

**HANDBOOK OF
OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC
PART I**

**OLD CHURCH
SLAVONIC GRAMMAR**

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(LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE)

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HANDBOOK OF
OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC
PART I

OLD CHURCH
SLAVONIC
GRAMMAR

BY

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PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

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

G. N.

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ABBREVIATIONS

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

SYMBOLS

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

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

THE OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC LANGUAGE

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

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

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

Various dialectal influences penetrated into OCS texts through

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

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

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

WRITING SYSTEMS AND SOUNDS

§ 1. TABLE OF ALPHABETS

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

Cyrillic	Numerical value	Glago-litic	Numerical value	Transcription	Slavonic names of the letters	Pronunciation
Ѡ	—	Ѡ	—	y	jery	similar to P y, R ѡ in <i>syn</i>
ѡ	—	ѡ	—	ě	jatī	ya in <i>yam</i> ,
Ѣ	—	Ѣ	—	ja	—	yak
Ѥ	—	—	—	je	—	ye in <i>yet</i>
Ѧ	—	Ѧ	—	ju	—	you, jū
ѧ, Ѩ	900	ѧ	—	ǣ	jusū, ǣsū	nasal like Fr. <i>fin</i>
Ѩ	—	Ѩ	—	ǫ	jusū, ǫsū	nasal like Fr. <i>bon</i>
ѩ	—	ѩ	—	ǣ	jusū, ǣsū	nasal like Fr. <i>bien</i>
Ѫ	—	Ѫ	—	ǫ	jusū, jǫsū	nasal like Fr. <i>lion</i>
Ѭ	60	—	—	ks	—	ks
ѭ	700	—	—	ps	—	ps
Ѯ, ѯ	400	Ѯ	—	i, v	ižica	i in <i>ship</i> , u, ü
—	—	—	—	j (yod, jot, iota)	—	y in E yes, you

THE PHONETIC SYSTEM

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

1. Front vowels

(a) oral:

Ѡ, ѡ, Ѣ

[ě, e, i]

(b) nasal:

ѧ [ǣ]

(c) reduced:

Ѩ [i]

2. Back vowels

(a) oral:

Ѥ, Ѧ, Ѩ, Ѡ

[a, o, u, y]

(b) nasal:

Ѫ [ǫ]

(c) reduced:

Ѭ [ǫ]

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

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

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>Liquids (lateral):</i> | 4. <i>Affricates (semi-occlusives):</i> |
| ʀ, ʌ [r, l] | (a) dental: |
| 2. <i>Nasals:</i> | s, ц [dz, c] |
| м, н [m, n] | (b) palatal: |
| 3. <i>Spirants:</i> | ч [č] |
| (a) labio-dental: | 5. <i>Stops (occlusives):</i> |
| в, (ф) [v, f] | (a) labial: |
| (b) dental hiss-type: | б, п [b, p] |
| з, с [z, s] | (b) dental: |
| (c) dental hush-type: | д, т [d, t] |
| ж, ш [ž, š] | (c) velar: |
| (d) velar: | г, к [g, k] |
| х [x] | |

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

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

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

4. The Glagolitic alphabet writes: ѡ for [e] and [je], ѡ for [č]

and [ja]; **Ѣ** for [ju] and **Ѥ** for [u], **Ѧ** for [je] and **ѧ** for [e], **Ѩ** for [je], and **ѩ** for [e]. The Glagolitic letters for preiotized *e* and *o* are ligatures, but it is not clear what sounds their component parts represent.

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

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

7. The semicircle (apostrophe) ' over certain consonants indicates their softness: ѣ̇, ѣ̇, ѣ̇, ѣ̇, ѣ̇, ѣ̇, ѣ̇: **люѣвити** 'to love', **мореѣ** 'sea', **ниѣва** 'field', **анѣлѣ** 'angel', **кесарѣ** 'Caesar', **ѣ̇ероѣвѣмѣ** 'cherub', **прѣстѣпѣ** 'having come', **кораѣбѣ** 'boat'. The apostrophe ' marks the omission of a vowel: **ч'то** for **чѣто** 'what'. These signs appear, however, only in some texts and are used inconsistently. A line ¯ or ˘ (tittle) over the letters indicates their use

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

HARD, SOFT, AND PALATAL CONSONANTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

QUANTITY, STRESS, AND INTONATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

From the modern Slavonic forms one can infer the quantity and intonation in CS. The R forms *byl* (*dóbyl, príbyl, úbyl*) compared with *bylá* 'she was' (*dobylá, príbylá, ubylá*) presuppose a rising tone of the fem. ending and a falling tone of the thematic vowel. However, some isolated forms contradict the general trend, e.g. *zabýla* 'she forgot', *péla* 'she sang', *vólja* 'will': *zemljá* 'earth'. For details see N. van Wijk, 'Die baltischen und slavischen Akzent- und Intonations-Systeme' (*Verhandelingen d. k. Ak. d. W., Letterkunde* xxiii, nr 2, Amsterdam, 1923); A. Meillet, *Le slave commun*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1934, 137 sq.; especially Linda Sadnik, *Slawische Akzentuation. I. Vorhistorische Zeit*, Wien, 1959. For Indo-European: J. Kurylowicz, *Accentuation des langues indo-européennes*, 1958².

SYLLABIC DIVISION

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

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

THE VOWELS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ 11. The vowel e has two origins:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- градеѡ (loc. sg. masc.): мѡжеѡ (loc. sg. masc.)
 градеѡѡѡ (loc. pl. masc.): мѡжеѡѡѡѡ (loc. pl. masc.)
 леѡтеѡ (loc. sg. neut.): полеѡ (loc. sg. neut.)
 леѡтеѡѡѡ (loc. pl. neut.): полеѡѡѡѡ (loc. pl. neut.)
 женѡѡѡ (dat. loc. sg. fem.): доушеѡѡѡ (dat. loc. sg. fem.)
 леѡтеѡѡѡѡ (nom. acc. voc. du.): доушеѡѡѡѡѡ (nom. acc. voc. du.)

ВЕРѢМЪ (1st pl. imp.): ВНИМЪ (1st pl. imp.)

ВЕРѢТЕ (2nd pl. imp.): ВНИТЕ (2nd pl. imp.)

ВЕРѢѢ (1st du. imp.): ВНИѢѢ (1st du. imp.)

ВЕРѢТА (2nd du. imp.): ВНИТА (2nd 3rd du. imp.)

ТѢМЪ (instr. sg. masc. neut.): ИМЪ (instr. sg. masc. neut.)

ТѢМЪ (dat. pl. masc. neut. fem.): ИМЪ (dat. pl. masc. neut. fem.)

ТѢМИ (instr. pl. masc. neut. fem.): ИМИ (instr. pl. masc. neut. fem.)

ТѢХЪ (gen. pl. masc. neut. fem.): ИХЪ (gen. pl. masc. neut. fem.)

ТѢМА (dat. instr. du. masc. neut. fem.): ИМА (dat. instr. du. masc. neut. fem.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ 14. The front nasal ϵ has the following origins:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE CONSONANTS

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

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

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

When the scribes wished to indicate the softness of certain palatal consonants, especially of *l*, *n*, *r*, they placed a semicircle above them: ЗЕМЛІН (dat.), ЦѢСАРЬ, МОРЮ (dat.), НІВА (§ 2.7).

(b) The labial consonants followed by *j* developed a palatal *l*, called epenthetic *l*: СЪПАТИ (inf.) 'to sleep': СЪПЛИЖ (1st sg. pr.); ЛЮБИТИ (inf.) 'to love': ЛЮБЛИЖ (1st sg. pr.); ПАВИТИ (inf.) 'to show': ПАВЛИЖ (1st sg. pr.); ЗЕМИ (dat., loc. sg.) 'earth': ЗЕМЛИА (§ 3).

(c) This epenthetic *l* disappears in the further history of OCS, though it is preserved, with greater tenacity, when followed by certain vowels. It shows the tendency to disappear when followed by *ĭ* or *i*, e.g. ОСТАВЪ (p. part. act. 1) alongside ОСТАВЛЪ 'having left behind', ЗЕМЬСКЪ 'earthen': ЗЕМЛЬСКЪ, КОРАВЪ 'ship': КОРАВЛЪ, ЗЕМИ (dat., loc. sg.): ЗЕМЛІН, whereas before other front vowels it tended to remain; forms like БЛАГОСЛОВЕНЪ 'blessed', ВЪЗЛЮБЕНЪ 'beloved', ПРОСЛАВЕНЪ 'glorified' lost the epenthetic *l* by the dissimilatory influence of the *l* in the stem.

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

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

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

cess of disappearing. In the Kiev Miss. original *r* is represented by *ръ*, and original *r'* by *рь*, *l* by *ль*, *l'* by *ль*: *скръбьни* (nom. pl.) 'sorrowful', *тврѣдь* 'fortress, firmness', *напълнени* (nom. pl.) 'filled', *въплѣтити сѧ* 'to become incarnate'. In later copies of OCS texts the difference between soft and hard vocalic *r* is not marked. Zogr. shows spellings like *прѣвь* and *прѣвь*, *сръдьце* and *сръдьце*. There is a tendency to continue to indicate the difference between *l* and *l'*. Original liquids followed by a reduced vowel (*r+ǐ*, *r+i*, *l+ǐ*, *l+i*) are generally kept separated in spellings: *крѣвь* 'blood', *трѣхъ* 'three', *плѣтъ* 'flesh', *пльвати* 'to spit', *крѣстити* 'to baptize', *вльштати* 'to shine'. Other OCS texts do not distinguish between original soft and hard liquids. The reduced vowels, in the original combinations *r+ǐ* &c., are sometimes vocalized in strong position, according to the laws governing the development of the reduced vowels: *вѣскрѣсъ* (Mar., Ass., Ps. Sin.) for *вѣскръсъ*, *крѣстъ* (Cloz.) for *крѣтъ*, *слезъ* (gen. pl.) 'tear' (Ps. Sin., Euch. Sin.) for *слъзъ*. There is no vocalization of reduced vowels when they represent *r*, *l* (= *ръ*, *ль*), because there was no reduced vowel in the pronunciation of these sonants (§ 2.6, § 33.1).

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

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

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

1. The *v* in *въдова* 'widow', *видѣти* 'to see', *вѣдѣ* 'I know', corresponds to the *u* in Lat. *vidua*, *vidēre*, Gr. *οἶδα* < *φοῖδα*, IE **k'leuos* > CS *slovo*.

2. A prosthetic *v* was developed in CS before initial *ǐ*-, *y*-: *въплити* 'to call' < **u-pi-ti*; *въдра* 'otter' < **-ūdra*: Gr. *ἕδρα*; *въторѣи* 'the other': Lat. *uter* 'which of the two'; *възати* 'to tie': *жза* 'tie' (§ 32.1).

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

The *v* in the verbal ending *-ovati* (of the type *куп-ова-ти*) goes back to a diphthong *ou*: **куп-оуа-ти/куп-и-ти*. In the 2nd pers. *купѣши* represents **куп-оу-јеши* (§ 8): Т **kauřjan*, Goth. *kaupōn* < Lat. *caupo* 'publican'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

GROUPS OF CONSONANTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6. The groups *ks*, *gs*, when changed into Slavonic *kx* (§ 22.1) were simplified to *x*: рѣхѣ 'I said' (aor.) < *rĕk-sǫ: рѣсте (aor. 2nd pl.), рѣша (aor. 3rd pl.); жѣхѣ (aor.) 'I burnt up' < *žĕg-sǫ: жѣсте (aor. 2nd pl.), жѣша (aor. 3rd pl.). Also a dental was dropped in the group *-tx-*: охѣдити 'to go away' < *ot-xoditi, or in the group *-ts-*: чисѣ (aor.) 'I counted' < *čit-sǫ: чѣтѣ (pr.), чѣтохѣ (aor.); дѣси (2nd sg.) 'thou wilt give' < *dadsī.

7. The groups *ps*, *bs* have been reduced to *s*: чрѣсѣ (aor.) < *čĕrps-: -чрѣпѣ 'I shall ladle (out)'; оса 'wasp': Lith. *vapsā*, OHG *wafsa*, E wasp; грѣсѣ (aor.) 'I scratched' < *grĕbs-: грѣбѣ.

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

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

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

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

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

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

PALATALIZATION OF THE VELARS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. The third palatalization is a separate development on the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

HARDENING OF THE PALATAL CONSONANTS

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

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

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

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

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

CHANGES IN THE OCS VOWEL SYSTEM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE REDUCED VOWELS IN THE OCS TEXTS

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

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

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

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

In some instances the reduced vowels are vocalized in strong position: **вѣсенъ**, **вѣсеръ**, **вѣзвѣзъше**, **днѣсь**, **подѡвенъ**, **шѣдъ**, **тѣмьнищѣж** instead of **вѣсѣнъ** 'demonic', **вѣсеръ** 'pearl', **вѣзвѣзъше** 'those who have thrust', **днѣсь** 'today', **подѡвѣнъ** 'similar', **шѣдъ** 'gone', **тѣмьнищѣж** 'with the prison'.

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

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

In the spelling of original *i* followed by *j*, the Mar. prefers *и* to *ь*: виѣнѣ 'beaten', виж 'I beat', мѣнни 'lightning', сѣдѣни 'judge' for вьѣнѣ, вьж, мѣнни, сѣдѣни (§ 33. 3).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHANGES OF THE NASAL VOWELS IN OCS TEXTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DEVELOPMENT OF LIQUID DIPHTHONGS IN OCS TEXTS

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

Concerning the development *olt-* > *lat-*, in OCS texts appear forms showing *л-*, *лѣ-*, *ла-* for original *olt-*: *лѣдѣни*, *лѣдѣнѣ* alongside *лѣдѣни*, *лѣдѣни* 'boat'; *лакати*, *лакомѣ* alongside *лѣкати*, *лѣкати* 'to be hungry'. The form *лѣдѣни*, *лѣдѣни* appears in *Zogr.*, *Supr.* The form *лѣкати* occurs in *Mar.*, *Ass.*, *Euch. Sin.*, *Savv. Kn.*, *Supr.* Also *лѣнь*, *лѣни* 'hind, chamois', appears without metathesis: *лѣни*, *лѣнни* (cf. Gr. *ἐλαφος* 'stag, doe', *ἄλκη* 'elk', OHG *ëlho*, Lat. *alces* 'elk').

VOWEL-GRADATION (APROPHONY)

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

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

(a) Qualitative gradations

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

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

(b) Quantitative gradations

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(impft.); *umrěti* (pft.) < **-merti*, *moriti* 'to perish' ~ *umiretū* 'he will die', *mrūtvoū* (adj.) 'dead' ~ *umirati* (impft.), *umirajetū* 'he is dying'.

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

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

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

(b) Gradations in bases containing original diphthongs before vowels: *pījo* 'I drink' ~ *pivo* 'drink' (n.), *pitū* (p. pr. pass.) ~ *pojo* 'I make drink', *-pajati* 'to make drink' representing an IE **pōj* (cf. Lat. *pōtus*, Gr. (Aeol.) *πώνω*, Lith. *pū'ta* 'orgy' representing IE **pōu*); before consonants: *cvitjo* 'I bloom' ~ *cvisti* (inf.) ~ *cvětū* 'flower' with an alternating diphthong *oj*; *čitjo* (1st sg. pr.) 'I read, I count' ~ *čitati* (it.), *čisti* (inf.), *čisū* (1st sg. aor.) representing IE *(s)*kejid-* (cf. Lith. *skaityti* 'to read', Skt *cétati* 'he perceives').

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

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

(d) Gradations of *er* diphthong:

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

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

(e) Gradations of *el* diphthong:

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

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

(f) Gradations of *em* diphthong:

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

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

(g) Gradations of *en* diphthong:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MORPHOLOGY

THE NOUN

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

I. *Stems.*

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

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

(a) Hard:

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

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

(b) Soft:

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

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

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

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

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

1. Masculine:

(a) Hard:

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

(b) Soft:

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

2. Neuter:

(a) Hard:

ЛѢТО [lŕto] 'summer, year', instr. sg. ЛѢТОМЪ [lŕto-mŭ]
ВѢКО [vŕko] 'eyelid', dat. pl. ВѢКОМЪ [vŕko-mŭ]

(b) Soft:

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

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

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

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

(a) Feminine:

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

(b) Masculine:

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

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

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

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

ЛЮБЫ [ljuby] 'love', dat. sg. ЛЮБЫИ [ljubŭv-i]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ДЪШТИ [dŭšti] 'daughter', gen. sg. ДЪШТЕРЕ [dŭšter-e]

2. Genders.

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

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

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

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

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

Nouns ending in -ь [-ĭ] of the -i- declension are either masculine or feminine (§ 43). Feminine are the abstract -i- stems in -stĭ, -ĭ: МЪДРОСТЬ 'wisdom', РАДОСТЬ 'joy', ЗАВИСТЬ 'envy', ДОБЛЕСТЬ 'fortitude', ГОРИСТЬ 'heat', БОЯЗНЬ 'fear', ЗЪЛЪ 'evil', ПЕЧАЛЬ 'sorrow', &c.

3. Numbers.

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

4. Cases.

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

DECLENSION OF THE NOUNS

§ 39. I. The -a-/-ja- stems.

Feminine: ГЛАВА 'head', НОГА 'foot', РУКА 'hand', ДУША 'soul', СТЬСА (СТЬСАЪ, СТЬСА) 'path', БОГЪНИИ 'goddess', ПОУСТЪНИИ 'desert', ЛАДИИ (ЛАЪДИИ) 'ship'.

Masculine: ВЛАДЪКА 'ruler', БАЛИИ 'healer', СЪДИИ (СЪДЪИ, СЪДИ) 'judge'.

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

Singular

Hard stems

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

Soft stems

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

Dual

Hard stems

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

Soft stems

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

Plural

Hard stems

N.	ГЛАВ-ы	рѣк-ы	ног-ы
G.	ГЛАВ-ѡ	рѣк-ѡ	ног-ѡ
D.	ГЛАВ-амѡ	рѣк-амѡ	ног-амѡ
A.	ГЛАВ-ы	рѣк-ы	ног-ы
V.	ГЛАВ-ы	рѣк-ы	ног-ы
I.	ГЛАВ-амни	рѣк-амни	ног-амни
L.	ГЛАВ-ахѡ	рѣк-ахѡ	ног-ахѡ

Soft stems

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(h) Masc. nouns in *-а-*: *ближника* 'fellow-creature', *владѣтика* 'ruler, Lord', *прѣдѣтъеча* 'forerunner', *слоуга* 'servant', *сѣтона* 'Satan', *оубициа* 'murderer', *ѣжика* 'relative', *юнота*, *юноша* 'young person', *Каифа* 'Caiaphas', *Июда* 'Judas', &c.

§ 40. II. The *-o-/-jo-* stems.

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

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

I. MASCULINES

Singular

Hard stems

N.	рабѣ-ѣ	чловѣкъ-ѣ	бог-ѣ	доухъ-ѣ
G.	рабѣ-а	чловѣкъ-а	бог-а	доухъ-а
D.	рабѣ-оу	чловѣкъ-оу	бог-оу	доухъ-оу
A.	рабѣ-ѣ, -а	чловѣкъ-ѣ	бог-ѣ, -а	доухъ-ѣ
V.	рабѣ-ѣ	чловѣкъ-ѣ	бог-ѣ	доухъ-ѣ
I.	рабѣ-омиѣ	чловѣкъ-омиѣ	бог-омиѣ	доухъ-омиѣ
L.	рабѣ-ѣ	чловѣкъ-ѣ	бог-ѣ	доухъ-ѣ

Soft stems

N.	мѣжъ-ѣ	вождъ-ѣ	зми-и
G.	мѣжъ-а	вождъ-а	зми-ѣ
D.	мѣжъ-оу	вождъ-оу	зми-ю
A.	мѣжъ-ѣ, -а	вождъ-ѣ	зми-и
V.	мѣжъ-оу	вождъ-оу	зми-ю
I.	мѣжъ-ѣмиѣ	вождъ-ѣмиѣ	зми-ѣмиѣ
L.	мѣжъ-и	вождъ-и	зми-и

Dual

Hard stems

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

Soft stems

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

Plural

Hard stems

N.	РАБ-И	ЧЛОВѢЦ-И	БОС-И	ДОУС-И
G.	РАБ-Ъ	ЧЛОВѢК-Ъ	БОГ-Ъ	ДОУХ-Ъ
D.	РАБ-ОМЪ	ЧЛОВѢК-ОМЪ	БОГ-ОМЪ	ДОУХ-ОМЪ
A.	РАБ-Ы	ЧЛОВѢК-Ы	БОГ-Ы	ДОУХ-Ы
V.	РАБ-И	ЧЛОВѢЦ-И	БОС-И	ДОУС-И
I.	РАБ-Ы	ЧЛОВѢК-Ы	БОГ-Ы	ДОУХ-Ы
L.	РАБ-ѢХЪ	ЧЛОВѢЦ-ѢХЪ	БОС-ѢХЪ	ДОУС-ѢХЪ

Soft stems

N.	МЯЖ-И	ВОЖД-И	ЗМИ-И
G.	МЯЖ-Ь	ВОЖД-Ь	ЗМИ-И
D.	МЯЖ-ОМЪ	ВОЖД-ОМЪ	ЗМИ-ЮМЪ
A.	МЯЖ-А	ВОЖД-А	ЗМИ-А
V.	МЯЖ-И	ВОЖД-И	ЗМИ-И
I.	МЯЖ-И	ВОЖД-И	ЗМИ-И
L.	МЯЖ-ИХЪ	ВОЖД-ИХЪ	ЗМИ-ИХЪ

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

(b) The spelling of the G. and D. sg., and of A. pl. of the soft stems varies: **ВОЖД-а** but **ЗМИ-ѣ**; **МЪЖ-оу** and **МЪЖ-ю**; **ОТЬЦ-ю**, **ОТЬЦ-оу**; **КЪНАС-ю**, **КЪНАС-оу**; **КОИ-ѣ**, **МЪЖ-ѣ**, **ЗМИ-ѣ**.

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

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

(e) The Greek names in **-αιος**, **-εις** which in OCS have the ending **-ѣи**, **-ѣи** have in I. sg. and in D. pl. the endings **-ѣомь**, **-ѣомъ**: **φαισαίος** > **Фарисѣи**, I. sg. **Фарисѣомь**, D. pl. **Фарисѣомъ** (**Фарисѣемъ**); **ἱερεύς** > **Иерѣи**, D. sg. **Иерѣови**, D. pl. **Иерѣомъ** (§ 45) 'priest'.

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

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

(h) The above explanation is also supported by the fact that other case endings of the **-и-** declension appear with nouns of the **-о-** declension: D. sg. **БОГ-ови** (Zogr., Mar., Cloz., Ass., Ps. Sin., Euch. Sin., Supr.): **ДОУХОВИ**: **ДОУХОУ**, **ЧЛОВѣКОВИ**: **ЧЛОВѣКОУ**, **МЪЖЕВИ**: **МЪЖОУ**, **ЦѣСАРЕВИ**: **ЦѣСАРОЮ**.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. NEUTERS

Singular

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

Dual

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

Plural

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

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

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

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

(c) The ending *-иѣ* is a development of an older *-ыѣ* (§ 33.3), and it is often spelt *-ыѣ* or *-ив*, *-ю*, *-ѣ* in the nom. and in other cases: N. *пѣниѣ* 'singing', *моленѣ*, *молене* 'prayer' (§ 48.1); I. sg. *-ыѣмь*, *-инимь*, *-имь*, *-ымь*: *дѣланьыѣмь*, *блисцанимь* (Cloz.) 'by glittering', *хотѣньымь* (Cloz.) 'by the will', *обѣданимь* (Supr.) 'by overeating'; I. pl. *цѣсарѣствиними* (Supr.) 'with the kingdoms', *знаменими* (Zogr.) 'with the signs' are analogous to the adjectival declension (§ 56); L. pl. *-нихъ* may be contracted to *-ихъ*: *моленихъ*; D. pl. *-ивмъ* is replaced in isolated cases by *-инимъ*: *начатинимъ* 'to the beginnings'.

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

(e) The endings of the *-и-* declension penetrated into isolated cases: D. sg. *моревн* for *морю* 'sea', D. *зданіевн* for *зданію* 'building'; I. sg. *господѣствѣмь* for *господѣствомь* 'rule, lordship'.

(f) In G. pl. an isolated case shows the ending *-ив*: *врачен* (Ass.) from *врачь* 'healer' developed from *врачѣн* [*vracŕi*] (§ 33.1).

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

(h) In I. pl. the ending *-ими* appears in: *оучениими*

'with learning', *оружьими* 'with weapons', *цѣсарьствиними* 'with kingdoms'.

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

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

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

Plural

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

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

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

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

§ 42. III. The *-и-* stems.

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

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

Dual

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

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

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

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

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

§ 43. IV. The **-i-** stems.

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

Singular

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
N.	гост-ъ	кост-ь
G.	гост-и	кост-и
D.	гост-и	кост-и
A.	гост-ъ	кост-ь
V.	гост-и	кост-и
I.	гост-ѣмь, -емь	кост-ыѣ, -иѣ
L.	гост-и	кост-и

Dual

N. A. V.	гост-и	кост-и
G. L.	гост-ѣю, -ию	кост-ѣю, -ию
D. I.	гост-ѣма	кост-ѣма

Plural

N.	гост-ѣю, -ию	кост-и
G.	гост-ѣи, -ни, -ви	кост-ѣи, -ни
D.	гост-ѣмъ, -емъ	кост-ѣмъ, -емъ
A.	гост-и	кост-и
V.	гост-ѣю, -ию	кост-и
I.	гост-ѣми	кост-ѣми
L.	гост-ѣхъ, -ехъ	кост-ѣхъ, -ехъ

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

(b) The endings G. L. du. -ию, I. sg. -иѣ, N. masc. pl. -ию, G. pl. -ни have alternative forms: -ѣю, -ѣѣ, -ѣю, -ѣи. The last appears also as -ви, or contracted to -и. For the explanation of и:ѣ see § 12.3.

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

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

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

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

§ 44. V. The consonant stems.

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

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

Plural

N.	ЦРЬКЪВ-И	КРЪВ-И
G.	ЦРЬКЪВ-Ъ	КРЪВ-ЪИ, -НИ, -Ъ, -ЪИ
D.	ЦРЬКЪВ-ДМЪ	КРЪВ-ЪМЪ, -ВМЪ
A.	ЦРЬКЪВ-И	КРЪВ-И
V.	*ЦРЬКЪВ-И	*КРЪВ-И
I.	*ЦРЬКЪВ-ДМИ	КРЪВ-ЪМИ
L.	ЦРЬКЪВ-ДХЪ	КРЪВ-ЪХЪ

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

(b) In the later development of the language the A. ЦРЬКОВЬ, ЦРЬКЪВЬ replaced the N. ЦРЬКЪИ, on the analogy of the *-i-* stems.

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

(d) The G. sg. in *-вѣ* is used in some texts as A. (Supr.); this function was acquired probably on the analogy of the *-o-* stems, which use the G. of personal nouns as A., and was influenced also by the *-r-* stems, in which group МАТЕРЕ and ДЪШТЕРЕ are used as A. (Ps. Sin., Savv. Kn., Supr.). So, on the pattern of БОГЪ ЛЮБИТЪ ОТЬЦА И МАТЕРЕ, СЫНА И ДЪШТЕРЕ, the *-v-* stem G. СВЕКРЪВЕ also acquired an A. function (§ 38.4).

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

(f) In the G. pl. appear the forms ЛЮБЪ, ПРЪКЛЮБЪ (for ЛЮБЪВЪ, ПРЪКЛЮБЪВЪ) isolated in the expression НЕ ПРЪКЛЮБЪ ДЪИ 'thou shalt not commit adultery'.

2. *-n-* stems. The *-n-* stems have the nominative endings *-ы*, *-ень* for the masc., and *-ѧ* for the neut. nouns. The ending of the G. is *-ен-е*. The *-o-* stems in *-ѣнинъ*, *-днинъ* also decline in the plural according to this pattern (§ 41) as well as ДЪНЬ 'day' in most of its cases. Masc. nouns in *-n-* are КАМЪ 'stone', ПЛАМЪ 'flame'; all other *-n-* stems have replaced the N. by the A.: РЕМОНЬ 'strap',

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

Singular

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

Dual

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

Plural

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

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

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

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

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

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

(f) In G., L. du. appear also **дѣньѣю**, **дѣниѣю**, **юѣниѣю**.

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

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

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

Dual

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dual

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

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

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

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

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

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

DECLENSION OF NAMES OF GREEK ORIGIN

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

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

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

The names in *-ης* take the ending **-и** and have a mixed declension: *Μωυσῆς* > **Моси** (**Моисии**), G. **Мосѣка**, **Мосеа**, D. **Мосѣкови**, **Мосѣкви**, **Мосѣю**, **Мосею**, A. **Моси**, **Моисиж**, I. **Мосѣмель**, **Мосеемель**, **Мосѣкомъ**, L. **Мосѣки**, **Моисии**.

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

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

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

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

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

temptation'; *πραιτώριον* > *ΠΡΕΤΟΡЪ* 'palace'; *χρῖσμα* > *ΧΡΙΣΜΑ* 'oil, ointment'; *θυμίαμα* > *ТЪМНІАНЪ* 'incense'; *εὐαγγέλιον* > *ЕВАНГЕΛІИЕ* 'Gospel'.

NOMINAL ENDINGS

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

1. Nominative singular.

- а, -та < -ā, -īā (ЖЕН-а, ДОУШ-а, ЗЕМЛ-та) correspond to an original -ā which appears also in other IE languages: Gr. θεά 'goddess', Lat. *equa* 'mare', Lith. *rankà* 'hand, arm', Gr. μυῖα 'fly', χώρα 'country'.
- к < -i (КОСТ-к, ПЛТ-к) corresponds to an original -is: Gr. πόλις 'city', Lat. *ovis*, Skt *ávih* 'sheep'.
- ъ < -u (СЪН-ъ, ВОЛ-ъ) corresponds to an original -us: Lat. *manus* 'hand', Lith. *sūnūs* 'son', Goth. *sunus* id., Skt *sūnūh* id., Gr. πῆχυς 'the fore-arm'.
- и, -ни < -i/-īā (ВОГЪН-и fem., ЛД-и fem., СЖД-и masc., НЕСЖШТ-и fem. pr. part., НЕСЪШ-и fem. p. part., МЪНЪШ-и fem. comp.) corresponds to an original -i: Goth. *frijōndi* fem. 'friend', Lith. *patì* 'wife, mistress, woman', Skt *bhārantī*: OCS *вєржшти*, Skt *vidúṣṭi*: OCS *вєдъши*.
- ы < -ū (СВЕР-ы, **kry*) corresponds to an original -ūs: Skt *śvaśrūh* 'husband's mother', Lat. *socrūs* 'mother-in-law', Skt *krū-rāh* 'bloody', Gr. ὕς 'swine, wild boar'.
- ы (КАМ-ы, ПЛАМ-ы). The origin of this ending is not clear. It may go back to a IE -ons (< **kamōns*) (cf. acc. pl. of the -o- stems), or to an IE -ōn (cf. Gr. ἀηδών, -ονος 'the nightingale', Lat. *homo, hominis*), or to an IE -ēn (cf. Gr. ποιμήν, ποιμένος 'shepherd'). The difficulty inherent in this explanation lies in the unusual equation *ōn*:*y*. This also appears, however, in the case of the pr. part. act. *вєр-ы*: Gr. φέρων, but here we may postulate a base **bherōnt-*: Gr. φέροντ-, in which case the ending is -ōnts (cf. Goth. *frijōnds* friend').

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

-ъ < -us, -ѣъ < -ius (нѣс-ъ, дѣла-ѣъ): Skt *vidiús*: Sl. *вѣдъ*-ъ (p. part. act.); Skt *babhūvís* (part. pf.): OCS *вѣмѣъ* (p. part. act.).

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

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

2. *Nominative plural.*

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

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

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

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

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

3. *Nominative and accusative dual.*

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

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

4. Vocative singular.

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

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

5. Accusative singular.

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

6. Accusative plural.

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

- ы** < -*ūs* < -*us* < -*ūns* < -*ūns* (с_ын-**ы**), cf. Goth. *sununs* Skt *sūnūn* 'sons' (§ 9.2).
- и** < -*īs* < -*is* < -*īns* < -*īns* (п_кт-и, к_ам_ен-и), cf. Gr. (Cretan) *πόλις* 'cities', Skt *agnīn* 'lambs'.
- а** < -*jōns* (к_он-**а**, з_ем_л-**а**). After *j* the treatment of -*ons* was different from that described in § 9.2. The development of this group is reconstructed by the following stages: *jens* > -*jēns* > -*jē* (§ 14.3). In a dialectal area (Western and Eastern Slavonic) the nasalization disappeared and so the ending -*ē* arose in acc. pl. and gen. sg.: OR к_он_ѣ, д_оуш_ѣ, OCz *dušě*.
- а** (с_ло_ве_с-**а**, м_ѣк_т-**а**): see nom. pl. endings (§ 46.2).

7. Genitive singular.

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

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

8. Genitive plural.

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

9. Genitive and locative dual.

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

10. Dative singular.

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

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

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

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

11. Dative plural.

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

12. *Dative and instrumental dual.*

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

13. *Instrumental singular.*

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

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

14. *Instrumental plural.*

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

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

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

15. *Locative singular.*

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

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

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

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

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

16. *Locative plural.*

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

FORMATION OF NOUNS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ 48. DENOMINAL AND DEVERBATIVE SUFFIXES

1. *Vocalic suffixes.*

- а, -та derives feminine nouns: ДРОУГЪ (masc.): ДРОУГА (fem.) 'friend', РАБЪ (masc.): РАБА (fem.) 'servant', КОУПИТИ: КОУПЛА 'trade', КРАСТИ 'to steal': КРАЖДА 'theft'.
- ю derives neuter nouns: ЛОЖЕ 'bed' < *log-je (cf. по-ЛОЖИТИ 'to lay out, to set').
- на derives nouns with collective meaning: БРАТРИНА, БРАТНИА 'brethren'.
- нѹ is very productive and derives neuter collectives and abstracts: ВРЪБИНѹ 'willow trees': ВРЪБА, КАМЕНИНѹ 'stones', СЪДРАВИНѹ 'health', БЕЗОУМИНѹ 'ignorance', БЕЗМИГЪВНѹ 'silence'; also some with concrete meaning: ПОДЪНОЖИНѹ 'foot-stool', ПОДРОУЖИНѹ 'marriage'.
- ни derives masculine nouns: БАНИ 'healer': БАГАТИ 'to speak', СЪДИИ 'judge': СЪДАЪ 'judgement', ГВОЗДИИ 'nail': ГВОЗДЪ id. These nouns decline like the feminine nouns in -ija- (§ 39.c).
- ѣи, -аи derive masculine nouns: ОБЪЧАИ: ОБЪЧКЪИТИ 'to get accustomed', ПРИКЪЮЧАИ 'good chance': ПРИКЪЮЧИТИ СЯ 'to happen'.
- ѣта, -ата derive feminine nouns: ЛАЖАТА 'brooding hen': ЛЕШТИ, ЛАГЪ 'to sit down, to brood'.

2. *-k- suffixes.*

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

- кЪ, -ѣкЪ, -нѣкЪ, -тѣкЪ: МРАКЪ 'darkness', КАМЪКЪ 'stone', ОСТАТЪКЪ 'remnant', НАЧАТЪКЪ 'beginning', СВѢИТЪКЪ 'paper-roll, volume'.
- акЪ, -ика, -икЪ, -ѣка, -окЪ, -ѣникЪ, -ѣка: ТАЖАКЪ 'labourer': ТАЖАТИ 'to pull', ИНАКЪ (pron.) 'of another kind': ИНЪ 'one, the other', ИНОКЪ 'monk', ВЛАДЪКА 'ruler': ВЛАСТИ, ВЛАДЪЖ 'to rule', ДѢВѢКА 'girl', БЛИЖИКА 'neighbour': БЛИЗЪ (adj.) 'near', ОУЧЕНИКЪ 'disciple': ОУЧЕНЪ 'learned', ГРѢШНИКЪ 'sinner': ГРѢХЪ 'sin'.

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

3. -t- suffixes.

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

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

The *-t-* suffix has the same semantic function in the *-nt-* stems (§ 44.4): козыль, G. козыльте 'kid': козыль, отроца, G. отроцате 'baby': отрокѣ, дѣтѣ, G. дѣтѣте 'child', жрѣба, G. жрѣбате.

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

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

4. *-d-* suffixes.

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

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

5. *-l-* suffixes.

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

-лѣ, -ль, -ль, -ѣль, -елѣ: жзѣль 'tie, bond': жза 'tie, bond', пригьль 'gain, profit': пригьти 'to come to, to increase', новорасль 'new plant': раси 'to grow', гьбѣль 'loss': погьбьжти 'to perish', дѣтѣль 'action': дѣяти 'to act', безоумьль 'fool': без оума 'without intelligence', плѣвелѣ 'weed': плѣва 'chaff'.

6. *-n-* suffixes.

-нь, -снь, -знь derive feminine nouns from verbs: дань 'tribute': дати 'to give', пѣснь 'song': пѣти 'to sing', жизнь 'life': жити 'to live'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

7. -b- suffixes.

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

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

8. -v- suffixes.

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

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

9. -g- suffixes.

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

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

10. *-r-* suffix.

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

ADJECTIVES

DECLENSION OF THE NOMINAL FORMS OF ADJECTIVES

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hard stems

Singular

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

Plural

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

Dual

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

Soft stems

Singular

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

Plural

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

Dual

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

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

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

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

FORMATION OF ADJECTIVES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

COMPARATIVE FORMS OF ADJECTIVES

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

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

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

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

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
ГРЪБЪ 'rough'	ГРЪБѢНИ	ГРЪБЕ, -нѣ	ГРЪБѢШИ
ДРАГЪ 'dear'	ДРАЖНИ	ДРАЖЕ	ДРАЖѢШИ
ЛИХЪ 'exceeding'	ЛИШНИ	ЛИШЕ	ЛИШѢШИ
ЛЮТЪ 'violent'	ЛЮШТИ	ЛЮШѢ	ЛЮШѢШИ
ХОУДЪ 'bad'	ХОУЖДИ	ХОУЖДЕ	ХОУЖДѢШИ
ТВРЪДЪ 'hard'	ТВРЪЖДИ	ТВРЪЖДЕ	ТВРЪЖДѢШИ

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

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

(c) Comparative forms without positive bases:

<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	
БОЛИИ 'bigger'	БОЛЕ, -ЛЕ	БОЛЬШИ	ВЕЛИИ, ВЕЛИКЪ 'big'
ВѢШТИИ 'larger, more'	ВѢШТЕ	ВѢШТЬШИ	МЪНОГЪ 'many'
МЪНИИ 'smaller'	МЪНЕ	МЪНЬШИ	МАЛЪ, 'small'
ЛОУЧИИ 'better'	ЛОУЧЕ	ЛОУЧЬШИ	БЛАГЪ, ДОБРЪ 'good'
ОУНИИ 'better'	ОУНИЕ ОУНЬЕ	ОУНЬШИ	
СОУЛИИ, СОУЛЪИ 'better'	СОУЛЕ СОУЛЪЕ	СОУЛЬШИ СОУЛЪИШИ	
ГОРИИ 'worse'	ГОРИЕ	ГОРЬШИ	ЗЪМЪ 'bad'
РАЧИИ 'better'	РАЧЕ	РАЧЬШИ	

(d) Adverbial comparative forms:

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

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

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
НОВЪ, -О, -Ѣ 'new'	НОВѢИ	НОВѢИЕ	НОВѢИШИ
СТАРЪ, -О, -Ѣ 'old'	СТАРѢИ	СТАРѢИЕ	СТАРѢИШИ

чистъ, -о, -а 'pure'	чистѣи	чистѣю	чистѣиши
мъногъ, -о, -а 'many'	мъножан	мъножаю	мъножанши
добль, -е, -я 'valiant'	доблѣи	доблѣю	доблѣиши
соухъ, -о, -а 'dry'	соушан	соушаю	соушанши
оубогъ, -о, -а 'poor'	оубожан	оубожаю	оубожанши

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

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
горьк-ъ, -о, -а 'bitter'	горьчан, горѣи	горьчѣю	гор(ь)чанши
тънък-ъ, -о, -а 'tender'	*тънъчан	тънъчаю	*тънъчанши
кротъкъ-ъ, -о, -а 'tame'	крот(ъ)чан	*кротъчаю	крот(ъ)чѣиши

(b) There is no precise criterion to indicate which comparative ending is taken by an adjective. The adjectives ending in a secondary -к- suffix (§ 51.1.b) and the adjectives without a basic degree (§ 51.1.c) take, as a rule, the ending -и (masc.), -ю (neut.), -ши (fem.). Other adjectives form the comparative with the ending -ѣи (masc.), -ѣю (neut.), -ѣиши (fem.).

3. The superlative is formed by the prefix **наи-** and the comparative form; this form of superlative occurs only in adverbs: **наивъше, наиновѣю, наипаче** 'the most'. More frequently the superlative is indicated by the genitive of comparison. The context shows the meaning, e.g. **въсѣхъ мѣни** 'the smallest of all'.

The absolute superlative, which does not express a comparison, is expressed by means of adverbs: **вѣло** 'very' or by the prefix **прѣ-**: **прѣсвѣтъ, прѣвеликъ**.

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

Declension of short comparative forms

Singular

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

Plural

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

Dual

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

Declension of long comparative forms

Singular

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

Plural

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

Dual

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

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

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

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

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

DECLENSION OF NOMINAL FORMS OF PARTICIPLES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Verbs of conjugations I, II, and V

Singular

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

Plural

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

Dual

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

Verbs of conjugations III and IV

Singular

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

further, like ИДЫ

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

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

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

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

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

Singular

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

Plural

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

Dual

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

INDECLINABLE ADJECTIVES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ADVERBIAL FORMS

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

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

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

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

PRONOUNS

FORMATION AND DECLENSION OF THE PRONOMINAL CATEGORIES

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

1. Personal and reflexive pronouns

Singular

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

Dual

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

Plural

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. Demonstrative, possessive, and pronominal adjectives

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

I. Hard stems

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

Singular

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

Dual

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

Plural

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

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

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

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

II. Soft stems

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

Singular

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

Dual

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

Plural

N.	СИИ, СИ	СИ	СИѦѦ (СЪѦѦ)
G.		СИХЪ	СИХЪ
D.		СИМЪ	СИМЪ
A.	СИѦѦ (СЪѦѦ)	СИ	СИѦѦ (СЪѦѦ)
I.		СИМИ	СИМИ
L.		СИХЪ	СИХЪ

Singular

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

Dual

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

Plural

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. Interrogative and indefinite pronouns

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

Singular

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

Dual

N. A.	(кага)	цѣи
D. I.	кѣима	кѣима

Plural

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

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

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

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

(d) The declension of **кѣи** is followed by: **нѣкѣи**, **нѣкага**, **нѣкоюе** 'someone', **никѣиже**, **никагаже**, **никомѣеже** 'none', G. **нѣкоюего**, **никомѣеже**, &c.

(e) In N. sg. masc. there appears also **кѣи**, in G. **коѣа** for **коюѣа**, D. **кои** for **коюи**, in A. **коѣж** for **коюѣж**, in I. **коѣж** for **коюѣж**, in G. pl. **коихъ** for **коюихъ**.

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

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

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

4. Relative and anaphoric pronouns

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

Singular

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
N.	иже	іеже	іаже
G.	іегоже, іего		іеіаже, іеіа
D.	іемоуже, іемоу		іеиже, іеи
A.	иже, и, іего	іеже, іе	іаже, іа
I.	имъже, имъ		іеіаже, іеіа
L.	іемъже, іемъ		іеиже, іеи

Dual

N. A.	іаже	иже, и	иже, и
G. L.	іеюже, іею		іеюже, іею
D. I.	иміаже, иміа		иміаже, иміа

Plural

N.	иже	іаже	іаже
G.	ихъже, ихъ		ихъже, ихъ
D.	имъже, имъ		имъже, имъ
A.	іаже, іа	іаже, іа	іаже, іа
I.	имиже, ими		имиже, ими
L.	ихъже, ихъ		ихъже, ихъ

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

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

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

5. Mixed declension of pronouns

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

Singular

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
N.	вѣсь	вѣсе	вѣса (вѣста, -сѣ)
G.	вѣсего		вѣсеиѧ
D.	вѣсеиоу		вѣсеи
A.	вѣсь	вѣсе	вѣсѣ (вѣсѣ)
I.	вѣсѣмь		вѣсеиѣ
L.	вѣсеиѧ		вѣсеи

Plural

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

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

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

(b) The adjective *тоуждѣ (стоуждѣ, штоуждѣ), тоужда, тоужде* 'foreign, alien' has a G. sg. *тоуждего, штоуждего*, L. sg. neut. *въ тоуждеиѧ*.

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

DECLENSION OF THE PRONOMINAL FORMS
OF ADJECTIVES

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

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

Hard stems

Singular

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

Dual

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

Plural

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

Soft stems

Singular

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

Dual

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

Plural

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

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

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

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

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

§ 57.

DECLENSION OF THE PRONOMINAL FORMS OF
COMPARATIVES*Singular*

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

Dual

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

Plural

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ 58.

DECLENSION OF THE PRONOMINAL FORMS OF PARTICIPLES

I. Present participle active

Singular

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

Dual

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

Plural

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

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

2. Past participle active 1

Singular

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

Dual

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

Plural

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

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

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

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

NUMERALS

§ 59. FORMATION AND DECLENSION OF THE NUMERAL CATEGORIES

1. Cardinal numerals

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

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

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

5,000. ПАТЬ ТЫСЯШТЬ, &c.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. Ordinal numerals

These numerals have adjectival forms in *-ъ*, *-ьн*, *-тъ*, *-ьнъ* and occur regularly in the definite form, whereas some indefinite forms appear in adverbial expressions:

<i>Definite</i>	<i>Indefinite</i>
1st прѣвы-и masc., прѣва-ѧ fem., прѣво-ю neut.	прѣв-ѣ, -а, -о прѣв-ѣ, -а, -о
2nd вѣторѣ-и masc., -раѧ fem., -рою neut., дроугѣ-и masc., &c.	вѣтор-ѣ, -а, -о дроуг-ѣ, -а, -о
3rd трети-и, третѣ-и masc., третиа-ѧ fem., тре- тию-ю neut.	трети-и, -ѧ, -ю третѣ-и, -ѧ, -ю
4th четврѣтѣ-и masc., &c.	четврѣт-ѣ, -а, -о
5th пѧтѣ-и	пѧт-ѣ, -а, -о
6th шестѣ-и	шест-ѣ, -а, -о
7th седмѣ-и	седм-ѣ, -а, -о
8th осмѣ-и	осм-ѣ, -а, -о
9th девѧтѣ-и	девѧт-ѣ, -а, -о
10th десѧтѣ-и	десѧт-ѣ, -а, -о
11th юдинѣ-и на десѧте, юди- нонѧдесѧтѣ-и	юдинонѧдесѧтѣ, прѣвѣ на десѧте
12th вѣторѣ-и на десѧте	etc.
13th трети-и на десѧте; 14th четврѣтѣ-и на десѧте; 15th пѧтѣ-и на десѧте; 16th шестѣ-и на десѧте; 17th седмѣ-и на десѧте, седмѣдесѧтѣнѣ-и; 18th осмѣ-и на десѧте, осмонѧ- десѧтѣ-и; 19th девѧтѣ-и на десѧте; 20th дѣвѧдесѧтѣнѣ-и; 30th тридесѧтѣнѣ-и; 40th четѣридесѧтѣнѣ-и; 50th пѧтѣ- десѧтѣнѣ-и; both шестѣдесѧтѣнѣ-и; 70th седмѣдесѧтѣнѣ-и; 80th осмѣдесѧтѣнѣ-и; 90th девѧтѣдесѧтѣнѣ-и; 100th сѣтѣнѣ-и; 1000th тѣсѧшѣтѣнѣ-и.	

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

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

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

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

3. Collective (qualitative) numerals

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

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

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

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

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

4. Multiplicative numerals

The multiplicative meaning is expressed by the word КРАТЪ, a noun derived from the same root as the verb ЧРЪТАТИ, ЧРЪТАЖ 'to cut in, to scratch' (cf. Lith. *kertù, kiřsti* 'to cut': *kařtas* '(two) times'); or by the word -ШЪДИ probably derived from the root of ХОДИТИ, ШЪДЪ meaning 'a "go"' (§ 94f, § 100):

ДЪВА КРАТЪ (du.) 'twice'	ДЪВА-ШЪДИ, -ШДИ
ТРИ КРАТЪ (acc. pl.) 'three times'	ТРИ-ШЪДИ
*ЧЕТЫРИ КРАТЪ 'four times'	ЧЕТЫРИ-ШЪДИ (ЧЕТЫРИ-ШТИ)
ПАТЬ КРАТЪ (gen. pl.) (КРАТЪ) 'five times'	ШЕСТИ-ШЪДИ
СЕДМЪ КРАТЪ (gen. pl.) 'seven times'	СЕДМИ-ШЪДИ
СЕДМЪ ДЕСАТЪ КРАТЪ 'seventy times'	МНОГЪ-ШЪДЪ, МНОГА-ШЪДИ, МНОГЪ-ШТИ 'often'
ДЕВАТЬ ДЕСАТЪ КРАТЪ 'ninety times'	
МНОГО КРАТЪ 'many times'	

5. Fractions

There are no special forms to express fractions; nouns are used for that purpose: ПОЛЪ 'half' (§ 42), ТРЕТИНА 'the third part' occurs

in later texts after the OCS period, **ЧЕТВРЪТЬ** 'quarter', **ДЕСАТИНА** 'tithe'.

6. Nouns of number and adverbial numerals

Nouns and adjectives with numerical meanings are formed by composition and derivation:

(a) Feminine nouns are formed from ordinal, cardinal, or collective numerals by the addition of the suffix **-ица**: **ВЪТОРИЦА** 'couple', **ДЪВОНЦА**, **ТРЕТЪНИЦА** (ТРЕТИНИЦА) 'group of three', **ТРОИЦА** 'Trinity', **ЧЕТВЕРИЦА** (ЧЕТВОРИЦА), **ПАТОРИЦА**, **СЕДМИЦА**, **СЪТОРИЦА**.

The instr. sg. (sometimes also the loc.) is used as an adverb expressing the idea of multiplication (§ 99.3):

ДЪВОНЦЕИЖ, **ВЪТОРИЦЕИЖ** 'twice, again', **ТРЕТИЦЕИЖ**, **ТРЕТИЦЕН** 'three times, the third time', **СЕДМИЦЕИЖ**, **СЕДМОРИЦЕИЖ**, **СЕДМЪКРАТИЦЕИЖ** 'seven times';

СЪТОРИЦЕИЖ 'hundred times', **СЪТОКРАТИЦЕИЖ** id., **ЮДИНОИЖ** 'once', in later texts also **ЮДИНИЦЕИЖ**.

(b) The suffix **-гоубъ** (соубъ **дубъ** 'double'), representing historically the same root which appears in the verb **съ-гънжти** 'to bend, to fold', conveys, when attached to a numeral, the meaning of the English ending *-ble* in *double*, *treble*, Lat. *-plex* in *simplex*, *duplex*. These formations are rare and occur only in later texts: **ЮДИНОГОУБЪ**, **ДЪВОГОУБЪ**, **ДЪВОЮГОУБЪ**, **ТРЪГОУБЪ**, **ЧЕТВРЪГОУБЪ**. The nouns **ШЕСТОГОУБЪЦА**, **СЕДМОГОУБЪЦА** are derived by means of a suffix **-ъца**. Also, a verb **ТРЪГОУБИТИ** 'to treble' occurs in Euch. Sin.

(c) Numerals enter into the composition of a noun or adjective: **ТРЪЗЪБЪЦА** (Supr. 181.27) 'tridents', **ТРЪСВЪТЪ** 'thrice holy', **ЧЕТВРЪНОГЪ** 'quadruped', **ВЪТОРЪКЪ**, **ВЪТОРЪНИКЪ** 'Tuesday' = second day of the week.

VERBS

SURVEY OF VERBAL FORMS AND STEMS

§ 60. 1. *Verbal forms*. The verb has three simple tenses: present, aorist, and imperfect, and three compound tenses: perfect, pluperfect, and future perfect. Each of these forms is characterized by

special endings which distinguish three persons (1st, 2nd, 3rd), in singular, dual, and plural.

The nominal forms of the verb are: present participle active, present participle passive, past participle active 1, past participle active 2, past participle passive, and verbal noun.

The invariable verbal forms are: infinitive, supine, present gerund and past gerund.

Apart from the indicative, there exists an imperative mood (in origin an optative) and a conditional mood.

There are no special passive forms. When the passive concept is to be expressed a periphrasis (pr. part. pass. + auxiliary verb БЫТИ) or a reflexive verb is used (with the pronoun СЯ irrespectively of number and gender, like in Baltic).

2. *Verbal stems.* The various verbal forms are obtained by adding certain suffixes to the stem, which is the bearer of the meaning and which remains unchanged throughout the paradigm. The verbal system is based on two stems: one called the *infinitive-aorist stem* and the other the *present stem*: (a) from the infinitive-aorist stem are formed the aorist, the imperfect, the p. part. act. 1 and 2, the p. part. pass., and the supine; (b) from the present stem are formed the present tense, the present participles active and passive, the imperative, and in some cases the imperfect (§ 70). This duality of derivation is, however, obscured by phonetic changes in the stem, by analogical formations, and by other developments in the history of the language. Examples of regular infinitive and present stem forms:

<i>Infinitive:</i>	ЗЪВѦТИ	<i>Present:</i>	ЗОВѦ 'I call'
	'to call'		ЗОВЕШИ
supine	ЗЪВѦТЪ		'thou callest'
aorist	ЗЪВѦХЪ	imperative	ЗОВИ
	'I called'		
imperfect	ЗЪВѦДѦХЪ		
p. part. act. 1	ЗЪВѦВЪ	pr. part. act.	ЗОВѦ
p. part. act. 2	ЗЪВѦМЪ	pr. part. pass.	ЗОВОМЪ
p. part. pass.	ЗЪВѦНЪ		

<i>Infinitive:</i>	БОРАТИ 'to fight'	<i>Present:</i>	БОРЯЖ 'I fight' БОРЕШИ 'thou fightest'
supine	БОРАТЬ	imperative	*БОРИ
aorist	БОРАХЪ	pr. part. pass.	БОРЕМЪ
imperfect	БОРАХОМЪ СЯ (Supr., 1st. pl.)		
p. part. act. 2	БОРАЛЪ	pr. part. act.	БОРЯ
p. part. pass.	БОРАНЪ БОРЕНЪ	imperfect	БОРЯХЪ
<i>Infinitive:</i>	ЖРЪТИ 'to sacrifice'	<i>Present:</i>	ЖЪРЯ 'I sacrifice' ЖЪРЕШИ 'thou sacrificest'
supine	ЖРЪТЬ		
aorist	ЖРЪХЪ, ЖРЪ (2nd & 3rd sg.)	imperative	ЖЪРИ
imperfect	ЖЪРЯХЪ		
p. part. act. 1	ЖЪРЯ	pr. part. act.	ЖЪРЯ
p. part. act. 2	ЖЪРАЛЪ	pr. part. pass.	ЖЪРОМЪ
p. part. pass.	ЖЪРЕНЪ, ЖРЪТЬ		
verbal noun	ЖРЪТНЮ 'sacrifice'		
<i>Infinitive:</i>	ПЛОУТИ 'to swim, to float'	<i>Present:</i>	ПЛОВЯ 'I swim' ПЛОВЕШИ 'thou swimmest'
supine	ПЛОУТЬ		
aorist	ПЛОУХЪ	imperative	ПЛОВИ
p. part. act. 1	ПЛОУВЪ	pr. part. act.	ПЛОВЫ
p. part. act. 2	ПЛОУЛЪ	pr. part. pass.	ПЛОВОМЪ
p. part. pass.	ПЛОВЕНЪ	imperfect	ПЛОВЯХЪ
<i>Infinitive:</i>	БЪРАТИ 'to take'	<i>Present:</i>	БЕРЯ 'I take' БЕРЕШИ 'thou takest'
supine	БЪРАТЬ		

aorist	БЪРАХЪ	imperative	БЕРИ
imperfect	БЪРААХЪ		
p. part. act. 1	БЪРАЕЪ	pr. part. act.	БЕРЪ
p. part. act. 2	БЪРАЛЪ	pr. part. pass.	БЕРОМЪ
p. part. pass.	БЪРАНЪ		

The verbs with stems ending in -и have identical present and infinitive-aorist stems:

<i>Infinitive:</i>	МОЛИТИ	<i>Present:</i>	МОЛѪ
	'to demand'		'I demand'
supine	МОЛИТЪ		МОЛИШИ
aorist	МОЛИХЪ		'thou demandest'
imperfect	МОЛѪААХЪ	imperative	МОЛИ
p. part. act. 1	МОЛѪ	pr. part. act.	МОЛѪ
p. part. act. 2	МОЛИЛЪ	pr. part. pass.	МОЛИМЪ
p. part. pass.	МОЛѪЕНЪ		

(a) The infinitive-aorist stem is obtained by dropping the ending -ТИ of the infinitive: ГЛАГОЛА-ТИ 'to speak', stem ГЛАГОЛА-; ХВАЛИ-ТИ 'to praise', stem ХВАЛИ-. However, the phonetic changes which took place in the history of the language obscured the actual stem; so ПАС-ТИ 'to fall' has an actual infinitive stem ПАС-, which goes back to *pad- (§ 29.10), and therefore the aorist is ПАД-Ъ or ПАД-ОХЪ; ТѢШ-ТИ 'to run' is a development from *tek-ti and forms the aorist from the original stem ТѢХ-Ъ or ТѢК-ОХЪ.

(b) The infinitive-aorist stem is either identical with the root of the verb or is enlarged by a suffix which is -а-, -ѣ-, or -и-: НЕС-ТИ, БѢР-А-ТИ, РАЗОУМ-Ѣ-ТИ, БОУД-И-ТИ (§ 61).

(c) The present stem is obtained by dropping the ending of the 2nd pers. sg. pr.: ЗОВЕ-ШИ 'thou callest', stem ЗОВЕ-; МОЛИ-ШИ 'thou demandest', stem МОЛИ-; КОУПОУЮ-ШИ 'thou buyest', stem КОУПОУЮ-.

(d) The present stem is derived from the root by the vocalic elements -е- (-о-), -не- (-но-), -је- or -и-.

(e) There are four verbs which add the endings directly to the

root-stem without any of the above-mentioned derivative elements. These verbs are called athematic: **ѸСМЬ** 'I am', **ДАДМЬ** 'I give, I shall give', **ВЪКМЬ** 'I know', **ѸМЬ** 'I eat' (§ 61.V, § 98).

CLASSIFICATION OF THE VERBS

§ 61. The verbs are classified in five conjugations on the basis of the present stems (§ 60.2. c.d.). The infinitive-aorist stem is the criterion for the subdivisions within each conjugation (§ 60.2. a.b.). It should be borne in mind that this classification serves practical purposes and is not the only possible one. For practical purposes, too, each verb should be considered in its three main forms: inf., 1st sg. pr., and 2nd sg. pr.

I. The first conjugation (§ 94) contains verbs with present stem in *-e-* whose infinitive stem is either:

(a) the radical alone, i.e. without any suffix:

НЕС-ТИ 'to carry': pr. stem **НЕС-Е-ШИ**; or

(b) enlarged by the suffix *-a-*:

БЪР-А-ТИ 'to collect': pr. stem **БЕР-Е-ШИ**,

ЗЪВ-А-ТИ 'to call': pr. stem **ЗОВ-Е-ШИ**.

II. The second conjugation (§ 95) contains verbs which form the present stem by means of the suffix *-ne-*, and the infinitive stem by means of the suffix *-nq-* (cf. Gr. *τέμνω* 'I cut' 1st sg., *τέμνο-μεν* 1st pl., *τέμνε-τε* 2nd pl.). The root may end either in a vowel or in a consonant, and some verbal forms are derived directly from the root (aorist, participles, verbal nouns):

inf. **ДВИГ-НЪ-ТИ** 2nd pers. **ДВИГ-НЕ-ШИ** аог. **ДВИГ-Ъ**
'to move'

inf. **МИ-НЪ-ТИ** 2nd pers. **МИ-НЕ-ШИ** аог. **МИ-НЪ-ХЪ**
'to pass by'

III. The third conjugation (§ 96) contains verbs which have a present stem in *-je-*. The infinitive-aorist stem either:

(a) is identical with the root (ending in a vowel):

inf. **ЗНА-ТИ** 'to know' 2nd pers. **ЗНА-Ю-ШИ**

inf. **ГРЪ-ТИ** 'to warm' 2nd pers. **ГРЪ-Ю-ШИ**; or

(b) ends in a consonant and is enlarged by the suffix *-a-* or *-ova-*:

inf. ПѢС-А-ТИ 'to write'	2nd pers. ПИШ-Е-ШИ
inf. КОУП-ОВА-ТИ 'to buy'	2nd pers. КОУП-ОУЮ-ШИ

The first group (a) of this conjugation also contains the verbs with radicals ending in a liquid diphthong of the type: БОРИЖ, БРАТИ < **bor-ti* 'to fight'; КОЛѢЖ, КЛАТИ < **kol-ti* 'to stab'; МЕЛѢЖ, МЛѢТИ < **mel-ti* 'to grind'.

IV. The fourth conjugation (§ 97) contains verbs whose present stem is enlarged by the suffix *-i-*. The infinitive-aorist stem ends either:

(a) in *-i-*, which is historically different from the present stem *-i-*:

inf. МОЛ-И-ТИ 'to demand'	2nd pers. МОЛ-И-ШИ	'thou demandest'
inf. СТРАШ-И-ТИ 'to frighten'	2nd pers. СТРАШ-И-ШИ	'thou frightenest'

or:

(b) in *-ѣ-* (*-a-*):

inf. СѢД-Ѣ-ТИ 'to seat'	2nd pers. СѢД-И-ШИ	'thou seatest'
inf. ВЕЛ-Ѣ-ТИ 'to order'	2nd pers. ВЕЛ-И-ШИ	'thou orderest'
inf. СЛЪШ-А-ТИ 'to hear'	2nd pers. СЛЪШ-И-ШИ	'thou hearest'
inf. СТО-И-ТИ 'to be standing'	2nd pers. СТО-И-ШИ	'thou art standing'

This class of verbs is a new formation in Slavonic. Historically the *-i-* verbs represent a semithematic type which appears in the western IE languages (Albanian, Germanic, Italic, Celtic; cf. Chr. S. Stang, *Das slavische und baltische Verbum*, 1942, 23).

V. The fifth conjugation (§ 98) comprises four so-called athematic verbs whose stems show no suffix, and so the present tense stem is identical with the root of the verb:

inf. БЫ-ТИ 'to be'	1st pers. ЮС-МЪ
	2nd pers. ЮС-И
inf. ДА-ТИ 'to give'	1st pers. ДА-МЪ
	2nd pers. ДА-СИ

inf. вѣдѣти 'to know'	1st pers. вѣмь
	2nd pers. вѣси
inf. ѣсти 'to eat'	1st pers. ѣмь
	2nd pers. ѣси

The verb имѣти 'to have' may form the present tense according to this conjugation: имамь, имаши, &c. Its regular forms follow the third conjugation: имѣхъ, имѣюши, &c.

CHANGES IN THE VERBAL STEMS OF CONJUGATION I a

§ 62. The infinitive stem of the verbs of conjugation I a is identical with the radical of the verb. In the formation of this stem there occur apophonic changes of the thematic vowel (§ 37, § 94 c), and changes of the final consonant followed by -ти. These latter changes are explained by the phonetic tendencies described in § 29. The following main changes may arise:

1. A labial followed by the dental -t- is dropped (§ 29.11):

чръп-хъ, чръп-е-ши: чръп-ти < *čerp-ti 'to ladle, to draw(up)'
 сръп-хъ, сръп-е-ши: соу-ти < *seŕp-ti 'to scatter, to spread'
 (the irregular s- for š- in the infinitive (*šuti < *sjuti § 8.2)
 is by analogy with the present)

грѣв-хъ, грѣв-е-ши: грѣти < *greb-ti 'to dig, to row'

2. A dental followed by another dental changes into -s- (§ 20.4, § 29.10):

плѣт-хъ, плѣт-е-ши: плѣс-ти < *plet-ti 'to plait'
 чрът-хъ, чрът-е-ши: чръс-ти < *čert-ti 'to cut'
 блюд-хъ, блюд-е-ши: блюс-ти < *bljud-ti 'to guard, to protect'
 влад-хъ, влад-е-ши: влас-ти < *vold-ti 'to dominate'
 жлѣд-хъ, жлѣд-е-ши: жлѣс-ти < *želd-ti 'to pay'

The spirant may, however, also represent an old spirant:

пас-хъ, пас-е-ши: пас-ти 'to graze' (cf. Lat. *pascor*)

врѣз-хъ, врѣз-е-ши: врѣс-ти 'to tie' with the IE *vr̥z-/*verz- (apophonic) alternation

3. When the radical ended in -r̥-, metathesis opens the syllable (§ 10.4) and apophonic alternation is found in the stems (§ 17, § 37.5.d):

мър-хъ, мър-е-ши: мръс-ти < *mer-ti 'to die' < IE *mr̥-

ТЪР-Ж, ТЪР-Е-ШИ: ТРЪ-ТИ (ТЪРЪ-ТИ, ТРЪ-ТИ) < **ter-ti* 'to rub'

4. When the radical ended in *-ŋ-*, this developed in the infinitive stem into a nasal (§ 14.1.2, § 15.2, § 18) which alternates with a reduced vowel followed by a nasal consonant in the present stem (§ 37.3):

ДЪМ-Ж, ДЪМ-Е-ШИ: ДЖ-ТИ < **dom-ti* < IE **dhm-* 'to blow'
 КЛЪН-Ж, КЛЪН-Е-ШИ: КЛА-ТИ < **klen-ti* 'to curse'

5. The velar consonants have been palatalized (§ 30.1 b): *-gti*, *-kti* > *šti*:

МОГ-Ж, МОЖ-Е-ШИ: МОШ-ТИ < **mog-ti* 'to be able'
 ВРЪГ-Ж, ВРЪЖ-Е-ШИ: ВРЪШ-ТИ < **verg-ti* 'to throw'
 РЕК-Ж, РЕЧ-Е-ШИ: РЕШ-ТИ < **rek-ti* 'to speak'
 ТЛЪК-Ж, ТЛЪЧ-Е-ШИ: ТЛЪШ-ТИ < **telk-ti* 'to pull, to drag'

6. When the radical ended in a diphthong (*eʉ/ou*), the diphthong is monophthongized in the infinitive stem and changed in the present stem to *-ev-* > *-ov-* (§ 19.3):

СЛОВ-Ж, СЛОВ-Е-ШИ: СЛОВУТИ < **sleu-ti* < IE **k'leu-* (cf. Gr. κλέφομαι) 'to be called'
 РОВ-Ж (РЕВ-Ж), РОВ-Е-ШИ (РЕВ-Е-ШИ): РОУТИ (РЮТИ) < **reu-ti* 'to roar'

7. A few irregular changes in the stems, for which it is difficult to account, are most probably due to analogy:

ЛАГ-Ж, ЛАЖ-Е-ШИ: ЛЕШТИ < **leg-ti* 'to lie down'
 САД-Ж, САД-Е-ШИ: СЪСТИ < **sēd-ti* 'to sit down'
 ИД-Ж, ИД-Е-ШИ: И-ТИ < **i-ti* 'to go' (§ 94.2 e)
 ЖИВ-Ж, ЖИВ-Е-ШИ: ЖИ-ТИ < **ži(v)-ti* 'to live' (cf. Lith. *gyjũ* 'I revive', *gyvas* 'alive')
 ПЛЪВ-Ж, ПЛЪВ-Е-ШИ: ПЛЪ-ТИ < **pel-ti* 'to weed out'

CHANGES IN THE VERBAL STEMS OF CONJUGATION I b.

§ 63. The verbs of conjugation I b show vocalic alternation in the root (*-i/-e-*, *-i/-i-*), and change in the stems the final diphthong *-eʉ* into *-ov* which alternates with *-ŷv*:

1. ВЕР-Ж, ВЕР-Е-ШИ: ВЪР-А-ТИ 'to take'

ДЕР-Ж, ДЕР-Е-ШИ: ДЪР-А-ТИ 'to tear apart'
 ПЕР-Ж, ПЕР-Е-ШИ: ПЪР-А-ТИ 'to hit'
 ЖИД-Ж (ЖЪД-Ж), ЖЪД-Е-ШИ: ЖЪД-А-ТИ 'to wait'
 ЗОВ-Ж, ЗОВ-Е-ШИ: ЗЪР-А-ТИ 'to call'

2. Some verbs have the same vowel in the present and in the infinitive stem:

СЪС-Ж, СЪС-Е-ШИ: СЪС-А-ТИ 'to suck'
 ТЪК-Ж, ТЪЧ-Е-ШИ: ТЪК-А-ТИ 'to weave'
 ИСК-Ж, ИСШТ-Е-ШИ: ИСК-А-ТИ 'to seek'
 КОВ-Ж, КОВ-Е-ШИ: КОВ-А-ТИ 'to forge'
 РЪВ-Ж, РЪВ-Е-ШИ: РЪВ-А-ТИ 'to pull, to pluck out'
 (О)-СНОВ-Ж, -СНОВ-Е-ШИ: -СНОВ-А-ТИ 'to fix, to establish'
 МЕТ-Ж, МЕТ-Е-ШИ: МЕТ-А-ТИ 'to throw'

3. The verbs ИСК-А-ТИ, ИСК-Ж and МЕТ-А-ТИ, МЕТ-Ж also have forms that follow the third conjugation: ИШТЖ; МЕШТЖ or МЕТАЖ. ГЪН-А-ТИ 'to drive': ЖЕН-Ж is irregular. The verb МЕС-ТИ, МЕТ-Ж 'to sweep' belongs to conjugation I a.

CHANGES IN THE VERBAL STEMS OF CONJUGATION II

§ 64. The verbs of conjugation II show no alternation of the thematic vowel; the final consonant of the stem is subject to regular phonetic changes (§ 29):

1. ВЪЗ-ВЪ-НЖ, -ВЪ-НЕ-ШИ: -ВЪ-НЖ-ТИ < **bŭd-nŭ-ti* 'to wake'
 (trans.): ВЪЖД-Ж, ВЪД-И-ШИ: ВЪД-Ѣ-ТИ 'to be awake'
 (intrans.)
 ОУ-ВАН-Ж, -ВАН-НЕ-ШИ: -ВАН-НЖ-ТИ < **veđ-nŭ-ti* 'to wither'
 ОУ-ГЛЪ-НЖ, -ГЛЪ-НЕ-ШИ: -ГЛЪ-НЖ-ТИ < **glŭb-nŭ-ti* 'to sink,
 to stick'
 КА-НЖ, КА-НЕ-ШИ: КА-НЖ-ТИ < **kap-nŭ-ti* 'to drop' (cf. КАП-
 А-ТИ)
 ТРАС-ТРЪГН-Ж, -ТРЪГ-НЕ-ШИ: -ТРЪГ-НЖ-ТИ < **trŭg-nŭ-ti* 'to
 tear to pieces'

2. In some examples the consonant that had been dropped reappeared; or had not been assimilated (§ 29.5):

ГЪБЕ-НЖ, ГЪБЕ-НЕ-ШИ: ГЪБЕ-НЖ-ТИ and ГЪМНЖ, &c. 'to perish'
 О-СЛЪП-НЖ, -СЛЪП-НЕ-ШИ: -СЛЪП-НЖ-ТИ 'to become blind'

ПРО-ЗАБ-НЪ, -ЗАБ-НЕ-ШИ: -ЗАБ-НЪ-ТИ 'to sprout, to germinate'

ОҮ-ГЛЪБ-НЪ, ОҮ-ГЛЪБ-НЕ-ШИ: ОҮ-ГЛЪБ-НЪ-ТИ 'to sink, to stick'

3. The verb СТА-ТИ, СТАНЪ, СТА-НЕ-ШИ 'to get up' once belonged to the first conjugation. It inserted the *-n-* only in the present stem.

CHANGES IN THE VERBAL STEMS OF CONJUGATION III

§ 65. Conjugation III contains: (1) primary verbs, i.e. those formed from a radical by means of a suffix *-je-*, and (2) secondary verbs, i.e. those formed from nouns:

1. БИ-ІЖ, БИ-ІЕ-ШИ: БИ-ТИ 'to beat'

Д'К-ІЖ (ДЕЖДЪ), Д'К-ІЕ-ШИ: Д'К-ТИ (Д'КІАТИ, Д'КАТИ) 'to make, to put'

ШИ-ІЖ, ШИ-ІЕ-ШИ: ШИ-ТИ 'to sow'

ЖЪН-ІЖ, ЖЪН-ІЕ-ШИ: ЖА-ТИ 'to harvest'

КОЛ-ІЖ, КОЛ-ІЕ-ШИ: КАЛ-ТИ 'to stab'

В'К-ІЖ, В'К-ІЕ-ШИ: В'К-ІА-ТИ 'to blow'

ПЛЮ-ІЖ, ПЛЮ-ІЕ-ШИ: ПЛЪВ-А-ТИ 'to spit'

ДЛЧ-Ж, ДЛЧ-Е-ШИ: ДЛ(Ъ)К-А-ТИ 'to be hungry'

ЖАЖД-Ж, ЖАЖД-Е-ШИ: ЖАД-А-ТИ 'to be thirsty'

ЧЕШ-Ж, ЧЕШ-Е-ШИ: ЧЕС-А-ТИ 'to comb'

СЪ-РАШТ-Ж, СЪ-РАШТ-Е-ШИ: СЪ-Р'К-ТИ 'to meet'

The suffix *-je-* appears as *-e-* when the preceding consonant is a palatal spirant or affricate.

The primary character of some verbs cannot always be ascertained. They may be derived from nouns or from other verbs:

ГЛАГОЛАТИ 'to speak': ГЛАГОЛЪ (н.); ДОҮХАТИ, ДОҮШЖ, ДОҮШЕШИ 'to breathe': ДОҮХЪ; ШЪПЪТАТИ, ШЪПЪШТЖ, ШЪПЪШТЕШИ 'to whisper': ШЪПЪТЪ; НАВЪЦАТИ, -ВЪЧЖ, -ВЪЧЕШИ 'to learn': НАВЪКНЖТИ, ОҮЧИТИ; СКАКАТИ, СКАЧЖ, СКАЧЕШИ 'to jump': СКОЧИТИ, &c. Most of these verbs are imperfective-indeterminate (iterative).

2. The suffixes *-a-*, *-ѣ-* derive verbs either from nominal or from verbal stems: Д'КА-А-ІЖ, Д'КА-А-ІЕ-ШИ, Д'КА-А-ТИ 'to act': Д'КА-О (н.); ЗНАМЕН-А-ІЖ, ЗНАМЕН-А-ІЕ-ШИ, ЗНАМЕН-А-ТИ 'to mark': ЗНАМЕН-НІЕ (н.); РАЗОҮМ-К-ІЖ, РАЗОҮМ-К-ІЕ-ШИ, РАЗОҮМ-К-ТИ 'to

understand': *разоум-ѣ* (п.); *оум-ѣ-ѣ*, *оум-ѣ-ѣ-ши*, *оум-ѣ-ѣ-ти* 'to know': *оум-ѣ* (п.); *нариц-а-ѣ*, *нариц-а-ѣ-ши*, *нариц-а-ѣ-ти* 'to name': *нареш-ти* (в.); *быв-а-ѣ*, *быв-а-ѣ-ши*, *быв-а-ѣ-ти* 'to be (habitually)': *быв-ти* (в.); *имѣ-ѣ*, *имѣ-ѣ-ши*, *имѣ-ѣ-ти* 'to have': *им-а-мь* (в.).

3. The suffix *-оу-*, which appears in the infinitive stems as *-оу-* and in the present stem as *-и-је-*, forms a great number of verbs (§ 96.4): *бесѣд-ов-а-ти*, *бесѣд-оу-ѣ*, *бесѣд-оу-ѣ-ши* 'to speak': *бесѣд-а*; *наслѣд-ов-а-ти*, *наслѣд-оу-ѣ*, *наслѣд-оу-ѣ-ши* 'to inherit': *слѣд-ѣ*; *мин-ов-а-ти*, *мин-оу-ѣ*, *мин-оу-ѣ-ши* 'to pass by': *мин-ѣ-ти*; *свѣз-ов-а-ти*, *свѣз-оу-ѣ*, *свѣз-оу-ѣ-ши* 'to tie': *свѣз-а-ти*. This category of verbs is particularly prolific in some modern Slavonic languages.

CHANGES IN THE VERBAL STEMS OF CONJUGATION IV

§ 66. The verbs of conjugation IV have always, in the 1st pers. sg. pr., a palatalized final stem consonant caused by the following *j*:

врати-ти, *врашт-ѣ* < **vort-jp*, *врати-ши* 'to turn'; *любн-ти*, *любн-ѣ*, *любн-ши* 'to love'; *троудн-ти*, *троудн-ѣ*, *троудн-ши* 'to toil, to make an effort'; *врътѣ-ти*, *връшт-ѣ*, *врътн-ши* 'to turn'; *видѣ-ти*, *вижд-ѣ*, *видн-ши* 'to see'; *гладѣ-ти*, *гладн-ѣ*, *гладн-ши* 'to look at'; *свѣтѣ-ти*, *свѣшт-ѣ*, *свѣтн-ши* 'to light', &c.

When the infinitive stem ended in *j*, *č*, *ž*, *š*, *št*, (*žd*) + *ě*, the *-ě* changed into *-а-*:

бога-ти *сѣ*, *бо-ѣ* *сѣ*, *бои-ши* *сѣ* 'to fear'; *крича-ти*, *крич-ѣ*, *кричи-ши* 'to shout'; *сѣтажа-ти*, *сѣтаж-ѣ*, *сѣтажи-ши* 'to attain'; *слыша-ти*, *слыш-ѣ*, *слыши-ши* 'to hear'; *тѣшта-ти*, *тѣшт-ѣ*, *тѣшти-ши* 'to hurry'.

One single verb has *-а-* after a non-palatal consonant: *сѣпа-ти*, *сѣпн-ѣ*, *сѣпн-ши* 'to sleep'. It forms the imperfect and all other non-present forms from the stem *сѣпа-* (§ 97.g). This verb represents all that remained of a numerous verbal category which changed the fourth conjugation for the third.

PERSONAL ENDINGS

§ 67. It is assumed that in IE there existed primary endings for the formation of the personal forms of the present tense, and

secondary endings with which the past tenses and the optative were formed. The Slavonic equivalents of the second group are: the aorist, the imperfect, and the imperative, which is the continuation of an IE optative. In the 1st and 2nd persons plur. and in all persons of the dual the primary and secondary OCS endings are identical.

1. *The primary endings* of the verbs of the athematic class differ from those of the other four classes:

<i>Athematic</i>	<i>Thematic</i>
Sing. 1st -мъ	-х (-их)
2nd -ци	-ши
3rd -тъ	-тъ
Plur. 1st -мъ	-мъ
2nd -те	-те
3rd -атъ (-хтъ)	-хтъ (-ихтъ), -атъ
Dual 1st -ѣ	-ѣ
2nd -та	-та
3rd -те	-те

(a) The 1st pers. ending of the athematic verbs, -мъ, continues the IE ending *-mi*, but the origin of the thematic ending -х is not clear. One explanation (Leskien) connects it with the IE subjunctive *-ām* ending (cf. Lat. *ferām*), another (Kul'bakin) proceeds from *ō* + secondary ending *m*.

(b) The 2nd pers. ending -ци cannot continue the IE *-si* because this should have developed into -ць, and it did develop into -š (= -ць) in other Slavonic languages, e.g. Old Polish *jes* < **jesi*. The OCS -ци is explained by Leskien (*Grammatik der albulg. Spr.*, 1919, 191) as representing the IE ending of the middle voice **-sai* (cf. Prussian *assai*, *essei* = OCS *jesi*). The š in the ending of the 2nd pers. sg. pr. is analogical. It corresponds to IE *s*, but IE *s* changes in Slavonic into *x* only after *i*, *u*, *r*, *k* (§ 22). Thus š was phonetically possible only in the verbs of the fourth conjugation: *-i- + -si-* > *-xi-* — *š-* (§ 21). From this category of verbs the ending may have been generalized in the other thematic conjugations. However, this explanation remains a mere hypothesis. The

situation is that OCS has the endings -сн (athematic), -шн (thematic), while the other Slavonic languages have -šĭ (athematic and thematic).

(c) The 3rd pers. ending -тъ is not clear either. To IE *-ti* should correspond OCS *-тъ. Old Russian regularly has the ending -тъ in this person, while OCS regularly shows -тѣ, e.g. ѿс-тѣ 'he is', and only exceptionally writes -тъ: ѿс-тъ (cf. Gr. *ἐστὶ*). A short form ѿ for ѿс-тъ occurs in Supr., Cloz., Savv. Kn. Otherwise forms without -тъ in the 3rd sg. and pl. occur very rarely in OCS.

(d) The 1st pers. pl. ending -мъ is a regular continuation of the IE *-mos*. When followed by the enclitic pronoun н [jĭ], the ending -мъ changed into -мъни (§ 33.4): вѣдемъни 'we lead him', or into -мон (§ 33.1): вѣдемон 'id.'. In modern Slavonic languages this ending appears as *-m*, *-mo*, *-me*. The ending -мъ occurs in Zogr., Supr.

(e) The ending -тѣ in the 2nd pers. pl. is a regular continuation of the IE *-te*.

(f) The 3rd pers. pl. endings -жтъ, -шттъ correspond to IE *-nt-* (after vowels), *-nt-* (after consonants). The verbs of the first and second conjugations attach this ending to the radical by means of the vowel *-o-*: *-o-* + *-nt-* > *-ot-* (§ 61.I.II); the ending *-jotŭ* of the verbs of the third conjugation (§ 61.III) is formed by analogy with that of the verbs of the first and second conjugations, because *-je-* + *-nt-* should have developed into *-et-* (§ 14). Also the *-etŭ* ending of the verbs of the fourth conjugation is not the regular development from IE *-i-* + *-nt-*. The fourth conjugation represents historically an athematic and semi-thematic category of verbs (§ 61.4). The ending of the athematic verbs in the 3rd pl. is *-etŭ* (with the exception of сжтъ 'they are', имжтъ 'they have'); the *-e-* represents an IE *ŷ* (§ 14.2). In this person too, as in the 3rd sg., the hard -тъ has not been satisfactorily explained.

(g) In a few examples the -тъ is dropped: начънж (for начънжтъ) искати (Supr. 16.18) 'they will (begin to) search'; сж (Supr.) 'they are'.

(h) In this person also (cf. 1st pers. pl.) the ending -тъ, followed

by an enclitic pronoun, changed into -ТЪ (§ 33.3), or sometimes developed into -ТО (§ 33.1): *ПОСТАВИТЪ-И* (Mar., Mt. xxiv. 47) 'he shall make him'; *МОЖЕТО-СЯ* (Mar., J. vi. 52) 'he can this'; *ВМЕТЪ-И* (Mar., L. ix. 39) 'he takes him'.

(i) The ending -ВѢ of the 1st pers. du. is parallel to the personal pronoun of the 1st pers. (§ 55.1). The verbs of the first and second conjugations attach this ending to the radical by means of the vowel -е- instead of the expected -о- (cf. 3rd pers. pl.). This vowel, in -Е-ВѢ, is the result of analogy with the -ІЕ-ВѢ of the verbs of the third conjugation, where the change -jo- > -je- is regular (§ 11.2).

(j) The ending -ТА of the 2nd pers. du.—used also for the 3rd pers. in later OCS texts: Supr., Savv. Kn., and sporadically also in Zogr. and Ass.—is formed on the analogy of the dual forms of the nouns; for that reason it appears also as -ТѢ when the noun-subject is feminine: *ПОСЛАСТѢ* (aor.) *ЖЕ СЕСТРѢ* (Savv. Kn., Ostr.) 'the two sisters sent'.

(k) The ending of the 3rd pers. du. is -ТЕ (Mar., Cloz., Ps. Sin.), which is often replaced by the -ТА of the 2nd pers. (Zogr., Ass., Euch. Sin., Supr., Savv. Kn.) and may appear as -ТѢ when the subject is feminine or neuter. The dual forms, which have survived in the Slavonic languages, have, in the 3rd pers., the ending -та.

2. *The secondary endings* originally formed the aorist, the imperfect, and the optative-imperative forms. These endings were: 1st pers. sg. -m, 2nd pers. sg. -s, 3rd pers. sg. -t. In Slavonic, following the tendency towards open syllables (§ 5), the final consonants were dropped. In the 1st pers. the suffix -o-(+m) developed into -ŭ which is the ending of the aorist (§ 15.3). In the 2nd and 3rd pers. sg. there remained no suffix. The dual and plural forms (1st and 2nd persons) have identical endings with the present primary ones. The 3rd pers. pl. has the ending -А, -Я which represents -e-+nt, -o-+nt (§ 14.3). The result in OCS was therefore as follows:

Sing. 1st -o-+m > Ѣ	Plur. 1st -МЪ
2nd -s (zero)	2nd -ТЕ
3rd -t (zero)	3rd -е-nt, -о-nt > -А, -Я

Dual 1st -ѢѢ

2nd -ѢѢ

3rd -ѢѢ

The bibliography for the history of the verbal endings is given by N. van Wijk, *Geschichte der altkirchenslavischen Sprache*, 1931, 215.

PERSONAL VERBAL FORMS

PRESENT TENSE

§ 68. The present tense forms are obtained by adding the primary endings (§ 67.1) to the stem (§ 60): *несѢ-ши, берѢ-тъ, двигнѢ-мѢ, знаѢ-тъ, мол-Ѣтъ*. In the 1st pers. the ending is added to the root: *нес-Ѣ, бер-Ѣ, зна-Ѣ, мол-Ѣ*. In the forms of the first and second conjugation one would expect the thematic suffixes *-o-*, *-no-* instead of *-e-*, *-ne-*; these last result from analogy with the third conjugation where *-jo-* > *-je-* (§ 11.2, § 65).

The verbs of the fifth (athematic) conjugation add the endings directly to the stem: *Ѣс-мѢ, да-мѢ, дас-тъ* < **dad-ti* (§ 61.V). The form *Ѣтъ* of the 3rd pers. pl. follows the thematic conjugation, representing a stem with the grade *o*: **so-nt-*.

AORIST

§ 69. There are three aorist forms:

1. Simple (asigmatic, strong) aorist formed from the verbs of the first conjugation, with an infinitive-aorist stem ending in a consonant, and from the verbs of the second conjugation with a consonantal stem obtained after dropping the *-na-* infix, e.g.:

мошти 'to be able', *могѢ*, stem: *mog-*; *двигнѢти* 'to move', *двигнѢ*, stem: *dvig-*:

Singular	Plural	Dual
<i>могѢ</i> < <i>*mog-o-m</i>	<i>могомѢ</i> < <i>*mog-o-mŭ</i>	<i>моговѢ</i> < <i>*mog-o-vě</i>
<i>може</i> < <i>*mog-e-s</i>	<i>можете</i> < <i>*mog-e-te</i>	<i>можѢта</i> < <i>*mog-e-ta</i>
<i>може</i> < <i>*mog-e-t</i>	<i>могѢ</i> < <i>*mog-o-nt</i>	<i>можете</i> < <i>*mog-e-te</i>
<i>двигѢ</i> < <i>*dvig-o-m</i>	<i>двигомѢ</i> < <i>*dvig-o-mŭ</i>	<i>двиговѢ</i> < <i>*dvig-o-vě</i>
<i>движе</i> < <i>*dvig-e-s</i>	<i>движете</i> < <i>*dvig-e-te</i>	<i>движѢта</i> < <i>*dvig-e-ta</i>
<i>движе</i> < <i>*dvig-e-t</i>	<i>двигѢ</i> < <i>*dvig-o-nt</i>	<i>движете</i> < <i>*dvig-e-te</i>

(a) One single verb of the third conjugation forms the asigmatic aorist: **СЪРЪКСТИ, СЪ-РАШТЪ** 'to meet', **ОБЪРЪКСТИ, ОБ-РАШТЪ** 'to find', aor. -**РЪКТЬ, -РЪКТЕ, &c.**

(b) The asigmatic aorist forms are not frequent in the texts. Verbs having the vowel *e* in the radical syllable form this aorist only in the 2nd and 3rd pers. sg.: **НЕСТИ**, aor. **НЕСЕ** (2nd, 3rd pers.) but not **nesŭ* (1st pers.). In general, forms of the 2nd and 3rd pers. sg. and 3rd pl. are frequent and regular, whereas the other persons appear very seldom. Not every verb has a complete paradigm of the asigmatic aorist forms, and from the same verb a sigmatic aorist may also exist.

Here are the most frequent asigmatic aorist forms recorded in the texts:

(c) *Of the first conjugation*: **ИТИ** 'to go', 1st sg. pr. **ИДЪ**, aor.: 1st sg. **ИДЪ**, 1st pl. **ИДОМЪ**, 2nd pl. **ИДЕТЕ**, 3rd pl. **ИДЪ**, 3rd du. **ИДЕТЕ**; **МОШТИ** 'to be able', 1st sg. pr. **МОГЪ**, aor.: 1st sg. **МОГЪ**, 1st pl. **МОГОМЪ**, 3rd pl. **МОГЪ**, 3rd du. **МОЖЕТЕ**; **ВРЪШТИ** 'to throw', 1st sg. pr. **ВРЪГЪ**, aor.: 3rd pl. **ВРЪГЪ**; **КРАСТИ** 'to steal', 1st sg. pr. **КРАДЪ** aor.: 3rd pl. **ОУКРАДЪ**; **ПАСТИ** 'to fall', 1st sg. pr. **ПАДЪ**, aor.: 3rd pl. **ПАДЪ**; **СЪКСТИ** 'to sit down', 1st sg. pr. **САДЪ**, aor.: 1st sg. **СЪДЪ**, 1st pl. **СЪДОМЪ**, 3rd pl. **СЪДЪ**; **ТРАСТИ** 'to shake', 1st sg. pr. **ТРАСЪ**, aor.: 1st sg. **ТРАСЪ**, 3rd pl. **ТРАСЪ**; **ІАХАТИ** 'to drive (in a vehicle)', 1st sg. pr. **ІАДЪ**, aor.: 3rd pl. **ВЪ-ІАДЪ**, **ПРЪ-ІАДЪ**.

(d) *Of the second conjugation*: **-БЪКНЪТИ** (**ИЗЪ-**, **ОТЪ-**, **ПРИ-**) 'to run away', 1st sg. pr. **-БЪКНЪ**, aor.: 3rd pl. **-БЪКЪ**; **-ВЪКНЪТИ** 'to get accustomed', 1st sg. pr. **-ВЪКНЪ**, aor.: 3rd pl. **НА-ВЪКЪ**; **ГЛЪБНЪТИ** 'to sink', 1st sg. pr. **ГЛЪБНЪ**, aor.: 1st sg. **ОУ-ГЛЪБЪ** (**ОУ-ГЛЪБЪ**), 3rd pl. **ОУГЛЪБЪ**; **ГЪМНЪТИ**, 'to perish', 1st sg. pr. **ГЪМНЪ** aor.: 3rd pl. **ПО-ГЪМЪ**; **ДВИГНЪТИ** 'to move', 1st sg. pr. **ДВИГНЪ**, aor.: 1st sg. **ДВИГЪ**, 3rd pl. **ДВИГЪ**; **ЖАСНЪТИ** **СА** 'to be frightened', 1st sg. pr. **ЖАСНЪ СА**, aor.: 3rd pl. **ОУ-ЖАСЪ СА**, 3rd du. **ОУ-ЖАСТЕ СА**; **ЗАБНЪТИ** 'to bud', 1st sg. pr. **ЗАБНЪ**, aor.: 3rd pl. **ПРО-ЗАБЪ**; **ВЪС-КРЪСНЪТИ** 'to rise, to resurrect', 1st sg. pr. **ВЪСКРЪСНЪ**, aor.: 3rd pl. **ВЪСКРЪСЪ**; **КЪСНЪТИ** 'to become sour', 1st sg. pr. **КЪСНЪ**, aor.: 3rd pl. **ВЪС-КЪСЪ**; **МЪКНЪТИ** 'to become silent', 1st sg. pr.

МЪКНЪ, aor.: 3rd pl. ОҮ-МЪКЪ; -НИКНЪТИ 'to rise', 1st sg. пр. НИКНЪ, aor.: 3rd pl. ВЪЗ-НИКЪ; ОҮ-НЪЗНЪТИ 'to put in', 1st sg. пр. НЪЗНЪ, aor.: 3rd pl. ОҮ-НЪЗЪ; СВАДЪТИ (СВАДНЪТИ) intrans. 'to be singed', 1st sg. пр. СВАДЪ, aor.: 3rd pl. ПРИ-СВАДЪ; СЪХНЪТИ intrans. 'to dry', 1st sg. пр. СЪХНЪ, aor.: 1st sg. И-СЪХЪ (И-СОХЪ), 3rd pl. И-СЪХЪ; ТОНЪТИ 'to sink', 1st sg. пр. -ТОНЪ, aor.: 3rd pl. ОҮ-ТОПЪ < *-*toprot*; ТЪКНЪТИ 'to push', 1st sg. пр. ТЪКНЪ, aor.: 3rd pl. ПО-ТЪКЪ; ХРЪМНЪТИ 'to limp', 1st sg. пр. ХРЪМНЪ, aor.: 3rd pl. ОҮ-ХРЪМЪ; ЧЕЗНЪТИ 'to disappear', 1st sg. пр. ЧЕЗНЪ, aor.: 3rd pl. ИШТЕЗЪ, 3rd du. ИШТЕЗЕТЕ < ИЗЧЕЗЕТЕ (§ 30.1.а).

2. Sigmatic aorist, so called because its stem is enlarged by the suffix *-s-*, to which the secondary endings are attached by a connecting *-o-* (in the 1st pers. sg. and du.) or directly (in the other persons). The suffix *-s-* was either kept or changed into *-x-* (§ 22).

The endings are parallel to those of the asigmatic aorist:

Sing. 1st -сѣ, -хѣ	Plur. 1st -сомѣ, -хомѣ	Dual 1st -совѣ, -ховѣ
2nd — —	2nd -сте	2nd -ста
3rd — —	3rd -ца, -ша	3rd -сте

The features of these aorist forms are: changes in the stems, alternative suffixes *-s-* or *-x-*, and lengthening of the radical vowel.

(a) Verbs with a vocalic monosyllabic or polysyllabic stem could form this aorist: ВЪРА-ТИ 'to carry', aor. sg. ВЪРА-ХЪ, ВЪРА, ВЪРА; pl. ВЪРАХОМЪ, ВЪРАСТЕ, ВЪРАША; du. ВЪРАХОВѣ, ВЪРАСТА, ВЪРАСТЕ; ЗНА-ТИ 'to know', aor. ЗНАХЪ; ПИ-ТИ 'to drink', aor. ПИХЪ; ВИДѣ-ТИ 'to see', aor. ВИДѣХЪ; Пѣ-ТИ 'to sing', aor. ПѣХЪ.

(b) The *-s-* changed into *-x-* after *-i-* and *-u-* (§ 22), i.e. in verbs of the type *pi-ti* and *kry-ti* 'to cover' (where *y* < *ū*); from this type the ending *-xū* spread to the other types: ВЪРА-ХЪ, &c.

(c) The *-s-* ending was preserved by the verbs whose stem showed a nasal *-ǣ-*: ИА-ТИ 'to take, to grasp', aor. ИАСЪ; КЛА-ТИ 'to curse', aor. КЛАСЪ; НА-ЧА-ТИ 'to begin', aor. НАЧАСЪ. However, analogous forms appear as well: РАС-ПАТИ, 'to crucify', aor. -ПАХЪ, -ПАХОМЪ, -ПАША (Zogr., Mar. have both forms; Supr., Savv. Kn. have only *x-* forms; Ps. Sin., Euch. Sin. have *s-* forms almost exclusively).

(d) Verbs of the second class with a vocalic stem form the aor. in $-x\text{ъ}$ only: МИ-НЖ-ТИ 'to pass, to overtake', aor. МИНЖХЪ; ПОМѢ-НЖ-ТИ 'to remember', aor. ПОМѢНЖХЪ; those with a consonantal stem may form the aor. in $-x\text{ъ}$: ДВИГ-НЖ-ТИ, aor. ДВИГ-НЖХЪ, but they prefer the asigmatic aorist ДВИГЪ (§ 69.1), or in a later period the enlarged sigmatic aorist in $-ox\text{ъ}$ (§ 69.3) ДВИГОХЪ. The number of $-x\text{ъ}$ aorists from verbs of the second class is small in the texts, and they occur alongside the asigmatic forms: КОСНЖТИ 'to touch', aor. 3rd pl. КОСНЖША and КОСНЖ; ДРЪЗНЖТИ 'to dare', aor. 3rd pl. ДРЪЗНЖША and ДРЪЗНЖ; ТРЪГНЖТИ 'to pull', aor. 3rd pl. ТРЪГНЖША and ТРЪГНЖ.

(e) Verbs with a monosyllabic stem ending in a consonant could form the sigmatic aorist by adding the endings and lengthening the vowel of the infinitive-aorist stem (§ 62) $o > a$, $e > \acute{e}$, $i > i$: БОС-ТИ 'to sting', 1st sg. pr. БОДѢ, aor. sg. БАСЪ, БОДЕ БОДЕ; pl. БАСОМЪ, БАСТЕ, БАСА; du. БАСОВѢ, БАСТА, БАСТЕ; ВЕС-ТИ 'to lead', 1st sg. pr. ВЕДѢ, aor. ВѢСЪ, ВЕДЕ, &c.; ЧИСТИ 'to count, to read', 1st sg. пр. ЧЪТѢ, aor. ЧИСЪ, &c.; ПАТИ 'to stretch, to hang', 1st sg. пр. ПЪНѢ, aor. ПАСЪ, ПА, ПА, ПАСОМЪ, &c.; ІАСТИ 'to eat', 1st sg. пр. ІАМЪ, aor. ІАСЪ, ИЗ-Ѣ, (-ІА), ИЗ-Ѣ, ІАСОМЪ (ІАХОМЪ), ІАСТЕ, ІАСА (ІАША), but also ІАХЪ, probably on the analogy of ДАХЪ from ДАСТИ 'to give'. In the 3rd pers. ІАСТЪ is the regular form parallel to ДАСТЪ; the ending $-стъ$ is analogous to the 3rd sg. pr. ІЕСТЪ.

(f) When the final consonant of the stem was k , r (§ 22), g , l the suffix $-s-$ is changed into $-x$: РЕШТИ 'to tell', 1st sg. пр. РЕКѢ, aor. sg.: РЕХЪ < **rek-sū*, рече, рече; pl. РЕХОМЪ, РЕКТЕ, РЕКША; du. РЕХОВѢ, РЕКТА, РЕКТЕ; МРѢТИ < **meri* 'to die', 1st sg. пр. МЪРѢ, aor.: МРЕХЪ, МРЕ, МРЕ, &c.; ЖЕШТИ 'to burn', 1st sg. пр. ЖЕГѢ, aor.: ЖАХЪ; КЛАТИ < **kolti* 'to stab, to slaughter', 1st sg. пр. КОМѢ, aor.: КЛАХЪ, КЛА, КЛА, КЛАХОМЪ, &c. (§ 6.3).

(g) The verbs ПО-ЖРѢТИ < **žerti* 'to devour' and ЖРѢТИ 'to sacrifice' have 1st sg. пр. ЖЪРѢ, and ТРѢТИ < **terti* 'to rub' (also an infinitive ТРѢТИ) 1st sg. пр. ТЪРѢ and form their aorists: -ЖРѢХЪ, ЖРѢХЪ, ТРѢХЪ (§ 10.4).

(h) Also these aorist forms occur in the texts only from a small number of verbs. Apart from those mentioned above, the texts

record aorist forms from: БЛЮСТИ 'to watch (over)', aor. БЛЮСЪ; ВРЪСТИ 'to throw', aor. ВРЪСЪ; ГРЪСТИ 'to dig, to row', aor. ГРЪСЪ; МАСТИ 'to trouble', aor. МАСЪ; ТРАСТИ 'to shake', aor. ТРАСЪ; ВЛЪШТИ 'to drag', aor. ВЛЪХЪ; ЛАШТИ 'to bend', aor. ЛАХЪ. Double forms occur from МАСТИ, 3rd pl. aor. МАСА and СЪ-МАША.

(i) In the 2nd and 3rd persons sg. an ending -ТЬ is added, especially to the aorist forms of verbs with the stem ending in -р-, -ѣ-, -и-, -ѣ-: ОУМРЪТЪ, ПРОСТРЪТЪ from ПРОСТРЪТИ 'to spread', ПИТЬ from ПИТИ 'to drink', НАЧАТЬ from НАЧАТИ 'to begin', БЫТЬ from БЫТИ 'to be', ПОЯСТЪ from ЯСТИ 'to eat', ДАТЬ from ДАТИ, 'to give', alongside ОУМРЪ, ПРОСТРЪ, ПИ, НАЧА, БЫ, ПОЯ, ДА.

3. The new, enlarged sigmatic aorist is formed by the suffix -ОХЪ added to the stem which ends in a consonant. The conjugation is the same as that of the -ХЪ aorist, and in the 2nd and 3rd persons sg. it also takes the forms of the simple aorist. This aorist is formed from verbs of the first conjugation, with the exception of those which have an infinitive stem in -а- (БЪРА-ТИ) and of those with a stem ending in -н- or in -р- (ПАТИ-ПЪНЪ, МРЪТИ-МЪРЪ); it is also formed from verbs of the second conjugation with a consonantal radical:

Sing. 1st	несохъ	двигохъ	Plur. 1st	несохомъ	двигохомъ
2nd	несе	движе	2nd	несосте	двигосте
3rd	несе	движе	3rd	несоша	двигоша
Dual 1st	несоховѣ	двигоховѣ			
2nd	несоста	двигоста			
3rd	несосте	двигосте			

The texts vary in the use of these aorist forms. Some texts show no trace of them (Mar., Ps. Sin., Cloz.), others seldom use this aorist (Ass., Euch. Sin.), and in others again it is regular or frequent (Savv. Kn., Supr., Zogr.). This aorist is a later creation and replaced the asigmatic aorist and the sigmatic aorist in -ХЪ in the history of the Slavonic languages. The Western Slavonic languages form this aorist with the ending -ech.

IMPERFECT

§ 70. The IE imperfect (cf. Gr. *ἔ-φενυ-ον*) was lost in OCS, because in many verbs it became identical with the simple aorist; e.g. from *вѣсти* 'to move in a vehicle', 1st sg. *вѣзѣхъ*, the imperfect should have been **vezǔ*; from *мошти* 'to be able', 1st sg. pr. *могѣхъ*, impf. **mogǔ*. These forms are, however, identical with the simple aorist forms.

In Slavonic a new formation replaced the old IE imperfect. The derivative suffix of the new imperfect is *-ахъ* or *-ѣахъ* added usually to the infinitive stem. The ending *-ахъ* is used to form the imperfect of verbs which have a second stem ending in *-а-* or *-ѣ-*, i.e. conjugation Ib (§ 61.I) *вѣра-ти-*, impf. *вѣра-ахъ*; conjugation III (§ 61.III) *зна-ти-*, impf. *зна-ахъ*, *грѣ-ти-*, impf. *грѣ-ахъ*, *коупова-ти*, impf. *коупова-ахъ*; conjugation IVb (§ 61.IV) *сѣдѣ-ти-*, impf. *сѣдѣ-ахъ*.

All other verbs form the imperfect by means of the suffix *-ѣахъ*: *нес-ти-*, impf. *нес-ѣахъ*, *движняти*, impf. *движни-ѣахъ*, *молити*, impf. *молѣ-аахъ* (*мол-ѣахъ*) < **molj-ěaxǔ*.

(a) The velar stem consonants *k, g* were palatalized into *č, ž* by a following *-ě-*. After the palatal consonants (*č, ž, j*) *-ě-* changed into *-а-* and so an ending *-аахъ* was obtained: *тѣкѣхъ*, *тѣшти* 'to run, to flow', impf. *тѣчаахъ* < **tek-ěaxǔ*; *могѣхъ*, *мошти* 'to be able', impf. *можаахъ* < **mog-ěaxǔ*; *вращѣхъ*, *вратити* 'to turn', impf. *вращтаахъ* < **vortj-ěaxǔ*; *чюѣхъ*, *чюти* 'to feel', impf. *чютаахъ*.

(b) Most of the endings are parallel to those of the aorist:

Sing. 1st	<i>-ахъ, -ѣахъ, -аахъ</i>	Plur.	<i>-ахомѣхъ, -ѣахомѣхъ, -аахомѣхъ</i>
2nd	<i>-аше, -ѣаше, -ааше</i>		<i>-ашете, (-асте); -ѣашете, (-ѣасте); -аашете, (-аасте)</i>
3rd	<i>-аше, -ѣаше, -ааше</i>		<i>-ахѣхъ, -ѣахѣхъ, -аахѣхъ</i>

Dual 1st	<i>-аховѣхъ, -ѣаховѣхъ, -ааховѣхъ</i>
2nd	<i>-ашета, (-аста); -ѣашета, (-ѣаста); -аашета, (-ааста)</i>
3rd	<i>-ашете, (-асте); -ѣашете, (-ѣасте); -аашете, (-аасте)</i>

The ending *-ѣахъ*, &c. is also spelt *-таахъ*.

(c) These endings were sometimes contracted, in the further development of the language, into -ахъ, -ѣхъ, and thus arose the impf. forms въраахъ, несеѣхъ alongside въраахъ, несеахъ (§ 32.5). The texts differ in their use of contracted and non-contracted impf. forms. Savv. Kn. uses only contracted forms, in Zogr. and Mar. the contracted forms are exceptions.

(d) The endings -сѣ (2nd pl., 3rd du.), -сѣа (2nd du.) are the aorist endings introduced into the imperfect paradigm. They do not appear in Zogr. and Cloz.; Savv. Kn. and Ostr. use them exclusively.

(e) The origin of the imperfect endings is not clear. The nearest approach to a satisfactory explanation is to be seen in -jaxŭ (вѣдѣахъ < *vedě-jaxŭ) an old impf. from *es- (radical of the verb 'to be') preceded by an augment: $e + es > \bar{e}s > *jasŭ, *jase, \&c.$ The x for s (-jaxŭ) could be explained by analogy with the aorist endings -xŭ (§ 69.2). (Cf. J. Kurylowicz, *Réflexions sur l'imparfait et les aspects en vieux slave. Esquisses linguistiques*, 1960, p. 120.)

MOODS

IMPERATIVE MOOD

§ 71. Of the IE moods OCS retained only the indicative. The optative assumed in OCS the function of the imperative. The characteristic derivative element for the formation of the optative from the thematic verbs is -i-: *ber-o-i-mi, *ber-o-i-s, *ber-o-i-t, *ber-o-i-mŭ, *ber-o-i-te (cf. Gr. φέρουτε), &c. Forms for the 1st sg. and 3rd pl. have not been preserved in OCS. The imperative for these persons is formed with the particle да + indicative, which tense has then the meaning of a permissive mood.

1. The IE diphthong -oĵ- was monophthongized into -ě- (§ 10.2.3) which changed into -i- at the end of a word or when preceded by -j- or by a palatal consonant. Thus the following endings arose:

Sing. 1st	—	Plur. 1st	-ѣмъ, -ѣмъ,	Dual 1st	-ѣвѣ, -ѣвѣ,
			-имъ		-ивѣ
2nd	-и	2nd	-ѣте, -ѣте,	2nd	-ѣта, -ѣта,
			-ите		-ита
3rd	-и	3rd	—	3rd	—

Accordingly, from **вести, ведѣ** the imperative is: **веди, веди; ведѣмиъ, ведѣте; ведѣвѣ, ведѣта**. Dual forms are very rare. If the present stem contained a *-j-* the result was: **знаи [znaji], знаи; знаимиъ, знаите; знаивѣ, знаита**; however, this category of verbs also has the ending **-іамъ, -іате: глаголіамъ and глаголіимиъ, глаголііате and глаголіите**. Euch. Sin. and Cloz. know only *-i-* forms; Savv. Kn. shows only *-a-* forms. Verbs with the present stem in *-i-* have *-i-* endings in the imperative: **моли, молимиъ, молитѣ**, which are identical with the indicative forms (where, however, the *-i-* is not of diphthongic origin). These verbs are of athematic origin (§ 61.IV) and have the endings of that class of verbs.

2. The athematic verbs add the *-i-* direct to the consonantal stem which is palatalized and gives the following result: **дѣмиъ, imp. дѣди, дѣдите; іамъ, imp. іади (ѣжѣди), іадите; вѣмиъ, imp. вѣжѣди, вѣдите**. This ending has been extended, and the imp. from **видѣти** is **вижѣди, видите**. In Euch. Sin. the regular forms are **дѣди, вѣжѣди, вижѣди** which are built by analogy with the thematic forms.

The athematic verb **ѹсмь** forms the imperative from another stem: **ѹдѣ** 'I will be', imp. **ѹди**; this verb alone has all three persons in imperative: **ѹдѣмиъ, ѹди, ѹди; ѹдѣмиъ, ѹдѣте, ѹдѣ; ѹдѣвѣ, ѹдѣта, ѹдѣте**. Originally this form was a subjunctive. The first person form (**ѹдѣмиъ**) may have the meaning of an optative (§ 98.0).

3. The imperative forms illustrate the double treatment of the diphthong *oi* (§ 10.2). The OCS imperative represents the IE optative of the type Gr. *φέρεις, φέροι, φέρομεν, φέριτε*. In the 2nd and 3rd sg. the final *-oi* is represented by *-i-*: *beri*; in the 1st and 2nd pl. the medial *-oi-* is represented by *-ě-*: *berěmŭ, berěte*; when preceded by *j* the *-oi-* changes into *-i-*: *znajimŭ, znajite*. Some texts have forms with *ě*: *ubĭěmŭ, bijate* (Supr.). A. Meillet (*Le slave commun*, 1934, 330) considers the forms with *ě, ja* as old IE subjunctive forms, in which the *a, ě* represent an original long *ō, ē* of the type Gr. *φέρωμεν, φέρητε* (§ 6.2, 4).

The OCS imperative forms with *-ě-* (pl.) have been replaced in

the modern Slavonic languages by forms with *-i-*, which originates in the athematic verbs of the type *dadite, jadite, vědite*. This *-i-* represents an original *-jē-* in the reduced grade *-ī-*, as seen in Lat. *stimus* (also *siem, sies, &c.*, in Plautus.), Gr. *εἴμεν* (§ 37).

CONDITIONAL MOOD

§ 72. The athematic verb **БЫТИ** has a modal form used as an auxiliary to form the compound conditional-optative tense (§ 88). This auxiliary has a flexion similar to the imperative forms:

Sing. 1st БИМЬ	Plur. 1st БИМЪ	(Dual 1st БИТЕ)
2nd БИ	2nd БИТЕ	2nd БИСТА
3rd БИ	3rd БЖ	3rd БИТЕ)

In the compound conditional, instead of the auxiliary **БИМЬ**, the aorist of the verb **БЫТИ** 'to be' could be used: **БЫХЪ**, **БЫ**, **БЫ** (never **БЫСТЪ**); **БЫХОМЪ**, **БЫСТЕ**, **БЫША**; **БЫХОВЕ**, **БЫСТА**, **БЫСТЕ** (§ 88). On the pattern of these forms the auxiliary of the compound conditional built new forms: **БИХОМЪ**, **БИСТЕ**, **БИША**. The replacement of **БИМЬ** by **БЫХЪ** is characteristic for the later texts. So in Savv. Kn. and Supr. **БИМЬ**, &c., are exceptions and **БЫХЪ** is used regularly; Mar., Ass. keep the old form **БИМЪ**, while Zogr. has **БИХОМЪ**; in Zogr., Mar., Ass. **БИША** appears as a new form alongside the more regular **БЖ**. Ostr. does not show **БИМЬ**.

The form **БИСТЕ** is analogous to the aorist **БЫСТЕ**. The expected form of the 2nd pl. would be **bi-te*.

In the development of the Slavonic languages, formations with **БИМЬ** are characteristic for OCS (Macedonian) and for the Western Slavonic languages; formations with **БЫХЪ** are characteristic for Russian Church Slavonic and for Middle Bulgarian.

NOMINAL FORMS OF VERBS

PRESENT PARTICIPLE ACTIVE

§ 73. The present participle active is formed by means of the ending **-Ы** from verbs of the first and second conjugation, and from the athematic verbs, and by means of the ending **-А** from verbs of the third and fourth conjugations.

One category of part. (conj. I, II, and athematic) has a stem ending in *-жшт-*, on which the other cases are built; the verbs of conj. III have a parallel stem ending in *-ижшт-*; the second category (conj. IV) builds the other cases on a stem ending in *-ашт-* (§ 52.2, § 58). So we have:

I. ИД-Ъ 'going'	G. ИД-ЖШТ-А
II. ДВИГН-Ъ 'moving'	G. ДВИГН-ЖШТ-А
III. ЗНА-ЬА 'knowing'	G. ЗНА-ИЖШТ-А
IV. МОЛ-А 'demanding'	G. МОЛ-АШТ-А
V. ДАД-Ъ 'giving'	G. ДАД-ЖШТ-А

(a) The verb *горѣти* 'to burn' (intran.) *горѣж*, *горѣши*, fourth conj., has the pr. part. act. *горѣа*, G. *горѣшта* (alongside *горѣшта*); this verb originally belonged to the athematic class.

(b) The ending of the stem goes back to an IE suffix *-nt-* which, attached to the thematic vowel, gave: *-o-nt-* > *-o-*, *-e-nt-* > *-e-*, *-i-nt-* > *-e-*, so **id-o-nt-ja* > *idpšta* (§ 13, § 21.2). The *-y* of the nom. (*идъ*) has been explained as going back either to *-ont-s* or to *-ōn* (cf. Kul'bakin, *Le vieux slave*, 1929, 312). In Latin the cognate suffix appears in *lauda-nt-is*, &c. The *-ья* of the soft stems is a regular result of the development *-jont-* > *-jent-* > *-je-* (§ 14.3). The *-а* of the fourth conjugation is analogous to the oblique cases: **modlint-ja* > *molęšta*, &c. because **modlint-s* would have developed into **modli*, **moli* (§ 5). The feminine forms in *-и*: *идѣшти*, *молѣшти* represent the zero-grade of a fem. *-ja-* stem: **modlint-ja* / **modlint-ji* > *molęšti* (§ 37, § 39c).

PRESENT PARTICIPLE PASSIVE

§ 74. The present participle passive is an adjective formed by means of the ending *-мъ*, *-ма*, *-мо* added to the present stem:

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
I.	несо-мъ	-ма	-мо 'carried'
II.	двиго-мъ	-ма	-мо 'moved'
III.	знаю-мъ	-ма	-мо 'known'
IV.	моли-мъ	-ма	-мо 'asked'
V.	дадо-мъ	-ма	-мо 'given'

The originally athematic verbs *видѣти* 'to see' and *дѣлати* 'to

be hungry' have the pr. part. pass. **ВИДОМЪ, ЛАКОМЪ**. The participles have nominal and pronominal declensions like adjectives (§ 49, § 56). They are used with any form of the auxiliary **БЫТИ** 'to be' to form a compound passive verbal form: **НЕСОМЪ ЮСМЪ** 'I am carried', **НЕСОМИ БЫХОМЪ** 'we were carried' (§ 89).

PAST PARTICIPLE ACTIVE 1

§ 75. The past participle active 1 is formed by means of the suffix **-Ъ** masc., neut., **-ЪШИ** fem. attached to the consonantal infinitive stem. When the infinitive stem ends in a vowel the suffix is **-ВЪ** masc., neut., **-ВЪШИ** fem. (§ 52.3, § 58.2):

<i>Masc., Neut.</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
НЕС-Ъ	НЕС-ЪШИ
ДВИГ-Ъ	ДВИГ-ЪШИ
БЪРА-ВЪ	БЪРА-ВЪШИ
ЗНА-ВЪ	ЗНА-ВЪШИ

Verbs of the fourth conjugation form both types, in **-Ъ**: **МОЛЪ**, **МОЛЪШИ**, and in **-ВЪ**: **МОЛИВЪ**, **МОЛИВЪШИ**. The first type is the older one and appears in the more archaic texts: Mar., Ass., Ps. Sin., Cloz.; the Supr. has a majority of participles in **-ИВЪ**; in Zogr., Euch. Sin., Savv. Kn. the **-ИВЪ** type appears exceptionally.

The ending **-ÿ** continues the IE suffix **-us, -uos/-ues** which in nom. sg. developed into **-ÿx** (§ 22) and changed into **-ÿ** (§ 5). The feminine form is a zero-grade of the feminine ending **-ja**: **nes-ÿx-i* > *nesÿši* (§ 39c).

PAST PARTICIPLE ACTIVE 2

§ 76. The past participle active 2 is derived from the infinitive stem by means of the suffix **-ЛЪ** masc., **-ЛА** fem., **-ЛО** neut., and declines only in N. sg. and pl. like a hard adjective (§ 49), usually in the indefinite form. These participles are used in the formation of compound verbal forms (§ 84, § 85, § 87, § 88):

<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
НЕС-ЛЪ	НЕС-ЛА	НЕС-ЛО
ДВИГ-ЛЪ	ДВИГ-ЛА	ДВИГ-ЛО
ЗНА-ЛЪ	ЗНА-ЛА	ЗНА-ЛО

<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
МОЛИ-ЛЪ	МОЛИ-ЛА	МОЛИ-ЛО
ДА-ЛЪ	ДА-ЛА	ДА-ЛО

Verbs of the first conjugation with a stem ending in *-k* or *-r* have, in this participle, the reduced root-vowel: ВЛѢШТИ 'to drag, to pull', ВЛѢКЖ, part. ВЛѢКЛЪ (*vľk-lŭ*); ТРѢТИ 'to rub', ТЪРЖ, part. ТРѢЛЪ; МРѢТИ 'to die', МЪРЖ, part. МРѢЛЪ (§ 37.5).

PAST PARTICIPLE PASSIVE

§ 77. The past participle passive has the form and the declension of a hard stem adjective (§ 49), derived from the infinitive stem by means of the suffix -ЕНЪ, -НЪ, or -ТЬ: НЕС-ЕНЪ 'carried', ДВИЖ-ЕНЪ 'moved'; ЗНА-НЪ 'known', ДА-НЪ 'given'; ВИ-ТЬ 'beaten'. It is used to form the passive voice (§ 89); cf. Lat. *pl-enus*, *pl-etus* E *full* < **pln*, *fill-ed*.

1. The suffix -ЕНЪ forms the participles:

(a) from all verbs with an infinitive stem ending in a consonant: ВЕСТИ, ВЕДЖ, part. ВЕДЕНЪ 'lead'; РЕШТИ, РЕКЖ, part. РЕЧЕНЪ 'said', ДВИГНЖТИ, ДВИГНЖ, part. ДВИЖЕНЪ 'moved';

(b) from verbs of the third conjugation with the radical ending in *-i*, *-y*: ВИТИ, ВИЖ, part. ВИЕНЪ 'beaten'; КРЫТИ, КРЫЖ, part. КРЪВ-ЕНЪ 'covered', ЗАБЫТИ, ЗАБЪДЖ, part. ЗАБЪВ-ЕНЪ 'forgotten';

(c) from verbs of the fourth conjugation: МОЛИТИ, МОЛІЖ, part. МОЛІЕНЪ 'requested'; ПРОСИТИ, ПРОШЖ, part. ПРОШЕНЪ 'solicited'; ТРОУДИТИ, ТРОУДЖ, part. ТРОУЖДЕНЪ 'tired'; ВРАТИТИ, ВРАШТЖ, part. ВРАШТЕНЪ 'turned'; ЛЮБИТИ, ЛЮБІЖ, part. ЛЮБІЕНЪ 'loved'. For the changes in the final stem consonant see § 17b, § 21.2.

(d) Verbs of the second conjugation seldom have a participle in -ОВЕНЪ: ОТЪРНИЖТИ 'to push', part. ОТЪРНИОВЕНЪ; ДРЪЗНИЖТИ 'to dare', part. ДРЪЗНОВЕНЪ.

2. The suffix -НЪ is used to form the participle from verbs with an infinitive stem ending in *-a*, *-ĕ*: ПЪСА-ТИ 'to write', part. ПЪСАНЪ; ДА-ТИ 'to give', part. ДАНЪ; ВИДѢ-ТИ 'to see', part. ВИДѢНЪ. The verbs with the radical ending in *-l* have the part. in -НЪ, or in -ЕНЪ: КЛАТИ < **kol-ti* 'to stab, to kill', part. КЛАНЪ or КОЛЕНЪ.

3. The suffix **-тъ** is used to form the participle from verbs with the infinitive stem ending in **-ѣ**: **ѡ-ти** 'to grasp, to seize', part. **ѡтъ**; **клати** 'to curse', part. **клатъ**; **пати** 'to stretch, to hang', part. **патъ**.

The **-тъ** participle has become an adjective in forms derived from verbs with the stem ending in **-s, -z**: **оувасть** 'crowned' from **оувазѡ**; **извѣсть** 'known' from **извѣдѣти**; **отъверсть** 'open' from **отъверѣти**, **отъверзѡ**.

4. Some verbs may form both types of participles. Verbs having a radical ending in **-r** form the part. in **-тъ**: **стрѣти** 'to extend' < **ster-ti*, part. **стрѣтъ**, but the same verb also has a participle **прострѣнъ**. The verb **бити**, **бнѡ** 'to beat' has the participles **битъ** and **бнѡнъ**; **сѣти**, **сѣѡ** 'to sow', participles **о-сѣтъ** or **-сѣнъ**; **повити** 'to swaddle' has the participle **повитъ**.

FUTURE PARTICIPLE

§ 78. The future participle has left a trace in texts of later date (Russian Church Slavonic) in the form **бѡшѡшт-**: (**бѡити**) 'which will be': **нѣ бѡшѡци водѣ** (Isaiah 1. 2) 'because there will not be water'. Otherwise the future participle is expressed by the present participle of the perfective verb (§ 90) **бѡдѡ**, pr. part. act. **бѡды**, **бѡдѡшта** &c. 'who will be' (§ 73).

VERBAL NOUN

§ 79. The verbal noun is derived by means of the suffix **-ije (-ije)** (§ 40.2c) from the past part. pass. of transitive and intransitive verbs (which in reality have no past participle passive):

знати 'to know', past part. pass. **знанъ**: **знаниѡ** 'knowledge';
сѡпастн 'to save', past part. pass. **сѡпасенъ**: **сѡпасениѡ** 'salvation';
исцѣлнн 'to cure', past part. pass. **исцѣленъ**: **исцѣленнѡ** 'the healing';
мѡслнн 'to think', past part. pass. **мѡшленъ**: **полѡшленнѡ** 'the thought';
зачати 'to conceive (a child)', past part. pass. **зачатъ**: **зачатиѡ** 'conception';
пропати 'to crucify', past part. pass. **пропатъ**: **пропатиѡ** 'crucifixion';
оумрѣти 'to die': **оумрѣтнѡ** 'death';
вѡскрѣснн 'to resurrect': **вѡскрѣсениѡ**, **вѡскрѣсно-вениѡ** 'resurrection';
итн 'to go': **шѡстнѡ**, **шѡствениѡ** 'march'.

The verbal noun has a very extensive syntactic use. It has not only a nominal but also a verbal function: *по глаголанни его къ нимъ* (Mt. xvi. 19) 'after he spoke to them'.

INVARIABLE VERBAL FORMS

INFINITIVE

§ 80. The infinitive is in origin a noun with a *-t-* stem, in the dative or locative case. The ending of the infinitive is *-ти*, which is added directly to a vocalic stem: *зна-ти*, *да-ти*, *къ-ти*, *бъра-ти*, *коупова-ти*. Verbs whose stem ends in a dental change the dental into *-s-* (§ 29.10): *пас-ти* 'to fall' < **pad-ti*, *обрѣсти* 'to find' < **obrēt-ti*; a final velar is palatalized (§ 30.1): *решти* 'to tell' < **rek-ti*, *мошти* 'to be able' < **mog-ti*; a labial is regularly dropped: *грѣж*, *грѣти* 'to dig, to row' < **greb-ti* (§ 29.11). The later form *погрѣсти* is a back formation on the analogy of *нести*, *пасти*. The *n*, *m* of the stem nasalize the preceding vowel when they belong to the same syllable: *па-ти*, *пън-ж* 'to stretch', *дъ-ти*, *дълм-ж* 'to blow' (§ 13, § 14). Radicals containing the diphthongs *-er-*, *-or-*, *-el-*, *-ol-* change them in the infinitive according to § 6.3, § 10.4: *мърж*, *мрѣти* < **mer-ti* 'to die'; *мѣлж*, *млѣти* 'to mill' < **mel-ti*; *борж*, *брати* 'to defend' < **bor-ti*; *колж*, *клати* 'to stab' < **kol-ti*. The vocalic liquids are preserved in the stem: *търл*, *трѣти* 'to rub' < **tyti*; *тлѣк-нж*, *тлѣк-нж-ти* 'to knock' < **tłknqti* (§ 17).

SUPINE

§ 81. The supine is formed by replacing the infinitive ending *-ти* by the ending *-тъ*. This represents an original accusative from a stem in *-tu-*, and corresponds to Lat. *-tum* in the supine: *da-tu-m*. The changes of the stem consonant are the same as those which take place in the formation of the infinitive. When the stem ends in *-k*, *ъ* is replaced by *ь*: *пекж*, *пешти* inf. 'to bake', sup. *пештъ*. The supine has the meaning of a verbal noun with final sense: *идж рѣвѣ ловитъ* (J. xxi. 3) 'I go fishing (to catch fish)'; *придъ пролитъ кръве своѣя* (Cloz. i. 233) 'I came to shed my blood'; *приде видѣтъ гроба* (Mt. xxxviii. 1) '(she) came to see the sepulchre'; *приде жена отъ самаря почрѣтъ воды* (Zogr., J.

iv. 7) 'a woman of Samaria came to draw water'; **о҃гнѣ приидѣ възврѣштѣ въ земли** (Mar., L. xii. 49) 'I am come to send fire on the earth'. The supine demands a genitive-object: **чего видѣтъ изидите** (Mt. xi. 7) 'what went ye out to see'.

The supine is used after a verb expressing motion, and translates the Greek infinitive: **идѣ рѣмѣ ловитѣ** 'I go to catch fish' = *ὑπάγω ἀλιεύειν* (J. xxi. 3). The supine was already disappearing in OCS and it has been replaced in Modern Slavonic languages by other constructions (it survived in Slovene, Czech, and Lower Lusatian). The OCS texts illustrate this development: thus in Zogr. the example quoted above has an infinitive instead of the supine: **възврѣшти**. Zogr. has: **ї идѣхѣ вси кождо напсати сѧ въ свои град** (L. ii. 3) 'and all went to be taxed, (everyone) into his own city'; Ass., Savv. Kn., Ostr. have a supine in this sentence in the place of the infinitive: **написатѣ сѧ**, and **напсатѣ сѧ** (Savv. Kn.). Another way of replacing the supine was by means of the conjunction **да** 'in order that': **се изиде сѣкии сѣятѣ** (Mar., Mk. iv. 3) 'behold, there went out a sower to sow', but: **изиде сѣкии да сѣетѣ** (Mar., Mt. xiii. 3) = Gr. *ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείρειν* 'the sower went forth to sow'.

GERUND FORMS

§ 82. Isolated gerund forms in OCS texts mark the beginning of the tendency to reduce participial declensions to a single form and to create the gerund forms of the modern Slavonic languages: **повели ми древле шедѣше погрети отца моего** (Mar., Zogr., L. ix. 59) 'suffer me first to go and bury my father', but Ass. and Ostr. re-establish the agreement and have: **шедѣшоу; подоба ми юстѣ сѣдѣти млчаште** (Supr. 20.5, 14) 'I like to be seated in silence'.

The past participle in the function of a gerund is recorded in the example: **отъ Адама до Моиса, рекше до закона** (Supr. 35.1, 26) 'from Adam till Moses, namely (= **си рече**) to the Law'.

THE VERBAL FORM *setŭ*

§ 83. An invariable verbal form of obscure origin is **сѧтъ, сѧти** which occurs in Supr. (477.19) Ps. Sin. (35.2), and in Cloz. (28

times) with the meaning 'say(s)': **ПОСЛОУШАИ ЧЪТО САТЪ ЕВАНГЕЛИСТЪ: СЛЫШАВЪШЕ, САТЪ, ГЛАСЪ ІДЖ ВЪСПАТЬ І ПАДЖ НА ЗЕМИНИЦИ** (Cloz.) 'hear what the Evangelist says: after they heard the voice, he says, they went back and fell with their faces to the earth'. This form **САТЪ** has the meaning of the aorist **рече** (Supr.) and is explanatory. Some scholars see in this form a 3rd person of the present tense, others of the aorist, others again see an association of the reflexive **СА** + pronoun **ТЪ**(ТИ). It translates the Greek *φησὶ(ν)* 'he says'.

COMPOUND VERBAL FORMS

PERFECT

§ 84. The IE perfect has disappeared in CS leaving only one form: OCS **ВЪДЪКЪ** 'I know' (**ВЪДЪКТИ**, **ВЪКМЪ**) < **uoidāi* corresponds to the Gr. perfect (ε)οἶδα 'I know', Lat. *vidi* 'I saw'.

The function of the perfect has been taken over by a form compounded from the past participle in **-ЛЪ** (§ 76) and the present of **ВЪТИ**: **НЕСЛЪ** masc., **НЕСЛА** fem., **НЕСЛО** neut., **ЮСМЪ** 'I carried'; **НЕСЛИ** masc., **НЕСЛЪ** fem., **НЕСЛА** neut., **ЮСМЪ** 'we carried'.

The perfect often translates the Greek aorist; this shows that it expressed the past in general without relation to the speaker. Its development in the modern Slavonic languages seems to support this interpretation. Byzantine Greek had analytical tenses consisting of participles and auxiliaries, and the Slavonic forms may be built up on the analogy of such Greek constructions: *ἦν ἀποστείλας* (plupf.) 'he had sent'; *συναθροίζων ἦν* (impf.) 'he was gathering together'.

To such Greek constructions correspond in OCS parallel analytical verbal forms: **ВЪК ОУЧА ВЪ ЦРЪКВЕ** (L. xix. 47) 'he was teaching in the church = he taught (daily) in the temple'; **ВЪК БО ОУМИРАЪ** (J. iv. 47) 'he was dying'.

PLUPERFECT

§ 85. An action which took place earlier than a past action is expressed by the pluperfect. The formation is parallel to that of the perfect, replacing the present of the auxiliary by the imperfect (or

the aorist): *несла вѣлахъ, вѣлаше, &c.; вѣхъ, вѣше, &c.* The auxiliary may also be replaced by the perfect of its form: *несла была ѱема* 'I had carried', *и видѣ два ангела въ вѣлахъ (ризахъ) сѣдашта . . . идеже вѣ лежало тѣло иссоусово* (J. xx. 12) 'and saw two angels in white sitting . . . where the body of Jesus had lain'.

FUTURE

§ 86. The future tense is expressed either by the present of a perfective verb (§ 90), or by the infinitive associated with a verb which has a connotation of future action, like *вѣчати, начати* 'to begin', *имѣти* 'to have', *хотѣти* 'to will', fulfilling the function of an auxiliary: *глаголати иматъ* (Zogr., Mar., J. xvi. 13) 'he shall speak'; *намъ хоштеши са ѣвити* (Zogr., Mar., J. xiv. 22) 'thou wilt manifest thyself unto us'; *и ненавидѣти са начынятъ* (Mt. xxiv. 10) 'they shall hate one another'; *небръшти вѣчнетъ* (Zogr., Savv. Kn., L. xvi. 13) 'he will neglect'. The present of an imperfective verb could also express the future in the context of a sentence: *отъсели не видите ме* (Supr. 16.29) 'from now you shall not see me'.

FUTURE PERFECT

§ 87. The future perfect is usually expressed by the future tense (§ 86), but there is also a compound form, consisting of the past part. in *-лъ* and the auxiliary *вѣдѣ*: *читалъ вѣдѣ* 'I shall have read'; *аще ны двситъ день смрътъны въ грѣсѣхъ, то вѣскыж са и родили вѣдемъ* 'if the day of the death finds us in sins, then what for shall we have been born?' (Euch. Sin. 71a. 4-6). The auxiliary *вѣдѣ* associated with a noun, an adjective, or a participle forms a periphrastic future: *вѣдѣши млыча* (Zogr., L. i. 20) 'thou shalt be dumb'; *живѣ вѣдѣши* (Zogr., L. x. 28) 'thou shalt live'; *вѣдѣ* does not appear in OCS texts associated with the infinitive.

CONDITIONAL-OPTATIVE

§ 88. There exists a compound verbal form for conditional-optative which is obtained by adding the auxiliary optative *вими* (§ 72) to

the past participle in -лъ: БЪИЛЪ ВИМИ (БЪИХЪ) 'I would (like to) be'; МОГЛИ ВИМЪ (ВИХОМЪ, БЪИХОМЪ) 'we would be able'; АШТЕ НЕ ВИ . . . БЪИЛЪ . . . НЕ МОГЛЪ ВИ (J. ix. 33) 'If he was not . . . he could not'; АШТЕ СЪ ВИ НЕ РОДИЛЪ (Mt. xxiv. 24) 'If he had not been born'.

The past. part. could also be used without the auxiliary to express a wish: ЮША И НЕ СЪБРАЛИ СЪБОРА (Supr. 386.6) 'if they had not been able to bring together the council'.

The conditional-optative could express a *wish*: ГРОУ ДА БЪИ (ВИ) ОБРЪКАЛЪ ЛЮТЪКИША (Supr. 213.2) 'Oh, if he had found more cruel people!' (such constructions usually contain a particle: ГРОУ); an unfulfilled *condition*: АШТЕ БО ВИСТЕ ВЪЕРЖ ИМАЛИ МОСЕОВИ, ВЪЕРЖ ВИСТЕ ЯЛИ И МЪНЪКЪ (J. v. 46) 'for had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me'; a *possibility* in final clauses: И ДРЪЖДАХЪ И, ДА НЕ ВИ ОТЪШЕЛЪ ОТЪ НИХЪ (L. iv. 42) 'and they kept him, that he should not depart from them'; an *uncertainty*: И ГЛАГОЛАХЪ ДРОУГЪ КЪ ДРОУГОУ, ЧЪТО ВИША СЪТВОРИЛИ ИСОУСОВИ (L. vi. 11) 'and communed one with another what they might do to Jesus'; И НЕ ОУМЪХЪ ЧЪТО БЪ ОТЪВЪЪШТАЛИ ЕМОУ (Mk. xiv. 40) 'neither wist they what to answer him'.

PASSIVE VOICE

§ 89. The passive voice has no special forms. It is expressed either by a reflexive verb (§ 60) or by the passive participle (§ 74, § 77) and an auxiliary form of БЪТИ: АЗЪ ТРЪБОУЖЪ ОТЪ ТОВЕ КРЪСТИТИ СЪ (Mt. iii. 14) 'I have need to be baptized of thee'; СЪИНОВЕ ЦЪСАРЪСТВНИА ИЗГЪНАНИ ВЪДЪТЪ (Mt. viii. 12) 'the children of the kingdom shall be cast out'; ГОНИМЪ (pr. p. pass.) БЪВЪАШЕ (Mar., Zogr., Savv. Kn., L. viii. 29) 'he was driven out'; ДА ПРОПАТЪ ВЪДЕТЪ (Mt. xxvii. 22) 'let him be crucified'; ПРЪДАНЪ ИМАТЪ БЪТИ (Mt. xvii. 22) 'he shall be betrayed'; ВЪДЕТЕ НЕНАВИДИМИ (Mt. xxiv. 9) 'ye shall be hated'; ПРЪДАНЪ ВЪДЕТЪ (Zogr., Mk. ix. 31; Mk. x. 33) 'he shall be delivered'.

The iterative (impft.-indeterminate) БЪВАТИ 'to be usually' may also function as auxiliary for the passive voice.

VERBAL ASPECTS

PERFECTIVE, IMPERFECTIVE, ITERATIVE VERBS

§ 90. Verbal tenses define the time *when* an event takes place; they indicate a relation in time between the speaker and the event (present, past, or future). An event, however, may be conceived independently of any time relation, and considered from the point of view of the quality *how* it develops. Thus, a verbal action may be conceived in its duration (non-completed): *I am going*, Lat. *venio* 'I come', OCS *идѣхъ* 'I go'. The quality of this event is *imperfective* (durative).

The event may be conceived from the point of view of its starting-point (Lat. inchoative verbs: *incānesco* 'I turn grey') or of its ending-point (Lat. *advenio* 'I arrive', OCS *приидѣхъ* 'I shall arrive'). Again one may conceive an event as having the beginning and the end concentrated in one point, i.e. without consideration of its development. Such events are called *perfective* (completed) from the point of view of their quality.

The process may consist of several repeated durative actions: Lat. *ambulat* 'he walks habitually': Lat. *it* 'he goes'; OCS *ходитѣ* 'he walks': *идетѣ* 'he goes (in a certain direction)'. These repetitive events are *indeterminate* (without a definite term) compared with the imperfective events which are *determinate*. The indeterminate *водитѣ* means 'he leads (in general), he is a leader', the determinate *ведетѣ* means 'he leads (in a certain direction)'. The special verbal forms used to express these qualities of events are called *aspects*.

Not each verb has perfective and imperfective forms, just as not each verb has forms for all tenses. The perfective verbs have, as a rule, aorist and perfect tenses but no imperfect tense, the imperfective verbs have imperfect but no aorist forms. The present forms of the perfective verbs express the future tense. It is the totality of verbal forms which defines the verbal aspect.

Whereas some IE languages have developed a system of verbal tenses, and have reduced the aspects to a secondary function, CS developed a system of verbal aspects, creating two main categories: *perfective* and *imperfective*. The *iterative* category (indeterminate)

was restricted to a small number of verbs expressing a motion; many iterative verbs lost the idea of repetition and became imperfective, while the imperfect tense took over the function of expressing a repetitive action: **И НЕ ДАДЪКАШЕ НИКОМОУЖЕ ЛИМО НЕСТИ СЪСЖДЪ** (Mar., Mk. xi. 16) 'and would not suffer that any man carry any vessel', i.e. every time anybody carried a vessel he used to forbid him to do this.

Within the whole system of verbal forms the verbal aspect is featured by certain derivative elements, e.g. **ПАСТИ** 'to fall down', i.e. to reach the end point of falling, **ЪАТИ** 'to seize, to take', i.e. to put your hand on . . ., **(о-)КОНЪЧАТИ** 'to finish', i.e. to bring an action to its completeness, are *perfective verbs*; whereas **ПАДАТИ** 'to fall', i.e. to be falling, **ИМАТИ** 'to hold, to have', **КОНЪЧАВАТИ** 'to end', as a rule are *imperfective verbs*.

By such derivative features indeterminate verbal forms were created in opposition to the determinate ones: determinate **ПЛОУТИ** 'to swim': indeterminate **ПЛАВАТИ**; determinate **КОУПИТИ** 'to buy': indeterminate **КОУПОВАТИ**; determinate **КЛОНИТИ** 'to bow': indeterminate **КЛАНЯТИ**; determinate **СКОЧИТИ** 'to jump': indeterminate **СКАКАТИ**, &c.

The opposition perfective \sim imperfective may be obtained by prefixation; the prefix changes the imperfective into a perfective aspect: impft. **НЕСТИ** 'to carry': pft. **ПРИНЕСТИ** 'to bring'; impft. **ИТИ** 'to go': pft. **ПРИТИ** 'to arrive'.

The *iterative aspect* (indeterminate) is characterized by the vowel of the radical: **ХОДИТИ** 'to go (habitually)', **ВОДИТИ** 'to lead (habitually)', **НОСИТИ** 'to carry (habitually)'. The opposition iterative \sim imperfective may be obtained by secondary derivations: impft. **ТВОРЯТИ**: it. **ТВОРЯТИ** 'to do repeatedly'; impft. **ЛЪСТИ** 'to step': it. **ЛАЗИТИ** 'to crawl about'. The iterative (indeterminate) aspect forms merged with the imperfective (determinate) forms. The prefixed iterative forms either preserve their imperfective (-iterative) aspect: **СЪТВОРЯТИ** 'to do repeatedly', or they become perfective: **ПРИХОДИТИ** 'to arrive'.

There are, however, no decisive formal characteristics for the determination of perfective and imperfective aspect forms. The aspect of a verbal form is in practice determined by the correla-

tion with the aspect of another verb derived from the same root. Thus, we find oppositions of the following types: Perfective: **ѡТИ, стати, сѣсти, тлѣкнѣти, пасти** ∼ Imperfective: **имати, стоѡати, сѣдѣти, тлѣштити, падати** ∼ Perfective: **възѡти, въстати, въсѣсти, сътлѣштити, въпасти** ∼ Imperfective: **примати, въстѡати, присѣдѣти, прѣдѣстаѡати, нападати**; Imperfective determinate: **нести, ити, вести** ∼ Imperfective indeterminate (Iterative): **носити, ходити, водити** ∼ Imperfective: **приносити, приходити, изводити** ∼ Perfective: **принести, прити, извести**.

(a) It is not always easy to determine the aspect of a verb outside the context. The aspect of some verbs is uncertain: **видѣти** 'to see', **бѣжати** 'to run', **сѣдити** 'to judge', and other verbs vacillate between the two aspects. It is the correlation with another aspect and the context that defines usage and meaning.

(b) The main functional difference between the perfective and the imperfective verbs is the fact that the present tense of the perfective verbs has the value of a future: **имѡ** 'I shall seize', **станѡ** 'I shall stand', **сѣдѡ** 'I shall sit down', **коупимѡ** 'I shall buy' ∼ **ѡмимѡ** 'I take', **стѡимѡ** 'I stand', **сѣждѡ** 'I am seated', **коупоуѡ** 'I buy, I am buying'.

(c) Thus in OCS the perfective verbs could express the future but could not express the present concept, and the imperfective verbs could express the present but could not express the future.

The perfective verbs have as a rule no imperfect tense because they express a completed action; the imperfective verbs have no aorist forms because they express a durative action which is opposed to the meaning of the aorist; however, the imperfective-indeterminate verbs have regular aorist forms which narrate durative events in the past (cf. A. Meillet, *Le Slave commun*, 1924, pp. 217-18, 240-58).

FUNCTION OF VERBAL PREFIXES

§ 91. Some verbs express the opposition perfective ∼ imperfective by forms derived from the same root, others by different verbs: pft. **ѡТИ** (**ѡТИ**) 'to seize': impft. **имати** 'to have'; pft. **тлѣкнѣти** 'to knock': impft. **тлѣштити** 'to push; pft. **рѡштити** 'to say': impft. **глаголати** 'to talk'; others again supply the necessary forms by

prefixes: impft. **ТВОРИТИ** 'to make': pft. **СЪТВОРИТИ** 'to make'; impft. **ДѢЛАТИ** 'to work': pft. **СЪДѢЛАТИ** 'to complete a work'; impft. **НЕСТИ** 'to carry': pft. **ПРИНЕСТИ** 'to bring'.

The prefixes originally had an adverbial function and defined the verb semantically. Already in an early period some prefixes lost their adverbial function and became derivative elements for indicating the aspect; so, for example, **ВЪЗ-**, **О-**, **ОУ-**, **ПО-**, **СЪ-** indicate perfectivity: **БЛЮСТИ** impft.: **СЪБЛЮСТИ** pft. 'to guard, to watch'; **ВѢДѢТИ** impft. 'to know': **СЪВѢДѢТИ** pft. 'to be aware', also 'to know jointly', translating Gr. *συνεῖδέναι*, **ОУВѢДѢТИ** pft. 'to begin to know, to recognize, to learn'. Some verbs have very numerous prefixed forms: e.g. **ИТИ** shows about a score of forms, **ЯТИ**, **ДАТИ** have more than ten forms each. Generally speaking, it may be said that a prefix changes the aspect of the verb. When, however, the prefix has a clear adverbial function the verbal aspect remains unchanged and the meaning of the verb is changed.

VERBAL PREFIXES AND THEIR MEANING (see § 102)

§ 92. **ВЪ-**, **ВЪН-** (before vowels) express entry: **ВЪВѢГНЪТИ** pft. 'to run in', **ВЪНИТИ** 'to enter', **ВЪВЕСТИ** 'to lead into'.

ВЪЗ- (**ВЪЗЪ-**), **ВЪС-**, **ВЪЖ-**, **ВЪ-** 'up, upwards': **ВЪЗИТИ** 'to climb', **ВЪЗАЛКАТИ** pft. 'to become hungry': **АЛКАТИ** impft. 'to be hungry', **ВЪСХОДИТИ** 'to go up, to climb', **ВЪЖДАДАТИ** pft. 'to get thirsty': **ЖАДАТИ** impft. 'to be thirsty'.

ВЪ- 'out' occurs mainly in the Ps. Sin., Euch. Sin., and Cloz. and seems to be of Western Slavonic origin; it is a parallel form to **ИЗЪ-**, **ИЗ-**: **ВЪГЪНАТИ** pft. 'to drive out', **ИЗГЪНАТИ**, **ИЖДЕНЪ** pft. 'to drive out, away': **ГЪНАТИ** 'to chase'.

ДО- 'up to, till': **ДОИТИ** 'to arrive', **ДОНЕСТИ** 'to bring up to'; **ДОСАДИТИ** 'to scold, to offend'.

ЗА- 'behind, after, for': **ЗАИТИ** 'to go down = behind' (of the sun), **ЗАТВОРИТИ** 'to close in', **ЗАБЪТИ** 'to forget', **ЗАВИДѢТИ** 'to envy', **ЗАКРЫТИ** 'to cover', **ЗАХОДИТИ** 'to go down, behind'.

ИЗ-, **ИС-** 'out, from': **ИЗГОРѢТИ** 'to burn to the end', **ИЗИТИ** 'to go out', **ИШТЕЗНЪТИ** 'to disappear (altogether)'; a double prefix gives the verb an expressive meaning: **ИСПРОВРѢШТИ**, **ОПРОВРѢШТИ** 'to turn upside-down'.

мимо- 'by, along': **МИМОИТИ**, **МИМОХОДИТИ** 'to pass by', **МИМОТЕШТИ**, **МИМОТЪКАТИ** 'to run along'.

на- 'on, against': **НАЗЪРЪКТИ** pft. 'to look at', **НАЗИРАТИ** impft. 'to see, to observe, to watch', **НАЛОЖИТИ** 'to put upon', **НАИТИ** 'to attack'.

надъ- 'on, above' appears in a few examples: **НАДЪЛЕЖАТИ** 'to lie on', **НАДЪИТИ** 'to invade'.

низъ- 'down' expresses the opposite of **възъ-**: **НИЗЪВРЪШТИ** pft. 'to throw down', **НИЗЪХОДИТИ** 'to descend, to go down', **НИЗИТИ** 'to descend'.

объ-, **об-**, **о-** 'round, about, at': **ОБИТИ**, **ОБИДЖ** pft. 'to go round, to surround', **ОБИТИ**, **ОБИЖ** 'to waddle', **ОБЛИЧИТИ** pft. 'to show, to announce, to accuse', **ОБЛОВЫЗАТИ** impft. 'to kiss', **ОБЪХОДИТИ** 'to go round, to avoid', **ОСЪПНЯТИ** pft. 'to go blind', **ОГРАДИТИ** 'to hedge'.

отъ-, **от-**, **о-** 'from, off, away': **ОТЪЯТИ** (**ОТЯТИ**) 'to take away', **ОТЪМАТИ** (**ОТЪИМАТИ**) 'to take away', **ОХОДИТИ**, **ОТЪХОДИТИ** 'to go away', **ОТЪПОУШТАТИ** 'to set free, to forgive'.

по- has no definite adverbial function: **ПОМОШТИ** 'to help', **ПОНОСИТИ** 'to reproach, to scold', **ПОДАТИ** 'to offer, to accord', **ПОКАЗАТИ** 'to show, to indicate'.

подъ- 'under, beneath': **ПОДЪКОПАТИ** 'to dig under, to undermine', **ПОДЪСТЪЛАТИ** 'to stretch, to spread under', **ПОДЪЯТИ** 'to undertake'.

при- 'at, near, by, along': **ПРИВЕСТИ** 'to bring', **ПРИЗЪИВАТИ** 'to call near', **ПРИОБРЕКТИ** 'to gain, to win'.

про- 'through': **ПРОБИТИ** 'to split, to break', **ПРОРЕШТИ** 'to prophesy', **ПРОДАТИ** 'to sell', **ПРОПАТИ** 'to stretch, to crucify'.

прѣ- 'over': **ПРѢДАТИ** 'to hand over, to betray', **ПРѢЛИЯТИ** 'to spill', **ПРѢСЕЛИТИ** 'to transfer, to colonize'.

прѣдъ- 'before, in front of, earlier': **ПРѢДЪЛОЖИТИ** 'to put before', **ПРѢДЪСТАВИТИ** 'to put in front of, to represent', **ПРѢДЪИТИ** 'to precede'.

раз-, **рас-** expresses the idea of separation (cf. Lat. *dis-*, Gr. *δια-*): **РАЗБѢГНАТИ** сѧ 'to disperse', **РАЗДЕЛИТИ** 'to separate, to distribute', **РАСТВОРИТИ** 'to dissolve, to mix'.

съ-, **сън-** 'downwards, from': **СЪПАСТИ** 'to fall down', **СЪНИТИ**

'to come down'; 'with, together': **СЪБИРАТИ** 'to gather, to collect', **СЪНИТИ СА** 'to gather' (intrans.), **СЪВЪЗАТИ** 'to tie together'.

оу- expresses the idea of separation, of bringing an action to the end, but in many cases this prefix emphasizes the meaning of the verb: **оУБИТИ** 'to kill', **оУСЪКНЪТИ** 'to cut off', **оУЗЪРЪТИ** 'to observe, to have a glimpse', **оУБОЯТИ СА** 'to fear'; in denominatives: **оУБЪЛИТИ** 'to make white', **оУБЪЖАТИ** 'to run away'. This particle is also a conjunction (§ 104) and an interjection (§ 105).

CONJUGATIONS AND THE VERBAL ASPECT

§ 93. A certain correspondence has been established between the aspect and the conjugation classes of the OCS verb:

I. Verbs of the first conjugation have, in their great majority, imperfective aspect. The perfective verbs of this class are: **БЪДАЖ** 'I shall be'; **ВРЪШТИ**, **ВРЪГЪЖ** 'to throw'; **ЖЛЪСТИ** (**жласти**), **ЖЛЪДАЖ** 'to recompense'; **ЪАТИ**, **ИМЪЖ** 'to seize'; **ЛЕШТИ**, **ЛАГЪЖ** 'to lie down'; **ПАСТИ**, **ПАДАЖ** 'to fall'; **РЕШТИ**, **РЕКЪЖ** 'to tell'; **СЪСТИ**, **САДАЖ** 'to sit down'.

II. The majority of verbs of the second conjugation are perfective. Imperfective in this class are: **ВЛЪСНЪТИ**, **ВЛЪСНЪЖ** 'to charm'; **ВЪКНЪТИ**, **ВЪКНЪЖ** 'to be accustomed'; **ГЪБНЪТИ**, **ГЪБНЪЖ** 'to perish' (intrans.); **ЗАБНЪТИ**, **ЗАБНЪЖ** 'to bud'; **КЪСНЪТИ**, **КЪСНЪЖ** 'to go sour'; **СЪХНЪТИ**, **СЪХНЪЖ** 'to dry' (intrans.); **ТОНЪТИ**, **ТОНЪЖ** 'to sink' (intrans.).

Many verbs of this class occur only with prefixes: **-БЪГНЪТИ** pft.: **БЪГАТИ** impft.; **-ДЪХНЪТИ** pft. 'to breathe': **ДЪХАТИ** impft.; **-КЛИКНЪТИ** pft. 'to shout': **КЛИЦАТИ** impft.; **-ТРЪГНЪТИ** pft. 'to pull': **ТРЪГАТИ** impft.; **-ТАГНЪТИ** pft. 'to pull': **ТАЗАТИ** impft.

Perfective are: **ДВИГНЪТИ** 'to move'; **ДРЪЗНЪТИ** 'to dare'; **КОСНЪТИ** 'to touch', &c. It is the opposition to an imperfective aspect which determines the perfective aspect: **ДВИЗАТИ**, **ДРЪЗАТИ**, **-касати**, &c.

III. Verbs of the third conjugation are imperfective. The

number of perfective aspects is very small and dubious: **КОНЪЧАТИ** 'to finish'; **ЛОБЪЗАТИ**, **ЛОБЪЖЖ** 'to kiss': **ЛОБЪЗАТИ**, **ЛОБЪЗАЖ** impft.; **ПОГАСАТИ** **СА**, **-ПАШЖ СА** 'to girdle': **ПОГАСАЖ СА** impft.; **РАЗОУМЪТИ** (pft. and impft.) 'to understand': **РАЗОУМЪВАТИ** 'id.'. Two verbs derived from Greek aorist stems are perfective: **ВЛАСВИНИСАТИ** 'to blaspheme': **ВЛАСВИНИСАТИ** 'id.' impft.(?); **СКАНЪДАЛИСАТИ** 'to irritate'.

IV. Verbs of the fourth conjugation with the inf. in **-ЪТИ** are imperfective; however **ВИДЪТИ** has a perfective aspect as well. Those with the inf. in **-ИТИ** are divided between the two aspects.

Perfective are: **ВАРИТИ** 'to precede, to overtake', **ВРАТИТИ** 'to turn', **ВРЕДИТИ** 'to hurt', **ГОНОЗИТИ** 'to cure', **ЖИВИТИ** 'to live', **КРЪСТИТИ** 'to baptize', **КОУПИТИ** 'to buy', **ЛИШИТИ** 'to deprive', **МЪСТИТИ** 'to revenge', **МЪНИТИ** 'to change', **ОБРАЗИТИ** 'to imagine', **ПРОСТИТИ** 'to forgive', **ПРОТИВИТИ СА** 'to oppose', **ПОУСТИТИ** 'to let go, to send', **РОДИТИ** 'to give birth', **РОУШИТИ** 'to destroy', **СВОБОДИТИ** 'to free', **СВАТИТИ** 'to consecrate', **СКОЧИТИ** 'to jump', **СРАМИТИ** 'to shame', **СТАВИТИ** 'to stop', **ТРОУДИТИ СА** 'to work, to take pains', **ЯВИТИ** (**ЪВИТИ**) 'to appear'.

Imperfective are: **БЛАГОДАРИТИ** 'to thank', **ВОДИТИ** 'to lead', **ВОЗИТИ** 'to carry', **ВЛАЧИТИ** 'to drag', **ГОНИТИ** 'to chase, to drive', **ГОУБИТИ** (trans.) 'to destroy', **МОЛИТИ** 'to pray', **МЪЧИТИ** 'to torture', **НОСИТИ** 'to carry', **НЪДИТИ** 'to constrain', **ПОИТИ** 'to water', **ПРОСИТИ** 'to ask', **СЪДИТИ** 'to judge', **ХВАЛИТИ** 'to praise', **ОУЧИТИ** 'to teach'.

Some verbs of this category may function in both aspects: **ПРОСТИТИ**, **ПРОТИВИТИ СА**, **ВРАТИТИ**, **СКОЧИТИ**, **СВАТИТИ**, **БЛАГОСЛОВИТИ** 'to bless'; others have an uncertain aspect: **БЛАГОВЪСТИТИ** 'to announce', **БЛАГОДАРЪСТИТИ** 'to thank', **БЛАГОСЛОВЕСТИТИ** 'to bless', **БЛАГОВОЛИТИ**, **БЛАГОИЗВОЛИТИ** 'to consent to', **ДЕСИТИ** 'to meet', **ГНЪСИТИ СА** 'to nauseate', **КЛЮЧИТИ СА** 'to fit, to happen', **ПРЪЖИТИ СА** 'to relax, to lessen', **СТРЪБИТИ** 'to shoot', **СТЪПИТИ** 'to step', **ХВАТИТИ** 'to catch', **ИЗВИТИ** (**ЪЗВИТИ**) 'to wound, to hurt'.

A few verbs of this class are iterative-indeterminate: **ВОДИТИ**, **ВОЗИТИ**, **НОСИТИ** (§ 90).

V. Of the athematic verbs, **ДАМЪ** is perfective. The present tense is expressed by the impft. **ДАМЯТИ**, **ДАМЪ**.

Present Participle Passive

несомъ	—	—	пъномъ	пловомъ	зовомъ	беромъ
несома	—	—	пънома	пловама	зовома	берома
несомо	—	—	пъномо	пловомо	зовомо	беромо

Imperfect

Sing.

1 несѣахъ	можаахъ	мырѣахъ	пнѣахъ	пловѣахъ
2 несѣаше	можааше	мырѣаше	пнѣаше	пловѣаше
3 несѣаше	можааше	мырѣаше	пнѣаше	пловѣаше

Plur.

1 несѣахомъ	можаахомъ	мырѣахомъ	пнѣахомъ	пловѣахомъ
2 несѣашете	можаашете	мырѣашете	пнѣашете	пловѣашете
3 несѣахѣ	можаахѣ	мырѣахѣ	пнѣахѣ	пловѣахѣ

Dual

1 несѣаховѣ	можааховѣ	мырѣаховѣ	пнѣаховѣ	пловѣаховѣ
2 несѣашета	можаашета	мырѣашета	пнѣашета	пловѣашета
3 несѣашете	можаашете	мырѣашете	пнѣашете	пчовѣашете

Sing. 1 зовѣахъ,	зъваахъ	бъраахъ
2 зовѣаше,	зъвааше	бърааше
3 зовѣаше,	зъвааше	бърааше

Plur. 1 зовѣахомъ,	зъваахомъ	бъраахомъ
2 зовѣашете,	зъваашете	бъраашете
3 зовѣахѣ,	зъваахѣ	бъраахѣ

Dual 1 зовѣаховѣ,	зъвааховѣ	бърааховѣ
2 зовѣашета,	зъваашета	бъраашета
3 зовѣашете,	зъваашете	бъраашете

Simple (Asigmatic) Aorist

Sing. 1 могъ	Plur. 1 могомъ	Dual 1 моговѣ
2 може	2 можете	2 можета
3 може	3 могѣ	3 можете

Sigmatic Aorist

Sing. 1	нѣсѣ	мрѣхѣ	мрѣхѣ	пѣсѣ	плѣхѣ
2	несе	мрѣ	мрѣ	пѣ	плѣ
3	несе	мрѣ(тъ)	мрѣ	пѣ	плѣ
Plur. 1	нѣсомѣ	мрѣхомѣ	мрѣхомѣ	пѣсомѣ	плѣхомѣ
2	нѣсте	мрѣсте	мрѣсте	пѣсте	плѣсте
3	нѣса	мрѣша	мрѣша	пѣса	плѣша
Dual 1	нѣсовѣ	мрѣховѣ	мрѣховѣ	пѣсовѣ	плѣховѣ
2	нѣста	мрѣста	мрѣста	пѣста	плѣста
3	нѣсте	мрѣсте	мрѣсте	пѣсте	плѣсте
Sing. 1	зѣвахѣ	бѣрахѣ	Plur. 1	зѣвахомѣ	бѣрахомѣ
2	зѣва	бѣра	2	зѣвасте	бѣрасте
3	зѣва	бѣра	3	зѣваша	бѣраша
Dual 1	зѣваховѣ	бѣраховѣ			
2	зѣваста	бѣраста			
3	зѣвасте	бѣрасте			

New Aorist

Sing. 1	несохѣ	могохѣ	Plur. 1	несохомѣ	могохомѣ
2	несе	може	2	несосте	могосте
3	несе	може	3	несоша	могоша
Dual 1	несоховѣ	могоховѣ			
2	несоста	могоста			
3	несосте	могосте			

Past Participle Active 1

Masc., neut.

несѣ могѣ пѣнѣ плѣвѣ зѣвавѣ бѣравѣ

Fem.

несѣши могѣши пѣнѣши плѣвѣши зѣвавѣши бѣравѣши

Past Participle Active 2

несл-ѣ, -а, -о могл-ѣ, -а, -о мрѣл-ѣ, -а, -о пѣл-ѣ, -а, -о
 плѣл-ѣ, -а, -о зѣвал-ѣ, -а, -о бѣрал-ѣ, -а, -о

Past Participle Passive

НЕСЕН-Ъ, -д, -о, ПАТ-Ъ -д, -о, ПЛОВЕН-Ъ -д, -о, ЗЪВАН-Ъ -д, -о,
БЪРАН-Ъ, -д, -о

Infinitive

НЕСТИ 'to carry' МОШТИ 'to be able' МРЪТИ 'to die' -ПАТИ 'to stretch'
ПЛОУТИ 'to float' ЗЪВАТИ 'to call' БЪРАТИ 'to collect'

Supine

НЕСТЪ МОШТЬ МРЪТЪ ПАТЪ ПЛОУТЪ ЗЪВАТЪ БЪРАТЪ

Verbal Noun

НЕСЕНИЕ (РАС)ПАТИНИЕ (ПЛОУТИНИЕ) ОУМРЪТНИЕ, ОУМРЪТВИНИЕ

(a) The infinitive stem may end in a labial (§ 62): ТЪТИ < **tep-ti*, ТЪПЖ 'to beat'; in a dental: МАСТИ < **ment-ti*, МАТЖ 'to stir, to trouble', ПАСТИ < **pad-ti*, ПАДЖ 'to fall', ВЕСТИ < **ved-ti*, ВЕДЖ 'to lead', ПРАСТИ < **prend-ti*, ПРАДЖ 'to spin'; in a velar: ТЪШТИ < **tek-ti*, ТЪКЖ 'to run, to flow', ПРАШТИ < **preng-ti*, ПРАГЖ 'to span, to harness'; in a nasal: ПАТИ < **pen-ti*, ПЪНЖ 'to stretch'; in a liquid: ЖРЪТИ < **žer-ti*, ЖЪРЖ 'to devour', ЖРЪТИ, ЖЪРЖ 'to sacrifice'.

(b) The thematic vowel may be: *e, ɛ*, or—less frequently—*o, ɔ, ě, a, i, ĭ, y*; when the infinitive stem has the grade *e* the present stem may have zero grade: ЧРЪТИ < **čerp-ti* 'to dip up, to draw (up) water': ЧРЪПЖ, ВРЪШТИ < **verg-ti* 'to throw': ВРЪГЖ, НАЧАТИ < **načen-ti* 'to start': НАЧЪНЖ (§ 37).

(c) Verbs with the thematic vowel *e, ɛ*: ГНЕСТИ, ГНЕТЖ 'to press', ЖЕШТИ, ЖЕГЖ 'to burn' (trans.), ВЛЪШТИ < **velk-ti*, ВЛЪКЖ 'to pull', ЖЛЪСТИ, ЖЛАСТИ (cf. OHG *geltan*), ЖЛЪДЖ 'to reward', СТРЪШТИ < **sterg-*, СТРЪГЖ 'to guard, to watch', НЕВРЪШТИ < **-berg-*, НЕВРЪГЖ 'to neglect', ВЛАСТИ, ВЛАДЖ 'to err, to talk wildly', ОУВАСТИ, ОУВАЗЖ 'to crown', ГРАСТИ, ГРАДЖ 'to come', ЗВАШТИ, ЗВАГЖ 'to ring out', ПРАСТИ, ПРАДЖ 'to spin', ТРАСТИ, ТРАСЖ 'to shake'.

(d) Verbs with the thematic vowel *o, ɔ*: БОСТИ, БОДЖ 'to sting, to prick', ВЛАСТИ < **vold-ti*, ВЛАДЖ 'to rule', ДЖТИ, ДЪМЖ 'to blow'.

(e) Verbs with the thematic vowel *ě*, *a*: лѣсти, лѣзѣ 'to climb, to walk', сѣци, сѣкѣ 'to cut', ѡхати, ѡдѣ 'to be driven' (Lat. *vehor*), класти, кладѣ 'to put, to load', красти, крадѣ 'to steal', паси, пасѣ 'to graze, to watch'.

(f) Verbs with the thematic vowel *i*, *i*: ити, идѣ 'to go', стришти, стригѣ 'to shear', цвисти, цвѣтѣ 'to bloom', чисти, чѣтѣ 'to count, to read'.

(g) One verb has the thematic vowel *y*: грысти, грызѣ 'to gnaw, to bite'.

(h) The imperative forms of the verbs рѣшти 'to say', тѣшти 'to run', пѣшти 'to cook', жѣшти 'to burn' (trans.) have the radical vowel in the zero grade: рѣци, тѣци пѣци, жѣси. Forms of жѣшти also show the zero grade in present and aorist tenses, and in participles: вѣжѣжѣши (Supr. 457.11), зажѣже (Mar., Mt. xxii. 7), жѣгомѣ (for жѣгомѣ) (Supr. 476.17).

(i) The verb грати, градѣ 'to come' has a nasal vowel in both stems, whereas сѣсти, садѣ 'to sit down', лѣшти, лѣгѣ 'to lie down' have infinitive stems without nasals: *séd-*, *leg-*. The simple aorist and the past part. are derived from the infinitive stem: сѣдѣ, лѣгѣ; сѣлѣ, лѣглѣ.

(j) The verb ѡти has a nasal in the infinitive stem, which represents the *-e-* grade (**j-em-*), as against the zero grade in the present stem: имѣ, имѣши, &c. < **j-im-* > *jim-* (with a prosthetic *j*-) at the beginning of the word (§ 33.4), but without *j* in the middle: вѣзѣмѣ, вѣнѣмѣ. The same explanation applies to the verb дѣти, дѣмѣ, 'to blow', past part. pass. надѣмѣнѣ; the infinitive stem has the *o*-grade.

(k) Whereas some verbs show a regular alternation of vowels in the present and the infinitive stems: вѣгѣ ∼ вѣгѣшти 'to throw', вѣзѣ ∼ вѣзѣсти 'to tie, to open', -вѣрѣ ∼ -вѣрѣти 'to close', цвѣтѣ ∼ цвисти 'to bloom', чѣтѣ ∼ чисти 'to count'; others show an irregular alternation: -вѣрѣгѣ ∼ -вѣрѣшти 'to neglect, to disregard', past part. act. -вѣргѣ; влѣшти, влѣкѣ 'to pull', past part. act. влѣкѣ, влѣклѣ also влѣкѣ, past part. pass. влѣченѣ and влѣченѣ.

(l) The verb ити has a stem *i-* for infinitive and supine, a stem *id-*

< **ji-d-* (*-d-* is a suffix) for present, imp., impf., aor., and a stem *šid-* < **chid-* for the past participles *шѣдѣ*, *шѣлѣ*. The same stem with another gradation appears in *ходити*. A similar case is that of the verb *ѣхати* (*ѣхати*), *ѣдѣ* 'to drive' with a stem *ě-* in past part. act. I *прѣѣвѣ*, a stem *ě-d-* for present imp., impf., aor., and a stem *ěx-* in inf. and past part. act. I *прѣѣхавѣ*.

(*m*) Verbs with an infinitive stem ending in *-a-* show, as a rule, in this form, the reduced or zero grade: *вѣрати*, 'to collect' *гѣнати* 'to chase', *дѣрати* 'to tear, to flay', *ждѣати* 'to wait', *зѣвати* 'to call', *пѣрати* 'to fly' ~ *берѣ*, *дерѣ*, *женѣ*, *жидѣ*, *зовѣ*, *перѣ*. The imperfect is derived either from the zero grade stems of the infinitive (in the older texts): *ждѣаахѣ*, *зѣваахѣ*, or from the present stems with the *e/o* grade (in the later texts, e.g. Supr.): *жидѣахѣ*, *зовѣахѣ* (§ 37).

(*n*) The verb *бѣдѣ* (an original subjunctive form) has only present, imp., and pr. part. act. forms: *бѣдѣши*, &c.; *бѣди*, *бѣдѣмѣ*, *бѣдѣте*; *бѣды*, *бѣдѣшти* (fem.).

(*o*) Alongside the forms *жрѣти*, *жрѣ* 'to devour', *мрѣти*, *мрѣ* 'to die', *жърти*, *жърѣ* 'to sacrifice', exist the infinitive forms *-мърти(ти)*, *мърѣти* 'to die', built on the analogy of the present form *мърѣ*. The aorist forms are *жърѣхѣ*, *мърѣхѣ*. The origin of *жръти* is not clear; its aor. is *жръхѣ*, *жръѣ*, *жръѣ*.

(*p*) The regular ending of the present part. act. is *-ы*. However, the texts also show isolated forms in *-а* or *-я*: *гѣаа* (Zogr., Mt. xi. 3; Mk. xi. 9), *неса* (Zogr., Mk. xiv. 13; Mar., L. xxii. 10); the pr. part. act. from *ѣсмѣ* is *сѣы*, but *сѣя*, *сѣа* also occur as secondary forms (Ass., J. iii. 31).

(*q*) There exists an aorist form *отѣѣ*, *отѣѣша* 'he, they replied' (Ass., Savv. Kn.) having same stem as *отѣѣтъѣ*, and an aorist *измѣѣтъѣ са* (Ps. Sin.) 'he changed', cf. the noun *мѣѣна*.

§ 95. SECOND CONJUGATION (§ 61.II, § 64)

Present

Sing. 1	ДВИГНѢ	СТАНѢ	РИНѢ
2	ДВИГНЕШИ	СТАНЕШИ	РИНЕШИ
3	ДВИГНЕТѢ	СТАНЕТѢ	РИНЕТѢ

Plur.	1	ДВИГНЕМЪ	СТАНЕМЪ	РИНЕМЪ
	2	ДВИГНЕТЕ	СТАНЕТЕ	РИНЕТЕ
	3	ДВИГНѢТЪ	СТАНѢТЪ	РИНѢТЪ
Dual	1	ДВИГНЕВѢ	СТАНЕВѢ	РИНЕВѢ
	2	ДВИГНЕТА	СТАНЕТА	РИНЕТА
	3	ДВИГНЕТЕ, -ТА	СТАНЕТЕ, -ТА	РИНЕТЕ, -ТА

Imperative

Sing.	1	—	—	—
	2	ДВИГНИ	СТАНИ	РИНИ
	3	ДВИГНИ	СТАНИ	РИНИ
Plur.	1	ДВИГНѢМЪ	СТАНѢМЪ	РИНѢМЪ
	2	ДВИГНѢТЕ	СТАНѢТЕ	РИНѢТЕ
	3	—	—	—
Dual	1	ДВИГНѢВѢ	СТАНѢВѢ	РИНѢВѢ
	2	ДВИГНѢТА	СТАНѢТА	РИНѢТА
	3	—	—	—

Present Participle Active

Masc., neut.

ДВИГНУ	СТАНУ	РИНУ
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Fem.

ДВИГНУШТИ	СТАНУШТИ	РИНУШТИ
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Present Participle Passive

ДВИГНОМЪ, -А, -О	—	РИНОМЪ, -А, -О
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Imperfect

Sing.	1	ДВИГНѢАХЪ	О-СТАНѢАХЪ	РИНѢАХЪ
	2	ДВИГНѢАШЕ	О-СТАНѢАШЕ	РИНѢАШЕ
	3	ДВИГНѢАШЕ	О-СТАНѢАШЕ	РИНѢАШЕ
Plur.	1	ДВИГНѢАХОМЪ	О-СТАНѢАХОМЪ	РИНѢАХОМЪ
	2	ДВИГНѢАШЕТЕ	О-СТАНѢАШЕТЕ	РИНѢАШЕТЕ
	3	ДВИГНѢАХЪ	О-СТАНѢАХЪ	РИНѢАХЪ

Dual 1	ДВИГНѢАХОВѢ	о-СТАНѢАХОВѢ	РИНѢАХОВѢ
2	ДВИГНѢАШЕТА	о-СТАНѢАШЕТА	РИНѢАШЕТА
3	ДВИГНѢАШЕТЕ, -ТА	о-СТАНѢАШЕТЕ, -ТА	РИНѢАШЕТЕ, -ТА

Simple (Asigmatic) Aorist

Sing. 1	ДВИГЪ	*СТАНЪ
2	ДВИЖЕ	СТА
3	ДВИЖЕ	СТА
Plur. 1	ДВИГОМЪ	*СТАНОМЪ
2	ДВИЖЕТЕ	*СТАНЕТЕ
3	ДВИГЖ	*СТАНЖ , -СТАНЖША
Dual 1	ДВИГОВѢ	*СТАНОВѢ
2	ДВИЖЕТА	*СТАНЕТА
3	ДВИЖЕТЕ, -ТА	*СТАНЕТЕ

Sigmatic Aorist

Sing. 1	ДРЪЗНѢХЪ	ДВИГОХЪ	РИНѢХЪ
2	ДРЪЗНѢ	ДВИЖЕ	РИНѢ
3	ДРЪЗНѢ	ДВИЖЕ	РИНѢ
Plur. 1	ДРЪЗНѢХОМЪ	ДВИГОХОМЪ	РИНѢХОМЪ
2	ДРЪЗНѢСТЕ	ДВИГОСТЕ	РИНѢСТЕ
3	ДРЪЗНѢША	ДВИГОША	РИНѢША
Dual 1	ДРЪЗНѢХОВѢ	ДВИГОХОВѢ	РИНѢХОВѢ
2	ДРЪЗНѢСТА	ДВИГОСТА	РИНѢСТА
3	ДРЪЗНѢСТЕ, -ТА	ДВИГОСТЕ, -ТА	РИНѢСТЕ, -ТА

Past Participle Active 1

Masc., neut.

ДВИГЪ ДРЪЗНѢВЪ РИНѢВЪ

Fem.

ДВИГЪШИ ДРЪЗНѢВЪШИ РИНѢВЪШИ

Past Participle Active 2

ДВИГЛ-Ъ, -А, -О СТАЛ-Ъ, -А, -О РИНЖЛ-Ъ, -А, -О

Past Participle Passive

ДВИЖЕН-Ъ, -а, -о ДРЪЗНОВЕН-Ъ, -а, -о РИНОВЕН-Ъ, -а, -о

Infinitive

ДВИГНЪТИ 'to move' СТАТИ 'to get up, to stand' РИНЪТИ 'to push'

Supine

ДВИГНЪТЪ СТАТЪ РИНЪТЪ

Verbal noun

ДВИЖЕНИЮ ВЪСТАНИЮ 'resurrection' РИНОВЕНИЮ

(a) The suffix -нж- of the infinitive and present stems was dropped in the aorist and past participle forms: aor. ДВИГЪ, past part. ДВИГЪ, ДВИГЛЪ. By analogy, however, the -нж- suffix was also introduced into these forms: ДРЪЗНЪТИ 'to dare', past part. act. 1 ДРЪЗНЖЕЪ, past part. act. 2 ДРЪЗНЖЛЪ. The texts differ in the use of these analogical forms. They are more numerous in Supr.

(b) The past part. pass. sometimes also appears with the ending -нovenъ which represents a suffix -неу-: ДРЪЗНОВЕНЪ from ДРЪЗНЪТИ 'to dare', ПЛННОВЕНЪ from ПЛННЪТИ 'to spit', КОСНОВЕНЪ from КОСНЪТИ 'to touch'. From these participles are then derived the verbal nouns: ПЛННОВЕНИЮ, КОСНОВЕНИЮ, ВЪСКРЪСНОВЕНИЮ 'resurrection', from ВЪСКРЪСНЪТИ.

(c) Some forms of the paradigms do not occur in OCS texts.

§ 96. THIRD CONJUGATION (§ 61.III, § 65)

1. *Verbs with original infinitive stems ending in a vowel.**Present*

Sing. 1	знаж	грѣѣж	виж	мъѣж	чюѣж
2	знаѣши	грѣѣши	виѣши	мъѣши	чюѣши
3	знаѣтъ	грѣѣтъ	виѣтъ	мъѣтъ	чюѣтъ
Plur. 1	знаѣмъ	грѣѣмъ	виѣмъ	мъѣмъ	чюѣмъ
2	знаѣте	грѣѣте	виѣте	мъѣте	чюѣте
3	знаѣтъ	грѣѣтъ	виѣтъ	мъѣтъ	чюѣтъ

Dual	1	знаѣвѣ	грѣѣвѣ	виѣвѣ	мѣѣвѣ	чюѣвѣ
	2	знаѣта	грѣѣта	виѣта	мѣѣта	чюѣта
	3	знаѣте, -та	грѣѣте, -та	виѣте, -та	мѣѣте, -та	чюѣте, -та

Imperative

Sing.	1	—	—	—	—	—
	2	знаи	грѣи	ви (вѣи)	мѣи	чюи
	3	знаи	грѣи	ви	мѣи	чюи
Plur.	1	знаимѣ	грѣимѣ	вимѣ	мѣимѣ	чюимѣ
	2	знаите	грѣите	вите	мѣите	чюите
	3	—	—	—	—	—
Dual	1	знаивѣ	грѣивѣ	вивѣ	мѣивѣ	чюивѣ
	2	знаита	грѣита	вита	мѣита	чюита
	3	—	—	—	—	—

Present Participle Active

Masc., neut.

знаѣа грѣѣа виѣа мѣѣа чюѣа

Fem.

знаѣшти грѣѣшти виѣшти мѣѣшти чюѣшти

*Present Participle Passive*знаѣм-ѣ, грѣѣм-ѣ, виѣм-ѣ, мѣѣм-ѣ, чюѣм-ѣ,
-а, -о -а, -о -а, -о -а, -о -а, -о*Imperfect*

Sing.

1	знаахѣ	грѣахѣ	виаахѣ	мѣаахѣ	чюѣахѣ
2	знааше	грѣаше	виааше	мѣааше	чюѣаше
3	знааше	грѣаше	виааше	мѣааше	чюѣаше

Plur.

1	знаахомѣ	грѣахомѣ	виаахомѣ	мѣаахомѣ	чюѣахомѣ
2	знаашете	грѣашете	виаашете	мѣаашете	чюѣашете
3	знаахѣ	грѣахѣ	виаахѣ	мѣаахѣ	чюѣахѣ

Dual

1	ЗНААХОВѢ	ГРѢАХОВѢ	ВИГААХОВѢ	МЪИГААХОВѢ	ЧЮѢАХОВѢ
2	ЗНААШЕТА	ГРѢАШЕТА	ВИГААШЕТА	МЪИГААШЕТА	ЧЮѢАШЕТА
3	ЗНААШЕТЕ, -ТА	ГРѢАШЕТЕ, -ТА	ВИГААШЕТЕ, -ТА	МЪИГААШЕТЕ, -ТА	ЧЮѢАШЕТЕ, -ТА

Sigmatic Aorist

Sing.

1	ЗНАХЪ	ГРѢХЪ	ВИХЪ	МЪИХЪ	ЧЮХЪ
2	ЗНА	ГРѢ	ВИ	МЪИ	ЧЮ
3	ЗНА	ГРѢ	ВИ	МЪИ	ЧЮ

Plur.

1	ЗНАХОМЪ	ГРѢХОМЪ	ВИХОМЪ	МЪИХОМЪ	ЧЮХОМЪ
2	ЗНАСТЕ	ГРѢСТЕ	ВИСТЕ	МЪИСТЕ	ЧЮСТЕ
3	ЗНАША	ГРѢША	ВИША	МЪИША	ЧЮША

Dual

1	ЗНАХОВѢ	ГРѢХОВѢ	ВИХОВѢ	МЪИХОВѢ	ЧЮХОВѢ
2	ЗНАСТА	ГРѢСТА	ВИСТА	МЪИСТА	ЧЮСТА
3	ЗНАСТЕ, -ТА	ГРѢСТЕ, -ТА	ВИСТЕ, -ТА	МЪИСТЕ, -ТА	ЧЮСТЕ, -ТА

Past Participle Active 1

Masc., neut.

ЗНАВЪ	ГРѢВЪ	ВИВЪ	МЪИВЪ	ЧЮВЪ
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Fem.

ЗНАВЪШИ	ГРѢВЪШИ	ВИВЪШИ	МЪИВЪШИ	ЧЮВЪШИ
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Past Participle Active 2

ЗНАЛЪ, -А, -О	ГРѢЛЪ, -А, -О	ВИЛЪ, -А, -О	МЪИЛЪ, -А, -О	ЧЮЛЪ, -А, -О
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Past Participle Passive

ЗНАНЪ, -А, -О	ГРѢНЪ, -А, -О	ВИЕНЪ, -А, -О	БИТЪ, -А, -О
	МЪИВЕНЪ, -А, -О	ЧЮВЕНЪ, -А, -О	

Infinitive

ЗНАТИ 'to know'	ГРѢТИ 'to warm' (intr.)	ВИТИ 'to beat'
	МЪИТИ 'to wash'	ЧЮТИ 'to feel'

Supine

ЗНАТЬ ГРѢТЬ БИТЬ МЫТЬ ЧЮТЬ

Verbal Noun

(по)ЗНАНИЕ ГРѢНИЕ БИЕНИЕ БИТИЕ (оу)МЪВАНІЕ ЧЮВЕНІЕ

(a) *Verbs of this category*: ДѢТИ, ДѢЖ (ДЕЖДАЖ) 'to put, to set', СПѢТИ, СПѢЖ 'to succeed', СЪМѢТИ, СЪМѢЖ 'to dare', СѢТИ, СѢЖ 'to sow; to sieve', ПѢТИ, ПОЖ 'to sing', ВИТИ, ВИЖ (ВЫЖ) 'to wind up, to swathe', ГНИТИ, ГНИЖ 'to putrify', ЛИТИ, ЛИЖ (ЛЫЖ) 'to pour', ПИТИ, ПИЖ (ПЫЖ) 'to drink', ПОЧИТИ, ПОЧИЖ 'to rest', КРЫТИ, КРЫЖ 'to cover', ОУНЫТИ, ОУНЫЖ 'to weary, to be despondent', РУТИ, РУЖ 'to dig', ШИТИ, ШИЖ 'to sew', ОСНЪВАТИ, ОСНЪВАЖ 'to found, to create', НАДОУТИ, НАДОУЖ 'to blow up', ОБОУТИ, ОБОУЖ 'to put on shoes', ИЗОУТИ 'to take off', СИѢТИ, СИЯТИ, СИѢЖ (СЪ-) 'to glimmer, to shine'.

The form ДЕЖДАЖ is derived from a root with reduplication: **de-d-jp* > *deždō*, cf. Lith. *demi*, Lat. *facio*: Old Ind. *dadhāmi* 'I set'.

(b) In texts appear forms which have dropped the intervocalic *j* with resulting assimilation of the vowels: ЗНААТЕ < ЗНАЈЕТЕ, ЗНААТЬ < ЗНАЈЕТЬ, СѢАТИ 'to sow', СѢАТЬ < СѢЈЕТЬ, ДААТЬ < ДАЈЕТЬ (§ 32.5).

(c) In the imperfect verbs of the type ВИТИ, ПИТИ take the endings -ѡахъ or -ѡахъ, &c. The verb ПѢТИ, ПОЖ has also contracted imperfect forms: ПОѡаше, ПОѡахъ (Supr. 118. 11, 70. 26). The OCS texts show only contracted imperfect forms from КРЫТИ and ЧЮТИ: КРЫѡаше (КРЫѡѡаше), ЧЮѡѡаше, ЧЮѡаѡа.

(d) In the 2nd and 3rd sg. aor. verbs with the stem in -и- or -ѣ- may attach the ending -тъ: БИТЬ, ПИТЬ, ПѢТЬ.

(e) The past part. pass. has the ending -нъ or -тъ. There is no clear-cut rule as to the distribution of these endings. Verbs in -ѣ- have -нъ: СѢНъ 'sown', ОДѢНъ 'dressed', but ОСѢТЬ 'sown'. Verbs in -и have -тъ: ИЗВИТЬ 'unwound', ПОВИТЬ 'swaddled', ПРОЛИТЬ 'slipped', ПѢТЬ 'sung', but БЫЕНъ 'beaten', which is formed like КРЪВЕНъ from КРЫТИ, МЪВЕНъ from МЫТИ, ШЪВЕНъ from ШИТИ, ОБОУВЕНъ from ОБОУТИ.

(f) The verbs сѣти 'to sow, to sieve', грѣти сѣ 'to warm' (refl.), спѣти 'to thrive' have also enlarged infinitives: сѣяти, сѣати; грѣяти, грѣати; спѣяти, which put them in category 3 of this conjugation.

2. *Verbs with original infinitive stems ending in a consonant.*

<i>Present</i>			
Sing. 1	ко́лѣж	жѣ́нѣж	ме́лѣж
2	ко́лѣши	жѣ́нѣши	ме́лѣши
3	ко́лѣтъ	жѣ́нѣтъ	ме́лѣтъ
Plur. 1	ко́лѣмъ	жѣ́нѣмъ	ме́лѣмъ
2	ко́лѣте	жѣ́нѣте	ме́лѣте
3	ко́лѣтъ	жѣ́нѣтъ	ме́лѣтъ
Dual 1	ко́лѣвѣ	жѣ́нѣвѣ	ме́лѣвѣ
2	ко́лѣта	жѣ́нѣта	ме́лѣта
3	ко́лѣте	жѣ́нѣте	ме́лѣте

<i>Imperative</i>			
Sing. 1	—	—	—
2	ко́ли	жѣ́ни	ме́ли
3	ко́ли	жѣ́ни	ме́ли
Plur. 1	ко́лимъ (ко́лѣмъ)	жѣ́нимъ	ме́лимъ
2	ко́лите (ко́лѣте)	жѣ́ните	ме́лите
3	—	—	—
Dual 1	ко́ливѣ	жѣ́нивѣ	ме́ливѣ
2	ко́лита	жѣ́нита	ме́лита
3	—	—	—

Present participle active

Masc., neut.	ко́лѣ	жѣ́нѣ	ме́лѣ
Fem.	ко́лѣшти	жѣ́нѣшти	ме́лѣшти

Present participle passive

ко́лѣм-ъ, -а, -о жѣ́нѣм-ъ, -а, -о ме́лѣм-ъ, -а, -о

Imperfect

Sing.	1	колѣахъ	жънѣахъ	мелпаахъ
	2	колѣаше	жънѣаше	мелпааше
	3	колѣаше	жънѣаше	мелпааше
Plur.	1	колѣахомъ	жънѣахомъ	мелпаахомъ
	2	колѣашете	жънѣашете	мелпаашете
	3	колѣахъ	жънѣахъ	мелпаахъ
Dual	1	колѣаховѣ	жънѣаховѣ	мелпааховѣ
	2	колѣашета	жънѣашета	мелпаашета
	3	колѣашете	жънѣашете	мелпаашете

Sigmatic aorist

Sing.	1	клахъ	жахъ	млѣхъ
	2	кла	жа	млѣ
	3	кла	жа	млѣ
Plur.	1	клахомъ	жахомъ	млѣхомъ
	2	класте	жасте	млѣсте
	3	клаша	жаша	млѣша
Dual	1	клаховѣ	жаховѣ	млѣховѣ
	2	класта	жаста	млѣста
	3	класте, -та	жасте, -та	млѣсте, -та

Past participle active 1

Masc., neut. клавъ Fem. клавъши

Past participle active 2

клавъ-тъ, -а, -о жавъ-тъ, -а, -о млѣвъ-тъ, -а, -о

Past participle passive

-коленъ-тъ, -а, -о (-клавъ)

Infinitive

клати (кълати) 'to stab' жати 'to harvest' млѣти 'to grind'

Supine

клатъ жатъ млѣтъ (млѣтъ Supr. 565. 4)

*Verbal noun***-КОЛЕНИИЕ**

(a) This group consists only of a few verbs, to which may be added a verb with the radical ending in *-t-*: **-рѣсти**, **-рѣштѣ** (**об-** 'to find', **съ-** 'to meet', **пріоб-** 'to gain, to earn'), from which the verbal nouns are **сѣрѣтєніе** 'meeting', **обрѣтєніе** 'finding'.

(b) Forms of these verbs, other than the present tense forms, occur very rarely in the texts.

(c) From **брати**, **ворѣж** 'to fight' occur a form **ворѣжѣ** and a form **бѣрахомъ** = **бѣрахомъ** (Supr. 72. 27); aorist **прѣбра**, **бѣраша**, **браша**. The verbal noun appears in two forms: **бѣраніе** and **ворєніе**, and these indicate two past parts. pass.: **бранъ** and **ворєнъ**.

(d) The verb **клати** 'to stab' appears in aor. **клатѣ**, **закла** (**закъла**), &c., in past part. pass. **кланъ**, **коленъ**, verbal noun **коленіе**. The imperfect **колѣжѣ**, **клатѣ** does not occur in OCS texts.

(e) The verb **млѣти** 'to grind' appears in an imperfect form **млѣаше** and in an aorist form **млѣша**.

(f) From **жати** 'to reap' there is an aorist **пожа**.

(g) The verb **обрѣсти** 'to find' forms the imperfect from the present stem: **обрѣштажѣ**, **обрѣштахомъ**. More numerous are the forms derived from the infinitive stem: aor. **обрѣтъ**, **обрѣтє**, **обрѣтомъ**, **обрѣтѣ** and **обрѣтохъ**, **обрѣтохомъ**; past part. act. 1 **обрѣтъ**, past part. act. 2 **обрѣлъ**; pres. part. pass. **обрѣтенъ**; sup. **обрѣстѣ**.

(h) From the verbs **клати**, **брати**, and **млѣти** the infinitive stem appears also with a secondary reduced vowel: **кълати**, **бѣрати**, **млѣти**. The reduced vowel results from analogy with verbs like: **сѣлати** 'to send', **зѣрѣти** 'to see'.

3. *Verbs with original infinitive stems (ending in a vowel or a consonant) enlarged by -a-*.

Present

Sing.

1	дѣж	вѣжѣ	глаголѣж	нарѣчѣ	нарѣцѣж
2	дѣши	вѣжєши	глаголѣши	нарѣчєши	нарѣцѣєши
3	дѣтъ	вѣжетѣ	глаголѣтѣ	нарѣчетѣ	нарѣцѣетѣ

Plur.

1	ДАЕМЪ	ВАЖЕМЪ	ГЛАГОЛИЕМЪ	НАРИЧЕМЪ	НАРИЦАЕМЪ
2	ДАЕТЕ	ВАЖЕТЕ	ГЛАГОЛИЕТЕ	НАРИЧЕТЕ	НАРИЦАЕТЕ
3	ДАЖТЪ	ВАЖЖТЪ	ГЛАГОЛИЖТЪ	НАРИЧЖТЪ	НАРИЦАЖТЪ

Dual

1	ДАЕВЪ	ВАЖЕВЪ	ГЛАГОЛИЕВЪ	НАРИЧЕВЪ	НАРИЦАЕВЪ
2	ДАЕТА	ВАЖЕТА	ГЛАГОЛИЕТА	НАРИЧЕТА	НАРИЦАЕТА
3	ДАЕТЕ, -ТА	ВАЖЕТЕ, -ТА	ГЛАГОЛИЕТЕ, -ТА	НАРИЧЕТЕ, -ТА	НАРИЦАЕТЕ, -ТА

Imperative

Sing.

1	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2	ДАИ	ВАЖИ	ГЛАГОЛИ	НАРЬЦИ	НАРИЦАИ
3	ДАИ	ВАЖИ	ГЛАГОЛИ	НАРЬЦИ	НАРИЦАИ

Plur.

1	ДАИМЪ	ВАЖИМЪ	ГЛАГОЛИМЪ	НАРЬЦ'ЕМЪ	НАРИЦАИМЪ
2	ДАИТЕ	ВАЖИТЕ	ГЛАГОЛИТЕ	НАРЬЦ'ЕТЕ	НАРИЦАИТЕ
3	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Dual

1	ДАИВЪ	ВАЖИВЪ	ГЛАГОЛИВЪ	НАРЬЦ'ЕВЪ	НАРИЦАИВЪ
2	ДАИТА	ВАЖИТА	ГЛАГОЛИТА	НАРЬЦ'ЕТА	НАРИЦАИТА
3	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Present participle active

Masc., neut.

ДАЯ	ВАЖА	ГЛАГОЛЯ	НАРИЧА	НАРИЦАЯ
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Fem.

ДАЖШТИ	ВАЖЖШТИ	ГЛАГОЛИЖШТИ	НАРИЧЖШТИ	НАРИЦАЖШТИ
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Present participle passive

ДАЕМЪ, -А, -О	ВАЖЕМЪ, -А, -О	ГЛАГОЛИЕМЪ, -А, -О	НАРИЧЕМЪ, -А, -О	НАРИЦАЕМЪ, -А, -О
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Imperfect

Sing.

1	Датѡахъ	вѣздаахъ	глаголаахъ	нарицаахъ
2	Датѡаше	вѣздааше	глаголааше	нарицааше
3	Датѡаше	вѣздааше	глаголааше	нарицааше

Plur.

1	Датѡахомъ	вѣздаахомъ	глаголаахомъ	нарицаахомъ
2	Датѡашете	вѣздаашете	глаголаашете	нарицаашете
3	Датѡахъ	вѣздаахъ	глаголаахъ	нарицаахъ

Dual

1	Датѡаховѣ	вѣздааховѣ	глаголааховѣ	нарицааховѣ
2	Датѡашета	вѣздаашета	глаголаашета	нарицаашета
3	Датѡашете	вѣздаашете	глаголаашете	нарицаашете

Sigmatic aorist

Sing.

1	-Датѡахъ	вѣздахъ	глаголахъ	нарицахъ
2	-Датѡ	вѣзда	глагола	нарица
3	-Датѡ	вѣзда	глагола	нарица

Plur.

1	-Датѡахомъ	вѣздахомъ	глаголахомъ	нарицахомъ
2	-Датѡасте, -та	вѣздасте, -та	глаголасте, -та	нарицасте, -та
3	-Датѡаша	вѣздаша	глаголаша	нарицаша

Dual

1	-Датѡаховѣ	вѣздаховѣ	глаголаховѣ	нарицаховѣ
2	-Датѡашета	вѣздаста	глаголаста	нарицаста
3	-Датѡашете	вѣздасте	глаголасте	нарицасте

Past participle active 1

Masc., neut.

Датѡавъ	вѣздавъ	глаголавъ	нарицавъ
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Fem.

Датѡавъши	вѣздавъши	глаголавъши	нарицавъши
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Past participle active 2

ДАДАЛ-Ъ,	ВАЗАЛ-Ъ,	ГЛАГОЛАЛ-Ъ,	НАРИЦАЛ-Ъ,
-а, -о	-а, -о	-а, -о	-а, -о

Past participle passive

ДАДАН-Ъ,	ВАЗАН-Ъ,	ГЛАГОЛАН-Ъ,	НАРИЦАН-Ъ,
-а, -о	-а, -о	-а, -о	-а, -о

Infinitive

ДАДАТИ 'to give'	ВАЗАТИ 'to tie'	ГЛАГОЛАТИ 'to speak'
	НАРИЦАТИ 'to name'	

Supine

ДАДАТЬ	ВАЗАТЬ	ГЛАГОЛАТЬ	НАРИЦАТЬ
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Verbal noun

ДАДАНИЕ	ВАЗАНИЕ	ГЛАГОЛАНІЕ	НАРИЦАНИЕ
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(a) Verbs with stems ending in a vowel: *вѣдати*, *вѣж* 'to sculpt', *вѣяти*, *вѣж* 'to blow', *дѣдати*, *дѣж* 'to do', *капати*, *каж са* 'to repent', *лапати*, *лаж* 'to spy, to lay traps; to bark', *-мапати*, *-маж* 'to make a sign, to call', *стапати*, *стаж* 'to stand, to be standing', *сѣпати*, *сѣж* 'to sow', *тапати*, *таж* 'to melt', *зипати*, *зѣж* 'to yawn, to gape', *липати*, *лѣж* 'to pour', *смипати са*, *смѣж са* 'to laugh', *грѣпати*, *грѣж* 'to warm', *рѣпати*, *рѣж* 'to push', *чапати*, *чаж* 'to wait', *вѣвати*, *вѣюж* 'to vomit', *пѣвати*, *пѣюж* 'to spit'.

(b) Verbs with stems ending in a consonant: *ал(ъ)кати*, *алчж* 'to be hungry', *навѣцати*, *-вѣчж* 'to learn', *гасати*, *гашж* 'to extinguish', *гѣвати*, *гѣвѣж* 'to perish', *жадати*, *жаждж* 'to be thirsty', *зѣдати*, *зѣждж* 'to build', *зобати*, *зобѣж* 'to devour', *зѣвати*, *зѣвѣж* 'to shake', *искати*, *иштж*, *искж* 'to seek', *кѣпати*, *кѣпѣж* 'to push against', *лизати*, *лижж* 'to lick, to lap', *лѣгати*, *лѣжж* 'to tell a lie', *лѣгати*, *лѣжж* 'to take to one's bed', *лацати*, *лачж* 'to stretch', *мрѣцати*, *мрѣчж* 'to grow dark', *ницати*, *ничж* 'to bud', *пѣсати*, *пишж* 'to write', *плакати*, *плачж* 'to wash; to cry', *плѣзати*, *плѣжж* 'to crawl', *плѣсати*, *плѣшж* 'to dance', *рѣсати*, *рѣштж* 'to run', *рѣзати*, *рѣжж* 'to neigh', *рѣзати*, *рѣжж* 'to cut', *скрѣжѣтати*, *скрѣжѣштж* 'to

gnash', *съпати*, *съпѣлъж* 'to sputter', *сълати*, *сълъж* 'to send', *оувѣдати*, *оувѣждж* 'to wither', *стрѣкати*, *стрѣчж* 'to sting', *съпати*, *съпѣлъж* 'to scatter, to shed', *стрѣгати* (*строугати*), *строужж* 'to lacerate', *тесати*, *тешж* 'to hew, to cut', *трѣзати*, *трѣжж* (*трѣзѣж*) 'to tear to pieces, to rend', *тасати*, *тажж* 'to pull', *чесати*, *чешж* 'to comb, to strip', *чрѣпати*, *чрѣпѣж* 'to draw water', *стѣлати*, *стѣлъж* 'to spread', *мрѣмѣрати*, *мрѣмѣриж* 'to gnaw', *орати*, *орѣж* 'to plough', *стенати*, *стейж* 'to sigh, to complain', *имати*, *ѣмѣлъж* 'to take', *страдати*, *страждж* 'to suffer', *любѣзати*, *любѣжж* 'to kiss', *оугльбѣти*, *оугльбѣлъж* 'to sink in', *тратати*, *траштж* 'to pursue', *исѣхати*, *исѣшж* 'to dry'.

(c) The present and the infinitive stems of some verbs of this category are differentiated by vowel alternation: *зѣлъж* — *зыати*, *зигати*; *лѣлъж* — *лыати*, *лигати*; *смѣлъж* *см* — *смыгати*, *смигати* *см*; *бѣлюж* — *бѣваты*; *плюжж* — *пльваты*; *стѣлъж* — *стѣлати*, *стѣлѣати*; *ѣмѣлъж* — *имати*; *пишж* — *пѣсати*, *писати*.

(d) The imperfect is, with few exceptions, formed from the infinitive stem: *казаахъ* : *казати*; *писаахъ* : *писати*; *метаахъ* : *метати*, but also *мештаахж* (*Supr.* 216. 25) from the present stem; *примаахъ* : *примати*, but also *примѣмааше* (*Supr.* 383. 26) from the present stem. The endings *-ашѣта*, *-ашѣте* in the 2nd pl. and in the 2nd and 3rd pl. are exceptionally replaced by *-аста*, *-астѣ*.

(e) The intervocalic *j* in the endings of these verbs tends to disappear; the vowels are then in some cases assimilated and contracted (§ 32.5): *даѣтъ* > *даатъ*, *дѣѣтъ* > *дѣѣтъ*, *даѣте* > *даате*; *развивѣѣтъ* > *развивѣѣтъ*; *послоушѣѣте* > *послоушѣѣте*; *повѣѣдаѣши* > *повѣѣдаши*. Isolated forms of this kind occur in various OCS texts.

(f) Verbs of this category, as well as those of 1, have plural and dual forms in the imperative also enlarged by *-ѣ-*, *-ѣ-*, which recall the imperative forms of the first and second conjugation: *вигѣмъ*, *вигѣте* for *внимъ*, *вните*; *глаголѣѣмъ*, *глаголѣѣте* for *глаголимъ*, *глаголите*; *накажѣѣте*; *възшиштѣѣте*; *пиѣте*; *покажѣѣте*, &c. The derived verbs of category 4 have no imperative forms in *-ѣ-*, *-ѣ-*.

(g) There is no precise difference between verbs of category 3

and category 4. The primary and the derived verbs form a single category from the point of view of descriptive grammar.

4. *Derived verbs.*

		<i>Present</i>		
Sing.	1	ДѢЛАЮЖ	разоумѣюж	вѣроуюж
	2	ДѢЛАЮШИ	разоумѣюши	вѣроуюши
	3	ДѢЛАЮТЪ	разоумѣютъ	вѣроуютъ
Plur.	1	ДѢЛАЮМЪ	разоумѣемъ	вѣроуемъ
	2	ДѢЛАЮТЕ	разоумѣете	вѣроуете
	3	ДѢЛАЮТЪ	разоумѣютъ	вѣроуютъ
Dual	1	ДѢЛАЮВѢ	разоумѣевѢ	вѣроуевѢ
	2	ДѢЛАЮТА	разоумѣята	вѣроуюта
	3	ДѢЛАЮТЕ, -ТА	разоумѣете, -ТА	вѣроуете, -ТА

		<i>Imperative</i>		
Sing.	1	—	—	—
	2	ДѢЛАН	разоумѣи	вѣроуй
	3	ДѢЛАН	разоумѣи	вѣроуй
Plur.	1	ДѢЛАНИМЪ	разоумѣнимъ	вѣроуимъ
	2	ДѢЛАИТЕ	разоумѣите	вѣроуйте
	3	—	—	—
Dual	1	ДѢЛАНВѢ	разоумѣивѢ	вѣроуивѢ
	2	ДѢЛАНТА	разоумѣита	вѣроуита
	3	—	—	—

		<i>Present participle active</i>		
Masc., neut.		ДѢЛАНЪ	разоумѣянъ	вѣроуянъ
Fem.		ДѢЛАНШТИ	разоумѣяшти	вѣроуяшти

		<i>Present participle passive</i>		
ДѢЛАЮМЪ, -А, -О		разоумѣемЪ, -А, -О	вѣроуемЪ, -А, -О	

Imperfect

Sing.	1	Дѣлаахъ	разоумѣахъ	вѣроваахъ
	2	Дѣлааше	разоумѣаше	вѣровааше
	3	Дѣлааше	разоумѣаше	вѣровааше
Plur.	1	Дѣлаахомъ	разоумѣахомъ	вѣроваахомъ
	2	Дѣлаашете	разоумѣашете	вѣроваашете
	3	Дѣлаахъ	разоумѣахъ	вѣроваахъ
Dual	1	Дѣлааховѣ	разоумѣаховѣ	вѣровааховѣ
	2	Дѣлаашета	разоумѣашета	вѣроваашета
	3	Дѣлаашете, -та	разоумѣашете, -та	вѣроваашете, -та

Sigmatic aorist

Sing.	1	Дѣлахъ	разоумѣхъ	вѣровахъ
	2	Дѣла	разоумѣ	вѣрова
	3	Дѣла	разоумѣ	вѣрова
Plur.	1	Дѣлахомъ	разоумѣхомъ	вѣровахомъ
	2	Дѣласте	разоумѣсте	вѣровасте
	3	Дѣлаша	разоумѣша	вѣроваша
Dual	1	Дѣлаховѣ	разоумѣховѣ	вѣроваховѣ
	2	Дѣласта	разоумѣста	вѣроваста
	3	Дѣласте, -та	разоумѣсте, -та	вѣровасте, -та

Past participle active 1

Masc., neut.	Дѣлавъ	разоумѣвъ	вѣровавъ
Fem.	Дѣлавъши	разоумѣвъши	вѣровавъши

Past participle active 2

Дѣлалъ, -а, -о	разоумѣлъ, -а, -о	вѣровалъ, -а, -о
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Past participle passive

Дѣланъ, -а, -о	разоумѣнъ, -а, -о	вѣрованъ, -а, -о
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Infinitive

Дѣлати 'to work'	разоумѣти 'to understand'
вѣровати 'to believe'	

Supine

ДѢЛАТЬ

РАЗОУМѢТЬ

ВѢРОВАТЬ

Verbal noun

ДѢЛАНІЕ

РАЗОУМѢНІЕ

ВѢРОВАНІЕ

(a) It is not possible to draw a line between the derived verbs of this category and the radical verbs of category 3 of this conjugation. A verb like ГЛАГОЛАТИ may be considered as being derived from the noun ГЛАГОЛЪ 'word'; НАРИЦАТИ may be considered as derived from НАРЕШТИ, НАРЕКЪ 'to name'.

(b) To this category of derived verbs belong: ЗНАМЕНАТИ, ЗНАМЕНАЖ 'to mark, to point out': ЗНАМА n. 'mark', ОТЪВѢЩАТИ, ОТЪВѢЩАЖ 'to answer': ОТЪВѢТЬ 'answer', БЫВАТИ, БЫВАЖ 'to be (habitually)': БЫТИ 'to be', НАРИЦАТИ, НАРИЦАЖ 'to name' which is, however, also considered as a radical verb and has the present НАРИЧЪ, ЖЕЛѢТИ, ЖЕЛѢЖ 'to wish': ЖЕЛА 'wish, longing', ИМѢТИ, ИМѢЖ 'to have', ПИТѢТИ (ПИТАТИ), ПИТѢЖ 'to feed', ОСЛАБѢТИ, ОСЛАБѢЖ 'to become weak', ВЕТЪШАТИ, ВЕТЪШАЖ 'to become old': ВЕТЪХЪ adj., ОБНИШТАТИ, ОБНИШТАЖ 'to become poor': НИШТЬ adj., КОУПОВАТИ, КОУПОВАЖ 'to buy', СЪВѢДѢТЕЛЬСТВОВАТИ, -ВОУЖ 'to witness': СЪВѢДѢТЕЛЬ, СКАНДАЛИСАТИ, -САЖ 'to scandalize', КОНЬЧАТИ, КОНЬЧАЖ 'to finish, to come to an end', ЦѢСАРЬСТВОВАТИ, -ВОУЖ 'to reign': ЦѢСАРЬ 'emperor'.

(c) Some onomatopoeic verbs may be considered as derived from the corresponding nouns: КЛЕВЕТАТИ, КЛЕВЕШТЪЖ 'to slander': КЛЮТИ, РЪПГЪТАТИ, РЪПГЪШТЪЖ 'to grumble': РЪПГЪТЬ, СКРЪЖЪТАТИ, СКРЪЖЪШТЪЖ 'to gnash': СКРЪЖЪТЬ, ШЪПГЪТАТИ, ШЪПГЪШТЪЖ 'to whisper': ШЪПГЪТЬ.

(d) The majority of verbs with infinitive stem ending in *-a-* of the type ДѢЛАТИ are derived from nouns, and from a purely formal point of view they should be assigned to category 3 of this conjugation. They have, however, been considered as secondary, derived verbs with stems enlarged by *-a-* and as forming a separate category—4.

(e) In the present tense endings, the intervocalic *j* again shows the tendency to disappear, and the vowels are assimilated:

разоумѣютъ > разоумѣатъ, вѣроуютъ > вѣроуютъ, разбиваютъ > разбиваатъ > разбиватъ (§ 32.5, § 96.3. e).

(f) The imperfect is formed from the infinitive stem: дѣлаахъ, разоумѣаше. Verbs in -овати also have exceptional imperfect forms derived from the present stem: бесѣдовати, бесѣдоуѣж 'to speak' — бесѣдоуѣше (Supr. 304.18. d) and бесѣдовааше, даровати, дароуѣж 'to present' — дароуѣше and даровааше, &c. The endings -ашета (2nd du.) and -ашете (3rd du. and 2nd pl.) are sometimes replaced by -аста, -асте.

(g) The suffix *-ова-* appears as *-ева-* after palatal consonants: пользевати 'to profit', непѣшевати 'to suppose' (§ 11.2, § 65.3).

(h) Some verbs in -овати show present forms derived from a stem in -ае-: готовати 'to prepare', готоваетъ 'he prepares', растръзовати 'to tear to pieces', растръзоваетъ (Supr. 350.28) 'he tears to pieces'. The first verb is derived from готовѣ and belongs only formally to this verbal category.

§ 97. FOURTH CONJUGATION (§ 61.IV, § 66)

Present

Sing.

1	молиѣж	любиѣж	вратиѣж	видиѣж	слышиѣж	кричиѣж
2	молиши	любиши	вратиши	видиши	слышиши	кричиши
3	молитъ	любитъ	вратитъ	видитъ	слышитъ	кричитъ

Plur.

1	молимъ	любимъ	вратимъ	видимъ	слышимъ	кричимъ
2	молите	любите	вратите	видите	слышите	кричите
3	молатъ	любатъ	врататъ	видатъ	слышатъ	кричатъ

Dual

1	моливѣ	любивѣ	вративѣ	видивѣ	слышивѣ	кричивѣ
2	молита	любита	вратита	видита	слышита	кричита
3	молите,	любите,	вратите,	видите,	слышите,	кричите,
	-та	-та	-та	-та	-та	-та

Imperative

Sing.

1	—	—	—	—	—
2	МОЛИ	ЛЮБИ	ВРАТИ	ВИЖДЬ	СЛЪШИ
3	МОЛИ	ЛЮБИ	ВРАТИ	ВИЖДЬ	СЛЪШИ

Plur.

1	МОЛИМЪ	ЛЮБИМЪ	ВРАТИМЪ	ВИДИМЪ	СЛЪШИМЪ	КРИЧИМЪ
2	МОЛИТЕ	ЛЮБИТЕ	ВРАТИТЕ	ВИДИТЕ	СЛЪШИТЕ	КРИЧИТЕ
3	—	—	—	—	—	—

Dual

1	МОЛИВЪ	ЛЮБИВЪ	ВРАТИВЪ	ВИДИВЪ	СЛЪШИВЪ	КРИЧИВЪ
2	МОЛИТА	ЛЮБИТА	ВРАТИТА	ВИДИТА	СЛЪШИТА	КРИЧИТА
3	—	—	—	—	—	—

Present participle active

Masc., neut.

МОЛА	ЛЮБА	ВРАТА	ВИДА	СЛЪША	КРИЧА
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Fem.

МОЛАШТИ	ЛЮБАШТИ	ВРАТАШТИ	ВИДАШТИ	СЛЪШАШТИ	КРИЧАШТИ
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Present participle passive

МОЛИМЪ, -а, -о	ЛЮБИМЪ, -а, -о	ВРАТИМЪ, -а, -о
ВИДИМЪ, -а, -о	СЛЪШИМЪ, -а, -о	КРИЧИМЪ, -а, -о
(ВИДОМЪ, -а, -о)	НЕВИДИМЪ, -а, -о	

Imperfect

Sing. 1	МОЛѢАХЪ	ЛЮБѢАХЪ	ВРАШТААХЪ
2	МОЛѢАШЕ	ЛЮБѢАШЕ	ВРАШТААШЕ
3	МОЛѢАШЕ	ЛЮБѢАШЕ	ВРАШТААШЕ
Plur. 1	МОЛѢАХОМЪ	ЛЮБѢАХОМЪ	ВРАШТААХОМЪ
2	МОЛѢАШЕТЕ	ЛЮБѢАШЕТЕ	ВРАШТААШЕТЕ
3	МОЛѢАХЪ	ЛЮБѢАХЪ	ВРАШТААХЪ
Dual 1	МОЛѢАХОВЪ	ЛЮБѢАХОВЪ	ВРАШТААХОВЪ
2	МОЛѢАШЕТА	ЛЮБѢАШЕТА	ВРАШТААШЕТА
3	МОЛѢАШЕТЕ,	ЛЮБѢАШЕТЕ,	ВРАШТААШЕТЕ,
	-ТА	-ТА	-ТА

Sing. 1	виждаахъ	слышаахъ	кричаахъ
2	виждааше	слышааше	кричааше
3	виждааше	слышааше	кричааше
Plur. 1	виждаахомъ	слышаахомъ	кричаахомъ
2	виждаашете	слышаашете	кричаашете
3	виждаахъ	слышаахъ	кричаахъ
Dual 1	виждааховѣ	слышааховѣ	кричааховѣ
2	виждаашета	слышаашета	кричаашета
3	виждаашете, -та	слышаашете, -та	кричаашете, -та

Sigmatic aorist

Sing. 1	молихъ	любихъ	вратихъ
2	моли	люби	врати
3	моли	люби	врати
Plur. 1	молихомъ	любихомъ	вратихомъ
2	молисте	любисте	вратисте
3	молиша	любиша	вратиша
Dual 1	молиховѣ	любиховѣ	вратиховѣ
2	молиста	любиста	вратиста
3	молисте, -та	любисте, -та	вратисте, -та
Sing. 1	видѣхъ	слышахъ	кричахъ
2	видѣ	слыша	крича
3	видѣ	слыша	крича
Plur. 1	видѣхомъ	слышахомъ	кричахомъ
2	видѣсте	слышасте	кричaste
3	видѣша	слышаша	кричаша
Dual 1	видѣховѣ	слышаховѣ	кричаховѣ
2	видѣста	слышаста	кричаста
3	видѣсте, -та	слышасте, -та	кричaste, -та

Past participle active 1

Masc., neut.

моль любѣль, любивѣ вративѣ видѣвѣ слышавѣ кричавѣ

Fem.

МОЛЪШИ ЛЮБЪШИ, ЛЮБИВЪШИ ВРАТИВЪШИ ВИДѢВЪШИ
СЛЪШАВЪШИ КРИЧАВЪШИ

Past participle active 2

МОЛИЛЪ, -А, -О ЛЮБИЛЪ, -А, -О ВРАТИЛЪ, -А, -О ВИДѢЛЪ, -А, -О
СЛЪШАЛЪ, -А, -О КРИЧАЛЪ, -А, -О

Past participle passive

МОЛЕНЪ, -А, -О ЛЮБЛЕНЪ, -А, -О ВРАШТЕНЪ, -А, -О
ВИДѢНЪ, -А, -О СЛЪШАНЪ, -А, -О

Infinitive

МОЛИТИ 'to ask' ЛЮБИТИ 'to love' ВРАТИТИ 'to turn' ВИДѢТИ 'to see'
СЛЪШАТИ 'to listen' КРИЧАТИ 'to call, to shout'

Supine

МОЛИТЬ ЛЮБИТЬ ВРАТИТЬ ВИДѢТЬ СЛЪШАТЬ КРИЧАТЬ

Verbal noun

МОЛЕНИЕ ЛЮБЛЕНИЕ ВРАЩЕНИЕ ВИДѢНИЕ СЛЪШАНИЕ
КРИЧАНИЕ

(a) To this conjugation belong verbs in -ИТИ (inf.) which are derived from nouns: АВИТИ 'to show', ХВАЛИТИ 'to praise', СЪДИТИ 'to judge', МЪСЛИТИ 'to think', СЪМОТРИТИ 'to observe', ГВОЗДИТИ 'to nail', ХРАНИТИ 'to protect', ВЛАЗНИТИ 'to lead astray', МЪЖИТИ 'to torture', ПОСТИТИ СЯ 'to fast', СЛАВИТИ 'to praise', &c.

(b) Some iterative (indeterminate-imperfective) verbs belong to this class: ВОДИТИ 'to lead', НОСИТИ 'to carry', ГОНИТИ 'to chase', ЛАЗИТИ 'to crawl', ХОДИТИ 'to walk', ВЛАЧИТИ 'to drag', ВОЗИТИ 'to drive in a vehicle', МЪЖИТИ 'to trouble'; these verbs have corresponding determinate-imperfectives: ВЕСТИ, НЕСТИ, ГЪНАТИ, ЛѢСТИ, ИТИ, ВЛѢШТИ, ВЕСТИ - ВЕЗЪ, МАСТИ.

(c) This conjugation comprises a good number of causative verbs: ПОИТИ 'to water': ПИТИ 'to drink', ВОУДИТИ 'to awake': ВЪДѢТИ 'to wake, to watch', ОУЧИТИ 'to teach': ВЪКНЪЖТИ 'to get accustomed', ОУМОРИТИ 'to kill': МОРЕТИ 'to die', ПОСАДИТИ 'to set

down': **сѣсти** 'to sit down', **въскрѣсити** (trans.) 'to raise': **въскрѣснѣти** (intrans.) 'to rise from the dead', **гоубити** 'to destroy': **губѣнѣти** 'to perish', **исѣчити**, **исѣцати** 'to make dry': **исѣкнѣти** 'to get dry', &c.

(d) Verbs in **-ѣти** (inf.) of this class are primary verbs which indicate a state and are therefore intransitive: **блѣштати** 'to shine, to glitter', **болѣти** 'to be ill', **боятисѧ** 'to fear', **бѣдѣти** 'to watch', **бѣжати** 'to run', **велѣти** 'to order, to command', **висѣти** 'to hang', **вѣртѣти** 'to turn', **вѣрѣти** 'to boil', **горѣти** 'to burn', **громѣти** 'to thunder', **движати** 'to move', **дрѣжати** 'to hold, to rule', **жадѣти**, **жадати** 'to be thirsty', **зѣрѣти** 'to look', **клатчати** 'to kneel', **кѣснѣти** 'to abide', **кѣпѣти** 'to boil', **лежати** 'to lie', **летѣти** 'to fly', **прильпѣти** 'to stick', **льштати сѧ** 'to shine, to sparkle', **мълчати** 'to be silent', **мръзѣти** 'to be detested', **мѣчати** 'to shake, to carry away', **мынѣти** 'to think, to mean', **пльзѣти** 'to crawl', **полѣти** 'to flame, to blaze', **пѣрѣти сѧ** 'to dispute', **свѣтѣти сѧ** 'to be light, to shine', **скръбѣти** 'to sorrow, to grieve', **смирѣти** 'to stink', **стоѣти** (**стоѧти**) 'to be standing', **стыдѣти сѧ** 'to be ashamed', **сѣдѣти** 'to sit', **трѣпѣти** 'to suffer', **тѣштати сѧ** 'to hurry', **сѣтажати** 'to acquire', **штѣдѣти** 'to spare, to forbear'.

(e) The verb **хотѣти** (**хѣтѣти**) 'to wish' belongs to this conjugation only in the 3rd pl. and in pres. part. act. It forms the present from a stem in **-ѣ-**, and the imperfect and aorist from a stem **хот-**:

Present

Sing. 1	хѣштѧ	Imperative:	хѣшти
2	хѣштеши, хѣште (Supr. 169. 21)	Pres. part. act.:	masc., neut. хѣтѧ
3	хѣштѣтѧ		fem. хѣтѧшти
Plur. 1	хѣштемѧ	Imperfect:	хѣтѣхѣ
2	хѣштѣте	Aorist:	хѣтѣхѣ
3	хѣтѧтѧ	Past part. act. 1, masc., neut.:	хѣтѣвѣ
Dual 1	хѣштевѣ		fem. хѣтѣвѣши
2	хѣштѣта	Past part. act. 2:	хѣтѣл-ѣ, -ѧ, -ѡ
3	хѣштѣте, -та	Verbal noun:	хѣтѣннѣ

(f) The verb **ДОВЪЛѢТИ** (**ДОВѢЛѢТИ**) 'to suffice' has the same conjugation in the present as **ХОТѢТИ**, according to the third conjugation. However, only a few forms of the paradigms are recorded in the texts. The imperfect and aorist are formed from a stem **ДОВЪЛѢ-**:

Present

Sing. 1	ДОВЪЛІѢЖ , ДОВЪЛѢЖ	Plur. 1	ДОВЪЛІѢМЪ , ДОВЪЛѢІЕМЪ
2	ДОВЪЛІѢШИ , ДОВЪЛѢІЕШИ	2	ДОВЪЛІЕТЕ , ДОВЪЛѢІЕТЕ
3	ДОВЪЛІЕТЪ , ДОВЪЛѢІЕТЪ	3	ДОВЪЛАТЪ , -ЛѢТЪ , -ЛѢЖТЪ

Dual 1	ДОВЪЛІЕВѢ , -ЛѢІЕВѢ
2	ДОВЪЛІЕТА , -ЛѢІЕТА
3	ДОВЪЛІЕТЕ , -ЛѢІЕТЕ

Pres. part. act.: **ДОВЪЛА**, **ДОВЪЛѢА**

Imperfect: **ДОВЪЛѢАХЪ**

Aorist: **ДОВЪЛѢХЪ**

Past part. act. 2: **ДОВЪЛѢЛЪ**

(g) The verb **СЪПАТИ** 'to sleep' (**ОУСЪПНИТИ**, **-СЪПІѢЖ**, **-СЪПИШИ** 'to fall asleep') forms the imperfect and aorist from a stem **СЪПА-**; the present is regular: **СЪПІѢЖ**, **СЪПИШИ**, &c., 3rd plur. **СЪПАТЪ**. Imperfect: **СЪПААХЪ**, aorist **СЪПАХЪ**. Imperative: **СЪПИ**, pres. part. act. **СЪПА** (§ 66).

(h) The verb **ВИДѢТИ** has irregular forms in imperative (**ВИЖДЪ**, **ВИДИМЪ**, cf. § 98) and in pres. part. pass. However, **ЗАВИДѢТИ** 'to envy' **ОВИДѢТИ** 'to hurt' have in imperative **ЗАВИДИ**, **ОВИДИ**, and in pres. part. pass. the form **ВИДИМЪ** occurs beside **ВИДОМЪ**. Parallel to **ВИДОМЪ** the verb **ПИТѢТИ**, **ПИТѢЖ** forms a pres. part. pass. **ПИТОМЪ**.

(i) The verbs **ГОРѢТИ** 'to burn', **ЛЕТѢТИ** 'to fly', **ВЪРѢТИ** 'to boil' have in pres. part. act. forms with **-Ж-** instead of **-А-**: N. **ГОРА**, N.pl. **ГОРЖШЕ**, I. pl. **ГОРЖШТИМИ** (Ps. Sin. cxix. 4), but Savv. Kn. has **ГОРАШТЕ**. The Russian Church Slavonic forms **ЛЕТΟΥЩА** and **ВРОУЩА**- presuppose forms with **р** in CS.

(j) The stems of this verbal category end in **-i-**. When the derivative element began with a vowel, this **i** changed into **j** and the

foregoing consonant was palatalized (§ 17. b, § 21). The verbal forms in which this palatalization took place are: 1st sg., impf., past part. act. 1, and past part. pass.:

ВОЗИТИ	ВОЖЖ	ВОЗИШИ	ВОЖДАХЪ	ВОЖЬ	ВОЖЕНЪ
ВОДИТИ	ВОЖДЖ	ВОДИШИ	ВОЖДААХЪ	ВОЖДЬ	ВОЖДЕНЪ
МЖТИТИ	МЖШТЖ	МЖТИШИ	МЖШТААХЪ	МЖШТЬ	МЖШТЕНЪ
ПОУСТИТИ	ПОУШТЖ	ПОУСТИШИ	ПОУШТААХЪ	ПОУШТЬ	ПОУШТЕНЪ
ЛЮБИТИ	ЛЮБІІЖ	ЛЮБИШИ	ЛЮБІІААХЪ	ЛЮБІІЬ	ЛЮБІІЕНЪ

Forms without palatalization occur exceptionally: сѣмотрити 'to look', сѣмоштрж and сѣмотріж alongside сѣмоштріж.

§ 98. FIFTH CONJUGATION (ATHEMATIC VERBS) (§ 61.V)

Present

Sing. 1	юсмь	дамь	вѣмь, вѣдѣ	гамь (гѣмь)
2	юси	даси	вѣси	гаси
3	юстѣ	дастѣ	вѣстѣ	гастѣ
Plur. 1	юсмѣ	дамѣ	вѣмѣ	гамѣ
2	юсте	дасте	вѣсте	гасте
3	сжтѣ	дадатѣ	вѣдатѣ	гاداتѣ
Dual 1	юсвѣ	давѣ	вѣвѣ	гавѣ
2	юста	даста	вѣста	гаста
3	юсте, -та	дасте, -та	вѣсте, -та	гасте, -та

Future

Imperative

Sing. 1	бждж	бждѣмь	—	—	—
2	бждвши	бжди	даждь	вѣждь	гаждь
3	бждстѣ	бжди	даждь	вѣждь	гаждь
Plur. 1	бждемѣ	бждѣмѣ	дадимѣ	вѣдимѣ	гадимѣ
2	бждете	бждѣте	дадите	вѣдите	гадите
3	бждятѣ	бждж	—	—	—
Dual 1	бждевѣ	бждѣвѣ	дадивѣ	вѣдивѣ	гадивѣ
2	бждета	бждѣта	дадита	вѣдита	гадита
3	бждете, -та	бждѣте, -та	—	—	—

Present participle active

Masc., neut.

сы	БЖДЪ 'future'	ДДДЪ	В'ЕДЪ	ІАДЪ
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Fem.

сжшти	БЖДЖШТИ	ДДДЖШТИ	В'ЕДЖШТИ	ІАДЖШТИ
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Present participle passive

—	—	В'ЕДОМЪ, В'ЕДИМЪ, -А, -О	ІАДОМЪ, -А, -О
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Imperfect

Sing.

1	*Б'ЕАХЪ	В'ЕХЪ	ДДД'ЕАХЪ	В'ЕД'ЕАХЪ	ІАД'ЕАХЪ
2	Б'ЕАШЕ	В'Е	ДДД'ЕАШЕ	В'ЕД'ЕАШЕ	ІАД'ЕАШЕ
3	Б'ЕАШЕ	В'Е	ДДД'ЕАШЕ	В'ЕД'ЕАШЕ	ІАД'ЕАШЕ

Plur.

1	*Б'ЕАХОМЪ	В'ЕХОМЪ	ДДД'ЕАХОМЪ	В'ЕД'ЕАХОМЪ	ІАД'ЕАХОМЪ
2	Б'ЕАШЕТЕ	В'ЕШТЕ	ДДД'ЕАШЕТЕ	В'ЕД'ЕАШЕТЕ	ІАД'ЕАШЕТЕ
3	Б'ЕАХЖ	В'ЕШЖ	ДДД'ЕАХЖ	В'ЕД'ЕАХЖ	ІАД'ЕАХЖ

Dual

1	*Б'ЕАХОВ'Е	В'ЕХОВ'Е	ДДД'ЕАХОВ'Е	В'ЕД'ЕАХОВ'Е	ІАД'ЕАХОВ'Е
2	Б'ЕАШЕТА	В'ЕШТА	ДДД'ЕАШЕТА	В'ЕД'ЕАШЕТА	ІАД'ЕАШЕТА
3	Б'ЕАШЕТЕ, -ТА	В'ЕШТЕ, -ТА	ДДД'ЕАШЕТЕ, -ТА	В'ЕД'ЕАШЕТЕ, -ТА	ІАД'ЕАШЕТЕ, -ТА

Aorist

Sing.

1	Б'ЫХЪ	ДАХЪ	В'ЕД'ЕХЪ	ІАСЪ (ІЕСЪ), ІАХЪ
2	Б'ЫСТЪ, Б'Ы	ДАСТЪ, ДА	В'ЕД'Е	ІАСТЪ, ИЗ-ІА (ИЗ-І'Е)
3	Б'ЫСТЪ, Б'Ы	ДАСТЪ, ДА	В'ЕД'Е	ІАСТЪ, ИЗ-ІА (ИЗ-І'Е)

Plur.

1	Б'ЫХОМЪ	ДАХОМЪ	В'ЕД'ЕХОМЪ	ІАСОМЪ, ІАХОМЪ
2	Б'ЫШТЕ	ДАШТЕ	В'ЕД'ЕШТЕ	ІАШТЕ
3	Б'ЫШЖ	ДАШЖ	В'ЕД'ЕШЖ	ІАШЖ, ІАШЖ

Dual

1	Б'ЫХОВ'Е	ДАХОВ'Е	В'ЕД'ЕХОВ'Е	ІАСОВ'Е
2	Б'ЫШТА	ДАШТА	В'ЕД'ЕШТА	ІАШТА
3	Б'ЫШТЕ, -ТА	ДАШТЕ, -ТА	В'ЕД'ЕШТЕ, -ТА	ІАШТЕ, -ТА

Past participle active 1

Masc., neut.	БЫВЪ	ДАВЪ	ВѢДѢВЪ	ІАДЪ
Fem.	БЫВЪШИ	ДАВЪШИ	ВѢДѢВЪШИ	ІАДЪШИ

Past participle active 2

БЫЛЪ, -А, -О	ДАЛЪ, -А, -О	ВѢДѢЛЪ, -А, -О	ІАЛЪ, -А, -О
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Past participle passive

ЗАБѢВЕНЪ, -А, -О 'forgotten'	ДАЕНЪ, -А, -О	ВѢДѢЕНЪ, -А, -О	ІАЕНЪ, -А, -О
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Infinitive

БЫТИ 'to be'	ДАТИ 'to give'	ВѢДѢТИ 'to know'	ІАСТИ 'to eat'
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Supine

БЫТЬ	ДАТЬ	ВѢДѢТЬ	ІАСТЬ
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Verbal noun

БЫТИЕ, (ЗА)БѢВЕНІЕ	ДАНИЕ	ВѢДѢНІЕ	ІАДЕНІЕ
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(a) For the conditional of БЫТИ see § 72.

(b) The form ВѢХЪ, &c., has the conjugation of an aorist, but it fulfils the function of the imperfect tense, though once it translates the Greek aorist ἐγέροντο = ВѢША (Zogr., Mar., L. xiii. 2, 4). It seems that ВѢХЪ is the older imperfect form, and was replaced, starting with the 3rd pl., by ВѢАХЪ, a newer creation, on the analogy of the other imperfect forms. Forms of the first person imperfect ВѢАХЪ do not occur in the texts.

(c) In the 3rd sg. pres. there also appears the short form е, ю (Zogr., Mar., Ass., Cloz., Savv. Kn., Supr.). In the 2nd sg. pres. we find си for юси (Zogr., L. xi. 27). In the 3rd pl. pres. a short form сж appears (Supr. 38. 12, etc.).

(d) The negative present is: sg. нѢСМЪ, нѢСИ, нѢСТЪ (нѢ); pl. нѢСМЪ, нѢСТЕ, не сжТЪ; du. нѢСВѢ, нѢСТА, нѢСТЕ, -та.

(e) Forms of a future participle are preserved in Euch. Sin., Supr., Mar. (once): БѢДЖШТ-, and a future part. БЫШАЩЕЮ, БЫШАЩЕЮ appears in Izbornik 1073, and in later texts.

(f) The iterative (impft.-indeterminate) БЫВАТИ, БЫВАЖ (: БЫТИ, БЖДЖ) appears in compound formations: ЗАБЫВАТИ, -ВАЖ: ЗАБЫТИ (impft.), -БЖДЖ (pft.) 'to forget' (§ 89).

(g) The verb БЫТИ is built on an infinitive stem БЫ- < IE *bhū- (cf. Lat. *fūit*) and a present stem with vowel alternation: *e* ~ *zero*, *(i)es- ~ *s-ontū (§ 37); БЖДЖ seems to be a perfective form built on the same stem.

(h) The present stems of the other athematic verbs end in a dental: *dad-*, *vēd-*, *ēd-*; *dad-* keeps the dental in the originally reduplicated forms; the dental disappears when followed by *m* or *s*, and changes into *s* when followed by *t*: **dad-mī* > ДАМЬ, **dad-si* > ДАСИ, **dad-tū* > ДАСТЪ (§ 29. 4. 10); on the analogy of these verbs one finds БЫСТЪ in the 2nd and 3rd sg. aor.

(i) The aspect of ДАТИ is perfective, except in the negative НЕ ДАТИ; the imperfective form is ДАЯТИ, ДАЖ, &c.

(j) In the imperative a form ДАЖДИ also appears.

(k) The athematic verb ВЪДАТИ also has in the 1st sg. pres. the form ВЪДАТЪ (cf. Gr. perfect *οἶδα*; § 84), which also occurs in Old Slovene (Freis.), Old Czech, and Old Russian. This form appears twice in Zogr., twice in Ass., six times in Savv. Кн.; in Supr. ВЪДАТЪ is more frequently used than ВЪДАМЬ. The two forms may have belonged to two different dialects. The stem ВЪДАТЪ- is replaced, mainly in imperfective forms, by ВЪДА-: ПОВЪДАТИ, ПОВЪДОВАТИ.

(l) In the 3rd sg. pres. a short form ВЪТЪ is recorded in Supr. (382. 17) and проповѣтъ сѧ '(it) shall be proclaimed' in Ass. (L. xii. 3).

(m) In the past part. pass. there appear the isolated forms ИЗВѢСТЪ (Supr. 363. 3) 'well informed' and in later texts ВѢСТЪ 'known'; these are adjectival forms.

(n) The verb ІАСТИ has a single stem **jad-* = **ēd-* (cf. Lat. *ēdo*) from which all the forms are built: **jad-ti* > ІАСТИ, **jad-sū* > ІАСЬ, ІАХЪ (ІХЪ).

(o) The form БЖДЖ is used as the imperative for the 3rd pers. pl.: БЖДЖ ЧРЪСЛА ВАША ПРЪПОЪСАНА (Mar., L. xii. 35) 'Let your loins be girded about'; БЖДЖ ДНЬВ ЕГО МАЛИ (Ps. Sin. cix. 8) 'Let his days be few'; БЖДЖ ЧАДА ЕГО ВЪ ПАГОУБЖ (Ps. Sin. cix. 13)

'Let his posterity be cut off', &c. But this imperative is expressed, in the same text, by *да* and the present-future form: *да бѣждѣтъ прѣдъ господьмъ вѣнхъ* (Ps. Sin. cix. 15) 'Let them be before the Lord continually' (§ 71.2).

(*p*) The forms *-бѣждѣ* are always perfective: *избѣйти, избѣждѣ* 'to abound in, to escape', *добѣйти, добѣждѣ* 'to attain', *сѣбѣйти, сѣбѣждѣ сѣ* 'to happen', *забѣйти, забѣждѣ* 'to forget'; the forms *-бѣйти, -бѣвати* are imperfective *избѣйти* 'to escape', *забѣйти* 'to forget', *избѣвати* 'to be abundance of, to be liberated', *прѣбѣвати* 'to remain'.

(*q*) The perfective *бѣждѣ* replacing the imperfective *бѣйти* in the perfect forms (§ 84) creates a future perfect form: *дамъ бѣждѣ* 'I shall have given' (§ 87).

(*r*) The verb *имѣти* 'to have' forms the present according to the third conjugation (§ 96): *имѣѣж, имѣѣши*, &c., or according to the athematic verbs from a stem *има-*. Its conjugation is built on two stems:

<i>Present</i>	<i>Imperative</i>	<i>Aorist</i>	<i>Imperfect</i>
<i>Sing.</i>			
1 <i>имамъ</i>	—	<i>имѣхъ</i>	<i>имѣахъ</i>
2 <i>имаши</i>	<i>имѣи</i>	<i>имѣ</i>	<i>имѣаше</i>
3 <i>иматъ</i>	<i>имѣи</i>	<i>имѣ</i>	<i>имѣаше</i>
<i>Plur.</i>			
1 <i>имамъ</i>	<i>имѣимъ</i>	<i>имѣхомъ</i>	<i>имѣахомъ</i>
2 <i>имате</i>	<i>имѣите</i>	<i>имѣсте</i>	<i>имѣашете</i>
3 <i>иматъ, имѣѣтъ</i>	—	<i>имѣша</i>	<i>имѣахъ</i>
<i>Dual</i>			
1 <i>имавѣ</i>	<i>имѣивѣ</i>	<i>имѣховѣ</i>	<i>имѣаховѣ</i>
2 <i>имата</i>	<i>имѣита</i>	<i>имѣста</i>	<i>имѣашета</i>
3 <i>имате, -та</i>	—	<i>имѣсте, -та</i>	<i>имѣашете, -та</i>
<i>Pres. part. act. masc., neut.</i>		<i>имы, имѣѣ, fem. имѣшти, имѣѣшти</i>	
<i>Past part. act. 1 masc., neut.</i>		<i>имѣвѣ, fem. имѣвѣши</i>	
<i>Past part. act. 2</i>		<i>имѣлѣ, -ло, -ла</i>	
<i>Verbal noun</i>		<i>имѣннѣ</i>	

INVARIABLE WORD-CATEGORIES

§ 99. ADVERBS

Nouns, adjectives, pronouns, numerals, in various cases, with or without prepositions, sometimes derived by means of suffixes, acquire the function of adverbs (§ 54), which may also function as conjunctions (§ 104) or prepositions (§ 103).

1. Locative sg. (masc., neut.): **ДОБРО** 'well', **ДОЛГ** 'down', **ВЪНН** 'outside', **ГОР** 'up', **КРОМ** 'beside', **МИТ** 'alternating', **ПОЗД** 'late', **ОУТР** 'next day', **НЪН** 'now', **ЛНИ** 'last year', **ЗАДИ** 'behind', **СКВОЗ** 'through', **МЕЖДОУ** (loc. du.) 'between', **ДОЛОУ** 'down', **ВЪНОУ** 'out', **ВРЪХОУ** 'on (top of)', **НИЗОУ** 'down', **ТОУ** 'there, here', **ОНОУДЕ** 'there', **ПОСРЕДОУ** (loc. du.) 'between', **ОУ, Ю** (оуже, юже) 'already', **ОУ-ТО** 'of course'.

2. Accusative sg. (masc., fem., neut.) **ЗЪЛО** 'very', **ЛЮБО** 'also', **ЛЮБО ЛИ** 'or', **МАЛО** 'a little', **ТАКО** 'such', **ТОУНИЕ** 'for nothing, in vain', **СИЦЕ** 'so'; comparatives: **БОЛНЕ** 'more', **ВЪШЕ** 'higher up', **ПАЧЕ** 'again', **ДАЛЕЧЕ** 'far', **ЮДИНАЧЕ** 'yet, more', **ТАЧЕ** 'then', **ОБАЧЕ** 'however', **ЮШТЕ** 'more', **ПРОТИВЪ** 'opposite', **ВЪНН** 'outside', **НИЗЪ** 'down', **БЛИЗЪ** 'near', **ПРОТИВЪ** 'against'.

3. Instrumental sg. (fem.) (§ 59.6.a): **ВЪШЫЖ** 'only', **ЮДИНОЖ** 'once', **ВЪТОРИЦЫЖ** 'the second time', **МЪНОЖИЦЫЖ** 'often', **ТЪЧНИЖ** 'just, only', **НОШТИЖ** 'at daybreak'.

4. Genitive sg.: **ВЪЧЕРА** 'yesterday'.

5. Dative sg.: **ДОМОУ** 'at home'.

6. Instrumental pl.: **ВЪПРОСЪКЪ** 'however, again', **ПРЯМЪ** 'straight', **ТРИКРАТЪ** 'three times', and the adverbs in **-СЪКЪ** (§ 100); **БОЛЬШИ**, **БОЛЬШЫМЪ** 'more', **ВЕЛИКИ** 'great, much', **КОЛЬКИ** 'how much', **МАНЬШЫМИ** 'less', **НАДЪМИ** 'forcibly'.

7. Instrumental du.: **ДЪЛЪМА** 'because of', **НОУДЪМА** 'necessarily', **ПОЛЪМА** 'in two halves, through the middle', **ТОЛЪМА** 'so much', **ЮЛЪМА** (юлѣ) 'in how far, how much'.

§ 100. ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES

The adverbial forms are very numerous. Some are clear nominal cases (§ 99), others continue prehistoric formations. The syntactic

use of adverbs has been studied by Al. Doritsch, 'Gebrauch der altbulgarischen Adverbia' (*Jahresbericht des Instituts für rumänische Sprache*, xvi, Leipzig, 1910). Here are the most frequent suffixes of historic and prehistoric origin:

- Ъ**: **ПАКЪ** 'again', **МАЛЪ** 'a little', **АКЪ** 'as', **ОКЪ** 'as, about'; adjectives in **-ЪСКЪ** regularly form adverbs in **-Ъ**: **ЛАТИНСКЪ** 'in Latin', **РОУМЬСКЪ** 'in Roman', **ВЪСЪКЪЧЬСКЪ** 'by all means' (§ 99.6).
- И**: **КОЛИ** 'when', **ПОСЛѢДИ** 'afterwards', **ПРЕДИ** 'in front', **ОТАН, ТАИ** 'secretly' (§ 99.1).
- А**: **ДОМА** 'at home', **ЮДЪВА** 'hardly, scarcely', **НЪНИА** 'now', **ДЪЛА** 'for the sake of'.
- АМО** derives local adverbs from pronouns: **ВЪСЪМО** 'in all directions', **КАМО** 'whither', **ТАМО** 'thither', **СЪМО** 'hither', **ОВАМО** 'hither', **ОНАМО** 'thither' (§ 54).
- ЖДОУ**, **-ЖДЪ** derive local (direction) adverbs from pronouns: (**ОТЪ**) **ВЪСЖДОУ** '(from) everywhere', (**ИЗ**) **ВЪНЖДОУ** '(from) outside' (**ИЗ**) **ВЪНЪЖДОУ** '(from) outside', (**ОТЪ**) **КЖДОУ, КЖДЖ, КЖДЪ** 'whence', (**ОТЪ**) **ТЖДОУ, ТЖДЖ, ТЖДЪ** 'thence', (**ОТЪ**) **СЖДОУ** 'hither', (**ОТЪ**) **ОВОЖДОУ** '(from) both sides', (**ИЗ**) **ЖТРЫЖДОУ** '(from) inside' (§ 99.1).
- ДЕ** (**-ЖДЕ**) derives local adverbs from pronouns: **КЪДЕ** 'where', **ОВЪДЕ** 'here', **ОНЪДЕ** 'there', **ВЪСЪДЕ** 'everywhere', **СЪДЕ . . . ОВЪДЕ** 'here . . . there', **ИНЪДЕ** 'elsewhere', **ИДЕ, ИДЕЖЕ, ИЖДЕ, ИЖДЕЖЕ** 'where' (relative), **ДОИДЕЖЕ, ДОНЪЖДЕ, ДОНЪДЕЖЕ** 'to, up to', **ПОСЛѢЖДЕ** 'afterwards' (§ 99.4).
- ДА** derives temporal adverbs from pronouns: **ВЪСЕГДА** 'always', **ЮГДА(-ЖЕ)** 'when' (relative), **КЪГДА (КОГДА)** 'when', **ТЪГДА (ТОГДА)** 'then', **ИНЪГДА** 'once', **ОВОГДА** 'at that time', **НИКЪГДАЖЕ** 'never', **НЪКЪГДАЖЕ** 'sometimes'.
- МИ, -МА** derive modal adverbs: **ВЕЛЬМИ** 'very', **ЮЛЬМИ** 'how far' (relative), **КОЛЬМИ . . . ТОЛЬМИ** 'so much . . . as', **БЪХЪМА (БЪХЪМЪ БЪХЪМЪ)** 'throughout, absolutely', **НОДЪМА, НОУДЪМА** 'by force', **РАДЪМА (РАДМА, РАДИ)** 'for, because of', **ТЪКЪМА (ТЪКЪМО)** 'only' (§ 99.6.7).
- ЛЬ, -ЛИ, -ЛЪ** derive qualitative adverbs (of degree) from pronouns: **КОЛЬ, КОЛИ, КОЛЪ . . . ТОЛЬ, ТОЛИ, ТОЛЪ** 'to what degree

- (*quantum*) . . . to such degree (*tantum*), **ИЖЕ КОЛИЖЪ ДО** 'whosoever', **ОТЪ СЕЛИ, СЕЛѢ**, 'from now on', **ДОКОЛѢ** 'till', **ДОИЕЛѢЖЕ** 'as long as, till'. These adverbs also have temporal meaning.
- ШЪДИ, -ШДИ, -ЖДИ** derive multiplicative adverbs (§ 59.4): **ДЪВЪШЪДИ** 'twice', **ТРИЖДИ** 'three times', **МНОГЪШЪДИ, МНОГЪШТИ** 'many times'.
- Ъ** of unknown origin derives adverbs mainly from adjectives: **АШОУТЬ** 'in vain', **БЕЗДОБЪ** 'untimely', **ВЪСПАТЬ** 'backwards', **ВЪСПРЪ** 'upwards', **ИЗДРАДЪ** 'extraordinarily', **ИЗЪТРЪ** 'from inside', **ИНОСТАНЪ** 'continuously', **ИСКРЪ** 'near by', **ОКРЪСТЬ** 'round', **ОПАТЬ** 'again', **ЖТРЪ** 'inside', **ИЗЪТРЪ** 'from inside', **ОСОБЪ** 'especially', **ОТЪИЖДЪ, ОТЪИЖДЪ** 'altogether', **ПРАВЪ** 'indeed', **ПРЪКЪМЪ** 'straight', **ПРЪКЪПРОСТЬ** 'simply', **РАЗЛИЧЪ** 'differently', **СЪПРОТИВЪ** 'towards', **СТРЪМОГЛАВЪ** 'straight ahead', **СОУГОУБЪ** 'twofold' (§ 54).

§ 101. PARTICLES

ЛИ is the interrogative particle and follows the emphasized word; **ЛИ . . . ЛИ** 'either . . . or', **АШТЕ ЛИ** 'if however'.

НЕ, НИ are negative particles, the first being the simple negation, the second expressing emphatic, absolute negation; **НЕЖЕ** after comparatives means 'than', **НЕКЪЛИ, НЕГЛИ** 'perhaps', **НИ** 'no, neither', **НИКЪТО** 'nobody', **НИЧЪТО** 'nothing', **НИ . . . НИ** 'neither . . . nor' (§ 104).

The direct object of a negative sentence or verb takes the genitive: **НИКЪТОЖЕ БО НЕ ПРИСТАВЛѢАТЬ ПРИСТАВЛЕНИѢ ПЛАТА НЕ ВЪКЛЕНА** (Mar., Mt. ix. 16) 'No man putteth a piece of new cloth'; **НИ ВЪЛИВАЮТЪ ВИНА НОВА ВЪ ИѢХУМЪ ВЕТЪХУМЪ** (Mar., Mt. ix. 17) 'neither do men put new wine into old bottles'; **ВЕЖНЕГО НИЧЕСОЖЕ НЕ ВЪСТЪ ЕЖЕ ВЪСТЪ** (Ass., J. i. 3) (Zogr. has **НИЧЪТОЖЕ НЕ ВЪСТЪ**) 'without him was not any thing'; **ѢКО НЕ ИМАМЪ КЪДЕ СЪБИРАТИ ПЛОДЪ МОИХЪ** (L. xii. 17) 'because I have no room where to bestow my fruits'.

НѢ- prefixed to a pronoun or adverb gives it an indefinite meaning: **НѢКЪКЪТО** 'somebody', **НѢКЪКЪГДА** 'sometime', **НѢ ОУ КОГО** 'with somebody', **НИ ОУ КОГО** 'with nobody' (§ 55. 3. b).

СИ is a particle which strengthens an interrogative sentence: **ЧТО (ЛИ) СИ ЮИ БЪДЕТЬ, ВЪПРАША ЮЯ** (Mar.) 'what then will happen to her, he asked her'.

-ЖДЕ suffixed to a pronoun emphasizes the identity: **ТЪЖДЕ** 'the same', **ТАКОЖДЕ** 'also', **ПРЪЖДЕ** 'before' (§ 55. 2. b. c., § 100).

-ЖДО, -ЖДО suffixed to a pronoun generalizes the meaning: **КЪЖДО** 'every one' (§ 55. 2. b).

-ЖЕ suffixed to a demonstrative pronoun gives a relative meaning: **ИЖЕ** 'who', **ЮГДАЖЕ** 'when', &c., or emphasizes the negation: **НИКЪТОЖЕ** 'nobody', **НИКЪГДАЖЕ** 'never' (§ 55. 2. б).

§ 102. PREFIXES AND PREPOSITIONS

1. Certain particles are used only as prefixes and modify the meaning of verbs (§ 91, § 92) and nouns: **ПРО-** 'through', **ПРЪ-** 'over, through', **РАЗ-** (**РАЗЪ-**), **РАС-** 'asunder', **ПА-**, **ПРА-**, **СЖ-**: **ПРОКАЗА** 'leprosy', **ПРЪДРАГЪ** 'very dear', **РАЗУМЪ** 'mind, intellect', **ПАГОУБА** 'loss', **ПАМАТЬ** 'memory', **ПРАДЪДА** 'ancestor', **СЖПЪРЪ** 'adversary', **СЖЪДА** 'neighbour'.

2. Other particles are used as prefixes (§ 92) and prepositions with nominal cases:

ВЪ 'in' with A. (direction), with L. (place): **ВЪ ТЪ ДЪНЬ** 'that day', **ВЪ КОУПЪ** 'together'.

ВЪЗ (**ВЪЗЪ**), **ВЪС** 'for, in exchange for' with A. **ВЪС КЪЖ** 'why?'; **ВЪС КРАИ** 'near by' (prep. with G.).

ЗА 'for, after, behind' with A. (direction), with I. (place), with G. it means 'because': **ЮТИ ЗА ВЛАСЪ** 'to seize by the hair'.

ИЗ (**ИЗЪ**), **ИС** 'from, out' with G.: **ИЗДРЪЖЪ** (= **ИЗ РЪЖЪ**) 'from the hand', **ИС КОРАБИ** 'from the boat'. This particle is seldom used as a preposition.

НА 'on, to, upon' with A. (direction), with L. (place): **ИЗЛИША ОГНЬ НА ЗЕМЪЖ** (Supr. 6. 18) 'they poured fire on earth'.

НАДЪ (**НАДО**) 'on, upon, over' with A. (direction), with I. (place): **НАДЪ ГЛАВЪ** 'over the head', **НАДЪ СИНОМЪ ГОРЪЖ** (Ps. Sin. ii. 6) 'upon (my holy) hill of Zion'.

О, ОБ (**ОБЪ**) 'over, round, about', with A. (direction), with L.

- (place): **ОБ** **НОШТЬ ВЪСЪЖ** 'the whole night through', **ОБЪ** **ОНЪ ПОЛЪ** 'on the other side', **О** **ДВЕНЪЖ** 'on the right'.
ОТЪ 'from, away' with G.: **ОТЪ** **НЕБЕСЕ** 'from heaven'.
ПО, the original meaning of this preposition was 'under, below', with D. it expresses extension in space: **ПО** **МОРЮ** **ХОДА** 'walking over the sea'; with A. it indicates direction in space or time: **ПО** **ВЪСА** **ГРАДЪ** 'through all towns', **ПО** **ВЪСА** **ЧАСЪ** 'through all times'; with numerals it gives a distributive meaning: **ПО** **ДВѢМА** (dat.) 'two each'; with L. (temporal and local): **ПО** **ТОМЪ ЖЕ** 'after that'.
ПОДЪ 'under, beneath' with A. (direction), with I. (situation): **ПОДЪ** **НОГЪ** 'under the feet', **ПОДЪ** **НОГАМА** 'under the feet'.
ПРИ 'at, at the time' with L.: **ВЪЗВРАТИЛЪ** **НЫ** **ЕСИ** **ВЪСПЯТЪ** **ПРИ** **ВРАТѢХЪ** **НАШИХЪ** (Ps. Sin. xlv. 11) 'and hast scattered us among the (our) heathen'.
ПРѢДЪ 'in front of, before' with A. (direction), with I. (situation): **ПРѢДЪ** **ЦѢСАРИ** 'before the king', **ПРѢДЪ** **ГРАДОМЪ** 'in the vicinity of the city'.
СЪ (со, съ) 'with' with I. (expressing association, not the instrument), with G. 'from, off, away' (separation), with A. indicates measure (in later texts): **СЪ** **НИМЪ** 'with him', **СЪ** **НЕБЕСЕ** 'down from heaven', **СЪ** **ЛAKЪТЪ** 'a cubit long'.
ОУ 'at' with G.: **ОУ** **ДВЕРЬЦА** 'at the doors'.

- (a) The particles **ВЪЗ**, **ВЪЗ**, **ИЗ**, **ОБ**, **РАЗ**, used as prepositions or as prefixes, have, as a rule, no final vowel (-ъ). Forms with final -ъ are exceptional in Mar., Euch. Sin., more frequent in Ass., Supr. Also **ОТЪ** appears in the texts without the final vowel -ъ.
- (b) Forms with vocalized reduced vowels in strong position in a sentence (§33. 1) occur in the texts: **ВОЗ**, **ВО**, **ОТО**, **НАДО**, **ПОДО**, **ПРѢДО**.
- (c) An isolated preposition **ВЪ** occurs in front of words beginning with **И**:- **ВЪ** **ИСТИНЪ** (**ВЪ****ИСТИНЪ** = **ВЪ** **ИСТИНЪ**) 'in truth', **ВЪ** **ИНЪ** **ВЕСЪ** (Mar., L. ix. 56) 'in another village'. The change *vī-* > *vy-* could be explained according to § 33. 3.

§ 103. ADVERBS IN PREPOSITIONAL FUNCTION

Certain adverbs and nominal case-forms with adverbial significance are used as prepositions (§ 99):

With G.: **БЛИЗЪ** 'near' (also takes D.), **ВЪНѢ** 'outside', **ДѢЛА**, **ДѢЛЬМА** 'because of', **ИСКРѢ** 'nearly', **КРОМѢ** 'besides, except', **ПРѢЖДЕ** 'before', **РАДИ**, **РАДѢМА** 'because, for', **РАЗВѢ** 'outside, except'.

With D.: **ПРОТИВЪ** 'against, opposed to', **ПРѢМО** 'against, in front of, opposite'.

With A.: **ПОДЛѢГЪ** 'along', **СКВОЗѢ** 'through'.

With I.: **МЕЖДУ** 'between'.

§ 104. CONJUNCTIONS

А, **АЛИ** 'but' translates Gr. *δέ*, co-ordinates the parts of the sentence by opposing them: **НЕБО И ЗЕМЛѢ МИМО ИДЕТЬ, А СЛОВЕСА МОѢ НЕ МИМО ИДѢТЬ** (Mar., L. xxi. 33) 'heaven and earth will pass, but my words will not pass away'; with the conditional it means 'if': **А БИ БЫЛЪ СЪДЕ НЕ БЫ МИ ОУМРѢЛЪ БРАТЪ** (Supr. 307. 21) 'if he had been here my brother would not have died'; **А БЫ БЫЛЪ ПРОРОКЪ** (L. vii. 39) 'if he were a prophet'; followed by the interrogative **ЛИ**, it developed into an emphatic conjunction: **ИНЪ СЪПАСЕ, АЛИ СЕБЕ НЕ МОЖЕТЪ СЪПАСТИ** (Mar., Mk. xv. 31) 'He saved others, himself he cannot save'.

АКЪ, **ТАКЪ**, **АКО**, **ѢКО**, **ТАКО**, **ТАКОЖЕ**, **ОКЪ** 'how, so that, when', introducing a complementary clause after the verbs 'to say, to think', &c. It translates Gr. *ὡς, ὅτε*. It may also introduce *oratio recta*, imitating Gr. *ὅτι*: **БЫ ГЛАГОЛѢТЕ ѢКО ВЛАСВИМЛѢШИ** (Mar., J. x. 36) 'you say (say ye): Thou blasphemest' Gr. *ὁμοίως λέγετε, ὅτι βλασφημεῖς*; 'when, as': **И ѢКО ПРИБЛИЖИ СѦ, ВИДѢВЪ ГРАДЪ ПЛАКА СѦ О НЕМЪ** (Mar., L. xix. 41) 'when he was come near, he beheld the city, and wept over it', **СОТОНА ПРОСИТЬ ВАСЪ ДА БИ СѢЛЪ ѢКО ПШЕНИЦЪ** (Mar., L. xxii. 31) 'Satan hath desired (to have) you, that he may sift (you) as wheat'; **И ОТЪПОУСТИ НАМЪ ДЛѢГЪ НАША, ТАКО И ЛЪ**

ОТЪ ПОУШТАЕМЪ ДЛЪЖЪНИКОМЪ НАШИМЪ (Mar., Mt. vi. 12) 'and forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors'; meaning 'because, for': МЕНЕ ЖЕ НЕ НАВИДИТЪ, ЪКО АЗЪ СЪВѢДѢТЕЛЬСТВОУЮЪ О НЕМЪ, ЪКО ДѢЛА ЕГО ЗЪЛА СЪТЪ (Mar., J. vii. 7) 'but me it hateth, because I testify of it, that the works thereof are evil'.

ацѣ, цѣ 'although, however' translates Gr. *καίτοι*: не во рече · Юда прѣдавникъ, ацѣ лѣпо вѣ . . . и сего отъ зълобы прозъвати (Supr. 410. 20) 'for he did not say: Judas the traitor, although (however) it was right to call also this one by the name of his crime', и не видѣаше тоу сжшта югоже хотѣаше прѣдати, цѣ свѣштамъ сжштамъ и свѣтоу толикоу (Supr. 412. 15) 'he did not see that he whom he wanted to sell was there, though there were torches and so much light'.

аште (аште), аште ли 'if, whether' (conditional): аште хоштеши, можеши 'if thou wilt, thou canst', аште би вѣдѣлъ . . . вѣдѣлъ оубо би 'if he had known . . . he would have watched'; аште и 'even if': аште и смъртъно что испижатъ ничътоже ихъ не вѣдитъ (Mar., Mk. xvi. 18) 'and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall in no wise hurt them'; аште 'whether' introduces an indirect interrogative clause translating Gr. *εἰ*: остани да видимъ, аште придетъ илиѣ (Mar., Mt. xxvii. 49) 'let be, let us see whether Elijah will come'; after a relative pronoun аште generalizes the relative meaning by imitating the Greek construction *ὅς ἂν* (*εἰάν*): иже аште съблазнитъ (Mar., Mk. ix. 42) 'whosoever shall offend', и идеже аште вѣидетъ рьцѣта господиноу домоу (Mar., Mk. xiv. 14) 'and wheresoever he shall go in, say to the good-man of the house'; аште ли 'else, otherwise': отъженѣмъ и отъ прѣдѣлъ сихъ, аште ли вса люди привлѣчетъ къ себѣ (Supr. 215. 30) 'let us drive him away from these lands, otherwise he will attract to him all people', аште ли же ни, просаджатъ са мѣси (Mar., Mt. ix. 17) 'else the skins burst'; иже аште 'whoever', аште ли да 'if however, lest', аште ли же ни, аште да не 'if not, lest'.

БО used enclitically 'for, because'; **ИБО** 'and really, for even' corresponds to Gr. *καὶ γάρ*, Lat. *etenim*: **ИБО И ПСИ ѲДАТЪ** (Mar., Mt. xv. 27) 'for even the dogs eat'; **ИБО** may be separated into **И** and **БО**: **И ТИ БО ПРИДЖ ВЪ ПРАЗДЪНИКЪ** (Mar., J. iv. 45) 'for they also went unto the feast'; **ОУБО** 'but' translates Gr. *(οὐκ)οὐν*: **ОУБО ЦѢСАРЬ ЛИ ЕСИ ТЪ** (Mar., J. xviii. 37) 'art thou a king then?'; **ОУБО . . . же** translates Gr. *μὲν . . . δέ*: **ѲКО ТИ ОУБО ИЗБИША Я, ВЪИ же зиждете ихъ гробъ** (Mar., L. xi. 48) 'for they (indeed) killed them, and ye build their sepulchres'; **ОУБО** also renders the conditional expressed by Gr. *ἄν*: **аште бисте любили ма, възрадовали са бисте оубо** (Mar., J. xiv. 28) 'if ye loved me, ye would rejoice'; **НЕБОНЪ** 'and really, however', when divided into its component parts **НЕ БО НЪ**, means 'because that is not, namely, but': **НЕБОНЪ И азъ Израилитѣнинъ юсмь** (Romans xi. 1) 'for I also am an Israelite'.

ВЪНЕГДА, see **ЮГДА**.

ДА (**ДО**) 'in order that' (final); in negative sentences **ДА НЕ** or **ЮДА**: **посълаша засѣдъники, твораша са праведници сжште да имжтъ и въ словеси, да бж и прѣдали владычъствоу** (Mar., L. xx. 20) 'they sent forth spies, which feigned themselves to be righteous, that they might take hold of his speech, that so they might deliver him unto the power', **Ѳко сънидъ с небесе, да не творж вола моего, нъ волаж посълашешаго ма** (Mar., J. vi. 38) 'for I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me'; preceding the 3rd person forms it expresses the imperative: **ДА вждетъ** 'let it be', also with the 2nd pers.: **ДА вѣси** 'thou shalt know'; **ДА** introduces a complemental clause: **что хощеши да ти сътворж** (Mar., L. xviii. 41) 'what wilt thou that I shall do unto thee?', и вратникоу повелѣ да вѣдитъ (Mar., Mk. xiii. 34) 'he commanded also the porter to watch', **не възможъно встъ да не приджтъ сканъдали** (Mar., L. xvii. 1) 'it is impossible but that offences will come'.

In a few cases **ДА** introduces a consecutive sentence: **ТОЛИКА**

во сила бѣаше оучителя, да и влѣдница привлѣшти на свое послушание (Supr. 408. 20) 'for the power of the Master was such that he also attracted the fornicatrices to obey him'; as a rule the consecutive да is followed by the aorist and not by the present: чѣто ти естъ море да побѣже (Ps. Sin. cxiii. 5) 'what aileth thee, o thou sea, that thou fleddest?', кѣто сѣгрѣши, съ ли или родителѣ его, да слѣпъ роди сѣ (Mar., J. ix. 2) 'who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?'; аште да 'if . . . that': аште ли его п'си да въскоусятъ, ѿ денъ да поститъ сѣ (Euch. Sin. 103a. 15) 'or if (it happens) that the dogs taste it, 100 days he should fast'; даже не, прѣжде даже не 'till', неже да 'rather than', тако да 'so that' (*ut* consecutive), да ако, да тако 'when however, when then': идѣмъ оубо братия мои въкоупѣ даже не придетъ (Supr. 16. 20) 'let us go, brethren, together before he comes', не видѣти смърти прѣжде даже видитъ Хръста Господинѣ (Mar., L. ii. 26) 'that he should not see death, before he had seen the Lord's Christ', оунѣ емоу би било, аште би камень жръновѣнъ възложенъ на вѣнъ его, и въвѣрженъ въ море, неже да скандалисатъ . . . (Mar., L. xvii. 2) 'it were better for him if a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were thrown into the sea, than that he should offend . . .', искаахъ лѣжа съвѣдѣтелѣ на Исоуса, чѣко да оубижатъ i (Mar., Mt. xxvi. 59) '(they) sought false witness against Jesus, that they might put him to death', прѣжде даже въторицеѣж кокотъ не възгласитъ (Mar., Mk. xiv. 30) 'before the cock crow twice'.

дажи до, дожи и до, и до 'till, until, as far as'.

The conjunction да may mean 'and (then)', indicating an emphatic contrast between two clauses. This use developed into an affirmation: глагола имъ Исоусъ: азъ есмь . . . , да чѣко рече имъ азъ есмь, идѣ възспать (Mar., J. xviii. 6) 'Jesus said unto them: I am . . . , as soon then as he (had) said unto them: I am, they went backward', не десатъ ли ирнстиша сѣ; да деватъ како не обрѣтѣж сѣ (Mar., L. xvii. 17) 'were there not the ten cleansed? but (then, yes) why were the nine not found?'

ДОНЕЛИЖЕ, ДОНЕЛѢЖЕ 'till, until': ДОНЕЛѢЖЕ ГЛМЬ (Savv. Кн., L. xvii. 8) 'till I have eaten'.

ДОНЪДЕЖЕ, ДОНДЕЖЕ 'as long as, until': ХОДИТЕ ДОНЪДЕЖЕ СВЕТЪТЪ ИМАТЕ (Mar., J. xii. 35) 'walk while ye have the light', ДОНЪДЕЖЕ ЪМЬ И ПИИЖ (Mar., L. xvii. 8) 'till I have eaten and drunken'.

же, used enclitically, renders Gr. δέ, emphasizes contrast between clauses, and as a rule is not to be translated. Its meaning is 'on the other hand, or'; further, it is attached to pronouns and adverbs: БЫСТЪ ЖЕ НАЛЕЖАШТЮ ЕМЬ НАРОДОУ (absolute dative) (Zogr., L. v. 1) 'and it came to pass, that, as the people pressed upon him', и за негоже съмръть изволистѣ, тъ же то чоудо сътвори (Supr. 67. 4) 'and for whom you chose to die, he made this miracle', и оврѣтж Мариж же и Иосифа (Mar., L. ii. 16) 'and they found Mary and (as well as) Joseph'.

заѣне 'because, for' emphasizes the cause: и се вѣдѣши мълча . . . заѣне не вѣрова словесемъ моимъ (Mar., L. i. 20) 'thou shalt be silent . . . because thou believedst not my words', и прѣстѣпникомъ зѣвати и, заѣне заповѣди вожиа прѣстѣпигъшоу юмоу коумиромъ жрѣти (Supr. 214. 5) 'and to call him a sinner, because he sacrificed to the idols, by disregarding God's commandment given to him'.

и 'and' is used proclitically; и . . . и 'as well . . . as'; и is also used as an adverb meaning 'too, also': посла и того къ нимъ (Mar., Mk. xii. 6) 'he sent him also unto them', и избравъ отъ нихъ двѣа на десѣтѣ, ѡже и апостолы нарече (Mar., L. vi. 13) 'and he chose from them twelve, whom also he named apostles'.

нѣо, see во.

идѣ, идеже 'for' (also an adverb): како вѣдетъ се иде мѣжа не знаиж (Mar., L. i. 34) 'how shall this be, seeing I know not a man?', оуслыши ма, иде ичезж ѣко дѣимъ дѣни мои (Ps. Sin. ci. 3-4) 'hear me, for my days are consumed like smoke'.

или 'or', see ли.

ИМЪЖЕ 'because' is I. sg. of the relative pronoun: **НЕ ВЪДАДЪШЕ СЕБЕ ВЪ ВЪРЪЖ ИХЪ, ИМЪЖЕ САМЪ ВЪДАДАШЕ ВЪСА** (Mar., J. ii. 24) '(Jesus) did not commit himself unto them, because he knew all men'.

КЪДЕ 'where, when': **КЪДЕ ЖЕ СВЪТЪ БЫСТЪ ВЪСТАВЪ МОЛЪШЕ СТРЪГЪШТАА ВОИНЫ** (Supr. 16. 11) 'when daylight came, getting up, he asked the watching soldiers'.

ЛИ, ИЛИ 'or', **ЛИ ... ЛИ, ИЛИ ... ИЛИ** 'either ... or'; used enclitically, **ЛИ** introduces direct (seldom also indirect) interrogative sentences: **НИ ЛИ СЕГО ЕСТЕ ЧЪЛИ ЕЖЕ СЪТВОРИ ДАВИДАЪ** (Mar., L. vi. 3) 'Have ye not read even this, what David did?', **ОНЪЖЕ РЪЧЕ КРЪСТИАНЪНИИ ЛИ ЮСИ** (Supr. 132. 19) 'he said: art thou a Christian woman?', **ЧИМЪ ВЪЕСИ, ПРОСТИ ЛИ ЮГО ИЛИ НЕ ПРОСТИ** (Supr. 361. 1) 'how do you know whether he forgave him or not?', **ВЪПРОШЪ ВЪ ЧТО ДОСТОИТЪ ВЪ СЪБОТЪ ДОБРО ЛИ ТВОРИТИ ИЛИ ЗЪЛО ТВОРИТИ, ДОУШЪ СЪПАСТИ ЛИ ПОГОУБИТИ** (Mar., L. vi. 9) 'I will ask you one thing, is it lawful on the sabbath days to do good, or to do evil? to save a soul, or to destroy it?', **ХОШТЪШИ ЛИ ИСПЛЪНИТИ, ИДИ ПРОДАЖДАЪ ИМЪНИНЕ ТВОЕ** (Savv. Kn., Mt. xix. 21) 'If thou wilt be perfect, go, sell that thou hast'.

ЛИ may be used enclitically to **АШТЪ**: **АШТЪ ЛИ ТРЪВЪЖ ДЪНЕСЪ НА СЕЛЪ СЪШТЪЖ** (Mar., L. xii. 28) 'If the grass which is to-day in the field'; for **АЛИ** see 4.

When used proclitically **ЛИ** means 'or': **ЛИ КАКО РЪЧЕШИ БРАТРОУ ТВОЕМОУ** (Mar., Mt. vii. 4) 'or how wilt thou say to thy brother?'

ЛИ is replaced by **ИЛИ** in later texts, especially after the interrogative particle: **ВАРАВБА ЛИ ИЛИ ИСОУСЪ** (Mar., Mt. xxvii. 17) 'Barabbas, or Jesus?', **ВЕЧЕРЪ ЛИ ВЪ ПОЛОУ НОШТИ, ЛИ ВЪ КОКОТОГЛАШЕНИЕ, ЛИ ЮТРО** (Mar., Mk. xiii. 35) 'in the evening, or at midnight, or at cockcrow, or in the morning'; with comparatives: **ПАЧЕ ИЛИ** 'more than': **НЕ ВЪИ ЛИ ПАЧЕ ИХЪ ЛОУЧЪШИ ЕСТЕ** (Mar., Mt. vi. 26) 'are ye not much better than they?'

ЛЮБО, ЛЮБО ЛИ 'or'; **ЛЮБО ... ЛЮБО** 'either ... or': **ЛЮБО БО**

ВЪТОРЪИЖ, ЛЮБО ВЪ ТРЕТНИЖ СТРАЖЖ ПРИДЕТЬ (Mar., L. xii. 38) 'if he shall come in the second watch, or come in the third watch'.

НЕБОНЪ 'namely, really', see БО.

НЕЖЕ, НЕЖЕЛИ means 'and not, than' and has a variant НЕГЪЛИ, НЕКЪЛИ 'perhaps': ОУНЕ БО ИЕСТЪ . . . ЧИСТЪ ИМЪТИ ОУМЪ НЕГЛИ . . . (Supr. 403. 30) 'for it is better . . . to have a pure mind than . . .', ПОСЪЛЖ СЫНЪ МОИ ВЪ ЗЛЮБЛЕНЪ, НЕГЪЛИ СЕГО ВИДѢВЪШЕ ОУСРАМИЖТЪ СЯ (Mar., L. xx. 13) 'I will send my beloved son: it may be they will reverence him, when they see him'.

НЕ . . . НИ, НИЖЕ 'neither . . . nor'; НЕ ОСТАВИТЪ ЛИ ВЪСЕГО, НИЖЕ СЪНИДЕТЪ СЪ НИМЪ СЛАВА ДОМОУ ЕГО (Ps. Sin. xlvi. 19) 'will he (not) leave everything, (neither) shall his glory descend after him'.

НЪ 'but': ТАТЬ НЕ ПРИХОДИТЪ, НЪ ДА ОУКРАДЕТЪ (Mar., J. x. 10) 'the thief cometh not, but for to steal'.

ОТЪНЪЛИ, ОТЪНЪЛИЖЕ 'since': СИ ЖЕ ОТЪНЪЛИ ВЪНИДЪ, НЕ ПРѢСТА ОБЛОБЪЗАЖШТИ НОГОУ МОЮЮ (Mar., L. vii. 45) 'but since the time I came in (this woman) hath not ceased to kiss my feet'.

ПОНЕ, ПОНЕЖЕ 'because' (see ЗАНЕ): ПОЧТО ПОНЕ НЕ БѢ ВРѢМА (Supr. 351. 19) '(why) because it was not the time', НЕ ДОСТОИНО ЕСТЬ ВЪЛОЖИТИ ЕГО ВЪ КАРЪВАНЪ, ПОНЕЖЕ ЦѢНА КРЪВЕ ЕСТЬ (Mar., Mt. xxvii. 6) 'it is not lawful for to put them into the treasury, because it is the price of blood'.

ТА, ТАЖЕ 'and, then' is later confused with ТАЧЕ 'then, after'.

ТИ 'and, also, then'.

ТО 'then, so', correlative to the conjunction АШТЕ 'if' in the subordinate clause. A variant of ТО is ТѢ, used very seldom: АШТЕ ЛИ ХОШТЕШИ ВЪ ЖИВОТЪ ВЪНИТИ, ТО СЪХРАНИ ЗАПОВѢДИ (Savv. Кн., Mt. xix. 17) 'but if thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments', АШТЕ ОУБО СВѢТЪ ИЖЕ ВЪ ТЕБѢ ТЪМА ЕСТЬ, ТѢ ТЪМА КОЛЪМИ (Mar., Mt. vi. 23) 'If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!'

ТЪМЪ 'then' is correlative to **ИМЪЖЕ**.

оу, ю 'yet': **не оу ли разоумѣете, ни помъните ꙗ хлѣбъ** (Mar., Mt. xvi. 9), 'do ye not yet understand, neither remember the five loaves?'

оубо, see **бо**.

цѣ, ацѣ 'however, though, also' corresponds to Gr. *καίτοι*, *καίτοιγε*, Lat. *et quidem*; see **ацѣ**.

ѣко, see **ако**.

ѣгда, ѣгдаже, вѣнѣгда 'when, if': **придѣтъ же дѣние, вѣгдаже отъниметъ сѧ отъ нихъ женихъ** (Mar., Mt. ix. 15) 'but the days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken from them', **вѣнѣгда вѣзвератити сѧ врагоу моемоу въспнатъ** (Ps. Sin. ix. 4) 'when mine enemies (enemy) are turned back'.

ѣда 'surely not' is a conjunction and interrogative particle corresponding to Gr. *μή*, Lat. *num, ne*: **ѣда и мы слѣпи есмъ** (Mar., J. ix. 40) 'are we blind also?', **на рѣкахъ возмѣтъ ты, ѣда когда прѣтъкнеши о камень ногъ твоѣхъ** (Ps. Sin. xc. 12) 'they shall bear thee up in their hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone'.

ѣли, ѣль (ѣлк), ѣльма 'while, as if': **ѣли бо оубо противѣ женъскѣ прѣштенню не сътрѣпѣ . . . , како можадѣхъ противѣ цѣсаремъ и княземъ и народомъ стати** (Supr. 442. 25) 'if he has not resisted the threats of the women, how could he have resisted the kings, the princes, and the peoples?', **ѣльма не послуша мене . . . 'as you did not listen to me . . . '**, **ѣль далече отъстоятъ въстоци отъ западъ** (Ps. Sin. cii. 12) 'as far as the east is from the west'. See also **доуелиже**.

INTERJECTIONS

§ 105. These words are imitative formations or, in some cases, flexional forms of other parts of speech:

горе 'woe!'

о, оле, оведе 'oh!'

оу 'oh!'

оува 'boohoo!'

оувы, оувы мын'к 'alas!, woe is me!'

тароу 'ah!, oh!, woe!' (таръ adj. 'bitter, vehement')

юи, ви 'yes!, indeed!'

юсе, се 'see!, lo!'

юша, юша да 'may it please God!'

SUBJECT INDEX

LETTERS and words are arranged in English alphabetical order. Diacritic signs are disregarded. Cyrillic **ѣ** and **љ** are rendered by *i* and *ü* and appear in alphabetical order after *i* and *u*. The spirant *x* (*ch*) follows the letter *v*.

- a**, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.I.2a. Long § 4. From IE *ā* § 6.1. From IE *ō* § 6.2. From IE *o* of liquid diphthongs *or*, *ol* § 6.3. From CS *ě* (< IE *ē*) after palatal consonants § 6.4. Initial alternation *a:ja* § 32.2,6. Alternation *ě:e:i:zero:a:o* § 37.2a. Alternation *ě:a:o* § 37.2b. Feature of imperfective forms § 37.5a. In secondary gradation § 37.6. Contraction (assimilation) of *-aje-* > *-aa-* > *a* § 4, § 56, § 57, § 58b.
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- a-**, forming stem of Class I verbs § 61.Ib, of Class III verbs § 61.IIIb.
- ā*, *jā* § 2.II.3, § 32.5.
- Abbreviations § 2.II Note 7.
- Ablaut, see Vowel gradation.
- Adjectives, declension of simple form § 49. Formation of adjectives § 50. Comparison of adjectives § 51. Declension of comparative forms § 52.4. Indeclinable adjectives § 53. Adverbial forms § 54. Declension of pronominal adjectives § 55.5. Declension of compound (definite) adjectives § 56. Declension of comparative (definite form) § 57.
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- Adverbial suffixes § 100.
- Adverbs § 99.
- Affricates § 2.II.4. Dental affricates from velars by second and third palatalization § 23.1, 2. Palatal affricate from IE *k* by first palatalization § 24. Affricate *dz* develops into spirant *z* § 25.
- Anaphoric pronouns, declension § 55.4, § 56.
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- Apophony, see Vowel gradation.
- Apostrophe, § 2 Note 7.
- arʹ** stems, declension § 41.
- Aspects of verbal actions § 90, § 93.
- Assimilation, see Contraction of vowels. Assimilation of consonants § 29.
- b-** suffixes § 48.7.
- b**, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II.5a. From IE *b*, *bh* § 26.
- Back vowels § 2.I.2.
- Balto-Slavonic period § 4.
- bl'* from *bj* § 3, § 17b.
- c**, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II.4a. From original *k* by second and third palatalization, § 2a, *b*, *c* § 23. By palatalization § 30.2. From *-tj-* in Kiev Missal § 31c.
- Collective numerals § 59.3.
- Compound nouns § 47.
- Conditional § 72.
- Consonant groups, simplification of § 5, § 29.
- Consonants § 2.2, § 17-§ 28.
- Consonant-stems § 44.
- Contraction of vowels § 4, § 32.5, § 70.
- Cyrillic and Glagolitic writing § 1. See Part II, Texts, Introduction.
- č**, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II.4b. From IE *k* by first palatalization § 24, § 30.1. Hardening of *č'* § 31.
- d**, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II.5b. From IE *d*, *dh* § 27.1. Developed in group *zr* § 27.2. By dissimilation in group *zdz* § 27.3.
- d-** suffixes § 48.4.
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- e*, OCS vowel, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.I.1a and Note 4. Short § 4. From IE *e* § 11.1. From original *o* after *j* and palatal consonants § 11.2. In apophonic series § 37. Alternation *ē:e:i:zero:a:o* § 37.2. Alternation *er:ir:or* § 37.3. Alternation *el:il:ol* § 37.3. Thematic vowel of perfective forms § 37.5a. Gradation of *er*-diphthong § 37.5d, of *el*-diphthong § 37.5c, of *em*-diphthong § 37.5f, of *en*-diphthong § 37.5g. Initially with prothesis § 32.2. For *i* in strong position § 33.1. Endings, nominal § 46, verbal § 67.
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- Fractions of numerals § 59.5.
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- l*, OCS phoneme, denotation and phonetic value § 1, § 2.II.1. From original *l* or *l̥* § 17. Before vowel § 17a. Arises after labials before *j* § 17b. Later history § 17c, d.
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- иѡлѡко § 32.2.
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- иѢдннѡж § 99.3.
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Ю

- ю § 104.
 юность § 43.
 юнота § 39h.
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Ж

- жгль § 43.
 ждолие § 47.
 ждоль § 32.4.
 жза § 19.2, § 32.3, 4, § 48.5.
 жзъль § 48.5.
 жтръ § 48.7, § 100.
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 жхати § 32.3.

ИѦ

- иѦзъ § 16.5.
 иѦти, иѦль § 91.
 иѦчьмень § 44.2.

* Initial Ѣ, in words and in syllables, is usually preiotized, except in loan-words: иѢдокиѡ, елинъ, ефесъ; but also иѢлисаретъ (§ 3b).