# 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

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

М: Ѡ, брате мой, ты ли еси?

З: Цѣлꙋıѫ тѧ, Марïе!

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

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

М: Ѡ, добръ бѣ, нѫ длъгъ.

З: А ладïа кака бѣ?

М: Чиста бѣ. Добрѣ плꙋетъ.

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

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

З: Не, не длъго.

M: O, brate moi, ty li esi?

Z: Cělujǫ tę, Marie!

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

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

M: O, dobrъ bě, nǫ dlъgъ.

Z: A ladia kaka bě?

M: Čista bě. Dobrě pluetъ.

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

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

Z: Ne, ne dlъgo.

M: Brother, is it you?

Z: Hello, Maria!

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

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

M: Oh, it was good, but long.

Z: And how was the boat?

M: It was clean. It sails well.

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

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

Z: No, not for long.

братъ brother

бѣ it was

виждѫ I see

возъ car

вынѫ always

да to (see below)

длъго for long (adverb)

длъгъ 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 (masc.; fem.: кака)

ладïа boat, smaller ship

ли (interrogative particle, see below)

мой my

не no

нѫ but

ѡ oh

пакы again

плꙋетъ it sails

пѫть journey, way

радъ glad, happy

сьде here

тако so

тъчïıѫ only

толико so much

ты you

хождѫ I travel

чистъ clean

чаеши you wait

цѣлꙋıѫ I greet

## 1.2. Настоѧщее врѣмѧ - Present Tense

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

'have' 'wait' 'hear'

1 имамь чаıѫ слышѫ

2 имаши чаеши слышиши

3 иматъ чаетъ слышитъ

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

'see' 'beg'

1 ви**жд**ѫ про**ш**ѫ

2 ви**д**иши про**с**иши

3 ви**д**итъ про**с**итъ

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

'say' 'can'

1 ре**к**ѫ мо**г**ѫ

2 ре**ч**еши мо**ж**еши

3 ре**ч**етъ мо**ж**етъ

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

1 есмь 'I am'

2 еси 'you are'

3 естъ 'he/she/it is'

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

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

1 нѣсмь 'I am not'

2 нѣси 'you are not'

3 нѣстъ 'he/she/it is not'

## 1.3. Основьнïи въпроси - Basic Questions

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

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: правый, виновьный, зъвательный - Cases: nom, acc, voc

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ja- -ıа ладïа, Марïа (all fem.)

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

u- -ъ сынъ 'son' (all masc.)

...or by a consonant:

n- -ы пламы 'flame' (masc.)

-ѧ знамѧ 'flag' (neut.)

nt- -ѧ телѧ 'calf' (all neut.)

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

s- -о небо 'heaven' (all neut.)

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

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

masc. -ъ добръ

-ь нищь 'poor'

fem. -а добра, нища

neut. -о добро

-е нище

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

o- -а брата, but возъ, вино

jo- -ıа конıа, but ножь, врѣще

a- -ѫ сестрѫ, рѣкѫ, Зосимѫ

ja- -ıѫ ладïѫ, Марïѫ

i- -ь кость, пѫть

u- -а сына

n- -ень пламень, but знамѧ

nt- -ѧ телѧ

r- -ерь дъщерь

s -о небо

ū- -ъвъ црькъвъ

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

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

fem. -ѫ добрѫ, нищѫ

neut. -о добро

-е нище

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

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

o-/u- -е брате, сыне добре

jo- -ю коню

a- -о сестро

ja- -е Марïе

## 1.5. Личьнаа мѣстоименïа - Personal Pronouns

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 и 'he'

та ıѫ 'she'

то е 'it'

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

dl

1 вѣ на 'we' (two)

2 ва ва 'you' (two)

3 ти и 'they' (two)

pl

1 мы ны 'we'

2 вы вы 'you' (pl.)

3 ти ѧ 'they'

тѧ ѧ

та ıа

The accusative forms are common in OCS. Later, genitive forms, which will be introduced in the next lesson, replace these forms in some contexts. They appear already in OCS in some context for emphasis, e.g. весь мıрь **тебе** не позна, азъ же **тѧ** познахъ 'the world has never known you, yet I have known you' (Cod.Assem. Jn 17:25). The short forms later become clitic, i.e. appearing after the verb or at another syntactically fixed position (for example, following the first accented element of clause, 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 възвратни), have no nominative form. For emphasis, the genitive form **себе** can be used instead of сѧ too (а себе ли не можетъ сп[аси]ти 'and he cannot save himself?', Cod.Assem. Mt 27:42). Many intransitive verbs (like вратити сѧ 'come back', lit. 'return oneself') are always followed by a refl.acc pronoun.

nom acc

refl - сѧ

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

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

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

possessor possessed

nom acc

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

fem. моıа сестра моıѫ сестрѫ 'my sister'

neut. мое врѣще мое врѣще 'my bag'

2sg masc. твой твоего 'your' (sg)

fem. твоıа твоıѫ

neut. твое твое

1dl/pl masc. нашь нашего 'our'

fem. наша нашѫ

neut. наше наше

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

fem. ваша вашѫ

neut. ваше ваше

refl masc. свой своего (see above)

fem. своıа своıѫ

neut. свое свое

## 1.6. Цѣлованïа - Greetings

As there are not many direct records of oral communication in Church Slavonic, we have to resort to text sources to reconstruct basic greetings. The name or appelation should be in vocative form, if available (e.g. ѡ брате, ѡ Марïо, but ѡ дъщи). Цѣлоуıѫ тѧ means 'I greet you' or 'kiss you'; 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. Cod.Assem. Jn 20:21), г[оспо]-дь съ вами 'the Lord be with you' (with answer да благословитъ тѧ г-дь 'may the Lord blesses you'; Ruth 2:4) would be plausible too, but they are mostly in plural. Such are also in letters of Wallachian princes, e.g. б[o]-гъ ви весели 'may God give you joy' (e.g. № 72 - [link](https://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/textcorpus/show/doc_193)) or б-гъ ви ꙋмножит лѣта '(may) God make your years countless' (№ 106). Of course, it would be no sin to Slavonicize greetings from modern Slavic like 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, Maria's phrase рада есмь да тѧ виждѫ 'I am happy to see you' is based on OCS (see Cod.Zogr. Jn 8:56), while Zosima's is closer to that of modern Czech syntax for comparison (actually, a Czech reflex would be \*виsѫ or perhaps already \*видимь, but Zosima is also born in Bulgaria, and retains the pronounciation). The conjunction да (lit. 'to') has many functions in OCS, some of which we will discuss in other chapters.

## 1.7. Кѵрïлльскыѧ бꙋкъви - Cyrillic Script

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

letter name Latin counterpart

а азъ *a*

б бꙋкы *b*

в вѣдѣ *v*

г глаголи *g*

д добро *d*

е естъ *e* or *je*, EN *ye*

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

s sѣло *ź* voiced counterpart of EN *ts*

з землıа *z*

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

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

к како *k*

л людïе *l*

м мыслите *m*

н нашь *n*

о онь *o*

ѡ отъ *o* mostly used in loanwords

ѿ отъ *ot* a digraph of ѡ+т

п покой *p*

р рьци *r*

с слово *s*

т тврьдо *t*

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

ꙋ оукъ *u* space-preserving variant оу; used in middle of a root here

ф фита *f*

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

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

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

ш ша *š* EN *sh*

щ ща *št* a digraph of ш+т

ъ еръ *ъ* or *ŭ* see §2.8

ы еры *y* see §2.8

ь ерь *ь* or *ĭ*

ѣ ıатъ *ě* see §2.8

ıа ıа *ja* EN *ya*

ıе ıе *je* EN *ye*

ю ю *ju* EN *yu*

ѫ ѫсъ *ǫ* see §2.8

ıѫ ıѫсъ *jǫ*

ѧ ѧсъ *ę*

ıѧ ıѧсъ *ję*

The set is not used consequently in all OCS sources - not even the ones cited here, as they are mostly Glagolitic (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 or ıниı, and so on.

Throughout the book, some later phenomena were adopted for convenience. First, the short **й** is written for the sequence /jь/ (thus m.1sg.nom possessive мой would denote /mojь/, m.1pl.nom мои /moji/). The /i/ or /j/ before vowels and in sequence \**ij* is written with an **ï** (older variant, used in Supr.; see Lunt 2001:24) and in the beginning of a word without the diaeresis (**ı**). The /y/ is always written with the digraph **ы**. The \**j* is implied before front vowels /e, i, ě, ę/, as well as in the sequence -аа-, so the digraph ıѧ is not used; the **ѧ** is always iotated.

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

ѯ кси *ks* used in loanwords

ѱ пси *ps* in loanwords

ѳ тита *th* in loanwords

ѵ ижица *i* in loanwords

ꙉ ꙉервъ *ć* or *đ* used in Bosnia

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

ꙟ ꙟвъца *în* used in Romania

## 1.8. Мѧкъкость - Palatality

An important aspect of CS phonetics is the classification of consonants according to their "softness" (or palatality). Above we have seen interactions of the type 1sg ви**жд**ѫ, ре**к**ѫ vs. 2sg ви**д**иши, ре**ч**еши. 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 jā-stem) endings, the rest is considered "hard". Cyrillic script used for CS did not have a specific letter for the glide /j/, which was only sometimes indicated on iotated variants of vowels (ıа, ıе, ю, ıѫ, ıѧ) or diacritics on consonants (e.g. Glagolitic ⰾ̂). Rules differ by period and region.

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

**palatalization** (C + front vowel)

г > ж

к > ч

х > ш

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

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

г > ж

з > ж

к > ч

с > ш

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

х > ш

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

## 1.9. Оупражьненïа - Exercises

1. Choose the right form of the verb

1. Твое ли (есмь - еси - естъ) то врѣще? 2. Азъ не (виждѫ - видиши - видитъ) Зосимѫ. 3. Марïа (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.

# 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

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

З: Въскѫıѫ стоиши, Марïе?

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

З: Ей, онъде.

[...]

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

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

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

М: Марïа Радославища.

М-ръ: Да прѣдъложиши посъланïe.

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

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

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

З: Въскѫıѫ носиши орѫжïе, Марïе?

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

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

Z: Vъskǫjǫ stoiši, Marïe?

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

Z: Ei, onъde.

[...]

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

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

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

M: Marïa Radoslavišta.

M-rъ: Da prědъložiši poslanïe.

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

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

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

Z: Vъskǫjǫ nosiši orǫžïe, Marïe?

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

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

Z: Why do you stand, Maria?

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

Z: Yes, over there.

[...]

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

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

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

M: Maria Radoslavišta.

C: Show the passport.

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

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

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

Z: Why do you carry weapons, Maria?

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

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

благодарити thank (BG)

Блъгари Bulgars, Bulgaria

бѣлѣгъ evidence, scar (here: receipt)

въ in

въносъ import (< BG)

въскѫıѫ why

въ истинѫ really

глѧдати to look

г[оспо]динь lord

г[оспо]жда lady

доити come (добрѣ дошьль 'well-come', 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. Множьствьное число - Plural Number

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

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

sg

1 имамь чаıѫ слышѫ виждѫ

2 имаши чаеши слышиши видиши

3 иматъ чаетъ слышитъ видитъ

pl

1 имамъ чаемъ слышимъ видимъ

2 имате чаете слышите видите

3 имѫтъ чаıѫтъ слышѧтъ видѧтъ

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

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

sg 'be' 'not be' 'give'

1 есмь нѣсмь дамъ

2 еси нѣси даси

3 естъ нѣстъ дастъ

pl

1 есмъ нѣсмъ дадмъ

2 есте нѣсте дадете

3 сѫть не сѫть дадѫтъ

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

o- -и вози, but братïа, вина

jo- -и кони, ножи, but врѣща

a- -ы сестры, рѣкы, Зосимы

ja- -ѧ ладѧ, Марïѧ

i- -и кости, пѫти

u- -ове сынове

n- -ене пламене, but знамена

nt- -ѧ телѧта

r- -ери дъщери

s- -са небеса

ū- -ъви црькъви

masc. -и добри, нищи

fem. -ы добры

-ѧ нищѧ

neut. -а добра, нища

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

o- -ы браты, возы, but вина

jo- -ѧ конѧ, ножѧ, but врѣща

a- -ы сестры, рѣкы, Зосимы

ja- -ѧ ладѧ, Марïѧ

i- -и кости, but пѫтïе

u- -ы сыны

n- -ени пламени, but знамена

nt- -ѧ телѧта

r- -ери дъщери

s- -са небеса

ū- -ъви црькъви

masc. -ы добры

-ѧ нищѧ

fem. -ы добры

-ѧ нищѧ

neut. -а добра, нища

## 2.3. Падежи: родьный и дательный - Cases: gen & dat

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

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

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

o- -а брата, воза, вина

jo- -(ı)а конıа, ножа, врѣща

a- -ы сестры, рѣкы, Зосимы

ja- -ѧ ладѧ, Марïѧ

i- -и кости, пѫти

u- -ꙋ сынꙋ

n- -ене пламене, знамене

nt- -ѧте телѧте

r- -ере дъщере

s- -есе небесе

ū- -ъве црькъве

masc. -а добра, нища

fem. -ы добры

-ѧ нищѧ

neut. -а добра, нища

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

o- -ъ братъ, возъ, винъ

jo- -ь конь, ножь, врѣщь

a- -ъ сестръ, рѣкъ, Зосимъ

ja- -ïи ладïи, Марïи

i- -ïи костïи, пѫтïи

u- -овъ сыновъ

n- -енъ пламенъ, знаменъ

nt- -ѧтъ телѧтъ

r- -еръ дъщеръ

s- -есъ небесъ

ū- -ъвъ црькъвъ

m/f/n -ъ добръ

-ь нищь

On the other hand, the use of dative (Gr. *dotikē*, CS дательный) is more restricted. Its primary function is to mark the recipients following verbs denoting giving or speaking, e.g. Марïа речетъ **сестрѣ** истинѫ 'Mary says the truth to [her] sister', Зосима дастъ **братꙋ** новь ножь 'Zosima gives [his] brother a new sword'. The "content" of action is in accusative (as a direct object), the recipient in dative. Sometimes the dative is used also adnominally, denoting possession. The use is attested in OCS without clear rules, but preferrably following titles and family relations, e.g. тьсть Каıафѣ 'father-in-law of Caiaphas' (Cod.Zogr. Jn 18:13, 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 'Maria goes towards Zosima'. It can be used for the meaning 'for' too, e.g. къ чьсти lit. 'with due honor'. In some texts, the preposition is also used with verbs denoting speech, e.g. та речетъ къ немꙋ 'she tells ("to") him'. Another is **по** 'around, along' in the spatial sense, e.g. по въселеной 'around the world'.

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

o- -ꙋ братꙋ, возꙋ, винꙋ

jo- -ю коню, ножꙋ, врѣщꙋ

a- -ѣ сестрѣ, рѣцѣ, Зосимѣ

ja- -и 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

masc. -ꙋ добрꙋ, нищꙋ

fem. -ѣ добрѣ

-и нищи

neut. -ꙋ добрꙋ, нищꙋ

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

o- -омъ братомъ, возомъ, виномъ

jo- -емъ конемъ, ножемъ, врѣщемъ

a- -амъ сестрамъ, рѣкамъ, Зосимамъ

ja- -амъ ладïамъ, Марïамъ

i- -ьмъ костьмъ, пѫтьмъ

u- -ъмъ сынъмъ

n- -еньмъ пламеньмъ, знаменьмъ

nt- -ѧтьмъ телѧтьмъ

r- -ерьмъ дъщерьмъ

s- -есьмъ небесьмъ

ū- -ъвамъ црькъвамъ

masc. -омъ добромъ

-емъ нищемъ

fem. -амъ добрамъ

-и нищамъ

neut. -омъ добромъ

-емъ нищемъ

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

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

1pl 2pg 3pg

m f n

nom мы вы ти тѧ та

gen насъ васъ ихъ ихъ ихъ

dat намъ вамъ имъ имъ имъ

acc ны вы ѧ ѧ ıа

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

1dl 2dl 3dl

nom вѣ ва ти

gen наю ваю ею

dat нама вама има

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

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

к > ц

г > s

х > с (but CZ/PL/SK š)

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

## 2.4. Неопрѣдѣльный оустрой - Infinitive

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

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

## 2.5. Наказательный оустрой - Imperative

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

2sg 2pl

'have' имѣи! имѣите!

'wait' чаи! чаите!

'hear' слыши! слышите!

'beg' проси! просите!

'pass' минѣи! минѣте!

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

'see' виждь! видите!

'give' даждь! дадете!

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

'be' бѫди! бѫдѣте!

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

## 2.6. Съоумниваа изъраженïа - Polite Expressions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 2.8. Текѫщѧѧ 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/. There is also a debate about the possible pronounciation of ю and its Glagolitic counterpart ⱓ as /ü/, or about phonetic value of non-nasalized ⱖ (possibly /ö/, see Lunt 2001:26, Trunte 2022:333), but this is out of scope of this text.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 2.9. Оупражьненïа - Exercises

1. Choose the right form of the verb

1. То имъ нѣстъ нꙋждно (знати). 2. Еда не (слышати) мѧ, сестро? 3. Речи емꙋ, да (просити) мытничарıа. 4. Въскѫıѫ насъ ти не (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\_? 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"!

# 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

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

М: Еда сьде вынѫ толико возъ бываетъ?

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

М: Далеко ли обитѣль моıа естъ?

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

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

З: То естъ 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: Изыдеши 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 estъ Kѵrïllovъ sadъ, a vъ nemь Narodьno pozorište.

M: Daleko li obitelь moja estъ?

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

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

Z: To estъ 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: Izydeši 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 srětiti vъ vinogradě ixъ.

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

Z: Razuměetъ sę.

M: Are there always so many cars here?

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

M: Is my hotel far away?

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

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

Z: That is the 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)

изыти go out

минѫти pass

мъного much

на близꙋ closely

никако(же) in no way

обитѣль accomodation (here: 'hotel')

обьщьствьнъ communal (here: возъ обьщьствьнъ 'bus')

оглавьнъ main

позорище theater

полата palace

пладьнïе noon

понеже because

право directly

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

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. Двойное число - Dual Number

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

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

имѣти чаıати слышати видѣти

sg

1 -мь/-ѫ имамь чаıѫ слышѫ виждѫ

2 -ши имаши чаеши слышиши видиши

3 -тъ иматъ чаетъ слышитъ видитъ

pl

1 -мъ имамъ чаемъ слышимъ видимъ

2 -те имате чаете слышите видите

3 -ѫтъ/-ѧтъ имѫтъ чаıѫтъ слышѧтъ видѧтъ

dl

1 -вѣ имавѣ чаевѣ слышивѣ видивѣ

2 -та имата чаета слышита видита

3 -те имате чаете слышите 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.

Irregular verbs show the following dual forms:

быти не быти дати

sg

1 есмь нѣсмь дамъ

2 еси нѣси даси

3 естъ нѣстъ дастъ

pl

1 есмъ нѣсмъ дадмъ

2 есте нѣсте дадете

3 сѫть не сѫть дадѫтъ

dl

1 есвѣ нѣсвѣ дадевѣ

2 еста нѣста дадета

3 есте несте дадете

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

nom gen dat nom.dl

o- -а -ꙋ -ома брата, воза

-ѣ -ꙋ -ома винѣ

jo- -а -ꙋ -ема конıа, ножа

-и -ꙋ -ема врѣщи

a- -ѣ -ꙋ -ама сестрѣ, рѣцѣ, Зосимѣ

ja- -и -ꙋ -ама Марïи

i- -и -ью -ьма кости, пѫти

u- -ы -овꙋ -ъма сыны

n- -ени -енꙋ -еньма пламени, знамени

nt- -ѧтѣ -ѧтꙋ -ѧтьма телѧтѣ

r- -ери -ерꙋ -ерьма дъщери

s- -есѣ -есꙋ -есьма небесѣ

ū- -ъвѣ -ъвꙋ -ъвьма црьквѣ

masc. -а -ꙋ -ома добра

-а -ꙋ -ема нища

fem. -ѣ -ꙋ -ама добрѣ

-и -ꙋ -ама нищи

neut. -ѣ -ꙋ -ома добрѣ

-и -ꙋ -ема нищи

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

## 3.3. Падежи: мѣстьный и творительный - Cases: loc & inst

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

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

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

o- -ѣ братѣ, возѣ, винѣ

jo- -и кони, ножи, врѣщи

a- -ѣ сестрѣ, рѣцѣ, Зосимѣ

ja- -и 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

masc. -ѣ добрѣ

-а нища

fem. -ѣ добрѣ

-и нищи

neut. -ѣ добрѣ

-а нища

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

o- -ѣхъ братѣхъ, возѣхъ, винѣхъ

jo- -ихъ конихъ, ножихъ, врѣщихъ

a- -ахъ сестрахъ, рѣкахъ, Зосимахъ

ja- -ахъ ладïахъ, Марïахъ

i- -ьхъ костьхъ, пѫтьхъ

u- -ъхъ сынъхъ

n- -еньхъ пламеньхъ, знаменьхъ

nt- -ѧтьхъ телѧтьхъ

r- -ерьхъ дъщерьхъ

s- -есьхъ небесьхъ

ū- -ъвахъ црькъвахъ

masc. -ѣхъ добрѣхъ

-ихъ нищихъ

fem. -ахъ добрахъ, нищахъ

neut. -ѣхъ добрѣхъ

-ихъ нищихъ

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

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

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

o- -омь братомь, возомь, виномь

jo- -емь конемь, ножемь, врѣщемь

a- -оıѫ сестроıѫ, рѣкоıѫ, Зосимоıѫ

ja- -еıѫ ладïеıѫ, Марïеıѫ

i- -ьıѫ костьıѫ, but пѫтьмь

u- -ъмь сынъмь

n- -еньмь пламеньмь, знаменьмь

nt- -ѧтьмь телѧтьмь

r- -ерьıѫ дъщерьıѫ

s- -есьмь небесьмь

ū- -ъвьıѫ црькъвьıѫ

masc. -омь добромь

-емь нищемь

fem. -оıѫ доброıѫ

-еıѫ нищеıѫ

neut. -омь добромь

-емь нищемь

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

o- -ы браты, возы, вины

jo- -и кони, ножи, врѣщи

a- -ами сестрами, рѣками, Зосимами

ja- -ами ладïами, Марïами

i- -ьми костьми, пѫтьми

u- -ъми сынъми

n- -ены пламены, знамены

nt- -ѧты телѧты

r- -ерьми дъщерьми

s- -есы небесы

ū- -ъвами црькъвами

masc. -ы добры

-и нищи

fem. -ами добрами, нищами

neut. -ы добры

-и нищи

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

1sg 2sg 3sg refl

m f n

nom азъ ты тъ та то -

gen мене тебе его еѧ его себе

dat мьнѣ тебѣ емꙋ ей емꙋ себѣ

ми ти мꙋ и мꙋ си

acc мѧ тѧ и ıѫ е сѧ

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

inst мьноıѫ тобоıѫ имь еıѫ имь собоıѫ

1pl 2pl 3pl

m f n

nom мы вы ти тѧ та

gen насъ васъ ихъ ихъ ихъ

dat намъ вамъ имъ имъ имъ

acc ны вы ѧ ѧ ıа

loc насъ васъ (н)ихъ (н)ихъ (н)ихъ

inst нами вами ими ими ими

## 3.4. Глагольный видъ - Verbal Aspect

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

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

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

въз- въздвигнѫти 'lift up'

до- доити 'come'

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

из- изити 'go out'

мимо- мимоити 'pass'

на- нарещи 'call, give a name'

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

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

о- отворити 'open'

ѿ- ѿити 'depart'

по- положити 'place'

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

при- прибавити 'acquire'

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

прѣ- прѣмѣнити 'change'

прѣдъ- прѣдъвести 'bring forth'

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

съ- сътворити 'make' ('do well')

оу- оубити 'kill' ('beat too much')

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

## 3.5. Бѫдѫщее врѣмѧ - Future Tense

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

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

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

## 3.6. Развѣщанïе: принадълежатели - Derivation: Possessors

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

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

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

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

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

## 3.7. Исканïe посокы - Asking for a Direction

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

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

locative Къде еси? 'Where are you?'

тꙋ 'there'

на оулици 'on a street'

на Моравѣ 'in Moravia'

въ Блъгарѣхъ 'in Bulgaria'

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

ѿтꙋдꙋ 'from there'

изъ оулицѧ 'from a street'

изъ Моравы 'from Moravia'

ѿ Блъгаръ 'from Bulgaria'

lative Камо идеши? 'Where are you going?'

тамо 'to there'

на оулицѫ 'to a street'

на Моравѫ 'to Moravia'

въ Блъгары 'to Bulgaria'

There are, of course, some exceptions. Preposition о ('about' when with loc) can be used with accusative to denote both location or direction in phrases like о деснѫıѫ 'on/to the right side'. 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. In the time of Constantine-Cyrill, this was likely so in the language of Moravians too, even if West Slavic varieties show a fixed accent today. For this reason, many later Church Slavonic (especially Cyrillic) texts show a complex set of accent markers, adopted from Greek. Grave (варïа, <`>) or circumflex (камора, <^>) accent are written on the final syllable, and acute (оѯïа, <´>) elsewhere. These usually mark the place of accent (i.e. stress), but not the tone, as in Slovenian or Serbo-Croat. Syllable-initial vowels are also marked by spirits (ѱïли <ʾ> or дасïа <ʿ>) with no phonetic value. Regularity and function varies across orthographies; sometimes, as in some modern Cyrillic systems, it is used to distinguish forms or lexemes.

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

You may have noticed the underlined vowels in the vocabularies above, denoting the place of accent. However, there were differences in the mobility of accent within paradigms of individual words. Some showed accents always on the root syllable (e.g. мати 'mother') or on the ending (e.g. сестра 'sister'), in others the position of accent alternates between the root and the ending (e.g. sg.nom рѫка 'hand', sg.dat рѫцѣ).

As long as weak jers could be accented (i.e. the stage before shifts concerning them described in Holzer 2011:71 §37), the distribution of accent in paradigms may have looked like this:

'mother' 'sister' 'hand'

sg

nom мати сестра рѫка

gen матере сестры рѫкы

dat матери сестрѣ рѫцѣ

acc матерь сестрѫ рѫкѫ

loc матери сестрѣ рѫцѣ

inst матерьıѫ сестроıѫ рѫкоıѫ

pl

nom матери сестры рѫкы

gen матеръ сестръ рѫкъ

dat матерьмъ сестрамъ рѫкамъ

acc матери сестры рѫкы

loc матерьхъ сестрахъ рѫкахъ

inst матерьми сестрами рѫками

dl

nom матери сестрѣ рѫцѣ

gen матерꙋ сестрꙋ рѫкꙋ

dat матерьма сестрама рѫкама

The fixed accent in the root followed the presence of accented syllable with a laryngeal (e.g. мати, sg.gen матере < PSl. \**māˀtī*, \**māˀter-e* < PIE \**méh₂ter-*, 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 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. 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 would be preserved in старица 'old woman' (***star*+**-*ic*+-a-), but in младица 'girl' (*mlad*-‑***ic*+**‑*a*-) it will 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).

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

3. Choose the right case

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

4. Translate

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

# 4. Въ обитѣли - At the hotel

- passive voice: past passive (n/t-) participles

- pronominal roots & declension

- long-form adjectives

- derivation of nationalities

- abbreviations

- law of rising sonority

## 4.1. Бесѣда - Dialogue

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

М: (Мало съмьнѣıаетъ сѧ.) Радостино?

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

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

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

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

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

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

Р: Еда тъ на Моравѣ длъго живетъ?

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

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

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

M: (Hesitates a bit.) Radostina?

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

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

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

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

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

M: Sadly, I will not be able (to come) tommorow. I'll have to 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 amazed, that they understand at all.

аще и even if, although

грѣшьно incorrectly

елиньскы Greek (language)

истъба room

женити marry

кафѧ coffee (non-OCS)

коли when (moment)

латиньскы Latin (language)

лѣсьнъ of a forest (лѣсъ 'forest')

мало a bit

моравлѣнъка Moravian (female)

населıати settle

наоучьнъ scientific (наоука 'science, doctrine')

недѣла Sunday (дѣлати 'work')

ненадъ unexpected (изъ ненада 'surprise')

понѣ at least

постъланъ furnished, prepared (a room)

седмица week

словѣньскы Slavic, Slavonic (language)

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

съмьнѣıати hesitate

тръгованïе trade (тръгъ 'market')

тъкъмо just

оучюдити wonder

## 4.2. Тръпительное причастïе мимошьдшее - Past Passive Participle

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

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

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

видѣ-ти видѣ**нъ** 'seen'

да-ти да**нъ** 'given'

проси-ти прош**енъ** 'asked'

рещи (< \**rek-ti*) реч**енъ** 'said'

слыша-ти слыша**нъ** 'heard'

чаıа-ти чаıа**нъ** 'awaited'

ѧ-ти ѧ**тъ** 'taken'

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

## 4.3. Съпрѧженïе мѣстоименъ - Pronominal Declension

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

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

masc. fem. neut.

sg

nom тъ та то

gen того тоѧ того

dat томꙋ той томꙋ

acc того тѫ то

loc томь той томь

inst тѣмь тоıѫ тѣмь

pl

nom ти ты та

gen тѣхъ тѣхъ тѣхъ

dat тѣмъ тѣмъ тѣмъ

acc ты ты та

loc тѣхъ тѣхъ тѣхъ

inst тѣми тѣми тѣми

dl

nom та тѣ тѣ

gen тою тою тою

dat тѣма тѣма тѣма

Soft endings are used with a smaller number of stems, including the demonstrative pronoun сь, as well as adjectival stems кый 'which' and чïй 'whose', and possessive pronouns of the type мой, свой etc. (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 сïе моего моıѫ мое

loc семь сей семь моемь моей моемь

inst симь сеıѫ симь моимь моеıѫ моимь

pl

nom си сïѧ сïа мои моѧ моıа

gen сихъ сихъ сихъ моихъ моихъ моихъ

dat симъ симъ симъ моимъ моимъ моимъ

acc сïѧ сïѧ сïа моѧ моѧ моıа

loc сихъ сихъ сихъ моихъ моихъ моихъ

inst сими сими сими моими моими моими

dl

nom сïа сïи сïи моıа мои мои

gen сею сею сею моею моею моею

dat сима сима сима моима моима моима

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

sg

nom вьсь вьса вьсе

gen вьсего вьсеѧ вьсего

dat вьсемꙋ вьсей вьсемꙋ

acc вьсь вьсѫ вьсе

loc вьсимь вьсей вьсимь

inst вьсѣмь вьсеıѫ вьсѣмь

pl

nom вьси вьсѧ вьса

gen вьсѣхъ вьсѣхъ вьсѣхъ

dat вьсѣмъ вьсѣмъ вьсѣмъ

acc вьсѧ вьсѧ вьса

loc вьсѣхъ вьсѣхъ вьсѣхъ

inst вьсѣми вьсѣми вьсѣми

dl

nom вьсѣ вьси вьси

gen вьсею вьсею вьсею

dat вьсѣма вьсѣма вьсѣма

## 4.4. Корени мѣстоименъ - 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 *that* and proximal *this*. Church Slavonic distinguished three deictic distances: овъ and сь for proximal 'this', онъ for distal 'that (over there)', and тъ, which is unmarked for distance. The сь is more common; овъ is likely a dialectal variant preferred in West Balkans and Macedonia, where it is still productive today.

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

proximal distal unmarked interrogative

m.sg.nom сь/овъ онъ тъ къто/чьто (see §5.5)

locative сьде/овъде онъде тꙋ къде

ablative сюдꙋ/овѫдꙋ онѫдꙋ тꙋдꙋ кꙋдꙋ

lative семо/овамо онамо тамо камо

manner овакъ онакъ такъ какъ

duration овогда - тогда когда

moment сели - толи коли

quantity селико онолико толико колико

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

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' (Cod.Mar. Lk 8:46; къто in Cod.Zogr.). Negative pronouns use prefix **ни**-, and often are followed by a 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, although

interr. indefinite negative

m.sg.nom къто нѣкъто никъто(же)

чьто нѣчьто ничьто(же)

locative къде нѣкъде никъде

ablative кꙋдꙋ - -

lative камо - никамо(же)

manner какъ нѣкакъ никако(же)

duration когда нѣкъгда никогда(же)

moment коли нѣколи николи(же)

quantity колико - -

## 4.5. Съложьнаа 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' (Cod.Zogr. Mt 5:3). The adjective can be analyzed thus:

root suffix adj.ending pron.ending

небес- -н- -о- -е

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

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' (Cod.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' (Cod.Assem. Lk 8:28; instead of \*живаего). Unassimilated endings (like с[ы]нꙋ ч[ловѣчь]скоуемоу, Cod.Zogr. Jn 12:34; see с[ы]нꙋ ч[ловѣчь]скꙋмꙋ in Cod.Assem. Jn 3:14) are rare to find.

masc. fem. neut.

sg

nom -ый -аа -ое

gen -ааго -ыѧ -ааго

dat -ꙋмꙋ -ѣй -ꙋмꙋ

acc -ый -ѫıѫ -ое

loc -ѣмь -ѣй -ѣмь

inst -ыимь -ѫıѫ -ыимь

pl

nom -ïи -ыѧ -аа

gen -ыихъ -ыихъ -ыихъ

dat -ыимъ -ыимъ -ыимъ

acc -ыѧ -ыѧ -аа

loc -ыихъ -ыихъ -ыихъ

inst -ыими -ыими -ыими

dl

nom -ïи -ѣи -ѣи

gen -ꙋю -ꙋю -ꙋю

dat -ыима -ыима -ыима

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

masc. fem. neut.

sg

nom -ïй -аа -ее

gen -ааго -еѧ -ааго

dat -ꙋмꙋ -ѣй -ꙋмꙋ

acc -ïй -ѫıѫ -ее

loc -ïимь -ѣй -ïимь

inst -ïимь -ѫıѫ -ïимь

pl

nom -ïи -ѧѧ -аа

gen -ïихъ -ïихъ -ïихъ

dat -ïимъ -ïимъ -ïимъ

acc -ѧѧ -ѧѧ -аа

loc -ïихъ -ïихъ -ïихъ

inst -ïими -ïими -ïими

dl

nom -ïи -ïи -ïи

gen -ꙋю -ꙋю -ꙋю

dat -ïима -ïима -ïима

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

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

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

country masc. fem. adjective

Аравïа 'Arabia' аравлѣнинъ - -

Арменïа 'Armenia' арменинъ - арменьскъ

Африкïа 'Africa' - - африкьскъ

Грьци 'Greece' грьци - грьчьскъ

Евреи 'Israel' евреинъ - евреискъ

Егѵпьтъ 'Egypt' егѵпьтѣнинъ егѵпьтѣныни егѵпьтьскъ

Елини 'Greece' елининъ елиныни елиньскъ

Жидове 'Judaea' жидовинъ - жидовьскъ

Iюдеïа 'Judaea' - - ïюдейскъ

Римъ 'Rome' римлѣнинъ римлѣнъка римьскъ

Самарïа 'Samaria' самарѣнинъ самарѣныни самарѣньскъ

Ханаанъ 'Canaan' ханааныни - -

Sources from later periods also show ethnonyms for more countries in the 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' моравлѣнинъ - моравъскъ

Нѣмьци 'Germany' нѣмьць нѣмъка нѣмьчьскъ

Обри 'Avars' обринъ - обрьскъ

Рꙋсь 'Ruthenia' рꙋсинъ - рꙋсьскъ

Словѣньско 'Slavia' словѣнинъ - словѣньскъ

Спанïа 'Spain' - - спанейскъ

Сръбль 'Serbia' сръбинъ - сръбьскъ

Сꙋмь 'Finland' - - сꙋмьскъ

Фрѫsи 'France' фрѫгъ - фрѫжьскъ

Хръвати 'Croatia' хръватъ - хръватьскъ

Чеси 'Bohemia' чехъ чехыни чешьскъ

Цыгане 'Gypsies' цыганинъ цыганъка -

Ѫгрïа 'Hungary' ѫгринъ - ѫгрьскъ

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

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

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

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

Амерïка 'America' амерïчѣнинъ амерïчѣнъка амерïчьскъ

амерïчѣныни

Iракъ 'Iraq' ирачѣнинъ ирачька ирачьскъ

ирачѣныни

Кѫго 'Congo' кѫжѣнинъ кѫжѣнъка кѫжьскъ

кѫжѣныни

Перъ 'Peru' перовѣнинъ перовѣнъка перовьскъ

преовѣныни

Синь 'China' синѣнинъ синѣнъка синѣньскъ

синѣныни

Швицаре 'Switzerland' швицаринъ швицаръка швицарьскъ

швицарыни

Ѧглïа 'England' ѧглѣнин ѧглѣнъка ѧгльскъ

ѧглѣныни

## 4.7. Съкращенïa - Abbreviations

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

Modern orthographies tend to use a hyphen to denote such shortenings (e.g. **г-нь** 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 растѫщѧѧ 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 (длъгъ). 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' \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ ïюдейскъ

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

Maria, Zosima and his wife Silvïa meet in the vineyard of their friends, Dragomirъ and Květana, drinking wine and coffee. The focus inevitably turns towards Maria 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: Мимошьдшïимь оубо лѣтомь, егда мы съпознали сѧ, Марïа бѣ въ Грьцѣхъ.

К: Еда не ищеши и нынѣ въ Бескыды ити?

М: Останѫ тъчïıѫ шесть дьней. 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: Květana 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 Maria 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. Причастïе л-овое - 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.

As other infinite verb forms, the l-participle is built from aorist/infinitive stem of verbs, an -**л**- suffix, and a hard adjectival ending. The ending has always a short form. It is also 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).

видѣ-ти видѣ**лъ** 'having seen'

да-ти да**лъ** 'having given'

проси-ти проси**лъ** 'having asked'

рещи (< \**rek-ti*) рек**лъ** 'having said'

слыша-ти слыша**лъ** 'having heard'

чаıа-ти чаıа**лъ** 'having awaited'

ѧ-ти ѧ**лъ** 'having taken'

бы-ти бы**лъ** 'having been'

имѣ-ти имѣ**лъ** 'having had'

хотѣ-ти хотѣ**лъ** 'having wanted'

For some verbs, multiple forms 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' (Cod.Assem. Jn 5:46). The form имали is an imperfective variant of the latter (see Lunt 2001:139). In verbs with a -нѫ- in the stem preceded by a consonant, the stem extension is usually 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*).

## 5.3. Мимошьдшее врѣмѧ неопрѣдѣленое - 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 (result) 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 (if singular), person and number with the subject of the sentence. A single form ‑ли is used for both dual and plural.

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

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

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

dl/pl корабли **сѫть пристали** 'the ships have landed'

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 (Cod.Zogr. Mt 28:18) could be interpreted both as 'all power is given to me' and 'has been given to me'. The auxiliary is sometimes omitted in the 3rd person, e.g. 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)).

## 5.4. Оусловьный оустрой - 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' (Cod.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. Ѿносителнаа 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' (Cod.Assem. Mk 6:23). As the 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', Cod.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 i-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 тысѫща 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)' (Cod.Assem. Jn 6:67). 'Three' and 'four' are handled as i-stem nouns (m.pl три, четыри, f/n.pl трïе, четыре), but they agree in case with the noun as adjectives, e.g. трьми дьньми 'in three days' (Cod.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' (Cod.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' (Cod. Assem. Lk 8:43), while in "tens" and its powers both elements are inflected: съ дъвѣма десѧтьма тысѫщама 'with 20 thousand' (Cod.Mar. Lk 14:31), четырьми десѧты ı шестиıѫ лѣтъ създана 'built in 46 years' (Cod.Zogr. Jn 2:20).

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' (Cod.Mar. Mk 12:30; Cod.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', **вьчера** 'yesterday' - all fixed phrases going back to sg.acc or 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.

Въ+acc is often used, when the time moment is more definite, e.g. **въ тѫ нощь** 'in that night (e.g. Cod.Mar. Jn 21:3), въ пѧтое же на десѧте лѣто 'in the fifteenth year' (Cod.Zogr. Lk 3:1), въ часъ, въ ньже не вѣстъ 'in the time, which he does not know' (Cod.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** (Cod.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' (Cod.Mar. Mt 27:46).

Preceding events use mostly construction прѣжде+gen, e.g. **прѣжде** же **праздьника** пасцѣ 'and before the feast of Easter' (Cod.Mar. Jn 13:1). Following events are mostly expressed with по+loc, e.g. **по мнозѣхъ врѣменехъ** 'after a long time' (Cod.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' (Cod.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 (Cod.Assem. Lk 3:2). Duration stretching from an event uses ѿ+gen, e.g. **отъ дъвою на десѧте лѣтоу** 'since 12 years' (Cod.Zogr. Lk 8:43). Fixed expressions are **об ношть** 'during the night' (e.g. Cod.Assem. Lk 5:5), **по вьсѣ лѣта** 'for all the years' (Cod.Zogr. Lk 2:31) and **на лѣта многа** 'for many years (Cod.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' (Cod.Zogr. Mk 14:30). Counting these events is done with ordinals, using suffix -цеıѫ (sg.inst), e.g. **въторицеıѫ** 'for the second time' (Cod.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 -емврïй (besides октомврïй) 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 до+gen.

## 5.8. Кѵрïлльскыѧ 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 пристала) третïй корабль. 10. Аще (бѫдетъ / би было) въ градѣ вѧще обитѣль, вѧще людей (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

- Glagolitic alphabet

## 6.1. Бесѣда - Dialogue

Returning from the dinner at the vineyard, Maria 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 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: (Maria slowly enters, with a walking stick.) Hello, doctor. I am Maria 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 floow. Would 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. Мимошьдшее врѣмѧ съвръшеное - 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 CS texts. As we have already mentioned, most verbs in Slavic have an inherited aspect. In Church Slavonic (as well as Bulgarian and Macedonian today), 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. For this reason, grammarians call Slavic aorist врѣмѧ **съвръшеное** lit. 'completed' and imperfect **несъвръшеное**. The tense called traditionally "perfect", described in previous lesson, is not marked in this respect, hence it is called неопрѣдѣленое 'indefinite'.

Aorist and imperfect appear more commonly in texts, as they are neutral (not marked) in respect of relevance for the time of speaker, like the perfect tense. 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' (Cod.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' (Cod.Mar. Lk 5:6).

Imperfective verbs in aorist are more common - about 40% of all aorists in OCS texts (Lunt 2001:155). Aorist represent 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' (Cod.Assem. Lk 2:40) no such sequence is implied, both "events" happen together.

Unlike perfect tense, both aorist and imperfect are synthetic, i.e. expressed by specific suffixes on verbal root. Some Indo-European languages show a variation also on the root vowel, but Slavic seems to have generalized aorist roots for both past tenses at some point before Constantine-Cyrill. Nevertheless, OCS shows different types of aorists. They likely represent historical stages of its development; more archaic ones were fixed to specific words or stem classes.

Most common - and likely the youngest - type is the so-called second sigmatic (Mirčev 2000:107), just sigmatic (Trunte 2022:131), or just productive (Lunt 2001:102) aorist.

имѣти чаıати слышати видѣти

sg

1 -хъ имѣхъ чаıахъ слышахъ видѣхъ

2 - имѣ чаıа слышa видѣ

3 - имѣ чаıа слышa видѣ

pl

1 -хомъ имѣхомъ чаıахомъ слышахомъ видѣхомъ

2 -сте имѣсте чаıасте слышасте видѣсте

3 -шѧ имѣшѧ чаıашѧ слышашѧ видѣшѧ

dl

1 -ховѣ имѣховѣ чаıаховѣ слышаховѣ видѣховѣ

2 -ста имѣста чаıаста слышаста видѣста

3 -сте имѣсте чаıасте слышасте видѣсте

The form uses the aorist/infinitive stem. The stem is extended by a suffix -х- (or, more historically, an \*-*s*-), which became likely a kind of general past tense marker (Lunt 2001:100), plus an ending denoting person and number. The ending causes further phonotactical developments, 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). Specific endings are seen on some consonant stems:

быти дати начѧти

sg

1 быхъ дахъ начѧхъ

2 бы**стъ** да**стъ** начѧ**тъ**

3 бы**стъ** да**стъ** начѧ**тъ**

pl

1 быхомъ дахомъ начѧхомъ

2 бысте дасте начѧсте

3 бышѧ дасѧ начѧшѧ

dl

1 быховѣ даховѣ начѧховѣ

2 быста даста начѧста

3 бысте дасте начѧсте

For most verbs, aorist and infinitive stems are - at least in script - the same. In other words, the zero-ending 2/3sg form is like the infinitive without the ending:

inf 2/3sg.aor

-ѣ- **имѣ**ти 'have' имѣ

-ѣ*j*- **смѣıа**ти 'dare' смѣıа

-и- **хвали**ти 'praise' хвали

-а- **чаıа**ти 'wait' чаıа

-ова- **кꙋпова**ти 'buy' кꙋпова

\*-*j*- **би**ти 'beat' би

However, there are also verbs, which show specific endings for the 2/3sg.aor:

-нѫ- **лег**нѫти 'lay down' леж**е**

-ø- **пас**ти 'fall' пад**е**

**рещ**и 'say' реч**е**

The ending -е in this position goes back to an older paradigm called "root" (Lunt 2001:105) or "simple" (Mirčev 2000:103) aorist, which was used on verbs with a stem ending in a consonant, i.e. with no difference between the root and the stem (athematic verbs). The tense itself was marked by the root vowel, not a stem extension; the ending actually denoted number and person only (Trunte 2022:130). It became used with verbs with the perfective suffix -нѫ- in present tense too; the suffix is left out in aorist. If the root ends in a velar, it also undergoes palatalization in some endings (cf. §1.8):

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 paradigm is preferred, e.g. минѫти 'pass', 1sg.aor минѫхъ, 2/3sg минѫ etc.

Some athematic verbs received the past suffix when forming an aorist stem, resulting in the paradigm called sometimes "first sigmatic" (Mirčev 2000:104) or just s-aorist. This paradigm commonly appears on stems ending in a nasal (e.g. ѧти 'take'). 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, becoming the productive aorist paradigm.

ѧти рещи

sg

1 -съ ѧсъ рѣхъ

2 -(е) ѧ рече

3 -(е) ѧ рече

pl

1 -сомъ ѧсомъ рѣхомъ

2 -сте ѧсте рѣсте

3 -сѧ ѧсѧ рѣшѧ

dl

1 -совѣ ѧсовѣ рѣховѣ

2 -ста ѧста рѣста

3 -сте ѧсте рѣсте

This is, of course, only a simplified view of all the variety attested in OCS. Root aorists were an archaism already by then, being replaced by forms of the productive aorist, expanding the root by an additional thema vowel -**о**-, 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.

Stems ending in a nasal like начѧтъ 'began' show an additional ‑тъ in 2/3sg.aor. It can be considered a productive ending; former s-aorists like ѧти 'take' later adopt it: бѣгоу се ıеть 'she ran', 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)).

In the Vocabulary, following aorist paradigms are indicated:

stem 1sg 2/3sg

productive хвали- хвали**хъ** хвали

рек- (new) рек**охъ** рече

root aor. пад- пад**ъ** паде

s-aor. ѧ- (old) ѧ**съ** ѧ

t-aor. начѧ- начѧхъ начѧ**тъ**

ѧ- (new) ѧхъ ѧ**тъ**

x-aor. рек- (old) рѣ**хъ** рече

## 6.3. Мимошьдшее врѣмѧ несъвръшеное - Imperfect Tense

Imperfect in OCS is usually based on the aorist stem, the suffix -**ѣаx**-, and old person/number endings of the root aorist. The suffix regularily shifts to -**ааx**- when following palatal consonants. On stems ending in a vowel, it is further contracted to -**ах**- (see above §4.5). Sometimes, the stem-final vowel is contracted with the suffix too, e.g. прохождаше и-съ грады вьсѧ 'Jesus was passing all the cities' (Cod.Mar. Mt 9:35).

имѣти чаıати слышати видѣти

sg

1 -ахъ имѣахъ чаıаахъ слышаахъ видѣахъ

2 -аше имѣаше чаıааше слышaаше видѣаше

3 -аше имѣаше чаıааше слышaаше видѣаше

pl

1 -ахомъ имѣахомъ чаıаахомъ слышаахомъ видѣахомъ

2 -ашете имѣашете чаıаашете слышаашете видѣашете

3 -ахѫ имѣахѫ чаıаахѫ слышаахѫ видѣахѫ

dl

1 -аховѣ имѣаховѣ чаıааховѣ слышааховѣ видѣаховѣ

2 -ашета имѣашета чаıаашета слышаашета видѣашета

3 -ашете имѣашете чаıаашете слышаашете видѣашете

An uncontracted imperfect suffix can be seen on consonant stems, like those of дати 'give' (stem дад‑) and мощи 'can' (stem мог-). However, contraction sometimes appears on them too, e.g. можаше бо се мѵро продано быти 'for this myrrh could have been sold' (Cod.Mar. Mt 26:9; Cod.Zogr. has можааше).

дати мощи

sg

1 дадѣахъ можаахъ

2 дадѣаше можааше

3 дадѣаше можааше

pl

1 дадѣахомъ можаахомъ

2 дадѣашете можаашете

3 дадѣахѫ можаахѫ

dl

1 дадѣаховѣ можааховѣ

2 дадѣашета можаашета

3 дадѣашете можаашете

2pl and 2/3dl.impf endings ‑ашете and -ашета were later replaced by ‑асте and -аста (e.g. можаасте, имѣаста), formed by analogy from the aorist endings, becoming predominant in Supr. and Sav.k. (Lunt 2001:101).

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 was (impf) close and many went out (aor) to Jerusalem' (Cod.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' (Cod.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

## 6.4. Мимошьдшее врѣмѧ прѣдъварѧщее - 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 (прѣдъварити 'overtake, pass') a referenced past point. 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 'Maria 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' (Cod.Assem. Jn 11:19), иже бѣшѧ сь ньеıѫ 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)).

## 6.5. Подлагаемый оустрой - Supine

In this lesson we will stay focused on verbs. Besides the "proper" infinitive, Old Church Slavonic had a second infinitive form, which was used after verbs denoting motion towards a purpose, called "supine". Similarily as infinitive, supine is built from the aorist stem, using the ending -тъ, e.g. Марïа леже **съпатъ** 'Maria laid herself down to sleep'. The object of the verb is in genitive case: Зосима изиде кꙋпитъ хлѣба 'Zosima went out to buy bread'. The ending phonetically reacts with consonant stems in the same way as that of infinitive. The jer of the ending becomes soft, if following a palatal, e.g. рещи (stem рек-) 'say' has supine form рещь (Lunt 2001:112).

The ending goes etymologically back to accusative (Mirčev 2000:116, Lunt 2001:247). Although a distinct supine is preserved in Slovene and Lower Sorbian, it was likely becoming archaic elsewhere in Slavic already in OCS period, replaced simply by the infinitive: e.g. supine is used in Sav.k. in идѫ ꙋготоватъ мѣста вамъ 'I go to prepare a place for you' (Jn 14:2), but идѫ оуготовати appears elsewhere (e.g. in Cod.Assem.) instead.

## 6.6. Съıѫзьнаѧ - 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' (Cod.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' (Cod.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' (Cod.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' (Cod.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)' (Cod.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' (Cod.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' (Cod.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', Cod.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', Cod.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' (Cod.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?' (Cod.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' (Cod.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' (Cod.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' (Cod.Assem. Mt 26:33). Аще appears also alone as an interrogative particle, e.g. аште оударимъ ножемь 'should we strike by a sword?' (Cod.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' (Cod.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' (Cod.Mar. Jn 6:50), **да егда** възмѫтитъ сѧ вода 'when the water is stirred' (Cod.Zogr. Jn 5:7), **да ѣкоже** азъ сътворихъ вамъ 'as I did for you' (Cod.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' (Cod.Zogr. Mt 5:1), 'because, for' in ѣко тѣхъ естъ ц-рство н-б-съное 'for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven (Cod.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' (Cod.Zogr. Mt 5:17). It may also introduce quotations: добрѣ рече, ѣко мѫжа не ıмамь 'you said well, that "I have no husband"' (Cod.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' (Cod.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' (Cod.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?"' (Cod.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' (Cod.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. Infinitive and supine themselves were likely deverbal nouns too.

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: for example, наблюсти 'observe' (stem блюд‑), ptcp.praet.pass наблюденъ 'observed', verbal noun наблюденïе 'observation'.

видѣ-ти видѣ**нïе** 'seeing'

да-ти да**нïе** 'giving'

проси-ти прош**енïе** 'asking'

рещи (< \**rek-ti*) реч**енïе** 'saying'

слыша-ти слыша**нïе** 'hearing'

чаıа-ти чаıа**нïе** 'awaiting'

ѧ-ти ѧ**тïе** 'taking'

бы-ти бы**тïе** 'being'

имѣ-ти имѣ**нïе** 'having'

хотѣ-ти хотѣ**нïе** 'wanting'

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

## 6.8. Глагольскыѧ 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 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 (see Trunte 2022:23), 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 1 ⰰⰸⱏ а *a*

ⰱ 2 ⰱⱆⰽⱏⰻ б *b*

ⰲ 3 ⰲⱑⰴⱑ в *v*

ⰳ 4 ⰳⰾⰰⰳⱁⰾⰻ г *g*

ⰴ 5 ⰴⱁⰱⱃⱁ д *d*

ⰵ 6 ⰵⱄⱅⱏ е *e*

ⰶ 7 ⰶⰻⰲⱑⱅⰵ ж *ž*

ⰷ 8 ⱄⱑⰾⱁ s *ź*

ⰸ 9 ⰸⰵⱞⰾⱑ з *z*

ⰹ 10 ⰹ ï *i*

ⰺ 10 ⰹ ï *i*

ⰻ 20 ⰻⰶⰵ и *i*

ⰼ 30 ⰼⰵⱃⰲⱏ *ǵ*

ⰽ 40 ⰽⰰⰽⱁ к *k*

ⰾ 50 ⰾⱓⰴⰹⰵ л *l*

ⰿ 60 ⰿⱏⰻⱄⰾⰻⱅⰵ м *m*

ⱀ 70 ⱀⰰⱎⱐ н *n*

ⱁ 80 ⱁⱀⱐ о *o*

ⱂ 90 ⱂⱁⰽⱁⰻ п *p*

ⱃ 100 ⱃⱐⱌⰻ р *r*

ⱄ 200 ⱄⰾⱁⰲⱁ с *s*

ⱅ 300 ⱅⰲⱃⱐⰴⱁ т *t*

ⱆ 400 ⱆⰽⱏ оу *u*

ⱛ 400 ⱛⰶⰻⱌⰰ ѵ *i*

ⱇ 500 ⱇⱃⱐⱅⱏ ф *f*

ⱈ 600 ⱈⱑⱃⱏ х *x*

ⱉ 700 ⱁⱅⱏ ѡ *o*

ⱋ 800 ⱋⰰ щ *št*

ⱌ 900 ⱌⰻ ц *c*

ⱍ 1000 ⱍⱃⱏⰲⱐ ч *č*

ⱎ 2000 ⱎⰰ ш *š*

ⱏ 3000 ⰵⱃⱏ ъ *ъ* or *ŭ*

ⱑ 4000 ⱑⱅⱏ ѣ *ě* or *ä*

ⱓ 5000 - ю *ju* or *ü*

ⱚ ⱚⰻⱅⰰ ѳ *th*

ⱐ ⰵⱃⱐ ь *ь* or *ĭ*

ⱘ ⱘⱄⱏ ѫ *ǫ*

ⱙ ⱙⱄⱏ ıѫ *jǫ* or *öN*

ⱔ ⱔⱄⱏ ѧ *ę*

ⱗ ⱗⱄⱏ ıѧ *ję* or *äN*

ⱒ х *x́*

ⱝ а *a*

ⱞ м *m*

ⱜ 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* as ⱃⱙⰼⰵⱀⱏ (Cyr. рıѫгенъ; /t/ falling out due to sonority laws). The ⱔ seems to have been originally a diacritic marker denoting nasalization, but a letter \*ⱖ is not attested without it.

As in Cyrillic, the differences between letters for /i/ are not clear. The **ⰺ** is used more often in the beginning of words and syllables, possibly being a younger modification of ⰹ (Trunte 2022:330). The /y/ is represented by sequences of the hard jer and an /i/, e.g. ⱏⰻ or ⱏⰹ. The soft jer is not used in Glagolitic in this letter. However, the differentiation between the two jers may be secondary, with ⱏ being older (Trunte 2017:54).

The letter **ⰼ** appears mostly in loanwords for a /g/ preceding front vowels, e.g. sg.dat ⰼⰵⱁⱀⱐⱀⱑ 'of Hell' (Cod.Mar. Mt 23:15). In some Glagolitic sources we find a ⰳ instead (Cod.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 too (аꙉла ми-ла 'of Archangel Michael'). Trunte (2022:330) considers ꙉ to be originally a reversed variant of the letter ч.

The very rare letter **ⱒ**, sometimes called "spidery *x*", is attested about four times only in one word хльмь 'hill' - once in Cod.Assem. and thrice in Ps.Sin., while other Glagolitic sources show a ⱈ (Lunt 2001:20). Kempgen (2016:5) mentions similar glyphs appearing in some abecedaria, considering it a part of original Glagolitic alphabet, denoting a soft counterpart of /x/, used before front vowels - similarily as ⰼ complemented the ⰳ.

The letter **ⱋ** is a debated one. In Croatia, the letter was later used for /ć/, the local reflex of \**tj* (Trunte 2022:329), which may have been its original phonetic value too (Mathiesen 2014:197). Others (e.g. Kempgen 2008:35) reconstruct its original phonetic value /p/ (if the shape was based on Greek ѱ), used in loanwords, likely in front of front vowels. It was only later reinterpreted as /št/ under the influence of Cyrillic alphabet. The Unicode character ⱊ (discussed in Kempgen 2008) may also be its later interpretation.

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

## 6.9. Оупражьненïа - Exercises

1. Choose a suitable tense

1. Егда (събѫдити) сѧ, Зосима оуже (писати). 2. Пѫть изъ Блъгаръ въ Варѧгы (быти) sѣло длъгъ. 3. Мимошьдшимъ лѣтомъ Квѣтана (ходити) два крата въ Татрѫ. 4. Въ Велеградъ вьсь дьнь (плꙋти) мьного ладïи. 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 твоймь нѣстъ благо еже (носити - носитъ - носенïе) мьногыхъ кънигъ. 4. Вьсѫ нощь нѣкое (пѣти - пѣтъ - пѣнïе) слышаахъ. 5. За оутрïа имамъ (съвръшити - съвръшитъ - съвръшенïе) 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) истьбѫ.

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 пойдѫ 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.

5. Transcribe the Dialogue (§6.1) into Glagolitic

# Речьникъ - Vocabulary

**а** 'and, but'

**авъгꙋстъ** 'August' (o-stem, AP *a*)

**азъ** 'I'

**априлïй** 'April' (jo-, *c*)

**аще** 'if' (аще и 'although, even if')

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

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

**бити** 'beat' (e-, *a*; оубити 'kill')

**благодарити** 'thank' (i-verb, accent paradigm *a*)

**благословити** 'bless' (i, *a*)

**близꙋ** 'close'

**близъ** 'close to'

**Блъгаринъ** 'Bulgarian' (ethn. o-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' (ethn. o-stem, AP *b*)

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

**братъ** 'brother' (anim. o-, *a*)

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

**бывати** 'be (iter.)' (e-, *b*)

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

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

\***Вагъ** 'river Waag' (o-, *b*)

**вашь** 'your (dl./pl.)' (*a*)

**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*)

**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*)

**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*)

**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*;провъзгласити 'declare')

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

**глѧдати** 'look, watch' (e-, *a*)

**горьница** 'upper room' (ja-, *c*)

**господинъ** 'lord' (ethn. o-stem, *a*)

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

**госпожда** 'lady'(ja-, *b*)

**градъ** 'city' (o-, *c*)

**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')

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

**девѧть** 'nine' (*b*)

**декѧбрь** 'December' (jo-, *b*)

**десьнъ** 'right' (*c*)

**десѧть** 'ten' (*c*)

**длъгъ** 'long' (*a*; adv. длъго 'for long')

**длъжити** 'produce' (i-, *b*; продлъжити 'continue')

**до** 'until' (+ gen)

**добръ** 'good' (*b*; adv. добрѣ 'well')

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

**дъва** 'two' (*c*)

**дъщи** 'daughter' (r-, AP *c*)

**дьнь** 'day' (sg.gen дьне, otherwise as i-, *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*)

**знамѧ** 'flag' (n-, *a*)

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

**зълъ** 'evil' (*c*)

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

**зьрѣти** 'see, look at' (i-verb, *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, *a*?)

**имѧ** 'name' (neut.n-, *c*)

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

**инъ** 'other, different' (*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*; възыти 'come up', доити 'come', изыти '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*)

**кость** 'bone' (fem.i-, *c*)

**красьнъ** 'beautiful' (*b*)

**кратъ** '-time, once' (o-, *b*)

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

**кромѣ** 'except' (+ gen)

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

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

**къ** 'towards' (+ dat)

**къде** 'where'

**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*; \*моравлѣнъка 'Moravian [female]', a-, *a*)

**мощи** 'can' (1sg.prs могѫ, e-, root aor., *b*)

**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*)

**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** '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*)

**обычьно** 'usually'

**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*)

**ѿтꙋдꙋ** 'from there'

**ѿ** or **отъ** 'from, by' (+ gen)

**отьць** 'father' (jo-, *b*)

**пакы** 'again'

**палица** 'stick' (ja-, *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*; 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')

**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'

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

**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*)

**пѣти** 'sing' (e-, t-aor., *c*; noun пѣнïе 'singing, Song of Songs' neut. jo-, *c*)

**пѫть** 'road, way' (masc.i-, *b*)

**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, e-, x-aor., *c*; нарещи 'call')

**ровъ** 'ditch' (o-, *c*)

**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'

**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*)

**стоıати** 'stand' (iprf., 1sg.prs стоıѫ, i-, *c*;достоıати 'must')

**сꙋхъ** 'dry' (*c*)

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

**събьрати** 'collect' (e-, *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*)

**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-, *b*; отворити 'open', сътворити prf.)

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

**телѧ** 'calf' (nt-, *b*)

**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.)'

**тысѫща** 'thousand' (*a*)

**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*)

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

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

**феврарь** 'February' (jo-, *a*)

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

**ходити** 'walk, go (iter.)' (i-, *b*)

**хотѣти** 'want, will (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' (3sg.prs чьтетъ, e-, root or s-aor., *c*; прочисти prf. 'read through')

**чистъ** 'clean' (*a*)

**чръвенъ** 'red' (*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'

**ѧзыкъ** 'language, nation' (o-, *a*)

**ѧти** 'take' (иметъ, s- or t-aor., *b*; възѧти, възьметъ 'take, seize' prf.)

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