# OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC an elementary grammar 

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To all my past students
who contributed to the making of this book in many ways

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PREFACE

This book is intended as an introduction to Old Church Slavonic for undergraduates studying the subject as part of a course in Russian or any other Slavonic language, and for all those who want a concise outline of the earliest recorded Slavonic language. It assumes no previous knowledge of a Slavonic language and is purely descriptive. The basic grammar is followed by notes on syntax which are designed not only to describe the use of the grammatical categories, but also to provide reading material in the form of sentences illustrating the points made.

The reading selection includes three passages in a 'normalized' form of Old Church Slavonic, so that the student can first be introduced to the language without the additional difficulty of unexpected forms and abbreviations. Only one extract from the Gospels has been included, as most of the sentences in the section on syntax are taken from another Gospel. The other extracts are intended to show what the Old Church Slavonic texts actually look like.

I wish to express my thanks to P. Herrity for his useful suggestions, to Mrs. J. Harvey for undertaking the difficult task of typing the book, and my gratitude to J. C. Dumbreck who not only helped to correct and improve the text, but also gave me advice and encouragement throughout. Any errors remaining are, of course, my own.

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V. P. Besedina-Nevzorova: Staroslavyanskii Yazyk. Kharkov, Izd. Kharkovskogo Gos. Universiteta, 1962. Pp. 28 and 15-17.
I. Brabec and others: Gramatika hrvatskoga ili srpskog jezika. Zagreb, 1954. Pp. 297-9.

3 Ĺywoty Konstantina i Metodego (obszeme). Ed. T. LehrSpławyński. Poznań, Instytut Zachodni, 1959. P. 107.

4 Kuyo M. Kuyev: Azbučnata molitva v slavyanskite iiteratury. Sofiya, Izd. na Bǔlgarskata Akademiya na Naukite, 1974. Pp. 170-1.

5 Savvina Kniga. Ed. Shchepkin. Graz, Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1959. (Reprint of 1903 St. Petersburg ed.). P. 146.

6,7 Euchologium Sinaiticum. Ed. R. Nahtigal. Vol. 2. Ljubljana, Akademia Znanosti in Umetnosti v Ljubljani, Filozof sko-Filološko-Historični Razred, Dela, 2. 1942. Pp. 85-6, 30-31.

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Sinaiskaya Psaltyr'. Ed. S. Sever'yanov. Graz, Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt. (Reprint of 1922 Petrograd ed.), 1954. Pp. 126-7.

### 0.1 What is 01d Church Slavonic?

The Slavonic languages belong to the Indo-European Group of languages, to which the Germanic languages (which include English) belong, as well as the Romance languages, which include Latin, the Celtic languages, the Iranian languages, Sanskrit, Greek and Armenian.

The Slavonic languages are usually divided into three groups: West Slavonic, including Polish and Czech and Upper and Lower Sorbian; East Slavonic, comprising Russian, Byelorussian and Ukrainian, and South Slavonic; the South Slavonic group consists of Slovenian, Serbo-Croat, Macedonian and Bulgarian. The first Slavonic language to be committed to writing was a South Slavonic dialect of Bulgarian or Macedonian type, and is called Old Church Slavonic because of its function. (In some works it is called 01d Bulgarian, but this is best avoided as 01d Church Slavonic is not identical with the Bulgarian language of that time.)

For the relationship of Old Church Slavonic with IndoEuropean, see G. Nandriş, Old Church Slavonic Grammar, London, 1959.

In the year 862, Prince Rostislav of Moravia, which was then an important grouping of Slavonic peoples in Central Europe, sent a request to the Byzantine Emperor Michael III for Slavonicspeaking missionaries to spread Christianity in his lands and counter the influence of German clergy. Constantine and his brother Methodius were chosen because the former had already proved himself as a scholar and missionary, while the latter was an experienced administrator. Both were natives of Salonica where there was a Slavonic-speaking population. The brothers' work in Moravia was approved by the pope, and in 869 Constantine and Methodius travelled to Rome where Constantine died, having taken monastic vows and assumed the name of Cyril. Methodius returned to Moravia, but Rostislav died and under his successor Svatopluk the German clergy were once more in the ascendant, having obtained the support of the new pope. After Methodius's death in 885 his disciples had to flee, and some of them established themselves in the Bulgarian Empire at the court of Tsar Simeon and in Macedonia. The independence of Bulgaria was crushed by Byzantium in the first
half of the llth century, and Slavonic culture in the Balkans went into a period of decline.

For the historical background see F. Dvornik, The Slavs, their History and Civilization (Survey of Slavic Civilization, Vol. II), Boston, 1956, and V. Jagic, The Conversion of the Slavs (Chapt. VIIB, Vol. IV of the Cambridge Medieval History).

0ld Church Slavonic (abbreviation used: OCS) is the language reconstructed on the basis of linguistic analysis of 10 th- and 11thcentury texts which are copies of original texts, now lost, written in Moravia and Bulgaria or Macedonia by Constantine/Cyril, Methodius and their disciples. These texts consist of the Gospels, liturgies, lives of saints, homilies, etc. Most of them are translations from Greek, but a few are original. They are not very numerous or very extensive (some 17 or 18 , the longest, Codex Suprasliensis, having 285 folia, and some fragments consisting only of two folia) and therefore they afford insufficient evidence for reconstructing a total picture of OCS, but they do provide enough to reconstruct a phonological system and an almost complete morphological system; the value of the syntactic evidence is discussed in the chapter on syntax.

It must therefore be remembered when studying OCS that as we have only written texts, the actual phonetic quality of the language is unknown, although it can be inferred to some extent by comparison with other Slavonic languages and analysis of the alphabet. It must also be borne in mind that the language of the texts may be rather artificial, as (a) the translators wished to be understood by a wide range of dialect speakers and may have avoided marked regionalisms, and (b) they introduced many calques from Greek and some of the vocabulary and syntax may be Greek rather than Slavonic.

However, these features should not be exaggerated, as all the Slavonic dialects must at that time have been very close and the intention was to be comprehensible to all, not to create an esoteric literary language.

OCS is generally thought to be based on a Macedonian dialect from the Salonika area. Comparative evidence suggests that it was very close to Comon Slavonic and was definitely a South Slavonic language of Bulgarian or Macedonian type, the two probably being not very different at that time.

The problem of what OCS was originally like is complicated by the fact that while some of the Gospels were probably translated before Cyril and Methodius set out for Moravia, and were therefore written in a dialect of Macedonian type, the rest of their work was done in Moravia, where the language was West Slavonic and influenced the translators to some extent. Later Methodius's disciples transferred their activities to Bulgaria, and the texts newly translated or composed for the first time were influenced by an East Bulgarian dialect, and also the earlier translations were revised, though not consistently, to bring them into line with the rest.

As a result we have texts of a mixed dialectal character, as the revisions were never thorough or consistent. Some 12thcentury texts show definite Bulgarian features, some show Serbian or Croatian features indicating that they were copied in Serbia or Croatia, and there is a very early text, the Kiev Fragments, which dates from the loth century and has some Moravian features; there is also a text containing prayers (the Freising Fragments) from c. 1000 , which shows Slovenian features.

In Moravia Church Slavonic went out of use, being displaced by Latin. Slovenia also came under the Roman Catholic Church, but Church Slavonic continued to be used in Catholic Croatia, where a special form of the Glagolitic alphabet was used. Church Slavonic found more favourable ground in Serbia (Serbian Church Slavonic) and in Bulgaria (this variety is usually called Middle Bulgarian). The area where it enjoyed greatest popularity was, however, Russia, where it survived to become the basis of the modern literary language.

The OCS texts are written in two different, although related, alphabets, the Glagolitic which may be the earliest, and the Cyrillic which is similar to the Cyrillic alphabets used in some Slavonic countries today. In Croatia a special form of the Glagolitic alphabet was evolved, and the Freising Fragments are in the Latin alphabet.

### 0.2 Textbooks

For a complete description of OCS as a self-contained system see H. Lunt, Old Church Slavonic Grammar, 6th revised edition,

1976, with full bibliography. For a fuller description which makes use of historical evidence see A. Vaillant, Manuel du vieux slave, Paris, 1948.

The other OCS textbooks are listed in Lunt's bibliography, except for a few, mostly in Slavonic languages; none of the latter offers anything that is not found elsewhere, except St. Słon'ski, Gramatyka jezyka starosłowiańskiego/starobutgarskiego, Warsaw, 1950, which contains examples of consonant changes in all possible environments.

For a serious study of the texts, the student should begin with Lunt and G. Nandriş, Old Church Slavonic Gramar, London, 1959, as these give the descriptive and historical point of view respectively.

Beyond these basic textbooks, Leskien's manual (first pub1ished 1871 , 9 th edition 1972) is the best of the traditional grammars and has not been surpassed. Diels (first published 1932) is more comprehensive, and A. Meillet, Le slave commun, 1934, is essential for this particular aspect. None of these includes syntax, for this one has to use Vondrák (1912), Łoś (1922), Vaillant (1948), and Lehr-Spławiński which includes a chapter on syntax by Cz. Bartula (4th edition 1959), or J. Kurz, Uと̌ebnice jazyka staroslovenského, Prague, 1969.

Leskien, Vondrák, Diels, Vaillant and some of the others include a reader with glossary. The reader by R. Auty, which accompanies Nandriş's grammar, is particularly good, as it has descriptions of the texts, a wide selection and a full glossary.

Dictionaries of OCS are not so numerous. There is an extremely useful dictionary of the 'canonic' texts, Material towards the compilation of a concise old Church Slavonic dictionary by T. A. Lysaght, Wellington, New Zealand, 1978. Sadnik and Aitzetmüller (1955) is rather difficult to use. A more comprehensive dictionary by F. Miklosich, Lexicon palaeoslovenico-graecolatinum (1862-65) is only useful if one knows Latin or Greek. The best is the big dictionary by the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. The standard editions of the texts contain some useful glossaries, particularly that of Codex Marianus by Jagić.

Finally the student may also be reminded that as a large proportion of texts consists of extracts from the Bible, mainly the Gospels, a translation of some of the texts is readily available
in the English Bible, although there may be some differences as the originals of the Slavonic and the English translations may differ slightly. The most useful of the various versions of the English Bible is probably the Revised Version of 1880 , as it is the most literal.
0.3 The texts

The OCS texts were mostly discovered and first studied in the 19th century, chiefly outside the areas in which they are presumed to have been written. This suggests that as a result of wholesale destruction caused by wars and invasions in the Balkans, a large body of MSS was annihilated and only MSS which had accidentally been preserved elsewhere remained in existence until the $19 t h$ century.
(1) 2og. Codex Zographensis

Tetraevangelium (the four Gospels). Glagolitic. 288 folia plus 15 of a later date.

It was presented by the monks of the Zographos monastery on Mount Athos to Tsar Alexander II in 1860; he gave it to what is now the Leningrad Public Library, where it is still.

It dates from the late 10 th century, and represents a western type of Bulgarian dialect. It shows assimilation of jers, so that $z>b$ before a syllable containing a front vowel; there are few examples of vocalisation of jers; and the jers are lost, although not consistently, only between certain consonants. It also has forms of the more archaic asigmatic aorist.

Edition: V. Jagić, Quattuor evangeliomum codex glagoliticus olim Zographensis nunc Petropolitanus, Berlin, 1879. (Reprint Graz, 1954.)
(2) Mar. Codex Marianus

Tetraevangelium. Glagolitic. 174ff.
Obtained from the monastery of the Holy Virgin on Mount Athos by the Russian scholar Grigorovich in 1845. It is now in the Lenin Library in Moscow, except for ff $1-2$ which are in the National Library in Vienna.

It dates from the late 10 th or early llth century. It also shows Macedonian features, and some Serbian features which may be due to later copyists. There are many examples of $b>e$, while $z>0$ is less frequent. Loss of jers is sporadic. There are forms of the asigmatic aorist.

Edition: V. Jagić, Quattuor evangeliomm versionis palaeoslovenicae Codex Marianus glagoliticus, Berlin and St. Petersburg, 1883. Contains a study and glossary. (Reprint Graz, 1960.)
(3) Ass. Codex Assemanianus

Evangelistarium (Aprakos Gospel, extracts from the Gospels for reading during mass), followed by a menology (calendar of saints' days with lives). Glagolitic. 158 ff.

Bought from Orthodox monks in Jerusalem by J. Assemani, a Syrian Christian, in 1736, and left by his nephew to the Vatican Library, where it is now.

Tenth or 11th century. West Bulgarian or Macedonian features. Vocalisation of jers, $z>0$, $b>e$. Very numerous examples of loss of jers, including at end of words. The examples of the asigmatic aorist as well as those of the 1 st sigmatic aorist are more numerous than those of the 2 nd sigmatic aorist.

Edition: I. Vajs and J. Kurz, Evangelium Assemani, I-II, Prague, 1929-55. A third volume will contain the vocabulary.
(4) PsSin. Psalterium Sinaiticum

Psalms 1 to 137 (138). Glagolitic. 177 ff.
In the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai.
llth century. Macedonian features. Vocalisation of both jers very frequent. Contains examples of the older aorist types.

Edition: S. Severyanov, Sinaiskaya Psaltyr', glagolicheskii pamyatnik XI v. (Pomyatniki staroslavyanskogo yazyka, IV), Petrograd, 1922. (Reprint Graz, 1954.) Contains vocabulary.
M. Altbauer, Psalterium Sinaiticum, An 11th centum Glagolitic manuscript from St. Catherine's Monastery, Mt. Sinai, Skopje, 1971.

Euchologium (collection of prayers, in Russian trebnik). Glagolitic. 109 ff .

In same place as PsSin above, except for four folia which are in Leningrad Public Library.

11th century. Vocalisation of both jers and loss of jers. older types of aorist. Macedonian features.

Edition: R. Nahtigal, Euchologium Sinaitioum, starocerkvenoslovanski spomenik (Dela Akademije znanosti in umetnosti v Ljubljani, filoz.-filog.-hist. razred, I-II del), Ljubljana, 1941-2.
(6) Cloz. Glagolita Clozianus

Fragment of menology (lives of saints) and five homilies for Holy Week. Glagolitic. 14 ff.

On the island of Krk (Veglia) in the Middle Ages, the property of the Frankopan family; found by the Slovene scholar Kopitar in the library of Count Paris Cloz. 12 ff . are in the municipal museum in Trento, the other 2 ff . are in the Ferdinandeum in Innsbruck.

Vocalisation of jers: $b>e$ very frequent, $z>0$ less so. Many examples of loss of jers. Only the older types of aorist occur. A few significant Serbo-Croatian features.

Edition: V. Vondrák, Glagolita Clozưv, Prague, 1893. Contains vocabulary.
A. Dostál, Clozianus, Codex palaeoslovenious glagoliticus, Tridentinus et Oenipontanus, Prague, 1959.

These six texts are the main glagolitic MSS; the following are too brief to supply any additional information on OCS.
(7) FragSin. Fragmentum Sinaiticum

Glagolitic. 3ff. which were part of a service-book (Russian sluahebnik), which probably followed the original book of prayers (EuchSin) mentioned above. Brought from the same place to St. Petersburg in 1853.

1 f. in Glagolitic, fragment of the works of Ephraim the Syrian.

Found by Grigorovich in the monastery of Rila in Bulgaria in 1845. Now in Leningrad Public Library.

Edition: G. Il'inskii, Makedonskii glagolicheskii listok
(Pamyatniki staroslavyanskogo yazyka, I, 6), St. Petersburg, 1909.
(9) OhrFol. Ohwid Folia

2 ff . of Gospel text in Glagolitic.
Found by Grigorovich in Ohrid in 1845. Since 1865 in Odessa University Library. llth century.

Edition: G. Il'inskii, Okhridskie glagolicheskie listki
(Pamyatniki staroslavyanskogo yazyka, III, 2), Petrograd, 1915. Contains vocabulary.

The following texts are important for the study of ocs because of their early date and their provenance.
(10) KiErag. Kiev Fragments

Possibly the oldest OCS text.
Sacramentary (the variable prayers of the Mass). Glagolitic. 7 ff.

Brought from Jerusalem to Kiev in the 19th century, now in the National Library of the Ukraine in Kiev.

Middle of the loth century, archaic language, with correct use of jers and nasals. Written in Moravia, and shows certain West Slavonic features (in particular $c, z$ where Bulgarian has št, z $d$ ).

Edition: V. Jagić, Glagolitica. Wirdigung neuentdeckter Fragmente. (Denkschriften der $k$. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Hist.-Phil. K1. XxxviII), Vienna, 1890.
C. Mohlberg, Il messale glagolitico di Kievo/sec. IX/ ed il suo prototipo romano del sec. VI-VII, Rome, 1928.
(11) PrFr. Prague Fragments

Fragment of liturgy. Glagolitic. 2 ff .
Found in library of Prague metropolitan chapter, 1855.
Same type of MS as KiFr above. Before end of 11 th century, but of the Czech recension.

Editions: M. Weingart and J. Kurz, Texty ke studiu jazyka a pisemníctví staroslovenského, Prague, 1949. Grunskii, Prazhskie glagolicheskie otryvki (Pamyatniki staroslavyanskogo yazyka, I, 4), St. Petersburg, 1904.

The following texts are Cyrillic and as a whole more recent than the Glagolitic texts.
(12) SavKn. Savvina Kniga

Evangelistarium and symaxarion. Cyrillic. 129 ff .
Apparently in a monastery near Pskov since the 11th century, now in Moscow Central Archive.

Written in the llth century by a certain pop Savva. East Bulgarian characteristics. No $b>e$, few examples of $z>0$, but loss of jers. Examples of asigmatic aorist, but new type is predominant.

Edition: V. Shchepkin, Savvina Kniga (Pamyatniki staroslavyanskogo yazyka, I, 2) St. Petersburg, 1903. Contains vocabulary. (Reprint Graz, 1959).
(13) Supr. Codex Suprasiiensis

Menology (1ives of saints), for March, and sermons for Holy Week and Easter. Cyrillic. The longest OCS text, 285 ff .

Found in the monastery of Supras1' near Bialystok in Byelorussia by the scholar M. K. Bobrovski in 1838; it was sent to Kopitar who kept ff. 1-118, which are now in Ljubljana University Library. The first 16 ff . of the rest are now in the Public Library in Leningrad; the rest was in the Zamojski library in Warsaw until 1939; it disappeared during the Second World War, but was returned to Poland in 1959.

It has East Bulgarian features, $b>e$ but not $z>0$. No asigmatic aorists, only the newer types. In several respects it
is a more recent text than all those listed above.

Edition: S. Severyanov, Suprast'skaya mukopis' (Pamyatniki staroslavyanskogo yazyka, II, 1), St. Petersburg, 1904. (Reprint Graz, 1956).

Glossary: K. H. Meyer, Altkirchenslavisch-griechisches Wörterbuch des Codex Suprasitiensis, Glückstadt und Hamburg, 1935.

See also: A. Marguliès, Der altkirchenslavische Codex Suprasliensis, Heidelberg, 1927.

These two texts form the main body of OCS in Cyrillic. The texts listed below are too brief to add to our knowledge of OCS.
(14) UndFol. Undolski Folia

Fragment of evangelistarium. Cyrillic 2 ff .
Once belonged to the scholar Undol'skii. Now in the Lenin Library in Moscow.

Edition: E. Karskii, Listki Undol'skogo (Pamyatniki staroslavyanskogo yazyka, I, 3), St. Petersburg, 1904. Contains vocabulary.
(15) HilFol. Hilandar Folia

Fragment of the teachings of Cyril of Jerusalem. Cyrillic. 2 ff.

Found by Grigorovich in the Hilandar monastery on Mount Athos in 1844, since 1865 in Odessa University Library.

Edition: S. Kul'bakin, Khilandarskie Zistki (Pamyatniki staroslavyanskogo yazyka, I, 1), St. Petersburg, 1900. Contains vocabulary.
(16) ZogFol. Zograph Folia

Monastic code of St. Basil. Cyrillic. 2 ff .
Otherwise unknown text.

Edition: Lavrov, Revue des Etudes Slaves, VI, pp. 11-13, 1930.

1 folium in Cyrillic, badly damaged and later than OCS, but contains remnant of St. Cyril's preface to his translation of the Gospels.

Found in Macedonia by A. Hilferding, now in Leningrad Academy.

Edition: G. Il'inskii, Makedonskii listok (Pamyatniki staroslavyanskogo yazyka, I, 5), St. Petersburg, 1906.
(18) Slps. Sluck Psaltery

Part of Psalm 118. Cyrillic, 5 ff.
Once belonged to Sreznevskii, now lost.
Has many Russian Church Slavonic features, but is sometimes included in the list of OCS texts.

Edition: I. Sreznevskii, Dreunie slavyanskie pamyatniki yusovogo pis'ma, Nr. II.

There are also some inscriptions. The most famous is that of Tsar Samuel, dated 993 and so the oldest dated record of OCS, on a marble slab discovered in the village of German near Lake Prespa in 1888.

Some early texts which are not strictly OCS are nevertheless important for its study. Some of the oldest are:
(1) OstrEv. Ostromir Gospel (1065)

The earliest dated Slavonic MS. It preserves some features not found in other texts; it is, however, classified as Russian Church Slavonic because of its Russian features, in particular the confusion of $\mathbb{A}$ and $o y$, and $A$ and $a$. There are other similar Russian Church Slavonic texts.
(2) FrFol. Freising Texts or Folia

These are written in the Latin alphabet, and consist of a confession formula, a homily and a prayer. They were probably written between 972 and 1039. They show Slovenian features.
(3) DobrEv. Dobromir's Gospel

Middle Bulgarian (12th century).

Notes on OCS forms in grammars and in texts:

In textbooks it is usual to set out the OCS forms not as they are found in actual texts, but as reconstructed on the basis of the texts to give a picture of what the original OCS of the 9 th and 10th centuries may have been like; the actual forms as found in the 11thcentury texts are then discussed and interpreted. For a full 'history' of OCS, i.e. the relationship between the theoretical forms and the actual forms as found in the texts, see $N$. Van Wijk, Geschichte der Kirchenslavischen Sprache, Berlin-Leipzig, 1931.

As here we are concerned with the basic structure of OCS and not its history, only the 'canonical' forms will be given, although no hypothetical forms are quoted; OCS grammars, except for Lunt's and Diels's, often do not make it clear that some of the forms given in the paradigms are reconstructed, unattested forms.

### 0.4 The alphabets

OCS has come down to us written in two different alphabets. One of them, thought to be the earliest, is called Glagolitic (in Slavonic languages glagolica), from the word glagolu, meaning 'word', corresponding to Latin verbum. This alphabet is thought to have been invented by Constantine/Cyril and is very original in style, which is consistent with the tradition that it was the creation of one man at a particular time, rather than the product of gradual evolution by a historical process. It is, however, not entirely isolated, the letters which have no counterparts in Greek being drawn from Middle Eastern alphabets, particularly Hebrew.

It is not essential to learn the Glagolitic alphabet in order to study OCS at an elementary level, limiting oneself to a description of the language as reconstructed from the texts, and ignoring the texts themselves and the historical processes which can be deduced from them. Such an approach to OCS is useful as a starting point, and to gain an idea of what Common Slavonic must have been like just before a Slavonic dialect was given a written form. The standard works on the subject, given in the bibliography, are essential to begin a serious study taking into account the actual texts, and a comparison of the two alphabets is then desirable. It must, however, be remembered that as Cyrillic is a 1ater develop-
ment, partly modelled on Glagolitic, the latter has to some extent determined the composition of Cyrillic (the number and order of letters, their function, etc.) to a much larger extent than Greek has determined the structure of the Glagolitic alphabet, since both alphabets were designed to commit a Slavonic language to writing ${ }^{1}$.

Cyrillic is derived from Greek uncials (large letters written separately for MSS of a solemn, religious character). The letters which have no counterparts in the Greek alphabet, as they denote sounds peculiar to Slavonic languages and not found in 9 th-century Greek, seem to be partly borrowed from Glagolitic. In the Greek spelling of the time the Greek letter B denoted a labio-dental spirant ([v]), and therefore another letter was needed for the sound [b]; this was taken from Glagolitic $\mathbb{E}$, (Cyrillic s), and so were * (Glagol. \% ) and (Glagol. 以); w was taken over without change, as its angular shape fitted in with the rest of the Cyrillic alphabet. More problematic are 4 ( $\mathrm{Glagol} . \boldsymbol{\%}$ ?) and $4, Y$ (from Glago1. \& ? ). The digraph z . or m (both z plus either of the two letters for [i]) is formed in the same way as in Glagolitic.

It is better perhaps not to seek too close a connection between Cyrillic $\AA$ to $\neq t$ and their Glagolitic counterparts, as the Cyrillic alphabet seems to have been designed for a different dialect, where besides t (Glagol. A , apparently not connected with Cyrillic A, A, A) there was ra (Glagolitic uses one letter, $\mathbf{A}$, where Cyrillic uses either $t$ or $r a$ according to the etymology of the word in which it occurs); beside tro and to Cyrillic has tw and re in some MSS (Glagolitic uses only one letter for each pair). This points to an analysis of $t, r, t$, as $1+\neq$ and $1+o(r)$ and consequent formations of $\mathrm{ra}(1+a), \mathrm{H}(1+\mathbb{A})$, and later $\mathfrak{r}(1+e)$. Some Russian MSS even have 价. Such an analysis is not possible for Glagolitic $\boldsymbol{D}^{P}$ (Cyrillic ro), and whereas $\boldsymbol{9} €$ is obviously $\boldsymbol{9}+\boldsymbol{C}$ (that is, $0+$ nasality, cf. $\because 6=$ e + nasality) Glagolitic $\mathcal{A C}$ (Cyrillic $r \boldsymbol{x}$ ) cannot be explained at all (? + nasality).

Apart from having the extra letters $\mathfrak{t a}, \mathfrak{A}$, ( $\mathfrak{r}$ ), Cyrillic differs from Glagolitic in that it does not have $\boldsymbol{M}$ (this is
${ }^{1}$ For the arguments showing that the reverse is not true (i.e. that it is not the case that Cyrillic was invented first and Glagolitic derived from it or created independently afterwards) see the bibliography, particularly Jagić and Trubetzkoy.
usually transliterated into Cyrillic as $\hbar$, but this is a later Serbian development of Glagolitic), nor does it have a counterpart for $\not \subset$ which is apparently derived from Greek $X$ and whose actual phonetic value is unknown (probably Slavonic [x], while $b=$ Cyrillic X , represented a Greek sound, possibly [kh]). Cyrillic adds two more letters, 3 and $\psi$, from Greek $k s i$ and $p s i$, perhaps to make up the number of letters in Glagolitic. $b$ and $z$ are derived from Glagolitic $X$ and $X$ (these appear as and $\frac{8}{8}$ in some inscriptions).

The earliest Glagolitic MSS have a special sign for [dz], \&, transcribed into Cyrillic as s; later Glagolitic MSS have only $\theta$ (Cyrillic z, i.e. [z]). In the Cyrillic MSS $s$ has only numerical value; for the sound [dz] some MSS have the letter $\boldsymbol{z}^{2}$, but it is clear that this sound was not known to the scribes of some of the MSS, and they either confused s with 3 or used only 3 (Glagol. $\theta_{0}$ ). In normalized spelling $s$ will be used where [dz] is expected to have occurred in the original OCS texts.

There are two letters for [i] because Greek had two ( $n$, originally long $e$, and 2 ); similarly there are two letters for [o] ( 0 and $w$ omega, originally long $o$ ); $\omega$ is used in OCS only to distinguish the interjection 'oh!' from the preposition and in the abbreviation of the preposition orz ( $\bar{\omega}$ ).
ov (also, to save space, $\gamma$ ), is o + $Y$ because in Greek [u] had become [ï], therefore the sound [u] was represented by ou cf. French where [u] has become [ $\ddot{u}]$ and therefore ou represents [u].

The same principle was followed in constructing the sign for [ì], and 81 zh is not to be taken as a diphthong, any more than of (OCS has no diphthongs, except possibly [ia]).
$\uplus$ may have been interpreted later as $w$ over $T$ in a Bulgarian dialect which has [ft] where $\psi$ occurs in OCS; it is derived from Glagol. U. (N.B. in Glagolitic $\boldsymbol{T}$ is $\mathbb{W}, \infty$ ).

Similarly to $\mathfrak{x}$ were interpreted as $1+\rho(\mathbb{V})$ and $1+\mathbb{K}$, and from these $r^{-a}$ and $\mathfrak{F}$ later were formed. There are, however, no joining strokes in of and zl zh . It is probable that ro r originally represented single sounds, possibly [ü], [ $\ddot{q}]$ and the [j] before them in syllable-initial position was, as with [ $\varepsilon$ ] and [e], not a separate phoneme. There was in any case no [j] involved after a consonant.

Neither alphabet uses Arabic numerals; letters of the alphabet are used instead, on the principle that $a=1$, $B=2$, etc. Unlike

Glagolitic, Cyrillic does not assign numerical value to the nonGreek letters $\boldsymbol{\infty} \boldsymbol{m}$ and $\Psi$, and also assigns numerical value to $\theta$ (Greek theta) and $\mathbb{A}$ (although this latter is against the Cyrillic principle of not assigning numerical value to a letter not derived from the Greek alphabet). The Glagolitic numerical values follow the order of the Slavonic letters. The Glagolitic letter of is used for 6 and transliterated into Cyrillic as s. This letter is used for 6 even in MSS which do not use it as a letter. Cyrillic $\boldsymbol{\xi}^{\boldsymbol{3}}$ was not used as a numeral. Greek 3 (koppa) was used for $90 ; y$ in this function is later ( 14 th century).

The Glagolitic MSS do not have any examples of the thousands but it seems that some of the letters ( $\mathbf{\omega}$, etc.) were used. Cyrillic used the units preceded by the sign $F$.

In addition to the letters of the alphabet, the OCS MSS have various punctuation marks and other signs.

As in Greek, there are various accents over the vowel letters. There have been attempts to interpret these, without much success except for the Kiev Fragments, where the accents possibly had some musical significance. For the other MSS it is perhaps best to disregard the accents as being an imitation of Greek spelling which was meaningless in Slavonic.

The diacritic ${ }^{\text {^ }}$ is sometimes used to indicate a palatal $2, n$ or $r$ and in some MSS it shows a palatal $k$ or $g$ before a front vowel in foreign words. Omission of a jer is sometimes shown by a kind of apostrophe.

There are some punctuation marks, although these are not used consistently: a suspended dot separates groups of words. Longer units are separated by groups of dots: $:, \because, \cdots,: \cdot:$, etc., and by lines and dots: $\sim \div \div$ etc.

There are no spaces between words except in the Kiev Folia. Capitals are only used to indicate the beginning of a chapter or paragraph. Modern punctuation, word division and use of capitals are introduced into printed texts to facilitate reading, and are therefore based on the editor's interpretation of the text.

Another feature taken over from Greek writing is the use of abbreviations; these are of two kinds: (1) contraction of sacred words, possibly as a means of concealment from the uninitiated or as an emphasizing device. In this case there is an abbreviation sign (straight line) over the letters, and sometimes this sign is used over an uncontracted word.

The most common abbreviations are:
ап̃̃ - апостолz; ак̃пz - анћєлz; ве̃ıи - вожни; ви̃гна - влагословена;



(2) The second type of abbreviation is not imitated from Greek and was probably only a space-saving device; it consists in leaving out some letters as for (l), but writing one of the omitted letters above the abbreviated word under a curved line: $\widehat{\Gamma} \widehat{\hat{n}} \hat{\epsilon}$ sît. The stem of the verb rnaronatn is frequently reduced to rin (rinetz, rina), but is accompanied by an abbreviation sign as for (1), and it is likely that there was no hard and fast rule to distinguish between the two types of abbreviation, particularly in later MSS, where abbreviations were more widespread.

Sometimes texts are printed with the abbreviated words spelt out in full, which means that an arbitrary speling may be introduced, e.g. if the editor decides to use the form отьць for $\tilde{\sim}$ is introducing the letter b where a scribe might have written otelb.

Letters representing numerals were set off from the rest of the text by a line above, and sometimes a dot as well.

Note: In the present work regularized spelling is used in the grammatical examples and the vocabulary, but actual passages taken from texts are quoted as spelt in the text.

| Cypillic | Numerical <br> value | Glagolitic | Numerical <br> value | Transcription |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| a | 1 | 4 | 1 | $a$ |
| E | - | $\boldsymbol{\square}$ | 2 | $b$ |
| B | 2 | $\%^{\circ}$ | 3 | $v$ |
| $\Gamma$ | 3 | 90 | 4 | $g$ |
| $A$ | 4 | db | 5 | d |
| E | 5 | $\boldsymbol{Э}$ | 6 | e |
| * | - | ช0 | 7 | z |
| s, ${ }^{2}$ | 6 | 8 | 8 | $d z$ |
| 3,3 | 7 | $\theta$ | 9 | $z$ |
| 1 (i) | 10 | g | 10 | 2 |
| H | 8 | 8 | 20 | i |


| Cyrillic | Numerical <br> value | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Glago- } \\ & \text { litic } \end{aligned}$ | Numerical value | Transcription |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| (ぇ) | - | M | 30 | ǵ |
| $k$ | 20 | ? | 40 | $k$ |
| $n$ | 30 | 88 | 50 | て |
| $\mu$ | 40 | 98 | 60 | m |
| H | 50 | P | 70 | $n$ |
| 0 | 70 | 2 | 80 | 0 |
| $\pi$ | 80 | 10 | 90 | $p$ |
| $\rho$ | 100 | b | 100 | $r$ |
| c | 200 | 8 | 200 | $s$ |
| T | 300 | 0 | 300 | $t$ |
| or, 8 | 400 | $\boldsymbol{\vartheta}$ | 400 | $u$ |
| Ф | 500 | Hf | 500 | $f$ |
|  | 9 | $\theta$ | - | $t h, \theta$ |
| $x$ | 600 | b | 600 | $x$ |
| ${ }^{\omega}$ | 800 | 0 | 700 | 0 |
| $\Psi$ | - | ! | 800 | $s t$ |
| 4 | 900 | 8 | 900 | $c$ |
| $Y$ | 90 | 8 | 1,000 | ¢ |
| ш | - | U11 | - | $\check{s}$ |
| z | - | 8 | - | b |
| $b$ | - | 8 | - | b |
| 31 | - | 88 | - | $y$ |
| $t$ | - | A | - | $\check{e}$ |
| ra | - | - | - | ja |
| re | - | - | - | je |
| to | - | $\nabla^{P}$ | - | ju |
| A | 900 | $\boldsymbol{\mathcal { C }} \boldsymbol{\epsilon}$ |  |  |
| \% | - | 96 | - | $q$ |
| ma | - | - | - | $j \underline{1}$ |
| $1 \times$ | - | 84 | - | $j q$ |
| 3 | 60 | - | - | ks |
| $\psi$ | 700 | - | - | ps |
| $\checkmark$ | 400 | B | - | $i, v$ |

1.0 PHONOLOGY

It is only possible to draw conclusions indirectly about the actual sounds represented by the letters, from a study of the language of the texts, from comparison with known Slavonic languages, and by examining the structure of the alphabets themselves.
1.1 Vowels

It is assumed that the vowels were contrasted by
(a) Degree of opening:

| open | mid | close |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :--- |
| $a$ | $e$ | $i$ |  |
| (ä) | $\xi$ | $(\ddot{u})$ | b and z were |
|  | 0 | $y$ | probably mid |
|  | $q$ | $u$ | to close |
|  | $(\ddot{Q})$ |  |  |

(b) Frontness:

Front: $(\ddot{a}), e, ~(i,(\ddot{u}),(\ddot{q}), b$
Back: $\quad 0, q, u, s$
(c) Rounding:

| Rounded: | $0, q,(\ddot{q}),(\ddot{u}), u$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| Unrounded: | $a,(\ddot{a}), e, f, i, b$, probably also $z$ |

(d) Nasality:

Only $Q$, ( $\ddot{q}$, $\&$ were nasal, the others were oral.
b, $\mathbf{z}$ were contrasted by being central, possibly (although this may have applied only to the later stages) very short (they are often called semi-vowels or reduced vowels; it is best to call them jers, the Russian name, which carries no implication as to their exact nature).
$\ddot{a}, \ddot{q}$ and $\ddot{u}$ may not have been independent phonemes, and had probably disappeared altogether by the time the most recent OCS MSS were written, but there is a case for including them in the
reconstructed OCS language.
The quality of the vowels is inseparably related to the nature of the preceding consonant (s), so the distribution of the vowels can only be discussed after having described the consonants.
1.2 Consonants

The consonants can be divided into four categories:
(a) Velar consonants: $k g x$. These cannot be followed by a front vowel.
 followed by a back vowel (including $a$ ).
(c) c 3. These cannot be followed by a back vowel but can be followed by $a$.
(d) Neutral consonants: $p b t d s z v m n r l$. These can be followed by any vowel (except $\ddot{u}, \ddot{Q}$, which, if they are taken as separate phonemes, can only be preceded by palatal consonants).

### 1.3 Intrasylzabic harmony

Intrasyllabic harmony is the name for a syllable structure where a certain feature spreads over the whole of the syllable rather than being confined to a single phoneme. In the case of OCS it means that palatal consonants must be followed by front vowels, velars by back vowels, or conversely that front vowels are always preceded by palatal or neutral consonants and back vowels are always preceded by velars or neutral consonants. In the case of OCS intrasyllabic harmony is not absolute, since (1) c3 can be followed by $a$, and (2) 11 consonants are neutral and can be followed by any vowel.

In this, earlier stage of OCS it is not possible to say that the front vowels determine the palatality of the preceding consonants, or that the palatal consonants determine the frontness of the following vowels. We can only say that we have fronted (palatal) syllables, consisting of a palatal consonant (which may
be zero, in which case the vowel is preceded by a non-phonemic [j]) and a front vowel (any following consonant belongs to the next syllable, see below): in each case the consonant and the vowel in the same syllable must belong to the same articulatory category within each syllable.

The texts provide some evidence for believing that when they were written OCS had already reached a second stage, with the system outlined above modified as follows:
(1) The palatal consonants are followed by $a$ not $\ell$.
(2) A new phoneme $/ \mathrm{j} /$ is included, which can be followed by all vowels except $0, y, z$. As a result front vowels only occur after consonants, never at the beginning of a syllable.
(3) The front rounded vowels ( $\ddot{q}$ and $\ddot{u}$ ) and $\ddot{a}$ have disappeared, at least as phonemes.
(4) Back vowels are unchanged, but:

In some dialects only occurs initially, otherwise $u, Q$ and $a$ are always preceded by $j$, so that we have not only $j e, j e$, etc. but also $j u, j q, j a$. (In some dialects the reverse is the case, that is we have not only initial $\circ, u, q, a$ but also $e, \xi, i$ without $j$.)
1.4 The phonological system described above does not correspond entirely to the spelling system. The main points to note are as follows:
1.41 The letters can be interpreted as
or $j a$ ('a) ju('u) jq ('q)
according to which stage of development is selected. They are often replaced by $a$, ơ, \& after $Y, \ldots, *, \Psi, \notin A$, but are often re-

[^0]tained after $n, n, \rho$, where they may be the only way of indicating that these are palatal (see 1.44 below).
1.42 There is no letter for $j$ (which is not surprising if this sound was not a phoneme at the time when the Cyrillic alphabet was devised). In stage two $j$ can only occur at the beginning of a syllable before a vowel, and the 1 before the letters for $a \& Q$ $u$ is to be interpreted as $j$ initially and as a sign that the preceding consonant was palatalised (consonants would always be palatalised before $\xi$, so HA would be a later development; we know that re for $j e$ is much later, Russian Church Slavonic).
1.43 The combinations $j b$ and $j i$ are both shown by the letter for $i$ ( $n$ or 1 ) so that кран $=$ krajı or kraji.
1.44 The contrasts $n / n^{\prime}, ~ Z / Z^{\prime}, r / r^{\prime}$ (plain versus palatal $Z n r^{\prime}$ ) are not always shown. There may be a semicircle or circumflex joining the consonant to the following vowel: кofib. In the case of a after a palatal consonant it may appear as $t$ or $r$; Bont, Bonra. Both devices may be combined: bon̂ts воñra.
1.5 The jers (b and z) call for some special remarks:
1.51 Before $j$ the jers are sometimes replaced by $i$ and $y$; since $j$ itself is not shown in spelling before $i$, and $y$ is shown by a digraph ( $\mathrm{Z} \mathbf{l}$ or $\mathbf{z h}$ ), it is not always possible to tell what combination of sounds is intended $(z+j+b$, or $y+j+b$, or $y+i)$.
1.52 In other positions the use of the jers varies from one MS to another. In some older MSS they are omitted only in certain words and only occasionally replaced by $e$ and $o$; in some MSS they are fairly consistently replaced by $e$ and $O$ in some positions, and tend to be omitted in others. In other MSS they are confused, or only
one jer is used for both, and in others again $z$ is used before a syllable containing a back vowel, and b before a syllable containing a front vowel.
1.53 This shows that the jers were undergoing one or several of the following changes at the time when the MSS were being copied:
1.531 The two jers merge in one sound (possibly [ $\quad$ ] as in some Bulgarian dialects) in some positions, in others they become zero.
1.532 z becomes $O$ and $b$ becomes $e$, or $z$ remains as $z$ and becomes $e$ in certain positions, and both jers become zero in others. (This takes place in some Macedonian dialects.)
1.54 In all Slavonic dialects the jers become zero in some positions; these are called weak jers. In all Slavonic dialects they merge with some other vowels in other positions; these are called strong jers. The vowel with which they become identified is not the same in all Slavonic languages, and this change did not take place everywhere at the same time.
1.541 A jer is weak (in weak position) if it is at the end of a word, or if it is within a word and the following syllable does not contain a jer.
1.542 It is strong (in strong position) if it precedes a syllable containing a jer which is weak. In a succession of more than two jers, those jers are strong which are in the second, fourth, etc., syllable counting from the end of the word.

Examples:


This causes peculiar alternations in stem (cf. above acc. s'nem versus loc. son'més) and these tend to be levelled out, so that the rule is not always followed. Spellings such as $d^{\prime} n$ ' without any vowel letter show uncertainty in this respect. Originally, however, OCS had two jers which were distinct from the other vowels.


#### Abstract

1.55 Between consonants the sequences $\mathrm{r} z, \mathrm{rb}_{\mathrm{b}}, Z_{z}, Z_{b}$ probably represented special sounds (syllabic vocalic $r$ and $Z$, hard and soft), and the jers are never omitted in this position although they may be weak; usually only $z$ is found in this position, but originally there were both hard and soft vocalic $r$ and $l$.


The irregularities in the use of the jers in the MSS reflect dialectal developments which are part of the history of the Bulgarian and Macedonian languages. They have to be included in a description of OCS because no MS is entirely without them. Later MSS have other irregularities, such as the confusion of the nasal vowels, and these are excluded from the body of OCS MSS and regarded as Bulgarian or Macedonian Church Slavonic (usually called Middle Bulgarian). Some MSS with Serbian features are referred to as Serbian Church Slavonic. These later developments do not affect Russian Church Slavonic except in a very indirect way, but the developments in the jers as outlined above do have a bearing on the pronunciation of Russian Church Slavonic.
1.6 OCS is also thought to have had vocalic $r$ and $l$, that is, $r$ and $l$ functioning as the nucleus of a syllable. Neither alphabet provides for these as separate phonemes, instead the MSS have $\rho s$, $\rho z, n z, n b$, which were, of course, also used to denote the actual sequences $\rho+z, \rho+b$, etc. (as in KpzBb, kpbctz, etc.) so that $a$ word like $\operatorname{sishz}$ would be ambiguous if comparison with the other Slavonic languages did not show that here there was 1 (vocalic 2 ; cf. Russian кровь but волк, Polish krew but wilk; Czech still has vocalic $l: v / k)$. The difference is also shown indirectly by the fact that whereas $z$ and $b$ could undergo certain changes as mentioned above, the combinations $\rho z, \rho b, n z, n t$, which correspond to $\underset{0}{r}$ and $\underset{0}{1}$
do not show such changes. The MSS show only that po was being replaced by $\rho z$ (i.e. palatal $r$ was becoming hard), and some have only 0z. A similar development took place in the case of 1.

### 1.7 The structure of the syllable

The syllable can begin with as many as four consonants (five if one includes $j$ as a separate phoneme), according to the following scheme:


Every syllable ends in a single vowel, and any following consonant belongs to the next syllable. When two morphemes (e.g. a prefix and a root, or a root and a suffix) are joined together in the process of word-formation, or when an ending is attached to a stem, this may result in an impossible group of consonants, and one of the consonants (usually the first) or both have to be altered to conform to the above scheme. These alterations, which are called automatic phonemic changes, are as follows:
1.71 A voiced consonant becomes voiceless before a voiceless consonant, and a voiceless consonant becomes voiced before a voiced consonant, except before those of the third and fourth group in the scheme above (i.e. $v, m, n, l, r$, which have no voiceless counterparts). The groups $t \mathcal{L}$, $d l$ occur only at the beginning of roots before front vowels and $a$, otherwise they are simplified to $Z$ : тлtwin, длaнb, but пnenz, benz (< plet- + lz, ved- + lz). The cluster $b v$ does not occur. The cluster $z r$ only occurs at the beginning of roots, otherwise it is modified to $z d r$ : 30 לTH but НZАрешти, HZAPAKNZ.

1．72 There are no double consonants，so two identical consonants are reduced to one：

```
    s+s>s, and z +z>z-vzz +zvati> вzзвати
but t + t> st - infinitive of verbs plet- + ti> > nectn, ved- +
    ti> B&CTH.
```

1．73 Other clusters are modified as follows：
$k+t>\check{s} t-i n f i n i t i v e ~ o f ~ v e r b s ~ p e k-+t i>n e w t n, ~ m o g-~+t i>$ mowith（ $g>k$ before $t$ ）．
$s$ becomes $\check{\xi}$ before $\check{s}$ and $\check{c}$ ，and $z$ becomes $\underset{\sim}{z}$ before $\check{z}$ ；$\check{s} \nmid$ then becomes $\breve{s}$（no double consonants），but $\check{s c}$ and $\underset{\sim}{z}$ are modified as follows：

$\check{s} s>\check{s} \quad-i z+\xi_{b} d b>$ ншьдд $(i z>i s>i \breve{s})$

$s c$ remains or changes to st or $c-i z+$ čeliti＞Mcцьлити， пстБлитн，пц६лнти．

Otherwise the first consonant is lost if two consonants of the second group come together：
ot＋xoditi＞oxOAMTM ot＋kryti＞OKPbITH
pogreb－＋ti＞погрети aorist of verbs－véd－＋sz＞вtcz， teit－$_{\text {it }}$ sz＞YMcz，pogreb－＋sz＞norptcz

The changes listed under 1.7 are automatic，they are condition－ ed by the phonological structure of the language and apply to all words．

1．8 There are also non－automatic changes which only apply to some gramnatical categories．These are listed below，but for examples and further details see the chapters on morphology．These changes are of two kinds：
（i）$k g x \subset z s k z g$
change to
と Ł s と そ 豸̌ そ $d$

These changes occur before a suffix beginning with $e$（N．B．$k$ $g x$ do not occur before front vowels）．


Both types（i）and（ii）occur before the suffix－$q$ in conjuga－ tion and in word derivation．
$1.82 k g x$ sk change to
c $z s$ st or sc，e．g．the loc．of AZCKA is AZCTt or AZClit $z g$ changes to $z d$ in one word：AP hazat（loc．of APhazra）．

This type of change occurs before suffixes beginning with $\check{e}$ and $i$（ $k g x$ do not occur before these vowels）．

1．83 Since certain vowels cannot occur after palatal consonants， suffixes beginning with those vowels are not possible after stems ending in a palatal consonant，and another vowel is substituted：

```
non-palatal consonants are followed by y z o
    palatal consonants are followed by i b e
```

that is，the corresponding front vowel is substituted for the back vowel．

In certain cases the ending -y is replaced by－ę（not by $i$ ）； $\Varangle$ can occur after a non－palatal consonant（in which case $k>c$ ， $g>z, x>s$ according to 1.82 above）and after a palatal consonant $i$ or $a$ is substituted（ $a$ ，it will be remembered，can occur after palatal consonants）．The full substitution table is therefore as follows：
endings after non－palatal consonants endings after palatal consonants

```
yyйо单单
i&そeia
```

1．9 As mentioned above，all syllables contain a single vowel and every syllable，therefore every word，ends in a vowel．Originally вез－，paz－，n3－，bzz－did not end in a vowel even when used as prep－
ositions (paz- is prefix only), and their final $z$ was assimilated to a following consonant according to the rules given above: нЗАрtкbs (iz rěky), вєжнего (bez ńego), вzскран (vzz krai), ичрtва (iz đrěva). orz probably also had the form or- as prefix, but later $z$ was added by analogy with the preposition and to distinguish it from os-, as both became o- before certain consonants: оходити, оставити, like OSHASTM, OEHTH, OAtTM. By the same analogy there also arose OEZ-, OEb.

The prefixes $5 z, ~ c z, ~ k z ~ o r i g i n a l l y ~ e n d e d ~ i n ~ a ~ n a s a l ~ c o n s o n a n t, ~$ and this was preserved when followed by a vowel: вzнити, сзнити, czMATM, BZNळтри. This $-\mathrm{H}^{-}$was then used after other prepositions, cf. до него, на Hb , etc., and in conjunctions: zaнe, понеже,


Words belong to different gramatical categories, according to their function in the sentence. These functions are formally indicated by means of inflexional suffixes, and words are classified according to which type of inflexional suffix can be attached to them. Words such as adverbs and particles do not take inflexional suffixes, they are said to be invariable and their function can only be gathered from their meaning.

Inflected words are classified according to the formal categories indicated by their endings, as nouns, pronouns, adjectives, numerals and verbs. They show number: singular, dual (two), and plural (three or more). Nouns, pronouns, adjectives and numerals have endings which in addition to number show their syntactic function in the sentence (case endings). Verbs are conjugated to show person, tense and mood.

### 2.1 Nouns

There are three basic types of nominal declension. They are usually called:
(i) The o/jo declension. This comprises masculine nouns, denoting male persons and animals, and also things. This declension has a sub-division, the neuter, denoting mostly things.
(ii) The $a / j a$ declension. This comprises feminine nouns and a $f e w$ masculine nouns. The feminine nouns denote female persons and animals, also things. The masculine nouns denote male persons only.
(iii) The $i$ declension. Many of these nouns are feminine but some are masculine.

In addition there are remains of more archaic types, called the $u$ declension, the $u$ declension and the consonantal declension.

All the noun stems end in a consonant, and all the endings begin with a vowel.

Nouns ending in a hard consonant belong to the $0, a$ or $i$ declension.

Nouns ending in a soft consonant belong to the $j 0, j a$ or $i$
declension.
The vowels $0, a$ and $i$ are still present in some of the endings, but where $O$ and $a$ were preceded by $j$ there is no $j$ in OCS except after a vowel, as $j$ had already been assimilated to a preceding consonant.

There are seven cases, but there is a special ending for the vocative only in the singular of masculine and feminine nouns. In the dual the accusative ending is always the same as for the nominative, the locative ending the same as for the genitive, and the instrumental ending the same as for the dative, so that there are only three case endings. Many of the other case endings, e.g. the masculine accusative and instrumental plural of the 0 - and jo- stems, the dative and locative of the $a$-stems, and the nominative and accusative singular of the $i$-stems, are identical in form, and only the context can determine which case is present.
2.111 Masculine 0 -stem pasz (slave), and neuter o-stem ntro (year, summer)

|  | Sing. |  | Dual |  | Plur. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nom. | pasz | пьто | pasa | $n$ ntt | рави | $n$ ¢та |
| Acc. | pasz | $\boldsymbol{n}$ ¢то | pasa | $n \mathrm{sts}$ | paszi | $n$ вта |
| Gen. | pasa | п ¢та | pasor | $n$ ¢toy | pasz | $n$ ¢Tz |
| Dat. | pasoy | $\boldsymbol{n}$ ¢tov | pasoma | $n$ ¢тома | pasouz | $n$ птомz |
| Instr. | равомь | пtтомь | pasoma | пьтома | paszi | $n$ ETZ |
| Loc. | past | $n$ Втt | pasor | nttov | pastaz |  |
| Voc. | pase |  |  |  |  |  |

Also the following:

| stcs | devil | крьстд | cross |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| в¢тоz | wind | hapoaz | people |
| rnaronz | word | nnodz | fruit |
| гоazz | town | $x n t 5 z$ | bread |
| законz | law | тоamz | temple |
| кровz | roof | цв¢тз | flower |

and all nouns in -z except those listed under 2.14.

| 「Hも3AO | nest | Mtcto | place |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Atno | work | Y ¢ $\boldsymbol{\wedge}$ | forehead |
| KONtho | knee | yado | child |

and all nouns in -o except those listed under 2.152 (2)
2.112 Masculine jo-stem конь (horse), кран (edge)

Sing.

| Nom. | нонb | кран | KOnta | крara | кони | кран |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $A c c$. | конb | кран | ROMEA | kpara | нонa | кpara |
| Gen. | horta | rpara | ROHTO | sparo | конь | кран |
| Dat. | HOHFO | sparo | конема | spareua | нонемz | kpartuz |
| Instr. | нолемı | нранын | кокөma | краrema | KOHH | кран |
| Loc. | кони | кран | KOHTO | крано | hombxz | краниz |
| Voc. | MOHTO | крато |  |  |  |  |

N.B. The letter $H$ in kpan represents either -jb (in the nom./acc. sing. and gen. plur.) or $-j i$ (in the loc. sing. and nom./acc. and instr. plur.).

Also the following:

| BZпnt | scream | 38nOAtM | evil-doer |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| коравль | ship | зими | dragon |
| pan | paradise | покои | rest |
| EиYb | scourge | мхжь | man |
| врачь | doctor | ножь | knife |
| клпочь | key | вожаи | leader |

MbYb sword

Dual
Plur.

Nom. /
Acc. полta zнаменита
Gen. поль знамении
Dat. пол̂ємz знамеминемz
Instr. полй знаменни
Loc. поййх знаменнихz

Also the following:

| rope | woe | czibmhute | assembly, synagogue |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| море | sea | тозжиште | market-place |
| ппце | face | хранилпште | store-house |
| слzmbye | sun | поже | bed |
| cobable | heart | жжє | bond |

Nouns in - - - -w- -w- -wT- -wa- often have the spelling -a, -ov, $-A$, rather than $-1-a-1-0-n A$, after the palatal consonant, e.g. M**b,
 are declined like кран and поле.

Greek loanwords in -en/-th decline like span but the instr. sing. is in -єомb/-Łомb and the dat. plur. in -єomz/-tomz, e.g. нєрен (priest), dat. plur. hepeomz; hroden (nrodth) (Jew), dat. plur. nroatomz.

When the stem ends in $\kappa$ r $x$, these change to $Y \notin \boldsymbol{w}$ before $\in$ in the voc. of the $o$-declension, and $ц \mathbf{s}$ become $\varphi *$ before $\boldsymbol{\epsilon} ; \boldsymbol{r} \boldsymbol{r}$ change to 43 c before H b:

Sing.

| Nom. | oryentrz | вько | ovyentma | B64t |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Acc. | oryentrzz | вєко | оүчелика | B6引t |
| Gen. | oryemma | вька | oryenneoy | в вкоу |
| Dat. | ofyembrov | ввкоу | oryentroma | вtкома |
| Instr. | ovyentromb | вtкомь | ovyentroma | вбкома |
| Loc. | oremmit | Btut | oryentrov | вtroy |
| Voc. | оучentye |  |  |  |

Plur.

| Nom. | оуYeниця | в九ка |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Acc. | ovyennkz : | Btкa |
| Gen. | OYYentikz | B ¢\%z |
| Dat. | OYYeriroms | Bthomz |
| Instr. | OУYeникZI | Bthz 1 |
| Loc. | oryemицtx\% |  |

APOVFB (friend), AOYKZ (spirit)

Sing.

| Nom. | apoyrz | AOYsz | apoyra | Aoyra |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $A C C$. | apoyrz | AOYxz | apoura | aoyra |
| Gen. | apoyra | Aorra | aporroy | doyroy |
| Dat. | apoyroy | Aoyroy | aporroma | dorroma |
| Instr. | APOYГOMb | AOYromb | apoyroma | doyxoma |
| Loc. | apors ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | doves | apoyrov | Aorrors |
| Voc. | Aporme | גоүwe |  |  |

Plur.
Nom. AроУSM AOYGH
Acc. apoyrzi a0uxzi
Gen. apoyrz aoyrz
Dat. APOYTOMz AOYXOMz
Instr. aporrzi doyxzi
Loc. Apoystxz aOYC末xz

Also the following:

| влькz | wolf | borz | god |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Btkz | age | врагz | enemy |
| нzннжьннкз | scribe | Anzrz | debt |
| правьддникz | righteous (man) | TPzrz | market |
| пророкz | prophet | robxz | sin |
| Ynostrz | man (human being) | Mbxz | fur |
| mazzikz | tongue, nation | стpaxz | fear |

The ending -e occurs only in the vocative, e.g. отьub (father), voc. otbye, kzmasb (prince), voc. kzmake, as well as the following:

| агньцb | 1 amb | ctapbls | elder |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| коньць | end | mnadasb | well |
| мtcalj | month | ntrasb | penny |

2.12 Feminine $a$-stem atba (maiden) and ja-stem zemnta (land)

Sing. Dual

| Nom. | atba | zemnta | $\Delta$ ABt | zemin |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Acc. | Absa | zeun rex | Atbt | zemun |
| Gen. | AtBZ! | zemita | Atboy | zean to |
| Dat. | AtBt | zemun | ateama | zeun rama |
| Instr. | AtBors | zemners | atbama | zemn rama |
| Loc. | Atbt | zeman | Atboy | zewn to |
| Voc. | Atso | zeme |  |  |


|  | Plur. |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Nom. | Atbzi | zeun ra |
| Acc. | Atbzi | zemn ra |
| Gen. | Atbz | zemn |
| Dat. | Atbamz | zemn ramz |
| Instr. | Atbamn | zeun ramn |
| Loc. | Atbaxz | zeun raxz |

Also the following:

| ctaba | woe | pzisa | fish |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| boda | water | cectpa | sister |
| глава | head | ctpana | country |
| гора | mountain | ц¢tra | price |
| mena | woman | bonra | will |
| петина | truth | samita | drop |

and all nouns in $-a,-r a$.

As in the $j 0$－declension，$-j i$ is spelt $-h$ ，and $a$ ，or，A are


Feminine ja－stem 弓Mнra（snake），дожwa（soul）
Sing．Dual

| Nom． | 3Mn 1－a | доүша |  | доуши |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Acc． | zMn－＊ | Аоуш及 | змнн | дории |
| Gen． | 弓мна | доуma | zunto | AOYwors |
| Dat． | змин | доуши | зми rama | доушама |
| Instr． | zanrex | доvwex | zun－ama | доуиама |
| Loc． | змин | Aоуши | zunto | Aoymor |
| Voc． | zunte | доบшe |  |  |

Plur．

| Nom． | 3Mn ma | доуша |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Acc． | zur ma | доуии |
| Gen． | змии | доушь |
| Dat． | zun ramz | доушамв |
| Instr． | zur ramir | догшами |
| Loc． | zuntraxz | доушахz |

Also the following：

| atbrya | girl | притzya | fable |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| овьца | sheep | пъжа | lie |
| пзтица | bird | св | candle |
| тьмьннца | prison | ночжда | need |
| ctbsta | path | oaema | clothing |

As in the o－declension，к $\boldsymbol{r} x$ become $\psi s \mathrm{~s}$ before H ， t ：
Sing．Dual Plur．

| Nom． | ржка | cnorra | рхит | cnorst | рхуу | cnorsh |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Acc． | ряккх | cnours | pxut | cnorst | ряцн | cnorsh |
| Gen． | ратzi | cnorrel | pxroy | cnoyrov | prkz | cnoyrs |
| Dat． | ркй | cnorst | ржкама | cnoyrama | ржкамз | cnoyramz |
| Instr． | рхкогя | cnorrora | ржкама | cnoyrama | ржкамн | gnoyramh |
| Loc． | рхйt | cnorst | рдкоу | cnorrout |  | cnoyraxz |
| Voc． | ркко | cnoyro |  |  |  |  |

Also the following:

| мхка | torture | mora | leg |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| рька | river | movxa | fly |
| нzнига | book | ch3xa | dau |

2.121 Some nouns of the ja-declension have the nom. sing. in $-n$ :
2.1211 Feminine nouns denoting persons or abstract concepts with the suffix -zinn, e.g. рabzifin (slave woman), novctzinin (desert); otherwise they are declined like zeMnra. The following have this pattern: вогzin̂ (goddess), rocnoaziñ (mistress), коьстнranzinM (Christian woman), поганzîh (pagan woman), camaprahzinM (Samaritan woman), EлaroctziAM (goodness), rozazifin (pride), GBATBINH (holiness).
2.1212 Nouns with the suffix $-i j-$, e.g. naдин (boat); some of these are feminine but they are mostly masculine, see 2.122 below. The following belong to this category: кравни (basket), миzнин (lightning), свиним (pig).
2.122 Most of the nouns of the $a-/-j a$ declension are feminine, but some denoting male persons are masculine:

| владziкa | ruler | Балй | doctor |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| пи 1-aнmца | drunkard | KZNHTZY云 | scribe |
| cnorra | servant | сокауин | cook |
| ovshnua | murderer | CSAHM | judge |
| tonоша | young man |  |  |

2.13 The $i$-declension

Examples: roctb (guest, masc.), $\mu \mathrm{Z}$ lub (mouse, fem.)

Sing. Dual
Nom. $/$

| Acc. | гость | Mz Imb | rocth |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Gen. | гости | Mz Imи | roctoro | Mz ımь ヶo |
| Dat. | roctm | Mz Imm | гостьма | Mz Ішьма |
| Instr. | гостьмь | Mz Iwb | гостьма | Mz ішьма |
| Loc. | гости | $\mathrm{Mz} 1 \pm \mathrm{m}$ | roctbro | Mz 1шь ทo |
| Voc. | rocth | MZ Im |  |  |

Plur.

| Nom. | roctbre | Mz 1 ми |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Acc. | roctn | Mb imm |
| Gen. | гостьи | Mz ıшьท |
| Dat. | roctbmz | Mz Ішььмะ |
| Instr. | гостьми | мъ Ішьмй |
| c | -остb |  |

Most of these nouns are feminine and have the instrumental sing. in $-b$. $\boldsymbol{x}$. They include the following:

| Bbcb | village | SON 53 Hb | illness |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $A B b \rho b$ | door | SOHazHb | fear |
| zanorbab | testament | пbchb | song |
| $\mu \mathrm{tab}$ | copper | czupbtb | death |
| ptyb | speech | помошть | help |
| chpzes | grief | Howts | night |
| TBADG | creation | B twill b | thing |
| XOTb | lust | пnzts | flesh |
| yadb | children | bnacti | power |
| radb | food | завнстb | envy |
| MZICNb | thought | ctpactb | passion |
| ГZIEtAb | loss | Yьсть | honour |
| EPANs | dispute | Hohocti | youth |
| дань | tribute | SOYHETb | rebelliousness |

and all the abstract nouns in－octb and－धcTb．
The following are masculine，with instr．sing．in－b山b，nom． plur．in－bre：

| sonb | pain | MeABtab | bear |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Гвоzab | nail | ппть | way |
| ronasb | pigeon | тatb | thief |
| гоzтаны | throat | чрьвь | worm |
| zaTb | son－in－1aw | ヵアпb | coal |

and the plural ntoane（people）．
The following also belong to the $i$－declension，but can also take the endings of the jo－declension：
rocnodb（lord，master），$弓$ вtpb（wild animal），orib（fire），dual of око（еуе）and очхо（ear）：очн，очнюо，очниа，оуши，очшнно，оушниа （N．B．slight irregularity）．

## 2．14 The $\breve{u}$－declension

This declension consists of a few masculine nouns，but the endings of the $\breve{u}$－declension are not the only ones used with these nouns；there are many examples of endings of the o－declension being substituted．

Example：the declension of czinz（son），according to the $\breve{u}$－ declension and as attested in the texts：

|  | Sing． | Dual | Plur． |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nom． | CZIHz | $\begin{aligned} & \text { CZIHZI, CZINa } \\ & \text { (rare) } \end{aligned}$ | CZIHOEE， | CZIHK |
| Acc． | CZINZ | CZIHZI | C3INZI |  |
| Gen． | czimoy，czima （rare） | czinozol，czinoy | CZIHOSZ |  |
| Dat． | GZIHOBH，CZIHOY | CZIHzMa | ＊GZIHzMz， | GZ 1 Homz |
| Instr． | ＊CZIHzMb，GZIHOMb | CZIHzMa | CZINZMH， | GZIHzI |
| Loc． | $\begin{aligned} & \text { CZINOY, cZIHt } \\ & \text { (rare) } \end{aligned}$ | CZIMOBOV，CZINOV | ＊czinzez， | GZIHOKZ |
| Voc． | czithoy，czine （rare） |  |  |  |

The endings of the $\breve{u}$-declension are also found with nouns of the o-declension, particularly the gen. and loc. sing. in -ov, and the dat. sing. in -ови, which is used for nouns denoting persons, most frequently borrowed personal names. The voc. in -ro of the jo-stems is also derived from this declension (although there are no $\breve{u}$-stems ending in a palatal consonant). The nom. plur. ending -obe (-EBE after soft consonant) is also found in other declensions. The following nouns of ten have endings of the $\breve{u}$-declension and may originally have belonged to it:

| $A 0 p z$ | gift | Canz | rank |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| гласz | voice | 6 ClHz | tower |
| roouz | thunder | ctanz | camp |
| A85z | oak | pOAz | race |
| $\operatorname{cas} x$ | plantation | padz | row |

The following probably also belonged to this declension:

| gonz | ox | Mnpz world |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Bpbrz | summit | nonz floor |  |
| AOMz | house | $Y H H z$ | order |
| MEAZ honey |  |  |  |

### 2.15 The consonantal declensions

The consonantal declensions are characterized by the suffixes $-\varepsilon H^{-},-\varepsilon c-,-\varepsilon p-$ and $-T-$ which are absent in the nom. sing.
2.151 The $n$-declension comprises masculine and neuter nouns. As in the o-declension, the two genders are distinct only in the nom. and acc., the masc. nouns having a special form for the acc. In the texts the acc. sing, is often found for the nom. sing., and where the original nom. sing. form occurs it is also used as the acc. The nom. plur. masc. in te is only found in the noun $A b M b$ and in the irregular plurals of the type roazaaHe, the usual form being in -ne.

Examples: kamzi (stone), писलА (letter)

| Nom． | Kamz ！，kamerb | писma | камени | писиенt |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Acc． | kamerb | THCMA | камени | писменt |
| Gen． | kamere | писменe | kameror | писменоу |
| Dat． | same in | писмени | каменьмa | писменьмa |
| Instr． | каме ньмь | пncuenbub | каменbma | писме ньma |
| Loc． | камене | пиCMEHe | кameroy | пhcmeroy |

Plur．

| Nom． | ＊mamere | тисмена |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Acc． | наме ни | megmena |
| Gen． | каме Hz | thamenz |
| Dat． | каме ньмz | п¢cme himb |
| Instr． | наменьми | thgmenti |
| Loc． | наменьгz | пngmendiz |

2．152 The $s$－declension and the $t$－declension consist entirely of neuter nouns，and the endings are the same as those of the neuter $n$－declension．

Examples：tbno（body），otpoya（child）

| Nom．$/$ |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Ace． | Tちへo | оtpoya | Ttnect | otpoyata |
| Gen． | tthege | otpoyate | Ttinecor | otpoyatol |
| Dat． | tenegh | otpoyatm | твлесьma | otpoyatbma |
| Instr． | тtлegbmb | otpoyatbmb | тtnecsma | otpoyatbma |
| Loc． | ttrece | otpoyate | tinecour | otpoyator |
| Nom．$/$ |  |  |  |  |
| Acc． | тћлеса | otpoyata |  |  |
| Gen． | төлecz | otpoyatz |  |  |
| Dat． | тђлеcbimz | otpoyatbmz |  |  |
| Instr． | тもлeczi | otpoyatzi |  |  |
| Loc． | тtлecbrz | otpoyatbiz |  |  |

The following also belong to the consonantal declensions:

| $n$-declension: |  | (2) | $s$-declension: | (3) $t$ | $t$-declension: |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| (i) Masc |  | AHBO | wonder | arka | I amb |
| KODEHL | root | арtво | tree | mptea | foal |
| плament | flame | kono | wheel | KAroca | beast of burden |
| pemenb | strap | A Hoto | evil |  | kid |
| renenb | deer | meso | sky | кozna | kid |
|  |  | crobo | word | Obbim | 1 amb |
| (ii) Neu |  | Y FOdO | miracle | OGMA | donkey |

spbun burden
вобма time
hMA name
nntuman tribe
ctima seed
YMCMA number

Also the plurals nhyeca (face, from unattested *nnкo) and ngtega (kidneys). око and oyxo have plural forms oчeca, oywega, but are more frequently in the dual.
2.153 Some of the endings of the consonantal declension are not the original ones; the endings in $-b-$ are derived from the $i$ declension. There are many instances where endings from other declensions are substituted. The noun abHb (day) in particular shows a variety of endings:

|  | Sing. | Drat | Plur. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nom. | AbHb | ALNH | АБне, abNMre, AbHbre |
| Acc. | $\triangle \mathrm{AHb}$ | AbHh | abin |
| Gen. | Аьне, Аbin | AbNOV, AbMETO | AbHZ, AbMHM, AbNEH |
| Dat. | AbHM | Abलbua | AbNbMZ |
| Instr. | АВ ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | Аьньма | AbHbMH, $\triangle$ bHZI |
| Loc. | АЬНе, АЬни | AbHO\&, AbHb | АЬНbスZ |

2．154 The－r－declension is like the other consonantal declensions except for the instr．sing．It consists only of the two fem．nouns matn（mother）and дzшти（daughter）．

| Nom． | мати | ＊матери | Mateph |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Acc． | matepb | ＊matepn | натерн |
| Gen． | matepe | ＊matepoy | Matepz |
| Dat． | матери | ＊matepbma | матерbмх |
| Instr． | matepbta | ＊mateplma | matepsmi |
| Loc． | matepn | ＊matepoy | ＊matepsiz |

## 2．16 The $\bar{u}$－declension

This consists of fem．nouns only．The original $\bar{u}$－suffix，which appears as -zi in the nom．sing．，has become ZB in the oblique cases，so that this is in fact also a consonantal declension．The most common nouns in this declension are црькъl which has endings from the $a$－declension in the dat．，instr．and loc．plur．，and крдвb（blood），where the acc．is used for the nom．（cf．пnament， etc．，above）．

Sing．Plur．

| Nom． | 403831 | крzв | पPZRZBH | крZвн |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Acc． | 䒑¢zRzBb | крZEb | 40ZR3884 | крZв |
| Gen． | प9zкzв | крzBe，K¢Zви | प0ZkzBz | KOZBH |
| Dat． | ப9zкzви | крzви | LPZKzBaMz | ноzBbuz |
| Instr． |  | kpzBbra | LPZRZBAMM | крzвbци |
| Loc． | ypzrzbe，－ | нодви | црзкzвахz | к9\％Bbxz |

The dual forms of this declension are not attested．
The following also belong to this declension：

| Epasz | axe | HETMOAZI | barren woman |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| EOYR3I | letter | cBekpz I | mother－in－law |
| mpzizi | mill－stone | CMORZ 1 | fig |
| Nokz 1 | puddle | xoparzi | standard（flag） |
| nroszi | love | 山如を | healing |

2.17 Some nouns denoting persons formed by means of the suffixes - тenb and -apb and nouns whose singular ends in the suffix -anhnz or
 form the plural according to the masculine consonantal declension, with some irregular forms due to analogy with the o-declension. In the plural the suffix -anmmz/-ънинz loses its final singulative eiement -hmz .

Examples: the plural of rрaжданинz (townsman) and ovYнTє

| Nom. | граждане | ovyhtene |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Acc. | гражданz। | ovyhtena |
| Gen. | гражданz | OYYHTEAb |
| Dat. | гражаанеMz | ovyhtenemz |
| Instr. | граждanz I | OYYHTEAbMH |
| Loc. | гражданехz | OYYHTENEX\% |

The plural of the following has the same pattern:

| вннарь | wine-maker | влагодtтent | benefactor |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| вратарb | door-keeper | abnatenb | worker |
| гоzнчарь | potter | \%ATENb | reaper |
| knroyapt | steward | poantent | parent |
| Mz ITapb | toll-keeper | xpanhtent | preserver |
| ¢zIEapb | fisherman | галhлeanhiz | Galilean |
| $4 t c a p b$ | king |  | Christian |
|  |  | caMapthh | Samaritan |

The plural of nouns in -HHz is similar but of ten shows irregularities.

Also BOHNZ plur. BOH (warrior), ГOGחOAHHZ plur. ГOGПOAME (lord, master), and nюoдhнz plur. n roane (people).
2.2 Pronouns
2.21 Personal pronouns occur only for the first and second person, singular, plural and dual, together with a reflexive pronoun referring to the subject of the sentence which refers to all
(including the third). The third person pronoun is supplied by the demonstrative pronouns $\mathrm{Cb}, \mathrm{Tz}$ and oHz in the nominative, and by the pronoun $*_{n}$ in the oblique cases; the latter is declined like a demonstrative pronoun and is usually classified with them. The personal pronouns have a declension peculiar to themselves as follows:

> Sing. Dual

| Nom. | ${ }^{4} 38$ | T3) | вt | Ba |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Acc. | mene, ma | tege, ta | na | Ba |
| Gen. | $\boldsymbol{M e n g}$ | tege | haro | saro |
| Dat. | Mbrt, Mn | tese, th | nama | вама |
| Instr. |  | TOEO | hama | вама |
| Loc. | Mьнt | TESt | mato | вато |

Plur.

| Nom. | MZI | BZI |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Acc. | nacz, HzI | Bacz, BZI |
| Gen. | Nacz | sacz |
| Dat. | Namz | BaMz |
| Instr. NaMH | BaMH |  |
| Loc. | nacz | Bacz |

There is also a reflexive pronoun which refers to the subject of the sentence and has therefore no nominative:

| Acc. | cese, ca |
| :--- | :--- |
| Gen. | cese |
| Dat. | cest, ch |
| Instr. | cosorx |
| Loc. | cests |

2.22 The demonstrative pronouns may end in a hard or a palatal consonant, and the endings vary accordingly, as with nouns. As with nouns, the masculine and neuter are distinct only in the nom. and acc., the feminine does not distinguish between nom. and acc. in the plur., and the dual has only three endings. In the plural all genders have the same form except for the nom. and acc.
2.221 The hard demonstrative pronoun is declined as follows:

Example: Tz (this)

|  | Sing. |  |  | Dual |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | masc. | neut. | fem. | masc./neut. | fem |
| Nom. | TZ | TO | тa | та | T ${ }^{\text {b }}$ |
| Acc. | TZ | TO | T\% | та | T ${ }^{\text {b }}$ |
| Gen. | тoro |  | TOHA | Toro |  |
| Dat. | tomov |  | TOM | твua |  |
| Instr. | T $\mathrm{tab}^{\text {d }}$ |  | TOFR | твua |  |
| Loc. | то从b |  | TOH | Toro |  |

Plur.
masc. neut. fem.
Nom. Th ta TZI
Acc. TZI Ta TZI
Gen. T\& $\quad$ K
Dat. Ttum
Instr. TEMH
Loc. TEXZ

|  |  | Plur. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | mase. | neut. | fem. |
| Nom. | таци | така | такzı |
| Acc. | Takz | така | такв 1 |
| Gen. |  | тaytxz |  |
| Dat. |  |  |  |
| Instr. |  | тацьми |  |
| Loc. |  | Tautsz |  |

The following are declined in the same way: какz (what kind of), ннкакzжє (no kind of), ньканz (some kind of), ннанz (another kind of), taкz (this kind of), вьс rakz (every kind of), and сикz (this kind of).
2.222 Some pronouns in $-k$ - and $-r$ - have a mixed declension, that is they have nominal declension except in the cases where the pronominal declension has -t-, so that they have consonant change in the same cases as tarz above.

Example: толикz (such, of such a size)

Sing.

| Nom. | mase. <br> TOAMKZ | neut. толико | fem. <br> толнка | masc./neut. толика | fem. <br> толицв |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Acc. | толикz | толнко | толнкх | толика | толиць |
| Gen. |  |  | толикъ 1 | толнкоу |  |
| Dat. |  | коу | толnut | толнцьма |  |
| Instr. |  | tus | толикоют | толицвма |  |
| Loc. |  |  | толиц $\ddagger$ | толнкоу |  |

Nom. толнцн толина толнкві
Acc. толикві толнка толнкві
Gen. толицьхз
Dat. толицвми
Instr. толицвыи
Loc. толицьхз

Similarly the following: konnkz (of what size), reankz (suc as, of such a size that), cennkz (of this size), aporrz (other), mzMorz (much, many).
2.223 The pronouns ending in a palatal consonant have the same endings as those in a hard consonant, but with the appropriate vowels.

Example: Mon (my), нawb (our)

|  | Sing. |  |  | Duat |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | masc. | neut. | fem. | masc./neut. | fem. |
| Nom. | Mor | Mort | mora | Mora | Mon |
| Acc. | Mon | more | Mor-x | mora | Mon |
| Gen. | morero |  | Morera | morero |  |
| Dat. | moremor |  | Moreh | monma |  |
| Instr. | Mo remb |  | Morera | монma |  |
| Loc. | Moremb |  | Moren | moreto |  |


|  | plur. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | masc. | neut. | fem. |
| Nom. | MOH | mora | Mora |
| Acc. | MOHA | Mora | Mo ha |
| Gen. |  | MOHKZ |  |
| Dat. |  | momuz |  |
| Instr. |  | MOMMH |  |
| Loc. |  | Mohtz |  |


|  |  | Sing. |  | Dual |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | masc. | neut. | fem. | masc./neut. | fem. |
| Nom. | нашь | nawe | Hawa | наша | наши |
| Acc. | нашь | name | Haul | наша | наши |
| Gen. | Haw |  | нawea | Naw ro |  |
| Dat. | Hall | OV | нawer | нашнма |  |
| Instr. | наш |  | Hawer | нашнма |  |
| Loc. | наш |  | нaw ${ }^{\text {ch }}$ | nawe ro |  |

plur．

|  | masc． | neut． | fem． |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nom． | нашн | наша | Hams |
| Acc． | naum | наша | nama |
| Gen． |  | нашихz |  |
| Dat． |  | нашниz |  |
| Instr． |  | нашнии |  |
| Loc． |  | нашнх\％ |  |

The pronoun cb（this）also follows this pattern，but with some alternative irregular forms．The anaphoric pronoun is not found in the nominative（see 2.21 above），but the original nomina－ tive form occurs as part of the relative pronoun пже．

|  | Sing． |  |  |  | Dual |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | mas |  | neut． | fem． | masc． | neut． | fem． |
| Nom． | cb， | CHH | ce | CH | chra | CH，CHM | CH |
| Acc． | CH， | cero | ce | chi－h | chra | CH，CHH | CH |
| Gen． |  | cero |  | cera |  | cero |  |
| Dat． |  | cemove |  | Ger |  | chuma |  |
| Instr． |  | chmb |  | 6Mm |  | chma |  |
| Loc． |  | cemb |  | GEH |  | ce roo |  |

Plur．

|  | masc． | neut． | fem． |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nom． | GHM，GH | cm | chta |
| Acc． | CH Ha | ch | GH ram |


| Gen． | chxz |
| :--- | :--- |
| Dat． | chuz |
| Instr． | chur |
| Loc． | chrz |


|  | Sing． |  | Dual |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nom． | （ $⿴ 囗 十$ ）（rєжє） | （rawe） | （rawe） | （ $\boldsymbol{\text { \％}}$ ） |
| Acc． | H，rero re | 1－8 | 1 － | n |
| Gen． | rero | rera | rero |  |
| Dat． | remover | Hen | ица |  |
| Instr． | HMb | 上品 | нма |  |
| Loc． | （ $\boldsymbol{H}$ ）$\in \mu_{\text {b }}$ | ren | $1-10$ |  |

Plur.

| Nom. | ( nm ) | (rame) | ( $\mathrm{n} \boldsymbol{\text { e }}$ ) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Acc. | ${ }^{\ldots}$ | ra | $\ldots$ |
| Gen. |  | nxz |  |
| Dat. |  | имь |  |
| Instr. |  | нин |  |
| Loc. |  | nxz |  |

and similarly tвои (your, sing.), свон (his, her, its, their own), чии (whose), and вашь (your, plur.). There are no dual possessive pronouns, the genitive of the personal pronoun is used instead. тоүжав (someone else's) can also be declined in this way, but nominal forms are found as well. The pronoun chub (such, of this kind) only occurs in the nom. and acc. and belongs here, the other cases are replaced by the corresponding cases of chkz with the same meaning.
2.224 The interrogative pronoun kzin (what, which) is partly declined according to the pronominal declension, partly like a compound adjective, with some alternative forms:

|  | Sing. |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | masc. | neut. | fem. |  |
| Nom. | KZIM, kzi | nore | kara |  |
| Acc. | KZIT, ko |  |  | ко 1 ra |
| Gen. | norer |  | kOrea, | KO ra |
| Dat. | norel |  | noreh, | KOh |
| Instr. | KZIM |  | korers, | , KOH |
| Loc. | norel |  | KOHEM |  |

Plur.
mas. neut. fem.
Noт. цнн кана кзін
Acc. kzita kara kzita
Gen. кzinxz, конкz
Dat. кziнмд
Instr. кzinми
Loc. кзimxz

The interrogative pronouns квто (who) and Ybто (what) are singular only and follow the hard and the palatal declension respectively, with some alternative forms. The particle - To is present in the nom. only. The acc. of $\boldsymbol{n z T o}$ is always as the genitive.

| Nom. | hzto | Ybтo |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Acc. | ного | Ybтo |
| Gen. | ного | yeco, yecoro, ybcoro |
| Dat. | Komor | Yecomor, Ybcomor |
| Instr. | цtMb | Y'ub |
| Loc. | коMb | YeMb, Yecomb |

N.B. The instrumental of kzTo with its isolated 4 is often replaced by that of kzin, i.e. кzinmb.

The indefinite and negative pronouns нڭкzтo (some one, a certain), нtкzin (do.), нвчbто (something), нtкakz (of some kind), никzто (nobody), ннкziн (no), ннчьто (nothing), никакд (of no kind) are declined in the same way. The prefixes Nt - and $\mathbf{H H}$ - are separated from the pronouns by a preposition: Ht or koro (with a certain person), MH o коMb (about no one).
2.225 The pronouns Fetepz (a certain) and karobz (of what kind) are declined like nouns of the o-declension. Takobz and chyesz (such) may be declined like nouns or like pronouns. Kotopzim (which) follows the compound adjectival declension (see below).
2.226 The pronoun bbGb (every, all) follows a mixed declension:

Sing.

|  | masc. neut. | fem. | masc. | neut. | fem. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nom. | Bbcb Bbce | Bbcm, Bbcr\% | Bbca | вbca, Bbct | Bbca |
| Acc. | Bbcb Bbce | Bbcm, Bbcha | Ybca | Bbca, Ebct | YbGA |
| Gen. | zbcero | Bbgeram |  | Bbctszz |  |
| Dat. | Bbcemor | Bbcen |  | Bbctuz |  |
| Instr. | Bbctub | Bbcera |  | вbсtыun |  |
| Loc. | Bbcemb | Bbcen |  | Bbctixz |  |

The stems of adjectives may end in a hard or a palatal consonant. The endings vary accordingly, as with nouns and pronouns.

Adjectives occur in two forms, each with its own declension: the short or nominal and the long or pronominal (also sometimes called compound) declension.
2.31 The nominal declension is the same as that of nouns of the $0 / j o$ declension for the masculine and neuter, and the same as that of nouns of the $a / j a$ declension for the feminine.

Example: the declension of новz (new) and мишть (poor)

Masc. Sing. Dual

| Nom. | MOBZ | ништь | mosa | ништа |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Acc. | nobz | ништь | нова | ништа |
| Gen. | nosa | nhmita | MOBOY | нHET ro |
| Dat. | Hosoly | нrmito | новома | nhwtema |
| Instr. | HOEOMb | ништещь | hosoma | ништема |
| Loc. | nost | ништи | HOBOY | Mhw tro |


| Nom. | HOBM | нншти |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Acc. | HOBZI | Hhwis |
| Gen. | HOBZ | нншть |
| Dat. | HOBOMZ | нHшTEMZ |
| Instr. | HOBZ 1 | NHIUTH |
| Loc. | nostxz | ништихz |

The neuter declension is the same, except of course for nom./ acc. sing. NOBO, нHשTE, nom./acc. dual MOst, NHwTh and nom. acc. plur. noвa, nhmita.

Fem.
Sing.
Dual

| Nom. | nosa | ништа | MOBE | мпшти |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Acc. | HOBX | мпштヶฎ | HOBt | нншт |
| Gen. | MOBZ: | нншта | HOBOV | nhwt to |
| Dat. | новt | ништи | новама | ннut rama |
| Instr. | HOBOTM | nhwterm | hobama | нншт rama |
| Loc. | nost | нншт | HOBOY | нMw ${ }^{\text {Ho }}$ |

Plur.

| Nom. | NOBZ 1 | hhwita |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Acc. | нobs 1 | hnштta |
| Gen. | нorz | нншть |
| Dat. | новамz | нншт tams |
| Instr. | новамн | нпшт -aw |
| oc. | новах | ни\# |

2.311 The nominal form of the participles also follows this declension. (See pp. 73-4 and 81-3.)

Examples: the declension of the present participle active of necth (to carry), глаголати (to say), and молити (to ask):
sing.

|  | Masc. | Neut. | Fem. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nom. | hegzi |  | несхшыти |
| Ace. | нegruti | нegamte | несхштх |
| Gen. | нegzmita |  | mecкшта |
| Dat. | неслитоу |  | несхжти |
| Instr. | несхшттыь |  | нecxwiter |
| Loc. | несхйти |  | месжитн |

Dual

|  | Masc. | Neut. | Fem. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nom. /Acc. |  | несхжти | negsuluta |
| Gen./Loc. |  |  | Hecsumioy |
| Dat./Instr. |  |  | неслитама |

Sing.

|  | Masc. Neut. | Fem. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nom. | гпаголt- | глагол -хщти |
| Acc. | глагол-mть rnarontzute | rnarontrutz |
| Gen. | гnaron rxura | rnarontruila |
| Dat. | гnarontzutoy | rnaron r-muth |
| Instr. | гпаголнжштемь | rnaront-zuluter |
| Loc. | rnaront-xwith | гпагол ヶ-木шти |

Dual

|  | Masc. | Neut. | Fem. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nom. /Acc. | r^arontrmia | rnarontruth | raaron trilta |
| Gen./Loc. | rnar | rov | rnaron rxullow |
| Dat./Instr. | rnar | тema | rnaron txwtama |

Plur.

|  | Masc. | Neut. | Fem. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nom. | неслите | неслита | $\mathrm{n} \in \mathrm{Cx}$ 小ila |
| Acc. | несхштa |  | hegriuta |
| Gen. | nec | emz | $\boldsymbol{n \in c z m i t ~}$ |
| Dat. | $\mathrm{n} \in \mathrm{C}$ |  |  |
| Instr. | hes | нмд | неслшт ами |
| Loc. | hec | xz | несжштахz |

Nom.
Acc.
Gen.
Dat.
Instr.
Loc.

Sing.

|  | Masc. Neut. | Fem. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nom. | mona | Mолашти |
| Acc. | monamtb monamte | monamta |
| Gen. | monamta | monamta |
| Dat. | monalltoly | мошаштя |
| Instr. | молаштемь | MOnamter |
| Loc. | молашти | Молашти |

plur.

|  | Masc. | Neut. | Fem. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nom. | moлаmтt | молашта | monalita |
| Acc. | Moramita | monamta | mosamta |
| Gen. | Mon |  | моланть |
| Dat. | mon | EMz | молаштамд |
| Instr. | Mon |  |  |
| Loc. | Mon | 183 | monamtaxz |

Dual

|  | Masc. |  | Neut. | Fem. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nom. /Ace. | monamta |  | Monamtm | mosallth |
| Gen./Instr. |  | monamtor |  | monamitov |
| Dat./Instr. |  | monamt ema |  | monalltama |

2.32 The pronominal declension also has nominal endings, to which are added the corresponding endings of the pronoun, that is, the palatal pronominal endings. These endings are often found in contracted form.

Masc. Hard

|  | Sing. | Dual |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nom. | NOBZH, HOEZIM | новата |
| Acc. | NOBZH, MOBZIH | новата |
| Gen. | nobaero, nobaaro, hobato | HOBOY TO |
| Dat. | HOBOY Remor, HOBOYOYMOY, HOBOYMOY | HOBZ I HMA |
| Instr. | HOBZIHML, HOEZIMb | NOEZ I HMA |
| Loc. | пиштию¢ь, пиштємь | nnmet toro |

plur.
Nom. новии
Acc. HOEZI ha
Gen. HOBZIMKZ, HOBZIXZ
Dat. HOBZIHMZ, HOBZIMZ
Instr. HOBZIMNH
LOC. HOBZIMKZ

Masc. Palatal

Sing.
Noт. ннштни
Ace. ннштия
Gen. ништ rarero, ннштtaго
Dat. ништ roremol, ништ romoly
Instr. ннштнимь, ништимь
Loc. ништнимь, ништимь

Dual
нншт rata
нншт rara
нншт toro
ништннма, ннштнма
ннштинма, ннштнма
нншт roro

Plur．
Nom．ништим
Acc．hишtara
Gen．ннштинкz，ништихз
Dat．ннштинмв，ништимд
Instr．ништнимн，ништими
Loc．ништнижz，ништижz

The neuter declension is the same，except for nom．／acc．sing． новое，ништег，nom．／acc．dual новкн，ништии and nom．／acc．plur． нов ara，ништ rara．

Fem．Sing．

| Nom． | hobara | ништ tara |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Acc． |  |  |
| Gen． | HOBS 1 Ha | ништ トАヶィ |
| Dat． | HOBth | ништин |
| Instr． | HOBOt－8 | nиште－8 |
| Loc． | Mobth | миштия |

The plural and dual are the same as for the neuter，except for the nom．／acc．plur．，which are as for masc．acc．plur．：Hobzita and hhmtara．

## 2．33 Comparison of adjectives

The comparative is formed by means of two suffixes，－bw－and an extended form－tnu－．In the masc．nom．sing．the－w－is drop－ ped．The fem．nom．sing，ending is -4 ，and the masc．nom．plur． ending is $-\varepsilon$ ，otherwise the comparative is declined like an ad－ jective ending in a palatal consonant．
2. 331 When the suffix is -bw- the final consonant of the stem undergoes change.

Examples:

|  |  | Masc. | Neut. | Fem. | Masc. Plur. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ADAFZ | dear | Аражни | драже | дражьши | дражьше |
| An×3 | exceeding | пишни | лнше | пишьши | лишьшє |
| n-OT\% | evil | $\boldsymbol{\Lambda}$-оштй | $\wedge$ Howte | $\boldsymbol{\wedge}$ ношт вши | $\boldsymbol{n}$ Howt bue |
| xovas | smal1 | коуждни | xovmat | коужаьши | rov*ab山e |

2.332 A final -ok-, - BK - or -bk-suffix is dropped, and the final consonant of the shortened stem undergoes change:

Examples:

|  |  | Mase. | Neut. | Fem. | Masc. PZur. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| BZICORZ | high | BZ1世4 | BZIUE | B2 1шьши | B3) |
| cnaAzKZ | sweet | слаждии | слажае | ¢лажа ьшн | cnawabwe |
| ковп\%кz | strong | крtраин | крьпn | крђрльши | ко $¢$ trinbue |

2.333 Some comparative forms with -bu-suffix have no positive forms, they are used as the comparative of a different word:

Examples:

|  |  | Masc. | Neut. | Fem. | Masc. Plur. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| велй | large | Болин | sone | EOn but | Болbwe |
| Mz ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | many | BAllitht | bamute | ванит | враштьш |
| AOEPZ | good | nOVYRH, OVHHH | norye, ovie, oynte | noyчbun, OYньшн | noľybme, oymbue |
| manz | Iittle | Мьнин | MbMe | Mb Ньши | Mьньше |
| $37 n 8$ | bad | горни | rope | гоpbши | Горьше |

2. 334 Before the suffix -\&ип- there is the regular change $k>Y$, $r>\infty$ and $x>m$, but the other consonants do not change. After a palatal consonant $t$ appears as $a$.

Examples:

|  |  | Masc. | Neut. | Fem. | Masc. Plur. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| H087 | new | HOBth | Moste |  | Hobtrue |
| ctapz | old | ctaptm | crapte | старвишн | ctaptnme |
| АОЕли | brave | ДОEлran | AOSA rat | АОEл -anш\% | dos r ranme $^{\text {a }}$ |
| covxz | dry | coywan | corwae | covшаншн | coymarme |
| oysorz | poor | ovbowan | ovbowae | OYEOжаMш | oysowanme |

2.335 In a few adjectives the suffix $-\mathbf{z k - / - b к -}$ is also present in the comparative, and $k$ changes to $Y$ before $t$, which then appears as $a$, as stated in 2.334 .

Examples:

|  |  | Masc. | Neut. | Fem. | Masc. Plur. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ropbks | bitter | ropsyan | ropbrae | горьуанши | Горьчанше |
| TbHzKZ | thin | TbHzKZ | tinzyae | тьнzчанши | TbHzYahme |
| kpotzkz | meet | кротдצan | кротzyae | кротzчаншн | кротzYanшe |

2.336 The comparative form can also be declined according to the pronominal or compound adjectival declension. It follows the same pattern as the other adjectives ending in a palatal consonant, except for the fem. nom. sing. which ends in -hra (e.g. Hosthwnra not -ara; N.B. the masc. nom. plur. is regular, e.g. новthшm not -em).

Example: the nominal and the pronominal declension of nobth

Sing.

|  | Masc. |  | Neut. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nom. | nosth | MOBth | HOBtre | Hosthwe |
| Acc. | HOBth | HOBth | HOBtre |  |
| Gen. | новbиша | nostrmarero |  |  |
| Dat. | HOSthwoy | HOBthwov remoy | Rest of | eut. 1ik |
| Instr. | нов ¢ишemb | новtишиниь |  |  |
| Loc. | nobthum | нов виш remb |  |  |

Fem.

| Nom. | нов \% $^{\text {¢ }}$ | нов виши - - |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Acc. | нов Enme | нов 6 ¢m, $1-8$ |
| Gen. | mosemma | nobtrmiara |
| Dat. | Hos thmu | нов вишни |
| Instr. | HOBtrwers | HOB 大hw |
| Loc. | нов $\mathrm{H}_{\text {¢ }}$ | новぁишии |

Dual

Masc.
Nom. $/$
Acc.
Gen. $/$
Loc. nostinmor nosthmorto
Dat. /
Instr. новьишема новьишнма

Fem.
Nom. $/$
Acc. Nовъмши новєишии
Rest of fem. like masc.

Neut.

нOBtMшн нOB\&

Rest of neut. like masc.

Plur.

Masc.

| Nom. | новtишe | новtmшия | нов впша | нов ¢мша ra |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Acc. | нов вьшш | нов виmara | новгпша | новвимшага |
| Gen. | новкишь | нов втшинхз |  |  |
| Dat. |  | нов交шимд | Rest of | ut. like |
| Instr. | новьним | нов тншими |  |  |
| Loc. | нов внши | новtншни |  |  |

Neut.
нов виша нов тмшага
новรпша новвпшага

Rest of neut. like masc.

Fem.
Not. новьиша новтишана
Асс. новьнша новтишана
Rest of fem. like masc.
2.337 There is no special superlative form. To form the superlative, the comparative is used together with Bbctaxz. Some adverbs add a prefix нан: нанпаче.
2.4 Numerals

Numerals are also declined, but they do not have a declensional pattern of their own.
2.41 The words for 'one', 'two', 'three' and 'four' are pronouns and follow the pronominal declension. feannz (one) is declined like Tz. It can also mean 'alone, only', when it also occurs in the plural. Azba (two) and oba (both) are dual and also follow the hard pronominal declension. Tphre (three) and yeTzipe (four) are plural. All these pronouns agree in case, gender and number with the word they qualify.

Example: rfahnz, aZBa, tonre, yetzipe

|  | Masc. | Neut. | Fem. | Masc. | Neut |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nom. | Heanhz | HEAMHO | reatma | AzBa | AZBt |
| Acc. | Heamiz | meahmo | Наинд | A8Ba | $A 2 B 6$ |
| Gen. | Hear | oro | Feathora |  |  |
| Dat. | rear | mov | -еднно八 |  |  |
| Instr. | rear | cus | reancor-x |  |  |
| Loc. | Hedr | ¢Mb | HAMHOH |  |  |


| Nom. | трите три | Yetzipe yetziph |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Acc. | три | Yetzipn |
| Gen. | тони | Yetzioz |
| Dat. | трьмь | YeTZ $1 \rho b M Z$ |
| Instr. | трьми | YeTziobuh |
| Loc. | трьхz | Yetzlobxz |

2.42 The words for 'five' onwards are nouns. The words for 'five' to 'nine' are nouns of the $i$-declension. The word for 'ten' also belongs to the $i$-declension but has endings from the consonantal declension for some cases when it is combined with other numerals.

Examples: natb (five) and aecatb (ten)

|  |  | sing. | Dual | Plur. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nom. | ПATb | atcatb | AECATH | aecate, aecath |
| Acc. | nats | afcatb | afcath | $\lambda \in G A T H$ |
| Gen. | math | decath | atcatoy | afeatz |
| Dat. | math | AGCATM | afgatbma | AEGATbMZ |
| Instr. | пatbra | AECATbra | aecatbma | AEGATbMH |
| Loc. | math | decate, aegath | aegatov | aegatbiz |

The numerals from 'eleven' to 'nineteen' are formed by adding na afcate to the appropriate numerals, e.g. azba ma aecate 'twelve', and the numerals from 'twenty' to 'ninety' are formed by combining the appropriate numerals with the dual (after 'two') or the plural (after 'three' and 'four') or the genitive plural (after 'five' to 'nine') of abcatb, e.g. 'twenty' is azba aecath, 'thirty' toh aggath, 'fifty' matb aecatz, etc.
2.43 The word for 'hundred' belongs to the o-declension, and that for 'thousand' to the ja-declension:

|  | Sing. |  | Draz |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nom. | CZTO | TZ ICAllith | C8TS | TEICAMTM |
| Acc. | CZTO | TZ ICAllita | czTt | TZIGAMTM |
| Gen. | czta | TZICAUTA | cztoy | TZICAmTOV |
| Dat. | cztov | TZ I CAllth | cztoma | T3 / canl tama |
| Instr. | çtomb | TZ ) Canleter | cztoma | TZI cantama |
| Loc. | CZT\$ | TZ I GAll ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | czTOY | TZICAHTOV |

Plur.

| Nom. | czta | TZICALTA |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Acc. | cota | TZicallta |
| Gen. | CBTZ | TZICamit |
| Dat. | çtomz | TZ/camtamz |
| Instr. | CZTZI | TZ icautamh |
| Loc. | cztitxz | TZICAmTAKZ |

There is an alternative form tsigдити.
All numerals from 'five' onwards are accompanied by a noun in the genitive plural.
2.44 The ordinal numerals are adjectives and follow the adjectival declension. mpbrzin (first) and bztopzin (second) also have short
 ceamzin, atgatzin, cztbhzih, tzigalltbhzim, except for tpetbu (third).
2.5 CLASSIFICATION OF OCS VERBS BY STEM
I. Consonant stems
(i) Both stems end in a consonant (suffixless verbs).
(a) Stem in -c-:

## Present stem

1st sing. 2nd sing. Imperative Act. Part. Pass. Part. Imperfect


| Inf. <br> нести | Supine нестz | 1-Part. <br> hecnz | Act. Part. <br> mecz | Pass. Part. hecenz | Aorist necorz/ntcz |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| hegth | to carry | en wal |  |  |  |
| пасти | to graze |  | tpacta | shake |  |

(b) Stem in - - -:


With vowel alternation: $\boldsymbol{\mu \lambda t є т и : ~ M n z z æ ~ t o ~ m i l k ~}$
(c) Stem in -T-:

| 「HET異 | ГНетещи | ГNETH | ГHETZI | THETOMZ | ГHeT\$AXZ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| FHEGTH | THEGTZ | rentz | THETS | THETEHZ | FHETOXZ |
| THECTM | to oppress |  | H to |  |  |
| MECTH | to sweep |  | to |  |  |
| MACTH | to stir |  |  |  |  |

With vowel alternation：чисти：чьтж to count Yрtсти：Ypbсж to cut цвнстн：цвьтж to flower
ospbctu to find also belongs here with regard to the infinitive stem；the present stem orpaw
（d）Stem in－a－：

| beak | beatur | beat | beaz： | BEAOMS | beatanz |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| BECTH | BECTZ | BEAZ | $b \in A z$ | BEAEHz | bedoxz／btcz |


| becth | to lead | Knacth | to put |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | to watch | крастн | to steal |
| Enactu | to err | па． Th $^{\text {a }}$ | to fall |
| власти | to rule | праст | to spin |

жлちсти to pay

With vowel alternation：ctctm：GAAR to sit EzITH：sגAX to be
 go，with 1 －participle wbnz，past participle wbaz，and raAk with infinitive raxatm to drive．
（e）Stem in－s－：rןetn roess to row
（f）Stem in－n－：TETи TEחж to hit covth czra to strew yptrn ypbп\％to draw
（g）Stem in－ $\boldsymbol{k}$－：

| рєк及 | речеши | рьци | peromz | $\rho \in \mathrm{KZI}$ | peyaaxz |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| решth | решть | $\rho \in \mathrm{KAz}$ | $\rho \in K z$ | peyenz | peroxz／ |
| решти | to say | new | to bak |  |  |
| －namith | to bend | Telu | to run |  |  |
| с вшти | to cut |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| also Bn＇心uTH with all other forms from stem－bnbk－to dr |  |  |  |  |  |

(h) Stem in -r-:

| Mors | можеши | Mosh | Morz 1 | можаахz |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mowth to | be able | mornz | Mor'z | moroxz/Morz |
| жешти | to burn |  | ¢ витт | neglect |
| -пранти | to harn |  |  | touch |

With vowel alternation: newth: narg to lie стрвити: стригж to shear врtити: врьгд to throw
(i) Stem in $-\mathrm{H}^{-}$:

|  | кльнеши | \%лbни | K^bHzI | клbHOMS | кльнъaxz |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | swear | нлanz | Kлb ${ }^{\text {chz }}$ | KnATZ |  |

-matn to stretch -Yatn to begin
(j) Stem in -M-: жATи жbMス to press ATH nMx to take

With vowel alternation: AxTH: $\Delta x M \neq$ to blow
(k) Stem in - $\rho-$ :

| นьрж | мьреши | $\mu \mathrm{O} \boldsymbol{\rho}$ |  | mbptaxz |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | die | $\mu \rho b \pi z$ | $\mathrm{Mb} \rho \mathrm{Z}$ |  |

```
ж\rhobти to sacrifice T\rhobти to rub
With vowel alternation: - B\rhotтн: вb\rhoж to open
ж\rhoдтп: жь\rhoж to devour (0)-п\rho&ти(сА): пьрп to close
```

(1) Stem in -B-:

|  |  | WHBH |  |  | жн B ¢ахz |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| WHTH to | live | *H^Z | WHEZ | -житв |  |
| cлочTH: cnorx to be known as |  |  |  |  |  |
| роVTH ( $\rho$ HOTK) : $\rho$ OBX ( $\rho \in E X$ ) to roar |  |  |  |  |  |

(ii) Present stem ends in consonant, infinitive stem ends in -a-:


With vowel alternation: bbpath: sepд to take Abpath: Aєp天 to flay


пьрати: перя to close
rzнatn: wemz to chase (with consonant change)
II. Stems in $-\boldsymbol{H}(x)-$ :
(i) Stems in which the suffix is preceded by a vowel:

| рНнд | OHNGUM | рнни | ринz 1 | phiomz | phntaxz |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ринетt | OHMRT\% | phexis | PHMEBZ | Phmoberz | риндхz |
| канвти | to drop |  | PHMETM | to throw |  |
| MHHETM | to pass |  | TOH及TK | to drown |  |
| плиноти | to spit |  | вандти | to wither |  |
| пOMtNmTM | to recall |  | BZ3E3HRTM | to awaken |  |

(ii) Stems in which the suffix is preceded by a consonant, and is dropped in the aorist and the past participles:

| ABhTha |  | АВНГНH | ABHTHZI | ABHEHOMZ | ABhintakz |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ABMTHATH | ABHГHRTZ | ABMEAz | ABMTZ | ABHKENZ | ABHTOKZ/ABHLZ |


| ABHTHATM | to move |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| - в¢Гhmtm | to run | -tpzrnsth | to tear |
| \%achath | to fear | CEXNRTH | to dry up |
| KZICHETM | to become sour | TAZKHETH | to push |
| Mnькнжт | to become silent | хоzMн®tM | to become lame |
| Ocnbine.tm | to become blind | YȩNath | to disappear |
| APS3HATM | to dare has past part. pass. APZzHozenz |  |  |
| KOGHATM |  |  |  |
| gzekpbenzt | to resurrect has | un BZCKо bс | cobenme |

Some of these verbs fluctuate between type（i）and（ii）：

ГZIEARTM：ГZIHR ГZIEHX to perish OVГニZHRTH／OYГAZEHATK to sink
－Hz 弓～пт
станळ belongs here as regards the present stem；the infinitive is ctath and the infinitive stem is as for $I(i i)$ ．

The unprefixed verbs of Class $I$ are imperfective except for сьсти，пасти，оештн，пешти，вофшти，Ати．

ити is of both aspects．osptctu and czptctn were originally formed from a stem＊ptr－and so are perfective．

The unprefixed verbs of Class II are imperfective except for


III．Present stem in $j$
（i）Infinitive stem in vowel，present stem suffix is added to in－ finitive stem．
（a）Suffixless infinitive stem：

|  |  | EHM | EHtra | EH HeMz | aaxz |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Entm to beat | SHT\％ | bhiz | SMBZ | EHrenz | Ehxz |

Without $M / \mathrm{b}$ variation in present stem：Гнитн to rot

| почити | to repose | вZпит | to clamour |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| KPZITn | to cover | HZITH | to ache |
| MZ ITM | to wash | pzith | to dig |
| －ovth | to put on／take off（footwear） | YOVTM | to perceive |
| грьтн | to warm | C $3 \mu \mathrm{LTH}$ | to dare |
| cпttm | to ripen | ctith | to sow |

With vowel alternation：$\Pi$ th：mork to sing
Also AtTH：AєЖA及 to put with another infinitive atrath belonging to （ii）．
(b) Intinitive stem ends in vowel suffix:

| Atлara | Atnaremm | $\Delta t \cap a H$ | Atnara | Atsnaremz | do |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $A S \cap a t h$ | Aknatz | Abлanz | $\Delta$ tnabz | AbnaHz | Atnaxz |

Imperfect formed from infinitive stem: Atnaaxz

| pazovictra | pazovutr-wn | pazovmbn | pazoymtra | pazovitremz |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| pazormbta | to understand | pazovmsnz | pazoynticz | pazoyntxz | pazolythraxz |

(ii) Infinitive stem in vowel, present stem suffix is added to stem without this vowel.
(a) Last consonant of infinitive stem is $j$ (no consonant change):

| ASTATH | Aats | to give | ctrath | to sow |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $A t r a T n$ |  | to put | tatath | to melt |
| karath | CA | to repent | чаrath | to expect |
| naratm |  | to scold | Baratm | to sculpt |
|  |  |  | Btratm | to waft |

(b) Last consonant of infinitive stem is non-palatal, consonant change in present stem:

| rnarontz | глaroñewn | rnaronin | rnaroña | rnaroñtemz |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| глaronath | rлaronatz | глaronanz | rnaronabz | глaronahz | rnaronaxz |

Imperfect formed from infinitive stem: rnaronaaxz

With vowel alternation: HMaTh: єMñra to take
 стрzгатн: строУжд to plane

The following insert a vowel in the present stem:

клатн: кол̂rд to slaughter (Past part. pass. -knanz or -koñenz)

| K／Y： | плакатн плачх | to weep |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $x / \mathrm{m}$ ： | AZIXатн AZIш及 | to breathe |
| т／шт： | озriztath pzпzшт＊ | to murmur |
| cT／uT ： | ристатн рнитя | to gallop |
| c／w： | чесати Yewx | to scratch |
| п／пヘ̃： | капати капи̃＇в | to drip |
| $\mu / \mu n$ ： | Арешати AреMйt\％ | to slumber |
| $n / \hat{n}$ \％ | глаголатн rnaron̂t－ | to speak |
| H／大： | стенати стен゙нs | to groan |
| г／ж： | пzГатн пz＊＊ | to tell a lie |
| ck／wit | пискати пнштж | to squeak |
| A／\％A： | \％AДATH \％AЖAX | to thirst |
| s／ж： | TASATH TA＊＊ | to pull |
| 3／\％： | Ba̧ath bawa | to tie |
| в／вл： | колtвath rontentr | to rock |
| $\rho / \hat{\rho}$ | opath opfrg | to plough |

（c）The present stem is formed by removing the suffix $-a-$ as under（a），and in addition by changing the suffix－ob－／－EB－to or／ro：

| Eeckayrs | sectaoyremit | Eecbaovi |  | to talk |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| EECEAOBATM |  | bectsaobanz | sectaobabz | Eecka |
|  |  |  |  | Bectaobaaxz |

A few verbs have－bs－not－ $\mathrm{fb}-$ in the infinitive stem：


All the verbs of Class III are imperfective when unprefixed


All the verbs of Classes I－III form the 2 nd and 3 rd person singular and the 1 st and 2 nd person plural of the present tense by inserting between the last consonant of the present stem and the personal ending，and the 3rd person plural by inserting $x$ ：

Atлareun，Atлaretz，Atnaremz，Atnarete，Atлar－itz несєшн，несетz，hegemz，hecete，hecжtz

Similarly, the vowel 0 is inserted between the last consonant of the present stem and the present passive participle ending; this becomes e after palatal consonant (Class III):

неcomz ABигноMz atnaremz rnaroñtemz
IV. Present stem ends in consonant, infinitive stem in vowel:
(a) Infinitive stem ends in $-h^{-}$, present stem ends in non-palatal consonant. Consonant change in lst sing. of present tense, all persons of the imperfect, and in past participle passive which is formed from present stem, as well as in past participle active if formed from present stem.

```
1st sing. Ind sing. Imper. Pr. Pt. Act. Pr. Pt. Pass.
BH\% BA BMAHUK (ВНЖAD) BHAA BHAHMZ to see
```



Aorist Imperfect
BMAtixz BHAtaxz
(ii) Infinitive stem in -a- after palatal consonant. No consonant change:

| Cnz 1ux | C \( |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ) \% 1whwn | CAZIШи | cnziun | CNZ I \#rum |  |
| cnz Imath | cnz )watz | cnz Imanz | cnz ImaBz | CAZ ImaHz |
| cлz Iшaxz | cnz lwaaxz |  |  |  |

The verbs of Class IV are imperfective when unprefixed except for the following: варнти, вратитн GA, вобанти, жнвнтн, авнти, цвєтити, деяити, Гонозити, надвити, крьстити, коупнти, 山ьстити,
 GOVFOYBHTH, GBATHTH, GBOBOAHTH, TPOYAHTH GA.

A11 the verbs of Class IV form the 2 nd and 3 rd person singular and the 1 st and 2 nd person plural of the present tense by
inserting -1 - between the last consonant of the present stem and the personal ending, and the 3 rd person plural by inserting $-A-:$

| молиши | monnts | monnmz | молите | monatz |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| вндкши | bhantz | BHAMMZ | bhante | BHAATZ |
| cлz ${ }^{\text {cmum }}$ | cnzimhtz | cлz | cazimute | gnzimatz |

The vowel - $H$ - is inserted between the last consonant of the present stem and the present passive participle ending:

Молйz видйz слziшимд

Czпath belongs to Class III in the infinitive stem, present сzпก̂ィヶ, сзпиши, etc.
V. Athematic verbs

Five verbs, recmb to be (no infinitive stem), дати to give, Hacth to eat, вtдћTH to know and nM\&Th to have have irregular present stem forms. For these see the relevant paragraphs in the description of the verbal forms.

The Verb

There are three moods, the indicative, the conditional and the imperative, but only the imperative and the conditional of the verb 'to be' have endings that are distinguished from those of the indicative.

There are three tenses formed by means of distinctive suffixes the present, the aorist and the imperfect; the other two tenses, the perfect and the pluperfect, are formed by means of a participle and the auxiliary 'to be'; there is no future tense.

The other forms of the verb do not show person. They are the infinitive and the supine which are invariable, and the four participles (present active, present passive, past active and past passive) which are declined like adjectives. A fifth participle, the second past or 1-participle, shows only number and gender and is only used to form the perfect and the pluperfect tenses.

The endings are as follows:

| Sing. | 1. | $-\infty$ | 2. | $-ш н$ | 3. | $-T Z$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Plur. | 1. | $-\mu Z$ | 2. | $-T \epsilon$ | 3. | $-T Z$ |
| Duat | 1. | $-B t$ | 2. | $-T a$ | 3. | $-T \epsilon$ |

It will be noticed that except for the first sing., the endings of the present tense begin with a consonant. A vowel, called the thematic vowel, is inserted between the last consonant of the stem and these endings. This vowel is
(i) - - - for the 3 rd plur., - - - for the other persons for verbs which have no suffix and end in a consonant (Class $I(i)$ ) or have an $-n-$ suffix (Class II) or have a $j$-suffix in the present stem (Class III).
(ii) $-\mathbb{A}$ - for the 3 rd plur., $-\boldsymbol{n}-$ for the other persons for verbs which have an $-i$ - or $-e^{-}$-suffix in the infinitive stem, and no suffix in the present stem (Class IV).
(iii) Verbs of Class $V$ do not insert any vowel, they are called athematic verbs. The endings are also different in part, the ending of the 1 st sing. being $-\mu_{b}$ and that of the 2 nd sing. being $-c h$.

Examples:
CLASS I (i) Necth to carry

|  | Sing. | Plur. | Dual |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1. | нega | necemz | necebt |
| 2. | necewh | necete | neceta |
| 3. necetz | negatz | necete |  |

CLASS II

| 1 | AEHFHE | ABUTHEMZ | ABhthebib |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2. | ABMTHEUM | aburnete | abmineta |
| 3. | AEURHETZ | AВНГНеtS | abhinete |

CLASS III（i）znath to know

| 1 | 3Har－ | 3Naremz | zrarebt |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2. | zнaremh | znarete | zhareta |
| 3. | zharetz | z Harstz | zharete |

## CLASS III（ii）rnaronath to say


2．глагои̂єшн глагои̂ете глагои́єta
3．एnarô̂́tz rnarontstz rnaroñete

CLASS IV（i）monntm to pray

| 1. | MOn 5 －x | Montuz | Monnet |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2. | молишн | monnte | молита |
| 3. | молнтз | monatz | monnte |



Sing．

| 1. | recms | дамь |  | ramb |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2. | Hecm | $\triangle \mathrm{CCH}$ | Btch | raCH |
| 3. | Hectz | $\triangle A C T Z$ | Bt¢ TZ | Hactz |

Plur．

| 1. | Hecmz | A AMs | Etumz | ramz |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2. | Hecte | дастe | Btcte | hagte |
| 3. | catz | AAAATZ | EtaATZ | facatz |

Dual

| 1. | Fecbt | Аавb | BちBt | HaBt |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2. | recta | дастa | btcta | hacta |
| 3. | Hecte | AdCTE | Btcte | hacte |

нмвти to have

|  | Sing． | Dual | Plur． |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | ниамь | nuabt | nuamz |  |
| 2. | нмашь | миата | имате |  |
| 3. | hmatz | muate | пиетт， | 14大ヶ－xTz |

The endings are as follows:

3rd sing. -n

| 1st plur. | -uz | 1st dual | -вt |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2nd plur. | $-т \epsilon$ | ind dual | $-т а$ |

It will be noted that except for the sing., the endings are the same as for the present tense. Before these endings verbs of Class I and II (present stem in hard consonant) insert the vowel -t-. Verbs of Class III (present stem in soft consonant) insert - - -. Verbs of Class IV also insert $-\boldsymbol{n -}$, so that the plural and the dual are identical in form to the present tense. Verbs of Class $V$ insert $-n-$, but the sing, ending is reduced to $-j^{-}$, causing consonant change.

Examples:

| Inf. |  | нegth | BZITM | ABHTNATM | 3Math | Mолити |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| sing. |  | HEGH | EXAM | АВНГNH | знан | MOAH |
| Plur. | 1. | hectar | Exd tur | ABHENSME | 3 Hahmz | молинь |
|  | 2. | hectite | Ematte | ABMINtte | z hante | montte |
| Dual | 1. | HECtBt | ERAtBt | AEHFHEBS | z Manct | молив\$ |
|  | 2. | nockta | ERAETa | ABhrntata | zнанта | молита |

Class V

| Inf. |  | BKAtTH | ractm | AATH |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sing. |  | Bt\%d ${ }^{\text {b }}$ | ramal | Ааждb |
| Plur. | 1. | Btarhuz | rashuz | AAAHMZ |
|  | 2. | btante | raante | afahte |
| Dual | 1. | Btanbt | radmet | AAAMB |
|  | 2. | btanta | radita | даднт |

The ending is - $-\mathbb{-}$ - which is reduced to zero in the masc, and neut. sing. (cf. the corresponding ending in the comparative of adjectives). Before this consonant a vowel is inserted as follows:
(i) Verbs of Class I, II, III (thematic vowel - - -) and verbs of Class $V$ (athematic verbs) insert -x- except in the masc. and neut. sing. In the masc. and neut. sing. they insert -zi- after hard consonant (Classes I, II and V), and -A- after soft consonant (Class III).
(ii) Verbs of Class IV (thematic vowel - $\mathrm{H}-$ ) have $-\mathbb{A}$ throughout.

Examples:

| Inf. | Masc. \& Neut. | Fem. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| вест号 | bedzi | ведхити |
| nTh | hazi | пахшти |
| Авигнжти |  | двигнжыти |
| z Hath | 3 Hama | знанжшти |
| гnaronatm | rnaronma | гпагоп卜жшти |
| виавти | bhan | вндалити |
| молити | mona | молаити |
| b̧ith | cbl | схшти |
| дати | Aaszi | дадхшти |

The endings of the adjectival declension are added to the participial stem thus formed. For examples see 2.336.

The pronominal or long forms are Heczin, rnarontan, etc., and are declined like adjectives ending in a palatal consonant, with the exception that the fem. nom. sing. is in -Hra , e.g. нескштиra, and the masc. nom. plur. in -єн, e.g. несхштєн.

The present participle of 'to be' is czi, c्xwith, etc. There is also a form from szith: skAzi, etc., meaning 'future'.

The present participle passive is formed from the present stem by means of the suffix $-\mu$. The thematic vowel which is inserted between the last consonant of the stem and the suffix is 0 for verbs of Classes $I$ and II, and also those of Class $V$; this o becomes $\epsilon$ in Class III verbs since their stem always ends in a palatal consonant. The thematic vowel for Class IV is -n-.

Examp1es:

| Inf. | Class I | Class II | Class III | Class IV | Class V |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | necth | ABM [HXTH | з ${ }^{\text {нати }}$ | молитн | EあAtTh |
|  | hecoms | ABHTOMZ | zNaremz | monhaz | EtaOMs |

This is an adjective which is declined regularly, having both the nominal (short) and pronominal (long) forms.

### 2.55 The Aorist

The aorist is formed by the addition of a suffix to the aorist stem, to which are then added the thematic vowel and the personal endings. The thematic vowel is zero in the 1 st sing. and 3rd plur., -0- in the lst plur. and 1 st dual, and -e- or zero elsewhere according to the type of aorist.

The personal endings are as follows:


There are three types of aorist: with zero-suffix (asigmatic), with $c / x-s u f f i x$ (sigmatic), and a variant of the latter, the oxaorist.

### 2.551 Aorist with zero-suffix (asigmatic aorist)

This is more archaic form and is only found in a few verbs whose stem ends in a consonant and which do not have the vowel $\epsilon$ in the root. The vocalic endings (1st sing. and 3rd plur.) are
added directly to the root, the consonantal endings are preceded by the thematic vowel. Since the 2nd and 3rd sing. ending is zero, only the thematic vowel is added to the root. The 1st and 2 nd dual are not attested, they may have had the endings -obt, -eTa, or another type of aorist may have been used.

Examples: the asigmatic aorist of ити (to go), мошти (to be able), and ctcth (to sit down):

| sing. | 1. | has | morz | ctas |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 2. | hage | можє | ctac |
|  | 3. | hae | можє | ctac |
| Plur. | 1. | MaOMz | moroms | ctaomz |
|  | 2. | matete | можете | ctatete |
|  | 3. | Ham | mors | ctax |

The 3rd dual forms natte, o巨pttete are also attested.

### 2.552 Aorist with $c / x$ suffix (sigmatic aorist)

In this type of aorist the 2 nd and 3 rd sing. have the same ending as for the asigmatic aorist, that is, thematic vowel - 8 plus zero. The 3rd plur. ends in - $A$. The thematic vowel is -ofor the lst dual and plur., zero elsewhere.

The suffix takes various forms according to the type of stem.

If the stem vowel is $e$ it becomes $t$, and if it is 0 it becomes $a$, except for the $2 n d$ and $3 r d$ sing., which are of the asigmatic type.
(a) If the stem ends in a consonant other than $n$ or $r$ the final stem consonant is dropped, and the suffix is -c-:

Example: the aorist of bectu and nectu (stems bed-, nec-)

Sing. Plur.

| 1. | bticz | HtCz | вtcomz | H5comb |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2. | beae | nece | Btcte | hbite |
| 3. | beae | hece | B $\ddagger 6 \mathbb{A}$ | htcam |

(b) If the stem ends in $k$ or $\Gamma$ this last consonant is also dropped, but the suffix is $-x$ - before the vocalic endings -z and -omz, and -W- before -A.

Example: the aorist of pewith (to say)

(c) Stems in a vowel have the suffix $-x-/-\boldsymbol{-}$ - as under (b), but there is no thematic vowel in the 2nd and 3rd sing., which thus consist of the bare stem.

Examples: the aorist of zHath (to know), and Monnth (to pray)

|  | Sing. | Draz | Plur. | Sing. | Dual | Plur. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | ZHaxz | 3NaxObt | zNaxomz | MOAHXZ | Mолнховt | MOAHTOME |
| 2. | z\%a | zracta | zracte | MOAn | monheta | monncte |
| 3. | z Ha | znacte | ZHama | Monn | monncte | молиша |

 Verbs in - HR - whose root ends in a vowel also form the aorist in this way, e.g. mhnmtM (to pass): mhnaxz, etc. If the root ends in a consonant both the asigmatic and the sigmatic aorist are found, e.g. ABhrZ and ABMrhmxz from abHrMmTh, but these are rare.

Verbs with stem in - $\mathbf{A}^{-}$(present stem in $-\mathbf{H}^{-}$) have either -cor $x / m:-$ Hacz or - TAXz from - חath, - ПAcomz or maxomz, - TAcA or - пama. Also hayagz from hayatu, acz from atm. When the stem ends in $M, A$ or $\hbar$, the 2 nd and $3 r d$ sing. may add -tz: haya or hayatz, пи or питZ, oyupt or oyMpttz, $A$ or ATZ.

## 2. 553 The so-called ox-aorist or 2 nd sigmatic aorist

As there are many more verbs with stem ending in a vowel, and such a stem remains unaltered and the endings are clear, this type of aorist was extended to verbs ending in a consonant. In this case the vowel -0- was inserted between the final consonant (which
is always preserved) and the $c / x / m$ suffix. The $2 n d$ and $3 r d$ sing. remain of the lst (asigmatic) type. This is a more recent type of aorist and is more common in later texts.

Example: the second sigmatic aorist of $H \in c T h$ and pemth

|  | Sing. |  | Dual |  | Plur. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | meconz | peroxz | Hecosorts | peroxost | Hecoromz | рGBOROMZ |
| 2. | hece | peye | hecocta | perocta | hecocte | perocte |
| 3. | hege | $p \in Y \in$ | hecocte | $\rho \in$ bocte | necolma | рекоша |

Similarly: BeAOXz instead of btcz, haOxz instead of haz, ABиго天z instead of abнгz.

The athematic verbs EZITM and AaTh form the aorist regularly from the vowel stem, but the 3 rd sing, may add $-6 T z: ~ s z i x z, ~ E z l ~ o r ~$ EZICTZ, EZI or EZICTZ, EZIXOMZ, EZICTE, EZIMA, $A A X Z, ~ A Q ~ o r ~ A A C T Z, ~$ да or дactz, дaxomz, дacte, дalla.

Hactu has lst sing. raxz and lst plur. raxomz or racomz, 3rd. plur. rama or racA. The 3rd sing. Hzra is also attested, as well as tactz.

The 1 st and 2 nd dual of consonant verbs are not attested, they may have ended in -cost, - $\boldsymbol{c}$ тa, or else only endings of the 2 nd sigmatic aorist were used. The 3rd dual bz弓нвстє, придtстє,

2.56 The Imperfect

The personal endings are the same as those of the aorist.
The imperfect suffix is similar to the suffix of the sigmatic aorist, but the formation of the imperfect differs from that of the aorist in several important respects: (l) the suffix also appears in the $2 n d$ and 3 rd sing., where it precedes the thematic vowel. (2) The thematic vowel is also present in the $2 n d$ plur. and $2 n d$ and $3 r d$ dual (where it may, however, be absent by analogy with the aorist). (3) The 3rd plur. ending is - $\mathrm{K}_{\text {. }}$

As a result, the consonantal element of the suffix always occurs before vowel, and is $-x$ - before a back vowel and -w-before -e- as for the aorist.

The consonantal suffix is preceded by a vocalic element which appears as $-a$－in verbs whose stem ends in－t－or－a－．

Examples：the imperfect of verbs having one stem ending in a con－ sonant（Classes I and II），нести and czxnжти（to dry）
sing．
Dual

| 1. | Hectant | czxntaxz | нectarost | c3xntaxort |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2. | nectame | çxitame | nectameta | czxhtaweta |
| 3. | Hectame | çxhtame | hectawete | czontamete |

plur．
1．Nectaxomz çxнtaxouz
2．mectamete cзxнtamete
3．nectaxд сзхньахж

Verbs with two stems whose vowel stem does not end in－t－or －a－form the imperfect from the consonant（that is，the present） stem．

Examples：the imperfect of клath（to swear）and плоџти（to sail）

Sing．
1．кльмtaxz пловtaxz кльнtaxogt пnов
2．кльнta山е пловьашє
3．кльньашє пловьаше

Dual

кльнtaweta пnовtaweta
клbнtawete mnobtawete

Plur．
1．кльнtахоиz пловвахо䒑z
2．кльнtamete пnobtamete
3．кльнtaxқ пловtax»

The anomalous verbs of Class III with present stem in－ $\boldsymbol{o}^{-}$ and $-\Lambda$－also form the imperfect in this way；those with stems in other consonants form the imperfect either from the present stem or from the infinitive stem：вратн：soptaxz，etc．弓вати：zовぁarz or zBaaxz，etc．

The verbs of Class III whose stem vowel is not－ t －or－a－ also form the imperfect from the present stem；in this case the present stem ends in $/ j /$ and the suffix vowel becomes $-a-$ ．

Example: the imperfect of вити (to beat)

|  | Sing. | Dual | Plur. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | Eh raakz | sи 1 -a, | Eh raaxomz |
| 2. | ви raame | ен raameta | shraamete |
| 3. | EHraame | внraawete | EHraakm |

Verbs of Class $I$ ending in $k$ or $r$ have consonant change before $t$ ( $\boldsymbol{\kappa} \boldsymbol{>} \boldsymbol{Y}, \boldsymbol{r} \boldsymbol{>} \boldsymbol{*}$ ) and after a palatal consonant $t$ appears as a. Verbs of Class IV also form the imperfect from the present stem, which ends in a consonant, and this consonant also undergoes change; after the resulting palatal consonant $t$ also appears as $a$ :

Example: the imperfect of mowtn (to be able) and rodhtn (to go)
sing.

| 1. | можаахz | rowajarz | можааховв | хождааховь |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2. | можааше | хождааше | можаашєта | хождаашета |
| 3. | можааше | гожаааше | можаашєте | хождаашете |

plur.

1. можааломв хождаахомz
2. можаашете хождаашетє
3. можаахж тождаахж

Verbs of Class III and IV in $-a-$ or $-b$ drop the $t$ of the imperfect suffix, and there is no consonant change. The verbs of Class $V$, вذAלTh and nMtTH follow the same pattern.

Examples: the imperfect of 子нaти (to know) and rnaronath (to speak)

|  | sing. |  | Dual |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | z Ha, | raaronaaxz | z'aaxost | гnaronaaxost |
| 2. | z'aame | rnaronaame | z'aaweta | rnaronaaweta |
| 3. | 3Haawe | rnaronaawe | знаашете | гnaronaawete |
| Plur. |  |  |  |  |
| 1. | zHaaxomz | rnaronaaxomz |  |  |
| 2. | z нa, | rnaronaawete |  |  |
| 3. | zMaaxm | rnaronaats |  |  |

Sing.

| cnziwaaxz | Btataxz | cnziwaaxort | stataxort |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| cnzılwaame | sta tame | cnziwaaweta | вちatawe ta |
| cлzıшапше | statame | cnzıwaawe Te | вtatamete |

plur.

1. слziшаахомz ввавахомz
2. спъiшаашете ввақашете
3. cnziwaaxk Btatax\%

The verb bzath has a simple past tense which is formed like the aorist but may be used as imperfect:


The 3rd sing. stame and 3rd plur. staxk also occur, as well as contracted forms stwe, stхд. The 3rd dual occurs as stcte or в вашете.
2.57 The past participle active

The ending is - $\quad$ zw-, which appears as - $\boldsymbol{B}^{-}$in the masc. and neut. sing. (cf. the corresponding endings of the comparative of adjectives and of the present participle active).

Verbs of Class I with both stems ending in a consonant drop the $\boldsymbol{B}$ of the ending, and verbs of Class $I$ ending in $\boldsymbol{N} \boldsymbol{\mu} \boldsymbol{p} \boldsymbol{B}$ also form the past participle active from the consonant stem although they have an infinitive stem ending in a vowel.

Example: the past participle active of bєcTh, $\rho \in ш T h$ and nayath
sing.

| Masc. \& Neut. | Fem. |
| :--- | :--- |
| beaz | bєдzши |
| рекz | $\rho \in$ кZши |
| начbнz | начьндши |

Duaz

| Masc. \& Neut. | Fem. |
| :--- | :--- |
| вєдzша | ведzши |
| рєкzша | $\rho \in к z ш и ~$ |
| начьнzша | начьндши |

Plur.

| Masc. \& Neut. | Fem. |
| :---: | :---: |
| вeazue | вєazma |
| perzwe | рекzu* |
| начьнzше | начьнzша |

Verbs of Class II which retain the suffix $-H$ and so have an aorist stem ending in a vowel, as well as verbs of Class III ending in a vowel, form the participle from this stem.

Examples: the past participle active of nоснжти (to touch), глаголaти (to speak), оүьити (to kill)

Masc. \& Neut. Fem.

|  | носнxbz | но |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |

глаголabz гnaronabzuн
ovshbz oyshezun

The past participle active of हzith is regular: EzIBz,
 влькz.

The participle of ATH (to take) is hМz, нмдшн, or $\in \mathrm{Mz}$, емвшн .

Verbs of Class IV with stem vowel -t- also form the past


Verbs of Class IV with stem vowel 14 form the past participle active from the present stem, which ends in a consonant, and the final consonant of the stem undergoes change. After this consonant the first consonant of the suffix is dropped as for the other consonant stems, and the suffix vowel $x$ becomes bafter palatal consonant.

Examples: the past participle active of mолитн and поvстити

Sing.
Masc. \& Neut. Fem.
моль мольши

Dual
Masc. \& Neut. Fem.
мольша мольши

Plur.

| Masc. \& Neut. | Fem. |
| :--- | :--- |
| мольше | мопьша |

In some later texts the past participle active of these verbs is formed from the infinitive stem as for other verbs which have the infinitive stem in a vowel, and there is then no consonant change: novethbz instead of normis, etc.

The endings of the adjectival declension are then added to the participial stem, and the fem. sing. is in $-H$, the masc. plur. in -e as for the corresponding forms of the comparative of adjectives and the present participle active.

The long or pronominal form is formed as for the present participle active:

Sing.
Masc. beazi, or beazin, beazwии, beazwarero, beazmoyremoy, etc. Neut. beazmere, beazmarero, beazmovremor, etc.

2.58 The past participle passive

The past participle passive is formed by means of the suffixes -N - and - T -.

Verbs of Class I with infinitive stem in $-A_{-}$add $-T$-. Some verbs of Class $I$ with infinitive stem in -t- also add -T-. Some verbs of Class I in $-n$ - have a form with $-T$ - as an alternative to the regular form with $-\mathrm{H}-$.

Examples:

| Inf. | Past Part. Pass. |
| :---: | :---: |
| пооклати | mporiatz |
| вzzath | blzatz |
| поострьтн | nooctottz |
| otzbpecth | отzврьстz (N.B. vowel as present) |
| bhth | Ehtz |

All other verbs add $-\boldsymbol{n -}$. If the infinitive stem ends in $-a-$ or $-\hbar$-, the suffix is added directly to the stem:

Examples:

| Inf. | Past. Part. Pass. |
| :---: | :---: |
| AڭлaTh | atsanz |
| rnaronath | rnaronamz |
| mhnobath | MHAOBANZ |
| gazonubtu | PAZOYMEMK |
| трьпьтн | т $\rho$ ¢пڭнz |

If the stem ends in a consonant, the vowel -e- is inserted.

Examples: mectu: hecenz, and also shth: bbenz, вhenz.

Verbs of Class II which retain their -Hx- suffix in the aorist change $\boldsymbol{x}$ to ZB , and verbs of Class III where the present stem ends in $z$ or ov add -B - to the present stem. The verbs шнти and the compounds of $\operatorname{bIITM}$ also form the past part. passive in this way. Verbs of the type клатм have both forms.

Examples:
Inf. Past Part. Pass

ABHГHATM
рнндти
A\#TH
OTZKPZITH
шитн
zaEzITH
клати

ABHXEMz
рHHOBEHZ
HaAZMEHZ
OTZROZEEHZ
нешьвелz
zaszBenz
zaronenz/zarnamz

Verbs of Class IV with infinitive stem in -H- form the past participle passive from the present stem; the vowel -e- is inserted. and the final consonant of the stem undergoes change.

Examples:

Inf.
GZломитн
л-OEHTH
вратити

Past Part. Pass.
cznOMN̂EHz
л かobñenz
bраштен's

Inf.
xbanhth
MONHTH
сзмотритн

Past. Part. Pass
*Banenz
morienz

2.591 The resultative participle (2-participle)

This is also an active participle, but it is only used as part of the compound tenses (perfect, pluperfect, conditional). It is formed by adding the suffix $-n$ - to the aorist stem, except for verbs with suffixless stem in -pt-, where it is formed from the present stem. This participle is also an adjective, but it has nominative (short or nominal) forms only.

Examples: the resultative participle of нєсти, оумр\&ти, 弓нати

| Masc. | Sing. |  | Dual |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Fem. | Neut. | Masc. | Fem. | Neut. |
| neciz | hecia | negio | necana | mecnt | meent |
| ormpbnz | - умрьла | оумрьло | ormpьла | - окй bлt | - \ирььлt |
| zranz | zrana | zrano | zrana | grant | zналt |
| Plur. |  |  |  |  |  |
| Masc. | Fem. | Neut. |  |  |  |
| megnh | hecazi | necra |  |  |  |
| оумрьли | оумрьлдs | оумpьna |  |  |  |
| zrann | зналz1 | zrana |  |  |  |

Final $T$ and $A$ are dropped before $\Lambda: \pi n \in c T M, \pi \Lambda \in \Lambda z$, etc.
2.5912 The participles may be combined with various tenses of the verb 'to be'.

The n-participle is combined with some of the tenses of 'to be' to form the perfect, the pluperfect, the future perfect and the conditional.

### 2.5913 The perfect

This is formed with the present tense of 'to be' as auxiliary.
Examples:

| доконуanz ecmz | I have finished |
| :---: | :---: |
| Аалz ech | You have given |
| cztbophaz ectz | He has made |
| варнла естт | She has anticipated |

In the negative the participle $N \in$ combines with the verb:
ntgte nh ybni Have you not read htctz ovmpbлa She is not dead
2.5914 The pluperfect

This is the past tense of the perfect, and is formed with the simple past (aorist or imperfect) of 'to be'.

Examples:

| пришьлz вt | He had come |
| :--- | :--- |
| nонwnn staxқ | They had come |

Both the perfect and the pluperfect, especially the latter, are rare in the texts. There are a few instances of the future of
 fect.

### 2.5915 The conditional

Only the verb 'to be' has a special form for the conditional, and in later texts this is replaced by the aorist and, in the plural, some new forms which may be the result of contamination of the conditional with the aorist. The conditional of EzITM is as follows:
shuz, sh, sh, shMZ, shcte, s® (Dual not attested)

These are replaced by the following forms:

| 1. $5 Z I X Z$ | 1. | EZIXOMZ EHXOMZ |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2,3. EZI (not EZIGTZ) | 2. EZICTE | 3. EZIWA SHWA |  |

The above forms are combined with the $n$ - participle to form the conditional, e.g. $\rho \in \kappa \pi z$ shMz, pazoyMbaz EH, ovMpzaz EM, zHanh shgte, mokaanh ca ex.
2.592 The non-finite forms
2.5921 The infinitive

The infinitive suffix is $-T H$. If the stem ends in a consonant this consonant may be dropped or modified according to 1.7

Examples:
Class Class II Class III Class IV

| Ster。 | rns. |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Hec- | hecth | ABMTHATM | Atлatm | молитн |
| Bea- | Becth | MHндти | писати | квалити |
| roes- | rof Th | OHmath | manobath | cちatth |
| PGK- | решти | etrmath | Aarath | cлziшатн |
| mor- | мошти |  | abpath | Mnbyatm |
| nnos- | nnovth |  |  |  |

2.5922 The supine

The suffix is $-T z$. If the $T$ combines with a preceding $k$ or $r$ to give -ut- the final vowel is -b according to the rules of con-sonant-vowel harmony.

Examples:
Class Class II Class III Class IV

| $\rho \in \boldsymbol{K}$ - | ряшть | abhinatz | zHatz | monntz |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| mec- | hectz |  | MZ ITz | Bhattz |
|  |  |  | EHTZ |  |

### 2.5923 The verbal noun

This is formed in the same way as the past participle passive by means of the suffix $-M-$ or $-T-$, to which instead of the
adjectival endings the suffix -ne/be is added. The noun thus formed is declined according to the jo-declension (type zнаmenne).

Examples:

| Inf. | Past. Part. Pass | Verbal Noun |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| поtatatm | notajanz | mptajnme |
| zMatm | 3 Hans | zranne |
| ovYhth | OYYENZ | OYYEлне |
| OTZKPZITM | OTZKPZBEMZ | OTZKPZBE HME |
| BHAETM | видбнz | buathie |
| otznovctuth | OTz поуwtenz | OTz תоУШTENHE |

Such nouns may be formed from all verbs, so that they are also formed from intransitive verbs which have no passive participles.

Examples:

| пagth | пadente |
| :---: | :---: |
| страдати | ctpanahhe |
| Mиячати | мльצание |
| TOAHTH | XO\%AGMHE |
| cちA 5 TH | ctat thme |

### 2.6 Adverbs

2.61 Adverbs are formed from various parts of speech. Adverbs derived from adjectives are formed by means of the loc. sing. masc.neut. ending $-\breve{e}$ or the acc. sing, neut. ending -o; aOspo/aOspt well, ropько ropsч女 bitterly, различьно/ оадлнчьнt differently, BZIme above.

Adverbs are formed from adjectives in -bsk-with the instr.


The instrumental is also found in the adverbs nошти $1-\infty$, вельми, Аغлма.
2.62 Adverbial suffixes of place, time, etc., combine with the stems of the demonstrative, interrogative and relative pronouns to form adverbs of place, time and manner.

Stem

| k- | krae where | kamo whither | kraor, whence |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | KXAt | KRAt, |
|  |  |  | OTZ кждд |
|  | koras when | nako how | колико, how much |
|  |  |  | кольми |
| nik- | nnizat nowhere | никамо nowhere |  |
|  | никогдаже never |  | mhко八ико none |
| $j-$ | má, нaєжe where | ramo, where | rxaov, whence |
|  |  | ramoжe | r-7a ¢\% |
|  | erat when | tako as | елнRO, as much as |
|  |  |  | enbua |
| $t-$ | Tor there | tamo there | THAOY, from there |
|  |  |  | TAAE, OTZTXAOV |
| $s$ | cbat here | ctuo here | crraols, to here chuse cr-mat, <br> thus |
|  |  |  | OTbGradov |
| ov- | obbae over there | obamo over there | OBAAOV from oboraa over there at that time |
| on- | onzae yonder | onamo yonder | OHRAOY from yonder |
| in- | hnzat elsewhere | инамо to elsewhere | инжоу, from elsewhere |
|  |  |  | иMmat |
|  | h horad at another time | нмако in another way |  |
| $v \mathrm{hs}$ | Bbcbat everywhere |  | Bbcr-raov, from everywhere |
|  |  |  | Bbcrat |
|  |  |  | OTEBbCryAOV |
|  | Ebceraa always | вbсько вbсако in every way |  |

1. Use of Numbers and Cases

The Dral

In addition to the singular and plural, OCS has a third category of number, the dual. This affects all parts of speech which show number, i.e. the noun, pronoun, adjective and the variable parts of the verb. The dual (and not the plural) is used when the noun, pronoun or adjective in question, or the subject of the verb, denotes two (as opposed to one, singular, and more than two, plural). Nouns denoting paired objects such as eyes, hands, etc., are therefore rarely in the plural. The dual is used consistently in all the OCS texts and as New Testament Greek does not have this category there can be no doubt that it was a living element of the Common Slavonic grammatical system.

In the following passage from the Gospels (Mark I, 16-21) the dual is illustrated by the words referring first to Simon and Andrew, then to James and John.





 оставльша отьца своего зеведеа вz падии сz наємzникzI по кещь IAETE. 21. 1 BZNHAZ BZ KAПEDZHAOVMZ 1 aБbe BZ GOSOTZI Ma CONbMHயTK OYYaame ra.

The Nominative

The nominative is the case of the subject of the sentence. In OCS the nominative is distinct from the accusative only in the masculine plural and feminine singular of the regular declensions, and in the pronouns (masculine and feminine, but only partly). There is no special form for the neuter or for the $i$-declension.
oycnziwabz we hpoaz עíp czuate ca（м 2，3）
отввぬнавд же йсz рече кв немоч（ $\mathrm{L} 7,40$ ）
1 пристжпь еаинz кzнижzннкz рече емоч（M 8，19）
се трдсz великz езістz вz мори（M 8，24）



Examples of the masculine dual：
czpttete и azBa ebczha otz жanhи lcxodamta nrott sbno（M 8，28）
। авье прозьрьсте ниа очн（М 20，33）

Examples of the masculine plural（note consonant change）：

Bb CNBAZ E CO has hapoah Mzhosh（Mk 7，1）

чпивци же ч Ноднша сА（М 8，27）
се влzсви ї вzстокz прїдоша вz rê̂́nz（M 2，1）



Examples of the feminine：

П甲Над птица н поzоваша 方（M 13，4）
вZIGTz воVрt ввтрzна велнt（ $\mathrm{Mk} 4,37$ ）
bzictz тишнна велиt（Mk 4，39）
ENZHZI же вbлива天天 CA BZ naAhta（Mk 4，37）
жена едина huєнемb mapzta．приratz 1 bz aomz gson（L 10，38）

Examples of the neuter：

еt we toy ctado cehho macomo beahe mph root（Mk 5，11）
джа жель弓на н пвта сзнроџшаахж са（Mk 5，4）
çuA egTz cлobo гжне（ $\mathrm{L} 8,11$ ）
да czełдетz ca gnobo mcaha nóna eжe peye（J 12，38）

The nominative is also the case of the complement of 'to be', whether expressed or understood:
a;z ecMz пactzipb $\alpha 0 \Sigma \rho z 1$ ( $J$ 10, 11)
се во естZ законz 1 пророцн (М7, 12)


mzzaа ваша многа rectz на нвсн (M5, 12)
bZI есте conz zemnn (M5,13)
жatba oveo mzhora. a atnatenb mano (M 9, 3)

The nominative is also the complement of verbs of naming and calling, but the accusative is also found:
hн Haphyarete ga hagtabbhyцh. tho nagtabshикz bawz eahнz ectz (M 23, 10)
but bZI rinaamete MA ovyhtent n ráa (J 13, 13)

In many cases it is of course not possible to determine whether a noun is in the nominative or the accusative:

I hapeye mua chmonoy netoz (Mk 3, 16)

Occasionally the complement of 'to be' is not the nominative, but the preposition B ( + accusative. This is a Semitism in Greek.


bzictz bz aptbo benMe (L 13,19 )

## The Accusative

The accusative is the case of the direct object, and is used in conjunction with transitive verbs. In the masculine plural it is distinct from the nominative for nouns of the $o / j o$ declension:
 пакzI посла ннz: paszi (M 22, 4)
 оставн мрztвzha погрети свон Mpztвzца (M 8, 22)

The accusative is also distinct from the nominative for nouns of the $a / j a$ declension in the singular, but not in the plural or for the neuter, nor for the other declensions:


 (M 10,1 )



In the masculine singular of the $0 / j 0$ declension the endings of the accusative are the same as those of the nominative, but when the noun denotes an adult, healthy, free male person (therefore someone who can be the originator of an action as well as its object) it is often distinguished from the nominative by having the endings which are characteristic of the genitive case.

прtáctz же вратрz вратра на сzмрzть (M 10, 21)
iже пноshtz отца ли matepb пачe mene htctz mene досtohnz (M 10, 37)

shat tov yкa не овлzyena bz oдtanhe spaybное (M 22, 11)
orappb pasa apxнepeoba. orptza emor orxo (M 26, 51)

The word czinz may have the accusative czinz or czima:


The young, sick, or unfree do not have gen. = acc., nor do spirits:

послbab же посzna hz mmaz cinz cbon (M 21, 37)
АО НЬAGже bHAATZ ©


- Kzhasm stbcz mzronhtz btczi (M 9, 34)




 according to the New English Bible: if your brother commits a sin against you, go and take the matter up with him, strictly between yourselves, and if he listens to you, you have won your brother over) Iже прнєMneTZ MA חрнеMnetz nocznabzwaaro Ma (M 10, 40)

A characteristic of OCS is the 'second' or predicative accusative, used in conjunction with verbs such as "make, create, elect, choose', also verbs of saying and thinking. This construction is a calque from Greek.

хоtatz прити á bzcxzitatz i h cztbopatz licpt (J 6, 15)
кто MA ПOставh GдAht- maAz ваMh (L 12, 14)

aшte onzi peye sorzi ( $J$ 10, 35)
yто MA гñ̈н snara (Mk 10, 18)
hMEM MA OTZPOYZHa (L 14,18 )

The accusative is used with nouns denoting a stretch of time:
mz Morzi abни прt巨zlwa ( $J$ 2, 12)
BZGTaATZ NOmTb M AbMb (Mk 4, 27)
се аZz сz ваMи есMz вьсА дbнM до єzнонzчаниt вька (М 28, 20)




It is also used with nouns denoting a measure of distance:

греБz山є же вко azBa дecate n tatb ctaanm (J 6, 19)

The genitive is used in three types of construction: to define a noun or the equivalent of a noun, as the object of a verb, and in various adverbial constructions.

1. The adnominal genitive

A noun in the genitive may serve to define another noun or its equivalent. The noun in the genitive may denote the possessor of what is denoted by the other noun, or the whole of which the other noun is a part, but the connection between the two nouns is determined by the context and covers a broad range of relationships.

на пкть та弓̃кв нє иадте (м 10,5 )
cekzipa прн корєни aptza neжitz (M3, 10)

The genitive is more frequent when the noun is qualified:

- црккви тьла своero (J 2, 21)

мариt иькова малаєго (Mk 15, 40)

In this construction the genitive is in competition with the dative, which is used in the same way, although the dative can often be interpreted differently (e.g. as dative of purpose or direction):

пать мор но ( $\mathrm{M} 4,15$ )


Both constructions may be combined in the same sentence:

сьнемz арканћела миханла п првподовьнtи матронt (Ass f 126a 7-8)
biдatz nhye otzya moero necbkaaro/otbyto mh ñecbkoymoy (M 18, 10)

Both constructions are in competition with adjectives:
bz aomz пetpobz (M 8, 14)
оү弓ьрt игакова зеведєова (Mk 1, 19)
mapnt нtковлt (Mk 16, 1; cf. the example given above)
otz наzapeta галипеnchaaro (м 21,11 )

These constructions may be mixed in one sentence:

Gzкажн наMZ прнтZY及 пntвent cenzHzIKZ (M 13, 36)
otz bhtanhra roaabда maphhна н mapzti cectpzi (J Il, I)

More rarely, an adjective is used although it is qualified: gzezpama ca... на Abopz apxhepeobz нарнцаємаго канtфа (м 26, 3)

In the variants of the same text, all these can be found:

Bz mua ovyentra/oyyennkoy/ovyenhye (M 10, 42)

Use of the adjective may be impossible as this would give a different meaning, particularly in figurative expressions:
chz mhoa (L 10,6 )
BZ a $\in \mathrm{Hb}$ rnada $(\operatorname{Ps} \operatorname{Sin} 36,19)$

The genitive is also used when the word in question is not a noun and so cannot be used to form an adjective:


The genitive is also used, rather than an adjective, if plural number is to be expressed:


A particular case of this construction is when the genitive defines a noun formed from $a$ verb and denoting the action of the verb; the genitive is then subjective (it denotes the subject of the action of the verb) or objective (it denotes the direct object of the action of the verb:

меврtгzшe пов


This construction is parallelled by an adjectival one:



Like the genitive construction, the adjectival construction may be ambiguous if derived from a transitive verb:

BZ pactanme enmhzcro (J 7, 35; the Hellenes disperse or are dispersed)
ctoaxa paAM mroaemgra (J 7, 13; the Jews experience or inspire fear)

The genitive is also used to define numerals and certain pronouns (particularly reahnz, AZBa, mpzBzin, aporrzim, нже, которzir, ндто, никzTO, етерZ, hнz, кзждо):

маь естz заповьаь прьва вьсьяz (Mk 12, 28)
1же васz sez rotáa ectz (J 8, 7)


In this construction the preposition OTz + genitive is also used, but this may be in imitation of the Greek original as it occurs much more rarely than in the original and almost always where Greek has a preposition, not the other way round:

кдто же отz васz пекz: СА можетz прнложитн (L 12, 25)
нотораГо отZ седмM (M 22, 28)

Another use of the genitive is the genitive of measure, or partitive genitive; in this case no other construction can be substituted:

влtкжштє мрьжж pzisz (J 21, 8)

It is used with mzhoro, mano, колhкo, топико, etc.

и имьахж pzishць mano (Mk 8, 7)
нопико $\boldsymbol{x}$ пहЕz нмате ( $\mathrm{M} 15,34$ )

Since the numerals from 5 onwards were originally nouns, they are accompanied by the genitive, even when the numeral is in an oblique case:

ПO yetzipexz aecatexi abhb bzhmae (Cloz 14a, 24)
вддн овластb huzi maAZ accatbro rpaaz (L 19, 17)

In later texts, and twice in the Gospels, the noun agrees in case with the numeral:

- agbath aggatz h agbath mpabeazhnutixz (L 15, 7; variant поавьдьннкz)

With the numerals from 11 to 19 the noun agrees with the numeral accompanying the phrase ha atcate:
he azBt in ha aegate roanht ecte bz abmi (J 11, 9)
и blzaca oympoviz azba na aecate howa (Mk 6, 43)

In later texts the genitive plural is usually found:

прнзва ві мжжь ништд (Supr 121, 12)
2. The Adverbal Genitive

The genitive of possession can be used as the complement of the verb 'to be':
tжe cxtz oúa moero (L 2, 49)

It is mostly found with the 3 rd pers. pronoun:


It does not occur with the other persons, since the possessive adjective is always used instead:

Aa nawe bdaetz aoctothme ( $\mathrm{L} 20,14$ )

The genitive is used instead of the accusative when the verb is negative:
(1) In impersonal sentences with EzITH:

çaе же ничсоже таковaaro (Supr. 491, 20)

The nominative also occurs if the existence of something is denied, particularly in contrast to the affirmation of the existence of something else:
ne catz bozh nz rectz borz (Supr. 34, 14)

There are, however, instances where such an explanation is not possible and ннкzто(же) and ннчьто(же) are fairly common:

нинтоже во естz нже свтворитz chnx (Mk 9, 39)

When the subject is not expressed the construction is personal: me catz (M2, 18) he btaz Toy (Supr, 314, 20), therefore in the 3rd person the construction may be assumed to be personal:

Htctz cbate (Mk 16, 6)
(2) With other verbs:
he zhaame rea (M 1, 25)
влдднте не вбахште кмигz (M 22, 29)

The genitive is also found with the object of an infinitive or a participle which is part of a negative phrase:
bhha m ghkepa he hmatz nhth (L 1, 15)
me notecta osnobzizarmeth horov moero (L 7, 45)

Here again the accusative is often found instead; this occurs when the negation does not extend to the whole sentence:


Such an explanation is not always possible, and OCS makes more use of the accusative than the other Slavonic languages. This is variously explained as influence of the original text, an archaic feature, or an innovation in the South Slavonic languages.

The genitive is used as the object of certain verbs:

```
&Ot:axg CA \rOAHH (Mk 11, 32)
ovжасzma me ca bha{ того (Supr. 211, 17)
paдоунте са велнка свьта (Supr. 452, 5)
```


It is found with the verbs cnovшати, сдмотритн:
nocnoymaatz rnaga moero (J 18, 37)
Hсппz $\quad$ нти has either the genitive or the instrumental:
hctinzhhma ca ctpaxomb (L 5, 26)


The genitive is also used with some adjectives:

да yhстz bддетZ гнвва (Supr. 407, 3)

The genitive of comparison is found with the comparative of adjectives:

Аа EXAETZ bbctrz MbNEH (Mk 9, 35)

The genitive of distance and in exclamations is found only in one late text:

o chnzi hcovcobh (Supr. 437, 18)

The genitive is used to express the month in a date, e.g.
mbсаддa mapta $8 z$ í(Supr. 97, 24)
but in this case the word $\Delta \Delta N b$ is understood and this is the genitive used to define a noun as described in the first section. There is no genitive of time in OCS.

The original meaning of the dative case is that of motion towards what is denoted by a noun or pronoun in the dative, but in OCS this concrete meaning is rare, having already been superseded to a large extent by the use of the preposition $k z+$ dat. Where it is found with a verb of motion the meaning is of ten not purely spatial:

ce и̃́s tвom rpadetz test hpotokz (M 21, 5)

The dative is usual with transitive verbs like mecth and its compounds:

и несе мatepn своен (M 14, 11)

With вести, сзлath, and their compounds $\boldsymbol{\kappa z}+$ dat. is usual. The choice between constructions with and without preposition may have been partly influenced by the original text, as the Greek accusative with preposition is usually rendered by a dative with preposition, whereas the Greek dative alone is rendered by the dative alone in OCS.

One of the most common uses of the dative is with verbs of commanding, obeying and its opposite, favouring and its opposite, giving (also taking away), saying, showing, promising and some others:

петpz hayatz прttиth emoy (Mk 8, 32)
н вt повhнoy ha ca hua (L 2, 51)
вражьдовахоч мнt (Ps Sin 54, 4)
н сзмрдты не прьдастz мене ( $\operatorname{Ps} \operatorname{Sin} 117,18$ )
нtctz aовpo otath xntea yadomz (M 15, 26)


аитте $\boldsymbol{n}$ цьсарьство намz овtштаваюеши (Supr. 2, 13)

It is also used with impersonal verbs meaning 'to seem, be similar to, liken to' and corresponding adjectives, and other adjectives such as anzжe Hz , достоннz, равьнz, сzгпасьнz, etc.
raкowe MbHE CA MbHHTZ (Supr. 345, 14-15)
подоЕиTZ ca h chmz caznzue (Cloz 10a, 1)

SжАх ПОдогинд вамz (J 8, 55)


Likewise it is used with nouns, adjectives or verbs in impersonal constructions meaning 'it is good, fitting, necessary', etc.

довро TEEt sддATZ (Ps Sin 127, 2)
нtctz Mh nototea rnaronath o nemz (Supr. 272, 10-ll)

The dative also denotes the person or thing for whom the action denoted by the verb is performed; this is the dative of advantage, (and its opposite), of destination or purpose.

子akna emoy teneuz ( L 15, 30)
отврzzвте MHt врата поавzazi (Ps Sin 117, 19)

A similar use is the so-called 'ethic dative' which indicates emphasis or emotional involvement:

сдмотри же МИ вь се $\mu \mathrm{B} \subset$ то (Supr. 90, 15)

The dative is also used to define an adjective:
H MHAn emor ezima (M 6, 34)

It is found in sentences without verb (usually exclamations):
Mnpz домоУ семоу (L 10, 5)
rope bamz soratzinmz (L 6, 24)

A frequent construction is that of the possessive dative, which renders a Greek genitive in most cases; it indicates a close relationship between the noun in the dative and another noun in the same sentence (part of the body, family relationship, etc.):
nayatz ormzibath host oyyenhromz (J 13, 5)
a甲e комоV вратрz ormbpetz (Mk 12, 19)

The possessive dative is found with 'to be':

и he bt hua yrata (L 1 , 7)
amte batetz etepor finkoy $\tilde{\rho}$ obeyz (M 18, 12)

A similar construction occurs with a qualifying adjective:

и ржка дєghaa emov bt colxa ( L 6, 6; one text has ero).

The adnominal dative is also a kind of dative of possession and is found in all constructions where the adnominal genitive occurs except for the genitive of respect (which occurs in place of the more usual instrumental) and the partitive genitive. The competition between the two constructions, dative and genitive, is shown under the heading 'genitive'.

A pronoun in the dative can replace the possessive pronouns Mon, TBOH, GBOH, but not bawb, Nawb; it can also replace the genitive of the 3 rd person pronoun.

Gั̈z TH *HEZ ectz (J 4, 51 ; another MS has tвом) ovzрt ина дzga врата нraкова zeведешва и јшана врата renov (M 4, 21)

The adnominal dative may define an animate noun (possessive dative or objective dative):

O KZHASH EtCOMZ. MZГOHHTZ EtGZI (Zog. M 9, 34; Mar. has EtGZ)


With inanimate nouns it can be possessive or defining:

ZHaME HHE HOHt поOpokov (Zog. M 16, 4; Mar. has honzi noopona)
наста врдma праzaehzctвov нашemov (Euch. Sin. 1b, 12-13)
овлачитz са вы рнzд правbдt (Euch. Sin. 1b, 12-13)

It can also be objective, when the noun it defines is formed from a verb taking an object in the accusative or the dative:

- nocnanhm ostma na aecate (Mar 76b, 6; from * mocznetz ostma na A GCATE)


If the original verb is intransitive the subjective dative may be present:
a жatba ectz konbyanme bekov (Zog. M 13, 39; from *btкz rohbyactz ca)
 GA)

It is evident that the adnominal dative may be ambiguous, as it is sometimes possible to interpret it as the dative of purpose:


Similarly phrases such as bptuA nnodomz (M 21, 34) can be interpreted as 'the time of...' or 'the time for...'.

The dative also occurs in phrases such as Bz Btкzl вьноиz which are originally Hebraisms.

Since adjectives used predicatively agree with the element which they refer to, the predicative dative occurs as well as the predicative accusative:



The dative is used with infinitive constructions, for which see under the infinitive; one example may be given here:


Finally the dative is found in the dative absolute construction; as this occurs only in conjunction with a participle, see under participles. The subject of the participial phrase is in the dative together with the participle:

и вzлtzzшема има вz коравь. noteta вtтрz (M 14, 32)

If there is no expressed subject, the participle alone occurs in the dative:


In the case of the participle 'to be', the complement, if any, is also in the dative:
 25-7).

The Instrumental

The basic function of the instrumental is that of an adverbial modifier of manner in the broad sense. The numerous different shades of meaning overlap and some examples are open to different interpretations.
(1) The instrumental denotes the instrument with which the action of the verb is carried out:

копиемь емоу ревра проводе (J 19, 34)
н hax bz поусто мћсто коравлемb єanht (Mk 6, 32)
 8)

This includes the instrumental of price:

коyпhuz azstua cztoma nthazz xntbzi (Mk 6, 37)

It also includes what something is shining, burning, or 'crawling' with:
bzGkzint zemith hxz жаsam (Ps Sin 104, 30)
(2) The instrumental may denote a part of the body or state of mind accompanying the action, and is then qualified by an adjective:

нz иже чистомz оумомь и недповивомz сраьцемz прнходатz (Supr. 338, 5)

This is, however, also expressed by the preposition cz :

(3) Instrumental of manner:

Аа вддеши Mxyenhkz bonerx (Supr. 82, 10)
рече кz цtяapov apzzoctnrw (Supr. 194, 7)

This includes the tautological instrumental, consisting of a noun closely related in meaning, and usually also in form, to the verb, and it occurs with and without qualifying adjective; this construction is a Semitism in Greek which has been passed over into OCS .

желвньемь се вьжделькz пасха всти сz ваин ( $\mathrm{L} 22,15$ )

A kind of instrumental of manner is that of a noun denoting a group, the verb being in the plural:

и becentaxa ca bbctaz aomomz (Supr. 541, 16)
(4) Instrumental of metamorphosis; this denotes a temporary form or shape in which what is denoted by the noun appears or is transformed, of ten by supernatural agency. There is no instrumental of comparison in OCS, so that the interpretation 'in the $X$ manner' or ' looking like an $X^{\prime}$ is excluded.
 521 5)

МАН жНвоТь

 женескz. нли галоыь ипн птиценя (Treb $35 b, 26$ ff; or appearing in the form of an animal, or of a serpent, or in the shape of a wild beast, or visible as a vapour or smoke of some kind, or flaring up like fire, or appearing as a spectre, whether it be male or female, or as a reptile or a bird).
(5) Instrumental of measure:
(a) With the comparative:

(b) Instrumental of the nouns derived from numerals by means of the suffix -nua indicating how many times the action is repeated:
 принєтъ (М 19, 29)

н аштє седмориценд свгрвитz вz та ( $\mathrm{L} 17,4$ )
(6) Instrumental of place; this is found with verbs of motion, indicating over what or through what the movement takes place:
hz инқMz пвтеmz winaolua (M 2, 12)
не вдходаи двьрьми вZ дворz овьчии (J 10, 1)

With this second meaning other constructions are also found:
nodbhsahte ca bbнhtm скbozt tbchaa bpata (L 13, 24)
(7) Instrumental of time; to indicate the time when the action denoted by the verb takes place, only the form nowtrirx is found (and the adverb abнь卜天 formed by analogy; дьньмь does not occur in this sense) :
 скончаванвштоу авло (Supr. 537, 28-30)

It is used to indicate the time during which the action takes place:

(8) Instrumental of respect; this covers the instrumental of nouns modifying verbs, adjectives and other nouns:
 tно tڭnomz manz st (L 19,3 )
 1же вt дпzжenz gmoy cztomz ntMrazz (M 18, 28)

With nouns it is used only with nменемb and posomb:

жена нькто кападокиса родомz василина же именємь (Supr. 297, 27)
(9) Instrumental of cause:

нзпеможе ништетон ковпость mot ( $\mathrm{Ps} \operatorname{Sin} 30,11$ )
MbM'sth mayz mztz. rabo cznovyaemz nthzimmz oxn nazapz (Supr. 314, 4)

In addition to the adverbial functions listed above, the instrumental is used with certain verbs:
(1) With verbs meaning 'to shake, nod, wave', usually with nouns denoting parts of the body:

покzisarжште главами свонми (M 27, 39)
помmstเ-x甲е очmмa (Ps Sin 108, 25)
потрасz maz pakor末 (Supr. 35, 13)
(2) With verbs meaning 'to rule, govern':

TZI владеши арzжавоtя морьскотд (Ps $\operatorname{Sin} 88,10$ )

(3) With verbs meaning 'to swear':


The connection with the instrumental of instrument or means is obvious in the above. With other verbs there is no evident connection:
tко оженM CA er- (Mk 6, 17)
не п'цьte ca ovtokibrimhaz (Supr. 547, 9)
МножьствоMz soratbctba свовго xвanaqu ca (Ps $\operatorname{Sin} 48,7$ )

Another function of the instrumental is to denote the agent of the action denoted by the verb in passive constructions. It occurs with the present participle passive:


It also occurs with the past participle passive, but here the construction with orz also occurs:

Torad gZ弓BGAGHZ EZIGTZ MC AXOMb BZ nOYCTZINX (M 4, 1)

With reflexive verbs the construction with orz is preferred, but the instrumental is also possible:
 azz totsoyra tosora kpctuth ca (Zog. M 3, 14)

The true passive, where the instrumental denotes the agent, cannot always be distinguished from other constructions; this is particularly the case when the instrumental denotes a person who may be thought of not as the agent but the means by which the result of the action is achieved, the true agent being the Lord. In the case of inanimates, mostly abstract, it is most likely that these are not to be regarded as agents in OCS, even if such expressions are derived from or are translations of Greek sentences involving personification. Some examples are:

да поославитz ga hma tboe. Mhor, ovsorziliz pasomz tbohmz (Supr. 103, 20-21; > I glorify Your Name, or it is glorified through me?) вbса подzMegeczcкara. просвtтmua ga. aпостолbcкоMz mponob jaanhemz (Supr. 186, 1-2; their preaching enlightens, or through their preaching?)
 light enlightens the world, or God enlightens the world by His light?)
cf. also:

законz мосвомb AaMz Ezi (J 1.17; NEB 'the law was given through Moses'; the Greek preposition used here means 'through' and is unambiguous)

The instrumental of quality consists of a noun qualified by an adjective, the whole phrase being in the instrumental and defining a noun so that it is the equivalent of an adjective:

мжжоу правьднвоу н довромъ жнтинмz (Supr. 294, 11)


Finally the instrumental is also found in predicative function, as the complement of verbs meaning 'to be, to become, to call or name'; this use is rare and is not found at all in the Gospels, and some of the examples quoted can be interpreted differently. The complement of such verbs is usually in the nominative. Some of the least controversial examples are:

 Atbork so st eva. не оүго вt мжжа поzнала (Supr. 489, 9) da toro pasmo $и$ hapeye ca xepcontahemz (Supr. 542, 6) зовж отьца отьцємz (Supr. 310, 4)

The Locative

The locative without preposition has a relatively restricted use in OCS. It is used to indicate place, time, and with a small number of verbs.

The locative of place is restricted to place-names:
свataro отьца нашего феодора арднепнскопа дьсарнградt (Ass 135b, 13)

Many examples are doubtful as they can be interpreted other-
 derived from the locative of place. As there are many more examples of the locative of place in Old Russian and Old Czech, it is possible that this very limited use is due to the influence of the Greek original, which is more precise since the equivalent concept
is usually expressed by means of a preposition, or by the dative which is not correlated to the Slavonic locative in the Gospels.

The locative of time is also rare, and is used only with nouns denoting a unit of time such as пьто, zпма, ношть, полz ношти, полz дьне, оүтро, yagz (but not abнb which occurs only with bz or in the instrumental):

 ortpo)

With yacz and ntro the locative occurs only with a definite pronoun:

и нсц̧ нжє вt архнєрєн томь $n$ tтt ( $\mathrm{J} 18,13$; in Sav only, the other texts have nttov tomov)

The adverbs ныlнt and nojat are of the same origin.
The locative without preposition occurs with a small number of verbs, chiefly коснжтн, поикоснжти and other verbs formed with the prefix пон-, but the dative and $\mathrm{BZ}+$ accusative are also found.

и прнлєжа ємz (L 10, 34)

It is much rarer with verbs formed with the prefix na-:

SZICTZ we hanexaut to emb hapoaiv (Zog. L 5, 1)

It is also found with zazbpttm, потzrhжти ca, onptth ca.

It must be remembered that the locative has the same ending as the dative in some declensions, therefore it is not always possible to tell which case is present. The locative with verbs is almost unknown in the other Slavonic languages and this must be regarded as an archaism.

The vocative, and not the nominative, is used when a noun is isolated, as in calling or addressing or in exclamations, and is not an element forming part of the construction of a sentence, but a complete sentence by itself. Such a noun may be in apposition to another noun or pronoun, or be used in conjunction with an imperative sentence.

єи отчє (M 11, 26)
отроновнцє въстани (L 8, 54)

Any adjective accompanying a noun in the vocative is in the nominative:
oT̃ye c̃̃zl (J 17, 11)


paavy ca fucpro hroaenckz (M 27, 29)

Adjectives in nominal function are in the vocative:


In all the examples quoted above, the Greek original has the nominative, which occurs instead of the vocative under certain conditions. This shows that in Slavonic the vocative was fully preserved and that the nominative could not be substituted.

## 2. Adjectives

Adjectives are used in the short form (following the same declension as nouns) and the long form (that is, the short form to which is added the corresponding form of the pronoun $*_{H}$ ).

Generally speaking, the short form and the long form have different functions, the short form indicating that the noun it accompanies is indefinite whereas the long form shows that the noun is definite (e.g. a good man as opposed to the good man), but in some
instances, particularly in later texts, the distinction may be blurred owing to various causes (scribal error, difference in dialects, trend towards more generalised use of long form, particularly in the plural).

A distinction must be drawn between defining adjectives (which cannot be used predicatively and cannot be used in the comparative) and qualifying adjectives which describe the noun they accompany. In OCS defining adjectives are formed from nouns by means of the suffixes -bск-, -ов-, - $\boldsymbol{H N}^{-}$, [j], those in -bск- being derived mostly from inanimates and the others from animates.

Adjectives in -bGK-, -OB-, $-\mathrm{HH}^{-}$, [j] are usually in the short form and are derived from proper names, identifying the noun as belonging to a particular place or a particular person:
bz Градz ranилеискz (L 1, 26)


врата адова (M 16, 18)
BZ кжпלль снnoyauntz (J 9, 11)

сНトХ же адштеры аврамлtд (L 13, 16)
цьлование мариино ( $\mathrm{L} 1,41$ )
but до прьселениt вавилонскаaro (M 1, 17)

Adjectives singling out one person from others bearing the same name are in the long form:

1 Нӧда нскарнотвскь 1 (М 10, 4)

If they are derived from common nouns, these adjectives are also in the short form:

BZ Yotвt кнтовt (M 12, 40)
BZ LOMZ KZMAKb (M 9, 23)
сквозt hrzanнt oruh (Mk 10, 25)

OTZ равbIMb apxhepeorz (Mk 14, 66)

Defining adjectives which accompany nouns which have a unique reference are in the long form (with some exceptions). Adjectives
 long form (in English they are accompanied by the definite article: the last man, the left hand, the other people, etc.).

Qualifying adjectives describing common nouns are in the short form or in the long form depending on whether they are indefinite or definite:

ma вьсtкz же демb benhkz (M 27, 15)

Bbctrz + participle: In general the long form is found where there is an article in the original Greek, and either the short form or the long form where Greek has no article. In a string of participles only the first must be long, for the others the form is optional:

вьсtиz слbl山an cловeca mot си и нe tbopan hxz (M 7, 26)
вьськz сльішавь: отйа и навьікz пондєтz кz мьнt (J 6, 45) but вьсtко оүБо дрьво не творанте ппода довра (Ass. L 3, 9)

The short form is used with etepz, єдhnz, нtкbl:

1 прншєдzши єднна вZAовица ovвога. вZврzже azвt пептt (Mk 12, 42)

With the vocative it is usually in the long form:

и се етерz прнстдПь рече емоу. оучитепto влarbi (M 19, 16)

The long form is used when the noun is definite, that is, when it has already been mentioned or is already known from the general context:

TZГAA пO FATZ H AM\&BONZ. BZ GBTZH rpaAZ (M 4, 5)

The long form is also used when a noun is in the singular but implies every entity denoted by that noun:


This means the same thing as the indefinite noun and so both the long form and the short form may be found:
 MдA $\rho Z$ )

Adjectives used as nouns are usually in the long form, particularly if they are in the plural, but there is a certain amount of hesitation, and there is a tendency in later texts to use the long form where one would expect the short form. In general there is a trend towards the long form as attribute and the short form as predicate for all adjectives, but in the OCS texts this is only just beginning to show.

влажени ништин дломь (M5,3)

## 3. The Personal Pronoun

The personal pronouns of the third person have no nominative case, as the person and number of the subject are already expressed by the personal ending of the verb. Therefore the pronoun $n$ never appears in the nominative except in the compound form (relative pronoun) пжє, raжє, єжє and their dual and plural forms. Sometimes, however, it is necessary to introduce a subject pronoun, either for emphasis (in which case the pronoun $c_{b}$ can also be interpreted as a demonstrative: 'this (man) here') or because of a change of subject.
$C_{b}$ 'this (man) here' is found in direct speech and refers to a subject who is present:

 Etcz (M 12, 23-4)
 ects ficz $\tilde{\mathrm{KZ}}$ ( $\mathrm{M} 16,20$ )
atnatene we eraa ovzbptwa cinz. poma bb cegt. cb ectz magntazhhkz (M 21, 38)


 GGTZ OTZ NHXZ (Mk 14, 69)

[^1]
сь во єстз о неньжє естz пнсано (М 11, 10)
a ctanoe ma кamenht. сb ectz cnzimam gnobo (M 13, 20)

Tz refers to a person who has just been mentioned and indicates that this person now becomes the subject; its function is therefore to show a change in subject:

AZZ OYБO кPZCTHXZ BZI BOAOFX a TZ KPZGTHTZ BZI AXOMZ GTZIMZ (Mk 1, 8)


 22)
 tко нскаaшета мене... і та не разоумьсте ( $L 2,48-50$ )
 (Mk 7, 36)

Onz implies a stronger contrast and is almost always followed by the particle $\boldsymbol{ж} \epsilon:$

 40)

 кгоститєлt (Mk 6, 22-4)
 оусьвнж м вь темьницн (Mk 6, 27-8)
 ниъ... (Mk 6, 35-7)
 непьштєваша прнзракz вz!тн (Mk 6, 48-9)


Tz may refer to a previously mentioned cb , but OHz is in contrast to a preceding pronoun, meaning 'that other one'; in this sense OHz also occurs in cases other than the nominative.

н Gb вt старtи Mzitapemz. I tz вt soratz (L 19, 2)

 6ff)

 AtBZGTBA GBOEFO. H TA BZAOBA дO OCMH AEGATZ HYETZIPZ П末TZ... 1


CZHHAE cb OПिABZAANZ BZ AOME GBOH. חAYE OMOTO (L 18,14 )
 AaHO ECTZ (M 13, 11)

Cb follows immediately a preceding sentence, whereas the clause with $T z$ is joined to the preceding by the conjunction $H$. Both refer to a person who has just been mentioned; whereas onz refers by contrast to one who has been mentioned before; $\mathbf{c b}$ and $T z$ are therefore both 'the latter', while orz is 'the former'; cf. the following:
 (М 27, 57-8)
 GZньмишт安 вы (L 8, 41)



## 4. The Verb

The present tense has a very wide range of meaning, covering every time which is not specifically and exclusively past. It occurs with perfective and imperfective verbs; perfective verbs cannot be used to denote an action as going on specifically at the time of speaking, otherwise there is no temporal difference between aspects, any meaning such as 'future' being due to the context and not to the tense or aspect.
I. Action taking place at the time of speaking (imperf. only):

се мати и воатоьt твоt вbнt стоhatz (M 12, 47)
ne hMaMz gzat tzkMo nats kntsz h abst pzist (M 14, 17)
II. Action taking place over a more or less protracted period of time including past and future, and actions taking place continuously, repeatedly, or at all times (statements of general validity):
(a) With imperfective verb:

ваши жє влаженtи очи вко вндите. 1 оуши ваши вко слziшитє (M 13, 16)
cero paah chnzi atratz ca o nemb (M 14, 2)
 во рAKz cbohtz erad xntez taAtz (M 15, 2)



 вднити (M 23 , 14)
(b) With perfective verb; the meaning is the same, but the action is seen in its definitive aspect:
 norzisarmiz)

Since there is no tense denoting an action that has been going on in the past and is still going on at the time of speaking (the perfect does not have this meaning), this is conveyed by the present tense together with a phrase denoting extent of time:
 нихтт yeco вс Tн (M 15, 32)
ce tonhко nttz pagotark test (L 15, 29)
III. The action is hypothetical, possible or intended:

In this case the verb is often perfective, as the perfective can have modal value:

TZI AH Mon ormziemи Nozt (J 13,6 )
 21)

The perfective present is normal in final clauses:


The present tense is used to denote future actions (see Future).

There is no historic present in OCS. Where this occurs in NTG to denote an action which is wholly past from the point of view of the time of speaking, the OCS text has the aorist:
 ce arĩnz rhz rabh ca (M 2, 13) по немь クад очченнин ero ( $\mathrm{Mk} 6,1$ ) erá поиелнжн ca bz himz (Mk 11, 1)

The expression of future meaning

There is no future tense in OCS. The fact that a verb denotes a future action or state is to be inferred from the context, and future action is one of the meanings of the present tense. Perfective verbs, which cannot denote action taking place at the time of speaking, very often occur with future meaning, although the present of perfective verbs is not itself a future tense. Imperfective verbs can also have future meaning.

1. In main clauses:
(a) With perfective verb:
 наGпtantz zemл. влажени алzчжщии и жежджщии правzaz) ради raко тии




по треxz abнеxz встанд (M 27, 63)

 cbora. I czeepatz otz yc̃octbht ero ebca cкantatizi (M 13, 40-1)

In deliberative sentences the perfective corresponds to a Greek aorist subjunctive：

Yто влаго сदtbopt－（M 19，16）

In commands and prohibitions quoted from the Old Testament， the perfective corresponds to the future tense in Greek，which is itself a feature borrowed from Hebrew：

не прьлповz1 сzтвориши（М 5，27）
вь弓люовнши нскрьньго своєго（М 5，43）
（b）With imperfective verb：

This use is very frequent in the Gospels，and denotes an action in the future（not necessarily the immediate future）which will last for an unspecified length of time or be repeated an un－ specified number of times．This use is no longer found in the modern Slavonic languages，as they have a future tense．

по вzскрzсновени жє моємь．варtrス bzi bz галнлєн（M 26，32）


Ноже не много гиトд gz вамн（J 14，30）

Sometimes the imperfective present is used to translate a Greek future；in Greek the future did not have aspect but is conmon in the New Testament because it was artificially maintained by tradition．The present indicative was used as well，but also，in subordinate clauses，the aorist of the subjunctive．To all these possible tenses and moods there corresponds only the present tense in Slavonic．Cf．the following，where the Greek future indicative is translated by the imperfective present where one might expect the perfective：
tште haж оүготованд мtсто вамz（ $\mathrm{J} 14,3$ ）

2．In subordinate clauses：

In this type of clause the action denoted by the verb may be possible，supposed or in some other way hypothetical，since it
depends on the main clause. In this case the verb is perfective, even though it may denote repeated action. Future meaning if at all present is due to the context and is not inherent in the verb form; very often the verb of the original is in the present tense.


Czbttz cztbophma ha hz da овльgtatz 1 сповомb (M 22, 15)

доньдеже m弓идете отZ tжаt (Mk 6, 10)

The subordinate clause usually has a verb in the present tense even when the verb in the main clause is clearly future; cf. the following with the periphrastic future:
 bz ina rine ( $\mathrm{M} 23,38$ )
не иматz остати сзде камень на камени iжe he pazophtz ca (M 24, 2)

The so-called 'periphrastic future'

This is usually formed with hutr as auxiliary:

тако и снz члвчскzi нматz страдати отZ нижz (M17, 12)

The various ways of expressing the future can be seen in the prophecy in the 13 th Chapter of Mark:

2 CZKOHbYаTH GA Bbсt CH

MZHOZH EO חЮHARTZ EZ MOG HMA. . 1 MZNOTZI ПЮלКbCTATZ еГда же o凹cлzIшите вранн...


 cTaNETE


XOT\&TH is also used as an auxiliary, more often implying intention or inclination, while имъти rather implies an inevitable outcome or destiny; but there are many instances where this additional meaning seems so weak that the construction in fact amounts to a future tense. This embryonic future tense is to a large extent dependent on similar constructions in the original, where the simple future did not have aspect and was being replaced by other forms. The OCS tense system is based on the opposition past/non-past, with 'future' as one of the many shades of meaning of the present tense.

## Note on Aspect

The use of aspects is similar to that found in the modern Slavonic languages, particularly the South Slavonic languages, where the perfective can have present, not future, meaning in subordinate clauses. However, there are important differences, as it appears that many verbs, such as $\boldsymbol{\wedge} \boldsymbol{\pi}$, could be of both aspects, and for some verbs it is difficult to determine which aspect is present. Some of these do not have the same aspect as their modern cognates. In view of the controversial and inconclusive state of our knowledge of aspects in OCS, only a few essential points are made here:
(1) Suffixless verbs become perfective when prefixed, e.g. Mziти ovMz 1 TH.
(2) Verbs formed by means of the suffixes - $\quad$ a-, - - -a-, remain imperfective when prefixed: ol山zitи - olızıватн, оставити оставлrath. This is often accompanied by a change in the vowel preceding the suffix: zaтворити - затварнати.
(3) Alternations of the type $a / n$ usually indicate imperfective/ perfective pairs: постжпати - постжпити.
(4) The suffix -H\&- alternating with a or another vowel, often indicates that a verb is perfective: погzisatn - norzisндти.
(5) Some verbs like रодити denote repeated or continuous action and remain imperfective when prefixed.

The contrast of perfective and imperfective independently of temporal denotations is well illustrated in M 12, 43-5, where the action is told in the present tense as an individual example of what may happen at all times:

      горьша прzBzIXz.

The Aorist

With perfective verbs:

This is the most common tense for narration of single events taking place at some definite time in the past without reference to other events either taking place at the same time or subsequently. This tense is also used to denote the beginning or end of an action which is itself lasting:
camz оста вz rannnen (J 7, 9; He remained in Galilee, i.e. at one point He stayed there instead of going away)
nрtszictz $\operatorname{roq}$ (J 10,40 ; He settled there)

The action may be repeated but taken as a whole:
 spare what they all cast in)


With imperfective verbs:

This aspect is found instead of the perfective with verbs of motion and of perception, also racth and rubTH. Possibly some of these verbs are of both aspects (this seems likely in the case of the verbs of motion) or the continuity of movement or perception is stressed:
 25)

н bua ben (M 14, 20)
and the frequent phrase
enziшасте, rano (you have heard that...)

The aorist in itself does not imply that an action is completed, only that it is past; it can be used to denote continuous or repeated action:

азz вьсєгаа orynxz на сзнzмншти (J 18,20 )

With verbs of saying either the perfective or the imperfective may be used; in both cases the aorist implies a definite statement, etc., made by a definite speaker in the past: "he said" is usually peye (perfective) but with emphasis on process: ajz finaxz bьcemov urpor (J 18, 20).

The imperfective aorist is also used in negations where the whole action is denied:


The Imperfect

This tense denotes an action that took place in the past and lasted for an indefinite time, either continuously or repeatedly. It sets the background against which the narration develops, and is in contrast with other past tenses, particularly the aorist. An utterance containing a verb in the imperfect is incomplete unless it also contains another past tense, not necessarily in the same sentence but as part of the sequence of narration. Since the imperfect essentially denotes a process taking place in time, it is almost always formed from imperfective verbs. It is sometimes difficult to decide whether a particular shade of meaning is to be ascribed to the fact that the verb is in the imperfect tense rather than to the fact that it is imperfective. The imperfect tense expresses a time relation (pastness, simultaneity with the action of other verbs, time perspective within the narration), whereas aspect
is connected with how the speaker views the action (process versus achievement, duration versus momentariness, etc.).

мноSh вогатни взмєтаахж многа (Mk 12, 41)

някаахж на йса сдвьдtтепьства... $\quad$ не оерьтаахж (Mk 14, 55)
вzпрашааше и аштє чzто видитъ (Mk 8, 23, but вzпросн кzнижzникzı (Mk 9, 16) ; in the first case the Greek original has the imperfect, in the second the aorist)

клandue ca emoy (M 8, 2; imperfect in Greek) but cf.
покломhma Ga emov (M 14, 33; aorist in Greek)

The imperfect introduces a long speech or a number of statements, or the reported speech of indefinite people:
 (J 11, 36-7)

Sometimes the use of the imperfect seems due solely to the original:

OVCTpZMH cA ctaAO no sptrov bz mope... I oytanaaxa bz moph (M 5, 13)

The imperfect can also be formed from perfective verbs (not from prefixed verbs formed from stems denoting repetition, since these cannot be perfective). However, since the meaning of the perfective aspect (action seen as point without extension in time, moment of completion of action) is difficult to combine with the meaning of the imperfect tense (duration for an indefinite time, habitual or repeated action) it is extremely rare. It does occur once in the Gospels:

 'they found fault'; perhaps this could be paraphrased as 'this had struck them as being objectionable and they remained in that attitude')
embse ca ovtzrhtawe, $\boldsymbol{\operatorname { s i n a r b a w g }} \mathrm{CA}$ emoy (Cloz 582; 'he [the blind man] bowed in the direction of whatever he bumped into': here the imperfect expresses habitual action, and the perfective aspect expresses completion of each separate instance). ни єдино atло ежє нє подвнгньаиш оұмz (perfective aspect denotes that result was achieved; imperfect tense denotes that the effect was achieved habitually or repeatedly in the past: 'there was not one single thing that did not have the effect of stimulating the mind')
 мрьтвz оиtпаawe (Supr. 353; this is taken from a description of how a group of Christian martyrs suffered their fate; 'one of them covered his face with his knees, another lay prone choked, and yet another was rigid as if dead'; the perfective shows that the process was completed, he was choked not choking, the imperfect seems to imply duration while other actions were taking place).

These examples show that it is possible to separate tense and aspect, although the differences may become blurred owing to the development of aspects, the decline of tenses and the discrepancy with the Greek system where tense and aspect are even less clear.

## The Perfect and Pluperfect

The perfect indicates that the action of the verb has taken place at a time which is past from the point of view of the time of speaking, and that this action is related to the events which are mentioned by the speaker or are understood from the context to be taking place at the time of speaking. Very often this relation is that of action and its results, or an action and the state it leads to but this is not always the case. A perfect tense by itself does not constitute a complete utterance, although it may constitute a complete sentence, as it implies that the action of a verb in the perfect leads to, or results in, or in some way influences, the action of a verb in the present or future tense.
 Hz: ovynum (J 9, 34; you were born in sin, [and now] you want to teach us)
 не можетz знаменин снхz творнти. вже тzI творнии ( $J$ 3, 2 ; you are from God since no one can work these wonders)

 him save himself)
 étz cztbophnz (J 7, 31; whether he will work greater wonders than this man did)
 (M 25, 20)
вддетz во тогда скрьвь велиь. вкаже ньстд вдina от начала вzсего мира до сель. ни нматz вzіти (M 24, 21)

Sometimes the perfect is used when the emphasis is not on the verb, as the fact that the action of the verb has taken place is already known, but on some other element in the sentence, e.g. the circumstances of the action.


 онz же рече emov. правt çahnz ech (L 7, 43)

If the verb is reflexive, it corresponds sometimes to an English present passive construction:


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станетz цс́твне его (M 12, 26; is divided against himself)
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is likened to a king)
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It may correspond to a predicative adjective:

отооковнца н九стz оумрzла nz сzпитz (Mk 5, 39; is not dead)

It follows from the above that the perfect cannot be used in a main or only clause as the central core of a statement, cf.:
sbpa tbora cinge ta. i cи̃cena ezictz wema otz yaca toro (M9, 22)
 she had been the wife of each of them)
cf. also the sentence already quoted above:
 (M 25, 2) ; according to the New English Bible: you left five bags with me; look, I have made five more)

The pluperfect is used in a similar way, but instead of referring to the present it refers to a time which is past from the point of view of the time of speaking.
 30; His time was not yet at hand)
 12)
 ectz (J 9, 8; they had seen him. and now they said)
 вbсtкora bbch (L 5, 17)

Cf. also the following passage, where the participle is equal to an adjective in a parallel construction:
 obptte ca (L 15, 24; was dead... was lost).

The conditional occurs in two construction types.
I. In the more frequent type it is used in two-member constructions of the 'unreal condition' kind, that is to denote an action that would have taken place if an unfulfilled condition had been satisfied, it being manifest or implied that it has not been or cannot be satisfied. The subordinate clause (if-clause or protasis) is introduced by the conjunction awe and the conditional mood is used both in the subordinate clause and the main clause (or apodosis). No distinction is made between present and past conditional.
(a) Both the main verb and the subordinate verb refer to an action which has not taken place in the past:
 bM. I He eh octabhnz подzpzith xpama cвoero (M 24, 43)
ovite emoy en Ezino. awte en hament wpzmobzhzl bzznowenz ha BZI его. 1 вZвоzженZ вZ Mоре. неже да сканzaалmGaatz manzixz сhxz eahnoro (L 17, 2)


(b) Both the main verb and the subordinate verb refer to an action which does not take place in the present or at any time in general:

 variant bzicte)



аште уада авраамлt вділн. дела авраамлt творили внсте (J 8, 39)
а䒑те MA EHCTE zManh h otzya moero zmañ bисte oybo (J 14, 7)

Sometimes one clause refers to the past and the other to the present or to no particular time; it is not always possible to make a distinction and it is often a matter of interpretation:

AOEO\&A EH EZINO GMOY aHTE CA BH He pOAHNZ (M 26, 24)
 variants EZI, and EZIXOWZ, EHKOMZ

GA EMb (L 7, 39)
 EZ/CTZ)

аHTE OTZ MHPA EHCTE EZINH. MHPZ OYБO GBOE пHOEHAZ EH (J 15, 19; variant EzIGTe)
 variants szixz, sZima)

Occasionally a modal verb is found instead of the if-clause:

ПOAOEAHE TH OVEO BZAATH GZPEEPO MOE... TPKZMHKOMZ. 1 חpHWbAZ aZZ BbZAMZ OYEO EHMb CBOE CZ $\Lambda$ YXBOFX (M 25, 27)

In the following example the present is found instead of the expected conditional in the main clause:
 (J 19, 11; variant Ez1)

The main clause may be without verb:
аште ли же ни реклz shцz вамz (J 14, 2; 'if it were not so I would have told you')

 OYKPZI GA OTB OYMr- TBOEr* (L 19, 41-2; 'if only you had known...)

The conditional is not used for any other types of conditional sentences, and no distinction is made between 'real' and 'hypothetical' conditions, cf. the following:
 certain, one has already happened: indicative in Greek)
 ( M 26 , 33; both events are likely to happen: indicative in Greek) but:
 hypothetical, the other only a possibility: subjunctive in Greek)

аште речeuz cz hesece. пo yzto ovio me haca emov btpzi. aute ah речеMz отz Ỹкz. воНMz GA maposa (M 21,26 ; in both cases what the speakers might say is only a possibility, which they feel it might not be prudent to realize: subjunctive in Greek)
II. In the second type of construction the conditional is used in dependent clauses in which the action of the verb is seen as possible or desirable, mostly in final clauses, indirect commands and questions; final clauses and indirect commands are introduced by the conjunction $\Delta a$ and indirect questions by interrogative pronouns. This construction is not frequent as the more usual one is with the indicative.

Final elauses:

 словомь (Mk 12, 13)

1 дрzжаахж и да не ви отzшепz отz ннжz (L 4, 42)

 (L 5, 1)
 Mbnt nhronhжe he adnz ech moznate. at cz apoyrzi momun bzzeecenhiz са вимь (L 15, 29; variant bzixz)

Indirect commands:

 се сотона проснтz васz да вн сьлz ько пшеницж (L 22, 31)

Indirect questions:

сZвътz творьдж ма нь како н ед погоуенли (Mk 3, 6)



This construction occurs also, but only rarely, with fot trn:

не хотtawe да ви н кzто ytonz (Mk 7, 24)
 ннми. прьвєдtте сыно (L 19, 27)

Both types of construction can occur in the same sentence together:
 подвнзали са вzima. да не прłданz вимь иroдқомz (J 18, 36; variant внша)

The second construction may correspond to a Greek optative, but the more usual construction in this case is the future indicative:
cnziшaszme же ptua al нe sxdetz ( $L 20,16$ )
 manner of salutation this should be', NEB 'what this greeting might mean')

Participles

Participles, like adjectives, show number and gender, and are declined like adjectives with some slight differences. Like the finite forms of the verb, they also have tense, but only the two basic ones: present (or rather, non-past) and past. These are relative tenses: the present participles indicate simultaneity, at least partial, with the action of the main verb, and the past participles indicate pastness with reference to the time of action of the main verb.

The resultative or $l$-participle is only used to form compound tenses (perfect, pluperfect and conditional). The passive participles, present and past, are used with the verb 'to be' (for this use see 'passive voice') and as adjectives, e.g. наслtдочитє оуготованое вамд исоствиє (М 25. 34).

The principal functions of the active participles are as follows:

1. The participle is the nucleus of a phrase which stands in the same relation to the subject as the predicate does. This participial phrase is a kind of second predicate which is also secondary, that is, it denotes an action which is less important from the point of view of the speaker than the action denoted by the main verb. The participial phrase is not a subordinate element, it is not subordinated to the main verb. The participle in this construction is always in the nominative, and agrees with the subject in gender and number. It may be present or past, and may be placed before the main verb, in which case it is closely associated with the subject when expressed, as is shown by the word order and punctuation. Such a sentence is often best translated into English by two main verbs:

азъ прншєдz нсцьлюк $n$ (I shall come and heal him; M 8, 7)
bzctabz hah (Arise and go; L 17, 19)
и носнжвz bz oyxo єго нсиtan $n$ (He touched his ear, or, Touching his ear He healed him; L 22, 51)

It may also be best translated as a subordinate clause:

хода же при мори галнпепGцt. вhat симона (As He walked, while walking, when walking, by the Lake of Galilee He saw Simon; Mk 1, 16).

Compare the following:
прнтодаште иьлите $\mathbb{C A}$ (Come and be healed; L 13, 14) monalte we ca he nhxo fintte (When you pray do not speak too much; M 6, 7)

The fact that the participial phrase is independent of the main predicate is shown not only by the word order, but also by the fact that the participial phrase, together with the subject if expressed, is sometimes separated from the rest of the sentence by a conjunction, either $n$ or a (more rarely $7 n$ or $T a$ ). This is, however, not frequent in $O C S$ as there is no such construction in Greek.
 out of the water; Zog. M 3, 16)

The participle may also be placed after the main verb. In this case it is usually to be translated by various types of subordinate clause, depending on the context:

н прнде kz hHMz по mop ro XOAA (And He came to them walking on the water; $\mathrm{Mk} 6,48$ )
bzzapaaosama we ga orygnhum bhatbzwe ra (The disciples rejoiced when they saw the Lord, or, on seeing the Lord; J 20, 20)

It may also be translated by a preposition plus verb form:
czrptumxz nptaagz kpzBz нenobhizhm (I sinned by betraying, or, when betraying, innocent blood; M 27, 4)
 (and the Jews wondered, saying: how can He know the books without having learnt; $J$ 7, 17)

The present participle may complete the meaning of the main verb:
mphag muta mioda ha men (He came to seek fruit on it; L 13, 6) ctobaxi n подне zbpallte (People stood watching, or, stood and watched; L 23, 35)

Sometimes the participial phrase is separated from the rest of the sentence by a conjunction; it is then to be translated by a finite verb; such a construction is rare in OCS:

1 TZ st ctoa mph ezept renhcapetbeyt. I bhatzz azea kopaghya (and He was standing by the Lake of Gennesaret, and saw two boats; $L 5$, 1-2).

The participle of verbs of saying is of ten used to introduce direct speech, even when the main verb is also a verb of saying; this tautologous use is due to the Greek original, where it is derived from Hebrew:


So far we have considered only cases where the subject of the participial phrase is identical with that of the main verb. When there are two different subjects there are two finite verbs if the actions of the verbs are of equal importance from the speaker's point of view. When it is necessary to subordinate one verb to the other a subordinate clause, introduced by a subordinating conjunction, may be used, but by far the most frequent mode of subordination in OCS is that of a participial phrase. The participle and its subject are then in the dative case, and this construction is called the dative absolute. It corresponds to the Greek genitive absolute and the Latin ablative absolute. Examples:
 the boat the wind stopped; $\mathrm{M} 14,32$ )
 (After he had thought this, behold the angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream; M 1, 20)
 ing down the mountain, Jesus told them; $M 17,9$ )
 entered the boat, the man who had been possessed asked him; Mk 5, 18)

сє bzшeazшema bama bz rpaAz. cspamtetz bzi Ỹ̃kz (behold as you go into the town, a man will meet you; $\mathrm{L} 22,10$ )

сzвравzшємz жє сА ниz. речє имz пилatz (when they had gathered together Pilate said to them; M 27, 17).
2. The nominal (short) participle is also used as the complement of various verbs.
(a) It may be the complement of the verb 'to be', and forms a kind of compound tense of the type 'I am writing'. The meaning, however, is not the same as that of the English construction since it can be used with the imperative and can denote a permanent or recurring state. Examples:
otz cent yर̃Z вддemu noba (Hence you will be a fisher of men; $L$, 10)
 your enemy quickly; M 5, 25)
(b) The participle may be the complement of other verbs which require a complement in the nominative:
mbHtaxi Āxz bHAAute (They thought they saw a ghost; L 24, 37)

A participial phrase is also found with verbs of stopping:

вко же прtста Гла $\rho \in ч \in$ кz снмоноу (When He stopped speaking, He said to Simon; L 5, 4)
 the Twelve)

However, the construction with the infinitive is much more frequent.
(c) The participle may be the complement of a verb requiring a complement in the accusative:

оврьте отроковицж лєжлитж на одрt и вФGz mшeazmz (He found the maiden lying on the bed, and the devil gone out; Mk 7, 30).

This construction is particularly frequent with verbs of perception:
a.jz 5о Y ROXz GHAx HHbasma HZ MEHE (L 8, 46)
bhat héa ctomata (J 20, 14)

It is less frequent with verbs of saying:
tко Ги̃te o benbzeboynt hzromantb ma stczi. (as you say that 1 exorcise devils in the name of the devil; L 11, 18)
3. The participle may modify a noun, or it may itself, as any other adjective, function as a noun. In this function the participle is either long or short. The long participle usually (but not always) corresponds to a participle or other construction with article in Greek. It is to be translated as a relative clause, or sometimes as a participle.
(a) As adjective:

M czbtattenbctboyortz o mbнt nocnabzi min oub (and my Father who has sent Me will bear witness for Me; J 8, 18)

подовьни схть отоочиштемz сбдаштемь на трджнштнихz (they are like children sitting on the market-place; $\mathrm{L} 7,32$ ) речє жє h кz єдинtub hastrxutemb ca ha ca (He said to some who were relying on themselves; L 18, 9)

вьахж же едини негодх卜жштє вь севt (there were some who were disapproving within themselves; Mk 14, 4)
 withered hand, or, with a withered hand; Mk 3, 3)
(b) As noun:

Ce nzraf ctan ctatz (behold a sower went forth to sow; Mk 4, 3) bhatbz Mere brat otzya (he who has seen Me has seen My Father; J 14, 9)

The participle in this function may be used with the imperative, when the nominative is found (there is no special form for the vocative);
othatte otz mene atлarinuten sezanonhe (go away from Me, you who transgress the law; M 7, 23)
 going to pull down the temple and build it up again within three days, save yourself; M 27, 40)

The same construction is found in the following example, where the participle is not in apposition to the pronoun, as it does not agree with it:
rope bamz cubramteh ca (Woe to you who laugh, L 6, 25).

The short form of the participle is also found with two. It agrees with the noun or pronoun it describes:
 was denounced to him because he wasted his property, literally: as wasting; 116,1$)$
 man because he corrupted the people, literally: as corrupting; L 23, 14).

The Infinitive
The infinitive is an invariable form of the verb, it is used mostly, as in Modern Russian and many other European languages, as the complement of another verb when the subject of both verbs is the same.

можете имz довро творити (Mk 14, 7)
не вз弓може юєднного yаса повzatти (Mk 14, 37)
пилатв же. хота народоУ похоть сзтворити. поустн hMz варавд (Mk 15, 15)

они me haymca ckpzakth h finath remoy (Mk 14,19 )
hayatz очжасати ca n тжжити (Mk 14, 33)
 н глати немоу. прорьци намz. хрьсте (Mk 14, 65)

The infinitive phrase can be the object of a transitive verb:



The infinitive phrase can also be the subject of 'to be':
aовро есtz hamz czae bzith (Mk 9, 5).

The infinitive of 'to be' takes a complement in the nominative: хоштєши пи цьлз вдяти (J 5, 6).

The infinitive phrase can also be the complement of a noun:

(See impersonal constructions for use of the infinitive with modal words)

The infinitive phrase can express purpose with verbs of motion, but this construction is often replaced in OCS by the supine, or, more frequently, by a finite construction:

## ce YNOBtKz hattz wpzth


 ковстиranzl нa тоbszi
but
ce hzhat ctrah á cbetz (M 13, 3; Greek has the infinitive)

The infinitive phrase of purpose may be introduced by the conjunction raro:



In OCS the infinitive is also used with a different subject, mostly with verbs of saying or thinking; the subject of the infinitive phrase is then in the accusative:

BZI we koro MA rinete bzitm (M16, 15).

This construction is a calque from Greek and the normal construction is with a finite verb, which is also more frequent in NTG. In any case NTG has the infinitive and accusative only if the reported speech is brief and given in summary form, otherwise the author reverts to direct speech.

The infinitive is also used to express result instead of a clause with a finite verb. In this case the subject of such a clause is in the dative, and the whole phrase is introduced by the conjunction rako ( $(\underset{\sim}{ })$. This is a calque from Greek and is not found in the other Slavonic languages.

H hGutan ha. tho napoaf ahbhth gat (M 15, 30-1)
 6ro (M 13, 32)


In Greek the infinitive phrase can also appear in other functions normally fulfilled by nouns, e.g. after prepositions, because they are introduced by a declinable article which indicates their function in the sentence. Slavonic has no article and therefore such constructions are usually rendered by a finite construction, but occasionally the original construction is retained. The article is then usually translated by the neutral relative pronoun $\epsilon \mathbb{*}$ if the infinitive phrase corresponds to a nominative phrase in Greek:
 скврzнитz צ̈лка (M 15, 20)



If there is a preposition the Greek infinitive is translated by a verbal noun in - нHe/-the:


BtGa : ha mpomathe (M 27, 31)
 8)


The Supine

The supine, like the infinitive, is invariable and is used as the complement of certain verbs. Unlike the infinitive, it is restricted to use with verbs of motion and of sending, and has the same meaning as the infinitive of purpose. It is not used consistently in the texts, being often replaced by the infinitive or a finite clause. It must, however, have been a feature of Common Slavonic, as there is no parallel form in New Testament Greek.

прнндохоMZ поклонHTZ CA remov (M 2, 2)

btca cz hçub hнa aba zbnodta olehtz (L 23, 32)

The object of a transitive verb is in the genitive case：

IAR PZIEZ NOBUTZ（J 21，3）
понақ osptzatz otpoyate（L 1，59）



поНде wena otz gamaph ha noyphtz bodzi（J 4，7）
toyhe приae xpbete mponntz kpzee cboema（Cloz 5v 33）
hznae mahatz atnatenb bhhorpaaov cboemov（M 20，1）

Sometimes the accusative is found instead，probably by contam－ ination with the infinitive construction：

прНдG hGOYGZ BZZHGKatz h hampashtz hzrziszuee
sOFZ czina cboero noczna pawdaema otz menzi gxiltam nodz zaronomz HCкоУпитZ（Cloz 6v 4）

Some MSS have an infinitive construction where other MSS have a supine：
h弓идете．．．ати ma／atz Mene（M 20，55）
ндд оуготовати мڭсто ваMz／oyготоватz 从太ста（J 14，2）

Occasionally the infinitive construction has the genitive where one would expect the accusative：

приде．．．спzIшати прthzapoctи сопомонa（L 11，31；one MS has cnzimatz）

мнра прнаz датн на zountw（L 12,51 ）


Sometimes a different phrase is used：

посzлa paEz1．．．при ratm пnoazi ero／hmatz bhнa gboero（M 21，34）

The verb＇to be＇

The verb＇to be＇may be absent in exclamations，questions and statements of general validity．This applies particularly to the
present tense:

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azz Ez aBpaMnb (Mk 12, 26)
Ge cbat Krz (Mk 13, 21)
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    More rarely the past or the imperative may be omitted:
    
rz cz Tosors ( $L 1,28$ )
Eתamenn Hr\&uh, etc. (Mt 5, 3 ff.)

Usually the verb 'to be' is not omitted in OCS, although it may be absent from the Greek original:

TZI ecn $\tilde{x C z}$ (Mk 8, 29)
достоннZ Бо EGTZ A



BZCS BZ M Mowzna test citz (Mk 14, 36)

Impersonal verbs

Some verbs are used only impersonally in the 3 rd person singular. They take an indirect object in the dative.

AOBbneTz: It is sufficient:

покажн hamz otzua н довелетz namz (J 14, 8)
довьлетZ оџченикоч да вддетz tноже оччнтель єго (М 10, 25)

достонTZ: It is proper:
 не достонтд тевt имьти женz। фнлипа вратра своего (Mk 6, 18)

не доятоитв намз оувнтн ннкогоже (J 18, 31)
достонтz ан наMz кеєареви дань дати (L 20, 22)
nOAObaETz: must, is to, has to:

подовадтZ emov ntи bц̄z (i.e. вz ropoycannuz) (М 16, 21)
илин подоваатв притн првжде (M17, 10)

подоваатz сноч уñyскоумоч. нz ного пострадати (Mk 8, 31)


Obligation is also expressed by the noun mebonra, which is a translation of Greek aváүкŋ.

неволt во естz понти сканьдanomz (M18,7).

There are no impersonal expressions of the type градом побило рожь, or меня знобит found in Russian.

For other impersonal constructions see Infinitive.

1．Tsar Samuel＇s inscription in memory of his father，mother and brother．
This commemorates Tsar Samuel＇s father，mother and brother． The right－hand bottom corner is missing，but the text can be re－ constructed．The date given is 6 1，i．e． 983 ADD．

## $\pm$ BъHMAwTסч\＆ HNAHCTAГOAOYX』A 3ZCAMOHASPAEZ ПОХАГАДПАМАТ Е＇ $\bar{\gamma} H M \Delta T \in P H H E P 4 T$  HMENAOY CZ OZ  क $\triangle A B A Z N A \Pi H C$ <br> 入ぁTOOTZCZTB $\bar{y} \overline{2}: \bar{\Phi} \bar{\alpha} \cdot \mathrm{HNZ} \mathrm{S}^{\mathrm{O}} \mathrm{H}$


 ovсопzшнкz никола рагz вожии рипснинt давндz написа же cA oz льто

 чзтtу天 н гатаахж поганн скче. крзстнвzше же са рнииск'тммн н



 н тако вћша мхнога пtta.


 нарнңакемаго Кнрнад, мжжа пракь,дьна н нстннина, н езтворн нмд пн-






 схт: sоrจми.





Kz твих что гаагоає,





 размћснша, тако н нравн и ог'шчан н оустави н законн " Х'штростн на
 аснрєомд зв末Здочктвнке, влдшвакеннн, врачеванне, чарованиы н виса







 едаинz сватый Костантннz нарнцанемшй Кнриля н пнс,мена сетворн н


 схтводиая в естд, а грвчьскаг келинн поганн. аце лн кдто речеть


 рнтн, нежє прzкен свтворитн.









 sheero mhpa 'stiar.'
3. From the Life of Methodius.










 чвсари, но сеовєси седтаего апостола Петра, икоже реуе: Бога соите са,


 ca urz Mopastcranero, пониz Meapдьн.
4. The alphabet prayer (The acrostic is intended to help in memorizing the alphabet; as words cannot begin with $b, z$, or 21, other letters are used).

1 A.3Z CAOBOMB CHMB MOAFI CA EOCOY:

3 Вhд, нMAHMz H HERHAHMZHMZ,



7 ЖнвХ щннMz BZ 3AกOREALXZ TH.

9 ЗגкоnZ TBOH, CEETZ CTb $3 \Delta M Z$ Toro,
10 Нже hцєtz erahreabeka cajea
11 H mpochtz ia adpza teota iphtath.
12 H Afthtz nzint saobenbiko finemar.
13 Кz крьценню обратнша са ввін,

15 Mhaocth tbota, gowe, mpocatz stan.





21 T'z so дағешн достонноmz снат,

23 Фapaouita ma zznogzt hzzbarh




28 Yoдfea tBota npti, hebhata seado,


31 Hmenh reto h abdoy nocats, boyla,

33 Xbact bsba,ala tpohцh ez bowlitbti,

35 10nz H cTApS CBOHMZ paзоуMOML.



39 Otz bbcetá traph H גztyanhe
40 Bz bbca beki h ha etlizl amhtiz.
5. From St. Matthew's Gospel, Chapter IV, verse i-ll.













 imh 3anorticth ó tebt. fi lu pxia才'h
 ниенй ó намени ногх clota. peqe же emoy ic nak'hl lîa a ectz. Me иichoychun




 All 3a ma cotono. fica co íctib röy boy tre Емоу поклоннши сА. і томя छ́диномя послоужиши. тогда Іо́стави дйволя.
6. A prayer on going to bed.
$\therefore$ : ती

 AK. ebas teisk . ntctik micta.
 nagent - chat ctat exhant chat ask покланtez сА. пещн Хощוл.

7. A prayer on planting a vine.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text {. ̂̀̂o єгд̂́ хотаџе виногрп } \\
& \because \text { дқ саднти \% } \\
& \text { Tw een } \overline{x^{\prime}} \text { внноградіи нетнны }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { AL Ectit - Thl crela diñt }
\end{aligned}
$$

на ваяъыкы н насадн ьa - тако





l otz mpasa. 1 otz Гpada ho



 zemati... A a bikzrecenhath cia óil M'иноsi- Genakt I mpakt okpz-: CTh EROL." прAB7, IA CXAZ



 HXIXL.." BIAt I пOABIXA CGA zematb -."
Горта tко воски растаания сьа
 Kbceba \%emata - -
Bhzetctiuna heg̈ca npartiax are - ; î biadruna mect aroale caaBX ETOM..
 ШTEI CLA ICTOYKAHWMR —.." XEAALALUTEI CBA O IAOA'DX'L CBOIXTL L.' nOKAONITE CLA EMOY BLCI derial ETO-..
Oycamilla i khgreceal cea ..... 8



 sthao nptrazhece cha mado ractMI erima


 igsabith bat.
Gebth rocits праведьнікоу.). $\quad$ -
 AHE -..
Rrzzeceahte cia mpabeathit 12

TM TTrania eroce

The variable words are given in the nominative singular for nouns and adjectives (nominal forms of adjectives), and infinitive for verbs. The meaning given may only be that which applies in the context of the passage in which it occurs.

The student is reminded that in Glagolitic texts there is no letter corresponding to Cyrillic $r a$, the transcription uses only $t$, so that e.g. bonta appears as Bont. Also that $z$ may appear as b, or vice versa, or $z$ appear as 0 and $b$ as $\epsilon$, and that $z$ and $b$ may be absent in certain positions.

| авMe, авbe | immediately, at once |
| :---: | :---: |
| aBHTH CA | see rabhtu ca |
| аврамль | of Abraham |
| агньць | lamb |
| aAOBZ | of Hell |
| a 38 | I |
| anzkath | to hunger |
| aMhnz | amen |
| $a H \hbar \in \cap Z$ | (usually abbreviated to aÑ $n z$ ) angel |
| anoctonz | (often abbreviated to $\mathrm{añnz}^{\text {) }}$ Apostle |
| apxartenz | Archangel |
| а ¢¢иепйскопz | archbishop |
| apxhepen | high priest, archpriest |
| acoveorz | of Asher |
| ащe | if, whether |


| SE 3 | without |
| :---: | :---: |
| веzаконите | lawlessness |
|  | deserted |
| EEGOYMbHz | mad |
| EfGtata | talk, conversation |
| Ehtm | to beat |
| влагословльнz, влагословьнz | (usually abbreviated to $\bar{\sim} \tilde{\Gamma} \mathrm{Hz}$ ) blessed |
| enaro | good, good things |
| bnarz | good |

Enawbhz
влатьнbскz

влzгарьскz
елддити
Enxabiz
EO
coratz
coratbctBo
вогораzormhte
corz
сожии
вожьство
BONEZHB
BOFath cA
Epakz
врани
вратрнна
вратрz，вратz
врачьнz
срぁгz
вочкарь
soup ra
5ZAもTH
вz：ватн
EZITH
EБAbHZ
в冘лz
Eちство
Etcz
вtсьновати сa
Escshz

BABMNONbGKZ
Bapaba
вар－ath
вашь
ве пин
blessed
of Pannonia
twin
Bulgarian
to err
wanton，licentious
for（conj．；always as second element in a sen－ tence）
rich
wealth
knowledge of God
（usually abbreviated to $\tilde{\Gamma} \mathbf{Z}$ ）God
（usually abbreviated to 巨гжин）God＇s，of God
divinity
disease，sickness
to fear，to be afraid
wedding
war，battle
brothers
brother
bridal；of the wedding
bank
scribe
storm
to watch
to be，to happen
to be，to become
poor；infirm
white
flight
devil
to be possessed
possessed（by a devil）
of Babylon
Barrabas
to await
your（plur．）
big，great

| Bennkz | big, great |
| :---: | :---: |
| Benbs\%mab | camel's, of camel |
| Benbろtbonz | Beelzebub, ruler of the devils |
| becenrath ca | to rejoice |
| вешть | thing |
| Bhaz | sight |
| BHAtHM H | vision |
| BMAETH | to see |
| bhea | cause; fault |
| вино | wine |
| виноградz | vineyard |
| BHCSTM | to be suspended |
| Витанина | Bethany |
| витати | to live |
| gnazzika | ruler |
| Bnastth | to rule |
| вnactb | power |
| Bnacz | hair |
| Bnaymth | to drag |
| Bnbkz | wolf |
| Bnzha | wave |
| BAZHEMHIE | agitation |
| влzhиth CA | to be agitated |
| 8nzx8z | sorcerer, magician, Magus |
| Enturn | to drag |
| вparz | enemy |
| spata | gates |
| врьтище | sack-cloth |
| boaa | water |
| BOAbHZ | of the water |
| BOHNZ | soldier, warrior |
| Bonra | will |
| Bonetra | voluntarily, by one's own choice |
| вражьдовати | to be hostile |
| BPb | to throw |
| врьже ни re | throw |
| врьжение камени | a stone's throw |
| BPbrov | above |
| Bptewa | time |

82
BZBPbГNATH
BZAATH
BZ\％AentTM
вZzanкати
BZAZX～スTH
вZ 弓еранити
BZ弓Eранtath
BZ弓вести
BZ弓вратити ca
bZ弓rapath ca
вz弓глаголати
bz zadanh ro
EZ 3AA．
Bz зapactz
BZ3AbpatM
BZ3AちTM
BZ弓atratm
вz弓ncкати
BZ 弓nOWHTM
BZ ЗМожь HZ
BZ ZMOwTM
BZ弓ZпиTH
Bz коупт
BZのちくTи
вдМочти
BZ Zn FOEHTM
BZ ZHECTH CA
bZ弓paAOBATH ca
Bz 32BaTm
BEZrath
bzanbath
вzмести
взметати
вднити
BZHt
BZПиTH
Bzпpamath
BZПрOGиTH
in，into
to throw in，to cast
to give
to desire
to get hungry
to inspire
to deny，prevent
to forbid
to lead up
to go back
to catch fire
to say
reward
to render
age（of man）
to be pulled up
to lift up
to lift up
to seek out
to lay，to place
possible
to be able to
to cry out
together
to get in
to be able to
to love
to be borne up
to rejoice
to call
to take
to pour in
to throw in，to cast in
to cast in
to go in（on foot）
outside
to cry out，to clamour
to ask
to ask

| BZGAAMTH CA | to be planted |
| :---: | :---: |
| BZCKрили | edge（of garment） |
| BZCKPbGEHMre | resurrection |
| BZGKPbchore | resurrection |
| BZGKObGHATH | to resurrect |
| EZGKZ1П女TH | to swarm with，to＇crawl＇with |
| BZGHOH math | to receive |
| BZCTatm | to get up，arise |
| EZGTOKZ | East |
| BZGXZITHTH | to seize |
| ВВТОопப二 | for the second time |
| BZTOのOпрbBZ－ вZтрорпрьвана cobota | the second Sabbath after the Great Easter Sabbath |
| EZKOAZ | entrance |
| вьдова | widow |
| вьдовнца | widow |
| bbgerad | always |
| Bbcbl | all，whole |
| BbGb ${ }^{2}$ | village |
| вьctarz | every，all |
| $\text { BZ } 1$ | you（plur．） |
| BZ 1 HHX | continually |
| BZICORZ | high |
| BzICmpb | up，upwards |
| BZIwe－Cz EZIme | from above |
| $\text { BZ } 1 \text { I }-$ | neck |
| BEABTH | to know |
| Etヶz | age；eternity |
| btpa | faith |
| в它тва | branch |
| EtTpZ | wind |
| BtTpb ${ }^{\text {ch }}$ | wind（adj．） |
| Etybiz | eternal |
| rasz | reptile |
| гататн，гадатн | to divine |
| raaba | head |
| rnaba mrzna | corner store |


| гпаголати | (usually abbreviated to гÑTи) to say, to speak |
| :---: | :---: |
| rnaronz | word |
| riadz | hunger, famine |
| raacz | voice |
| rnoyxz | deaf |
| TNtbs | anger |
| roanta | hour |
| rodz | time |
| голйb | dove, pigeon |
| Гонити | to drive |
| ropa | hill, mountain |
| rope | woe |
| roots | above, up |
| ГОоьнz | bitter |
| [Op rowb Hz | of mustard |
| rocriodb | lord, master |
| rocmoabiz | (usually abbreviated to $\tilde{r}^{\mathrm{Hz}}$ ) of the Lord |
| rotobz | ready |
| rpasz ${ }^{1}$ | town, city |
| roasz ${ }^{2}$ | hail |
| гральи女 | village, small town |
| roetm | to row |
| Грьчьски | Greek |
| robxz | sin, error |
| говшьникz | sinner |
| rpacti | to come, to approach |


| Aa | that, in order to |
| :---: | :---: |
| AABHAOBZ | - (usually abbreviated to $\tilde{A B Z}$ ) of David |
|  | until |
| a aneye $^{\text {a }}$ | far |
| Aanb | tribute |
| Aapz | gift |
| Аати | to give |
| Аа ¢ати | to give |
| Авижени re | movement |
| ABOPZ | hall (of a house), forecourt, courtyard |
| Авьри | door |


| AECHZ | right |
| :---: | :---: |
| - AEGHE | on the right hand |
| aegatb | ten |
| AMBUTH GA | to be surprised, to wonder |
| AHBZ | wonder |
| Altrabonz | devil |
| Anz\%b ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | owing, due |
| AOEPOTA | virtue |
| AOEPZ | good |
| AONOY | down, downwards |
| dont | below, down |
| AOMz | house |
| АоНьдеже | until |
| AOCTOHNZ | worthy |
| Аостоланит | inheritance |
| A $¢$ EBA | before |
| APOYFZ ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | friend |
| Aporrs ${ }^{2}$ | other, second |
| Арьжава | power |
| Арьжати | to hold |
| APb 30 CTb | boldness, daring |
| $A P$ EBO | tree |
| AOYRz | (usually abbreviated to $\tilde{A} X z$ ) spirit |
| AOVma | (usually abbreviated to AÏa) soul |
| AZBa, AZBt | two |
| Azcka | board; the inscription on the Cross |
| AZWTH | daughter |
| AbNAHA | by day |
| AbMb | day |
| AbHbBbMZ | daily, of day |
| AbNbCb | today |
| AZIMS | smoke |
| AzIXanme | breath; living creature |
| atshua | girl, maiden |
| AbBletbo | girlhood |
| Atлatent | worker, labourer; peasant, farmer |
| Atтищь | child |
| Atлatm | to do |
| Atлo | affair, business; work |
| Atrath ca | to be done, performed |
| Atsa | maiden, virgin |


| wasa | frog |
| :---: | :---: |
| жаль | tomb |
| \% ${ }^{(1)}$ | and, but, however |
| meadtm | see \%aдatı |
| ment3b ${ }^{\text {chz }}$ | of iron |
| menthure | desire, longing |
| wena | woman |
| meritz | bridegroom |
| жenbckz | female |
| \% ${ }^{\text {cectorz }}$ | hard, cruel |
| животz | life |
| WHBOTbHZ | of an animal |
| \%HBZ | alive, live |
| Whásbckz | Jewish, Hebrew |
|  | life |
| ※PbHOBbHz - <br> каMень жоьновbнz | millstone |
| жрьтва | sacrifice |
| жоb TH | to sacrifice |
| $\boldsymbol{* H} \mathbf{Z H z}^{\mathbf{N a}}$ | life |
| *AATH | to thirst |
| жAtBa | harvest |
| stno | very |
| завazath | to repair |
| ЗаAZ天H2TH GA | to choke |
| 3a3b ¢tти | to find fault, to be indignant |
| заклатм | to slaughter |
| заклинатн | to adjure |
| 弓анонооУYMTenb | teacher of the law |
| зако ${ }^{\text {\% }}$ | law |
| zamatoottm | to grow old |
| 3anobtaath | to charge with, to command; to tell |
| zanostab | order, law, command |
| zanostctm | to tell |
| zan¢tтитM | to forbid |
| zatgaprath | to close |
| затворити | to close |
|  | of a wild beast |
| zebeatobz | of Zebedee |


| zemnta, zemra | earth |
| :---: | :---: |
| зижаитель | creator |
| зниа | winter; zumt in winter |
| 3MM 1-a | snake, serpent |
| zun rebz | of a snake, of a serpent |
| zramenhre | sign, omen |
| з Nath | to know |
| зрьно | grain |
| 3\% ${ }_{\text {Bath }}$ | to call |
| 3znosa | wickedness |
| 32nOdth | evil-doer, criminal |
| 3znz | wicked |
| 3ьptти | to look |
| H | and |
| ${ }^{\text {M }}$, * ra , * rc | he, she, it (not used in nom. sing.) |
| Mглинz | of a needle |
| ндеже | where (subordinating conj.) |
| Hepathbcks | of the Jordan |
| H\%AEROHbHZ | from all time |
| нже | who (rel. pron.) |
| HzEABhth | to deliver, to free |
| Hzsbpat\# | to choose |
| HZEZITZKZ | more than one needs |
| нзBnturn | to drag out |
| нदгznath | to drive out |
| HzFZIEHRTH | to get lost |
| нzити | to go out, to come out (on foot) |
| HzNH rath | to pour out |
| нднемой | to become weak |
| m弓aannebz | (often abbreviated to nz゙nBz) of Israel |
| Hinta | Elias |
| питни re | property |
| nMtTr | to have |
| HMA | name |
| HHAYKTZ | Indiction (cycle of 15 years) |
| HHZ | other, another |


| Hoanz | John; Moanz Kpbctитenb (abbreviated to крс̆тителb) John the Baptist |
| :---: | :---: |
| Нона | Jonas |
| Hopajarz | Jordan |
| Hpoantane | Herodite, a follower of Herod |
| Hpoaz | Herod |
| HскарнотьскzI | Judas Iscariot |
| Hroda hekaphotbckzi |  |
| hekath | to seek |
| herovehtenb | tempter |
| ncroventh | to tempt |
| HGKObHb | neighbour |
| некоУпити | to redeem |
| нскоушати | to tempt |
|  | to be filled |
|  | full |
| h crobtiat ca | to confess; to give thanks |
| ncthea | truth |
| HCTASATM | to demand back |
| HCXOAHTH | to go out, to come out (on foot) |
| hexOaz | exit |
| HGutntim, Mubntim | to be healed |
| MGAKHETH | to dry up |
| Hcorcz | Jesus (usually abbreviated to $\tilde{\mathrm{HCz}}$ ) |
| HTM | to go, to come (on foot) |
| Нrakosit | of James |
| Hrakobz | James |
| Mroaja | Judas |
| Mrosen | J ew |
| Hrodenckz | of the Jews |


| како | how |
| :---: | :---: |
| harobz | of what kind |
| каменнre | stones |
| кападокнса |  |
| жена кападокнса | a woman from Cappadocia |
| Kecaperz | Caesar's |
| Khonns | Cyril |
| киTOBZ | of the whale |


| KAAMTATM CA | to bow |
| :---: | :---: |
| клеврьtz | companion |
| horad | when (interr.) |
| KOZ | kid |
| колижьдо | how often |
| KOAnkz | how much |
| коль | how much, how many |
| KOnt | when (interr.) |
| кольно | family, generation; knee |
| KOHZ - OTZ KOHa | from the beginning |
| коньци | end |
| коньчания | end |
| копHre | spear |
| корагици | little boat |
| корагъ, коравли | boat, ship |
| KOPENb | root |
| носмдтt Ca | to touch |
| ROTOPZIn | which (of several) |
| кратz | once; absa коатa twice |
| коль кратzi | how many times |
| KPOTZ KZ | meek |
| крZEb | blood |
| крьСтитель | (abbreviated to ко́стнтenb) the Baptist |
| крьстнт | to baptize |
| коbсthth ca | to be baptized |
| Kодсtıfanhez | Christian |
| KDbCTE | cross |
| коtпnoctb | strength |
| коупитm | to buy |
| movpenito | steam |
| ной | basket |
| kz | to, towards |
| kzhnra | book, letter (of the alphabet) |
| кz\%nГи | the Scriptures; writings |
| KZMMIZYHM | scribe |
| KZHH\%ZNHKZ | scribe |
| KZ HAWb | prince's |
| KZ Hassb | prince |
| KZTO | who (interr. pron.) |
| кมกセл⿻ | pool |


| палица | boat |
| :---: | :---: |
| naдиra | boat |
| пакати | to hunger |
| nakz тb | ell (measure of length) |
| пежати | to lie |
| $\boldsymbol{n \in п т а ~}$ | a small coin, mite |
| nettith | to fly |
| nешт | to lie down |
| пние | face |
| пихва | interest (on money) |
| пнпо | too much |
|  | to excess |
| АНLeMispz | hypocrite |
| nobhtm | to catch |
| nobbub | hunter, huntsman |
| поже | bed |
| noz re | vines |
| $\boldsymbol{\Lambda z \% b}$ | false |
| nьrzkz | light (in weight) |
| писть | deceit |
| Аthoctb | idleness |
| $\wedge$ ¢to | year; summer |
| п-овити | to love |
| nroszi | love |
| nroamte | people |
| n rotz | furious, mad, fierce |
| mano | little, few |
| manz | small, Iittle |
| Htkobz Manzim | James the Less |
| Марнинz | Mary's, of Mary |
| Maptz | March |
| Math | mother |
| MMNOGPbAOBATH | take pity |
| mmnogthbz | (abbreviated to MHETHBZ) merciful |
| мнлость | mercy |
| Mrnz | deserving pity |
| МНАН НMOV EZIHA | He took pity on them |
| Mhmath | to pass |


| unpz ${ }^{1}$ | peace |
| :---: | :---: |
| $\mathrm{MHPZ}^{2}$ | world |
| мnaдемьць | infant |
| Mлaдbibyb | of infants |
| mon | my |
| monhth ca | to pray |
| Mopbekz | of the sea |
| mopre | sea |
| MощTh | to be able to |
| mpazz | frost |
| mpbtez | dead |
| моьтвьць | dead body, corpse |
| мрьжа | net |
| MZ HoГ ажbaz 1 | many times |
| MZ | many times |
| MZ Horz | much, many, numerous; great |
| MKHOWbстEO | multitude |
| Mb3Aa | reward |
| MbN'th ca | to seem |
| Mzicns | thought |
| MzITapb | publican (in the Bible; i.e. a Tax-collector) |
| MZ 1 тьница | customshouse |
| Mz 1cnb | thought |
| MŁ\%A ro | between |
| MちCTO | place |
| MtGallb | month |
| MдADOctb | wisdom |
| manapz | wise |
| แхжь | man |
| MжжьGKZ | male |
| MXY HhKz | martyr |
| Мжунти | to torment |
| МАТеЖь | confusion; tumult |

na
MABZIKHETH
MaEZ
masz
наннb hikz, наєщьникz

мaneжath to crowd upon
направити
марешти
нарешти CA
maphyath ca
haposz
насадитн
hagntantm
наслыд вннкz
наставbннкz
mactath
maczithth ca
haovyith ca
hayano
hayath
Nawb
ha math
hesegbrz
hebo
неврtwith
HEBHAHMZ
HEBtPbHZ
heTOAOBATH
on, in, at; against
to be accustomed
naked
over, above
labourer, hireling
to direct, to guide
to call
to be called
to settle
to inherit
heir
to come to pass
beginning
to begin
our
to hire
unseen, invisible
faithless
to disapprove
to be called, to call oneself
crowd, multitude, people
teacher, master; leader
to be filled, satisfied
to learn, to be taught
(usually abbreviated to $H \tilde{E C H Z}, N E \widehat{\complement}_{\mathrm{E}}^{\mathrm{CH}}$ ) of heaven (usually abbreviated to $\tilde{M_{E}-}, \mathrm{HE} \tilde{\mathrm{S}^{-}}$) sky, heaven to neglect, to disregard

| HeARITS | illness, ailment |
| :---: | :---: |
| неже | than |
| нe3zлогивz | innocent |
| нenabhattm | to hate |
|  | innocent |
| непьшевати | to think, to believe |
| нести | to carry |
| Heynctz | unclean, impure |
| Hhzoy | below |
| нHzzPhmsth | to throw down |
| николи | never |
| никzto | nobody |
| mhybto | nothing |
| нпиe $\mathbf{T}$ a | poverty |
| ниұь | beggar (adj.), poor |
| nora | foot |
| ножb | knife |
| MOGHTH | to carry, bear |
| нощb | night |
| MOUN 1 -8 | by night |
| HZIMt | now |
| HtKzto | some, a certain |
| Htbzil | a certain |
| 0 | at, on, about; because of; concerning |
| OEA, OEt | both |
| osaye | however |
| овлactb | power |
| obnaynth ca | to dress |
| овлешти | to dress |
| OEAHYKTH | to accuse; to denounce |
| овличити са | to be accused, denounced |
| OEAOEZIzath | to kiss |
| OEлbститн | to deceive |
| OS HOBMTH | to renew |
| OSpathth ca | to be converted |
| Osptsetn | to find |
| osptтath | to f ind |


| OEtAOBATH | to eat |
| :---: | :---: |
| OEt\#eBath | to promise |
| OBZ ... OBZ | one..., another.. |
| oва... ова... | some..., others... |
| 08bua | sheep |
| OBbYb | sheep's, of the sheep |
| OTHG | fire |
| Orpashth | to fence in |
| OAPz | bed |
| Oдбжда | clothing |
| одбани - | clothing |
| Ожбнитн CA | to marry (of a man) |
| ожити | to come to life |
| ozaprata ca | to be enlightened |
| orneretatm | to slander; to accuse |
| око | (dual oyn) eye |
| OHz | that, that (one) yonder; he |
| omparzaatm | to justify |
| OR¢\&TH CA | to learn, to rest upon |
| OCRBPb \# | to defile oneself |
| OGKPZEtTM | to become grieved |
| OGMAEATEHZ | paralyzed man |
| OcлaEtTи | to become weak |
| оставит | to leave |
| octabntath | to leave, to let |
| octath | to stay |
| острог' | stockade |
| OGтжпити | to move off, to move away |
| OGRAMTM | to condemn |
| Othth | to go away |
| - to oroshla | maiden, girl |
| OTpORz | boy, youth |
| отрочи甲е | child |
| OTZ, w | from |
| OTZEptGTM | to open |
| OTZ B bila Th | to reply |
| OTZHOCHTK GA | to be carried away |
| OTEMOYGTHTH | to forgive |



пакз
паметь
пасти ${ }^{1}$
паст $\mathrm{TH}^{2}$
nactz; ps
macxa
naye
neyanb
nemith ca
nhema
питн
mucath
пнша
ппакатн сА
пподz
$\pi n \mathrm{Znz}$
пиьвати
nnztb
питва
пntвєのz
пл виА
по
пов $2 \lambda$ StM
повелtниre
nosentти
повиновати Ga
nobtctu
norahminz
norpeth
again
memorial
to fall
to graze
shepherd
Easter, Passover; Jewish paschal bread
more
sorrow
to care
letter (of the alphabet)
to drink
see mbsatm
food
to lament
fruit
full
to spit
flesh
chaff
weed
tribe, race
after (with loc.)
to watch, to stay awake
order, command
to order, to command
to submit
to tell
pagan
to bury

| norovisuth | to destroy |
| :---: | :---: |
| norzisath | to perish |
| COTZIEMATM | to perish |
| ПодвиГн俗 | to move, to stir |
| noabhsath ca | to move oneself, to struggle |
| modosath | to be fitting, appropriate |
| nodosath ca | to be like |
| modosnth ga | to be like |
| ПОдогь ${ }^{\text {chz }}$ | like, similar to |
| подражати, подр -ажатн | to mock |
| noazkeeccbekara | the earth |
| подzpzith | to undermine |
| nozat | late |
| поzнath | to know, to recognize |
| поzosath | to peck |
| показатн | to show |
| покататн GA | to repent |
| понланьнне | worship |
| понланratm CA | to bow |
|  | to bow |
| покон | rest |
| покрzIBATM | to cover |
| понz І ватн | to nod |
| полarath | to place, to lay |
| nonz ${ }^{1}$ | sex |
| nonz ${ }^{2}$ | half; nonz abNe midday; nonz nowt midnight |
| nomasath | to wave |
| nomec Th | to sweep |
| nownsath | to blink, to nod |
| помнповаты | to take pity |
| помощь | help |
| поиz I шл 卜entre | thought |
| nomz lun ratm | to reflect |
| noment | ashes |
| послоужнтн | to serve |
| nocnolwath | to listen; to obey |
| mocntaobath | to follow |
| nocntab | afterwards |


| послtaber | 1ast |
| :---: | :---: |
| послбдьнトа | last state |
| поставитн | to place |
| nocthta ga | to fast |
| пострадати | to suffer |
| moctparath ca | to be organised |
| посzлath | to send |
| потptsa | need，necessity |
| поTpact Th | to shake |
| ПOTZKHETH CA | to stumble |
| похоть | pleasure |
| почрtти | to draw（water） |
| пoybtenhe |  |
| по racath | to gird |
| пoracatm ga | to gird oneself |
| пO mith | to take |
| травьда | truth |
| правь | rightly |
| правьAbHz | just |
| правbahbz | just，righteous |
| правьдьннкz | just man |
| тра弓аbNz | empty |
| тразадньство | leisure；festival day |
| mpH | near，by |
| прнелнжнтн GA | to approach |
| прнвести | to bring |
|  | spectre |
| понвлышти | to drag in |
| понвОДити | to bring |
| прнзракz | ghost |
| прнzzвати | to summon，to call |
| прнлєжати | to look after |
| прмложнти | to add |
| принеg th | to bring |
| прновр穴т | to find，acquire |
| mpheno | always |
| прнстinnmth | to approach，to come near |
| прнсвдtти | to remain by，to sit near |
| понти | to come，to arrive（on foot） |


| понTM BZ c＾taz | to follow |
| :---: | :---: |
| понTZY「а | parable |
| понкодиты | to come |
| mphyacthre | part |
| пои ratn | to accept，to take |
| прогости | to pierce |
| прозьрtти | to regain one＇s sight |
| Проклати | to curse |
| прикрziвати | to cover |
| пролити | to spill |
| mpomathre | crucifixion |
| прорешти | to prophesy |
| проронz | （usually abbreviated to пприz）prophet |
| поорочнца | prophetess |
| П甲освtTHTH GA | to be enlightened |
| поосhth | to ask |
| прославhta ca | to be glorified |
| npoctoanz | extensive |
| прострєти | to hold out，to stretch out |
| простz | simple |
| протоzГnath ca | to be torn |
| поотивж | towards；to meet |
| прочни | other，remaining |
| прошentre | asking |
| nebsz | first |
| прьва | first state |
|  | to remain |
| пPtEzith | to stay，to remain |
| прtв化示 | to bring over |
| прtaдante | tradition |
| поддати | to betray，to deliver；to hand over |
| прtambihz | most wonderful |
| חр 42 | before，in front of |
| прьג¢лz | territory，region；frontier |
| прthtu | to go over，to cross（on foot） |
| првложените | translation |
| прєложнти | to translate；to change，transform |
| прEл Hoszi | adultery |
| прьмヌАрость | wisdom |



| pagotath | to serve, to be in servitude |
| :---: | :---: |
| pasz | slave, servant |
| paszinn | slave woman |
| pabzenh | rabbi |
| paan | because of |
| pasozath ga | to rejoice |
| pasoctib | joy |
| pasbma | because of |
| раждати | to give birth |
| pazaptath | to destroy |
| разврашати | to debauch |
|  | depraved, perverse |
| pazst | other than, except |
| pagatamth GA | to be divided |


| pazophth | to destroy |
| :---: | :---: |
| pazoyaz | understanding, intelligence |
| разоидвти | to understand |
| распжти | cross-roads |
| растауатн | to waste |
| pactrantre | dispersion |
| ревро | rib |
| решти | to say |
| phza | garment |
| Prubickz | Roman |
| родити | to give birth |
| poanth ca | to be born |
| pOAZ | birth, origin; race |
| pzisa | fish |
| pzisapb | fisherman |
| pzishua | little fish |
| ptazkz | rare |
| рбаь䒑и | few people |
| ptza | cut |
| ptrb | speech |
| prrath ca | to decide, to abuse |
| ржка | arm, hand |
| pasz | order, series, sequence |


| cank | myself, yourself, himself, etc. |
| :---: | :---: |
| CBHHZ | of swine |
| cBOH | his/her (own) |
| cstinnburkz | lamp, light |
| csttz | light |
| CBATS | (usually abbreviated to ©̃Tz) holy |
| ce | behold |
| ceamophц处 | sevenfold |
| ceabub | seven |
| cekzipa | axe |
| cenbrz | of the field |
| cent- do cent $^{\text {cent }}$ | up to now |
| cectpa | sister |
| ChaOHz | Sidon |


| cın, cbr | this |
| :---: | :---: |
| cheopa | an intoxicating beverage |
| chna | power; work (of divine power) |
| cmnoyamis | of Siloam |
| chpota | orphan |
| cmptekz | Syrian |
| спй | such, like this |
| ckahzaAnz, CRAHzAEAz | scandal, offence |
| cr803t | through |
| CKBPbMATH | to defile |
| crodo | quickly |
| CKOZEZ | grief |
| CKPZEtTM | to sorrow |
| cnama | glory |
| cradzkz | sweet |
| cnoro | word |
| CNOBranhez | Slav |
| c nOB Hamberz | Slavonic |
| cnorra | servant |
| сnz ньце | sun |
| cnzimath | to hear |
| cntaz | footstep |
| B2 Cntaz | follow (ing) |
| catsmz | blind |
| cmorz | fig |
| cutrath GA | to laugh |
| CHSTZ | snow |
| cosota, casota | Sabbath |
| conomomb | of Solomon |
| cont | salt |
| Cotona | Satan |
| cracemite | salvation |
| gnacth ga | to be saved |
| cpodbue | heart |
| ctano | herd |
| ctashn | a stade - a Greek measure of length about $6063 / 4$ English feet |
| ctaps | old |


| старьць | elder |
| :---: | :---: |
| ctath | to stand |
| gtpanath | to suffer, to endure |
| стража | watch |
| ctparz | fear |
| ctporenhte | building |
| ctporath | to arrange |
| ctzrina | road |
| ctaza | path, way |
| corrz | dried, withered |
| C3 | with |
| cz влажн rath | to tempt to evil |
| czenazhиth ca | to give in to temptation |
| czsbpath (ca) | to gather |
| CZ5ZITH GA | to happen, to come to pass |
| GZBPbwhth | to achieve |
| czbtatstenb | witness |
| GZEtattenbctao | witness |
| czBtit | counsel |
| czBazatm | to bind, confine |
| czrotwrth | to sin |
| cz3bAanHte | creation |
| czzhatith | to build |
| czRazath | to say, to tell |
| CZKOHZ YAHHY | end |
| czKohbyerath | to finish |
| сzкровише | treasure |
| cz\%pormath ca | to shatter, to smash |
| СZRPOYшити | to break to pieces, to smash |
| cznovyan | accident, chance |
| сзмиратн са | to humble oneself |
| CZMOTPHTH | to look |
| сямpbtb | death |
| CZMETH | to dare |
| cznhth | to go down |
|  | meeting-place, synagogue |
| CZNbMZ | meeting |
| CzHEASHZ | edible, Ybто сznלגbно something to eat |
| Czhath | Synedrium, the highest civil and religious tribunal of the Jews |


| CZMACTH GA | to become perturbed, agitated |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | to think |
| czпath | to sleep |
| czptctu | to meet |
| czcath | to suck |
| czexuen | sucklings |
| czctaptth ca | to become old |
| CZTBOPENHTE | creation |
| сЗтворити | to make, do |
| CBTO | hundred |
| сзторице -8 | a hundredfold |
| çtbrnkz | centurion |
| cb | this; he |
| cbat | here |
| сzInовожьствин | adoption as a son by God |
| CZInz | (often abbreviated to (THz) son |
| ctattu | to sit |
| ctuna | seed |
| ctho | hay |
| cticth | to sit down |
| ctrawnre | sowing (of seed); cornfields, area sown with |
| ctrath, ctт | to sow seed |
| GRAMTH | to judge |
| çAM -a | judge |
| GRAbHz | of judgement |
| çпbpz | opponent |
| cactaz | neighbour |
| cramo | this way, here |
| cif kamhna | mulberry tree |
| TAHMZ | secret |
| тако | thus |
| та ковz | such, of this sort |
| такожьде | also |
| tanahtz | talent, sum of money |
| тать | thief |
| твapb | creation |
| TBOH | your (sing.) |


| TBOPHTM GA тельцb | to pretend to be, to make oneself out to be calf |
| :---: | :---: |
| tȩenme | course |
| тишнна | calm (sea, wind) |
| тогдa, tzraa | then |
| толико | so much ... as |
| третинин | for the third time |
| Tponца | Trinity |
| тозжиче | market-place |
| T¢Z\%ьNHKZ | money changer |
| тоьните | thorns, thistles |
| тоbristu | to suffer |
|  | to demand, to need |
| Tot5zi | pagan rites |
| tpacz | earthquake |
| Toy | there |
| Tornt | in vain |
| Torez | Tyre |
| TZ | this, that; he |
| тbraa | see torat |
| TZкMо | only |
| тьмькица | prison |
| TZ I | you (sing.) |
| тもлO | body |
| тtcbib | nar row |
| THAOV, OTZTRAOY | from there, thence |
| T\#At | there |
|  | to grieve |
| TAFZKZ | heavy |


| OV | from |
| :---: | :---: |
| OY - Me ov | not yet |
| OYBtAtTh | to learn, to get to know |
| ovetuath ca | to make one's peace |
| OYFAREHTH | to deepen |
| ояготоватн | to prepare |
| ova八phtи | to strike, to hit |
| ovaOeb | easily |


| OYжachath ca | to be astonished |
| :---: | :---: |
| 0УЗьрвти | to see, to catch sight of |
| O укоренити | to root |
| ovkpachth | to furnish |
| ormpoyxa | crumb |
| OYKPZITM GA | to be hidden |
| OqMр边 | to die |
| oramz | mind |
| O VMZ ноже ни re | increase |
| o VMzIBATM | to wash |
| OYMZ 1 TH | to wash |
| o vatty | to know |
| ovmodoemtn | to compare, to liken |
| O¢̇ПОдОеит GA | to be 1ikened |
| orpezath | to cut off |
| ovenzimath | to hear |
| oventez | benefit |
| orcta | mouth |
| ovctporemhte | order |
| OYCTрbMnth ca | to rush |
| OVCBHETM | to go to sleep; to die |
| OVCzTzmen | the deceased |
| OYC EKHATM | to behead |
| ovtanath | to drown |
| ovtoth | of the next day |
|  | the morrow's |
| OVTZKHRTM CA | to bump into |
| OYTEmath GA | to be comforted |
| orro | ear |
| OYEMTH | to kill |
|  | disciple |
| ovYMtenb | teacher |
| ovimith | to teach, instruct |
| OYEO | for, since (always comes second in sentence) |
| фано̧miezz | of Phanuel |
| фараошь | of Pharaoh |
| фарисеи | Pharisee |
| фнлософz | philosopher |
| финичьскz | Phoenician |


| xbana | praise |
| :---: | :---: |
| XBanhth ca | to boast |
| теровьскz | of a Cherubim |
|  | resident of Khesson |
| ¢^tEz | bread; loaf |
| XOAMTH | to walk, to go |
| котьти | to want, to wish |
| xpamz | house |
| xpouz | lame |
| Хрьств, Хонств, Xристосz | (usually abbreviated to Kz ) Christ |
| 大даожьствие | art, skill |
| पрbkz | (usually abbreviated to $4 \sim \sim \sim z 1)$ temple |
| पPZKZBLAZ | of the temple |
| цвлити | to heal |
| цъловани | greeting |
| பtnz | al1, whole; sound, healthy |
| Чセломддрьно | virtuously |
| पtcapb | (often abbreviated to $\tilde{4 \rho b}, \tilde{4 C \rho b}$ ) king |
| பьсарьградz | Constantinople |
| पtcapbetehte | kingdom |
| yacz | time; moment; hour |
| yatanite | expectation |
| yarath | to expect |
| yegatm | to pick |
| YetBpbtz | fourth |
| YHNZ | order |
| YHETZ | pure, clean |
|  | who loves mankind |
| YnOBtikz | (usually abbreviated to Үัкz, Чก̃кz, чू̃̈кz) man (person) |
| YпOBtyb | of man |
| YNOBEYbCKZ |  |
| чряноризьиь | monk |
| Ypьтa | mark, notch |
| YptBo | belly |
| Ybctb | honour |
| YbCTbHz | honourable; holy |


| Yrodo | wonder，miracle |
| :--- | :--- |
| YAdO | child |


| Wror | left |
| :---: | :---: |
| －\＃1 rotw | on the left hand |
| шєстькрнлатz | six－winged（seraphim） |
| шнрота | width |
| шbстВоватн | to proceed，advance |
| Ш及 | see mmor |


| rasuth ca | to appear |
| :--- | :--- |
| rabnrath cA | to appear |
| raBt | openly，publicly |
| raAb | food |
| rako | when，as，like，since |
| ramowe | where（rel．） |
| ractu | to eat |


| トЄванztћелнト， eyarreлиre | （usually abbreviated to eठћлиre erimure）Gospel |
| :---: | :---: |
| reraa | when（subordinating conj．） |
| read | whether；introduces a question the expected answer to which is＇no＇ |
| FEAMHZ | a，one；a certain（man）；only，alone |
| rezepo | lake |
| rem | yes |
|  | Egypt |
| reanko | as much ．．．as |
| reathbekz | of the Greek，of the Hellenes |
| HeTEpZ | a，one；a certain（man）；of some kind |
| reme | more |
| rera | Eve |


[^0]:    1 In Glagolitic there is no letter corresponding to Cyrillic ta. Everywhere in its place there is the equivalent of Cyrillic $b$, showing that in that dialect $j a(' a)$ had merged with the sound represented by b .

[^1]:    Cb can also be the antecedent of a relative clause or of a participle in the adjectival (long) form:

