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

**Introduction**

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

A. In their work, referred to in Edit Jakab (1999, 219), Progovac (1993) and Vrzic (1996) proposed two semantically separate but homophonous *da* complementizers. I will show that there is one and only one *da*-complementizer and provide sufficient evidence for distinction between *da*-comp and any other homophonous ‘*da’.*

B. I will illustrate that although it is the case that verbs are subcategorized for specific complements, that no verb licenses the *da* complementizer. This in turn will lead toward the conclusion that *da* must be an independent marker, a morpheme that is used as a means of coding a specific semantic function of and by itself, irrespective of the verb or any other utterance it occurs with.

C. Once all the necessary distinctions and specifications have been made, I will introduce the testing methods, which will reveal the actual function of our complementizer.

D. The last section of this paper gives a brief overview of the most crucial arguments about the functional nature of the *da* complementizer and offers some concluding remarks.

---

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

1.1. Homophonous da(s)

1.1.1. Dati ‘to give’

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

(1) Igor hocé njemu dati novi auto. (NSE)
   Igor want-3sg him-DAT give new-Acc car-Acc
   Igor wants to give him a new car.

(2) On hocé da mu ga da. (NSE)
   he want-3sg da him-DAT it-ACC give-3sg
   He wants to give it to him.

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

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

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

(3) Kaze *da* Vesna čita ovu knjigu.
   say-3sg DM Vesna-Nom read-3sg this-Acc book-Acc
   He says that Vesna reads/is reading this book.

(4) Zelim *da* čitam ovu knjigu.
   wish-1sg MM read-1sg this-Acc book-Acc
   I wish to read this book.

(5) Tvrdim *da* čitam ovu knjigu.
   claim-1sg DM read-1sg this-Acc book-Acc
   I claim that I’m reading this book.

Example (3) has a present tense matrix verb *kazati* ‘to say’ and is followed by a *da*-complement. According to Vrzic, because *da* follows a non-imperfective present tense
verb, it is declarative. In example (4), the matrix verb has the imperfective aspect, *zeljeti* (imperfective) (vs. *pozeljeti* (perfective)), and so she claims that the *da* complementizer is subjunctive-like. It is important to note here that although *zelim* ‘I wish’ is coded for the imperfective aspect, that it is also in the present tense. The two categories, aspect and tense, are not mutually exclusive. Vrzić’s explanation about the distribution and patterning of the *da* complements falls short here. Example (5), shows a verb in the imperfective aspect and present tense, *tvrditi* (imperfective) vs. *potvrditi* (perfective), but the complementizer is claimed to be declarative. If Vrzić were correct in her analysis, the *da* complementizer in the last example should be modal and so should be the mood of the sentence, yielding something along the lines of: *I claim that I ought to read this book.* This is not one of the possible meanings for the sentence though.

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

(6) Kaze *da* Petar cita ovu knjigu.  
*say-3sg da* Petar-Nom read-3sg this-Acc book-Acc  
*He says that Petar is reading this book.*

(7) ?Kaze *da* Petar cita ovu knjigu.  
*say-3sg da* Petar-Nom read-3sg this-Acc book-Acc  
*He says that Petar would read this book.*

(8) Kaze *da* je Petar citao ovu knjigu.  
*say-3sg da* Aux Petar-Nom read-pst3sg this-Acc book-Acc  
*He says that Petar has read this book.*  

vs.
(9) Zelim \(da_2\) Petar cita ovu knjigu. (Jakab, 219)
    wish-1sg \(da\) Petar-Nom read-3sg this-Acc book-Acc
    *I wish for Peter to read this book.

(10) \(?\)Zelim \(da_1\) Petar cita ovu knjigu. (NSE/NSJ)
    wish-3sg \(da\) Petar read-3sg this-Acc book-Acc
    *He wishes Petar is reading this book.

(11) Katkad pozelim \(da\) Petar cita ovu knjigu. (NSE/NSJ)
    occasionally perf-wish-1sg \(da\) Petar-Nom read-3sg this-Acc book-Acc
    Sometimes I wish for Petar to read this book.
    *Sometimes I wish Petar is reading this book.

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

So, at a closer look, the data presented by Vrzić and Jakab do not provide adequate evidence for the existence of two homophonous yet semantically distinct \(da\)-complementizers. However, I do agree with them that sentence (6) is in the indicative mood, whereas sentence (9) codes a subjunctive-like modality. A more advanced and detailed research may ultimately prove that there exist two semantically-different yet homophonous \(da\)(s). For the time being, however, it might be more feasible to posit that the subcategorization properties of a verb, which specify verbal complement preferences, provide an environment for the appearance of a \(da\)-complement. The overall modality of a clause then depends on the combination of a complementizer with the lexical as well as aspectual properties of the verb. To claim otherwise, there would have to be some kind of a formal distinction between the two sentences using ‘\(da_1\)’ and ‘\(da_2\)’, be it syntactic, configurational or semantic difference. And there isn’t one. The above examples show that both \(da_1\) and \(da_2\) occur in identical syntactic constructions, do not change the meaning of the clauses if swapped.

1.2. Verbs and their complements

Although it is true that some verbs prefer \(da\)-complements, I found only one case in which a verb primarily takes the \(da\)-complement. This verb is smatrati ‘to consider’
(please see Appendix B for examples). However, as the NDC examples (12) and (13) illustrate, even this verb does not exclusively take a da-complement:

(12) “...i zapravo je **smatram** gitarom s plasticnim zicama.” (NDC: N146_24 15397 11)
   and actually it consider guitar with plastic wires
   ...and actually I consider it to be a guitar with plastic wires.

(13) “Sebe uopće ne **smatram** diskriminiranom zato što sam zena.” (NDC: N135_K10 4513457 45)
    refl really not consider discriminated because am woman
    I don’t consider myself discriminated against just because I’m a woman.

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

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

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

2. Methods

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

---

2. Examples with the link style references following an example, such as NDC: N146_24 15397 11, are taken directly out of the search engine and point to the addresses from the online National Data Corpus (NDC) of Croatian language where that sentence is located.
sentence structure. These I presented to several native speaker of Croatian, including myself, with the goal of acquiring native speaker judgments (NSJ) about the grammaticality and acceptability of the original and augmented sentences.

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

a. Focusing on the data gathered from the NDC and older publications, I look at where da occurs and how it is used. (please see Appendix C for examples)

b. Then using the original and augmented examples, I solicit native speaker judgements (NSJ). I then incorporate these judgments, based on the native speaker intuition, and discuss any relevant findings.

c. Finally, I contrast sentences with da-comp against those that are identical in structure except that they contain other main Croatian complementizers, namely sto and kada. The purpose of doing this is to test the altered sentences for any change in meaning.

The present premise is as follows:

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

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

2.1. Instances where da occurs

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

(14) Uputili su se u setnju da se umire. (NSE)
   went-3pl Aux-3pl refl in walk da refl calm-3pl
   They went for a walk (in order) to calm themselves.

(15) *Uputili su se u setnju da ø. (NSE/NSJ)
   went-3pl Aux-3pl refl in walk da
   They went for a walk (in order) [to calm themselves].

(16) *Uputili su se u setnju ø se umire. (NSE/NSJ)
   went-3pl Aux-3pl refl in walk refl calm-3pl
   (no alternative meaning rendition)
(17) Otivam tam (za) da kupja xljab.

Otisao je tamo _da_ kupi kruh.  
left-3sgM Aux-3sg there _da_ buy-3sg bread-Acc  
He went there (so that/in order) to buy bread.

(18) * Otisao je tamo _da_ φ.

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

(19) * Otisao je φ kupi kruh.

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

(20) Kaza _da_ dojdes.

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

(21) Rekao je _da_ dodes.

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

(22) * Rekao je φ dodes.

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

(23) Rekao je _da_ ces doci.

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

(24) * Rekao je φ ces doci.

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

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

_da_ also denotes potentially realizable events as seen in examples (21) and (23). _da_ further appears in the function of a conjunction between two finite clauses (examples (25)
and (26), but the meaning of a clause changes depending on the presence of other utterances in the embedded clause:

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

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

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

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

(28) “..ako se zna [da su tamo ubacivali bombe], [da su prijetili], [da su svecenike
    if its known da Aux-3pl there drop bombs da Aux-3pl threaten da Aux-pl priests
    physically abused
    ...if it is known that they were dropping bombs there, that they were threatening, that
    they physically abused the priests...

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

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

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

3. See Frajzyngier (1996, 94) for additional discussion.
complement function to the modifying segment. Subordinate clauses without a complementizer cannot move freely out of their complement positions. If moved, as example (33) shows, they render the sentence meaningless.

(30) [Da si mi ti to rekao], ne bih ti vjerovala. (NSE)
\[
\begin{array}{l}
da & \text{Aux-2sg me-Dat you-Nom that-Acc say-3sgM not would-1sg you-Dat believe-1sgF} \\
\end{array}
\]
If you had told me that, I wouldn’t have believed you.

(31) Ne bih ti vjerovala [da si mi ti to rekao]. (NSE)
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{not would-1sg you-Dat believe-1sgF } da & \text{Aux-2sg me-Dat you-Nom that-Acc say-3sgM} \\
\end{array}
\]
I wouldn’t have believed you if you had told me that.

(32) Ti si mi to rekao. (NSE)
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{you-Nom Aux-2sg me-Dat that-Acc say-3sgM} \\
\end{array}
\]
You told me that.

(33) *Ti si mi to rekao ne bih ti vjerovala. (NSE/NSJ)
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{you-Nom Aux-2sg me-Dat that-Acc say-3sgM not would-1sg you-Dat believe-1sgF} \\
\end{array}
\]
*You told me this I wouldn’t have believed you.

2.2. Omissions

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

To answer this question, let us return to some rudimentary properties of \textit{da}. As mentioned in the earlier sections, a group of verbs (like \textit{smatrati} ‘to consider and \textit{htjeti} ‘to want’) take \textit{da}-complements with a higher degree of frequency. This suggests that some verbs are subcategorized for or prefer, but do not license, \textit{da}-complements. When \textit{da-comp} is used in conjunction with these verbs, it behaves as a complementizer information filler. That is, \textit{da} announces additional information contained within the embedded clause about its immediately preceding predicate. But this is not unexpected. Other complementizers, \textit{sto} in (34) and \textit{kada} in (35) for instance (\textit{what} and \textit{when}, respectively), also provide additional information about the matrix predicate. They do so by virtue of introducing a complement clause whose function, as Frajzyngier (1996) explains, is to behave as “anaphora referring to something that was previously mentioned in speech” (100).
(34) Rekao sam im ono [sto mi je palo na pamet]…  (NDC: jergovic_sar  97087  3)
    say-1sgM  Aux-1sg  them-Dat that-Acc sto me-Dat Aux-3sg  fall on mind
    I told them that which first came to me…

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

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

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

(36) Znas da to kosta…  (NDC: me980826_c02  10916  33)
    know-2sg  da  that-Acc  cost
    You know that this is expensive.

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

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

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

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

(41) ?Pocela sam da zaradujem novce.  (Craig’s 149 and NSJ judgment: very uncommon)
    begin-1sgF  Aux-1sg  da  earn-1sg  money-Acc
    I began to earn money.
(42) Zelim govoriti s tobom.  
want-1sg speak-Inf with you-Inst
*I want to talk with you.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(50) Trebamo pitati iskusnije ljude.  
need-1pl ask-Inf experienced-Acc people-Acc
*We must ask more experienced people.

(51) *Treba da pitati iskusnije ljude.  
need da ask-Inf experienced-Acc people-Acc
And when matrix object is coreferential with the subject of the embedded complement, *da*-complement is again inserted:

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

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

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

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

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

2.3. Comparisons with other complementizers

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

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

4. See Frajzyngier (1995, 482) for additional supporting material.
with a **resultative** (epistemic) complementizer *sto*, which belongs to the *de re* domain (the domain used for things that actually exit or happen); it is further said that *sto* introduces finite clauses (factual and causal; clauses of reason). The function of *sto* has been claimed indisputable (that is, it has been firmly and clearly established) and also holds for the present data.

(56) Jovan nece doci [zato *sto* je bolestan].

John won’t-3sg come because *sto* Aux-3sg sick-M

*John won’t come because he’s ill.*

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

(57) Sibila je bila velikodus [kada mu je rekla istinu].

*Sibila was generous when she told him the truth.*

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

(58) Nesposoban je [da shvati takvu ljubav].

*He is incapable of understanding such love.*

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

(59) Znam *da* ga nije bilo.

*I know he was gone.*
(60) Zelim da ga nema.
   wish-1sg da him-Acc not
   I wish he were gone.

(61) Cula sam ga kada je govorio u tvornici.  \(\rightarrow\) matrix coding of direct perception
   hear-1sgF Aux-1sg him-Acc when spoke-3sgM in factory-Loc
   I heard him when he was speaking in the factory.

(62) Cula sam da je govorio u tvornici.  \(\rightarrow\) no matrix coding (indirect perception)
   hear-1sgF Aux-1sg da spoke-3sgM in factory-Loc
   I heard that he spoke in the factory.

(63) **Cula sam ga da je govorio u tvornici.  \(\rightarrow\) matrix coding and da-comp
   hear-1sgF Aux-1sg him-Acc da spoke-3sgM in factory-Loc
   **I heard him that he was speaking in the factory.

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

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

(64) Sretan sam sto te vidim.  (NSE/NSJ)
   happy-M Aux-1sgM sto you-Acc see-1sg
   I am glad to see you.  \(\rightarrow\)  I am happy because I see you now

(65) Sretan sam da te vidim.  (NSE/NSJ)
   happy-M Aux-1sgM da you-Acc see-1sg
   I am glad to see you.  \(\rightarrow\)  I am happy whenever I get an opportunity to see you. (if I see you)

(66) Tesko mu je sto zivi sam.  (NSE/NSJ)
   difficult him-Dat Aux-3sg sto live alone-M
   It is hard for him to live alone.  \(\rightarrow\)  It is hard for him as a consequence of living alone.
(67) Tesko mu je da zivi sam.  
   difficult him-Dat Aux-3sg da live alone-M 
   It is hard for him to live alone. \( \rightarrow \) It is hard for him to live alone.

(68) Kao sto sam ti rekao, mladicu…  
    as sto Aux-1sg you-Dat tell-M young man-Voc 
    As I told you, young man...

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

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

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

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

3. Conclusion: Toward a common function

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

---

5. de dicto and de re domains are explained in more depth in Frajzyngier (M.S., 210-11), Frajzyngier and Jasperson (1991), and Frajzyngier (1991).
subcategorized for *da* complements. As we have seen, this does not mean that a verb licenses a specific complementizer since no one verb takes only one kind of a complement.

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

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

---

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

**Abbreviations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>accusative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aux</td>
<td>auxiliary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat</td>
<td>dative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DM</td>
<td>declarative mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inf</td>
<td>Infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inst</td>
<td>instrumental case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc</td>
<td>locative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM</td>
<td>modal mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDC</td>
<td>National Data Corpus of Croatian Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom</td>
<td>nominative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSE</td>
<td>native speaker example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSJ</td>
<td>native speaker judgment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perf</td>
<td>perfective aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>refl</td>
<td>reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc</td>
<td>vocative case</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Click the source name to see the wider context ——

varalo tobože značajne političke osobe, zbog čega i danas juskog tijela, osobno sam se opredijelila za fitness jer jeravanja našeg pastorala prema odgoju odraslih vjernika, <br>— „Uslužno naših svjetaških kvaliteti!“ gornje sg.<br> — d kulture povijesti Bosne i Hercegovine. :. i naše osobno zdaža Vrbova svjetske književnosti »<br>Budući da ako treba, i time će, vjeruju, oprati svoju navjest. 4 15
<br>— u vreme muji i vi sudjelovali... »<br>Budući da, u i to iako pretjeruje. Ja, na primjer, i dalje ojem se može sve svirati, mekša je od gitare i zapravo je Štrukč)<br>— Ja sam uvijek za umjerenost, pa tako i u izjavama. šeševila. Nikada se ne bih odlučila za tako nešto, jer sebe smatram da je zdraviji, ženstveniji i primjereniji nama že<br>— jeravanja našeg pastorala prema odgoju odraslih vjernika, smatram prioritetno usredotočivanje naših snaga na struč 15
<br>— smatram da je zdraviji, ženstveniji i primjereniji nama že 15
<br>— u vreme muji i vi sudjelovali... »<br>Budući da, u i to iako pretjeruje. Ja, na primjer, i dalje ojem se može sve svirati, mekša je od gitare i zapravo je Štrukč)<br>— Ja sam uvijek za umjerenost, pa tako i u izjavama. šeševila. Nikada se ne bih odlučila za tako nešto, jer sebe smatram da je zdraviji, ženstveniji i primjereniji nama že
Appendix C

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

Click the source name to see the wider context

---

Published by CU Scholar, 2004
mu se organiziraju takozvani razredni ispiti ako zaključi da su profesori dosadni, a program nepotrebno slušati. Naravno, stavovi već imaju organiziranih takozvanih razrednih ispita, te se zalagaju da se tehnika odnosi na sredstva za rad, znanja proizvodnje i materijal izvoznučari, a odredbe traže do to bude između dva puta pokušala nagovoriti da se preseli u SAD jer sam sigurna da bio i tamo napravio nužan i radikalan zaokret? Dojam je, naime, da je oporba prilično obručena jer u mnogim granicama, on bi trebao biti određen kao »debelo« kružno priznanje, u stvari »debelo« kružno priznanje, u stvari »debelo« kružno priznanje. Mala je bilo kasno: riječ je o slaboj komunikaciji s tovrstom. Da bi se u programu Hrvatske televizije u jednom danu izvršeno bilo što o Hrvatskoj govorimo i sanjamo bude na novom planu...
References


BIBOVIC, LJILJANA. 1976. ‘The Infinitive as Subject in English and Serbo-Croatian.’ Yugoslav-Serbo-Croatian-English-Contrastive-Project-Reports 10, 3-19.


