

Radmila J. Gorup

The Semantic Organization of the Serbo-Croatian Verb

Verlag Otto Sagner München · Berlin · Washington D.C.

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SLAVISTISCHE BEITRÄGE

BEGRÜNDET VON

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HERAUSGEGEBEN VON

HEINRICH KUNSTMANN

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REDAKTION

PETER REHDER

Band 214

VERLAG OTTO SAGNER
MÜNCHEN

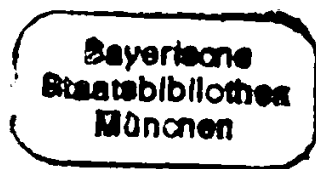
RADMILA JOVANOVIĆ GORUP

THE SEMANTIC ORGANIZATION
OF THE SERBO-CROATIAN VERB



VERLAG OTTO SAGNER · MÜNCHEN

1987



ISBN 3-87690-382-3
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Abteilung der Firma Kubon & Sagner, München

FOREWORD

This work presents a re-analysis of a major segment of the paradigm of the Serbo-Croatian verb. It concentrates chiefly on the perfective and imperfective morphology, but treats this classic problem in Slavic scholarship from a non-aspectual point of view.

The theoretical position presented here is based on an approach to the analysis of language developed by Professor William Diver and his students at Columbia University. In it the objective of an analysis is to come to an understanding of the utilization of the morphology by demonstrating that the morphological forms are signals of meanings that are being used deliberately for the communication of a message; thus the usage is not dictated by obedience to arbitrary syntactic rules.

The present work presents both an explanation of the use of verbal morphology in Serbo-Croatian and an exemplification of the theoretical approach.

The analysis has grown out of many years of research, most of which benefited from discussion in seminars at Columbia University between 1978 and 1984.

I wish to thank Professor William Diver for his generous assistance, without which the research presented here could hardly have been accomplished. I am also indebted to all the friends and colleagues at Columbia University who have been instrumental in making this work a reality. For errors and inadequacies I am alone responsible.

My husband Ivan and my sons John and Sasha I thank for their support and encouragement.

September 1987
University of California at Berkeley

Radmila Javonović Gorup

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM OF VERBAL ASPECT IN SERBO-CROATIAN

A. Introduction

There exists a widely held opinion that linguistic phenomena as an object of study are very different from any other such object, and specifically from any other instance of human behavior; that is, characteristics of language cannot be explained on the basis of anything that is known about other human activities. To those who hold such a position the task of linguistics is necessarily reduced to the description of the observable phenomena, since explanation of language as a particular instance of known traits of human behavior is not possible.

The grammatical analysis we are presenting in this dissertation differs radically from this position. It is based on the unquestionable fact that humans communicate

through the medium of language and on other known characteristics of human behavior. For us language is a device of communication, a system of meaningful signs by which humans transmit messages. In this we follow Saussure's essential idea that the structure of language is motivated by its use as an instrument of communication and we explicitly deny that the structure of language is parallel to the structure of rational thought.

The basic theoretical units of this grammar are grammatical signs, consisting of signals and their meanings, and not sentences, parts of speech or anything that has been generally studied under the name of syntax. Investigation of the grammatical analysis presented here demonstrates that the motivation for the distribution of signals in the exploitation of the language is the meaning of these signals and not a group of arbitrary syntactic rules. For more information on the theoretical basis of this position see Diver 1969, Reid 1974, Garcia 1975, Contini-Morava 1982, etc.

The prime objective of this study is to explain the usage of what has been traditionally called the perfective and imperfective verbs in Serbo-Croatian, a problem that has generally been treated under the heading of verbal aspect.

Analysis of verbal aspect is the classic problem in

Slavic linguistics, one which has interested a large number of scholars representing a variety of theoretical viewpoints. But in spite of all the attention it has received the problem has remained largely unsolved. Treatments proposed to date, whether traditional, structural or generativist have proved to be inadequate. The purpose of this work is to propose a new approach based on theoretical principles entirely different from any that have preceded.

Two characteristics of this analysis have to be stressed from the beginning:

1. We are not concerned with verbal aspect as a part of general linguistic theory nor as a particular characteristic of Slavic languages. This analysis is concerned with a particular language - Serbo-Croatian.
2. This work has no bearing on the historical evolution of aspect or on the morphology of the Serbo-Croatian verb. It is a synchronic study in the sense that it provides current motivation for the use of the verbal morphology without reference to earlier stages of the language.

B. Brief History of the Problem

The majority of Serbo-Croatian verbs are organized in pairs such as the following ones:

piti	popiti	'to drink'
dolaziti	doći	'to come'
kupovati	kupiti	'to buy'
pisati	napisati	'to write'
igrati	zaigrati	'to dance'

The reason given for the existence of these pairs in the language is that Serbo-Croatian verbs unlike their English counterparts use this morphology to indicate something about the nature of the action performed. This distinction, realized in verbal pairs as shown above, has traditionally been treated as a distinction of verbal aspect.

The subject from the very beginning has had an aura of mystery. Its great appeal to grammarians and linguists alike can be attributed to a great extent to its elusiveness. Grammarians were familiar with the grammatical categories inherited from Greek and Roman philosophy, but this was a distinction that somehow did not fit into any of the categories codified in the philosophical grammar. This was something different - a distinction that was not based on the verbal categories of tense, mood and voice yet permeated almost the entire verbal lexicon and also was paradigmatic in nature.

Early grammarians of the Slavic languages, adopting Latin terminology, divided Slavic verbs into two major

groups calling them 'verba perfecta' and 'verba imperfecta' (W.J. Rosa, 1672, B.Kašić, 1614), often adding additional sub-categories. In 1808 B. Kopitar in his Grammatik der slavischen Sprache in Krain, Kärnten und Steyermark, complained that these Latin terms adopted for Russian do not reflect the Slavic situation but are instead terms which meant other things in Latin. He changed these terms for Slovene to 'verba perfectiva' and 'verba imperfectiva', labels still used today in Slavic scholarship.

Also, the Greek term eidos 'form, shape' has been used to refer to verbs derived from a simple form. This term, translated into Russian вид, was taken in the seventeenth century to refer to Russian prefixed verbs. Today it is still used in the Slavic languages to refer to the grammatical category of verbal aspect. German scholars have used both Aspekt and Aktionsart with reference to verbal aspect in the Slavic languages.

The first to present a comparative analysis of verbal aspect in the Slavic languages was Franz Miklosich (1863). To this day his definition of the perfective and the imperfective verb remains the most enduring one. Miklosich opposed 'continuous action' as a characteristic of imperfective verbs to 'completed action' as a characteristic of perfective verbs. This broad definition accounted for many uses of the perfective and imperfective

verbs but not for all. The nineteenth century scholars continued to operate with these definitions.

In the twentieth century, in order to account for the entire distribution of aspectual pairs, scholars started to elaborate on these definitions and also to subdivide the two major categories along the line of different semantic features that could be abstracted over certain groups of verbs. The two procedures were often combined.

From the beginning, scholars were tempted to supplement the inadequacy of definitions advanced to account for the perfective and the imperfective verb by grouping them into semantic categories, classes and sub-classes of the two major categories. Then in 1908 and 1914 Agrell suggested that there was a difference in kind between the two major categories on the one hand and their sub-classes on the other. He proposed the term Aktionsart 'the kind of action' to be used to name what he called a semantic function of the verb which, according to him, specifies the fashion in which an action is performed, and the term Aspekt to be used exclusively with reference to the perfective and imperfective distinction.

This introduced new complexity into an already complicated matter. It immediately raised the question whether aspect is in the domain of grammar or lexicography, whether the Aktionsart difference is equally in the sphere

of both the perfective and the imperfective verb or only the perfective, etc., etc. More about the status of Aktionsart(en) in this analysis will be said in Appendix A.

In advancing definitions which appeared in the first half of the twentieth century, the analysts were usually more concerned with defining the perfective aspect. The imperfective aspect was generally defined negatively.

As stated in Ferrell (1951), there are five main definitions of verbal aspect that at one time or another have received the attention of scholars. The first and the most enduring one was the definition already mentioned according to which the perfective aspect expresses an action as completed while the imperfective verb expresses an action as enduring, as developing in time.

One of the elaborations of this theme was that the opposition between the perfective and the imperfective aspect lies along the parameter of duration. According to this view, in the perfective verb the action is denoted in relationship to a limited time, either long or short. In the imperfective verb the action is regarded without relationship to any limitation in time. The chief exponent of this view was Fortunatov and his analysis influenced Belić and many other Serbo-Croatianists. Other exponents of it were Koschmieder, Sørensen and others.

Another attempt to improve on the original definition

was the concept that the perfective verb expresses an action as a point. This view, according to Peškovskij, best accounted for the non-occurrence of verbs such as početi - počinjati - 'to begin', svršiti - svršavati and završiti - završavati - 'to end, to finish' and nastaviti - nastavljati - 'to continue' with perfective verbs as their complement in phrases such as: Počeo je da piše. 'He began to write/writing'. This view that the perfective verb expresses non-durativity of the process was also held by Meillet, de Saussure, etc.

According to some other scholars the process of perfectivization is nothing more than the concentration of attention on one of the concrete moments of the process to the exclusion of all others. Whether that moment might be initial, final or other, it is subjectively felt as a resultative moment. According to this group of scholars, represented by Potebnja, Karcevski and Mazon, the perfective verb expresses the result of an action and the imperfective verb the action itself.

A still different definition was advanced by Šaxmatov, Pedersen and Holt. According to it, the perfective verb introduces the concept of a term of limitation in the action. Namely, in evaluating an action, the speaker can have in view its continuing course or 'the fullness of its realization'. The imperfective aspect denotes the former

and the perfective the latter. In the latter, the speaker can view the 'fullness of the realization of an action' in (1) its beginning or its result in general, in (2) its limitation, in (3) the momentary revelation and in (4) the definiteness of a given motion. This multiple definition combined some of the definitions we have already mentioned.

None of the above definitions, nor all of them combined, account for the phenomena in question and further analyses continue to appear.

We do not intend to give an analysis of all these treatments separately as this would take many volumes in itself. We may say however, that all the definitions we have mentioned are somehow related to the notion of the realization of the course of action denoted by the verb. Each of the scholars who offered a particular definition took for the meaning of the category of aspect what was actually a nuance of the message. As a consequence definitions were not broad enough to account for all the uses of "aspectual" morphology.

Further, the attempt to compensate for the inadequacy of a definition by classifying verbs in different semantic groups did not result in an exhaustive categorization. As we shall see from Grubor's analysis for example, Serbo-Croatian verbs did not allow clear-cut divisions into distinct semantic groups, and in addition there were

numerous overlaps. This procedure in general does not provide any control over categories. There is always the possibility that one can apply a finer grid and come up with more categories. Were this procedure followed to its logical conclusion any verb could be associated with a semantic feature that no other verb has and thus classified separately.

Another innovation in the treatment of aspect was the introduction of the notion of markedness. Jakobson introduced the concept of binary opposition and J. Maslov applied it to his analysis of the Bulgarian verb in 1959. In characterizing the marked member, the perfective verb, Maslov adopted the definition of Razmusen who in 1891 defined the category of aspect in the following way: "The perfective verb expresses an action considered as a single whole, while the imperfective verb expresses an action considered only from the point of view of its concrete, denotative feature, without reference to its totality".(J.Forsyth: A Grammar of Aspect: Usage and Meaning of the Russian Verb. Cambridge University Press, 1970, p. 8)

Later on, in 1970, Forsyth adopted Razmusen's and Maslov's definitions. In his analysis of the Russian verb, the function of the imperfective verb is to identify the action lexically, without reference to its perfectivity.

The perfective verb, on the other hand, expresses the action as "a total event, summed up with reference to a single specific juncture" [Ibid, p.14] The majority of scholars today hold the view that the perfective verb is the marked member of the opposition and accept the above definition of the marked member.

Analyzing the perfective verb as a "marked" member with a "feature" does not solve the problem of the usage of verbs or of the usage of any other grammatical category for that matter. Such "features" merely describe a subset of the observed usage without providing any explanation for it. In the case of verbal aspect, such an analysis does not show what motivates the choice between the two forms when they both occur in the same environment. It takes responsibility only for the distribution of the "marked" member.

The study of aspect was outside the mainstream of linguistic interest during the heyday of Generative Transformational Grammar and this can be easily understood considering the status of semantics in that approach to language.

More recently, there have been other, somewhat different treatments. In the seventies we find a proposal to treat verbal aspect as a discourse phenomenon. In his article "Some Observations on the Typology of Focus and

Aspect in the Narrative Language", in which he examines the interrelationship which exists between the narrative language and subject focus, Paul Hopper treats aspect as a discourse phenomenon. He deduces a set of narrative characteristics associated with the imperfective and perfective verbs or aspect markers in Russian, French and Malay: kinetic action, foregrounding, strict sequencing, events indispensable to the narrative, etc. as characteristics of the perfective verb, and simultaneity, chronological overlapping, frequent changes of the subject, etc. as those of the imperfective verb. Hopper does not provide any rationale for what these different categories might have in common and he himself admits that these lists can be extended. Since he does not insist on a constant relationship between a particular morphology and a particular meaning, this analysis would not be disconfirmed if one were to find that the morphological form identified as having certain functions in a given language also had other, semantically unrelated functions.

In 1979 a symposium was held at USLA entitled "Tense and Aspect: Between Semantics and Pragmatics". Proceedings of this symposium were edited by Hopper and published in 1982. This conference oriented the study of aspect, now a universal language category, toward a pragmatic view. In his introduction Hopper wrote: "The chief premise of this

essay is a hypothesis that the fundamental notion of aspect is not a local - semantic one but a discourse - pragmatic and is characterizable as completed event in discourse". (Tense-Aspect: Between Semantics and Pragmatics. ed. Paul Hopper, Typology in Language, Vol.I, 1982, p.5).

First, this definition of aspect incorporates the most popular definition of the perfective verb as a 'completed action'. Secondly, the realization that verbal aspect cannot be successfully defined on the basis of the sentence as a unit but that a broader context has to be considered is not a novelty. Many scholars who studied aspect before Hopper also claimed that the function of aspect could be understood only within the context in which a verb occurs. To link the category of aspect to a larger theoretical unit, no longer a sentence but a discourse-text was a novelty only to those linguists who practice sentence grammar.

Hopper uses certain terms identical to the ones used in the present analysis: foregrounding, backgrounding, focus, etc. This might suggest that there is a similarity between Hopper's analysis and this one. Yet the two analyses are fundamentally different. Hopper talks about foregrounding and backgrounding as universal properties of discourse. Once he defines these notions he looks for their manifestations in different languages. His analysis is thus

primarily interested in language universals. In addition, his analysis is basically descriptive since he links the category of verbal aspect with certain types of environments and does not provide any rationale for the occurrence of a particular morphology of a particular language associated with the category of aspect in these types of environments and not in others.

By contrast, the present analysis is concerned with the grammatical morphology of one particular language, Serbo-Croatian. Based on the Form-Content Approach it seeks to establish the constant semantic contribution of the signals and meanings of the semantic substance Focus of Attention.

C. PREVIOUS ANALYSES OF SERBO-CROATIAN VERBAL ASPECT

The subject of verbal aspect has been treated from one point of view or another for all Slavic languages:

Fortunatov, Šaxmatov, Vinogradov, Mazon, etc. treated Russian; Meillet treated Old Church Slavonic, Koschmieder Polish, Travníček Czech, Maslov Bulgarian, etc. The problem for Serbo-Croatian has been debated in short articles, usually in conjunction with verbal tenses, and in grammar books, starting with Leskien's grammar in 1914, and in two major studies, one by Rajko Hariton Ružić in 1943 and the second one by Djuro Grubor in 1953. There have also been a few contrastive studies of Serbo-Croatian verbal aspect with aspect in other languages.

The first synchronic study dedicated exclusively to the verbal aspect of Serbo-Croatian is that of Rajko Hariton Ružić: The Aspect of the Verb in Serbo-Croatian, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1943.

Ružić divided his study into two parts. The first part treats morphology and the second treats the functions of verbal aspect "in the living language". The first part presents the morphology based on a survey of some 10.000 verbs. We are not going to comment at this point on his treatment of morphology except to say that at the end of

the chapter on morphology Ružić comes to the conclusion that forms are not to be relied on and that aspect is not bound to the form of the verb but to its meaning.

Ružić's definition of the perfective and the imperfective verb is a traditional one. A perfective verb expresses a completed action without any reference to its duration while an imperfective verb expresses an action in progress without any reference to its completion. In addition, following Agrell and Koschmieder (1934) Ružić adopts the view that every verb in Serbo-Croatian expresses two things - Aspect and Aktionsart. According to him, the aspect of a verb is its expression of an action as completed versus incompleted, while the Aktionsart is its expression of an action as performed in a certain fashion. The two categories (he calls them 'features') are closely bound together but are not always distinct. While there are only two aspects, the Aktionsarten are many.

According to this analysis, verbal aspect is the grammaticalization of semantic distinctions while Aktionsart is lexicalization of semantic distinctions by means of derivational morphology. Ružić illustrates this difference with the analogy between žena 'wife, woman', Nominative Singular, and žene, Genitive Singular on the one side, and žena versus ženica 'little wife, little woman' on the other. In the first case, the two words, žena and

žene, have the same lexical meaning but differ functionally while in the second, the difference between žena and ženica is the lexical nuance added to it in ženica. In the same manner, the lexical meaning of kupiti - kupovati 'to buy' are the same but the two verbs differ in aspect. By contrast, the distinction between hadjati 'to keep walking' and hoditi 'to be walking', the durative Aktionsart, is one of lexical meaning and analogous to the distinction between žena and ženica. According to his own admission Ružić introduces only a few, the most common verbal types (the term he uses instead of Aktionsart), out of many possible. Thus, an imperfective verb may express:

- a) A durative, continuous action, as in piti 'to drink';
- b) A repeated or habitual action, as in radjati 'to give birth/to bear children';
- c) An action performed by several subjects, as razilaziti se 'to disperse', or an action done on several objects as prelamati 'to break several objects in two';
- d) An action performed in small measures, as pijuckati 'to sip';
- e) With verbs of motion (1) an action done in a definite direction, as leteti 'to fly' and (2) an action done in no particular direction, as letati 'to fly back

and forth anywhere'.

Ružić adds that e.2 and c. and d. are strictly speaking modifications of b.

Under the perfective verb Ružić lists these different types of verbal action:

- f) The beginning, inceptive moment of an action, as zaplakati 'to start crying';
- g) The final, conclusive moment of an action, depending on the meaning of the prefix, as ispevati 'to sing to the end';
- h) A momentaneous action, as dati 'to give' (here he has a three-way subdivision);
- j) A repeated action, but one completed each time it is done:
 - (1) an action performed by several subjects in turn as in: Čeljad se porazboljevala. 'The household fell ill, one person after another';
 - (2) an action performed upon several objects in turn, as in Isprebijao mu je sve kosti. 'He broke every bone in his body';
 - (3) an action performed repeatedly by several subjects upon several objects, as in Ptice trešnje pozobale. 'Birds (several) ate up cherries (several or many)'.

Just looking at these two lists of verbal types, partial as they may be, we can see that these sub-categories are based on nothing else than the notions recurring in the messages in which these verbs occur and standing in apparent relationship with them. Such lists, or expressive possibilities of the perfective and the imperfective verb, whether we call them 'uses of', Aktionsarten or verbal types, fail to present a coherent analysis of the distribution of verbal morphology in Serbo-Croatian. These lists do not assist us in an understanding of how language functions as a device of communication. Nothing is offered in terms of an explanation of why expressive possibilities under a., b., c., d., and e. are tied to the imperfective verb and what is common between them or why notions under f., j., h. and j. are tied to the perfective verb. One can further question the validity of a categorization which assigns two, semantically diametrically opposed expressive functions to the imperfective verb of motion as in e.1. and e.2. In addition, expressive possibilities of the perfective and the imperfective verb overlap a great deal. Verbal types within both the perfective and the imperfective verb can express a repeated action, both the perfective and the imperfective verb can express an action

performed by many subjects and upon many objects, etc.

One can question the justification for introducing the categorization of verbal types at all. Ružić must have realized that Serbo-Croatian verbs cannot be easily divided into distinct groups. On the one hand he claims that he is presenting us with the most common verbal types, admitting that the list is not an exhaustive one, and on the other hand he states that, as quoted above, the sub-categories e.2, c. and d. are sub-divisions of the category b. If we eliminate these sub-categories from the list of verbal types under the imperfective verb we are left with the basic definition of the imperfective verb: a durative and a repeated action. Ružić also pointed out that the distinction of verbal types is weakening in favor of the main distinction - that of Aspect.

The second part of Ružić's study is dedicated to the functions of the perfective and the imperfective verb in different tense morphologies. While insisting on the independence between the Aspect and tenses, Ružić produces lists of uses, again partial and overlapping, and without any attempt to explain why certain functions are linked to a particular aspect and not to its opposition. For example, when talking about the uses of the imperfective verb in the Present Tense, Ružić gives its uses as:

- a) a continuous, unfinished action which may continue in the future;
- b) a habitual action which may occur in the present, the past or in the future;
- c) a generalized timeless action;
- d) a continuous action developing in front of the speaker in the real present.

If we exclude item d. and if we replace 'continuous' and 'unfinished' with 'finished' in the above list, we come up with the list Ružić presents for the uses of the Perfective Present Tense. That means that he lists the 'historical' present, 'habitual' action, 'generalized timeless action' and 'action performed in the future' as uses of both the Perfective and the Imperfective Present.

In order to be valid these lists should be in complementary distribution. Thus, by assigning the same expressive possibilities to both the Perfective and the Imperfective Present Tense, Ružić produces an invalid classification.

In addition, lists of expressive possibilities are never exhaustive. One can always carry such an analysis further and deduce certain semantic properties appropriate to smaller and smaller groups of verbs that would automatically qualify them as additional 'uses'. The

crucial problem of such a procedure is that of control. Where does one stop?

Ružić never meant his study to be scrutinized in the way done here. Even though he was limited by his outlook on categorization, Ružić does suggest that the category of Aspect is relative in nature and that in choosing one aspect over another the speaker of Serbo-Croatian uses an individual judgement every time.

Djuro Grubor's analysis (Aspektna značenja, Zagreb 1953) represents an extreme example of sub-categorization of Serbo-Croatian verbs. In addition to adopting the traditional classification of verbs into perfective and imperfective, Grubor applies to the Serbo-Croatian verb Agrell's classification into activity and state verb, which he calls razvojni and glagoli stanja. He remarks that this classification is necessary in order to illustrate aspectual distinctions properly since these two groups of verbs behave differently with respect to aspect. Both 'evolving' (or 'activity') verbs and stative verbs are either perfective or imperfective but the aspectual distinction is much more important to 'activity' verbs. Grubor accepts the traditional definitions of the perfective and the imperfective verb as completed action versus an incompleted action. Thus, imperfective evolving verbs denote an action in its development while perfective

evolving verbs denote that a definite amount of action has been completed. Imperfective stative verbs denote unlimited states while perfective stative verbs denote states within a limited time period.

Grubor divides activity verbs along three parameters:

- a) According to their morphological make-up the verbs are divided into nine groups, A, B, C, D, etc.
- b) According to the amount of activity completed in the perfective member of the pair, verbs are divided into eleven groups, from I to XI: pantive, totive, inchoative, finitive, diminutive, augmentative, majorative, intensive, sative, substantive and verba caeca; and
- c) according to the type of activity, verbs are divided into creative, transformative and motive, from a. to c.

Grubor then crosses these categories over and treats each sub-category separately: A1a, A1b, A1c, ... A11a, A11b ... B1a, ... D1a, etc. The number of verbs constituting the membership of a category varies. A category may have many verbs, one verb only or not be represented at all.

Grubor divides the stative verbs only according to the first two criteria. This classification takes up the major part of his analysis. The remaining portion is dedicated to historical considerations, treatment of accent and the uses of aspect in different tenses.

Again, we are not going to discuss all these various considerations in detail. Instead, we are going to limit our remarks to the particular procedure Grubor follows in establishing his categories and to the categories he arrives at.

The difference between the perfective and imperfective verb in terms of incompleted versus completed action clearly does not apply to the stative verbs. Grubor does not say that but this is probably the reason for setting them apart as a separate category.

There is a definite attempt on Grubor's part to establish a link between the morphological make-up of an aspectual pair and a definite semantic type. In this Grubor differs from Ružić who came to the conclusion that aspect is not bound to the form of a verb even though there are some formative elements used to make a perfective verb imperfective and vice versa. However, Grubor is not successful in his attempt and numerous exceptions are cited. For example, in subgroup G, a compound imperfective is formed from a compound perfective by extending the verbal stem. However, in categories III to IX the perfective verbs are not inchoative, majorative, diminutive, etc. in relation to their aspectual compound but both are related to their simple counterparts. Both progovoriti and progovarati 'to begin speaking' are

inchoative with respect to govoriti 'to speak'.

Grubor's classification is not clearly delineated and many of his categories overlap. Certain sative verbs, for example, are said to be totive; certain inchoative verbs are either sative or pantive, etc., etc. Sometimes, the membership in a group depends on some features of the sentence in which the verb is found. For instance, some totive verbs become pantive if they occur in a sentence in which the subject or the object are plural entities. Also, creative and transformative verbs often overlap.

All the remarks we have made with reference to Ružić's procedure in classification of verbs and about the problem of controlling the categorization (inability to prevent infinite categorization) apply here. Namely, one can always devise a finer grid and on the basis of it propose a more detailed classification. However, any attempt to explain phenomena as complex as Serbo-Croatian verbal morphology by ever more elaborate classifications is doomed to fail. Such treatments only perpetuate the belief that even more narrow rules will be able to account for the exceptions each new treatment produces. That can also result in an attitude that an analysis of linguistic phenomena of such complexity as verbal aspect does not have to be air tight but can admit exceptions.

The third study we have mentioned is a contrastive

study of verbal aspect in English and Serbo-Croatian by Midhat Ridjanović, to use Ridjanović's own words, "carried out with the basic assumptions of Generative Grammar and supplemented by some ideas and techniques of B.L. Whorf".

We will not discuss here to what extent this study is truly a generative one, in particular those chapters dealing with Serbo-Croatian which are of interest to us. We may say, however, that the analysis is cast in generative terms and every effort was made to give it a generative flavor. Neither are we going to present the categories Ridjanović arrives at since they overlap to a great extent with the traditional categories even though different labels are attached to them.

Of greatest interest to us again is the procedure Ridjanović follows in establishing his categories. At the beginning of his study Ridjanović expresses his regrets that the traditional analysis emphasized only the semantic basis of the aspectual opposition. The author proposes instead to "elucidate its basic syntactic structure". For this purpose he employs "the reactance frames", a technique developed by B.L. Whorf for dealing with covert grammatical categories, those categories not overtly manifested in the morphology of a language. In other words, the sentence frames he chooses for a test of "grammaticality" react to changes of verbs and on the basis of this Ridjanović

hypothesizes the aspectual categories. With a verb in slot X, the sentence is grammatical, with another verb it is not. All those verbs which produce grammatical sentences in a slot X, automatically qualify for membership in a category. For example, the frame "seen to___" rules out the verb phrases with punctual temporal contour while admitting all others. By contrast, the frame "have yet to___" admits only verbs signalling punctuality. On the basis of such occurrence restrictions Ridjanović divides English verbs into durative and punctual.

The procedure of reactance, syntactic constraint or co-occurrence restriction, to test grammaticality of sentences is nothing else but the repeated substitution practiced by descriptive linguists to establish word class membership. This purely mechanical procedure raises two questions:

1. Who decides whether the expression, phrase or sentence produced is grammatical?; and
2. If the substitution results in an ungrammatical sentence, there must be a reason for that and one has to say something about it.

Ridjanović is not clear on either question and to discuss that would take us very far from the major concern of this study.

After dividing Serbo-Croatian imperfective verbs into

two major sub-categories, stative and cursive, Ridjanović remarks that the stative verbs produce ungrammatical sentences if occurring in a clause which is made to serve as a temporal frame for a momentary action. He quotes two examples to illustrate this point. Both examples in Serbo-Croatian, and in their English translation, are marked with an asterisk as ungrammatical. Consider the second example:

2. Dok je soba merila 5 x 6 m., slika je pala sa zida.

While the room measured 5 x 6 meters, the picture fell from the wall.

The majority of native speakers will reject such a sentence per se, regardless whether the first clause serves as a temporal frame to a momentary, durative or any other verb. However, if we replace the verb pasti 'to fall (P)' with a perfective verb that produces a coherent message here, we can generate a grammatical sentence, given an appropriate context in which the size of the room has changed.

2a. Kupila je ovaj nameštaj dok je soba merila 5 x 6 metara.

She purchased this furniture while/when the room measured 5 x 6 meters.

2b. Napravila je ovu fotografiju dok je soba merila 5 x 6 metara.

She made this picture while/when the room measured 5 x 6 meters.

Both 2a. and 2b. are grammatical in proper context. Suppose that the room was remodelled and that the furniture, purchased prior to it, no longer fits. For the same reason the photograph on the wall might look different.

Many other examples which Ridjanović quotes as violating certain co-occurrence restrictions can be put to the test and found acceptable if provided with an appropriate context. There is always danger in inventing examples on the spot to support a certain position or in quoting examples out of context in general.

Many co-occurrence restrictions which Ridjanović cites reflect the actual usage. However, instead of claiming that the ungrammaticality is produced by the choice of the verb, or even more, by its membership in a certain aspectual sub-category, one can turn the argument around and ask the pertinent question: What makes some of these utterances disfavored in the language? We, as analysts, can instead suggest that these co-occurrence restrictions are not arbitrary but that there must be a reasonable explanation for their non-occurrence.

The position we hold in this analysis is that traditionally called perfective and imperfective verbs signal a semantic constant and that this particular semantic input is called for in some environments and is inappropriate in others. A procedure as mechanical as reactance frames implies on the other hand that the verbal form itself does not have any communicative import. It is no wonder then, that such a mechanical analysis as this one, produced almost identical aspectual categories for English and Serbo-Croatian: what is even more striking is that the categories Ridjanović posits for English have, by his own admission, been largely arrived at by an investigation of aspectual phenomena in Serbo-Croatian.

Recent Serbo-Croatian grammars treat the category of verbal aspect traditionally. Stevanović (1970) defines the imperfective verb as expressing an unlimited activity and the perfective aspect as expressing a finished moment of an activity preceded by its duration or a bounded activity preceded by its development. He also recognizes the separate status of the Aktionsart as distinct from aspect and divides Serbo-Croatian verbs into different Aktionsarten admitting that there are no clear cut boundaries between these semantic groups of verbs.

The most recent grammar of the western variant of Serbo-Croatian, Priručna gramatika hrvatskog književnog

jezika, 1979, by Eugenija Barić et al. defines the imperfective verb as expressing an action in its development, a process in its course, and the perfective verb as expressing a finished action, realization of an action, complete process, but at the same time duration of an action before its completion. These two definitions combine a variety of definitions advanced for Russian and/or other Slavic languages and counterexamples can easily be found.

In the issue dealing with the verbal aspect of the English-Serbo-Croatian contrastive project (ZESCCP Contrastive Analysis of English and Serbo-Croatian, Vol.II, 1978) in his introductory article, Silić adapts to the Serbo-Croatian verb the Bondarko-Bulanin (1967) definition of verbal aspect. According to this definition, the perfective verb can be said to express an action as a whole which cannot be divided into phases. That is, it expresses the totality, indivisibility of action, its beginning, middle and end, the entire action as it took place. That is why the perfective verb cannot be used to express less than the total action and that is why sentences such as 3a. and 3b. below are not grammatical. In contrast, an action described by an imperfective verb can be divided.

- 3a. *Počeo sam pročitati knjigu.
I started to read (P) the book.

- 3b. *Završio sam pročitati knjigu.
I finished reading (P) the book.

Silić points out that three parameters have to be taken into consideration in the analysis of aspectuality: verbal aspect, Aktionsart and context. He finds it necessary to introduce the context "as an external element of aspectuality" because he distinguishes two 'meanings' of aspect, one basic 'meaning', least conditioned by the context, and 'other meanings' dependent on the context. However, even though he claims to consider the context as a relevant factor in the understanding of aspectuality, all Silić's examples are single sentences out of context.

It appears that Silić uses the word meaning for 'function of' or 'uses of' a grammatical category. The basic meaning of the perfective verb expresses a single, concrete action and the basic meaning of the imperfective verb expresses a gradual concrete process and duration. After giving those definitions the author states: "Whenever we are using an imperfective, we are speaking of an incomplete action, whereby, as we have seen, the imperfective differs from the perfective". This suggests that after all, Silić relies on the old definition of aspect in terms of completeness.

In the last chapter of his article, Silić presents environments in which different aspects occur. However, his

basic meanings, as well as 'discourses' are nothing but another label for 'uses of' the perfective and the imperfective verb of the traditional treatment, that is, only inferences from utterances in which these particular verbs are found and not a constant semantic contribution of these signals to the message in question. His treatment in this section is not exhaustive, as the author points out himself.

Presenting lists of expressive possibilities of one aspect versus another does not help us in understanding its distribution. Even though Silić claims that "for all these constructions we can make a single generalization" [ibid. p.68] he does not offer any rationale, for example, for listing "the real present" and "the historical present" together with the "negative prohibition" among expressive possibilities of the imperfective verb or "one action immediately preceding the following" and "with adverbials such as: s vremena na vreme" ('from time to time') to express a repeated action.

In some environments perfective and imperfective verbs are interchangeable but according to Silić this has a stylistic purpose. However, putting it in the domain of stylistics, as we have mentioned earlier, does not solve the problem but rather removes it to an area where one does not feel compelled to raise it as a problem to be solved.

In conclusion, we can say that verbal aspect in general has received an abundant amount of attention and has attracted scholars holding very different theoretical viewpoints. In spite of all the attention however, this classical problem of Slavic linguistics is still considered by many as unsolved. The term 'aspect' itself means today different things to different people, in particular, when applied to different morphological forms in different languages.

One major obstacle in analyzing verbal aspect is the difficulty analysts face in establishing a link between the form and the meaning. Because of this, many come to the conclusion that the essence of aspect is not in its form but in its meaning.

All these treatments (with the exception of Ridjanović's) propose a basic expressive function of the perfective and the imperfective verb and then present their subdivisions. However, counterexamples are easy to find for every definition proposed. In addition, this procedure of sub-categorization has its flaws. First, this type of sub-categorization can go on and on since there is nothing in the approach to introduce control. Secondly, these (semantic) treatments are not concerned with explaining the distribution of a particular morphology but rather with the analysis of messages conveyed by sentences in which

morphological signals are used.

The attitude we take in this analysis is that unless our proposed explanation of phenomena does not produce non-randomness as a consequence, we do not consider the analytical task accomplished.

The very fact that the majority of scholars still feel most comfortable with the original definition of the perfective and the imperfective verb as a completed action versus an incompleted activity, even though the definition has been challenged many times and even though it does not account for many instances of the morphology, suggests that the problem is still outstanding.

This account of the various treatments of aspect in general and the Serbo-Croatian verb in particular was necessarily sketchy. The literature on the subject is immense and confusing. In addition, we feel that we should not discuss in detail all the attempts that failed but rather suggest an original approach to the aspect of Serbo-Croatian, never attempted before.

CHAPTER II

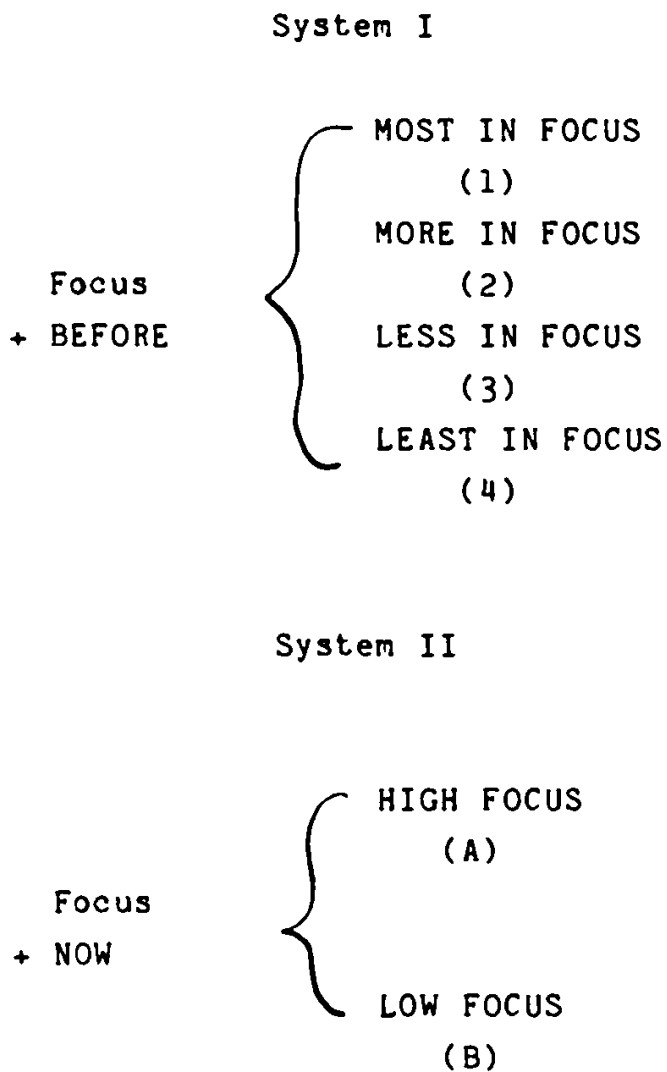
THE HYPOTHESIS

The present analysis is devoted almost exclusively to the study of the System of the semantic substance of Concentration of attention on the event or Focus, as it is manifested in the six finite verbal forms of Serbo-Croatian which most commonly occur in a narrative:

1. Present Tense formed from the perfective stem
2. Present Tense formed from the imperfective stem
3. Aorist
4. Past Tense formed from the perfective stem
5. Past Tense formed from the imperfective stem
6. Imperfect

The semantic substances of Time and Focus are organized in Serbo-Croatian in two systems which are presented graphically in Figure I below:

Figure I: Interlock of Time and Focus in Serbo-Croatian



- (1) Perfective stem, Aorist Morphology;
- (2) Perfective stem Active Participle; Auxiliary;
- (3) Imperfective stem Active Participle, Auxiliary;
- (4) Imperfective stem, Imperfect endings;
- (A) Perfective stem, Present Tense Endings;
- (B) Imperfective stem, Present Tense endings

In order to facilitate the presentation we provide symbols for the meanings in Figure I. These symbols will appear in examples throughout the study. The meanings of System I are indicated by numerals, from (1) to (4), and the meanings of System II by letters A and B. The symbols NOW-N, BEFORE-N or simply N will appear in instances in which the opposition in Focus is not realized in the verb.

Under the Aorist we analyse only the Aorist formed from the perfective stem. Examples of the so-called Imperfective Aorist are few and are usually from an earlier period of Serbo-Croatian. On the basis of available evidence we were not able to perform a synchronic analysis of this form.

The Imperfect is used mostly dialectally. Its use in the standard Serbo-Croatian is very rare. But there are enough examples of it to be included in our discussion of Focus meanings. However, we have not been able to perform a quantitative analysis of the Imperfect. For a full paradigm of these finite forms the reader is to consult any standard Serbo-Croatian grammar.

In addition to signalling meaning of what we call here the System of Focus, these six finite forms also signal meanings pertaining to other semantic substances: Time, Person, and Number. Little time needs to be spent on the System of Person which is the typical three-way classification. Personal endings of verbs identify participants to which the verbs are referring as the speaker - first person, the hearer - second person and anyone else - third person. The same may be said for the System of Number. The final endings of verbs, in addition to Person, also identify Number, i.e. whether one or more participants are in control of the event named by the verb.

CHAPTER III

SIGNALS AND MEANINGS OF THE SYSTEM OF TIME

As indicated in Chapter I, the goal of this study is to investigate the meanings of the System of Focus in Serbo-Croatian. However, the Focus meanings in Serbo-Croatian are interlocked with the Time meanings. Therefore, in order to analyze the Focus meanings we have to deal with the tenses in Serbo-Croatian as well since no existing analysis presents an adequate and coherent treatment of these forms.

The verbal forms under consideration here convey information about the time of the occurrence named by the lexical item to which the finite ending is attached. These forms provide information about the ordering of the time of the event with respect to a point in time functioning as a temporal reference point. Serbo-Croatian differs, in this respect, from many other languages including English.

The traditional notion of tense is absolute rather

than relative. The traditional terms past, present and future, reflect this absolute temporal organization in the sense that the moment of speaking always serves as a reference point.

Serbo-Croatian grammarians have followed this absolute organization in the categorization of the Serbo-Croatian tenses into present, past and future. However, this traditional conception of tenses does not adequately account for the data in Serbo-Croatian. Serbo-Croatian tenses are not always used according to what one can expect from their names. The Present Tense does not always indicate the real present but is used to refer to past and future events as well. There are three past tenses in Serbo-Croatian, the Aorist, the Past Tense and the Imperfect. They occasionally also refer to present and future events. Scholars have had difficulties in defining these tenses adequately and in establishing contrast between them.

To remedy this Alexandar Belić (1926, 1927) classified the tenses in Serbo-Croatian into two categories - indicative (or absolute) and relative, i.e. those uses of tenses in which the moment of speaking serves as a reference point and those in which some other point serves as a reference point. In 1938 Belić widened this classification to accommodate those instances in which

finite verbal forms are not used to indicate any temporal relationship but rather in which a personal attitude of the speaker toward the event is introduced. Later on, Belić (1941) grouped the indicative and the relative together into one category of 'temporal uses' of tenses and opposed it to 'modal uses' of tenses. While this classification is generally followed today, scholars disagree on many of its points, one of which is the criterion for classification.

Belić divided Serbo-Croatian tenses into the two categories - the indicative and the modal according to:

- (1) Whether or not a personal attitude (lični stav) of the speaker is introduced in the time (temporal) situation; and
- (2) Whether or not the verbal form is used in an appropriate speech situation.

According to (1) verbal forms with a personal attitude (sa ličnim stavom) are modal, those without it are indicative, regardless of the actual morphology. According to the second criterion those verbal forms are modal which are used in a speech situation with which they do not agree temporally (koja se vremenski ne slaže sa njima). Scholars find both criteria vague. They are not easy to define and to make precise enough to assure clear classification. What constitutes 'a personal attitude' for some does not for others.

Stevanović (1957-58) redefined the category of mood. According to him, 'modal' are those uses of tenses which refer to events not realized yet but which the speaker considers feasible, possible, certain or even unavoidable. Once Stevanović defined the mood in these terms he had to set aside the Future Tense as an exception. For him, the Future Tense, even though it refers to events not realized, is used in the indicative. (Some Russian and Yugoslav scholars use the term vanvremensko or non-temporal instead of 'modal'.)

Even if one leaves aside the validity of the criteria on which the classification into indicative and modal is based, one does not have to look far to discover its defects. Belić's analysis establishes the categories independent of the morphology of the language. In languages in which these categories were originally postulated they were based on the actual morphology. It is evident that this classification in Serbo-Croatian was not based on data in the language. Rather, it is based on the classification of messages inferred from utterances in which these verbal forms occur. It will be seen later that the nuance of modality that verbal forms contribute to messages in Serbo-Croatian can be accounted for by their Time and Focus meanings. There is no need to posit a separate category of the modal.

The indicative is divided into the true indicative (uži) and the relative indicative, depending on what serves as an axis of orientation. If tenses are oriented according to the time of speaking (vreme govorenja govornog lica) the tenses are used in the indicative; if they are oriented according to some other point, they are used in the relative. Here again, this is the classification of use, not a categorization of morphology.

On this point, scholars disagree whether or not all Serbo-Croatian tenses are used in both categories. Belić claims that they are, others disagree. For some, the Aorist and the Perfect are used only in the indicative. For Stevanović, the Imperfect and the Pluperfect are used only in the relative. There are also disagreements in connection with particular uses of certain tenses ('qualitative', 'gnomic', etc.) or the status of tenses used in certain syntactic slots (subordinate clauses, particle da plus the Present Tense, etc.)

In this study a different treatment for Serbo-Croatian tenses is proposed.

As already indicated, languages differ with respect to how they organize events temporally. While for some languages the orienting point is primarily the moment of speaking, for others it is primarily a point determined by context. English belongs to the former group, and

Serbo-Croatian to the latter. That is, we will abandon relative and indicative categories and view all Serbo-Croatian tenses as relative. In this analysis, all Serbo-Croatian tenses are defined, not as tenses having a fixed reference point but as tenses which change their time reference from context to context. This is not to say that the moment of speaking does not function as a reference point in Serbo-Croatian. It is just that the moment of speaking is not the organizing principle of the Serbo-Croatian verbal system in the way it is in English. In Serbo-Croatian, the moment of speaking is only one of many possible points of time orientation and has no special status in this respect.

Since the moment of speaking (or the time of speaking) is not the only possible point of time orientation in Serbo-Croatian, it will not be incorporated into the definition of the tenses. The members of System 1, Figure I, p. 37 - the Aorist (1), the Perfective Past (2), the Imperfective Past (3) and the Imperfect (4) - signal the meaning BEFORE the time reference. The members of System 2, Figure I, - the Perfective Present (A) and the Imperfective Present (B) - signal the meaning NOW, i.e. simultaneous with the reference point inferred from the context. The NOW can be past, present, future or 'eternal', in absolute terms, depending on the context. In the absence of any

contextual information the Serbo-Croatian speaker infers the most obvious reference point, that is the moment of speaking.

A system with a temporal ordering that has the meanings BEFORE and NOW suggests the logical possibility of the meaning AFTER. This meaning is apparently realized in Serbo-Croatian in association with the signal traditionally called the Future Tense. However, the postulated meaning AFTER is used tentatively since the major objective of this study is to evaluate not the Time meanings but the meanings of the semantic substance of Focus presented in Figure I, page 37. Similarly, the analysis of another candidate for the meaning BEFORE, the traditional Future Second or Future Exact is not taken up here.

In order to illustrate how the reference point of Serbo-Croatian tenses changes from context to context and how Serbo-Croatian differs in this respect from English, we will compare Serbo-Croatian and English tenses in two passages from the novel Na Drini ćuprija by Ivo Andrić. Typed in capital letters is what the text would look like if one were to treat it in terms of the past and present tense forms. This is how Serbo-Croatian and English differ in the choice of tenses. The verbal forms are numbered for reference in the discussion that follows.

The novel The Bridge on the Drina, is a chronicle which describes events in Bosnia over a period of three centuries. Our example refers to events at the beginning of the nineteenth century. After the First Uprising in Serbia in 1804 , the Turkish authorities in Bosnia became worried that the unrest might spread among the local Christian population. To prevent that they increased security measures on the bridge over the Drina, an important link between Bosnia and Serbia. They built a blockhouse on the bridge and placed a guard there. In the events that followed, the guards executed many an innocent traveller. The old man in this example happened to be the first victim.

1. "The old man APPEARED (1) on his way from Rogatica and by bad luck was the first traveller on the day when the blockhouse was completed and the first guards TOOK UP (2) their post there. In fact he APPEARED (3) at the very worst time, for the day had not fully dawned. He bore before him as a man carries a lighted candle, a sort of thick stick decorated with strange signs and letters. The blockhouse swallowed him up as a spider does a fly. They interrogated him curtly. They demanded who he IS (4), what he IS DOING (5) and whence he COMES (6) and commanded him to explain the decorations and writing on his staff. He replied freely and openly, even to questions that they DID NOT ASK (7) him as if speaking

before the Last Judgment of God and not before a group of evil Turks. He said the he IS (8) no one and nothing, a traveller on this earth, a transient in a transient world, a shadow in the sun but that he PASSES (9) his few and short days in prayer and in going from monastery to monastery, until he visits all the holy places, all the bequests and the tombs of the Serbian tzars and nobles. As to the signs they REPRESENT (10) the times of Serbian freedom and greatness, past and future."

(I. Andrić: The Bridge on the Drina pp. 103-104)

The following table lists normal English translations of those forms which appear in capital letters in the passage above:

Table I

Literal Translation	Normal English Translation
1. APPEARED	had appeared
2. TOOK UP	had taken up
3. APPEARED	had appeared
4. IS	was
5. IS DOING	was doing
6. COMES	came
7. DID NOT ASK	had not asked
8. IS	was
9. PASSES	was passing
10. REPRESENT	represented

The first striking difference between Serbo-Croatian and English emerges in the middle of the passage, in forms Nos. 4, 5, 6, 8, 9 and 10, in Table I, which follow the underlined verbs of asking and saying: 'they demanded' and 'he said'. Looking at the text, it becomes immediately obvious that Serbo-Croatian does not have a sequence of tense rule and that indirect speech in Serbo-Croatian preserves the same forms which would occur in direct quotes. Thus, Serbo-Croatian has after 'they demanded': who he IS (No.4), what he IS DOING (No.5) and whence he COMES (No.6). Likewise, after 'he said' we find: 'he IS no one and nothing' (No.8) and 'he PASSES his few and short days' (No.9). In the last sentence of the passage, in which the verb of saying is not overtly mentioned, we find REPRESENT (No.10). The switch in the English translation, into the past tense forms: 'was', 'was doing', 'came', 'was', 'passed' and 'represented', is necessary because, unlike Serbo-Croatian, English tenses have a fixed reference point, the moment of speaking. Therefore, both the verbs of asking and the indirect statements in English have to be oriented according to the narrator's permanent point of reference, the moment of speaking. By contrast, in Serbo-Croatian, only the first verbs 'they demanded' (SC:

su

tražili) and 'he said' (SC: rekao je) are oriented according to the moment of speaking and are associated with the meaning BEFORE. The following verbs are oriented with reference to the verbs of asking and saying, which now serve as the reference point. Thus, we find in the Serbo-Croatian text: 'who he IS', 'what he IS DOING', etc. associated with the meaning NOW and inferred as co-temporal with the reference point. The difference in No 7, in Table I above, 'they DID NOT ASK him' (SC: nisu pitali), translated in English with 'they had not asked him' can again be explained by the difference in reference point used by English and Serbo-Croatian. In English 'had not asked' (No.7) is oriented with respect to 'he replied' as an event preceding it. Since 'he replied' is a past event, 'had not asked' has to be expressed with a Pluperfect. In Serbo-Croatian however, 'did not ask' is associated with the meaning BEFORE and is oriented with respect to 'he replied' (SC: odgovarao je), the reference point determined by the context. When English uses here a form with the meaning BEFORE A POINT IN THE PAST, Serbo-Croatian uses only the meaning BEFORE and the fact that the point that it is before is in the past has to be inferred from the context.

We also observe discrepancies between the English and the Serbo-Croatian tenses at the beginning of the passage -

forms Nos.1, 2 and 3. The English text has the Pluperfect where the Serbo-Croatian text has Past tenses. This is due to the fact that our sample text is a flashback. In the previous passage we are told that the guards caught their first victim and that the fate of the old man was already decided. Because of this, English has to move further into the past, to describe an event that preceded a past event, whereas Serbo-Croatian again merely uses the meaning BEFORE.

The second example illustrates how the Serbo-Croatian relative system of tenses is exploited to structure an episode in a narrative by using the same strategy as that employed in indirect discourse:

2. "The interpreter Shefco translated, struggling in vain to find in his poor knowledge of the Turkish language equivalents for abstract ideas. The Captain of the guard, a sickly Anatolian, still only half awake, listened to the confused and disconnected words of the translator and from time to time threw a glance at the old man who, without fear of evil thought, looked back at him and confirmed with his eyes that everything IS (1) just as the interpreter SAYS (2), though he knew not a word of Turkish. Somewhere back in his mind it IS BECOMING CLEAR (3) to the Captain that this man IS (4) some sort of a half witted infidel dervish, a good natured and harmless

madman. But in Shefco's translation the old man's words SEEM (5) suspicious and SMELL (6) of politics and seditious intent. The Captain, for his part, would let this poor dim-witted creature go his way but the rest of the soldiers and civil guards HAVE GATHERED (7) there and ARE LISTENING (8) to the internogation. There IS (9) his sergeant Tahir, an evil man, sullen and rheumy-eyed, who HAS already several times SLANDERED (10) him to the chief and accused him of a lack of care and severity. Then too there IS (11) that Shefco, who in his translation IS obviously PUTTING (12) the worst possible construction on the old man's exalted phrases and who LOVES (13) to stick his nose into everything and carry tales even where there IS (14) nothing in them, and is ever ready to give or to confirm an evil report. Then too there ARE (15) those Turks from the town, volunteers who ARE MAKING THEIR ROUNDS (16) sullenly and self importantly, ARRESTING (17) suspicious characters and INTERFERING (18) needlessly with his official duties. They were all there."

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Table II below lists normal English translations and literal translations of those forms which appear in capital letters in the passage above:

Table II

	Literal Translation	Normal English Translation
1.	IS	was
2.	SAYS	said
3.	IS BECOMING	was becoming
4.	IS	was
5.	SEEM	seemed
6.	SMELL	smelled
7.	HAVE GATHERED	HAD GATHERED
8.	ARE LISTENING	were listening
9.	IS	was
10.	HAVE SLANDERED	had slandered
11.	IS	was
12.	IS PUTTING	was putting
13.	LOVES	loved
14.	IS	was
15.	ARE	were
16.	ARE MAKING	made
17.	ARE ARRESTING	arrested
18.	ARE INTERFERING	Interfered

In the above passage too, the reference point is established early, at the beginning of the episode, and the subsequent events are seen as oriented according to it. The reference point is established with the five underlined verbs, describing activities of the three main participants (the translator, the Captain and the old man): 'translated', 'listened', 'threw a glance' and 'confirmed'.

Once the reference point is established in the past, the author switches to the NOW meaning (forms Nos.3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9,11, 12,13, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18) to elaborate what was going on in the Captain's mind. It was becoming clear to him that the old man was harmless but at the same time he was becoming aware of what was expected of him. As in the earlier example with the verbs of saying and asking, the time reference established at the beginning prevails throughout this interior monologue. The author then switches back to his own reference point with the meaning BEFORE: 'They were all there' (SC: Sve se tu steklo.).

In the monologue, the BEFORE meaning (Forms Nos.7 and 10) was used to convey events that preceded the reference point established at the beginning of the monologue. These were again rendered in English with Pluperfects : 'had gathered' and 'had slandered'.

Forms Nos.1 and 2, Serbo-Croatian, je 'is' and kaže 'says/is saying' are different from those that would appear in normal English translation: 'was' and 'said'. The reference point in Serbo-Croatian is established with 'he looked back' (SC: gledao je) and 'confirmed' (SC: povladjivao je) conveyed with the meaning BEFORE. The two verbal forms that follow, je and kaže (Nos 1 and 2) imply events which are co-temporal with the reference point and are thus expressed with the meaning NOW.

The System of Time in Serbo-Croatian can be employed both as a system in which the moment of speaking is a reference point for each event and as a system in which the reference point switches from context to context. Usually, an author employs the moment of speaking reference point to convey chronological sequences and series of events which move the narrative forward and switches to a reference point determined by context to interrupt the flow of the narrative in order to present a particular development, in form of an episode, or to elaborate either his own or a character's point of view. However, the two strategies mix constantly and the speaker of Serbo-Croatian has to keep track of the reference point all the time. This is why we believe that treating Serbo-Croatian tenses as relative tenses, i.e. tenses which do not have a fixed reference point but change it from context to context, best accounts for the way in which Serbo-Croatian verbal forms behave. This treatment eliminates the classification into absolute and relative uses of tenses as unnecessary as well as other problems which arise in Belić's classification.

The suggested terms for the Serbo-Croatian tenses - BEFORE and NOW - reflect the Serbo-Croatian situation far better than do the traditional terms Present Tense and Past Tense. This is especially true for the Present Tense. Scholars dealing with Serbo-Croatian have been aware all

along that the Serbo-Croatian Present Tense does not really signal the present but the form has continued to be called the Present Tense.

CHAPTER IV

SIGNALS AND MEANINGS OF THE SYSTEM OF FOCUS

A. The Formal Expression of Focus

It was mentioned earlier that the theoretical orientation underlying this study is basically Saussurean. For us language is essentially a communicative device, a code system. As such it is comprised of two kinds of entities: 'signifiants' and 'signifiés' which, as in other systems of communication, are used to convey messages. The presence of these two elements and their tight interrelationship is the basis of the communicative device.

The fundamental linguistic unit in the present analysis is therefore the linguistic sign; the task of analysis is to identify those signals and meanings of language that constitute its linguistic signs. Generally, signals are manifested by overt morphology. The technical

term 'meaning' in this study refers to the semantic constant linked to the signal.

Signals and meanings are defined in connection with one another. In language, a phonological sequence is a signal by virtue of having an invariable, identifiable meaning and, vice versa, a concept is a meaning only by virtue of being constantly attached to an identifiable linguistic signal. The postulation of signals and their meanings leads us to an understanding of what motivates the non-random distribution of morphological units.

Consequently, the actual problem in any linguistic analysis is to account for the use of the morphology, i.e. to identify the signals, to specify their meanings and to demonstrate how these meanings contribute to the message conveyed whenever these signals are used. Several points should be noted in this regard:

(1) Signals and meanings are not observable phenomena but theoretical hypotheses. This means that the identification of signals, their categorization and labelling are all part of the analysis and must therefore be justified on the basis of the meanings hypothesized for these signals.

(2) Signals and meanings are not independent of each other; they must be identified jointly. While concepts or morphology alone can in many instances be obvious, the joint discovery of pairings of particular signal-meaning

relationships can present a major analytical problem, as can be seen in the present analysis.

(3) Beside the existence of meaningful signals, which are motivated by the communicative function of language, other aspects of language are determined by the fact that it is a communicative device designed for and used by humans. As such it is restricted in the sense that humans have need to express an infinite variety of messages with a finite number of signals.

(4) It is essential to distinguish between meaning, a semantic invariable associated with a specific signal, and message, an idea conveyed by a signal or combination of signals in a particular context. Rather than being parts of messages, meanings are hints which serve to guide the hearer toward and away from certain messages. In inferring messages, speakers rely not only on the information conveyed directly by the linguistic signals and meanings but also on the context in which they are used, their knowledge of the world and other information not coded directly into the grammar in the form of signals and meanings.

We saw earlier that Serbo-Croatian verbs are organized in pairs: pisati and napisati for English 'to write', kupiti and kupovati for English 'to buy', etc. This type of organization in pairs presents a problem for

lexicographers of Serbo-Croatian, and they have treated this matter in various ways. Either, both members of the pair are given as separate entries and each is indicated for verbal aspect, perfective or imperfective, or the two members of a pair are cited together, the imperfective verb being the first and being separated from the perfective by a semicolon (as pisati; napisati for 'to write' in Thomas Magner). In the first procedure pisati and napisati would be two entries and in the second napisati would not appear as a separate entry both of these could be a problem for a non-speaker of Serbo-Croatian. These procedures also result in other omissions and duplications.

Verbal pairs of the same lexical meanings in Serbo-Croatian basically differ in four different ways. In the first type of verbal pair, such as

pisati	napisati	'to write'
gaziti	nagaziti	'to step'
lomiti	sломiti	'to break'
piti	popiti	'to drink', etc.

the contrast is achieved by a prefix. Otherwise, except for occasional change in the accent, the morphological make-up of the members is identical.

The following prefixes are most commonly found to signal the Focus contrast in this first type of verbal pair: do-, iz-, nad-, na-, o-, ob-, od-, po-, pod-, pre-,

pri-, pro-, raz-, s(sa)-, u-, uz- and za-. These prefixes, with the exception of raz- and pro- are recognized as individual prepositions in the language. For a more detailed treatment of Serbo-Croatian prefixes see Leskien, 1914 or any other grammar of standard Serbo-Croatian.

In the extensive literature on verbal aspect in Slavic languages and in Serbo-Croatian it has been pointed out that the contribution of a prefix to the verbal stem can be two-fold. Namely, in some prefixed verbs the difference between the simple and the prefixed verb is purely aspectual, while elsewhere the presence of a prefix, in addition to changing the aspect of the verb, also changes its lexical meaning. We will return to this problem further on in the study.

In Type II of verbal pairs there are two different verbal stems. Here, the stems of the perfective and imperfective members of the pairs contain distinct suffixes which are listed below:

	Perf. Suffix:	Imperf. Suffix:	Example:	
1.	-i-	-a-	baciti	- bacati
		-ja-	roditi	- radjati
		-va-	skriti	- skrivati
		-ova-	kupiti	- kupovati
		-ava-	rešiti	- rešavati
		-iva-	izlučiti	- izlučivati
		-jiva- ,etc.	izgraditi	- izgradjivati

2.	-e-	-a-	nazreti	- nazinati
		-eva-	nadeti	- nadevati
		-osi-	doneti	- donositi
		-ima- ,etc.	uzeti	- uzimati
3.	- o -	-a-	otresti	- otresati
4.	-nu-	-a-	krenuti	- kretati
		-va-	munuti	- muvati
5.	-a-	-ava-	zagorčati	- zagorčavati
		-jiva- ,etc.	zazidati	- zazidjivati
6.	-ja-	-eva- ,etc.	zagrejati	- zagrevati
7.	-ova-	-iva- ,etc.	osnovati	- osnivati

The so-called -nu- verbs have attracted special attention from scholars working with the Serbo-Croatian verbal morphology. Looking at the morphology from a historical point of view these scholars distinguished between -i-, -e- and -~~o~~- , and -a-, -ja-, -va-, etc. For them, only the latter were suffixes while -i-, -e- and -~~o~~- were themes, i.e. linking vowels which tie the root to the final endings. Thus, while as a rule the imperfective verb is marked by a suffix, here we have a verb made perfective by addition of the suffix -nu-. They also remark that while the majority of 'nu- verbs' are perfective, there are some which are imperfective, as for example:

tonuti	'to sink'
venuti	'to fade'
ginuti	'to perish', etc.

This represented one more example which proved that the morphology cannot be relied on.

According to our classification, these verbs are members of the first type of verbal pairs: tonuti-potonuti, ginuti-poginuti and venuti-uvenuti pairs. The contrast between them is maintained not through different stems but by the prefixes po- and u-. The phonological sequence -nu- is present in both members of the pairs and it is therefore not a suffix.

By the same token in the verbal pair ubiti-ubijati 'to kill', we recognize the prefix u-, which in certain pairs of Type I signals the distinction of Focus. However, when we look better we see that its members do not contrast by the prefix u- but by different stems ubija- versus ubi-. While this morphological segment, the prefix u-, may signal a distinction of Focus elsewhere, in the above and other similar instances, it is semantically non-distinct as far as the Focus distinction is concerned, since it is present in both members of the pair. Thus, if in both members of a verbal pair there appears a morphological segment which elsewhere has a potential to signal Focus distinction, its grammatical contribution is overridden by

the presence of another such signal which appears only in one member of the pair.

The second type of verbal pair represents the verbs whose stems are different as a result of derivational processes in which a suffix (usually -a- or its variants -va-, -ova-, -eva-, -ja-, -ija-, etc.) was inserted between the verbal stem, full or truncated, and the infinitive ending -ti. In the literature on verbal aspect this is treated under the heading of imperfectivization (Belić, Grubor, Grickat, etc.). The addition of suffixes is accompanied in the majority of cases by other changes within the stem. The stem vowel is changed, in quality and in quantity. Occasional changes also occur at the juncture between the root and the suffix and between the suffix and the ending. The consonants are either simplified or dropped. Although these suffixes help in identifying the aspectual contrast they cannot be taken as signals per se. The learner of Serbo-Croatian has to invest time and effort to learn the two stems of such verbal pairs. A priori he does not have a way of knowing that in a pair such as roditi-radjati 'to give birth', the vowel o in roditi acquired length when the suffix -a- was added to the stem rodi- and that the long o then underwent a qualitative change into a. In another pair, such as umreti-umirati 'to die' umirati is said to be derived from umreti by the

addition of an -a- suffix. To add that umreti has a zero grade ablaut in modern Serbo-Croatian does not help the acquisition task.

What the learner of Serbo-Croatian is faced with in these and other instances, are two distinct stems rodi- vs. radja- and umre- vs. umira-. True, they are similar but they are also different and his task is to retain them both. Whoever learns Serbo-Croatian must accept these more or less distinct stems as facts and use them in their finite forms where they are called for. Grammarians can explain historically how they came to be what they are but in any case the facts remain decided for the learner.

The Type III verb contains pairs which have the same prefixes but suppletive stems. Here belong over thirty verbs whose perfective form is derived from the stem of the verb ići 'to go' and the imperfective verb from the stem *laziti, such as:

dolaziti	doći	'to come, to arrive'
prilaziti	prići	'to approach'
izlaziti	izići	'to go out', etc.

(Some scholars list among suppletive verbs the pairs:

govoriti	reći	'to speak'
tražiti	naći	'to seek/to find'
iskati	dobiti	'to ask/to get' etc.

In our analysis these verbs represent separate lexical items.)

An infrequent category, the Type IV verb, represents verbs in which the stems differ only in the accent they carry:

zaglédati	zàgledati	'to examine, to inspect'
nadglédati	nàdgledati	'to survey'

The imperfective form carries a long rising accent (ˆ) on the second syllable while perfective forms carry a short rising accent (˘) on the first syllable.

All Serbo-Croatian verbal pairs signalling Focus are of these four types.

In the last three categories the speaker of Serbo-Croatian utilizes distinct verbal stems to convey different focus meanings. True, there are formative elements to point to one meaning versus the other but due to historical changes irregularities are numerous.

There is, in addition, a group of verbs which are called in the literature "bi-aspectual" verbs or verbs of both aspects, in that they do not have two distinct forms and are felt to function as both perfective and imperfective verbs. This is a very large group of verbs, only a few of which are listed below:

imenovati	'to name'
celivati	'to kiss religious objects'
krstiti	'to baptize'
silovati	'to rape'
verovati	'to believe'
ručati	'to eat mid-day meal'
večerati	'to eat evening meal'
čestitati	'to congratulate'
savetovati	'to advise', etc.

Our analysis does not take responsibility for these verbs because they do not test our hypothesis, since there is no morphological difference to account for. To these verbs we add all other verbs of Serbo-Croatian which do not have aspectual pairs.

Certain of these verbs are felt by native speakers to be perfective, others as being imperfective. However, this is only an inference from the lexical meanings of the verbs and the context in which they occur. Thus, they do not signal verbal focus in any systematic way. Because of their lexical meaning, some verbs will occur primarily in environments in which we find perfective verbs, others will occur in environments in which we primarily find imperfective verbs. The third group, partially listed above, contains verbs which are actually found both in those environments the native speaker associates with perfective forms and those he associates with imperfective forms. When for instance, Serbo-Croatian grammarians note

that in a. below the verb is used imperfectively while in
b. the same verb is used perfectively

a. Sada večeramo.

We are dining now.

b. Čim večeramo, doći ćemo da vas posetimo.

As soon as we dine, we'll come to pay you a visit.,

they are actually only comparing different scenes in which the same verb occurs. The verb itself does not signal any focus meaning. The speaker also identifies the environments in which one but not another aspectual pair usually occurs. It is well known that the environment 'now' does not co-occur with the perfective form and that the environment čim- 'as soon as' usually occurs with the perfective form. Some of the bi-aspectual verbs, such as večerati 'to dine', as we have just seen, occur in both environments.

We have presented here two basic ways by which speakers of Serbo-Croatian maintain the distinction between the perfective and the imperfective form of a verb. Either the perfective form is signalled by a prefix and the imperfective by its absence or the imperfective and perfective stems are different to a greater or a lesser degree. The presence of certain suffixes in the latter case point to one focus meaning versus another. However, in both procedures a speaker or a learner of Serbo-Croatian has to

know both members of a verbal pair before he can be sure of the focus meaning of one of its members. This is perhaps an extreme case of the Saussurean premise that a sign is defined by its very opposition. Both procedures require inferential effort on the part of the Serbo-Croatian learner/speaker since he has to check various possibilities before he discovers the exact focus meaning of a verb he encounters in speech or in text.

We differ here from most previous analyses in claiming that the Serbo-Croatian speaker constantly maintains and relies on the morphological distinctions of Focus.

In the traditional presentation of the verbal morphology of aspect in Serbo-Croatian, the central part is usually dedicated to the derivational processes of perfectivization and imperfectivization by which an imperfective verb is said to change into a perfective one and vice versa. However, these historical processes resulted in irregular forms, different stems characteristic of the perfective and imperfective form at the synchronic level of the language. One can perhaps devise a complex set of morphophonemic rules to deal with these irregularities (Rubenstein, Kantor, etc.). However, the question we pose here is: In terms of the learning task, which represents a bigger effort, to assimilate a set of complex rules and apply them every time a new verb is encountered or to learn

two variants of a same lexical item, each of which signals a different focus meaning?

The lack of clear-cut, readily observable formal signals of the aspectual distinction has led scholars to treat the problem in a variety of ways. Some, like GnuBOR for instance, opted to classify Serbo-Croatian verbs into numerous morphological classes and sub-classes and then to cite their exceptions. Others, after presenting the derivational processes responsible for irregular morphology (Ružić), came to the conclusion that the determination of the formal side of verbal aspect is highly unreliable. Time and again in the literature of verbal aspect we come upon the remark that the meaning side of verbal aspect is much more important than its morphological side, and that in the determination of verbal aspect speakers rely primarily on their native intuition and on the context in which verbs occur. Serbo-Croatian grammarians, like grammarians of other Slavic languages, provide practical rules to distinguish the forms of verbal aspect. According to such a rule, the imperfective verbs are those which can answer the question: What are you doing now? and those which can complete clauses containing verbs početi/stati 'to begin' and završiti 'to end, to finish'. However, this rule is of little value for the learner since it can be applied only after the analysis is performed already.

In addition to distinctive stems signalling the focus distinction between the perfective and the imperfective forms there are other segments of morphology in Serbo-Croatian which in conjunction with these stems signal verbal focus. The Aorist endings -h, -ǫ, -ǫ, -smo, -ste, -še, attached to the perfective stems signal the highest degree of focus, and the Imperfective endings -ah, -aše, -aše, -asmo, -aste, -ahu (and their variants -jah, -ijah, etc.) attached to the imperfective stem signal the lowest degree of focus.

In the following diagram we summarize the signal-meaning relationship for the distribution of which the present analysis is responsible.

Diagram 2: The Signal-Meaning Relationships of Time and Focus in Serbo-Croatian.

Signal	Meaning
Perfective Stem and Aorist Endings	MOST IN FOCUS, BEFORE (1)
Perfective Stem Participle and Auxiliaries: <u>san</u> , <u>si</u> , <u>je</u> , <u>smo</u> , <u>ste</u> , <u>su</u>	MORE IN FOCUS, BEFORE (2)

Imperfective Stem Participle and Auxiliaries: <u>sa</u> m, <u>si</u> , <u>je</u> , <u>smo</u> , <u>ste</u> , <u>su</u>	LESS IN FOCUS, BEFORE (3)
Imperfective Stem and Imperfect Endings	LEAST IN FOCUS, BEFORE (4)
Perfective Stem and Present Tense Endings	HIGH FOCUS, NOW (A)
Imperfective Stem and Present Tense Endings	LOW FOCUS, NOW (B)

B. The Meanings of the System of Focus

We have seen above, the Serbo-Croatian Aorist (1), the Perfective Past (2), the Imperfective Past (3), the Imperfect (4) (which all signal the meaning BEFORE in the Time System), the Perfective Present (A) and the Imperfective Present (B) (signaling NOW in the Time System) share the semantic substance we call Concentration of Attention on the Event, Focus of Attention for short.

This meaning signaled by the six signals under consideration is the one this analysis chiefly concentrates on and at the same time the one that is responsible for the major difficulties encountered by analysts attempting to understand the verbal morphology of Serbo-Croatian.

In the previous chapter we outlined the formal expression of these signals. Each item of morphology signals a meaning having to do with attention placed on the event named by the verb. This distinction can be captured to some extent by the English expressions that book vs. the book - Serbo-Croatian ta knjiga vs. knjiga. Both in English and in Serbo-Croatian, in saying that book - ta knjiga, the speaker demands from the hearer a higher degree of attention in identifying or in locating the book. In a similar fashion the Serbo-Croatian Aorist, Perfective Past,

Imperfective Past and Imperfect in the Before phase of the Time-Focus interlock signal four degrees of Focus of attention from MOST to LEAST. The Aorist (1) signals the strongest degree of attention - MOST IN FOCUS. The Perfective Past (2) signals MORE IN FOCUS, weaker concentration of attention than the Aorist but stronger than the Imperfective Past (3) which signals LESS IN FOCUS. The Imperfect (4) signals the weakest concentration of attention - LEAST. Similarly, in the Now phase of the interlock the Perfective Present (A) and the Imperfective Present (B) signal HIGH FOCUS and LOW FOCUS respectively.

In the kind of grammar we are describing here, a grammar consisting solely of signals and meanings, the organization takes the form of a mutual relationship among meanings. In the System of Focus analyzed here, the semantic relationship between meanings is that of a relative position on a semantic scale. The notions MOST IN FOCUS, MORE IN FOCUS, LESS IN FOCUS and LEAST IN FOCUS are relative and they can only be understood in terms of their opposition along the scale of verbal Focus. A simple example can illustrate this. An intrinsic aspect of the meaning 'good' is that it is opposed to 'bad', but what speakers refer to as 'bad' or 'good' in one life situation does not necessarily imply that it would not qualify for the opposite in a different life situation. If both a

patient, after a six hour surgery, and an athlete, after a physical examination, are described as being in 'good condition', their absolute states can hardly be equated. The patient is described in 'good condition' with respect to other patients who have undergone a similar treatment and the condition of the athlete is evaluated with respect to other athletes or to what is expected from an athlete in general. By the same token, the same Focus meaning can be used to refer to two different events or different Focus meanings can refer to the same event depending on the communicative intent and the context.

It was mentioned earlier that the Imperfect is no longer used in dialects which comprise the basis for standard Serbo-Croatian. This is true also for the Aorist but to a much lesser degree. That is, while still in use in some regions of the Serbo-Croatian speaking area, the Aorist is rather rare in others. However, the Aorist is used in literary Serbo-Croatian to a great extent.

This means that the number of meanings in the Before phase of the Time and Focus interlock in Serbo-Croatian varies from four to two. The following table describes the existing situation:

System with Four Members	System with Three Members	System with Two Members
(1) MOST IN FOCUS	(1) MOST IN FOCUS	
(2) MORE IN FOCUS	(2) MORE IN FOCUS	(2) MORE IN FOCUS
(3) LESS IN FOCUS	(3) LESS IN FOCUS	(3) LESS IN FOCUS
(4) LEAST IN FOCUS		

Only in dialects of Serbo-Croatian is the semantic substance of Focus divided into four parts, from MOST to LEAST. In others (including the literary Serbo-Croatian), the substance is divided either into three parts (MOST IN FOCUS, MORE IN FOCUS and LESS IN FOCUS) or only into two parts (MORE IN FOCUS and LESS IN FOCUS). However, while the number of meanings varies, their value relationship on the semantic scale remains the same. In the area in which the speakers do not have the Aorist in their speech, the position of the Perfective Past (2) on the scale of Focus is changed. When the Perfective Past does not have the Aorist to compete with for the highest degree of Focus, it moves upward and occupies the top of the scale of the semantic substance. However, its relationship to the Imperfective Past (3) remains unchanged. This is the consequence of the value relationship which exists between

the meanings.

To illustrate various points of this analysis, we will use examples both from authors who use in their writing only the Perfective Past and Imperfective Past and those who exploit all four BEFORE meanings. However, the majority of examples being from literary texts will contain the three Focus meanings: MOST, MORE and LESS IN FOCUS.

The factor of attention is seen in the way people perceive the world around them in a selective fashion. They do not notice everything within their range of perception equally. People living near a busy intersection get used to the constant sound of passing vehicles, the same way people living at the ocean shore with time no longer hear the rumbling of the waves. It is the unexpected that attracts our attention.

A number of factors influence attention. Interest or motivation is the chief one. This can be demonstrated experimentally. Subjects given pictures to view without any preliminary instruction, will not agree on the details they recall. An individual subject may or may not recall any one particular detail. If, however, the same subjects are told, before viewing the pictures, to look for a particular detail, most of them will be able to register it. Objective factors also can make objects and events stand out: large

size, unusual shape, bright colors, loud noises, unexpected events, changing position, etc. In essence, the meanings of the semantic substance of Focus function in terms of variables of this kind.

The meanings of verbal Focus can be regarded as instructions to the hearer/reader on how to process the utterance. While the Aorist - MOST IN FOCUS and the Perfective Past - MORE IN FOCUS instruct the hearer to pay strong attention to the event named by the verb, the Imperfective Past - LESS IN FOCUS instructs the hearer/reader to pay less attention to the event. In his attempt to convey a particular set of messages the speaker/writer is going to exercise his discretion in choosing which meaning is the most appropriate for which event, on the basis of his overall communicative intent. Since the effect of these meanings is different degrees of attention on the event, the term Focus will be used throughout this study as a technical term standing for the semantic substance 'Concentration of attention on the event' and the systems which these meanings form will be called Systems of Focus.

Meanings which focus different degrees of attention, both on entities and on events, have been shown to be widespread in language (Diver, 1969, Reid, 1978, Zubin, 1978, Kirsner, 1979, etc.).

When one puts himself in the position of a speaker trying to communicate a particular message in which many things are happening at the same time, it makes sense to think that the speaker might find it very useful to have at his disposal the meanings that would make it possible for him to place more emphasis on some of these events and less emphasis on others.

The following Serbo-Croatian examples illustrate this point:

- 1a. Odlazila (LESS IN FOCUS) je u Rim.
She has been in Rome.
- 1b. Otišla (MORE IN FOCUS) je u Rim.
She left for Rome.
- 2a. Učio je (LESS IN FOCUS) novu lekciju.
He studied the new lesson.
- 2b. Naučio je (MORE IN FOCUS) novu lekciju.
He learned the new lesson.
- 3a. Pecali smo (LESS IN FOCUS) danima sedeći
na ivici mosta.
We fished for days sitting at the edge of
the bridge.
- 3b. Posle nekoliko minuta upecali smo (MORE IN
FOCUS) veliku ribu.
After a few minutes we caught a big fish.

- 4a. Deca su bacala (LESS IN FOCUS) grudve na prolaznike.
The children were throwing snowballs at the passers-by.
- 4b. Dečak je bacio (MORE IN FOCUS) grudvu na prolaznika.
The boy threw a snowball at the passer-by.
- 5a. Sama je pekla (LESS IN FOCUS) hleb.
She baked her own bread.
- 5b. Ispekla mu je (MORE IN FOCUS) veliki kolač.
She made him a big cake.

Looking at these pairs together we can see that the speaker/writer uses the meaning MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE to concentrate attention on particular instances of occurrences: otišla je 'she left', naučio je 'he learned', upecali smo 'we caught', bacio je 'he threw' and ispekla je 'she baked/made'. By contrast, the customary activities are associated with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS: 'she has been', 'he studied', 'we fished', 'the children were throwing' and 'she baked'. English glosses of Serbo-Croatian verbs of the same lexical meaning but different Focus meaning sometimes reflect these Focus differences through the choice of different lexical meanings: fished vs. caught in 3a. and 3b. or studies vs. learned in 4a. and 4b.

On which particular instance of an occurrence the speaker/writer might wish to place more emphasis will depend on the lexical meaning of the verb and the broader context. Thus, the high Focus meanings will manifest themselves in a variety of ways in the message. In the occurrence of studying or fishing (examples 2b and 3b above), for instance, the successful result of the activity is what is noteworthy and therefore put in higher Focus. On the other hand in the occurrences of throwing snowballs, baking or leaving on a trip (examples 4b, 5b and 1b above) the speaker/writer might wish to concentrate on a single instance of the occurrence for a variety of reasons: to answer a question on someone's whereabouts, to place the emphasis on one participant in the snowball fight or even on a certain snowball that hit the target (4b) or to stress the making of a certain cake (5b). The verbal forms themselves do not signal anything about the beginning or the completion of these activities, but they may concentrate attention on the beginning or the completion if that is an important part of a particular scene. Similarly, other notions linguists associate with the Perfective and Imperfective verb, such as punctual or durative, bounded or unbounded, etc. may be inferred from the combination of the Focus meaning and other information present in the message. However, these are only inferences and not meanings

signaled by these forms.

The exploitation of MOST IN FOCUS and MORE IN FOCUS to highlight particular instances of occurrences leads to a strong inferential connection between the MOST IN FOCUS and MORE IN FOCUS meanings and those aspects of occurrences which are noteworthy, on the one hand, and between the meaning LESS IN FOCUS and the customary, durative aspects of the same occurrences, on the other. High Focus forms alert the reader/hearer to the fact that the event named by the verb merits a high degree of Focus of attention and from his inferential experience he knows which points of an occurrence merit more attention than others. He knows from experience that leaving for a place, learning about something, making something and accomplishing something is going to be more noteworthy in the ongoing communication, than often being somewhere, studying something and being occupied with something. He is going to infer the former from the high Focus signals and the latter from the low Focus signals. Thus, the meanings of the semantic substance of Focus of attention regulate the level of alertness of the hearer/reader of Serbo-Croatian; other effects on the message follow from this variation.

In the following chapters we will provide support for the Focus meanings of Serbo-Croatian verbal forms that have been posited here. At this point we would like to stress

that by positing the Focus Hypothesis, i.e. by claiming that the Serbo-Croatian morphology under consideration signals different degrees of Focus of attention on the event, we challenge all other hypotheses proposed to date. The verbal forms we analyse here do not say anything about internal contour of an event, about whether or not the event is ongoing or completed, punctual or durative, bounded or unbounded, or other various notions that analysts and native speakers invoke as being communicated by perfective and imperfective verbs.

We will see in what follows that there exists a strong inferential connection between the end-point of an occurrence and the high Focus signals in Serbo-Croatian. In the absence of any context, Serbo-Croatian speakers readily identify the high Focus signal of a verb with the completed action and vice versa, the low Focus form of a verb with a process-like, incompleted action.

CHAPTER V
QUALITATIVE VALIDATION OF THE
BEFORE PHASE OF THE TIME-FOCUS INTERLOCK

A. Introduction

In the previous two chapters the System of Focus has been presented in interlock with the Time meanings NOW and BEFORE.

Up to now the two following analytical procedures for the Focus System have been presented:

- a) We have isolated certain segments of verbal morphology of Serbo-Croatian as signals;
- b) We have posited invariant meanings for these signals.

In this chapter we will undertake a qualitative validation of the Hypothesis through the examination of individual examples. We will demonstrate that every time one of these signals appears in speech or in writing its

effect on the message is consistent with the meaning we have hypothesized for it.

In the quantitative validation, in the following chapter, we will extract specific features of messages in which the hypothesized meaning occurs and show that it correlates throughout a corpus with certain characteristics of the message as predicted by the Hypothesis.

In both qualitative and quantitative validation we are basically doing the same thing - demonstrating a correlation between meanings and messages. Each procedure can be used to validate a hypothesis but since they complement one another the two procedures are most effectively used in conjunction.

The earlier discussion of meaning and message should be recalled. The meanings in this analysis are particular segments of the semantic substance of Focus. Meanings are used in combination with other sources of information to convey messages of varying degree of precision. "The meanings" traditionally recognized by grammarians however, are typically segments of the precise messages thus achieved, and the multiplicity of 'meanings' which they associate with a single form is the result of the combination of only one of our meanings with a variety of other kinds of information. For us, the analytical problem is to sort out the invariant contribution of the meaning

from the great variety of messages to which it contributes. The term 'inference' is used to indicate the mental process through which the hearer/reader comes to an identification of the intended message by combining together various items of information that have been offered him, including the meaning. For a more detailed treatment of the concepts meaning, message and inference, see Diver, 1981 and Garcia, 1975.

Speakers exploit meanings with varying degrees of directness. A speaker chooses from the available meanings in a system the one which is the most appropriate for conveying the message he has in mind. The distribution of the signal will then depend not only on the substance of its meaning but on its opposition to the other members of the system, its value relation.

Further, a speaker may exploit the value opposition between the signals in order to comment on a situation rather than to describe it. While the Time meanings are generally used in intuitively clear strategies of description, the Focus meanings of the verbal morphology are almost exclusively used by speakers to comment on a state of affairs rather than to describe it. That is why the Focus meanings are so difficult to validate at times. This distinction between exploitation for description and for comment is crucial and we will illustrate it with an

example containing a signal-meaning pair from a system which is oriented toward description. The meaning of English Singular -Ø versus Plural -s involves a distinction of number. When there is one single item, the speaker uses the signal -Ø, and for any other number he uses -s. There is a close connection between the actual number of entities on the scene and the signals -Ø and -s. Thus, in order to validate the meanings ONE - signaled by -Ø and OTHER THAN ONE - signaled by -s, all the analyst needs to do is to look at the real life situation and count the number of entities in connection with which the meanings of the two signals are used. The meanings ONE and OTHER THAN ONE can therefore be easily tested and their distribution predicted by looking at the scenes to which messages containing these signals may refer. This kind of usage is what is meant by description, since the meanings here merely describe what is true of the scene.

The meanings of the semantic domain of Focus of attention are of a very different nature. They indicate the speaker's subjective assessment of the event being described, i.e. they are basically used for comment as in a. and b. below:

- 1a. Sinoć sam se vratila (MORE IN FOCUS) kući
kasno.
- 1b. Kad sam se sinoć vraćala (LESS IN FOCUS)

kući sreća sam Marka.

- 2a. "Last night I returned (MORE IN FOCUS) home late.
- 2b. "When I was returning (LESS IN FOCUS) home last night I met (MORE IN FOCUS) Mark."

What makes the two events of returning different is the degree of attention the speaker instructs the hearer to place on each event. In a. the hearer is instructed to pay a high degree of attention to the event, in b. he is instructed to withhold any emphasis but instead to place the emphasis on the event of 'meeting Mark'. The lower Focus meaning in b. tells the reader that this event is to be backgrounded to some other event. Based on this instruction and the immediate context the hearer infers the intended message.

When processing the signals and meanings of the semantic substance Focus of attention the speaker and hearer are both constantly called on to make decisions of this kind and to evaluate events in relation to other events in the immediate context. From his own experience he knows what kinds of events and aspects of occurrences interest people more than others. He knows, for example, that people in general pay more attention to a sudden and a loud noise than to soft, familiar noises and that they perceive an individual walker more easily on a deserted

beach than on a crowded city street, etc. These perceptual and cognitive facts will play a role in decisions people make when exploiting signals and meanings of the Focus System by favoring one focus signal over another.

The most straightforward validation of a semantic hypothesis is to provide instances of signals and meanings in various contexts and to show how the meanings in question contribute to the intended message. Such a validation of the Focus System of Serbo-Croatian will be presented in this chapter. However, we cannot rely either on the flat statement that the meanings themselves support the claim that to such and such an event a high degree of attention is called for, nor can we trust the intuition of the native speaker. Instead, we have to rely on the explicit information in the context. We shall argue that each occurrence of a level of Focus can be determined by comparison with another event of a different level of Focus in the same context.

The data which served as the basis for this validation comes from novels and short stories written in Serbo-Croatian. The plot of the story itself will be used as a measure for evaluating the extent to which individual events should receive greater or lesser degree of attention. In other words, the reason for concentrating different degrees of attention on different events will be

seen in relation to what overall importance an event might have in the plot of the story. Constructed examples, as well as all translations, are supplied by the present author, unless otherwise indicated.

In what follows we shall first present the exploitation of the Focus meanings in the material which serves as background to the narrative and then their exploitation in carrying the narrative line itself. narrative line itself.

B. Material Supporting the Narrative

When interlocked with the meaning BEFORE, the opposition among the meanings MOST IN FOCUS, MORE IN FOCUS and LESS IN FOCUS (as well as LEAST IN FOCUS, see p.206) are exploited for setting apart background information from information that deserves to be foregrounded by comparison. An event can deserve a higher degree of attention or, in other words, can merit foregrounding, for various reasons. It may constitute a part of the story proper, it may be particularly noteworthy, it may be a point in the temporal sequence in the central narrative line, etc. By contrast, an event can constitute background information by being referred to as an incidental event, by being part of a static description, by representing departure from the

narrative line, etc. Since the former events deserve to be foregrounded the speaker/writer exploits the meanings MOST IN FOCUS and MORE IN FOCUS, that is, meanings signaling 'strong attention on the event' as appropriate for these characteristics of the message. The latter events however, do not require to be emphasized and the writer/speaker uses the Focus meaning LESS IN FOCUS in referring to them.

1. Descriptions

In Serbo-Croatian the meaning LESS IN FOCUS is most commonly exploited to provide a temporal or a situational setting against which the plot of the story develops. A passage can consist almost entirely of background information, usually depicting static descriptions of either characters or physical scenes. The following three examples illustrate this:

3. Izmedju malog pisaćeg stola i jedne pocrnele ali sjajne fotelje stajala je (3) sitna ženica sva u crnini. Stajala je (3) potpuno nepomična kao da je i sama deo ovog muzejskog nameštaja. Svetlost najbližeg prozora padala je (3) na njeno lice. U protivnosti sa polutamom sobe i crninom haljine koja je dopirala (3) do pod sam podbradak i tu se završavala (3) tankim porubom beloga riša, ženino lice bilo je bledo, ali nezdravom belinom zatvorenih prostorija, a njena kosa, razdeljena po

sredini i brižljivo začušljana, potpuno seda. To lice i ta kosa belili su se (3) avetinjski, kao da je neka drevna i siva prašina napadala u toku dugih godina na nepomičnu ženu; ona je i inače ličila na voštane likove koji deci ulivaju strah a kod odraslih ostavljaju mučan utisak uzaludne ljudske borbe sa prolaznošću. U tom sivom, bledom licu odudarale su (3) kao dva crna kruga ženine oči bez sjaja.

(I. Andrić: Izabrane Pripovetke, p.238)

"Between a small desk and a blackened but gleaming Biedermeier armchair stood (LESS IN FOCUS) a diminutive woman dressed all in black. She stood (LESS IN FOCUS) completely motionless, as if she were a piece of furniture in a museum. Light from the nearest window was falling (LESS IN FOCUS) on her face. In contrast to the semidark room and the blackness of her dress, which came up (LESS IN FOCUS) to her chin and ended (LESS IN FOCUS) there in a narrow border of white embroidery the woman's face was pale with the unhealthy pallor of closed rooms, and her hair, parted in the center and carefully combed back, was completely grey. The hair and face gleamed (LESS IN FOCUS) with a spectral whiteness, as if some ancient and grey dust had been falling for many years on the motionless woman; and even apart from this, she resembled (N) those waxen images that fill children with fear and leave adults with a nagging awareness of man's futile struggle with the passage of time. In that dry pale face the woman's lusterless eyes stood out (LESS IN FOCUS) like two black circles.

DSG40

4. Prvo se ulazilo (3) u jednu nisku i polumračnu sobu, u kojoj se svlačilo (3). Podnice su bile mokre i natrule. Pored zidova su stajale (3) drvene klupe po kojima su ostavljane haljine. Odatle se niz tri drvena basamaka silazilo (3) u veću i malo svetliju prostoriju u kojoj je bio basen. Sve je bilo od kamena. Krov je bio kamenit, sveden, a visoko pri vrhu bili su mali okrugli otvori, kroz koje je padala (3) čudna svjetlost u mlazevima. Koraci su odjekivali (3) i kameni svod je uvećavao (3) i vraćao (3) svaki i najmanji šum. Šum vode odbijao se (3) od svodova i udvostručen i uvećan ispunjavao (3) cio prostor, tako da se moralo vikati pri govoru. A ta vika se opet lomila (3) i udaljavala (3) pod svodovima. Isparavanje je otežavalo (3) disanje. Sa zidova i svodova je milila voda, ispod koje se hvatala (3) zelena siga, kao u pećinama.
- Voda je padala (3) u debelom mlazu iz jednog kamenog oluka. Bila je topla, bistra, puna srebrnastih mehurića; razlivala se (3) po kamenitom basenu, i tu je od sivih ploča dobivala (3) zelenkastu boju.

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"First one entered (LESS IN FOCUS) a low, almost dark room where one undressed (LESS IN FOCUS). The floors were damp and slimy. Around the walls stood (LESS IN FOCUS) wooden benches on which the clothes were left. From there three wooden steps led down (LESS IN FOCUS) into a bigger and somewhat lighter chamber containing the pool. Everything was made of

stone. The roof was of stone and vaulted, and high up at the top were small, round apertures through which shone (LESS IN FOCUS) beams of strange light. Footsteps made echoes (LESS IN FOCUS), and the stone vault magnified (LESS IN FOCUS) and returned (LESS IN FOCUS) the slightest sound. The noise of water rebounded (LESS IN FOCUS) from the vaults and, thus multiplied and magnified, filled (LESS IN FOCUS) the whole place, so that it was necessary to shout when speaking. And that shouting in its turn broke (LESS IN FOCUS) and redoubled (LESS IN FOCUS) beneath the vaults. The steam made it hard (LESS IN FOCUS) to breathe. Water streamed (LESS IN FOCUS) from the walls and roof beams, to which green stalactites clung (LESS IN FOCUS) as in caves. The water fell (LESS IN FOCUS) in a thick jet from a stone conduit. It was warm, clear and full of silvery bubbles; it spread out (LESS IN FOCUS) over the stone pool and there took on (LESS IN FOCUS) a greenish tinge from the gray slabs of stone."

DSG33

These two examples are taken from narratives and they consist entirely of descriptive information. In example 3 a character is described while in example 4 a physical scene is presented. Both the description of the old spinster and the description of the warm spring are very static. Miss Mariana in example 3 is not showing any signs of life and is compared with a piece of furniture. She is depicted as if in a frame and no other human is near by. In example 4 likewise, the only active entity on the scene is

water. Verbs which describe human activities, such as enter, undress, lead down, etc., are used impersonally. A general characteristic of these and other similar passages is a low frequency of verbs in general as well as an absence of animate participants. It is understandable that the author should want to assign a lesser degree of attention to events which merely set the scene for the 'real' events to take place.

The following example is similar to the two examples just quoted in that it represents a descriptive statement. It differs from the two examples however in that it contains a high Focus meaning used to highlight a particular descriptive detail.

5. U velikoj trpezariji bilo je toplo, mirisalo (3) na kolače i jelovinu. Napolju je bilo svetlo od sitnog kao prah belog snega. Odsev te svetlosti padao je (3) po bogatom stolu i lomio se (3) u srebru i kristalu. Konzuli su bili u paradnim uniformama, Ana Marija i ćerka joj u modernim lakim haljinama od vezenog tila, visokog struka i širokih rukava. Samo je gospodja Davil odudarala (3) svojom crninom u kojoj je izgledala (N) još mršavija. Dva fratra, oba visoki i teški ljudi, u prazničnim habitima, prekrili su (2) potpuno stolice na kojima su sedeli (3) i u šarenilu oko njih izgledali (N) kao dva smeđja naviljka.

(I.Andrić, Bosanska hronika, p. 249)

"The big dining room was warm and aromatic (LESS IN FOCUS) with cakes and the scent of pine wood. Outside a new carpet of fine powdery snow sent up (LESS IN FOCUS) a white glow. A reflection of this whiteness fell over (LESS IN FOCUS) the richly laden table and sparkled (LESS IN FOCUS) on the silver and the crystal. The two consuls wore their gaia uniforms; Anna Maria and her daughter were in light fashionable dresses of embroidered muslin, with huge waists and wide sleeves. Only Mme Daville struck a note of contrast (LESS IN FOCUS) in her mourning dress, which made her look (N) even thinner. The two friars, both tall and heavy men, wearing their best habits, completely covered (MORE IN FOCUS) the chairs they sat on (LESS IN FOCUS) and looked like (N) two brown haystacks in the midst of a brightly hued group.

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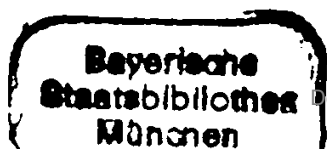
Example 5 combines the description of physical surroundings with the description of characters. The scenery is bright yet nobody is doing anything. It is a frozen scene. The author chose to associate only one verb with a higher Focus meaning ("The two friars completely covered- MORE IN FOCUS") to highlight a detail - the appearance of the two friars standing in sharp contrast to their bright surroundings. The author likewise paid more attention to the two friars by introducing a more detailed description of them than of anyone else present on the

scene. In addition to the comment about their habit ("best habits"), details about their physical appearance are introduced ("tall and heavy men") as well as an analogy to brown haystacks.

However, a real life scene does not have to be static, like the ones just quoted, in order to qualify for the meaning LESS IN FOCUS. A very lively scene may be conveyed with the LESS IN FOCUS meaning by virtue of the fact that it does not represent a part of the main narrative line but rather a side description. Consider the following example:

6. Po oknima crvenile se (3) paprike još prošlogodišnje, u mrežama na kolicima po plotovima sušio se (3) sir, pijevci su kukurikalj (3) i koke stravično pretrčavale (3) preko ceste, ispred kotača i između kopita, bilo je vlažno, rosno jutro, a kroz jutarnje oblake sve se jače probijalo (3) toplo travanjско sunce. Jedno crno ždrijebe, s gustom valovitom uznemirenom grivom i lijepim oblim vratom njištalo je (3) trčeći uz Jozinu kobilu, pa se kod ledine odbilo (2) od kola i u suludoj trci udarilo (2) spram zdenca, gdje su momci napajali (3) konje. U koritima ljeskala se (3) voda, čulo se drveno udaranje kablica, metež ljudskih glasova, graja i galop crnog ždrebeta u oblaku prašine, sve je bilo radosno i puno pokreta, veselo i pomično.

(M.Krleža: Povratak Filipa Latinovitza, p.55)



"Red peppers from last year's crop were all hanging (LESS IN FOCUS) at the windows, cheese was drying (LESS IN FOCUS) in nets hung on stakes, cocks were crowing (LESS IN FOCUS) and hens scurried (LESS IN FOCUS) panic stricken across the road, right in front of the wheels and between the hoofs; it was a damp, dewy morning and the warm April sun was breaking (LESS IN FOCUS) through the early clouds with ever increasing intensity. A black foal, with a thick, wavy, streaming mane and a beautiful rounded neck, neighed (LESS IN FOCUS) cheerfully, running alongside Joe's mare, but as they approached a patch of turf he broke away (MORE IN FOCUS) from the carriage and tore down (MORE IN FOCUS) at a flat-out madcap gallop toward the spring at which the stable boys watered (LESS IN FOCUS) the horses. The water in the troughs shimmered (LESS IN FOCUS); one could hear the bumping of the small wooden buckets, the chatter of human voices, the flurry and gallop of the black foal in a cloud of dust. All this was gay, full of movement, cheerful, lively."

RFL58

In this example, Philip, a painter living abroad, is returning to a small Croatian village after a long absence. The description of the early morning village scene is full of details that can be observed - bright colors, movement of animals, chatter of people - but all that is defocused. The entire scene, bright and lively as it is, represents only a descriptive aside, peripheral to Philip's sphere of

attention. In this passage the author selects again to highlight one chosen detail only and to draw the attention of his reader to it - the activity of the black foal- as if to break the effect of monotony that the uninterrupted use of the meaning LESS IN FOCUS might produce.

The following example is another descriptive passage located within the narrative. The majority of verbs in it are associated with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS (BEFORE). The meaning MORE IN FOCUS is introduced at the end of the passage to highlight an event of thematic importance:

7. Tada je ova ista Drina, zelena i plahovita gorska reka što se često muti, derala (3) ovuda, između golih i pustih kamenitih i peščanih obala. Kasaba je postojala (3) i tada, ali u drugom obliku i drugim srazmerama. Na desnoj obali reke, navrh strmog brega, gde su sada ruševine, bio je (N) dobro sačuvan stari grad, razgranato uvrđenje još iz doba cvata bosanskog kraljevstva, sa kulama, kazamatima i bedemima, delo jednog od moćnih velmoža Pavlovića. Na obroncima ispod tog grada i pod njegovom zaštitom postojala su (3) hrišćanska naselja Mejdan i Bikovac i odskora isturčeni zaselak Dušče. Dole u ravnici, između Drine i Rzava, gde se docnije razvila (2) prava kasaba, bile su (N) samo varoške njive, prosečene drumom pored kojih je bio drveni starinski han i nekoliko vodenica i koliba.
- Tamo gde Drina preseca drum bila je čuvena skela

na Višegradu.

NDC35

"Then this same green and awe-inspiring Drina, this mountain river which often grew angry, clamoured (LESS IN FOCUS) there between barren and naked stony and sandy banks. The town even then existed (LESS IN FOCUS), but in another form and of different dimensions. On the right bank of the river, on the crest of a precipitous hill, where now there are ruins, was the well preserved old fortress, with wide spread fortifications dating from the time of the flowering of the Bosnian kingdom, with casements and ramparts, the work of one of the powerful Pavlović nobles. On the slopes below this fortress and under its protection stood (LESS IN FOCUS) Christian settlements, Majdan and Bikovac, and the recently converted Turkish hamlet of Dusce. Down on the level ground between the Drina and Rzav, where the real town later spread (MORE IN FOCUS) were only the town meadows, with a road running through them, beside which was an old-fashioned inn and a few huts and water mills. Where the Drina intersects the road was the famous Višegrad ferry."

BOD23

Like example 4, this passage depicts a physical scene, a landscape, and contains no overt activity. The forward flow of the narrative is interrupted. In this descriptive passage the author also highlights one detail but for a different reason than in examples 3 and 4 above. By

associating the verb razviti se 'to develop' with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS (glossed in English as '...where the town later spread - MORE IN FOCUS)', the author wanted to alert the reader that this event is of major thematic importance. The story to follow is about this very town and its people.

2. Description of Incidental Events

However, descriptions of physical scenes, characters, etc. are not the only material that merely supports the main narrative. A good part of each narrative is devoted to the description of events that are only incidental to the narrative itself. The author wishes to communicate these events to the reader but, at the same time, he does not wish to highlight them. He includes the material because it is necessary to a well rounded narrative yet he withholds emphasis from it. This material happens to be outside the principal narrative line and as such does not deserve the full attention of the reader. By associating the verbs with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS the author instructs the reader to consider this material as less relevant, relatively speaking, than the material which immediately precedes and/or follows it. The following examples are illustrations of this strategy of exploitation of the meaning LESS IN

FOCUS:

8. U rani suton poslednjeg dana decembra četrdeset druge, istrzana kolona od stotinu partizana milela je (N) Gavranovom kosom Jatrepca, daveći se u dubokom snegu i kovitlacima vejavice. Pred kolonom, na pedeset koracaja, išao je (N) komandant odreda, visok, plećat čovek u iznošenom šinjelu. Desnom rukom držao je (N) kaiš nemačkog ručnog mitraljeza, a levom je zbog teškog i nesigurnog hoda mlatarao kao posipkom naprežući se da poveća odstojanje od kolone. Lice mu je bilo strogo i uvredjeno. Po širokom vedjama i kosi, koja je šrtcala (3) iz duboke vojničke šajkače, popao sneg, pa je to lice, inače lepo i za svoje godine rano ostarelo, bilo još starije od umora, sutona i vetra; ono se jednako mrštilo (3) i grčilo (3) i odavalo (3) čoveka koji sa sobom vodi (B) mučan razgovor.

(D.Ćosić, Daleko je sunce, p.7)

"At early dusk of the last day of December 1942 a broken column made up of one hundred fighters was moving at a crawl (N) along the Raven Ridge of Jastrebac mountain, drowning in deep snow and whirlwinds of blizzard.

Some fifty paces in front of the column was the unit's commander, a tall, broad-shouldered man in a worn out, heavy military overcoat. With his right hand he held to the belt of a German made machine gun, and his left he brandished like a spraying can because of the difficult and unsteady pasage,

trying to increase his lead. His face was stern and offended. His eye brows and his hair protruding (LESS IN FOCUS) from under his soldier's cap were covered with snow and his face, handsome and prematurely aged, was even older from the fatigue, dusk and the wind; it constantly frowned (LESS IN FOCUS) and contorted (LESS IN FOCUS), betraying (LESS IN FOCUS) a man having an unpleasant conversation with himself."

9. Još otkako su se Turci povukli (2) iz Madjarske, odnosi izmedju Turaka i hrišćana bivali su sve teži i složeniji i opšte prilike su se pogoršavale (3). Ratnici velikog carstva, age i spahije, koji su morali da napuste bogate posede u plodnim ravnicama Ugarske i da se vrate u svoju tesnu i ubogu zemlju, bili su ozlovoljeni i kivni na sve što je hrišćansko, a u isto vreme oni su povećavali (3) broj usta koji jedu, dok je broj ruku koje rade ostajao (3) isti. S druge strane, ti isti ratovi XVIII veka, koji su Turke potiskivali (3) iz susednih hrišćanskih zemalja i vraćali (3) ih u Bosnu, izazivali su (3) kod hrišćanske raje smele nade i otvarali (3) dotle neslućene vidike, a to je moralo uticati i na odnos raje prema carstvujušćoj gospodi Turcima ...

TH16

"Ever since the Turks had withdrawn (MORE IN FOCUS) from Hungary, relations between Moslems and Christians had grown steadily worse (LESS IN FOCUS) and more involved, and in general more bitter. The soldiers of the great Empire, the Agas and Spahis, who had been forced to leave their rich settlements in the fertile plains of Hungary and to return to their own poor, constricted country, were full of rage and ill will against everything Christian; at the same time they increased (LESS IN FOCUS) the number of mouths to be fed, while the number of hands to labor remained (LESS IN FOCUS) as before. On the other

hand, these same wars of the eighteenth century which had driven (LESS IN FOCUS) the Turks out of the neighboring Christian lands and sent them back (LESS IN FOCUS) to Bosnia had aroused bold hopes (LESS IN FOCUS) in the subject Christians and had opened up (LESS IN FOCUS) prospects hither to undreamt of; and this too was bound to have its effect on the attitude of the rayah towards his imperial overlord the Turk. Both sides - if one may talk of the two sides at this stage of the struggle - both sides fought (LESS IN FOCUS) after their own manner and with the means which corresponded to (LESS IN FOCUS) the circumstances of the times. The Turks resorted to repression and force, the Christians to passive resistance, guile and conspiracy, or readiness to conspire.."

The conflict of interests, beliefs, yearnings, and hopes produced (3) a convulsive atmosphere which the long Turkish wars with Venice, Austria and Russia made only tenser (3) and more constricting (3). In Bosnia the mood grew somber (3) and brooding, clashes became more frequent, life more difficult; order and sense of security waned by the day.

BC21

10. Mladići su jos sa druma trčali (3) da se uhvate u kolo, a devojke bi se savladjivale i stajale jedno vreme posmatrajući igru, kao da odbrojavaju taktove i čekaju na neki tajni otkucaj u sebi, a onda bi odjednom uskakale u kolo, malo povijenih kolena i oborene glave, kao da se žudno bacaju u hladnu vodu. Moćna struja je prelazila (3) iz letnje zemlje u razigrane noge i širila se

(3) kroz lanac vrelih ruku; na tom lancu treslo se
 (3) kolo kao jedno jedinstveno biće, zagrejano
 istom krvlju, nošeno istim ritmom. Mladići su
igrali zabačene glave, bleđi, nemirnih nozdrva, a
 devojke sa rumenim kolotovima krvi na licu, stidno
 oborenih očiju, od bojazni da pogledom ne odaju
 slast kojom ih ispunjava igra.

NDC317/318

"Young men ran in (LESS IN FOCUS) from the main
 road to take their places in the kolo, but the
 girls restrained themselves and stood for a
 time, watching the dancing as if counting
 the beats and waiting for some secret impulse in
 themselves, when they would suddenly leap in to
 the kolo with lowered heads and slightly bended
 knees as if eagerly leaping into cold water. A
 powerful current passed (LESS IN FOCUS) from the
 warm earth into the dancing feet and spread along
 (LESS IN FOCUS) the chain of warm hands; on that
 chain the kolo pulsed (LESS IN FOCUS) like a
 single living thing, warmed by the same blood and
 carried away by the same rhythm. The young men
danced (LESS IN FOCUS) with their back straight,
 pale and with quivering nostrils, while the young
 girls danced (LESS IN FOCUS) with reddened cheeks
 and modestly downcast eyes, lest their glances
 betray the passion with which the dance had
 filled them."

BOD380

Example 8 represents the very beginning of the novel.
 Yet, the author is not ready to begin with the story. He

provides us with the description of a column of fighters retreating before the enemy with their weary commander at the head. The author desires to keep this information in the background for the time being and he associates the verbs which occur in the passage with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS.

In example 9, the first verb in "ever since the Turks had withdrawn", associated with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS refers to an important development which triggered the situation described and at the same time provides the reader with chronological orientation. The author appropriately highlights it with a high Focus meaning. Other verbs, associated with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS, describe the gradual deterioration of relations between the local Christian populace of a small Bosnian town and the Muslim Turks. These events are important to the story and the author introduces them but he keeps them in the background by conveying them with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS.

Example 10 is chosen because it represents a very picturesque scene that appears to have all the qualities needed for a high Focus presentation. It describes young people passionately dancing the kolo. The passage contains high activity verbs (run, leap, dance, pulsate) as well as other terms which imply strong involvement (passion, blood,

current, rhythm, etc.) yet the author chose to push all this into the background and to save the emphasis for the events which immediately follow.

In the following example there is a rare instance of all four meanings of the Before phase of the Time-Focus interlock in a basically descriptive passage.

11. Kraj bijaše (4) sivosmedje i smolavo oličen, a prašina po cestama čadjava i crna. Sve bijaše (4) prljavo od glinena lignita i sve vonjaše (4) gorko po toplim vrelima i po sumporu. Nad tim golim, ustalasanim humovljem, oglodjanim danas plugom i sjekirom, gdje pred hiljade i hiljade godina rigahu (4) vulkani lavu i isparivahu se (4) beskrajne predpotopne močvare, pojaviše se (1) banke i dioničke kompanije s dalekosežnim osnovama. Stali su (2) ljudi rovati po masnostaloženom gnjiležu i blatu dan i noć. Izrasle su (2) iz zemlje rudarske kolonije kao veliki putujući cirkusi, i u tom kraju, gdje su zdenci bili otrovani i bljutavi, a zrak zasićen zaraznim parama, šinule su (2) goleme četvorine tvorničkih okana, u kojima je šumjelo (3) transmisiono remenje i grnjeli (3) golemi točkovi, a po krcmama stale (2) da plaču rudarske harmonike.

(Miroslav Krleža, Novele, p.125)

"The region was (LEAST IN FOCUS) graybrown and covered with pitch, and the dust on the roads sooty and black. Everything was (LEAST IN FOCUS) soiled with clay lignite and all smelled (LEAST IN FOCUS) of hot springs and sulphur. Over that barren,

uneven, hilly terrain now worn out by plows and axes, and where thousands and thousands of years ago volcanoes spewed out lava (LEAST IN FOCUS) and overheated swamps emitted vapors (LEAST IN FOCUS) now appeared (MOST IN FOCUS) banks and stock companies with far away branch offices. Men started (MORE IN FOCUS) to burrow in the settled rot and mud, day and night. Resembling huge traveling circuses, miners' colonies rose (MORE IN FOCUS) from the ground. In an area in which springs were poisoned and tasteless and air saturated with infectious vapors, huge square openings of mining shafts began to shine (MORE IN FOCUS) in which transmission gears rumbled (LESS IN FOCUS) and huge wheels thundered (LESS IN FOCUS) and in taverns the miners' accordions started (MORE IN FOCUS) to wail."

This is the beginning of Krleža's short story "In Extremis". In it the author describes the surroundings of a small provincial town. The biggest jump in Focus, from LEAST IN FOCUS to MOST IN FOCUS, is exploited for the strongest, most vivid, contrast in the passage between the mere geography of the terrain and primitive tools (plows and axes), on the one side, and on the other the first signs of industrial revolution - arrival of foreign capital and modern technology in this remote place. There are two sets of events associated with the LEAST IN FOCUS meaning. The first refers to the present appearance of the land. Everything is black and dull and the land is worn out by

constant cultivation. The second series of LEAST IN FOCUS associated events refers to distant ecological history. These two sets of events are contrasted to the single most important occurrence - appearance of stock companies and banks as symbols of the industrial revolution which came to Austria-Hungary with a considerable delay. This is conveyed with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS and it brings us instantly into modern times. This MOST IN FOCUS meaning is followed by a number of MORE IN FOCUS events which name stages of the industrialization - mines were opened ('men started -MORE IN FOCUS- to burrow'), colonies established ('miners' colonies rose -MORE IN FOCUS- from the ground'), modern technology brought in ('mining shafts started to shine -MORE IN FOCUS') and miners' accordions were heard ('accordions started -MORE IN FOCUS - to wail'). All these events are highlighted with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS. In the last sentence the two LESS IN FOCUS signals refer to events which represent background details - noises produced by the machinery in the shafts.

Thus, in this basically descriptive passage Krleža uses all four Before Focus meanings to set the scene for his story. He places the highest degree of Focus -MOST - on the event which is in a sense the central theme of all his stories, the advent of industrialism and its effect on the people of his native Croatia, part of Austria Hungary at

the time. He maintains the high Focus with the second highest degree of Focus - MORE IN FOCUS - to mark events which explicitly spell out in sequential order what the appearance of foreign capital meant to this remote and desolate corner of the Empire - establishment of mines, miners' settlements and modern equipment. He then switches to a lower degree of Focus - LESS IN FOCUS - to bring in details of no real importance to the story. The author maximally defocused two sets of events. The first set of verbs associated with the LEAST IN FOCUS meaning represent low activity verbs, such as biti 'to be' and vonjati 'to smell of'. The second set of the LEAST IN FOCUS marked verbs refer to distant history. The author defocuses these otherwise unimportant events even further because he wants to establish a maximum contrast between the old and the new at the very beginning of the passage.

We have presented here only a few examples of descriptive asides and we shall return to them later on. These and other types of descriptions are constantly combined and mixed together with other narrative material as the author proceeds with his plot. We shall see from the following chapters how the meaning LESS IN FOCUS gets help from the meanings of the NOW phase of the interlock in its task of providing the narrative material which does not carry the main line of the narrative forward but rather

serves as its support.

C. The Beginning of the Narrative

The most successful story telling involves the constant blending of more salient with less salient narrative material. The more salient - less salient opposition is the fundamental dichotomy which underlies human communication. The less relevant narrative material, as we have seen, provides the background for the story proper. The more relevant material carries the narrative forward.

The author exploits the meanings of the semantic substance of Focus of attention to guide his reader along, to tell him on which events to concentrate his full attention and which events to process with a lesser amount of attention. How much of the narrative material and which part of it should be highlighted or backgrounded is entirely up to the author. By switching from one Focus meaning to another the author keeps his reader on his mental toes.

We have seen in the previous section that when an author provides descriptive and other supporting material he wishes to keep backgrounded he signals to his reader that that material does not deserve a high degree of

attention by associating the verbs in the passage with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS. Occasionally, while still introducing the supporting material, the author may switch to a higher Focus meaning in order either to single out a particular descriptive detail or to alert the reader to some development or event that will play an important role in the story, not perhaps at that point in the narrative but at some later point.

However, the upgrade in Focus, i.e. the switch from lower to higher degrees of Focus, is regularly exploited when an author wishes to mark a transition from the descriptive and other supporting material to the more noteworthy material which constitutes the main narrative line. By upgrading the Focus of attention, usually from LESS IN FOCUS to MORE IN FOCUS, the author signals to the reader that the descriptive part is by then over and that the main story line either begins at that point or that it resumes again after a temporary pause.

When starting a story the author has a choice of starting it either with the material representing the narrative proper or with background material. The second technique is perhaps more customary. The author first provides the reader with a certain amount of supporting material before starting the main line of the narrative. Examples 12, 13, 14 and 15 below are continuations of

examples 7, 8, 9 and 10 and they illustrate the upgrade in Focus from LESS IN FOCUS to MORE IN FOCUS. In each example the final statement of the preceding section is given for reference.

12. Tamo gde Drina preseca drum (B) bila je čuvena skela na Višegradu. To je bila crna starinska skela i na njoj mrzovoljan, spor skeledžija, po imenu Jamak... Skela je radila (3) samo kad su tok i visina reke bili obični...

Toga novembarskog dana stigla je (2) na lijevu obalu dugačka povorka natovarenih konja i zaustavila se (2) da tu konači.

NDC35

"Where the Drina intersected (B) the road was the famous Višegrad ferry. That was a black and old-fashioned ferry-boat and on it a surly old ferryman called Jamak..

The ferry only worked (LESS IN FOCUS) when the current and height of the river were normal...

On that November day a long convoy of laden horses arrived (MORE IN FOCUS) on the left bank of the river and halted (MORE IN FOCUS) there to spend the night.

BOD23

13. Po širokim vedjama i kosi, koja je strčala (3) ispod duboke vojničke šajkače, popao sneg, pa je to lice, inače lepo i za svoje godine rano ostarelo, bilo još starije od umora, sutona i vetra; ono se jednako mrštilo (3) i grčilo (3) i odavalo (3) čoveka koji sa sobom vodi mučan razgovor.

Već je nekoliko dana kako su Nemci započeli (2) veliku ofanzivu na Jastrebac. Delovi "alpiske" divizije sa dva puka Bugara i ljotićevsko-nedićevskim jedinicama pošto su saposeli (2) sva sela oko planine i puteve koji vode u nju, počeli su (2) u raznim pravcima da krstare po Jastrepцу, tražeći odred, napadali ga (3) i gonili (3). U prve dve borbe odred je ostao (2) skoro bez municije, izgubio (2) nekoliko ljudi, zadobio (2) desetinu ranjenika, i otada bežao (3), skrivao se u šume (3), gladovao (N) i smrzavao se (3). Trpeći sitne svakodnevne poraze, ratnička duša se pobošela (2)... Jutros rano u zoru na odred je nabasala (2) veća grupa Nemaca, i on se sada izbegavajući dnevnu borbu povlači (B) dublje u planinu.

DJS8

"His eyebrows and his hair protruding (LESS IN FOCUS) from under his soldier's cap were covered with snow, and his face, handsome and prematurely aged, was even older from the fatigue, dusk and the wind; it constantly frowned (LESS IN FOCUS) and contorted (LESS IN FOCUS), betraying (LESS IN FOCUS) a man having an unpleasant conversation with himself. It has been a few days since the Germans started (MORE IN FOCUS) their big offensive on Jastrebac mountain. After they had captured (MORE IN FOCUS) all the villages around the mountain and the roads leading to it, parts of their Alpine division together with two regiments of Bulgarians and some other units started (MORE IN FOCUS) to criss cross the mountain in pursuit of the resistance unit; they attacked it (LESS IN FOCUS) and chased it (LESS IN FOCUS). In the first two skirmishes the unit nearly

ran out of ammunition (MORE IN FOCUS), a few men were lost (MORE IN FOCUS), ten others got wounded (MORE IN FOCUS), and since then they have been fleeing (LESS IN FOCUS), hiding (LESS IN FOCUS) in the forest, starving (N) and freezing (LESS IN FOCUS). Exposed to constant defeats their morale became (MORE IN FOCUS) low. Early at dawn today, a big group of Germans came across (MORE IN FOCUS) the unit. Now, avoiding day fighting, they have been retreating deeper into the mountain."

14. Od tih sukoba tako suprotnih interesa, verovanja, težnji i nadanja, stvaralo se (3) jedno grčevito klupko koji su duga turska ratovanja sa Venecijom, Austrijom i Rusijom sve više zaplitala (3) i stezala (3). U Bosni je postajalo (3) tešnje i mračnije, sukobi sve češći, život sve teži i sa sve manje reda i izvesnosti.
- A početak XIX veka doneo je (2) ustanak u Srbiji kao vidan znak novih vremena i novih načina borbe. Klupko u Bosni još se jače steglo (2) i zamrsilo (2).

TH16

"The conflict of interests, beliefs, yearnings, and hopes produced (LESS IN FOCUS) a convulsive atmosphere which the long Turkish wars with Venice, Austria and Russia made only tenser (LESS IN FOCUS) and more constricting (LESS IN FOCUS). In Bosnia the mood grew (LESS IN FOCUS) somber and brooding, clashes became more frequent, life more difficult; order and sense of security waned by the day. The opening of the nineteenth century had brought (MORE IN FOCUS) the rising in Serbia as the visible

sign of a new era and with its new tactics. The tension in Bosnia grew sharper and tighter still (MORE IN FOCUS)."

BC21

15. Mladići su igrali (3) zabačene glave, bleđi, nemirnih nozdruva, a devojke sa rumenim kolotovima krvi na licu, stidno oborenih očiju, od bojazni da pogledom ne odaju slast kojom ih ispunjava igra. U tom trenutku kad je teferič tek počinjao (3) pojavi su se (2) na ivici mezalinske ravni žandarmi, crni i bleštavi od čoje i oružja na podnevnoj svetlosti.

NDC318

"The young men danced (LESS IN FOCUS) with their back straight, pale and with quivering nostrils, while the young girls danced with reddened cheeks and modestly downcast eyes, lest their glances betray the passion with which the dance had filled them.

At that moment when the outing had only just begun (LESS IN FOCUS) a number of gendarmes appeared (MORE IN FOCUS) on the edge of the meadow, their uniforms and weapons shining in the afternoon light."

BOD380

Examples 12 and 7 are taken from the beginning of the second chapter of the novel The Bridge on the Drina. In the first chapter the author describes the bridge and its surroundings and retells the legends that spread out in connection with the bridge. In the second chapter the author goes back to the times when there was no bridge on

the Drina. The first idea of the bridge "flashed across the imagination (3) of a ten-year old boy in 1516." The author introduces this important information with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS and immediately afterwards briefly restates the characteristics of the river and the area. This represents the text of example 7. This is followed by a description of the ferry and the ferryman we quote only partially. All this constitutes the supporting material. The Focus is upgraded at the point when a unit of Turks together with a large number of young Christian children arrive at Višegrad and stop there to spend the night. These two events are highlighted by the author with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS.

It was customary in the Turkish Empire to gather young male Christian children in their occupied provinces as tribute and to raise them as their elite troops, the janissaries. We know from the later context that in this particular group was a ten-year old destined to become the Grand Vizier of the Empire. He retained a painful memory of the crossing over the Drina and, later on, he built a beautiful bridge on that location. The construction of the bridge and its effect on the people of the town is the central theme of the novel. Thus, the story proper begins at the point when the young Christian children arrive at this crossing and the idea of the bridge comes to one of the boys. The author singles out these events against the

background of other, mostly descriptive material which precedes them.

Example 13 is the continuation of example 8 quoted in the previous section which served as an illustration of descriptive material which supports the narrative. That example stands at the very beginning of the novel Far Away is the Sun. In the first two passages of the novel the author does not provide the reader with any particulars about the story but instead presents the description of a group of fighters retreating deeper into the mountain with their weany commander at their head. Immediately following this brief description the author goes back to introduce the main line of the narrative, events which lead to this situation more exactly to the early morning attack which prompted the fighters to withdraw deeper into the mountain. To convey these events the author exploits the meaning MORE IN FOCUS ('started', 'captured', 'started', 'ran out of ammunition', 'lost', 'ten fighters got wounded', 'their morale became low' and 'early that day a big group of Germans came across the unit').

In examples 12 and 13 the author chooses the meaning MORE IN FOCUS to start the main line of the narrative. In the novel The Bridge on the Drina the starting point is the arrival of the caravan at the ferry crossing. That is when the idea of a bridge occurred to a ten-year old boy who was

in the group of Bosnian children the Turks had collected as tribute. In the novel Far Away is the Sun that is the beginning of the withdrawal in front of the enemy of a small unit of Serbian resistance fighters during World War II. Their suffering and eventual survival constitute the main theme of this novel.

With examples 14 and 15 the author resumes the narrative line after a temporary pause provided by descriptive examples 9 and 10 above.

In our discussion of example 9, we have seen that the late eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century was the time at which the Ottoman Empire was showing rapid signs of weakening and decay. Its advances had been checked in the seventeenth century when Turkey lost its rich estates in Hungary and the Turks had to return to the neighboring Bosnia. This loss caused further deterioration in relations between the local people and the Turks. This situation is described in example 9. The author switches to a higher degree of Focus in example 14 to introduce the information about an uprising in the neighboring province to the east, Serbia. This uprising was not just one more symptom of the changing times but has far reaching consequences to the rule of the Turks on the Balkans. With this information the author returns to the story.

Example 15 is the continuation of example 10 which illustrates the description of a summer outing by Serbian youth on the occasion of their national holiday. We recall from our discussion of example 10 that lively and gay as it might be this particular scene is pushed into the background. When we look at example 15 we can see the reason for it. The author upgrades the Focus, from LESS IN FOCUS to MORE IN FOCUS to introduce the arrival of Austrian gendarmes who came to disperse the crowd. Coming back to town, the young people find out that during that very morning the Austrian archduke Franz Ferdinand has been assassinated in Sarajevo. Thus the author had a specific reason for withholding the emphasis from the description of the outing which in another story might have qualified for the meaning MORE IN FOCUS.

In all these examples a series of verbs associated with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS preceded a verb or verbs associated with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS. While the meaning LESS IN FOCUS provides the background the meaning MORE IN FOCUS marks the transition to the narrative line. The Focus opposition is exploited to separate background information from more salient information.

In examples 12 and 13 the author chooses to provide a certain amount of background information before beginning the main narrative line. In the following examples however,

the author starts the narrative right away and then brings in the supporting material as he goes along:

16. U hanu kod višegradske ćumrukane skupilo se (2) malo pomalo, dosta putnika. Mali pritoci Drine nabujali su (2) i odnijeli (2) drveni most na putu za Priboj i podrovali (2) puteve na nekoliko mesta.

PRII-7

"The khan in Višegrad, adjacent to the custom house gradually filled up (MORE IN FOCUS) with people. The small tributaries of the river Drina had swelled (MORE IN FOCUS), overflowed (MORE IN FOCUS) their banks, and carried away (MORE IN FOCUS) the wooden bridge on the road to Priboj."

PC15

17. Četvrte godine svoga vezirovanja posrnu (1) veliki vezir i kao žrtva jedne opasne intrige, pade (1) iznenada u nemilost.

PRI-5

"In the fourth year of his term as Grand Vizier, Yussuf committed a political indiscretion (MOST IN FOCUS) and, falling victim to a dangerous intrigue, unexpectedly fell into disfavor (MOST IN FOCUS)."

PC3

In both these examples the author plunges right into the story. Bad weather in the first example presents the opportunity for the protagonists of the story to meet. The storm had damaged the crossing over the river and all the

travelers had to wait for the repair to be done before continuing on their journey. Ali Djerzelez happens to be one of the travelers. In the story "The bridge on the Žepa" (example 15) during an unexpected period of disgrace the Grand Vizier thought of his native village and how he could help the villagers. He decides to provide funds for a bridge they badly need. The story as a whole is about the construction of the bridge.

D. The Skeleton of a Narrative:

The Use of Focus Distinctions to Sequence Events

We have just seen that the story teller uses the Focus opposition LESS IN FOCUS vs. MORE IN FOCUS to separate the background information, i.e. material which supports the narrative, from the material which constitutes the story proper. He exploits the low Focus meaning, LESS IN FOCUS, for the information he wants to keep in the background and he switches to the meaning MORE IN FOCUS to introduce thematically important events which are central to the main narrative line. As we have seen these switches occur in Serbo-Croatian either at the beginning of a story or at the points at which the author resumes the main narrative line after an interruption.

Exploited in this fashion the meaning MORE IN FOCUS (and also the meaning MOST IN FOCUS as we shall see later on in this chapter) provides the backbone of each narrative. Each story can be given in summary by separating those parts of the text conveyed with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS (and also MOST IN FOCUS) from those parts of the text conveyed with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS. The following samples illustrate this. These samples are edited, i.e. they contain only utterances in which the middle member on

the Focus scale, the meaning MORE IN FOCUS occurs. All other utterances are left out. This results in two coherent narrative passages. The reader does not feel that he is missing anything.

18. U proleće one godine kad je pala (2) vezirova odluka o gradnji, stigli su (2) u kasabu njegovi ljudi sa pratnjom da pripreme sve što treba za gradjenje mosta.

Čim su se smestili po šatorima ispod Mejdana, Abidaga je sazvao (2) predstavnike vlasti i sve uglednije Turke na dogovor.

Skupljeni ljudi našli su se (2) pred krupnim čovekom nezdravo crvenog lica i zelenih očiju.. Govor koji je ovaj siloviti čovek održao (2) sakupljenim ljudima iznenadio ih je (2) još više od njegovog izgleda.

"Po svoj prilici su vam pre mene stigli (2) glasovi o meni a već znam da glasovi ne mogu biti lepi i prijatni..."

Posle tog neobičnog uvoda, koji su svi saslušali (2) ćutke i oborenih očiju, Abidaga je objasnio ljudima (2) da je ovde u pitanju gradjevina velikog značaja... Zatim je izložio (2) koje su prve potrebe i šta se očekuje od domaćih Turaka i traži od raje, hrišćana.

Ljudi su izišli (2) zbunjeni i utučeni ispod tesnog i vrelog šatora.

To što se sada sručilo (2) na kasabu i ceo ovaj kraj bila je velika, nerazumljiva napast kojoj se nije moglo dogledati kraja.

NDC41-42

"In the spring of that year when the Vizier had made (MORE IN FOCUS) his decision to build, his men arrived (MORE IN FOCUS) in the town to prepare everything necessary for the construction work on the bridge.

As soon as they had settled (MORE IN FOCUS) in their tents below Mejdan, Abidaga (head of the group) summoned (MORE IN FOCUS) the local leaders and all the principal Turks for a discussion.

Those summoned saw ('found themselves in front of -MORE IN FOCUS') a powerfully built man, with green eyes and an unhealthy reddish face... The speech which this violent man delivered (MORE IN FOCUS) to the notables astonished them (MORE IN FOCUS) even more than his appearance...

After this unusual introduction to which all listened (MORE IN FOCUS) in silence and with downcast eyes, Abidaga explained (MORE IN FOCUS) that it was the matter of a building of great importance...Then he laid down (MORE IN FOCUS) his first requirements and what he therefore expected from the local Turks and demanded from the rayah - the Christian serfs.

The notables filed out (MORE IN FOCUS) of the small, stuffy tent, troubled and downcast.

A great and incomprehensible disaster had fallen (MORE IN FOCUS) upon the town..."

BOD31-33

19. Pred samu austrisku okupaciju došao je (2) Veliudin-paša, zvani Čerkez, po drugi put u Bosnu; ovaj put kao glavni komandant sve vojske koja se nalazila u Bosni. Početkom januara je

stigao (2) u Sarajevo, bez harema i sa malo stvari. I Veli-paša sam znatno se promijenio (2) u ovih osam godina. Iako još uvek vitak, bijaše okrupnjao. Kosa mu se na slepoočnicama progrušala (2). Ali je gotovo nepromijenjen ostao (2) njegov čerkeski profil...

Bio je iz poznate vojničke porodice, jedinač. Otac mu je ostavio (2) znatan imetak. Poslednje godine je proveo (2) po zabačenim garnizonima na ruskoj granici. Prije desetak godina je bio premešten u Bosnu, kao miralaj u Bijeljini. Desilo se (2) da je on počeo (2) sve više i više da prezire begovske prvake radi njihova besmislenog turkovanja, ograničenosti i prazne govornosti, a oni da ga mrze i ogovaraju. Radi nekog begovskog sijena, koje su njegovi vojnici rasturili (2) u Sarajskom Polju, dodje (1) do čitave bune u medžlisu. Pozvan da se pred medžlisom opravda radi toga sijena, on je održao (2) jedan kratak i dotad nezampančen govor. Na sve tužbe da je pijanica, nasilan, da otima tuđe, on je izjavio (2) mirno i sa smeškom. Tu se okrenuo (2) prema odličnim ljudima i pokazao (2) im, prirodnim mirom starog konjičkog oficira, jedan neočekivano bezobrazan gest..

PR403

"On the very eve of Austrian occupation, Veliud-din Pasha, nicknamed Circassian, came (MORE IN FOCUS) to Bosnia for a second time, this time as a commander in chief. He arrived (MORE IN FOCUS) in Sarajevo early in January, without a harem and with a little luggage .. Veli-Pasha himself had changed (MORE IN FOCUS)

greatly in these last eight years; the hair on his temples had become streaked (MORE IN FOCUS). However, almost unchanged remained (MORE IN FOCUS) his Circassian profile.

He came from a well known military family and was an only son. His father had left (MORE IN FOCUS) him a considerable estate. He had spent (MORE IN FOCUS) the last few years in obscure garrisons along the Russian frontier.

Ten years ago, he had been transferred (Passive) to Bosnia, as a colonel at Bijeljina. It came about (MORE IN FOCUS) that he began (MORE IN FOCUS) to feel an increased contempt for them (foremost noblemen of the land) on account of their foolish jingoism, narrow-mindedness and idle chatter, and they began (MORE IN FOCUS) to hate him and speak ill of him.

When his soldiers helped themselves (MORE IN FOCUS) to the hay belonging to an important bey, there was (MOST IN FOCUS) a hue and cry among the members of the Council. Summoned to the Council to explain the incident of the hay, he gave (MORE IN FOCUS) a short speech. To the accusations that he was a drunkard and a bully, he answered (MORE IN FOCUS) calmly and with a sneer. Then he turned (MORE IN FOCUS) to the dignitaries and, with the practiced sangfroid of an old cavalry officer made (MORE IN FOCUS) an unexpectedly obscene gesture."

PC119

Example 18 is from the beginning of the third chapter of the novel The Bridge on the Drina. In it the author

describes the construction of the bridge. The Vizier's men arrived at the site soon after the Vizier's decision to finance the building. As soon as they settled in their tents the man in charge summoned the local notables and explained to them his mission and his methods. The notables did not like either the man or what they heard and they left Abidaga's tent troubled and downcast, etc.

Example 19 is from at the very beginning of the story. It gives all information about one of the two main characters of the story, the Pasha Veliud-din. It contains well rounded, more general statements: Veli Pasha came to Bosnia for the second time; he arrived without a harem or luggage; he had changed since his last assignment; he had spent the last few years in obscure garrisons; during his first stay in Bosnia he established bad rapport with the local leaders, etc., etc. All these are felt as matter of fact statements which give pertinent information and which build the skeleton of the narrative and move it forward.

While examples 18 and 19 do not strike the reader as unusual the same cannot be said about examples 20 and 21 quoted below in which the process was reversed. Namely, in the following examples we kept only those utterances which contain the meaning LESS IN FOCUS, those which were previously excluded.

20. Sve je to izazivalo (3) strah i zabunu u maloj

varošici i po okolnim selima, naročito medju hrišćanskim svetom.

Na čelu ovog odreda stajao je (3) Abidaga, glavni vezirov poverenik za gradnju mosta, a uz njega je bio Tosun-efendija, neimar. (O ovom Abidagi već se unapred pričalo (3) kao o čoveku bezobzirnom, nemilosrdnom i strogom preko mere). Tu se nije mnogo dogovaralo (3), jer je govorio samo jedan, to jest Abidaga.

Pored njega je sedeo (3) Tosun-efendija, sitan, bled i žut poturčenjak, rodom sa grčkih ostrva, neimar, koji je zidao (3) mnoge Mehmedpašine zadužbine u Carigradu. On je bio miran i ravnodušan kao da ne čuje ili ne razume Abidagin govor. Gledao je (N) svoje ruke i saro je s vremena na vrme podizao (3) pogled. Tada su mogle da se sagledaju njegove velike crne oči kadifastog sjaja, lepe kratkovide oči čoveka koji gleda samo svoj posao i ne vidi, ne oseća i ne razume ništa drugo od života i sveta.

Osećali su (3) da im znoj curi (B) ispod novih svećanih anterija i kako se u svakog od njih brzo i neodoljivo useljavaju strah i briga.

NDC41/42

"All that excited (LESS IN FOCUS) fear and apprehension in the little town and the surrounding villages, especially among the Christians.

At the head of the group was (3) Abidaga, who was responsible to the Vizier for building the bridge; with him was the mason, Tosun Effendi. (There had already been tales (LESS IN FOCUS)

about this Abidaga, saying that he was a man who stopped at nothing, harsh and pitiless beyond measure.) But there was not much of a discussion (LESS IN FOCUS), for only one man spoke and he was Abidaga.

Beside him sat (LESS IN FOCUS) Tosun Effendi, a small, pale, yellowish renegade, born in the Greek islands, a mason who had built (LESS IN FOCUS) many of Mehmed Pasha's bequests in Stambul. He was quiet and indifferent, as if he were not hearing or did not understand Abidaga's speech. He gazed (N) at his hands and only looked up (LESS IN FOCUS) from time to time. Then they could see his big black eyes, beautiful and shortsighted eyes with a velvety sheen, the eyes of a man who only looks at his work and does not see, does not feel and does not understand anything else in life or in the world.

They felt (LESS IN FOCUS) as if they were sweating (B) under their new ceremonial clothes and each one of them felt fear and anxiety taking root in him (B)."

BOD30-32

21. U čaršiji su ga nazivali (3) propalicom, golaćom i ćirpom. Uistini je Veli-pašino kućanstvo bilo više neuredno nego oskudno. Domazluk je vodila (3) jedna bolešljiva žena poreklom besarapska Jevrejka. Stanovao je (N) u Alajbegovića kućama, na vrh strmog Logavina sokaka.
- Sve se više odavao (3) piću, samo što je sada pio još skrovitije i posve sam. Lijevi obraz mu

je prekrivao (3), u veličini djetinje podlanice, neki crven lišaj, koji se neprimetno ali stalno širio (3) i dubio (3) i sve više zagrizao (3) u mekotu donjeg očnog kapka.

PRII-403

"In the bazaar they called (LESS IN FOCUS) him a tramp, a rag picker and begger. In truth, Veli Pasha's household was (3/2) disorderly rather than poor. The housekeeping was done (LESS IN FOCUS) by an ailing woman, a Jewess from Bessarabia.

The Pasha drank (LESS IN FOCUS) more, except that now he did it (LESS IN FOCUS) even more furtively and in private.

His left cheek bore (LESS IN FOCUS) some kind of red blemish, the size of a child's palm, that imperceptibly but steadily grew (LESS IN FOCUS) larger and thicker.

PC119

The reader of the above samples feels right away that they are parts of a larger whole, extracts from a story. Even parts which are more self contained and can be understood when read, like the description of Tosun Effendi in example 20 or the blemish on Pasha's face in example 21, are readily recognized as descriptive asides. In fact, these two and similar examples which contain the meaning LESS IN FOCUS (and also the meanings of the NOW phase of the interlock) provide mostly elaborative and descriptive

material. There is no cohesion in either of these samples and the reader does not feel as though he were reading a story. By contrast, examples 18 and 19 in which the verbs are associated with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS are read as genuine stories.

It was said earlier that the four preceding examples (Nos. 18, 19, 20 and 21) are edited so that the first two contain the verbs associated with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS while the other two contain the verbs associated with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS. What makes the two pairs of examples different is the presence of perfective verbs in examples 18 and 19 versus the presence of imperfective verbs in examples 20 and 21.

We have indicated earlier that the traditional definition of the perfective and the imperfective verb has its basis in the intuitive feeling of native speakers of Slavic languages. Native speakers feel that the perfective verb creates an impression that the event is bounded or completed while the imperfective verb suggests an event that has not yet come to its end, an activity in progress. We have also discussed what the basis of this intuition is. We can see in examples 16 and 17 what causes the reader to make an inference of bounded activities.

Looking at some verbs associated with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS in examples 18 and 19, we can see that they refer to

events which cannot begin to occur before the previous ones have ended. Each event, in a sense, requires the completion of the previously mentioned event as a necessary condition for occurrence. In example 18, the Vizier's decision to build the bridge comes first chronologically. The Vizier then sends his men to the location. They arrive at the small Bosnian town and put up their tents. Then Abidaga, the leader of the group, summons the local leaders to explain his methods and his requirements, etc. This order of events follow a logical course. The Vizier could not send his people before making his decision to build the bridge; Abidaga could not summon the local notables before arriving and they could not settle down before arriving, etc., etc. All these events occur one after another. In example 16 equally, Pasha's soldiers scattered the hay stacks and that caused a big uproar, Pasha was called to explain what happened, he gave a speech, to the accusations that he is a drunkard he gave an answer calmly and then made an obscene gesture. After this he was recalled and sent to the Russian frontier. All these events: 'scattered', 'there was hue and cry', 'he gave', 'he answered', 'he turned', 'he made a gesture', etc. occur one after another. It is because they cannot overlap that the hearer feels that they are all bounded. The nuance of their completeness is attributable to the nature of these events and to their

juxtaposition in the narrative rather than to the verbal forms chosen to express them. By the same token, the nuance of incompleteness, sometimes inferred from imperfective verbs, is attributable to the nature of events described by them and not to the verbal forms chosen to express them.

However, consecutivity does not in itself guarantee that an event has to be central to the narrative. Thus, some sequential events may be more important than others and the less important ones may be associated with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS.

We have seen that the meaning LESS IN FOCUS is found in descriptive passages in which either people or physical scenes are portrayed, as well as at other points at which the flow of the narrative is halted temporarily, and that the meaning MORE IN FOCUS (and also MOST IN FOCUS) is reserved for more salient events, those that are more central to the main narrative line.

The thematically important events which constitute the backbone of each narrative are usually sequential, i.e. by and large they appear in a chronological sequence. These events are conveyed in Serbo-Croatian with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS.

One can ask an appropriate question here: Why is it that the high Focus meanings favor events which are

interpreted as sequences and why do the low Focus signals/meanings skew in the opposite direction?

High Focus meanings are so distributed because they are appropriate to such inferences. Events which compose the central narrative line are definitely more salient than events which refer to descriptive passages and other background information and an author exploits the Focus opposition to distinguish events more worthy of reader's/hearer's attention by differentiating them with the high Focus meaning, from those events which are less important and which do not merit a high but a low Focus meaning.

A narrative recounts activities of one or more protagonists within a given time period. The author chooses which activities to introduce on the basis of their value to the story. The events which relate to the central theme of the story (or to a number of prominent themes) are grouped together because one or more participants are engaged in some activity within the same time and/or place. Usually, this imposes a temporal ordering in which events bound and delimit one another. When this chronological sequencing is imposed the author chooses high Focus signals and meanings to express these sequential events in order to distinguish the thematically important events (either referring to the central theme, to the main character,

events happening at a definite point in the story, etc.) from other events which by their nature do not deserve to be foregrounded.

High Focus meanings are appropriate for the former types of events in the same fashion that low Focus meanings are appropriate for events which are extraneous to the central narrative line. Since they are less directly related to the central theme of the story, the latter events tend also to be less related to each other. Consequently, they delimit and bound each other to a much lesser degree but overlap instead. In other words, when the hearer has to keep track of either chronological or causal relationships between events, when he has to pay attention to them, that is when and where the author guides or regulates his level of awareness by manipulating meanings of the semantic substance of Focus of Attention, by exploiting the high Focus meanings to tell him on which events to concentrate his attention and from which events to withhold his attention.

Scholars have long been aware that the aspectual distinction provides different kinds of information in a narrative; namely, that the activity expressed with imperfective verbs serves as the background to the activity of those verbs which are in the perfective aspect. What they could not understand was what motivates this type of

distribution. The Focus Hypothesis provides the rationale for this motivation.

E. Upgrade in Focus

In the preceding section we have seen how the speaker of Serbo-Croatian exploits the two-way opposition between the meanings LESS IN FOCUS and MORE IN FOCUS to rank events according to their relevance to the story or to the communication in general. He uses the meaning MORE IN FOCUS to introduce those events which are central to the narrative line and which chronologically advance the narrative and he saves the meaning LESS IN FOCUS for those events which provide the background for the story proper and also for introducing other events he wishes to communicate but which are less central to the narrative line and thus do not deserve emphasis. In the following examples we shall see how speakers of Serbo-Croatian exploit the three-way distinction (LESS IN FOCUS, MORE IN FOCUS and MOST IN FOCUS) to upgrade Focus of attention all the way from LESS IN FOCUS to MOST IN FOCUS:

22. Austrijanci su pristizali (3) polako. Njihove prestraže sa druge obale ugledale su (2) pred karavan serajom pored mosta ona dva topa i odmah zastale (2) da sačekaju svoje brdske topove. Oko podne oni iz jednog šumarka izbaciše (1) na

napušteni karavan seraj nekoliko granata koje oštetiše (1) han, ionako već trošan, i porazbijaše (1) ono neobično fine rešetke na prozorima, sečene iz jednog komada, u mekom kamenu.

NDC141

"The Austrians approached (LESS IN FOCUS) slowly; from the farther bank their patrols had caught sight (MORE IN FOCUS) of the two cannons in front of the caravan serai and they at once halted (MORE IN FOCUS) to await the arrival of their mountain guns. About midday they fired (MOST IN FOCUS) a few shells at the deserted caravan serai from the shelter of a little wood. They damaged (MOST IN FOCUS) the already ruined han and destroyed (MOST IN FOCUS) the exceptionally fine window grilles, each cut from a single piece of soft stone.

BOD158

This example describes the entry of Austrian troops into a small Bosnian town, after the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Austrians. The troops are advancing cautiously. The first verb su pristizali 'they approached' is associated with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS and the adverb 'slowly' is attached to it. This prepares the scene for what follows. The next two verbs su ugledale 'caught sight of' and zastale 'halted', associated with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS, introduce two important happenings in the still uneventful progress of the Austrians: the perception of the

two cannons in the vicinity of the caravan serai and their halting to await their own guns. In a sense, both the verb associated with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS and the two verbs associated with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS prepare the scene for the most dramatic event, the shelling of the caravan serai and its effect on the building, an important vestige of the Turkish rule. The author chooses to highlight these events by conveying them with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS: 'they fired a few shells', 'they damaged the caravan serai', 'they destroyed the exceptionally fine window grilles'. These are the most dynamic occurrences in the passage and at the same time psychologically the most important events for the story as a whole. Thus, events associated with LESS IN FOCUS, MORE IN FOCUS and MOST IN FOCUS constitute a gradation, the effect intended by the author.

The next example, from a short story, is a part of the skeleton of the story itself. While one perhaps does not feel the same effect of gradation as in the previous example, the three-way opposition between LESS IN FOCUS, MORE IN FOCUS and MOST IN FOCUS is appropriately exploited to rank the events according to their saliency in the story.

23. U Carigradu je tada živeo (N) jedan Italijan,
neimar, koji je gradio (3) nekoliko mostova

u okolini Carigrada i po njima se proćuo (2).
Njega najmi (1) vezirov haznadar i posla (1) sa
dvojom dvorskih ljudi u Bosnu.

PRI33

"In Istanbul at that time lived (N) an Italian
master builder who had put up (LESS IN FOCUS)
several bridges near the city and so had made a
name (MORE IN FOCUS) for himself. The Vizier's
treasurer hired (MOST IN FOCUS) him and sent (MOST
IN FOCUS) him to Bosnia with two men from the
court."

PC5

This is the story about the building of the bridge
over the river Žepa in Bosnia. The Grand Vizier, originally
from a small village lying on the river, finds out that the
villagers, in addition to poverty and general backwardness,
suffer because they do not have a passage over the river.
Softened by unfortunate events in his own recent life, the
Vizier decides to build a bridge for them. Our example
recounts the hiring of the master builder.

This is a short paragraph which contains only five
verbal forms. Out of these five occurrences the author
ranks as the most important ones, the hiring of the master
builder and his dispatch to the site. In the story, which
has as its main theme the building of the bridge, this is
definitely a very important event. (We are not discussing
the first verbal form živeo je 'lived' because even though

the verb živeti skews toward low focus events, the verb itself does not have an aspectual partner and is thus neutral with respect to the Focus opposition.)

At first glance one might think that the remaining two events - je gradio 'he had put up several bridges' and se proćuo 'had made a name for himself'- are both of the same importance and that both deserve the MORE IN FOCUS meaning. However, the author chooses to highlight only the latter by associating it with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS and to defocus the former with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS. The author had two reasons for defocusing the event of building. First, what made the master builder desirable for the job was his high reputation. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, the author wanted to defocus the event of the construction of other bridges to avoid an inference that this might be what the story is about, when in fact the story is about the building of a new bridge. Therefore, the author deemphasized 'had put up (LESS IN FOCUS) several bridges' with respect to 'had made (MORE IN FOCUS) a name for himself'. He highlighted the master builder's reputation with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS since this happens to be the reason which made him qualified for the job. In a sense both 'lived' and 'had put up' are important only to the extent that the man existed and became known through his work.

In these two examples the author upgrades Focus of attention locally to rank the importance of various events within a paragraph, to signal that those events conveyed with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS do not deserve much attention from the reader, that those events conveyed with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS rank higher and thus deserve more attention and that the events conveyed with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS are particularly noteworthy so that they deserve the maximum degree of attention.

In the following examples the author upgrades Focus of attention to rank the relative relevance of different stretches of narrative and to mark the transition between them. In these examples the upgrade in Focus from LESS IN FOCUS to MORE IN FOCUS to MOST IN FOCUS in example 22 and from MORE IN FOCUS to MOST IN FOCUS in examples 23 and 24 occurs at the points at which the author changes from one type of narration to another.

24. Abidaga je stajao (3) pred vezanim seljakom od koga je bio mnogo viši. Bio je miran i zamišljen. Svi su čekali (N) na njegovu reč a on je mislio: eto s kim ja imam da se borim i nosim, eto od koga zavisi moj položaj i moja sudbina, od ove prezrene i slaboumne poturice Plevljaka i od nerazumljive okorele zlobe i uporstva ove rajinske gnjide. A onda se trgnuo (2) i počeo (2) da izdaje naredbe...

Sejmeni su razdrešili (2) verige i razgolitali (2) seljaku grudni koš. Verige su bacili (2) u razgorelu vatru i čekali (N). Kad su verige bile blizu usijanja, prišao je (2) Merdjan Ciganin i dugačkim kleštima ih izvukao (2) za jedan kraj, a jedan od sejmena je isto tako prdržavao (3) drugi..

Ona dvojica primakoše (1) verige i opasaše (1) njima seljaka oko širokih maljavih grudi. Stade (1) da cvrči osmudjena dlaka. Seljaku se zgrčiše (1) usta i nabreknuše (1) vratne zile, rebra na slabinama iskočiše (1) i trbušni mišići počeše (1) da se stežu i kreću kao da čovek povraća...

NDC57/58

"Abidaga stood (LESS IN FOCUS) looking down at the bound peasant, for he was much the taller man. He was calm and thoughtful. Everyone waited for him to speak, while he thought to himself; so this is the one with whom I have had to struggle (NOW) and and fight, this is what my position and my fate depended upon (NOW), this wretched half-witted renegade from Plevlje and the incomprehensible and ordurate opposition of this louse from the rayah. Then he shook himself (MORE IN FOCUS) and began (MORE IN FOCUS) to give orders and to question the peasant...

The guards took away (MORE IN FOCUS) the chains and stripped (MORE IN FOCUS) the peasant to the buff. They threw the chains (MORE IN FOCUS) into the heart of the fire and waited (N).
When the chains were almost red hot, Merdjan the

Gypsy came up (MORE IN FOCUS) and took (MORE IN FOCUS) one one end of them in a long pair of tongs, while one of the guards held (LESS IN FOCUS) the other end...

The two men brought (MOST IN FOCUS) the chains and wrapped (MOST IN FOCUS) them round the peasant's broad hairy chest. The scorched hair began to sizzle (MOST IN FOCUS). His mouth contracted (MOST FOCUS), his ribs seemed to stand out (MOST IN FOCUS) and his stomach muscles to contract (MOST IN FOCUS) and relax (MOST IN FOCUS) as when a man vomits."

BOD52/52

The chapter from which this example is taken describes the construction of the bridge on the Drina. The Christian serfs, who labored on the bridge, became very restless and angry. Most of them farmers, they had to work together with their oxen for many months and to neglect their own fields yet at the same time they were treated very badly by the Turks. A number of them decided to vandalize the construction and to keep destroying during the night what has been built during the day. In addition, this caused rumors among the superstitious populace that the demon ("vila") is against this building and that the bridge won't be built at all. Abidaga, the man in charge of construction, became furious. He gave the commander of the guard a forty-eight hour ultimatum to capture the culprits

or be executed himself. In this scene the commander was finally successful in discovering the vandals in the act and in capturing one of them. These three passages are ranked differently according to their salience for the episode in which they occur.

In the first passage, Abidaga, the highest ranking man, is on the scene but he is not ready yet to take charge. Practically, there is nothing going on; Abidaga is standing above the captured man and thinking, the others are waiting on him to make the first move. The verbs are either associated with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS or they do not express a Focus opposition but by their lexical meaning (misliti 'to think' and čekati 'to wait') skew in the direction of low Focus.

The last utterance of the first passage and the entire second passage are conveyed with the higher Focus meaning, MORE IN FOCUS. The scene changes rapidly once Abidaga takes command and starts to interrogate the prisoner. The guards immediately move to prepare the instruments to torture him. All this deserves a higher degree of Focus. (There is only one verb associated with the lower Focus meaning in 'while one of the guards held -LESS IN FOCUS- the other end'. This is the activity of an unidentified guard who is helping Merdjan the Gypsy who is acting as executioner. The author appropriately defocuses this activity with respect

to Merdjan's activity.)

The third passage describes a very dramatic event, the beginning of the climax of this episode - the torture of Radisav and the physical anguish of a human body exposed to the torture. All the verbs in this passage are associated with the top Focus meaning, MOST IN FOCUS.

The three degrees of Focus are exploited to describe three different phases of an episode: (1) the presence of the man in charge on the scene and his temporary inactivity while he weighs his options; (2) his taking command and the swift response of the guards who prepare the chains to torture the prisoner; and (3) the torture itself. The reader is instructed to pay a different degree of attention to each of these phases, from LEAST to MOST.

Consider now examples 25 and 26 in which the upgrade in Focus from MORE IN FOCUS to MOST IN FOCUS marks the transition from one manner of presentation to another. Example 25 is the continuation of example 19 quoted earlier and we repeat the latter only in part here:

25. Pred samu austrisku okupaciju došao je (2) Veliud-in Paša zvani Čerkez, po drugi put u Bosnu; ovaj put kao glavni komandant sve vojske koja se nalazila (3) u Bosni. Početkom januara stigao je (2) u Srajevo, bez harema i sa malo stvari...

Nekoliko nedelja po svom dolasku ođe (1) Veli-paša u Travnik da pregleda tamošnji garnizon. Drugog dana pred podne, vraćajući se s vježbališta, naidje (1) paša sa pratnjom kroz čaršiju. Opresno su jahali (3) po poledici koja se kravila (3). Bio je pazarni dan. Kod Garaća ekmeščinice im zakrčiše (1) put neki seljački konji, natovareni drvima. Dok su se usplašeni seljaci ustrčali (2) oko upornih konja, paša baci (1) pogled u pekarnicu. Kraj zatvorene peći stajao je (3) stari Ilija, ekmeščija, pognut sa upaljenim, prestarelim očima, iz kojih su neprestano kapale (3) suze na velike sive brkove. Na prostranom ćepenku medju ljebovima i tepsijama sa pitama ili mesom bila je kćer mu Mara. Odupirući se jednom rukom ona je pružala (3) drugu za nekom tepsijom. Kad žu (1) viku vojnika i topot seljačkih konja Mara podigne (1) glavu, i paša je vidje (1) onako ispruženu i poleglu po ćepenku, i zagleda (1) joj se u široko, djetinje lice i vedre oči.

PRII405

"On the very eve of Austrian occupation Veliud-din Pasha, nicknamed the Circassian, came (MORE IN FOCUS) to Bosnia for the second time, this time as a commander in chief of the entire army which was (LESS IN FOCUS) in Bosnia. He arrived (MORE IN FOCUS) in Sarajevo early in January, without a harem and with but little luggage...

A few weeks after his arrival, Veli Pasha went (MOST IN FOCUS) to Travnik to inspect the

garrison.

In the forenoon of the second day, as he was returning from the drill field, the Pasha and his escort found themselves (MOST IN FOCUS) in the bazaar. They rode (LESS IN FOCUS) cautiously over the thawing (LESS IN FOCUS) snow. It was a market day. In front of the Garid bakery their way was blocked (MOST IN FOCUS) by some peasants' horses laden with wood. The Pasha cast (MOST IN FOCUS) a glance into the bakery. Next to the closed brick oven stood (LESS IN FOCUS) the old baker Ilya, stoop-shouldered, with rheumy, wizened eyes, out of which tears kept oozing (LESS IN FOCUS) on his great white moustache. At the wide-opened shopwindow, among the bread loaves and pans of meat and pies, was his daughter Mara. On her knees and propped on the counter with one arm, she stretched (LESS IN FOCUS) the other for a platter on a shelf underneath. When she heard (MOST IN FOCUS) the shouts of the soldiers and the stamping of the horses, she lifted (MOST IN FOCUS) her head and the Pasha saw (MOST IN FOCUS) her wrapped around the counter and fell in love (MOST IN FOCUS) with her round, childish face and her merry eyes."

PC126

26. Prošlo je (2) više od trideset godina od onog razgovora na kapiji. Ali oni kočiči, koji su carski mubašir i rujanski serdar sadili (3) po granici, pustili su koren (2) i rodili (2), sporim ali po Turke gorkim plodom: Turci su morali da napuste i poslednje gradove po Srbiji.

I jednog letnjeg dana prištište (1) višegradski most žalosna povorka izbeglica iz Užica.

Bili su oni topli dani sa dugim prijatnim sumracima na kapiji kad Turci iz Čaršije ispune (A) obe terase nad vodom...

I ovo je jedno predveče: puno je razgovora i šale koje građani izmenjuju medju sobom ili dobacuju prolaznicima.

Najživlje i najglasnije šale pletu se (B) oko jednog oniskog i snaznog mladog čoveka čudnog izgleda. To je Salko Ćorkan...

U takvom trenutku kad i najobičnije stvari mogu da imaju izgled prividjenja, punih veličine, straha i naročitog značenja, pojaviše se (1) prvi užički muhadžiri na mostu.

Muškarci su većinom išli pešice, prašni i pogruženi, a na sitnim konjima klatile su se (3) umotane i zambuljene žene ili nejaka deca

Pojava toga premorenog i raskućenog sveta ugasi (1) odjednom život na kapiji. Stariji ostadoše (1) na kamenim klupama. Mladji poustajaaše (1) i napraviše (1) sa obe strane kapije živid: izmedju njih je prolazila (3) povorka.

NDC114

"More than thirty years passed (MORE IN FOCUS) after that conversation on the kapia, but the stakes which the sultan's delegate and the serdar from Ruyan had planted (LESS IN FOCUS) struck root (MORE IN FOCUS) and brought forth fruit (MORE IN FOCUS), late ripening but bitter to the Turks. The Turks were forced to abandon even the last towns in Serbia. And so one summer day the bridge on the Drina was

swarmed over (MOST IN FOCUS) with a pitiable procession of refugees from Užice.

It was one of those days with long pleasant twilights on the kapia when the Turks from the market-place filled (A) both the terraces over the water...

This was just such an evening, an evening filled with chatter and laughter and jokes among themselves and the passers-by.

The sprightliest and loudest jokes centered (B) on a short but powerful young man of strange appearance. This was Salko Ćorkan. One-eyed Salko...

...In such a moment, when even the most ordinary thing took on the appearance of a vision filled with majesty, terror and special meaning, the first refugees from Užice appeared (MOST IN FOCUS) on the bridge.

The men were for the most part on foot, dusty and howed, while the women wrapped in their veils were balanced (LESS IN FOCUS) on small horses with small children....

The appearance of this overtired and destitute procession dampened (MOST IN FOCUS) the gaiety on the kapia. The older people remained (MOST IN FOCUS) seated on the stone benches, while the younger stood up (MOST IN FOCUS) and formed (MOST IN FOCUS) living walls on both sides of the bridge and the procession passed (LESS IN FOCUS) through them.

BOD123

The two passages in example 25 - the first (former

example 19) containing the meaning MORE IN FOCUS and the second containing the meaning MOST IN FOCUS - differ. The first passage is located at the very beginning of the story. It gives information about one of the main characters of the story, the Pasha Veliud-din. It contains well rounded, more general statements: Veli Pasha came to Bosnia for the second time; he arrived without a harem or luggage; he had changed since his last assignment; he had spent the last few years in obscure garrisons, he had established bad rapport with Bosnian nobles during his first stay, etc.,etc. All these are felt as matter of fact statements which give pertinent information and which build the skeleton of the narrative and move it forward.

By contrast, the second passage describes a scene, crucial to the story, in which Pasha for the first time catches sight of Mara, his future concubine. The majority of events in this passage are associated with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS : 'went', 'found themselves', 'their way was blocked', 'the Pasha cast a glance', 'Mara raised her head', 'the Pasha saw her' and 'he fell in love' (seven out of twelve). The narrative continues but in a different fashion, i.e. on a much more localized level both in terms of time and space. The author here narrows his attention on a particular event which happened "a few weeks after Pasha's arrival" in Sarajevo, when he went to a near-by

town to inspect the garrison. "On the second day of his stay" (further temporal narrowing) returning from the drill field he and his escort passed through the bazaar (further narrowing in space). That is when and where he saw the young girl he took for his concubine. This information happens to be, not a descriptive detail, but rather thematically a very important occurrence and the author chooses to make it obvious to the reader by highlighting these events with the highest degree of Focus.

In example 26 we find repeated departures from the main narrative line. In the first half of the nineteenth century Serbia rebelled against Turkey and gained its independence. Following the Serbian uprising Turkish and Serbian authorities marked out the new frontier with stakes and the border between the two former pashaluks of the Turkish Empire, Serbia and Bosnia, assumed the significance of a state frontier. Thirty years later, the process continued. The Turkish populace in Bosnia was aware of these changes but was generally unwilling to recognize them openly. However, while the local people were spending a delightful summer evening on the bridge something happened to remind them of the more recent, unfavorable events - a procession of Turkish refugees appeared on the bridge, coming from a near-by town in Serbia they were forced to leave.

The first verb associated with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS 'was swarmed over' is introduced to call the reader's attention to a scene of importance, the appearance of the refugees. This is followed by a description of a typical summer evening when citizens of Višegrad come to the bridge to drink coffee, smoke, chatter and, in general, to enjoy life and the natural beauty of the setting sun. This description is rendered with the meanings of the Now phase of the interlock. This descriptive segment ends with the second mention of the refugees conveyed again with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS in 'the first refugees from Užice appeared -MOST IN FOCUS- on the bridge'. The author exploits a mixture of LESS IN FOCUS and NOW meanings to introduce a description of the procession and then jumps back to the top of the scale of Focus, the meaning MOST IN FOCUS, to depict the effect this event has on the local people.

In this example, the first two MOST IN FOCUS marked verbs 'was swarmed over' and 'appeared' occurring at the end of different narrative segments serve to maintain a high level of attention until the author is ready to make his point and underscore the psychological effect this event has on the local people who finally realize that they can expect a similar fate in the near future. Thus, two times, at the points when he makes a transition from

narrative to non-narrative, the author alerts the reader to stay tuned and not to forget the refugees while he introduces various descriptive material including a description of the procession. Observe that the author defocuses the activity of the people in the procession and that the passage ends with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS in 'the procession passed (3) through them'. The Focus is on the local people.

In examples 24, 25 and 26, the author is concentrating greater attention on an individual event of the narrative. He singles out the torture, Pasha's discovery of Mara and the psychological effect the procession of refugees has on the local people for special emphasis. While Pasha's discovery of Mara is an event that belongs to the narrative proper the scene of the torture and the procession of refugees in examples 22 and 24 belong to the non-narrative. These two segments represent a departure from the even tenor of the narrative which the meaning MORE IN FOCUS provides. Even though they do not belong to the narrative proper, these two events are thematically very important and the author conveys them with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS.

The manner of presentation of the narrative is also changing. As the author goes from a more general presentation rendered with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS to an important local scene, he alerts the reader to pay maximum

attention to it by assigning to verbs a high degree of relevance.

Another consequence of the exploitation of the meanings MORE IN FOCUS and MOST IN FOCUS is seen in the tempo of the narrative. That is, while the low Focus meaning LESS IN FOCUS has an effect on the narrative to slow down its progression, the effect of high Focus meanings on the narrative is the opposite. They move it forward. One can make an analogy between the use of high Focus meanings and an express train which stops only at important stations and low Focus meanings and a local train which stops everywhere along the road. Some Yugoslav authors have pointed out that they use perfective forms, in particular the Aorist, because they are 'fast'. Indeed, this is an impression one gets when reading passages in which a high concentration of high Focus forms is found. Instead of following the curvy line of a narrative, reflecting the constant switching from high Focus to low Focus forms and vice versa, in passages with a high concentration of high Focus forms the reader is touching only its peaks. He is given the most salient events, one after another, without the slowing down effect of the low Focus forms.

However, between the meanings MORE IN FOCUS and MOST IN FOCUS exists the same relationship as the one which

exists between the meanings LESS IN FOCUS and MORE IN FOCUS: MOST IN FOCUS signals a higher degree of Focus of Attention in relation to the meaning MORE IN FOCUS, the same way MORE IN FOCUS signals a higher degree of Focus than LESS IN FOCUS. The highest meaning of Focus, MOST IN FOCUS, is always used to indicate explicitly that an event or a series of events deserves the maximum degree of attention in relation to other events in the same context.

F. Downgrade in Focus

So far we have discussed instances in which the author upgrades the Focus of attention from a lower degree toward a higher degree in which the effect on the message is often one of gradation. The opposite is also possible, i.e., the author might first introduce the highest ranking event and then downgrade the Focus of attention in order to defocus other events he wants to keep away from the center of attention.

In the two following examples, the meaning MOST IN FOCUS occurs at the beginning of the passage:

27. Jak i neočekivan udarac potreše (1) i probudi (1) čoveka na splavu i rasturi (1) skladnu sliku njegove mašte. Ceo splav se zaljuljao (2), odjeknuli su (2) metalni burići kao džinovski podvodni praporcí i voda je pljuskala (3) po

daskama od velikog talasa koji je izazvao (2)
brzi motorni čamac.

PRI-434

"The powerful blow shook up (MOST IN FOCUS) and wake (MOST IN FOCUS) the man on the raft and scattered (MOST IN FOCUS) the harmonious image of his imagination. The raft shook (MORE IN FOCUS), the metal barrels resounded (MORE IN FOCUS) like giant underwater bells and water splashed (LESS IN FOCUS) over the boards, from the big wave that the fast motor boat caused (MORE IN FOCUS)."

VE168

28. Uporedo s tim Čemerkić sklopi (1) prijateljstvo s kuvarom, ne radi jela, koje nije bilo bogzna šta, nego samo radi sekire koju je opazio (2) u njegovoj blizini. Pronašao je (2) neke zajedničke poznanike, izmislilo (2) neko daleko i zaboravljeno srodstvo, i često za vreme odmora pričao (3) ovom čudljivom i krupnom džinu iz Pive svoje uzbudljive švencerske događaje koji su se nekako svi dešavali (3) na putovima, u mjestima i s ljudima koje je kuvar bar izdaleka poznavao (3).

"At the same time, Čemerkić made friends (MOST IN FOCUS) with the cook, not so much because of the food which was not really any good, but because of the axe he noticed (MORE IN FOCUS) in the kitchen. He found (MORE IN FOCUS) some mutual friends and figured out (MORE IN FOCUS) some distant kinship, and during the break he often told (LESS IN FOCUS) this taciturn giant from

Piva his exciting experiences as a smuggler, which somehow all happened (LESS IN FOCUS) on roads, at places and with people which the cook knew (LESS IN FOCUS) at least from afar."

SV87

29. U tom trenutku začu se (1) iz daljine tutanj brzog voza i odmah zatim njegov težak pisak, potmuo, kao da dolazi ispod betonskog svoda. Cela stanica odjednom ožive (1). Stotine dotad nevidljivih prilika digoše se (1) u tami i počeše (1) da trče ususret vozu. Skočismo (1) i nas dvojica i stadosmo (1) da vučemo kofere, a gužva u koju smo zapali (2) sve više nas je rastavljala (3).

PRI-352

"At that moment, the roar of an express train was heard (MOST IN FOCUS) from the distance and immediately after it its unpleasant whistle, muffled, as if coming from under a concrete vault. The whole station came to life (MOST IN FOCUS). Hundreds of figures, until then unseen, rose (MOST IN FOCUS) in the darkness and began (MOST IN FOCUS) running toward the train. The two of us also jumped (MOST IN FOCUS) and started (MOST IN FOCUS) to drag our suitcases but the crowd we got into (MORE IN FOCUS) separated us (LESS IN FOCUS) more and more."

In example 27, Zeko, a character in the story, is enjoying a tranquil summer day on a dock on the river Sava where he has found a refuge from his worldly problems. His

reflections are suddenly interrupted by the passage of a speed boat. The MOST IN FOCUS signal marks here the initial impact, the first and the strongest shock and its effect on Zeko: potrese 'shook' and probudi 'woke up' and nasturi 'dispelled'. The second set of events, physical perceptions, the shaking of the dock and the banging of the metal barrels supporting the dock, are only consequences of the initial impact and are appropriately associated with a lesser degree of focus - MORE IN FOCUS. The splashing of water over the boards associated with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS is the final and unimportant consequence of the action. By now, the boat is gone, the initial shock is over and Zeko is fully aware of what is happening. The author exploits the Focus opposition to scale down the tenor of the message from the initial psychological shock on Zeko to physical perception and the final calming down effect of the splashing water.

The next example is from the novel Svadba, by Mihailo Lalić. The scene is a prison in Montenegro. Čemerkić, one of the prisoners, is planning an escape. He has, however, first to get rid of his chains. One step in the right direction was to make friends with the cook who has at his disposal an axe. Making friends with the cook is the most salient event at this point in the story and the author makes this explicit by associating it with the meaning MOST

IN FOCUS. All other occurrences in the passage are only an elaboration of this, the most important event. However, the occurrence of the perception of the desired instrument as well as events which endeared him to the cook, the discovery of mutual friends and distant relatives, rare higher than the repetitive event of talking and are therefore highlighted with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS. The events of telling stories: često pričao 'often told' as well as verbal forms in the two relative clauses, 'happened' and 'knew', just further reinforce the bond between the cook and the prisoner and they are further defocused with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS.

The scene in the third example takes place in the crowded railroad station in a small Bosnian town. The trains are running very irregularly. Two childhood friends meet at the station after a long separation. The year is 1919 and Bosnia is now a part of newly formed Yugoslavia. The two young men are taking separate roads: the author is going to Belgrade, the new capital, while his friend is leaving Bosnia for good. The whistle of the approaching train excites the crowd. It has the same effect as the impact of the wave caused by the speed boat in example three above. That event as well as the commotion which ensued are all conveyed with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS: 'the wistle was heard', 'the station came to life',

'hundreds of people got to their feet', 'the two friends also jumped' and 'they started to drag their suitcases'. The whistle caused a lot of excitement. What follows this however, is no longer a vivid account. The two friends get mixed in with the crowd. This event is associated with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS. The last event 'separated us' is further defocused with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS. Being separated is only a consequence of the two men getting mixed in with the crowd and being overtaken by it.

We may consider the following two short examples in which the opposition between the two meanings, MORE IN FOCUS and MOST IN FOCUS is exploited for the effect of downgrading:

30. Zastade (1) pored ograde. Osetio je (2) potrebu da se za nešto uhvati, na nešto nasloni.

NDC291

"He halted (MOST IN FOCUS) by the parapet. He felt (MORE IN FOCUS) the need to catch hold of something, to lean on something."

BOD345

31. Djerzelez odmah djipi (1) na noge, odmahnu (1) oko sebe, spneman da se bije, da trči ili baca kamena, presrećan da je došao (2) čas kada će snaga da progovori.

PRII-11

"Djerzelez at once leaped (MOST IN FOCUS) to his feet, swung (MOST IN FOCUS) his arms around him, ready to fight, race or throw stones, not knowing any more what he was doing, or to what purpose, yet beside himself with happiness that the moment had come (MORE IN FOCUS) when strength would have the last word."

PC20

These examples illustrate a strategy of exploitation in which by switching from the meaning MOST IN FOCUS to the meaning MORE IN FOCUS the author pauses in order to elaborate what is meant by the verb associated with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS.

Example 30 represents the closing of an episode in which two young men, adversaries since their childhood, have had a prolonged argument. One of them, the loser, feels the physical effects of the dispute. The verb 'halted' associated with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS is in a series of MOST IN FOCUS signals found in a strategy typical for the meaning MOST IN FOCUS, i.e. to locally emphasize events in a dramatic episode. By contrast the young man's feeling to lean on something is appropriately conveyed with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS. It is defocused with respect to the event of stopping because with it the author only gives the reason for the change in action, i.e. elaborates on what is already conveyed with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS.

Example 31 is from a short story about a legendary hero, Djerzelez. Soon after his arrival in the han of Višegrad, Djerzelez sees a beautiful woman from Venice and loses his head. Town people and loafers at once take advantage of his weakness and start to make fun of him. On the third day a petty peddler 'claimed' the woman for himself and challenged Djerzelez to a race. Djerzelez's reaction to this was swift. After three days of drinking and longing he was finally able to act. Here too, high activity verbs - 'leaped' and 'swung' - refer to actions of the main hero and are focused on with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS. By contrast, the verb associated with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS in 'the moment had come' explains the meaning of Djerzelez's actions of jumping and swinging his arm.

In the examples below a downstep in Focus from MOST IN FOCUS to MORE IN FOCUS occurs following the expressions kao da.. 'as if...':

32. U jednom trenutku kod poslednjih reči vezir se odjednom lako trže (1) kao da je tek otkrio (2) i primetio (2) tumača..

TH215

"Then at his last words the Vizier roused himself (MOST IN FOCUS) as if he only then discovered (MORE IN FOCUS) and noticed (MORE IN FOCUS) the interpreter."

BC202

33. Ostavši opet sami, Stiković i Glasinčanin prenuše se (1) i pogledaše (1) kao da su se tek sada našli (2).

NDC280

"Alone once more, Stiković and Glasinčanin started (MOST IN FOCUS) and looked at one another (MOST IN FOCUS) as though they had only just met (MORE IN FOCUS)."

BOD247

The verbs associated with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS in the two examples represent imaginary occurrences which do not deserve the same degree of Focus as the real ones, and they are defocused with respect to the physical reactions of rousing, starting and looking which are highlighted with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS. The dropping in Focus associated with the expression kao da.. 'as if../as though...' and the verb following it suggest that the author intends to follow with an explanatory remark.

In the following examples the author switches from the meaning MOST IN FOCUS to the meaning MORE IN FOCUS in order to make a more general statement or to recapitulate what was going on and then returns to the dramatic account of a local scene for which the meaning MOST IN FOCUS is most appropriate. This is what the examples below have in common. The author interrupts the series of MOST IN FOCUS

marked verbs with one verb associated with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS to date the events and set them into the proper chronological order and then resumes immediately afterwards with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS. This switch from MOST IN FOCUS to MORE IN FOCUS is often felt as a pause in the fast flow of the narrative as if the author is taking a short break to allow the reader to organize his thoughts.

34. Bledi i uzbudjeni ljudi na kapiji stadoše (1) nasred mosta, licem prema oficirima koji su nailazili (3). Jedan od mlađjih oficira pritera (1) konja do pukovnika i nešto mu neče (1). Svi usporiše (1) hod. Na nekoliko koraka pred "zakonušama", pukovnik naglo zaustavi (1) i sjaħa (1), to isto uĉiniše (1) i oficiri iza njega, kao na znak. Dotrĉaše (1) vojnici koji prihvatiše (1) konje i povedoše (1) nekoliko koraka unazad. Ćim je dotakao (2) nogama zemlju, pukovnik se preobrazi (1).

NDC153

"The men on the kapia, pale and shaken, took position (MOST IN FOCUS) in the center of the bridge facing the officers. One of the younger officers spurred his horse up (MOST IN FOCUS) to the colonel and said (MOST IN FOCUS) something to him. All slowed down (MOST IN FOCUS). A few paces in front of the notables the colonel suddenly halted (MOST IN FOCUS) and dismounted (MOST IN FOCUS) as did (MOST IN FOCUS) the officers behind him as if by order. The soldier whose duty it was

to hold the horses hurried up (MOST IN FOCUS) and led (MOST IN FOCUS) them a few paces back. As soon as his foot touched (MORE IN FOCUS) the ground the colonel changed (MOST IN FOCUS) into another man."

BOD171

35. Oko kapije se sakupiše (1) stranci i domaći. Sluge mu prihvatiše (1) konja. Kad sijaha (1) i podje (1) prema kapiji vidjelo se da je neobično nizak i zdepast i da hoda sporo i raskoračeno kao ljudi koji nisu navikli da hode pješice. Nazva (1) nabusito i nejasno merhaba i udje (1) u kahvu. Sad kad je sišao (2) s konja kao sa nekog pjestala, poče (1) da se gubi strah i respekt i kao da se je izjednačio s ostalima počeše (1) mu prilaziti i započinjati razgovor.

PRII-9

"A crowd of local people and foreigners quickly gathered (MOST IN FOCUS) at the courtyard gate. The servants ran up (MOST IN FOCUS) to hold his horse. As he dismounted (MOST IN FOCUS) and walked (MOST IN FOCUS) to the gate it was noticed that he was unusually small and squat ... He barked a greeting (MOST IN FOCUS) -Mehraba!- through the side of his mouth and entered (MOST IN FOCUS) the coffee room. Now that he had climbed down (MORE IN FOCUS) from his horse, as from some pedestal, the onlookers began (MOST IN FOCUS) to lose their awe, and recovering their sense of equality attempted (MOST IN FOCUS) to engage in conversation."

PC17

36. Otpoče (1) rad. Svet nije mogao da se načudi neobičnom poslu. Nije ni naličilo na most ono što se radilo. Najpre pobiše (1) ukoso preko Žepe teške borove grede, pa između njih dva reda kolja prepletoše (1) prućem i nabiše (1) ilovačom, kao šanac. Tako svratiše (1) reku i jedna polovina korita ostade (1) suva. Upravo kad su dovršili (2) taj rad, prolomi se (1), jednog dana, negde u planini, oblak i začas se zamuti (1) i nabuja (1) Žepa. Tu istu noć provali (1) već gotov nasip po sredini.

PRII-34

"Work on the bridge started (MOST IN FOCUS). The people's wonder at the unusual spectacle knew no bounds. What was happening before their eyes in no way resembled a bridge. The men sank (MOST IN FOCUS) massive pine trunks diagonally across the Žepa, and between them a double row of piling, they plaited (MOST IN FOCUS) together with brushwood and reinforced with clay, so that the whole thing looked like a trench. In this way they diverted (MOST IN FOCUS) the river and drained (MOST IN FOCUS) one half of the river bed. But just when this work was completed (MORE IN FOCUS), there was a cloudburst (MOST IN FOCUS) one day, somewhere in the mountain, and in no time at all the Žepa changed color (MOST IN FOCUS) and rose (MOST IN FOCUS). The same night it broke (MOST IN FOCUS) the middle of the newly finished dam."

PC7

In the first example from the novel The Bridge on the Drina, the men at the kapia are the three highest ranking priests of the three major religions and the town's school master. These notables are gathered to welcome the Austrian army on the occasion of its official entry into town, after the annexation of Bosnia. The Austrian commander arrives with a group of officers preceded by a formidable regiment of hussars. The verb associated with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS in 'As soon as he touched -MORE IN FOCUS- the ground' is preceded by a series of events marked with the MOST IN FOCUS meaning. The information given by the verb associated with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS has already been provided in a previous sentence. It looks like a temporary pause and the reader expects to go back to the story. It is entirely appropriate that such information be defocused with respect to the significant information which precedes and follows it and which is therefore important in itself.

The second example is from the story "The Journey of Ali Djerzelez". The episode takes place in the han of Višegrad, a small Bosnian town. Flood waters had washed out the wooden bridge and the travellers on their way to Istanbul had to wait in the han for the bridge and roads to be repaired. Among the last to join the lively group, composed of foreigners and locals, was Alia Djerzelez, a legendary hero. Our example is a part of the scene

describing his entry into the han, and the majority of verbs are associated with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS: 'gathered', 'ran up', 'dismounted', 'headed', 'barked greetings' and 'began to lose their awe'. The verb associated with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS in 'he had climbed down' by contrast only repeats the information supplied earlier and in a sense serves mainly as a bridge to the new information.

The third example is very similar to the one just explained. It is taken from the story "The Bridge on the Žepa". The paragraph represents the beginning of the story proper. The preparations for the construction of the bridge are finished and the actual work has begun. Most verbs in this paragraph are associated with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS. Again, these are all high activity verbs and as in the example above they are attached to the hero of the story, in this case the bridge itself. The verb associated with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS in 'just when they completed this work' represents a downstep in Focus by contrast. It summarizes the activities involved in the partial rerouting of the river, which had been already described with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS. By using a more general statement the author sums up the activities involved in the drying out of the river bed into one chronological sequence. This then serves as a bridge to other more important events

which follow, the cloudburst somewhere in the mountain, the raising of the waters and the destruction of what had been constructed.

Examples 34, 35 and 36 are similar to messages conveyed in English with temporal clauses introduced with the adverbial expressions 'just', 'as soon as', 'when', 'just when', etc. The same lexical material in the Serbo-Croatian text, čim, kada and baš kada, introduced before the verb associated with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS creates an anticipatory effect. This effect is due to the position of a lower degree of Focus (MORE IN FOCUS) preceding and dating the accompanying higher degree of Focus (MOST IN FOCUS) and to the expectation of finding out in comparison to what the event associated with MORE IN FOCUS is defocused. This is further reinforced with the lexical meaning of the adverbial expressions preceding it.

What the last three examples have in common is that they are inserted into a narrative stretch conveyed with an uninterrupted series of MOST IN FOCUS meanings. The verb associated with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS sums up preceding activities into a general statement which serves as a link to subsequent events. It dates the event or events which follow immediately. The author makes a quick switch from MOST IN FOCUS to MORE IN FOCUS and back again as if to take a breath before resuming again with the fast moving

narrative. This move specifies the point in the story at which another event will take place. As it is concerned only with the specification of the event it is less important than the event itself and that is why the author downgrades the Focus of attention one step.

G. Departures from the Main Narrative Line

We started this chapter by demonstrating how the Serbo-Croatian author uses the opposition between the meanings LESS IN FOCUS and MORE IN FOCUS to separate information he wants to keep in the background from information which is part of the main narrative line. The former is conveyed with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS and the latter with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS. The material conveyed with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS represents the supporting material of narrative i.e. it does not carry narrative forward but rather helps shape it. In the section on supporting material we have introduced mostly descriptive stretches of narrative. However, we have also mentioned that not all supporting material is descriptive but that it can include other information the author wishes to keep away from the main narrative line. In this section we shall discuss some of these other departures from the main narrative line.

We have seen that when an author introduces

descriptions of physical scenes and/or of characters he slows down the pace of the narrative to bring in a number of relevant details. As we have seen these, passages are usually characterized by a low level of activity. They contain only a few verbs and these verbs are usually associated with the low Focus meaning LESS IN FOCUS. This relative absence of verbs and the grammatical meaning (LESS IN FOCUS) of the few verbs which occur in these passages has an effect of freezing the scene. For the time being the reader is presented with a description and nothing is happening. The author resumes the narrative usually by switching to the meaning MORE IN FOCUS.

However, the author does not have to freeze the scene in order to introduce descriptive material only. Many other details which are important enough to be introduced in a story for a variety of reasons may not be important enough to be part of the main narrative line. Consider the following examples:

37. Salko je sve lepo razabirao (3). Crveni ćilim na podu i nerazumljive slike na duvaru. U jednoj malenoj i sasvim niskoj stolici sedela je (3) konzulova ćerka. Na krilu je držala (3) neku veliku knjigu, ali je svaki čas dizala (3) s nje oči i lutala (3) pogledom po doksatu i kroz prozore. Taj novi položaj u kom je dosada nikad nije video, uzbudljivao ga je (3) još više. Strepio je (3) da mu se ne oklizne noga ili da ne slomi grančicu.

Premirao je (3) od slasti da je gleda tako nepomičnu sa licem koje je u senci još duže i bledje, a u sebi je neprestano pomišljao (3) da će se još nešto desiti, nešto još uzbudljivije i neobičnije, kao što je neobičan sav ovaj kišoviti dan. Sam je sebe uveravao (3) da se neće ništa desiti. I šta bi se desilo? Pa ipak hoće...Desiće se! Ona rastavi (1) naglo prste kao da prekide (1) nešto tanko i nevidljivo, pogleda (1) niza se, odvoji (1) malko ruke od tela i poče (1) polako da igra nasred crvenog ćilima.

BH184

"Salko was able to see (LESS IN FOCUS) everything clearly. There was a red rug on the floor and unintelligible pictures on the wall. The Consul's daughter was sitting (LESS IN FOCUS) in a little, low chair. In her lap she held (LESS IN FOCUS) a large book but she kept on raising (LESS IN FOCUS) her eyes from it and her eyes kept straying (LESS IN FOCUS) about the veranda and out of the windows. This new attitude, in which he had never beheld her before, roused (LESS IN FOCUS) him all the more. The darker the shadow that fell on her, the more remote she grew, the longer he felt he must gaze. He trembled (LESS IN FOCUS) lest his foot should slip or he should break a twig. He was still with rapture (LESS IN FOCUS) at seeing her so motionless, with a face which in the shadow seemed still longer and paler, and he felt (LESS IN FOCUS) incessantly within himself that something more was to follow, something still stranger and more exciting, as strange as the whole of this rainy day. He kept on assuring himself (LESS IN FOCUS)

that nothing would really happen. What indeed could happen? And yet again, it would....It will happen! Suddenly she parted her fingers (MOST IN FOCUS) as if she broke off (MOST IN FOCUS) something thin and invisible, looked down (MOST IN FOCUS), held her arms a little way away from her body (MOST IN FOCUS) and slowly began (MOST IN FOCUS) to dance in the middle of the red rug."

BC189

38. Ali dok su u čaršiji nagadjali (3) gde bi fil mogao biti zakopan i u isto vreme očekivali (3) sa strahopoštovanjem šta bi vezir na sve to mogao uraditi našao se (2) drugi čovek sigurniji od onog sigurnog i za mnogo manje para prodao (2) travničkoj čaršiji drugu vest, ovoga puta istinitu: da je fil živ.

PRI-49

"But while the charshiya was speculating (LESS IN FOCUS) as to where the fil might be buried, and nervously anticipating (LESS IN FOCUS) the Vizier's reaction to it all, another informant was found ('they found' - MORE IN FOCUS) more reliable than the reliable one, who sold (MORE IN FOCUS) the charshiya, for much less money, a second report on the fil's health, this time the true one: the fil was alive."

VE47

39. Susnežica je zasipala (3) vatru i ljude oko nje; Kolubara je hučala (3), po Valjevu su lajali (3) psi; začutao je (2) Tola Dačić.

VS3-239

"The snow was falling (LESS IN FOCUS) on the fire and on the people around it; the Kolubara roared (LESS IN FOCUS); in Valjevo dogs barked (LESS IN FOCUS); Tola Dačić fell silent (MORE IN FOCUS)."

RE102

These examples are located in the narrative proper and at the point at which they are introduced the narrative changes its pace. Example 37 is part of an episode with two participants on the scene: the daughter of the Austrian consul and the barber apprentice who found a way to observe her unnoticed. In the example, Salko is in his hiding place, watching the girl, feeling excited and aroused, fearing that something might go wrong, hoping that something even more exciting might happen all the time. The girl, during the same time, and unaware that anyone is watching her, is sitting, holding a book and obviously feeling bored. These events are temporally coextensive and none of the events seem more relevant than the other. They are all conveyed with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS. The scene is frozen and nothing is happening. Only when something starts to happen the author switches to a higher Focus degree.

Example 38 is of a similar type. Speculating and anticipating are quite static occurrences when compared with finding the right informer and obtaining the desired

information from him.

In example 39, snowing, dogs barking and the roaring of the river serve as a background for the incident which is part of the story proper and thus deserves to be highlighted - 'Tola fell silent (MORE IN FOCUS)'.

From all the verbs associated with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS the hearer/reader infers simultaneous events. Indeed, this message category has been regularly associated with the verbal forms based on the imperfective stem of verbs. However, this inference of simultaneity is only incidental. It arises from the fact that the scene has been frozen. Events are presented here not as sequences but as temporally overlapping events. Typically, temporally extended events are associated with a low Focus meaning (LESS IN FOCUS) and they serve to locate the more important events by including them.

We have mentioned earlier that the meanings of the semantic substance of Focus of attention guide the attention of the hearer/reader and regulate his level of awareness as the narrative or discourse proceeds. In situations when two or more events are partially overlapping, a communicative device that directs the reader/hearer's attention by indicating explicitly that certain events are more worthy of our attention while others are less significant and thus less worthy of our

attention is very useful. This tells the reader which events to concentrate on. Usually, one of the events is mentioned because of its merit and other events are mentioned because of their temporal proximity. The latter ones are usually associated with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS.

"Repetitive events" is another well known message category which represents a departure from the main narrative line. While from all the Focus meanings the reader may infer that an occurrence has been repeated, the majority of verbs which allow such an inference are associated with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS in Serbo-Croatian. In addition, other meanings which often allow inference of repetitiveness are LEAST IN FOCUS BEFORE, LOW FOCUS NOW, and HIGH FOCUS NOW. In this section we discuss only instances of the meaning LESS IN FOCUS.

Traditionally "repetitive" action has been viewed as one of the basic functions of the imperfective verb. However, while the speaker of Serbo-Croatian favors low Focus meanings when he has a message of repeated action to express, how that activity is going to be expressed depends not on its aspect of repetitiveness but on its importance to the message being communicated. The inference of repetitiveness is based not on the low Focus meanings but on contextual clues usually present in such messages. The following examples illustrate this:

40. Kad su stali da prispevaju orasi, fil se pokazao (2) veliki prijatelj mladih i dozrelih travničkih orasa kokavaca. On ih je tresao (3) sa grana tako da su se padajući na zemlju oslobadjali (3) već sasušene, napukle i tamno zelene kore, a zatim ih uzimao (3) surlom, krckao (3) u velikim, nevidljivim ustima, i vešto isppljuvavao (3) tvrdu ljusku sa pljuvačkom, a sa zadovoljstvom žvakao (3) i gutao (3) mlečnu jezgru... Dečaci su bacali (3) orahe na ulicu pred fila i on ih je pažljivo kupio (3) savijajući smešno veliku glavu na kratkom vratu. I tada je neko od dece došlo (2) na neobičnu ideju. Raspolovilo je (2) ljusku od orahe izvadilo (2) iz jedne pole jezgru, a na njeno mesto stavilo (2) živu pčelu. Zatim je slepilo (2) obe pole tako da je orah izgledao kao ceo, i bacilo ga (2) pred fila. Slon je smrskao (2) orah ...

PRI-47

"Walnuts began to ripen, and it turned out (MORE IN FOCUS) that the fil was very partial to the fresh, juicy Travnik walnuts. He shook (LESS IN FOCUS) the branches, and the walnuts, on striking the ground, freed themselves (LESS IN FOCUS) from the dry, cracked deep green rind; then he would pick them up (LESS IN FOCUS) with his trunk, crack (LESS IN FOCUS) them in his large, hidden mouth, masterfully spit out (LESS IN FOCUS) the shell with some saliva, and with delight, chew up (LESS IN FOCUS) and finally swallow (3) the milky kernel...Young boys would throw (LESS IN FOCUS) walnuts in the street; the fil would carefully

pick them up (LESS IN FOCUS), comically bending that large head of his. And then one of the children had an idea (MORE IN FOCUS). He split the walnut shell (MORE IN FOCUS), took out (MORE IN FOCUS) one half of the kernel and placed in the shell a live bee instead. Then he glued (MORE IN FOCUS) the two halves together so that the nut looked whole and threw it (MORE IN FOCUS) in front of the fil. The elephant cracked (MORE IN FOCUS) the nut..."

VE44

As in most of his works in the story "The Vizier's Elephant", Andrić pictures the life in his native Bosnia during the long Turkish occupation. In this example, the present Vizier, a much disliked individual, has brought to Travnik an unusual pet, an elephant. The fil is taken out regularly for his daily walks which cause chaos and considerable damage to the market place. Yet neither local Turks nor the Christian rayah dare do anything openly about it. At this point in the story the citizens of Travnik are very annoyed with the situation and they are ready to fight back by less orthodox means. An innocent game played on the elephant by children gave an idea to the adults of how to rid themselves of the animal. In this example, the author finds it appropriate to foreground the elephant's fondness of nuts as an important discovery in a chain of events which eventually decide the elephant's fate. A series of

events which followed this statement, all associated with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS, refer to repetitive events: tresao je - ('he shook branches'), su se oslobadjali ('the nuts freed themselves of the rind'), je uzimao ('he would pick them up'), krcao ('he would crack them'), ispljuvavao ('he would spit out the shell'), žvakao ('he would chew up'), gutao ('he would swallow the milky kernel'), su bacali ('the boys would throw walnuts'), and je kupio ('the elephant would pick them up'). There are two more verbs in this example which also refer to the same occurrences of throwing and chewing but these are by contrast highlighted with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS: 'threw' and 'cracked' in: 'The boy threw (MORE IN FOCUS) another nut and the elephant cracked (MORE IN FOCUS) it. These events, even though the same in nature as the one already mentioned, are different from these in their saliency to the story. Inside this particular nut the boy put a live bee and the elephant reacted differently when he cracked this nut. Thus, in this example we find two almost minimal pairs: su bacali -LESS IN FOCUS- vs. je bacilo - MORE IN FOCUS- and je krcao - LESS IN FOCUS vs. je snrskao -MORE IN FOCUS. However, while one verb of the pair is associated with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS, the second one is foregrounded with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS. Clearly, the writer ranked these two sets of events differently in accordance with their overall

importance to the story. The routine throwing of nuts and the elephant's enjoyment in cracking and eating them is only a descriptive detail. Throwing a nut containing a live bee and the elephant's reaction to this is of a different order.

When similar events occur repeatedly the speaker/writer has the choice of either treating each occurrence as a separate event or of summarizing them in a single verb and indicating repetition by other devices in the context. What influences the speaker's choice to do the former or the latter is the relative importance of each occurrence of the event individually to the story as a whole. If each occurrence of the event individually advances the plot, then a separate mention of the event is called for. If however each occurrence of the event does not advance the plot then the appropriate treatment is to summarize the series and to defocus the event by associating it with a low Focus meaning. In the above example as long as throwing walnuts was only a game without any real consequences to the story that event did not deserve to be focused on and the author appropriately associated it with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS. However, one instance of throwing walnuts in front of the elephant had a special importance and the author is careful to single it out and to highlight it with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS.

A situation can be imagined in which not only is each event in a series of similar events relevant but in which the series of events collectively is of importance to the story. This event should then deserve a high Focus meaning. Such an example is the following:

41. Najpre su fila ovako izvodili (3) po obroncima oko Konaka, a zatim su produžavali (3) šetnje sve više, dok najposle ne počeše (1) da ga provode kroz samu varoš. Kad je fil proveden prvi put kroz čaršiju, svet se držao kao na dan njegovog dolaska u Travnik, uzdržljivo, uplašeno, namešteno ravnodušno. Ali te šetnje učestaše (1), pa postadoše (1) redovne. Fil se odomaći (1) u čaršiji i poče (1) da pokazuje svoju pravu narav. I sada zaređiše (1) po čaršiji neobični prizori.

PRI-27

"At the start the fil was taken (LESS IN FOCUS) to the hills around the konak (Vizier's residence) but later these walks were extended (LESS IN FOCUS) until at last they started (MOST IN FOCUS) to lead him through the town itself. The first time they marched the fil through the charshiya, the townspeople behaved as they had on the day of his arrival in Travnik: they were reserved, frightened, but seemingly indifferent. The walks grew more frequent (MOST IN FOCUS) and soon became (MOST IN FOCUS) a regular event. In time the fil familiarized himself with the charshiya and began (MOST IN FOCUS) to display his real nature. Strange sights became frequent (took

turns -(MOST IN FOCUS)) in the charshiya.

VE20

42. Raspitivali su se (3) Travničani levo i desno, trošili (2) i častili (3), samo da bi štogod saznali o čoveku koji im dolazi kao vezir. Dešavalo se (3) da su plaćali (3) tobože obaveštene ljude, pa tek posle uvidjali (3) da su sve to varalice i lažovi. Ali oni nisu čak ni taj novac smatrali bačenim... Tako su uspeli (2) i ovog puta da o novom veziru saznaju dosta podataka.

PRI15

"The citizens of Travnik would inquire (LESS IN FOCUS) right and left, spend (LESS IN FOCUS) money, stand people to drinks (LESS IN FOCUS), simply to learn some little thing about the man who was to be their vizier. Sometimes they would pay (LESS IN FOCUS) large sums to allegedly well-informed people, only to realize (LESS IN FOCUS) later that they were all frauds and liars. But they never considered (LESS IN FOCUS) the money wasted...

This time too, the citizens of Travnik had managed to gather (MORE IN FOCUS) a bit of information about the new vizier."

VE415

The underlined verbs associated with the high Focus meanings, MOST IN FOCUS (example 41) and MORE IN FOCUS (example 42), refer to events which were repeated. The

lexical meaning of the first two verbs imply repetitiveness and the expression "this time too" in the second example also points to it. Yet all three verbs are associated with high Focus meanings. The author has singled out an event in a series of events and highlighted it because of its saliency to the story.

Example 41 is from the central part of the story. The new Vizier is disliked both by Muslims and the Christian raya because of his harshness. That relationship is further strained because of the Vizier's pet elephant. During his daily walks the animal causes considerable damage to business in the market place. These episodes are making the citizens of Travnik so miserable that they will forget fear and start to fight back. In that sense the repeated walks (učestaše - MOST IN FOCUS) and repeated strange sights in the charshiya (zarediše -MOST IN FOCUS) with all the confusion and chaos they caused are a central part of the story.

In example 42, the townspeople tried and were successful in gathering information about men who was appointed as their next viziers before his arrival in Bosnia. The contextual clue "this time too" suggests that the citizens of Travnik were able to do the same thing on repeated occasions. However, their success this time is of essence since the story is about this particular Vizier and

the author singles out their success this time for emphasis.

Although there is an affinity between repetitive events and the meaning LESS IN FOCUS not all repetitive events as we have seen are associated with low Focus meanings. Examples of serial events backgrounded with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS are so frequent however that one can ask the question: Why do speakers of Serbo-Croatian favor the LESS IN FOCUS meaning when they want to communicate a past repetitive event?

The majority of serial events, if occurring with a certain regularity and without any change, tend to be perceptually experienced like any other continuous occurrence. People pay less attention to a false fire alarm each time it recurs. The story about the boy who cried wolf is proverbial. Correlation between repetitive actions and low Focus meanings does not lie directly in the similarity between the notion of repetitiveness and low degree of attention. Rather, the narrator tends to defocus those events which are not central to the story and to focus those events which are regardless of whether they are repetitive or not.

Of course, the hearer needs more than just the grammatical meaning with which the verb is associated to infer that the verb refers to a repetitive event. He needs

other clues present in the context. The following examples show a number of devices by which the author suggests repetitiveness:

43. Oko tri posle podne počinjao je (3) gotovo svakog dana u susednoj sobi glasan razgovor izmedju gospodjice Marijane i nekog očigledno starijeg i vrlo razgovornog čoveka..

PRI-240

" At about three in the afternoon almost every day a loud conversation would begin (LESS IN FOCUS) in the next room between Miss Mariana and an evidently older and extremely talkative man."

DSG41

44. Zatim je nekoliko dana odlazio (3) u Banju gdje je bio mejdan serde.

PRII-3

"After that, for a few days, he went (LESS IN FOCUS) every day to Banja where there was a marble quarry."

PC5

45. Kad pred proleće stade led pucati, on je svaki čas, zabrinut obilazio (3) skele i nasipe.

PRI-8

"When just before spring the ice began to thaw he was to be seen every few moments inspecting (LESS IN FOCUS) the scaffolding and dams with a worried look."

DSG23

46. Dečak je još nekoliko puta otpočinjao (3) razgovor o Ćorkanu, o njegovom životu i smrti, ali niko nije hteo o tome da govori, ni da mu odgovara.

PRI-272

" The boy started (LESS IN FOCUS) the conversation several more times about Ćorkan, his life and death, but no one wanted to talk about it and thus no one was answering his questions.

47. Celog tog dana misao mu se vraćala (3) na stranca, kod kuće, putem i u školi.

PRI-266

"That entire day the thought of the stranger kept coming back (LESS IN FOCUS) to his mind, at home, along the road and at school too.

48. I dalje sam dolazio (3) pred zoru, spavao svega tri-četiri sata, a u osam sati ustajao i izlazio (3) iz kuće.

PRI-240

"After that, I would come (LESS IN FOCUS) before dawn, sleep (LESS IN FOCUS) only three-four hours, and at eight in the morning get up (LESS IN FOCUS) and leave (LESS IN FOCUS) the house.

49. Budio se (3) često jer ga je obuzimala vatra (3) od sparnih pretrpanih vunenih dušeka.

BH25

"He often woke up (LESS IN FOCUS) stifled by the heat from the sultry accumulation of woolen quilts.

BC28

50. Još i ranije, u godinama koje su predhodile ovom upadu Nemaca u našu zemlju, toliko se pisalo i govorilo o Hitlerovom gonjenju Jevreja u Nemačkoj kao i u zemljama koje je jednu za drugom osvajao (3) i pokoravao (3).

PRI-374

"Prior to that time, during the years that preceded the German assault on our country, so much had been said and written about Hitler's persecution and destruction of the Jews in Germany, as well as in the countries which he took over (LESS IN FOCUS) and subjected (LESS IN FOCUS) one after another.

PC255

In all these examples repetitiveness is implied either by expressions suggesting repeated occurrence ('every day', 'one after another', 'that entire day', 'all the time', 'few more times', 'after that', 'on and on') or by plural subjects and/or plural objects or a combination of both.

Verbal forms in these examples refer to non-central parts of the story line. They are parenthetical asides, descriptive details, actions performed by subjects not explicitly identified and which do not appear in the story

again or elaborations of a development of events already expressed; in short, aspects of a story which do not advance the story line and which the narrator wishes to compress and background.

However, only in some of the examples quoted a series of similar events is singled out and highlighted because of its relevance to the story line. These instances argue convincingly that what determines the choice of the Focus meaning is not the fact that an event is in a series of events or repeated but whether or not it calls for a weak or a strong emphasis.

In examples 37 - 42, which served as illustrations of departures from the main narrative line, the narrative line was primarily carried forward by the meaning MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE. In what follows we shall see that the meaning LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE is equally used to indicate departures from the main narrative line when its forward progression is not achieved by the use of the meaning MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE but by the use of the meaning MOST IN FOCUS BEFORE.

H. Departure from the Main Narrative Line Carried
forward by the Meaning MOST IN FOCUS BEFORE

We have seen that both high Focus meanings, MOST IN FOCUS and MORE IN FOCUS are exploited for thematically more salient events, those which generally contribute to the forward progression of the story. Whether an author will exploit one or another high Focus meaning will depend to a great extent on his communicative intent and on what kind of structure he wants to give to his narrative. However, it will be always possible to demonstrate that the events associated with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS will be more salient, relatively speaking, than those events in the same story which are associated with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS. In general, one may expect to find a higher concentration of MOST IN FOCUS meanings in a short story than in a novel, because the author does not have time to provide much factual information and to build up both a plot and a history of characters in a short story. Rather, he tends to concentrate locally on the main thrust of the story and assure the attention of the reader by conveying the important events with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS. In this respect, the structure of a short story is similar to that of an important episode within a longer narrative where we also find a higher concentration of the meaning MOST IN

FOCUS.

In stretches of writing in which the flow of the narrative is fast and generally conveyed with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS, the meaning LESS IN FOCUS, occurring side by side with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS, is exploited for the same effects on the message as already indicated. Namely, from the verbs associated with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS the reader infers repetitive and simultaneous events.

The following three examples are illustrations of utterances from which we infer repeated events:

51. Uz šoptanje, jauke i opravke, kolona pred podne izadje (1) na Vjetarnik. Malo zatim svali se (1) u Lijevu Rijeku. Šoferi kao po komandi istrčaše (1) da se u tri-četiri krčme pored puta potkrijepe rakijom, koju su, po ustaljenom običaju, plaćali (3) naftom ukradenom od svojih vozila a ne novcem.

SV6

"To the accompaniment of grunts, repairs and moans the convoy climbed up (MOST IN FOCUS) Vjetarnik just before noon. A little later, it arrived (MOST IN FOCUS) at Lijeva Rijeka. The drivers, as if by command, ran out (MOST IN FOCUS) to refresh themselves with brandy in three or four taverns lining the road. Through an established habit, they paid (LESS IN FOCUS) for their drinks not with money but with naphtha stolen from their trucks."

52. Krčme odmah oživješe (1), prepuniše se (1) i prekipješe (1). Čas iz jedne, čas iz druge istrčavali su (3) ovi poslovni ljudi tražeći komotnije i ljepše mjesto, bolju rakiju i ljudje kupce za svoje drangulije.

SV7

"Right away, the taverns came to life (MOST IN FOCUS), filled up (MOST IN FOCUS) and overflowed (MOST IN FOCUS). Now from one tavern, then from another, these quick businessmen ran (LESS IN FOCUS) looking for a nicer and more comfortable spot, for better brandy and more eager buyers for their trinkets."

53. Učiteljica nam je bila stroga i znala je išibati prutom nemirna djaka i neznalice. Zbog toga se jedna velika grupa djaka odnetnu (1) od škole, pa su ujutru odlazili (3) u jedan veliki gaj i tu se krili (3) čitav dan dok se ne bi završila nastava a onda su se vraćali (3) kući kao tobož idu iz škole.

Jednog dana saznade se (1) za taj logor pa ga seljaci pod komandom strica Nidža opkoliše (1), zauzeše (1) na juriš, a odmetnike pohvataše (1) i dovedoše (1) u školu. To je bio slavan događaj o kome se dugo pričalo (3).

BD9

"One day people found out (MOST IN FOCUS) about the camp. The peasants, under the command of my uncle Nidžo, surrounded (MOST IN FOCUS) the camp and took (MOST IN FOCUS) it by assault. They captured (MOST IN FOCUS) the outlaws and brought

(MOST IN FOCUS) them back to school. This was a glorious event which was long talked about (LESS IN FOCUS)."

In these examples the meaning MOST IN FOCUS is exploited to convey events central to the narrative line while the verbs from which the reader/hearer infers repetitive events are conveyed with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS. These verbs refer to the activities which are incidental and which do not merit being foregrounded. The nuance of repetitiveness is encoded in the context by other means.

In the first example, an Italian transport convoy has made its way through a very dangerous pass in occupied Montenegro during World War II. On the way many ambushes and battles have taken place. The drivers, feeling relieved for the moment, immediately leave their vehicles to have a drink or trade their trinkets with people of the small town before continuing on their perilous journey. They pay for their drinks not with money but with the naphtha stolen from their vehicles.

The second example is from the same novel and closely follows the first one. It describes activities of the Italians trying to strike the best deal within the short time they have. They keep running in and out of the taverns looking for better brandy and in search of potential

buyers.

In the third example also verbs associated with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS refer to events which were repeated.

The inference of "repetitive" action is based in these examples not so much on the meaning LESS IN FOCUS but on additional contextual clues present in the message: po ustaljenom običaju 'through an established habit' in example 51, čas iz jedne čas iz druge krčme 'now from one tavern, then from another one' in example 52, and dugo 'for a long time' in example 53.

As was explained earlier correlation between repetitive events and the meaning LESS IN FOCUS was not due to the meaning itself but to the fact that these series of events were not important to the ongoing story and thus did not deserve to be focused on. They describe scenes in which actions were performed by agents which are only collectively identified and did not play any role in the story which followed. Thus, all these verbs associated with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS referred to events noncentral to the narrative which were defocused with respect to other more important events which served to move the narrative forward.

In the following two examples the underlined LESS IN FOCUS meaning refers to incidental events which temporally overlap with other more salient events:

54. Upravo kad je to naredjivao (3) - bilo je mirno jutro pod kraj leta - donesoše (1) mu molbu jednog mladog i učenog carigradskog mualima, koji je bio iz Bosne rodom, pisao glatke stihove, i koga je vezir s vremena na vreme darivao i pomagao.

PRI-10

"Just as he was issuing (LESS IN FOCUS) these instructions - it was a fine morning in late summer - there was brought him (MOST IN FOCUS) a petition from a young but learned teacher of the Koran, who was Bosnian by birth and author of some polished verses and whom the Vizier had patronized and helped on past occasions."

PC10

55. Uzalud je Djurašić pisao (3) energična pisma gdje su se u svakoj rečenici gusto miješale (3) molbe i prijetnja, Lašić se osloni na plemensku slogu i na jake veze s guvernerom Birolijem, čovjekom koji je na svoj način izvodio igru s ovom čudnom vrstom zakašnjelih crnogorskih feudalaca. Tako, u to rano proljeće, dok su razbijeni odredi Bačevića, Stanišića i Lukačevića bježali (3) pred ljutim partizanskim bujicama, ljevorječki četnici ostadoše (1) u sigurnoj pozadini, dokolici i dosadi dugo vremena.

SV9

"In vain Djurašić wrote (LESS IN FOCUS) energetic letters in which requests and warnings blended (LESS IN FOCUS) in each sentence, Lašić relied

(MOST IN FOCUS) on tribal support and strong ties with the Italian governor Brioli, a man who in his own way played with this strange kind of belated feudal lords of Montenegro, paying attention that no one of them gets too strong. Thus, in the early spring, while the broken regiments of Bačević, Stanišić and Lukačević were fleeing (LESS IN FOCUS) the angry torrents of partisans, the chetniks of Lijevo Rijeka remained (MOST IN FOCUS) in the safety of the rear lines, in leisure and in boredom for a long time."

56. Tu na sredini brzaka gde nije bilo direkta njihov čamac udari (1) u nešto drveno i teško i odjeknu (1) tupo. To ih zaustavi (1). Tek tada razabraše (1) da se gore na skelama sejmeni gušaju sa nekim. Sejmeni, svi poturčenjacki sinovi iz naših krajeva, vikali su (3) gore svi u jedan glas; u tami su se ukrštali (3) njihovi nerazumljivi i isprekidani povici.

NDC55

"There right in the middle of the main current, where there were no beams, their boat struck (MOST IN FOCUS) something wooden and heavy and echoed (MOST IN FOCUS) dully. Only then did they realize (MOST IN FOCUS) that on the scaffolding above them the guards were struggling with someone. The guards, all local renegades, were all shouting (LESS IN FOCUS) at once; their broken and incomprehensible cries mixed (MOST IN FOCUS) in the darkness."

BOD47

In examples 54, 55 and 56, the underlined LESS IN FOCUS meanings refer to events which temporally overlap with other events.

Example 54 is from the story "The Bridge on the Žepa", by Andrić. The Vizier, originally from Bosnia, provided funds for the erection of a bridge over a river near his birthplace. The master builder finished the bridge but on his way back contracted plague and died. Since he was given only a fraction of his fees, the Vizier ordered that the money he left be given to charities. Our example comes at that point in the story.

We are contrasting here only the first two forms: naredjivao je 'was issuing orders' and donesoše 'they brought' ('there was brought'). In this example the event of issuing orders is understood as overlapping or partially overlapping with the event of submitting the petition but backgrounded with respect to it. The event of issuing orders serves only to locate a new event by including it. The effect of the low degree of Focus, LESS IN FOCUS together with the adverbial dok -'while' is one of simultaneity.

The meaning LESS IN FOCUS is appropriate for that inference. We have stated earlier that the meanings signaling high degrees of Focus, in particular MORE IN

FOCUS, are reserved in Serbo-Croatian for the central events of the narrative which occur in chronological sequence. Events backgrounded with respect to these events are more likely to be understood as simultaneous. Events which are simultaneous to central events contribute less to the forward movement of the narrative and are thus less important by comparison.

There is one more reason why the author withheld emphasis from the first event and focused it on the second. Lexical information provided by the verb marked with the low degree of Focus is redundant. In the previous context we were told that the Vizier made a decision what to do with the money left by the master builder. For this he used the verb odrediti- 'to prescribe, to order' and associated it with a high degree of Focus. "Issuing orders" therefore associated with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS is only a repetition of the information already supplied and as such it does not deserve a higher degree of Focus.

Example 55 is from the novel Svadba, by Mihailo Lalić. In it Lalić describes the fight between chetniks (supporters of the monarchy in Yugoslavia) and partisans (leftist resistance troops) in Montenegro during the last World War. While most of the chetniks waged a fierce battle against the partisans, Lašić, one of the chetniks' commanders, remained in the rear lines with his regiment.

In the example, the event of the broken chetnik regiments fleeing the partisans is claimed to be defocused with respect to the chetniks of Lijevo Rijeka (Lašić's regiment) who remained at home. The chetniks of Lijevo Rijeka are main characters in this novel and what they do is of central importance to the story. Thus, their activity deserves the emphasis.

If we replace the meaning LESS IN FOCUS with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS in the above examples we would have coherent sentences but their messages would be entirely different. In both instances, events associated with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS would allow an inference of chronological sequences: kada je naredio 'when he issued the order' and dok su razbijeni orderi pobegli 'after the broken regiments have fled'. This is exactly what the author wanted to avoid in both examples, for different reasons in each of them. In the former example, by exploiting the meaning LESS IN FOCUS a repetition of identical information supplied in the previous context was avoided (here also LESS IN FOCUS serves as a dating device) and in the second example the inference of a successful flight as would be implied with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS, is also avoided.

In the last example, the meaning LESS IN FOCUS conveys occurrences which are only an elaboration of an already

expressed event. In this example from the novel The Bridge on the Drina, local peasants forced to labor on the construction of the bridge decided to rebel and to break down by night what is constructed by day. They also spread the rumor that it is a demon who does not want any bridge over the river and the construction started to suffer from constant vandalism. Abidaga, the man in charge of the project and notoriously harsh, summoned the chief of the guard and ordered him to stop the vandalism within three days or be executed. The chief immediately started a vigil. On the third and last night his people caught the culprits. This is a description of that dynamic scene and the narrator exploits the meaning MOST IN FOCUS to convey it. The two verbs associated with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS only elaborate on what was expressed earlier. Abidaga and his escorts realize that a fight is going on on the scaffoldings.

In all these examples verbs associated with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS refer to events which were not the central part of the narrative and thus did not deserve to be foregrounded with respect to other events mentioned in the immediate context.

J. Conclusion

In this chapter we have demonstrated how speakers of Serbo-Croatian exploit the meaning opposition between the signals of the BEFORE phase of the Time-Focus interlock. They exploit the three-way opposition between the meanings MOST IN FOCUS, MORE IN FOCUS and LESS IN FOCUS to rank events according to their importance to the story or to the communication in progress, in general. Thus for example, when the meaning LESS IN FOCUS precedes the meanings MORE IN FOCUS or MOST IN FOCUS the effect on the message is that the events associated with the lesser degree of Focus provide a background, a situational setting for the events associated with the higher degrees of Focus which are then highlighted by comparison.

However, when the meaning LESS IN FOCUS follows the meanings MORE IN FOCUS and MOST IN FOCUS, the events associated with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS either only elaborate on what has already been expressed with the meanings MORE IN FOCUS and/or MOST IN FOCUS, or with it the author departs from the main narrative line for a variety of reasons.

We have also seen how the meaning MOST IN FOCUS is exploited when the author wants to indicate explicitly that

an event, when compared to other events in the context, deserves a maximum degree of attention, either because it is thematically very important or because it constitutes the part of the main narrative line of a short story or is a part of a dramatic, (often catalytic) local scene within a larger narrative.

Thus, both of the high Focus meanings are generally exploited for thematically more salient events which contribute to the forward movement of the narrative. These events which are central to the main narrative line and therefore worthy of attention tend to occur in temporal succession. Which of the two meanings the author will exploit for the skeleton of his narrative depends to a great extent on what his intentions are, namely, on what kind of structure he wishes to give to his narrative. In a more traditional novel, a novel which closely follows an established plot, the skeleton of the novel will be made of the meaning MORE IN FOCUS. The meaning MOST IN FOCUS will then be used for occasional emphasis on the local level. In a novel of "anecdotal" type, and in short stories, in which the author does not proceed by building up the background and the characters of the story but rather presents the reader with an unrolling film of immediate events and/or dialogues (actions), the skeleton will most likely consist of the meaning MOST IN FOCUS with an admixture of the

meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW. However, it is always possible to demonstrate that the meaning MOST IN FOCUS refers to the events more salient than those events in the same context which are conveyed with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS.

However, by this we do not mean to suggest that all the events associated with the same Focus meaning are equally emphasized or deemphasized. The message of focusing for foreground and defocusing for background depends not only on the meanings of the system of Focus of Attention but also on the lexical meanings of the individual verb as well as on the narrative structure of the story.

The distribution of the meanings of the semantic substance of Focus occurs in response to each author's decision of how to organize the narrative. Whether he is upgrading or downgrading Focus he is basically always doing the same thing: conveying events relevant to the story with meanings signaling a high degree of attention and conveying the incidental events with a lesser degree of attention. This upgrade and downgrade in Focus occurs both on the horizontal and the vertical axis, i.e. within an utterance, within a passage or along the whole narrative line.

We have seen that those events which are conveyed with the low Focus meaning (LESS IN FOCUS) cannot by themselves make a story. The same is true however for the meanings MORE IN FOCUS and MOST IN FOCUS. If deprived of the support

of the meaning LESS IN FOCUS and other meanings from the NOW phase of the Time Focus interlock the two high Focus BEFORE meanings can only provide the reader with a summary, a synopsis of the plot. This careful interweaving of foregrounded and backgrounded events is a typical characteristic of good narrative prose.

The presentation in this chapter did not present every single area of this interplay but rather provided a general guidance of how the meanings of the System of Focus are used in Serbo-Croatian.

K. Exploitation of LEAST IN FOCUS BEFORE

In Chapter IV on the meanings of Focus it was mentioned that the two extreme members of the four member System, the Aorist (MOST IN FOCUS BEFORE) and the Imperfect (LEAST IN FOCUS BEFORE) are integrated to different degrees in various dialects of Serbo-Croatian. The Aorist is well preserved in literary Serbo-Croatian while the Imperfect is very rare. A few dialects still use both the Aorist and the Imperfect in their colloquial language. In addition, speakers of different dialects as well as different speakers of the same dialect have different frequencies of the two forms in their speech. That is, while some speakers find that the two middle members of the BEFORE phase of the Time-Focus interlock, the meanings MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE and LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE, satisfy their communicative needs others invoke the top and the bottom member more freely, more usually the meaning MOST IN FOCUS (the Aorist) and only occasionally the meaning LEAST IN FOCUS (the Imperfect).

This relatively infrequent usage of the meaning LEAST IN FOCUS presents a slight problem for the qualitative validation here. Namely, there were very few instances of the meaning LEAST IN FOCUS in the texts that served as a basis for the qualitative validation. Thus, in presenting

the contrast between the meanings of the Before phase of the Time-Focus interlock we have concentrated on the three meanings: MOST IN FOCUS, MORE IN FOCUS and LESS IN FOCUS. That is why we are dedicating this section to the exploitation of the meaning LEAST IN FOCUS.

Scholars who write on the Serbo-Croatian Imperfect quote examples from folk poetry or in general from the older literary works. Rather than continue to quote the same examples over and over again we decided to examine the distribution of the meaning LEAST IN FOCUS BEFORE in a novel of recent date, Prijatelji by Slobodan Selenić, published in 1977. This work is rather unusual in that it contains a relatively large number of instances of the meaning LEAST IN FOCUS. The author has done that on purpose because he wanted to give to his principal character an archaic flavor.

The plot of the novel Prijatelji takes place in post-war Belgrade. The title refers to two men: Vladan Hadžislavković, a bourgeois and an eccentric, and Istref Vari, a manual laborer. As one who belonged to the former ruling class, Vladan feels totally displaced in the newly developed social order. In addition, he is mentally unstable and prone to all kinds of exaggerations. His protegee Istref, a member of the Albanian muslim minority, leads a marginal existence but shows interest in learning.

Vladan sees in this a possibility to give some meaning to his life by "saving" the young boy from "the others", i.e. what he considers the uneducated, uncivilized masses that swelled the population of Belgrade after the war. He tries to teach Istref to think and act in the same fashion he does.

The meaning LEAST IN FOCUS is used only in passages which represent Vladan's account of events and occasionally his aunt's also. By his own admission (personal communication) the author wanted to give Vladan's character an archaic flavor. He is the representative of the old social order in post-war Belgrade and he cannot reconcile himself to the new conditions. In addition, Vladan, a latent homosexual, has a self-centered neurotic personality and is prone to all kinds of exaggerations and extreme statements. Thus, the exploitation of the extreme members of the System of Focus, MOST IN FOCUS and LEAST IN FOCUS, is well suited to his personality. Indeed, those parts of the novel in which Vladan confesses to Istref (in the first person singular) are characterized by a high frequency of both MOST IN FOCUS and LEAST IN FOCUS. (The meaning LEAST IN FOCUS is used only once in the part which represents Istref's recollections. The author associates the verb 'to gather' with the meaning LEAST IN FOCUS to make reference to Muslim children gathering each Friday in front of their

religious school - skupljahu - LEAST IN FOCUS).

There are fifty six clear instances of the meaning LEAST IN FOCUS in this novel. We excluded all instances of this meaning in association with the verb biti - 'to be', which does not distinguish between the meanings MORE IN FOCUS and LESS IN FOCUS and thus does not test the Hypothesis. Out of fifty six instances twenty nine were found in explanatory clauses introduced by 'which', 'what' and 'who'. In this strategy of exploitation the verbs in association with the meaning LEAST IN FOCUS only serve to give added information or to elaborate on the event referred to by another verb usually itself in association with a meaning signaling a low degree of Focus. These latter referred to events of no particular importance in the story and elaborating on these events deserved an even lower degree of Focus. (Other strategies in which the meaning LEAST IN FOCUS was exploited are reminiscent of those in which the other low Focus meaning, LESS IN FOCUS, is found and where the meaning LESS IN FOCUS allowed an inference of either descriptive asides, repetitive events or in general events which did not merit highlighting in respect to other events described in the message.) The following examples illustrate this:

57. U Beču je poručila (2) kod naročite firme,
"Gespenstkurier" iliti posrbljeno, "Avetinjski

skoroteča", okrugli sto bez eksera. Ponašala se (3) prema svim upustvima spiritualiste gosp. Pop-Marinkovića, ali je prema šumovima i drugim čudima koja se u polumraku njene trpezarije dešavahu (4) bila, najblaže rečeno, ravnodušna.

(S.Selenić, Prijatelji, p.50)

"From a special publishing house in Vienna, "Gespenstkurier", which in Serbian is "Ghostly messenger", she ordered (MORE IN FOCUS) a round table without nails. She followed all the instructions (LESS IN FOCUS) of Mr. Pop-Marinković, the spiritualist, but toward sounds and other miraculous things which happened (LEAST IN FOCUS) in the darkness of her dining room, she was, if anything, indifferent."

58. Jer razumeti i prihvatiti nije isto. Zar nije od značaja što sam sve pridošlice u Milićevo zdanje namah prepoznao (2) i razvrstao (2), što sam narav i poreklo njihove prostote bez po muke detektovao (2), kada od ovih saznanja nikakve hasne nisam imao, jer mi ne pomagahu (4) da lakše trpim napadnu nazočnost, telesnu prisutnost njihovu u kući našoj.

PJ257

"But to understand and to accept is not the same. Did it have any importance that I immediately recognized (MORE IN FOCUS) and classified (MORE IN FOCUS) all the

newcomers to Milić's building, that I detected (MORE IN FOCUS), without any trouble at all, their disposition and the origin of their vulgarity, when that knowledge did not serve me a bit (N) since it did not help (LEAST IN FOCUS) me bear easier their aggressive company and their bodily presence in our house."

- 59 . Baš ja od svih ljudi na svetu na ovaj krvavi ritual da se odlučim! Nikada se ovome dovoljno načuditi neću! Ni jednog jedinog trena, Istrefe, ne pomislih (1) da bi od nauma odustati mogao, izmeniti ga ili odložiti njegovo ispunjenje. Ne uzdrhtah (1) čak ni pri pomisli na neprijatne tehnikaliije, koje me svakako očekivahu (4). Ne posumnjah (1) da ću zadatak, koji mnogostruko prevazilazaše (4) moje prave sposobnosti, lako i brzo izvršiti.

PJ307

"I, of all the people in this world to decide on such a bloody ritual! I shall never figure that out! I did not think (MOST IN FOCUS) for a moment that I can abandon my plan, change it or postpone it. I did not tremble (MOST IN FOCUS) at the thought of unpleasant technicalities which surely were awaiting (LEAST IN FOCUS) me. I did not doubt (MOST IN FOCUS) that I would promptly and easily accomplish my task which so much exceeded (LEAST IN FOCUS) my abilities.

In example 57, Vladan's aunt Miss Lepša, herself a

spiritualist, does not believe that spirits communicate through a medium since she experiences them in an entirely different manner. Thus, even though she follows the practices of spiritualists she does that only half-heartedly. Her behavior to comply with established practices and her disbelief are associated with low Focus meanings: 'she followed - LESS IN FOCUS - all the instructions' and 'she was (N) if anything indifferent' The author further defocuses the event of happening ('events which happened - LEAST IN FOCUS- in the darkness of her dining room') by associating it with the lowest degree of Focus because it only explains that Miss Lepša did not have any appreciation for the events which happen to take place in her own house. Experiences of this nature did not contribute anything to Miss Lepša and the narrative since she was able to reconstruct her entire family tree through spiritual channels of her own.

Example 58 comes from the end of the book. Vladan's intolerance was approaching a climax and he decided to leave his family house since he was no longer able to tolerate the numerous tenants he was forced to have. The two negative expressions "didn't serve me at all" and "was not helping me" are defocused in comparison with those events associated with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS. Although Vladan was successful in socially ranking correctly all his

tenants, that did not help him to live easier in the crowded conditions of his house or to tolerate these people any better. These two negative expressions are different and the second one, associated with the meaning LEAST IN FOCUS, is further defocused. It occurs in an explanatory clause starting with 'because' and follows the clause in which the first negative expression "did not serve (3/2) me at all" occurs. It is only an elaboration of what is already expressed with the verb in the first negative expression.

In example 59, Vladan's depression has reached a climax. His tenants have erected a pigsty in the yard of his stately home and they are keeping pigs there. Vladan can no longer live under the same roof with such people. He decides to move to his aunt's house but before that he wants to kill all the pigs. He eventually goes ahead and does that. In this account of how he felt before the deed Vladan is amazed at himself. He emphasizes his determination to go ahead with his plan and all his feelings: ne pomislih 'I did not think', ne uzdrhtah 'I did not tremble (1)' and ne posumnjah 'I did not doubt (1)', all three in the negative, are all associated with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS. This behavior is very unlikely from Vladan who faints when he sees a chicken slaughtered. The two LEAST IN FOCUS signals occur in two relative clauses in

which Vladan downplays the importance of messy details which follow such a deed as well as the fact that the task he took on himself was far beyond his abilities.

In the following two examples the author exploited the meaning LEAST IN FOCUS for a very interesting inference, i.e. to project the feeling of complete immobility of the scene:

60. Nepomična, pribrana, tetka Lepša još dva puna sata gledaše (4) u ispražnjenu fotelju, ne misleći ništa, nekako zamrlih čula, gotovo nesvesna stvarnih okolnosti, ali joj za to vreme postepeno, preko iznenadnih slika i reči, zapravo na neki način koji ne znadjaše (4) ni približno opisati, u znanje prispe (1) život njene bele posetiteljke.

PJ51

"Composed and immobile, for two full hours aunt Lepša looked (LEAST IN FOCUS) at the emptied armchair, not thinking of anything, with her senses dulled, almost unaware of actual circumstances, but during that time, gradually, via strange pictures and words, in a manner she herself did not know (LEAST IN FOCUS) even approximately how to explain, the life of her white visitor reached (LEAST IN FOCUS) her mind."

61. Uhvati (1) me potpuna oduzetost. Počeh (1) da ceptim, vatra mi uz obraze i slepoočnice liže,

grlo' mi se tako osuši (1) ni glas od sebe ne mogoh izustiti, već tako ukočen i raširenih oči, izbezumljeno gledah (4) u izrazbarenu tavanicu i čekah (4) da se nešto dogodi.

PJ106

"I became (MOST IN FOCUS) virtually paralyzed. I started (MOST IN FOCUS) to tremble and fire engulfed my cheeks and temples. My throat got so dry (MOST IN FOCUS) that luckily, I could not utter a word but frozen, panic stricken and with wide open eyes, I stared (LEAST IN FOCUS) at the carved ceiling and waited (LEAST IN FOCUS) for something to happen not knowing what. My head was empty and void of any real thought."

Example 60 describes the aftermath of aunt Lepša's first spiritualist experience. After the ghost of a young German girl has appeared to Lepša and left the room Lepša remained in a state of shock losing any touch with reality. In this example the meaning LEAST IN FOCUS suggests a frozen, still and completely immobile scene.

In example 61 Vladan, as an adolescent boy who shares a bed with his mother, wakes up after an erotic dream to find his mother staring at him. He freezes completely expecting nothing short of the apocalyptic to happen to him. He is in a complete shock and unable to react in any way. Fear has the same effect on Vladan that deep

concentration has on Miss Lepša in the previous example. He is also still and out of touch with reality.

We mentioned earlier that there is a definite correlation between verbs of high activity and high Focus meaning on the one side and verbs of low activity and low Focus meanings on the other. Occurrences which are stationary attract less attention and conversely dynamic occurrences draw more attention. A meaning of a grammatical system, in addition to being tied to other members of the same system, is also intimately associated with the lexical meaning to which it is attached. We may anticipate therefore that all lexical meanings and all grammatical meanings will not combine with equal facility. A great number of examples of the meaning LEAST IN FOCUS we encountered, as well as those quoted in various literature on the Serbo-Croatian Imperfect, are low activity verbs such as biti 'to be', gledati 'to look' and stajati 'to stand'.

The majority of LEAST IN FOCUS BEFORE forms are associated with one of the two strategies illustrated above. In the few remaining instances the meaning LEAST IN FOCUS is exploited just as the other low Focus meaning, LESS IN FOCUS, is. Namely, we find it in messages from which we infer incidental, descriptive asides, repetitive events or in general events which do not merit focusing on

when compared to other occurrences present in the same messages.

The low frequency of the last member on the Focus scale (LEAST IN FOCUS) suggests that this grammatical sign is retreating into the grammatical periphery. That is to say, that the meaning still exists in the grammatical inventory of most speakers even though the meaning is not used very often. The meaning LEAST IN FOCUS still covers the same area of the semantic substance of concentration of attention, low focus of attention, but its value relationship to the other low Focus meaning on the scale, the meaning LESS IN FOCUS, has weakened considerably. As a result the two meanings are used interchangeably and the opposition between them is not always felt. We do not want to speculate or advance any hypothesis on what might have been the reason for that. This has been suggested elsewhere in the literature dealing with the loss of the Imperfect in other Slavic languages.

CHAPTER VI
QUALITATIVE VALIDATION OF THE
MEANINGS HIGH FOCUS NOW AND LOW FOCUS NOW

We now turn our attention to the second phase of the Time-Focus interlock, in which the semantic substance of Focus is interlocked with the Time meaning NOW. This phase of the interlock contains two meanings, both signaling the same Time meaning NOW but each signaling a different Focus meaning, HIGH FOCUS NOW (A) and LOW FOCUS NOW (B). In this chapter we shall discuss the strategies of exploitation of these two Focus meanings.

We started the validation of the Focus Hypothesis with the meanings of the BEFORE phase of the interlock. This was done deliberately, since as stated earlier, the structure of the narrative gives us a constant reference for evaluating how the meanings of the semantic substance Focus of Attention are used. Namely, the oppositions within the semantic substance of Focus serve primarily to enable the speaker/writer to guide his hearer/reader's attention, by

separating the salient events of the narrative from the incidental ones.

In Serbo-Croatian and in other Slavic languages Focus distinctions are primarily encoded in the stem of the verb. Thus, Slavic languages including Serbo-Croatian have two distinct forms in the Present Tense, called the Perfective Present and the Imperfective Present. Different Slavic languages seem to exploit these verbal forms differently. As said before, in Serbo-Croatian, the two Present Tenses signal two meanings in the NOW phase of the Time-Focus interlock, HIGH FOCUS NOW versus LOW FOCUS NOW. These meanings are called on for communicative needs which are similar but not identical to those in which the Focus meanings of the BEFORE phase of the interlock are used.

In what follows we shall first examine those usages of the meanings HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW FOCUS NOW in 'before' environments in which the past time orientation is established by the context and the meanings HIGH FOCUS and LOW FOCUS refer to events which have happened in the past. We shall then discuss the strategies of exploitation of these meanings in their non-past environments.

A. The Meanings HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW FOCUS NOW in Past Narrative

As demonstrated earlier the meaning NOW signals the time simultaneous with the time reference present in the context. When a past time orientation is established by the context the meanings HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW FOCUS NOW allow the inference that the event is taking place in the past.

In the previous chapter it was shown that the meanings of the Before phase of the Time-Focus interlock are exploited to structure the frame of a narrative. The meaning MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE is found associated with the verbs which refer to events central to the main narrative line while the meaning LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE serves to convey events which merely support the narrative. In this chapter we discuss the usage in narrative of the meanings of the NOW phase of the interlock.

The switch from the Time meaning BEFORE, which establishes the temporal orientation, to the Time meaning NOW is a very common occurrence in both literary and colloquial Serbo-Croatian. When used in narrative this is one of the well attested 'uses' of the Present Tense, usually referred to as the 'historical' or 'narrative' Present.

As mentioned earlier the switch from the BEFORE Time meaning to the NOW Time meaning can occur at any point. It can occur within an utterance or within a paragraph; the NOW meaning can alternate with the BEFORE meaning from

paragraph to paragraph, or remain for an extended stretch of the narrative. In the chapter on the meanings of the semantic substance of Time we explained that in the most transparent cases, in indirect speech after a verb of speaking, when the first verb (that of speaking) is associated with the meaning BEFORE, the following verb or verbs in the same utterance are then oriented with reference to that verb of speaking. The following verbs are thus associated with the meaning NOW. That is, once the past time reference is established the speaker does not have to repeat it. In the Serbo-Croatian version of the example below, only the verb of speaking is associated with the meaning BEFORE while in its English translation both verbs are conveyed with past tenses:

1. Rekao je (BEFORE) da dolazi (NOW).
'He said (PAST) he was coming (PAST).'

A similar procedure, without a verb of speaking, is followed when the switch from BEFORE to NOW occurs within a paragraph as in the following example:

2. U prvim mesecima 1941 godine, atmosfera nervoznog isčekivanja, zabrinutosti i zlog ćutanja počela (2) je u varoši sve više da se zgušnjava i mračí. Čak je i u "Titaniku" šala postala (2) retka i smeh zanro (2). Dolaze (B) ljudi kao i pre, piju (B) svaki svoje, kockari organizuju (B) partije, ali svi govore

(NOW -N) manje, i pričaju (B) samo beznačajne stvari; pa ipak svaki čas razgovor zapne (A) i pogledi nesigurno i kolebljivo šaraju (B).

PRI-376

"In the opening months of 1941, the mood of nervous expectation, worry, and ominous silence began (BEFORE MORE IN FOCUS) to thicken and darken throughout the city. Even at the Titanic, humor grew thin (BEFORE MORE IN FOCUS) and laughter died out (BEFORE MORE IN FOCUS). People came (LOW FOCUS NOW) as before, each drinking (LOW FOCUS NOW) his own portion, and the gamblers still organized (NOW LOW) their parties, but they all talked (NOW-N) noticeably less and confined themselves to meaningless matters; and with all that, conversation flagged (HIGH FOCUS NOW) every other moment and their eyes sidled (LOW FOCUS NOW) uncertainly and haltingly around the room."

PC258

In this example the switch from BEFORE to NOW meanings occurs within the paragraph. The first three verbal forms are associated with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE, 'began to', 'grew thin' and 'died out'. After that, the author uses the meaning NOW in giving an event by event account of how the once frivolous atmosphere in the bar "Titanic" became subdued. However, in using the NOW meanings for the remaining events of the paragraph the author is not shifting to a different period of time.

Entire paragraphs or longer stretches of narrative can

be conveyed primarily with BEFORE or primarily with NOW meanings. To illustrate this we examine the first twenty paragraphs of Chapter 3 in the novel The Bridge on the Drina, by Ivo Andrić. The first eleven paragraphs are conveyed primarily with BEFORE meanings. Paragraphs twelve through twenty are conveyed primarily with the meaning NOW and the narrator switches back to the meaning BEFORE in the last paragraph. The gloss I/A in this example refers to instances of synchretism between the third person singular forms signaling the meanings HIGH FOCUS NOW and MOST IN FOCUS BEFORE.

In the English translation of the abridged text which follows we will examine at what points in the narrative the switch between BEFORE and NOW meanings occurs in order to see what types of narrative material the author introduces during these switches and to understand better what motivates him to exploit the meaning BEFORE in some paragraphs and the meaning NOW in others. We disregard here the minor switches which occur within paragraphs in order to simplify the presentation.

3. 1. In the spring of that year when the vizier had made (MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE) his decision to build, his men arrived (MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE) in the town to prepare everything necessary ...
2. At the head of this group was (LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE) Abidaga, who was responsible to the Vizier...The

- speech which this violent man delivered (MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE) astonished them (MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE) even more than his appearance...
3. After this unusual introduction, to which all listened (MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE) in silence and with downcast eyes, Abidaga explained (MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE) that it was (NOW) a matter of a building of great importance....
 4. Beside him sat (LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE) Tosun Effendi, a small, pale, yellowish renegade, born in the Greek islands...
 5. The notables filed out (MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE) of the small stuffy tent, troubled and downcast...
 6. A great and incomprehensible disaster had fallen (MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE) upon the town and the whole of the district.
First of all began (MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE) felling of the forests..
 7. All this was carried out (LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE) under Abidaga's supervision...When in late autumn Abidaga left (LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE) the town he again sent for the notables and (MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE) told them (MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE) that he was going away (NOW) but that his eye would still be (NOW) on them. They would be responsible...
 8. All the winter the townsmen guarded (LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE) the material and the construction works like the eye in their head...And when with the spring Abidaga once again appeared (MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE) with Tosun Effendi there came (MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE) with them Dalmatian stone-cutters...
 9. Then began (MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE) the hauling of stone from the quarries which had already been opened up...

10. Next year a most unusual spring broke (MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE) near the Višegrad ferry...
11. On the steep bank worked (LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE) the master stone-masons. The whole area took on (MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE) a sort of yellowish color from the stone-dust. And a little further along, on the sandy plain, local workers were shaking (LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE) lime and moving, ragged and pale, through the white smoke which rose high (LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE) from the kilns. The roads were torn to pieces by the over-loaded carts. The ferry worked (LOW FOCUS NOW) all day, taking from one bank to the other building material, overseers and workmen. Wading in the spring water up to their waists, special workers drove in (LOW FOCUS NOW) piles and stakes and put in (LOW FOCUS NOW) position gabions filled with clay, intended to break the current.
12. All this was watched (NOW) by those who up till then had lived (BEFORE) peacefully in their scattered houses on the slopes near the Drina ferry...
13. At first they had all been proud (BEFORE) of the great bequest....Then they had not realized (BEFORE), as they now saw (NOW) with their own eyes that these glorious buildings involved (NOW) so much disorder and unrest...
14. So thought (NOW) the recently converted Turks of the town and, in private among themselves, avowed (NOW) that they had become fed up (MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE)..
15. All this had affected (MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE) the Turks, but even more it had affected (MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE) the Christian rayah of the whole Višegrad district...
16. This was (NOW) the third autumn that the people were

forced to labor (NOW) on the bridge and in no way could it be seen that the work was progressing (NOW)...Autumn was (NOW) already in full spate...But Abidaga did not halt (NOW) the work. Under the wan November sun the peasants dragged (NOW) wood and stone, waded (NOW) with bare feet...In a heavy surcoat of Russian fur and high boots, Abidaga climbed (NOW), with red congested face, over the scaffoldings, visited (NOW) forges, barracks and workers' huts and swore (NOW) at everyone he came across, overseers and constructors alike.

17. He burst out (NOW) in fury ...He ground (NOW) his teeth. He summoned (NOW) overseers ...
18. The people were sleeping (NOW) in their huts and stables. But all were not asleep (NOW)...In a dry and spacious stable a fire was burning (NOW)... They were (NOW) all pressed men, peasants from the neighborhood, Christian rayah. All were (NOW) muddy and wet through, exhausted and careworn. They resented this unpaid and pointless forced labor while up there in the villages their fields awaited (NOW) the autumn ploughing in vain...Among them was (BEFORE) a certain Montenegrin...
19. Most of the wakeful peasants, especially the younger ones, gathered (NOW) around him. From the deep pocket of his cloak the Montenegrin drew out (NOW) a gusle, a tiny primitive fiddle... One of the peasants went (NOW) outside and mounted (NOW) guard before the stable lest some Turk should chance to come along... At last the first notes wailed out (HIGH FOCUS NOW) sharp and uneven. The excitement rose (NOW)...Then, suddenly, after he had more or less attuned (BEFORE) his voice to the gusle, the Montenegrin threw back (1/A) his head proudly, and

violently so that the Adam's apple stood out (1/A) in his scrawny neck and his sharp profile was outlined (MOST IN FOCUS BEFORE) in the firelight and sang (1/A) in a strangled and constrained voice: The Serbian Tzar Stefan...

20. The peasants pressed closer (NOW) and closer around the singer but without making the slightest noise; their very breathing could be heard. Their half closed eyes, carried away with wonder...
21. Among the countless peasants was (BEFORE) a certain Radisav...

BOD30-39

With this skewing we are confronted with the problem of finding out what motivates the switch in the distribution between the Time meaning BEFORE and the Time meaning NOW when both meanings BEFORE and NOW refer to past events. As a first step, we can look at the characteristics of the meanings BEFORE and NOW. The meaning BEFORE in Serbo-Croatian is used specifically to refer to the past while the meaning NOW may refer to either the past, the present or the future depending on the contextual time reference. In this respect, the meaning BEFORE is a more precise Time meaning than the meaning NOW. We can expect therefore that the Serbo-Croatian writer will exploit the more precise meaning when and where the precision is needed and that he will exploit the less precise meaning elsewhere.

How an author exploits the opposition between the meanings BEFORE and NOW is entirely up to him. It was mentioned earlier that the Serbo-Croatian author generally uses the meaning MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE to establish sequential progression of the plot and that he uses the meaning LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE for material which supports the narrative. The low degree of Focus (LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE) has the effect on the message of slowing down the pace of the narrative. We can look at the example just quoted to see what effect the introduction of the meaning NOW has on the progression of the narrative.

We have seen that in the first eleven paragraphs the principal usage is the meaning BEFORE: the Vizier's men arrived at Višegrad; at the head of the group was Abidaga; he explained to the town's notables the mission and his harsh methods; Tosun Effendi, a master mason who carried out many bequests for the Vizier, was in charge of construction, etc. etc. These events establish the forward progression of the main narrative.

The major switch from the Time meaning BEFORE to the Time meaning NOW occurs in the middle of paragraph eleven. The eleventh paragraph begins with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE ("worked", "were slaking" and "rose") but continues with the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW. At this point the

author begins to describe the attitude of the local people toward the construction in general. That is, people living in Višegrad and in the surrounding villages watched in disgust as their town was turned into the hell that a major construction like that usually causes. They were all very unhappy because they were forced to work without pay, together with their carts and horses and to neglect their land or shops because of that. At the same time, Abidaga became increasingly furious because the work did not proceed fast enough and resentment grew among the forced labor consisting mostly of Christians because they were treated very badly. This resentment was furthered by a performance of a Montenegrin "guslar" who, before their very eyes, transformed from a wretched laborer into a proud bard who sang about their glorious past. (Certain verbs in paragraphs 12, 13, 14 and 15 are associated with the meaning BEFORE but they all refer to events that are anterior with respect to the time reference of the paragraph.) In paragraph 21 the author goes back to the meaning MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE to resume the forward flow of the narrative.

Once the time meaning NOW is introduced in the middle of paragraph eleven the forward progression of the narrative is halted. The narrative is not moving either ahead or back but remains suspended while the author

introduces a detailed account of the situation reached at that point: the feelings of the local people and the outside forced labor toward the construction, the slow progression of work due to bad weather and the angry reaction of Abidaga to it. In paragraph 11 the meaning LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE ('were slaking lime', 'rose') preceding the meaning NOW has already slowed down the pace of the narrative. When the meaning NOW is introduced it has the effect of arresting the flow of the narrative altogether, as if giving a clue to the reader that "now" this is the state of affairs reached at that point in the narrative. This "now" effect, produced with the meaning NOW, is often explicitly introduced as in the following example:

4. Sve što je dremalo (3) u ljudima, drevno kao ovaj most i nemo i nepomično kao on, sad je odjednom oživelo (2) i počelo (2) da utiče na svakodnevni život, opšte raspoloženje i ličnu sudbinu svakog pojedinca. Prvi letnji dani 1913 godine, kišoviti i mlaki. Na kapiji sede (B) danju potišteni varoški muslimani, stariji ljudi, po desetak njih oko jednog mladjeg, koji im čita (B) novine, tunači (B) strane izraze i neobična imena i objašnjava geografiju. Svi mirno puše (B) i nepokolebljivo gledaju preda se, ali se ne da potpuno sakriti da su brižnji i potrešeni. Prikrivajući uzbuđenje, naginju se (B) nad geografsku kartu na kojoj je označena buduća podjela Balkanskog poluostrva.

NDC260

"All that had lain quiescent (LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE) in men, as ancient as that bridge and equally dumb and motionless, NOW suddenly came alive (MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE) and began (MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE) to influence their everyday life, their general mood and the personal fate of every individual. The first summer days of 1913 were (NOW-N) rainy and oppressive. On the kapia by day sat (LOW FOCUS NOW) the Muslims of the town, morose and disconsolate, about a dozen elderly men grouped around a younger one who read (LOW FOCUS NOW) to them from the newspapers, interpreting (LOW FOCUS NOW) foreign expressions and unusual names and explaining (LOW FOCUS NOW) the geography. All smoked (LOW FOCUS NOW) peacefully and gazed (NOW-N) unwaveringly in front of them from the newspapers but could not completely conceal that they were (NOW-N) anxious and shaken. Hiding their emotions, they bent over (LOW FOCUS NOW) the map which showed (Passive) the future partition of the Balkan Peninsula."

BOD309

Similarly, in the extended example above the more general events referring to the construction of the bridge are associated with the meanings BEFORE while the feeling of resentment of the local people and Abidaga's angry reaction to their behavior are conveyed with the meanings NOW. The former move the narrative forward and are more general in nature while the latter are more local and descriptive in character.

The same is true for the switch from the meanings

BEFORE to the meanings NOW in example two quoted earlier. In this example also, the events more general in nature which refer to the subdued atmosphere in the bar "Titanic" are conveyed with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE while the event by event description of how this general feeling was reflected in the everyday life of the bar is conveyed with the meaning NOW. This same relationship holds in numerous examples we have examined. That is, the material presented during these switches from BEFORE to NOW (when events are primarily associated mostly with NOW) does not represent part of the narrative which advances the plot.

Regardless of the considerations just discussed concerning the alternation between the meanings BEFORE and NOW in narrative, what is of greatest interest to us is the exploitation of the difference of LOW FOCUS NOW and HIGH FOCUS NOW. In what follows we shall demonstrate that every time these two meanings are used in narrative they are always used in opposition to each other along the Focus of attention line. Every time we encounter an instance of HIGH FOCUS NOW we can expect something in the context to tell us that that event calls for a higher degree of attention than events associated with the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW and occurring in the same stretch of text. Often, when we encounter a verb associated with the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW its relevance to the ongoing story may be very low and its

lexical meaning may be the only information which needs to be specified in that given context. Putting more emphasis on the event associated with LOW FOCUS NOW would be a distortion of the message being conveyed.

When we look at the paragraphs conveyed with the meanings LOW FOCUS NOW and HIGH FOCUS NOW in which these two meanings refer to past events we see that there are many similarities between these strategies of exploitation and those in which the meanings of the Before phase of the interlock, MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE and LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE, are used. Just as with the low degree of Focus of the Before phase of the interlock, the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW is found in passages in which static scenes (and also characters) are described. These descriptions are characterized by a low density of verbal forms in general. The following example is an instance of static description rendered with the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW:

5. Već pored samog parka koji okružuje (B) duvansku fabriku nalazi se (B), u Mutevlića ulici, poslednja od tih kafana. Kuća na sprat, ljušti se (B) kao gubava, prozori bez zavesa, bez cveća, kao bolesne oči bez trepavica. Arhitektura iz sredine austriskog vladanja u kojoj ima (N) nečeg bastardnog između tadašnjeg gradjevinarstva srednje Evrope i bliskjog Istoka, malokrvna, slabog daha. Beda bez draži i slikovitosti.

PRI-371

"On the very edge of the park that enclosed (LOW FOCUS NOW) the tobacco factory, in Mutevlić Street, was (B) the hindmost of these bars. A two-storied house with peeling (LOW FOCUS NOW) plaster as if of a loathsome skin disease, and its windows, flowerless and bare of curtains, like festering eyes shorn of lashes and brows. Its building style, from the middle period of Austrian rule, was (N) something of a bastard offspring of the architecture of Central Europe and the Near East, suffering from anemia and weak breath. Its visage one of poverty, but poverty stripped of charm and picturesqueness."

PC251

This is part of the description of the bar "Titanic" in the story of the same name by Andrić. It is a low key description of a static scene and it contains only four verbal forms.

The meaning LOW FOCUS NOW is exploited not only for descriptions of static scenes like the one just quoted but also for descriptions of varied background activities as illustrated by the following examples taken from paragraphs 11 and 16 of the text quoted earlier:

6. Skela radi (B) po vas dan prevozeći sa jedne obale na drugu gradju, nadzornike i radnike. Gazeći sjeru prolećnu vodu do pasa, naročiti radnici pobijaju (B) direke i kolje i sastavljaju (B) pletare nabijene ilovačom koji treba da rastave tok vode.

NDC43

"The ferry worked (LOW FOCUS NOW) all day, taking from one bank to the other building material, overseers and workmen. Wading in the spring waters up to their waists, special workmen drove in (LOW FOCUS NOW) piles and stakes and put in (LOW FOCUS NOW) position gabions filled with clay, intended to break the current."

BOD34

7. Na oskudnom novembarskom suncu vuku (B) seljaci drvo i kamen, šljapću (B) bosim nogama ili krvavim opancima po raskaljanom putu, znoje se (B) od napora i zebu (B) od vetra i pritežu (B) oko sebe crne pelengire, pune novih rupa i starih zakrpa i vezuju (B) pocepane krajeve svoje jedine košulje od grubog lana koja je pocrnela od kiše, blata i dima, ali oni ne smeju da je operu , jer bi se u vodi raspala sva na sitna vlakna.

NDC43

"Under the wan November sun the peasants dragged (LOW FOCUS NOW) wood and stones, waded (LOW FOCUS NOW) with bare feet or with sandals of freshly slaughtered hide along the muddy roads, sweating (LOW FOCUS NOW) with strain or chilled (LOW FOCUS NOW) by the wind, folding around themselves (LOW FOCUS NOW) cloaks full of new holes and old patches, and knotting up (LOW FOCUS NOW) the ragged ends of their single shirts of coarse linen, blackened by rain, mud and smoke, which they dared not wash lest they fall to pieces in the water."

BOD36

Even though there is a high level of activity in these examples the author associates all the verbs with the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW. This activity does not merit any particular emphasis because it represents the typical behavior of a large group of people, none of whom is individually identified.

The LOW FOCUS NOW meaning, like its counterpart in the Before phase of the interlock, is often exploited for elaboration, as illustrated by the following example (previously quoted as example 2):

8. U prvim mesecima 1941 godine atmosfera nervoznog isčekivanja, zabrinutosti i zlog ćutanja počela je (2) u varoši sve više da se sgušnjava i mrači. Čak i u "Titaniku" je šala postala (2) retka i smeh zamro (2). Dolaze (B) ljudi kao i pre, piju (B) svaki svoje, kockari organizuju (B) partije, ali svi govore (B) manja i pričaju (BW) samo beznačajne stvari.

PRI-376

"In the opening months of the year 1941, the mood of nervous expectation, worry, and ominous silence began (MORE IN FOCUS) to thicken and darken throughout the city. Even at the Titanic, humor grew thin (MORE IN FOCUS) and laughter died out (MORE IN FOCUS). People came (LOW FOCUS NOW) as before, each drinking (LOW FOCUS NOW) his own portion and the gamblers still organized (LOW FOCUS

noticeably less and confined themselves to trivialities."

PC258

In this example, the series of verbs in association with the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW is used to elaborate on what is meant by the previous statement which attested to a change in the city even prior to the German occupation of Sarajevo.

From the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW the reader can also infer that past events were repeated. In the section in which we discussed the meaning LOW FOCUS BEFORE and the nuance of repetition it allows, we explained that the nuance of repetition was not part of the meaning but that it was provided in the context by other means. The verbs from which the reader inferred repetitive events were associated with the meaning signaling a low degree of attention not because these events were repetitive but because these events did not deserve a higher degree of attention. The following example, paragraph 16 of the larger text we quoted earlier, is such an example in which the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW occurs:

9. Nad svima lebdi Abidagin zeleni štap, jer Abidaga obilazi (B) majdan u Banji i sve radove oko mosta i to po nekoliko puta u danu. On je ljutit

i kivan što dani kraćaju (B) a posao ne odmiče (B) brzo kako bi on hteo. U teškom ćurku od ruskog krzna i visokim čizmama, zajapuren u licu penje se (B) po skelama onih stubova koji se već dižu (B) nad vodom, ulazi (B) u kovačnice, ostave i radničke kolibe, i napada (B) sve redom, nadzornike i preduzimače.

NDC46

"Over all of them hovered Abidaga's green staff, for Abidaga visited (LOW FOCUS NOW) both the quarries at Banja and the works around the bridge several times each day. He was (NOW-N) filled with rage and fury against the whole world because the days were growing shorter (LOW FOCUS NOW) and the work did not progress (LOW FOCUS NOW) as quickly as he wished. In a heavy surcoat of Russian fur and high boots, he climbed (LOW FOCUS NOW) with red congested face, over the scaffoldings of such piers as already arose from the waters, visited (LOW FOCUS NOW) forges, barracks and workers' huts and swore at everyone (LOW FOCUS NOW) he came across, overseers and contractors alike."

BOD36

From some of these verbs associated with the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW ("visited", "climbed", "visited", "swore at") we infer repeated events. However, the author assigned to these events a low level of prominence not because they were repeated but because they were typical occurrences outside the main line of the narrative. The nuance of

repetition was introduced in the context with the expression "several times each day". Also, the phrase "the days were growing shorter" suggests an extended period of time.

The meaning LOW FOCUS NOW is thus exploited in strategies very similar to those in which the low Focus meaning of the Before phase of the interlock is used: in elaborative statements, descriptive asides and in general in narrative material the author wishes to background with respect to other more salient material. The meaning LOW FOCUS NOW is exploited in those stretches of the narrative in which the author arrests the flow of the narrative to bring in additional material, an episode illustrating the current state of affairs in the story, or a commentary by the author. Had this material been conveyed with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE it would have resulted in slowing down the pace of the narrative with the risk of losing the attention of the reader altogether.

By contrast, the high degree of Focus of the NOW phase of the interlock is exploited to convey events which are more relevant by comparison. The meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW tends to be exploited to convey sequencing within the episode, to convey dramatic events within the episode, to imply a successful outcome of some effort, etc. A good example of the last strategy is the episode of the

Montenegrin guslar, mentioned earlier, which we quote in full below:

10. Sad je oko njega okupljen najveći broj budnih seljaka, naročito mladjih. Iz dubokog džepa svoga sivog gunja Crnogorac izvlači (B) gusle, neugledne i malene kao podlanica, i kratko gudalo. Jedan od seljaka izlazi (B) pred pojatu i čuva (B) stražu, da ne naidje ko od Turaka. Svi gledaju u Crnogorca kao da ga prvi put vide i u gusle koje izčezavaju (B) u njegovim velikim šakama. On se savija (B), gusle su mu u krilu, a glavu od gusala pritište (B) bradom, maže (B) strunu smolom i huče (B) u gudalo: sve je vlažno i odvuglo. I dok obavlja (B) sve te sitne radnje, samosvesno i mirno kao da je sam na svetu, oni ga netremice gledaju. Najposle jekne (A) prvi zvuk, rezak i neravan.

NDC46/47

"Most of the wakeful peasants, especially the younger ones, gathered around him. From the deep pocket of his cloak the Montenegrin drew out (LOW FOCUS NOW) a gusle, a tiny primitive fiddle, clumsy and as small as the palm of a man's hand, and a short bow. One of the peasants went outside (LOW FOCUS NOW) and mounted guard (LOW FOCUS NOW) before the stable lest some Turk should chance to come along (HIGH FOCUS NOW). All looked (N) at the Montenegrin as if they saw (N) him for the first time and at the gusle which seemed (N) to disappear in his huge hands. He bent over (LOW FOCUS NOW) the gusle in his lap, and pressed (LOW FOCUS NOW) its head under his chin, greased (LOW

FOCUS NOW) the string with resin and breathed (LOW FOCUS NOW) heavily on the bow; everything was moist and slack. While he occupied (LOW FOCUS NOW) himself with these petty tasks, calmly and self-confidently as if he were alone in the world, they all looked (N) at him without a movement. At last the first notes wailed out (HIGH FOCUS NOW), sharp and uneven."

BOD38

At the end of this example we find one clear instance of the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW: jekne - 'wailed out', which follows a string of verbs associated with the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW. The LOW FOCUS NOW marked verbs represent routine occurrences (referred to in the text as "petty tasks") which precede and prepare the event of the first actual sound. This first tentative sound came after a long period of preparation and the author highlights the event. Other contextual clues in these environments also suggest a positive outcome, the lexical meaning of the adverb na;posle 'finally'.

Another such example is the following one:

11. Seljak čući (B), vadi (B) jednu po jednu, zagleda (B) joj krivinu, boju i sjaj, opipava (B) prstom rez, hvata (B) je sa obe ruke, prinosi (B) obrazu kao pušku i gleda niz oštricu, kao da nišani (B). Pljučka na čelik, liže (B) ga i trlja (B). Kad odabere (A) i odvoji (A) dve tri najbolje, seljak izlazi (B) sa njima napolje.

"Crouching (LOW FOCUS NOW) the peasant pulled them (LOW FOCUS NOW) one by one, examining (LOW FOCUS NOW) the curve of each, its color and temper, testing (LOW FOCUS NOW) the blade with his finger, grasping (LOW FOCUS NOW) it with both hands, raising (LOW FOCUS NOW) it to his cheek like a gun and peering down its ridge as if taking aim (LOW FOCUS NOW). He spat (LOW FOCUS NOW) at the steel, scratched (LOW FOCUS NOW) it with his nail, and felt (LOW FOCUS NOW) it with his tongue... When he had picked out (HIGH FOCUS NOW) and put aside (HIGH FOCUS NOW) the two or three best scythes Vitomir carried them (LOW FOCUS NOW) out of the store."

PC224

In this example also a series of verbs associated with the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW describes the preliminary testing of all the scythes in order to choose the best one. The final result is rendered with the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW.

In the following example the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW is exploited for sequential events which serve to move the episode to its closing:

12. Objašnjavaju se (B) dugo, čas živo, čas tiho i zabrinuto, ali se na kraju sporazume (A) i pogode (A). Tada Sento ustane (A), potegne (A) iz džepa ključeve na lancu i ne odvajajući ih od lanca otključa (A) njima kasu, koja najpre škijocne (A),

a zatim se otvara (B) sporo i svečano, i, kao sve velike kase, zatvara (B) sa onim finim metalnim šumom, kao uzdahom. Izbroji (A) seljaku novac sve do u bakrene helere, i sve podjednako brižno i pažljivo, nekako tužno svečano. A onda vikne (A), ali mnogo življe, izmenjenim glasom:

- E, je li pravo ovako i jel' ti slatko Ibraga?

NDC308

"They discussed it (LOW FOCUS NOW) for a long time, now vivaciously, now quietly and anxiously, but in the end they came to an agreement (HIGH FOCUS NOW). Then Santo rose (HIGH FOCUS NOW), took a bunch of keys on a chain from his pocket (HIGH FOCUS NOW) and without removing them from the chain, unlocked (HIGH FOCUS NOW) the safe which first creaked (HIGH FOCUS NOW) and then opened (LOW FOCUS NOW) slowly and solemnly and then, like all large safes, closed (LOW FOCUS NOW) with a fine metallic noise like a sigh. He counted out (HIGH FOCUS NOW) the money to the peasant, down to the copper heller, all with the same care and attention, somehow solemnly and sadly. Then in a changed and more animated voice he said ('shouted') (HIGH FOCUS NOW): "Well, is that all right by you Ibraga? Are you satisfied?"

BOD365

This example describes a scene in which a peasant comes to borrow money from a Višegrad merchant. The year is 1914 but in their transaction the two men follow an ancient ritual. Prior to the actual business they make small talk about the times, the harvest and their families' health.

The example begins at the middle of the episode. The series of verbs associated with the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW conveys activities which bound one another: once the agreement is struck, the merchant rises, takes the keys from his pocket, unlocks the safe, counts the money to the last penny and finally asks his customer whether he is pleased with the transaction. All these events follow in a series. They move this episode, itself located within a larger episode, to its closing. (The two verbs marked with the LOW FOCUS NOW -"the safe opened" and "closed" represent side remarks.)

In the following example the only verb associated with the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW occurring at the end of the example refers to the thematically most important event which marks the beginning of the sub-plot of the episode:

13. Nerazbudjeno jutro, glava još ošamućena od sna, telo toplo i ne jako od dubokog spavanja, tučana peć u ćošku sobe veselo bukći (B), naložena ne znam kada, bio sam u snu kad je neko založio bukova drva što sad veselo prašte (B), ne izlazi mi se (B) iz sna, na silu otvaram (B) oči, želim (B) da se ponovo vratim u blaženstvo odsutnosti i paučinastih snova, ali kočijaši već lupaju (B) vratima velikog hambara, udaraju (B) u dovratok okovanim kištama punim zobi, čuje se grub smijeh i glasne psovke, nervozan topot konjskih kopita u stajama, nestrpljivo mukanje krava, veseo razgovor u kuhinji, a onda - kao munja blesne (A) misao: djed!

SJ9

"Morning not awake, my head still stunned by sleep, my body warm and feeble from deep sleeping, the bronze stove in the corner of the room blazing (LOW FOCUS), set I do not know when. I was asleep when someone put in (BEFORE) the beech logs which are cracking now (LOW FOCUS). I do not feel (LOW FOCUS) like waking up, I force myself (LOW FOCUS) to open my eyes. I want (NOW) to go back to the blissful state of absence and the web-like dreams but coachmen are already banging (LOW FOCUS) the doors of the barn, hitting (LOW FOCUS) doorsteps with metal caskets full of oats; crude laughter and loud curses could be heard as well as the nervous thuds of horses' hooves, the impatient mooing of cows and a lively conversation in the kitchen and then, like a lightning, the thought flashes (HIGH FOCUS NOW) through my mind: the grandfather!"

This example is from the autobiography of the author. It is from the very beginning and follows the first introductory sentence. According to the author this is the first picture that appeared to him when he tried to recall his early childhood. This example contains seven verbs associated with the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW and only one verb associated with the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW, blesne 'flashes', at the very end.

The paragraph starts with very low key statements characterized by an absence of activity. The first two utterances do not contain verbs at all. The passage

describes how the young boy wakes up on a certain morning. As he becomes increasingly aware of his immediate surroundings - the burning of the stove and the cracking of the logs (both verbs associated with the meaning LOW FOCUS) - he is struggling to stay asleep. Gradually, he becomes aware of the activity in the yard, the background noises of coachmen, the sounds of animals and the conversation in the kitchen. Then, with the suddenness and swiftness of lightning, the thought of his grandfather overwhelms the boy. By its importance the thought of the grandfather overshadows any resistance to waking up or any other perception for that matter. This is definitely the most important event in the passage.

In addition to the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW, other clues suggest that this is an important occurrence: the lexical meaning of the verb, the exclamation mark at the end of the utterance, the analogy to the lightning as well as the adverb "then" which tells us that something is about to happen. Such a thought, in contrast to the background activities and the boy's half asleep perception of the environment deserves a high degree of attention. From the further context we know that it was very important to the young boy to get up earlier than any of his brothers and sisters in order to have his beloved grandfather all for himself without having to share him with others.

In these examples we see that when the author wants to signal that an event ranks high and is of great importance to the episode he switches consistently from the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW to the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW to underscore its importance. However, when he wants to communicate explicitly that an event is of thematic importance, not only for the episode but for the story as a whole, the Serbo-Croatian author is careful to convey that event with a BEFORE meaning signaling a high degree of Focus. The episode of the Montenegrin fiddler quoted earlier illustrates this very well:

14. I dok obavlja (B) sve te sitne radnje samosvesno i mirno kao da je sam na svetu, oni ga netremice gledaju. Najposle jekne (A) prvi zvuk, rezak i neravan. Uzbudjenje raste (B). A Crnogorac podešava (B) i počinje (B) kroz nos da pušta svoj glas i da njime dopunjava zvuk gusala. Sve se slaže (B) i sve nagoveštava (B) čudnu priču. A u jednom trenutku Crnogorac zabaci (1) odjednom glavu silovito i ponosno da mu iskoči (1) jabučica na mršavom vratu i blesnu (1) oštar profil pri svetlosti i pusti (1) prigušen i otegnut zvuk: "Aaaa - aaaaa!" i odmah nastavi (1) razgovetno i kliktavo:
 "Pi je vino srpski car Stevane... "

NDC47

"While he occupied himself (LOW FOCUS NOW) with these petty tasks, calmly and self-confidently as

if he were alone in the world, they all looked at him without a movement. At last the first notes wailed out (HIGH FOCUS NOW), sharp and uneven. The excitement rose (LOW FOCUS NOW). The Montenegrin found the key (LOW FOCUS NOW) and began (LOW FOCUS NOW) to sing through his nose and accompany himself with the gusle. Everyone was intent awaiting (LOW FOCUS NOW) a wonderful tale. Then, suddenly, the Montenegrin threw back (MOST IN FOCUS BEFORE) his head proudly and violently so that his Adam's apple stood out (MOST IN FOCUS BEFORE) in his scrawny neck and his sharp profile was outlined (MOST IN FOCUS BEFORE) in the firelight, and sang (MOST IN FOCUS BEFORE) in a strangled and constrained voice: "Aaaa - aaaa" and then all at once (continued -MOST IN FOCUS BEFORE) in a clear and ringing voice:

"The Serbian Tzar Stefen drank wine... "

BOD38

We pointed out earlier that in the first part of this episode in which the author describes the lengthy preparations of the fiddler only one event is foregrounded—the first tentative sounds of the Montenegrin's song. However, to describe the transformation taking place in the singer from a wretched slave to a proud bard, the author exploits the highest degree of the Before meaning - MOST IN FOCUS. The author has a special reason for stressing this event. The entire episode of the Montenegrin, his singing

and the effect his singing has on the people around him, is used as a metaphor. It suggests the analogy between this event and the preparation for rebellion to occur in the future in these parts which were for centuries under the rule of foreign powers. The first weak and tentative voice of revolt corresponds in the later story to the episode of Radisav, a simple peasant, who urges people to rebel and to sabotage the project.

Had this episode been conveyed with the meanings BEFORE it would then be interpreted as a part of the central narrative line. Yet the singing of the Montenegrin at this point serves only to increase the resentment of people, to wake their pride and give them an idea that something can be done about their lot. The episode does not move the story ahead at this point, it just announces what lies ahead in the future. This foreshadows the principal theme of the novel - the triumph of the subjugated people over the foreign enemy.

When we look at the examples quoted in this section we can observe that the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW is more frequent than the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW. If we recall that during these switches from the Time meaning BEFORE to the meaning NOW the author does not introduce events central to the main narrative line but rather descriptive-elaborative and episodic material this distribution is not unexpected. The

relative low frequency of the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW in narrative is observed by other scholars as well. Stevanović states for example that the use of the Perfective Present (HIGH FOCUS NOW) in its "historical" function is reduced to the vanishing point. This seems to be particularly true for those areas of Serbo-Croatian in which the meaning MOST IN FOCUS BEFORE (the Aorist) is in active use. By contrast, in those areas in which the meaning MOST IN FOCUS BEFORE is in retreat, one finds a much higher number of instances of the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW which is then used in some environments in which the meaning MOST IN FOCUS BEFORE is appropriate elsewhere. Our statistical counts, based primarily on the writing of those authors who do have the meaning MOST IN FOCUS BEFORE in their inventories, and presented in the following chapter, attest to this. There were almost three times as many LOW FOCUS NOW as HIGH FOCUS NOW meanings, 974 to 345.

According to the traditional analysis when the Present Tense forms are used to refer to past events they are used in that way intentionally in order to present these events as if they were being witnessed at the moment of speaking. This deliberate transposition has then the effect on the narrative of giving it the vividness and the immediacy which characterize conversational style. This widely accepted analysis claims that the 'historical' present

makes the past more vivid by moving past events out of their original time frame and into the moment of speaking. It is claimed that this device is used by skillful writers to increase the dramatic impact of the story. (In addition to this 'dramatic' hypothesis, there is a syntactic one, advanced in the late sixties by Paul Kiparsky which claims that the Present Tense is semantically indistinguishable from the Past Tense. The Present Tense is an underlying past tense which is transformed into the Present Tense by a syntactic rule on the surface.)

In the late '70s the traditional 'dramatic' hypothesis was challenged. In "The Conversational Historical Present Alternation", Nessa Wolfson claims that the historical present does not have any significance in itself. That is, since the Present Tense does not signal the actual present at all, it is useless to invoke the argument of dynamicity or vividness. What is relevant for Wolfson is the switching from a past tense to the Present Tense. This is for her a discourse feature which serves to separate events from one another.

The two claims however, one held in traditional analysis and one advanced by Wolfson, do not provide any rationale which explains the actual usage of these forms. Actually, both claims are untrue. They are only incidental consequences of one and the same thing - strategies of

exploitation of the two Focus meanings, HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW FOCUS NOW, in narrative.

The traditional analysis claims that the "historical" present makes the past more vivid. Yet we have seen that the stretches of narrative in which the verbs are associated with the meanings NOW are rather descriptive and only supportive in character. Descriptive and elaborative material is generally conveyed in Serbo-Croatian with meanings signaling a low degree of Focus. There does not seem to be any reason to interpret this material as more vivid or dynamic.

We have seen that by switching to the NOW meanings the author freezes the stream of the narrative in order to bring in a description of the situation the story has reached at that point. After a while he resumes the flow of the narrative with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE to orient the reader and to bring up his level of attention and then switches back to the meaning NOW. The necessity of following these switches in order to know what is "now" and what is "before" keeps the reader on his guard.

These switches are performed primarily in order to make the story more interesting. That is, to avoid a long stretch of the narrative in which very little happens the author changes the content. Had the author chosen to continue paragraphs 11 through 20 in example three above

with the meanings of the BEFORE phase of the Time-Focus interlock, these stretches which represent basically elaborative material, would have been most likely conveyed with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE. This would have resulted in a very slow, almost tedious narrative flow. To avoid this, the author arrests the narrative, pauses for the time being. The incidental consequence of this pause may be an effect of highlighting. That is, by projecting them as "now" occurrences the author does not insist on the anteriority of these events and the reader experiences them as less remote and somewhat more current. Even so, these events are all associated with the low degree of Focus appropriate for this type of narrative material.

The second, equally incidental consequence of these switches is what Wolfson and some other scholars noticed. Namely, the Present Tense used as "historical present" serves to keep different sets of events separate. In example three above, one set of events is tied to the construction of the bridge and generally conveyed with the meaning BEFORE while the second set of events, the feeling of the local people about the construction, is conveyed with the meaning NOW. This distribution has its reasons. We cannot forget that the construction of the bridge is the main topic of this chapter, while the long elaboration on how the local people and forced labor felt about the

construction represents only a descriptive aside that does not deserve to be focused on.

Thus both the effect of vividness attributed to the presence of the Present Tense in these stretches of the narrative and the discourse device by which the author keeps different sets of events separate as Nessa Wolfson suggests in her study are only consequences of the grammatical meanings which motivate the author to execute these switches. Both the nuance of vividness and what appears as separate sets of different events are only consequences of this narrative strategy and not what motivates it.

Space does not allow us to discuss in greater detail the exploitation of the meanings HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW FOCUS NOW when they are used to refer to events which took place in the past. There is a great similarity between the strategies of exploitation of the meanings BEFORE and the above exploitation of the meanings NOW. We have shown in this section that when the meanings HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW FOCUS NOW are used to describe events which already took place, they differ consistently with respect to the degree of discourse prominence they give to events with which they are associated.

1. The Use of HIGH FOCUS NOW for Highlighted Details

In all the above examples, whether within an episode or as part of a commentary, the Focus opposition is exploited to underscore with the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW salient events, thematically important events for the story, etc. and to background with the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW more incidental events. Yet in other types of messages this meaning opposition is used in a very different type of strategy. Namely, the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW is used, as in the following examples, to highlight a particular detail:

15. Ta zima je bila ljuta i vetrovita. Put do logora na Banjici uvek isti. Suvomrazica. Marija grabi (B) svojim sitnim a čvrstim i stalnim korakom po utabanom snegu koji je tvrd kao kost. Crnu kapuljaču je navukla jače na onu stranu odakle duva košava i sve se malo povila u tom pravcu. Pored nje Zeko brza (B), vukući crvenu 'termos' flašu i kutiju sa jabukama, dok Marija nosi (B) zavežljaj sa hranom; u svojim tvrdim i preširokim zimskim cipelama on se svaki čas oklizne (A), a koraci mu odjekuju (B) tupo, kao neka pratnja jednoličnom i čvrstom ritmu njenih.

PRI-480

"That winter was bitter and windy. The road to the prison camp on Banica was always the same. A dry frosty day. Maria waled (LOW FOCUS NOW) with her

short but firm and steady stride on the snow which was as hard as a bone. She pulled her hood on the side from which the koshava was blowing and she even bent a little in that direction. Alongside Zeko hurried (LOW FOCUS NOW), carrying a red thermos and a box of apples, while Maria was holding onto (LOW FOCUS NOW) a bundle of food. In his hard and oversized boots, Zeko kept slipping (HIGH FOCUS NOW) all the time and his steps produced (LOW FOCUS NOW) a dull echo, as if in accompaniment to the monotonous and firm rhythm of Maria's walk."

VE215

16. Posle kovačnice dolazi (B) radionica mehaničara Karla Zemunca, koga svi ovde zovu (B) Dragi; i ona je slupana od dasaka i nije mnogo veća od Djokine kovačnice, samo je njena unutrašnjost svetlija i uredjenija, ali ni ovde nema poda, nego vlažna neravna zemlja. Zidovi od čamovih dasaka prožeti su smeđim, prljavim tenom od mašinskog zajitina i prašine. Na jednom zidu Zeki uvek padne (A) u oči, zadenuta medju daske, fotografija mlade žene sa detetom na krilu, a ispod fotografije jeftina veštačka ruža od crvene hartija.

PRI-427

"Down a way from the blacksmith's came (LOW FOCUS NOW) the workshop of the mechanic Karlo Zemunats, whom all here called (LOW FOCUS NOW) Dragi; his shop was also badly made of boards and was not much larger than Djoka's smithy, but its interior had no flooring but damp, uneven earth. The walls made of fir boards were imbued with a brown, dirty

mixture of machine oil and dust. On an wall Zeko's eyes always stopped (HIGH FOCUS NOW) on the photograph of a young woman with a child on her lap as well as a cheap artificial rose below it."

SDG162

17. Mrak je potpun jer je ulica neosvetljena, kao i sve ostale, prozori na kućama zamračeni. Jedino na glavnim raskrsnicama više (N) električne lampe sa naročitim štitom, ispod koga bacaju (B) nešto malo tmule svetlosti na uglačanu granitnu kaldrmu. Posle popodnevne kiše nebo je još oblačno, tako da ta ulica sa svojim oskudnim i neobičnim ratnim osvetljenjem liči (N) na dug i mračan podrum sa niskim svodom. S vremena na vreme ulicom prodje (A) vojni automobil sa zamračenim farovima iz kojih iz dva sitna proreza izbijaju (B) samo dve slabe tačke svetlosti, kao mrtvački žižak ili zverske zenice.

PRI503

"The night was pitch dark. Like the rest of Belgrade, the streets were not lit and the windows were blinded. At main intersections only, were the lamps (NOW-N) equipped with special shields which cast (LOW FOCUS NOW) a small dull light on the worn granite pavement. The skies were still overcast following the afternoon rain, so that the street with its wartime lighting resembled (NOW-N) a long, dark cellar with a low ceiling. From time to time a military car moved (HIGH FOCUS NOW) down the street, with its dimmed lights, from which, through thin slits, two weak dots of light penetrated (LOW FOCUS NOW) like candles for

the dead in a dark room or pupils of a beast."

DSG245

In example 15 Zeko and his sister-in-law are going to the prison to take food to Maria's daughter. This is a descriptive segment and the author is particular about the smallest detail aiming at a visual effect: two figures walking on a blustery and windy winter day. The woman is wrapped up in her coat bending in the direction of the wind yet her steps are firm and steady, producing a monotonous rhythm. By contrast, the man in his oversized boots, slips and falls down repeatedly producing a dull echo. The occurrence of slipping is the visual detail that catches the eye and the author emphasizes it with the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW.

In example 16 the photograph of the young woman with a child on her lap and the artificial red rose is the most striking detail in the shop of the mechanic. It also comes as a surprise to Zeko to find this in a dreary workshop in which the walls are dirty and there is not even a floor.

In the last example the only thing that happens in the pitch dark night under the wartime lighting and under curfew, is the periodic movement of military vehicles and that is what the author highlights with the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW.

In all these examples repetition of the events

highlighted with the HIGH FOCUS NOW is only an inference from the context, from expressions such as "from time to time", "all the time", etc. However, the author deliberately avoids conveying these events with those verbal forms which are usually associated with the nuance of repetition, the meanings LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE. We have seen that on the average, repetitive events are inferred from the verbs conveyed with the low Focus meaning not because they are repeated but because they do not merit being highlighted with a high Focus meaning. By contrast the author chose to highlight the events under examination here as striking details in basically descriptive segments.

2. Exploitation of HIGH FOCUS NOW for Typical Occurrences

We have seen in previous chapters how the opposition between Focus meanings of the Before phase of the interlock, in particular the opposition between MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE and LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE, is used in Serbo-Croatian to structure the frame of narrative. The meaning MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE is associated with verbs which move the narrative ahead and the meaning LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE with verbs which provide any necessary elaboration and background information. In structuring a narrative however, the writer of Serbo-Croatian has additional devices at his disposal. One of them is the switch from the Time meaning BEFORE to the Time meaning NOW as demonstrated in the previous section. By switching from the meaning BEFORE to the meaning NOW the author arrests the forward progression of the narrative. When that happens time does not move ahead or back but remains suspended giving the writer the opportunity to provide more details, to introduce a dialogue or an episode.

We have also seen that the low degree of Focus occurs more frequently than the high degree of Focus in the stretches of narrative primarily conveyed with the meaning NOW because the material introduced during these switches

also tends to be elaborative and descriptive in character. There is however one area in which that ratio does not hold and in which we sometimes find a much higher concentration of the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW: in instances in which according to traditional analysis the Present Tense is used to express occurrences which were and are repeated habitually. This usage of the Present Tense is usually labelled "habitual present".

We have seen earlier that a repeated event in a Serbo-Croatian narrative can be inferred from each one of the four Before meanings. The nuance of repetitiveness is not part of a meaning but is always introduced in the context by other, mostly lexical, means. Those events which move the story ahead, regardless of whether repeated or not, deserve to be foregrounded and they usually co-occur with a high degree of Focus. By contrast, the incidental events do not deserve to be highlighted and they generally co-occur with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE. Events designated as repeated events however tend to be less relevant to the ongoing story and as a result out of all Before meanings the one most likely to be used to convey repeated events is the meaning LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE. We have seen that when a writer uses the meaning LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE for that purpose the flow of the narrative slows down considerably but remains uninterrupted.

While both Focus meanings, HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW FOCUS NOW can be found in examples from which we infer that the event in question took place more than once or that it was regularly repeated, the two NOW meanings will be exploited under different circumstances. In the previous section several examples were quoted in which from the low Focus degree (the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW) the reader infers typical but incidental occurrences. In what follows we will show that the high degree of Focus, the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW, is called for only in particular instances in which the event referred to by the verb even though typical is highly relevant to the communication in progress and thus worthy of a high degree of attention. Reasons for this can be numerous and not susceptible to clear cut division. However, we can expect to find enough redundant support in the context to justify the occurrence of the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW rather than its opposite, the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW, in that particular instance.

In the following examples of the meanings HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW FOCUS NOW in messages we infer that the events to which these forms refer were repeated habitually:

18. Počelo je sa uverenjima o oslobođenju od "Obavezne službe rada". Kad je takozvana srpska vlada, po naredjenju okupatora i u njegovom interesu, organizovala tu službu i počela da regrutuje mladiće razvila se čitava akcija za

spašavanje mladića od te sramotne službe. To se vršilo na razne načine. Jedan od načina bio je ovaj. Rekrutovanja su vršena u Požarnoj komandi u Bitoljskoj ulici. U velikoj sali za stolom sedi (B) komisija sa lekarom. Mladići su poredjani u dugom redu iz hodnika, kroz celu salu, pa pored dugog stola, do lekara koji vrši (B) preglede, sve jedan drugom u potiljak. Jedan ili dvojica od mladića udju (A) u taj red i kad budu (A) pored stola gde leže blanketi na kojima komisija izdaje uverenja o sposobnosti ili nesposobnosti, oni neprimetno uzmu (A) što više mogu takvih blanketa i zatim, kao slučajno i privremeno, izadju (A) iz reda, i izgube se (A) napolju.

PRI-471

"It started with certificates by which people gained exemptions from the Compulsory Labor Service. When the collaborationist government organized (MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE) this program, counter measures were taken (MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE) to enable young men to get out of it. That was done (LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE) in various ways. One of them was (N) this one. Recruitments took place at the Central Fire House on Bitoljska Street. In the big hall the examining commission sits (LOW FOCUS NOW) behind a table. Young men are lined up through the hall all the way up to the long table where a doctor is examining (LOW FOCUS NOW) them. One or two friends enter (HIGH FOCUS NOW) the line and once near the table, on which the blank forms of physical fitness are lying (LOW FOCUS NOW), they take (HIGH FOCUS NOW) as many of them as

possible, and then as if by accident and only temporarily, they leave (HIGH FOCUS NOW) and get lost (HIGH FOCUS NOW) outside."

VE208

This episode takes place during World War II. Zeko, who found refuge in his sister-in-law's house during the winter months when the beaches on the Sava are closed, becomes very attached to her family. The Dorosh children are very active in the resistance movement and Zeko's skills as a calligrapher become very useful. In this episode, the author tells how the blank forms of the certificate by which young men were granted exemption from compulsory labor were obtained. A series of events is outlined against the background of a customary recruitment scene, a commission sitting behind a long table, a long line of prospective candidates and the doctor performing the actual examination at the end of the table. All these events are associated with the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW. These are background events and as such they do not deserve to be highlighted. The series of events which the author singles out by foregrounding them with the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW represents a different, out of the ordinary activity. It happens every time this plan is executed: a couple of the resistance people get into the line, take the blanks when their turn comes and then leave unnoticed. These events are not ordinary ones, such as lining up or sitting behind the

table. They are the only reason for the background events to be mentioned at all. They deserve to be foregrounded and that is what the author does by conveying them with the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW. The replacement of HIGH FOCUS NOW by LOW FOCUS NOW in this text would result in a description of actual events which are expected to follow this course and during which nothing controversial is going on.

Example 19 below is another instance of the same strategy of exploitation of the meanings HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW FOCUS NOW:

19. Živim, brate, kao neki spahija, - govorio je kapetan Mika, podrugljivo izgovarajući reč "spahija" i pokazujući rukom oko sebe uokrug. "Nit mi staro kašlje ni ne jako plače. Po svakom vremenu i u svako doba obilazim (B) ovu Savu i pecam (B), od toga nit' je ribama velika šteta ni meni neke vajde, nego tako. Srodi se (A) čovek s ovim svetom na vodi. Znam svaki šlep, svako kupatilo, svaki splav, svaku baraku i kuću i kafanu, duž cele obale. Negde ručam, negde poigramo partiju tablaneta, negde malo odspavam. Uveće posedim, popijemo (A) po neki špricer i pojedomo (A) neku ribu. Ni s kim se ne bih menjao! Tako mi prodje (A) po sedam-osam meseci u godini. Kad bude (A) već jesen, odem (A) malo u moje selo. I tamo je život.. U proleće se vratim (A) u Beograd i legnem (A) na ovu Savu pa opet do jeseni.

PRII-415

"I live like a pasha, brother,"- Captain Mika was saying, pronouncing the word "pasha" mockingly and making a grand gesture with his hand. "No one bothers me. No matter what the weather I make the rounds (LOW FOCUS NOW) on the Sava and I fish (LOW FOCUS NOW) which brings no harm to the fish nor any profit to me, and so on it goes. One gets familiar with these people (HIGH FOCUS NOW), the water front people. I know every barge, every beach, every raft, every shack and cafe, along this bank. In one place I have my lunch (N), in another I play a game of cards (N), in still another I take a nap (N). In the evening we have some fish (HIGH FOCUS NOW) and with it we drink (HIGH FOCUS NOW) a little wine. I wouldn't have it any other way! Every year I spend (HIGH FOCUS NOW) seven or eight months like this. When the autumn comes (HIGH FOCUS NOW) I go (HIGH FOCUS NOW) to my village for a while. Good life there too. In the spring I come back (HIGH FOCUS NOW) to Belgrade and lie down (HIGH FOCUS NOW) on this Sava and so it goes until the autumn."

VE147

In this example the main character Zeko, disappointed with his professional and family life, is contemplating a suicide. In his exploration of how to end his life Zeko visits the beaches along the Sava river and meets Captain Mika, an old friend from the army. Zeko becomes immediately attracted to the relaxed life style on the beach. Captain Mika on his part, feels right away that his friend is in

trouble and when Zeko comes to the beach for a second time, Captain Mika, noticing that Zeko is even more depressed than before, tries to make his life style attractive to Zeko by describing his own daily routine. He starts his account with the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW - obilazim 'I make the rounds' and pečam 'I fish'. Then the writer switches to the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW for the enumeration of everyday events such as eating lunch or having a nap. Judging from the introductory comments and bold gestures, Mika does not intend this to be an ordinary account of an ordinary existence. Rather, he wants to promote his life style. For that, he uses the most superlative terms in his description: he gives higher relevance to seemingly ordinary events by associating them with the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW. (The other two verbs we find at the beginning of this example živim 'I live' and znam 'I know' do not distinguish between HIGH and LOW Focus, but their lexical meanings skew toward a low degree of Focus.)

The surrounding context gives independent evidence that Mika is putting extra emphasis on the speech and his portrayal of his daily life. He produces an emphatic summary dispensing with needless details, which is what he intended. That is obvious from the text which immediately follows our example: "Thus Captain Mika would talk, somehow too loudly...overly expressing his carefree life and his

idleness... I tell you, you'll see what this sun and water will do for you within a week."

If instead, the writer used the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW throughout example two, the presentation would have resulted in a calm, matter of fact description of daily events such as one might expect in a composition entitled "My average day". Captain Mika did not intend this type of a message. He interrupted his account on two occasions to praise his life style with the statements: "I wouldn't change it for anything!" and "There is good life there too!".

In these two and many other similar examples the writer singles out a set of events and puts them in the foreground to underscore their relevance for the story. These sets of events happen to be typical but that is not a factor in the skewing. The rationale for assigning to typical events a high degree of prominence may vary. While in example 19 the author foregrounded every-day, ordinary, events in order to make a particular life style attractive to Zeko, in example 18 the events marked with HIGH FOCUS NOW are the very reason for introducing the episode at all.

The preceding two examples illustrate the exploitation of the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW to highlight a series of consecutive events within narrative stretches primarily conveyed with the meaning NOW. However, this meaning is

also exploited for commentaries authors interject into the narrative from time to time to alert the reader to what is to be important in the story to follow. The following example illustrates this strategy:

20. Kad se ljudi u Turskoj uspnu (A) do visokih položaja i dokopaju (A) vlasti i sredstava, često se kod njih javi (A) i pojača (A) zanimanje za neobične životinje. Nešto kao lovačka strast ali izopačena lovačka strast koja izbegava pokret i napor.

PRI-19

"When people in Turkey reached (HIGH FOCUS NOW) high positions and gained (HIGH FOCUS NOW) power and wealth, they often developed, (HIGH FOCUS NOW) an interest in unusual animals, something resembling the passion for hunting, but a perverse passion that precludes (LOW FOCUS NOW) physical effort."

VE10

21. Takav jedan neprelazni i sudbonosni sat naišao je polovinom treće godine njenog braka. To je bio jedan od onih trenutaka koji planu (A) pred nama pokažu (A) nam jasno i nesumljivo da je život koji vodimo nemoguć, nedostojan, neizdržljiv. Celo naše biće zadrhti (A) tada iz korena i napregne (A) se za teške, možda tragične odluke. Ali, kako svet oko nas nikada ne miruje, i kako smo mi sami uvek više skloni da izbegavamo sudbonosne prelome, obično se dešava (B) da neka

sitnica - neko lice, neki razgovor, neka knjiga ili sitan posao, privuče (A) našu pažnju na sebe i odvрати (A) naš pogled sa istine koju smo uočili, i tako nam omogućí da sami sebe još jednom zavaramo (A), da kukavno izbegnemo (A) donošenje prave odluke i da produžimo (A) stari način života. Ali to što se dešava (B) tako često, nije se ovoga puta desilo (2).

PRI-343

"One such fateful and insurmountable moment came (MORE IN FOCUS) toward the middle of the third year of her marriage. That was (N) one of those moments which flare (HIGH FOCUS NOW) before us and leaving no doubt indicate (HIGH FOCUS NOW) clearly how impossible, unworthy and unbearable is the life we lead (LOW FOCUS NOW). At this our whole being shudders (HIGH FOCUS NOW) from its roots and exerts all its strength (HIGH FOCUS NOW) for a difficult, perhaps a fateful decision. Yet as men are always inclined to avoid crucial decisions, usually it happens (LOW FOCUS NOW) that a minor thing, a person, a conversation, a book or a necessity to attend to a small matter, attracts (HIGH FOCUS NOW) our attention and distracts (HIGH FOCUS NOW) us from the truth we had discovered (MORE IN FOCUS) and thus enables us (HIGH FOCUS NOW) to deceive ourselves once again (HIGH FOCUS NOW), to avoid cowardly (HIGH FOCUS NOW) coming to the right decision and to continue (HIGH FOCUS NOW) the old way of life. However, what happens (LOW FOCUS NOW) so often did not happen (MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE) this time."

In both these examples, the flow of the narrative stops to allow the writer to insert a commentary. In the first example it is a commentary about the exotic pets the high and powerful Turkish officials used to have. The example is taken from the story "The Vizier's Elephant" and with it Andrić announces the main theme of the story, the Vizier's eccentricity and the hardship the local people will experience with his pet elephant. The commentary about exotic pets right at the beginning of the story builds up the expectation that the story to follow will be linked to this theme. Thus, this commentary is not just added information or elaboration on matters present in the story but the very theme of the story itself. The author underscores its relevance by associating it with the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW. The meaning NOW is appropriate here. Had the author conveyed this information with the meaning BEFORE it would have implied that these events were chronological advances of the story and the statement would lose the generality of a commentary. If the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW had been used instead the result would have been a low key, matter of fact delivery, again without significant reference to the story as a whole.

In the second example the heroine of the story, a poor motherless girl has made, according to the small town in which she lives, an exceptionally good match by marrying a

prosperous middle-aged merchant. For the girl however, the marriage turns into a nightmare. She becomes victim of a life style her husband leads but no one else suspects. The woman is not able to talk to anybody about it, least of all to her father, fearing that she won't be understood. Thus, she reconciles herself to her fate and continues to live with him. There is nothing new in her life to warrant any changes. Then, toward the end of the story the author introduces this commentary about certain unexpected but fateful moments which come unexpectedly and in which man sees clearly his true, usually pitiable condition. However, instead of acting on impulse and bringing a fateful decision, man is prevented from acting by some minor matter that attracts his attention. By assigning a high degree of Focus to the verbs describing such a fateful moment the author builds up a certain expectation. Given the previous context and the young woman's resignation to her fate the reader is led to believe that the expected would be the natural course of events. Yet, right after the commentary, the author switches back to the BEFORE meaning (MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE) to inform the reader that what was expected did not happen. Describing such a moment the author chooses verbs whose lexical meanings also add to the climatic nature of the passage: 'flare', 'shudder', 'exert', 'illuminate', 'attract', 'distract', etc. All

these verbs are associated with the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW.

If we look more closely at these general commentaries we may see that they themselves have a structure resembling a skeleton of a story in which a frame and actions of protagonists are outlined but without any details descriptive or otherwise. As in any story, the most essential events, those which move the narrative forward, are conveyed with a high degree of Focus. Here too, several crucial events are associated with the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW. They are not placed in the temporal frame Before since in that case they would be understood as actual events of the story. As they do not continue the story and in their content are very general, they remain outside of the story and are understood as such- commentaries in which the author either announces a theme to be followed or a sudden development in the flow of the narrative.

All the examples quoted so far would be considered in traditional analysis as instances of "habitual" present. Stevanović (1969) includes this usage of the Present Tense in the function of "qualifying present". According to him, in this function the Present Tense denotes permanent characteristics of natural phenomena or actions common to a whole class of subjects. In this function the Present Tense, in its "relative mode", does not express an action

taking place at the moment of speaking, but an action taking place out of habit, when conditions for this kind of action are present. Stevanović claims that both the Perfective and the Imperfective Present are used indiscriminately in this function. To support this he quotes a number of examples out of context and performs the substitution, the Perfective Present for the Imperfective Present and vice versa. Stevanović claims that this substitution does not change the message at all. This is however not true. The substitution produces acceptable but different messages in Serbo-Croatian, although it is true that this difference might not be noticed if the examples are examined out of context.

Analysts working on the verbal aspect of the Russian verb recognize that the use of the Perfective Present and the Imperfective Present is not synonymous in this function. For John Forsyth (1970), while the Imperfective Present (the normal means of expressing the "habitual" present) produces a static, "flat" kind of a message, the Perfective Present in this environment introduces specific nuances. Forsyth reduces the effect the Perfective Present has on the message to its aspectual meaning. That is, when the Perfective Present is used for recurrent actions, one occasion of that repeated action is presented as a complete performance, as a sample of the recurrent phenomenon. For

Isačenko (1960) the use of the Perfective Present for repeated occurrences gives to the event a dramatic and dynamic quality. These analysts apparently recognize the same effect the Perfective Present has on the message as we do.

To summarize, both of the NOW Focus meanings (HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW FOCUS NOW) occur in messages from which the reader/hearer infers typical occurrences. The nuance of habituality however is introduced in the context and is not a contributing factor for the use of either high or low degree of Focus. The distribution of the opposition HIGH FOCUS NOW versus LOW FOCUS NOW in this environment is motivated by the same factor as anywhere else, by the meanings of the two forms. In the examples quoted above both occurrences associated with the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW and HIGH FOCUS NOW refer to events we infer to be repeated. What makes the "habitual" events worthy of attention is their relevance to the ongoing story. The scene of recruitment (example 18) did not have to be introduced in the story except for the resistance activity. The events concerned with the recruitment therefore ("sat" and "performed") deserve no better than LOW FOCUS NOW while the crucial moment, the action of the young people, deserves to be highlighted with HIGH FOCUS NOW. By the same token in example 19, Captain Mika's general remarks making the

rounds and fishing are not enough to attract Zeko to his life style. He proceeds to give a lively account of his routine by portraying it in the most superlative terms. In examples 20, 21 the HIGH FOCUS NOW marked verbs foreshadow the theme in the story to follow.

Moreover, in touching only on the most salient, sequential events, the author in such examples often does away with descriptive and elaborative statement altogether. This results in a summary or enumeration; the typical occurrence that scholars detect in these environments. This however does not motivate the use of the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW. Rather, it is the other way around: the nuance of a 'sample' is the consequence of an uninterrupted series of the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW.

A similar effect on the message was described in a previous section. Namely, when a stretch of narrative is characterized by an uninterrupted series of the meaning MOST IN FOCUS BEFORE (or MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE) the effect on the message is to speed up the narrative by touching only on the most salient events and/or chronological sequences, doing away with descriptive statements altogether (see p.124).

If we assume, for the sake of argument, that the contents of these episodes and commentaries are extended into stories, the events associated with HIGH FOCUS NOW

would deserve MOST IN FOCUS or MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE meanings while the events marked with LOW FOCUS NOW would most likely be conveyed with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE.

B. The Exploitation of NOW Meanings in Non-Past Environments

We have seen so far in this chapter that when the meanings HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW FOCUS NOW are used to refer to past events, they are exploited in strategies strikingly similar to those in which the meanings of the Before phase of the interlock are used, i.e. to separate events which are central to the narrative line from those events which are less important by comparison. Events which are important by that measure tend to be associated with a high degree of Focus, while relatively unimportant, incidental events are generally conveyed with a low degree of Focus of Attention.

However, when the meanings HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW FOCUS NOW are used to refer to 'non-past' events the communicative need is different. The speaker is no longer dealing with a series of events that have to be ranked according to their saliency but very often with a single

event. Thus, backgrounding and foregrounding strategies so typical for the Before phase of the interlock are more limited in the non-past time period. The opportunity to exploit the opposition HIGH FOCUS versus LOW FOCUS arises only in certain contexts. The following section will explore these strategies of exploitation.

Three different environments in which the meanings HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW FOCUS NOW are used to refer to non-past events will be presented here:

- a. The meanings HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW FOCUS NOW in position after the temporal conjunctions čim 'as soon as', pošto 'after', dok 'until' and kada 'when';
- b. The meanings HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW FOCUS NOW after the conjunctions ako 'if' and da 'that';
- c. The meanings HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW FOCUS NOW in questions with the interrogatives zašto/što 'why'.

In these contexts the two NOW Focus meanings occur in near minimal pairs and that presents us with a good opportunity to test the Focus Hypothesis.

1. HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW FOCUS NOW following the conjunctions čim 'as soon as', pošto 'after', kad 'when' and dok 'until'

The opportunity to exploit the Focus distinction of

the NOW phase of the Time-Focus interlock presents itself when the speaker wants to communicate two or more related non-past events linked with the conjunctions čim 'as soon as', pošto 'after', dok 'until, while', kad 'when, while', etc. While both NOW meanings, HIGH FOCUS and LOW FOCUS appear after these conjunctions they force a rather different interpretation of the message. Examples 21a. and 21b. illustrate this:

21a. Čitaću novine kad dodjem (HIGH FOCUS NOW) kući.
I'll read the newspaper when I get home (A).

21b. Čitaću novine kad dolazim (LOW FOCUS NOW) kući.
I'll read the newspaper on my way home ('coming home- B').

Every time the speaker uses one of the conjunctions listed above he links two or more events, a non-past event, usually conveyed with the Future Tense, the Present Tense or the Imperative, joined by the conjunction to another, also non-past event, conveyed with either HIGH FOCUS NOW or LOW FOCUS NOW. The most common exploitation of the Focus opposition here is to concentrate the time when an event takes place on one point or to diffuse it over a longer period. With the HIGH FOCUS NOW meaning the author concentrates a high degree of attention on one particular point in time when an event is going to take place. With

the LOW FOCUS NOW meaning and the same conjunction the attention is diffused over a longer period of time. This results in two different messages. The same verb in association with a different degree of Focus changes the English gloss in the examples 21a. and 21b. from a precise temporal inference 'when I come home' in 21a. in which the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW occurs to a more general one 'coming home' or 'on my way home' in 21b.

In what follows we shall introduce examples in context to further illustrate the concentration of time strategy. In examples 22 through 25 the conjunctions čim and pošto are followed by the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW:

22. - Ne boj se vojniče. Neće te boleti. Čim ozdraviš (HIGH FOCUS NOW), pustićemo te kući. Mlad si, pa ćeš...

VS3-215

"Don't be afraid, it won't hurt. As soon as you are well enough (HIGH FOCUS NOW) we'll send you home. You are young and you'll soon....

RE80

23. Danas ću ići u Crveni krst. A čim stigne (HIGH FOCUS NOW) izveštaj o Ivanu, otići ću u Valjevo da dovedem Milenu.

VS3-164

"I'll go to the Red Cross today, and as soon as

we get (HIGH FOCUS NOW) news about Ivan, I'll go to Valjevo to fetch Milena."

RE36

24. Lekarima, bolničarima i bolničarkama kupljene su i sašivene kecelje i kape; ovde u kabinetu, stoji sve ispeglano, da se razdeli i obuče, čim stigne (HIGH FOCUS NOW) depeša da dolaze.

VS3-308

"New caps and aprons have been made for the doctors, orderlies and nurses; they are here in his office, ironed and ready to be delivered as soon as the wire arrives (HIGH FOCUS NOW) that the mission is on its way.

RE161

25. Poći će za njim kasnije pošto nadju (A) Blaža i sklone ga "razumno trošenju".

(M.Božić, Kurlani, p.144)

"They will follow them later on, after they find (NOW HIGH) Blažo and convince him (A) "to spend reasonably."

In example 22, a young nurse addresses a young soldier who is about to have his wounded arm amputated. By associating the verb 'recover' with the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW the author is focusing in on the time when the soldier will recover from his operation. This forces a precise interpretation of the temporal relationship and the conjunction čim is glossed as 'as soon as'. It also has the

effect on the message that with the HIGH FOCUS NOW marked verb the nurse sounds encouraging; by pinpointing the time of the recovery she is suggesting that the recovery will actually take place.

In example 23, Mr. and Mrs. Katić have just found out that their only son Ivan is missing in action. Their daughter Milena has been working as a volunteer nurse under dreadful conditions in a hospital near the front. The father had promised earlier to his wife that he would go and bring the girl home but now after the news about their son he does not want to leave before obtaining more information. Again, the high Focus marked verb following the conjunction čim ('as soon as we get the news') concentrates attention on the particular point in time when the news will be obtained.

In examples 24 and 25 likewise the HIGH FOCUS NOW meaning concentrates attention on a particular time when an event will occur. The scene in example 25 is a military hospital in Serbia during World War I. A mission from the western allies is expected and the hospital director is eager to make a good showing. The HIGH FOCUS NOW marked verb allows an inference of a precise time relationship: the distribution of the clean uniforms will take place the moment the hospital director learns that the mission is on its way.

Example 25 is actually from a narrative text but it has the same characteristics as those found in the conversation. In it three brothers are visiting a town in which their brother Blažo works. They are penniless and they want to get some money from him. Blažo is not to be found and one of the brothers leaves. The remaining two are determined to wait. The meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW concentrates on the precise time relationship between the two events of finding Blažo and convincing him to give them some money.

The meaning LOW FOCUS NOW following the conjunctions čim and pošto in the examples which follow forces a different interpretation of the message:

26. Radojko Veselinović stoji Pepiju iza ledja držeći ga za prazan ranac; čuje ponovni majorov poziv i ne zna šta da čini; čim major tako više (LOW FOCUS NOW), potreban mu je mnogo; ali ako sada u ovoj pomrčini ostavi Pepija, više ga do Drine i svanuća neće naći.

VS3-136

"Radojko is standing (LOW FOCUS NOW) behind Pepi holding his empty knapsack; he hears (NOW) the major's repeated call and he does not know (LOW FOCUS NOW) what to do; whenever (čim) the major shouts (LOW FOCUS NOW) like this it means he needs him badly; but if he leaves Pepi in this darkness he'll never find him again."

RE9

27. Posle obilaska mrtvačnice, obilazi "odeljenje za izolaciju", bivši kasarnski magacin, u kome su smešteni moribundi da bi se negovali u najpovoljnijim uslovima i s posebnom pažnjom; kakav da je ovaj svet, on ima toliko dobra da čovek ne crkne sasvim zgađen na ljude; i kakvi da su ljudi, svako je bar za svoj kraj zaslužio nešto dobrote i samilosti. I pošto ne sumnja (LOW FOCUS NOW) da je život jedan, bez obzira što se živi među vaškama i gnjidama, Mihajlo Radić odlučan da se za svakog predsmrtnika bori dok mu srce kuca, i čini sve što može da mu što duže kuca i s bolom od ljudi ne kuca.

VS4-102

"Next he visits the isolation ward, where the dying patients are placed to be looked after with special care. Whatever the state of this world, a man mustn't breathe his last totally disgusted with his fellow man; and regardless of what kind of people they were, each one deserved a little compassion at least at the end. And since (čim) he doesn't doubt (LOW FOCUS NOW) that there is only one life, even if lived among lice and pests, Mihailo Radić is determined to fight for each dying man as long as his heart ticks."

RE281

In examples 26 and 27, the use of the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW fails to concentrate the attention on a particular point in time. Rather the attention is diffused and the reader infers a typical behavior in example 26 and a

long held opinion in example 27.

In example 26, the association of the conjunction 'čim' and the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW allows an inference of a typical occurrence rather than a precise temporal relationship. In this scene from World War I the Austrian troops are retreating toward their border. With them are also the imprisoned Serbian soldiers, Major Stanković and his orderly Radojko among them. Earlier in the story Radojko had lost a wrestling match against an Austrian. This has put him to shame in front of his major and the other Serbian soldiers and Radojko wishes revenge. In this scene Radojko is holding on to Pepi, the Austrian, because he is afraid that he may lose him if he lets go of him. He hears the major shouting but he does not do anything since, for the time being, Pepi is his prime concern. The LOW FOCUS NOW meaning following the conjunction čim permits the inference of two typical occurrences without the effect of sharpening the time relationship between them.

In example 27, Dr. Mihajlo Radić, who has just assumed the duty of hospital director, finds the hospital in a terrible condition. In the isolation room in which terminal patients are treated Radić reflects on their fate. In the expression 'pošto ne sumnja (LOW FOCUS NOW)', the association of the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW suggests a long held belief glossed in English with 'since he does not

doubt', rather than the precise temporal relationship that the author stresses in example 25. Thus neither in example 26 or 27 is the writer talking about one particular event.

It has been seen in all the examples in which the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW occurs (22 through 25) a very precise time relationship is conveyed with the high Focus meaning. A secondary effect of this emphasis on the particular point in time when an event takes place is a sense of confidence about the actual occurrence of the event: that the wounded soldier will recover in example 22, that Mr. Katić will find out the fate of his son in example 23, etc. The Focus distinction here in combination with temporal conjunctions thus enables the speaker/writer to comment on the probability of an event. Namely, concentrating on the precise time of the HIGH FOCUS NOW marked verb suggests a high degree of confidence on the part of the speaker that the event will actually occur. By contrast, confidence is lacking in the examples in which the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW occurs. By spreading the attention over a longer period of time the LOW FOCUS marked verb usually allows an inference of indefiniteness that does not suggest as much confidence in the event.

We have seen in the chapter dealing with the meanings BEFORE that in certain environments the low Focus meaning LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE allows an inference of an attempt to

perform an activity rather than the performance of the activity itself, while the event marked with high Focus in the same environment allows an inference of certainty or high probability of an event's occurrence. This particular signaling ability of the Focus distinction, as we have just seen, also finds its application in the NOW phase of the interlock in Serbo-Croatian.

The same strategy of time concentration is exploited when the meanings HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW FOCUS NOW follow the conjunction dok 'while, until' as in the example below:

29a. Ostaću ovde dok stignu (A) vesti o njemu.
I'll remain here until news about him arrives
(HIGH FOCUS NOW).

29b. Ostaću ovde dok stižu (B) vesti o njemu.
I'll remain here as long as news about him is
arriving (LOW FOCUS NOW).

As in the examples with the conjunctions čim and pošto the HIGH FOCUS NOW meaning concentrates attention on a particular point in time and the LOW FOCUS NOW meaning diffuses attention over a longer period. That results in two distinct messages in the above utterances. In both 29a. and 29b. we are talking about two events - 'staying here' and 'obtaining news about him'. With the high Focus meaning in 29a. we are talking about a particular point in time when the event of obtaining the news will take place. This

permits an inference of a precise time relationship between the two events and the English gloss reflects that: the person intends to stay until the moment the news arrive. With the low Focus meaning marking the verb 'arrive' in 29b. however, this temporal precision is lacking. The event of 'news arriving' is spread over a period of time. This influences the interpretation of the message and the corresponding English gloss: the person intends to stay during the time the news is arriving. This same effect is evident in the examples in context which follow. In examples 30 and 31 the conjunction dok co-occurs with the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW and in examples 32 and 33 with the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW:

30. - Moram u bolnicu, tata. Dežurna sam od šest-
 obuva se ispuštajući pertle.
 - Pa dobro.. Mi smo se dogovorili da idemo u Niš.
 Mama te čeka. U ovim danima treba da smo zajedno
 kada o Ivanu ... dok dobijemo (HIGH FOCUS NOW)
 izveštaj o Ivanu.

VS3-156

"I must go to the hospital, father. I go on duty at six."

"I thought we had decided to go to Niš. Your mother is expecting you. We must be together when Ivan... until we get (HIGH FOCUS NOW) news about Ivan.

RE28

31. Pometen sam i zaboravio sam da vas pitam jesu li slučajno došle neke izbeglice koje sam vam pratio. To je jedna baba s muskarčićem i unukom Kosankom. Baba jeste opasna baksuzina ali je Kosanka nevidjena. Ostavite babu čuvajte Kosanku kako znate i ne dajte da se vraćaju dok ne dodjem (HIGH FOCUS NOW) na odsustvo.

VS3-172

"I am getting all mixed up and forgot to ask whether any refugees have come to our house, people I met and traveled with for a time, an old woman with her grandson and her granddaughter Kosanka. The old woman is a nuisance, but Kosanka is a marvelous girl. Don't bother about the old woman, but do look after Kosanka and don't let them go back until I come ('as long as I have not come' - HIGH FOCUS NOW) on leave."

RE42

32. Ako mu kesu dugmeta i nožić drpe bolničari dok mu doktor seče (LOW FOCUS NOW) ruku.

VS3-214

"What if orderlies swiped his bag of buttons and his knife while the doctor was cutting off (LOW FOCUS) his arm?"

RE79

33. - Jeste li žedni gospodine majore?- pita Radojko.
 - Nisam. Idi spavaj.
 - Naspavaću se ja, ne brinite.
 - Ali ja ne mogu da zaspim dok ti stojiš (LOW FOCUS)

NOW).

VS3-287

"Are you thirsty, sir," -asked Radojko standing in place.

"No, I'm not. You go off to bed."

"I'll get all the sleep I want, sir, don't worry."

"But I can't go to sleep while you are standing (LOW FOCUS NOW) there."

RE143

All these examples are from the novel Reach to Eternity portraying events during World War I. In example 30, Vukašin Katić comes to take home his daughter Milena from the hospital in which she is working as a volunteer nurse. The family has found out that their son Ivan is missing in action and they want to be all together while they are waiting for news. The girl has promised to go home. However, when in the morning the girl starts to get ready for her shift, the father tries once again to stress the importance of their being together till the moment they find out about Ivan. Actually, the father starts to say something different but he stops short and proceeds to place the emphasis on the occurrence of the event which occupies the central place in his thoughts - the obtaining of news about his missing son. As a consequence, he sounds more positive that they are going to get news soon.

In example 31. Adam Katić writes from the army to his

family in the country asking them to give shelter to some refugees. He is particularly interested in a young woman and he instructs his family not to let the young woman go until the time he comes home on leave.

We infer very different messages from examples 32 and 33 in which the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW follows the conjunction dok. In example 32, the wounded soldier is about to undergo an amputation. By now he has made up his mind to allow the surgery and he is interested in it only to the extent that during that time he might lose his buttons. He is a champion tiddlywink player in his unit and the buttons are very important to him. Rather than on the surgery itself which he backgrounds with the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW the soldier is focusing only on his potential loss.

In example 33 major Stanković is sending his orderly to bed. However, the orderly has every intention of staying and pressing his officer to allow an amputation of his gangrenous leg. Without the surgery, Major Stanković is facing certain death. The major wants to get rid of Radojko and he tells Radojko that he cannot fall asleep while he is standing by. The LOW FOCUS NOW marked verb in "while you are standing by" is defocused with respect to the major's inability to fall asleep. The English translation reflects that difference in message and dok is glossed in English with

'while'.

An unusual skewing is observed in Serbo-Croatian with the conjunction dok 'while' and the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW. Namely, a verb associated with the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW and coming after the conjunction dok can occur either with or without the negative particle ne and in both cases allow an "affirmative" interpretation. Examples 30 and 31 quoted earlier are instances of that. Example 30 does not contain the negative, example 31 does. Another example containing the negative is the following one:

34. -Dajte mi da ga nosim kući! Ko je to? Ne možemo da ga pustimo dok mu ne spadne (HIGH FOCUS NOW) vatra.

VS3-227

"Let me take him home!" Who could that be?
 "We can't let him go until his fever comes down
 ('as long as his fever is not down'-HIGH FOCUS NOW)".

RE90

For Stevanović (1969, p.876), in instances such as 31 and 34, it is left to the speaker to refer to an event after the conjunction dok either with an affirmative or a negative statement. This is justified, according to Stevanović, since in the above example the patient won't be released during the time he is running a high fever. The

time when his fever goes down is the time when the doctor will be willing to release him. So conveying the time before it with a negative or the time when it happens without a negative is the same thing. The presence of the negative does not change anything.

This explanation, plausible as it might seem, is hardly satisfactory. It predicts that in combination with the Perfective Present the conjunction dok will combine at random with the negative particle. It would appear however that the negative is actually introduced in response to a particular communicative need.

We have seen that with the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW and the temporal conjunctions čim, pošto, kad and dok the writer concentrates attention on the time of the occurrence of the event told by the verb. In example 30 with the conjunction dok (which does not contain the negative) the emphasis is placed on the time when the Katić family will find out about their son Ivan who is missing in action. This is the time point the writer is concentrating on when he introduces the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW.

When we look at examples 31 and 34 however (which do contain the negative) we see that the stretch of time during which the event has not yet taken place is what is of importance. In example 31. Adam Katić writes to his family. He is concerned about a girl he met among refugees.

She was fleeing with her grandmother and her brother and Adam told them to go to his village and stay with his family. He is now telling his father not to let them go during the time he has not yet come home on leave. As soon as there is a lull in the war, the refugees might think of going back to their homes and Adam is concerned that this might happen in his absence. He is interested in the time period before he comes home on leave.

In example 34 the nurse is telling a mother who is worrying that her son is not getting proper care in an overcrowded and understaffed hospital that he cannot be released to her care for as long as his fever does not go down. Again, the emphasis is on the non-occurrence. By contrast, we have seen that in example 30 without the negative the writer is stressing the occurrence of the event.

In both examples (31 and 34), a stretch of time during which an expected event is not taking place is of importance and the writer assures this interpretation by using the negative with the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW. With the negative the stress provided by the high Focus meaning shifts from the occurrence to the non-occurrence of the event. That is, with the negative particle and the high Focus meaning the emphasis is on this stretch of time during which something is not taking place. Without the

negative, the writer does not emphasize this stretch of time but jumps over that by sharpening focus on the point when the event does take place.

The English gloss generally tells us where the emphasis is by using a different translation of dok rather than by a different translation of the verb with the negative. In example 30 without the negative the emphasis is on the occurrence only and dok dobijemo izveštaj o Ivanu is translated in English with 'until we get news about Ivan'. In examples with the negative on the other hand the conjunction dok is glossed with 'as long as', i.e. the emphasis is on the non-occurrence.

In examples with the conjunction dok and the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW (examples 32 and 33) there is no emphasis at all and the conjunction dok is glossed in English with 'while', 'while the doctor was cutting off his arm' and 'while you are standing there'.

We observe another characteristic of this particular distribution. The meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW with a negative is more common with the conjunction dok than is the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW without a negative. To ten instances of dok and the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW with the negative, correspond two instances of dok and the affirmative. With the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW the distribution is the opposite: here the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW is most often without the

negative.

There is something contradictory in the combination of the conjunction dok -'while, until' and the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW. While the lexical meaning of dok implies a certain extension in time, the meaning NOW HIGH FOCUS concentrates attention on a particular point in time. When dok introduces an event that is merely preliminary to another and more important event the verb naturally takes low Focus and the important event takes high Focus. That situation gives us the standard skewing in the affirmative. But when dok introduces the non-occurrence of an expected event as something that is of importance then the high Focus naturally goes with it. It can then be seen that the different favorings in these two alternative combinations arise directly out of the meanings dok, ne and the verbal morphology.

We turn now to examples in which the meanings HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW FOCUS NOW follow the conjunctions kad 'when'. In the following examples we find again the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW (examples 35 and 37) exploited to concentrate on the precise time when an event takes place. By contrast, the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW with this conjunction allows an inference of a more generalized statement (examples 36 and 38):

35.- Može sve da bude. Potrudi se. Pa kad stvorimo slobodnu teritoriju, postavićemo te za predsednika sreske vlasti.

(D. Ćosić, Daleko je sunce, p. 80)

"Anything can happen. You just do your best and when we form (HIGH FOCUS NOW) a liberated territory we'll make you a county official.

36. Biće pola čoveka. Rugoba, ogromno truplo na štakama. Tup, tup! Cela ulica će čuti kad prolazi. Biće živ, a vise nikad neće moći da potrči, skoči, pojaše konja, muški zagrlj ženu.

VS3-301

"He'd be only half a man, a monster, a hulk on crutches. Tap, tap! The whole street would know whenever he passed by (LOW FOCUS NOW). Yes, he'd be alive, but never again able to jump and run, to ride a horse, to embrace a woman."

RE156

37. Bože, zar je to istina? I u njoj nije ostalo nimalo mesta da se uplaši za sebe, da, da. Ali zašto se nad njom ta kazna nije izvršila? A kako to da nije ni pomislila da se mogu naći zajedno svi troje, da čute kao sada, ne gledajući se, slušajući uzdahe jedno drugom. Šta će se desiti kad se susretnu pogledima i progovore?

VS3-215

"My God, is this really true? There was no room left for any fear for herself, none at all! Yet why hadn't this punishment been exacted from her? How was it that she never thought that all three of them could find themselves together, silent as they were now, not looking at each other, listening to each other's sighs. What will happen when their glances meet (HIGH FOCUS NOW) and they see the truth in them?

RE275

38. Tola se rukova s njim tek pošto pruži ruku snaji u crnini, ćuteći. Kad on sede na klupicu i poče iz svog ratnog plena da deli deci nožice i katoličke ikonice na zlatnim lančicama, Tola Dačić šmugnu u šljivar da ga niko ne vidi kad plače (B) i da za večeru Aleksi zakolje dve poslednje kokoške.

VS4-235

"Tola shook hands with him only after Aleksa had silently offered his hand to his sister-in-law. Once Aleksa had sat down under the big blossoming dogwood tree and begun to distribute

little knives and Catholic religious pictures on gold chains to the children from his spoils of war, Tola slipped off into the plum orchard so that no one would see him while he was crying (LOW FOCUS NOW) and to kill the last two chickens for Aleksa's supper.

RE389

In example 35 the commander of a partisan unit addresses an older fighter whom he has just entrusted with wounded soldiers. The partisans have to withdraw from that territory and leave their wounded comrades behind. The high Focus marked verb is narrowing the Focus of attention on the precise point in time at which the formation of the liberated territory will take place. By setting a precise time relationship between that time and the possible appointment of the old fighter to a county post the commander sounds more positive and encouraging.

We can contrast this example with example 36 in which the conjunction kad is followed with the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW. The reader will remember from the examples quoted earlier that Major Stanković had been seriously wounded. He has to make up his mind whether to allow the amputation of his leg and lead the life of an invalid or to face certain death. The major, a fiercely proud man, a cavalry officer and a ladies' man, anguishes over this decision. This example is an interior monologue in which the major thinks

about himself, not in the first person but in the third person. This is a deliberate attempt on his part to put a distance between himself and the prospect of being heard and seen on crutches. At this point he is worried what reaction people might have to seeing him in that condition. The meaning LOW FOCUS NOW marking the verb in kad prolazi 'whenever he passes by' fails to concentrate attention on a single point in time and in this particular context permits an inference of a number of times the event might take place, glossed in English with 'whenever'.

In example 37 Olga Katić is nursing her daughter stricken with typhoid fever. She had earlier come to this lice-infested town to take her daughter, a volunteer nurse, home to safety. However, instead of doing that she herself remained as a volunteer in the hospital. There she met a doctor and fell in love with him. Now, her only daughter is in mortal danger. She is by her side together with the doctor when her husband, summoned to come, arrives. Olga feels tremendous responsibility for her daughter's condition and she also dreads the moment of truth. By associating the verb susresti se 'to meet' and progovoriti 'to begin to talk' with the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW the author zeroes the Focus on that particular moment when the three, the husband, the wife and the doctor, look at each other and find the truth in each other's eyes.

By contrast, in example 38 the event associated with the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW is defocused. Tola Dačić, a hired man, was very proud of his four sons. His employer did not have any children and that made Tola feel very rich. He lost two sons in the war and his third son has just come home from the army. Tola greets him but then, overcome with emotion, he leaves the room because he believes that a man is not supposed to cry. The author downplays the prospect of crying and the event remains indefinite. The further context does not say anything about his crying at all.

Another factor makes the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW inappropriate in the last example - the nature of the lexical meaning of plakati - zaplakati 'to cry'. The meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW of the verb 'to cry' would trigger the interpretation of the starting effect. Substituting the HIGH FOCUS NOW meaning for LOW FOCUS NOW meaning here would imply a precise time relationship - the possibility that Tola might be seen at the moment of his bursting into tears. This message wasn't intended in this particular context and the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW is more appropriate.

In all the examples quoted in which the NOW meanings occur in association with the temporal conjunctions 'when', 'as soon as', 'after', and 'until' the Focus distinction is exploited to produce different messages. With HIGH FOCUS NOW the speaker is focusing on the precise time of an

event. This precision together with the temporal conjunctions permits the inference of a higher probability that the event will actually take place. With the LOW FOCUS NOW meaning the time of occurrence of an event is diffused and the result is the inference of a more generalized event.

2. The Meanings HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW FOCUS NOW after the Conjunctions ako 'if' and da 'that'

The second environment in which the two NOW meanings are used to refer to non-past events is in position after the conjunctions ako 'if' and da 'that'. The HIGH FOCUS NOW meaning again concentrates attention on the event, in association with the conjunctions ako 'if' and da 'that', produces a number of nuances in the message that have to do with a relatively high degree of emotional intensity such as fear, warning, apprehension, encouragement, etc. The LOW FOCUS NOW verb in this environment on the other hand, produces different nuances, messages in a lower emotional key, leading to the more diffident attitudes of disapproval, discouragement, etc.

In combination with the conjunction ako 'if', in the following examples, two with high Focus and two with low Focus, the meanings HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW FOCUS NOW again

produce different effects in the message.

39. Kako će se vratiti u selo, medju ljude i vršnjake ratnike, ako se sazna (HIGH FOCUS NOW) da je njega, čuvenog podrinjskog rvača bacio u baru jedan ćopavi Švaba?

VS3-288

How could he go back to his village and face people there, if it gets around (HIGH FOCUS NOW) that he, a famous wrestler, had been thrown into a puddle by a one-legged Austrian?

RE144

40. Situacija je ozbiljna. To vi i sami vidite. Mi u toku noći moramo da se prebacimo na Belu stenu. Put odavde do nje, kad je vreme lepo, traje čitavu noć. A mi ga noćas moramo preći po snegu, sa ranjenicima. Vidite da su Nemci zanoćili u planini. Ako do zore ne stignemo (HIGH FOCUS NOW) tamo, oni će nas napasti i goniti čitavog dana.

DS66

"The situation in which we find ourselves is serious. You can see that for yourself. We have to move over to the White Rock during the night. In good weather, that trip takes a night. We have to make it in snow and carry the wounded soldiers too. You know that the Germans remained on the mountain. If we don't arrive (HIGH FOCUS NOW) there before dawn, they will attack us and pursue us the whole day."

41. Nije sad ovo više za tebe. Sada je teška situacija. Idi kući, pa ako baš mnogo želiš (LOW FOCUS NOW), na proleće dodji!

FAS84

"This is no longer for you. Our situation is difficult. Go home now and if you really wish it, (LOW FOCUS NOW) come back in the spring.

42. A vi ste svi od reda prave raspikuće. Sve čekate od štaba. Na sastancima, ispružite jezičine kao odbojke i svi kritikujete štab. Kažem vam ja: ako vi ovako kućite (LOW FOCUS NOW) svoje kuće, njih će i vetar da odnese; ako ovako vojsku stvarate (LOW FOCUS NOW), nju će i rundovi da rasture.

DS47

"You are all spendthrifts. All you know is to expect from the headquarters. At meetings you just open your big mouths and criticize. I am telling you: if you build up (LOW FOCUS NOW) your house like this, the wind will blow it away. If you make (LOW FOCUS NOW) an army like this not respecting your superiors, it will break up."

In example 39 Radojko, the orderly of major Stanković, has lost a rematch to an Austrian wrestler. This match has a symbolic meaning to the major and other Serbian soldiers who watch it. Now Radojko is upset and also very much worried that his defeat might become known in his

village. The author focuses on Radojko's fear by associating the event of that possible discovery with the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW.

In example 40 in combination with the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW a different effect is produced - a sense of urgency, warning. A unit of partisans can be saved only if it leaves its present position under the cover of night. The weather is very bad and the fighters have to carry their wounded comrades with them. The meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW with which the verb stići 'to arrive' is associated in 'if we do not arrive by dawn', focuses the urgency on this particular point of time.

Altogether different messages of much lower emotional intensity are inferred from examples 41 and 42. In example 41, the unit commander is aware of a very difficult position in which his unit finds itself. He wants to spare a very young fighter by sending him home. He tells him that if he really wishes he can come back in the spring. By associating the verb in the expression "if you really wish" with the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW, the speaker refrains from encouraging the young soldier to return.

In example 42, the conjunction ako in association with the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW produces an effect of disapproval in the message. Here an older fighter, angry at his comrades who have somehow left behind a sack of corn meal,

shows his discontent by making a general metaphorical remark, abstract in nature. At this point the damage is already done and the old soldier can only voice his disapproval. The indirectness of the message is reinforced by being associated with the low Focus meaning.

In examples 41 and 42 the LOW FOCUS meaning is used indirectly, that is for comment. We have seen so far that one of the reasons for assigning an event a low degree of Focus is to indicate explicitly that it is not as important, relatively speaking, as other events in the same context. If the speaker doesn't want something to be done, whether he wants to discourage somebody from doing it (as in example 41) or to voice his disapproval and thus further discourage a certain behavior (as in example 42) an indirect, subtle way of indicating that is to convey the event with a low degree of Focus. The low Focus marked verb in a sense suggests that the event by being of low interest is not worth undertaking. The HIGH FOCUS NOW meaning in the same context will permit an inference of different more positive messages. In example 41 the high Focus meaning produces a message of encouragement. In example 42 the HIGH FOCUS NOW meaning would be appropriate for somebody actually building a house.

We now turn to examples with the conjunction da:

43. - Do krive bukve da ih pustimo.

- Kakve krive bukve! Do panja it treba pustiti.-
ljutito dobaci Uča.

"Shall we let them come (da pustimo - HIGH FOCUS NOW) to the crooked beech tree?

"What crooked beech tree! We should let them come to the tree stump." - Uča said angrily."

FAS58

44. Ova grupa bez smene izdrža do Sokolova kamena.

- Da se odmorimo. Ne mogu dalje! - povika neko od onih što su nosili.

"The group made it to the Eagle's Rock, without a break.

"Let's have a rest (da + HIGH FOCUS NOW). I cannot go any further!" - said someone who was carrying the wounded comrades."

FAS73

45. Svaki metak mora da pogodi ...? Posle borbe desetari da mi podmesu izveštaj koliko je metaka utrošeno i Nemaca ubijeno.

"Every bullet has to hit its target! Do you understand? After the attack, the troop leaders are to report to me (da + HIGH FOCUS NOW) how many bullets were used and how many Germans killed."

FAS58

46. Ostalo nas je samo šestorica. Oni koji su nas

gonili otišli su, znači mi smo sada ceo odred. A kad smo odred, onda treba da ratujemo kao odred. Da kukamo (B) za onim što je bilo, ništa od toga. Ja predlažem da izvedemo najopasniju akciju.

"Only six of us are left. Those pursuing us are gone and we are the whole unit now. And since we are the unit we have to behave as one. To lament (LOW FOCUS NOW) for things past will not help. I suggest that we take (HIGH FOCUS NOW) the most dangerous course."

FAS356

In all these messages the switch from the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW to the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW would produce incoherent messages in these contexts.

In example 43 a group of resistance fighters is waiting in an ambush. The Germans are approaching fast but the fighters are short of ammunition and they want to let them come to a distance at which their fire will be the most effective. The first speaker, the second in command, makes a bold statement by suggesting that the Germans be allowed to come up to a certain beech tree. The commander responds to this with an even bolder proposal. The utterance has only an appearance of a question. The verb 'to let' in association with the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW gives to the message the flavor of a bold suggestion.

The same can be said about example 44. Here, a group of resistance fighters are retreating carrying with them

their wounded comrades. They have to move under the cover of night and at this point the fighters are very tired and hungry. One of them driven by desperation calls for a brief rest.

In example 45 the effect of the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW is to make a statement, in effect a command. The partisans are very short of ammunition and they have to use every bullet effectively. The commander states in very strong terms that the troop leaders are to report to him immediately after the battle. The meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW in these contexts introduces a nuance of tension and from that and the other information in the context the reader infers a strong suggestion or a command, etc. The meaning LOW FOCUS NOW in these contexts would have resulted in strikingly different messages, more general statements. Example 45 would be interpreted as a regular demand for a prompt report after each battle, not this particular one. Equally, example 43 would be understood as a low-key request to rest or example 44 as a demand to let the Germans approach the beech tree on a regular basis, etc.

In example 46, with the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW, the speaker is far from suggesting that the remainder of the unit dwells on the most recent losses. He does not advocate "lamenting for things past" but rather a new, bold offensive. Again, the LOW FOCUS NOW meaning produces an

indirect message by establishing a distance from the actual event.

3. The Use of the Focus Meanings in Questions

The meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW FOCUS NOW occur in another non-past environment, in questions starting with the question words zašto and što 'why', as in examples 45 and 46 below:

47a. Zašto ne dodješ (HIGH FOCUS NOW) na prijem?
Why don't you come to the reception?

b.*Zašto dodješ (HIGH FOCUS NOW) na prijem?

48a. Zašto ne dolaziš (LOW FOCUS NOW) na prijem?
Why aren't you coming to the reception?

b. Zašto dolaziš (LOW FOCUS NOW) na prijem?
Why are you coming to the reception?

This distribution of the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW FOCUS NOW is asymmetrical in these contexts. Although one can ask either an affirmative or a negative question in Serbo-Croatian with the interrogative word 'why' and the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW (examples 48a and 48b), the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW occurs usually only with the negative (example 47a). The use of the affirmative with the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW in this environment is highly disfavored

(see 47b above).

This asymmetry in the distribution of the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW (the Perfective Present) has attracted the attention of many scholars (Maretić, 1901,1931; Lj. Stojanović, 1921; Musić 1929; Stevanović, 1964, etc.). However, these scholars have been concerned not with finding out what motivates this asymmetry in distribution but rather with how and where to classify this usage of the Perfective Present: among the indicative, the relative or the modal uses of the tenses.

This is not our concern in this analysis. We would rather address the question of what causes this asymmetry in skewing and what makes the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW more appropriate in negative than in positive questions with the interrogative 'why'.

In the examples in context which follow we find both the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW and the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW occurring in interrogatives:

49. Zašto me udaraš, čoveče? - pita ne očekujući odgovor. Zašto ga tuče taj vojnik koji neće ni preživeti svoje rane. Zato što je Švaba, koji mrzi njega Srbina pa mu se sveti za rane ili prosto zato što je zao čovek?

VS3-134

"Why are you hitting me (LOW FOCUS NOW), man? - he asked. Why indeed is this soldier hitting him

(LOW FOCUS NOW), a man who probably would not survive his own wounds? Is it because he is a German who hates him, a Serb, and is seeking vengeance for his injuries, or simply because he is a malicious man?"

RE7

50. Nad njim se nadnosi posilni Radojko Veselinović:
 - Gospodine majore, sta želite sada da uradim?
 - Pitaj dežurnog doktora zašto nas ne unose u bolnicu.

VS3-119

"His orderly Radojko Veselinović was hovering above him.

What can I do for you, Sir?

Ask the doctor on duty why we are not being carried (LOW FOCUS NOW) into the hospital?"

RE6

51. - Zašto ne poslušate doktora Sergejeva, gospodine Stankoviću? - kaže mu tiho, povijena k njemu.
 - Doktora Sergejeva? A vi mislite što i on?
 - Da. Apsolutno.

VS3-278

"Major Stanković, why don't you do (HIGH FOCUS NOW) as Doctor Sergeev says?"- she said quietly, bending over him.

"Doctor Sergeev? Do you think the same as he does?"

"Yes, of course I do."

RE135

52. Majka: Ja te ne držim ovdje svjezanu. Zašto ne izadješ sa Silvom?

Mother: I am not holding you tied here. Why don't you go out (HIGH FOCUS NOW) with Silva?

ZP17

In example 49 the Austrian army is retreating. Fearful that the pursuing Serbian army might overtake them, the Austrian cavalry dislodges from the road a column containing its division hospital, which contains both Austrian and Serbian soldiers. This is done in a hasty manner and the carts with wounded men fall and overturn on the side of the road. A gravely wounded Serbian soldier realizes that his chest wound has opened and is bleeding. At the same time he is bumped by the Austrian soldier to his right. He addresses the question to the Austrian and without waiting for an answer poses the same question to himself and answers it.

In example 50 the Serbian troops have chased the Austrians over their borders. They find the overturned carts and the wounded soldiers mentioned in example 49 above and bring them to a hospital during the night. However, the patients are not taken care of but are left outside in the cold. Major Stanković instructs his orderly to go and find the reason for this delay. The orderly comes

back later on to report that the hospital is overcrowded and that they have to wait for day break before anything can be done for them.

Thus, in examples 49 and 50 with the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW the question is merely a request for information. This is shown by the use of the verb pitati 'to ask'. In both examples it is overtly mentioned that the speaker is requesting the answer to a question.

Examples 51 and 52 are very different. Both are recommending a course of action rather than merely seeking information. Thus even though example 51 is in the form of a question, it is not expressed with a word of asking but rather with a statement word - 'Milena said'. Milena, the nurse, is not asking the major why he has decided to face certain death rather than to allow the amputation of his gangrenous leg. Rather, she is urging him to choose the latter. In example 52 equally, the mother is telling her daughter to go out with her friend. She is not asking for the reason of her refusal to go out.

We shall see in the following section that the speaker of Serbo-Croatian uses the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW, the Imperfective Present, for factual statements referring to individual events in the non-past environment. This is also true of questions that merely ask for information, examples 49 and 50 above. However, when a speaker poses a 'why not'

question, asking for reasons why someone is not doing something because he does not agree with a certain course of action he has quite another type of message in mind. If an occurrence is not taking place, a question asking for reasons for its non-occurrence can be interpreted as a kind of nuance between an encouragement to go ahead and do it and a complaint that it ought to be done. And vice versa, if an occurrence is taking place, a question asking reasons for its occurrence can be interpreted as a discouragement. While these questions (examples 49 and 50) remain primarily requests for information, the nuance of encouragement and discouragement is inferred from the high Focus meaning of the verb and the surrounding context. In such messages the high Focus meaning is used to highlight the speaker's attitude toward the action.

It appears that the question word 'why' inquires for reasons under two different circumstances: (1) when the speaker is not familiar with a certain activity and is therefore asking questions out of ignorance; and (2) when one does not agree with a certain course of action but does not want to say it overtly. Instead, he pretends ignorance and asks for information as an indirect way of expressing his disagreement. To convey this message the speaker uses the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW. By doing so the speaker of Serbo-Croatian calls for a high degree of attention on the

event. The reader/hearer interprets it accordingly. He dismisses the inference of a factual question for information and seeks the motivation for a high concentration of attention on the event. From the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW and the surrounding context the reader/hearer deduces a nuance of encouragement.

Example 51 is an illustration of this. Major Stanković is facing certain death if he does not allow amputation of his gangrenous leg. Dr. Sergeev, the surgeon in charge, has tried and failed to convince the major to allow the surgery. Now, the nurse in charge is attempting to make the major change his mind. She is urging the major to do 'as the doctor says' (SC: 'Why don't you obey the doctor?'), the English translation selecting on purpose this nuance of the message. From the text that follows it is obvious that this message is not interpreted as a true request for information. The major does not answer it but asks the girl instead whether she shares the doctor's opinion on the matter. Although there is always an outright way of saying things, the nurse does not feel that she has a choice of saying what she thinks outright. She has known the major as a patient and only for a short time. She is also considerably younger and he is a high ranking officer. She chooses the subtler way of influencing the major by phrasing the question with the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW.

Example 52 is taken from a modern comedy. In it a mother is addressing her daughter. A friend of her daughter's has just come to invite the girl to go out but she has refused. The reader knows from the previous context that the mother is overly protective and that she constantly interferes in her twenty-seven year old daughter's affairs. The mother has been criticized by neighbors because of that. At this point, the mother either feels guilty or pretends to be more understanding when she urges the girl to go out. For whatever reasons, she intends a message of encouragement.

We still have to address yet another question raised earlier: Why is it that questions with 'why' and the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW favor co-occurring with the negative particle?

The nuance of discouragement appears to be incompatible with the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW. The semantic substance we have been discussing here is the concentration of attention on the event. By signaling that an event merits a high degree of attention from the hearer/reader, the speaker/writer is assigning a high degree of saliency to that event. An event can be more salient than another event for a variety of reasons. We have pointed out a number of these reasons. We have also shown that in some environments the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW is exploited for an

anticipatory effect, to suggest an event that has a high likelihood of occurring. Therefore, when encouraging somebody to go ahead and do something, it makes sense to convey that event with the meaning implying its relevance and to discourage the person by exploiting the opposite meaning. Attempting to discourage somebody from doing something and using the form that implies that the event is very important at the same time would be contradictory. Serbo-Croatian encourages by exploiting the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW and discourages by exploiting the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW. The same nuances of encouragement and discouragement were found in messages inferred from the meanings HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW FOCUS NOW and the conjunctions ako 'if' and da 'that'.

There is a parallel skewing with the imperative. The speaker of Serbo-Croatian exploits the affirmative imperative to request or to command the addressee to do something and the negative form of the imperative to prohibit something. While we do not have a categorical skewing here, the affirmative imperative skews toward the perfective verb and the negative imperative is almost 100% of the time in the imperfective verb. That is, while both Čitaj (Imperfective stem) ovo! 'Read this !' and Pročitaj (Perfective stem) ovo! 'Read this!' are possible only "Ne čitaj ovo!" (Imperfective stem) is. This distribution is a

well known fact of the language. In this case also, the speaker of Serbo-Croatian encourages by using the HIGH FOCUS meaning and discourages by using the LOW FOCUS meaning. The low Focus meaning has the same semantic input on the message as the expression "Nije važno!"- "Don't bother!".

In conclusion, the asymmetry in the distribution between the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW FOCUS NOW in questions with 'why' is accounted for by a semantic incompatibility which exists between the message of discouragement and the meaning HIGH FOCUS. By contrast, the negative questions with 'why' which allow an inference of encouragement skew toward the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW because of a compatibility which exists between the meaning HIGH FOCUS and the message of encouragement. Another factor might be playing a role here. Discouraging is done with the moment of speaking time reference. Asking somebody to do something when he is already doing it will not make sense. In encouragement, the actual occurrence is always removed from the moment of speaking. By contrast, one discourages somebody from doing something often when the subject is already engaged in doing it and often post factum also.

A similar nuance of disapproval is found in utterances in which the meaning MOST IN FOCUS BEFORE containing the

negative ne is found both in statements and in questions with 'why', as for example:

53. Ti ne ode (MOST IN FOCUS) gore na groblje da pomogneš pobusati Jovanov grob?
 Ne odoh - odazva se čovek. ...
 Što ne poslušā ženu kad si obećao? ..
 SE7

"You did not go (MOST IN FOCUS) to the cemetery to help even up Jovan's grave?
 I did not - said the man.
 Why not (MOST IN FOCUS)? You promised that to the widow."

The negative question with the interrogative 'why' co-occurring with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS, is only a rhetorical question. By pretending to be asking for information, the speaker voices his displeasure or disapproval that something did not take place.

4. The Exploitation of the Focus Distinction in the NOW Phase of the Interlock for Individual Non-past Events

The previous section examines the exploitation of the Focus opposition between the meanings HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW FOCUS NOW to convey two non-past events related by a variety of conjunctions. Examples 21 through 42 above are

instances of that. In the remainder of this chapter we shall explore the exploitation of these two Focus meanings to convey non-past events that are not related to any other non-past events by conjunctions.

Judging from what we have seen so far the Focus opposition finds its application in instances in which the speaker/writer ranks two or more events according to their saliency to the communication in progress, to help the reader/hearer to process messages correctly. When the speaker conveys an individual non-past event however he is not engaged in ranking that event against others. In Serbo-Croatian the low degree of Focus, LOW FOCUS NOW, is generally used in matter of fact statements of non-past occurrences.

The lack of co-occurrence of the Perfective Present and the time reference 'now', 'this moment' is a well known problem in Serbo-Croatian and other Slavic languages. On the basis of this distribution Miklosich formulated his well known "rule of thumb" by which the native speaker can classify verbs into perfective and imperfective. Each verb whose Present Tense form can answer the question 'What are you doing right now?' belongs to the category of imperfective verb; others belong to the category of perfective verb.

This distribution of the Perfective Present in the

non-past is treated differently by different scholars. The general consensus is that the Perfective Present cannot refer to the "actual" present, to an action going on before the eyes of the speaker, because of its aspectual meaning. That is, the perfective aspect excludes any notion of duration. It expresses either completion or succession and neither can be located within the elusive point that the present represents on the time axis. In order to handle the present the verb has to bestow on it some minimal duration. That is why the imperfective verb is appropriate here and the perfective is not. We have seen earlier in this study however that nuances of succession and completion can be inferred from both the perfective and the imperfective verb. That is, these notions are not what determine the distribution. Rather, they are its consequences, i.e. nuances in the messages inferred from the context in which these forms occur. Besides, scholars treating this distributional problem seem to neglect two facts: 1) The "now", "this moment" environment is not the only one in which the Perfective Present does not occur. It also does not occur whenever there is any precise, overtly mentioned, non-past time orientation; and 2) There are environments in which the Perfective Present does occur with reference to the moment of speaking. This distribution is illustrated by the following examples of the meanings HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW

FOCUS NOW in the non-past context:

54a. Sada dolazim (LOW FOCUS NOW).
now come (I)
I am coming now.

54b. *Sada dodjem (HIGH FOCUS NOW).
*Here I am coming.

55a. Dolazim (LOW FOCUS NOW) u ponedjeljak.
come (I) on/next Monday
I am coming next Monday./I come on Monday.

55b. *Dodjem (HIGH FOCUS NOW) u ponedjeljak.
*Here I am coming next Monday.

In the absence of any contextual clues only the utterances 54a and 55a allow inferences of coherent messages in Serbo-Croatian.

When we examine the messages inferred from the utterances in which the LOW FOCUS NOW meaning occurs (examples 54a. and 55a) we can see that they are matter of fact statements. In these examples the speaker is talking within a minimum context about events which are not related to other non-past events. Conversation is one area in which one is likely to find unrelated non-past events that do not require much context. The great majority of statements in such a context are low-key statements that do not require any emphasis. A typical example of a low key conversation

324

is the following:

56. Vi ste Rus?

Da, ja sam Rus. Niklolaĵ Maksimoviĉ Sergejev.

Veoma me zanima (N) vaŝ pogled na prilike u bolnici. - kaŝe mu na ruskom.

Moj pogled? Zna te, dragi kolega, moj pogled i na ove sadaŝnje prilike proishodi (B) iz mog pogleda na svako ljudsko stanje. Za mene postoje (B) samo dva pitanja koje ljude treba ozbiljno da zanimaju. Po kojima mi zasluŝujemo (B) poŝtovanje ili prezir.

VS4-39

"Are you a Russian?"- asked Mihajlo.

"Yes. My name is Nikolai Maksimoviĉ Sergeev.

"I'd be extremely interested in to hear your point of view on the conditions in this hospital," - said Mihailo Radić in Russian.

"My point of view? My dear doctor, my view of the conditions here derives (LOW FOCUS NOW) from my view of any human condition. I believe there are (LOW FOCUS NOW) only two questions worth serious consideration. By measure of which we deserve (LOW FOCUS NOW) either respect or contempt."

RE23

In this example Dr. Radić, newly appointed hospital administrator, approaches one of the doctors in the hospital to inquire about the conditions. The two doctors have just met and the conversation between them is void of

any overt emotion.

However, when the speaker finds himself in a situation of emotional tension his statements cease to be only factual statements. Excitement starts to infringe on his use of the language and as a result he starts to abandon the kind of precision which characterizes the strictly factual communication. He speaks in a more staccato manner. Sentences become shorter. Pitch is raised as indicated by an mark or both the exclamation and question mark together. Imperatives are very frequent. In a sense, any fully articulated version of the message is abandoned. The following passage is an example of an emotionally charged dialogue.

57. Svom snagom se seknu ka ivici kreveta, spazi beli mantil pored uzglavlja, prodera se:
- Ej, vi! Ja od rođjenja ne delim (B) postelju. Zahtevam (N) od države kojoj služim da mi obezbedi (B) ležaj na kome ću sām crknuti! Sam, razumete li me?
- Ovo je oficirska soba i budite srećni što ste samo dvojica u krevetu.
- Da ovde budem (A) srećan, je l' te?
- Da. Bolnica je predviđena za dvesta ranjenika, a s vama što su vas noćas dovukli ima vas već preko pet stotina.
- Ovo je major Gavriilo Stanković, gospodine doktore!
- Radojko, ti da ćutiš! Zovi jednog bolničara i

iznesi (Imperative) odavde. U hodnik me iznesi (Imp.)! Vi u belom mantilu, sklonite (Imp.) mi se s očiju!

VS3.230

Summoning all his strength, the major moved himself to the edge of the bed and catching sight of a white coat beside the pillow, shouted: "You there! I've never shared (LOW FOCUS NOW) a bed with anybody since the day I was born! I demand that the state I serve (LOW FOCUS NOW) provide me with a place where I can lie down and draw my last breath! I wish to be alone, is that clear?"

"This is a room for officers. Be happy (Imp.) that you are only two in a bed."

"So, I should be happy (HIGH FOCUS NOW) to be here, should I?"

"Yes. You are. The hospital is equipped to take two hundred wounded and with those of you who were brought in last night there are already more than five hundred."

"Doctor, you are talking to Major Gavriilo Stanković!"

"Be quiet (LOW FOCUS NOW) Radojko! Call an (Imp.) orderly and get me out (Imp.) of here. Take (Imp.) me into the corridor. And you," he said turning to the doctor, "get out of my sight (Imp.)!"

(RE84)

In this passage gravely wounded major Stanković has just been brought into the hospital after being left all night in front of the hospital gates. The moment he is put

down he realizes that the bed is already occupied and he reacts to that violently. The major shouts his demands to be accommodated properly and reacts sarcastically to the doctor's statement that he should consider himself lucky to be where he is. When his orderly intervenes the major yells at him as well. His last words consist entirely of commands. In the meantime, the doctor he is addressing continues to speak in a matter of fact fashion. This emotionally charged situation brings in a mixture of HIGH FOCUS and LOW FOCUS meanings. The major states a fact that he doesn't share bed with others appropriately using the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW. He then proceeds to demand a bed for himself using the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW ('provide' A). His sarcastical remark "So, I should be happy (A) to be here!" is also conveyed with the high Focus meaning. Otherwise, the emotional character of the major's state of mind is expressed with a raised sentence pitch, marked with the question mark, and a series of commands.

In a written dialogue like this one the reader expects to find a mixture of factual statements together with exclamations and commands. In an actual real life situation conversation such as the one illustrated above could become more disjointed with a more extreme abandonment of the systematic use of the signal-meaning relationships of the language.

CHAPTER VII

QUANTITATIVE VALIDATION

A. Introduction

In the previous chapter we presented the qualitative validation of the two phases of the Focus-Time interlock of Serbo-Croatian. We quoted a number of examples in which the hypothesized meanings occurred. For each of these examples one aspect of the message was isolated and it was shown that that particular meaning was the most appropriate for the particular message.

Qualitative validation is the most straightforward procedure for validating a semantic hypothesis. However, in many cases a quantitative procedure is also helpful, and this is what will be presented in this chapter.

The nature of the Focus meanings is such that they indicate the speaker's subjective assessment of the event

being described. We cannot of course observe what is going on in other people's minds. In order to validate the hypothesis of a semantic substance such as the Concentration of attention on the event, we cannot rely on the intuition of the native speakers, who are not consciously aware of the semantic distinction that they exploit unerringly in every day life. Rather, we have to rely on the information in the context.

The qualitative validation in the previous chapter validated the Focus meanings in terms of individual examples. However, any individual example can be viewed in more than one way, since more than one variable may be motivating the use of a particular signal-meaning. In addition, disputes may arise as to what the actual variable might be in a particular case or the analyst might be criticized for introducing an ad hoc rationale. Therefore, it is advisable to examine a large body of data and to validate the hypothesis by way of statistical tendencies.

1. Statistical Counts

Since humans use language to communicate messages we may assume that they exploit those signal-meanings which best contribute to the message they intend. Further, if a grammatical meaning contributes coherently to the

communication of a certain message then we may expect that by examining the message communicated we can find some characteristics of it that redundantly supports the speaker's choice of the meaning for that particular message. We can then expect that this aspect of the message will play a role in the speaker's choice of the meaning in question, not only in that instance, but in many other instances of a similar kind. On the basis of this we can predict a significant correlation between a certain meaning and a certain feature of the message. In other words, it should be possible to find certain types of messages for which one of the hypothesized Focus meanings is more appropriate than the others. As a consequence, we can expect that when that type of message is being signaled, the signal in question will appear in greater frequency.

Since the purpose of statistical counts is to validate a particular semantic hypothesis, the aspect of the message we isolate must be one which has a clear semantic connection with the meaning being validated. To the extent that the semantic feature on which the count is based is associated with the meaning being hypothesized for the signal in question, finding a statistically significant correlation between them provides support for the meaning hypothesized.

In performing the quantitative validation we are

essentially doing the same thing we do in a qualitative validation: we are examining the relationship between meaning and message. However, here we do not have to prove that a particular variable (and not another possible variable) is playing the determining role in the choice of the meaning. At times it is difficult to judge which factor is the dominant one in each individual case. We know that at each step of the narrative the writer has to make on the spot decision of which event to associate with a high degree of Focus and which with a low degree of Focus and many various factors influence his decision, some of them conflicting. Since the language analyst examines one variable at a time he is not in position to be sure that no other variable might override the one under consideration.

By predicting statistical skewings, we anticipate that the factor in the message which is highly coherent with the meaning will appear with it more often than not. This is not likely to result in a 100% skewing, because we may expect that other aspects of the message might be playing a role in the choice of the meaning. However, given a large enough corpus these other variables will balance out and the variable we have isolated will produce a significant skewing. Thus, we predict that in a proportionately greater number of instances, the correlation between the meaning and the aspect of the message we have isolated will be

realized. Equally, we cannot and we do not predict any particular degree of skewing since that depends on many different factors in the communication.

The difference between the quantitative and the qualitative skewing of the distribution can be usually shown to be of degree and not of kind. In view of this the quantitative skewing reflects more truly the nature of distribution of linguistic signals. Skewings of less than 100% do not disconfirm the prediction. Rather, all they are telling us is that another variable or a number of variables are influencing the skewing.

Statistical counts have often been used as a tool of demonstration of the regular association of a meaning with a particular aspect of the message. (Diver, 1969, Zubin 1975, Gorup 1977, Reid 1978, etc.).

It is recognized that often something cannot be established on an individual basis yet can be established for an entire group. (For instance during the energy crisis in the seventies, car manufacturers could not say or rather were not interested in what each potential car buyer would buy but they were able to predict that a larger number of small, fuel efficient cars would be sold).

This chapter will be dedicated to the quantitative analysis of the two phases of the Time-Focus interlock in Serbo-Croatian. We will present first the quantitative

validation of the Before phase of the Time-Focus interlock and then the quantitative validation of the Now phase of the Time-Focus interlock.

It was mentioned earlier that the lowest member on the Focus scale, LEAST IN FOCUS BEFORE, is quite rare in contemporary Serbo-Croatian. The counts we are about to present were therefore performed on the three remaining BEFORE meanings, MOST IN FOCUS, MORE IN FOCUS and LESS IN FOCUS. A separate section will be dedicated to the validation of the meaning LEAST IN FOCUS.

Another thing should be pointed out at this point. We have seen in the previous chapter that the meaning MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE skews toward high Focus distribution and that it often competes in that respect with the highest member on the Focus scale, the meaning MOST IN FOCUS BEFORE. Even so, the meaning MORE IN FOCUS is located lower than the meaning MOST IN FOCUS on the Focus scale, in between the top and the bottom member. This relative position of the meaning MORE IN FOCUS on the Focus scale will have an effect on its distribution. Thus, we can expect that this meaning will behave like the top member with respect to certain variables and like the bottom member with respect to other variables. In still other counts only the top member on the Focus scale, the meaning MOST IN FOCUS, will be sensitive to the variable isolated while the two

remaining meanings, MORE IN FOCUS and LESS IN FOCUS, will skew in the opposite direction.

In performing statistical counts we will isolate several contextual variables reflecting perceptual inclinations in order to demonstrate the regular correlation between the perceptual inclinations and the Focus meanings we have hypothesized here. We will first explain how the contextual factor relates to the semantic substance we are analysing and on the basis of that we will predict the skewing of the various Focus meanings in the text.

B. Quantitative Validation of the BEFORE Phase of the Time-Focus Interlock

1. Human Subjects versus Non-human Subjects

In their daily living humans are primarily interested in themselves and in other humans. They are interested in non-humans, animals and inanimate things, to the extent that these things have an impact on them or on the individuals they are concerned with. Therefore, human communication tends to be primarily about people and not about things. On the basis of this, we can predict that the meanings of high Focus will favor human beings as subjects

and conversely, that the low Focus meanings will show a statistical preference for non-human subjects.

To support this prediction we counted instances of the meanings of the BEFORE phase of the interlock in the short novel Mouth Full of Earth, by Branimir Šćepanović, to a total of 915 instances. The following table shows the result of this count:

Table 1. Focus meanings correlated with human versus non-human subjects

	Human Subjects	Non-human Sub.	Total
MOST IN FOCUS	172 (24%)	13 (7%)	185 (20%)
MORE IN FOCUS	225 (31%)	24 (13%)	249 (27%)
LESS IN FOCUS	332 (45%)	149 (80%)	481 (53%)
Total	729 (100%)	186 (100%)	915 (100%)

Text: Usta puna zemlje, by B.Šćepanović

Sample size: 915

$p < .005$

Chi Square: 70.866

The novel Mouth Full of Earth is about people and the skewing reflects this. In the totals at the bottom there are almost four times as many human subjects as non-human: 729 to 186.

When we look at 729 instances of human subjects we see that 24% of them are associated with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS, 31% with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS (for a total of 55% for the two high Focus meanings) while 45% are associated with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS.

When we look at 186 instances of non-human subjects the numbers are even more revealing: only 20% of all non-human subjects are in high Focus (7% and 13% respectively) while 80% are in low Focus. The low Focus attracts non-human subjects four times as often as high Focus.

This count also reveals that the meaning MOST IN FOCUS disfavors non-human subjects even more than the meaning MORE IN FOCUS.

However, in order to be certain that we are dealing with significant numbers and that they support our Hypothesis, we may put the raw figures of the previous count through the Chi Square calculation shown below:

Table 2. Chi Square calculation of the meanings of Focus correlated with human versus non-human subjects

	a. Prediction		b. Observed Distribution	
	Hum.Sub.	Non-hum.Sub.	Hum.Sub.	Non-hum.Sub.
(1)	+	-	172	13
(2)	+/-	-/+	225	24
(3)	-	+	332	149

	c. Symmetrical Distribution		d. Amount of Asymmetry	
	Hum.Sub.	Non-hum.Sub.	Hum.Sub.	Non-hum.Sub.
(1)	147	38	+25	-25
(2)	199	50	+26	-26
(3)	383	98	-51	+51

On the basis of the Hypothesis we predicted (diagram a. above) an asymmetrical distribution, i.e that the high Focus meanings will tend to favor human subjects in comparison with the low Focus meaning LESS IN FOCUS which will tend to favor non-human subjects (diagram a. above). The Chi Square calculation measures the total discrepancy between the actually observed (b. above) and the symmetrical frequencies which would occur in a "null" hypothesis (c. above). There are 25 more human subjects and 25 fewer non-human subjects associated with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS than there would have been in the 'null' hypothesis. Also, there are 26 more human subjects and 26 fewer non-human subjects in association with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS. On the other hand there are 51 fewer human subjects and 51 more non-human subjects associated with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS than there would be if the variable human subject vs. non-human subject did not play any role in the skewing. As it is, the discrepancies between the observed and the calculated frequencies show that human subjects favor high degree of Focus meanings (MOST IN FOCUS and MORE IN FOCUS) and disfavor the low degree of Focus (LESS IN FOCUS). By contrast, non-human subjects skew toward the low degree of Focus and co-occur only rarely with the high Focus meanings. This count produced the Chi Square of 70.866. (The Chi Square table indicates that in a four

cell calculation a level of confidence of .010 corresponding to Chi Square of 6.63 is significant and that a level of .005 corresponding to Chi Square of 7.88 is very significant. The numbers for a six cell calculation are 9.21 and 10.60 respectively).

The above numbers support our prediction that human activities deserve higher attention than do non-human activities. Note that the skewing is not absolute, i.e. that all human subjects are not in MOST IN FOCUS and/or MORE IN FOCUS and all non-human subjects are not in LESS IN FOCUS. This is because the choice between high Focus and low Focus is not always made on the basis of whether the subject refers to human or to non-human.

In this count the two top members on the Focus scale, the meanings MOST IN FOCUS and MORE IN FOCUS, share equally in supporting the prediction (+25 and +26).

For the purpose of further discussion we shall distinguish four different types of statistical counts. A count of this type (i.e. in which the two top Focus meanings skew in the same direction and to the same extent) we shall call a type C count. A count in which the top member, the meaning MOST IN FOCUS, supports the prediction strongly while the second member on the Focus scale, the meaning MORE IN FOCUS, skews only slightly above the calculated frequencies will be referred to as a B type

count. A count in which only the top member, the meaning MOST IN FOCUS, skews in the predicted direction while the other two meanings skew in the opposite direction is called an A type count. A count in which only the middle member supports the prediction while the top member skews around the calculated frequencies will be referred to as a D type count.

2. Central Character versus Other Characters

The Focus Hypothesis was tested on another, semantically related, variable: clauses with the principal character of the story as their subjects compared with clauses having other, peripheral, characters as their subjects.

In a story, the activity generally centers around one (or more than one) main character, and what he does is of primary importance. Other characters play a less important, more supportive role. On the basis of this observation we can predict that the clauses with the main character as subject will favor high Focus meanings relatively more often than the clauses with minor characters as their subjects.

To test this prediction we counted instances of BEFORE meanings in the story "The Journey of Ali Djerzelez". The

following table shows the discrepancies between the calculated and the observed frequencies for this count:

Table 3. Focus meanings of the Before phase of the Interlock correlated with central character versus other character

	Central Character		Other Characters	
MOST IN FOCUS	+12	(79)	-12	(53)
MORE IN FOCUS	+ 2	(46)	- 2	(40)
LESS IN FOCUS	-14	(72)	+14	(96)

Text: "Put Alije Djerzeleza", by I.Andrić

Sample size: 386 $p < .010$ $\chi^2 = 9.144$

This is a B type count. It presents a slightly different picture from the previous count in which we correlated Focus meanings with human versus non-human subjects. In that count it was shown that the verbs attached to human subjects skew toward a high degree of Focus and that the two top members on the Focus scale, MOST IN FOCUS and MORE IN FOCUS supported the prediction equally. In the present count however the highest member on the Focus scale, MOST IN FOCUS, supported the prediction much more strongly than the next meaning on the scale, MORE IN FOCUS.

The main hero occurs most often in MOST IN FOCUS (+12)

and least often in LESS IN FOCUS (-14). There are 12 more MOST IN FOCUS marked verbs and only two more MORE IN FOCUS marked verbs in association with the main character than there would have been the case in a symmetrical distribution. The distribution of other characters in the story is the opposite: here, verbs referring to supporting characters are most often associated with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS (+14), and very rarely with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS (-12). There are 14 fewer low focus signals in association with the verbs referring to the central character of the story and 14 more LESS IN FOCUS signals in association with the verbs referring to other characters in the story than there would be the case if the variable central character versus other characters did not have any effect on the distribution of Focus meanings. The middle member on the scale, the meaning MORE IN FOCUS is hovering over the calculated frequencies (+2 and -2).

Such a distribution is a direct consequence of the strategies of exploitation of the Focus meanings. While human subjects in general favor higher degrees of Focus, the human subject who happens to be also the principal character in the story attracts the highest degree of Focus, MOST IN FOCUS, more often (+12) than other human subjects (+2). We have seen earlier that while the meanings MORE IN FOCUS and LESS IN FOCUS are used to structure the

frame of the narrative, the meaning MOST IN FOCUS is reserved for more local strategies in which the author switches to the highest degree of Focus at particular points in the narrative to underscore the relevance of certain events to the story. In the corpus that served as the basis for the count the majority of MOST IN FOCUS signals occurred in four local episodes describing situations in which Ali Djerzelez was the chief protagonist.

The skewing of a count such as this one depends a great deal on the choice of the text. It is possible to find stories in which the main character is a less active figure or a more dominant figure than Ali Djerzelez in our corpus. In both cases the skewing will reflect that fact. Our choice fell on this character because he finds himself between the two extremes. Ali Djerzelez is a hero whose reputation as a warrior is wide spread. Yet the story which served as the basis for this count is not about his military exploits but rather about his human weaknesses.

3. Central Character vs. Other Characters vs. Things

In the following count, performed on the same corpus, we extended our prediction to inanimate subjects. We

predicted that the verbs referring to the central hero of the story will skew toward the highest degree of Focus, MOST IN FOCUS, that the verbs associated with non-human subjects will skew toward the low degree of Focus, LESS IN FOCUS and that the verbs in association with human subjects other than the central hero will skew somewhere in between. Table 4. below illustrates this count:

Table 4. Focus meanings of the Before phase of the Interlock correlated with central character versus other characters versus inanimate entities

	Central Character	Others	Things
MOST IN FOCUS	+17	- 6	-11
MORE IN FOCUS	+ 4	- 1	- 3
LESS IN FOCUS	-21	+ 7	+14

Text: I.Andrić, "Put Alije Djerzeleza"

Sample size: 432

$p < .005$

$\chi^2 = 12.588$

This prediction was supported. There are 17 more MOST IN FOCUS signals (and 21 fewer LESS IN FOCUS signals) associated with verbs with Ali as their subject. By contrast, there are 11 fewer MOST IN FOCUS signals (and 14 more LESS IN FOCUS signals) marking verbs which had inanimate subjects. These are the numbers of the four extreme cells that a count of this type predicts. The

distribution in other cells behaves as predicted. Starting with the upper left corner (+17) the numbers decrease going down (+4 > -21) and to the right (-6 > -11) as they approach the two extreme cells of distributional disfavoring and start to increase going across toward the other cell of distributional favoring (-1 < +14). Equally, starting from the lower right corner (+14) the numbers decrease as they go upward (+7 > -21) and to the left (-3 > -11) and start to increase going across (-1 < +17). There is a much bigger gap between Ali Djerzelez and other characters than between other characters and inanimate things. The central character attracts the majority of both MOST IN FOCUS and MORE IN FOCUS and the inanimate subjects favor the meaning LESS IN FOCUS. This count again is a type B count.

4. First Person vs. Second Person vs. Third Person

We tested yet another variable to lend support to our Hypothesis. We counted first person verbal forms versus second person forms versus third person forms.

It was mentioned earlier that it is widely recognized that people in general are mostly interested in what is happening to people rather than to objects around them. However, it is also well known that people tend to be egocentric and to view what is happening to them as the

most pertinent of all, as the most important thing deserving our attention. They tend to consider as second most important thing that which is happening to those they are communicatng with (the second person sg. and plural ti 'you' and vi 'you') to be followed by what is happening to 'him', 'her', 'it' or 'them', those often not present on the scene and therefore not directly involved in the affairs being discussed. We can expect then that the value opposition between MOST IN FOCUS and MORE IN FOCUS on one side and LESS IN FOCUS on the other will play a role in the distribution of the first and second person versus the third person. We predict that MOST IN FOCUS and MORE IN FOCUS will attract proportionately more first person and second person form subjects than third person subjects and conversely that LESS IN FOCUS will attract a higher number of third person subjects.

To test this prediction we counted instances of MOST IN FOCUS, MORE IN FOCUS and LESS IN FOCUS co-occurring with the first, the second and the third person singular subjects referring to humans in two chapters of the novel Prijatelji, by Slobodan Selenić. The following table illustrates this count:

Table 5. Focus meanings of the BEFORE phase correlated with the first, second and third person singular subjects

	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
MOST IN FOCUS	+41	- 8	-33
MORE IN FOCUS	-19	+ 6	+13
LESS IN FOCUS	-23	+ 3	+20

Text: Prijatelji, by S.Selenić (Chps. 4 and 7)

Sample size: 315 $p < .005$ $\chi^2 = 22.850$

The prediction was supported. The first person verbs favored the meaning MOST IN FOCUS (+41) and disfavored the meaning LESS IN FOCUS (-23) while the third person showed the opposite skewing, by favoring the meaning LESS IN FOCUS (+20) and strongly disfavoring the meaning MOST IN FOCUS (-33).

Numbers in other cells behave as expected. Starting from the upper left corner the numbers decrease going down reflecting the fact that the first person subject is most often associated with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS (+41) and least often with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS (-23). They also decrease moving to the right, reflecting the other aspect of this count: the meaning MOST IN FOCUS attracts most often the first person subjects (+41) and least often the third person subjects (-33). The same skewing tendency is

observed as we move upward and to the left starting from the lower right corner (+20).

The numbers in the other cells and in particular +13 (higher than expected) and -19 (lower than expected) can be accounted for by the nature of the plot on which this count was based. The novel Prijatelji is about two men who shared one part of their lives together. Many years after they had taken separate ways one of the two wrote his account of the time they spent together and mailed it to his former friend. In this account Vladan writes about himself as "I" and about Istref as "you". In reading this however, Istref thinks of himself as "I" and of Vladan as "he". Therefore +13 in the third person column. The third person here refers to the central character of the novel and accounts to the majority of third person subjects associated with the meaning MORE IN FOCUS.

The big drop in the first person column from the meaning MOST IN FOCUS to the meaning MORE IN FOCUS (+41 vs, -19) is due to the personality of the principal character. Vladan is an egocentric, prone to all kinds of exaggerations who holds his affairs to be far more important than anyone else's in the story.

As in the previous count (see Table 4. above) the two top Focus meanings, MOST IN FOCUS and MORE IN FOCUS did not support the prediction equally. The meaning MOST IN FOCUS

supported it far more strongly. Here only the first person skews toward high Focus, reflecting the observation that a speaker always regards himself as a hero and what he is saying as worthy of other people's attention. This is an A type count.

This comes as no surprise. We remind the reader that the Serbo-Croatian Aorist, MOST IN FOCUS BEFORE in this analysis, is elsewhere analyzed as an evidential tense, the tense speakers use when they talk about personal experiences and exploits. This strategy of exploitation accounts for that. This is one of the ways in which speakers of Serbo-Croatian talk about themselves. They intentionally underscore their own exploits by associating them with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS.

The extreme favoring of MOST IN FOCUS by the first person singular suggests a more narrow prediction: The first person singular subjects attract proportionately more MOST IN FOCUS than the second person singular subjects. This revised prediction was tested on the same corpus with the following result:

Table 6. MOST IN FOCUS and MORE IN FOCUS correlated with first person and second person singular

	First Person	Second Person
MOST IN FOCUS	+15	-15
MORE IN FOCUS	- 8	+ 8
LESS IN FOCUS	- 7	+ 7
Sample size: 188	$p < .005$	$\chi^2 = 28.662$

This supports the prediction that MOST IN FOCUS favors first person subjects.

5. Singular Subjects vs. Plural Subjects

We examined another contextual variant: singular subjects versus plural subjects.

Among the factors that influence attention, the most important one is interest or motivation. Since interest is inherently discriminative, people are interested to different degrees and in different things. For example, a mother whose child is playing on the side walk in front of the house, does not pay attention to the sound of passing vehicles but responds promptly to the sound of brakes. Her guests in the same room might not hear the sound of brakes at all. The mother is registering the event because her attention is focused on what is happening in front of the

house. She is perceptually 'tuned in' on that area and she singles out that particular sound while disregarding all the others.

We cannot pay attention to all things at the same time and expect perfect perception. The detail this time was singled out, individualized, because the mother was motivated to perceive it. Generally, it is found that the greater selectivity and individualization the greater the interest and attention are going to be. Since singularity of subject is an instance of greater individualization and conversely, plurality of subject an instance of lesser individualization, we can predict that high Focus signals will attract singular subjects more than the low Focus forms. The table below illustrates that count:

Table 7. Focus meanings of the BEFORE phase of the interlock correlated with singular subjects vs. plural subjects

	Singular Subjects	Plural Subjects
MOST IN FOCUS	+ 9 (139)	- 9 (30)
MORE IN FOCUS	+ 8 (97)	- 8 (19)
LESS IN FOCUS	-17 (138)	+17 (64)

Text: "Put Alije Djerzeleza", by Ivo Andrić

Sample size: 487 $p < .005$

$\chi^2 = 14.059$

If we look closer at the raw numbers we can see that there are more singular subjects in MOST IN FOCUS (139) than in MORE IN FOCUS (47). This count is a C type statistical count. The two high Focus meanings, MOST IN FOCUS and MORE IN FOCUS share equally in supporting this prediction. Singular subjects favor high Focus meanings (+9 and +8) while Plural subjects attract the low Focus meaning, LESS IN FOCUS (+17).

6. Human Subjects Overtly Mentioned

In this calculation we separated only human subjects from the first count, a total of 729 out of 915 (see p.335). We divided the 729 subjects into two categories: in one category we put all instances in which we had an overtly mentioned subject, either by a noun or a pronoun, and in the other category we left those instances of verbal forms in which the subject was implied by verbal endings. (The verbal ending in Serbo-Croatian morphology signals person and number. The speaker does not have to employ a noun or a pronoun in order to signal person as one does in English. In other words, the speaker of Serbo-Croatian has a choice of using the redundant pronoun, as in Ja radim u vrtu 'I am working in the garden', or simply say Radim u vrtu, since the ending -m in radim signals the first person singular subject regardless of whether the subject I is mentioned or not.) We excluded from the count verbal forms with abstract nouns as their subjects. We then contrasted verbal forms with overtly mentioned subjects to other BEFORE meanings which did not have an overtly mentioned subject. We predicted that the verbal forms with an overtly mentioned subject would skew toward a high Focus meaning and, vice versa, that those forms which do not have an overtly mentioned subject would skew toward low Focus. We

based this prediction on the observation that if something is important enough to be mentioned twice then it will attract a higher degree of Focus. (One does something similar in English when one says: 'I do like it' or 'I did do it'.) Human subjects explicitly mentioned by either a noun or a pronoun will attract MOST IN FOCUS and MORE IN FOCUS more often than those human subjects which are implied by verbal endings. The following table gives the pertinent numbers:

Table 8. Focus meanings of the BEFORE phase of the Interlock correlated with human subjects overtly mentioned vs. human subjects not overtly mentioned

	Subjects Mentioned	Subjects not Mentioned
MOST IN FOCUS	+46	-46
MORE IN FOCUS	-21	+21
LESS IN FOCUS	-25	+25
Sample size: 729	$p < .005$	$\chi^2 = 21.694$

When we look more closely at the numbers we can see that the MOST IN FOCUS and LESS IN FOCUS behave as predicted. The meaning MORE IN FOCUS behaves more like the low member on the Focus scale, LESS IN FOCUS.

Our original prediction (see Table I. p.335) was that human subjects will attract relatively more signals

signaling high degree of Focus than the non-human subjects. That prediction was supported by both the percentage and the Chi Square calculation. This extended prediction says that if human subjects are overtly mentioned by either a noun or a pronoun they will attract a higher degree of Focus than human subjects which are implied by verbal endings only. Numbers in this count suggest a slightly different generalization: While human subjects attract high Focus signals in respect to non-human subjects, if human subjects are explicitly mentioned, they are going to attract the top member on the Focus scale, the meaning MOST IN FOCUS. In other words, if a participant in an event is so important as to be mentioned overtly the event itself would be important enough to deserve the highest degree of Focus. This appears to be the choice of Serbo-Croatian speakers. They favor the meaning MOST IN FOCUS for this specific purpose and use it there. Our numbers proved this to be true.

However, while the meanings MOST IN FOCUS and LESS IN FOCUS behave as predicted, the second meaning, MORE IN FOCUS, behaves more like the bottom than like the top member. It was explained earlier that the use of pronouns in Serbo-Croatian is redundant since the information provided by the pronoun is also signaled by the verbal ending (person, number and often also gender). Therefore,

when the pronoun is used it has an effect on the message of making it emphatic. This type of message seems to be compatible with the top degree of Focus and it tends to co-occur with it. The meaning MORE IN FOCUS in this case is not sensitive to this strategy and behaves just like the meaning LESS IN FOCUS.

7. Participant Roles and their Co-occurrence with Focus Morphology

The level of activity on the scene is frequently parallel to the level of attention people are paying to the activity in progress. People are much more interested in dynamic events than in those events whose level of activity is low. As we all know, this factor is constantly being exploited by the media. Based on this inherent interest in dynamic activities we can predict that Focus meanings will correlate with the level of activity and that the dynamic events will skew toward high degrees of Focus rather than toward low degrees of Focus.

However, we are faced immediately with a problem here: How does one measure activity? We can always divide verbs into different semantic groups along the activity line and contend, for instance, that the verb 'to dig' conveys a higher activity level than the verb 'to sit' for example. However, in many instances we would have to use our

subjective judgement to do this since the lexical meaning of many verbs will not be so transparently contrastive with respect to activity level with the above pair. Another, more objective, way to judge activity level is to count the number of participant roles directly involved in an event. Generally, the more participants playing different roles on the scene, the more active it is going to be. And, the more active a scene, the more attention it will attract. The Focus Hypothesis predicts that verbal forms occurring in messages from which we infer more participant roles will skew toward high Focus meanings more than will those forms which occur in messages from which we infer only one participant role. Consider the two examples:

1. On čita knjigu.
He is reading a /the book.

2. On spava.
He is sleeping.

In example one we have a message with a two participant event and in example two we have a message with a one participant event. (The number of participant roles has been found to influence skewing of grammatical forms in other studies which had for their subject the analysis of the semantic substance Concentration of attention, both on the event and the entity. See Reid 1978, Zubin 1977, etc.)

This prediction was tested and the following table shows that it has been confirmed:

Table 9. Focus meanings of the Before phase of the Interlock correlated with the number of participant roles

	Two Roles	One Role
MOST IN FOCUS	+ 2	- 2
MORE IN FOCUS	+20	-10
LESS IN FOCUS	-22	+22

Text: Mouth Full of Earth, by B.Šćepanović, pp.1-43

Sample size: 260 $p < .005$ $\chi^2 = 17.38$

The result supports the prediction. The meanings MOST IN FOCUS and MORE IN FOCUS favor two-participant role verbs (+20 and +2) while the meaning LESS IN FOCUS favors one-participant role verbs (+22). However, while the meaning MORE IN FOCUS supports the prediction very strongly the meaning MOST IN FOCUS supports it only weakly. This skewing can be understood. When the author describes an event involving two participant roles chances are it will be an important event. We have seen in the chapter on the qualitative validation that in Serbo-Croatian the meaning MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE is generally used to structure the frame of a narrative, i.e. to convey events central to the main narrative line. The meaning LESS IN FOCUS is used for

descriptions. The meaning MOST IN FOCUS introduces instances which are striking in nature, regardless whether they are part of the main narrative line or not.

A count in which only the middle member, the meaning MORE IN FOCUS, supports the prediction while the top member, the meaning MOST IN FOCUS, skews around the calculated frequencies is a D type count. Both this count and the one which follows belong to the D type.

8. One-participant Reflexive Clause vs. One-participant Clause

The reflexive pronoun se in Serbo-Croatian generally refers back to the subject of the verb. If the verb is a transitive one which may have an object, then se is an object of the action and since it is correferential with the subject it constitutes a second mention of the subject. Used without se however, many of these transitive verbs act upon some other party. Thus in utterances such as a. and b. below:

- a. On se brije.
He is shaving.
- b. On ga brije.
He is shaving him.

In a. the subject of the sentence is playing both roles, he is both shaving and being shaved, while in b. the subject is playing only one role, that of an agent. The second role played by the subject in the first sentence is signaled by se. However, this se is used in many utterances in which the subject plays only one role. Consider the following examples:

- 1a. Knjige se prodaju u pola cene.
Books are being sold at half price.
- 1b. On prodaje knjige u pola cene.
He is selling books at half price.
- 2a. Vrata su se otvorila sama od sebe.
The door opened by itself.
- 2b. Otvorio je vrata.
He opened the door.
- 3a. Onesvestila se i pala na zemlju.
She fainted and fell to the ground.
- 3b. Udarac ga je onesvestio.
The blow made him faint.
- 4a. Zid se srušio.
The wall fell down.
- 4b. Srušio ga je jednim udarcem.
He felled him with one blow.

5a. Ućutali su se.

They quieted down.

5b. Ućutao ga je samo jednim pogledom.

Only one look from him quieted him down.

In utterances under a. we have a single participant performing only one role. The pronoun se is introduced here not to suggest that the subject is performing two roles but that the subjects are more involved in the activity going on than it might be thought. In one-participant clauses se is associated with occurrences, at least where the agent followed by se is an animate, which are more intense and call for greater participation than one-participant occurrences without se.

In the above examples one and two the second mention puts an emphasis on the inanimate entities, 'books' and 'the door', to keep attention on entities which normally do not deserve attention. This suggests a prediction for the validation of Focus meanings: One-participant clauses with se will favor high Focus forms more than one-participant clauses without the reflexive pronoun se.

To test the above prediction we counted the first hundred instances of one-participant clauses with a reflexive se associated with BEFORE meanings. We compared this number with a control count of one hundred

one-participant clauses without se in both categories. (All instances of logical reflexives, in which the participant is in reality playing a double role as well as those instances in which se asserts the activity going on without mentioning any participant at all, were excluded from the count. An instance of this last is: Ovde se radi 'There is working going on here') The following numbers illustrate the count:

Table 10. Focus meanings of the Before phase of the Interlock correlated with one-participant clause plus se versus one-participant Clause minus se

	One-part.Cl.+ <u>se</u>	One-part.Cl.- <u>se</u>
MOST IN FOCUS	+ 2 (12)	- 3 (7)
MORE IN FOCUS	+15 (59)	-15 (29)
LESS IN FOCUS	-17 (29)	+18 (189)
Total	100	100
Text: D.Ćosic', <u>Daleko je sunce</u>		
Sample size:100	p<.005	x ² = 23.992

This calculation, which is another way of correlating Focus meanings with the number of participant roles, gives the same result as the previous count. The meaning MORE IN FOCUS supported the prediction just as expected and the meaning LESS IN FOCUS showed favoring for one-participant

role verbs without the reflexive se.

9. Affirmation and Negation

Another environment in which we tested the Focus Hypothesis is in negative versus affirmative clauses.

Affirmative messages communicate to us what has happened. As representations of real events the affirmative statements constitute the backbone of each narrative. On the other hand, negative clauses state that something that might have happened did not. As such the negative statements do not contribute to the main line of a narrative. It is impossible to create a story entirely in negative clauses, at least, not an interesting story. The opposite is the norm. Negative statements in Serbo-Croatian texts on the average represent 9% of the statements.

Since we expect a speaker/writer to direct his hearer/reader to pay more attention to the events most salient to the story, we can predict that negative statements, as non-central to the narrative line, will attract proportionately more low Focus meanings than high Focus meanings and vice versa. This prediction can be restated to read: The negative particles ne 'not', ni 'neither', niti 'neither', etc. will attract low Focus forms more than high Focus forms.

To test this prediction we counted the first hundred instances of negative statements containing signals of meanings MOST IN FOCUS, MORE IN FOCUS and LESS IN FOCUS. We compared these hundred instances with the numbers which resulted from a control count we performed on the same text. Since there are so many more affirmative statements than the negative ones we counted every tenth page of the text, (6,16,26,36,46,56 ...156) to be sure that the count is representative of the whole narrative. The following table illustrates this count:

Table 11. Focus meanings of the Before phase of the Interlock correlated with affirmative and negative clauses

	Affirmative		Negative	
MOST IN FOCUS	+10	(26)	-11	(4)
MORE IN FOCUS	+ 3	(42)	- 2	(36)
LESS IN FOCUS	-12	(32)	+13	(60)

Text: Prijatelji, S.Selenić, pp.1-156

Sample size: 100 $p < .005$ $\chi^2 = 19.245$

The numbers supported our prediction. The low degree of Focus, LESS IN FOCUS, attracted a relatively higher number of the negative statements (+13) and vice versa the affirmative clauses skewed toward high degrees of Focus (+10 and +3). In this case again the highest degree of

Focus supported the prediction very strongly, which makes this count a B type count.

It can be observed that the bulk of both the affirmative and the negative clauses are either in MORE IN FOCUS (42 and 36) or in LESS IN FOCUS (32 and 60). It was emphasized earlier that these two forms are the basic forms exploited in building up a narrative in Serbo-Croatian. The top Focus meaning MOST IN FOCUS is exploited for special effects, i.e. to convey events that were not expected to happen but did.

Although denied events in general are less relevant to an ongoing narrative than the affirmed events, nevertheless it is possible for a denied event to be ranked high in terms of significance to the story. An event which fails to occur may sometimes have an effect on what actually does happen. A good example illustrating this is the following one:

1. Ne odole (1) Hristofije, ne odole (1) sestra Jelisaveta.

"Hristifoje did not resist the temptation (MOST IN FOCUS), nor sister Elizabeth either (MOST IN FOCUS)".

SE10

In this story a monk Hristofije and a sister Elisabeth

fall in love which causes a lot of trouble in their lives. Thus, their effort to resist temptation is ranked very high and is associated with the highest degree of Focus. Had resisting taken place in the case of the monk and the nun things might have gone very differently for them.

10. Independent Clauses versus Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are another environment appropriate for the validation of the Focus Hypothesis. (The term 'relative clause' is not intended here as a theoretical category but as a convenient label for a certain type of message. Use of relative clauses as an indication of backgrounding was made by W.Reid and E. Contini.)

The meaning of the semantic substance under consideration here: Concentration of Attention on the event, interpreted in terms of selective attention, suggests that a speaker will select from among events a particular one which is the most salient for the immediate context and that he will encode that event in a high Focus form. However, what is the most salient in a context often cannot be determined objectively because many factors can occupy the speakers' attention at one time and some of them may not be even apparent. It is well known however, that relative clauses generally supply identifying and

descriptive information about the participant of the main clause and as such provide purely supplementary information. That is why relative clauses provide an environment where the test of saliency of a particular event can be dealt with more objectively. Because verbs in relative clauses provide supportive and not important information we can predict that they will favor the low Focus meaning.

In order to test this prediction we counted the first 100 instances of relative clauses in the novel Far Away is the Sun, by D. Ćosić. Seventy five out of one hundred were in LESS IN FOCUS, twenty one 21 in MORE IN FOCUS and only four in MOST IN FOCUS. We also performed a control count on the same text counting 100 instances of verbs occurring in the main clause. (Again because of the much higher number of instances of main clauses in comparison to relative clauses, we counted verbal forms occurring in main clauses in every twentieth page of the text.

15,35,55,75...115). Table 12 below gives the result of the count:

Table 12. Focus meanings of the Before phase of the Interlock correlated with independent and relative clauses

	Independent Clause	Relative Clause
MOST IN FOCUS	+20 (44)	-20 (4)
MORE IN FOCUS	+ 2 (25)	- 2 (21)
LESS IN FOCUS	-22 (31)	+22 (75)

Text: D.Čosić, Daleko je sunce

Sample size:100

$p < .005$

$\chi^2 = 51.945$

Like the previous count this is a B type count. The meaning MOST IN FOCUS largely supports the prediction while the meaning MORE IN FOCUS behaves as a middle member.

11. Conclusion

In summary, ten distributional skewings have been presented. In each case a contextual variant reflecting different degrees of attention was isolated and the Focus meanings we are analyzing here were correlated with that contextual variant - human subjects, singular subjects, negation, relative clauses, the absence vs. the presence of the reflexive pronoun se, etc. In each case it was shown that MOST IN FOCUS and MORE IN FOCUS were generally found in messages in which a strong concentration of attention

was called for on the event and that the meaning LESS IN FOCUS was found in those messages where a weak concentration of attention was called for.

In all these counts it was demonstrated that different degrees of attention were the factor that motivated the exploitation of Focus signal-meanings, ranging from MOST IN FOCUS to LESS IN FOCUS. The statistical counts presented were categorized into four different types (see p.338), depending upon the degree of skewing toward the higher Focus meanings. These types have been marked by the capital letters A, B, C and D and are presented in table 13 below. When we look at the variables tested we can see that they attract progressively higher degrees of Focus of attention as we move upward from D to A.

Table 13. Typology of statistical counts and variables tested

Count type	Variable Tested	Count Number
A	First Person vs. Other	4
A	Human Subjects Overtly Mentioned	6
B	Central Character vs. Others	2
B	Central Character vs. Others	

	vs. Things	3
B	Affirmation vs. Negation	9
B	Independent vs. Relative Clauses	10
C	Activity by a human (Human vs. Non-human Subjects)	1
C	Activity by an individual (Singular vs. Plural Subjects)	5
D	Number of Participant Roles Two vs. One	7
D	One-Participant Clause +/- <u>se</u>	8

According to the Focus Hypothesis meanings of the semantic substance Concentration of attention are comments on the importance of activities. The more important the activity the higher meaning of Focus it will attract. The variables we isolated in this chapter on the basis of which we performed the statistical counts serve as a measure for that importance. These counts have shown that the importance of an activity depends on the following factors:

- a) on the participant involved in the activity, and
- b) on the importance of the activity to the narrative line.

Counts of type D have shown that, in general, the more important the activity is the more participant roles are

explicitly specified by the author. In both counts of type D (Two-participant roles versus one and One-participant role plus "reflexive" versus One-participant role without "reflexive") activities associated with two-participant roles (vs. one) skew away from the low Focus meaning LESS IN FOCUS and toward the middle member on the scale, the meaning MORE IN FOCUS. This variable, the number of participant roles specified, is important to the story. As we have seen earlier, the author in Serbo-Croatian uses the meaning MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE for the backbone of the narrative and the meaning LESS IN FOCUS for descriptive asides. Events which are central to the main narrative line and thus belong to the backbone of the narrative will have more participants explicitly specified on the scene than those events which belong to various descriptions. This can be seen in table 14 below:

Table 14: Degree of Preference in Type D Counts

Focus	Two-Participant Roles Count No. 7	One Participant + <u>se</u> Count No. 8
MOST IN FOCUS	+ 2	+ 2
MORE IN FOCUS	+20	+15
LESS IN FOCUS	-22	-17

These tables, unlike the statistical tables previously presented, give only the departures for the favored members

of the opposition. Each column therefore provides only one half of the information from the count indicated. Our interest here is primarily in apportionment of the favored occurrences between the meanings MOST IN FOCUS and MORE IN FOCUS. Thus in this table we see that it is the meaning MORE IN FOCUS that is more favored.

By comparison, the variables in the type C counts are about equally divided between the two higher Focus forms. Both high Focus meanings, MOST IN FOCUS and MORE IN FOCUS share in supporting the prediction that human subjects and singular subjects will skew toward high degrees of Focus.

Table 15: Degree of Preference in Type C Counts

Focus	Human Subjects Count No. 1	Singular Subjects Count No. 5
MOST IN FOCUS	+25	+ 9
MORE IN FOCUS	+26	+ 8
LESS IN FOCUS	-51	-17

In these counts we get a further narrowing of the field of participants. It is no longer a matter of the number of participant roles specified in an activity but rather of who the players of these roles are, i.e. who is playing the more important role. Here, the variables isolated - activity by a human (human vs. non-human subjects) and activity of a single participant as opposed

to a group (singular subjects vs. plural subjects) were shown to be more important than the variables in the type I counts.

Two of the four variables which served as the basis for type B counts - central character versus other characters and central character versus other characters versus things (counts Nos. 2 and 3) - were also concerned with participant roles in the event but were shown to be even more important than any of the above. The central character of a story is both central among humans and central among individuals, i.e. there is an even further narrowing of the field of participants. The verbs in association with the central character of a story principally attract the highest Focus meaning, MOST IN FOCUS. The second ranking Focus meaning, MORE IN FOCUS, remains close to the calculated frequencies:

Table 16: Degree of Preference in Type B Counts:
Participant Roles

Focus	Cent.Charac. vs. Others Count No. 2	Cent.Charac. vs. Things Count No.3
MOST IN FOCUS	+12	+17
MORE IN FOCUS	+ 2	+ 4
LESS IN FOCUS	-14	-21

One of the counts of type A, Count No. 4, illustrated

a still further narrowing of Focus from the previous counts. Here we are no longer talking of the central character in general but of a particular instance of a central character - the speaker. In this count the meaning MORE IN FOCUS, which elsewhere behaves as a high Focus member, behaved just like the low Focus member, LESS IN FOCUS.

Table 17: Degree of Preference in The First Person vs. Others

Focus Count No. 4	First Person
MOST IN FOCUS	+41
MORE IN FOCUS	-19
LESS IN FOCUS	-23

We have noted earlier that the activity is more important when it involves humans (vs. non-humans) as their subjects. When that subject is specifically mentioned for emphasis the activity he is involved in ranks very high, the highest as a matter of fact. Table 18 below illustrates this:

Table 18: Degree of Preference in Subjects Overtly Mentioned

Focus Overtly Mentioned Subjects
Count No. 6

MOST IN FOCUS	+46
MORE IN FOCUS	-21
LESS IN FOCUS	-25

In type A counts, the variables tested were exceptionally important, so much so that they attracted the top meaning on the Focus scale, MOST IN FOCUS, very strongly. Count No.4 - First Person vs. Others- showed that the speaker as central character in a first person narrative regards himself as being worthy of maximum attention. This variable which basically tests human egocentricity shows that the narrator in a third person narrative is less concerned about his hero than the speaker as the narrator in a first person narrative.

The second variable in type A counts - human subject redundantly mentioned by either a noun or a pronoun - was also shown to be extremely important. It was mentioned earlier that in Serbo-Croatian the person, number and often but not always the gender of the subject can be inferred from the verbal ending. Once a subject has been overtly introduced by its noun, it is mentioned again only when

specific emphasis is required. (Contrast Voli je 'loves-he her' with On/Marko je voli 'he/Mark loves-he her'.)

The differences in skewing observed among the four types of counts so far were all associated with the importance of the participants in the event. Another factor that was also shown to be playing a role was the centrality of the event to the narrative line. Two type B counts measured the importance of activity along this parameter - actual activity versus potential but unrealized activity (Affirmation vs. negation) and principal versus subordinate activity (Independent versus Relative Clause). Actual activity and principal activity attracted the highest degree of Focus, the meaning MOST IN FOCUS.

Table 19: Degree of Preference in Type B Counts:
Importance of the Activity

Focus	Affirmation Count No. 9	Principal Information Count No. 10
MOST IN FOCUS	+10	+20
MORE IN FOCUS	+ 3	+ 2
LESS IN FOCUS	-13	-22

The counts presented in this chapter give us a measure of how authors assess the relative importance of an activity. The degree of importance increases in the following order:

1. Activities in which more than one participant role is specified by the author - type D counts
2. Activities involving humans and activities involving single individuals - type C counts
3. Activities involving the central character among humans (the hero of a story) and among other individuals.

Realized ("affirmed") activities i.e. those events on which a story is based.

Principal activities i.e. the information provided by independent clauses as compared to the information provided by relative clauses - type B counts

4. Activities of the speaker as narrator;
Activities of referents introduced for specific emphasis; - type A counts

This concludes the quantitative validation of the BEFORE phase of the Time-Focus interlock. We turn our attention now to the statistical counts performed on the Focus meanings of the NOW phase of the interlock.

C. Quantitative Validation of the Meanings

HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW FOCUS NOW

In the statistical counts performed on the meanings NOW we correlated the meanings HIGH FOCUS NOW and LOW FOCUS NOW with the same contextual variables we used in the statistical counts on the BEFORE meanings. Presented below are the results of these counts:

Table 20. Focus meanings of the NOW phase of the Interlock correlated with animate subjects vs. inanimate subjects.

	Animate Subjects	Inanimate Subjects
HIGH FOCUS	+10 (73)	-10 (14)
LOW FOCUS	-10 (164)	+10 (75)

Text: I. Andrić, "The Vizier's Elephant"

Sample size: 326 $p < .005$ $\chi^2 = 7.886$

Since the elephant played an important role in this story we changed the prediction slightly. Instead of correlating the human subjects we counted here animate subjects versus inanimate subjects.

Table 21. Focus meanings of the NOW phase of the Interlock correlated with one-participant clause with se versus one-participant clause without se

	One-part.Cl. + <u>se</u>	One-part.Cl. - <u>se</u>
HIGH FOCUS NOW	+12 (53)	- 12 (29)
LOW FOCUS NOW	-12 (47)	+ 12 (71)

Text: Kurlani, by Mirko Božić
 (pp. 19-107 for clauses with se)
 (pp.15-59 for clauses without se) $p < .005$ $x^2 = 11.905$

Table 22. Focus meanings of the NOW phase of the Interlock correlated with two-participant roles vs. one-participant role messages

	Two Roles	One Role
HIGH FOCUS	+11 (34)	-11 (10)
LESS FOCUS	-11 (46)	+11 (64)

Text: Mouth Full of Earth, pp. 7-42
 Sample size: 487 $p < .005$ $x^2 = 52.692$

Table 23. Focus meanings of the NOW phase of the Interlock correlated with affirmation and negation

	Negation	Affirmation
LOW FOCUS	+8 (87)	-8 (210)
HIGH FOCUS	-8 (8)	+8 (87)

Text: "The Vizier's Elephant", by I. Andrić

Sample Size: 326 $p < .005$ $\chi^2 = 12.152$

Table 24. Focus meanings of the NOW phase of the Interlock correlated with independent clauses vs. relative clauses

	Independent Clause	Relative Clause
HIGH FOCUS	+14 (32)	-14 (4)
LOW FOCUS	-14 (68)	+14 (96)

Text: D. Ćosić, Daleko je sunce

B. Ćopić, Bosonogo detinjstvo, pp. 267-293

Sample size: 100 $p < .005$ $\chi^2 = 26.558$

Table 25. Focus meanings of the NOW phase of the Interlock correlated with singular subjects versus plural subjects

	Singular Subjects	Plural Subjects
HIGH FOCUS	+7	-7
LOW FOCUS	-7	+7

Text: S.Selenić, Prijatelji, Chp.V

Sample size: 150 $p < .005$ $\chi^2 = 9.655$

Table 26. Focus meanings of the NOW phase of the Interlock correlated with central character versus peripheral characters.

	Central Character	Peripheral Characters
HIGH FOCUS	+7	-7
LOW FOCUS	-7	+7

Text: I.Andrić, Pripovetke

Sample size: 257 $p < .010$ $\chi^2 = 7.196$

Table 27. Focus meanings of the NOW phase of the Interlock co-occurring with First, Second and Third Person

	First Pr.	Second Pr.	Third Pr.
HIGH FOCUS	6	8	7
LOW FOCUS	27	25	27
Total	33	33	34

As with the counts performed on the meanings BEFORE in these counts we also find that the authors consistently choose the HIGH FOCUS of attention meaning when they wish to convey a message characterized by a feature that inherently attracts people's attention and leave the LOW FOCUS meaning for those messages which were not characterized by such a feature.

In performing statistical counts on the meanings of the NOW phase of the Time-Focus interlock we are faced with a distributional imbalance. It was stated earlier that there is a much stronger motivation to use a Focus distinction in the Before than in the Now phase of the Time-Focus interlock. As a result, the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW occurs less frequently than the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW. On the average of all NOW meanings counted only 30% are in HIGH FOCUS NOW. This percentage is even lower in parts of texts containing dialogues, in which the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW is strongly favored. This distributional fact

influenced all statistical counts performed on the meanings NOW and resulted in a lower level of confidence than those produced in the same counts performed on the BEFORE meanings. This was particularly a factor in the count performed on the variable First Person vs. Second Person vs. Third Person which produced very little skewing (See Table 27 which shows the actual numbers and not a Chi Square calculation). This can be easily understood. A high percentage of direct quotes, in particular first person direct quotes, appear in parts of texts containing dialogues in which the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW generally occurs.

In conclusion, we have to repeat that none of the skewings in itself was absolute, that is, no single variable resulted in a 100% skewing. This is because no one of the skewings tested the meanings directly. Rather, each skewing correlated the meanings tested with one aspect of the message, for which the meaning in question is appropriate. Collectively however, the statistical counts provide additional support for the Focus Hypothesis tested here.

In the last two chapters we have performed the qualitative and the quantitative validation of our Hypothesis. While both of these procedures consist of correlating the grammatical meaning with the characteristic

of the message, they achieve it in different ways. The first procedure correlates meaning with each individual message while the second does so for a set of messages. While the first procedure is exhaustive, the second aims at broader generalizations. Together, they provide support for our Hypothesis without requiring us to examine each and every instance of messages in which the Focus meanings occur.

APPENDIX A
AKTIONSARTEN

The category of Aktionsart was introduced briefly in the first two chapters. The purpose of this appendix is to evaluate the notion of Aktionsart in terms of the present hypothesis. We shall begin with the view on Aktionsart presently held in Serbo-Croatian scholarship and then we shall present how that material is analyzed in this study.

It was shown in chapter two that "aspectual" verbal pairs in Serbo-Croatian are of two different morphological types: either the verbs of a pair differ in the formation of the stem (like sesti versus sedeti 'to sit', kupiti vs. kupovati 'to buy', roditi vs. radjati 'to give birth', etc.) where the two stems are differentiated with different suffixes or they contrast only by a prefix which is added to one member of the pair (as in s-lomiti

vs. lomiti 'to break', pro-čitati vs. čitati 'to read', za-plakati vs. plakati 'to cry', etc). Verbal pairs whose members differ by stem, such as kupiti-kupovati and roditi-radjati, are agreed to have the same lexical meaning and to differ only grammatically, just as žena 'wife, woman', Nominative Singular, differs from ženu 'wife, woman', Accusative Singular, in examples a. and b. below:

- a. Žena je sedela na klupi.
'A/The woman was sitting on the bench.'
- b. Video sam ženu na klupi.
'I saw the woman on the bench.'

In a similar fashion, either kupiti (Perfective) or kupovati (Imperfective) will be used in different environments.

- a. Kupovao (Imperfective) je knjige u toj knjižari.
He was buying books in that bookstore.
- b. Kupio (Perfective) je dve knjige u toj knjižari.
He bought two books in that bookstore.

There is, however, an area in the derivation of aspectual pairs by prefixation which is considered a problem on which many scholars have commented and which many still consider controversial. This problem has been

treated under different labels : modes of actions, verbal types, procedurals and Aktionsarten.

When members of a verbal pair differ by a prefix, it is claimed by some that this results in three different effects.

1. In some instances the prefix only distinguishes the Perfective verb from its Imperfective counterpart. This is the same grammatical differentiation as that introduced by different suffixes. Scholars in general agree on this for a certain group of verbs.

2. In the second group of verbs the prefix adds a nuance to the basic lexical meaning of the verb in a way that is referred to as Aktionsart. (The contribution of the prefix to the basic lexical meaning of the verb is compared with the contribution the diminutive ending -ica has on žena 'wife, woman', resulting in ženica 'little woman, dear wife'.)

3. In the third group, the prefix changes the original lexical meaning more drastically, resulting in what is practically a new lexical item. The prefixed verbs of the third group then derive Imperfective members through the process of "secondary imperfectivization".

Most scholars agree that the boundaries between these groups are not clear cut but blurred, and that those between the first and the second group are particularly

controversial.

At the beginning of the century, German scholars working with Slavic languages considered verbal aspect either under the name of *Aspekt* or under the name of *Aktionsart*. Then, in 1908 the Swedish scholar Agrell (1908, 1914) separated the two terms, assigning to them two distinct notions. Agrell used the term *Aktionsart* (Plural *Aktionsarten*, German for 'kinds, manners of action'), to distinguish types of verbal pairs, derived with prefixes, from purely "aspectual" (grammatical) pairs, claiming that prefixes introduce a distinct semantic nuance, different from that of *Aspekt*. This introduction of another semantic distinction, 'kinds, manners of action', brought additional complexity to the problem; the status of *Aktionsarten*, as independent from *Aspect*, was controversial from the very beginning.

Following Agrell, scholars at first classified only prefixed verbs into different *Aktionsarten*. Today, however, most scholars apply this classification to both prefixed and non-prefixed verbs. The number of categories of *Aktionsarten* varies a great deal, ranging in Serbo-Croatian from only a very few (Stevanović, Ružić) to nineteen in the more recent classification of Silić. In analyses of other Slavic languages this number may be much higher.

In Ružić's and Stevanović's analyses the categories of

Aktionsarten can be easily reduced to the two-fold distinction in the original definition of the Perfective and the Imperfective verb. Silić's classification is more elaborate. Following the Bondarko-Bulanin classification of Russian verbs (Bondarko, A.V. and L.L. Bulanin, Russkij glagol, 1967), Silić divides Serbo-Croatian verbs into nineteen Aktionsarten: ingressive, completive, resultative, attenuative, totalizing, culminative, intensive, semelfactive, serial, stative, evolutive, relational, inchoative, determinate, indeterminate, augmentative, majorative, diminutive and distributive.

If we look at this classification we can clearly see that it lists various kinds of ideas that can be communicated with verbs in general. Basically, this is another instance of the categorization of messages that can be deduced from the utterances in which certain verbs occur. It was mentioned in earlier discussion (See Chapter I, p. 18) that it is very difficult to establish any kind of control over a classification of this type. Since Silić's classification provides a categorization of verbal meanings which are more abstract than the lexical meanings of individual verbs, there is always a possibility, in this type of procedure, of applying an even finer grid and of producing a more elaborate classification. Then however, we run the risk of extending the categorization indefinitely,

even to individual verbs.

Scholars performing these classifications are not really clear on what problem they are trying to solve. Silić, for instance, defines the category of Aktionsart as 'types of nuances that can be added to the basic lexical meaning of a verb through prefixation'. He then introduces the classification of both prefixed and simple (non-prefixed) verbs. Rarely do scholars attempt to establish a consistent link between a category and an item of the morphology. Rather, they come up with a list of obvious kinds of messages that can be expressed in association with verbs, neglecting to consider that categories of messages can be produced in a variety of ways.

For this analysis, the problem presented by the phenomena in question can be formulated in this way:

The problem to solve is to find out what it is, in any individual instance, that is producing the particular effect in the message, whether resultative, culminative, ingressive, etc.

Our answer to this is that these nuances in the message come out of a combination of morphology, (the signals and meanings of the semantic substance of Focus of

Attention), the lexical meanings of individual verbs and other variables in the context. The signals differentiating the Focus meanings are stems of verbs which may differ from their pair members either by suffixes or by prefixes. (either kupiti - kupovati or slomiti - lomiti).

In all instances in which we have signals and meanings of the semantic substance of Focus (i.e. only in instances in which there are actually two members to a verbal pair in Serbo-Croatian, thus excluding those verbs which do not have an "aspectual" partner) we shall be able to demonstrate that these meanings combine with the lexical meaning of the individual verb to produce the effect seen in the categories of Aktionsarten; that is, that these categories are the secondary result of an interaction between grammatical and lexical meanings. The history of the investigation seems to show that the introduction of any categorization of types of activity (Aktionsarten) as an additional independent element in the language can only further obscure the problem.

A demonstration will now be given of how the categories of messages can be resolved into their lexical and grammatical components.

In the first pair of examples, two different categories of Aktionsarten occur, an imperfective verb of

"serial" Aktionsart mahati 'to wave' in example 1 and a perfective verb of "semelfactive" Aktionsart mahnuti 'to wave' in example 2. It will be demonstrated that the introduction of these two labels "serial" and "semelfactive" does not help in our understanding of what the forms su mahali 'they waved' and on mahnu 'he shook' contribute to the messages we infer from the examples.

1. Noć je proveo sa momcima po obali. U neko doba učinilo im se da čuju kako nešto lupa na onom delu skele koji je najdalje isturen u reku i potrčali su tamo. Čuli su još kako se odvaljuje daska, osipa kamen i pada u vodu, a kad su došli do mesta, našli su zaista polomljene skele i razvaljen zid, ali ni traga od krivaca. Pred tom avetinjskom prazninom sejmeni su drhtali od noćne vlage i sujevernog straha. Dozivali su se, buljili u tamu, MAHALI (3) zapaljenim lučevima, sli sve je bilo uzalud.

NDC52/53

"He spent (2) the night cruising up and down the banks with his men. At one time during the night it seemed (2) to him that something was knocking (B) at the part of the staging which was farthest out in the river and they rushed (2) thither. They heard (N) a plank crack (B) and a stone fall (B) into the river, but when they got to the spot (2) they indeed found (2) some broken scaffolding and a part of the masonry torn away but no trace of the miscreants. Faced with this ghostly emptiness the guards shivered (3) from the darkness and the

moisture of the night and from the superstitious fright. They called to one another (3), peered (3) into the blackness, WAVED (LESS IN FOCUS) lighted torches, but all was in vain."

BOD45/46

2. Govoreći to Marko prihvati s druge strane kazana jednu sirovu, tek nagorelu cjepanicu, izmahnu njom i očito ne znajući od gnjeva šta radi, podje prema Kemzi. Turčin, koji je u lijevoj ruci još uvijek držao mašice, segnu desnom za pojas, izvadi malu pušku, nešto neugledno i sitno kao jareća noga, i skresa je fra-Marku pravo u stomak. Pogodjen na razmak od pedlja, fratar se odjednom ispravi u svoj svojoj visini i MAHNU (1) još dva puta onom glavnjom kao da nekom u daljini daje znak, pa odmah zatim pade svom težinom po kazanu koji je branio.

PRI126

"Son of a vandal, do you want to ruin all the work and trouble I've put into it?"

Saying this, he picked up (1) a raw, barely charred log of wood from his side of the fire, swung it up (1) and, in his rage apparently mindless of what he was doing, started (1) toward Kezmo. The Turk, who still held (3) the tongs in his left hand, reached (1) with his right into his waist belt, pulled out (1) a short-barreled rifle, an insignificant-looking thing like a leg of spring lamb, and fired (1) straight into fra-Marko's stomach. Hit at almost point-blank range, the monk jerked upright (1) to his full height and WAVED (MOST IN FOCUS) the charred log twice, as if motioning to someone in the distance, then all at

once he collapsed (1) with his whole weight against the still which he had tried to protect (3)."

PC77

In example one the verb mahati occurs in association with the Focus meaning LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE. In his classification, Silić classified the verb mahati 'to wave', as a serial verb, meaning "to perform several complete actions". In the second example occurs the verb mahnuti 'to wave', classified by Silić as a semelfactive verb, meaning "to perform a complete, momentary action". According to our analysis the verb mahnuti is associated with the Focus meaning MOST IN FOCUS BEFORE.

The question that arises here is: Do we need the two categories, serial and semelfactive, in addition to knowing the lexical meaning of the verbs and the grammatical meaning of the forms to perform the analysis and to understand what the two verbal forms contribute to the messages we infer from examples one and two?

In the first example the captain of the guard supervising the construction of the bridge on the Drina has just been given a forty-eight hour ultimatum to find the vandals responsible for damages on the bridge or be executed himself. He spent the night watching with his men. They hear something and rush to a remote area of the construction, but when they arrive there the damage is

already done. There is nothing they can do but to shiver from cold and fear (the rumors were that supernatural powers are involved), call to one another and wave their torches in the darkness. These events the author backgrounded with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS. Calling to one another and waving torches does not serve any purpose. They are only descriptive details without any major importance to the narrative.

In example two however, the verb mahnuti 'to wave' occurs in association with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS. This happens to be a dramatic high-point of the story, the moment at which fra-Marko, the hero, loses his life. Fra-Marko was in the process of making plum brandy when an uninvited guest, a Turk, after becoming drunk tries to destroy his still. The monk loses his temper and pays for that with his life. The Turk shoots him at point blank range. Two last movements of the log were fra Marko's last sign of defiance before his death. The form mahnu occurs in a series of high focus forms and the author maintains this high level of Focus to the end of the scene describing the monk's death.

When the lexical meaning of a verb is such that it implies a serial occurrence, as the verb mahnuti - mahati 'to wave' for instance, the speaker has the choice of treating it summarized together as one single event or to

treat it as a series of separate events. The speaker's choice here is going to be influenced by the relative importance of the event to the intended message. If the occurrence does not advance the story as in the case of waving in example one above, the practice is to present it as an undifferentiated event and to background it by associating it with a low Focus meaning. If however, this occurrence is central to the plot, then a characterization of an event as a separate mention is called for. The latter we find in example two above. The author is careful to single out the two last movements of fra-Marko's hands and to highlight them with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS. The nuance of 'serial' and 'semelfactive' (and by the same token other labels similarly invoked as different Aktionsarten) are only inferences from the combination of the Focus meaning of the verb, descriptive statements arrived at once the analysis is already performed i.e. the message correctly inferred.

We can change the context for the first example to make it appropriate to receive a high Focus meaning. Let's suppose that the guards in the first example had found the vandals and they were going to signal that to others by waving of torches. In that case the speaker would single out the event of waving and focus on it. However, in the actual context, the event of waving is of no importance and

the author does not associate it with a high Focus meaning but with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS BEFORE. In the second example the detail is important and the author singled it out with the meaning MOST IN FOCUS. However, the nuance of a single event, or more than one single event (two in this instance) is the result of the lexical meaning in combination with the grammatical meaning of the form.

In the following two examples we have what in Silić's classification are a "stative" verb and an "ingressive" verb. All stative verbs are imperfective but their aspectual pairs are of various Aktionsarten, in this case "ingressive". The ingressive Aktionsart is said to express the initial point of an activity.

3. -Nisam ja ni aga ni beg, ni paša ni vezir. Ja sam "drumska haramija", "kopilan", "jam-kisedžija", koga na Gorici više Sarajeva čekaju Kul-ćehajina vješala. To sam ja a Kul-ćehaja je strašan zabit i veliki godpodin.
- Ne znajući kako da produže i gde da nadju laskanja koja bi ga mogla odobrovoljiti, svi su ćutali (3) u neprilici. A u desnom uglu vojvodinih usta poigravao je gorak i svirep grč. On se ispravi i ispi rakiju koja je pred njim stajala u šarenom fildžanu neobičnog oblika. To donese olakšanje. Svi ispiše i razgovor postade opet življi i prividno bezazlen.

PRI74

"I am neither an aga nor a bey, neither a pasha nor a vizier. I am "an outlaw", "a bastard", "a bandit" for whom gallows wait on the hill above Sarajevo. That is who I am and the Sultan's emissary is a great leader and a true gentleman."

Not knowing how to continue and where to find flattering words to make him feel better they all remained uncomfortably silent (LESS IN FOCUS). In the right corner of the outlaw's mouth danced a bitter and brutal twitch. He straightened up (1) and emptied (1) the brandy which stood in front of him in a colourful cup of a strange shape. Others drank up (1) their brandy and the conversation became (1) once again lively, varied and at least on the surface innocent."

4. Radisav je najpre tvrdio da su on i još jedan mladić rešili da beže i da su zato spremili mali splav i krenuli niz reku. Kad su mu pokazali svu besmislenost njegovog tvrdjenja, jer se po mračnoj noći ne može ploviti niz nemirnu reku, punu virova, stena i sprudova, i jer se oni koji hoće da beže ne penju na skele i ne ruše rad, on je začutao (2) i samo je rekao:

- Pa u vašim rukama je sve, radite šta znate.

NDC57

"Radisav first said that he and another man had decided to run away and that therefore they had prepared a small raft and set off downstream. When they pointed out to him the senselessness of this story since it was impossible in the darkness to go down the turbulent river full of whirlpools, rocks and shoals, and that those who wanted to run away

do not climb on the scaffolding and damage the works, he fell silent (2) and only said:

-Well I am in your hands. Do what you like!"

BOD52/53

In example three a Turkish outlaw took over a khan full of travellers. By this he wanted to show to the authorities that they cannot do anything to him. The people who happened to be in the khan were afraid and tried to calm him down by flattery. However, when he became drunk his mood changed and became threatening. The people around knew no longer what to do and they kept silent. This has the effect of slowing down the flow of the narrative at this point.

The verb ćutalı 'to be silent' is associated with the meaning LESS IN FOCUS. This meaning basically signals to the reader to pay, relatively speaking, a small amount of attention to the event. There are innumerable reasons for signaling a decreased amount of attention on an event. In this instance onı su ćutalı 'they remained silent' is a low Focus thematic elaboration of the previous high Focus statement that the people around the outlaw did not know what to say next ('Not knowing how to continue - HIGH FOCUS- and where to find -HIGH FOCUS- flattering words...'). As such, the occurrence of silence does not merit emphasis. A group of unnamed men is engaged in it, men who do not

play any role in the story to follow.

In the second example by contrast, the activity of Radisav is singled out for individual attention. His silence has an important consequence on the sub plot of the episode. Radisav with a few laborers has vandalized the construction of the bridge as a protest against the Turkish oppression. He was caught and he knew well that he was facing the most horrible death. He tried unsuccessfully to come up with a story and clear himself but when he saw that the Turks did not believe him he fell silent. This moves the narrative forward. With his silence Radisav signaled the end of his attempt to save himself and the Turks immediately proceeded to punish him. The occurrence of silence is more significant in this example than in the first one.

The nature of the lexical meaning of ćutati 'to be silent' is such that when speakers want to emphasize it it is the beginning that they emphasize, i.e. that moment of occurrence when the change is introduced - 'to fall silent'.

While the meanings LESS IN FOCUS and MORE IN FOCUS have no direct equivalents in English, English does have expressive devices which have similar effect on messages, thus English glosses 'they remained silent' for oni su dutali - LESS IN FOCUS and 'he fell silent' for on je

zaćutao - MORE IN FOCUS.

The inference from the grammatical meaning MORE IN FOCUS and the lexical meaning of the verb is the onset of silence, but that is only an inference. Falling silent happens to be a noteworthy event in the ongoing narrative. It moves the narrative forward. Remaining silent as in the previous example, on the other hand, is an incidental event and from the grammatical meaning LESS IN FOCUS and the lexical meaning of the verb we infer a static occurrence which continues unchanged. Again, this is only an inference. As in the first two passages, 'state' and 'ingressive' are only impressionistic categories.

In this analysis verbs such as piti - popiti 'to drink', ćitati - proćitati 'to read', etc. have identical meanings and primarily signal a Focus distinction. When using piti (Impf.) for instance, the speaker/writer says to the hearer/reader that an activity of drinking is going on and that that activity, relatively speaking, is not important to the communication. When he uses the form popiti (Perf.) he alerts the reader that an activity of drinking is going on and that he has to pay more attention to that activity because it is important.

The speaker of Serbo-Croatian has developed an inferential expertise. That is to say, he knows from experience what characteristics of an occurrence are most

likely to deserve emphasis. In the occurrence of drinking for instance, emphasis is on one particular aspect of it, hence English glosses 'to drink up', 'to finish drinking', 'to have a drink', etc. In another occurrence, referred to by another verb however, the semantic make-up of the verb would make another point of that occurrence most likely to deserve high Focus. In the occurrence of fishing, for example, neither the initial nor the end point qualifies for a high Focus meaning and the part of the high Focus signal upecati 'to fish' (Perf.) is reserved for the moment the fisherman is successful, when he catches the fish. Hence the English gloss, 'to catch a fish'. Here, English has two distinct lexical items corresponding to the Serbo-Croatian verbal pair pecati - upecati. The fisherman may continue to fish but only when he catches the fish is the high Focus signal called for. In Silić's classification these two verbs would be classified under 'evolutive' and 'resultative' Aktionsarten. Most other Aktionsarten can be explained in this manner.

Overall, speakers of Serbo-Croatian make a very strong inferential connection between High Focus and the end-point aspect of occurrences. Only in light of this can one understand the persistence of 'completeness' or 'resultativeness' scholars assign as the semantic contribution of the Perfective aspect.

Why is it that Serbo-Croatian speakers infer from the prefixed verbs, either the beginning or the final aspect of an activity, usually the latter? Or, why in general, do they infer an added nuance to the lexical meaning signaled by the simple, non-prefixed verbal counterparts?

The formal signal of the high Focus meaning is otherwise recognized in the language as a preposition which carries a certain semantic input. For example, po means 'over', na 'on', pod 'under', etc. Thus, every time Serbo-Croatian speakers encounter popiti, napisati, etc. they instantly become aware of the lexical meaning of po and na as they exist independently of verbs in the language. When they process the message in which the high Focus meanings occur they come up with a different message. Indeed, when questioned, native speakers of Serbo-Croatian translate the difference in message contributing by high Focus meanings and low Focus meanings as a lexical difference.

In addition, Serbo-Croatian native speakers are aware of the purely lexical contribution of the preposition in the derivation of verbs (through the process of secondary imperfectivization) such as: ispiti-ispijati 'to drink up', izgovoriti-izgovarati 'to pronounce', otkopati-otkopavati 'to dig up', etc. Here, clearly the primary function of prepositions iz - and od - is not to signal the Focus

distinction but to introduce lexical items different from piti 'to drink', govoriti 'to speak', kopati 'to dig', etc.

How then does the speaker of Serbo-Croatian distinguish when a prefix signals a Focus distinction rather than the purely lexical one? It is here that the systematic nature of the grammatical meaning becomes obvious. When the speaker of Serbo-Croatian encounters the verb kopati 'to dig' (one of its finite forms) for instance, he tries to recall its aspectual pair. What comes readily to mind is iskopati 'to dig out', otkopati 'to dig up' and zakopati 'to bury', etc. i.e. high Focus members of other verbs iskopavati, otkopavati, zakopavati, etc. They do not have the same lexical meaning as kopati but their meaning is based on the lexical meaning of kopati.

Thus in a sentence:

5. Ceo dan je kopao (3/2) dok nije iskopao (2) skriveno blago.

'He dug (3/2) all day until he dug out (2) the hidden treasure.'

je kopao (3/2) is interpreted 'a low Focus occurrence' while je iskopao signals a high Focus meaning, by which the author instructs the reader/hearer to pay a high degree of attention on that event and the hearer/reader infers from the meaning MORE IN FOCUS that the aspect of the occurrence

which introduces the change is focused on.

However, when a speaker of Serbo-Croatian encounters the verb lomiti, he recalls sломiti, a candidate for High Focus signal and, at the same time registers that *slamati, although possible as a form, does not exist as a lexical item in the language. On the basis of this he concludes that lomiti - sломiti 'to break' constitute an aspectual pair and that the two verbs have the same lexical meaning but contrast in terms of Focus of attention.

The fact that the same morphological segments are used as different signals in Serbo-Croatian does not present a problem for an analysis. The identity of grammatical signals is usually a historical accident. The fact that prepositions in Serbo-Croatian participate both in word formation and in grammatical formation should not present an analytical problem for a synchronic analysis. Semantic information signaled by lexical items differs from semantic information conveyed by grammatical meanings. In lexical items the contribution of a prefix to a lexical meaning is judged on an individual basis and depends on the lexical meaning of the verb to a great extent. When the same formative element participates in a grammatical system its contribution is of a more systematic character. This is what essentially distinguishes lexical from grammatical meanings.

We are all aware of the division of labor between the grammar and the lexicon of a language. Sometimes, a language distinguishes by lexical means what another language does by grammatical signals. Sometimes, a semantic configuration expressed lexically acquires a higher level of organization and becomes grammaticalized. One can ask why certain languages grammaticalized one semantic domain while other languages invested in other semantic domains. This is a subtle question. Since grammatical signals are to a much greater extent tied to the value relationship existing within grammatical oppositions, how we answer this question depends on the existing inventory or presence of other grammatical signals and meanings in a language. Development can go also in the opposite direction. A grammatical sign can lose its grammatical flavor because of the association speakers establish between its exploitation and certain life situations and this causes it to drop out of grammar and to become part of the lexicon. That is what happens to certain prefixed verbs in Serbo-Croatian when the prefix is interpreted as primarily signaling a new lexical meaning. In a second step these verbs are incorporated into the grammar by formation of their imperfective counterparts.

Many scholars (Maslov, Forsyth, Silić, etc.) claim that the primary function of perfectivization is to alter

the lexical meaning of the verb, its perfectivizing role being only a by-product. It is pointless to speculate what might have been the original motivation for the process of perfectivization which operated in Slavic languages earlier in their history. Rather, we can try and answer the question of what, if any, prefixed verbs signal in the present day Serbo-Croatian.

Certain things suggest that synchronically, the primary function of prefixed verbs is to provide the signals and meanings of the semantic substance we call here the Concentration of Attention on the event. The distinct lexical flavor of these verbs, in instances in which the lexical nuance is felt, is only the result of the combination of the meaning HIGH FOCUS and the nature of the lexical meaning of the verb.

If the primary motivation of the process of perfectivization in Serbo-Croatian were merely to increase the size of the lexicon, as has been suggested, would there then be any restriction on the kind of lexicon produced? If indeed this has been the case it would not be expected that prefixation would produce the same effect on all verbs. Yet all prefixed verbs do have something in common. We know that when verbs in a verbal pair contrast by a prefix, these prefixed members of the pairs share a common semantic substance.

Conversely, if a prefix really only adds a nuance to the lexical meaning of a verb, then we would expect the contribution of that prefix to be fairly consistent in all instances. We know that this is not the case. For example the prefix po 'over' is said to introduce different shades to the lexical meanings of verbs, such as:

- a) beginning aspect of an activity in verbs such as poći 'to depart', potrčati 'to start running', etc;
- b) final aspect of an activity in verbs such as požuteti 'to get yellow', pojesti 'to finish eating', etc;
- c) an activity performed by many subjects and/or on many objects, as in popadati 'to fall in mass', posedati 'to sit down - many subjects', etc.

Further, we know that when a perfective member of a pair is actually interpreted as lexically different from its "imperfective" counterpart, the language often develops another, prefixed imperfective member, identical in lexical meaning, through a process known as 'the secondary imperfectivization'. For example, the verb kopati 'to dig', drops out of the pair kopati-otkopati once the verb otkopati is only associated with the lexical meaning 'to dig up'. After that an imperfective counterpart otkopavati 'to dig up' is developed. However, inferential connection between kopati 'to dig' and otkopati 'to dig up' remains and kopati, even though it no longer signals the Focus

meaning, allows an inference of a 'low focus' event by virtue of the fact that it is lexically closely related to otkopati, a verb whose stem is found in association with high Focus meanings. The lexical meaning is such as to imply what the speaker would like to convey with a high Focus meaning anyway.

Finally, certain scholars have observed correctly that the distinction of what is referred to as Aktionsarten is weakening because of the levelling influences of aspectual distinction and that the verbs where the prefixed forms are reduced to their aspectual value are increasing in number.

One important characteristic of Serbo-Croatian is its capacity to derive new lexical items. Any speaker of Serbo-Croatian has a feeling of possessing a creative model, i.e. he is aware which forms are possible in the language even though they are not realized. This expressiveness is evident in all areas of the lexicon. Thus, suffixes and prefixes are used not only to form the "perfective - imperfective" opposition but also to introduce various nuances in the lexical meanings of Serbo-Croatian verbs in general. A number of suffixes are utilized for that, such as: -ka-, -usi-, -uša-, -ucka-, -nu-, -ulji-, -kara-, -ara-, etc. (Also prefixes na- and po-.)

These suffixes are said to express different things. Suffixes -ka- and -ucka- for example are said to introduce

the nuance that an action is achieved in "small measure" -usi- adds the nuance of diminutive, -ara- and -uša- that of an augmentative or pejorative nuance, etc. Thus, pev-usi-ti, related to pevati 'to sing', means 'to humm', kuc-ka-ti, related to kucati 'to knock, to strike', means 'to tap', rad-učka-ti 'to work a bit', drmušati 'to shake violently', etc. In other analyses these verbs are considered as different Aktionsarten or "secondary" Aktionsarten (diminutive, augmentative, intensive, distributive, semelfactive, etc.).

However, these verbs are rarely realized as "aspectual" pairs and they do not show any degree of systematic organization characterizing "aspectual" pairs in Serbo-Croatian. In this analysis these verbs are considered as part of the lexicon of Serbo-Croatian and as such they do not represent the main thrust of this analysis. This analysis takes responsibility for only those verbs in the language which are organized in pairs as signals and meanings of the grammatical system of Focus of Attention. It does not undertake the analysis of the lexicon of the entire verbal morphology of Serbo-Croatian but rather of clean-cut cases of verbs which behave as "aspectual" pairs.

APPENDIX B
BEFORE MEANINGS IN NON-PAST ENVIRONMENTS

1. MOST IN FOCUS BEFORE and MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE
in Non-before Environments

The meanings MOST IN FOCUS BEFORE and MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE also occur in certain non-before environments, where they are exploited to convey events that appear to occur after the time reference point, present in the context (Maretić, p. 624, Stevanović, p.650). The following examples illustrate these cases:

1. Bežite, izgibosmo (1)!
run (Imper., 2nd Pl.), perish (MOST IN FOCUS,
1st.Pl.)
'Run, or we are as good as dead!'
2. Jaši vranca idi u Kotore, oboje sno izgubili (2)
glave!
mount (Imper., 2nd Sg.) your black horse and ride
to Kotor, we both lose (MORE IN FOCUS, 1st Pl.)

'Mount your black horse and ride to Kotore or we have both lost our heads!'

3. Dajte im štogod da jedu, ponriješe (1) od gladi!
Give them something to eat, they are dead ('they died -(MOST IN FOCUS) from hunger!
4. Ako ne pogodiš biljega, ti si poginuo (2).
If you don't hit the target, you die (MORE IN FOCUS).
5. Ako se lopovi ne uhvate, propali smo (2).
'If the thieves are not caught, we are destroyed (MORE IN FOCUS).'
6. Dobro je, kad nećeš da učutiš, odoh (1) u kafanu.
'Well, if you won't be silent, I am gone (MOST IN FOCUS) to the tavern.'
7. Ako pogodiš cilj, pobedio si (2).
'If you just hit the target, you have won (MORE IN FOCUS).'
8. Ako pogodiš cilj, pobeđićeš (Fut.)
'If you hit the target, you will win (Fut.)

It is difficult to translate these messages into idiomatic English and only partial glosses are provided.

In utterances one, two and three, the speaker instructs the addressee to act in a certain manner or else he has to suffer serious consequences. What these consequences might be is conveyed with the meanings MOST IN

FOCUS BEFORE and MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE. Similarly, in examples four, five and six, the meanings MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE and MOST IN FOCUS BEFORE appear in the apodosis of conditional sentences. Usually, events introduced in utterances of these types are merely hypothetical. Traditionally called conditional clauses are temporally displaced, either backward or forward in time, as a contrary-to-fact event or as a hypothetical future event. The events introduced in their apodoses are thus also hypothetical. In the above examples the conditional clause introduced by ako 'if' and kad 'if, since' are projected forward: 'if you don't hit the target now', 'if the thieves are not caught in the near future', etc. However, there is nothing hypothetical in their apodoses. The failure to hit the target or to capture the thieves entails real peril.

The meanings MOST IN FOCUS BEFORE and IN FOCUS BEFORE (the traditional Aorist and Perfective Past) are exploited here for the intended message. Namely, we have a shift in the time outlook here. The speaker projects himself forward in time as if he were in some other time zone from which events appear to him as being in the past. The addressee is presented with consequences as if they had already taken place so that he can judge by himself the danger in which he finds himself.

Futurity as we know it, always includes an element of

prediction, since we are almost never in the position to lay claims to knowledge of the future. Commonly, in utterances in which the time reference is 'future', it is often interpreted not as a fact but as an expectation, an intention or a prediction. This is exactly the inference the speaker of Serbo-Croatian is trying to avoid in the quoted examples and that is why he is not using the Future Tense (even less the Conditional). Rather, by exploiting the meanings MOST IN FOCUS and MORE IN FOCUS the speaker wants to underline the seriousness of consequences.

We detect a sense of urgency in all the messages we infer from utterances one through six. In these utterances the speaker asserts that an event took place in the non-past, an obvious untruth. He does it on purpose because he is dead serious and he wants to be believed. What he wants to avoid deliberately is the inference of an hypothetical event the most obvious verbal form in this environment would suggest. He finds the meanings of the Aorist and the Perfective Past - the highest degree of Focus of Attention- the most appropriate to project the finality aspect of the message he wants to convey.

We can ask at this point: How can we exploit a BEFORE meaning for an event from which we infer an 'after' event? How is this exploitation of the meanings MOST IN FOCUS BEFORE and MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE consistent with the signal

meaning communicative orientation we have adopted?

Here we have to be reminded once again that human communication is not a mechanical procedure. The human user of language does not rely exclusively on the straightforward exploitation of the signal to get his message across. He also relies to a great extent on the intelligence of his addressee to construe the right inference, even in instances where the signals and meanings appear to be misleading. This is such a case. The use of MOST IN FOCUS BEFORE (the Aorist) and MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE (The Perfective Past) here is similar to that of the metaphor. The speaker desires to achieve a striking effect and, by using these two meanings both signaling BEFORE in an 'after' environment, he relies on the inferential expertise of the hearer/reader to infer the message correctly. This difference in message is transparent in the English translation of examples seven and eight above.

2. LEAST IN FOCUS BEFORE in Non-before Environments

Another BEFORE meaning in Serbo-Croatian occurs in environments which are not strictly speaking 'before' environments - the meaning LEAST IN FOCUS BEFORE (the traditional Imperfect). Serbo-Croatian grammars refer to

this as the use of the Imperfect 'for the real present'.

The use of a past tense not to refer to past but to non-past has often been commented on in linguistic literature. English examples such as "What was your name?" and "I wish he had enough money." were discussed by Allen, Jespersen and others. General consensus is that the past tense here introduces a characteristic of being distant, removed from the present reality and that the speaker/writer uses that to attenuate the message.

In Serbo-Croatian, instances of the meaning LEAST IN FOCUS BEFORE not to refer to a past event occur both in colloquial speech and in writing. The following examples illustrate this usage:

9. Kako se zvaše (4) Vaša sestra?

What was (LEAST IN FOCUS) your sister's name?

10. Odakle beše (4) tvoj prijatelj?

Where does your friend come from?

11. Sta radiš? Evo, čekah (4) brata.

What are you doing? I've been waiting (LEAST IN FOCUS) for my brother.

12. Mišljamo (4) nobu kupiti u petak.

We thought of (LEAST IN FOCUS) having a working party on Friday.

Serbo-Croatian scholars who treated this problem were mostly concerned with whether or not such verbal form (the Imperfect) was used in its temporal function or not. Most of them tried to establish some link with the past (Stojičević 1951; Stevanović 1959). For Stevanović, the Imperfect in these examples refers to the non-past but the need, desire or intention to express them was formed in the past and they therefore are used in their temporal function. For Vuković on the other hand, these Imperfects are used to refer to the present but they express only the attitude of speakers toward an event and they are therefore used 'modally'. Peter Sladojević (JE 20, p.222) pointed to the right nuance introduced in these messages when he wrote that such Imperfects are used when one wishes to soften the meaning the Present Tense form of the same verb would have had and when one wishes to express a personal attitude toward the event named by the verb such as doubt, uncertainty as to the intention of the participant in question, disregard, etc. He also remarked that such Imperfects are often used in polite speech. However, while he correctly deduced the flavor in the message the Imperfect introduced, Sladojević like the other analysts treating this distribution failed to provide any rationale for why the Imperfect, and not any other past tense, is found in these environments.

The meaning LEAST IN FOCUS BEFORE is exploited in examples we quoted above in order to defocus the event, to make a comment, in each of the above messages for a different reason. In all these instances, the speaker did not want a straightforward, matter of fact statement but a non-committal, attenuated one.

Instances similar to examples 9 and 10 above are the most frequent ones. They are usually produced in an informal setting, in conversation between people who know one another well, i.e. when a degree of intimacy is presupposed. Some scholars call this use of the Imperfect "Imperfect for recall", since according to them, when using the Imperfect, the speaker is trying to recall some fact known to him in the past. This may be true but in many instances the speaker is only pretending that was the case. Rather, a speaker exploits the meaning LEAST IN FOCUS BEFORE to downplay the importance of the request, to soften the impact of the message, out of embarrassment. He does not want to admit either that he forgot a name he should have remembered or that he did not know that name in the first place.

In example eleven however, the importance of the message is defocused out of modesty. The person, answering the question wants, in a certain sense, to discredit his own activity as one not being important to be mentioned.

In the last example the event is defocused again because of the speaker's real uncertainty about the event. He might have planned a working party and he is now changing his mind about it. He wants to break this news gently, or perhaps he does not wish to sound definite about it for a variety of reasons.

In all these instances, occurrences are downplayed each time for a different reason. The speech situation or the immediate context usually tells the reader what the reason might be. However, in all of them the meaning LEAST IN FOCUS BEFORE is the most appropriate to contribute this nuance to the message. In a sense, the effect of the meaning LEAST IN FOCUS on these messages can be seen as a very low-key, soft spoken delivery. That explains the link to polite speech, a way of talking in which the speaker chooses not to sound definite but rather hesitant. Some informants suggest that people talk like that when they desire to achieve an instant intimacy and also that people like to talk like that to children. (Dialectally, the Imperfect of the verb hteti 'to wish, to desire' with the Infinitive is used for hypothetical events and contrary-to-fact events where in standard Serbo-Croatian the Potential is used.)

CONCLUSION

This thesis has presented a semantic analysis of a major segment of Serbo-Croatian verbal morphology. This analysis departs radically from all other treatments of Serbo-Croatian "tense", "mood" and "verbal aspect" presented to date.

Other analysts of the Serbo-Croatian verb do not have as their primary concern an explanation of the distribution of the verbal morphology. They approach the analysis with *a-priori* categories that are derived from the traditional analysis of the nature of human thought. These categories of thought thus translated into the act of communication become categories of messages. Grammatical analysis then becomes a process of correlating these categories of messages with the various items of morphology of the language. This procedure appears to result invariably in a one-to-many relationship between the grammatical form and the categories. In instances in which scholars do attempt

to establish a one-to-one relationship between form and category their procedure is to set up an abstraction over a number of different message categories. This does establish a one-to-one correlation but it is a common criticism of such procedures that the abstract category thus achieved is so vague and general that it cannot be used as a basis for a testable hypothesis.

By contrast, the present analysis starts from the morphology without any investment in a-priori categories of the message. The problem of the grammatical analysis is then to discover the motivation for the use of each item of the morphology. In this analysis of the Serbo-Croatian verb it has been possible to establish a constant semantic input into the message for each of the morphological forms under study. These signal-meaning combinations have been found to constitute semantic systems having to do with the notions of Time and Focus. Of these two semantic substances that of Focus of Attention is the central object of study of this analysis.

The approach to language on which this study is based recognizes an important fact of human communication - the distinction between language as an instrument of communication and the use to which this instrument is put. This use is primarily the production of messages. But the interpretation of the communication by the hearer depends

not only on the semantic input of the linguistic signs but also on other meanings of the immediate context and the general knowledge of the hearer. In comparison with the precision in the message that is intended by the speaker and understood by the hearer, the linguistic signs are notably imprecise. The precision in the message is produced by combining the inputs of a number of signs and by reliance on the intelligent guesswork of the hearer. It is in this way that there comes to be an apparent one-to-many relationship between the individual sign and whatever categories of messages might be devised. This means of course that a grammatical meaning can contribute to a number of different messages. The contribution of the grammatical meaning is always the same and the difference in messages arises from other contributions coming from other sources.

An example of the analysis of message categories is the Serbo-Croatian Present Tense. We have seen that the Present Tense may be interpreted as referring to 'past', 'present' or 'future' time depending on the context in which it is found. This could be interpreted to indicate that 'present', 'past' and 'future' are three message categories corresponding to the same morphology. Assigning the meaning 'present' to the form does not bring any understanding of why the form is found where it occurs. If

we want to explain why the Present Tense occurs where it does, on the assumption that its meaning will provide such an explanation, then we must discard notions such as 'past', 'present' and 'future' as meanings, even though these notions are conveyed in messages in which the Present Tense occurs. Instead, our analytical task is to search for and find that invariant meaning which accounts for the usage of this form in all three environments.

The meanings thus hypothesized require rigorous evaluation. We have therefore formulated a precise and testable signal-meaning Hypothesis specifying the identity of the signals and how the meanings of the two grammatical systems interrelate with each other in an interlock. Statistical procedures have been developed to test the Hypothesis and a qualitative validation undertakes to show that every time we encounter a signal its meaning will contribute coherently to the message intended.

Our investigation of the literature has revealed that there does not exist a satisfactory analysis of the Serbo-Croatian tenses, one in which one verbal form has been shown to have a constant semantic input. The present study attempts to rectify this.

Previous analyses divided the uses of the Serbo-Croatian tenses into temporal and modal. Temporal uses were further divided into absolute (indicative) and

relative, depending on what served as an axis of orientation, the moment of speaking or some other point present in the context. This arrangement made it possible to classify uses of tenses either as absolute or relative and, in those instances in which the particular usage did not fit either, to assign it to the "modal" category. This resulted in a procedure that could work very well in the practice of an individual analyst. However, in numerous instances different scholars have had difficulty in agreeing under what category to classify certain uses of the tenses. Thus, in the majority of articles on this subject scholars do not attempt to reexamine the validity of the posited categories (absolute, relative, modal). Rather, they argue in support of or against a particular scheme of classification. (Musić, 1925-26, 1927; Belić, 1926-27, 1935, 1938-39; Stevanović, 1942, 1951-52, 1966-67, 1967, 1969; Vuković, 1954, 1967, etc.)

The present treatment offers a solution to the problems raised by the classification into absolute (or indicative) and relative. The proposed analysis of the Time system does not treat Serbo-Croatian tenses as having past, present and future. Rather, Serbo-Croatian tenses convey information about the relative ordering of the time of an event with respect to some point in time functioning as a temporal reference. In Serbo-Croatian, that point can be

either the moment of speaking or any other contextually determined point. The traditional Present Tense signals the meaning NOW, a time simultaneous with another time reference; what are traditionally called past tenses (the Aorist, the Perfective Past, the Imperfective Past and the Imperfect) signal the time meaning BEFORE, i.e. events that occurred before the time reference. All "uses of tenses" in this analysis are accounted for by their Time meanings NOW and BEFORE.

The major contribution of this thesis is the analysis of Serbo-Croatian verbal Focus, usually known under the label of verbal aspect. It was mentioned earlier that the grammarians who treated Serbo-Croatian verbal aspect regularly took for "meanings" of aspectual forms segments of messages inferred from utterances in which perfective and imperfective morphology occurs. As a result, they usually associated the perfective verb with completed, bounded, punctual or resultative action and the imperfective verb with durative, habitual, simultaneous or repetitive action. In many instances these were indeed inferences from the verbal forms and other information available to the hearer. However, these are only inferences and not the true meanings of the forms and in many other instances the above correspondences do not hold.

In addition, previous analyses considered the

opposition between the perfective and the imperfective verbs on the one hand and between the Aorist and the Imperfect tenses on the other. Therefore, the role of the Aorist and the Imperfect in verbal aspect was not understood even though definitions of these two tenses largely overlapped with definitions of aspectual categories. The Imperfect and in particular the Aorists were relegated to the domain of stylistics rather than to the grammar proper.

What this analysis does is to take these two separate binary systems and combine them into a single system of four members. In this system the four meanings of the semantic substance of Focus, in the interlock with the Time meaning BEFORE, occupy a relative position on a scale ranging from MOST IN FOCUS to LEAST IN FOCUS.

The meanings of the System of Concentration of Attention can be regarded as instructions to the hearer on how to process messages. By assigning a verb a meaning signaling a high degree of attention on the event the speaker alerts the hearer to the fact that the event named by the verb merits a high degree of attention. And vice versa, by conveying an event with a meaning signaling a low degree of Focus the speaker signals to the hearer that the event named by the verb, relatively speaking, is not as important to the communication in progress. From his

experience in the use of the language the native speaker develops inferential expertise, i.e. he knows how to judge which aspects of occurrences are more important than others. Based on this and other information available to him he infers from the Focus meaning the message intended by the speaker.

In the present analysis the plots of stories were used as a measure for evaluating the degree of importance of individual events. Our analysis has shown that the reason for concentrating different degrees of attention on different events was in direct relation to what overall importance these events had in the plot of the story. Thus, in the BEFORE phase of the Time-Focus interlock the Focus opposition was primarily exploited to set apart background information from the more noteworthy information that is a part of the central narrative line. As a result, the low degree of Focus (the meaning LESS IN FOCUS) was found in passages containing descriptions of physical scenes or characters as well as events which the author wanted to portray but at the same time did not want to include in the main narrative line. Occasionally, while still introducing this material supportive of the narrative the author might bring in one or more higher Focus meanings to emphasize a colorful detail and at the same time assure a certain level of attention in his reader.

However, an upgrade in Focus, from the low member LESS IN FOCUS to a higher member is regularly made by the author to mark the transition from the material in support of the narrative to the central plot of the narrative itself. This occurs either at the point at which the story proper begins or at any other point at which the story resumes its main flow. Used in this fashion the two higher degrees of Focus maintain the forward progression of the narrative. While the meaning MORE IN FOCUS provides the general presentation of events central to the plot, the meaning MOST IN FOCUS carries the narrative forward on a more localized level. Usually, used in this way the meaning MOST IN FOCUS conveys the most crucial scenes of the plot or the plot itself of a short story of anecdotal type. The upgrading and downgrading of Focus of attention is done within individual sentences and between both individual sentences and larger segments of texts.

The art of story telling involves the constant blending of more salient versus less salient narrative material. How much and what narrative material an author chooses to convey with higher Focus meanings and thus presents as a part of the main plot of the story proper and how much of the narrative material he wishes to keep in the background is entirely up to him, or rather it depends on what kind of story he wants to tell. In consequence of

this, each story can usually be given in summary by selecting only those parts which are conveyed with the higher Focus meanings.

Scholars have long been aware that the aspectual distinction plays a role in narrative structure, i.e. that, for instance, the perfective verbal forms convey chronological sequences and the imperfective forms the background information. They did not understand what motivates this distribution. The Focus Hypothesis provides the rationale for this skewing by establishing an explanatory link between the language structure and language use.

The exploitation of Focus meanings to highlight particular aspects of occurrences important to the narrative as a whole leads to a readily observable correlation between the high Focus meanings and certain noteworthy aspects of individual occurrences: the beginning point, the end point, the point at which the change is introduced, etc. It is this correlation that has so often been picked up by the grammarians and presented as the various categories of the use of the perfective aspect. By the same token, the corresponding link between the meaning LESS IN FOCUS and durative, unchanging, more generalized aspects of individual occurrences is established in these areas of the narrative that are generally backgrounded in

character. However, as we have already said these correspondences are not constant. None of these variables automatically guarantees either a high or a low degree of Focus on the verb but each may be overridden in a particular context by another variable which would make the opposing meaning more appropriate for that context.

The Focus meanings of the NOW phase of the interlock were found to be exploited differently depending on whether they referred to past or to non-past events.

In Serbo-Croatian the meanings HIGH FOCUS NOW (traditional Perfective Present) and LOW FOCUS NOW (traditional Imperfective Present) are used in narrative when, having established the past orientation, the author arrests the forward flow of the narrative by switching from the meaning BEFORE to the meaning NOW. Invariably, he does that in order to give a more detailed account of the situation reached at that particular point in the narrative. During these switches, primarily conveyed with the meaning NOW, the author does not shift to a different time perspective. Rather, the narrative stays suspended and does not move either forward or back. The transition to the forward progression of the story is announced by the switch back to the meaning BEFORE, usually the meaning MORE IN FOCUS BEFORE.

This use of the Present Tense in narrative is another

message category treated under the label of "historical" or "narrative present". According to this traditional analysis the Present Tense is used in narrative to make past events more dramatic by presenting them as if they were taking place in the present. Our analysis has challenged this position. It has demonstrated that the narrative material presented during these switches from BEFORE to NOW meanings is of supportive character that does not call for any particular emphasis and of a kind which the speaker of Serbo-Croatian generally associates with a low Focus of attention.

The analysis has further shown that when the two NOW meanings are used in narrative the Focus distinction between them is exploited in strategies very similar to those in which the meanings of the BEFORE interlock are used, i.e. the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW is used to convey descriptive and elaborative material while the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW serves to convey events which are thematically more important.

However, when the NOW Focus meanings are used to refer to non-past time the communicative need is quite different. Foregrounding and backgrounding strategies typical in narrative are of limited use in the non-past. Focusing and defocusing here is signaled within individual utterances and even there on a limited basis only. The

present analysis has shown several non-past environments in which the Focus opposition between NOW meanings is exploited by the speaker of Serbo-Croatian. For example, after certain temporal conjunctions the most common exploitation of the high Focus meaning is to concentrate attention on one point in time when an event takes place and with the low Focus meaning to diffuse attention over a longer period of time. An interesting effect in the message here is that the concentration of time on a particular point gives the impression of a high level of confidence that the event will actually take place whereas attention spread over a longer period of time results in an inference of a more indefinite, generalized activity and therefore of a lesser degree of confidence of an actual occurrence.

In other environments (position after conjunctions ako 'if' and da 'that/to' and the interrogatives zašto/što 'why' and zašto ne/što ne 'why not') the use of the Focus distinction produced a number of nuances in the message. Here, the high Focus meaning highlights the speaker's attitude toward the action named by the verb. That is, by signaling that the event is of high relevance to the communication in progress the meaning HIGH FOCUS NOW results in a number of messages of higher emotional key, such as fear, apprehension, warning and encouragement. In the same environment the LOW FOCUS NOW marked verbs are

interpreted either as factual statements or nuances in messages of lower emotional intensity such as disapproval, discouragement, etc. By associating an event with the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW the speaker suggests to the hearer that the event by being non-relevant is less worthy of consideration.

In most other environments, in conveying individual non-past occurrences the speaker of Serbo-Croatian is not engaged in ranking one event against another as he is within narrative. Matter of fact statements and requests for information are generally conveyed with the meaning LOW FOCUS NOW. When the speaker finds himself in a situation of emotional tension he generally abandons the systematic use of language, i.e. the well articulated versions of messages. Other means of signaling are introduced then to compensate for the lack of systematic expressions: gestures, raised pitch indicated by exclamation marks, short staccato sentences, an abundance of imperatives and exclamations, etc.

The use of the Present Tense, and in particular the use of the Perfective Present, in these environments has not been well understood. The uses of the Present Tense for non-past have invariably been treated either under the category of "modal uses" or in terms of aspectual meanings. Invoking completed action as a meaning of the perfective

aspect and durative action as a meaning of the imperfective aspect to account for differences in messages after the temporal conjunctions could perhaps make sense but the same rationale is of no use elsewhere. It cannot, for example, explain the asymmetry in the distribution after the negative interrogative "why not" where the Perfective Present is favoured overwhelmingly.

The use of the Imperfective Present to refer to the moment of speaking and other "real" present events is a well known problem in Slavic linguistics. This distribution is usually explained by the difference in aspectual meaning. Namely, since the Perfective Present signals completed or successive occurrences it cannot be located in the elusive period that the "present" represents. Only the Imperfective Present is possible there because it bestows on the event a certain duration. We have seen however that these two nuances can be inferred from both the perfective and the imperfective verb and that that is not what determines the distribution.

Finally, a comment concerning the general implications of this kind of analysis. The reader of this study is not presented with explicitly formulated rules for the distribution of signal-meaning combinations. Instead, the reader finds in this study the explanation of why the signs under consideration occur in actual language use

where they do. This explanation is in terms of a constant relationship which exists between the verbal morphology and general properties of communication and human behavior of which these grammatical systems and their exploitation for communication by human beings are specific instances.

From a signal meaning analysis has emerged a coherent picture of language as an instrument of human communication in which all its parts are naturally connected by a common principle - their semantic contribution to the message. The Time and Focus meanings provide a uniform explanation for all the uses of the verbal forms that were considered in all the environments in which they occur.

The most significant aspect of the present analysis is that it does not take immediately apparent and often common sense categories that are familiar in the tradition and relate them pre-analytically in a new way. This is what most analyses offered to account for the phenomenon of verbal aspect have done and are still doing. By contrast, this analysis has developed a hypothesis about signals and meanings to account for the distribution of the verbal morphology in Serbo-Croatian. These meanings have forced a new categorization of the data. The role of meaning is simultaneously descriptive and explanatory, i.e. the meanings both suggest new categories and provide the link between them and the communicative and human orientations.

In other words, the role of the meaning is central in this analysis as it is in the Form-Content Approach on which it is based.

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ABBREVIATIONS

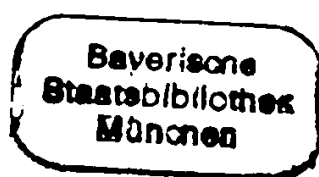
- CUWPL Columbia University Working Papers in Linguistics
- JF Južnoslovenski filolog

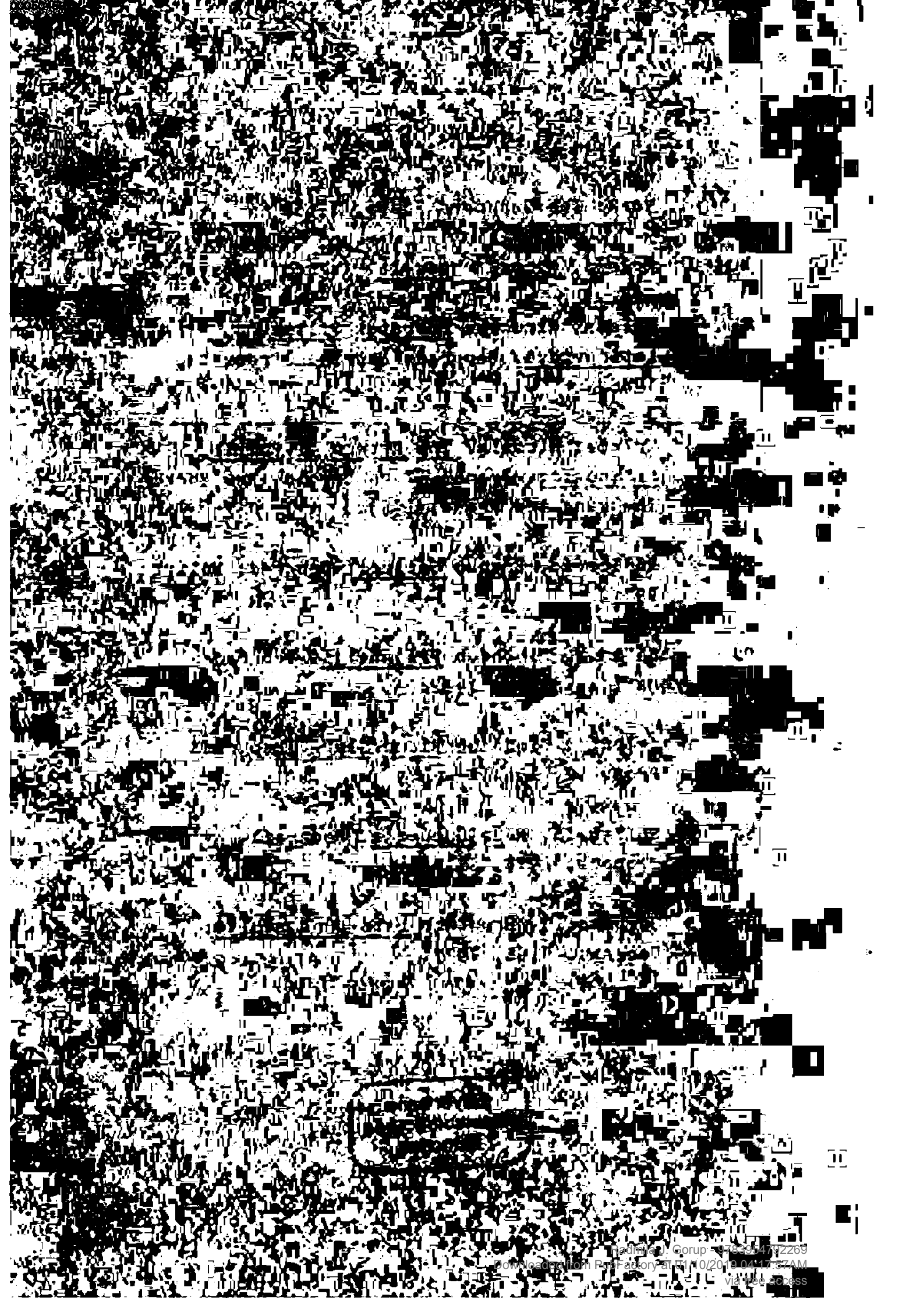
ABBREVIATIONS OF TEXTS CITED

- NDC Andrić, Ivo Na Drini ćuprija. Beograd: Prosveta-Nolit, 1981.
- BOD Andrić, Ivo The Bridge on the Drina. Transl. Robert Edwards. New York: The New American Library of World Literature, 1960.
- TH Andrić, Ivo Travnička hronika. Beograd: Prosveta, 1967.
- BC Andrić, Ivo Bosnian Chronicle. Transl. Joseph Hitrec. New York: A. Knopf, 1964.
- PR-I Andrić, Ivó Izabrane pripovetke. Beograd: Novo pokoljenje, 1951.
- PR-II Andrić, Ivo Odabrane pripovetke. Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga XLVIII, knjiga 326-327. 1954.
- PC Andrić, Ivo The Pasha's Concubine. Transl.

- Joseph Hitrec. New York: A. Knopf, 1963.
- VE Andrić, Ivo The Vizier's Elephant. Transl. Drenka Willen. New York: Harcourt, Brace World, Inc., 1962.
- KU Božić, Mirko Kurlani. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1970.
- KO Ćosić, Dobrica Koreni. Beograd: Prosveta 1976.
- VS Ćosić, Dobrica Vreme smrti. 6 volumes, Beograd: Slovo ljubvi, 1978.
- DJS Ćosić, Dobrica Daleko je sunce, 2nd ed. Beograd: Nolit-Prosveta, 1980.
- TD Ćosić, Dobrica A Time for Death. Reach to
RD Eternity. Transl. by Muriel Heppell, New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980.
- BS Ćopić, Branko Bosonogo djetinjstvo. Beograd: Prosveta, 1964.
- ZP Hodžić, Fadil Žensko pitanje. Zagreb: August Cesarec, 1979.
- SV Lalić, Mihailo Svadba. Beograd: Prosveta 1950.
- DSG Lenski, Branko, ed. Death of a Simple Giant and Other Modern Yugoslav Stories. New

- York: The Vanguard Press, 1965.
- NO Krleža, Miroslav Novele. Zagreb; Prosveta, 1952.
- PFL Krleža, Miroslav Povratak Filipa Latinovicza. Beograd: Naprijed Prosveta, 1966.
- RFL Krleža, Miroslav The Return of Philip Latinovicz. Transl. Zora Depolo, New York: The Vanguard Press, 1969.
- SE Radičević, Branko Seljaci. Beograd: Nolit 1971.
- PJ Selenić, Slobodan Prijatelji. Beograd: Matica srpska, 1982.
- PG Selenić, Slobodan Pismo/Glava. Beograd: Prosveta, 1981.
- SJ Selimović, Meša Sjećanja. Beograd: Sloboda, 1977.
- UPZ Šćepanović, Branimir Usta puna zemlje, Beograd: BIGZ, 1977.





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