The minimal full sentence consists of a finite verb form (whose endings typically give indication of the number and person of the subject). The verb, which serves as the nucleus, or head, of the sentence, may optionally be accompanied by a noun (or pronoun) subject, noun (or pronoun) objects (or complements) and adverbial modifiers. A minor sentence type in some languages (Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian; Polish and certain Slovak dialects) is the equational sentence with the verb 'to be' deleted in the present tense (regularly in the first three languages mentioned; optionally in the latter two). E.g., Russian

"я ешь яблоко. "('I eat an apple.')

The dominant declarative sentence order is subject-verb-object. If the object is a pronoun, the order is subject-object-verb. The noun inflection of the various Slavic languages permits relative freedom in shifting the word-order, but any departure from the dominant (or neutral) word-order carries with it special semantic consequences of various kinds. Minor sentence types (e.g., Russian "У меня есть нож" 'I have a knife') occur which depart from the dominant order, but the most frequent sentence types, when semantically neutral, retain it.

Adverbs and adverbial expressions (mainly prepositional phrase:) which modify the sentence appear after the object or, in some cases, before the subject. Short adverbs may also appear between subject and verb. Adverbs modifying adjectives or other adverbs appear before the element modified.
noun phrase. A subcase of this type of agreement (with case neutralized) is that between subject and nominative complement in equational sentences. The main verb in the past construction (historically a participle) shows this agreement with the subject.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
gender\text{-}number\text{-}case \\
\downarrow \\
gender\text{-}number \\
\downarrow \\
person\text{-}number \\
\uparrow\\
\end{array}
\]

Malo dělo je bilo dobro. "The small child was good."

These types of agreement are illustrated by the above SCR sentence. Those languages in which the past has no auxiliary (East Slavic, i.e. the languages which obligatorily zero the copula in the present) and in those forms of the other languages, where the copula is zeroed (see below) show gender number agreement (rather than person-number) between subject and past verb, e.g.

Russian: Sestra usla 'Sister went away. 'n

Questions are of two main types; those introduced by a question word (e.g. Rus. kto 'who', gdě 'where' etc.) and those which pose the choice of alternatives (usually the answer 'yes' or 'no'). Question-word questions usually maintain the regular word-order, except that the question-word, without regard to its function in the sentence, is placed in sentence-initial position. Alternatively, when the question-word is not a subject, the normal order (SV) may sometimes be inverted to (VS), the question-word remaining of course in initial position. Alternative questions present a more complex picture, the devices used to express them varying from language to language. All of the languages know the pattern whereby question is expressed solely by intonation.
The minimal full sentence consists of a finite verb form (whose endings typically give indication of the number and person of the subject). The verb, which serves as the nucleus, or head, of the sentence, may optionally be accompanied by a noun (or pronoun) subject, noun (or pronoun) objects (or complements) and adverbial modifiers. A minor sentence type in some languages (Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian; Polish and certain Slovak dialects) is the equational sentence with the verb 'to be' deleted in the present tense (regularly in the first three languages mentioned; optionally in the latter two), e.g. Russian Мат'яго роділа. 'Mother(s) in the garden.'

The dominant declarative sentence order is subject-verb-object. If the object is a pronoun, the order is subject-object-verb. The noun inflexion of the various Slavic languages permits relative freedom in shifting the word-order, but any departure from the dominant (or neutral) word-order carries with it special semantic emphases of various kinds. Minor sentence types (e.g. Russian У мені є нож 'I have a knife') occur which depart from the dominant order, but the most frequent sentence types, when semantically neutral, retain it.

Adverbs and adverbial expressions (mainly prepositional phrases) which modify the sentence appear after the object or, in some cases, before the subject. Short adverbs may also appear between subject and verb. Adverbs modifying adjectives or other adverbs appear before the element modified.
The prepositional phrase consists of a preposition followed by a noun (or noun phrase).

The noun phrase has as its minimal element, or head, a noun (or other nominal word, such as a pronoun or numeral) and may be accompanied by modifiers. In general, declined modifiers with agreement to head (adjectives, numerals, so-called demonstrative and possessive "pronouns") precede the head, while others (nouns in apposition to the head, nouns in genitive or other case, relative clauses, adverbial expressions) tend to follow the head. Among the declined modifiers, the following order prevails: deictics (demonstratives), possessives, numerals, qualitative adjectives. Shifts of the foregoing word-orders do occur, but again entail semantic or stylistic modifications.

The verb phrase consists of a single verb or of a verbal construction (auxiliary plus main verb). The auxiliary normally precedes the main verb and may be separated from it by intercalated pronoun-objects, or short adverbs.

The negative particle, when modifying the sentence as a whole, is always proclitic to the verb. In constructions, it is proclitic to the auxiliary, except as follows: In Polish it is proclitic to the main verb (1-form) in the past construction: Nie kupiłem vs. Sgr. Ja nisam kupio 'I didn't buy'. In Czech and Slovak, it is proclitic to the main verb if the main verb is in the 1-form. Thus:

Slovak: Ja som nebol vs. Sgr. Ja nisam bio 'I wasn't'
Czech: Ne koupil bys vs. Polish: Ty byś nie kupił
Sgr. Ti ne ti kupio.
Russian (plus Ukrainian and Belorussian) in the conditional may have either я не купил or я бы не купил 'I wouldn't buy'. Every one of the Slavic languages have unstressed "particles" proclitic or enclitic to stressed words. These include in Russian the conditional particle бы and the emphatic particles -to and zе. The East Slavic languages seem not to have short unstressed pronoun forms — the East and South Slavic ones do, but vary in the rigor of the rules governing their use. Сор. is probably strictest in this respect, requiring in semantically neutral context use of the short pronoun, which is normally enclitic to the first stressed unit of the major segment and in no case may begin a major segment. The South Slavic languages also have short forms of auxiliary verbs and the order of enclitic forms is strictly regulated. Bulgarian, Macedonian, and (with lesser frequency) Slovenian however permit short forms to stand at beginning of the major segment. Thus, Бълг. Ke се бръсне на бербер, vs. Сор. Брижар се код берберина; 'I'll get shaved at the barber's; Slov. Si šte oblaščen vs. Sor. Jesi se obča po telefonu; 'Did you see him?'; Bulг. Сте ли се възбудиха ли по телефон?'I'll get in touch with you by telephone.'

Agreement is of two major kinds: person-number agreement between subject and verb (between the head of the noun phrase and the auxiliary verb, when subject and verb are not minimal) and gender-number-case (case agreement only if the language has case categories) agreement between declined attributes and head in
noun phrase. A subcase of this type of agreement (with case neutralized) is that between subject and nominative complement in equational sentences. The main verb in the past construction (historically a participle) shows this agreement with the subject.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{gender-number-case} \quad \text{gender-number} \\
\downarrow \quad \downarrow \quad \downarrow \quad \downarrow \\
\text{Malo} \quad \text{date} \quad \text{je} \quad \text{bilo dobro.} \quad \text{"The small child was good"}
\end{array}
\]

These types of agreement are illustrated by the above Sr. sentence. Those languages in which the past has no auxiliary (East Slavic, i.e. the languages which obligatorily zero the copula in the present) and in those forms of the other languages, where the copula is zeroed (see below) show gender number agreement (rather than person-number) between subject and past verb, e.g.

Russian: Sestra usla 'Sister went away.'

Questions are of two main types; those introduced by a question word (e.g. Rus. kto 'who', gde 'where' etc.) and those which pose the choice of alternatives (usually the answer 'yes' or 'no'). Question-word questions usually maintain the regular word-order, except that the question-word, without regard to its function in the sentence, is placed in sentence-initial position. Alternatively, when the question-word is not a subject, the normal order (SV) may sometimes be inverted to (VS), the question-word remaining of course in initial position. Alternative questions present a more complex picture, the devices used to express them varying from language to language. All of the languages know the pattern whereby question is expressed solely by intonation.
contour, neutral word order being retained. This appears the predominant pattern in colloquial Russian: "On rabotaet na fabrike?" 'Does he work in the factory?' Another pattern involves placing an enclitic question particle li after the item queried (normally the verb -- as sentence nucleus -- unless some special emphasis is intended); the item with li is then moved to sentence initial position, other items of the sentence retaining their accustomed order (this of course usually involves inversion of SV to VS).

Rabotaet li on na fabrike? This pattern is the normatively prescribed one for Russian and Serbo-Croatian, though seemingly bookish and non-colloquial, excepting in special sentence types (e.g. negative sentences in Russian). In Bulgarian and Macedonian it is quite alive in colloquial speech, though the rule that the item to which li is appended shifts to initial position, is not as strictly observed as in Serbo-Croatian and Russian. Macedonian: Mnogu li e račno da imaš maš pogalbar? 'Is it very difficult for you to have a husband who is a migrant worker?' Slovenian has the li question particle, but it is apparently obsolete in current usage.

Simple shift of word order from SVO to VSO (apparently usually accompanied by special interrogative intonation contour) is the normal question type in Czech and Slovak and occurs in colloquial Polish and Slovenian, as well. It occurs in colloquial Serbo-Croatian, but is largely limited to sentences containing verbal constructions, the shift placing the auxiliary in initial position, followed by subject (if present) and then the main verb. Thus: Jesi li uzeo stan? or more literally, with li: Jesi li uzeo stan? 'Did you take the apartment?'"
A widespread Slavic pattern for alternative questions is to introduce the question by a special question indicator, otherwise retaining the usual word order and intonation contour of statements. Such question indicators are: Polish ogy, Ukrainian ţmy, Belorussian ţi, Serbo-Croatian daši (colloquial ješ!), Slovenian ali, Slovak ţi, Bulgarian daši, Macedonian daši. The use of the question introducer in Bulgarian, Macedonian, Czech and Slovak is however limited, other patterns as mentioned being predominant.

Incorporated sentences, i.e. sentences serving as constituents in a larger structure, include direct quotations, indirect questions and statements, relative clauses, and conditional clauses. Direct quotations are simply described: they are independent sentences embodied in a superordinate sentence, usually as an object of a verb of saying. Indirect question-word questions likewise are identical in structure with independent question-word questions, serving usually as the object of a verb of saying, knowing, thinking etc. Indirect statements are identical with independent statements, but are introduced by a special indirect-statement introducer. Thus, Russian čto (/štα/ unstressed, in distinction to /stɒ/ 'what'), Ukrainian ščo, Belorussian što, West Slavic še (Polish spelling się), Serbo-Croatian (and Slovenian) da, Bulgarian če, Macedonian deka or oti. Indirect sentences expressing wish, desire, or intention have, in South Slavic, da as introducer, the da-clause serving also, in those languages which have lost the infinitive, as replacement for that form. In Macedonian and Bulgarian intentional sentences may be strengthened by placing za before the da-clause. In Slovenian intentional clauses may also be introduced by naj,
which is used to form independent hortatory or optative sentences. In West Slavic such intentional sentences have the conditional construction and are introduced by a (Polish, Czech, Slovak) or śe (Polish, Slovak) plus the conditional auxiliary. Russian and Ukrainian introduce them with Russian čto /čto/ or Ukrainian čto plus the conditional particle by and Bielorussian by ke-b(i).

Relative clauses are introduced by relative words — words which serve as constituents both in the included (relative) sentence and in the including, superordinate sentence. Such words in Slavic are for the most part identical with question words and the word order of relative clauses is that of question-word questions. A peculiarity of Slavic is that the relative serving as a noun phrase head in the relative clause (Russian; kotórij, kakój, Ukrainian; kotryj, Bielorussian; jak'i, Polish; jaki, Czech ktery, Slovak ktery, Serbo-Croatian; koji, Slovenian kateri) is identical with an adjective, which, when used interrogatively means 'which(one)' or 'what kind'. In Bulgarian and Macedonian, these adjectives have also assumed the function of interrogative pronouns Bulgarian kakvó 'what', Bulgarian and Macedonian koj 'who'. In Bulgarian, relatives, though otherwise identical in form with question words, have suffixed -to. Thus koj 'which', 'who' (interrogative) kójto 'who' (relative). In Macedonian, similar suffixation of što is optional. In Slovenian, most relatives, though identical in root with the corresponding interrogative, have a suffixed or infixed -r-. Thus kdo, kdro 'who', kako, kador 'how', kaj, karo 'what', karšen, karšen, 'what kind'. Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian, and Slovenian also have an undeclined relative which serves as a noun attribute in the superordinate and a noun in the relative clause; Sgr. and Bulgarian što, Slovenian ki, thus:
8

Sr. čovek, što si mu dala knjigu 'the man to whom you gave the book'
Slovenian; tovareš, ki sem s njim delal na progi 'the comrade with
whom I worked on the railway' Bulgarian; kмет, što izabrlame
'the mayor whom we elected' Note that when the relative functions
as a noun in an oblique case the enclitic pronoun usually occurs,
so that the relative here is actually discontinuous, consisting of
što (or ki) plus the appropriate pronoun. Macedonian has a similar
use of što: Ne e toj što go čekav. 'It's not that one whom I expected'.
Colloquial Bulgarian has another undeclined relative de or deto used
in the same way rûpâeto, deto ti go dâdor 'the quarter groschen,
that I gave you'.

2.0 Conditional sentences.

Compound sentences expressing conditions (of the type 'if.....
then)......') present a special type of construction in which
the if-clause is incorporated, presumably as an adverbial modifier (D)
in the result clause. In the case of real conditions, the pattern
is pretty much the same for all of the Slavic languages; a conjunction
'if' introduces the if-clauses, the result clause may, or more frequently,
does not have any special introducer. Ordinary verb forms are used
depending on time reference. In the case of unreal conditions there
is considerable diversity. In the East Slavic languages the pattern
is simple. The same conjunction 'if' is used as in real conditions,
but both the if-clause and result clause have the verb in the
by-construction (by plus l-form; in Russian, alternatively, by plus
infinitive). In unreal conditions the colloquial versions of East
Slavic do not apparently make tense distinctions, i.e. present and
past unreal conditions are not differentiated by verb form.

Literary Ukrainian and Bielorussian (and somewhat archaic Russian) do have however a construction consisting of by plus l-form of the verb 'to be' plus l-form of the main verb which may be used in both clauses of past unreal conditions.

East Slavic real and unreal conditions are illustrated in the following table:

**Conditional in East Slavic**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Real: if....(then)</th>
<th>Unreal: if... by.. (then)... by</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(pluperfect byl by rare in Bielorussian, Russian; not col. in Ukrainian).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Russian:**

Если он работает на фабрике, (to) живёт в городе.

Если бы работал на фабрике жил бы в городе.

**Bielorussian:**

Калі ён працьваў ў фабрыцы, тады ён жыве ў месцы.

Калі 6 ён працаваў ў фабрыцы то жыў бы ў месцы.

**Ukrainian:**

Якщо він працює в фабриці, то він живе в місті.

Якщо б він працював у фабриці, то він жив би в місті.

*If he works in the factory, (then) he lives in town*'

*If he worked in the factory, (then) he'd live in town*'

In West Slavic, as in East Slavic, unreal conditions have the conditional construction in both if- and result-clauses.

In Polish and Czech the conditional auxiliary is a declined verb form; in Slovak it is a particle *by*, accompanied in the first and second persons by the anomalous present of "be".
West Slavic differs from East Slavic in that 'if' in real conditions may be expressed by a different word from that used in unreal conditions. Colloquial Czech and Polish, like East Slavic, neutralize the tense distinction in unreal conditions. Slovak (literary usage only?) distinguishes past and present unreal conditions.

West Slavic conditional usage is illustrated in the following examples:

**Polish**

real conditions: Jeżeli (sometimes gdy)....., to...
Jeżeli mam tę książkę, to ci ja pożyczę.
Jeżeli byś miał tę książkę, pożyczilibym ci ją. (also gdybym and jakbym)

If I should have this book, I would (will) lend it to you.

(future condition)

unreal conditions: gdy + \{by -l ......., ....by.... -l
or
jak + \}
Gdybym miał tę książkę, pożyczilibym ci ją.

If I had that book, I'd lend it to you.

(or had had....... would have)

**Czech**

real conditions: když, jestli (-že)..........., ......
Když budeme dobře pracovatí, budeme dobře žíti
(or Jestli(že) budeme...., or Budeme-li......)

'If we work well, we'll live well
unreal conditions: kdy-conditional..... conditional

Kdybychom meli cas, áli bychom do divadla.

'If we had the time, we'd go to the theater.'

Slovak

real: ak, akže, ked'..........,

Ak prechladnete, budete vi trpiť', a nik iný.

'If you catch cold, you'll suffer and no one else.'

unreal: ke-by + l-form...., by+l-form

(pres.) Keby je mal pole, tiež by robil

'If he had a field, then he'd work.'

(past) On by bol zplakal, keby sa nehanbil Martinka

'He would have started to cry, if he hadn't felt shame on account of Martinka.'

The infinitive may substitute for the conditional in if-clause:

Ja by ho bol spálil, nebyt' tvojej prosby

'I would have burned it, were it not for your request.'

The by particle is unchanging in Slovak as in East Slavic and colloquial Serbo-Croatian.

South Slavic presents the greatest diversity in its conditional sentences (as in many other structural features).

Slovenian uses če (also da or ako) for 'if' in real conditions. In unreal conditions there are two main patterns. One uses ko or da as 'if' and requires the conditional construction in both if-clause and result clause. Present unreal conditions have as conditional construction the bi-particle plus the l-form of the verb 'to be' plus the l-form
of the main verb. The other pattern for unreal conditions uses da as 'if' and is identical with the principle pattern for Serbo-Croatian unreal conditions described below.

Slovenian

real conditions: če(če, ako, da, dale, samo da)
Če bo suša, bo slaba letina. If there's a drought, there'll be a poor harvest.
Če se bom zdaj pridno učil, bom še izdelal.
If I study industriously now, I'll still pass.
Če bi se zdaj pridno učil, bi še izdelal.
If he studies industriously now, he'll still pass.

unreal conditions: Ko, da (če excluded)

KO bi prijatelj imel denar, bi ti pomagal.
'If (your) friend had money, he'd help you.'

Da imam, bi ti dal.
'If I had, I'd give (it) to you.'

Da bi mama vedeli za to, bi se bridko zjokal.
'If mamma knew about that, she'd weep bitterly.'

KO bi bil imel dinar, bi bil knjigo kupil.
'If I'd had the noney, I'd have bought the book.'

DA ni bilo tebe, bi se bil utopil.
'If it hadn't been for you, he'd have drowned.'

Serbo-Croatian uses ako as 'if' in real conditions.
The principle pattern for unreal conditions uses a da-clause as if-clause. Only the result clause contains a conditional construction and in this clause tense distinction is neutralized. In present unreal conditions, the da-clause has the verb in the present. In past unreal conditions the da-clause has the verb in the past construction. An alternative pattern for present
unreal conditions uses ako as 'if' with conditional construction in both if and result clauses.
examples:
Serbo-Croatian

real conditions: ako.......
Ako bude suša, biće slaba žetva.
'If there's a drought, there'll be a poor harvest.'
Ako radi u fabriki, živi u gradu.
'If he works in the factory, he lives in town.'

unreal conditions: da...., ili- or ako bi-l-form....,
bi-l-form
Da radi u fabriki, on bi živeo u gradu.
'If he worked in the factory, he'd live in town.'
Da je radio u fabriki, on bi živio u gradu.
'If he had worked in the factory, he'd have lived in town.'
Ako bi on živio u gradu, on bi radio u fabriki.
'If he lived in town, he'd work in the factory.'

Bulgarian uses ako for 'if' in real conditions. Unreal conditions are expressed by ako or da as 'if' with the past tense or past construction in the if-clause and with the past tense of the verb xot/št- 'will' plus a da-clause in the result-clause. Tense distinction in unreal conditions is apparently neutralized.

Bulgarian is the only Slavic language which does not use a conditional construction based on by- in unreal conditions. Bulgarian has such a construction, but uses it only in attenuated statements.
Bulgarian

real conditions: ako......

Ako iskate něsto v pôvece, obadete mi.

'If you want something else, let me know.'

unreal conditions:
ako

Da mõžex, štjâx da učæ po dobré.

'If I were able, I'd learn better.'

Stjâxme da se zagûbirim, ako ne znáxme pîtjâ.

'Ve'd get lost, if we didn't know the way.'

In Macedonian real conditions are expressed by ako 'if' followed
by an appropriate tense except that future real conditions will
have the verb in the present or in the conditional construction
(bi + 1-form). Alternatively, in future real conditions, the
if-clause may have da 'if' plus perfective present. The result
clause may have any tense appropriate to the time reference or,
in future real conditions, may have the conditional construction.
Unreal conditions may show one of three construction types:
(a) neutralizes time reference (i.e. it may refer either to present or
past unreal conditions); in it the if-clause shows ako or de with
verb in the imperfect, the result clause will have de plus imperfect
or bi plus 1-form, (b) refers only to present unreal conditions and
has da plus imperfective present in the if-clause and the result
clause either one of the constructions listed for the result clause
of (a) above or the future construction or imperfective present,
(c) refers strictly to past unreal conditions and shows a pluperfect
construction (imperfective past tense of 'be' plus l-form) in the if-clause and ke plus imperfect in the result clause.

Macedonian
real:
(present)  \[ \text{Ako se podmeti zbirnite imenki, togaš prirokot ide vo množina.} \]
'If the subjects are collective nouns, then the predicate goes into the plural.'

(future)  \[
\begin{align*}
\text{Marko} & \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{ako} \quad \text{vo gradot,} \\
\text{bide} \end{array} \right. \\
& \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{bi bil(1)} \\
\text{bi dosol}
\end{array} \right. \\
\text{ke dojde (except with 3,4)} \\
\text{vo gradot} \\
\text{doaša (except with 2)}
\end{align*}
\]
'If Mark's in the city, he'll come visit us.'

unreal:
(tense neutralized)  \[
\begin{align*}
\text{Marko} & \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{ako} \quad \text{besè vo gradot,} \\
\text{da}
\end{array} \right. \\
& \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{ke dojdeše kaj nas} \\
\text{bi dosol kaj nas} \\
\text{doašaše kaj nas}
\end{array} \right.
\end{align*}
\]
'If Mark had been in the city he 'd have come to visit us.'

(present)  \[
\begin{align*}
\text{Marko} & \quad \text{vo gradot,} \\
& \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{ke dojdeše kaj nas} \\
\text{bi dosol kaj nas} \\
\text{kc dojde kaj nas} \\
\text{doaša kaj nas}
\end{array} \right.
\end{align*}
\]
'If Mark were in the city, he'd come to visit us.'
The Slavic languages can be divided into two major typological groups, the Balkan and the non-Balkan. The Balkan group is marked by a number of morphosyntactic traits apparently acquired by linguistic diffusion from non-Slavic forms of speech and shared with non-Slavic neighboring languages — in first line with Albanian and Macedo-Rumanian, to a lesser extent with Modern Greek and Daoco-Rumanian. The Balkan features are drastic reduction or total loss of case distinctions in the noun, development of an enclitic definite article suffixed to the first element of the noun phrase, reduplication of pronoun objects (the object occurring once in enclitic form, once in stress bearing form or as a noun), loss of infinitive and its replacement by a phrase consisting of the present tense of the verb introduced by the optative particle (da in the case of the Slavic languages), formation of the future construction either with a short enclitic auxiliary derived from a verb meaning ‘to wish’ or with a future particle (derived from the same verb) followed by the present tense of the main verb. Balkan Slavic languages also retain the imperfective and perfective past tenses (traditionally called imperfect and aorist lost elsewhere since the Middle Ages or before, except in Lusatian) and use the constructions with the main verb in the 1-form (which elsewhere have taken over the functions of the past tense) for resultative and quotative pasts. Macedonian and Bulgarian show a number of verbal constructions (conditionals, perfects, quotatives, etc.) not found in the non-Balkan languages. Macedonian and Bulgarian are the Balkan Slavic languages par excellence; Serbo-Croatian shows some Balkan features, which increase in the Serbo-Croatian speech area as one moves South and Eastward until a broad band of dialects in southern and eastern Serbia shows all or most of them. Standard Serbo-Croatian
shows reduction of the case system in the noun (historically a result of case syncretism), but not its loss as in Bulgarian and Macedonian, use of the future auxiliary from 'to wish' (but not its reduction to a particle as in Macedonian and Bulgarian) and retention of imperfect and aorist; however, they have disappearred from the colloquial spoken primarily standard, excepting for the aorist which survives in eastern (Serbian) usage. There is also considerable diminution of use of the infinitive (involving replacement by the above described da-clause) in the Serbian variety of Serbo-Croatian. Slightly substandard Belgrade speech shows loss of da in the future construction (a step in the way to the particle future) and some reduplication of pronoun objects (influence of immigrants to the capital from Macedonia or southern and eastern Serbia?).

4.0 Grammatical categories characterizing nominal words (nouns, i.e. substantives, adjectives, numerals and pronouns) in Slavic are:

number -- All the languages distinguish singular and plural. Slovenian and Lusatian distinguish dual number as well. In Serbo-Croatian a vestige of the dual remains in the masculine and neuter adjectives after the numerals two, three, four, while Bulgarian and Macedonian possess a special quantified form of plural in masculine nouns.

gender -- (masculine, neuter, and feminine; in the noun signaled only partially morphologically, though all nouns effect gender selection in terms of adjectives which modify them; pronouns show gender distinction only in the third person pronouns, not in first or second person or interrogative pronouns; numerals show gender only residually, in the word 'two').

In a number of the languages (Russian, Ukrainian, Belarusian, Macedonian, Bulgarian, colloquial Czech)
gender distinction is lost altogether in the plural. animate/inanimate -- all the Slavic languages have this distinction -- Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian and Czech show it in the masculine singular (genitive and accusative identical for animate; nominative and accusative for inanimate), Czech extends the same distinction (reinforced by morphophonemic alternation) to masculine plurals, while Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian have it in masculine singular and all plurals; Polish and Slovak have the distinction in masculine singular and in the plural contrast masculine personal with all non-masculine/non-personal. Polish and Bulgarian also have special forms of the numeral for masculine personal as opposed to non-masculine/non-personal. Macedonian has a set of special personal numerals, as opposed to non-personal numerals. Macedonian and Bulgarian have (except for the vocative) totally lost the category of case from noun and adjective, retaining it only in pronouns. The dative and genitive have been replaced by a phrase with the preposition na, nominative and accusative with the noun alone and other cases with various prepositional phrases. Partial or total syncretism of dative and genitive (also reflected in Macedonian, Bulgarian, and Serbo-Croatian by use of the short dative pronoun to indicate possession, e.g. Serbo-Croatian brat mu 'his brother') and of nominative and accusative is a typical Balkan linguistic trait. Of the inherited Slavic cases (vocative, nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, locative, and instrumental), the vocative has virtually disappeared in Russian, Slovenian, and Slovak, is restricted to masculine
nouns in Belorussian and is weakening (tends to be replaced by the nominative) in a number of the others (e.g. Serbo-Croatian). The remaining cases are well preserved in the nouns of the Slavic languages, except for the semi-Balkan Serbo-Croatian which has amalgamated dative, locative and instrumental in the plural and in the singular has (in colloquial speech) virtually eliminated the distinction (prosodic only, even in normative usage) between the dative and locative. Czech, because of sound changes peculiar to it, shows considerable syncretism of case forms in historically soft stems and more syncretism in the colloquial than in the literary language. In the adjective, case syncretism tends in all the Slavic languages to appear to a slightly greater extent than in the noun.

5.0 The Slavic verb is characterized by the category of aspect, perfective vs. imperfective. Perfective, the marked category, implies that the action of the verb is somehow delimited as a unit in time, particularly insofar as its completion or termination is concerned. The imperfective, on the other hand, is non-committal concerning the beginning or completion of the action signaled and typically, if it possesses a perfective partner, implies ongoing action, action-in-process.

Morphologically the Slavic verb has as minimal constituents a stem and inflectional suffixes (tense formants and endings). The minimal stem is a root morpheme; optional affixes include: prefixes and stem-suffixes, the latter including thematic vowels and pre-thematic suffixes.
Most simple verbs, that is, whose stems contain only a root or a root plus thematic vowel, are imperfective, though a small number of simple verbs are perfective. Usually, a simple imperfective verb will form the basis for a verb family, having one or more perfectives derived from it by the addition of prefixes. Typically, one of the prefixed perfectives serves semantically as a counterpart to the simple verb (with only such additional meaning as perfective implies) while the others involve various related meanings. Minor patterns of perfectivization of simple verbs include change of thematic vowel (usually a to i) or addition of the pre-thematic suffix -n~n'~ (the vowel is usually the reflex of Common Slavic o̞, in most of the languages u). From prefixed perfectives there are typically derived in turn imperfective counterparts by the addition of stem suffixes (usually -v-, -v-́, or -a-).

Many Slavic verbs retain the same stem in all forms, but a very considerable portion show stem alternation, typically between an infinitive stem (the basis for the infinitive, aorist, l-form, and past participles) and a present stem (the basis for the present, imperative, and present participles). Such alternation usually involves alternation of thematic vowels (including replacement of thematic vowel by zero), though other morphophonemic changes may be
involved in a smaller number of verbs.

The categories of the verb involve person and number of the subject (morphologically marked in finite verb forms). The verb paradigm includes finite and non-finite forms; a subset of the latter are the quasi-verb forms. Finite verb forms, i.e. by definition those which express the category of person and number, are present (better "non-past", but the traditional term is here retained), imperative (very limited expression of person, usually only the contrast of first and second persons in the plural, second person alone with no contrast in the singular), imperfect and aorist (the latter two, of course, are lacking in most of the Slavic languages). The infinitive (when occurring) is a non-finite form. Quasi-verbal forms are those which express grammatical categories and/or fulfill syntactic functions of morphosyntactic classes other than verbs. Such are nominal quasi-verbal (participle, 1-form, verbal noun) and adverbial quasi-verbal forms (gerunds).

The category of tense is neutralized in the imperative, infinitive, and verbal noun. Tense contrasts are between past (past participles and gerunds, 1-form, aorist -- i.e. perfective past, and imperfect -- i.e. imperfective past) and non-past, which latter may be subdivided into present and future. As stated above, the Balkan languages (Macedonian, Bulgarian and, in part, Serbo-Croatian) retain the finite past verbal forms; the remaining languages have lost them. Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, and the West Slavic languages express past tense with a construction consisting of the short present forms of "to be" plus the 1-form (Czech, Slovak and Polish regularly zero the "be" auxiliary in the third person). East Slavic, which zeroes the verb "be" in the present tense, uses the 1-form alone (but with gender-number, i.e. nominal, rather than
person-number, i.e. verbal, agreement) to express past tense.

To express future tense, East and West Slavic use the finite present ("non-past") forms for the perfective future and a construction consisting of regular non-past forms of the verb "to be" plus the infinitive (alternatively the 1-form in Polish) for the imperfective future. The South Slavic languages use the same constructions for the future of both perfective and imperfective verbs. Slovenian uses a short form of the regular non-past of "to be" plus the 1-form. Serbo-Croatian, as previously mentioned, uses a construction consisting of the short forms of the verb "to want" plus either a de-clause with verb in the present tense or the infinitive. Bulgarian and Macedonian form the future by prefixing an unchanging particle derived from the verb 'to want' to the present tense.

A conditional construction is formed by combination of the 1-form either with a special declined auxiliary, historically based on the infinitive stem of the verb "to be" (Polish, Czech, Bulgarian, literary Serbo-Croatian) or with an unchanging particle derived from the same stem (Russian, Bielorussian, Ukrainian, Slovenian, Macedonian, colloquial Serbo-Croatian) or the anomalous present of "to be" plus 1-form plus unchanging particle (Slovak, Macedonian alternate construction). Macedonian and Bulgarian also have alternate conditional constructions made by prefixing the future particle to the perfective or (?) imperfective past.

Macedonian and Bulgarian, the Balkan languages par excellence, show, as mentioned in 3.0 above, a florescence of verbal categories, expressed for the most part by constructions, not found in the remaining Slavic languages.
Footnotes

1 In many of the Slavic languages, numerals in nominative or accusative case function as phrase head with accompanying noun as attribute in the genitive. If such a phrase is shifted to another case, the noun becomes the phrase head and the numeral agrees with it in case. In other Slavic tongues, the numerals are pure adjectives.

2 It immediately precedes the verb in all the languages but Bulgarian and Macedonian where enclitic pronoun objects may be intercalated between the negative pronoun and the verb. Thus Macedonian Ne go vidov vs. Serbo-Croatian Ne videh ga, 'I didn't see him'. In Macedonian and Bulgarian ne precedes the future particle kе, šte, but the negative future is more usually expressed by nena, njana plus a da-clause. Bulgarian Tòj njàna da dòjde, 'He won't come'.

2a Information given here on conditional sentences for East Slavic, Polish, and Serbo-Croatian derives from my contacts with native speakers; for Czech from language textbooks; for Slovak from J. Orlovsky Slovenská Syntax Bratislava, 1959; for Slovenian from Bajec, Kolarič, and Rupel Slovenska Slovnica, Ljubljana 1956; for Macedonian from Z. Golić, "Syntactic Redundance" SEMJ 8:37-41; for Bulgarian from C.T. Hodge, PSI Bulgarian Basic Course, Washington 1961.

3 Other varieties of Slavic than the Balkan, have, of course, undergone foreign influences, though with less striking effects on their structure. Czech and Slovenian have been heavily affected in vocabulary (loans and loan-translations) as well as to some
extent in phraseology, syntax, and, for Czech, in phonology, by
German, while Russian (and East Slavic in general) may have been
influenced in syntax by Finnic and Turkic languages.

4 Demonstratives, possessives and certain other modifiers,
traditionally classed as pronouns, are here regarded as adjectives.
Only interrogative pronouns (Russian ктó, ётó) and the personal
pronouns are here regarded as true pronouns. The word 'one' is
likewise grammatically classed as an adjective, rather than a numeral.

5 In the so-called inceptive verbs, it is, of course, the
completion of the beginning or inception of the action which
is signalled.

6 The verb "to be" has a double set of present forms. One,
morphologically anomalous (and vestigial in East Slavic, where
the copula is zeroed) serves as the normal copula. The other,
morphologically regular, expresses future (and often perfective)
meaning.