Словѣньскый бесѣдъ ради

Colloquial Church Slavonic

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# Въведенïе - Introduction

This book has to begin with a warning: the reader may find it hard to find fellow speakers. The subject language has been long confined to churches and academies, where it is not actively *spoken*, but rather only passively *read* (or, now more commonly, sung). The truly colloquial form of this language is long past, having developed into modern Bulgarian and Macedonian. Thus the title of this book is basically an oxymoron.

On the other hand, Church Slavonic represents the first variety of Slavic, which had produced a long lasting tradition of literature. It had a profound influence on the development of modern varieties, both their vernaculars and literature (and not only by the script). Its tradition also started at a historical point, when the dialects of, say, Preslav, Prague or Kiev were still well comprehensible. It provides clues to consequent development of modern Slavic languages, relevant not only for their linguistic analysis, but also for their acquisition for practical use. In some respects, this can be stretched further, at least over the whole Indo-European family. Learning an old language also provides an opportunity to look at one's own language, worldview, and, of course, the culture around us from a new perspective.

An experienced slavist may ask: *which* Church Slavonic (CS) is actually being discussed here? Is it the *Old* Church Slavonic (OCS) discussed in theoretical works of Miklosich, Lunt or Trunte? An attempt to reconstruct the variety spoken by Constantine-Cyrill? Or that of *Codex Zographensis*? Or a later redaction, be it that of *Prologъ* or the Church Slavonic Wikipedia? It may be found, that in some respects it tries to reach all, while not fully encompassing any of them. The goal of this text is not to provide an exhaustive overview about the grammar, history, or literature, nor to give a scientifically serious argument for any hot topic in Slavic studies. Rather, its goal is to provide a playful introduction into these topics, be it for a student of languages, a novice of an Orthodox seminary, or a black metal fan.

For this reason, the concept is based on methods used for contemporary "spoken" languages. The chapters or lessons begin with a short dialogue with English translations and some basic vocabulary, followed by paragraphs describing grammar and some common language functions for specific situations (e.g. greetings, asking for direction). Each lesson also contains some remarks on the differences between the orthography of CS texts and modern literature (expressions of numbers, abbreviations, and the like), as well as very basic remarks on the diachronic development of Slavic vernaculars. Each chapter also includes some exercises. Due to the supraregional character of the subject language, some of them may be solved in multiple ways! The book also contains reference tables with paradigms for declension and conjugation and a dictionary with terms appearing in the text.

Of course, there are some requirements for the reader, which cannot be easily averted. For a person already possessing a sound command of a Slavic language, and accustomed to Cyrillic script (even if to its modern variants), this kind of introduction may be easier. Knowledge of some basic (Indo-European) linguistic terminology, like *derivation* or *accusative*, as well as common glossing rules (e.g. use of abbreviation sg for 'singular') may also be helpful. However, it is assumed, that this is not so much a problem in the time of Google.

The classification of nouns is conventional, following the stem (or declination) classes, going back at least to Leskien (1922:65,68). The classification of verbs is based on present tense. Three classes are used in the dictionary: e‑ (reflecting Leskien's [1922:122] traditional classes I-III), i‑ (class IV), and athematic verbs (V). The idea is, that the reader will be able to guess the aorist/infinitive stem from the lemma. The description of aorist/infinitive stems is loosely based on Lunt (2001:85).

The book has also been composed as a digital edition. The text contains references to freely accessible online corpora like CCMH ([link](https://korp.csc.fi/download/ccmh-src/www/index.html)), Cyrillomethodiana ([link](https://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/textcorpus/list)), Gorazd ([link](http://gorazd.org/gulliver/?envLang=en)), Manuskriptъ ([link](http://manuscripts.ru/mns/main?p_text=63876685)), Obdurodon ([link](http://suprasliensis.obdurodon.org/)), TITUS ([link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/kievfol/kievf.htm?kievf001.htm)), and also our own, built around the Pop Punčo's Sbornik ([link](https://www.punco.uzh.ch/)). This is especially relevant for citations of Glagolitic sources like Zogr., which are cited throughout the book using Cyrillic transcripts by Jagić from 1879, as published at the TITUS website. Citations from OCS Gospels and Psalms are conventionally given by the chapter and verse. The sources are cited with following abbreviations:

*Codex Assemanianus* Assem.

*Codex Marianus* Mar.

*Codex Suprasliensis* Supr.

*Codex Zographensis* Zogr.

*Euchologium Sinaiticum* Euch.Sin.

*Kiev Folia*  Kiev.f.

*Psalterium Sinaiticum* Ps.Sin.

*Sava's Book* Sav.k.

As already hinted, the Cyrillic script is preferred throughout the book. The script was limited to non-combined Unicode characters for practical reasons, with some orthographic features, by which the text may resemble more the Church Slavonic of 15th-16th century, than that of earliest sources like *Codex Suprasliensis*. A Latin-based transcription of Dialogue is provided in the first three chapters, but it is considered a necessary evil: on the one hand, the Viennese system it is based on does not force the reconstructed pronounciation of reduced vowels *ъ* and *ь* (like *ŭ* and *ĭ* in Trubetzkoy 1954, see §2.8); on the other hand, the Cyrillic script is likely the most practical knowledge any reading non-linguist may gain here. The details about orthography and some hints about pronounciation are described in the first chapter (§1.7) of the book:

**а б в г д е ж s з и**/**й**/**ï**/**ı**

*a b v g d e ž ź z i*

**к л м н о**/**ѡ ѿ п р с т**

*k l m n o ot p r s t*

**оу**/**ꙋ ф х ч ц ш щ ъ ы ь**

*u f x č c š št ъ* (*ŭ*) *y* *ь* (*ĭ*)

**ѣ ıа ıе ю ѫ ıѫ ѧ**

*ě ja je ju ǫ jǫ ę* (*ję*)

The majority of the book - including Cyrillic texts - is written using the common Calibri font. Glagolitic texts are written using Segoe UI Historic font. Occasionally, the customized font BukyVede ([link](https://kodeks.uni-bamberg.de/aksl/schrift/bukyvede.htm)) developed at the University of Bamberg has been used for more advanced characters, like the abbreviations in §4.7.

As the primary language of this book is English, the term "Church Slavonic" has been selected over a number of possibly more suitable terms (see §6.8 and Keipert 2017 for the discussion on the topic). Use of terms denoting earlier stages of modern languages like "Old Bulgarian" is strictly limited to vernacular varieties. Modern Slavic varieties and other languages are given with conventional abbreviations:

BG Bulgarian

CZ Czech

EN English

Ger. German

Gr. (Ancient) Greek

Hitt. Hittite

Lat. Latin

Lith. Lithuanian

MK Macedonian

PIE Proto-Indo-European

PL Polish

PSl. Proto-Slavic

RU Russian

SC Serbo-Croat

SK Slovak

Skt. Sanskrit

SL Slovene

UA Ukrainian

The book has been written in the winter semester 2022, as I had the honor to teach an introductory course to Old Church Slavonic at the Slavic Seminary of the University of Zurich. In this way, I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Barbara Sonnenhauser for the very opportunity to lead the course, my students Jovanka, Sina and Stefan, who helped me by their inspiring remarks, to a former colleague from a language course Anja for the very idea of writing such a book, and, of course, my wife, for her considerable patience with this undertaking.

# 1. На пристанищи - At the port

- present tense of verbs

- cases: nom, acc, voc

- personal & reflexive pronouns

- basic questions

- greetings

- Cyrillic script

- palatality

## 1.1. Бесѣда - Dialogue

Mary 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! Како еси? Какъ бѣ пѫть?

М: Ѡ, добръ бѣ, нѫ дльгъ.

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 дльго чаеши?

З: Ни, не дльго.

M: O, brate moi, ty li esi?

Z: Cělujǫ tę, Marie!

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

Z: I azъ tę źělo radъ paky viždǫ! Kako esi? Kakъ bě pǫtь?

M: O, dobrъ bě, nǫ dlьgъ.

Z: A ladija 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 čaeši?

Z: Ni, ne dlьgo.

M: Brother, is it you?

Z: Hello, Mary!

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

Z: I'm also very glad to see you again! How are you? 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 (see below)

дльго for long (adverb)

дльгъ long (adjective)

добръ good

добрѣ well

еда (interrogative particle, see below)

естъ to be (see below)

sѣло very

имамь I have

какъ how, what kind of (adverb: како)

ладïа boat, smaller ship

ли (interrogative particle, see below)

мой my

не not

ни 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

чаеши you wait

цѣлꙋıѫ I greet

## 1.2. Настоѧще врѣмѧ - Present Tense

The verbs in Church Slavonic work similarily as in modern Slavic varieties. The first part of the word, called root, determines the lexical meaning. The other grammatical functions - mood, tense, person and number for verbs - are all marked on the ending. In the word слышѫ, слыш- is the root, and ‑ѫ is the 1sg.prs ending. Present tense forms also often show an additional vowel or *thema* (‑е- or -и-) preceding the ending. The root and the thema form a unit traditionally called "stem":

**ча**- -**е**- -**ши** 2sg.prs'you wait'

root thema ending

stem

The distinction of stem and root has a sense: stem modifications, like the thematic suffix, originally determined the word category. The stem is also important for determining the aspect (see §3.4) of verbs. There are three basic classes of verbs with slight differences in conjugation: athematic (or root), e-, and i-verbs. The first, in which the present stem is equal with the root, contains a rather limited number of verbs. They use an ending -мь in 1sg.prs, others use ‑ѫ. Endings for 2/3sg forms (‑ши and -тъ) are the same for all classes.

'have' 'wait' 'do'

1 имамь чаıѫ творıѫ

2 имаши чаеши твориши

3 иматъ чаетъ творитъ

In 1st person of i-verbs, whose stems end in a consonants, the root may undergo phonetic changes. These are caused by the underlying /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 root ends in a к, г or х, these may also be phonetically affected by the thema vowel. Explanations for these changes are discussed below (§1.8).

'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- (shortened to с- in 3pl). 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** 'Mary is happy', Зосима **чаетъ** дльго 'Zosima is waiting long'. The subject does not have to be expressed separately, e.g. цѣлꙋıѫ тѧ literally means 'I greet/heal/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').

Negation is done simply by putting the particle не in front of the verb or another negated element: Зосима **не чаетъ** дльго 'Zosima is not waiting long'. 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 **ни** 'no' (or не). The particle еда is more frequent in OCS sources, the both also appear together as еда ли. Alone, еда is more common when a negative answer is expected, while ли expects a positive one (Trunte 2022:168). Еда appears at the beginning of the sentence, related to the verb (e.g. еда азъ есмъ 'is it me?' Assem. Mt 26:25). The ли appears more freely, following the sentence element in question (e.g. не и мытари ли такожде творѧть 'are not the tax collectors doing the same?' Assem. Mt 5:47).

More complicated questions are usually made with interrogative pronouns. These usually show roots starting with a **к-**, e.g. какъ 'what kind of', adverbial како 'how', къде 'where', and so on. These are of course similar to English *wh*‑words, as they are cognates. The word чьто 'what' belongs to this class too: the onset consonant is a result of palatalization (described below), as going back to PIE \**kʷi*-, which is also reflected in Lat. *quid*,Gr. *ti* both 'what', Skt. *ki*- 'which' (Kroonen 2013:261).

## 1.4. Падежи: правъ, виновьнъ, зъвательнъ - Cases: nom, acc, voc

The basic structure of Church Slavonic nouns and adjectives is similar to those of verbs: a stem, carrying the meaning, and an ending, providing information about the gender, number and case. So far, it works in the same way as in most modern Slavic varieties.

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 or паденïе from падѫ 'I fall') into the physical world, taking accidental properties like the sounds and relations with other words in the sentence (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 правъ 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 Mary', Зосима есть **мой братъ** 'Zosima is my brother'. Most masculines show ‑ъ or -ь, feminines -а or -ıа, and neuters -о or -е. The ending is generally determined by the last phonem of the stem. The first of the pairs appear after hard consonants (see below §1.8), the latter after soft ones.

Stems are conventionally classed by the Indo-European thematic suffix, which corresponds to an earlier stage of development. This used to be a vowel:

o- -ъ братъ (masc. anim.), возъ (masc. inanim.)

-о вино 'wine' (neut.)

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

-е врѣще, море 'sea', посъланïе 'letter' (neut.)

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

ja- -ıа ладïа or ладïи, Марïа (all fem.)

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

u- -ъ сынъ 'son' (all masc.)

...or 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- (uH‑) -ы црькы 'church' (later црьковъ, or -ва; all fem.)

other гражданинъ 'citizen' (masc. anim.), дьнь 'day' (masc. inanim.)

The classification of stem classes may not seem very user-friendly. They, indeed, are historical categories more relevant for Sanskrit and Ancient Greek. The point is that Church Slavonic nominal declensions are not fully distributed by gender.

Earlier in Indo-European, the genders were likely two - animate (possibly denoting things capable of speech like humans, totemic animals, and gods) and inanimate. These did not only have different endings, but also different cases were used, when they represented the sentence subject (see e.g. Beekes & De Vaan 2011:284). The distinction of masculine and feminine genders came later, likely first marked by stem extensions. These suffixes often phonetically fused with the ending, thus resulting in the sets of endings or declensions actually used in Church Slavonic. For example, with the loss of final \*‑*r* (see §4.8), old r‑stem sg.nom ended with an -*i* (дъщи), but the -*r‑* is preserved in accusative (дъщерь). Some older stem classes merged with others. Some ja‑stems show the sg.nom ending ‑и too: for example, both ладïи and ладïа are attested for 'boat'. These words belonged to a lost class of ī-stems, which had merged with ja-stems in Slavic (Duridanov et al. 1991:154). The three-gender system started to mix up the case paradigms early on, first in adjectival and pronominal systems, but not so much in nouns.

In short, both the stem class and the gender determine the declension of the noun. For example, while most a‑stems are feminine, but the masculine name Зосима (taken from Greek) is an a‑stem noun, inflected in the same way as жена or сестра. On the other hand, o-stems like братъ and вино show different endings according to gender.

Adjectives are more regular. The ending is cleary determined by gender and palatality of the last stem consonant:

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. *aitiatikē*, CS виньнъ or виновьнъ 'of guilt, cause'): e.g. Зосима чаетъ **Марïѫ** 'Zosima waits for Mary'. 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** 'Mary carries one bag'. 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'. As already mentioned non-neuter consonant stems show their full thematic suffix in accusative (e.g. дъщ-**ер**-ь).

o- -а брата, but возъ, вино

jo- -ıа конıа, мытарıа, but ножь, врѣще, море, посъланïе

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

other гражданина, but дьнь

Adjectives show the distinction by gender too. 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 зъвательнъ 'of calling'). 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, o 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!' (Mar. Mt 23:26). The forms differ by gender and palatality.

o-/u- -е брате, сыне добре

jo- -ю мытарю, коню нищꙋ

cons. гражданине

a- -о сестро

ja- -е Марïе

If a nominative o‑ or u‑stem ends in a velar consonant (к, г or х), it undergoes a regular shift called "first palatalization" (see below §1.8) in vocative, e.g. sg.nom пѫтьникъ 'traveller', дрꙋгъ 'friend' or adj. 'other', voc пѫтьниче, дрꙋже.

## 1.5. Личьна мѣстоименïа - Personal Pronouns

As we have seen above, Church Slavonic - as all Slavic languages - has three grammatical 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' (see §4.3). 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 й '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' (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, see 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 възвратна), 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?', 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', 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. anim. мой братъ моего брата 'my brother'

masc. inanim. мой возъ мой возъ 'my car'

fem. моıа сестра моıѫ сестрѫ 'my sister'

neut. мое врѣще мое врѣще 'my bag'

2sg masc. anim. твой твоего 'your' (sg)

masc. inanim. твой твой

fem. твоıа твоıѫ

neut. твое твое

1dl/pl masc. anim. нашь нашего 'our'

masc. inanim. нашь нашь

fem. наша нашѫ

neut. наше наше

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

masc. inanim. вашь вашь

fem. ваша вашѫ

neut. ваше ваше

refl masc. anim. свой своего (see above)

masc. inanim. свой свой

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'; such greetings 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. 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 добръ дьнь 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, Mary's phrase рада есмь да тѧ виждѫ 'I am happy to see you' is based on OCS (see Zogr. Jn 8:56), while Zosima's is closer to that of modern Czech syntax for comparison (actually, the Czech reflex would be \*виsѫ or perhaps already \*видимь, but Zosima is also born in Bulgaria, and thus 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. Thus, we should be able to associate some phonems with them. However, many letters had different phonetic values (especially vowels - see §2.8) in different periods and lands. Accentuation (see §3.8) also differs across regions, mostly missing in Glagolitic texts. 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 counterpart of EN *ts*

з землıа *z*

и иже *i* or *j* (EN *y*); written й at the end of a syllable (for /jь/)

ï ıота *i* or *j*; used before vowels and for /ij/ or /ьj/ in later CS

ı ıота *i* or *j*; used root-initially in loanwords

к како *k*

л людïе *l*

м мыслите *m*

н нашь *n*

о онь *o*

ѡ отъ *o* used in exclamations and 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 оукъ *u* a space-saving variant of оу

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 *ŭ* EN schwa or short *u* in *fun*

ы еры *y* EN *i* in *lip* (pronounced more from the back)

ь ерь *ь* or *ĭ* EN schwa or short *i* in *ditch*

ѣ ıатъ *ě* EN *a* in *pad* (Lunt 2001:18) or the diphthong /ea/

ıа ıа *ja* EN *ya*

ıе ıе *je* EN *ye*

ю ю *ju* EN *yu*

ѫ ѫсъ *ǫ* nasal *o* (*on* in EN *long*)

ıѫ ıѫсъ *jǫ* iotated nasal *o* (*yon* in EN *yonder*)

ѧ ѧсъ *ę* nasal *e*

ıѧ ıѧсъ *ję* iotated nasal *e* (EN *yen*)

The set is not used consequently in all OCS sources - not even the ones cited here, as they are mostly Glagolitic (save for later Sav.k. and Supr., among the larger ones). Some features adopted from Greek persist in both scripts: the letters denoting /i/ (like и, ı and ï) and /o/ are often interchangeable, so m.pl.nom инïи 'others' could also be written ıнии (Glag. ⰺⱀⰻⰻ), ıниı, and so on.

Many letters have graphical variants, which are used according to position in the word (e.g. root-initial broad variants ѻ and є vs. narrower о and е), while others are specific to various scribal schools (e.g. variants of the letter sѣло like ꙅ or ꙃ). For the sake of compatibility with Unicode, this book uses only one broad/narrow variation (оу and ꙋ). From vowel digraphs, only common ы and ю are used, but not the single-character ѹ, nor ѥ (ıе), ꙗ (ıа), nor the iotated nasals.

Throughout the book, some later orthographic rules were adopted for convenience. First, the short **й** is written for the sequence /jь/ (thus m.1sg.nom possessive мой denotes /mojь/, m.1pl.nom мои /moji/). The /i/ or /j/ before vowels and in sequences \**ij* or \**ьj* is written as **ï** (an older variant, used in Supr.; see Lunt 2001:24). The ï is preferred in neuter jo-stem sg.nom like оупражьнен**ïе** 'exercise', read as /upražьnenije/, although forms like оупражьнен**иıе** or оупражьнен**ьe** are more common in OCS sources.

The /y/ is always written with the digraph **ы**, although the variant ꙑ is more common in OCS sources. The \**j* is implied before front vowels /e, i, ě, ę/, as well as in the sequences like -аа-, so the digraph ıѧ is not used (itself appearing first in Ostromir Gospel); the **ѧ** is to be considered always as "inherently" iotated. It is also used for the characters ꙙ or ⱑ, seen in Supr. and Sav.k. (see §6.8). Thus, only three characters for nasals are used here: ѫ, ıѫ, and ѧ.

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

ѯ кси *ks* used in loanwords

ѱ пси *ps* used in loanwords

ѳ тита *th* used in loanwords

ѵ ижица *i* usedin loanwords

ꙉ ꙉервъ *ć* or *đ* palatal *t* in EN *Tuesday*;used in Bosnia

џ џа *dž* EN *j* in *jam*; used in Romania, later in Serbia too

ꙟ ꙟвъца *în* nasal *y*; 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 variations like 1sg ви**жд**ѫ, ре**к**ѫ vs. 2sg ви**д**иши, ре**ч**еши, or sg.nom дрꙋ**г**ъ vs. voc дрꙋ**ж**е. Consonants represented by ж, s, ч, ц, ш (plus sequences щ and жд, as well as ꙉ and џ added later) were considered "soft", and followed by palatalized (jo- or ja-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*, East Sl. ж, SC *đ*

г > ж

з > ж

к > ч

с > ш

т > BG щ, CZ/PL/SK *c*, MK ќ, East Sl. ч, SC *ć*

х > ш

Historically, similar processes have also separated two new, "iotated" stem classes from the older a- and o-stems. The endings of iotated stems can be mostly traced to regular sound change of vowels following a \**j* (e.g. \**ju* > \**ji* > \**jь*, cf. Holzer 2011:43 §2), but some of them are disputed, as they appear only in very specific contexts (see e.g. Olander 2015:230 for final -ы and -ѧ, p.284 for -и).

a-/o- ja-/jo-

-о > -е sg.nom вино врѣще

-ъ > -ь sg.nom градъ мꙋжь

-ы > -ѧ pl.acc грады мꙋжѧ

> -и pl.inst грады мꙋжи

-ѣ > -и dl.nom женѣ дꙋши

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 (чаıѫ - чаеши - чаетъ) 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.

4. Read aloud (including ъ and ь) and transcribe into Cyrillic

1. Moja sestra nesetъ znamę. 2. Kъde estъ tvoja ladija? 3. Plujǫ dlьgo, nǫ dobrě. 4. Mati viditъ svojǫ dъšterь. 5. O cěsarju, vynǫ tę radъ slyšǫ!

# 2. На мытьници - At the customs office

- plural number

- cases: gen, dat

- infinitive and imperative

- polite expressions

- adapting modern terminology

- vowel development

## 2.1. Бесѣда - Dialogue

Mary 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 мытницѫ ити. Знаеши ли, къде естъ?

З: Ей, онъде.

[...]

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

М: (Къ Зосимѣ) Не глѧдаи! (А къ мытничарю) Добръ дьнь, г[оспо]-дине мой. Ей, несѫ 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 орѫжïа обаче нꙋsьно естъ съписати. Се, потврьsенïе за тебе. Добрѣ дошьдла на Моравѫ, г-sе Радославице!

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

З: Въскѫıѫ орѫжïа носиши, 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 mytnicǫ iti. Znaeši li, kъde estъ?

Z: Ei, onъde.

[...]

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

M: (Kъ Zosimě) Ne ględai! (A kъ mytničarju) Dobrъ dьnь, g[ospo]-dine moi. Ei, nesǫ 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 orǫžïa obače nuźьno estъ sъpisati. Se, potvrъźenie za tebe. Dobrě došьdla na Moravǫ, g-źe Radoslavice!

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

Z: Vъskǫjǫ orǫžïa nosiši, Marïe?

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

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

Z: Why do you stand, Mary?

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: Mary 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, Mary?

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)

Блъгаре 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', CZ reflex дошьдль - see §5.2)

доплащати pay (CZ reflex: доплацати)

достоıати must

дьнь day

дѧковати thank (CZ)

изъ from

красьнъ beautiful

кратъцѣ shortly

къ towards

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. Блъгаре 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. In 3pl, a different nasal is used according to the stem class:

'have' 'wait' 'do' 'see'

sg

1 имамь чаıѫ творıѫ виждѫ

2 имаши чаеши твориши видиши

3 иматъ чаетъ творитъ видитъ

pl

1 имамъ чаемъ творимъ видимъ

2 имате чаете творите видите

3 имѫтъ чаıѫтъ творѧтъ видѧтъ

In the 1pl of consonant stems, the loss of final jers causes the distinction to vanish. It is later restored: in some texts (especially from Bulgaria), the 1pl ending -мы appears (or -ми, e.g. съповѣми 'we tell'; Vuk.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 may show 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 (palatal variant ‑ѧ) and neut. -а. Consonant masc. stems show regularily an ‑е (e.g. u-stem сынове). The ‑ове (as well as other u-stem plural endings) has been later generalized for most monosyllabic masculines in South Slavic, and traces of this process can be already seen in Supr. (e.g. дарове, [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/suprasl/supra.htm?supra017.htm#Cod.Supr._1_17_105b_1_210); besides дари, [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/zograph/zogralex.htm)).

Animacy does not play a role in the choice of ending in OCS. Irregular forms, like the collective братïа 'brothers', reflect older derivations, gender-based analogies, and similar phenomena. A number of masculine nouns using suffixes ‑ıан- (ethnonyms and similar classification nouns: see §4.6), ‑тел- and ‑ар- (mostly agent nouns: §7.6) often show a pl.nom ending ‑е of consonant stems (Duridanov et al. 1991:162), e.g. граждане 'citizens', родителе 'parents', мытаре 'tax collectors', Блъгаре 'Bulgarians'. Some words are attested with both ‑и (e.g. мытари in Mt 5:47, Zogr.) and ‑е (мытаре in Mk 2:15, Zogr.).

o- -и вози

-а братïа, вина

jo- -и кони, ножи

‑е мытаре

-ıа врѣща, морıа, посъланïа

a- -ы сестры, рѣкы, Зосимы

ja- -ѧ ладѧ, Марïѧ

i- -и кости, but пѫтïе

u- -ове сынове

n- -ене пламене

-ена знамена

nt- -ѧ телѧта

r- -ери дъщери

s- -са небеса

ū- -ъви црькъви

other граждане, дьне (or дьнïе)

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 masculine gender.

o- -ы браты, возы,

-а вина

jo- -ѧ конѧ, мытарѧ, ножѧ

-ıа врѣща, морıа

a- -ы сестры, рѣкы, Зосимы

ja- -ѧ ладѧ, Марïѧ

i- -и кости

-ïе пѫтïе

u- -ы сыны

n- -ени пламени

-ена знамена

nt- -ѧ телѧта

r- -ери дъщери

s- -са небеса

ū- -ъви црькъви

other гражданы, дьни

masc. -ы добры

-ѧ нищѧ

fem. -ы добры

-ѧ нищѧ

neut. -а добра, нища

## 2.3. Падежи: родьнъ и дательнъ - Cases: gen & dat

Slavonic genitive (Gr. *genikē*, CS родьнъ 'of kin') 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 grammarians considered these possessive adjectives to be proper equivalent (i.e. translation) for the Greek genitive (Jagić 1895:329).

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', Assem. Mt 3:16; ишъдъ ис[ꙋ]съ изъ цркве 'as Jesus came out of the temple', 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 'since then' (Zogr. Mt 9:22). Other prepositions used with gen are **близъ** 'next to', **до** 'until', **окръстъ** (later около) '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 (reason)' 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, мытарıа, ножа, врѣща, морıа, посъланïа

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

other гражданина, дьне (or дьни)

masc. -а добра, нища

fem. -ы добры

-ѧ нищѧ

neut. -а добра, нища

Plural ending is basically a jer. The same adjectival form is used for all genders. Neut. jo-stems ending in a -ïе in sg.nom share the ending with ja- and i-stems (phonetically \*‑*ьjь*).

o- -ъ братъ, возъ, винъ

jo- -ь конь, мытарь, ножь, врѣщь

-ïй морïй, посъланïй

a- -ъ сестръ, рѣкъ, Зосимъ

ja- -ïй ладïй, Марïй

i- -ïй костïй, пѫтïй

u- -овъ сыновъ

n- -енъ пламенъ, знаменъ

nt- -ѧтъ телѧтъ

r- -еръ дъщеръ

s- -есъ небесъ

ū- -ъвъ црькъвъ

other гражданъ, дьнïй (or дьнъ)

m/f/n -ъ добръ

-ь нищь

Due to Havlík's Law (see below), this ending phonetically developed into ‑ей in some dialects, what can be seen in some of the OCS sources from Macedonia (e.g. множьство многъ людеи 'a great many of people'; Assem. Lk 6:17; Zogr.: людиı). In other dialects, the ending ‑ïй was contracted: the \**j* fell out, and it was written as a single -и (e.g. отъ пѫтı его 'from its streets', Ps.Sin 54:12; Krivko 2015:59; see §4.5 for more details on the process).

The use of dative (Gr. *dotikē*, CS дательнъ 'of giver') is more restricted in Slavonic than in Greek. 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' (Zogr. Jn 18:13, see 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 'Mary 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 triggers palatalization of stem-final velars: e.g. рѣка 'river', but sg.dat по рѣцѣ 'along the river' (see below). The group ‑ïи in ja-stem f.sg.dat denotes the sequence \*‑*ьji* or \*‑*iji*.

o- -ꙋ братꙋ, возꙋ, винꙋ

jo- -ю коню, мытарю, ножꙋ, врѣщꙋ, морю, посъланïю

a- -ѣ сестрѣ, рѣцѣ, Зосимѣ

ja- -и ладïи, Марïи

i- -и кости, пѫти

u- -ови сынови

n- -ени пламени, знамени

nt- -ѧти телѧти

r- -ери дъщери

s- -еси небеси

ū- -ъви црькъви

other гражданинꙋ, дьни

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, мытаремъ, ножемъ, врѣщемъ, моремъ, посъланïемъ

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

other гражданемъ, дьньмъ (or дьнемъ)

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 чаетъ 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 й 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. господьства 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 й was likely denoting the sequence /jь/, as the prepositional form is нь (e.g. за нь 'for him'). The pronounciation of f.sg.dat ей is not clear; /jejь/ is plausible from the point of view of modern Slavic varieties.

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:

г > s (> з)

к > ц

х > с (but CZ/PL/SK *š*)

The second palatalization sometimes appears in roots too, e.g. in sѣло 'very' (< PSl. \**gaila*). The shift can be also seen in some later loanwords like цѣсарь 'emperor' (< Ger. or Gr. \**kaisar*).

## 2.4. Неопрѣдѣлено наклоненïе - Infinitive

The basic/dictionary form of verbs is called infinitive, which is characterized by the suffix -ти: for творıѫ 'I do', the infinitive is творити 'to do'. The stem often differs from that of present tense. In comparison to 2sg.prs, there is more variety of stem extensions in infinitive:

e- 2sg.prs чаеши 'wait' a- чаı**а**ти

минеши 'pass' nǫ- ми**нѫ**ти

милꙋеши 'have mercy' ova- мил**ова**ти

сѣеши 'sow' ěja- с**ѣıа**ти

бïеши 'beat' j- бити

несеши 'carry' C- нести

i- твориши 'do' i- твор**и**ти

видиши 'see' ě- вид**ѣ**ти

Generally, it is not always easy to guess the infinitive stem from a present one or vice-versa. Some verbs like слышати 'hear' show present forms both of e- (2sg.prs слышаеши) and i-verbs (слышиши); however, the latter is a much more common one. Sequences like ‑ѣıа‑ are sometimes contracted, so instead of сѣıати 'sow' may also appear сѣти (Lunt 2001:120).

In Church Slavonic, the same stem is used in the past participles (§4.2, §5.2) and aorist tense (§6.2). Note that there are more athematic (consonant-ending) infinitive stems, like нести. If the root ends in a velar consonant (г, к, х), the ending often phonetically reacts with it:

1sg.prs могѫ 'can' \**mog-ti* > мо**щ**и

рекѫ 'say' \**rek-ti* > ре**щ**и

The reflexes of this interaction (see Holzer 2011:51 §13 for the details) are the same as those of iotation of \**tj* - thus, elsewhere in Slavic we may see different reflexes, like CZ *moci* and *říci*. There are, of course, some verbs, especially athematic ones, which also use different roots for their aorist/infinitive stem:

2sg.prs еси, 3pl сѫть 'be' **бы**ти

(\**dad*- >) даси, дадѫтъ 'give' **да**ти

имаши, имѫтъ 'have' **имѣ**ти

(\**jьm*‑ >) имеши, имѫтъ 'take' **ѧ**ти

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 (or длъжьнъ/длъжьна есмь) плащати 'I must pay', or подобаетъ мꙋ благодарити 'he should thank'. The subject of such constructions is always in the dative case.

The etymology of the ending is often (e.g. Lunt 2001:247, Trunte 2022:180) interpreted as an i-stem sg.dat suffix too, describing some kind of circumstance. However, its accentuation points towards the locative (Olander 2009:178; also see §3.8).

The term наклоненïе (lit. 'alignment') for verbal mood in Church Slavonic context goes back to the grammar of Smotricky (1648:196v), and it is common in present-day grammars too. Zizanii (1596:52r) used term образъ (lit. 'picture'). For indicative, both Smotricky and Zizanii use the term изıавительно (наклоненïе).

## 2.5. Повѣлительно наклоненïе - Imperative

Basically, there are two ways of expressing requests, commands, prohibitions and, especially important in Church Slavonic, prayers. One is using a synthetic imperative of the verb, adding an imperative extension -и- or -ѣ- and a person/number ending to the verbal present stem (2sg -и, 1pl ‑мъ, 2pl -те). The -и- is used on most verbal classes. In i-verbs, the plural forms often look the same as a present tense indicative, e.g. добро **творите** ненавидѧщиıмъ васъ 'do good to them who hate you!' (Zogr. Mt 5:44).

2sg 2pl

wait! чаи! чаите!

do! твори! творите!

hear! слыши! слышите!

dare! смѣи! смѣите!

have mercy! милꙋи! милꙋите!

beat! би! бите!

The -ѣ- is used in many plural forms, but in singular only on some verbs with infinitive consonant- and nǫ‑stems, like минѫти 'pass'. Some verbs (like ѧти 'take', 2sg.prs имеши) show ‑и‑ in 2sg and ‑ѣ‑ in other forms. Root-final velars undergo second palatalization before the ending. Some roots ending in a velar are also shortened:

have! имѣи! имѣите!

pass! минѣи! минѣте!

take! ими! имѣте!

help! помоѕи! помоѕѣте!

say! рьци! рьцѣте!

In dual and plural, usual person-number endings appear, e.g. рьцѣта оученикомъ его '(you two) tell his disciples!' (Zogr. Mt 28:7). More irregularities can be seen in consonant stems ending in a -д (including видѣти 'see'). In singular, their ending was likely shortened to \*‑*jь*, resulting in iotation of the stem. In plural, a regular stem is used.

see! виждь! видите!

give! даждь! дадите!

However, also forms like дажди are attested in Euch.Sin. (Lunt 2001:98), e.g. дажди намъ, да полезьны бѫдѫтъ бесѣды нашѧ 'grant us, that our conversations are helpful' ([link](http://gorazd.org/gulliver/?recordId=718)). The 'be'-verb uses a different (perfective) stem, with slightly different extensions.

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 (an optative) than a direct command. The construction is used especially with the 3rd person. However, sythetic forms of 3sg imperative (e.g. бѫди волѣ твоѣ 'thy will be done', Zogr. Mt 26:42; besides да бѫдетъ волѣ твоѣ in Mt 6:10) and even of 3pl (бѫдѫ чрѣсла ваша прѣпоѣсана 'may your waists be girdled', Zogr. Lk 12:35; see Lunt 2001:99) are attested too.

Historically, the Slavic imperative forms go back to an older present optative. This function is preserved only in the particle еша 'if only, may' used with conditionals (see §5.4), e.g. еша моглъ быхъ азь вась оувѣщати 'if only I could persuade you' (Supr., [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/suprasl/supra.htm?supra009.htm#Cod.Supr._1_9_67a_9_131); Duridanov et al. 1991:310).

## 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, 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' (like 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*; see Mladenova 2010a: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 may be hard to choose a donor language in a language like Church Slavonic. Many 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 (*eu*‑*xaristein*) or провъзгласити (*de-clare*) 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 гражданьство or въносъ (as гражданство and внос formed in comtemporary Bulgarian) from *citizenship* and *import*. There are, of course, often more ways to translate a word: e.g. the Slavonic Wikipedia article on *computer* ([link](https://cu.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=%D0%98%D1%89%D0%B8%D1%81%D0%BB%D0%B8%D1%82%D1%94%D0%BB%D2%84%D1%8C&action=history)) was first titled съмѣтатель (from modern BG смятам 'count'), later changed to more "historical" ищислитель (ищисти or исчисти 'count'; see Cejtlin et al. 1994:276).

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* - in whose etymology is originally a travel permit too.

## 2.8. Текѫщѧ гласьныѧ - 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 чаеши 'you are waiting' was likely read /čaješi/. However, other varieties (including that of Constantine-Cyrill) read /e/ and /a/, leading to all the confusion with /j/. 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'; BG днес). Some reflexes of jers in "strong" position: BG ъ, MK е, East Slavic е, SC *a*.

**ъ** Transcribed *ъ* or *ŭ*. PSl. short \**u*. Hard jer, lost in some positions (according to Havlík's Law). Reflexes: in BG ъ, SC *a* as with ь, in MK а, East Sl. o. In West Slavic, the reflex of both "strong" jers is usually *e*, but in SK/PL the *o* reflects old \**ъ* too.

**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. Reflexes: BG ъ, MK а, SL *o*, elsewhere *u* or *ju*.

**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: South Slavic *e*, East Sl. я, CZ/SK *ja*.

**ѣ** Transcribed *ě*. PSl. long \**ē* or a reflex of PSl. diphthong \**ai*. Also called "jat". Likely pronounced as diphthong /ea/ in Old Bulgarian dialects, possibly as /ä/ in the variety known to Constantine-Cyrill. The length was preserved in earlier stages of CZ/SK under specific accents (now reflected as CZ *í*, SK *ie*). Some reflexes: BG е orя, MK е, East Sl. е, 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 West and South Slavic, pronounciation /y/ preserved in East Slavic and PL.

## 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 (чаıати)? 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\_ (телѧ)? 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"!

4. Read aloud (including ъ and ь) and transcribe into Cyrillic

1. Eda mi něstъ nuždьno ničьtože doplaštati? 2. Se, bratïa moji idǫtъ. 3. Blagodarjǫ, nǫ dostoitъ mi iti. 4. Iměite posъlanïa svoja vynǫ u sebe! 5. Dadeši vrěštę ono Zosimině dъšteri? 6. Moljǫ tę, sъvrьši to dьnьsь. 7. Da slyšimъ, čьto rekǫtъ synove! 8. Kakъ podobaetъ slovo "ištislitelь" pisati?

# 3. На оулици - On the street

- dual number

- cases: loc & inst

- verbal aspect and future tense

- derivation of possessors

- asking for a direction

- accentuation

## 3.1. Бесѣда - Dialogue

Mary and Zosima ride through the main street of Velegrad, the Ducal Avenue. The traffic is very dense and slow, but Mary 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 Кѵрïлловъ садъ естъ, а въ немь - Народьно позорище.

М: Далеко ли обитѣль моıа естъ?

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

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

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

М: За оутрïа имамь тамо ходити. Како доидѫ тамо изъ обитѣли?

З: Изидеши право на Радогощь 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 не забѫдеши, ıако оутрѣ имавѣ Милановы сърѣтити въ виноградѣ ихъ.

М: Никакоже не забѫдѫ! 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 Kѵrïllovъ sadъ estъ, a vъ nemь Narodьno pozorište.

M: Daleko li obitelь moja estъ?

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

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

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

M: Za utria imamь tamo xoditi. Kako doidǫ tamo izъ obitelę?

Z: Izideši pravo na Radogoštь 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 sъrětiti vъ vinogradě ixъ.

M: Nikakože nezabǫdǫ! Po pladьni uže bǫdǫ paky vъ obitěli. 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 Samo's Street, where are many shops. At its end is the old Temple of the Mother of God and the University.

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

Z: You will go straightly to the Radogost's 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 (see below)

бывати be (iterative, see below)

виноградъ vineyard

вьсь all

вьсеоучилище university (lit. 'all-school', used e.g. here- [link](https://www.europeana.eu/en/item/9200215/BibliographicResource_3000096072991?utm_source=new-website&utm_medium=button); оучити 'teach, learn')

въсадити сѧ mount, get on

възѧти take (1sg.prs възьмѫ)

далеко far

десьнъ right

еще yet

же and

забыти forget

завити turn

за оутрïа in the morning

и and (conjunctive), too

коньць end

кънѧжь of a duke (see below)

людïе people

народьнъ national

новъ new

идеже where (relative)

изити 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')

скоро soon, quickly

срѣдъ center, middle

старъ old

съньмъ assembly, parliament

сърѣтити meet (1sg.prs сърѧщѫ)

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 Slovene now; it was discarded elsewhere in Slavic, and now only isolated dual forms remain, like **очи** '(a pair of) eyes' - CS uses очеса as the plural form. 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 чаıати творити видѣти

sg

1 -мь/-ѫ имамь чаıѫ творıѫ виждѫ

2 -ши имаши чаеши твориши видиши

3 -тъ иматъ чаетъ творитъ видитъ

pl

1 -мъ имамъ чаемъ творимъ видимъ

2 -те имате чаете творите видите

3 -ѫтъ/-ѧтъ имѫтъ чаıѫтъ творѧтъ видѧтъ

dl

1 -вѣ имавѣ чаевѣ творивѣ видивѣ

2 -та имата чаета творита видита

3 -те имате чаете творите видите

As you can see, the 3dl.prs form was homonymic with 2nd person plural. In later OCS (already in Supr. and Sav.k.), the 2dl forms were commonly used for the 3rd person too (Lunt 2001:94), 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.

In later CS redactions (Zizanii 1592:57r, Bončev 1952:44, Mironova 2010:128), the dual endings were distributed according to the subject gender: pairs containing masculine subjects ended in ‑а (1dl ‑ва, 2/3dl ‑та), others in -ѣ (‑вѣ or ‑тѣ), e.g. ıакоже видѣстѣ очи мои сп‑сенïе твое 'for my eyes have seen Your salvation' (Kiev.d., [link](https://www.punco.uzh.ch/syntax.php?corpus=lt&chapter=kvd&cyr=1&sent_id=420)). Some late texts show the m/n.1dl.prs ending ‑ма (e.g. да тамѡ лѧжема 'let us lie down there', *Prologъ* 1895:107r) and (f.dl) ‑мѣ, which can be found in the grammar of Smotricky (1648:190v) as well.

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, мори, посъланïи

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

other гражданина, дьни

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 the second palatalization (рѣцѣ), as discussed in the previous chapter.

## 3.3. Падежи: мѣстьнъ и творительнъ - Cases: loc & inst

The last two cases to discuss are the locative and instrumental: two "peripheral" cases, with a more restricted function in comparison to the others. The meaning of a noun phrase with the case depends much on the preposition - or its absence.

Locative is called by Church Slavonic grammarians сказателный (lit. 'of narration', Smotricky 1648:92r), местен ('of location', Bončev 1952:15), or предложный ('prepositional', Mironova 2010:45) - we could archaize the names as съказательнъ, мѣстьнъ, or прѣдъложьнъ. Because it was not known to Ancient Greek, early sources sometimes identify the case 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. **зимѣ** 'in the winter' or **томъ часѣ** 'in that moment'. It is used with the preposition **о** 'about', denoting topics (hence съказательный): бесѣдꙋемъ о ѧзыцѣ 'we speak about the language'. It is also used with many prepositions denoting location (hence мѣстьнъ) 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'. The endings are distributed by stem classes:

o- -ѣ братѣ, возѣ, винѣ

jo- -и кони, мытари, ножи, врѣщи, мори, посъланïи

a- -ѣ сестрѣ, рѣцѣ, Зосимѣ

ja- -и ладïи, Марïи

i- -и кости, пѫти

u- -ꙋ сынꙋ

n- -ене пламене, знамене

nt- -ѧте телѧте

r- -ери дъщери

s- -есе небесе

ū- -ъве црькъве

other гражданинѣ, дьни (or дьне)

masc. -ѣ добрѣ

-и нищи

fem. -ѣ добрѣ

-и нищи

neut. -ѣ добрѣ

-и нищи

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, мытарихъ, ножихъ, врѣщихъ, морихъ, посъланïихъ

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

other гражданехъ, дьньхъ (or дьнехъ)

masc. -ѣхъ добрѣхъ

-ихъ нищихъ

fem. -ахъ добрахъ, нищахъ

neut. -ѣхъ добрѣхъ

-ихъ нищихъ

Instrumental (творительнъ 'of a creator') was recognized as a separate category of CS declension first by Zizanii (1596:26v) - it was known neither in Latin, nor in Greek. 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 soe predicates, denoting becoming, functions and temporary states, e.g. дѣвоıѫ бо бѣ еѵа 'for Eve was a virgin' (Lunt 2001:151). This is quite rare in OCS, although common elsewhere in Slavic.

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, мытаремь, ножемь, врѣщемь, моремь, посъланïемь

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

other гражданиномь, дьньмь (or дьнемь)

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, мытари, ножи, врѣщи, мори, посъланïи

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

other гражданы, дьньми (or дьны)

masc. -ы добры

-и нищи

fem. -ами добрами, нищами

neut. -ы добры

-и нищи

Similarly as ‑ïй (phonetically \*‑*ijь*), the sequence -ïи­‑ (that is, ‑*iji‑*; in ja-stem sg.dat like ладïи, jo‑stem pl.loc посъланïихъ etc.) can also undergo contraction to ‑и in later sources (e.g. б‑жествьными обѣщани 'by divine promises', Krivko 2015:59).

Now we can also completize 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 й 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

Some of the forms in the paradigm are not appearing consistently in OCS. 1sg.dat/loc мьнѣ appears also with hard jer, but much much less common: in Zogr., about 12x we have мънѣ vs. 124x with ь. For the 1sg.inst form, the situation is less clear: in Assem., we have 8x мъноıѫ and 12x мьноıѫ, while Zogr. shows only the variant with ъ.

## 3.4. Глагольнъ видъ - Verbal Aspect

In most Slavic varieties, verbal stems 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 can be seen as a lexical feature, not necessarily reflected in morphology (as e.g. in Sanskrit). 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 create perfective stems, are mostly the same as prepositions (see Lunt 2001:82), but the meanings may slightly differ.

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

въз- въздвигнѫти 'raise, 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' ('make around')

ѿ- ѿити 'depart'

по- положити 'place'

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

при- прибавити 'acquire'

про- продльжити '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')

The prefixes tend to react with their phonetic context (assimilate). A common development is the devoicing of \**z* in front of voiceless consonants, e.g. исходити 'walk out' (< \**iz*+*xoditi*). It may react with root-initial sibilants, e.g. ищистити 'clean' (besides variants with изч- or ич-; Cejtlin et al. 1994:276), or simply fall out, as in ицѣлити 'heal' (besides исц-). Sometimes, the jer of the prefix shifted according to the palatality of vowel in the following syllable, e.g. 2sg.imp съврьши 'finish' > с**ь**врьши (Trunte 2022:314; possibly relevant for мънѣ > мьнѣ too). In later redactions, the root-initial и- may shift backwards, e.g. изыти 'go out'. A loss of a weak jer (§1.8) could also trigger the consonantal assimilation, e.g. **сь**де 'here' > **з**де.

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' (vs. нести). The function of the suffix ‑(ı)а- in words like like ѿвращати (prf. ѿвратити) is sometimes compared to that of iterative aspect too (Trunte 2022:125).

## 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, as a main verb. A perfective verb would need an auxiliary (e.g. могѫ ѿтити 'I can go out') or a subordinating conjunction (чаıѫ да речеши нѣчьто 'I wait for you to say something'). If a present form of a perfective verb is used alone, it always 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'; Zogr. Mt 26:29) and хотѣти 'want' (**хощетъ** бо иродъ **искати** отрочѧте 'for Herod is going to search for the baby'; 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 also likely "will" be, what is going to occur.

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: both имѣти and хотѣти are preferred by Bončev (1952:57), while only имѣти is used by Mironova (2010:139).

The term бѫдѫще (lit. 'becoming') is common in the grammatical literature for the tense. However, 'future' is sometimes described as грѧдѫще (lit. 'coming') too, e.g. въ грѣдꙋщее лѣто 'in the next year' (Kiev.d., [link](https://www.punco.uzh.ch/syntax.php?corpus=lt&chapter=kvd&cyr=1&sent_id=363)).

## 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 root-final consonants (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 корабъ еговъ 'his ship' (e.g. Vat.slav.2, [link](https://www.punco.uzh.ch/syntax.php?corpus=sva&chapter=vat&cyr=1&sent_id=306)), 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'; NBKM 667, [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. The function exists in most Slavic varieties, maybe outside 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 - изидѫ **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 кѫдꙋ грѧдеши? 'Whence are you coming?'

ѿ тѫдꙋ '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 is variation in vowels especially in ablative forms: e.g. отъ коудѫ (Mar. Mt 13:27; Assem.: кѫдоу), отъ кѫдѫ (Mar. Mt 13:54; Assem.: кѫдѣ); in later sources, the common form is кꙋдꙋ.

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'. There are also other prepositions used only with accusative in spatial sense, like **възь** 'at the edge of, in exchange for', **за** 'by' (e.g. за рѫкѫ 'by hand', besides already mentioned 'for the sake of'), **подльгъ** 'along', and **сквозѣ** 'through' (Lunt 2001:151).

## 3.8. Оударıанïа - Accentuation

Church Slavonic texts were often meant to read in public, whose vernaculars had the lexical accent as a phonemic feature. Words like мѫка 'torment' and мѫка 'flour' were distinguished by the position of stress. In the time of Constantine-Cyrill, this was likely so in the language of Moravians too, even if most West Slavic varieties show a fixed accent today.For this reason, many 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.

Old Church Slavonic sources mark accents only rarely. They are regularily used in Kiev.f, but differently from later (Cyrillic) sources: they could mark vocal length or syllable borders too (Trubetzkoy 1954:48). 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 first root syllable 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-*, see 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 (see Stang 1957:21) or as glottalization of the vowel (see 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 often 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*, see Skt. *svásar‑*; Derksen 2008:445, Holzer 2011:49).

The origin of the mobile paradigm, **AP *c***, is not so clear (see e.g. Olander 2009 for details). Many words with this type of accentuation go back to words originally stressed on the ending (e.g. нога < PSl. \**nagāˀ* < PIE \**h₃nogʷʰ-éh₂*, see 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*, see 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*-, see 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

This is also only a part of the solution. Slavic words often show multiple morphemes like aspect prefixes and derivational suffixes. Another observation of Dybo (1981:261) was that in Proto‑Slavic all morphemes including roots have diffent ability (valence) to "attract" accent in a word. In a word, the first such an "attractive" (high-valence) morphem would show accent. For example, root accent is preserved in старица 'old woman' (***star*+**-*ic*+-a-), but in младица 'girl' (*mlad*-‑***ic*+**‑*a*-) it is fixed on the derivative suffix. Resulting accent positions were further affected by Dybo's Law, when applicable, both in words with high-valence roots like вьдовица 'widow'(formally *vьdov*+‑*ic*+‑*a*-, compare Skt. *vidhávā-* 'widow', Derksen 2008:536, Holzer 2015:28), as well as low-valence ones like орѫжïе 'weapon' (*o*-‑*rǫž*-‑*ьj*+‑*e*-; Dybo 1981:58).

It may be tricky to guess the accent from the dictionary forms, especially for words with the mobile paradigm. However, many nominal (sg.loc, pl.dat, loc, inst of most stems) and verbal (infinitive ‑ти, and sg/pl present tense of thematic verbs) endings are highly valent, so they commonly carry the stress.

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. Радогощемь пѫтемь дьньсь не (мощи) минѫти. 5. Та (рещи), ıако въ Велеградѣ жïеть. 6. Къде (стоıати) кънѧжь дворъ? 7. (Продльжати) право Самовоıѫ 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 / изидемъ / 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 кѫдꙋ (идетъ / изидетъ / хощетъ ити) братовъ возъ? Еще не виждѫ и. 7. Еда ми еще (нѣстъ / не бѫдѫ / не бываıѫ) нꙋждно заврѣти? 8. Се, тъ оуже (идетъ / изидетъ / 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 продльжиши 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.

# 4. Въ обитѣли - At the hotel

- passive participles

- pronominal roots & declension

- long-form adjectives

- derivation of nationalities

- abbreviations

- law of rising sonority

## 4.1. Бесѣда - Dialogue

Mary 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! Дльго 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 сърѣтити сѧ?

М: Жально ми естъ, оутрѣ бо невъзмогѫ. Достоитъ ми оутрѣмъ на вьсеоучилищи чисти, а послѣжде позъвана есмь дрꙋгы брата моего на посърѣтенïе въ Поганьское.

Р: Еда тъ на Моравѣ дльго живетъ?

М: Ей, онъде въ Поганьсцѣмъ. Тъ жененъ естъ за моравлıанъкѫ. 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 вынѫ оучюдима есмь, ıако въ обьщемъ разоумѣıѫтъ.

M: (Hesitates a bit.) Radostina?

R: O, Mary! 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 read (have a lecture) at the University 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 always amazed, that they understand at all.

аще и even if, although

въ обьщемь at all (lit. 'in common, generally')

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')

мало a bit

моравлıанъка Moravian (female)

населıати settle

наоучьнъ scientific (наоука 'science, doctrine')

недѣла Sunday (дѣлати 'work')

ненадъ unexpected (изъ ненада 'surprise')

позъвати invite

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. Тръпительна причѧстïа - Passive Participles

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

Past passive participles can be used both as a verbal root of the sentence, denoting passive voice (e.g. егда **оставленъ** бѫдѫ 'when I will be dismissed', 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', Zogr. Lk 22:12) - it is a kind of perfective passive. The action implied by the verb is relevant for the time of reference denoted by the auxiliary. In this way, the participle is used also elsewhere in Slavic.

The participle uses an aorist/infinitive stem (see §2.4) 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 (see Lunt 2001:110). In later redactions, the distribution may differ according to region and period.

а- чаıа-ти чаıа**нъ** 'awaited'

nǫ- минѫ-ти минѫ**тъ** 'passed'

ova- милова-ти милова**нъ** 'having received mercy'

ěja- сѣıа-ти сѣıа**нъ** 'sown'

j- би-ти би**тъ** 'beaten'

i- твори-ти твор**енъ** 'done'

ě- видѣ-ти видѣ**нъ** 'seen'

C- да-ти да**нъ** 'given'

нес-ти нес**енъ** 'carried'

рещи реч**енъ** 'said'

ѧ-ти ѧ**тъ** 'taken'

The 'be'-verb can not really have a passive voice. However, there are n-/t-participles based on the derived забыти 'forget': given as забытъ in Supr., and as f.sg.nom забъвена in Zogr. and Assem. (Lk 12:6; Trubetzkoy 1954:179, Polivanova 2013:319), as well as in Ps.Sin (вь землı забьвенѣ 'in the forgotten land', Ps 87:13). Slavic dialects differed in this respect already by then.

Present passive participles, on the other hand, stress the continuation of the action at the reference time, i.e. imperfectivity. For this reason, they are also more commonly used with imperfective verbs (Trunte 2022:176), e.g. вьсѣ же дѣла своѣ творѧтъ да **видими** бѫдѫтъ чл-кы 'they do all their works to be seen by people' (Mar. Mt 23:5). The form can also be translated with English ‑*able*, i.e. 'to be visible to people'. In this function, it is still productive in modern Bulgarian and Macedonian. Elsewhere, most Slavic varieties use the past (n‑/t‑) participles for present tense (or, rather, imperfective) passive voice too.

Morphologically, the participle is built from a present stem (Bončev 1952:63, Trunte 2022:176), the suffix ‑**м**-, and a hard adjectival ending. Verbs with athematic and nǫ‑stems in infinitive build the participle from stems of 1sg.prs, using an extended suffix ‑**ом**‑ (or -им- for irregular дати 'give').

e- чае-ши чае**мъ** 'being awaited'

мин-ѫ мин**омъ** 'being passed'

въздвигн-ѫ въздвигн**омъ** 'being raised'

милꙋе-ши милꙋе**мъ** 'receiving mercy'

сѣе-ши сѣе**мъ** 'being sown'

бïе-ши бïе**мъ** 'being beaten'

нес-ѫ нес**омъ** 'being carried'

рек-ѫ рек**омъ** 'being said, called'

\**jьm-ǫ* им**омъ** 'being taken'

i- твори-ши твори**мъ** 'being done'

види-ши види**мъ** 'being seen'

C- \**dad-mь* дад**имъ** 'being given'

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' (Zogr. Mt 26:2, lit. 'will betray himself'; 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 мѣстоименьно - 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 used as an ending. This might be the reason, why their hypothetic nominative forms (sg \**jь*, \**ja*, \**je*, pl \**ji*, \**ję*, \**ja*, dl \**ja*, \**ji*) were not used in Slavic, having been replaced by demonstrative pronouns. Similar endings are also used by many adjectives.

The declension also reflects the palatality of the root. Hard roots can be seen on demonstrative pronouns тъ, онъ and овъ, as well as adjectival вьсѣкъ or къ-ждо 'every' (the -ждо follows the ending), дрꙋгъ 'other (in a group)', единъ 'one', етеръ 'such', инъ 'other (anywhere)', 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 roots, including those of the demonstrative сь, as well as interrogative кый 'which' and чïй 'whose', and possessive pronouns of the type мой, свой etc. (see 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/сïй сïа сïе мой моıа мое

gen сего сеѧ сего моего моеѧ моего

dat семꙋ сей семꙋ моемꙋ моей моемꙋ

acc сего сïѫ се 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, as in nominal ja-/jo- stems (§1.8). There is also a mixed paradigm using endings from both (mostly soft ones, plus hard ones containing a ѣ), which is used by the pronouns like вьсь 'all, whole' and сиць 'such' (Lunt 2001:62).

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 вьса вьси вьси

gen вьсею вьсею вьсею

dat вьсѣма вьсѣма вьсѣма

## 4.4. Корени мѣстоименьни - Pronominal Roots

As we can see, Church Slavonic uses a number of roots to make demonstrative pronouns. The difference denotes deixis, the distance of their referents. In this way, English distinguishes two levels: distal (placed far away from the speaker) *that* and proximal (placed near) *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 къто/чьто (see §5.5)

locative сьде/овъде онъде тꙋ къде

ablative сѫдꙋ/овѫдꙋ онѫдꙋ тѫдꙋ кѫдꙋ

lative семо/овамо онамо тамо камо

manner овакъ онакъ такъ какъ

duration овогда оногда тогда когда

moment сели \*оноли толи коли

quantity селико онолико толико колико

In OCS, the demonstrative could appear both before (до того дьне 'until that day', Assem. Mt 26:29) and after the noun (отъ дъне того 'from that day', 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' (Assem. Mt 24:48; see 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.

Interrogative (к-) roots can be used to produce indefinite ('some-') and negative ('no-') pronouns. The former can be expressed by an interrogative pronoun itself, but it often shows prefix **нѣ**-, e.g. прикоснѫ сѧ мьнѣ нѣкъто 'somebody has touched me' (Mar. Lk 8:46; къто in Zogr.). Negative pronouns use prefix **ни**-, and often are followed by the emphatic particle -же: не погоубихъ никогоже отъ нихъ 'I did not lose anyone (lit. 'none') of them' (Sav.k. Jn 18:9). Following forms are attested in OCS corpus, available at the time of writing:

interr. indefinite negative

m.sg.nom къто нѣкъто никъто(же)

чьто нѣчьто ничьто(же)

locative къде нѣкъде никъде

ablative кѫдꙋ \*нѣкѫдꙋ \*никѫдꙋ

lative камо нѣкамо никамо(же)

manner какъ нѣкакъ никако(же)

duration когда нѣкъгда никогда(же)

moment коли нѣколи николи(же)

quantity колико нѣколико \*николико

## 4.5. Съложьна прилагательнаа - 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' (Zogr. Mt 5:3). The adjective can be analyzed thus:

root nom.suffix adj.suffix adj.ending pron.ending

неб- -ес- -н- -о- -е

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

The long form corresponds to the English *the* and Greek (f.sg.nom) *hē*: it appears, because "the Kingdom of Heaven" is considered a generally known concept - like grammatical categories in section titles of this book. Unlike in English, the Greek and OCS determiner also appears together with expressions of possession, like с[ы]нъ **мои** **възлюбленъıи** 'my beloved Son' (Assem. Mt 3:17; < Gr. *ho hyos mou ho agapētos*) and demonstrative pronouns, like in the phrase **зълъı** рабъ **тъ** 'that evil servant' (< Gr. *ho kakos doulos ekeinos*) mentioned above.

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' (Assem. Lk 8:28; instead of \*живаего). Note, that in comparison to assimilation of consonants (see above §3.4), assimilation of vowels proceeds progressively - according to the first one. Unassimilated endings (like с[ы]нꙋ ч[ловѣчь]скоуемоу, Zogr. Jn 12:34; see с[ы]нꙋ ч[ловѣчь]скꙋмꙋ in 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' (Mar. Mt 12:35; see добрааго in Assem. and Zogr.) fairly often. Even Kiev.f. show contracted forms like тѣлесе свѧтаго 'of the holy body' ([link](https://www.punco.uzh.ch/syntax.php?corpus=lt&chapter=kvf&cyr=2&sent_id=13)) regularily. 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); < \**divаmъ+imъ*) are fully assimilated in known sources; the -м- of the first ending is always dropped. Also see 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, as, morphologically, they are not the most simple words. Words **народъ** and **ѧзыкъ** are used to denote a 'nation': the first could denote more abstract 'people' (gr. *dēmos*), the other also 'language' or 'tongue'. The word **бесѣда** 'conversation' can also mean 'dialect' (lit. 'manner of speech'). Common ethnonyms found in OCS sources are the following:

country masc. fem. adjective

Аравïа 'Arabia' аравлıанинъ - -

Арменïа 'Armenia' арменинъ - арменьскъ

Африкïа 'Africa' - - африкьскъ

Грьци 'Greece' грьци - грьчьскъ

Евреи 'Israel' еврейнъ - еврейскъ

Егѵпьтъ 'Egypt' егѵпьтѣнинъ егѵпьтѣныни егѵпьтьскъ

Елини 'Greece' елининъ елиныни елиньскъ

Жидове 'Judaea' жидовинъ - жидовьскъ

Iюдеïа 'Judaea' - - ıюдейскъ

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 Old World:

Блъгаре 'Bulgaria' блъгаринъ блъгарыни блъгарьскъ

Варѧsи 'Sweden' варѧгъ - варѧжьскъ

Власи 'Italy, Romania' влахъ - влашьскъ

Iнъдïа 'India' ıнъдïанинъ - ıнъдïйскъ

Литва 'Lithuania' литвинъ - литовьскъ

Лѧси 'Poland' лѧхъ - лѧдьскъ

Морава 'Moravia' моравлıанинъ - 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 many Slavic tribes - a river, a suffix ‑ıан‑ or ‑ѣн‑ is attached to the root. This one seems to be optional: e.g. for 'Parthian', both партѣнинъ and парѳинъ are attested. Another (so-called singulative) suffix is attached according to the gender: masc. -ин- and fem. -ын-. The ending goes back to the word for the number 1 - thus meaning something like 'one of' (Duridanov et al. 1991:162). Thus an "ethno-stem" is created. It is used with many ethnonyms borrowed from other languages, like блъгаринъ or ѫгринъ. The suffix is also used for many other social groups, like гражданинъ 'citizen' (fem. гражданыни or гражданъка), болıаринъ 'member of nobility, boyar' (fem. болıарыни). The pl.nom ending is regularily ‑e (see §2.2), but also -и is frequent, especially for словѣни 'Slavs' (Lunt 2001:251). An ‑е‑ appears instead of -о‑ also in pl.dat and loc in these words (e.g. къ гражданемъ). Ethnonyms 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 \*моравлıаныни or \*моравлıанъка (> 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', Zogr. Jn 19:20). Glottonyms are also often given with adjectives, with both long- (исаврьскыим͛ ѧзыкомъ 'in Isauran language', 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', 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' амерïчанинъ амерïчанъка амерïчьскъ

амерïчаныни

Iракъ 'Iraq' ирачанинъ ирачька ирачьскъ

ирачаныни

Кѫго 'Congo' кѫжанинъ кѫжанъка кѫжьскъ

кѫжаныни

Перъ 'Peru' перовѣнинъ перовѣнъка перовьскъ

перовѣныни

Синь 'China' синѣнинъ синѣнъка синѣньскъ

синѣныни

Швицаре 'Switzerland' швицаринъ швицаръка швицарьскъ

швицарыни

Ѧглïа 'England' ѧглıанин ѧглıанъка ѧгльскъ

ѧглıаныни

## 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** for 'lord'), and the practice is adopted in this book as well. 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, rather, orthographical) ending: сн҃ъ for с[ы]нъ, гл҃ти for гл[агола]ти and so on.

In some 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 (see 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 растѫщѧ звѫчьности - Law of Rising Sonority

Slavic languages have undergone a series of phonetic shifts, which resulted in open syllables, i.e. 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). Syllable-final plosives were deleted, if followed by obstruents or nasals (4). Later, monophthongization affected syllables ending in a glide (5). Afterwards, syllable-final liquids have undergone metathesis with preceding vowels, legthening them (6), and nasals merged with vowels (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*** (see Gr. *mētēr* 'mother') > \**maH*|*t****ī*** > OCS мати 'mother' (Kortlandt 1983:7 §5.1)
2. elision of 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***|*sum* (Hitt. *pahs-* 'protect') > \**p****āˀ***|*sum* > OCS пасѫ 1sg.prs 'pasture, herd', (Kort. §5.3, Derksen 2008:392)
4. elision of plosives pre-PSl. \**su****p***|***n****u* (Lith. *sapnas* 'sleep') > \**su*|***n****u*  > OCS сънъ 'sleep' (Derksen 2008:481)
5. monophthongization PSl. \**k****ai***|*nāˀ* (Lith. *kaina* 'price') > *\*k****ē***|*nāˀ* > OCS цѣна 'price' (see Holzer 2011:44 §3, Kort. §6.5)
6. metathesis of liquids PSl. \**g****ar***|*du* (Lith. *gardas* 'fence') > \**g****rā***|*du* > градъ 'city' (Holz. §10 & §20, Kort. §7.12)
7. 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)

Only open syllables were allowed in Common Slavic by then (Lunt 2001:192). Feldstein (2020) describes these changes in a relation to a separate shift, called "law of open syllables" or, rather, "of rising sonority". Before the elision of syllable-final plosives in clusters (4), syllable borders were redistributed according to sonority - the level of obstruction of airstream - of individual phonems. At the syllable onset, plosives and nasals would be placed in front of glides and liquids, and all these would precede vowels. If a syllable had ended in a plosive before the shift (as in \**sup*|*nu*), the syllable border shifted to the left. If thus an inadmissible cluster of consonants emerged, the plosive was discarded (thus \**sup*|*nu* > \**su*|*pnu* > \**su*|*nu*). Resyllabification according to the law of rising sonority and subsequent elisions were effective as phonotactical rules afterwards as well (Lunt 2001:197).

With the loss of weak jers (see above §2.8) closed syllables had appeared in all Slavic varieties again, but Church Slavonic orthography reflects this stage.

## 4.9. Оупражьненïа - Exercises

1. Choose the right form of the verb

1. Егда истъба (постълати), (населıати) сѧ. 2. Азъ (чюдити сѧ), ıако тъ (женити сѧ). 3. Еда (глаголати) съ тѣми латиньскы, Зосимо? 4. Егда та (сърѣтити) 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)?

2. Choose the right adjectival form

1. Къде оставиши (та стара) ладïа? 2. На тръsѣ не хотѧтъ ти (добра) цѣнѫ дати. 3. Ѿ коли имаши (литовьско) посланïе? 4. Бѫдѫ въ (онъ красьнь) садъ на коньци града. 5. Мѣсѧць сь бѫдетъ sѣло (дльгъ). 6. Егда сꙋть (весела), моıа чѧда пѣıѫтъ. 7. Когда възможеши въ (Милановъ) виноградъ ити? 8. Вьсь дьнь ищѫ (нова) истъбѫ. 9. Не знаıѫ (велеградьскы) оулицѧ. 10. Еда можеши (десьна) рѫкоıѫ писати?

3. Derive ethnonyms and country names

masc. fem.

Арменïа 'Armenia' \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ арменьскъ

Африкïа 'Africa' \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ африкьскъ

Iюдеïа 'Judaea' \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ ıюдейскъ

Спанïа 'Spain' \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ спанейскъ

Сꙋмь 'Finland' \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ сꙋмьскъ

\_\_\_\_ 'Belgium' блѣжѣнинъ блѣжѣныни \_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_ 'Chile' чилѣнинъ чилѣнъка \_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_ 'Estonia' естинъ естыни \_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_ 'Japan' ıапѡнинъ ıапѡнъка \_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_ 'Turkey' тꙋръчинъ тꙋръкыни \_\_\_\_

4. Translate

1. I am going to the land of Avars. 2. Can you buy coffee at the market? 3. Prices are chaning in Poland. 4. The forest is alive in the morning. 5. Workers sing in Italian. 6. The port is closed for all boats. 7. Since when are you married? 8. Velegrad is settled by Czechs and Germans. 9. There are good horses being sold here. 10. Tell me, when the market will be open.

# 5. Въ виноградѣ - In the vineyard

- use of l-participle: perfect tense, conditional mood

- relative pronouns

- numerals

- temporal expressions

- Cyrillic numbers

## 5.1. Бесѣда - Dialogue

Mary, Zosima and his wife Silvia meet in the vineyard of their friends, Dragomir and Kvetana, drinking wine and coffee. The focus inevitably turns towards Mary and her stay in Moravia.

К: Есмь слышала, ıако ты рада на Моравѫ ходиши, Марïе.

М: Ей, съде мьнѣ оугодьно естъ.

С: А чьто ти естъ вѧще оугодьно, миръ или пꙋстынıа?

М: Еще нѣсмь была въ Старомь Градѣ, ни въ Праsѣ, нѫ едва не вьсѣко лѣто хождѫ въ Бескыды. Оуже ѿ седми на десѧте лѣтъ. Аще бимь могла, вьсѣко лѣто бимь ходила.

З: Мимошьдъшïимь оубо лѣтомь, егда мы съпознали сѧ, Марïа бѣ въ Грьцѣхъ.

К: Еда не ищеши и нынѣ въ Бескыды ити?

М: Останѫ тъчïıѫ шесть дьнïй. Нѫ въ авъгꙋстѣ бимь искала пакы доити.

Д: Квѣтана родена естъ въ Бескыдѣхъ, на Доброй Водѣ. Еда еси оуже была на IАворинѣ?

М: Разоумѣетъ сѧ, понѣ три краты. Едино мѣсто тамо красно естъ, ѿнюдꙋже и Вагъ възможьно естъ зьрѣти.

К: Ей, близъ того же стоитъ хыжа, въ нейже есвѣ съ Драгомиромъ съпознали сѧ.

Д: Еда мы нѣсвѣ на Татрѣ съпознали сѧ?

К: Ѡ, възможьно естъ, ıако бѣ съ... Нѫ, Драгомире, пꙋсти Марïѫ о себѣ расказати!

K: I have heard, that you like to go to Moravia.

M: Yes, I like it very much here.

S: And what do you like more, cities or the nature?

M: I have not been to Stary Grad, nor in Prague, but I go almost every summer to Carpathians. Already since 17 years. If I could, I would come every year.

Z: However, last summer, as we have met, Maria was in Greece.

K: Do you not wish to go to Carpathians now too?

M: I'm staying only for six days. But I would like to come in August again.

D: Kvetana is born in Carpathians, in Dobra Voda. Have you been to Javorina?

M: Of course, at least three times. There is a nice place, from whence it is possible to see even Waag.

K: Yes, there is a cottage next to it, where we have met with Dragomir.

D: Did we not meet in Tatra?

K: Oh, it is possible, that it was with... Well, Dragomir, let Mary tell about herself!

бимь I would (conditional auxiliary)

Бескыды Northern Carpathians (mountains)

Вагъ Waag (river)

вода water

въ нейже in which (relative)

вѧще more

едва не almost, barely

зьрѣти see

кратъ time (три краты 'for three times')

мимошьдъ past

ни nor

пꙋстынıа desert, uninhabited land (here: 'nature')

ѿнюдꙋже from whence (relative)

седмь на десѧте seventeen

съпознати сѧ meet, get to know each other

Татра Tatra (mountains)

три three

оубо so, however

хыжа cottage

шесть six

IАворина Javorina (mountain; ıаворъ 'maple tree')

## 5.2. Причѧстïе л-ово - L-Participle

The l-participle, also called or second past active, resultative (Lunt 2001:109), or perfect active (Trunte 2022:94), is productive in most Slavic varieties, where it fulfills various functions. The most common one is the expression of past tense. In this role it appears in Church Slavonic as well, but there are also other past tenses, which we will explain in following chapters. This participle is rarely found in adnominal positions - according to Lunt (2001:110), only once in the OCS corpus (cit. sg.acc творитъ [...] агодѫ емоу изгнилѫ 'makes its fruit bad', Sav.k. Mt 12:33).

As well as past passive participles, the l-participle is built from aorist/infinitive stem (see §2.4) of verbs, an -**л**- suffix, and a hard adjectival ending. The ending is not attested with a long form (Lunt 2001:109).

a- чаıа-ти чаıа**лъ** 'having awaited'

nǫ- минѫ-ти минѫ**лъ** 'having passed'

ova- милова-ти милова**лъ** 'having been merciful'

ěja- сѣıа-ти сѣıа**лъ** 'having sown'

j- би-ти би**лъ** 'having been beating'

i- твори-ти твор**илъ** 'having done'

ě- видѣ-ти видѣ**лъ** 'having seen'

C- бы-ти бы**лъ** 'having been'

да-ти да**лъ** 'having given'

нес-ти нес**лъ** 'having carried'

рещи рекл**ъ** 'having said'

ѧ-ти ѧ**лъ** 'having taken'

In both verbal and adjectival constructions, the participle reflects the subject gender and number. However, non-masc. examples for pl and dl are scarce (f.pl былы in Zogr./Mar. Mt 11:21, n.pl была in Supr., [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/suprasl/supra.htm?supra032.htm#Cod.Supr._3_32_56_(=_190)b_18_380)). The grammar by Duridanov (et al. 1991:299) gives the following forms based on дати 'give' and hard adjectival endings:

masc. fem. neut.

sg дал**ъ** дал**а** дал**о**

pl дал**и** дал**ы** дал**а**

dl дал**а** дал**ѣ** дал**ѣ**

Later CS redactions (Smotricky 1648:195r, Bončev 1952:53, Mironova 2011:165) distinguish m/n.dl ending ‑а from f.dl ‑и. They also use the ending ‑и for all genders in plural, as the most modern Slavic varieties do.

For some verbs, multiple stems of l-participle are attested, e.g. for имѣти 'have': аще бо бıсте вѣрѫ **ималı** мосеовı, вѣрѫ бıсте **имѣлı** и мьнѣ 'so if you had faith in Moses, you would have faith in me too' (Assem. Jn 5:46). The form имали is an imperfective variant of the latter (see Lunt 2001:139). In nǫ‑verbs, if the sequence is preceded by a consonant, the stem extension might be omitted: e.g. for въздвигнѫти 'raise', both въздвиглъ (*Life of St. Methodius*, [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcc/slav/aksl/vcyrmeth/vcyrm026.htm#Vit._Meth._8_6_3)) and въздвигнѫлъ (Euch.Sin., [link](http://gorazd.org/gulliver/?recordId=29765)) are attested.

An irregular stem is used with the verb ити 'go': **шьлъ** 'having went'. The original form of the stem was actually \**šьd*-, preserved in some other forms. East and South Slavic simplified non-initial groups -*tl*- and -*dl*- (Holzer 2011:55 §19), what affected this l-participle as well. This is why the (West Slavic-speaking) customs officer in the dialogue §2.1 says добрѣ дошьдла, although after the loss of weak jer the ‑*d*‑ would be omitted anyway (CZ/SK *došla*, PL *doszła*).

## 5.3. Послѣдꙋıѫще врѣмѧ - Perfect Tense

Church Slavonic had various past tenses, which were replaced by a general preterite in most modern Slavic varieties, save for Bulgarian, Macedonian and some dialects of Serbo-Croat. The preterite is commonly based on the compound construction of a 'be'-verb auxiliary in present tense and an l‑participle of the main verb.

The construction was earlier used for the perfect tense, denoting a past action, which has an effect (послѣдовати 'follow') in the time of speech. A similar meaning can be expressed in English with the 'have'-auxiliary and a past participle. In Church Slavonic (as well as elsewhere in Slavic) the participle agrees in gender, person and number with the subject of the sentence.

m.sg братъ мой **естъ** **оженилъ** сѧ 'my brother has married'

f.sg когда **еси дошьла**, Марïе? 'when did you come, Mary?'

n.sg отрочѧ **естъ** млѣко **испило** 'the child has drunk the milk'

m.pl корабли **сѫть пристали** 'the ships have landed'

m.dl родителıа **есте пришьла** 'the parents have come'

The negation is done on the auxiliary: **нѣсмь** еще главѫ сïıѫ съвършилъ 'I have not finished this chapter yet. Perfect tense does not have a passive voice, which would be distinctive from that of present tense with n/t‑participles of perfective verbs: **дана** ми **естъ** всѣка властъ (Zogr. Mt 28:18) could be interpreted both as 'all power is given to me' and 'has been given to me'. The 3sg auxiliary is sometimes shortened (Duridanov et al. 1991:300), e.g. иже ıе посълала госпожда 'which the lady has sent' (Supr., [link](http://suprasliensis.obdurodon.org/pages/supr061v.html)), or even fully omitted: воле же чьто сътворилъ тъгда владыка тъ 'what did that ruler do then?' (Supr., [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/suprasl/supra.htm?supra006.htm)).

Older grammars of Zizanii and Smotricky did not recognize perfect as a tense distinct from other past tenses. It is possible, that they considered its endings like -*lъ*, -*la* etc. as genus-marked variants of past endings like -*xъ*, -*še* etc. The term is based on the characteristics of the tense by Mironova (2010:159), although she designates the tense перфект herself. In Bulgarian tradition (e.g. Bončev 1952:50), the tense is called минало неопределено - "past indefinite", i.e. unmarked by aspectual differences, denoted by aorist and imperfect (see §6.2).

## 5.4. Оусловьно наклоненïе - Conditional Mood

Another function of the l-participle is the formation of conditional mood. These use a specific form of 'be'‑verb as auxiliary, e.g. **искалъ бимь** воды 'I would like water'. It is sometimes replaced by aorist forms (see §6.2), e.g. да к͛то естъ сıи аполонъ хотѣлъ быхъ оувѣдѣти 'I would like to know, who is this Apollo' (Supr., [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/suprasl/supra.htm?supra003.htm)). The difference was later phonetically levelled in some South Slavic varieties (see above §2.8). Dual forms are not attested (Lunt 2001:114), so it is possible that plural forms were used for both numbers.

"proper" "aorist"

sg

1 бимь быхъ

2 би бы

3 би бы

pl

1 бимъ быхомъ

2 бисте бысте

3 бишѧ or бѫ бышѧ

Conditionals commonly follow the conjunction **аще** 'if', denoting hypothetical situations. The form appears both in antecedent and consequent clauses, as we could see in the sentence above: аще бо бıсте вѣрѫ ималı мосеовı, вѣрѫ бıсте имѣлı и мьнѣ 'so if you had faith in Moses, you would have faith in me too' (Assem. Jn 5:46). The conjunction sometimes falls together with the auxiliary, e.g. аштишѧ бо ıед͛ни воини печатьлѣли 'if some soldiers would put the seal on' (Supr., [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/suprasl/supra.htm?supra039.htm); see Lunt 2001:114), but it appears very rarely. Later texts also show the conjunction **то** introducing the consequent clause, like English *then*. However, it is more common with sentences denoting conclusion, future or desires, e.g. аще ли хощеши вь жизнь вьнити, то съхрани заповѣди 'if you want to enter life, keep the commandements'.

## 5.5. Ѿносительна мѣстоименïа - Relative Pronouns

Relative pronouns introduce subordinate clauses about nominal elements of the main clause. There are two types of such pronouns in Church Slavonic. As in English, one can use an interrogative pronoun in this function: вѣмъ тѧ **кто** еси 'I know (about) you who you are'. However, the use is more restricted: they apear, when they do not reflect an element of the main clause. The other way is to use a dedicated relative pronoun composed of the 3rd person and the emphatic particle -же. Unlike interrogatives (which would turn the sentence to a question then), it can be used also in the first clause: **егоже** просıши дамъ ти 'I will give you, what you ask for' (Assem. Mk 6:23). As a personal pronoun, the root receives the epenthetic н‑ after prepositions, e.g. глаголıѫ о ладïи, съ неıѫже бѫдѫ плꙋти 'I speak about the boat, with which I will sail'. They are also more definite than к-words, as they denote gender and number too.

sg m f n 'who' 'what'

nom иже ıаже еже къто чьто

gen егоже еѧже егоже кого чесо

dat емꙋже ейже емꙋже комꙋ чесомꙋ

acc иже ıѫже еже кого чьто

loc (н)емьже (н)ейже (н)емьже комь чемь

inst имьже еıѫже имьже цѣмъ чимь

pl m f n

nom иже ѧже ıаже

gen ихъже ихъже ихъже

dat имъже имъже имъже

acc ѧже ѧже ıаже

loc (н)ихъже (н)ихъже (н)ихъже

inst имиже имиже имиже

dl m f n

nom ıаже иже иже

gen еюже еюже еюже

dat имаже имаже имаже

Concerning non-personal relative pronouns, in some forms the -же extension does not appear. See interrogative counterparts in §4.4. The choice seems to be more free than with personal ones. For example, places can be referred to using a dedicated non-personal locative form (мѣсто **идеже** лежа г-ь, 'the place, where the Lord laid', Assem. Mt 28:6), but also by a personal relative one with a preposition (мѣсто **въ** **нıемъже** затворилъ сѧ эсть с-тыи старць 'the place, where the holy old man closed himself', Supr., [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/suprasl/supra.htm?supra025.htm)), or by an interrogative one (мѣсто **к͛де** живетъ свѧтыи савинъ 'the place, where the St. Sabbas lives, Supr., [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/suprasl/supra.htm?supra011.htm); cf. Mirčev 1978:261).

locative идеже 'where'

ablative (н)юдꙋже 'from whence'

lative ıаможе 'to where'

manner ıакоже 'as', ельма 'as far as'

duration егда 'when'

moment (н)елиже 'since'

quantity елико 'so much as'

In later sources, the both types of relative pronouns appear with varying regularity. Interrogative inst form цѣмь was commonly replaced by кыимь already in OCS (Lunt 2001:63), later also by коимь (Vat.slav.2, [link](https://www.punco.uzh.ch/syntax.php?corpus=sva&chapter=vat&cyr=1&sent_id=653)).

The variety of relative clause markers is especially great across periods and regions also in modern Slavic languages, which is reflected on local CS redactions too. In Bulgaria, for example, one form - иже - was commonly used for all numbers and genders. Syntactically, adnominal clauses with pronouns containing -же also tend to be embedded into the main clause, like вьса ıаже кь чьсти оустрои 'he duly did everything for honor' (Vuk.1536, [link](https://punco.uzh.ch/syntax.php?corpus=petka&chapter=vuk&cyr=1&sent_id=147)). The n.sg.nom form is often found to denote conditions or desires, e.g. ıако еда обрѣщет се кто еже пооучити ме нѣкое дѣло иночъское 'could there be found anyone, who would teach me something concerning hermitry?' (Kiev.d., [link](https://www.punco.uzh.ch/syntax.php?corpus=lt&chapter=kvd&cyr=1&sent_id=34)).

## 5.6. Числительнаа - Numerals

The numerals are also somewhat more complicated in Church Slavonic as in English, as each has quite different etymology - some are handled as adjectives, others as nouns, and still some are uninflected.

cardinal paradigm ordinal

1 единъ pronominal hard пръвый (‑аа, -ое, ...)

2 дъва or дъвѣ pronominal hard въторый

3 три or трïе i-stem третïй

4 четыри or четыре r-stem четврътый  
5 пѧть i-stem пѧтый

6 шесть i-stem шестый  
7 седмь i-stem седмый

8 осмь i-stem осмый

9 девѧть i-stem девѧтый

10 десѧть nt-stem (see below) десѧтый

11 единъ на десѧте - единъ-на-десѧтьный

or единый на десѧте

20 дъва десѧти - дъва-десѧтьный

23 дъва десѧти и три - дъва-десѧтьный третïй

30 трïе десѧте - трïe-десѧтьный

50 пѧть десѧть - пѧть-десѧтьный

100 съто neut.o-stem сътъный

1000 тысѫщи ja-stem тысѫщьный

The word for 'one' is an adjective using pronominal declension. The same can be said for 'two': of course, dual forms of hard-stem pronominal paradigm are used (m.dl.nom дъва, f/n.dl.nom дъвѣ). Sometimes оба 'both' is used instead, with a rather definite meaning, e.g. обѣма на десѧте 'to the Twelve (Apostles)' (Assem. Jn 6:67). 'Three' and 'four' are handled as i- and r-stem nouns (m.pl трïе, четыре, f/n.pl три, четыри), but they agree in case with the noun as adjectives, e.g. трьми дьньми 'in three days' (Assem Mt 26:61).

Numerals for 'five' to 'nine' use i-stem endings (Lunt 2001:234), while 'ten' uses endings of the archaic masc. nt-stem. They are regularily followed by nouns in pl.gen, e.g. прıобрѣте дроугѫıѫ пѧть талантъ 'and he gained another five talents' (Assem. Mt 25:16). Note that the gender of the adjective matches that of numeral - they are grammatically feminine (Mirčev 2000:87). Also multiples of ten are in pl.gen, when following these numerals, e.g. пѧть десѧть '50', девѧть сътъ '900', and so on.

sg pl dl

nom десѧть десѧте десѧтѣ

gen десѧти десѧтъ десѧтꙋ

dat десѧти десѧтьмъ десѧтьма

acc десѧть десѧти

loc десѧте or -и десѧтьхъ

inst десѧтьıѫ десѧты

"Teen"-numerals inflect only the unit, e.g. ѡтъ двою на десѧте лѣтоу 'since 12 years' (Assem. Lk 8:43), while in "tens" and its powers both elements are inflected: съ дъвѣма десѧтьма тысѫщама 'with 20 thousand' (Mar. Lk 14:31), четырьми десѧты ı шестиıѫ лѣтъ създана 'built in 46 years' (Zogr. Jn 2:20). For 'thousand', both тысѫщи and тысѫща are attested (see §1.4).

Ordinal numerals regularily show long forms of hard stem adjectives. Short forms appear rarely, e.g. си пръва вьсѣхъ заповѣдь 'this is the first among the commandements' (Mar. Mk 12:30; Zogr. has пръвѣıши). "Teen"-numerals are either built using an -ьн- suffix, or inflecting the unit only (like in единый на десѧте). Numerals higher than 20 are all built with the -ьн- suffix.

## 5.7. Исказанïе врѣмене - Temporal Expressions

There are various ways how to express time in Church Slavonic. They also differ already between the oldest sources, reflecting local developments.

Events are commonly expressed adverbially: **дьньсь** 'today', **вечеръ** 'in the evening' - fixed phrases going back to sg.acc and gen forms. Many fixed phrase also go back to sg.loc, e.g. **нощи** 'in this night', **оутрѣ** 'tomorrow', **зимѣ** 'in the winter', **полꙋ дьне** 'at noon' (lit. 'at half of the day'), **томь часѣ** 'in that moment', as well as **нынѣ** 'now' (compare Gr. *nyn*, Ger. *nun*). The use of locative phrases without prepositions was likely diminishing in the Constantine-Cyrill's time (Lunt 2001:147). Thus **въ нощи** 'in the night' is also common. An old inst can be seen in the word **вьчера** 'yesterday' (Olander 2015:168).

Въ+acc is often used, when the time moment is more definite, e.g. **въ тѫ нощь** 'in that night (e.g. Mar. Jn 21:3), въ пѧтое же на десѧте лѣто 'in the fifteenth year' (Zogr. Lk 3:1), въ часъ, въ ньже не вѣстъ 'in the time, which he does not know' (Assem. Mt 24:50). It is also used with days of the week and dates in general, e.g. **въ сѫботѫ** 'on Saturday', м-ца октѡврïа **въ \*дı\*** (use ordinals: четыри-на-десѧтьный) **дьнь** 'on the 14th day of October'.

Other prepositions appear in fixed phrases, e.g. **за оутра** (Mar. Mk 16:2; sg.gen?) or **на оутрïа** (common in Supr.; pl.acc?) both 'in the morning'. Other constructions denoting also spatial location like при+loc 'next to' may be used too, e.g. при девѧтѣй же годинѣ 'and around the 9th hour' (Mar. Mt 27:46).

Preceding events use mostly construction прѣжде+gen, e.g. **прѣжде** же **праздьника** пасцѣ 'and before the feast of Easter' (Mar. Jn 13:1). Following events are mostly expressed with по+loc, e.g. **по мнозѣхъ врѣменехъ** 'after a long time' (Zogr. Mt 25:19). The words can be used also as adverbs: прѣжде 'before', по томь or послѣжде 'after'.

Durations are expressed commonly using instrumental without a preposition: e.g. in the citation above **трьми дьньми** 'in three days' (Assem Mt 26:61). The expression при+loc is used also to denote duration of office, reign or life, e.g. **при архиереоу аннѣ и каиафѣ** 'in the time of high priests Annas and Caiaphas (Assem. Lk 3:2). Duration stretching from an event uses ѿ+gen, e.g. **отъ дъвою на десѧте лѣтоу** 'since 12 years' (Zogr. Lk 8:43). Fixed expressions are **об ношть** 'during the night' (e.g. Assem. Lk 5:5), **по вьсѣ лѣта** 'for all the years' (Zogr. Lk 2:31) and **на лѣта многа** 'for many years (Zogr. Lk 20:9).

Repeating events use the word **кратъ** '-times', with the phrase (or number) in acc, e.g. три краты отъвръжеши сѧ мене 'you will disown me three times' (Zogr. Mk 14:30). Counting these events is done with ordinals, using suffix -цеıѫ (sg.inst), e.g. **въторицеıѫ** 'for the second time' (Zogr. ibid.).

Days of the week (седмица or недѣлıа) use "Christian" names, counted relatively to Sunday, e.g. Tuesday is въторникъ 'the second one (after Sunday)'. "Pagan" names, like Polabian *Perendan* 'day of Perun' (i.e. 'Thursday'), are not attested in OCS.

Sunday недѣлıа

Monday понедѣльникъ

Tuesday въторьникъ

Wednesday срѣда

Thursday четврътъкъ

Friday пѧтъкъ

Saturday сѫбота

Slavic names of months are commonly used in Croat, Czech, Polish and Ukrainian. Some of the names used in modern languages are attested in Church Slavonic too, but often for different months. For example, when compared to Roman months, просиньць is attested denoting both January and December (as Czech *prosinec*) - see the table below for more. The months ending in -ѧбрь commonly end in -емьврïй (besides октомьврïй) as well in later sources. In OCS, only the former variant is attested, i.e. декѧбрь 'December' (Supr., [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/database/titusinx/titusinx.asp?LXLANG=32770&LXWORD=340435043A046704310440043004&LCPL=0&TCPL=0&C=H&PF=238)).

(г)енꙋарь сѣчьнъ 'slashing', просиньць 'shining' (просïати 'shine')

феврарь пръварь 'first', велıача 'great one', сѣчьнъ

марътъ сꙋхый 'the dry', лъжꙋекъ 'spoon-month' (лъжица 'spoon')

априлïй брѣзокъ 'of birch', травьнъ 'grassy' (трава or трѣва 'grass')

май травьнъ

ıюнïй свибьнъ 'of dogwood'

ıюлïй чръвенъ 'red', сръпьнь 'sickle-month'

авъгꙋстъ сръпьнь

септѧбрь врѣсьнь 'of heather', рюинъ 'rut-month'

октѧбрь листопадъ 'leaf-falling', рюинъ

ноѧбрь грꙋдьнъ 'earthly' (грꙋда 'mound, chunk of soil'), стꙋденый 'the cold'

декѧбрь просиньць, стꙋденый

For writing the full date, use ordinal numerals for both the day and the year. In CS texts, the year usually precedes the month and the day.

Sept. 12th 2022 лѣто \*҂в.кв\* (дъвѣ-тысѫщьное дъвѣ-десѧтьное и въторое) мѣсѧца септѧбрıа \*вı\* (въторый на десѧте) дьнь

Date of an event uses въ+acc construction: Драгомиръ есть родилъ сѧ **въ лѣто** \*҂а.цпѳ\* (тысѫщьное девѧть-сътьное осмь-десѧтьное и девѧтое) м‑ца ноѧбрıа \*зı\* (седмый на десѧте) **дьнь** 'Dragomirъ was born on Nov. 17th (lit. 17th of Month November) 1989'.

Starting point uses ѿ+gen: Блъгары сѫть свободьна дръжава **ѿ лѣта** \*҂а.ѡои\* (тысѫщьнааго осмь-сътънааго седмь-десѧтьнааго и осмааго) м‑ца маръта \*г\* (третѣаго) **дьне** 'Bulgaria is a free country since the March 3rd 1878'. End point uses the construction до+gen.

## 5.8. Кѵрïлльскы числицѧ - Cyrillic Numbers

Cyrillic script has adopted the alphabetical number system from Greek, using letters with values reflecting numbers 1-9 and powers of ten. The numbers differ from those of Glagolitic script, as they use only characters shared with the Greek set. These are usually separated from the rest of the text by titlo and points on the sides, e.g. ·к҃· '20'. The separating characters vary between the texts. For the sake of compatibility, we will write them with asterisks.

1 \*а\* 10 \*ı\* 100 \*р\*

2 \*в\* 20 \*к 200 \*с\*

3 \*г\* 30 \*л\* 300 \*т\*

4 \*д\* 40 \*м\* 400 \*ꙋ\*

5 \*е\* 50 \*н\* 500 \*ф\*

6 \*s\* 60 \*ѯ\* 600 \*х\*

7 \*з\* 70 \*о\* 700 \*ѱ\*

8 \*и\* 80 \*п\* 800 \*ѡ\*

9 \*ѳ\* 90 \*ҁ\* 900 \*ц\*

Some numbers differ between the sources, e.g. \*ч\* often replaces the Greek koppa for '90', and \*щ\* also may appear instead of similarly-looking psi. These are logically added, with larger numbers preceding smaller, e.g. \*ркг\* '123'. An exception are the "teens", which follow Slavic syntax, e.g. \*дı\* (< четыри на десѧте) '14'.

Thousands use the character ҂ before the multiple: \*҂в\* '2000'. Larger numbers like \*҂фн\* are ambiguous, so we will use points between thousands and other multiples (thus \*҂ф.н\* '500 050' or \*҂фн\* '550 000') - similar interpunction was used in CS texts too.

Note that there is no zero number - neither attested in language, nor in the number system. The concept entered Europe first with Arabic numbers. Technically, one could use скѫдъ lit. 'lack' (calque of Gr. *mēden*), a \*зефïръ (Lat. *zephirum*, Ar. *ṣifr*) as a loanword, its calque ничьто 'nothing', or simply \*нꙋла, used in modern South Slavic varieties.

## 5.9. Оупражьненïа - Exercises

1. Choose a suitable tense or mood

1. Азъ еще (нѣсмь / нѣсмь былъ) въ Праsѣ. 2. Еда (пïеши / еси испила) своıѫ чашѫ? 3. Аще (хощѫ имѣти / бимь ималъ) ладïѫ, то лѣтѣ (поидѫ / бимь шьлъ) въ Сръбль. 4. Зосима (раскажетъ / естъ расказалъ), чьто (видитъ / естъ видѣлъ). 5. Въ недѣлıѫ (имамъ сърѣтити / бимъ сърѣтили) сѧ съ Квѣтаноıѫ. 6. На Татрѣ дьньсь врѣмѧ (нѣстъ / нѣстъ было) добро. 7. Праздьникъ оуже (би почѧлъ / естъ почѧлъ). 8. Въ семь садѣ (сѫть / сѫть были) мноsи красьни ıавори. 9. Оутрѣ (пристанетъ / би присталъ) третïй корабль. 10. Аще (бѫдетъ / би было) въ градѣ вѧще обитѣль, вѧще людïй (хотѧтъ ходити / бѫ ходили) въ нь зимоıѫ.

2. Choose a suitable relative pronoun

1. Въ пристанищи сѫть корабли, \_\_\_ сѫть изъ Гръкъ приплꙋли. 2. Еда еси обрѣла, \_\_\_ еси искала? 3. Се црькы, \_\_\_ естъ была създана при кънѧsѣ Растицѣ. 4. Не знаıѫ пѣснь, \_\_\_ та пѣетъ. 5. Оутрѣ доидевѣ въ градъ, \_\_\_ ѿплꙋевѣ ладïеıѫ. 6. Виноградъ сïй принадълежаетъ чловѣкꙋ, съ \_\_\_ познаевѣ сѧ. 7. Сътворıѫ, \_\_\_ възмогѫ. 8. Листопадъ мѣсѧць естъ, въ \_\_\_ листи падаıѫтъ. 9. Въ октѧбри бѫдетъ праздьникъ, \_\_\_ моıа чѧда sѣло люблѧтъ. 10. По въторой оулици оузьриши пѫть, \_\_\_ минеши въ срѣдъ града.

3. Write the result in Cyrillic numbers and read in Church Slavonic

1. \*кд\* + \*лѳ\* = 6. \*ла\* - \*кв\* =

2. \*та\* + \*ѱкs\* = 7. \*ѡмг\* - \*ꙋѯз\* =

3. \*рдı\* + \*ꙋна\* = 8. \*хҁ\* - \*пд\* =

4. \*҂в.кд\* + \*слд\* = 9. \*҂в.ме\* - \*҂а.ли\* =

5. \*҂к.д\* + \*҂рм.м\* = 10. \*҂ц\* - \*҂фн.рҁз\* =

4. Translate

1. In May I'll go to Carpathians. 2. The conference will begin on the 25th of May 2023. 3. Her brothers have drunk all the wine. 4. It is cold in the winter. 5. The duke has sent 2500 soldiers to the city, where they are waiting now. 6. My sister just came from Javorina with many flowers. 7. Where would be these ships sailing, if the weather would be good? 8. I have not seen the streets so deserted as today. 9. We will marry this June. 10. Is that boy, who stands next to the boat, your brother?

# 6. Оу врача - At the doctor

- past tenses: aorist, imperfect, plusquam-perfect

- supine

- use of conjunctions

- verbal nouns

- orthography

## 6.1. Бесѣда - Dialogue

Returning from the dinner at the vineyard, Mary stumbled and hurt her ankle. On the way back to Velegrad, the pain ceases, so she returns to the hotel. However, on the next morning it hurts again badly, so she goes to a doctor (OCS балïй or врачь, but the title is used for politeness).

Д[окто]ръ: Прочïй!

М: (Марïа же мьдлѣ съ палицеıѫ вълѣзетъ.) Добръ дьнь, г-дине д-ре. Азъ есмь Марïа Радославища. Гласихъ сѧ о пѧти своей.

Д-ръ: Изоуй сѧ, та сѣди семо на одръ, г-sе моıа. (Поглѧднетъ же на ходило еѧ.) Въ истинѫ порастло естъ мало. Како сълꙋчи сѧ?

М: Егда хождаахъ по виноградѣ, потъкъ сѧ о ровъ, и оуıазвихъ си пѧтѫ. Послѣжде ıако легъ съпатъ, болѣзнь съпрѣтъ, а оутрïемъ мѧ пѧта пакы разболѣ, елико не можаахъ обычьно грѧсти.

Д-ръ: (Посѧгнетъ ходило еѧ.) Сининъ нѣстъ. Сьде ли болитъ? Или сьде?

М: (Ѿ болѣзньи въздъхнетъ.) На обою мѣстꙋ болѣ. Съкрꙋшено ли естъ?

Д-ръ: Сътворимъ рıѫгенъ. Мьнıѫ, ıако просто мышьцѧ бѣхѫ растѧгнѫли сѧ, или растръгли. Аще бы съкрꙋшено было, то не бы въ общемъ была възмогла еси сама доити показатъ сѧ.

М: Ѡ, азъ оуже съкрꙋшенïе имахъ, нъ тъчïıѫ рѫкы. Такожде болѣаше.

Д-ръ: То знаеши какое то дѣло естъ. Хощемъ видѣти. (Тъ же наблюденïе врачьское ѿдѣла ради рıѫгеньна испишетъ.) Ѿдѣлъ рıѫгеньный на подѣ третьмъ естъ. Еда рачиши носило?

М: Благодарıѫ д-ре, до сюдѫ ми не бѣ нꙋждьно! (Въстанетъ же.)

Д-ръ: А да незабѫдеши оубо потврьsенïе свое поистеньчьское, г-sе моıа!

D(octor): Next!

M: (Mary slowly enters, with a walking stick.) Hello, doctor. I am Mary Radoslavišta. I called because of my ankle.

D: Put off your shoes and sit down on the bed, my lady. (He looks at her foot.) It is really grown a bit. How did it happen?

M: As I was walking in a garden, I stumbled on a ditch and hurt my ankle. Afterwards, as I laid myself down to sleep, the pain ceased, but in the morning it hurt again so much, that I could not normally walk.

D: (Touches her foot.) There are no blue spots. Does it hurt here? Or here?

M: (She sighs from pain.) It hurts on both spots. Is it broken?

D: We will make a röntgen image. I think that only sinews are stretched, or torn. If it was broken, you would not have been able to come here to show yourself at all.

M: Oh, I already had a broken bone (lit. "breaking"), but only of an arm. It was hurting in the same way.

D: Then you know what's the matter. We will see. (He writes down his medical report for the radiography section.) The radiography section is on the third floor. Would you like to have a wheelchair?

M: Thank you, doctor, I did not need it until here! (And she stands up.)

D: But do not forget your insurance card, my lady!

болѣзнь pain (noun)

болѣти pain (verb)

въздъхнѫти sigh (verb)

вълѣзти enter

гласити сѧ call (lit. 'make oneself loud')

дѣло work, deed, thing

изоути put off shoes

носило vehicle, something for carrying (here: wheelchair)

легнѫти lay down

мышьца sinew

мьдлѣ slowly

мьнѣти think, be persuaded of

наблюденïе observation

обычьно usually

одръ bed

ѿдѣлъ section

палица stick

поглѧднѫти look

подъ floor

поистеньчьскъ insurance (истъ 'true, sure')

порасти grow (prf.)

потъкнѫти stumble

прочь next

пѧта ankle

разболѣти become ill, start hurting

растѧгнѫти stretch

рачити wish

ровъ ditch

рıѫгенъ radiography (röntgen)

синина blue spot

съкрꙋшити break

сълꙋчи happen

съпати sleep (verb)

съпрѣти stop

сътворити do (prf.)

сѣсти sit down

та and

оуıазвити hurt, make a wound

ходило foot

## 6.2. Прошьдъше врѣмѧ - Aorist Tense

In the previous lesson we have learned the first Church Slavonic past tense - the perfect. However, it is not the most common past tense met in the texts. The more common ones are the aorist (or "simple past", Lunt 2001:81) and the imperfect: synthetic verbal forms, which are still productive in Bulgarian and Macedonian today.

As we have already (§3.4) mentioned, most verbal stems in Slavic have an inherited aspect. In Church Slavonic (and the modern varieties), the aspect is also expressed on the tense level: aorist represents more "perfective", one-time actions and events, while imperfect is "imperfective", denoting states and repeating events. When used together, imperfect denotes a circumstance (егда хождаахъ по виноградѣ 'as I was walking in a vineyard') and aorist an event (потъкъ сѧ о ровъ 'I stumbled on a ditch'). The aspect is commonly marked on both stem and tense of the word, e.g. ı **въста** (prf./aor) ı **слоужааше** (iprf./impf) емоу 'she stood up and served him' (Zogr. Mt 8:15). However, stem- and tense-aspect are distinct from each other. Perfective verbs sometimes appear in imperfect tense to denote repeating events, e.g. **протръзааше** (prf./impf) же сѧ мрѣжа ихъ 'and their net was tearing apart' (Mar. Lk 5:6).

Imperfective verbs in aorist are more common - about 40% of all aorists in OCS texts (Lunt 2001:155, but see also Kamphuis 2020:110). Aorist represents an event in a sequence, even if the event is longer: Алеѯандрь **расте** (iprf./aor) въ домꙋ ѡ-ца своего и **быст** (prf./aor) ратникь прѣд͛ всеми езики 'Alexander (first) grew up in the house of his father, and (then) he became a warrior before all nations' (NBKM 667, [link](https://www.punco.uzh.ch/syntax.php?corpus=sva&chapter=667&cyr=1&sent_id=95)). In the sentence отрoчѧ же **растѣаше** (iprf./impf) и **крѣплѣаше** (iprf./impf) сѧ д-хомъ 'the child was growing up and becoming strong in spirit' (Assem. Lk 2:40) no such sequence is implied, both "events" happen together.

Unlike the perfect tense, both aorist and imperfect are expressed syntheticaly, i.e. by specific suffixes on a verbal root. However, OCS shows different types of aorists, which represent historical stages of its development. The most common - and likely the youngest - type is called "second sigmatic" (Mirčev 2000:107), simply "sigmatic" (Trunte 2022:131), or just "productive" (Lunt 2001:102) aorist. It can be seen on most stems ending in a vowel.

видѣти (съ)творити (до)чаıати

sg

1 -хъ видѣхъ творихъ чаıахъ

2 - видѣ твори чаıа

3 - видѣ твори чаıа

pl

1 -хомъ видѣхомъ творихомъ чаıахомъ

2 -сте видѣсте твористе чаıасте

3 -шѧ видѣшѧ творишѧ чаıашѧ

dl

1 -ховѣ видѣховѣ твориховѣ чаıаховѣ

2 -ста видѣста твориста чаıаста

3 -сте видѣсте твористе чаıасте

In later CS redactions, the 2dl.aor form is used in the 3rd person too (see §3.2), e.g. сьтвориста се бр-та 'they made themselves brothers' (NBKM 667, [link](https://www.punco.uzh.ch/syntax.php?corpus=sva&chapter=667&cyr=1&sent_id=26)). Smotricky (1648:190v) also gives ‑хома (fem. ‑хомѣ) as the 1dl.aor/impf ending.

Basically, the form is based on the infinitive stem, extended by the suffix -х- (or, more historically, an \*-*s*-), which at some point served as the general past tense marker in Slavic (Lunt 2001:100), followed by an ending denoting person and number. The ending causes further phonotactical developments on the х-suffix, like palatalization in 3pl -шѧ (see above §1.8). In 2/3sg.aor the stem is used without any extension; it was resulting possibly in \*-*s* itself or \*-*st* (Trunte 2022:132), thus falling out due to sonority laws (see §4.8). Thus, the zero-ending 2/3sg form in OCS is like the infinitive without the ending:

inf 2/3sg.aor

a- **чаıа**-ти чаıа 'waited'

nǫ- **минѫ**-ти минѫ'passed'

ova- **милова**-ти милова 'was merciful'

ěja- **сѣıа**-ти сѣıа 'sowed'

j- **би**-ти би 'beat'

i- **твори**-ти твори 'did'

ě- **видѣ**-ти видѣ'sow'

Some stems ending in a nasal or another long vowel like начѧти 'began', въспѣти 'began to sing' often show an additional ‑тъ in 2/3sg.aor. Otherwise, their conjugation is the same as of other vowel stems. Similar endings can also be seen on aorist forms of verbs быти 'be' and дати 'give', where various forms are attested in the 2/3sg.aor.

(на)чѧти (въс)пѣти быти дати

sg

1 чѧхъ пѣхъ быхъ дахъ

2 чѧ**тъ** пѣ**тъ** бы or бы**стъ** да or да**стъ**

3 чѧ**тъ** пѣ**тъ** бы or бы**стъ** да or да**стъ**

pl

1 чѧхомъ пѣхомъ быхомъ дахомъ

2 чѧсте пѣсте бысте дасте

3 чѧшѧ пѣшѧ бышѧ дасѧ

dl

1 чѧховѣ пѣховѣ быховѣ даховѣ

2 чѧста пѣста быста даста

3 чѧсте пѣсте бысте дасте

Stems ending in a consonant or ‑нѫ‑ are handled somewhat differently. If the ‑н‑ is not a part of the root (like in минѫти 'pass') it is left off. In 2/3sg.aor, they regularily show an ending ‑е. If the root ends in a velar, it undergoes the first palatalization before ‑е (§1.8):

nǫ- минѫти 'pass' минѫ

**лег**нѫти 'lay down' леж**е**

C- **пас**ти 'fall' пад**е**

**рещ**и 'say' реч**е**

The ending is actually a thema vowel. It goes back to an older paradigm called "root" (Lunt 2001:105) or "simple" (Mirčev 2000:103) aorist. In such words, the tense was marked by the root itself, not needing any further stem modifications. The ending denoted number and person only (Fortson 2004:81; Trunte 2022:130). The same paradigm was used with verbs with -нѫ- on present forms (i.e., expressing future) too. The suffix is left out in aorist.

пасти легнѫти

sg

1 -ъ падъ легъ

2 -е паде леже

3 -е паде леже

pl

1 -омъ падомъ легомъ

2 -ете падете лежете

3 -ѫ падѫ легѫ

dl

1 -овѣ падовѣ леговѣ

2 -ета падета лежета

3 -ете падете лежете

If the -нѫ- is preceded by a vowel in the stem, the productive (vowel-stem) paradigm is preferred, e.g. минѫти 'pass', 1sg.aor минѫхъ, 2/3sg минѫ etc. Modern Bulgarian forms like легна show, that at some point the infinitive stem (\**legnǫ*-) was generalized also for this class, but this is not attested in the literature until very late.

The second archaic type is called sometimes "first sigmatic" (Mirčev 2000:104) or just s-aorist. In some athematic verbs, the past suffix interacted with the stem-final consonant. The root vowel was often lengthened in such constructions in all but 2/3sg forms. When the stem ended in a velar (as in рещи 'say', with stem рек-), the \*-*s*- shifted to \*-*x*-, leading to a number of further changes like palatalizations and iotations. Endings of this "x-aorist" were possibly taken over analogically by other stems, thus creating the productive aorist paradigm.

ѧти рещи (въз)нести

sg

1 -съ ѧсъ рѣхъ нѣсъ

2 -(е) ѧ рече несе

3 -(е) ѧ рече несе

pl

1 -сомъ ѧсомъ рѣхомъ нѣсомъ

2 -сте ѧсте рѣсте нѣсте

3 -сѧ ѧсѧ рѣшѧ нѣсѧ

dl

1 -совѣ ѧсовѣ рѣховѣ нѣсовѣ

2 -ста ѧста рѣста нѣста

3 -сте ѧсте рѣсте нѣсте

Root and such s-aorists were an archaism already in the OCS period. Most were replaced by forms of the productive aorist, expanding the root by a thema vowel -**о**- before the х-suffix, resulting in constructions like e.g. 1sg.aor въпадохъ 'I fell in' (Supr., [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/suprasl/supra.htm?supra046.htm#Cod.Supr._3_46_129(_263)a_4_525)) or рекох ти 'I told you' (Kiev.d., [link](https://punco.uzh.ch/syntax.php?corpus=petka&chapter=kvd&cyr=1&sent_id=208)). These appear in all forms beside 2/3sg with its old ending ‑е, which stays the same. Stems, which have a lengthened vowel in archaic forms, are shortened. These forms we may consider a productive consonant-stem paradigm:

sg

1 нѣсъ, падъ, рѣxъ > н**е**с**охъ**, пад**охъ**, р**е**к**охъ**

2 несе, паде, рече > несе, паде, рече

3 несе, паде, рече > несе, паде, рече

pl

1 нѣсомъ, падомъ, рѣхомъ > н**е**с**охомъ**, пад**охомъ**, р**е**к**охомъ**

2 нѣсте, падете, рѣсте > н**е**с**осте**, пад**осте**, р**е**к**осте**

3 нѣсѧ, падѫ, рѣшѧ > н**е**с**ошѧ**, пад**ошѧ**, р**е**к**ошѧ**

dl

1 нѣсовѣ, падовѣ, рѣховѣ > н**е**с**оховѣ**, пад**оховѣ**, р**е**к**оховѣ**

2 нѣстa, падетa, рѣстa > н**е**с**остa**, пад**остa**, р**е**к**остa**

3 нѣсте, падете, рѣсте > н**е**с**осте**, пад**осте**, р**е**к**осте**

On the other hand, the verb ѧти 'take' adopted the forms of t-aorists: бѣгоу се ıеть 'she fled', lit. 'took a run' (< \*бѣгꙋ сѧ ѧтъ; Vuk.1536, [link](https://punco.uzh.ch/syntax.php?corpus=petka&chapter=vuk&cyr=1&sent_id=18)).

The non-regular (t-, root or archaic s-stem) aorist paradigms are indicated in the Vocabulary, and they are shared by the prefixed derivatives.

stem 1sg 2/3sg

vowel видѣ- видѣ**хъ** видѣ

твори- твори**хъ** твори

чаıа- чаıа**хъ** чаıа

consonant нес- (new) нес**охъ** несе

пад- (new) пад**охъ** паде

рек- (new) рек**охъ** рече

t-aorist начѧ- начѧхъ начѧ**тъ**

ѧ- (new) ѧхъ ѧ**тъ**

root aorist пад- пад**ъ** паде

лег- лег**ъ** леже

s-aorist нѣс- (old) нѣ**съ** несе

рѣх- (old) рѣ**хъ** рече

ѧ- (old) ѧ**съ** ѧ

The terminology of the past tenses is based on Smotricky (1648:185v), who characterizes aorist (прешедшее времѧ, lit. 'a tense, which had passed') as a tense for съврьшено дѣйствïе 'completed actions'; in imperfect (преходѧщее, lit. 'which is passing'), the action is incomplete. These terms were adopted by Bulgarian tradition (Bončev 1952:50, Mirčev 2000:99-108), calling aorist минало свършено време 'past complete tense', and imperfect - минало несвършено 'past incomplete'.

## 6.3. Проходѧще врѣмѧ - Imperfect Tense

Imperfect forms in OCS are usually constructed from aorist/infinitive stems, the suffix -**ѣаx**-, and old person/number endings of the root aorist. The suffix regularily shifts to -**ааx**- when following palatal consonants, including the \**j* of i-stems. On stems ending in an /a/, it is commonly contracted to -**ах**- (see above §4.5), thus becoming indistiguishable from the aorist in some forms. The suffix is sometimes contracted on other stems too, e.g. можаше бо се мѵро продано быти 'for this myrrh could have been sold' (Mar. Mt 26:9; Zogr. has можааше). When endings have a front vowel, the ‑х‑ undergoes first palatalization.

видѣти творити чаıати

sg

1 -хъ видѣахъ творıаахъ чаıахъ

2 -ше видѣаше творıааше чаıаше

3 -ше видѣаше творıааше чаıаше

pl

1 -хомъ видѣахомъ творıаахомъ чаıахомъ

2 -шете видѣашете творıаашете чаıашете

3 -хѫ видѣахѫ творıаахѫ чаıахѫ

dl

1 -ховѣ видѣаховѣ творıааховѣ чаıаховѣ

2 -шета видѣашета творıаашета чаıашета

3 -шете видѣашете творıаашете чаıашете

2pl and 2/3dl.impf endings ‑шете and -шета were later replaced by ‑сте and -ста (e.g. можаасте, имѣаста), formed by analogy from the aorist endings. These endings are predominant in Supr. and Sav.k. (Lunt 2001:101). As with the aorist and present tense, 2dl.impf endings became later used for the 3rd person too.

Many athematic and e-stems (Trunte 2022:145) also build imperfects from present stems:

inf 2pl.prs 1sg.impf

дати 'give'  **дад**ете дадѣахъ

обрѣсти 'find' **обрѧщ**ете обрѧщаахъ

пѣти 'sing' **по**ете поıаахъ

There are multiple imperfect forms of the 'be'-verb, some of which can be interpreted as aorists (e.g. by Lunt 2001:137, Trunte 2022:54). Etymologically, forms like 1sg.aor быхъ, 2/3sg быстъ go back to the perfective stem, seen in 3sg.prs бѫдетъ. As in present tense, the 'be'-verb has a special imperfective stem бѣ- for its past tenses. The forms 1sg бѣхъ and 2/3sg бѣ formally show aorist endings too, but they are employed functionally as imperfects, e.g. describing the circumstance for an aorist-event in **бѣ** же близъ пасха ıюдеıска ı **вьзидѫ** м͛нози въ ı-лмъ 'the Pesach of the Jews was (impf) close and many went out (aor) to Jerusalem' (Zogr. Jn 11:55).

Forms with full imperfect suffix like зане **бѣаше** от домоу и отч-ствıѣ д-дова 'because he was from the house and fatherland of David' (Zogr. Lk 2:4) are also common, although considered secondary (Mirčev 2000:102). Not all expectable forms are attested in OCS (see Lunt 2001:137), what makes it hard to reconstruct, which forms were preferred. The rules were likely not very strict. Even in modern Bulgarian and Macedonian, both бе(< бѣ) and беше(< бѣаше) are used as functionally equivalent variants (Mirčev 1978:220).

бѣ-aorist бѣ-imperfect

sg

1 бѣхъ \*бѣахъ

2 бѣ \*бѣаше

3 бѣ бѣаше

pl

1 бѣхомъ \*бѣахомъ

2 \*бѣсте \*бѣашете

3 бѣшѧ бѣхѫ or бѣахѫ

dl

1 \*бѣховѣ \*бѣаховѣ

2 \*бѣста \*бѣашета

3 бѣсте бѣашете

Imperfect is likely a Slavic, but otherwise an etymologically unclear innovation. The suffix is usually analyzed into two parts: the iterative (Trunte 2022:125) marker ‑(ѣ)а‑ and the past tense marker ‑х‑. Lunt (2001:246) speculates, that the form was originally periphrastic, the suffix going back to a 'be'‑auxilliary of the type бѣаше, which fused with some participial form (e.g. видѣаше < \**vid*[*ęjь*][*b*]*ěaše* ?), but such forms are not attested.

## 6.4. Мимошьдъше врѣмѧ - Plusquam-Perfect Tense

One of the functions of imperfect forms of 'be'-verb is the building of plusquam-perfect tense, denoting events and states preceding a referenced past point. It can be also used to emphasize the temporal distance. The construction resembles that of conditional: the 'be'-verb is used as an auxiliary, an l-participle is used as the main verb, e.g. Марïа възврати сѧ на оулицѫ, идеже **бѣ видѣла** книжьницѫ 'Mary returned to the street, where she had seen a library'.

Concerning the auxiliary, forms with both "aorist" and "imperfect" endings appear, e.g. мноsи же от июдеи бѣахѫ пришьли 'many of Jews had come' (Assem. Jn 11:19), иже бѣшѧ сь неıѫ пришьли 'who had come with her' (Supr., [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/suprasl/supra.htm?supra003.htm#Cod.Supr._1_3_22b_10_44)).

The term for the tense is again taken from Smotricky. In Bulgarian grammar tradition, the tense is called минало предварително (Bončev 1952:51), denoting the point in time, which is "overtaken" (прѣдъварити 'pass, overtake') by the reference.

## 6.5. Подълагаемо наклоненïе - Supine

In this lesson we will stay focused on verbs. Besides the "proper" infinitive, Old Church Slavonic had a second infinitive form called supine. It is used after verbs denoting motion (e.g. ити 'go', сълати 'send'), denoting its purpose. Similarily as infinitive, supine is built from the aorist/infinitive stem, using the ending -тъ: Марïа леже **съпатъ** 'Mary laid herself down to sleep'. The object of the verb is in the genitive case: Зосима изиде кꙋпитъ хлѣба 'Zosima went out to buy bread'.

The ending goes etymologically back to an u-stem accusative (Mirčev 2000:116, Lunt 2001:247, Trunte 2022:180). Although a distinct supine is preserved in Slovene and Lower Sorbian, it was likely becoming archaic elsewhere in Slavic already in OCS period, replaced by the ‑ти infinitive. For example, Sav.k. shows a supine in идѫ ꙋготоватъ мѣста вамъ 'I go to prepare a place for you' (Jn 14:2), while идѫ оуготовати appears elsewhere (e.g. in Assem.) instead.

Supine forms themselves show influence of the ‑ти infinitive. If their stem shows palatalization of velar sequences (stems ending in г, к or х), it is taken over to the supine too, e.g. огнѣ придъ възврѣшть (inf възврѣщи, 1sg.prs възвръгѫ) въ землıѫ 'I have come to bring (lit. throw) fire on the earth' (Mar. Lk 12:49; Duridanov et al. 1991:309, Lunt 2001:112), although there was no phonetic context (final front vowel), which would trigger the shift.

## 6.6. Съıѫзьнаа - Conjunctions

In the course of our lessons, we have already learned a number of conjunctions, some of which have similar meanings. Sometimes, the usage reflects Greek syntax; in other situations, the expressions may reflect the editor's dialect. But there are functional nuances too.

**И** is the most common logical conjunction ('and'), which can also mean 'too, and also', e.g. ѣко и азъ тѧ помиловахъ 'as I, too, had mercy with you' (Zogr. Mt 18:33).

**То** is also used for 'and' with a conclusive meaning, used with subordinate clauses ('then'; see §5.4). A similar conjunction **та** later appears to introduce successive events, coordinating main clauses: e.g. коги бих видѣла поѧл си Еленѫ ц-р-цѫ и идешь, то пакы ꙋмолила бих вилѫ, та бихѫ твои корабле потонѫле 'if I knew you have taken Queen Helen and that you were coming (with her), I would pray to the fairy (of the sea), and your ships would sink' (Vat.slav.2, [link](https://www.punco.uzh.ch/syntax.php?corpus=lt&chapter=vat&cyr=1&sent_id=449)). It may have been already used in Supr. ([link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/suprasl/supra.htm?supra016.htm#Cod.Supr._1_16_95a_25_189); but also see Mladenova 2010b:253).

**Ни** is used as a logical conjunction following negative sentences ('neither...nor'): не дадıте с‑тааго псомъ, ни пометите бисерь вашихъ прѣдъ свинѣмı 'do not give what is holy to the dogs, nor cast your pearls before swine' (Assem. Mt 7:6).

**А** and **же** may denote 'and' too, but usually with a weak negative meaning ('but, still'), i.e. when the sentence does not refute the preceding one: не възможьна ѡтъ члкъ, а отъ б-а възможьна сѫть 'it is impossible for humans, but possible for God' (Assem Lk 18:27), приде и-с отъ галилеѧ на ıор͛данъ къ ıоаноу крьстити сѧ отъ него, ıоанъ же възбранѣше емоу 'Jesus came from Galilee to Jordan to John, to be baptized by him, but John deterred him' (Zogr. Mt 3:13-14). The conjunction же enclitically follows the first accented element of the sentence; its use corresponds to that of Greek conjunction *de*.

**Нъ** is used for the strong negation ('but, instead'), e.g. не придъ разоритъ нъ ıсплънитъ 'I did not come to abolish (the Law), but to fulfill (it)' (Zogr. Mt 5:17). The fixed phrase **нъ и** has the meaning 'but also', e.g. не тъкмо разарѣаше соботѫ, нъ и о‑ца своего г‑лааше б‑а 'not only he was breaking the Sabbath, but he was also calling God his father' (Mar. Jn 5:18). A similar, but less frequent conjunction with the meaning is **али**, e.g. ıны съпасе, али себе не можетъ съпасти 'he saved others, but he cannot save himself' (Mar. Mk 15:31).

**Обаче** is less clear, as it appears in sentences denoting both strong (не плачите сѧ о мнѣ, обаче себе плачите сѧ 'do not cry about me, but for yourself', Zogr. Lk 23:38) and weak (не възможьно естъ да не придѫтъ съблазни, обаче горе томоу, ıмьже придѫтъ 'it is impossible, that seductions would not come, but woe to the one, to whom they come', Zogr. Lk 17:1) negations. It usually translates Greek *plēn*.

**Ли** (besides being used in questions) and **или** introduce disjunction ('or'). Ли is more common, often appearing as the first element of sentence, e.g. ли мьнıтъ ти сѧ 'or do you think' (Assem. Mt 26:53; Sav.k. has или). Или often introduces a second alternative: достоитъ ли дати киньсь кесареви или ни 'is it right to pay the imperial tax or not?' (Mar. Mk 12:14). Thus, ли...или could be seen as an equivalent to 'either...or'.

**Нежели** is used for comparison ('than'): и приставить мнѣ вѧще, нежели \*вı\* легеона агг-лъ 'and he will send me more than 12 legions of angels' (Sav.k. Mt 26:53).

**Аще** 'if' introduces antecedents of conclusive statements. As mentioned above (§5.4), it forms logical conclusions with ли, e.g. **аште лı** же нı 'and if not' (Assem. Mt 6:1), and hypothetic statements with conditional auxiliaries: **аште би** вѣдѣлъ г-д-нъ храма въ кѫıѫ стражıѫ татъ прıдетъ 'if the lord of the house would know, at which night guard the thief comes' (Assem. Mt 24:43). With и it means 'even if, although': **аште и** вьси сьблазнѧт͛ сѧ о тебѣ, а азь николıже 'even if all will be led astray from you, I will not be' (Assem. Mt 26:33). Аще appears also alone as an interrogative particle, e.g. аште оударимъ ножемь 'should we strike by a sword?' (Zogr. Lk 22:49; Trunte 2022:168). Similar **ацѣ** and **цѣ и** appear for 'although, even if' in Supr., e.g. цѣ и коли оубо оукрали бышѧ 'so, even if they had stolen so much' ([link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/suprasl/supra.htm?supra039.htm#Cod.Supr._3_39_87_(=_221)a_13_441)).

**Да** has various functions, roughly similar to English 'to' before verbs. In main clauses, it denotes wishes (see §2.5). It introduces subordinate clauses after verbs like мощи 'can' or хотѣти 'want', usually when the subjects of both clauses are different, e.g. елико хоштете да творѧтъ вамъ ч-ци ' what you want from other people to do for you' (Zogr. Mt 7:12). It is often used in various constructions meaning 'if' or 'when': **да аште** отъ него кто ѣстъ не оумретъ 'so if anyone eats it, he will not die' (Mar. Jn 6:50), **да егда** възмѫтитъ сѧ вода 'when the water is stirred' (Zogr. Jn 5:7), **да ѣкоже** азъ сътворихъ вамъ 'as I did for you' (Mar. Jn 13:15). Such a use is not common elsewhere in Slavic; it reflects Greek subordinate clause marker *hina*.

**IАко** or **ıакоже** is basically an adverbial relative pronoun denoting manner ('as'). **Акы**, possibly a dialectal variant, is used in this particular meaning too e.g. иже коумирѧ чьтѫтъ акы б-гы 'who honor idols as gods' (Supr., [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/suprasl/supra.htm?supra003.htm#Cod.Supr._1_3_14b_29_28)). IАко is used in various subordinate clauses: temporal 'as' in ѣко сѣде 'as he was sitting' (Zogr. Mt 5:1), 'because, for' in ѣко тѣхъ естъ ц-рство н-б-съное 'for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven (Assem. Mt 5:3), 'that' in clauses following verbs denoting perceptions, reasoning, or speech, e.g. не мните ѣко придъ разоритъ закона 'do not think that I came to abolish the Law' (Zogr. Mt 5:17). It may also introduce quotations: добрѣ рече, ѣко мѫжа не ıмамь 'you said well, that "I have no husband"' (Zogr. Jn 4:16; Lunt 2001:162).

**Бо**, **зане**, **ибо**, **понеже** and **тѣмьже** are all used besides ıако for 'because, for'. Бо is used enclitically (as же), e.g. приближи бо сѧ ц-рствие н-б-ское 'because the Kingdom of Heaven came closer' (Zogr. Mt 4:17). Зане (rarely занеже) and понеже are based on relative pronouns (за/по + еже). The choice is rather free. Phrases with a demonstrative **сего** or **того ради** lit. 'for this (reason), therefore' can be used in the same meaning, e.g. сего ради и вы бѫдѣте готови 'therefore you also must be ready' (Mar. Mt 24:44).

**Оубо** could be translated as 'therefore' too. It is more a discourse marker ('so'), usually following other conjunctions, but sometimes it appears alone: не п͛цѣте сѧ оубо глıѫште, чьто ѣмъ 'so do not worry, saying: "what shall we eat?"' (Zogr. Mt 6:31).

**Въскѫıѫ**, **почьто** (or simply **чьто**), and **чесо ради** represent interrogative counterparts ('why') of the above 'because'-words. They are similarly built (възь + f.sg.acc кѫıѫ lit. 'in exchange for what', по + чьто), and they show a similar freedom of use.

**Еже**, besides being a n.sg.nom relative pronoun,is sometimes used with infinitive with a meaning '(in order) to', e.g. а еже сѣсти о деснѫıѫ, ı о лѣвѫıѫ, нѣстъ мнѣ дати 'but to sit at my right or left is not for me to grant' (Zogr. Mk 10:40).

## 6.7. Развѣщанïе: ѿглагольнаа - Derivation: Verbal Nouns

As with many categories of grammar, Church Slavonic provides various means to express actions, events or states denoted by verbs as nouns. One of these means is the above mentioned construction еже + inf, which has a certain shade of definiteness.

The common way is based on past passive participles (§4.2). A suffix -(**е**)**н**- or -**т**- (distributed lexically) is attached to an aorist/infinitive stem, followed by an ending of the neutral jo-stem noun: e.g. verb посълати 'send' forms the passive participle посъланъ 'sent', and verbal noun посъланïе 'letter', literally 'the sent thing'.

а- чаıа-ти чаıа**нïе** 'waiting'

nǫ- минѫ-ти минѫ**тïе** 'passing'

ova- милова-ти милова**нïе** ' mercy'

ěja- сѣıа-ти сѣıа**нïе** 'sowing'

j- би-ти би**тïе** 'beating'

i- твори-ти твор**енïе** 'doing'

ě- видѣ-ти видѣ**нïе** 'seeing'

C- бы-ти бы**тïе** 'being'

да-ти да**нïе** 'giving'

нес-ти нес**енïе** 'carrying'

рещи реч**енïе** 'saying'

ѧ-ти ѧ**тïе** 'taking'

Due to the problems with \**j*, the ending differs across regions and periods: the ending can be seen in forms like ‑ье, -ьıе, -иıе, or ‑ие too, in Lunt's grammar (2001:111) ‑*ьe*, ‑*ije* or ‑*ьje*.

Some verbs show suffixes ‑**ьба** (e.g. альчьба 'hunger', слꙋжьба 'service') or ‑**тва** (жрьтва 'sacrifice', молитва 'prayer'), denoting abstracta. An older suffix for abstracta is ‑**ть** (e.g. памѧть 'memory', compare verb мьнѣти 'think', 1sg.prs мьнıѫ; Lith. *mintis* 'thought'), which is the basis of the infinitive. The u-stem ending ‑**ъ** can be attached to the root directly, denoting one-time events (видъ 'vision', ловъ 'hunt', historically also сънъ 'slumber', in our text ѿдѣлъ 'section'). These endings are often attached to present stems (e.g. рыти 'dig', 1sg.prs ровѫ, ровъ 'ditch, furrow'). Such constructions were likely the basis of the supine form.

## 6.8. Правописанïа - Orthographies

Generally, Old Church Slavonic can be seen as a language of literature with a basis in a 9th century South Slavic vernacular. However, its sources already reflect a pluricentric stage, where local preferences in lexicon, script, phonetics, and also grammar can be observed. It is partly caused by the historical context of the language's emergence: Slavic varieties, which Constantine-Cyrill knew from Macedonia or Bithynia, were already different from those of Moravia. While there are examples of West Slavic influence in Kiev.f., e.g. the word помоць 'help', written as помощь elsewhere (< \**pomotjь*; cf. §1.8; Lunt 2001:9), there are also important South Slavic phenomena like f.sg.inst ‑оıѫ (помоцьıѫ твоеıѫ вѣчьноıѫ 'by your eternal help', [link](https://www.punco.uzh.ch/syntax.php?corpus=lt&chapter=kvf&cyr=1&sent_id=117)), or the shift \**dl* > *l* (e.g. молıтвамı ıхъ 'by their prayers', [link](https://www.punco.uzh.ch/syntax.php?corpus=lt&chapter=kvf&cyr=1&sent_id=170)).

The "original" vernacular, used by Constantine-Cyrill as a basis, and thus often called "Proto-Church Slavonic" (*Urkirchenslavisch* in Trubetzkoy 1954) by scholars, remains subject to speculations. Constantine-Cyrill and his brother Methodius came from Salonika, may have learned the language of *Rhynchinoi*, a Slavic tribe settled in south-eastern Macedonia in the 7th century, early on (Lunt 2001:3). This view is supported by the lack of phonemic \**j* and palatal correlation of vowels, as well as presence of both old nasals, still attested in the area in modern times. Trunte (2022:67) sees the basis in the language of Slavs in Bythinia, in Asia Minor, which, being based on a Rhodopean variety, also had both nasals, but only a single jer. In any case, the base language was still sufficiently comprehensible to the Slavs of Moravia.

Following the expulsion of Methodius' students after his death in 885, many of them were employed in Bulgarian Empire to spread Christianity. Soon, two bishoprics as centers of the mission emerged: Preslav in the East, and Ohrid in the West. The former was close to the royal court; it adopted Greek script previously used by the royal scribes and modified it according to their needs, creating the Cyrillic alphabet. In the West, students continued to use Glagolitic - although there are Cyrillic notes to be found in their manuscripts too. Otherwise, the difference between the schools were mostly lexical, e.g. Western балïй (in our orthography) 'doctor' besides Eastern врачь, Western истина 'truth' besides Eastern (or more archaic?) рѣснота, and so on (Lunt 2001:169). Cyrillic OCS sources also differed between each other in writing of nasal vowels: Supr. used ꙙ besides ѧ following consonants (e.g. refl.acc сꙙ), while Sav.k. used ꙙ initially (e.g. ꙙже) and ⱑ following consonants (сⱑ; Lunt 2001:23).

In the 11th century, the developments continue towards more variety. At the time of the fall of Ohrid into Byzantine hands, Church Slavonic had already spread with Christianity into Kievan Rus' and Western Balkans. Monasteries with Slavonic traditions existed in Bohemia (Sázava) and later in Hungary (Tihany) as well. In 14th century, reforms of Church Slavonic proceeded from literary centers on Mount Athos, Bulgarian capital of Tarnovo and Resava in Serbia. Tarnovo reforms affected the development especially in Moldova and Wallachia.

Glagolitic script remained in use in Bosnia and Croatia, while Cyrillic was preferred elsewhere. Bosnia switched to Cyrillic later too, but using some specific characters like ꙉ. Character sets developed along the lines of local phonetic shifts - especially among vowels (see §2.8).

Most regional norms eliminated the letters for back nasal (big jus - ѫ), replacing them with **оу** or **ю** (or its Glagolitic counterparts), writing e.g. 1sg.prs молю сѧ 'I pray', ptcp.act.prs живоущааго 'of the Living One', as well as in roots of words like боудетъ 'will be' (< бѫдетъ) or роуцѣ 'hands' (< рѫцѣ). In South Slavic, the front nasals (small jus - ѧ) were replaced by **е** (молю се). In Tarnovo and Romanian centers of literature, the use of both jus letters was restored, likely denoting middle non-nasal vowels. However, the use differs across sources, especially in the beginning of a word (ѫзык besides ѧзыкъ) and in 3pl.aor (погыбошѧ vs. оуподобишѫ сѧ; Knoll 2019:180).

East Slavic orthographies continued to write ы at its etymological places; South Slavic commonly replace it with variants of /i/ (writing e.g. езикъ), although this did not seem to have been a norm. In the same way, letter ѣ remained in use, despite being phonetically equal to /e/ or /i/ in most areas. Resava school commonly used iotated letters **ıа** and **ıе** (e.g. n.sg.nom твоıе 'yours') as in Supr.; it is not common in works written outside of its influence.

Many South Slavic redaction wrote only one jer at the end of a word (usually ъ), replacing it with **e** or **а** in the middle of a word. Following the reforms of 14th century, both jers are used again: Resava school preferred ъ after prepositions and ь elsewhere (e.g. изътьнчьнь 'refined'); Tarnovo school was not very consistent in this respect. East Slavic schools preferred ъ at the end of a word, replacing the jers in the middle with **о** or **е** (e.g. восповаю < въспъваıѫ 'confidere'), and using ь as a palatality marker.

These are, of course, only phonetically relevant differences. Much more variety (and focus of CS grammarians) was in writing of phonetically redundant letters like ѡ and ï, using of abbreviations, and the like. This is the fact not only of 14th-century reforms, reflected in theoretical works of Constantine of Kostenets and Patriarch Euthymius of Tarnovo (see Jagić 1895, Goldblatt 1987), but also of printed Church Slavonic grammars, appearing first in the East (Zizanii 1596, Smotricky 1648), but also partly in modern ones, like those of Bončev (1952) and Mironova (2010).

## 6.9. Оупражьненïа - Exercises

1. Choose a suitable tense

1. Егда (събѫдити) сѧ, Зосима оуже (писати). 2. Пѫть изъ Блъгаръ въ Варѧгы (быти) sѣло дльгъ. 3. Мимошьдъшимъ лѣтомъ Квѣтана (ходити) два крата въ Татрѫ. 4. Въ Велеградъ вьсь дьнь (плꙋти) мъного ладïй. 5. Егда (быти) Марïа мала, рада (пѣти). 6. Оуже тогда (расти) на Моравѣ виногради? 7. Драгомиръ не (доити), понеже рѫкѫ си (съкрꙋшити). 8. Чьто (сълꙋчити) сѧ въчера? 9. Тъ просто (вълѣзти), и не (оуцѣловати) никогоже. 10. Прѣжде полаты онъде (стоıати) лѣси.

2. Choose a suitable form of the verb

1. Да не забѫдеши (написати - написатъ - написанïе) посланïе матери своей. 2. Еда можеши ити въ тръжницѫ (кꙋпити - кꙋпитъ - кꙋпенïе) вина? 3. Костьмь твоимь нѣстъ благо еже (носити - носитъ - носенïе) мъногыхъ кънигъ. 4. Вьсѫ нощь нѣкое (пѣти - пѣтъ - пѣнïе) слышаахъ. 5. За оутрïа имамъ (съврьшити - съврьшитъ - съврьшенïе) дѣло свое. 6. Когда начьнетъ Марïино (чисти - чистъ - чьтенïе)? 7. (Сърѣтити - Сърѣтитъ - Сърѣтенïе) съ Радостиноıѫ быстъ оугодьно. 8. Та оуже минѫ (ходити - ходитъ - ходенïе) по Бескыдамъ. 9. Недостоитъ мꙋ (ıаздити - ıаздитъ - ıазденïе) на кони. 10. Пошьли нѣкого (оуготовати - оуготоватъ - оуготованïе) истъбѫ.

3. Choose a suitable conjunction

1. \_\_\_ ѿидеши на Моравѫ и съ съкрꙋшеноıѫ ногоıѫ? 2. Мьнıѫ, \_\_\_ та ладïа оуже естъ минѫла. 3. Нѣстъ дошьлъ, \_\_\_ нѣчьто сълꙋчило сѧ. 4. Въ тръжници нѣстъ \_\_\_ хлѣба, \_\_\_ вина. 5. \_\_\_ възѧтъ eлико стара конıа? 6. \_\_\_ бѣ стꙋдено, \_\_\_ тъ разболѣ сѧ. 7. Искахъ плꙋти въ рѣцѣ, \_\_\_ разболѣхъ сѧ. 8. \_\_\_ ны посрѣтиши, оуготовлıѫ телѧ. 9. Азъ поидѫ кораблемь, \_\_\_ Марïа возомь. 10. \_\_\_ бимъ врѣмѧ имали, ходили бимъ въ позорище.

4. Translate

1. As I was walking in Carpathians, I hurt my leg. 2. I did not know, which ship was yours. 3. She has prepared wine, but I cannot drink. 4. They don't speak Slavonic, because they had not learned well. 5. I was sleeping in the car when the horse came. 6. The children liked to sing on this street. 7. She waited a bit, and then continued to speak. 8. All rooms were clean soon afterwards. 9. The doctor was truly a very beautiful man. 10. Zosima sat down and called his sister.

# 7. На тръжищи - At the main square

- active participles

- participal clauses

- other future tenses

- comparative

- derivation: agent nouns

- Glagolitic script

## 7.1. Бесѣда - Dialogue

Mary and Radostina meet on the Samo's Street, but Mary barely walks. After sitting shortly for a coffee, Radostina offers to accompany her to a good shop for some more comfortable shoes.

Р: Какѫıѫ обоувь ищеши, Марïе? Плесньца или ıаже оупражьненïа ради?

М: Ѡ, плесньца не. Оно не хотѣаше сълꙋчити сѧ, аще быхъ была обоувь крѣпльшѫ имѣла. Да нѣчесо мѧкъчьша изберевѣ.

Р: Сѣди семо. Азъ ти ѧ хощѫ носити. Къторое естъ число твое?

М: Тридесѧть и седмь.

Р: Възьмѫ ти нѣколикъ, да избереши лꙋчьшѧ.

М: Благодарıѫ тѧ!

Р: (Възвративъши сѧ скоро, носѧщи трïѧ крабïѧ съ обоувьıѫ течьць ради.) Се, вьсе въ числѣхъ глагольсцѣхъ естъ! Еда есмь ти величïе право избьрала?

М: (Отворивъши едьнѫ крабïıѫ.) Красьнѣ есте! (Опытаетъ обоувь на цѣлой ноsѣ.) И оугодьнѣ. Нъ вѧщьши паче елико ношѫ. Мьнıѫ, ıако понѣ тридесѧть и девѧть бѫдете.

Р: Вьсе пакы, опытай, еда обоувъши и възможеши ходити!

М: Добрѣ. (Обоувъши поврѣденѫıѫ онѫ, въстанетъ, сътворѧщи нѣколикы крачькы.) Ѡ, нѣсте никакоже зълѣ!

Р: Аще тѧ нога болитъ, мало вѧще число можетъ помощи. Еда и кꙋпиши? Неопыташи и дрꙋгыѧ?

М: Ни, кꙋплѫ си, аще оуспѣıѫ къ кꙋпьчици минѫти.

Р: Нѣсте sѣло драsи. Тъчïıѫ осмь скълѧsь, аще бѫдѫ право прочьла.

М: (Низглѧдъши на крабïıѫ.) Не бѫдеши - се "и" знаменꙋетъ двадесѧть!

R: What kind of shoes do you want, Mary? Sandals or sport shoes?

M: Oh, no sandals. That would not have happened, if I had sturdier shoes. Let us choose something softer.

R: Sit down here. I will bring them to you. What is your number?

M: Thirty-seven.

R: I'll take a couple of them for you, so that you choose better (or the best).

M: Thank you!

R: (Returns quickly, carries three boxes with shoes for runners.) See, all the numbers are Glagolitic! Did I choose the correct size?

M: (Opens a box.) They are beautiful! (Tries the shoes on the healthy foot.) And comfortable. But they are larger than I wear. I think they are at least thirty-nine.

R: Still, try them, whether you can walk in them, having put them on!

M: Good. (Having put on the shoe on the wounded [leg], she stays up, making a couple of steps.) Oh, they are not bad at all!

R: If the foot hurts, a little bigger number may help. Will you buy them? Or would you like to try the other ones?

M: No, I will buy these, if I manage to get to the cashier.

R: They are not very expensive. Only eight schillings, if I will have read it correctly.

M: (Looks down to the box.) You will not - this "i" means twenty!

величïе size

вѧщьши larger (f.dl.nom/acc)

знаменовати indicate, signify

избьрати choose

крабïа box

крѣпъ sturdy

кꙋпьчица merchantwoman (here: 'cashier')

лꙋчьшѧ better, best (f.pl.nom)

мѧкъкъ soft

плесньце sandal

обоувь shoes

опытати try

скълѧsь schilling (lit. 'golden coin')

течьць runner

оупражьненïе exercise, sport

оуспѣти succeed

## 7.2. Дѣıательна причѧстïа - Active Participles

Besides the already mentioned l-participle (§5.2), which is a Slavic innovation, Old Church Slavonic had two older active participles. In the text sources they commonly appear as heads of subordinate clauses, e.g. мънози вѣровашѧ въ ıмѧ его **видѧште** знаменѣ его 'many believed in him, as they saw his signs' (Zogr. Jn 2:23). They may appear adjectivally too, as well as alone, as nominals: да **не** **видѧщи** вıдѧтъ 'so that the blind (lit. unseeing) will see' (Assem. Jn 9:39), ı **отъпадъшѧ** въскрѣсï пакъı 'and restore the fallen again' (Kiev.f. 4r).

The contrast between present and past active participles is similar to that of passive ones. Present ones denote imperfectivity: the action continues at the referred time. Past ones, on the other hand, denote perfectivity, an action finished at the time. This is partly reflected on the distribution of perfective and imperfective stems, as it can be seen in the examples above.

Present active participle use a truncated present stem, suffix -ѧщ- or -ѫщ-, and an adjectival ending of a specific soft paradigm. It is convenient to follow the 1sg or 3pl.prs forms to determine, which suffix should be used. Basically, i-verbs use the front nasal (-ѧщ-), while e-verbs and consonant stems use the back nasal (‑ѫщ‑). A part of the suffix falls out in m/n.sg.nom forms: the endings are -ы for the stems ending in a non-palatal consonant (most consonant stems and e-verbs), -ѧ is used for the rest (i-verbs and stems ending in a \**j*; Lunt 2001:99).

e- чаı-ѫтъ чаı**ѧ**, чаı**ѫщи** 'awaiting'

мин-ѫтъ мин**ѧ**, мин**ѫщи** 'passing'

милꙋıѫтъ милꙋ**ѧ**, милꙋ**ıѫщи** 'receiving mercy'

сѣ-ıѫтъ сѣ**ѧ**, сѣ**ıѫщи** 'sowing'

бï-ıѫтъ бï**ѧ**, бï**ıѫщи** 'beating'

бѫд-ѫтъ бѫд**ы**, бѫд**ѫщи** 'becoming'

нес-ѫтъ нес**ы**, нес**ѫщи** 'carrying'

рек-ѫтъ рек**ы**, рек**ѫщи** 'saying'

им-ѫтъ им**ы**, им**ѫщи** 'having, taking'

i- твор-ѧтъ твор**ѧ**, твор**ѧщи** 'doing'

вид-ѧтъ вид**ѧ**, вид**ѧщи** 'seeing'

C- дад-ѫтъ дад**ы**, дад**ѫщи** 'giving'

с-ѫть с**ы**, с**ѫщи** 'being'

The suffix goes actually to an older sequence \*-*n̥ti*- (compare Lat. n.pl.nom *videntia* 'seeing', OCS видѧща, both < PIE \**weid-ei-nti-eh₂s*), with the (1sg/3pl.prs) thema vowel interacting with the nasal (PSl. \**weid-ei-nti*-*āˀ* > \**vid-ętj*-*a* > видѧща, but \**im-o-nti*-*os* > \**jьm-ǫtj*-*e* > имѫще). Due to local differences in the reflexes of iotation, Kiev.f. also show a -ц- (common in West Slavic) instead of -щ-, e.g. чьстѧце 'honoring'. At least one form of these participles tends to be still productive in modern Slavic varieties, used as a gerund form. The f.sg.nom ending ‑и is cognate with that of old ī-stems (see §1.4), like ethnonyms in ‑ыни.

Past active participles are still used in East Slavic, but only rarely (and mostly adnominally) elsewhere. They use an aorist/infinitive stem, a suffix -въш-, and an ending, which shares declension with present active participles. The final sibilant is again lost in m/n.sg.nom, resulting in an ending -въ.

a- чаıа-ти чаıа**въ**, чаıа**въши** 'having awaited'

nǫ- минѫ-ти минѫ**въ**, минѫ**въши** 'having passed'

ova- милова-ти милова**въ**, милова**въши** 'having been merciful'

ěja- сѣıа-ти сѣıа**въ**, сѣıа**въши** 'having sown'

j- би-ти би**въ**, би**въши** 'having been beating'

i- твори-ти твор**ивъ**, твор**ивъши** 'having done'

ě- видѣ-ти видѣ**въ**,видѣ**въши** 'having seen'

имѣ-ти имѣ**въ**, имѣ**въши** 'having had'

C- бы-ти бы**въ**, бы**въши** 'having been'   
да-ти да**въ**, да**въши** 'having given'

In stems ending in a consonant further irregularities may arise. The suffix is further shortened to a mere jer, resulting in forms often homonymic with 1sg.aor. The actual stem is comparable to that of l-participles, with the exception of the ptcp.aor.act of ѧти, which has its own stem:

въздвиг-лъ въздвиг**ъ**, въздвиг**ъши** 'having raised'

нес-лъ нес**ъ**, нес**ъши** 'having carried'

рек-лъ рек**ъ**, рек**ъши** 'having said'

шьлъ (< \**šьd-lъ*) шьд**ъ**, шьд**ъши** 'having went'

ѧ-ти **ем**ъ, **ем**ъши 'having taken'

The declension is similar to comparatives discussed below. A major difference is in the m/n.sg.nom forms, where the sibilant is regularily dropped. Morphologically adjectives, OCS participles distinguish gender, number and also show long-forms to mark definiteness. The m/n forms are similar in sg and pl, distinct in sg.nom.lf, pl.nom and acc forms, while f/n forms are similar in dual.

**masc. short**

sg pl dl

nom несы несѫще несѫща

gen несѫща несѫщь несѫщꙋ

dat несѫщꙋ несѫщемъ несѫщема

acc несѫщь несѫщѧ

loc несѫщи несѫщихъ

inst несѫщемь несѫщи

**masc. long**

sg pl dl

nom несый несѫщеи несѫщаа

gen несѫщаего несѫщïихъ несѫщꙋю

dat несѫщꙋемꙋ несѫщïимъ несѫщïима

acc несѫщïй несѫщѧѧ

loc несѫщïимь несѫщïихъ

inst несѫщïимь несѫщïими

**fem. short**

sg pl dl

nom несѫщи несѫщѧ несѫщи

gen несѫщѧ несѫщь несѫщꙋ

dat несѫщи несѫщамъ несѫщема

acc несѫщѫ несѫщѧ

loc несѫщи несѫщахъ

inst несѫщѫıѫ несѫщами

**fem. long**

sg pl dl

nom несѫщïа несѫщѧѧ несѫщïи

gen несѫщѧѧ несѫщïихъ несѫщꙋю

dat несѫщïй несѫщïимъ несѫщïима

acc несѫщѫıѫ несѫщѧѧ

loc несѫщïй несѫщïихъ

inst несѫщѫıѫ несѫщïими

**neut. short**

sg pl dl

nom несѫще несѫща несѫща

gen несѫща несѫщь несѫщꙋ

dat несѫщꙋ несѫщемъ несѫщема

acc несѫще несѫща

loc несѫщи несѫщихъ

inst несѫщемь несѫщи

**neut. long**

sg pl dl

nom несѫщее несѫщаа несѫщïи

gen несѫщаего несѫщïихъ несѫщꙋю

dat несѫщꙋемꙋ несѫщïимъ несѫщïима

acc несѫщее несѫщаа

loc несѫщïимь несѫщïихъ

inst несѫщïимь несѫщïими

As mentioned above, declension of i-verbs and stems iotated in 1sg.prs differs by using a front nasal in most forms, thus resulting in forms like творѧща, творѧщꙋ etc. The n.sg.nom/acc ending is -ѧ, rather than expected \*-ѧще (e.g. нѣстъ бо дрѣво добро творѧ плода зъла 'no good tree bears a good fruit'; Zogr. Lk 6:43). In past active participles, the suffix follows a full aorist/infinitive stem, resulting in logical forms like творивъша, творивъшꙋ etc. The suffix is regularily shortened (omitting the -в-) after consonant stems: несъша, несъшꙋ etc.

## 7.3. Причѧстьна изреченïа - Participial Clauses

Participles can be used in subordinate sentences of both adverbial and adnominal type. As morphological adjectives, they regularily reflect the genus, number and case of their head, e.g. м'нози отъ стоѧштааго тоу народа 'many from the throng, which was staying there' (Supr., [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/suprasl/supra.htm?supra001.htm#Cod.Supr._1_1_1b_26_2)), не иштѫ волѧ моеѧ. нъ волıѫ посълавшааго мѧ о-ца 'I do not want my will (to be fulfilled), but the will of the Father, who has sent me' (Assem. Jn 5:30). The participial clause does not require an explicit head: constructions such as любѧи д-шѫ своıѫ погоубитъ ıѫ 'he, who loves his soul, loses it' (Assem. Jn 12:25) are common.

Of course, Church Slavonic may employ a clause with a finite verb introduced by a relative pronoun, as elsewhere in Slavic, e.g. вьса оумышлениıа. ıаже творитъ на нь 'all thoughts, which [the count] does against [the saint]' (Supr., [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/suprasl/supra.htm?supra019.htm#Cod.Supr._1_19_113b_6_226)). A similar freedom of choice can be seen with passive constructions, e.g. вь великѫıѫ цръкъве. ıаже тъгда ирини нарицааше сѧ 'into the large church, which was then called Eirēnē' (Supr., [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/suprasl/supra.htm?supra016.htm#Cod.Supr._1_16_104b_16_208)), мѫжѧ нарицаıемыѧ крьстиıаны pl.acc 'men called Christians' (Supr., [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/suprasl/supra.htm?supra004.htm#Cod.Supr._1_4_29b_23_58)). In later sources, the relative pronouns are often used with participles together, e.g. не бо бѣше тамо иного кого сьматрати та могꙋщаго, тьчïю иже в'са назырающеıе око 'for there was no one else capable of seeing those (deeds), but only the all-seeing eye (of God)' (Vuk.1536, [link](https://www.punco.uzh.ch/syntax.php?corpus=petka&chapter=vuk&cyr=1&sent_id=24); cf. also §5.5).

Church Slavonic also retains an archaic construction called *dative absolute*. When the subject of a participial clause is not the same as that of the main clause, it may be given in dative, e.g. и тѫ ıемоу творѧщꙋ слоужьбѫ. сълоучи сѧ 'and as he was doing the service, it happened' (Supr., [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/suprasl/supra.htm?supra025.htm#Cod.Supr._3_25_8_(=_142)b_12_284)). Nominative is used when the both subjects are the same, e.g. и възвратишѧ сѧ пастыри хвалѧште ı славѧште б-а 'and the shepherds returned praising and glorifying God' (Zogr. Lk 2:20). However, sometimes such datives in independent clauses too - still denoting circumstances, questions and similar clauses, subordinated rather semantically than syntactically to the narrative (Collins 2011:127).

As we can see on constructions like мѫжѧ нарицаıемыѧ, an auxiliary is generally not required in participial clauses of a passive voice. To denote past relevance, a plusquam-perfect-like construction can be built using the past active participle of 'be' as auxiliary, e.g. и се еи естъ мѣсѧць шесты нарицаемѣи бывъши неплодьви 'and see, the one, who had been called barren, is in the sixth month' (Supr., [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/suprasl/supra.htm?supra021.htm#Cod.Supr._2_21_5_(=_123)a_13_245)).

## 7.4. Ина бѫдѫща врѣмена - Other Future Tenses

We have already (§3.5) introduced two basic ways of expressing future: the use of present tense of verbs with a perfective aspect (дьньсь ѿидѫ) and periphrastic constructions with an auxiliary verb for imperfective verbs (хощетъ бо иродъ искати отрочѧте). Passive voice can be built by participles can be used with the perfective form of 'be'-verb in present tense; the type of the participle usually matches the aspect of the stem (видими бѫдѫтъ - iprf., m-ptcp; прѣданъ бѫдетъ - prf., n/t-ptcp; cf. §4.2). Beside these, Church Slavonic has also other constructions, some of which remain productive in modern Slavic varieties.

**Prophetic future** (called бъдеще пророческо by Mirčev, slavonizing: бѫдѫще пророчьско) expresses events strongly anticipated in the time of speaking. Being perhaps more a rhetorical device, it uses present tense form of an imperfective verb, e.g. по въскръсновени же моемь. варѣıѫ вы въ галилеи 'after I have risen, I will go ahead of you into Galilee' (Zogr. Mt 26:32; see also Mirčev 2000:118). A similar construction with present tense verbs existed in Hebrew and Greek too, but Church Slavonic uses it often on place of Greek future forms. The form is also attested in Serbo-Croat varieties (Mihailović 1962:35).

**Future-in-the-past tense** (бѫдѫще въ прошьдъшемь, or бышѧще?) reflects events or actions expected or at the past time of reference. The construction uses an imperfect form of the verb хотѣти with the main verb in infinitive, e.g. начѧтъ ıмъ г-лати. еже хотѣаше быти емоу 'he began to tell them, what was going to happen to him' (Zogr. Mk 10:32). The form appears with verbs of both aspects, and the tense is still productive in modern varieties.

Some grammars (Trubetzkoy 1954:179, Trunte 2022:164) mention a special future participle form of the 'be'-verb, mostly attested in later texts: ıавленïе ѡ бышѧщиих мѫках 'prophecy about future torments' (Miltenov 2009:3). It often shows a meaning similar to future-in-the-past constructions (Slavova 2019:8). It may reflect a lost synthetic future form (similar to Lith. *būsiant*), but it may also be derived from the 3pl.aor form бышѧ. OCS sources prefer forms based on the perfective present stem бѫд-, when making subordinate or adnominal clauses denoting future (e.g. бѫдѫштии вѣкъ 'the coming age', Supr., [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/suprasl/supra.htm?supra016.htm#Cod.Supr._1_16_94a_17_187)).

**Future-perfect tense** (бѫдѫще послѣдꙋıѫще) or *futurum exactum* (Mirčev 2000:119) expresses future actions, events, and states, which are going to be relevant for another, subsequent future reference time. The tense uses an auxiliary based on the stem бѫд- and an l‑participle of the main verb, e.g. или паче съкрыıѫ таиное се. еда бѫдетъ сълъгалъ приходивыи 'or (should) I hide this secret, if the coming one will (prove to) have lied (to me)?' (Supr., [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/suprasl/supra.htm?supra020.htm#Cod.Supr._2_20_2_(=_120)a_25_239)). While productive in modern South Slavic varieties, it is somewhat rare in OCS - Lunt (2001:114) counted only seven instances in the canonical sources.

## 7.5. Съравнительны твари - Comparative

Formation of comparatives is similar for both adverbs and adjectives. However, different suffixes and endings are used according to the stem. Most stems use the suffix -ѣй(ш)-, followed by soft-stem adjectival endings, similar to those of active participles, e.g. f.sg стара 'old', старѣйши 'older'. Endings appear usually in short forms, beside rather rare examples like pl.dat доблѣишиимъ 'to the more brave ones' (Supr., [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/suprasl/supra.htm?supra047.htm#Cod.Supr._3_47_137(_271)b_27_542)). There is no difference between long and short ones in m.sg.nom. In stems ending in a soft consonant, the jat sometimes shifts to an -а-: f.sg добла 'brave', доблıайши 'braver'. Stems ending in a velar undergo first palatalization: m.sg горькъ 'bitter', горьчай 'more bitter'.

**masc. short**

sg pl dl

nom новѣй новѣйше новѣйша

gen новѣйша новѣйшь новѣйшꙋ

dat новѣйшꙋ новѣйшемь новѣйшема

acc новѣйшь новѣйшѧ

loc новѣйши новѣйшихъ

inst новѣйшемь новѣйши

**fem. short**

sg pl dl

nom новѣйши новѣйшѧ новѣйши

gen новѣйшѧ новѣйшь новѣйшꙋ

dat новѣйши новѣйшамъ новѣйшема

acc новѣйшѫ новѣйшѧ

loc новѣйши новѣйшахъ

inst новѣйшѫıѫ новѣйшами

**neut. short**

sg pl dl

nom новѣе новѣйша новѣйша

gen новѣйша новѣйшь новѣйшꙋ

dat новѣйшꙋ новѣйшемь новѣйшема

acc новѣйше новѣйша

loc новѣйши новѣйшихъ

inst новѣйшемь новѣйши

Adverbs use the n.sg.nom/acc form, e.g. скорѣе 'faster', доблıае 'more bravely'. In comparisions, they are commonly used with genitive, e.g. дроугы оученикъ тече **скорѣе петра** 'the other apostle ran faster than Peter' (Mar. Jn 20:4). The word неже 'than' appears rarely: обаче тоуроу и сидоноу. **отърадьнѣе** бѫдетъ на сѫдѣ. **неже вама** 'but it will be more tolerable to Tyre and Sidon at the Judgement than to you' (Zogr. Lk 10:14).

A number of stems shows shortened endings (m.sg -ïй or -ьй, f.sg -ьши, n.sg -е or -ıe) going to an underlying sequence \*-*jьj*(*š*)- (cf. Lunt 2001:78). According to Lunt, the distribution is lexical, used with stems, which differ from those of positive (often because of -ък- suffix). In OCS it seems to be less productive than elsewhere in Slavic. If applicable, consonants preceding the suffix undergo iotation, e.g. m.sg сладь-къ 'sweet', (\**slad-jьj-ь* >) слаждïй 'more dear'. Except the nom forms, the declension uses the same endings as the productive -ѣй(ш)- comparative, e.g. m/n.sg.gen вѧщьша, dat вѧщьшꙋ etc.

m.sg.nom.pos m.sg.nom f.sg.nom n.sg.nom/adv

великъ 'great' вѧщïй вѧщьши вѧще

высокъ 'high' вышïй вышьши выше

грѫбъ 'rough' грѫблïй грѫбльши грѫбле

далекъ 'far' далïй дальши дале

добръ 'good' лꙋчïй лꙋчьши лꙋче

оунïй оуньши оуне

драгъ 'dear, costly' дражïй дражьши драже

зълъ 'bad' горïй горьши горе

крѣпъкъ 'strong' крѣплïй крѣпльши крѣпле

лихъ 'superfluous' лишïй лишьши лише

лютъ 'fierce' лющïй лющьши люще

малъ 'small' мьнïй мьньши мьне

мъногъ 'many' пачïй пачьши паче

мѧкъкъ 'soft' мѧкъчïй мѧкъчьши мѧкъче

низъкъ 'low' нижïй нижьши ниже

радъ 'glad' рачïй рачьши раче

сладъкъ 'sweet' слаждïй слаждьши слажде

тѧжькъ 'heavy' тежïй тѧжьши тѧже

широкъ 'broad' ширïй ширьши шире

хꙋдъ 'poor' хꙋждïй хꙋждьши хꙋжде

The superlative is a somewhat controversial category in OCS. The particle **най**-, found in many Slavic varieties, is used in Supr. in adverbs like наивѧще and наипаче 'most'. Trunte (2022:184) considers it a productive prefix, as it indeed appears so in later texts with adjectives too. In later sources, it appears with both comparative (e.g. f.sg наилѣпшаа 'the most beautiful' in Vat.slav.2, [link](https://www.punco.uzh.ch/syntax.php?corpus=lt&chapter=vat&cyr=1&sent_id=140)) and positive forms (наилѣпа, [link](https://www.punco.uzh.ch/syntax.php?corpus=lt&chapter=vat&cyr=1&sent_id=127)), along the newer, analytic comparative with prefix *po*-, used before forms with positive endings (e.g. побогать 'richer', [link](https://www.punco.uzh.ch/syntax.php?corpus=lt&chapter=vat&cyr=1&sent_id=152)). According to Lunt (2001:78), superlative is more a phraseological than a grammatical category in OCS. It is expressed by comparatives, with an optional phrase 'of all', e.g. ıже бо мьниı естъ всѣхъ васъ. сь естъ вѧштьı 'for it is the one, who is least among you (lit. "than you all"), who is the greatest' (Zogr. Lk 9:48).

The prefix **прѣ**- is sometimes described as a marker of a fourth degree, the elative (Trunte 2022:184), e.g. прѣподобьнъ 'reverend, holy', lit. 'exceedingly holy'.

It is possible, that \*-*jьj*(*š*)- and -ѣй(ш)- were originally a pair of endings used respectively for superlative and comparative. A cognate of the former functions as a superlative in Lithuanian, while the latter has a cognate in Old Prussian with the same function of a comparative (Trunte 2022:182). It is possible, that the distinction was lost not long before the OCS period, with the marking of superlative being restored by the prefix най-, and one set of the comparative endings replacing the other one.

## 7.6. Развѣщанïе: дѣıательнаа - Derivation: Agent Nouns

One of the functions of active participles is to denote the subject of the activity: thus, in отъпадъшѧ въскрѣсï пакъı mentioned above, the first word could be analyzed as such too. However, there are also nominal suffixes designating originators of an action.

Verbal roots are commonly derived into agent nouns by the suffix -**тель**, e.g. слꙋжитель 'servant' from слꙋжити 'serve', родитель 'parent' from родити 'give birth', and so on. Endings of these are similar to those of ethno-stems, but without the suffix ‑ин‑ in singular.

Less common in this function is the suffix ‑**ьць**, e.g. кꙋпьць 'merchant' from кꙋпити (prf.) 'buy'. This ending arose from the so-called progressive (or "third") palatalization, working in different direction than the other ones (Holzer 2011:43 §1). Thus, the vocative form of this suffix is -ьче, e.g. отиди отъ сѫдоу старьче 'go away from here, old man!' (Supr., [link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/suprasl/supra.htm?supra014.htm#Cod.Supr._1_14_86b_19_170); sg.nom старьць).

The suffix ‑**арь** is used with nominal roots, denoting an object of activity, like рыбарь 'fisherman' from рыба 'fish'. Both use jo-stem endings.

The suffix ‑**ьникъ** is used more with nominal roots, e.g. двьрьникъ 'door-keeper' (двьри 'door'), and it may also denote instruments, like вѣтрьникъ 'fan' (from вѣтръ 'wind').

A specific ending for instruments is ‑**ло** (CZ/SK ‑*dlo*), e.g. ходило 'foot' (lit. 'walking-thing'), носило 'vehicle' ('carrying -thing'), morphologically a neutral o-stem.

Some endings are grammatically feminine, like ‑**йца** (~ \*-*jьca*) used on verbal roots, e.g. оубïйца 'killer' from оубити. Due to the split of the sequence \**ьjь*, the suffix shows often an epenthetic -н-, resulting in ‑ница. It can be attached to emphasize semantic gender of the agent, e.g. слꙋжительница (< \**služi-telь-jьca*) 'female servant', кꙋпьчица (< \**kup-ьc-jьca*) 'merchant-woman' or 'wife of a merchant', and so on.

Non‑Slavic roots often show the suffix ‑**чïй**, which may have been a part of the borrowing, e.g. кънигъчïй 'scribe' (besides кънижьникъ) from кънига 'book'. The morphologically similar suffix ‑**ïй** is used with verbal roots, e.g. сѫдïй 'judge' from сѫдити. Both are conjugated as ja‑stems, while both can semantically denote male persons (and take masculine adjectives or pronouns) too.

## 7.7. Глагольскы бꙋкъви - Glagolitic Script

In most Church Slavonic traditions of literature up to this textbook, Cyrillic script has replaced Glagolitic, an original invention of Constantine-Cyrill. It is a topic of controversy, which of the two alphabets is older; actually, a question of definition. Generally, Glagolitic is considered to be older, because older texts (like Kiev.f.) were written in it. Some Cyrillic texts were written on papers originally containing Glagolitic ones, but there are no Glagolitic texts written over former Cyrillic ones. On the other hand, Cyrillic (despite the conventional name) is based on majuscule Greek script (Trubetzkoy 1954:13), which was in use in Bulgaria before the adoption of Christianity - it was rather expanded with new characters for specific Slavic phonems (as with early Romanian and modern alphabets for nations of Russia) than invented anew.

Both alphabets represent different approaches to the same task, although both are strongly influenced by Greek. Many Glagolitic letters have original shapes, but it partly preserves the order of Greek alphabet (when looking at numeric values), as well as different signs for the phonems /i/, /o/, or /th/, with no basis in Common Slavic phonetics. In the same way as Cyrillic, it was expanded later with characters specific of local developments. However, these later developments were limited to Croatia, where the Glagolitic texts remained in liturgical use up to the late 20th century.

Glagolitic Cyrillic Latin

ⰰ ⰰⰸⱏ а *a*

ⰱ ⰱⱆⰽⱏⰻ б *b*

ⰲ ⰲⱑⰴⱑ в *v*

ⰳ ⰳⰾⰰⰳⱁⰾⰻ г *g*

ⰴ ⰴⱁⰱⱃⱁ д *d*

ⰵ ⰵⱄⱅⱏ е *e*

ⰶ ⰶⰻⰲⱑⱅⰵ ж *ž*

ⰷ ⱄⱑⰾⱁ s *ź*

ⰸ ⰸⰵⱞⰾⱑ з *z*

ⰹ ⰹⰶⰵ ï *i*

ⰺ ï *i*

ⰻ ⰻ и *i*

ⰼ ⰼⰵⱃⰲⱏ ћ or ђ *ǵ* or *j*

ⰽ ⰽⰰⰽⱁ к *k*

ⰾ ⰾⱓⰴⰹⰵ л *l*

ⰿ ⰿⱏⰻⱄⰾⰻⱅⰵ м *m*

ⱀ ⱀⰰⱎⱐ н *n*

ⱁ ⱁⱀⱐ о *o*

ⱂ ⱂⱁⰽⱁⰻ п *p*

ⱃ ⱃⱐⱌⰻ р *r*

ⱄ ⱄⰾⱁⰲⱁ с *s*

ⱅ ⱅⰲⱃⱐⰴⱁ т *t*

ⱆ ⱆⰽⱏ оу *u*

ⱛ ⱛⰶⰻⱌⰰ ѵ *i* or *ü*

ⱚ ѳ *f* or *th*

ⱇ ⱇⱃⱐⱅⱏ ф *f*

ⱈ ⱈⱑⱃⱏ х *x* or *x́*

ⱒ х *x*

ⱉ ⱁⱅⱏ ѡ *o*

ⱌ ⱌⰻ ц *c*

ⱍ ⱍⱃⱏⰲⱐ ч *č*

ⱎ ⱎⰰ ш *š*

ⱋ щ *št* or *ć*

ⱏ ⰵⱃⱏ ъ *ъ* or *ŭ*

ⱑ ⱑⱅⱏ ѣ *ě* or *ä*

ⱓ ю *ju* or *ü*

ⱐ ⰵⱃⱐ ь *ь* or *ĭ*

ⱘ ⱘⱄⱏ ѫ *ǫ*

ⱙ ⱙⱄⱏ ıѫ *jǫ* or *öN*

ⱔ ⱔⱄⱏ ѧ nasality marker or *ę*

ⱗ ⱗⱄⱏ ıѧ *ję* or *äN*

ⱕ ъ *ъN* or *yN*

ⱝ а *a*

ⱞ м *m*

ⱜ ⱎⱅⰰⱂⰹⰽⱜ ь *ь*

As the alphabet is considered to be an invention of Constantine-Cyrill, its structure gives some hints about the Slavic dialect he knew. As Cyrillic, it did not have a distinct letter for the glide \**j*. Neither did it have a specific letter for the sequence /ja/ - the letter ⱑ was used for both /ě/ and /ja/. For this reason, it is possible that iotated letters were pronounced without the glide too, as rounded vowels: ⱓ as /ü/, ⱙ as nasalized /öN/. We could adapt the word *röntgen* from the previous chapter as ⱃⱙⰼⰵⱀⱏ (Cyr. рıѫгенъ; /t/ would fall out due to sonority laws). The ⱔ may have originally been a nasality marker, but the letter \*ⱖ is not attested without it.

The letter **ⱕ** (the tail is usually somewhat longer) appears in Zogr. and Mar. in place of a jery in m/n.sg.nom definite active participles, e.g. ⰳⱃⱔⰴⱕⰻ 'the coming one' (Lk 3:31). Its phonetic value is unclear, possibly a nasalized counterpart of a middle vowel (*y* or *ъ*). The pronounciation of the ending was likely varying across dialects, as other vowels appear in its place too (cf. Trubetzkoy 1954:36, Lunt 2001:68).

As in Cyrillic, the differences between letters for /i/ are not clear. In Kiev.f., the **ⰺ** is used in the beginning of words and syllables, being a younger variant of ⰹ (Trunte 2022:330). Original Glagolitic may have had also only two letters: one, probably ⰻ, for vocalic /i/ (called by conjunction 'and') another for /jь/ (for being named by the pronoun \**jьže*). Trubetzkoy (1954:35) sees the reason in making a diference between vowel /y/, written as ⱏⰻ, (e.g. ⱅⱏⰻ 2sg.nom 'you') and the sequence /ъjь/ (e.g. in long-forms like ⰲⱑⱍⱐⱀⱏⰹ m.sg.nom 'eternal'). Such a distribution is common in Kiev.f., but elsewhere the /y/ is represented by sequences of the hard jer and any /i/ - ⱏⰻ, ⱏⰹ or ⱏⰺ (Krivko 2015:41). The soft jer is not used in Glagolitic for it. However, the distinction between the two jers may be secondary, with ⱏ being the older shape (Trunte 2017:54).

The letter **ⰼ** appears mostly in loanwords for a /g/ preceding front vowels, e.g. sg.dat ⰼⰵⱁⱀⱐⱀⱑ 'of Hell' (Mar. Mt 23:15). In some Glagolitic sources we find a ⰳ instead (Zogr.: ⰳⰵⰵⱀⱑ), and most Cyrillic ones show also a г (Elisabethan Bible: геенны). Later Croatian texts use ⰼ with a phonetic value of the glide /j/ (Trunte 2022:329). It may have had a similar phonetic value as Bosnian Cyrillic ꙉ (or modern ћ, used to transcribe it, and ђ), which may be its direct descendant. It appears on an early (10th-12th c.) mixed Cyrillic-Glagolitic epigraph from Humac in a word, where a Glagolitic ⰼ would be plausible as /ǵ/ too (аꙉла ми-ла 'of Archangel Michael'). Trunte (2022:330) considers ꙉ to be originally a reversed variant of the letter ч.

There is no attested palatal counterpart of the letter ⰽ. Palatality of consonants preceding front vowels and \**j* is also sometimes marked by a suprasegmental sign written on the right of the letter. The shape varies, e.g. ⰽⱏ ⱀʾⰵⰿⱆ 'to him' (Zogr. Mt 5:1) or ⰸⰵⰿⰾ̆ⱙ sg.acc 'the Earth' (Mt 5:5), sg.dat ⰽ́ⱛⱃⰻⱀⱐⱓ 'of Quirinius' (Lk 2:2). A similar marking can be seen in Supr. too, e.g. на н̑ь 'against him' ([link](https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/slav/aksl/suprasl/supra.htm?supra019.htm#Cod.Supr._1_19_113b_6_226)).

The very rare letter **ⱒ**, sometimes called "spidery" (Lunt 2001:20) or "sunny *x*" (Miklas 2004:396), is attested about four times only in one word хльмъ 'hill' - once in Assem. and thrice in Ps.Sin., while other Glagolitic sources show the ⱈ. Kempgen (2016:5) mentions similar glyphs appearing in some abecedaria, considering it a part of original Glagolitic alphabet. Trubetzkoy (1954:29) considered it a hard counterpart of ⱈ - similarily as ⰳ complemented the ⰼ.

The letter **ⱋ** is a debated one. It does not appear in all Glagolitic sources (e.g. in Zogr.; Krivko 2015:69), elsewhere it denotes the sequence /št/. Later in Croatia, the letter was used for /ć/, the local reflex of \**tj* (Trunte 2022:329), which may have been its original phonetic value too (Mathiesen 2014:197). On this basis, Miklas (2004:396) thought the original value may have been /ḱ/, as the palatal counterpart of ⰽ. But that could have also been the original phonetic value of ⱌ, graphically more similar to ⰽ and ⱈ. Others (e.g. Kempgen 2008:35) reconstruct its original phonetic value /p/ (if the shape was based on Greek ѱ), used before front vowels (discussed below), and only later reinterpreted as /št/ under the Cyrillic influence. The Unicode character ⱊ (discussed in Kempgen 2008) may also be its later interpretation.

Letters **ⱝ** ("triangular *a*"), **ⱞ** (a Latinized /m/) and **ⱜ** (*štapik*, used for both jers) were added later in Croatia. They can be seen already on the Baška tablet from the 11th century.

## 7.8. Глагольскы числицѧ - Glagolitic Numbers

Similarily as Cyrillic script, also in Glagolitic most letters had a numeric value, marked by interpunction and similar combination rules. However, there were subtle differences, which appear in later transcripts. In the *Life of St. Mary of Egypt*, the hermit Zosima goes fasting into the desert, until he meets Mary, which did not have seen a human for years. In some Slavonic editions of the story, Zosima walks for 8 days; in others, his journey takes 20 days - as in Greek and Latin editions. Velčeva (1996:38) attributes the discrepancy to a lost Glagolitic edition: letter ⰻ had the value 20, but its Cyrillic counterpart и denoted the number 8. Hopefully, the Dialogue makes now more sense!

Glagolitic also does not seem to have a specific sign for thousands. Monk Xrabrъ (see e.g. Kuev 1967) mentioned Constantine-Cyrill to have created 38 letters, but not all even among the known ones have attested their values. A broadly accepted explanation has been formulated by Trubetzkoy (1954:22). According to him, the original Glagolitic alphabet had 36 letters plus two digraphs (ⱏⰻ and ⱆ), thus reaching 38 letters mentioned by Xrabrъ. Their numerical values could express numbers from 1 to 9999:

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| x1 |  | ⰰ | ⰱ | ⰲ | ⰳ | ⰴ | ⰵ | ⰶ | ⰷ | ⰸ |
| x10 |  | ⰹ | ⰻ | ⰼ | ⰽ | ⰾ | ⰿ | ⱀ | ⱁ | ⱂ |
| x100 |  | ⱃ | ⱄ | ⱅ | ⱛ | ⱚ | ⱒ | ⱉ | ⱋ | ⱌ |
| x1000 |  | ⱍ | ⱎ | ⱐ | ⱏ | ⱑ | ⱈ | ⱖ | ⱓ | ⱔ |

However, numbers over 2000 are not attested in literature. Neither is it fully clear, which letters had values 500 (also ⱇ, considered a later addition by Trubetzkoy), 600 (the letter ⱈ is more common), and 800 (with ⱑ, ⱚ and ⱇ used as well). An important source for reconstruction of original values is the Alphabet Prayer, used as mnemonic tools to learn the alphabet, each verse starting with one letter. It was attributed to Constantine‑Cyrill himself, later to his student, Constantine of Preslav. However, the prayer is known to us only from later Cyrillic transcripts - the earliest of them in a 12th-century manuscript of an East Slavic redaction, now held in the Synodal library in Moscow (№ 262, transcribed from Kuev 1974:188).

1 **А**зъ словомь. симъ молю сѧ б-оу .:

**Б**-е всеıа твари й зиждителю .:

**В**идимъıимъ. й невидимъıймъ .:

**Г**-а д-ха посъли живоущааго .:

5 **Д**а въдъхнеть въ срьдьце ми слово .:

**IЕ**же боудеть на оуспѣхъ въсѣмъ .:

**Ж**ивоущиймъ. въ заповѣдьхъ ти .:.

**S**ѣло бо ıесть. свѣтильникъ жизнии .:

**З**аконъ твой. и свѣтъ стьзамъ .:.

10 **И**же ищеть. ев-нгельска слова .:

**И** просить даръı твоıа приıати .:

**Л**етить бо нынѣ. и словѣньско племѧ .:

**К**ъ крьщению. обратиша сѧ вьси .:

50 **Л**юдиıе твои. нарещи сѧ хотѧще .:

**М**илости твоıеıа. б-е, просѧть зѣло .:

**Н**ъ мънѣ нъıнѣ. пространо слово даждь .:

**О**-че с-не. и прѣст-ый д-ше .:

**П**росѧщоуоумоу. помощи ѿ тебе .:

100 **Р**оуцѣ бо свой горѣ. въздѣю присно .:

**С**илоу приıати. й моудрость оу тебе .:

**Т**ы бо даıеши. достойномъ силоу .:

**Ѵ**постась же. вьсѧкоую цѣлиши .:

500 **Ф**араош(н)а мѧ. зълобы избави .:

**Х**еровьскоу ми мꙑсль и оумъ даждь .:

**О**, чьстьнаıа. прѣс-таıа троице .:

**П**ечаль мою на радость прѣложи .:

**Ц**ѣломоудрьно. да начьноу пьсати .:

1000 **Ч**юдеса твоıа. прѣдивьнаıа зѣло .:

**Ш**естькрилатъ. силоу въсприимъ .:

**Ш**ьствоую нынѣ. по слѣдоу оучителю .:

**И**мени ıею. и дѣлоу послѣдоуıа .:

5000 **IА**вѣ сътворю. еваньгельско слово .:

**Х**валоу въздаıа. тр-ци въ б-жьствѣ .:

**Ю**же поıеть вьсѧкъи въздрасть .:

**Ю**нъ и старъ. своимь разоумомь .:

**IА**зꙑкъ новъ. хвалоу въздаıа присно .:

The first of ю at pos. 7000 surely denotes the nasal (pronoun \****jǫ****že*); this can be said about the last letter (\****ję****zykъ*) too; their iotation was likely not phonematically relevant. Trubetzkoy considered ⱖ and ⱔ separate letters: first denoting a rounded /ö/, the other a general marker of nasality (hence resulting in ⱙ). The values /jǫ/ and /ę/ would reflect later (11th-c.) interpretations. The first ıа (pos. 5000) was likely written with ⱑ in Glagolitic.

The Prayer shows already thrice words starting with an и. The first two (positions 10 and 20) were likely modelled after Greek ēta and iota (and possibly the pronoun /jь/ and conjunction /i/). The third и (pos. 4000) may have replaced a character for the soft jer (\**j****ь****meni*), if preceded by a hard jer it (\**s****ъ****šьstvujǫ* 'I go along' - the prefix съ- is attested in some versions: see e.g. Kuev 1974:196,203). The second o (pos. 700) surely replaced a Glag. ⱉ (Cyr. ѡ) - commonly used as an interjection both in Slavonic and Greek.

The verse at pos. 30 starts with an unexpected л. Elsewhere, either the verb лѣти is seen, or the verse is omitted. As the meter of the verse also does not reflect that of the rest, Veder (2004:382) considered the Synodal version a misreading of \*дѣти 'children', but the sequence /dě/ is never written as \*ⰼⱑ- elsewhere. Could it be a misreading of the ethnonym *Getae* (\*ѓети бо нынѣ, и славѣньско...)? Or did it include the suprasegmental palatal marker (seen in forms like ⰽⱏ ⱀʾⰵⰿⱆ), later reinterpreted as a separate letter? Б-гъ знаетъ. We can only guess.

In a similar vein, the position 600 may have been taken by a softer /ś/ (implied by the name хѣр[‑ꙋвим-]ъ for both Glag. ⱈ - in spite of Trubetzkoy's view - and Cyr. х), the immediate outcome of second palatalization and iotation. Of course, it may have (like ⱚ) denoted a Greek aspirate - in this case a /kʰ/. The palatal correlation seems to work between hard ⱂ, preceding a hard consonant in the Prayer and the soft ⱋ, which appears before a front vowel, although this does not make much sense from the perspective of Slavic phonetics.

## 7.9. Оупражьненïа - Exercises

1. Merge the sentences. Leave the verb in **bold** face in a finite form, as the main verb. Turn other verbs into suitable participles

1. Есвѣ дошьли вечеръ. Дѣти оуже **съпѣахѫ**. 2. Марïа естъ себѣ новѣ обꙋвьцѣ кꙋпила. Нынѣ **можетъ** лꙋчьше грѧсти. 3. Ладïа приста. Пѫтьници **излѣзошѧ**. Грѧдѫтъ къ мытьници. 4. Егда въстанеши, **огласи** ми сѧ! 5. Зосима прочьлъ естъ писанïе. Тъ е на полицѫ **положи**. 6. Квѣтана истъбѫ оуготовлıааше. Въ едьной крабïи **обрѣте** дъва стьлѧsа. 7. Зосима принесе вино. Течьци прихождаахѫ. Зосима имъ чашѧ **подавааше**. 8. Рѣка бѣ сꙋха. Ладïамъ **бѣ** нꙋждьно въ пристанищи чаıати. 9. Кънѧsь грѧдѣаше. Кънѧгыни **изиде** на дворъ. Та и цѣлова. 10. Границѧ по Еѵропѣ отворишѧ сѧ. Мьноsи оученици въ Велеградѣ **оучаахѫ**.

2. Choose a suitable tense and voice for the verb.

1. Азъ еще не (чисти) кънигѫ сïıѫ. 2. Велеградъ (сътворити) столицеıѫ моравьскоıѫ прѣжде Брьна. 3. Исправивъ ладïıѫ, Зосима оутрѣ (плꙋти) до Поганьскаго. 4. Огласи ми сѧ, вънегда (пристати)! 5. Оулица вечерь (исплънити) людьми. 6. Еда ты не (позъвати) на праздьникъ онъ? 7. Тъ (глаголати) вьсь дьнь. 8. Квѣтана (родити) въ Бескыдахъ. 9. Рѣка она (тещи) прѣжде быстрѣе. 10. Да еще дьньсь (посълати) цѣлованïе родителемь!

3. Translate

1. This boat is faster than a car. 2. Earlier they were cleaning the rooms better. 3. Velegrad is becoming larger every year. 4. Is this bread sweeter than that one? 5. I don't know, but it is most costly one. 6. Are there shoes with a smaller number? 7. Yesterday, the doorman worked longer. 8. Tatra is the highest part of Carpathians. 9. Glagolitic letters are more beautiful than Cyrillic ones. 10. The students should be praised more.

4. Read and recite.

Ⰰⰸⱏ ⱄⰾⱁⰲⱁⰿⱐ - ⱄⰻⰿⱏ ⰿⱁⰾⱙ ⱄⱗ ⰱⱁⰳⱆ

Ⰱⱁⰶⰵ ⰲⱐⱄⰵⱗ ⱅⰲⰰⱃⰻ - ⰺ ⰸⰻⰶⰴⰻⱅⰵⰾⱓ

Ⰲⰻⰴⰻⰿⱏⰻⰿⱏ - ⰺ ⱀⰵⰲⰻⰴⰻⰿⱏⰻⰿⱏ

Ⰳⱁⱄⱂⱁⰴⰻ ⰴⱆⱒⰰ - ⱂⱁⱄⱏⰾⰻ ⰶⰻⰲⱆⱎⱅⰰⰰⰳⱁ

Ⰴⰰ ⰲⱏⰴⱏⱒⱀⰵⱅⱏ - ⰲⱏ ⱄⱃⱐⰴⱐⱌⰵ ⰿⰻ ⱄⰾⱁⱉⱁ

Ⰵⰶⰵ ⰱⱘⰴⰵⱅⱏ - ⱀⰰ ⱆⱄⱋⱑⱒⱏ ⰲⱐⱄⱑⰿⱏ

Ⰶⰻⰲⱘⱎⱅⰻⰻⰿⱏ - ⰲⱏ ⰸⰰⱂⱁⰲⱑⰴⱐⱒⱏ ⱅⰻ

Ⰷⱑⰾⱁ ⰱⱁ ⰵⱄⱅⱏ - ⱄⰲⱑⱅⰻⰾⱐⱀⰻⰽⱏ ⰶⰻⰸⱀⰺⰻ

Ⰸⰰⰽⱁⱀⱏ ⱅⰲⱁⰻ - ⰺ ⱄⰲⱑⱅⱏ ⱄⱅⱐⰷⰰⰿⱏ

Ⰺⰶⰵ ⰻⱎⱅⰵⱅⱏ - ⰵⱛⰰⱀⰵⰾⱐⱄⰽⰰ ⱄⰾⱁⰲⰰ

Ⰻ ⱂⱃⱁⱄⰻⱅⱏ ⰴⰰⱃⱏⰻ - ⱅⰲⱁⱗ ⱂⱃⰺⱗⱅⰻ

ⰾⰌⱑⱅⰻⱅⱏ ⰱⱁ ⱀⱏⰻⱀⱑ - ⰺ ⱄⰾⱁⰲⱑⱀⱐⱄⰽⱁ ⱂⰾⰵⰿⱗ

Ⰽⱏ ⰽⱃⱏⱎⱅⰵⱀⰺⱓ - ⱁⰱⱃⰰⱅⰻⱎⱗ ⱄⱗ ⰲⱐⱄⰻ

Ⰾⱓⰴⰺⰵ ⱅⰲⱁⰺ - ⱀⰰⱃⰵⱎⱅⰻ ⱄⱗ ⱒⱁⱅⱗⱎⱅⰵ

Ⰿⰻⰾⱁⱄⱅⰻ ⱅⰲⱁⰵⱗ - ⰱⱁⰶⰵ ⱂⱃⱁⱄⱗⱅⱏ ⰷⱑⰾⱁ

Ⱀⱏ ⰿⱐⱀⱑ ⱀⱏⰻⱀⱑ - ⱂⱃⱁⱄⱅⱃⰰⱀⱁ ⱄⰾⱁⰲⱁ ⰴⰰⰶⰴⱐ

Ⱁⱅⱐⱍⰵ ⱄⱏⰻⱀⰵ - ⰺ ⱂⱃⱑⱄⰲⱗⱅⱏⰺⰻ ⰴⱆⱎⰵ

Ⱂⱃⱁⱄⱗⱎⱅⱆⱆⰿⱆ - ⱂⱁⰿⱁⱎⱅⰻ ⱁⱅⱏ ⱅⰵⰱⰵ

Ⱃⱘⱌⱑ ⰱⱁ ⱄⰲⱁⰺ ⰳⱁⱃⱑ - ⰲⱏⰸⰴⱑⱙ ⱂⱃⰻⱄⱐⱀⱁ

Ⱄⰻⰾⱘ ⱂⱃⰺⱑⱅⰻ - ⰺ ⰿⱘⰴⱃⱁⱄⱅⱐ ⱆ ⱅⰵⰱⰵ

Ⱅⱏⰻ ⰱⱁ ⰴⰰⰵⱎⰻ - ⰴⱁⱄⱅⱁⰻⱀⱁⰿⱏ ⱄⰻⰾⱘ

Ⱛⱂⱁⱄⱅⰰⱄⱐ ⰶⰵ - ⰲⱐⱄⱗⰽⱘⱙ ⱌⱑⰾⰻⱎⰻ

Ⱚⰰⱃⰰⱁⱀⰰ ⰿⱗ - ⰸⱏⰾⱁⰱⱏⰻ ⰻⰸⰱⰰⰲⰻ

Ⱈⰵⱃⱆⰲⱐⱄⰽⱆ ⰿⰻ - ⰿⱏⰻⱄⰾⱐ ⰺ ⱆⰿⱏ ⰴⰰⰶⰴⱐ

Ⱉ ⱍⱐⱄⱅⱐⱀⰰⰰ - ⱂⱃⱑⱄⰲⱗⱅⰰⰰ ⱅⱃⱁⰻⱌⰵ

Ⱋⰵⱍⰰⰾⱐ ⰿⱁⱙ - ⱀⰰ ⱃⰰⰴⱁⱄⱅⱐ ⱂⱃⱑⰾⱁⰶⰻ

Ⱌⱑⰾⱁⰿⱘⰴⱃⱐⱀⱁ - ⰴⰰ ⱀⰰⱍⱐⱀⱘ ⱂⱐⱄⰰⱅⰻ

Ⱍⱓⰴⰵⱄⰰ ⱅⰲⱁⰰ - ⱂⱃⱑⰴⰻⰲⱐⱀⰰⰰ ⰷⱑⰾⱁ

Ⱎⰵⱄⱅⱐⰽⱃⰻⰾⰰⱅⱏ - ⱄⰻⰾⱘ ⰲⱏⱄⱂⱃⰺⰻⰿⱏ

ⱄⰟⱎⱐⱄⱅⱐⰲⱆⱙ - ⱂⱁ ⱄⰾⱑⰴⱆ ⱆⱍⰻⱅⰵⰾⱓ

ⰻⰠⰿⰵⱀⰻ ⰵⰳⱁ - ⰺ ⰴⱑⰾⱆ ⱂⱁⱄⰾⱑⰴⱆⱗ

Ⱑⰲⱑ ⱄⱏⱅⰲⱁⱃⱙ - ⰵⱛⰰⱀⰳⰵⰾⱐⱄⰽⱁ ⱄⰾⱁⰲⱁ

Ⱒⰲⰰⰾⱘ ⰲⱏⰸⰴⰰⱗ - ⱅⱃⱁⰻⱌⰻ ⰲⱏ ⰱⱁⰶⱐⱄⱅⰲⱑ

ⰦⰤⰶⰵ ⱂⱁⱗⱅⱏ - ⰲⱐⱄⱗⰽⱏⰺⰻ ⰲⱏⰸⰴⱃⰰⱄⱅⱏ

Ⱓⱀⱏ ⰺ ⱄⱅⰰⱃⱏ - ⱄⰲⱁⰻⰿⱐ ⱃⰰⰸⱆⰿⱁⰿⱐ

ⰅⰤⰸⱏⰻⰽⱏ ⱀⱁⰲⱏ - ⱒⰲⰰⰾⱆ ⰲⱏⰸⰴⰰⱗ ⱂⱃⰻⱄⱐⱀⱁ

ⱁⱅⱐⱌⱆ ⱄⱏⰻⱀⱆ - ⰺ ⱂⱃⱑⱄⰲⱗⱅⱆⱆⰿⱆ ⰴⱆⱒⱆ

ⰵⰿⱆⰶⰵ ⱍⱐⱄⱅⱐ - ⰺ ⰴⱃⱐⰶⰰⰲⰰ ⰺ ⱄⰾⰰⰲⰰ

ⱁⱅⱏ ⰲⱐⱄⰵⱗ ⱅⰲⰰⱃⰻ ⰺ ⰴⱏⰻⱒⰰⱀⰺⰰ

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5. Transcribe the Dialogue into Glagolitic.

# Речьникъ - Vocabulary

**а** and, but

**авъгꙋстъ** August (o-stem, accent paradigm *a*)

**азъ** I

**априлïй** April (jo-, *c*)

**аще** if (аще и although, even if)

\***бавити** add, linger (i-verb, *a*; прибавити acquire)

\***Бeскыды** (North) Carpathians (a-, *a*?)

**бесѣда** conversation, (manner of) speech (a-, *a*)

**бити** beat (e-, *a*; оубити kill)

**благодарити** thank (i-, *a*)

**благословити** bless (i, *a*)

**близꙋ** close

**близъ** close (adj.)

**Блъгаринъ** Bulgarian (ethno-stem, *a*)

**блюсти** watch, observe (i-, *c*; noun наблюденïе observation, neut.jo-, *c*)

**бо** because

**Богородица** Mother of God (ja-, *b*)

**богъ** god (o-, *c*)

**болѣринъ** noble, boyar (ethno-stem, AP *b*)

**болѣти** pain (i-, *c*; разболѣти prf. become ill, start hurting, noun болѣзнь pain, i-, *a*)

**братъ** brother (anim. o-, *a*; collective pl.nom братïа; also братръ, братрïа)

**брѣза** birch (a-, *a*; брѣзокъ April)

**бывати** be (iterative, e-, *b*)

**быти** be (iprf. 3sg.prs естъ, *b*?, prf. бѫдетъ, athematic, *a*; забыти forget, 3sg.prs забѫдетъ)

**бьрати** take, collect (e-, *b*; prf. избьрати choose, събьрати collect, iter. събирати)

**бѣлѣгъ** scar, sign, evidence (o-, *a*?)

\***Вагъ** river Waag (o-, *b*)

**вашь** your (dl./pl., *a*)

**великъ** big, large, great (*c*)

**веселити** give joy (i-, *a*; + сѧ be joyful)

**веселъ** happy, joyful (*c*)

**вести** lead (3sg.prs ведетъ, e-, s-aor., *c*; прѣдъвести bring forth)

**вечеръ** evening (o-, *c*)

**видѣти** see (i-, *a*)

**вина** guilt, cause (a-, *c*)

**вино** wine (neut.o-, *b*)

**виноградъ** vineyard (or виноградъ, both o-, *b*)

**вити** spin (вïетъ, e-, t-aor., *c*; завити turn)

**владыка** ruler, bishop (masc.a-, *a*)

**власть** power (fem.i-, *c*)

**вода** water (a-, *c*)

**возъ** wagon, car (o-, *c*)

**вой** soldier (/vojь/, jo-, *b*; or воинъ /vojьnъ/, o-, *b*)

**волıа** will (ja-, *b*)

**вратити** **сѧ** return (prf., 1sg.prs вращѫ сѧ, i-, *b*; възвратити return, put back)

**вращати** return (iprf., e-, *a*;ѿвращати turn away)

**врѣмѧ** time, period, season, weather (neut.en-, *c*)

**врѣщи** throw (1sg.prs връгѫ, 3sg връжетъ, root aor., e-, *a*?; prf. възврѣщи)

**врѣще** bag (neut.jo-, *a*?)

**въ** in (+ loc) or into (+ acc)

**въздъхнѫти** sigh (e-, *c*)

**възь** at the edge of, in exchange for (+ acc)

**въселена** universe, civilization (a-, *a*)

**въскѫıѫ** why (< lit. възъ кѫıѫ through which)

**въторый** second (*a*)

**въторьникъ** Tuesday (o‑, *a*)

**въчера** yesterday

**вынѫ** always (< въ инѫ)

**вьдовица** widow (ja-, *b*)

**вьсь** all, whole (*c*)

**вѣ** we (dl.)

**вѧще** more

**генꙋарь** January (i-, *b*)

**глава** head (a-, *c*; adj. оглавьнъ main)

**глаголати** speak, talk (e-, *b*)

**гласити** call, report, make loud (i-, *b*; огласити call,провъзгласити declare)

**глѧдати** look, watch (e-, root aor., *a*; низглѧднѫти, поглѧднѫти prf.)

**горьница** upper room (ja-, *c*)

**господинъ** lord (ethno-stem, *a*)

**господьство** lordship (neut.o-, *b*)

**госпожда** lady(ja-, *b*)

**готовити** cook, prepare (i-, *a*; prf. оуготовити)

**градъ** city (o-, *c*)

**гражданинъ** citizen (ethno‑stem, *a*)

**грꙋда** mound, chunk of soil (a-, *a*)

**грѣшьно** incorrectly

**грѧсти** go forth (3sg.prs грѧдетъ, e-, *c*)

**да** to or may (opt.)

**далеко** far

**дати** give (3sg.prs and 2/3sg.aor дастъ, *c*; прѣдати sell, betray; iter. подавати, athematic, *c*)

**двизати** move, drive (3sg.prs движетъ, e-, *a*; двигнѫти move prf., въздвигнѫти raise)

**девѧть** nine (*b*)

**декѧбрь** December (jo-, *b*)

**десьнъ** right (*c*)

**десѧть** ten (*c*)

**длъгъ** debt, sin (o-, *c*; adv. длъжьнъ indebted, длъжьнъ быти must)

**дльгъ** long (*a*; adv. дльго for long)

**дльжити** produce (i-, *b*; продльжити continue)

**до** until (+ gen)

**добръ** good (*b*; adv. добрѣ well)

**дрꙋгъ** friend, other (o‑, *c*)

**дръжати** hold (i-, *b*?; подъдръжати sustain)

**дъва** two (*c*)

**дъщи** daughter (r-, AP *c*)

**дьнь** day (consonant stem, *c*)

**дьньсь** today (< nom/acc дьнь сь [on] this day)

**дѣло** work, deed, thing (neut.o-, *a*; \*ѿдѣлъ section, o-, *a*)

\***дѧковати** thank (e-, *a*)

**егда** when

**еда** (interrogative particle, §1.3)

**едва** barely (едва не almost)

**единъ** one (*b*)

**ей** yes

**елиньскы** Greek (language), Pagan

**еще** yet

**же** and

**женити** marry (a woman; i-, *b*; оженити prf.)

**живъ** alive (*c*)

**sѣло** very

**за** for (the sake of), by (+ acc)

**заврѣти** close (3sg.prs завретъ, e-, *b*)

**задъ** behind

**землıа** land, country, Earth (ja-, *c*)

\***зефïръ** zero (o-, *a*?)

**зима** winter (a-, *c*)

**знаменовати** indicate, signify (3sg.prs знаменꙋетъ, e-, *a*)

**знамѧ** flag (n-, *a*)

**знати** know (e-, *a*; познати know prf., съпознати meet, get to know a person)

**зъвати** call, name (e-, *c*; 1sg.prs зовѫ; позъвати invite)

**зълъ** evil (*c*)

**зьдати** build (1sg.prs зиждѫ, e-, *c*; съзьдати prf.)

**зьрѣти** see, look at (i-, *b*; оузьрѣти prf.)

**и** and

**идеже** where (rel.)

**изоути** put off shoes (e-, *c*; обоути put on shoes)

**изъ** from (+ gen)

**имѣти** have (3sg.prs иматъ or имѣетъ, athematic, *a*?)

**имѧ** name (neut.n-, *c*)

**инокъ** hermit (o-, *a*; rel. иночьскъ)

**инъ** other, different (pron., *a*)

**искати** search for, want (ищетъ, e-, *b*)

**истина** truth (a-, *a*)

**истъ** true, sure (*a*; \*поистеньчьскъ insurance)

**истъба** room (a-, *c*)

**ити** go (3sg.prs идетъ, e-, root aor., *b*; възити come up, доити come, изити go out мимоити pass, ѿити go away)

**ıюлïй** July (/ijulijь/, jo-, *a*)

**ıюнïй** June (jo-, *a*)

**казати** show, tell (e-, *b*; показати prf.)

**какъ** what kind of (*c*?)

\***кафѧ** coffee (nt-, *b*)

**конь** horse (jo-, *b*)

**коньць** end, edge (jo-, *b*)

**корабль** (sailing) ship (jo-, *b*)

**корень** root (consonant stem, *c*)

**кость** bone (fem.i-, *c*)

**крабïа** basket, box (jā-, *c*)

**красьнъ** beautiful (*b*)

**кратъ** -time, once (o-, *b*)

**кратъкъ** short (*b*; adv. кратъцѣ shortly)

**кромѣ** except (+ gen)

**крꙋшити** break (i-, *c*; съкрꙋшити prf.)

**крѣпъ** sturdy (*c*)

**кꙋпити** buy (i-, *b*; iprf./iter. кꙋповати, agen. кꙋпьць merchant, fem. кꙋпьчица)

**кꙋсити** taste, experience (i-, *a*; въкꙋсити taste prf.)

**къ** towards (+ dat)

**къде** where (loc)

**кънѧsь** duke, king (anim.jo-, *c*; poss. кънѧжь or кънѧжьскъ)

**ладïа** boat (ja-, *c*?)

**латиньскы** Latin (language; *a*)

**легнѫти** lay down (e-, root aor., *a*)

**лежати** lay (e-, *c*;принадълежати belong)

**ли** (interrogative particle, §1.3)

**листъ** leaf (o-, *c*)

**\*ложити** lay (prf., i-, *b*; низъложити lay down, defeat, положити put in place, прѣдъложити lay forth, offer)

**лъжица** spoon (ja-, *a*)

**лѣзти** crawl, climb (e-, root aor., *a*; вълѣзти enter, излѣзти exit)

**лѣсъ** forest (o-, *c*)

**лѣто** year, summer (neut.o-, *a*)

**май** May (/majь/, sg.gen маıа, jo‑, *a*?)

**мало** a bit

**марътъ** March (o-, *а*)

**мати** mother (r-, *a*)

**междꙋ** between (+ inst)

**минѫти** pass (3sg.prs минетъ, e-, *c*)

**миръ** peace, civilization (o-, *c*)

**мой** my (i.e. /mojь/, f.sg.nom моıа, *b*)

**молити** pray (i-, *b*)

**Морава** Moravia (a-, *b*; \*моравлıанъка Moravian [female], a-, *a*)

**мощи** can (1sg.prs могѫ, e-, root aor., *b*; помощи help, 1sg.prs помогѫ, 2sg.imp помоѕи)

**мъного** much (also as adj. мъногъ many, AP *c*)

**мы** we (dl./pl.)

**мытарь** tax collector, customs officier (anim. jo-, *b*)

**мыто** toll, customs but also bribe (neut.o-, *b*)

**мытьница** customs office (ja-, *b*)

**мышьца** sinew (ja-, *a*)

**мьдлѣ** slowly

**мьнѣти** think, be persuaded of (i‑, *b*; съмьнѣıати сѧ hesitate, e-, *b*)

**мѣнити** change (i-, *c*; прѣмѣнити change prf.)

**мѣсто** place (neut.o-, *a*)

**мѣсѧць** month (jo-, *a*)

**мѫка** torment (a-, *a*)

**мѫка** flour (a-, *b*)

**мѧкъкъ** soft (*c*)

**на** to, against (+ acc) or on (+ loc)

**народъ** nation (o-, *b*; poss. народьнъ)

**населıати** settle (i-, *b*)

**нашь** our (*a*)

**не** not, no

**небо** heaven (s-, *c*)

**недѣла** Sunday, week (a-, *a*)

**ненадъ** unexpected (*a*)

**нести** carry (one-time, e-, s-aor., *c*)

**ни** no,nor

**никакоже** in no way

**нищь** poor (*a*)

**новъ** new (*b*)

**нога** leg (a-, *c*)

**ножь** knife, sword (jo-, *b*)

**носити** carry (iterative, i-, *b*; носило vehicle, something for carrying, neut.o-, *b*, \*въносъ import, o-, *b*)

**нощь** night (fem.i-, *c*)

**ноѧбрь** November (jo-, *b*)

**нꙋжда** need (ja-, *a*; adj. нꙋждьнъ needed, *a*)

\***нꙋла** zero (a-, *a*?)

**нынѣ** now

**нѫ** but

**ѡ** oh!

**обаче** but also

**обитѣль** accomodation, monastery, inn, hotel (fem.i-, *a*)

**обрѣсти** find(3sg.prs обрѧщетъ, e-, *a*?)

**обоувь** shoes (fem.i‑, *c*)

**обоути** puton shoes (3sg.prs обоуетъ, e-, *c*; изоути put off shoes)

**обычьно** usually

**обьщь** common (*b*; въ обьщемь)

**обьщьство** community, society (neut.-o, *b*; poss. обьщьствьнъ)

**овъ** this (proximal, *b*)

**одръ** bed (o-, *b*)

**око** eye (dl.nom очи, pl.nom очеса, s-, *c*)

**окръстъ** around (+ gen)

**октѧбрь** October (jo-, *b*)

**онъ** that (distal, *b*)

**онъде** there

**орѫжïе** weapon (neut.jo-, *b*)

**осмь** eight (*b*)

**оставити** leave, dismiss (i-, *a*)

**отрочѧ** child, baby (anim.o-, *c*)

**ѿтѫдꙋ** from there

**ѿ** or **отъ** from, by (+ gen)

**отьць** father (jo-, *b*)

**пакы** again

**палица** stick (ja-, *a*)

**памѧть** memory (i-, *a*)

**пасти** (1) fall (1sg.prs падѫ, e-, root aor., *a*)

**пасти** (2) herd (1sg.prs пасѫ, 1sg.aor пасохъ, e-, *c*)

**писати** write, draw (e-, *b*; or пьсати; надъписати write over, inscribe, съписати write down)

**пити** drink (e-, t-aor., *c*)

**пладьнïе** noon (neut.jo-, *a*; or полꙋ дьне)

**пламы** flame (masc.n-, *a*)

**плащати** pay (e-, *b*; доплащати pay the rest)

**плесньце** sandal (dl.nom плесньци, neut.jo‑, *b*?)

**плꙋти** flow, sail (3sg.prs плꙋетъ, e-, *a*; or пловетъ, e-, *c*; ѿплꙋти leave sailing, приплꙋти come sailing)

**по** after (+ loc) or along (+ dat)

**повѣдати** tell (e-, *a*; съповѣдати prf.)

**подльгъ** along (+ acc)

**подъ** beneath, under (+ inst) or to under (+ acc)

**подъ** floor (o-, *c*)

**позорище** theater (neut.jo-, *b*?)

**полата** palace (a-, *a*)

**понедѣльникъ** Monday (o-, *a*)

**понеже** because

**понѣ** at least

**послѣдовати** follow (e‑, *b*)

**постълати** make bed, prepare a room (e-, *b*)

**поıасъ** belt, girdle (o-, *c*; verb прѣпоıасати to girdle)

**правъ** correct, right (*a*; verb исправити repair)

**праздьникъ** feast, holiday (o‑, *a*)

**пристанище** port (neut.jo-, *a*)

**пророкъ** prophet (o-, *b*)

**просити** beg, ask for (1sg.prs прошѫ, i‑, *b*)

**простити** excuse (i-, *b*)

**прочь** next (*b*)

**пръвый** first (*a*)

**прѣжде** before (+ gen)

**прѣподобьнъ** reverend, holy (*a*)

**прѣти** quarrel, deny (i-, *a*; запрѣти forbid, съпрѣти stop)

**пꙋстъ** deserted (*c*)

**пꙋстынıа** desert, uninhabited land (ja-, *a*)

**пытати** examine, try (e-, *b*; prf. опытати)

**пѣти** sing (3sg.prs поетъ, e-, t-aor., *c*; noun пѣнïе singing, Song of Songs, neut. jo-, *c*)

**пѫть** road, way (masc.i-, *b*; agen. пѫтьникъ traveller)

**пѧта** ankle, heel (a-, *c*)

**пѧтъкъ** Friday (o-, *b*)

**пѧть** five (*c*)

**рабъ** servant, worker (anim. o-, *b*)

**ради** for (gen +)

**радъ** glad (*a*)

**развѣ** except, besides (+ gen)

**разоумѣти** understand (e-, *a*)

**расти** grow (e-, *c*; порасти prf.)

**рачити** wish (i-, *b*)

**рещи** say (1sg.prs рекѫ, 1sg.aor рѣхъ or рекохъ, 2sg.imp рьци; e-, x-aor., *c*; нарещи call)

**ровъ** ditch (o-, *c*)

**родитель** parent (jo-, *b*)

**рꙋшити** crush, destroy (i-, *a*;разрꙋшити destroy prf.)

**рюıа** rut (ja-, *a*)

**рѣка** river (a-, *b*)

**рѫка** hand, (a-, *c*)

\***рıѫгенъ** radiography (o-, *a*)

**садити** plant, sit down (i-, *c*; въсадити mount, noun садъ garden, o-, *c*)

**свиба** dogwood (a-, *c*)

**свобода** freedom (a-, *c*; свободьнъ free, *b*)

**свой** (reflective possessive, *b*)

**свѣне** except (+ gen)

**се** behold, here or n.sg.acc this

**седмица** week (ja-, *b*)

**седмь** seven (*b*)

**септѧбрь** September

**сестра** sister (a-, *b*)

**синина** blue spot (a-, *c*)

**сквозѣ** through (+ acc)

**скоро** quickly

**скълѧsь** schilling, golden coin (jo‑, *a*?)

**скѫдъ** lack (o-, *a*)

**сïати** shine (e-, *a*; просïати begin to shine)

**словѣньскы** Slavic, Slavonic (language)

**слышати** hear (i-, *a*)

**сочити** direct, point at (i-, *b*; \*посока direction, *b*)

**срьдце** heart (neut. jo-, *c*)

**срьпъ** sickle (o-, *c*)

**срѣда** Wednesday (a-, *c*)

**срѣдъ** center (o-, *c*)

**старъ** old (*a*; agen. старьць 'old man', старица 'old woman')

**стоıати** stand (iprf., 1sg.prs стоıѫ, i-, *c*;достоıати must, 3sg.prs достоитъ /dostojitъ/)

**сꙋхъ** dry (*c*)

**събьранïе** meeting (neut. jo-, *b*)

**съврьшити** finish, do (i-, *b*)

**сълати** send (3sg.prs шлетъ; e-, *b*; посълати prf., noun посъланïе letter, permission, neut.jo-, *b*)

**сълꙋчити** happen (i-, *c*)

**съньмъ** assembly, parliament (o-, *b*?)

**съпати** sleep (i-, *a*)

**сърѣтити** meet (сърѧщетъ, e-, root-aor., *a*)

**съто** hundred (*c*)

**сынъ** son (u-, *c*)

**сь** this (proximal)

**сьде** here

**сѣдѣти** sit (1sg.prs сѣждѫ, i-, *c*)

**сѣсти** sit down (1sg.prs сѣдѫ, e-, *a*)

**сѣщи** slash (1sg.prs сѣкѫ, 2sg сѣчеши, e-, x-aor., *c*)

**сѣıати** sow (1sg.prs сѣıѫ, 3sg сѣетъ, e-, *a*)

**сѫбота** Saturday (a-, *a*)

**сѧ** -self (reflective acc)

**та** (1) she, that (fem.) or they, those (neut.)

**та** (2)and then

**тако** thus

**такожде** in the same way

**тамо** to there

\***Татра** Tatra mountains (a-, *a*?)

**твой** your (sg., *a*)

**творити** do (i-, *c*; отворити open, затворити close, сътворити prf.; noun тварь work, creation, form, i-, *c*)

**тврьдъ** hard (*c*; noun \*потврьжденïе confirmation neut.jo‑)

**телѧ** calf (nt-, *b*)

**тещи** flow, run (1sg.prs текѫ, 2sg течеши, e-, *c*; agen. течьць runner)

**ти** they, that (masc.)

**то** it, that (neut.) or then

**тогда** then (period)

**толи** then (moment)

**толико** so much

**трава** grass (a-, *b*; or трѣва)

**три** three (f/n.sg трïе, *c*)

**тръгъ** market (o-, *b*; тръгованïе trade, тръжище square, agora, neut.jo-, тръжьница shop, market hall, ja-)

**трѣбовати** need (e-, *a*)

**тꙋ** there

**тъ** he, that (masc.)

**тъкнѫти** hit, fall (e-, root aor., *b*; потъкнѫти stumble)

**тъкъмо** just

**тъчïıѫ** only

**ты** you (sg.)

**тысѫщи** thousand (*a*; or тысѫщи)

**тьсть** father-in-law, father of the bride (jo-, *c*)

**тѧ** they, that (fem.) or 2sg.acc

**тѧsати** pull, ask (1sg.prs тежѫ, e-, root aor., *b*; въстѧsати ask, demand, растѧsати stretch, растѧгнѫти prf.)

**оу** at (+ gen)

**оубо** so, however, therefore

**оугодьнъ** pleasant (*а*?)

**оуже** already

**оулица** street (ja-, *a*)

**оупражьнıати** exercise, prepare (e-, *c*; nom. оупражьненïе)

**оуспѣти** succeed (e-, *a*)

**оутрïе** morning (neut.jo-, *a*; or оутро, neut.o-, adv. оутрѣtomorrow)

**оучити** teach, learn (i-, *a*; наоучити prf.; adj. \*наоучьнъ scientific, *b*; nouns наоука doctrine, science, *b*, \*вьсеоучилище university, neut.jo-, *a*, оученикъ student, follower, o-, *b*)

**феврарь** February (jo-, *a*)

**хвалити** praise (verb, i-, *b*; noun хвала praise, a-)

**хлѣбъ** bread (o-, *a*)

**ходити** walk, go (iterative, i-, *b*)

**хотѣти** want, will (also used as a future auxiliary, 3sg.prs хощетъ, e‑, *b*)

**храбръ** brave (*a*)

**храмъ** temple (o-, *a*?)

**хыжа** cottage (ja-, *a*)

**царь** emperor, king (or цѣсарь, or кесарь, all jo-, *b*)

**црькы** church (ū-, *a*)

**цѣловати** greet, kiss (e-, *b*; оуцѣловати prf.)

**цѣлъ** whole, healthy (*c*)

**цѣна** price (a‑, *c*)

**чаıати** wait (3sg.prs чаетъ, e‑, *a*)

**часъ** time, moment, hour (o-, *a*)

**чаша** cup (ja-, *a*)

**четврътъкъ** Thursday (o-, *b*)

**четыри** four (*a*)

**число** number (neut.o-, *b*)

**чисти** read, count (3sg.prs чьтетъ, e‑, root or s-aor., *c*; prf. прочисти. read through, исчисти or ищисти prf. count)

**чистъ** clean (*a*)

**чръвенъ** red (*b*)

**чрѣсла** waist (collective, neut. o-, *b*)

**чьсть** honor (fem.i-, *b*)

**чьто** what

**чюдити сѧ** wonder (i-, *a*; оучюдити prf.)

**чѧдо** child (neut. o-, *a*)

\***чѧти** begin (3sg.prs чьнетъ, e-, t-aor., *c*; начѧти or почѧти prf.)

**шесть** six (*c*)

**шꙋй** left (*c*)

**ıаворъ** maple tree (o‑, *a*; \*IАворина Javorina mountain, a-, *a*)

**ıаздити** ride, drive (i‑, root aor., *a*)

**ıако** that

**юнъ** young (*c*)

**ѧзыкъ** language, nation (o-, *a*)

**ѧти** take (3sg.prs иметъ, s- or t-aor.: 3sg.aor ѧ or ѧтъ, l-ptcp ѧлъ, ptcp.prs.act имы, имѫщи, ptcp.aor.act емъ, емъши, e‑, *b*; възѧти, възьметъ take, seize prf.)

# Прѣглѧди - Reference Tables

## Сѫщьствьньнаа - Nouns

masc. o-stems: e.g. богъ, градъ masc. jo-stems: конь, царь

sg pl dl sg pl dl

nom -ъ -и -а nom -ь -и -а

gen -а -ъ -ꙋ gen -ıа -ь -ю

dat -ꙋ -омъ -ома dat -ю -емъ -ема

acc -ъ -ы -а acc -ь -ѧ -а

(anim. -а) (anim. -ıа)

voc -е voc -ю

loc -ѣ -ѣхъ -ꙋ loc -и -ихъ -ю

inst -омь -ы -ома inst -емь -и -ема

neut. o-stems: вино, чѧдо neut. jo-stems: врѣще, посъланïe

sg pl dl sg pl dl

nom -о -а -ѣ nom -е -ıа -и

gen -а -ъ -ꙋ gen -а -ь/-ïй -ю

dat -ꙋ -омъ -ома dat -ю -емъ -ема

acc -о -а -ѣ acc -е -ıа -и

loc -ѣ -ѣхъ -ꙋ loc -и -ихъ -ю

inst -омь -ы -ома inst -емь -и -ема

a-stems: жена, рѣка ja-stems: дꙋша, сѫдïи

sg pl dl sg pl dl

nom -а -ы -ѣ nom -а -ѧ -и

gen -ы -ъ -ꙋ gen -ѧ -ïй -ю

dat -ѣ -амъ -ама dat -и -амъ -ама

acc -ѫ -ы -ѣ acc -ıѫ -ѧ -и

voc -о voc -е

loc -ѣ -ахъ -ꙋ loc -и -ахъ -ю

inst -оıѫ -ами -ама inst -еıѫ -ами -ама

fem. i-stems: кость, печаль masc. i-stems: людïе, пѫть

sg pl dl sg pl dl

nom -ь -и -и nom -ь -ïе -и

gen -и -ïй -ью gen -и -ïй -ью

dat -и -ьмъ -ьма dat -и -ьмъ -ьма

acc -ь -и -и acc -ь -и -и

loc -и -ьхъ -ью loc -и -ьхъ -ью

inst -ьıѫ -ьми -ьма inst -ьмь -ьми -ьма

u-stems: домъ, сынъ masc. n-stems: камы, пламы

sg pl dl sg pl dl

nom -ъ -ове -ы nom -ы -ене -ени

gen -ꙋ -овъ -овꙋ gen -ене -енъ -енꙋ

dat -ови -ъмъ -ъма dat -ени -еньмъ -еньма

acc -ъ -ы -ы acc -ень -ени -ени

(anim. -а) loc -ене -еньхъ -енꙋ

loc -ꙋ -ъхъ -овꙋ inst -еньмь -ены -еньма

inst -ъмь -ъми -ъма

neut. n-stems: врѣмѧ, имѧ neut. nt-stems: агнѧ, телѧ

sg pl dl sg pl dl

nom -ѧ -ена -енѣ nom -ѧ -ѧта -ѧтѣ

gen -ене -енъ -енꙋ gen -ѧте -ѧтъ -ѧтꙋ

dat -ени -еньмъ -еньма dat -ѧти -ѧтьмъ -ѧтьма

acc -ѧ -ена -енѣ acc -ѧ -ѧта -ѧтѣ

loc -ене -еньхъ -енꙋ loc -ѧте -ѧтьхъ -ѧтꙋ

inst -еньмь -ены -еньма inst -ѧтьмь -ѧты -ѧтьма

r-stems: дъщи, мати s-stems: небо, чюдо

sg pl dl sg pl dl

nom -и -ери -ери nom -о -еса -есѣ

gen -ере -еръ -ерꙋ gen -есе -есъ -есꙋ

dat -ери -ерьмъ -ерьма dat -еси -есъмъ -есьма

acc -ерь -ери -ери acc -о -еса -есѣ

loc -ери -ерьхъ -ерꙋ loc -есе -есьхъ -есꙋ

inst -ерıѫ -ерьми -ерьма inst -есьмь -есы -есьма

ū-stems: кры, црькы irreg. consonant stems: дьнь, корень

sg pl dl sg pl dl

nom -ы -ъви -ъви nom дьнь дьне дьни

gen -ъве -ъвъ -ъвꙋ gen дьне дьнïй дьнꙋ

dat -ъви -ъвамъ -ъвама dat дьни дьньмъ дьньма

acc -ъвъ -ъви -ъви acc дьнь дьни дьни

loc -ъве -ъвахъ -ъвꙋ loc дьни дьньхъ дьнꙋ

inst -ъвıѫ -ъвами -ъвама inst дньмь дьньми дьньма

ethno-stems: гражданинъ

sg pl dl

nom -инъ -е -а

gen -ина -ъ -ꙋ

dat -инꙋ -емъ -ома

acc -ина -ы -а

voc -ине

loc -инѣ -ехъ -ꙋ

inst -иномь -ы -ома

## Прилагательнаа - Adjectives

Просты твари - Short-Forms

hard paradigm: добръ, новъ soft paradigm: нищь, чюждь

masc. fem. neut. masc. fem. neut.

sg sg

nom -ъ -а -о nom -ь -а -е

gen -а -ы -а gen -а -ѧ -а

dat -ꙋ -ѣ -ꙋ dat -ꙋ -и -ꙋ

acc -ъ -ѫ -о acc -ь -ѫ -е

(anim. -a) (anim. -a)

loc -ѣ -ѣ -ѣ loc -и -и -и

inst -омь -оıѫ -омь inst -емь -еıѫ -емь

pl pl

nom -и -ы -а nom -и -ѧ -а

gen -ъ -ъ -ъ gen -ь -ь -ъ

dat -омъ -амъ -омъ dat -емъ -амъ -емъ

acc -ы -ы -а acc -ѧ -ѧ -а

loc -ѣхъ -ѣхъ -ѣхъ loc -ихъ -ихъ -ихъ

inst -ы -ами -ы inst -и -ами -и

dl dl

nom -а -ѣ -ѣ nom -а -и -и

gen -ꙋ -ꙋ -ꙋ gen -ꙋ -ꙋ -ꙋ

dat -ома -ама -ома dat -ема -ама -ема

Съложьны твари - Long-Forms (§4.5)

hard paradigm: добрый, новый soft paradigm: нищïй, чюждïй

masc. fem. neut. masc. fem. neut.

sg sg

nom -ый -аа -ое nom -ïй -аа -ее

gen -ааго -ыѧ -ааго gen -ааго -еѧ -ааго

dat -ꙋмꙋ -ѣи -ꙋмꙋ dat -ꙋмꙋ -ѣи -ꙋмꙋ

acc -ый -ѫıѫ -ое acc -ïй -ѫıѫ -ее

(anim. -ааго) (anim. -ааго)

loc -ѣмь -ѣи -ѣмь loc -ïимь -ѣи -ïимь

inst -ыимь -ѫıѫ -ыимь inst -ïимь -ѫıѫ -ïимь

pl pl

nom -ïи -ыѧ -аа nom -ïи -ѧѧ -аа

gen -ыихъ -ыихъ -ыихъ gen -ïихъ -ïихъ -ïихъ

dat -ыимъ -ыимъ -ыимъ dat -ïимъ -ïимъ -ïимъ

acc -ыѧ -ыѧ -аа acc -ѧѧ -ѧѧ -аа

loc -ыихъ -ыихъ -ыихъ loc -ïихъ -ïихъ -ïихъ

inst -ыими -ыими -ыими inst -ïими -ïими -ïими

dl dl

nom -ïи -ѣи -ѣи nom -ïи -ïи -ïи

gen -ꙋю -ꙋю -ꙋю gen -ꙋю -ꙋю -ꙋю

dat -ыима -ыима -ыима dat -ïима -ïима -ïима

## Мѣстоименïа - Pronouns

Личьна мѣстоименïа - Personal Pronouns (§1.5)

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 й 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 ты та

они оны она

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

Показательна мѣстоименïа - Demonstrative Pronouns (§4.3)

hard paradigm soft paradigm

masc. fem. neut. masc. fem. neut.

sg sg

nom тъ та то nom сь/сïй сïа сïе

gen того тоѧ того gen сего сеѧ сего

dat томꙋ той томꙋ dat семꙋ сей семꙋ

acc того тѫ то acc сего сïѫ сïе/се

loc томь той томь loc семь сей семь

inst тѣмь тоıѫ тѣмь inst симь сеıѫ симь

pl pl

nom ти ты та nom си сïѧ сïа

gen тѣхъ тѣхъ тѣхъ gen сихъ сихъ сихъ

dat тѣмъ тѣмъ тѣмъ dat симъ симъ симъ

acc ты ты та acc сïѧ сïѧ сïа

loc тѣхъ тѣхъ тѣхъ loc сихъ сихъ сихъ

inst тѣми тѣми тѣми inst сими сими сими

dl

nom та тѣ тѣ nom сïа сïи сïи

gen тою тою тою gen сею сею сею

dat тѣма тѣма тѣма dat сима сима сима

loc тꙋ (онъде) loc сьде

abl (ѿ) тѫдꙋ (онѫдꙋ) abl (ѿ) сѫдꙋ

lat тамо (онамо) lat семо

## Глаголи - Verbs

Настоѧщѧ твари - Present Forms (§1.2)

e-stems : нес-, чаı- i-stems: твор-, нос-

sg pl dl sg pl dl

1 -ѫ -емъ -евѣ 1 -ıѫ -имъ -ивѣ

2 -еши -ете -ета 2 -иши -ите -ита

3 -етъ -ѫтъ -ете 3 -итъ -ѧтъ -ите

Прошьдъшѧ твари - Aorist Forms (§6.2)

vowel stems: сътвори-, дочаıа- consonant stems: възнес-, рек-

sg pl dl sg pl dl

1 -хъ -хомъ -ховѣ 1 -охъ -охомъ -оховѣ

2 - -сте -ста 2 -е -осте -оста

3 - -шѧ -сте 3 -е -ошѧ -осте

t-aorist: начѧ-, пѣ- root aorist: въздвиг-, пад-

sg pl dl sg pl dl

1 -хъ -хомъ -ховѣ 1 -ъ -омъ -овѣ

2 -тъ -сте -ста 2 -е -ете -ета

3 -тъ -шѧ -сте 3 -е -ѫ -ете

s-aorist: възнѣс-, ѧ- x-aorist: рѣх-, сѣх-

sg pl dl sg pl dl

1 -ъ -омъ -овѣ 1 рѣхъ рѣхомъ рѣховѣ

2 -е -те -та 2 рече рѣсте рѣста

3 -е -ѧ -те 3 рече рѣшѧ рѣсте

Проходѧщѧ твари - Imperfect Forms (§6.3)

hard stems: вид-, нес- soft stems: нош-, прореч-, творı-, чаı-

sg pl dl sg pl dl

1 -ѣахъ -ѣахомъ -ѣаховѣ 1 -аахъ -аахомъ -ааховѣ

2 -ѣаше -ѣашете -ѣашета 2 -ааше -аашете -аашета

3 -ѣаше -ѣахѫ -ѣашете 3 -ааше -аахѫ -аашете

Повѣлительны твари - Imperative Forms (§2.5)

vowel stems: нос-, нес-, слыш-, чаı- consonant stems: им-, мин-

sg pl dl sg pl dl

1 - -имъ -ивѣ 1 - -ѣимъ -ѣивѣ

2 -и -ите -ита 2 -ѣи -ѣите -ѣита

irregular d-stems: вид-, дад- irregular velar stem: рьц-

sg pl dl sg pl dl

1 - -имъ -ивѣ 1 - -ѣмъ -ѣвѣ

2 -(жд)-ь -ите -ита 2 -и -ѣте -ѣта

Глагол **быти** - 'Be'-Verb

present tense

iprf. prf.

sg pl dl sg pl dl

1 есмь есмъ есвѣ 1 бѫдѫ бѫдемъ бѫдевѣ

2 еси есте еста 2 бѫдеши бѫдете бѫдета

3 естъ сѫть есте 3 бѫдетъ бѫдѫтъ бѫдете

aorist imperfect

sg pl dl sg pl dl

1 быхъ быхомъ быховѣ 1 бѣ(а)хъ бѣ(а)хомъ бѣ(a)ховѣ

2 бы(стъ) бысте быста 2 бѣ(аше) бѣ(а)сте бѣ(a)ста

3 бы(стъ) бышѧ бысте 3 бѣ(аше) бѣ(а)хѫ бѣ(a)сте

бѣ(a)шѧ

imperative

sg pl dl

1 - бѫдѣмь бѫдѣвѣ

2 бѫди бѫдѣте бѫдѣта

3 бѫди бѫдѫ \*бѫдѣте

m.sg.nom f.sg.nom

l-ptcp былъ была

ptcp.prs.act сы сѫщи

бѫды бѫдѫщи

\*бышѧй \*бышѧщи

ptcp.аоr.act бывъ бывъши

ptcp.аоr.pass (за)бъвенъ (за)бъвена

(за)бытъ (за)быта

## Причѧстïа - Participles

Настоѧща причѧстïа дѣıательна - Present active participles (§7.2)

e-verbs and consonant stems: нес-, рек-, с- (from быти)

masc. short forms masc. long forms

sg pl dl sg pl dl

nom -ы -ѫще -ѫща -ый -ѫщеи -ѫщаа

gen -ѫща -ѫщь -ѫщꙋ -ѫщаaго -ѫщïихъ -ѫщꙋю

dat -ѫщꙋ -ѫщемъ -ѫщема -ѫщꙋмꙋ -ѫщïимъ -ѫщïима

acc -ѫщь -ѫщѧ -ѫщïй -ѫщѧѧ

loc -ѫщи -ѫщихъ -ѫщïимь -ѫщïихъ

inst -ѫщемь -ѫщи -ѫщïимь -ѫщïими

fem. short forms fem. long forms

sg pl dl sg pl dl

nom -ѫщи -ѫщѧ -ѫщи -ѫщïа -ѫщѧѧ -ѫщïи

gen -ѫщѧ -ѫщь -ѫщꙋ -ѫщѧѧ -ѫщïихъ -ѫщꙋю

dat -ѫщи -ѫщамъ -ѫщема -ѫщïи -ѫщïимъ -ѫщïима

acc -ѫщѫ -ѫщѧ -ѫщѫıѫ -ѫщѧѧ

loc -ѫщи -ѫщахъ -ѫщïи -ѫщïихъ

inst -ѫщѫıѫ -ѫщами -ѫщѫıѫ -ѫщïими

neut. short forms neut. long forms

sg pl dl sg pl dl

nom -ѫще -ѫща -ѫща -ѫщее -ѫщаа -ѫщïи

gen -ѫща -ѫщь -ѫщꙋ -ѫщаaго -ѫщïихъ -ѫщꙋю

dat -ѫщꙋ -ѫщемъ -ѫщема -ѫщꙋмꙋ -ѫщïимъ -ѫщïима

acc -ѫще -ѫща -ѫщее -ѫщаа

loc -ѫщи -ѫщихъ -ѫщïимь -ѫщïихъ

inst -ѫщемь -ѫщи -ѫщïимь -ѫщïими

i-verbs: вид-, твор-

masc. short forms masc. long forms

sg pl dl sg pl dl

nom -ѧ -ѧще -ѧща -ѧй -ѧщеи -ѧщаа

gen -ѧща -ѧщь -ѧщꙋ -ѧщаaго -ѧщïихъ -ѧщꙋю

dat -ѧщꙋ -ѧщемъ -ѧщема -ѧщꙋмꙋ -ѧщïимъ -ѧщïима

acc -ѧщь -ѧщѧ -ѧщïй -ѧщѧѧ

loc -ѧщи -ѧщихъ -ѧщïимь -ѧщïихъ

inst -ѧщемь -ѧщи -ѧщïимь -ѧщïими

fem. short forms fem. long forms

sg pl dl sg pl dl

nom -ѧщи -ѧщѧ -ѧщи -ѧщïа -ѧщѧѧ -ѧщïи

gen -ѧщѧ -ѧщь -ѧщꙋ -ѧщѧѧ -ѧщïихъ -ѧщꙋю

dat -ѧщи -ѧщамъ -ѧщема -ѧщïи -ѧщïимъ -ѧщïима

acc -ѧщѫ -ѧщѧ -ѧщѫıѫ -ѧщѧѧ

loc -ѧщи -ѧщахъ -ѧщïи -ѧщïихъ

inst -ѧщѫıѫ -ѧщами -ѧщѫıѫ -ѧщïими

neut. short forms neut. long forms

sg pl dl sg pl dl

nom -ѧ -ѧща -ѧща -ѧщее -ѧщаа -ѧщïи

gen -ѧща -ѧщь -ѧщꙋ -ѧщаaго -ѧщïихъ -ѧщꙋю

dat -ѧщꙋ -ѧщемъ -ѧщема -ѧщꙋмꙋ -ѧщïимъ -ѧщïима

acc -ѧ -ѧща -ѧщее -ѧщаа

loc -ѧщи -ѧщихъ -ѧщïимь -ѧщïихъ

inst -ѧщемь -ѧщи -ѧщïимь -ѧщïими

Прошьдъша причѧстïа дѣıательна - Past active participles (§7.2)

all vowel stems (-в- omitted in consonant stems)

masc. short forms masc. long forms

sg pl dl sg pl dl

nom -въ -въше -въша -въй -въшеи -въшаа

gen -въша -въшь -въшꙋ -въшаaго -въшïихъ -въшꙋю

dat -въшꙋ -въшемъ -въшема -въшꙋмꙋ -въшïимъ -въшïима

acc -въшь -въшвъ -въшïй -въшвъвъ

loc -въши -въшихъ -въшïимь -въшïихъ

inst -въшемь -въши -въшïимь -въшïими

fem. short forms fem. long forms

sg pl dl sg pl dl

nom -въши -въшѧ -въши -въшïа -въшѧѧ -въшïи

gen -въшѧ -въшь -въшꙋ -въшѧѧ -въшïихъ -въшꙋю

dat -въши -въшамъ -въшема -въшïи -въшïимъ -въшïима

acc -въшѫ -въшѧ -въшѫıѫ -въшѧѧ

loc -въши -въшахъ -въшïи -въшïихъ

inst -въшѫıѫ -въшами -въшѫıѫ -въшïими

neut. short forms neut. long forms

sg pl dl sg pl dl

nom -въше -въша -въша -въшее -въшаа -въшïи

gen -въша -въшь -въшꙋ -въшаaго -въшïихъ -въшꙋю

dat -въшꙋ -въшемъ -въшема -въшꙋмꙋ -въшïимъ -въшïима

acc -въше -въша -въшее -въшаа

loc -въши -въшихъ -въшïимь -въшïихъ

inst -въшемь -въши -въшïимь -въшïими

## Промѣны гласьнъ - Sound Changes

The following section recounts some sound changes specific for Slavic varieties, which are frequently cited throughout the book, and which are relevant for understanding the OCS morphology. The order is based on a rough historical estimation (e.g. first palatalization preceded the monophthongization), but it may have differed between individual Slavic varieties (for a more detailed overview and discussion on possible dating of individual developments, see Mirčev 1978, Kortlandt 1983, Lunt 2001:193, Holzer 2011, Trunte 2022:310).

Прьвое мѧкъченïе - First palatalization (§1.8)

Velar consonants preceding a front vowel: \**g* > *ž*, \**k* > *č*, \**x* > *š*. Affects most Slavic varieties. Appears on vocative forms of o‑, u‑ and masculine adjectival stems (e.g. sg.nom дрꙋгъ, voc дрꙋже), verbal stems with a thema -*e­-* (e.g. 1sg.prs рекѫ, 2sg речеши, 2/3sg.aor рече), as well as on the 3pl.aor ending (e.g. 1sg.aor рѣхъ, 3pl рѣшѧ).

Загꙋба възрывныхъ на коньци съричькъ - Elision of syllable-final plosives (§4.8)

Syllable-final plosives are elided, if the next syllable begins with a nasal or an obstruent. Final plosives of endings (\**t* or \**d*) were likely lost earlier. Both changes affect all Slavic varieties. Appears especially in roots used both for nouns and verbs (e.g. съпати 'to sleep', \**sup-n-u* > сънъ 'sleep') and in athematic verbs (e.g. \**dāˀdmi* > 1sg.prs дамь).

Поспѣшивое мѧкъченïе - Progressive palatalization (§7.6)

Velar consonants following a short or nasal front vowel: \**g* > *ź*, \**k* > *c*, \**x* > *s*. Affects all Slavic varieties. Sometimes also called "third palatalization". Appears mostly on derivational suffixes (e.g. sg.nom \**stāˀr-ik-u* > *\*stāˀricu* > старьць 'old man', but voc \**stāˀr-ik-e* > *stāˀriče* > старьче).

Прѣгласъ - *Umlaut* (§1.8)

Back vowels following a \**j* and reflexes of palatalizations: \**ju* > \**ji* > \**jь*, \**ja* > \**je* (both long and short), probably final \*-*jū* > \*-*jēN* > -*ję*. Affects all Slavic varieties. Appears on specific endings of nominal ja- and jo-stems (e.g. sg.dat/loc \**dusj‑ai* > \**dusjei* > дꙋши), as well as soft stems of adjectives and ptcp.prs.act. Long \**jē* later shifted back to \**jā*, but probably not in some dialects, including that of Constantine-Cyrill (Holzer 2011:45 §4).

Обединозвꙋченïе - Monophthongization (§4.8)

Diphthongs ending in an -*i* or -*u* became long vowels: e.g. \**ai* > \**ē* (> ѣ), \**ei* > \**ī* (> и), \**au* > \**ō* (> оу), \**jau* > \**jō* ( > ю). Creates context triggering the second palatalization.

Оуподоблıанïе - Assimilation (§3.4)

In a sequence of two consonants, the first one becomes voiced or voiceless according to the second one, e.g. сьде > зде. A phonotactic rule, productive in all Slavic varieties. In clusters of sibilants, the first one also took over the palatality at some point (e.g. \**zč* > \**šč*, Kortlandt 1983:9 §6.4); such clusters have various reflexes across Slavic (> BG/MK *št*, Kortlandt 1983:15 §8.5). For assimilation of vowels, see the paragraph on Contraction below.

Мѧкъченïе съвъкꙋпленïй задъныхъ - Palatalization of velar sequences (§2.4)

Groups \**kt* and \**gt* preceding front vowels become palatal. Due to assimilation, the group is devoiced and later simplified, resulting in a palatal \**tj*, consequently affected by iotation. Appears in nominal i‑stems (\**nakti* > \**natji* > нощь 'night') and infinitives (\**magtei* > *\*matji* > мощи 'can').

Въторое мѧкъченïе - Second palatalization (§2.3)

Velar consonants preceding a front vowel: \**g* > *ź* > *z*, \**k* > *c*, \**x* > *s*. Affects most Slavic varieties with the exception of northern dialects of East Slavic, with some differences in the reflexes for \**x*. Appears in loanwords and following the reflex of monophthongized \**ai*. Appears in front of jats in endings of o-stem sg/pl.loc, a‑stem or f.sg.dat/loc, pl.loc and f/n.dl.nom (e.g. sg.nom рѫка, чловѣкъ, loc рѫцѣ, чловѣцѣ), as well as in imperatives (1sg.prs рекѫ, 2sg.imp рьци).

Iѡтованïе - Iotation (§1.8)

A shift of consonants preceding a \**j* towards more palatal pronounciation. Reflexes are mostly similar to the first palatalization: \**gj* > *ž*, \**kj* > *č*, \**xj* > *š*, \**sj* > *š*, \**zj* > *ž*. Affects most of Slavic, but with regional differences in reflexes of \**dj* and \**tj*. In Old Bulgarian, the reflexes are \**dj* > *žd*, \**tj* > *št*, in West Slavic (including the variety underlying Kiev.f.) \**dj* > *dz*, \**tj* > *c*. Appears on i-verb stems with 1sg.prs (e.g. видѣти, 1sg.prs виждѫ) or imperative (2sg.imp виждь!) endings, as well as on roots with possessive \*-*ьj*- (кънѧзь 'duke', кънѧжь 'of a duke'), old comparative (pos. сладъ-къ, comp. \**slad-jьj*- > слаждïй), or ptcp.prs.act (n.sg.nom \**jьm-ǫtj*-*e* > имѫще) suffixes.

Хавликовъ законъ - Havlík's Law (§2.8)

Jers (*ъ*, *ь*, < PSl. \**u*, \**i*) at odd positions when counting from the end of word or from the last syllable with a non-jer vowel, become "weak". Their pronounciation became fleeting, they lost the ability to carry an accent, and finally were elided. Other jers become "strong", falling together with other vowels, e.g. OCS дьньсь > дь1н**ь2**сь3 > BG днес. Affects all Slavic varieties. In CS, final jers in endings thus lost their phonetic value, but they were kept as orthographic markers.

Сътѧганïе - Contraction (§4.5)

Sequences of two vowels separated by a \**j* become one long vowel: e.g. \**aja* > \**ā*, \**ьjь* > \**ī*. When the vowels were different, the result was based in some sequences on the first vowel (\**ъjь* > \**ȳ*, \**ěja* > \**ē*), in others on the second one (\**aję* > \**ę̄*). The results were different across the regions, and sometimes influenced by other paradigms. BG/MK soruces show the development of \**aje* > \**ā* in adj. m/n.sg.gen long-form, but an \**ē* was preferred in West Slavic, and an \**o* (based on pronominal declension) in the East (Trunte 2022:314). Appears primarily on pl.gen, loc and inst of ja-, jo‑ and i‑stem nouns, in most adjectival long-forms, as well as verbal infinitives and imperfects, but not regularily.

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