

**HANDBOOK OF  
OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC  
PART I**

**OLD CHURCH  
SLAVONIC GRAMMAR**

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(LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE)

*Under the auspices of the Department of Language and Literature  
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HANDBOOK OF  
OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC  
PART I

OLD CHURCH  
SLAVONIC  
GRAMMAR

BY

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## PREFACE

THIS Grammar is intended to help students of Slavonic philology to interpret Old Slavonic texts and to provide a starting-point for studying the history of the Slavonic languages. An attempt has therefore been made to present the facts, particularly of the phonetic system, from a descriptive and historical point of view and to draw attention to those regular correspondences between phonemes of cognate languages which seem to indicate constant principles operating in linguistic changes. It does not claim to be a historical grammar of Old Church Slavonic: its aim is to give the student in Slavonic philology a clear picture of the system of the first Slavonic literary language. As Common Slavonic is not recorded and Slavonic linguistic unity lasted until the sixth to seventh century A.D., Old Church Slavonic supplements our knowledge of Proto-Slavonic and so is an introduction to comparative Slavonic philology.

The method and plan of the Grammar conform to its purpose and aim. As it has been assumed that students will use the Grammar to read and interpret texts, the number of examples has been limited; but an attempt has been made to indicate to the student that Old Church Slavonic represents only one recorded moment of a section of a spoken language continuously changing in time and space. Fluctuations in so-called linguistic rules have been noted in order to draw the attention of students to the fluidity of linguistic phenomena and to possibilities for further research. Dialectal features and opinions based on hypotheses have also been indicated. All examples have been verified in the texts of the available editions.

Unlike phonetics and morphology, syntax has not been treated in a special chapter. As morphology and syntax are in practice interdependent, and as Old Church Slavonic syntax is based on that of the original Greek texts, its study seemed too complex to be included in this Grammar. But its characteristic features appear in the chapters devoted to conjunctions and prepositions as well as in the examples illustrating the various parts of speech.

The author is very conscious of his great debt to his predecessors, among whom he would especially name P. Diels, A. Vaillant, and N. van Wijk. As the manuscript was sent for printing in September 1954, he has not been able to make use of studies published since.

The author wishes to express his gratitude and thanks to Professor B. O. Unbegaun, Professor of Comparative Slavonic Philology in the University of Oxford, to Dr. R. Auty, Lecturer in Slavonic Studies in the University of Cambridge, and to Mr. E. D. Tappe, Lecturer in Rumanian in the School of Slavonic and East European Studies of the University of London, for reading the manuscript and suggesting improvements; to Miss S. C. Gardiner for compiling the subject-index and helping with the Cyrillic word-index; and to the Athlone Press for ensuring that the Grammar was produced under the best technical conditions.

If the *Grammār* succeeds in guiding the student in the field of Slavonic philology, as a branch of Indo-European linguistics, it will have achieved its purpose.

G. N.

# CONTENTS

PREFACE	v
BIBLIOGRAPHY	xiii
ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS	xv
THE OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC LANGUAGE	i
WRITING SYSTEMS AND SOUNDS	
§ 1. Table of Alphabets	3
THE PHONETIC SYSTEM	4
§ 2. Vowels and Consonants	4
§ 3. Hard, Soft, and Palatal Consonants	7
§ 4. Quantity, Stress, and Intonation	9
§ 5. Syllabic Division	11
THE VOWELS	12
§ 6. The Vowel <i>a</i>	12
§ 7. The Vowel <i>o</i>	12
§ 8. The Vowel <i>u</i>	13
§ 9. The Vowel <i>y</i>	13
§ 10. The Vowel <i>ě</i>	14
§ 11. The Vowel <i>e</i>	14
§ 12. The Vowel <i>i</i>	15
§ 13. The Nasal Vowel <i>ǫ</i>	16
§ 14. The Nasal Vowel <i>ę</i>	17
§ 15. The Hard Reduced Vowel <i>ǫ̋</i>	18
§ 16. The Soft Reduced Vowel <i>ĩ</i>	18
THE CONSONANTS	19
§ 17. The Liquid Consonants <i>l, r</i>	19
§ 18. The Nasal Consonants <i>m, n</i>	21
§ 19. The Labio-dental Spirant <i>v</i>	21
§ 20. The Spirants <i>s, z</i>	22

§ 21. The Palatal Spirants <i>š, ž</i>	22
§ 22. The Velar Spirant <i>x</i>	23
§ 23. The Dental Affricates <i>dz, c</i>	24
§ 24. The Palatal Affricate <i>č</i>	25
§ 25. The Development of the Affricate <i>dz</i> into a Spirant <i>z</i>	25
§ 26. The Labials <i>p, b</i>	26
§ 27. The Dentals <i>t, d</i>	26
§ 28. The Velars <i>k, g</i>	27
§ 29. Groups of Consonants	27
§ 30. Palatalization of the Velars	29
§ 31. Hardening of the Palatal Consonants	34
<b>CHANGES IN THE OCS VOWEL SYSTEM</b>	<b>35</b>
§ 32. Prothetic <i>i &gt; j, y &gt; v</i> , and Intervocalic <i>i &gt; j</i>	35
§ 33. Changes of the Reduced Vowels <i>ü</i> and <i>ī</i>	36
§ 34. Reduced Vowels in OCS Texts	39
§ 35. Changes of the Nasal Vowels in OCS Texts	42
§ 36. Development of Liquid Diphthongs in OCS Texts	45
§ 37. Vowel Gradation (Apophony, Ablaut)	46
 <b>MORPHOLOGY AND WORD-FORMATION</b>	
<b>NOUNS</b>	<b>51</b>
§ 38. The Nominal Categories: Stems, Genders, Numbers, Cases	51
<b>DECLENSION OF THE NOUNS</b>	<b>54</b>
§ 39. The <i>-a-/-ja-</i> Stems	54
§ 40. The <i>-o-/-jo-</i> Stems	57
§ 41. Nouns in <i>-ěninŭ, -telŭ, -arŭ</i>	63
§ 42. The <i>-u-</i> Stems	64
§ 43. The <i>-i-</i> Stems	65
§ 44. The Consonant Stems: <i>-v-</i> Stems, <i>-n-</i> Stems, <i>-s-</i> Stems, <i>-nt-</i> Stems, <i>-r-</i> Stems	67
§ 45. Declension of Names of Greek Origin	73
§ 46. Nominal Endings	75
§ 47. Formation of Nouns	84



## CONTENTS

ix

§ 48. Denominal and Deverbative Suffixes	87
<b>ADJECTIVES</b>	<b>91</b>
§ 49. Declension of Nominal Forms of Adjectives	91
§ 50. Formation of Adjectives	93
§ 51. Comparative Forms of Adjectives	95
§ 52. Declension of Nominal Forms of Participles	99
§ 53. Indeclinable Adjectives	102
§ 54. Adverbial Forms	103
<b>PRONOUNS</b>	<b>103</b>
§ 55. Formation and Declension of Pronominal Categories	103
§ 56. Declension of Pronominal Forms of Adjectives	113
§ 57. Declension of Pronominal Comparative Forms	115
§ 58. Declension of Pronominal Forms of Participles	117
<b>NUMERALS</b>	<b>120</b>
§ 59. Formation and Declension of Numeral Categories	120
<b>VERBS</b>	<b>127</b>
§ 60. Survey of Verbal Forms and Stems	127
§ 61. Classification of Verbs	131
§ 62. Phonetic Changes in the Verbal Stems of Conjugation Ia	133
§ 63. Changes in the Verbal Stems of Conjugation I b	134
§ 64. Changes in the Verbal Stems of Conjugation II	135
§ 65. Changes in the Verbal Stems of Conjugation III	136
§ 66. Changes in the Verbal Stems of Conjugation IV	137
§ 67. Personal Endings	137
<b>PERSONAL FORMS OF VERBS</b>	<b>141</b>
§ 68. Present Tense	141
§ 69. Aorist	141
§ 70. Imperfect	146
<b>MOODS</b>	<b>147</b>
§ 71. Imperative Mood	147
§ 72. Conditional-Optative Mood	149
<b>NOMINAL FORMS OF VERBS</b>	<b>149</b>
§ 73. Present Participle Active	149

§ 74. Present Participle Passive	150
§ 75. Past Participle Active 1	151
§ 76. Past Participle Active 2	151
§ 77. Past Participle Passive	152
§ 78. Future Participle	153
§ 79. Verbal Noun	153
INVARIABLE FORMS OF VERBS	154
§ 80. Infinitive	154
§ 81. Supine	154
§ 82. Gerund Forms	155
§ 83. The Verbal Form <i>ṣeṭū</i>	155
COMPOUND VERBAL FORMS	156
§ 84. Perfect	156
§ 85. Pluperfect	156
§ 86. Future Tense	157
§ 87. Future Perfect	157
§ 88. Conditional-Optative	157
§ 89. Passive Voice	158
VERBAL ASPECTS	159
§ 90. Perfective, Imperfective, and Iterative Verbs	159
§ 91. Functions of Verbal Prefixes	161
§ 92. Verbal Prefixes and their Meaning	162
§ 93. Conjugations and the Verbal Aspect	164
PATTERNS OF CONJUGATION	166
§ 94. First Conjugation (Present Stem in <i>-e-</i> )	166
§ 95. Second Conjugation (Present Stem in <i>-ne-</i> )	171
§ 96. Third Conjugation (Present Stem in <i>-je-</i> )	174
§ 97. Fourth Conjugation (Present Stem in <i>-i-</i> )	188
§ 98. Fifth Conjugation (Athematic Verbs)	194
INVARIABLE WORD-CATEGORIES	199
§ 99. Adverbs	199
§ 100. Adverbial Suffixes	199

## CONTENTS

xi

§ 101. Particles	201
§ 102. Prefixes and Prepositions	202
§ 103. Adverbs in Prepositional Function	204
§ 104. Conjunctions	204
§ 105. Interjections	211
SUBJECT INDEX	213
WORD INDEX	219



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(For works on the Cyrillo-Methodian texts, see Part II, pp. xi-xii)

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## ABBREVIATIONS

A./acc.	accusative	L./loc.	locative
act.	active	masc.	masculine
adj.	adjective	M	Middle
adv.	adverb	Mar.	Marianus
aor.	aorist	MHG	Middle High German
AS	Anglo-Saxon	Mn	Modern
Ass.	Codex Assemanianus	n.	noun
Av.	Avestan	neut.	neuter
B	Bulgarian	N./nom.	nominative
C	Croatian	num.	numeral
caus.	causative	OCS	Old Church Slavonic
cf.	conferatur (compare), refer to	OHG	Old High German
Cloz.	Glagolita Clozianus	OPr	Old Prussian
coll.	collective	ord.	ordinal
comp.	comparative	OS	Old Saxon
conj.	conjunction	Ostr.	Ostromir's Gospel- Book
CS	Common Slavonic	p.	past
Cz	Czech	P	Polish
D./dat.	dative	part.	participle
dial.	dialectal	pass.	passive
dim.	diminutive	pf.	perfect
Dor.	Doric	pft.	perfective
du.	dual	pers.	person
E	English	plur./pl.	plural
Euch. Sin.	Euchologium Sinaiticum	poss.	possessive
Finn.	Finnish	pr.	present
fem.	feminine	Prague Fr.	Prague Fragments
Fr.	French	prep.	preposition
Freis.	Freising Texts	pron.	pronoun
fut.	future	prop. n.	proper name
G	German	PrS	Proto-Slavonic
G./gen.	genitive	Ps. Sin.	Psalterium Sinaiticum
Goth.	Gothic	R	Russian
Gr	Greek	refl.	reflexive
IE	Indo-European	Savv. Kn.	Savvina Kniga
imp.	imperative	SCr	Serbo-Croatian
impf.	imperfect	sing./sg.	singular
impft.	imperfective	Skt	Sanskrit
inf.	infinitive	Slk	Slovak
I./instr.	instrumental	Sln	Slovene
int.	interjection	sup.	supine
intrans.	intransitive	Supr.	Suprasliensis
it.	iterative	T	Teutonic
Kiev Miss.	Kiev Missal	trans.	transitive
Lat.	Latin	v.	verb
Latv.	Latvian	V./voc.	vocative
Lith.	Lithuanian	Zogr.	Zographensis

## SYMBOLS

- > becomes
- < from
- \* hypothetically reconstructed form
- ~ links words derived from the same root or different apophonic grades of a root
- ^ marks palatalization; over a vowel (in SCr) marks the intonation (§ 4)
- ' marks place of reduced vowel
- : cognates or loan-words, derivative relation
- [ ] phonetic transcription
- ( ) explanatory or alternative words or morphological definition of a form
- ' after or above a consonant marks the softness of the consonant (§ 3 a); the same symbol over a vowel marks the stress or the intonation (§ 4)
- ˘ over a vowel indicates its short quantity
- over a vowel indicates its long quantity
- ˆ under a vowel (*y, i*) marks the consonantic function of the phoneme
- under a consonant (*ŋ, m, l, r*) marks the vocalic function of the phoneme

For the understanding of some philological terms the use of a dictionary of linguistic terminology is valuable, like that by J. Marouzeau, *Lexique de la terminologie linguistique*.



## THE OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC LANGUAGE

OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC is a South Slavonic dialect from the region of Macedonia used, in the ninth century, by two Greek scholars, Constantine (Cyril) and Methodius of Thessalonica, for their missionary purposes in the Slav countries of Moravia and Pannonia. The Introduction to Part II summarizes our present knowledge of the historical events surrounding the formation of the two alphabets, *Glagolitic* and *Cyrillic*; but it may be briefly stated here that Glagolitic was largely based on the Greek minuscules (cursives), and Cyrillic on the Greek majuscules (uncials) of the period. There are preserved tenth- and eleventh-century Moravo-Pannonian texts, in South-Slavonic recensions, written in both alphabets.

The South Slavonic character of the first Slavonic literary language is apparent in its phonetic structure. An original Indo-European and Proto-Slavonic dental followed by *j* is represented in OCS by *št*, *žd*, which occur elsewhere only in Bulgarian, as this language belongs to the same group of dialects as OCS. So, to OCS *svešta* < PrS \**svetja* 'light', OCS *mežda* < PrS \**medja* (cf. Lat. *media*) correspond: B *svešta*, *mežda*, SCr *svijěca*, *měd'a*, C *svíce*, *meze*, P *świeca*, *miedza*, R *sv'ečá*, *m'ežá* (§ 21.2). However, even the earliest Slavonic texts show dialectal influences of the region where they were written. So one finds in these texts isolated forms with Western Slavonic correspondents for original *tj*, *dj*, e.g. *rozistvo* 'birth' for *roždistvo* (§ 31 c); two texts, the *Kiev Missal* and the *Prague Folia*, are characterized by such correspondences called *bohemisms* (*moravisms*).

The reduced vowels illustrate the dialectal and chronological aspects of OCS. These phonemes were already in the oldest texts on the way to losing their independent value and to being used only to define the character of the preceding consonants. One observes therefore in the oldest texts a certain fluctuation in the use of the letters corresponding to these sounds. They are sometimes interchanged, vocalized, or dropped altogether (§ 33).

Various dialectal influences penetrated into OCS texts through

the spoken language of the copyists. So, for example, the epenthetic *l* after labials was inconsistently written in words like *zemjia/zemlja* (§ 17 *b, c*). Further, the nasal *ρ* is changed into *u* under the influence of the Serbo-Croat dialect spoken by the scribes of certain MSS (§ 32.4, § 35). These and other phonetic, morphological, and lexical features group the OCS texts into several regional and chronological categories. The Gospels of Ostromir (1056–7) contains many East Slavonic characteristics and is considered as the oldest Russian text. After the eleventh century the local influences penetrated more and more into the written language and the Slavonic texts of this period are classified according to their local dialectal features as *Middle Bulgarian* (called so because Old Bulgarian was improperly used for OCS), *Old Serbian*, *Czecho-Moravian*, *Slavo-Russian* (Old Russian). It is difficult to trace a hard line between OCS and later Slavonic texts; the year 1100 has been conventionally accepted as the borderline between OCS and the various branches of Old Slavonic.

The Slavonic linguistic unity lasted till relatively late in the Middle Ages, so that OCS serves, for philological purposes, as surrogate for Common Slavonic (Proto-Slavonic), and forms a basis for the history of the Slavonic languages. Cyril's and Methodius' works have a literary and also a fundamental cultural and religious importance. Through their activities Byzantium won the Slav world for the Eastern Church. Before Cyril and Methodius's mission some Slavs had been converted to Christianity by the Western Church. For that reason the Church terminology, common to all Slavs, is either of Western Latin or of German origin, e.g. OCS *olūtari* 'altar' < OHG *altāri* < Lat. *altare*; *postŭ* 'lent' < OHG *fasto*; *crĭky* 'church': OHG *chirihha* < Gr. *κυριακόν*, or translation loan-words like *nepriězni* 'devil': OHG *unholdo* m. 'devil'.

Through the Middle Ages Old Slavonic was called, in Slavonic literary usage, *словѣньскыи языкъ* (*slověňskij jazykŭ*); it became the language of culture for the Orthodox peoples of eastern Europe, for Slavs and for non-Slavs as well, and this language played in eastern Europe a role similar to that of Latin in the West.

# WRITING SYSTEMS AND SOUNDS

## § 1. TABLE OF ALPHABETS

Cyrillic	Numerical value	Glagolitic	Numerical value	Transcription	Slavonic names of the letters	Pronunciation
А	1	Ⳛ	1	<i>a</i>	azŭ	
Б	—	Ⳛ	2	<i>b</i>	buky	
В	2	Ⳛ	3	<i>v</i>	vědě	
Г	3	Ⳛ	4	<i>g</i>	glagoli	
Д	4	Ⳛ	5	<i>d</i>	dobro	
Е	5	Ⳛ	6	<i>e</i>	esti	e in <i>end</i>
Ж	—	Ⳛ	7	<i>ž</i>	živěte	s in <i>pleasure</i>
З, Ꙑ	6	Ⳛ	8	<i>dz</i>	dzělo	see § 25
З, ꙑ	7	Ⳛ	9	<i>z</i>	zemlja	
І (і)	10	Ⳛ Ⳛ	10	<i>i</i>	iže	
Н	8	Ⳛ	20	<i>i</i>	ižei	
(н)	—	Ⳛ	30	<i>g</i>	ga, djerv	g in <i>coagulate</i>
К	20	Ⳛ	40	<i>k</i>	kako	
Л	30	Ⳛ	50	<i>l</i>	ljudije	
М	40	Ⳛ	60	<i>m</i>	myslite	
Н	50	Ⳛ	70	<i>n</i>	naši	
О	70	Ⳛ	80	<i>o</i>	onŭ	
П	80	Ⳛ	90	<i>p</i>	pokoj	
Р	100	Ⳛ	100	<i>r</i>	rici	
С	200	Ⳛ	200	<i>s</i>	slovo	
Т, т	300	Ⳛ	300	<i>t</i>	tvrido	
У, ѱ	400	Ⳛ	400	<i>u</i>	ukŭ	
Ф, ѱ	500	Ⳛ	500	<i>f</i>	fritŭ	
Ѧ	9	Ⳛ	—	<i>th, θ</i>	fitā	t or θ, th
Ѧ	600	Ⳛ	600	<i>x, (ch)</i>	xěrŭ	ch in <i>loch</i>
Ѧ	800	Ⳛ	700	<i>o</i>	otŭ	
Ѧ	—	Ⳛ	800	<i>št</i>	šta	sht
Ѧ	900	Ⳛ	900	<i>c</i>	ci	ts in <i>hats</i>
Ѧ	90	Ⳛ	1,000	<i>č</i>	čřivī, ča	ch in <i>church</i>
Ѧ	—	Ⳛ	—	<i>š</i>	ša	sh in <i>sharp</i>
Ѧ	—	Ⳛ	—	<i>ǰ, ('h)</i>	jerŭ	reduced, obscure like <i>-er</i> in <i>father</i>
Ѧ	—	Ⳛ	—	<i>i, (h)</i>	jerī	reduced <i>i</i>

Cyrillic	Numerical value	Glago-litic	Numerical value	Transcription	Slavonic names of the letters	Pronunciation
Ѡ	—	Ѡ	—	y	jery	similar to P y, R ѡ in syn
Ѣ	—	Ѣ	—	ě	jatī	ya in <i>yam</i> ,
Ѥ	—	Ѥ	—	ja	—	yak
Ѧ	—	—	—	je	—	ye in <i>yet</i>
Ѩ	—	Ѩ	—	ju	—	you, jū
Ѡ, ѡ	900	Ѡ	—	ℓ	jusŭ, ęsŭ	nasal like Fr. <i>fin</i>
Ѣ	—	Ѣ	—	ϑ	jusŭ, ęsŭ	nasal like Fr. <i>bon</i>
Ѥ	—	Ѥ	—	je	jusŭ, jeŭsŭ	nasal like Fr. <i>bien</i>
Ѧ	—	Ѧ	—	jϑ	jusŭ, jęsŭ	nasal like Fr. <i>lion</i>
Ѩ	60	—	—	ks	—	ks
Ѱ	700	—	—	ps	—	ps
ѱ, Ѳ	400	ѱ	—	i, v	ižica	i in <i>ship</i> , u, ü
—	—	—	—	j (yod, jot, iota)	—	y in E yes, you

## THE PHONETIC SYSTEM

§ 2. I. The vocalic phonemes may be divided into: (1) a *front* (soft) series, and (2) a *back* (hard) series of vowels. In each of these series there are: (a) *oral* vowels, (b) *nasal* vowels, and (c) *reduced* (semi) vowels:

### 1. Front vowels

(a) oral:

Ѣ, е, и

[ě, e, i]

(b) nasal:

Ѡ [ℓ]

(c) reduced:

Ѣ [i]

### 2. Back vowels

(a) oral:

Ѡ, ѡ, ѡѲ, Ѡ

[a, o, u, y]

(b) nasal:

Ѣ [ϑ]

(c) reduced:

Ѣ [ü]

The *jery* (Ѡ, Ѡи) is a central (mixed) vowel.

II. The consonantal phonemes could be grouped according to their place and way of articulation in:

- |                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>Liquids (lateral):</i> | 4. <i>Affricates (semi-occlusives):</i> |
| ʀ, ʎ [r, l]                  | (a) dental:                             |
| 2. <i>Nasals:</i>            | s, ɟ [dz, c]                            |
| m, n [m, n]                  | (b) palatal:                            |
| 3. <i>Spirants:</i>          | ç [ç]                                   |
| (a) labio-dental:            | 5. <i>Stops (occlusives):</i>           |
| β, (φ) [v, f]                | (a) labial:                             |
| (b) dental hiss-type:        | b, p [b, p]                             |
| z, c [z, s]                  | (b) dental:                             |
| (c) dental hush-type:        | d, t [d, t]                             |
| ʒ, ʃ [ʒ, ʃ]                  | (c) velar:                              |
| (d) velar:                   | g, k [g, k]                             |
| x [x]                        |   |

1. The Glagolitic alphabet has a special letter for soft *g'* (affricate) (**Ѡ**) which is transcribed in Cyrillic by **ř** or by **ň** (the latter is a graphic development from the Glagolitic **Ѡ**, and was used in late Serbian (Bosnian) manuscripts): **анѠелъ**, **анѠелъ** 'angel', **Ѡена**, **Ѡена** = Gr. *γέεννα* 'Gehenna', **Ѡетьсимани** = Gr. *Γεθσημανεί* 'Gethsemane', **ѠѠупътъ**, **ѠѠуптъ** = Gr. *Αίγυπτος* 'Egypt'.

2. The Cyrillic alphabet has four letters which are used in words of foreign origin or as numbers: **Ѡ** [Gr. *θ*] = 9, **Ѡ** [*ks*] = 60, **Ѡ** [*ps*] = 700, **Ѡ** [Gr. *υ*] = 400. The letter **Ѡ** [*ʃz*] is a ligature of **ш** and **т**.

3. The OCS phonetic system contained a sonant [*j*] = consonant [*i*]. For this *yod*-sound neither of the two Slavonic alphabets has a special letter. The Cyrillic alphabet marks this sound (by a ligature) when it is followed by a vowel, with which it forms a phoneme: **Ѡ** [*ja*], **Ѡ** [*je*], **Ѡ** [*ju*], **Ѡ** [*jě*], **Ѡ** [*jǒ*]. It is not marked before [*i*], and is inconsistently marked before [*e*]. It may be assumed that **Ѡ** had a phonetic value of [*ü*, *jü*], as **Ѡ**, which is often interchanged with **Ѡ**, might have sounded like a preiotized [*jä*] (§ 32.5).

4. The Glagolitic alphabet writes: **Ѡ** for [*e*] and [*je*], **Ѡ** for [*ě*]

and [ja]; Ɔ for [ju] and Ɖ for [u], ƆЄ for [je] and ƉЄ for [e], ƆЄ for [je], and ƉЄ for [e]. The Glagolitic letters for preiotized *e* and *o* are ligatures, but it is not clear what sounds their component parts represent.

5. In the Cyrillic transcription of the Glagolitic texts new letters have been devised by the editors in order to distinguish between the three Glagolitic letters for [i]: Ɔ, Ɖ, Ʊ, though these letters are not used consistently in the texts. The Cyrillic letter и (и later form) usually transcribes the Glagolitic Ɔ, the Cyrillic letter і (і) corresponds to Glagolitic Ɖ and Ʊ. Later Ѯ was devised (by Jagić) for the transcription of the Glagolitic Ɖ, and Leskien uses ѣ for marking [ji] as in nom. sg. змиѣ [zmi*j*i] : nom. pl. змиѣ [zmi*j*i] 'dragon(s)'.

6. The OCS spellings of liquids followed by reduced vowels (рѣ, рѣ, лѣ, лѣ) represent either a CS vocalic liquid, soft or hard, [r, r', l, l'] or a combination of a CS liquid followed by a reduced vowel [r+ǐ, r+ǐ, l+ǐ, l+ǐ]. This distinction is practically non-existent in OCS, though it may be detected in the orthography of some texts (Zogr.), which confuse the reduced vowels representing original vocalic liquids and write, for example, прѣвѣ instead of прѣвѣ 'first', смѣрѣть instead of смѣрѣть 'death'. The original phonetic values are apparent in the development of some Slavonic languages, e.g. Russian shows consistently the original vocalic liquid by a vowel developed before the liquid, whereas the group liquid followed by a reduced vowel developed into a liquid followed by a vowel: OCS прѣвѣ 'first', вѣвѣ 'wolf', трѣвѣ 'market', длѣвѣ 'long': R первый, волк, торг, долг, whereas to OCS трѣхѣ 'in three', слѣза 'tear', крѣвѣ 'blood', плѣть 'flesh' correspond in R трёх, слеза, кровь, плоть (§ 17).

7. The semicircle (apostrophe) ^ over certain consonants indicates their softness: ѡ, ѡ, ѡ, ѡ, ѡ, ѡ, ѡ: ѡвѣити 'to love', ѡрѣ 'sea', ѡвѣ 'field', ѡнѣлъ 'angel', кѣсарѣ 'Caesar', ѡероуѡвѣ 'cherub', прѣстѡвѣ 'having come', корѡвѣ 'boat'. The apostrophe ^ marks the omission of a vowel: ч'то for чѣто 'what'. These signs appear, however, only in some texts and are used inconsistently. A line ¯ or ˘ (tittle) over the letters indicates their use

as numbers or abbreviations; the words abbreviated frequently have a sacred character:  $\dot{\text{а}} = 1$ ,  $\text{ѠѠѠ} = \text{ѠѠѠ}$  'God'. A  $\text{,}$  before a letter indicates 'thousand'. The sign is an original  $\chi$ , the first letter of Gr.  $\chi\lambda\iota\omicron\iota = 1,000$ ;  $\text{,}\Gamma = 3,000$ .

### HARD, SOFT, AND PALATAL CONSONANTS

§ 3. A consonant could be pronounced soft or hard according to whether it was followed by a front or back vowel. Thus the consonant system is made up of pairs of consonants distinguished by the presence or absence of softness (palatalization). This distinction was, however, not phonemic and it is not graphically marked. A narrow transcription should distinguish between soft and hard consonants, e.g.  $\text{пѣсати}$  'to write' would be transcribed [ $p'isat'i$ ] with soft  $p$  and  $t$  and with hard  $s$ . If the soft consonants had been felt by the speakers of OCS to be different phonemes, opposed to the hard consonants, the creators of the Slavonic alphabets would have devised special letters for them.

The sonant [ $j$ ] (*jot*) changes the preceding consonant (whether labial, dental, or velar) into a palatal one; in the case of the labials into a consonant group ending in a palatal sound (§ 17). Therefore we have to distinguish between palatal consonants produced by *jot*, which changed the preceding consonant into a different phoneme, and soft consonants, which appear before any front vowel, being softened (slightly palatalized) but not changed into new phonemes. The *jot* is a fundamental feature of the OCS phonetic system (§ 17.c, § 21, § 30) and changes the preceding consonant:

<i>Hard consonant</i>	<i>Soft consonant</i>	<i>Palatal consonant</i>
[ $r$ ] $\text{рабѣ}$ [ $rabŭ$ ] 'servant'	$\text{рѣка}$ [ $rĕka$ ] 'river'	$\text{морѣ}$ [ $morje$ ] 'sea'
[ $l$ ] $\text{коло}$ [ $kolo$ ] 'wheel'	$\text{мѣслити}$ [ $mysliti$ ] 'to think'	$\text{мѣшлѣ}$ [ $myslĕ$ ] 'I think'
[ $m$ ] $\text{имати}$ [ $imati$ ] 'to have'	$\text{имѣти}$ [ $imĕti$ ] 'to have'	$\text{ѣмлѣ}$ [ $jemlĕ$ ] 'I shall take'

<i>Hard consonant</i>	<i>Soft consonant</i>	<i>Palatal consonant</i>
[n] НА [na] 'on'	НЕБО [nebo] 'heaven'	НАПЛѢНАТИ [naplĕnjati] 'to fill up'
[v] СЛАВА [slava] 'glory'	СЛАВИТИ [slaviti] 'to glorify'	СЛАВЛѢЖ [slavlĕjĕ] 'I glorify'
[z] КАЗАТИ [kazati] 'to explain'	КАЗИТИ [kaziti] 'to destroy'	КАЖЖ [kaĕĕ] 'I destroy' < *kaz-jĕ
[s] ПИСАТИ [pĕsati] 'to write'	ПИСЬЦЬ [pĕsĕcĕ] 'scribe'	ПИШЖ [pĕĕĕ] 'I write' < *pĕs-jĕ
[ŷ] ЖАБА [ŷaba] 'frog'	ЖИВЪ [ŷivŭ] 'alive'	ДРАЖЕ [draĕĕ] 'dearer' < *drag-je
[ŷ] ШОУМЪ [ŷumŭ] 'noise'	ШЕСТЬ [ŷesti] 'six'	
[dz] ДВИЗАТИ [dvidzati] 'to move'	БОЗИ [bodzi] 'gods'	ДВИЖЖ [dviĕĕ] 'I move' < *dviĕ-jĕ
[c] ЦРЪКЪ [crĕĕky] 'church'	ОТЦЬ [otĕcĕ] 'father'	
[ĉ] ЧАКАТИ [ĉajati] 'to wait'	ЧИСЛО [ĉislo] 'number'	ОУЧЖ [uĉĕ] 'I teach' < *uk-jĕ
[b] БРАТРЪ [bratrŭ] 'brother'	ЛЮБИТИ [ljubiti] 'to love'	ЛЮБЛЖ [ljublĕĕ] 'I love' < *ljub-jĕ
[p] КОУПОВАТИ [kupovati] 'to buy'	КОУПИТИ [kupiti] 'to buy'	КОУПЛЖ [kuplĕĕ] 'I shall buy' < *kup-jĕ
[d] РОДЪ [rodŭ] 'birth'	РОДИТИ [roditi] 'to give birth'	РОЖДЖ [roĕĕjĕ] 'I shall give birth' < *rod-jĕ



<i>Hard consonant</i>	<i>Soft consonant</i>	<i>Palatal consonant</i>
[t] ВРАТА [vrata] 'door'	ВРАТИТИ [vratiti] 'to turn'	ВРАШТЖ [vraštǰ] 'I shall turn' < *vrat-jǰ

(a) Soft velars occur only in loan-words: ХИТОНЪ [x'itonŭ] 'undergarment', Gr. χιτών; КЕДРЪ [k'edrŭ] 'cedar', Gr. κέδρος; ГЕОНА [g'eona] 'hell', Gr. γέεννα. The voiceless spirant [f] occurs only in loan-words: ФАРАОСЪ [faraosŭ], ФИЛИПЪ [filipŭ]. For changes of velars when followed by *j* or by a front vowel see: § 21, § 23, § 30, § 31.

(b) The softness of the consonants is not marked in the transcription because, in the historical period, a hardening process affected them (§ 31). In a narrow transcription initial *i* of a word or syllable should be preiotized: ИМАТИ [jimati] 'to have', ПРѢИТИ [prějiti] 'to pass over', as *e* and *ę* are usually preiotized in initial positions: ЮСТЪ [jestŭ] 'he is', ЯТИ [jęti] 'to take', but СЪНАТИ [sŭnęti] 'to come together'.

#### QUANTITY, STRESS, AND INTONATION

§ 4. By a comparative study of the Slavonic languages one can infer that OCS had continued long and short vowels from CS. We may infer that OCS had long *a*, *ě*, *i*, *y*, *u*, *o*, *e*, *ę*, *l*, which in certain positions became short. The vowels *e*, *o* were in general short; the vowels *ŭ*, *ĭ* were reduced vocalic elements, with a tendency to disappear in weak positions and to become full vowels in strong positions (§ 33).

The OCS texts, with the exception of the Kiev Miss., do not mark the quantity or the stress. The Kiev Miss. frequently uses diacritic signs over vowels (' ' ' '); these signs were probably intended to indicate the quantity or the stress, though they are used inconsistently. The double vowels in contractions, as ДОБРАДГО (gen. sg. masc. neutr.), may also have marked the length. There is, however, no direct evidence concerning quantity, stress, and intonation in the historical period of OCS.

It is, moreover, only by a comparative study of stress and

intonation (or quantity) in the modern Slavonic languages, especially in Russian and Serbo-Croat, that one can conclude that CS had a free (movable) expiratory stress and a musical intonation (pitch). This could be either acute (rising ´) or circumflex (rising-falling ~). 'The expiratory stress results from the concentration of a stronger physical emphasis on a particular syllable.' The intonation consists in pronouncing the syllables on different musical tones. When the musical tone was lower at the beginning of the syllable and was raised towards the end, the intonation was rising (acute); when the tone rose, fell and rose again the intonation was falling (circumflex).

In CS, these three phonemic elements (quantity, stress, intonation) were independent of each other, i.e. an unstressed vowel could be long, and a stressed vowel could be short; and the intonation operated on stressed and on unstressed vowels. A somewhat similar situation exists in SCr dialects, which have long and short vowels, which may be stressed or unstressed, while the stress is movable, without exercising any influence on the timbre of the vowel. Russian also has preserved mobility of stress, which, being strongly expiratory, changed the timbre of the vowels, but lost all traces of intonation.

The relationship between the stress and the intonation is established by very complicated rules, which are far from explaining all cases. The intricacy of these relations is complicated by the changes in the intonation systems of the Slavonic languages, which took place after CS split into various distinct dialects.

For instance, in the course of the Balto-Slavonic period, the stress is thrown forward from a syllable carrying a falling tone or, being short, onto the following syllable, when this carried a rising tone. This rule has been formulated by Ferdinand de Saussure in a study 'Accentuation lituanienne' (*Indogermanische Forschungen*, VI, *Anzeiger*, 1896, p. 157); it was first communicated at the Congress of Orientalists in Geneva, in 1894. A. Meillet established its validity for the Slavonic accent in an article 'Note sur un déplacement d'accent en slave' (*Mémoires de la Société de linguistique*, xi, 1900, 345-51).

By the terms of this rule is explained the relationship between,

for example, R *zimá* (nom. sg.) where the final syllable had originally rising intonation and R *zimu* (acc. sg.) because here the intonation of the last syllable was falling.

From the modern Slavonic forms one can infer the quantity and intonation in CS. The R forms *byl* (*dóbyl, príbyl, úbyl*) compared with *bylá* 'she was' (*dobylá, príbylá, ubylá*) presuppose a rising tone of the fem. ending and a falling tone of the thematic vowel. However, some isolated forms contradict the general trend, e.g. *zabýla* 'she forgot', *péla* 'she sang', *vólja* 'will': *zemljá* 'earth'. For details see N. van Wijk, 'Die baltischen und slavischen Akzent- und Intonations-Systeme' (*Verhandelingen d. k. Ak. d. W., Letterkunde* xxiii, nr 2, Amsterdam, 1923); A. Meillet, *Le slave commun*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1934, 137 sq.; especially Linda Sadnik, *Slawische Akzentuation. I. Vorhistorische Zeit*, Wien, 1959. For Indo-European: J. Kurylowicz, *Accentuation des langues indo-européennes*, 1958<sup>2</sup>.

#### SYLLABIC DIVISION

§ 5. In the OCS phonetic system no syllable ended in a consonant. The tendency to open originally closed syllables is due to the increasing wave of sonority in the rhythm of syllables and this caused many phonetic changes which created the specific OCS phonological pattern. Owing to this tendency the prehistoric diphthongs *ěj, aj, oj, ěu, au, ou* were monophthongized (§ 10, § 12); *or, ol, er, el* were changed by metathesis and lengthening of the vowel (§ 6.3, § 10.4); *on, un, en, in* were nasalized (§ 13, § 14); *r, l, r', l'* developed vocalic elements (§ 16.2, § 17, § 18); groups of consonants were simplified and the syllabic division changed its original place: \**ob-viti* > \**o-bviti* > *o-bi-ti*, ОБИТИ 'to wind round': ВИТИ 'to wind'; ПОРФЕБЖ 'I will bury': ПОРФЕТИ 'to bury' < \**po-greb-ti* (§ 29.9, 11). (A. Leskien, *Grammatik der altbulgarischen (aksl.) Sprache*, 1919, 53, 59, 62; N. van Wijk, *Geschichte der altkirchenslavischen Sprache*, 1931, 46; P. Diels, *Altkirchenslavische Grammatik*, 1932, 120 sq.)

Loan-words from languages with a different syllabic structure often insert a vowel in order to open the syllable: Gr. Σαλμανά > салъмана; Gr. πορφύρα > поръфира, Porphyrius: поръфѣррин; σπόνδυλος 'spindle' > спонъдילו.

## THE VOWELS

§ 6. The vowel *a* continues an IE long *ā* or long *ō*:

1. To Lat. *frāter*, Gr. φράτηρ = member of a φράτρία 'brotherhood', Skt *bhrātar-*; to Lat. *māter*, Gr. (Dor.) μάτηρ, Skt *mātā* which represent IE *\*bhrā-ter*, *\*mā-tēr* correspond OCS братръ, братъ, мати (gen. матере); in loan-words Lat. *pāgānus*, OCS поганъ 'pagan'.

2. To Lat. *dōnum*, Gr. δῶρον; Lat *co-gnōsco*, Gr. γι-γνώσκω correspond OCS даръ 'present', знати 'to know'.

3. The vowel *a* may represent an IE *o* of the liquid diphthongs *or*, *ol* at the beginning or in the middle of a word. These groups *ort-*, *olt-*, *tort*, *tolt*, following the tendency towards open syllables, were changed by metathesis of the consonant and by lengthening the vowel (*t* in these groups symbolizes any consonant): CS *\*ordlo* (cf. Lat. *arātrum*) > OCS рало 'plough'; CS *\*olkomū* > OCS лакомъ 'hungry'; CS *\*gordū* (cf. Lat. *hortus*, E 'yard') > OCS градъ 'town'; CS *\*golva* (cf. Lith. *galvā*) > OCS глава 'head' (§ 36).

4. CS *ě* which continues an IE *ē* (§ 10) developed, when preceded by *j*, *č*, *ž*, *š*, *št*, *žd*, into OCS *a*: стоять 'to stand' < *\*stojěti*; трѣпѣти 'to suffer'; ѣсти (cf. Lat. *ēdere*), ясти, асти 'to eat' < *\*jěsti*; кричати 'to shout' < *\*kričěti*; видѣти 'to see'; лежати 'to lie down' < *\*ležěti*; оумѣти 'to understand'; слышати 'to hear' < *\*slyšěti*; поустати 'to set free' < *\*pustjěti*; троуждати 'to weary' < *\*trudjěti*.

§ 7. The vowel *o* continues an IE short *a* or short *o*:

1. To Lat. *axis*, *arare*, Skt *ākṣah*, Gr. ἄξων, ἀρώ correspond OCS ось 'axle', орати 'to plough'; in loan-words Lat. *altare*; OCS ол(ъ)таръ.

2. To Lat. *domus*, *oculus*, *ovis*, Gr. δόμος, ὄχος 'cart', ἐ-φύγ-ο-μεν (1st pl. aor.) correspond OCS домъ 'house', око 'eye', овьца 'sheep', возъ 'cart', нес-о-мъ (1st pl. aor.).

3. The IE *ə* (*shva*) is represented in certain positions by *o*: OCS *sto-jati* 'to be standing' corresponds to Gr. *στατός* 'placed',

Lat. *stātus* 'still', Skt *sthitāḥ* < IE *\*sthā-t-os*; sometimes IE *ə* disappears: OCS *dŭšti* 'daughter': Gr. *θυγάτηρ*, Skt *duhitā*, in which *ə* is represented by *a* or *i*, as IE *\*dhugh(ə)tér-* shows.

4. The IE diphthong *eɥ* developed into *ev* > *ov*, and the syllabic frontier was changed (§ 25): *\*neɥ-os* > *no-vŭ*, OCS *новѣ* 'new', Lat. *novus*, Gr. *νέος*; *\*k'leɥos* > Gr. *κλέφος* > *κλέος*: OCS *слово*; *\*pleɥ-om-* > *пловѣ* 'I sail' (cf. Gr. *πλέ(φ)ω*): *\*pljuti* > *пловѣти* 'to sail'. The last change, into *pluti*, is on the analogy of the present stem *plovp* (§ 19.3). The change *e* > *o* is due to the following back vowel.

§ 8. The vowel *u* developed from the IE diphthongs *au*, *ou*, *eɥ*:

1. As IE short *a* became Slavonic *o* (§ 7), the diphthong *au* > *ou* and developed further into *u*: Lat. *taurus*, Gr. *ταῦρος*, OPr *tauris*: OCS *тоуѣръ* 'aurochs'; Lat. *auris*, Lith. *ausis*: OCS *оухѣ*; Lith. *báudinti* 'to urge', Skt *bodháyati*: OCS *боудѣти*, *боудѣтъ* 'to wake up, he awakens'.

2. The diphthong *eɥ* developed into a preiotized 'u [*ju*]: Gr. *πύθομαι* 'I search', Lith. *baūsti* 'to punish', Goth. *biuda* 'I order', AS *bēodan* 'to order': CS *\*bjudti* > OCS *влюѣсти* 'I observe, watch'; Goth. *liufs*, AS *lēof*, OHG *liup*: OCS *люѣтъ* 'beloved'. The IE formulae are *\*bheɥdh-*, *\*leɥbh-*.

§ 9. The vowel *y* has been preserved (as a separate sound from *i*) in Polish and in Russian. It is assumed to have been a hard back sound pronounced without rounding of the lips and with the top of the tongue raised towards the hard palate.

1. *y* continues a long IE *ū* as appears from the following examples: Lat. *fūmus*, Lith. *dūmai*, Skt *dhūmāḥ*: OCS *дѣмѣ* 'smoke'; Lat. *mūs*, Gr. *μῦς*, OHG *mūs*, Skt *mūḥ*: OCS *мышѣ* 'mouse'; in loan-words: Lat. *būbalus* > OCS *бѣволѣ* 'buffalo'; OHG *hūs* (T *\*hūza*) > OCS *хѣузѣ* 'house'.

2. In final position *y* corresponds to IE *ā*, *ō*, *ū* followed by *s* (*-ās*, *-ōs*, *-ūs*) or *a*, *o*, *u* followed by *ns* (> *-āns*, *-ōns*, *-ūns*): *сѣмѣ* (acc. pl.) represents IE *\*sēm-uns*, *вѣтъкѣ* (acc. pl.): IE *ulqons*; *свѣкъ*: Skt *śvaśrūḥ*; *нѣ* (nom. pl.), *вѣ* (nom. pl.): Lat. *nos*, *vos*; *рѣкъ* (gen. sg.) < *\*ronkās* (§ 46.1.2.6.7).

3. The sound combination  $\ddot{u}+j$  changed into  $yj$ : CS \**dobrŭjŭ* > OCS ДОВРЪИИ 'good'; CS \**mŭjŭ* > OCS МЪИЖ 'I wash'. The vowel  $y$  also alternates with other grades in some verbal stems (§ 37.5): OCS ДЪИМЪЖ : -ДЪИМЪЖ (it.) 'I blow up'; ГОУЕНТИ : ГЪИВНЪТИ 'to perish'.

§ 10. The  $\acute{e}$  (*jat'*) is generally considered to have been a very open preiortized  $e$  [ $\ddot{a}$ ,  $\acute{z}a$ ]. It is the soft counterpart of  $a$ . The Glagolitic alphabet had one single letter for  $\acute{e}$  and for  $ja$ : ▲, though the two sounds were not identical (§ 2.3.4).

1. Historically  $\acute{e}$  continues an IE  $\acute{e}$ : ВИДѢТИ 'to see': Lat. *vidēre*; СѢМѦ 'seed': Lat. *sēmen*; ДѢТИ 'to do': Gr. *τί-θη-μι*.

2. Under unknown conditions, dominated probably by rules of intonation, the final diphthongs IE  $a_i$ ,  $o_i$  changed into  $\acute{e}$  or into  $i$ : ВЪЦИ (nom. pl.), ВЪЦѢ (loc. sg.) represent the same IE formula \**u<sub>1</sub>go<sub>1</sub>*; ЖЕНѢ (dat. sg.): Lat. *feminae*; РАВѢХЪ (loc. pl.): Gr. *λόγους*; ВЕРИ (2nd imp. sg.): Gr. *φέροις* (§ 46.2.10.15.16).

3. In medial position the diphthongs IE  $a_i$ ,  $o_i$  are represented by  $\acute{e}$ : СНѢГЪ 'snow': Goth. *snaiws*, OPr *snaygs*, Lith. *sniėgas*, Lat. *nix*; ЛѢВЪ 'left': Lat. *laevus*, Gr. *λαίος* < *λαίφος*; ВЕРѢТЕ (2nd pl. imp.): Gr. *φέροιτε* (optative), Goth. *bairáiþ*; in loan-words ЦѢСАРЪ : Lat. *Caesar*, Goth. *kaisar*.

4. The vowel  $\acute{e}$  represents an IE  $e$  of the liquid diphthongs *er*, *el* in initial position of the groups *ert-*, *elt-*, for which there are no certain examples, or in medial position of the groups *tert-*, *telt-* in which *t* symbolizes any consonant: ВРѢЗА 'birch tree' < CS \**berz-a*: Lith. *bėrėžas*, Skt *bhūrjaḥ*, AS *beorc*, *bierce*; ВРѢГЪ 'hill' < CS \**bergŭ*: AS *beorg*, Goth. *bairgahein* 'mountain region'; МЛѢКО 'milk' < CS \**melko*: AS *milc*, *meolc*. It is controversial whether this Slavonic word is a Teutonic loan-word, or cognate with the Teutonic.

§ 11. The vowel  $e$  has two origins:

1.  $e$  continues the IE  $e$ : ВЕЗЪ 'I drive': Lat. *veho*; ѿСЪТЪ 'he is': Lat. *est*; ДЕСѦТЪ 'ten': Lat. *decem*, Gr. *δέκα*.

2. Original  $o$  preceded by  $j$ , or by a palatal consonant:  $\acute{c}$ ,  $\acute{s}$ ,  $\acute{z}$ ,  $\acute{št}$ ,  $\acute{zd}$ —in a later period also after  $c'$ ,  $dx'$ ,  $n'$ ,  $r'$ ,  $l'$ —changed into  $e$ , and

this change divided the OCS declension into two types: a hard-stem declension and a soft-stem declension (§ 37.6, § 38.2, § 55.2):

- того (gen. sg.) 'of that': ѿго (gen. sg.) 'of him, his'  
 томоу (dat. sg.) 'to that': ѿмоу (dat. sg.) 'to him'  
 село (nom. sg. neut.) 'village': поле (nom. sg. neut.) 'field'  
 жено (voc. sg. fem.) 'woman!': доуше (voc. sg. fem.) 'soul!'  
 женоѡ (instr. sg. fem.) 'with the woman': доушеѡ (instr. sg. fem.) 'with the soul'  
 градоѡ (instr. sg. masc.) 'with the town': мѡжеѡ (instr. sg. masc.) 'with the man'  
 градоѡѡ (dat. pl. masc.) 'to the towns': мѡжеѡѡ (dat. pl. masc.) 'to the men'  
 градоѡѡ (dat. instr. du. masc.) 'with (to) two towns': мѡжеѡѡ (dat. instr. du. masc.) 'with (to) two men'  
 тоѡ (instr. sg. fem.) 'with her': ѿѡ (instr. sg. fem.) 'with her'  
 тоѡ (dat. loc. sg. fem.) 'to her': ѿѡ (dat. loc. sg. fem.) 'to her'  
 томѡ (loc. sg. masc. neut.) 'in that': ѿѡѡ (loc. sg. masc. neut.) 'in him'  
 тоѡ (gen. loc. du. masc. neut. fem.) 'of (in) them two': ѿѡѡ (gen. loc. du. masc. neut. fem.) 'of them two'  
 то (nom. acc. sg. neut.) 'that': ѿ (nom. acc. sg. neut.) 'it'

§ 12. The vowel *i* continues an IE *i*, or an IE diphthong *ei*.

1. OCS живѡ 'alive' corresponds to Lat. *vivus*; пити 'to drink': Gr. πίνω; гривѡ 'mane', гривѡѡ 'necklace': Skt *grīvā* 'neck', Latv. *grīva* 'mouth of a river'.

2. OCS видѡкти: Gr. εἶδος < *φειδος*, Lith. *vėid-as* 'face, visage'.

Of diphthongal origin is *i* in flexional endings of the masc. nom. pl. -ѡ- stems and of the imperative forms (§ 10.2, § 40, § 71). In these and in other flexional endings *i* alternates with *ě* of diphthongal origin:

- градеѡ (loc. sg. masc.): мѡжи (loc. sg. masc.)  
 градеѡѡѡ (loc. pl. masc.): мѡжиѡѡѡ (loc. pl. masc.)  
 леѡтеѡ (loc. sg. neut.): полеѡ (loc. sg. neut.)  
 леѡтеѡѡѡ (loc. pl. neut.): полеѡѡѡ (loc. pl. neut.)  
 женѡѡ (dat. loc. sg. fem.): доушеѡѡ (dat. loc. sg. fem.)  
 леѡтеѡѡѡ (nom. acc. voc. du.): доушеѡѡѡ (nom. acc. voc. du.)

вѢРѢМЪ (1st pl. imp.): ВНИМЪ (1st pl. imp.)  
 вѢРѢТЕ (2nd pl. imp.): ВНИТЕ (2nd pl. imp.)  
 вѢРѢѢ (1st du. imp.): ВНИѢѢ (1st du. imp.)  
 вѢРѢТА (2nd du. imp.): ВНИТА (2nd 3rd du. imp.)  
 ТѢМЪ (instr. sg. masc. neut.): ИМЪ (instr. sg. masc. neut.)  
 ТѢМЪ (dat. pl. masc. neut. fem.): ИМЪ (dat. pl. masc. neut. fem.)  
 ТѢМИ (instr. pl. masc. neut. fem.): ИМИ (instr. pl. masc. neut. fem.)  
 ТѢХЪ (gen. pl. masc. neut. fem.): ИХЪ (gen. pl. masc. neut. fem.)  
 ТѢМА (dat. instr. du. masc. neut. fem.): ИМА (dat. instr. du. masc. neut. fem.)

3. In Slavonic *i* may represent the development of  $\check{i}+j > ij$ : ГОСТЬЕ (nom. pl.) > ГОСТИЕ 'guests' (§ 16.4); ЗНАМЕНЬЕ (nom. sg. neut.) > ЗНАМЕНИЕ 'sign' (§ 33.3).

4. Initially *i* represents a development of  $j+i$ : ИГО 'yoke' < \**jigo* < \**jūgo*: Lat. *jugum*, ИМА 'name' < \**jimę* (§ 33.4).

5. Of early Proto-Slavonic origin is  $i < y$  after *j* or consonants which result from the influence of *j* (*š, ž, č, št, žd; c, dz*) as shown by the endings of the instr. pl. masc. neut. of the hard and soft stems: ГРАДЪ : КРАИ = *kraji* < \**krajj* (§ 45.14); cf. also ШИТИ 'to sew' < IE \**sjū-* as shown by Lith. *siūti*.

6. The vowel *i* alternates with  $\check{i}$  in verbal stems and characterizes the imperfective forms: ПРѢВЪСТИТИ 'to cheat': ПРѢЛИШТАТИ (impft. -it.) (§ 37.5).

§ 13. The back nasal vowel  $\rho$  represents an original oral back vowel followed by a nasal consonant belonging to the same syllable.

1. OCS ЗЪБЪ 'tooth' corresponds to Gr. γόμφος 'bolt', Skt *jámbha* 'tooth', Lith. *žambas* 'sharp edge'; here the OCS nasal represents an original *om*. In ПЪТЬ 'road': Lat. *pons, pont-is* the nasal represents *on*. In ЖЪКЪ 'narrow' the nasal represents an original *an* as is shown by Lat. *angustus*, Lith. *añkštas* 'tight, narrow'; Gr. ἄγχω 'I press, close', Goth. \**aggwu* (nom. sg. neut.) 'narrow',



Skt *anhīyas* (comp.). There are no clear examples for  $\rho$  representing an IE *am*. As the original short *a* fell together with *o*, in an early period, the development of *am* was identical in OCS with the development of *om*. In Germanic loan-words *an* is represented by  $\rho$ :  $\chi\kappa\Delta\sigma\Gamma\beta$  'skilful': Goth. *handugs* 'wise'.

2. The nasal  $\rho$  may correspond to *un*, *um* for which, however, there are only scarce examples:  $\Gamma\kappa\beta\Delta$  'sponge' corresponds to Lith. *guñbas* 'swelling'. IE *\*snubh-* (Lat. *nuba*, Gr. *νύμφη*) with a *n*-infix is represented in Slavonic by P *dziewosłab* 'match-maker' < *-snqb*, Sln *snóbok* 'match-maker', Cz *snoubiti* 'to wed', which go back to CS *\*snqbŭ*.

3. The acc. sg. fem. ending of the *a*-stems corresponds to an original *-ām*:  $\text{ЖЕН-}\kappa$ : Lat. *femin-ām*;  $\rho\kappa\kappa$ - $\kappa$ : OPr *rank-am*, Lith. *rañk-a* 'hand'.

§ 14. The front nasal  $\epsilon$  has the following origins:

1. It corresponds to original long or short *en*, *em*, e.g.  $\text{П}\Delta\text{Т}\beta$  'five': Gr. *πέντε*, Lith. *penki*, Lat. *quinque*;  $\text{СВ}\Delta\text{Т}\beta$  'holy': Lith. *šventas*;  $\text{Т}\Delta\text{ТНВ}\Delta$  'gut-string': Lith. *temptúvas* 'stretcher, bowstring';  $\text{С}\kappa\text{М}\Delta$  'seed': Lat. *sēmen*;  $\text{М}\Delta$  < *\*mem*.

2. It represents original *η*, *η̄*:  $\text{Д}\epsilon\text{С}\Delta\text{Т}\beta$ : Lat. *decem*, Gr. *δέκα*, Lith. *dešimtis* < IE *\*dek̑̄η(-tis)*;  $\text{П}\Delta\text{М}\Delta\text{Т}\beta$  'memory': Lat. *mentis* (gen.), Lith. *atmintis*, Goth. *ga-munds* < *\*m̄nti*;  $\text{П}\Delta\text{ТН}$  (inf.) < *\*p̄η-ti* / *\*pen-ti*: Lith. *pinti* 'to twist, to plait'.

3. In final position, in the endings of the acc. pl. of the fem. *-ja*-stems, and of the masc. *-jo*-stems, the  $\epsilon$  goes back to *\*-jons*; opposed to the hard stems acc. pl.  $\text{ЖЕН-}\gamma$ ,  $\text{РАБ-}\gamma$ , in which the ending *-y* represents *-ons* (§ 9.2), are the soft stems  $\text{Д}\sigma\psi\text{Ш}\Delta$ ,  $\text{К}\rho\Delta\text{М}\Delta$  in which the ending *-ε* represents *\*-jens* < *\*-jons* (§ 45.6, 7). The gen. sg. fem.  $\text{Д}\sigma\psi\text{Ш}\Delta$  is by analogy with the acc. pl. The same origin *\*-jon + t* > *\*jen-t* > *-je* accounts for the ending of the pr. part. of the soft verbal stems:  $\text{ЗН}\Delta\text{М}\Delta$  < *\*g̑no-jonts* (cf. Lat. *fug-ient-is*) (§ 45.6, § 67.1, § 73).

4. In loan-words the nasal  $\epsilon$  represents original *in*:  $\text{Ц}\Delta\text{Т}\Delta$  'coin': Goth. *kintus*, *\*kinta*;  $\text{К}\beta\text{Н}\Delta\text{З}\beta$ : OHG *kuning*, AS *cyning*, cf. Finnish *kuningas* (Germanic loan-word);  $\text{Ч}\Delta\text{Д}\sigma$  'child': OHG *kind* (§ 30.2).

§ 15. The OCS vocalic system contained two reduced vowels which already in the earliest texts show the tendency to disappear or to develop into full vowels according to their position (§ 33, § 34).

1. The hard reduced vowel *ǔ* continues an IE *u*: МЪХЪ 'moisture': Lat. *muscus* 'moss'; ДЪШТИ 'daughter': Gr. *θυγάτηρ*, Skt *duhitā*, Lith. *duktė*.

2. OCS *ǔ* developed from original syllabic (sonant) *η, η, l, r*: ДЪМЪ 'I blow' goes back to IE *\*dhm-*: Lith. *dumiù*; ГЪНАТИ 'to drive' represents the root *\*ghn-*: Lith. *ginti, giniaũ*. (The Lithuanian reflexes are not entirely clear.) In isolated cases OCS *ǔ* corresponds to initial *η, η*: ВЪТОРЪ 'the other, the second' (§ 59.2), together with Lith. *añtras*, Goth. *anþar* 'other', Gr. dial. *ἄτερος*, goes back to *\*ñtor-*; СЪТО 'hundred' may go back to *\*k'ñtóm* as shown by Gr. *ἑκατόν*, Lat. *centum*, Skt *śatám*, Goth. *hunda* (nom. pl. neut.), Lith. *šimtas*. The Slavonic *sŭto* has been explained also as an Iranian loan-word. ВЪНА 'wool' represents *\*vñna*: Lat. *lāna*, Goth. *wulla*, Lith. *vilna*, Skt *úrñā*; КРЪМА 'rudder' < CS *\*krma*: Gr. *πρύμνη*; СЪНЦЕ 'sun': Lat. *sol* (§ 2.6).

3. In the ending of the acc. sg. of the masc. *-o-* stems the *-ǔ* represents an IE *-om*: ВЪКЪ 'wolf' < *\*ulqom*: Lat. *lupum*.

§ 16. The soft reduced vowel *ǐ* continues:

1. An IE *i*: OCS ВЪСЪ 'village' is cognate with Lat. *vīcus*, Skt *vīs* (fem). 'house, tribe, settlement'. Lat. *vīcus*, Gr. dial. *φοικος* 'house', Skt *vēśáh* 'neighbour', Lith. *vėšėti* 'to stay, to be a guest', *vėš-pat(i)s* 'master', require a root with a diphthongal grade, whereas OCS ВЪСЪ postulates *\*vik'is* (§ 37.3). OCS ДЪНЪ 'day' is cognate with Lat. *nun-din-ae* (pl.) 'things pertaining to the ninth day'. Also in loan-words *ǐ* appears for *i*: OCS ЛЪСЪ 'deceit' < Goth. *lists*.

2. OCS *ǐ* corresponds to a vocalic element developed from IE syllabic (sonant) *η, η, l, r* (§ 15.2), when in CS these sonants were soft. IE had only one series of sonants; CS developed a soft, as well as a hard series: ТЪМА 'darkness' (the form ТЪМА is secondary as shown by the further development in Slavonic ТЪМЪНИЦА > ТЪМНИЦА 'prison') represents an original *\*tm-*; ПЪНЪ 'I stretch' continues an IE *\*pn-*, Lith. *pinti* 'to twist'; ВЪКЪ 'wolf': Gr. *λύκος*; ПРЪВЪ 'first': Lat. *pri-mus*; МРЪТВЪ 'dead',

МЪР-ѢТИ (before vowels) 'to die' < \*mǣ-, Lith. *miriaũ* (1st pret.), *mir̃ti* 'to die'.

The opposition of hard and soft liquid sonants appears clearly in OCS examples containing an original velar palatalized before soft liquid sonants, and preserved before hard ones: ЧЛЪНЪ 'boat', ЖЛЪТЪ 'yellow', ЧРЪНЪ 'black', ЖРЪНЫ 'mill' had in CS ʒ'; ГЛЪКЪ 'noise', КРЪКЪ 'neck', ГРЪНЪ 'kettle' had in CS ʒ.

3. OCS *i* corresponds to an IE *ṛ* in final position: OCS МАТЕРЬ (acc. sg.): Lat. *matr-em* < \**māter-ṛ* (§ 44.5) with different vowel-gradation (§ 37.3).

4. OCS *i* corresponds to the IE diphthong *eǵ* followed by a vowel: ГОСТЫЕ (nom. pl.) 'guests' < IE \**ghosteǵ-es*; ТРЪЕ: Lat. *tres* < \**treǵes* (§ 12.3).

5. In CS the semivowel *i* developed from an *ǔ* preceded by *j*, *č*, *ž*, *š*, *št*, *žd*, (*c*, *z*): ИГО 'yoke' < \**jǔgo* < \**jǔgo*: Lat. *iugum*, Lith. *jungas*, Goth. *juk*, Skt *yugam*; КРАИ 'limit' [*krajǔ*] (nom. acc. sg.): РАБЪ 'slave'; МЪЖЪ (nom. acc. sg.): ГРАДЪ 'city'; ДОУШЪ 'soul' (gen. pl.): ЖЕНЪ; ОВЪЦЪ (gen. pl.): ЗМИИ 'dragon' [*zmiǔǐ*]; ЛЪЗЪ 'disease' (gen. pl.): ЖЕНЪ. Nom. sg. forms of the past part. act. I such as ХОЖДЪ: ДВИГЪ illustrate the same vowel gradation *ǔ/i* (§ 12.4, 5, § 37.6).

## THE CONSONANTS

§ 17. The OCS liquids continue either original liquids or original sonants ʒ, ʃ (§ 2.6). The orthography does not distinguish between the two historically different liquids. We find сЪМРЪТЬ 'death', ПЛЪНЪ 'full', сРЪДЪЦЕ 'heart', ВЛЪКЪ 'wolf' where the liquid represents an original ʒ, ʃ, as appears in the further development of the language: SCr *smrt*, P *śmierć*, Cz *plny*, R *сердце*, *волк*, P *wilk*. The same spelling is used for КРЪВЪ 'blood', ПЛЪТЬ 'flesh', КРЪСТЪ 'cross', ЦРЪКЪ 'church' which historically represent a liquid followed by a vowel (cf. Lat. *crū-or* 'blood', Lat. *Cristus*, Gr. *κυριακή* > \**κυρική* > OHG *chirihha*: \**cīriky*) and had a different development: R *кровь*, *плоть*, *крест*, *церковь*, that shows that the pronunciation of the liquids in the two categories was not the same (§ 1.6).

(a) The liquids can be followed by any vowel: ЛЪТО 'summer, year', КЛАДЪ 'I put', МОЛЪЖ 'I pray', МОРИЕ 'sea', РАДЪ 'row, line';

РАБЪ 'servant'. The spelling does not show the soft character of the consonants followed by front vowels, because it was not a phonemic distinction. Softness of consonants will therefore also not be indicated in the transcriptions in this book: *lěto*, *kladŕ*, *moljŕ*, *morje*, *rědŭ*, *rabŭ*, which in a narrow transcription should be reproduced *l'ěto*, *kladŕ*, *mol'jŕ*, *mor'je*, *r'ědŭ*, *rabŭ*.

When the scribes wished to indicate the softness of certain palatal consonants, especially of *l*, *n*, *r*, they placed a semicircle above them: *земѠи* (dat.), *цѣсарѠь*, *морѠю* (dat.), *нѠива* (§ 2.7).

(b) The labial consonants followed by *j* developed a palatal *l*, called epenthetic *l*: *сѣпати* (inf.) 'to sleep': *сѣпѠлѣж* (1st sg. pr.); *любити* (inf.) 'to love': *любѠлѣж* (1st sg. pr.); *ѣвити* (inf.) 'to show': *ѣвѠлѣж* (1st sg. pr.); *земи* (dat., loc. sg.) 'earth': *земѠиѠа* (§ 3).

(c) This epenthetic *l* disappears in the further history of OCS, though it is preserved, with greater tenacity, when followed by certain vowels. It shows the tendency to disappear when followed by *ĭ* or *i*, e.g. *оставѣ* (p. part. act. 1) alongside *оставѠѣ* 'having left behind', *земьскѣ* 'earthen': *земѠѣскѣ*, *корабѣ* 'ship': *корѠѣѣ*, *земи* (dat., loc. sg.): *земѠи*, whereas before other front vowels it tended to remain; forms like *благословенѣ* 'blessed', *вѣзлюбенѣ* 'beloved', *прославенѣ* 'glorified' lost the epenthetic *l* by the dissimilatory influence of the *l* in the stem.

The OCS texts are not uniform as regards the incidence of epenthetic *l*: the Kiev Miss. consistently shows forms with *l*; the Zogr. writes *l* pretty regularly before *ѣ*, *ѡ*, *ѣ*, *ѡ*, *ю*, less regularly before *и*, *ѣ*; in Cloz., Mar., Euch. Sin. *l* is usually left out before *и*, *ѣ*; in Supr. the omission of *l* is normal, Ps. Sin. and Savv. Kn. also have forms without *l*.

(d) In the later period Russo-Slavonic, Old Serbian, and Old Croatian texts show a regular epenthetic *l*, but it is dropped as a rule in Macedo-Bulgarian and in the medieval Western Slavonic languages (Czech, Polish). It would therefore appear that the distribution of forms with or without epenthetic *l* points to a prehistoric dialectal division of Slavonic linguistic area in an East-South and a West region.

(e) In OCS texts the distinction between original hard and soft liquids, representing original liquids or vocalic liquids, is in pro-

cess of disappearing. In the Kiev Miss. original  $\gamma$  is represented by  $\rho\check{y}$ , and original  $\gamma'$  by  $\rho\check{y}'$ ,  $l$  by  $л\check{y}$ ,  $l'$  by  $л\check{y}'$ : *скръбѣни* (nom. pl.) 'sorrowful', *тврѣдь* 'fortress, firmness', *напълнени* (nom. pl.) 'filled', *въплѣтити сѧ* 'to become incarnate'. In later copies of OCS texts the difference between soft and hard vocalic  $\gamma$  is not marked. Zogr. shows spellings like *прѣвѣ* and *прѣвѣ*, *сръдѣце* and *сръдѣце*. There is a tendency to continue to indicate the difference between  $l$  and  $l'$ . Original liquids followed by a reduced vowel ( $r+\check{y}$ ,  $r+i$ ,  $l+\check{y}$ ,  $l+i$ ) are generally kept separated in spellings: *крѣвь* 'blood', *трѣхъ* 'three', *плѣтъ* 'flesh', *плѣвати* 'to spit', *крѣстити* 'to baptize', *влѣштати* 'to shine'. Other OCS texts do not distinguish between original soft and hard liquids. The reduced vowels, in the original combinations  $r+\check{y}$  &c., are sometimes vocalized in strong position, according to the laws governing the development of the reduced vowels: *вѣскрѣсѣ* (Mar., Ass., Ps. Sin.) for *вѣскрѣсѣ*, *крѣстѣ* (Cloz.) for *крѣстѣ*, *слѣзѣ* (gen. pl.) 'tear' (Ps. Sin., Euch. Sin.) for *слѣзѣ*. There is no vocalization of reduced vowels when they represent  $\gamma$ ,  $l$  (=  $\rho\check{y}$ ,  $л\check{y}$ ), because there was no reduced vowel in the pronunciation of these sonants (§ 2.6, § 33.1).

§ 18. The nasal consonants continue IE  $n$ ,  $m$ : *зима* 'winter': Lat. *hiems*, *огнь* 'fire': Lat. *ignis*, *матерь*: Lat. *mater*, *сынѣ*: Goth. *sunus*, or IE  $\eta$ ,  $\eta$  > CS *in*, *im* (Balto-Slavonic *in*, *im*) (§ 16.2).

The tendency towards open syllables (§ 5), caused these original nasals that closed a syllable to be absorbed in the preceding vowels: *an*, *am*, *on*, *om* >  $\sigma$ ; *en*, *em* >  $\epsilon$ ; *un*, *um* >  $\sigma$ ; *in*, *im* >  $\epsilon$  (§ 13, § 14).

§ 19. OCS had only one labio-dental spirant  $v$ ;  $f$  appears only in foreign words: *Фарисѣи* = Gr. *Φαρισαῖος*. The  $v$  continues an IE  $\mu$ , and was probably bilabial in an early period of OCS.

1. The  $v$  in *вѣдова* 'widow', *видѣти* 'to see', *вѣдѣ* 'I know', corresponds to the  $\mu$  in Lat. *vidua*, *vidēre*, Gr. *οἶδα* < *φοῖδα*, IE *\*k<sup>h</sup>leuos* > CS *slovo*.

2. A prosthetic  $v$  was developed in CS before initial  $\check{y}$ -,  $y$ -: *вѣплити* 'to call' < *\*u-pi-ti*; *вѣдра* 'otter' < *\*-ūdra*: Gr. *ἔδρα*; *вѣторѣи* 'the other': Lat. *uter* 'which of the two'; *вѣзати* 'to tie': *жѣзѧ* 'tie' (§ 32.1).

3. The OCS *v* developed from the second element of IE *ou*, *eu* when followed by a vowel: *пловѣти* 'to flow' (inf.), *пловѣж* (1st sg. pr.): Gr. *πλέω* < *πλερω*; *ou* goes back to *eu* as in IE *\*neu-os* > *новѣ* 'new': Gr. *νέος* < *νεφος*, Lat. *novus* (§ 7.4). The development was the same when the original diphthong was long: *сѣверѣ* 'north': Lith. *šiąurė* 'north'.

The *v* in the verbal ending *-ovati* (of the type *kup-ova-ti*) goes back to a diphthong *ou*: *\*kup-oua-ti/kup-i-ti*. In the 2nd pers. *kupuješi* represents *\*kup-ou-ješi* (§ 8): Т *\*kauřjan*, Goth. *kauřōn* < Lat. *caupo* 'publican'.

§ 20. The spirants *s*, *z* continue CS and IE spirants, or represent IE soft velars (*k'*, *k'h*; *g'*, *g'h*), or developed within Slavonic from velars or dentals:

1. The IE voiceless spirant *s* is continued in OCS *сѣнь* 'son': Lith. *sūnis*, Skt *sūnus*; *сѣнь* 'sleep': Gr. *ὑπνος*, Lat. *somnus*. The IE *z* appears in OCS only combined with *d*, *g* (*zd*, *zg*): *мѣзда* 'reward, pay': Goth. *mizdō*, Gr. *μισθός*; *мозгѣ* 'marrow of bones': Av. *mazga-* 'brain'.

2. OCS *s*, *z* represent an IE soft velar: *сѣто* 'hundred': Lat. *centum*, Gr. *ἐκατόν* < IE *\*k'ntóm*; *осмь* 'eight' < *\*ok'tōu-* (cf. Lat. *octo*); *сѣрдце* 'heart': Lat. *cord-is*, Gr. *καρδία*, Lith. *širdis* < IE *\*křd-*; *знати* 'to know': Lat. *co-gnō-sco*, Gr. *γνώσις* < IE *\*g'nō-*.

3. The spirants represent original velars that were palatalized in Slavonic (§ 30.2): *богѣ* 'God' (nom.): *бозѣ*, *бозѣ* (loc. sg.), *бози*, *бози* (nom. pl.); *доухѣ* 'spirit' (nom.): *доуцѣ* (loc. sg.), *доуци* (nom. pl.); *вѣхѣ* 'seer' (nom.): *вѣсви* (nom. pl.).

4. Original *tt* and *dt* are represented in OCS by *st*: *читѣти* 'to read' (inf.) < *\*čit-ti*: *чѣтѣж* (1st sg.); *властѣти* 'to rule' (inf.) < *\*vold-ti*: *владѣж* (1st sg.); *вѣстѣти* 'to lead' (inf.) < *\*vedti*: *вѣдѣж* (1st sg.) (§ 29.10). This change occurs in many IE dialects: Indo-Iranian, Greek, Italic, Celtic, Teutonic.

§ 21. The palatal spirants *š*, *ž* resulted from the first palatalization of the velars (§ 30.1):

1. Original *x*, *g* followed by a vowel of the front series (*e*, *ě* < *ē*, *e*, *i* < *i* or *eĭ*, *ĭ*, *ĭ'*, *ĭ'*) or by *j* changed into *š*, *ž*: *доухѣ* 'spirit' (nom.): *доуше* (voc.); *слышати* (inf.) 'to hear' < *\*slyxēti*: *слоухѣ* (n.)

'listening'; *соушити* (inf.) 'to dry': *соухъ* (adj.), *сѣхнѣти* (inf.) 'to dry up'; *мѣшьца* 'midge, gnat': *моуха* 'fly'; *доуша* 'soul' < \**dux-ja*: *доухъ* 'spirit' (§ 30.1). *богъ* 'God' (nom.): *боже* (voc.); *жаръ* 'heat' < CS \**žerü* < IE \**gēr-* (cf. Lith. *garas* 'steam', OCS *gorēti* 'to burn' < IE *gʰher-*); *жати* 'to harvest': Lith. *genėti* (inf.) 'to trim'; *живъ* 'alive': Lith. *gyvas*, Skt *jivāḥ*, Lat. *vivus*; *жѣдати* < \**gīd-*: Lith. *geidžiu* 'I desire'; *жѣрѣ* 'to swallow' < \**gʷ-*: Lith. *girksnoti* 'to drink', Skt *girāti* 'he swallows'; *жѣтъ* 'yellow' < \**gʷt-*: Lith. *geltas* 'brown'; *стражъ* < \**storg+jī* 'guard' (cf. *ратан* = *rata+jī* 'ploughman'); *лъжъ* < \**liŋg+jī* 'lie, liar' (cf. *лъгати*, *лъжж*).

2. Palatal spirants developed from dentals followed by *j* (*tj*, *dj*), and from certain groups of consonants followed by *j* (*stj*, *skj*, *zdj*, *zgj*): *сѣшѣтъ* (1st sg.) < \**svēt-jō*: *сѣшѣти* (inf.) 'to shine'; *междоу* (adv.) 'between', *межда* (n.) 'limit' < \**med-ja*: Lat. *medius*, Skt *mādhyah*. When considering the origin of OCS *št*, *žd* we have to distinguish between:

(a) *st+j* > *št*, *zd+j* > *žd*: *поушѣти* (inf.) 'to send out': *поушѣтъ* (1st sg.) < \**pust-jō*; *зѣдати* (inf.) 'to build': *зиждаж* (1st sg.) < \**zīd-jō*.

(b) *sk+j*, *zg+j* > *št*, *žd*: *искати* 'to search': *иштѣ* 'I search' < \**isk-jō*; *мозгъ* (n.) 'marrow in bones': *можданъ* (adj.) < \**mozg-janū* (§ 30.1).

(c) The palatalizing effect of *j* on preceding consonantal groups was not consistent when the first member of the group was a dental. So one finds forms like *сѣмотрѣж* (1st sg. pr.) alongside *сѣмоштрѣж* from *сѣмотрѣти* (inf.) 'to consider, to contemplate'.

The sounds *št*, *žd* are characteristic features of the OCS phonetic system shared only by Bulgarian among the Slavonic languages.

§ 22. The velar spirant *x* developed from an IE *s*:

1. An original *s* preceded by *i*, *u*, *r*, *k* and followed by a vowel developed in CS into *x*. (Whether this *x* developed from a *š* followed by back vowels is controversial. The fact that Lithuanian and Indo-Iranian present a *š* where OCS shows *x* (cf. OCS *врѣхъ* 'peak': Lith. *viršius*) induced some scholars to assume that *š* was the intermediary stage also for Slavonic *x*.) The following

examples will illustrate the development  $i, u, r, k+s+vowel > i, u, r, k+x+vowel$ :  $\text{ТИХЪ}$  'mild': Lith. *teisūs* (adj.) 'just';  $\text{ВЕТЪХЪ}$  'ancient': Lat. *vetus*;  $\text{СНЪХА}$  'daughter-in-law': Lat. *nūrus*, Skt *snuṣā*;  $\text{РЪХЪ}$  (aor.) 'to say' < \**rĕk-xŭ* < \**rĕk-sŭ*: Gr.  $\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\sigma\alpha$  (aor.), whereas before consonants the *s* remained:  $\text{ИСКАТИ}$  'to seek for',  $\text{МЪЗДА}$  'reward'.

2. The aorist ending  $-xŭ$  has been generalized also to cases where the original *s* could not develop into  $x$ :  $\text{ДАХЪ}$  < \**dad-sŭ* 'I gave'. Similar analogical developments occurred in the flexion of the nouns; the ending  $-xŭ$  developed from  $-su$  in the declension of the  $-o-$ ,  $-u-$ , and  $-i-$  stems ( $\text{РАБЪХЪ}$  < \**raboĭsu*,  $\text{СЪНЪХЪ}$  < \**sŭnusu*,  $\text{ГОСТЪХЪ}$  < \**gostisu*), and analogically this ending spread also to the  $-a-$  stems:  $\text{ЖЕНАХЪ}$  (loc. pl.) (§ 45.16).

3. In a restricted number of examples the OCS  $x$  represents an IE  $kh$ :  $\text{СОХА}$  'tree-branch, piece of wood used for ploughing': Lith. *šakà* 'branch', Skt *śákhā* 'branch';  $\text{ХРАБЪРЪ}$  'daring': Skt *kharah* 'hard, rough', Gr. *κάρχαρος* 'sharp', Latv. *skarbs* 'sharp, stiff'.

4. The change of IE  $s$  into CS  $x$  is a very old process. It took place earlier than the change of IE  $k'$  into  $s$  (§ 20.2) because this  $s$  did not change into  $x$ :  $\text{ПРАСЪ}$  'pig' < \**pors-* < \**pork'-*: Lat. *porcus*. When the  $s$  was of IE origin it changed into  $x$ :  $\text{ПРАХЪ}$  'dust' < \**porso-*. This development shows also that the change  $s > x$  took place earlier than the metathesis of the liquid diphthongs (§ 6.3). In  $\text{ПРЪСТЪ}$  (fem.) 'dust' the  $s$  is preserved probably because it was immediately followed by a consonant: \**prsti-* (cf. A. Meillet, *Le slave commun*, 1934, 34).

5. The change  $s > x$  is an earlier development than the monophthongization of  $oj$ , because after  $\check{e}$  representing this diphthong the change takes place:  $\text{МЪХЪ}$  'bag': Lith. *maišas* 'a net, a bag', OPr *moasis* 'bellows', Skt *mēśá* 'wether'; this means that  $s > x$  in a stage \**moix-* < \**mais-*.

§ 23. The dental affricates are results of CS developments:

1. The voiced affricate  $dx$  (з) which changed into  $z$  (з) (§ 25) represents an original  $g$  palatalized according to the second and third palatalizations (§ 30.2, 3):



(a)  $g + \check{e}$  ( $< o\check{i}$ ),  $i$  ( $< o\check{i}$ )  $> dz > z$ : БОСѢК (loc. sg.), БОСИ (nom. pl.): БОГѢК (nom. sg.).

(b)  $\check{i}$ ,  $i$ ,  $e$ ,  $\check{r}' + g > \check{i}$ ,  $i$ ,  $e$ ,  $\check{r}' + dz > z$ : ГОБЬСЬ 'abundant'  $<$  Goth. *gabigs* (*gabeigs*) 'rich'; ДВИЗАТИ: ДВИГНѢТИ 'to move'; КЪНАЗЬ 'chief'  $<$  \**kuning-*; ТРЪГНѢТИ 'to pull': ТРЪЗАТИ (impft.)  $<$  \* $\check{r}'g-$  (§ 30.3).

(c) In the South Slavonic languages, and so also in OCS, and in the East Slavonic languages  $g$  is palatalized also when separated by  $v$  from the front vowel  $\check{e}$ ,  $i$ : OCS ЗВѢЗДА 'star', ЗВИЗДАТИ 'to whistle': P *gwiazda*, Cz *hwizdati*  $<$  CS \**gvězda*, \**gvizdati* (§ 30.2).

2. The voiceless affricate  $c$  developed on the same lines from an original  $k$ :

(a)  $k + \check{e}$  ( $< o\check{i}$ ),  $i$  ( $< o\check{i}$ )  $> c$ : ЧЛОВѢЦѢК (loc. sg.), ЧЛОВѢЦИ (nom. pl.), ЧЛОВѢЦѢХЪ (loc. pl.): ЧЛОВѢКЪ (nom. sg.) 'man'; РЪЦѢК (dat. loc. sg., nom. acc. du.): РЪКА (nom. sg.) 'hand' (§ 30.2).

(b)  $\check{i}$ ,  $i$ ,  $e$ ,  $\check{r}' + k > \check{i}$ ,  $i$ ,  $e$ ,  $\check{r}' + c$ : ОТЬЦѢ 'father'  $<$  \**otikū* (cf. Gr. *ἄτρα*); ОВЬЦА 'sheep'  $<$  \**ov-ika* (cf. Lat. *ovis*); МѢСАЦЪ 'month'  $<$  \**mēs + en + ko* (cf. Skt *mās* 'the moon', Lat. *mensis*); МРЪЦАТИ 'to darken': МРЪКНѢТИ  $<$  \* $\check{r}'k-$ .

(c) The group  $kv + \check{e}$ ,  $i > cv$  in OCS, and in the other South Slavonic languages, as well as in the East Slavonic languages: OCS ЦВѢТЪ 'to flower', ЦВИСТИ 'to blossom': P *kwiat*, *kwitnąć*  $<$  CS \**květŭ* (§ 30.2).

§ 24. The palatal affricate  $\check{c}$  developed in CS from an IE  $k$  under similar conditions to those which gave rise to the palatal spirants  $\check{s}$ ,  $\check{z}$  (§ 21):

Front vowels palatalized the preceding velar  $k$  into  $\check{c}$ :  $k + e$ ,  $\check{e}$  ( $< \bar{e}$ ),  $e$ ,  $\check{i}$ ,  $i$  ( $< \bar{i}$ ,  $e\check{i}$ ),  $\check{r}'$ ,  $l'$ ,  $j > \check{c}$ : ЧЕЛО 'forehead'  $<$  \**kel-*: Lith. *kėlti* 'to lift', Lat. *collis*; ЧЕСАТИ 'to comb'  $<$  \**kes-*: КОСА 'hair'; ЧАДЪ 'smoke'  $<$  \**kēd-*  $<$  \**kēd*; ЧАСТЪ 'thick'  $<$  \**kēd-*: Lith. *kiņštas* part. from *kiņšti* 'to stuff'; РЪЧЬ  $<$  \**rēk-i*; ПОЧИТИ 'to rest': ПОКОИ 'rest' (n.); ЧРЪТА 'line'  $<$  \**kŕ't-*: Lith. *kiŕsti* 'to cut'; ЧЛЪНЪ 'boat'  $<$  \**kŕ'n-*: OHG *scalm*; НАЧАТИ 'to begin'  $<$  \**kŕj-*: ИСКОНИ, КОНЬЦЪ 'end' (n.) (cf. Lat. *re-cens*); ПЛАКАТИ (inf.) 'to cry': ПЛАЧЪ (1st sg.)  $<$  \**plakjŕ* (§ 3, § 21, § 30.1).

§ 25. The affricate  $s$  [ $dz$ ] developed in an early period into a

spirant з [z]. In the historical period s appears in Ass. and Ps. Sin., less consistently in Zogr. and Mar. in words like *ГОВЬСОВАТИ* 'to abound', *СВѢДА* 'star', *СЪЛО* 'very', *КЪНАСА* 'chief', *ПОЛСА* 'utility', *ПОМИСАТИ* 'to nod', *ПЪНАСА* 'money', *СТЪСА* 'foot-path', as well as before flexional endings: *БОСИ* (nom. pl.), *НОСѢ* (dat. loc. sg.).

Savv. Kn., Supr., Euch. Sin., and Cloz. know only з.

It is clear that the original Cyrillo-Methodian texts knew the affricate ѕ [dz], for the Glagolitic alphabet has a special letter for it, which also has the numeric value of 8. The affricate developed into a fricative sound, but there are still Southern Slavonic dialects, mainly in Macedonia, as well as Western Slavonic (Polish and Slovak), which have the affricate dz.

§ 26. The labials represent either IE labials or IE aspirated labials: *ТЕПЪ* 'warm': Lat. *tepidus*, Skt *tāpati* 'he warms'; *ПЪНА* 'foam': Skt *phénaḥ*; *БОЛИИ* (comp.) 'bigger': Skt *bá-lyān* 'stronger', Lat. *dē-bilis*, Gr. *βέλτερος* 'better'; *НЕВО* 'sky': Skt *nābhah* 'mist', Gr. *νέφος*.

§ 27. 1. The dentals continue either IE dentals or IE aspirated dentals: *ПРОТИВЪ* 'against': Skt *prāti* 'towards', Gr. (Hom) *πρоти*; *ДОМЪ* 'house': Lat. *domus*, Gr. *δόμος*; *ДѢТИ* 'to put, to do': Skt *ádhām*, Gr. *ἔθηκα*, Lat. *facio*.

2. A dental developed in CS (and in Teutonic) in the groups *sr*, *sr* when these groups were primary ones: *СТРОУТА* 'river': Lith. *srovė* 'stream', Skt *srāvati* 'he runs'; *СЕСТРА* 'sister': Skt *svasar-* 'sister', Goth. *swistar*; *ИЗДРЕШТИ* 'to pronounce' < \**iz+rešti*; *ИЗДРАНИЛЪ* < *Ἰσραήλ*; *НОЗДРИ* 'nostrils': Lith. *nasrai* 'mouth (of beasts)'; OCS *ИЗ-Д-РЕВРЪ* = *ИЗЪ РЕВРЪ* 'from the sides'. When, however, the groups *sr*, *sr* were secondary, i.e. resulted from a metathesis of the original liquid diphthongs, a dental was not inserted between the spirant and the liquid: *СРАМЪ* 'shame' < \**sorm-*: Persian *šarm*; *ЗРАКЪ* 'sight' < \**zork-*: P *w-zrok* (§ 6.3). Also when *sr*, *sr* stand for original *sr̥*, *sr̥* a dental is not inserted: *СРЪДЦЕ* 'heart': Lith. *širdis*; *ЗРЪНО* 'grain': Goth. *kairn* (§ 17).

3. A dental may develop in CS by a process of dissimilation in

the groups *zdx*, *sc* = *sts*. Now, by dissimilation the groups have lost the last element: *zdx* > *zd*, *sts* > *st*: ДРАВГА 'forest' has in dat. loc. sg. and nom. acc. du. \**dręzǵě* > ДРАВЪК (§ 30.2). Alongside this exists the form ДРАВДЪК. In the same way alongside ДЪЦЪК (dat. loc. sg. and nom. acc. du. from ДЪСКА 'plank') exists the dissimilated form ДЪСТЪК.

A form ИСТЪЛИТИ alongside ИЦЪЛИТИ 'to heal' is to be explained by dissimilation: \**iz* + *cěliti* = \**is-tseliti* > ИСТЪЛИТИ, ИЦЪЛИТИ.

§ 28. The velars continue IE gutturals (aspirated or non aspirated): КОВАТИ 'to strike': Lith. *káuti*, OHG *houwan*, Lat. *cūdo*; -СТИГЪ 'I climbed': Lith. *staiǵyti* 'to hurry', Goth. *steiga* 'to climb', Skt *stighnoti* 'he climbs', Gr. *στείχω* 'I go'; ОСТӨГЪ 'garment': Lith. *stogas* 'roof', G *Dach*, Lat. *tego*, Gr. *στέγω* 'I cover', Skt *sthaḡayati* 'he covers'.

#### GROUPS OF CONSONANTS

§ 29. Common Slavonic shows a clear tendency towards the simplification of certain consonant groups and the opening of closed syllables (§ 5):

1. Original double consonants have been simplified: ОТЬЦЪ 'father': Gr. *ἄτρα*, Lat. *atta*, Goth. *atta*; ЮСИ 'thou art' < \**es-si*.

2. Original *tl*, *dl* have been reduced in OCS, and in other regions of the Slavonic linguistic area (South and East Slavonic), to *l*: РАЛО 'plough' < \**ordlo*: P *radlo*, Cz *rádlo*; ПЛЕЛЪ 'plaited' < \**pletli*: Cz *pletl*, P *plótl*. This dialectal division of CS coincides with the division produced by the treatment of the groups *kv*, *gv* (§ 23.1c, 2c; § 30.2c) and it indicates a difference in the syllabic structure in the two regions.

3. The groups *tn*, *dn* are reduced to *n*: СВЪНЪТИ 'to begin to shine' < \**svitnōti*: СВЪТЪ (n.) 'light', СВЪТЪТИ (inf.) 'to shine'; ВЪНЪТИ 'to awake' < \**būdnoṭi*: ВОУДИТИ 'to wake up'.

4. The groups *tm*, *dm* are reduced to *m*: ДАМЪ 'I will give' < \**dadmī*: ДАДАТЪ (3rd pl.); ВРЕМЪ 'time' < \**uert-men-*: ВРЪТЪТИ 'to turn round'. In СВАМЪ (ord.) the group *dm* has been preserved

because, according to Meillet, it goes back to *bdm* as shown by Gr. *ἔβδομος*, and the *d* was maintained owing to the preceding *b*.

5. The groups *pn*, *bn*, *kn* are reduced to *n*: сѣнѣ < \*sǫpnǫ, оуѣснѣти 'to fall asleep' < \*usǫpnoṭi: Lith. *sǫpnas* 'dream', Gr. *ἕπνος*, Skt *svāpnaḥ*; -гѣнѣти 'to bend' < \*gǫbnoṭi: -гѣвѣти (impft.) 'to bend', соуѣоуѣбѣ 'double', Latv. *gubt* 'to bend'; вѣснѣти 'to glitter' < \*blǫskn-: вѣкскѣ 'brightness', вѣсцѣти 'to lighten'. However, the groups *bn*, *pn*, *kn* were not absent in the OCS phonetic structure, and they were restored analogically at an early period. We find in OCS texts: погѣвѣнѣти 'to perish' on the analogy of погѣвѣѣ (aor.), погѣвѣти (impft.), топнѣти 'to plunge oneself into': -топѣѣ (aor.), -тапати (impft.), топити 'to make warm' (caus.); мѣкнѣти 'to become still', мѣкѣѣ (aor.), мѣчѣти (inf.) 'to be silent'. The last verb has preserved the *k*, as *g* has been preserved in a similar position: огнѣ 'fire': Lat. *ignis*, Skt *agniḥ*, Lith. *ugnis*. When the *k* was part of the group *-kxn-* representing an IE *-ksn-* it disappeared, the group being simplified to *n*: лѣна 'moon' < \*louksnǫ: OPr *laukxnos*, Lat. *luna*, (dial.) *losna*.

6. The groups *ks*, *gs*, when changed into Slavonic *kx* (§ 22.1) were simplified to *x*: рѣхѣ 'I said' (aor.) < \*rǫk-sǫ: рѣсте (aor. 2nd pl.), рѣшѣ (aor. 3rd pl.); жѣхѣ (aor.) 'I burnt up' < \*žǫg-sǫ: жѣсте (aor. 2nd pl.), жѣшѣ (aor. 3rd pl.). Also a dental was dropped in the group *-tx-*: охѣдити 'to go away' < \*ot-xoditi, or in the group *-ts-*: чисѣѣ (aor.) 'I counted' < \*čit-sǫ: чѣтѣж (pr.), чѣтохѣѣ (aor.); дѣси (2nd sg.) 'thou wilt give' < \*dadsǫ.

7. The groups *ps*, *bs* have been reduced to *s*: чрѣсѣѣ (aor.) < \*čǫrps-: -чрѣпѣж 'I shall ladle (out)'; оса 'wasp': Lith. *vapsa*, OHG *wafsa*, E wasp; грѣсѣѣ (aor.) 'I scratched' < \*grǫbs-: грѣвѣж.

8. When the spirant preceded the occlusive the groups were maintained in Slavonic: ѣсѣѣ 'he is': Lat. *est*, Gr. *ἔστι*, Skt *ásti*; мѣзѣѣ 'brain': Av. *mazga*, OHG *mar(a)g*, E *marrow* < IE \**mazgh-*. The voiced spirant became, by assimilation, voiceless when followed by a voiceless consonant: вѣсѣвѣти 'to put' < \*vǫz-staviti, вѣспросѣти 'to demand' < \*vǫz-prositi. The groups spirant + occlusive (*sk*, *zg*, *st*, *zd*) followed by front vowel were palatalized according to the rules of palatalization (§ 30.1a, 2b).

9. The group *bv* is reduced to *b*: ОБИТИ 'to wind round' < \**ob-viti*; ОБЛАСТЬ 'power' < \**ob-vlasti*, ОБЛѢКЖ 'I shall cover with' < \**ob-velkρ*.

10. In the groups *dt*, *tt* the first dental was dissimilated and developed into a spirant: МЕТТИ 'to throw' < \**met-ti*: МЕТЖ; КЛАСТИ 'to put' < \**klad-ti*: КЛАДЖ.

11. When two occlusives form a group in which the second element is a dental, the tendency is to reduce that group to the dental element: *pt* > *t*: ЧРѢТИ 'to empty' < \**čerp-ti*: ЧРЪПЖ; *bt* > *t*: ГРЕТИ 'to scratch' < \**greb-ti*: ГРЕБЖ; *bd* > *d*: СЕДМЪ (ord.): Gr. ἑβδομος; ПЛЕТЖ 'I plait' < \**plek-tρ*: Lat. *plecto*. If the group was followed by a front vowel it was palatalized: НОШТЬ 'night' < \**nokti-* (cf. Lat. *nox*, *noc-tis*); МОШТИ 'to have power' < \**mog-ti*: МОГЖ (1st sg. pr.) (§ 30).

12. The group *tx* was reduced to *x*, and the group *zš* > *š*: ОХОДИТИ 'to go away' < \**otŭ-xoditi*: otiti; РАШИРИТИ 'to extend' < \**raz-širiti*.

13. The group *šč* changed into *št* which is a simplification by regressive dissimilation of *štš* = *šč*: ЗАШТИТИТИ 'to defend' < *zaš-čititi*; ДЪШТИЦА (dim.) < *dŭščica* < *dŭska* 'plank, board'. Similarly, the group *ždž* > *žd*: РАЗГА, РОЗГА (fem.) 'branch of vine': РАЖДИЕ, РОЖДИЕ (neut., coll.) < \**rozg-ije* (§ 30.1a).

#### PALATALIZATION OF THE VELARS

§ 30. It has already been noted (§ 3, § 21) that the sonant *j* caused changes in the preceding consonants. Front vowels had a similar effect on certain preceding consonants, in certain periods of the language, causing them to change in accordance with certain principles of palatalization. The consonants affected were the velars *k*, *g*, *x*, and three processes of palatalization are usually distinguished according to the chronology and nature of the changes concerned.

1. The first, i.e. the earliest, palatalization, consists of the change of the velars *k*, *g*, *x* into *č'*, *ž'*, *š'* when followed by a front vowel or by a soft liquid sonant. The vowel *ě* produces this change only when it derives historically from *ē*, and the vowel *i* when it

derives from *i* or *eĭ*. We can express this change in the following formula:

$$\left. \begin{matrix} k \\ g \\ x \end{matrix} \right\} + \acute{e} (< \bar{e}), e, i (< \bar{i}, e\bar{i}), \bar{i}, \bar{e}, \bar{r}', \bar{l}' > \left\{ \begin{matrix} \acute{c}' \\ \acute{z}' \\ \acute{s}' \end{matrix} \right.$$

Examples: ОБЫЧАИ 'custom' < \**ob-ŭkěj-*: ВЪКНЖТИ 'to learn', ОУКЪ 'doctrine', Lith. *jūnkti* 'to be accustomed' (§ 19.2, § 32.3); РОЖАНЪ 'of horn' < \**rog-ěno-*: РОГЪ 'horn' (§ 21.1); ЧЛОВѢЧЕ 'man' (voc.) < \**člověk-e*; МОЖЕШИ (2nd sg. pr.) < \**mog-eši*: МОЖЪ 'I am able'; -ВРЪШЕШИ (2nd sg. pr.) < \**vŕ'x-eši*: ВРЪХЪ (n.) 'top'; ПОЧИТИ 'to rest' (inf.) < \**po-ki-ti* (cf. Lat. *quies*): ПОКОИ 'rest'; ЛОЖИТИ 'to put': -ЛОГЪ; ТИШАИ 'silent' (comp.) < \**tix-ěj-*: ТИШИТИ (inf.) 'to appease': ТИХЪ (adj.) 'quiet' (§ 21.1); ЧТО 'what' < \**ki-* (cf. Lat. *quid*); ШЕДЪ (p. part. act. 1) 'gone' < *šedŭ* < \**xedŭ*/\**xodŭ*: ХОДИТИ (§ 37.4); ЧЛЪНЪ 'boat' < *člŋmŭ* < \**kl'no*; ЧРЪНЪ 'black' < \**kr'n-*: Skt *kṛṣṇāḥ*, OPr *kirsnan*; ЖРЪНЪ 'mill' < \**zŕ'n-*: Lith. *gīrnos*; ЖЕЛЪ 'yellow' < \**gl't-*: G *gelb* (§ 21.1).

(a) Under the same conditions, the groups *sk*, *zg* were palatalized into *sč*, *zdž* which changed further into *šč*, *ždž* and, by dissimilation (*šč* = *šič*), developed in OCS into *št*, *žd* (§ 21.2c): ИСКАТИ (inf.) 'to demand', ИСКЪ (1st sg.): ИШТЪШИ (2nd sg. pr.) < \**isk-eši*; РАЗГА (РОЗГА) 'branch': РАЖДИЕ (РОЖДИЕ) (coll.) < \**rozg-ĭje*. The Teutonic word *skillings* changed according to this tendency of the OCS phonetic system: ШТЪЛАГЪ 'money' > ШТЪЛАЗЪ (ОР ЦЛАЗЪ, ЦЛАГЪ, ЦЛАГЪ). The same word appears also with the group *sk* not palatalized because it entered the language in different periods, by a different way: СКЪЛАЗЪ, СКЛАЗЪ, СТЪЛАЗЪ (see also § 30.3f).

(b) The groups *kt*, *gt* were palatalized into *št*: \**nokti* > НОШТЬ 'night', \**mogti* > МОШТИ 'to be able'.

(c) Other loan-words affected by the first palatalization are: МЕЧЪ < МЪЧЪ 'sword': Goth. *meki* (acc. sg.); ЖЕДЪ, ЖЛАДЪ 'I pay' < Goth. *-gildan*.

2. The second palatalization of the velars is a later process. The velars which had not been affected by the first palatalization, because the diphthongs *aj*, *aĭ* had not yet been monophthongized

into front vowels, changed into affricates or into spirant *s*. This could be expressed in the following formula:

$$\left. \begin{matrix} k \\ g \\ x \end{matrix} \right\} + \acute{e} \text{ or } i (< o\acute{i}, a\acute{i}) > \left\{ \begin{matrix} c' \\ dz' \\ s' \end{matrix} \right. > z'$$

Examples: *отрокъ* (nom. sg.) 'boy': *отроци* (nom. pl.) < \**otrok-oj*, *отроцѣ* (loc. sg.), *отроцѣхъ* (loc. pl.); *богъ* (nom. sg.) 'God': *бози*, *бози* (nom. pl.) < \**bog-oj*, *бозѣ*, *бозѣ* (loc. sg.), *бозѣхъ*, *бозѣхъ* (loc. pl.) \**bog-oj*; *доухъ* (nom. sg.) 'spirit': *доуси* (nom. pl.) < \**dux-oj*, *доусѣ* (loc. sg.), *доусѣхъ* (loc. pl.); *ръка* (nom. sg.) 'hand': *ръцѣ* (dat. loc. sg., nom. acc. du.); *слуга* (nom. sg.) 'servant': *слугѣ*, *слугѣ* (dat. loc. sg., nom. acc. du.); *моуха* (nom. sg.) 'fly': *моусѣ* (dat. loc. sg., nom. acc. du.) (§ 46.2, 10, 15, 16).

(a) This process of palatalization also defines the relationship between verbal forms of the type: *рекъ* (1st pers. sg.), *решти* (inf.) 'to say': *рѣци* (imp.) < \**rik-oj*-, *рѣцѣте* (2nd imp. pl.), *рѣцѣмъ* (1st imp. pl.), *нарицати* (it.); *лѣгъ* (1st pers. sg.): *лешти* (inf.) 'to lie down': *лѣши*, *лѣши* (2nd sg. imp.) < \**leng-oj*-, *лѣшѣте*, *лѣшѣте* (2nd pl. imp.), *лѣшѣмъ*, *лѣшѣмъ* (1st pl. imp.).

The pronoun *въсь* 'each, every' is formed on the analogy of other cases in which a stem \**vix*- has been palatalized by the following *ě* < *oĭ* (§ 30.3d, e): instr. sg. *въсѣмъ*, gen. pl. *въсѣхъ*, dat. pl. *въсѣмъ*, instr. pl. *въсѣми*, loc. pl. *въсѣхъ* (§ 55.5) which have a palatalized stem \**vix*-.

(b) The groups *-sk-*, *-zg-* changed into *-sc-*, *-zdz-* which sometimes developed further into *-st-*, *-zd-* (§ 27.3): *паска* 'Easter': *пасцѣ* (dat. loc. *пастѣ*); *дрѣзга* 'forest': *дрѣзѣ* (loc.), *дрѣздѣ*; *морскъ* 'marine': *морьцѣ* > *морьстѣ* (Zogr., Mar.); *людскъ* 'human': *людьци* > *людьстини* (Zogr., Mar.).

(c) The groups *kv*, *gv*, *xv* were palatalized in OCS, and in the East and South Slavonic languages (§ 23.1. c, 2. c, § 29.2).

(d) Loan-words also underwent this palatalization: *цѣсарь* 'emperor': Goth. *kaisar* < lat. *Caesar*; *цѣта* 'coin': Goth. *kintus*; *црѣкы* 'church': Goth. \**kyrikō*, OHG *chirihha* < Gr. \**κυρική*, *κυριακή* (§ 17, § 23.2).

3. The third palatalization is a separate development on the

lines of the second palatalization. Its chronological relationship to the second palatalization is not clear. Some investigators assume that it took place earlier than the second (cf. R. Ekblom, *Die Palatalisierung von k, g, ch im Slavischen*, Uppsala, 1935). The velar was palatalized when it was preceded by a front vowel and followed by a back vowel (but not by *y* or *ǔ* in two consecutive syllables). This change could be expressed in the following formula:

*i*, *i* (when not of diphthongal origin), *ɛ*, *ɣ'*+*k*, *g*, *x* > *č*,  
*dž* > *ž*, *š*.

Examples: *отѣцѣ* < \**otī-kū*: Gr. *ἄττα*, Lat. *atta*; *овѣца* < \**ov-ika*: Skt *avikā*; *стѣза* 'path': R dial. *стега*; *польза* 'profit': R dial. *польга*; the Russian literary form *польза* is a loan-word; *двѣсати* 'to move' (impft.): *двигнѣти* (pft.); *сицѣ* 'such' < \**sikū*: *такѣ* 'such', *такѣ* 'such as', *какѣ* 'of what sort'; *вѣнсѣти* 'to shine': *вѣнскѣ* (n.) 'shine', *вѣнскѣти* 'to glitter'.

(a) However, this change (of the velars when preceded by front vowels) is not consistent, and the conditions under which it took place have not been sufficiently clarified; in *дѣвѣрѣникѣ* 'porter', and in similar derived forms, the velar has not been palatalized; *лѣгѣкѣ* 'light in weight', *мѣкѣкѣ* 'soft' preserve the velar; *кѣнацѣ* 'princess' has preserved the velar, whereas *кѣнацѣ* 'prince' < T \**kuning-* (Finn. *kuningas*) changed it into *dž* > *ž*. Moreover when the *i* preceding the velar represented an original *e*; the velar seems to have resisted the change: *тихѣ* 'silent' < \**teis-*; *лихѣ* 'exceeding' < \**leiks-*.

(b) This palatalization applies also to loan-words, e.g. *кѣнацѣ*, *пѣнацѣ* (masc.) 'coin' < T \**penning*, *гобѣцѣ* 'rich' < Goth. *gabiggs* (*gabigs*) 'rich' (§ 23.1. b).

(c) As to the chronology of this change we can state that it was a CS development and had not been concluded by the time the Slavs came into contact with the Teutons. The chronological relationship of this development to the second palatalization is not clear. It is obvious that the first palatalization is the earliest, and that it took place earlier than the monophthongization of *oi* into *ě*. The back element *o* of this diphthong hindered the change of the guttural, which was palatalized only before front vowels of



non-diphthongal origin, e.g. the ending *-e* of the voc. sg. of the masc. *-o-* stems. In a later period, when the diphthongs were monophthongized into front vowels, the velars were changed into palatalized dentals: *c*, *z*, *s*.

(d) As already indicated, the so-called third palatalization may have either preceded or succeeded the second palatalization. The pronominal forms *všī* 'each', *sicī* 'such' go back etymologically to the stems *\*vix-*, *\*sik-* ending in velars (cf. ТАКЪ, ТАКЪ). The instr. sg., gen. and dat. pl. and instr. pl. endings of these pronouns are: *-ěmī*, *-ěxū*, *-ěmū*, *-ěmi*. In opposition to these endings *otīcī* (showing the same palatalization of the stem consonant: *\*otīkū*) has in the instr. pl. *otīci*, loc. pl. *otīcixū*. The question arises which of the two patterns represents the historical development and which is an analogical formation following the soft stems: *mojixū*, &c.

If we assume that the change of the velars before *ě* < *oī* is earlier than the change of the velar after *ī*, *i*, *e*, *ī'* then *sicēmī* could be explained, according to the second palatalization, from *\*sik-ěmī* < *\*sik-oīmī*. That means that at that period the nom. had *\*sik-:tak-*, &c. In a later period the velar preceded by a front vowel (*ī*, *i*, *e*, *ī'*) was palatalized, and *sicī*, *všī* are forms due to this third palatalization. A form like *otīcī*, *ovīca* is explained through the same palatalization. The endings of the nom. and loc. pl. *otīci*, *otīcixū* are formed from the stem *otīc-* on the analogy of the soft stems: nom. pl. *kraji*, *moji*, loc. pl. *krajixū*, *mojixū*. If the change of the velar had taken place according to the second palatalization one should have *\*otīcě*, *\*otīcěxū*.

(e) However, this change seems not to have been uniform in its results, because the Western Slavonic languages show *š* instead of *s* in *všī*: OCz *vši*, *všěx*, *všěčiskaě* (*Prague Folia*), which forms are local dialectal features (cf. N. van Wijk, *Geschichte der altkirchenslavischen Sprache*, 1931, 68 sq.).

(f) The change of the velars according to the third palatalization took place in a limited number of cases: (1) in the endings *-ьць* (masc.), *-ьца* (fem.), *-ьце* (neut.): *отьць*, *мышьца* 'arm', *сръдьце* 'heart'; *-ица*: *дѣвица*: *дѣва* 'girl'; (2) in the iterative ending *-ицати*/*-ѣкати*: *-рицати* 'to tell': *-рѣкати*, *рѣкж*; *-тицати* 'to run, to flow': *-тѣкати*, *тѣкж*; *двизати* 'to move', *двизати*:

ДВНГНЖТИ; (3) in some nominal formations: МѢСАЦЬ 'month', ЗАЯЦЬ 'hare', ЛИЦЕ 'visage', БОЛѢЗА 'disease', ПОЛѢЗА 'utility', СТЬѢЗА 'path'; (4) in the Teutonic loan-words: КЪНАСЬ 'chief' < Т \**kuning*; ПѢНАСЬ 'money': OHG *pfenning*; ШТѢЛАГЪ 'money', ШТѢЛАСЬ < OHG *skilling*, ГОБЬСЬ 'abundant' < Goth. *gabeigs* (*gabigs*) (adj.) 'rich'.

(g) The causes of the changes generally referred to as the third palatalization are partly phonetic and partly analogical. They cannot be explained by any single cause. In the case of the diminutive suffixes the change into \*-*iči* may postulate an original \*-*ikjo* alongside \*-*iko*; the verbal forms in *-icati*, *-idzati* may have their origin in the phonetically regular imperative forms of the type РЪЦИ; the ending of КЪНАСЬ: Т \**kuning* could be explained through the nom. pl. КЪНАЗИ where the change is regular (cf. R. Ekblom, *Die frühe dorsale Palatalisierung im Slavischen*, Uppsala, 1951). As a result of the palatalizations there are no velar consonants followed by front vowels in the structure of the OCS language.

#### HARDENING OF THE PALATAL CONSONANTS

§ 31. The consonants resulting from the processes of palatalization, or from combination with *j* (ч, ж, ш, шт, жд, ц, с > з, ѣ, љ, њ) were originally soft: *č', ž', š', š't', ž'd', č, d'z' > z', r', l', n'*. This is shown by some modern Slavonic languages, whose history makes it clear that the original palatalization of these consonants was lost in later periods. In OCS texts the palatalization, i.e. the soft character, of the consonants, is not consistently indicated, and it appears that these consonants were already hard. The soft character is indicated by a semicircle over the letters ѣ, љ, њ, but only Zogr. and Supr. are consistent in the use of ' especially on л and н: КЛѢВЕТА 'calumny', ННВА 'field', КЪННГЪ (pl.) 'book', СЖПЬРЬКЪ, СЖПЬРІА (gen.) 'of the adversary'.

(a) The scribes did not mark the character of the other palatal consonants, no doubt because they were either hard or on the way to becoming depalatalized. The original soft character is shown by spellings with ѣ (ѣ), ю, љ alongside the normal spellings with а, оу, ж: ШЮМЪ (Ps. Sin.) 'sound', ДОУШЪ (acc.) (Euch. Sin.) 'soul' МЖЮ (dat.) (Zogr.) 'man' ЧЮДО (Savv. Kn.) 'miracle', СЖЖДЪ

(Mar.) 'I judge', сѣштю (dat.) (Savv. Kn.) 'being', отьцю (dat.) (Cloz.) 'father', лѣзѣ (nom.) (Supr.) 'profit' for лѣза, gen. лѣзѣ.

(b) The hardening of the consonants is borne out by the regular spellings with а, оу, ж, as well as by spellings with the hard reduced vowel after the originally palatal consonants: доушоу (gen., loc. du.) for доушоу, нашѣ for нашъ 'our', ноштѣ for ноштъ 'night', конецѣ for коньцѣ 'end', цѣсара for цѣсаря (gen.) 'emperor', вѣрма for вѣрма 'time', мороу for морю (dat.) 'sea', рождѣство for рождѣство 'birth'.

(c) The consonantal group шт, жд from *tj, dj* (§ 21.2) is represented in the Kiev Miss. by ц, з which are a dialectal feature of Moravian Slavonic: насѣщенѣ for насѣштѣни 'satiated', подазѣ for подаждѣ (imp.) 'give'. Traces of this treatment appear also in other texts: розѣство (Cloz., Mar.) for рождѣство 'birth', невѣзѣства (Ps. Sin.) for невѣждѣства 'of ignorance'. Instead of the шт representing *stj, skj* the Kiev Miss. has шч: очищення for очистѣнѣ 'purification' from очистити.

#### CHANGES IN THE OCS VOWEL SYSTEM

§ 32. OCS continued the tendency, inherited from Common Slavonic, to pronounce certain initial vowels with a prothetic *i* or *y* and to insert *i* between vowels. The reasons for this phonetic process are not clear, and in the further development of the individual Slavonic languages we also find the reverse tendency to drop *i* and *v* < *y*:

1. The verbs оучити 'to teach' and вѣжнѣти 'to learn' represent the same root \**ūk-*; вѣ, вѣн- < \**ūn* (cf. Lat. *en, in*) вѣнѣмѣ: имѣ 'I seize'; имѣ < \**īmo* (cf. из-ѣмѣ); иго < \**īgo* < \**īgo* (cf. Lat. *iugum*); ѣстѣ, естѣ 'is' (cf. Lat. *est*). The OCS spelling did not regularly indicate this prothetic *i* [*j*] (§ 2. 3. 4) and it is not possible to give a clear definition of the use of this prothetic sound, or to be sure when it was pronounced without being written.

2. In the OCS texts we find forms with prothetic *i* alongside forms without *i*, varying from text to text: его 'of that, his', еже 'which', езеро 'lake', еше 'yet': юго, ѣже, ѣзеро; оутро 'morning': ютро; оужѣ: юже 'now'; авити 'to show': ѣвити, авити; агньцѣ 'lamb': ѣгньцѣ, ѣгньцѣ; агода 'berry': ѣгода; азѣ 'I':

ѠЗЪ, ѡЗЪ [jazŭ] (cf. В аз, ѡз, ОР jaz, Р ja, Sln jaz); аште 'if': ѡште; аѡлъко 'apple': ѡѡлъко (cf. Lith. *óbuolas*).

3. A prothetic *u* > *v* appears in вѡзати 'to tie': ѡза, вѡза 'tie'; вонѡ 'odour': ѡхати 'to smell'.

4. In a later development of OCS appear more frequently forms with prothetic elements: осѡмь 'eight': вѡсѡмь; ѡдоль 'valley': ѡдоль, ОР юдоль; ѡза, ѡза, оуза, воуза, вѡза 'tie'.

5. The tendency to drop intervocalic *i* [j] appears in OCS: in the declension of the definite adjective: добраѡго (masc. gen.) 'good', доброуѡмоу (dat.), благаѡ (nom. fem.) 'good': добраѡго, добраѡго, добраѡго, доброуѡмоу, доброуѡмоу, доброуѡмоу, благаѡ; in the verbal forms: даѡти, даѡти 'to give', покаѡти 'to regret', вѡроуѡтъ 'they believe', обрѡтаѡ 'I discover': даѡти, покаѡти, вѡроуѡтъ, обрѡтаѡ; in nouns and pronouns: зѡлодѡѡ (gen.) 'evil-doer', нюдѡѡ 'Judea', моѡ 'mine', твоѡ 'thine', зѡлодѡѡ, нюдѡѡ, моѡ, твоѡ.

These orthographies have caused some scholars to reach the conclusion that *ju* = *ю* was pronounced like *jü*, *ü* with more rounded lips, and *ja* = *ѡ*, Ѡ like *jä*, *ä* (§ 2. 3. 4).

6. There are slight divergencies between the OCS texts as to the use of the initial *a-/ja-* alternation; the generally accepted rule was that:

(a) some words appear only with *a-*: а 'but, and', аѡда 'berry', аѡи 'but, if', ашоуѡтъ 'in vain';

(b) others have only initial *ja-*: ѡдро 'bosom', ѡможе 'where to' (later texts have also аѡю, аѡможе), ѡрѡсть 'anger', ѡръ 'spring of the year', ѡрьѡмъ 'yoke', ѡсли pl. 'manger', ѡсти 'to eat', ѡзва 'wound', ѡхати 'to drive in a vehicle';

(c) in other words again *a-/ja-* appear indiscriminately: аѡниѡ, ѡниѡ 'soon', аѡити, ѡити 'to reveal', азѡ, ѡзѡ 'I', аѡ, ѡѡ 'as, in order that, because', аште, ѡште 'if', аѡнѡць, ѡнѡць 'lamb', &c.

#### CHANGES OF THE REDUCED VOWELS

§ 33. The Macedonian Slavonic dialect, raised by Constantine-Cyril and his brother Methodius to the status of the first Slavonic literary language in the second half of the ninth century, contained the two reduced phonemes, called hard and soft *jers*, where they

might be etymologically expected. The first OCS texts, which are copies of the Cyrillo-Methodian originals, already show changes in these weak phonemes. These changes are due to the influence of the copyist on the language that he transcribed, i.e. to the local dialect spoken by the scribe.

The following changes and omissions of the *yers* become apparent in the OCS texts:

1. The *yers* disappear in a weak position, whereas in a strong position they are changed into a front or back vowel respectively. A *jer* is in strong position when the immediately following syllable contains another *jer*. When several consecutive syllables contain *yers*, the strong or weak position is defined by counting the syllables starting with that one which contains the last *jer*: the last *jer* is in weak position, the preceding one is strong, the next is weak. If we mark the weak position with the diacritic  $\cdot$ , and the strong position with  $\cdot$ , then the instr. sg. from *сѣньмѣ* 'meeting (place)' presents two *yers* in weak and two in strong position: *сѣньмѣмѣ* = *sŭnĭmŭmĭ* > *sĭnĭmĭmĭ* > *senĭmemĭ* written *сѣньмѣмѣ*, *сѣнмѣмѣ*, *сѣньмѣ* (cf. W. Vondrák, *Altkirchenslavische Grammatik*, 1912, 184). So we may find in the texts the form *дѣньсѣ* 'today' alongside *дѣньсѣ*, *правѣденѣ* 'just': *правѣдѣнѣ*, *шѣдѣ* 'gone': *шѣдѣ*, *конѣцѣ* 'end': *конѣцѣ*, *дѣнетѣ* 'that day': *дѣнь тѣ*, *кожѣ* (ъ)до 'each': *кѣждѣ*, *работѣ* 'that servant': *работѣ тѣ*, *крѣпокѣ* 'strong': *крѣпѣкѣ*, *четверѣтокѣ* 'Thursday': *четверѣтѣкѣ*, *крѣвь* 'blood': *крѣвыж* (instr.), *плотѣ* 'flesh': *плѣтѣ*. In these examples the *yers* are vocalized in strong position, whether in a word or in a connected group of words in a sentence: *dĭnĭ sĭ* > *dnes*. Analogy intervenes to create phonetically irregular forms: *pravĭdĭnĭ* develops regularly into *pravden*, but *pravĭdĭna* (gen. masc., nom. fem.), *pravĭdĭnu* (dat. masc.) develop regularly into *pravedna*, *pravednu*. On the analogy of these forms a form *praveden* was constructed.

In the weak position, i.e. at the end of words, or when not followed by another reduced vowel, the reduced vowels show a tendency to disappear: *кѣто* 'who': *кто*, *вѣсь*: *вѣсь* 'all', *многа* 'much': *мѣнога*, *вѣмѣ* 'to you': *вѣм*, *конѣчина* 'end': *конѣчина*, *дѣньми* 'with the days': *дѣньми*, *отѣць* 'father': *отѣць*, *сѣтворити* 'to do': *сѣтворити*, *пѣсати* 'to write': *пѣсати*, *кѣ томуѣ* 'to that':

к'ТОМОУ. The apostrophe marks the place of a dropped semi-vowel.

In the light of the vocalization of the reduced vowels we can explain also spellings with *jers* instead of the vowels that are etymologically to be expected: ДЪВЪЛЪНО 'sufficient' for ДОВЪЛЪНО, ДОВОЛЪНО, ВЪТЪХЪ for ВЕТЪХЪ 'ancient'. Such cases show that in the mind of the scribe the letter ъ was associated with *o*, and ь with *e*, because these often stood for those sounds in his spoken dialect.

2. The reduced vowels are sometimes interchanged; already in OCS texts we find ъ [ɨ] for ь [ɨ̣] and the other way round: ТЪМА 'darkness': ТЪМА, ВЪДЪТИ 'to keep awake': БЪДЪТИ, ВЪСЬ 'every': БЪСЬ, ВЪСЬ, ХЪЛЪМЪ 'hillock': ХЪЛЪМЪ, ПРЪВЪ 'first': ПРЪВЪ.

A reason for this interchange is the assimilation of the reduced vowel to the following vowel, and the fact that in the historical period the reduced vowels show the tendency to be vocalized or to disappear. The fluctuation is due also to the fact that the traditional orthography of the scribes was confused by the pronunciation of their native dialects in which reduced vowels did not exist. In words like ВЪДЪТИ, ЗЪЛЪ, БЪРАТИ 'to take' the change of the *jers* is due to regressive assimilation.

3. When followed by *j* the reduced vowels acquired the timbre of the appropriate full vowels: ѣ > *ij*, ѣ̣ > *yj*. The orthography does not clearly show this change, but we find such spellings as ДЪВЪЮ, ДЪВЪЮ, ДЪВЪЮ 'suddenly'; ДЪВЪЮ 'days', ДЪВЪЮ (nom. pl.), ДЪВЪИ, ДЪВЪИ (gen. pl.); ПЪЖ, ПЪЖ 'I drink'. The change of ѣ̣ > *yj* is supported by the forms of the definite adjectives: ДОВРЪИ 'the good' < \**dobrŭ* + *jŭ*; ВЪ ИСТИНЪ 'in truth' considered as a single word is found spelt ВЪ ИСТИНЪ 'in truth'. The position of the semivowels when followed by *j* has been called 'intense' (§ 9. 3, § 12. 3).

The OCS texts differ as to the spelling with ь or и: the Kiev Miss. has both spellings: МИЛОСТЪЖ, -ИЖ (acc. sg.) 'pity', СЪПАСЕНИЕ 'salvation', ЗЪЛЪ (nom.) 'evil', ЗЪЛИ (gen. pl.). Mar., Savv. Kn., and Supr. spell as a rule with и and the examples with ь are

exceptions. Ass. has only **и** spellings. Zogr. avoids, but for a few exceptions, the spelling **ьи**, replacing it by **ии**; in a part of the codex, however (Ev. Mk. and Ev. L.), the spelling with **ь** prevails, in certain positions. Ps. Sin. has both **ьи** and **ии**. Euch. Sin. regularly has **-ьи**, **-ью**, but **-иѣ**, **-иѣд**, **-иѣл**, **-иѣж**.

4. When the reduced vowel *i* is preceded by *j* it develops into a full vowel *i*: \**jīže* > \**jīze* = **иже** 'who'; \**jīgūla* > \**jigūla* = **игъла** 'needle'; \**dostojīnū* > **достѡинъ** 'worthy'. The hard semi-vowel in this position was changed into a soft one (progressive assimilation), and treated in the same way (§ 12.4): \**jūgo* (cf. Lat. *iugum*) > \**jīgo* > \**jigo* = **иго** 'yoke'.

#### THE REDUCED VOWELS IN THE OCS TEXTS

§ 34. The OCS texts reflect these changes in various degrees:

1. The most conservative text as regards the reduced vowels is the Kiev Miss. Only twice does this text confuse the reduced vowels and both examples concern the same word: **вѣсѣхъ** instead of **вѣсѣхъ** 'in all' (§ 33. 2).

2. Zogr. uses the hard **ѣ** instead of the soft **ь** followed by a back vowel in the next syllable: **зѣдати** for **зѣдати** 'to build', **-стѣлати** for **-стѣлати** 'to spread out', **тѣма** for **тѣма** 'darkness'; but also soft **ь** instead of hard **ѣ**: **вѣдѣти** for **вѣдѣти** 'to keep awake', **зѣлѣ** for **зѣлѣ** 'bad', **въ** for **вѣ** 'in', **правѣда** 'truth' alternates with **правѣдѣ**, **вѣрѣны** 'faithful' alternates with **вѣрѣни**.

The reduced vowels are dropped in many instances: **всемь** 'with all', **что** 'what', **рци** 'say!', **слѣнца** 'of the blind', **кдѣ** 'where', **кто** 'who', **створихомъ** 'we did', for **вѣсемь**, **чѣто**, **рци**, **слѣпца**, **къдѣ**, **къто**, **сѣтворихомъ**, &c.

In some instances the reduced vowels are vocalized in strong position: **вѣсенъ**, **висеръ**, **възвѣзъше**, **днѣсь**, **подобѣнъ**, **шѣдъ**, **тѣмьницѣж** instead of **вѣсьнъ** 'demonic', **висеръ** 'pearl', **възвѣзъше** 'those who have thrust', **днѣсь** 'today', **подобѣнъ** 'similar', **шѣдъ** 'gone', **тѣмьницѣж** 'with the prison'.

3. Another stage of the history of the reduced vowels is shown in Mar. The hard **ѣ** shows the tendency to replace the soft **ь**,

especially after ш, ж, ч, шт, жд, ц: шѣдѣ for шьдѣ 'went', жрѣдѣ for жрьдѣ 'pole', жрѣти for жръти 'to sacrifice', кѣждо for кѣждо 'every'. The hardening of the consonants (§ 31) is apparent also in: дѣрати, пѣрати, тѣма for дьрати 'to tear to pieces', пьрати 'to fly up', тѣма 'darkness'. Cases of the opposite type are less frequent: въ нихѣ, прѣдѣ ними for вѣ нихѣ 'in them', прѣдѣ ними 'in front of them'. In this stage, the vocalized reduced vowels appear more frequently: швѣ 'gone', людемѣ 'to the people', вонѣ 'out', любовѣ 'love', плодѣ-сѣ 'this seed', можетѣ-сѣ 'this is able', домо-тѣ 'that house', for шьлѣ, людьмѣ, вѣнѣ, любѣвь, плодѣ-сѣ, можетѣ-сѣ, домѣ-тѣ. In Mar. the reduced vowels are more often dropped than in Zogr.

In the spelling of original *i* followed by *j*, the Mar. prefers *и* to *ь*: биѣнѣ 'beaten', биж 'I beat', мѣнни 'lightning', сѣднн 'judge' for бьѣнѣ, бьж, мѣнньи, сѣднн (§ 33. 3).

4. In Ass. the use of the *jer* letters for the reduced vowels is so inconsistent that it appears clearly that the copyist had not those sounds in his own language. He writes the letters by tradition but he puts them in wrong places. The vocalization of *ь* appears more frequently than that of *ѣ*: начѣтокѣ, ложѣ for начѣтѣкѣ 'beginning', лѣжѣ (adj.) 'liar'.

5. Cloz., too, presents more cases of the vocalization of *ь* into *e*, than of *ѣ* into *o*: денѣ, чѣстѣ, пришѣдѣ for дѣнѣ 'day', чѣстѣ 'honour', пришѣдѣ 'arrived'; четѣрѣтокѣ, кровьѣж, любовѣ for четѣрѣтѣкѣ 'Thursday', крѣвьѣж 'with blood', любѣвь 'love'.

In this text the interchangeability of *ѣ* and *ь* is clearly dependent on the following vowel: зьлѣ, въ нѣжѣ, сѣмрьтѣ for зьлѣ 'badly', вѣ нѣжѣ 'in that', сѣмрьтѣ 'death'; тѣма, мѣзда for тѣма 'darkness', мѣзда 'payment'.

After ш, ж, шт, жд, ц the letter *ь* is consistently replaced by *ѣ*: нашѣ, чѣто, мѣжѣ, сѣштѣ, рѣждѣ for нашѣ 'our', чѣто 'what', мѣжѣ 'man', сѣштѣ 'being', рѣждѣ 'birth'.

The letters *ѣ* and *ь* are often dropped.

6. Ps. Sin. shows a clear tendency to vocalize the reduced vowels in strong position: лѣвѣ for лѣвь 'lion', во мнѣ 'in me' for вѣ мнѣ. In во крѣви 'in blood' (Ps. xxix. 10) the *ѣ* in крѣви is



treated as weak. The letters ѣ and ѡ are seldom dropped, but they are often interchanged owing to the character of the following vowel: вѣ селѣ 'in the estate' for вѣ селѣ, вѣниде 'he entered' for вѣниде. Also cases of changes independent of the following vowel occur: зѣвати for зѣвати 'to call', зѣлоба for зѣлоба 'wickedness', оупѣвати for оупѣвати 'to hope'.

7. Euch. Sin. regularly writes ѣ after ш, ж: нашѣ for нашѣ 'our', слоужѣба for слоужѣба 'service'. After ч, шт, жд, ц, however, ѡ remains: чѣто 'what', даждѡ 'give', ноштѡ 'night', отѣць 'father'. A following hard syllable changes ѡ into ѣ: вѣрѣнѣ for вѣрѣнѣ 'faithful', вѣрати for вѣрати 'to take', and inversely вѣ вѣкѣ for вѣ вѣкѣ 'in eternity', вѣпити for вѣпити. Vocalization in strong position is frequent: агнець for агнець 'lamb', сонѣ for сонѣ 'sleep'. The dropping of the letters ѣ and ѡ is restricted mainly to многѣ for многѣ 'many', всего for всего 'of all', кѣто 'who', чѣто 'what' for кѣто, чѣто.

8. Savv. Kn. replaces ѡ by ѣ after ш, ж, ч, шт, жд: шѣдѣ for шѣдѣ 'gone', мѣжѣ for мѣжѣ 'man', плачѣ for плачѣ 'weeping', ноштѣ for ноштѣ 'night', даждѣ for даждѣ 'give'. The interchange of the two letters appears also in other positions: дамѣ for дамѣ 'I shall give', вѣзатѣ for вѣзатѣ 'they lift up', вѣрати for вѣрати 'to take'. Also the dropping of the letters ѣ, ѡ is frequent: брати, кѣто 'who', писати 'to write'. Vocalization is less frequent than in other OCS texts; е for ѡ appears in flexional endings: людемѣ for людемѣ 'to the men', именемѣ for именемѣ 'with the name'; о for ѣ does not appear.

9. Supr. changes ѡ into ѣ after ш: шѣдѣ for шѣдѣ 'gone', нашѣ for нашѣ 'our'; very often drops them in weak position; frequently interchanges them: вѣзати for вѣзати 'to lift up', съ небесе for съ небесе 'from heaven', вѣста for вѣста 'he got up', съ нами for съ нами 'with us'. The vocalization of ѡ into е appears only in the first part of the text; in the second part this is restricted to the final syllable: дѣнехѣ for дѣнехѣ 'in the days'. The vocalization of ѣ into о is limited to three doubtful examples (cf. N. van Wijk, *Geschichte der altkirchenslavischen Sprache*, 1931, 96).

## CHANGES OF THE NASAL VOWELS IN OCS TEXTS

§ 35. The correct use of the original nasal vowels is the most important criterion which distinguishes the OCS texts written before 1100 from the later Slavonic texts of the various recensions: Middle Bulgarian, Old Serbian, Old Croatian, Old Russian. However, even with regard to this criterion some OCS texts show deviations from the rule, i.e. from the original state. Already in OCS texts the tendency appears to denasalize  $\rho > u$  and  $\epsilon > e$ .

1. The Kiev Miss. regularly uses the nasals  $\text{ѡ}$  and  $\text{Ѣ}$  where they are etymologically to be expected. The single exception (and that not certain) seems to be represented by the form of the instr. sg. fem.  $\text{НЕВЕСЬСКОУѢ}$  for  $\text{НЕВЕСЬСКѢѢ}$  'with the heavenly'. If, however, we accept a form  $\text{НЕВЕСЬСКОѢ}$  for the instr. sg. fem. then the  $u$  may represent a faulty transcription of the original glagolitic letter  $o$ . Confusion between  $\text{ѡ}$  and  $\text{оу}$  is nevertheless betrayed in this text by the word  $\text{ВЪСѢДЪ}$  'communion', which should be spelt \* $\text{ВЪСОУДЪ}$  because it is an Old High German loan-word (*wizzôd*).

2. Zogr. has very few irregularities in the use of  $\text{ѡ}$ ,  $\text{Ѣ}$ ; they are mistakes or accidental and do not reveal any dialectal peculiarities in the language of the copyist. Alongside  $\text{МѢДИТИ}$  'to delay',  $\text{МѢДНЪ}$  'slow' appear  $\text{МОУДИТИ}$ ,  $\text{МОУДНЪ}$ ;  $\text{ОТЪТОУДОУ}$ ,  $\text{ОТЪНОУДОУЖЕ}$ ,  $\text{ИНОУДОУ}$  for  $\text{ОТЪТѢДОУ}$  'from there',  $\text{ОТЪНѢДОУЖЕ}$  'from where',  $\text{ИНѢДОУ}$  'from elsewhere', which could be explained on the analogy of adverbs like  $\text{НИЗОУ}$  'down'. The  $e$  for  $\text{Ѣ}$  in a few cases could be explained as faulty spellings due to the neighbouring letters or to the corruption of the original:  $\text{НЕ ЕТЪ}$  for  $\text{НЕ ѢТЪ}$  'he did not seize',  $\text{ПРИѢШЕ}$  for  $\text{ПРИѢША}$  'they received'. A confusion between  $\text{Ѣ}$  and  $\text{Ѣ}$  occurs in  $\text{ПОМѢНѢТИ}$  for  $\text{ПОМАНѢТИ}$  'to remember'.

3. Mar. has more examples of nasal  $\rho$  developed into  $u$ , occasionally into  $o$ , and of nasal  $\epsilon$  replaced by  $e$ :  $\text{СОУМНѢТИ}$  for  $\text{СѢМНѢТИ}$  'to doubt',  $\text{КОУПѢЛИ}$  for  $\text{КѢПѢЛЪ}$  'bath',  $\text{ЛЮБИУ}$  for  $\text{ЛЮБѢ}$  'I love',  $\text{СОБОТА}$  for  $\text{СѢБОТА}$  'Saturday'. Conversely it also writes  $\text{ЕЖРѢ}$  for  $\text{БОУРА}$  'tempest'. The  $\text{Ѣ}$  is replaced by  $\text{Ѣ}$  in:  $\text{СѢДѢТЕ}$  for  $\text{САДѢТЕ}$  (imp.) 'sit down',  $\text{ГРѢДИ}$  for  $\text{ГРАДИ}$  (imp.) 'come',  $\text{СЪВЪЗѢВЪШЕ}$  for  $\text{СЪВѢЗѢВЪШЕ}$  'having tied'. It never has

*e* for *ɛ*. If we admit that the language of the copyist already contained *u* for original *ɔ* then we may ascribe to him a Serbian origin.

4. Ass. has **МОУДИТИ** 'to delay', **МОУДЪНЪ** 'slow' for **МЪДИТИ**, **МЪДЪНЪ**. Confusion between **ж** and **л** is shown in: **ПОМАЖАТЪ** for **ПОМАЖЪТЪ** 'they will anoint', **ПРИЕМАЛЪТЪ** for **ПРИЕМАЈЪТЪ** 'they will receive'. As in some Bulgarian dialects the two nasals have been reduced to a single one, this confusion may indicate the origin of the copyist.

5. In Cloz. there are examples of **ж** being replaced by **оу**: **МОУКА** for **МЪКА** 'torment', **ЖТРОБОУ** (acc.) for **ЖТРОБЪ** 'intestines'. Also inversely we meet **ОТЪСЪДЪ** for **ОТЪСЪДОУ** 'from here'. This changes reveal a Serbo-Croatian or Moravian influence. The spelling **КОНСТАТИНЪ** 'Constantine' indicates an open pronunciation of the *ɛ*. The confusion of **л** with **ѣ** is testified by the regular appearance of **-мѣ-** in **ПОМѢНЪТИ** for **ПОМАНЪТИ** 'to remember'. The inverse spelling appears in **САДАШТАГО** (gen. sg.) 'of the (one) seated' for **СЪДАШТАГО**. These are, however, isolated cases.

6. Ps. Sin. has many examples of **ж** replaced by **о**; twice it replaces **о** by **ж**: **СЪБОЖ** for **СОБОЖ**, **ЖТРОБА** for **ЖТРОВА** 'intestines'; this could be explained by the vicinity of the **ж** in the other syllable. The **о** for **ж** appears more frequently and has been explained as a dialectal influence on the language of the text, in view of the fact that in some modern Macedonian dialects (Debra) the *ɔ* has developed into *o*. This explanation is, however, not certain, for we should expect as many faulty spellings of the opposite kind (**ж** for **о**); but **ж** for **о** only appears in few isolated forms. More obvious would be to explain these spellings by a misinterpretation of the Glagolitic letter for *ɔ*. The form **СОБОТА**, in Ps. Sin. and in Mar., may go back to a Lat. *Sabbata* (pl.) (§ 7.1), whereas the form with nasal **СЪБОТА** reflects the Byzantine-Greek *σάββατον*. The nasal *ɔ* is changed into *u*: **МОУДИТИ** for **МЪДИТИ** 'to delay', **ПАОУЧИНА** for **ПАЖЧИНА** 'cobweb', which, however, could be interpreted also as a faulty spelling under the influence of the following word **ПООУЧАХЪ СЪ** (Ps. lxxxix. 9). We find also cases of the opposite type: **РЖКЪ** for **РЖКОУ** (gen. loc. du.). The vowel *e* sometimes

replaces  $\rho$ : **ѢЗЪЦИ** for **ІАЗЪЦИ** 'the Gentiles', **ВЪЗЛОЖЕТЪ** for **ВЪЗЛОЖАТЪ** (3rd pl.) 'they lay (burdens) upon' (trans.). Instances of **Ѧ** for **Ѣ** are also recorded: **ИМѦНИ** for **ИМЕНИ** (dat. sg.) 'name', **ИСКОУШАНЪ** for **ИСКОУШЕНЪ** (p. pf. pass.) 'tempted', **Ѧ** for **Ѧ** appears in **ПОМѢНѦТИ** for **ПОМАНѦТИ** 'to remember'; however, the last spelling is as frequent as the first.

These spellings seem to indicate that the original of the text was a Moravian or Serbian dialect. The present recension is written by a Bulgarian scribe who introduced characteristics of his own language.

7. Similar spellings are to be found in Euch. Sin.: **МОУДИТИ** **МОУДЪНЪ** for **МЪДИТИ** 'to delay', **МЪДЪНЪ** 'late', **ОЗОѦЖ** for **ѦЗОѦЖ** 'with a fetter, tie', **ОТРОѦЖ** (acc. sg.) for **ѦТРОѦЖ** 'intestines', and inversely **НЖЖѦ** for **НОЖѦ** (acc. pl.) 'knife';  $e$  for  $\rho$  appears in few examples: **НАЧѢЛЬНИЧЕ** for **НАЧАЛЬНИЧЕ** (voc.) 'leader'. A doubtful case of confusion between **Ѧ** and **Ѧ** is **МАСТѦ** for **МѢСТѦ** 'in the place'.

8. Savv. Kn. has only three cases of confusion of the nasals: **МОУДИТИ**, **МОУДЪНЪ** for **МЪДИТИ** 'to delay', **МЪДЪНЪ** 'late', **ПІЮНОУѢВЪШЕ** for **ПІЮНѢВЪШЕ** (nom. pl.) 'having spit'.

9. Supr. has cases of  $u$  for  $\rho$ : **СОУМЪНѢТИ** for **СЪМЪНѢТИ** 'to doubt', **ГНОУСИТИ СѦ**, **ГНОУСЪНЪ** alongside **ГНЪСИТИ СѦ** 'to be disgusted', **ГНЪСЪНЪ** 'disgusting', **МОУДЪНЪ** for **МЪДЪНЪ** 'slow', **НОУДИТИ**, **НОУЖДА** for **НЪДИТИ** 'to compel', **НЪЖДА** 'necessity', **ГОНѢЗНОУТИ** for **ГОНѢЗНЪТИ** 'to escape', &c. The confusion **Ѧ** for **Ѧ** is recorded once in **ПОМѢНѦТИ** for **ПОМАНѦТИ** 'to remember'. The confusion between **Ѧ** and **Ѧ** appears in **СТѢЛѦШТА** 'spreading' for **СТѢЛЪШТА**. One example presents **Ѣ** for **Ѧ**: **ОБАДИШЕ** for **ОБАДИША** 'they accused'. Cases of **Ѧ** for **Ѣ** are mistakes of the copyist: **НАДАЖДА** for **НАДЕЖДА** 'hope', **ПОМАТАША** for **ПОМЕТАША** 'they threw away'.

10. Ostr. belongs chronologically to the OCS texts, i.e. to the texts written or copied between the ninth and the eleventh centuries. This text was copied in 1056/7 by Russian scribes, for the burgomaster of Novgorod, from an East Bulgarian original of the time of the Tsar Simeon. Through the scribes vernacular

forms have been introduced into the language of the original, e.g. ж is replaced by оу, ѡж by ю, or inversely in some 300 cases; ѡ is replaced by а and ѡа by ѡа in some 200 cases: ѡЗЫКЪ for ѡАЗЫКЪ 'tongue', ИЗАСЛАВЪ for ИЗѦСЛАВЪ (pr. n.); ѡ appears for ѡ in НЕДѢЛАЪ (gen. sg. fem.) for НЕДѢЛАА 'Sunday'. The reduced vowels are in a number of cases vocalized in strong position: ТЕМЪНЪ for ТЪМЪНЪ 'dark' (§ 33).

The OCS group жд is replaced thirty-four times by the Eastern Slavonic corresponding ж: РОЖЪСТВО for РОЖДЪСТВО 'birth'. (§ 21. 2). Apart from these and some other local influences, however, the language of the Ostr. is nearer to the language of the first translators than are some of the older OCS texts.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF LIQUID DIPHTHONGS IN OCS TEXTS

§ 36. The original initial groups *ort-*, *olt-* (*t* representing any consonant) developed in OCS into *rat-*, *lat-* (§ 6. 3). The OCS texts present some dialectal deviations from this development. Supr. has several times, alongside *рѡбѡ* 'slave' < \**orbh-*, the form *робѡ*, *робѡта* 'labour', *робѡни* (adj.) '(of the) slave', *робѡнишѡтъ* '(God's) servant' and, alongside *раз-*, forms with *роз-* (*рос-*): *розличѡни* 'various' (pl.), *розвити* 'to loosen', *розвѣѡ* 'except', *рѡствѡрѡнѡѡ* (p. part. act.) 'disjoin', *рѡширѡитѡ* 'to extend', *рѡзѡинѡикѡ* 'brigand'. The form *робѡ* 'slave' appears once in Zogr. (J. xv. 15). The form *розга* 'young branch' appears in Mar., Zogr., Savv. Kn., Ass. (J. xv. 4, 6), Ps. Sin. (cviii. 7), whereas *разга* appears in Mar., Zogr. (J. xv. 2). The forms with *rot-* are peculiar to the Slavonic languages of the Western (Polish, Czech, Lusatian) group and of the Eastern group (Russian, White Russian, Ukrainian). One may assume that also south of the Danube, e.g. in East Bulgarian, there existed a dialect containing the development *ort-* > *rot-*. Another explanation of the forms with initial *rot-* is that which considers them (especially *робѡ*) as Moravianisms, i.e. originating in Moravia where the first translations were written down. Alongside the usual verbal form (*нѡ*) *рѡдитѡ* '(not) to care' the OCS texts show also (*нѡ*) *радѡитѡ* (Mar., Zogr., Ostr., Supr.).

Concerning the development *olt-* > *lat-*, in OCS texts appear forms showing *ал-*, *алъ-*, *ла-* for original *olt*: *ладни*, *ладниа* alongside *алъдъни*, *алъдни* 'boat'; *лакати*, *лакомъ* alongside *алъкати*, *алкати* 'to be hungry'. The form *алъдъни*, *алъдъни* appears in *Zogr.*, *Supr.* The form *алъкати* occurs in *Mar.*, *Ass.*, *Euch. Sin.*, *Savv. Kn.*, *Supr.* Also *лань*, *лани* 'hind, chamois', appears without metathesis: *лнни*, *алънни* (cf. Gr. *ἔλαφος* 'stag, doe', *ἄλκη* 'elk', OHG *ëlho*, Lat. *alces* 'elk').

### VOWEL-GRADATION (APOPHONY)

§ 37. In words derived from the same root occur vowel-changes which cannot be explained as phonetic developments. No phonetic rule peculiar to OCS could explain the change of the vowels in the stems of verbs or nouns of the following kind: *вести* 'to lead', *водити* 'to lead'; *твѣжъ* 'I am running', *токъ* 'course, river', *притѣкати* 'to rush together', *таканнѣ* 'the running'; *бити* 'to beat', *быжъ* (*бнжъ*) 'I beat', *разбойникъ* 'brigand', &c. These changes of vowels represent older phonetic patterns which go back to IE and are referred to as vowel-gradation (apophony, ablaut).

1. In the IE system the regular alternation of certain vowels was a means of forming word-categories from elements belonging etymologically to the same phonetic unit. The alternation was based (a) on the quality or (b) on the quantity of the vowels. The most usual alternation was that of *e/o*. The various aspects of vowel-alternation are called grades. So the alternating basis with *e ~ o* is called *full grade*, *ē ~ ō* is the *lengthened grade*; when the vowel is reduced and disappears the basis is called *zero-grade*. Both kinds of gradation could occur in the same group of words.

#### (a) Qualitative gradations

	Full grade:	Lengthened grade:	Zero (reduced) grade:
IE * <i>bher-</i>	Gr. φέρω, φορέω	Gr. φῶρ 'thief'	Gr. δί-φρος
	OCS <i>berq</i>	Lat. <i>fūr</i>	OCS <i>bīrati</i>
	Goth. <i>baīra</i> , <i>bar</i>	Goth. <i>bērum</i>	Lat. <i>fors</i> 'accident'
	Skt <i>bhāraṭi</i>		Goth. <i>-baīrans</i>

IE *ped-	Lat. <i>ped-is</i>	Lat. <i>pēs</i>	Skt <i>upa-bda-</i>
	Gr. <i>ποδ-ός</i>	Gr. <i>πώς</i>	'foot-step'
		OCS <i>pěši</i>	

## (b) Quantitative gradations

	Long:		Short:
Lat.	<i>dōnum</i>	Lat.	<i>dātus</i>
Gr.	<i>δῶρον, δίδωμι</i>	Gr.	<i>δόσις</i> 'gift'
OCS	<i>darŭ, dati</i>		
OPr	<i>dātwei</i> 'to give'		
Lat.	<i>stāre</i>	Lat.	<i>stātus</i>
OCS	<i>stati</i>	OCS	<i>stojo</i>
Gr. (Dor.)	<i>ἴστᾱμι</i>	Gr.	<i>στᾱρός</i>
Goth.	<i>stōls</i> 'chair'	Goth.	<i>staps</i> 'place'
Skt	<i>á-sthāt</i> 'he stood up'	Skt	<i>sthi-tāh</i> 'standing'

2. Vowel quantity had ceased to be phonemically significant in OCS, the trends of IE gradation-system continued to be operative, new alternations have been developed, and analogy has interfered and changed the original patterns of gradations.

Owing to the phonetic developments proper to Slavonic, in OCS the vowel-gradations appear in the following series:

- (a)  $\check{e} \sim e \sim \check{i} \sim \text{zero} \sim a \sim o$ .  
 (b)  $\check{e} \sim a \sim o$ .  
 (c)  $o \sim \check{u}$ .

3. OCS alternations could represent also IE diphthongal apophonies. The result in OCS differed according to the element which followed after the diphthong. Schematically these apophonic series could be represented in the following way:

IE diphthongal apophonies:		CS apophonies:
$\check{e}\check{i}:e\check{i}:i:\check{o}\check{i}:o\check{i}$	+	cons. = $i:\check{i} (= \mathfrak{h}): \check{e}$
	+	vowel = $\check{i}j:\check{i}j:oj$
$\check{e}\check{u}:e\check{u}:u:\check{o}\check{u}:o\check{u}$	+	cons. = $ju:\check{u} (= \mathfrak{b}): u$
	+	vowel = $ov:\check{u}v:ov$
$\check{e}r:er:\check{r}:\check{o}r:or$	+	cons. = $r\check{e}:\check{r} (r\check{u}):ra$
	+	vowel = $er:\check{i}r:or$
$\check{e}l:el:\check{l}:\check{o}l:ol$	+	cons. = $\check{l}\check{e}:\check{l} (l\check{u}):la$
	+	vowel = $el:\check{i}l:ol$

<i>ēm:em:ṃ:ōm:om</i>	+	cons.	=	ē:ē:ǫ
	+	vowel	=	<i>em:īm:om</i>
<i>ēn:en:ṣ:ōn:on</i>	+	cons.	=	ē:ē:ǫ
	+	vowel	=	<i>en:īn:on</i>

4. The various aspects of vowel-gradation appear in instances of the following kind:

An IE alternating basis *\*ghrebh* ~ *\*grēbh* is represented in OCS by: full grade *grebǫ* 'I dig, I scoop', *grobŭ* 'grave' ~ long grade *-grēsŭ* (1st aor. sg.), *-grēbajǫ* (1st sg. pr. impft.) ~ reduced grade *-\*grīb-ēti* 'to be buried' (cf. OCz *hřbiti*); perhaps also original long grade *grabiti* 'to snatch' as indicated by Lith. *gróbtī* 'id.'; Skt *grāhā-yati* 'he seizes' (causative). The OHG *grubilôn* 'to bore, to drill' represents the reduced grade.

Full grade *jestŭ* (cf. Lat. *est*, Gr. *ἔστι*, Lith. *ēsti*) ~ reduced grade *jistŭ* (= *istŭ* 'true, real') ~ zero grade *s-ǫtŭ* 'they are', *s-y* (pr. part.) 'being' (Lat. *s-unt*).

Full grade *rekǫ* 'I say', *rokŭ* 'fixed time' ~ long grade *rēxŭ* (1st sg. aor.), *rěči* 'speech, word' ~ reduced grade *řici* (2nd, 3rd imp. sg.), OR *řku*, *řklb*, Cz *řka*, *vyřkl*.

Full grade *tekǫ* 'I run', Lith. *tekŭ*, OIrish *techim* 'I fly', *tokŭ* 'the flowing', Lith *tākas* 'foot-path' ~ long grade *tēxŭ* (1st sg. aor.), *tėkati* (it.), *takati* 'to let run' ~ reduced grade *tīci* (2nd, 3rd sg. imp.), *-tīcati* (it.).

5. Vowel gradation plays a role in the morphology of the OCS verb. The sigmatic aorist of the verbs whose stems ended in a consonant was formed by lengthening the thematic vowel: *нести*, *несѣ* 'I carry' ~ *нѣсѣ* (1st sg. aor.); *бости*, *бодѣ* 'I sting' ~ *басѣ* (1st sg. aor.); *чисти*, *чѣтѣ* 'to count, to read' ~ *чисѣ* (1st sg. aor.). Also in other morphological forms: *творити* 'to make' ~ *творѣ* 'creation'; *сѣкѣ* 'I cut' ~ *сѣкѣра* 'axe'; *сѣсти* 'to sit down' ~ *сѣдло* 'the seat'.

(a) The gradation of vowels also serves in OCS to create imperfective verbal forms from perfective ones: *по-гreti* (pft.) 'to bury' ~ *по-грѣбати* (impft.); *roditi* 'to bear, to generate' ~ *raždati* (impft.). This means of creating new forms has also been extended in Slavonic to other vowels: *pri-zŭvati* (pft.) 'to call' ~ *pri-zyvati*



(impft.); *umrěti* (pft.) < \**-merti*, *moriti* 'to perish' ~ *umīretū* 'he will die', *mrūtvoū* (adj.) 'dead' ~ *umīrati* (impft.), *umīrajētū* 'he is dying'.

Thus, in OCS, the following regular oppositions were established:

The perfective forms have the thematic vowels: *e*, *o*; *ī*, *ū*.

The imperfective forms have the thematic vowels: *ě*, *a*; *i*, *y*.

(b) Gradations in bases containing original diphthongs before vowels: *pījo* 'I drink' ~ *pivo* 'drink' (n.), *pitū* (p. pr. pass.) ~ *pojo* 'I make drink', *-pajati* 'to make drink' representing an IE \**pōǵ* (cf. Lat. *pōtus*, Gr. (Aeol.) *πώνω*, Lith. *pū'ta* 'orgy' representing IE \**pōū*); before consonants: *cvīto* 'I bloom' ~ *cvīsti* (inf.) ~ *cvětū* 'flower' with an alternating diphthong *oi*; *čīto* (1st sg. pr.) 'I read, I count' ~ *čitati* (it.), *čīsti* (inf.), *čīsū* (1st sg. aor.) representing IE \*(s)*keǵd-* (cf. Lith. *skaityti* 'to read', Skt *cétati* 'he perceives').

(c) As the diphthong *eu* developed in OCS into *ju*, and the diphthong *ou* developed into *u* (§ 8), this gradation was not employed in OCS for morphological purposes, because the opposition *ju:u* was not phonemically significant. However, an original formation based on this gradation has survived in OCS: the IE \**bheudh-* is represented in Slavonic by *bljudo*, *bljusti* 'to observe, to watch', *buditi* 'to awake' ~ *būděti* 'to watch, to stay awake', *-būnōti* 'to get up' (cf. Gr. *πεύθομαι* 'to ask, to inquire', Goth. *ana-biudan* 'to order', AS *béodan*, E *bid*, G *bieten*).

The same diphthong (*eu*, *ou*) alternated differently in open syllables, i.e. when followed by a vowel: *pluti* (inf.) 'to float' < \**plouti* ~ *plovō* (1st sg. pr.) 'I swim, float, run', *plavati*, R *nlásamŭ* 'to swim' (cf. Gr. *πλέ(φ)ω*, *πλό(φ)ος*, *πλω(φ)ω*); *-pl'ujō* 'I spit' ~ *pl'ivati* (inf.) ~ *pl'inōti* (inf.) (§ 7.4).

(d) Gradations of *er* diphthong:

Followed by vowel (= in open syllable): *moriti* 'to kill', *morū* 'plague' ~ *mīro* (1st sg. pr.) ~ *mīrati* (it.): *u-marjati* 'to kill' (cf. Lat. *mors*, Lith. *mīrti*, Skt *mṛtá*, Goth. *maurþr*); *derō* 'I flay', *raz-dorū* 'quarrel' ~ *dīrati* (inf.), *dīrtū* (p. part. pass.) ~ *u-darū* 'blow' ~ *-dirati* (inf.), *dīra* 'split'.

Followed by consonant (= in closed syllable): *otŭ-vrěsti* 'to open' < \**verz-*, *povrazŭ* 'bundle' < \**vorz-* ~ *otŭ-vrŭzŭ* (1st sg. pr.); *vrěteno* 'spindle' < \**vert-*, *vratiti* 'to turn round' < \**vort-* ~ *vŕtěti*, *vŕtětŭ* 'to turn, to drill' ~ *vratŭ* 'turning'.

(e) Gradations of *el* diphthong:

Followed by vowel (= in open syllable): *velěti* 'to order', *volja* 'the will' ~ later form *do-vilěti* 'to be sufficient'.

Followed by consonant (= in closed syllable): *vlěkŭ* 'I pull' < \**velk-*, *vlačiti* (inf.) < \**volk-* ~ *vŭlkŭ* (p. part. act. I).

(f) Gradations of *em* diphthong:

Followed by vowel (= in open syllable): *gromŭ* 'thunder' ~ *grŭmětŭ* 'to thunder' ~ *grimati* (it).

Followed by consonant (= in closed syllable): *dŭti* 'to blow up' ~ *dŭmŭ* (1st sg. pr.) ~ *na-dymati sę* 'to boast'.

(g) Gradations of *en* diphthong:

Followed by vowel (= in open syllable): *opona* 'curtain' ~ *pro-pŕnŭ* 'I shall crucify'.

Followed by consonant (= in closed syllable): *blęsti* 'to err' ~ *blŭdŭ* (n.) 'fornication', *blŭditi*; *męsti* 'to mix, stir up' ~ *mŭtŭ* (n.) 'turmoil'.

6. In view of the fact that CS only partially continued the IE system of apophony, the examples are not always clear and numerous for each series. Like the secondary gradation established in the OCS verb stems (§ 96.B.1.b), a vowel gradation based on the alternation of front and back vowels plays an important role in the morphology of the OCS noun. This secondary alternation divided some paradigms of the declension into a soft and hard one (§ 11.2, § 38.I.II). The vowels alternate in the suffixes of the nouns in the following way:

Hard declension (back vowel: *o, ŭ, y, a, ě < oi*):

N. sg.	<i>rabŭ</i>	<i>vŭlkŭ</i>	<i>lęto</i>	<i>žena</i>
L. sg.	<i>rabę</i>	<i>vŭlčę</i>	<i>lętę</i>	<i>ženę</i>
I. sg.	<i>rabomi</i>	<i>vŭlkomŭ</i>	<i>lętomŭ</i>	<i>ženojŭ</i>
A. pl.	<i>raby</i>	<i>vŭlky</i>	<i>lęta</i>	<i>ženy</i>
I. pl.	<i>raby</i>	<i>vŭlky</i>	<i>lęty</i>	<i>ženami</i>

Soft declension (front vowel: *e, ĭ, i* (*ę* in finals), *ja* (*ĕ*), *i*):

N. sg.	<i>krajĭ</i>	<i>otĭci</i>	<i>lice</i>	<i>duša</i>
L. sg.	<i>kraji</i>	<i>otĭci</i>	<i>lici</i>	<i>duši</i>
I. sg.	<i>krajemĭ</i>	<i>otĭcemĭ</i>	<i>licemĭ</i>	<i>dušeję</i>
A. pl.	<i>krajeę</i>	<i>otĭčeę</i>	<i>lica</i>	<i>dušeę</i>
I. pl.	<i>kraji</i>	<i>otĭci</i>	<i>lici</i>	<i>dušami</i>

## MORPHOLOGY

### THE NOUN

§ 38. The OCS nominal system is conservative in its relation to IE. It inherited several stem classes, seven cases, three genders, and three numbers. Each nominal form has therefore to be defined from the point of view of these four morphological categories:

#### I. *Stems.*

The declension of the noun is based on the stem, to which the case endings are added. In the ninth century, when the OCS texts were first composed, these stems were already indistinguishable as such except in a few of the nominal inflexions. The following survey of the declensions gives the nominative forms and another case in which the original stem is recognizable:

I. *-a-/-ja-* stems.—This declension comprises feminine nouns, with the exception of those nouns whose natural gender is masculine (§ 37.6, § 39):

(a) Hard:

ЖЕНА [*žena*] 'woman', dat. pl. ЖЕНАМЪ [*žena-mŭ*]

ВЛАДЪКА [*vладыка*] masc. 'ruler', instr. pl. ВЛАДЪКАМИ [*vладыка-ми*]

(b) Soft:

ДОУША [*duša*] 'soul', dat. pl. ДОУШАМЪ [*duša-mŭ*]

ЮНОША [*junoša*] masc. 'young man', dat. pl. ЮНОШАМЪ [*junoša-mŭ*]

СЪДНИ (СЪДИ) [*sъdiji*] masc. 'judge', dat. pl. СЪДИМАМЪ [*sъdija-mŭ*]

МЛЪНИИ [*mlŭniji*] masc. 'lightning', dat. pl. МЛЪНИИМЪ  
[*mlŭnija-mŭ*]  
БОГЪНИИ [*bogyŭni*] 'goddess', dat. pl. БОГЪНИИМЪ [*bogyŭna-mŭ*]

II. *-o-/-jo-* stems.—The nouns of this declension are masculine or neuter (§ 37.6, § 40):

1. Masculine:

(a) Hard:

ГРАДЪ [*gradŭ*] 'city', instr. sg. ГРАДОМЪ [*grado-mŭ*]  
БОГЪ [*bogyŭ*] 'God', instr. sg. БОГОМЪ [*bogo-mŭ*]

(b) Soft:

КРАИ [*kraji*] 'end, extremity', instr. sg. КРАЕМЪ [*kraje-mŭ*]  
МЪЖЪ [*moxŭ*] 'man', dat. pl. МЪЖЕМЪ [*moxe-mŭ*]  
ОТЪЦЪ [*otŭcŭ*] 'father', dat. du. ОТЪЦЕМА [*otŭce-ma*]

2. Neuter:

(a) Hard:

ЛѢТО [*lŕeto*] 'summer, year', instr. sg. ЛѢТОМЪ [*lŕeto-mŭ*]  
ВѢКО [*vŕeko*] 'eyelid', dat. pl. ВѢКОМЪ [*vŕeko-mŭ*]

(b) Soft:

ПОЛЕ [*polje*] 'field', instr. sg. ПОЛЕМЪ [*polje-mŭ*]  
ЗНАМЕНИЕ [*znamenije*] 'sign', dat. pl. ЗНАМЕНИЕМЪ  
[*znamenije-mŭ*]  
ЛИЦЕ [*lice*] 'face', dat. du. ЛИЦЕМА [*lice-ma*]

III. *-u-* stems.—There are no soft stems in this declension, and all nouns of this category are masculine (§ 42):

СЫНЪ [*synŭ*] 'son', instr. pl. СЫНЪМИ [*synŭ-mi*]

IV. *-i-* stems.—The greater part of the nouns belonging to this declension are feminine, a few are masculine. There is no distinction of 'soft' and 'hard' stems in this category (§ 43):

(a) Feminine:

КОСТЬ [*kostŭ*] 'bone', instr. pl. КОСТЪМИ [*kostŭ-mi*]

(b) Masculine:

ПЪТЬ [*potŭ*] 'way', dat. pl. ПЪТЬМЪ [*potŭ-mŭ*]

V. Consonant stems.—This category of stems includes masc., fem., and neut. nouns. The stem ends in one of the following consonants: *-v-*, *-n-*, *-s-*, *-nt-*, *-r-* (§ 44):

1. The *-v-* stems are usually called *-ū-* stems, because historically the *-ǔv-* stem-ending goes back by way of *-ǔv-* to *-ū-*, and the nom. ending *-y* of this group represents IE *-ūs* (§ 45.1). The nouns of this declension are feminine:

СВЕКРЫ [svékry] 'mother-in-law', gen. sg. СВЕКРЫЕ  
[svékryv-e]

ЛЮБЫ [ljuby] 'love', dat. sg. ЛЮБЫМ [ljubǔv-i]

2. The *-n-* stems are masculine or neuter:

Masc. КАМЫ [kamy] 'stone', gen. sg. КАМЕНЕ [kamen-e]

Neut. ИМЯ [imɛ] 'name', gen. pl. ИМЕНЬ [imen-ǔ]

3. The *-s-* stems are only neuter:

СЛОВО [slovo] 'word', gen. sg. СЛОВЕСЕ [sloves-e]

4. The *-nt-* are only neuter and designate young creatures:

ОТРОЧА [otročɛ] 'child', gen. sg. ОТРОЧАТЕ [otročɛt-e]

5. The *-r-* stems are represented only by two feminine nouns:

МАТИ [mati] 'mother', gen. sg. МАТЕРЕ [mater-e]

ДЪШТИ [dǔšti] 'daughter', gen. sg. ДЪШТЕРЕ [dǔšter-e]

## 2. Genders.

The grammatical gender of a noun can be recognized from its attributive determination (adjective, pronoun), but generally also from the form of the noun, because certain endings correspond to certain grammatical genders:

Nouns of the *-o-* declension ending in *-ъ* [-ǔ], *-ь* [-i] are masculine (§ 40.1, § 41, § 42).

Nouns ending in *-а* [-a], *-я*, *ѣ* [-ja], *-и* [-i] are feminine with the exception of those whose natural gender is masculine (§ 39).

Nouns ending in *-о* [-o], *-е* [-e], *-я* [-ɛ] are neuter (§ 40.2, § 44.2.3.4).

Nouns ending in *-ы* [-y] are feminine, with the exception of *КАМЫ* 'stone' and *ПЛАМЫ* 'flame' which are masculine (§ 44.1).

Nouns ending in *-ь* [*-ĭ*] of the *-i-* declension are either masculine or feminine (§ 43). Feminine are the abstract *-i-* stems in *-stĭ*, *-ĭ*: *мѣдрость* 'wisdom', *радость* 'joy', *зависть* 'envy', *доблесть* 'fortitude', *горюсть* 'heat', *боязнь* 'fear', *зѣль* 'evil', *печаль* 'sorrow', &c.

### 3. Numbers.

The nouns are declined in three numbers (singular, dual, plural) and seven cases. It should, however, be remembered that not every noun has all three numbers, that some nouns have only plural forms, e.g. *врата* 'gate', and that others have only singular forms, e.g. collective nouns: *дѣбнѣ* neut. coll. to *дѣбѣ* 'oak-tree'; neuter abstract nouns *оученіе* 'teaching'; *братрина* fem. coll. to *братръ* 'brother', which declines as in § 39c.

### 4. Cases.

The seven cases are: nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative, instrumental, locative. It should be remembered that: (a) the neuter nouns have three identical forms each for nom., acc., and voc., in sing., in du., and in plur.; (b) the fem. nouns have an identical form for nom., acc., and voc. in plur.; (c) the masc. nouns have an identical form for nom. and voc. in plur.; (d) the dual has three forms only: one for nom., acc., voc., another for gen. and loc., and a third for dat. and instr.; (e) the masc. nouns have as a rule one single form for nom. and acc. in sing.; (f) the masc. *-o-* stems (persons) may use the genitive in the function of accusative in sing. (§ 40.1p).

## DECLENSION OF THE NOUNS

### § 39. I. The *-a/-ja-* stems.

Feminine: *глава* 'head', *нога* 'foot', *рука* 'hand', *душa* 'soul', *стѣза* (*стѣзѣ*, *стѣза*) 'path', *богъини* 'goddess', *пустыни* 'desert', *ладни* (*дѣлѣни*) 'ship'.

Masculine: *владѣка* 'ruler', *балии* 'healer', *сѣдни* (*сѣдѣи*, *сѣди*) 'judge'.

In the following paradigms the endings are separated from the stem by hyphens.

*Singular*

## Hard stems

N.	ГЛАВ-а	рѣк-а	ног-а
G.	ГЛАВ-ы	рѣк-ы	ног-ы
D.	ГЛАВ-ѣ	рѣц-ѣ	нос-ѣ
A.	ГЛАВ-ѡ	рѣк-ѡ	ног-ѡ
V.	ГЛАВ-о	рѣк-о	ног-о
I.	ГЛАВ-оѣж	рѣк-оѣж	ног-оѣж
L.	ГЛАВ-ѣ	рѣц-ѣ	нос-ѣ

## Soft stems

N.	доуш-а	богъи́-и	сѣди-и (сѣди)
G.	доуш-ѡ	богъи́-ѡ	сѣди-ѡ
D.	доуш-и	богъи́-и	сѣди-и
A.	доуш-ѡ	богъи́-ѡ	сѣди-ѡ
V.	доуш-е	богъи́-е	сѣди-и (сѣди)
I.	доуш-ѡѣж	богъи́-ѡѣж	сѣди-ѡѣж
L.	доуш-и	богъи́-и	сѣди-и

*Dual*

## Hard stems

N. A. V.	ГЛАВ-ѣ	рѣц-ѣ	нос-ѣ
G. L.	ГЛАВ-оу	рѣк-оу	ног-оу
D. I.	ГЛАВ-ѡѡ	рѣк-ѡѡ	ног-ѡѡ

## Soft stems

N. A. V.	доуш-и	богъи́-и	сѣди-и
G. L.	доуш-оу	богъи́-ю	сѣди-ю
D. I.	доуш-ѡѡ	богъи́-ѡѡ	сѣди-ѡѡ

*Plural*

## Hard stems

N.	ГЛАВ-ы	рѣк-ы	ног-ы
G.	ГЛАВ-ѡ	рѣк-ѡ	ног-ѡ
D.	ГЛАВ-ѡиѡ	рѣк-ѡиѡ	ног-ѡиѡ
A.	ГЛАВ-ы	рѣк-ы	ног-ы
V.	ГЛАВ-ы	рѣк-ы	ног-ы
I.	ГЛАВ-ѡиѡ	рѣк-ѡиѡ	ног-ѡиѡ
L.	ГЛАВ-ѡхѡ	рѣк-ѡхѡ	ног-ѡхѡ

## Soft stems

N.	ДОУШ-А	БОГЪИ-А	СЖДИ-А
G.	ДОУШ-Ь	БОГЪИ-Ь	СЖДИ-И
D.	ДОУШ-АМЪ	БОГЪИ-АМЪ	СЖДИ-АМЪ
A.	ДОУШ-А	БОГЪИ-А	СЖДИ-А
V.	ДОУШ-А	БОГЪИ-А	СЖДИ-А
I.	ДОУШ-АМИ	БОГЪИ-АМИ	СЖДИ-АМИ
L.	ДОУШ-АХЪ	БОГЪИ-АХЪ	СЖДИ-АХЪ

(a) The velar consonants are palatalized in the stems of *рѣка*, *нога*, &c., when followed by *ѣ* [e] according to § 30.1.

(b) The suffix *-ыни* (*богыни*) goes back to *-yn'a-*, and derives feminine nouns from either masculine or feminine abstract nouns: *господыни* 'mistress', *кръстиганыни* 'Christian woman', *поганыни* 'heathen woman', *рабгыни* 'slave woman', *самарѣныни* 'Samaritan woman', *сжсѣдыни* '(female) neighbour', *юлиныни* 'Greek (Hellenic) woman', *магдалгыни* 'Magdalene', *благгыни* 'goodness', *грѣдыни* 'pride', *льгыни* 'consolation', *правгыни* 'justice', *простгыни* 'simplicity, stupidity', *поустгыни* 'desert', *святгыни* 'holiness, sanctuary'.

(c) The nouns in *-и* represent old *-ija-* stems. They are either feminine: *длъдини* 'ship', *млънии* 'lightning', *длънии* 'hind', *кръбини* 'small basket', or masculine (ending in *-ни*, *-чни* or archaic *-и*, *-чи*): *вѣтчи* 'speaker', *бали* (*вали*) 'healer', *кънигыччи* 'learned man', *шаръччи* 'painter', *кръмгыччи* 'pilot', *сокаччи* 'cook', *самгыччи* 'overseer', *левъни* (= *левгчи*) 'Levi'.

(d) The vocative of the masc. *-и(и)* nouns is identical with the nom.: *сжди(и)*, *вѣти(и)*.

(e) The fem. nouns of this category often by analogy join the *-ja-* fem. nouns: *млънига* on the analogy of *змига* 'dragon', *землига* 'earth'; *Манасига* (Gr. *Μανασίης*) for *Манасини*.

(f) The OCS texts show examples of nouns of this class which differ from the original forms. So the instrumental ending *-ojr/ -ejr* appears contracted to *-r/-jr*: *силж* (Ps. Sin. 40.12) for *силоуж*; *землиж* (Zogr., Mt. v. 35), *земыж* (Supr.) for *землеуж*; *доушж* for *доушеуж*, &c. The contracted forms are more frequent in Supr., they are absent in the Kiev Miss. and they appear sporadically in.



Ass., Mar., Zogr., Savv. Кн. They may be explained by dissimilation of the ending *-ejeǝ* > *-ejǝ* (cf. N. van Wijk, *Geschichte der altkirchenslavischen Sprache*, 1931, 179): *҃҃҃҃҃҃҃҃҃* < *҃҃҃҃҃҃҃҃҃҃҃҃҃҃҃*. In later texts of the Middle Bulgarian recension the instrumental ending appears as *-оѣ*, *-ѣѣ* (*-оѣ*, *-ѣѣ*) (§ 32.5).

(g) Masc. proper names of Greek origin take the masc. ending in the instrumental: *Иѣремина*, instr. *Иѣреминѣмь*, *Исаниа*, instr. *Исанѣмь*.

(h) Masc. nouns in *-а-*: *ближика* 'fellow-creature', *владѣика* 'ruler, Lord', *прѣдѣтеча* 'forerunner', *слоуга* 'servant', *сѣтона* 'Satan', *оубиница* 'murderer', *ѣжика* 'relative', *юнота*, *юноша* 'young person', *Калифа* 'Caiaphas', *Июда* 'Judas', &c.

§ 40. II. The *-o-/-jo-* stems.

*Masc.*: *рабѣ* 'servant', *чловѣкъ* 'human being', *доухъ* 'spirit', *богъ* 'god', *конь* 'horse', *вождь* 'guide', *краи* 'limit, borderline', *мѣжъ* 'man', *отѣць* 'father', *змии* 'dragon'.

*Neut.*: *мѣсто* 'place', *вѣчко* 'eyelid', *полюе* 'field', *знамение* 'sign, mark', *срѣдѣце* 'heart', *ложе* 'bed'.

#### I. MASCULINES

##### *Singular*

##### Hard stems

N.	рабѣ-ѣ	чловѣкъ-ѣ	бог-ѣ	дохъ-ѣ
G.	рабѣ-а	чловѣкъ-а	бог-а	дохъ-а
D.	рабѣ-оу	чловѣкъ-оу	бог-оу	дохъ-оу
A.	рабѣ-ѣ, -а	чловѣкъ-ѣ	бог-ѣ, -а	дохъ-ѣ
V.	рабѣ-ѣ	чловѣчѣ-ѣ	божѣ-ѣ	дохъшѣ-ѣ
I.	рабѣ-омь	чловѣкъ-омь	бог-омь	дохъ-омь
L.	рабѣ-ѣ	чловѣцѣ-ѣ	богѣ-ѣ	дохъсѣ-ѣ

##### Soft stems

N.	мѣжѣ-ѣ	вождѣ-ѣ	зми-и
G.	мѣжѣ-а	вождѣ-а	зми-ѣа
D.	мѣжѣ-оу	вождѣ-оу	зми-ю
A.	мѣжѣ-ѣ, -а	вождѣ-ѣ	зми-и
V.	мѣжѣ-оу	вождѣ-оу	зми-ю
I.	мѣжѣ-емь	вождѣ-емь	зми-ѣемь
L.	мѣжѣ-и	вождѣ-и	зми-и

*Dual*

## Hard stems

N. A. V.	РАБ-а	ЧЛОВѢК-а	БОГ-а	ДОУХ-а
G. L.	РАБ-ОУ	ЧЛОВѢК-ОУ	БОГ-ОУ	ДОУХ-ОУ
D. I.	РАБ-ОМА	ЧЛОВѢК-ОМА	БОГ-ОМА	ДОУХ-ОМА

## Soft stems

N. A. V.	МЯЖ-а	ВОЖД-а	ЗМИ-а
G. L.	МЯЖ-ОУ	ВОЖД-ОУ	ЗМИ-Ю
D. I.	МЯЖ-ЕМА	ВОЖД-ЕМА	ЗМИ-ЮМА

*Plural*

## Hard stems

N.	РАБ-И	ЧЛОВѢЦ-И	БОС-И	ДОУС-И
G.	РАБ-Ѣ	ЧЛОВѢК-Ѣ	БОГ-Ѣ	ДОУХ-Ѣ
D.	РАБ-ОМѢ	ЧЛОВѢК-ОМѢ	БОГ-ОМѢ	ДОУХ-ОМѢ
A.	РАБ-Ы	ЧЛОВѢК-Ы	БОГ-Ы	ДОУХ-Ы
V.	РАБ-И	ЧЛОВѢЦ-И	БОС-И	ДОУС-И
I.	РАБ-Ы	ЧЛОВѢК-Ы	БОГ-Ы	ДОУХ-Ы
L.	РАБ-ѢХѢ	ЧЛОВѢЦ-ѢХѢ	БОС-ѢХѢ	ДОУС-ѢХѢ

## Soft stems

N.	МЯЖ-И	ВОЖД-И	ЗМИ-И
G.	МЯЖ-Ѣ	ВОЖД-Ѣ	ЗМИ-И
D.	МЯЖ-ЕМѢ	ВОЖД-ЕМѢ	ЗМИ-ЮМѢ
A.	МЯЖ-А	ВОЖД-А	ЗМИ-А
V.	МЯЖ-И	ВОЖД-И	ЗМИ-И
I.	МЯЖ-И	ВОЖД-И	ЗМИ-И
L.	МЯЖ-ИХѢ	ВОЖД-ИХѢ	ЗМИ-ИХѢ

(a) The velar consonant of the stem is palatalized in V. sg. according to the rule of the first palatalization (§ 30.1), in L. sg., N., V., and L. pl. according to the rule of the second palatalization (§ 30.2).

(b) The spelling of the G. and D. sg., and of A. pl. of the soft stems varies: *вожд-а* but *зми-ѣ*; *мѣж-оу* and *мѣж-ю*; *отѣц-ю*, *отѣц-оу*; *кѣнаѣс-ю*, *кѣнаѣс-оу*; *коѣ-ѣ*, *мѣж-ѣ*, *зми-ѣ*.

(c) The G. of the nouns in *-и* may also be spelt with *ѣ* instead of *-ѣ*: *зми-ѣ* (§ 10).

(d) The original palatalized velar *s* [*dz*] (affricate) becomes a spirant *z* [*z*]: N. pl. *воѣи* > *воѣи*.

(e) The Greek names in *-αῖος*, *-εὺς* which in OCS have the ending *-ѣи*, *-ѣи* have in I. sg. and in D. pl. the endings *-ѣомѣ*, *-ѣомѣ*: *φариσαῖος* > *фарисѣи*, I. sg. *фарисѣомѣ*, D. pl. *фарисѣомѣ* (*фарисѣемѣ*); *ἱερεὺς* > *иерѣи*, D. sg. *иерѣови*, D. pl. *иерѣомѣ* (§ 45) 'priest'.

(f) In the I. sg. the endings *-омѣ*, *-ѣмѣ* are replaced, in isolated cases, by *-ѣмѣ*, *-ѣмѣ*; D. pl. *-омѣ* is replaced by *-ѣмѣ*: *гласѣмѣ* (Zogr., Ms. i. 26, L. xxiii. 46); *сѣпѣрьѣмѣ* 'with the enemy' (Zogr., Mt. v. 25); *многѣмѣ* (Savn. Kn., Mt. xxvi. 60). The explanation of this replacement is either to be found in the confusion between *о* and *ѣ* in strong position which already occurs in OCS (§ 33.1) or else it is due to the influence of West Slavonic (Moravian) where the *-ѣмѣ* endings are normal. The later explanation seems to be supported by the Kiev Miss. which has only *-ѣмѣ* in I. sg.

(g) Another factor which tended to encourage the substitution of *-ѣмѣ*, *-ѣмѣ* for *-омѣ*, *-ѣмѣ* was the confusion of the *-о-* declension and *-и-* declension. The *-и-* category was eventually absorbed by the *-о-* category. As the original endings of the *-и-* declension were characterized by the *ѣ* element (I. sg. *-ѣмѣ*, D. pl. *-ѣмѣ*, L. pl. *-ѣхѣ*, I. pl. *-ѣми*) (§ 42) the interplay of analogy confused the endings of the two nominal categories.

(h) The above explanation is also supported by the fact that other case endings of the *-и-* declension appear with nouns of the *-о-* declension: D. sg. *вог-ови* (Zogr., Mar., Cloz., Ass., Ps. Sin., Euch. Sin., Supr.): *доухоѣи*: *доухоу*, *чловѣкоѣи*: *чловѣкоу*, *мѣжеѣи*: *мѣжоу*, *цѣсарѣи*: *цѣсарю*.

(i) The *-о-* stem endings are replaced by *-и-* stem endings also in I. sg. *дароу* 'in the gift', *дѣвоу* 'in the oak tree', *ледоу* 'in the ice',

РАДОУ 'in the line' (Supr.), &c., instead of ДАРЪ, ДЖЕЪ, ЛЕДЪ, РАДЪ.

(j) I. sg. СЪНЪМЪ 'with the sleep', СЛОУХЪМЪ 'with the hearing' (Zogr.), ОБРАЗЪМЪ 'with the picture' (Kiev Miss.), СЪНЪМЪ 'with sleep', ТРЕПЕТЪМЪ 'with the trembling' (Supr.), &c., instead of СЪНОМЪ, СЛОУХОМЪ, ОБРАЗОМЪ, ТРЕПЕТОМЪ. In Old Russian texts the regular ending is -ЪМЪ. The soft stems may have -ѣмѣ: ОТЬЦЪМЪ 'with the father', НОЖЪМЪ 'with the knife', СЪПЪРЪМЪ 'with the adversary', ВЪПЪЛЪМЪ 'with the call'.

(k) N. pl. ПОПОВЕ 'priests' (Euch. Sin., Supr.), ДОУХОВЕ 'spirits' (Supr.), ГРѢХОВЕ 'sins' (Supr.), ЗМИЮВЕ 'dragons' (Supr.), &c., instead of ПОПИ, ДОУСИ, ГРѢСИ, ЗМИИ, &c.

(l) G. pl. ГРѢХОВЪ, ДАРОВЪ, ЗМИЕВЪ (Supr.), &c., instead of ГРѢХЪ, ДАРЪ, ЗМИИ, &c.

(m) I. pl. ГРѢХЪМИ (Cloz.), АПОСТОЛЪМИ 'with the apostles' (Supr.), ДАРЪМИ (Euch. Sin.) instead of ГРѢХЪИ, АПОСТОЛЪИ, ДАРЪИ.

(n) L. pl. ДАРЪХЪ (Ps. Sin., Euch. Sin.) instead of ДАРЪХЪ, ДАРОХЪ (Euch. Sin.) < ДАРЪХЪ, ЖИДОХЪ (Supr.) < ЖИДЪХЪ (§ 33. 1).

The frequency of the -u- stem endings in -o- stems varies from text to text, but it is clear that later texts (Supr.) show a greater number of -u- stem endings: G. sg. ДЛЪГОУ (Supr.); the G. sg. МИРОУ, РОДОУ, РАДОУ which occur in Supr. may also represent old -u- stems.

(o) The V. sg. of the nouns in -ѣ is in -ѣ: ОТЬЦЪ, V. ОТЬЧЕ 'father', КОУПЪЦЪ, V. КОУПЪЧЕ 'merchant'. From КЪНАЗЪ 'prince' the V. is КЪНАЖЕ; Supr. has also КЪНАЗОУ. These vocatives were formed from the stems: \*otik-, \*kupik-, \*kūneg- before the working of the third palatalization (§ 30. 1), or they are analogical formations.

(p) The masc. -o- stems gen. sg. of persons functioned as accusative: ДА РАЗДРОУШИШИ ВРАГА І МЕСТЪНИКА (Ps. viii. 2) 'that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger'; ОНА ЖЕ АВНІЕ ОСТАВІША КОРАБЪ И ОТЬЦА СВОЕГО (Mt. iv. 22) 'and they (two) immediately left the ship and their father'.

## 2. NEUTERS

*Singular*

	Hard stems		Soft stems		
N.	мѣст-о	вѣк-о	знамени-ю	срѣдѣц-е	лож-е
G.	мѣст-а	вѣк-а	знамени-а	срѣдѣц-а	лож-а
D.	мѣст-оу	вѣк-оу	знамени-ю	срѣдѣц-оу	лож-оу
A.	мѣст-о	вѣк-о	знамени-ю	срѣдѣц-е	лож-е
V.	мѣст-о	вѣк-о	знамени-ю	срѣдѣц-е	лож-е
I.	мѣст-	вѣк-	знамени-	срѣдѣц-	лож-
	омь	омь	юмь	емь	емь
L.	мѣст-ѣ	вѣц-ѣ	знамени-и	срѣдѣц-и	лож-и

*Dual*

	Hard stems		Soft stems		
N. A. V.					
	мѣст-ѣ	вѣц-ѣ	знамени-и	срѣдѣц-и	лож-и
G. L.					
	мѣст-оу	вѣк-оу	знамени-ю	срѣдѣц-оу	лож-оу
D. I.					
	мѣст-ома	вѣк-ома	знамени-юма	срѣдѣц-ема	лож-ема

*Plural*

	Hard stems		Soft stems		
N.	мѣст-а	вѣк-а	знамени-а	срѣдѣц-а	лож-а
G.	мѣст-ѣ	вѣк-ѣ	знамени-и	срѣдѣц-ѣ	лож-ѣ
D.	мѣст-	вѣк-	знамени-	срѣдѣц-	лож-
	омь	омь	юмь	емь	емь
A.	мѣст-а	вѣк-а	знамени-а	срѣдѣц-а	лож-а
V.	мѣст-а	вѣк-а	знамени-а	срѣдѣц-а	лож-а
I.	мѣст-ы	вѣк-ы	знамени-и	срѣдѣц-и	лож-и
L.	мѣст-	вѣц-	знамени-	срѣдѣц-	лож-
	ѣхъ	ѣхъ	ихъ	ихъ	ихъ

(a) The neuter nouns have identical forms for N. A. V. in each of the three numbers.

(b) Stems ending in a velar are very rare in the neuter category, and the changes of the velars conform to the second palatalization.

The more frequent suffixes of the neuter *-o-* stems are: *-ло* (expressing the idea of the instrument for the accomplishment of the action denoted by the verbal stem): дѣло 'work', масло 'oil', село 'village, settlement', грѣбло 'oar' (§ 48.4.5); *-ство* (forming abstract nouns): божество 'divinity', чловѣчество 'humanity', рождѣство 'birth', оубиство 'murder'; *-ствие, -иѣ* (forming abstract nouns): пришѣствие 'arrival', цѣсарѣствие 'kingdom', питиѣ 'drinking', обѣштнѣ community', начатнѣ 'beginning' (§ 48.3); *-иште* (denoting places or instruments associated with the meaning of the stem): събориште 'assembly place, synagogue', сѣньмиште 'id.', сѣкровиште 'chamber, room, treasure', пристаниште 'harbour, refuge', топориште 'axe-handle'; *-ыце* (forming diminutives): сръдыце 'heart', слѣньыце 'sun', члдыце 'child' (§ 48.2).

(c) The ending *-иѣ* is a development of an older *-ыѣ* (§ 33.3), and it is often spelt *-ыѣ* or *-иѣ, -ю, -ѣ* in the nom. and in other cases: N. пѣниѣ 'singing', моленѣ, моленѣ 'prayer' (§ 48.1); I. sg. *-ыѣмь, -иѣмь, -иѣмь, -ыѣмь*: дѣланьыѣмь, блисцаниѣмь (Cloz.) 'by glittering', хотѣньыѣмь (Cloz.) 'by the will', обѣданиѣмь (Supr.) 'by overeating'; I. pl. цѣсарѣствиѣми (Supr.) 'with the kingdoms', знамениѣми (Zogr.) 'with the signs' are analogous to the adjectival declension (§ 56); L. pl. *-иѣхъ* may be contracted to *-иѣхъ*: моленѣхъ; D. pl. *-иѣмъ* is replaced in isolated cases by *-иѣмъ*: начатниѣмъ 'to the beginnings'.

(d) The neuter *-o-/-jo-* category adopts, in a very few cases, the endings of the neuter *-s-* stems of the type слово, G. словесе (§ 38. v. 3; § 44.3): лице, G. личесе instead of лица which prevails in the texts. However, the trend of development is in the other direction, the *-s-* stems often take the endings of the *-o-/-jo-* stems (§ 44.3f.).

(e) The endings of the *-и-* declension penetrated into isolated cases: D. sg. моревѣ for морю 'sea', D. зѣданѣвѣ for зѣданю 'building'; I. sg. господѣствѣмь for господѣствомъ 'rule, lordship'.

(f) In G. pl. an isolated case shows the ending *-иѣ*: врачѣ (Ass.) from врачъ 'healer' developed from врачѣи [vracŕi] (§ 33.1).

(g) In D. pl. словѣмъ occurs once for словомъ (§ 33.1).

(h) In I. pl. the ending *-иѣми* appears in: оучениѣми

'with learning', оръжьиими 'with weapons', цѣсарьствениими 'with kingdoms'.

§ 41. The masculine *-o-/-jo-* stems include a group of nouns with a mixed declension. These nouns are formed by means of the suffixes: (1) [-*ĕninŭ*] -анинъ, -ѣнинъ, -анинъ, -инъ denoting association with a locality or membership of a class of people; (2) [-*telŭ, -arŭ*] -телъ, -аръ denoting the agent. They decline in the singular according to the *-o-/-jo-* stems, but have the N. pl. in *-e* according to the consonantal stems (§ 44.2.5). The ending [-*ĕninŭ, -aninŭ*] is reduced in the plural to [-*jane, -ane*]. Nouns of these categories are numerous in OCS texts:

гражданинъ 'citizen'	оучитель 'teacher'
израилитѣнинъ 'Israelite'	дѣлатель 'labourer'
болгаринъ 'nobleman'	благодѣтель 'benefactor'
поганинъ 'pagan'	жателъ 'reaper'
роуминъ 'Roman'	хранитель 'guardian'
исполинъ 'giant'	родитель 'parent'

мытаръ 'publican'  
 цѣсаръ 'king'  
 винарь 'vine-labourer'  
 рыбаръ 'fisher'  
 грънчаръ 'potter'  
 братаръ 'janitor'

#### Plural

N. граждане	оучителе	мытарѣ, мытарѣи
G. гражданъ	оучитель, -телъ	мытарѣ, цѣсарѣ
D. гражданамѣ	оучителемъ, -льмъ	мытарѣемъ, -ръмъ
A. граждане	оучителѣ	мытарѣ
V. граждане	оучителе	мытарѣ
I. граждане	оучителы	мытары, мытарѣи
L. гражданехъ	оучителехъ, -ихъ	мытарѣихъ

(a) The A. and I. pl. of the nouns in *-ĕninŭ, -aninŭ, -telŭ, -arŭ* have the endings of the *-o-* stems; the *-emŭ* in D. pl. and *-exŭ* in L. pl. are probably on the analogy of the N. The nouns in *-inŭ*

vary in the plural forms: *вогаринъ*, N. pl. *вогаре*, G. pl. *вогаръ*, D. pl. *вогаромъ*; *воинъ*, *оиминъ* 'warrior', N. pl. *вои* (Euch. Sin.), *воини*, *оими* (Supr. 90.30), G. pl. *воинъ*, *вои*, A. pl. *воины*, *воѣ*, I. pl. *вои*.

(b) The singular *людинъ* (Euch. Sin. 103a, 24) has a pl. *людие* 'people, folk' (§ 43.a). The nouns *кръстиганинъ* and *поганинъ* have alternative adjectival forms *кръстиганъ* and *поганъ* used as nouns, and form the plural *кръстигани*, *погани*. The plural from *господинъ* 'master' is *господыѣ* (-*днѣ*), from *жидовинъ* 'Jew', pl. *жидове*, *жидови*; *чловѣчинъ* appears for *чловѣкъ* (Supr. 358. 25, 365. 13).

### § 42. III. The *-и-* stems.

This class consists only of a few masculines whose case-endings show considerable confusion with those of the *-о-* stems. In the course of the later development of the language the *-и-* stem class was completely absorbed by the *-о-* stems: *сынъ* 'son', *волъ* 'ox', *врѣхъ* (*врѣхъ*) 'top, upper end', *домъ* 'house', *медъ* 'honey', *полъ* 'half', *станъ* 'camp', *чинъ* 'order', *гядъ* 'poison', *ледъ* 'ice', *санъ* 'office, rank'.

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
N.	<i>сынъ</i>	<i>сын-ове</i>
G.	<i>сын-оу</i>	<i>сын-овѣ</i>
D.	<i>сын-ови</i>	* <i>сын-ѣмъ</i> , <i>сын-омъ</i>
A.	<i>сынъ</i>	<i>сын-ы</i>
V.	<i>сын-оу</i>	<i>сын-ове</i>
I.	* <i>сын-ѣмь</i> , <i>сын-омь</i>	<i>сын-ѣми</i>
L.	<i>сын-оу</i>	* <i>сын-ѣхъ</i> , <i>сын-охъ</i>

#### *Dual*

N. A. V.	<i>сын-ы</i>
G. L.	<i>сын-овоу</i>
D. I.	<i>сын-ѣма</i>

(a) In the texts many nouns of this category show the endings of the *-о-* stems: V. sg. *сыне*, G. sg. *сына*, D. sg. *сыноу*,



L. sg. **сѣинѣ**, N. pl. **сѣини**, G. pl. **сѣинъ**, I. pl. **сѣингы**, N. A. V. du. **сѣина**, G. L. du. **сѣиноу**. In I. sg. and D. pl. **-омѣ**, **-омѣ** have superseded **-ѣмѣ**, **-ѣмѣ**. Of some old **-u-** stems the texts record only isolated cases; in only a few instances has the full paradigm been preserved.

(b) **-o-** stem nouns sometimes show endings from the **-u-** stem category: G. sg. **родоу**, G. pl. **родовъ** (Ass., Supr.) from **родъ** 'birth'; G. sg. **гласоу** (Ps. Sin.), I. sg. **гласъмѣ** (Zogr., Ps. Sin., Euch. Sin.) from **гласъ** 'voice'; N. pl. **доухове** (Supr.) from **доухъ** 'spirit'; G. pl. **врачевъ** (Zogr., Savv. Kn., Supr.) from **врачь** 'healer, magician', &c. Such examples are numerous and it is sometimes difficult to tell whether a particular noun is an original **-u-** or **-o-** stem. Probable old **-u-** stems are: **чинъ** 'order, rank', **станъ** 'camping place', **санъ** 'rank, dignity', **гроздъ**, **грознъ** 'grapes', **оудъ** 'limb, member', **садъ** 'garden, plantation', **даръ** 'gift', **грѣхъ** 'sin', **врачь** 'healer', **гнию** 'dung', **змию** 'dragon'.

(c) The **-u-** stem endings, being more distinctive, have, in some Slavonic languages, replaced the endings of the other groups. This tendency is already apparent in OCS. In Ps. Sin. the N. pl. **-ове** appears as **-ови**, by contamination with the **-и** of the **-o-** declension: N. pl. **сѣиови**, **волови**.

#### § 43. IV. The **-i-** stems.

This group contains a small number of masc. nouns of the type: **боль** 'sick man', **гвоздь** 'nail', **голубь** 'pigeon', **господь** 'master, Lord', **гость** 'guest', **гортань** 'throat', **дръколь** 'stick', **звѣрь** 'animal', **зять** 'son-in-law', **локоть** 'elbow', **медвѣдь** 'bear', **ногть** 'nail', **огнь** 'fire', **печатъ** 'seal', **путь** 'way, journey', **тать** 'thief', **тъсть** 'father-in-law', **чръвь** 'worm', **жгль** 'coal'. The fem. nouns are very numerous: **блѣдь** 'error', **всь** 'village', **вѣдь** 'science', **дверь** 'door', **мышь** 'mouse', **рѣчь** 'speech', **соль** 'salt', **творь** 'creation', **мысль** 'thought', **дѣтѣль** 'action, deed', **кжпѣль** 'bath', **брань** 'fight', **волѣзнь** 'disease', **пѣснь** 'song', **зависть** 'envy, hatred', **кость** 'bone', **масть** 'ointment', **сѣмрътъ** 'death', **страсть** 'suffering', **чьсть** 'honour', **часть** 'part', **юность** 'youth', &c.

*Singular*

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
N.	ГОСТ-Ъ	КОСТ-Ь
G.	ГОСТ-И	КОСТ-И
D.	ГОСТ-И	КОСТ-И
A.	ГОСТ-Ъ	КОСТ-Ь
V.	ГОСТ-И	КОСТ-И
I.	ГОСТ-ЬМЬ, -ЕМЬ	КОСТ-ЫЖ, -ИЖ
L.	ГОСТ-И	КОСТ-И

*Dual*

N. A. V.	ГОСТ-И	КОСТ-И
G. L.	ГОСТ-ЬЮ, -ИЮ	КОСТ-ЬЮ, -ИЮ
D. I.	ГОСТ-ЬМА	КОСТ-ЬМА

*Plural*

N.	ГОСТ-ЬЮ, -ИЮ	КОСТ-И
G.	ГОСТ-ЬИ, -НИ, -ВИ	КОСТ-ЬИ, -НИ
D.	ГОСТ-ЬМЬ, -ЕМЬ	КОСТ-ЬМЬ, -ЕМЬ
A.	ГОСТ-И	КОСТ-И
V.	ГОСТ-ЬЮ, -ИЮ	КОСТ-И
I.	ГОСТ-ЬМИ	КОСТ-ЬМИ
L.	ГОСТ-ЬХЪ, -ЕХЪ	КОСТ-ЬХЪ, -ЕХЪ

(a) The plural form люд-ию, -ю 'people' belongs to this declension. The endings of the *-i-* stem nouns tend to fuse with those of the *-jo-* stem declension (§ 40). Thus огнь has a G. sg. огнѣ, огня alongside огни; господь has a G. sg. господѣ, господа, D. sg. господю, господоу alongside D. sg. господи, V. господи; the forms господа, господоу are from an *-o-* stem господъ. Радость 'gladness' has I. pl. радостями, but also an adverbial form радостями 'in gladness'.

(b) The endings G. L. du. -ию, I. sg. -иж, N. masc. pl. -ию, G. pl. -ни have alternative forms: -ью, -ыж, -юе, -ьи. The last appears also as -ви, or contracted to -и. For the explanation of и:ъ see § 12.3.

(c) In I. masc. sg., D. and L. pl. the reduced vowel *ĭ*, in strong position, is vocalized to *e* (§ 33.1).

(d) One single word of this declension has three genders: masc. ТРИЕ (ТРЪЕ) 'three', fem. ТРИ (ТРИИ), neut. ТРИ, which decline like *-i-* stems (§ 59).

(e) The *-i-* stem declension was absorbed in the later development of the language by the *-jo-* stems, but some of its endings survived, and so in late OCS texts we already find N. pl. МЪЖИИЕ, G. pl. МЪЖИИ, I. pl. МЪЖЪМИ for МЪЖИ, МЪЖЪ, МЪЖИ.

(f) A few masc. nouns of this declension form some of their cases according to the consonant stems: ЛАКЪТЪ 'elbow', G. pl. ЛАКЪТЪ (Zogr., Mar., Ass., Supr., Savv. Kn.), I. pl. ЛАКЪТЪ (Supr.); ПЕЧАТЬ 'seal', N. pl. ПЕЧАТЕ (Supr.); D. pl. ПЕЧАТОМЪ (Cloz.) follows the *-o-* stems (§ 44.4.c).

#### § 44. V. The consonant stems.

1. *-v-* stems. This declension is divided into several groups according to the final consonant of the stem. The *-v-* or *-йv-* stems are from the historical point of view long *-ū-* stems, because their nominative ending goes back to an IE *-ūs*. From the Slavonic point of view this group has a consonant stem in *-v-*, and declines like the other consonant stems. It contains only fem. nouns: СВЕКРЫ 'mother-in-law', НЕПЛОДЪ 'sterile', БРАДЪ 'axe', БОУКЪ 'letter', ЖРЪНЫ, ЖРЪНЫ 'millstone', ЛОКЪ 'pool, marshland', ЛЮБЪ 'love', СМОКЪ 'fig', ХОРЖЪ 'flag', ЦРЪКЪ 'church', ЦЪЛЪ 'healing, cure'. In CS *\*kry* 'blood' belonged to this class. In OCS the N. sg. is КРЪВЬ or КРОВЬ, with vocalized reduced vowel in strong position; the G. sg. КРЪВЕ shows the ending of the consonant stems, all other cases are those of the fem. *-i-* stems (§ 43):

<i>Singular</i>		<i>Dual</i>	
N.	ЦРЪКЪ-Ъ, ЦРЪКЪ-Ъ	КРЪВЬ	N. A. V. ЦРЪКЪЕ-И
G.	ЦРЪКЪЕ-Е, -И	КРЪВЕ-Е, -И	G. L. ЦРЪКЪЕ-ОУ
D.	ЦРЪКЪЕ-И	КРЪЕ-И	D. I. ЦРЪКЪЕ-АМА
A.	ЦРЪКЪЕ-Ь	КРЪЕ-Ь	
V.	*ЦРЪКЪ-Ъ	*КРЪВЬ	
I.	ЦРЪКЪЕ-ЫЖ, -ИЖ	КРЪЕ-ЫЖ	
L.	ЦРЪКЪЕ-Е	КРЪЕ-И	

*Plural*

N.	црѣкѣв-и	крѣв-и
G.	црѣкѣв-ѣ	крѣв-ѣи, -ни, -ѣ, -ѣи
D.	црѣкѣв-амѣ	крѣв-ѣмѣ, -ѣмѣ
A.	црѣкѣв-и	крѣв-и
V.	*црѣкѣв-и	*крѣв-и
I.	*црѣкѣв-амни	крѣв-ѣми
L.	црѣкѣв-ахѣ	крѣв-ѣхѣ

(a) The following alternative endings are found in cases where there is a reduced vowel in strong position: A. црѣковѣ, L. pl. крѣвехѣ.

(b) In the later development of the language the A. црѣковѣ, црѣкѣвѣ replaced the N. црѣкы, on the analogy of the *-i-* stems.

(c) In the G. sg. the ending *-ѣ* is replaced, in isolated cases, by *-ѣи*: црѣкѣѣи; the same replacement takes place in L. sg. црѣкѣѣи.

(d) The G. sg. in *-ѣ* is used in some texts as A. (Supr.); this function was acquired probably on the analogy of the *-o-* stems, which use the G. of personal nouns as A., and was influenced also by the *-r-* stems, in which group матере and дѣштере are used as A. (Ps. Sin., Savv. Kn., Supr.). So, on the pattern of богѣ любитѣ отѣца и матере, сына и дѣштере, the *-v-* stem G. свекрѣѣ also acquired an A. function (§ 38.4).

(e) The plural had been remodelled on the fem. *-i-* stem pattern in the N., and on the fem. *-a-* stems in the D., I., and L. taking the endings *-и*, *-амѣ*, *-амни*, *-ахѣ*.

(f) In the G. pl. appear the forms любѣ, прѣлюбѣ (for любѣѣѣ, прѣлюбѣѣѣ) isolated in the expression не прѣлюбѣ дѣи 'thou shalt not commit adultery'.

2. *-n-* stems. The *-n-* stems have the nominative endings *-ы*, *-ѣнѣ* for the masc., and *-ѣ* for the neut. nouns. The ending of the G. is *-ѣи-ѣ*. The *-o-* stems in *-ѣнинѣ*, *-ѣнинѣ* also decline in the plural according to this pattern (§ 41) as well as дѣнѣ 'day' in most of its cases. Masc. nouns in *-n-* are камѣ 'stone', пламѣ 'flame'; all other *-n-* stems have replaced the N. by the A.: ремѣнѣ 'strap',

СТЕПЕНЬ 'degree', ЮЛЕНЬ 'stag', САЗЖЕНЬ 'fathom', КОРЕНЬ 'root', ПРЪСТЕНЬ 'finger-ring', ЯЧЬМЕНЬ 'barley', also N. КАМЕНЬ, ПЛАМЕНЬ. Neut. nouns in *-men-* > *-ma*: ИМА 'name', БРЪМА 'burden', ВРЪМА 'time', ПИСМА 'letter', ПЛЕМА 'tribe', СЪМА 'seed', ЧИСМА 'number', СЛЪМА 'wooden beam', ТЪМА 'skull, top of the skull'.

*Singular*

	<i>Masculine</i>		<i>Neuter</i>
N. КАМЪ, -ВНЬ	КОРЕНЪ *КОР-А	ДЪНЪ	ИМ-А
G. КАМЕН-Е, -И	КОРЕН-Е	ДЪН-Е, -И	ИМЕН-Е
D. КАМЕН-И	КОРЕН-И	ДЪН-И	ИМЕН-И
A. КАМЕНЪ	КОРЕНЪ	ДЪНЪ	ИМ-А
I. КАМЕНЪМЪ, -ЕМЪ	КОРЕНЪМЪ, -ЕМЪ	ДЪНЪМЪ, -ЕМЪ	ИМЕНЪМЪ, -ЕМЪ
L. КАМЕН-Е	КОРЕН-Е	ДЪН-Е, -И	ИМЕН-Е

*Dual*

N. A. V. КАМЕН-И	*КОРЕН-И	ДЪН-И	ИМЕН-Ъ, -И
G. L. *КАМЕН-ОУ	*КОРЕН-ОУ	ДЪН-ОУ ДЪНЪ-Ю	*ИМЕН-ОУ
D. I. КАМЕНЪМА	*КОРЕНЪМА	ДЪНЪМА	ИМЕНЪМА

*Plural*

N. *КАМЕН-Е	*КОРЕН-Е	ДЪН-Е, -ИЕ	ИМЕН-А
G. КАМЕНЪ	*КОРЕНЪ	ДЪНЪ	ИМЕНЪ
D. КАМЕНЪМЪ, -ЕМЪ	*КОРЕНЪМЪ, -ЕМЪ	ДЪНЪМЪ, -ЕМЪ	ИМЕНЪМЪ, -ЕМЪ
A. КАМЕН-И	*КОРЕН-И	ДЪН-И	ИМЕН-А
I. КАМЕНЪМИ	*КОРЕНЪМЪ	ДЪНЪМИ, -Ъ	ИМЕНЪМЪ
L. КАМЕНЪХЪ, -ЕХЪ	*КОРЕНЪХЪ, -ЕХЪ	ДЪНЪХЪ, -ЕХЪ	ИМЕНЪХЪ, -ЕХЪ

(a) The N. A. *-ъ* appears only in *камъ* and *пламъ* (in Supr.).

(b) The N. \**кор-а*, though non-existent in OCS, may be reconstructed on the basis of corresponding OR forms.

(c) In G. sg. -ѣ is replaced, in isolated cases, by -и: **врѣмени** (Mar., Mat. xxvi. 16). Also L. sg. in -и instead of -ѣ appears in many texts: **имени** (Zogr., Mar., Ass., Savv. Кн., Supr.).

(d) The N. pl. masc. in -ѣ is preserved only in **дѣне** and in the type **граждане, оучители** (§ 41). From **дѣнь** there is a pl. form **дѣньѣ, дѣниѣ**; also **камѣ** and **корень** have a collective form for pl.: **камен-иѣ (-ѣѣ), корен-иѣ (-ѣѣ)** (§ 48.1).

(e) In G. pl. **дѣнь** has alternative forms: **дѣнѣ, дѣни, дѣни, дѣни**. For the explanation of these forms, as well as for the forms of the I. sg., D., L. pl. see § 12.3, § 33.1; in I. sg. there appears once (Supr.) **дѣниж** 'by day' alongside **ноштѣж** 'by night'.

(f) In G., L. du. appear also **дѣньѣ, дѣниѣ, ѡлениѣ**.

(g) In the Ps. Sin. there occur a few forms without the vowel *e* in the stem or with *ь* for *e*: L. sg. **камни** (Ps. xxxix. 3), N. pl. **врѣмна** (Ps. ciii. 19), G. sg. **каменьѣ** (Ps. ciii. 12) from **камениѣ**.

3. *-s- stems.* All nouns of this group are neuter and have in the N. sg. the ending *-o*. The other cases add to the stem the derivative element *-es-*: **слов-о** 'word', G. **слов-ес-ѣ**. Because of the identity of the N. ending with the neuter *-o-* stems, these *-s-* stems were absorbed by the *-o-* stem type. The OCS texts still distinguish clearly between the two types: **днво** 'miracle', **дѣло** 'work', **дрѣво** 'tree', **коло** 'wheel', **люто** 'misdeed, vehemence', **нево** 'sky, heaven', **тѣло** 'body', **чюдо** 'miracle', **око** 'eye', **оухо** 'ear', **истѣса** N. pl. 'kidneys' has no sing. \***истѣ**, but appears in du. N. **истѣсѣ** (Ps. Sin. 15. 3-7 in a marginal gloss); from a vanished \***liko**, replaced by the *-jo-* stem **лицѣ**, there exist *-s-* forms: G. **личѣсѣ**, &c. Each of these nouns also appears in the texts with endings from the *-o-* declension.

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
N.	слов-о	словес-а
G.	словес-ѣ, -и	словес-ѣ
D.	словес-и	словес-ѣмѣ, -ѣмѣ
A.	слов-о	словес-а
V.	слов-о	словес-а
I.	словес-ѣмѣ, -ѣмѣ	словес-ѣ
L.	словес-ѣ, -и	словес-ѣхѣ, -ѣхѣ

*Dual*

N. A. V.	словес-ѣ, -и
G. L.	словес-оу
D. I.	*словес-ьма

(a) The nouns око and оухо seldom form a plural, they occur more frequently in a *-i-* stem dual form:

N. A. V.	очи	оуши
G. L.	очию, очью	оушию, оушью
D. I.	очима	оушима

(b) In the G. sg. the ending *-и* appears in Ass., Ps. Sin., Euch. Sin., and in later texts.

(c) In the L. sg. the ending *-и* appears alongside the ending *-о* in the older texts; *-и* predominates in Euch. Sin. and in Ps. Sin.; Ass., Supr. have only *-и* forms.

(d) For the explanation of the alternative forms in I. sg., D. pl., L. pl. see § 33.1.

(e) The N. A. du. in *-и* appears in Supr.

(f) As a result of the mixing of the *-s-* and *-o-* neuters we find in the texts hybrid forms: N. pl. слова (Zogr., Supr.), D. pl. тѣломъ, instead of тѣлесемъ, are found in Euch. Sin. and in Supr., D. sg. нѣвоу (Zogr., Mar., Supr., Savv. Kn.), I. sg. нѣвомъ (Mar., Zogr.), D. sg. словоу (Ass., Supr.), D. sg. оухоу (Zogr., Mar., Ps. Sin.), G. sg. ока (Ass., Ps. Sin.), I. sg. окомъ (Mar., Zogr., Ps. Sin., Euch. Sin.), L. sg. оцѣ (Mar. Zogr.), &c.

(g) Because of this interpenetration of the two declensions it is sometimes difficult to establish the original class of a noun, e.g. дѣло, which appears in G. дѣлесе and дѣла, I. дѣлесемъ and дѣломъ, D. pl. дѣлесемъ and дѣломъ, &c., could be an original *-o-* stem which entered the *-s-* declension.

(h) Other *-o-* nouns which appear in texts with endings of the *-s-* type declension are: иго 'yoke', N. pl. ижеса, чрѣво 'stomach', N. pl. чрѣвеса, &c.

4. *-nt-* stems. The neut. *-nt-* stems have in the N. the ending *-а*, in the other cases the stem ends in *-ѣт-* < *-ент-*. The nouns of this group designate young living creatures and are diminutives. Recorded in the texts are: отроча 'child', агна 'lamb',

ЖРѢВА 'foal', КЛЮСА 'transport animal', КОЗЬЛА 'kid', ОВЬЧА 'lamb', ОСЬЛА 'donkey'.

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
N.	отроч-а	*отрочАТ-а
G.	отрочАТ-е	отрочАТ-ѣ
D.	*отрочАТ-и	*отрочАТ-ѣмъ, -емъ
A.	отроч-а	*отрочАТ-а
V.	отроч-а	*отрочАТ-а
I.	*отрочАТ-ѣмь, -емь	*отрочАТ-ы
L.	отрочАТ-е, -и	*отрочАТ-ѣхъ, -ехъ

	<i>Dual</i>
N. A. V.	*отрочАТ-ѣ
G. L.	*отрочАТ-оу
D. I.	*отрочАТ-ѣма

(a) Most of the cases (I. sg., the du., the pl.) are reconstructed on the analogy of the other consonant stems; they do not occur in the texts.

(b) In later Slavonic texts the G. sg. in -и appears instead of the OCS -е. Also a L. sg. in -и appears in later OCS texts.

(c) Some nouns in -тъ belonging to the -i- stem declension show cases of the -ѣт- stems: G. pl. лакѣтъ from лакѣтъ 'elbow', N. pl. печатѣ from печать 'seal', L. sg. десатѣ, N. pl. десатѣ, G. pl. десатѣ, I. pl. десатѣ from десатѣ 'ten' (§ 43.f).

5. -r- stems. This declension comprises two fem. nouns: мати 'mother' and дѣшти 'daughter'.

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
N.	мат-и	матер-и
G.	матер-е, -и	матер-ѣ
D.	матер-и	матер-ѣмъ, -емъ
A.	матер-ѣ, -е	матер-и
V.	мати	матер-и
I.	матер-ѣж, -иж	матер-ѣни
L.	*матер-и	*матер-ѣхъ, матер-ехъ



*Dual*

N. A. V.	*матер-и	*дъщер-и
G. L.	*матер-оу	дъщер-ью (late form)
D. I.	*матер-ьма	дъщер-ьма

(a) The declension of these fem. nouns became intermingled with the fem. declension of the *-i-* stems: e.g. in I. and L. sg.

(b) The G. sg. in *-и* appears in Supr., Ps. Sin., Euch. Sin. Some texts (Ps. Sin., Savv. Kn., Supr.) use the G. in the function of the A. sg.: *чьти отца и матере* (Savv. Kn., Mt. xix. 19).

(c) In the G. pl. there appears a form *дъштерѣи*, i.e. *дъштерѣи* (Ps. Sin. cv. 38) on the analogy of the *-i-* stems.

(d) The numeral *четыре* follows this declension: N. masc. *четыре*, fem., neut. *четыри*, G. *четырьъ*, *четырь* (Supr., Zogr., Ass., Savv. Kn.), D. *четыремъ*, A. *четыри*, I. *четырьма*, L. *четырехъ* (§ 59.1).

(e) The declension of *дъшти*, G. *дъштере* follows the paradigm of *мати*.

## DECLENSION OF NAMES OF GREEK ORIGIN

§ 45. The Greek text of the Bible presented the translator with numerous proper names, many of them indeclinable. As a rule these Greek names entered a Slavonic declension: those ending in *-os* were declined as *-o-* stems, e.g. *Πέτρος* > *Петръ*, G. *Петра*; *Ἀβραάμ* > *Авраамъ*, G. *Авраама*; the ending *-ios* was assimilated by the *-jo-* stems, e.g. *Γρηγόριος* > *Григории*, G. *Григориа*; The original gender was usually preserved, as shown by the preceding example, and by the following: *Ἑλισάβετ* > *Елисаветъ* according to the fem. *-i-* stems; *Εὐδοκία* > *Евдокиа*.

The Greek names in *-εύς* and *-αῖος* are generally rendered as *-jo-* stems which, however, also present some forms of the hard category: *ἱερεύς* > *иереи*, *иери*, G. sg. *иереа*, D. sg. *иереови*, D. pl. *иереомъ*; *ἀρχιερεύς* < *ἀρχιερεύς*, G. sg. *архиереа*, (*-ѣа*); *Ἰουδαῖος* > *иудѣи*, *иудеи*; *φариσαῖος* > *фарисѣи*, *фарисеи*. The V. is either in *-е* or in *-ю*: *φαρισαῖος* > *Закъхѣи*, V. *Закъхѣе* = *Закхаѣ*.

The names in *-as* enter the *-a-* declension while preserving the original masc. gender: *Ιούδας* > **Июда**, *Καϊάφας* > **Кайафа**, *Σατανάς* > **Сотона**. In later texts we sometimes find these nouns as *-o-* stems: *Ἀνάνας* > **Анина**, **Анинъ** (Ps. Sin.), *Ἀγρίππας* > **Агрипа**, **Агрипъ** (Supr.). The names in *-ias* take the ending *-ja*: *Ζαχαρίας* > **Захарита**, *Μεσσίας* > **Месита**; *Ἡσαΐας* > **Исанта**. The declension, however, is not consistent with the paradigm. Endings of the *-o-/jo-* or *-i-* stems appear in many cases: I. **Исаньель**; *Ἱερεμίας* > **Иеремита**, I. **Иеремиеель**; D. **Андрѣкови**: **Андрѣка** < *Ἀνδρέας*.

The names in *-ης* take the ending **-и** and have a mixed declension: *Μωυσῆς* > **Моси** (**Моисии**), G. **Мосѣка**, **Мосеа**, D. **Мосѣкови**, **Мосѣкви**, **Мосѣю**, **Мосею**, A. **Моси**, **Моисийж**, I. **Мосѣель**, **Мосееель**, **Мосѣель**, L. **Мосѣи**, **Моисии**.

The names in *-ις* are treated as masc. *-ija-* stems (§ 39) of the type **сждьи**, **сждии**: *Λευεῖς*, *λευί* 'Levi' > **леуѣни** (= **левѣни**), A. **леуѣниж**; the **h** = *g'* represents the soft velar of the Greek form *λευγίς*; *Δεκάπολις* is attested in G. **Декаполѣка** (Zogr.), **Декаполѣ** (Zogr., Ass.), **Декаполита** (Savv. Kn.), L. **Декаполи** (Zogr.).

Fem. nouns in *-a*, *-ία*, *-αία*, which are indeclinable in Greek, enter the *-a-/ja-* declension and take the endings of this declension: *γέενα* > **гѣона** (= **гѣона**), A. sg. **гѣонж**, &c.; *Ἄννα* > **Анна**, G. **Аннѣи**; *ἐν Σινά* > **вѣ Синѣ**. Examples which show endings of the *-ja-* stems are explained by the Greek oblique cases in which *-a* is replaced by *-η*: *Σμύρνα*, G. *Σμύρνης*: L. sg. **вѣ Змѣрнии**. The word **Кана** < *Κανᾶ* is not declined in OCS because it was considered as the first part of a compound name: *Κανᾶ Γαλιλαίας*.

Greek names, containing **-λ** in the ending, have a soft *l'* or a hard *l*, and are accordingly declined as *-jo-* or *-o-* stems: *Ἄβελ* > **Авелъ**, **Авелъ**; *Ἰσραήλ* > **Израилъ**, **Израилъ**; **Даниилъ**, **Гавриилъ**, **Михаилъ** (§ 40.1).

The feminine nouns in *-η*, *-ή* take the ending **-ии** (§ 39.b): *παρασκευή* > **параскѣвьѣнии** 'the day before the Sabbath', *Μαγδαληνή* > **Магдалъѣнии**, **Магдалинии**.

Greek common nouns follow the same general rule by fitting into one of the OCS paradigms: *σκάνδαλον* > **сканѣдаль** 'offence,

temptation'; *πραιτώριον* > *πρετοръ* 'palace'; *χρῖσμα* > *хризма* 'oil, ointment'; *θυμίαμα* > *тъмниданъ* 'incense'; *εὐαγγέλιον* > *евангѣлиѣ* 'Gospel'.

### NOMINAL ENDINGS

§ 46. The following equations of the case-endings are to be regarded as a hypothetical attempt at explaining the Slavonic flexional system in relation to the IE prototype (cf. O. Hujer, *Slovanská deklinace jmenná*, 1891).

#### 1. Nominative singular.

- а, -та < -ā, -īā (жен-а, доуш-а, зема-та) correspond to an original -ā which appears also in other IE languages: Gr. θεά 'goddess', Lat. *equa* 'mare', Lith. *rankà* 'hand, arm', Gr. μυῖα 'fly', χώρα 'country'.
- к < -i (кост-ъ, пѣт-ъ) corresponds to an original -is: Gr. πόλις 'city', Lat. *ovis*, Skt *ávih* 'sheep'.
- ъ < -u (сѣи-ъ, вол-ъ) corresponds to an original -us: Lat. *manus* 'hand', Lith. *sūnūs* 'son', Goth. *sunus* id., Skt *sūnūh* id., Gr. πῆχυς 'the fore-arm'.
- и, -ни < -i/-īā (вогъи-и fem., лад-ни fem., сжд-ни masc., несѣшт-и fem. pr. part., несѣш-и fem. p. part., мнѣиш-и fem. comp.) corresponds to an original -i: Goth. *frijōndi* fem. 'friend', Lith. *patì* 'wife, mistress, woman', Skt *bhārantī*: OCS *верѣшти*, Skt *vidúṣī*: OCS *ведѣши*.
- ы < -ū (свекр-ы, \*kry) corresponds to an original -ūs: Skt *śvaśrūh* 'husband's mother', Lat. *socrūs* 'mother-in-law', Skt *krū-rāh* 'bloody', Gr. ὕς 'swine, wild boar'.
- ы (кам-ы, плам-ы). The origin of this ending is not clear. It may go back to a IE -ons (< \*kamōns) (cf. acc. pl. of the -o- stems), or to an IE -ōn (cf. Gr. ἀηδών, -ονος 'the nightingale', Lat. *homo, hominis*), or to an IE -ēn (cf. Gr. ποιμήν, ποιμένος 'shepherd'). The difficulty inherent in this explanation lies in the unusual equation *ōn*:*y*. This also appears, however, in the case of the pr. part. act. *вер-ы*: Gr. φέρων, but here we may postulate a base \**bherōnt-*: Gr. φέροντ-, in which case the ending is -ōnts (cf. Goth. *frijōnds* friend').

-ъ, -ь (-и) < -us < -os, -ios; -o, -io < -os, -on, -ion (рѡв-ъ, мѡж-ь, крѡ-и; дѣл-о, мѡрѣ, слов-о). These endings should be explained together because they form one morphological category. Their origin is complicated and not entirely clear. The corresponding IE forms are: OLat. *serv-os* 'slave' (Classical Lat. *servus*), Gr. *λύκ-ος* 'wolf', Lith. *vilkas* 'wolf', Skt *vṛ'kaḥ* 'wolf', Lat. *al-ius* 'other'; Lat. *verb-um* 'word', Gr. *ἔργον* 'work', Lat. *init-ium* 'beginning', Lat. *gen-us*, Gr. *γένος* 'race, stock'. The difficulty of explaining these endings consists in the fact that in the masculine -ŭ and in the neuter -o correspond to an original -os (cf. Gr. *κλέφος* 'rumour': CS *slovo*). The other neuter type in -on (cf. Gr. *ἔργον* 'work', Lat. *verbum*) should result in Slavonic -ŭ (cf. aor. *ἐλαβον*: OCS *вѣдѣ*). In order to explain these difficulties it has been assumed that the neuter cases in Slavonic were formed by analogy with the pronoun *to, ta* and that the masculine endings represent the regular development. The explanation by analogy with the pronoun, however, is not entirely satisfactory, and the regularity of the masculine ending is obscured by the fact that -os in nom. and -om in acc. underwent the same treatment: -ŭ (cf. S. Agrell, *Zur Geschichte des idg. Neutrums*, 1926).

-ъ < -us, -ѣ < -ius (нѣс-ъ, дѣлѡ-ѣ): Skt *vidiús*: Sl. *вѣдѣ-ъ* (p. part. act.); Skt *babhūviś* (part. pf.): OCS *вѣмѣ* (p. part. act.).

-ѡ < -en (сѣм-ѡ), -ѡ < -ent-, -int- (дгн-ѡ, хвал-ѡ) which may go back to an IE -n-, -nt-: Lat. *sēmen* 'seed', Skt *nāma* 'name', Goth. *namō*, Gr. *ἴσον*, -τος, Gr. *κοράσιον* 'a little girl, maiden' < -nt-*ion*.

-и (мѡт-и, дѣшѡт-и) very probably represents an original -ē with a falling intonation as appears from Lith. *mótė* 'wife', *duktė* 'daughter', Skt *mātā* 'mother', *duhitā* 'daughter'. The Slavonic, Baltic, and Skt forms postulate a prototype without the -r- suffix, whereas other IE languages presuppose forms with the -r- suffix: Lat. *mater*, Gr. *θυγάτηρ* 'daughter', Goth. *dauhtar*.

2. *Nominative plural.*

**-Ы, -ІА** = acc. plur. (ЖЕН-Ы, ДОУШ-А, ЗЕМЛ-ІА). The original ending was *-ās* (cf. Skt *śvās*) parallel to the consonant stems, or a secondary diphthong in Latin and Greek (*terrae*, *χῶραι*). Because of the difficulty of explaining the development of Sl. *-y* < *-ās*, the nom. plur. of the *-ā-* stems has been explained as an original accusative (§ 46.6). A similar difficulty arises in the explanation of the ending *-i-* in the nom. plur. of the *-o-* stems.

**-И** < **-oī** (РАБ-И, КРА-И) is of pronominal origin. The IE ending was *-ōs* (masc.), *-ās* (fem.). This ending appears in Teutonic nouns (cf. Goth. *wulfōs* 'wolves') and in Skt adjectives (cf. *brāhmaṇās* 'belonging to a Brahman'). In Slavonic these endings would have been reflected by *-ās* (§ 6.1.2). The ending *-oī* has been taken over from the demonstrative pronouns (cf. Gr. *τοί* 'those', OCS *ти, они* 'these'); this pronominal ending appears in Slavonic, Lat., Gr., Celtic with nouns (cf. Lat. *lupī* < *\*lup-oe* 'wolves', Gr. *λύκοι* 'wolves') and in Teutonic with adjectives (cf. Goth. *blindai* 'blind'). (Cf. A. Meillet, *Le slave commun*, 1934, 408.)

**-Е, -ІЕ, -ОВЕ, -АНЕ, -АРЕ, -ЕЛЕ** (ПЯТЬ-ІЕ, СЫН-ОВЕ, ГРАЖД-АНЕ, МЫТ-АРЕ, ОУЧИТ-ЕЛЕ). The ending *-e* in all these suffixes corresponds to IE *-es/-ies*: Lat. *hostēs*, Gr. *ἡγεμόνες* 'leaders', Skt *sūndavaḥ* 'sons'. The consonant stems and the pr. part. act. take the same ending: МАТЕРЕ: Lat. *matres*, ВЕДЖШТ-Е: Lat. *laudantes*, ТРИЕ 'three' < IE *\*treies* (cf. Skt *trāyaḥ*).

**-И** (КОСТ-И). The ending of the fem. *-i-* stems is explained as an original accusative ending in the same way as the nom. pl. of the *-ā-* stems (§ 46.2.6).

**-А** < **-ā** (М'КСТ-А, СЛОВЕС-А, ИМЕН-А, ТВАЛТ-А) is the same ending that we find in the nom. sg. of the *-ā-* stems. The neut. pl. form is in origin a collective feminine noun.

3. *Nominative and accusative dual.*

**-А** < **-ō** (ВЛЪК-А, РАБ-А). The same ending appears in Gr. *λύκω* 'two wolves', Lat. *duo, ambo*, Vedic *vṛkā*, Lith. *vilkū* < *-ō* 'two wolves'.

- ĕ < -oi < -o- + -i (мѣст-ĕ).** The ending *-oi* represents the final stem vowel of the neuter *-o-* and the ending *-i*. The same diphthongal origin is suggested by Skt *jugé* 'both yokes'.
- ĕ < -ai < -ai̯ (жѣн-ĕ).** The ending *-ai̯* represents the reduced grade of *-āi̯*. The ending *-ĕ* of the du. fem. could hardly represent the diphthong *-oi̯* of the masc. nouns. Lithuanian too has different endings in the two categories: *ranki* 'two hands' and *gėrėji* 'two drinkers'. There is a difficulty also in deriving this *-ĕ* directly from the diphthong *-ai̯* because of its rising intonation as shown by Lith. *ranki* (§ 10.2). Therefore, as in the case of *-ĕ* in the masc. nouns, it seems that this ending represents a combination of the du. *-i* ending of the consonantal stems (see below) added to the final *-a* of the stem, i.e. to its reduced grade *-ai̯*.
- и < -i (кост-и, гост-и).** This ending appears also in corresponding forms of other IE languages: Lith. *avi*, Skt *ávī* 'both sheep'.
- ы < -ū (сѣн-ы).** This ending appears only in isolated examples, because the *-ū* stems have been assimilated to the *-o* stems: *сѣна* 'both sons' (§ 42.a).
- и (камѣн-и, дѣн-и).** In view of the fact that other IE languages do not have this ending in the masc. and fem. consonantal nouns, this *-i* is considered as being an analogical formation from the *-i* nouns. In the corresponding noun category Greek has the ending *-e* (Gr. *πόδε* 'two feet', *μητέρε* 'two mothers') which represents the IE ending of the consonantal stems in the dual. The neuter consonantal nouns have the ending *-i* or *-ĕ*: *имѣни* or *имѣнĕ*. The *-ĕ* has been taken over from the *-o* stems. The *-i* ending appears also in *очи*, *оуши* (§ 44.3).

#### 4. Vocative singular.

- е < -e (раб-е, вож-е).** The ending is of IE origin: Lat. *domine*, Gr. *λύκε* 'wolf'.
- оу < -ou (кра-ю, мѣж-оу).** This ending has been taken over from the *-u-* stem nouns (*сѣноу*). It is of diphthongal origin (cf. Lith. *sūnai*, Skt *sūnō*, Goth. *sunau*).

- и < -ei (КОСТ-И) seems to be also of diphthongal origin if it is compared with other IE cognates: Lith. *akė* 'eye', Skt *ágnē*.  
 -o < -a (ЖЕН-О). Latin and Greek have in this case the ending -a: *poeta*, *νύμφα* (§ 7). In the plur. and dual the voc. is identical with the nom.

### 5. Accusative singular.

- ж < -ām (ЖЕН-Ж, ДОУШ-Ж) which appears also in other IE languages: Lat. *equam*, Gr. *θεάν*, Lith. *raĩką* (§ 13.3).  
 -h < -im (ГОСТ-Ь) compares with Lat. *turrim* 'tower', Gr. *πόλιν* 'city'.  
 -ь < -im (СЪИИ-Ь, БОЛ-Ь) compares with Skt *sūnúm* 'son', Lat. *portum* 'harbour'.  
 -ь < -ŋ (СВЕКРЪЬЕ-Ь). Long -ū- developed, in these stems, into -ŷ-, which changed in Slavonic into -ŷv-. The acc. \**svekrŷm* became *svekrŷvĩ*. The same origin accounts for the ending -ь in the acc. of consonantal stems (КАМЕНЬ, МАТЕРЬ) which compare with Lat. *matrem*, *homīnem*, Gr. *μητέρα*, *ἄκμονα* 'anvil', Skt *mātáram*, *ásmānam* 'stone', Lith. *móteri*, *akmeni* 'stone' (§ 16.3).  
 -ь < -um < -om (РАБ-Ь) compare with Lat. *servum* < *servom*, Gr. *ἵππον* 'horse', Skt *ásvam* 'horse'. When the preceding vowel was short the -m disappeared.  
 -ь < -im or -ium (КРА-И, КОН-Ь). The ending of the soft stems is ambiguous. It may go back to -im, as -ь of the nom. may go back to -is, or it may represent -ium > -jũ > -jĩ. The difficulty which complicates the latter development is of a chronological nature, namely -ium could not represent a development of -iom because this should have changed into Slavonic *jě* (§ 46.6), as shown also by *кратѣ* (acc. pl.) < \**krajons* or by *морѣ* < \**morjom*, before having reached the stage -ium. The working of analogy may also have played some part in this process.

### 6. Accusative plural.

- ы < -ūs < -ons (ВЛЫК-Ы, ЖЕН-Ы) (§ 9.2). The ending -ons is attested by Gr. (Cretan) *λυκους* (Attic *λύκους*), Lat. *lupōs* < \**lupons*, Goth. *wulfans*, OPr *deiwans*, Lat. *deos* (§ 9.2).

- ы** < -*ūs* < -*us* < -*ūns* < -*ūns* (с<sub>ы</sub>н-**ы**), cf. Goth. *sununs* Skt *sūnūn* 'sons' (§ 9.2).
- и** < -*īs* < -*is* < -*īns* < -*īns* (п<sub>к</sub>т-и, камен-и), cf. Gr. (Cretan) *πόλις* 'cities', Skt *agnin* 'lambs'.
- а** < -*jōns* (кон-**а**, земл-**а**). After *j* the treatment of -*ons* was different from that described in § 9.2. The development of this group is reconstructed by the following stages: *jens* > -*jēns* > -*jē* (§ 14.3). In a dialectal area (Western and Eastern Slavonic) the nasalization disappeared and so the ending -*ē* arose in acc. pl. and gen. sg.: OR конѣ, доушѣ, OCz *dušě*.
- а** (словец-а, мѣст-а): see nom. pl. endings (§ 46.2).

### 7. Genitive singular.

- ы** < -*ōns* (жен-**ы**). For the development of -*ons* see § 9.2. The probability of this origin of the gen. ending is supported by its presence in other IE languages: Lat. *serm-ōnis*, *reg-iōnis*, Goth. *tugg-ōns* 'tongue'. The ending has been taken over from the -*n*- stem nouns. Some of the -*a*- stems are original -*n*- stems: *voda* (cf. Skt *udān*-, G. *udn-dh*), *žena* (cf. Goth. *quinō*, G. *quinōns*).
- а** < -*jōns* (доуш-**а**). The explanation of the origin of -**ы** from -*ōns* applies also to this ending. Attempts have been made to explain the -**ы** as a continuation of -*ās* in view of the fact that the accusative has the ending -*ām*, and of the existence of gen. -*ās* ending in other IE languages (cf. Lat. (*pater*) *familiās*, Skt *dēvyāh* 'goddess', Lith. *rañkos* 'hand', Gr. *χώρας* 'country'). The ending -*ē* of the soft stems argues against this explanation. Some authorities consider it analogical to A. pl. (cf. A. Meillet, *Le slave commun*, 1934, 398).
- а**, -**та** < -*ād* < -*ōd* (раб-а, кра-та). The genitive has been explained as representing an original ablative (cf. Skt ablative *vṛkāt*, *vṛkād* 'wolf'; Lat. *lupō* < \**lupōd*, *eō* < OLat. *eōd*). The origin of the ending -*ōd* (-*ōt*) is not clear. It may be an original preposition. In other stems too the genitive was originally identical with the ablative; so: п<sub>ж</sub>ти, пол<sub>о</sub>у, и<sub>м</sub>ене continue IE genitive-ablative forms.



- Ѣ < *-es/-os* (КЛМѢН-Ѣ, СЛОВѢС-Ѣ, МАТЕРѢ-Ѣ, ТѢЛАТ-Ѣ) represents the IE genitive-ablative ending of the consonantal stems in the *e* grade (cf. Gr. *πατρός*, Lat. *hominis*).
- И < *-eīs/-oīs* (ПѢТ-И) represents the stem vowel *-i-* which was originally followed by *-s* (cf. Lat. *pont-is* 'bridge').
- ОУ < *-eūs/-oūs* (СЪИИ-ОУ, ДОИ-ОУ) represents the IE *-eu/-ou* which was followed by *-s* (cf. Lith. *sūnaūs* 'son', Goth. *sunaus* 'son', Lat. *manūs* 'hand').

### 8. Genitive plural.

- Ъ, -Ь < *-um* < *-om* (РАБ-Ъ, МЛЖ-Ь, ЖЕН-Ъ, ДОУШ-Ь, СЪИИ-ОБ-Ъ, ПѢТЪ-И [*proti-jī*], КЛМѢН-Ъ, МАТЕРѢ-Ъ). All stems have the same ending *-u* which changes into *-i* after *j*. The other IE languages, however, show a long ending: Gr. *θεῶν*, Lat. *deūm*, Lith. *vilkū*, Skt *vṛkām*. The Slavonic short vowel is difficult to explain because there are no other examples of a shortened vowel in this position. The attempt to account for the shortening of *-ōm* by its falling intonation is not supported by other cases. One may suppose that in IE a short ending existed alongside the long one, as posited also by OPr *-an* (*grikan* 'of the sins'), Lat. *-om* (*Romanom, Romanum* 'of the Romans'), and by Irish *maqua* 'of the sons' (A. Meillet, *Le slave commun*, 1934, 394).

### 9. Genitive and locative dual.

- ОУ < *-au, -ou, -eu* (РАБ-ОУ, РЖК-ОУ, НОШТЪ-Ю, СЪИИ-ОБ-ОУ, КЛМѢН-ОУ). The same ending appears in the Lith. preposition (originally a gen. loc.) *pusiaū* 'between' from *pūsė* 'half', just as OCS *междуу* is an original loc. du. from *межда* 'boundary'.

### 10. Dative singular.

- Ѣ, -И < *-āi* (ЖЕН-Ѣ, ДОУШ-И). The origin of this ending is clear. It goes back to the diphthong which appears in Lat. *terrae*, Gr. *θεῆ*, Lith. *rañkai*. The soft stems have the corresponding ending *-i*.
- ОУ < *-āi* (РАБ-ОУ). On the analogy of the preceding fem. ending it has been accepted that the masc. ending also represents

a diphthong—that attested by Gr.  $\theta\epsilon\omega$ , OLat. *populoi*, Lith. *vilkui*. Though the postulated development  $-\delta i > -\delta u > -\delta u > -ou > -u$  is unusual, it might be confirmed by the development of the instr. plur. ending  $-y < -\delta i s$  (§ 46.14).

The explanation of this ending by analogy from the loc. of the  $-u$ - stems is not probable in view of the fact that there are no other cases of the working of analogy between these two categories in the prehistoric period, and that the fusion of the two nominal categories is a phenomenon of late date.

$-и < -a i$  (ПЯТ-И, КОСТ-И, СЪИНОВ-И, КАМЕН-И, МАТЕР-И, СЛОВЕС-И). The origin of this ending is not clear. It might have been taken over from the consonantal stems (which have acc. sg. in  $-i$ , identical with the acc. of the  $-i$ - stems) just as the Lat. *ov-i* has taken its ending from the consonantal stem *homin-i*, or it may represent an original diphthong. The latter derivation presents difficulties because the other IE languages have the ending  $-ei/-ai$  (parallel to  $-eu/-au$  of the  $-u$ - stems) which should develop into Slavonic  $-iji$ . To meet this difficulty haplology of the two diphthongs, in the IE period, has been suggested (A. Meillet, *Le slave commun*, 1934, 418); thus we might postulate:  $*kostejai > *kostejei > *koste j > kosti$ ;  $*sunejai > synovi$  (cf. Lat. *senatui*, Skt *sūnāve* 'son', Skt *agnaye* 'lamb').

#### 11. Dative plural.

$-мъ$  (ДОУША-МЪ, РАБО-МЪ, КОСТЪ-МЪ, КАМЕНЬ-МЪ). To the ending  $-bhos$ ,  $-bhios$  (cf. Lat. *-bus*, Celtic *-bo*, Skt *-bhias*) corresponds in Slavonic (and also in Baltic and Germanic) an original ending  $-mos$ . However, in view of the fact that the development  $-os > -ǔ$  is no more than a hypothesis (§ 46.1), the explanation of  $-mǔ$  from  $-mos$  is not entirely satisfactory. Therefore the existence of an original ending  $-mon$  ( $-mom$ ) alongside  $-mos$  has been assumed. A dative ending with a nasal appears in Skt *-bhjām* (dat., abl., instr., du.) and this ending could justify a prototype  $-mom$  for the Slavonic dialect (cf. МАТЕРЪМЪ: OCeltic *matre-bo(s)*, Lat. *matri-bus*; ВЛЪКОМЪ, Lith. *vilkams*, Skt *vṛkebhyaḥ*).

12. *Dative and instrumental dual.*

-МА (ЖЕНА-МА, РАБО-МА, КОСТЬ-МА). This ending may go back to *-mā*, *-mō*, *-mās*, *-mōs*; it has the consonant *m*, like the Baltic languages (cf. Lith. *rañkoma*: OCS *рѣкѣма*, to which in Skt corresponds *-bh-*: Skt *vṛkābhjām*, OCS *вѣркома*, Lith. *vilkaĩ*).

13. *Instrumental singular.*

-ОІЖ < *-oĭām* (рѣк-оіж, доуш-оіж, кост-ыіж, мѣн-оіж, т-оіж). This ending represents a contamination of the pronominal ending *-oĭr* < *-oĭām -oĭā* (cf. Skt *táyā*) with the nominal ending *-r* < *-ām* (cf. Lith *rankā* < *\*ronkām*). The old instr. in *-r* < *-ām* has been replaced in OCS by the instr. in *-oĭr*. A similar development is illustrated by Skt *ásvajā* for Vedic *ásvā*. The forms in *-r* of the OCS texts of the type *рѣкѣ* are new formations by contraction of the ending *-oĭr*, or they are archaisms.

-МЬ < *-mī* (РАБО-МЬ, СЪИНЪ-МЬ, ПЖТЬ-МЬ, СЛОВЕСЬ-МЬ). The origin of this ending is not clear. It goes back to *-mī*, but the *-o-* stems of other IE languages have an original ending *-ō*: Lith. *vilku*, Goth. *wulfa*, Avesta *vahrka*. The *-mī* appears in Lith. *-i-* stems (*naktimī* 'with the night') and *-u-* stems (*sūnumi* 'with the son') and corresponds to *-bhi* in Greek (*l-φι* 'with strength') and Armenian (*marb* 'with the mother' < *\*mātṛ-bhi*).

14. *Instrumental plural.*

-МИ < *-mī* (ЖЕНА-МИ, СЪИНЪ-МИ, ПЖТЬ-МИ, МАТЕРЬ-МИ). The ending *-mī* or *-mis* is postulated also by Lithuanian which forms the instr. pl. in *-mis* (except from the *-o-* stems): *rañkomis*: *rĕkami*, *sūnumis*: *synūmi*. To *-m-* corresponds *-bh-* in Skt *mātṛbhiḥ*, Irish *māthraib*, Armenian *marbḳ'* 'with the mothers' (§ 46.11).

-Ы, -И < *-ōis* (РАБ-Ы, КРА-И, МОЎ-И, СЛОВЕС-Ы, ИМЕН-Ы, ГРАЖДАН-Ы). To the Slavonic *-y* corresponds in Baltic *-ais* and in Skt *-āis* (in the *-o-* stems), in Lat. *-is*, in Gr. *-οις* (cf. Lith. *vilkaĩs*, Skt *vṛkaiḥ*, Lat. *lupīs*, Gr. *λύκοις*). The development *-ōis* > *-y* presents difficulties; generally the development

*-ōis* > *ūis* (> *ūus*) > *-ūs* > *y* has been postulated. Hujer suggests the possibility of explaining the instr. plur. of the hard *-o-* stems (*rab-y*) on the analogy of the soft *-jo-* stems (*kraj-i*), the *-i* being a normal development of *-ois*. A. Meillet (*Le slave commun*, 1934, 153) explains the development *-ōis* > *y* as being parallel to the development *-ons* > *y* (§ 9.2).

#### 15. *Locative singular.*

*-ĕ, -и* < *-aĭ* < *-a-* + *-i* (ЖЕН-ĕ ДОУШ-И). This ending appears also in Lat. loc. *Romae*, Gr. *θεῖᾱ* (dat. sg.) (§ 46.10).

*-ĕ, -и* < *-oĭ* (РАБ-ĕ, КРА-И). The corresponding Greek case is *οἶκοι* 'at home', Lith. *vilkė* 'wolf', Skt *vjke* id., Lat. *domi* 'at home' (§ 10.2, § 23.1).

*-и* < *-ēĭ* (ПЖТ-И, КОСТ-И). The same ending appears in Homeric Gr. *πόληι*.

*-oŷ* < *-ēu*, *-ōu* (ДОМ-ОУ, СЫН-ОУ). This ending appears in Lat. *noctū*, Goth. *sunau*, Skt *sūndū*.

*-e* (ДЪН-Е, НЕБЕС-Е, ЦРЪКЪВ-Е). This category of nouns had originally a loc. form with zero ending: *\*nebes* like Gr. *αἰές*, *αἰέν* = Attic *αἰεί* 'always'. The ending *-e*, of obscure origin, has been added to the stem. We find the same ending in Lith. loc. sg. of the *-ā-* stems *rañkoj-e* 'in the hand' < *\*rankāi* + *e*.

#### 16. *Locative plural.*

*-ĕ* < *-su* (ЖЕНА-ĕ, РАБ-ĕ, ГОСТ-ĕ, СЫН-ĕ, КАМЕНЬ-ĕ, МАТӨРЬ-ĕ) (§ 10.2). This ending is common to the Indo-Iranian, Slavonic, and Baltic languages (Old Lithuanian *-su*, Modern Lithuanian *-se*), Gr. *-si*: Skt *nāktiṣu*, *vjkeṣu*, Lith. *rañkosu*, *rañkose*, Gr. (Homer) *λύκοισι*. For the change *s* > *x* see § 22.1. Forms with *s* have been preserved in locatives of Czech names of tribes like *Lužas* from *Lužane*, *Pol'as* from *Poljane* for *Lužanexŭ*, *Poljanexŭ*.

### FORMATION OF NOUNS

§ 47. The vocabulary was largely increased by means of composition and of suffixal derivation. A great number of compound nouns are translations of Greek compounds: БЛАГОСЛОВЛЕННИЕ 'blessing' =

εὐλογία, жѣстококрѣднѣ 'hardness of the heart, stubbornness' = σκληροκαρδία, малоодоушнѣ 'timidity' = μικροψυχία, длѣго-трѣпѣннѣ 'long-suffering, patience' = μακροθυμία, законо-оучитель 'law-teacher' = νομοδιδάσκαλος, пѣтѣшьствнѣ 'journey' = ὁδοπορία, рѣкопѣсаннѣ 'handwriting, bond' = χειρόγραφον.

Of Teutonic origin are the compounds: малѣжена 'wife' (cf. MHG *māl-wīp* 'wife', *māl* = 'agreement'), оусерѣгѣ, оусерѣсъ 'ear-ring' < Goth. \**ausariggs* < Т \**ausan* (Goth. *ausō*) 'ear' + Т \**hringa* 'ring', MHG *öserinc* 'a coin'.

From the point of view of the constituent elements and their endings there are different types of compound nouns.

The most productive type is that in which the first element is represented by a noun showing the *-o-* stem vowel: водоносѣ, водоносъ 'water-pot, urn', крѣвопролитнѣ 'blood-shedding', виноградѣ 'vineyard', Богородица = Gr. Θεοτόκος, рѣкотворѣнѣ 'made by hand' = Gr. χειροποίητος, воєвода 'war-leader' = OHG *heri-zogo*, G *Herzog*, which is a translation of Byzantine Greek στρατηλάτης 'army-commander'.

The first part of the compound could be an adjective: соухорѣкѣ 'with a dried hand', маломошѣ 'weak', тѣжѣкокрѣдѣ 'low-spirited, stupid' = Gr. βαρκαρδιος.

The first part of the compound could show a case-ending: медвѣдѣ 'bear' = 'honey eater', домоузаконикѣ 'master of the house' = οἰκονόμος, братоучѣдѣ 'nephew'.

In a few compounds the first part is a verbal stem: неѣсъѣтъ 'pelican' (= 'who does not take satiety'), неѣвѣрѣ 'unbeliever' (= 'who does not accept belief'), неѣвѣглѣсъ 'ignorant' (= 'one who does not understand the voice; does not learn').

The first part may be a numeral, an adverb, a pronoun: четврѣногѣ '(on) four feet', четврѣтодѣннѣ (adj.) 'on the fourth day, lasting four days' = Gr. τετραήμερος, трнмѣннѣ (adj.) 'with three names', пакѣвѣтнѣ (neut.) 'rebirth' = παλιγγενεσία, всѣдрѣжитѣль (masc.) 'Almighty' = Gr. παντοκράτωρ, велѣлкѣпота (fem.) 'splendour' = Gr. μεγαλοπρέπεια.

Numerous are the compounds whose first part is a negation, a preposition, a particle: неправѣда 'injustice', непригазнѣ (fem.)

'evil; devil', **ВЪЗМЪВНІЕ** (neut.) 'silence', **ПРАДѢДЪ** (masc.) 'great grandfather', **ОУБОГЪ** (adj.) 'poor', **СЪСѢДЪ** (masc.) 'neighbour', **ДОЛИНЕ** (neut.) 'valley', **СЪБЛАЗНЪ** (fem.) 'temptation, offence' = Gr. *σκάνδαλον*, **СЪВЪДЪНИКЪ** (masc.) 'contentious, disputatious (person)', **РАСПЪТІЕ** (neut.) 'bifurcation, cross-road', **СЪНѢДЪ** (fem.) 'meal', **СЪНИТІЕ** (neut.) 'the going down' = Gr. *κατάβασις*, **ЗАВИСТЪ** (fem.) 'envy', **ПРОКАЗА** (fem.) 'leprosy; intrigue'.

The formation of nouns and adjectives by means of suffixes (§ 43) is a very productive process throughout the history of OCS. The derivative suffixes are not recognized in the language unless they are opposed by corresponding words without suffixes, e.g. **ОТЬЦЪ**, **СРЪДЦЕ**, **ОВЬЦА** have no forms without suffix, though they are nouns derived by means of a *-k-* suffix, whereas the derivation of **ДЛЪЖНИКЪ** (masc.) 'debtor' by means of the suffix *-in-ik-ŷ*, and of **ДЛЪЖНЪ** (adj.) by means of the suffix *-in-ŷ*, from **ДЛЪГЪ** (masc.) 'debt' is apparent.

Nouns are derived from verbal stems by means of the masc. endings *-ъ*, *-ь* or by means of the fem. endings *-а*, *-ь*: **СЪНЪМЪСА** 'I come together' — **СЪНЪМЪ** (masc.) 'gathering', **МЕТЪ** 'I throw' — **ПОДЪМЕТЪ** (masc.) 'fringe, border, end', **ПРИЛОЖИТИ** 'to add' — **ПРИЛОЖЪ** 'addition', **ГЛАГОЛАТИ** 'to speak' — **ГЛАГОЛЪ** 'the word'; **ОГРАДИТИ** 'to enclose, to fortify' — **ОГРАДА** 'enclosure', **ПОХВАЛИТИ** 'to praise' — **ПОХВАЛА** 'the glory', **ВѢДѢТИ** 'to know' — **ВѢДЪ** 'the knowledge', **ЯСТИ** 'to eat' — **ЯДЪ** 'meal, food', **ВОДИТИ** 'to lead' — **ВОЖДЪ** (masc.) 'leader'.

Some deverbative formations alternate the thematic vowel: **СЪВЪРАТИ** 'to bring together' — **СЪБОРЪ** 'gathering', **ТВОРИТИ** 'to make' — **ТВОРЪ** (fem.) 'creation, creature', **ЦВЕНСТИ**, **ЦВѢТЪ** 'to flourish' — **ЦВѢТЪ** 'flower' (§ 37).

By means of the same ending *-ь* are formed abstract feminine nouns from adjectives: **ЗЪЛЪ** 'bad' — **ЗЪЛЪ** 'evil' (also **ЗЪЛО** (neut.)), **ТВРЪДЪ** 'hard' — **ТВРЪДЪ** (fem.) 'solidity', **ЧРЪНЪ** 'black' — **ЧРЪНЪ** (fem.) 'blackness'. The same suffix derives collective nouns: **ЧАДО** 'child' — **ЧАДЪ** 'retinue', **ДѢТА** 'child' — **ДѢТЪ** 'children', **СКЪДЪЛЪ** 'roof-tiles, tiled roof' — **СКЪДЪЛЪ** 'bricks' (coll.).

§ 48. DENOMINAL AND DEVERBATIVE SUFFIXES

1. *Vocalic suffixes.*

- а, -та derives feminine nouns: ДРОУГЪ (masc.): ДРОУГА (fem.) 'friend', РАБЪ (masc.): РАБА (fem.) 'servant', КОУПИТИ: КОУПЛА 'trade', КРАСТИ 'to steal': КРАЖДА 'theft'.
- е derives neuter nouns: ЛОЖЕ 'bed' < \*log-je (cf. по-ЛОЖИТИ 'to lay out, to set').
- на derives nouns with collective meaning: БРАТРИНА, БРАТНИА 'brethren'.
- нѣ is very productive and derives neuter collectives and abstracts: ВРЪБИНѢ 'willow trees': ВРЪБА, КАМЕНИНѢ 'stones', СЪДРАВНѢ 'health', БЕЗОУМИНѢ 'ignorance', БЕЗМИГЪВНѢ 'silence'; also some with concrete meaning: ПОДЪНОЖИНѢ 'foot-stool', ПОДРОУЖИНѢ 'marriage'.
- ни derives masculine nouns: БАНИ 'healer': БАГАТИ 'to speak', СЪДИ 'judge': СЪДАЪ 'judgement', ГВОЗДИ 'nail': ГВОЗДЪ id. These nouns decline like the feminine nouns in -ѣа- (§ 39.c).
- ѣи, -аи derive masculine nouns: ОБЪЧАН: ОБЪЧАНЪТИ 'to get accustomed', ПРИКЛЮЧАН 'good chance': ПРИКЛЮЧИТИ СЯ 'to happen'.
- ѣта, -ата derive feminine nouns: ЛАЖАТА 'brooding hen': ЛЕШТИ, ЛАГЪ 'to sit down, to brood'.

2. *-k- suffixes.*

These suffixes appear under different forms owing to palatalization and to the addition of other suffixal elements.

- къ, -ѣкъ, -нѣкъ, -тѣкъ: МРАКЪ 'darkness', КАМЪКЪ 'stone', ОСТАТЪКЪ 'remnant', НАЧАТЪКЪ 'beginning', СЪВИТЪКЪ 'paper-roll, volume'.
- акъ, -ика, -икъ, -ѣка, -окъ, -ѣникъ, -ѣка: ТАЖАКЪ 'labourer': ТАЖАТИ 'to pull', ИНАКЪ (pron.) 'of another kind': ИНЪ 'one, the other', ИНОКЪ 'monk', ВЛАДЪКА 'ruler': ВЛАСТИ, ВЛАДЪЖ 'to rule', ДѣВѣКА 'girl', БЛИЖИКА 'neighbour': БЛИЗЪ (adj.) 'near', ОУЧЕНИКЪ 'disciple': ОУЧЕНЪ 'learned', ГРѣШНИКЪ 'sinner': ГРѣХЪ 'sin'.

- ЬЦЬ**, a very productive suffix deriving *nomina agentis*, diminutives, nouns from adjectives: **ЖЪРЬЦЬ** 'sacrificer, priest': **ЖРЪТИ** 'to sacrifice', **ЛОВЬЦЬ** 'hunter': **ЛОВИТИ** 'to hunt', **КОРАБИЦЬ** 'small boat', **АГНЬЦЬ** 'lamb': **АГНА**, id., **СТАРЬЦЬ** 'old man': **СТАРЪ** (adj.).
- ЬЦА**, derives masculine nouns from verbs: **ОУБИНИЦА** 'murderer', **ПЪДЬЦА** 'great eater'; diminutives: **МЪШЬЦА** 'arm, muscle of the arm, biceps', **ОВЬЦА** 'sheep'.
- НИЦА**, -**ЬНИЦА**, derive feminine nouns, diminutives, nouns from adjectives: **ЦЪКЪСАРИЦА** 'empress', **ВЪДОВИЦА** 'widow', **ПИЪНИЦА** 'drunkard', **РЪБЬНИЦА** 'small fish', **МЪШИНИЦА**, **МОУШИНИЦА** 'small fly', **ДЕСНИЦА** 'right hand', **ТРОИЦА** 'trinity', **ГРЪШЬНИЦА** 'sinner' (fem.), **ТЪМЬНИЦА** 'prison', **КЪНИЖЬНИЦА** 'library'.
- ЬЦЕ** derives neuter diminutives: **ЧАДЬЦЕ** 'baby': **ЧАДО** 'child', **ИМЪКНИЬЦЕ** 'small possession': **ИМЪКНИЕ** 'possession', cf. also **СЪЛЪНЬЦЕ** 'sun', **СРЪДЬЦЕ** 'heart', **ПЪЦЕ** 'egg'.
- ЧЬ**, -**ДЧЬ**, -**ЪЧНИ**, -**ЬЧНИ**: **ВИЧЬ** 'whip': **БИТИ** 'to beat', **КОПАЧЬ** 'vine-dresser': **КОПАТИ** 'to dig', **КЪНИГЪЧНИ** 'scribe': **КЪНИГЪ** 'book', **КРЪМЪЧНИ** 'pilot': **КРЪМА** 'rudder, helm'.
- ИШТЕ** < \*iskjo (§ 21.2.b) derives neuter nouns which designate place-names: **СЪДИШТЕ** 'tribunal': **СЪДЪ** 'judgement', **ГРОБИШТЕ** 'cemetery': **ГРОБЪ** 'grave', **СЪНЬМИШТЕ** 'synagogue': **СЪНЬМЪ** (**СЪНЬМАТИ**, **СЪНЬМЪ**) 'gathering'.

### 3. -t- suffixes.

- ТЬ**, -**ОСТЬ**, -**ТВА**, -**ЪСТВО**, -**ЪСТВИЕ**, -**ОТА**, -**ЮТА** derive abstract nouns: **ВЛАСТЬ** 'rule, power': **ВЛАСТИ**, **ВЛАДЪ** 'to rule', **ВЪСТЬ** 'news': **ВЪДЪТИ** 'to know', **МОШТЬ** 'power': **МОШТИ** 'to be able', **БЛАГОСТЬ** 'goodness': **БЛАГЪ** 'good', **СЛАДОСТЬ** 'sweetness': **СЛАДЪКЪ** (adj.) 'sweet', **МОЛИТВА** 'prayer': **МОЛИТИ СЯ** 'to pray', **ЖРЪТВА** 'sacrifice': **ЖРЪТИ** 'to sacrifice', **БОГАТЪСТВО** 'richness': **БОГАТЪ** 'rich', **ОТЬЧЪСТВО**, **ОТЬЧЪСТВИЕ** 'fatherland': **ОТЬЦЪ** 'father', **ЧЛОВЪЧЪСТВО** 'humanity': **ЧЛОВЪКЪ** 'man', **ЦЪКАРЪСТВО** 'kingdom': **ЦЪКАРЪ** 'emperor', **ЧИСТОТА** 'cleanliness': **ЧИСТЪ** 'clean', **ВЕЛИКОТА** 'greatness': **ВЕЛИКЪ** 'great', **СОУЪТА** 'vanity': **СОУИ** 'vain'.



-иштѣ < *itji* (§ 21.2.a) derives nouns for young creatures: отрочиштѣ 'infant': отрокѣ 'child' (=от+решти, рѣж 'to speak'), дѣтиштѣ 'boy': дѣтѣ 'child', козлиштѣ 'kid': козыль 'wether, ram'.

The *-t-* suffix has the same semantic function in the *-nt-* stems (§ 44.4): козыль, G. козыльте 'kid': козыль, отроцѣ, G. отроцѣте 'baby': отрокѣ, дѣтѣ, G. дѣтѣте 'child', жрѣбѣ 'foal', G. жрѣбѣте.

-телѣ derives *nomina agentis* from verbs: дѣлателѣ 'worker': дѣлати 'to work', съвѣдѣтелѣ 'witness': съвѣдѣти 'to know', оучителѣ 'master': оучити 'to teach'.

-(а)тан designates agents: ратан 'ploughman': рати, ходатан 'intermediary': ходѣ 'going', возатан 'driver': возѣ 'cart'.

#### 4. *-d-* suffixes.

-ьда derives abstract nouns: правьда 'justice': правѣ 'right', вражьда 'animosity': врагѣ 'enemy'.

-лю < *-dlo*: derives names of instruments: рало 'plough': рати 'to plough', рыло 'mattock, spade': рыти 'to dig', кадило 'censer': кадити 'to burn incense'.

#### 5. *-l-* suffixes.

-лю, -сло derive mainly abstract nouns: дѣло 'work': дѣлати 'to work', начало 'beginning': начати 'to begin', число 'number': чьтѣ 'I count'; but also concrete nouns: грѣло 'oar': грѣж 'I row', масло 'grease': мазати 'to grease'.

-лѣ, -ль, -ль, -ѣль, -елѣ: жзѣль 'tie, bond': жза 'tie, bond', приеъмѣль 'gain, profit': приеъмѣти 'to come to, to increase', новорасѣль 'new plant': раси 'to grow', гыбѣль 'loss': погыбѣжѣти 'to perish', дѣтѣль 'action': дѣяти 'to act', безоумьль 'fool': без оума 'without intelligence', плѣвелѣ 'weed': плѣва 'chaff'.

#### 6. *-n-* suffixes.

-нѣ, -снѣ, -знѣ derive feminine nouns from verbs: данѣ 'tribute': дати 'to give', пѣснѣ 'song': пѣти 'to sing', жизньнѣ 'life': жити 'to live'.

-ина is a productive suffix and derives nouns from nouns and from adjectives: истина 'truth': истѣ 'the same, real',

ТИШИНА 'quietness': ТИХЪ 'quiet, silent', ПАЖЧИНА 'spider-web': ПАЖКЪ 'spider', ХРАМИНА 'house': ХРАМЪ 'house', ЗВЪКРИНА 'wild animal': ЗВЪКЪ id.

-ИЗНА: ГЛАВИЗНА 'chapter': ГЛАВА 'head', ОУКОРИЗНА 'scorn, derision': ОУКОРИТИ 'to despise, to scorn'.

-ЪНИА: ВЕЧЕРЪНИА 'even-tide, vespers': ВЕЧЕРЪ 'evening'.

-ЪНИИ derives feminine nouns from masculine, and abstract nouns from adjectives: РАБЪНИИ 'servant-woman': РАБЪ, ПОГАНЪНИИ 'heathen woman': ПОГАНЪ, СЪСЪДЪНИИ 'neighbour (female)': СЪСЪДЪ, МАГДАЛЪНИИ 'Magdalen', САМАРИАНЪНИИ 'woman of Samaria', БЛАГЪНИИ 'goodness': БЛАГЪ, ПОУСТЪНИИ 'wilderness': ПОУСТЪ 'desert' (§ 38.1. I).

-ИНЪ, -АНИНЪ, -ЯНИНЪ, -ЪНИНЪ, the first of these suffixes appears only in singular and dual. It has a singularizing function. The second suffix derives names of inhabitants of a locality or country: ГОСПОДИНЪ 'master': ГОСПОДЪ 'Lord', ЛЮДИНЪ 'a man, a layman': ЛЮДИЕ (pl.), РОУМИНЪ 'Roman': РОУМЪ (I. pl.) (Supr.), ПОГАНИНЪ 'heathen': ПОГАНЪ 'heathen', ГРАЖДАНИНЪ 'citizen': ГРАДЪ 'city', ГАЛИЛЪАНИНЪ 'Galilean', НАЗАРЪНИНЪ (§ 41).

#### 7. -b- suffixes.

-ОВЪ, -ОБА: ЗЪЛОВЪ 'wickedness', ЗЪЛОБА 'wickedness': ЗЪЛЪ 'bad', ЖТРОВА 'intestines': ЖТРЪ 'insides'.

-ЪБА: ДЛЪЧЪБА 'hunger': ДЛЪКАТИ 'to be hungry', МОЛЪБА 'prayer, demand': МОЛИТИ СЯ, СЛОУЖЪБА 'service': СЛОУГА 'servant'.

#### 8. -v- suffixes.

-ВО: ПИВО 'drink': ПИТИ 'to drink', СЪКЧИВО 'axe': СЪККАТИ 'to cut'.

-ВА, -ЪВА: КАЛТВА 'curse': КАЛТИ 'to curse', ДРЪЖАВА 'holding, power': ДРЪЖАТИ 'to hold', КРИЧАВА 'shouting, cry': КРИЧАТИ 'to shout'.

#### 9. -g- suffixes.

-ОГЪ: ОСТРОГЪ 'hedge, fortified place': ОСТРЪ (adj.) 'sharp'.

-ЕЖЪ: МАТЕЖЪ 'trouble, tumult': МАСТИ, МАТЪЖ 'to disturb'; the origin of this suffix is not clear.

10. *-r-* suffix.

*-аръ* is a borrowed suffix (cf. Lat. *-ārius* in *librārius*, Goth. *-areis* in *bokareis*) and derives names of professions or occupations: *вратаръ* 'porter': *врата* 'door', *грѣньчарѣ* 'potter': *грѣнь* 'vessel', *мытарѣ* 'toll-gatherer': *мыто* 'gift, gain' (§ 41), *боукарѣ* 'scribe': *боукы* 'book'.

## ADJECTIVES

## DECLENSION OF THE NOMINAL FORMS OF ADJECTIVES

§ 49. The adjectives appear in two forms, a simple, short, or nominal form, and a form with a pronominal suffix, called the compound, long, or pronominal form (§ 56). The two forms fulfilled different syntactical functions and had different declensions.

The simple adjectives have the endings and declensions of the noun (§ 38. I. II):

Masc. *добрѣ*, fem. *добра*, neut. *добро* 'good', decline like masc. *рабѣ* 'servant', fem. *глава* 'head', neut. *мѣсто* 'place'.

Masc. *ништѣ*, fem. *ништа*, neut. *ништѣ* 'poor' decline like masc. *вождѣ* 'leader', fem. *доуша* 'soul', neut. *ложѣ* 'bed'.

The soft adjectives could have the ending *-ни*, *-нѣ*, *-нѣ*:

Masc. *божини*, fem. *божинѣ*, neut. *божинѣ* 'divine' which decline like masc. *змии* 'dragon', fem. *змиѣ* 'snake', neut. *знамениѣ* 'sign'.

## Hard stems

## Singular

	Masculine		Neuter	Feminine
N.	<i>добрѣ</i>		<i>добро</i>	<i>добра</i>
G.		<i>добрѣ</i>		<i>добрѣ</i>
D.		<i>добрѣ</i>		<i>добрѣ</i>
A.	<i>добрѣ</i> , <i>добра</i>		<i>добро</i>	<i>добра</i>
V.	<i>добрѣ</i>		<i>добро</i>	—
I.		<i>добрѣ</i>		<i>добрѣ</i>
L.		<i>добрѣ</i>		<i>добрѣ</i>

*Plural*

	<i>Masculine</i>		<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
N.	ДОБР-И		ДОБР-А	ДОБР-Ы
G.		ДОБР-Ъ		ДОБР-Ъ
D.		ДОБР-ОМЪ		ДОБР-АМЪ
A.	ДОБР-Ы		ДОБР-А	ДОБР-Ы
V.	ДОБР-И		ДОБР-А	ДОБР-Ы
I.		ДОБР-Ы		ДОБР-АМИ
L.		ДОБР-ѢХЪ		ДОБР-АХЪ

*Dual*

N. A. V.	ДОБР-А		ДОБР-Ѣ	ДОБР-Ѣ
G. L.		ДОБР-ОУ		ДОБР-ОУ
D. I.		ДОБР-ОМА		ДОБР-АМА

## Soft stems

*Singular*

	<i>Masculine</i>		<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
N.	НИШТ-Ъ		НИШТ-Е	НИШТ-А
G.		НИШТ-А		НИШТ-А
D.		НИШТЮ, -ОУ		НИШТ-И
A.	НИШТ-Ъ, НИШТ-А		НИШТ-Е	НИШТ-А
V.	—		НИШТ-Е	—
I.		НИШТ-ЕМЬ		НИШТ-ЕЖ
L.		НИШТ-И		НИШТ-И

*Plural*

N.	НИШТ-И		НИШТ-А	НИШТ-А
G.		НИШТ-Ъ		НИШТ-Ъ
D.		НИШТ-ЕМЪ		НИШТ-АМЪ
A.	НИШТ-А		НИШТ-А	НИШТ-А
V.	НИШТ-И		НИШТ-А	НИШТ-А
I.		НИШТ-И		НИШТ-АМИ
L.		НИШТ-ИХЪ		НИШТ-АХЪ

*Dual*

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
N. A. V.	НИШТ-а	НИШТ-и	НИШТ-и
G. L.		НИШТ-ю, -оу	НИШТ-ю, -оу
D. I.		НИШТ-ѡма	НИШТ-ѡма

(a) The stem of the adjectives could end in any consonant: слѣп-ъ, слѣп-а, слѣп-о 'blind'; нов-ъ, нов-а, нов-о 'new'; рѣдр-ъ, рѣдр-а, рѣдр-о 'red'; вѣрн-ъ, вѣрн-а, вѣрн-о 'faithful'; пророчьск-ъ, -а, -о 'prophetic'; тяжк-ъ, -а, -о 'heavy'. Velar consonants change before the front vowels of the endings according to the rules noted in § 30.

(b) When the stem was soft the endings changed accordingly: пѣш-ъ, -а, -ѡ 'on foot'; лъж-ъ, -а, -ѡ 'lying'; отъч-ъ, -а, -ѡ 'of the father, paternal'; ѡбш-ъ, -а, -ѡ 'common'; боу-и, -а, -ѡ 'foolish'.

(c) The hard masc. adjective shows in some cases the ending -е in voc. sg., but more frequently the voc. sg. is the pronominal form of the adjective in nom. (§ 56).

## FORMATION OF ADJECTIVES

§ 50. (a) By means of the endings -ѡвъ, -ѡвъ, -инъ, -ьнъ, -ъ, -ни [-iŋi] possessive adjectives are formed from nouns: Явраам-ѡвъ 'of Abraham': Явраамъ; Исоус-ѡвъ 'of Jesus': Исоусъ; Мосѣ-ѡвъ 'of Moses': Мосѣи; Издранїл-ѡвъ 'of Israel': Издранїль; Кесар-ѡвъ, Кесар-ѡвъ 'of Caesar': Кесаръ; Льв-ѡвъ 'of the lion': Львъ; — Ион-инъ 'of Jonah': Иона; Иуд-инъ 'of Judas': Иуда; Моис-инъ 'of Moses': Моисии; — Господ-ьнъ 'of the Lord': Господъ; братр-ьнъ 'of the brother': братръ; друж-ьнъ 'of the friend': другъ; — Явраам-ль 'of Abraham': Явраамъ; кънѡж-ъ 'of the prince': кънѡзь; пророч-ъ 'of the prophet': пророкъ; овъч-ъ 'of the sheep': овца; — враж-ни 'of the enemy': врагъ; вел-ни 'big': вел-икъ. The ending -ни represents an original -iŋi (§ 33.3.4).

(b) Adjectives derived by means of the suffix -ьнъ (masc.), -ьна (fem.), -ьнѡ (neut.) express place or time: выш-ьнъ 'upper, highest': вѣс-окъ; ниж-ьнъ 'low, lower': низ-ъ (adv.) 'lowly'; дрѡв-

ѡНЬ (ДРЕВ-ѡНИИ), ДРЕВ-ѡНЬ 'old'; ВЪНЖТР-ѡНЬ 'inside': ВЪНЖТРЪ (adv.). Enlarged by -ѣ- the suffix fulfils the same function: ВЪЧЕРА-ШЬНЬ 'of yesterday': ВЪЧЕРА (adv.); ДЪНЬ-ШЬНЬ 'of today': ДЪНЬ 'day', ДЪНЬСЬ 'today'; ДОМА-ШЬНЬ, ДОМА-ШТЬНЬ 'belonging to the home': ДОМЪ 'house'.

(c) The suffix -ѡНЪ derives adjectives, expressing potentiality, from the p. part. pass. (§ 77): ПРИИМТ-ѡНЪ 'agreeable': ПРИИМТЪ 'received'; НЕПОСТРАДАН-ѡНЪ 'unbearable': ПОСТРАДАНЪ 'exhausted'; ХВАЛ-ѡНЪ 'praiseworthy' for ХВАЛЕН-ѡНЪ: ХВАЛИТИ 'to praise'. This suffix is very productive in deriving adjectives from nouns: ДЪН-ѡНЪ 'daily': ДЪНЬ; ЗАПАД-ѡНЪ 'western': ЗАПАДЪ; ОГН-ѡНЪ 'fiery': ОГНЬ 'fire'.

(d) In a few compound adjectives -ѡНЪ is replaced by -Ъ, in later texts: БЕЗРЪКЪ (13th century) 'without hands': БЕЗРЪЧ-ѡНЪ; ВЕЛЕМИЖДРЪ 'magnanimous': ВЕЛЕМИЖДР-ѡНЪ; ВЕЛЕГЛАВЪ 'with a big head': ГЛАВ-ѡНЪ 'principal'.

(e) The endings -ѢНЪ, -ІАНЪ added to the stem of a noun form adjectives which indicate the material expressed by the stem: ДРЪВЪ-ѢНЪ 'wooden': ДРЪВО 'tree'; ЛЬН-ѢНЪ 'linen': ЛЬНЪ 'flax'; РОЖАНЪ 'of horn': РОГЪ 'horn'; МОЖДАНЪ '(full) of marrow': МОЗГЪ 'marrow'.

(f) Adjectives expressing the category of the noun from which they are formed show the ending -ЬСКЪ: ЖЕНЬСКЪ 'feminine': ЖЕНА; ДѢТЬСКЪ 'childish': ДѢТЬ; СЛОВѢНСКЪ 'Slavonic': СЛОВѢНЕ (nom. pl.); ЧЛОВѢЧЬСКЪ 'human': ЧЛОВѢКЪ; ГОСПОДЬСКЪ 'belonging to a master': ГОСПОДЬ 'master, Lord'.

(g) The ending -ИВЪ, -ѡИВЪ forms adjectives expressing the quality associated with the meaning of the word from which they derive: ЛЪЖИВЪ 'lying': ЛЪЖЪ 'lie'; ПРАВЪДИВЪ 'rightful': ПРАВДА 'justice, truth'; ПОСЛОУШЛИВЪ 'obedient': ПОСЛОУШАТИ 'to obey', ЗАВИСТЛИВЪ 'envious': ЗАВИСТЬ 'envy'.

(h) The endings -АТЪ, -ИТЪ, -ДЕТЪ form adjectives to express the possession of the quality contained in the basic word: БОГАТЪ 'rich': ОУБОГЪ 'poor' < \*baga- 'share, destiny'; КРИМАТЪ 'winged':

КРИЛО; ИМЕНИТЬ 'famous': ИМА; ПЛОДОВИТЬ 'fruit-bearing': ПЛОДЪ; ТИНАТЬ 'muddy': ТИНА; КРОВЕВАТЬ 'cruel': КРОВЬ 'blood'.

(i) The endings -акъ, -икъ form pronominal adjectives: ЮДИНАКЪ 'of one kind', ИНАКЪ 'of another kind', ТОЛИКЪ 'such' (§ 55.5).

(j) The endings -окъ, -ѣкъ, -ѣкъ derive adjectives from original -u- stems: ВЪСОКЪ 'high', ТАЖЕКЪ 'heavy', СЛАДЪКЪ 'sweet' (cf. Lith. *saldūs* 'sweet', Gr. *ῥδύς*, Skt *svādūh*).

(k) The ending -ръ appears in БЪДРЪ 'vigilant': БЪДЪТИ 'to watch'; МОКРЪ 'wet': МОЧИТИ 'to wet'; the ending -нъ appears in ЖЕЛЪЗНЪ 'of iron': ЖЕЛЪЗО 'iron'.

#### COMPARATIVE FORMS OF ADJECTIVES

§ 51. The IE suffix of the comparative is: *-ies-/-ios-/-is-* (cf. Lat. *altior, alt-ius, mag-is*). The CS result of these suffixes is: *-ios-, -ies- > -je-; -is- > -jīs- + i* (fem. ending)  $> -jīx + i$  (§ 22)  $> -jīši-$  = -ъши. The formation of the comparative in OCS is obscured by the addition of a secondary *-jī*. The comparative suffix -ни ( $< -je- + -jī$ ) could be enlarged by adding *-ě-* to form -ѣни (masc.), -ѣниши (fem.), -ѣнѣ (neut.).

These processes gave rise to the following types of comparative forms which decline like soft stems (§ 49, § 52.3) with some differences:

1. A short comparative form in -ни (masc.), -ѣ, -ѣнѣ (neut.), -ъши (fem.):

(a) The endings are attached to the adjectival stem:

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
ГРЪБЪ 'rough'	ГРЪБЪНИ	ГРЪБЕ, -ѣ	ГРЪБЪШИ
ДРАГЪ 'dear'	ДРАЖНИ	ДРАЖЕ	ДРАЖЪШИ
ЛИХЪ 'exceeding'	ЛИШНИ	ЛИШЕ	ЛИШЪШИ
ЛЮТЪ 'violent'	ЛЮШТИ	ЛЮШТЕ	ЛЮШЪШИ
ХОУДЪ 'bad'	ХОУЖДИ	ХОУЖДЕ	ХОУЖДЪШИ
ТВРЪДЪ 'hard'	ТВРЪЖДИ	ТВРЪЖДЕ	ТВРЪЖДЪШИ

(b) The adjectives ending in a secondary suffix -ѢКЪ, -ѢКЪ, -ОКЪ drop this suffix in the comparative:

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
ВЪСОКЪ 'high'	ВЪШНИ	ВЪШЕ	ВЪШЬШИ
ГЛѢБОКЪ 'deep'	ГЛѢБИ	ГЛѢБЕ, -ЛЕ	ГЛѢБЬШИ
СЛАДЪКЪ 'sweet'	СЛАЖДИ	СЛАЖДЕ	СЛАЖДЬШИ
КРѢПЪКЪ 'strong'	КРѢПНИ	КРѢПЕ, -ЛЕ	КРѢПЬШИ

(c) Comparative forms without positive bases:

<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	
БОЛНИ 'bigger'	БОЛЕ, -ЛЕ	БОЛЬШИ	ВЕЛИ, ВЕЛИКЪ 'big'
ВѢШТИИ 'larger, more'	ВѢШТЕ	ВѢШТЬШИ	МЪНОГЪ 'many'
МЪНИИ 'smaller'	МЪНЕ	МЪНЬШИ	МАЛЪ, 'small'
ЛОУЧИИ 'better'	ЛОУЧЕ	ЛОУЧЬШИ	БЛАГЪ, ДОБРЪ 'good'
ОУНИИ 'better'	ОУНЕ ОУНѢ	ОУНЬШИ	
СОУЛИИ, СОУЛѢИ 'better'	СОУЛЕ СОУЛѢ	СОУЛЬШИ СОУЛѢШИ	
ГОРИИ 'worse'	ГОРЕ	ГОРЬШИ	ЗЪМЪ 'bad'
РАЧИИ 'better'	РАЧЕ	РАЧЬШИ	

(d) Adverbial comparative forms:

ПАЧЕ (adv.) 'more'	ПАКЪ (adv.) 'again'
ДАЛЕ (adv.) 'further'	ДАЛЕЧЕ (adv.) 'far'
НИЖЕ (adv.) 'lower'	НИЗЪ 'low'
ЛИШЕ (adv.) 'bigger, more'	ЛИХЪ 'abundant'
ХОУЖДЕ (adv.) 'less'	ХОУДАЪ 'small'

2. A long comparative form in -ѢИ (-ѢИ, -ѢИ), -ѢИ, -ѢИШИ:

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
НОВЪ, -Ѣ, -Ѣ 'new'	НОВѢИ	НОВѢ	НОВѢИШИ
СТАРЪ, -Ѣ, -Ѣ 'old'	СТАРѢИ	СТАРѢ	СТАРѢИШИ



ЧИСТЪ, -о, -а 'pure'	ЧИСТЪИ	ЧИСТЪЮ	ЧИСТЪИШИ
МЪНОГЪ, -о, -а 'many'	МЪНОЖИ	МЪНОЖЮ	МЪНОЖИШИ
ДОБЛА, -е, -а 'valiant'	ДОБЛАИ	ДОБЛАЮ	ДОБЛАИШИ
СОУХЪ, -о, -а 'dry'	СОУШАИ	СОУШАЮ	СОУШАИШИ
ОУБОГЪ, -о, -а 'poor'	ОУБОЖИ	ОУБОЖЮ	ОУБОЖИШИ

(a) There are isolated instances of comparatives formed from adjectives in -ЪКЪ (§ 51.1.b) by means of the suffix -ЪИ attached to the secondary stem:

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
ГОРЬКЪ, -о, -а 'bitter'	ГОРЬЧИ, ГОРЬНИ	ГОРЬЧЬЮ	ГОРЬЧИШИ
ТЪНЪКЪ, -о, -а 'tender'	*ТЪНЪЧИ	ТЪНЪЧЮ	*ТЪНЪЧИШИ
КРОТЪКЪ, -о, -а 'tame'	КРОТ(Ъ)ЧИ	*КРОТЪЧЮ	КРОТ(Ъ)ЧЬИШИ

(b) There is no precise criterion to indicate which comparative ending is taken by an adjective. The adjectives ending in a secondary -к- suffix (§ 51.1.b) and the adjectives without a basic degree (§ 51.1.c) take, as a rule, the ending -И (masc.), -Ю (neut.), -ШИ (fem.). Other adjectives form the comparative with the ending -ЪИ (masc.), -ЪЮ (neut.), -ЪИШИ (fem.).

3. The superlative is formed by the prefix **НАИ-** and the comparative form; this form of superlative occurs only in adverbs: **НАИВЪШЕ, НАИНОВЪЮ, НАИПАЧЕ** 'the most'. More frequently the superlative is indicated by the genitive of comparison. The context shows the meaning, e.g. **ВЪСЪХЪ МЪНИИ** 'the smallest of all'.

The absolute superlative, which does not express a comparison, is expressed by means of adverbs: **СЪЛО** 'very' or by the prefix **ПРЪ-**: **ПРЪСЛАТЪ, ПРЪВЛИКЪ**.

4. The comparatives have a nominal and a pronominal declension (§ 57). With the exception of N.A.V. sg., masc. and neut., the declension is based on the feminine stem in -ЪШ- or -ЪИШ- to which are added the case-endings of the soft adjectives:

## Declension of short comparative forms

*Singular*

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
N. V.	вѣшш-и	вѣшш-ѳ	вѣшшш-и
G.	вѣшшш-а		вѣшшш-а
D.	вѣшшш-оу, -ю		вѣшшш-и
A.	вѣшш-и, -шшш вѣшшш-а	вѣшш-ѳ	вѣшшш-ж
I.	вѣшшш-ѳмѣ		вѣшшш-ѳж
L.	вѣшшш-и		вѣшшш-и

*Plural*

N.	вѣшшш-ѳ, -и	вѣшшш-а	вѣшшш-а
G.	вѣшшш-ѣ		вѣшшш-ѣ
D.	вѣшшш-ѳмѣ		вѣшшш-амѣ
A.	вѣшшш-а	вѣшшш-а	вѣшшш-а
I.	вѣшшш-и		вѣшшш-амнн
L.	вѣшшш-ишѣ		вѣшшш-ашѣ

*Dual*

N. A. V.	вѣшшш-а	вѣшшш-и	вѣшшш-и
G. L.	вѣшшш-оу, -ю		вѣшшш-оу, -ю
D. I.	вѣшшш-ѳмѣ		вѣшшш-амѣ

## Declension of long comparative forms

*Singular*

N. V.	старѣ-и	старѣ-ю	старѣиш-и
G.	старѣиш-а		старѣиш-а
D.	старѣиш-оу, -ю		старѣиш-и
A.	старѣ-и старѣиш-а	старѣ-ю старѣ-ишѳ	старѣиш-ж, -ѣж
I.	старѣиш-ѳмѣ		старѣиш-ѳж
L.	старѣиш-и		старѣиш-и

*Plural*

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
N.	старѣиш-е, -и	старѣиш-а	старѣиш-а
G.	старѣиш-ь		старѣиш-ь
D.	старѣиш-емъ		старѣиш-амъ
A.	старѣиш-а	старѣиш-а	старѣиш-а
I.	старѣиш-и		старѣиш-ами
L.	старѣиш-ихъ		старѣиш-ахъ

*Dual*

N. A. V.	старѣиш-а	старѣиш-и	старѣиш-и
G. L.	старѣиш-оу, -ю		старѣиш-оу, -ю
D. I.	старѣиш-ема		старѣиш-ама

(a) The expected form of the N. sg. masc. is \**vyšĭ*, \**bol'ĭ*, &c. The secondary *-jĭ* (*vyšĭjĭ* = *вѣшнн*) is of obscure origin; it may be analogous with the pronominal ending (§ 56), supported also by the *-ѣнн* ending of the enlarged comparative.

(b) The fem. ending *-i* is that of the fem. *-i-* stems in *-ун'и* (§ 39).

(c) The nom. pl. masc. *-e* is the ending of the consonantal stems.

(d) The soft endings *-ѣ, -ю, -ѣ, &c.*, alongside the hard *-а, -оу, -ѣ, &c.*, are explained in § 31.

## DECLENSION OF NOMINAL FORMS OF PARTICIPLES

§ 52. 1. The following participles are declined like hard or soft stem adjectives (§ 49, § 56):

(a) p. part. pass. in *-мъ, -ма, -мо*: *несомъ* (masc.), *несома* (fem.), *несомо* (neut.) (§ 74).

(b) p. part. pass. in *-нъ, -на, -но*: *движенъ* (masc.), *движена* (fem.), *движено* (neut.) (§ 77).

(c) p. part. pass. in *-тъ, -та, -то*: *патъ* (masc.), *пата* (fem.), *пато* (neut.) (§ 77).

(d) p. part. act. in *-лъ, -ла, -ло*: *молилъ* (masc.), *молила* (fem.), *молило* (neut.) (§ 70).

2. *The present participle active* (§ 73). These participles are

originally consonantal stems formed by means of the derivative suffix *-nt-* (cf. Lat. *lauda-ns*, *lauda-nt-is*). In N. sg. masc. neut. these participles added the suffix *-o-* and developed into Slavonic *-o-nt-s* > *-ы* [-y] (§ 9.2). In the other cases they added the suffix *-jo-*, *-ja-* and declined like *-jo-* stems (masc. and neut.) or like *-ja-* stems (fem.). The N. pl. masc. has the ending *-e* of the consonantal stems.

## Verbs of conjugations I, II, and V

*Singular*

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
N.	ИД-Ы	ИД-Ы	ИДЖШТ-И
G.		ИДЖШТ-А	ИДЖШТ-А
D.		ИДЖШТ-ОУ	ИДЖШТ-И
A.	ИДЖШТ-Ь	ИДЖШТ-Е	ИДЖШТ-Ж
I.		ИДЖШТ-ЕМЬ	ИДЖШТ-ЕЖЬ
L.		ИДЖШТ-И	ИДЖШТ-И

*Plural*

N.	ИДЖШТ-Е	ИДЖШТ-А	ИДЖШТ-А
G.		ИДЖШТ-Ь	ИДЖШТ-Ь
D.		ИДЖШТ-ЕМЬ	ИДЖШТ-АМЬ
A.	ИДЖШТ-А	ИДЖШТ-А	ИДЖШТ-А
I.		ИДЖШТ-И	ИДЖШТ-АМИ
L.		ИДЖШТ-ИХЬ	ИДЖШТ-АХЬ

*Dual*

N. A.	ИДЖШТ-А	ИДЖШТ-И	ИДЖШТ-И
G. L.		ИДЖШТ-ОУ	ИДЖШТ-ОУ
D. I.		ИДЖШТ-ЕМА	ИДЖШТ-АМА

## Verbs of conjugations III and IV

*Singular*

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
N.	ЗНА-ІА, МОЛ-А		ЗНАЖШТ-И, МОЛАШТ-И
G.	ЗНАЖШТ-А, МОЛАШТ-А		ЗНАЖШТ-А МОЛАШТ-А

further, like ИДЫ

(a) In A. sg. neut., and in other cases, forms appear in -ѢШТѢ, -ѢШТѢ derived from the fem. stem.

(b) The N., A. fem. pl. ending -Ѣ of these participles represents: -jens > -jē and -ins > -jē (§ 14.3).

3. *The past participle active 1* (§ 75). The endings of the past part. act. 1 are -Ѣ (masc., neut.), -ѢШИ (fem.) for the hard stems ending in a consonant, and -ЕѢ (masc., neut.), -ЕѢШИ (fem.) for the hard stems ending in a vowel. The verbs of the second conjugation attach the ending to the primary stems, dropping the infix -ne-. The soft stems of the verbs of the fourth conjugation take the ending -Ѣ (masc., neut.), -ѢШИ (fem.); the former is replaced, in later texts, by -ИЕѢ:

<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
НЕСѢ		НЕСѢШИ
ПОДВИГѢ		ПОДВИГѢШИ
ЗНАЕѢ		ЗНАЕѢШИ
МОЛѢ, МОЛИЕѢ		МОЛѢШИ, МОЛИЕѢШИ

In all other cases, except in the N. sg. masc. and neut., the stem is characterized by -ѣ- (fem.). The masc. and neut. decline like -jo- stems. The masc. regularly has in the N. pl. the ending -e of the cons. stems. The fem. forms decline like the fem. nouns in -yna- (БОГѢИНИ) (§ 39).

### *Singular*

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
N.	НЕСѢ, ЗНАЕѢ, МОЛѢ, МОЛИЕѢ		НЕСѢШИ, ЗНАЕѢШИ, МОЛѢШИ
G.	НЕСѢШ-А, ЗНАЕѢШ-А, МОЛѢШ-А, МОЛИЕѢШ-А		НЕСѢШ-Ѣ, ЗНАЕѢШ-Ѣ, МОЛѢШ-Ѣ
D.	НЕСѢШ-ОУ, -Ю, &c.		НЕСѢШ-И, &c.
A.	НЕСѢШ-Ѣ, &c.	НЕСѢШ-Е, &c.	НЕСѢШ-Ѣ, &c.
I.	НЕСѢШ-ЕМѢ, &c.		НЕСѢШ-ѢѢ, &c.
L.	НЕСѢШ-И, &c.		НЕСѢШ-И, &c.

*Plural*

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
N.	несѣш-ѡ, &c.	несѣш-а, &c.	несѣш-ѧ, &c.
G.	несѣш-ѣ, &c.		несѣш-ѣ, &c.
D.	несѣш-ѡмѣ, &c.		несѣш-амѣ, &c.
A.	несѣш-ѧ, &c.	несѣш-а, &c.	несѣш-ѧ, &c.
I.	несѣш-и, &c.		несѣш-ами, &c.
L.	несѣш-ихѣ, &c.		несѣш-ахѣ, &c.

*Dual*

N. A.	несѣш-а, &c.	несѣш-и, &c.	несѣш-и, &c.
G. L.	несѣш-оу, -ю, &c.		несѣш-оу, -ю, &c.
D. I.	несѣш-ѡма, &c.		несѣш-ама, &c.

## INDECLINABLE ADJECTIVES

§ 53. The OCS texts contain examples of invariable adjectival forms in -ѧ:

исплѣнь 'full': дѣѡа на десѡте коша исплѣнь (-лѣнь)  
(Mar., Mat. xiv. 20) 'twelve baskets full', скръѡи исплѣнь  
сръдѣца ѡша (Zogr., J. xvi. 6) 'your hearts (are) full of  
sorrow';

различѣ 'varied': многоу и различѣ гнѣѡу (D. sg. masc.)  
(Supr. 303.4) '(to) a great and varied anger';

сѡѡодѣ 'free': сѡѡодѣ ѡдѣте (N. pl. masc.) (Zogr.,  
Mar., Ass., J. viii. 33, 36) 'you shall be free';

сѡуѡѡѣ 'double': сѡуѡѡѣ . . . . пришьствѣнѣ (N. sg.  
neut.) (Supr. 449. 1) 'double (is) the presence';

ѡудѡѣ 'easy': не ѡудѡѣ ѡстѣ . . . . ѡнѣти (Zogr., Mar.,  
Mk. x. 24) 'hard is it . . . . to enter';

прѣпрѡстѣ 'plainly': житѣнѣ прѣпрѡстѣ (Supr. 272.5) 'the  
life, the biography'.

In some examples these adjectival forms could be conceived also as adverbs. In general, adjectives of this category have an adverbial form (§ 54) or are themselves adverbs (§ 99).

## ADVERBIAL FORMS

§ 54. The adverbial form of an adjective is, as a rule, identical with the neuter sg. of the adjective: ГОРЬКО 'bitter', МЪНОГО 'much', ДОВЛЕ 'heroically', ВАШТЕ 'more' (§ 99.2).

Some adjectives show the adverbial form by means of the ending -Ѣ: ДОБРОѢ 'well', СЛАДЫЦѢ 'sweetly, agreeably', ГОРЬЦѢ 'bitterly' (§ 99.1).

The adjectives in -ЬСКЪ show the adverbial form in -ЬСКЫ: СЛОВѢНСКЫ 'in Slavonic', ПЬСЬСКЫ 'doglike', ВСАЧЬСКЫ 'by all means' (§ 99.5).

Many adjectives form the adverbial form in -Ъ: ПРАВЪ (ПРАВО, ПРАВѢ) 'right', ИСПЛЪНЪ 'fully' used also as adjective; the same ending also forms adverbs from nouns: ОПАТЬ 'again' (ПАТА 'heel'), ОТЪНЪДЪ 'entirely, altogether' (cf. НЪЖДА 'compulsion, violence', НЪДИТИ 'to compel, to force') (§ 99.2).

## PRONOUNS

## FORMATION AND DECLENSION OF THE PRONOMINAL CATEGORIES

§ 55. The pronouns can be divided into two categories: (1) pronouns having a single form for the three genders and (2) pronouns with a different ending for each gender. To the first category belong the personal and the reflexive pronouns; to the second the demonstrative, the relative, the possessive, and a great number of pronominal adjectives.

## 1. Personal and reflexive pronouns

*Singular*

	<i>1st person</i>	<i>2nd person</i>	<i>Reflexive (3rd pers., sg., du., pl.)</i>
N.	ЯЗЪ 'I'	ТЫ 'thou'	
G.	МЕНЕ	ТБЕЕ	СЕБЕ '(of) oneself'
D.	МЪНѢ, МИ	ТБѢѢ, ТИ	СЕБѢ, СИ
A.	МА, МЕНЕ	ТА, ТБЕЕ	СА, СЕБЕ
I.	МЪНОИЖ	ТОБОИЖ	СОБОИЖ
L.	МЪНѢ	ТБѢѢ	СЕБѢ

*Dual*

	<i>1st person</i>	<i>2nd person</i>
N.	ВѢ	ВА, ВЪ
A.	НА, НЪ	ВА, ВЪ
G. L.	НАЮ	ВАЮ
D. I.	НАМА (D. НА)	ВАМА (D. ВА)

*Plural*

N.	МЪ	ВЪ
G.	НАСЪ	ВАСЪ
D.	НАМЪ, НЪ	ВАМЪ, ВЪ
A.	НЪ, НАСЪ	ВЪ, ВАСЪ
I.	НАМИ	ВАМИ
L.	НАСЪ	ВАСЪ

(a) For the 3rd person is used the demonstrative pronoun ОНЪ, ОНА, ОНО (§ 55. 2).

(b) The dative forms МИ, ТИ, СИ are used only enclitically. The enclitics are used in unstressed positions and never after a preposition.

(c) The accusative forms МА, ТА, СА, НЪ, ВЪ are used as stressed independent words at the beginning of a sentence and as enclitics. The last function developed in opposition to the use of the gen. forms (МОНЕ, ТББЕ, СББЕ) as acc. forms.

(d) The D. pl. НЪ and ВЪ appear as enclitics in Supr., Euch. Sin., Cloz. In the Kiev Miss. НЪИ appears regularly in the 1st pers. N. pl.

(e) The variants НЪ, ВЪ:НА, ВА in A. du., ВЪ:ВА in N. du. are supposed to be of dialectal origin. Mar., Zogr., Ass. use НЪ, ВЪ; Savv. Kn. has НЪ, ВЪ and НА, ВА.

(f) For G. sg. МЕНЕ appear also МНЕ, М'НЕ which could be conceived as dialectal variations created under the influence of the D. МЪНѢ > \*m'ně > mne.

(g) For the N. АЗЪ there appears once ꙗзъ (Mar., Mk. xi. 29) which is postulated by all the modern Slavonic forms, with the



exception of Bulgarian, which has азъ. The origin of азъ, compared with Lat. *ego*, Gr. *ἐγώ*, is not clear. In Ps. Sin. 38. 13 we find а 'I', which is probably a mistake.

## 2. Demonstrative, possessive, and pronominal adjectives

The pronominal declension is characterized by the ending *-go* in gen. sg. masc. neut., which is added to the hard stem by means of the liaison vowel *-o-* and to the soft stem by *-e-*; and by the ending *-xǔ* in gen. pl., which is added to the hard stem by *-ǔ-* and to the soft stem by *-i-*. The other case endings are built on the nominal endings of the *-a-/-ja-* and *-o-/-jo-* stems (§ 39, § 40).

### I. Hard stems

ОНЪ, ОНА, ОНО 'that'; ТЪ, ТА, ТО 'that'; ИНЪ, ИНА, ИНО 'another'; ОВЪ, ОВА, ОВО 'this, that'; КЪЖДО 'everyone'; САМЪ, САМА, САМО 'alone, oneself'; ТЪЖДЕ, ТАЖДЕ, ТОЖДЕ 'the same'; ЈЕДИНЪ, ЈЕДИНА, ЈЕДИНО 'one'; a number of pronominal adjectives ending in *-акъ*, *-икъ*: ТАКЪ, ТАКА, ТАКО 'such'; ІАКЪ, ІАКА, ІАКО 'of what kind'; ІАКЪЖЕ, ІАКАЖЕ, ІАКОЖЕ id.; ВСАКЪ 'everyone, each'; СИКЪ 'such'; СЕЛИКЪ 'so much'; ЈЕЛИКЪ 'however much'; КОЛИКЪ 'so much'; ТОЛИКЪ 'so big'; МЪНОГЪ 'much, many'; the numerals ДЪВА 'two' and ОВА 'both' have only dual forms according to this declension (§ 59.1).

#### Singular

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
N.	ОН-Ъ	ОН-О	ОН-А
G.		ОН-ОГО	ОН-ОІА
D.		ОН-ОМОУ	ОН-ОИ
A.	ОН-Ъ, ОН-ОГО	ОН-О	ОН-Ж
I.		ОН-ІЕМА	ОН-ОІЖ
L.		ОН-ОМА	ОН-ОИ

#### Dual

N. A.	ОН-А	ОН-ІЕ	ОН-ІЕ
G. L.		ОН-ОЮ	ОН-ОЮ
D. I.		ОН-ІЕМА	ОН-ІЕМА

*Plural*

	<i>Masculine</i>		<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
N.	ОН-И		ОН-А	ОН-Ы
G.		ОН-ѢХЪ		ОН-ѢХЪ
D.		ОН-ѢМЪ		ОН-ѢМЪ
A.	ОН-Ы		ОН-А	ОН-Ы
I.		ОН-ѢМИ		ОН-ѢМИ
L.		ОН-ѢХЪ		ОН-ѢХЪ

(a) Instead of ТЪ (N. sg. masc.) we may find ТЫ in the texts, instead of ТИ (N. pl. masc.) we may find ТИИ, instead of ТЫ (N. pl. fem.) ТЫИ. These secondary forms are on the analogy of the pronominal adjectives (§ 56).

(b) The suffixes -же, -жде, -ждо are added to the inflected pronominal forms: N. ТЪЖЕ, G. ТОГОЖЕ, D. ТОМОУЖЕ.

(c) КЪЖДО (КЪЖДЕ), G. КОГОЖДО has one single form for masc. and fem. and has no plural forms.

## II. Soft stems

сь, СИ, СЕ 'this'; the possessive pronouns: МОИ, МОЯ, МОЕ 'my', ТВОИ, ТВОЯ, ТВОЕ 'thy', СВОИ, СВОЯ, СВОЕ 'his' (refl.), НАШЬ, НАША, НАШЕ 'our', ВАШЬ, ВАША, ВАШЕ 'your'; the pronominal adjectives: СИЦЬ, СИЦА, СИЦЕ 'such', ВСЬ, ВСА, ВСЕ 'all'; the collective numerals: ДЪВОЕ 'group of two', ОБОЕ 'both', ТРОЕ 'three'; the relative pronoun ИЖЕ, ІАЖЕ, ІЕЖЕ 'who'; the anaphoric \*и- preserved in G. sg. masc., neut. ІЕГО 'his', fem. ІЕЯ 'her', D. sg. masc., neut. ІЕМОУ 'to him', fem. ІЕИ 'to her', &c.

*Singular*

	<i>Masculine</i>		<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
N.	сь, СИИ		се	СИ
G.		СЕГО		СЕЯ
D.		СЕМОУ		СЕИ
A.	сь, СЕГО		се	СИЖ (СЫЖ)
I.		СИМЬ		СЕИЖ
L.		СЕМЬ		СЕИ

*Dual*

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
N. A.	СИѦ	СИ, СИИ	СИ
G. L.		СЕЮ	СЕЮ
D. I.		СИМА	СИМА

*Plural*

N.	СИИ, СИ	СИ	СИѦ (СЪѦ)
G.		СИХЪ	СИХЪ
D.		СИМЪ	СИМЪ
A.	СИѦ (СЪѦ)	СИ	СИѦ (СЪѦ)
I.		СИМИ	СИМИ
L.		СИХЪ	СИХЪ

*Singular*

N.	МО-И	МО-ІЕ	МО-ІѦ
G.		МО-ІЕГО	МО-ІЕІѦ
D.		МО-ІЕМОУ	МО-ІЕИ
A.	МО-И, МО-ІЕГО	МО-ІЕ	МО-ІѦ
I.		МО-ИМЪ	МО-ІЕІѦ
L.		МО-ІЕМЪ	МО-ІЕИ

*Dual*

N. A.	МО-ІѦ	МО-И	МО-И
G. L.		МО-ІЕЮ	МО-ІЕЮ
D. I.		МО-ИМА	МО-ИМА

*Plural*

N.	МО-И	МО-ІѦ	МО-ІѦ
G.		МО-ИХЪ	МО-ИХЪ
D.		МО-ИМЪ	МО-ИМЪ
A.	МО-ІѦ	МО-ІѦ	МО-ІѦ
I.		МО-ИМИ	МО-ИМИ
L.		МО-ИХЪ	МО-ИХЪ

(a) With the particle -ЖДЕ, added to the flexional form, an enlarged demonstrative is obtained: СЪЖДЕ 'this' (emphasized).

(b) There are three demonstrative pronouns in OCS: СЪ for

the nearer object, **ОНЪ** for the farther object, and the general demonstrative **ТЪ**. Apart from these forms there exist the correlative demonstrative **ОГЪ . . . ОГЪ** 'this . . . that', **ОГЪ . . . ИНЪ** 'this (here) . . . the other (there)'.

(c) The secondary form **ѢИ** (**ѢИ**) of the N. sg. masc. appears in later texts (Euch. Sin., Supr.).

(d) The variants with **И** for **Ъ** can be explained according to § 33. 3.

(e) In N. A. sg. neut. there appears also **ѢЮ**, in very few cases (Euch. Sin., Supr.).

(f) The reflexive-possessive pronoun **СВОИ**, **СВОИА**, **СВОЮ** is used with all three persons.

(g) The possessive relation in the third person is expressed by the genitive of the anaphoric pronoun: **ОТЬЦЬ ЮА** 'her father', **МАТИ ЮГО** 'his mother', **СЛАВА ИХЪ** 'their glory', or by the dative of the personal pronoun: **СЫНЪ ТИ** 'thy son'.

(h) In G. sg., D. L. sg., I. sg. fem., and G. L. du. contracted forms appear frequently in the texts: **МОИА**, **ТВОИА**, **СВОИА**; **МОИ**, **ТВОИ**, **СВОИ**; **МОИЖ**, **ТВОИЖ**, **СВОИЖ**; **МОЮ**, **ТВОЮ**, **СВОЮ**, &c.

(i) The vowel of the pronominal endings, in the soft and in the hard declension, varies according to regular correspondences: to a hard stem **-o-** corresponds a soft stem **-e** (**ТОГО:СЕГО**); to a hard stem **-ĕ-** corresponds a soft stem **-i-** (**ТЪМЪ:СИМЪ**); to a hard stem **-y-** corresponds a soft stem **-ĕ-** (**ОНЪ:СИА**) (§ 37.6).

(j) The origin of the G. ending **-go** is obscure, the other endings can generally be found in the nominal declension:

The N. A. sg. masc. **-Ъ**, **-Ь** is the ending of **РАБЪ**, **МЪЖЪ**.

The N. A. sg. neut. **-О** continues an IE **-od** (cf. Lat. *istud*).

The D. sg. masc., neut. has the ending **-ОУ** of the nouns supported by an **-m-** of obscure origin.

The I. sg. masc., neut. has the ending **-МЪ** of the nouns added to a stem in **-oĭ-**, **-eĭ-**: **\*onoĭ-mi**, **\*sei-mi**.

The origin of the ending **-МЪ** in the L. sg. masc., neut., added to the **-o-** or **-e-** stem, is not clear: **ОНО-МЪ**, **СЕ-МЪ**.

The vocative case of the pronouns is identical with the nominative.

The *-и* ending of N. sg. *си* is the same as that which we find in some *-ija-* stems (§ 39.I.c).

The N. A. pl. neut., N. sg. fem. have the same ending as in the nominal declension: *лѣта, ложа; глава, доуша*.

The *-хъ* ending of the G. L. pl. goes back to IE *-su* which changed into *-хъ*, after the diphthongs *-oi-*, *-ei-* were monophthongized: *\*oioi-su, \*seis-su > онѣхъ, сихъ* (§ 22).

### 3. Interrogative and indefinite pronouns

N.	кѣ-то 'who?', anybody'	чѣ-то 'what?', anything'
G.	кого	чесо
D.	кому	чесо
A.	кого	чѣто
I.	цѣль	чимь
L.	комь	чѣмь

#### Singular

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
N.	кѣи 'which'	коѣ	кага
G.	коѣго		коѣга
D.	коѣ		коѣи
A.	кѣи, коѣго	коѣ	кѣѣ
I.	кѣимь		коѣѣ
L.	коѣмь		коѣи

#### Dual

N. A.	(кага)	цѣи
D. I.	кѣима	кѣима

#### Plural

N.	ци	кага	кѣга
G.	кѣихъ		кѣихъ
D.	кѣимъ		кѣимъ
A.	кѣга	кага	кѣга
I.	кѣими		кѣими
L.	кѣихъ		кѣихъ

(a) The interrogative pronouns may have an undefined meaning and they are used as indefinite pronouns. The pronoun *кѣто* has one single form for masc. and fem., and there are no plural forms.

(b) The I. **цѣмь** is the regular phonetical development according to § 30.2, but it shows a tendency to be replaced by **кѣимь**, which restores the initial **к** to this form.

(c) The G. **чесо** is the only form preserving the IE *-so* ending, \**čego* does not appear in OCS texts; the D. **чемоу** for **чесоמוу** appears once in Supr. There are secondary forms: G. **чесога** (-го), D. **чесоמוу**, L. **чесомь**.

(d) The declension of **кѣи** is followed by: **нѣкѣи**, **нѣкага**, **нѣкою** 'someone', **никѣиже**, **никагаже**, **никюеже** 'none', G. **нѣкоюго**, **никюегоже**, &c.

(e) In N. sg. masc. there appears also **кѣ**, in G. **кога** for **коюга**, D. **кои** for **коюи**, in A. **кога** for **кѣга**, in I. **кога** for **коюга**, in G. pl. **коихъ** for **кѣихъ**.

(f) The prefix **нѣ-** gives the word an indefinite meaning, the prefix **ни-** gives it a negative meaning: **нѣкѣто** 'some one', **нѣчѣто** 'something', **никѣто** 'none', **ничѣто** 'nothing'; **никакѣже**, **никагаже**, **никакоже** 'of no kind', **ниѣдинѣже**, **ниѣдинаже**, **ниѣдиноже** 'no one' decline like hard stems and the particle **-же** is added to the flexional form: G. **никакогоже**, &c.

The prefixes **нѣ-** and **ни-** are separated from their flexional form: **нѣ оу кого** 'with somebody', **ни о кольже неродиши** 'thou dost not care for anybody'.

(g) The possessive-interrogative **чин** (**чи**) (masc.), **чига** (fem.), **чине** (neut.) 'whose' and the indefinite pronoun **прочин**, **-чага**, **-чю** 'remaining, all others' are declined like **кѣи** (§ 55.2. II), **прокѣи**, **-кага**, **-кою** id., **которѣи**, **котерѣи**, **-рага**, **рою** 'which?', 'someone' are declined like pronominal adjectives (§ 56).

#### 4. Relative and anaphoric pronouns

The relative **иже**, **гаже**, **юже** is formed by the anaphoric pronoun of the 3rd pers. **и-** 'he, that', which has no independent nominative, and by the particle **-же** which is attached to each case in the declension. The nominative of the anaphoric pronoun, which fulfils the function of the 3rd pers. of the personal pronoun, is supplemented by the demonstrative **тѣ** or **онѣ** (§ 55.2). The other cases are identical with those of the relative pronoun without the suffix **-же**.

*Singular*

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
N.	иже	іеже	іаже
G.	іегоже, іего		іеіаже, іеіа
D.	іемоуже, іемоу		іеіеже, іеіе
A.	иже, и, іего	іеже, іе	іаже, іа
I.	иіеже, иіе		іеіаже, іеіа
L.	іеміеже, іеміе		іеіеже, іеіе

*Dual*

N. A.	іаже	иже, и	иже, и
G. L.	іеюже, іею		іеюже, іею
D. I.	иіаже, иіа		иіаже, иіа

*Plural*

N.	иже	іаже	іаже
G.	иҳъже, иҳъ		иҳъже, иҳъ
D.	иіиъже, иіиъ		иіиъже, иіиъ
A.	іаже, іа	іаже, іа	іаже, іа
I.	иіиже, иіи		иіиже, иіи
L.	иҳъже, иҳъ		иҳъже, иҳъ

(a) In A. du. an anaphoric form *іа*, *іѣ* appears for the three genders.

(b) The A. sg. masc. form of the anaphoric pronoun *и* is used enclitically: *избавитъ и* 'he shall save him'.

(c) The relative and the anaphoric pronouns preceded by a preposition took over from the preposition a prothetic *и*: *въ ѿ* 'in him', *въ ѿже* 'in which', *къ ѿмоу* 'towards him', *на ѿемь* 'on him', *из ѿего* 'from him', *отъ ѿего* 'from him'. It originated after the prepositions *къ*, *въ*, *съ* which had in IE a final *-n* (cf. *съ*: Lat. *cum*). This prothetic *и* spread also to cases where other prepositions preceded a pronoun: *на*, *за*, *до*, *по*, *при*, *оу*, *из*, *везъ*, *възъ*, *оу*, *отъ*, *прѣдъ*, *подъ*, *надъ*, none of which ended originally in *и* or *т*. An epenthetic *и* appears also in verbal forms: *въниде* 'he went in', and also before adverbs: *вънѣгда* 'when', *доиѣдеже* 'as long as': *доиѣдеже*, *въниѣтрѣ* 'inside': *въ ѣтрѣ*.

## 5. Mixed declension of pronouns

The pronoun *вѣсь*, *вѣста* (*вѣса*), *вѣсе* 'entire, every' is a soft-stem pronoun. However, its inflexion shows some hard-stem endings: I. sg. *-ѣмь*, G. pl. *вѣсѣхъ*, &c.

*Singular*

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
N.	<i>вѣсь</i>	<i>вѣсе</i>	<i>вѣса</i> ( <i>вѣста</i> , <i>-сѣ</i> )
G.	<i>вѣсего</i>		<i>вѣсеиѧ</i>
D.	<i>вѣсеюу</i>		<i>вѣсени</i>
A.	<i>вѣсь</i>	<i>вѣсе</i>	<i>вѣсѧ</i> ( <i>вѣсѧ</i> )
I.	<i>вѣсѣмь</i>		<i>вѣсеиѧ</i>
L.	<i>вѣсемь</i>		<i>вѣсени</i>

*Plural*

N.	<i>вѣси</i>	<i>вѣса</i> ( <i>вѣста</i> , <i>-сѣ</i> )	<i>вѣса</i>
G.	<i>вѣсѣхъ</i>		<i>вѣсѣхъ</i>
D.	<i>вѣсѣмъ</i>		<i>вѣсѣмъ</i>
A.	<i>вѣса</i>	<i>вѣса</i> ( <i>вѣс-та</i> , <i>-сѣ</i> )	<i>вѣса</i>
I.	<i>вѣсѣми</i>		<i>вѣсѣми</i>
L.	<i>вѣсѣхъ</i>		<i>вѣсѣхъ</i>

(a) In some cases pronominal adjectives, whose stems end in a velar, show the pronominal endings in preference to their regular nominal endings: *дроугъ* 'other', *юликъ* 'how big', *коликъ* 'how much', *толикъ* 'so much', *селикъ* 'such,' *мъногъ* 'much'; I. sg. *мънозѣмь*: D. pl. *мъногомъ*, *мъногымъ*, G. pl. *мънозѣхъ*: G. pl. *мъногъ*, *мъногъхъ*, D. pl. *дроугѣмъ*: D. sg. *дроугюу*, G. L. pl. *колицѣхъ*, *юлицѣхъ*, &c.

Alongside the hard stem *сикъ* 'such', there appears *сиць*, G. *сицего*, A. sg. neut. *сице*, N. A. pl. neut. *сица*, N. sg. fem. *сица*, A. sg. fem. *сицѧ*.

(b) The adjective *тоуждѧ* (*стоуждѧ*, *штоуждѧ*), *тоужда*, *тоужде* 'foreign, alien' has a G. sg. *тоуждего*, *штоуждего*, L. sg. neut. *въ тоуждемы*.

(c) The pronominal adjectives *ютеръ*, *-ра*, *-ро* 'some one', *каковъ*, *-ва*, *-во* 'of what kind', show only a nominal declension; *такъвъ*, *-а*, *-о* 'such', *сицевъ*, *-ва*, *-во* 'such' show both declensions.



DECLENSION OF THE PRONOMINAL FORMS  
OF ADJECTIVES

§ 56. Adjectives and participles also have a compound declension, called pronominal because the second element of this compound formation is a pronoun. In some cases the pronominal element is clearly recognizable, in other cases the formation is less clear. In general the pronominal (definite) form of the adjective or participle is obtained by adding the anaphoric pronoun to the adjective or participle: *dobrŭ + jŭ, dobra + ja, dobro + je* > *добрѣ-и, добра-ѣ, добро-ю* 'that good one', *ништи-и, ништа-ѣ, ниште-ю* 'that poor one', *болѣ-и, болѣши-ѣ, болѣше-ю* 'the bigger one', *несѣ-и, несѣшти-ѣ, несѣште-ю* 'that one who is carrying', *несѣ-и, несѣша-ѣ, несѣше-ю* 'that one who has carried', *молѣ-и (моли-и), молѣши-ѣ, молѣше-ю* 'that one who has prayed' (§ 9.3, § 33.3). Possessive adjectives (§ 50 a), adjectives in *-ѣскѣ* (§ 50 f), and adjectives in *-ѣнѣ* (§ 50 c) have, as a rule, no pronominal forms.

The original syntactical function of the pronominal, definite adjective is attributive; the short, indefinite adjective was used predicatively. So, *чловѣкъъ добрѣ* = a good man, man is good; *чловѣкъъ добрѣи* = the good man, the man who is good. The last construction can be said to contain a relative clause which defines the noun. There is a difference in meaning between the two constructions: the first has a general, indefinite meaning: man is good; the second refers to a certain, definite category: the good man. In the history of the Slavonic languages the nominal adjectives tend to disappear and the pronominal forms take over their syntactic functions.

Hard stems

*Singular*

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>		<i>Feminine</i>
N. V.	добрѣ-и, -рѣ, -рѣи, -рон			добра-ѣ, -ѣ
G.	добра-ѣго, -ѣго, -го			добрѣ-ѣѣ
D.	доброу-ѣмоу, -оумоу, -моу			добрѣ-ѣи
A.	= N., = G. (masc.)			добрѣ-ѣѣ, -ѣѣ
I.	добрѣ-ѣи-ѣ, -ѣ, -рѣи-ѣ			добрѣ-ѣѣ, -рѣѣѣ
L.	добрѣ-ѣѣ-ѣ, -ѣ, -ѣѣ, -ѣѣ			добрѣ-ѣѣ

*Dual*

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
N. A. V.	Добра-ѣа, -а	Добрѣ-и	Добрѣ-иѣ
G. L.	Доброу-ю		
D. I.	Добры-има, -ма, -ръима		

*Plural*

N. V.	Добри-и	Добра-ѣа, -а	Добры-иѣ
G.	Добры-ихъ, -хъ, -ръихъ		
D.	Добры-имъ, -мъ, -ръимъ		
A.	Добры-иѣ	Добра-ѣа, -а	Добры-иѣ
I.	Добры-ими, -ми, -ръими		
L.	Добры-ихъ, -хъ, -ръихъ		

## Soft stems

*Singular*

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
N. V.	ништи-и, -ти, -тъи, -теи	ниште-ю	ништа-ѣа, -а
G.	ништа-юго, -аго, -го		ништа-иѣ
D.	ништу-юмоу, -оумоу, -моу		ништи-и
A.	= N., = G. (masc.)		ништѣ-ѣѣ
I.	ништи-имъ, -мъ		ништѣ-ѣѣ, -теѣѣ
L.	ништи-имъ, -мъ		ништи-и

*Dual*

N. A. V.	ништа-ѣа, -а	ништи-и	ништи-и
G. L.	ништу-ю		
D. I.	ништи-има, -ма		

*Plural*

N. V.	ништи-и	ништа-ѣа, -а	ништа-иѣ
G.	ништи-ихъ, -хъ		
D.	ништи-имъ, -мъ		
A.	ништа-иѣ	ништа-ѣа, -а	ништа-иѣ
I.	ништи-ими, -ми		
L.	ништи-ихъ, -хъ		

(a) In G., D., I. sg. fem. the original endings *-jeje*, *-jeji*, *-jejo* have been reduced to *-ѣа*, *-и*, *-ѣж*. In G. L. du. *юю* has been reduced to *-ю*. In the soft declension the ending *-ѣмь* of the L. sg. masc. and neut. has been replaced by *-имь*.

(b) In some cases (I. sg. masc., neut., D. pl. masc., fem., I. pl. fem., L. pl., D. I. du.) an analogical stem has been adopted: *добрѣ-*, *ништи-* which recalls the G. sg. fem., A. pl. masc. of the nominal declension.

(c) The contracted forms in G., D. sg. masc., neut. (§ 32.5) occur frequently in the texts. They are more recent forms and their use varies from text to text.

(d) In the L. sg. masc., neut. some texts (Ass., Zogr., Supr.) present isolated variants with the endings: *-ѣамь*, *-ѣамь*, *-ѣѣмь*: *новѣѣамь*, &c.

## § 57.

DECLENSION OF THE PRONOMINAL FORMS OF  
COMPARATIVES*Singular*

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
N.	<i>вѣши-и</i> , <i>-шьи</i> <i>старѣ-и</i>	<i>вѣшьше-ѣ</i> , <i>вѣше-ю</i> <i>старѣише-ѣ</i> , <i>-рѣю</i>	<i>вѣшьши-ѣ</i> <i>старѣиши-ѣ</i>
G.	<i>вѣшьша-ѣго</i> <i>старѣиша-ѣго</i>		<i>вѣшьша-ѣа</i> <i>старѣиша-ѣа</i>
D.	<i>вѣшьшоу-ѣмоу</i> <i>старѣишоу-ѣмоу</i>		<i>вѣшьши-и</i> <i>старѣиши-и</i>
A. = G. (masc.), = N.			<i>вѣшьшѣ-ѣж</i> <i>старѣшѣ-ѣж</i>
I.	<i>вѣшьши-имь</i> <i>старѣиши-имь</i>		<i>вѣшьшѣ-ѣж</i> , <i>-шѣж</i> <i>старѣишѣ-ѣж</i> , <i>-шѣж</i>
L.	<i>*вѣшьши-ѣмь</i> <i>*старѣиши-ѣмь</i>		<i>вѣшьши-и</i> <i>старѣиши-и</i>

*Dual*

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
N. A.	вѣшьша-ѣ старѣиша-ѣ	вѣшьши-и старѣиши-и	вѣшьши-и старѣиши-и
G. L.	вѣшьшоу-ю старѣшоу-ю		вѣшьшоу-ю старѣишоу-ю
D. I.	вѣшьши-ма, старѣиши-ма		вѣшьши-ма старѣиши-ма

*Plural*

N.	вѣшьши-и старѣиши-и	вѣшьша-ѣ старѣиша-ѣ	вѣшьша-ѣ старѣиша-ѣ
G.	вѣшьши-ихъ старѣиши-ихъ		вѣшьши-ихъ старѣиши-ихъ
D.	вѣшьши-имъ старѣиши-имъ		вѣшьши-имъ старѣиши-имъ
A.	вѣшьша-ѣ старѣиша-ѣ	вѣшьша-ѣ старѣиша-ѣ	вѣшьша-ѣ старѣиша-ѣ
I.	вѣшьши-ими старѣиши-ими		вѣшьши-ими старѣиши-ими
L.	вѣшьши-ихъ старѣиши-ихъ		вѣшьши-ихъ старѣиши-ихъ

(a) In N. sg. masc. the pronominal form is practically identical with the nominal form of the adjective: старѣи, вѣшши, мѣножи, мѣни (§ 51).

(b) The N. A. sg. neut. is formed regularly from the fem. stem in -ѣ-, but one finds also forms without ѣ: вѣшею, волею, мѣнею, &c.

(c) Here also, as in § 56 c, forms appear with contracted groups of vowels: G. -аго for -аего, &c.

(d) The cases in which the initial vowel of the ending is preceded by a final -и- of the stem present, in isolated instances, -еи- instead of -ии-: N. sg. masc. вѣшьнеи (Ps. Sin.) 'the highest',

G. pl. чаѡштѣихъ (Zogr.) 'of those who are waiting', L. sg. каѡштѣимь (Zogr.) 'in that one who repents', &c.

(e) The N. pl. masc. has the ending -шини instead of the expected -шен.

## § 58.

## DECLENSION OF THE PRONOMINAL FORMS OF PARTICIPLES

## I. Present participle active

*Singular*

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
N.	идѡ-и знаѡ-и молѡ-и	идѡштѣ-ѣ знаѡштѣ-ѣ молѡштѣ-ѣ	идѡшти-ѡ знаѡшти-ѡ молѡшти-ѡ
G.		идѡшта-ѣго знаѡшта-ѣго молѡшта-ѣго	идѡштѡ-ѡ знаѡштѡ-ѡ молѡштѡ-ѡ
D.		идѡштоу-ѣмоу знаѡштоу-ѣмоу молѡштоу-ѣмоу	идѡшти-и знаѡшти-и молѡшти-и
A.	идѡшти-и идѡштѣ-и знаѡшти-и знаѡштѣ-и молѡшти-и молѡштѣ-и	идѡштѣ-ѣ знаѡштѣ-ѣ молѡштѣ-ѣ	идѡштѡ-ѡ знаѡштѡ-ѡ молѡштѡ-ѡ
I.		идѡшти-имь знаѡшти-имь молѡшти-имь	идѡштѡ-ѡ идѡштѣ-ѡ знаѡштѡ-ѡ знаѡштѣ-ѡ молѡштѡ-ѡ молѡштѣ-ѡ
L.		идѡшти-имь знаѡшти-имь молѡшти-имь	идѡшти-и знаѡшти-и молѡшти-и

*Dual*

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
N. A.	ИДЖШТА-ІА ЗНАІЖШТА-ІА МОЛАШТА-ІА	ИДЖШТИ-И ЗНАІЖШТИ-И МОЛАШТИ-И	ИДЖШТИ-И ЗНАІЖШТИ-И МОЛАШТИ-И
G. L.		ИДЖШТОУ-Ю ЗНАІЖШТОУ-Ю МОЛАШТОУ-Ю	ИДЖШТОУ-Ю ЗНАІЖШТОУ-Ю МОЛАШТОУ-Ю
D. I.		ИДЖШТИ-МА ЗНАІЖШТИ-МА МОЛАШТИ-МА	ИДЖШТИ-МА ЗНАІЖШТИ-МА МОЛАШТИ-МА

*Plural*

N.	ИДЖШТЕ-И, -ШТИИ ЗНАІЖШТЕ-И, -ШТИИ МОЛАШТЕ-И, -ШТИИ	ИДЖШТА-ІА ЗНАІЖШТА-ІА МОЛАШТА-ІА	ИДЖШТА-ІА ЗНАІЖШТА-ІА МОЛАШТА-ІА
G.		ИДЖШТИ-ИХЪ ЗНАІЖШТИ-ИХЪ МОЛАШТИ-ИХЪ	
D.		ИДЖШТИ-ИМЪ ЗНАІЖШТИ-ИМЪ МОЛАШТИ-ИМЪ	
A.	ИДЖШТА-ІА ЗНАІЖШТА-ІА МОЛАШТА-ІА	ИДЖШТА-ІА ЗНАІЖШТА-ІА МОЛАШТА-ІА	ИДЖШТА-ІА ЗНАІЖШТА-ІА МОЛАШТА-ІА
I.		ИДЖШТИ-ИМИ ЗНАІЖШТИ-ИМИ МОЛАШТИ-ИМИ	
L.		ИДЖШТИ-ИХЪ ЗНАІЖШТИ-ИХЪ МОЛАШТИ-ИХЪ	

(a) Some texts (Ass., Supr.) prefer the ending -ни, -и in N. pl. masc.: ИДЖШТИИ, -ШТИИ. In the other cases there occur isolated forms with -еи- for -ни-: ВЕДЖШТЕ-ИХЪ, &c.

## 2. Past participle active 1

*Singular*

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
N.	несъ-и, несъ-и мо́ли-и, мо́ль-и	несъше-ю мо́льше-ю	несъши-га мо́льши-га
G.		несъша-юго мо́льша-юго	несъша-га мо́льша-га
D.		несъшоу-юмоу мо́льшоу-юмоу	несъши-и мо́льши-и
A.	несъши-и, -шьи мо́льши-и, -шьи	несъше-ю мо́льше-ю	несъшж-ѣж мо́льшж-ѣж
I.		несъши-имь мо́льши-имь	несъшж-ѣж, -шеѣж мо́льшж-ѣж, -шеѣж
L.		несъши-имь мо́льши-имь	несъши-и мо́льши-и

*Dual*

N. A.	несъша-га мо́льша-га	несъши-и мо́льши-и	несъши-и мо́льши-и
G. L.		несъшоу-ю мо́льшоу-ю	
D. I.		несъши-ма мо́льши-ма	

*Plural*

N.	несъше-и, -шини мо́льше-и	несъша-га мо́льша-га	несъша-ѣа мо́льша-ѣа
G.		несъши-ихъ мо́льши-ихъ	
D.		несъши-имъ мо́льши-имъ	
A.	несъша-ѣа мо́льша-ѣа	несъша-га мо́льша-га	несъша-ѣа мо́льша-ѣа
I.		несъши-ими мо́льши-ими	
L.		несъши-ихъ мо́льши-ихъ	

(a) In N. sg. masc. variants with secondary endings appear: -ъ, -он; -ен (§ 33.1, § 56), e.g. оумьръ 'the dead one', оумерон (Mar., J. xii. 1) 'the dead one', сътворен (Ass., Mt. xix. 4; L. x. 37) 'one who has done'.

(b) In this declension too (§ 56, § 57) the vocalic groups -ае-, -оуе- are contracted into -аа-, -а-; -оуоу-, -оу-, and in G. and D. sg. forms appear like: несъшааго, несъшаго, молъшааго, молъшаго; несъшоуоумоу, несъшоумоу, later несъшоомоу, несъшомоу. The phonetic change is based on the assimilation of *je, ju* to the preceding *a*. The various OCS texts behave differently as to the use of these variants. In N. pl. masc. there also appear forms in -ии: несъшини.

(c) The pr. part. pass. in -мъ, -ма, -мо (§ 74), the past part. pass. in -нъ, -на, -но and -тъ, -та, -то (§ 77) decline as adjectives and have definite (pronominal) and indefinite (nominal) inflexions. The past part. act. 2 in -лъ, -ла, -ло (§ 76) is, as a rule, declined as an indefinite adjective and used regularly in sing. and plur. in the formation of the compound tenses: perfect, pluperfect, future perfect; conditional.

## NUMERALS

### § 59. FORMATION AND DECLENSION OF THE NUMERAL CATEGORIES

#### 1. Cardinal numerals

The cardinal numerals from 1 to 4 are adjectives and they agree in case, number, and gender with the noun. The numerals 5-10 are quantitative (collective) fem. *-i-* stems (§ 43), and the object counted takes the G. pl. The numerals 11-19 are compound forms of units added to ten. The object counted agrees with the first element of the compound form, i.e. the unit. Therefore, after 11 the noun takes the singular, after 12 the dual, after 13 and 14 the plural, after 15-19 the G. pl. Similarly, after 20, 30-100, and 1,000 the noun takes the G. pl.



1. **ЮДИНЪ** masc., **ЮДИНА** fem., **ЮДИНО** neut.  
G. **ЮДИНОГО** masc., neut., **ЮДИНОЮ** fem. (§ 55.2).
  2. **ДЪВА** masc., **ДЪВѢ** fem., **ДЪВѢ** neut. (du. form). G. L. **ДЪВОЮ**, D. I. **ДЪВѢМА**; **ОБА** masc., **ОБѢ** fem., neut. 'both' (§ 55.2).
  3. **ТРИЕ**, **ТРИЕ** masc., **ТРИ** fem., **ТРИ** neut.  
G. **ТРИ**, D. **ТРИМЪ**, A. **ТРИ**, I. **ТРИМИ**, L. **ТРИХЪ**.  
The declension follows that of the masc. *-i-* stems (§ 43).
  4. **ЧЕТЫРЕ** masc., **ЧЕТЫРИ** fem., **ЧЕТЫРИ** neut.  
G. **ЧЕТЫРЪ** (*-ръ*), D. **ЧЕТЫРЕМЪ**, A. **ЧЕТЫРИ**, I. **ЧЕТЫРЬМИ**, L. **ЧЕТЫРЬХЪ**. The declension follows in general the pattern of a consonant *-r-* stem (§ 44.5).
  5. **ПАТЬ**, G. **ПАТИ**
  6. **ШЕСТЬ**, G. **ШЕСТИ**
  7. **СЕДМЬ**, G. **СЕДМИ**
  8. **ОСМЬ**, G. **ОСМИ**
  9. **ДЕВАТЬ**, G. **ДЕВАТИ**
- } decline like fem. *-i-* stems (§ 43).
10. **ДЕСАТЬ**, G. **ДЕСАТИ** declines like **ПАТЬ**, but has also cases according to consonant stems: G. **ДЕСАТИ**, D. **ДЕСАТИ**, A. **ДЕСАТЬ**, I. **ДЕСАТЫЖ**, L. **ДЕСАТЕ**, **ДЕСАТИ**, du. N. A. **ДЕСАТИ**, G. L. **ДЕСАТОУ**, D. I. **ДЕСАТЬМА**, plur. N. **ДЕСАТЕ**, **ДЕСАТИ**, G. **ДЕСАТЬ** (**ДЕСАТИН**), D. **ДЕСАТЬМЪ**, A. **ДЕСАТИ**, I. **ДЕСАТЫ**, L. **ДЕСАТЬХЪ**.
  11. **ЮДИНЪ НА ДЕСАТЕ** masc., **ЮДИНА НА ДЕСАТЕ** fem., **ЮДИНО НА ДЕСАТЕ** neut. G. **ЮДИНОГО НА ДЕСАТЕ** **РАБА** 'of the 11 servants', **ЮДИНОЮ НА ДЕСАТЕ** **ДѢВЫ** 'of the 11 girls', **ЮДИНОГО НА ДЕСАТЕ** **ЛѢТА** 'of the 11 years', &c.
  12. **ДЪВА НА ДЕСАТЕ** masc., **ДЪВѢ НА ДЕСАТЕ** fem., neut. G. **ДЪВОЮ НА ДЕСАТЕ** **РАБОУ**, **ДѢВѢ**, **ЛѢТѢ** 'of the twelve servants, girls, years' (du.).
  13. **ТРИЕ НА ДЕСАТЕ** masc., **РАБИ** '13 servants', **ТРИ НА ДЕСАТЕ** fem., neut., **ДѢВЫ**, **ЛѢТА** '13 girls, years'. G. **ТРИ НА ДЕСАТЕ** **РАБЪ** 'of the 13 servants', &c.
  14. **ЧЕТЫРЕ НА ДЕСАТЕ** masc., **РАБИ** '14 servants', **ЧЕТЫРИ НА ДЕСАТЕ** **ДѢВЫ**, **ЛѢТА**, 14 girls, years'. G. **ЧЕТЫРЪ НА ДЕСАТЕ** **РАБЪ** 'of the 14 servants', &c.
  15. **ПАТЬ НА ДЕСАТЕ** **РАБЪ**, **ДѢВЪ**, **ЛѢТЪ** '15 servants, girls,

- years'; G. ПАТИ НА ДЕСАТЕ ДѢВЪ, ДѢВЪ, ЛѢТЪ 'of the 15 servants, girls, years', &c.
16. ШЕСТЬ НА ДЕСАТЕ.
17. СЕДМЬ НА ДЕСАТЕ.
18. ОСМЬ НА ДЕСАТЕ.
19. ДЕВАТЬ НА ДЕСАТЕ.
20. ДѢВА ДЕСАТИ, G. ДѢВОЮ ДЕСАТОУ, D. ДѢВѢМА ДЕСАТЬ-МА. Both parts decline as duals.
30. ТРИЕ ДЕСАТЕ, ТРИ ДЕСАТИ, G. ТРИ ДЕСАТЬ, &c. Both parts decline.
40. ЧЕТЫРЕ ДЕСАТЕ, ЧЕТЫРИ ДЕСАТИ, G. ЧЕТЫРЬ (-РЬ) ДЕСАТЬ. Both parts decline.
50. ПАТЬ ДЕСАТЬ (G.), G. ПАТИ ДЕСАТЬ, &c. The first part declines as an *-i-* stem, the second part is invariable.
60. ШЕСТЬ ДЕСАТЬ
70. СЕДМЬ ДЕСАТЬ
80. ОСМЬ ДЕСАТЬ
90. ДЕВАТЬ ДЕСАТЬ
- } decline like ПАТЬ ДЕСАТЬ.
100. СЪТѦ neut., G. СЪТѦ declines as a neuter hard *-o-* stem noun (§ 40.2).
200. ДѢВѢ СЪТѢ, G. ДѢВОЮ СЪТОУ, &c. Both parts decline as duals.
300. ТРИ СЪТѦ, G. ТРИ СЪТЬ. Both parts decline according to the appropriate paradigms (§ 40.2, § 43).
400. ЧЕТЫРИ СЪТѦ. Declines like 300 (§ 40.2, § 44.5).
500. ПАТЬ СЪТЬ (G.). The first part declines like a *-i-* stem, the second part remains unchanged.
600. ШЕСТЬ СЪТЬ
700. СЕДМЬ СЪТЬ
800. ОСМЬ СЪТЬ
900. ДЕВАТЬ СЪТЬ
- } decline like ПАТЬ СЪТЬ.
- 1,000. ТЫСѢШТИ, ТЫСѢШТИ. It declines like a fem. *-yia-* stem of the type ВОГЫНИ (§ 39 b): G. ТЫСѢШТА, D. ТЫСѢШТИ, A. ТЫСѢШТѢ, etc.
- 2,000. ДѢВѢ ТЫСѢШТИ.
- 3,000. ТРИ ТЫСѢШТА.
- 4,000. ЧЕТЫРЕ ТЫСѢШТА.

5,000. ПЯТЬ ТЫСЯШТЬ, &c.

10,000. ДЕСАТЬ ТЫСЯШТЬ or ТЪМА 'darkness, myriad', which declines like an *-a-* stem (§ 39).

(a) Alongside ЮДИНЪ there also appears in Supr. the form ЮДЪНЪ, ЮД'НЪ, ЮДНЪ.

(b) The numeral ДЕСАТЬ is a fem. *-i-* stem noun, which in some cases has the endings of a consonantal stem (L. sg., N. G. I. pl., G. L. du.) (§ 44). So L. sg. ДЕСАТЕ is used for the formation of numerals from 11 to 19 by means of the preposition на 'on, upon': ЮДИНЪ на ДЕСАТЕ, whereas L. sg. ДЕСАТИ is used otherwise in a true locative-function: о ДЕСАТИ ДЪВЦИЦЪ 'about the 10 girls' (Supr. 368.22).

(c) In the numerals 20–90 the noun ДЕСАТЬ is counted like any other word: ДЪВА ДЕСАТИ (masc. du.), ТРИЕ ДЕСАТИ (-ТЕ) (N. pl.), ПЯТЬ ДЕСАТЬ (G. pl.). The units are added to the tens by the conjunction и or ти 'and': ДЕСАТЬ ДЕСАТЬ и ПЯТЬ = 95.

(d) For 10,000 and over there is no special numeral. An indefinitely great quantity is expressed by the noun ТЪМА, ТЪМА 'darkness', or НЕСЪВЪДА 'no knowledge'.

(e) In isolated cases the simple numerals take, like adjectives, the formative element of the definite form: ДЕСАТИИ (Zogr., Mar., Mt. xx. 24) 'the ten'; СЕДМИНА (acc.) (Zogr., Mc. viii. 20) 'the seven'; ЮДИНЫ ЖЕ на ДЕСАТЕ ОУЧЕНИКЪ 'the 11 apostles' (Mar., Zogr., Ass., Savv. Kn., Mt. xxviii. 16).

(f) In numerals whose last component part is a unit, the noun counted agrees with the unit, which is declined with the noun: о ДЕСАТИ ДЕСАТЬ и ДЕСАТИ ПРАВЕДНИЦЪХЪ (Mar., Lk. xv. 7) 'over ninety-nine just men'; ДЪВА ДЕСАТИ i ПЯТЬ СТАДИ '25 furlongs'.

## 2. Ordinal numerals

These numerals have adjectival forms in *-Ъ*, *-ЫИ*, *-ТЪ*, *-ЫНЪ* and occur regularly in the definite form, whereas some indefinite forms appear in adverbial expressions:

<i>Definite</i>	<i>Indefinite</i>
1st прѣвъ-и masc., прѣва-ѣ fem., прѣво-ю neut.	прѣв-ѣ, -а, -о прѣв-ѣ, -а, -о
2nd вѣторѣ-и masc., -раѣ fem., -рою neut., дроугѣ-и masc., &c.	вѣторѣ-ѣ, -а, -о дроугѣ-ѣ, -а, -о
3rd трети-и, третѣ-и masc., третиа-ѣ fem., тре- тию-ю neut.	трети-и, -ѣ, -ю третѣ-и, -ѣ, -ю
4th четвѣртѣ-и masc., &c.	четвѣртѣ-ѣ, -а, -о
5th пѣтѣ-и	пѣтѣ-ѣ, -а, -о
6th шестѣ-и	шестѣ-ѣ, -а, -о
7th седмѣ-и	седмѣ-ѣ, -а, -о
8th осмѣ-и	осмѣ-ѣ, -а, -о
9th девѣтѣ-и	девѣтѣ-ѣ, -а, -о
10th десѣтѣ-и	десѣтѣ-ѣ, -а, -о
11th юдинѣ-и на десѣте, юди- нонадесѣтѣ-и	юдинонадесѣтѣ, прѣвѣ на десѣте
12th вѣторѣ-и на десѣте	etc.
13th трети-и на десѣте; 14th четвѣртѣ-и на десѣте; 15th пѣтѣ-и на десѣте; 16th шестѣ-и на десѣте; 17th седмѣ-и на десѣте, седмѣдесѣтѣнѣ-и; 18th осмѣ-и на десѣте, осмона- десѣтѣнѣ-и; 19th девѣтѣ-и на десѣте; 20th дѣвѣдесѣтѣнѣнѣ; 30th тридесѣтѣнѣнѣ; 40th четѣридесѣтѣнѣнѣ; 50th пѣтѣ- десѣтѣнѣнѣ; both шестѣдесѣтѣнѣнѣ; 70th седмѣдесѣтѣнѣнѣ; 80th осмѣдесѣтѣнѣнѣ; 90th девѣтѣдесѣтѣнѣнѣ; 100th сѣтѣнѣнѣ; 1000th тѣсѣшѣтѣнѣнѣ.	

(a) The ordinal numerals decline like adjectives. Apart from прѣвѣ and вѣторѣ, they are formed by means of the derivative elements *-to-*, *-mo-*, *-tĭnĭ*. The numerals for 1st and 2nd are old inherited IE forms comparable to Lat. *primus*, Lith. *pirmas*, Goth. *fruma* to which in CS corresponds \**prĭvŭ*, Skt *pūrva-*. The first part of вѣторѣ is not clear (§ 15.2). The other formations have their counterparts in other IE languages: пѣ-тѣ: Lat. *quin-tus*,

Lith. *peñk-tas*, Gr. *πέμπ-τος*; *οс-мъ*: Lith. *ãš-mas* < \**ok't-mos*, Goth. *ahtāu* < \**ok'tou-*.

(b) The ordinal numerals 11–19 are formed either with a derivative element attached only to the (unit figure) first part, retaining the cardinal number 10: *шестъ на десѣте*, or by adding the derivative element at the end of the compound numeral, which is conceived as a unit: *дъвѣдесѣтънъ*, *дъводесѣтънъ*.

(c) The ordinal numerals 20–90 keep the cardinal units and attach to them *десѣтъ* or *десѣтънъ*: *дъвѣдесѣтънъ*, *дѣвѣтъ десѣтъ*. The OCS texts contain few examples of ordinal numerals between the tens: *седмьдесѣтъноуе и дѣвѣтоуе* ‘the 79th’ (Supr. 295.6). In later texts such numerals are expressed by the preposition *междоу* ‘between’: *четврѣтъин междоу десѣтъма* ‘the 14th’, or by a periphrasis: *четврѣтъин третинаго десѣте* ‘the fourth of the third decade = the 24th’.

### 3. Collective (qualitative) numerals

The meaning ‘*a group, a quantity of*’ is expressed by adjectival forms derived from the stems of the cardinal numbers:

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
2.	дъвон обон	дъвога обога	дъвоуе обоуе
3.	трон	трога	троуе
4.	четворъ четверъ	четвора четвера	четворо четверо
5.	пѣторъ пѣтеръ	пѣтора пѣтера	пѣторо пѣтеро
6.	шесторъ	шестора	шесторо
7.	седморъ	седмора	седморо
8.	осморъ	осмора	осморо
9.	дѣвѣторъ	дѣвѣтора	дѣвѣторо
10.	десѣторъ	десѣтора	десѣторо

(a) The first three forms (дъвон, обон, трон) decline like pronouns (§ 55. 2.II); the other forms have a nominal declension (§ 49).

(b) These numerals appear in the texts either in the plural (and also in the dual) for the three genders expressing several groups or categories of nouns: *нънина оубо трон сжтъ пакости дъвѣшѣте*

НАМЪ, СОТОНА И ДОУЖЪ И ВОЕВОДА (Supr. 73.1) 'but now there are three (a group of three) who are doing evil to us: Satan, the Dux, and the military leader'; ЧЕТВОРЫ ВО СЖТЪ . . . (Supr. 370.11) 'there are namely (a group of) four (parables); ВЕРИГАМИ ДВОИМИ (Supr. 146.5) 'with double chains'—or in neuter sing. expressing a multitude of individual objects as a unity: И ПРИИМЪ ДЕСАТОРО БРАТРИА (G.) (Supr. 279.15) 'and having received ten brothers'. So, ДЪВОІ ЛЮДЪЕ . . . ПІДЪ (Cloz. 840 f.) 'people of two kinds . . . came'; НЪ ВИНО НОВО КЪ МЪХУТЫ НОВЫ ВЪЛИВАЖТЪ, И ОБОЕ СЪБЛЮДЕТЪ СА (Mar., Zogr., L. 5.38) 'but new wine must be put into new bottles, and both are preserved'. Sometimes the meaning is that of a cardinal numeral: ОБОИ . . . ПАСТЪК (Supr. 417.29) 'the two kinds . . . of Easter'.

#### 4. Multiplicative numerals

The multiplicative meaning is expressed by the word КРАТЪ, a noun derived from the same root as the verb ЧРЪТАТИ, ЧРЪТАЖ 'to cut in, to scratch' (cf. Lith. *kertù, kiřsti* 'to cut': *kařtas* '(two) times'); or by the word -ШЪДИ probably derived from the root of ХОДИТИ, ШЪДЪ meaning 'a "go"' (§ 94I, § 100):

ДЪВА КРАТЪ (du.) 'twice'	ДЪВА-ШЪДИ, -ШДИ
ТРИ КРАТЪ (acc. pl.) 'three times'	ТРИ-ШЪДИ
*ЧЕТЪРИ КРАТЪ 'four times'	ЧЕТЪРИ-ШЪДИ (ЧЕТЪРИ-ШТИ)
ПАТЬ КРАТЪ (gen. pl.) (КРАТЪ) 'five times'	ШЕСТИ-ШЪДИ
СЕДМЪ КРАТЪ (gen. pl.) 'seven times'	СЕДМИ-ШЪДИ
СЕДМЪ ДЕСАТЪ КРАТЪ 'seventy times'	МНОГЪ-ШЪДЪ, МНОГА-ШЪДИ, МНОГЪ-ШТИ 'often'
ДЕВАТЬ ДЕСАТЪ КРАТЪ 'ninety times'	
МНОГО КРАТЪ 'many times'	

#### 5. Fractions

There are no special forms to express fractions; nouns are used for that purpose: ПОЛЪ 'half' (§ 42), ТРЕТИНА 'the third part' occurs

in later texts after the OCS period, **ЧЕТВРЪТЪ** 'quarter', **ДЕСАТИНА** 'tithe'.

## 6. Nouns of number and adverbial numerals

Nouns and adjectives with numerical meanings are formed by composition and derivation:

(a) Feminine nouns are formed from ordinal, cardinal, or collective numerals by the addition of the suffix **-ица**: **ВЪТОРИЦА** 'couple', **ДЪВОНЦА**, **ТРЕТЪНИЦА** (ТРЕТИНИЦА) 'group of three', **ТРОИЦА** 'Trinity', **ЧЕТВЕРИЦА** (ЧЕТВОРИЦА), **ПАТОРИЦА**, **СЕДМИЦА**, **СЪТОРИЦА**.

The instr. sg. (sometimes also the loc.) is used as an adverb expressing the idea of multiplication (§ 99.3):

**ДЪВОНЦЕИЖ**, **ВЪТОРИЦЕИЖ** 'twice, again', **ТРЕТИЦЕИЖ**, **ТРЕТИЦЕН** 'three times, the third time', **СЕДМИЦЕИЖ**, **СЕДМОРИЦЕИЖ**, **СЕДМЪКРАТИЦЕИЖ** 'seven times';

**СЪТОРИЦЕИЖ** 'hundred times', **СЪТОКРАТИЦЕИЖ** id., **ЮДИНОИЖ** 'once', in later texts also **ЮДИНИЦЕИЖ**.

(b) The suffix **-гоубѣ** (соубоубѣ 'double'), representing historically the same root which appears in the verb **сѣ-гънѣти** 'to bend, to fold', conveys, when attached to a numeral, the meaning of the English ending *-ble* in *double*, *treble*, Lat. *-plex* in *simplex*, *duplex*. These formations are rare and occur only in later texts: **ЮДИНОГОУБѢ**, **ДЪВОГОУБѢ**, **ДЪВОЮГОУБѢ**, **ТРЪГОУБѢ**, **ЧЕТВРЪГОУБѢ**. The nouns **ШЕСТОГОУБЪЦА**, **СЕДМОГОУБЪЦА** are derived by means of a suffix **-ъца**. Also, a verb **ТРЪГОУБИТИ** 'to treble' occurs in Euch. Sin.

(c) Numerals enter into the composition of a noun or adjective: **ТРЪЗЪБЪЦА** (Supr. 181.27) 'tridents', **ТРЪСВЯТЪ** 'thrice holy', **ЧЕТВРЪНОГЪ** 'quadruped', **ВЪТОРЪКЪ**, **ВЪТОРЪНИКЪ** 'Tuesday' = second day of the week.

## VERBS

### SURVEY OF VERBAL FORMS AND STEMS

§ 60. 1. *Verbal forms*. The verb has three simple tenses: present, aorist, and imperfect, and three compound tenses: perfect, pluperfect, and future perfect. Each of these forms is characterized by

special endings which distinguish three persons (1st, 2nd, 3rd), in singular, dual, and plural.

The nominal forms of the verb are: present participle active, present participle passive, past participle active 1, past participle active 2, past participle passive, and verbal noun.

The invariable verbal forms are: infinitive, supine, present gerund and past gerund.

Apart from the indicative, there exists an imperative mood (in origin an optative) and a conditional mood.

There are no special passive forms. When the passive concept is to be expressed a periphrasis (pr. part. pass. + auxiliary verb БЫТИ) or a reflexive verb is used (with the pronoun СЯ irrespectively of number and gender, like in Baltic).

2. *Verbal stems.* The various verbal forms are obtained by adding certain suffixes to the stem, which is the bearer of the meaning and which remains unchanged throughout the paradigm. The verbal system is based on two stems: one called the *infinitive-aorist stem* and the other the *present stem*: (a) from the infinitive-aorist stem are formed the aorist, the imperfect, the p. part. act. 1 and 2, the p. part. pass., and the supine; (b) from the present stem are formed the present tense, the present participles active and passive, the imperative, and in some cases the imperfect (§ 70). This duality of derivation is, however, obscured by phonetic changes in the stem, by analogical formations, and by other developments in the history of the language. Examples of regular infinitive and present stem forms:

<i>Infinitive:</i>	ЗЪВѦТИ	<i>Present:</i>	ЗОВѦ 'I call'
	'to call'		ЗОВЕШИ
supine	ЗЪВѦТЪ		'thou callest'
aorist	ЗЪВѦХЪ	imperative	ЗОВИ
	'I called'		
imperfect	ЗЪВѦДѦХЪ		
p. part. act. 1	ЗЪВѦВЪ	pr. part. act.	ЗОВѦ
p. part. act. 2	ЗЪВѦМЪ	pr. part. pass.	ЗОВОМЪ
p. part. pass.	ЗЪВѦНЪ		



<i>Infinitive:</i>	БРАТИ 'to fight'	<i>Present:</i>	БОРЖ 'I fight' БОРЕШИ 'thou fightest'
supine	БРАТЬ	imperative	*БОРИ
aorist	БРАХЪ	pr. part. pass.	БОРЕМЪ
imperfect	БРАХОМЪ СѦ (Supr., 1st. pl.)		
p. part. act. 2	БРАЛЪ	pr. part. act.	БОРЪА
p. part. pass.	БРАНЪ БОРЕНЪ	imperfect	БОРЪАХЪ
<i>Infinitive:</i>	ЖРЪТИ 'to sacrifice'	<i>Present:</i>	ЖЪРЖ 'I sacrifice' ЖЪРЕШИ 'thou sacrificest'
supine	ЖРЪТЬ		
aorist	ЖРЪХЪ, ЖРЪ (2nd & 3rd sg.)	imperative	ЖЪРИ
imperfect	ЖЪРЪАХЪ		
p. part. act. 1	ЖЪРЪ	pr. part. act.	ЖЪРЪИ
p. part. act. 2	ЖЪРЪЛЪ	pr. part. pass.	ЖЪРОМЪ
p. part. pass.	ЖЪРЕНЪ, ЖЪРЪТЬ		
verbal noun	ЖРЪТНІЕ 'sacrifice'		
<i>Infinitive:</i>	ПЛОУТИ 'to swim, to float'	<i>Present:</i>	ПЛОВЖ 'I swim' ПЛОВЕШИ 'thou swimmest'
supine	ПЛОУТЬ		
aorist	ПЛОУХЪ	imperative	ПЛОВИ
p. part. act. 1	ПЛОУВЪ	pr. part. act.	ПЛОВЪИ
p. part. act. 2	ПЛОУЛЪ	pr. part. pass.	ПЛОВОМЪ
p. part. pass.	ПЛОВЕНЪ	imperfect	ПЛОВЪАХЪ
<i>Infinitive:</i>	БЪРАТИ 'to take'	<i>Present:</i>	БЕРЖ 'I take' БЕРЕШИ 'thou takest'
supine	БЪРАТЬ		

aorist	БЪРАХЪ	imperative	БЕРИ
imperfect	БЪРААХЪ		
p. part. act. 1	БЪРАЕЪ	pr. part. act.	БЕРЪ
p. part. act. 2	БЪРАЛЪ	pr. part. pass.	БЕРОМЪ
p. part. pass.	БЪРАНЪ		

The verbs with stems ending in -и have identical present and infinitive-aorist stems:

<i>Infinitive:</i>	МОЛИТИ	<i>Present:</i>	МОЛѪ
	'to demand'		'I demand'
supine	МОЛИТЪ		МОЛИШИ
aorist	МОЛИХЪ		'thou demandest'
imperfect	МОЛѪААХЪ	imperative	МОЛИ
p. part. act. 1	МОЛѪ	pr. part. act.	МОЛА
p. part. act. 2	МОЛИЛЪ	pr. part. pass.	МОЛИМЪ
p. part. pass.	МОЛѪЕНЪ		

(a) The infinitive-aorist stem is obtained by dropping the ending -ТИ of the infinitive: ГЛАГОЛА-ТИ 'to speak', stem ГЛАГОЛА-; ХВАЛИ-ТИ 'to praise', stem ХВАЛИ-. However, the phonetic changes which took place in the history of the language obscured the actual stem; so ПАС-ТИ 'to fall' has an actual infinitive stem ПАС-, which goes back to \*pad- (§ 29.10), and therefore the aorist is ПАД-Ъ or ПАД-ОХЪ; ТѢШ-ТИ 'to run' is a development from \*tek-ti and forms the aorist from the original stem ТѢХ-Ъ or ТѢК-ОХЪ.

(b) The infinitive-aorist stem is either identical with the root of the verb or is enlarged by a suffix which is -а-, -ѣ-, or -и-: НЕС-ТИ, БѢР-А-ТИ, РАЗОУМ-Ѣ-ТИ, БОУД-И-ТИ (§ 61).

(c) The present stem is obtained by dropping the ending of the 2nd pers. sg. pr.: ЗОВЕ-ШИ 'thou callest', stem ЗОВЕ-; МОЛИ-ШИ 'thou demandest', stem МОЛИ-; КОУПОУЮЕ-ШИ 'thou buyest', stem КОУПОУЮЕ-.

(d) The present stem is derived from the root by the vocalic elements -е- (-о-), -не- (-но-), -је- or -и-.

(e) There are four verbs which add the endings directly to the

root-stem without any of the above-mentioned derivative elements. These verbs are called athematic: **ѸСМЬ** 'I am', **ДАДМЬ** 'I give, I shall give', **ВЪКМЬ** 'I know', **ѸМЬ** 'I eat' (§ 61.V, § 98).

### CLASSIFICATION OF THE VERBS

§ 61. The verbs are classified in five conjugations on the basis of the present stems (§ 60.2. c.d.). The infinitive-aorist stem is the criterion for the subdivisions within each conjugation (§ 60.2. a.b.). It should be borne in mind that this classification serves practical purposes and is not the only possible one. For practical purposes, too, each verb should be considered in its three main forms: inf., 1st sg. pr., and 2nd sg. pr.

I. The first conjugation (§ 94) contains verbs with present stem in *-e-* whose infinitive stem is either:

(a) the radical alone, i.e. without any suffix:

**НЕС-ТИ** 'to carry': pr. stem **НЕС-Е-ШИ**; or

(b) enlarged by the suffix *-a-*:

**БЪР-А-ТИ** 'to collect': pr. stem **БЕР-Е-ШИ**,

**ЗЪВ-А-ТИ** 'to call': pr. stem **ЗОВ-Е-ШИ**.

II. The second conjugation (§ 95) contains verbs which form the present stem by means of the suffix *-ne-*, and the infinitive stem by means of the suffix *-nq-* (cf. Gr. *τέμνω* 'I cut' 1st sg., *τέμνο-μεν* 1st pl., *τέμνε-τε* 2nd pl.). The root may end either in a vowel or in a consonant, and some verbal forms are derived directly from the root (aorist, participles, verbal nouns):

inf. **ДВИГ-НЪ-ТИ** 2nd pers. **ДВИГ-НЕ-ШИ** аор. **ДВИГ-Ъ**  
'to move'

inf. **МИ-НЪ-ТИ** 2nd pers. **МИ-НЕ-ШИ** аор. **МИ-НЪ-ХЪ**  
'to pass by'

III. The third conjugation (§ 96) contains verbs which have a present stem in *-je-*. The infinitive-aorist stem either:

(a) is identical with the root (ending in a vowel):

inf. **ЗНА-ТИ** 'to know' 2nd pers. **ЗНА-Ю-ШИ**

inf. **ГРЪ-ТИ** 'to warm' 2nd pers. **ГРЪ-Ю-ШИ**; or

(b) ends in a consonant and is enlarged by the suffix *-a-* or *-ova-*:

inf. ПѢС-А-ТИ 'to write'	2nd pers. ПИШ-Е-ШИ
inf. КОУП-ОВА-ТИ 'to buy'	2nd pers. КОУП-ОУЮ-ШИ

The first group (a) of this conjugation also contains the verbs with radicals ending in a liquid diphthong of the type: БОРИЖ, БРАТИ < \**bor-ti* 'to fight'; КОЛѢЖ, КЛАТИ < \**kol-ti* 'to stab'; МЕЛѢЖ, МЛѢТИ < \**mel-ti* 'to grind'.

IV. The fourth conjugation (§ 97) contains verbs whose present stem is enlarged by the suffix *-i-*. The infinitive-aorist stem ends either:

(a) in *-i-*, which is historically different from the present stem *-i-*:

inf. МОЛ-И-ТИ 'to demand'	2nd pers. МОЛ-И-ШИ
	'thou demandest'
inf. СТРАШ-И-ТИ 'to frighten'	2nd pers. СТРАШ-И-ШИ
	'thou frightenest'

or:

(b) in *-ѣ-* (*-a-*):

inf. СѢД-Ѣ-ТИ 'to seat'	2nd pers. СѢД-И-ШИ
	'thou seatest'
inf. ВЕЛ-Ѣ-ТИ 'to order'	2nd pers. ВЕЛ-И-ШИ
	'thou orderest'
inf. СЛЪШ-А-ТИ 'to hear'	2nd pers. СЛЪШ-И-ШИ
	'thou hearest'
inf. СТО-И-ТИ 'to be stand- ing'	2nd pers. СТО-И-ШИ
	'thou art standing'

This class of verbs is a new formation in Slavonic. Historically the *-i-* verbs represent a semithematic type which appears in the western IE languages (Albanian, Germanic, Italic, Celtic; cf. Chr. S. Stang, *Das slavische und baltische Verbum*, 1942, 23).

V. The fifth conjugation (§ 98) comprises four so-called athematic verbs whose stems show no suffix, and so the present tense stem is identical with the root of the verb:

inf. БЫ-ТИ 'to be'	1st pers. ЮС-МЪ
	2nd pers. ЮС-И
inf. ДА-ТИ 'to give'	1st pers. ДА-МЪ
	2nd pers. ДА-СИ

inf. вѣдѣти 'to know'	1st pers. вѣмь
	2nd pers. вѣси
inf. ѣсти 'to eat'	1st pers. ѣмь
	2nd pers. ѣси

The verb имѣти 'to have' may form the present tense according to this conjugation: имамь, имаши, &c. Its regular forms follow the third conjugation: имѣхъ, имѣюши, &c.

### CHANGES IN THE VERBAL STEMS OF CONJUGATION I a

§ 62. The infinitive stem of the verbs of conjugation I a is identical with the radical of the verb. In the formation of this stem there occur apophonic changes of the thematic vowel (§ 37, § 94 c), and changes of the final consonant followed by -ти. These latter changes are explained by the phonetic tendencies described in § 29. The following main changes may arise:

1. A labial followed by the dental -t- is dropped (§ 29.11):

чръп-хъ, чръп-е-ши: чръти < \*čerp-ti 'to ladle, to draw(up)'  
 сръп-хъ, сръп-е-ши: соүти < \*seŭp-ti 'to scatter, to spread'  
 (the irregular s- for š- in the infinitive (\*šuti < \*sjuti § 8.2)  
 is by analogy with the present)

грѣв-хъ, грѣв-е-ши: грѣти < \*greb-ti 'to dig, to row'

2. A dental followed by another dental changes into -s- (§ 20.4, § 29.10):

плѣт-хъ, плѣт-е-ши: плѣс-ти < \*plet-ti 'to plait'

чрът-хъ, чрът-е-ши: чръс-ти < \*čert-ti 'to cut'

блюд-хъ, блюд-е-ши: блюс-ти < \*bljud-ti 'to guard, to protect'

влад-хъ, влад-е-ши: влас-ти < \*vold-ti 'to dominate'

жлѣд-хъ, жлѣд-е-ши: жлѣс-ти < \*želd-ti 'to pay'

The spirant may, however, also represent an old spirant:

пас-хъ, пас-е-ши: пас-ти 'to graze' (cf. Lat. *pascor*)

врѣз-хъ, врѣз-е-ши: врѣс-ти 'to tie' with the IE \*vr̥z-/\*verz- (apophonic) alternation

3. When the radical ended in -r̥-, metathesis opens the syllable (§ 10.4) and apophonic alternation is found in the stems (§ 17, § 37.5.d):

мьр-хъ, мьр-е-ши: мьрѣ-ти < \*mer-ti 'to die' < IE \*mr̥-

ТЪР-Ж, ТЪР-Е-ШИ: ТРЪ-ТИ (ТЪРЪ-ТИ, ТРЪ-ТИ) < \**ter-ti* 'to rub'

4. When the radical ended in *-ŋ-*, this developed in the infinitive stem into a nasal (§ 14.1.2, § 15.2, § 18) which alternates with a reduced vowel followed by a nasal consonant in the present stem (§ 37.3):

ДЪМ-Ж, ДЪМ-Е-ШИ: ДЖ-ТИ < \**dom-ti* < IE \**dhm-* 'to blow'  
 КЛЪН-Ж, КЛЪН-Е-ШИ: КЛА-ТИ < \**klen-ti* 'to curse'

5. The velar consonants have been palatalized (§ 30.1 b): *-gti*, *-kti* > *šti*:

МОГ-Ж, МОЖ-Е-ШИ: МОШ-ТИ < \**mog-ti* 'to be able'  
 ВРЪГ-Ж, ВРЪЖ-Е-ШИ: ВРЪШ-ТИ < \**verg-ti* 'to throw'  
 РЕК-Ж, РЕЧ-Е-ШИ: РЕШ-ТИ < \**rek-ti* 'to speak'  
 ТЛЪК-Ж, ТЛЪЧ-Е-ШИ: ТЛЪШ-ТИ < \**telk-ti* 'to pull, to drag'

6. When the radical ended in a diphthong (*eʊ/ou*), the diphthong is monophthongized in the infinitive stem and changed in the present stem to *-ev-* > *-ov-* (§ 19.3):

СЛОВ-Ж, СЛОВ-Е-ШИ: СЛОВУТИ < \**sleu-ti* < IE \**k'leu-* (cf. Gr. κλέφομαι) 'to be called'  
 РОВ-Ж (РЕВ-Ж), РОВ-Е-ШИ (РЕВ-Е-ШИ): РОУТИ (РЮТИ) < \**reu-ti* 'to roar'

7. A few irregular changes in the stems, for which it is difficult to account, are most probably due to analogy:

ЛАГ-Ж, ЛАЖ-Е-ШИ: ЛЕШТИ < \**leg-ti* 'to lie down'  
 САД-Ж, САД-Е-ШИ: СЪСТИ < \**sēd-ti* 'to sit down'  
 ИД-Ж, ИД-Е-ШИ: И-ТИ < \**i-ti* 'to go' (§ 94.2 e)  
 ЖИВ-Ж, ЖИВ-Е-ШИ: ЖИ-ТИ < \**ži(v)-ti* 'to live' (cf. Lith. *gyjũ* 'I revive', *gyvas* 'alive')  
 ПЛЪВ-Ж, ПЛЪВ-Е-ШИ: ПЛЪ-ТИ < \**pel-ti* 'to weed out'

#### CHANGES IN THE VERBAL STEMS OF CONJUGATION I b.

§ 63. The verbs of conjugation I b show vocalic alternation in the root (*-i/-e-*, *-i/-i-*), and change in the stems the final diphthong *-eʊ* into *-ov* which alternates with *-ŷv*:

1. ВЕР-Ж, ВЕР-Е-ШИ: ВЪР-А-ТИ 'to take'

ДЕР-Ж, ДЕР-Е-ШИ: ДЪР-А-ТИ 'to tear apart'  
 ПЕР-Ж, ПЕР-Е-ШИ: ПЪР-А-ТИ 'to hit'  
 ЖИД-Ж (ЖЪД-Ж), ЖЪД-Е-ШИ: ЖЪД-А-ТИ 'to wait'  
 ЗОВ-Ж, ЗОВ-Е-ШИ: ЗЪР-А-ТИ 'to call'

2. Some verbs have the same vowel in the present and in the infinitive stem:

СЪС-Ж, СЪС-Е-ШИ: СЪС-А-ТИ 'to suck'  
 ТЪК-Ж, ТЪЧ-Е-ШИ: ТЪК-А-ТИ 'to weave'  
 ИСК-Ж, ИСШТ-Е-ШИ: ИСК-А-ТИ 'to seek'  
 КОВ-Ж, КОВ-Е-ШИ: КОВ-А-ТИ 'to forge'  
 РЪВ-Ж, РЪВ-Е-ШИ: РЪВ-А-ТИ 'to pull, to pluck out'  
 (О)-СНОВ-Ж, -СНОВ-Е-ШИ: -СНОВ-А-ТИ 'to fix, to establish'  
 МЕТ-Ж, МЕТ-Е-ШИ: МЕТ-А-ТИ 'to throw'

3. The verbs ИСК-А-ТИ, ИСК-Ж and МЕТ-А-ТИ, МЕТ-Ж also have forms that follow the third conjugation: ИШТЖ; МЕШТЖ or МЕТАЖ. ГЪН-А-ТИ 'to drive': ЖЕН-Ж is irregular. The verb МЕС-ТИ, МЕТ-Ж 'to sweep' belongs to conjugation I a.

## CHANGES IN THE VERBAL STEMS OF CONJUGATION II

§ 64. The verbs of conjugation II show no alternation of the thematic vowel; the final consonant of the stem is subject to regular phonetic changes (§ 29):

1. БЪЗ-БЪ-НЖ, -БЪ-НЕ-ШИ: -БЪ-НЖ-ТИ < \**bŭd-nŭ-ti* 'to wake'  
 (trans.): БЪЖД-Ж, БЪД-И-ШИ: БЪД-Ѣ-ТИ 'to be awake'  
 (intrans.)  
 ОУ-ВАН-Ж, -ВАН-НЕ-ШИ: -ВАН-НЖ-ТИ < \**veđ-nŭ-ti* 'to wither'  
 ОУ-ГЛЪ-НЖ, -ГЛЪ-НЕ-ШИ: -ГЛЪ-НЖ-ТИ < \**glŭb-nŭ-ti* 'to sink,  
 to stick'  
 КА-НЖ, КА-НЕ-ШИ: КА-НЖ-ТИ < \**kap-nŭ-ti* 'to drop' (cf. КАП-  
 А-ТИ)  
 ТРАС-ТРЪГН-Ж, -ТРЪГ-НЕ-ШИ: -ТРЪГ-НЖ-ТИ < \**trŭg-nŭ-ti* 'to  
 tear to pieces'

2. In some examples the consonant that had been dropped reappeared; or had not been assimilated (§ 29.5):

ГЪБЕ-НЖ, ГЪБЕ-НЕ-ШИ: ГЪБЕ-НЖ-ТИ and ГЪМЖ, &c. 'to perish'  
 О-СЛЪП-НЖ, -СЛЪП-НЕ-ШИ: -СЛЪП-НЖ-ТИ 'to become blind'

ПРО-ЗАБ-НЪ, -ЗАБ-НЄ-ШИ: -ЗАБ-НЪ-ТИ 'to sprout, to germinate'

ОҮ-ГЛѢБ-НЪ, ОҮ-ГЛѢБ-НЄ-ШИ: ОҮ-ГЛѢБ-НЪ-ТИ 'to sink, to stick'

3. The verb СТА-ТИ, СТАНЪ, СТА-НЄ-ШИ 'to get up' once belonged to the first conjugation. It inserted the *-n-* only in the present stem.

### CHANGES IN THE VERBAL STEMS OF CONJUGATION III

§ 65. Conjugation III contains: (1) primary verbs, i.e. those formed from a radical by means of a suffix *-je-*, and (2) secondary verbs, i.e. those formed from nouns:

1. БИ-ІЖ, БИ-ІЄ-ШИ: БИ-ТИ 'to beat'

ДѢ-ІЖ (ДЕЖДЪ), ДѢ-ІЄ-ШИ: ДѢ-ТИ (ДѢІАТИ, ДѢІАТИ) 'to make, to put'

ШИ-ІЖ, ШИ-ІЄ-ШИ: ШИ-ТИ 'to sow'

ЖЪН-ІЖ, ЖЪН-ІЄ-ШИ: ЖА-ТИ 'to harvest'

КОЛ-ІЖ, КОЛ-ІЄ-ШИ: КАЛ-ТИ 'to stab'

ВѢ-ІЖ, ВѢ-ІЄ-ШИ: ВѢ-ІА-ТИ 'to blow'

ПЛЮ-ІЖ, ПЛЮ-ІЄ-ШИ: ПЛѢВ-А-ТИ 'to spit'

ДЛЧ-Ж, ДЛЧ-Є-ШИ: ДЛ(Ъ)К-А-ТИ 'to be hungry'

ЖАЖД-Ж, ЖАЖД-Є-ШИ: ЖАД-А-ТИ 'to be thirsty'

ЧЕШ-Ж, ЧЕШ-Є-ШИ: ЧЕС-А-ТИ 'to comb'

СЪ-РАШТ-Ж, СЪ-РАШТ-Є-ШИ: СЪ-РѢС-ТИ 'to meet'

The suffix *-je-* appears as *-e-* when the preceding consonant is a palatal spirant or affricate.

The primary character of some verbs cannot always be ascertained. They may be derived from nouns or from other verbs:

ГЛАГОЛАТИ 'to speak': ГЛАГОЛЪ (н.); ДОУХАТИ, ДОУШЖ, ДОУШЕШИ 'to breathe': ДОУХЪ; ШЪПЪТАТИ, ШЪПЪШТЖ, ШЪПЪШТЕШИ 'to whisper': ШЪПЪТЪ; НАВЪЦАТИ, -ВЪЧЖ, -ВЪЧЕШИ 'to learn': НАВЪКНЖТИ, ОУЧИТИ; СКАКАТИ, СКАЧЖ, СКАЧЕШИ 'to jump': СКОЧИТИ, &c. Most of these verbs are imperfective-indeterminate (iterative).

2. The suffixes *-a-*, *-ѣ-* derive verbs either from nominal or from verbal stems: ДѢЛ-А-ІЖ, ДѢЛ-А-ІЄ-ШИ, ДѢЛ-А-ТИ 'to act': ДѢЛ-О (н.); ЗНАМЕН-А-ІЖ, ЗНАМЕН-А-ІЄ-ШИ, ЗНАМЕН-А-ТИ 'to mark': ЗНАМЕН-НІЄ (н.); РАЗОУМ-Ѣ-ІЖ, РАЗОУМ-Ѣ-ІЄ-ШИ, РАЗОУМ-Ѣ-ТИ 'to



understand': *разоум-ѣ* (п.); *оум-ѣ-ѣ*, *оум-ѣ-ѣ-ши*, *оум-ѣ-ѣ-ти* 'to know': *оум-ѣ* (п.); *нариц-а-ѣ*, *нариц-а-ѣ-ши*, *нариц-а-ѣ-ти* 'to name': *нареш-ти* (в.); *быв-а-ѣ*, *быв-а-ѣ-ши*, *быв-а-ѣ-ти* 'to be (habitually)': *быв-ти* (в.); *имѣ-ѣ*, *имѣ-ѣ-ши*, *имѣ-ѣ-ти* 'to have': *им-а-мь* (в.).

3. The suffix *-оу-*, which appears in the infinitive stems as *-оу-* and in the present stem as *-и-је-*, forms a great number of verbs (§ 96.4): *бесѣд-ов-а-ти*, *бесѣд-оу-ѣ*, *бесѣд-оу-ѣ-ши* 'to speak': *бесѣд-а*; *наслѣд-ов-а-ти*, *наслѣд-оу-ѣ*, *наслѣд-оу-ѣ-ши* 'to inherit': *слѣд-ѣ*; *мин-ов-а-ти*, *мин-оу-ѣ*, *мин-оу-ѣ-ши* 'to pass by': *мин-ѣ-ти*; *свѣз-ов-а-ти*, *свѣз-оу-ѣ*, *свѣз-оу-ѣ-ши* 'to tie': *свѣз-а-ти*. This category of verbs is particularly prolific in some modern Slavonic languages.

#### CHANGES IN THE VERBAL STEMS OF CONJUGATION IV

§ 66. The verbs of conjugation IV have always, in the 1st pers. sg. pr., a palatalized final stem consonant caused by the following *j*:

*врати-ти*, *врашт-ѣ* < \**vort-jp*, *врати-ши* 'to turn'; *люби-ти*, *любѣ-ѣ*, *люби-ши* 'to love'; *трудоу-ти*, *трудоу-ѣ*, *трудоу-ши* 'to toil, to make an effort'; *вратиѣ-ти*, *враштѣ-ѣ*, *вратиѣ-ши* 'to turn'; *видѣ-ти*, *виждѣ-ѣ*, *види-ши* 'to see'; *гладѣ-ти*, *гладѣ-ѣ*, *гладѣ-ши* 'to look at'; *свѣтѣ-ти*, *свѣштѣ-ѣ*, *свѣти-ши* 'to light', &c.

When the infinitive stem ended in *j*, *č*, *ž*, *š*, *št*, (*žd*) + *ě*, the *-ě* changed into *-а-*:

*бога-ти* *сѣ*, *бо-ѣ* *сѣ*, *бои-ши* *сѣ* 'to fear'; *крича-ти*, *кричѣ-ѣ*, *кричи-ши* 'to shout'; *сѣтажа-ти*, *сѣтажѣ-ѣ*, *сѣтажи-ши* 'to attain'; *слыша-ти*, *слышѣ-ѣ*, *слыши-ши* 'to hear'; *тѣшѣ-ти*, *тѣштѣ-ѣ*, *тѣшти-ши* 'to hurry'.

One single verb has *-а-* after a non-palatal consonant: *сѣпа-ти*, *сѣпаѣ*, *сѣпи-ши* 'to sleep'. It forms the imperfect and all other non-present forms from the stem *сѣпа-* (§ 97.g). This verb represents all that remained of a numerous verbal category which changed the fourth conjugation for the third.

#### PERSONAL ENDINGS

§ 67. It is assumed that in IE there existed primary endings for the formation of the personal forms of the present tense, and

secondary endings with which the past tenses and the optative were formed. The Slavonic equivalents of the second group are: the aorist, the imperfect, and the imperative, which is the continuation of an IE optative. In the 1st and 2nd persons plur. and in all persons of the dual the primary and secondary OCS endings are identical.

1. *The primary endings* of the verbs of the athematic class differ from those of the other four classes:

<i>Athematic</i>	<i>Thematic</i>
Sing. 1st -мѣ	-х (-их)
2nd -ци	-ши
3rd -тъ	-тъ
Plur. 1st -мѣ	-мѣ
2nd -те	-те
3rd -атъ (-хтъ)	-хтъ (-ихтъ), -атъ
Dual 1st -ѣ	-ѣ
2nd -та	-та
3rd -те	-те

(a) The 1st pers. ending of the athematic verbs, -мѣ, continues the IE ending *-mi*, but the origin of the thematic ending -х is not clear. One explanation (Leskien) connects it with the IE subjunctive *-ām* ending (cf. Lat. *ferām*), another (Kul'bakin) proceeds from *ō* + secondary ending *m*.

(b) The 2nd pers. ending -ци cannot continue the IE *-si* because this should have developed into -ць, and it did develop into -š (= -ць) in other Slavonic languages, e.g. Old Polish *jes* < \**jesi*. The OCS -ци is explained by Leskien (*Grammatik der albulg. Spr.*, 1919, 191) as representing the IE ending of the middle voice \**-sai* (cf. Prussian *assai*, *essei* = OCS *jesi*). The š in the ending of the 2nd pers. sg. pr. is analogical. It corresponds to IE *s*, but IE *s* changes in Slavonic into *x* only after *i*, *u*, *r*, *k* (§ 22). Thus š was phonetically possible only in the verbs of the fourth conjugation: *-i- + -si-* > *-xi-* — *š-* (§ 21). From this category of verbs the ending may have been generalized in the other thematic conjugations. However, this explanation remains a mere hypothesis. The

situation is that OCS has the endings *-сн* (athematic), *-шн* (thematic), while the other Slavonic languages have *-šǐ* (athematic and thematic).

(c) The 3rd pers. ending *-тъ* is not clear either. To IE *-ti* should correspond OCS \**-тъ*. Old Russian regularly has the ending *-тъ* in this person, while OCS regularly shows *-тъ*, e.g. *ѣс-тъ* 'he is', and only exceptionally writes *-тъ:ѣс-тъ* (cf. Gr. *ἐστὶ*). A short form *ѣ* for *ѣстъ* occurs in Supr., Cloz., Savv. Kn. Otherwise forms without *-тъ* in the 3rd sg. and pl. occur very rarely in OCS.

(d) The 1st pers. pl. ending *-мъ* is a regular continuation of the IE *-mos*. When followed by the enclitic pronoun *и* [*jǐ*], the ending *-мъ* changed into *-мъи* (§ 33.4): *ведемъи* 'we lead him', or into *-мои* (§ 33.1): *ведемои* 'id.'. In modern Slavonic languages this ending appears as *-m*, *-mo*, *-me*. The ending *-мъ* occurs in Zogr., Supr.

(e) The ending *-тѣ* in the 2nd pers. pl. is a regular continuation of the IE *-te*.

(f) The 3rd pers. pl. endings *-жтъ*, *-штъ* correspond to IE *-nt-* (after vowels), *-nt-* (after consonants). The verbs of the first and second conjugations attach this ending to the radical by means of the vowel *-o-*: *-o- + -nt- > -ot-* (§ 61.I.II); the ending *-jotǔ* of the verbs of the third conjugation (§ 61.III) is formed by analogy with that of the verbs of the first and second conjugations, because *-je- + -nt-* should have developed into *-et-* (§ 14). Also the *-etǔ* ending of the verbs of the fourth conjugation is not the regular development from IE *-i- + -nt-*. The fourth conjugation represents historically an athematic and semi-thematic category of verbs (§ 61.4). The ending of the athematic verbs in the 3rd pl. is *-etǔ* (with the exception of *сжтъ* 'they are', *имжтъ* 'they have'); the *-e-* represents an IE *ǵ* (§ 14.2). In this person too, as in the 3rd sg., the hard *-тъ* has not been satisfactorily explained.

(g) In a few examples the *-тъ* is dropped: *начьнж* (for *начьнжтъ*) *искати* (Supr. 16.18) 'they will (begin to) search'; *сж* (Supr.) 'they are'.

(h) In this person also (cf. 1st pers. pl.) the ending *-тъ*, followed

by an enclitic pronoun, changed into -ТЪ (§ 33.3), or sometimes developed into -ТО (§ 33.1): *ПОСТАВИТЪ-И* (Mar., Mt. xxiv. 47) 'he shall make him'; *МОЖЕТО-СЯ* (Mar., J. vi. 52) 'he can this'; *ВМЕТЪ-И* (Mar., L. ix. 39) 'he takes him'.

(i) The ending -ВѢ of the 1st pers. du. is parallel to the personal pronoun of the 1st pers. (§ 55.1). The verbs of the first and second conjugations attach this ending to the radical by means of the vowel -е- instead of the expected -о- (cf. 3rd pers. pl.). This vowel, in -Е-ВѢ, is the result of analogy with the -ІЕ-ВѢ of the verbs of the third conjugation, where the change -jo- > -je- is regular (§ 11.2).

(j) The ending -ТА of the 2nd pers. du.—used also for the 3rd pers. in later OCS texts: Supr., Savv. Kn., and sporadically also in Zogr. and Ass.—is formed on the analogy of the dual forms of the nouns; for that reason it appears also as -ТѢ when the noun-subject is feminine: *ПОСЛАСТѢ* (aor.) *ЖЕ СЕСТРѢ* (Savv. Kn., Ostr.) 'the two sisters sent'.

(k) The ending of the 3rd pers. du. is -ТЕ (Mar., Cloz., Ps. Sin.), which is often replaced by the -ТА of the 2nd pers. (Zogr., Ass., Euch. Sin., Supr., Savv. Kn.) and may appear as -ТѢ when the subject is feminine or neuter. The dual forms, which have survived in the Slavonic languages, have, in the 3rd pers., the ending -та.

2. *The secondary endings* originally formed the aorist, the imperfect, and the optative-imperative forms. These endings were: 1st pers. sg. -m, 2nd pers. sg. -s, 3rd pers. sg. -t. In Slavonic, following the tendency towards open syllables (§ 5), the final consonants were dropped. In the 1st pers. the suffix -o-(+m) developed into -ŭ which is the ending of the aorist (§ 15.3). In the 2nd and 3rd pers. sg. there remained no suffix. The dual and plural forms (1st and 2nd persons) have identical endings with the present primary ones. The 3rd pers. pl. has the ending -А, -Я which represents -e-+nt, -o-+nt (§ 14.3). The result in OCS was therefore as follows:

Sing. 1st -o-+m > Ѣ	Plur. 1st -МЪ
2nd -s (zero)	2nd -ТЕ
3rd -t (zero)	3rd -е-nt, -о-nt > -А, -Я

Dual 1st -ѢѢ

2nd -ѢѢ

3rd -ѢѢ

The bibliography for the history of the verbal endings is given by N. van Wijk, *Geschichte der altkirchenslavischen Sprache*, 1931, 215.

## PERSONAL VERBAL FORMS

## PRESENT TENSE

§ 68. The present tense forms are obtained by adding the primary endings (§ 67.1) to the stem (§ 60): *несѢ-ши, берѢ-тъ, двигнѢ-мѢ, знаѢ-тъ, мол-Ѣтъ*. In the 1st pers. the ending is added to the root: *нес-Ѣ, бер-Ѣ, зна-Ѣ, мол-Ѣ*. In the forms of the first and second conjugation one would expect the thematic suffixes *-o-*, *-no-* instead of *-e-*, *-ne-*; these last result from analogy with the third conjugation where *-jo-* > *-je-* (§ 11.2, § 65).

The verbs of the fifth (athematic) conjugation add the endings directly to the stem: *Ѣс-мѢ, да-мѢ, дас-тъ* < *\*dad-ti* (§ 61.V). The form *Ѣтъ* of the 3rd pers. pl. follows the thematic conjugation, representing a stem with the grade *o*: *\*so-nt-*.

## AORIST

§ 69. There are three aorist forms:

1. Simple (asigmatic, strong) aorist formed from the verbs of the first conjugation, with an infinitive-aorist stem ending in a consonant, and from the verbs of the second conjugation with a consonantal stem obtained after dropping the *-nq-* infix, e.g.:

*мошти* 'to be able', *могѢ*, stem: *mog-*; *двигнѢти* 'to move', *двигнѢ*, stem: *dvig-*:

Singular	Plural	Dual
<i>могѢ</i> < <i>*mog-o-m</i>	<i>могомѢ</i> < <i>*mog-o-mŭ</i>	<i>моговѢ</i> < <i>*mog-o-vě</i>
<i>може</i> < <i>*mog-e-s</i>	<i>можете</i> < <i>*mog-e-te</i>	<i>можѢта</i> < <i>*mog-e-ta</i>
<i>може</i> < <i>*mog-e-t</i>	<i>могѢ</i> < <i>*mog-o-nt</i>	<i>можѢте</i> < <i>*mog-e-te</i>
<i>двигѢ</i> < <i>*dvig-o-m</i>	<i>двигомѢ</i> < <i>*dvig-o-mŭ</i>	<i>двиговѢ</i> < <i>*dvig-o-vě</i>
<i>движе</i> < <i>*dvig-e-s</i>	<i>движете</i> < <i>*dvig-e-te</i>	<i>движѢта</i> < <i>*dvig-e-ta</i>
<i>движе</i> < <i>*dvig-e-t</i>	<i>двигѢ</i> < <i>*dvig-o-nt</i>	<i>движѢте</i> < <i>*dvig-e-te</i>

(a) One single verb of the third conjugation forms the asigmatic aorist: **СЪРЪКСТИ, СЪ-РАШТЪ** 'to meet', **ОБРЪКСТИ, ОБ-РАШТЪ** 'to find', aor. -**РЪКТЬ, -РЪКТЕ, &c.**

(b) The asigmatic aorist forms are not frequent in the texts. Verbs having the vowel *e* in the radical syllable form this aorist only in the 2nd and 3rd pers. sg.: **НЕСТИ**, aor. **НЕСЕ** (2nd, 3rd pers.) but not \**nesŭ* (1st pers.). In general, forms of the 2nd and 3rd pers. sg. and 3rd pl. are frequent and regular, whereas the other persons appear very seldom. Not every verb has a complete paradigm of the asigmatic aorist forms, and from the same verb a sigmatic aorist may also exist.

Here are the most frequent asigmatic aorist forms recorded in the texts:

(c) *Of the first conjugation*: **ИТИ** 'to go', 1st sg. pr. **ИДЪ**, aor.: 1st sg. **ИДЪ**, 1st pl. **ИДОМЪ**, 2nd pl. **ИДЕТЕ**, 3rd pl. **ИДЪ**, 3rd du. **ИДЕТЕ**; **МОШТИ** 'to be able', 1st sg. pr. **МОГЪ**, aor.: 1st sg. **МОГЪ**, 1st pl. **МОГОМЪ**, 3rd pl. **МОГЪ**, 3rd du. **МОЖЕТЕ**; **ВРЪШТИ** 'to throw', 1st sg. pr. **ВРЪГЪ**, aor.: 3rd pl. **ВРЪГЪ**; **КРАСТИ** 'to steal', 1st sg. pr. **КРАДЪ** aor.: 3rd pl. **ОУКРАДЪ**; **ПАСТИ** 'to fall', 1st sg. pr. **ПАДЪ**, aor.: 3rd pl. **ПАДЪ**; **СЪКСТИ** 'to sit down', 1st sg. pr. **САДЪ**, aor.: 1st sg. **СЪДЪ**, 1st pl. **СЪДОМЪ**, 3rd pl. **СЪДЪ**; **ТРАСТИ** 'to shake', 1st sg. pr. **ТРАСЪ**, aor.: 1st sg. **ТРАСЪ**, 3rd pl. **ТРАСЪ**; **ІАХАТИ** 'to drive (in a vehicle)', 1st sg. pr. **ІАДЪ**, aor.: 3rd pl. **ВЪ-ІАДЪ**, **ПРЪ-ІАДЪ**.

(d) *Of the second conjugation*: **-БЪКНЪТИ** (**ИЗЪ-**, **ОТЪ-**, **ПРИ-**) 'to run away', 1st sg. pr. **-БЪКНЪ**, aor.: 3rd pl. **-БЪКЪ**; **-ВЪКНЪТИ** 'to get accustomed', 1st sg. pr. **-ВЪКНЪ**, aor.: 3rd pl. **НА-ВЪКЪ**; **ГЛЪБНЪТИ** 'to sink', 1st sg. pr. **ГЛЪБНЪ**, aor.: 1st sg. **ОУ-ГЛЪБЪ** (**ОУ-ГЛЪБЪ**), 3rd pl. **ОУГЛЪБЪ**; **ГЪМНЪТИ**, 'to perish', 1st sg. pr. **ГЪМНЪ** aor.: 3rd pl. **ПО-ГЪМЪ**; **ДВИГНЪТИ** 'to move', 1st sg. pr. **ДВИГНЪ**, aor.: 1st sg. **ДВИГЪ**, 3rd pl. **ДВИГЪ**; **ЖАСНЪТИ** **СА** 'to be frightened', 1st sg. pr. **ЖАСНЪ СА**, aor.: 3rd pl. **ОУ-ЖАСЪ СА**, 3rd du. **ОУ-ЖАСТЕ СА**; **ЗАБНЪТИ** 'to bud', 1st sg. pr. **ЗАБНЪ**, aor.: 3rd pl. **ПРО-ЗАБЪ**; **ВЪС-КРЪСНЪТИ** 'to rise, to resurrect', 1st sg. pr. **ВЪСКРЪСНЪ**, aor.: 3rd pl. **ВЪСКРЪСЪ**; **КЪСНЪТИ** 'to become sour', 1st sg. pr. **КЪСНЪ**, aor.: 3rd pl. **ВЪС-КЪСЪ**; **МЪКНЪТИ** 'to become silent', 1st sg. pr.

МЪКНЪ, aor.: 3rd pl. ОҮ-МЪКЪ; -НИКНЪТИ 'to rise', 1st sg. pr. НИКНЪ, aor.: 3rd pl. ВЪЗ-НИКЪ; ОҮ-НЪЗНЪТИ 'to put in', 1st sg. pr. НЪЗНЪ, aor.: 3rd pl. ОҮ-НЪЗЪ; СВАДЪТИ (СВАДНЪТИ) intrans. 'to be singed', 1st sg. pr. СВАДЪ, aor.: 3rd pl. ПРИ-СВАДЪ; СЪХНЪТИ intrans. 'to dry', 1st sg. pr. СЪХНЪ, aor.: 1st sg. И-СЪХЪ (И-СОХЪ), 3rd pl. И-СЪХЪ; ТОНЪТИ 'to sink', 1st sg. pr. -ТОНЪ, aor.: 3rd pl. ОҮ-ТОПЪ < \*-*toprot*; ТЪКНЪТИ 'to push', 1st sg. pr. ТЪКНЪ, aor.: 3rd pl. ПО-ТЪКЪ; ХРЪМНЪТИ 'to limp', 1st sg. pr. ХРЪМНЪ, aor.: 3rd pl. ОҮ-ХРЪМЪ; ЧЕЗНЪТИ 'to disappear', 1st sg. pr. ЧЕЗНЪ, aor.: 3rd pl. ИШТЕЗЪ, 3rd du. ИШТЕЗЕТЕ < ИЗЧЕЗЕТЕ (§ 30.1.а).

2. Sigmatic aorist, so called because its stem is enlarged by the suffix *-s-*, to which the secondary endings are attached by a connecting *-o-* (in the 1st pers. sg. and du.) or directly (in the other persons). The suffix *-s-* was either kept or changed into *-x-* (§ 22).

The endings are parallel to those of the asigmatic aorist:

Sing. 1st -сѣ, -хѣ	Plur. 1st -сомѣ, -хомѣ	Dual 1st -совѣ, -ховѣ
2nd — —	2nd -сте	2nd -ста
3rd — —	3rd -ца, -ша	3rd -сте

The features of these aorist forms are: changes in the stems, alternative suffixes *-s-* or *-x-*, and lengthening of the radical vowel.

(a) Verbs with a vocalic monosyllabic or polysyllabic stem could form this aorist: ВЪРА-ТИ 'to carry', aor. sg. ВЪРА-ХЪ, ВЪРА, ВЪРА; pl. ВЪРАХОМЪ, ВЪРАСТЕ, ВЪРАША; du. ВЪРАХОВѣ, ВЪРАСТА, ВЪРАСТЕ; ЗНА-ТИ 'to know', aor. ЗНАХЪ; ПИ-ТИ 'to drink', aor. ПИХЪ; ВИДѣ-ТИ 'to see', aor. ВИДѣХЪ; Пѣ-ТИ 'to sing', aor. ПѣХЪ.

(b) The *-s-* changed into *-x-* after *-i-* and *-u-* (§ 22), i.e. in verbs of the type *pi-ti* and *kry-ti* 'to cover' (where *y* < *ū*); from this type the ending *-xī* spread to the other types: ВЪРА-ХЪ, &c.

(c) The *-s-* ending was preserved by the verbs whose stem showed a nasal *-ǣ-*: ИА-ТИ 'to take, to grasp', aor. ИАСЪ; КЛА-ТИ 'to curse', aor. КЛАСЪ; НА-ЧА-ТИ 'to begin', aor. НАЧАСЪ. However, analogous forms appear as well: РАС-ПАТИ, 'to crucify', aor. -ПАХЪ, -ПАХОМЪ, -ПАША (Zogr., Mar. have both forms; Supr., Savv. Kn. have only *x-* forms; Ps. Sin., Euch. Sin. have *s-* forms almost exclusively).

(d) Verbs of the second class with a vocalic stem form the aor. in  $-x\text{ъ}$  only: МИ-НЖ-ТИ 'to pass, to overtake', aor. МИНЖХЪ; ПОМѢ-НЖ-ТИ 'to remember', aor. ПОМѢНЖХЪ; those with a consonantal stem may form the aor. in  $-x\text{ъ}$ : ДВИГ-НЖ-ТИ, aor. ДВИГ-НЖХЪ, but they prefer the asigmatic aorist ДВИГЪ (§ 69.1), or in a later period the enlarged sigmatic aorist in  $-ox\text{ъ}$  (§ 69.3) ДВИГОХЪ. The number of  $-x\text{ъ}$  aorists from verbs of the second class is small in the texts, and they occur alongside the asigmatic forms: КОСНЖТИ 'to touch', aor. 3rd pl. КОСНЖША and КОСНЖ; ДРЪЗНЖТИ 'to dare', aor. 3rd pl. ДРЪЗНЖША and ДРЪЗНЖ; ТРЪГНЖТИ 'to pull', aor. 3rd pl. ТРЪГНЖША and ТРЪГНЖ.

(e) Verbs with a monosyllabic stem ending in a consonant could form the sigmatic aorist by adding the endings and lengthening the vowel of the infinitive-aorist stem (§ 62)  $o > a$ ,  $e > \acute{e}$ ,  $i > i$ : БОС-ТИ 'to sting', 1st sg. pr. БОДѢ, aor. sg. БАСЪ, БОДЕ БОДЕ; pl. БАСОМЪ, БАСТЕ, БАСА; du. БАСОВѢ, БАСТА, БАСТЕ; ВЕС-ТИ 'to lead', 1st sg. pr. ВЕДѢ, aor. ВѢСЪ, ВЕДЕ, &c.; ЧИСТИ 'to count, to read', 1st sg. пр. ЧЪТѢ, aor. ЧИСЪ, &c.; ПАТИ 'to stretch, to hang', 1st sg. pr. ПЪНѢ, aor. ПАСЪ, ПА, ПА, ПАСОМЪ, &c.; ІАСТИ 'to eat', 1st sg. pr. ІАМЪ, aor. ІАСЪ, ИЗ-Ѣ, (-ІА), ИЗ-Ѣ, ІАСОМЪ (ІАХОМЪ), ІАСТЕ, ІАСА (ІАША), but also ІАХЪ, probably on the analogy of ДАХЪ from ДАСТИ 'to give'. In the 3rd pers. ІАСТЪ is the regular form parallel to ДАСТЪ; the ending  $-стъ$  is analogous to the 3rd sg. pr. ІЕСТЪ.

(f) When the final consonant of the stem was  $k$ ,  $r$  (§ 22),  $g$ ,  $l$  the suffix  $-s-$  is changed into  $-x$ : РЕШТИ 'to tell', 1st sg. pr. РЕКѢ, aor. sg.: РЕХЪ < \**rek-sū*, рече, рече; pl. РЕХОМЪ, РЕСТЕ, РЕША; du. РЕХОВѢ, РЕСТА, РЕСТЕ; МРѢТИ < \**meriti* 'to die', 1st sg. pr. МЪРѢ, aor.: МРЕХЪ, МРЕ, МРЕ, &c.; ЖЕШТИ 'to burn', 1st sg. pr. ЖЕГѢ, aor.: ЖАХЪ; КЛАТИ < \**kolti* 'to stab, to slaughter', 1st sg. pr. КОМѢ, aor.: КЛАХЪ, КЛА, КЛА, КЛАХОМЪ, &c. (§ 6.3).

(g) The verbs ПО-ЖРѢТИ < \**žerti* 'to devour' and ЖРѢТИ 'to sacrifice' have 1st sg. pr. ЖЪРѢ, and ТРѢТИ < \**terti* 'to rub' (also an infinitive ТРѢТИ) 1st sg. pr. ТЪРѢ and form their aorists: -ЖРѢХЪ, ЖРѢХЪ, ТРѢХЪ (§ 10.4).

(h) Also these aorist forms occur in the texts only from a small number of verbs. Apart from those mentioned above, the texts



record aorist forms from: **БЛЮСТИ** 'to watch (over)', aor. **БЛЮСЪ**; **ВРЪСТИ** 'to throw', aor. **ВРЪСЪ**; **ГРЪСТИ** 'to dig, to row', aor. **ГРЪСЪ**; **МАСТИ** 'to trouble', aor. **МАСЪ**; **ТРАСТИ** 'to shake', aor. **ТРАСЪ**; **ВЛЪШТИ** 'to drag', aor. **ВЛЪХЪ**; **ЛАШТИ** 'to bend', aor. **ЛАХЪ**. Double forms occur from **МАСТИ**, 3rd pl. aor. **МАСА** and **СЪ-МАША**.

(i) In the 2nd and 3rd persons sg. an ending **-ТЬ** is added, especially to the aorist forms of verbs with the stem ending in **-r-**, **-ř-**, **-i-**, **-ě-**: **ОУМРЪТЪ**, **ПРОСТРЪТЪ** from **ПРОСТРЪТИ** 'to spread', **ПИТЬ** from **ПИТИ** 'to drink', **НАЧАТЬ** from **НАЧАТИ** 'to begin', **БЫТЬ** from **БЫТИ** 'to be', **ПОЯСТЪ** from **ЯСТИ** 'to eat', **ДАТЬ** from **ДАТИ**, 'to give', alongside **ОУМРЪ**, **ПРОСТРЪ**, **ПИ**, **НАЧА**, **БЫ**, **ПОЯ**, **ДА**.

3. The new, enlarged sigmatic aorist is formed by the suffix **-ОХЪ** added to the stem which ends in a consonant. The conjugation is the same as that of the **-ХЪ** aorist, and in the 2nd and 3rd persons sg. it also takes the forms of the simple aorist. This aorist is formed from verbs of the first conjugation, with the exception of those which have an infinitive stem in **-а-** (**БЪРА-ТИ**) and of those with a stem ending in **-н-** or in **-р-** (**ПАТИ-ПЪНЪ**, **МРЪТИ-МЪРЪ**); it is also formed from verbs of the second conjugation with a consonantal radical:

Sing. 1st	<b>несохъ</b>	<b>двигохъ</b>	Plur. 1st	<b>несохомъ</b>	<b>двигохомъ</b>
2nd	<b>несе</b>	<b>движе</b>	2nd	<b>несосте</b>	<b>двигосте</b>
3rd	<b>несе</b>	<b>движе</b>	3rd	<b>несоша</b>	<b>двигоша</b>
Dual 1st	<b>несоховѣ</b>	<b>двигоховѣ</b>			
2nd	<b>несоста</b>	<b>двигоста</b>			
3rd	<b>несосте</b>	<b>двигосте</b>			

The texts vary in the use of these aorist forms. Some texts show no trace of them (Mar., Ps. Sin., Cloz.), others seldom use this aorist (Ass., Euch. Sin.), and in others again it is regular or frequent (Savv. Kn., Supr., Zogr.). This aorist is a later creation and replaced the asigmatic aorist and the sigmatic aorist in **-ХЪ** in the history of the Slavonic languages. The Western Slavonic languages form this aorist with the ending **-ech**.

## IMPERFECT

§ 70. The IE imperfect (cf. Gr. *ἔ-φενυ-ον*) was lost in OCS, because in many verbs it became identical with the simple aorist; e.g. from *вѣсти* 'to move in a vehicle', 1st sg. *вѣзѣ*, the imperfect should have been *\*vezŭ*; from *мошти* 'to be able', 1st sg. pr. *могѣ*, impf. *\*mogŭ*. These forms are, however, identical with the simple aorist forms.

In Slavonic a new formation replaced the old IE imperfect. The derivative suffix of the new imperfect is *-ахъ* or *-ѣахъ* added usually to the infinitive stem. The ending *-ахъ* is used to form the imperfect of verbs which have a second stem ending in *-а-* or *-ѣ-*, i.e. conjugation Ib (§ 61.I) *вѣра-ти-*, impf. *вѣра-ахъ*; conjugation III (§ 61.III) *зна-ти-*, impf. *зна-ахъ*, *грѣ-ти-*, impf. *грѣ-ахъ*, *коупова-ти*, impf. *коупова-ахъ*; conjugation IVb (§ 61.IV) *сѣдѣ-ти-*, impf. *сѣдѣ-ахъ*.

All other verbs form the imperfect by means of the suffix *-ѣахъ*: *нес-ти-*, impf. *нес-ѣахъ*, *двигнѣти*, impf. *двигн-ѣахъ*, *молити*, impf. *моли-таахъ* (*моли-ѣахъ*) < *\*molj-ěaxŭ*.

(a) The velar stem consonants *k, g* were palatalized into *č, ž* by a following *-ě-*. After the palatal consonants (*č, ž, j*) *-ě-* changed into *-а-* and so an ending *-аахъ* was obtained: *тѣкѣ*, *тѣшти* 'to run, to flow', impf. *тѣчаахъ* < *\*tek-ěaxz*; *могѣ*, *мошти* 'to be able', impf. *можаахъ* < *\*mog-ěaxz*; *вращѣ*, *вратити* 'to turn', impf. *вращтаахъ* < *\*vortj-ěaxŭ*; *чюѣ*, *чюти* 'to feel', impf. *чютаахъ*.

(b) Most of the endings are parallel to those of the aorist:

Sing. 1st	<i>-ахъ, -ѣахъ, -аахъ</i>	Plur.	<i>-ахомъ, -ѣахомъ, -аахомъ</i>
2nd	<i>-аше, -ѣаше, -ааше</i>		<i>-ашете, (-асте); -ѣашете, (-ѣасте); -аашете, (-аасте)</i>
3rd	<i>-аше, -ѣаше, -ааше</i>		<i>-ахѣ, -ѣахѣ, -аахѣ</i>

Dual 1st	<i>-аховѣ, -ѣаховѣ, -ааховѣ</i>
2nd	<i>-ашета, (-аста); -ѣашета, (-ѣаста); -аашета, (-ааста)</i>
3rd	<i>-ашете, (-асте); -ѣашете, (-ѣасте); -аашете, (-аасте)</i>

The ending *-ѣахъ*, &c. is also spelt *-таахъ*.

(c) These endings were sometimes contracted, in the further development of the language, into -ахъ, -ѣхъ, and thus arose the impf. forms въраахъ, несеахъ alongside въраахъ, несеахъ (§ 32.5). The texts differ in their use of contracted and non-contracted impf. forms. Savv. Kn. uses only contracted forms, in Zogr. and Mar. the contracted forms are exceptions.

(d) The endings -сѣ (2nd pl., 3rd du.), -сѣа (2nd du.) are the aorist endings introduced into the imperfect paradigm. They do not appear in Zogr. and Cloz.; Savv. Kn. and Ostr. use them exclusively.

(e) The origin of the imperfect endings is not clear. The nearest approach to a satisfactory explanation is to be seen in -jaxŭ (вѣдѣахъ < \*vedě-jaxŭ) an old impf. from \*es- (radical of the verb 'to be') preceded by an augment:  $e + es > \bar{e}s > *jasŭ, *jase, \&c.$  The  $x$  for  $s$  (-jaxŭ) could be explained by analogy with the aorist endings -xŭ (§ 69.2). (Cf. J. Kurylowicz, *Réflexions sur l'imparfait et les aspects en vieux slave. Esquisses linguistiques*, 1960, p. 120.)

## MOODS

### IMPERATIVE MOOD

§ 71. Of the IE moods OCS retained only the indicative. The optative assumed in OCS the function of the imperative. The characteristic derivative element for the formation of the optative from the thematic verbs is -i-: \*ber-o-i-mi, \*ber-o-i-s, \*ber-o-i-t, \*ber-o-i-mŭ, \*ber-o-i-te (cf. Gr. φέρουτε), &c. Forms for the 1st sg. and 3rd pl. have not been preserved in OCS. The imperative for these persons is formed with the particle да + indicative, which tense has then the meaning of a permissive mood.

1. The IE diphthong -oj- was monophthongized into -ě- (§ 10.2.3) which changed into -i- at the end of a word or when preceded by -j- or by a palatal consonant. Thus the following endings arose:

Sing. 1st	—	Plur. 1st	-ѣмъ, -ѣмъ,	Dual 1st	-ѣвѣ, -ѣвѣ,
			-имъ		-ивѣ
2nd	-и	2nd	-ѣте, -ѣте,	2nd	-ѣта, -ѣта,
			-ите		-ита
3rd	-и	3rd	—	3rd	—

Accordingly, from **вести, ведѣ** the imperative is: **веди, веди; ведѣмиъ, ведѣте; ведѣвѣ, ведѣта**. Dual forms are very rare. If the present stem contained a *-j-* the result was: **знаи [znaji], знаи; знаимиъ, знаите; знаивѣ, знаита**; however, this category of verbs also has the ending **-іамъ, -іате: глаголіамъ and глаголіимиъ, глаголііате and глаголіите**. Euch. Sin. and Cloz. know only *-i-* forms; Savv. Kn. shows only *-a-* forms. Verbs with the present stem in *-i-* have *-i-* endings in the imperative: **моли, молимиъ, молитѣ**, which are identical with the indicative forms (where, however, the *-i-* is not of diphthongic origin). These verbs are of athematic origin (§ 61.IV) and have the endings of that class of verbs.

2. The athematic verbs add the *-i-* direct to the consonantal stem which is palatalized and gives the following result: **дѣмиъ, imp. дѣди, дѣдите; іамъ, imp. іади (ѣжѣди), іадите; вѣмиъ, imp. вѣжѣди, вѣдите**. This ending has been extended, and the imp. from **видѣти** is **вижѣди, видите**. In Euch. Sin. the regular forms are **дѣди, вѣжѣди, вижѣди** which are built by analogy with the thematic forms.

The athematic verb **ѹсмь** forms the imperative from another stem: **ѹдѣ** 'I will be', imp. **ѹди**; this verb alone has all three persons in imperative: **ѹдѣмиъ, ѹди, ѹди; ѹдѣмиъ, ѹдѣте, ѹдѣ; ѹдѣвѣ, ѹдѣта, ѹдѣте**. Originally this form was a subjunctive. The first person form (**ѹдѣмиъ**) may have the meaning of an optative (§ 98.0).

3. The imperative forms illustrate the double treatment of the diphthong *oi* (§ 10.2). The OCS imperative represents the IE optative of the type Gr. *φέρεις, φέροι, φέρομεν, φέριτε*. In the 2nd and 3rd sg. the final *-oi* is represented by *-i-*: *beri*; in the 1st and 2nd pl. the medial *-oi-* is represented by *-ě-*: *berěmŭ, berěte*; when preceded by *j* the *-oi-* changes into *-i-*: *znajimŭ, znajite*. Some texts have forms with *ě*: *ubĭěmŭ, bijate* (Supr.). A. Meillet (*Le slave commun*, 1934, 330) considers the forms with *ě, ja* as old IE subjunctive forms, in which the *a, ě* represent an original long *ō, ē* of the type Gr. *φέρωμεν, φέρητε* (§ 6.2, 4).

The OCS imperative forms with *-ě-* (pl.) have been replaced in

the modern Slavonic languages by forms with *-i-*, which originates in the athematic verbs of the type *dadite, jadite, vědite*. This *-i-* represents an original *-jē-* in the reduced grade *-ī-*, as seen in Lat. *stimus* (also *siem, sies, &c.*, in Plautus.), Gr. *εἴμεν* (§ 37).

#### CONDITIONAL MOOD

§ 72. The athematic verb **БЫТИ** has a modal form used as an auxiliary to form the compound conditional-optative tense (§ 88). This auxiliary has a flexion similar to the imperative forms:

Sing. 1st <b>БИМЬ</b>	Plur. 1st <b>БИМЪ</b>	(Dual 1st <b>БИТЕ</b> )
2nd <b>БИ</b>	2nd <b>БИТЕ</b>	2nd <b>БИСТА</b>
3rd <b>БИ</b>	3rd <b>БЖ</b>	3rd <b>БИТЕ</b> )

In the compound conditional, instead of the auxiliary **БИМЬ**, the aorist of the verb **БЫТИ** 'to be' could be used: **БЫХЪ**, **БЫ**, **БЫ** (never **БЫСТЪ**); **БЫХОМЪ**, **БЫСТЕ**, **БЫША**; **БЫХОВЕ**, **БЫСТА**, **БЫСТЕ** (§ 88). On the pattern of these forms the auxiliary of the compound conditional built new forms: **БИХОМЪ**, **БИСТЕ**, **БИША**. The replacement of **БИМЬ** by **БЫХЪ** is characteristic for the later texts. So in Savv. Kn. and Supr. **БИМЬ**, &c., are exceptions and **БЫХЪ** is used regularly; Mar., Ass. keep the old form **БИМЪ**, while Zogr. has **БИХОМЪ**; in Zogr., Mar., Ass. **БИША** appears as a new form alongside the more regular **БЖ**. Ostr. does not show **БИМЬ**.

The form **БИСТЕ** is analogous to the aorist **БЫСТЕ**. The expected form of the 2nd pl. would be *\*bi-te*.

In the development of the Slavonic languages, formations with **БИМЬ** are characteristic for OCS (Macedonian) and for the Western Slavonic languages; formations with **БЫХЪ** are characteristic for Russian Church Slavonic and for Middle Bulgarian.

#### NOMINAL FORMS OF VERBS

##### PRESENT PARTICIPLE ACTIVE

§ 73. The present participle active is formed by means of the ending **-Ы** from verbs of the first and second conjugation, and from the athematic verbs, and by means of the ending **-А** from verbs of the third and fourth conjugations.

One category of part. (conj. I, II, and athematic) has a stem ending in -**ЖШТ-**, on which the other cases are built; the verbs of conj. III have a parallel stem ending in -**ІЖШТ-**; the second category (conj. IV) builds the other cases on a stem ending in -**АШТ-** (§ 52.2, § 58). So we have:

I. ИД- <b>Ъ</b> 'going'	G. ИД- <b>ЖШТ-А</b>
II. ДВИГН- <b>Ъ</b> 'moving'	G. ДВИГН- <b>ЖШТ-А</b>
III. ЗНА- <b>ІА</b> 'knowing'	G. ЗНА- <b>ІЖШТ-А</b>
IV. МОЛ- <b>А</b> 'demanding'	G. МОЛ- <b>АШТ-А</b>
V. ДАД- <b>Ъ</b> 'giving'	G. ДАД- <b>ЖШТ-А</b>

(a) The verb **ГОРѢТИ** 'to burn' (intran.) **ГОРѢЖ**, **ГОРИШИ**, fourth conj., has the pr. part. act. **ГОРА**, G. **ГОРЖШТА** (alongside **ГОРАШТА**); this verb originally belonged to the athematic class.

(b) The ending of the stem goes back to an IE suffix *-nt-* which, attached to the thematic vowel, gave: *-o-nt-* > *-o-*, *-e-nt-* > *-e-*, *-i-nt-* > *-e-*, so *\*id-o-nt-ja* > *idpšta* (§ 13, § 21.2). The *-y* of the nom. (**ИДЪ**) has been explained as going back either to *-ont-s* or to *-ōn* (cf. Kul'bakin, *Le vieux slave*, 1929, 312). In Latin the cognate suffix appears in *lauda-nt-is*, &c. The **-ІА** of the soft stems is a regular result of the development *-jont-* > *-jent-* > *-je-* (§ 14.3). The **-А** of the fourth conjugation is analogous to the oblique cases: *\*modlint-ja* > *molęšta*, &c. because *\*modlint-s* would have developed into *\*modli*, *\*moli* (§ 5). The feminine forms in *-i*: **ИДЖШТИ**, **МОЛАШТИ** represent the zero-grade of a fem. *-ja-* stem: *\*modlint-ja* / *\*modlint-ji* > *molęšti* (§ 37, § 39c).

#### PRESENT PARTICIPLE PASSIVE

§ 74. The present participle passive is an adjective formed by means of the ending **-МЪ**, **-МА**, **-МО** added to the present stem:

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
I. НЕСО-	<b>-МЪ</b>	<b>-МА</b>	<b>-МО</b> 'carried'
II. ДВИГО-	<b>-МЪ</b>	<b>-МА</b>	<b>-МО</b> 'moved'
III. ЗНАЮ-	<b>-МЪ</b>	<b>-МА</b>	<b>-МО</b> 'known'
IV. МОЛИ-	<b>-МЪ</b>	<b>-МА</b>	<b>-МО</b> 'asked'
V. ДАДО-	<b>-МЪ</b>	<b>-МА</b>	<b>-МО</b> 'given'

The originally athematic verbs **ВИДѢТИ** 'to see' and **ДЛѢКАТИ** 'to

be hungry' have the pr. part. pass. **ВИДОМЪ, ЛАКОМЪ**. The participles have nominal and pronominal declensions like adjectives (§ 49, § 56). They are used with any form of the auxiliary **БЫТИ** 'to be' to form a compound passive verbal form: **НЕСОМЪ ЮСМЪ** 'I am carried', **НЕСОМИ БЫХОМЪ** 'we were carried' (§ 89).

#### PAST PARTICIPLE ACTIVE 1

§ 75. The past participle active 1 is formed by means of the suffix **-Ъ** masc., neut., **-ЪШИ** fem. attached to the consonantal infinitive stem. When the infinitive stem ends in a vowel the suffix is **-ВЪ** masc., neut., **-ВЪШИ** fem. (§ 52.3, § 58.2):

<i>Masc., Neut.</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
НЕС-Ъ	НЕС-ЪШИ
ДВИГ-Ъ	ДВИГ-ЪШИ
БЪРА-ВЪ	БЪРА-ВЪШИ
ЗНА-ВЪ	ЗНА-ВЪШИ

Verbs of the fourth conjugation form both types, in **-Ъ**: **МОЛЪ**, **МОЛЪШИ**, and in **-ВЪ**: **МОЛИВЪ**, **МОЛИВЪШИ**. The first type is the older one and appears in the more archaic texts: Mar., Ass., Ps. Sin., Cloz.; the Supr. has a majority of participles in **-ИВЪ**; in Zogr., Euch. Sin., Savv. Kn. the **-ИВЪ** type appears exceptionally.

The ending **-ÿ** continues the IE suffix **-us, -uos/-ues** which in nom. sg. developed into **-ÿx** (§ 22) and changed into **-ÿ** (§ 5). The feminine form is a zero-grade of the feminine ending **-ja**: \**nes-ÿx-i* > *nesÿši* (§ 39c).

#### PAST PARTICIPLE ACTIVE 2

§ 76. The past participle active 2 is derived from the infinitive stem by means of the suffix **-ЛЪ** masc., **-ЛА** fem., **-ЛО** neut., and declines only in N. sg. and pl. like a hard adjective (§ 49), usually in the indefinite form. These participles are used in the formation of compound verbal forms (§ 84, § 85, § 87, § 88):

<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
НЕС-ЛЪ	НЕС-ЛА	НЕС-ЛО
ДВИГ-ЛЪ	ДВИГ-ЛА	ДВИГ-ЛО
ЗНА-ЛЪ	ЗНА-ЛА	ЗНА-ЛО

<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
МОЛИ-ЛЪ	МОЛИ-ЛА	МОЛИ-ЛО
ДА-ЛЪ	ДА-ЛА	ДА-ЛО

Verbs of the first conjugation with a stem ending in *-k* or *-r* have, in this participle, the reduced root-vowel: ВЛѢШТИ 'to drag, to pull', ВЛѢКЖ, part. ВЛѢКЛЪ (*vľk-lŭ*); ТРѢТИ 'to rub', ТЪРЖ, part. ТРѢЛЪ; МРѢТИ 'to die', МЪРЖ, part. МРѢЛЪ (§ 37.5).

#### PAST PARTICIPLE PASSIVE

§ 77. The past participle passive has the form and the declension of a hard stem adjective (§ 49), derived from the infinitive stem by means of the suffix *-енъ*, *-нъ*, or *-тъ*: НЕС-ЕНЪ 'carried', ДВИЖ-ЕНЪ 'moved'; ЗНА-НЪ 'known', ДА-НЪ 'given'; ВИ-ТЪ 'beaten'. It is used to form the passive voice (§ 89); cf. Lat. *pl-enus*, *pl-etus* E *full* < \**pln*, *fill-ed*.

1. The suffix *-енъ* forms the participles:

(a) from all verbs with an infinitive stem ending in a consonant: ВЕСТИ, ВЕДЖ, part. ВЕДЕНЪ 'lead'; РЕШТИ, РЕКЖ, part. РЕЧЕНЪ 'said', ДВИГНЪТИ, ДВИГНЖ, part. ДВИЖЕНЪ 'moved';

(b) from verbs of the third conjugation with the radical ending in *-i*, *-y*: ВИТИ, ВИЖ, part. ВИЕНЪ 'beaten'; КРЫТИ, КРЫЖ, part. КРЪВ-ЕНЪ 'covered', ЗАБЫТИ, ЗАБЪДЖ, part. ЗАБЪВ-ЕНЪ 'forgotten';

(c) from verbs of the fourth conjugation: МОЛИТИ, МОЛѢЖ, part. МОЛѢЕНЪ 'requested'; ПРОСИТИ, ПРОШЖ, part. ПРОШЕНЪ 'solicited'; ТРОУДИТИ, ТРОУДЖ, part. ТРОУЖДЕНЪ 'tired'; ВРАТИТИ, ВРАШТЖ, part. ВРАШТЕНЪ 'turned'; ЛЮБИТИ, ЛЮБѢЖ, part. ЛЮБѢЕНЪ 'loved'. For the changes in the final stem consonant see § 17*b*, § 21.2.

(d) Verbs of the second conjugation seldom have a participle in *-овенъ*: ОТЪРНИЖТИ 'to push', part. ОТЪРНИОВЕНЪ; ДРЪЗНИЖТИ 'to dare', part. ДРЪЗНОВЕНЪ.

2. The suffix *-нъ* is used to form the participle from verbs with an infinitive stem ending in *-a-*, *-ĕ-*: ПЪСА-ТИ 'to write', part. ПЪСАНЪ; ДА-ТИ 'to give', part. ДАНЪ; ВИДѢ-ТИ 'to see', part. ВИДѢНЪ. The verbs with the radical ending in *-l* have the part. in *-нъ*, or in *-енъ*: КЛАТИ < \**kol-ti* 'to stab, to kill', part. КЛАНЪ or КОЛЕНЪ.



3. The suffix **-тъ** is used to form the participle from verbs with the infinitive stem ending in **-ѣ**: **ѡ-ти** 'to grasp, to seize', part. **ѡтъ**; **клати** 'to curse', part. **клатъ**; **пати** 'to stretch, to hang', part. **патъ**.

The **-тъ** participle has become an adjective in forms derived from verbs with the stem ending in **-s, -z**: **оувасть** 'crowned' from **оувазѡ**; **извѣстъ** 'known' from **извѣдѣти**; **отъверстъ** 'open' from **отъверѣти**, **отъверѡзѡ**.

4. Some verbs may form both types of participles. Verbs having a radical ending in **-r** form the part. in **-тъ**: **стрѣти** 'to extend' < *\*ster-ti*, part. **стрѣтъ**, but the same verb also has a participle **простъренъ**. The verb **бити**, **виѡ** 'to beat' has the participles **битъ** and **виѡнъ**; **сѣти**, **сѣѡ** 'to sow', participles **о-сѣтъ** or **-сѣнъ**; **повити** 'to swaddle' has the participle **повитъ**.

#### FUTURE PARTICIPLE

§ 78. The future participle has left a trace in texts of later date (Russian Church Slavonic) in the form **бѡшѡшт-**: (**бѡити**) 'which will be': **не бѡшѡци водѣ** (Isaiah 1. 2) 'because there will not be water'. Otherwise the future participle is expressed by the present participle of the perfective verb (§ 90) **бѡдѡ**, pr. part. act. **бѡдѡтъ**, **бѡдѡшта** &c. 'who will be' (§ 73).

#### VERBAL NOUN

§ 79. The verbal noun is derived by means of the suffix **-ije (-ije)** (§ 40.2c) from the past part. pass. of transitive and intransitive verbs (which in reality have no past participle passive):

**знати** 'to know', past part. pass. **знанъ**: **знаниѡ** 'knowledge'; **сѡпастн** 'to save', past part. pass. **сѡпасенъ**: **сѡпасениѡ** 'salvation'; **исцѣлнн** 'to cure', past part. pass. **исцѣленъ**: **исцѣленнѡ** 'the healing'; **мѡслнн** 'to think', past part. pass. **мѡшленъ**: **полѡшленнѡ** 'the thought'; **зачати** 'to conceive (a child)', past part. pass. **зачатъ**: **зачатиѡ** 'conception'; **пропати** 'to crucify', past part. pass. **пропатъ**: **пропатиѡ** 'crucifixion'; **оумрѣти** 'to die': **оумрѣтнѡ** 'death'; **вѡскрѣснн** 'to resurrect': **вѡскрѣсениѡ**, **вѡскрѣсно-вениѡ** 'resurrection'; **ити** 'to go': **шѡстнѡ**, **шѡствениѡ** 'march'.

The verbal noun has a very extensive syntactic use. It has not only a nominal but also a verbal function: *по глаголанни его къ нимъ* (Mt. xvi. 19) 'after he spoke to them'.

## INVARIABLE VERBAL FORMS

### INFINITIVE

§ 80. The infinitive is in origin a noun with a *-t-* stem, in the dative or locative case. The ending of the infinitive is *-ти*, which is added directly to a vocalic stem: *зна-ти*, *да-ти*, *къ-ти*, *бъра-ти*, *коупова-ти*. Verbs whose stem ends in a dental change the dental into *-s-* (§ 29.10): *пас-ти* 'to fall' < \**pad-ti*, *обрѣсти* 'to find' < \**obrēt-ti*; a final velar is palatalized (§ 30.1): *решти* 'to tell' < \**rek-ti*, *мошти* 'to be able' < \**mog-ti*; a labial is regularly dropped: *грѣж*, *грѣти* 'to dig, to row' < \**greb-ti* (§ 29.11). The later form *погрѣсти* is a back formation on the analogy of *нести*, *пасти*. The *n*, *m* of the stem nasalize the preceding vowel when they belong to the same syllable: *па-ти*, *пън-ж* 'to stretch', *дъ-ти*, *дълм-ж* 'to blow' (§ 13, § 14). Radicals containing the diphthongs *-er-*, *-or-*, *-el-*, *-ol-* change them in the infinitive according to § 6.3, § 10.4: *мърж*, *мрѣти* < \**mer-ti* 'to die'; *мѣлж*, *млѣти* 'to mill' < \**mel-ti*; *борж*, *брати* 'to defend' < \**bor-ti*; *колж*, *клати* 'to stab' < \**kol-ti*. The vocalic liquids are preserved in the stem: *търл*, *трѣти* 'to rub' < \**tyti*; *тлѣк-нж*, *тлѣк-нж-ти* 'to knock' < \**tłknqti* (§ 17).

### SUPINE

§ 81. The supine is formed by replacing the infinitive ending *-ти* by the ending *-тъ*. This represents an original accusative from a stem in *-tu-*, and corresponds to Lat. *-tum* in the supine: *da-tu-m*. The changes of the stem consonant are the same as those which take place in the formation of the infinitive. When the stem ends in *-k*, *ъ* is replaced by *ь*: *пекж*, *пешти* inf. 'to bake', sup. *пештъ*. The supine has the meaning of a verbal noun with final sense: *идж рѣвѣ ловитъ* (J. xxi. 3) 'I go fishing (to catch fish)'; *придъ пролитъ кръве своѣя* (Cloz. i. 233) 'I came to shed my blood'; *приде видѣтъ гроба* (Mt. xxxviii. 1) '(she) came to see the sepulchre'; *приде жена отъ самаря почрѣтъ воды* (Zogr., J.

iv. 7) 'a woman of Samaria came to draw water'; **о҃гнѣ прѣидѣ въ зворѣштѣ въ землѣж** (Mar., L. xii. 49) 'I am come to send fire on the earth'. The supine demands a genitive-object: **чесо видѣхтѣ нзидите** (Mt. xi. 7) 'what went ye out to see'.

The supine is used after a verb expressing motion, and translates the Greek infinitive: **идѣх рѣмѣх ловитѣх** 'I go to catch fish' = *ἰπάγω ἀλιεύειν* (J. xxi. 3). The supine was already disappearing in OCS and it has been replaced in Modern Slavonic languages by other constructions (it survived in Slovene, Czech, and Lower Lusatian). The OCS texts illustrate this development: thus in Zogr. the example quoted above has an infinitive instead of the supine: **въ зворѣштити**. Zogr. has: **ї идѣхѣхъ вси кожѣдо нап'сати сѧ въ свои град** (L. ii. 3) 'and all went to be taxed, (everyone) into his own city'; Ass., Savv. Kn., Ostr. have a supine in this sentence in the place of the infinitive: **написатѣ сѧ**, and **написатѣ сѧ** (Savv. Kn.). Another way of replacing the supine was by means of the conjunction **да** 'in order that': **се нзиде сѣкии сѣбатѣ** (Mar., Mk. iv. 3) 'behold, there went out a sower to sow', but: **нзиде сѣкии да сѣетѣ** (Mar., Mt. xiii. 3) = Gr. *ἐξήλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείρειν* 'the sower went forth to sow'.

#### GERUND FORMS

§ 82. Isolated gerund forms in OCS texts mark the beginning of the tendency to reduce participial declensions to a single form and to create the gerund forms of the modern Slavonic languages: **повели ми дрѣвле шедѣше погрети отца моего** (Mar., Zogr., L. ix. 59) 'suffer me first to go and bury my father', but Ass. and Ostr. re-establish the agreement and have: **шедѣшоу; подоѣла ми юстѣх сѣдѣти млѣчаште** (Supr. 20.5, 14) 'I like to be seated in silence'.

The past participle in the function of a gerund is recorded in the example: **отъ Адама до Моуѣса, рек'ше до закона** (Supr. 35.1, 26) 'from Adam till Moses, namely (= **си рѣчь**) to the Law'.

#### THE VERBAL FORM *setŭ*

§ 83. An invariable verbal form of obscure origin is **сѧтѣх, сѧти** which occurs in Supr. (477.19) Ps. Sin. (35.2), and in Cloz. (28

times) with the meaning 'say(s)': **ПОСЛОУШАИ ЧЪТО САТЪ ЕВАНГЕЛИСТЪ: СЛЫШАВЪШЕ, САТЪ, ГЛАСЪ ІДЖ ВЪСПАТЬ І ПАДЖ НА ЗЕМНИЦИ** (Cloz.) 'hear what the Evangelist says: after they heard the voice, he says, they went back and fell with their faces to the earth'. This form **САТЪ** has the meaning of the aorist **рече** (Supr.) and is explanatory. Some scholars see in this form a 3rd person of the present tense, others of the aorist, others again see an association of the reflexive **СА** + pronoun **ТЪ**(ТИ). It translates the Greek *φησὶ(ν)* 'he says'.

## COMPOUND VERBAL FORMS

### PERFECT

§ 84. The IE perfect has disappeared in CS leaving only one form: OCS **ВЪДЪКЪ** 'I know' (**ВЪДЪКТИ**, **ВЪКМЪ**) < \**uoidāi* corresponds to the Gr. perfect (ε)οἶδα 'I know', Lat. *vidi* 'I saw'.

The function of the perfect has been taken over by a form compounded from the past participle in **-ЛЪ** (§ 76) and the present of **ВЪТИ**: **НЕСЛЪ** masc., **НЕСЛА** fem., **НЕСЛО** neut., **ЮСМЪ** 'I carried'; **НЕСЛИ** masc., **НЕСЛЪ** fem., **НЕСЛА** neut., **ЮСМЪ** 'we carried'.

The perfect often translates the Greek aorist; this shows that it expressed the past in general without relation to the speaker. Its development in the modern Slavonic languages seems to support this interpretation. Byzantine Greek had analytical tenses consisting of participles and auxiliaries, and the Slavonic forms may be built up on the analogy of such Greek constructions: *ἦν ἀποστείλας* (plupf.) 'he had sent'; *συναθροίζων ἦν* (impf.) 'he was gathering together'.

To such Greek constructions correspond in OCS parallel analytical verbal forms: **ВЪК ОУЧА ВЪ ЦРЪКВЕ** (L. xix. 47) 'he was teaching in the church = he taught (daily) in the temple'; **ВЪК БО ОУМИРАЪ** (J. iv. 47) 'he was dying'.

### PLUPERFECT

§ 85. An action which took place earlier than a past action is expressed by the pluperfect. The formation is parallel to that of the perfect, replacing the present of the auxiliary by the imperfect (or

the aorist): *несла вѣлахъ, вѣлаше, &c.; вѣхъ, вѣше, &c.* The auxiliary may also be replaced by the perfect of its form: *несла была ѱема* 'I had carried', *и видѣ два ангела въ вѣлахъ (ризахъ) сѣдашѣ . . . идеже вѣ лежало тѣло иссоусово* (J. xx. 12) 'and saw two angels in white sitting . . . where the body of Jesus had lain'.

## FUTURE

§ 86. The future tense is expressed either by the present of a perfective verb (§ 90), or by the infinitive associated with a verb which has a connotation of future action, like *вѣчати, начати* 'to begin', *имѣти* 'to have', *хотѣти* 'to will', fulfilling the function of an auxiliary: *глаголати иматъ* (Zogr., Mar., J. xvi. 13) 'he shall speak'; *намъ хоштеши са ѣвити* (Zogr., Mar., J. xiv. 22) 'thou wilt manifest thyself unto us'; *и ненавидѣти са начынятъ* (Mt. xxiv. 10) 'they shall hate one another'; *небръшѣти вѣчнетъ* (Zogr., Savv. Kn., L. xvi. 13) 'he will neglect'. The present of an imperfective verb could also express the future in the context of a sentence: *отъсели не видите ме* (Supr. 16.29) 'from now you shall not see me'.

## FUTURE PERFECT

§ 87. The future perfect is usually expressed by the future tense (§ 86), but there is also a compound form, consisting of the past part. in *-лъ* and the auxiliary *вѣдѣ*: *читалъ вѣдѣ* 'I shall have read'; *аще ны двсѣтъ день смрътъны въ грѣсѣхъ, то вѣскыж са и родили вѣдемъ* 'if the day of the death finds us in sins, then what for shall we have been born?' (Euch. Sin. 71a. 4-6). The auxiliary *вѣдѣ* associated with a noun, an adjective, or a participle forms a periphrastic future: *вѣдѣши млычѣ* (Zogr., L. i. 20) 'thou shalt be dumb'; *живѣ вѣдѣши* (Zogr., L. x. 28) 'thou shalt live'; *вѣдѣ* does not appear in OCS texts associated with the infinitive.

## CONDITIONAL-OPTATIVE

§ 88. There exists a compound verbal form for conditional-optative which is obtained by adding the auxiliary optative *вѣмъ* (§ 72) to

the past participle in -лъ: БЪИЛЪ ВИИИ (БЪИХЪ) 'I would (like to) be'; МОГЛИ ВИИИ (ВИХОИЪ, БЪИХОИЪ) 'we would be able'; АШТЕ НЕ ВИ . . . БЪИЛЪ . . . НЕ МОГЛЪ ВИ (J. ix. 33) 'If he was not . . . he could not'; АШТЕ СЪ ВИ НЕ РОДИЛЪ (Mt. xxiv. 24) 'If he had not been born'.

The past. part. could also be used without the auxiliary to express a wish: ЮША И НЕ СЪБРАЛИ СЪБОРА (Supr. 386.6) 'if they had not been able to bring together the council'.

The conditional-optative could express a *wish*: ГРОУ ДА БЪИ (ВИ) ОБРЪКАЛЪ ЛЮТЪИША (Supr. 213.2) 'Oh, if he had found more cruel people!' (such constructions usually contain a particle: ГРОУ); an unfulfilled *condition*: АШТЕ БО ВИСТЕ ВЪЕРЖ ИМАЛИ МОСЕОВИ, ВЪЕРЖ ВИСТЕ ЯЛИ И МЪИЪ (J. v. 46) 'for had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me'; a *possibility* in final clauses: И ДРЪЖАДЪХ И, ДА НЕ ВИ ОТЪШЕЛЪ ОТЪ НИХЪ (L. iv. 42) 'and they kept him, that he should not depart from them'; an *uncertainty*: И ГЛАГОЛАХЪ ДРОУГЪ КЪ ДРОУГОУ, ЧЪТО ВИША СЪТВОРИЛИ ИСОУСОВИ (L. vi. 11) 'and communed one with another what they might do to Jesus'; И НЕ ОУМЪХЪ ЧЪТО БЪ ОТЪВЪЪШТАЛИ ЕМОУ (Mk. xiv. 40) 'neither wist they what to answer him'.

#### PASSIVE VOICE

§ 89. The passive voice has no special forms. It is expressed either by a reflexive verb (§ 60) or by the passive participle (§ 74, § 77) and an auxiliary form of БЪИТИ: АЗЪ ТРЪБОУИЖЪ ОТЪ ТОВЕ КРЪСТИТИ СЪ (Mt. iii. 14) 'I have need to be baptized of thee'; СЪИНОВЕ ЦЪСАРЪСТВНИА ИЗГЪНАНИ ВЪДЪТЪ (Mt. viii. 12) 'the children of the kingdom shall be cast out'; ГОНИИМЪ (pr. p. pass.) БЪИВАШЕ (Mar., Zogr., Savv. Kn., L. viii. 29) 'he was driven out'; ДА ПРОПАТЪ ВЪДЕТЪ (Mt. xxvii. 22) 'let him be crucified'; ПРОЪДАНЪ ИМАТЪ БЪИТИ (Mt. xvii. 22) 'he shall be betrayed'; ВЪДЕТЕ НЕНАВИДИИ (Mt. xxiv. 9) 'ye shall be hated'; ПРОЪДАНЪ ВЪДЕТЪ (Zogr., Mk. ix. 31; Mk. x. 33) 'he shall be delivered'.

The iterative (impft.-indeterminate) БЪИВАТИ 'to be usually' may also function as auxiliary for the passive voice.

## VERBAL ASPECTS

## PERFECTIVE, IMPERFECTIVE, ITERATIVE VERBS

§ 90. Verbal tenses define the time *when* an event takes place; they indicate a relation in time between the speaker and the event (present, past, or future). An event, however, may be conceived independently of any time relation, and considered from the point of view of the quality *how* it develops. Thus, a verbal action may be conceived in its duration (non-completed): *I am going*, Lat. *venio* 'I come', OCS *идѣхъ* 'I go'. The quality of this event is *imperfective* (durative).

The event may be conceived from the point of view of its starting-point (Lat. inchoative verbs: *incānesco* 'I turn grey') or of its ending-point (Lat. *advenio* 'I arrive', OCS *приидѣхъ* 'I shall arrive'). Again one may conceive an event as having the beginning and the end concentrated in one point, i.e. without consideration of its development. Such events are called *perfective* (completed) from the point of view of their quality.

The process may consist of several repeated durative actions: Lat. *ambulat* 'he walks habitually': Lat. *it* 'he goes'; OCS *ходитѣ* 'he walks': *идетѣ* 'he goes (in a certain direction)'. These repetitive events are *indeterminate* (without a definite term) compared with the imperfective events which are *determinate*. The indeterminate *водитѣ* means 'he leads (in general), he is a leader', the determinate *ведетѣ* means 'he leads (in a certain direction)'. The special verbal forms used to express these qualities of events are called *aspects*.

Not each verb has perfective and imperfective forms, just as not each verb has forms for all tenses. The perfective verbs have, as a rule, aorist and perfect tenses but no imperfect tense, the imperfective verbs have imperfect but no aorist forms. The present forms of the perfective verbs express the future tense. It is the totality of verbal forms which defines the verbal aspect.

Whereas some IE languages have developed a system of verbal tenses, and have reduced the aspects to a secondary function, CS developed a system of verbal aspects, creating two main categories: *perfective* and *imperfective*. The *iterative* category (indeterminate)

was restricted to a small number of verbs expressing a motion; many iterative verbs lost the idea of repetition and became imperfective, while the imperfect tense took over the function of expressing a repetitive action: **И НЕ ДАДЪКАШЕ НИКОМОУЖЕ ЛИМО НЕСТИ СЪСЪЖДЪ** (Mar., Mk. xi. 16) 'and would not suffer that any man carry any vessel', i.e. every time anybody carried a vessel he used to forbid him to do this.

Within the whole system of verbal forms the verbal aspect is featured by certain derivative elements, e.g. **ПАСТИ** 'to fall down', i.e. to reach the end point of falling, **ЪАТИ** 'to seize, to take', i.e. to put your hand on . . ., **(о-)КОНЪЧАТИ** 'to finish', i.e. to bring an action to its completeness, are *perfective verbs*; whereas **ПАДАТИ** 'to fall', i.e. to be falling, **ИМАТИ** 'to hold, to have', **КОНЪЧАВАТИ** 'to end', as a rule are *imperfective verbs*.

By such derivative features indeterminate verbal forms were created in opposition to the determinate ones: determinate **ПЛОУТИ** 'to swim': indeterminate **ПЛАВАТИ**; determinate **КОУПИТИ** 'to buy': indeterminate **КОУПОВАТИ**; determinate **КЛОНИТИ** 'to bow': indeterminate **КЛАНЯТИ**; determinate **СКОЧИТИ** 'to jump': indeterminate **СКАКАТИ**, &c.

The opposition perfective  $\sim$  imperfective may be obtained by prefixation; the prefix changes the imperfective into a perfective aspect: impft. **НЕСТИ** 'to carry': pft. **ПРИНЕСТИ** 'to bring'; impft. **ИТИ** 'to go': pft. **ПРИТИ** 'to arrive'.

The *iterative aspect* (indeterminate) is characterized by the vowel of the radical: **ХОДИТИ** 'to go (habitually)', **ВОДИТИ** 'to lead (habitually)', **НОСИТИ** 'to carry (habitually)'. The opposition iterative  $\sim$  imperfective may be obtained by secondary derivations: impft. **ТВОРЯТИ**: it. **ТВОРЯТИ** 'to do repeatedly'; impft. **ЛЪСТИ** 'to step': it. **ЛАЗИТИ** 'to crawl about'. The iterative (indeterminate) aspect forms merged with the imperfective (determinate) forms. The prefixed iterative forms either preserve their imperfective (-iterative) aspect: **СЪТВОРЯТИ** 'to do repeatedly', or they become perfective: **ПРИХОДИТИ** 'to arrive'.

There are, however, no decisive formal characteristics for the determination of perfective and imperfective aspect forms. The aspect of a verbal form is in practice determined by the correla-



tion with the aspect of another verb derived from the same root. Thus, we find oppositions of the following types: Perfective: **ѡТИ, стати, сѣсти, тлѣкнѣти, пасти** ∼ Imperfective: **имати, стоѡати, сѣдѣти, тлѣштити, падати** ∼ Perfective: **възѡти, въстати, въсѣсти, сътлѣштити, въпасти** ∼ Imperfective: **примати, въстѡати, присѣдѣти, прѣдѣстѡати, нападати**; Imperfective determinate: **нести, ити, вести** ∼ Imperfective indeterminate (Iterative): **носити, ходити, водити** ∼ Imperfective: **приносити, приходити, изводити** ∼ Perfective: **принести, прити, извести**.

(a) It is not always easy to determine the aspect of a verb outside the context. The aspect of some verbs is uncertain: **видѣти** 'to see', **бѣжати** 'to run', **сѣдити** 'to judge', and other verbs vacillate between the two aspects. It is the correlation with another aspect and the context that defines usage and meaning.

(b) The main functional difference between the perfective and the imperfective verbs is the fact that the present tense of the perfective verbs has the value of a future: **имѡ** 'I shall seize', **станѡ** 'I shall stand', **сѣдѡ** 'I shall sit down', **коупимѡ** 'I shall buy' ∼ **ѡмимѡ** 'I take', **стѡимѡ** 'I stand', **сѣждѡ** 'I am seated', **коупоуѡ** 'I buy, I am buying'.

(c) Thus in OCS the perfective verbs could express the future but could not express the present concept, and the imperfective verbs could express the present but could not express the future.

The perfective verbs have as a rule no imperfect tense because they express a completed action; the imperfective verbs have no aorist forms because they express a durative action which is opposed to the meaning of the aorist; however, the imperfective-indeterminate verbs have regular aorist forms which narrate durative events in the past (cf. A. Meillet, *Le Slave commun*, 1924, pp. 217-18, 240-58).

#### FUNCTION OF VERBAL PREFIXES

§ 91. Some verbs express the opposition perfective ∼ imperfective by forms derived from the same root, others by different verbs: pft. **ѡТИ** (**ѡТИ**) 'to seize': impft. **имати** 'to have'; pft. **тлѣкнѣти** 'to knock': impft. **тлѣштити** 'to push'; pft. **рѡштити** 'to say': impft. **глаголати** 'to talk'; others again supply the necessary forms by

prefixes: impft. **ТВОРИТИ** 'to make': pft. **СЪТВОРИТИ** 'to make'; impft. **ДѢЛАТИ** 'to work': pft. **СЪДѢЛАТИ** 'to complete a work'; impft. **НЕСТИ** 'to carry': pft. **ПРИНЕСТИ** 'to bring'.

The prefixes originally had an adverbial function and defined the verb semantically. Already in an early period some prefixes lost their adverbial function and became derivative elements for indicating the aspect; so, for example, **ВЪЗ-**, **О-**, **ОУ-**, **ПО-**, **СЪ-** indicate perfectivity: **БЛЮСТИ** impft.: **СЪБЛЮСТИ** pft. 'to guard, to watch'; **ВѢДѢТИ** impft. 'to know': **СЪВѢДѢТИ** pft. 'to be aware', also 'to know jointly', translating Gr. *συνειδέναι*, **ОУВѢДѢТИ** pft. 'to begin to know, to recognize, to learn'. Some verbs have very numerous prefixed forms: e.g. **ИТИ** shows about a score of forms, **ЯТИ**, **ДАТИ** have more than ten forms each. Generally speaking, it may be said that a prefix changes the aspect of the verb. When, however, the prefix has a clear adverbial function the verbal aspect remains unchanged and the meaning of the verb is changed.

#### VERBAL PREFIXES AND THEIR MEANING (see § 102)

§ 92. **ВЪ-**, **ВЪН-** (before vowels) express entry: **ВЪВѢГНЪТИ** pft. 'to run in', **ВЪНИТИ** 'to enter', **ВЪВЕСТИ** 'to lead into'.

**ВЪЗ-** (**ВЪЗЪ-**), **ВЪС-**, **ВЪЖ-**, **ВЪ-** 'up, upwards': **ВЪЗИТИ** 'to climb', **ВЪЗАЛКАТИ** pft. 'to become hungry': **АЛКАТИ** impft. 'to be hungry', **ВЪСХОДИТИ** 'to go up, to climb', **ВЪЖДАДАТИ** pft. 'to get thirsty': **ЖАДАТИ** impft. 'to be thirsty'.

**ВЫ-** 'out' occurs mainly in the Ps. Sin., Euch. Sin., and Cloz. and seems to be of Western Slavonic origin; it is a parallel form to **ИЗЪ-**, **ИЗ-**: **ВЫГЪНАТИ** pft. 'to drive out', **ИЗГЪНАТИ**, **ИЖДЕНЪ** pft. 'to drive out, away': **ГЪНАТИ** 'to chase'.

**ДО-** 'up to, till': **ДОИТИ** 'to arrive', **ДОНЕСТИ** 'to bring up to'; **ДОСАДИТИ** 'to scold, to offend'.

**ЗА-** 'behind, after, for': **ЗАИТИ** 'to go down = behind' (of the sun), **ЗАТВОРИТИ** 'to close in', **ЗАБЪТИ** 'to forget', **ЗАВИДѢТИ** 'to envy', **ЗАКРЫТИ** 'to cover', **ЗАХОДИТИ** 'to go down, behind'.

**ИЗ-**, **ИС-** 'out, from': **ИЗГОРѢТИ** 'to burn to the end', **ИЗИТИ** 'to go out', **ИШТЕЗНЯТИ** 'to disappear (altogether)'; a double prefix gives the verb an expressive meaning: **ИСПРОВРѢШТИ**, **ОПРОВРѢШТИ** 'to turn upside-down'.

**мимо-** 'by, along': **МИМОИТИ**, **МИМОХОДИТИ** 'to pass by', **МИМОТЕШТИ**, **МИМОТЪКАТИ** 'to run along'.

**на-** 'on, against': **НАЗЪРЪКТИ** pft. 'to look at', **НАЗИРАТИ** impft. 'to see, to observe, to watch', **НАЛОЖИТИ** 'to put upon', **НАИТИ** 'to attack'.

**надъ-** 'on, above' appears in a few examples: **НАДЪЛЕЖАТИ** 'to lie on', **НАДЪИТИ** 'to invade'.

**низъ-** 'down' expresses the opposite of **възъ-**: **НИЗЪВРЪШТИ** pft. 'to throw down', **НИЗЪХОДИТИ** 'to descend, to go down', **НИЗИТИ** 'to descend'.

**объ-**, **об-**, **о-** 'round, about, at': **ОБИТИ**, **ОБИДЖ** pft. 'to go round, to surround', **ОБИТИ**, **ОБИЖ** 'to waddle', **ОБЛИЧИТИ** pft. 'to show, to announce, to accuse', **ОБЛОВЫЗАТИ** impft. 'to kiss', **ОБЪХОДИТИ** 'to go round, to avoid', **ОСЪПНЯТИ** pft. 'to go blind', **ОГРАДИТИ** 'to hedge'.

**отъ-**, **от-**, **о-** 'from, off, away': **ОТЪЯТИ** (**ОТЯТИ**) 'to take away', **ОТЪМАТИ** (**ОТЪИМАТИ**) 'to take away', **ОХОДИТИ**, **ОТЪХОДИТИ** 'to go away', **ОТЪПОУШТАТИ** 'to set free, to forgive'.

**по-** has no definite adverbial function: **ПОМОШТИ** 'to help', **ПОНОСИТИ** 'to reproach, to scold', **ПОДАТИ** 'to offer, to accord', **ПОКАЗАТИ** 'to show, to indicate'.

**подъ-** 'under, beneath': **ПОДЪКОПАТИ** 'to dig under, to undermine', **ПОДЪСТЪЛАТИ** 'to stretch, to spread under', **ПОДЪЯТИ** 'to undertake'.

**при-** 'at, near, by, along': **ПРИВЕСТИ** 'to bring', **ПРИЗЫВАТИ** 'to call near', **ПРИОБРЕКСТИ** 'to gain, to win'.

**про-** 'through': **ПРОБИТИ** 'to split, to break', **ПРОРЕШИТИ** 'to prophesy', **ПРОДАТИ** 'to sell', **ПРОПАТИ** 'to stretch, to crucify'.

**прѣ-** 'over': **ПРѢДАТИ** 'to hand over, to betray', **ПРѢЛИЯТИ** 'to spill', **ПРѢСЕЛИТИ** 'to transfer, to colonize'.

**прѣдъ-** 'before, in front of, earlier': **ПРѢДЪЛОЖИТИ** 'to put before', **ПРѢДЪСТАВИТИ** 'to put in front of, to represent', **ПРѢДЪИТИ** 'to precede'.

**раз-**, **рас-** expresses the idea of separation (cf. Lat. *dis-*, Gr. *δια-*): **РАЗБѢГНАТИ** сѧ 'to disperse', **РАЗДЕЛИТИ** 'to separate, to distribute', **РАСТВОРИТИ** 'to dissolve, to mix'.

**съ-**, **сън-** 'downwards, from': **СЪПАСТИ** 'to fall down', **СЪНИТИ**

'to come down'; 'with, together': **СЪБИРАТИ** 'to gather, to collect', **СЪНИТИ СА** 'to gather' (intrans.), **СЪВЪЗАТИ** 'to tie together'.

**оу-** expresses the idea of separation, of bringing an action to the end, but in many cases this prefix emphasizes the meaning of the verb: **ОУБИТИ** 'to kill', **ОУСЪКНЪТИ** 'to cut off', **ОУЗЪРЪТИ** 'to observe, to have a glimpse', **ОУБОЯТИ СА** 'to fear'; in denominatives: **ОУБЪЛИТИ** 'to make white', **ОУБЪЖАТИ** 'to run away'. This particle is also a conjunction (§ 104) and an interjection (§ 105).

### CONJUGATIONS AND THE VERBAL ASPECT

§ 93. A certain correspondence has been established between the aspect and the conjugation classes of the OCS verb:

I. Verbs of the first conjugation have, in their great majority, imperfective aspect. The perfective verbs of this class are: **БЪДАЖ** 'I shall be'; **ВРЪЖИТИ**, **ВРЪГЪЖ** 'to throw'; **ЖАКЪСТИ** (жласти), **ЖАКЪДАЖ** 'to recompense'; **ЇАТИ**, **ИИЖ** 'to seize'; **ЛЕШИТИ**, **ЛАГЪЖ** 'to lie down'; **ПАСТИ**, **ПАДАЖ** 'to fall'; **РЕШИТИ**, **РЕКЪЖ** 'to tell'; **СЪСТИ**, **САДАЖ** 'to sit down'.

II. The majority of verbs of the second conjugation are perfective. Imperfective in this class are: **ВЛЪСНЪТИ**, **ВЛЪСНЪЖ** 'to charm'; **ВЪКНЪТИ**, **ВЪКНЪЖ** 'to be accustomed'; **ГЪБНЪТИ**, **ГЪБНЪЖ** 'to perish' (intrans.); **ЗАБНЪТИ**, **ЗАБНЪЖ** 'to bud'; **КЪСНЪТИ**, **КЪСНЪЖ** 'to go sour'; **СЪХНЪТИ**, **СЪХНЪЖ** 'to dry' (intrans.); **ТОНЪТИ**, **ТОНЪЖ** 'to sink' (intrans.).

Many verbs of this class occur only with prefixes: **-БЪГНЪТИ** pft.: **БЪГАТИ** impft.; **-ДЪХНЪТИ** pft. 'to breathe': **ДЪХАТИ** impft.; **-КЛИКНЪТИ** pft. 'to shout': **КЛИЦАТИ** impft.; **-ТРЪГНЪТИ** pft. 'to pull': **ТРЪГАТИ** impft.; **-ТАГНЪТИ** pft. 'to pull': **ТАЗАТИ** impft.

Perfective are: **ДВИГНЪТИ** 'to move'; **ДРЪЗНЪТИ** 'to dare'; **КОСНЪТИ** 'to touch', &c. It is the opposition to an imperfective aspect which determines the perfective aspect: **ДВИЗАТИ**, **ДРЪЗАТИ**, **-касати**, &c.

III. Verbs of the third conjugation are imperfective. The

number of perfective aspects is very small and dubious: **КОНЪЧАТИ** 'to finish'; **ЛОБЪЗАТИ**, **ЛОБЪЖЖ** 'to kiss': **ЛОБЪЗАТИ**, **ЛОБЪЗАЖ** impft.; **ПОГАСАТИ** **СА**, **-ПАШЖ СА** 'to girdle': **ПОГАСАЖ СА** impft.; **РАЗОУМЪТИ** (pft. and impft.) 'to understand': **РАЗОУМЪВАТИ** 'id.'. Two verbs derived from Greek aorist stems are perfective: **ВЛАСВИМИСАТИ** 'to blaspheme': **ВЛАСВИМИАТИ** 'id.' impft.(?); **СКАНЪДАЛИСАТИ** 'to irritate'.

IV. Verbs of the fourth conjugation with the inf. in **-ЪТИ** are imperfective; however **ВИДЪТИ** has a perfective aspect as well. Those with the inf. in **-ИТИ** are divided between the two aspects.

Perfective are: **ВАРИТИ** 'to precede, to overtake', **ВРАТИТИ** 'to turn', **ВРЕДИТИ** 'to hurt', **ГОНОЗИТИ** 'to cure', **ЖИВИТИ** 'to live', **КРЪСТИТИ** 'to baptize', **КОУПИТИ** 'to buy', **ЛИШИТИ** 'to deprive', **МЪСТИТИ** 'to revenge', **МЪНИТИ** 'to change', **ОБРАЗИТИ** 'to imagine', **ПРОСТИТИ** 'to forgive', **ПРОТИВИТИ СА** 'to oppose', **ПОУСТИТИ** 'to let go, to send', **РОДИТИ** 'to give birth', **РОУШИТИ** 'to destroy', **СВОБОДИТИ** 'to free', **СВАТИТИ** 'to consecrate', **СКОЧИТИ** 'to jump', **СРАМИТИ** 'to shame', **СТАВИТИ** 'to stop', **ТРОУДИТИ СА** 'to work, to take pains', **ЯВИТИ** (**ЪВИТИ**) 'to appear'.

Imperfective are: **БЛАГОДАРИТИ** 'to thank', **ВОДИТИ** 'to lead', **ВОЗИТИ** 'to carry', **ВЛАЧИТИ** 'to drag', **ГОНИТИ** 'to chase, to drive', **ГОУБИТИ** (trans.) 'to destroy', **МОЛИТИ** 'to pray', **МЪЧИТИ** 'to torture', **НОСИТИ** 'to carry', **НЪДИТИ** 'to constrain', **ПОИТИ** 'to water', **ПРОСИТИ** 'to ask', **СЪДИТИ** 'to judge', **ХВАЛИТИ** 'to praise', **ОУЧИТИ** 'to teach'.

Some verbs of this category may function in both aspects: **ПРОСТИТИ**, **ПРОТИВИТИ СА**, **ВРАТИТИ**, **СКОЧИТИ**, **СВАТИТИ**, **БЛАГОСЛОВИТИ** 'to bless'; others have an uncertain aspect: **БЛАГОВЪСТИТИ** 'to announce', **БЛАГОДАРЪСТИТИ** 'to thank', **БЛАГОСЛОВЕСТИТИ** 'to bless', **БЛАГОВОЛИТИ**, **БЛАГОИЗВОЛИТИ** 'to consent to', **ДЕСИТИ** 'to meet', **ГНЪСИТИ СА** 'to nauseate', **КЛЮЧИТИ СА** 'to fit, to happen', **ПРЪЖИТИ СА** 'to relax, to lessen', **СТРЪБИТИ** 'to shoot', **СТЪПИТИ** 'to step', **ХВАТИТИ** 'to catch', **ИЗВИТИ** (**ЪЗВИТИ**) 'to wound, to hurt'.

A few verbs of this class are iterative-indeterminate: **ВОДИТИ**, **ВОЗИТИ**, **НОСИТИ** (§ 90).

V. Of the athematic verbs, **ДАМЪ** is perfective. The present tense is expressed by the impft. **ДАИТИ**, **ДАИЖ**.



*Present Participle Passive*

несомъ	—	—	пъномъ	пловомъ	зовомъ	беромъ
несома	—	—	пънома	пловама	зовома	берома
несомо	—	—	пъномо	пловомо	зовомо	беромо

*Imperfect*

## Sing.

1 несѣахъ	можаахъ	мырѣахъ	пнѣахъ	пловѣахъ
2 несѣаше	можааше	мырѣаше	пнѣаше	пловѣаше
3 несѣаше	можааше	мырѣаше	пнѣаше	пловѣаше

## Plur.

1 несѣахомъ	можаахомъ	мырѣахомъ	пнѣахомъ	пловѣахомъ
2 несѣашете	можаашете	мырѣашете	пнѣашете	пловѣашете
3 несѣахѣ	можаахѣ	мырѣахѣ	пнѣахѣ	пловѣахѣ

## Dual

1 несѣаховѣ	можааховѣ	мырѣаховѣ	пнѣаховѣ	пловѣаховѣ
2 несѣашета	можаашета	мырѣашета	пнѣашета	пловѣашета
3 несѣашете	можаашете	мырѣашете	пнѣашете	пчовѣашете

Sing. 1 зовѣахъ,	зъваахъ	бъраахъ
2 зовѣаше,	зъвааше	бърааше
3 зовѣаше,	зъвааше	бърааше

Plur. 1 зовѣахомъ,	зъваахомъ	бъраахомъ
2 зовѣашете,	зъваашете	бъраашете
3 зовѣахѣ,	зъваахѣ	бъраахѣ

Dual 1 зовѣаховѣ,	зъвааховѣ	бърааховѣ
2 зовѣашета,	зъваашета	бъраашета
3 зовѣашете,	зъваашете	бъраашете

*Simple (Asigmatic) Aorist*

Sing. 1 могъ	Plur. 1 могомъ	Dual 1 моговѣ
2 може	2 можете	2 можета
3 може	3 могѣ	3 можете

*Sigmatic Aorist*

Sing. 1	нѣсѣ	мрѣхѣ	мрѣхѣ	пѣсѣ	плѣхѣ
2	неесе	мрѣ	мрѣ	пѣ	плѣ
3	неесе	мрѣ(тъ)	мрѣ	пѣ	плѣ
Plur. 1	нѣсомѣ	мрѣхомѣ	мрѣхомѣ	пѣсомѣ	плѣхомѣ
2	нѣсте	мрѣсте	мрѣсте	пѣсте	плѣсте
3	нѣса	мрѣша	мрѣша	пѣса	плѣша
Dual 1	нѣсовѣ	мрѣховѣ	мрѣховѣ	пѣсовѣ	плѣховѣ
2	нѣста	мрѣста	мрѣста	пѣста	плѣста
3	нѣсте	мрѣсте	мрѣсте	пѣсте	плѣсте
Sing. 1	зѣвахѣ	бѣрахѣ	Plur. 1	зѣвахомѣ	бѣрахомѣ
2	зѣва	бѣра	2	зѣвасте	бѣрасте
3	зѣва	бѣра	3	зѣваша	бѣраша
	Dual 1	зѣваховѣ	бѣраховѣ		
	2	зѣваста	бѣраста		
	3	зѣвасте	бѣрасте		

*New Aorist*

Sing. 1	несохѣ	могохѣ	Plur. 1	несохомѣ	могохомѣ
2	неесе	може	2	несосте	могосте
3	неесе	може	3	несоша	могоша
	Dual 1	несоховѣ	могоховѣ		
	2	несоста	могоста		
	3	несосте	могосте		

*Past Participle Active 1*

Masc., neut.

несѣ      могѣ      пѣнѣ      плѣвѣ      зѣвавѣ      бѣравѣ

Fem.

несѣши    могѣши    пѣнѣши    плѣвѣши    зѣвавѣши    бѣравѣши

*Past Participle Active 2*

несл-ѣ, -а, -о    могл-ѣ, -а, -о    мрѣл-ѣ, -а, -о    пѣл-ѣ, -а, -о  
 плѣл-ѣ, -а, -о    зѣвал-ѣ, -а, -о    бѣрал-ѣ, -а, -о



*Past Participle Passive*

НЕСЕН-Ъ, -д, -о, ПАТ-Ъ -д, -о, ПЛОВЕН-Ъ -д, -о, ЗЪВАН-Ъ -д, -о,  
БЪРАН-Ъ, -д, -о

*Infinitive*

НЕСТИ 'to carry' МОШТИ 'to be able' МРЪТИ 'to die' -ПАТИ 'to stretch'  
ПЛОУТИ 'to float' ЗЪВАТИ 'to call' БЪРАТИ 'to collect'

*Supine*

НЕСТЪ МОШТЬ МРЪТЪ ПАТЪ ПЛОУТЪ ЗЪВАТЪ БЪРАТЪ

*Verbal Noun*

НЕСЕНИЕ (РАС)ПАТИНИЕ (ПЛОУТИНИЕ) ОУМРЪТНИЕ, ОУМРЪТВИНИЕ

(a) The infinitive stem may end in a labial (§ 62): ТЪТИ < \**tep-ti*, ТЪПЖ 'to beat'; in a dental: МАСТИ < \**ment-ti*, МАТЖ 'to stir, to trouble', ПАСТИ < \**pad-ti*, ПАДЖ 'to fall', ВЕСТИ < \**ved-ti*, ВЕДЖ 'to lead', ПРАСТИ < \**prend-ti*, ПРАДЖ 'to spin'; in a velar: ТЪШТИ < \**tek-ti*, ТЪКЖ 'to run, to flow', ПРАШТИ < \**preng-ti*, ПРАГЖ 'to span, to harness'; in a nasal: ПАТИ < \**pen-ti*, ПЪНЖ 'to stretch'; in a liquid: ЖРЪТИ < \**žer-ti*, ЖЪРЖ 'to devour', ЖРЪТИ, ЖЪРЖ 'to sacrifice'.

(b) The thematic vowel may be: *e, ɛ*, or—less frequently—*o, ɔ, ě, a, i, ĭ, y*; when the infinitive stem has the grade *e* the present stem may have zero grade: ЧРЪТИ < \**čerp-ti* 'to dip up, to draw (up) water': ЧРЪПЖ, ВРЪШТИ < \**verg-ti* 'to throw': ВРЪГЖ, НАЧАТИ < \**načen-ti* 'to start': НАЧЪНЖ (§ 37).

(c) Verbs with the thematic vowel *e, ɛ*: ГНЕСТИ, ГНЕТЖ 'to press', ЖЕШТИ, ЖЕГЖ 'to burn' (trans.), ВЛЪШТИ < \**velk-ti*, ВЛЪКЖ 'to pull', ЖЛЪСТИ, ЖЛАСТИ (cf. OHG *geltan*), ЖЛЪДЖ 'to reward', СТРЪШТИ < \**sterg-*, СТРЪГЖ 'to guard, to watch', НЕВРЪШТИ < \**-berg-*, НЕВРЪГЖ 'to neglect', ВЛАСТИ, ВЛАДЖ 'to err, to talk wildly', ОУВАСТИ, ОУВАЗЖ 'to crown', ГРАСТИ, ГРАДЖ 'to come', ЗВАШТИ, ЗВАГЖ 'to ring out', ПРАСТИ, ПРАДЖ 'to spin', ТРАСТИ, ТРАСЖ 'to shake'.

(d) Verbs with the thematic vowel *o, ɔ*: БОСТИ, БОДЖ 'to sting, to prick', ВЛАСТИ < \**vold-ti*, ВЛАДЖ 'to rule', ДЖТИ, ДЪМЖ 'to blow'.

(e) Verbs with the thematic vowel *ě*, *a*: лѣсти, лѣзѣж 'to climb, to walk', сѣци, сѣкѣж 'to cut', ѡхати, ѡдѣж 'to be driven' (Lat. *vehor*), класти, кладѣж 'to put, to load', красти, крадѣж 'to steal', пастѣж 'to graze, to watch'.

(f) Verbs with the thematic vowel *i*, *i*: ити, идѣж 'to go', стришти, стригѣж 'to shear', цвисти, цвѣтѣж 'to bloom', чисти, чѣтѣж 'to count, to read'.

(g) One verb has the thematic vowel *y*: грысти, грызѣж 'to gnaw, to bite'.

(h) The imperative forms of the verbs рѣшти 'to say', тѣшти 'to run', пѣшти 'to cook', жѣшти 'to burn' (trans.) have the radical vowel in the zero grade: рѣци, тѣци пѣци, жѣси. Forms of жѣшти also show the zero grade in present and aorist tenses, and in participles: вѣжѣжѣши (Supr. 457.11), зажѣже (Mar., Mt. xxii. 7), жѣгомѣж (for жѣгомѣж) (Supr. 476.17).

(i) The verb грати, градѣж 'to come' has a nasal vowel in both stems, whereas сѣсти, садѣж 'to sit down', лѣшти, лѣгѣж 'to lie down' have infinitive stems without nasals: *séd-*, *leg-*. The simple aorist and the past part. are derived from the infinitive stem: сѣдѣж, лѣгѣж; сѣлѣж, лѣглѣж.

(j) The verb ѡти has a nasal in the infinitive stem, which represents the *-e-* grade (*\*j-em-*), as against the zero grade in the present stem: имѣж, имѣши, &c. < *\*j-im-* > *jim-* (with a prosthetic *j*-) at the beginning of the word (§ 33.4), but without *j* in the middle: вѣзѣимѣж, вѣнѣимѣж. The same explanation applies to the verb дѣшти, дѣимѣж, 'to blow', past part. pass. надѣимѣнѣж; the infinitive stem has the *o*-grade.

(k) Whereas some verbs show a regular alternation of vowels in the present and the infinitive stems: вѣргѣж ~ вѣрѣшти 'to throw', вѣрѣзѣж ~ вѣрѣсти 'to tie, to open', -вѣрѣж ~ -вѣрѣти 'to close', цвѣтѣж ~ цвисти 'to bloom', чѣтѣж ~ чисти 'to count'; others show an irregular alternation: -вѣрѣгѣж ~ -вѣрѣшти 'to neglect, to disregard', past part. act. -вѣрѣгѣж; влѣшти, влѣкѣж 'to pull', past part. act. влѣкѣж, влѣклѣж also влѣкѣж, past part. pass. влѣченѣж and влѣченѣж.

(l) The verb ити has a stem *i-* for infinitive and supine, a stem *id-*

< \**ji-d-* (*-d-* is a suffix) for present, imp., impf., aor., and a stem *šid-* < \**chid-* for the past participles *шѣдѣ*, *шѣлѣ*. The same stem with another gradation appears in *ходити*. A similar case is that of the verb *ѣхати* (*ѣхати*), *ѣдѣ* 'to drive' with a stem *ě-* in past part. act. I *прѣѣвѣ*, a stem *ě-d-* for present imp., impf., aor., and a stem *ěx-* in inf. and past part. act. I *приѣхавѣ*.

(*m*) Verbs with an infinitive stem ending in *-a-* show, as a rule, in this form, the reduced or zero grade: *вѣрати*, 'to collect' *гѣнати* 'to chase', *дѣрати* 'to tear, to flay', *ждѣати* 'to wait', *зѣвати* 'to call', *пѣрати* 'to fly' ~ *берѣ*, *дерѣ*, *женѣ*, *жидѣ*, *зовѣ*, *перѣ*. The imperfect is derived either from the zero grade stems of the infinitive (in the older texts): *ждѣаахѣ*, *зѣваахѣ*, or from the present stems with the *e/o* grade (in the later texts, e.g. Supr.): *жидѣахѣ*, *зовѣахѣ* (§ 37).

(*n*) The verb *бѣдѣ* (an original subjunctive form) has only present, imp., and pr. part. act. forms: *бѣдѣши*, &c.; *бѣди*, *бѣдѣмѣ*, *бѣдѣте*; *бѣды*, *бѣдѣшти* (fem.).

(*o*) Alongside the forms *жрѣти*, *жрѣ* 'to devour', *мрѣти*, *мрѣ* 'to die', *жърти*, *жърѣ* 'to sacrifice', exist the infinitive forms *-мърти(ти)*, *мърѣти* 'to die', built on the analogy of the present form *мърѣ*. The aorist forms are *жърѣхѣ*, *мърѣхѣ*. The origin of *жърти* is not clear; its aor. is *жрѣхѣ*, *жрѣ*, *жрѣ*.

(*p*) The regular ending of the present part. act. is *-ы*. However, the texts also show isolated forms in *-а* or *-я*: *гѣдаа* (Zogr., Mt. xi. 3; Mk. xi. 9), *неса* (Zogr., Mk. xiv. 13; Mar., L. xxii. 10); the pr. part. act. from *юсмѣ* is *сѣы*, but *сѣя*, *сѣа* also occur as secondary forms (Ass., J. iii. 31).

(*q*) There exists an aorist form *отвѣ*, *отвѣша* 'he, they replied' (Ass., Savv. Kn.) having same stem as *отвѣтъ*, and an aorist *измѣтъ* *сѣа* (Ps. Sin.) 'he changed', cf. the noun *мѣна*.

## § 95. SECOND CONJUGATION (§ 61.II, § 64)

### *Present*

Sing. 1	ДВИГНѢ	СТАНѢ	РИНѢ
2	ДВИГНЕШИ	СТАНЕШИ	РИНЕШИ
3	ДВИГНЕТѢ	СТАНЕТѢ	РИНЕТѢ

Plur.	1	ДВИГНЕМЪ	СТАНЕМЪ	РИНЕМЪ
	2	ДВИГНЕТЕ	СТАНЕТЕ	РИНЕТЕ
	3	ДВИГНѢТЪ	СТАНѢТЪ	РИНѢТЪ
Dual	1	ДВИГНЕВѢ	СТАНЕВѢ	РИНЕВѢ
	2	ДВИГНЕТА	СТАНЕТА	РИНЕТА
	3	ДВИГНЕТЕ, -ТА	СТАНЕТЕ, -ТА	РИНЕТЕ, -ТА

*Imperative*

Sing.	1	—	—	—
	2	ДВИГНИ	СТАНИ	РИНИ
	3	ДВИГНИ	СТАНИ	РИНИ
Plur.	1	ДВИГНѢМЪ	СТАНѢМЪ	РИНѢМЪ
	2	ДВИГНѢТЕ	СТАНѢТЕ	РИНѢТЕ
	3	—	—	—
Dual	1	ДВИГНѢВѢ	СТАНѢВѢ	РИНѢВѢ
	2	ДВИГНѢТА	СТАНѢТА	РИНѢТА
	3	—	—	—

*Present Participle Active*

Masc., neut.

ДВИГНУ	СТАНУ	РИНУ
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Fem.

ДВИГНУШТИ	СТАНУШТИ	РИНУШТИ
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*Present Participle Passive*

ДВИГНОМЪ, -А, -О	—	РИНОМЪ, -А, -О
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*Imperfect*

Sing.	1	ДВИГНѢАХЪ	О-СТАНѢАХЪ	РИНѢАХЪ
	2	ДВИГНѢАШЕ	О-СТАНѢАШЕ	РИНѢАШЕ
	3	ДВИГНѢАШЕ	О-СТАНѢАШЕ	РИНѢАШЕ
Plur.	1	ДВИГНѢАХОМЪ	О-СТАНѢАХОМЪ	РИНѢАХОМЪ
	2	ДВИГНѢАШЕТЕ	О-СТАНѢАШЕТЕ	РИНѢАШЕТЕ
	3	ДВИГНѢАХЪ	О-СТАНѢАХЪ	РИНѢАХЪ

Dual 1	ДВИГНѢАХОВѢ	о-СТАНѢАХОВѢ	РИНѢАХОВѢ
2	ДВИГНѢАШЕТА	о-СТАНѢАШЕТА	РИНѢАШЕТА
3	ДВИГНѢАШЕТЕ, -ТА	о-СТАНѢАШЕТЕ, -ТА	РИНѢАШЕТЕ, -ТА

*Simple (Asigmatic) Aorist*

Sing. 1	ДВИГЪ	*СТАНЪ
2	ДВИЖЕ	СТА
3	ДВИЖЕ	СТА
Plur. 1	ДВИГОМЪ	*СТАНОМЪ
2	ДВИЖЕТЕ	*СТАНЕТЕ
3	ДВИГЖ	*СТАНЖ , -СТАНЖША
Dual 1	ДВИГОВѢ	*СТАНОВѢ
2	ДВИЖЕТА	*СТАНЕТА
3	ДВИЖЕТЕ, -ТА	*СТАНЕТЕ

*Sigmatic Aorist*

Sing. 1	ДРЪЗНѢХЪ	ДВИГОХЪ	РИНѢХЪ
2	ДРЪЗНѢ	ДВИЖЕ	РИНѢ
3	ДРЪЗНѢ	ДВИЖЕ	РИНѢ
Plur. 1	ДРЪЗНѢХОМЪ	ДВИГОХОМЪ	РИНѢХОМЪ
2	ДРЪЗНѢСТЕ	ДВИГОСТЕ	РИНѢСТЕ
3	ДРЪЗНѢША	ДВИГОША	РИНѢША
Dual 1	ДРЪЗНѢХОВѢ	ДВИГОХОВѢ	РИНѢХОВѢ
2	ДРЪЗНѢСТА	ДВИГОСТА	РИНѢСТА
3	ДРЪЗНѢСТЕ, -ТА	ДВИГОСТЕ, -ТА	РИНѢСТЕ, -ТА

*Past Participle Active 1*

Masc., neut.

ДВИГЪ                      ДРЪЗНѢВЪ                      РИНѢВЪ

Fem.

ДВИГЪШИ                      ДРЪЗНѢВЪШИ                      РИНѢВЪШИ

*Past Participle Active 2*

ДВИГЛ-Ъ, -А, -О                      СТАЛ-Ъ, -А, -О                      РИНЖЛ-Ъ, -А, -О

*Past Participle Passive*

ДВИЖЕН-Ъ, -а, -о      ДРЪЗНОВЕН-Ъ, -а, -о      РИНОВЕН-Ъ, -а, -о

*Infinitive*

ДВИГНЪТИ 'to move'    СТАТИ 'to get up, to stand'    РИНЪТИ 'to push'

*Supine*

ДВИГНЪТЪ      СТАТЪ      РИНЪТЪ

*Verbal noun*

ДВИЖЕНИЮ      ВЪСТАНИЮ 'resurrection'      РИНОВЕНИЮ

(a) The suffix -нж- of the infinitive and present stems was dropped in the aorist and past participle forms: aor. ДВИГЪ, past part. ДВИГЪ, ДВИГЛЪ. By analogy, however, the -нж- suffix was also introduced into these forms: ДРЪЗНЪТИ 'to dare', past part. act. 1 ДРЪЗНЖЕЪ, past part. act. 2 ДРЪЗНЖЛЪ. The texts differ in the use of these analogical forms. They are more numerous in Supr.

(b) The past part. pass. sometimes also appears with the ending -нovenъ which represents a suffix -неу-: ДРЪЗНОВЕНЪ from ДРЪЗНЪТИ 'to dare', ПЛННОВЕНЪ from ПЛННЪТИ 'to spit', КОСНОВЕНЪ from КОСНЪТИ 'to touch'. From these participles are then derived the verbal nouns: ПЛННОВЕНИЮ, КОСНОВЕНИЮ, ВЪСКРСНОВЕНИЮ 'resurrection', from ВЪСКРСНЪТИ.

(c) Some forms of the paradigms do not occur in OCS texts.

## § 96. THIRD CONJUGATION (§ 61.III, § 65)

1. *Verbs with original infinitive stems ending in a vowel.**Present*

Sing. 1	знаж	грѣѣж	виж	мънж	чюж
2	знаеши	грѣѣши	виeши	мънеши	чюеши
3	знаетъ	грѣѣтъ	виетъ	мънетъ	чюетъ
Plur. 1	знаемъ	грѣѣемъ	виемъ	мънемъ	чюемъ
2	знаете	грѣѣете	виете	мънете	чюете
3	знажтъ	грѣѣжтъ	вижтъ	мънжтъ	чюжтъ

Dual	1	знаѣвѣ	грѣѣвѣ	виѣвѣ	мѣѣвѣ	чюѣвѣ
	2	знаѣта	грѣѣта	виѣта	мѣѣта	чюѣта
	3	знаѣте, -та	грѣѣте, -та	виѣте, -та	мѣѣте, -та	чюѣте, -та

*Imperative*

Sing.	1	—	—	—	—	—
	2	знаи	грѣи	ви (вѣи)	мѣи	чюи
	3	знаи	грѣи	ви	мѣи	чюи
Plur.	1	знаимѣ	грѣимѣ	вимѣ	мѣимѣ	чюимѣ
	2	знаите	грѣите	вите	мѣите	чюите
	3	—	—	—	—	—
Dual	1	знаивѣ	грѣивѣ	вивѣ	мѣивѣ	чюивѣ
	2	знаита	грѣита	вита	мѣита	чюита
	3	—	—	—	—	—

*Present Participle Active*

Masc., neut.

знаѣа      грѣѣа      виѣа      мѣѣа      чюѣа

Fem.

знаѣшти      грѣѣшти      виѣшти      мѣѣшти      чюѣшти

*Present Participle Passive*знаѣм-ѣ,      грѣѣм-ѣ,      виѣм-ѣ,      мѣѣм-ѣ,      чюѣм-ѣ,  
-а, -о      -а, -о      -а, -о      -а, -о      -а, -о*Imperfect*

Sing.

1	знаахѣ	грѣахѣ	виаахѣ	мѣаахѣ	чюѣахѣ
2	знааше	грѣаше	виааше	мѣааше	чюѣаше
3	знааше	грѣаше	виааше	мѣааше	чюѣаше

Plur.

1	знаахомѣ	грѣахомѣ	виаахомѣ	мѣаахомѣ	чюѣахомѣ
2	знаашете	грѣашете	виаашете	мѣаашете	чюѣашете
3	знаахѣ	грѣахѣ	виаахѣ	мѣаахѣ	чюѣахѣ

## Dual

1	ЗНААХОВѢ	ГРѢАХОВѢ	ВИГААХОВѢ	МЪИГААХОВѢ	ЧЮѢАХОВѢ
2	ЗНААШЕТА	ГРѢАШЕТА	ВИГААШЕТА	МЪИГААШЕТА	ЧЮѢАШЕТА
3	ЗНААШЕТЕ, -ТА	ГРѢАШЕТЕ, -ТА	ВИГААШЕТЕ, -ТА	МЪИГААШЕТЕ, -ТА	ЧЮѢАШЕТЕ, -ТА

*Sigmatic Aorist*

## Sing.

1	ЗНАХЪ	ГРѢХЪ	ВИХЪ	МЪИХЪ	ЧЮХЪ
2	ЗНА	ГРѢ	ВИ	МЪИ	ЧЮ
3	ЗНА	ГРѢ	ВИ	МЪИ	ЧЮ

## Plur.

1	ЗНАХОМЪ	ГРѢХОМЪ	ВИХОМЪ	МЪИХОМЪ	ЧЮХОМЪ
2	ЗНАСТЕ	ГРѢСТЕ	ВИСТЕ	МЪИСТЕ	ЧЮСТЕ
3	ЗНАША	ГРѢША	ВИША	МЪИША	ЧЮША

## Dual

1	ЗНАХОВѢ	ГРѢХОВѢ	ВИХОВѢ	МЪИХОВѢ	ЧЮХОВѢ
2	ЗНАСТА	ГРѢСТА	ВИСТА	МЪИСТА	ЧЮСТА
3	ЗНАСТЕ, -ТА	ГРѢСТЕ, -ТА	ВИСТЕ, -ТА	МЪИСТЕ, -ТА	ЧЮСТЕ, -ТА

*Past Participle Active 1*

## Masc., neut.

ЗНАВЪ	ГРѢВЪ	ВИВЪ	МЪИВЪ	ЧЮВЪ
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## Fem.

ЗНАВЪШИ	ГРѢВЪШИ	ВИВЪШИ	МЪИВЪШИ	ЧЮВЪШИ
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*Past Participle Active 2*

ЗНАЛЪ, -А, -О	ГРѢЛЪ, -А, -О	ВИЛЪ, -А, -О	МЪИЛЪ, -А, -О	ЧЮЛЪ, -А, -О
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*Past Participle Passive*

ЗНАНЪ, -А, -О	ГРѢНЪ, -А, -О	ВИЕНЪ, -А, -О	БИТЪ, -А, -О
	МЪИВЕНЪ, -А, -О	ЧЮВЕНЪ, -А, -О	

*Infinitive*

ЗНАТИ 'to know'	ГРѢТИ 'to warm' (intr.)	ВИТИ 'to beat'
	МЪИТИ 'to wash'	ЧЮТИ 'to feel'



*Supine*

ЗНАТЬ ГРѢТЬ БИТЬ МЫТЬ ЧЮТЬ

*Verbal Noun*

(по)ЗНАНИЕ ГРѢНИЕ БИЕНИЕ БИТИЕ (оу)МЪВАНІЕ ЧЮВЕНІЕ

(a) *Verbs of this category*: ДѢТИ, ДѢЖ (ДЕЖДЖ) 'to put, to set', СПѢТИ, СПѢЖ 'to succeed', СЪМѢТИ, СЪМѢЖ 'to dare', СѢТИ, СѢЖ 'to sow; to sieve', ПѢТИ, ПОЖ 'to sing', ВИТИ, ВИЖ (ВЫЖ) 'to wind up, to swathe', ГНИТИ, ГНИЖ 'to putrify', ЛИТИ, ЛИЖ (ЛЫЖ) 'to pour', ПИТИ, ПИЖ (ПЫЖ) 'to drink', ПОЧИТИ, ПОЧИЖ 'to rest', КРЫТИ, КРЫЖ 'to cover', ОУНЫТИ, ОУНЫЖ 'to weary, to be despondent', РУТИ, РУЖ 'to dig', ШИТИ, ШИЖ 'to sew', ОСНЪВАТИ, ОСНЪВАЖ 'to found, to create', НАДОУТИ, НАДОУЖ 'to blow up', ОБОУТИ, ОБОУЖ 'to put on shoes', ИЗОУТИ 'to take off', СИѢТИ, СИЯТИ, СИѢЖ (СЪ-) 'to glimmer, to shine'.

The form ДЕЖДЖ is derived from a root with reduplication: \**de-d-jp* > *deždō*, cf. Lith. *demi*, Lat. *facio*: Old Ind. *dadhāmi* 'I set'.

(b) In texts appear forms which have dropped the intervocalic *j* with resulting assimilation of the vowels: ЗНААТЕ < ЗНАЈЕТЕ, ЗНААТЬ < ЗНАЈЕТЬ, СѢАТИ 'to sow', СѢАТЬ < СѢЈЕТЬ, ДААТЬ < ДАЈЕТЬ (§ 32.5).

(c) In the imperfect verbs of the type ВИТИ, ПИТИ take the endings -ѡахъ or -ѡахъ, &c. The verb ПѢТИ, ПОЖ has also contracted imperfect forms: ПОѡаше, ПОѡахъ (Supr. 118. 11, 70. 26). The OCS texts show only contracted imperfect forms from КРЫТИ and ЧЮТИ: КРЫѡаше (КРЫѡѡаше), ЧЮѡаше, ЧЮѡаста.

(d) In the 2nd and 3rd sg. aor. verbs with the stem in -и- or -ѣ- may attach the ending -ТЬ: БИТЬ, ПИТЬ, ПѢТЬ.

(e) The past part. pass. has the ending -НЪ or -ТЬ. There is no clear-cut rule as to the distribution of these endings. Verbs in -ѣ- have -НЪ: СѢНЪ 'sown', ОДѢНЪ 'dressed', but ОСѢТЬ 'sown'. Verbs in -и have -ТЬ: ИЗВИТЬ 'unwound', ПОВИТЬ 'swaddled', ПРОЛИТЬ 'slipped', ПѢТЬ 'sung', but БЫЕНЪ 'beaten', which is formed like КРЪВЕНЪ from КРЫТИ, МЪВЕНЪ from МЫТИ, ШЪВЕНЪ from ШИТИ, ОБОУВЕНЪ from ОБОУТИ.

(f) The verbs сѣти 'to sow, to sieve', грѣти сѣ 'to warm' (refl.), спѣти 'to thrive' have also enlarged infinitives: сѣяти, сѣати; грѣяти, грѣати; спѣяти, which put them in category 3 of this conjugation.

2. *Verbs with original infinitive stems ending in a consonant.*

<i>Present</i>			
Sing. 1	ко́лѣж	жѣ́нѣж	мелѣ́ж
2	ко́лѣши	жѣ́нѣши	мелѣ́ши
3	ко́лѣтъ	жѣ́нѣтъ	мелѣ́тъ
Plur. 1	ко́лѣмъ	жѣ́нѣмъ	мелѣ́мъ
2	ко́лѣте	жѣ́нѣте	мелѣ́те
3	ко́лѣтъ	жѣ́нѣтъ	мелѣ́тъ
Dual 1	ко́лѣвѣ	жѣ́нѣвѣ	мелѣ́вѣ
2	ко́лѣта	жѣ́нѣта	мелѣ́та
3	ко́лѣте	жѣ́нѣте	мелѣ́те

<i>Imperative</i>			
Sing. 1	—	—	—
2	ко́ли	жѣ́ни	мелѣ́ни
3	ко́ли	жѣ́ни	мелѣ́ни
Plur. 1	ко́лимъ (ко́лѣмъ)	жѣ́нимъ	мелѣ́мъ
2	ко́лите (ко́лѣте)	жѣ́ните	мелѣ́ите
3	—	—	—
Dual 1	ко́ливѣ	жѣ́нивѣ	мелѣ́ивѣ
2	ко́лита	жѣ́нита	мелѣ́ита
3	—	—	—

*Present participle active*

Masc., neut.	ко́лѣ	жѣ́нѣ	мелѣ́
Fem.	ко́лѣшти	жѣ́нѣшти	мелѣ́шти

*Present participle passive*

ко́лѣм-ъ, -а, -о      жѣ́нѣм-ъ, -а, -о      мелѣ́м-ъ, -а, -о

*Imperfect*

Sing.	1	колѣахъ	жънѣахъ	мелпаахъ
	2	колѣаше	жънѣаше	мелпааше
	3	колѣаше	жънѣаше	мелпааше
Plur.	1	колѣахомъ	жънѣахомъ	мелпаахомъ
	2	колѣашете	жънѣашете	мелпаашете
	3	колѣахъ	жънѣахъ	мелпаахъ
Dual	1	колѣаховѣ	жънѣаховѣ	мелпааховѣ
	2	колѣашета	жънѣашета	мелпаашета
	3	колѣашете	жънѣашете	мелпаашете

*Sigmatic aorist*

Sing.	1	клахъ	жахъ	млѣхъ
	2	кла	жа	млѣ
	3	кла	жа	млѣ
Plur.	1	клахомъ	жахомъ	млѣхомъ
	2	класте	жасте	млѣсте
	3	клаша	жаша	млѣша
Dual	1	клаховѣ	жаховѣ	млѣховѣ
	2	класта	жаста	млѣста
	3	класте, -та	жасте, -та	млѣсте, -та

*Past participle active 1*

Masc., neut. клавъ                      Fem. клавъши

*Past participle active 2*

клавъ-тъ, -а, -о      жавъ-тъ, -а, -о      млѣвъ-тъ, -а, -о

*Past participle passive*

-коленъ-тъ, -а, -о (-клавъ)

*Infinitive*

клати (кълати) 'to stab'      жати 'to harvest'      млѣти 'to grind'

*Supine*

клатъ      жатъ      млѣтъ (млѣтъ Supr. 565. 4)

*Verbal noun***-КОЛЕНИИЕ**

(a) This group consists only of a few verbs, to which may be added a verb with the radical ending in *-t-*: **-рѣсти**, **-рѣштѣ** (**об-** 'to find', **съ-** 'to meet', **пріоб-** 'to gain, to earn'), from which the verbal nouns are **сѣрѣтєніе** 'meeting', **обрѣтєніе** 'finding'.

(b) Forms of these verbs, other than the present tense forms, occur very rarely in the texts.

(c) From **брати**, **ворѣж** 'to fight' occur a form **ворѣжѣ** and a form **бѣрахомъ** = **бѣрахомъ** (Supr. 72. 27); aorist **прѣбра**, **бѣраша**, **браша**. The verbal noun appears in two forms: **бѣраніе** and **ворєніе**, and these indicate two past parts. pass.: **бранъ** and **ворєнъ**.

(d) The verb **клати** 'to stab' appears in aor. **клатѣ**, **закла** (**закъла**), &c., in past part. pass. **кланъ**, **коленъ**, verbal noun **колєніе**. The imperfect **колѣжѣ**, **клатѣ** does not occur in OCS texts.

(e) The verb **млѣти** 'to grind' appears in an imperfect form **млєаше** and in an aorist form **млѣша**.

(f) From **жати** 'to reap' there is an aorist **пожа**.

(g) The verb **обрѣсти** 'to find' forms the imperfect from the present stem: **обрѣштажѣ**, **обрѣштахомъ**. More numerous are the forms derived from the infinitive stem: aor. **обрѣтъ**, **обрѣтє**, **обрѣтомъ**, **обрѣтѣ** and **обрѣтохъ**, **обрѣтохомъ**; past part. act. 1 **обрѣтъ**, past part. act. 2 **обрѣлъ**; pres. part. pass. **обрѣтенъ**; sup. **обрѣстѣ**.

(h) From the verbs **клати**, **брати**, and **млѣти** the infinitive stem appears also with a secondary reduced vowel: **кълати**, **бѣрати**, **млѣти**. The reduced vowel results from analogy with verbs like: **сѣлати** 'to send', **зѣрѣти** 'to see'.

3. *Verbs with original infinitive stems (ending in a vowel or a consonant) enlarged by -a-*.

*Present*

Sing.

1	<b>дѣж</b>	<b>вѣжѣ</b>	<b>глаголѣж</b>	<b>нарѣчѣ</b>	<b>нарѣцѣж</b>
2	<b>дѣши</b>	<b>вѣжєши</b>	<b>глаголѣєши</b>	<b>нарѣчєши</b>	<b>нарѣцѣєши</b>
3	<b>дѣтъ</b>	<b>вѣжєтъ</b>	<b>глаголѣєтъ</b>	<b>нарѣчєтъ</b>	<b>нарѣцѣєтъ</b>

## Plur.

1	ДАЕМЪ	ВАЖЕМЪ	ГЛАГОЛІЕМЪ	НАРИЧЕМЪ	НАРИЦАЕМЪ
2	ДАЕТЕ	ВАЖЕТЕ	ГЛАГОЛІЕТЕ	НАРИЧЕТЕ	НАРИЦАЕТЕ
3	ДАЖТЪ	ВАЖЖТЪ	ГЛАГОЛІЖТЪ	НАРИЧЖТЪ	НАРИЦАЖТЪ

## Dual

1	ДАЕВЪ	ВАЖЕВЪ	ГЛАГОЛІЕВЪ	НАРИЧЕВЪ	НАРИЦАЕВЪ
2	ДАЕТА	ВАЖЕТА	ГЛАГОЛІЕТА	НАРИЧЕТА	НАРИЦАЕТА
3	ДАЕТЕ, -ТА	ВАЖЕТЕ, -ТА	ГЛАГОЛІЕТЕ, -ТА	НАРИЧЕТЕ, -ТА	НАРИЦАЕТЕ, -ТА

*Imperative*

## Sing.

1	—	—	—	—	—
2	ДАИ	ВАЖИ	ГЛАГОЛИ	НАРЬЦИ	НАРИЦАИ
3	ДАИ	ВАЖИ	ГЛАГОЛИ	НАРЬЦИ	НАРИЦАИ

## Plur.

1	ДАИМЪ	ВАЖИМЪ	ГЛАГОЛИМЪ	НАРЬЦ'ЕМЪ	НАРИЦАИМЪ
2	ДАИТЕ	ВАЖИТЕ	ГЛАГОЛИТЕ	НАРЬЦ'ЕТЕ	НАРИЦАИТЕ
3	—	—	—	—	—

## Dual

1	ДАИВЪ	ВАЖИВЪ	ГЛАГОЛИВЪ	НАРЬЦ'ЕВЪ	НАРИЦАИВЪ
2	ДАИТА	ВАЖИТА	ГЛАГОЛИТА	НАРЬЦ'ЕТА	НАРИЦАИТА
3	—	—	—	—	—

*Present participle active*

## Masc., neut.

ДАЯ	ВАЖА	ГЛАГОЛЯ	НАРИЧА	НАРИЦАЯ
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## Fem.

ДАЖШТИ	ВАЖЖШТИ	ГЛАГОЛІЖШТИ	НАРИЧЖШТИ	НАРИЦАЖШТИ
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*Present participle passive*

ДАЕМЪ, -А, -О	ВАЖЕМЪ, -А, -О	ГЛАГОЛІЕМЪ, -А, -О	НАРИЧЕМЪ, -А, -О	НАРИЦАЕМЪ, -А, -О
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*Imperfect*

## Sing.

1	Дагаахъ	Вѣздаахъ	Глаголаахъ	Нарицаахъ
2	Дагааше	Вѣздааше	Глаголааше	Нарицааше
3	Дагааше	Вѣздааше	Глаголааше	Нарицааше

## Plur.

1	Дагаахомъ	Вѣздаахомъ	Глаголаахомъ	Нарицаахомъ
2	Дагаашете	Вѣздаашете	Глаголаашете	Нарицаашете
3	Дагаахъ	Вѣздаахъ	Глаголаахъ	Нарицаахъ

## Dual

1	Дагааховѣ	Вѣздааховѣ	Глаголааховѣ	Нарицааховѣ
2	Дагаашета	Вѣздаашета	Глаголаашета	Нарицаашета
3	Дагаашете	Вѣздаашете	Глаголаашете	Нарицаашете

*Sigmatic aorist*

## Sing.

1	-Дагахъ	Вѣздахъ	Глаголахъ	Нарицахъ
2	-Дага	Вѣзда	Глагола	Нарица
3	-Дага	Вѣзда	Глагола	Нарица

## Plur.

1	-Дагахомъ	Вѣздахомъ	Глаголахомъ	Нарицахомъ
2	-Дагасте, -та	Вѣздасте, -та	Глаголасте, -та	Нарицасте, -та
3	-Дагаша	Вѣздаша	Глаголаша	Нарицаша

## Dual

1	-Дагаховѣ	Вѣздаховѣ	Глаголаховѣ	Нарицаховѣ
2	-Дагашета	Вѣздаста	Глаголаста	Нарицаста
3	-Дагашете	Вѣздасте	Глаголасте	Нарицасте

*Past participle active 1*

## Masc., neut.

Дагавъ	Вѣдавъ	Глаголавъ	Нарицавъ
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## Fem.

Дагавъши	Вѣдавъши	Глаголавъши	Нарицавъши
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*Past participle active 2*

ДАДАЛ-Ъ,	ВАЗАЛ-Ъ,	ГЛАГОЛАЛ-Ъ,	НАРИЦАЛ-Ъ,
-а, -о	-а, -о	-а, -о	-а, -о

*Past participle passive*

ДАДАН-Ъ,	ВАЗАН-Ъ,	ГЛАГОЛАН-Ъ,	НАРИЦАН-Ъ,
-а, -о	-а, -о	-а, -о	-а, -о

*Infinitive*

ДАДАТИ 'to give'	ВАЗАТИ 'to tie'	ГЛАГОЛАТИ 'to speak'
	НАРИЦАТИ 'to name'	

*Supine*

ДАДАТЬ	ВАЗАТЬ	ГЛАГОЛАТЬ	НАРИЦАТЬ
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*Verbal noun*

ДАДАНИЕ	ВАЗАНИЕ	ГЛАГОЛАНИЕ	НАРИЦАНИЕ
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(a) Verbs with stems ending in a vowel: *вѣдати, вѣж* 'to sculpt', *вѣяти, вѣж* 'to blow', *дѣяти, дѣж* 'to do', *капати, каж са* 'to repent', *лапати, лаж* 'to spy, to lay traps; to bark', *-мапати, -маж* 'to make a sign, to call', *стапати, стаж* 'to stand, to be standing', *сѣпати, сѣж* 'to sow', *тапати, таж* 'to melt', *зипати, зѣж* 'to yawn, to gape', *липати, лѣж* 'to pour', *смипати са, смѣж са* 'to laugh', *грѣпати, грѣж* 'to warm', *рѣпати, рѣж* 'to push', *чапати, чаж* 'to wait', *вѣвати, вѣюж* 'to vomit', *пѣвати, пѣюж* 'to spit'.

(b) Verbs with stems ending in a consonant: *ал(ъ)кати, алчж* 'to be hungry', *навѣцати, -вѣчж* 'to learn', *гасати, гашж* 'to extinguish', *гѣвати, гѣвѣж* 'to perish', *жадати, жаждж* 'to be thirsty', *зѣдати, зѣждж* 'to build', *зобати, зобѣж* 'to devour', *зѣвати, зѣвѣж* 'to shake', *искати, иштж, искж* 'to seek', *кѣпати, кѣпѣж* 'to push against', *лизати, лижж* 'to lick, to lap', *лѣгати, лѣжж* 'to tell a lie', *лѣгати, лѣжж* 'to take to one's bed', *лацати, лачж* 'to stretch', *мрѣцати, мрѣчж* 'to grow dark', *ницати, ничж* 'to bud', *пѣсати, пишж* 'to write', *плакати, плачж* 'to wash; to cry', *плѣзати, плѣжж* 'to crawl', *плѣсати, плѣшж* 'to dance', *рѣсати, рѣштж* 'to run', *рѣзати, рѣжж* 'to neigh', *рѣзати, рѣжж* 'to cut', *скрѣжѣтати, скрѣжѣштж* 'to

gnash', *сълпати*, *сълпѣлѣж* 'to sputter', *сълмати*, *сълѣлѣж* 'to send', *оувѣдати*, *оувѣждѣж* 'to wither', *стрѣкати*, *стрѣкѣж* 'to sting', *сѣпати*, *сѣплѣлѣж* 'to scatter, to shed', *стрѣгати* (*строугати*), *строужѣж* 'to lacerate', *тѣсати*, *тѣшѣж* 'to hew, to cut', *трѣсати*, *трѣкѣж* (*трѣзѣлѣж*) 'to tear to pieces, to rend', *тазати*, *тажѣж* 'to pull', *чѣсати*, *чѣшѣж* 'to comb, to strip', *чрѣпати*, *чрѣплѣлѣж* 'to draw water', *стѣлати*, *стѣлѣлѣж* 'to spread', *мрѣмѣрати*, *мрѣмѣрѣлѣж* 'to gnaw', *орати*, *орѣлѣж* 'to plough', *стенати*, *стѣнѣлѣж* 'to sigh, to complain', *имати*, *ѣмѣлѣж* 'to take', *страдати*, *страждѣж* 'to suffer', *любѣзати*, *любѣжѣж* 'to kiss', *оуглѣбѣти*, *оуглѣбѣлѣж* 'to sink in', *тратати*, *траштѣж* 'to pursue', *исѣхати*, *исѣшѣж* 'to dry'.

(c) The present and the infinitive stems of some verbs of this category are differentiated by vowel alternation: *зѣлѣж* — *зыати*, *зѣнѣж* — *зыати*; *лѣлѣж* — *лыати*, *лѣнѣж* — *лыати*; *смѣлѣж* *см* — *смыати*, *смѣнѣж* *см*; *бѣлюлѣж* — *бѣлѣвати*; *плѣюлѣж* — *плѣвати*; *стѣлѣлѣж* — *стѣлати*, *стѣлѣлати*; *ѣмѣлѣж* — *имати*; *пѣшѣж* — *пѣсати*, *пѣсати*.

(d) The imperfect is, with few exceptions, formed from the infinitive stem: *казаахѣж* : *казати*; *писаахѣж* : *писати*; *метаахѣж* : *метати*, but also *мештаахѣж* (*Supr.* 216. 25) from the present stem; *прѣмаахѣж* : *прѣмати*, but also *прѣмаахѣж* (*Supr.* 383. 26) from the present stem. The endings *-ашѣта*, *-ашѣте* in the 2nd pl. and in the 2nd and 3rd pl. are exceptionally replaced by *-астѣ*, *-астѣ*.

(e) The intervocalic *j* in the endings of these verbs tends to disappear; the vowels are then in some cases assimilated and contracted (§ 32.5): *даѣтѣж* > *даатѣж*, *даѣтѣж* > *даѣтѣж*, *даѣтеж* > *даатѣж*; *развѣдаѣтѣж* > *развѣдаатѣж*; *послѣдѣшѣтеж* > *послѣдѣшатѣж*; *повѣдаѣшиж* > *повѣдаашѣж*. Isolated forms of this kind occur in various OCS texts.

(f) Verbs of this category, as well as those of 1, have plural and dual forms in the imperative also enlarged by *-ѣ-*, *-ѣ-*, which recall the imperative forms of the first and second conjugation: *вѣнѣмѣж*, *вѣнѣтеж* for *вѣнѣмѣж*, *вѣнѣтеж*; *глаголѣмѣж*, *глаголѣтеж* for *глаголѣмѣж*, *глаголѣтеж*; *накажѣтеж*; *вѣзѣштѣж*; *пѣнѣтеж*; *покажѣтеж*, &c. The derived verbs of category 4 have no imperative forms in *-ѣ-*, *-ѣ-*.

(g) There is no precise difference between verbs of category 3



and category 4. The primary and the derived verbs form a single category from the point of view of descriptive grammar.

4. *Derived verbs.*

		<i>Present</i>		
Sing.	1	ДѢЛАЖ	разоумѣж	вѣроујж
	2	ДѢЛАЈЕШИ	разоумѣјеш	вѣроујеш
	3	ДѢЛАЈЕТЪ	разоумѣјетъ	вѣроујетъ
Plur.	1	ДѢЛАЈЕМЪ	разоумѣјемъ	вѣроујемъ
	2	ДѢЛАЈЕТЕ	разоумѣјете	вѣроујете
	3	ДѢЛАЈТЪ	разоумѣјтъ	вѣроујтъ
Dual	1	ДѢЛАЈЕВѢ	разоумѣјевѢ	вѣроујевѢ
	2	ДѢЛАЈЕТА	разоумѣјета	вѣроујета
	3	ДѢЛАЈЕТЕ, -ТА	разоумѣјете, -ТА	вѣроујете, -ТА

		<i>Imperative</i>		
Sing.	1	—	—	—
	2	ДѢЛАН	разоумѣн	вѣроун
	3	ДѢЛАН	разоумѣн	вѣроун
Plur.	1	ДѢЛАНМЪ	разоумѣнимъ	вѣроунмъ
	2	ДѢЛАНТЕ	разоумѣните	вѣроунте
	3	—	—	—
Dual	1	ДѢЛАНВѢ	разоумѣневѢ	вѣроуневѢ
	2	ДѢЛАНТА	разоумѣннта	вѣроуннта
	3	—	—	—

*Present participle active*

Masc., neut.	ДѢЛАН	разоумѣн	вѣроун
Fem.	ДѢЛАНШТИ	разоумѣншти	вѣроуншти

*Present participle passive*

ДѢЛАЕМЪ, -А, -О	разоумѣемЪ, -А, -О	вѣроујемЪ, -А, -О
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*Imperfect*

Sing.	1	Дѣлаахъ	разоумѣахъ	вѣроваахъ
	2	Дѣлааше	разоумѣаше	вѣровааше
	3	Дѣлааше	разоумѣаше	вѣровааше
Plur.	1	Дѣлаахомъ	разоумѣахомъ	вѣроваахомъ
	2	Дѣлаашете	разоумѣашете	вѣроваашете
	3	Дѣлаахъ	разоумѣахъ	вѣроваахъ
Dual	1	Дѣлааховѣ	разоумѣаховѣ	вѣровааховѣ
	2	Дѣлаашета	разоумѣашета	вѣроваашета
	3	Дѣлаашете, -та	разоумѣашете, -та	вѣроваашете, -та

*Sigmatic aorist*

Sing.	1	Дѣлахъ	разоумѣхъ	вѣровахъ
	2	Дѣла	разоумѣ	вѣрова
	3	Дѣла	разоумѣ	вѣрова
Plur.	1	Дѣлахомъ	разоумѣхомъ	вѣровахомъ
	2	Дѣласте	разоумѣсте	вѣровасте
	3	Дѣлаша	разоумѣша	вѣроваша
Dual	1	Дѣлаховѣ	разоумѣховѣ	вѣроваховѣ
	2	Дѣласта	разоумѣста	вѣроваста
	3	Дѣласте, -та	разоумѣсте, -та	вѣровасте, -та

*Past participle active 1*

Masc., neut.	Дѣлавъ	разоумѣвъ	вѣровавъ
Fem.	Дѣлавъши	разоумѣвъши	вѣровавъши

*Past participle active 2*

Дѣлалъ, -а, -о	разоумѣлъ, -а, -о	вѣровалъ, -а, -о
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*Past participle passive*

Дѣланъ, -а, -о	разоумѣнъ, -а, -о	вѣрованъ, -а, -о
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*Infinitive*

Дѣлати 'to work'	разоумѣти 'to understand'
вѣровати 'to believe'	

*Supine*

ДѢЛАТЬ

РАЗОУМѢТЬ

ВѢРОВАТЬ

*Verbal noun*

ДѢЛАНІЕ

РАЗОУМѢНІЕ

ВѢРОВАНІЕ

(a) It is not possible to draw a line between the derived verbs of this category and the radical verbs of category 3 of this conjugation. A verb like ГЛАГОЛАТИ may be considered as being derived from the noun ГЛАГОЛЪ 'word'; НАРИЦАТИ may be considered as derived from НАРЕШТИ, НАРЕКЪ 'to name'.

(b) To this category of derived verbs belong: ЗНАМЕНАТИ, ЗНАМЕНАЖ 'to mark, to point out': ЗНАМА n. 'mark', ОТГВѢЩАТИ, ОТГВѢЩАЖ 'to answer': ОТГВѢТЬ 'answer', БЫВАТИ, БЫВАЖ 'to be (habitually)': БЫТИ 'to be', НАРИЦАТИ, НАРИЦАЖ 'to name' which is, however, also considered as a radical verb and has the present НАРИЧЪ, ЖЕЛѢТИ, ЖЕЛѢЖ 'to wish': ЖЕЛА 'wish, longing', ИМѢТИ, ИМѢЖ 'to have', ПИТѢТИ (ПИТАТИ), ПИТѢЖ 'to feed', ОСЛАБѢТИ, ОСЛАБѢЖ 'to become weak', ВЕТЪШАТИ, ВЕТЪШАЖ 'to become old': ВЕТЪХЪ adj., ОБНИШТАТИ, ОБНИШТАЖ 'to become poor': НИШТЬ adj., КОУПОВАТИ, КОУПОВАЖ 'to buy', СЪВѢДѢТЕЛЬСТВОВАТИ, -ВОУЖ 'to witness': СЪВѢДѢТЕЛЬ, СКАНДАЛИСАТИ, -САЖ 'to scandalize', КОНЬЧАТИ, КОНЬЧАЖ 'to finish, to come to an end', ЦѢСАРЬСТВОВАТИ, -ВОУЖ 'to reign': ЦѢСАРЬ 'emperor'.

(c) Some onomatopoeic verbs may be considered as derived from the corresponding nouns: КЛЕВЕТАТИ, КЛЕВЕШТЪЖ 'to slander': КЛЮТИ, РЪПГЪТАТИ, РЪПГЪШТЪЖ 'to grumble': РЪПГЪТЬ, СКРЪЖАТАТИ, СКРЪЖАШТЪЖ 'to gnash': СКРЪЖЪТЬ, ШЪПГЪТАТИ, ШЪПГЪШТЪЖ 'to whisper': ШЪПГЪТЬ.

(d) The majority of verbs with infinitive stem ending in *-a-* of the type ДѢЛАТИ are derived from nouns, and from a purely formal point of view they should be assigned to category 3 of this conjugation. They have, however, been considered as secondary, derived verbs with stems enlarged by *-a-* and as forming a separate category—4.

(e) In the present tense endings, the intervocalic *j* again shows the tendency to disappear, and the vowels are assimilated:

разоумѣютъ > разоумѣатъ, вѣроуютъ > вѣроуютъ, разбиваютъ > разбиваатъ > разбиватъ (§ 32.5, § 96.3. e).

(f) The imperfect is formed from the infinitive stem: дѣлаахъ, разоумѣаше. Verbs in -овати also have exceptional imperfect forms derived from the present stem: бесѣдовати, бесѣдоуѣж 'to speak' — бесѣдоуѣше (Supr. 304.18. d) and бесѣдовааше, даровати, дароуѣж 'to present' — дароуѣше and даровааше, &c. The endings -ашета (2nd du.) and -ашете (3rd du. and 2nd pl.) are sometimes replaced by -аста, -асте.

(g) The suffix *-ова-* appears as *-ева-* after palatal consonants: пользевати 'to profit', непѣшевати 'to suppose' (§ 11.2, § 65.3).

(h) Some verbs in -овати show present forms derived from a stem in -ае-: готовати 'to prepare', готоваетъ 'he prepares', растръзовати 'to tear to pieces', растръзоваетъ (Supr. 350.28) 'he tears to pieces'. The first verb is derived from готовъ and belongs only formally to this verbal category.

### § 97. FOURTH CONJUGATION (§ 61.IV, § 66)

#### *Present*

#### Sing.

1	молиѣж	любиѣж	вратиѣж	видиѣж	слышиѣж	кричиѣж
2	молиши	любиши	вратиши	видиши	слышиши	кричиши
3	молитъ	любитъ	вратитъ	видитъ	слышитъ	кричитъ

#### Plur.

1	молимъ	любимъ	вратимъ	видимъ	слышимъ	кричимъ
2	молите	любите	вратите	видите	слышите	кричите
3	молатъ	любатъ	врататъ	видатъ	слышатъ	кричатъ

#### Dual

1	моливѣ	любивѣ	вративѣ	видивѣ	слышивѣ	кричивѣ
2	молита	любита	вратита	видита	слышита	кричита
3	молите,	любите,	вратите,	видите,	слышите,	кричите,
	-та	-та	-та	-та	-та	-та

*Imperative*

## Sing.

1	—	—	—	—	—
2	МОЛИ	ЛЮБИ	ВРАТИ	ВИЖДЬ	СЛЪШИ
3	МОЛИ	ЛЮБИ	ВРАТИ	ВИЖДЬ	СЛЪШИ

## Plur.

1	МОЛИМЪ	ЛЮБИМЪ	ВРАТИМЪ	ВИДИМЪ	СЛЪШИМЪ	КРИЧИМЪ
2	МОЛИТЕ	ЛЮБИТЕ	ВРАТИТЕ	ВИДИТЕ	СЛЪШИТЕ	КРИЧИТЕ
3	—	—	—	—	—	—

## Dual

1	МОЛИВЪ	ЛЮБИВЪ	ВРАТИВЪ	ВИДИВЪ	СЛЪШИВЪ	КРИЧИВЪ
2	МОЛИТА	ЛЮБИТА	ВРАТИТА	ВИДИТА	СЛЪШИТА	КРИЧИТА
3	—	—	—	—	—	—

*Present participle active*

## Masc., neut.

МОЛА	ЛЮБА	ВРАТА	ВИДА	СЛЪША	КРИЧА
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## Fem.

МОЛАШТИ	ЛЮБАШТИ	ВРАТАШТИ	ВИДАШТИ	СЛЪШАШТИ	КРИЧАШТИ
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*Present participle passive*

МОЛИМЪ, -а, -о	ЛЮБИМЪ, -а, -о	ВРАТИМЪ, -а, -о
ВИДИМЪ, -а, -о	СЛЪШИМЪ, -а, -о	КРИЧИМЪ, -а, -о
(ВИДОМЪ, -а, -о)	НЕВИДИМЪ, -а, -о	

*Imperfect*

Sing. 1	МОЛѢАХЪ	ЛЮБѢАХЪ	ВРАШТААХЪ
2	МОЛѢАШЕ	ЛЮБѢАШЕ	ВРАШТААШЕ
3	МОЛѢАШЕ	ЛЮБѢАШЕ	ВРАШТААШЕ
Plur. 1	МОЛѢАХОМЪ	ЛЮБѢАХОМЪ	ВРАШТААХОМЪ
2	МОЛѢАШЕТЕ	ЛЮБѢАШЕТЕ	ВРАШТААШЕТЕ
3	МОЛѢАХЪ	ЛЮБѢАХЪ	ВРАШТААХЪ
Dual 1	МОЛѢАХОВЪ	ЛЮБѢАХОВЪ	ВРАШТААХОВЪ
2	МОЛѢАШЕТА	ЛЮБѢАШЕТА	ВРАШТААШЕТА
3	МОЛѢАШЕТЕ,	ЛЮБѢАШЕТЕ,	ВРАШТААШЕТЕ,
	-ТА	-ТА	-ТА

Sing. 1	виждаахъ	слышаахъ	кричаахъ
2	виждааше	слышааше	кричааше
3	виждааше	слышааше	кричааше
Plur. 1	виждаахомъ	слышаахомъ	кричаахомъ
2	виждаашете	слышаашете	кричаашете
3	виждаахъ	слышаахъ	кричаахъ
Dual 1	виждааховѣ	слышааховѣ	кричааховѣ
2	виждаашета	слышаашета	кричаашета
3	виждаашете, -та	слышаашете, -та	кричаашете, -та

*Sigmatic aorist*

Sing. 1	молихъ	любихъ	вратихъ
2	моли	люби	врати
3	моли	люби	врати
Plur. 1	молихомъ	любихомъ	вратихомъ
2	молисте	любисте	вратисте
3	молиша	любиша	вратиша
Dual 1	молиховѣ	любиховѣ	вратиховѣ
2	молиста	любиста	вратиста
3	молисте, -та	любисте, -та	вратисте, -та
Sing. 1	видѣхъ	слышахъ	кричахъ
2	видѣ	слыша	крича
3	видѣ	слыша	крича
Plur. 1	видѣхомъ	слышахомъ	кричахомъ
2	видѣсте	слышасте	кричaste
3	видѣша	слышаша	кричаша
Dual 1	видѣховѣ	слышаховѣ	кричаховѣ
2	видѣста	слышаста	кричаста
3	видѣсте, -та	слышасте, -та	кричaste, -та

*Past participle active 1*

Masc., neut.

моль любѣль, любивѣ вративѣ видѣвѣ. слышавѣ кричавѣ

Fem.

МОЛЪШИ ЛЮБЪШИ, ЛЮБИВЪШИ ВРАТИВЪШИ ВИДЪВЪШИ  
СЛЪШАВЪШИ КРИЧАВЪШИ

*Past participle active 2*

МОЛИЛЪ, -А, -О ЛЮБИЛЪ, -А, -О ВРАТИЛЪ, -А, -О ВИДЪЛЪ, -А, -О  
СЛЪШАЛЪ, -А, -О КРИЧАЛЪ, -А, -О

*Past participle passive*

МОЛЕНЪ, -А, -О ЛЮБЛЕНЪ, -А, -О ВРАШТЕНЪ, -А, -О  
ВИДЪЕНЪ, -А, -О СЛЪШАНЪ, -А, -О

*Infinitive*

МОЛИТИ 'to ask' ЛЮБИТИ 'to love' ВРАТИТИ 'to turn' ВИДЪТИ 'to see'  
СЛЪШАТИ 'to listen' КРИЧАТИ 'to call, to shout'

*Supine*

МОЛИТЬ ЛЮБИТЬ ВРАТИТЬ ВИДЪТЬ СЛЪШАТЬ КРИЧАТЬ

*Verbal noun*

МОЛЕНИЕ ЛЮБЛЕНИЕ ВРАШТЕНИЕ ВИДЕНИЕ СЛЪШАНИЕ  
КРИЧАНИЕ

(a) To this conjugation belong verbs in -ИТИ (inf.) which are derived from nouns: АВИТИ 'to show', ХВАЛИТИ 'to praise', СЪДИТИ 'to judge', МЪСЛИТИ 'to think', СЪМОТРИТИ 'to observe', ГВОЗДИТИ 'to nail', ХРАНИТИ 'to protect', ВЛАЗНИТИ 'to lead astray', МЪЧИТИ 'to torture', ПОСТИТИ СЪ 'to fast', СЛАВИТИ 'to praise', &c.

(b) Some iterative (indeterminate-imperfective) verbs belong to this class: ВОДИТИ 'to lead', НОСИТИ 'to carry', ГОНИТИ 'to chase', ЛАЗИТИ 'to crawl', ХОДИТИ 'to walk', ВЛАЧИТИ 'to drag', ВОЗИТИ 'to drive in a vehicle', МЪЖИТИ 'to trouble'; these verbs have corresponding determinate-imperfectives: ВЕСТИ, НЕСТИ, ГЪНАТИ, ЛЪСТИ, ИТИ, ВЛЪШТИ, ВЕСТИ - ВЕЗЪ, МАСТИ.

(c) This conjugation comprises a good number of causative verbs: ПОИТИ 'to water': ПИТИ 'to drink', ВОУДИТИ 'to awake': ВЪДЪТИ 'to wake, to watch', ОУЧИТИ 'to teach': ВЪКЪЖИТИ 'to get accustomed', ОУМОРИТИ 'to kill': МОРЕТИ 'to die', ПОСАДИТИ 'to set

down': **сѣсти** 'to sit down', **въскрѣсити** (trans.) 'to raise': **въскрѣснѣти** (intrans.) 'to rise from the dead', **гоубити** 'to destroy': **губѣнѣти** 'to perish', **исѣчити**, **исѣцати** 'to make dry': **исѣкнѣти** 'to get dry', &c.

(d) Verbs in **-ѣти** (inf.) of this class are primary verbs which indicate a state and are therefore intransitive: **блѣштати** 'to shine, to glitter', **болѣти** 'to be ill', **бояти сѧ** 'to fear', **бѣдѣти** 'to watch', **бѣжати** 'to run', **велѣти** 'to order, to command', **висѣти** 'to hang', **вѣртѣти** 'to turn', **вѣрѣти** 'to boil', **горѣти** 'to burn', **громѣти** 'to thunder', **движати** 'to move', **дръжати** 'to hold, to rule', **жадѣти**, **жадати** 'to be thirsty', **зѣрѣти** 'to look', **клячати** 'to kneel', **къснѣти** 'to abide', **къпѣти** 'to boil', **лежати** 'to lie', **летѣти** 'to fly', **прильпѣти** 'to stick', **лъштати сѧ** 'to shine, to sparkle', **мълчати** 'to be silent', **мръзѣти** 'to be detested', **мъчати** 'to shake, to carry away', **мынѣти** 'to think, to mean', **пльзѣти** 'to crawl', **полѣти** 'to flame, to blaze', **пърѣти сѧ** 'to dispute', **свѣтѣти сѧ** 'to be light, to shine', **скръбѣти** 'to sorrow, to grieve', **смирѣти** 'to stink', **стоѣти** (**стоѧти**) 'to be standing', **стыдѣти сѧ** 'to be ashamed', **сѣдѣти** 'to sit', **трѣпѣти** 'to suffer', **тѣштати сѧ** 'to hurry', **сѣтажати** 'to acquire', **штадѣти** 'to spare, to forbear'.

(e) The verb **хотѣти** (**хѣтѣти**) 'to wish' belongs to this conjugation only in the 3rd pl. and in pres. part. act. It forms the present from a stem in **-ѣ-**, and the imperfect and aorist from a stem **хот-**:

### Present

Sing. 1	<b>хощѣ</b>	Imperative:	<b>хощи</b>
2	<b>хощеши, хоще</b> (Supr. 169. 21)	Pres. part. act.:	masc., neut. <b>хощѧ</b>
3	<b>хощетѣ</b>		fem. <b>хощаши</b>
Plur. 1	<b>хощемѣ</b>	Imperfect:	<b>хотѣхѣ</b>
2	<b>хощете</b>	Aorist:	<b>хотѣхѣ</b>
3	<b>хощатѣ</b>	Past part. act. 1, masc., neut.:	<b>хотѣвѣ</b>
Dual 1	<b>хощевѣ</b>		fem. <b>хотѣвѣши</b>
2	<b>хощета</b>	Past part. act. 2:	<b>хотѣлѣ-ѣ, -ѧ, -ѧ</b>
3	<b>хощете, -ѧ</b>	Verbal noun:	<b>хотѣннѣ</b>



(f) The verb **ДОВЪЛѢТИ** (**ДОВЪЛѢТИ**) 'to suffice' has the same conjugation in the present as **ХОТѢТИ**, according to the third conjugation. However, only a few forms of the paradigms are recorded in the texts. The imperfect and aorist are formed from a stem **ДОВЪЛѢ-**:

*Present*

Sing. 1	<b>ДОВЪЛѢЖ</b> , <b>ДОВЪЛѢЖ</b>	Plur. 1	<b>ДОВЪЛѢМЪ</b> , <b>ДОВЪЛѢМЪ</b>
2	<b>ДОВЪЛѢШИ</b> , <b>ДОВЪЛѢШИ</b>	2	<b>ДОВЪЛѢТЕ</b> , <b>ДОВЪЛѢТЕ</b>
3	<b>ДОВЪЛѢТЪ</b> , <b>ДОВЪЛѢТЪ</b>	3	<b>ДОВЪЛАТЪ</b> , <b>-ЛѢТЪ</b> , <b>-ЛѢЖТЪ</b>

Dual 1	<b>ДОВЪЛѢВѢ</b> , <b>-ЛѢВѢ</b>
2	<b>ДОВЪЛѢТА</b> , <b>-ЛѢТА</b>
3	<b>ДОВЪЛѢТЕ</b> , <b>-ЛѢТЕ</b>

Pres. part. act.: **ДОВЪЛА**, **ДОВЪЛѢА**

Imperfect: **ДОВЪЛѢХЪ**

Aorist: **ДОВЪЛѢХЪ**

Past part. act. 2: **ДОВЪЛѢЛЪ**

(g) The verb **СЪПАТИ** 'to sleep' (**ОУСЪПНИТИ**, **-СЪПѢЖ**, **-СЪПИШИ** 'to fall asleep') forms the imperfect and aorist from a stem **СЪПА-**; the present is regular: **СЪПѢЖ**, **СЪПИШИ**, &c., 3rd plur. **СЪПАТЪ**. Imperfect: **СЪПАХЪ**, aorist **СЪПАХЪ**. Imperative: **СЪПИ**, pres. part. act. **СЪПА** (§ 66).

(h) The verb **ВИДѢТИ** has irregular forms in imperative (**ВИЖДЪ**, **ВИДИМЪ**, cf. § 98) and in pres. part. pass. However, **ЗАВИДѢТИ** 'to envy' **ОВИДѢТИ** 'to hurt' have in imperative **ЗАВИДИ**, **ОВИДИ**, and in pres. part. pass. the form **ВИДИМЪ** occurs beside **ВИДОМЪ**. Parallel to **ВИДОМЪ** the verb **ПИТѢТИ**, **ПИТѢЖ** forms a pres. part. pass. **ПИТОМЪ**.

(i) The verbs **ГОРѢТИ** 'to burn', **ЛЕТѢТИ** 'to fly', **ВЪРѢТИ** 'to boil' have in pres. part. act. forms with **-Ж-** instead of **-А-**: N. **ГОРА**, N.pl. **ГОРЖШЕ**, I. pl. **ГОРЖШТИМИ** (Ps. Sin. cxix. 4), but Savv. Kn. has **ГОРАШТЕ**. The Russian Church Slavonic forms **ЛЕТΟΥЩА** and **ВРОУЩА**- presuppose forms with **р** in CS.

(j) The stems of this verbal category end in **-i-**. When the derivative element began with a vowel, this **i** changed into **j** and the

foregoing consonant was palatalized (§ 17. b, § 21). The verbal forms in which this palatalization took place are: 1st sg., impf., past part. act. 1, and past part. pass.:

ВОЗИТИ	ВОЖЖ	ВОЗИШИ	ВОЖДАХЪ	ВОЖЬ	ВОЖЕНЪ
ВОДИТИ	ВОЖДЖ	ВОДИШИ	ВОЖДААХЪ	ВОЖДЬ	ВОЖДЕНЪ
МЖТИТИ	МЖШТЖ	МЖТИШИ	МЖШТААХЪ	МЖШТЬ	МЖШТЕНЪ
ПОУСТИТИ	ПОУШТЖ	ПОУСТИШИ	ПОУШТААХЪ	ПОУШТЬ	ПОУШТЕНЪ
ЛЮБИТИ	ЛЮБІІЖ	ЛЮБИШИ	ЛЮБІІААХЪ	ЛЮБІІЬ	ЛЮБІІЕНЪ

Forms without palatalization occur exceptionally: сѣмотрити 'to look', сѣмоштрж and сѣмотріж alongside сѣмоштріж.

### § 98. FIFTH CONJUGATION (ATHEMATIC VERBS) (§ 61.V)

#### *Present*

Sing. 1	юсмь	дамь	вѣмь, вѣдѣ	гамь (гѣмь)
2	юси	даси	вѣси	гаси
3	юстѣ	дастѣ	вѣстѣ	гастѣ
Plur. 1	юсмѣ	дамѣ	вѣмѣ	гамѣ
2	юсте	дасте	вѣсте	гасте
3	сжтѣ	дадатѣ	вѣдатѣ	гاداتѣ
Dual 1	юсвѣ	давѣ	вѣвѣ	гавѣ
2	юста	даста	вѣста	гаста
3	юсте, -та	дасте, -та	вѣсте, -та	гасте, -та

#### *Future*

#### *Imperative*

Sing. 1	бждж	бждѣмь	—	—	—
2	бждвши	бжди	даждь	вѣждь	гаждь
3	бждстѣ	бжди	даждь	вѣждь	гаждь
Plur. 1	бждемѣ	бждѣмѣ	дадимѣ	вѣдимѣ	гадимѣ
2	бждете	бждѣте	дадите	вѣдите	гадите
3	бждятѣ	бждж	—	—	—
Dual 1	бждевѣ	бждѣвѣ	дадивѣ	вѣдивѣ	гадивѣ
2	бждета	бждѣта	дадита	вѣдита	гадита
3	бждете, -та	бждѣте, -та	—	—	—

*Present participle active*

Masc., neut.

сы	бжды 'future'	ддды	в'бды	гды
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Fem.

сжшти	бжджшти	ддджшти	в'бджшти	гджшти
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*Present participle passive*

—	—	в'бдомъ, в'бдимъ, -а, -о	гдомъ, -а, -о
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*Imperfect*

Sing.

1	*б'бахъ	б'бхъ	ддд'бахъ	в'бд'бахъ	гд'бахъ
2	б'баше	б'б	ддд'баше	в'бд'баше	гд'баше
3	б'баше	б'б	ддд'баше	в'бд'баше	гд'баше

Plur.

1	*б'бахомъ	б'бхомъ	ддд'бахомъ	в'бд'бахомъ	гд'бахомъ
2	б'башете	б'бете	ддд'башете	в'бд'башете	гд'башете
3	б'бахж	б'бшж	ддд'бахж	в'бд'бахж	гд'бахж

Dual

1	*б'бахов'б	б'бхов'б	ддд'бахов'б	в'бд'бахов'б	гд'бахов'б
2	б'башета	б'бета	ддд'башета	в'бд'башета	гд'башета
3	б'башете, -та	б'бете, -та	ддд'башете, -та	в'бд'башете, -та	гд'башете, -та

*Aorist*

Sing.

1	б'ыхъ	ддхъ	в'бд'бхъ	гсъ (г'съ), гхъ
2	б'ыстъ, б'ы	ддстъ, дд	в'бд'б	гстъ, из-га (из-г')
3	б'ыстъ, б'ы	ддстъ, дд	в'бд'б	гстъ, из-га (из-г')

Plur.

1	б'ыхомъ	ддхомъ	в'бд'бхомъ	гсомъ, гхомъ
2	б'ысте	ддсте	в'бд'бсте	гсте
3	б'ышж	ддшж	в'бд'бшж	гсж, гшж

Dual

1	б'ыхов'б	ддхов'б	в'бд'бхов'б	гсов'б
2	б'ыста	ддста	в'бд'бста	гста
3	б'ысте, -та	ддсте, -та	в'бд'бсте, -та	гсте, -та

*Past participle active 1*

Masc., neut.	БЫВЪ	ДАВЪ	ВѢДѢВЪ	ІАДЪ
Fem.	БЫВЪШИ	ДАВЪШИ	ВѢДѢВЪШИ	ІАДЪШИ

*Past participle active 2*

БЫЛЪ, -А, -О	ДАЛЪ, -А, -О	ВѢДѢЛЪ, -А, -О	ІАЛЪ, -А, -О
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*Past participle passive*

ЗАБѢВЕНЪ, -А, -О 'forgotten'	ДАЕНЪ, -А, -О	ВѢДѢЕНЪ, -А, -О	ІАЕНЪ, -А, -О
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*Infinitive*

БЫТИ 'to be'	ДАТИ 'to give'	ВѢДѢТИ 'to know'	ІАСТИ 'to eat'
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*Supine*

БЫТЬ	ДАТЬ	ВѢДѢТЬ	ІАСТЬ
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*Verbal noun*

БЫТИЕ, (ЗА)БѢВЕНІЕ	ДАНИЕ	ВѢДѢНІЕ	ІАДЕНІЕ
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(a) For the conditional of БЫТИ see § 72.

(b) The form ВѢХЪ, &c., has the conjugation of an aorist, but it fulfils the function of the imperfect tense, though once it translates the Greek aorist ἐγέροντο = ВѢША (Zogr., Mar., L. xiii. 2, 4). It seems that ВѢХЪ is the older imperfect form, and was replaced, starting with the 3rd pl., by ВѢАХЪ, a newer creation, on the analogy of the other imperfect forms. Forms of the first person imperfect ВѢАХЪ do not occur in the texts.

(c) In the 3rd sg. pres. there also appears the short form е, ю (Zogr., Mar., Ass., Cloz., Savv. Kn., Supr.). In the 2nd sg. pres. we find си for юси (Zogr., L. xi. 27). In the 3rd pl. pres. a short form сж appears (Supr. 38. 12, etc.).

(d) The negative present is: sg. нѢСМЪ, нѢСИ, нѢСТЪ (нѢ); pl. нѢСМЪ, нѢСТЕ, не сжТЪ; du. нѢСВѢ, нѢСТА, нѢСТЕ, -та.

(e) Forms of a future participle are preserved in Euch. Sin., Supr., Mar. (once): ВѢДѢШТ-, and a future part. БЫШАЩЕЮ, БЫШАЩЕЮ appears in Izbornik 1073, and in later texts.

(f) The iterative (impft.-indeterminate) БЫВАТИ, БЫВАЖ (: БЫТИ, БЖДЖ) appears in compound formations: ЗАБЫВАТИ, -ВАЖ: ЗАБЫТИ (impft.), -БЖДЖ (pft.) 'to forget' (§ 89).

(g) The verb БЫТИ is built on an infinitive stem БЫ- < IE \*bhū- (cf. Lat. *fūit*) and a present stem with vowel alternation: *e* ~ *zero*, \*(i)es- ~ \*s-ontū (§ 37); БЖДЖ seems to be a perfective form built on the same stem.

(h) The present stems of the other athematic verbs end in a dental: *dad-*, *vēd-*, *ēd-*; *dad-* keeps the dental in the originally reduplicated forms; the dental disappears when followed by *m* or *s*, and changes into *s* when followed by *t*: \**dad-mī* > ДАМЬ, \**dad-si* > ДАСИ, \**dad-tū* > ДАСТЪ (§ 29. 4. 10); on the analogy of these verbs one finds БЫСТЪ in the 2nd and 3rd sg. aor.

(i) The aspect of ДАТИ is perfective, except in the negative НЕ ДАТИ; the imperfective form is ДАЯТИ, ДАЖ, &c.

(j) In the imperative a form ДАЖДИ also appears.

(k) The athematic verb ВЪДАТИ also has in the 1st sg. pres. the form ВЪДАТЪ (cf. Gr. perfect οἶδα; § 84), which also occurs in Old Slovene (Freis.), Old Czech, and Old Russian. This form appears twice in Zogr., twice in Ass., six times in Savv. Кн.; in Supr. ВЪДАТЪ is more frequently used than ВЪДАМЬ. The two forms may have belonged to two different dialects. The stem ВЪДАТЪ- is replaced, mainly in imperfective forms, by ВЪДА-: ПОВЪДАТИ, ПОВЪДОВАТИ.

(l) In the 3rd sg. pres. a short form ВЪТЪ is recorded in Supr. (382. 17) and проповѣтъ сѧ '(it) shall be proclaimed' in Ass. (L. xii. 3).

(m) In the past part. pass. there appear the isolated forms ИЗВѢСТЪ (Supr. 363. 3) 'well informed' and in later texts ВѢСТЪ 'known'; these are adjectival forms.

(n) The verb ІАСТИ has a single stem \**jad-* = \**ēd-* (cf. Lat. *ēdo*) from which all the forms are built: \**jad-ti* > ІАСТИ, \**jad-sū* > ІАСЬ, ІАХЪ (ІХЪ).

(o) The form БЖДЖ is used as the imperative for the 3rd pers. pl.: БЖДЖ ЧРЪСЛА ВАША ПРЪПОЪСАНА (Mar., L. xii. 35) 'Let your loins be girded about'; БЖДЖ ДНЬВ ЕГО МАЛИ (Ps. Sin. cix. 8) 'Let his days be few'; БЖДЖ ЧАДА ЕГО ВЪ ПАГОУБЖ (Ps. Sin. cix. 13)

'Let his posterity be cut off', &c. But this imperative is expressed, in the same text, by *да* and the present-future form: *да бѣждѣтъ прѣдъ господьмъ вѣнѣж* (Ps. Sin. cix. 15) 'Let them be before the Lord continually' (§ 71.2).

(p) The forms *-бѣждѣ* are always perfective: *избѣйти, избѣждѣ* 'to abound in, to escape', *добѣйти, добѣждѣ* 'to attain', *сѣбѣйти, сѣбѣждѣ сѣ* 'to happen', *забѣйти, забѣждѣ* 'to forget'; the forms *-бѣйти, -бѣвати* are imperfective *избѣйти* 'to escape', *забѣйти* 'to forget', *избѣвати* 'to be abundance of, to be liberated', *прѣбѣвати* 'to remain'.

(q) The perfective *бѣждѣ* replacing the imperfective *бѣйти* in the perfect forms (§ 84) creates a future perfect form: *дамъ бѣждѣ* 'I shall have given' (§ 87).

(r) The verb *имѣти* 'to have' forms the present according to the third conjugation (§ 96): *имѣѣж, имѣѣши*, &c., or according to the athematic verbs from a stem *има-*. Its conjugation is built on two stems:

<i>Present</i>	<i>Imperative</i>	<i>Aorist</i>	<i>Imperfect</i>
<i>Sing.</i>			
1 <i>имамъ</i>	—	<i>имѣхъ</i>	<i>имѣахъ</i>
2 <i>имаши</i>	<i>имѣи</i>	<i>имѣ</i>	<i>имѣаше</i>
3 <i>иматъ</i>	<i>имѣи</i>	<i>имѣ</i>	<i>имѣаше</i>
<i>Plur.</i>			
1 <i>имамъ</i>	<i>имѣимъ</i>	<i>имѣхомъ</i>	<i>имѣахомъ</i>
2 <i>имате</i>	<i>имѣите</i>	<i>имѣсте</i>	<i>имѣашете</i>
3 <i>имѣтъ, имѣѣтъ</i>	—	<i>имѣша</i>	<i>имѣахъ</i>
<i>Dual</i>			
1 <i>имавѣ</i>	<i>имѣивѣ</i>	<i>имѣховѣ</i>	<i>имѣаховѣ</i>
2 <i>имата</i>	<i>имѣита</i>	<i>имѣста</i>	<i>имѣашета</i>
3 <i>имате, -та</i>	—	<i>имѣсте, -та</i>	<i>имѣашете, -та</i>
<i>Pres. part. act. masc., neut.</i>		<i>имы, имѣѣ, fem. имѣшти, имѣѣшти</i>	
<i>Past part. act. 1 masc., neut.</i>		<i>имѣвѣ, fem. имѣвѣши</i>	
<i>Past part. act. 2</i>		<i>имѣлѣ, -ло, -ла</i>	
<i>Verbal noun</i>		<i>имѣннѣ</i>	

## INVARIABLE WORD-CATEGORIES

## § 99. ADVERBS

Nouns, adjectives, pronouns, numerals, in various cases, with or without prepositions, sometimes derived by means of suffixes, acquire the function of adverbs (§ 54), which may also function as conjunctions (§ 104) or prepositions (§ 103).

1. Locative sg. (masc., neut.): **ДОБРО** 'well', **ДОЛГ** 'down', **ВЪНН** 'outside', **ГОР** 'up', **КРОМ** 'beside', **МИТ** 'alternating', **ПОЗД** 'late', **ОУТР** 'next day', **НЪН** 'now', **ЛНИ** 'last year', **ЗАДИ** 'behind', **СКВОЗ** 'through', **МЕЖДОУ** (loc. du.) 'between', **ДОЛОУ** 'down', **ВЪНОУ** 'out', **ВРЪХОУ** 'on (top of)', **НИЗОУ** 'down', **ТОУ** 'there, here', **ОНОУДЕ** 'there', **ПОСРЕДОУ** (loc. du.) 'between', **ОУ, Ю** (оуже, юже) 'already', **ОУ-ТО** 'of course'.

2. Accusative sg. (masc., fem., neut.) **ЗЪЛО** 'very', **ЛЮБО** 'also', **ЛЮБО ЛИ** 'or', **МАЛО** 'a little', **ТАКО** 'such', **ТОУНЬ** 'for nothing, in vain', **СИЦЕ** 'so'; comparatives: **БОЛЪ** 'more', **ВЪШЕ** 'higher up', **ПАЧЕ** 'again', **ДАЛЕЧЕ** 'far', **ЮДИНАЧЕ** 'yet, more', **ТАЧЕ** 'then', **ОБАЧЕ** 'however', **ЮШТЕ** 'more', **ПРОТИВЪ** 'opposite', **ВЪНН** 'outside', **НИЗЪ** 'down', **БЛИЗЪ** 'near', **ПРОТИВЪ** 'against'.

3. Instrumental sg. (fem.) (§ 59.6.a): **ВЪШЫЖ** 'only', **ЮДИНОЖ** 'once', **ВЪТОРИЦЫЖ** 'the second time', **МЪНОЖИЦЫЖ** 'often', **ТЪЧНИЖ** 'just, only', **НОШТИЖ** 'at daybreak'.

4. Genitive sg.: **ВЪЧЕРА** 'yesterday'.

5. Dative sg.: **ДОМОУ** 'at home'.

6. Instrumental pl.: **ВЪПРОСЪКЪ** 'however, again', **ПРЯМЪ** 'straight', **ТРИКРАТЪ** 'three times', and the adverbs in **-СЪКЪ** (§ 100); **БОЛЪНИ**, **БОЛЪШЫМЪ** 'more', **ВЕЛЪНИ** 'great, much', **КОЛЪНИ** 'how much', **МЪНЪШЫМЪ** 'less', **НЪДЪМЪ** 'forcibly'.

7. Instrumental du.: **ДЪЛЪМА** 'because of', **НОУДЪМА** 'necessarily', **ПОЛЪМА** 'in two halves, through the middle', **ТОЛЪМА** 'so much', **ЮЛЪМА** (юлѣ) 'in how far, how much'.

## § 100. ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES

The adverbial forms are very numerous. Some are clear nominal cases (§ 99), others continue prehistoric formations. The syntactic

use of adverbs has been studied by Al. Doritsch, 'Gebrauch der altbulgarischen Adverbia' (*Jahresbericht des Instituts für rumänische Sprache*, xvi, Leipzig, 1910). Here are the most frequent suffixes of historic and prehistoric origin:

- Ъ**: **ПАКЪ** 'again', **МАЛЪ** 'a little', **АКЪ** 'as', **ОКЪ** 'as, about'; adjectives in **-ЪСКЪ** regularly form adverbs in **-Ъ**: **ЛАТИНСКЪ** 'in Latin', **РОУМЬСКЪ** 'in Roman', **ВЪСЪКЪЧЬСКЪ** 'by all means' (§ 99.6).
- И**: **КОЛИ** 'when', **ПОСЛѢДИ** 'afterwards', **ПРЕДИ** 'in front', **ОТАН, ТАИ** 'secretly' (§ 99.1).
- А**: **ДОМА** 'at home', **ЮДЪВА** 'hardly, scarcely', **НЪНИА** 'now', **ДЪЛА** 'for the sake of'.
- АМО** derives local adverbs from pronouns: **ВЪСЪМО** 'in all directions', **КАМО** 'whither', **ТАМО** 'thither', **СЪМО** 'hither', **ОВАМО** 'hither', **ОНАМО** 'thither' (§ 54).
- ЖДОУ**, **-ЖДЪ** derive local (direction) adverbs from pronouns: (**ОТЪ**) **ВЪСЖДОУ** '(from) everywhere', (**ИЗ**) **ВЪНЖДОУ** '(from) outside' (**ИЗ**) **ВЪНЪЖДОУ** '(from) outside', (**ОТЪ**) **КЖДОУ, КЖДЖ, КЖДЪ** 'whence', (**ОТЪ**) **ТЖДОУ, ТЖДЖ, ТЖДЪ** 'thence', (**ОТЪ**) **СЖДОУ** 'hither', (**ОТЪ**) **ОВОЖДОУ** '(from) both sides', (**ИЗ**) **ЖТРЫЖДОУ** '(from) inside' (§ 99.1).
- ДЕ** (**-ЖДЕ**) derives local adverbs from pronouns: **КЪДЕ** 'where', **ОВЪДЕ** 'here', **ОНЪДЕ** 'there', **ВЪСЪДЕ** 'everywhere', **СЪДЕ . . . ОВЪДЕ** 'here . . . there', **ИНЪДЕ** 'elsewhere', **ИДЕ, ИДЕЖЕ, ИЖДЕ, ИЖДЕЖЕ** 'where' (relative), **ДОИДЕЖЕ, ДОНЪЖДЕ, ДОНЪДЕЖЕ** 'to, up to', **ПОСЛѢЖДЕ** 'afterwards' (§ 99.4).
- ДА** derives temporal adverbs from pronouns: **ВЪСЕГДА** 'always', **ЮГДА(-ЖЕ)** 'when' (relative), **КЪГДА (КОГДА)** 'when', **ТЪГДА (ТОГДА)** 'then', **ИНЪГДА** 'once', **ОВОГДА** 'at that time', **НИКЪГДАЖЕ** 'never', **НЪКЪГДАЖЕ** 'sometimes'.
- МИ, -МА** derive modal adverbs: **ВЕЛЬМИ** 'very', **ЮЛЬМИ** 'how far' (relative), **КОЛЬМИ . . . ТОЛЬМИ** 'so much . . . as', **БЪХЪМА (БЪХЪМЪ БЪХЪМЪ)** 'throughout, absolutely', **НОДЪМА, НОУДЪМА** 'by force', **РАДЪМА (РАДМА, РАДИ)** 'for, because of', **ТЪКЪМА (ТЪКЪМО)** 'only' (§ 99.6.7).
- ЛЬ, -ЛИ, -ЛЪ** derive qualitative adverbs (of degree) from pronouns: **КОЛЬ, КОЛИ, КОЛЪ . . . ТОЛЬ, ТОЛИ, ТОЛЪ** 'to what degree



- (*quantum*) . . . to such degree (*tantum*), **ИЖЕ КОЛИЖЪ ДО** 'whosoever', **ОТЪ СЕЛИ, СЕЛѢ** 'from now on', **ДОКОЛѢ** 'till', **ДОИЕЛѢЖЕ** 'as long as, till'. These adverbs also have temporal meaning.
- ШЪДИ, -ШДИ, -ЖДИ** derive multiplicative adverbs (§ 59.4): **ДЪВЪШЪДИ** 'twice', **ТРИЖДИ** 'three times', **МНОГЪШЪДИ, МНОГЪШТИ** 'many times'.
- Ъ** of unknown origin derives adverbs mainly from adjectives: **АШОУТЬ** 'in vain', **БЕЗДОБЪ** 'untimely', **ВЪСПАТЬ** 'backwards', **ВЪСПРЪ** 'upwards', **ИЗДРАДЪ** 'extraordinarily', **ИЗЪТРЪ** 'from inside', **ИНОСТАНЪ** 'continuously', **ИСКРЪ** 'near by', **ОКРЪСТЬ** 'round', **ОПАТЬ** 'again', **ЖТРЪ** 'inside', **ИЗЪТРЪ** 'from inside', **ОСОБЪ** 'especially', **ОТЪИЖДЪ, ОТИЖДЪ** 'altogether', **ПРАВЪ** 'indeed', **ПРЪКЪМЪ** 'straight', **ПРЪКЪПРОСТЬ** 'simply', **РАЗЛИЧЪ** 'differently', **СЪПРОТИВЪ** 'towards', **СТРЪМОГЛАВЪ** 'straight ahead', **СОУГОУБЪ** 'twofold' (§ 54).

### § 101. PARTICLES

**ЛИ** is the interrogative particle and follows the emphasized word; **ЛИ . . . ЛИ** 'either . . . or', **АШТЕ ЛИ** 'if however'.

**НЕ, НИ** are negative particles, the first being the simple negation, the second expressing emphatic, absolute negation; **НЕЖЕ** after comparatives means 'than', **НЕКЪЛИ, НЕГЛИ** 'perhaps', **НИ** 'no, neither', **НИКЪТО** 'nobody', **НИЧЪТО** 'nothing', **НИ . . . НИ** 'neither . . . nor' (§ 104).

The direct object of a negative sentence or verb takes the genitive: **НИКЪТОЖЕ БО НЕ ПРИСТАВЛѢАТЬ ПРИСТАВЛЕНИѢ ПЛАТА НЕ ВЪКЛЕНА** (Mar., Mt. ix. 16) 'No man putteth a piece of new cloth'; **НИ ВЪЛИВАЮТЪ ВИНА НОВА ВЪ ИВЪХЪ ВЕТЪХЪ** (Mar., Mt. ix. 17) 'neither do men put new wine into old bottles'; **ВЕЖНЕГО НИЧЕСОЖЕ НЕ ВЪСТЪ ЕЖЕ ВЪСТЪ** (Ass., J. i. 3) (Zogr. has **НИЧЪТОЖЕ НЕ ВЪСТЪ**) 'without him was not any thing'; **ѢКО НЕ ИМАМЪ КЪДЕ СЪБИРАТИ ПЛОДЪ МОИХЪ** (L. xii. 17) 'because I have no room where to bestow my fruits'.

**НѢ-** prefixed to a pronoun or adverb gives it an indefinite meaning: **НѢКЪКЪТО** 'somebody', **НѢКЪКЪГДА** 'sometime', **НѢ ОУ КОГО** 'with somebody', **НИ ОУ КОГО** 'with nobody' (§ 55. 3. b).

**СИ** is a particle which strengthens an interrogative sentence: **ЧТО (ЛИ) СИ ЮИ БЪДЕТЬ, ВЪПРАША ЮЯ** (Mar.) 'what then will happen to her, he asked her'.

**-ЖДЕ** suffixed to a pronoun emphasizes the identity: **ТЪЖДЕ** 'the same', **ТАКОЖДЕ** 'also', **ПРЪЖДЕ** 'before' (§ 55. 2. b. c., § 100).

**-ЖДО, -ЖДО** suffixed to a pronoun generalizes the meaning: **КЪЖДО** 'every one' (§ 55. 2. b).

**-ЖЕ** suffixed to a demonstrative pronoun gives a relative meaning: **ИЖЕ** 'who', **ЮГДАЖЕ** 'when', &c., or emphasizes the negation: **НИКЪТОЖЕ** 'nobody', **НИКЪГДАЖЕ** 'never' (§ 55. 2. б).

## § 102. PREFIXES AND PREPOSITIONS

1. Certain particles are used only as prefixes and modify the meaning of verbs (§ 91, § 92) and nouns: **ПРО-** 'through', **ПРЪ-** 'over, through', **РАЗ-** (**РАЗЪ-**), **РАС-** 'asunder', **ПА-**, **ПРА-**, **СЖ-**: **ПРОКАЗА** 'leprosy', **ПРЪДРАГЪ** 'very dear', **РАЗУМЪ** 'mind, intellect', **ПАГОУБА** 'loss', **ПАМАТЬ** 'memory', **ПРАДЪДА** 'ancestor', **СЖПЪРЪ** 'adversary', **СЖЪДА** 'neighbour'.

2. Other particles are used as prefixes (§ 92) and prepositions with nominal cases:

**ВЪ** 'in' with A. (direction), with L. (place): **ВЪ ТЪ ДЪНЬ** 'that day', **ВЪ КОУПЪ** 'together'.

**ВЪЗ** (**ВЪЗЪ**), **ВЪС** 'for, in exchange for' with A. **ВЪС КЪЖ** 'why?'; **ВЪС КРАИ** 'near by' (prep. with G.).

**ЗА** 'for, after, behind' with A. (direction), with I. (place), with G. it means 'because': **ЮТИ ЗА ВЛАСЪ** 'to seize by the hair'.

**ИЗ** (**ИЗЪ**), **ИС** 'from, out' with G.: **ИЗДРЪЖЪ** (= **ИЗ РЪЖЪ**) 'from the hand', **ИС КОРАБИ** 'from the boat'. This particle is seldom used as a preposition.

**НА** 'on, to, upon' with A. (direction), with L. (place): **ИЗЛИША ОГНЬ НА ЗЕМЛЪ** (Supr. 6. 18) 'they poured fire on earth'.

**НАДЪ** (**НАДО**) 'on, upon, over' with A. (direction), with I. (place): **НАДЪ ГЛАВЪ** 'over the head', **НАДЪ СИНОМЪ ГОРЪЖ** (Ps. Sin. ii. 6) 'upon (my holy) hill of Zion'.

**О, ОБ** (**ОБЪ**) 'over, round, about', with A. (direction), with L.

- (place): **ОБ** **НОШТЬ ВЪСЪЖ** 'the whole night through', **ОБЪ** **ОНЪ ПОЛЪ** 'on the other side', **О** **ДВЕНЯЖ** 'on the right'.  
**ОТЪ** 'from, away' with G.: **ОТЪ НЕБЕСЕ** 'from heaven'.  
**ПО**, the original meaning of this preposition was 'under, below', with D. it expresses extension in space: **ПО МОРЮ ХОДА** 'walking over the sea'; with A. it indicates direction in space or time: **ПО ВЪСА ГРАДЪ** 'through all towns', **ПО ВЪСА ЧАСЫ** 'through all times'; with numerals it gives a distributive meaning: **ПО ДВѢМА** (dat.) 'two each'; with L. (temporal and local): **ПО ТОМЪ ЖЕ** 'after that'.  
**ПОДЪ** 'under, beneath' with A. (direction), with I. (situation): **ПОДЪ НОГЪ** 'under the feet', **ПОДЪ НОГАМА** 'under the feet'.  
**ПРИ** 'at, at the time' with L.: **ВЪЗВРАТИЛЪ НЫ ЕСИ ВЪСПЯТЪ ПРИ ВРАТѢХЪ НАШИХЪ** (Ps. Sin. xlv. 11) 'and hast scattered us among the (our) heathen'.  
**ПРѢДЪ** 'in front of, before' with A. (direction), with I. (situation): **ПРѢДЪ ЦѢСАРИ** 'before the king', **ПРѢДЪ ГРАДОМЪ** 'in the vicinity of the city'.  
**СЪ** (со, съ) 'with' with I. (expressing association, not the instrument), with G. 'from, off, away' (separation), with A. indicates measure (in later texts): **СЪ НИМЪ** 'with him', **СЪ НЕБЕСЕ** 'down from heaven', **СЪ ЛАКЪТЪ** 'a cubit long'.  
**ОУ** 'at' with G.: **ОУ ДВЕРЬЦА** 'at the doors'.

- (a) The particles **ВЕЗ**, **ВЪЗ**, **ИЗ**, **ОБ**, **РАЗ**, used as prepositions or as prefixes, have, as a rule, no final vowel (-ъ). Forms with final -ъ are exceptional in Mar., Euch. Sin., more frequent in Ass., Supr. Also **ОТЪ** appears in the texts without the final vowel -ъ.
- (b) Forms with vocalized reduced vowels in strong position in a sentence (§33. 1) occur in the texts: **ВОЗ**, **ВО**, **ОТО**, **НАДО**, **ПОДО**, **ПРѢДО**.
- (c) An isolated preposition **ВЪ** occurs in front of words beginning with **И**:- **ВЪ ИСТИНЪ** (**ВЪИСТИНЪ** = **ВЪ ИСТИНЪ**) 'in truth', **ВЪ ИИЖ ВЕСЪ** (Mar., L. ix. 56) 'in another village'. The change *vī-* > *vy-* could be explained according to § 33. 3.

### § 103. ADVERBS IN PREPOSITIONAL FUNCTION

Certain adverbs and nominal case-forms with adverbial significance are used as prepositions (§ 99):

With G.: **БЛИЗЪ** 'near' (also takes D.), **ВЪНѢ** 'outside', **ДѢЛА**, **ДѢЛЬМА** 'because of', **ИСКРѢ** 'nearly', **КРОМѢ** 'besides, except', **ПРѢЖДЕ** 'before', **РАДИ**, **РАДѢМА** 'because, for', **РАЗВѢ** 'outside, except'.

With D.: **ПРОТИВЪ** 'against, opposed to', **ПРѢМО** 'against, in front of, opposite'.

With A.: **ПОДЛЪГЪ** 'along', **СКВОЗѢ** 'through'.

With I.: **МЕЖДУ** 'between'.

### § 104. CONJUNCTIONS

**А**, **АЛИ** 'but' translates Gr. *δέ*, co-ordinates the parts of the sentence by opposing them: **НЕБО И ЗЕМЛѢ МИМО ИДЕТЬ, А СЛОВЕСА МОѢ НЕ МИМО ИДЖТЬ** (Mar., L. xxi. 33) 'heaven and earth will pass, but my words will not pass away'; with the conditional it means 'if': **А БИ БЫЛЪ СЪДЕ НЕ БЫ МИ ОУМРѢЛЪ БРАТЪ** (Supr. 307. 21) 'if he had been here my brother would not have died'; **А БЫ БЫЛЪ ПРОРОКЪ** (L. vii. 39) 'if he were a prophet'; followed by the interrogative **ЛИ**, it developed into an emphatic conjunction: **ИНЪ СЪПАСЕ, АЛИ СЕБЕ НЕ МОЖЕТЪ СЪПАСТИ** (Mar., Mk. xv. 31) 'He saved others, himself he cannot save'.

**АКЪ**, **ТАКЪ**, **АКО**, **ѢКО**, **ТАКО**, **ТАКОЖЕ**, **ОКЪ** 'how, so that, when', introducing a complementary clause after the verbs 'to say, to think', &c. It translates Gr. *ὡς, ὅτε*. It may also introduce *oratio recta*, imitating Gr. *ὅτι*: **БЫ ГЛАГОЛѢТЕ ѢКО ВЛАСВИМЛѢШИ** (Mar., J. x. 36) 'you say (say ye): Thou blasphemest' Gr. *ὁμοίως λέγετε, ὅτι βλασφημεῖς*; 'when, as': **И ѢКО ПРИБЛИЖИ СѦ, ВИДѢВЪ ГРАДЪ ПЛАКА СѦ О НЕМЪ** (Mar., L. xix. 41) 'when he was come near, he beheld the city, and wept over it', **СОТОНА ПРОСИТЬ ВАСЪ ДА БИ СѢЛЪ ѢКО ПШЕНИЦЪ** (Mar., L. xxii. 31) 'Satan hath desired (to have) you, that he may sift (you) as wheat'; **И ОТЪПОУСТИ НАМЪ ДЛЪГЪ НАША, ТАКО И МЫ**

ОТЪ ПОУШТАЕМЪ ДЛЪЖЪНИКОМЪ НАШИМЪ (Mar., Mt. vi. 12) 'and forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors'; meaning 'because, for': МЕНЕ ЖЕ НЕ НАВИДИТЪ, ЪКО АЗЪ СЪВѢДѢТЕЛЬСТВОУЮЪ О НЕМЪ, ЪКО ДѢЛА ЕГО ЗЪЛА СЪТЪ (Mar., J. vii. 7) 'but me it hateth, because I testify of it, that the works thereof are evil'.

ацѣ, цѣ 'although, however' translates Gr. *καίτοι*: не бо рече· Юда прѣдавникъ, ацѣ лѣпо вѣ . . . и сего отъ зълобы прозъвати (Supr. 410. 20) 'for he did not say: Judas the traitor, although (however) it was right to call also this one by the name of his crime', и не видѣаше тоу сжшта югоже хотѣаше прѣдати, цѣ свѣштамъ сжштамъ и свѣтоу толикоу (Supr. 412. 15) 'he did not see that he whom he wanted to sell was there, though there were torches and so much light'.

аште (аште), аште ли 'if, whether' (conditional): аште хоштеши, можеши 'if thou wilt, thou canst', аште би вѣдѣлъ . . . вѣдѣлъ оубо би 'if he had known . . . he would have watched'; аште и 'even if': аште и съмрътѣно что испижатъ ничѣтоже ихъ не вѣдитъ (Mar., Mk. xvi. 18) 'and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall in no wise hurt them'; аште 'whether' introduces an indirect interrogative clause translating Gr. *εἰ*: остани да видимъ, аште придетъ илиѣ (Mar., Mt. xxvii. 49) 'let be, let us see whether Elijah will come'; after a relative pronoun аште generalizes the relative meaning by imitating the Greek construction *ὅς ἂν* (*εἰάν*): иже аште съблазнитъ (Mar., Mk. ix. 42) 'whosoever shall offend', и идеже аште вѣидетъ рьцѣта господиноу домоу (Mar., Mk. xiv. 14) 'and wheresoever he shall go in, say to the good-man of the house'; аште ли 'else, otherwise': отъженѣмъ и отъ прѣдѣлъ сихъ, аште ли вса люди привлѣчетъ къ себѣ (Supr. 215. 30) 'let us drive him away from these lands, otherwise he will attract to him all people', аште ли же ни, просаджатъ са мѣси (Mar., Mt. ix. 17) 'else the skins burst'; иже аште 'whoever', аште ли да 'if however, lest', аште ли же ни, аште да не 'if not, lest'.

**БО** used enclitically 'for, because'; **ИБО** 'and really, for even' corresponds to Gr. *καὶ γάρ*, Lat. *etenim*: **ИБО И ПСИ ѠДАТЪ** (Mar., Mt. xv. 27) 'for even the dogs eat'; **ИБО** may be separated into **И** and **БО**: **И ТИ БО ПРИДЖ ВЪ ПРАЗДЪНИКЪ** (Mar., J. iv. 45) 'for they also went unto the feast'; **ОУБО** 'but' translates Gr. *(οὐκ)οὐν*: **ОУБО ЦѢСАРЬ ЛИ ЕСИ ТЪ** (Mar., J. xviii. 37) 'art thou a king then?'; **ОУБО . . . же** translates Gr. *μὲν . . . δέ*: **ѠКО ТИ ОУБО ИЗБИША Я, ВЪИ же зиждете ихъ гробъ** (Mar., L. xi. 48) 'for they (indeed) killed them, and ye build their sepulchres'; **ОУБО** also renders the conditional expressed by Gr. *ἄν*: **аште бисте любили ма, възрадовали са бисте оубо** (Mar., J. xiv. 28) 'if ye loved me, ye would rejoice'; **НЕБОНЪ** 'and really, however', when divided into its component parts **НЕ БО НЪ**, means 'because that is not, namely, but': **НЕБОНЪ И азъ Израилитѣнинъ юсмь** (Romans xi. 1) 'for I also am an Israelite'.

**ВЪНЕГДА**, see **ЮГДА**.

**ДА** (**ДО**) 'in order that' (final); in negative sentences **ДА НЕ** or **ЮДА**: **посълаша засѣдъники, твораша са праведници сжште да имжтъ и въ словеси, да бж и прѣдали владъичъствоу** (Mar., L. xx. 20) 'they sent forth spies, which feigned themselves to be righteous, that they might take hold of his speech, that so they might deliver him unto the power', **ѠКО сънидъ с небесе, да не творж вола моего, нъ волаж посълашешаго ма** (Mar., J. vi. 38) 'for I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me'; preceding the 3rd person forms it expresses the imperative: **ДА вждетъ** 'let it be', also with the 2nd pers.: **ДА вѣси** 'thou shalt know'; **ДА** introduces a complemental clause: **что хощеши да ти сътвориж** (Mar., L. xviii. 41) 'what wilt thou that I shall do unto thee?', и вратникоу повелѣ да вѣдитъ (Mar., Mk. xiii. 34) 'he commanded also the porter to watch', **не възможъно естъ да не приджтъ сканъдали** (Mar., L. xvii. 1) 'it is impossible but that offences will come'.

In a few cases **ДА** introduces a consecutive sentence: **ТОЛИКА**

во сила бѣаше оучителя, да и влѣдница привлѣшти на свое послушание (Supr. 408. 20) 'for the power of the Master was such that he also attracted the fornicatrices to obey him'; as a rule the consecutive да is followed by the aorist and not by the present: чѣто ти естъ море да побѣже (Ps. Sin. cxiii. 5) 'what aileth thee, o thou sea, that thou fleddest?', кѣто сѣгрѣши, съ ли или родителѣ его, да слѣпъ роди сѣ (Mar., J. ix. 2) 'who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?'; аште да 'if . . . that': аште ли его п'си да въскоусятъ, ѿ денъ да поститъ сѣ (Euch. Sin. 103a. 15) 'or if (it happens) that the dogs taste it, 100 days he should fast'; даже не, прѣжде даже не 'till', неже да 'rather than', тако да 'so that' (*ut* consecutive), да ако, да тако 'when however, when then': идѣмъ оубо братия мои въкоупѣ даже не придетъ (Supr. 16. 20) 'let us go, brethren, together before he comes', не видѣти смърти прѣжде даже видитъ Хръста Господинѣ (Mar., L. ii. 26) 'that he should not see death, before he had seen the Lord's Christ', оунѣ емоу би било, аште би камень жръновѣнъ възложенъ на вѣнъ его, и въвѣрженъ въ море, неже да скандалисатъ . . . (Mar., L. xvii. 2) 'it were better for him if a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were thrown into the sea, than that he should offend . . .', искаахъ лѣжа съвѣдѣтелѣ на Исоуса, чѣко да оубижатъ i (Mar., Mt. xxvi. 59) '(they) sought false witness against Jesus, that they might put him to death', прѣжде даже въторицеѣж кокотъ не възгласитъ (Mar., Mk. xiv. 30) 'before the cock crow twice'.

дажи до, дожи и до, и до 'till, until, as far as'.

The conjunction да may mean 'and (then)', indicating an emphatic contrast between two clauses. This use developed into an affirmation: глагола имъ Исоусъ: азъ есмь . . . , да чѣко рече имъ азъ есмь, идѣ възспать (Mar., J. xviii. 6) 'Jesus said unto them: I am . . . , as soon then as he (had) said unto them: I am, they went backward', не десатъ ли ирнстиша сѣ; да деватъ како не обрѣтѣж сѣ (Mar., L. xvii. 17) 'were there not the ten cleansed? but (then, yes) why were the nine not found?'

ДОНЕЛИЖЕ, ДОНЕЛѢЖЕ 'till, until': ДОНЕЛѢЖЕ ГЛМЬ (Savv. Кн., L. xvii. 8) 'till I have eaten'.

ДОНЪДЕЖЕ, ДОНДЕЖЕ 'as long as, until': ХОДИТЕ ДОНЪДЕЖЕ СВѢТЪ ИМАТЕ (Mar., J. xii. 35) 'walk while ye have the light', ДОНЪДЕЖЕ ЪМЬ И ПИИЖ (Mar., L. xvii. 8) 'till I have eaten and drunken'.

же, used enclitically, renders Gr. δέ, emphasizes contrast between clauses, and as a rule is not to be translated. Its meaning is 'on the other hand, or'; further, it is attached to pronouns and adverbs: БЫСТЪ ЖЕ НАЛЕЖАШТЮ ЕМЬ НАРОДОУ (absolute dative) (Zogr., L. v. 1) 'and it came to pass, that, as the people pressed upon him', и за негоже съмръть изволистѣ, тъ же то чоудо сътвори (Supr. 67. 4) 'and for whom you chose to die, he made this miracle', и оврѣтж Мариж же и Иосифа (Mar., L. ii. 16) 'and they found Mary and (as well as) Joseph'.

заѣне 'because, for' emphasizes the cause: и се вѣдѣши мълча . . . заѣне не вѣрова словесемъ моимъ (Mar., L. i. 20) 'thou shalt be silent . . . because thou believedst not my words', и прѣстѣпникомъ зъвати и, заѣне заповѣди вожиа прѣстѣпигъшоу юмоу коумиромъ жрѣти (Supr. 214. 5) 'and to call him a sinner, because he sacrificed to the idols, by disregarding God's commandment given to him'.

и 'and' is used proclitically; и . . . и 'as well . . . as'; и is also used as an adverb meaning 'too, also': посла и того къ нимъ (Mar., Mk. xii. 6) 'he sent him also unto them', и избравъ отъ нихъ двѣа на десѣтѣ, ѡже и апостолы нарече (Mar., L. vi. 13) 'and he chose from them twelve, whom also he named apostles'.

нѣо, see во.

идѣ, идеже 'for' (also an adverb): како вѣдетъ се иде мѣжа не знаиж (Mar., L. i. 34) 'how shall this be, seeing I know not a man?', оуслыши ма, иде ичезж ѣко дѣимъ дѣни мои (Ps. Sin. ci. 3-4) 'hear me, for my days are consumed like smoke'.

или 'or', see ли.



**ИМЪЖЕ** 'because' is I. sg. of the relative pronoun: **НЕ ВЪДАДЪШЕ СЕБЕ ВЪ ВЪРЪЖ ИХЪ, ИМЪЖЕ САМЪ ВЪДАДАШЕ ВЪСА** (Mar., J. ii. 24) '(Jesus) did not commit himself unto them, because he knew all men'.

**КЪДЕ** 'where, when': **КЪДЕ ЖЕ СВЪТЪ БЫСТЪ ВЪСТАВЪ МОЛЪША СТРЪГЪШТАА ВОИНЫ** (Supr. 16. 11) 'when daylight came, getting up, he asked the watching soldiers'.

**ЛИ, ИЛИ** 'or', **ЛИ ... ЛИ, ИЛИ ... ИЛИ** 'either ... or'; used enclitically, **ЛИ** introduces direct (seldom also indirect) interrogative sentences: **НИ ЛИ СЕГО ЕСТЕ ЧЪЛИ ЕЖЕ СЪТВОРИ ДАВИДА** (Mar., L. vi. 3) 'Have ye not read even this, what David did?', **ОНЪЖЕ РЪЧЕ КРЪСТИАНЪНИ ЛИ ЮСИ** (Supr. 132. 19) 'he said: art thou a Christian woman?', **ЧИМЪ ВЪЕСИ, ПРОСТИ ЛИ ЮГО ИЛИ НЕ ПРОСТИ** (Supr. 361. 1) 'how do you know whether he forgave him or not?', **ВЪПРОШЪ ВЪ ЧТО ДОСТОИТЪ ВЪ СЪБОТЪ ДОБРО ЛИ ТВОРИТИ ИЛИ ЗЪЛО ТВОРИТИ, ДОУШЪ СЪПАСТИ ЛИ ПОГОУБИТИ** (Mar., L. vi. 9) 'I will ask you one thing, is it lawful on the sabbath days to do good, or to do evil? to save a soul, or to destroy it?', **ХОШЪШИ ЛИ ИСПЪНИТИ, ИЛИ ПРОДАЖЪ ИМЪНИЕ ТВОЕ** (Savv. Kn., Mt. xix. 21) 'If thou wilt be perfect, go, sell that thou hast'.

**ЛИ** may be used enclitically to **АШЪЕ**: **АШЪЕ ЛИ ТРЪВЪЖ ДЪНЕСЪ НА СЕЛЪ СЪШЪЖ** (Mar., L. xii. 28) 'If the grass which is to-day in the field'; for **АЛИ** see 4.

When used proclitically **ЛИ** means 'or': **ЛИ КАКО РЪЧЕШИ БРАТРОУ ТВОЕМОУ** (Mar., Mt. vii. 4) 'or how wilt thou say to thy brother?'

**ЛИ** is replaced by **ИЛИ** in later texts, especially after the interrogative particle: **ВАРАВВА ЛИ ИЛИ ИСОУСЪ** (Mar., Mt. xxvii. 17) 'Barabbas, or Jesus?', **ВЕЧЕРЪ ЛИ ВЪ ПОЛОУ НОШТИ, ЛИ ВЪ КОКОТОГЛАШЕНИЕ, ЛИ ЮТРО** (Mar., Mk. xiii. 35) 'in the evening, or at midnight, or at cockcrow, or in the morning'; with comparatives: **ПАЧЕ ИЛИ** 'more than': **НЕ ВЪИ ЛИ ПАЧЕ ИХЪ ЛОУЧЪШИ ЕСТЕ** (Mar., Mt. vi. 26) 'are ye not much better than they?'

**ЛЮБО, ЛЮБО ЛИ** 'or'; **ЛЮБО ... ЛЮБО** 'either ... or': **ЛЮБО БО**

ВЪТОРЪЖЪ, ЛЮБО ВЪ ТРЕТНЪЖ СТРАЖЪЖ ПРИДЕТЬ (Mar., L. xii. 38) 'if he shall come in the second watch, or come in the third watch'.

НЕБОНЪ 'namely, really', see БО.

НЕЖЕ, НЕЖЕЛИ means 'and not, than' and has a variant НЕГЪЛИ, НЕКЪЛИ 'perhaps': ОУНЕ БО ИЕСТЪ . . . ЧИСТЪ ИМЪТИ ОУМЪ НЕЛИ . . . (Supr. 403. 30) 'for it is better . . . to have a pure mind than . . .', ПОСЪЛЪЖ СЫНЪ МОИ ВЪ ЗЛЮБЛЕНЪ, НЕГЪЛИ СЕГО ВИДЪВЪШЕ ОУСРАМИЖЪТЪ СЯ (Mar., L. xx. 13) 'I will send my beloved son: it may be they will reverence him, when they see him'.

НЕ . . . НИ, НИЖЕ 'neither . . . nor'; НЕ ОСТАВИТЪ ЛИ ВЪСЕГО, НИЖЕ СЪНИДЕТЪ СЪ НИМЪ СЛАВА ДОМОУ ЕГО (Ps. Sin. xlvi. 19) 'will he (not) leave everything, (neither) shall his glory descend after him'.

НЪ 'but': ТАТЬ НЕ ПРИХОДИТЪ, НЪ ДА ОУКРАДЕТЪ (Mar., J. x. 10) 'the thief cometh not, but for to steal'.

ОТЪНЪЛИ, ОТЪНЪЛИЖЕ 'since': СИ ЖЕ ОТЪНЪЛИ ВЪНИДЪ, НЕ ПРЪСТА ОБЛОБЪЗАЖШТИ НОГОУ МОЮ (Mar., L. vii. 45) 'but since the time I came in (this woman) hath not ceased to kiss my feet'.

ПОНЕ, ПОНЕЖЕ 'because' (see ЗАНЕ): ПОЧЪТО ПОНЕ НЕ БЪ ВРЪМЯ (Supr. 351. 19) '(why) because it was not the time', НЕ ДОСТОИНО ЕСТЬ ВЪЛОЖИТИ ЕГО ВЪ КАРЪВАНЪ, ПОНЕЖЕ ЦЪНА КРЪВЕ ЕСТЬ (Mar., Mt. xxvii. 6) 'it is not lawful for to put them into the treasury, because it is the price of blood'.

ТА, ТАЖЕ 'and, then' is later confused with ТАЧЕ 'then, after'.

ТИ 'and, also, then'.

ТО 'then, so', correlative to the conjunction АШТЕ 'if' in the subordinate clause. A variant of ТО is ТЪ, used very seldom: АШТЕ ЛИ ХОШТЕШИ ВЪ ЖИВОТЪ ВЪНИТИ, ТО СЪХРАНИ ЗАПОВЪДИ (Savv. Кн., Mt. xix. 17) 'but if thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments', АШТЕ ОУБО СВЪТЪ ИЖЕ ВЪ ТЕБЪ ТЪМА ЕСТЬ, ТЪ ТЪМА КОЛЪМИ (Mar., Mt. vi. 23) 'If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!'

ТЪМЪ 'then' is correlative to **ИМЪЖЕ**.

оу, ю 'yet': **не оу ли разоумѣсте, ни помъните ꙗ хлѣбъ** (Mar., Mt. xvi. 9), 'do ye not yet understand, neither remember the five loaves?'

оубо, see **бо**.

цѣ, ацѣ 'however, though, also' corresponds to Gr. *καίτοι*, *καίτοιγε*, Lat. *et quidem*; see **ацѣ**.

ѣко, see **ако**.

ѣгда, ѣгдаже, вѣнѣгда 'when, if': **придѣтъ же дѣние, вѣгдаже отъниметъ сѧ отъ нихъ женихъ** (Mar., Mt. ix. 15) 'but the days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken from them', **вѣнѣгда вѣзвератити сѧ врагоу моемоу въспнатъ** (Ps. Sin. ix. 4) 'when mine enemies (enemy) are turned back'.

ѣда 'surely not' is a conjunction and interrogative particle corresponding to Gr. *μή*, Lat. *num, ne*: **ѣда и мы слѣпи есмъ** (Mar., J. ix. 40) 'are we blind also?', **на рѣкахъ возмѣтъ ты, ѣда когда прѣтъкнеши о камень ногъ твоѣхъ** (Ps. Sin. xc. 12) 'they shall bear thee up in their hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone'.

ѣли, ѣль (ѣлк), ѣльма 'while, as if': **ѣли бо оубо противѣ женъскѣ прѣштенню не сътрѣпѣ . . . , како можадѣхъ противѣ цѣсаремъ и княземъ и народомъ стати** (Supr. 442. 25) 'if he has not resisted the threats of the women, how could he have resisted the kings, the princes, and the peoples?', **ѣльма не послуша мене . . . 'as you did not listen to me . . . '**, **ѣль далече отъстоятъ въстоци отъ западъ** (Ps. Sin. cii. 12) 'as far as the east is from the west'. See also **доуелиже**.

#### INTERJECTIONS

§ 105. These words are imitative formations or, in some cases, flexional forms of other parts of speech:

**горе** 'woe!'

**о, оле, оуеле** 'oh!'

**оу** 'oh!'

оува 'boohoo!'

оувы, оувы мын'к 'alas!, woe is me!'

тароу 'ah!, oh!, woe!' (таръ adj. 'bitter, vehement')

юи, ви 'yes!, indeed!'

юсе, се 'see!, lo!'

юша, юша да 'may it please God!'

# SUBJECT INDEX

LETTERS and words are arranged in English alphabetical order. Diacritic signs are disregarded. Cyrillic *h* and *h̄* are rendered by *i* and *ū* and appear in alphabetical order after *i* and *u*. The spirant *x* (*ch*) follows the letter *v*.

- a*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.I.2a. Long § 4. From IE *ā* § 6.1. From IE *ō* § 6.2. From IE *o* of liquid diphthongs *or*, *ol* § 6.3. From CS *ě* (< IE *ē*) after palatal consonants § 6.4. Initial alternation *a:ja* § 32.2,6. Alternation *ě:e:i:zero:a:o* § 37.2a. Alternation *ě:a:o* § 37.2b. Feature of imperfective forms § 37.5a. In secondary gradation § 37.6. Contraction (assimilation) of *-aje-* > *-aa-* > *a* § 4, § 56, § 57, § 58b.
- a-* stems § 38.1.I. Declension § 39.
- a-*, forming stem of Class I verbs § 61.Ib, of Class III verbs § 61.IIIb.
- ā*, *jā* § 2.II.3, § 32.5.
- Abbreviations § 2.II Note 7.
- Ablaut, see Vowel gradation.
- Adjectives, declension of simple form § 49. Formation of adjectives § 50. Comparison of adjectives § 51. Declension of comparative forms § 52.4. Indeclinable adjectives § 53. Adverbial forms § 54. Declension of pronominal adjectives § 55.5. Declension of compound (definite) adjectives § 56. Declension of comparative (definite form) § 57.
- Adverbial forms of adjectives § 54.
- Adverbial suffixes § 100.
- Adverbs § 99.
- Affricates § 2.II.4. Dental affricates from velars by second and third palatalization § 23.1, 2. Palatal affricate from IE *k* by first palatalization § 24. Affricate *dz* develops into spirant *z* § 25.
- Anaphoric pronouns, declension § 55.4, § 56.
- Aorist, § 69.
- Apophony, see Vowel gradation.
- Apostrophe, § 2 Note 7.
- ari* stems, declension § 41.
- Aspects of verbal actions § 90, § 93.
- Assimilation, see Contraction of vowels. Assimilation of consonants § 29.
- b-* suffixes § 48.7.
- b*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II.5a. From IE *b*, *bh* § 26.
- Back vowels § 2.I.2.
- Balto-Slavonic period § 4.
- bl'* from *bj* § 3, § 17b.
- c*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II.4a. From original *k* by second and third palatalization, § 2a, *b*, *c* § 23. By palatalization § 30.2. From *-tj-* in Kiev Missal § 31c.
- Collective numerals § 59.3.
- Compound nouns § 47.
- Conditional § 72.
- Consonant groups, simplification of § 5, § 29.
- Consonants § 2.2, § 17-§ 28.
- Consonant-stems § 44.
- Contraction of vowels § 4, § 32.5, § 70.
- Cyrillic and Glagolitic writing § 1. See Part II, Texts, Introduction.
- č*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II.4b. From IE *k* by first palatalization § 24, § 30.1. Hardening of *č'* § 31.
- d*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II.5b. From IE *d*, *dh* § 27.1. Developed in group *zr* § 27.2. By dissimilation in group *zdz* § 27.3.
- d-* suffixes § 48.4.
- Demonstrative pronouns, declension § 55.2.
- Dental consonants § 2.II.5b. From IE aspirated and non-aspirated dentals § 27.1. In groups *sr*, *zr* § 27.2. By dissimilation in groups *sc*, *zdz* § 27.3.
- de Saussure-Fortunatov-Meillet rule of intonation and stress § 4.
- Determinate verbal aspect § 90.
- Diacritic signs used to mark quantity or stress § 4.
- Diphthongs, IE § 5. IE *ey* > *ev* > *ov*

- § 7.4. IE *ay, oy, ey* > *u* § 8. IE *ey* > prejetized *u* § 8.2. IE *aj, oj* > *ē* or *i* finally § 10.2. Medially into *ē* § 10.3. IE *ej* > *i* § 12.2.
- Dispalatalization of consonants § 31.
- Dissimilation § 20.4, § 27.3, § 29.10, 13.
- Double vowels as possible marks of length § 4. Double consonants, simplification § 29.1.
- Durative verbal aspect § 90.
- dz*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II.4a. From original *g* by second and third palatalization § 23.1. Developed into *z* § 25. By palatalization § 30.2. Hardening of *d'z'* § 31.
- dzv* (*zv*) from *gv* by palatalization § 23.1c.
- e*, OCS vowel, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.I.1a and Note 4. Short § 4. From IE *e* § 11.1. From original *o* after *j* and palatal consonants § 11.2. In apophonic series § 37. Alternation *ē:e:i:zero:a:o* § 37.2. Alternation *er:ir:or* § 37.3. Alternation *el:il:ol* § 37.3. Thematic vowel of perfective forms § 37.5a. Gradation of *er*-diphthong § 37.5d, of *el*-diphthong § 37.5c, of *em*-diphthong § 37.5f, of *en*-diphthong § 37.5g. Initially with prothesis § 32.2. For *i* in strong position § 33.1. Endings, nominal § 46, verbal § 67.
- Epenthetic *l*, developed after labial consonant before *j* § 17b. Subsequent disappearance and frequency in texts § 17c, distribution § 17d.
- ē, ja*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.I.1a Notes 3, 4. Long § 4. Pronunciation § 10. From IE *ē* § 10.1. From IE *aj, oj* finally § 10.2, medially § 10.3. From IE *e* in liquid diphthongs § 10.4. In apophonic series § 37. Alternation *ē:e:i:zero:a:o* § 37.2a. Alternation *ē:a:o* § 37.2b. Alternation *rē:ṛ (rū):ra* § 37.3. Alternation *lē:l (lū):la* § 37.3. In imperfective forms § 37.5a. In secondary gradation § 37.6.
- ēninū*, declension § 41.
- ē*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.I.1b. Long § 4. From original *en, em* § 14.1. From *ṛ, ṛn* § 14.2. From *-jons* in acc. pl. of fem. *-ja*-stems and masc. *-jo-* stems § 14.3. From *-jon+t* *ibid.* From original *in* in loan-words § 14.4. In apophonic series, alternation *ē:ē:φ* § 37.3. In secondary gradation § 37.6.
- ə* (*shva*), IE vowel § 7.3.
- f*, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II.3a. Appears only in foreign words § 19.
- Fractions of numerals § 59.5.
- Front vowels § 2.I.1.
- Future tense § 86. Future perfect § 87.
- g*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II.5c. From IE *g, gh* § 28. Palatalization § 21, § 30.1.
- ǰ*, soft affricate, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II.4a Note 1.
- g-* suffixes § 48.9.
- Gender § 38.2.
- Genitive of animated nouns in function of accusative § 40.1p.
- Gerund forms § 82.
- Glagolitic alphabet § 1. See Part II, Texts, Introduction, § 5.
- Greek proper names in OCS, declension § 45.
- Hard consonants § 3. Hardening of soft consonants § 31. See Dispalatalization.
- i*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.I.1a. Long § 4. From IE *i, ej* § 12.1, 2. From *i* before *j* § 12.3. From *i* after *j* initially § 12.4. *i* < *y* after *j* and palatal consonants § 12.5. Alternating with *i* § 12.6. In apophonic series § 37. Alternation *i:i:ē* § 37.3. In imperfective verbal forms § 37.5a. In secondary gradation § 37.6.
- i-* forming stem of Class II verbs § 61.IV.
- i*, see Reduced vowels.
- i*, prothetic and intervocalic § 32.
- i-* stems § 38.1.IV. Declension § 43.
- ij* > *ij* § 33.3.
- ija-* stems § 39.Ic.
- iji, -ijī*, suffix forming possessive adjectives § 50.
- Imperative § 71.
- Imperfect § 70.
- Imperfective verbal aspect § 90, § 93.
- Indeterminate verbal aspect § 90.
- Infinitive § 80.
- 'Intense' reduced vowels (before *j*) § 33.4.
- Interjections § 105.
- Interrogative pronouns, declension § 55.3.

- Intonation § 4.  
 Iterative verbal aspect § 90, § 93.  
*iota*, see *yod*.
- j*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 2.II Note 3. Effect on preceding consonants § 3, § 21, § 30. Changes when preceding or following reduced vowel *i* into *i* § 33.3, 4.
- ja*, OCS group of phonemes, denotation § 2 Notes 3, 4. Initially alternating with *a*- § 32.6. Denoted by same letter as *ě* in Glagolitic alphabet § 10. Alternation *ja*:*a* initially § 32.2, 6.
- jā*, see *ā*.
- ja-* stems § 38.1.I. Declension § 39.
- jat'*, see *ě*.
- je*, OCS phoneme, denotation § 2 Notes 3, 4. Initially for *e* § 32.
- je-*, forming stem of Class III verbs § 61.III.
- jě*, OCS phoneme, denotation § 2 Notes 3, 4. In final position § 14.3, § 46.6, 7. Initially § 32.
- jers*, see Reduced vowels.
- ji*, transcription in Cyrillic § 2 Note 5.
- ji* < *jū* § 16.5. *ji* > *ji* § 33.4.
- jis-* comparative suffix § 51.
- jo-* stems § 38.1.II. Declension § 40.
- jō*, OCS phoneme, denotation § 2 Notes 3, 4. Initially § 32.4.
- jū*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II Notes 3, 4, § 32.5. From IE *eu* § 8.2. Initially § 32.2. See *jü*.
- jü*, see *ü*.
- k*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II.5c. From IE *k*, *kh* § 28. Palatalization § 23.2b, § 30. In suffixes § 48.2. Kiev Missal § 4.
- l*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II.1. From original *l* or *l̥* § 17. Before vowel § 17a. Arises after labials before *j* § 17b. Later history § 17c, d.
- l'*, denotation in script § 2.II.7. Epenthetic *l'* § 17b, occurrence § 17c.
- l-* suffixes § 48.5.
- l* (= *lū*), OCS phoneme, spelling § 2 Note 6. Long *l* § 4.
- Labial consonants § 2.II, nasal § 2.II.2, occlusive § 2.II.5a, labio-dental spirants § 2.II.3a, § 19. Followed by *j* § 17b. From IE aspirated and non-aspirated labials § 26.
- Letters, used as numbers § 2.II.7.  
 Occurring in foreign words § 2.II.2.
- li*, see *lū*.
- Ligatures § 2 Note 3.
- Liquid diphthongs § 6.3. In OCS texts § 36.
- Liquid sonants, contrast of hard and soft § 16.2. Not distinguished orthographically from liquids § 17. Distinction between hard and soft disappears § 17e.
- Liquids § 17. Distinction between hard and soft § 17e.
- lū*, *li*, represent either CS *l* (*l'*) or CS *l*+*ū* (*l+i*) § 2 Note 6. Distinction between *lū* and *li* § 17e. Vocalization of reduced vowel when *l*+*ū*, *l*+*i* § 17, § 33.1, 2. In apophony § 37.3, 5e.
- m*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II.2. From IE *m* and *ṃ* § 18.
- Metathesis of liquid diphthongs § 5, § 36.
- ml'* from *mj* § 17b.
- n*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II.2. From IE *n*, *ṇ*, *ṃ* § 18.
- Metathesis of liquid diphthongs § 5, § 36.
- ml'* from *mj* § 17b.
- n*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II.2. From IE *n*, *ṇ*, *ṃ* § 18.
- n*, epenthetic § 55.4c.
- n-* stems § 44.2.
- n-* suffixes § 48.6.
- Nasal consonants § 2.II.2, § 18.
- Nasal sonants § 18.
- Nasal vowels, see *e*, *o*. Changes of the nasal vowels in texts § 35.
- no-*, forms the infinitive stem of Class II verbs § 61.II, dropped in the aorist and past participle § 95a.
- Nomina agentis § 41, § 48.3.
- Nominal endings § 46.
- Nouns, declension § 39, § 40, § 41, § 42, § 43, § 44. Declension of Greek proper names § 45. Formation of nouns § 47. Verbal nouns § 79.
- nt-* stems § 44.4.
- Numbers § 38.3, written by letters § 2.II Note 7.
- Numerals, cardinal § 59.1. Ordinal § 59.2. Collective § 59.3. Multiplicative § 59.4. Fractions § 59.5.
- o*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.I.2a. Short § 4. From IE *a* § 7.1. From IE *o* § 7.2. From IE *ə* § 7.3. From IE *e*

- before *v* § 7.4. In apophonic series § 37. Alternation *o:a* by liquid metathesis § 36. *o* for *ü* in strong position § 33.1.
- o*- stems § 38.1.II. Declension § 40.
- o*, OCS phoneme denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.I.2*b*. Long § 4. From oral back vowel + nasal consonant § 13.1. From *un*, *um* § 13.2. From *ām* in acc. sg. fem. ending of -*a*- stems § 13.3. Initially alternating with *jo*- § 32.4. Interchanged with *u* § 32.4, § 35. In apophonic series § 37. Alternation *e:ε:φ* § 37.3. See Nasal vowels.
- o*-, -*jo*-: -*ojo*-, -*ejō*- in instrumental singular of -*a*-/*ja*- stems § 39*f*.
- Opening of syllables § 5, § 29.
- Optative, see Conditional.
- Ordinal numerals § 59.2.
- oy*-, forming stem of Class III verbs § 65.3.
- oxū*-, -*éxū*:-*ūxū*-, -*ixū* in locative plural of -*o*-/*jo*- stems § 40.1*n*.
- p*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II.5*a*. From IE *p*, *ph* § 26.
- Palatal consonants § 2.II.4*b*. Hardening of palatal consonants § 31.
- Palatalization, of vowels § 11.2, § 14.3, § 16.5. Palatalization of velars by following vowel § 20.3, § 21.1, § 23.1*a*, 2*a*. By *j* § 21.2. By preceding consonant § 23.1*b*, 2*b*.
- Palatalization in consonant groups § 21.2. Palatalization of the velars § 30. By first palatalization § 30.1. In loan-words § 30.1*a*, *b*, 3*b*. By second palatalization § 30.2*d*. By third palatalization § 30.3. Sometimes does not occur § 30.3*a*, *f*. Chronology of palatalization of velars § 30.3*c*.
- Participles, declension § 52.1. Present participle active § 52.2, § 73. Present participle passive § 74. Past participle active I § 52.3, § 75. Past participle active II § 76. Past participle passive § 77. Future participle § 78. As gerund forms § 82.
- Particles § 101.
- Passive voice § 60.1, § 89.
- Perfect § 84.
- Perfective verbal aspect § 90, § 93.
- Personal pronouns, declension § 55.1.
- pl'* from *plj* § 17*b*.
- Pluperfect § 85.
- Possessive adjectives § 50, pronouns § 55.2.II.
- Prefixes, see Prepositions.
- Prepositions and Prefixes § 102; verbal prefixes § 91, § 92.
- Present § 68.
- Present stem § 60.2, § 60.2*c*, *d*.
- Pronouns, declension § 55. Declension of pronominal adjectives § 56. Mixed declension of pronouns § 55.5.
- Prothesis § 32.
- Prothetic *v* § 19.2, § 32.1, 3, 4.
- Quantity § 4. Apophonic § 37.
- r*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II.1. See Metathesis.
- r*- stems § 44.5.
- r*- suffix § 48.10.
- r* (= *rū*), OCS phoneme, spelling § 2 Note 6. Long *r* § 4.
- Reduced vowels, OCS phonemes, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.1*c*. *ū* from IE *u* § 15.1. From *ṛ*, *ṝ*, *ṝ̄* § 15.2. From IE -*om* in ending of acc. sing. masc. of -*o*- stems § 15.3. *i* from IE *i* § 16.1. From *ṛ*, *ṝ*, *ṝ̄* § 16.2. From IE *ṛ* finally § 16.3. From IE *ej* before vowel § 16.4. From *ū* after palatal consonants § 16.5. *ū* from -*ṛ*- in *сѣти* § 15.2. Reduced vowels in strong and weak position § 33. Interchange of reduced vowels § 33.2. Assimilation of reduced vowels to following vowel § 33.2. Reduced vowels followed by *j* § 33.3, 4. Changes of reduced vowels in OCS texts § 34. Prothetic *i* and *y* before reduced vowels § 32.1. Reduced vowels in apophony § 37. Alternation *é:e:i:zero:a:o* § 37.2. Alternations *i:i:ē,tj:uj:ju:ū:u,ou:ou:ov,er:ir:or,el:il:ol,em:im:om,en:in:on* § 37.3. Thematic vowels of perfective forms § 37.5*a*. In secondary gradation § 37.6. See also *rū*, *rī*, *lū*, *lī*.
- Reflexive verbs § 60.1, § 89.
- Relative pronouns, declension § 55.4.
- rī*, see *rū*.
- rū*, *rī*, represent either *r* (*r'*) or *r+ū*, *r+i* § 2 Note 6. Distinction between *rū* and *rī* § 17*e*. Vocalization of reduced vowel when *r+ū*. *r+i* § 17, § 33.1, 2. In apophony § 37.3, 5*e*.
- s*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II.3*b*. From IE *s* § 20.1. From an IE soft velar



- (*k'*) § 20.2. From original velars by palatalization § 20.3. By dissimilation from *tt*, *dt* § 20.4. By palatalization § 30.2.
- s*- stems § 44.3. Confused with -*o*- stems § 44.3f, *g*, *h*.
- sc*, from *sk* by second palatalization § 30b.
- Semicircle, used to indicate softness § 17a, § 31.
- Simplification of consonant groups due to rule of open syllables § 5, § 29.
- Soft consonants § 3.
- Sonant *j* § 2.II Note 3. See Nasal sonants, Liquid sonants.
- Spirants § 2.II.3. From original spirants § 20.1. From IE soft velars § 20.2. From original velars by palatalization § 20.3. By dissimilation § 20.4. Palatal spirants § 21.1, 2. Velar spirant from IE *s* § 22.1. In aorist endings § 22.2. From IE *kh* § 22.3.
- st*, from *tt*, *dt* § 20.4, § 29.10. From *sk* by palatalization § 30.2b, see *zd*.
- Stems, classification of nouns § 38.1. Verbal stems § 60.2. Classification of verbs § 61.
- str* from *sr* § 27.2. See *zdr*.
- Stress § 4.
- Suffixes § 48. Vocalic suffixes § 48.1. -*k*- suffixes § 48.2. -*i*- suffixes § 48.3. -*d*- suffixes § 48.4. -*l*- suffixes § 48.5. -*n*- suffixes § 48.6. -*b*- suffixes § 48.7. -*v*- suffixes § 48.8. -*g*- suffixes § 48.9. -*r*- suffix § 48.10. Forming infinitive-aorist stem -*a*- suffix § 60b, § 61.I.a, § 61.III.b. -*i*- suffix § 61.IV. -*je*- suffix § 65.1. -*oy*- suffix § 65.3.
- Superlative, formation § 51.3.
- Supine § 81.
- Syllabic division § 5.
- Syllable, end of, § 5, end of syllable in loan-words § 5.
- ʃ*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II.3c. From *x* by palatalization § 21.1. From *t* followed by *j* § 21.2. By palatalization § 30.1.
- ʃt*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II Note 2. From *tj* § 21.2. From *stj* § 21.2. From *skj* § 21.2. Dispalatalization of *t't'* § 31. Represented by *c* in Kiev Missal § 31c.
- t*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II.5b. From IE *t*, *th* § 27.1. Developed in original group *sr* § 27.2. By dissimilation in group *sc* § 27.3.
- t*- suffixes § 48.3.
- te*, -*ta*, endings of 2nd and 3rd persons dual § 67.1j, *k*.
- tě*, ending of 3rd person dual § 67.1j.
- tel* stems, declension § 41.
- Tone, see Intonation.
- tü*, -*ti*, ending of 3rd person present, rarely dropped in OCS § 67.1c. Sometimes added to 2nd and 3rd persons singular of the aorist § 69i.
- u*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.I.2a. Long § 4. From IE *au*, *ou*, *eu* § 8.1. In apophonic series § 37. Alternation *ju:ü:u* § 37.3.
- u*- stems § 38.1.III. Declension § 42. Confused with -*o*- stems § 40g, *h*, *i*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n* § 42a, *b*. In other Slavonic languages § 42c.
- ü*, *jü* § 2.II.3, § 32.5.
- ü*, see Reduced vowels.
- u*, prothetic § 32.
- uj* > *yj* § 33.3.
- ümü*, -*imi*: -*omi*, -*eml* in instrumental singular of -*o*-/*jo*- stems § 40f, *j*.
- ümü*: -*omü* in dative plural of -*o*-/*jo*- stems § 40f, *g*.
- v*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II.3a. From IE *u* § 19.1. Prothetic *v* developed in CS before initial *ü*-, *y*- § 19.2. From IE *u* in hetero-syllabic *ou*, *eu* § 19.3.
- v*- stems § 44.1.
- v*- suffixes § 48.8.
- Velar occlusives § 2.II.5c. From IE gutturals § 28.
- Velar spirant § 2.II.3d, § 22.
- Verbal endings § 67, verbal nouns § 79, verbal aspects § 90, § 93, verbal prefixes § 92.
- Verbs, forms § 60.1, classification § 61, nominal forms § 73, aspects § 90, conjugation § 94, § 95, § 96, § 97, § 98.
- vl'*, from *vj* § 17b.
- Vocalic suffixes § 48.1.
- Vowel gradation § 37. Vowel gradation in verbs § 37.5, § 69.2e, *f*, *g*. Secondary vowel gradation § 37.6.
- Vowels, OCS § 1, § 2.I, § 2.II Notes 3, 4, 5, 6. Quantity § 4. Origin § 6-§ 16.

*vū-* initially < *ū-* § 19.2.  
*vy-* initially < *y-* § 19.2.

*x*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II.3*d*. Greek *χ*, sign indicating 'thousand' § 2.II Note 7. From IE *s* after *i*, *u*, *r*, *k* before a vowel § 22. In aorist ending § 22.2. From IE *kh* § 22.3. Chronology of IE *s* > CS *x* § 22.4, 5.  
 -*x-* for -*s-* in aorist § 69.2*b*.

*y*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value, § 1, § 2.I.2*a*. Long § 4. From IE *ū* § 9.1. From IE -*ās*, -*ōs*, -*ūs*, -*ans*, -*ons*, -*uns* § 9.2. From *ū* before *j* § 9.3.  
 -*yn'a* suffix § 39*b*.  
*yod*, *iota* § 2.II Note 3.

*z*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II.3*b*. From IE *z* § 20.1. From an IE soft velar (*g'*) § 20.2. From original velars by palatalization § 20.3. By palatalization § 30.2. Dispalatalization of *z'* § 31. Represents *žd* from *dj* in Kiev Missal § 31*c*.

*zd*, from *zg* by palatalization § 30.2*b*.  
 See *st*.

*zdr*, from *zr* § 27.2. See *str*.

*ž*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II.3*c*. From original *g* § 21.1. By palatalization § 30.1. Hardening of *ž'* § 31.

*žd*, OCS phoneme, from *dj*, *zdj*, *zgj* § 21.2. From dispalatalization of *ž'd* § 31. *žd* < *dj* represented by *z* in Kiev Missal § 31*c*.

## WORD INDEX

THIS index of OCS words occurring in the *Grammar* is complementary to the Glossary to Part II, *Texts and Glossary*. Words explained in the *Grammar*, which appear also in the Glossary, are not registered in this index. Only the basic forms (nominative, infinitive) are recorded; other morphological forms and variants will normally be found under the paragraph reference of the basic form.

### А

абагъко § 32.2.  
 авель § 45.  
 авраамовъ § 50a.  
 агна § 44.4, § 46.1, § 48.2.  
 агода § 32.2, ба.  
 агрипа § 45.  
 ако § 104.  
 алнии § 36.  
 алъдин § 36, § 39c.  
 алънии § 36, § 39c.  
 алъчьба § 48.7.  
 анина § 45.  
 ацѣк § 104.  
 аште ли § 104.  
 ашоутъ § 32.6a, § 100.

### Б

багати § 48.1.  
 бездобъ § 100.  
 безмилъвнѣ § 47, § 48.1.  
 безрж-къ, -чьнъ § 50d.  
 безоумль § 48.5.  
 бичъ § 48.2.  
 благодар-ити, -ьствити § 93.IV.  
 благодѣтель § 41.  
 благоизволити § 93.IV.  
 благословленіе § 47.

благость § 48.3.  
 блазнити § 97a.  
 ближика § 39h, § 48.2.  
 блискати § 30.3.  
 блисцати § 29.5, § 30.3.  
 блъвати § 96.3a, c.  
 блъснѣти § 29.5.  
 блъштати § 17e, § 97d.  
 блѣскъ § 29.5, § 30.3.  
 блюсти § 8.2, § 37.5c, § 62.2,  
 § 69.2h, § 91.  
 власти § 37.5g, § 94c.  
 блждити § 37.5g.  
 богатъ § 48.3, § 50h.  
 богатъство § 48.3.  
 богъи § 38.1.I, § 39b, § 46.1,  
 § 52.3.  
 божьство § 40.2b.  
 боль § 43.  
 болю-ми, -шьмя § 99.6.  
 болѣзнь § 43.  
 болгаринъ § 41.  
 болне § 99.2.  
 бости § 37.5, § 69.2e, § 94d.  
 богати са § 66.  
 брады § 44.1.  
 вранъ § 43.  
 врати § 61.IIIb, § 80, § 96.2c, h.

БРАТЪРНЪ § 50a.  
 БРАТОУЧАДЪ § 47.  
 БРЪКА § 10.4.  
 БРЪМА § 44.2.  
 БОУДИТИ § 8.1, § 29.3, § 37.5c,  
 § 60.2b, § 97c.  
 БОУКАРЬ § 48.10.  
 БОУКЪ § 44.1, § 48.10.  
 -БЪНЖТИ § 29.3, § 37.5c, § 64.1.  
 БЪРАТИ § 96.2h.  
 БЪХЪ-МА, -МЪ, -МЪ § 100.  
 БЪРАТИ § 34, § 37.1a, § 60.2,  
 § 61.1b, § 63.1, § 69.2a, b,  
 § 70, § 94т.  
 БЪВАТИ § 65.2, § 96.4b, § 98f.  
 БЪКОЛЪ § 9.1.  
 БЪШАЦЕНЕ, БЪШАЦЕНЕ § 98e.  
 БЪШЫЖ § 99.3.  
 -БЪГНЖТИ § 69.1d, § 93.11.  
 БЪДЖ § 78, § 87, § 92.1, § 94п,  
 § 98g, o, q.

## Б

БАГАТИ § 96.3a.  
 БЕЛЕГЛАВЪ § 50d.  
 БЕЛЕМЖДРЪ, -ЪНЪ § 50d.  
 БЕЛЬМЪПОТА § 47.  
 БЕЛЪТИ § 37.5e, § 61.IVb, § 97d.  
 БЕСТИ § 97b.  
 БЕТЪХЪ § 33.1.  
 БЕТЪШТАТИ § 96.4b.  
 БЕЧЕРНИА § 48.6.  
 БИНАРЬ § 41.  
 БИСЪТИ § 97d.  
 БИТИ § 5, § 96.1a.  
 БЛАСВИМ-ИСАТИ, § 93.III.  
 БЛАСВИМЛЪГАТИ, § 93.III.  
 БЛАЧИТИ § 37.5e, § 93.IV, § 97b.

ВЛЪНА § 15.2.  
 ВЛЪСНЖТИ § 93.II.  
 ВЛЪХВЪ § 20.3.  
 ВО § 102b.  
 ВОДИТИ § 37, § 47, § 90, § 93.IV,  
 § 97b, j.  
 ВОДНОСЪ § 47.  
 ВОЖДЪ § 40, § 47.  
 ВОЗ § 102.1b.  
 ВОЗАТАИ § 48.3.  
 ВОЗИТИ § 93.IV, § 97b, j.  
 ВОЗЪ § 7.2, § 48.3.  
 ВОСМЪ § 32.4.  
 ВОНЕВОДА § 47.  
 ВРАЖИИ § 50a.  
 ВРАЖЬДА § 48.4.  
 ВРАМА § 31b.  
 ВРАТАРЬ § 41, § 48.10.  
 ВРАТЪ § 37.5d.  
 ВРАЧЪ § 40.2f, § 42b.  
 ВРЪВА, ВРЪВИНЕ § 48.1.  
 ВРЪТЪКТИ, ВРЪТЪКТИ § 29.4,  
 § 37.5d, § 66, § 97b.  
 ВРЪКСТИ § 62.2, § 69.2h, § 94k.  
 -ВРЪКТИ § 94k.  
 ВРЪШТИ § 62.5, § 69.1c, § 93.1,  
 § 94b, k.  
 ВЪ-, ВЪН- § 32.1, § 92, § 102.  
 ВЪБЪГНЖТИ § 92.  
 ВЪДОВИЦА § 48.2.  
 ВЪЖДАДАТИ § 92.  
 ВЪЗ- § 91, § 92.  
 ВЪЗАЛКАТИ § 92.  
 ВЪЗЛЮБЕНЪ § 17c, § 77.1.  
 ВЪНЕГДА § 104.  
 ВЪНОУ, ВЪНЪ § 99.1.  
 ВЪНЖДОУ § 100.  
 ВЪПРЪКЪ § 99.6.

вѣс § 102.  
 вѣскрѣсъ, вѣскрѣсъ § 17e.  
 вѣскрѣс-еніе, -новеніе § 79.  
 вѣспросити § 29.8.  
 вѣспати § 100.  
 вѣстави § 29.8.  
 вѣстати § 90.  
 вѣсѣсти § 90.  
 вѣторица § 59.6a.  
 вѣторъ § 59.2a.  
 вѣторъ, вѣторый § 15.2,  
 § 19.2.  
 вѣтор-ъкъ, -ъникъ § 59.6c.  
 вѣдова § 19.1.  
 вѣнѣждоу § 100.  
 вѣрѣти § 97d, i.  
 вѣсѣдръжитель § 47.  
 вѣсѣкъ, вѣсѣкъ § 55.2.  
 вѣсѣлю § 100.  
 вѣсѣдоу § 100.  
 вѣчера, вѣчерашный § 50b, § 99.4.  
 вѣы- § 92.  
 вѣы § 102b.  
 вѣыдра § 19.2.  
 -вѣыкнѣти § 30.1, § 32.1, § 69.1d,  
 § 93.11, § 97c.  
 вѣыспрѣ § 100.  
 вѣыторын § 19.2.  
 вѣышин § 51.4, § 57, § 99.2.  
 вѣды § 43, § 47.  
 вѣдѣ § 19.1, § 84.  
 вѣко § 38.1.11, § 40.2.  
 вѣрънь § 49a.  
 вѣтти § 39c, d.  
 вѣятти § 65.1, § 96.3a.  
 вѣзати § 19.2, § 32.3, § 96.3.  
 -вѣнѣти § 64.1.  
 вѣште § 54.

вѣза § 32.3.

## Г

гасати § 96.3b.  
 гвѣздин § 48.1.  
 гвѣздити § 97a.  
 гвѣздъ § 43, § 48.1.  
 геона *see* теона.  
 главизна § 48.6.  
 главѣнь § 50d.  
 глѣкъ § 16.2.  
 -глѣнѣти § 64.1, 2.  
 -глѣнѣти § 64.2, § 69.1d.  
 глѣдѣти § 66.  
 глѣвокъ § 50.1b.  
 гнѣсти § 94c.  
 гнѣти § 96.1a.  
 гнон § 42b.  
 гнѣсити *св* § 35.9, § 93.IV.  
 гнѣсьнь § 35.9.  
 гѣвъзовати § 25.  
 гѣвъзь § 23.1b, § 30.3b, f.  
 гонѣти § 93.IV, § 97b.  
 гонѣзити § 35.9.  
 гонѣзити § 93.IV.  
 горни § 51.1c.  
 горѣти § 73a, § 97d, i.  
 горѣсть § 38.2.  
 господыни § 39c.  
 господьскъ § 50f.  
 гостіе, гостыне § 12.3, § 16.4.  
 гость § 43.  
 готовати § 96.4g.  
 гражданинь § 41, § 48.6.  
 грѣло § 40.2b, § 48.5.  
 грѣти § 29.11, § 62.1, § 69.2h.  
 грива, гривна § 12.1.  
 грилати § 37.5f.

грѣшиште § 48.2.  
 громъ § 37.5f.  
 грѣдѣніи § 39b.  
 грѣначаръ § 41, § 48.10.  
 грѣнъ § 16.2, § 48.10.  
 грѣтанъ § 43.  
 грѣмѣти § 37.5f, § 97d.  
 грѣсти § 94g.  
 грѣти § 61. IIIa, § 70, § 96.1f.  
 грѣшьница § 48.2.  
 грѣяти § 96.1f, § 96.3a.  
 грѣзь § 51.1a.  
 гоувити § 9.3, § 93.IV, § 97c.  
 -гоувъ § 59.6b.  
 гнати § 15.2, § 63.3, § 92,  
 § 94т, § 97b.  
 гнѣти § 29.5.  
 -гнѣти § 29.5, § 96.3b.  
 гнѣнѣти § 9.3, § 64.2, § 69.1d,  
 § 93.II, § 97c.

## Д

дажи до § 104.  
 далѣ § 51.1d.  
 далече § 99.2.  
 даниилъ § 45.  
 данъ § 48.6.  
 двигнѣти § 23.1b, § 30.3,  
 § 61. II, § 69.1d, 2d, § 70, § 77a,  
 § 93. II, § 95.  
 движати § 97d.  
 двисати § 23.1b, § 30.3, § 93. II.  
 двѣрьникъ § 30.3b.  
 десити § 93. IV.  
 десятина § 59.5.  
 диво § 44.3.  
 дира § 37.5d.  
 -дирати § 37.5d.

до § 104.  
 до- § 92.  
 добль § 51.2, § 54.  
 доблисть § 38.2.  
 доврѣи § 9.3, § 54, § 56.  
 довьти § 98p.  
 довольнъ § 33.1.  
 дожи и до § 104.  
 доити § 92.  
 долоу, долѣ § 99.1.  
 дома § 100.  
 дома-шьнь, -штнь § 50b.  
 домови § 99.5.  
 домоузаконикъ § 47.  
 донелиже § 104.  
 донелѣже § 100, § 104.  
 донести § 92.  
 доиждѣ § 100.  
 досадити § 92.  
 древьнь § 50b.  
 дроуг-ъ § 48.1, § 50a, § 55.5a.  
 дроуж-ьнь § 50a.  
 дрѣвѣнь § 50e.  
 дразга § 27.3, § 30.2b.  
 доухати § 65.1.  
 дѣвашди § 59.4, § 100.  
 дѣвое § 59.3.  
 дѣска § 21.2c, § 27.3.  
 дѣньнъ § 50c.  
 дѣньшьнь § 50b.  
 дѣрати § 34.3, § 37.5d, § 63.1,  
 § 94т.  
 дѣмъ § 9.1.  
 дѣмаж § 9.3.  
 -дѣхнѣти § 93. II.  
 дѣва, дѣвица § 30.3f.  
 дѣвѣка § 48.2.  
 дѣльма § 99.7, § 103.

ДѢЛА § 100, § 103.  
 ДѢТИ § 3, § 10.1, § 19.1, § 27.1,  
 § 65.1.  
 ДѢТИШТЬ § 48.3.  
 ДѢТЬ § 47.  
 ДѢТЬСЬКА § 50f.  
 ДѢТА § 47, § 48.3.  
 ДЖЕНІЕ, ДЖЕЪ § 38.3.  
 ДЖТИ § 15.2, § 37.5f, § 62.4, § 80,  
 § 94d, f.

Є see ІЄ

## Ж

ЖАБА § 3.  
 ЖАРЪ § 21.1.  
 ЖАСНЖТИ § 69.1d.  
 -ЖДЕ § 101.  
 -ЖЕ § 101.  
 ЖЕЛѢЗО § 50k.  
 ЖЕЛѢТИ § 96.4b.  
 ЖЕНЬСЬКА § 50f.  
 ЖЕСТОКОСРЪДІЕ § 47.  
 ЖЕШТИ § 69.2f, § 94c, h.  
 ЖИВИТИ § 93.IV.  
 ЖИДОВИНЪ § 41b.  
 ЖЛѢСТИ § 30.1b, § 62.2, § 93.I,  
 § 94c.  
 ЖЛЪТЬ § 16.2, § 21.1, § 30.1.  
 ЖРѢДЪ § 34.3.  
 ЖРЪНЪ § 16.2, § 30.1, § 44.1.  
 ЖРѢЛА § 44.4, § 48.3.  
 ЖРѢТИ § 94a, o.  
 ЖЪДАТИ § 21.1, § 63.1, § 94т.  
 -ЖЪДО § 101.  
 ЖЪРЬЦЪ § 48.3.  
 ЖАТЕЛЬ § 41.

## З (З)

ЗВѢЗДА *see* ЗВѢЗДА.  
 ЗѢЛО § 25, § 51.3, § 99.2.

## З

ЗА- § 92.  
 ЗАБЫВАТИ § 98f.  
 ЗАБЫТИ § 77b, § 92, § 98f, p.  
 ЗАВИДѢТИ § 92, § 97h.  
 ЗАВИСТЬЛИВЪ § 50g.  
 ЗАИТИ § 92.  
 ЗАКОНООУЧИТЕЛЬ § 47.  
 ЗАКРЪТИ § 92.  
 ЗАКЪХЪЕН § 45.  
 ЗАНЕ § 104.  
 ЗАПАДАНЪ § 50c.  
 ЗАЧАТІЕ § 79.  
 ЗАХОДИТИ § 92.  
 ЗАЩЪ § 30.3f.  
 ЗВИЗДАТИ § 23.1c.  
 ЗВѢЗДА, ЗВѢЗДА § 21.1c, § 23.1c,  
 § 25.  
 ЗВѢРИНА § 48.6.  
 ЗВЪШТИ § 94c.  
 ЗЕМЛЪСЬКА, ЗЕМЬСЬКА § 17c.  
 ЗЕМЛЯ *see* ЗЕМЛЯ § 17b.  
 ЗИМА § 18.  
 ЗИГАТИ § 96.3a.  
 ЗМИИ § 2.II Note 5, § 16.5,  
 § 40.1, § 42b.  
 ЗНАМЕНАТИ § 65.2, § 96.4b.  
 ЗНАТИ § 6.2, § 20.2, § 61.IIIa,  
 § 69.2a, § 70, § 79, § 96.1.  
 ЗОВАТИ § 96.3b.  
 ЗРАКЪ § 27.2.  
 ЗРЪНО § 27.2.  
 ЗЪВАТИ § 34.6, § 60.2, § 61.Ib,  
 § 63.1, § 94т.

ЗЪЛОВЬ § 48.7.  
 ЗЪЛЬ § 33.3.  
 ЗЪДАТИ, ЗИЖДЖ § 21.2a, § 34.2,  
 § 96.3b.  
 ЗЪАТИ § 96.3c.  
 ЗЪБАТИ § 96.3b.  
 -ЗАВНЖТИ § 64.2, § 69.1d,  
 § 93.II.  
 ЗАТЬ § 43.

## И

\*и- § 55.2.II.  
 ИГО § 12.4, § 16.5, § 32.1, § 33.4,  
 § 44.3h.  
 ИГЪЛА § 33.4.  
 ИДЕ, ИДЕЖЕ § 104.  
 ИЕРВМИА § 39g.  
 ИЗ-, ИС- § 92.  
 ИЗВОДИТИ § 90.  
 ИЗВЪДЪТИ § 77.3.  
 ИЗГОРЪТИ § 92.  
 ИЗДРАИЛВЪ § 50a.  
 ИЗДРАИЛИТЪНИНЪ § 41.  
 ИЗДРАИЛЬ § 27.2, § 45, § 50a.  
 ИЗДРЕШТИ § 27.2.  
 ИЗДРАДЪ § 100.  
 ИЗОУТИ § 96.1a.  
 ИЗЪ § 102.  
 ИЗЫСЛАВЪ § 35.10.  
 ИЗЪТРЪ § 100.  
 ИМАТИ, ЮМИЖ § 3, § 90, § 91.  
 ИМЕНИТЪ § 50h.  
 ИМЪЖЕ § 104.  
 ИМЪНЬЦЕ § 48.2.  
 ИНАКЪ § 48.2, § 50i.  
 ИНОКЪ § 48.2.  
 ИНОСТАНЪ § 100.  
 ИНЪГДА § 100.

ИНЖДОУ § 35.2.  
 ИОНА, ИОНИНЪ § 50a.  
 ИС § 102.  
 ИСАА § 39g, § 45.  
 ИСКРЪ § 100, § 103.  
 ИСПЛЪНЪ, ИСПЛЪНЬ § 53, § 54.  
 ИСПОЛИНЪ § 41.  
 ИСПРОВРЪШТИ § 92.  
 ИСТЕСА, ИСТЕСЪ § 44.3.  
 ИСТЪ § 48.6.  
 ИСТЪЛИТИ *see* ИСЦЪЛИТИ.  
 ИСЦЪЛИТИ, ИСТЪЛИТИ, ИЦЪЛИТИ  
 § 27.3, § 79.  
 ИСЪХАТИ § 96.3b.  
 ИСАКНЖТИ § 97c.  
 ИСАЦАТИ § 97c.  
 ИСЖИТИ § 97c.  
 ИШТЕВНЖТИ § 92.  
 ИЕРВМИА § 39g.  
 ИЮДИНЪ § 50a.  
 ИЮДЪИ § 45.

## И

ИЕОНА, ИЕОНА § 2.II Note 1,  
 § 45.  
 ИЕТЪСИМАНИ § 2.II Note 1.

## К

КАДИТИ § 48.4.  
 КАЗАТИ § 96.3d.  
 КАКОВЪ § 55.5c.  
 КАМЕНИЕ § 48.1.  
 КАМЕНЬ, КАМЪ § 38.1.V, § 38.2,  
 § 44.2, § 46.1.  
 КАМЪКЪ § 48.2.  
 КАНА § 45.  
 КАНАЖТИ § 64.1.  
 КАПАТИ § 64.1.



-касати § 93.III.  
 Катафа § 39*h*, § 45.  
 Кесаревъ, -ровъ § 50*a*.  
 класти § 17*a*, § 29.10, § 94*e*.  
 клати § 61.III*b*, § 65.1, § 69.2*f*,  
 § 77.2, § 80, § 96.2*d*, *h*.  
 клеветати § 96.4*c*.  
 клепати § 96.3*b*.  
 кликнѣти § 93.II.  
 клицати § 93.II.  
 клонити § 90.  
 ключа § 44.4.  
 ключити са § 93.IV.  
 клачати § 97*d*.  
 ковати § 28, § 63.2.  
 когда § 100.  
 кождо § 33.1.  
 козылишть § 48.3.  
 козыль § 48.3.  
 козыла § 44.4, § 48.3.  
 кол-и, -ѣ § 100.  
 коло § 3, § 44.3.  
 конь § 40.  
 коньць § 24, § 31*b*.  
 коньч-ати, -авати § 90, § 93.III,  
 § 96.4*b*.  
 копати § 48.2.  
 копачь § 48.2.  
 коравьць § 48.2.  
 корень § 44.2.  
 коса § 24.  
 коснѣти § 69.2*d*, § 93.II, § 95*b*.  
 кость § 38.1.IV, § 43, § 46.1.  
 которын § 55.3*f*.  
 кравини § 39*c*.  
 кражда § 48.1.  
 крестъ § 17*e*.  
 крил-атъ, -о § 50*h*.

кричава § 48.8.  
 кричати § 6.4, § 48.8, § 66, § 97.  
 кромѣ § 98.1, § 103.  
 кръвавъ § 50*h*.  
 кръвопролитниѣ § 47.  
 кръкъ § 16.2.  
 кръма § 15.2, § 48.2.  
 кръмъчии § 39*c*, § 48.2.  
 кръстиманинъ § 41*b*.  
 кръстиганъ § 41*b*.  
 кръстиганъини § 39*b*.  
 кръстъ, крестъ § 17*e*.  
 кръти § 77*b*, § 96.1*a*, *c*, *e*.  
 кръпкъкъ § 33.1.  
 коупѣла § 3, § 48.1.  
 коуповати § 3, § 61.III*b*, § 70,  
 § 90, § 96.4*b*.  
 коупьць § 40.10.  
 къгда § 100.  
 къждо § 33.1, § 34.3, § 55.2.1*c*,  
 § 101.  
 кълати § 96.2*h*.  
 кънигъчии § 39*c*, § 48.2.  
 кънигъ § 48.2.  
 кънижъница § 48.2.  
 § 97*d*. (where a mistaken  
 translation is given).  
 къснѣти 'to abide, to hesitate'  
 къ § 55.3*e*.  
 къпѣти § 97*d*.  
 къснѣти § 69.1*d*, § 93.II.  
 къд-оу, -ѣ, -ж § 100.  
 къпѣль § 35.3, § 43.

## Л

ладни, ладниа § 36, § 39*c*, § 46.1.  
 лазити § 90, § 97*b*.  
 лакомъ § 6.3.

лани § 99.1.  
 лань § 36.  
 латиньскы § 100.  
 лагати § 96.3a.  
 левѣни § 39c, § 45.  
 ледь § 42.  
 летѣти § 97d, i.  
 лизати § 96.3b.  
 лиши § 96a.  
 лише § 51.1d.  
 лишити § 93.IV.  
 лигати § 96.3a.  
 ловити § 48.2.  
 -логъ § 30.1.  
 ложити § 30.1.  
 локы § 44.1.  
 лъж-ь § 21.1, -нѣъ § 50g.  
 львовъ § 50a.  
 львѣ § 34.6, § 50a.  
 льгъкъ § 30.3a.  
 льгъни § 39b.  
 льза § 31a.  
 льнѣ § 16.1, § 50e.  
 льнѣньнѣ § 50e.  
 льштати сѧ § 97d.  
 льгати § 96.3c.  
 лѣвѣ § 103.  
 лѣгати § 96.3b.  
 лѣсти § 90, § 94e, § 97b.  
 люво § 104.  
 лювѣ § 8.2.  
 лювѣвъ § 34.  
 лювѣы § 38.1.V, § 44.1.  
 людинѣ § 41b, § 48.6.  
 людьскѣ § 30.2b.  
 люто § 44.3.  
 лажатъ § 48.1.  
 лацати § 96.3b.

лашти § 69.2h.

## Л

лазати § 48.5.  
 лалодоушине § 47.  
 лалъ-жена § 47.  
 лалы § 100.  
 манасни, манасниа § 39e.  
 мастъ § 43.  
 матеръ (асс.) § 16.3, § 18.  
 -магати § 96.3a.  
 медвѣдѣ § 43, § 47.  
 межда, междоу § 21.2, § 59.2c,  
 § 99.1, § 103.  
 месниа § 45.  
 местни § 29.10, § 63.3.  
 мимо-ити, -ходити § 92.  
 мимо-тешти, тѣкати § 92.  
 миновати § 65.3.  
 минжти § 61.II, § 65.3, § 69.2d.  
 -мирати § 37.5c.  
 митѣ § 99.1.  
 миѣилъ § 45.  
 млѣни § 34.2, § 38.1.I, § 39c, e.  
 млѣкжти § 29.5, § 69.1d.  
 млѣко § 10.4.  
 млѣти § 61.IIIb, § 80, § 96.2a, h.  
 много-шьди, -шти § 100.  
 можданъ § 21.2c.  
 мозгъ § 20.1, § 21.2c, § 29.7.  
 мон § 52.2.II.  
 монсинъ § 50a.  
 мокръ § 50k.  
 моление § 40.2c.  
 мольба § 48.7.  
 морити § 37.5a, c.  
 моръ § 37.5d.  
 морьскѣ § 30.2b.

мосѣковъ § 50a.  
 мочити § 50k.  
 мошть § 48.3.  
 мракъ § 48.2.  
 мръкнѣти § 23.2b.  
 мръмърати § 96.3b.  
 мръцати § 23.2b, § 96.3b.  
 мръзѣти § 97d.  
 мръѣти § 16.2, § 62.3, § 69.2f, 3,  
 § 76, § 80, § 94o, § 97c.  
 моуѣа § 21.1, § 30.2.  
 моушина § 48.2.  
 мѣножицеиѣ § 99.3.  
 мѣхъ § 15.1.  
 мѣчати § 97d.  
 мѣшьца § 21.1, § 48.2.  
 мѣлѣти § 96.2h.  
 мѣньшьми § 99.6.  
 мѣрти, мѣрѣти *see* мръѣти.  
 мѣстиги § 93.IV.  
 мѣчь § 30.1c.  
 мѣтарѣ § 41, § 48.10.  
 мѣти § 96.1e.  
 мѣто § 48.10.  
 мѣшь § 9.1, § 43.  
 мѣшѣ § 9.3.  
 мѣна § 94q.  
 мѣнити § 93.IV.  
 мѣхъ § 22.5.  
 масти § 37.5g, § 48.9, § 69.2h,  
 § 94a, § 97b.  
 матежъ § 48.9.  
 маданъ § 35.  
 мажити § 97b, j.  
 мажъ § 37.5g.

## Н

на- § 92.

навѣкнѣти § 65.1.  
 навѣцати § 65.1, § 96.3b.  
 надежда § 35.9.  
 надо § 102b.  
 надоути § 96.1a.  
 надѣ- § 92.  
 надѣити § 92.  
 надѣлежати § 92.  
 надѣмати § 37.5f.  
 наз-врѣти, -ирати § 92.  
 нан- § 51.3.  
 наложити § 92.  
 нашъ § 31b, § 34, § 52.2.II.  
 начати § 40.2b.  
 начатѣкъ § 34.4, § 48.2.  
 невогъ § 104.  
 невръшти § 94c.  
 невѣгласъ § 47.  
 негли § 100, § 104.  
 неже, -ли, § 101, § 104.  
 некъли § 101, § 104.  
 нестрадан-ъ, -нѣъ § 50c.  
 неправда § 47.  
 непѣштевати § 96.4g.  
 нести § 37.5, § 60.2b, § 61.1.a,  
 § 69.1b, § 70, § 90, § 91, § 97b.  
 несъвѣда § 59.1.d.  
 ненавѣръ § 47.  
 неясътъ § 47.  
 нива § 2.II Note 7, § 17a, § 31.  
 нижанъ § 50b.  
 низити § 92.  
 низъ § 50b, § 51.1d, § 99.2.  
 низъврѣшти § 92.  
 низъходити § 92.  
 никакъже § 55.3f.  
 -никнѣти § 69.1d.  
 никъгдаже § 100, § 101.

НИКЪИЖЕ § 55.3*d*.  
 НИЦАТИ § 96.3*b*.  
 НИШТИИ § 56.  
 НИИДИНЪЖЕ § 53.3*f*.  
 НОВОРАСЛЪ § 48.5.  
 НОВЪ § 7.4, § 19.3, § 49*a*, § 51.2.  
 НОГЪТЬ § 43.  
 НОДЪМА § 100.  
 НОЗДРИ § 27.2.  
 НОУДЪМА § 99.7, § 100.  
 НЪЫ § 9.2.  
 НЬ § 55.4*c*.  
 НЪ-КЪГДА § 101.  
 НЪКЪТО § 55.3*f*, § 101.  
 НЪСМЪ § 98*d*.  
 НЪЧЪТО § 55.3*a*.  
 НЖДИТИ § 35.9, § 54, § 93.IV.  
 НЖДА § 35.9.

## O

о- § 91, § 92.  
 о § 102.  
 об- § 92.  
 ОБИДѢТИ § 97*h*.  
 ОБЛИЧИТИ § 92.  
 ОБЛОВЪЗАТИ § 92.  
 ОБОНЕ § 55.2.II, § 59.3.  
 ОБОНДОУ § 100.  
 ОБРАЗИТИ § 93.IV.  
 ОБРѢТЕНИЕ § 96.2*a*.  
 ОБЪ- § 92.  
 ОБЪ, ОБ § 102.  
 ОБЪХОДИТИ § 92.  
 ОБЪШТИЕ § 40.2*b*.  
 ОБЪШТЬ § 49*b*.  
 ОБЪКНЖТИ § 48.1.  
 ОБЛМО § 100.  
 ОБЛЕ § 105.

ОБЪДЪ § 100.  
 ОБЪДЕ § 100.  
 ОБЪЧА § 44.4.  
 ОГРАДА § 47.  
 ОМИНЪ § 41*a*.  
 ОКЫ § 100, § 104.  
 ОЛЕ § 105.  
 ОЛ(Ъ)ТАРЬ § 7.1.  
 ОМАМО § 100.  
 ОНОУДЕ § 99.1.  
 ОНЪДЕ § 100.  
 ОПРОВРѢШТИ § 92.  
 ОПАТЬ § 54, § 100.  
 ОРАТИ § 7.1, § 48.3, 4, § 96.3*b*.  
 ОСА § 29.7.  
 ОСЛАВѢТИ § 96.4*b*.  
 ОСЛЪПНЖТИ § 92.  
 ОСМЪ § 20.2.  
 ОСНЪВАТИ § 96.1*a*.  
 ОСОВЪ § 100.  
 ОСТАТЪКЪ § 48.2.  
 ОСТЕГЪ § 28.  
 ОСТРЪ § 48.9.  
 ОСЬ § 7.1.  
 ОСЪЛА § 44.4.  
 ОТО § 102*b*.  
 ОТАИ § 100.  
 ОТРОЧИШТЬ § 48.3.  
 ОТЪ-, ОТ-, о- § 92.  
 ОТЪИЖДА § 54, § 100.  
 ОТЪИЖДОУЖЕ § 35.2.  
 ОТЪИЖДОУ § 35.5.  
 ОТЪТЖДОУ § 35.2.  
 ОТЪХОДИТИ § 92.  
 ОТЪМАТИ § 92.  
 ОТЪЧЪ § 49*b*.  
 ОТЪЧЕСТВО § 48.3.  
 ОХОДИТИ § 29.6, 12, § 92.

очищение § 31с.

## П

падати § 90.

пакы § 51.1d.

пакыгытыиэ § 47.

пасти § 62.2, § 94e.

-пагати § 37.5b.

пажкъ § 48.6.

пажчина § 35.6, § 48.6.

печать § 43f, § 44.4.

пешти § 81, § 94h.

пиво § 37.5b, § 48.8.

писати § 96.3с, d.

питиэ § 40.2b.

пианица § 48.2.

плавати § 37.5с, § 90.

пламень, пламы § 38.2, § 44.2,  
§ 46.1.

плема § 44.2.

плевсти § 62.2.

плинжти § 37.5с, § 95b.

плодовитъ § 50h.

плоути, пловж § 7.4, § 19.3,  
§ 37.5с, § 60.2, § 90.

плъзати § 96.3b.

плънъ see плънъ.

плъзати § 97d.

плънъ, плънъ § 17.

плъва § 48.5.

плъвелъ § 48.5.

плъети § 62.7.

пласати § 96.3b.

по- § 91, § 92.

повразъ § 37.5d.

повѣдовати § 98k.

поганинъ, поганъ § 41b, § 48.6.

поганъ § 6.1, § 48.6.

поганъини § 39b, § 48.6.

погрести § 80.

погрети § 5, § 37.5a.

подлъгъ § 103.

подо § 102b.

подрожниэ § 48.1.

подъ- § 92.

подъметъ § 47.

подъстълати § 92.

подъяти § 92.

пожрѣти § 69.2g.

поити § 93.IV, § 97с.

покои § 24, § 30.1.

полъма § 99.7.

пользевати § 96.4g.

полѣти § 97d.

поле § 11.2, § 38.1.II, § 40.

помизати § 25.

поманжти § 35.

поиэ, -же § 104.

поносити § 92.

поръфира § 5.

посадити § 97с.

послоушьливъ § 50g.

послѣ-ди, -жде § 100.

посрѣдоу § 99.1.

похвалити § 47.

почити § 24, § 30.1, § 96.1a.

погасати сѧ § 93.III.

правъ § 54, § 100.

правъдивъ § 50g.

правъини § 39b.

прадѣдъ § 47, § 102.

прасѧ § 22.4.

прахъ § 22.4.

преторъ § 45.

при- § 92.

пригъиль § 48.5.

приеѣти § 48.5.  
 призывати § 37.5a.  
 приключити сѧ § 48.1.  
 прилогъ § 47.  
 прильпѣти § 97d.  
 принести § 90, § 91.  
 приносити § 90.  
 приоврѣсти § 92, § 96.2a.  
 пристаниште § 40.2b.  
 присѣдѣти § 90.  
 притѣкати § 37.  
 пришьствиѣ § 40.2b.  
 приѧтъ, приѧтыгъ § 50c.  
 про- § 92.  
 провити § 92.  
 проказа § 47, § 102.  
 прокън § 55.3g.  
 проплатиѣ § 79.  
 пророчъ § 50a.  
 пророчьскъ § 49a.  
 простити § 93.IV.  
 простыни § 39b.  
 прѣстень § 44.2.  
 прѣсть § 22.4.  
 прѣ- § 51.3, § 92.  
 прѣвеликъ § 51.3.  
 прѣди § 100.  
 прѣдо § 102b.  
 прѣдѣ- § 92.  
 прѣдѣложити § 92.  
 прѣдѣставити § 92.  
 прѣдѣстѧти § 90.  
 прѣлицѧти, прѣльстити § 12.6.  
 прѣлицѧти § 92.  
 прѣль § 100.  
 прѣпростъ § 53, § 100.  
 прѣсвѧтъ § 51.3.  
 прѣселити § 92.

прѧшти § 94a.  
 прѧжити сѧ § 93.IV.  
 поустъ § 48.6.  
 пыж § 16.2.  
 пѣрати § 34.4, § 63.1, § 94m.  
 пѣрѣти § 97d.  
 пѣсьскы § 54.  
 пѣна § 26.  
 пѣниѣ § 40.2c.  
 пѣшь § 37.1a, § 49b.  
 пѧта § 54.  
 пѧти § 16.2, § 69.2e, 3, § 77.2,  
 § 80, § 94a.  
 пѧторица § 59.6a.  
 пѧтъ § 14.1, § 43.  
 пѧтышьствиѣ § 47.

## Р

радѣла § 100, § 103.  
 раждѧти § 37.5a.  
 раждѣнѣ § 29.13, § 31.1a.  
 раз-, рас- § 92.  
 разга § 29.13.  
 раздор § 37.5c.  
 различъ § 53, § 100.  
 рало § 6.3, § 29.2, § 48.4.  
 распѧти § 69.2c.  
 растворити § 92.  
 растръзовати § 96.4h.  
 рѧган § 48.3.  
 рѧчин § 51.1c.  
 раширити § 29.12.  
 ринжити § 95.  
 ристѧти § 96.3b.  
 -рицѧти § 30.3f.  
 робѧта § 36.  
 ровни § 36.  
 ровнишьтъ § 36.

ровѣ § 36.  
 родитель § 41.  
 родити § 36.  
 рожанъ § 30.1, § 50e.  
 рождие § 29.13, § 31.1a.  
 развити § 36.  
 разбойникъ § 36.  
 развѣ § 36.  
 разга § 29.13, § 36.  
 рокъ § 37.4.  
 роширити § 36.  
 роуминъ § 41, § 48.6.  
 роути § 62.6.  
 роушити § 93.IV.  
 рѣварница § 48.2.  
 рѣвати § 63.2.  
 рѣдръ § 49a.  
 рѣзати § 96.3b.  
 рѣпѣтати § 96.4c.  
 рѣло § 48.4.  
 рѣти § 48.4, § 96.1a.  
 рѣзати § 96.3b.  
 -рѣкати § 30.3f.  
 -рѣсти § 96.2a.  
 рѣчь § 24, § 37.4, § 43.  
 рѣтати § 96.3a.  
 рѣкопѣсаніе § 47.

**G**

садъ § 42b.  
 сажонъ § 44.2.  
 салъмана § 5.  
 самарѣнъини § 39b, § 48.6.  
 самѣчии § 39c.  
 санъ § 42b.  
 свекры § 9.2, § 38.I.V, § 44.1,  
 § 46.1.  
 вободити § 93.IV, § 97.

свобода § 53.  
 свѣнжти § 29.3.  
 свѣнжти, свѣднжти § 69.1d.  
 свѣтъини § 39b.  
 себе § 55.1.  
 седница § 59.6a.  
 седмъ § 29.4, 11, § 59.2.  
 сен § 55.2.IIc.  
 секры § 37.5.  
 свл-и, -к § 100.  
 великъ § 52.2.I, § 55.5a.  
 сестра § 27.2.  
 си § 101.  
 сикъ § 55.2.I, § 55.5a.  
 сице § 99.2.  
 сицевъ § 55.5c.  
 сиць § 52.2.II, § 55.5a.  
 сикѣти § 96.1a.  
 скакати § 65.1, § 90.  
 скандалисати § 93.III, § 96.4b.  
 скандалъ § 45.  
 сквозѣ § 99.1, § 103.  
 скочити § 65.1, § 90, § 93.IV.  
 скръжѣтати § 96.3b, 4c.  
 скълъвъ see шѣлѣгъ.  
 скждѣль, скждѣль § 47.  
 сладость § 48.3.  
 сладѣкъ § 48.3, § 50i, § 51.1b,  
 § 54.  
 словѣн-е, -скъ § 50f, § 54.  
 слоути § 62.6.  
 слѣпати § 96.3b.  
 -слѣпнжти § 64.2.  
 слѣма § 44.2.  
 смнѣтиса, смѣтиса § 96.3a, c.  
 смрѣдѣти § 97d.  
 -сновати § 63.2.  
 снѣха § 22.1.

- со § 102.  
 сокачин § 39c.  
 соха § 22.3.  
 спонъдило § 5.  
 спѣти § 96.1a, f.  
 спѣяти § 96.1f.  
 срамити § 93.IV.  
 срамъ § 27.2.  
 ставити § 93.IV.  
 станъ § 42b.  
 стаяти 'to step on, to tread'  
   § 96.3a.  
 стенати § 96.3b.  
 степень § 44.2.  
 -стигъ § 28.  
 стражъ § 21.1.  
 страшити § 61.IVa.  
 стришти § 94f.  
 строугати, стрѹгати § 96.3b.  
 строуга § 27.2.  
 стрѹмоглавъ § 100.  
 стрѣкати § 96.3b.  
 стрѣлити § 93.IV.  
 стрѣсти § 77.4.  
 -стѣлати § 34.2, § 96.3b, c.  
 стѣлазь § 30.1a.  
 стѣдѣти сѧ § 97d.  
 стѣпити § 93.IV.  
 соугоубъ § 29.5, § 53, § 59.6b,  
   § 100.  
 соул-ни, -ѣни § 51.1c.  
 соугти § 62.1.  
 соухоржкъ § 47.  
 соухъ § 21.1, § 51.2.  
 соугета § 48.3.  
 съ-, сън- § 91, § 92.  
 съвориште § 40.2b.  
 съворъ § 47.  
 съвѣрати § 47.  
 съвѣдникъ § 47.  
 съвѣтъкъ § 48.2.  
 съвѣз-ати, -овати § 65.3.  
 съгънжти § 59.6.  
 сълати § 96.2h, 3b.  
 съморътъ § 2.II Note 6, § 17,  
   § 34.5, § 43.  
 съмѣти § 96.1a.  
 сънитие § 47.  
 сънъ § 20.1, § 29.5, § 34.7.  
 сънѣдъ § 47.  
 съпасти § 92.  
 сърѣтение § 96.2a.  
 съсати § 63.2.  
 сътворати § 90.  
 сътлѣшти § 90.  
 съторица § 59.6a.  
 сътажати § 66, § 97d.  
 съхнжти § 21.1, § 69.1d,  
   § 93.II.  
 съжде § 52.2.IIa.  
 съпати § 96.3b.  
 съверъ § 19.3.  
 -сѣкати § 48.8.  
 сѣмо § 100.  
 сѣти § 77.4, § 96.1a, f.  
 сѣчиво § 48.8.  
 сѣшти § 94e.  
 сѧ § 55.1.  
 сажень § 44.2.  
 сат-и, -ъ § 83.  
 сѣбота § 35.3, 6.  
 сѣдин § 34.3, § 39d.  
 сѣдоу § 100.  
 сѣмьнѣти § 35.  
 сѣпротивъ § 100.  
 сѣсѣдъини § 39b, § 48.6.



## Т

та, таже § 104.  
 таи § 100.  
 такание § 37.  
 такъ § 30.3, § 55.2.І.  
 таковъ § 55.5с.  
 -тапати § 29.5.  
 таче § 99.2.  
 тагати § 96.3а.  
 текаргати § 90.  
 теръдъ § 47, § 51.1а.  
 теплъ § 26.  
 тесати § 96.3б.  
 ти § 104.  
 тин-а, -авъ § 50h.  
 -тицати § 30.3f.  
 тишина § 48.6.  
 тишити § 30.1.  
 тихъ § 22.1, § 30.1, 3, § 48.6.  
 тлъкнжти § 80, § 90, § 91.  
 то § 11.2, § 55.2.І, § 104.  
 токъ § 37.  
 тол-ъ, -ѣ § 100.  
 тольма § 99.7.  
 тольми § 100.  
 -тонжти § 69.1d, § 93.ІІ.  
 топити § 29.5.  
 топнжти § 29.5.  
 топорште § 40.2b.  
 тратати § 96.3б.  
 третина § 59.5.  
 третънца § 59.6а.  
 трие § 16.4, § 43d, § 59.1.  
 тримемънъ § 47.  
 трикратъы § 99.6.  
 тришьди § 59.4, § 100.  
 тронца § 59.6а.  
 троие § 55.2.ІІ.

тръгати § 93.ІІ.  
 -тръгнжти § 23.1b, § 64.1,  
 § 69.2d, § 93.ІІ.  
 тръгъ § 2 Note 6.  
 тръзати, тръзати § 23.1b,  
 § 96.3б.  
 тръзжвца § 59.6с.  
 тръпѣти § 6.4.  
 тръти § 80.  
 тръгоувити § 59.6б.  
 тръпѣти § 97d.  
 тръсватъ § 59.6с.  
 трѣти § 62.3, § 69.2g, § 76.  
 трасти § 69.1с, § 69.2h, § 94с.  
 тоуне § 99.2.  
 тоуръ § 8.1.  
 тѣкати § 63.2.  
 тѣкнжти § 69.1d.  
 тѣчиж § 99.3.  
 тѣштати (сѧ) § 66, § 97d.  
 тѣнъкъ § 51.1а.  
 тѣсть § 43.  
 тѣцати § 37.4.  
 -тѣкати § 30.3f, § 37.4.  
 тѣмъ § 104.  
 тѣма § 44.2.  
 -тагнжти § 93.ІІ.  
 тажакъ § 48.2.  
 тажати § 48.2.  
 тажкъ § 49а, § 50i.  
 тазати § 93.ІІ, § 96.3б.  
 татива § 14.1.  
 тжжъкосръдъ § 47.

## Оу

оу- § 91, § 92.  
 оуеница § 39h, § 48.2.  
 оубѣжати § 92.

оубѣлити § 92.  
 оуба, оубы § 105.  
 оубаднѣти § 96.3*b*.  
 оубасти § 94*c*.  
 оугльвнѣти § 64.2.  
 оугльвѣти § 96.3*b*.  
 оударъ § 37.5*d*.  
 оудовъ § 53.  
 оукоризна § 48.6.  
 оукорити § 48.6.  
 оукъ § 30.1.  
 оумарати, оумирати § 37.5*a*.  
 оуморити § 97*c*.  
 оумрътиѣ § 79.  
 оуни § 51.1*c*.  
 оунѣти § 96.1*a*.  
 оунѣзнѣти § 69.1*d*.  
 оупъвати § 34.6.  
 оусерлагъ, оусерлазъ § 47.  
 оусѣнѣти § 29.5.  
 оусѣпити § 97*g*.  
 оусѣкнѣти § 92.  
 оуто § 99.1.

## Х

хвал-внѣнъ, -внѣ § 50*c*.  
 хватити § 93.IV, § 97.  
 хвѣроувиѣнъ § 2.II Note 7.  
 хлѣмъ § 33.2.  
 ходъ § 48.3.  
 хоржгы § 44.1.  
 хравъръ § 22.3.  
 хранитель § 41.  
 хръмнѣти § 69.1*d*.  
 хоужде § 51.1*d*.  
 хызъ § 9.1.  
 хждогъ § 13.1.

## Ц

цвисти § 23.2*c*, § 37.5*b*, § 47,  
 § 94*f*, *k*.  
 црѣковь, црѣкѣвъ § 44.1*b*.  
 цѣ § 104.  
 цѣлы § 44.1.  
 цѣсарница § 48.2.  
 цѣсарѣствовати § 96.4*b*.  
 цата § 30.2*d*.

## Ч

чадъ § 24.  
 чезнѣти § 69.1*d*.  
 чело § 24.  
 чсати § 24, § 65.1, § 96.3*b*.  
 четверица § 59.6*a*.  
 четверъгодъннѣ § 47.  
 четверѣтъ § 59.5.  
 четверѣногъ § 47, § 59.6*c*.  
 чни § 55.3*g*.  
 число § 48.5.  
 числа § 44.2.  
 чистота § 48.3.  
 читати § 37.5*b*.  
 чловѣчинъ § 41*b*.  
 чловѣчество § 40.2*b*, § 48.3.  
 чльнъ § 16.2, § 24, § 30.1.  
 чрънъ § 47.  
 чръпати § 96.3*b*.  
 чрътати § 59.6.  
 чръсти § 62.2.  
 чръти § 29.11, § 62.1, § 94*b*.  
 чюдо § 31*a*, § 44.3.  
 чадъ § 47.  
 чадъце § 40.2*b*, § 48.2.  
 часть § 24.  
 часть § 43.

## Ш

- шаръчин § 39с.  
 шити § 12.3, § 65.1, § 96.1а, е.  
 штълапъ § 30.1а, 3f.  
 штадѣти § 97d.  
 шоумъ § 3, § 31а.  
 -шьди, шьдъ § 59.4.  
 шьпътати § 65.1, § 96.4с.  
 шьст-ниѳ, -виѳ § 79.

## ИѦ (Ѧи)

- иѦлѦко § 32.2.  
 иѦгньць § 32.2.  
 иѦгода § 32.2.  
 иѦдро § 32.6b.  
 иѦдъ § 42.  
 иѦдъ § 47.  
 иѦдъца § 48.2.  
 иѦзвити § 93.IV, § 97.  
 иѦкъ, -же § 30.3, § 55.2.1.  
 иѦможе § 32.6b.  
 иѦрость § 32.6b.  
 иѦроу, иѦръ § 88, § 105.  
 иѦхати § 32.6b, § 59.1с, § 94е, 1.  
 иѦште § 104.  
 иѦще § 48.2.

## ИѢ (Ѣ)\*

- иѢ- § 11.2, § 55.4.  
 иѢдокиѦ § 45.  
 иѢдва § 100.  
 иѢдинакъ § 50i.  
 иѢдннече § 99.2.

- иѢдннѢж § 99.3.  
 иѢже § 32.2.  
 иѢзеро § 32.2.  
 иѢнѢпътѢ, еѢнѢптѢ § 2.II Note 1.  
 иѢлень § 44.2.  
 иѢли, иѢль § 104.  
 иѢлинѢнѢи § 39b.  
 иѢльни § 100.  
 иѢремниѦ § 45.  
 иѢсе § 105.  
 иѢша § 105.

## Ю

- ю § 104.  
 юность § 43.  
 юнота § 39h.  
 ютро § 32.2.

## Ж

- жгль § 43.  
 ждолие § 47.  
 ждоль § 32.4.  
 жза § 19.2, § 32.3, 4, § 48.5.  
 жзъль § 48.5.  
 жтръ § 48.7, § 100.  
 жтрыждоу § 100.  
 жхати § 32.3.

## ИѦ

- иѦзъ § 16.5.  
 иѦти, иѦль § 91.  
 иѦчьмень § 44.2.

\* Initial Ѣ, in words and in syllables, is usually preiotized, except in loan-words: иѢдокиѦ, елинѢ, ефесѢ; but also иѢлисарѢтъ (§ 3b).

**HANDBOOK OF  
OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC**

**PART II  
TEXTS AND GLOSSARY**

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# Handbook of Old Church Slavonic

## PART II Texts and Glossary

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## PREFACE

MOST of the extracts in this volume have hitherto been available to students in this country only in works published on the Continent, many of which are now out of print; no collection of Old Church Slavonic texts has ever been published in England.

My main purpose, therefore, has been to provide a selection of representative texts, with an introduction and a glossary, for the use of students. The texts are reproduced from standard critical editions; and at the head of each extract the reader will find a summary of the main facts known about the manuscript from which it is taken—date, provenance, content, and language. He will also find a reference to the authoritative editions of the text, to which sooner or later he may wish to turn.

The manner in which the volume has been printed requires some explanation. Hand-composition of Glagolitic and Old Cyrillic types is extremely costly, and it was therefore decided to photograph the extracts directly from the best available editions, to hand-set only the Glossary, and to print the whole by offset-lithography. There is therefore a noticeable variation in type style and size; but it seemed better to sacrifice something in this respect in order to keep the book down to a price which the student could more easily afford. A list of the editions from which pages were photographed is given in Section I of the Bibliography; I am grateful to the editors and publishers of certain of these works for permission to use their material. I am also particularly grateful to Professor G. Nandris for helpful suggestions and to Mr. J. S. G. Simmons for his work in assembling the texts for the press.

R. A.

*Selwyn College  
Cambridge  
January 1959*



## NOTE TO THE REVISED IMPRESSION

I AM grateful to those reviewers who have pointed out errors and suggested improvements, in particular to Professor Josip Hamm and Dr F. V. Mareš. I am also much obliged to Professor F. J. Oinas for pointing out a number of slips and omissions in the glossary. In the present photo-lithographic reprint it has been possible to make only the most essential corrections and to add to the bibliography the titles of a few works of the first importance published in the last few years.

R. A.

*London*  
*March 1965*

## NOTE TO THE THIRD IMPRESSION

APART from a small number of corrections and bibliographical additions the text remains unchanged.

R. A.

*Brasenose College*  
*Oxford*  
*July 1968*

# CONTENTS

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY	ix
INTRODUCTION	i
A. GLAGOLITIC TEXTS	
I CODEX ZOGRAPHENSIS	15
II CODEX MARIANUS	34
III CODEX ASSEMANIANUS	48
IV THE KIEV MISSAL	50
V PSALTERIUM SINAITICUM	58
VI EUCHOLOGIUM SINAITICUM	64
VII GLAGOLITA CLOZIANUS	70
B. CYRILLIC TEXTS	
VIII TSAR SAMUEL'S INSCRIPTION OF 993	72
IX SAVVINA KNIGA	74
X CODEX SUPRASLIENSIS	77
C. TEXTS WITH MARKED LOCAL CHARACTERISTICS	
XI OSTROMIR'S GOSPEL-BOOK	83
XII THE PRAGUE FRAGMENTS	88
XIII THE FREISING TEXTS	92
D. PARALLEL VERSIONS OF A GOSPEL TEXT	
XIV FIVE TRANSLATIONS OF LUKE X. 25-37	97
(a) Codex Zographensis	97
(b) Codex Marianus	98
(c) Codex Assemanianus	100
(d) Savvina Kniga	100
(e) Ostromir's Gospel-Book	102
GLOSSARY	107

## FACSIMILE PLATES

**Codex Assemanianus, fol. 81b**

*facing p. 48*

**Codex Suprasliensis, fol. 61a**

*facing p. 80*

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## INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Old Church Slavonic is the name now generally used in English for the language in which the earliest known Slavonic written texts were composed in the ninth century. It was a literary language, based primarily on a Macedonian Slavonic dialect but not identical in all its features with the speech of any single area (see § 8). Other designations of the language that are still in use are Old Bulgarian and Old Slavonic (Fr *vieux slave*, R. *старославянский язык*, SCr *staroslavenski jezik*, Cz *staroslověnský jazyk*). Both these terms have misleading implications: 'Old Bulgarian' (even if the term be held to include the medieval dialects of Macedonia) has too specific a national and geographical connotation; and 'Old Slavonic', on the other hand, is too general and might tend to perpetuate, at least subconsciously, the romantic illusion that this language was in some sense the common ancestor of all the Slavonic languages. The writers of Old Church Slavonic used the term *jęзыкѹ словѣнскыѹ*, which has been revived in Czech (*v. supra*) where it can conveniently be opposed to the normal word for 'Slavonic', *slovanský*. The term Old Church Slavonic, cumbersome as it is, may thus best be retained in English.

§ 2. The establishment of the language was in all essentials the work of two men, the Apostles of the Slavs as they have come to be called—St. Cyril (Constantine) and St. Methodius. The story of their life and work has come down to us most fully in the Church Slavonic Lives of the two Saints, *Vita Constantini* and *Vita Methodii*,<sup>1</sup> the broad historical reliability of which has now been accepted, thanks largely to the researches of F. Dvorník.<sup>2</sup> From these sources we learn how in 863 Prince Rastislav of Great

<sup>1</sup> The *Vitae* have been edited by P. A. Lavrov, *Материалы по истории возникновения древнейшей славянской письменности*, Leningrad, 1930, and by F. Pastrnek, *Dějiny slovanských apostoľů Cyrila a Metoda*, Prague, 1902. Lavrov's text of the *Vita Methodii* and of the chapters of the *Vita Constantini* that are of most interest for Slavists is also available in the OCS chrestomathy of Weingart and Kurz (see Select Bibliography, p. ix).

<sup>2</sup> F. Dvorník, *Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance*, Prague, 1933.



Moravia sent an embassy to the East Roman Emperor Michael III in Byzantium, asking that a 'bishop and teacher' might be sent to Moravia to preach the Christian faith to the newly converted Slavs of that country in their own language. For this task the Emperor immediately selected Constantine, a Greek from Salonika whose outstanding intellectual qualities had already earned him the name of 'the Philosopher', and whose theological erudition, diplomatic ability, and linguistic talents had been proved in negotiations with the Saracens and the Khazars. Before his departure he composed an alphabet (*složi pismena*) and began to translate the Gospels into Slavonic. He was to be accompanied by his brother Methodius, a monk well versed in public affairs. It is significant that the Emperor justified his choice by the words: 'You two are from Salonika, and all Thessalonians speak pure Slavonic' (*čisto slověnsky besědujūtĭ, Vita Methodii*, ch. v).

The brothers made their way to Moravia, where they were well received by Rastislav, and devoted themselves to missionary activity among the Slavs of that country. Constantine soon translated the essential liturgical texts into Slavonic (*Vita Constantini*, ch. xv); but the work of the brothers met with considerable opposition from the local (no doubt Bavarian or Frankish) clergy, who upheld the doctrine that God could be praised only in the three 'holy' languages, Hebrew, Greek and Latin. After a stay of over three years in Moravia the brothers decided to return (presumably to Byzantium, though this is not certain) in order that their disciples might be consecrated priests: neither Constantine nor Methodius yet held episcopal office. Their journey took them through Pannonia (Western Hungary) where they were received with great favour by Kocel, ruler of the local Slavs (no doubt Slovenes). Some fifty further disciples from among Kocel's subjects accompanied them when they resumed their journey. They halted for a while in Venice (where Constantine had again to defend his vernacular liturgy in a disputation with the local clergy) and received there an invitation from Pope Nicholas I to visit him in Rome. Whatever reasons of ecclesiastical policy may have prompted the invitation, it seems to have been readily accepted; the brothers arrived in Rome in late 867 or early 868, to be received with great

honour and solemnity by Pope Hadrian II (the successor of Nicholas I who had died on 13 November 867). The Slavonic liturgy received the papal blessing—indeed the *Vita Constantini* tells us that a Mass was sung in St. Peter's in the Slavonic tongue—and the Moravian and Pannonian disciples of the brothers were consecrated priests. Constantine was never to see Moravia again. He fell ill and, feeling his end approaching, he became a monk and took on the name of Cyril. Fifty days later he died, having commended to Methodius the continuation of their common task (*Vita Methodii*, ch. vii).

The urgency of this task was emphasized by the arrival of a message from Kocel requesting the Pope to permit Methodius to return to Moravia. This permission was given in a papal bull (whose text has only been preserved in Slavonic: *Vita Methodii*, ch. viii) addressed not only to Kocel but also to the two Moravian princes Rastislav and Sventopluk. This document gives explicit sanction for the use of the Slavonic liturgy, on the one condition that Epistle and Gospel should be read first in Latin and then in Slavonic.

After a short visit to Pannonia Methodius returned to Rome again in order to be consecrated Archbishop of Syrmium (Srēm). Thus the Pope was resuscitating a province that had lapsed at the time of the Avar invasions in the sixth century; and Methodius' activities received a further important mark of papal approval. Methodius' new authority extended over Pannonia and, we may assume, also Moravia; this brought him into direct conflict with the Bavarian bishops of Passau and Salzburg who laid claim to authority over these same regions. This conflict came to a head in 870 or 871, at a time when one of Methodius' protectors, Rastislav, had been dethroned by his nephew Sventopluk who was now collaborating with the Franks. Methodius was arraigned by the bishops of Salzburg, Freising and Passau for usurping their authority and was imprisoned in Germany for two and a half years. In 873 the Pope (now John VIII) became aware of the situation and insisted on the liberation of Methodius who, nothing daunted by his experiences, resumed his work in Moravia. Circumstances now favoured him again, for Sventopluk was pursuing a

more independent policy and his people had just driven out the German priests who had been working (and intriguing) amongst them (*Vita Methodii*, ch. x). Nevertheless the opposition against the Slavonic mission was only temporarily silenced: in 879 John VIII was prevailed upon to forbid the use of the Slavonic liturgy (in the bull *Prædicationis tuę*<sup>1</sup>). But Methodius was able, in another visit to Rome, to plead his case with success, and a new bull (*Industrię tuę*<sup>2</sup>), addressed to Sventopluk in June 880, reinforced Methodius' authority and restored the Slavonic liturgy on the same terms as before.

After a final journey to Byzantium (probably in 882) Methodius returned to his diocese. Among the activities that occupied the last years of his life was the completion of the work of translation that had been begun during his brother's lifetime. According to the *Vita Methodii* (ch. xv) the two brothers had together translated the Psalter and the New Testament (perhaps excluding Revelation); now with the aid of two secretaries (*důva popy skoropisice zělo*) Methodius further translated all the books of the Old Testament except Maccabees, as well as a nomocanon and a paterikon (*očiskyja knigy*). On 6 April 885 he died and was laid to rest 'in the cathedral church' (*vů sůboriněi crkůvi*), presumably in Velehrad, the capital of Great Moravia.

In Moravia itself Methodius' work did not long survive his death. The German party gained the upper hand. Pope Stephen V promptly banned the Slavonic liturgy<sup>3</sup> and the German Viching (Wiching) was installed as Methodius' successor instead of the Moravian Slav Gorazd who had been designated by the Saint himself. Later sources (notably the Lives of St. Clement of Ohrid<sup>4</sup> and of St. Naum<sup>5</sup>) tell how Methodius' disciples were brutally expelled from the country and in some cases sold into slavery. Thus extinguished in its first home, the Old Church Slavonic language was spread by these refugees into other Slavonic lands (see § 13).

<sup>1</sup> *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Epistolæ VII, No. 201.

<sup>2</sup> *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Epistolæ VIII, No. 255.

<sup>3</sup> *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Epistolæ VII, No. 1.

<sup>4</sup> See Perwolf (ed.), *Fontes rerum bohemicarum*, I, Prague, 1872, pp. 76-92.

<sup>5</sup> See Select Bibliography, I, Ivanov, *Български старини . . .* pp. 305-13.

§ 3. The statement in the *Vita Constantini* that St. Cyril composed an alphabet is confirmed and supplemented by a number of other early testimonies. Notable among them is the probably tenth-century treatise *O pismenechŭ* of the monk Chrabr<sup>1</sup> in which we are told that St. Cyril's alphabet consisted of 38 letters, 'some after the system of the Greek letters, some according to Slavonic speech'. Even Pope John VIII referred (in the bull *Industriae tuae*) to 'litteras . . . sclaviniscas a Constantino quondam philosopho reppertas'. The preserved OCS manuscripts, however, present us with two distinct alphabets, the Glagolitic and the Cyrillic (see Table of Alphabets, *Grammar*, pp. 3-4); it has been one of the foremost tasks of Slavonic scholarship to establish the relationship of these two alphabets with one another, to elucidate their origins and history, and, in particular, to decide which of them was the alphabet devised by St. Cyril. Although there is much that remains obscure in the study of these questions there is widespread agreement that the alphabet invented by St. Cyril to take to the Moravian Slavs was that now called Glagolitic. The most important of the arguments that have been adduced in support of this position may be summarized as follows.

(i) The language of the OCS Glagolitic manuscripts is, generally speaking, more archaic than that of the OCS Cyrillic ones: the former show a number of examples of uncontracted forms of the compound adjective (gen. and dat. sing. masc.; see *Grammar* §§ 56-8); moreover the secondary sigmatic aorist is very rare in them (and indeed entirely absent from Mar. and Ps. Sin.); in other respects, too, the Glagolitic manuscripts seem to show us a language that cannot be far removed from that of Saints Cyril and Methodius themselves.

(ii) It was presumably in the Czechoslovak area that St. Cyril's alphabet was first used; and the existence of a Glagolitic scribal tradition in that region is securely attested. The OCS text which, palaeographically and linguistically, displays more archaic features than any other is the Kiev Missal (see p. 50); and this text also shows marked peculiarities in its phonology and morphology that assign it (or its prototype) to the Czech-speaking area. Moreover

<sup>1</sup> It has been edited by Lavrov, Ivanov, and Weingart-Kurz, op. cit.

the probably eleventh-century Prague Fragments (see p. 88) bear witness to a Glagolitic tradition in Bohemia a century or more after the dispersal of Methodius' disciples. In this connexion it is also noteworthy that certain lexical elements in the OCS Glagolitic texts are claimed by scholars to be of Czech (Moravian) origin (e.g. *rěsnota* 'truth', *ašjutü* 'in vain', *račiti* 'to deign'); while certain other words, borrowings from Latin or Old High German, must have entered the language in Moravia or Pannonia (rather than in the Greek-dominated linguistic and cultural climate of the Eastern Balkans) and are also found predominantly and in some cases exclusively in the Glagolitic OCS texts (e.g. *papeži* < OHG *bābes* 'Pope', *mša* < Lat *missa* 'mass', *všqdü* < OHG *wizzöd* 'Holy Communion, sacrament', *komükati* < Lat *communicare* 'to communicate', *münichü* < OHG *munich* 'monk', &c.). Linguistically, then, the Glagolitic manuscripts show a direct connexion with the Cyrillo-Methodian period; and this heightens the probability that the alphabet in which they are written was that of St. Cyril.

(iii) It is striking that the other region in which we find a Glagolitic scribal tradition also lies on the western margin of the Slavonic world, in Istria, the Quarnero, and maritime Croatia; here the Church Slavonic liturgy (still used today) is read from Glagolitic service-books and dates from time immemorial, and we may reasonably connect its inception with the work of Methodius' disciples, either before or after their dispersal.

(iv) The wording of the earliest testimonies concerning St. Cyril's linguistic work is hardly compatible with the relatively slight adaptation of the Greek alphabet which gave rise to the alphabet we now call Cyrillic. It is unlikely that such phrases as *složī pismena (Vita Constantini)*, *ustroivū pismena (Vita Methodii)*, *litteras . . . slavīniscas . . . reppertas* (bull of John VIII) would have been used of the half-dozen or so non-Greek symbols of the Cyrillic alphabet. One later testimony, though indirect, is of the highest importance. A copy, made in 1499, of a manuscript originally dated 1047, reproduces the postface of the original, in which the writer, a certain Upir' Lichoĵ, states that he has transcribed the manuscript *is kurilovicē*: it may be fairly assumed that

for this eleventh-century Russian scribe the alphabet of St. Cyril was still the Glagolitic.

(v) A number of palaeographic arguments are sometimes adduced to confirm the priority of the Glagolitic alphabet. They are of less importance than those already listed, but should be noted. There exist palimpsests, where Cyrillic writing has been superimposed on Glagolitic (e.g. the *Evangelium Bojanum*), but no examples of the reverse procedure; and some Cyrillic texts (including the important Macedonian Church Slavonic *Psalterium Bononiense*) contain isolated letters and even words written in Glagolitic—perhaps an indication that they were copied from Glagolitic originals.

§ 4. The Cyrillic alphabet is held by most (though not all<sup>1</sup>) scholars to be of later provenance than the Glagolitic. The earliest preserved Cyrillic texts are inscriptions dating from the tenth century, e.g. the funerary inscription made by order of the Bulgarian Tsar Samuel in 993 (see below, text No. VIII). The earliest Cyrillic manuscripts are the (probably eleventh-century) *Savvina Kniga* and *Codex Suprasliensis* (see §§ 10 and 11). The substitution of Cyrillic for Glagolitic is generally brought into connexion with the flowering of Slavonic letters in the Bulgarian Empire in the reign of the Greek-educated Emperor Symeon. It would have been natural for the Bulgarian monarch and his scholars to prefer the familiar Greek letters to the more esoteric and ornate Glagolitic ones. One attractive hypothesis suggests that the change was made at the Synod of Preslav in 893 when the Slavonic liturgy is believed to have been introduced into Bulgaria.<sup>2</sup> How far the new alphabet was based on the earlier 'unsystematic' adaptations of Greek letters to Slavonic speech referred to by the monk Chrabr, we do not know.<sup>3</sup>

§ 5. Much scholarship has been devoted to the investigation of

<sup>1</sup> A serious attempt to prove the priority of Cyrillic has been made by E. Georgiev, *Славянская письменность до Кирилла и Мефодия*, Sofia, 1952.

<sup>2</sup> See G. П'inskij, 'Где, когда, кем и с какою целью глаголица была заменена «кириллицей»' *Byzantinoslavica*, iii (1931), pp. 79 ff.; and S. Runciman, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire*, London, 1930, p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> This hypothesis is strongly argued by Georgiev, *op. cit.*

the sources of the Glagolitic alphabet, with its curiously complicated symbols. A solution which at one time gained wide acceptance is that, advanced by V. Jagić, which explained the Glagolitic letters as developments of the Greek minuscule script.<sup>1</sup> It is more likely, however, that the complex Glagolitic characters derive from a variety of sources, possibly including, in addition to Greek letters, non-alphabetical elements such as the Christian symbols of the cross, the circle and the triangle. The resulting complexity has caused the suggestion to be put forward<sup>2</sup> that St. Cyril was anxious, for political reasons, to conceal the Greek origin of his alphabet when he took it to Moravia. A connexion between the Glagolitic and Greek alphabets is, incidentally, made certain by the fact that Glagolitic, like Greek, had two symbols for *i* (Ɀ, Ɀ̇: Greek ι, η) and *o* (Ɀ̇, Ɀ̇̇: Greek ο, ω), and represented *u* by a digraph (Ɀ̇̇̇: Greek ου). More difficult is the question of the origin of those Glagolitic letters which represented Slavonic sounds that were absent from Greek and for which there was consequently no Greek letter available. Some of these (notably the letters for *c*, *č*, *š*) have been explained as modifications of letters from Semitic alphabets (Samaritan and perhaps Hebrew). The letters for *g'*, *e*, *k*, and, more doubtfully, *b* and *i* (Ɀ) have also been derived from the same Semitic sources; and the characters for *ž* and *č* may possibly be from the Coptic alphabet.

There is nothing surprising in the supposition that St. Cyril went beyond Greek to Semitic scripts to complete his alphabet. The *Vita Constantini* shows him to have been a first-class linguist and refers explicitly and in detail to his knowledge of Semitic languages (including Hebrew and Samaritan).

Many attempts have been made to demonstrate the affinity of Glagolitic with alphabets other than those mentioned above (e.g. Gothic, Georgian, Armenian, &c.); but none of them can be regarded as successful.

<sup>1</sup> See V. Jagić, 'Глаголическое письмо' in *Энци. слав. фил.*, and A. M. Seliščev, *Старославянский язык*, I, Moscow, 1951, pp. 44-46.

<sup>2</sup> Notably by Sir Ellis Minns, 'Saint Cyril really knew Hebrew', in *Mélanges...* Paul Boyer, Paris, 1925. The author adds the less likely hypothesis that St. Cyril devised both the Slavonic alphabets.

§ 6. The provenance of the Cyrillic script is clear beyond any possibility of doubt: the majority of the letters are identical with the corresponding characters of the Greek uncial (majuscule) script of the tenth century. The characters representing the Slavonic sounds not found in Greek are in general clearly recognizable as simplified versions of their Glagolitic counterparts (the letters for *b*, *ž*, *št*, *c*, *č*, *š*, *ŭ*, *y*, *ž*, *ě*, *ju*, *ę*, *ǫ*<sup>1</sup>). *z* (*dz*) is a modification of the Cyrillic (Greek) *z*. Cyrillic shows no character corresponding to the rare Glagolitic letter for *g'*, which was no doubt felt to be unnecessary, occurring as it did only in foreign words. The slavish dependence of the Cyrillic alphabet on the Greek is, however, apparent in its inclusion of the unnecessary letters *ž* and *ψ*, as well as in the retention of the Greek numerical values of the letters. (In Glagolitic the sequence of numerical values corresponds with the Slavonic, not the Greek, order of the letters: see the Table of Alphabets, *Grammar*, pp. 3-4.)

§ 7. We cannot be certain of the original number or order of the Glagolitic letters. Early sources are conflicting: the monk Chrabr speaks of 38 letters while an alphabetical acrostic poem<sup>2</sup> by the Bulgarian Constantine Presbyter (probably composed in 894) gives only 36. The original Cyrillic alphabet probably lacked the 'prejotated' vowels *ѣ*, *ѧ*, *Ѩ*, which are rare in the earliest manuscripts.<sup>3</sup>

§ 8. It is now certain that the Old Church Slavonic language in its original form was based on a Macedonian dialect spoken in the Slavonic hinterland of Salonika. This was finally established by V. Jagić in the second edition of his book *Entstehungsgeschichte der kirchenslavischen Sprache* (Berlin, 1913). He thus authoritatively closed a controversy that had been pursued for the better part of a century. The Slovene scholar Bartolomäus (Jernej) Kopitar

<sup>1</sup> The Cyrillic characters for the nasals seem to correspond to the Glagolitic ones placed on their sides.

<sup>2</sup> Reprinted by A. Vaillant, *Manuel du vieux slave*, ii, Paris, 1948, pp. 76-79.

<sup>3</sup> For detailed consideration of the questions referred to in § 7 see J. Vajs, *Rukovět' hlaholské paleografie*, Prague, 1932 (for Glagolitic), A. M. Seliščev, op. cit., especially §§ 15-27; see also the tables of the original Glagolitic and Cyrillic alphabets as reconstructed by R. Nahtigal, *Slovanski jeziki*, 2nd edition, Ljubljana, 1952, pp. xxiii-xxiv.



(1780-1844) had advanced the theory that OCS had been the language of the Slavs of ninth-century Pannonia and that these had been the ancestors of the present-day Slovenes; this interpretation was accepted by Kopitar's compatriot, the great Slavonic philologist Franz (Fran) Miklosich (1813-91). Towards the end of the nineteenth century, however, the researches of Vatroslav Oblak showed the affinities of OCS with present-day Macedo-Bulgarian dialects, particularly those of the villages of Sucho and Visoko, and thus paved the way for Jagić's decisive demonstration of the true character of OCS in the work already mentioned.

The most significant proofs were phonological ones. The South-East Macedonian dialects are unique in showing *št*, *žd* < Common Slavonic *tj*, *dj* (see *Grammar* § 21.2) together with 'a, 'ä < Common Slavonic *ě*. These features also occur in OCS: *št*, *žd* occur in all the OCS texts except the Kiev Missal (for which see p. 50); and the Glagolitic alphabet represents by a single symbol the sounds that go back to Common Slavonic *ja* and *ě* (e.g. *rybarě*, gen. sing. of *rybari*, cf. *raba* from *rabŭ*: *sěsti* < *sěd-ti* [IE root *sed-/sēd-*]) (see *Grammar* § 10). Jagić adduces other arguments (distinction of original *ŭ* and *i* in Macedo-Bulgarian dialects as in OCS; presence of *dz* in these dialects and as a separate character in the Glagolitic alphabet; the existence of the Glagolitic letter *Ѣ* (*g'*) which would only have been necessary in an area familiar with the palatalized Greek pronunciation of *g* in the groups *γε*, *γι*, &c. [see *Grammar* § 2. II. (1)], but they are of less weight than the coincidence of the two decisive features mentioned above.

§ 9. The OCS language is, however, much more than the reduction to writing of a ninth-century Macedonian dialect. It was a new literary language, intended for the use not (or not only) of the Slavs of Macedonia but of those of Moravia and perhaps elsewhere besides. The dialectal differences between the various Slavonic communities must have been very much slighter in the ninth century than they are today; and in any case the new functions that St. Cyril's language was to assume soon obscured its special links with the everyday speech of Macedonia. St. Cyril was faced with the same problem that has taxed the skill of

others before and after him who have had the task of translating the literature of the Christian church into the languages of primitive communities. An abstract vocabulary, often highly technical, had to be created; and the flexible syntax of Greek had to be adapted to a language whose basic syntactical structure was no doubt still paratactic. Some of the sources of the new vocabulary have already been indicated (§ 3): these West Slavonic, Latin, and German elements were added to the translators' native Greek and Macedonian Slavonic vocabulary to forge a language which must soon have become homogeneous through use. The extent to which the brothers succeeded in their task as translators becomes apparent when we compare the OCS Gospel translation with, say, the Old High German Tatian, a translation of parts of the New Testament made only a few decades earlier. The Slavonic version is much more independent in its approach to the original and constantly adapts the wording and constructions of the Greek to suit the genius of the Slavonic language: rarely, if ever, does it resemble its German counterpart in providing a mere word for word gloss on the original.<sup>1</sup>

§ 10. No manuscript conveys to us directly the language of Saints Cyril and Methodius: the OCS manuscripts were all written in the eleventh century, with the possible exception of Kiev Miss., Zogr., and Mar., which may have been written in the late tenth century. While a comparison of the oldest Gospel codices (notably Zogr. and Mar.) makes it relatively easy to establish the character of the earliest OCS<sup>2</sup> yet the preserved texts already show dialectal variations. It is not always possible to establish with certainty the region in which a given manuscript originated, but certain broad distinctions are clear enough: we can distinguish the manuscripts whose originals were written in Moravia, Macedonia, and (Eastern) Bulgaria respectively.

To the first class belongs only Kiev Miss., which is further discussed on p. 50.

<sup>1</sup> For illustrations of the methods of the OCS translators see Seliščev, op. cit., § 10.

<sup>2</sup> An example of such a reconstructed ('normalized') OCS text is given by A. Vaillant, *Manuel du vieux slave*, ii, Paris, 1948, text No. I.

The texts whose originals can be traced to Macedonia include all the Glagolitic manuscripts represented in this book with the exception of Kiev Miss. and Prague Fr. with their Czech linguistic affinities. The features common to all the texts of this group are the tendency to vocalize the jers (*ǫ, ĭ*) as *o, e* and the presence (exclusive in Mar., Ps. Sin., and Cloz.) of the old (asigmatic [*idŭ*] and primary sigmatic [*rěchŭ, věsŭ*]) aorist forms (see *Grammar* § 69). Other features found frequently but not universally in this group are the tendency to denasalize *ǫ* as *u* and the retention of original *dz*. Two texts of this group (Mar. and Cloz.) have been assigned by some scholars to the Croatian or generally to the Serbo-Croat area, principally on the evidence of the features *ǫ > u, y > i*, and (in Mar. only) gen. sing. *sego > sega, vŭ- > u-*. The tendency to vocalize the jers as *o, e*, however, prevents us from describing these two texts (with J. Hamm, *Gramatika starocrkvenoslavenskog jezika*, Zagreb, 1947, 164) as 'Croatian'.

The remaining group of OCS texts includes the two Cyrillic manuscripts, Savv. Kn. and Supr., which are believed to have been written in the East Bulgarian area: some scholars assign Savv. Kn. to the northern, Supr. to the western part of this area. The characteristic feature of this group is the retention of *ǫ* (cf. Modern Bulgarian). *ĭ* is retained unvocalized in Savv. Kn., but Supr. shows a strong tendency to vocalize it as *e*. *dz* is absent from both manuscripts (see *Grammar* § 25); and while Savv. Kn. still has a number of asigmatic aorists beside the more frequent secondary sigmatic ones (*idochŭ*), Supr. shows no examples of the former type; and neither manuscript has any example of the primary sigmatic aorist except the conventionalized *rěchŭ*.

§ 11. The OCS manuscripts may be divided, in respect of their content, into three main classes:

(i) Translations of the Gospels and the Psalter; these comprise the three Glagolitic Gospel codices: Codex Zographensis (Zcgr.), Codex Marianus (Mar.), and Codex Assemanianus (Ass.); one Cyrillic Gospel manuscript, Savvina Kniga (Savv. Kn.); and a Glagolitic Psalter, Psalterium Sinaiticum (Ps. Sin.).

(ii) Liturgical texts: two Glagolitic manuscripts, the Kiev Missal (Kiev Miss.), and the Euchologium Sinaiticum (Euch. Sin.).

(iii) Homiletic, martyrological, and other theological texts. Apart from short fragments we find texts of this nature in two fragmentary menologies: the Glagolita Clozianus (Cloz.) and the Cyrillic Codex Suprasliensis (Supr.).

To these may be added (iv) the small group of OCS inscriptions, represented in this book by the most important example: the Cyrillic Inscription of Tsar Samuel.<sup>1</sup>

§ 12. The texts listed in § 11 all belong to the accepted 'canon' of OCS writing, as do a number of smaller fragments which are enumerated in other manuals of OCS (e.g. those of Kul'bakin and Weingart). In addition it is necessary for the student of OCS to consider certain texts which are connected in language or content with the earliest period of OCS and belong to the tenth or eleventh centuries, but which in their preserved form show very marked divergencies from the OCS linguistic norm. Opinions differ as to whether such texts can properly be called OCS or whether they should not rather be classed with the later national 'recensions' of Church Slavonic which are mentioned in § 13. Three of these texts are represented in this book, one with Russian, one with Czech, and one with Slovene linguistic affiliations: Ostromir's Gospel-Book (Ostr.), the Prague Fragments (Prague Fr.), and the Freising Texts (Freis.).<sup>1</sup>

§ 13. As has been mentioned in § 2, Methodius' disciples carried the OCS language and the Slavonic liturgy to new lands—to Bohemia, Croatia, and Bulgaria. It was not long before Bosnia and Serbia were drawn into the Cyrillo-Methodian orbit. Bulgarian missionaries took the language to Russia after the conversion of the Kievan state in the late tenth century. Even non-Slavonic Roumania later accepted the language of St. Cyril in church and chancery, where, until the sixteenth century, it played the same

<sup>1</sup> More detailed information about all these texts will be found in the appropriate sections of the anthology. With the exception of the extract from Kiev Miss. on p. 51 the extracts from Glagolitic manuscripts reproduced in this book are given, in accordance with modern practice, in Cyrillic transcription.

part as Latin in the West. Under these conditions it could not be expected that the language would remain unitary. It took on a distinct local colouring according to the areas in which it was used and the result was the different national forms or 'recensions' of Church Slavonic: Bohemian, Croatian, Serbian, Russian and Roumanian Church Slavonic, and Middle Bulgarian.<sup>1</sup> The Bohemian stream dried up after the expulsion of the monks from the Sázava monastery in 1096; but for all the other regions concerned Church Slavonic was the principal, sometimes the exclusive, vehicle of literature throughout the Middle Ages and even beyond. The literary languages of the Orthodox Slavs were formed by a process of emancipation from the influence of Church Slavonic. For a full understanding of the literature and civilization of the Slavonic peoples a study of OCS is essential. It is thus not merely a necessary instrument for the Slavonic philologist: it is a common, unifying factor in Slavonic civilization.

<sup>1</sup> This inconvenient term is still the most common to describe texts in Church Slavonic of the Bulgarian recension. Bulgarian Church Slavonic would be preferable, but for the continued existence of the term Old Bulgarian alongside OCS. Macedonian Church Slavonic is now sometimes distinguished from Middle Bulgarian as a separate recension.

## A. GLAGOLITIC TEXTS

### I. CODEX ZOGRAPHENSIS

The Codex Zographensis (Zogr.) is a Glagolitic parchment manuscript of 303 ff. which takes its name from the Zographos monastery on Mount Athos, whose monks presented the manuscript to the Russian Tsar Alexander II in 1860. The Tsar in his turn presented it to the St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) Public Library, where it is still preserved. The codex contains a *tetraeuangelion* or version of the four Gospels. The beginning is missing (the text begins with Matt. iii. 11) and ff. 41-57 (= Matt. xvi. 20-xxiv. 20) have been written by a younger (late eleventh- or early twelfth-century) hand. The gospel translation ends with f. 288; there follows a Cyrillic *synaxarion* (calendar of Saints' days with indication of the gospel for each day) of later date. The language of Zogr. (which was no doubt written in Macedonia, perhaps as early as the end of the tenth century) is a good reflection of the earliest OCS. A characteristic feature of this text, however, is the assimilation of the jers (*ǫ* before front vowel > *i*; *ǫ* before back vowel > *u*). Zogr. has been edited by V. Jagić, *Quattuor evangeliorum codex glagoliticus olim Zographensis nunc Petropolitani*, Berlin, 1879 (photographic reprint, Graz, 1954).

#### (a) Matthew iv. 17-vii

17 **Ї**ТЪ ТОЛИ НАЧАТЬ  
НС. ПРОПОВѢДАТИ І ГЛАТИ.  
ПОКАИТЕ СЯ ПРИБЛИЖИ БО СЯ  
ЦРСТВНЕ НЕСКОЕ. КОН.  
18 Х О Д А Ж Е ПРИ МОРИ ГАЛНАѢ  
ІСЦѢМЪ. ВИДѢ ДѢВКА БРАТРА  
СИМОНА НАРИЦАЖШТААГО СЯ  
ПЕТРА. І АН'ДРѢЖ БРАТРА ЕГО.  
ВЪМѢТАЖШТА МРѢЖА ВЪ  
МОРЕ. БѢШАТЕ БО РЪБАРѢ.  
19 І ГЛА ІМА. ГРАДѢТА ВЪ СЛѢ  
ДЪ МЕНЕ. І СЪТВОРИЖ ВЪ  
ЧКОМЪ ЛОВЬЦА. 20 ОНА ЖЕ ЛЕНЕ  
ОСТАВША МРѢЖА. ПО НЕМЪ  
ІДОСТЕ. 21 І ПРѢШЕДЪ ТЖДѢ КИ  
ДѢ ІМА ДѢВКА БРАТРА. ІѢКОВА  
ЗЕКЕДЕѢВА. ІДАНА БРАТА І

МОУ. ВЪ КОРАБИ СЪ ЗЕВЕДЕО  
 МЪ ОЦЕМЪ ЕЮ. ЗАКЛАЗАЖ  
 ШТА МРЪЖА СВОЮ. І ВЪЗЪВА К.  
 22 ОНА ЖЕ АБНЕ ОСТАВША КОРАБЪ.  
 І ОЦА СВОЕГО ПО НЕМЪ ІДОСТЕ.  
 23 І ПРОХОЖДАШЕ ВСЪЖ ГАЛИЛЕ  
 ЪЖ НС. ОУЧА НА СЪНЪМИШТИХЪ  
 ІХЪ. І ПРОПОВЪДАША ЕВАЪЛІЕ  
 ЦРСТВИЪ. І ЦЪЛА ВЪСЪКЪ НЕ  
 ДЖГЪ. І ВЪСЪКЪ ЯЗЖ ВЪ ЛЮ  
 ДЕХЪ. 24 І ИЗІДЕ СЛОУХЪ ЕГО ВЪ  
 ВЪСЕН СЪРИ. І ПРИВЪСА Е  
 МОУ ВЪСА БОЛАШТАША. РАЗЛИ  
 ЧЪНЪМИ НЕДЖГЪ. І СТРА  
 СЪМИ ОДРЪЖИМЪ. І БЪ  
 СЪНЪМА. І МЪСАЧЪНЪМА  
 ЗЪЛАМЪ НЕДЖГЪМЪ ІМЖШТА.  
 І ОСЛАБЛЕНЪ ЖИЛАМИ.  
 І НИЦЪЛИ Я. 25 І ПО НЕМЪ ІДОША  
 НАРОДИ МНОСИ. ОТЬ ГАЛИЛЕА  
 І ДЕКАПОЛЪА І ОТЬ ІАМА І И  
 ЮДЕА. І СЪ ОНОГО ПОЛОУ ІОРДАН.  
 V. 1 ОУЗЪРЪКЪ ЖЕ НАРОДЪМЪ ВЪЗИ  
 ДЕ НА ГОРЖ. І ЪКО СЪДЕ ПРИ  
 СЪЖПИША КЪ НЕМОУ ОУЧЕ  
 НИЦИ ЕГО. 2 І ОТВРЪЗЪ ОУСТА  
 СКОЪ ОУЧАШАША Я ГЛА:  
 3 Блажени ништни ДЪХОМЪ. ЪКО  
 ТЪХЪ ІСТЪ ЦРСО НЕСКОЕ: 4 бла  
 жени плачжштен. ЪКО ТИ ОУ  
 ТЪШАТЪ СА: 5 блажени кротъци.  
 ЪКО ТИ НАСЛЪДАТЪ ЗЕМЛЪЖ.  
 6 блажени алчжштни і жа  
 жджштни правъды ради.  
 ЪКО ТИ НАСЪТАТЪ СА: 7 блаже  
 ни милоствивни. ЪКО ТИ ПО  
 МИЛОВАНИ БЪДЖТЪ: 8 блаже  
 ни чистни сръдцемъ. ЪКО ТИ  
 БА ОУЗЪРАТЪ: 9 блажени съ  
 миръжштни. ЪКО ТИ СНОРЕ БЖИИ

нарежѣтъ сѧ: 10 блаженн изгѣ  
 нани правѣдѣ ради. ꙗко тѣ  
 хѣ естъ црство небское: 11 блаже  
 ни есте егда поносѣтъ камѣ.  
 ꙗже ижеденжѣтъ въ. ꙗже рекжѣтъ.  
 въсккѣ зѣла глѣ на въ. аѣжж  
 ште мене ради: 12 Радоуиѣ сѧ  
 ꙗже веселите сѧ. ꙗко мѣзда ва  
 ша многа естъ на небесехѣ:  
 тако бо изгѣнаша пророкы.  
 ꙗже въша прѣжде васѣ. 13 въ  
 есте соль земли. аште же со  
 ль овоубѣтъ. чимь осолитѣ сѧ.  
 ни чьсомоу же еждетѣ къ то  
 му. да ѡсыпана еждетѣ  
 кънѣ. ꙗже попираема чкы. зач.  
 14 Въ есте свѣтъ мироу. не  
 можетѣ градѣ оукрѣтити сѧ вр.  
 хоу горы стоѧ. 15 ни въжагаж  
 тѣ свѣтильника. ꙗже поставлѣ  
 жѣтъ его подѣ спждомѣ.  
 нѣ на свѣштѣницѣ. ꙗже свѣти  
 тѣ въскѣмѣ. ꙗже въ храминѣ  
 сжѣтъ. 16 тако да просвѣти  
 титѣ сѧ свѣтъ вашѣ прѣдѣ чкы.  
 да оузвратѣ дѣла ваша добраѣ.  
 ꙗже прославѣтъ оца вашего ꙗже  
 жѣ естъ на нехѣ. 17 Не мните  
 ꙗко придѣ разоритѣ закона  
 ли пророкѣ. не придѣ разоритѣ  
 нѣ ѡсплѣнитѣ. 18 амин'. амин'.  
 глѣж камѣ. додеже прѣи  
 детѣ неѡ ꙗже землѣ. писма  
 единно. ли единна чрѣта не прѣ  
 ѡдетѣ отѣ закона. додеже  
 всѣ ежджѣтъ. 19 ꙗже бо разори  
 тѣ единж заповѣдѣ. ꙗже сиухѣ  
 малѣухѣ. ꙗже наоучитѣ тако  
 чкы. мѣни наречетѣ сѧ  
 въ црси нескѣмѣ. а ꙗже сѣтво



ритъ ꙗко наоучитъ. съ велики  
 наречетъ сѧ въ црси нещѣмъ.  
 20 Глѣж бо вамъ. ꙗко аште не  
 избеждетъ правѣда ваша.  
 паче кѣнижъникъ ꙗко фарисей.  
 не ꙗмате вѣрити въ црсо  
 неское. 21 слышасте ꙗко ре  
 чено бысть древниимъ.  
 не оубиешн. ꙗже бо оубиетъ.  
 повиненъ естъ сѣдоу. 22 азъ  
 же глѣж вамъ. ꙗко гнѣваа  
 ꙗ сѧ на брата своего спы  
 ти. повиненъ естъ сѣдоу.  
 ꙗже бо речетъ братоу сво  
 емоу. ракъка. повиннъ естъ  
 сънѣмиштю. а ꙗже рече  
 тъ боуе. повиненъ естъ ꙗе  
 онѣ огньѣн. 23 аште оубо при  
 несешн даръ скон къ ол'тарю.  
 ꙗко тоу помѣнешн ꙗко брѣ твои  
 ꙗматъ нѣчто на тѧ. 24 оста  
 ви даръ твои прѣдъ ол'та  
 ремъ. ꙗко шедъ прѣжде съми  
 ри сѧ съ братомъ твоимъ.  
 ꙗко тѣгда пришьдъ принесн да  
 ръ скон. 25 Бѣди оубѣштаа  
 сѧ съ сѣпърьмъ своимъ  
 скоро. доѣдеже еси на пѣ  
 ти съ нимъ. да не прѣдасть  
 тебе сѣпъръ сѣдн. ꙗко сѣ  
 дн тѧ прѣдасть слоузе  
 ꙗко въ темьницѣ вѣврѣжетъ тѧ.  
 26 амнь. глѣж ти не ꙗзидешн  
 отъ тѣдѣ. донѣдеже възда  
 си послѣднн. конѣдратъ.  
 27 Слышасте ꙗко речено бы  
 стъ древниимъ. не прѣлю  
 бы сътвориши. 28 азъ же глѣж  
 вамъ. ꙗко вьсѣкъ ꙗже вѣзь  
 ритъ на женѣ съ похотнѣж.

ОУЖЕ ЛЮБЫ СЪТВОРИ СЪ НЕЖ.  
 ВЪ СРЪДЬЦИ СВОЕМЪ. 29 АШТЕ  
 ЖЕ ОКО ТВОЕ ДЕСНОЕ СЪБЛА  
 ЖНѢТЪ ТА ІСТЪКНИ Е. І ОГЪ  
 ВРЪЗИ ОТЬ СЕБЕ. ДОБРѢ БО  
 ТИ ЕСТЬ ДА ПОГЫБЛЕТЪ ЕДИ  
 НЪ ОУДЪ ТВОІХЪ. А НЕ ВСЕ ТѢ  
 ЛО ТВОЕ КЪВРЪЖЕНО БЖДЕ  
 ТЪ ВЪ ТѢОИЖ. 30 І АШТЕ ДЕСНАѢ  
 ТВОѢ РЖКА СЪБЛАЖНАЕТЪ  
 ТА. ОУСЪЦЕ ИЖ. І ОТВРЪЗИ  
 ОТЬ СЕБЕ. ДОБРѢ БО ТИ ЕСТЬ  
 ДА ПОГЫБЛЕТЪ ЕДИНЪ ОУДЪ  
 ТВОІХЪ. А НЕ ВСЕ ТѢЛО ТВОЕ  
 ВЪВРЪЖЕНО БЖДЕТЪ ВЪ ТѢ  
 ОИЖ. 31 РЕЧЕНО ЖЕ БЫСТЪ.  
 ІЖЕ АШТЕ ПОУСГНІТЪ ЖЕНЖ  
 СВОЕЖ. ДАСТЪ ЕИ КЪНИГЫ  
 РАСПОУСТЪННЫМЪ. 32 АЗЪ ЖЕ  
 ГЛѢЖ ВАМЪ. ТКО ВЪСЪКЪ

ПОУШТАЛАН ЖЕНЖ  
 СВОЕЖ. РАЗКЪ СЛОВЕСЕ  
 ЛЮБОДЪИНАЛОГО. ТВОРИТЪ  
 ИЖ ПРЪЛЮБЫ ДЪКАТИ. І ИЖЕ  
 ПОДЪПЪГЖ ПОЕМЛЕТЪ. ПРЪ  
 ЛЮБЫ ДЪКЕТЪ. 33 ПАКЪ СЛЪ  
 ШАСТЕ ТКО РЕЧЕНО БЫСТЪ  
 ДРЕВЪНИМЪ. НЪ ВЪ ЛЪЖЕ  
 КАКЪНЕШИ СЪ. ВЪЗДАСИ ЖЕ  
 ГЪИ КАЛТКЪ СВОЕЖ. 34 АЗЪ  
 ЖЕ ГЛѢЖ ВАМЪ. НЕ КАЛТИ СЪ  
 ВАМЪ. НЕ КАЛТИ СЪ ОУТЪИЖ  
 ДЪ. НЕКОМЪ. ТКО ПРЪСТОЛЪ  
 ЕСТЬ БЖИИ. 35 НИ ЗЕМЛѢЖ. ТКО  
 ПОДЪНОЖИЕ ЕСТЬ НОГАМА  
 ЕГО. НИ ЕЛМЪ ТКО ГРАДЪ Е  
 СТЬ ВЕЛИКАЛОГО ЦРЪ. 36 НИ ГЛА  
 ВОЕЖ СВОЕЖ КАЛНИ.  
 СЪ. ТКО НЕ МОЖЕШИ ВЛАСА  
 ЕДИННОГО БЪЛА. ЛИ ЧРЪНА СЪ

ТВОРИТИ. 37 БЖДИ ЖЕ СЛО  
 ВО ВАШЕ. ЕИ. ЕИ. І НИ НИ.  
 ЛИХОЕ БО СЮ ОТЬ НЕПРИЪЗНИ  
 ЕСТЬ. 38 СЛЫШАСТЕ ЪКО РЕЧЕ  
 НО БЪМЪ. ОКО ЗА ОКО. І ЗЖЕЪ  
 ЗА ЗЖЕЪ. 39 АЗЪ ГЛѢЖ ВАМЪ.  
 НЕ ПРОТИВНИТИ СА ЗЪЛОУ. НЪ  
 АШТЕ КЪТО ТА ОУДАРИТЪ. ВЪ  
 ДЕСИЖЪ ЛАНИТЪ. ОБРАТИ  
 СА ЕМОУ ДРОУГЪЖЪ. 40 І ХОТАШТИО  
 МОУ СЖДЪ ПРИМАТИ СЪ ТОКОЖ.  
 І РИЗЪ ТВОИЖ ВЪЗАТИ. ОТЬ  
 ПОУСТИ ЕМОУ І СРАЧИЦЪ ТВОИЖ.  
 41 І АШТЕ КЪТО ПОІМЕТЪ ТА  
 ПО СИЛЪ. ПРЪПЪРИШТЕ ЕДИ  
 НО ІДИ СЪ НИМЪ ДВЪ. ЗАЧ.  
 42 Просъаштиоу оу тебе дан  
 І хоташтааго отъ тебе за  
 ѡТИ. НЕ ОТЪВРАТИ. 43 СЛЫ  
 ШАСТЕ ЪКО РЕЧЕНО БЪМЪ. ВЪ  
 ЗАЮБИШИ ПОДРОУГА СВОЕГО.  
 І ВЪЗНЕАВИДИШИ ВРАГЪ  
 СВОИА. 44 ИЗЪ ЖЕ ГЛѢЖ ВАМЪ.  
 ЛЮБИТЕ ВРАГЪ ВАША.  
 БЛАГОСЛОВИТЕ КЛѢНЮЩА  
 Я ВЪ. ДОБРО ТВОРИТЕ НЕ  
 НАВИДАШТИМЪ ВАСЪ.  
 І МОЛИТЕ. ЗА ТВОРАШТА  
 Я ВАМЪ НАПАСТИ. І ИЗГО  
 НАШТАЯ ВЪ. 45 ДА БЖДЕТЕ  
 СНОКЕ ОЦА ВАШЕГО. ІЖЪ Е  
 СТЬ НА НЕБЕСЕХЪ. ЪКО СЛЪ  
 НЦЕ СКОЕ СИКЕТЪ. НА ЗЪ  
 ЛЪ І БЛАГЪ. І ДЪЖДИТЪ  
 НА ПРАВЕДЪНЫЯ. І НЕПРА  
 ВЪДЪНЫ. 46 АШТЕ ЛЮБИТЕ  
 ЛЮБАШТАЯ ВЪ. КЪЖ МЪ  
 ЗДЖ ІМАТЕ. НЕ І МЪЗДОІ  
 МЪЦИ ЛИ ТОЖДЕ ТВОРАТЪ.  
 47 І АШТЕ ЦЪЛОУЕТЕ ДРОУГЪ

ВАША. ТОКМО ЧЬТО ТВОРИТЕ.  
 НЕ І МЪЗДОІМЬЦИ ЛИ ТОЖДЕ  
 ТВОРАТЬ. 48 БЖДѢТЕ ОУБО СЪ  
 ВРЪШЕНИ. ЪКО І ОЦЬ ВАШЬ НЕС(КЪ)  
 СЪВРЪШЕНЪ ЕСТЬ. КОН. ЗАЧ.  
 VI.1 БЪ НЕМАЛѢТЕ МИЛОСТЫНА  
 ВАША. НЕ ТВОРИТИ ПРѢДЪ ЧК(Ъ)  
 ДѢ ВИДИМИ БЖДЕТЕ ІМИ.  
 АШТЕ ЛИ ЖЕ НИ. МЪЗДЪ НЕ  
 ІМАТЕ ОТЪ ОЦА ВАШЕГО. ІЖЬ  
 ЕСТЬ НА НЕБЕСЕХЪ. 2 ЕГДА ОУБО  
 ТВОРИШИ МИЛОСТЫНѢЖ.  
 НЕ ВЪСТРЖЕИ ПРѢДЪ СОВОЖ.  
 ЪКО УПОКРИТИ ТВОРАТЬ ВЪ  
 СЪНЪМИШТИХЪ. І ВЪ СТЪ  
 ГНАХЪ. ДА ПРОСЛАВАТЬ СѦ  
 ОТЪ ЧКЪ. АМИНЬ ГЛѢЖ ВАМЪ.  
 ВЪСПРИИЖТЪ МЪЗДЖ  
 СВОЖ. 3 ТЕБѢ ЖЕ ТВОРАШТЮ  
 МИЛОСТЫНѢЖ. ДА НЕ ЧЮ  
 ЕТЬ ШЮЦА ТВОѢ. ЧЬТО ТВО  
 РИТЬ ДЕСНИЦА ТВОѢ. 4 ДА БЖ  
 ДЕТЬ МИЛОСТЫНИ ТВОѢ ВЪ  
 ТАИНЪ. І ОЦЬ ТВОИ ВИДА ВЪ  
 ТАИНЪ. ВЪЗДАСТЪ ТЕБѢ АВѢ.  
 5 І ЕГДА МОЛИШИ СѦ НЕ БЖДИ  
 ЪКО І АНЦЕМЪРЪ. ЪКО ЛЮБАТЬ.  
 НА СЪНЪМИШТИХЪ. І ВЪ СТЪ  
 ГНАХЪ. НА РАСПЖТИХЪ. СТО  
 ЯШТЕ МОЛИТИ СѦ. ДА ЪВА  
 ТЪ СѦ ЧКОМЪ. АМИНЬ ГЛѢЖ  
 ВАМЪ. ЪКО ВЪСПРИИЖТЪ МЪ  
 ЗДЖ СВОЖ. 6 ТЪ ЖЕ ЕГДА МО  
 ЛИШИ СѦ. ВЪНИДИ ВЪ КАѢТЬ  
 ТВОЖ. І ЗАТВОРЪ ДВЪРИ  
 ТВОЯ. ПОМОЛИ СѦ ОЦЮ ТВОЕ  
 МОУ ВЪ ТАИНЪ. І ОЦЬ ТВОИ ВИ  
 ДѦИ ВЪ ТАИНЪ. ВЪЗДАСТЪ  
 ТЕБѢ АВѢ. 7 МОЛАШТЕ ЖЕ  
 СѦ НЕ АНХО ГЛѢТЕ. ЪКОЖЕ І ІА

ЗЫЧЬНИЦИ. МЕНАТЪ СЯ ЪКО  
 ВЪ МНОСѢ ГЛАНИ СВОЕМЪ.  
 ОУСЛЫШАНИ БЖДЖТЪ.

8 НЕ ПОДОБИТЕ СЯ ОУЕО ИМЪ. ВЪСТЪ  
 БО ОЦЪ ВАШЪ ІХЪЖЕ ТРѢБОУЕТЕ.  
 ПРѢЖДЕ ПРОШЕНИѢ ВАШЕГО.

9 ТАКО ОУЕО МОЛАНТЕ СЯ ВЪ:

Г҃ЧЕ НАШЪ. ІЖЕ ЕСИ НА НЕБЕ  
 СЕХЪ. ДА СТИТЪ СЯ ІМА ТВОЕ.

10 ДА ПРИДЕТЪ ЦРѢТВНЕ ТВОЕ.  
 ДА БЖДЕТЪ ВОЛѢ ТВОѢ. ЪКО  
 НА НСИ І НА ЗЕМЛІ. 11 ХЛѢБЪ  
 НАШЪ НАСТОЯШТ.....

ДАЖДЪ НАМЪ ДНЕСЪ. 12 І ОТЪ  
 ПОУСТИ НАМЪ ДЛЪГЪ НАШ(А).

ЪКО І МЪ ОТЪПОУШТАЕМЪ  
 ДЛЪЖЬНИКОМЪ НАШИМЪ.

13 І НЕ ВЪВЕДИ НАСЪ ВЪ НАПА  
 СТЬ. НЪ ІЗБАВИ НЪ ОТЪ НЕ  
 ПРИЪЗНИ. ЪКО ТВОЕ ЕСТЬ

ЦРѢТВНЕ. І СИЛА І СЛАВА ВЪ  
 (ВЪК) ВЪК(ОМЪ) АМИНЬ: ЗАЧ:

14 ИШТЕ БО ОТЪПОУШТАЕТЕ  
 ЧКОМЪ СЪГРѢШЕНИѢ ІХЪ. ОТЪ  
 ПОУСТИТЪ І ВАМЪ ОЦЪ ВАШЪ  
 НЕСКЪЛ.

15 ОТЪПОУСТИТЪ ВА  
 МЪ. СЪГРѢШЕНИ ВАШИХЪ.

16 Б҃ГДА ПОСТИТЕ СЯ. НЕ БЖДЖ  
 ТЕ ЪКО УПОКРИТИ. СЪТОУЖШТЕ.

ПРОСИРАЖДАЖШТЕ БО ЛИЦА  
 СВОѢ. ДА БИША СЯ ДВИЛИ

ЧКОМЪ ПОСТАШТЕ. АМИНЬ  
 ГЛѢЖ ВАМЪ. ЪКО ВЪСПРИ

МЖТЪ МЪЗДЖ СВОЖ. 17 ТЪ  
 ЖЕ ПОСТА СЯ ПОМАЖИ СИ ГЛА

ВЖ СВОЖ. І ЛИЦЕ ТВОЕ ОУ  
 МЪ. 18 ДА НЕ ДВИШИ СЯ ЧКО

МЪ ПОСТА СЯ. НЪ ОЦЮ ТВОЕ  
 МОУ. ІЖЪ ЕСТЬ ВЪ ТАИНѢ.

І ОЦЬ ТВОИ ВИДИИ ВЪ ТАИ  
 НѢ. ВЪЗДАСТЪ ТЕБѢ АНГ.  
 19 НЕ СЪКРЫВАЙТЕ СЕБѢ СЪ  
 КРОВИШТА НА ЗЕМИ. ІДЕ  
 ЖЕ ЧРЪВЪ І ТЪЛѢ ТЪЛИТЪ.  
 ІДЕЖЕ ТАТИ ПОДЪКОПАВА  
 ЪТЪ І КРАДЖТЪ. 20 СЪКРЫ  
 ВАЙТЕ СЕБѢ СЪКРОВИШТА  
 НА НБСЕ. ІДЕЖЕ НИ ЧРЪВЪ  
 НИ ТЪЛѢ ТЪЛИТЪ. ІДЕЖЕ НИ  
 ТАТИ ПОДЪКОПАЙТЪ НИ  
 КРАДЖТЪ. 21 ІДЕЖЕ БО ЕСТЬ СЪ  
 КРОВИШТЕ ВАШЕ. ТОУ ЕСТЬ  
 І СРДЦЕ ВАШЕ. 22 СВѢТИЛЪ  
 НИКЪ ТѢЛОУ ЕСТЬ ОКО. АШТЕ  
 ОУБО БЖДЕТЪ ОКО ТВОЕ ПРО  
 СТО. ВСЕ ТѢЛО ТВОЕ БЖДЕ  
 ТЪ СВѢТЪЛО. 23 АШТЕ ЛИ ОКО  
 ТВОЕ АЖКАВО БЖДЕТЪ. ВСЕ  
 ТѢЛО ТВОЕ ТЪМЪНО БЖДЕ  
 ТЪ. АШТЕ ОУБО СВѢТЪ ІЖЕ  
 ВЪ ТЕБѢ. ТЪМА ЕСТЬ. ТѢ ТЪ  
 МА КОЛЪМИ: 24 НИКЪЛЪ ЖЕ РА  
 БЪ НЕ МОЖЕТЪ ДѢЛА ГЛА  
 РАБОТАТИ. ЛИ БО ЕДИННОГО  
 ВЪЗНЕНАВИДИТЪ. А ДРОУГА  
 ГО ВЪЗЛЮБИТЪ. ЛИ ЕДИННО  
 ГО ДРЪЖИТЪ СЯ. А О ДРОУСѢ  
 МЪ НЕ БРѢШТИ ВЪЧЪНЕТЪ.  
 НЕ МОЖЕТЕ БУ РАБОТАТИ І  
 МАМОНЪ: 25 Бего ради ГЛѢЖ  
 КАМЪ. НЕ ПЦѢТЕ СЯ ДШЕЖ  
 СВОЕЖ. ЧЪТО БТЕ ІЛИ ЧТО  
 ПИТЕ. НИ ТѢЛОМЪ ВАШИМЪ.  
 ВЪ ЧТО ОБЛѢЧЕТЕ СЯ. НЕ ДША  
 ЛИ КОЛЪМИ ЕСТЬ ПИШТА.  
 І ТѢЛО ОДЕЖДА. 26 ВЪЗЪРИТЕ  
 НА ПТИЦА НЕСКЪМЪ. КАКО  
 НЕ СЪБЪТЪ НИ ЖЪНЪТЪ. НИ  
 СЪБИРАЙТЪ ВЪ ЖИТЪНИЦЪ.

і оцѣ вашѣ нескѣи питѣ  
 етѣ ѿ. не вѣ ли паче лоу  
 чѣши ихѣ есте. 27 кт'о же отѣ  
 касѣ пекѣи сѣ. можетѣ при  
 ложити тѣлеси своемъ  
 лакѣтѣ единѣ. 28 і о одежди  
 чѣто сѣ печете. съмотри  
 те цвѣтѣ селѣнѣихѣ како  
 растѣтѣ. ни троуждаж  
 тѣ сѣ ни придѣтѣ. 29 глѣж  
 же камѣ. тѣко ни соломѣнѣ.  
 вѣ всен слакѣ свои обѣ  
 че сѣ. тѣко единѣ отѣ сиѣхѣ.  
 30 аште же сѣно дѣньсѣ сѣ  
 ште. а дѣтрѣк вѣ огнѣ кѣмѣ  
 гаемо. вѣ тако одѣетѣ. ко  
 лми паче касѣ маловѣри.  
 31 не пѣкте сѣ оубо глѣжште.  
 чѣто тѣмѣ ли чѣто приемѣ.  
 ли чимѣ одеждемѣ сѣ. 32 всѣ  
 хѣ бо сиѣхѣ ѿзыци іштѣтѣ.  
 вѣстѣ бо оцѣ вашѣ нескѣи.  
 тѣко трѣбоуєте сиѣхѣ кѣсѣхѣ.  
 33 іштѣте же прѣжде црѣстѣи  
 бжиѣ. і правѣдѣи его. і си  
 всѣ приложатѣ камѣ. кон.  
 34 Не пѣкте сѣ оубо на дѣтрѣи.  
 дѣтрѣи бо дѣнѣ сокоѣж пече  
 тѣ сѣ. довѣлетѣ дѣни зѣло  
 ва свѣк. зач. VII.1 Не осжда  
 нте. да не осждени вѣ  
 дете. 2 імѣ же бо сѣдомѣ  
 сждите. сждатѣ камѣ.  
 і вѣ нѣж же мѣрж мѣрите.  
 вѣзмѣратѣ камѣ. 3 чѣто  
 же видиши сѣчѣць іжѣ е  
 стѣ вѣ оцѣ брата твоего.  
 а брѣвна еже естѣ вѣ оцѣ  
 твоемѣ не чюеши. 4 ли како ре  
 чеши братоу своему. остави

і изъмж сжчець із очесе  
 твоего. і се врьккѣно кѣ оцѣ  
 твоємь 5 лицемъкре. ізъми  
 прѣкѣ врьккѣно із очесе  
 твоего і тѣгда оузьриши  
 ізати і сжчыць. із оче  
 се врата твоего. 6 Не дадите  
 стаго псомъ. ни помѣта  
 те бисеръ вашихъ прѣдъ  
 скиниѣми. да не поперж  
 тѣ ихъ ногами скоіми.  
 і вращыша са растрѣгнж  
 тѣ кы. 7 Просите. і дастъ  
 са камъ. іштѣте. і обра  
 штете. тѣцѣте і отврѣ  
 зетъ са камъ. 8 вьсккѣ во  
 просан приимлетъ. і и  
 штан обрѣтаетъ. і тѣ  
 кжштоумоу отврѣзетъ са: кон  
 9 ли кѣто естѣ отъ касъ чкѣ.  
 еже аште вѣспроситѣ снѣ  
 твои хѣба. еда камень  
 подастѣ емоу. 10 ли аште рѣ  
 кы. подаси ли емоу змиж.  
 11 аште оубо кы лжкавьни сж  
 ште. оумѣте дааниѣ бла  
 га даѣти чѣдомъ кашиимъ.  
 колъми паче оцѣ вашъ іжъ е  
 стѣ на нехъ. дастъ благаѣ  
 просаштимъ оу него:  
 12 Бьск оубо елико хощете  
 да творатѣ камъ чѣци. та  
 ко і кы творите имъ. се ко  
 естѣ законъ і пророци. 13 вьни  
 дѣте жъкъыми краты.  
 жко пространа краты. і ши  
 рокъ пжтѣ. кѣкодѣи кѣ па  
 гоубж. і мнози сжтѣ кѣ  
 ходашти имъ. 14 коль жъкъ  
 ка врата і тѣсенъ пжтѣ.



вѣводѣи въ животѣ. і ма  
 ло ѡхъ естѣ іже і обрѣтаѣтѣ (тѣ)  
 15 Бѣнемлѣте отѣ лѣжнѣхъ  
 пророкъ. іже приходѣтѣ къ  
 камѣ къ одеждахъ овчѣхъ.  
 вѣнжтрѣждоу же сѣтѣ  
 вѣщи. хѣштѣнищи. 16 отѣ  
 плодѣ ѡхъ познаете ѡ.  
 Бѣда обѣмлѣтѣ отѣ трѣ  
 ниѣ гроздѣ. ли отѣ рѣпѣк  
 смокѣви. 17 тако всѣко дрѣво  
 добро. плодѣ добрѣ твори  
 тѣ. а зѣло дрѣво плодѣ зѣ  
 лѣ творитѣ. 18 не можетѣ  
 дрѣво добро плода зѣла тво  
 рити. ни дрѣво зѣло добра  
 плода творити. 19 всѣко дрѣ  
 во еже не сѣтворитѣ плода  
 добра. посѣкаѣтѣ. і въ ѡ  
 гнѣ вѣметаѣтѣ: 20 Гѣмѣ  
 же оубо отѣ плодѣ ѡхъ по  
 знаете ѡ. 21 не всѣкѣ гла  
 ниѣ гѣ гѣ. вѣнидетѣ въ  
 црѣство неское. нѣ твори  
 колѣ оца моего. іжѣ е  
 стѣ на несахъ. 22 Мнози ре  
 кѣтѣ ниѣ въ тѣ днѣ гѣ гѣ.  
 не къ твоѣ ли іма пророчѣ  
 ствовахомѣ. і твоимѣ  
 іменемѣ вѣсы изгѣна  
 хомѣ. і твоимѣ іменемѣ  
 силѣ многѣ створихо  
 мѣ. 23 і тогда іспокѣмѣ  
 імѣ. вѣко николиже знахѣ  
 васѣ. отидѣте ѡтѣ мене  
 дѣлаѣштни безаконне.  
 зач. 24 Всѣкѣ оубо іже  
 слышитѣ слова моѣ си.  
 і сѣтворитѣ ѣ. оуподобѣ  
 ни мжю мждоу. іжѣ сѣ

зѣда храминѣ своѣ на ка  
 мене. 25 і сѣнидѣ дѣжди  
 і придѣ рѣкѣ. і възвѣ  
 аша вѣтри. і нападѣ на  
 храминѣ тѣ. і не паде са.  
 основана бо вѣ на камени.  
 26 і всѣкъ сѣшан слоке  
 са моѣ си. і не твора ихъ.  
 оуподобитѣ са мжю кою.  
 іжѣ сѣзѣда храминѣ своѣ  
 на пѣсѣкъ. 27 і сѣниде дѣжди  
 і придѣ рѣкѣ. і възвѣ  
 аша вѣтри. і опѣрѣша са  
 храминѣ тѣ. і паде са.  
 і вѣ раздрѣшенне еѣ не  
 лне стѣло. 28 і вѣстѣ егда сѣ  
 конча не. всѣ словеса си.  
 дикѣкажѣ са народи о оуче  
 ннѣ его. 29 вѣ ко оучѣ тѣко кла  
 стѣ имѣ. і не тѣко кѣнижѣ  
 ници ихъ. і фарисѣи:

(b) Luke i

## ЄВАНГЕЛІЄ ОТЪ ЛОУКІ:

I-1 По неже оубо. мнози начаша.  
 чинити повѣстѣ. ѿ извѣ  
 стѣнъ ихъ въ насѣ вѣстѣхъ.  
 2 тѣкоже прѣдаша намѣ. бѣвѣ  
 ши іскони самовидѣци.  
 і слоугѣ словесѣ. 3 ізво  
 ли са і мѣнѣ хождѣшю. і  
 с прѣва по всѣхъ. въ істи  
 нѣ по радоу. псати тебѣ.  
 славѣнѣ тѣофиле. 4 да ра  
 зоумѣши. ѿ нихъже наоу  
 чилѣ са іси словесѣхъ.

ОУТВРЪЖДЕНЬЕ. 5 БЫСТЪ  
 ВЪ ДНИ ІРОДА ЦР'КЪ. ІЮДЕІСКА.  
 ІЕРЕИ ЕТЕРЪ ІМЕНЕМЪ ЗАХАРИКЪ.  
 ОТЬ ДНЕНЪНЫМЪ ЧР'КЪДЪ АВИ  
 АНА. І ЖЕНА ЕГО ОТЬ ДЪШТЕРЪ А  
 РОИЪ. ІМА ЕИ. ЕЛИСАВЕТЪ.  
 6 БѢШЕТЕ ЖЕ ОБА ПРАВЪДЪНА  
 ПРѢДЪ БМЪ. ХОДАШТА ВЪ ЗАПО  
 ВѢДЪХЪ ВСѢХЪ. І ОПРАВЪДА  
 НИХЪ ГНІХЪ. БЕС ПОРОКА.  
 7 І НЕ БѢ ІМА ЧАДА. ПО НЕЖЕ БѢ  
 ЕЛИСАВЕТЪ НЕПЛОДЪ. І ОБА  
 ЗАМАТОРѢВѢША ВЪ ДНЕНЪ  
 СВОИХЪ БѢШЕТЕ. 8 БЫСТЪ ЖЕ  
 СЛОУЖАШТЮ МОУ. ВЪ ЧИНОУ ЧР'К  
 ДЪ СВОЕМЪ ПРѢДЪ БМЪ. 9 ПО О  
 БЫЧАЮ ЕР'БІСКОУМОУ. КЛЮЧИ  
 СМ ЕМОУ ПОКАДИТИ. ВЪШЕДЪ  
 ШЮ ВЪ ЦР'КОВЬ ГНІЖ. 10 І ВСЕ  
 МНОЖЕСТВО ЛЮДИ БѢ. МО  
 ЛИТЕЖ ДѢМЪ. ВЪНѢ ВЪ ГОДЪ  
 ТЪМНѢНА. 11 АВИ ЖЕ СМ ЕМОУ  
 АБЛА ГНЪ. СТОБЪ О ДЕСИЖЖ О  
 А'ТАРѢ КАДИЛЬНААГО. 12 І СЪМА  
 ТЕ СМ ЗАХАРИКЪ ВИДѢВЪ. І СТРА  
 ХЪ НАПАДЕ НА НЪ. 13 РЕЧЕ ЖЕ КЪ НЕ  
 МОУ АБЛА ГНЪ. НЕ КОИ СМ ЗАХАРИКЪ.  
 ЗА НЕ ОУСАМЪШАНА БЫСТЪ.  
 МОЛИТВА ТВОѢ. І ЖЕНА ТВОѢ  
 ЕЛИСАВЕТЪ. РОДИТЪ СНЪ ТЕБѢ.  
 І НАРЕЧЕШИ ІМА ЙМОУ ІОАН'НЪ.  
 14 І ВЪДЕТЪ ТЕБѢ РАДОСТЬ І  
 ВЕСЕЛЪЕ. І МНОСИ О РОЖДѢ  
 СТВѢ ЕГО ВЪЗРАДОУЖТЪ СМ.  
 15 ВЪДЕТЪ БО ВЕЛНИ ПРѢДЪ БМЪ.  
 І ВИНА І ТВОРЕНА КВАСА. НЕ ІМА  
 ТЪ ПИТИ. І ДХА СТА ІСПЛЪ  
 НИТЪ СМ. ЙШТЕ ЖЕ І ЧР'КВА МРЕ  
 СВОЕМЪ. 16 І МНОГЫ СНОВЪ  
 ІЛЕВЪ. ОБРАТИТЪ КЪ ГЮ БУ ІХЪ.

17 ꙗко тѣ прѣдыдетъ прѣды ни  
 мь. дѣломъ ꙗко силою ꙗко ѡчию.  
 ѡбратиши срдца оцмъ на ча  
 да. ꙗко противъныа. въ мѣ  
 дростъ правдъныхъ. оуго  
 товати гви люди съверше  
 ны. 18 ꙗко рече захарикъ къ аѣлоу.  
 по чьсомоу разоумѣю се.  
 ѡзъ бо есмь старъ. ꙗко жена моѣ  
 заматорѣвъши въ дньхъ сво  
 ихъ. 19 ꙗко отъвѣштавъ аѣлъ рече  
 емоу. ѡзъ есмь гавриилъ.  
 прѣстоѡи прѣды емь. ꙗко посъ  
 ланъ есмь глаголати тебѣ. ꙗко вла  
 говѣстити тебѣ се. 20 ꙗко се вѣ  
 дѣши мльча. до негоже днь  
 вѣдетъ се. за не не вѣрова.  
 словесемъ моимъ. ѣже съ  
 вѣдѣтъ сѧ въ врѣмѧ своѧ.  
 21 ꙗко вѣша людѣ жидѣште за  
 харны. ꙗко чюждаахъ сѧ ѣже  
 мждааше въ цркѣе. 22 ꙗко тѣ  
 вѣ помаваа имъ. ꙗко прѣбы  
 вѣше нѣмъ. 23 ꙗко вѣстѣ  
 ѣко испѣниша сѧ днье.  
 слоужьбы его. ꙗко въ до  
 мѣ своѧ. 24 по снхъ же дньхъ.  
 зачатъ елисаветъ жена  
 его. ꙗко таѣше патъ мѣць глѣж  
 шти. 25 ѣко тако сътвори мѣ  
 гѣ. въ дньи въ нѣже призрѣ.  
 ѡтъяти поношенъе мое отъ  
 чкѣ. 26 Въ шестъмъ же мѣць.  
 посланъ въ аѣлъ гаври  
 лъ. ѡтъ ба. въ градъ галиле  
 ѡскъ. емоу же ѡма назаретъ.  
 27 къ дѣвѣ ѡбрченѣ мжеви.  
 емоу же ѡма ѡсифъ. ѡтъ  
 домоу дава. ѡма дѣвѣ марикъ.  
 28 ꙗко вѣшѣдъ къ неѧ аѣлъ рече.

РАДОУІ СѦ БЛАГОДѢТНАѢ ГѢ  
 СѢ ТОВОЖ. БЛАГОВЕНА ТМ  
 ВѢ ЖЕНАХѢ. 29 Ѡна же слыша  
 вѣши съмате сѦ о словеси  
 ѣго. і помышлѣаше въ се  
 бѣ. како се вждетѣ цѣлова  
 ные. 30 і рече ѣи аѣлѣ. не воу  
 сѦ марие. ѡбрѣте во благо  
 дѣтѣ ѡтѣ ба. 31 і се зачѣне  
 ши въ чрѣкѣ. і родиши снѣ.  
 і наречеши іма ѣмоу ис.  
 32 сѢ вждетѣ велин. і снѣ  
 вѣшынѣаго наречетѣ сѦ.  
 і дастѣ ѣмоу гѢ вѢ. прѣсто  
 лѣ дада оца ѣго. 33 і вѣцрнтѣ сѦ  
 въ домоу. іѣковли. въ вѣкы.  
 і црствоу ѣго не вждетѣ ко  
 ныца. 34 Рече же маріѣ къ аѣлоу.  
 како вждетѣ се. іжде мж  
 жа не знаѣж. 35 і отѣвѣшта  
 въ аѣлѣ рече ѣи. дѣхѣ стѣи  
 наѣдетѣ на тѣ. і сила вѣ  
 шынѣаго ѡсѣнитѣ тѣ. тѣмѣ  
 же і еже родитѣ сѦ. сто наре  
 четѣ сѦ снѣ вжін. 36 і се ѣли  
 савѣтѣ. жжика твоѣ. і та  
 зачѣнетѣ въ старость  
 своѣж. і сѢ мѣць шесты  
 естѣ ѣи. нарицаемѣки непао  
 дѣви. 37 ѣко не ізнеможе  
 тѣ ѡтѣ ба въскѣтѣ гѣ. 38 рече  
 же маріѣ. се раба гнѣ. вж  
 ди мнѣ по глаоу твоемоу.  
 і отиде ѡтѣ неѣа аѣлѣ.  
 39 вѣставѣши же маріѣ въ  
 тѣ дни. іде въ горж сѢ  
 тѣштаныемѣ. въ градѣ  
 іудовѣ. 40 і вѣниде въ домѣ  
 захариннѣ. і цѣлова ѣли  
 савѣтѣ. 41 і вѣстѣ ѣко оу

СЛЪША ЁЛСАВЪТЬ· ЦЪЛО  
 КАНЬЕ МАРИННО· ВЪЗИГРА  
 СМ МЛАДЪНЬЦЪ РАДОШТАМИ  
 ВЪ ЧРЪВЪКЪ ЕЯ· Ё ИСПАЪНИ СМ  
 ДЪХОМЪ СТЪИМЪ ЁЛСАКЪ  
 ТЪ· 42 Ё ВЪЗЪПИ ГЛАСОМЪ ВЕ  
 ЛЬЕМЪ Ё РЕЧЕ· БАГКНА ТЪ  
 ВЪ ЖЕНАХЪ· Ё БАГСКЕНЪ  
 ПЛОДЪ ЧРЪКА ТВОЕГО· 43 Ё ОТЪ  
 КЖДОУ СЕ· ДА ПРИДЕТЪ МАТИ  
 ГИ МОЕГО КЪ МНЪ· 44 СЕ БО ТКО  
 БЫСТЪ ГЛАСЪ· ЦЪЛОКА  
 НЪК ТВОЕГО· ВЪ ОУШЬЮ МОЕЮ  
 ВЪЗИГРА СМ МЛАДЪНИШТЪ  
 РАДОШТАМИ ВЪ ЧРЪВЪКЪ МОЕМЪ·  
 45 Ё БЛАЖЕНА ТЪЖЕ ВЪКРЖ ЪТЪ·  
 ТКО БЖДЕТЪ СЪВЕРЪШЕНЬЕ·  
 ГЛАНЪМЪ ОТЬ ГЪ· 46 Ё РЕЧЕ  
 МАРИКЪ· ВЕЛНЧИТЪ ДША МОКЪ  
 ГЪ· 47 Ё ВЪЗРАДОВА СМ ДХЪ  
 МОИ· О ВЪКЪ СПЪК МОЕМЪ· 48 ТКО ПРИ  
 ЗЪРЪКЪ НА СЪМЪКРЕНЬЕ РАКЪМЪ СКО  
 ЕЯ· СЕ БО ОТЬ СЕЛЪКЪ БЛАЖАТЪ  
 МА КЪСН РОДИ· 49 ТКО СЪТВОРИ  
 МЕНЪКЪ ВЕЛИЧЕНЕ СНАЪНЪИ·  
 Ё СТО ЁМА ЁГО· 50 Ё МИЛОСТЬ  
 ЁГО ВЪ РОДЪМЪ Ё РОДЪ БОЪШТИ  
 МЪ СМ ЕГО· 51 СЪТВОРИ ДРЪЖА  
 ВЪ МЪШЬЦЕЖ СВОЕЖ· РА  
 СТОЧИ ГРЪДЪМЪ МЪСЛЪЖ  
 СРЪДЪЦА ІХЪ· 52 НИЗЪЛОЖИ СИ  
 ЛЪНЪМЪ СЪ ПРЪСТОЛЪ· Ё КЪ  
 ЗНЕСЕ СЪМЪКРЕНЪМЪ· 53 ЛАЧЖ  
 ШТАМЪ ЁСПАЪНИ БЛАГЪ· Ё БО  
 ГАТАШТАМЪ СМ ОТЪПОУСТИ ТЪ  
 ШТА· 54 ПРИНАТЪ ІАЪ ОТРОКА  
 СКОЕГО· ПОМЪНЖТИ МИЛО  
 СТЬ· 55 ТКОЖЕ ГЛА КЪ ОЦЕМЪ НА  
 ШИМЪ· ДЪРАМОУ Ё СЪМЕНЕ  
 ЁГО ДО ВЪКА· 56 ПРЪБЫСТЪ ЖЕ

## GLAGOLITIC TEXTS

марнѣ съ нежъ. ꙗко три мѣца  
 ꙗ възврати сѧ въ домъ  
 скои. 57 ꙗлисавети же ꙗ  
 сплѣниша сѧ дѣнье родити  
 еи. ꙗ роди снѣ. 58 ꙗ слыша  
 ша ѡкрѣстѣ жившети. ꙗ ро  
 жденъ еѧ. ꙗко възвелн  
 чилъ естѣ гъ. милость сво  
 ѧ съ нежъ. 59 ꙗ бѣстѣ въ осмы  
 дѣнь. придж ѡбрѣзатѣ ѡтро  
 чате. ꙗ нарицаѡхъ е. име  
 немъ оца своего захарнѧ.  
 60 ꙗ отъкѣштавѣши мѣти его  
 рече. ни. нѣ да наречетѣ сѧ  
 ѡма ѡмоу ѡанъ. 61 ꙗ рѣша еи.  
 ꙗко никѣтоже ѣстѣ отъ рожде  
 нѣк твоего. ꙗже нарицаетѣ  
 сѧ именемъ тѣмъ. 62 пома  
 вѡше же оцъ его. како би хо  
 тѣлъ нарешти е. 63 ꙗ испрошь  
 дѣштитѣ напса. гла. ѡанъ  
 естѣ ѡма ѡмоу. ꙗ чюдиша  
 сѧ омоу в'си. 64 отвѣзоша  
 же сѧ оуста его ѡбѣ. ꙗ ѡзѣ  
 къ ѡго. ꙗ глаѡше. вѣсѣста ба.  
 65 ꙗ бѣ на всѣхъ страхъ.  
 живштити хъ ѡкрѣстѣ ихъ.  
 ꙗ всен стрѣнкъ ѡудѣсѣкни.  
 повѣдаеми бѣѡхъ вси глн  
 син. 66 ꙗ положиша вси слы  
 шавѣши на срѣдци хъ сво  
 ихъ. глѣжште. чѣто оубо  
 ѡтрочѧ се вѣдетѣ. ꙗ рѣка  
 гнѣ бѣ съ нимъ. 67 ꙗ захарнѣ  
 оцъ его. исплѣни сѧ дѣхомъ  
 стѣмъ. ꙗ пророчѣство  
 »ва гла: 68 Балгснѣ гъ бѣ  
 »лѣвѣ. ꙗко посѣти ꙗ сѣтво  
 »ри избавленъе людемъ  
 »своимъ. 69 ꙗ въздвиже ро

»ГѢ СПЕНЬКЪ НАШЕГО. ВЪ ДОМОУ  
 »ДАВКЪ. ОТРОКА СВОЕГО. 70 ЫКОЖЕ  
 »ГЛА ОУСТЫ СТЫХЪ. СЖ  
 »ШТИХЪ ОТЪ ВЪКА. ПРОРОКЪ  
 »ЕГО. 71 СПЕНЬЕ ОТЬ ВРАГЪ НА  
 »ШИХЪ. ІЗДРЖКЫ ВЪСЪХЪ.  
 »НЕНАВИДАШТИХЪ НАСЪ.  
 »72 СЪТВОРИТИ МИЛОСТЬ  
 »СЪ ОЦИ НАШИМИ. І ПОМК  
 »ИЖТИ ЗАВѢТЪ СТОІ СВОІ.  
 »73 КЛАТВЖ ЕЖЖЕ КЛАТЬ СѦ  
 »КЪ АБРАМОУ ОЦЮ НАШЕМОУ.  
 »ДАТИ НАМЪ 74 ВЕСТРАХА. ІЗДРЖ  
 »КЫ ВРАГЪ НАШИХЪ ІЗБА  
 »ВЛЪШЕМЪ СѦ. СЛОУЖИТИ  
 »ЕМОУ 75 ПРѢПОДОВЬЕМЪ. І ПРА  
 »ВЪДОЖ ПРѢДЪ ИНИМЪ ВСѦ  
 »ДЪНИ ЖИВОТА НАШЕГО. 76 І ТЪ  
 »ОТРОЧА ПРОРОКЪ ВЪШЫНЪЕГО  
 »НАРЕЧЕШИ СѦ. ПРѢДЪ ІДЕШИ  
 »ЕО ПРѢДЪ ЛИЦЕМЪ ГНЕМЪ.  
 »ОУГОТОВАТИ ПЖТЬ ЕГО.  
 »77 ДАТИ РАЗОУМЪ СПЕНЬКЪ  
 »ЛЮДЕМЪ ЕГО ВЪ ОСТАКЛЕ  
 »ИКЪ КЪ ОТЪПОУШТЕНЬЕ ГРК  
 »ХЪ НАШИХЪ 78 МИЛОСРЪДЫ  
 »РАДИ МИЛОСТИ БѦ НАШЕГО.  
 »ВЪ НИХЪЖЕ ПОСЪКТИ НАСЪ.  
 »КЪСТОКЪ СЪ ВЪШЕ 79 ПРОСКЪ  
 »ТИТИ СЪДАШТАМЪ ВЪ ТЪМЪ  
 »І В' СЪКНИ СЪМРЪТЪНЪКІ  
 »НАПРАВИТИ НОГЫ НАША НА  
 »ПЖТЬ МИРЕНЪ. 80 ОТРОЧА ЖЕ РА  
 »СТЪКЪШЕ. І КРѢПЛЪКЪШЕ СѦ  
 »АХОМЪ. І ВЪ ВЪ ПОУСТЪМЪНЪХЪ.  
 »ДО ДЪНЕ АБЛЕНЬКЪ СВОЕГО  
 »КЪ ІЛЮ. КОЦ.



## II. CODEX MARIANUS

The Codex Marianus (Mar.) is a Glagolitic parchment manuscript of 174 ff. which was taken by the Russian scholar V. Grigorovič in 1845 from the monastery of the Holy Virgin on Mount Athos to Russia. It is now preserved in the Lenin Public Library in Moscow, with the exception of ff. 1-2, which found their way to F. Miklosich and after his death to the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna where they now are. The manuscript contains an incomplete *tetraeuangelion* (Matt. v. 23-vi. 16 [= ff. 1-2]+Matt. vi. 17-John xxi. 17). The linguistic characteristics of Mar. are referred to in § 10 of the Introduction. It was probably written in Macedonia in the late tenth or early eleventh century. The edition of Mar., important for its glossary and its study of the language of the manuscript, we owe to V. Jagić, *Quattuor evangeliorum versionis palaeoslovenicae codex Marianus glagoliticus*, Berlin and St. Petersburg, 1883.

(a) *Mark i*

## ЕВАНГЕЛИЕ ОТЪ МАРЪКА :

### I

1 **Зачало евангѣлиѣ и-  
сѣва сѣа бѣжитѣ. 2 ѣкоже  
естѣ писано въ проро-  
цѣхѣ. се азѣ посѣлаж  
анѣла мон прѣдѣ лицемѣ  
твомѣ. иже оутотокиѣ  
пжтѣ твон. 3 гласѣ къпнѣщаа-  
го въ поустѣини. оутотокиѣ пжтѣ  
гнѣ. правѣ творитѣ стѣса его.  
4 бѣистѣ ноднѣ крѣста въ поустѣ-  
ни. и проповѣдаѣ крѣштенне пока-  
данню. въ отѣпоуштенне грѣхоломѣ.  
5 и исхождааше къ немоу късѣ нуде-  
иска страна и ерлмне и крѣштаа-  
хж сж къси въ юрѣданецѣи рѣ(цѣ)**

отъ него исповѣдайте грѣхы  
 свои. 6 въ же ноанъ облаченъ вла-  
 сты вельвжждѣ. и поѣсъ оу-  
 снѣенъ о чрѣслахъ его. и ѣдъ акри-  
 ди и медъ дивни. 7 ѿ проповѣда-  
 аше гла. градетъ крѣплен мене  
 къ слѣдъ мене. емоу же нѣсмъ  
 достоинъ поклонъ съ раздрѣшнѣти.  
 ремне чрѣвнемъ его. 8 азъ оубо  
 крѣстнхъ въ водоуж. а тѣ крѣ-  
 ститъ въ дхѣомъ стѣымъ :. ѿ :.  
 9 ѿ выстѣ къ днѣи тѣ. приде н-  
 сѣкъ отъ назарета галаенска-  
 аго. и крѣсти сѣ отъ ноана въ юрданѣ.  
 10 и авѣ въсхода отъ воды. и видѣ ра-  
 зводашта сѣ нѣса. и дхѣ ѣко голж-  
 въ съходашѣ на нь. 11 и выстѣ гла-  
 сѣкъ сѣ нѣсе. тѣ еси сѣкъ мон възлю-  
 вленъ. о тебѣ благоволюхъ. 12 и авѣ  
 дхѣкъ изведе и въ поуствыиуж. 13 и въ  
 тоу къ поуствыни .ѿ. днѣ. искоуша-  
 емъ соконоуж. и въ сѣ звѣрми. и  
 анѣли сло(у)жауж емоу. 14 по прѣдани-  
 и же ноановѣ :. приде нѣкъ къ галаеиѣ.  
 Проповѣдала еванѣлиа цѣстнѣ бѣжи-  
 чѣ 15 гла. ѣко исплѣни сѣ врѣмѣ. и при-  
 ближи сѣ цѣрствене бѣжне. канте сѣ и  
 крѣроуште въ еванѣлиа. 16 хода же при-  
 мори галаенсцѣ. видѣ симона  
 и андрѣиѣ брата того симона.  
 къметаужшта мрѣжа въ море.  
 вѣшете во рѣбарѣ. 17 и рече нма н-  
 сѣкъ придеѣта къ слѣдъ мене. и сѣ-

творѣжъ бы быти ловѣца чло-  
 вѣкомъ. 18 и авѣе оставаша мрѣ-  
 жа своѣа по немъ идете. 19 и прѣше-  
 дѣ отъ тждоу оузырѣи нѣкова зеве-  
 деона. и ноана брата его. и та  
 въ ладни завлазашта мрѣжа.  
 20 и авѣе възъва ѣ. и оставаша  
 отъца своего зеведеа въ ладни  
 съ наемъникы. по немъ идете. ∴  
 21 ѿ въниджъ въ каперьнаоумъ. и авѣ  
 въ соботы на соньмици оуча-  
 ше ѡ. 22 и дикаѣахъ сѡ о оучении его  
 вѣ во оуча ѣко власть ѡмъ. и не ѣко къ-  
 нижъници нхъ ∴ 23 ѿ вѣ на соньми(ци)хъ члѣкъ  
 нечистомъ дхъмъ. и възъва глѡ 24 оста-  
 ни что естъ намъ и тебѣ. ѡсе назарѣни-  
 не пришелъ еси и(о)оубитъ насъ. вѣмъ та  
 кто еси стѣы вѣни. 25 и запрѣти емоу  
 нѣкъ глѡ. оумлъчи изиди изъ него.  
 26 и сѣтра сѣ и дхъ нечистыи. и въ-  
 зъини въ гласомъ велнемъ изи-  
 де изъ него. 27 и оужасъ сѡ всѣи. и сѣ-  
 ташахъ сѡ къ себѣ глѡжште. чѣ-  
 то оубо естъ се. что оучение ново-  
 е се. ѣко по области дхъмъ нечисты-  
 мъ велитъ и послоушаштъ его.  
 28 ѿ изиде слоухъ его авѣе во всѣхъ  
 странѣхъ галаилеискъ. 29 и авѣе ише-  
 дѣше и-съньмишта. придъ въ до-  
 мъ симоновъ и андрѣовъ. съ и-  
 ѣковомъ и оаномъ. 30 Тѣшта же  
 симонова лежаше огнемъ жего-  
 ма. и авѣе глѡша емоу о неи. 31 и при-

стѣпль въздвнже ѿ емъ за рж-  
 кж. і остави ѿ авне огнь. і слоу-  
 жаше имъ. 32 поздѣ же вѣвѣвшю.  
 егда захождаше слънце. при-  
 ношаахъ къ нему въса неджжъ-  
 ныа и вѣснныа. 33 і вѣ весь  
 градъ събрала са къ двѣремъ.  
 34 і исцѣли мѣногы неджжъны  
 имжштѣ различныа ѡса.  
 і вѣсы мѣногы изгна.  
 і не оставѣше глати вѣсѣ. ꙗко ви-  
 дѣахъ н.: 35 і ютро проврѣзгоу сѣло.  
 вѣставѣ изиде исъ и иде къ поусто  
 мѣсто. і тоу молитѣж дѣаше. 36 і гъ-  
 наша и симонъ и иже вѣахъ съ нимъ.  
 37 і обрѣтѣше и глаша емоу. ꙗко вси и-  
 штѣтъ тебе. 38 і гла имъ идѣмъ  
 въ бланжныаа къси и градъ. да и тоу  
 проповѣмъ. на се во изидъ. 39 і вѣ про-  
 повѣдаа на сннѣмиштихъ ихъ. къ  
 вѣсен галилен. і вѣсы изгона. .:.  
 40 і приде къ нему прокаженъ мола и.  
 і на колѣноу падаа и гла емоу. ꙗко а-  
 ште хоштеши можеши ма иштисти-  
 ти. 41 іс же милосрѣдовавѣ просте-  
 рѣ ржкж коснж н. і гла емоу хоцѣ ишти-  
 сти са. 42 і рекъшо емоу. авне отиде  
 проказа отъ него. і чистъ вѣистъ.  
 43 і запрѣци емоу авне изгна ѿ. 44 і гла  
 емоу блюди са никомоу же ничесоже  
 не рѣци. нъ шедъ покажи са архире-  
 овн. и принеси за очищение твое.  
 еже повелѣ мочи къ сѣвѣдѣнне и-

мъ .: 45 онъ же ишедъ начатъ пропо-  
вѣдати мѣного. и проносити сло-  
во. ꙗко к томоу не можааше вѣѣ въ  
градъ вѣнити. нъ вѣнѣ въ поуѣстѣ-  
хъ мѣѣстѣхъ вѣ. и прихощахъ къ  
немоу отъ вѣсждѣ .:

(b) *Mark xiv-xv*

#### XIV

1 Бѣ же пасха  
и опрѣсенъци по дѣвою дѣноу. и искаахъ  
архирен и кѣнижъници како и лестъ-  
ж емъше оубиѣтъ. 2 глѣахъ же нъ не въ  
праздъникъ. еда како вждетъ маѣ-  
ва людемъ. 3 и сжштю емоу въ ви-  
танин. въ домоу симона прокаже-  
наго. възлежаштю емоу приде же-  
на. имжшти алабастръ хризмъ.  
наръдѣны пистикны драгы. и съ-  
кроушъши алабастръ възанѣ емоу  
на глабж. 4 вѣахъ же едини негоджж-  
ште въ себѣ и глѣжште. въ чемъ  
гывѣлъ си хризмънаѣ вѣстѣ.  
5 можааше бо си хризма продана  
вѣити. ваште три сотъ пѣнасъ. и  
дати сѣ ништинмъ и прѣштаахъ е-  
и. 6 иꙗже рече останѣте еѣ по чѣто ѣж  
троуждаате. добро бо дѣло съдѣ-  
ла о мѣнѣ. 7 вѣегда бо ништаѣ и-  
мате съ собож. и егда хощете мо-  
жете имъ добро творити. а мене

не въсегда имате. 8 еже имѣ си съ-  
 творн ꙗ̅: Варлаа естѣ похризмн-  
 ти тѣло мое на погрєвєннє. 9 аминь  
 глѣж камѣ. идеже колижѣдо проповѣ-  
 дано бждетѣ евнѣланє сє. въ въсе-  
 мь мирѣ. и еже сътвори си. глѣано  
 бждетѣ въ паматѣ еѣ̅ ꙗ̅: 10 юода иска-  
 рнотѣскы єдинѣ отѣ овою на дєса-  
 тє. иде къ архирєомѣ да и прѣда-  
 стѣ имѣ. 11 они же слышавѣше въ-  
 здрадокаша сѧ. и обѣцаша ємоу сѣре-  
 брьникы дати. и искааше како и въ  
 подобно врѣмѧ прѣдастѣ. 12 и въ прѣ-  
 вы днь опрѣснѣкъ. егда пасхж жѣ-  
 рѣахж. глѣаша ємоу оученици свои къ-  
 де хоштеши шедѣше оутотовимѣ да ѣ-  
 си пасхж. 13 и посѣла двѣа отѣ оучени-  
 къ своихъ. и глѣа има идѣта въ градѣ  
 и сѣраштєта вы члѣкъ. въ скждѣ-  
 льницѣ водж носѧ. по немѣ идѣта. 14 и  
 идеже аште вѣнндєтѣ рѣцѣта гноу до-  
 моу. ѣко оучитєль глѣтѣ. къде естѣ  
 обитѣль идеже пасхж сѣ оученикы  
 сконми сѣнѣмѣ. 15 и тѣ вамѧ покаже-  
 тѣ горьницж велиж. постѣланж  
 готокж. тоу оутотовантѧ намѣ. 16 и  
 нздєтє оученика єго и придєтє къ гра-  
 дѣ. и оврѣтєтє ѣкоже рєчє има. и оуто-  
 товастє пасхж ꙗ̅: 17 и вєчєроу бѣвѣкъ-  
 шоу придє сѣ обѣмѧ на дєсѧтє. 18 и въ-  
 злєжаштємѣ имѣ. и ѣджштємѣ рє-  
 [рє]чє нѣ̅. аминь глѣж камѣ. ѣко єдн-  
 нѣ отѣ васѣ прѣдастѣ мѧ. ѣды сѣ

мѣножъ ѿ. 19 ѿни же начаса скръвѣти и тж-  
 жити. и гл҃ати емоу единъ по единомуу.  
 еда азъ. и друугъи еда азъ. 20 онъ же отъ-  
 вѣштакъ рече имъ. единъ отъ обою на  
 десате. омочни съ мѣножъ въ соли-  
 ло. 21 снѣ же оубо члѣчскы идетъ ѣкоже  
 естъ писано о немъ ѿ. Горе же члѣкоу  
 томоу имъже снѣ члѣчскы прѣда-  
 атъ сѧ. добро би емоу было. аште не  
 би родилъ сѧ члѣвѣкотъ ѿ. 22 ѿ ѣдште-  
 мъ имъ приемъ исъ хлѣбъ. бл҃госаве-  
 штъ прѣломни. и дастъ имъ и рече.  
 приемѣте се естъ тѣло мое. 23 и приемъ  
 чашъ хвалъ въздавѣ дастъ имъ.  
 и пиша отъ неѧ вси. 24 и рече имъ се естъ  
 кръвъ моѣ новаго за[ва]вѣта. проли-  
 ваема за многы ѿ. 25 ѿминъ же гл҃ж  
 камъ. ѣко юже не имамъ пити отъ  
 плода лозънаго. до того дѣне егда  
 пѣж ино въ цр҃ствни бж҃ни. 26 и въспѣ-  
 вѣше изидж въ горъ елеонъскъ ѿ.  
 27 ѿ гл҃а имъ исъ ѣко вси съваазните  
 сѧ о манѣ въ снѣж ноштъ. писано во е-  
 стъ. Поражж пастырѣ. и овѣца ра-  
 зѣвѣгнжтъ сѧ. 28 Нъ по томъ егда въ-  
 скр҃сенж варѣж въ въ галилен. 29 пе-  
 тръ же рече емоу. и аште вси съваа-  
 знатъ сѧ нъ не азъ. 30 и гл҃а емоу исъ.  
 ѿминъ гл҃(ж) ти. ѣко ты дѣнесъ къ съ-  
 жж ноштъ. прѣжде даже въторицеж.  
 кокотъ не възгласитъ. три краты  
 отъверъжеши сѧ мене. 31 онъ же излѣха  
 гл҃аше паче. аште ми сѧ ключитъ

съ товож оумърѣти. не отъкрѣгъ са  
 тебе. такожде и вси гл҃ахъж. 32 При-  
 дж въ весь еиже има ѣетъсимани.  
 і гл҃а оученикомъ своимъ. садѣте  
 съде донѣдеже шедъ помолѣ са. 33 і  
 поятъ петра и иѣкова. і оана съ со-  
 вож. и начатъ оужасати са и тжжи-  
 ти. 34 і гл҃а имъ прискрѣвѣна естѣ дѣша  
 моѣ до смърти. пождѣте съде и  
 въдите. 35 и прѣшедъ мало паде на  
 земли. и молѣаше са да аште въ-  
 зможъно естѣ мимо идетъ отъ  
 него часъ. 36 і гл҃аше авѣа отѣцъ. въ-  
 сѣ възможъна тебѣ сжтъ. мимо  
 неси чашъ сиѣ отъ мене ∴. Нъ не ꙗко  
 азъ хощѣ нъ еже тѣ. 37 і приде і оврѣ-  
 те ѣ съпашта. и гл҃а петрови. си-  
 монѣ съпиши ли. не възможе едино-  
 го часа побѣдѣти. 38 въдите и молѣ-  
 те са да не въидете въ напастъ.  
 дхъ бо естѣ въдръ а плѣтъ немо-  
 штъна. 39 і пакы шедъ помолѣ са  
 тожде слово рекъ. 40 и възвращѣ  
 са оврѣте ѣ пакы съпашта. вѣ-  
 ашете во имъ очи таготнѣ. і не  
 оумѣхъж чѣто вж отъвѣштали е-  
 моу ∴. 41 і приде третиници. и гл҃а и-  
 мъ. съпите прочеѣ и почивайте.  
 приспѣ коньчина приде часъ. се  
 прѣдаатъ са снѣ члѣчскы въ рж-  
 цѣ грѣшникомъ. 42 възстанѣте идѣ-  
 мъ. се прѣдаван ма приближи са  
 43 і авне еште емоу гл҃ѣщю. приде нюда



единъ отъ овоуж на десате. и съ нимъ  
 народъ мъногъ. съ оржжини и дръ-  
 кольми. отъ архуиерен и кънижъни-  
 къ и старецъ .: 44 Дастъ же прѣдани е-  
 го знаменне имъ гла. егоже аште  
 лобъжж имѣте и тѣ естѣ. и ведѣте  
 съхранъно. 45 и пришедъ авне пристѣпъ  
 къ немоу гла. равни равни. и обло-  
 быза и. 46 они же възложиша рѣцѣ на  
 нь и ѡса и. 47 единъ же отъ стоѡшти-  
 хъ. извалкъ ножъ оудари раба архи-  
 ереова. и оурѣза емоу оухо. 48 и отъѣ-  
 штакъ нѣкъ рече имъ. ꙗко на разбон-  
 ника ли изидете съ оржжьемъ и дръ-  
 кольми ѡти ма. 49 по вса дъни бѣ-  
 хъ въ васъ оуча въ цркви и не ѡсте  
 мене. нѣ да съвѣдѣтъ са къни-  
 гы. 50 и оставише и вси бѣжаша.  
 51 и единъ юноша етеръ по немъ иде. о-  
 дѣнъ въ плаштаницѣ нагъ. и ѡ-  
 са и юноша. 52 онъ же оставъ плашта-  
 ницѣ. нагъ бѣжа отъ нихъ. 53 и вѣ-  
 са нѣа къ архуиереови. и стънидѣ са  
 къ немоу къси архуиерен и старъци  
 и кънижъници. 54 и петръ издалече  
 въ слѣдъ его иде. до кънхтръ  
 въ дворъ архуиереовъ и вѣ слѣдъ съ  
 слоутами и грѣѡ са при скѣшти. 55 а-  
 рхуиерен же и весь сънемъ. искаахъ  
 на нѣа съвѣдѣтельства да и оубъ-  
 жтъ. и не обрѣтаахъ. 56 мънози бо аъ-  
 же съвѣдѣтельствоваахъ нѣ. и не  
 вѣахъ равъна съвѣдѣтельства

57 І едини въставѣше лѣжж съвѣдѣте-  
 льствоваахъ на нь глѣште. 58 ѣко мѣ  
 слышахомъ-и глѣшты. ѣко азъ  
 разорѣхъ црѣвь снѣж ржкотворенжѣ.  
 І трѣми дньми инѣ нержкотворе-  
 нѣ съзиджж. 59 І тако же не вѣ равѣ-  
 но съвѣдѣтельство имѣ. 60 І къста-  
 вѣ архуерен по срѣдѣ въпроси нса глѣ  
 не отъвѣштаваеш ли ничесоже. чѣ-  
 то снѣ на тѣ съвѣ(дѣ)тельствоуѣтъ.  
 61 онъ же мѣчаше. І ничесоже не  
 отъвѣштааше. Пакѣ архуерен  
 въпроси и н глѣ емоу. ты ли еси  
 хѣ снѣ вѣгсвнааго. 62 ісѣ же рече а-  
 зъ есмѣ. І оузьрѣте снѣ члѣскаа-  
 го. о деснѣжж сѣдашта силѣ. І  
 грѣдѣшта съ облакѣ невѣскѣ-  
 ими. 63 архуерен же растрѣзавѣ рн-  
 зѣи своѣ глѣ. что еште трѣвоуе-  
 мѣ съвѣдѣтель. 64 слышасте вѣла-  
 сѣфимнѣ его. что вамѣ сѣ авѣ-  
 атѣ. они же вѣси осѣдиша и пови-  
 нѣноу бѣти съмрѣти. 65 І начасѣ  
 едини пѣкати на нь. І прикрѣ-  
 вати лице его и мѣчѣти и. І глѣ-  
 ти емоу. прорѣци намѣ хѣ кто естѣ оу-  
 дарен тѣ. І слоугѣ вижшѣ за лани-  
 тѣ прѣвѣсѣ и .: 66 І сѣштоу петрови низоу  
 на дворѣ. приде едина отъ равѣнѣ  
 архуереовѣ. 67 І видѣвѣши петра грѣж-  
 шта сѣ. вѣзьрѣвѣши на нь глѣ. І  
 ты сѣ назарѣннѣомѣ нсѣвѣ вѣ.  
 68 Онъ же отъврѣже сѣ глѣ. не оумѣжшѣ

сѣвѣмь что ты глѣши. и изиде конь на прѣдѣворие. и кокотъ въспѣтъ. 69 и видѣвъши и рабѣни пакы начатъ глѣти къ стояштинимъ. ѣко съ есть отъ нихъ. 70 онъ же пакы отъметааше са. и не по мѣногоу пакы стоящен. глѣахъ петрови. вѣи-стинж отъ нихъ еси. иво галнаѣанинъ еси. и вѣсѣда твоѣ подобитъ са. 71 онъ же начатъ ротити са и клати са. ѣко не вѣмъ члѣка сего егоже глѣте. 72 и вѣторицеж кокотъ въспѣтъ. и помѣиж петръ глѣ иже рече емоу исѣ. прѣжде даже кокотъ не възгласитъ дѣва краты. отъверъжеши са мене три краты. и начатъ плакати са.

## XV

1 и авѣе на оутрѣи сѣвѣтъ сѣтворише архирен и старъци. и кѣнижѣникы и весь сѣнемъ. сѣвазавѣше иса вѣса. и прѣдаша и пилатови. 2 и въпроси и пилатъ. ты ли еси цѣръ иуденскъ. онъ же отъвѣштакъ рече емоу. ты глѣши. 3 и глѣхъ на нь архирен мѣного. онъ же ничесоже не отъвѣштавааше. 4 Пилатъ же пакы въпрашааше и глѣ. не отъвѣштакаеши ли ничесоже. киждъ колико на та сѣвѣдѣтельствоужтъ. 5 исѣ же к томоу ничесоже не отъвѣшта.

ѿко динити сѧ пилатони. 6 на късѣкъ  
 же праздыникъ отъпоушташе имъ.  
 единого съвѣзынѣ егѡже прошаахъ.  
 7 вѣ же нарицаемъы варавка съ свои-  
 ми ковѣникы съказанъ. ѡже въ во-  
 вѣ оубиство сътвориша. 8 и възъпиекъше  
 начаса просити ѿкоже присно творѣ-  
 ше имъ. 9 пилатъ же отъвѣшта имъ  
 гл̄а. хошете ли да отъпоуштѣ въ  
 [въ] цѣрѣ юденска. 10 вѣдѣаше бо ѿко за-  
 висти ради прѣдаша и архиперен. 11 Архи-  
 ерен же поманъша народоу. да паче  
 варавъ отъпоуститъ имъ. 12 Пилатъ  
 же пакы отъвѣштавѣ рече имъ.  
 что оубо хошете сътвориж егѡже гл̄е-  
 те цѣрѣ юденска. 13 они же пакы възъ-  
 пиша пропъни и. 14 пилатъ же гл̄аше  
 имъ что бо зъло сътвори. они же ли-  
 ше възъпиша пропъни и. 15 Пилатъ же  
 хотѣ народоу похоть сътворити. поу-  
 сти имъ варавъ. и прѣдастъ нѣа  
 вивѣ. да и пропънѣтъ .: 16 Воини же  
 вѣса нѣа вѣнѣтъ на дворѣ. еже е-  
 стъ прѣторѣ. и призываша късѣ спи-  
 рѣ. 17 и обѣша и въ прапрѣдѣ. и възло-  
 жиша на нь съплетъше тръновѣ вѣ-  
 нецѣ. 18 и начаса цѣлокати и. радоуи  
 сѧ цѣрю юденскѣ. 19 и вивѣхъ и тръсть-  
 ж по главѣ. и пльваахъ на нь. и прѣ-  
 гываѣште колѣна кланѣахъ сѧ емоу.  
 20 и егда порѣгаша сѧ емоу. съвѣиша съ  
 него прапрѣдѣ. и обѣша и въ ризы  
 свои. и извѣса и да пропънѣтъ и. .:

21 и задѣша мимо ходаштоу едномоу  
 симоноу курѣнниоу граджшту съ се-  
 ла. оѣцоу александровоу. и рѣфовоу.  
 да възъметъ кѣтъ его. 22 и привѣса и  
 на мѣсто голѣгота еже естъ съка-  
 заемо кранико мѣсто. 23 и даѣхъ е-  
 моу пити оцѣтъно вино. онъ же не при-  
 ѣтъ. 24 и пропѣнѣше и раздѣльше ри-  
 зы его меташа жрѣвнѣ о на. кто  
 что възъметъ. 25 вѣ же година трети-  
 та. и пропаса и. 26 и вѣ написание винъы  
 его написано цѣръ нюденскъ. 27 и съ ни-  
 мъ пропаша дѣка разбойника. еди-  
 ного о деснжж. а дроугаго о шюж его.  
 28 и съвѣстъ сѣ писаное еже глѣтъ. і  
 съ безаконьникома причѣтенъ въ-  
 стъ. 29 и мимо ходаштен хоуѣбахъ и.  
 и покѣкажште главами своими.  
 и глѣште оука. разарѣян црѣкъ. и трѣ-  
 ми днѣми създаѣа 30 съпаси сѣ са-  
 мѣ. и съниди съ крѣта. 31 такожде и а-  
 рхирен ржажште сѣ съ кѣнижѣни-  
 кы. дроугъ къ дроугоу глаухъ. ины  
 съпасе. ани себе не можетъ съпа-  
 сти 32 хѣ цѣръ издаилѣтъ. да сънидетъ  
 нѣнѣ съ крѣта. да видимъ и вѣрж име-  
 мѣ :. і пропѣтаѣ съ нимъ поношааше-  
 те емоу. 33 Бывѣши же годинѣ шестѣи.  
 тѣма въстъ по въсен земли до девѣ-  
 тѣи годины. 34 и въ девѣтѣи годинѣ  
 възъпи нѣтъ гласомъ велиемъ гла.  
 елши елши аима савахтани. еже естъ  
 съказаемое вѣже вѣже мон вѣскжж ма

остави. 35 і єдини отъ стоштихъ. слы-  
 шавъше глаахъ. виждъ илиж глаша-  
 атъ. 36 текъ же единъ исплънь гъеж о-  
 цъта. і възнезъ на тръсть напаѣше  
 и гла. не дѣйте да видимъ. аште при-  
 детъ илиѣ сънатъ его. 37 іс̄ же поуцъ гла-  
 съ велии издъше. 38 і опона црѣкнаѣ  
 раздѣра сѧ на дѣвое съ вѣше до ниже.  
 39 Видѣвъ же сотъникъ стоѧи прѣмо емоу.  
 ѣко тако възъпиевъ издъше. рече въ і-  
 стинѧ члѣкъ съ снѣ вѣни вѣ. 40 вѣахъ же  
 и жены издалече зѣраштѧ. въ ни-  
 хъже вѣ и мариѣ магдалини. і мари-  
 ѣ нѣкова малаего. і мати носнова.  
 і саломи. 41 ѡже егда вѣ въ галилеи  
 по немъ хождаахъ и слоужаахъ емоу.  
 і ины мѣногы вѣшедъша съ ни-  
 мъ въ илѣмъ. 42 і юже поздѣ възъкъшу.  
 Понеже вѣ параскевъѣни пасцѣ. еже е-  
 стъ къ соботѣ .: 43 Приде носифъ отъ ари-  
 матѣѧ. благообразенъ съвѣтъникъ.  
 іже и тѣ вѣ члѣ црѣствитѣ вѣжитѣ. і дрѣ-  
 знжевъ вѣниде къ пилатоу. і проси  
 тѣла исѣа. 44 пилатъ же диви сѧ аште оу-  
 же оумърѣтъ. призъвавъ сътъника а-  
 ште оуже оумърѣтъ. 45 і оувѣдѣвъ отъ ке-  
 нтуріона. дастъ тѣло носифови. 46 і коу-  
 пль плаштаницѧ и сънемъи-и обитъи-  
 и въ плаштаницѧ. і вѣложи въ гробъ.  
 іже вѣ исѣченъ отъ камене. і привали  
 камень на двѣри гробоу .: 47 Мариѣ же  
 магдалини. і мариѣ носнова. зѣрѣа-  
 шете къде и полагаахъ .: ѣ .:

## III. CODEX ASSEMANIANUS

The Codex Assemanianus (Ass.), a Glagolitic manuscript of 158 parchment folia, was bought from Orthodox monks in Jerusalem in 1736 by the Syrian Christian Joseph Assemani, whose nephew S. E. Assemani left it to the Vatican Library where it is now preserved. Ass. is an evangelistary (*aparakos* gospel) or collection of the gospel passages read in the liturgy, followed by a menology or calendar of Saints' days (ff. 112<sup>b</sup>-158). From the fact that the menology commemorates several Macedonian Saints (including Methodius' disciple St. Clement of Ohrid) the manuscript is presumed to have been written in Macedonia. It probably dates from the eleventh century, but perhaps (as J. Vajs believes) from the tenth. The two nineteenth-century editions of this manuscript are not entirely satisfactory (F. Rački, *Assemanov ili Vatikanski evangeliistar*, Zagreb, 1865 [in Glagolitic]; I. Črnčić, *Assemanovo izborno evangelije*, Rome, 1878 [in Latin transcription]) and have now been superseded by the excellent edition of Vajs and Kurz, which includes a photographic facsimile as well as a Cyrillic transcription of the whole text: J. Vajs-J. Kurz, *Evangeliarium Assemani*, Tomus I, Prague, 1929, Tomus II, Prague, 1955.

## John i. 1-17

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1. Искони бѣ слово (н) слово бѣ оу Ѡа . и Ѡа бѣ слово . 2. се бѣ  
 Ѡскони оу Ѡа . 3. въсѣ тѣмъ бѣиша . Ѡ вежнего ничесоже не  
 вѣистъ . Ѡже вѣистъ : 4. въ томъ животъ бѣ . и животъ бѣ  
 свѣтъ чакмъ . 5. Ѡ сѣ бѣ въ тѣмъ свѣтитъ сѧ . и тѣма Ѡго  
 не Ѡбѧт . 6. Бѣи чакмъ посѣланъ Ѡба . Ѡмѧ Ѡмоу ѠѠанъ . 7. сѧ  
 прѣде въ свѣдѣтельство да свѣдѣтельствоуѣтъ Ѡ свѣтѣ  
 да вс(н) вѣрѧ . мжтъ Ѡмоу 8. не бѣ т(ъ) (с)ѣ бѣ нъ да свѣдѣ-  
 дѣтельствоуѣтъ Ѡ свѣтѣ 9. бѣ свѣт истинъ(ъ) . Ѡже просвѣ-  
 шта(ет)ъ въсѣкого . Ѡ иджштааго въ . . Ѡъ . 10. въ мирѣ бѣ  
 и миръ тѣмъ бѣи . и весь миръ Ѡго не 11. прѣтъ 12. Ѡли-  
 коже нхъ прѣтъ . дастъ имъ Ѡбѣласть . чѧдомъ бѣиѧмъ бѣти .  
 вѣроуѣишима въ Ѡмѧ Ѡго . 13. Ѡже не Ѡ крѣве ни Ѡ похоти  
 плѣтскыма . ни Ѡ похоти мжжскыма . нъ Ѡ Ѡа родѣша сѧ .  
 14. Ѡ слово плѣтъ вѣистъ . Ѡ въсѣи сѧ вѣи : и вѣдѣхомъ

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слава ѿго . слава ꙗко иночада<sup>а</sup> ѿ оца<sup>т</sup> . исплънь благо-  
 дѣти и истинѣ) . 15. Иоанъ съвѣд(ѣ)твльствоуеть о немъ  
 и в. (в)ька гла съ вѣ (в)гоже рѣхъ гряды по м. нѣ  
 прѣдъ мѣноу бѣ . ꙗко прѣвѣи мене вѣ . 16. и ѿ исплъ-  
 нениѣ ѿго мѣ вси приѣсомъ благодѣть въз благодѣть . 17.  
 ꙗко мѣсѣомъ законъ данъ бѣсть . благодѣть и истина .  
 и хомъ бѣсть . . —

## IV. THE KIEV MISSAL

The Kiev Missal (also known as the Kiev Folia [Киевские Листки, Kyjevské listy, etc.]) (Kiev Miss.) consists of seven parchment folia of small format which were brought from Jerusalem to Kiev in the mid-nineteenth century and are still preserved there in the National Library of the Ukraine. The Glagolitic text contains an incomplete sacramentary (or collection of the variable prayers of the Mass) according to the Roman rite. The liturgical researches of C. Mohlberg have shown that Kiev Miss. is a translation of a version of the Gregorian Sacramentary which probably dates from the seventh century; in his edition of Kiev Miss. (see below) Mohlberg has printed a Latin text (from a manuscript in the University Library at Padua) which, if not the precise original of Kiev Miss., is extremely close to it, corresponding often in detail to the Slavonic text. The fact that this sacramentary follows the Roman rite and not the Greek makes it probable that the translation was already made in the Cyrillo-Methodian period: for we know (cf. Introduction, § 2) that the Saints cultivated good relations with Rome and were working in a region which had hitherto known only Western ecclesiastical influence. Similar conclusions are suggested by the linguistic character of the manuscript. Kiev Miss. is unique among the older OCS monuments in that it shows certain marked West Slavonic characteristics. CS *tj* (*kt'*), *dj* appear consistently as *c*, *z* (as against the Bulgaro-Macedonian *št*, *žd*); *stj* appears as *šč* (as against *št*); the regular form for the instr. sing. of masculine and neuter *o*-stems is *-ŭmi*. The last two characteristics are found equally in West and East Slavonic; but the presence of *c*, *z* < *tj*, *dj* is decisive. This phenomenon is found only in Czech.<sup>1</sup> The vocabulary also shows numerous Western elements: *miša*, *papeži*, *všodŭ* (see Introduction, § 3), *prěfacija* : Lat *praefatio*; *oplatŭ* : Lat *oblata*; *poganškŭ* : Lat *paganus*. Certain errors in the text make it likely that the preserved manuscript is a copy; but the extremely archaic and regular character of the language (especially in the correct use of the jers and nasals), together with the fact that the Glagolitic letters are of a more archaic type than those of any other manuscript, allow us to ascribe the preserved version of Kiev Miss. to the middle of the tenth century and to regard it as in all probability a copy of an original written in Moravia by one of Methodius' disciples. The text of Kiev Miss. has often been printed, in whole or in part. The edition by Jagić, with a photographic facsimile of the whole manuscript, may be regarded as the standard one: V. Jagić, *Glagolitica. Würdigung neuentdeckter Fragmente*, Vienna, 1890 (reprinted from *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*

<sup>1</sup> J. Stanislav notes that *z* < *dj* also occurs in dialects spoken in the extreme south-western corner of Slovakia (M. Weingart, *Československý typ cirkevnej slovančiny*, ed. J. Stanislav, Bratislava, 1949, p. 36, n. 1). The other Slovak dialects have *dz* < *dj*.



(b) ff. 1<sup>b</sup>-4<sup>b</sup> in Cyrillic transcription**ВЪ ИВЪ ДЪНЬ КЛИМЕНТА**

БѢ ИЖЕ НЪИ . ЛѢТА ОГРЪДЖЦѢ  
 БЛАЖЕНАГО КЛИМЕНТА МЖ-  
 ЧЕНИКА ТВОЕГО І ПАПЕЖА  
 ЧЪСТЪЖЪ ВЕСЕЛИШИ : ПОДЪ-  
 ЗЪ МИЛОСТИВЪИ . ДА ЕГОЖЕ  
 ЧЪСТЪ ЧЪСТИМЪ . СІЛОБЪЖ  
 ОУЕО МЖЧЕНІѢ ЕГО НАСЛѢДОУЕ-  
 МЪ :: ГМЪ :: **НАДЪ ОПЛАТМЪ**

РОКАНИИ ГІ ПРИНЕСЕНЪИ  
 СВЯТИ . І ХОДАТАИЦЮ  
 БЛАЖЕНОУМОУ КЛИМЕНТОУ  
 МЖЧЕНИКОУ ТВОЕМОУ . СІМЪ  
 НЪИ ОТЬ ГРѢХЪ СВЕРЬНОСТИ  
 НАШУХЪ ОЧИСТИ : ГМЪ :

**ПРѢФАЦИѢ : ДО ВЪЧЪНЪИ БЖЕ**

ЧЪСТЪНАГО КЛИМЕНТА ЗАКО-  
 ННИКА І МЖЧЕНИКА ЧЪСІ  
 ЧЪСТЪЦЕ . ИЖЕ ОУТѢЖЕ БЪИ-  
 ТИ БЛАЖЕНОУМОУ АПОСТО-  
 ЛОУ ТВОЕМОУ ПЕТРОУ . ВЪ, І-  
 НОКОСТИ ПОДРОУГЪ . ВЪ, ИСПО-  
 ВѢДИ ОУЧЕНИКЪ . ВЪ ЧЪСТИ НА-  
 МѢСТЪНИКЪ . ВЪ МЖЧЕНИИ НА-  
 СЛѢДЪНИКЪ : ХМЪ ГМЪ НАШМЪ :

**ПО ВЪСЪХДѢ ::**

ТѢЛЕСЕ СВЯТАГО І ПРѢДРА-  
 ГЪНИА КРЪВЕ НАПЛЪНЕНІ ВЪ-  
 ЛИТИѢ ПРОСИМЪ ГІ БЖЕ НАШЪ :

да еже милостиваѣ обѣщѣ-  
ніѣ носимъ . рѣшотіванаѣ  
издѣшениѣ обемемъ : г̃мъ .:

## ВЪ ТЪЗЕ ДНЬ ФЕЛИЦТЪИ :

Подѣзь намъ просимъ ты  
всесоугъи е̃же . блаженъи-  
и раді мжченицѣ твоѣи  
фелицитѣи въкоупнжъ  
молитеж : і тоѣже раді  
зашчіти нѣи : г̃мъ : **НДЪ ОПЛ**

На слоужьбѣи люди твоѣи  
милостнжъ призри . і . . .  
се нѣи чьстьжъ святѣнхъ чь-  
стїмъ : сътвори нѣи радо-  
станъи . въ вѣчнѣмъ животѣ

## ПО ВЪСХДѢ :

Съмѣрно ты молимъ все-  
могъи е̃же . молитвами свя-  
тѣнхъ твоѣхъ . і тыи самъ  
вѣди . і даръ твои въсви  
въ нѣи . і врѣмьа наше въ  
правьдѣ постаѣи : г̃мъ .:

## МЪШѢ НА ВЪСІА ДНИ ВЪ

СЕГО МѢТА ОБІДЖЦѢ :

Е̃же теарь своѣи ве-  
льми помілока . і по гнѣ-

вѣ своемъ · изволи въ-  
 пачити съ спасениѣ ра-  
 ди чловѣчьска · и въсхо-  
 тѣвъ намъ оутвори сръ-  
 дьцѣ нашѣ · и милостныхъ  
 твоѣхъ просвѣти ныи: г̃м̃ :

### НАДЪ ѠПЛАТЪМЪ :

Близъ насъ вѣди г̃и проси-  
 мъ тѣ · и моли тебѣ нашѣ  
 оуслѣши · да оупъвание  
 (въ)нѣмемъ дѣлѣ своихъ ·  
 и въ любьѣ даръ съ те-  
 бѣ приносимъ: г̃м̃ :

### ПРОФЪЦИѢ : вѣчнѣи вѣже :

Невесельнѣ твоѣ силѣи  
 просимъ и молимъ · да съ  
 вѣншнѣи твоѣи · до-  
 стоинѣи сътвориши ныи: и  
 вѣчнѣи твоѣи ѡже жьда-  
 емъ подѣсь намъ милости-  
 вно: х̃м̃ г̃м̃ нашимъ · има

### ПО ВЪСХДѢ :

Просимъ тѣ г̃и дазь намъ ·  
 да скѣтѣи твоѣи въсхдѣ  
 приваляце дѣстоинѣи вѣ-  
 демъ очѣшченѣи твоѣго ·  
 и вѣра твоѣ въ насъ да въ-  
 здрастетъ: г̃м̃ нашимъ ꙗ̃с̃м̃

## МЪШѢ · Б · Ѹ ТОМЪЗЕ :

Просимъ ты всемогъ въ-  
чнь бже · призри на мо-  
лителъ нашъ · і вънж-  
транкѣ нашѣ очисти · бже  
нъй сошымъ грѣхънъ наши-  
ми : да милостижъ тво-  
ѣхъ избави нън : гмъ наши

## надъ Ѹплатъмъ :

Сы приносъ принесенъ тебѣ  
гї просимъ ты примі : і-  
же еси благословестилъ  
на съпасеніе наше : гмъ наши :

## прѣфациѣ : до вѣчнь бже :

Да съя тебе дрѣжимъ і миро-  
сти твоѣмъ просимъ : при-  
звемъ нън еси гї · да испра-  
ви нън і очисти : не наши-  
хъ дѣла ради · нъ обѣта тво-  
его ради иже еси обѣцѣлъ  
намъ : да възможемъ доу-  
шѣми і тѣлеснъи і мнслъ-  
ми нашими · прияти запо-  
вѣди твоѣ : ѡже еси посъ-  
лалъ къ намъ : хмъ гмъ на-  
шимъ · їмже вѣличъ :



## (ПО) ВЪСХДѢ :

(С)ВѢТѢ ТВОИ ВЪСХДѢ  
 ГИ ИЖЕ ЕСМѢ ВЪЗЫМА МО-  
 ЛИМѢ ТѢА . ДА ОЧИСТИТѢ  
 (НЪИ О)ТѢ ГРѢХѢ НАШѢХЪ : І  
 (КЪ НЕ)ВЕСЬЦѢИ ЛЮБЪИ  
 (ПРИВЕ)ДЕТѢ НЪИ : ГМѢ НАШ :

## МЪШКЪ . В . О ТОМЪЗЕ :

Просимъ тѣа въсвмогѣ  
 бже да ѣкоже есмѣ скръбши  
 грѣхѣи нашии : милость-  
 ѣ твоѣа отъ въсѣхъ зѣ-  
 лии нашихъ очисти нѣи :  
 ГМѢ : НАДѢ ОПЛАТЪМЪ :

Прими ги просимъ тѣа при-  
 ность сѣ . принесенѣи тебѣ .  
 избеаженѣи ради чловѣ-  
 чьска . і съдравіе намъ  
 дѣа . і доушыа нашаа і тѣ-  
 лвса очисти . а молите(ж)  
 нашѣ прими : ГМѢ : ПРѢФ

ДО ВѢЧЪНѢ БЖЕ :

Тѣи еси животъ нашъ ги о-  
 тѣ невѣитіѣ бо въ вѣит(не)  
 сътворилъ нѣи еси . і от-  
 падъшыа въскрѣси пакѣи .  
 да намъ не достоитѣ тебѣ

сѣгрѣшати : твоѣ же (сж-)  
 тѣ въскѣ · небесьскаѣ (и з)е-  
 мльскаѣ гї · да тѣи (самѣ)  
 отъ грѣхѣ нашихъ и (збави)  
 нѣи : х̄мь г̄мь :

### ПО ВЪСЖДѢ :

(Д)ѣвъ нѣмъ : въсегогѣ ежѣ ·  
 да ꙗкоже нѣи еси небесьскѣ<sup>нѣ</sup>  
 пицѣ насѣитиѣ : такозѣ  
 же і животѣ нѣшѣ сіло  
 ѣж твоѣж оутверди : г̄мь :

### МЪШѢ : г̄ : ѿ томъзе :

(Ц)ѣсарьстеѣ нашемѣ гї ми-  
 лостѣж твоѣж призвѣри :  
 і не отъдѣвъ нашего тоу-  
 зѣмъ · і не обрати насѣ  
 въ плѣнѣ народомъ пога-  
 ньскѣимъ : х̄а ради гї на-  
 шего · іже цѣсаритѣ сѣ отъ-  
 цемѣ і сѣ скѣтѣимъ :

### НАДѢ ѦПЛАТѢМЪ :

(Т)воѣ циркѣнаѣ терѣдѣ за-  
 (ш)чѣти нѣи гї · ѣже еси  
 образѣмъ своѣмъ оупо-  
 добилѣ · ѣже нѣи чѣсти-  
 (мъ) нѣ балъство нѣше · то-  
 (г)о ради еси нѣмъ вѣчь-  
 (н)ое обѣцѣнне принеслѣ :  
 (г̄мь) нашѣмъ :

## V. PSALTERIUM SINAITICUM

The Psalterium Sinaiticum (Ps. Sin.) is a Glagolitic manuscript, still preserved in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. It contains, on 177 parchment folia, translations (from the Greek) of Psalms 1-137 (138 in the Hebrew and English Bibles) and is thought to have been written in Macedonia in the eleventh century. The edition of L. Geitler (1883), made on the basis of a transcription executed under difficult conditions in the monastery itself, has been superseded by that of S. Sever'janov, Синайская псалтырь, Petrograd, 1922, which was made from photographs of the manuscript and contains a glossary. A photographic reprint appeared at Graz in 1954.

## (a) Psalm 3

III, 1

ПСАЛМЪ

ДАДОВЪ ВЪДНЪ ВЪГЯШЕ ОУТЪ ЛЦ-И-  
ВССВАЛУЖИ СЪИ СВЯТУ — — —

- 2 Г҃Ъ УЪТО СѦ ОУМЪНОЖИША СЪТЖ-  
ЖАЖИШЕ МІ: МНОСИ ВЪСТА-  
ША НА МѦ: МНОСИ ВЪСТА-  
3 ША НА МѦ: МНОСИ ГАЖТЪ  
ДШІ МОЕИ НЪСТЬ СПНЬЪ  
О ВЪЪ ЕГО: ДИПСА:  
4 ТЫ ЖЕ Г҃И ЗАСТЪПНИКЪ МОИ ЕСИ:  
СЛАВА МОЪ ВЪЗНЕСЕ ГЛАВЖ МОЖ:  
5 ГЛАСЪМЪ МОИМЪ КЪ Г҃И ВОЗЪ-  
ВАХЪ: И ОУСЛЫША МѦ ОТЪ ГОРЪ-  
І СТЪША . . . СВОЕИ: —  
6 ИЗЪ ЖЕ ОУСЪНЖУЪ І СЪПАХЪ: ВЪ-  
СТАХЪ ЧКО Г҃Ъ ЗАСТЪПИТЪ МѦ:  
7 НЕ ОУВОЖ СѦ ОТЪ ТЪМЫ ЛЮ-  
ДЕИ: НАПАДАЖИЩУЪ НА МѦ  
ОКРЪСТЪ: —  
8 ВЪСКРЪСИ Г҃И СІИ МѦ ВЪЖЕ МОИ:

- ѣко ты порази всѣхъ враж-  
дужихъ мнѣ въсоуде:  
зжыи грѣшныхъ съкроу-  
шихъ еси: — —
- 9 Гнѣ есть снѣже: и на людехъ  
твоихъ блгословещенне  
твое: — —

## (b) Psalm 13 (14)

- ВЪ КОНЕЦѢ ПСЛОМЪ ДѢВЪ: —
- XIII, 1 Рече весоуденъ въ срѣдѣци  
своимъ нѣсть бѣ: растъ-  
лѣшиа і омразиши сѣ въ на-  
уинныхъ . . . . .: нѣ-  
сть теоряи благостыниа:.
- 2 Гѣ съ нѣси приниуе на снѣи  
улуи: видѣти ѣште есть  
разоумѣваи ли възиска-  
иа бѣ: —
- 3 Бѣси оуклоишиа сѣ въкоупѣ  
неклоуими въшиа: нѣ-  
сть теоряи благостъ-  
ниа нѣсть до единого: —
- 4 Ни ли разоумѣжтъ въси  
теораштеи безаконенъ:  
снѣдажштеи люди мо-  
иа въ хлѣва мѣсто гѣ не пр-  
изѣвашиа: — —
- 5 Тоу оустрашишиа сѣ воѣзнь-  
иже не въ воѣзни: ѣко  
гѣ въ родѣ праведныхъ:.

- 6 съвѣтъ нѣштаго посра-  
мисте: Гѣ оупьваніе  
емоу естъ: — — —
- 7 Кѣто дастъ отъ сіона сѣни-
- 8 е іслю: егда вѣзвѣра-  
титъ гѣ плѣнь людеи  
своихъ: вѣзвѣрадоуе-  
тъ сѣа іѣковѣ і вѣзвѣ-  
селитъ сѣа іѣк: — — —

(c) Psalm 78 (79)

LXXVIII ПХСНННННН ПХСНННННН —

- 1 Бѣже прѣдъ жъзъзы-  
ци вѣ достояніе  
твое —  
Сѣсквернишиа  
цирѣковѣ стѣжи  
твоѣж — Положишиа  
іѣма ѣко окоштеное  
хранѣниште —
- 2 Проложишиа троупне ра-  
равѣ твоихъ — бра-  
шно пѣтицамъ не-  
вснѣнымъ — пѣти  
прѣподовѣнѣныхъ  
твоихъ зѣвѣремъ земь-  
нымъ —
- 3 Пролѣшиа крѣви ихъ ѣко во-  
дъ окрѣсть іѣліма —  
і не вѣ погравѣли —
- 4 Быхомъ поношенію сѣсѣ-  
домъ нашимъ — Подрѣ-

- жание і поржганиѣ сж-  
 штимъ окръсть насть ѿ·
- 5 Доколѣ гѣ гнѣвалеш сѧ  
 въ конецъ ѿ· Раждеже-  
 ть сѧ ѿко огнь рѣвене  
 твое ѿ·
- 6 Пролѣ гнѣвъ твои на  
 ѧзыкы не знаж-  
 штя тебе ѿ· и на цѣстѣа  
 ѣже имени твоего  
 не призываша ѿ·
- 7 ѿко поѣсѧ гѣкова і мѣ-  
 сто его опустнша ѿ·
- 8 Не помѣни нашихъ безако-  
 нени прѣвѣхъ ѿ· Блдро  
 варятъ ны милости  
 твоѧ гѣ ѿ·
- ѿко овѣнштахъ сѣло ѿ·
- 9 помози намъ вѣже сплю  
 нашихъ ѿ·
- Славы ради имени  
 твоего гѣ избави ны ѿ·
- І оцѣсти грѣхы нашихъ  
 имени твоего ради ѿ·
- 10 Бда когда рекжтъ ѧ-  
 зыци кѣди естъ бѣ  
 ихъ ѿ· і оувѣсть сѧ  
 въ ѧзыщѣхъ ѿ·  
 прѣдъ оуима нашими ѿ·  
 мечь кровви рабѣ  
 твоихъ пролитѣа ѿ·
- 11 Да видетъ прѣ-  
 дѣ тѧ въздыхани-

Е ОКОВАНЪХЪ ѿ . По вели-  
 чю мѣшьца твоеа ѿ .  
 сънабѣди снѣи оумръ-  
 штвеныхъ ѿ .

- 12 Въздаждь съсѣдомъ  
 нашимъ ѿ . седмерицеж  
 въ нѣдра ихъ ѿ . Поношение-  
 мь имже поносиша тебѣ ѿ .  
 13 ГИ ѿ . мы же людие твои  
 і овъцаж пажити твоеа ѿ .  
 Исповѣмь сѣа тебѣ въ вѣкъ ѿ .  
 въ родъ і родъ възвѣсти-  
 мь хвалы твоеа ѿ .

(d) Psalm 120 (121)

ПѢСНЬ СТВАСНЬНАЯ: ѿ

- СХХ, 1 Възвѣсь оуи моѣ въ го-  
 ры:) Отъныждѣже при-  
 детъ помощь моѣ: ѿ
- 2 Помощь моѣ отъ ГИ:) Гѣ-  
 ть, рѣшаго нѣа і землѣж: ѿ
- 3 Не дождь во съмѣтении но-  
 гы твоеа:) Ни да въздрѣ-  
 4 млетъ хранѣа тѣа:) Гѣ  
 не въздрѣмлетъ ни  
 оусънетъ хранѣа-і-илѣ: ѿ
- 5 Гѣ съхранитъ тѣа:) Гѣ по-  
 кровъ твоѣ на ржж де-  
 снжж твоѣж: ѿ
- 6 Въ день слѣньце не ожеже-  
 ть тебе:)

Ни лоуна ноштиж: —

- 7 ГѢ СЪХРАНИТЬ ТЯ ОТО ВСЕГО  
ЗЛА:) СЪХРАНИТЬ ДШЖ  
ТВОЕ ГѢ: —
- 8 ГѢ СЪХРАНИТЬ ВЪХОЖДЕНИ-  
Е ТВОЕ:) І ІСХОЖДЕНИЕ  
ТВОЕ:) СЪСЛАВЪ І ДО ВѢКА: —



## VI. EUCHOLOGIUM SINAITICUM

The Euchologium Sinaiticum (Euch. Sin.) is a Glagolitic manuscript, comprising in all 109 ff., which is preserved in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, with the exception of 4 ff. which are in the Leningrad Public Library. It is a euchology, or collection of prayers for various occasions (R. требник); in its original form it no doubt also included a service-book (R. службник) with the prayers for the daily offices. It was probably written in Macedonia in the eleventh century. Geitler's edition (1882) is now superseded by that of J. Frček, *Euchologium Sinaiticum. Texte slave avec sources grecques et traduction française*, 2 vols., Paris, 1933 and 1939 (= R. Graffin (ed.), *Patrologia orientalis*, t. xxiv, fasc. 5, and t. xxv, fasc. 3) and by what is now the standard edition, including a photographic facsimile of the whole manuscript: R. Nahtigal, *Euchologium sinaiticum. Starocerkvenoslovanski glagolski spomenik*, I. del. *Fotografski posnetek*. II. del. *Tekst s komentarjem*. Ljubljana, 1941 and 1942.

(a) ff. 13<sup>b</sup> 19-15<sup>b</sup> 23

❖ **МО ЄГДА ХОТАЩЕ ВИНОГРИ**

❖ ДЪ САДИТИ %.

**Т**Ы ЕСИ ХЕ ВИНОГРАДЪ ИСТИНЪ  
 НЫИ . І ОЦЪ ТВОИ ДѢЛАТЕ  
 ЛЬ ЕСТЬ . ТЫ СВОЮ АПЛЪ  
 ЛОЗНЕ НАРЕКАЪ ЕСИ . ТЫ ИЛѢ  
 ОТЪ СЮПТА ПРѢНЕСЕ . И ИЗГЪ  
 НА БЪЗЪИКИ И НАСАДИ БЪ . ТАКО  
 ЖДЕ И НЪИИЪ . ПРИЗЪРИ НА ВИНОГРА  
 ДЪ СЪ . І НАСАДИ И . І ОУКОРЕНИ И . І  
 ОУГЛАЖЕН МСТЪ ТВОЪ НА НЪ . ОГРА  
 ДИ И ОСТРОГОМЪ . БЪХУДЪИ И И  
 СХУДЪИ ЕГО . ИЗБАВИ ОТЪ СНѢГА .  
 І ОТЪ МРАЗА . І ОТЪ ГРАДА НО  
 СИМА БОУРЕЪ **Ш** БЪКО МИЛОСТИ  
 БЪ ЧКЛЮБИЦЪ БЪ ЕСИ . І ТЕБѢ %.

❖ **МО ИА ГРОЗДЪМИ ВИНЪ ИА**

❖ ИМАНИЕ %.

**Б**же сп̄е нашъ . изволен наре  
 щн сѧ . виноградома . едино  
 чадааго сна твоего . і ба га наше  
 го исха . і плодъ вѣсмрътенъ .  
 Даровавѣ намъ іма . ты пло  
 дось винъны бл҃ген . Мѡтеа  
 ми стѣла брца . і вѣхъ стѣи  
 хъ твоихъ . оугождьшихъ тебе  
 отъ вѣка . ѿ Благодѣтнѣхъ и ще  
 дротами . единочадааго сна % .

❖ **МО** нача́тѣю виноу кысѣлоу % .

**Г**і исх̄е бже нашъ . прѣложен водж  
 въ вино . Въ канагалаилѣискѣи  
 хъ брацѣхъ . і слава своихъ авла  
 оученикомъ своимъ . ты и ны  
 нѣ посѣти . отъ стааго жилища  
 своего . і бл҃ген вино се . і сътео  
 ри е во вѣко благорастворение .  
 пнѣщимъ . Да без вѣскоа  
 неприкзанны дѣтели . пнѣще  
 е . славимъ та . Датеа вѣсмоу  
 доброу приношенью . оца и сна и с % .

❖ **МО** блябениѣ домоу и хрямоу % .

**Б**же сп̄тєлю нашъ . съподо  
 бли подъ кровъ закъе  
 овъ вьнити . сп̄ниѣ смоу  
 і вѣсмоу домови его бѣти .  
 по твоемоу прѣчистоумоу . і бе  
 смрътъноумоу гласоу . іже  
 отъ вѣлиствъ . Есєленѣи въ  
 истинѣ проповѣда сѧ . ты и  
 нынѣ хоташа съде жи  
 ти . нами і сими смѣре

нѣми . і грѣшнѣми . **М**о  
 теѣ приносѣша . бѣгнѣ і про  
 слави . есѣ пакости . і вѣрѣдениѣ  
 вѣсего житиѣ . Бѣ храмѣ семь .  
 вѣлѣша нмѣ твоими бѣлгы  
 ми дарѣми . земнѣми . і  
 небснѣми . **В**ѣко подобаст  
 ти есѣ слава . оца и сна . і стааго % .  
 ∴ **М**о **Н**и **Е**сѣцѣмѣ **С**тѣдомѣ % .  
**В**лко **Г**и **Е**же нашѣ . вѣсѣдрѣжите  
 лю . истиннѣ агньче . Бѣ  
 землн грѣхѣ вѣсего мира . не  
 прѣзыри дшѣ молмѣ са тебѣ .  
 чкљюче къ тебѣ приеѣгаимѣ . и  
 тебѣ са молнмѣ . ізволен еѣ  
 чынааго своего нѣкова . і оумѣ  
 ножѣ его стада . і избеавнѣ і  
 отѣ ржкѣ неавокѣ . і отѣ  
 лавановѣ . і нѣинѣ избе  
 ли . і бѣгнѣ стадо се . і оумѣно  
 жи е . на тѣсаща и на тѣмѣ . і  
 избеавн нѣи и се . отѣ насильѣ и  
 нопаменнѣнѣ . і отѣ вѣсего ча  
 са . сѣмрѣтѣнааго . сѣблюдн е  
 стѣми дѣлѣи своимн . і сѣ  
 подобн сѣтѣжавѣшааго е . нева  
 видѣанеомѣ окомѣ . наса  
 ждати са . отѣ него . і хѣлаж те  
 бѣ приносити . **В**ѣ **Б**лагодѣтнѣ  
 и щедротами . единочѣдааго % .  
 ∴ **М**о **Н**и **З**аколѣннѣ % .  
**Б**лгвнѣ . еси **Г**и **Е**же . оца нашн

ХЪ . І БАГВЕНО ИМА СЛАВЪІ  
 ТВОЕА . І СТОЕ . БАГВЕНЪ І  
 СИ ГІ ЕЖЕ . БАГВЕНЪІ . ЖРЪТВЪ  
 АВАМЪ . ПОДЪ ДЖЕОМЪ МА  
 МЪЕРНИСКИМА . І ТЕЛЕЦА МА  
 КОКЪ . І ОВЕНЪ ДРЪЖИМА  
 ЗА РОГЪ . ЕЪ ГРЪМОУ САВЕ  
 КОКЪ . БАГВЕНЪ ІСИ ЕЖЕ ОЦА НА  
 ШИХЪ . ПРИЕМЪІ КАДИЛО ЗАХА  
 РЫННО . І ИЛИА ВЪРЪНААГО . ЕСЕ  
 ПЛОДЪНОЕ . ТАКО ПРИМА І СИЖ  
 ЖРЪТВЪ . ЕЪ ВОИЪ БЛАГОЖА  
 НИЪ . ВОЛЫ ИХЪ ТОУЧЪНЫ СЪ  
 ТВОРИ . ПИТЪНИЪ ИХЪ ОУМЪНО  
 ЖИ . СТАДА ИХЪ МНОГОПЛОДЪНА  
 СЪТВОРИ . ЕЪХЪОЖДИНЕ ИХЪ И ИСХЪ  
 ЖДИНЕ . ПЪАЪСКОЖ СИЛОЖ СИ О  
 ГРАДИ . ДА ЕСЕГДА ЕСЪКЪ ДОВО  
 ЛЪ ИМЖЩЕ . ІЗЕВЪІТЪЧЪСТВОУ  
 ЕМЪ . БО ЕСЪКОМЪ ДЪЛЪ БЛАДЪ .  
 І ТЕБЪ ОУГОДЪНО . СЛАВЪЩЕ ИМА  
 ТВОЕ . ОЦА И СНА И СТААГО ДЪА . НЪІ .

(b) ff. 37<sup>a</sup> 21-37<sup>b</sup> 16

∴ МО ЛЪЖИЩЕ НЯ ЛОЖИ ./.  
 ѿ тиди сотоно . отъ сиХъ дѣв  
 рен . І отъ сиХъ чѣтырѣ жго  
 лѣ . съде тебѣ . нѣстѣ мѣста .  
 ни причастнѣ . съде петрѣ . съде  
 павла . съде стое еванѣ . съде  
 азъ покланѣеъ сѣ . лещи хощѣ .

Въ има оца и стааго дха . нынѣ % .  
 ∴ МО Б ТОМОУЖДЕ % .

Въ има га нашего неха . Посъ  
 ли въ ма стын твои дхъ . ѿ въ  
 ложи оумъ въ срце мое стааго  
 твоего дха . Хранаша дшык мой и  
 тѣло . ѿ ѣса оуды тѣлеси моего .  
 ѿ ѣсъ животъ състава моего .  
 отъ ѣсего зълодѣѣ . ѿ отъ ѣсѣко  
 ма сѣти неприквинны . ѿ отъ ѣсѣ  
 хъ съблзнь грѣховъныхъ .  
 ѿ наоучи ма тебѣ хвалы въсы  
 лати . оцю и сноу и стоумоу дхоу % .

(c) ff. 72<sup>a</sup> 5-73<sup>a</sup> 1

Гі еже ѣсемоги . тебѣ еждъ азъ и  
 сповѣденъ . Есѣхъ мойхъ грѣхъ . ѿ  
 моего лиха сътворениѣ сего . еже ко  
 лижъдо изглахъ . И лихо сътвори  
 хъ . ѿ лихо мыслихъ . Глосъ ли  
 дѣломъ . Ли помышленемъ .  
 Есего еже азъ помънѣ . Любо  
 не помънѣ . Ёже азъ съвѣды  
 съгрѣшихъ . Любо не съвѣды . нж  
 ждежъ Любо не нждежъ . съпа ли  
 бѣда . лихокаматы . ѿ лъжа . ѿ въ  
 помышленъи неправеднѣ . поу  
 стоши ѿ блади . ёкоже азъ колижъ  
 до сътворихъ . ѿ ѣсѣ из лиха . Еъ ё  
 денъи . ѿ въ питъи . ѿ въ неправе  
 днѣма съпанъи . Шольжъ та гі

БЖЕ МОН . Да ты ми рачишь . жи  
 вотъ и милость подати . Да и а  
 зъ непосрамѣнъ прѣдъ очима  
 твоима бждѣ . і да и азъ еще на  
 семь свѣтѣ . монхъ грѣхъ пока  
 ѣж са . і достойно покаяние имѣ  
 ти можѣ . Ёкоже твоѣа щедроты  
 сжтъ . Есевако гѣ . тронце бже  
 бсемогы . бжди ми помощни  
 къ . і бжди ми подавѣи силѣ .  
 і мждрость . і правьденъ за  
 мысль . і доверѣ волеѣ . съ пра  
 вьденноѣ вѣроѣ . На твоѣхъ слоу  
 жѣвѣ гѣ . Ты единъ на съ свѣ  
 тѣ приде грѣшникъ избавитъ .  
 Бжди ма спсы . избави ма  
 гѣ бже снѣ гѣ . Ёкоже ты хощешн .  
 ёкоже ти любо . Сътвори съ мно  
 ѣ рабомѣ твоимѣ . милости  
 вѣи . Си бже . Рачи ми помощи  
 твоемоу рабоу . ты единъ вѣси  
 гѣ . Какы моѣа сжтъ вѣды .  
 Еъ твоѣхъ мнѣ прѣдаѣ азъ  
 мое срце . і моеѣ мысль . і  
 моеѣ любовь . і мон животъ .  
 і моѣа грѣхы . отъложи . моѣ  
 словеса . і мое дѣло оконьча  
 н гѣ . і твоѣхъ мнѣ . Еъ мнѣ  
 грѣшникѣ рабѣ твоимѣ ави . і и  
 збави ма гѣ отъ бсего зѣла  
 нынѣ и присно и . въ вѣкы вѣко % .

## VII. GLAGOLITA CLOZIANUS

The Glagolita Clozianus (Cloz.) consists of 14 ff. of Glagolitic text: these represent a small fragment of what must have been a vast menology (collection of lives of Saints and homilies appropriate to the festivals of the ecclesiastical year). They contain five homilies for Holy Week; the Greek originals of four of them have been identified and are reprinted in Vondrák's edition. The language of Cloz. has been referred to in the Introduction (§ 10). In view of the Serbo-Croat elements present in it, the fact that in the late Middle Ages the manuscript was preserved on the island of Krk (Veglia), where it belonged to the Frankopan family, is of particular interest. The manuscript is at present in the municipal museum at Trento in northern Italy, with the exception of 2 ff. which are in the Ferdinandeum at Innsbruck. Its designation comes from Count Paris Cloz (†1856) in whose library it was found by Kopitar, its first editor. The edition by V. Vondrák (*Glagolita Clozův*, Prague, 1893) has now been superseded by that of A. Dostál, *Clozianus. Codex palaeoslovenicus glagoliticus tridentinus et oenipontanus*, Prague, 1959.

## ii. 24-77

СТГО ІОАНА ХРЪСОСТОМА АРХІЕПІСКОУНА КОНСТАТИНЪ ГРАДА  
 ЧЪТЪ ВЪ ВЕЛИКЪ ЧЕТВРЪТОКЪ. ХОТЪХЪ ПАТРОАРХОВЪ ВЕСЪДЪ  
 КЪ ВАМЪ ПРОСТЪРЪЕТИ І ОТЬ ТО... ДХОВЪНОЖ ПИШЪЖ  
 ВАМЪ ВЪДАТИ, НЪ ВЕЗОУМЪЕ ПРЪДАДИТЕЛЕВО НА СВОЖ ВЕ-  
 СЪДЪ ІАЗЪИКЪ НАШЪ (ВЛЪ)ЧЕТЪ, І ВРЪ(МА) ДЪНИ СЕМОУ  
 ВЪДІТЪ НЪ ВЕЗОУМЪЕ ЕГО (І)ЗГЛАГОЛАТИ. ДЪНЕСЪ БО ГЪ  
 НАШЪ ІС ХЪ ПРЪДАНЪ БЫСТЪ ВЪ РЪКЪ ИЮДЪІСКИ(ІА)  
 ОУЧЕНИКОМЪ СВОИМЪ. НЪ СЕ СЛИША ТЪ (НЕ) ВЪ(ДИ) ПЕЧАЛЪНЪ,  
 ЗА НЕ ПРЪДАНЪ БЫСТЪ, НЪ ПАЧЕ ПРОСЪЛЪЗИ СА І ВЪЗДЪХНИ,  
 НЕ ПРЪДАНАЕГО РАДІ, НЪ ПРЪДАВЪШАГО РАДІ. ЗА НЕ І Х...Ъ,  
 РЕЧЕ, ВІДЪВЪ ІЮДЪ, СЪМАТЕ СА. ЧЕСО РАДІ СЪМАТЕ СА;  
 ПОМЪШАЛЪІА, ЪКО ПО ТОЛИЦЪ ОУЧЕНИИ ВЪ КАКЪ ВРЪГЪ СЕБЕ  
 ВЪВРЪГЪ НЕ ЧЮЪШЕ. МИЛОУІА ОУБВО ОУЧЕНИКА СЪМАТЕ СА.  
 СЕГО РАДІ ВЪСЪДЕ ГЛЪТЪ ЕВАНЪІІСТИ ИСТИНЪ. СЪМАТЕ СА  
 ОУБВО ЗРАВ ВЕЗОУМЪЕ ОУЧЕНИЧА А НЪ ОУЧА ТЪХЪ ПАЧЕ  
 ПЛАКАТИ СА, ТВОРАШТИХЪ ЗЪЛО, А НЕ ТВОРАШТИИ ЗЪЛО  
 ТВОРАШТЕИ БО ЗЪЛО, ТІ СЪТЪ СТРАЖДЪШТЕІ ЗЪЛЪ. І СЕ  
 ЪВЪГЪ ГЛАШЕ ХЪ БЛАЖЕНИ ИЗГЪНАНИИ ПРАВЪДЪ РАДІ, ЪКО

тѣхъ естѣ цѣрестви небское. видѣ ли, коликъ пригытѣкъ  
 ѣви стражджштимъ зълѣ; видѣ пакы инѣде твора-  
 штимъ зѣло немилостивыа моукы. послоушан оубо бла-  
 женаго павѣла глжшта вѣ же, братѣѣ, подобны вѣсте  
 црквамъ бжгѣмъ сжштимъ въ юдѣи о хѣ исѣ, ѣко  
 тажде приасте і вѣ отъ своихъ съплемен'никъ, ѣкоже  
 і ты отъ юдѣи, оубивѣшихъ і гѣ іса і своа пророкы  
 і насъ изгѣнавѣшихъ, вѣзбранѣжштихъ, рече, ѣзгыкомъ  
 глади, да съпасжтѣ сѣ, вѣ-испл(ѣ)нити имъ грѣхы.  
 постиже же вѣ нихъ гнѣвъ до конца . видѣ ли, ѣко  
 тѣхъ подобаетъ паче рыдати і плакати сѣ, твораштихъ  
 зѣло, а стражджштихъ зълѣ блажити. сего раді и  
 чколюбець гѣ, зѣрѣ дръзости оученича, съмжштааше  
 сѣ, любовь ѣвлѣа, ѣже имѣаше на немъ і показаша  
 чколюбѣѣ своего великотѣ до самого прѣ(дан)ѣѣ, вѣсѣкж  
 пользж твораѣаше емоу. (не в)жді оубо печальнѣ, брате,  
 слышавѣ, ѣко іс прѣданъ бѣи, нѣ аште хошѣши, плачи  
 сѣ горѣко і вѣздѣхн вел(ѣ)ми, не прѣданаго раді іса,  
 нѣ прѣдавѣшаго раді юды. прѣданъ бо ісѣ і вѣселе-  
 нжж вѣсж съпаслъ естѣ, а прѣдавѣи ю(да дшж своа)  
 погоубилъ естѣ).



## B. CYRILLIC TEXTS

### VIII. TSAR SAMUEL'S INSCRIPTION OF 993

The Cyrillic Inscription of Tsar Samuel was made in 993 at the orders of Samuel, Tsar over Macedonia and Western Bulgaria from 976 to 1014. It commemorates the Tsar's deceased parents and brother and was inscribed on a marble slab. One corner of the slab has been broken off, but the missing letters and words can easily be supplied. This monument was discovered in the village of German near Lake Prespa in 1888. As it is dated it is of importance for the history of the Cyrillic alphabet. It has often been reproduced: a photographic facsimile may be found in A. M. Seliščev, *Старославянский язык*, i, Moscow, 1951, 75.

† В І Н М А ш Т І Ч А Н С ъ  
Н Н А Н С Т А Г О А О У Х А А  
З С А М О Н П Т Р А Б ъ Б \*  
П О Л А Г А Х П А М А Т Е  
Ѹ Н М А Т Е Р Н Н Б Р А Т  
А І С Р ъ С Т Ѣ Х ъ С Н  
Н М Е М А О У С ъ П ъ Ш  
І С О Л А Р А Б ъ Б \* Н  
Ѣ А В А ъ Н А П Н С А  
Л Ѣ Т О О Т ъ С ъ Т В С  
У ъ : Ф ѡ Н ъ А Н

1. † в(ъ) нма ѿ̄тъца н съ-
2. нма н стаго до̄уха а-
3. зъ Самонѣ рабъ̄ в̄ж(н)
4. полагаж намать (ѿ̄тъц-)
5. ѿ̄ н матерн н брат(ѿ̄ н-)
6. а в̄р̄стъхъ сн(хъ. се)
7. нмена оӯс̄п̄ш(нхъ Нн-)
8. кола рабъ̄ в̄жн (Рнψнмн-)
9. ѿ̄ Дав(ы)дъ. написа (же са в̄ъ)
10. лето отъ с̄тво̄(ренинѣ миро-)
11. γ ρ s .: φ α - (6501—993). нн̄ъдн(кта s).

## IX. SAVVINA KNIGA

Savvina Kniga (Savv. Kn.) is a Cyrillic manuscript of which 166 parchment folia have been preserved. Of these only 129 ff. contain the work of the original scribe. The manuscript contains an incomplete evangelistary and a *synaxarion*: it is estimated that the original may have consisted of about 200 ff. It takes its name from that of the scribe who may have written it, a certain 'popŭ Savva' to whom there are two references in the manuscript. Originally preserved in a monastery near Pskov, Savv. Kn. came to Moscow in unknown circumstances and is still preserved there in the Drevnechranilišče Centrarchiva R.S.F.S.R. It is likely that it was written in the eleventh century by a Bulgarian speaker, probably in north-eastern Bulgaria but perhaps north of the Danube. The edition of Sreznevskij (1868) has now been superseded by that of V. Ščepkin, Саввина книга, St. Petersburg, 1903 (with a glossary).

(a) *Matthew* viii. 5-13

Въ ѡнѡ. пришѣдъ іс̄ въ каперѣнаоуль.  
 припаде ёмоу. сътъникъ . мола ёго  
 6 ѿ гл̄а. ꙗко ѡтрокъ ми лежитъ въ хра  
 минѣ. ѡслабень жилами. лютѣ ѡ  
 ко мѣчѣ сд. 7 гл̄а ёмоу іс̄. азъ при  
 шѣдъ ищѣлаж ѿ. 8 ѡтъкѣщавъ ёмоу съ  
 тъникъ рече. ꙗко иѣсмь достоинъ да  
 ми подъ кровъ выидеши. нъ толи  
 ко рѣци слово и ищѣлаѣтъ. слоуга мо  
 9. ѿбо азъ чл̄къ ёсмь подъ вѣбами. ѿ  
 мѣ подъ совожъ воины. гл̄ж семоу и  
 ди и ѿдетъ. и другоумѡ при  
 ди и придетъ. и равоу своё  
 моу створи се и створи тѣ. 10 слъ  
 шавъ же іс̄. днви сд ёмоу и рече иѣж  
 щимъ въ слѣдъ себе. ами гл̄ж вамъ ни  
 въ зли толикы вѣры ѡврѣтъ. 11 гл̄ж  
 же вамъ. ꙗко мнози ѡтъ вѣстока и  
 запада. приджтъ и възлагжтъ съ

аврамуомъ, и ѿсакомъ и ѿнаковомъ.  
 въ цр̄ствни нб̄снѣемъ. <sup>12</sup> сн̄ове же цр̄  
 ствни ижденжтъ сд. въ тълж кро  
 мѣшънжж. тоу ѣстъ плачъ и скръ  
 жтъ зжвомъ. <sup>13</sup> и рече ӣс сътъ  
 никови. иди тако кѣрова. да вжде  
 ть ти. и ӣсцѣлѣ слоуга ӣго въ ть часъ. —

(b) *Luke ii. 1-20*

Бъ бн̄о. <sup>1</sup> ӣзиде повелѣниѣ отъ  
 кесара авьгвста. написати всж въ  
 селенжж. <sup>2</sup> се написани вѣистъ вла  
 джцюмоу сириѣж курнѣж. <sup>3</sup> и ӣдѣ  
 хж вси. къждо написатъ сд въ свои  
 градъ. <sup>4</sup> възиде же ӣисифъ. отъ гали  
 леи града назаретъска. въ ӣюде  
 ѣж въ (гра)дъ дѣвъ. ӣже нарицаетъ сд  
 видѣломъ. зане вѣ отъ домоу ӣ  
 отъ очѣствни дѣа. <sup>5</sup> написати сд съ  
 марнѣж. обржченож ѣмоу женож.  
 сжцеж непразнож. <sup>6</sup> вѣистъ же кг  
 да вѣиста тоу. ӣспальниша сд дн̄и  
 ѣ родити ѣи. <sup>7</sup> ӣ роди сн̄ъ свои прѣвѣнъ  
 цъ. ӣ повитъ и. ӣ положи въ яслѣхъ.  
 зане не вѣ има мѣста въ обитѣли.  
<sup>8</sup> ӣ вѣхж пастоуси въ тожде странѣ.  
 въдаще ӣ стрѣгжце. стражж ношъ  
 нжж. о стадѣ своѣмъ. <sup>9</sup> ӣ се аггль гн̄ъ  
 ста въ нихъ. ӣ слава гн̄а обсиа ѣ.  
 ӣ боюша сд страхомъ велиемъ. <sup>10</sup> ӣ  
 рече ӣмъ аггль. не боите сд. се во  
 благовѣстоуж вамъ радость ве

лиж. ѡже вждетъ всѣмъ людѣмъ.  
<sup>11</sup> ѡко роди са вамъ хъ гъ. въ гра дѣѣ.  
<sup>12</sup> и се вамъ знаменіе. оберцете мла  
 деньць повитъ. лежаци въ ѡсле  
 хъ. <sup>13</sup> и вънезапж вѣсть гла аггло  
 мъ. множество воинъ нѣскыхъ.  
<sup>14</sup> слава въ вѣшънихъ боу. и на земли  
 миръ въ члѣхъ благоволеніе.  
<sup>15</sup> и вѣсть ѡко отидж отъ нихъ  
 аггли на нѣо и члци. пастоуси рѣ  
 ша дроугъ къ дроугѣ. прѣндѣ  
 мь оубо до видѣлѣма. и видимъ  
 глѣ съ вѣвѣши. иже гъ съказа  
 намъ. <sup>16</sup> и придж подвигъше са. и ѡ  
 врѣтж мариж же иѡсифа. и мла  
 деньць лежаци въ ѡслѣхъ. <sup>17</sup> видѣ  
 вше съказаша ѡ гласѣ. гланѣмъ  
 имъ ѡ отроцѣте семь. <sup>18</sup> и кси слы  
 шавѣшеі дикнша са ѡ гланыхъ.  
 отъ пастоухъ къ нимъ. <sup>19</sup> мари  
 ѡже съблюдаше вса глѣ сиѣ.  
 сълагаци въ срѣци своѣмъ. <sup>20</sup>  
 и възвратиша са пастоуси.  
 слакци и хвалци ѡа. отъ въ  
 сѣхъ ѡже слышаша видѣша.  
 ѡкоже глаго къ нимъ.

## X. CODEX SUPRASLIENSIS

The Codex Suprasliensis (Supr.), a Cyrillic manuscript of which 285 ff. are extant, was discovered in a monastery at Supraśl near Białystok (Bělostok) by M. K. Bobrovskij in 1838-9. The finder sent the manuscript to Kopitar to be copied; ff. 1-118 were still in the latter's possession at his death and were sent to Ljubljana where they are now preserved in the University Library. The remainder (with the exception of the first 16 ff. which are now in the Saltykov-Ščedrin Library in Leningrad) found its way to Warsaw, where it was preserved until 1939 in the Biblioteka Zamoyskich. During the Second World War it disappeared but it was recovered in 1968. This longest of the preserved OCS manuscripts contains a menology for the month of March, comprising twenty-four lives of saints or other sacred legends, twenty-three homilies, and a prayer. Three items are versions of homilies also translated in Cloz. The language of Supr. has been referred to in the Introduction (§ 10). The first edition of Supr., made by Miklosich in 1851, has been superseded by that of S. Sever'janov, *Супрасльская рукопись*, St. Petersburg, 1904 (photographically reprinted in two volumes at Graz in 1956). A glossary to this manuscript was made by K. H. Meyer: *Altkirchenslavisch-griechisches Wörterbuch des Codex Suprasliensis*, Glückstadt and Hamburg, 1935; see also Alfons Margulíes, *Der altkirchenslavische Codex Suprasliensis*, Heidelberg, 1927.

*Pope Gregory the Great*

(Sever'janov's edition, pp. 119<sup>15</sup>-124<sup>5</sup>)

мѣсаца марта въ дѣ. житиѣ григора папы роумѣскаго.  
 Блаженъи григоринъ поставленъ  
 въистъ патриархъ. стѣи въиши цръ-  
 кви римѣстѣи. ѿ прѣжде патриаршѣства.  
 цръноризъца въ въ манастири. стаа-  
 го апостола андреа. нарицаемаго  
 кандскаура. влизъ стѣюю мженикоу.  
 ѿвана и паула. бѣаше же игоуменъ то-  
 го манастирѣ. мати же кѣго блаженая си-  
 лени. живѣаше влизъ кратъ стааго пау-  
 ла апостола. на мѣстѣ нарицаемѣмъ  
 кѣла нова. Тъ же блаженъи григоринъ. кѣгъ-

да сѣдѣаше въ хъизинѣ своѣй. и писаше. приде къ нѣмоу маломоштѣ. мола и и глагола. помилоуи ма рабе ба въшнѣнаго. ꙗко старѣишина вѣхъ корабникѣмъ. и истопихомъ са и погоубихомъ много и мѣникъ. и свок и стоужде. любонншти и же и по истинѣ рабъ христосовъ. призъвавъ слоугъ своѣго глагола кѣмоу. брате шедъ даждъ сѣмоу ꙗзлатиць. братъ же шедъ сътвори ꙗкоже повелѣ кѣмоу рабъ божинъ григорий. и дастъ маломошти ꙗзлатиць. и ѡтиде. пакы ѡубо мало прѣмоудиевъ въ тѣ же денѣ. приде тѣ же маломоштѣ къ блаженоубоумоу григору глагола. помилоуи ма рабе ба въшнѣнаго ꙗко много погоубихъ. а мало ми ꙗси далъ. Блаженъи же призъвавъ слоугъ своѣго глагола кѣмоу. иди брате даждъ кѣмоу друугъ ꙗзлатиць. сътвори же братъ тако. възъмъ же ништи бѣзлатиць ѡтиде. пакы же мало помоудиевъ третнѣ въ тѣ же денѣ приде къ блаженоубоумоу григорию глагола. помилоуи ма рабе бога въшнѣнаго. даждъ ми друугоу благословѣннѣ ꙗко много погоубихъ. Блаженъи же призъвавъ слоугъ своѣго глагола кѣмоу. иди даждъ кѣмоу друугъ ꙗзлатиць. ѡтвѣштавъ же глагола. вѣрж ми и ми чѣстнѣи ѡтѣче ꙗко нѣстъ остала ни кѣдина златица въ ризьници. глагола к нѣмоу блаженъи. не ѣмаши ли иного никакогоже съсѣда. ни ли ризъна да даси кѣмоу. онъ же ѡтвѣшта-

въ рече. много съсжда чѣстнѣнъи ѡтъче не  
 ѡмамъ. развѣ сѣреврѣнааго влюда. ѡже  
 ꙗ послалаа госпожда великаа съ коуциѡжъ.  
 глагола къ нѣмоу рабѣ вѣѡни григоріи. ѡди  
 брате даждъ ѡмоу влюдъ тѣ. братѣ же  
 сътвори ꙗкоже повелѣ ѡмоу блаженъи.  
 ѡ дастъ ништоуоумоу. ништинъ же възе-  
 мѣ вѣ златиць ѡ сѣреврѣнъи влюдъ ѡтиде.  
 ꙗгда же и поставиша патриарха стѣни црѣ-  
 кви римѣстѣи. по ѡвѣчаю патриаршъ-  
 скоу. повелѣ сакѣлароу своѡмоу въ ѡдинъ  
 днь. ѡдноѡжъ привести вѣ маломошти.  
 на трепезжъ своѡжъ да ѡвѣдоуѡжтъ съ нимъ.  
 сакѣларіи же сътвори ꙗкоже повелѣ ѡмѡ  
 патриархъ. ѡ призѣва вѣ мжжъ ништѣ.  
 ѡ ꙗгда сѣдоша съ патриархомъ. на трепе-  
 зѣ ѡврѣтоша са гѣ. призѣвавъ же сакѣла-  
 ра глагола ѡмоу. не вѣхъ ли ти рекаъ вѣ по-  
 зѣвати. то како безъ моѡго повелѣнниа  
 три на десате ꙗси позѣвалъ. сакѣларѡ же  
 слышавъ. ѡ пристрашенъ бѣвъ. ѡтѣвѣ-  
 штакъ рече къ нѣмоу. вѣроуѡ ми чѣстнѣнъи  
 владѣко. дѣва на десате ѡхъ ꙗстѣ. тре-  
 тнѡго на десате не видѣаше ник'тоже.  
 развѣ патриархъ ѡдинъ. ѡвѣдоуѡжште-  
 мъ же ѡмъ. видѣаше патриархъ третнѡ-  
 го на десате сѣдашта на крайъ стола. ѡ се  
 лице ꙗго ѡбразъ ѡзмѣниаше. ѡвогда ѡубо  
 видѣти и вѣаше сѣда. ѡвогда же ѡтрока.  
 ѡ ꙗгда же късташа съ трепезы. ѡны въса  
 ѡтъпоустѣ блаженъи. а третнѡго на де-



сате. видимааго тако чоудъна. ѿ и за  
 ржжж. и въведы и въ каѣтъ своѣхъ глагола  
 кѣмоу. заканаѣ та ѡ велнцнн снлѣ кксе-  
 дръжителкн бога. повѣждѣ ми к'то ты  
 кси. и что кестъ имл твоѣ. онъ же рече  
 к нѣмоу. и кѣже въпрашаѣши имене мѡ-  
 кго. то и то чоудъно кестъ. ѡваче азъ ксмъ  
 оубогънн. пришедънн к тебѣ кгда бѣ  
 въ манастири сѣааго анѣдреа апосто-  
 ла. нарицаѣмааго кандскаръ. кгда сѣ-  
 дѣаше въ хъзинѣ и писааше. кѣмоуже  
 да дѣва на десате златиць. и съреврѣ-  
 нын блюдѣ иже ти бѣ посълааа съ коуци-  
 ѣхъ блаженна снбена мати твоѣ. и да оу-  
 вѣси кко ѡтъ дъне того ѡтънѣаиже пода  
 ми съ длъготрѣпѣникмъ. и простомъ  
 срѣдѣцемъ. нарече та гѣ патриархоу бы-  
 ти. сватѣнн цркви своѣн. за ижже и крѣ-  
 вѣ своѣхъ проаа. и быти ти прѣимѣни-  
 коу. и налѣкстѣнникоу врѣховѣнааго ап-  
 стола петра. глагола же к нѣмоу блаже-  
 нын григорин. како вѣси ты кко тѣгда  
 нарече гѣ быти мнѣ патриархоу. онъ  
 же ѡтъвѣштавъ рече. не кѣлма ли аггѣ-  
 ль гѣ въседрѣжителкн ксмъ азъ. то того  
 ради вѣдѣ. и тогда во господѣ ма бѣ  
 посълааа к тебѣ. искоусити оусрѣдик  
 твоѣ. аште оубо чловѣколюбвнѣ. а не  
 чловѣкомъ твориши видѣти милость  
 своѣхъ. Блаженънн же то слышаѣвъ оубоѡ  
 са. не оубо бѣаше дотолѣ видѣаъ аггѣ-

ГЛАВЪ И МОУ О ТЪ СЪ ШТИ: ПРИИЛИЖЕ О ТЪ СЪ  
ТЪ И ТЪ Ш ПАСАНА НЕ БЕСЬ БКО И ЧЪ САРЬ СЪ БИ  
БЛАЖЕНЪ И КИ ДРА ТЪ ПО ЯШЕ ГЛА ГЛА: БЛА  
ГЕ ГЛА ВЪ И НЪ ГЪ И ЖЕНЕ ДА С ТЪ НА С ТЪ НА ОУ ЛИБЕ  
НИ И У Ж Б И М ТЪ И ХЪ: НИ И КО ТО РИ И О ТЪ В А СЪ  
ДЪ И Д Ж Ш Т А Б РА Т Н А: ПО И А Х Ж СЪ И И МЪ  
И Д О Ж И И Д О МЪ С Т А И Д Е Ж Е Х О ТЪ А Ш Е С ТЪ К О НЬ  
У А Т И С А: К О НЬ С А Ф А Л МЪ: И И А М И О У Ж П О М О  
Л Н ВЪ С А: И К А А Г О Д А Р С Т В И ВЪ Б О Т А: И РЪ К А  
И Н ВЪ К О Л Е НЪ: И ВЪ И Ж П Р О Т А ГЪ: ВЪ Д О К РЪ  
И С П О ВЪ Д А Н И И: И СЪ Ч Е НЪ БЪ Б И С ТЪ: И А С А К Х  
И Х В А А Ж Х О У К О Г О У Н А Ш Е М ОУ: И Т И И И И Р И  
С Н О И ВЪ ВЪ КЪ И ВЪ К О МЪ:

И Ж Г А Д А Д Р А ВЪ МЪ: Ж И Т И И Г Р И Г О Р А П Л И Р О У МЪ С К А  
**В**ЛАЖЕНЪ И Г Р И Г О Р И И: П О С Т А ВЪ И НЪ  
БЪ И С ТЪ П А Т Р И А Р ХЪ: С ТЪ И Е Ж И И Ч РЪ  
К С В Р И МЪ С ТЪ И: А П РЪ Ж Д Е П А Т Р И А Р ШЪ СЪ В А  
Ч РЪ И О Р И У Т ЧЪ БЪ ВЪ М А И А С ТЪ И Р И: С Т А  
Г О А П О С Т О Л А А И Д Р Е А: И А Р И Ч А И М А А Г О  
К А И С К А У Р А: Б А И У С Т О У И М Ж У Е Н И С ОУ  
И W A N A И П А У А А: КЪ А Ш Е Ж Е И Г О У М Е НЪ Г О  
Г О М А И А С ТЪ И РЪ: М А И И Ж Е И Г О Б Л А Ж Е И А И С И  
Л Б И И: Ж И ВЪ А Ш Е Б А И У В Р А ТЪ С Т А А Г О И А У  
Л А А И С Т А А: И А И Е С ТЪ И А Р И Ч А И МЪ БЪ МЪ  
К Е Л А И Б А: Т РЪ Ж Е Б Л А Ж Е И Т И Г Р И Г О Р И И: И Г  
Д А СЪ ДЪ А Ш Е ВЪ ХЪ И З И И А: С Б О И И: И И И С А  
Ш Е: П Р И Д Е КЪ И Е М И У М А А О М И Ш ТЪ: М И А И  
И Г А А Г I A A: И И Г И А О У И К I Д Р А Б Е Б А БЪ И ШЪ  
И И А Г О: И А К О С Т А РЪ И Ш И И А КЪ ХЪ К О Р А Б И И К I I



ла· ѡкы къ чловѣкоу во вѣсѣдока ѡ вѣзира  
 на нѣ· рече же ѡггѣлъ къ блаженѡу ѡумѡу· не  
 вои са· се посѣлааь ма ѡстѣ гѣ да вѣдѣ съ  
 товоиѣ къ житиѣ семѣ· блаженѣи же слы-  
 шавѣ то ѡтѣ ѡггѣла паде ницѣ на земнѣ·  
 ѡ поклоуи са господѡу глѡ· ѡште малаагѡ  
 того ради даѡнна ѡ ничесоже сѣшта· толнѣ  
 ко множаство штедрѡтѣ показа ѡ мѣнѣ  
 прѣмилостивѣи гѣ· ѡкоже ѡггѣла своѣгѡ  
 посѣлати къ мѣнѣ· вѣити ѡмоу съ мно-  
 жѣ вѣиѡж· какоа ѡубо славеѣ съподобѣати  
 са прѣвѣваѡштѣи въ заповѣдѣхѣ ѡго·  
 ѡ дѣлаѡште правѣж· вѣз лѣжа во ѡстѣ ре-  
 кѣи· ѡко милѡстѣ хвалитѣ са на сѣдѣ·  
 ѡ милѡуан ништа вѣ заѡмѣ даѡтѣ богоу·  
 тѣ же самѣ ѡггѣлѣскѣи господѣ· строаи  
 чловѣчѣскокѣ съпасеникѣ· глаголѣтѣ къ ѡ  
 деснѡжѣ столѣштинѣи· градѣте благо-  
 словѣѡнни ѡтѣца моѡгѡ· прѣимѣте ѡуто-  
 тованѡкѣ вамѣ цѣсарѣство· ѡтѣ начала ми-  
 роу· ѡл'ченѣ во вѣхѣ ѡ дасте ми ѡсте· жа-  
 дѡнѣ вѣхѣ ѡ напоѡсте ма· странѣнѣ вѣ-  
 хѣ ѡ наведѡсте ма· волѣхѣ ѡ прѣсѣтѣсте  
 мене· нагѣ вѣхѣ ѡ ѡблѣкѡсте ма· вѣ темѣ-  
 ници ѡ прѣдѡсте къ мѣнѣ· ѡлма ѡубо съ-  
 творѣсте ѡдномоу ѡтѣ братѣи сѣа моа хѣ-  
 дѣа· то мѣнѣ сътворѣсте· вѣди же вѣсѣ-  
 мѣ намѣ почитѡѡштѣиѣмѣ же ѡ послу-  
 шаѡштѣиѣмѣ· ѡуслѣшати блаженѣи тѣ  
 гласѣ· ѡ кѣчѣнѣиѣхѣ благѣиѣ· ѡже ѡуто-  
 това богѣ любѡштѣиѣмѣ ѡ· да ны съпрѣи-


мники сътворитъ х̄с̄ б̄г̄ъ. прѣчистымъ  
ради матери ѳго ст̄ымъ богородица. ѳк̄  
томуу подобаатъ слава честь ѳ покла-  
наниѳ. н̄г̄ина ѳ присно ѳ въ в̄в̄кы в̄в̄ко-  
мъ. ѳминъ. ѳ.

## C. TEXTS WITH MARKED LOCAL CHARACTERISTICS

### XI. OSTROMIR'S GOSPEL-BOOK

Ostromir's Gospel-Book (Ostr.) is a Cyrillic manuscript of 294 parchment folia, now preserved in the Leningrad Public Library. It contains an evangelistary written in 1056-7 by the Deacon Grigorij for Ostromir, the *posadnik* of Novgorod. It is without doubt a copy of an original of East Bulgarian provenance; but the native Russian of the scribe has overlaid the original language, so that we find *u, ju < o, jo, turt, tult, tirt*: OCS *trüt, tlüt, trit*, 3rd pers. sing. and plur. pres. ind. in *-ti, &c.* There is no modern edition of Ostr. The edition of A. Vostokov, *Остромирово Евангеліе 1056-1057 г., St. Petersburg, 1843*, must be supplemented by the photolithographic reproduction which was made at the expense of the St. Petersburg merchant Ilja Savinkov: *Остромирово Евангеліе, St. Petersburg, 1883 and 1889.*

*John iii. 1-15*

1.  **Ъ О Н О В Р Ъ М А . У Л О  
В Ъ К Ъ С Т Е Р Ъ О Т Ъ  
Ф А Р И С Е И Н М А  
К М О У Н Н К О Д Н  
М Ъ . К Ъ Н А З Ъ Н Ю**
2. **Д Е Н Е К Ъ . С Ъ П Р И Д Е  
К Ъ І Г Ъ Н Н О Щ Н Я . Н  
Р Е У Е К М О У Р А В Н +  
В Ъ М Ъ И К О О Т Ъ Б А  
К Е И П Р И Ш Ъ Л Ъ О У  
У Н Т Е Л Ъ + Н Н К Ъ Т О  
Ж Е Б О Н Е М О Ж Е Т Ъ .**

- ЗНАМЕННИЕНХЪ  
 ТВОРНТН · ИЖЕТЫ  
 ТВОРНШН · АЩЕНЕ  
 БЖДЕТЬ БЪСЪННМЪ +
3. ОТЪВЪЩАВЪ ІСЪ НРЕ  
 УЄЮМОУ + АМННЪА  
 МННЪ ГЛЖ ТЕ БЪ · А  
 ЩЕКЪТО НЕРОДНТЬ  
 СЛСЪ ВЪШЕ · НЕМО  
 ЖЕТЪ ВЪ ДЪТН ЦРЬ
4. СТВННБЖНН + ГЛА  
 КЪ НЄМОУ ННКОДН  
 МЪ + КАКОМОЖЕТЪ  
 УЛВКЪ РОДНТНЕА  
 СТАРЪСЫ + СДАМОЖЕ  
 ТЪ ВЪТОРНЦЕЖВЪ  
 ЖТРОБЖВЪЛЪСТН  
 МТРЕ СВОЮМЪ ЗНРОДН
5. ТНЄА ЗОТЪВЪЩА ІСЪ ·  
 НРЕ УЄЮМОУ + АМН  
 НЪАМННЪ ГЛЖ ТЕ  
 БЪ + АЩЕКЪТО НЕРО

- ДНТЬСѦ ВОДОЖНДѦ ХЪ  
 МЬ · НЕ МОЖЕТЪ ВЪ  
 ННТН ВЪ ЦРѢТВО БО  
 6. ЖНѢ ТРОЖДЕНОЮ БО  
 ОТЪ ПЛѢТН ПЛѢТЬ  
 КЕСТЬ · Н РОЖДЕНОЮ  
 ТЪ ДѦ ХА · ДѦ ХЪ КЕСТЬ Т  
 7. НЕ ДН ВНЕ СѦ ИКОРЪ  
 ХЪ ТН · ПОДОБАЕТЪ  
 ВАМЪ РОДНТН СѦ СЪ  
 8. ВЫШЕ Т ДѦ ХЪ НДЕЖЕ  
 ХОЩЕТЪ ДЫШЕТЪ ?  
 Н ГЛА СЪ КГО СЛЫШН  
 ШН ? НЪ НЕ ВѢ СНОТЪ  
 КЖДОУ ПРНХОДНТЬ ·  
 НК А МОНДЕТЬ Т ТА  
 КЪ КЕСТЬ В СѦ КЪ РОЖЕ  
 9. НЫНОТЪ ДѦ ХА Т ОТЪ  
 ВѢЩАННКО ДНМЪ Н  
 РЕУЕ КМОУ Т КАКОМО  
 10. ГЖТЬ СѢ НЫТН Т ОТЪ  
 ВѢЩАНН РЕУЕ КМОУ Т



- ТЫКОНЗОВУНТЕАЬ·  
 НЗЛВЪЗНЕНХЪЛН  
 11. НЕВЪОНЗАМНИЪАМИ  
 НЪГЛѢТЪЕЪТНКОИ  
 ЖЕВЪМЪГЛЪЕМЪТНИ  
 ЖЕВНДЪХОМЪЕЪВЪ  
 ДЪТЕАЬСТВОУКМЪ·  
 НОЪВЪДЪТЕАЬСТА  
 НАШЕГОНЕПРНМАК  
 12. ТЕТАЩЕЗЕМЪНАРЪ  
 ХЪВАМЪННЕВЪРОУ  
 КТЕ·КАКОАЩЕРЕКЖ  
 ВАМЪНБЕСЪНАИВЪ  
 13. РОУКТЕТННКЪТОЖЕ  
 ВЪЗНДЕНАНО·ТЬ  
 КЪМОЕЪШЪДЫНОЪ  
 НБЕСЕОНЪУЛВУЪ  
 СКЫН·ЕЪННАНБЕ  
 14. СЕТНИКОМОУОН·ВЪ  
 ЗНЕСЕЗМНѢВЪПОУ  
 СТЫНИ·ТАКОПОДО  
 БАКТЬ·ВЪЗНЕСТН

САМОУУЛВУЬСКОУ  
15. ОУМОУТДАВСАКЪ  
ВЪРОУЖНВЪННЕС  
ПОГЫБЕСТЬ·НЪН  
МАТЬЖНВОТАВЪ  
УЬНААГО·✠·—

## XII. THE PRAGUE FRAGMENTS

The text of the Prague Fragments (Prague Fr.) is printed here in full. These Glagolitic fragments are contained on two badly preserved parchment leaves that belong to the archives of the Chapter of St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague. The second leaf is held to be some fifty years older than the first, and both must have been written before the end of the eleventh century. They contain translations of liturgical texts, probably from the Greek. Linguistically they show several markedly Czech features, e.g. *c*, *z* < \**tj*, \**dj*, -*š*- in *v(i)šěchŭ* for OCS *všěchŭ*, retention of *dl*, gen. sing. of *ja*-stems in -*ě* (*b(ogorodi)cě*). It seems most probable that this text was copied (perhaps from a Bulgarian original) in the Sázava monastery in South Bohemia, where the Church Slavonic liturgy was maintained until 1096. The most noteworthy separate edition of Prague Fr. is that of V. Vondrák in *O původu kijevských listů a pražských zlomků*, Prague, 1904; but that of J. Kurz (in Weingart-Kurz, *Texty ke studiu jazyka a písemnictví staroslověnského*<sup>2</sup>, Prague, 1949) is based on a new collation with the manuscript, and is reproduced here. A photograph of the manuscript is contained in J. Vajs, *Rukověť hlaholské paleografie*, Prague, 1932.

## I. A.

- 1 Б . ѢѢТМЪНЪ .
- 2 СЛОВ... (А)Ъ... ѡР...
- 3 ..... ѠВЕТ..... ГИ
- 4 ..... ѠУ(Н)Ъ СЪ..... (Ѣ)КО БЪ ..
- 5 П(Р)ѢЛА... П ѠП..... Т.. ДНОЮ
- 6 ТВА... ѠБН... СЛОВ... С... М..
- 7 НИ ПРЪПОД... ѢНИѢ : ѢР... И
- 8 ОТЪ (Ж)ИКОНОСНИХ . И . Ѡ.....Ъ
- 9 .. ИСНОТ(ѢК)ѠУЦ . Ѣ ПО(Ч)..ЪН...
- 10 .. М(И) БОУД..... КОТЪ
- 11 ...Ъ..... ЧЛОВѢКО..Б
- 12 ѢѢТ.... НИ ПРЪОБР.....
- 13 ПРЪОБР(А)ВИ С(А)Н А ГОР(Ѣ) ХЪ Ё(Ѣ)....З(А)В.
- 14 ѠУЧЕНИКОМ . С. ѠИМЪ..... ѠУ
- 15 ИѢМОУ ВЪ СВѢТЪ... ѠБ..Ц.....АМЪ ГИ

- 16 ДѢМ... Н... (М)Ъ... ТЕАМ... В Б.А  
 17 СПСН ДША НАШ(А) ГЕЪ БШЪХ' ГТХ'  
 18 ХВАЛОУ... МОУ В... (С)Б(О)Р(О)  
 19 ИЗКОЛЕННИ БО... НБА МА(А)И И ВАН  
 20 ЦИ: ККО ЦЪСАРИТЪ ГЪ БЪ НАШЪ: РАДОУЕ  
 21 МЪ СЪ И КЕСЕЛИМ'(С)Ъ ДАДИМ' СЛАКОУ БОУ:  
 22 ГЕЪТИЛ'НЯ · ГЛЪПОМОУ: ((((((((((  
 23 ОУМ'НЪ. МОИ ОЧИ ОСЛ. ПЪНОУЕШН ГИ: ОТЪ М'Н(О)  
 24 .А.. (ГРЪХ)А: ТЪ. ПРОСКОСЪТИ: И ВИ...  
 25 СГ(Р)ЪШИ... ОТ. МИ: СЪМЪРЕНИМЪ  
 26 ОМЪИ... СЪЗ(А)МИ МОИМИ: (((((  
 27 ГЕЪТИЛ': НИ БЪЗНОШЕНИЕ: ((((  
 28 Б(Ъ)З... (КЪ) ОТЪ(ЦОУ) СКОЕМОУ: РА(Д)  
 29 ...Ъ... ОУЧЕНИКОМЪ СЛАКО(Ю)

## I. B.

- 1 СКО. ИКО ХЪ КЪЗНЕСЕ СЪ :.  
 2 ПРОСК(Ъ)ЦЪ ВШЪЧЬСКАЪ:  
 3 ГЕ(Ъ): НИ ПЪНТЪТИКОСТИ ((  
 4 ПЪ(Т)ЪТИКОСТИЕ СЪАЪ ГРЪА  
 5 ДЪТ.: ВШН ПОЧАТЪМЪ ДХЪ  
 6 СЪТИ: ПРИДЕ БО ОУМОУДРЪА  
 7 АПЪСТОЛЪИ: СЕГО ПРИ  
 8 МЪМЪ ВШН: І ПОКЛОНИ  
 9 МЪ СЪ: ЕМОУ: ~ ~ ГЕЪТ  
 10 ИДЪНЪИ: НА РОЗЪСО: ІЪН  
 11 ЪКО ВЕТЪХЪИ: І НОВЪИ  
 12 ХОДАТА: ПРЪДЪТЕЧ  
 13 В ХЪЪ ТЕОЪ: ІАДРОЖ МО  
 14 ДЛИТЕОУ ПЪАИ НАМЪ  
 15 ХВАЛЪАЦИМЪ ТЕОЕ ЧЪ  
 16 СТАНОВ: ЕЖЪСТЪНОВ РО  
 17 ЗЪСТВО: (( ГЕЪ: ЯПОСТ



- 22 столъскаго тѣмъ отълючи  
 23 еза дара цѣленне тѣмъ лиши  
 24 еза съ онѣми вечерѣвъ <т>а

## II. В.

- 1 отъри<sup>т<sup>р</sup>а(о<sup>п</sup>)</sup>езъи отъри(н)оу...  
 2 онѣмъ н(о)зѣ оумънѣвъ тѣ.....  
 3 зрѣ: ѡ колика блага не (п)омъ  
 4 нѣ твоѣ (ж)е бесхвалънаѣ ко  
 5 лѣ обличат(ъ) тѣмъ а того не  
 6 мѣрное мѣлос(рѣд)и проповѣ  
 7 стъ съ и великѣ мѣлости :  
 8 Блаженна: гласъ .: .: (ѣ):  
 9 Дрѣва ради ад(а)мъ раѣ въ...  
 10 .: иселѣ<sup>н</sup> дрѣвъ.... крижъ  
 11 .: нѣмъ разо(ин)икъ и въ ран  
 12 .: въседни (с)ѣмъ обѣ бо въкоу  
 13 .: шъ заповѣдъ прѣстоупи съ  
 14 .: творъшаго и а другъи проп(ѣ)  
 15 .: тѣ съ бѣ тѣмъ исповѣдаше тѣмъ  
 16 .: цаг(о) съ: помъани мѣмъ спѣсв вгда  
 17 .: придеши въ цѣсаръственне свое .:  
 18 Творъца законоу отъ оученика  
 19 коупиша правѣд(ъ)наго и  
 20 ѣко в(е)законъникъ и пила  
 21 тови на соудишчи постави  
 22 ша въпьюще распъни мѣмъ  
 23 ною настьницъшаго снѣ въ поу  
 24 стъини мѣи же правѣд(ъ)

## XIII. THE FREISING TEXTS

In a Latin codex now preserved in the Staatsbibliothek at Munich, but formerly in the Cathedral at Freising, three short Slavonic texts in the Latin alphabet are written on ff. 78 and 158–60. They are known as the Freising Texts (Freis.) or Freising Monuments (Slovene *Brižinski spomeniki*). All three are related to the theme of confession; they comprise a confessional formula, a homily, and a prayer. Palaeographic grounds make it probable that they were written down between 972 and 1039. The language appears to be a hybrid of OCS and early Slovene; but the orthographical system is based on that of Old High German. The texts may have been originally recorded in Carinthia (where the Bishop of Freising had estates) by German priests; they are ultimately connected with the Cyrillo-Methodian literary and linguistic tradition. The precise origins and linguistic character of Freis. remain obscure. They have been admirably edited (with photographic facsimiles) by F. Ramovš and M. Kos, *Brižinski spomeniki*, Ljubljana, 1937. The text here printed follows Weingart-Kurz, op. cit.

## I

## f. 78a GLAGOLITE PONAZ. REDKA ZLOUEZA:

Bože gozpodi miloztiúvi. otze bože. tebe izpovuede.  
vuez moi greh. I' zuetemu creztu. I' zuetei marii. I zue  
temu michaelu. Iuuizem crilatcem božiem. I zuetemu pe  
tru. Iúzem zelom božiem. Iúzem mušenicom božiem.  
Iúzem vuernicom božiem. Iúzem. devuám praudnim. Iúžē  
praudnim. Itebe božirabe. chokú. biti izpovueden. uzeh. moih.  
greh. I' vueruiú. da mi. ie. nazem zuete. beuži. iti še. na oň  
zuet. pakife uztati. nazod<sup>ni</sup> den. Ímeti mi ié. šivuot  
pozem. I'meti mi ie. otpuztic moih grechou. Bože  
miloztiuvi. primi moiv. izpovued. moih grechou. Eše  
iezem ztuoril zla. pot den pongeše bih nazi zvuet.  
vúuraken. i bih crišken. Eše pomngu. ili ne pomngu. Ili  
vúolu. ili ne vúolu. Ili vúde. ili ne vúde. Ili úne praud  
nei rote. ili úlji. Ili tatbe. ili zavuižti. ili v' uzmaži.  
Ili vziništue. ili eše mizetomu. chotelo. emuše mibi. ne doz  
talo. choteti. Ili vpoglagolani. ili zpé. ili nezpe. Ili eše

iezem. ne zpazal. nedela. ni zúeta vuécera. ni mega  
 pozta. Í. inoga. mnogoga. efe protiubogu. í protiu me  
 mu creztu. Tí edin boje. vuéz. caco mi iega potre  
 ba vúelica. Boje gozpodi miloztiví. tebe ze mil  
 tuoriív. od. zih poštenih greh. Í. odineh mnozeh.  
 I. vuénjih. í minjih. Efe iezem ztvoril. teh ze! tebe  
 miltuoriív. Í. zuetei marii. Í. ýzem zvetím.

- f. 78b Idabim nazem zuete. tacoga grecha pocazen ýzel.  
 ácoje ti mi zadeneš. iacoje tuá milozt. itebe liubo.  
 Boje ti pride zenebeze. ýše ze da vmoku. za vuíz  
 národ. Dabini zlodeiu otél. otmime vzem zlo  
 deiem. Miloztivui boje. tebe poronšo me telo. Í.  
 mó dušú. I. moia zloueza. Íme delo. Í mó vuoliu.  
 I'. mo vueru. ímoi šivuót. I da bim uzlišjal. nazodni  
 den tuó milozt vueliu. ztemi ieše ýzovueš tvói  
 mi vzti. Pridete otza mega. izvuolieni. pri  
 mete vúečsne vúezelie. í vúečsni šivuót Ešev.  
 iezt. ugotoulieno. iz uuéka ý uuek. a men.

## II

- |         |   |  |
|---------|---|--|
| f. 158b | Ecce bi detd naj neze<br>grefil tevuekigemube<br>šiti štarošti neprigem<br>lióki nikoligeše pet<br>šali neimugi nišlzna<br>telezeimoki nuúvųę<br>kigemubefiti bone<br>šezavuižtiubui ne<br>pri iazninu uvignan<br>Odšzlauuibofięę Potom<br>nanarodzlovuezki<br>štrazti Ipetzali boi | do neimoki Ibzzre<br>duzemirt Ipagibra<br>triia pomenem ze<br>dai zino ueboši na<br>rešemze botomu Oz<br>štanem zich mirzcih<br>del Ešejunt dela šoto<br>nina Ešetřebu tuorim<br>bratra Oclevuetam Eše<br>tatua Ešerašzboi Ešepulti<br>ugongenige Ešeroti Choi<br>še Ih nepazem nuge pre |
|---------|---|--|



f. 159a

ſtopam Eſene nauuizt  
 nizce teh del mirzene  
 pred boſima ozima mo  
 ſete potomu zinzi uvi  
 deti. Izami razumeti  
 eſebeſe priuuae zlou-  
 uezi Uliza tazie aco  
 ſe imuigezim tere ne  
 priiaznina uz nenauvi  
 deſſe Aboſiu uzliubiſe  
 dabotomu nine ucircu  
 vah ich clanam ze Imod  
 lim ze im Izeſti ich  
 pigem I obeti naſſe im  
 nezem Ozcepaſgenige  
 telez naſich iduſ naſich  
 Tiſeſemoſem imui eſte  
 buiti eccę tage dela  
 naſnem delati iaſeo  
 ni delaſe Onibo laſ  
 na natrovuechu ſeg  
 na naboiachu bozza  
 obuiachu naga ode  
 achu malo mogoncka  
 uime boſie bozzekacho  
 mrzna zigreahu ſtran  
 na bodcrovvi zuoge  
 uvedechu Utim  
 nizah iuzeleznih  
 vvojich Uclepenih  
 bozcckachu Iuime  
 boſie te uteſſahu

temi temitize deli  
 bogu bripliſaze taco  
 zinzi inam ze mod  
 liti tomuge vuirch  
 nemo Otzu Goſzpodu doſ  
 dani tamoge vzed  
 li vzezarſtuo ſuoge.  
 Eſeieſt ūgotouleno iz  
 conu doconu izvvo  
 lenico<sup>com</sup> boſiem Igezm  
 bratria bozuuani ib  
 bgeni Egoſenemoſem  
 nikiſeliza niucru  
 ti nicacoſe ūbega  
 ti nugestatı pred  
 ſtolom boſigem ze  
 zopirnicom naſim  
 zezlodgem ſtarim  
 igeſtze pred boſi  
 ma oſima vzaco  
 mu zuoimi vzti  
 izuoim glagolom  
 izbovuedati Eſege  
 naſemſzuece chiſto  
 ſtuoril libobodi do  
 bro libolizi zlo  
 Dactomudini zinzi  
 muzlite ide neca  
 moze vcloniti nu  
 ge pred boſima oſima  
 ſtati izio prio imeti  
 iuſegezim bovvedal

f. 159b

Naf gozbod zueticruz  
 iſegeſt bali teleznafſih  
 izpaſitel duſnafſih ton  
 bozzledine balouvani  
 ge pozledge pozſtavv  
 iucazalge imſeze nam  
 dozſtoi odgego zavue  
 kati igemuzeoteti  
 preiſe naſſi zeſztoco  
 ſtradacho nebo ie te  
 pechu metlami ipri  
 nizſe ogni petſachv  
 imetſi tnachu ipolezv

vueſachu iſelezni cliuſi  
 ge raztrgachu atobac  
 mui ninge naſu prau  
 dnu vuerun ipraudnv  
 izbovuediu toiemoſim  
 ztoriti eſeoni to vue  
 lico ſtraſtiu ſtuoriſe  
 dapotomu zinzi boſi  
 raba prizzuauſe tere  
 im grechi vuaſa poſte  
 te ſim izpovvedni bo  
 dete grechov uuaſih

f. 160r

## III

f. 160b Iazze zaglagolo  
 zlodeiu. Iuzem iego  
 delom. Iuzem iego  
 lepocam. Toſe uue  
 ruiu ubog uze mo  
 goki. Iu iega zin;  
 I ū zuueti duh. Data  
 tri imena. edin bog  
 gozpod zuueti.  
 iſe zuori nebo. Iz  
 emlo. Toſe izco ie  
 ga milozti. Iſcē  
 mariae. Iſcē mic  
 hahela. Iſcē pe  
 tra. Iuſeh boſih zil.  
 I uzeh boſih moſe  
 nic. Iuſeh b̄ za  
 connic. Iuſeh zu&ih

deuuz. Iuzeh b̄ moki.  
 Da mirafite napomoki  
 biti. Kibogu moih gre  
 chou. Dabim ciſto iz  
 pouued ztuoril. I od  
 puztic otboga priel.  
 Bogu uze mogokemu.  
 izpouuede uze moie  
 greche. Iſcē marie.  
 uzeh nepraudnih del.  
 inepraudnega pomiflena.  
 Eſe iezem uuede ztuo  
 ril. ili neuuede. nudmi  
 ili lubmi zpe ili bdê.  
 Uzpitnih rotah. Vliſnih  
 reſih. vtatbinah. Uzniciſtvę.  
 Ulacomztue. Vlichogeden. f. 161a  
 Vlichopiti. Uuzmaztue.

Iuuzemlichodiani. Eje  
 iefem ztuoril ptuuuo  
 bogu. odtogo dine  
 ponefe xp̄en bih. dafē  
 dodiniz negodine. Togo  
 uzego izpouueden bodo.  
 Bogu. Isc̄e marii. I sc̄o  
 laurenzu gozpodi.  
 Iuzem zuetim. Itebe  
 bofi rabe. Caiuze  
 moih grechou. Iradze  
 chocu caiati. elicofe  
 zimizla imam eche  
 me bofe poſtedifi. Daimi  
 bofe gozpodi. tuuoiu  
 miloſt. dabim nez  
 ramen. ineztiden  
 nazudinem dine.  
 predtuima oſima  
 ztoial. igdafē pri

deſ zodit. Siuuum.  
 I mrtuim. comuſdo  
 pozuem dele. Tebe  
 bofe miloſtivui  
 poruſo uza moia  
 zlouuez. I moia  
 dela. Imoie pomif  
 lenie. I moie zridze.  
 I moie telo. Imoi  
 ſuiuot. I moiu duſu.  
 Criſte bofi zinu.  
 iſe iezi razil. nazi  
 zuu& priti. greſ  
 nike iſbauuiti. ot  
 zlodeine oblazti.  
 Uchranime otuzega  
 zla. Izpazime  
 vuzem blaſe.  
 Amen.  
 Amen.

f. 161b

## D. PARALLEL VERSIONS OF A GOSPEL TEXT

### XIV. FIVE TRANSLATIONS OF LUKE x. 25-37

#### (a) *Codex Zographensis*

25 ꙗкоже законникъ ѿтеръ вѣста  
ꙗкоушаа ꙗ ꙗ гла. оучите  
лю. чьто сътвори. живо  
тъ вѣчны наслѣдоуѣ.  
26 онъ же рече къ нему. въ за  
конѣ чьто естъ ꙗсно. како  
чьтеши. 27 онъ же отъвѣшта  
»въ рече. възлюбихи га ба  
»своего. отъ всего срѣдѣца  
»твоего. ꙗ вѣсѣж дшеж.  
»ꙗ вѣсѣж крѣпостниж твоѣ  
»ж. ꙗ вѣсѣж помышленѣ  
»мъ твоимъ. ꙗ подроуга сво  
»его ꙗко самъ сѣ. 28 рече же ему  
»нс. правѣ отъвѣшта. се тво  
»ри. ꙗ живѣ вѣдиши. 29 онъ же  
»хота оправдѣти сѣ самъ.  
»рече къ ꙗсви. ꙗ кьто естъ  
»ꙗскрѣни ми. 30 отъвѣшта  
»въ же нс. рече. Чкъ ѿтеръ  
съхождаше. отъ ꙗма въ  
ерихж. ꙗ въ разбоѣникы  
въпаде. ꙗже ꙗ съвлѣкъ  
ше ꙗ. ꙗ вѣзѣ възложше  
отидоша. ꙗ оставше ꙗ ꙗ  
лѣ живѣ сѣшть. 31 по приключю  
чаю же. ꙗрки ѿтеръ. съхо  
ждаше ꙗтъмъ тѣмъ.  
ꙗ видѣвъ ꙗ мимо ꙗде.

32 такожде же і лейѣитѣ.  
 бѣмъ на томъ мѣстѣ.  
 пришѣдѣ. і видѣвъ і ми  
 мо іде. 33 самарѣнинъ же  
 ѣтеръ грады. приде надъ нѣ.  
 і видѣвъ і милосрѣдова.  
 34 і пристѣплѣ обяза строу  
 пы его. възаниваа ма  
 сло і вино. вѣсажда же і  
 на свои скотѣ. придеде  
 же і въ гостинницѣ. і при  
 лежа емъ. 35 і на оутрѣк ішь  
 дѣ. ізымѣ дѣва пѣназа  
 дастѣ гостинникоу. і ре  
 че емоу. прилежи емъ.  
 і еже ѡште прижадѣе  
 ши. ѡзѣ егда възвращѣ  
 са въздама ти. 36 кѣто оу  
 бо тѣхѣ трин. іскрѣни  
 мѣнитѣ ти са бѣти.  
 вѣпадѣшюмоу въ разбо  
 инкы. 37 онѣ же рече. съ  
 творы милостыниѣ  
 съ нимъ. рече же емоу ис  
 іди і ты твори такожде.

(b) *Codex Marianus*

25 і се законникъ етеръ вѣста къ іскн.  
 некоушаа и и гла. оучителю что съ-  
 творъ животь вѣчѣныи наслѣ-  
 дѣствоуж. 26 онѣ же рече къ нему. въ  
 законѣ чѣто писано естѣ како чѣ-  
 теши. 27 онѣ же отвѣвштавъ рече.  
 вѣзлюбѣши га ба твоего. отъ вѣ-  
 сего срѣца твоего. и вѣсеж дѣшеж

твоеѣж. і въсеѣж крѣпостиж твое-

ѣж .:.

і въсѣмь помъшленнемь твоимь.

и искрънѣаго твоего ѣко самъ сѣ. 28 Ре-

че же емоу правѣ отъвѣшта се твори

и живѣ вѣдѣши. 29 онъ же хотѣ оправѣдити

[ти] сѣ самъ. рече къ исѣи. і кто [е]сть

искрънни мон. 30 отъвѣштакъ же исѣ

рече. члѣкъ единъ съхуждаше отъ и-

ема къ ерихъж. і въ разбонгъкы къ-

паде. иже и сѣкалъкъше и. и ѣзвы

възложъше отидѣ. оставяше елѣ

живѣ сѣштъ. 31 по приключюу же нере-

и единъ съхуждаше пѣтемь тѣмь.

і видѣкъ і мимо иде. 32 такожде же и

лѣтъѣинтъ. въкъ[въ] на томь мѣстѣ.

пришедъ и видѣкъ і мимо иде. 33 са-

марѣнинъ же единъ градъ приде на-

дѣ нѣ. і видѣкъ і милосрѣка. 34 і при-

стѣпль оваза строупы его възаника-

ѣ олѣи и кино. въсаждъ же и на скон ско-

тъ приведе и въ гостиницъж. і приле-

жа емъ. 35 і на оутрѣни ишедъ изъмь

дѣва пѣнаса дастъ гостиницикоу.

і рече емоу прилежи емь. і еже аште при-

иждивѣши. азъ егда възвращѣж

сѣ въздамь ти. 36 кто оубо тѣхъ трии

искрънни мынитъ сѣ въти. къпа-

дѣшжоумоу въ разбонники. 37 онъ

же рече сътвори милость съ нимь.

Рече емоу исѣ нди и ты твори тако-

жде .: кц .:.

(c) *Codex Assemanianus*

Въ оно<sup>ѣ</sup> 25. законникъ ѿтеръ приде къ исоу<sup>у</sup>. искоушаа<sup>ѣ</sup> и и  
 гла<sup>ѣ</sup>. оучителю чьто сътвори живота въчьнааго наслѣдоуѣж<sup>ѣ</sup>.  
 26. онъ же рече къ нему<sup>у</sup>. въ законѣ чьто писано естъ .  
 како чьтеш . 27. онъ же ѿтвѣкштатъ рече . възлюбихи гдѣ  
 ба своего ѿ всего срдца твоего . и въсеи<sup>ѣ</sup> дшѣи<sup>ѣ</sup> и ѿ въсеи<sup>ѣ</sup>  
 крѣпости твоеи<sup>ѣ</sup> . и ѿ всего помышленик<sup>ѣ</sup> твоего люби и . и  
 искрѣнѣаго своего тѣко и самъ сѣ . 28. рече же емоу и<sup>ѣ</sup> .  
 право ѿтвѣкца . се сътвори и живѣ бждеша . 29. онъ же  
 хотѣ ѿправдѣти сѣ самъ . рече къ исоу<sup>у</sup> . и кто встѣ искрѣннѣ  
 мой . 30. ѿтвѣкца и<sup>ѣ</sup> рече . чѣкъ ѿтеръ съхуждааше ѿ  
 ѿрсма въ ѿрихъ . и въ разбойникѣи выаде . иже и съвакѣше  
 и и тѣкы възложше на нь . ѿтѣдъ ѿставаше и ѣлѣ жива .  
 31. По приключаяю же . иѿрей ѿтеръ . съхуждааше пжтемъ  
 тѣмъ . и видѣвъ и мимо иде . 32. Такжеде и леѣитѣ .  
 вьвѣ на томъжеде мѣстѣ . пришедъ и видѣвъ и мимо иде .  
 33. Самарѣни<sup>ѣ</sup> же ѿтеръ гряды . и приде надъ нь . и видѣвъ  
 и мсрдова . 34. и пристѣла въва . стѣроушы его . възлаваа  
 ѿлѣи . и вѣно . въсажда же и на свой скотъ . приведе и въ  
 гостиньницѣ . и прилежа емъ . 35. и на оутриѣ ишедъ . въземъ  
 двѣа пѣнаса . дастъ гостиннѣкоу . и рече емоу прилежи емъ .  
 и еже аште приждѣкеша . иъзъ егда възвранѣтѣ сѣ въздамъ ти .  
 36. Кьто оубо ѿтъ тѣхъ трии мьнитѣ ти сѣ бѣити искрѣннѣ  
 въпадшоу<sup>моу</sup> въ разбойникѣи . 37. Онъ же рече . сътворей мѣтъ  
 съ нимъ . рече же емоу и<sup>ѣ</sup> . Иди и тыи твори такжеде .:—

(d) *Savvina Kniga*


Въ оно<sup>ѣ</sup>. законникъ ѣдинъ при  
 де къ исоу<sup>у</sup>. искоушаа<sup>ѣ</sup> и гла<sup>ѣ</sup>. оу  
 чителю. чьто створи жизнь въ  
 чьнжѣ наслѣдѣствоуѣж<sup>ѣ</sup>. 26 и<sup>ѣ</sup> же

рече ёмоу въ законѣ что писано  
 ёсть. како чытеши. <sup>27</sup> онъ же ѡ  
 твѣщаеъ рече. възлюбиши . Га  
 ба своёго. къмъ срѣцемъ своимъ.  
 и всеиъ дшеиъ. своиъ . и всеиъ крѣпо  
 стииъ твоиъ. и всемъ помышле  
 ниёмъ твоимъ. и възлюби ближъ  
 него своёго яко самъ сѧ. <sup>28</sup> рече же ё  
 моу и҆с правъ ѡтвѣща. се твори и  
 жикъ бжеши. <sup>29</sup> онъ же хотѧ ѡпра  
 вѣдити сѧ самъ. рече и҆сви кто ёс  
 тъ ближныи мои. <sup>30</sup> ѡтвѣщаа же  
 и҆с рече ёмоу. члкъ ёдинъ съхо  
 жаще ѡтъ и҆ерсѧма въ ёрихъ. и  
 въ развоиникы въпаде. иже съ  
 вѣкъше . и ѡзвѣ възложъше  
 ѡставаше . елѣ живого сжца ѡ  
 тиде. <sup>31</sup> по приключю же и҆ери ёди  
 нъ. идѣше пжтъмъ тѣмъ. и видѣ  
 въ . мимонде. <sup>32</sup> такожде же и леоу  
 гитъ бивѣ на томъ мѣстѣ. при  
 шѣдъ и видѣвъ . мимонде. <sup>33</sup> сама  
 рѣнинъ же ётеръ градъ приде къ  
 немуу. и видѣвъ . масрдова. <sup>34</sup> и при  
 стжпъ ѡваза ѡзвѣ ёго възанива  
 ѡлѣ и вино. възъмъ же . на скотъ  
 свои. приведе же . въ господж. и при  
 лежаше ёмъ. <sup>35</sup> и на оутрика шѣдъ.  
 и възъмъ ё пѣназа. дастъ гостъ  
 никуу. и рече прилежи ёмъ. и а  
 ще что иждивеши. азъ ёгда въз  
 вращж сѧ. въздама ти. <sup>36</sup> кто ѡ



во тѣхъ три искрны мннть  
 ти са быти. въпадъшюмоу въ  
 развоиникы. <sup>87</sup> онъ же рече: створи  
 і милость съ нимъ. рече же ёмѡ  
 іс̄ ѡди ѡ ты твори такожде: ѡ

(e) *Ostromir's Gospel-Book*

25. 
 Ъ В Р Ъ М Ѧ О Н О ·  
 З А К О Н Ъ Н Н К Ъ  
 Н Ъ К Ы Н · П Р Н  
 Д Е К Ъ Н І Ё О  
 В Н · Н Ё К О У  
 Ш А Ѧ Н Н Г Л Ѧ О У  
 У Н Т Ё Л Ю · У Ъ Т О С Ъ  
 Т В О Р Ъ · Ж Н В О Т Ъ  
 В Ъ У Ъ Н Ы Н Н А Е Л Ъ  
 26. Д Ё Т В О У Ѧ О Н Ъ  
 Ж Е Р Е У Е К Ъ Н Ѧ М О У  
 В Ъ З А К О Н Ъ У Ъ Т О  
 П Н Ё А Н О Ѧ Е Т Ъ · К А  
 27. К О У Ъ Т Е Ш Н О Н Ъ  
 Ж Е О Т Ъ В Ъ Щ А В Ъ  
 Р Е У Е В Ъ З Л Ю Б Н Ш Н  
 Г А Б А С В О Ѧ Г О В Ъ Е Ъ

МЪЕРДЬЦЬМЪЕВО  
 НМЪ·НВЪСЕЖДОУ  
 ШЕЖЕВОЖ·НВЪСЕ  
 ЖКРЪПОСТНЖЕВО  
 ЖЖ·НВЪСЪМЪПО  
 МЫШАЕННМЪ  
 ЕВОНМЪ·НБАНЖЬ  
 ННАГОТВОЮГОИ

28. КОСАМЪСА РЕУЕЖЕ  
 ЮМОУПРАВЪОТЪ  
 ВЪЩАСЕТВОРНН

29. ЖНВЪБЖДЕШНО  
 НЪЖЕХОТАОПРА  
 ВЪДНТНЕСАМЪ  
 РЕУЕКЪНІГОВНН  
 КЪТОЮСТЪБАНЖЬ

30. НННМОН ОТЪВЪ  
 ЩАВЪЖЕНІГЕ РЕУЕ  
 УЛВКЪНЪКЪНГЪ  
 ХОЖДААШЕОТЪН  
 ЕРГАМАВЪЕРНХШ·  
 НВЪРАЗБОННН

- К З И В Ъ П А Д Е Н Ж Е  
 Н Е Ъ В Л Ъ К Ъ Ш Е Н . Н  
 И З В З И В Ъ З Л О Ж Ъ  
 Ш Е . О Т Н Д О Ш А . О  
 С Т А В Л Ъ Ш Е Н . Л Ъ  
 31. Ж Н В А С Ж Ц А . П О П Р И  
 К А Ю Ч А Ж Ж Е . Н Е Р Е  
 Н Н Ъ К З И Н . С Ъ Х О  
 Ж Д А Ш Е П Ж Т Ъ М Ъ  
 Т Ъ М Ъ . Н В Н Д Ъ В Ъ  
 32. М Н М О Н Д Е Т А К О  
 Ж Д Е Н Л Е У Н Т Ъ . Б З И  
 В Ъ Н А Т О М Ъ М Ъ С Т Ъ  
 П Р И Ш Ъ Д Ъ Н В Н Д Ъ  
 33. В Ъ М Н М О Н Д Е С А  
 М А Р Ъ Н Н Н Ъ Ж Е Н Ъ  
 К З И Н Г Р А Д З И . П Р И  
 Д Е Н А Д Ъ Н Ъ . Н В Н  
 Д Ъ В Ъ Н М Н Л О С Р Ъ Д О  
 34. В А Н П Р И С Т Ж П Л Ъ  
 О Б А З А С Т Р О У П З И  
 К Е Г О В Ъ З Л И В А Ю

- ѿлѣнивно въга  
 ждѣженнаго он  
 екогѣ · прнведен  
 въгостиницѣ ·  
 н прнаежамъ  
 35. ннаоутринишъ  
 дѣ · н зъмѣдѣва  
 еърѣбрѣнка · да  
 етъгостини  
 коу · н рѣуеюмоу  
 прнаежамъ · н  
 жеащепрнждн  
 вешн · азъюгда  
 възвращѣю · въ  
 36. здамѣтн кѣто  
 оубоотѣтѣ хъ  
 трннблнжнн  
 нмѣнтѣтн е ѿ  
 бытн · въпадѣ  
 шоуоумоувѣра  
 37. збоннкы онъ  
 жерѣуеетворн

ВЪЗНМНЛОСТЬЕЪ  
ННМЬ РЕУЕЖЕИ  
МОУНІГЕНДННТЪ  
ТВОРНТАКОЖДЕ:·—

## GLOSSARY

Words are listed in the order of the Slavonic alphabet (Pt. I, pp. 3-4). Orthography is normalized except for some non-Slavonic words which appear in the vocabulary in the form in which they are found in the texts. ШТ should be sought under ш, ѿ under ю.

The words of the Freising Texts will be found (in normalized Old Church Slavonic forms) in the main vocabulary, with the exception of words and forms which have no close or obvious OCS cognates. These are separately listed in an appendix.

### Ѧ

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p><b>а</b> <i>conj.</i> but; and; § 1, § 32.6c, § 104.</p> <p><b>авнѣ, авьнѣ</b> <i>adv.</i> straightway, immediately § 32.6c, § 33.3.</p> <p><b>авва</b> <i>m.</i> father (Gr. <i>αββά</i> from Aramaic) § 45.</p> <p><b>Ѧвесеѡумъ</b> <i>m.</i> Absalom § 45.</p> <p><b>авианъ</b> <i>adj.</i> of Abijah § 50.</p> <p><b>авити</b> <i>see</i> <b>Ѧвити</b>.</p> <p><b>авлѣти</b> <i>see</i> <b>Ѧвлѣти</b>.</p> <p><b>аврамъ</b> <i>adj.</i> of Abraham § 50a.</p> <p><b>Ѧврамъ</b> <i>m.</i> Abraham § 45, § 50a.</p> <p><b>Ѧвѣгѡустъ</b> <i>m.</i> Augustus.</p> <p><b>авѣ</b> <i>see</i> <b>Ѧвѣ</b>.</p> <p><b>агньць</b> <i>m.</i> lamb § 32.2, 6c, § 34.7, § 48.2.</p> <p><b>Ѧдамъ</b> <i>m.</i> Adam.</p> <p><b>азъ</b> (Iazze = <b>Ѧзъ</b> Freis. III) <i>pron.</i> I § 32.2, 6c, § 55.1g.</p> <p><b>акоже</b> <i>see</i> <b>Ѧкоже</b>.</p> <p><b>акридъ</b> <i>m.</i> locust (Gr. <i>ἀκρίς</i>).</p> <p><b>акты</b> (<b>Ѧкты</b>) <i>conj.</i> as § 100, § 104.</p> <p><b>алавастръ</b> <i>m.</i> alabaster, vessel of alabaster.</p> | <p><b>александровъ</b> <i>adj.</i> of Alexander § 50.</p> <p><b>али</b> (1) <i>interrogative particle</i>; (2) <i>conj.</i> if § 32.6a, § 104.</p> <p><b>алкати</b> (<b>алѣкати, лакати</b>), <b>алчъ</b> (<b>лчъ</b>), <b>алчешн</b> (<b>лчешн</b>) to hunger § 36, § 48.7, § 65.1, § 74, § 92, § 96.3b.</p> <p><b>аминъ</b> (<b>аминь</b>), verily; amen (Gr. <i>ἀμήν</i> from Hebr.).</p> <p><b>Ѧндрѣа</b> (<b>Ѧндрѣа, Ѧндрѣи</b>, <b>Ѧндрѣи</b>) <i>m.</i> Andrew § 45.</p> <p><b>анѣльскъ</b> <i>adj.</i> angelic, of angels § 50f.</p> <p><b>анѣлъ</b> (<b>анѣлъ, анѣлъ</b>) (<b>анѣлъ, анѣлъ</b>) <i>m.</i> angel § 2.II Note 1, 2.</p> <p><b>Ѧндрѣи</b> <i>m.</i> <i>see</i> <b>Ѧндрѣа</b>.</p> <p><b>апостолъ</b> <i>m.</i> apostle § 40.</p> <p><b>Ѧриматѣа</b> (<b>-ѣа, -ѣи</b>) <i>f.</i> Arimathæa.</p> <p><b>аронъ</b> <i>adj.</i> of Aaron § 50.</p> <p><b>архнѣнскоупъ</b> <i>m.</i> archbishop.</p> <p><b>архнѣрен</b> (<b>-ѣи</b>) <i>m.</i> chief priest § 45.</p> |
|---|---|

архипереоувъ *adj.* of the high priest.

асафовъ *adj.* of Asaph.

аще *conj.* if § 32.2, бс, § 101, § 104; (*after relatives*) . . . ever.

## Б

балии *m.* doctor, healer § 39с, § 48.1.

балование *n.* healing, cure.

бальство *n.* medicine, healing.

без (вс) *prep.* with *gen.* without.

беззаконие *n.* lawlessness, iniquity.

беззаконникъ *m.* lawless man.

беззаконниие *n.* see БЕЗЗАКОНИЕ.

беззаконнъ *adj.* iniquitous.

безоумие *n.* unreason, foolishness § 48.1.

безоумнъ *adj.* mad, foolish.

бесхвалнъ *adj.* thankless, ungrateful.

бесъмрътънъ *adj.* immortal.

бесѣда *f.* speech, discussion § 65.3.

бесѣдовати, бесѣдоуѣж, бесѣдоуѣши to speak, converse § 65.3, § 96.4 *f.*

бисеръ *m.* pearl § 34.2.

бити, быѣж, быѣши to beat, scourge § 37, § 48.2, § 65.1, § 77.1б, 4, § 96.1с.

благо *n.* good thing; treasure; bliss (Freis. III).

благволение *n.* goodwill, favour § 79.

БЛАГО-ВОЛИТИ, -ВОЛѣж, -ВОЛИШИ to be pleased, take pleasure (in, о) § 93.IV.

БЛАГО-ВѢСТИТИ, -ВѢЩѣж, -ВѢСТИШИ to announce, bring good tidings § 93.IV.

БЛАГО-ВѢСТВОВАТИ, -ВѢСТВОВАѣж, -ВѢСТВОВАѣши, see БЛАГОВѢСТИТИ.

БЛАГОДѢТЬ *f.* grace.

БЛАГОДѢТЬНЪ *adj.* favoured, full of grace.

БЛАГООБРАЗЪНЪ *adj.* of honourable estate.

БЛАГОРАСТВОРЕНИЕ *n.* state of being well mixed, tempered (of wine) (Gr. *εὐκρασία*).

БЛАГО-СЛОВЕСТИТИ -СЛОВЕЩѣж, -СЛОВЕСТИШИ to bless § 93.IV.

БЛАГО-СЛОВИТИ, -СЛОВАѣж, -СЛОВИШИ to bless § 93.IV.

БЛАГОСТЪИНИ *f.* good deed.

БЛАГОЖУХАНИЕ *n.* fragrance.

БЛАГЪ *adj.* good § 48.3, 6, § 51.1с.

БЛАГЪМИНИ *f.* kindness § 39б, § 48.6.

БЛАЖЕННА *f.* song of praise (Gr. *μακαρισμός*).

БЛАЖИТИ, БЛАЖѣж, БЛАЖИШИ to bless; БЛАЖЪНЪ blessed.

БЛИЖЪНЪ *adj.* near; БЛИЖЪНИИ neighbour.

БЛИЗЪ *prep.* with *gen.* near, close to § 48.2, § 99.2, § 103.

БЛЮДЪ *m.* dish.

БЛАДЪ *f.* lewdness § 43.

БО *conj.* for § 104.

БОГАТИТИ СѦ, БОГАЩѣж, БОГАТИШИ to be rich.

БОГОРОДИЦА *f.* the Virgin, Mother of God § 47.  
 БОГЪ *m.* God § 2.II, Note 7, § 20.3, § 21.1, § 23.1, § 30.2, § 38.1.II.1a, § 40.  
 БОЖИИ *adj.* of God, divine § 49.  
 БОЖЕСТВЕНЪ *adj.* divine.  
 БОЛИИ *comp. adj.* greater § 26, § 51.1c, § 56.  
 БОЛѢТИ, БОЛЖ, БОЛИШИ to be ill § 97d.  
 БОСЪ *adj.* barefoot.  
 БОИЗНЪ *f.* fear § 38.2.  
 БОЯТИ СЯ, БОЯЖ, БОИШИ to fear § 66, § 97d.  
 БРАКЪ *m.* wedding, marriage.  
 БРАТНА *f. coll., see* БРАТРИНА.  
 БРАТРИНА *f. coll.* brothers § 38.3, § 48.1.  
 БРАТРЪ *m.,* БРАТЪ *m.* brother § 3, § 6.1, § 38.3, § 50a.  
 БРАШЬНО *n.* food.  
 БРѢВНО *n.* beam, plank.  
 БРѢГЪ *m.* slope, bank § 10.4.  
 БРѢЩИ, БРѢЖ, БРѢЖЕШИ to care for, about (о) § 94k.  
 БОУИ foolish § 49b; БОУЕ (*voc.*) thou fool.  
 БОУРИА *f.* storm § 35.3.  
 БЪДРЪ *adj.* wakeful; ready § 50k.  
 БЪДѢТИ, БЪЖДЖ, БЪДИШИ to wake, watch § 33.2, § 37.5c, § 50k, § 64.1, § 97c, d.  
 БЫТИ, ЮСМЪ, ЮСИ to be; to come to pass § 60.2e, § 61.V, § 65.2, § 69.2i, § 72, § 74, § 78, § 84, § 89, § 96.4b, § 98a, q.

БЫТИЕ *n.* being § 79.  
 БѢГАТИ, БѢГАЖ, БѢГАЮШИ to run (away) § 93.II.  
 БѢДА *f.* misery, wretchedness.  
 БѢДИТИ, БѢЖДЖ, БѢДИШИ to compel.  
 БѢЖАТИ, БѢЖЖ, БѢЖИШИ to run (away) § 90a, § 97d.  
 БѢЛЪ *adj.* white.  
 БѢСЪ *m.* demon.  
 БѢСЕНЪ *adj.* possessed (with devils) § 34.2.

## Б

БАРАВВА *m.* Barabbas.  
 ВАРИТИ, ВАРИЖ, ВАРИШИ to go before § 93.IV.  
 ВАШЬ *pron. adj.* your § 55.2.II.  
 ВЕЛИИ *adj.* great § 50a, § 51.1c.  
 ВЕЛИКОТА *f.* greatness § 48.3.  
 ВЕЛИКЪ *adj.* great, big § 48.3, § 50a, § 51.1c.  
 ВЕЛИЧИТИ, ВЕЛИЧЖ, ВЕЛИЧИШИ to magnify.  
 ВЕЛИЧИЕ *n.* greatness, great things.  
 ВЕЛЬБѢЖДЪ *adj.* of a camel.  
 ВЕЛЬМИ *adv.* very (much) § 99.6, § 100.  
 ВЕСЕЛИТИ, ВЕСЕЛЖ, ВЕСЕЛИШИ to rejoice (*trans.*); В. СЯ to rejoice (*intrans.*), be glad.  
 ВЕСЕЛИЕ *n.* joy, gladness.  
 ВЕСТИ, ВЕДЖ, ВЕДЕШИ to lead, take § 20.4, § 37, § 69.2e, § 77a, § 90, § 94a, § 97b.  
 ВЕТЪХЪ *adj.* old § 22.1, § 33.1.  
 ВЕЩЬ *f.* thing, matter.



- вечеръ *m.* evening § 48.6; *gen. sing.* zúeta vuécera (Freis.) vigil (?).
- вечеря *f.* supper.
- вечеряти, вечеряѣжъ, вечеряюши to sup.
- видѣти, видѣжъ, видиши to see § 6.4, § 10.1, § 12.2, § 19.1, § 66, § 69.2a, § 74, § 77.2, § 90a, § 93.IV, § 97h; видимъ seen, visible, seeming § 97h.
- вина *f.* guilt.
- вино *n.* wine.
- виноградъ *m.* vineyard § 47.
- виньнъ *adj.* of wine.
- Битанія *f.* Bethany.
- Бивльбомъ *m.* Bethlehem.
- владѣка *m.* ruler, lord; подѣ владѣками under authority § 38.1.1, § 39h, § 48.2.
- власти, владѣжъ, владѣши to rule (over, *instr.*) § 20.4, § 48.2, 3, § 62.2, § 94d.
- власть *f.* power, authority § 48.3.
- власфимія *f.* blasphemy.
- власъ *m.* hair.
- влѣкъ (влѣкъ) *m.* wolf § 2.II Note 6, § 15.3, § 16.2, § 17, § 37.6.
- влѣщи, влѣкѣжъ, влѣчѣши to drag, draw § 69.2h, § 76, § 94c, k, § 97b.
- вода *f.* water.
- воинъ *m.* soldier § 41a.
- волъ *m.* ox § 42, § 46.1.
- воля *f.* will § 37.5e.
- воня *f.* scent, smell § 32.3.
- врагъ *m.* enemy § 48.4, § 50a.
- враждовати, враждоуѣжъ, враждоуѣши to hate, be an enemy to (*with dat.*).
- врата *n. pl.* gate § 3, § 38.3, § 48.10.
- вратити (сѣ), вращѣжъ, вратиши to turn § 3, § 37.5d, § 66, § 70a, § 77.1c, § 93.IV, § 97.
- врѣховьнъ *adj.* supreme, highest.
- врѣхъ *m.* peak, summit § 22.1, § 30.1, § 42; врѣхоу (*with gen.*) above, on § 99.1.
- врѣдити, врѣждѣжъ, врѣдиши to harm, damage § 93.IV.
- врѣмя *n.* time § 29.4, § 31b, § 44.2.
- въ *prep.* (*with loc. and acc.*) in, into; among; (*with acc.*) in place of, for § 92, § 102.2; въ чемъ for what (*eis ti*).
- въ-вести, -ведѣжъ, -ведѣши to introduce, lead § 92.
- въ-водити, -вождѣжъ, -водиши see въ-вести.
- въ-врѣщи, -врѣжѣжъ, -врѣжѣши to throw (into).
- въ-дати, -дѣмъ, -дѣши to give, provide.
- въ-жагати, -жагаѣжъ, -жагаѣши to light.
- въз *prep.* *with acc.* for, in exchange for § 102.2.
- въз-браняти, -браняѣжъ, -браняѣши to hinder, prevent.
- въз-величити, -величѣжъ, -величѣши to magnify.

**ВЪЗ-ВЕСЕЛИТИ** сѧ, -весе<sup>л</sup>ѧ, -весе<sup>л</sup>ѧши to rejoice.  
**ВЪЗ-ВЕСТИ**, -ведѧ, -ведѧши to lift up.  
**ВЪЗ-ВРАТИТИ**, -врацѧ, -вратѧши to bring back; в. сѧ to return.  
**ВЪЗ-ВЪКСТИТИ**, -вѣцѧ, -вѣстѧши to announce, show forth.  
**ВЪЗ-ВЪКЪТИ**, -вѣѧ, -вѣѧши to blow.  
**ВЪЗ-ГЛАСИТИ**, -гласѧ, -гласѧши to announce, give tongue, crow.  
**ВЪЗ-ДАТИ**, -дамѧ, -дасѧ to give back, pay, render.  
**ВЪЗ-ДВИГЪТИ**, -двигѧ, -двигѧши to raise up.  
**ВЪЗ-Д-РАДОВАТИ** сѧ, -радѧ, -радѧши to rejoice.  
**ВЪЗ-Д-РАСТИ**, -растѧ, -растѧши to grow, increase.  
**ВЪЗ-ДРЪМАТИ**, -дрѣмѧ, -дрѣмѧши to fall asleep.  
**ВЪЗ-ДЪХЪТИ**, -дѣхѧ, -дѣхѧши to sigh.  
**ВЪЗ-ДЪХЪНИЕ** *n.* sigh, sighing.  
**ВЪЗ-ИГРАТИ** сѧ, -играѧ, -играѧши to leap (Zogr., L. i. 41).  
**ВЪЗ-ЗИРАТИ**, -зираѧ, -зираѧши see **ВЪЗЪРЪТИ**.  
**ВЪЗ-ИСКАТИ**, -ищѧ, -ищѧши to seek.  
**ВЪЗ-ИТИ**, -идѧ, -идѧши to go up § 92.  
**ВЪЗ-ЛЕЖАТИ**, -лежаѧ, -лежаѧши to recline (at table).

**ВЪЗ-ЛЕЩИ**, -лаѧ, -лаѧши to lie down, sit down.  
**ВЪЗ-ЛИВАТИ**, -ливаѧ, -ливаѧши to pour on.  
**ВЪЗ-ЛИПАТИ**, -липаѧ, -липаѧши to pour on.  
**ВЪЗ-ЛОЖИТИ**, -ложѧ, -ложиѧши to lay upon, inflict.  
**ВЪЗ-ЛЮБИТИ**, -любѧ, -любиѧши to become fond of, love.  
**ВЪЗ-МОЖЪНЪ** *adj.* possible.  
**ВЪЗ-МОЩИ**, -моѧ, -моѧши to be able.  
**ВЪЗ-МЪРЪТИ**, -мѣрѧ, -мѣрѧши to measure, mete out.  
**ВЪЗ-НЕ-НА-ВИДѣТИ**, -виждѧ, -виждиѧши to hate.  
**ВЪЗ-НЕСТИ**, -несѧ, -несѧши to lift up, exalt.  
**ВЪЗ-НИСТИ**, -нѣѧ, -нѣѧши to put on.  
**ВЪЗНОШЕНИЕ** *n.* lifting up, elevation.  
**ВЪ-ЗЪВАТИ**, -зовѧ, -зовѧши to cry, call, summon.  
**ВЪЗ-ЪПИТИ**, -ѣпиѧ, -ѣпиѧши to cry out.  
**ВЪ-ЗЪРѣТИ** (< **ВЪЗ-ЗЪРѣТИ**), -зѣрѧ, -зѣриѧши to look up, look at.  
**ВЪЗ-ЪТИ**, -ѣѧ, -ѣѧши to take, take away, put on § 34.9, § 90.  
**ВЪИНѧ** *adv.* always.  
**ВЪКОУПЪНЪ** *adj.* complete.  
**ВЪКОУПѣ** see **КОУПЪ**.  
**ВЪ-КОУСИТИ**, -коушѧ, -коусиѧши to taste, try.

**ВЪЛНТИЕ** *n.* libation.  
**ВЪ-ЛОЖИТИ**, -ложж, -ложиши to lay (in), implant.  
**ВЪ-ЛѢСТИ**, -лѣзж, -лѣзеши to enter.  
**ВЪ-МѢТАТИ** (вЪ-МѢТАТИ), -мѣтаж, -мѣтаеши to cast, throw in.  
**ВЪНЕЗАДПЖ** *adv.* suddenly.  
**ВЪН-ИМАТИ**, -емлж, -емляеши take heed, beware.  
**ВЪН-ИТИ**, -идж, -идеши to go in, come in, enter § 92.  
**ВЪНЪ** *adv.* out § 34.3, § 99.2.  
**ВЪН-АТИ**, -ъмж, -ъмеши to take.  
**ВЪНЖТРЪ** *adv.* within § 50b; до в. right inside (Gr. *εως εσω*).  
**ВЪНЖТРЪНЪ** *adj.* inward, internal § 50b.  
**ВЪНЖТРЪЖДОУ** *adv.* within, inwardly.  
**ВЪ-ПАСТИ**, -падж, -падеши to fall into, among § 90.  
**ВЪПИТИ**, вЪпнж, вЪпиши to cry § 19.2, § 34.7.  
**ВЪ-ПЛѢТИТИ** сѧ, -плѣщж, -плѣтиши to become incarnate § 17e.  
**ВЪ-ПРАШАТИ**, -прашаж, -прашаеши *see* вЪ-ПРОСИТИ.  
**ВЪ-ПРОСИТИ**, -прошж, -просиши to question, ask.  
**ВЪ-САДИТИ**, -саждж, -садиши to seat.  
**ВЪСЕЛЕНА** *f.* world (Gr. *οικουμένη*).  
**ВЪ-СЕЛИТИ**, -селиж, -селиши to

implant; в. сѧ to come to dwell, settle.  
**ВЪСКРИЛИЕ** *n.* hem.  
**ВЪС-КРѢСНАЖТИ**, -крѣснж, -крѣснеши to rise, rise from the dead § 69.1d, § 79, § 95b, § 97c.  
**ВЪС-КРѢСИТИ**, -крѣшж, -крѣсиши to rouse, encourage § 97c.  
**ВЪСКЖЖ** *adv.* why.  
**ВЪС-ПРИ-ЯТИ**, -имж, -имеши receive.  
**ВЪС-ПРОСИТИ**, -прошж, -просиши to ask § 29.8.  
**ВЪС-ПѢТИ**, -пож, -поеши to sing (a hymn, song), crow.  
**ВЪ-СТАТИ**, -станж, -станеши to rise up, arise, stand up § 90.  
**ВЪСТОКЪ** *m.* east, sunrise, day-spring.  
**ВЪС-ТРѢБИТИ**, -трѣблж, -трѣбиши to sound a trumpet.  
**ВЪС-ХОДИТИ**, -хождж, -ходиши to go up, come up § 92.  
**ВЪС-ХОТѢТИ**, -хошж, -хошеши to long for, desire.  
**ВЪСЫМАТИ** (< вЪс-с-), -сылж, -сыляеши to send (up).  
**ВЪСЖДЪ** *m.* eucharist, communion § 35.1.  
**ВЪТОРИЦЕЖ** *adv.* for the second time § 59.6a, § 99.3.  
**ВЪ-ХОДИТИ**, -хождж, -ходиши to enter, go in, come in.  
**ВЪХОДЪ** *m.* entrance.  
**ВЪ-ЦѢСАРИТИ** сѧ, -цѣсарж, -цѣсариши to reign.  
**ВЪ-ЧАТИ**, -чнж, -чнеши to

begin; also used as auxiliary to form the future tense § 86.

**ВЪНѢ** *adv.* outside § 103.

**ВЪСЕВЛАДЪКА** *m.* almighty ruler.

**ВЪСЕГДА** *adv.* always § 100.

**ВЪСЕДРЪЖИТЕЛЬ** *m.* ruler of all things (Gr. *παντοκράτωρ*) § 47.

**ВЪСЕСМОГЪ** *adj.* almighty.

**ВЪСЕПЛОДНЪ** *adj.* full of fruit.

**ВЪСЬ** *f.* village, place § 16.1, § 43.

**ВЪСЬ** *pron. adj.* all, whole § 30.2a, § 33.1, 2, § 55.2.11, 5.

**ВЪСЪДЕ** *adv.* everywhere § 100.

**ВЪСТАКЪ** *adj.* all manner of, every § 55.2.1.

**ВЪСТАЧЬСКЪ** *adj.* every (kind of) § 54, § 100.

**ВЪТ** *pron.* you § 9.2, § 55.1.

**ВЪТ-ГЪНАТИ**, **-ЖЕНЪ**, **-ЖЕНЕШИ** *see* **ИЗГЪНАТИ**.

**ВЪСОКЪ** *adj.* high § 50b, j, § 51.1b.

**ВЪШЕ** *comp. adv.* from **ВЪСОКЪ** § 51.4, § 99.2; **СЪ ВЪШЕ** from above, from the top.

**ВЪШЫНН** *adj.* highest, most high § 50b.

**ВЪДѢТИ**, **ВЪДѢТЬ** (**ВЪДѢ**), **ВЪСИ** to know § 47, § 48.3, § 60.2e, § 61.V, § 84, § 91, § 98k.

**ВЪКЪ** *m.* age; eternity (Gr. *αἰών*) § 34.7; **ДО ВЪКА** for evermore.

**ВЪНЦЪ** *m.* garland, crown.

**ВЪРА** *f.* faith.

**ВЪРОВАТИ**, **ВЪРОУИ**, **ВЪРОУИШИ** to believe § 96.4.

**ВЪРЪНЪ** *adj.* faithful § 34.7.

**ВЪСТЪ** *f.* news, report, rumour § 48.3.

**ВЪТРЪ** *m.* wind.

**ВЪЧЪНЪ** *adj.* eternal.

**ВЪЩИН** *comp. adj.* greater, more § 51.1c, § 54.

## Г

**Гавриилъ** (**Гавъриилъ**) *m.* Gabriel § 45.

**Галилея** *f.* Galilee.

**Галилѣанинъ** *m.* Galilæan § 48.6.

**Галилѣискъ**, **Галилеискъ** *adj.* Galilæan, of Galilee.

**Глава** *f.* head § 6.3, § 39, § 48.6, § 49.

**Глаголати**, **-Голож**, **-Голѣши** to speak, say § 47, § 60.2a, § 65.1, § 91, § 96.3, 4a.

**Глаголъ** *m.* word § 47.

**Гласъ** *m.* voice, saying, utterance § 42b.

**Глашат**, **Глашаж**, **Глашаеши** to call, call upon.

**Гнѣвати** **сѧ**, **Гнѣваж**, **Гнѣваеши** to be angry.

**Гнѣвъ** *m.* anger.

**Година** *f.* hour.

**Годъ** *m.* time.

**Голъгота** *f.* Golgotha.

**Голѣвъ** *m.* dove § 43.

**Гора** *f.* mountain, hill.

**Горе** *int.* woe! § 105.

**Горькъ** *adj.* bitter § 51.2a, § 54.

**Горьница** *f.* upper room.

**Господа** *f.* inn.

господинъ *m.* master §§ 41b, 48.6.

господь *m.* Lord § 43a, § 48.6,  
§ 50a.

господень *adj.* of the Lord § 50a.

госпожда *f.* lady.

гостиница *f.* inn.

гостинникъ *m.* inn-keeper.

готовъ *adj.* ready.

градъ *m.* city § 6.3, § 16.5,  
§ 38.1.II, § 48.6.

градъ *m.* hail.

Григоръ, Григорин *m.* Gregory  
§ 45.

гробъ *m.* tomb § 37.4, § 48.2.

гроздъ (грознь) *m.* bunch of  
grapes § 42b.

грьдъ *adj.* proud.

гръмъ *m.* tree, bush.

грѣховънъ *adj.* sinful, of sin.

грѣхъ *m.* sin § 42b, § 48.2.

грѣшникъ *m.* sinner § 48.2.

грѣшнъ *adj.* sinful.

грѣяти (грѣти), грѣжъ, грѣ-  
юши to warm.

грати, градъ, градеши to  
come, journey § 94c, i.

губѣль *f.* loss, destruction  
§ 48.5.

губа *f.* sponge § 13.2.

## Д

да *conj.* that, so that; and so  
§ 104.

давѣдовъ *adj.* of David.

Давѣдъ *m.* David.

даже *conj.* than; until, before;  
даже do (Freis. III) until,  
§ 104.

даровати, даровѣжъ, даровѣши  
to present § 96.4f.

даръ *m.* gift § 6.2, § 37.1b, § 42b.

датель *m.* giver.

дати, дамъ, дашъ to give § 37.1b,  
§ 48.6, § 60.2e, § 61.V, § 69.2i,  
§ 77.2, § 80, § 91, § 93.V, § 98i.

дагание *n.* giving, gift.

дагати, дажъ, даюши § 32.5,  
§ 93.V, § 96.3, § 98i; see дати.

дворъ *m.* court.

дверь *f.sg.*, двѣри *f.pl.* door § 43.

девятъ *adj.* ninth.

Декаполѣи *m.* Decapolis § 45.

десница *f.* right hand § 48.2.

деснъ *adj.* right.

десѣтъ *f.* ten § 11.1, § 14.2,  
§ 44.4c, § 59.1.

дивни *adj.* wild.

дивити сѧ, дивѣжъ, дивѣши to  
wonder (at, *dat.*, o+*loc.*)

длѣготръпѣнне *n.* long-suffer-  
ing § 47.

длѣгъ *m.* debt § 2.II Note 6,  
§ 47.

длѣжникъ *m.* debtor § 47.

до *prep.* with *gen.* up to, until.

добръ *adj.* good § 9.3, § 33.3,  
§ 49, § 51.1c, § 56.

доволъ *m.* sufficiency.

до-вѣлѣти, -вѣлѣжъ, -вѣлѣши to  
suffice § 37.5e, § 97f.

доидеже *conj.* until § 100.

доколѣ *adv.* how long? § 100.

домъ *m.* house § 7.2, § 27.1,  
§ 42.

донѣдеже *conj.* until § 100, § 104.

достойнъ *adj.* worthy § 33.4.

ДОСТОЯНИЕ *n.* inheritance.

ДО-СТОЯТИ, -СТОЯЖ, -СТОИШИ to be fitting, right.

ДОТОЛѢ *adv.* until that time, before.

ДРАГЪ *adj.* dear, expensive § 51.1a.

ДРЕВЬНЪ *adj.* old, ancient § 50b.

ДРОУГЪ *pron.* other § 55.5a;

Д. КЪ ДРОУГОУ to one another.

ДРЪЖАВА *f.* might, power § 48.8.

ДРЪЖАТИ, ДРЪЖЖ, ДРЪЖИШИ to hold § 48.8; § 97d; Д. СЛ (*with gen.*) to hold to.

ДРЪЗАТИ, ДРЪЗАЖ, ДРЪЗАЕШИ; see ДРЪЗНАТИ.

ДРЪЗНАТИ, ДРЪЗНАЖ, ДРЪЗНАЕШИ to take courage, grow bold § 69.2d, § 77.1d, § 93.II, § 95a, b.

ДРЪЗОСТЬ *f.* boldness, audacity.

ДРЪКОЛЬ *m.* club, stave § 43.

ДРЪВЕО *n.* tree § 44.3, § 50e.

ДОУХОВЪНЪ *adj.* spiritual.

ДОУХЪ *m.* spirit; breath (Gr. πνεῦμα) § 20.3, § 21.1, § 30.2, § 40.1, § 42b.

ДОУША *f.* soul, life (Gr. ψυχή Zogr., Mt. vi. 25) § 21.1, § 37.6, § 38.1.Ib, § 39, § 46.1, § 49.

ДЪВА *num.* two § 55.2.I, § 59.1; Д. НА ДЕСАТЕ twelve.

ДЪВОИ *num. adj.* twofold; two (*with pluralia tantum*) § 59.3.

ДЪВОИЦА *f.* pair § 59.6a.

ДЪЖДИТИ, ДЪЖДАЖ, ДЪЖДИШИ to rain.

ДЪЖДА *m.* rain.

ДЪЦИ *f.* daughter § 7.3, § 15.1, § 38.1.V.5, § 44.5e, § 46.1.

ДЪЦИЦА *f.* writing-tablet § 29.13.

ДЪНЕВЪНЪ *adj.* daily.

ДЪНЬ *m.* day § 16.1, § 33.1, § 34.5, § 44.2e, § 50b.

ДЪНЬСЬ *adv.* today § 33.1, § 34.2, § 50b.

ДЪНЬСЬНЪ *adj.* of today.

ДЪХАТИ, ДЪШЖ, ДЪШЕШИ to breathe, blow § 93.II.

ДЪВА *f.* virgin § 30.3f.

ДЪВИЦА *f.* girl, maiden § 30.3f.

ДЪЛАТЕЛЬ *m.* labourer § 41, § 48.3.

ДЪЛАТИ, ДЪЛАЖ, ДЪЛАЕШИ to do, make § 48.3, § 65.2, § 91, § 96.4d.

ДЪЛО *n.* work, deed § 40.2b, § 44.3, § 46.1, § 48.5, § 65.2.

ДЪТЕЛЬ (ДЪТЪЛЬ) *f.* action, deed § 43, § 48.5.

ДЪЯТИ (ДЪЯТИ, ДЪЯТИ), ДЪЯЖ, ДЪЯЕШИ to do, put, commit § 10.1, § 27.1, § 48.5, § 65.1, § 96.1a, § 96.3a; НЕ ДЪЯИ let (be).

☞ see under Ю

## Ж

ЖЕ *conj.* and, but (Gr. δέ) § 104.

ЖЕЛѢЗНЪ *adj.* of iron § 50k.

ЖЕНА *f.* woman, wife § 37.6, § 38.1.I, § 46.1, § 50f.

ЖЕСТОКЪ *adj.* hard; жестоко *adv.* sorely.

**живоноснѣ** *adj.* life-giving.  
**животѣ** *m.* life.  
**живѣ** *adj.* alive, living § 3,  
 § 12.1, § 21.1; **ж. бѣти** to live.  
**жизнь** *f.* life § 48.6.  
**жила** *f.* vein, sinew; **жилами**  
**ослабленѣ** paralysed, sick of  
 the palsy.  
**жилице** *n.* abode, dwelling-  
 place.  
**жити, живѣж, живеши** to live  
 § 48.6, § 62.7.  
**житиѣ** *n.* life.  
**житѣница** *f.* barn.  
**жрътва** *f.* sacrifice § 48.3.  
**жръти, жръж, жръшеши** to sacri-  
 fice § 34.3, § 48.2, 3, § 60.2,  
 § 69.2g, § 94a.  
**жръбени** *m.* lot.  
**ждати, жидѣж (ждѣж), жид-**  
**ешеши** to wait (for), expect  
 § 21.1, § 63.1.  
**жадати, жадаѣж, жадаѣшеши**  
 to desire, long for (*with gen.*).  
**жадати (жадѣти), жаждѣж,**  
**жаждешеши** to thirst § 65.1,  
 § 92, § 96.3b, § 97d.  
**жадѣнѣ (жаждѣнѣ)** *adj.*  
 thirsty.  
**жати, жѣж, жѣшеши** to reap  
 § 21.1, § 65.1, § 96.2f.

## З

**за** *prep.* (*with acc.*) for, because  
 of; by; (*with instr.*) behind;  
 (*with gen.*) on, at (in expres-  
 sions of time) § 102.2; **з. не**

because.  
**завистѣ** *f.* envy § 38.2, § 43,  
 § 47, § 50g.  
**завѣтѣ** *m.* covenant, testament.  
**за-вѣщати, -вѣщѣж, -вѣщѣ-**  
**ѣшеши** to make a covenant;  
**zavuekati** (Freis. II) solemnly  
 renounce (?).  
**завѣзати, -вѣзѣж -вѣзѣшеши**  
 bind up, mend.  
**зѣди** *adv.* behind § 99.1; **сѣ з.**  
 behind, from behind.  
**зѣдѣти, -дѣж, -дѣшеши** to  
 force, compel.  
**зѣклинати, -клинѣж, -клинѣ-**  
**ѣшеши** to adjure, conjure.  
**зѣколение** *n.* slaughtering.  
**зѣконопрѣкѣстѣпнѣ** *adj.* unlaw-  
 ful, sinful.  
**зѣконѣ** *m.* law.  
**зѣконѣникѣ** *m.* lawyer; priest  
 (Kiev Miss., Freis. III).  
**Зѣкъхѣовѣ** *adj.* of Zacchaeus.  
**зѣмѣторѣти -ѣж -ѣшеши** to  
 grow old.  
**зѣмыслѣ** *m.* understanding,  
 intelligence.  
**зѣпадѣ** *m.* west § 50c.  
**зѣповѣдѣ** *f.* commandment.  
**зѣ-стѣпити, -стѣплѣж, -стѣп-**  
**ишеши** to care for, protect,  
 sustain.  
**зѣстѣпникѣ** *m.* protector.  
**зѣ-тѣворити, -тѣворѣж, -тѣворишеши**  
 to shut § 92.  
**Зѣхарита** *m.* Zacharias § 45.  
**зѣхариннѣ (зѣхарѣиннѣ)** *adj.*  
 of Zacharias.

**ЗАЩИТИТИ, -ЩИЩЪ, -ЩИТИШИ** to protect § 29.13.  
**ЗАЧАЛО** *n.* beginning.  
**ЗАЧАТИ, -ЧЪНЪ, -ЧЪНЕШИ** to begin, conceive (a child) § 79.  
**ЗАЕМЪ** *m.* loan.  
**ЗАЯТИ, -ИМЪ, -ИМЕШИ** to borrow.  
**ЗВЪРЪ** *m.* animal, beast § 43, § 48.6.  
**ЗЕВЕДЕИ** *m.* Zebedee.  
**ЗЕВЕДЕОВЪ** *adj.* of Zebedee.  
**ЗЕМЪСКЪ** *adj.* earthly § 17с.  
**ЗЕМЛЯ** *f.* earth, land, ground § 17b, § 39e, § 46.1.  
**ЗЕМЪНЪ** *adj.* earthly, of the earth.  
**ЗЛАТИЦА** *f.* gold coin.  
**ЗМИЯ** *f.* serpent § 39Ie, § 49.  
**ЗНАМЕНИЕ** *n.* sign § 12.3, § 38.1.II.2.b, § 40.2, § 49, § 65.2.  
**ЗЪЛОВА** *f.* evil, trouble (Zogr., Mt. vi. 34) § 34.6, § 48.7.  
**ЗЪЛОДЪИ** *m.* evil-doer.  
**ЗЪЛОДЪИНЪ** *adj.* of the evil-doer (devil).  
**ЗЪЛЪ** *adj.* bad, evil § 47, § 48.7, § 51.1с.  
**ЗЪЛЪ** *f.* evil, wickedness § 33.3, § 38.2, § 47.  
**ЗЪРЪТИ, ЗЪРЪ, ЗЪРИШИ** to see, behold § 96.2h, § 97d.  
**ЗЪБЪ** *m.* tooth § 13.1.

## И (И, I)

**И** *conj.* and, also, even § 104.  
**ИБО** *conj.* for § 104.

**ИГОУМЕНЪ** *m.* abbot.  
**ИДЕ, ИДЕЖЕ** *rel. conj.* where § 100, § 104.  
**ИЕРЕН (ИЪРЕН)** *m.* priest § 40.1e, § 45.  
**ИЖДЕ** *conj.* since, because § 100.  
**ИЖДИТИ, ИЖДИЕЪ, ИЖДИВЕШИ** to spend (in addition [Savv. Kn., L. x. 35]).  
**ИЖЕ (ИЖЪ), ИЖЕ, ИЖЕ** *rel. pron.* who, which § 33.4, § 55.2.II, § 55.4.  
**ИЗ-БАВИТИ, -БАВИЪ, -БАВИШИ** to deliver, save, free.  
**ИЗ-БАВЛЕНИЕ** *n.* salvation.  
**ИЗ-БЪТИ, -БЪДЪ, -БЪДЕШИ** to exceed, abound § 98p.  
**ИЗЪИТЪЧЕСТВОВАТИ, ИЗЪИТЪЧЕСТВОУЪ, ИЗЪИТЪЧЕСТВОУЮШИ** to abound.  
**ИЗ-ВЕСТИ, -ВЕДЪ, -ВЕДЕШИ** to lead out, drive forth § 90.  
**ИЗ-ВЛЪЦИ, -ВЛЪКЪ, -ВЛЪЧЕШИ** to pull out, draw (the sword).  
**ИЗВОЛЕНИКЪ** *m.* one who is chosen.  
**ИЗ-ВОЛИТИ, -ВОЛИЪ, -ВОЛИШИ** to choose; **И. СЪ** to seem good.  
**ИЗВЪСТЪНЪ** *adj.* certain, definite.  
**ИЗ-ГЛАГОЛАТИ, -ГЛАГОЛАЪ, -ГЛАГОЛАЮШИ** to utter, speak.  
**ИЗ-ГОНИТИ, -ГОНИЪ, -ГОНИШИ** to drive out, persecute.  
**ИЗ-ГЪНАТИ, -ЖДЕНЪ, -ЖДЕНЕШИ** drive out, persecute § 92.  
**ИЗДАЛЕЧЕ** *adv.* from afar, far off.  
**ИЗДРАИЛЕВЪ** *adj.* of Israel § 50a.  
**ИЗДРАИЛЬ** *m.* Israel.



- издрѣшеніе *n.* redemption, liberation.
- из-дѣхнѣти, -дѣхнѣ, -дѣхнѣши to expire.
- из-ити, -идѣ, -идѣши to go out, go forth, come out § 92.
- излиха *adv.* to excess, vehemently.
- из-мѣнити, -мѣнѣ, -мѣнѣши to change.
- из-мѣнѣти, -мѣнѣѣ, -мѣнѣѣши *see* измѣнити.
- из-не-моуци, -моуѣ, -моуѣши to be impossible.
- из-ати, -ѣмѣ, -ѣмѣши to take out.
- или *conj.* or § 104.
- Илиинѣ *adj.* of Elias.
- Илиа *m.* Elias.
- иманіе *n.* taking, gathering.
- имѣніе *n.* property, goods § 48.2.
- имѣти, имѣѣ, имѣѣши and имамѣ, имамѣши to have (*also an auxiliary forming the future tense*); имѣ was able (Gr. εἶσχεν Mar., Mk. xiv. 8) § 3, § 61.V, § 65.2, § 86, § 96.4b, § 98r.
- има *n.* name § 12.4, § 38.I.V, § 44.2, § 50h.
- инокость *f.* pilgrimage, wandering.
- иноплемѣнникѣ *m.* stranger, foreigner (Gr. ἀλλόφυλος).
- иночадѣ *adj.* only-begotten.
- инѣ *adj.* other; fresh, new (Mar., Mk. xiv. 25) § 48.2, § 55.2.I, 2.IIb.
- инѣдѣ *adv.* elsewhere § 100.
- инѣдиктѣ *m.* indiction.
- иоановѣ *adj.* of John.
- Иоанѣ (Иоан'нѣ) *m.* John.
- Иорданѣ *m.* Jordan.
- иорѣданскѣ *adj.* of Jordan.
- иосиовѣ *adj.* of Josés.
- Иосифѣ *m.* Joseph.
- Иродѣ *m.* Herod.
- Исавовѣ *adj.* of Esau.
- Исакѣ *m.* Isaac.
- иселити (< из-с-), -селѣ, -селѣши to drive out, expel (from, *gen.*).
- Искаріотскѣ *adj.* Iscariot.
- искати, ищѣ (искѣ), ищѣши to seek § 21.2b, § 22.1, § 30.1a, § 63.2, § 63.3, § 96.3b.
- искони *adv.* from the beginning, in the beginning § 24.
- искрѣнь *adj.* near; (*as masc. noun* = ὁ πλησίον) neighbour.
- ис-коуцити, -коушѣ, -коушѣши to test, try, tempt.
- ис-коушати, -коушѣѣ, -коушѣѣши *see* искоуцити.
- ис-плѣнити, -плѣнѣ, -плѣнѣши to fill, fulfil.
- ис-по-вѣдати, -вѣданѣ, -вѣданѣши *see* исповѣдѣти.
- исповѣдѣ *f.* confession.
- исповѣдѣнѣ *adj.* OHG *bigihtig*; и. бѣити to confess.
- ис-по-вѣдѣти (сѣ), -вѣмѣ, -вѣмѣши to profess; utter; confess.

ис-правити, -правляж, -правиши  
to correct, set in order.

ис-просити, -прошж, -просиши  
to ask for, demand.

истина *f.* truth § 48.6; въ ист-  
инж truly.

истиньнь *adj.* true.

ис-топити сѧ, -топѧж, -топ-  
иши to suffer shipwreck.

ис-тъкнѧти, -тъкнѧж, -тък-  
неши to pluck out.

исоусовъ *adj.* of Jesus § 50a.

Исоусъ *m.* Jesus § 50a.

ис-ходити, -хождж, -ходиши  
to go out.

исходъ *m.* exit.

ис-сыпати (< из-с-), -сыпѧж,  
сыпѧиши to cast (*lit.* pour)  
out.

ис-сѣщи (< из-сѣк-), -сѣкѧж,  
-сѣчеши to cut out.

ити, идж, идеши to go § 62.7,  
§ 69.1с, § 79, § 90, § 91, § 94f,  
1, § 97b.

и-цѣлѧти (< ис-ц-), -цѣлѧж,  
цѣлѧиши to heal § 79.

и-цѣлѣти (< ис-ц-), -цѣлѣж,  
-цѣлѣиши to recover, be  
healed § 27.3.

Июда *m.* Judas § 39h, § 45,  
§ 50a.

иудейскъ *adj.* Jewish.

Иудея *f.* Judaea § 32.5.

иудовъ *adj.* of Judah.

ишковъ *adj.* of Jacob.

Ишковъ *m.* James, Jacob.

Иероусалимъ *m.* Jerusalem.

Іѣнъ *m.* John (Prague Fr.).

## н

нѣона *f.* hell § 2.II Note 1, § 3a,  
§ 45.

нѣтъсимани (нѣдсимани)  
Gethsemane § 2.II Note 1.

## К

кадило *n.* incense § 48.4.

кадильнь *adj.* of incense.

како *adv.* how.

какъ, кака, како *pronominal adj.*  
of what kind § 30.3.

камень *m.* stone, rock, § 44.2.

камо *interrogative and relative*  
*adv.* whither § 100.

канагалѧлѣискъ *adj.* of Cana  
in Galilee.

Капернаоумъ *m.* Capernaum.

капати сѧ, кажж, каиши to repent  
§ 96.3a.

квасъ *m.* ferment; творенъ  
квасъ a fermented drink  
(Gr. *σίκερα*).

Кела нова *f.* Κελλανόβα.

кентурѧнъ *m.* centurion.

кесаръ (кесаръ) *m.* Caesar,  
(Roman) emperor § 2.II Note  
7, § 50a.

Кириѧж *scribal error for* Кири-  
ноу *from* Киринъ *m.* Qui-  
rinus.

кланѧти сѧ, кланѧж, кланѧ-  
иши to bow down before,  
worship (*with dat.*), do homage  
§ 90.

Климентъ *m.* Clement.

Клиоскауръ *m.* Κλοισκαύρη.

клетъ *f.* chamber, cell.

- КЛЮЧИТИ СѦ**, **КЛЮЧЪ**, **КЛЮЧИШИ** to fall to one's lot, happen § 93.II.  
**КЛЮЧЪ** *m.* key.  
**КЛАТВА** *f.* oath § 48.8.  
**КЛАТИ**, **КЛЪНЪ**, **КЛЪНЕШИ** to swear, curse; **К. СѦ** to swear an oath § 48.8, § 62.4, § 69.2c, § 77.3.  
**КОВЪ** *m.* insurrection.  
**КОВЪНИКЪ** *m.* insurgent.  
**КОГДА** *interrogative particle* when.  
**КОКОТЪ** *m.* cock.  
**КОЛИЖЕДО** *adv. with relatives* . . . ever § 100.  
**КОЛИКО** *interrogative pron.* how many § 55.2.I.  
**КОЛЬ** *adv.* how (much) § 100.  
**КОЛЬМИ** *adv.* by how much; how great § 99.6, § 100.  
**КОЛѢНО** *n.* knee.  
**КОНДРАТЬ** (**КОНЪДРАТЪ**, **КОДРАНТЪ**) *m.* *κονδράτης*, farthing.  
**КОНСТАТИНЪГРАДЪ** *m.* Constantinople.  
**КОНЬЦЪ** *m.* end § 24, § 31b, § 33.1.  
**КОНЬЧИНА** *f.* term, limit § 33.1.  
**КОРАБЪЛЪ** *m.* boat, ship § 2.II Note 7, § 17c, § 40.1.  
**КОРАВЪНИКЪ** *m.* sailor, seaman.  
**КРАН** *m.* end, extremity § 16.5, § 37.6, § 38.1.II, § 40, § 46.1.  
**КРАНИЕВЪ** *adj.* Mar., Mk. xv. 22 **КРАНИЕВО МѢСТО** the place of a skull (Gr. *κρανίου τόπος*).  
**КРАСТИ**, **КРАДЪ**, **КРАДЕШИ** to steal § 48.1, § 69.1c, § 94e.
- КРАТЪ** *m.* time (in **ТРИ КРАТЪ** thrice, &c.) § 59.4.  
**КРИЖАНЪ** *adj.* of the cross.  
**КРОВЪ** *m.* roof.  
**КРОМѢШЬНЪ** *adj.* outer.  
**КРОТЪКЪ** *adj.* meek, gentle § 51.2a.  
**КРЪВОТОЧИВЪ** *adj.* with a flux of blood.  
**КРЪВЪ** *f.* blood § 2.II Note 6, § 17e, § 33.1, § 44.1, § 50h.  
**КРЪСТИТИ**, **КРЪЩЪ**, **КРЪСТИШИ** to baptize § 17e, § 93.IV.  
**КРЪСТЪ** *m.* cross § 17e.  
**КРѢПИТИ СѦ**, **КРѢПЪ**, **КРѢПИШИ** to grow strong.  
**КРѢПОСТЬ** *f.* strength.  
**КРѢПЪКЪ** *adj.* strong, mighty § 33.1; comp. **КРѢПЛИИ** § 51.1b.  
**КОУПИТИ**, **КОУПЪ**, **КОУПИШИ** to buy § 3, § 19.3, § 90, § 93.IV.  
**КОУПЪ** *m.* hear; **ВЪ КОУПѢ** together.  
**КОУЦИНА** *f.* boiled wheat.  
**КЪ** *prep. with dat.* to, towards.  
**КЪДЕ** *adv.* where § 34.2, § 100, § 104.  
**КЪЗНЬ** *f.* (**КЪЗНИ** Prague Fr. II Azo is probably *voc. for nom.*) manner; intrigue, conspiracy (?).  
**КЪНИГА** *f.* writing, document, letter, book; **КЪНИГЪ** the scriptures; **КЪНИГЪ** **РАСПОУСТЪНЪ** writing of divorcement § 31, § 48.2.  
**КЪНИЖЪНИКЪ** *m.* scribe.  
**КЪНАЗЪ** *m.* ruler, prince § 14.4.

§ 23.1b, § 25, § 30.3a, f, g,  
§ 40.1b, o, § 50a.  
КЪНАЖЬ *adj.* of a ruler § 50a.  
КЪТО *pron.* who, anyone § 33.1,  
§ 34.2, § 55.3.  
КЪИ, КАКА, КОЮ *pron.* what (kind  
of)? § 55.3.  
КЪИЖДО *pron.* any, every; any-  
one, everyone.  
КЪСЪЛЪ *adj.* sour.  
КЪРЪНИНЪ *m.* a Cyrenian.

## Л

ЛАБАНОВЪ *adj.* of Laban.  
ЛАКАТИ, ЛАЧЖ, ЛАЧЕШИ *see* АЛКАТИ.  
ЛАКЪТЪ *m.* cubit § 43f, § 44.4c.  
ЛАНИТА *f.* cheek; БИТИ ЗА ЛА-  
НИТЖ to slap.  
ЛАЧЪНЪ *adj.* hungry.  
ЛЕВЪИТЪ (ЛЕВЪИТЪ, ЛЕВЪ-  
ИИТЪ, ЛЕОУГИТЪ, ЛЕУИТЪ,  
ЛЕУИИ) *m.* Levite § 45.  
ЛЕЖАТИ, ЛЕЖЖ, ЛЕЖЕШИ to lie,  
recline § 6.4, § 97d.  
ЛЕЦИ, ЛАГЖ, ЛАЖЕШИ to lie  
down § 30.2a, § 48.1, § 62.7,  
§ 93.1, § 94i.  
ЛЕВЪИТЪ *see* ЛЕВЪИТЪ.  
ЛИ *conj.* either; or; (*interro-*  
*gative particle*) Lat. *-ne* § 100,  
§ 104.  
ЛИКЪ *m.* dance, chorus, com-  
pany.  
ЛИМА why? (*from Aramaic* למה?).  
ЛИХОКЛАТВА *f.* false oath, per-  
jury.  
ЛИХОМЪДЕНИЕ *n.* gluttony.  
ЛИХЪ *m.* excessive, vain; evil

§ 51.1a, d; ЛИХОЕ СЕЮ Zogr.,  
Mt. v. 37 'whatsoever is  
more than these'; ЛИШЕ all the  
more, to excess.  
ЛИЦЕ *n.* face, countenance  
§ 30.3f, § 37.6, § 38.1.11,  
§ 40.2d, § 44.3.  
ЛИЦЕМЪРЪ *m.* hypocrite.  
ЛОВЪЗАТИ, ЛОВЪЖЖ, ЛОВЪЖЕШИ  
to kiss § 93.111, § 96.3b.  
ЛОВЬЦЪ *m.* hunter; fisher (Mt.  
iv. 19) § 48.2.  
ЛОЖЕ *n.* bed § 40.2, § 48.1,  
§ 49.  
ЛОЗИЕ *n.* vine-branches.  
ЛОЗЪНЪ *adj.* of the vine.  
ЛОУНА *f.* moon § 29.5.  
ЛОУЧИИ *comp. adj.* better § 51.1c.  
ЛЪГАТИ, ЛЪЖЖ, ЛЪЖЕШИ to lie  
§ 21.1, § 96.3b.  
ЛЪЖА *f.* lie.  
ЛЪЖЕ СЪ-ВЪЕСТОВАТИ, -ВЪЕСТОУ-  
ИЖ, -ВЪЕСТОУЮЩИ to bear false  
witness.  
ЛЪЖЪ *adj.* lying, false § 21.1,  
§ 34.4, § 49b, § 50g; ВЪ ЛЪЖЕ  
КЛАТИ СЯ to forswear oneself;  
ЛЪЖЖ falsely.  
ЛЪЖАНЪ *adj.* lying, false.  
ЛЪСТЬ *f.* guile, cunning § 16.1.  
ЛЪПОТА *f.* beauty; (Freis. 111)  
pompr.  
ЛЪСЪ *m.* wood, forest.  
ЛЪТО *n.* year § 17a, § 37.6,  
§ 38.11.2.  
ЛЮБИТИ, ЛЮБИЖ, ЛЮБИШИ to  
love § 2.11 Note 7, § 3, § 17b,  
§ 66, § 77.1c, § 97j.

любо *conj.* or § 99.2; л. . . л.  
either . . . or § 104.

любоудѣиѣнѣ *adj.* of fornication.

любовницѣ *adj.* loving the poor  
(Gr. *φιλόπτωχος*).

любѣ *adj.* pleasant, pleasing.

любѣ *f.* love § 38.1.V, § 44.1;  
любѣ *сѣтворити* to commit  
adultery § 44.1.

людиѣ *m.pl.* people § 41*b*, § 43*a*,  
§ 48.6.

лють *adj.* terrible § 51.1*a*.

лжквѣ *adj.* evil.

лжквѣнѣ *adj.* evil.

## Л

Магдалини *f.* the Magdalene  
§ 39*b*, § 45, § 48.6.

маловѣрѣ *adj.* of little faith.

маломощѣ *m.* poor man § 47.

малѣ *adj.* small; minor § 51.1*c*;  
мало *adv.* a little, few § 99.2.

мамбринскѣ *adj.* of Mamre.

мамона *f.* mammon.

манаствѣрь *m.* monastery.

манѣна *f.* manna.

маринѣ *adj.* of Mary.

Марига (Марѣга) *f.* Mary.

мартѣ *m.* March.

масло *n.* oil § 40.2*b*, § 48.5.

мати *f.* mother § 6.1, § 38.1.V,  
§ 44.5, § 46.1.

медѣ *m.* honey § 42.

метати, метѣж (мещѣж, мет-  
лѣж), метеши (метаеши) to  
throw § 63.2, 3, § 96.3*d*.

мечѣ *f.* sword § 30.1*c*.

миловати, мироуѣж, мироуѣеши  
to have mercy (on).

милосердиѣ *n.* compassion.

мило-серѣдовати, -серѣдоуѣж,  
серѣдоуѣеши to have mercy,  
feel compassion.

милосерѣдѣ *adj.* merciful.

милоствѣнѣ *adj.* merciful.

милоствѣнѣнѣ *adj.* merciful.

милоствѣ *f.* mercy.

милоствѣни *f.* alms, mercy.

милѣ *adj.* dear, pleasant.

мимо *adv.* past; м. ити (ходити)  
to pass by, away from § 92.

миръ *m.* world.

мирънѣ *adj.* peaceful.

младѣнѣцѣ *m.* infant.

младѣнѣцѣ *m.* infant, babe.

млъва *f.* shouting, tumult.

млѣвити, млѣвлѣж, млѣвиши  
to make a noise, disturbance.

млѣчати, млѣчѣж, млѣчиши  
to be silent § 29.5, § 97*d*.

многоплодѣнѣ *adj.* fertile, proli-  
fic.

молитѣ *f.* prayer § 48.3.

молити, молѣж, молиши to beg,  
supplicate; м. сѣ to pray  
§ 17*a*, § 48.3, 7, § 60.2,  
§ 61.IV*a*, § 70, § 77.1*c*,  
§ 93.IV, § 97.

морѣ *n.* sea § 2.II Note 7, § 3,  
§ 17*a*, § 40.1, § 46.2.

Моѣса *m.* Moses § 45, § 50*a*.

моуѣи, моуѣж, моуѣеши to be  
able § 29.11, § 30.1*b*, § 48.3,  
§ 62.5, § 69.1*c*, § 70*a*, § 80,  
§ 94.

Моуѣси *m.* Moses § 45, § 50*a*.

морѣзѣ *m.* frost.

**мръзѣкъ** *adj.* abominable.  
**мрътеѣ** *adj.* dead § 16.2, § 37.5a.  
**мръжа** *f.* net.  
**мъногъ** *adj.* much, great, manifold, many § 33.1, § 34.7, § 51, 2, § 55.2.1.  
**мъножество** *n.* multitude.  
**мъзда** *f.* reward § 20.1, § 22.1, § 34.5.  
**мъздоньца** *m.* tax-gatherer, publican.  
**мънии** *comp. adj.* smaller, lesser; least § 51.1c.  
**мънѣти, мънѣж, мъниши** to think § 97d; **м. сѣ** to appear, seem.  
**мъсть** *f.* revenge.  
**мъша** *f.* mass.  
**мъслити, мъшлѣж, мъслиши** to think § 3, § 79, § 97a.  
**мъсль** *f.* thought § 43.  
**мъшьца** *f.* arm (-muscle) § 30.3f.  
**мѣра** *f.* measure.  
**мѣрити, мѣрѣж, мѣриши** to measure, mete.  
**мѣсто** *n.* place, spot § 40.2, § 49.  
**мѣсѣць** *m.* month § 23.2b, § 30.3f.  
**мѣсѣчьнъ** *adj.* lunatic.  
**макъкъ** *adj.* soft, fat § 30.3a.  
**мѣдити, мѣждѣж, мѣдиши** to delay § 35.2, 4, 6, 7.  
**мѣдрость** *f.* wisdom § 38.2.  
**мѣдръ** *adj.* wise.  
**мѣжъ** *m.* man § 16.5, § 34.5, § 38.1.11, § 40.1, § 46.1.

**мѣжъскъ** *adj.* of man.  
**мѣжа** *f.* torment § 35.5.  
**мѣченикъ** *m.* martyr.  
**мѣченица** *f.* martyr.  
**мѣчение** *n.* suffering.  
**мѣчити, мѣчѣж, мѣчиши** to torment § 93.IV, § 97a.  
**манѣна** *see* манѣна.

## Н

**на** *prep.* (*with loc.*) on; in; (*with acc.*) on to, against, for (*of duration*) § 3, § 102.2.  
**на-вести, -ведѣж, -ведѣши** to introduce, guide.  
**нагъ** *adj.* naked.  
**надъ** *prep.* (*with acc.*) over, upon; (*with instr.*) over, above § 102.2.  
**Назаретъ** *m.* Nazareth.  
**назаретскъ** *adj.* of Nazareth.  
**назарѣнинъ** *m.* Nazarene § 48.6.  
**на-ити, -идѣж, -идѣши** to enter into, come upon § 92.  
**намѣстѣникъ** *m.* successor; representative.  
**на-падати, -падаѣж, -падаѣши** § 90; *see* напасти.  
**на-пасти, -падѣж, -падѣши** to fall upon, beat upon.  
**напастъ** *f.* temptation; **теорити напастъ** use despitefully (Zogr., Mt. v. 44).  
**на-папати, -папатиж, -папатиши** *see* напоити.  
**на-пльнити, -пльнѣж, пльниши** to fill.

- НА-ПОИТИ**, -поѣж, -поиши to give to drink.  
**НА-ПРАВИТИ**, -правѣж, -правиши to direct.  
**НА-ПЪСАТИ** (-писати), -пишж, -пишеши to write down, inscribe, enroll.  
**НА-РЕШТИ**, -рѣжж, -рѣчеши to name, call, appoint § 65.2, § 96.4a.  
**НА-РИЦАТИ**, -рицажж, -рицаеши to name, call § 30.2a, § 65.2, § 96.3, 4a, b.  
**НАРОДЪ** *m.* multitude, people.  
**НАРЪДЪНЪ** *adj.* of nard.  
**НА-САДИТИ**, -сажджж, -садиши to plant.  
**НАСИЛИЕ** *n.* violence.  
**НА-СЛАЖДАТИ** сѣ, -слаждажж, -слаждаеши to enjoy.  
**НА-СЛѢДИТИ**, -слѣжджж, -слѣдиши to inherit; to follow, imitate.  
**НА-СЛѢДОВАТИ**, -слѣдоужж, -слѣдоужеши *see* **НАСЛѢДИТИ** § 65.3.  
**НА-СЛѢДЪСТВОВАТИ**, -слѣдствоужж, -слѣдствоужеши to inherit.  
**НАСТОЯТИ**, -стоужж, -стоиши to be present; **НАСТОЯШТЪ** present.  
**НА-СЪИТИТИ**, -съищжж, -съйтиши to fill, satisfy.  
**НА-ТРОУТИ**, -тровжж, -тровеши to feed.  
**НА-ОУСТИТИ**, -оуцжж, -оустиши to persuade.
- НА-ОУЧИТИ**, -оучжж, -оучиши to teach, instruct.  
**НА-ЧИНАТИ**, -чинажж, -чинаеши to begin.  
**НАЧАЛО** *n.* beginning § 48.5.  
**НА-ЧАТИ**, -чѣнжж, -чѣнеши to begin § 24, § 48.5, § 69.2c, i, § 86, § 94b.  
**НЕ** *adv.* not § 101, § 104.  
**НЕБЕСЪНЪ** *adj.* of heaven, of the air.  
**НЕБЕСЪСКЪ** *adj.* heavenly, of heaven.  
**НЕБО** *n.* heaven § 26, § 44.3.  
**НЕБО** *conj.* for, as.  
**НЕБЪТИЕ** *n.* non-existence, non-being.  
**НЕ-ГОДОВАТИ**, -годоужж, -годоужеши to be indignant.  
**НЕДѢЛА** *f.* Sunday; *acc. plur.* nedela (< -ѣ) (Freis. I) holy days (?).  
**НЕДЖГЪ** *m.* disease.  
**НЕЗАВИДЛИВЪ** *adj.* without envy.  
**НЕКЛОЧИМЪ** *adj.* useless, superfluous.  
**НЕМИЛОСТИВЪ** *adj.* merciless.  
**НЕМОЩЪНЪ** *adj.* weak.  
**НЕМѢРЪНЪ** *adj.* measureless, infinite.  
**НЕ-НА-ВИДѢТИ**, -вижджж, видиши to hate.  
**НЕНАВИСТЬ** *f.* hatred.  
**НЕПЛОДЪ** *f.* barren (woman) § 44.1.  
**НЕПОСРАМЛЕНЪ** *adj.* without shame.

НЕПРАВЪДЪНЪ *adj.* unjust.  
 НЕПРАЗДЪНЪ *adj.* pregnant.  
 НЕПРИАЗНИНЪ *adj.* of the devil.  
 НЕПРИАЗНЪ *f.* the evil one, the devil § 47.  
 НЕРЪЖКОТВОРЕНЪ not made by hands.  
 НИ *conj. and adv.* not; no; neither; пог § 101, § 104.  
 НИЖЕ *comp. adv.* below § 51.1d; до ниже to the bottom.  
 НИЗОУ *adv.* below § 35.2, § 99.1.  
 НИЗЪЛОЖИТИ, -ложжъ, -ложиши to put down.  
 НИКАКЪ *pronominal adj.* no, not any.  
 НИКОДИМЪ *m.* Nicodemus.  
 НИКОЛА *m.* Nicholas.  
 НИКОЛИЖЕ, nikoligeſe (Freis. II) *adv.* never.  
 НИКЪТОЖЕ *pron.* no one § 55.3f, § 101.  
 НИКЪИ *pron. adj.* no, none § 55.3d.  
 НИЦЪ *adj.* poor § 49.  
 НИЦЪ *adj.:* ПАДЕ НИЦЪ fell on his face.  
 НИЧЪТОЖЕ (НИЧЪЖЕ) *pron.* nothing § 55.3f, § 101.  
 НОГА *f.* leg, foot § 39a.  
 НОЖЪ *m.* sword.  
 НОСИТИ, ношжъ, носиши to carry, bear § 90, § 93.IV, § 97b.  
 НОЩЪ *f.* night § 29.11, § 30.1b, § 31b, § 34-7, 8, § 99.3.  
 НОЩЪНЪ *adj.* nightly, of night.  
 НЪ *conj.* but § 104.  
 НЪИНЪ *adv.* now § 99.1, § 100.

НЪЕДРА *n. pl.* bosom.  
 НЪКЪИ *pronominal adj.* a certain § 55.3d.  
 НЪМЪ *adj.* dumb.  
 НЪЧЪТО *pron.* something, anything § 55.3f.  
 НЪДЪМИ *adv.* of necessity § 99.6.  
 НЪЖДА *f.* necessity § 35-9, § 54.

## O

о *prep.* (with *acc.*) on, by; (with *loc.*) about, concerning; around, by § 102.2.  
 о (w) *interjection* oh! § 105.  
 ОБА ОБЪ *dual num.* both § 55.2.I, § 59.3.  
 ОБАЧЕ *conj. or adv.* but, yet, after all, only § 99.2.  
 ОБ-ИМАТИ, -юмжъ, -юмжешн (-имажъ -имжешн) to gather, pick (fruit).  
 ОБИТИ (< ОБ-ВИТИ), ОБИЖъ, ОБИЖешн to wind, wrap § 5, § 29.9, § 92.  
 ОБ-ИТИ, -иджъ, -иджешн to surround, walk around; go round, circulate § 92.  
 ОБИТЪЕЛЬ *f.* lodging, inn.  
 ОБЛАСТЬ *f.* power, authority § 29.9.  
 ОБ-ЛИЧАТИ, -личжъ, -личжешн to accuse.  
 ОБ-ЛОВЪЗАТИ, -ловъзжъ, -ловъзжешн to kiss § 92.  
 ОБЛЪЩИ, ОБЛЪЖжъ, ОБЛЪЖешн to clothe; о. сѧ въ (with *acc.*) to put on (clothes).



- ОБ-НИЦАТИ**, **-НИЦАЖ**, **-НИЦА-**  
**ЮШИ** to become poor § 96.4*b*.  
**ОБРАЗЪ** *m.* image, form.  
**ОБРАТИТИ** (**ОБРАТИТИ СЛ**),  
**ОБРАЩЖ**, **ОБРАТИШИ** to turn.  
**ОБ-РЪЗАТИ**, **-РЪЖЖ**, **-РЪЖЕШИ**  
 to circumcise.  
**ОБРЪСТИ**, **ОБРАЩЖ**, **ОБРАЩЕШИ**  
 to find § 69.1*a*, § 80, § 96.2*a*, *g*.  
**ОБРЪТАТИ**, **ОБРЪТАЖ**, **ОБРЪТА-**  
**ЮШИ** see **ОБРЪСТИ**.  
**ОБ-РЪЧИТИ**, **-РЪЧЖ**, **-РЪЧИШИ**  
 to betroth.  
**ОБОУТИ**, **ОБОУЖ**, **ОБОУЮШИ** to  
 put someone's shoes on  
 § 96.1*a*, *e*.  
**О-БОУЯТИ**, **-БОУЯЖ**, **-БОУЯЮШИ**  
 to become foolish; to become  
 tasteless.  
**ОБЪЧАИ** *m.* custom § 30.1, § 48.1.  
**ОБЪДОВАТИ**, **ОБЪДОУЖ**, **ОБЪДОУ-**  
**ЮШИ** to dine.  
**ОБЪТЪ** *m.* vow, promise.  
**ОБЪЦАТИ**, **ОБЪЦАЖ**, **ОБЪЦАЮШИ**  
 to promise.  
**ОБЪЗАТИ** (< **ОБ-В-**), **ОБЪЖЖ**,  
**ОБЪЖЕШИ** to bind up.  
**ОБ-ЪАТИ**, **-ЪМЖ**, **-ЪМЕШИ** to com-  
 prehend, apprehend, take,  
 receive.  
**ОБОГДА** *adv.* then § 100; **о . . . о**  
**ноу . . . ноу**, sometimes . . .  
 sometimes.  
**ОБОЦЪНЪ** *adj.* of fruit.  
**ОБЪ**, **ОБА**, **ОВО** *pron.* that; **о . . . о**  
 the one . . . the other § 55.2.1,  
 2.1*b*.  
**ОВАНЪ** *m.* ram.
- ОВЬЦА** *f.* sheep § 7.2, § 23.2*b*,  
 § 30.3, § 39, § 47, § 48.2, § 50*a*.  
**ОВЬЧЪ** *adj.* of a sheep, sheep's  
 § 50*a*.  
**ОГНЬ** *m.* fire § 18, § 29.5, § 43*a*,  
 § 50*c*.  
**ОГНЬНЪ** *adj.* fiery, of fire § 50*c*.  
**О-ГРАДИТИ**, **-ГРАДЖ**, **-ГРАДИШИ**  
 to fence in, guard § 47, § 92.  
**О-ГРАСТИ**, **-ГРАДЖ**, **-ГРАДЕШИ**  
 to go round, come round;  
**ЛЪТА ОГРАДЖЦЪ** annually.  
**ОДЕЖДА** *f.* clothing, raiment.  
**О-ДРЪЖАТИ**, **-ДРЪЖЖ**, **-ДРЪ-**  
**ЖИШИ** to seize, hold.  
**О-ДЪТИ** (**-ДЪЯТИ**), **-ДЪЖ**  
**(-ДЕЖДЖ)**, **-ДЪЮШИ** to clothe.  
**О-ЖЕЦИ**, **-ЖЕГЖ**, **-ЖЕЖЕШИ** to  
 burn.  
**О-ЖИТИ**, **-ЖИВЖ**, **-ЖИВЕШИ** to  
 come to life.  
**О-КЛЕВЕТАТИ**, **-КЛЕВЕТАЖ**, **-КЛЕ-**  
**ВЕТАЮШИ** to slander.  
**ОКО** *n.* eye § 7.2, § 44.3*a*.  
**О-КОВАТИ**, **-КОВЖ**, **-КОВЕШИ** to  
 fetter; **ОКОВАНЪ** prisoner.  
**О-КОНЪЧАТИ**, **-КОНЪЧАЖ**, **-КОНЪЧА-**  
**ЮШИ** to conclude, complete,  
 perfect.  
**ОКРЪСТЬ** *adv. or prep.* round  
 about, near by § 100.  
**ОЛЪТАРЪ** *m.* altar § 7.1.  
**ОЛЪИ** *m.* oil.  
**О-МОЧИТИ**, **-МОЧЖ**, **-МОЧИШИ** to  
 dip.  
**О-МРАЗИТИ** *сл.*, **-МРАЗЖ**, **-МРА-**  
**ЗИШИ** to become odious, arouse  
 disgust.

- онъ *pron.* that (= *ille*); he § 55.1a, 2.I, § 2.IIb.
- оплатъ *m.* offering, host (cf. Lat. *oblata*, OHG *oblât*).
- опона *f.* curtain § 37.5g.
- оправдание *n.* justification, ordinance.
- о-правъдити, -правъждиѣ, -правъдиши to justify.
- опрѣснѣкъъ *n.* unleavened bread.
- о-прѣкти сѧ, -пърѣ, -пъреши to be supported (by, *dat.*); to beat against (*dat.*).
- о-поустити, -поуциѣ, -поустиши to lay waste.
- оръжиие *n.* weapon.
- о-сияти, -сиятиѣ, -сияиши to shine upon.
- о-скверънити, -скверъниѣ, -скверъниши to defile.
- о-слабити, -слабиѣ, -слабиши to weaken.
- о-слѣпънѣти, -слѣпънѣ, -слѣпънѣши to grow blind § 64.2.
- осмъ *num.* eighth § 59.2.
- о-сновати, -сноуѣ, -сноуѣши to found.
- о-солити, -солиѣ, -солиши to salt.
- оставити, -ставлиѣ, ставиши to leave, forsake; to permit.
- оставленіе *n.* remission, forgiveness.
- о-стати, -станѣ, -станѣши to remain; to abandon (*with* *gen.*); останіи ѣѣж (Mar., Mk. xiv. 6) let her alone.
- острогъ *m.* stake § 48.9.
- о-сѣнити, -сѣниѣ, -сѣниши to overshadow.
- о-сѣдити, -сѣждиѣ, -сѣдиши to judge, condemn.
- о-сѣждати, -сѣждиѣ, -сѣждиѣши see о-сѣдити.
- от-ити, -идѣ, -идѣши to depart, go away.
- отрокъ *m.* child; servant § 30.2, § 48.3.
- отроча *n.* child § 38.IV, § 44.4, § 48.3.
- отъ *prep.* *with gen.* from, away from, of § 102.2; отъ селѣ from henceforth; отъ нѣлиже whence, from which § 104.
- отъ-вратити, -вратиѣ, -вратиши to turn away.
- отъ-врѣсти, врѣзѣ, -врѣзѣши to open § 37.5d, § 77.3.
- отъ-врѣштити, -врѣшѣ, -врѣшѣши to cast away; о. сѧ (*with gen.*) to deny.
- отъ-вѣщавати, -вѣщавѣ, -вѣщавѣши see отъ-вѣщати.
- отъ-вѣщати, -вѣщѣ, -вѣщѣши to answer § 96.4b.
- отъ-дати, -дѣти, -дѣши to give away, surrender.
- отъ-кѣдоу *adv.* whence.
- отъ-ложити, -ложѣ, -ложѣши to put off, reject.
- отъ-лѣжити, -лѣчиѣ, -лѣчиши to cut off, separate.

отъ-метати *сѧ*, -метѧж,  
-метѧеши to deny.  
отънѣлиже *see* отъ.  
отънѣждь *adv.* at all § 54, § 100.  
отънѣждѣже *adv.* whence.  
отъ-пасти, -падѧж, -падѧеши to  
fall.  
отъ-поустити, -поуѧж, -поу-  
стиши to send away, yield,  
to release; forgive.  
отъ-поуѧати, -поуѧѧж, -поу-  
ѧѧеши § 92; *see* отъпоуст-  
ити.  
отъпоуѧеніе *n.* remission,  
forgiveness.  
отъ-ринѧти, -ринѧж, -ринѧеши  
to reject § 77.1d.  
отъсѧлѧ *adv.* henceforth.  
отъ-ѧати (от-ѧти), от-ѧѧж,  
-ѧѧеши to take away § 92.  
отъць *m.* father § 3, § 23.2b,  
§ 29.1, § 30.3f, § 33.1, § 34.7,  
§ 37.6, § 38.1.II, § 40.1b, o,  
§ 47, § 48.3.  
отъчѧствіе *n.* family, tribe  
§ 48.3.  
оцьтъ *m.* vinegar.  
оцьтънѧ *adj.* of vinegar;  
mingled with myrrh (Mar.,  
Mk. xv. 23).  
о-цьѧтити, -цьѧѧж, -цьѧстиши  
to purge, purify.  
о-чистити, -чиѧж, -чистиши  
to cleanse, purify § 31c.

## П

Павѧль (Паѧлъ) *m.* Paul.  
пагоѧба *f.* destruction § 102.1.  
пажить *f.* pasture.

пакость *f.* harm.  
пакы *adv.* again § 51.1d, § 100.  
память *f.* memory, memorial,  
monument § 14.2, § 102.1.  
папа *m.* pope.  
папежъ *m.* pope.  
параскевѧи *f.* the Preparation  
(Gr. *παρασκευή*) § 45.  
паска *see* пасѧа § 30.2b.  
пасти (сѧ), падѧж, падѧеши to  
fall § 60.2a, § 69.1c, § 80, § 90,  
§ 93.1, § 94a.  
пасти, пасѧж, пасѧеши to guard,  
keep, pasture § 62.2, § 94a.  
пастоѧхъ *m.* shepherd.  
пастѧрь *m.* shepherd.  
пасѧа *f.* Easter; Passover.  
патриарѧовѧ *adj.* of the patri-  
arch.  
патриарѧхъ *m.* patriarch.  
патриарѧшьскѧ *adj.* of the  
patriarch.  
патриарѧшьство *n.* patriarchate,  
office of patriarch.  
паче *adv.* more, rather § 51.1d,  
§ 99.2.  
Петръ *m.* Peter § 45.  
пеци, пѧж, пѧеши to bake,  
burn § 81, § 94h; п. сѧ to be  
anxious about (*instr.* or o).  
печаль *f.* grief § 38.2.  
печальнѧ *adj.* sad, downcast.  
Пилатъ *m.* Pilate.  
писма *n.* letter; jot § 44.2.  
пистикни *f.* (Mar., Mk. xiv. 3)  
= Gr. *πιστική* (*várdos*),  
genuine, *probably made into a  
noun in error by the translator.*  
пити, пѧж, пѧеши to drink

- § 12.1, § 48.8, § 69.2a, i,  
§ 96.1a, c, § 97c.
- ПИТѢТИ, ПИТѢЯЖ, ПИТѢЮШИ  
to feed § 96.4b, § 97h.
- ПИЦА *f.* food.
- ПЛАКАТИ, ПЛАЧЯЖ, ПЛАЧЕШИ to  
weep § 24, § 96.3b; *п. сѧ* (*with*  
*gen.*) to weep at, over.
- ПЛАЩАНИЦА *f.* linen cloth, shirt.
- ПЛАЧЬ *m.* weeping § 34.8.
- ПЛОДЪ *m.* fruit § 50h.
- ПЛѢТЬ *f.* flesh § 2.II Note 6,  
§ 17e, § 33.1.
- ПЛѢТЬСКЪ *adj.* of the flesh.
- ПЛѢВАТИ, ПЛЮЯЖ, ПЛЮЮШИ to  
spit § 17e, § 37.5c, § 65.1,  
§ 96.3a, c.
- ПЛѢНЪ *m.* captivity.
- по *prep.* (*with acc.*) throughout;  
(*with dat.*) along, about; ac-  
cording to; (*with numerals*)  
. . . each; (*with loc.*) after  
§ 102.2; по нѣже as, foras-  
much as; botomu (Freis. II)  
= по томоу therefore.
- ПО-ВѢДѢТИ, -ВѢЖДАЖ, -ВѢ-  
ДИШИ to watch, wake.
- ПО-ВѢДИТИ, -ВѢЖДАЖ, -ВѢ-  
ДИШИ to conquer; to compel  
(Freis. II).
- ПО-ВЕЛѢТИ, -ВЕЛЯЖ, -ВЕЛИШИ to  
order, command.
- ПОВИНЬНЪ *adj.* guilty, liable.
- ПО-ВИТИ, -ВИЯЖ, -ВИЮШИ to  
wrap, swaddle § 77.4.
- ПО-ВѢДАТИ, -ВѢДАЯЖ, -ВѢДА-  
ЮШИ to relate, tell, proclaim  
§ 98k.
- ПО-ВѢДѢТИ, -ВѢМЪ, -ВѢСИ to  
tell, relate.
- ПОВѢЛѢНІЕ *n.* decree.
- ПОВѢСТЬ *f.* narrative, tale.
- ПОГАНЬСКЪ *adj.* heathen.
- ПО-ГРАВАТИ, -ГРАБАЯЖ, -ГРАБА-  
ЮШИ to bury § 37.5a.
- ПОГРЕБЕНІЕ *n.* burial.
- ПО-ГОУБИТИ, -ГОУБИЯЖ, -ГОУ-  
БИШИ to lose.
- ПО-ГЪБАТИ, -ГЪБАЯЖ, -ГЪ-  
БАЮШИ § 29.5, § 96.3b; *see*  
ПОГЪБЕНАТИ.
- ПО-ГЪБЕНАТИ, -ГЪБЕНАЖ, -ГЪБЕ-  
НЕШИ to perish § 29.5, § 48.5.
- ПО-ДАТИ, -ДАМЪ, -ДАСИ to give,  
present, grant § 92.
- ПО-ДВИГНАТИ Сѧ, -ДВИГНАЖ,  
-ДВИГНЕШИ to hasten.
- ПОДОБАТИ, ПОДОБАЯЖ, ПОДОБА-  
ЮШИ to be fitting, necessary.
- ПО-ДОБИТИ, -ДОБИЯЖ, -ДОБИШИ  
to liken, make similar; to be  
due, fitting; *п. сѧ* to resemble;  
agree.
- ПОДОБЬНЪ *adj.* similar; con-  
venient (ВЪ ПОДОБЬНО ВРѢМѢ  
Mar., Mk. xiv. 11 = Gr.  
εὐκαιρως) § 34.2.
- ПОДРАЖАТИ, ПОДРАЖАЯЖ, ПОДРА-  
ЖАЮШИ to mock.
- ПОДРОУГЪ *m.* neighbour, com-  
panion.
- ПОДРАЖАТИ *see* ПОДРАЖАТИ.
- ПОДЪ *prep.* *with acc. and instr.*  
under § 102.2.
- ПОДЪ-КОПАВАТИ, -КОПАВАЯЖ, -КО-  
ПАВАЮШИ *see* ПОДЪ-КОПАТИ.

ПОДЪ-КОПАТИ, -КОПАѢ, -КОПА-  
ЮШИ undermine, dig through  
§ 92.

ПОДЪНОЖИЕ *n.* footstool § 48.1.

ПОДЪПЪГГА *f.* divorced woman.

ПО-ЖИДАТИ, -ЖИДАѢ, -ЖИДА-  
ЮШИ to wait.

ПОЗДѢ *adv.* late § 99.1.

ПО-ЗНАТИ, -ЗНАѢ, -ЗНАЮШИ to  
know, get to know.

ПО-ЗЪВАТИ, -ЗОВѢ, -ЗОВЕШИ to  
invite, summon.

ПО-ИМАТИ, -ИЕМАѢ, -ИЕМАЮШИ  
to take, marry.

ПО-КАДИТИ, -КАЖДѢ, -КАДИШИ  
to burn incense.

ПО-КАЗАТИ, -КАЖѢ, -КАЖЕШИ to  
show § 92.

ПОКАЗАНЬ *f.* repentance.

ПО-КАЯТИ СѢ, -КАЯѢ, -КАЯЮШИ to  
repent § 32.5.

ПОКЛАНІАНІЕ *n.* worship, adora-  
tion.

ПО-КЛАНЯТИ СѢ, -КЛАНЯѢ,  
-КЛАНЯЮШИ to bow down.

ПО-КЛОНИТИ СѢ, -КЛОНИѢ, -КЛО-  
НИШИ to bow down, stoop  
down; to worship (*with dat.*).

ПОКРОВЪ *m.* covering, shelter.

ПО-КЪВАТИ, -КЪВАѢ, -КЪВА-  
ЮШИ to shake (*with instr.*).

ПО-ЛАГАТИ, -ЛАГАѢ, -ЛАГАЮШИ  
to lay, lay down, establish.

ПО-ЛОЖИТИ, -ЛОЖѢ, -ЛОЖИШИ  
to put, place § 48.1.

ПОЛЪ *m.* half; side § 42, § 59.5.

ПОЛЬСА *f.* advantage, profit § 25,  
§ 30.3*f.*

ПО-МАВАТИ, -МАВАѢ, -МАВАЮШИ  
to make signs.

ПО-МАЗАТИ, -МАЗАѢ (-МАЖЖ),  
-МАЗАЮШИ (-МАЖЕШИ) to  
anoint.

ПО-МАНЪТИ, -МАНѢ, -МАНЕШИ  
to make signs, indicate.

ПО-МИЛОВАТИ, -МИЛОУѢ, -МИ-  
ЛОУЮШИ to have mercy on.

ПО-МОЛИТИ СѢ, -МОЛѢ, -МОЛИШИ  
to pray.

ПО-МОЩИ, -МОГѢ, -МОЖЕШИ to  
help § 92.

ПОМОЩЬ *f.* help.

ПОМОЩНИКЪ *m.* helper.

ПО-МОУДИТИ, -МОУЖДѢ, -МОУ-  
ДИШИ to delay, linger.

ПО-МЪСЛИТИ, -МЪШЛАѢ, -МЪ-  
СЛИШИ to think, reason.

ПО-МЪШЛАТИ, -МЪШЛАѢ,  
-МЪШЛАЮШИ *see* ПОМЪСЛИТИ.

ПОМЪШЛЕНІЕ *n.* thought;  
mind, understanding § 79.

ПО-МЪНѢТИ, -МЪНѢ, -МЪНИШИ  
to remember.

ПОМѢНЪТИ (ПОМАНЪТИ), ПО-  
МѢНѢ, ПОМѢНЕШИ to re-  
member § 35.2, 5, 6, § 69.2*d*;  
romenem ze (Freis. II) =  
ПОМѢНѢМЪ СѢ.

ПО-МѢТАТИ, -МѢТАѢ, -МѢТА-  
ЮШИ to throw.

ПО-НОСИТИ, -НОШѢ, -НОСИШИ  
(*with dat.*) to reproach  
§ 92.

ПОНОШЕНІЕ *n.* reproach.

ПО-ПИРАТИ, -ПИРАѢ, ПИРАЮШИ  
*see* ПОПЪРАТИ.

- по-пърати, -перѡ, переши to trample (on).
- по-разити, -ражѡ, -разиши to smite, kill.
- попокъ *m.* blame.
- поржгание *n.* derision, blasphemy.
- по-ржгати сѡ, -ржгаѡ, -ржгаюши to deride, blaspheme.
- по-ржчити, -ржчѡ, -ржчиши to commend, entrust.
- по-слоушати, -слоушаѡ, -слоушаюши to listen (to) § 50g.
- послѣдъ *adv.* afterwards, later.
- послѣднь *adj.* last.
- по-срамити, -срамаѡ, -срамиши to shame, put to shame.
- по-ставити, -ставаѡ, -ставиши to put, place, dispose of, appoint.
- по-ставляти, -ставляѡ, -ставляюши *see* поставити.
- по-стигнѡти, -стигнѡ, -стигнеши to reach, attain, come.
- постити сѡ пощѡ, постиши to fast § 97a.
- постъ *m.* fast.
- по-стѣлати, -стѣлаѡ, -стѣлеши to spread, strew (Mar., Mk. xiv. 15); 'furnish' [*scil.* with cushions].
- по-стѣлати, -стѣлаѡ, -стѣлаюши to send.
- по-сѣкати, -сѣкаѡ, -сѣкаюши to cut down.
- по-сѣтити, -сѣщѡ, -сѣтиши to visit.
- потрѣба *f.* need.
- похвала *f.* praise, glory § 47.
- похоть *f.* will, lust, desire.
- по-хризмити to anoint.
- по-щадѣти, -щадѡ, -щадниши to spare, have mercy (on).
- по-чивати, -чиваѡ, -чиваюши to rest.
- по-чисти, -чѣтѡ, -чѣтеши to honour; to read; *g. pl. p. part. pass. postenih* (Freis. I) recite.
- по-читати, -читаѡ, -читаюши to read.
- по-гастити, -гамѡ, -гастити to devour.
- погасъ *m.* girdle.
- по-гати, -имаѡ, -имеши to take; impress (Zogr., Mt. v. 41).
- правъ *adj.* straight; right § 48.4, § 54, § 99.6.
- правѣда *f.* righteousness, justice § 34.2, § 48.4, § 50g.
- правѣднь *adj.* just, righteous § 33.1.
- праздникъ *m.* holiday, feast-day, feast.
- прапрѡдъ *m.* purple.
- при *prep.* with *loc.* by, near § 102.2.
- при-ближати, -ближаѡ, -ближаюши *see* приближити.
- при-ближити сѡ, -ближѡ, -ближиши to approach, be at hand.
- прибѣтътъкъ *m.* profit, gain.
- при-бѣгати, -бѣгаѡ, -бѣгаюши to take refuge (with, къ).
- при-валити, -валяѡ, -валиши to roll (up) to).

при-вести, -ведѣ, -ведѣши to bring (up, to), lead § 92.  
 при-дѣтъ (Zogr., Mt. vi. 28) *error for прѣдѣтъ*; see прѣ-сти.  
 при-зѣвати, -зовѣ, -зовѣши to summon, call (together) § 37.5a.  
 при-зрѣти, -зрѣ, -зрѣши to look upon.  
 при-идити, -идѣ, -идѣши to spend in addition.  
 при-имати, -ѣмѣ, -ѣмѣши to receive § 90, § 96.3d.  
 приключачи *m.* happening, coincidence § 48.1.  
 при-коснѣти сѣ, -коснѣ, -коснѣши to touch (*with loc.*).  
 при-крѣвати, -крѣваѣ, -крѣваѣши to cover.  
 при-лежати, -лежаѣ, -лежаѣши to take care of, look after (*with loc.*).  
 при-ложити, -ложѣ, -ложиши to add to (*loc.*) § 47.  
 при-нести, -несѣ, -несѣши to bring, offer § 90, § 91, § 94.  
 при-никнѣти, -никнѣ, -никнѣши to incline.  
 приноса *m.* offering, oblation.  
 при-пасти, -падѣ, -падѣши to come up.  
 прискрѣвѣнъ *adj.* very sorrowful.  
 присно *adv.* always.  
 при-спѣти, -спѣ, -спѣши to come about, be at hand (Mar., Mk. xiv. 41).

при-страшити, страшѣ, страшиши to frighten.  
 при-стѣпнѣти, -стѣпнѣ, -стѣпнѣши to come up, approach § 2.II Note 7.  
 при-сѣтити, -сѣщѣ, -сѣщѣши to visit.  
 прити (< при-ити), придѣ, придѣши to come § 90.  
 при-ходити, -хождѣ, -хождѣши to come § 90.  
 при-чисти, -чѣтѣ, -чѣтѣши to reckon.  
 причастіе *n.* participation.  
 при-ѣти, -имѣ, -имѣши to take, receive; to help (Zogr., L. i. 54 = Gr. ἀντιλαμβάνομαι).  
 про-дати, -дамѣ, -дамѣши to sell § 92.  
 про-казити, -кажѣ, -кажѣши to spoil; прокаженъ *adj.* leprous.  
 про-ливати, -ливаѣ, -ливаѣши see пролити.  
 про-лити, -лиѣ, -лиѣши to shed.  
 про-лигати, -лигаѣ, -лигаѣши see пролити.  
 про-по-вѣдати, -вѣдаѣ, -вѣдаѣши see проповѣдати.  
 про-по-вѣдѣти, -вѣмѣ, -вѣмѣши to preach, proclaim.  
 про-пѣти, -пѣнѣ, -пѣнѣши to crucify § 37.5g, § 79, § 92.  
 про-рѣци, -рѣкѣ, -рѣкѣши to prophesy § 92.  
 пророкъ *m.* prophet § 50a.  
 пророчествовати, пророчѣст-

- воуѣж, пророчествоуѣши to prophesy.
- про-свѣтити, -свѣштѣж, -свѣтиши to light, illuminate; просвѣтити сѧ to shine.
- про-свѣщати, -свѣщашѣж, -свѣщашѣши see просвѣтити.
- просити, прошѣж, просиши to ask (for) § 77.1c, § 93.IV.
- про-славити, -славѣж, -славѣши to glorify.
- про-слѣзѣти сѧ, -слѣзѣж, -слѣзѣши to weep, burst into tears.
- про-сморѣдати, -сморѣдашѣж, -сморѣдашѣши to disfigure.
- пространъ *adj.* wide.
- про-сѣрѣти, -сѣрѣж, -сѣрѣши to spread out, develop § 69.2i.
- простъ *adj.* simple, single.
- противити сѧ, противѣшѣж, противѣши to resist § 93.IV.
- противъ *prep.* with *dat.* against § 27.1, § 99.2.
- противѣнъ *adj.* opposed; disobedient (*ἀπειθεὶς* Zogr., L. i. 17).
- противѣж *prep.* with *dat.* against § 99.2, § 103.
- про-ходити, -хождѣж, -ходиши to go about, through.
- прочѣи *adj.* remaining § 55.3g; съспѣте прочею (Mar., Mk. xiv. 41) sleep on.
- про-явлѣвати, -явлѣвашѣж, -явлѣвашѣши to reveal.
- прѣвѣж *adj.* first § 2II, Note 6, § 16.2, § 17e, § 33.2, § 59.2a; *comp.* прѣвѣжн prior, earlier.
- прѣпѣрище *n.* mile.
- прѣвѣнѣцъ *m.* first-born son.
- прѣ-бывати, -бывашѣж, -бывашѣши to remain, continue, abide.
- прѣ-бывѣти, -бывѣж, -бывѣши to abide, stay.
- прѣ-гнѣвати, -гнѣвашѣж, -гнѣвашѣши to bend.
- прѣдѣдѣтелищѣжъ *adj.* of a traitor.
- прѣ-дати, -дѣшѣж, -дѣши to deliver, give up, betray § 92.
- прѣ-дѣлати, -дѣлѣж, -дѣлѣши to give up, surrender.
- прѣдрагъ *adj.* (very) precious § 102.1.
- прѣдъ *prep.* with *acc.* and *instr.* before (*of place or time*) § 102.2.
- прѣдъдѣворѣе *n.* porch.
- прѣдъ-ити, -идѣж, -идѣши (прѣдъидѣшѣж), -идѣши (прѣдъидѣши) to precede, go before § 92.
- прѣдъгѣча *m.* forerunner § 39h.
- прѣждѣ *adv.* formerly; (*prep.* with *gen.*) before § 101, § 103.
- прѣ-зѣрѣти, -зѣрѣж, -зѣрѣши to overlook, disdain.
- прѣкильнѣкѣжъ *m.* successor.
- прѣ-ити, -идѣж, -идѣши to go on, forward, over, through; to pass away § 3b.
- прѣ-ложѣти, -ложѣж, -ложѣши to transfer, change.
- прѣ-ломѣти, -ломѣшѣж, -ломѣши to break.
- прѣлюбѣжъ *f.* adultery.



прѣмилостивѣ *adj.* most merciful.  
 прѣмо *prep.* with *dat.* opposite, against § 103.  
 прѣ-моудити, -моудѣ, -моудиши to delay, linger.  
 прѣмѣдрѣ *adj.* most wise.  
 прѣ-нести, -несѣ, -несеши to transfer, carry over.  
 прѣ-образити, -образѣ, -образиши to transform, transfigure.  
 прѣподобіе *n.* holiness, sanctity.  
 прѣподобнѣ *adj.* venerable, holy, saintly.  
 прѣ-ставити сѣ, -ставлѣ, -ставиши to be transferred; to depart this life, die (Prague Fr.).  
 прѣставленіе *n.* transference; death.  
 прѣстолѣ *m.* throne.  
 прѣ-стояти, -стоѣ, -стоиши to stand by.  
 прѣ-стѣпати, -стѣпѣ, -стѣпаеши *see* прѣстѣпити.  
 прѣ-стѣпити, -стѣплѣ, -стѣпиши to transgress.  
 прѣтити, прѣтѣ, прѣтиши (*with dat.*) to threaten, scold.  
 прѣторѣ *m.* praetorium.  
 прѣфациѣ *f.* preface, introductory prayer (~ Lat. *prae-fatio*).  
 прѣчистѣ *adj.* most pure.  
 прѣ-ѣти, -имѣ, -имеши to receive, take.

прѣсти, прѣдѣ, прѣдеши to spin § 94a, c.  
 прѣсалнѣ (прѣсалнѣ) *m.* psalm.  
 прѣстити, прѣтѣ, прѣтиши to let, leave; to utter; to put away (Zogr., Mt. v. 31) § 21.2a, § 93.IV, § 97j.  
 прѣстошѣ *f.* vain things.  
 прѣстѣни *f.* desert, wilderness § 39b, § 48.6.  
 прѣштати, прѣштѣ, прѣштаеши let, leave, put away (Mt. v. 32) § 6.4.  
 прѣтица *f.* bird.  
 прѣра *f.* dispute.  
 прѣсати (прѣсати), прѣсѣ, прѣсеши to write § 3, § 33.1, § 34.7, § 61.IIIb, § 77.2, § 96.3b, c.  
 прѣсѣ *m.* dog.  
 прѣнасъ *m.* penny, *denarius* § 25, § 30.3b, f.  
 прѣснѣ *f.* song § 43, § 48.6.  
 прѣсѣкъ *m.* sand.  
 прѣти, прѣтѣ, прѣтеши to sing § 48.6, § 69.2a, § 96.1a, c.  
 прѣтикости (прѣтѣтикости Prague Fr.) *f.* Pentecost, Whitsuntide.  
 прѣтѣ *m.* path, way, road § 13.1, § 38.1.IV, § 43, § 46.1.  
 прѣтѣтикости (-e Prague Fr.) *f.* *see* прѣтикости.

## Р

раба *f.* handmaid, servant § 48.1.  
 работати, работѣ, работаеши to work, (*with dat.*) serve.  
 рабѣ *m.* slave, servant § 3, § 16.5.

- § 17a, § 33.1, § 36, § 37.6,  
§ 40.1, § 46.1, § 48.1, 6, § 49.
- РАБЪНИИ** *f.* maidservant § 39b,  
§ 48.6.
- РАВВИ** *m.* master, Rabbi (Gr.  
*ῥαββί* from Aramaic).
- РАВЪНЪ** *adj.* equal, alike.
- РАДИ** *prep.* with *gen.* on account  
of, for § 103.
- РАДОВАТИ СѦ**, **РАДОУЖ**, **РАДОУ-**  
**ЮШИ** to rejoice; **РАДОУИ СѦ**  
(Mar., Mk. xv. 18) hail! (= *Gr.*  
*χαίρε*).
- РАДОСТЬ** *f.* joy § 38.2, § 43a.
- РАДОСТЪНЪ** *adj.* joyous, glad.
- РАДОЦА** *f.* joy.
- РАДЪ** *adj.* willing(ly), glad(ly).
- РАЖДЕШИ** (< \*raz-g-), **РАЖДЕЖ**,  
**РАЖДЕЖЕШИ** to inflame; **р. сѦ**  
to burn.
- РАЗ-АРАТИ**, **-АРАЖ**, **-АРАЮШИ**  
*see* **РАЗОРТИ**.
- РАЗБОИ** *m.* robbery; murder.
- РАЗБОИНИКЪ** *m.* robber § 37.
- РАЗ-ВЪГНѦТИ СѦ**, **-ВЪГНѦ**,  
**-ВЪГНЕШИ** to disperse, be  
scattered § 92.
- РАЗ-ВОДИТИ**, **-ВОЖДѦ**, **-ВОДИШИ**  
to divide, open.
- РАЗВѦ** *prep.* with *gen.* except,  
saving for § 103.
- РАЗДРОУШЕНИЕ** *n.* destruction.
- РАЗ-Д-РѦШИТИ**, **-РѦШѦ**, **-РѦШ-**  
**ИШИ** to unloose.
- РАЗ-ДЪРАТИ**, **-ДЕРЖ**, **-ДЕРЕШИ**  
to tear (up).
- РАЗ-ДѦЛИТИ**, **-ДѦЛѦЖ**, **-ДѦЛИШИ**  
to divide up § 92.
- РАЗЛИЧЪНЪ** *adj.* different.
- РАЗ-ОРТИ**, **-ОРИЖ**, **-ОРИШИ** to  
break, destroy.
- РАЗОУМЪ** *m.* knowledge, under-  
standing § 65.2, § 102.1.
- РАЗ-ОУМѦВАТИ**, **-ОУМѦВѦЖ**,  
**-ОУМѦВАЮШИ** *see* **РАЗОУМѦТИ**.
- РАЗОУМѦТИ**, **РАЗОУМѦЖ**, **РАЗОУ-**  
**МѦЮШИ** to understand  
§ 60.2b, § 65.2, § 93.III, § 96.4.
- РАИ** *m.* paradise.
- РАКЪКА** *Gr.* *ῥακά* empty, foolish  
(from Aramaic, *lit.*: 'spitting').
- РАСПОУСТЪНЪ** *adj.* of divorce.
- РАСПѦТИЕ** *n.* cross-roads § 47.
- РАСТИ**, **РАСТѦЖ**, **РАСТЕШИ** to grow  
§ 48.5.
- РАС-ТОЧИТИ**, **-ТОЧѦЖ**, **-ТОЧИШИ**  
to scatter.
- РАС-ТРЪГНѦТИ**, **-ТРЪГНѦЖ**, **-ТРЪГ-**  
**НЕШИ** tear to pieces, rend  
§ 64.1.
- РАС-ТРЪСАТИ**, **-ТРЪСАЖ**, **-ТРЪСА-**  
**ЮШИ** *see* **РАСТРЪГНѦТИ**.
- РАС-ТЪЛѦТИ**, **-ТЪЛѦЖ**, **-ТЪЛѦ-**  
**ЮШИ** to rot, be corrupted.
- РАЧИТИ**, **РАЧѦЖ**, **РАЧИШИ** to deign,  
vouchsafe.
- РЕМЕНЬ** *m.* thong, latchet § 44.2.
- РЕЦИ**, **РЕКѦЖ**, **РЕЧЕШИ** to say  
§ 30.2a, § 62.5, § 69.2f, § 77a,  
§ 80, § 91, § 93.I, § 94h.
- РИЗА** *f.* garment, coat.
- РИЗЪНИЦА** *f.* treasury.
- РИЗЪНО** *n.* garment.
- РИМСКЪ** *adj.* Roman, of Rome.
- РИФИМИТА** *f.* Ripsimia.
- РОВАНИТА** *f.* gift, offering.

рогъ *m.* horn § 30.1, § 50e.  
 родити, рождѣ, родиши to give  
 birth (to), bear § 3, § 37.5a,  
 § 93.IV, § 97; р. сѧ to be born.  
 родъ *m.* generation § 3, § 42b.  
 рождение *n.* relations, kin.  
 рождество (розъство Prague  
 Fr.) *n.* birth § 31b, c, § 35.10,  
 § 40.2b.  
 розъсо Prague Fr.: scribal error  
 for розъство = рождество  
 q.v.  
 ротити сѧ, роцѣ, ротиши to  
 swear (an oath), curse.  
 роумьскъ *adj.* Roman, of Rome.  
 ръвѣниѣ *n.* jealousy.  
 рыба *f.* fish.  
 рыбарь *m.* fisherman § 41.  
 рыдати, рыданѣ, рыдаѣши  
 to lament.  
 рѣдѣкъ *adj.* scarce; redka  
 zloveza (Freis. I) few(?) words.  
 рѣка *f.* river, stream, flood § 3.  
 рѣпини *m.* thistle.  
 рѣснотивѣнъ *adj.* true.  
 радъ *m.* order § 17a.  
 ржгати сѧ, ржгѣж, ржгѣши  
 to laugh at, mock; (*with dat.*)  
 to blaspheme.  
 ржка *f.* hand § 23.2a, § 30.2,  
 § 39a.  
 ржкотворенъ *adj.* made by  
 hands § 47.  
 рѣфовъ *adj.* of Rufus.

## G

сѧвахтани (Aramaic) thou hast  
 forsaken me.

Гавекъ *m.* Sabek.  
 садити, сажѣж, сѧдиши to  
 plant.  
 сакеларин, сакеларь *m.* treasurer.  
 Саломѣ *f.* Salome.  
 самарѣнинъ *m.* Samaritan.  
 сѧмовидѣцѣ *m.* eyewitness,  
 (Gr. *αὐτόπτης*).  
 Сѧмонъ *m.* Samuel.  
 самъ, сѧма, сѧмо *pronominal adj.*  
 self § 55.2.I.  
 свинни, свинниѣ *f.* swine.  
 сѧон his, her, &c. (own)  
 § 52.2.IIf.  
 свѣтъѣти (сѧ), свѣцѣж, свѣтиши  
 to shine § 29.3, § 66, § 97d.  
 свѣтидѣлна *see* свѣтильна.  
 свѣтильна *f.* hymn (Gr.  
*ψαλμωδικόν* [τροπάριον]; *see*  
 Vondrák, *Církovněslovenská*  
*chrestomatie*, p. 278).  
 свѣтильникъ *m.* lamp.  
 свѣтити, свѣштѣж, свѣтиши  
 to shine § 21.2.  
 свѣтоносѣнъ *adj.* light-bringing.  
 свѣтъ *m.* light; world § 29.3.  
 свѣтълъ *adj.* light, bright.  
 свѣца *f.* light, fire (= Gr. *φῶς*  
 Mar., Mk. xiv. 54).  
 свѣцѣникъ *m.* lamp-stand.  
 свѧтити, свѧцѣж, свѧтиши to  
 hallow, sanctify § 93.IV.  
 свѧтъ *adj.* holy § 14.1.  
 се *interjection* lo!, behold! § 105.  
 седмерицеж (седморицеж)  
*adv.* sevenfold § 59.6a.  
 село *n.* settlement; field;  
 country § 11.2, § 40.2b.

сѣльнѣ *adj.* of the field.  
 селѣ see отѣ § 100.  
 Сивена (Supr.) scribal error for  
 Сивина.  
 сила *f.* strength, force, power.  
 Сивина *f.* Silvia.  
 сильнѣ *adj.* strong, mighty.  
 Симонѣ *m.* Simon.  
 Сионѣ *m.* Zion.  
 Сирия *f.* Syria.  
 сияти, сияѣж, сияюши shine  
 § 96.1a.  
 скверность *f.* stain, pollution.  
 скоро *adv.* quickly.  
 скотѣ *m.* beast.  
 скръвьнѣ *adj.* distressed,  
 afflicted.  
 скръвѣти, скръвѣж, скръвиши  
 to grieve § 97d.  
 скръжѣтѣ *m.* gnashing.  
 скъдальникѣ *m.* pitcher.  
 слава *f.* glory § 3.  
 славити, славѣж, славѣши to  
 glorify, praise § 3, § 97a.  
 славнѣ *adj.* famous, excellent.  
 слово *n.* word, thing said, reason  
 (Gr. λόγος) § 7.4, § 38.1.V,  
 § 40.2d, § 44.3, § 46.1.  
 слоуга *m.* servant, officer, min-  
 ister § 30.2, § 39h, § 48.7.  
 слоужити, слоужжѣ, слоужиши  
 to serve.  
 слоужьба *f.* service § 34.7,  
 § 48.7.  
 слоухѣ *m.* hearing, report § 21.1.  
 слъньце *n.* sun § 15.2, § 40.2b,  
 § 48.2.  
 слъза *f.* tear § 2.II Note 6, § 17e.

слъзьнѣ *adj.* tearful, sad.  
 слышати, слышж, слышиши  
 to hear § 6.4, § 21.1, § 61.IVb,  
 § 66, § 97.  
 слѣдѣ *m.* trace, footstep § 65.3;  
 въ слѣдѣ (with gen.) after,  
 behind.  
 слѣпѣ *adj.* blind § 49a.  
 смокы *f.* fig § 44.1.  
 снегѣ *m.* snow § 10.3.  
 собота *f.* the Sabbath.  
 солило *n.* dish.  
 Соломонѣ *m.* Solomon.  
 соль *f.* salt § 43.  
 сопыць *m.* flute-player.  
 Сотона *m.* Satan § 39h, § 45.  
 сотонинѣ *adj.* of Satan.  
 спира *f.* cohort, unit (of soldiers)  
 (Gr. σπεῖρα).  
 спыти *adv.* vainly, without  
 cause.  
 спждѣ *m.* bushel.  
 срачница *f.* tunic, cloak.  
 сръдъце *n.* heart § 17e, § 20.2,  
 § 27.2, § 30.3f, § 40.2, § 47,  
 § 48.2.  
 срѣда *f.* centre, midst.  
 стадо *n.* flock.  
 старость *f.* old age.  
 старѣ *adj.* old § 48.2, § 51.2, 4,  
 § 57.  
 старьць *m.* elder § 48.2.  
 старѣшина *m.* captain.  
 стати, станѣж, станѣши to stand,  
 come to stand § 37.1b, § 64.3,  
 § 90, § 95.  
 степеннѣ *adj.* of steps, of  
 degrees.

столъ *m.* throne; table.  
 стоѣати, стоѣжъ, стоѣши to stand  
 § 6.4, § 7.3, § 61.IVb, § 90,  
 § 97d.  
 страдати, страждѣжъ, стражда-  
 ши to suffer § 96.3b.  
 стража *f.* watch, guard.  
 страна *f.* region, country.  
 страннѣжъ *adj.* strange, alien,  
 foreign.  
 страсть *f.* suffering, torment  
 § 43.  
 страхъ *m.* fear.  
 строити, строѣжъ, строѣши to  
 prepare, arrange.  
 строупъ *m.* wound.  
 стрѣжи, стрѣжжъ, стрѣжѣши  
 to guard, keep § 94c.  
 стоуждѣ see цюуждѣ.  
 стѣгна *f.* street.  
 стѣза *f.* path § 25, § 30.3f, § 39.  
 соуи *adj.* § 48.3; въ соуѣ in  
 vain.  
 соушити, соушжъ, соушиши to  
 dry § 21.1.  
 съ *prep.* (*with instr.*) with; (*with  
 gen.*) from, down from § 102.2.  
 съ-бирати, -бирѣжъ, -бираѣши  
 to gather § 92.  
 съ-блѣжнѣати (-блѣжнѣати),  
 -блѣжнѣаѣжъ, -блѣжнѣаѣши see  
 съблѣжнѣити.  
 съ-блѣзнити, -блѣзнѣжъ, -блѣз-  
 ниши to lead astray, offend.  
 съблѣзнѣжъ *m.* offence § 47.  
 съ-блюсти, -блюдѣжъ, -блюдѣши  
 to guard, preserve § 91.  
 съ-бѣити сѣ, -бѣдѣжъ, -бѣдѣши

to be fulfilled, come to pass  
 § 98p.  
 съ-влѣци, -влѣкжъ, -влѣчѣши  
 to undress, strip.  
 съ-врѣшити, -врѣшжъ, -врѣ-  
 шиши to perfect, complete,  
 fulfil; съврѣшенѣжъ perfect.  
 съвѣше *adv.* from above.  
 съвѣдѣтель *m.* witness § 48.3.  
 съвѣдѣтельство *n.* testimony,  
 witness.  
 съвѣдѣтельствовати, съвѣдѣ-  
 тельствоуѣжъ, съвѣдѣтель-  
 ствоуѣши to testify, bear  
 witness (to) § 96.4b.  
 съ-вѣдѣти, -вѣмѣжъ, -вѣси to  
 be aware of, understand  
 § 48.3, § 91, § 98.  
 съвѣтъ *m.* council, consulta-  
 tion.  
 съвѣтъникъ *m.* counsellor.  
 съ-вѣзати, -вѣжжъ, -вѣжѣши  
 to bind § 65.3, § 92.  
 съвѣзѣнѣжъ *m.* prisoner.  
 съ-грѣшати, -грѣшѣжъ, -грѣ-  
 шаѣши see съгрѣшити.  
 съгрѣшѣнѣе *n.* offence, tres-  
 pass.  
 съ-грѣшити, -грѣшжъ, -грѣ-  
 шиши to sin.  
 съ-грѣѣати, -грѣѣжъ, -грѣѣши  
 to warm.  
 съдравнѣе *n.* health § 48.1.  
 съ-дѣлати, -дѣлаѣжъ, -дѣлаѣши  
 to do § 91, § 96.4.  
 съ-зѣдати, -зѣдѣжъ, -зѣдѣ-  
 ши to build.  
 съ-казати, -казѣжъ, -казѣши

- to explain, relate, make known.
- съ-конъчати** -чаѣж -чаѣши end, finish.
- съ-кровище** *n.* treasure § 40.2b.
- съ-кроушити**, -кроушѣж, -кроушиши to break.
- съ-крывати**, -крываѣж, -крываѣши *see* съ-крыти.
- съ-крыти**, -крыѣж, -крыѣши to hide, amass, lay up (treasure).
- съ-лагати**, -лагаѣж, -лагаѣши to reflect on, ponder.
- сълъ** *m.* apostle, messenger.
- съ-мирити**, -мириѣж, -мириши to reconcile.
- съ-мирати**, -мираѣж, -мираѣши *see* съмирити.
- съ-мотрити**, -моуриѣж, -моуриши to observe, consider (with *gen.*) § 21.2c, § 97a, j.
- съмрътънъ** *adj.* of death.
- съмыслъ** *m.* reason, understanding.
- съ-мѣрити**, мѣриѣж, -мѣриши to humble; **съ-мѣриенъ** humble.
- съ-мѣренъ** *adj.* humble.
- съ-мѣрение** *n.* humbling, humility.
- съ-мласти** сѣ, -мѣж, -мѣтеши to grieve; to be troubled, afraid.
- съ-мѣтение** *n.* uneasiness, distress.
- съ-на-бѣждѣти**, -бѣждаж, -бѣждиши to preserve.
- сън-ити**, -идѣж, -идѣши *p. part. act.* съшѣдѣ to come down; *c.* сѣ to come together, assemble § 92.
- сънъмище** *n.* place of assembly, synagogue, council § 40.2b, § 48.2.
- сънъмъ** *m.* assembly, council § 33.1, § 47, § 48.2.
- сън-ѣдати**, -ѣдаѣж, -ѣдаѣши *see* сънѣсти.
- сън-ѣсти**, -ѣмѣж, -ѣси to eat (*up*).
- сън-ѣти**, -ѣмѣж, -ѣмѣши to take down § 3b, § 48.2.
- съ-пасаѣти**, -пасаѣж, -пасаѣши to save; *p. part. act.* зпасаѣ (Freis.) absolve, celebrate (?).
- съ-пасение** *n.* salvation § 33.3, § 79.
- съ-паситель** *m.* saviour.
- съ-пастѣти**, -пастѣж, -пастѣши to save, rescue § 79.
- съ-пастъ** *m.* saviour.
- съ-пати**, съ-паѣж, съ-пиши to sleep § 17b, § 66, § 97g.
- съ-племеньникъ** *m.* fellow-countryman.
- съ-плести**, -плѣж, -плѣтеши to plait, weave.
- съ-подобити**, -подобѣж, -подобѣши to think fit, deem worthy.
- съ-примъникъ** *m.* participant.
- съ-ребро** (сѣребро) *n.* silver.
- съ-ребръникъ** *m.* piece of silver, penny; **съ-ребръникы** (silver) money.

сѣ-рѣсти, -рѣщѣ, -рѣщешѣ to meet § 65.1, § 69.1a, § 96.2a.  
 сѣстакъ *m.* being, essence.  
 сѣсѣдъ *m.* vessel.  
 сѣ-творити, -твориѣ, -твориши to make, produce § 33.1, § 91.  
 сѣто *n.* a hundred § 15.2, § 20.2, § 59.1.  
 сѣтъникъ *m.* centurion.  
 сѣ-тѣжати, -тѣжаѣ, -тѣжаеши to trouble (*with acc. or dat.*).  
 сѣ-ходити, -хождаѣ, -ходиши to go down, come down.  
 сѣ-хранити, -хранѣ, -храниши to guard, keep, protect.  
 сѣхраньно *adv.* safely.  
 сѣ, си, се *pron.* this § 55.2. IIa, j.  
 сѣде *adv.* here § 100.  
 сѣребрънъ *adj.* silver.  
 сѣинъ *m.* son § 18, § 20.1, § 38.1.III, § 42, § 46.1.  
 сѣдидьна *see* сѣдильна.  
 сѣдильна *f.* Gr. *κάθισμα* (*lit.* sitting: portion of the Psalter sung in a sitting position).  
 сѣдъ *adj.* grey (haired).  
 сѣдѣти, сѣждаѣ, сѣдиши to sit §§ 61.IVb, 70, 90, 97d.  
 сѣма *n.* seed § 10.1, § 14.1, § 44.2, § 46.1.  
 сѣно *n.* hay, grass.  
 сѣнь *f.* shadow.  
 сѣсти, сѣдѣ, сѣдешѣ to sit down § 37.5, § 62.7, § 69.1c, § 90, § 93.1, § 97c.  
 сѣтовати, сѣтоуѣ, сѣтоуѣши to be downcast, sad.

сѣтъ *f.* net, snare.  
 сѣпати, сѣкѣ, сѣкешѣ to sow § 96.1f, § 96.3a.  
 сѣдин *m.* judge § 34.3, § 38.1.I, § 39d, § 45, § 46.1, § 48.1.  
 сѣдити, сѣждаѣ, сѣдиши to judge § 90a, § 93.IV, § 97a.  
 сѣдище *n.* court, place of trial § 48.2.  
 сѣдъ *m.* judgement § 48.2; с. *принати* to go to law.  
 сѣднь *adj.* of judgement.  
 сѣпль *m.* adversary § 102.1.  
 сѣпльникъ *m.* adversary.  
 сѣсѣдъ *m.* neighbour § 47, § 48.6, § 102.1.  
 сѣщъ *m.* splinter.  
 Сѣрия *f.* Syria.

## Т

та (Prague Fr.) *is for* тѣ.  
 танинъ *adj.* secret; въ танинѣ in secret.  
 танти, тѣж, тѣешѣ to conceal.  
 тако *adv.* so, thus § 99.2.  
 такожде *adv.* so also, in the same way § 101.  
 татъ *m.* thief § 43.  
 татѣба *f.* theft, stealing.  
 татѣвина *f.* theft, stealing.  
 тварь *f.* creation §§ 37.5, 43, 47.  
 твои, твоѣ, твоѣ *pron. adj.* thy § 55.2.II.  
 творити, твориѣ, твориши to make, do; to act; to produce § 37.5, § 47, § 90, § 91.  
 тврѣдь *f.* fortress, stronghold § 17e, § 47.

тельць *m.* calf.  
 Теофилъ *m.* Theophilus.  
 тети, тепѣ, тепеши to beat § 94a.  
 теши, текѣ, течеша to flow, run § 60.2a, § 70a, § 94a, h.  
 тѣши, тѣкѣ, тѣчеша to knock § 62.5, § 90, § 91.  
 толи *adv.* § 100; отъ толи from that time.  
 толикъ *adj.* so much § 50i; толико only § 55.2.I, 5a.  
 трапеза (трѣпеза) *f.* table (Gr. *τράπεζα*).  
 третии *adj.* third; третие for the third time.  
 третици *adv.* for the third time § 59.6a.  
 троица *f.* Trinity § 48.2, § 59.6a.  
 троудити, троудѣ, троудиши to trouble; т. сѣ to toil § 66, § 77.1c, § 93.IV.  
 троудѣти (сѣ), троудѣш, троудѣши see троудити § 6.4.  
 троупниѣ *n.* dead bodies.  
 трѣсть *f.* reed.  
 трѣниѣ *n.* thorns.  
 трѣновѣ *adj.* of thorns.  
 трѣва *f.* (pagan) sacrifice.  
 трѣвати, трѣваш, трѣваша (with *gen.*) to need.  
 тоу *adv.* there § 99.1.  
 тоудѣ (тоудѣ) see цоудѣ.  
 тоучьнѣ *adj.* fat.  
 тѣ, та, то *pron.* that (one); то introduces a following clause: so, then § 55.2.I, 2.IIb.

тѣгда *adv.* then § 100.  
 тѣжде, тажде, тожде *pron.* the same § 55.2.I, § 101.  
 тѣкъмо *adv.* only; except § 100.  
 тѣщаниѣ *n.* haste, eagerness.  
 тѣщѣ *adj.* empty.  
 тѣлити, тѣлѣ, тѣлиши to destroy, spoil, consume.  
 тѣла *f.* moth.  
 тѣма *f.* darkness; myriad, very large number § 16.2, § 33.2, § 34.2, 5, § 59.Id.  
 тѣмиганѣ *m.* incense (Gr. *θυμίαμα*) § 45.  
 тѣмница *f.* prison § 16.2, § 48.2.  
 тѣмьнѣ *adj.* dark § 35.10.  
 тѣ *pron.* thou § 55.1.  
 тѣсѣца (тѣсѣца) *f.* a thousand § 59.1.  
 тѣ *conj.* then (introducing *apodosis after* *дѣце*, Zogr., Mt. vi. 23, Freis. II) § 104.  
 тѣло *n.* body, stature § 44.3.  
 тѣснѣ *adj.* narrow, strait.  
 тѣготѣнѣ *adj.* heavy.  
 тѣдѣ *adv.* thence § 100.  
 тѣжити, тѣжѣ, тѣжиши to be distressed.

### Оу

оу *prep.* with *gen.* with, at § 102.2.  
 оу, оуже (юже) *adv.* already § 32.2, § 99.1, § 104; оу не no more.  
 оубинство *n.* murder § 40.2b.



- оу-БИТИ, -БИЖ, -БИЮШИ to kill, destroy § 92.
- оубо *conj.* therefore § 104.
- оубогъ *adj.* poor, wretched § 47, § 50h, § 51.2.
- оу-БОЯТИ СЛ, -БОЖ, -БОИШИ to fear, become afraid § 92.
- оуба *int.* ah! (*exclamation of mockery or surprise*) § 105.
- оу-ВЪДЪКТИ, ВЪЕМЪ, -ВЪКСИ to learn § 91, § 98; оу. СЛ to become known.
- оу-ВЪЩАТИ СЛ, -ВЪЩАЖ, -ВЪЩАЮШИ to agree.
- оу-ГЛАЖБИТИ, -ГЛАЖБИЖ, -ГЛАЖБИШИ to deepen § 64.1.
- оу-ГОДИТИ, -ГОЖДЖ, -ГОДИШИ to please.
- оугоднѣтъ *adj.* pleasing.
- оугождение *n.* satisfaction; service.
- оу-ГОТОВАТИ, -ГОТОВАЖ, -ГОТОВАЮШИ to prepare.
- оу-ГОТОВИТИ, -ГОТОВАЖ, -ГОТОВИШИ *see* оуготовати.
- оу-ДАРИТИ, -ДАРИЖ, -ДАРИШИ to strike, smite.
- оудѣтъ *m.* limb, member § 42b.
- оу-ЖАСАТИ СЛ, -ЖАСАЖ, -ЖАСАЮШИ to be afraid.
- оуже *adv.* already § 32.2.
- оу-ЗЪРЪКТИ, -ЗЪРИЖ, -ЗЪРИШИ to see, notice § 92.
- оу-КАЗАТИ, -КАЖЖ, -КАЖЕШИ to show.
- оу-КЛОНИТИ СЛ, -КЛОНИЖ, -КЛОНИШИ to turn aside, away.
- оу-КОРЕНИТИ, -КОРЕНИЖ, -КОРЕНИШИ to cause to take root, implant.
- оу-КРЫТИ, -КРЫИЖ, -КРЫИЮШИ to hide.
- оу-МРЪТВИТИ, -МРЪШТВЕЖ, -МРЪТВИШИ to put to death, kill.
- оумѣтъ *m.* intelligence, understanding § 65.2.
- оу-МЪНОЖИТИ, -МЪНОЖЖ, -МЪНОЖИШИ to increase.
- оу-МЪРЪКТИ (оумрѣкти), -МЪРЖ, -МЪРЕШИ to die § 37.5a, § 79.
- оу-МЫТИ, -МЫИЖ, -МЫИЮШИ to wash.
- оумѣкти, оумѣкж, оумѣкюши to be able, know how (to) § 6.4, § 65.2.
- оу-МЖДРАТИ, -МЖДРАИЖ, -МЖДРАЮШИ to make wise.
- оу-ПОДОВИТИ, -ПОДОВИИЖ, -ПОДОВИШИ to liken, compare; to make worthy.
- оупѣвание *n.* confidence, hope.
- оу-РЪЗАТИ, -РЪЗЖЖ, -РЪЗЖЕШИ to cut off.
- оу-СЛЫШАТИ, -СЛЫИЖ, -СЛЫИШИ to hear.
- оусниганѣтъ *adj.* leathern.
- оусрѣднѣе *n.* zeal.
- оуста *n. pl.* mouth.
- оу-СТРАШИТИ, -СТРАИИЖ, -СТРАИИШИ to frighten; оу. СЛ to be frightened.
- оу-СЪНЖТИ, -СЪИИЖ, -СЪИИЮШИ *p. part. act.* оусыпѣтъ to fall asleep § 29.5.
- оу-СЪКЦИ, -СЪККЖ, -СЪККЕШИ to cut off.

оу-тврѣдити, -тврѣждѣ, -тврѣдиши to confirm, strengthen.  
 оутврѣждениѣ *n.* reliability, certainty (Zogr., L. i. 4); foundation, citadel (Prague Fr.).  
 оутрне *n.* morning; на оутрѣ (на оутрне Savv. Кн., Ostr., L. x. 35) on the morrow.  
 оутро *n.* morning § 32.2; оутрѣ tomorrow § 99.1.  
 оутрѣнь *adj.* of tomorrow; на оутрѣни on the morrow.  
 оутрѣн *adj.* of tomorrow; на оу. on the morrow.  
 оу-тѣшати, -тѣшаѣ, -тѣшаюши *see* оутѣшити.  
 оу-тѣшити, -тѣшаѣ, -тѣшиши to comfort.  
 оу-тагнути, -тагнаѣ, -тагнуши to succeed, achieve, be worthy of (*with inf.*).  
 оухо *n.* ear § 8.1, § 44.3a.  
 оученикъ *m.* disciple § 48.2.  
 оученичѣ *adj.* of a disciple.  
 оучениѣ *n.* teaching § 38.3.  
 оучитель *m.* teacher § 41, § 48.3.  
 оучити, оучѣ, оучиши to teach § 32.1, § 48.3, § 65.1, § 93.IV, § 97c.

## Ф

Фарисѣи (-сеи) *m.* Pharisee § 19, § 40e, § 45.  
 Фелицѣта, Фелицита *f.* Felicity.

## Х

хвала *f.* praise, thanks.

хвалити, хвалаѣ, хвалиши to praise § 65.2a, § 93.IV, § 97a.

хлѣбѣ *m.* bread.

ходатаи *m.* mediator § 48.3.

ходатаити, ходатаѣ, ходатаиши to intercede.

ходити, хождѣ, ходиши to go § 30.1, § 90, § 94f, § 97b.

хотѣти, хошѣ, хошеши to wish § 86, § 97e.

храмина *f.* house § 48.6.

храмѣ *m.* house § 48.6.

хранилище *n.* store-house.

хранити, хранѣ, храниши to guard, keep, protect § 97a.

хризма *f.* ointment § 45.

хризманѣ *adj.* of ointment.

христосовѣ *adj.* of Christ.

Хрѣсостомѣ *m.* Chrysostom.

хоудѣ *adj.* wretched, miserable § 51.1a, d.

хоулити, хоулаѣ, хоулиши to blaspheme, rail (against).

хѣзина *f.* cottage, cell (= Gr. κѣλλα Supr.).

хѣштѣникѣ *m.* robber (*as adj.* Zogr., Mt. vii. 15) rapacious.

## Ш

щедрота *f.* mercy.

шоуждѣ (тоуждѣ, тоузѣ, стоуждѣ) *adj.* foreign, alien, of others § 55.5b.

## Ц

цвѣтѣ *m.* flower § 23.2c, § 37.5b, § 47.

ЦИРКЪНЪ *adj.* (Kiev Miss.) *see*  
 ЦРЬКЪВЪНЪ.  
 ЦИРЪКЪТЪ *f.* *see* ЦРЬКЪТЪ.  
 ЦРЪНОРИЗЪЦА *m.* *see* ЧРНО-  
 РИЗЪЦЪ.  
 ЦРЬКЪВЪНЪ *adj.* of the church,  
 temple.  
 ЦРЬКЪТЪ *f.* church, temple § 3,  
 § 17, § 30.2*d*, § 44.1.  
 ЦЪКЛИТИ, ЦЪКЛЪЖ, ЦЪКЛИШИ to  
 heal.  
 ЦЪКЛОВАТИ, ЦЪКЛОУЖ, ЦЪКЛОУЮ-  
 ШИ to greet, salute.  
 ЦЪКСАРИТИ, ЦЪКСАРЪЖ, ЦЪКСАРИШИ  
 to reign.  
 ЦЪКСАРЬ *m.* king § 10.3, § 17*a*,  
 § 30.2*d*, § 41, § 48.3.  
 ЦЪКСАРЬСТВОИЕ, ЦЪКСАРЬСТВО *n.*  
 kingdom, realm § 40.2*b*, § 48.3.

## Ч

часъ *m.* hour.  
 чаша *f.* cup.  
 чагати, чаж, чаеши to wait  
 (for, *gen.*) § 3, § 96.3*a*.  
 четвъртъкъ *m.* Thursday  
 § 33.1, § 34.5; великъи ч.  
 Maundy Thursday.  
 четыре *num.* four § 44.5*d*,  
 § 59.1.  
 чинити, чинъж, чиниши to order,  
 draw up.  
 чинъ *m.* order § 42*b*.  
 чисти, чьтж, чьтеши to read  
 § 20.4, § 37.5, § 69.2*e*, § 94*f*,  
*k*.  
 чистъ *adj.* pure § 48.3,  
 § 51.2.

ЧЛОВЪКОЛЮБИЕ *n.* love of man-  
 kind.  
 ЧЛОВЪКОЛЮБИВЪНЪ *adj.* loving man-  
 kind, philanthropic.  
 ЧЛОВЪКОЛЮБИЦА *m.* lover of man-  
 kind.  
 ЧЛОВЪКЪТЪ *m.* man § 23.2*a*, § 40.1*b*,  
 § 48.3, § 50*f*.  
 ЧЛОВЪКЪЦЪ *adj.* of man.  
 ЧЛОВЪКЪЦЪСКЪТЪ *adj.* of man, hu-  
 man § 50*f*.  
 ЧРЪТА *f.* tittle; apostrophe;  
 mark § 24.  
 ЧРЪВЪ *m.* worm § 43.  
 ЧРНОРИЗЪЦА *m.* monk.  
 ЧРНЪТЪ *adj.* black § 16.2, § 30.1,  
 § 47.  
 ЧРЪВНИ *m.* shoe.  
 ЧРЪКО *n.* womb § 44.3*h*.  
 ЧРЪДА *f.* order, turn; ДЪНЕВЪНАГА  
 ЧРЪДА course (= Gr. *ἐφημερία*  
*Zogr.*, L. i. 5).  
 ЧРЪСЛА *n. pl.* loins.  
 ЧОУДИТИ СЪ, ЧОУЖДЪЖ, ЧОУД-  
 НИШИ to wonder, marvel.  
 ЧОУДЪНЪТЪ *adj.* strange, wonder-  
 ful.  
 ЧОУТИ, ЧОУЖ, ЧОУЈЕШИ to feel,  
 notice § 70*a*, § 96.1*c*.  
 ЧЪСТИТИ, ЧЪЦЪЖ, ЧЪСТИШИ to  
 honour, celebrate.  
 ЧЪСТЬ *f.* honour; celebration  
 § 34.5, § 43.  
 ЧЪСТЪНЪТЪ *adj.* honourable, vener-  
 able.  
 ЧЪТО *pron.* what § 2.II Note 7,  
 § 30.1, § 34.2, 5, 7, § 55.3.  
 ЧАДО *n.* child § 14.4, § 47, § 48.2.

## Ш

шестъ *adj.* sixth § 59.2.  
широкъ *adj.* broad, wide.  
шопи *adj.* left; шопата left hand.  
шопица *f.* left hand.

## Ш (Ъ)

шавити, шавѣжъ, шавиши to display, show; ш. сѣ to appear § 17b, § 32.2, 6c, § 93.IV, § 97a.  
шавлати, шавлатѣжъ, шавлатѣши see шавити.  
шавѣ *adv.* openly.  
шавѣ *f.* wound § 32.6b.  
шавѣ § 55.1g; see азъ.  
шавко *conj.* as, when, for, that § 32.6c; шавкоже *conj.* just as, even as; *adv.* (with numerals) about § 104.  
шавли *f. pl.* manger § 32.6b.  
шавсти, шавмь, шавси to eat § 6.4, § 32.6b, § 47, § 60.2e, § 61.V, § 69.2e, § 98n.  
шавце *conj.* § 32.2; see аще.

## Ш (Є)

шавангелистъ *m.* evangelist.  
шавангелие *n.* gospel, glad tidings (Gr. *εὐαγγέλιον*) § 45.  
шавгда (же) *conj.* if, when § 100, § 101, § 104.  
шавда *interrogative particle* surely not (= Lat. *num*) § 104; шав. како lest (Gr. *μήποτε*).  
шавдиночадъ *adj.* only-begotten.  
шавдинъ *num.* one; шавдини some § 55.2.I, § 59.1a.  
шавдножъ *adv.* once § 99.3.

шавза *interrogative particle* (= Lat. *num*) surely not.

шави *affirmative particle or interjection* yes; oh § 105.

Шѣюптъ *m.* Egypt § 2.II Note 1.

шавен *m.* see олѣки.

шавевоньскъ *adj.*: гора шавевоньска Mount of Olives.

шавликъ *pron.* however many § 52.2.I, § 55.5a; шавста шавлико all things whatsoever . . . (Zogr., Mt. vii. 12); шавликоже (Freis. III) however much, to the extent that.

Шависаветь Elizabeth § 45.

шавли (Aramaic) my God.

шавльма *conj.* since, because; *pron.* how much, however much § 99.7, § 104.

шавлѣ *adv.* scarcely, hardly § 99.7, § 104.

Шерихо *n.* Jericho.

Шерихъ see Шерихо.

шавроусалимѣнинъ *m.* man of Jerusalem.

шаврѣискъ *adj.* priestly.

шавтеръ *adj.* a certain, *тис* § 55.5c.

шавце *adv.* still, even § 32.2, § 99.2.

## Ю

юже § 32.2; see оу.

юноша *m.* young man § 38.1.I, § 39h.

## Ж

жгль *m.* corner.

жже *n.* fetter.

ЖЖИКА *m. f.* kinsman, kinswoman § 39h.

ЖЗЪКЪ *adj.* narrow § 13.1.

ЖТРОБА *f.* womb § 35.5, § 48.7.

### И

ИДРОЪ *adj.* swift.

ИЗА *f.* sickness § 30.3f.

ИЗЪКЪ *m.* tongue, language;

ἔθνος; ИЗЪЦИ Gentiles, heathen § 35.10.

ИЗЪЧНИКЪ *m.* Gentile, heathen.

ИТИ, ИМЪ, ИМЕШИ to take § 3b, § 69.2c, § 77.3, § 90, § 91, § 93.1, § 94j; ВЪРЖ И. to believe.

### V

ВПОКРИТЪ *m.* hypocrite.

## GLOSSARY OF WORDS AND FORMS FOUND ONLY IN THE FREISING TEXTS

(Words not found below should be sought in the main glossary under corresponding OCS forms.)

### A

amen amen (Lat. form; cf. OCS АМИНЬ from Gr. ἀμήν).

### B

bac ? ≡ \*ПАКЪ *adv.* again, on the other hand; see ПАКЪ.

bbgeni *probably for* ПОВЪЖДЕНИ *from* ПОВЪДИТИ q.v.

bozzekacho (bozcekachu) ≡ ПОСЪЦААХЪ *from* ПОСЪТИТИ q.v.

### C

chifto ≡ КЪЖЪДО or КЪИЖЪДО. crilatcem *dat. pl. masc.* angel.

cruz *nom. sing.*, creztu *dat. sing.*, criste *voc. sing. masc.* Christ (cf. OHG *Krist*).

### D

dokoni *adv.* to the end; cf. ИСКОНИ.

doſda *conj.* until; ? ≡ ДО ЖЕ ДА. doztalo *see* ДОСТОЯТИ.

### E

ecce, eche *conj.* if; cf. АЦЕ.

### G

ge ≡ \*ГЕ for ГЕСТЪ is.

### I

iazze ≡ ИАЗЪ q.v.

### L

laurenzu ≡ \*ЛАВРЕНЦЮ *dat. sing.* Lawrence.

lichodiani *loc. sing. from* \*ЛИХО-ДЪКАНИЕ *n.* misdeeds, sins; OHG *missatâti*.

lichopiti *loc. sing. from* \*ЛИХОПИТИЕ *n.* excessive drinking.

lifnih *loc. pl. from* ЛЪЖНЪ q.v.

lubmi ≡ \*ЛЮБМИ willingly; cf. ИЖЪДМИ.

## M

- malo mogoncka *gen.-acc. sing. masc.* ~ \*МАЛОМОГЪ, -ЖЦИ-sick; cf. МАЛОМОЦЪ.  
 metlami *instr. plur. of* \*МЕТЛА *f. rod, scourge.*  
 michael *nom. sing. masc.,*  
 michahela *gen.-acc. sing.*  
 Michael.  
 mirze ≡ МРЪЖЕ *comp. of*  
 МРЪЗЪКЪ *q.v.*  
 modliti *see* МОЛИТИ.  
 moku *see* МЪКА.  
 mrzna ≡ \*МРЪЗНА *from*  
 \*МРЪЗЪНЪ *cold.*

## N

- ne ≡ \*НЬЕ *for* НЬЕСТЪ *is not.*  
 nezramen ≡ \*НЕСРАМЪНЪ *with-*  
*out shame, without blemish;*  
*cf. OHG unscamanti.*  
 neztiden ≡ \*НЕСТЫДЪНЪ *un-*  
*ashamed.*  
 nizce *see* НИЧЪЖЕ.  
 nikiĵe *no doubt for* НИКЪИМЪЖЕ.

## O

- otpuztic (odpuztic) ≡ \*ОТЪ-  
 ПОУСТЪКЪ *m. forgiveness, re-*  
*mission.*

## P

- posazen *acc. sing. fem. penance*  
 (?); cf. ПОКАЗАНЪ.  
 poglagolani *loc. sing. neut. cal-*  
*umny (OHG bispráhha).*  
 poštenih *see* ПОЧИСТИ.  
 preiĵe ≡ \*ПРЕЖДИ ЖЕ *and our*

*forebears or* \*ПРЕЖДЪЖЕ *conj.*  
*before.*

- prinizĵe ≡ \*ПРИНЪЗЪШЕ *from*  
 \*ПРИНИТИ *to put down.*  
 prtiiuo ≡ ПРОТИВЪ *q.v.*

## R

- raztrgachu ≡ \*РАСТРЪГЛАХЪ  
*from* \*РАСТРЪГАТИ; *see*  
 РАСТРЪГЪНЪТИ.  
 rote *loc. sing. fem., roti nom. pl.*  
*fem. oath; cf. РОТИТИ СЛ.*

## S

- ſce, ſco *Lat. sanctae, sancto, &c.*  
 si (*in li bo li si*) *indefinite par-*  
*ticle, cf. Sln bodisi, Cz bud'si*  
*whether.*

## T

- tamoge *adv. to that same place;*  
 ≡ ТАМОЖДЕ.  
 tazie ≡ \*ТАЦИЖДЕ *nom. pl. masc.*  
 tere ≡ ТЪ ЖЕ *q.v.*  
 tiĵe ≡ ТИЖДЕ.  
 tnachu ≡ \*ТЪНЪКАХЪ *from*  
 \*ТАТИ, \*ТЪНЪ, \*ТЪНЪШИ *to*  
*cut, hew.*  
 toie ≡ ТОЖДЕ *q.v.*  
 ton *perhaps for* ТЪ НЪ.

## U (V)

- ubegati ≡ \*ОУБЪГАТИ *to run*  
*away.*  
 uchrani *2nd pers. imp. sing. of*  
 \*ОУХРАНИТИ *to protect.*  
 uclepenih *loc. plur. of p. part.*  
*pass. of* \*ОУКЛЕПАТИ *to cast*  
*(into fetters).*

ugongenige *see* ОУГОЖДЕНИЕ.  
 vuernicom *dat. pl. masc. confessor.*  
 vufachu ≡ \*ВЪШАДХЖ *from*  
 ВЪШАТИ *to hang.*  
 vuirchnemo *dat. sing. masc. from adj. \*ВРЪХЪНЬ supreme, highest.*  
 vvosich *see* ЖЖЕ.  
 vvooraken *p. part. pass. to turn, send; cf. ВРАТИТИ.*  
 uuzmaztue *loc. sing. neut. see*  
 uzhazi.  
 vzedli *see* ВЪСЕЛИТИ.  
 uzemogoki *acc. sing., -kemu dat. sing. from \*ВЪСЕМОГЪ pres. part. act. almighty; cf. ВЪСЕМОГЪ.*  
 uzhazi *loc. sing. fem. blasphemy (?); fornication (?) (-vę III).*

## X

xpen ≡ КРЪЩЕНЪ *from* КРЪСТИТИ *q.v.*

## Z

zadeneſ *2nd pers. sing. pres. to impose; cf. ЗАДЪКТИ.*  
 zaglagolo ≡ \*ЗАГЛАГОЛЖ *from*  
 \*ЗАГЛАГОЛАТИ *to forswear; cf. OHG forsahhan or intsa-gôn.*  
 zil ≡ СЪЛЪ *or* СИЛЪ.  
 ziniſtue *loc. sing. neut. lewdness.*  
 zinski *nom. pl. masc. from*  
 \*СЪИНЫКЪ *son.*  
 zlouuez *error for* zlouueza = СЛОВЕСА.  
 zpitnih *loc. pl. from \*СПЫТЪНЪ vain, false; cf. СПЫТИ.*  
 ztoriti *see* СЪТВОРИТИ.