On the basis of what has just been illustrated, it cannot be the case that the sole function of the *da* complementizer is to signal the following complement clause.

The presence of *da*, however, shows a peculiar pattern with respect to the coding between the subject of the matrix and the subject of the embedded clause. In a significant amount of data from a variety of sources (NDC, NSE, and older publications), the *da*-complementizer is not used when the subject of the embedded clause is coreferential with the subject of the embedded clause. (see examples (38), (39), (40), (42), (44) and (46))

(36) Znas **da** to kosta... (NDC: me980826\_c02 10916 33)  
 know-2sg **da** that-Acc cost  
*You know that this is expensive.*

(37) ??(Ja) zelim **da** (ja) idem. (Craig 149 with NSJ)  
 I want-1sg **da** (I) go-1sg  
*I want (for me) to go.'*

(38) Zelim ici. (Craig 149)  
 want-1sg go  
*I want to go.*

(39) Pocela sam zaradivati prije deset godina. (Craig 149)  
 begin-1sgF Aux-1sg earn-Inf before ten years-Gen  
*I began to earn money ten years ago.*

(40) Pocela sam zaradivati novce. (modified (39) to fit standard Cro dialect)  
 begin-1sgF Aux-1sg earn-Inf money-Acc  
*I began to earn money.*

(41) ?Pocela sam **da** zaradujem novce. (Craig's 149 and NSJ judgment: very uncommon)  
 begin-1sgF Aux-1sg **da** earn-1sg money-Acc  
*I began to earn money.*

(42) Zelim govoriti s tobom. (Craig 149)  
 want-1sg speak-Inf with you-Inst  
*I want to talk with you.*

(43)?Zelim **da** govorim s tobom. (NSE/NSJ)  
 want-1sg **da** speak-1sg with you-Inst  
*I want to talk with you.*

(44) Mozemo ici zajedno. (Craig 150)  
 can-1pl go-Inf together  
*We can go together.*

(45)?Mozemo **da** idemo zajedno. (NSE/NSJ)  
 can-1pl **da** go-1pl together  
*We can go together.*

(46) Moram otici zubaru. (Craig 150)  
 have to-1sg go-Inf dentist-Dat  
*I have to go to the dentist.*

(47)?Moram **da** idem zubaru. (NSE/NSJ)  
 have to-1sg **da** go-1sg dentist-Dat  
*I have to go to the dentist.*

When the matrix subject is NOT coreferential with the embedded subject, *da* must be inserted:

(48) Zelim **da** ti ides. (Craig 154)  
 want-1sg **da** you-Nom go-2sg  
*I want you to go.*

(49) Treba **da** mi pitamo iskusnije ljude. (Craig 151)  
 need **da** we-Nom ask-1pl experienced-Acc people-Acc  
*We must ask more experienced people.*

(50) Trebamo pitati iskusnije ljude. (NSE/NSJ; modified (49) to fit standard Cro dialect)  
 need-1pl ask-Inf experienced-Acc people-Acc  
*We must ask more experienced people.*

(51)\*Treba **da** pitati iskusnije ljude. (NSE/NSJ)  
 need **da** ask-Inf experienced-Acc people-Acc

And when matrix object is coreferential with the subject of the embedded complement, *da*-complement is again inserted:

(52) Kisa **nas** je spriječila **da** odemo. (Craig 157)  
 rain us-Acc Aux-3sg prevent-F **da** go-1pl  
*The rain kept us from going.*

(53) Podsjetio **me** je **da** ne zaboravim. (Craig 158)  
 reminded-3sgM me-Acc Aux-3sg **da** not forget-1sg  
*He reminded me not to forget.*

(54) Dozvolili su **nam da** uradimo. (Craig 158)  
 permit-3pl Aux-3pl us-Dat **da** do-1pl  
*They allowed us to do that.*

(55) Zamolio sam **ga da** ostane. (Craig 158)  
 ask-1sgM Aux-1sg him-Acc **da** stay-3sg  
*I asked him to stay.*

On the basis of the above examples, it is tempting to make a claim that *da*-comp, in addition to introducing a complement clause, functions to code switch-reference between the subject of the matrix and the subject of the embedded clause. However, to do this would be presumptuous because of the multiple instances in which such constructions are acceptable (examples (37), (41), (43), (45), (47)) even though native speakers judged them to be uncommon or not sounding quite right, but nevertheless acceptable. Therefore, the difference in the meaning between these marginally-acceptable sentences and their preferred counterparts ((38), (40), (42), (44) and (46) respectively), which have no *da* complementizer, can not be triggered by switch reference or coreference restrictions. Rather, the difference in the meaning arises because of the presence of an overt complementizer which renders the interpretation of the proposition as either factual and realizable or nonfactual and hypothetical.<sup>4</sup> I provide support for this claim in the next section.

### 2.3. Comparisons with other complementizers

In this section, drawing on Bibovic (1984, 369), I compare *da*-complements with complements introduced with the other two main complementizers in Croatian, *sto* and *kada* (*what* and *when*, respectively). These three complementizers have been claimed to play an important role in the meaning of the sentences. Specifically, they have been said to pattern with verbs depending on the verb's realis/irrealis membership.

Amongst others, Vrzic (1996), Craig (1975), Bibovic (1984), Penchev (1982), have made arguments for the realis/irrealis subcategorization of verbs in Croatian--each "licensing" a certain complementizer. Realis sentences are theorized to be introduced

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4. See Frajzyngier (1995, 482) for additional supporting material.

with a **resultative** (epistemic) complementizer *sto*, which belongs to the *de re* domain (the domain used for things that actually exist or happen); it is further said that *sto* introduces finite clauses (factual and causal; clauses of reason). The function of *sto* has been claimed indisputable (that is, it has been firmly and clearly established) and also holds for the present data.

- (56) Jovan nece doci [zato *sto* je bolestan]. (Bibovic 1984, 370)  
 John won't-3sg come because *sto* Aux-3sg sick-M  
*John won't come because he's ill.*

The adverbial complementizer '*kada*' functions to specify the temporal reference of the time of the event or discourse,

- (57) Sibila je bila velikodusna [kada mu je rekla istinu]. (Bibovic 1984, 375)  
 Sibila Aux-3sgF generous when him-Dat Aux-3sg say-3sgF truth-Acc  
*Sibila was generous when she told him the truth.*

while the *da*-complementizer is said to introduce irrealis predicates (that is, the non-factive or counterfactual predication about future):

- (58) Nesposoban je [*da* shvati takvu ljubav]. (Bibovic 1984, 370)  
 incapable-3sgM Aux-3sg **da** understand-3sg such-Acc love-Acc  
*He is incapable of understanding such love.*

The main question that one must ask now is what exactly distinguishes the realis/irrealis quality of the matrix verbs in the above-listed examples. As examples below affirm, Croatian does not subcategorize matrix verbs into realis and/or irrealis. For example, the verb *čuti* 'to hear' is used to attest a direct perception of a proposition in (61). The coding of an overt direct object in the matrix clause places *čuti* into the realis category, coding the *de re* or factual status of a proposition. But *čuti* also occurs with a *da* complement (and absence of matrix coding) in (62), and the overall matrix predicate is rendered irrealis. Similarly, *znati* 'to know,' thought of as an inherently realis verb (coding direct perception), and *željeti* 'to wish,' an irrealis verb, both pattern with the *da* complementizer. Therefore, it can not be the inherent realis/irrealis property of a verb that renders the meaning of a sentence hypothetical, but rather the presence of the *da* complementizer. Examples (59) through (63) are native-speaker solicited examples, and have been molded after Frajzyngier and Shay examples testing epistemic coding with verbs of perception (M.S. 152-155).

- (59) Znam *da* ga nije bilo.  
 know-1sg **da** him-Acc not be-pst  
*I know he was gone.*

(60) Zelim *da* ga nema.

wish-1sg *da* him-Acc not

*I wish he were gone.*

(61) Cula sam **ga** kada je govorio u tvornici. → matrix coding of direct perception

hear-1sgF Aux-1sg him-Acc when spoke-3sgM in factory-Loc

*I heard him when he was speaking in the factory.*

(62) Cula sam **da** je govorio u tvornici. → no matrix coding (indirect perception)

hear-1sgF Aux-1sg **da** spoke-3sgM in factory-Loc

*I heard that he spoke in the factory.*

(63) \*\*Cula sam **ga da** je govorio u tvornici. → matrix coding and *da*-comp

hear-1sgF Aux-1sg him-Acc **da** spoke-3sgM in factory-Loc

\*\**I heard him that he was speaking in the factory.*

The above sentences illustrate that the absence of matrix coding and the presence of the complementizer *da* code indirect perception in Croatian. Absence of coding of the embedded clause subject in the matrix clause indicates that the embedded clause is in the hypothetical mood. Matrix coding is used to signal realis modality and since verbs in Croatian are not inherently realis/irrealis, matrix coding alone indicates the realis mood, whereas the absence codes irrealis. Furthermore, as expected, example (63) illustrates that simultaneous matrix coding (realis) and *da*-complementizer (irrealis) cannot occur together.

In the following sentences with *sto*-complement and *da*-complement substitutions, the function of *da*-comp becomes evident.

(64) Sretan sam **sto** te vidim. (NSE/NSJ)

happy-M Aux-1sgM **sto** you-Acc see-1sg

*I am glad to see you. → I am happy because I see you now*

(65) Sretan sam **da** te vidim. (NSE/NSJ)

happy-M Aux-1sgM **da** you-Acc see-1sg

*I am glad to see you. → I am happy whenever I get an opportunity to see you. (if I see you)*

(66) Tesko mu je **sto** zivi sam. (NSE/NSJ)

difficult him-Dat Aux-3sg **sto** live alone-M

*It is hard for him to live alone. → It is hard for him as a consequence of living alone.*

(67) Tesko mu je *da* zivi sam. (Bibovic 1976, 9)  
 difficult him-Dat Aux-3sg *da* live alone-M  
*It is hard for him to live alone. → It is hard for him to live alone.*

(68) Kao *sto* sam ti rekao, mladicu... (NDC: stiks\_dvorac 11568)  
 as *sto* Aux-1sg you-Dat tell-M young man-Voc  
*As I told you, young man...*

(69) Kao *da* sam ti rekao, mladicu... (NSE/NSJ)  
 as *da* Aux-1sg you-Dat tell-M young man-Voc  
*As if I had told you, young man...*

Matrix verbs in examples (64), (66), and (68) are followed by a *sto* complement. The same matrix verbs are then followed by a *da* complement in (65), (67), and (69). These pairs of sentence (one with the *sto* and the other with the *da* complementizer) are identical but for the complementizer. It is precisely this singular distinctive feature that brings about the change in the sentence meaning. Therefore, it must be that the *sto*-complementizer encodes the matrix clause as factual or epistemic, while the *da*-complementizer functions as a habitual, indirect or hypothetical *de dicto* marker.<sup>5</sup> If this analysis is correct then we should expect that a *de re* complement (i.e. *sto*-complement) cannot be conjoined with another resultative clause, but *de dicto* can. And this is the case as the following sentences indicate:

(70) Tesko mu je *da* zivi sam i zato zivi sa sinom. (NSE/NSJ)  
 difficult him-Dat be-3sg *da* live-3sg alone-M and therefore live-3sg with son-Inst  
*It is hard for him to live alone and that is why he lives with his son.*

(71) \*Tesko mu je *sto* zivi sam i zato zivi sa sinom. (NSE/NSJ)  
 difficult him-Dat be-3sg *sto* live-3sg alone-M and therefore live-3sg with son-Inst  
 \* *It is hard for him as a consequence of living alone and that is why he lives with his son.*

### 3. Conclusion: Toward a common function

*da*-complementizer introduces a complement clause which says more about the immediately preceding predicate. Therefore, each time a *da*-clause is used it is a comment on something else. The *da* complement cannot be interpreted in isolation (\*'da je umoran' ?*that he is tired...*, unlike 'umoran je' *he's tired*), and is therefore said to be pragmatically dependant on the matrix clause. Regardless in what construction *da* is used, its combinatorial possibilities are limited to occurring with certain verbs that are

5. *de dicto* and *de re* domains are explained in more depth in Frajzyngier (M.S., 210-11), Frajzyngier and Jasperson (1991), and Frajzyngier (1991).

subcategorized for *da* complements. As we have seen, this does not mean that a verb licenses a specific complementizer since no one verb takes only one kind of a complement.

However, when the *da* complementizer follows a matrix verb, it functions to code the matrix clause for its modal property – hypothetical mood. This function of coding deontic modality is most clearly evident when the *da* complementizer is juxtaposed with the epistemic *sto* complementizer. In otherwise identical sentences, the deontic modality is brought forth via *da* complementizer, and *sto* complementizer renders the epistemic status of proposition. Whether there also exists a declarative *da*, in addition to the modal *da*, is a matter that needs to be researched further before any conclusive claims may be made. At this time it is unclear whether the indicative reading is merely a consequence of an alternative *da* complementizer, or whether perhaps the verb's lexical and aspectual properties outweigh the modal properties of the complementizer.

The data presented in this paper however provide sound evidence that the *da*-complementizer belongs to the deontic (hypothetical) *de dicto* domain (a domain of speech that can extend to hypothetical), whose specific function is to signal *potentially realizable habitual events*.<sup>6</sup>

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6. See Darden (1997, 90) for additional discussion.



**Appendix A****Abbreviations**

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
Acc	accusative case
Aux	auxiliary
Dat	dative case
DM	declarative mood
F	feminine
FUT	future tense
Inf	Infinitive
Inst	instrumental case
Loc	locative case
M	masculine
MM	modal mood
NDC	National Data Corpus of Croatian Language
Nom	nominative case
NSE	native speaker example
NSJ	native speaker judgment
perf	perfective aspect
pl	plural
refl	reflexive
sg	singular
Voc	vocative case

## Appendix B

30m Corpus of Contemporary Croatian Language (test version) 20.11.2002 05:57:37

Corpus: 30m\_test

Results of query: smatram

[Click the source name to see the wider context ----->](#)

varalo tobože značajne političke osobe, zbog čega i danas judskog tijela, osobno sam se opredijelila za fitness jer jeravanja našeg pastorala prema odgoju odraslih vjernika, ="/slike/blueball.gif" WIDTH=12 HEIGHT=12> Prije svega, d kulturne povijesti Bosne i Hercegovine". I inače osobno zdavač Vrhova svjetske književnosti </FONT><BR> Budući da alo treće, i time će, vjeruju, oprati svoju savjest. <BR> z obzira što grad Zagreb ni od koga ništa ne traži. Stoga u li ga? U tome ste programu i vi sudjelovali... </B><BR> vu, iako se i tu jako pretjeruje. Ja, na primjer, i dalje ojem se može sve svirati, mekša je od gitare i zapravo je <br> - Ja sam uvijek za umjerenost, pa tako i u izjavama. ševila. Nikada se ne bih odlučila za tako nešto, jer sebe ga mu čestitam, što sam već mnogo puta učinio osobno, jer je i skinuti odgovornost i sa sebe, ali bit ću iskren jer štetama za duševne boli mogla bi se napisati disertacija: obrim književnim djelom popularnost se ne postiže. Osobno ku scenu u nas? Mislite li da ima medijske slobode?<br> - sti broj nastavnih tjedana kod pojedinih nastavnika. <br> ah, već i zbog geografske blizine tog područja Hrvatskoj. ojim te se svijete II". Ovaj film, bez obzira na nagrade, rodnu nagradu Ondas za radijsku emisiju "Zvižduća priča". je nezahvalna zvijer. Hrane joj treba sve više i više. <p> dvadeset i pet godina koliko radim u svijetu menagementa, lištu.<br> - Do pokrivanja troškova ekipe nije došlo, što no na koncert Gorana Bregovića ne namjeravam otići jer ga je od jučer". To znači da veoma poštujem prošlost u modi, jivati ili navijati za ovu ili onu struju. <BR> Osobno ne am reći jednu veliku istinu, možda će se neki iznenaditi. eg se u Hrvatskoj dodirnete čezne za razvojem. Dakako, ne e ući u koaliciju s Vidom Bogdanovićem i ostalom oporbom. teru. »Ne, to nije to. Mrzim se klanjati na pozornici. To spunjena očekivanja i opravdane prigovore organizatorima, određenog pravnog isustva, kao i povjesničarskog znanja, se nikada ovdje nije ni pojavio. I što to najamnik želi? boraviti. Rekao mi je zabrinuto kako ima loš predosjećaj. anak i dobro su im poznate teme o kojima smo razgovarali. upina teška, čekaju na teške utakmice s Jugoslavijom, ali o je došlo "svježeg zraka" je drugo pitanje i trebalo bi, an film, napokon održan je, eto, nekoliko godina kasnije. e, pa i policiju i redovite organe gonjenja. Kako sebe ne 2">U svezi s aktualnim raspravama o pravosuđu u Hrvatskoj ćom povlasticom u zadnjih deset godina, i u tom se smislu a? </B><BR> Oni koji su po mom mišljenju inteligentni, ne o dvostruko, stostruko se moram dokazivati. Sebe uopće ne su ljudi iz vrha neke stranke uključeni u takve poslove. Prije toga je, možda, potrebno ukratko obrazložiti zašto a koji govore o plaćanju u dvije rate odnosno o rokovima. NT><BR> <BR><FONT SIZE="5" COLOR="#008080"><EM>- Politiku mislim da je najteže živjeti u laži i prikrivanju istine. irate li osnovati udrugu homoseksualaca? </B><BR> Da, jer e 4-5 u opasnosti je postignuti ugled hrvatskog nogometa.

**smatram da** je posao destabilizacije HLS-a bio znatno širi  
**smatram da** je zdraviji, ženstveniji i primjereniji nama že  
smatram prioritetnim usredotočivanje naših snaga na stručn  
**smatram da** je sedam bolničkih kreveta za urološke bolesti  
smatram prijateljstvo s Lovrenovićem svojom najvećom povla  
**smatram da** članak u vašem listu "Izdavački skandal u Škols  
**Smatram da** se bez osnivanja stalnog međunarodnog suda neće  
**smatram da** je dosta tog licemjerja prema gradu Zagrebu.<br>  
**Smatram da** je još preuranjeno razgovarati o Bregovićevu go  
smatram, kao što sam i prije smatrao, da Hrvat nije naobra  
smatram gitarom s plastičnim žicama. <BR> <B> EXTRA: Recit  
**Smatram da** je svaka godina za Hrvatsku teška dok se ne rij  
smatram plesačem. Osim toga, imam određeni otpor spram nje  
smatram kako je on tu ispaio mnogo veća žrtva od mene. <BR>  
**smatram da** se oko te emisije diže nepotrebna prašina. Dok  
**smatram da** bi ih se trebalo svesti na simboličnu jednu kun  
**smatram da** je jedan od odličnih hrvatskih pisaca Pavao Pav  
Smatram, što se tiče tiskovina, da su medijske slobode čak  
**Smatram da** je bila nemoralna i protuzakonita odluka g. Pug  
**Smatram da** je problem Herceg Bosne nemoguće riješiti prije  
smatram svojim najvrednijim ostvarenjem", priznaje Andrea.  
Smatram to značajnijim od emisije "Ljudi smo". Osvajanje t  
**Smatram da** istinu ne bi trebalo uokvirivati, jer to stvara  
smatram se uspješnom poslovnom ženom.<br> • Kakav je vaš i  
smatram izuzetnom štetom. Riječki teatar je umjetnički rel  
smatram antiglazbenikom -</EM></FONT><BR> Kada je Davor št  
smatram je velikom inspiracijom svih modnih kreatora na sv  
**smatram da** je u takvom HDZ-u moguće rasplesti krizu na dem  
**Smatram da** je jedan od najvećih hrvatskih ljudi, intelektu  
smatram kako je Hrvatska totalitarna država, već društvo n  
**Smatram da** se nitko neće usuditi sam vladati u Dubrovniku  
smatram najsrमतnijom tradicijom na svijetu. Nije potrebn  
**smatram da** Interliber ima smisla i da mu mi nakladnici svo  
**smatram da** mogu procijeniti kakvi su dokazi koje imam prot  
**Smatram da** je Papa dovoljno mudar i dovoljno mlad da sam,  
**Smatram da** su najkvalitetniji hrvatski igrači pružili manj  
Smatram potrebnim još jednom naglasiti da izaslanstvo u či  
**smatram da** te utakmice treba shvatiti samo kao dvoboje koj  
smatram, problematizirati što mislimo pod "svježim zrakom"  
Smatram da je za sve potrebno najmanje dvoje da bi se nešt  
smatram tajkunom, nisam shvatio da se primjedba gospodina  
smatram potrebnim istaknuti da bi eventualno ustrojavanje  
smatram čistim ratnim profiterom. <IMG SRC="images/smalln.  
smatram protivnicima ili barem ne neprijateljima. Mislim d  
smatram diskriminiranom zato što sam žena. Moraš se jako pu  
**smatram da** može doći do sukoba privatnih i općih stranački  
**smatram da** je žanrovska svijest toliko važna. Najjednostav  
**Smatram da** će ovakva praksa ubuduće rezultirati velikim gu  
smatram otrovom i loše je to što su političari postali ono  
**Smatram da** smo i mi ljudi kao i svi ostali. Upravo zbog to  
**smatram da** je vrijeme da i ti ljudi budu prihvaćeni od zaj  
**Smatram da** je Mikša dobar predsjednik HNS-a, i ne vidim ra

[N159 08 12424](#) 1  
[N154 22 6849](#) 2  
[GK9712 i 4117](#) 3  
[me971217 v05 12541](#) 4  
[N153 09 24029](#) 5  
[N135 R04 9984](#) 6  
[N131 14 21099](#) 7  
[VJ981108s 23899](#) 8  
[N143 19 29676](#) 9  
[N149 10 19453](#) 10  
[N146 24 15397](#) 11  
[vj981227t 16739](#) 12  
[N129 K10 14998](#) 13  
[N138 23 15825](#) 14  
[n160 17 9384](#) 15  
[n160 04 21983](#) 16  
[vj981102k 17307](#) 17  
[vj990105t 13732](#) 18  
[vj990102i 4347](#) 19  
[N147 12 18399](#) 20  
[N137 22 15927](#) 21  
[N145 25 16607](#) 22  
[GK9647 20 5923](#) 23  
[VJ981202z 3919](#) 24  
[VJ981215k 9865](#) 25  
[N159 20 17494](#) 26  
[N152 19 5566](#) 27  
[N150 01 15843](#) 28  
[vj981231t 5020](#) 29  
[N139 01 15341](#) 30  
[N145 05 13231](#) 31  
[somen 56737](#) 32  
[VJ981114k 7754](#) 33  
[N138 06 6472](#) 34  
[N159 09 19163](#) 35  
[N148 16 17705](#) 36  
[N146 R04 17633](#) 37  
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[N154 20 12419](#) 40  
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[N153 09 24136](#) 43  
[N137 12 25425](#) 44  
[N135 K10 13457](#) 45  
[N131 01 18633](#) 46  
[pavlicc1 243641](#) 47  
[me980902 v04 3241](#) 48  
[N155 14 12809](#) 49  
[N141 16 15025](#) 50  
[N141 16 19890](#) 51  
[N153 12 20753](#) 52

## Appendix C

30m Corpus of Contemporary Croatian Language (test version) 01.10.2002 19:06:56

Corpus: 30m\_test

Results of query: da

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obodnijem prijevodu, Protekcija...»Želiš kazati le, a Zrinski se sã'm sebi učini kao da je od stakla, kao an Zagreba već su ušle u službenu proceduru. Ekštajn kaže skoči u pomoć u akciji suzbijanja ovih štetnika, pomislim je odgovornosti Predsjednika.<br> Mnogi će se prisjetiti određena psihoza, ako se zna da su tamo ubacivali bombe, toga sjedenja spremaju za nju. U svakom slučaju očito je anu. Mi, dakako, tu situaciju želimo promijeniti. Ne zato , a 1990. za podsekretara za državnu sigurnost. Zato kaže dovoljan i sretan, ali nastavi nešto mrljati, tek toliko ) te desetak bolesničkih kolica. Danas bi ih, zbog sumnje as je i do sada u niz navrata prevario svojim prijetnjama natog vaterpolista Vjeko Kobeščaka, optužila je Ivu Radić znih stranačkih činovnika. A znao sam kroz dosta indicija anstvom Hrvati u BiH stimuliraju se da napuštaju BiH tako rihvatili demokratska pravila: Zato su i dobili mogućnost Irak prošlog mjeseca, po njegovim riječima, dio je urote vatskoj, dakako i u cijeloj Jugoslaviji, bilo nezamislivo o zore vremena da se razgovorimo. Samo prije dozovi momka a< dosta toga ponavlja. Ipak, organizatoru treba priznati ticu. Zadovoljstvo mu se prelije licem.</P><P>- Rekao sam jeme tražio pravu osobu. Tako su prošla već tri tjedna, a Onda mi on pozivno mahne rukom i meni se odjednom objavi -- šapućem sebi, a vidim jasno da se ta svinjska glava ne omažu. Cijela moja obitelj zahvaljuje." <p>Bog nas poziva arstvo, naša književnost - sve što nam je dalo puno pravo u glasova, ili se radi o nečem drugom? Više je nego čudno u srijedu, s jednim glasom protiv takve odluke. To znači ve reći... ali kad sam ti već ovo rekla... Bilo je i toga dstavnicima međunarodne zajednice neprestano objašnjavati i poviješću, pokušavamo, i na to imamo pravo, učiniti sve a i sam obred vjenčanja bude jednostavan i dostojanstven, e/blueball.gif" WIDTH=12 HEIGHT=12> Kakvu terapiju?! Znaš osrće. Šute. Nitko ne plače. Ni djeca. Samo pate. Osjećam a gumeni čep na stolu. Pustite čeličnu kuglicu kroz cijev ne strane, među nizom vila na obroncima Jurjevske, gotovo pture. Na tom putu, u toj radnji ima toliko raznolikosti, su ti dječaci i djevojčice nekoliko sati bili zatvoreni i ogim indoeuropskim jezicima) znači bilo kakav prijem ili, adore čiji engleski često nije bio bolji od njegova, tako nama ne škodi. Njegov je sadržaj u pozitivnome značenju: telefonirati njoj, reći kako je uljanicu konačno upalio i ljudima dan kako bi mogli prikriti svoje misli; tvrdio je gnuća -- prema tome i transplantacija, trebala ići za tim Pa da ga je neka granata, neki geler usmrtio, čini mi se iz društva otići tada kada je najugodnije. Nije potrebno ljučuje prva dva sadržaja i dodaje novi: ubojstvo čovjeka h razaranja, otišao je u luku kako bi definitivno utvrdio u svom obmanjivanju i pokazivanju nestida ide tako daleko oja nemaju potporu u realnoj sferi, gospodarstvu, ukazati

da se Saulus-Paulus, time, i po drugi put zaplotnjački oko da mu se udovi uleđeno pokreću, ohladnjeli do smrtne obamr da u razgovorima s ministrima Matešom i Šeparovićem nije s da će i nas početi noću žderati, poput scena u filmovima s da su u rujnu 1993. godine šestorica hrvatskih intelektual da su prijetili, da su svećenike fizički maltretirali, da da su jedno u drugo zaljubljeni, što se vidi i po gorljivu da bismo i mi došli u situaciju da imamo prednosti kao i C da ga, doduše, nije proganjao bivši režim, ali da 'nije bi da ne iznevjeri svoju prirodu: -- Ohladit će se ručak... - da kreveti nisu tamo gdje im je mjesto (?), želio prebroji da će napustiti izbornički posao. Ali što će biti s hrvats da je pobijedila zahvaljujući namještanju rezultata. Praši da je predsjednik donio tu odluku. On je čak jednom od vis da prijeti opasnost da sami sebe pobijede, da ostanu bez s da postave svog premijera </FONT><P> <BR><FONT SIZE="5" CO da se pomogne Izraelu podijeliti, porobiti i opljačkati is da radi jedna mala galerija u kojoj bi privatna inicijativ da se ne usere od straha što si nestao.</P><P>- Nije pljaš da, za razliku od ugostitelja, svaki njihov godišnji skup da dobro gadaš, samo ti konj ne valja - reče Frankopan i p da odgovor nije stigao u županiju. No i kad stigne, hoćemo da ja, samo li se priberem, umijem i mogu po vodi hodati, da: ta, u meni tako jasno živi to sneno oko, oko prazno i da u tijeku došašća budemo blagovjesnici ubogima, da iscje da i u minulim stoljećima, kao i sada, zahtijevamo da bude da ni Račan ni Gotovac, niti drugi stranački čelnici, nisu da bi oko 150 tisuća umirovljenika kojima je obustavljena da sam imal drogu za prodaju. Znal sam si uzeti 10-15 gram da se bez kažnjavanja glavnih zločinaca i svih zločinaca, da, potpuno ravnopravno, bez ikakve majorizacije ili bilo da se u nj razborito unose drevni svadbeni običaji različ da to košta, a toliko novaca mama i ja nemamo. A da si hod da me peku tabani. Krvare mi stopala. Bole i žare, ali pod da padne na čep i odskoči. Izračunajte stupanj korisnosti da zrači svojom mondrijanskom strukturom pročelja vila Mei da se konfiguracija mora »čitati« kao da je misao ili misa da se u toj navali možda iskazala stiješnjenost, stegnuti da kažemo, koktel -- na malo višoj razini. U Australiji, m da nije imao komplekse prema njima. Na večere koje je rije da se čini dobro, a ne samo da se izbjegava zlo. Očito, po da je sve kako treba, i da joj se ništa nije dogodilo. Odu da je Richelieu varao, ali nikada nije lagao, dok Metterni da čovjeku omogućio ljudskije, čovjeka dostojnije postojan da bih lakše prihvatilo --, nastavi Marijan, -- ali ovako.. da odlazak gostiju izgleda kao stampedo, dopušten je i čak da bi ga se konačno oslobodilo od svake boli, patnje i nei da je jedrilica izgorjela. I zaista, na mjestu gdje je bil da svoje zalaganje za Jugoslaviju '90. uspoređuje s Tudman da nešto može biti drugačije. Stvari imaju svoju dinamiku

F911ausic0 82406 1  
F92stahuljak 505487 2  
vj981227p 19342 3  
me980819 v01 2074 4  
vj981120o 7515 5  
GK9634 23 2976 6  
delorko 110843 7  
VJ981113s 12200 8  
VJ9811171 15351 9  
brucic 5175 10  
me980819 v02 3451 11  
N136 01 18679 12  
N145 24 4795 13  
N153 01 31185 14  
N141 K09 7374 15  
N155 K06 3878 16  
vj990105t 21897 17  
kont9753 01 35649 18  
F92stahuljak 563644 19  
vj981102o 12750 20  
F92stahuljak 187719 21  
me960612 v04 2608 22  
F911ausic0 52112 23  
segedin 352459 24  
GK9650 k01 4738 25  
gotovac 230600 26  
N130 05 11702 27  
VJ981217p 17401 28  
me980826 c02 9247 29  
N138 K09 9292 30  
N151 09 21690 31  
GK9623 07 2323 32  
me980826 c02 10916 33  
stojsav dnev 81197 34  
Fizika 22390 35  
maroevic zg 142538 36  
dragojevic c 22051 37  
dragojevic c 100738 38  
nick diploma 83348 39  
nick diploma 191103 40  
POZAIĆ CUVAR 148581 41  
rehak preobr 55672 42  
nick diploma 258213 43  
POZAIĆ CUVAR 208545 44  
rehak preobr 184827 45  
nick diploma 367966 46  
POZAIĆ CUVAR 287357 47  
rehak preobr 125936 48  
me970430 m01 9120 53  
vj981227t 9188 54

i jednog 20-godišnjaka. <br> Srpski mediji izvijestili su mu se organiziraju takozvani razredni ispiti ako zaključuje Amerikance pa sam ga čak dva puta pokušala nagovoriti o <em>društveno pozitivnoj vrijednosti</em> te se zalagao pak, stavovi većine istraživača podudaraju se u shvaćanju elini napravi nužan i radikalan zaokret? Dojam je, naime, ebe svrstava izvan Europe. Čak je i Albanija smogla snage ije toliko pogodilo i toliko povrijedilo koliko činjenica romjenjivosti republičkih granica, on bi tražio od mene om i Washingtonskom sporazumu. Tako bi izbjegli situacije NABROJ>b)</NABROJ> <NABROJAK>ilovaste pjeskulje -- budući imovini koju su oni dugo godina stvarali. 12. Zalagati se javnosti. Tako su, htjeli to ili ne, naprosto prisiljeni ranaka da posjete Washington. U javnosti je stvoren dojam nost i rad na području matematičke znanosti. <p>Nadamo se pobjeđujem! Pobjeđujem i ovo »in medias res«. Vi mislite vnoa zbora, slovenskoga parlamenta, što je bilo osnovano o snimio fotoreporter jednoga tamošnjeg tjednika. Čini se AL: Kako komentirate vojni dio sporazuma? </B><BR> Mislim i u vremenu kad je u svijetu umjetniku bilo poželjno reći m priznavanju Hrvatske, premda je meni itekako bilo jasno dručju. Također bi bio promašaj kad bi koji čovjek mislio e i u duhovnoj obnovi društva. <h3> Uvjeti za rad</h3> <p> sredne pripreve na Svetu godina 2000. Stoga bi bilo dobro i Vrhovnom sudu, a Vrhovni sud ovaj put nije donio odluku istri su ocijenili kao neutemeljen, jednako kao i tvrdnju ržavali od kritike dok se EU stvarao, i to sve u interesu vnodušno prema životinjama, a da je Papa nedavno izjavio " i, koji su u jutarnjim izdanjima dnevnih novina pročitali nskom dvojbom: komu od dvojice svojih najbližih suradnika ništvu SFRJ prevladao optimizam, pa se razmišljalo i tome za osmišljavanje suvremene »duhovne igre«, već i težnjom era.<br> S obzirom da ga nije bilo na programu, znali smo log za to šarinićevo odsustvo iz Zagreba ili pak procjena ina Sršan</B>.<BR><BR> Više detalja podupire pretpostavku e da je iskoristite na najbolji mogući način. Zato tvrdim kog spota u programima Hrvatske televizije u jednom danu. f" WIDTH=12 HEIGHT=12> Trebat će ići posuđivati oko. Ma d jedne do pet godina zatvora. Kazneni zakon, naime, kaže e. No, da bi se ovaj proces ispravno odvijao, potrebno je ta, a odredbe traže do to bude između 20 i 30 kandidata i duhovnom i u materijalnom pogledu, civilizacijski, radno, aljka napravimo mali otvor i usmjerimo nakupinu elektrona jačanje imunosti pridonijeti uništenju tumora, tek ostaje drug Marko mu ovaj put ne dopusti.</P><P>'Pričekaj malo, edan problem muči predsjednika Tuđmana. On, naime, smatra mir Šoljić pokušao u Den Haagu nagovoriti zatočene Hrvate TV-a, stidljivo progovorilo tek iza prognoze vremena. Kao je u ponedjeljak čelnik Kluba HDZ-a Vladimir Šeks dodavši amjenika, a u ono doba nije ni ispitivao, jer se smatralo nog trga sa željom, zapravo potrebom da bar malo prošeće, to »zovetek«, ali već je bilo kasno: riječ je odletjela...

da su u subotu poslije 13 sati u selu Dašincu, pokraj Deča da su profesori dosadni, a program nepotrebno slušati. Nar da se preseli u SAD jer sam sigurna da bio i tamo napravio da ga se ne shvaća kao suvremeni društveni fenomen koji bi da se tehnika odnosi na sredstva za rad, znanja proizvodnj da je oporba prilično mlako reagirala na aferu oko Dubrova da njihova vlada donese odluku da za školstvo iz BDP-a izd da su oni koji su željeli uništiti svaki hrvatski trag na da se u zaključak unese malo drukčija formulacija. Umjesto da međunarodna zajednica umjesto nas mora donositi zakone da se ovo tlo sastoji od pijeska koji je pomiješan s nešto da se svakom umirovljeniku individualno povećava mirovina da se sučele s vinovnicima te afere, a, po svemu sudeći, i da bi taj odlazak oporbenjaka u Ameriku HDZ mogao iskorist da će naše pisanje i pisanje akademika Babića biti doprino da se varam! Ne, ne, moj slatki gosparu, ja bih i danas bi da bi se ispitalo i ustanovile sve okolnosti i posljedice da je i ovoga puta zakazala vlast, jer je ona (a ne netko da su i dosadašnji vojni sporazumi davali rezultata, prije da je iz Sarajeva nikad to niste istaknuli? </B><BR> To mi da je to toliko dugo čekano priznanje, u stvari »debelo« k da vanjskim svojim držanjem, poštivanjem drevnih običaja, Da bi se netko mogao služiti metodom hagioterapije, potreb da se na prvu nedjelju došašća u svim našim crkvama navije da Obrvan nema pravo žalbe nego da je njegova žalba neosno da Njemačka izvozi više na tržište EU-a nego ostale članic da ideja europskog ujedinjenja uspije. Međutim, sada, nako da kršćani moraju promijeniti svoj odnos prema životinjama da su Brena i Boba u Zagrebu, čekali već od 10 sati ujutro da vjeruje u aferi oko Dubrovačke banke, Hrvoju Šariniću i da se Tita na daljnji oporavak prebaci u njegovu rezidenci da se suptilnost modernih književnih postupaka približi ko da će prvi dodatak biti obavezan valcer »Na lijepom plavom da nakon političkog debakla u Hercegovini ne može potpisat da je netko požar podmetnuo. U šta glju nije bilo električn da u životu nije odlučujući talent, nego rad i volja. Najv Da Hrvatska televizija nije pretjerala, uvjerali smo se i da sam to mogla znati i posljednju kunu bih dala za osigur da je za to kazneno djelo, odavanje poslovne tajne, predvi da preživaci imaju dovoljno »voluminozne« hrane (trava, si da pri sastavljanju te liste župnik vodi računa o tome da da sve što o Hrvatskoj govorimo i sanjamo bude na novom pu da proleti kroz valjak. Slučaj a: u rezonantnoj šupljini n da se utvrdi. S druge strane, poticanje na proliferaciju t da ipak tu stanemo', počeo on i onda upita Marijana: 'Rekao da Granić i Valentić ne podupiru dovoljno iskreno njegovu da javno podupru HDZ BiH na ružanskim izborima i ograde se da Ksenija Urličić s time nema baš nikakve veze i da su za da su razgovori s dr. Tuđmanom zasad samo u sferi špekulac da za te poslove još nije spreman. Uglavnom je odlazio u i da i stvarno doživi prestanak zatvorske skučenosti. Usput Da, a ipak sam bio svjestan kako postoji razlog zašto sam

VJ9901111 5863 55  
GK9625 58 4888 56  
N134 02 29125 57  
GK9714 f01 2655 58  
mraovic 101815 59  
N134 03 12691 60  
N135 03 11532 61  
GK9710 28 561 62  
N148 20 15289 63  
N155 05 9400 64  
eko polj 144555 65  
stranke 899625 66  
N130 07 12829 67  
N133 03 22989 68  
GK9630 57 3544 69  
segedin 380576 70  
VJ981106p 15542 71  
VJ981202g 19096 72  
N155 05 18746 73  
N149 17 14214 74  
VJ981209t 8717 75  
GK9625 f02 4500 76  
GK9627 f01 1532 77  
GK9648 22 9507 78  
N132 07 8850 79  
VJ981209t 14196 80  
VJ990115g 10577 81  
GK9652 k02 4864 82  
N134 05 5934 83  
N128 07 14239 84  
N133 04 21454 85  
zmeqac b 228001 86  
vj990102k 5231 87  
N132 08 5299 88  
me980311 c03 1543 89  
N135 05 17671 90  
N146 R03 9505 91  
me980311 c03 3190 92  
N154 08 6200 93  
eko polj 631635 94  
GK9710 45 3657 95  
gotovac 286576 96  
radioter 146419 97  
radioter 1133235 98  
F90ivin0 134955 99  
N129 10 21570 100  
N146 R04 11372 101  
N153 04 14326 102  
vj9812221 12197 103  
F90ivin0 67545 104  
F90ivin0 198911 105  
segedin 28648 106

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