# 1. На пристанищи - At the port

- present tense

- cases: nom, acc, voc

- personal pronouns

- basic questions

- greetings

- Cyrillic script

- palatality

## 1.1. Бесѣда - Dialogue

Maria arrives at the river port in Velegrad in Moravia. Her brother Zosima, who lives in Moravia for a longer time, comes to pick up her to the city with his car. He sees her at the reception hall and runs to her. She carries a small bag.

М: Ѡ брате мой, ты ли еси?

З: Цѣлꙋıѫ тѧ, Марïе!

М: Цѣлꙋıѫ тѧ, толико рада есмь да тѧ пакы виждѫ!

З: И азъ тѧ sѣло радъ пакы виждѫ! Какъ бѣ пѫть?

М: Ѡ, добръ бѣ, нѫ длъгъ.

З: А ладïа кака бѣ?

М: Чиста бѣ. Добрѣ плꙋетъ.

З: Имамь сьде возъ. Тьчïıѫ едно ли врѣще имаши?

М: Ей. Азъ вынѫ тако хождѫ. Еда мѧ длъго чакаеши?

З: Не, не длъго.

M: O brate moi, ty li esi?

Z: Cělujǫ tę, Marie!

M: Cělujǫ tę, toliko rada esmь da tę paky viždǫ!

Z: Cělujǫ tę, Marie! I azъ tę źělo radъ paky viždǫ! Kakъ bě pǫtь?

M: O, dobrъ bě, nǫ dlъgъ.

Z: A ladia kaka bě?

M: Čista bě. Dobrě pluetъ.

Z: Imamь sьde vozъ. Tъčijǫ edno li vrěšte imaši?

M: Ei. Azъ vynǫ tako xoždǫ. Eda mę dlъgo čakaeši?

Z: Ne, ne dlъgo.

M: Brother, is it you?

Z: Hello, Maria!

M: Hello, I'm so glad to see you again!

Z: I'm also very glad to see you again! How was the trip?

M: Oh, it was good, but long.

Z: And how was the boat?

M: It was clean. It sails well.

Z: I have a car here. Do you have only one bag?

M: Yes, I always travel thus. Are you waiting for long?

Z: No, not for long.

братъ brother

бѣ it was

виждѫ I see

возъ car

вынѫ always

да to (cf. below)

длъго for long (adverb)

длъгъ long (adjective)

добръ good

добрѣ well

еда (interrogative particle, cf. below)

естъ to be (cf. below)

sѣло very

имамь I have

какъ how, what kind of (masc.; fem.: кака)

ладïа boat, smaller ship

ли (interrogative particle, cf. below)

мой my

не no

нѫ but

ѡ oh

пакы again

плꙋетъ it sails

пѫть journey, way

радъ glad, happy

сьде here

тако so

тъчïıѫ only

толико so much

ты you

хождѫ I travel

чистъ clean

цѣлꙋıѫ I greet

## 1.2. Настоѧще врѣмѧ - Present Tense

There are three basic classes of verbs: athematic, e-, and i-verbs. The first contains a rather limited number of verbs. The difference is in the thema vowel, i.e. the one between the stem and the ending in the 2/3sg forms of present tense. Athematic verbs use an ending -мь in 1sg.prs, others use ‑ѫ. Endings for 2/3sg forms are the same for all classes.

'have' 'wait' 'hear'

1 имамь чакаıѫ слышѫ

2 имаши чакаеши слышиши

3 иматъ чакаетъ слышитъ

In 1st person of i-verbs, whose stems end in a consonants, the root may undergo phonetic changes. These are caused by the /j/ in the ending, which interacts with various consonants.

'see' 'beg'

1 ви**жд**ѫ про**ш**ѫ

2 ви**д**иши про**с**иши

3 ви**д**итъ про**с**итъ

If the stem ends in a к, г or х, these may also be phonetically affected by the thema vowel. Explanations for these changes are discussed below in the section on phonetics.

'say' 'can'

1 ре**к**ѫ мо**г**ѫ

2 ре**ч**еши мо**ж**еши

3 ре**ч**етъ мо**ж**етъ

Present tense of the verb 'to be' uses a stem ес-. A different stem is used in other tenses and moods (inf. быти 'to be', 3sg.aor бѣ 'was'), which we will introduce later.

1 есмь 'I am'

2 еси 'you are'

3 естъ 'he/she/it is'

In sentences, the position of verb is free, e.g.: Марïа рада **есть** 'Maria is happy', Зосима **чакаетъ** дльго 'Zosima is waiting long'. Negation is done simply by putting the particle не in front of the verb or another negated element: Зосима **не чакаетъ** длъго 'Zosima is not waiting long'. The subject does not have to be expressed separately, e.g. цѣлꙋıѫ тѧ literally means 'I greet/kiss you'; with the pronoun (as in **И азъ** тѧ sѣло радъ пакы виждѫ), the subject is placed into emphasis ('I - and not somebody else - am very happy to see you again').

The 'be'-verb has specific negated forms (particle phonetically falls together with the verb):

1 нѣсмь 'I am not'

2 нѣси 'you are not'

3 нѣстъ 'he/she/it is not'

## 1.3. Основьни въпроси - Basic Questions

Most basic questions are formed by particles еда or ли. The expected answers are ей 'yes' or не 'no'. The former is more frequent in OCS sources, the both also appear together as еда ли. Еда appears at the beginning of the sentence, related to the verb (e.g. еда азъ есмъ 'is it me?' Cod.Assem. Mt 26:25). The ли appears more freely, when other sentence elements are put into question (e.g. не и **мытари ли** такожде творѧть 'are not the tax collectors doing the same?' Cod.Assem. Mt 5:47).

## 1.4. Именьни падежи - Nominal Cases: nom, acc, voc

Church Slavonic (as all Slavic) nouns and adjectives have inherited the basic structure from Proto-Indo-European: a root is extended by the stem, determining the word category, and an ending, which denotes the gender, number, and case. Genders were originally two - animate (possibly denoting things capable of speech like humans, totemic animals, and gods) and inanimate.

In Church Slavonic, inflection was determined more by the stem classes, which resulted from phonetic and analogic changes in earlier periods. For example, most a-stems are feminine, but the name Зосима (taken from Greek) is an a-stem too. The three-gender system started to mix up the case paradigms early on, on the basis of adjectival (or pronominal) system; in Bulgarian and Macedonian, the case distinction was fully discarded.

The case reflects semantic relations between the action or state denoted by the verb and the dependent nominal phrase. The case is the same across the whole nominal phrase. In the view of ancient grammarians, a word existed in the metaphysical realm as an idea; when being uttered, it "falls" (hence Gr. *ptōsis*, CS падежь 'case' from падѫ 'I fall') into the physical world, taking accidental properties like the sounds and syntactic relations (Frede 1994:14). When the word "falls" straightly, it does not differ much from the pure idea: this form is called "nominative" (Gr. *orthē ptōsis* or CS правый падежь 'straight case').

The nominative is used for subjects of the main clause, and often as a predicate of the 'be'-verb, e.g. азъ есмь **Марïа** 'I am Maria', Зосима есть **мой братъ** 'Zosima is my brother'. The ending is defined according to stem in nouns, and according to gender in adjectives. Most masculines show -ъ or -ь, feminines -а or -ıа, neuters -о or -е. The first appear after hard consonants, the latter after soft ones (cf. below). Nominal endings show many forms, which were later replaced by more common ones.

Stems are classed either by having a vowel in PIE nominative:

o- -ъ братъ (anim.), возъ (inanim.), вино 'wine' (neut.)

jo- -ь конь 'horse' (masc. anim.), ножь 'blade' (masc. inanim.), врѣще (neut.)

a- -a сестра 'sister', рѣка 'river' (fem.), Зосима (masc.)

ja- -ıа ладïа, Марïа (all fem.)

i- -ь кость 'bone' (fem.), пѫть (masc.)

u- -ъ сынъ 'son' (all masc.)

...or by a consonant:

n- -ы пламы 'flame' (masc.)

-ѧ знамѧ 'flag' (neut.)

nt- -ѧ телѧ 'calf' (all neut.)

r- -и дъщи 'daughter' (later дъщерь; all fem.)

s- -о небо 'heaven' (all neut.)

ū- -ы црькы 'church' (later црьква, црьковъ all fem.)

More regularity can be seen in adjectives, where the gender defines the ending.

masc. -ъ добръ

-ь нищь 'poor'

fem. -а добра, нища

neut. -о добро

-е нище

The direct object of verbs is expressed by accusative (Gr. *aitikē*, CS виньный or виновьный): e.g. Зосима чакаетъ **Марïѫ** 'Zosima waits for Maria'. Neuter, i-stem, and inanimate (denoting lifeless things, plants and most animals) o-/jo-stem nouns use the same form as nominative, e.g Марïа несетъ **едно врѣще** 'Maria carries one bag'. Generally most animate masculines use the ending -а, feminines -ѫ. In feminine nouns there is no difference according to animacy, e.g. Виждѫ **рѣкѫ** 'I see a river'. Non-neuter consonant stems show their extension in accusative.

o- -а брата, but возъ, вино

jo- -ıа конıа, but ножь, врѣще

a- -ѫ сестрѫ, рѣкѫ, Зосимѫ

ja- -ıѫ ладïѫ, Марïѫ

i- -ь кость, пѫть

u- -а сына

n- -ень пламень, but знамѧ

nt- -ѧ телѧ

r- -ерь дъщерь

s -о небо

ū- -ъвъ црькъвъ

Adjectives show a distinction by gender. Inanimate masculines use the nominative endings.

masc. -а добра, нища брата, but добръ, нищь возъ

fem. -ѫ добрѫ, нищѫ

neut. -о добро

-е нище

Animate nouns of masculine or feminine gender of vowel stems (excl. i-stems) have also a special appelative form called "vocative" (Gr. *klētikē*,CS зъвательный). This case form does not have a syntactic function: it serves to get attention from a specific hearer, e.g. Слышиши мѧ, **брате**? 'Do you hear me, brother?'

Among adjectives, only masculine ones have distinct vocative form. Morphologically, it is a kind of case - it is congruent across the noun phrase, e.g. фарисею слѣпе 'o you blind Pharisee!' (Cod.Mar. Mt 23:26). The forms differ by gender and palatality.

o-/u- -е брате, сыне добре

jo- -ю коню

a- -о сестро

ja- -е Марïе

## 1.5. Личьна мѣстоименïа - Personal Pronouns

Church Slavonic - as all Slavic languages, has three genders: feminine, masculine, and neuter. Personal pronouns differ in 3rd person according to it. In nominative, 3rd person pronouns take a root of a demonstrative pronoun, i.e. тъ means both 'he' and 'that one'. The root он- (i.e. онъ, она, оно etc.) is also used sometimes. The preferences differ between periods and regions.

sg nom acc

1 азъ мѧ 'I'

2 ты тѧ 'you' (sg.)

3 тъ и 'he'

та ıѫ 'she'

то е 'it'

For comparison, we will also introduce the dual and plural forms. Their functions will be described in the following lessons.

dl

1 вѣ на 'we' (two)

2 ва ва 'you' (two)

3 ти и 'they' (two)

pl

1 мы ны 'we'

2 вы вы 'you' (pl.)

3 ти ѧ 'they'

тѧ ѧ

та ıа

The accusative forms are common in OCS. Later, genitive forms, which will be introduced in the next lesson, replace these forms in some contexts. They appear already in OCS in some context for emphasis, e.g. весь мıрь **тебе** не позна, азъ же **тѧ** познахъ 'the world has never known you, yet I have known you' (Cod.Assem. Jn 17:25). The short forms later become clitic, i.e. appearing after the verb or at another syntactically fixed position (for example, following the first accented element of clause, cf. Lunt 2001:160). Also the 1/2dl forms are later replaced by plural forms.

Slavic languages have a specific class of quasi-personal pronouns, which reflect the subject, no matter its person and number: e.g. виждѫ **сѧ** 'I see myself' - the object ("myself") is implied in the person and number of the verb. These pronouns, called *reflexive* (BG възвратни), have no nominative form. For emphasis, the genitive form **себе** can be used instead of сѧ too (а себе ли не можетъ сп[аси]ти 'and he cannot save himself?', Cod.Assem. Mt 27:42). Many intransitive verbs (like вратити сѧ 'come back', lit. 'return oneself') are always followed by a refl.acc pronoun.

nom acc

refl - сѧ

To denote belongings, 1st and 2nd person possessors use adjectives, which are built similarily as in English: the root reflects the possessor. These adjectives use a slightly different paradigm, which is shared with adjectival pronouns. Inanimate masculines use nominative endings for both nom/acc cases, like the neuter (e.g. виждѫ твой **возъ** 'I see your car'). Dual and plural possessors use the same forms of the poss.adjective - нашь or вашь.

There is also a reflexive-possessive adjective, i.e. with possessor reflecting the subject: виждѫ **свой** возъ 'I see my car'. Technically, a 1sg-based adjective could be used too (виждѫ мой возъ), but it is not preferred in OCS. Some writers tended to translate each Gr. *autos* with a reflexive, what resulted in strange constructions (e.g. възврати ножь свои въ свое мѣсто 'put your sword back in its place', Cod.Zogr. Mt 26:52 < *apostrepson tēn maxairan sou eis ton topon autēs*); thus, some later editions (like the Elisabethan Bible: возврати ножъ твой въ мѣсто егѡ) avoid it.

If the possessor refers to a 3rd person ('his', 'her' etc.), a genitive pronoun is used, which will be explained in the next lesson.

possessor possessed

nom acc

1sg masc. мой братъ моего брата 'my brother'

fem. моıа сестра моıѫ сестрѫ 'my sister'

neut. мое врѣще мое врѣще 'my bag'

2sg masc. твой твоего 'your' (sg)

fem. твоıа твоıѫ

neut. твое твое

1dl/pl masc. нашь нашего 'our'

fem. наша нашѫ

neut. наше наше

2dl/pl masc. вашь вашего 'your' (dl/pl)

fem. ваша вашѫ

neut. ваше ваше

refl masc. свой своего (cf. above)

fem. своıа своıѫ

neut. свое свое

## 1.6. Цѣлованïа - Greetings

As there are not many direct records of oral communication in Church Slavonic, we have to resort to text sources to reconstruct basic greetings. The name or appelation should be in vocative form, if available (e.g. ѡ брате, ѡ Марïо, but ѡ дъщи). Цѣлоуıѫ тѧ means 'I greet you' or 'kiss you'; its calques are found in Slovak (*bozkávam*) and Hungarian (*csokolom*). It is (i.e. its East Slavic phonetic reflex) attested as an appelative greeting on some Novgorod birch barks (e.g. № 714 - [link](http://gramoty.ru/birchbark/document/show/novgorod/714/)) - yet, hard to say, whether it was used thus in Old Bulgarian too. The 'greet'-meaning is likely older: as цѣлъ means 'whole, healthy' (Derksen 2008:75), цѣловати originally meant 'to wish health'.

Biblical greetings мıрь вамъ 'peace be unto you' (e.g. Cod.Assem. Jn 20:21), г[оспо]-дь съ вами 'the Lord be with you' (with answer да благословитъ тѧ г-дь 'may the Lord blesses you'; Ruth 2:4) would be plausible too, but they are mostly in plural. Such are also in letters of Wallachian princes, e.g. б[o]-гъ ви весели 'may God give you joy' (e.g. № 72 - [link](https://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/textcorpus/show/doc_193)) or б-гъ ви ꙋмножит лѣта '(may) God make your years countless' (№ 106). Of course, it would be no sin to Slavonicize greetings from modern Slavic like добраго дьне lit. '(I wish you a) good day' or до видѣнıа 'until seeing (you again)', but checking a dictionary is advisable (e.g. when translating Czech *na shledanou* 'until seeing', as съглѧданïе is used for 'skopē, exploratio', на съглѧданоıѫ would mean 'until an exploration').

In the dialogue, Maria's phrase рада есмь да тѧ виждѫ 'I am happy to see you' is based on OCS (cf. Cod.Zogr. Jn 8:56), while Zosima's is closer to that of modern Czech syntax for comparison (actually, a Czech reflex would be \*виsѫ or perhaps already \*видимь, but Zosima is also born in Bulgaria, and retains the pronounciation). The conjunction да (lit. 'to') has many functions in OCS, some of which we will discuss in other chapters.

## 1.7. Кѵрïлльскы бꙋкъви - Cyrillic Script

Church Slavonic is mostly a language of literature, but most texts written in it were also meant to be read in public. On the other hand, many letters had different phonetic values in different periods and lands. Accentuation (mostly left out in this book) also differs across regions, fully missing in Glagolitic texts (and thus rather avoided here). Cyrillic letters used in this book are the following:

letter name Latin counterpart

а азъ *a*

б бꙋкы *b*

в вѣдѣ *v*

г глаголи *g*

д добро *d*

е естъ *e* (or *je*, EN *ye*)

ж живѣте *ž* (voiced counterpart of EN *sh*, or *s* in *measure*)

s sѣло *ź* (voiced alveo-dental affricate)

з землıа *z*

и иже *i* (or *j*, EN *y*; since 15th c. written й at the end of a syllable)

ï ïота *i* (or *j*; used before vowels and for sequences /ij/ in later CS)

к како *k*

л людïе *l*

м мыслите *m*

н нашь *n*

о онь *o*

ѡ отъ *o* (mostly used in loanwords)

ѿ отъ *ot* (a digraph of ѡ+т)

п покой *p*

р рьци *r*

с слово *s*

т тврьдо *t*

оу оукъ *u* (a digraph of о+у; used root-initially here)

ꙋ - *u* (space-preserving variant; used in middle of a root here)

ф фита *f*

х хѣръ *x* (velar fricative, EN *ch* in *loch*)

ч чръвь *č* (EN *ch* in *chat* voiceless counterpart of EN *j*)

ц ци *c* (voiceless alveo-dental affricate, EN *ts*)

ш ша *š* (EN *sh*)

щ ща *št* (a digraph of ш+т)

ъ еръ *ъ* or *ă* (cf. next chapter for jers)

ы еры *y* (cf. next chapter)

ь ерь *ь* or *ă*

ѣ ıатъ ě (cf. next chapter for jat)

ю - *ju* (EN *yu*)

ıа - *ja* (EN *ya*)

ıе - *je* (later; EN *ye*)

ѫ ѫсъ *ǫ* (cf. next chapter for nasals)

ıѫ ıѫсъ *jǫ*

ѧ ѧсъ *ę*

ıѧ ıѧсъ *ję*

The set is not used consequently in all OCS sources - not even the ones cited here, as they are mostly Glagolitic. Throughout the book, some later phenomena were adopted for convenience. First, the short **й** is written for an /i/ at the end of a syllable (thus m.1sg.nom possessive мой would denote /moj/, m.1pl.nom мои /moji/). The /i/ before vowels and in sequence \**ij* is written with an **ï**. The /y/ is always written with the digraph **ы**. The \**j* is implied before front vowels /e, i, ě, ę/, as well as in the sequence -аа-, so the digraph ıѧ is not used; the **ѧ** is always iotated.

In Cyrillic CS texts also other letters appear, among which the most common are the following (for others, cf. Karskij 1979:158-210).

ѯ кси *ks* (used in loanwords)

ѱ пси *ps* (in loanwords)

ѳ тита *th* (in loanwords)

ѵ ижица *i* (in loanwords)

ꙉ ꙉервъ *ć* or *đ* (used in Bosnia)

џ - *dž* (EN *j*; used in Romania, later in Serbia too)

ꙟ - *în* (used in Romania)

## 1.8. Мѧкъкость - Palatality

An important aspect of CS phonetics is the classification of consonants according to their "softness" (or palatality). Above we have seen interactions of the type 1sg виждѫ, рекѫ vs. 2sg видиши, речеши. Both represent two kinds of "softening" consonants considered "hard". Letters ж, s, ч, ц, ш, щ (plus ꙉ and џ added later) are "soft", i.e. followed by soft (jo- or jā-stem) endings, the rest is considered "hard". Cyrillic script used for CS did not have a specific letter for the glide /j/, which was only sometimes indicated on iotated variants of vowels (ıа, ıе, ю, ıѫ, ıѧ) or diacritics on consonants (e.g. Glagolitic ⰾ̂). Rules differ by period and region.

As we have seen, palatality has some important influence on the paradigms. Velar consonants к, г and х are "softened" (or palatalized) before front vowels (е, и/ï and ь) into ч, ж and ш. Other hard consonants are combined with the following glide /j/ (iotated): д into жд, т into щ etc. The same mechanisms work also elsewhere in Slavic (being based on Common Slavic phonetic shifts), but iotation greatly across regions, especially when /d/ or /t/ are involved. The differences likely existed in Constantine-Cyrill's time, but were still not phonematic, observed as dialectal variants - if at all. We will see this in action in the next chapter, when our two heroes from Bulgaria will speak with a native from Moravia.

**palatalization** (C + front vowel)

г > ж

к > ч

х > ш

**iotation** (C + /j/)

д > BG жд, CZ *z*, MK ѓ, PL/SK *dz*, RU/UA ж, SC *đ*

г > ж

з > ж

к > ч

с > ш

т > BG щ, CZ/PL/SK *c*, MK ќ, RU/UA ч, SC *ć*

х > ш

In this textbook, iotation is indicated only once, i.e. on the consonant or the vowel. Consonants ж, ч, ш and щ, as well as the group жд, are considered "iotated", and thus always followed by non-iotated vowels (а, е, ꙋ, ѫ, ѧ). Thus, we will have 1sg.prs слышѫ, прошѫ, but творıѫ 'I create', молıѫ 'I pray' etc.

## 1.9. Оупражьненïа - Exercises

1. Choose the right form of the verb

1. Твое ли (есмь - еси - естъ) то врѣще? 2. Азъ не (виждѫ - видиши - видитъ) Зосимѫ. 3. Марïа (чакаю - чакаеши - чакаетъ) своıѫ дъщеръ. 4. Еда пакы (имамь - имаши - иматъ) нище врѣще, брате? 5. Сестра (цѣлꙋıѫ - цѣлꙋеши - цѣлꙋетъ) брата.

2. Choose the right ending

1. Марï\_, сьде ли еси? 2. Не имамь добр\_ воз\_. 3. Братъ мой вынѫ цѣлꙋетъ сестр\_. 4. Зосима слышитъ рѣк\_. 5. Еда не видиши сво\_ брат\_?

3. Translate into Church Slavonic

1. The river is long. 2. My sister awaits a boat. 3. Do you see my bag, Zosima? 4. My horse is very poor. 5. He is happy to see you.

## 1.10. Речьникъ - Vocabulary

nouns **братъ** 'brother' (anim. o-stem, AP *a*), **вино** 'wine' (neut.o-, *b*), **возъ** 'wagon, car' (o-, *c*), **врѣще** 'bag' (neut.jo-, *a*?), **дъщи** 'daughter' (r-, AP *c*), **знамѧ** 'flag' (n-, *a*), **конь** 'horse' (jo-, *b*), **кость** 'bone' (fem.i-, *c*), **ладïа** 'boat' (ja-, *c*?), **лѣто** 'year, summer' (neut.o-, *a*), **миръ** 'peace, civilization' (o-, *c*), **мѣсто** 'place' (neut.o-, *a*), **небо** 'heaven' (s-, *c*), **ножь** 'knife, sword' (jo-, *b*), **пламы** 'flame' (masc.n-, *a*), **пристанище** 'port' (neut.jo-, *a*), **пѫть** 'road, way' (masc.i-, *b*), **рѣка** 'river' (a-, *b*), **сестра** 'sister' (a-, *b*), **сынъ** 'son' (u-, *c*), **телѧ** 'calf' (nt-, *b*), **црькы** 'church' (ū-, *a*)

adjectives **вашь** 'your' (dl./pl.; *a*), **веселъ** 'happy, joyful' (*c*), **длъгъ** 'long' (*a*), **добръ** 'good' (*b*), **единъ** 'one' (*b*?), **какъ** 'what kind of' (*c*?), **мой** 'my' (*b*), **нашь** 'our' (*a*), **нищь** 'poor' (*a*), **радъ** 'glad' (*a*), **свой** (refl., *b*), **твой** 'your (sg.; *a*)', **чистъ** 'clean' (*a*), **цѣлъ** 'whole, healthy' (*c*)

pronouns **азъ** (*a*) 'I', **вѣ** 'we (dl.)', **мы** 'we (pl.)', **сьде** 'here', **сѧ** '-self' (refl.), **та** 'she, that (fem.)' or 'they (neut.)', **такожде** 'in the same way', **ти** 'they, that (masc.)', **то** 'it, that (neut.)', **толико** 'so much', **ты** 'you (sg.), **тъ** 'he, that (masc.)', **тѧ** 'they, that (fem.)'

verbs **благословити** 'bless' (i-verb, AP *a*), **быти** 'be' (3sg.prs естъ, *b*?/бѫдетъ, *a*; derivations: забыти 'forget'), **веселити** 'give joy' (i-, *a*), **видѣти** 'see' (i-, *a*), **вратити** **сѧ** 'return' (1sg.prs вращѫ сѧ, i-, *b*; възвратити 'return, put back'), **знати** 'know' (e-, *a*), **имѣти** 'have' (иматъ, *a*?), **мощи** 'can' (e-, *b*), **пасти** 'fall' (e-, *a*), **плꙋти** 'flow, sail' (плꙋетъ, e-, *a*; or пловетъ, e-, *c*) **просити** 'beg, ask for' (i‑, *b*), **рещи** 'say' (e-, *c*; нарещи 'call'), **слышати** 'hear' (i-, *a*), **творити** 'do' (i-, *b*; отворити 'open', сътворити prf.), **чакати** 'wait' (e‑, *a*), **цѣловати** 'greet, kiss' (e-, *b*; оуцѣловати prf.)

adverbs **вынѫ** 'always', **добрѣ** 'well', **sѣло** 'very', **пакы** 'again', **тъчïıѫ** 'only'

other **да** 'to', **еда** (interrogative particle), **ей** 'yes', **ли** (interrogative particle), **на** 'to, on', **не** 'not, no', **нѫ** 'but', ѡ 'oh!'

# 2. На мытьници - At the customs office

- plural number

- cases: gen, dat

- infinitive

- imperative

- polite expressions

- modern terminology

- jers, jats and nasal vowels

## 2.1. Бесѣда - Dialogue

Maria and Zosima go to the car, but she suddenly stops and looks around the port. She forgot to declare something at the customs office.

З: Въскѫıѫ стоиши, Марïе?

М: Прости мѧ, трѣбꙋıѫ на мытницꙋ ити. Знаеши ли, къде естъ?

З: Ей, онъде.

[...]

М[ыта]-ръ: Добраго дне, г[оспо]-sе моıа. Еда имаши чьто провъзгласити?

М: (Къ Зосимѣ) Не глѧди! (А къ мытничарю) Добраго дне, г[оспо]-дине мой. Ей, несꙋ чьто изъ Блъгаръ. Се, бѣлѣsи.

М-ръ: (Кратъцѣ ѧ чьтетъ) Чьто ти имѧ естъ, г-sе моıа?

М: Марïа Радославища.

М-ръ: Да прѣдъложиши посъланïe.

М: (Прѣдълагаетъ е) Се, г-дине мой. Еда ми достоить мыто доплащати?

М-ръ: Дѧкꙋıѫ. Того ради мыта нѣсть. Въносъ орѫжïи обаче нꙋsьно естъ съписати. Се, потврьsенïе за тебе. Добрѣ дошьла на Моравѫ, г-sе Радославица!

М: Благодарıѫ. До видѣнïа! (Ѿвращаетъ же сѧ.)

З: Въскѫıѫ носиши орѫжïе, Марïе?

М: Се, (показаетъ), ножь изъ Блъгаръ тебѣ, Зосимо!

З: Ѡ, въ истинѫ мьнѣ? Sѣло красьнъ естъ, дѧкꙋıѫ!

Z: Vъskǫjǫ stoiši, Marïe?

M: Prosti mę, trěbujǫ na mytnicu iti. Znaeši li, kъde estъ?

Z: Ei, onъde.

[...]

M[yta]-rъ: Dobrago dne, g[ospo]-źe moja. Eda imaši čьto provъzglasiti?

M: (Kъ Zosimě) Ne ględi! (A kъ mytničarju) Dobrago dne, g[ospo]-dine moi. Ei, nesu čьto izъ Blъgarъ. Se, běleźi.

M-rъ: (Kratъcě ę čьtetъ) Čьto ti imę estъ, g-źe moja?

M: Marïa Radoslavišta.

M-rъ: Da prědъložiši poslanïe.

M: (Prědъlagaetъ e) Se, g-dine moi. Eda mi dostoitь myto doplaštati?

M-rъ: Dękujǫ. Togo radi mytа něstь. Vъnosъ orǫžïi obače nuźьno estъ sъpisati. Se, potvrъźenie za tebe. Dobrě došьla na Moravǫ, g-źe Radoslavica!

M: Blagodarjǫ. Do viděnïa! (Оtvraštaetъ že sę.)

Z: Vъskǫjǫ nosiši orǫžïe, Marïe?

M: Se, (pokazaetъ), nožь izъ Blъgarъ tebě, Zosimo!

Z: О, vъ istinǫ mьně? Zělo krasъnъ estъ, dękujǫ!

Z: Why do you stand, Maria?

M: Excuse me, I have to go to customs office. Do you know, where it is?

Z: Yes, over there.

[...]

C[ustoms officer]: Good day, my lady! Do you have anything to declare?

M: (To Zosima) Don't look! (And to the customs officer) Good day, my lord. Here are the documents.

C: (Shortly reads them) What is your name, my lady?

M: Maria Radoslavišta.

C: Show the passport.

M: (She shows it) Here you are, my lord. Do I have to pay customs?

C: Thank you. Customs is not (required) for that. However, it is needed to register import of weapons. Here, a confirmation for you. Welcome to Moravia, lady Radoslavica!

М: Thank you. Goodbye! (And she turns away)

Z: Why do you carry weapons, Maria?

М: This, (she shows), a blade from Bulgaria for you, Zosima!

Z: Oh, is it really for me? It is very beautiful, thank you!

благодарити thank (BG)

Блъгари Bulgars, Bulgaria

бѣлѣгъ evidence, scar (here: receipt)

въ in

въносъ import (< BG)

въскѫıѫ why

въ истинѫ really

глѧдати to look

г[оспо]динь lord

г[оспо]жда lady

доити come (добрѣ дошьль 'well-come')

доплащати pay (CZ reflex: доплацати)

достоıати must

дьнь day

дѧковати thank (CZ)

изъ from

красьнъ beautiful

кратъцѣ shortly

къ towards

къде where

Морава Moravia

нꙋждьнъ needed (CZ reflex: нꙋsьнъ, from нꙋжда 'need')

нести carry (one-time)

носити carry (iterative)

обаче but

онъде over there

орѫжïе weapon

показати to show

посъланïе letter, written permission (here: passport)

потврьжденïе confirmation (here: receipt; CZ reflex with a s)

провъзгласити declare

прѣдъложити lay in front, show

ради for (the sake of)

ѿвращати сѧ turn away

простити excuse

се this, behold!

съписати write together (here: register)

стоıати stand

трѣбовати require

чисти read

чьто what

## 2.2. Множьствьно число - Plural Number

Plural forms are used, if there are more than two things involved, e.g. **Блъгари** храбри сѫть 'Bulgars are brave'. For pairs, a dual is used in OCS - we will discuss it in the next lesson. In verbal endings of present tense, 1/2pl forms share stems with 2/3sg. The nasal differs between e- and i-verbs in 3pl:

'have' 'wait' 'hear' 'see'

sg

1 имамь чакаıѫ слышѫ виждѫ

2 имаши чакаеши слышиши видиши

3 иматъ чакаетъ слышитъ видитъ

pl

1 имамъ чакаемъ слышимъ видимъ

2 имате чакаете слышите видите

3 имѫтъ чакаıѫтъ слышѧтъ видѧтъ

In the 1pl of consonant stems, the loss of final jers causes the distinction to vanish. It is later restored: in Middle Bulgarian, a 1pl ending -мы appears (or -ми, e.g. съповѣми 'we tell'; Vuković 1536 - [link](https://www.punco.uzh.ch/syntax.php?corpus=petka&chapter=vuk&cyr=1&sent_id=4)), later replaced by -ме, common also elsewhere in Slavic.

The 'be'- and other athematic verbs have a different stem in 3pl:

sg 'be' 'not be' 'give'

1 есмь нѣсмь дамъ

2 еси нѣси даси

3 естъ нѣстъ дастъ

pl

1 есмъ нѣсмъ дадмъ

2 есте нѣсте дадете

3 сѫть не сѫть дадѫтъ

Nominal plural nominative knows three basic endings according to gender: masc. -и, fem. -ы and neut. -а. However, nouns show different endings because of various interactions with phonetic context. Consonant masc. stems show regularily an ‑е (e.g. u-stem **сынове**). Animacy does not play a role in the choice of ending in OCS. Irregular forms like братïа 'brothers' reflect older derivations, gender-based analogies, and similar phenomena.

o- -и вози, but братïа, вина

jo- -и кони, ножи, but врѣща

a- -ы сестры, рѣкы, Зосимы

ja- -ѧ ладѧ, Марïѧ

i- -и кости, пѫти

u- -ове сынове

n- -ене пламене, but знамена

nt- -ѧ телѧта

r- -ери дъщери

s- -са небеса

ū- -ъви црькъви

masc. -и добри, нищи

fem. -ы добры

-ѧ нищѧ

neut. -а добра, нища

There are no distinct vocatives in plural. Differences between nominative and accusative appear only in nouns and adjectives of masc. gender.

o- -ы браты, возы, but вина

jo- -ѧ конѧ, ножѧ, but врѣща

a- -ы сестры, рѣкы, Зосимы

ja- -ѧ ладѧ, Марïѧ

i- -и кости, but пѫтïе

u- -ы сыны

n- -ени пламени, but знамена

nt- -ѧ телѧта

r- -ери дъщери

s- -са небеса

ū- -ъви црькъви

masc. -ы добры

-ѧ нищѧ

fem. -ы добры

-ѧ нищѧ

neut. -а добра, нища

## 2.3. Падежи - Cases: gen & dat

Genitive (Gr. *genikē*, CS родьный) case surpasses the function of gen in Greek or Latin. As in these languages, it is also used to express possession, especially when the possessor is formed by plurals or multiple words, e.g. посъланïе **брата моего** 'letter of my brother'. If it is formed by a single word in singular, it is more commonly turned into a possessive adjective: with -ов- suffix for masc./neut. nouns (посъланïе **братово**), or -ин- for fem. nouns (посъланïe **сестрино**). Some CS grammars consider these possessive adjectives to be proper equivalent for the Greek genitive.

Some forms of the case are etymologically related to ablative, an Indo-European case denoting movement from a place, which merged at some time with genitive in Slavic. Thus the OCS genitive is also commonly used with prepositions **ѿ** (or отъ) and **изъ** 'from'. Both may indicate abstract origin and physical movement in OCS (ис[ꙋс]ъ възиде абïе отъ водъи 'Jesus came out of water', Cod.Assem. Mt 3:16; ишъдъ ис[ꙋ]съ изъ цркве 'as Jesus came out of the temple', Cod.Zogr. Mt 24:1). The ѿ is more common, and it may also denote causes and means, e.g. посъланïе писано ѿ брата моего 'letter written by my brother', and temporal 'since', e.g. отъ часа того 'from that moment' (Cod.Zogr. Mt 9:22). Other prepositions used with gen are **близъ** 'next to', **до** 'until', **окръстъ** 'around', **прѣжде** 'before', **оу** 'at, by' (used with persons: e.g. оу него 'next to him'), and **кромѣ**, **свѣне** and **развѣ**, all meaning 'except'. It is also used with the postposition **ради** 'for the sake of' - as in того ради 'for that' in our dialogue.

It is also commonly used (instead of acc) for direct objects, following verbs denoting perception and emotions (e.g. въкꙋсити **вина** 'try wine'), as well as negation (**вина** нѣстъ 'there is no wine'). This may be the cause, why gen forms merged with acc in m.sg animate nouns. This is also close to the function of the case called "partitive" as it is close to contents and parts, e.g. чаша **вина** 'cup of wine'.

o- -а брата, воза, вина

jo- -(ı)а конıа, ножа, врѣща

a- -ы сестры, рѣкы, Зосимы

ja- -ѧ ладѧ, Марïѧ

i- -и кости, пѫти

u- -ꙋ сынꙋ

n- -ене пламене, знамене

nt- -ѧте телѧте

r- -ере дъщере

s- -есе небесе

ū- -ъве црькъве

masc. -а добра, нища

fem. -ы добры

-ѧ нищѧ

neut. -а добра, нища

Plural forms are often similar to that of sg.nom. The same adjectival form is used for genders.

o- -ъ братъ, возъ, винъ

jo- -ь конь, ножь, врѣщь

a- -ъ сестръ, рѣкъ, Зосимъ

ja- -ïи ладïи, Марïи

i- -ïи костïи, пѫтïи

u- -овъ сыновъ

n- -енъ пламенъ, знаменъ

nt- -ѧтъ телѧтъ

r- -еръ дъщеръ

s- -есъ небесъ

ū- -ъвъ црькъвъ

m/f/n -ъ добръ

-ь нищь

On the other hand, the use of dative (Gr. *dotikē*, CS дательный) is more restricted. Its primary function is to mark the recipients following verbs denoting giving or speaking, e.g. Марïа речетъ **сестрѣ** истинѫ 'Mary says the truth to [her] sister', Зосима дастъ **братꙋ** новь ножь 'Zosima gives [his] brother a new sword'. The "content" of action is in accusative (as a direct object), the recipient in dative. Sometimes the dative is used also adnominally, denoting possession. The use is attested in OCS without clear rules, but preferrably following titles and family relations, e.g. тьсть Каıафѣ 'father-in-law of Caiaphas' (Cod.Zogr. Jn 18:13, cf. Eckhoff 2011:67).

Unlike in Greek, many constructions with dative and preposition denoting location or means use other cases than dative in CS. One such preposition is **къ** 'towards', e.g. Марïа идетъ къ Зосимѣ 'Maria goes towards Zosima'. It can be used for the meaning 'for' too, e.g. къ чьсти lit. 'with due honor'. In some texts, the preposition is also used with verbs denoting speech, e.g. та речетъ къ немꙋ 'she tells ("to") him'. Another is **по** 'around, along' in the spatial sense, e.g. по въселеной 'around the world'.

The singular endings are mostly based on -ꙋ, -ѣ or -и. The a-stem ending -ѣ may trigger palatalization of the root, e.g. рѣка 'river', but sg.dat по рѣцѣ 'along the river'.

o- -ꙋ братꙋ, возꙋ, винꙋ

jo- -ю коню, ножꙋ, врѣщꙋ

a- -ѣ сестрѣ, рѣцѣ, Зосимѣ

ja- -и ладïй, Марïй

i- -и кости, пѫти

u- -ови сынови

n- -ени пламени, знамени

nt- -ѧти телѧти

r- -ери дъщери

s- -еси небеси

ū- -ъви црькъви

masc. -ꙋ добрꙋ, нищꙋ

fem. -ѣ добрѣ

-и нищи

neut. -ꙋ добрꙋ, нищꙋ

Plural forms are all formed by adding an -мъ. The preceding vowel differs according to palatality in most stems:

o- -омъ братомъ, возомъ, виномъ

jo- -емъ конемъ, ножемъ, врѣщемъ

a- -амъ сестрамъ, рѣкамъ, Зосимамъ

ja- -амъ ладïамъ, Марïамъ

i- -ьмъ костьмъ, пѫтьмъ

u- -ъмъ сынъмъ

n- -еньмъ пламеньмъ, знаменьмъ

nt- -ѧтьмъ телѧтьмъ

r- -ерьмъ дъщерьмъ

s- -есьмъ небесьмъ

ū- -ъвамъ црькъвамъ

masc. -омъ добромъ

-емъ нищемъ

fem. -амъ добрамъ

-и нищамъ

neut. -омъ добромъ

-емъ нищемъ

Personal pronouns have two dative forms: one full, and one short (ми, ти...). The latter is used as a clitic, i.e. always following a verb or a noun. In Bulgarian and Macedonian, it can also express possession, e.g. сестра **ми** 'my sister', as it is also attested in OCS. The genitive pronoun cannot be used in this way in the 1st or 2nd person, but is is regular way of expressing possession in the 3rd person. Both gen and dat pronouns can be used thus: 'his sister' can be both сестра **его** and сестра **емꙋ**. The same variation seen in singular forms can be seen among reflexive pronouns too (e.g. Зосима чакаетъ сестрѫ **си** 'Zosima waits for his sister'). As already mentioned, genitive pronouns replace accusative forms in later texts.

1sg 2sg 3sg refl

m f n

nom азъ ты тъ та то -

gen мене тебе его еѧ его себе

dat мьнѣ тебѣ емꙋ ей емꙋ себѣ

ми ти мꙋ и мꙋ си

acc мѧ тѧ и ıѫ е сѧ

In plural, genitive and dative pronouns show no difference across genders. The differences were later levelled in acc too with the gen forms replacing old accusatives. However, 1/2pl.acc forms were preserved, as they were supplementing dative forms as their short (clitic) variants (e.g. господства вы 'your lordships').

1pl 2pg 3pg

m f n

nom мы вы ти тѧ та

gen насъ васъ ихъ ихъ ихъ

dat намъ вамъ имъ имъ имъ

acc ны вы ѧ ѧ ıа

In OCS, dual forms have one form for nom and acc already and there also are no gender distinctions:

1dl 2dl 3dl

nom вѣ ва ти

gen наю ваю ею

dat нама вама има

Note that all pronouns starting with a vowel have an additional н- when following prepositions, e.g. ѿ неѧ 'from her', къ немꙋ 'towards him', оу нихъ 'at them'. The m.3sg pronoun и was likely denoting the sequence /jь/, as the prepositional form is нь (e.g. за нь 'for him').

Note that the ending -ѣ, used for a-stem, does not trigger the palatalization of the preceding stem consonant in the same way, as front vowels do elsewhere (к > ч, г > ж etc.): рѣка has sg.dat рѣцѣ, нога 'leg' sg.dat ноsѣ. This happens, because the ending goes back to Proto-Slavic diphthong \**ai*, which shifted to \**ē* at a later stage, thus triggering the so-called "second palatalization":

к > ц

г > s

х > с (but CZ/PL/SK š)

Another example of II.palatalization is CS sѣло 'very' (< PSl \**gaila*). The shift can be also seen in some later loanwords like цѣсарь 'emperor' (< Ger. \**kaisar*).

## 2.4. Неопрѣдѣльнъ оустрой - Infinitive

The basic/dictionary form of verbs is called infinitive. It is constructed from from an aorist stem (will be explained later) and a suffix -ти. This originally goes etymologically back to a dative suffix, describing some kind of circumstance (Lunt 2001:247). We will use this form from now on when speaking about verbs.

Infinitive is commonly used in constructions involving auxiliary verbs, e.g. могѫ **чисти** 'I can read' (inf. мощи), трѣбꙋıѫ то **видѣти** 'I have to see it' (inf. трѣбовати), or хощѫ **знати** 'I want to know' (inf. хотѣти). It is also used in impersonal modal constructions like нꙋждьно намь естъ **ити** 'we need to go' (lit. 'it is needed for us to go'), достоитъ ми **плащати** 'I must pay', or подобаетъ мꙋ **благодарити** 'he should thank'. Subject of such constructions is always in the dative case.

## 2.5. Наказательнъ оустрой - Imperative

Basically, there are two ways of expressing requests, commands and prohibitions. One is using a synthetic imperative of the verb, adding an imperative extension -и- or -ѣ- and a person/number ending to the verbal stem (2sg -и, 1pl -мъ, 2pl -те). The -ѣ- is used only on consonant-stem verbs and stems ending in -нѫ- like минѫти 'pass'. In i-verbs, the plural forms are often homonymous (or homographic) with those of present tense indicative.

2sg 2pl

'have' имѣи! имѣите!

'wait' чакаи! чакаите!

'hear' слыши! слышите!

'beg' проси! просите!

'pass' минѣи! минѣте!

Some consonant-stem verbs show irregularities. In singular, the underlying ending was likely \*-*ji*, resulting in iotation (cf. above). In plural, a regular stem is used. A similar form is also used for the 'give' verb.

'see' виждь! видите!

'give' даждь! дадете!

However, also forms like вижди are attested (Lunt 2001:98). The 'be'-verb uses a different stem, with different extensions. The form бѫди is also used for the 3rd person imperative, otherwise very rare.

'be' бѫди! бѫдѣте!

The other way is periphrastic, using the particle да and the main verb in present tense, e.g. **да прѣдъложиши** 'may you show' (~ прѣдъложи). It can be used with any person or number, and it is more an expression of wish than a direct command, rather an "optative" than true imperative.

## 2.6. Съоумнива изъраженïа - Polite Expressions

Thanking is a common thing in OCS sources like Bible (e.g. 1 Th 5:18). The basic OCS word for 'thanks' is благодарити, which is likely a calque of Greek euxaristein. West Slavic and Ukrainian show a loandword from Germanic, which is attested in some Ruthenian CS letters as дѧкꙋю - we are archaizing it here, but \*дѧкꙋıѫ itself is not attested in OCS sources. Inherited Common Slavic word for thanking likely involved the word хвалити 'praise' (still used in SC *hvala*).

It is harder to find polite requests in OCS sources. Commands and requests are rather straightforward; it is, in the end, a language from the deep Middle Ages. Using the optative construction with да should have sufficed. However, the auxiliary verb молити 'pray' is used in later correspondence in this sense, e.g. молю ви мито да мꙋ не възмете 'please, do not take a toll from him' (lit. 'I pray you not to take toll from him' - [link](https://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/textcorpus/show/doc_193)).

OCS does not seem to have had a polite address with 2nd person plural marked on verbs and personal pronouns, like modern Slavic (and many other European) languages do. In Church Slavonic, two markers seem to develop: possessive pronouns following a vocative (e.g. господине мой 'my lord'), and abstract titles (e.g. господство ти lit. 'your lordship'). The plural for a single person is actually attested early, but only while addressing a king (владычьстви ваше 'Your sovereignty' in 11th c. *Life of St. Wenceslas*; cf. Mladenova 2010:237). In CS literature, singular is commonly used to address such high ranks too.

A way of expressing politeness in text may have been the abbreviation of words like б[ог]ъ 'God', ц[а]рь 'king', г[осподи]нь 'lord', г[оспо]жда 'lady', and also м[а]ти 'mother', о[ть]ць 'father', с[ы]нъ 'son' etc., which we will emulate here too. But there are also words shortened for purely space-saving reasons like гл[агола]ти 'speak' or ı[ерꙋса]лимъ 'Jerusalem'.

You may have also noticed that there are three prepositions (i.e. two prepositions, one postposition) denoting 'for', besides the dative used without a preposition - 'to him' can be expressed with его ради, къ немꙋ (or just емꙋ) or за нь (or за него).

## 2.7. Поспѣшьни глаголи - Modern Terminology

The natural question of any learner of a language such as Church Slavonic would be how to express ideas peculiar to our age? There were no passports and cars in the modern sense in the 9th century. But neither were there large sailing ships or Christian concepts like "liturgy" in Common Slavic of the Constantine-Cyrill's era. We can thus look for inspiration in existing CS sources.

One are direct loanwords, phonetically adapted to the acceptor language. Such words are бѣлѣгъ 'evidence' or мыто 'toll', adapted from some Turkic and Germanic varieties of the 9th century (or earlier). However, it is hard to choose a donor language in a language like Church Slavonic. Many of such loanwords are also not specific for OCS, but were borrowed at earlier stages, some being common to all Slavic varieties.

Another way, much more common in OCS, is calquing. Many new words in благодарити or провъзгласити are based on foreign compound words, whose components were translated separately and realigned according to Slavic compounding rules. By this way we could build also гражданъство or въносъ (as гражданстжо and внос being thus formed in comtemporary Bulgarian) from *citizenship* and *import*.

It is also possible to take similar concepts from the texts and use them in a modern meaning. In this way, a посланïе (lit. 'letter, message') used in Neh 2:7 to travel around an empire can be used to denote a modern *passport* - whose etymology is also originally a travel permit.

## 2.8. Текѫщѧ гласныѧ - Shifting Vowels

Commonly cited differences between regional variants of CS are found in vowels. Short е (\**e* in Proto-Slavic) and а (\**ā* in PSl) in the beginning of a syllable were likely read /je/ and /ja/ in some dialects of Old Bulgarian and most other Slavic varieties. Thus чакаеши 'you are waiting' was likely read /čakaješi/. However, other varieties (including that of Constantine-Cyrill) read /e/ and /a/, leading to all the confusion with /j/. There is also a debate about the possible pronounciation of ю and its Glagolitic counterpart ⱓ as /ü/, or about phonetic value of non-nasalized ⱖ (possibly /ö/, cf. Lunt 2001:26, Trunte 2022:333), but this is out of scope of this text.

Other vowels were affected by later phonetic shifts, which were different in respective regions:

**ь** Traditionally transcribed simply *ь* or *ĭ*, reflecting Proto-Slavic short \**i*. So-called soft "jer", half-vowel, which was later lost in some positions called "weak": according to Havlík's Law, odd when counting from the end of word or last syllable with a non-jer vowel. Thus, in words like дьнь 'day' the first jer remained, the other (and, generally, all jers written at the end of a word in CS texts) was not pronounced. However, the second jer remains in the adverbial дьн**ь**сь 'today' (< PSl \**dini si* 'this day'; cf. BG днес). Some reflexes of jers in "strong" position: BG /ă/, MK /e/, RU & UA /e/, SC /a/.

**ъ** Transcribed *ъ* or *ŭ*. PSl short \**u*. Hard jer, lost in some positions (according to Havlík's Law). Reflexes: in BG /ă/, SC /a/ as with ь, in MK /a/, RU & UA /o/.

**ѫ, ıѫ** Transcribed *ǫ* and *jǫ*. Back nasal and its palatal variant. Also called "big jus". Arises in PSl syllables with a nasal (\**m* or \**n*) in the end and a back vowel (\**a* or \**u* and their long variants) before it. Its nasality was lost in most of Slavic outside of Greece, Rhodopes and Poland. Some reflexes: BG /ă/, MK /a/, RU, UA & SC /u/.

**ѧ, ıѧ** Transcribed *ę* and *ję*. Front nasal and its palatal variant. The "small jus". Arises in PSl syllables with a nasal (\**m* or \**n*) in the end and a front vowel (\**e* or \**i* and their long variants) before it. Some reflexes: BG, MK & SC /e/, RU & UA /ja/.

**ѣ** Transcribed *ě*. PSl long \**ē* or a reflex of PSl diphthong \**ai*. Also called "jat". Possibly pronounced /ä/ or /ea/ in Old Bulgarian dialects. The length was preserved in earlier stages of CZ/SK under specific accents (now reflected as CZ /í/, SK /ie/). Some reflexes: BG /e/ or /ja/, MK /e/, RU &UA /je/, SC /i/, /je/ or /ije/.

**ы** Transcribed *y*. PSl long \**ū*. Digraph also written as ъı, ъи or ьи, denoting a hard jer and an /i/. Reflected as /i/ in most of Slavic, pronounciation /y/ likely preserved in RU & UA.

## 2.9. Оупражьненïа - Exercises

1. Choose the right form of the verb

1. То имъ нѣстъ нꙋждно (знати). 2. Еда не (слышати) мѧ, сестро? 3. Речи емꙋ, да (просити) мытничарıа. 4. Въскѫıѫ насъ ти не (чакати)? 5. Вы не (мощи) чисти? 6. Да (провъзгласити) то на пристанищи, г-дине мой. 7. Сьде трѣбꙋеши бѣлѣгъ (прѣдъложити). 8. (Видѣти), чьто тъ творитъ!

2. Choose the right case

1. Несѫ (ты) чаш\_ вин\_ изъ Блъгар\_. 2. Въскѫıѫ (тъ) не даси то тел\_? 3. Еда нѣстъ вод\_ за (азъ)? 4. (Мы) нѣстъ нꙋждно дьньсь ити. 5. Онъде можеши (то) съписати. 6. Дажди сестр\_ мо\_ кон\_! 7. Оу (ты) ли естъ (тъ) нож\_? 8. Вънос\_ ради воз\_ трѣбꙋеши мыт\_ доплащати.

3. Translate

1. You have to pay customs for the import of boats. 2. Give the church a good calf. 3. Behold, the river over there is beautiful. 4. Wait for me shortly at the customs office, brother. 5. They should give us receipts. 6. Why there is no wine from Moravia? 7. Your sister needs a car. 8. Be good and say "thanks"!

## 2.10. Речьникъ - Vocabulary

nouns **Блъгаринъ** 'Bulgarian' (ethn. o-stem, AP *a*), **богъ** 'god' (o-, *c*), **бѣлѣгъ** 'scar, sign, evidence' (o-, *a*?), **видѣнïе** 'seeing' (neut.jo-, *a*), **въносъ** 'import' (o-, *b*), **въселена** 'universe, civilization' (a-, *a*), **господинъ** 'lord' (ethn. o-stem, *c*), **господьство** 'lordship' (neut.o-, *c*), **госпожда** 'lady'(ja-, *b*), **имѧ** 'name' (neut.n-, *c*), **истина** 'truth' (a-, *a*), **дьнь** 'day' (sg.gen дьне, otherwise i-, *c*), **мати** 'mother' (r-, *a*), **Морава** 'Moravia' (a-, *a*), **мытарь** 'customs officier' (anim. jo-, *b*), **мыто** 'toll, customs' (neut.o-, *b*), **мытьница** 'customs office' (ja-, *b*), **нога** 'leg' (a-, *c*), **нꙋжда** 'need' (ja-, *a*), **орѫжïе** 'weapon' (neut.jo-, *c*), **отьць** 'father' (jo-, *b*), **посъланïе** 'letter, permission' (neut.jo-, *b*), **потврьжденïе** 'confirmation' (jo‑, *c*), **тьсть** 'father-in-law, father of the bride' (jo-, *c*), **хвала** 'praise' (a-, *b*), **чаша** 'cup' (ja-, *a*), **чьсть** 'honor' (fem.i-, *b*), **царь** or цѣсарь 'emperor, king' (jo-, *b*)

adjectives **красьнъ** 'beautiful' (*b*), **новъ** 'new' (*b*), **нꙋждьнъ** 'needed' (*a*), **храбръ** 'brave' (*a*)

pronouns **онъде** 'there', **се** 'behold, here', **чьто** 'what'

verbs **благодарити** 'thank' (i-verb, *a*), **вращати** 'return' (e-, *a*;ѿвращати 'turn away'), **кꙋсити** 'taste, experience' (i-, *a*; въкꙋсити 'taste' prf.), **глаголати** 'speak, talk' (e-, *b*), **гласити** 'make loud' (i-, *b*;провъзгласити 'declare'), **глѧдати** 'look, watch' (e-, *a*), \***дѧковати** 'thank' (e-, *a*), **ити** 'go' (3sg.prs идетъ, e-, *b*; възыти 'come up', доити 'come', изыти 'go out', мимоити 'pass', ѿити 'go away'), **минѫти** 'pass' (минетъ, e-, *c*), **молити** 'pray' (i-, *b*), **нести** 'carry (one-time)' (e-, *c*), **носити** 'carry (iterative)' (i-, *b*), **писати** 'write, draw' (e-, *b*; надъписати 'write over, inscribe', съписати 'write down'), **плащати** 'pay' (e-, *b*; доплащати 'pay the rest'), **казати** 'show, tell' (e-, *b*; показати prf.), **сълати** 'send' (шлетъ; e-, *b*; посълати prf.), **простити** 'excuse' (i-, *b*), **ложити** 'lay' (i-, *b*; низъложити 'lay down, defeat', положити 'put in place', прѣдъложити 'lay forth, offer'), **стоıати** 'stand' (1sg.prs стоıѫ, i-, *c*;достоıати 'must'), **повѣдати** 'tell' (e-, *a*; съповѣдати prf.), **трѣбовати** 'need' (e-, *a*), **хвалити** 'praise' (i-, *b*), **хотѣти** 'want, will (future auxiliary)' (хощетъ, e-, *b*), **чисти** 'read' (чьтетъ, e-, *c*)

adverbs **въскѫıѫ** 'why', **дьньсь** 'today', **кратъцѣ** 'shortly'

other **близъ** 'close to', **въ** 'in', **до** 'until', **за** 'for', **изъ** 'from', **кромѣ** 'except', **къ** 'towards', **обаче** 'but also', **окръстъ** 'around', **ѿ** 'from, by', **по** 'after, along', **прѣжде** 'before', **ради** 'for', **развѣ** 'except, besides', **свѣне** 'except', **оу** 'at'

# 3. На оулици - On the street

- dual number

- cases: loc & inst

- verbal aspect

- future tense

- derivation: possession

- asking for a direction

- accentuation

## 3.1. Бесѣда - Dialogue

Maria and Zosima ride through the main street of Velegrad, the Ducal Avenue. The traffic is very dense and slow, but Maria uses the time by asking about the city around.

М: Еда сьде вынѫ толико возъ бываетъ?

З: Томъ часѣ вынѫ. Есвѣ на Кънѧжемь пѫти. Тъ оглавьноıѫ оулицеıѫ есть градꙋ. О деснѫıѫ бѫдетъ кънѧжïа полата, а о шꙋıѫıѫ - се, народьнъ съньмъ. Задъ нимь естъ Кѵрïлловъ садъ, а въ немь народьно позорище.

М: Далеко ли обитѣль моıа естъ?

З: Нѣстъ, скоро доидевѣ тамо. По полатѣ завïемъ о деснѫıѫ, и хощевѣ еще кратъцѣ право ити.

М: (Покажетъ о шꙋıѫıѫ.) Се, мъного людей онъде ходѧтъ.

З: То естъ Сьлѧsьска оулица, идеже мъногы новы тръжьницѧ стоѧтъ. На коньци же еѧ старъ Храмъ Б-дичинъ естъ, и вьсеоучилище.

М: Оутрѣ имамь тамо ходити. Како доидѫ тамо изъ обитѣли?

З: Изыдеши право на Ракѫскъ пѫть и въсадиши сѧ на возъ обьщьствьнъ. Стоѧтъ на близꙋ. Вса числа ıаздѧтъ тамо, окръстъ вьсеоучилища и храма, понеже онъде, на Трьжищи Растицевѣ, срѣдъ града естъ.

М: Тако ми бѫдетъ оугодно.

З: Нѫ да незабѫдеши, ıако оутрѣ имавѣ Милановы срѣтити въ виноградѣ ихъ.

М: Никакоже незабѫдѫ! По пладьни оуже бѫдѫ пакы въ обитѣли. Еда мѧ възьмеши возомь?

З: Разоумѣетъ сѧ.

M: Eda sьde vynǫ toliko vozъ byvaetъ?

Z: Tomъ časě vynǫ. Esvě na Kъnęžemь pǫti. Tъ oglavьnojǫ oulicejǫ estь gradu. O desnǫjǫ bǫdetъ kъnęžia polata, a o šujǫjǫ - se, narodьnъ sъnьmъ. Zadъ nimь estъ Kѵrïllovъ sadъ, a vъ nemь Narodьno pozorište.

M: Daleko li obitelь moja estъ?

Z: Něstъ, skoro doidevě tamo. Po polatě zaviemъ o desnǫjǫ, i xoštevě ešte kratъcě pravo iti.

M: (Pokažetъ o šujǫjǫ.) Se, mьnogo ljudei onъde xodętъ.

Z: To estъ Sьlęźьska ulica, ideže mьnogy novy trъžьnicę stoętъ. Na konьci že eę starъ Xramъ B-dičьnъ estъ, i vьseučilište.

M: Utrě imamь tamo xoditi. Kako doidǫ tamo izъ obitelę?

Z: Izydeši pravo na Rakǫskъ pǫtь i vъsadiši sę na vozъ obьštьstvьnъ. Stoętъ na blizu. Vsa čisla jazdętъ tamo, okrъstъ vьseučilišta i xrama, poneže onъde, na Trъžišti Rasticevě, srědъ grada estъ.

M: Tako mi bǫdetъ ugodno.

Z: Nǫ da nezabǫdeši, jako utrě imavě Milanovy srětiti vъ vinogradě ixъ.

M: Nikakože nezabǫdǫ! Po pladьni uže bǫdǫ paky vъ obiteli. Eda mę vъzьmeši vozomь?

Z: Razuměetъ sę.

M: Are there always so many cars here?

Z: Always at this time. We are on the Ducal Avenue. It is the main street of the city. At the right, there will be the ducal palace, and on the left, look, the national assembly. Behind it, there is the Cyrill's garden, and in it the national theater.

M: Is my hotel far away?

Z: No, we will come there soon. After the palace, we will turn to the right, and we will go shortly more straight.

M: (Points to the left.) Look, many people go there.

Z: That is the Silesian street, where are many shops. At its end is the old Temple of the Mother of God and the university.

M: Tomorrow I have to go there. How will I get there from the hotel?

Z: You will go straightly to the Austrian Avenue, and you will take the bus. All numbers ride there, around the university and the temple, as there, on the Rastic's square, is the center of the city.

M: Thus I will like it.

Z: But do not forget, that we are going to meet Milan's (family) in their vineyard.

M: In no way! In the afternoon I will be again in the hotel. Will you take me by the car?

Z: Of course.

а and, but (contrastive)

Б[огоро]дичьнъ of Mother of God (cf. below)

бывати be (iterative, cf. below)

виноградъ vineyard

вьсь all

вьсеоучилище university (lit. 'all-school', used in some later works - [link](https://www.europeana.eu/en/item/9200215/BibliographicResource_3000096072991?utm_source=new-website&utm_medium=button))

въсадити сѧ mount, get on

възѧти take (1sg.prs възьмѫ)

далеко far

десьнъ right

еще yet

же and

забыти forget

завити turn

и and (conjunctive), too

коньць end

кънѧжь of a duke (cf. below)

людïе people

народьнъ national

новъ new

идеже where (relative)

изыти go out

минѫти pass

мъного much

на близꙋ closely

никако(же) in no way

обитѣль accomodation (here: 'hotel')

обьщьствьнъ communal (here: возъ обьщьствьнъ 'bus')

оглавьнъ main

позорище theater

полата palace

пладьнïе noon

понеже because

право directly

разоумѣти understand (lit. 'think through'; here lit. 'it is understood')

ракѫскъ Austrian

скоро soon, quickly

срѣдъ center, middle

старъ old

съньмъ assembly, parliament

тръжьница shop

оугодьнъ pleasant

оуже already

оутрѣ tomorrow

храмъ temple

число number

шꙋй left

ıаздити ride

ıако that (conj.)

## 3.2. Двойно число - Dual Number

Church Slavonic distinguishes three grammatical numbers - besides singular and plural, common also elsewhere in Slavic, it has also a dual, denoting pairs of things. This category remains productive only in Slovenian now; it was discarded elsewhere, and now only isolated dual forms remain, like **очи** '(a pair of) eyes' - CS plural was **очеса**. We have already seen this in the paradigm of personal pronouns: a couple or two people speaking to each other would address themselves as **вѣ**, while a larger group would use **мы**.

Similar dual marking can be found in verbal and nominal paradigms too. In present tense, verbs use fairly regular structure with thema vowels and specific personal endings.

имѣти чакати слышати видѣти

sg

1 имамь чакаıѫ слышѫ виждѫ

2 имаши чакаеши слышиши видиши

3 иматъ чакаетъ слышитъ видитъ

pl

1 имамъ чакаемъ слышимъ видимъ

2 имате чакаете слышите видите

3 имѫтъ чакаıѫтъ слышѧтъ видѧтъ

dl

1 имавѣ чакаевѣ слышивѣ видивѣ

2 имата чакаета слышита видита

3 имате чакаете слышите видите

As you can see, the 3dl.prs form was homonymic with 2nd person plural. In later CS, the 2dl forms were commonly used for the 3rd person too, likely to distinguish the number, i.e. имата could mean both 'you (two) have' and 'they (two) have'. Similar development can be seen in other tenses too, as we will explain later.

Irregular verbs show the following dual forms:

быти не быти дати

sg

1 есмь нѣсмь дамъ

2 еси нѣси даси

3 естъ нѣстъ дастъ

pl

1 есмъ нѣсмъ дадмъ

2 есте нѣсте дадете

3 сѫть не сѫть дадѫтъ

dl

1 есвѣ нѣсвѣ дадевѣ

2 еста нѣста дадета

3 есте несте дадете

Nominal declension also have their dual forms, which are strongly influenced by genders. Generally, fem. and neut. share their nom forms, and masc. and neut. their datives.

nom gen dat nom.dl

o- -а -ꙋ -ома брата, воза

-ѣ -ꙋ -ома винѣ

jo- -а -ꙋ -ема конıа, ножа

-и -ꙋ -ема врѣщи

a- -ѣ -ꙋ -ама сестрѣ, рѣцѣ, Зосимѣ

ja- -и -ꙋ -ама Марïи

i- -и -ью -ьма кости, пѫти

u- -ы -овꙋ -ъма сыны

n- -ени -енꙋ -еньма пламени, знамени

nt- -ѧтѣ -ѧтꙋ -ѧтьма телѧтѣ

r- -ери -ерꙋ -ерьма дъщери

s- -есѣ -есꙋ -есьма небесѣ

ū- -ъвѣ -ъвꙋ -ъвьма црьквѣ

masc. -а -ꙋ -ома добра

-а -ꙋ -ема нища

fem. -ѣ -ꙋ -ама добрѣ

-и -ꙋ -ама нищи

neut. -ѣ -ꙋ -ома добрѣ

-и -ꙋ -ема нищи

Note that the -ѣ in neut.o- and a-stem dl.nom go back to PSl \**ai*, triggering II. palatalization (рѣцѣ), as discussed in the previous chapter.

## 3.3. Падежи - Cases: loc & inst

The last two cases do not appear in Greek, and only loc is known in Latin. Medieval grammarians of CS thus did not describe them. However, both are inherited from Proto-Indo-European, known in Sanskrit, and productive in Baltic as well.

The locative is called сказателный (lit. 'narrative', Smotricky 1648:92r), местен ('locative', Bončev 1952:15), or предложный ('prepositional', Mironova 2010:45) in CS grammars (we could archaize the names as съказательный, мѣстьный, or прѣдъложьный). In earlier sources, it is sometimes identified with the dative (e.g. Zizanii 1592:27r), as both share some endings (e.g. a-/ja-/r-stem sg); however some endings are shared with genitive (duals, u- and consonants stems sg) too.

The case usually appear following prepositions, although some temporal expressions are possible without them, e.g. **томъ часѣ** 'in that moment'. It is used with the preposition **о** 'about', denoting topics (hence сказателный): бесѣдꙋемъ о ѧзыцѣ 'we speak about the language'. It is also used with many prepositions denoting location (hence местный) or time: **на** 'on, at' (as in chapter titles: на оулици 'at the street'), **въ** 'in', **по** 'after', **при** 'next to', e.g. сѣждѫ въ домꙋ 'I sit in a house'.

o- -ѣ братѣ, возѣ, винѣ

jo- -и кони, ножи, врѣщи

a- -ѣ сестрѣ, рѣцѣ, Зосимѣ

ja- -и ладïй, Марïй

i- -и кости, пѫти

u- -ꙋ сынꙋ

n- -ене пламене, знамене

nt- -ѧте телѧте

r- -ери дъщери

s- -есе небесе

ū- -ъве црькъве

masc. -ѣ добрѣ

-а нища

fem. -ѣ добрѣ

-и нищи

neut. -ѣ добрѣ

-а нища

Plurals are characterized by the final -хъ, with -ахъ generalized for feminines and shared endings for masc./neut. forms. In later sources, the first jer in i-, u- and consonant-stem pl.loc ending was "strong", so we find commonly reflexes with an -е-, -о-, and even -ѣ- (taken over from o-stems), e.g. на н[ебе]сѣхь 'in the heavens' ([link](https://punco.uzh.ch/syntax.php?corpus=petka&chapter=vuk&cyr=1&sent_id=80)). As already mentioned, locative shares endings with the genitive in dual.

o- -ѣхъ братѣхъ, возѣхъ, винѣхъ

jo- -ихъ конихъ, ножихъ, врѣщихъ

a- -ахъ сестрахъ, рѣкахъ, Зосимахъ

ja- -ахъ ладïахъ, Марïахъ

i- -ьхъ костьхъ, пѫтьхъ

u- -ъхъ сынъхъ

n- -еньхъ пламеньхъ, знаменьхъ

nt- -ѧтьхъ телѧтьхъ

r- -ерьхъ дъщерьхъ

s- -есьхъ небесьхъ

ū- -ъвахъ црькъвахъ

masc. -ѣхъ добрѣхъ

-ихъ нищихъ

fem. -ахъ добрахъ, нищахъ

neut. -ѣхъ добрѣхъ

-ихъ нищихъ

The instrumental (творительный) was also not known to medieval grammarians, established as a separate category of CS declension first by Zizanii (1596:26v). Without a preposition, the case could express means, circumstances, and, of course, instruments, e.g. идѫ **возомь** 'I am travelling by a car', ладïеıѫ 'by a boat'. Temporal expressions like идѫ **нощью** 'I am travelling during the night' are also possible. It can also express some predicates, denoting becoming, functions and temporary states, e.g. дѣвоıѫ бо бѣ еѵа 'for Eve was a virgin' (Lunt 2001:151), but this is quite rare in OCS.

Among prepositions, a common one is **съ** 'with', e.g. идѫ съ конемъ 'I am travelling with a horse' (indicating, that I'm not riding it). It is also used with prepositions denoting spatial relations like **междꙋ** 'between', **надъ** 'over', **подъ** 'under', **прѣдъ** 'in front', **задъ** 'behind', e.g. корабль плꙋетъ междꙋ отокама 'a ship sails between (two) islands'.

As in pl.loc endings, "strong" jers appear in u- and consonant stems, reflected often with -е- or -о- in later texts (e.g. сыномь). Differences are primarily between fem. and masc./neut. ones on the one hand, and between soft and hard stems on the other.

o- -омь братомь, возомь, виномь

jo- -емь конемь, ножемь, врѣщемь

a- -оıѫ сестроıѫ, рѣкоıѫ, Зосимоıѫ

ja- -еıѫ ладïеıѫ, Марïеıѫ

i- -ьıѫ костьıѫ, but пѫтьмь

u- -ъмь сынъмь

n- -еньмь пламеньмь, знаменьмь

nt- -ѧтьмь телѧтьмь

r- -ерьıѫ дъщерьıѫ

s- -есьмь небесьмь

ū- -ъвьıѫ црькъвьıѫ

masc. -омь добромь

-емь нищемь

fem. -оıѫ доброıѫ

-еıѫ нищеıѫ

neut. -омь добромь

-емь нищемь

As already mentioned, dual endings are shared between the dative and instrumental. Plural endings show a fem. vs. masc./neut. distinction, but not in all stems. In later CS sources, under the influence of the fem. ending, the form for masc.i-stem pl.inst -ьми can be seen on other stems too (e.g. рабьми 'with servants'; it may be etymologically based on u-stem -ъми too).

o- -ы браты, возы, вины

jo- -и кони, ножи, врѣщи

a- -ами сестрами, рѣками, Зосимами

ja- -ами ладïами, Марïами

i- -ьми костьми, пѫтьми

u- -ъми сынъми

n- -ены пламены, знамены

nt- -ѧты телѧты

r- -ерьми дъщерьми

s- -есы небесы

ū- -ъвами црькъвами

masc. -ы добры

-и нищи

fem. -ами добрами, нищами

neut. -ы добры

-и нищи

Now we can completize also the set of personal pronouns. Most locative forms are shared with the dative in singular and with the genitive in plural (and dual). However, as they usually appear after prepositions, some of them can be distinguished by the epenthetic н-.

1sg 2sg 3sg refl

m f n

nom азъ ты тъ та то -

gen мене тебе его еѧ его себе

dat мьнѣ тебѣ емꙋ ей емꙋ себѣ

ми ти мꙋ и мꙋ си

acc мѧ тѧ и ıѫ е сѧ

loc мьнѣ тебѣ (н)емь (н)ей (н)емь себѣ

inst мьноıѫ тобоıѫ имь еıѫ имь собоıѫ

1pl 2pl 3pl

m f n

nom мы вы ти тѧ та

gen насъ васъ ихъ ихъ ихъ

dat намъ вамъ имъ имъ имъ

acc ны вы ѧ ѧ ıа

loc насъ васъ (н)ихъ (н)ихъ (н)ихъ

inst нами вами ими ими ими

## 3.4. Глагольнъ видъ - Verbal Aspect

In most Slavic varieties, verbs show an inherent semantic feature called "aspect". A verb either denotes a continuing process, or a completion of an action: the aspect of the first is called imperfective (BG несвършен), and of the latter - perfective (свършен). This distinction is a lexical feature, not necessarily reflected in morphology. However, most verbs with prefixes (e.g. iprf. ити 'go' - prf. доити 'come') and the suffix -нѫ- (e.g. iprf. двизати 'move' - prf. двигнѫти 'move a bit') in the infinitive stem are perfective, while those with suffix -ова- (цѣловати 'greet') or -(ı)а- (ѿвращати 'turn away') in the infinitive stem are imperfective. Use of these suffixes on a prefixed verb would make it imperfective again.

The prefixes, which may modify roots to make them perfective, are mostly the same as prepositions (cf. Lunt 2001:82), but the meanings may slightly differ.

въ- въкꙋсити 'taste' ('take a bit in')

въз- въздвигнѫти 'lift up'

до- доити 'come'

за- заврѣти 'close' (lit. 'fully close')

из- изити 'go out'

мимо- мимоити 'pass'

на- нарещи 'call, give a name'

надъ- надъписати 'inscribe' ('write over')

низъ- низъложити 'defeat' ('place beneath')

о- отворити 'open'

ѿ- ѿити 'depart'

по- положити 'place'

подъ- подъдръжати 'sustain' ('hold under')

при- прибавити 'acquire'

про- продлъжити 'continue' ('lengthen forward')

прѣ- прѣмѣнити 'change'

прѣдъ- прѣдъвести 'bring forth'

раз- разрꙋшити 'destroy' ('crush through')

съ- сътворити 'make' ('do well')

оу- оубити 'kill' ('beat too much')

Church Slavonic also retains traces of an iterative or frequentative aspect, denoting repeating events. Such words include many i-verbs, e.g. носити '(usually) carry' (cf. нести), but also ones with suffixed ‑(ı)а- like бывати '(usually) be' (cf. быти).

## 3.5. Бѫдѫще врѣмѧ - Future Tense

In Church Slavonic, as well as in many other Slavic varieties, only imperfective verbs can be used in the present tense alone. A perfective verb usually needs an auxiliary (e.g. могѫ ѿтити 'I can go out') or something similar. If a present form of a perfective verb is used alone, it denotes a future tense: дьньсь **ѿидѫ** 'I will depart today'.

Future tense of imperfective verbs is built by constructions with an auxiliary and an infinitive form of the main verb. In OCS, common auxiliaries used for these constructions are имѣти 'have' (e.g. **не ıмамь пити** отъ плога сего лозънаго 'I will not drink from this fruit of the vine'; Cod.Zogr. Mt 26:29) and хотѣти 'want' (**хощетъ** бо иродъ **искати** отрочѧте 'for Herod is going to search for the baby'; Cod.Assem. Mt 2:13). According to Lunt (2001:154), имѣти-future was used for actions, which were destined to happen or needed, i.e. what "should" be, while хотѣти-future is preferred for what likely "will" be.

Future constructions differ a lot across regions and periods. In South Slavic redactions, both хотѣти and имѣти were productive; later, they appear often with imperfective verbs too (e.g. кто ми хощетъ помагати 'who will be helping me'). Beside them, also auxiliaries based on начьнѫти and въчьнѫти 'begin' are attested, commonly in Croatia. In the East, also auxiliaries ѧти 'take' and perfective forms of быти (e.g. бѫдѫ чисти 'I will read') were used (Trunte 2022:165). Modern CS grammars differ in their choice: имѣти and хотѣти are preferred by Bončev (1952:57), имѣти only by Mironova (2010:139).

## 3.6. Развѣщанïе: принадълежатели - Derivation: Possessors

We have already mentioned some ways how to express possession. Some of them are used to express "proper" possession, i.e. belonging to a person (or, rather, animate possessor) only, while others are preferred to express other possession-like relations, like natural parts (e.g. рѫка чловѣчïа 'hand of a man'), similarity (главьнъ 'main', lit. 'head-like'), and origin (моравьско вино 'a wine from Moravia'). The distribution of roles differs greatly across regions and periods.

One way is to use the mentioned adnominal genitive, as in the mentioned посланïе **брата моего** 'letter of my brother'. South Slavic sources also show the use of dative like сестра **емꙋ** 'his sister'. The use of both forms in OCS was possibly induced by similar constructions in Greek; in East Slavic redactions, such constructions are less common (Eckhoff 2011:41).

Another common way of expressing possession is by the use of adjectives, derived from nouns denoting the possessor. Such ones are the possessive adjectives built from (oblique stems of) personal pronouns mentioned in the first lesson - **мой**, **твой**, **нашь**, **вашь**. All show an underlying morphem \*‑*ьj*-, which is found in OCS also on adjectives based on nouns, like e.g. **кънѧжь** 'of a duke'. The morphem is implied from the iotation of the stem (PSl \**kuning-ij*- > \**kъnęž-ьj*-), and it is usually considered less productive in OCS (Lunt 2001:179).

A more productive set of derivative suffixes is -ов- and -ин-, which mostly denote belonging. The -ов- is used to derive from o-stems, like **Кѵрïлловъ** 'of Cyrill'. In jo-stems it turns into -ев-, e.g. **Растицевъ** 'of Rastic'. The -ин- is used for other stems: **Б-дичинъ** 'of Mother of God', Зосиминъ 'of Zosima', and so on. Some later sources from Bulgaria also show pronoun-based forms like еговь 'his', which replaced gen forms here.

Suffixes -ьск- (often used for ethnonyms: **блъгарьскъ**, моравьскъ, словѣньскъ, сьлѧsьскъ) and -ьн- (**народьнъ** 'national') are mostly used for other possession-like relations. However, sometimes they appear for belonging too, especially in later texts (e.g. сь рабми сиѡнскми 'with the servants of [King] Sihon' - [link](https://www.punco.uzh.ch/syntax.php?corpus=sva&chapter=667&cyr=1&sent_id=95)).

## 3.7. Исканïe посокы - Asking for a Direction

Some prepositions commonly used with locative and instrumental can be used with accusative too, but with a different meaning. In this way, the choice of case expresses contrast between location and direction, or between static and moving state (покой и посока in Bulgarian; Mirčev 1978:291) of the noun. This function exists in most Slavic varieties, maybe outside current Bulgarian and Macedonian. Expressions denoting static location use loc or inst case - стоıѫ **на оулици** 'I stand on a street', сѣждѫ **подъ мостомъ** 'I sit under a bridge' - while direction of a movement uses accusative - изыдѫ **на оулицѫ** 'I will go out to the street', глѧждѫ **подъ мостъ** 'I look beneath the bridge'.

Pronouns denoting location show three forms distinguished along similar categories. In this way, we can ask for a direction or origin:

locative Къде еси? 'Where are you?'

тꙋ 'there'

на оулици 'on a street'

на Моравѣ 'in Moravia'

въ Блъгарѣхъ 'in Bulgaria'

ablative Ѿ кꙋдꙋ грѧдеши? 'Whence are you coming?'

ѿтꙋдꙋ 'from there'

изъ оулицѧ 'from a street'

изъ Моравы 'from Moravia'

ѿ Блъгаръ 'from Bulgaria'

lative Камо идеши? 'Where are you going?'

тамо 'to there'

на оулицѫ 'to a street'

на Моравѫ 'to Moravia'

въ Блъгары 'to Bulgaria'

There are, of course, some exceptions. Preposition о ('about' when with loc) can be used with accusative to denote both location or direction in phrases like о деснѫıѫ 'on/to the right side'.

## 3.8. Оударıанïа - Accentuation

Church Slavonic texts were often meant to read in public, whose vernaculars had the lexical accent as a phonemic feature. In the time of Constantine-Cyrill, this was likely so in the language of Moravians too, even if West Slavic varieties show a fixed accent today. For this reason, many later Church Slavonic (especially Cyrillic) texts show a complex set of accent markers, adopted from Greek. Grave (варïа, <`>) or circumflex (камора, <^>) accent are written on the final syllable, and acute (оѯïа, <´>) elsewhere. These usually mark the place of accent (i.e. stress), but not the tone, as in Slovenian or Serbo-Croat. Syllable-initial vowels are also marked by spirits (ѱïли <ʾ> or дасïа <ʿ>) with no phonetic value. Regularity and function varies across orthographies; sometimes, as in some modern Cyrillic systems, it is used to distinguish forms or lexemes.

But Old Church Slavonic sources did not mark accents. The reconstruction of accent positions on the basis of later sources is also hard, as it was shifting in 9th-10th century multiple times. Even if we take the pronounciation of Constantine-Cyrill's contemporaries as a model, we cannot say, which of the known shifts had already occured. The debates about this are quite heated among linguists, surpassed perhaps only by the status of Macedonian. Beside the place of accent, the tone and syllable length were likely phonemic factors too (as in Slovenian and Serbo-Croat), influencing the developments differently in each Slavic variety. Thus we find words like ладïа 'boat' to show both initial (BG ладия, SC *lâđа*, UA лодя) and final (RU ладя, old PL *łodziá*, also Lith. *aldijà*) accent.

You may have noticed the underlined vowels in the vocabularies above, denoting the place of accent. However, there were differences in the mobility of accent within paradigms of individual words. Some showed accents always on the root syllable (e.g. мати 'mother') or on the ending (e.g. сестра 'sister'), in others the position of accent alternates between the root and the ending (e.g. sg.nom рѫка 'hand', sg.dat рѫцѣ). As long as weak jers could be accented (i.e. the stage before shifts concerning them described in Holzer 2011:71 §37), the distribution of accent in paradigms may have looked like this:

'mother' 'sister' 'hand'

sg

nom мати сестра рѫка

gen матере сестры рѫкы

dat матери сестрѣ рѫцѣ

acc матерь сестрѫ рѫкѫ

loc матери сестрѣ рѫцѣ

inst матерьıѫ сестроıѫ рѫкоıѫ

pl

nom матери сестры рѫкы

gen матеръ сестръ рѫкъ

dat матерьмъ сестрамъ рѫкамъ

acc матери сестры рѫкы

loc матерьхъ сестрахъ рѫкахъ

inst матерьми сестрами рѫками

dl

nom матери сестрѣ рѫцѣ

gen матерꙋ сестрꙋ рѫкꙋ

dat матерьма сестрама рѫкама

The fixed accent in the root followed the presence of accented syllable with a laryngeal (e.g. мати, sg.gen матере < PSl \**māˀtī*, \**māˀter-e* < PIE \**méh₂ter-*, cf. Lith. *mótė*, Gr. *mētēr*; Derksen 2008:303). Its phonetic reflex in Proto-Slavic is unclear; it is often interpreted as an acute, i.e. rising intonation (cf. Stang 1957:21) or as glottalization of the vowel (cf. Holzer 2011:5, Olander 2015:41). As an accent paradigm, it is traditionally designated **AP *a***. The second paradigm, **AP *b*** had originally a root accent too, but it was moved to the ending by a regular shift called Dybo's Law, affecting all accented syllables *without* the old laryngeal (e.g. сестра < PSl \**sestrāˀ* < PIE \**sués-r-eh₂*, cf. Skt. *svásar‑*; Derksen 2008:445, Holzer 2011:49). The origin of the mobile paradigm, **AP *c***, is not so clear. Many words with this type of accentuation go back to words originally stressed on the ending (e.g. нога < PSl \**nagāˀ* < PIE \**h₃nogʷʰ-éh₂*, cf. Lith. *nagà* 'hoof', Skt. o-stem *nakhá-* 'nail', Derksen 2008:355). Forms showing root stress go back to forms, which were specifically intoned or possibly unaccented in Proto-Slavic (e.g. градъ < PSl \**gardu* < PIE \**gʰordʰ-ós*, cf. Skt. *gr̥há*- 'house', but Lith. *gar̃das* 'fence', Derksen 2008:178, Holzer 2011:105). Secondary accent in the root likely emerged later (Holzer 2011:66 §30). But anyway, the distribution of root- (or unaccented) forms and end-accented ones across the paradigm differ between individual words.

The same accentual paradigms were observed among verbs too. Common present tense forms of verbs видѣти 'see', ити 'go' and рещи 'say' (< PSl \**weiˀd*‑*ēˀ*-, \**īd*-, \**rek*- < PIE \**ueid*-, \**h₁ei*-*dʰ*-, \**rek*-, cf. Derksen 2008:216, 433, 521, Holzer 2015:79) may have been accentuated during Constantine-Cyrill's time and dialect in the following way:

видѣти (*a*) ити (*b*) рещи (*c*)

sg

1 виждѫ идѫ рекѫ

2 видиши идеши речеши

3 видитъ идетъ речетъ

pl

1 видимъ идемъ речемъ

2 видите идете речете

3 видѧть идѫтъ рекѫтъ

But even if we manage to reconstruct the position of accent for each word-form, the actual pronounciation of the accented syllable remains in question. It is not clear, whether the accented syllable in виждѫ was glottalized and in рекѫ not; or whether it was differently intoned, or longer. The reader is, of course, invited to try any of these options.

## 3.9. Оупражьненïа - Exercises

1. Choose the right form of the verb

1. Оутрѣ (поити) въ тръжьницѫ. 2. Ти (хотѣти) пакы въ Блъгары ити. 3. Еда (знащи), къде новъ храмъ естъ? 4. Ракѫскомь пѫтемь нынѣ не (мощи) минѫти. 5. Та (рещи), ıако въ Велеградѣ жïеть. 6. Къде (стоıати) кънѧжь дворъ? 7. (Продлъжати) право Сьлѧsьскоıѫ оулицею, и на коньци (завити) о шꙋıѫıѫ. 8. Камо (глѧдати) вьси людïе онъде? 9. Не (забыти), ıако Марïа дьньсь (доити), Милане! 10. Прѣдъ пристанищемь нама (быти) нꙋждно (съпрѣти).

2. Choose the suitable tense

1. Скоро (идемъ / изыдемъ / хощемъ ити) на главнѫ оулицѫ. 2. Еда оутрѣ (еси / бѫдеши / бываеши) на пристанищи? 3. Твоıа ладïа (минетъ / хощетъ минѫти) еще дьньсь. 4. Мъного возъ (рꙋшитъ / разрꙋшитъ / иматъ разрꙋшити) оулицѧ въ срѣдѣ града. 5. Доидѫ по обѣдѣ. Къде томъ часѣ (еси / бѫдеши / бываеши)? 6. Ѿ кꙋдꙋ (идетъ / изыдетъ / хощетъ ити) братовъ возъ? Еще не виждѫ и. 7. Еда ми еще (нѣстъ / не бѫдѫ / не бываıѫ) нꙋждно заврѣти? 8. Се, тъ оуже (идетъ / изыдетъ / хощетъ ити) къ намъ. 9. Молıѫ тѧ, да ей (изречеши / речеши / хощеши рещи) истинѫ. 10. Чьто (видимъ / хощемъ видѣти) въ возѣ твоемъ, г-дине мой?

3. Choose the right case

1. Азъ вынѫ хождѫ къ (сынъ) (возъ обьщьствьнъ). 2. Прѣдъ (пладьнïe) плꙋıѫтъ ладѧ изъ (пристанище). 3. Въ (садъ) грѧдетъ мъного (людïе). 4. Марïа естъ оу (моıа сестра). 5. Полата стоитъ близъ (храмъ). 6. Да продлъжиши междꙋ (Растицово тръжище) и (народьно позорище). 7. Нѣстъ (азъ) оугодьно (нощь) ıаздити. 8. Ищѧ (виноградъ) на (коньць) (градъ). 9. Речи (мати), ıако виждѫ (отроче, та). 10. (Обьщьство) достоитъ (народъ) быти.

4. Translate

1. The boat sails well and fast along the river. 2. Mount your sister's horse! 3. The theatre stays in the middle of the main square. 4. The Ducal Street is very long. 5. There are no buses here. 6. Look, what a beautiful palace! 7. Before the university, turn left. 8. I have to go in the afternoon. 9. What is the name of the duke? 10. Many people will stay in the garden today.

## 3.10. Речьникъ - Vocabulary

nouns **Богородица** 'Mother of God' (ja-stem, AP *b*), **виноградъ** 'vineyard' (or виноградъ, both o-, *b*), \***вьсеоучилище** 'university' (neut.jo-, *a*), **глава** 'head' (a-, *c*; adj. оглавьнъ 'main'), **градъ** 'city' (o-, *c*), **коньць** 'end, edge' (jo-, *b*), **кънѧsь** 'duke, king' (anim.jo-, *c*; poss. кънѧжь or кънѧжьскъ), **народъ** 'nation' (o-, *b*; poss. народьнъ), **нощь** 'night' (fem.i-, *c*), **обитѣль** 'accomodation, monastery, inn, hotel' (fem.i-, *a*), **обьщьство** 'community, society' (neut.-o, *b*; poss. обьщьствьнъ), **око** 'eye' (neut.o-, *c*), **отрочѧ** 'child, baby' (anim.o-, *c*), **полата** 'palace' (a-, *a*), **пладьнïе** 'noon' (neut.jo-, *a*), **позорище** 'theater' (neut.jo-, *b*?), **садъ** 'garden' (*o*-, c), **срѣдъ** 'center' (o-, *c*), **съньмъ** 'assembly, parliament' (o-, *b*?), **тръжище** 'square, agora' (neut.jo-, *b*), **оулица** 'street' (ja-, *a*), **храмъ** 'temple' (o-, *a*?), **часъ** 'time, moment, hour' (o-, *a*), **число** 'number' (neut.o-, *b*)

adjectives **вьсь** 'all, whole' (*c*), **десьнъ** 'right' (*c*), **старъ** 'old' (*a*), **оугодьнъ** 'pleasant' (*а*?), **шꙋй** 'left' (*c*)

pronouns **идеже** 'where' (relat.), **никакоже** 'in no way', **ѿтꙋдꙋ** 'from there', **тако** 'thus', **тамо** 'to there', **тꙋ** 'there'

verbs \***бавити** 'add, linger' (i-verb, *a*; прибавити 'acquire'), **бити** 'beat' (e-, *a*; оубити 'kill'), **бывати** 'be (iter.)' (e-, *b*), **вести** 'lead' (3sg.prs ведетъ, e-, *c*; прѣдъвести 'bring forth'), **вити** 'spin' (вïетъ, , *c* завити 'turn'), **дати** 'give' (дастъ, *c*; прѣдати 'sell, betray'), **двизати** 'move, drive' (движетъ, e-, *a*; двигнѫти 'move' prf., въздвигнѫти 'lift'), **длъжити** 'produce' (i-, *b*; продлъжити 'continue'), **дръжати** 'hold' (i-, *b*?; подъдръжати 'sustain'), **заврѣти** 'close' (завретъ, e-, *b*), **грѧсти** 'go forth' (грѧдетъ, e-, *c*), **искати** 'search for, want' (ищетъ, e-, *b*), **мѣнити** 'change' (i-, *c*; прѣмѣнити 'change' prf.), **пити** 'drink' (e-, *c*), **разоумѣти** 'understand' (e-, *a*), **рꙋшити** 'crush, destroy' (i-, *a*;разрꙋшити 'destroy' prf.), **садити** 'plant, sit down' (i-, *c*; въсадити 'mount'), **срѣтити** 'meet' (i-, *a*), **ходити** 'walk, go (iter.)' (i-, *b*), **ıаздити** 'ride, drive' (i‑, *a*), **ѧти** 'take' (иметъ, *b*; възѧти, възьметъ 'take, seize' prf.)

adverbs **близꙋ** 'close', **далеко** 'far', **мъного** 'much' (also as adj. мъногъ, AP *c*), **право** 'directly' (adj. правъ, *a*), **скоро** 'quickly', **оутрѣ** 'tomorrow'

other **а** 'and, but', **бо** 'because', **вынѫ** 'always', **еще** 'yet', **же** 'and', **задъ** 'behind', **и** 'and', **междꙋ** 'between', **пакы** 'again', **понеже** 'because', **оуже** 'already', **ıако** 'that'

# 4. Въ обитѣли - At the hotel

- past passive (n/t-) participles

- pronominal declension

- demonstrative pronouns

- long-form adjectives

- derivation: nationalities

- abbreviations

- rising sonority rule

## 4.1. Бесѣда - Dialogue

Maria comes to her hotel and goes to the reception to check in. However, she seems to have come too early. Waiting at the reception, she meets Radostina, an old colleague from Preslav.

М: (Мало съмьнѣıаетъ сѧ.) Радостино?

Р: Ѡ, Марïе! Цѣлꙋıѫ тѧ, ѿ коли сьде еси?

М: Цѣлꙋıѫ тѧ, Радостино! (Оуцѣлꙋете сѧ.) Тъкъмо населıаıѫ сѧ, нѫ истъба моıа еще постълана нѣстъ.

Р: Се, елико изъ ненада! Длъго ли бѫдеши на красьной сей Моравѣ?

М: Тъчïıѫ сею седмицꙋ останѫ, събьранïа наоучьнааго ради. А ты?

Р: Азъ есмь сьде еще до тоѧ недѣлы, тръгованïа ради. Еда ищеши оутрѣ кафѧте ради срѣтити сѧ?

М: Жально ми естъ, оутрѣ бо невъзмогѫ. Достоитъ ми оутрѣмъ работати, а послѣжде поканена есмь дрꙋгы брата моего на посрѣтенïе въ Поганьское.

Р: Еда тъ живеетъ на Моравѣ длъго?

М: Ей, онъде въ Поганьсцѣмъ. Тъ жененъ естъ за моравлѣнъкѫ. Имѧ еѧ Силвïа естъ, рекъше латиньскы - Лѣсьнаа.

Р: Се, сьде толици латиньскы знаıѫтъ! А елиньскы - никьтоже. Понѣ словѣньскы разоумѣıѫтъ, аще и грѣшьно глаголıѫтъ!

М: Хаха, а азъ оучюждена есмь, ıако въ обьщѣмъ разоумѣıѫтъ.

M: (Malo sъmьnějaetъ sę.) Radostino?

R: O, Marïe! Cělujǫ tę, ot koli sьde esi?

M: Cělujǫ tę, Radostino! (Ucěluete sę.) Tъkъmo naseljajǫ sę, nǫ istъba moja ešte postъlana něstъ.

R: Se, eliko izъ nenada! Dlъgo li bǫdeši na krasьnoi sei Moravě?

M: Tъčïjǫ seju sedmicu sьde ostanǫ, sъbьranïa naučьnaago radi. A ty?

R: Azъ esmь sьde ešte do toę neděly, trъgovanïa radi. Eda išteši utrě kafęte radi srětiti sę?

M: Žalьno mi estъ, utrě bo nevъzmogǫ. Dostoitъ mi utrěmъ rabotati, a poslěžde pokanena esmь drugy brata moego na posrětenïe vъ Poganьskoe.

R: Eda tъ živeetъ na Moravě dlъgo?

M: Ei, onъde vъ Poganьscěmъ. Tъ ženenъ estъ za moravlěnъkǫ. Imę eę Silvïa estъ, rekъše latinьsky - Lěsьnaa.

R: Se, sьde tolici latinьsky znajǫtъ! A elinьsky - nikьtože. Poně slověnьsky razumějǫtъ, ašte i grěšьno glagoljǫtъ!

M: Xaxa, a azъ učjuždena esmь, jako vъ obštěmъ razumějǫtъ.

M: (Hesitates a bit.) Radostina?

R: O, Maria! Hello, since when are you here?

M: Hello, Radostina! (They kiss each other.) I am just checking in, but my room is not prepared yet.

R: See, what a surprise! Are you going to be for long in this beautiful Moravia?

M: I will stay only for this week, for a scientific conference. And you?

R: I am here yet until this Sunday, for trade business. Do you want to meet tomorrow for a coffee?

M: Sadly, I will not be able (to come) tommorow. I'll have to work in the morning, and afterwards I am invited by my brother's friends for a visit in Pogansko.

R: Does he live in Moravia for long?

M: Yes, over there in Pogansko. He is married to a Moravian. Her name is Sylvia, that is in Latin "of a forest".

R: See, here so many (people) know Latin! And nobody (knows) Greek. At least, they understand Slavonic, although they speak it wrong!

M: Haha, but I am amazed, that they understand at all.

аще if (аще и 'even if, although')

грѣшьно incorrectly

елиньскы Greek (language)

истъба room

женити marry

кафѧ coffee (non-OCS)

коли when (moment)

латиньскы Latin (language)

лѣсьнъ of a forest (лѣсъ 'forest')

моравлѣнъка Moravian (female)

населıати settle

наоучьнъ scientific (наоука 'science, doctrine')

недѣла Sunday (дѣлати 'work')

ненадъ unexpected (изъ ненада 'surprise')

понѣ at least

постъланъ furnished, prepared (a room)

седмица week

словѣньскы Slavic, Slavonic (language)

събьранïе meeting (here: conference; събьрати 'collect')

съмьнѣıати hesitate

тръгованïе trade (тръгъ 'market')

тъкъмо just

оучюдити wonder

## 4.2. Тръпительно причастïе мимошьдше - Past Passive Participle

Besides the infinitive, Church Slavonic uses a number of participles based on verbal roots. They denote actions, events and states like the verbs, but they are also inflected like the adjectives. Unlike finite verbs and infinitive, participles are also morphologically marked for the voice.

The first class described in this book are the past passive participles. They can be used both as a verbal root of the sentence, denoting passive voice (e.g. егда **оставленъ** бѫдѫ 'when I will be dismissed' (Cod.Mar. Lk 16:4), or as an adnominal element, denoting a result of some previous action applied on the nominal head (тъ вама покажетъ горьницѫ **постъланѫ** 'he will show you a furnished room upstairs' Cod.Zogr. Lk 22:12) - it is thus a kind of perfective passive. In this way, it is used also elsewhere in Slavic.

The participle uses the aorist/infinitive stem of verbs, a suffix -(**е**)**н**- or -**т**-, and a hard adjectival ending. The distribution of the suffixes is lexical. The -т- appears somewhat less frequently, mostly following nasals (cf. Lunt 2001:110). In later redactions, the distribution may differ according to region and period.

видѣ-ти видѣ**нъ** 'seen'

да-ти да**нъ** 'given'

проси-ти прош**енъ** 'asked'

рещи (< \**rek-ti*) реч**енъ** 'said'

слыша-ти слыша**нъ** 'heard'

чака-ти чака**нъ** 'awaited'

ѧ-ти ѧ**тъ** 'taken'

Another way to express (or, rather, translate Greek expressions of the) passive voice was to use a reflexive pronoun with a transitive verb, e.g. с[ы]нъ ч[ловѣчь]скъı **прѣдаетъ сѧ** 'the Son of Man will be betrayed' (Cod.Zogr. Mt 26:2; lit. 'will betray himself'; cf. Cod.Assem.: **прѣданъ бѫдетъ**; Lunt 2001:161). Such constructions, especially with perfective verbs (i.e. denoting future) are possible in some modern Slavic languages too. Passive voice and reflexivity both share the trait of identifying subject and object of the sentence.

## 4.3. Съпрѧженïе мѣстоимень - Pronominal Declension

As we have already seen, declension of personal pronouns slightly differs from that of nouns and adjectives. Etymologically, most inflectable pronouns are composed of a root and a 3rd person pronoun as an ending. This is apparently the reason why these pronouns (\**jь*, \**ja*, \**je* in OCS) are actually unattested in Slavic, replaced by demonstrative pronouns. Similar endings are also used by many adjectives.

The declension also reflects the palatality of the root. Stems using hard endings include demonstrative pronouns тъ, онъ and овъ, as well as adjectival вьсѣкъ 'every', дрꙋгъ 'other (in a group)', единъ 'one', етеръ 'such', инъ 'other', какъ 'what kind of', мъногъ 'many', and самъ 'lone'.

masc. fem. neut.

sg

nom тъ та то

gen того тоѧ того

dat томꙋ той томꙋ

acc того тѫ то

loc томь той томь

inst тѣмь тоıѫ тѣмь

pl

nom ти ты та

gen тѣхъ тѣхъ тѣхъ

dat тѣмъ тѣмъ тѣмъ

acc ты ты та

loc тѣхъ тѣхъ тѣхъ

inst тѣми тѣми тѣми

dl

nom та тѣ тѣ

gen тою тою тою

dat тѣма тѣма тѣма

Soft endings are used with a smaller number of stems, including the demonstrative pronoun сь, as well as adjectival stems кый 'which' and чïй 'whose', and possessive pronouns of the type мой, свой etc. (cf. Lunt 2001:62). The differences between them are more or less orthographic. For n.sg.nom/acc of сь, both сïе and се are attested.

sg

nom сь сïа сïе мой моıа мое

gen сего сеѧ сего моего моеѧ моего

dat семꙋ сей семꙋ моемꙋ моей моемꙋ

acc сего сïѫ сïе моего моıѫ мое

loc семь сей семь моемь моей моемь

inst симь сеıѫ симь моимь моеıѫ моимь

pl

nom си сïѧ сïа мои моѧ моıа

gen сихъ сихъ сихъ моихъ моихъ моихъ

dat симъ симъ симъ моимъ моимъ моимъ

acc сïѧ сïѧ сïа моѧ моѧ моıа

loc сихъ сихъ сихъ моихъ моихъ моихъ

inst сими сими сими моими моими моими

dl

nom сïа сïи сïи моıа мои мои

gen сею сею сею моею моею моею

dat сима сима сима моима моима моима

As you can see, the main shifts are -**о**- -> -**е**- and -**ѣ**- -> -**и**-. There is also a "mixed" paradigm using endings from both, which is used by adjectival stems вьсь 'all, whole' and сиць 'such'.

sg

nom вьсь вьса вьсе

gen вьсего вьсеѧ вьсего

dat вьсемꙋ вьсей вьсемꙋ

acc вьсь вьсѫ вьсе

loc вьсимь вьсей вьсимь

inst вьсѣмь вьсеıѫ вьсѣмь

pl

nom вьси вьсѧ вьса

gen вьсѣхъ вьсѣхъ вьсѣхъ

dat вьсѣмъ вьсѣмъ вьсѣмъ

acc вьсѧ вьсѧ вьса

loc вьсѣхъ вьсѣхъ вьсѣхъ

inst вьсѣми вьсѣми вьсѣми

dl

nom вьсѣ вьси вьси

gen вьсею вьсею вьсею

dat вьсѣма вьсѣма вьсѣма

## 4.4. Показательна мѣстоимена - Demonstrative Pronouns

As we can see, Church Slavonic uses a number of stems as demonstrative pronouns. The difference denotes deixis, the distance of their referents. In this way, English distinguishes two levels: distal *that* and proximal *this*. Church Slavonic distinguished three deictic distances: овъ and сь for proximal 'this', онъ for distal 'that (over there)', and тъ, which is unmarked for distance. The сь is more common; овъ is likely a dialectal variant preferred in West Balkans and Macedonia, where it is still productive today.

The deixis can be marked also on some adverbial pronouns. However, not all combinations are attested.

proximal distal unmarked interrogative

m.sg.nom сь/овъ онъ тъ кый

locative сьде/овъде онъде тꙋ къде

ablative сюдꙋ/овѫдꙋ онѫдꙋ тꙋдꙋ кꙋдꙋ

lative семо/овамо онамо тамо камо

manner овакъ онакъ такъ какъ

duration овогда - тогда когда

moment сели - толи коли

quantity селико онолико толико колико

In OCS, the demonstrative could appear both before (до того дьне 'until that day', Cod.Assem. Mt 26:29) and after the noun (отъ дъне того 'from that day', Cod.Assem. Mt 22:46). When placed after a noun, the m.sg.nom form sometimes phonetically interacts with the noun, e.g. зьлъи работ 'that evil servant' (Cod.Assem. Mt 24:48; cf. Cod.Zogr.: зълъı рабъ тъ). It is known they became clitic in Bulgarian and Macedonian, but some fixed phrases of this type, like дьньсь 'today' (< дьнь сь 'this day'), are found also elsewhere in Slavic.

## 4.5. Съложьна прилагательна - Long-Form Adjectives

Endings of the pronominal declension play an important role in another phenomenon, which makes Church Slavonic textbooks so heavy with the paradigms like the ones above: definiteness marking on adjectives. This is done by so-called complex (BG сложна) or long-forms. Basically, a 3rd person pronoun is attached to a simple (or short-form) adjectival ending, forms of which we have introduced in previous chapters. The distinction existed everywhere in Common Slavic, but later it was discarded in most of its varieties save for some Serbo-Croat dialects - long- (in most varieties) or short-forms were generalized as adjectival endings.

The form has been used often to translate definiteness denoted by Greek articles, e.g. *hoti autōn estin hē basileia tōn ouranōn* > ѣко тѣхъ естъ ц[aрств]о **н**[**ебес**]**ное** 'for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven' (Cod.Zogr. Mt 5:3). The adjective can be analyzed thus:

root suffix adj.ending pron.ending

небес- -н- -о- -е

'heaven' 'of' n.sg.nom n.sg.nom

As with all endings, the resulting compounds are heavily influenced by both palatality of the stem. The onset vowel of the ending is also assimilated in OCS sources: e.g. we find commonly endings like б[ог]а живааго 'of the Living God' (Cod.Assem. Lk 8:28; instead of \*живаего). Unassimilated endings (like с[ы]нꙋ ч[ловѣчь]скоуемоу, Cod.Zogr. Jn 12:34; cf. с[ы]нꙋ ч[ловѣчь]скꙋмꙋ in Cod.Assem. Jn 3:14) are rare to find.

masc. fem. neut.

sg

nom -ый -аа -ое

gen -ааго -ыѧ -ааго

dat -ꙋмꙋ -ѣй -ꙋмꙋ

acc -ый -ѫıѫ -ое

loc -ѣмь -ѣй -ѣмь

inst -ыимь -ѫıѫ -ыимь

pl

nom -ïи -ыѧ -аа

gen -ыихъ -ыихъ -ыихъ

dat -ыимъ -ыимъ -ыимъ

acc -ыѧ -ыѧ -аа

loc -ыихъ -ыихъ -ыихъ

inst -ыими -ыими -ыими

dl

nom -ïи -ѣи -ѣи

gen -ꙋю -ꙋю -ꙋю

dat -ыима -ыима -ыима

Soft-stem endings differ especially in forms including an -ы- in hard-stem counterparts:

masc. fem. neut.

sg

nom -ïй -аа -ее

gen -ааго -еѧ -ааго

dat -ꙋмꙋ -ѣй -ꙋмꙋ

acc -ïй -ѫıѫ -ее

loc -ïимь -ѣй -ïимь

inst -ïимь -ѫıѫ -ïимь

pl

nom -ïи -ѧѧ -аа

gen -ïихъ -ïихъ -ïихъ

dat -ïимъ -ïимъ -ïимъ

acc -ѧѧ -ѧѧ -аа

loc -ïихъ -ïихъ -ïихъ

inst -ïими -ïими -ïими

dl

nom -ïи -ïи -ïи

gen -ꙋю -ꙋю -ꙋю

dat -ïима -ïима -ïима

The ending was subsequently contracted in most Slavic varieties, and we find instances like отъ добраго съкровища 'from the good treasure' (Cod.Mar. Mt 12:35; cf. добрааго in Cod.Assem. and Zogr.). Due to the spelling, it is not clear, whether Constantine-Cyrill's contemporaries would pronounce добрааго as \**dobrajego* (unassimilated), \**dobrajago* (assimilated, uncontracted) or \**dobrāgo* (contracted). The practicability of each solution is left for the reader to try, but we will stick in this book to the second stage. Some endings like sg.inst (сь свѧтыимь доухомь 'with Holy Spirit', [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/suprasl/supra.htm?supra044.htm#Cod.Supr._3_44_120(_254)b_8_508); < \**svętomь+imь*) and pl.dat (e.g. дивиимъ козам 'to wild goats', [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/suprasl/supra.htm?supra019.htm#Cod.Supr._1_19_112a_27_223); < \**divěmъ+imъ*) are fully assimilated in known sources; the -м- of the first ending is always dropped. See also the description by Lunt (2001:66) for more details.

## 4.6. Развѣщанïе: народи, землѧ и ѧзыци - Derivation: Nations, Countries and Languages

Discussing nationality is among the first things to learn in most textbooks for teaching languages. However, the political (and cultural) map of the world changed a lot since the 9th century. In Church Slavonic, it would be advisable to grasp the basics of Slavic inflection first, and also some other phenomena like palatality and derivation of possessive/relative adjectives. Both words **народъ** and **ѧзыкъ** were used to denote a 'nation': the first could denote more abstract 'people' (gr. *dēmos*), the other also 'language' or 'tongue'. Common ethnonyms found in OCS sources are the following:

country masc. fem. adjective

Аравïа 'Arabia' аравлѣнинъ - -

Арменïа 'Armenia' - - арменьскъ

Африкïа 'Africa' - - африкьскъ

Грьци 'Greece' грьци - грьчьскъ

Евреи 'Israel' евреинъ - евреискъ

Егѵпьтъ 'Egypt' егѵпьтѣнинъ егѵпьтѣныни егѵпьтьскъ

Елини 'Greece' елининъ елиныни елиньскъ

Жидове 'Judaea' жидовинъ - жидовьскъ

Iюдеïа 'Judaea' - - ïюдейскъ

Римъ 'Rome' римлѣнинъ римлѣнъка римьскъ

Самарïа 'Samaria' самарѣнинъ самарѣныни самарѣньскъ

Ханаанъ 'Canaan' ханааныни - -

Sources from later periods also show ethnonyms for more countries in the Europe:

Блъгаре 'Bulgaria' блъгаринъ блъгарыни блъгарьскъ

Варѧsи 'Sweden' варѧгъ - варѧжьскъ

Власи 'Italy, Romania' влахъ - влашьскъ

Литва 'Lithuania' - - литовьскъ

Лѧси 'Poland' лѧхъ - лѧдьскъ

Морава 'Moravia' моравлѣнинъ - моравъскъ

Нѣмьци 'Germany' нѣмьць нѣмъка нѣмьчьскъ

Обри 'Avars' обринъ - обрьскъ

Рꙋсь 'Ruthenia' рꙋсинъ - рꙋсьскъ

Словѣньско 'Slavia' словѣнинъ - словѣньскъ

Спанïа 'Spain' - - спанейскъ

Сръбль 'Serbia' сръбинъ - сръбьскъ

Сꙋмь 'Finland' - - сꙋмьскъ

Фрѫsи 'France' фрѫгъ - фрѫжьскъ

Хръвати 'Croatia' хръватъ - хръватьскъ

Чеси 'Bohemia' чехъ чехыни чешьскъ

Цыгане 'Gypsies' цыганинъ цыганъка -

Ѫгрïа 'Hungary' ѫгринъ - ѫгрьскъ

When an ethnonym is derived from a place, a country, and, relevant for most Slavic tribes, a river, a suffix -ѣн- is attached to the root. This one seems to be optional: e.g. for 'Parthian', both партѣнинъ and парѳинъ are attested. Thus an "ethno-stem" is created. Collective-based names like блъгаринъ or ѫгринъ are ethno-stems as such. Another suffix is attached according to the gender: masc. -ин- and fem. -ын-. Forms of the ending then go back to old consonantal declensions. Thus, m.sg.nom is -инъ, fem. -и (like the r-stems). These roots are also used for other social groups, like болѣринъ 'member of nobility, boyar' (fem. болѣрыни). The pl.nom ending is often -e, but also -и is frequent, especially for словѣни 'Slavs' (Lunt 2001:251). The names with no such extension, like варѧгъ or чехъ, are handled as regular o-stems.

Feminine ethnonyms often show the suffix -ъка, which is also commonly used in diminutives (e.g. ладъка 'little boat' from ладïа). Resulting nouns are handled as regular a‑stems. In OCS (and, likely, in Common Slavic too), both ‑ыни and ‑ъка were productive. Thus, we cannot surely say, whether Zosima's wife would be a \*моравлѣныни or \*моравлѣнъка (> CZ *Moravanka*). Modern ethnonyms like CZ *Češka* 'Czech' also show an suffixed \*-*j-*, found on diminutives with root ending in a velar, likely for dissimilation (e.g. рѫчька 'little hand' from рѫка). Thus \*варѧжька, \*лѧшька or \*чешька are plausible too (besides \*варѧгыни, \*лѧхыни, and also чехыни, attested in Nestor's *Chronicle* as sg.gen отъ чехынѣ 'from a Czech [mother]').

In the inverse case, when the name of a country is derived from the ethnonym, simply a plural form is used (Блъгаре, Варѧsи) but -ïа (Спанïа, Ѫгрïа) and the possessive \*-*jь* (Рꙋсь, Сръбль, Сꙋмь) seem to have been productive too. The short adjectival ending -ьско is attested in one very early text (Life of St. Methodius: дрьжати словѣньско 'to rule the land of Slavs', [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcc/slav/aksl/vcyrmeth/vcyrm020.htm#Vit._Meth._2_5_3)), but only rarely. Names of languages are mostly given in adverbs (e.g. нап͛сано евреıскы 'written in Hebrew', Cod.Zogr. Jn 19:20). Glottonyms are also often given with adjectives, with both long- (исаврьскыим͛ ѧзыкомъ 'in Isauran language', Cod.Supr., [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/suprasl/supra003.htm#Cod.Supr._1_3_25a_1_49)) and short-forms (отъ роумъска ѧзыка 'from the Roman language', Cod.Supr., [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/suprasl/supra010.htm#Cod.Supr._1_10_73b_25_144)) attested.

Modern-day countries, with their names adapted to Common Slavic phonetics, could be derived in the following ways:

Амерïка 'America' амерïчѣнинъ амерïчѣнъка амерïчьскъ

амерïчѣныни

Iракъ 'Iraq' ирачѣнинъ ирачька ирачьскъ

ирачѣныни

Кѫго 'Congo' кѫжѣнинъ кѫжѣнъка кѫжьскъ

кѫжѣныни

Перъ 'Peru' перовѣнинъ перовѣнъка перовьскъ

преовѣныни

Синь 'China' синѣнинъ синѣнъка синѣньскъ

синѣныни

Швицаре 'Switzerland' швицаринъ швицаръка швицарьскъ

швицарыни

Ѧглïа 'England' ѧглѣнин ѧглѣнъка ѧгльскъ

ѧглѣныни

## 4.7. Съкращенïa - Abbreviations

We have already learned, that Church Slavonic texts commonly shorten some words - theonyms like б[ог]ъ 'God' or ıи[сꙋ]сь 'Jesus', titles like ц[а]рь 'king', г[осподи]нь 'lord', г[оспо]жда 'lady', words denoting family relations like м[а]ти 'mother', о[ть]ць 'father', с[ы]нъ 'son', as well as many longer words like гл[агола]ти 'speak' or ı[ерꙋса]лимъ 'Jerusalem'. Such abbreviations appear already in oldest Cyrillic texts, but orthographic rules crystallized gradually.

Modern orthographies tend to use a hyphen to denote such shortenings (e.g. г-нь). Earlier texts used various space-saving strategies. The most common marker of abbreviations was the *titlo*, a hyphen-like character usually written over one consonant of the root, followed by the grammatical (or orthographical) ending: сн҃ъ for с[ы]нъ, гл҃ти for гл[агола]ти and so on. The same character is commonly used to mark Cyrillic numerals, e.g. · д҃ı · '14'.

In other words, one letter is used instead of the titlo, especially д: e.g. срⷣце (ср[ь]дце) 'heart', прпⷣбнаа (пр[ѣподобь]наа) 'most reverend'. A precedent for this practice is the writing of т in the digraph ѿ, which is adopted from Greek. The final jer, which had lost its phonetic value early on, is often left out, with the last consonant being written over the last vowel, e.g. въ пѣнїиⷯ (пѣнïих[ъ]) 'in the Song of Songs'. Other consonants in abbreviated roots appear with a half-circular dash called *pokrytie*, lit. 'cover': e.g. мцⷭ҇ь м[ѣсѧ]ць 'month', прⷪ҇ркъ пр[оро]къ 'prophet' and so on. The variation is considerable (cf. Karskij 1979:231-233), and quite a challenge for Unicode development.

Of course, these abbreviations likely were not meant to reflect the pronounciation of the words.

## 4.8. Законъ растѫщѧѧ звѫчьности - Rising Sonority Rule

Slavic languages have undergone a series of phonetic shifts, which resulted in syllables ending in a vowel. Early on, final consonants were discarded from the endings: first resonants and nasals following long vowels (1), then also others (2). The old laryngeal, preserved longer at the end of syllables, was discarded, lengthening the preceding vowel and changing the tone (3). Later, monophthongization affected syllables ending in a glide (4). Afterwards, syllable-final liquids have undergone metathesis with preceding vowels, legthening them (5), and nasals merged with vowels (6). Finally, in some dialects clusters of consonants were separated by additional jers (7). The developments can be seen, for example, on the following words (the | marks the syllable border):

1. final \**ēR*/*ēN* > \**ī* pre-PSl. \**maH*|*t-****ēr*** (cf. Gr. *mētēr* 'mother') > \**maH*|*t-****ī*** > OCS мати 'mother' (Kortlandt 1983:7 §5.1)
2. final \**s* pre-PSl. \**suH*|*n-****us***(Lith. *sūnus* 'son') > \**suH*|*n-****u***> OCS сынъ 'son' (Kort. §5.6, §6.8)
3. elision of laryngeals pre-PSl. \**p****aH***|*s-um* (Hitt. *pahs-* 'protect') > \**p****āˀ***|*s-um* > OCS пасѫ 1sg.prs 'pasture, herd', (Kort. §5.3, Derksen 2008:392)
4. monophthongization PSl. \**k****ai***|*nāˀ* (Lith. *kaina* 'price') > *\*k****ē***|*nāˀ* > OCS цѣна 'price' (cf. Holzer 2011:44 §3, Kort. §6.5)
5. metathesis of liquids PSl. \**g****ar***|*du* (Lith. *gardas* 'fence') > \**g****rā***|*du* > градъ 'city' (Holz. §10 & §20, Kort. §7.12)
6. vowel nasalization PSl. \**č****in****ˀ*|*da* (Ger. *Kind* 'child') > \**č****ę****ˀ*|*da* > чѧдо 'child' (Holz. §28, Kort. §5.5, Pronk-Tiethoff 2013:189)
7. jer-epenthesis PSl. \**je*|***sm****i* (Skt. *asmi* 1sg.prs 'am') > OCS есмь 1sg.prs 'am', but elsewhere > \**je****s***|***m****i* > \**je****sь***|***m****ь* > BG съм,SC *jesam*, Cz. *jsem* (Holz. §26 & §45, Derksen 2008:146)

These developments are sometimes summed up as a "law of open syllables" or, more precisely, of "rising sonority". These shifts changed the syllable structure not only by placing the vowels at the end, but all phonems according to sonority, the level of obstruction of airstream. Thus, plosives like /t/ or /k/ would be placed in front of glides, liquids or nasals, and these would precede true vowels (cf. Feldstein 2020). With the loss of weak jers (cf. above §2.8) the syllable structure was to radically change again, but the Church Slavonic orthography still reflects the tendency.

## 4.9. Оупражьненïа - Exercises

1. Choose the right form of the verb

1. Аще истъба (постълати), (населıати) сѧ. 2. Азъ (чюдити сѧ), ıако тъ (женити сѧ). 3. Еда (глаголати) съ тѣми латиньскы, Зосимо? 4. Егда та (срѣтити) съ дрꙋгы, вынѫ (пити) мъного кафѧ. 5. Ѿ сюдꙋ (плыти) добры ладïѧ. 6. Тръгованïа ради (трѣбовати) по мъноsѣхъ землихъ (ходити). 7. Мьнѣ (быти) ѫгрьскый ѧзыкъ sѣло оугодьнъ. 8. Ѿ коли (быти) Марïа на Моравѣ? 9. На семь тръsѣ вьсе (заврѣти). 10. Колико мѣсѧць (искати), да твоıа чѧда оу насъ (населıати)?

## 4.10. Речьникъ - Vocabulary

nouns **болѣринъ** 'noble, boyar' (ethn. o-stem, AP *b*), **горьница** 'upper room', **землıа** 'land, country, Earth', **истъба** 'room', \***кафѧ** 'coffee' (nt-, *b*), **лѣсъ** 'forest', \***моравлѣнъка** 'Moravian (female)', **мѣсѧць** 'month', **наоука** 'doctrine, science', **недѣла** 'Sunday', **пророкъ** 'prophet', **пѣнïе** 'singing, Song of Songs', **рабъ** 'servant, worker', **седмица** 'week', срьдце 'heart', **събьранïе** 'meeting', **тръгованïе** 'trade', **тръгъ** 'market', **чѧдо** 'child', **цѣна** 'price', **ѧзыкъ** 'language, nation'

adjectives **живъ** 'alive', **зълъ** 'evil', **наоучьнъ** 'scientific', **ненадъ** 'unexpected', **прѣподобьнъ** 'reverend, holy'

pronouns **овъ** 'this (proximal)', **онъ** 'that (distal)', **сь** 'this (proximal)', **тогда** 'then (period)', **толи** 'then (moment)'

verbs **женити** 'marry', **населıати** 'settle', **оставити** 'leave, dismiss', **пасти** 'herd', **постълати** 'make bed, prepare a room', **събьрати** 'collect', **съмьнѣıати** **сѧ** 'hesitate', **чюдити сѧ** 'wonder' (оучюдити prf.)

adverbs **елиньскы** 'Greek (language)', **грѣшьно** 'incorrectly', **латиньскы** 'Latin (language)', **понѣ** 'at least', **тъкъмо** 'just', **словѣньскы** 'Slavic, Slavonic (language)'

conjunctions **аще** 'if', **егда** 'when'

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