THE SLAVONIC LANGUAGES

The following materials originated as a set of hand-outs to accompany an option course entitled 'The Slavonic Languages'. They aim at providing an encapsulation of the salient features of each of the languages covered in the course and, as such, are by no means intended either to supplement or to supplant the standard works of reference on the subject. It is hoped, however, that they are a resource that can serve as an *aide-mémoire* or as a source of rapid reference to assist in following lectures or other oral presentations on the subject.

The materials inevitably follow the structure of the course as it was delivered in the first quinquennium of the present century and are something of a work in progress that was never completed. Thus the decisions about what to include and what should be given prominence reflect at least to some extent the interests and preferences (if not the whims) of the author, while the issues surrounding the fate of the language(s) formerly known as Serbo-Croat are not fully resolved.

THE SLAVONIC LANGUAGES

PLAN OF THE COURSE

Hours 1-4 Introduction:

*   The Slavonic languages;
*   Common Slavonic and Old Church Slavonic;
*   East, West and South Slavonic

Hours 5-7	Russian
Hour 8	Ukrainian
Hour 9	Belarusian
Hour 10-11	Polish
Hour 12	Kashubian
Hour 13	Upper and Lower Sorbian
Hours 14-15	Czech
Hour 16	Slovak
Hours 17-18	Slovene
Hours 19-21	Serbo-Croat and its successor languages
Hours 22-23	Macedonian
Hour 24	Bulgarian

LIST OF SLAVONIC LANGUAGES

1. East Slavonic

Russian   150 million

Ukrainian   42.5 million

Belarusian (Belorussian) Also sometimes known as White Russian   9 million

Rusyn Spoken in Eastern Slovakia, West Ukraine, parts of former Yugoslavia

2. West Slavonic

Polish   38 million (in Poland)

Kashubian (N. Poland)

Czech   9.5 million

Slovak   4.5 million

Upper Sorbian Also formerly known as Lusatian or Wendish, these languages are
Lower Sorbian spoken by c.70,000 people in areas of Brandenburg and Saxony in
                   the south-east of the former GDR

†**Polabian** Spoken until the eighteenth century along the R. Elbe in N. Germany

3. South Slavonic

Slovene   2 million

Serbo-Croat This term, used to describe the language spoken in Serbia, Montenegro,
                Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, has been replaced locally by
                Serbian, Croatian and even Bosnian and Montenegrin, but remains
                appropriate for certain historical purposes.
                Croatians 4.5 million, Serbs 8 million,
                Montenegrins 600 thousand, Yugoslav
                Muslims (Bosniaks) 2 million

Macedonian   2 million

Bulgarian   8 million

†**Old Church Slavonic** The language of the earliest (ninth-century) translations of
                        the Gospels and other religious texts and those surviving
                        copies that date from the tenth and eleventh centuries

COMMON SLAVONIC

Phonology

The Law of Rising Sonority

In some respects the most important unit of sound in late Common Slavonic (C.S.) was the syllable. The structure of the syllable was governed by the Law of Rising Sonority, the most important element of which was that all syllables ended in a vowel (cf. Italian). The principal sound changes relating to this law are the **loss of final consonants** and the **monophthongisation of diphthongs**.

The loss of final consonants is a fairly straightforward process which seems to take place relatively early in C.S. and which does not produce different results in the different languages. The only point to note is that the sequence long vowel + nasal consonant (/n/ or /m/) results in a nasal vowel (/ę/ or /ǫ/).

The monophthongisation of diphthongs is a much more complex process, which often leads to different results in the different languages. C.S. diphthongs were of the falling type, in which the second element was a sonant (*i, u, m, n, r* or *l*). If the diphthong appeared before a vowel, the second element was transferred to the following syllable, but if it appeared before a consonant different processes occurred. Where the second element was *i* or *u*, the two elements of the diphthong merged to give a simple vowel, e.g. */ou/ > /u/, */ei/ > /ě/*. Where the second element was a nasal sonant, the vowel and sonant merged to give a nasal vowel (/ę/ or /ǫ/). Where the second element was *r* or *l*, the outcome is much more complicated.

COMMON SLAVONIC (2)

TorT, TolT, TerT, TelT sequences

In East Slavonic the diphthongs are eliminated by the insertion of an additional vowel between the sonant and the second consonant (**pleophony** or **polnoglasie**); in South Slavonic, and also Czech and Slovak, the sonant and the vowel change places (**metathesis**) and the vowel is **lengthened** (i.e. *o > a, *e > ě); in the remaining West Slavonic languages there is metathesis, but no lengthening of the vowel:

C.S. *gordъ   Russ. город   O.C.S. градъ   Cz. hrad   Pol. (o)gród
C.S. *zolto   Russ. золото   O.C.S. злато   Cz. zlato   Pol. złoto
C.S. *bergъ   Russ. берег   O.C.S. врѣгъ   Cz. břeh   Pol. brzeg
C.S. *melko   Russ. молоко   O.C.S. млѣко   Cz. mléko   Pol. mleko

TirT, TilT, TurT, TulT

In East Slavonic the diphthongs are effectively retained: the vocalic elements develop into **Jers** (/ь/ or /ъ/) and thence into /e/ or /o/ respectively. In South Slavonic, and also Czech and Slovak, the vocalic element drops out, giving rise to vocalic /r̥/ and /l̥/; this is later modified to a greater or lesser extent in the individual languages (least of all in Slovak). In the remaining West Slavonic languages the outcomes are many and varied.

C.S. *virba   Russ. верба   S-Cr., Cz. vrba   Pol. wierzba
C.S. *vilkъ   Russ. волк   S-Cr. vuk   Cz. vlk   Pol. wilk
C.S. *gurdlo   Russ. горло   S-Cr. grlo   Cz. hrdlo   Pol. gardło
C.S. *stulpъ   Russ. столп   S-Cr. stub   Cz. sloup   Pol. słup

COMMON SLAVONIC (3)

Palatalisations

The development of the consonant system of C.S. is affected by a series of **palatalisations.**

The first palatalisation of velars took place when a velar occurred before a front vowel. The outcome was uniform in all Slavonic languages: /k/ > /č/, /g/ > /ž/, /x/ > /š/. **The second palatalisation of velars** took place when a velar occurred when a velar occurred before a front vowel which arose out of the monophthongisation of diphthongs; **the third palatalisation of velars** took place when a velar occurred after a syllable containing C.S. *i. The second and third palatalisations took place at about the same time and produce the same results, which, however, show some variation across the different languages. It is possible that the second and third palatalisations did not take place in some areas of East Slavonic. The outcomes are as follows:
/k/ > /c/, /g/ > /z/ (/dz/ in Polish), /x/ > /s/ (/š/ in W.Slav.).

Palatalisation by Jod. When a consonant was followed by Jod /j/, it underwent palatalisation. In most, but not all cases the outcomes were the same throughout Slavonic.
*k+j > /č/, *g+j > /ž/, *x+j > /š/;
*s+j > /š/, *z+j > /ž/;
*r+j > /r'/, *l+j > /l'/, *n+j > /n'/;
*p+j > /pl'/, *b+j > /bl'/, *m+j > /ml'/, *v+j > /vl'/; the so-called 'epenthetic l' is sometimes lost in W. and S. Slavonic.
The sequences *t+j, *d+j give different results in the different languages:
In E. Slavonic *t+j > /č/, *d+j > /ž/;
in W. Slavonic *t+j > /c/, *d+j > /z/ (/dz/ in Polish and Slovak);
in Slovene *t+j > /č/, *d+j > /j/;
in Serbo-Croat *t+j > /ć/, *d+j > /đ/;
in Macedonian *t+j > /ḱ/, *d+j > /ǵ/;
in Bulgarian *t+j > /št/, *d+j > /žd/;
in Russian many words of Ch.Sl. origin have /šč/, /žd/.

COMMON SLAVONIC (4)

As a result of these processes late C.S. had the following phonemic pairs of palatalised and non-palatalised consonants:
/r/ ~ /r'/, /l/ ~ /l'/, /n/ ~ /n'/ and possibly /s/ ~ /s'/, /z/ ~ /z'/.
In addition non-phonemic softening seems to have affected all consonants before front vowels. In some languages the two types of palatalisation merged to create an extended range of palatalised – non-palatalised pairs (sometimes with later dispalatalisation), while in others the role of palatalisation remained very limited.

COMMON SLAVONIC (6)

THE JERS

C.S. had two vowels which are represented in the earliest form of the Cyrillic alphabet by the letters ъ and ь. The exact pronunciation of these vowels, which are known as **Jers**, is uncertain, though it is known that they are a reflex of Indo-European short /u/ and short /i/ respectively. The fact that in certain positions they first lose the ability to bear stress and then disappear has prompted the view that they may have been ultra-short vowels (they are sometimes known as 'reduced vowels'), but even this is not certain.

Although the Jers apparently existed as distinct vowels in Old Church Slavonic and in the oldest recorded Russian, they undergo changes which are in many respects identical in all Slavonic languages. In certain positions they disappear (**weak Jers**), while in other positions they survive, usually merging with another pre-existing vowel or vowels (**strong Jers**). The distribution of strong and weak Jers can be predicted by **Havlík's Law**, which states that if Jers occurring in a word are numbered starting from the end, odd-numbered Jers will be weak, while even-numbered Jers will be strong. The vocalisation of the strong Jer can be seen as a form of compensation (cf. lengthening, described above).

C.S. *$d\ь_2n\ь_1$	Russ. день	Cz. **den**	Pol. **dzień**
C.S. *$d\ь_1ne$	Russ. дня	Cz. **dne**	Pol. **dnia**
C.S. *$s\ъ_2n\ъ_1$	Russ. сон	Cz. **sen**	Pol. **sen**
C.S. *$s\ъ_1na$	Russ. сна	Cz. **snu**	Pol. **sna**

All Slavonic languages have exceptions to Havlík's Law, but in general it applies most consistently in West Slavonic and least consistently in South Slavonic, especially S-Cr. The fall of the Jers has significant consequences for the Slavonic languages, notably the end of the Law of Rising Sonority, the appearance of hitherto impossible consonant clusters and the emergence of the **fleeting vowel**. The fall of the Jers is sometimes perceived as marking the end of Common Slavonic.

The **Quantity distinctions (long and short vowels)** that C.S. inherited from Indo-European were replaced by **quality distinctions** during the C.S. period, and it is uncertain what quantity distinctions, if any, existed in, for example, Old Church Slavonic. Nevertheless, new quality distinctions are found in Czech, Slovak (on all syllables), Slovene (on stressed syllables) and Serbo-Croat (in štokavik: on stressed and post-tonic syllables); traces of older quantity distinctions can be found in Polish, Upper Sorbian and Kashubian. In some instances these distinctions reflect C.S. tones, e.g.:

Cz. **kráva** cf. **hlava**   S-Cr. **krȁvu** cf. **glȃvu**

Long vowels also occur when contractions turn two syllables into one:

Cz. **dobrá, dobrého**

They can also occur as a form of compensation for the loss of following syllable:

C.S. ****Bogъ, Boga**   Cz. **Bůh, Boha**   S-Cr. **Bȏg, Bȍga**

COMMON SLAVONIC

MORPHOLOGY

Though it may at times be difficult to believe, all Slavonic languages have in different ways and to a greater or a lesser extent simplified the C.S. morphological system. This does not, however, mean that they have not introduced new complications of their own (e.g. Polish numerals).

Nouns

The C.S. noun had **three numbers, three genders** and **seven cases** (an eighth case, **the ablative,** merged with the genitive in C.S.). The **dual number** has been lost everywhere except in Slovene and Sorbian, though traces survive in most of the other languages. All the languages retain the three genders, though in many languages the gender system has been simplified or reconstructed in the plural. The case system has largely disappeared in Macedonian and Bulgarian, but survives intact everywhere else, although not all languages retain the vocative.

C.S. had a complex system of noun declension types, based on the Indo-European system of root + theme + ending. There was a strong correlation between gender and declension type and gender. C.S. had the following declension types: -a, -ja (mostly fem.); -o, -jo (masc. and neut. variants); -u (masc.), -i (masc. and fem. variants); -n, -jan (masc.), -es, -men, -ent (neut.), -er, ū/ъv (fem.); the last seven have a common set of endings.

Adjectives

Adjectives had two separate paradigms in C.S. **Short** adjectives declined like nouns (-o/-jo, -a/ja type, according to gender); the **long** adjective consisted of the short adjective + the pronoun *jъ, *ja, *je (i.e. the origin of the modern 3rd person pronoun); short adjectives were indefinite, long adjectives definite. The short adjective preserves a separate paradigm only in S-Cr.; elsewhere some nominative forms survive.

Pronouns

The original nominative forms of what is now the third person pronoun are not recorded. For pronouns other than first and second person and reflexive there was a distinct declension type, but in most languages there has been contamination between pronoun and adjective declensions. C.S. seems to have had fewer distinct enclitic forms than are found in, for example, modern Czech, Polish or S-Cr.

Verbs

The C.S. verb is usually divided into five classes according to the **theme vowel** in the present tense: -e, -ne, -je, -i and athematic.

There is no clear evidence of a distinct **future tense** form in C.S.; instead the future was expressed either by the present tense or by a range of **analytic** constructions.

There was a complicated system of **past tenses:** two past tenses, the **Aorist** and the **Imperfect** were **synthetic** (formed by adding endings onto the stem); two, the **Perfect** and the **Imperfect,** were **analytic** and were formed respectively by using the present and one of the past tenses of the verb *byti* with a special participle form ending in –*lъ*.

The aorist and imperfect survive in Macedonian and Bulgarian, and also in literary S-Cr. and Sorbian. The pluperfect also survives in some languages, sometimes as an archaism, but many languages have only one past tense, based on the C.S. perfect.

In addition to the **infinitive** C.S. had a **supine**, ending in –*tъ*; this survives in Slovene, thoiugh until recently there were traces of it in Czech. There wa sa complex system of **participles:** present active, present passive, past active and past passive. These functioned as verbal adjectives and had long and short declensions. The past passive participle survives in all languages to form the passive voice, but otherwise all languages (except Russian, which has made the system even more complicated) have simplified their participles; some active participles have become verbal adverbs (**gerunds**).

RUSSIAN

Though Russian is an East Slavonic language, the standard modern language is a mixture of Russian and Church Slavonic (i.e. South Slavonic), with a substantial quantity of foreign elements in vocabulary and syntax. Church Slavonic elements can be found in the orthography, morphology, syntax and vocabulary of the language.

Vowels

Nasal vowels: ę > a (with softness of the preceding consonant retained), · ǫ > u: пять, рука

Jers: ъ > o, ь > e: сон, день
"Tense" Jers behave like ordinary Jers (though not in Ch.Sl.):
<div align="center">статья ~ статей; житьё ~ житие</div>

Jat': > e: лес, река

C.S. /e/ (including e < ь, but excluding e < ě) > o before hard consonants and at the end of a word:
<div align="center">нёс, ёж, моё; пьсъ › песъ › пёс; лес (‹ лѣсъ)</div>

C.S. /y/ survives phonetically, but its phonemic status is disputed

Vocalic liquids give /er/, /or/, but only (ol): первый, горло, волк, полк

Stress, tones and quantity: Russian has no tones or quantity, but has free, mobile stress: головá, гóлову, нá голову, голóв

Consonants

*t + j, *d+j > č, ž: свеча, меж (Ch.Sl. освещение, между)

Palatalisation: Russian has developed extensive palatalisation, which is phonemically relevant before all vowels (only marginally before /e/), at the end of a word and (partially) before consonants:
<div align="center">мер ~ мэр; полка ~ полька</div>
All consonants form hard/soft pairs, except /š/, /ž/, /c/ (always hard) and /č'/, /š'š'/ (always soft); the phonemic status of /k'/, /g'/ and /x'/ is marginal.

RUSSIAN

Orthography

Russian uses the Cyrillic alphabet. Though the alphabet was reformed in the eighteenth century and again in 1918 (when ѣ, i, v, ѳ and word-final ъ were abolished), Russian orthogrpahy continues to betray a strong Church Slavonic influence:

новый, тихий, молодой, дорогой; нового (before 1918: новаго)

Note that ё, introduced into the alphabet in 1798, but reflecting a change which did not occur in Ch.Sl., still tends not to be used in normal writing.

Morphology

Nouns: Russian has a six case system, though partitive, locative, numeral and possibly vocative exist as marginal cases. In the plural all gender distinctions are lost; dative, instrumental and prepositional have the endings **-am, -ami, -ax** for all nouns (with some survivals of **-'mi** in the instrumental), and genitive plural endings are particularly unpredictable.
Animacy: the genitive-accusative is found with all masculine animate nouns in the singular and with all nouns in the plural. There are no other special endings or any gender distinctions.

The Verb: Only one past tense survives, based on the C.S. perfect, but without the auxiliary. The present tense of быть is mostly lost, apart from some uses of the 3rd person singular. Russian has a full set of participles (based on Ch.Sl., but also foreign models) and perfective and imperfective gerunds; all are rare in speech. Russian is only Slavonic language to be a 'be', rather than a 'have' language.

AKAN'E

The term *akan'e (аканье)* is used to refer to the pronunciation of unstressed /o/ as [a], but more generally it is the term used for the merging and reduction of unstressed vowels in most varieties of Russian and in Belarusian. In Russian *akan'e* occurs in all Central and Southern varieties and is a feature of the standard language. North Russian varieties and Ukrainian have *okan'e*, i.e. the maintaining of the same distinctions between vowels in unstressed syllables as in stressed syllables.

In standard Russian /o/ and /a/ after hard consonants merge to give [a] in the immediate pre-tonic syllable and at the very beginning of a word and [ʌ] in all other unstressed syllables; after soft consonants /e/, /a/, /i/ and possibly /o/ merge to give [i^e]:

голова́ [gʌlava]   омолоди́ться [amʌlad'itsʌ]
несу́ [ni^{e}su]   язы́к [ji^{e}zyk]   пересиде́ть [p'i^{e}r'i^{e}s'i^{e}d'et']
There are considerable variations from this pattern in different regional varieties of Russian.

In standard Belarusian /o/ and /a/ merge after hard consonants to give [a]; after soft and formerly soft consonants /e/ and /a/ merge to give [a]. After soft consonants this appears to be limited to the immediate pre-tonic syllable.

Akan'e is not normally reflected in Russian orthography (as in the examples above); it is, however, in Belorusian orthography:
вада́ – во́ду   рака́ – рэ́кі   сяло́ – сёлы

There are two views on the origin of *akan'e*. The first links it with the merging in Common Slavonic of /o/ and /a/ into a single vowel, which on the evidence of borrowings from and into neighbouring languages was close to [a]. The later change, whereby the short version of this vowel develops into late C.S. /o/ affected, so it is argued, only stressed syllables in some, at least, Slavonic dialects. The second assumes that *akan'e* is a late phenomenon, originating somewhere in South Russia; the source is usually ascribed to the influence of some Finnic language, such as Mordvin.

UKRAINIAN

Vowels

i   develops from C.S. /ě/, also from 'lengthened' /o/, /e/ in newly-closed syllables
ліс, білий; кінь, жінка

i (in pronunciation close to French é)   develops from C.S. /i/ and /y/
син (<synъ)> синій

Nasal vowels: ǫ > u, ę > a: рука, м'ясо

Jers: 'strong' = > o, 'strong' ; > e: **son, den;** (Note: these vowels do not become **i**)

No *akan'e*

Consonants

Palatalisation: All consonants are palatalised before **i**; all except velars, 'hush' sibillants (+/c/) and labials can also be palatalised before back vowels and in final position. Final labials are depalatalised, and there is desynchronisation of former palatalised labials before back vowels:
голуб; п'ять

Velars: [h] (a voiced guttural fricative) instead of [g] (which may appear in foreign words)

V is [w] at the end of a word or before a consonant; [f] is found only in borrowed words and is often replaced by [x] or [xv]. Final and pre-consonantal hard /l/ is also replaced by [w] (spelt **v**)
Львів, дівчина; ходив, південь

Other points

Animacy: all animate nouns have the genitive-accusative in the plural, though there is some uncertainty with nouns referring to animals.

The future of imperfective verbs can be formed with -му, -меш:
читатиму, читатимеш

BELORUSSIAN

Vowels

'**Strong**' *akan'e* (represented in writing):
<p style="text-align:center">вада́ ~ во́ду; зямля́ ~ зе́млю</p>

Nasal vowels: ǫ > u, ę > a: рука, язык

Jers: 'strong' ъ > о, 'strong' ь > е: сон, дзень

Consonants

Palatalisation: Most consonants form hard/soft pairs in all positions,
But 'hush' sibillants are always hard: дзяўчына
Soft /r'/ has become hard: рака (cf. Russ. река), бяроза
Final labials are depalatalised: любоў, голуб
/t'/ > /c'/, /d'/ > /dz'/; this creates new pairs /c/ – /c'/ and
(marginally) /dz/ – /dz'/
<p style="text-align:center">пяць, адзін; цэль ~ цела</p>

Velars: [γ] (a voiced velar fricative) instead of [g] (which may appear in certain combinations and in foreign words)

V and hard /l/ are [w] (spelt ў) at the end of a word or before a consonant ([u] at the beginning of a word before a consonant); [f] is found only in borrowed words and is often replaced by [x] or [xv].
<p style="text-align:center">любоў, унук ~ па ўнуку; хадзіў</p>

POLISH

Vowels

Nasal vowels: ǫ, ę merge to give φ; later long φ > ą /ǫ/, short φ > ę; consonants remain soft before C.S. ę.

<p style="text-align:center">pięć ~ piąty; zamknąć ~ zamknął ~ zamknęła</p>

In Modern Polish there is extensive loss of nasals: nasals are desynchronised before plosives:

<p style="text-align:center">ząb [zomp], zęby [zemby], piąty [pjonty], święto [śvjento],
piąci [pjońci] pięć [pjeńć], rąk [roŋk], ręka [reŋka]</p>

Nasals are denasalised before l, ł and sometimes finally:

<p style="text-align:center">wziął [vźouw], wzięli [vźeli], się [sie], but są [sǫ]</p>

Nasals are retained in normal speech only before fricatives and sometimes finally.

Jers: 'strong' ъ, ь > e, with softening retained before former ь:

<p style="text-align:center">sen, dzień, pies</p>

Jat' > e, but > a before hard dentals; this gives rise to (now unproductive) alternations:

<p style="text-align:center">rzepa, rzeka; siedzieć ~ siedział ~ siedzieli
las ~ w lesie, miasto ~ w mieście; wywiad ~ w wywiadzie</p>

E > o before hard dentals; e(< ь) does not become /o/. Some alternations are found:

<p style="text-align:center">biorę ~ bierze; żona ~ żonie; niosę ~ pies</p>

Stress, Tones and Quantity

Polish has no tones, fixed stress (on the penultimate) and no phonemic vowel quantity. Traces, however, remain of earlier quantity differences:

Long /o/ > /u/ (spelt ó): **Bóg ~ Boga, siostra ~ sióstr;**

For the nasals see above; earlier Polish also had á, é (so-called 'pochylone' vowels).

POLISH

Consonants

Palatalisation: Earlier Polish developed hard and soft pairs of consonants, which have mostly been lost:

/t'/, /d'/, /s'/, /z'/ > /ć/, /dź/, /ś/, /ź/:

> **lato ~ w lecie; rada ~ radzie; las ~ w lesie; koza ~ kozie**

Final soft labials are depalatalised, and other soft labials undergo desynchronisation (except before /i/):

> **gołąb ~ gołębia [-bja], piąty [pjonty], pięć [pjeńć]; piwo [p'iwo]**

/r'/ > /ž/ (spelt rz): **biorę ~ bierze; góra ~ górze**

/l'/ > /l/ (except before /i/); /ł/ > /w/:

> **las; lipa [l'ipa]; łokieć [wok'eć]**

Velars (though not /x/) form hard and soft pairs (though only before /e/?):

> **kelner ~ kiedy; Polskę ~ Polskie**

Note the creation of new hard and soft pairs of sibillants:

> /š/ (sz) ~ /ś/; /ž/ (ż, rz) ~ /ź/; /č/ (cz) ~ /ć/; /dž/ (dż) ~ /dź/
>
> /šč/ (szcz) ~ /ść/; /ždž/ (żdż) ~ /źdź/

w Rzymie ~ w zimie; nasza ~ nasi; czaszka ~ ciastko; jeżdżę ~ jeździ

*t+j > /c/, *d+j > /dz/: **płacić ~ płacę, chodzić ~ chodzę**

g > /dz/ as the outcome of the 2nd and 3rd palatalisation of velars:

> **noga ~ nodze, ksiądz** (< *kuningaz)

Orthography

Polish orthography was standardised in the 16th century and illustrates many of the problems in adapting the Latin alphabet to the Slavonic languages. Polish uses a mixture of letter combinations (inherited from an earlier period) and diacritics, the latter based in part on the system devised for Czech in the 15th century.

> **czas, szybko, morze; biały, siano, ciastko**
>
> **może, śmierć, jeździć; stół, ręka**

Note the problem of soft sibilants:

> **siano, cicho (cf. cyfra) ~ śmierć**

Note also the retention of archaic spellings, presumably reflecting 16th-century pronunciation:

> **morze (cf. może); ołówek**

POLISH

Morphology

In the singular masculine **animate** nouns have the genitive ending in the accusative. In the plural **masculine personal (virile)** nouns are distinguished from all others (i) by distinct endings for the nominative; (ii) by distinct adjectival, pronominal and verbal endings; (iii) by the use of the genitive-accusative:

te dobre wilki/studentki były ~ ci dobrzy Polacy (profesorowie) byli
    znam te dobre wilki/studentki ~ znam tych dobrych Polaków

This has two consequences: (i) Polish effectively has an asymmetric gender system, with (a) masculine, (b) feminine and (c) neuter in the singular, but (a) masculine personal and (b) all the rest in the plural; (ii) if the aim of the exercise is to create a distinction between nominative and accusative endings, this is a 'belt and braces' solution, in that there is a distinct ending both for the nominative (cf. Czech) and for the accusative (cf. Russian).

Polish retains certain distinctions between hard and soft declensions. For -a declension nouns this applies to the dative and locative singular and the nominative/accusative plural; for -o declension masculine nouns it applies to the nominative(/accusative) plural, and for all -o declension nouns it applies in part to the locative singular. With all nouns it applies inconsistently to the genitive plural:

mapie, mapy; nodze, nogi ~ cf. ulicy, ulice; kawiarni, kawiarnie
psie, psy; Szkocie, Szkoci; wilku, wilki ~ koniu, konie; lekarz, lekarze
    map, nóg, psów, Szkotów ~ kawiarni, koni, lekarzy
        ~ ulic, pokojów/pokoi

Note that nouns with a stem ending in a formerly soft, but now hard sibilant belong to the 'soft' declension.

Polish, like East Slavonic, has one set of endings for all nouns (with a handful of exceptions) in the dative, instrumental and locative plural. Former -u type endings are well represented in the masculine declension with particular uncertainty over the choice of **-a** or **-u** for the genitive singular. In general standard Polish nominal morphology retains a large number of irregularities and exceptions which Polish grammarians tend to delight in.

POLISH

Verbs.

The past tense has a complicated synthetic conjugation:

byłem	byłam		byliśmy	byłyśmy
byłeś	byłaś		byliście	byłyście
był	była	było	byli	były

The personal endings are vestiges of a former auxiliary; traces of this are visible in the plural stress and in the fact that they can be detached from the verb and attached to the first stressed word (this is now rare in the singular):

myśmy byli; gdzieście byli?

The future imperfective can be formed either with the future of być + infin. or the future of być + 'l' participle. There is no difference in meaning:

będę czytać; będę czytał

Forms of address

Polish has a particularly complicated system of forms of address, using both second and third person forms:

(i) **ty** (2nd person singular) is used, as in other Slavonic languages, for addressing close friends, children etc.;

(ii) **pan, pani, panowie, panie, państwo** (+ 3rd person) are used for addressing people who do not qualify for **ty**. Notes: (a) plural forms can be used informally with the 2nd person plural; (b) other forms of address (e.g. **obywatel, siostra, ksiądz**) can replace **pan** etc. in appropriate circumstances; **pan** etc. are often used with titles, e.g. **pan profesor, pan redaktor**.

(iii) **wy** (2nd person plural plural) is used: (a) as a plural of **ty**; (b) in certain circumstances as a polite form of address (e.g. formerly between members of the PZPR).

KASHUBIAN

Kashubian is spoken by possibly 150,000 people in northern Poland (in the area around Gdańsk). Though Slavonic philologists have often considered Kashubian as a separate language, official policy has tended to give it the status of a dialect of Polish. Since 1989, however, a more liberal approach has been adopted: Kashubian has been given a limited place in the education system and is used in the print and electronic mass media. This in turn has led to renewed moves to create a standardised form of the language.

Vowels:

Nasal vowels: C.S. nasals seem mostly to merge as in Polish; subsequently the short nasal > /ą/ (written ę); the long nasal > ǫ (written ą):
        pięc piąti będze nogę (Acc.) **nogą** (Instr.)
In certain circumstances C.S. /ę/ > /i/ or /ë/:
        cygniesz (Pol. ciągniesz) **celëca** (Pol. cielęta)

Jers: Strong ъ, ь > /e/ (if short), /é/ (if long): **sen dzéń pies**
Kashubian tends to avoid the fleeting vowel. especially with the *-ъkъ, *-ьcь suffixes: **dómk kóńc**

Jatь develops as in Polish: **miasto w miesce**

C.S. /i/ and /y/ merge to give /i/ (but see below):
        młodi (Nom. Sg. Masc., Nom. Pl. Masc.)

Short /i/ (except after palatalised consonants) and **short** /u/ (except after labials and velars) > **/ë/:**
        lëpa rëba Kaszëbë (Pol. Kaszuby) **lëdze** (Pol. ludzie)

Diphthongs

TorT sequences: metathesis occurs inconsistently: **droga** cf. **bróna/bôrna**

KASHUBIAN (2)

Consonants:

Palatalisation: As with Polish the earlier system of paired hard and soft consonants has been affected by later changes, but the process has been taken further, so that only one pair survives: /n/ ~ /n'/. Even this distinction is not maintained by all speakers. As in Polish hard /ł/ > [w], and the former soft labials are desynchronised. Former /r'/ > /rz/, which in the speech of all but the older generation has merged with /ž/.

In Kashubian former /s'/, /z'/ are depalatalised, while /t'/, /d'/ > /c/, /dz/:

> **scana zëma bëc dzesęc**

The sibilants represented by the graphemes **cz, sz, ż/rz, dż** are pronounced soft.

k, g change to **cz, dż** before **e** or **i:**

> **białka ~ białczi   noga ~ nodżi**

Stress, tones and quantity:

Kashubian has no **tones**. **Stress** is free and mobile in northern varieties, but fixed on the initial syllable in southern varieties. There are no distinctions of **quantity** in modern Kashubian, but the vowel system is complicated by survivals of earlier **long and short** vowels:

Short **a** > /a /   Long **a** > /ô/
Short **e** > /e/   Long **e** > /é/
Short **o** > /o /   Long **o** > /ó/

Where short **i** and **u** do **not** become **ë**, they merge with the respective long vowels to give /i/, /u/. The development of the nasals is described above.

KASHUBIAN (3)

Orthography:

A standardised orthography is being worked out and applied for Kashubian, using the various symbols which appear above. The consonants follow the Polish system, without, however, the need to distinguish between hard and soft sibilants. Extra symbols are needed for the more complex vowel system, and the letter ę does not indicate the same sound as in Polish. Some Kashubian sources use the letter ò, which indicates the sound [łe]/[e], which develops from /o/ or /u/ at the beginning of the word or after a labial or velar consonant: **Òdroda, kòsa, pòlé.**

Morphology:

The basic features of the morphological system are similar to that of Polish, but with significant differences of detail. The following points may be noted:

A number of former **dual** endings survive, normally with plural meaning, in nouns (**nogama, zemiama, chłopama**), pronouns (**wa, naju, waju, nama, wama**) and verbs (**nieseta**).

The **gender** system is as in Polish, with **masculine personal** and 'all other' genders in the plural.

In the modern language the ordinary past tense is formed as in Russian, i.e. without the auxiliary:
jô miôł, jô miôła, më mielë, më miałë

Older forms of the language have a form with the auxiliary in the first and second persons (similar to Czech):
jô jem miôł, jô jem miôła

In addition to the ordinary past tense Kashubian has a **perfect tense**, formed with the verb **miec** (or **bëc** with intransitive verbs):
> **Jô môm to widzałé   Ta białka je precz jidzonô**

KASHUBIAN (4)

Forms of address

It appears that the use of **Pan. Pani etc.,** as polite second person person pronouns which is characteristic of Polish is not found in Kashubian. Instead there is a special 'honorific' second person pronoun **Wë**, which is used with a special verb ending and which indicates either singular or plural:

Wa jesta ~ Wë jesce, wa môta ~ Wë môce

SORBIAN

Formerly also known as Lusatian or Wendish, Sorbian exists in two variants: Upper Sorbian (U.S.) and Lower Sorbian (L.S.).

Vowels

Nasal vowels: (U.S.) ę > e (before soft consonants), a (before hard consonants), o (in word-final position), with palatalisation where possible: **pjeć, pjaty, so**
(L.S.) ę > ě (under stress), otherwise e: **pěš, pěty, źeweś** (< devętъ)
ǫ > u: **ruka**

Jers: (U.S.) ъ, ь > e (> o before or after labial or before hard dental):
              dešć, dźeń; pos, són, worjoł
(L.S.) ъ, ь > e (e < e, ь can > a before a hard consonant):
              dešć, źeń; pjas, wjas

Jat' > ě (under stress), otherwise e: **město; w měsće**

C.S. /y/ survives as an allophone of /i/ after hard consonants:
              (U.S) bić, być; (L.S.) biś, byś

Stress, tones and quantity

Sorbian has fixed initial stress, no tones and no phonemic differences of quantity; U.S. /ó/, however, goes back to a former long o.

Consonants:

Palatalisation: There are some similarities with Polish: /t'/, /d'/ > (U.S.) ć, dź, (L.S.) ś, ź: **(U.S) bić, dźeń; (L.S.) biś, źeń**
/l'/ > /w/: **(U.S) worjoł**
The palatal opposition is retained with labials, but not with s,z; it is found with velars in L.S., but not U.S.
r' is found, but not after certain consonants or (in U.S.) at the end of a word. In general the hard-soft opposition is lost in word-final position except for (L.S.) n and r.
In U.S. ć and č merge; in L.S. ć occurs only after certain consonants, and č is usually replaced by c; in L.S. there is opposition between š, ž and ś, ź.
Consonants are always soft before /ě/

SORBIAN

Velars: U.S. has /h/, L.S. has /g/. In U.S. [x] is replaced by an aspirated plosive in word-initial position.

In Sorbian all words (except recent borrowings?) begin with a consonant: **(U.S) worjoł, hić; (L.S.) wokoło, hiś**

Morphology

Sorbian retains the dual number:

(U.S.)		(L.S.)	
	hrodaj		groda
	hrodow		grodowu
	hrodomaj		grodoma
	hrodaj		groda
	z hrodomaj		z grodoma
	w hrodomaj		wo grodoma

Animacy: In the plural U.S. is like Polish: nouns referring to male persons have a distinct ending for the nominative and use the genitive-accusative; qualifiers have a distinct ending for nouns referring to male persons. In the dual nouns referring to male persons use the genitive-accusative; qualifiers have a distinct ending for nouns referring to male persons:

> dobri susodźa ~ dobre psy, dobre žony
> dobrych susodži ~ dobre psy, dobre žony
> dobraj susodaj ~ dobrej psaj dobrej žonje
> dobreju susodow ~ dobrej psaj, dobrej žonje

In L.S. the genitive-accusative is used for animate masculine nouns in the singular and dual and sometimes in the plural. U.S. has separate verb forms in the 2nd and 3rd person dual for reference to persons.

CZECH

Vowels

Nasals: At the end of a word or before an originally soft consonant
ę > e, í:

pět, se; kníže (= 'prince'; cf. **kněz** = 'priest')

Before a hard consonant ę > a, á:

jazyk, řád

ǫ > u, ou; jǫ > i, í:

ruka, soud; duši (acc. sg.), **duší** (instr. sg.)

Jers: ъ, ь > e (with palatalisation surviving only after *r'):

sen, den

Jat' > e, í: **město, les; bílý**

Česká přehlaska: Back vowels after originally soft consonants are fronted: **duša > duše, dušǫ > duši, dušojǫ > duší**

/i/, /y/ merge to give [i], though spelling reflects etymology and, where relevant, hardness or softness of preceding consonant; in some dialects /ý/ > /ej/:

bít, být; [bejt]

Stress, Tones and Quantity

Czech has fixed stress (on the initial syllable), no tones and phonemic quantity on all syllables.

Consonants

Palatalisation. Czech has undergone extensive dispalatalisation. The only consonants to retain the hard/soft opposition are **t, d, n** and then only before /e/, /i/, before other consonants and in word-final position (where there has been much depalatalisation):

dělat ~ den; ty ~ ti; budte; kůň, at' ~ den, kost

Former soft labials undergo depalatalisation at the end of a word and desynchronisation elsewhere: **holub; pět, devět; město [mn'esto]**

r' > ř: **řád, řeka, křest, křtu**

Other soft consonants are lost.

C.S. /g/ > /h/

CZECH

Orthography

Czech orthography was standardised in the mid-ninetenth century, but the system used is essentially that proposed in the fifteenth century in a document ascribed to Jan Hus. This system uses diacritics for sounds not covered by the Latin alphabet: a *háček* (originally a dot) over consonants and an acute accent to indicate length. Modern Czech orthography retains some archaic features, notably the distinction between *i* and *y* after non-paired hard and soft consonants and the use of *ě* to indicate /je/ or /ňe/ after a labial. The 'Hus' system has formed the basis for the orthography of most Slavonic languages which use the Latin alphabet and is widely used for languages belonging to other families and for purposes of transcription.

Morphology

Czech distinguishes between animate and inanimate masculine nouns. In the singular the genitive-accusative is used, but there is also a tendency to create separate declension types for animate and inanimate nouns. In the plural masculine animate nouns have distinctive endings (both for nouns and for qualifiers) and form a separate gender:

ti noví profesoři ~ te nové kabáty/ryby ~ ta nová auta
te nové profesory ~ te nové kabáty/ryby ~ ta nová auta

CZECH

Czech nominal morphology retains a number of features lost in many other Slavonic languages:
(i) the consonant-type genitive singular in -e (now also found with some former -i- type nouns:

kamen ~ kamene, den ~ dne; církev ~ církve; krev ~ krve; kuře ~ kuřete

(ii) separate hard and soft declensions (reinforced by the *česká přehlaska*);
(iii) different sets of endings for the dative, instrumental and locative plural for different decelnsion types:

hrad	klíč	žena	duše	kost	církev
hradu	klíče	ženy	duše	kosti	církve
hradu	klíči	ženě	duši		
hrad	klíč	ženu	duši		
hradem	klíčem	ženou duší			

hrady	klíče	ženy	duše	kosti	
hradů	klíčů	žen	duší		
hradům	klíčům	ženám	duším	kostem	církvím
hrady	klíči	ženami	dušemi	kostmi	církvemi
hradech	klíčích	ženách	duších	kostech	církvích

SLOVAK

Vowels

Nasal vowels: short ę > a, but ä after labials [note that /ä/ is not distinguished from /e/ by most Slovaks]; long ę > ia:

<div style="text-align:center">

rad, sa; pät; prosia, piaty
</div>

ǫ > u, ú: **ruká, súd**

Jers: ъ > o, ь > e, but numerous exceptions (probably due mostly to dialect differences):

voš, deň; sen (< sъnъ), **ovos** (< ovьsъ); **dážd** '(<dъždь), **lan** (< lьnъ)

Jat' > e (short), ie (long): **mesto, biely**

Stress, Tones and Quantity

Slovak has fixed stress (on the initial syllable), no tones and phonemic quantity on all syllables. There are differences in detail between Slovak and Czech:

(i) Former rising tones are short in Slovak: **krava** (cf. Cz. kráva);

(ii) Slovak has quantity differences on vocalic *r* and *l*:

<div style="text-align:center">

smrt, mŕtvy; dlhý, dĺžka
</div>

(iii) The 'law of three morae' (Slovak cannot have two successive long syllables): **ženám ~ trávam; myslím ~ chválim; pekný ~ biely**

Note diphthongisation of some long vowels: **piaty, biely, stôl**

Consonants

Palatalisation. Slovak, like Czech, has undergone extensive depalatalisation. There are, however, differences between the two languages: Slovak retains the hard/soft opposition with l, as well as **t, d, n**; the opposition is found before /i/, before other consonants, before certain back vowels and in word-final position (where there has been much less depalatalisation than in Czech). The four consonants mentioned above are always soft before the diphthongs **ia, ie, iu** and (with exceptions) before short e:

<div style="text-align:center">

dýchat' ~ divý; ty, ta, ti; laň ~ lan; ded, test' ~ jeden, ten
</div>

Other soft consonants (including r) are lost.

Other consonants: C.S. */g/ > /h/; /v/ is [w] before consonants and at the end of a word

SLOVAK

Morphology

Animacy: Slovak is like Polish, with a distinction between the masculine personal (but including some animal names) and others in the plural; for many nouns the distinction in the nominative plural exists only in writing. There is also a tendency towards separate animate and inanimate declensions in the masculine singular:

chlap	chlapi	dub	duby
chlapa	chlapov	duba	dubov
chlapovi	chlapom	dubu	dubom
chlapa	chlapov	dub	duby
chlapom	chlapmi	dubom	dubmi
chlapovi	chlapoch	dube	duboch

SLOVENE

Vowels

Nasal vowels: ę > e, ǫ > o: **réd, pét; rôka**

Jers: ъ, ь > ə (written e) in short syllables, > a in syllables lengthened as a result of intonation developments: **sen, ves** (= 'all'); **dân, vas** (= village)

Jat' > e: **bel, réka**

As elsewhere in S. Slavonic, C.S. /y/ and /i/ merge to give [i].

Stress, tones and quantity

Slovene has free and mobile stress, though numerous stress shifts mean that there are many differences compared to the reconstructed C.S. scheme and what is found in M.R.: **rôka, zlatộ**

Open e and o occur in syllables which become stressed as a result of stress retractions: **rôka, člóvek, žéna**

Quantity is distinguished in the stressed syllable, and some Slovene dialects, as well as (optionally) the standard language distinguish rising and falling tone in long stressed syllables: **bràt, bráta; dân.**

Consonants

Palatalisation: There is no phonemic palatalisation in Slovene; C.S. /l', n', r'/ change to /lj, nj, rj/ before vowels and are depalatalised elsewhere:

kònj /kon/, kónja; čuvár, čuvárja

v and (often) l are pronounced as [w] or [u] except before a vowel:

gradộv, dôlg

Orthography

Though Slovene orthography is based on the 'Hus' system, it has its peculiarities: the letter *e* is used for both open and closed e, as well as for /ə/; *o* is used for open and closed o. The normal orthopgraphy does not distinguish tones or quantity. The letter *r* in inter-consonantal position or at the beginning of a word before a consonant indicates /ər/: **kr̂t.**

SLOVENE

Morphology

The standard language retains the **dual number**, though not all forms
have distinct endings:

grâd	gradôva	gradôvi
grâda	gradǫ́v	gradǫ́v
grâdu	gradôvoma	gradôvom
grâd	gradôva	gradôve
grâdom	gradôvoma	gradôvi
grâdu	gradôvih	gradôvih

Masculine nouns have distinct endings for the nominative and accusative
plural, and the category of animacy has not developed in the dual or the
plural.

The future tense is formed with the future of bíti and the -l participle
(both aspects): **bǫ́m hválil, bǫ́m pohválil**

Slovene retains the **Supine** alongside the infinitive: **molíti, mólit**

SERBO-CROAT
(aka SERBIAN, CROATIAN, BOSNIAN??)

Serbo-Croat was brought into being by the Vienna agreement of 1850, which allowed for one language with two standard forms and written in either of two alphabets.

Dialects:

(i)
Čakavik: N. and C. Croatian coast and islands; retains many archaic features.
Kajkavik: N-W. Croatia, around Zagreb; close to Slovene
Štokavik: everywhere else; the basis of the standard language

(ii) *ekavik/jekavik/ikavik*; based on reflexes of **Jat'**; the standard language exists in *ekavik* and *jekavik* forms:
    vĕra, réka; vjĕra, rijèka; vȉra, ríka
Dialect divisions do not conform to ethnic boundaries.

Vowels:

Nasal vowels: ę > e, ǫ > u: **pêt, rúka**

Jers: ъ, ь > a: **sȁñ, pȁs**
There is extensive vocalisation of 'weak' Jers, especially in initial syllables: **màgla, dànas** (cf. R. мгла, днесь)

Serbo-Croat retains **vocalic r; vocalic l > u: tȓg, kȓv; vûk; sùza**

Stress, tones and quantity

Standard Serbo-Croat distinguishes both quantity and pitch on the stressed syllable and quantity on post-tonic syllables. Prosody in *štokavik* is influenced by a stress shift which took place in the sixteenth century: the stress was moved one syllable nearer the beginning of the word (meaning that it no longer appears on the final syllable of polysyllabic words). Falling tone appears in words where there has been no stress retraction (i.e. on the initial syllable only); rising tone is found on a syllable onto which stress has been retracted:
vjĕra (cf. R. вéра), **grâd** (cf. R. гóрод); **govòriti** (cf. R. говорить), **réka** (cf. R. pекá); **gȍdīnā**

SERBO-CROAT

Consonants

*t+j > ć, *d+j > đ (distinguished from č and dž): **svéća, mèđa**

Palatalisation: Serbo-Croat retains l' and n' (but not r'):
ljúbiti, kȍnj, kònja
In the modern language there is arguably hard/soft opposition with č ~ ć and dž ~ đ

Pre-consonantal v usually > u; final l usually > o:
ùopšte; písao ~ písala

Velars: S-Cr. has **g; x** is lost in some dialects

Orthography

The form of the Cyrillic used for S-Cr. is that devised by Vuk Karadžić in the early nineteenth century. Following the principle of 'piši kao što govoriš', he abolished several redundant letters (e.g. щ, ю, ь) and introduced six new letters: ħ, ђ, љ, њ, џ, ј (ć, đ, lj, nj, dž, j). The Latin orthography is essentially that devised by Ljudovit Gaj in the nineteenth century on the basis of the 'Hus' system; earlier systems had been based on German, Italian or Hungarian spelling. Both alphabets, but especially Cyrillic, reflect a particularly close relationship between sounds and spelling.

SERBO-CROAT

Noun Morphology

N.	prózor	prózori	žèna	žène
G.	prózora	prózōrā	žènē	žénā
D.	prózoru	prózorima	žèni	žènama
A.	prózor	prózore	žènu	žène
I.	prózorom	prózorima	žènōm	žènama
L.	prózoru	prózorima	žèni	žènama
V.	prózore	prózori	žèno	žène

Note in the above tables:

(1) The simplification of endings in the dative, instrumental and locative plural;

(2) The spread of the genitive plural ending in -ā (of unknown origin);

(3) The use of certain 'soft declension' endings for all nouns (gen.sg., dat.-loc.sg., nom.-acc.pl. for nouns in -a; acc. pl. for masc. nouns in a consonant);

(4) Distinct endings for the nom. and acc. plural of masculine nouns; the category of animacy does not exist in the plural.

Verb Morphology

Present tense: The first person singular of all verbs (except hoću and mogu) ends in -m; the first person ends in -mo: ìdēm, ìdēmo

Past tense (perfect): The (enclitic) auxiliary is used in all persons; in negated forms it is the auxiliary that is negated:

  písao sam, písao si, písao je, písali smo, písali ste, písali su
    nísam pisao, nísi pisao, nìje písao

Aorist and imperfect: Formal written styles and some dialects retain aorist and imperfect tenses:

napísah	pȋ sāh
napísa	pȋ sāše
napísa	pȋ sāše
napísasmo	pȋ sāsmo
napísaste	pȋ sāste
napísaše	pȋ sāhu

Future tense: can be expressed in several ways, all using ću/hòću:

  hòću písati, jā ću písati, písat ću/písaću, jā ću da pȋ šem

MACEDONIAN

Vowels

Nasal vowels: ę > e, ǫ > a: пет, рака

Jers: ъ > о, ь > е: сон, ден, but: магла, лажица

Jat': ě > e: лево

Macedonian retains **vocalic r; vocalic l** > ol: први, крст; волк, солза

Stress, tones and quantity

Macedonian has no tones or quantity distinctions; the standard language has fiuxed antepenultimate stress:

<p style="text-align:center">воде́ничар, воденѝчари, воденича́рите</p>

The older norm required maintenance of antepenultimate stress in phrases with pro- and/or enclitics, though this is mostly coming to be regarded as a dialect feature: еве́ ти го ~ е́ве ти го

Consonants:

*t + j > ќ, ***d + j** > ѓ (the exact pronunciation varies): свеќа, меѓу

Palatalisation: most C.S. palatalisation is lost: луѓе, земја, него
њ occurs in a few words: коњ, бања
The norm is that л and љ (pronounced as a 'middle' l) are distinguished before back vowels, but merge before front vowels; actual pronounciation often differs. клуч ~ љуби; бильбиљ ~ бильбили

Macedonian has /dz/ (written ѕ), which goes back to /z/ in certain environments and spewcific words and which occurs in loan-words:

<p style="text-align:center">ѕвер, ѕвезда, ѕид</p>

Velars: Macedonian has mostly lost /x/, which is found only in certain loan-words and Church Slavonicisms or other literary words:

<p style="text-align:center">леб, снаа (< snaxa); болва, читав; хотел, дух, доход</p>

Inter-vocalic /j/ is largely lost, leading to sequences of two adjacent vowels: таа, умее, умеав

MACEDONIAN

Orthography

Macedonian uses the Cyrillic alphabet; the differences from Serbian are the existence of ѕ and the use of ќ, ѓ instead of ћ, ђ. Orthography is generally phonemic.

Morphology

Nouns: The Macedonian noun has lost its declension, except for the now optional vocative and an optional oblique case form, used only with masculine proper names and a few other nouns:

чекам Иван/чекам Ивана

Macedonian has a tripartite post-posited definite article:

мажот, мажов, мажон; мажите, маживе, мажине;
жената, женава, женана; жените, жениве,женине;
детето, детево, детено; децата, децава, децана

Verbs: Macedonian retains the aorist and imperfect tenses, alongside the perfect:

прочитав	читав	сум (про)читал
прочита	читаше	си (про)читал
прочита	читаше	(про)читал
прочитавме	читавме	сме (про)читале
прочитавте	читавте	сте (про)читале
прочитаа	читаа	(про)читале

Future tense: ќе прашам, ќе прашаш, ќе праша; нема да прашам, нема да прашаш, нема да праша

Some speakers use a second perfect tense formed with имам and the neuter sing. past passive participle:

имам (про)читано, имаш (про)читано

Re-narration tenses: the analytic tenses are often (always?) used to indicate actions not witnessed by the speaker or for which the truth cannot be confirmed by the speaker:

тој беше во Скопје ~ тој бил во Скопје

MACEDONIAN

Syntax

Three features of Macedonian sybntax are worth noting:

Growth of analyticity: this is a consequence of the loss of declensions:
Книгата на/од Блажета; на Соња й треба нов џемпер

Duplication of Object: Enclitic pronominal forms duplicate definite direct and/or indirect objects:

Го чекам Златен; Дај й пенкало на Јасна;
ќе му ги дадам овие писма на Борис

Loss of infinitive:
морам да прочитам книгава; можете ли да ни го дадете менито

/

BULGARIAN

Vowels

Nasal vowels: ę > e, ǫ > ə (ъ): пет, ръка

Jers: ъ > ə (ъ), ь > e: сън, ден

Jat': (in the standard language) ě > a in stressed syllables before a (C.S.) hard consonant, otherwise e: бяс ~ бесовé; сляп ~ слепи

Vocalic liquids are replaced by ър, ъл, ръ лъ: върба, Връбница

Stress, tones and quantity

Bulgarian has no tones or quantity distinctions, but has free and mobile stress, which, however, often differs from that of Russian:

град, градъ́т, градовé; мост, мо́стът, мосто́ве;

съ́рцé (cf. сéрдце), вто́ри (cf. второ́й)

Consonants

*t +j > /št/ [щ], ***d + j** > /žd/: свещ, межда

Palatalisation: All consonants (except /š/, /ž/, /č/, /dž/, /x/) form hard/soft pairs; the palatalisation contrast exists only before back vowels:

бал ~ бял, хода ~ ходя

Orthography

Bulgarian uses the Cyrillic alphabet; spelling was last reformed in 1945, when ѣ, ѫ (used for ъ < ǫ) and the final hard and soft signs were abolished. In certain noun and verb forms a and я indicate /ə/:

хода, пекат; денят, ходя

Morphology

Nouns have lost their declensions, except for the vocative singular and a special form used with masculine nouns after numerals:

син, сине, сина; жена, жено

There is a single post-posited definite article, which has a special form in the masculine for oblique cases (optional in the colloquial language):

град ~ градът, града; жена ~женатa; място ~ мястото

градовете, жените, местата

BULGARIAN

Verbs retain the aorist and imperfect tenses:

писах	пишех
писа	пишеше
писа	пишеше
писахме	пишехме
писахте	пишехте
писаха	пишеха

Bulgarian has a system of **renarration** tenses:

> той написа писмото ~ той написал писмото;
> той пише писмото ~ той пишел писмото

Note: (i) According to some grammars the third person auxiliary is used in the perfect tense, but not in the renarration form:

> той е написал писмото ~ той написал писмото

(ii) Some grammars claim a very complex system of renarration tenses:

щял съм бил да съм писал '(they say) I had been going to have written'[?!].

Future tense is formed with ще + imperf./perf. present; negative is няма да + imperf./perf. present:

> ще пиша, ще пишеш; ще напиша ще напишеш;
> няма да пиша, няма да пишеш