

Anna Polivanova
Old Church Slavonic
Grammar and Dictionaries

Translated by
Lev Blumenfeld

Edited by
Artemij Keidan

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Preface to the English edition

Artemij Keidan

A few words to explain the genesis of the English edition of this monumental grammar of Old Church Slavic are in order. The book had been originally published in Russian in 2013 by the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow.¹ Lev Blumenfeld undertook the English translation of the book, working closely with the author and editor for several years. The translation has been both a titanic and an easy task. On the one hand, the author's style is terse, almost formulaic, with no space for rhetorical digressions, which simplified the translation process. On the other hand, the innovative character of this grammar led to innovative terminology; this represented an additional challenge for the translator, requiring close collaboration with the author to find apt English equivalents for novel terms (see the *Translator's note* containing a commented index of newly coined terms, p. XI).

I wish to advise the reader about some formal conventions adopted in this book which could appear unusual to the English-speaking audience.

The peculiar continuous numbering of the sections (paragraphs) has been maintained in order to preserve consistent citability with regards to the original. This was not possible with the numbering of the footnotes, since a few footnotes that were too Russian-oriented were omitted from the translation.

One most important descriptive tool used by the author are tables, found in many paragraphs. Tables in this book are not simply a nice visual representa-

¹ See A. K. Polivanova, *Staroslavjanskij jazyk. Grammatika. Slovare*. Moskva: Universitet Dmitrija Požarskogo; Institut Slavjanovedenija RAN, 2013.

tion of data; rather, tables represent a scientific statement whereby one variable is mapped onto another. Note that, except for the Preface, tables are numbered with the number of the paragraph they appear in. However, some tables are left unnumbered, on purpose rather than inadvertently: these are merely used as visual aids without making a theoretical claim.

Bibliographical references are quoted by the last name of the author only, followed by the page or section number (cf.: Vaillant, § 2). The year is only added to avoid ambiguity (cf.: Lunt 1974 and Lunt 2001).

Regarding the representation of the data in Slavic, the decision in this translation has been to keep all such data as in the original, i.e. in the Cyrillic *poluustav* (a medieval semi-uncial script), rather than in Latin transliteration. This decision follows the tradition of grammars of other ancient Indo-European languages intended for a general linguistics audience (Whitney, Smyth, Sihler), including grammars of OCS (Lunt, Vaillant).

While this decision leads to a certain complexity for some readers—though, arguably, the complexity of the script is far surpassed by that of the grammatical apparatus itself—it also leads to greater clarity. The main issue with transliteration is that most reasonable transliteration systems are not segmentally bijective (e.g. *ю* is rendered by *ju*, and this is not the sole use of either *j* or *u*). Furthermore, commonly used transliteration rules coincide in large part with the rules of the phonology that generate phonological representations, which, here as in the original, are given in Latin-based transcription (with the addition of the letter *ʋ* for what is conventionally also transliterated as *ǔ*, likewise *ʋ* for *ǐ*). Thus, maintaining the Cyrillic-Latin distinction of the original version of this grammar leads to a clear typographic difference between phonological representations and other kinds of strings—graphic or morphophonological.

Note also that OCS forms and examples are not glossed in English, except for the small number of cases where a Russian gloss was given in the original (only done for disambiguation and clarity for Russian readers). It did not seem practical to supply English glosses for all of the OCS material in the grammar.

With respect to the Russian edition, only a few minor details and typos have been corrected during the translation.

Also, a searchable online database containing the lexical and grammatical data from this grammar is available at the book's internet page.

I have to express my personal gratitude to Firenze University Press for having accepted this book for publication and a special thanks to Laura Salmon, the editor of the *Collana di Studi Slavistici*, who kindly agreed to include this book in the series.

I am also grateful to the Grant Office of the Sapienza University of Rome for providing financial aid in support of publication of this book.

Translator's note

Lev Blumenfeld

I. Introduction

This is a difficult book. For specialists in Slavic linguistics, the familiar material of Old Church Slavic appears under shockingly novel light. For theoretical linguists, this work presents a construct unlike any other with the word *grammar* in the title. For all readers, the *grammar* is difficult because the complex formal apparatus is stated declaratively, not procedurally, and thus its validity can be evaluated—or even its content grasped—only after overviewing the entire assembly.

The general mindset of this grammar is a radical one: it is not bound by either Slavist tradition or by any particular theoretical framework, but only by its own internal consistency, the goals it sets for itself, and some common axiomatic assumptions. In the remainder of this preface, as an aid to the reader of the English translation, I will give an overview of the general properties of the grammar, of the architecture of the construction, and explain some non-obvious terminology.

II. Explicitness and its consequences

The most salient feature of the grammar is its explicitness. While explicitness is a commonly declared goal of grammatical description, an ostensibly formal presentation often conceals an imprecise grammatical construct. Not so in Polivanova's grammar, whose explicitness is nearly absolute. The data under analysis, the tasks of the grammar, the tools available to the linguist, and the solutions adopted by her are nearly always fully laid out.

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First, the data covered by the grammar are entirely contained in the *benchmark corpus*, which is the basis for the *benchmark lists* of wordforms and lexemes. The grammar is responsible for all of the contents of these benchmark lists.

This benchmarking not only creates an explicit domain of responsibility for the grammar, but also acts as one of the layers of abstraction between the raw data and the grammatical description, more fully detailed below. Also explicit is the list of grammatical categories and category values which are available in descriptions of any wordform under analysis.

Second, the tasks of the grammar are stated overtly. Subparts of the tasks are given at the beginning of the syntagmatic and paradigmatic parts of the grammar. Unifying the various sets of benchmark tasks, the grammar specifies the following algorithm: for any name of a lexeme and a set of category values—called a *paradigmatic call*—it provides a wordform.

The usually fraught relationship between linguistic theory and messy empirical reality poses a challenge to any explicit grammatical description of a variable corpus. In this grammar, the strategy of utmost explicitness extends to the process of scientific idealization itself, allowing an unstable corpus to be handled by a precise grammatical apparatus.

At the core of Polivanova's strategy is the notion of *canon*, an overtly given idealized form of the language. It is the canon that is the subject of the grammatical analysis, not the unfiltered corpus data. The choice of the canon is not empirically determinate, but remains under the grammarian's control, just as any other analytical choice made in the grammar. The benchmark lists of lexemes and wordforms are part of the canon, and thus the grammatical algorithm that relates paradigmatic calls and wordforms operates with data from the canon.

Once the grammar is able to handle the canonical forms, it may also depart from the canon in various ways. The description of the variability of the data in the corpus is handled in terms of departures, or *aberrations*, of the grammatical algorithm from canonical derivations. These alternative derivations usually do not require separate mechanisms, but result from alternative applications of mechanisms which form part of the grammar itself.

The canonical—aberrant dimension describes irregularity in terms of its distance from the declared ideal. This dimension is one of two orthogonal dimensions of irregularity used in the grammar. The other expresses irregularity within the canon itself.

More generally, the high degree of explicitness highlights the grammar's distinctive theoretical stance. It is not empiricist, in the sense that linguistics does not deal with raw data, and the grammarian does not produce an analysis using some discovery procedure applied to directly observable empirical facts. The canon walls off the grammar from raw and highly variable empirical material. Neither is there a cognitivist or mentalist orientation of the grammar: it does not claim to describe speakers' competence or psychologically realistic derivational steps. In this sense, the grammar in this book is not a theory that is directly empirically testable against data, the way that one normally conceives of e.g. generative theories.

Instead, Polivanova's grammar is conceived as a coherent algebraic object. Its axioms are the architecture of the grammar, such as the notions like segment and formative, availability of mechanisms such as alternations, and so forth (see below in this introduction for an overview of the grammatical architecture). Within that axiomatic structure of abstract grammar, language-particular choices are made in constructing a grammar of this language.¹ In a sense, the topic of the book is not so much OCS grammar per se, as the grammatical construction itself. As such, it can be applied as a tool to the description of other languages of a similar inflectional-paradigmatic type.

Less obviously, the grammar makes no attempt to characterize the *class* of languages that its grammatical axioms predict. This is simply not one of the stated benchmark goals of the grammar, and thus the grammar cannot be held responsible to it. This represents another unconventional aspect of the present grammar for readers familiar with generative-style grammatical description, where so-called "typological predictions of the theory" tend to dominate the grammarian's choices.

For readers accustomed to historical/comparative descriptions of dead languages, the grammar presents a distinct set of unconventionalities. The author here is not bound by diachrony in her synchronic choices. For example, aberrations are not characterized as archaic or innovative, and neither are other variant choices provided by the grammar. The classification of e.g. verbs and nouns into inflectional classes does not follow diachronically determined divisions. While the resulting system is often strikingly unusual from a historical point of view, the analyst's synchronic orientation frees her from long-established truths, leading to highly ingenious and economical classifications. An example may be provided by the apparently simple but deeply innovative declensional classification in Table 299, which does away with familiar notions like *a*-stems, *u*-stems, etc. Another example is the verbal classification in Tables 432 and 440, where the author found an apparently unique arrangement of columns that allows an economical description of stems used in various verb classes and categories.

I will not note here all differences between Polivanova's treatment and a more traditional diachronically-oriented treatment of the same facts, but a few examples are worth highlighting.

There is no notion of first, second, third palatalization, and no distinction between two kinds of *yat* morphophonemes, which would be necessary to keep first and second palatalizations apart. This move is made necessary by the author's assumed principle that phoneme and morphophoneme alphabets must coincide. As a result, the alternations corresponding to traditional palatalizations are not segmentally decidable.

The principle here named Jakobson's Law is the familiar law of open syllables, reformulated without reference to any notion of syllable, but instead regulating the adjacencies of formatives of various shapes and the terminal selection rules.

¹ See the author's "Principy postroenija segmentnoj grammatiki" (Polivanova 2008), and "Formal'naja paradigmatika i klassy slov v ruskom jazyke" (Polivanova 2001).

Another example of an innovation is the letter жА, the voiced counterpart of ут, postulated for the so-called standard Cyrillic alphabet.

III. Architecture of the grammar

Because of its declarative statement, the architecture of the grammatical construction is not immediately apparent from the text of the grammar itself. It is given in a brief procedural summary in Ch. 25, and here in this preface.

A distinctive feature of the grammar is the use of alternative derivational pathways to describe various kinds of irregularity. The “main road” of the derivation, used by fully regular forms, is shown in Figure I. It starts with the paradigmatic call, or a combination of a lexeme with a set of grammatical categories and category values, and proceeds by the successive (serial) application of various selection and replacement rules provided by the grammar.

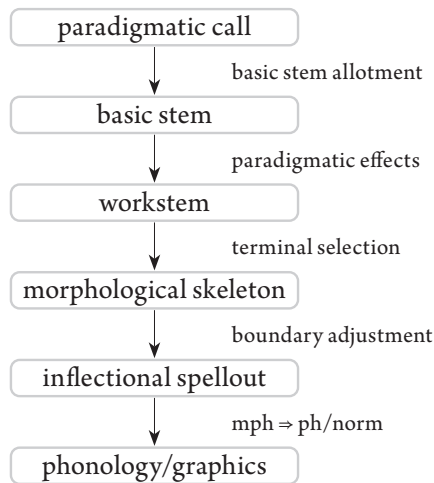


Figure I. Main derivational pathway

The operations at each step draw from a library of adjustments available not only to these operations on the main derivational pathway, but also to alternative paths of the derivation, in particular to aberrations. For example, there is a set of rules, called *alternations*, that replace particular segments in particular locations in formatives. Alternations are used by *paradigmatic effects* and by *boundary adjustment rules*, which are two separate grammatical mechanisms that modify strings. One of those mechanisms, *paradigmatic effects*, is itself available to various parts of the grammar. It not only forms verbal workstems in the standard paradigmatic classes, but is also used in constructing paradigms of irregular verbs (within-canon irregularity), and in aberrant forms. To use a programming analogy, mechanisms like alternation and paradigmatic effects are subroutines that may be called on by different parts of the program.

As mentioned above, there are two dimensions of regularity: regularity within canon (primary/secondary, anomalies) and in sources (aberrations). The grammar treats both of these types as departures from the main derivational pathway, and both of them draw on the same library of available mechanisms such as alternations and paradigmatic effects.

IV. On terminology

I supply a list of explanations for some key terms used in this grammar that are unusual or otherwise non-self-explanatory. I draw the reader's attention especially to the terms *spellout* and *variant*, because they are used in an unfamiliar way in this grammar. The original Russian term or terms are given in parentheses

Aberrant, aberration (девиантный, девиация). Any form is either canonical, aberrant, or erroneous. Aberrant forms, resulting from aberrant application of grammatical processes, are departures from canonical derivations. The aberrant-canonical dimension is the formal tool used to handle the variability of the corpus data that coexists with a well-behaved idealized form of the language that is subject to the grammatical analysis.

Adjacency (смежность). See *alternation*.

Allotment rules (правила назначения). See *basic stem*.

Alternation (чередование). Alternations are a mechanism responsible for describing polyformy (multiple different shapes) of formatives. It is a general mechanism, in that it is used by different parts of the grammar: it is a library of possible segmental *replacements* that is called upon by both canonical and aberrant derivations, and by different parts of those derivations. Formally, alternations are tables whose rows are *grades* and whose columns are *series*, and whose cells are segments or sequences of segments. Replacement rules by an alternation substitute a member of a series belonging to one grade by the member belonging to an *adjacent* grade. Such replacement partners are called *pairings*. Key alternations are *velar palatalization*, *substitutive softening*, and the *fundamental vowel alternations*. See also *terminal*.

Ambivalence (амбивалентность). See *CVC ambivalence*.

Anomaly, anomalous (аномалия, аномальный). The notion of *anomaly* is a formal tool to describe degrees of regularity *within the canon*. It is orthogonal to the canonical—aberrant dimension that describes variability of the corpus. Anomalous forms are those that are part of the canon but either their structure or their derivational pathway departs from the standard in some way. Anomalies can be syntagmatic (e.g. containing otherwise prohibited clusters), or paradigmatic (e.g. showing unusual application of paradigmatic effects).

Basic component (базовый компонент). Part of a form's morphological structure that excludes suffixes. This term loosely corresponds to the English term *base*.

Basic correspondence (базовое соответствие). In a *writing* or *graphic system*, the rules that relate phonemes to letters are its *basic correspondence*. Each of the OCS *sources* has its own basic correspondence and writing system.

Basic stem (базовая основа). The basic stem, along with the *workstem*, are intermediate stages in the derivation of a wordform. Basic stems result from the application of *basic stem allotment rules*, which select either the *expanded* or *truncated* version of the stem based on the *paradigmatic call*. The result is then subject to *paradigmatic effects*, which output the *workstem*.

Benchmark (контрольный). The *benchmark corpus* is the set of data for which the grammar is responsible. From it are derived the benchmark list of lexemes and wordforms. The grammar is responsible for relating the wordforms, their paradigmatic properties, and their parent lexemes.

Bundle (комплект). Subsets of forms within finite subparadigms that are opposed to each other in tense/aspect are organized into four bundles: present, imperfect, imperative, and aorist.

Canon, canonical (эталон, эталонный). The grammar describes an explicitly given idealized form of the Old Church Slavic language, called the *canon*. Forms which are part of the canon are *canonical*. Other forms may be erroneous, if they have no grammatical description at all, or aberrant, if they result from alternative application of grammatical processes. The aberrant—canonical dimension is the formal tool used to handle the variability of the corpus data that coexists with a well-behaved idealized form of the language that is subject to the grammatical analysis. The term *canon* and *canonical* in this grammar should not be confused with two other senses of the word: (a) the set of texts given some official status by a church, and (b) the set of texts considered standard by a scholarly tradition. Here, the canon is an idealization, not an observable corpus. The original Russian term *эталон* (< Fr. *étalon*) does not easily yield to translation; although the expression *étalon language* was used, in a very similar sense, in the English translation of B. Uspenskij's *Principles of structural typology* (see Uspenskij), we have preferred not to overload this book with unusual terms.

CVC ambivalence, agreement (CVC-амбивалентность, согласование). This is one of the two key alloformy mechanisms (along with the *twofold rule*) that governs the selection of terminals based on phonological shape of the stem: by CVC ambivalence, generally, V-initial terminals are used after C-final stems, and vice versa. The principle that this alloformy enforces is called *CVC agreement*, or *Jakobson's Law*.

Effect (эффeкт). See *paradigmatic effect*.

Expanded stem (расширенная, развернутая основа). See *basic stem*.

Formative, alloform, alloformy (форматив, аллоформ, аллоформия). *Formatives* are strings of segments. Thus, they are units of a rank immediately higher than segment. The paradigmatic part of the grammar operates on strings

of formatives. The notion of formative loosely corresponds to the more familiar morpheme, but unlike morpheme, is a purely formal notion, i.e. a one-sided object containing only the signifier, not the Saussurean two-sided pairing of sound and meaning. The notions of *alloform* and *alloformy* refer to sets of formatives belonging to a single family and distributed according to some grammatical principle. One innovative consequence of divorcing the notion of formative from its meaning is that the grammarian becomes more free in setting up formatives where convenient for the analysis, for example by unifying homophonous morphemes with different senses under one formative, or splitting a morpheme like **тель** into formatives **т** and **ель** that occur elsewhere.

Gloss (гlossen). This term is not used in its usual sense of ‘translation into the language of the grammar’, but refers to individual occurrences of wordforms in specific sources.

Grade (ступень). See *alternation*.

Graphics, graphic (графика, графический). The texts in both their raw and their canonical form are given in *graphic* representation, as sequences of letters and spaces. While sounds, not writing, are the usual object of analysis in linguistics, the sound—letter distinction is immaterial in the case of OCS, a dead language where the only evidence for sound is a writing system.

Index (индекс). See *paradigmatic index*.

Jakobson’s Law (закон Якобсона). See *CVC ambivalence*.

Monovariate (моновариантный). See *twofold*.

Normalization (нормализация). The notion of *normalization* refers to the set of writing conventions used to represent canonical forms. This includes both the alphabet—the use of the narrower *standard Cyrillic* compared to the *expanded Cyrillic* used to represent forms from sources—as well as various other conventions that form the writing system of the canonical OCS.

Pairing (соотношение). See *alternation*.

Paradigmatic call, address (парадигматический заказ, адрес). Each well-behaved wordform is endowed with grammatical properties: a set of category-value pairs appropriate to a particular class (e.g. gender for nouns and adjectives, person for verbs, etc.). A *paradigmatic call* is an expression of the form $K(L)$, where K is a set of category-value pairs and L is a lexeme. It thus “calls” a particular cell in the paradigm of a particular lexeme. A *paradigmatic address* is a property of a wordform, and can be thought of as the set of all paradigmatic calls to which that wordform answers.

Paradigmatic effect (парадигматический эффект). *Paradigmatic effects* are a library of changes that apply to create both regular and irregular forms within the canon, and aberrant forms outside the canon. In the regular derivation, paradigmatic effects apply to basic stems to generate workstems. The application

of paradigmatic effects is determined by the paradigmatic index of the lexeme.

Paradigmatic index (парадигматический индекс). A lexical diacritic mark that carries information about paradigmatic properties of a form—the set of terminals it uses, the set of paradigmatic effects that are applied to it, etc.—is called the *paradigmatic index*.

Profile (анкета). A summary of key forms in the paradigm of a word is called its *profile*. Profiles are not formal objects in the grammar, but practical tools that help the reader build full paradigms from a subset of the forms.

Pure (чистый). See *sonant*.

Replacement (замена). See *alternation*.

Representation, in paradigmatics (репрезентация). Not to be confused with the use of *representation* synonymous with *spellout*, this term refers to the largest division within the forms of a lexeme. For verbs, this is the division between finite and nominal representations, the latter containing all the participles. For adjectives, the two representations contain the so-called long and short forms.

Series (ряд). See *alternation*.

Sonant (сонант). This term (a traditional one in Slavic and Indo-European linguistics) refers to some of the series of the fundamental vowel alternations, namely those where the undergoing segment sequence contains a son(or)ant along with a vowel. The series that contains only vowels is called *pure*.

Source (памятник). The corpus of texts that this grammar describes consists of seven sources: *Kiev Missal*, *Codex Zographensis*, *Codex Marianus*, *Codex Assemanius*, *Psalterium Sinaiticum*, *Sava's book*, and *Codex Suprasliensis*. This is a strictly bounded corpus; the grammar is not responsible for information outside of it.

Spellout (запись). This unusual term is used as a general cover word for any linguistic object regardless of its analytical status. It is thus a more general term than *representation*, which presupposes that something is being represented in terms of something else. Forms found in corpora are *spellouts*, as are canonical words, formatives, etc. This term is a convenient alternative to the over-loaded word *form*. The term *spellout* is not related to “spellout” used in various generative theories of syntax and morphology. Note also the use of the term *representation* in a narrow sense in the paradigmatics.

Starting form (исходная форма). The form of a lexeme given in the Paradigmatic Dictionary. In generating the output from a paradigmatic call, the starting form serves as the initial step.

Stem allotment rules (правила назначения основы). See *basic stem*.

Stem (основа). See *basic stem*; *workstem*.

Subparadigm (субпарадигма). Large sets of wordforms in the paradigm of

a lexeme are broken into subparadigms in such a way that all forms of a single subparadigm share a workstem.

Terminal (окончания, флексии). Inflectional formatives are called *terminals*, distinct from *suffixes*, which are derivational formatives. Terminal selection laws enforce basic phonotactic principles such as avoidance of clusters and hiatus. Terminal selection laws are distinct from *alternations* in two ways: alternation rules are replacements of segments by other segments, while terminal selection does not replace a formative with another formative, but selects from a list of available choices. Second, terminal selection is segmentally determinate, while alternations need not be. See also *alternations*.

Truncated stem (усеченная основа). See *basic stem*.

Twofold (двухвариантный). This term, borrowed from Lunt 1976 and greatly expanded in its use, refers to the pervasive pattern of alloformy of formatives that depends on the segmental content of the immediately adjacent formatives. The traditional analog of twofold formatives are “soft” and “hard” declensions. Here the distribution is handled by the *twofold rule* (§ 86), which determines the choice of twofold formatives in appropriate contexts. Declension types which are not twofold are called *monovariate*.

Unique (уникальный). *Unique* lexemes are those whose oblique forms are too irregular to be formed according to any rules. Strictly speaking, such forms are simply listed and not given any morphological structure.

Variant, variance, -variate (вариант, -вариантность). The term *variant* and related words are used in this book in the sense of ‘alternative forms of the same formative’. For example, the pairs of terminals that participate in alloformy patterns like CVC agreement or the twofold rule may be referred to as ‘variants’. Formatives that do not participate in such patterns are called *monovariate*. Importantly, the term carries no meaning related to dialectal variation, or optionality, as may be more familiar to some readers.

Workstem (рабочая основа). The *workstem*, along with the *basic stem*, is an intermediate stage in the derivation of a wordform. Workstems result from applying *paradigmatic effects* to basic stems, but prior to the selection of terminals. The arrangement of the rules of this grammar ensures that the workstem is the same for all forms that belong to a subparadigm.

V. Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Artemij Keidan, who has participated in all aspects of the work on this translation. He has given countless hours of his time both to substantive discussion of the grammar’s content and to the translation issues, as well as the technical side of typesetting the work. I also wish to express my sincere gratitude to the author for the opportunity to work on this translation and for the many fruitful hours of discussion.

From the author

When opening a new book, readers often want to figure out what it has and what it doesn't have, and to what kind of reader the author is primarily addressing it. Answering these questions directly is the goal of this preface.

This book contains the grammar and grammatical dictionaries of the Old Church Slavic (OCS) language. The following are its important features. First, in its genre this is not a textbook, but a scientific monograph. Second, in its content it is a purely synchronic grammar, and not a synchronic description in light of diachrony. Third, the theoretical framework of the grammar is classical, as opposed to some narrower framework (e.g. generative grammar, optimality theory, etc.). From the beginning I approached this work as an attempt to improve on the classical monographs of André Vaillant (1948), Paul Diels (1963), and Horace Lunt (1974). The improvements are in the direction of utmost completeness, explicitness, and deliberate consistency with the corpus of texts and the grammatical dictionaries. Explicitness, as it turns out, necessitates discussion and revision of almost the entire grammatical apparatus. This is the reason why the book may seem brimming with innovative terminology and formal constructs.¹

¹ I should note especially the profusion of tables in this book. Perhaps there are too many; almost every paragraph contains one; some contain several. Of course, the data from tables can be linearized, and I am aware that some readers resent tables. It is also no secret that making tables is not always easy. When building my tables, I recalled the ironic remark of my teacher Alexander Wentzell: «I think I got it: linguistics is the art of table-making». For me, this observation is filled with deep scientific meaning, which uncovers an answer to the persistent question of the connections between linguistics and mathematics.

Of course, this grammar treats some facts differently from predecessors (for example, verbs are classified in a different way compared to the authors mentioned above). It is useful, however, to note the principal novelty in content compared to previous works. The novelty is that this grammar consistently examines morphophonological spellouts of wordforms, where their external shape is represented by strings of formatives. For all starting forms, that spellout is given in the grammatical dictionary, cf. for example *БЕЗАКОЊИЕНІЕ* — *БЕЗ.ЗА.(КОЊ).ЕН.Ъ.Є, ВРЪМЕНЬНЪ* — *(ВРЪТ).М.ЕН.Ъ.НЪ, ДОСТОИНЪ* — *ДО.(СТОІ).Ъ.НЪ*. Accordingly, a root dictionary is also included, where each root is matched to all lexemes that contain it. Thus, the grammar gives rules that ensure the transformation between morphophonological and phonological/graphic spellout.

The goal of the book is to give a complete description of the synchronic grammar of OCS (graphics, phonology, morphophonology, and paradigmatics). The grammar is responsible for a strictly bounded set of sources (*Kiev Missal*, *Codex Zographensis*, *Codex Marianus*, *Codex Assemanius*, *Psalterium Sinaiticum*, *Sava's book*, and *Codex Suprasliensis*). Due to the significant heterogeneity of sources, peculiarities in the language of the sources are described as systematic departures from canonical OCS, which is the language determined by the present grammar. Principles of the grammatical description that underly the construction of canonical OCS and of the rules that compute the transition from the canon to the language of specific sources are discussed in detail in the introduction (*Differences across idiolects and instability within idiolects in OCS sources*). It is useful to note that in most textbooks and monographs on OCS, it is the so-called common Slavic language that functions as this canon, i.e. the result of a comparative-historical reconstruction, following an established tradition in OCS studies that goes back to the classical grammar by Leskien (1871). In the few grammars whose goal is synchronic description (Vaillant; Lunt 1974), the canon is introduced implicitly, as if it were an obvious empirical given. Accordingly, linguistic problems encountered in constructing a canonical grammar remain mostly hidden from the reader. Building a complete, synchronically-oriented description of the OCS grammatical system makes it possible to pose, and sometimes to solve, a series of nontrivial theoretical problems relevant for grammars of inflectional languages, as well as problems particular to grammars of dead languages represented by limited corpora.

The goal of a complete description of sources is not posed in this book. A selected list of parameters along which sources more or less systematically depart from canonical grammar is explicitly given. Observed departures outside of that list are noted sporadically, without any attempt at completeness. Given that the old literature is hard to access, many well-known facts are repeated and reinterpreted here, regardless of how they are treated in the literature (for example, almost all facts given in Diels' grammar are included here). And yet, this book should not be seen as a complete handbook on the sources.

The book consists of four parts. The first two contain the grammar; the third part contains some addenda, among them a small selection of texts; the fourth contains the dictionaries. The material of the first two parts, along with the dic-

tionaries, makes it possible to construct, for each word of the starting corpus, its entire paradigm, and for each wordform, to determine its grammatical characterization, and its phonological and morphophonological spellout.

The book is addressed primarily to specialists—linguists and philologists working in Slavic studies. However, it is also written in such a way that it can be successfully used as a practical guide by those who are first starting to study OCS and reading original texts. From 1970, when A. A. Zaliznjak first taught a course on OCS for linguists, and I was responsible for the exercises, until 2011, I taught OCS to linguistics students every year. This book largely reflects this long pedagogical experience.

In my work on this book I benefited from advice and direct help of A. V. Dybo, V. A. Dybo, Ju. M. Gizatullina, A. S. Kasjan, B. V. Kravcov, E. S. Logunova, I. S. Pekunova, A. V. Ter-Avanesova, M. N. Tolstaja, M. V. Vinogradova, A. A. Zaliznjak, and M. V. Živova. I would like to especially note the invaluable help of I. S. Pekunova, who not only gave feedback on the many drafts of the text, but also proofread the great number of quotes and illustrations, and in many cases selected them. To all of these colleagues I express my heartfelt gratitude.

I also wish to express my sincere gratitude to Lev Blumenfeld, the brilliant English translator of this book. Working with Lev was both business and pleasure. It turned out that there were passages that remained obscure even to myself, and which I was able to clarify only after the translator assailed me with requests of elucidations about them.

I am happy that the English edition will finally appear. I am grateful to Laura Salmon who made this publication possible, and to A. Keidan, who undertook the labor of coordinating the editorial process.

INTRODUCTION

Differences across idiolects and instability within idiolects in OCS sources

§ I. The Old Church Slavic language and its sources

Old Church Slavic (OCS) is defined, on the one hand, as the language of the first Slavic translations of liturgical books by Sts. Cyril and Methodius in the second half of the IXth century, and, on the other hand, as the language represented by a small corpus of the oldest surviving texts (hereafter *sources*), created in the X–XII centuries.

There is no agreement among researchers on which sources constitute the OCS canon and which are outside of it.¹ For example, the dictionaries of Sadnik and Večerka differ in the list of sources. The benchmark corpus in this book includes only the following seven sources: *Kiev Missal*, *Codex Zographensis*, *Codex Marianus*, *Codex Assemanius*, *Psalterium Sinaiticum*, *Sava's book*, and *Codex Suprasliensis*.

Data from other sources are admitted unsystematically.

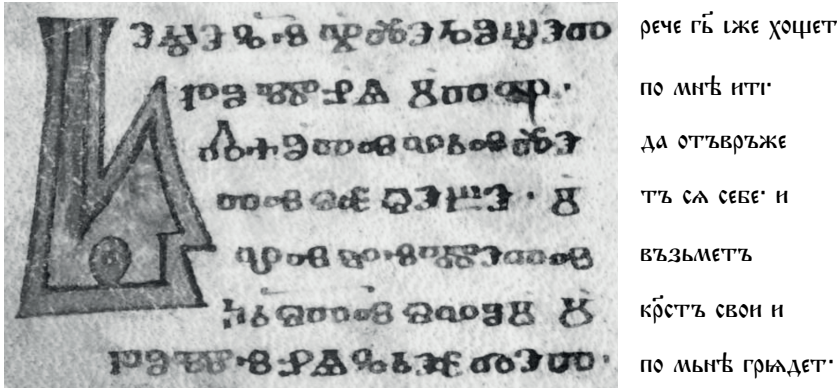
§ II. Glagolitic and Cyrillic writing

The most salient difference between the sources is the use of two scripts, or alphabets, the *Glagolitic* and *Cyrillic* ones. Some sources use the Glagolitic script

¹ For example, some authors are inclined to consider the Ostromir Gospel (the oldest dated manuscript, from 1056) as an OCS source. The oldest sources of Church Slavic should also be distinguished from OCS, differing from it in both place and time of composition. The language used today in orthodox services is also called Church Slavic; see details in e.g. Kraveckij.

(KIEV, ZOGR, MAR, AS, PS SIN), while others use the Cyrillic script (SAV and SUPR). This difference, however, is trivial, and can be eliminated using very simple transliteration rules that replace Glagolitic letters with their Cyrillic analogs according to very simple replacement patterns.²

The following fragment from *Codex Assemanianus*, shown in its original Glagolitic script and its Cyrillic transliteration, serves as an illustration (Mk 8, 34).



In most editions, Glagolitic texts are represented in transliteration. Below, all texts from sources are taken from published versions, in particular the Glagolitic ones from published Cyrillic transliterations.

§ III. Differences across idiolects and instability within idiolects

Apart from the differences in the alphabets, sources also differ in more or less significant details, showing both *differences across idiolects* (i.e. between the sources) and *instability within idiolects* (i.e. variation within a single source).

Table I. Spellouts of the stem of the lexeme **тѣжѣ** ‘alien’

Spellouts	Sources						
	ZOGR	MAR	AS	SAV	PS SIN	SUPR	KIEV
тѣжѣ-	2	5	5	3	11		
тѣжѣ-							1
стѣжѣ-						8	
штѣжѣ-	1					14	

Table I shows the variant distribution for the spellout of the stem **тѣжѣ** in seven sources. Only ZOGR and SUPR show instability within an idiolect in this case—there are two variants in each of these sources. Differences across idio-

² These rules are identical across editions of different Glagolitic sources. See details in § 132.

lects reveal the pairwise opposition between four groups of sources: (KIEV) ~ (ZOGR) ~ (SUPR) ~ (MAR, AS, PS SIN, SAV).

§ IV. Canonical OCS

The simplest way of describing differences between idiolects and instability within an idiolect assumes the definition of a certain arbitrary canon; the observed diversity is described as a departure from that arbitrary canon. This grammatical fiction is referred to here and below as *canonical OCS language*, or simply *the canon*. As a rule, this book describes the grammar of that canonical OCS. Luckily, there are no significant disagreements between researchers on the definition of various grammatical features of this language.³

The question is simply of selecting a convenient baseline for describing all observed facts. The selection of a canon as a necessary descriptive tool should not be confused with the historical and philological questions of the existence of an “original” OCS (see paragraph XI below).⁴

§ V. The grammar of canonical OCS and the description of sources

The goal of describing the grammar of canonical OCS is distinct from the goal of describing the sources as such.

The present book aims to construct such a canonical OCS that makes it possible to obtain the data observed in sources using some conversion rules, and to offer these conversion rules.⁵ Data from sources are admitted only out of necessity to show the reader that the observed diversity of the sources can really be represented as declared conversions from the canonical language.⁶

§ VI. Parallel texts

Below are parallel fragments from four sources, ZOGR, MAR, AS, and SAV.⁷ Verse numbers are shown using Arabic numbers at the beginning of the verse. The

³ Setting up a canonical language is such a natural move that in most grammars it is simply not discussed, but introduced implicitly, as something obvious. In Lunt’s grammar (1974), differences between the canon and actual observations are stated; Lunt refers to canonical OCS as *standard OCS*.

⁴ Note that canonical OCS is outside of the comparative-historical domain, and in that sense should be distinguished from Proto-Slavic, which often serves as a baseline in works on OCS. In this book, grammatical features of the canon are set up solely on the basis of data from sources, without any external comparison.

⁵ Of course this problem has more than one solution. Our goal here is to give one possible canon and one possible grammar, and only for the segmental grammar and paradigmatics within the boundaries of the narrowed dictionary as defined below (see § 3 on the benchmark list of wordforms).

⁶ This strategy also pursues a pragmatic goal, namely to make it possible for the reader to read original texts independently.

⁷ Here and below sources are referred to using Večerka’s system of abbreviations. However, all

number in parentheses refers to the commentary to Table II, which pertains to the section of the text that precedes the reference.

Codex Zographenis, Mt 8, 28–34

²⁸и пришъдъшюмоу на онъ полъ въ странж ѿрѣснинскжъ сзрѣтосте (1) и дъва бѣсъна (2)· отъ грѣвнштъ (3) ихъ· исходашта (4) люта сѣло· ꙗко не можааше (5) никътоже· минжти пжтемъ (6) тѣмъ· ²⁹и се възъписте (7) глѣжшта· чьто естъ нама и тевѣ исе· сѣе бѣжин· пришелъ ли еси сѣмо· прѣжде врѣмене мжчитъ насъ· ³⁰бѣ же далече отъ нею· стадо свинни (8) много (9) пасомо· ³¹бѣси же молѣахъ (10) и глѣжште· аште изгониши нъи· повели намъ ити въ стадо свинное· ³²и рече имъ· идѣте· они же шъдъше вънидъж въ свинниа· и авне оустрѣми (11) са стадо все по брѣгоу (12) въ море· и оутропша· и оутропша (13) въ водахъ· ³³и пасжщен бѣжаша· и шъдъше въ градъ възвѣстнша всѣ (14)· и о бѣсъноую· ³⁴и се весь (15) градъ изиде противж иъви· и видѣвъше и молиша· да би прѣшълъ (16) отъ прѣдѣлъ ихъ·

Codex Marianus, Mt 8, 28–34

²⁸и пришедъшюу емоу исоу на онъ полъ въ странж ѿрѣснинскжъ сзрѣтете (1) и дъва бѣсъна (2) отъ жални (3) исходашца (4) лютѣ сѣло· ꙗко не можааше (5) никтоже минжти пжтемъ (6) тѣмъ· ²⁹и се възъписте (7) глѣца· чьто естъ нама и тевѣ исе· сѣе бѣжин· пришелъ еси сѣмо· прѣжде врѣмене мжчитъ насъ· ³⁰бѣ же далече отъ нежъ стадо свинни (8)· мъного (9) пасомо· ³¹бѣси же молѣахъ (10) и глѣжше· аще изгониши нъи· повели намъ ити въ стадо свинное· ³²и рече имъ идѣте· они же ишедъше идъж въ свинниа· и авне оустрѣми (11) са стадо все по брѣгоу (12) въ море· и оутропж (13) въ водахъ· ³³а пасжщен бѣжаша· и шедъше въ градъ възвѣстнша всѣ (14)· и о бѣсъноую· ³⁴и се весь (15) градъ изидъж противж иъви· и видѣвъше и молиша· да би прѣшелъ (16) отъ прѣдѣлъ ихъ·

Codex Assemanius, Mt 8, 28–34

²⁸пришедъшюу исоу въ странж ѿрѣснинскжъ сзрѣтосте (1) и дъва бѣсъна (2)· отъ грѣвнштъ (3) исходашца (4)· люта сѣло· ꙗко не можааше (5) минжти никтоже пжтемъ (6) тѣмъ· ²⁹и се възъписте (7) глѣца· чьто естъ нама и тевѣ исе· сѣе бѣжин· пришелъ еси сѣмо· прѣжде врѣмене мжчитъ насъ· ³⁰бѣ же далече оу нею стадо свинни (8) много (9) пасомо· ³¹бѣси же молѣахъ (10) и глѣце· аще изгониши нъи· повели намъ ити въ стадо свинное· ³²и рече имъ идѣте· они же ишедъше вънидъж въ свинниа· и авне оустрѣми (11) са стадо все по брѣгоу (12) въ море· и оутропж (13) въ водахъ· ³³а пасжщен бѣжаша· и шедъше въ градъ възвѣстнша всѣ (14) о бѣсъноую· ³⁴и се весь (15) градъ изиде противж иъви· и видѣвъше молиша и да би прѣшелъ (16) отъ прѣдѣлъ ихъ·

Cyrillic letters denoting pages of the manuscript are replaced with roman letters. Texts are shown as they appear in the editions used; in particular, the editor has broken up the text into wordforms (inserting spaces and possibly other dividers), removed corruptions (or supplied emendations), etc. Note that the researcher, when constructing a grammar, operates with a corpus of (at least partially) interpreted texts, knowing not only the contents of the text (its translation, so to speak), but also at least some of its grammatical features.

Sava's book, Mt 8, 28–34

²⁸пришѣдъ ѿ въ земляхъ геръгесинномъ: сърѣтоста (1) і ѿ бѣсъноуѣща (2) сѧ отъ гроба (3) исходаща (4) люте зѣло: тако не можцно (5) никомѣже прити: пжтѣмъ (6) тѣмъ: ²⁹и авне възъписста (7) глѣща: что е нама и тебѣ сѣоу бѣи: приде прѣжде врѣмене: насъ мжчнтъ: ³⁰бѣ же далече: отъ нею стадо свинни (8) много: (9) пасомо: ³¹бѣси же его молѣхъ (10) глѣще аще изгонниши насъ: повели намъ ити въ стадо свинное: ³²и рече имъ идѣте: они же идъ въ свинниа: и авне оустрѣми (11) сѧ все стадо по брѣгору (12) въ море: и истопж (13) въ водахъ: ³³пасжщени же бѣжаша: и шѣдъше въ градъ повѣдаша вса (14): о бѣсъноуѣ: ³⁴и авне всъ (15) градъ изиде въ сърѣтение ісоу: и видѣвъше его молиша: тако да прѣидетъ (16) отъ прѣдѣлъ ихъ:

§ VII. Analysis of selected examples

The forms of different sources are not compared with each other, but each is compared with the canonical form. As long as the canon is fixed, each form of the source is easily identified as canonical or non-canonical, or *alternative*.

Table II on p. XXVI shows canonical forms with their grammatical address and their analogs in the four passages from different sources, for 16 wordforms.

§ VIII. Source-to-source and source-to-canon comparison

In some cases, sources differ lexically and syntactically in parallel passages. For example, at the end of the fragment above we see in ZOGR да ви прѣшьмъ отъ прѣдѣлъ ихъ, but in SAV тако да прѣидетъ отъ прѣдѣлъ ихъ (the construction in MAR and AS is the same as in ZOGR). Accordingly, the canon for the fragments in ZOGR, MAR and AS (да ви прѣшьмъ отъ прѣдѣлъ ихъ) differs from the canon for the corresponding fragment in SAV (такъ да прѣидетъ отъ прѣдѣлъ ихъ). Such differences, while philologically quite interesting, are outside of the scope of this book, which deals only with features of segmental grammar and paradigmatics. Thus, when considering sources, the subject of analysis is the following pair: (actual spellout of wordform in text, its canonical analog). Members of such pairs are eponymous wordforms, e.g. (сърѣтете, сърѣтосте) ЗДУ2PIAор (сърѣсти); (пжтѣмъ, пжтѣмъ) ISg (пжтъ) etc. The actual spellout of a wordform that differs from the canon is called an *alternative spellout*. The so-called *doublet* wordforms and doublet lexemes constitute a separate case. Two distinct wordforms, identical in their grammatical characterization and both belonging to the canon, are called doublets. Such are the forms *вса* and *всѣ*, in the passages above, as well as, e.g., GLSg wordforms *словесе*//*словеси*.

Table II. Analysis of compared wordforms in four sources

	ZOGR	MAR	AS	SAV
1°	3Du2PIAor (сърѣсти): сърѣтосте			
	сърѣтосте	сърѣтете	сърѣтосте	сърѣтоста
2°	GSgmnNSgfNADumNAPInBrev (бѣсьнъ): бѣсьна, GSgmnNADumNAPInBrev [шт-Part (бѣсьноваати)]: бѣсьноуѣшга			
	бѣсьна	бѣсьна	бѣсьна	бѣсьноуѣшга
3°	GPI (жаль): жалин, GPI (гребнштгѣ): гребнштгъ, GSGNADu (гробъ): гроба			
	гребнштгъ	жалин	гребнштгъ	гроба
4°	GSgmnNADumNAPInBrev [шт-Part (исходашга)]: исходашга			
	исходашга	исходашга	исходашга	исходашга
5°	2-3SgImf (мошти): можааше, DSgmnGLDumfBrev [шт-Part (мошти)]: могжштгѣ			
	можааше	можааше	можааше	могжштгѣ
6°	ISg (пжть): пжтьмъ			
	пжтьмъ	пжтьмъ	пжтьмъ	пжтьмъ
7°	3Du2PIAor (възъпнштгѣ): възъпнштгѣ			
	възъпнштгѣ	възъпнштгѣ	възъпнштгѣ	възъпнштгѣ
8°	NLDsgNADuGPI (свинини): свинини			
	свинини	свинини	свинини	свинини
9°	NASgnBrev (мъногъ): мъного			
	много	много	много	много
10°	3PIImf (молити): молѣахж			
	молѣахж	молѣхж	молѣахж	молѣхж
11°	2-3SgAor, 2-3SgImv (оустръмштгѣ): оустръмштгѣ			
	оустръмштгѣ	оустръмштгѣ	оустръмштгѣ	оустръмштгѣ
12°	DSgGLDu (врѣгъ): врѣгѣ			
	врѣгѣ	врѣгѣ	врѣгѣ	врѣгѣ
13°	3PIAor (оутопнжштгѣ): оутопнжштгѣ, 3PIAor (истоппнжштгѣ): истоппнжштгѣ			
	оутопнжштгѣ	оутопнжштгѣ	оутопнжштгѣ	истоппнжштгѣ
14°	NSgfNADumNAPIn (всь): всь, всьѣ			
	всьѣ	всьѣ	всьѣ	всь
15°	NASgm (всь): всь			
	всь	всь	всь	всь
16°	NASgm [л-Part (прѣшити)]: прѣшьаь, 3SgPrae (прѣшити): прѣшитѣ			
	прѣшьаь	прѣшьаь	прѣшьаь	прѣшитѣ

Notes to Table II

- 1° ZGR, MAR and AS show canonical forms; MAR has the secondary form of the so-called root aorist. SAV shows an alternative terminal of the standard aorist.
- 2° The first three sources have ъ in place of the canonical ь. SAV shows another form (participle), different from its canonical analog in having ъ instead of the canonical ь, as well as an alternative shape of the letter *šta*.
- 3° Sources differ lexically: грѣшиштѣ, жалъ and грѣвъ. ZGR has the alternative spellout грѣшиштѣ; AS has a final ъ instead of the canonical ь.
- 4° All four sources have canonical forms. ZGR and MAR show alternative shapes of the letter и, MAR, AS and SAV have alternative shapes of the letter *šta*, and SAV an alternative shape of *little yus*.
- 5° The first three sources have canonical forms. SAV shows another form (participle) with an alternative shape of the letter *šta*, which is followed by ю instead of оу.
- 6° All four sources have alternative terminals: in the first three the initial vowel is є instead of canonical ь, in AS and SAV the final vowel is ъ instead of canonical ь.
- 7° ZGR and MAR have canonical forms. AS has ь in the root instead of canonical ъ, and also a nonstandard shape of the letter и. In SAV, the terminal is alternative, as in (1°).
- 8° ZGR shows an alternative spellout with *kamora* (hypercorrection) and an alternative shape of the letter и. MAR has the canonical one, while AS and SAV have alternative shapes of the letter и.
- 9° All sources except MAR omit ъ.
- 10° MAR and SAV have alternative imperfects (the so-called contracted imperfect). All four sources have alternative spellouts of the phonological combination /l'a/: everywhere except ZGR the *kamora* over the letter л is missing.
- 11° All sources except SAV show an alternative spellout of the root: стръм instead of canonical стръм.
- 12° All sources except SAV have the canonical form. The form брѣроу in SAV is a scribal error for брѣроу.
- 13° All sources show an alternative aorist (root aorist in MAR, AS, and SAV, see 1° above; ZGR has the aorist by class 4 instead of 5); the lexeme in SAV has a different prefix.
- 14° For this form of the lexeme въсь, the terminal ѣ predominates in Glagolitic sources, and а in Cyrillic sources (see § 319–320 on the lexeme въсь). The forms въсьѣ and въса are doublets, and thus are both canonical. In ZGR and SAV, ь is omitted in the root.
- 15° None of the sources have the canonical form: ZGR and SAV omit ь in the root, MAR and AS show є instead of ь in the root, and AS shows ъ instead of ь in the terminal.
- 16° ZGR shows the canonical form. MAR and AS show є instead of ь in the root. SAV has a different form (present).

§ IX. Transition from Glagolitic to Cyrillic script

When considering actual material from sources, Glagolitic forms are examined in their Cyrillic transliteration, which is then compared with the corresponding canonical form. For example, in (1°), first the ZOG_R form **ꙗѡѡѡѡѡѡ** is converted into its Cyrillic transliteration **ѡѡѡѡѡѡ**, which is then compared against the canonical **ѡѡѡѡѡѡ**; MAR **ꙗѡѡѡѡѡѡ** (**ѡѡѡѡѡѡ**) is likewise compared with the same canonical **ѡѡѡѡѡѡ**; where a partial mismatch is observed. We compared ZOG_R **ꙗѡѡѡѡѡѡ** (**ѡѡѡѡѡѡ**) (4°), AS **ꙗѡѡѡѡѡѡ** (**ѡѡѡѡѡѡ**), SAV **ѡѡѡѡѡѡ** with the canonical **ѡѡѡѡѡѡ**, and also identify partial mismatches. In (10°), ZOG_R **ꙗѡѡѡѡѡѡ** (**ѡѡѡѡѡѡ**), MAR **ꙗѡѡѡѡѡѡ** (**ѡѡѡѡѡѡ**), AS **ꙗѡѡѡѡѡѡ** (**ѡѡѡѡѡѡ**) is compared with the canonical **ѡѡѡѡѡѡ**, and in all three pairs partial mismatches are found. In (16°), ZOG_R **ꙗѡѡѡѡѡѡ** (**ѡѡѡѡѡѡ**) and MAR **ꙗѡѡѡѡѡѡ** (**ѡѡѡѡѡѡ**) is compared with the canonical **ѡѡѡѡѡѡ**, where ZOG_R shows a complete match and MAR a partial mismatch.

§ X. Aberrant spellouts in sources

As these illustrations show, alternative forms in sources live alongside canonical ones. It may be the case that the same form in the same source in some of its occurrences acts as canonical, while in others as alternative (cf. in SAV the spell-out of the preposition **ѡѡ** and **ѡѡ**). The observed diversity of aberrant forms is induced by a limited number of *aberrations*. A complete list of aberrations must make available a suitable *aberrant derivation* for any observed aberrant form. In the majority of cases, aberrant derivations have the modality of permission rather than requirement. Because each aberrant form corresponds to a single definite canonical form, the transition from the text of a source to its canonical analog is determinate, but the converse is not the case: a canonical text cannot be converted into its prototype in a source using determinate rules, at least because the selection of a form as canonical or aberrant at any point in the text does not follow a rational pattern: their distribution is random.

The share of alternative spellouts in the passages shown remains below 20%. This ratio is stable across the general corpus of the texts under consideration, although in some sources there are more aberrant spellouts than in others (e.g. in SUP_R in some places the share is 25–30%).

Differences across idiolects and instability within idiolects are described using the same set of aberrations. The same instability within idiolects, established separately for each source, forms the differences between idiolects, because sources differ not so much in their assortment of aberrant forms, as much as by the character of competition between different canonical and aberrant forms.

Table III shows, for example, the distribution of the variant spellouts of the words **ѡѡѡѡ** and **ѡѡѡѡѡѡ** in two sources. This shows that for **ѡѡѡѡѡѡ**-, canonical forms predominate in MAR and aberrant ones in ZOG_R. For **ѡѡѡѡ**, canonical forms predominate in ZOG_R and aberrant ones in MAR.

Table III. Spellouts of the forms *ΛΒΗΘΓΖ* and *ΚΥΤΟ* in ZOGR and MAR

Canon	Spellouts in sources	Share of occurrences (%)	
		ZOGR	MAR
ΛΒΗΘΓΖ	ΛΒΗΘΓΖ-	≈ 11	≈ 85
	ΛΒΗΘΓ-	≈ 89	≈ 5
	ΛΒΗΘΓ-	None	≈ 10
ΚΥΤΟ	ΚΥΤΟ	≈ 91	≈ 31
	ΚΥΤ	≈ 9	≈ 69

Cf. the spellout *ΚΥΤΟ* Lk 10, 36, AS.

The distribution of aberrant spellouts generated by the same aberration can differ in the same source in different lexemes (or even forms). Thus, we can suppose that in different sources different aberrant spellouts were treated as acceptable alternative variants. As far as segmental aberrations are concerned, the character of the competition can be understood as a certain scribal regimen, rather than a phonetic law. It is also not a graphic rule, because such rules admit no exceptions and use no information on units of higher rank than segment, while scribal regimen concerns individual wordforms.

At the same time, differences between sources and their within-idiolectal instability can be described using a simplified schema that estimates only the proportion of a given segmental aberration or graphic peculiarity in a given source. Such a schematic table is given below (Table IV) for the seven basic sources; such ratings as “no”, “rare”, “occasional”, “present”, “often” are meant to reflect the increasing proportion of spellouts that reflect a given segmental property of the source.

Table IV. Overview of the main segmental peculiarities of sources

	Glagolitic sources					Cyrillic sources		
	KIEV	ZOGR	MAR	AS	PS SIN	SAV	SUPR	
<i>Kamora</i>	No	Present	Rare	No		Present		
<i>z ~ dz</i> distinction	No examples	Inconsistent distinction		Consistent distinction		No distinction		
<i>l-epenth.</i> + ѷ, и	Always present	Often absent				Often absent		
<i>l-epenth.</i> elsewhere		Rarely without <i>l-epentheticum</i>						
Fall of ѷ and Ѹ	No	Occasional	Often	Occasional				
Confusion of ѷ and Ѹ				Often		Occasional		
ѷ-strengthening (ϝ)		Rare		Often	Often	Occasional	No	No
ѷ-strengthening (Ϸ)								Occasional

§ XI. A note on the interpretive substance of the differences across idiolects and instability within idiolects

The purely linguistic problem of describing a group of idiolects and instability within an idiolect amounts to creating such mechanisms as described above. However, from a historical-philological point of view, both the status of the canon and the status of differences between idiolects are of paramount importance.

Manuscripts were being created at different times, in different places, and by different scribes. In the general case idiolectal differences can be interpreted as temporal (more vs. less archaic), regional (reflecting dialectal differences), or as social and register differences (e.g. as the opposition between oral and written, formal and informal, and the like). The sociolinguistic situation can be quite complex when such oppositions are interlinked.

As far as the status of the canon, the question can be posed as follows. First, can the canon be interpreted as the “original” OCS, i.e. as the language of translation of the first Greek liturgical books, the language of the first Slavic apostles? Second, can the canon be considered the genetic prototype of the idiolects observed in the sources? For the specific canonical OCS that is usually considered as such and described in this book, the answers are obviously negative: it is neither “Cyril’s original” language, nor a genetic prototype. We should note that while the latter question of the genetic prototype is fairly clear, the meaning of the question of “Cyril’s original” is not well-defined as posed: it is not obvious a priori how to verify a proposed reconstruction of such a language. Durnovo (1929) carefully considers the question of “Cyril’s original” language, using the oldest data on alphabets. Taking his conclusions on the traits of that language, we must admit that it does not coincide with the canon described here.⁸

⁸ Interested readers are referred to Durnovo’s works, which contain a comprehensive analysis of these questions both in their grammatical and interpretive aspects. Here we limit ourselves to one quote, which clarifies the main direction of Durnovo’s thinking: «Sts. Cyril and Methodius, with their translations, originated the Slavic literary language that is known to us in its oldest attested form as Old Church Slavic. Since it is defined as a literary language, we understand under the term a certain norm that authors, translators, and scribes who were writing in this language attempted to follow, and which cannot be identified with their individual languages or a living dialect. Only those linguistic traits that were perceived by the writer as the norm form part of OCS, more or less consistently according to the writer’s level of literacy. Traits not consistently maintained in these sources and amounting to departures from the scribe’s adopted literary norms, are not part of OCS as a literary language, and should be regarded as reflecting various living dialects, or another literary language. It also follows from the same definition that, even though a living dialect lay at the basis of OCS, and that it is possible for a literary language to coincide with a living dialect in all its traits, without including traits of other dialects or languages, we may not assume without sufficient reason that OCS as we know it coincided with another Slavic language or dialect» (Durnovo 1929, quoted from Durnovo 2000, p. 567).

PART I

Segmental grammar

Acquaintance

The part of the book entitled Segmental grammar deals with the segmental systems: graphics, phonology, and morphophonology. The goal of this auxiliary chapter is to fix the terminology and to mention some particular issues which would be confusing without explanation. These clarifications concern only the sense of the notions under discussion, while their content¹ is treated in the rest of this Part, and in the dictionary.

§ 1. Samples of segmental representations

This Grammar uses three types of segmental representations, or spellouts:² *graphic representation*, *phonological representation* (ph), and *morphophonological representation* (mph). The graphic representation, or spellout, is also called *normalization* (norm).

Below are examples of these three spellouts, for a short passage (Mt 8, 28–30).³

Normalization

28 и пришѣдъшоу ѿмоу на онъ полъ въ странѣ герьгесиньскѣ сърѣтосте и дъва бѣсна: отъ гробиштъ нхъ исходашга люта сѣло: тако не можааше никътоже минжти пжтьмъ тѣмъ. 29 и се възъписсте глаголюшга: чѣто естъ нама и тѣбѣ исочсе: съине божин: пришълъ ли еси сѣмо: прѣжде врѣмене мжнитъ насъ. 30 бѣ же далече отъ нѣю: стадо свинин: мъного пасомо

- 1 Following Carnap, the sense is the *intension* and the content is the *extension*.
- 2 Translators's note: this unusual term, translating Russian *занусть*, is used as a general cover word for any linguistic object regardless of its analytical status. It is thus a more general term than representation, which presupposes that something is being represented in terms of something else.
- 3 Note that this book deals with isolated wordforms and their properties. Longer passages are shown only for illustration. Issues concerning longer sequences of wordforms, as well as wordforms which are not part of the benchmark list (see § 3 below), while occasionally briefly mentioned, lie outside of the aims of this book.

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Phonological spellout

²⁸i prišǫdǫšu jemu na onǫ polǫ vǫ stranǫ gerǫgesinǫskǫ sǫrǫtoste i dǫva bǫšǫna otǫ grobišǫ ixǫ isxodešǫta l'uta dzǫlo jako ne moǫaaše nikǫtože minǫti rǫtǫmǫ tǫmǫ ²⁹i se vǫzǫpiste glagol'ǫšǫta čǫto jestǫ nama i tebe isuse syne boǫii prišǫlǫ li jesi sǫmo prǫžde vrǫmene mǫčitǫ nasǫ ³⁰bǫ že daleče otǫ nǫju stado svinii mǫnogo pasomo

Morphophonological spellout

²⁸(и) при.шьд.ъш.оу ј.емоу (на) он.ъ пол.ъ (въ) стра.н.ж (геръгесинъскъ) сь.рѣт.осте ј.ь дъв.а бѣс.ьн.а (отъ) гроб.ишт.ь ј.иуъ из.ход.ашт.а лоу.т.а зѣл.о (яко) (иѣ) мож.ѣ.аше ни.к.ъ.т.о.же ми.н.ж.т.и пжт.ьмь т.ѣмь ²⁹(и) (се) въз.ъп.и.сте гла.гол.жшт.а ч.ь.т.о [иестъ] [нама] (и) [тебѣ] (исоусе) сын.е бо.ж.ь.ь при.шьд.л.ъ (ли) [иєи] (сѣмо) (прѣжде) вѣт.м.єн.є мжч.и.т.ъ [насъ] ³⁰[бѣ] (же) (далече) (отъ) ѱ.єј.оу ста.д.о свин.ь.ь мъног.о пас.ом.о

§2. Wordforms

In all three types of spellouts, spaces delimit *wordforms* (in their graphic, phonological, or morphophonological spellouts). A raised dot in the graphics delimits certain strings of wordforms. Note that manuscripts have no spaces, and thus it is the editor's job to segment the text into wordforms. Punctuation is variable both in manuscripts and in editions of texts.⁴

Examples and notes

- 1°. Locating boundaries between wordforms is a fairly subtle task. The same segmental string can have different interpretations. For example, the string пришьдъшоујемоу can be interpreted with or without a space, as either пришьдъшоујемоу or пришьдъшоу јемоу. In the former case, it is a form of the participle (DSgmPlen), in the latter, it is a short participle and a pronoun DSgmBrev (*и). Note that ZOGR has пришьдъшюмоу.
- 2°. In interpreting data from sources, it is sometimes necessary to examine strings longer than one wordform. For example, the spellouts вестраха, издржкы (both forms, e.g., in Lk 1, 74 MAR) contain a prefix with a noun, вез + страха, из + ржкы.
- 3°. In examining data from the sources, it is sometimes necessary to distinguish different occurrences of the same wordform, including occurrences of identical spellouts, both canonical and aberrant ones. This is the case for the occurrences of the spellout всь (for canonical всь (NASg) of the lexeme всь 'village'): 1) въ всь ZOGR Mt 26, 36; 2) въ всь SAV Mt 26, 36; 3) въ всь SAV Lk 17, 12 and 4) въ всь SAV Jn 11, 30. Such specific occurrences of wordform spellouts are called *glosses*. Of course, different glosses have different addresses (here, they are ZOGR Mt 26, 36, SAV Mt 26, 36, SAV Lk 17, 12 and SAV Jn 11, 30), and every two glosses are different from each other. We use

⁴ In the graphics, as well as in quotes from sources, a raised dot stands for all punctuation.

expressions like the following: “the lexeme *въсь* is represented by 12 glosses in SAV, including six Sg forms and six Pl forms”; “the spellout *вси* of the lexeme *въсь* has four glosses in SAV”; “PS SIN contains no glosses of the lexeme *въсь*”, etc.

§3. Benchmark list of wordforms

The set of wordforms in canonical OCS is fixed. Each wordform in the list corresponds to, first, its asegmental name (its paradigmatic address; see §245); second, to the three segmental spellouts—the graphic, phonological, and morphophonological ones. In this book, these representations are fully defined only for the *benchmark list of wordforms*, and may be undefined to some extent outside of that list.

The boundaries of the benchmark list of wordforms are defined by the *benchmark list of lexemes*, which is given by the *paradigmatic dictionary* (hereafter PD) together with the rules of paradigmatic synthesis, which describe the formation of all oblique wordforms.

The benchmark list does not include: 1) extraparadigmatic forms,⁵ 2) compounds; 3) proper names (toponyms and anthroponyms), and 4) unassimilated loans and their derivatives.

In the text samples above all wordforms that are not in the benchmark list are parenthesized; *гѣрьгѣснѣскѣж* and *исѡуѣ* are examples of a toponym and an anthroponym, respectively.

§4. Graphics

The normalization, or graphics, is a writing system for canonical OCS, as well as the alphabetic spellout of concrete canonical wordforms. By default, it is used as the basic segmental representations of wordforms, and of passages comprising several wordforms.

The atomic units of the graphics are the letters of the *standard Cyrillic* (see §16 below). From now on, whenever we talk about graphics, unless otherwise noted, we are referring to the normalization.⁶

In the graphics, a wordform is a string of letters.

§5. The phonological representation

The atomic units of the phonological representation are *phonemes* of the so-called standard phonology, which are defined by their inventories (see §23–27 below;

⁵ See Part II, Ch. 8 on paradigmatic and extraparadigmatic forms.

⁶ Note that normalizations, with varying degrees of systematicity, are used in all grammars and dictionaries of OCS. In this sense we can talk about different normalizations: e.g. Vaillant’s normalization, Lunt’s normalization, Večerka’s normalization, etc. For example, *глаголѣши*, *глаголѣши* and *глаголѣши* are spellouts of the same wordform in different normalizations.

for nonstandard phonology, see § 866). Either Cyrillic or Roman letters can be used to represent phonological segments. The choice of the Roman or Cyrillic alphabet is only a matter of convenience for each particular context. Thus, spell-out pairs like *prišblz* and *пришьльз*, *jesi* and *јеси*, *l'uta* and *л'ута*, are equivalent phonological spellouts of the corresponding wordforms.

In the phonology, a wordform is a string of phonemes.

Examples and notes

The spellout *герьгесиньскж* is aberrant both in graphics and in phonology (*gerьgesinьskq*), as well as in morphology (*герьгес.ин.ьск.ж*): the sequences of velars and front vowels are prohibited everywhere. As we already noted, this word does not belong to the benchmark wordlist. Phonological interpretation of such forms, generally speaking, goes beyond the scope of the present grammar.

§ 6. The morphophonological representation

The atomic units of morphophonological representations are standard phonological phonemes.⁷ Periods separate *formatives*, which are the linear units of the rank immediately above the phoneme.⁸ Thus, a formative is a string of phonemes. Morphophonological spellouts, just as phonological ones, can be written in either Cyrillic or Roman script: *pri.šbd.l.z* or *при.шьд.л.з*, *l'ut.a* or *л'ут.а*.

Morphophonological spellouts make use of a special auxiliary symbol *ĭ*, called *epenthetic ĭ* (or *epenthetic yod*). This symbol is not a segment. It always precedes a vowel, and corresponds either to the phoneme /j/ or to zero in the phonological spellout.⁹

In two cases, the morphophonological representation is not defined: first, for forms outside of the benchmark list of wordforms (such forms are parenthesized in the sample), and second, for *morphologically anomalous* wordforms of paradigmatic lexemes (they are placed in square brackets in the sample; see details in § 261).

In the morphophonology, a wordform is a string of formatives.

⁷ It is commonly assumed that morphophonological spellouts are built from distinct units called the *mophonemes*. In this grammar the identity of phonological and morphophonological atomic units is assumed as a postulate in the construction of the segmental grammar.

⁸ Segmentation into formatives, which is part of the morphophonology, is not necessarily the same as segmentation into morphemes or morphs; cf. Zaliznjak 1985, § 1.20.

⁹ For example, the infinitive *поѡти* has *по.ѡ.т.и* as its morphophonological representation, and *pojȇti* as its phonological representation. Yet, its root formative is V-initial. Epenthetic *ĭ*, not being a member of the phonological inventory, simply marks the fact that a V-initial root formative follows a V-final prefixal formative. Likewise, the mph representation of *знаѡши* is *знаĭ.ѡши*, and its ph representation is *znajȇši*. Here a V-final stem meets a V-initial terminal. Epenthetic *ĭ* is included in the dictionary spellouts of mph forms, but the rules applying to mph representations take as their input segmental strings without the epenthetic *ĭ*. This auxiliary symbol is introduced into the representation by special rules. See details in § 70.

Examples and notes

- 1°. Formatives are classified by position class: *prefixes* (p), *roots* (R), *suffixes* (s), and *terminals* (t). Membership in position class is a lexical property of a formative. In the paradigmatic dictionary root formatives are parenthesized, cf. (пол).ъ, (ста).д.о, (вож).ь.ь, из.(ход).и.т.и, etc. All formatives preceding the root are prefixes; all formatives following the root but preceding the terminal are suffixes. In the rest of the book, parentheses around roots can be left out, as in the sample above. Periods separating formatives can also be dropped, and some spellouts can be mixed, cf. въз.любити for the morphophonological spellout въз.люб.и.т.и and the graphic spellout възлюбити, or из.жити, for the morphophonological spellout из.жи.т.и and the graphic spellout иждити.

According to each formative's position class identity, each wordform has a *pRs schema*. Thus, (ста).д.о has the pRs schema R.s.t; из.(ход).и.т.и has p.R.s.s.t.

- 2°. Although the inventory of atomic units in the morphophonology is the same as in the phonology, particular mp and ph representations of a wordform may differ. Cf. cases of identity: ph *l'uta*, mp *лѹтѹ.а*; ph *čьto*, mp *ч.ь.т.о*; and cases of non-identity, ph *božii*, mp *вож.ь.ь*, ph *prišelъ*, mp *при.шьд.л.ъ*.
- 3°. In a morphophonological representation each formative appears in the variant that occurs in the wordform. In other words, there are no segmental spellouts of “generalized formatives” encompassing all alloforms, and there is no aim to select one variant of a formative with several variants as the “basic” or “underlying” one.
- 4°. Note that graphically different wordforms always correspond to different phonological spellouts, and vice versa, but this is not the case for phonological and morphophonological spellouts. In some cases morphophonologically different forms can correspond to phonologically (and graphically) identical ones. So, for example, mp *свин.ь.ь* GPI and mp *свин.ь.и* NLDsg, NADu correspond to the same graphic and phonological string *свинни/svinii* (see § 12 below). A difference between phonology and morphophonology in this case shows up in aberrant forms: the aberrant example *свинен* corresponds only to the mp form *свин.ь.ь* GPI but not to the mp form *свин.ь.и* NLDsg, NADu.

§7. Sounding the text

In reading OCS texts out loud, academic practice allows certain phonetic conventions that bring it closer to the language of the reader.¹⁰

¹⁰ Common Russian practice, for example, does not distinguish *ε* and *ѣ*, and almost does not distinguish *ъ* and *ь*.

§8. Segmental systems

The graphic, phonological, and morphophonological representations form three *segmental systems* of the OCS grammar: the graphics, phonology, and morphophonology, respectively. Atomic units in each system are called *segments*. The phonetics of OCS as a separate system is not treated in this book due to the absence of sufficient data.¹¹

Segmental grammar must fully describe both the segmental systems themselves and the *mapping* rules which link the systems with each other.

§9. Setting up a segmental system

In order to set up a segmental system, one must provide 1) an *inventory* of its atomic units, and 2) *dictionaries* or *inventories* of derivative units—that is, the units of the next-highest rank—strings of atomic units, strings of strings, etc.¹²

A grammatical description of a segmental system includes 1) determining and investigating paradigmatic and syntagmatic relationships between atomic units, and 2) investigating the formation of derivative units, which are strings of basic units.

§10. Basic and derived units: segments, formatives, and wordforms

The primary, basic units of all three systems are segments, and they are atomic. In the graphics these are *letters*; in the phonology and morphophonology, these are *phonemes*. Derivative units in the graphics are graphic words, or graphic wordforms, that is, strings of letters separated by spaces. In the phonology, derivative units are phonological words or wordforms, that is, strings of phonemes separated by spaces.

The morphophonology includes derivative strings of two types. First, they are *formatives*, which are strings of phonemes separated by periods. Second, they are *morphophonological words*, or strings of formatives separated by spaces. Accordingly, the morphophonology gives a formative inventory, and treats the morphological composition of two types of derivative units: the construction of formatives as strings of phonemes, and the construction of morphophonological words as strings of formatives. See more details in Ch. 24, § 876, *On the morphological composition of stems and wordforms*.

§11. Syntagmatics

A description of well-formed derivative units in the segmental grammar is called *syntagmatics*. It defines allowed and prohibited adjacencies of units of a lower

¹¹ What little there is of reliable data on the pronunciation of OCS texts is reflected in the phonological inventories.

¹² An inventory is a pair consisting of the set of units and a classification defined on it. “Dictionary” and “inventory” are, generally speaking, synonymous terms. Yet, for some reason we do not usually speak of a *dictionary* of atomic units or of an *inventory* of words.

rank in a unit of a higher rank. The graphics defines allowed and prohibited adjacencies of letters within a graphic word (see § 20). The phonology—or, the phonological syntagmatics of phonemes—describes the allowed and prohibited combinations of phonemes in a phonological word. The morphophonology describes allowed and prohibited combinations of phonemes both within formatives and within morphophonological words—the morphophonological syntagmatics of phonemes, as well as allowed and prohibited combinations of formatives in morphophonological words—the syntagmatics of formatives. Below the phonological and morphophonological syntagmatics of phonemes are treated in parallel (see Ch. 4). We consider formative syntagmatics only in describing segmental combinations that are allowed or prohibited at formative boundaries. See more details in Ch. 24, § 900–909.

§ 12. Mapping rules between systems

The mapping between graphics and phonology supplies a phonological representation of a wordform given its graphic representation, and vice versa. For example, for $\lambda\upsilon\beta\lambda\acute{\iota}\kappa$, such rules give $l'ubl'o$, and for $l'ubl'o$, they give $\lambda\upsilon\beta\lambda\acute{\iota}\kappa$. These rules are given below in § 32 and ff. The mapping between morphophonology and phonology is unidirectional, from morphophonology to phonology, but not vice versa (see rules of the type $mph \Rightarrow ph/norm$, § 63–77). So, the spellout $\mu\alpha\varsigma.\tau.\eta$ gives $\mu\alpha\varsigma\tau\eta$, but the same phonological spellout can also correspond to mph $\mu\alpha\delta.\tau.\eta$.

§ 13. Alloformy

Some formatives of the same position class are considered alloforms of each other. Such are, for example, $\sigma\tau\epsilon$ and $\varsigma\tau\epsilon$ (3Du2PIAor) in $\varsigma\lambda.\rho\beta\tau.\sigma\tau\epsilon$ and $\beta\lambda\lambda.\tau\eta.\eta.\varsigma\tau\epsilon$. Such are the root formatives j and \hat{n} in $j.\beta$, $j.\eta\chi\beta$, and $\hat{n}.\epsilon\eta.\sigma\psi$. This grammar defines a particular *alloformy relation*: that is, for each formative it is given whether it has alloforms. Formatives with no distinct alloforms are *monoformemic* or *monovariate*, while those that have two or more distinct alloforms are *polyformemic* or *polyvariate*.¹³

The most important types of segmental alloformy are described using a system of *alternations* (see § 98 and ff.).

§ 14. Aberrant spellouts and segmental aberrations

Segmental grammar also deals with segmental aberrations and aberrant forms generated by them.¹⁴ Most of the material dealing with segmental aberrations is in Chs. 6 and 7. However, the main chapters also include some comments on aberrations. Ch. 4, § 77 deals with aberrant $mph \Rightarrow ph/norm$ rules; Ch. 5, § 111, 117–118 deal with aberrant versions of alternations. Ch. 23 considers aberrant

¹³ The alloforms of a formative may also be called variants.

¹⁴ Paradigmatic aberrations are treated in Part II.

versions of corresponding formatives. A general overview of segmental aberrations and their classifications is given in § 129; see also Ch. 24, § 886–897.

§ 15. The benchmark task of Part I of the book

The benchmark task¹⁵ of the segmental grammar in this book is to provide a *segmental analysis* of any wordform of the benchmark list of wordforms.¹⁶

More specifically, given the paradigmatic address of the target wordform (given by the paradigmatic grammar; see Part II), the segmental grammar must:

- 1) build the morphophonological and phonological representations of the wordform,¹⁷ and its pRs schema;
- 2) apply the phonology ⇒ graphics rules to the phonological representation and make sure that the result matches the initial spellout of the target wordform;
- 3) apply the morphophonology ⇒ phonology rules to the morphophonological representation and make sure that the result matches the phonological (and graphic) form of the target wordform;
- 4) find each formative in the relevant lists and determine its morphophonological properties: its position class, segmental positions; determine whether it is standard or nonstandard, monoformemic or polyformemic, and which alternations are represented in it.

It may be the case in the analysis of a manuscript text (from the benchmark list of texts) that the target wordform does not have a paradigmatic derivation. In this case we must first find the canonical analog of the target wordform. In order to do this, it is necessary to (1) make a hypothesis about the paradigmatic address of the target wordform, and (2) build a canonical wordform with that paradigmatic address. Then, comparing the target wordform with the canonical wordform, we can attempt to understand the observed differences as the effect of some *aberrations* (for paradigmatic aberrations, see Ch. 13 for nominals and Ch. 22 for verbs; for segmental aberrations, see Chs. 6–7). In case of success, the target form is treated as an aberrant spellout of the corresponding canonical one. If the form is not representable as an effect of aberrations, it must be treated as corrupt. Hypotheses about its supposed prototype in this case are not controlled by grammar (cf. 𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏 for 𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤏 , Mt 8, 32 SAV).

¹⁵ A benchmark task is the content that (1) must be provided by the relevant part of the grammar, and (2) where success can be evaluated relatively formally. A grammar may pursue other aims that are more weakly controlled and lie outside of the benchmark task.

¹⁶ The benchmark list of wordforms gives the graphic spellout.

¹⁷ Morphophonological representations of starting forms are given explicitly in the paradigmatic dictionary (PD). For oblique forms they are produced by paradigmatic synthesis.

Graphics and phonology

Alphabet

§ 16. Segment inventory

The alphabet of normalization (i.e. the graphics of canonical OCS) contains the following 40 letters:

ⱁ	ⱂ	ⱃ	ⱄ	ⱅ	ⱆ	ⱇ	ⱈ	ⱉ	ⱊ
ⱋ	ⱌ	ⱍ	ⱎ	ⱏ	ⱐ	ⱑ	ⱒ	ⱓ	ⱔ
ⱕ	ⱖ	ⱗ	ⱘ	ⱙ	ⱚ	ⱛ	ⱜ	ⱝ	ⱞ
ⱟ	Ⱡ	ⱡ	Ɫ	Ᵽ	Ɽ	ⱥ	ⱦ	Ⱨ	ⱨ

The following 16 letters are vowels: ⱂ, ⱃ, ⱆ, ⱇ, ⱈ, ⱉ, ⱚ, ⱛ, ⱜ, ⱝ, ⱟ, ⱡ, Ɫ, Ᵽ, Ɽ, ⱥ, ⱦ, Ⱨ, ⱨ, Ⱪ; the rest (24) are consonants. Note that the spellouts ⱊⱤ, ⱕⱟⱧ, ⱚⱂ, as well as ⱆ, ⱈ, ⱚ each represent a single letter.

§ 17. Letter names

Some letters have special names:

ⱡ	<i>little yus</i>	Ⱪ	<i>big yus</i>
Ɫ	<i>iotated little yus</i>	Ᵽ	<i>iotated big yus</i>
Ᵽ	<i>yat</i>	ⱚ	<i>yer</i>
ⱕⱟⱧ	<i>shta</i>	ⱚⱂ	<i>yery</i>
ⱊⱤ	<i>zhda</i>	Ɫ	<i>yer'</i>
ⱆ	<i>zelo</i>	ⱆ, ⱈ, ⱚ	<i>kamorated l, n, r</i>

The letters *λ, η, ρ* differ from *λ, η, ρ* with a diacritic called *kamora*. In manuscripts kamoras sometimes occur over other letters (see details in § 132, 167).

§ 18. Simple and iotated vowel letters

Some vowels letters form simple ~ iotated pairs, see Table 18.

Table 18. Simple ~ iotated vowel letter pairs

Simple	α	ε	Λ	κ	οι
Iotated	α̣	ε̣	Λ̣	κ̣	ο̣ι

§ 19. Classes of letters

Tables 19.1 and 19.2 show classificatory features that can be used to refer to letters and their groups.¹

Table 19.1. Groupings of vowel letters

Back			οι	κ	α		β	βι	ο
Simple front	ε	Λ				τ̣	β	η	
Iotated front	ε̣	Λ̣	ο̣ι	κ̣	α̣				

Table 19.2. Groupings of consonant letters

Group names		Voiceless	Voiced
Morphophonologically soft	Kamorated	λ̣, η̣, ρ̣	
	Shibilants	σ, σπ, τ	ζ, ζΔ
	Sibilant affricates	τ̣	ς
Neutral	Simple	π, τ, ς	β, Δ, ζ
		β, λ, Λ, η, ρ	
	Velar	κ, χ	γ

Letter combinations

§ 20. Contextual conditions for vowel letters

The use of vowel letters word-initially, after vowels, and after consonants is regulated in part by the corresponding morphophonological and phonological con-

¹ Here and below tables are numbered as follows: if there is only one table in a paragraph, its number coincides with the paragraph number; if there is more than one, then the table number consists of the paragraphs number and the table's serial number within the paragraph, e.g. 19.1, 19.2.

straints, and in part by purely graphic rules.² Table 20 shows a general overview of prohibitions in these positions.³

Table 20. Use of vowel letters by preceding context

Position Letter	Word- initial # _	After vowel V _	After kamorated (â, î, ð) _	After shibilants (ч, ж, ш, щт, жд) _	After ц, с (ц, с) _	After simple Cs C _	After velars (к, г, х) _
ѐ	Prohibited	Prohibited	+	+	+	Prohibited	
ѐ̆	+	+	Prohibited	Prohibited	Prohibited	Prohibited	
ѐ̇	Prohibited	Prohibited	+	+	+	Prohibited	
ѐ̈	+	+	Prohibited	Prohibited	Prohibited	Prohibited	
ѐ̉	+	Prohibited	+	+	+	+	
ѐ̊	+	+	Prohibited	Prohibited	Prohibited	Prohibited	
ѐ̋	+	Prohibited	+	+	+	+	
ѐ̌	+	+	Prohibited	Prohibited	Prohibited	Prohibited	
ѐ̍	+	Prohibited	+	+	+	+	
ѐ̎	+	+	Prohibited	Prohibited	Prohibited	Prohibited	
ѐ̏	Prohibited	Prohibited	Prohibited	+	+	Prohibited	
ѐ̐	Prohibited	Prohibited	Prohibited	Prohibited	+	+	
ѐ̑	Prohibited	+	+	+	+	Prohibited	
ѐ̒	Prohibited	Prohibited	Prohibited	Prohibited	+	+	
ѐ̓	+	+	+	+	+	Prohibited	
ѐ̔	+	Prohibited	Prohibited	Prohibited	+	+	

§21. The distribution of simple and iotated letters

As can be seen from the Table 20, simple and iotated letters stand in partially complementary distribution. This is summarised in Table 21 on p. 14.

In this table, tilde indicates that the letters in the corresponding position stand in contrast, reflecting different phonological strings. Examples:

ѐ̉ ~ ѐ̊ — ѐ̉тро, ѐ̊гъ, наѐ̉чиги, краю (DSg);

ѐ̋ ~ ѐ̌ — ѐ̋же ('горе'), ѐ̌же (ASg of иже), паѐ̋чина, знаѐ̌ (1SgPrae);

ѐ̍ ~ ѐ̎ — аѐ̍ньць, ѐ̎зва, трыѐ̍ѡаше (Imf), поѐ̎сти;

ѐ̏ ~ ѐ̐ — ѐ̏тъца (GSg), рѐ̐цѡ̆ (LSg).

² For example, the prohibition against the sequence velar + front vowel (simple or iotated) reflects a morphophonological and phonological law, namely the law of the velars; see § 56. The prohibition against the vowel letters ѐ̊, ѐ̋, ѐ̌ after shibilants is better seen as a graphic convention. Sources may use different regulations; see below on basic writing systems in § 134–135.

³ Spellouts violating the prohibitions in this table can occur among anomalies, such as borrowings, cf. китѡ̆, архидерен etc.

Table 21. Simple and iotated vowel letters: contextual distribution

Positions Letters	Word- initial #_	After vowel V_	After ka- morated (â, î, ô)_	After shibilants (ч, ж, ш, щ, ж, д)_	After и, ъ (и, ъ)_	After simple Cs C_	After velars (к, г, х)_
ѣ, ѥ	ѣ			ѣ			Prohibited
ѧ, ѧѧ	ѧѧ			ѧѧ			Prohibited
Ѡѡ, Ѡѡ	Ѡѡ ~ Ѡѡ	Ѡѡ		Ѡѡ			
Ѣѣ, Ѣѣ	Ѣѣ ~ Ѣѣ	Ѣѣ		Ѣѣ			
Ѥ, ѤѤ, ѤѤ	Ѥ ~ ѤѤ	ѤѤ		Ѥ	Ѥ ~ ѤѤ		Ѥ

Phoneme inventories

§22. Vowel membership

Figure 1 represents all the vowel phonemes of OCS.

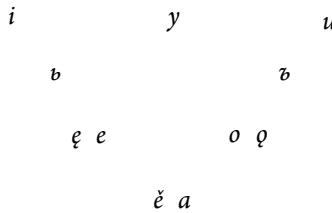


Figure 1. Vowels of OCS

The phonological independence of all 11 vowel segments can be seen after a simple consonant; see §51 below.

§23. Vowel inventory

The feature set for the vowel inventory contains the following features.

1. *Advancement*. Values: *front*, *back*. Domain: all vowel phonemes.
2. *Pure/nasal*. Values: *pure*, *nasal*. Domain: all vowel phonemes.
3. *Height*. Values: *high*, *low*. Domain: all vowel phonemes where the feature *pure/nasal* takes the value *pure*.
4. *Inner/outer*. Values: *outer*, *inner*. Domain: all vowel phonemes where the feature *pure/nasal* takes the value *pure*.
5. *Simple/round*. Values: *simple*, *round*. Domain: all vowel phonemes where the feature *advancement* takes the value *back*, the feature *height* takes the value *high*, and the feature *inner/outer* takes the value *outer*.

The system of the phonological oppositions is shown in Table 23.

Table 23. Phonological vowel inventory

			Front	Back	
				Simple	Round
Pure	High	Outer	<i>i</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>u</i>
		Inner	<i>ɨ</i>	<i>ʊ</i>	
	Low	Inner	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>	
		Outer	<i>ě</i>	<i>a</i>	
Nasal			<i>ɛ̃</i>	<i>ɔ̃</i>	

§ 24. Vowel phoneme classes

The following groups can be distinguished among vowels: front (/ě, e, ɨ, i, ɛ/), back (/a, o, ɔ, y, ɔ/), *reduced* (/ɨ, ʊ/), also called *yers*, and nasal (/ɛ̃, ɔ̃/). In the inventory, nasal vowels are undefined for height. One may suppose that they do not differ in height from their pure counterparts /e/ and /o/. See details in Ch. 24, *Supplement*, § 866, *Trubeckoj's nonstandard phonology*.

§ 25. Phonological vowel pairings

The most important phonological pairings of vowels are shown below in Table 25.

Table 25. Pairings of vowel phonemes

Advancement				Height			Inner/outer				
<i>i</i>	<i>ɨ</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ě</i>	<i>ɨ</i>	<i>ʊ</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ʊ</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>y</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ě</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ě</i>	<i>i</i>	

Note that nasal vowels do not form pairings with pure vowels. Between themselves, they form an isolated phonological pairing $\epsiloñ||\omicroñ$. Likewise, the phoneme /u/ only forms a pairing with the phoneme /y/.

§ 26. A terminological note: long and short vowels

The pairings by the feature inner/outer corresponds to the opposition of *etymologically short* (central) and *etymologically long* (peripheral) vowels, adopted in grammars of Slavic languages. The acoustic and articulatory interpretation of the feature inner/outer is difficult. In particular, in treating alternations, the grades represented by inner vowels are called “short” (the short grade), while those represented by outer vowels are called “long” (lengthened grade). In this grammar, there is no phonological opposition of vowels by length.

§27. The set and inventory of consonants

The feature set of the consonant inventory contains the following features.

1. *Place*. Values: *labial, dental, dentopalatal, velar*. Domain: all consonant phonemes.
 2. *Affrication*. Values: 1, 2, 3. Domain: all *dentopalatal plosives*.
 3. *Manner*. Values: *plosive, fricative, approximant*. Domain: all consonant phonemes.
 4. *Voicing*. Values: *voiced, voiceless*. Domain: all *plosives* and *fricatives*.
 5. *Approximant type*. Values: *nasal, glide, lateral, trill*. Domain: all *approximants*.
- The system of phonological oppositions is shown in Table 27.

Table 27. Phonological consonant inventory

		Labial	Dental	Dentopalatal			Velar
				1	2	3	
Plosive	Voiceless	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>št</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>k</i>
	Voiced	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>žd</i>	<i>dz</i>		<i>g</i>
Fricative	Voiceless		<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>			<i>x</i>
	Voiced		<i>z</i>	<i>ž</i>			
Approximant	Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n'</i>			
	Glide	<i>v</i>		<i>j</i>			
	Lateral Trill		<i>l</i> <i>r</i>	<i>l'</i> <i>r'</i>			

The phonological independence of all 25 consonant phonemes is observed before the vowels /a/, /u/, and /o/; see § 51 below.

§28. A note on dentopalatals

The acoustic and articulatory interpretation of the ternary feature *affrication*, defined for dental plosives, can be as follows. 1: dentoalveolars; 2: alveopalatals; 3: palatoalveolars.

Of course, the OCS data can hardly speak in favor of one or another acoustic/articulatory interpretation of this feature, but can give evidence of the organization of the system of opposition. The system adopted here ensures relative consistency with the system of pairings (see § 31 below). Those pairings, in turn, agree as much as possible with the observed alternations.

Dentopalatals, which are below referred to as *morphophonologically soft*, form a compact group of consonant phonemes, in opposition to all other consonants. This opposition is widely used in paradigmatics, defining the so-called twofold rule.

§29. A note on the phonemes *č* and *g*

Note, on the one hand, the absence of a voiced counterpart of *č* in the system, and on the other, the phonological indeterminacy of the only voiced velar *g*, which can both be a plosive (as in this inventory and grammar), as well as fricative. The first interpretation is consistent with the morphophonological pairings *k||c, g||dz, x||s*; the second with the morphophonological pairings *k||č, g||ž, x||š*. See details in Ch. 24, *Supplement*, § 873, *On the types of segmental pairings*.

§30. Classes of consonant phonemes

Table 30 shows the classes of consonant phonemes and their names that may be used below, but which, perhaps, do not follow directly from the inventory data.

Table 30. Names of some classes of consonant phonemes

Conventional name	Membership of the class	Features
Morphophonologically soft	<i>l', n', r'; č, ž, š, št, žd; c, dz; j</i>	All dentopalatals
Kamorated	<i>l', n', r'</i>	All dentopalatal approximants except <i>j</i>
Affricates	<i>č, št, žd, c, dz</i>	All dentopalatal plosives
Shibilants	<i>š, ž; č, št, žd</i>	All dentopalatal plosives and fricatives except <i>c</i> and <i>dz</i>
Sibilants	<i>s, z; c, dz</i>	All dental fricatives and all dentopalatal-2 plosives
Sonants	<i>l, n, r, m, j, v</i>	All approximants except <i>l', n', r'</i>
Velars	<i>k, g, x</i>	All velars
Simple Cs	<i>p, b, t, d, s, z, l, n, r, m, v</i>	Not morphophonologically soft and not velar (i.e. all labials and dentals)

§31. Phonological consonant pairings

The most important phonological pairings of consonant phonemes are shown in Tables 31.1–3.

Table 31.1. The velar ~ shibilant pairing

Velar	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>x</i>
Dentopalatal	<i>č</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>š</i>

Table 31.2. The velar ~ sibilant pairing

Velar	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>x</i>
Dentopalatal or dental	<i>c</i>	<i>dz</i>	<i>s</i>

Table 31.3. The dental ~ dentopalatal pairing

Dental	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>
Dentopalatal	<i>št</i>	<i>žd</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>n'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>r'</i>

Transformation from graphics to phonology and vice versa

§32. General considerations

As already noted, phonemes in this book are notated using two equivalent systems, Roman and Cyrillic. The choice is not substantively significant; the dichotomy only serves illustrative purposes.

In some cases the correspondence between phonological and graphic spell-outs of an expression is trivial. Cf. graphic *дома*, phonological *дома* or *doma* (or the same in slashes: /*дома*/, /*doma*/). Different notations are distinguished by fonts (see Table 33.2 below), while within the same notation, only the meaning of the atomic symbols changes: they are letters in the graphics and phonemes in the phonology.

However, the correspondence between graphics and phonology is not always trivial. Indeed, on the one hand, the standard Cyrillic alphabet has no single letter for the phoneme /j/; this phoneme is rendered using iotated letters. Thus, the phoneme string /moja/ corresponds to the graphic string *моја*, the phoneme string /mojɔ/ corresponds to the graphic string *моѣ* etc. On the other hand, iotated letters in the graphics are used after kamorated letters to notate the same phonemes which in other occurrences are transcribed by non-iotated letters. Thus, the phoneme string /l'u/ corresponds to the graphic spellout *лю* (cf. *любити*), while the phoneme string /lu/ corresponds to the spellout *лу* (cf. *прилучан*) etc.

Thus, for example, the letter *я* corresponds either to the single phoneme /a/ (cf. *која* — *koja*), or the phoneme string /ja/ (cf. *моја* — *moja*). Likewise, the phoneme /a/ corresponds either to the letter *а* (cf. *дома*), or the letter *я* (cf. *која*).

§33. Graphics ⇔ phonology transformation rules

These rules are determinate in the sense that a given phonological string corresponds to one and only one graphic string (regardless of the string's content, i.e. which word it represents), and conversely, a given graphic string corresponds to one and only one phonological string.

The rules are shown in two tables: the first (Table 33.1, special cases) is responsible for the treatment of complex strings, i.e. strings that contain iotated letters (in the graphics) or the phonemes /j/ and kamorated phonemes (in the

phonology). The second table (Table 33.2, trivial cases, simple alphabetic correspondence) is responsible for the transformation between notations (within a notation the same symbol is interpreted as a letter in the graphics and a phoneme in the phonology).

Table 33.1. Graphics \leftrightarrow phonology transformation rules: special cases

Graphics \Rightarrow phonology (letters \Rightarrow phonemes)			Phonology \Rightarrow graphics (phonemes \Rightarrow letters)		
	After vowel or word-initially	Elsewhere		After j or kamorated Cs	Elsewhere
Ѡ	/ja/	/a/	/a/	Ѡ	а
Ѳ	/je/	/e/	/e/	Ѳ	е
Ѣ	/jɛ/	/ɛ/	/ɛ/	Ѣ	ѣ
Ѥ	/jɔ/	/ɔ/	/ɔ/	Ѥ	ѥ
Ѧ	/ju/	/u/	/u/	Ѧ	ѧ

Table 33.2. Graphics \leftrightarrow phonology alphabetic correspondence: trivial cases

Vowels												
Letters	а	ѳ	и	о	ѧ	ъ	ѣ	ь	ѧ	Ѡ	Ѥ	
Phonemes	a/а	e/ѳ	i/и	o/о	u/ѧ	ɔ/ъ	y/ѣ	ɐ/ь	ɛ/ѧ	ɛ/Ѡ	ɔ/Ѥ	
Consonants												
Letters	б	в	г	д	ж	жд	з	з	к	л	лъ	м
Phonemes	b/б	v/в	g/г	d/д	ʒ/ж	ʒd/жд	dz/з	z/з	k/к	l/л	lʲ/лъ	m/м
Letters	н	н̂	п	р	р̂	с	т	х	ц	ч	ш	шт
Phonemes	n/н	nʲ/н̂	p/п	r/р	rʲ/р̂	s/с	t/т	x/х	c/ц	ɕ/ч	ʃ/ш	ʃt/шт

§34. From phonological spellout to normalization

All occurrences of the phoneme /j/ must be eliminated; all combinations of the form j + V are replaced with the corresponding iotated letters (cf. *jako* \Rightarrow Ѡко, *znaješi* \Rightarrow знаѣши, *zmijr* \Rightarrow змиѣ, *šija* \Rightarrow шиѠ).⁴ In other cases the vowel phonemes *a*, *e*, *ɛ*, *u* and *ɔ* are rendered either by the corresponding iotated letter after kamorated Cs (cf. *zemla* \Rightarrow зѣмѠѠ), or by a simple letter elsewhere (cf. *duša* \Rightarrow дуѣѠ).

In those cases the phoneme /j/ is simply removed, while the kamorated consonant, of course, remains. Thus, we have: *jako* \Rightarrow Ѡко, *zemla* \Rightarrow зѣмѠѠ, *duša* \Rightarrow дуѣѠ, *nožda* \Rightarrow нѣжда; *jego* \Rightarrow ѳго, *pol'e* \Rightarrow полѣ, *lice* \Rightarrow лиѣ, *jeŕti* \Rightarrow ѣтѠ, *mole* \Rightarrow молѠ; *jugɔ* \Rightarrow ѧѣ, *n'ejju* \Rightarrow нѣѧ, *tožju* \Rightarrow тѣѧ, *voždu* \Rightarrow вѣѧ, *l'ubl'ɔ* \Rightarrow ѠѣѠ Ѡѣѧ; *mojɔ* \Rightarrow мѣѧ, *zeml'ɔ* \Rightarrow зѣмѠѣѧ, *dušɔr* \Rightarrow дуѣѠѣѧ, *rokr* \Rightarrow рѣѧѣѧ.

⁴ The phoneme /j/ does not occur in any other context in phonological spellouts; in j + V combinations, only the five vowels *a*, *e*, *ɛ*, *ɔ*, *u* are possible.

§35. From normalization to phonological spellout

In order to transform a normalization into a phonological spellout, all occurrences of iotated letters must be removed and replaced with the corresponding $j + V$ sequences, if the iotated letter follows a vowel or is word-initial. Otherwise, they are replaced by the corresponding vowel phoneme. For example, for *ѡко* we have *jako*, for *моѡ* we have *moja*, for *земѡ* we have *zem'la*, for *доуша* we have *duša*, for *коѡнѡ* we have *kon'et's*, for *знаѡши* we have *znaješi*, for *ѡзѡ* we have *jazva*, for *мѡгѡръ* we have *mytar'v*.

Formatives and morphophonological representations of words

Positional classes of formatives

§36. Classes of formatives

Positional classes of formatives, on the one hand, determine the possible positions of the formative in the wordform, and on the other, are constrained by the so-called *CVC norm*. The main positional classes are roots (R), prefixes (p), suffixes (s), and terminals (t), or inflections.¹ Table 36 shows the positional classes of formatives and their *CVC norms*.

Table 36. Positional classes of formatives and their *CVC norm*

	Prefixes p	Roots R	Suffixes s	Terminals t
<i>CVC norm</i>	CV	CVC	VC	V or VCV
Examples	вѣ, на, до, съ	рѣк, вож, твѣр, дѣн	ьн, ъск, ст, ост	а, ѣ, ж, иши
Dictionary count	<50	<2000*	<100	<100

* The count in the Root column is limited to the benchmark corpus of wordforms, i.e. excluding proper names, borrowings, extraparadigmatic items, and compounds.

¹ Outside of the benchmark corpus of wordforms there are some formatives that do not belong to these main positional classes. For example, the *connective vowels* o/ε in compounds (cf. вог.о.рѣд.иц.а). A separate class comprises so-called *autonomous* formatives, which can both form their own extraparadigmatic wordforms, and combine with each other or with formatives from main positional classes. Such are, for example, the formatives не, ни, же, во, ли, нѣ (cf. such forms as ли, же, ни; не.во.нѣ, ни.к.ого.же). Some other types of auxiliary formatives are possible.

Note that, according to the CVC norm, all OCS formatives are monosyllabic except the terminals.²

In the CVC norm, as in all other CVC schemata, C stands for a single consonant or a cluster, while V stands only for a single vowel.

The attribution of a formative to a positional class is, generally speaking, a lexical property.³

§37. Segmental positions of formatives

For each formative, the CVC norm determines its *segmental positions*. So, each segment or sequence of segments is associated with a particular segmental position. Prefixal formatives have two segmental positions, initial C and final V. Root formatives have three, initial C, medial V, and final C. Suffixal ones have two, initial V and final C. Terminals have three, initial V, medial C, and final V. Examples of segmental positions of some formatives are shown in Tables 37.1 and 37.2.

Table 37.1: An example of the segmental positions of root formatives

Position Formative		CVC norm: CVC		
		Initial C	Medial V	Final C
ρжк		ρ	ж	к
тврρ		тв	ρ	

Table 37.2. An example of the segmental positions of suffixal formatives

Position Formative		CVC norm: VC	
		Initial V	Final C
ък		ъ	к
ьск		ь	ск

Statements such as the following are used below: “The initial C position of the formative тврρ is replaced with тв, or the initial C position of the formative тврρ is тв”, etc.

Segmental positions of formatives are computed only on the morphophonological representation. In the graphics and phonology they are not observable in the general case. From the graphic spellout of the wordform ичезишти one cannot tell that the prefix has a final C (cf. ич.чез.и.ж.т.и); likewise in обидѣти

² See § 295–298 on the decomposition of disyllabic terminals for nominals, and § 611 for verbs.

³ See a list of the formatives of the basic position classes in Ch. 23 (prefixes, roots, and suffixes), § 289 (nominal terminals), and § 455 (verbal terminals).

for the initial C of the root (cf. *об.вид.ѣ.т.и*); in *издрекъ*, the segment *д* does not belong to any segmental position (cf. *из.рек.ъ*).⁴

§38. Nonstandard formatives

CVC norms come with *edge requirements* (or *edge conditions*), which are determined by the oppositions between Initial Cs and Vs, and final Cs and Vs, as shown in Table 38.1.

Table 38.1. Edge requirements for CVC norms

	Final	C	V
Initial	C	Roots (R)	Prefixes (p)
Initial	V	Suffixes (s)	Terminals (t)

The CVC norm determines the standard which the majority of formatives of a given position class follow, but a small number of formatives violate. Some violate the edge requirements (such as the prefixes *вєз* and *из*, roots *ѣд*, *зна*, *дѣ*, *и*, suffixes *ъ*, *ѣ*, *а*, and terminals *хъ*, *сга*). Others violate the length requirements, e.g. *члѡвѣк* <1077>.⁵ Others violate both conditions, e.g. the roots *алък* <9>, *зл* <318>, and the suffixes *т*, *и*, *д*.

Formatives which violate the CVC norm of their class are called *nonstandard*. Such formatives occur in all positional classes.

Tables 38.2–38.4 (p. 24) show the computation of segmental positions for nonstandard formatives.

Table 38.2. Nonstandard root formatives

	Position	Initial C	Medial V	Final C
Formative	<i>зна</i>	<i>зн</i>	<i>а</i>	(none)
Formative	<i>ид</i>	(none)	<i>и</i>	<i>д</i>

Table 38.3. Nonstandard prefixal formatives

	Position	Initial C	Medial V	Final C
Formative	<i>сѣи</i>	<i>с</i>	<i>ѣ</i>	<i>и</i>
Formative	<i>вєз</i>	<i>в</i>	<i>є</i>	<i>з</i>
Formative	<i>из</i>	(none)	<i>и</i>	<i>з</i>

⁴ Note that in the case of the so-called sonant vocalism, the segmental positions cannot correspond to the CVC schema. See more details in § 123.

⁵ Numbers in angled brackets, as <1077> here, show the root's number in the paradigmatic dictionary and the root dictionary.

Table 38.4. Nonstandard suffixal formatives

Formative \ Position	Initial V	Final C
а	а	(none)
т	(none)	т

It is important that a formative is treated as C- or V-initial, or as C- or V-final based on its CVC schema, not its CVC norm. For example, a prefixal formative is called V-initial and C-final; root formatives $\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{m}$ <318> and j <343> are C-initial and C-final.

Of course, in degenerate cases, the notion of segmental position is meaningless. For example, there is no sense in asking which of the C positions is filled and which is empty in the roots j <343>, or \mathfrak{c} <276>.⁶

For roots, it makes sense to distinguish *closed* and *open* roots. Closed roots have a non-empty final C in all alloforms; open roots have an empty final C in all alloforms. *Finally ambivalent* roots (see below) cannot be classified as open or closed in the general case; such a classification can only apply to individual alloforms.

§39. Ambivalence

Formatives with alloforms that can be either C- or V-initial are called *initially ambivalent*. Such are, for example, the root formatives $\mathfrak{v}\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{n}$ and $\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{n}$, suffixes \mathfrak{n} and \mathfrak{en} , and terminals $\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{x}\mathfrak{z}$ and $\mathfrak{x}\mathfrak{z}$. Formatives with C- and V-final alloforms are *finally ambivalent*. Such are prefixal formatives $\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{z}$ and $\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{n}$, root formatives $\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{a}$ and $\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{d}$, $\mathfrak{k}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{a}$ and $\mathfrak{k}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{y}\mathfrak{n}$, and suffixes $\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{v}$ and $\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{y}$. Both types can be referred to as *CVC-ambivalent*.

Alloforms of CVC-ambivalent formatives are sometimes morphophonological variants (i.e. they show standard alloformy), and sometimes not, depending on whether the distribution of alloforms follows the CVC agreement rule. If the rule is followed, the alloforms are morphophonological variants; otherwise, they are not morphophonological variants. (See § 92–93 on CVC ambivalence as morphophonological variation).

⁶ There is also no need in computing the segmental positions for polysyllabic opaque roots (see § 628), although their final C (if it is present) is determined as usual. For example, in $\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{v}\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{k}$, the final C is \mathfrak{k} ; in $\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{r}$, it is \mathfrak{r} .

Formative sequences in the word: morphological composition of stems

§ 40. Morphological composition of stems

The *morphological composition* of a word or a stem comprises those properties which can be described in terms of presence or absence of formatives or sequences of formatives. For example, simple and prefixed verbs are distinguished by their morphological composition. While these properties can be observed in morphophonological representations, they are properties of the wordform itself, and sometimes of the lexeme (as is the case with the difference between simple and prefixed verbs). The morphological composition of a word or a stem in terms of the positional classes of the formatives that make it up is described by its *pRs schema*. On constituent structure and on determining the basic components see Ch. 24, § 876, *On the morphological composition of stems and wordforms*.

§ 41. An overview of possible pRs schemata

In a paradigmatic wordform, the possible arrangement of formatives is determined, first, by the natural order of positional classes, viz. $p < R < s < t$, and second, by limitations on the number of formatives of a positional class, as shown in Table 41.1.

Table 41.1 Possible pRs schemata: a general overview

Positional class	p	R	s	t
Number	0, 1, several	1	0, 1, several	1

Table 41.2 Possible pRs schemata: examples

Wordform	pRs schema	Examples			
		p	R	s	t
нога	R.t	—	ног	—	а
порокъ	p.R.t	по	рок	—	ъ
послѣдъкъ	p.R.s.t	по	слѣд	къ	ъ
порождениѣ	p.R.s.s.t	по	рожд	ени. ъј	ѣ
недоуѣмѣниѣ	p.p.R.s.s.s.t	не.до	уѣм	ѣ.ни. ъј	ѣ
молаштвоу	R.s.t	—	мол	ашт	оу

The following are possible departures for the standard shapes of paradigmatic word-forms described above. First, a single wordform may contain more than one root. This is standard in compounds, cf. (бог).о.(роа).иц.а. In addition, there are several cases of *reduplication*, e.g. въ.(тръ.тър).а.т.и <975>, ((гла.гола).ъ <159>, из.(мръ.мръ).т.и <539>, and ((попел).ъ, ((пепел).ъ, оу.(пепел).и.т.и <654>.

Among these, *въ* ((тръ.тър).а.т.и is a borrowing (cf. Gk. τάρταρος); the root does not occur in either of the shapes *тръ* or *тър*. On the other hand, *гла.гол* is related to the root *глас* <162> only etymologically; cf. (*глас*).ъ and its derivatives. Thus, the single root does not occur in either the shape *гла* or *гол*. For *измръмръти* and *попелъ* we have forms with the standard shape of the root, cf. *мръ.т.и* and *пал.и.т.и*. In all these cases, the stem is opaque (on opaque roots and stems, see § 628, *Parsing problems and roots: opaque stems*).

Second, a wordform of a paradigmatic lexeme may lack a terminal in some special cases. This is possible with syncopated *шт-* and *ш-*Part forms.⁷

Third, some terminals, called *bicomponential*, are comprised of two formatives in a row. See § 611 for verbs and § 295 for nominals.

§ 42. CVC norm for words

Conditions on the arrangement of formatives by position class (the pRs conditions) and the requirements of the CVC norms of position classes are set up in such a way that formative boundaries in a wordform can only be of the type C.V or V.C, but not C.C or V.V. Thus, the formatives' CVC norm determines the CVC norm for words, as seen in Table 42.

Table 42. CVC norms of words

Positional class	p	R	s	t
CVC norm of formatives	CV	CVC	VC	V(CV)
CVC norm of words	CV...CV	CVC	VC...VC	V(CV)

A word may begin with a vowel if its first formative is nonstandard, such as a V-initial prefix (cf. *из.биги*, *ш.мръти*), or a V-initial root (cf. *агн.ыць*). However, a word may not end in a consonant, regardless of whether its final formative is a terminal or not.

§ 43. Jakobson's law

The law determines the behavior of formative boundaries. As Table 43 shows, the law evaluates boundaries on the basis of their CVC schemata, only allowing contrasting C.V and V.C boundaries.

Prohibited boundaries of the type C.C and V.V are called *heteroformemic clusters* and *heteroformemic hiatuses*, respectively. Clusters and hiatuses within a formative are called *tautoformemic*.

⁷ Note that for many wordforms of unique lexemes, their inflectional spellout (i.e., the division into stem and terminal, cf. § 251) is not analyzed.

Table 43. Jakobson's law

Following Preceding	.C	.V
C.	Prohibited (C.C cluster)	Allowed (C.V)
V.	Allowed (V.C)	Prohibited (V.V hiatus)

Here, as usual, V stands for a single vowel, and C for either a single consonant or a cluster (see § 36).

§ 44. Jakobson's law and CVC norms

Jakobson's law and CVC norm requirements are related in such a way that pRs strings without nonstandard formatives automatically obey the law. In such cases, the morphological composition of a word is for the most part transparent, and observable even in its phonological and graphic spellouts.

For example, consider the form **НЕПРИЧАСТЪНИКЪ**:

НЕ	ПРИ	ЧАСТ	ЪН	ИК	Ъ
CV	CV	CVC	VC	VC	V
p	p	R	s	s	t

Likewise for the word **ВЪЗАКОНИЕ**:

ВЪ	ЗА	КОН	Ъ	Е
CV	CV	CVC	VC	V
p	p	R	s	t

§ 45. Violations of Jakobson's law

Violations of the law are only possible in case a nonstandard formative intrudes into a licit pRs string, that is, a formative which violates the CVC norm of its positional class—or, more precisely, its edge conditions. For example, **нес.т.и**, contains a nonstandard C-initial suffix which creates a heteroformemic cluster; **зна.ѣши** contains a nonstandard V-final root which creates a heteroformemic hiatus.

However, nonstandard edges can compensate each other. For example, a V-initial root can be compensated by a C-final prefix, cf. **из + ити (изити)**, **сън + ѣсти (сънѣсти)**, etc. Likewise, a V-final suffix can be compensated by a C-initial suffix. Cf. **дѣл.а + възш.и (дѣлавъши)**, etc.

§ 46. Hiatuses

The CVC norms of formatives preclude tautoformemic hiatus, while Jakobson's law prohibits heteroformemic hiatus. Nonetheless, OCS occasionally does allow hiatus. Tautoformemic hiatus is encountered in syntagmatic anomalies, e.g.

the prefix *нн*; cf. also borrowings *аеръ*, *геона*, *архиерей*, *оуалъ*, etc. Such forms are not subject to Jakobson's law. The intrusion of a nonstandard formative in a pRs string threatens the possibility of a heteroformemic hiatus.

If nonstandard edges are not compensated, hiatus may occur in the morphophonological representation. In the phonological representation, hiatus may or may not be eliminated, and may occur in such representations. For example, we have *да* + *а.т.н* ⇒ *dajati* (graphic *дајати*), *зна* + *ешн* ⇒ *znaješi* (graphic *знајешн*). Here, the insertion of the phoneme *j* eliminates heteroformemic hiatus. On the other hand, *на* + *оуч.н.т.н* ⇒ *naučiti* (graphic *наоучити*), *трьп.ѡ* + *аше* ⇒ *trьpěaše* (graphic *трьпѣаше*), where heteroformemic hiatus is preserved.⁸ Figure 2 shows the overview of the cases of hiatus.

A separate class of cases includes those where the phonological representation acquires a hiatus absent in the morphophonological representation. This is possible where a *j*-final formative encounters an initial *н* or *ѡ*. Cf. *строј.н.т.н* ⇒ *stroiti*, *крај.ѡ* ⇒ *krai*. See more details in § 63–77.

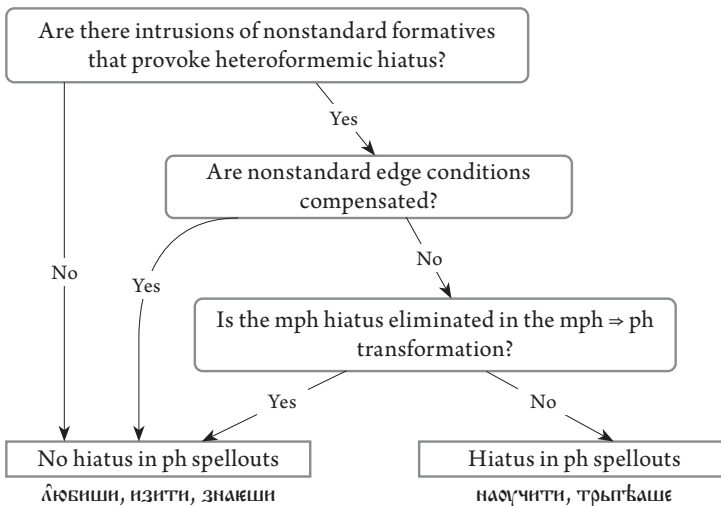


Figure 2. Overview of heteroformemic hiatus cases and their sources in mph and ph spellouts

§ 47. Clusters

Jakobson's law prohibits heteroformemic clusters, but the CVC norm of the formatives does not exclude clusters inside formatives. Tautoformemic clusters are found in formatives of all positional classes: cf. the prefix *нрѣдъ*, roots *страда*, *близ*, *мѣст*, the suffixes *ѡск*, *ост*, the terminals *оста*, *остѣ*. Some tauto-

⁸ See § 63–77 for more details on the treatment of hiatus in the mapping from the morphophonological representation to the phonological one; cf. rules of the form *mph* ⇒ *ph*/norm.

formemic clusters are syntagmatically allowed (e.g. *пр, стр, бл, ст, ск*, as above), while others are syntagmatically prohibited. Such prohibited clusters are found in *syntagmatic anomalies*, e.g. *се́дморъ*. Tautoformemic clusters, however, are not subject to Jakobson's law. Nonstandard formatives that intrude in a pRs string create the possibility of a heteroformemic cluster, but nonstandard edges can be compensated. For example, a C-final prefix may be compensated by a V-initial root, cf. *въз + ъп.и.т.и (възъпити); из + и.т.и (изити)*. A C-initial terminal may be compensated by a V-final root or suffix, e.g. *зна + хъ (знахъ), тръп.ѣ + хъ (тръпѣхъ)*.

If nonstandard edge conditions are not compensated, the morphophonological representation will contain a heteroformemic cluster. However, in the phonological representation, some heteroformemic clusters, namely the prohibited ones, are eliminated. For example, *вез + цѣн.ьн.ъ ⇒ везѣньнъ* (graphic *везѣньнъ*), *рек + т.и ⇒ реѣти* (graphic *реѣти*), *сла.д + т.ь ⇒ сласть* (graphic *сласть*). The clusters are either eliminated or mapped into allowed clusters.⁹ Figure 3 shows an overview of cluster cases.

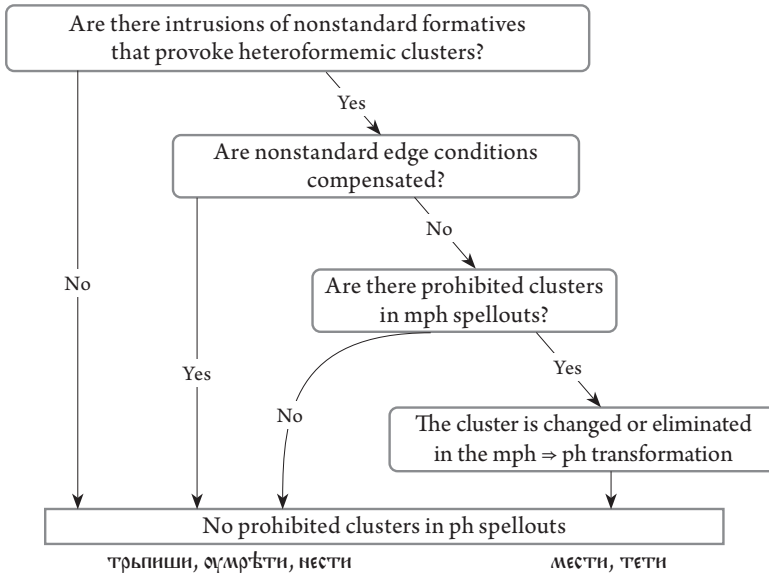


Figure 3. Overview of heteroformemic cluster cases and their sources in mph and ph spellouts

⁹ See § 63–77 for more details on the treatment of clusters in the mapping from morphophonological to phonological representations. See rules of the type *mph ⇒ ph/norm*.

Phoneme syntagmatics and the mapping rules

§48. General

Phoneme syntagmatics considers allowed adjacencies between phonemes inside a unit of a higher rank: formatives and wordforms.¹ Phoneme combinations that are allowed in the morphophonology but prohibited in the phonology are eliminated in the mapping between morphophonological and phonological representations, i.e. the $mph \Rightarrow ph$ /norm rules that are described in § 63–77. Note that syntagmatic statements of the form “the combination is allowed” or “the combination is prohibited” are supplemented by information on *syntagmatic anomalies*, or wordforms that contain prohibited phoneme combinations.

Phonological syntagmatics of OCS can be given by examining phonemes combinations of length 2, because the following recursive rule curtails the *syntagmatic depth* of the observed combinations:

- xyz — is allowed if and only if xy is allowed and yz is allowed;
- xyz — is prohibited if and only if xy is prohibited or yz is prohibited.

§49. Outline of the presentation

Allowed and prohibited phoneme combinations are described in two steps: we consider first syntagmatic restrictions up to the CVC schema, and second, CVC

¹ See more details on the technique of description of phoneme syntagmatics adopted in this grammar in Ch. 24, §900–909.

types of combinations that are not generally prohibited up to specific segments or their classes.

§50. Phoneme sequences in terms of the CVC schema

Table 50.1 shows the syntagmatic properties of CVC combinations. The schemata contain periods in parentheses, which means that the statements apply both to internal combinations with a boundary (xy) and to internal combinations without a boundary (xy). For edge conditions, the conditions are internal to the wordform; in other cases, the conditions in the wordform and in the formative are identical.

Table 50.1. Phoneme combinations in terms of the CVC schema

2nd component 1st component	#	V	C
#		#V Prohibited (except special cases)	#C Allowed
V	V# Allowed	V(.)V Prohibited (except special cases)	V(.)C Allowed (except special cases)
C	C# Prohibited	C(.)V Allowed (except special cases)	C(.)C Special filter

Here, not only V stands for a single vowel, but C also stands for a single consonant and not a cluster.

“Allowed” in the table above means that among allowed combinations there are those meeting the corresponding schema. “Prohibited” means that all combinations meeting the corresponding CVC schema are prohibited.

Classes of combinations with additional restrictions, allowances, or anomalies, are treated in more detail below, in the order given in Table 50.2 on p. 33.

Table 50.2. Syntagmatic restrictions

Vowel syntagmatics (xV and Vx phoneme combinations)			
xV	1) #V	Prohibited	§ 51–52 and Ch. 24, § 867
	2) V(.)V		
	3) C(.)V	Allowed	§ 51, restrictions in § 54–57
Vx	4) V#	Allowed	No conditions
	V(.)V: same as (2)		
	5) V(.)C	Allowed	§ 58
Consonant syntagmatics (xC and Cx phoneme combinations)			
xC	6) #C	Allowed	No conditions
	V(.)C: same as (5)		
	7) C(.)C	Special filter	§ 59–62
Cx	8) C#	Prohibited	No conditions
	C(.)V: same as (3)		
	C(.)C: same as (7)		

Vowel syntagmatics

Sequences of the type xV

§51. General table

Complete data on xV -type combinations, where x is a consonant, vowel, or left word boundary (#), is shown in Table 51 (p. 34). Rows are numbered and correspond to the context (x); columns show vowel phonemes (V). Cells show syntagmatic conditions. Each row is divided into two subrows, for mph and ph conditions, respectively.

Row 2, in addition to the phoneme j , shows the epenthetic i for clarity. Epenthetic i is possible in intermediate working expressions. The syntagmatic possibilities of j and i are identical. Note that just as for other consonants, word-initial combinations with j (i.e. combinations such as # j a, # i a, # j ʰ, # i ʰ, etc.) are accounted for in line 2.

Here plus (+) and minus (–) signs mean that the combinations are respectively allowed and prohibited. A minus with a star (–*) means that the combination is prohibited but checked; plus with a circle (+°) means that the combination is allowed, although in isolated cases is possible not only at boundaries, but also inside formatives (see more details in § 54).

Combinations with a plus in both subrows are called *absolutely allowed*, e.g. the (6,1) cell. Those with a minus in both subrows are *absolutely prohibited*, e.g. the (6,8) cell. Of the remaining combinations, those with a minus in the ph sub-

row are called *repairable*, e.g. cell (2,2), (1,2), (3,2). Those with a $-^*$ in the ph row are *unrepairable*, e.g. the (1,1) cell.

Table S1. Allowed and prohibited phoneme combinations of the xV type

x \ V		V										
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
		а	Ѡ	о	е	ѡ	ь	ѣ	и	ѳ	ж	Ѡ
1	#, V	mph	$-^*$	$-^*$	$-^*$	$-^*$	-	$-^*$	-	+	$-^*$	$-^*$
	ph	$-^*$	-	$-^*$	-	-	-	-	+	$-^*$	$-^*$	-
2	j (i)	mph	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+
	ph	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
3	Ѡ, ѡ, ѣ, ч, ж, ш, шт, жд	mph	+	$^{\circ}$	-	+	$^{\circ}$	+	$^{\circ}$	+	+	+
	ph	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
4	ц, с	mph	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+
	ph	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
5	Simple Cs (п, в, м, т, л, с, з, а, н, р, б)	mph	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	ph	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6	к, г, х	mph	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
	ph	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-

§52. Word-initial and postvocalic vowels

All vowels except и are prohibited in both mph and ph (line 1 in Table S1.1). However, all back vowels except ѡ and ѣ are allowed in these positions in anomalous cases both in mph and in ph (cf. cases like *лгньць*), while front vowels are allowed there only in mph (cf. cases like *л.т.и* [*лѣти*]). See more details in Ch. 24, § 867.

Below are examples of word-initial vowels.

Back vowels: #а: *лгньць*, *лзъ*, #о: *овьца*, *отрокъ*, #ѳ: *ѳѣхо*, *ѳѣити*, #ж: *жтрова*, *жродъ*; front vowels: (Ѡд).ьц.а [*ѣѠд.ьц.а* ⇒ *jadъca*/*jadъca*], (еѣ).т.ьств.о [*ѣеѣ.т.ьств.о* ⇒ *jestъstvo*/*jestъstvo*], (ьн).ок.ъ [*ѣьн.ок.ъ* ⇒ *inokъ*/*inokъ*], (л).т.и [*ѣл.т.и* ⇒ *jeti*/*jeti*].

Inside formatives, hiatuses violating their CVC norms are possible only in loans, cf. *лѣръ* from Gk. *ἀήρ*, and in the nonstandard formative *лѣи*, e.g. *лѣитрѣлѣни*. Heteroformemic hiatuses are possible at boundaries in case a V-final formative meets a V-initial one. Such combinations violate Jakobson's law. They are repaired in some cases (cf. *зна.ѣши* ⇒ *znaješi*), and are preserved in other cases (cf. *лѣ.ѳѣ.и.т.и* ⇒ *лѣѳѣити*; *лѣ.ѣ.лѣше* ⇒ *лѣѣлѣше*). In the latter case the combination is a syntagmatic anomaly. However, V(.)и clusters are not anomalous, since they are absolutely allowed. On the special status of the phoneme и see below in § 57.

§ 53. A note on loose formative adjacency

Heteroformemic hiatus is preserved in cases of *loose formative adjacency*.² Loose adjacencies occur in two cases. First, prefixes form loose adjacencies with the following formative (cf. на#.оучити, прѣ#.об#.разити, на#.л.т.и). Second, a loose adjacency occurs where an *a*-initial imperfect terminal attaches to a V-final formative (cf. плака + ахъ — плак.а#ахъ [плакаахъ], трыпѣ + ахъ — трып.ѣ#ахъ [трыпѣахъ]). Likewise, a loose adjacency is found in bicomponential imperfect terminals, such as ѣ.ахъ, ѣ.аше, etc., cf. нес.ѣ#ахъ [несѣахъ]. There is also a loose adjacency in compounds before a root: ((мъног).о.(оч).итъ → [мъног.о.#оч.итъ]) (for мъногочитъ); (ржк.о.(л).т.ь → [ржк.о.#л.т.ь → ржк.о.#і.л.т.ь] (for ржкылатъ).

See an overview of the examples in Table 53.

Table 53. Hiatus examples: tight and loose adjacencies

		Tight adjacency	Loose adjacency
V.а	mph ph	бѡ.а <i>bija</i> (for бѡѡа)	плак.а.аше <i>plakaaše</i> (for плакааше)
V.ѣ	mph ph	сто.ѣ.т.и <i>stojati</i> (for стоѡати)	по.ѣ.д.т.и <i>pojasti</i> (for поѡасти)
V.о	mph ph	cf. мосѡвн (D ₂), мосѡвѣ	прѣ.от.ыц.ь <i>prěotьсь</i> (for прѣотъць)
V.ѣ	mph ph	зна.ѣши, крѣ.ѣши <i>znaješi</i> (for знаѣши), <i>kryješi</i> (for крѣѣши)	Cf. the unique нѣсмь for не + емь, and other forms of the verb ѣсмь
V.ь	mph ph	бѡ.ь <i>bui</i> (for бѡи)	вѣ.ьн.ьн.ь <i>vьinьнѣ</i> (for вѣиньнѣ)
V.и	mph ph	бѡ.и <i>bui</i> (for бѡи)	за.и.т.и <i>zaiti</i> (for заити)
V.оу	mph ph	бѡ.оу <i>biju</i> (for бѡю)	на.оу.ч.и.т.и <i>naučiti</i> (for наоучити)
V.ж	mph ph	бѡ.ж <i>bijŕ</i> (for бѡѣж)	па.жч.ин.а <i>paŕčina</i> (for паѣчина)
V.л	mph ph	бѡ.л <i>biję</i> (for бѡѣл)	по.л.т.и <i>pojeti</i> (for поѡити)

§ 54. Vowel phonemes after morphophonologically soft consonants

The rows for morphophonologically soft consonants in Table 51 (rows 2, 3, and 4), while differing from each other, show significant similarities. Let us examine the cells containing +°. We use C* for the consonants in row 3 (that is, shibilants and kamorated consonants).

² Initial cycle rules, see § 69.

(1) C*ʙ. All eight combinations in this cell are morphophonologically allowed and all are checked at boundaries. These combinations are prohibited in the phonology, and are repaired by mph \Rightarrow ph/norm rules (cf. $\text{мол.}^{\text{б}}\text{аише} \Rightarrow \text{мол}^{\text{а}}\text{аише}$, $\text{мож.}^{\text{б}}\text{аише} \Rightarrow \text{можааише}$).

Special cases of the жахъ type

In some cases, the C*ʙ combination occurs inside a formative rather than across a boundary. These are forms with the $\epsilon||\text{ʙ}$ alternation, forms of the old Aor (жештги): $\text{ж}^{\text{б}}\text{г.х}^{\text{б}} \Rightarrow \text{жах}^{\text{б}}$, and secondary imperfectives нчазати [нз.чʙз.а.т.и], пожагати [по.жʙг.а.т.и]. In the derivation of the ph representations the combination C*ʙ is repaired by the same rules as the rules repairing the combinations across boundaries.

(2) C*ʙ and C*ʙи. These combinations are morphophonologically allowed, but represented by a few isolated cases (see below). They are prohibited in the phonology and repaired by the mph \Rightarrow ph/norm rules (cf. $\text{шы.т.и} \Rightarrow \text{шитги}$, $\text{шъв.ен.ъ} \Rightarrow \text{шьвенъ}$). See § 72, rule block B2°.

Special cases

Formative-internal шы and шъ are found in the root <1105> (шитги). This root has the H(u) sonant vocalism with $\text{ы}||\text{ъ}$ alternation grades: шы.т.и [шитги] and шы.џ [шиџ], шъв.ен.ъ [шьвенъ]. The verb шитги in this representation has the same vocalism as the verbs of the group кзыгги 4h*#ʙ.³ (See also Ch. 24, § 874).⁴ Note that the combination шт.ъ (i.e. at formative boundaries) occurs only in the inflectional spellouts of supines of velar-final 4c class verbs (see § 88).

§ 55. On the phonological independence of phonemes

The position after simple Cs (row 5 in Table 51) is the maximally free position for vowels. All combinations of the form simple C + V are absolutely allowed. This establishes the phonological independence of all 11 vowel phonemes.

The maximally free position for consonants is before the vowels а, оʙ and ж (columns 1, 9, and 10 in Table 51). All C + а, C + оʙ, and C + ж are absolutely allowed. This establishes the phonological independence of all 25 consonant phonemes.

³ The notation 4h*#ʙ represents the lexeme's paradigmatic index; see § 257.

⁴ See more details in Ch. 24, § 900–909. Cf. also the morphophonological spellouts зѣм̄.а (and not зѣм̄.ʙ) with spellouts such as ног.а or жен.а. Whenever there are no paradigmatic or morphophonological grounds to the contrary, mph representations by default contain the unmarked vowel (cf. жаб.а and not жʙб.а, час.ъ and not чʙс.ъ, жигги and not жʙгги, etc.). Note also that the combination жъ, while morphophonologically allowed and repairable, is checked at boundaries and not checked inside formatives. It is, however, only represented by the opaque stem оʙъм <633>.

§ 56. The law of the velars

All velar + front vowel combinations are absolutely prohibited (see Table 56). This combination, whenever it appears in the morphophonological representation (e.g. in borrowings such as *геръгесиньскъ*), cannot be repaired by *mph* ⇒ *ph*/norm rules, and remains in the phonological representations, yielding a syntagmatic anomaly (see more details in Ch. 24, § 869).

Table 56. The law of the velars

	и	ε	ѣ	ь	а
к	All such combinations are prohibited				
г					
х					

§ 57. On the partial complementary distribution of vowels along the front-back dimension

The four vowel pairs, *а* ~ *ѣ*, *о* ~ *ε*, *ѡ* ~ *ь*, and *ы* ~ *и* enter into opposition by advancement. Vowels in all these pairs are in complementary distribution in most positions. In particular, they are in complementary distribution after velars (see row 6 in Table 51.1), and after morphophonologically soft consonants except *ц*, *с*, and *ж* (see row 3 in Table 51.1). The pair *а* ~ *ѣ* has special behavior: these two vowels contrast after *ц* and *с* (cf. *отъца* vs. *тажъѣ*), but are neutralized word-initially and postvocally, and after other morphophonologically soft consonants (see rows 1–3 in Table 51.1). (See more details in Ch. 24, § 870).

The fact that the phoneme *и*, unlike other front vowels, is absolutely allowed wordinitially and postvocally, but prohibited in the second (*ph*) subrow after *ж*, is due to the fact that OCS has no phonological opposition between *и* and *жи*. Forms without *ж* (*и*) and forms with *ж* (*жи*) are chosen in morphophonological representations based on paradigmatic or morphophonological considerations. Cf. *ж.иχъ* [*иχъ*] (root *ж* <343>), but *иγ.о* [*иγо*] (root *иγ* <331>); or *краж.и* [*кран*], but *воγ.и* [*воγи*]; *строж.и.т.и* [*строити*], but *сто.иши* [*стониши*] for *стогати*, etc.

Sequences of the type Vx

§ 58. Absolutely allowed and repairable sequences

Among combinations of the type *Vx*, where *x* is a consonant or a right word boundary, all are absolutely allowed except two: the combinations *ъj(i)* and *ьj(i)* represent a special case in that they are prohibited in the phonology but allowed in the morphophonology, not only across boundaries but within for-

matives. These combinations are eliminated in the mapping from morphophonological to phonological representations. (See more details in Ch. 24, § 900).

Special case

The combination ʲj occurs widely within formatives in morphophonological representations. First, some roots contain it, cf. *БИТИ, БЪЈ.ЕШИ* <23>, *ВЪЈ.А.Л.ИЦ.А* <95>. Second, it is found in the frequent suffix ʲj. Cf. *БОЖ.ЪЈ.Ь, ВЪЗ.НЕС.ЕН.ЪЈ.Е*, etc. The suffix ʲj also occurs as the first part of bicomponential nominal terminals, cf. *ЛЮД.ЪЈ.Е* (NPI).

The combination ʲ(i) (but not ʲj) occurs in irregular verbs of class 4 of the *крьгги* 4h*°#ɔ group (cf. *крьі.еши, шъі.еши*), as well as in the combined declension (terminals 2-combi), cf. *нов.ъі.ь* [*новъи*].

Consonant syntagmatics (clusters)

§ 59. General table

The general Table 59 (p. 39) shows combinations of the type c1c2, where c1 and c2 are single consonants. Rows and columns are numbered; rows correspond to c1 and columns to c2.

The table is separated into two subtables, the upper rows 1–4 and the bottom rows 5–9. The upper subtable's rows have two subrows for *mph* and *ph*. The lower subtable does not show separate subrows for *ph*, since what is prohibited in *mph* cannot be allowed in *ph*. The lower subtables contains absolutely prohibited clusters.

A minus with an asterisk means that the combination is prohibited but found in syntagmatic anomalies.⁵ Plus and minus in a cell mean that the combinations are allowed or prohibited, respectively. All cases with stars are commented upon in § 62 below.

The symbol S* (found in the 5th row and 5th column) abbreviates the class of shibilant and sibilant affricates—that is, *ч, ж, ш, шт, жд, ц* and *с*.

§ 60. Data abbreviations in the general table

Table 59 does not include the following information.⁶

First, the table does not include the consonant phonemes *j, ʎ, ɳ, and ʐ*. The situation with these cases is as follows:

1) all combinations with *j*—both *Cj* and *jC*—are absolutely prohibited;

⁵ The minus in the (2,3) cell does not take into account the unique formative *гда* (cf. *къгда, тьгда, въсегда*, etc.). Since these forms are extraparadigmatic, they are not part of the benchmark list of wordforms.

⁶ Recall that clusters are subject to a recursive rule that allows us to limit the description to binary clusters; see above in § 48.

- 2) all combinations with $\hat{\lambda}$, $\hat{\eta}$, and $\hat{\rho}$ as the first member (i.e. combinations like $\hat{\lambda}C$) are absolutely prohibited;
- 3) of the combinations with $\hat{\lambda}$, $\hat{\eta}$, and $\hat{\rho}$ as the second member, the following are allowed: $(\text{п, в, м, в}) + \hat{\lambda}$; $(\text{з, ц}) + (\hat{\lambda}, \hat{\eta})$; and $(\text{т, д}) + \hat{\rho}$. All others are absolutely prohibited.

Second, the table does reflect the phonological prohibition against binary consonant clusters disagreeing in voicing. Phoneme combinations that disagree in voice but are allowed in the first subrow (mph), are repairable.⁷

Table 59. General table of c1c2-type clusters

c1 \ c2											
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
		п, в, м	к, г, х	т, д	ц, з	S*	н	л	р	в	
1	п, в, м	mph	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
		ph	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
2	к, г, х	mph	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
		ph	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
3	т, д	mph	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
		ph	-*	-	-	-	-	-	-*	+	+
4	ц, з	mph	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
		ph	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-*	+
5	S*	mph	-	-	-	-	-	-	-*	-*	-*
6	н	mph	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-*	-
7	л	mph	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	р	mph	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	в	mph	-	-	-	-	-	-	-*	-*	-

§61. On allowed and prohibited clusters

As is clear from the Table 59, the vast majority of clusters are absolutely prohibited, as is the case with the entire lower subtable, rows 5–9. In the upper subtable all clusters are allowed morphophonologically (there is a plus in the mph subrow—36 such groups of clusters). Of these, 21 groups are prohibited in the phonology, and are repairable, or partly repairable—that is, are preserved in *potentially correctable anomalies*; such cells are marked by a minus with an asterisk.⁸ Note that *geminate*s are prohibited in the phonology but allowed in the morphophonology, cf. *по.мет.т.и* [помести].

⁷ Note that sometimes such combinations are repaired by rules that do not refer to voicing. For example, *сла.д.т.ъ* ⇒ *сласть* (see below § 74, rules of type c1c2 ⇒ c0c2).

⁸ Anomalies occur in tautiformemic clusters—i.e. those that occur within a formative, and not by heteroformemic ones that are created by a C-final formative meeting a C-initial one. For example, the cluster *дм* is not repaired in *сѣдм.ор.ъ* [сѣдморъ], and represents a potentially

All clusters that are allowed in the phonology are checked. Among clusters that are allowed in the morphophonology but prohibited in the phonology, there may be unchecked ones, that is, those that are not represented in any wordform from the benchmark list. Such are the clusters *мн* and *хт*. The cluster *мн* is absolutely allowed; cf. the potentially possible *охранѣти*. The cluster *хт* is allowed in the first (mph) subrow, but prohibited in ph representations (*хт* is repaired by the rule *хт* ⇒ *шт*; cf. the potentially possible *врѣх.т.и* [врѣштѣи], cf. Church Slavonic *врѣштѣи*, *врѣхѣ* ‘thresh’). On the other hand, among absolutely prohibited clusters there are those that occur in a small number of uncorrectable anomalies. Such is the cluster *цв* in the anomalous root *цвѣтъ* <1050> (cf. *цвѣтъ*, *цвѣсти*). All anomalous items are root formatives.

Note also that some aberrant spellouts may contain some clusters prohibited in ph representations. Such is the aberrant infinitive *влицѣти*; its canonical analog is *влицѣти*. Such cases arise also as a result of aberrant alternations (cf. *людѣции* NPlmPlen for canonical *людѣстии*), or aberrant boundary adjustment rules (cf. *вечѣстїиѣ* for canonical *вечѣстїиѣ*). See more details in § 76 and Ch. 24, § 872.

§ 62. Lists of syntagmatic anomalies

Syntagmatic anomalies contain prohibited tautoforemic clusters. The formative—more specifically, the root formative—is the carrier of such anomalies. The complete list of roots with prohibited clusters is given here.

Most of the roots in the list contain absolutely prohibited clusters (such as, for example, *жр*, which is prohibited both in mph and in ph). However, others contain clusters that are allowed in mph but prohibited in ph, such as *тл*, *дл*, and *ср*, *зр*. Such groups of roots are marked with the sign †. The anomaly of these roots consists of the fact that ph-prohibited clusters are not repaired, i.e. are not subject to *mph* ⇒ *ph/norm* rules. Such clusters are *potentially correctable anomalies*. That is, before applying *mph* ⇒ *ph/norm* rules, it is necessary to check whether a root belongs to the list of roots not subject to *mph* ⇒ *ph/norm* rules (that is, one of the groups marked with †).

correctable anomaly, while the cluster *д.м* is repaired in *роуд.м.ѣн.ъ* [роумѣнъ]. Likewise, the cluster *т.л* is repaired in *мет.л.ъ* [мелъ] (*сѣместѣи*), but not in *таѣст.ъ* [талѣстъ] (*отѣстѣти*). All formatives that contain such potentially correctable clusters are listed below in § 62. (See more on potentially correctable and uncorrectable phoneme combinations in Ch. 24, § 900–909).

Group 1: C_л, C_р combinations

‡ (т, д) + л	
длан <232>, длъг <233>, дль <234>; стлъп <887>, тлап <958>, тлък <959>, тлъп <960>, тлъст <961>, тлък <962>	
‡ (с, з) + р	н + р
зрь <309>, зрь <322>; срал <874>, срал <875>, срьб <876>, срьд <877>, срьп <878>	нрав <615>
S* + л	S* + р
жлад <291>, шлъм <1102>	жрь <292>, жрьд <293>, жрын <294>, жрьб <295>, жрьб <296>, жрьб <297>, црьк <1051>, чрьв <1078>, чрьм <1079>, чрын <1080>, чрьп <1081>, чрьт <1082>, чрьшт <1084>, чрьб <1085>, чрьб <1086>, чрьд <1087>, чрьз <1088>, чрьн <1089>
Also the opaque roots: ((чловък)) <1077>, ((чрътг)) <1083>	
в + л	в + р
вль <77>, влаг <103>, влад <104>, вльк <105>, влас <106>, влъч <107>, вльн <108>	вра <89>, враб <114>, враг <115>, вран <116>, врат <117>, врач <118>, врьб <119>, врьв <120>, врьг <121>, врьз <122>, врьт <123>, врьч <124>, врьх <126>, врьд <127>; свраб <812>, скврб <825>, скврб <827>, тврбд <945>
	Also the opaque roots: ((врьтъп)) <125>, ((клеврбт)) <380>, ((сковрад)) <829>, ((четврб)) <1071>.

Group 2: isolated combinations

This group contains the root сѣдм <814> (potentially correctable), and the roots цвѣт <1050>, свѣзд <305>⁹ (both uncorrectable).

It is noteworthy that the well-populated group 1 (combinations of the C_л, C_р type) contains roots without an etymological cluster, since the ρ and λ in the OCS cluster is the C-initial version of the sonant.¹⁰ From a synchronic point of view, sonant vocalism is set up for a limited number of roots, namely those that show CVC ambivalence, e.g. зрь <309>, cf. зрьбти but зрьцало , or those that show alternations particular to sonant series, such as тлък <962>, cf. тлъштн , тлъж (see details in § 677).

The mapping from the morphophonological to the phonological representation

§ 63. General

Morphophonological representations of wordforms are mapped to phonological or graphic ones by the $\text{mph} \Rightarrow \text{ph/norm}$ rules. These rules are called

⁹ The roots цвѣт <1050> and свѣзд <305> etymologically descend from roots with the combinations $*kv$, $*gv$: $*kv\acute{e}t$, $*gv\acute{e}zd$. The sound changes $kv > cv$ and $gv > dzv$ is part of the so-called second palatalization (the change from velars to sibilants).

¹⁰ Of course, for opaque roots this etymological interpretation is uncertain.

$\text{mph} \Rightarrow \text{ph}/\text{norm}$ because, in practice, it is usually necessary to deal with $\text{mph} \sim \text{graphics}$ pairs, and because the rules relating phonology to graphics are trivial. However, the analytical burden is on the $\text{mph} \Rightarrow \text{ph}$ component of the rules; $\text{mph} \Rightarrow \text{ph}/\text{norm}$ rules can be understood as the composition of $\text{mph} \Rightarrow \text{ph}$ rules (see below in § 69–77) and $\text{ph} \Rightarrow \text{norm}$ rules (see above § 34). A ph spellout can be derived with only the $\text{mph} \Rightarrow \text{ph}$ rules (cf. $\text{zna.n.bj.a} \Rightarrow \text{znanija}$). To derive the graphic spellout (norm), one must first apply the $\text{mph} \Rightarrow \text{ph}$ rules, and then apply $\text{ph} \Rightarrow \text{norm}$ rules to the output ($\text{znanija} \Rightarrow \text{ЗНАНИЯ}$).

Note that $\text{mph} \Rightarrow \text{ph}/\text{norm}$ rules are related to syntagmatics in that they repair combinations that are allowed in the morphophonology but prohibited in the phonology.

§ 64. A note on internal and external expressions

The input to $\text{mph} \Rightarrow \text{ph}/\text{norm}$ rules is the mph representation of a wordform, and produce as output its ph representation. The mapping of a particular mph representation into a ph representation is shown by its *derivation* of the form $A \rightarrow K_1 \rightarrow K_2 \rightarrow \dots \rightarrow K_n \rightarrow B$, where A is the input expression, B is the output expression, and K_i are intermediate results. Each transition between adjacent expressions in this sequence is effected by one of the rewrite rules. The beginning of the derivation (the *input expression* A) and the end of the derivation (the *output expression* B) are *external expressions* which are tightly controlled by the grammar. Inputs are morphophonological representations of wordforms, which are determined by the dictionary and the rules of paradigmatic synthesis. Outputs are phonological representations of those wordforms. The syntagmatics of inputs and outputs is described in terms of allowed and prohibited combinations (§ 51, 59).

The intermediate results—the expressions K_1, K_2, \dots, K_n —are internal expressions. These are strings that mix morphophonological and phonological objects with auxiliary symbols. The structure of internal expressions is not controlled by grammar directly. Any expression that can be derived from a mph representation using $\text{mph} \Rightarrow \text{ph}$ rules is considered to be a valid internal expression. Such expressions need to be cited in describing the application of $\text{mph} \Rightarrow \text{ph}$ rules. To avoid confusion, such expressions are given in angled brackets, cf. $\langle \# \sigma \Gamma \zeta \# \uparrow \delta \Delta \cdot \zeta \rangle$. Mappings between intermediate expressions K_i and K_j are shown with a single arrow \rightarrow (the double arrow links the input and the output). Note that the expression $K_i \rightarrow K_j$ does not necessarily mean that K_i and K_j are immediate neighbors in the derivation.

§ 65. Cycles and blocks

The rule system contains three cycles: the initial cycle (blocks A.I and A.II), the main cycle (block B), and the final cycle (block C). The rules of the initial cycle examine the boundaries between formatives and in some cases introduce aux-

iliary symbols, namely # (showing loose formative adjacency), and epenthetic *i*. Rules of the main block B effect various segmental changes. Rules of the final block C remove any remaining auxiliary symbols. All rules except those of the initial cycle are *segmentally decidable*. This means that the rules require no information outside of the string, and the context depth does not exceed 2, that is, they only require information about the symbol being worked on and either the immediately preceding or the immediately following one.

Rules of the initial cycle use information on the membership of formatives in the class of prefixes (given by a list, see § 640), or to a certain set of terminals (namely, *a*-initial imperfect terminals, see § 455). Information about formative boundaries (the period) is only necessary on the initial cycle, to the extent that the formatives of the string being examined are compared against a list.¹¹

A rewrite rule can (1) replace one or two symbols with a symbol, (2) introduce a symbol, or (3) remove a symbol.

§66. How to apply the rules

Rules apply in order by block. Only when the rules of a block are exhausted can the rules of the next block apply. The order of the blocks is A.I, A.II, B, C. The procedure is as follows.

- 1°. Take the string undergoing the rule (external or internal one).¹²
- 2°. In the string, find the leftmost occurrence of the symbol or string of symbols that match the left part of some rule of a given block. If no such rule is found, move on to the next block, or terminate, if the block is last.
- 3°. If there is an applicable rule, apply the operation required by the rule.
- 4°. Return to 1°.

In other words, each rule applies to a given string as long as it has substrings to which the rule is applicable. For example, in the string $\langle \text{зн} \underline{\text{а}} \cdot \text{жшгт} \cdot \text{а} \cdot \text{εг} \rangle$ we apply the rule of epenthetic *i*-insertion, namely $(VV) \Rightarrow (V_i V)$ (see below § 70, rule A.II.2°), which produces $\langle \text{зн} \underline{\text{а}} \text{и} \text{жшгт} \cdot \text{а} \cdot \text{εг} \rangle$. This rule then applies to the string $\langle \text{зн} \underline{\text{а}} \text{и} \text{жшгт} \cdot \underline{\text{а}} \cdot \text{εг} \rangle$, giving $\langle \text{зн} \underline{\text{а}} \text{и} \text{жшгт} \cdot \text{а} \text{и} \text{εг} \rangle$. The resulting string has no substring to which the rule is applicable. We then move on to other rules. In block B, we find the rule of epenthetic *i*-removal (§ 77), and apply it twice: $\langle \text{зн} \underline{\text{а}} \text{и} \text{жшгт} \cdot \text{а} \text{и} \text{εг} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \text{зн} \underline{\text{а}} \text{жшгт} \cdot \text{а} \text{и} \text{εг} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \text{зн} \underline{\text{а}} \text{жшгт} \cdot \text{а} \text{εг} \rangle$.

If the symbol # introduced by #-insertion rules is non-initial, cutting the string into two substrings, all subsequent rules apply as if the string contains two independent wordforms. For example, from the string $\text{στ} \underline{\text{ъ}} \cdot (\text{Ѡ} \underline{\text{а}}) \cdot \text{ъ}$ we get

¹¹ Parentheses and periods can be removed at any point of the derivations; the symbol # is removed last; see below § 77. In the examples below periods are removed in an affected substring after the first successful application of a rule to the input string. However, the algorithm can be organized differently. In some cases, periods are preserved to make the examples more readable.

¹² At the first step it is an external string; however, in subsequent iterations, step 1° can apply to internal strings as well.

$\langle \# \sigma \tau \zeta \# \text{БД.Ъ} \rangle$. The substring $\langle \# \sigma \tau \zeta \# \rangle$ remains intact—it contains no substring to which any rules apply. In the substring $\langle \# \text{БД.Ъ} \rangle$ we apply the rule of epenthetic *i*-insertion (see below, rule A.II.1°), giving $\langle \# \text{іБД.Ъ} \rangle$. Next, $\langle \# \text{іБД.Ъ} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \# \text{іаД.Ъ} \rangle$ (rule B.I°). Next, $\langle \# \text{іаД.Ъ} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \# \text{јаД.Ъ} \rangle$ (epenthetic *i*-removal, block C). The resulting string remains intact, as it has no substrings that match any rule. Only now all instances of the auxiliary symbol # can be removed, and we get the final result: the form *otvjadv*, or normalized $\sigma \tau \zeta \text{иДЪ}$.

§67. Unchecked segment sequences and anomalies

Unchecked segment strings (which is the majority of strings) belong to two non-intersecting classes: unchecked and allowed in mph representations, and unchecked and prohibited in mph representations. In the first class are strings such as *кк*, *пж*, or *кпк*. In the second class are strings such as *λσ*, *цъ*, or *пжв*. Unmarked strings that are allowed in mph representations but prohibited in ph representations must be repaired by rewrite rules along with checked strings. In other words, the left part of rules contains strings that are never found in OCS wordforms. For example, we have rules that repair the clusters *кк* or *пж*: *кк* ⇒ *к*; *пж* ⇒ *ж*. (see the rule *c1c2* ⇒ *c2* below, §74).

A technical note

Potentially correctable anomalies are not subject to rewrite rules. In other words, before applying the rules to a wordform, we must determine whether it belongs to the class of anomalies. The list of anomalies by default contains not wordforms, but lexemes or even roots that are carriers of anomalies. For example, the root *сѣдм* <814> is represented by five lexemes: *сѣдмь*, *сѣдмъ*, *сѣдморъ*, *сѣдморница*, *сѣдница*. All wordforms of all five lexemes preserve the anomalous cluster *дм*.

§68. Rewrite rule format

A symbol or a string of symbols in parentheses is subject to replacement. The context symbol is in curly braces. A single symbol is a phoneme or one of the auxiliary symbols (# or *i*).¹³ If a rule has no expression in curly braces, the symbol in parentheses is rewritten in all its occurrences.

An expression of the form $(x)\{y\} \Rightarrow z$ means: replace *x* with *z* if *x* is immediately followed by *y*.

An expression of the form $\{x\}(y) \Rightarrow z$ means: replace *y* with *z* if *y* immediately follows *x*.

An expression of the form $(x)(y) \Rightarrow z$ means: replace immediately adjacent *xy* with *z*.

¹³ A period is not a symbol in this sense: it cannot be part of segmental rewrite rules.

A single expression may contain several symbols separated by commas in parentheses or braces. This means that several rules are abbreviated by a single expression. Thus:

The expression $(a, b)\{y\} \Rightarrow z$ is understood as two independent rules: $(a)\{y\} \Rightarrow z$ and $(b)\{y\} \Rightarrow z$;

The expression $(x)\{m, n\} \Rightarrow z$ is understood as two independent rules: $(x)\{m\} \Rightarrow z$ and $(x)\{n\} \Rightarrow z$;

The expression $\{m, n\}(x) \Rightarrow z$ is understood as two independent rules: $\{m\}(x) \Rightarrow z$ and $\{n\}(x) \Rightarrow z$.

Finally, an expression like $(a/b)\{y\} \Rightarrow q/r$ should be understood as the following two rules: $(a)\{y\} \Rightarrow q$ and $(b)\{y\} \Rightarrow r$.

Rule format given by the cluster table is explained in § 74.

Rules of the first cycle: the A.I and A.II blocks

§ 69. Block A.I: insertion of the # symbol

A.I rules	Examples
Insert #: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – word-initially; – after a vowel-final prefixal formative; – before an a-initial lmf terminal 	$(\text{агн}).\text{ьц.ь} \rightarrow \langle \# \text{агн.ьц.ь} \rangle$ $(\text{ьм}).\text{ж} \rightarrow \langle \# \text{ьм.ж} \rangle$ $\text{отъ.}(\text{ьд}).\text{ъ} \rightarrow \langle \# \text{отъ}\# \text{ьд.ъ} \rangle$ $(\text{жз}).\text{а} \rightarrow \langle \# \text{жз.а} \rangle$ $(\text{ид}).\text{ж} \rightarrow \langle \# \text{ид.ж} \rangle$ $\text{пръ.}(\text{ид}).\text{ь.аше} \rightarrow \langle \# \text{пръ}\# \text{ид.ь}\# \text{аше} \rangle$

§ 70. Block A.II: epenthetic *i*-insertion

A.II rules	Examples
A.II.1°. Epenthetic <i>i</i> -insertion at loose adjacencies: $(\#)\{\text{ь, ь, ь, и, ъ}\} \Rightarrow \#i$	$\langle \# \text{ьм.ж} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \#i \text{ьм.ж} \rangle$ $\langle \# \text{ид.ж} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \#i \text{ид.ж} \rangle$ $\langle \# \text{пръ}\# \text{ид.ь}\# \text{аше} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \# \text{пръ}\#i \text{ид.ь}\# \text{аше} \rangle$ $\langle \# \text{на}\# \text{л.т.ъ} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \# \text{на}\#i \text{л.т.ъ} \rangle$
A.II.2°. Epenthetic <i>i</i> -insertion in other cases: $(\text{VV}) \Rightarrow \text{ViV}$	$\langle \# \text{зна.ешн} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \# \text{зна}i \text{ешн} \rangle$ $\langle \# \text{зна.ж} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \# \text{зна}i \text{ж} \rangle$ $\langle \# \text{зна.ь}\# \text{аше} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \# \text{зна}i \text{ь}\# \text{аше} \rangle$ $\langle \# \text{ка.а.т.н} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \# \text{ка}i \text{а.т.н} \rangle$

Note

Epenthetic *i* can be thought of as a symbol that improves the CVC schema of the formative, bringing it into line with the CVC norm at the beginning of a nonstandard V-initial root, at the end of a V-final root, suffix, or terminal (in the latter case, as part of bicomponential terminals of the adjective declension, but not as part of the bicomponential terminals of the imperfect). In the dictio-

nary, in the morphophonological spellout of starting wordforms, *i* is included, even though it does not belong to the morphophonological representation. This is done for convenience.

§71. Examples of rule application of the initial cycle

In Table 71, the input is the morphophonological representation; the output is an internal expression that results from the application of rule of the initial cycle A. In the examples, for the reader's convenience external expressions preserve parentheses that mark roots.

Table 71. Examples of initial cycle rules

Input	#-insertion	<i>i</i> -insertion
Word-initial application		
(<i>бд</i>).т.и	→ <# <i>бд</i> .т.и>	→ <# <i>i</i> бд.т.и>
(<i>ьм</i>).ж	→ <# <i>ьм</i> .ж>	→ <# <i>i</i> ьм.ж>
(<i>нд</i>).ж	→ <# <i>нд</i> .ж>	→ <# <i>i</i> нд.ж>
из.(<i>нд</i>).ж	→ <#из.нд.ж>	→ <# <i>i</i> из.нд.ж>
(<i>агн</i>).ьц.ь	→ <#агн.ьц.ь>	→ (п/а)
(<i>оуχ</i>).о	→ <#оуχ.о>	→ (п/а)
(<i>жз</i>).а	→ <#жз.а>	→ (п/а)
Application at hiatus		
за.(<i>ьм</i>).ъ	→ <#за#ьм.ъ>	→ <#за# <i>i</i> ьм.ъ>
прѣ.из.(ноуѣр).н.т.и	→ <#прѣ#из.ноуѣр.н.т.и>	→ <#прѣ# <i>i</i> из.ноуѣр.н.т.и>
отъ.(<i>бд</i>).ъ	→ <#отъ#бд.ъ>	→ <#отъ# <i>i</i> бд.ъ>
(зна).ѣ.аше	→ <#зна.ѣ#аше>	→ <#зна <i>i</i> .ѣ#аше>
(чуѣ).ѣ.ахъ	→ <#чуѣ.ѣ#ахъ>	→ <#чуѣ <i>i</i> .ѣ#ахъ>
па.(жч).ин.а	→ <#па#жч.ин.а>	→ (п/а)
(дѣл).а.аше	→ <#дѣл.а#аше>	→ (п/а)
на.(оуч).н.т.и	→ <#на#оуч.н.т.и>	→ (п/а)
(сто).ѣ.т.и	→ <#сто.ѣ.т.и>	→ <#сто <i>i</i> .ѣ.т.и>
(сто).иши	→ <#сто.иши>	→ <#сто <i>i</i> .иши>
[NSgmPlen] (нов).ъ.ь	→ <#нов.ъ.ь>	→ <#нов.ъ <i>i</i> .ь>
(да).а.т.и	→ <#да.а.т.и>	→ <#да <i>i</i> .а.т.и>
(зна).ж	→ <#зна.ж>	→ <#зна <i>i</i> .ж>
вън.(оуш).н.т.и	→ <#вън.оуш.н.т.и>	→ (п/а)
сън.(н).т.и	→ <#сън.н.т.и>	→ (п/а)
сън.(бд).т.и	→ <#сън.бд.т.и>	→ (п/а)

Rules of the main cycle: the B block

Segmental rewrite rules applying to combinations with vowels

§ 72. Block B: partial neutralization of vowel contrasts and absorption of *j* and epenthetic *i*

B rules	Examples
B.1°. Partial neutralization of the а ~ ъ contrast	
{ $\hat{\lambda}$, $\hat{\mu}$, $\hat{\rho}$, ч, ж, ш, шг, жд, j, i}(ъ) ⇒ а	$\langle \# \lambda \sigma \gamma \beta \lambda \cdot \text{ъ} \# \text{аше} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \# \lambda \sigma \gamma \beta \lambda \# \text{аше} \rangle$ $\langle \# \text{ж} \cdot \text{ъ} \text{г} \cdot \text{х} \text{ъ} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \# \text{жаг} \cdot \text{х} \text{ъ} \rangle$ $\langle \# \text{сг} \sigma \gamma \text{ъ} \cdot \text{т} \cdot \text{н} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \# \text{сг} \sigma \gamma \text{ъ} \text{ат} \cdot \text{н} \rangle$
B.2°. Partial neutralization of the ы ~ и and ъ ~ ь contrasts	
{ $\hat{\lambda}$, $\hat{\mu}$, $\hat{\rho}$, ч, ж, ш, шг, жд}(ы/ъ) ⇒ и/ь	$\langle \# \text{ш} \text{ъ} \text{ъ} \cdot \text{ъ} \text{шн} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \# \text{шь} \text{ъ} \cdot \text{ъ} \text{шн} \rangle$, $\langle \# \text{ш} \text{ъ} \text{в} \cdot \text{ъ} \text{н} \cdot \text{ъ} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \# \text{шь} \text{в} \text{ъ} \text{н} \cdot \text{ъ} \rangle$, $\langle \# \text{ш} \text{ъ} \text{т} \cdot \text{н} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \# \text{шн} \text{тн} \rangle$
The phonemes ы and ъ appear in mph representations after morphophonologically soft consonants only in special cases. See above § 54; cf. also the supine forms, see § 88.	
B.3°. Partial neutralization of the ь ~ и and ъ ~ ы contrasts	
a. {j, i}(ь) ⇒ и	$\langle \# \text{б} \sigma \gamma \text{ъ} \cdot \text{ъ} \text{ъ} \cdot \text{ь} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \# \text{б} \sigma \gamma \text{ъ} \cdot \text{н} \text{ъ} \cdot \text{ь} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \# \text{б} \sigma \gamma \text{ъ} \text{н} \text{ъ} \text{н} \rangle$ $\langle \# \text{в} \text{р} \text{а} \text{б} \cdot \text{ь} \text{ъ} \cdot \text{н} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \# \text{в} \text{р} \text{а} \text{б} \cdot \text{н} \text{ъ} \cdot \text{н} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \# \text{в} \text{р} \text{а} \text{б} \text{н} \text{ъ} \text{н} \rangle$
b. (ь/ъ){j, i} ⇒ и/ы	$\langle \# \text{н} \text{ов} \cdot \text{ъ} \text{ъ} \cdot \text{ь} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \# \text{н} \text{ов} \cdot \text{н} \text{ъ} \text{ъ} \cdot \text{ь} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \# \text{н} \text{ов} \text{н} \text{ъ} \text{ъ} \text{н} \rangle$ $\langle \# \text{ш} \text{ъ} \text{ъ} \cdot \text{ъ} \text{шн} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \# \text{шн} \text{ъ} \text{ъ} \cdot \text{ъ} \text{шн} \rangle$
B.4°. Absorption of j or i by the phoneme и	
(j, i){и} ⇒ ∅	$\langle \# \text{б} \sigma \gamma \text{ъ} \text{н} \text{ъ} \text{н} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \# \text{б} \sigma \gamma \text{ъ} \text{нн} \rangle$ $\langle \# \text{в} \text{р} \text{а} \text{б} \text{н} \text{ъ} \text{н} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \# \text{в} \text{р} \text{а} \text{б} \text{нн} \rangle$ $\langle \# \text{н} \text{ов} \text{н} \text{ъ} \text{н} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \# \text{н} \text{ов} \text{нн} \rangle$

Segmental rewrite rules applying to clusters

§ 73. Cluster rewrite rules: rule B.5°

Two groups of rules apply to clusters in order. First, rules removing voiced+voiceless sequences apply (see B.5° below), and then all other rewrite rules (see rule B.6°, § 74, and Table 74.2).

B.5°. Elimination of voiced-voiceless sequences	
(з){п, т, к, χ} ⇒ с	$\langle \# \text{в} \text{ъ} \text{з} \cdot \text{к} \text{он} \cdot \text{ъ} \text{ч} \cdot \text{ъ} \text{н} \cdot \text{ъ} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \# \text{в} \text{ъ} \text{с} \cdot \text{к} \text{он} \cdot \text{ъ} \text{ч} \cdot \text{ъ} \text{н} \cdot \text{ъ} \rangle$ $\langle \# \text{в} \text{ъ} \text{з} \cdot \text{т} \text{ок} \cdot \text{ъ} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \# \text{в} \text{ъ} \text{с} \cdot \text{т} \text{ок} \cdot \text{ъ} \rangle$ $\langle \# \text{в} \text{ъ} \text{з} \cdot \text{т} \cdot \text{л} \cdot \text{о} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \# \text{в} \text{ъ} \text{с} \cdot \text{т} \cdot \text{л} \cdot \text{о} \rangle$

§74. Cluster rewrite rules, main table: B.6° rules

All clusters in the mph representation are subject to inspection against the main Table 74.2. Some are evaluated as allowed (marked as +); these undergo the rules vacuously, cf. $зб \Rightarrow зб$, as in $\langle \#нз.ви.т.и \rangle \rightarrow \langle \#нз.ви.т.и \rangle$. Others are prohibited in ph representations. For these clusters, the table shows the type of rule that the clusters undergo in the mapping between mph and ph representations, or between internal expressions. The rules are classified according to the following types, shown in Table 74.1.

Table 74.1 Cluster rewrite rule types

Rule abbreviation	Operation	Example
c1 (Deletion of 2nd member)	$c1c2 \Rightarrow c1$	$бв \Rightarrow б$, cf.: $\langle \#об.вид.ѣ.т.и \rangle \rightarrow \langle \#обид.ѣ.т.и \rangle$
c2 (Deletion of 1st member)	$c1c2 \Rightarrow c2$	$пт \Rightarrow т$, cf.: $\langle \#тѣп.т.и \rangle \rightarrow \langle \#тѣт.и \rangle$
c0 (Elimination of both members)	$c1c2 \Rightarrow c0$	$кт \Rightarrow шт$, cf.: $\langle \#рѣк.т.и \rangle \rightarrow \langle \#рѣшт.и \rangle$
c0c2 (Replacement of 1st member)	$c1c2 \Rightarrow c0c2$	$дт \Rightarrow ст$, cf.: $\langle \#пад.т.и \rangle \rightarrow \langle \#паст.и \rangle$
c1c0c2 (Intrusion of new member)	$c1c2 \Rightarrow c1c0c2$	$зр \Rightarrow здр$, cf.: $\langle \#нз.рѣк.т.и \rangle \rightarrow \langle \#нздрѣк.т.и \rangle$

Table 74.2 (p. 49) is the main table. Rows show the initial members (c1) of the clusters in the mph representations, and columns show final members (c2). The cell for row x and column y shows the rule type that applies to the cluster xy , if xy is allowed in mph representations but prohibited in ph representations. Otherwise—that is, if xy is allowed both in mph and ph representations, the cell contains a plus sign. For example, for $об.вид.ѣ.т.и$, the cluster is $бв$. In the corresponding cell (1,9) we find c1, which means that the cluster (allowed in mph but prohibited in ph) must be replaced by its first member, in this case $б$. Thus, we have $бв \Rightarrow б$; $\langle \#об.вид.ѣ.т.и \rangle \rightarrow \langle \#обид.ѣ.т.и \rangle$. For rules that insert a phoneme differing from both c1 and c2, marked as c0, the content of c0 is explained in the comments below the table.¹⁴

Note that the rules shown in the main Table 74.2 do not take into account some special cases discussed separately in §75.

¹⁴ Note that some rules are inert, because the corresponding clusters, being allowed in the morphophonology, are not checked or checked only among anomalies which are not subject to mph \Rightarrow ph/norm rules. For example, there are no examples subject to $ср \Rightarrow стр$ rules, since $срѣда$, $срамъ$, etc. are in the list of anomalies; see above §62. Likewise, there are no examples subject to the rule $гд \Rightarrow жд$, or to the rules $кк \Rightarrow к$, $пв \Rightarrow в$, and many others. See data on clusters attested in OCS in Lunt 2001, §2.522.

Table 74.2. Main cluster table: rule B.6°

c1 \ c2		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		п, б, м	к, г, х	т, д	с, з	S*	н	л	р	в
1	п, б, м	c2	c2	c2	c2	c2	+	+	+	c1
2	к, г, х			c0			+	+	+	+
3	т, д			c0c2			c2	c2	+	+
4	с, з			+			+	+	+	+

In the cell (2,3): c0 = шт/жд (г + д ⇒ жд, elsewhere шт).

In the cell (3,3): c0 = с.

In the cell (4,8): c0 = т/д (с + р ⇒ стр, з + р ⇒ здр).

S* in column 5 stands for shibilant and sibilant affricates (ч, ж, ш, шт, жд, ц, с).

§75. Special cases of cluster transformation rules

Here we state some necessary and optional addenda to the rules in Table 74.2.

Cell (1,6) of the main table

All three clusters in this cell (пн, бн, мн) are absolutely allowed, and all are checked, cf. об.новити, гъв.нжти, истоп.нжти, оутоп.нжти, тим.н.а. No such cluster is found inside any formative. The peculiarity of these clusters is that they are sometimes preserved and sometimes eliminated in the mapping between mph and ph, not being prohibited. With prefixes, the clusters are eliminated in two lexemes, об.(нѣм).ѣ.т.и ⇒ нѣмѣти, and об.(нѣмл).а.т.и ⇒ нѣмлѣти. It is preserved in other cases. With the suffix н.ж the situation is more complex (see details in Ch. 24, § 871). Clusters outside of these two situations (stems of нж verbs and prefixes) are eliminated. These other cases are: (1) пн with the root сѣп <918> (без.сѣп.н.б.е [бесѣние], сѣп.н.б.е [сѣние], сѣп.н.ѣ [сѣнѣ]); (2) мн with the root тим <952> (тим.н.бн.ѣ [тинѣнѣ], тим.н.ав.ѣ [тинавѣ], тим.н.а [тина], cf. тимѣно); (3) combinations with the root оуѣм <1017> (оуѣм.н.б.ѣн.ѣ [оуѣнианѣ], cf. оуѣмѣнѣ).

Cell (3,1) of the main table

Here, all six combinations are allowed in mph and prohibited in ph. Of the six theoretically possible combinations, only three are found: тм (врѣт.м.а ⇒ врѣма), дм (плѣд.м.а ⇒ плѣма, роуд.м.ѣн.ѣ ⇒ роумѣнѣ), and тп (от.про.(врѣг).т.и ⇒ опроврѣшти). The rule does not apply to the potentially correctable anomalous root formative сѣдм <814> (see the list in § 62).

Cell (4,5) of the main table

Here all 14 combinations are allowed in mph and prohibited in ph. Of these, only four are found: зч (из.чит.т.и), зж (из.жн.т.и), зш (раз.шир.и.т.и), and зц (без.цѣн.бн.ѣ). The rule eliminates the first consonant: из.чит.т.и ⇒ ичисти, раз.шир.и.т.и ⇒ раширити, без.цѣн.бн.ѣ ⇒ безцѣнѣнѣ. This rule does not apply to зж, where the special rule of the type c1c2 ⇒ c0 applies, namely зж ⇒ жд: из.жн.т.и ⇒ иждити, раз.жѣг.т.и ⇒ раждешти, вѣз.жѣл.а.т.и ⇒ вѣждѣлати.

Cells (3,7) and (4,8) of the main table

These cells contain four combinations: тл, дл, ср, and зр. Of these, three are found across boundaries: тл (ост.л.а), дл (раз.пад.л.ин.а), зр (въз.раст.т.и). Rewrite rules remove the first consonant in the combinations from the (3,7) cell: ост.л.а ⇒ осла, раз.пад.л.ин.а ⇒ распалина. In the cell (4,8), a consonant is inserted, viz. ср ⇒ стр and зр ⇒ здр. Thus, we get въз.раст.т.и ⇒ въздрасти. These rules do not apply to roots from the list of potentially correctable anomalies (see the list in § 62).

§ 76. Aberrant cluster rewrite rules

Aberrant spellouts may show results of alternative, aberrant cluster rewrite rules. They are the following.

1°. Alternative rewrite rules for clusters with affricates

Canonical	з + ц ⇒ ц	з + ч ⇒ ч
Aberrant	з + ц ⇒ сц	з + ч ⇒ сч, з + ч ⇒ шг

Е.г. и привѣсѣ и къ оученикомъ твоимъ: и не мож его исцѣлѣти Mt 17, 16 MAR (cf. и привѣс и къ оученикомъ твоимъ и не возмогаша исцѣлѣти и Mt 17, 16 AS); весѣстїиа во исплѣ(нїене): не стѣдиши (л)и сѣ прѣисподѣиини темьнзи диаволе SUPR 74, 25–27 (cf. събраша съборъ да не бога славатъ: нъ да христосу весѣстїие сътворатъ SUPR 385, 11–12); кде свѣштѣ и мечи: и говори вештисльниини кде люди и гнѣваниа SUPR 448, 12–14 (cf. видѣахъ во него вечисльнѣ вѣшенъ SUPR 565, 26–27); и поятъ въторы женъ: и тѣ оумрѣтъ вештада Lk 20, 30 ZGR. Note also the spellouts истѣлѣнтъ SUPR 115, 6 and истѣлѣнїѣ PS SIN 37, 4 and 37, 8.

See details on combinations with prefixes in Ch. 24, § 872.

2°. Alternative rewrite rules for clusters with velars

Canonical	к + т ⇒ шг	г + т ⇒ шг
Aberrant	к + т ⇒ ц	г + т ⇒ ц

Сф. заповѣдѣми твоими приспѣи намъ помощъ твоѣ (КІЕВ 6б, 14–16) for canonical помощгъ [по.мог.т.ѣ].

3°. Alternative rewrite rules for combinations with kamorated Cs in second position¹⁵

Canonical	Clusters are allowed, no rules apply (see § 60.3)		
Aberrant	(C){вѣ} ⇒ C•	(з, с){ѣ, ѣ} ⇒ ж, ш	(т, д){ѣ} ⇒ шт, жд

Сф. просити милости оу тебе: оумръцѣвшѣаго съмрътъ: авлѣшааго свѣтъ омраченѣмъ EUCN 39b, 4–7 (for canonical оумрътѣвшѣаго from оумрътѣвити);

¹⁵ The symbol C• stands for the consonant resulting from the substitutive softening alternation. See details in § 112–118.

ЛЮБАМ МА ВЪЗЛЮБЛЕНЪ БЖДЕТЬ ОЦЕМЪ МОИМЪ І АЗЪ ВЪЖЛЮБЛЖ І І ЪВЛІЖ СА
 ЕМОУ САМЪ Іо 14, 21 ZOCR (Cf. ВЪЗЛЮБЛЖ in the same verse in AS, ВЪЗЛЮБЛЮ in
 MAR); ТВОЯ СІ СЛОУЖЬБЪИ ВЪЖЛЮБЛЕНЪИЯ КІЕВ 5а, 2–4; likewise for canoni-
 cal БЕЗ НІЕГО, ИЗ НІЕГО we have such aberrant spellouts as БЕЖНІЕГО: ВЪСЪ ТЪМЪ
 БЪШЪ І БЕЖНІЕГО НИЧЬТОЖЕ НЕ ВЪІСТЪ ЕЖЕ ВЪІСТЪ Іо 1, 3 ZOCR, AS; І ПРИДЖ КЪ
 ІСВИ І ОБРЪТЖ СЪДАШТА ЧКА ІЖНЕГОЖЕ БЪСИ ІЗІДЖ ОБЛЪЧЕНА І СЪМЪІСАШТА
 ПРИ НОГОУ ІСВОУ Lc 8, 35 ZOCR (Cf. the same verse in MAR ІЗ НЕГОЖЕ БЪСИ ІЗІДЖ).

Because combinations with kamorated Cs most often result from the substitutive softening alternation, the corresponding aberrant forms can be understood also as resulting from substitutive softening in its alternative, stronger version (for double substitutive softening mph effect see § 118).

Note that aberrant rule application may generate prohibited clusters. These are: сч, цц, шгъ, ждъ, шл, жл, шн, жн, шгвл.

Rules of the final cycle: the C block

§ 77. Deletion of auxiliary symbols

Deletion of epenthetic <i>i</i> and #	
(i) → j	<#стоіати> → <#стојати>
(#) → 0	<#стојати> → стојати

Polyformy of formatives

Alloformy of formatives and types of alloformy

§78. Monoformemic and polyformemic formatives. Families of formatives

Some formatives of a single position class are set up as *alloforms* of each other. The alloformy relation partitions the set of formatives into non-intersecting classes, which are called *families of formatives*, or their *assortments*. A family may contain one, two, three, etc. formatives.¹ Formatives of families with more than one member are called *polyformemic* (or *polyvariate*); otherwise they are *monoformemic* (or *monovariate*). For example, among prefixal formatives, вѣз is monoformemic, while от is polyformemic, with two alloforms, от and отъ . Among root formatives, зна <319> is monoformemic, while рек <766> is polyformemic, with alloforms рок , ръц , and others.

The partitioning of formatives among families is given by list, not controlled by any formal procedure.²

¹ Unless it can cause confusion, the term *formative* may be used to denote a member of a family (a formative is an element of the class), as well as the entire family (a formative is a class). A class can be referred to by any of its members. Thus, in a statement like “in the formative рек the second segment is ϵ ”, the term *formative* refers to an element of the class. In a statement like “The formative рек has 10 different alloforms”, the term refers to a class. The terms *word*, *root*, *suffix*, etc. have a similar ambiguity.

² For terminals, see § 289, 455; for roots, see the benchmark list; for other positional classes, see Ch. 23, and the footnote in § 104.

§ 79. A note on intersections between formative families

Generally speaking, families of formatives do not intersect, so one formative (or one string of phonemes) in most cases represents only one family of formatives. There are relatively few violations of this principle. For example, there are two root formatives вар: вар¹ in варити¹ ‘anticipate’, вар² in варити² ‘boil, cook’. A similar example occurs with the terminal и (NPI), e.g. in гради, and the terminal н (2-3SgImv) e.g. in неси. Among prefixal and suffixal formatives, there are almost no intersections of this kind (see isolated cases in § 843).

§ 80. The internal organization of families

Families of polyvariate formatives are quite diverse. Here are families of three root formatives.

Root formative <766>						Root formative <535>			Root formative <537>		
						Root formative <535>			Root formative <537>		
						Root formative <535>			Root formative <537>		
C \ V	о	е	ѣ	ь	и	C \ V	о	а	C \ V	о	а
к	рок	рек	рѣк			г	мог	маг	к	мок	мак
ч	роч	реч	рѣч		рич	ж	мож		ч	моч	
ц	роц			рыц	риц	с	мос		ц		

Clearly, the internal organization of the <535> and <537> families are more similar to each other than each of them is to the organization of <766>.

§ 81. A note on the goals of investigating varieties of formative families³

Investigation of the variety of formative families can be reduced to the following goals: (1) classification of families into particular types; (2) discovery of the arsenal of devices generating the observed families. From the point of view of grammar proper, the most important goal is to uncover mechanisms that govern the distribution of different alloforms of the same formatives, that is, to find the correlation between, on the one hand, oppositions between forms in terms of alloformy, and on the other, oppositions between forms in terms of some other grammatical characteristic. Traditionally, this task is distributed among *inflection* (oppositions of forms within a lexeme), and *derivation* (oppositions of forms of different lexemes). Thus, we can talk about two sub-goals: (3) investigation of polyformy in inflection (i.e. in the paradigmatics), and (4) investigation of polyformy in derivation.

³ The general remarks below are limited to roots. Extending these ideas to other position classes of formatives requires some technical adjustments. For roots, the partitioning into families is controlled by factors external to morphophonology, such as semantics and etymology, much more strictly than for other position classes.

In this grammar we limit ourselves to the goals (2) and (3). Excluding the goal (1) allows us to avoid the difficulties that result from the random incompleteness of the benchmark list of lexemes. Excluding the goal (4), in turn, allows us to avoid distinguishing active rules from random facts that are due to tradition. Limiting the goals in this way is consonant with the main tool for representing the variety of polyformy, namely alternations. Alternations both serve the needs of paradigmatics, and allow an overview of polyformy, which is manifested both in the variety of the generated paradigmatic forms of one lexeme, and in the variety of fossilized derivational forms.

§ 82. Standard types of alloformy

Any two formatives of one family are alloforms of each other. However, certain pairs of alloforms have tighter connections than others. For example, *рѣк* and *рѣч* are more tightly connected than *рѣк* and *рѣц*. In the family <844> (*слоу*, *слов*, *слав*, *славѧ*, *слѧ*), the alloforms *слоу* and *слов*, *слав* and *славѧ* are more tightly connected than, for example, the alloforms *слов* and *славѧ*.

Some pairs of alloforms derive their tight connections from comparisons of the segmental content of equivalent positions (such are the pairs *рѣк* and *рѣч*, *слав* and *славѧ* given above), while others do so due to their particular distributions.

Those types of alloformy that are observed in a significant number of pairs are treated as standard.

Table 82 shows the *standard types of alloformy* and their names.

Table 82. Standard alloformy types

Name and examples	Segmental differences	Distribution
Morphophonological variation		
Twofold rule: ѣхъ/ихъ	Initial V varies	Complementary distribution by segmental context
CVC ambivalence: кѧ/кѧн, охъ/хъ	CVC schema varies	
Segmental alloformy		
Consonantal instability: рѣк рѣц	Final C varies	Contrast by segmental context
Vocalic instability: рѣк рѣк	Medial V varies	

Segmental alloformy is treated as standard only if it satisfies one of the established alternations. For example, the alloformy of the root alloforms *жѧ*||*жнѧ* is standard, because the pairing *ѧ*||*н* is among the pairings of fundamental vowel alternations. On the other hand, the root alloformy *сѧ*||*сѧ* is nonstandard: there is no alternation containing the pairing *ѧ*||*ѧ*. See more details in Ch. 24, *Supplement*, § 873, *On the types of segmental pairings*.

A single formative family may show different standard types of alloformy, and may combine standard and nonstandard ones. For example, in <844> cлoу/cлoв shows CVC ambivalence, while cлaв||cлaв\lambda shows consonantal instability. Each of these standard types of alloformy is discussed in more detail below.⁴

§83. A note on the distribution of alloforms

Polyformemic formatives raise the question of distribution. The term *distribution* is used in two senses. On the one hand, a distribution is the totality of data on the occurrences of *one single* alloform; let us call this *particular distribution*. On the other hand, a distribution is the result of comparing the particular distributions of *two* (or more) alloforms of a polyformemic formative; let us call this *comparative distribution*.

Usually we distinguish three types of comparative distributions: 1) complementary distribution, 2) free variation, and 3) contrast. For comparative distributions, we establish the condition of distribution: it might be the segmental context, the grammatical properties of the wordforms that realize a particular formative, or some other properties of the observed occurrences of the alloforms in question. Of course, classifying a particular comparative distribution according to one of these three types does not entail that each particular distribution should be subject to the same conditions.

Although such a partition would be desirable, the three distribution types are not mutually exclusive. The set of all occurrences of a pair of alloforms may be divided into two subsets in such a way that one of the subsets shows one type of distribution (e.g. complementary), and the other shows a different type (e.g. contrast). For example, $\text{p}\text{жк}$ and $\text{p}\text{жч}$ contrast by segmental context (cf. $\text{p}\text{жк.ж}$ and $\text{пo.}\text{p}\text{жч.ж}$), but the alloform $\text{p}\text{жк}$ is not found before front vowels.

Luckily, this grammar does not aim to describe comparative distributions of alloforms of polyvariate formatives. However, the typology of the comparative distribution is the basis for distinguishing types of standard alloformy, viz. morphophonological variation vs. standard segmental alloformy. However, as can be seen from Table 82, possible formal imprecision of the distinction between comparative distribution vs. contrast (see the last column) does not preclude a precise distinction between the resulting classes of the partition; these classes and their names are given in the first column of Table 82. Note that contrast is defined as follows: two linear units *A* and *B* are in *contrast* if (1) *A* and *B* are not free variants of each other⁵ and (2) there exists at least one context where both *A* and *B* are possible. There is no requirement that the set of contexts of *A*

⁴ In order to determine whether a pair of alloforms are linked by standard alloformy, it is sufficient to test all cases of standard alloformy discussed below. If the pair does not satisfy any of the four cases, its members are not linked by standard alloformy.

⁵ Formally, in this grammar no pair of alloforms are in free variation. Factually such a relation could be found in such pairs as нжд and ножд <621>, ав and тав <1>, or with suffixes ен and чен . In this grammar, such facts are treated lexically: in some cases we establish lexical doublets, e.g. for авити/тавити . In other cases, one of the lexical variants is treated as aberrant, e.g.

and *B* be identical. For example, in Russian, the phonemes /n/ and /r/ contrast, because there is *nos* ‘nose’ vs. *ros* ‘grew’, *nad* ‘above’ vs. *rad* ‘happy’, even though there is *drug* ‘friend’ but not **dnug*.

Morphophonological variants

§84. A terminological note on morphophonological variants

Two alloforms in complementary distribution by segmental context are called *morphophonological variants* of each other. These are the alloforms of the first two standard types: twofold rule (see the members of this set below in §90), and CVC ambivalence (see members of this set below in §95).

Twofold rule

§85. Properties of the variants

Twofold rule applies to pairs of formatives that are alloforms and that are distinguished only by their initial V. Thus, twofold rule is only possible for suffixes and terminals. Alloforms of twofold formatives are called alloforms (or variants) of hard and soft subtypes,⁶ as shown in Table 85.

Table 85. Initial vowels of hard and soft subtypes of twofold formatives

Hard subtypes	ъ	о	ѣ	ы	и
Soft subtypes	ь	е	и	и	а

Such are, for example, the terminals *ъ/ь* (NSgm, cf. град.ъ and кодн.ь); *ѣхъ/ихъ* (LPImn, cf. град.ѣхъ and кодн.ихъ); the suffixes *ы/а* (the suffixes of шт- participles, cf. нес.ы and плач.а); *от/ет* (cf. наг.от.а and тьшт.ет.а). In the spellout of twofold formatives, the overslash variants are *hard subtypes*, while the underslash variants are *soft subtypes*.

for нѣдѣти and нѣдѣти. In other cases, several lexical variants are considered to be equally possible derivational alternatives, as for the suffixes *ен* and *ѣн* see § 896.

⁶ The conventional names of these variants have nothing to do with the phonetic and phonological opposition between “hard” and “soft” sounds, which applies to consonants. Recall that this grammar does not contain the feature hard ~ soft in the inventory of consonant phonemes.

§ 86. The twofold rule

This rule examines the segmental content of the preceding formative as shown in Table 86.1 (p. 58). Examples are shown in Table 86.2.

Table 86.1. The twofold rule

Condition	Preceding formative ends in a vowel or a mph-soft consonant	Preceding formative ends otherwise
Which variant	Soft subtypes (underslash)	Hard subtypes (overslash)

Table 86.2. Examples of the application of the twofold rule

Twofold formative	Soft subtype	Hard subtype
Nsg ь/ъ	коѣ.ь, вожд.ь, крај.ь, боѣ.ь	град.ъ, враг.ъ, нес.т.ъ, рек.т.ъ
LPl 'ѣхъ/ицъ	коѣ.ицъ, вожд.ицъ, крај.ицъ, боѣ.ицъ	град.'ѣхъ, врад.'ѣхъ
штг-Part ы/ѧ	млн.ѣ.ѧ, плавч.ѧ	нес.ы, рек.ы

§ 87. A technical note on the application of the twofold rule

A formative preceding the one to which a rule is being applied can itself be polyformemic. For example, one of its alloforms can end in a morphophonologically soft consonant and the other end otherwise. In the examples above, this is the case in {враг, враж, врад} before the terminals ь/ъ and 'ѣхъ/ицъ, and for {плав, плавч} before the suffixes ы/ѧ. Here, order of application matters.

1. The wordform врад.'ѣхъ is derived from a morphological skeleton of the shape “workstem + terminal”, in this case враг + 'ѣхъ. The rule that builds the morphological skeleton consists of two parts: creating the workstem (in this case враг, as in the input), and selecting the appropriate terminal (in this case, the twofold rule determines the choice of the overslash 'ѣхъ given 'ѣхъ/ицъ). The resulting morphological skeleton (враг + 'ѣхъ) is mapped into врад.'ѣхъ by boundary adjustment rules (replacement by velar palatalization; see below in § 105).

2. Cases like плавч.ѧ are different. The wordform плавч.ѧ is derived from a morphological skeleton of the shape “workstem + suffix”, in this case плавч + ѧ. The rule that builds the morphological skeleton consists of two parts: creating the workstem (in this case плавч, as in other forms of the PRAE system from the base stem плавк by substitutive softening; see below § 112), and selecting the appropriate terminal or suffix (in this case, the twofold rule selects the underslash ѧ given ы/ѧ). The resulting morphological skeleton (плавч + ѧ) is mapped into плавч.ѧ.

Generally, in paradigmatics (as well as in stem formation, which is not treated in detail in this book), there is never need to apply rules to expressions where formatives are represented by their families, even though sometimes one needs to replace an input alloform by an alternative one, as in workstems (e.g. from the basic плавк to плавч), or to select from several morphophonological variants, as for terminals or suffixes, e.g. 'ѣхъ/ицъ, or ы/ѧ.

§88. A note on the supine forms of velar-final verbs

Consider the supine of the verb $\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\tau\iota$ 4. Supine forms, as other forms of nominal subparadigms of the verb, have the morphological skeleton of the form [work-stem INF-AOR + nominal suffix] + nominal terminal. In the case of the supine, the nominal terminal is the twofold ь/ь . For $\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\tau\iota$ we get $[\rho\epsilon\kappa.\tau.] + \text{ь}$: by the twofold rule, we select the overslash variant, because the stem ends in a τ , which is not a morphophonologically soft consonant. We get the morphophonological representation $\rho\epsilon\kappa.\tau.\text{ь}$. By the $\text{mph} \rightarrow \text{norm/ph}$ rules, we get $\rho\epsilon\kappa.\tau.\text{ь} \rightarrow \rho\epsilon\sigma\tau.\text{ь} \rightarrow \rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\text{ь}$. Note that the final ь in the graphics does not indicate a twofold terminal, and yet there is no monovariate terminal ь . On the other hand, setting up a monovariate terminal ь (from the 1-simplex set) for the same form would contradict such supine forms as нecть , сѣятъ , etc. Cf. облещтъ Lk 24, 29 MAR and AS ; взврѣштъ Mt 10, 34 MAR (взврѣцъ in the text).

§89. Special cases

The twofold rule is violated by terminals beginning with o/e in the declension of loans. Vowel-final workstems get the hard subtype of the terminal, cf. архиревови (i.e. $\text{архире} + \text{ови}$) instead of $\text{архире} + \text{еви}$, which is expected by the twofold rule. Cf. also архиреомъ (i.e. $\text{архире} + \text{омъ}$) instead of $\text{архире} + \text{емъ}$. Cf. also the suffix ов in архиреовъ , etc. However, there may be aberrant forms where this correction does not apply (cf. мосеемъ Mk 9, 4 MAR).

§90. The list of cases

Twofold rule applies only to suffixes and terminals. Almost all nominal terminals of twofold declension types, and the terminals of secondary personal dative (D_2), are twofold; cf. the catalog of nominal terminals in § 289. In the verb, imperative terminals and the suffixes of м- and шт-Part in the e -conjugations are twofold (cf. the catalog of verbal terminals and suffixes in § 455). Among the remaining suffixes, the following are twofold:⁷ {10} oj/ej , {16} ьк/ьк , {20} ьл/ьл , {24} ом/ем , {29} ьн/ьн , {32} ор/ер , {36} ост/ест , {38} ьств/ьств , {42} от/ет , {43} ьт/ьт , {43} ьш/ьш , {55} ов/ев .

§91. A note on new twofold rule

In aberrant forms there may occur terminals from the nonstandard *new twofold* set (2-duplex), which contains new twofold terminals that result from the union of two monovariate ones, e.g. ьмь/ьмь (from ьмь and ьмь). See more details in Ch. 13, *Aberrant nominal forms in sources*, § 388.

Some twofold suffixes show special departures from classical distributions in their canonical forms. This is the case, for example, for the suffix ьк (льг.ьк.ь ,

⁷ The number in curly braces refers to the suffix's number in the suffix catalog; see § 841.

but *тлж.ьк.ъ*). These departures are called *secondary twofold rule* below (see Ch. 23, *Formative inventories: prefixes, roots, suffixes*, § 863, *A note on secondary twofold rule*).

CVC-ambivalence

§92. Properties of CVC-ambivalent variants

CVC ambivalence as morphophonological variation is defined as follows: two formatives that are alloforms are CVC-ambivalent if, first, they differ either in the initial or final position of their CVC schema (initial and final ambivalence, respectively), and second, if they are distributed according to the CVC agreement rule.

In a small number of roots and suffixes there exist pairs of CVC-ambivalent alloforms that are not distributed by CVC agreement, i.e. are not morphophonological variants. Such are, for example, the root alloforms *да* and *дад* <216> (cf. *дагати* [д.а.г.и] and *дадѣтъ* [д.д.ѣ.т.ъ]), *вѣч* and *оуч* <132> (cf. *навѣкижѣти* [н.в.ѣ.к.н.ж.т.и] and *наоучити* [н.о.у.ч.и.т.и]); the suffixes *ств* and *ѣств/ьств* (cf. *бѣство* [б.ѣ.г.ств.о] and *божьство* [б.о.ж.ь.ств.о]).

§93. The CVC agreement rule

This rule examines the CVC schema of adjacent formatives as shown in Table 93.1. Examples of corresponding ambivalent formatives are shown in Table 93.2 (p. 61).

Table 93.1. The CVC agreement rule

	After final C	Elsewhere
Initially-ambivalent formative	V-initial variant	C-initial variant
	Before initial V	Elsewhere
Finally-ambivalent formative	C-final variant	V-final variant

§94. A note on the application of the CVC agreement rule

When a finally ambivalent formative meets an initially ambivalent one, there are two ways to achieve agreement, and the choice between them is regulated not only by the CVC agreement rules, but by the rules of paradigmatic synthesis as well. Cf. *кля/кльн + охъ/хъ* (1SgAor) gives *кля.хъ*, not *кльн + охъ*, but *кля/кльн + ѡш/вѡш* gives *кльн.ѡш*, not *кля.вѡш* (*ш*-Part is *кльнѡши*), because the paradigmatic synthesis rules prescribe a V-final variant in the aorist system, but a C-final variant in the imperfect system (see § 427).

Table 93.2 Examples of the CVC agreement rule application

For initially-ambivalent formatives		
Formative	V-initial	C-initial
R: ъп/вѣп	вѣз.ѣп.и.т.и	вѣп.и.т.и
S: ѣш/вѣш	нѣс.ѣш.и	пѣак.ѣ.вѣш.и
t: охѣ/хѣ	нѣс.охѣ	пѣак.ѣ.хѣ
For finally-ambivalent formatives		
Formative	C-final	V-final
p: сѣн/сѣ	сѣн.и.т.и	сѣ.вѣд.т.и
R: клѣн/клѣ	клѣн.ѣши	клѣ.т.и
S: ен/ѣ	сѣ.м.ѣн.ѣ	сѣ.м.ѣ

§95. The list of cases

Morphophonological variation of the CVC ambivalence type is found in all position classes.

The following prefixes have final CVC ambivalence: вѣ/вѣн, сѣ/сѣн. The alloforms от and отѣ show final ambivalence that is not distributed by CVC agreement; cf. отѣврѣшгги, отѣврѣсти.

Among roots, final CVC ambivalence is found first of all in the so-called *labile roots*, i.e. roots with sonant vocalism whose CVC alloforms are distributed by the CVC agreement rule (see § 128, *A terminological note: labile roots*). A CVC-ambivalent root is called *labile* if it has sonant vocalism (see § 128). Such are, for example, the roots клѣ/клѣ <364> (клѣ.т.и, клѣ.ѣ); слѣ/слѣ <844> (слѣ.т.и, слѣ.ѣ).⁸ Initial CVC ambivalence is found in a relatively small number of formatives, e.g. ѣп/вѣп <129> (cf. вѣз.ѣп.и.т.и, вѣп.и.т.и). (See details in the lists in § 682–784).

Among suffixes, initial CVC ambivalence is found in the participial suffixes of the imperfect system (н/ѣн for н-Part, (ѣш/ѣш)/вѣш for ш-Part; see § 455). Among other suffixes, the following are initially ambivalent: {35} с/ѣс, {44} х/ѣх; the following are finally ambivalent: {55} (ѣв/ѣв)/ѣ, {56} ѣв/ѣ, {57} ѣ/ѣн, {58} ѣ/ѣт.

Finally, among terminals, standard aorist ones have initial CVC ambivalence (хѣ/охѣ, cf. зна.хѣ, нѣс.охѣ, etc.); cf. § 455.

Examples of CVC ambivalence not distributed by the CVC agreement rule in root and suffixal formatives are found above in § 92.

⁸ The only exception is the anomalous root (н, нѣ) <329>. Its alloforms are distributed by the CVC agreement rule, but the vocalism is pure.

§96. Special cases

- 1°. The verbal terminal ϵ/\emptyset (2-3SgAor) is initially ambivalent. Cf. after C-final roots $\rho\epsilon\chi=\epsilon$, $\eta\epsilon\varsigma=\epsilon$, after V-final roots $\lambda\upsilon\beta\eta=\emptyset$, $\pi\lambda\alpha\kappa\alpha=\emptyset$.
- 2°. The suffix {24}: as part of an η -Part alloform, η and $\epsilon\eta$ are morphophonological variants; in other cases CVC agreement may be violated.⁹

§97. A note on new CVC ambivalence

Newly developing CVC ambivalence is found in aberrant forms of prefixes, which in canonical OCS are monoformemic, e.g. with the prefix $\eta\upsilon\varsigma$. Cf. aberrant forms such as $\eta\upsilon\varsigma\chi\eta\tau\eta\tau\eta$ SUPR 179, 18, represented as $\eta\upsilon\varsigma\chi\eta\tau\eta\lambda\eta\eta$; $\eta\upsilon\varsigma\chi\eta\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon$ SUPR 487, 3 (represented as $\eta\upsilon\varsigma\chi\eta\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon$), but $\eta\upsilon\tau\eta\epsilon\upsilon\omega\sigma\alpha$ SUPR 450, 2, etc.

Segmental alloformy

Alternations as a tool for describing segmental alloformy

§98. General

Alternations are a tool for describing segmental alloformy. It is important that the same system of alternations is responsible both for *intraparadigmatic* alloformy (i.e. different alloforms as part of the same paradigm, e.g. $\beta\omicron\tau\zeta$, $\beta\omicron\varsigma\zeta$ LSg; $\chi\eta\varsigma\tau\eta$, $\chi\eta\tau\zeta$ 1SgPrae), as well as *interlexemic* alloformy (e.g. different lexemes with the same root, e.g. $\lambda\beta\zeta\kappa\zeta$ and $\rho\lambda\beta\varsigma\alpha$ <514>). An alternation is an object made of segmental pairings¹⁰ that ensure representation of families of formatives as ordered structures that can be easily compared with each other. Certain formal connections are established between alternations and the formatives that carry those alternations, which make it possible to represent alloforms (members of a family of formatives) in a table defined by an alternation (see below Tables 102.1 and 102.2).

§99. Alternations

An *alternation* is a table whose columns are *series* (see below the columns q_1-q_4) and whose rows are *grades* (see below the rows d_1-d_3). Cells are filled with segments or strings of segments, which are the *undergoers* of the alternation. Strings of segments that are undergoers in an alternation are called *quasisegments*.

Table 99 shows a fragment of the OCS velar palatalization alternation.

⁹ Non-uniform behavior of this suffix can have an etymological explanation, but within OCS it is more appropriate to unify all suffixal η and $\epsilon\eta$ under one family of formatives.

¹⁰ See details in Ch. 24, § 873.

Table 99. An alternation table

Series \ Grades	q_1	q_2	q_3	q_4
d_1	κ	ϰκ	γ	χ
d_2	ϣ	ϣγ	ж	ш
d_3	ц	ϣγ	ѕ	с

§ 100. An order on the set of grades: the adjacency relation

Grades of an alternation are partially ordered: some grades are defined as adjacent (in this case, d_1 and d_2 are adjacent, as are d_1 and d_3). The adjacency relation is directional: in two adjacent grades, one is the *leading* and the other the *following* grade. In this case, d_1 leads d_2 (written as $d_1 > d_2$), and d_1 leads d_3 ($d_1 > d_3$). Some pairs of grades may not be comparable in terms of adjacency.

Paradigmatic *grade replacement rules* apply in terms of the adjacency relation. For example the rule $d_1 \rightarrow d_2$ defines the replacement $\kappa \rightarrow \upsilon$, $\kappa\kappa \rightarrow \upsilon\gamma$, $\gamma \rightarrow \text{ж}$, and $\chi \rightarrow \text{ш}$.

§ 101. Segmental position tied to an alternation

Each alternation corresponds to a particular *segmental position* that is *tied* to that particular alternation. Grade replacement rules prescribe replacements only in the segmental position tied to that alternation. For example, the replacements $\kappa \rightarrow \upsilon$, $\kappa\kappa \rightarrow \upsilon\gamma$, $\gamma \rightarrow \text{ж}$ are only applied to the final C segmental position of the corresponding formative.

The OCS alternation system contains two consonantal alternations with the final C segmental position, namely velar palatalization (see § 105–111), and substitutive softening (see § 112–118), and one vocalic alternation with the medial V segmental position, namely fundamental vowel alternations (see § 119–128).

§ 102. Alternations and alloformy

Let us assume as obvious the following wording, setting aside formal definitions.

“Alloforms G and H represent the alternation A ” (by the series q_n in the segmental position t). For example, alloforms $\rho\kappa \parallel \rho\upsilon\upsilon$ represent the velar palatalization alternation, as do the alloforms $\rho\kappa \parallel \rho\epsilon\upsilon$, $\rho\text{ж}\kappa \parallel \rho\text{ж}\upsilon$, $\text{м}\rho\gamma \parallel \text{м}\rho\text{ж}$, $\text{м}\rho\gamma \parallel \text{м}\rho\text{ѕ}$, etc.

“Some family of formatives represents the alternation A ” (by the series q_n in segmental position t), or “The alternation A is represented in some family of formatives”, or more briefly, “in a formative” (by its series q_n in segmental position t). For example, in the formative family of the root <766> ($\rho\epsilon\kappa$), the velar palatalization alternation is represented (by its series q_1 in the final C segmental position).

If two formatives represent the same alternations, their families can be shown in comparative tables, as in the following examples in Table 102.1.

Table 102.1 compares four roots that show the same alternation. For the root <69> (б'ѣг), the alloform б'ѣс is not attested.

Table 102.1. Comparative tables 1

Roots Grades	<795>	<612>	<69>	<266>
d_1	рѣк	ног	б'ѣг	дъск
d_2	рѣч	нож	б'ѣж	дъшт
d_3	рѣц	нос	[б'ѣс]	дъст

Table 102.2 compares two roots, <535> (мог), and <537> (мок), which shows two alternations: velar palatalization and fundamental vowel alternation. Alloforms in square brackets are not attested.

Table 102.2. Comparative tables 2

<535>			<537>		
C \ V	о	а	C \ V	о	а
г	мог	маг	к	мок	мак
ж	мож	[маж]	ч	моч	[мач]
с	мос	[мас]	ц	[моц]	[мац]

The *domain* of an alternation is the set of formative families that represent it. An alternation is called *free* if its domain can be defined in terms of the segmental properties of formatives; otherwise it is *limited*.

In OCS, all consonantal alternations are free, and all vocalic ones (the fundamental alternations) are limited.

§ 103. Alternations and intraparadigmatic alloformy

Paradigmatic synthesis rules include grade replacement rules by a particular alternation. Rules of the form $d_1 \rightarrow d_2$, where d_1 and d_2 are grades of some alternation A , require that in some selected formative (i.e. the last one) of some expression, the segment x of the grade d_1 , which is found in the segmental position t tied to alternation A , be replaced with the segment y of the grade d_2 , which is the correlate of the segment x by alternation A . For example, in deriving nominal forms, the replacement rule of the velar palatalization alternation requires the grade κ to be replaced with the adjacent grade ζ (cf. ног + ѣ \Rightarrow нос.ѣ; рѣк + ѣ \Rightarrow рѣц.ѣ; дъск + ѣ \Rightarrow дъст.ѣ, etc.). In the derivation of the PRAE forms, the replacement rule of the velar palatalization alternation requires the replacement of the grade κ with the adjacent grade χ (cf. рѣк + еши \Rightarrow рѣч.еши, мог + еши \Rightarrow мож.еши; нск + еши \Rightarrow ншт.еши, etc.). Replacement rules apply both in building the work-

stems and in boundary adjustment rules. They cause the transition from a given alloform of a formative to some other alloform.

§ 104. Alternations and interlexemic alloformy

Because there is no algorithm for synthesizing families of lexemes sharing a root, or for word-formation synthesis, the role of alternations outside paradigmatics is simply that of a tool which, on the one hand, allows a comparative view of root formative families, and on the other hand, controls the boundaries of such families. This control is achieved by requiring that a formative family only contains those formatives that represent standard alloformy types (i.e. are morphophonological variants, or represent some alternation).¹¹ An important filter is, on the one hand, isolating the segmental position tied to each alternation, and on the other, the series isolation condition.

Restricting the domain of an alternation to a particular segmental position prevents the inclusion in one family of such etymologically related formatives as, for example, *гъд* <192> and *жъд* <293> (in Sadnik's dictionary these formatives are alloforms; see «253»). The replacement of grades in these two formatives is found in the initial C position, while velar palatalization is tied to the final C position.

Series isolation condition

If an alternation *A* is represented in a formative family by a series, e.g. the series q_i , then the alternation *A* cannot be represented in the same family by a different series q_j distinct from q_i .

In other words, the series isolation condition prohibits formatives from being in the same family if they have a segmental position occupied by undergoers of the same alternation belonging to different series. For example, the formatives *рож* and *рок* cannot be alloforms; likewise, *доу* <259> (*доуиѣти*) and *дж* <268> (*дѣти*) cannot be alloforms, since *оу* and *ѣ* belong to different fundamental vowel alternation series. The only violation of this condition is found in the root <496>: the formatives *лнѣ* and *лѣк*, treated in this grammar as belonging to one family, do not show standard segmental alloformy. Indeed, the segments *ч* and *к* are the same grade of different series of the velar palatalization alternation. The lexemes *отълѣкъ* and *лнѣ* are etymologically related (cf. Vasmer, *lixoj* and *olek*).

¹¹ Recall that the alloformy relation is given a priori; in this book, this is done with the list of roots and the catalogs of functional formatives. Therefore, the statements discussed here are simply conditions on the correctness and completeness of the grammar; in some cases we must admit violations of these conditions. For example, the formatives *гъи* and *жи* are alloforms (root <153>), even though they do not show standard alloformy. Likewise, there is no standard alloformy in terminals sharing a name, e.g. {3SgPrae, итъ} and {3SgPrae, етъ}, and some others. The terminals *итъ* and *етъ* are paradigmatic variants; cf. § 259. The question of whether paradigmatic variants are alloforms is generally scholastic, at least for a grammar that does not use the notion of morpheme. See discussion on alloformy types in Plungjan, p. 53 and ff.

Velar palatalization

§ 105. The alternation table

This alternation has 6 series and 3 grades (Table 105).

Table 105. Velar palatalization

Series \ Grade	Single Cs			Clusters		
	к	г	χ	цк	зг	χв
к	к	г	χ	цк	зг	χв
ч	ч	ж	ш	штг	жд	шв**
ц	ц	с	с	ст	зд*	св**

* One form found: *дрлзлѣ* SUPR 12, 8 (as *дрлзлѣ*).

** The only forms are NP! *вльсви* and Voc *вльшве* SUPR 111, 21 (a single gloss).

§ 106. The tied segmental position and the domain

The segmental position is final C. The domain includes all roots and suffixal formative families that contain a formative whose final C position is occupied by a *к* undergoer of this alternation. This means that the alternation is free.

§ 107. Names and notation for series and grades

The series are named after the participants of the first grade: *к*, *г*, *χ*, *цк*, *зг*, *χв*. Likewise for grades: *к*, *ч*, *ц*.

§ 108. Adjacent grades and replacement rules

Adjacent grades are *к* > *ч* and *к* > *ц*. Two replacement rules apply in the paradigmatics: *к* → *ч* (replace the *к* grade segment with the *ч* grade segment), and *к* → *ц* (replace the *к* grade segment with the *ц* grade segment).

A note on the *ц||ч* and *с||ж* pairings

The pairings *ц||ч* and *с||ж*, being morphophonological, are not phonological and are not adjacent by the velar palatalization alternation. However, these pairings form an anomalous replacement *ц* → *ч* and *с* → *ж*, which applies in the same environment as the standard replacement by adjacent grades in the velar palatalization alternation, such as *к* → *ч*. This anomalous replacement is added to the standard replacement in boundary adjustment rules of vocative forms. The forms Voc *отъче* for *отъць*, Voc *кънаже* for *кънась* contain anomalous replacements, while Voc *вльче* for *влькъ* contains a standard replacement. Anomalous replacements are sometimes responsible for interlexemic alloformy; see examples in § 109. Note that the replacements *ц* → *ч* and *с* → *ж* are also among the standard replacements of the substitutive softening alternation.

§ 109. Alloformy

Here are some examples.

Intraparadigmatic alloformy: ржк||ржц: ржка, ржцѣ (LSg for ржка); ик||иц: мжченикъ, мжченици (NPl for мжченикъ); дзск||дзст: дзска, дзстѣ (LSg for дзска); мог||мож||мос: могж (1SgPrae), можетъ (3SgPrae), мосѣте (1Plmv), which are forms of the verb мошти (мог.т.и).

Interlexemic alloformy: мрзк||мрц: помрзкнжти, помрцати; х||ш: грѣхъ, грѣшьнъ.

Many formatives show all three grades: дзск||дзшт||дзст: дзска, дзстѣ, дзштица; блск||блшт||блст: блскати, блштати, блстати; ик||ич||иц: мжченикъ, мжченичъскъ, мжченици.

In interlexemic alloformy, there can be derivationally related pairs whose basic and derived alloforms are not adjacent, e.g. отъць and отъцьство (the alloforms ѡц and ѡч).

§ 110. A note on velar palatalization

In the tradition of Slavic linguistics, replacements by the $\kappa \rightarrow \text{ч}$ rule are usually treated as the so-called *first palatalization*, while replacements by the $\kappa \rightarrow \text{ц}$ rule are called *second* or *third palatalization*. These palatalizations are conceived as historical sound changes that deposit synchronic alternations, to the extent that the discussion focuses on historical or comparative issues. Accordingly, such grammars formulate segmental conditions that distinguish these three palatalizations (see more details, e.g. in Lunt 2001, § 29, p. 193 and ff.).

§ 111. Alternative pairings in the velar palatalization alternation

Along with the $\text{ск} \rightarrow \text{ст}$ replacement by the standard $\text{ск}||\text{ст}$ pairing, a frequent aberration is the $\text{ск} \rightarrow \text{цц}$ replacement by the alternative $\text{ск}||\text{цц}$ pairing. Note that цц is a prohibited cluster. See the distribution in sources in Vaillant, § 41, p. 82.

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ютроу же бзвзшоу· сзвѣтъ сзтвориша вси архирен и старци людьци на иѡа· ѣко оуѣнти и Mt 27, 1 MAR (cf. оутроу же бзвзшоу· сзвѣтъ сзтвориша вси архирен и старци людьци на иѡа· ѣко оуѣти и Mat 27, 1 AS); кнѡзѡи людьци сзбзраша сѡ сз емъ авраамлемъ ps sin 46, 10 (cf. ѣко бѣ сѡсетъ сѡна· ї сззжджтъ сѡ гради їудѡсти ps sin 68, 36); въ црѣтви невѡцѣемъ Mt 8, 11 MAR (cf. въ цѣсарѣствѣ невѣстѣѣмъ supr 67, 19–20); cf. likewise for паска: бѣ же параскевѣи пасцѣ· година бѣ ѣко третѣѣ· і гѡа имъ· се црѣ вашъ· они же вѡпѣхъ· вѡзъми вѡзъми пропѡни і Io 19, 14–15 ZOGP (cf. бѣ же параскевѣи пастѣ· година же бѣ ѣко третѣа Io 19, 14 AS).

Substitutive softening

§ 112. The alternation table

This alternation has 20 series and 2 grades (Table 112).

Table 112. Substitutive softening

Series \ Grades	Labials, dentals, and their combinations												
	п	б	в	м	т	ст	д	зд	с	з	л	н	р
C [°]	п	б	в	м	т	ст	д	зд	с	з	л	н	р
C [•]	п̂	б̂	в̂	м̂	шт		жд		ш	ж	л̂	н̂	р̂

Series \ Grades	Velars, sibilant affricates, and combinations						
	к	ц	г	с	ч	ск	зг
C [°]	к	ц	г	с	ч	ск	зг
C [•]	ч		ж		ш	шт	жд

§ 113. The tied segmental position

The segmental position is the final C. The domain of the alternation includes all root and suffixal formative families that contain C-final formatives ending in undergoers of the C[°] grade of the alternation. Thus, this alternation is free.

§ 114. Names and notations for series and grades

Series are named after the undergoers of the first grade: п, б, etc. Grades are called C[°] (simple), and C[•] (substitutively soft).

§ 115. Adjacent grades and replacement rules

The adjacency relation is as follows: C[°] > C[•]. In the paradigmatics, there is a replacement rule C[°] → C[•].¹²

A note on the ц||ч and с||ж pairings

The pairings ц||ч and с||ж, being morphophonological, are not phonological, even though they are adjacent by the substitutive softening alternation. If we remove from the velar series of substitutive softening the ц||ч and с||ж pairings, what remains is velar paltalization without the ц grade. In paradigmatics, the ц||ч and с||ж pairings by substitutive softening are necessary for paradigms of

¹² Note that in case the paradigmatic synthesis rules require replacement by substitutive softening of a formative-final consonant that is not in the C[°] grade, the consonant remains unchanged, i.e. the rules apply vacuously. So, by boundary adjustment rules, we have $\text{кочп} + \text{ж} \Rightarrow \text{кочп̂.ж}$, but $\text{лочч} + \text{ж} \Rightarrow \text{лочч.ж}$ (for 1SgPrae of кочпигти and лоччитти , respectively).

verbs like °рицати (Prae °ричж), but the functional load of these pairings (and the corresponding standard replacements) is limited to several dozen forms, of which only a few are actually found.¹³ In interlexemic alloformy, the ц||ч pairing is widely represented: cf. коньць and бесконьчнь; троица and троицьнь, троицьскъ, etc. (the с||ж pairing is represented by isolated cases: кънлсь and кънлжь; пѣнлсь and пѣнлжьникъ; помисати and помѣжити). However, interlexemic alloformy is not generated by the ц||ч and с||ж pairings by substitutive softening, but rather by the anomalous ц → ч and с → ж replacements by velar palatalization. Indeed, when the starting forms end in simple consonants, there are no replacements, cf. зжбьнь, водьнь, квасынь, рабьскъ, градьскъ, пьсьскъ, etc.¹⁴

§ 116. Alloformy

Here are some examples.

Intraparadigmatic alloformy: троп||тропъ: оутропнѣти, оутропѣж (1SgPrae for оутропнѣти), съл||сълъ: сълати, сълѣши (2SgPrae for сълати); въис||въиш: възвъиснѣти, възвъишаше (2–3SgImf for възвъиснѣти).

Interlexemic alloformy: въп||въплъ: въпнѣти, въплъ; зем||земъ: подъземнѣ, землѣ; от||ошт: поработнѣти, поработштати; д||жд: сладжкъ, оуслаждати. See also § 864, *A note on segmentless substitutive softening*.

§ 117. Alternative pairings in the substitutive softening alternation

In aberrant spellouts there are forms that result from replacements by alternative pairings in the substitutive softening alternation. The following are groups of aberrant pairings.

1°. Alternative pairings among dentals

Canonical pairings	т шт	д жд	ст шт
Aberrant pairings	т ц	д з (з)	ст шч

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ДАЗЬ НАМЪ ВЪСЕМОГЪ БЖЕ ДА ѢКОЖЕ НЪИ ЕСИ НЕВЕСЬСЪКЪНЪИ *ПЦЦА НАСЪНГІЛЪ *ТАКОЗЕ ЖЕ І ЖИВОТЪ НАШЪ СИЛОЖ ТВОЕЖ ОУТВЕРДИ (KIEV 4b, 2–6); ПОДАЗЬ НАМЪ ПРОСИМЪ ТЪА ВЪСЕМОГЪИ БЖЕ БЛАЖЕНЪИ РАДИ МЖЧЕНИЦА ТВОЕА ФЕЛИЦІТЪИ ВЪКОУПНЪИЖ МОЛИТВЪЖ І *ТОАЗЕ РАДИ *ЗАШЧІТИ НЪИ (KIEV 2a, 12–17); ДА ИСПРАВИ

¹³ These are class 3 verbs whose truncated stem ends in ц or с. These are °лцати 3 <526>, °рицати 3 <766>, °тръсати 3* <973>. Alloforms ending in -ч, -ж can be expected only in the PRAE system forms, i.e. °лцати, лчж, °рицати, рчж, °тръсати, трѣжж. There are only 26 such forms found in sources, of these 24 in SUPR for the verb °рицати, and лчжтъ SUPR 328, 24 (written as лчжтъ), and трѣжетъ SUPR 520, 2. Cf. 10 verbs of class 7 ending in -цати, -сати: °канцати <383>, °кальцати <387>, °мръцати <567>, °въщати <132>, °двизати <222>, °жисати <279>, °мисати <548>, °стрисати <894>, °сасати <933>, °тасати <1006>.

¹⁴ Although the etymological sources of these pairings are well known, their interpretation from a comparative-historical point of view is not completely clear. In any case, etymological data does not help the synchronic understanding of OCS data. Cf. Lunt 1974, § 3.30 and ff.

нъи и очисти не нашихъ дѣлъ ради нъ овѣта твоего ради иже еси *овѣцѣлъ намъ (KIEV 3b, 8–12); въсѣгда твоего гї насъици просимъ тыа отъ въсѣхъ *противѣицхъ съа намъ съпаси нъи (KIEV 6a, 22–6b, 2); просимъ тыа гї дазь намъ да свѣтъи твои въсѣдъзъ *приемляще достои бѣдемъ *очищениѣ твоего (KIEV 3a, 10–13); въ конецъ пѣомъ пѣси дѣвѣице(нѣ) домоу дѣва (PS SIN 29, 1); грѣхъ юности моѣа и *невѣзества моего не помѣни (PS SIN 24, 7). Cf. и по срѣдѣ дньсѣ живимъ и мртввимъ бѣлѣа сѣ соугрѣб пакы глѣ жинъ соугрѣво *розьство (CLOZ 13b, 39–14a, 1; here the correction жд is written above the letter з in the word розьство), and also the contaminated spellout визжь in по томъ глѣ томѣ принеси прѣста твоє[е]го сѣмо и визжь рѣцѣ мон (Jn 20, 27 MAR).

Cf. likewise in SUPR: заштицаа (352, 7 and 412, 17) alongside заштиштати SUPR 407, 29–30.

Starred spellouts are lexical aberrations; see more details in Ch. 24, *Supplement. Excursus on aberrations*, § 892, *Lexical aberrations*.

2°. Alternative pairings among labials

The following aberration is a degenerate case of alternative pairings in the substitutive softening alternation.

Canonical pairings	в вл	п пл	в вл	м мл
Aberrant pairings A	в в	п п	в в	м м
Aberrant pairings B	в вь	п пъ	в вь	м мь

Usually the cases are seen as lacking the expected epenthetic *l* (i.e. this aberration is understood as an atomic one of the type $l' \Rightarrow \emptyset$, see § 139–141).¹⁵

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и пристѣпъ единъ кънижъникъ рече емоу оучителю и дж по тебѣ ѣможе колиждо идеши Mt 8, 19 ZOGR (cf. пристѣпъ in the same verse in MAR, but пристѣплъ in AS); не оставиѣ васъ сирѣ при дж к вамъ Io 14, 18 AS 30a (cf. не оставиѣ васъ сирѣ при дж к вамъ Io 14, 18 AS 93d); любѣ же ма възлюбенъ бѣдетъ оцѣмъ моимъ Io 14, 21 SAV (cf. а любѣ ма възлюбенъ бѣдетъ оцѣмъ моимъ Io 14, 21 MAR); тавыѣ дѣло SUPR 240, 14–15 (cf. тавлѣ сѣ емоу самъ Io 14, 21 SAV); ѡ оцѣ тавыено ми бѣи тако нападеніе нѣкоє отъ розбонникъ пострадавѣ: хоштеши съ стаѣпа сѣлѣсти SUPR 558, 8–10.

Cf. also: и рѣплѣвъше при дж въ *земыѣ генисареѣ Mt 14, 34 SAV (cf. пришѣдъ іѣ въ землѣ герѣгесиномъ Mt 8, 28 SAV); in PS SIN: отъ *земьа 80, 11, *земьа 21, 30 and отъ земьа 80, 6 for canonical земля; на *земьѣ 16, 11, *земьѣ 77, 55, землѣ 79, 10 and въ земьѣ 84, 10 for canonical земля; на *земи 54, 21 and въ земли 77, 40 for canonical земли.

¹⁵ In the Slavic linguistic tradition, epenthetic *l* refers to those instances of the phoneme *l* that occur after labials reflecting earlier labial + j sequences. These are, first of all, labial + *l* sequences that result from substitutive softening, including asegmental substitutive softening, cf. любѣи — любѣѣ, земля. Less commonly epenthetic *l* is found after root-initial consonants, cf. пльвати, блюдъ, etc.

Starred spellouts are lexical aberrations; see more details in Ch. 24, *Supplement. Excursus on aberrations*, § 892, *Lexical aberrations*.

§ 118. Double substitutive softening morphophonological effect

In some cases the substitutive softening replacement rule of the $C^\circ \rightarrow C^\bullet$ type applies to a final C position occupied by a cluster rather than by a single consonant. In such cases, the *double substitutive softening* effect is possible. First, the final consonant of the cluster is replaced by standard substitutive softening: $CC \rightarrow CC^\bullet$; we have, e.g., *съблазѣнѣж* 1SgPrae for *съблазѣнѣти*; *мыслѣж* 1SgPrae for *мыслѣти*. Next, the resulting cluster, which is generally allowed, is subject to alternative cluster rewrite rules by the $CC^\bullet \rightarrow C^\bullet C^\bullet$ schema. So, from *съблазѣнѣж* we get *съблажѣнѣж*; from *мыслѣж* we get *мышлѣж* (see § 76 on aberrant cluster transformations; note also that such aberrant rules can apply to produce aberrant spellouts such as *вѣжѣнѣго* for canonical *вѣз ѣнѣго*).

This effect is not systematic. In some cases, forms with double substitutive softening are not observed at all, cf. *ѣзѣнѣти*, *ѣзѣлѣти*. In other cases, sources show alternative variants, cf. *расъмѣтрѣти*, *расъмѣштѣти*. In yet other cases, only forms with double substitutive softening are found: cf. *мыслѣти*, *мышлѣж* and *мышлѣахъ*. The double substitutive softening effect generates aberrant forms with prohibited clusters.

When only an aberrant form with double substitutive softening is found, that form is shown in the dictionary.¹⁶

Illustrations

ѣ бѣша людѣ жидѣце захарѣнѣ ѣ чюждаахъ сѣ еже кѣшнѣаше тѣ въ црѣкѣве Лс 1, 21 маѣ; ѣ блѣжнѣахъ сѣ о ѣнѣмѣ Мт 13, 57 зогр; егда ли пакѣы вѣнѣе носѣштѣ и сѣрѣтѣаѣштѣ хрѣстосѣ и лѣкѣы ставѣштѣ и сѣлѣштѣ рѣзѣы сѣмоштѣрѣж радѣѣж сѣ такожде SUPR 332, 28–333, 1.

Fundamental vowel alternations

§ 119. The alternation table

This alternation has 7 series and 8 grades (Table 119, p. 72).

§ 120. The tied segmental position and the domain

The segmental position is the medial V. The alternation is represented only in root formatives, and is limited. Root formatives that show fundamental alter-

¹⁶ These are: <578> *размышлѣти*, *размышлѣнѣнѣ*, *размышлѣнѣнѣ* and others; <28> *съблажѣнѣти*, <705> *опражѣнѣти*, *оупражѣнѣнѣ*, <1116> *обѣштѣнѣнѣ*, <542> *оуцѣмоштѣнѣнѣ*, <600> *прѣмѣждѣнѣти*, <539> *оупрыштѣлѣти*, *оупрыштѣлѣнѣнѣ*.

nations are given by a list (fewer than 200 roots out of more than 1000 roots; see the lists in § 656, 682).

Table 119. Fundamental vowel alternations

Series	Grades and the order of grades					
	ʔ	→	o	ε	←	ɤ
	↓		↓	~	↓	↓
	ʔɪ		ɑ	ʔɛ	←	ɪ
Pure P	ʔ		o	ε		ɤ
	ʔɪ		ɑ	ʔɛ		ɪ
Sonant H(n)	ʔH/ʔ		oH/ʔ	εH/ʔ		ɤH/ʔ
	ʔH/ʔ		ɑH/ʔ	ʔɛH/ʔ		ɪH/ʔ
Sonant H(m)	ʔM/ʔ		oM/ʔ	εM/ʔ		ɤM/ʔ
	ʔM/ʔ		ɑM/ʔ	ʔɛM/ʔ		ɪM/ʔ
Sonant H(u)	ʔB/ʔ		oB/ʔ	εB/ʔ		ɤB/ʔ
	ʔB/ʔ		ɑB/ʔ	ʔɛB/ʔ		ɪB/ʔ
Sonant H(j)	[ʔj]/ʔ		oj/ʔ	[εj]/ʔ		ɤj/ʔ
	[ʔj]/ʔ		ɑj/ʔ	ʔɛj/ʔ		ɪj/ʔ
Sonant H(r)	ʔp/ʔ		op/ʔ	εp/ʔ		ɤp/ʔ
	ʔp/ʔ		ɑp/ʔ	ʔɛp/ʔ		ɪp/ʔ
Sonant H(l)	ʔl/ʔ		ol/ʔ	εl/ʔ		ɤl/ʔ
	ʔl/ʔ		ɑl/ʔ	ʔɛl/ʔ		ɪl/ʔ

Vocalic realizations in square brackets are not attested in OCS.

§ 121. Series and their names and notations

The first series is called *pure* (shown as P in the Table 119); the other series are *sonant*: H(n), H(m), H(u), H(j), H(r), H(l). Roots that show the P alternation series are said to have *pure vocalism*; roots that show the sonant alternation series are said to have *sonant vocalism*.

§ 122. Grades and their names and notations

Grades are named and labeled by the pure series P: the ɤ grade, the ε grade, etc. The following pairings between grades, ʔ — ʔɪ, o — ɑ, ε — ʔɛ, and ɤ — ɪ, shown in the Table 119 by vertical arrows, in the pure series represent the pairing by the inner ~ outer phonological opposition. See § 25–26.

§ 123. Undergoers of the alternation

The undergoers of the alternation in the pure series are single vowels.

In the sonant series, the undergoers are not only single vowels, but also *quasi-segments*, viz. CV combinations (рл, лѣ), and VC combinations (ен, ор).¹⁷ In the sonant series, each grade contains a pair of CVC-ambivalent *vocalic realizations*:¹⁸ a C-final one (above the slash), notated Hc, and a V-final one (below the slash), notated Hv. The symbol H without an index indicates that the vocalic segmental position is filled with vocalic realizations of the sonant vocalism. C-final realizations in all series are represented by V + C combinations, where V is the vowel of the corresponding grade in the pure series, and C is one of the consonants *n, m, v, j, r, l* from each series of the alternation. V-final realizations in the H(*r*) and H(*l*) series have the form C + V; in other series V-final realizations are single vowels. C-final (Hc) and V-final (Hv) realizations are distributed by CVC agreement. Closed roots show only V-final realizations, cf. влѣк, влѣк, вѣк <105>; дѣх, дѣхъ, дѣх <261>. In other cases, a formative can show V- or C-final realizations in different alloforms, cf. мрѣ, мрѣ <539>, and мѣр, мѣр <539>.

Thus, in the sonant series each grade is represented by two coupled vocalic realizations that are in complementary distribution by the CVC agreement rule. For example, the pairing between the ѣ and the е grades of the H(*r*) series can be represented by the following quadruplet of vocalic realizations: ѣр/рѣ||ер/рѣ; cf. мѣр/мрѣ||[мѣр]/мрѣ <539>: мѣрѣши, измѣрѣмрѣти.

Sonant combinations are understood to occupy a single segmental position, namely the medial V. Below are examples showing the segmental positions for two roots, влѣк <105> and клѣ/клѣн <384>.

влѣк <105>			клѣ/клѣн <384>		
Initial C	Medial V	Final C	Initial C	Medial V	Final C
в	лѣ	к	кл	ѣ/ѣн	None
С	Нѣ	С	С	Нѣ/Нѣ	

Thus, roots with sonant vocalism can be *closed* (as влѣк, with the segmental positions occupied by CHVc), or *labile* (as клѣ/клѣн, with segmental positions occupied by CHv/CHc). Note that for labile roots, or, more generally, for finally ambivalent roots, it is only possible to categorize as “open” their particular alloforms (the ones ending in Hv or V). See § 128 below.

§ 124. Intersections between series and grades

As the table shows, the same vocalic realization may belong to different grades of the same series, e.g. рѣ belongs to the grades е and ѣ of the H(*r*) series. Likewise, the same realization may belong to different series, e.g. ж belongs to the grades ѣ, ѣи, о, and а of the H(*m*) and H(*n*) series. Some realizations, such as ѣ and и, ѣ and ѣи, as well as ѣ, can represent both pure vocalism and sonant vocalism of the H(*u*) or H(*j*) type.

¹⁷ See more details in Ch. 24, § 873.

¹⁸ The term “vocalic realization” can refer both to a root vowel with pure vocalism in a particular alloform, as well as a root vowel with stable vocalism.

In some cases, this overlap makes it difficult to categorize a particular root formative in terms of grades or series of the alternation. For example the root $\text{тржс} \parallel \text{трлс}$ <984>, which only shows these two alloforms, cannot be categorized as either $H(m)$ or $H(n)$, at least within the synchronic description (cf. PIE **trem*, Latin *tremō*, Lithuanian *trimti*, etc.). In such cases we adopt the notation $H(n/m)$. See § 692–701.

§ 125. Adjacent grades

The adjacency relation on the grades is shown by arrows in the first row of the table. This relation defines two regions: the front region (ь, ε, и, ъ), and the back region (ъ, о, ѝ, а). No two adjacent grades belong to different regions. The boundary between the regions is shown in Table 119 with the tilde, indicating the lack of adjacencies between grades belonging to different regions.

Adjacent pairings can be *horizontal* (ь > ε, и > ъ, ѝ > о), and *vertical* (ь > и, ε > ъ, ѝ > ѝ, о > а). In the adjacent grades and pairings, the leading grade is called *heavy* compared to the following one, and the following grade is called *light* compared to the leading one. So, ь is the light grade compared to ε; и is the heavy grade compared to ь, etc. The same terms can be used to refer to alloforms: e.g. the formative чѣт is light compared to чит; нѣс is heavy compared to нес. (See Ch. 24, *Supplement*, § 874.4–5, *On verbs with unstable root vocalism*).

§ 126. Replacements

All adjacent grades can be subject to replacement rules in the paradigmatics. Note that horizontal replacement are typical for sonant formatives, while pure formatives more often show vertical replacements. Cf. жьдѣти, жидѣ (pure), and зьвѣти, зветѣъ (sonant $H(u)$), дъхѣти, доушетѣъ (sonant $H(u)$). (See more details in Ch. 24, *Supplement*, § 874.4–5, *On verbs with unstable root vocalism*).

§ 127. Alloformy

Intraparadigmatic alloformy: жьдѣ \parallel жидѣ: жьдѣти, жидѣ (1SgPrae for жьдѣти); зьвѣ \parallel зовѣ: зьвѣти, зовѣ (1SgPrae for зьвѣти); бьрѣ \parallel берѣ: бьрѣти, берѣ (1SgPrae for бьрѣти); мрѣ \parallel мьрѣ: мрѣти, мьрѣ (1SgPrae for мрѣти).

Interlexemic alloformy: тьворѣ \parallel тварѣ: тьворѣць, тварѣ; зьвѣ \parallel зьвѣ: прозвѣти, зьвѣъ; гниѣ \parallel гноѣ: гниѣти, гноѣ; злаѣ \parallel зелѣ: злакъ, зеленѣ; зрьѣ \parallel зьрѣ: зрьно, сьзьрѣти.

In interlexemic alloformy, there can be derivationally related pairs whose basic and derived alloforms are not adjacent, e.g. рѣштѣти and отрокъъ (alloforms рѣк and рок).

§ 128. A terminological note: labile roots

Finally ambivalent roots are called *labile* if the vocalic realizations of their formatives fit one of the sonant series of the fundamental alternation. Most labile roots show different grades of the series, but roots that have C- or V-final realizations of only one grade are also called labile and are treated as showing fundamental alternations. So, the root <780> (alloforms ροϛ/ροϛ) is treated as having unstable vocalism representing the fundamental alternation of the H(u) series. By definition, labile roots are those that are, first, finally ambivalent; second, whose C- and V-final alloforms are distributed by the CVC agreement rule, and third, whose vocalism is sonant. However, in some labile roots, the distribution of C- and V-final alloforms is obscured by the paradigmatic effect called “C-final stem arrest” (see § 433). For example, this is the case for the root <438> (κρ̣̣ιτι).

Segmental peculiarities of sources

§ 129. Graphically alternative spellouts and aberrant forms

As noted above, spellouts from sources are always placed in correspondence with the canon, i.e. a grammatically equivalent canonical wordform is made to correspond with each wordform from the source that is being inspected. In case of differences between that form and the canon, the former is called *alternative*. Among alternative forms we distinguish: (1) *graphically alternative* spellouts (such as *ѣко* and *ѣко*, *начѣти* and *начѣти*), (2) *aberrant* spellouts (such as *много* and *мъного*, *срѣтоста* and *сърѣтостѣ*), and (3) *erroneous* spellouts (cf. *брѣгрой* for *брѣгой*, *рарабѣ* for *рабѣ*). Graphically alternative spellouts, as opposed to the other types, have the same phonological shape as the corresponding canonical form.¹ Among aberrant forms, we distinguish *segmentally aberrant* (cf. *много* for canonical *мъного*), and *paradigmatically aberrant* (cf. *сърѣтоста* for canonical *срѣтостѣ*). Paradigmatically aberrant forms are not examined in this Part (see Part II, *Paradigmatics*).

Graphically alternative spellouts originate in different writing systems, or *graphic systems*. Segmentally aberrant forms, on the other hand, originate in *segmental aberrations*. (See details in Ch. 24, *Supplement*, § 886–897, *Excursus on aberrations*).

¹ This is an arbitrary convention that represents the format of description adopted here, rather than a hypothesis about the actual state of affairs.

Graphic systems of the sources

§ 130. Graphic system

A graphic system consists of a *letter inventory* and a *basic correspondence*. The inventory defines the alphabet used, or the set of letters, or graphic segments. The basic correspondence g is the correspondence between letters and phonemes; it is a correspondence between atomic units, or segments, of different types. The basic correspondence is reversible, i.e. it defines not only the transition from letters to phonemes, but also from phonemes to letters. Given a basic correspondence g , the derivative correspondence G can be built, which is a correspondence between strings of atomic units of different types: a string of letters and a string of phonemes. Usually, the basic correspondence g can be set up in such a way that the transition from letter strings to phoneme strings would be compositional: $G(abc) = g(a)g(b)g(c)$.

Thus, the basic correspondence ensures the transition from a letter string into a phoneme string (reading rules, so to speak), and the transition from phoneme strings to letter strings (writing rules, so to speak). In more or less simple cases, these rules can be stated reversibly, i.e. the same rule system can be used as reading as well as writing rules. In any case, the basic correspondences that are found in this book are stated in such a way.²

The *principle of compositionality*, i.e. the equivalence $G(abc) = g(a)g(b)g(c)$, sometimes is not fully satisfied. In some cases the same letter in different occurrences corresponds to different phonemes, or the same phoneme in different occurrences is rendered by different letters. Such an indeterminacy must be accounted for by rules that prescribe the choice of one and only one output segment for each input segment. Such rules are called *fork resolution rules*.³ Cf. the fork $/a/ \Rightarrow (\mathfrak{a}, \mathfrak{a})$ in the basic correspondence of the normalization (see § 34 above). For this reason, basic correspondence rules can include, alongside simplest rules of the type $x \Rightarrow /y/$ (or $/y/ \Rightarrow x$), more complex rules that can be represented as $axb \Rightarrow /pyq/$ (or $/pyq/ \Rightarrow axb$). In other cases the ambiguity has no resolution rules; for example, after shibilants and \mathfrak{u} , \mathfrak{s} , in KIEV the phoneme $/a/$ can be rendered by the letter \mathfrak{a} or the letter \mathfrak{b} (cf. срѣдѣѣ 2b, 15–16, and срѣдѣѣ 5a, 21), and, accordingly, the letter \mathfrak{b} can render both the phoneme $/a/$ and the phoneme $/ě/$ (see Ch. 7, § 200).

Each source has its own unique graphic system. The canon also has its own graphic system, distinct from that of the sources. The graphic system of the canon, termed *normalization*, is given in Ch. 2, *Graphics and phonology*. Recall that in treating the graphic systems of Glagolitic sources, the subject of analysis are not the primary Glagolitic spellouts but their Cyrillic transliterations.

² Some special cases where basic correspondences depart from the simple schema described here are noted in the course of presentation.

³ If the fork resolution rule uses no information other than segmental neighborhood, then the fork and the relevant rules are called *segmentally decidable*.

The discussion below proceeds as follows: first the transliteration is shown, and some questions relating to letter inventories are discussed (§ 131–133); then the technique for describing the basic correspondences in sources is explicated (§ 134–135), as well as the construction principles for phonological representations of alternative spellouts (§ 136–138). The next subsection, *Segmental aberrations*, catalogs all segmental aberrations (§ 139–141). Ch. 7, *An overview of sources*, shows text samples of all the examined sources, and a treatment of their segmental peculiarities (writing systems and segmental aberrations).

Alphabets and transliteration

§ 131. The list of alphabets

Glagolitic sources use the *Glagolitic* alphabet. The normalization uses the alphabet known as *standard Cyrillic*. Cyrillic sources use the alphabet known as *natural Cyrillic*. Natural Cyrillic contains all the letters of standard Cyrillic, plus some additional ones; for example, the letter ѣ (*uk*). Also considered is the *secondary Cyrillic* alphabet, consisting of the Cyrillic correspondents of the Glagolitic alphabet as used in editions of Glagolitic sources in their Cyrillic transliteration. The union of all Cyrillic alphabets is called *expanded Cyrillic*. The alphabets themselves are given in Table 132.1 (p. 80).

§ 132. Transliteration

Table 132.1 gives the Glagolitic \Leftrightarrow secondary Cyrillic transliteration. This table, along with rows that give the correspondence between Glagolitic and Cyrillic letters (rows 1–2), gives rows for standard Cyrillic (normalized, row 3) and natural Cyrillic (as used in Cyrillic sources, row 4).

As this table shows, transliteration gives a reversible one-to-one correspondence. In the pairs (ѣ, ѣ/ї) and (ѣѣ, ѣ/ѣї), the slashes separate letters that are in complementary distribution in sources: the letters under the slash are the secondary Cyrillic letters used in the Sever'janov's transliteration of the *Psalterium Sinaiticum*.

The table shows also the standard Cyrillic correspondents for letters of the secondary and natural Cyrillic. Below, in the discussion of the sources, secondary Cyrillic letters that correspond to the same standard Cyrillic letter are called *allographs*; same for natural Cyrillic letters.

The transliteration is perfectly compositional: $\alpha(xyz) = \alpha(x)\alpha(y)\alpha(z)$ for any letter x, y, z , where α is the transliteration from the Glagolitic to the secondary Cyrillic alphabet or vice versa.

Table 132.1. Alphabets and Glagolitic ↔ Cyrillic transliteration

Glagolitic	⋈	—		⊙	—	⊕	⊖	⊗	⊘	⊙	⊚	⊛	⊜	⊝	⊞	⊟	⊠	⊡
Secondary Cyrillic	А	Б	В	Г	Д	Е	Ж	З	И	І	Ї/І	Н	О	П	Р	С	Т	У
Standard Cyrillic	А	Б	В	Г	Д	Е	Ж	З	И	І	Н	О	П	Р	С	Т	У	Ф
Natural Cyrillic									І, І, І			О, У						

Glagolitic	б	г	д	ѡ	ѣ	ѧ	ѩ	ѫ	ѭ	Ѯ	Ѱ	Ѳ	Ѵ	Ѷ	Ѹ	Ѻ	Ѽ	Ѿ
Secondary Cyrillic				Ѧ	ѧ	Ѩ	ѩ	Ѫ	ѫ	Ѭ	ѭ	Ѯ	ѯ	Ѱ	ѱ	Ѳ	ѳ	Ѵ
Standard Cyrillic				Ѧ	ѧ	Ѩ	ѩ	Ѫ	ѫ	Ѭ	ѭ	Ѯ	ѯ	Ѱ	ѱ	Ѳ	ѳ	Ѵ
Natural Cyrillic													Ѷ, ѷ	Ѹ, ѹ, Ѻ, ѻ	Ѽ, ѽ	ѿ, ѽ	ѿ	ѿ

Table 132.2. Additional Glagolitic and Cyrillic letters

Glagolitic	⋈	⋉	⋊	⋋			
Secondary Cyrillic	⋈	⋉	⋊	⋋	ѧ	Ѩ	ѩ
Standard Cyrillic							
Natural Cyrillic	⋈	⋉	⋊	⋋	Ѷ, ѷ	Ѹ	ѹ

Table 132.3. Numerical values of Glagolitic letters (as secondary Cyrillic) and Cyrillic letters

Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	20	30	40	50	60
Secondary Cyrillic	А	Б	В	Г	Д	Е	Ж	З	И	Н	О	П	Р	С	Т
Natural Cyrillic	А	Б	Г	Д	Е	З	З	И	⋈	И	К	Л	М	Н	ѧ

Number	70	80	90	100	200	300	400	500	600	700	800	900
Secondary Cyrillic	Н	О	П	Р	С	Т	Ѳ	Ѧ	ѧ	Ѩ	ѩ	Ѫ
Natural Cyrillic	⋈	⋉	⋊, ⋋, Ѷ	Ѹ	ѹ	Ѻ	ѻ, Ѽ, ѽ, ѿ	ѿ	ѿ	ѿ	ѿ	ѿ

Addendum

Some letters used in Glagolitic and Cyrillic sources have no standard Cyrillic correspondents. These are letters that are almost exclusively used in spellouts of new borrowings, mostly in personal names; they are called *additional* in Table 132.2 and below. The standard Cyrillic alphabet is designed to service the normalization. Strictly speaking, in this book normalization is only set up for wordforms from the benchmark corpus, which does not include wordforms with additional letters in Glagolitic sources. Nonetheless, in some particular cases the book uses Cyrillic spellouts that correspond to Glagolitic spellouts with additional letters. This is the case, for example, for the spellout *ГЕРЬГЕСИНСЬСКЖ* for the Glagolitic *МЭЪМЭЪРЪЪЪЪ* (§ 1, normalization sample). In spellouts of borrowings that contain the prohibited velar + front vowel combinations, sources may use the letters *ĕ* and *ĕ̇* (see details in Ch. 24, *Supplement*, § 869, *On the law of the velars*). In ZGR, *kamora* is sometimes used with labials; see § 167.

Cf., for example, *ЭМЪРЪЪЪ* (ѠМРѠМЪ) Mt 2, 13 AS; *ѠМА* Jn 14, 5 AS, SAV; *ОУКАЗАНИЕ ОУЪ СВАТАГО ЦАНИА* SUPR 304, 28–29.

Table 132.3 shows the numerical values of the letters (see details in Vaillant, § 12, 18, 47, Lunt 2001, Ch. I).⁴

§ 133. Departures from sequential spellouts of letters

Here must be mentioned spellouts under *titlo*, as well as superscript and added letters. In citing forms, spellouts under *titlo* and superscript letters, as well as ligatures marked in editions, are indicated by *titlo* or by letters printed as superscripts. The *payerok* is rendered as an apostrophe; the ligature for *от/отъ* by the symbol *ŵ*. Other diacritics found in manuscripts and often reflected in editions are simply ignored in this book. Cf., for example:

Spellouts under *titlo* and overline letters

самарѣни^Ѡ же Lk 10, 33 AS

гѠа гѠъ винограда Mt 20, 8 MAR

тѠкмо Ѡ хѠѣѣъ Ѡ Ѡ рѠѣѣъ Mt 14, 17 ZGR

помѠѠи Lk 16, 24 AS

Spellouts with *payerok*

сѣкроушинѵше SUPR 557, 23

старѵци Mt 27, 1 ZGR

арѵхерен Mk 2, 26 ZGR

дѵѣѣ лѣпѵѣ Lk 21, 2 AS

Basic writing systems in sources

§ 134. The basic correspondence and ways of characterizing it

For the normalization, the basic correspondence was given completely in the description of the graphics and phonology of the canon (see § 33–35). For sources, basic correspondences need not be described fully: it is sufficient, for each

⁴ The letter *Ϸ* is the *koppa*, an obsolete Greek letter that indicates 90 in numerical use.

source, to consider the fragment where the basic correspondence of that source differs from the basic correspondence of the canon. For all sources, such a fragment gives the letter equivalent of the following six phonemes: /e/, /ɛ/, /u/, /ɔ/, /a/, /ě/. These nontrivial fragments of basic correspondences are given by special tables that are supplied in the discussion of each source. These tables are called below *basic writing systems* of the source.

Outside of this fragment, the basic correspondence is trivial. However, if within the trivial region the basic correspondence between letters and phonemes is one-to-one, in sources one phoneme (and, accordingly, one standard Cyrillic letter) can correspond to several allographs.⁵ Allographs from the expanded Cyrillic alphabet used in each source are shown in the overview of sources below the basic writing system tables. The use of nonstandard allographs creates graphically alternative spellouts that are phonologically equivalent to the canon.

Let us give a few examples.

Spellout in the source		Canonical form	Phonology
MAR	ИСТИНЖ	ИСТИНЖ	<i>istinǝ</i>
ZOGR	ТВОИ	ТВОИ	<i>tvoi</i>
AS	БЪИТИ	БЪИТИ	<i>byti</i>
PS SIN	ЇЗБАВИ	ИЗБАВИ	<i>izbavi</i>
KIEV	ТЪИ	ТЪИ	<i>ty</i>
SAV	ХОДА	ХОДА	<i>xodɛ</i>
SAV	ГЛУХА	ГЛУХА	<i>gluxa</i>
SUPR	ВЪНЬЦА	ВЪНЬЦА	<i>věnyce</i>

§ 135. Basic writing system tables

The format of these tables reflects a pragmatic compromise: it collapses the transition from phonology to graphics with the transition from graphics of the canon (normalization) to the graphics of the source. This combination is possible because the normalization \Leftrightarrow phonology transition is unambiguous.

Consider such a table fragment (Tables 135.1–2, p. 83) for MAR (the full table is given as Table 144). Table 135.1, as in other such tables shown in the overview of the sources (Ch. 7), the phonology is not given directly but follows from the normalization; in Table 135.2, it is given explicitly. Here and below in basic writing system tables each row corresponds to a phoneme (or a phoneme pair in the case of /a/ ~ /ě/), and each column corresponds to a left context. The cells give the rendition of the corresponding phoneme or phoneme string in the normalization (shaded row) and in the source's writing system (unshaded row).

⁵ Distribution rules that regulate the selection of an allograph out of the set of possible allographs for a given source are not given and not investigated in this book.

Table 135.1. Basic writing system table fragment (variant 1)

		#	V	â, â, ð	«ш»	ц, с	С	к, г, х
Normalization	оу, ю	оу ~ ю	ю	оу				
MAR	оу, ю	оу ~ ю		ю			оу	
Normalization	ѡ, ѣѡ	ѡ ~ ѣѡ	ѣѡ	ѡ				
MAR	ѡ, ѣѡ	ѡ ~ ѣѡ	ѣѡ	ѡ				
Normalization	а, ѡ, ѣ	а ~ ѡ	ѡ	а	а ~ ѣ		а	
MAR	а, ѣ	а ~ ѣ	ѣ	а	а ~ ѣ		а	

«ш» stands for shibilants, С stands for simple consonants

Table 135.2. Basic writing system table fragment (variant 2)

		#	V	â, â, ð	«ш»	ц, с	С	к, г, х
Normalization	оу, ю	оу ~ ю	ю	оу				
Phonology	u	u ~ ju	u					
MAR	оу, ю	оу ~ ю		ю			оу	
Normalization	ѡ, ѣѡ	ѡ ~ ѣѡ	ѣѡ	ѡ				
Phonology	ø	ø ~ jø	ø					
MAR	ѡ, ѣѡ	ѡ ~ ѣѡ	ѣѡ	ѡ				
Normalization	а, ѡ, ѣ	а ~ ѡ	ѡ	а	а ~ ѣ		а	
Phonology	a, ě	a ~ ja	a			a ~ ě		a
MAR	а, ѣ	а ~ ѣ	ѣ	а	а ~ ѣ		а	

«ш» stands for shibilants, С stands for simple consonants

Every spellout from MAR, including alternative spellouts, can be evaluated as satisfying (+) or not satisfying (-) the basic writing system of MAR:

Manuscript spellout	Writing system spellout	Normalization
+вЪЗЛЕЖАШГЮ	вЪЗЛЕЖАШГЮ	вЪЗЛЕЖАШГЮу
-сЖШГЮу	сЖШГЮ	сЖШГЮу
-пРИТѦЖѡ	пРИТѦЖѡ	пРИТѦЖѡ
-чОуЖДААХѡ	чОуЖДААХѡ	чОуЖДААХѡ
-чѦсЪ	чѦсЪ	чѦсЪ
+чѦсЪ	чѦсЪ	чѦсЪ

Aberrant spellouts may also either satisfy or fail to satisfy the basic writing system; e.g. the aberrant form ошГѦтИтЪ Jn 11, 57 MAR (for canonical ошГЮуТИтЪ), from the point of view of graphics, is in perfect agreement with the writing system of MAR.⁶

⁶ Note that this table, as well as the full basic correspondence, only ensures the transition from a phoneme string to the corresponding letter string and vice versa, but does not assign any segmental content to any wordform. While characteristic of the canon, stability of the phonological content of most wordforms is often broken in the language of the sources. For example, in ZOGR we find ѣкѡ alongside акѡ, which points to unstable phonology (/jako/ vs. /ako/) as well as unstable graphics. In other cases graphically distinct strings can correspond to identical phonology, cf. поѡышлѦн- (SUPR 296, 1) and поѡышлѦн- (SUPR 249, 18; note

§ 136. Phonological representations of alternative spellouts

In most cases, the phonological representation of any alternative spellout can be constructed using the basic correspondence in the direction from letters to phonemes. Comparing that phonological representation of the alternative spellout with the phonological representation of the canonical spellout gives the evaluation of the spellout as graphically alternative (gr) or segmentally aberrant (ph). Table 136 shows examples.

Table 136. Evaluation of alternative spellouts: simple cases

	Spellouts in sources		Canon		Evaluation
	Graphics	Phonology	Graphics	Phonology	
ZOGR	пристѣпъ	<i>pristɔpʲ</i>	пристѣпль	<i>pristɔpʲb</i>	ph
MAR	вельѣ	<i>velʲja</i>	вельпа	<i>velija</i>	gr and ph
MAR	ѣдѣтъ	<i>jadɛtɔ</i>	ѣдѣтль	<i>jadɛtɔb</i>	gr
MAR	пѣтъ	<i>pʲjetɔ</i>	пнѣтъ	<i>pʲjetɔb</i>	gr and ph
ZOGR	покаанье	<i>pokaanʲje</i>	покааннне	<i>pokajanije</i>	gr and ph
ZOGR	мнози	<i>mnozi</i>	мънози	<i>mʲnodzi</i>	ph
MAR	болѣи	<i>bolʲei</i>	болни	<i>bolʲii</i>	gr and ph
AS	слъньцю	<i>slɔnʲcu</i>	слъньцюѣ	<i>slɔnʲcu</i>	gr and ph
PS SIN	ѣвилъ	<i>javiʲb</i>	ѣвилъ	<i>javiʲb</i>	gr
PS SIN	зачѣтъ	<i>začɛtɔ</i>	зачѣтль	<i>začɛtɔb</i>	gr
KIEV	въсѣ	<i>vʲsɛ</i>	въсѣ	<i>vʲsɛ</i>	gr
KIEV	дѣзь	<i>dazʲb</i>	дѣждь	<i>daždʲb</i>	ph
KIEV	пищѣ	<i>pišɛ</i>	пищѣ	<i>pišɛ</i>	gr and ph
SUPR	ѣвѣено	<i>javʲjɛno</i>	ѣвѣѣено	<i>javʲjɛno</i>	ph

However, not every alternative spellout can be treated as simply as in the cases above. Special problems arise, first, with kamorated phonemes (*l'*, *n'*, *r'*), second, in undecidable ambiguities in the basic correspondence itself, and third, in case the spellout observed in the source does not follow the basic writing rules.

In particular, if the source's spellout departs from its own basic writing system, the symbol-by-symbol transcription process is simply blocked. This is the case for чѣсѣ in ZOGR: for the letter чѣ after shibilants the basic correspondence offers no phonological form. And if the spellout contains a letter that, by the basic correspondence, leads to an undecidable fork, the ambiguity remains (cf. in KIEV сръдѣцѣ: /srʲdʲɛcɛ/ or /srʲdʲɛca/).

§ 137. Phonological representations of alternative forms: special cases

In the cases considered below, grammatical information is necessary for the construction of the phonological representation of an alternative form. Remem-

allographs ѣи and ѣи), or in AS распѣт- and распѣт- (cf. распѣсѣ and распѣсѣ; both spellouts in Lk 23, 33; see § 173–174 below). Such graphical ambiguity is built into the writing system and is noted in the discussion of the source.

ber, that in the analysis of alternative forms we consider pairs (A^* , A), where A^* is the alternative form under consideration, and A is its canonical analog, and the grammatical properties of these forms are identical. In the simplest cases, however, phonological representations can be assigned to alternative spellouts without using grammatical properties of the form and even without any data supplied by the corresponding canonical form.

Kamora

Most sources do not use the kamora, and those that use it do so unsystematically. The following convention is adopted in this book: the phonological opposition simple ~ kamorated that is posited for the canon is also assumed for the language of the sources, but the graphics of the sources do not reflect it or reflect it only sporadically. At the same time, the distribution of kamorated phonemes is identical to that in the canon. According to this convention, such spellouts as, e.g. $\text{MAR } \text{ЗЕМЛАЖ}$, ЗЕМЛАѢ , are assigned the phonological representations /zempl'o/, /zempl'a/, and accordingly such a pair of spellouts as ЗЕМЛАѢ and ЗЕМЛАѢ are assigned the same phonological representation /zempl'a/. Thus, grammatically interpreting the form is necessary to construct the phonological representation of alternative spellouts (compare ЛѢТО /lěto/ with ЗЕМЛАѢ /zempl'a/ and ЛЖКАВЪ /l'okavъ/ with ЗЕМЛАЖ /zempl'o/, etc.).

Accordingly, spellouts that differ from the canon only in absence of the kamora are treated as graphically alternative, not aberrant.

Undecidable ambiguities

In order to assign a phonological representation to a spellout such as $\text{КІЕВ } \text{СРЪДЫЦѢ}$, /sr'dьcě/ or /sr'dьca/, the grammatical interpretation must be first determined: if СРЪДЫЦѢ is $\text{GSg}(n)$ or $\text{NAP}(n)$ from СРЪДЫЦЕ , then the fork is decided in favor of /sr'dьca/. The principle here is the same as with the kamora.

Departures from the basic writing system

As mentioned above, sources may occasionally depart from the basic writing system. For example, the spellout ПЛѢТЬ is found in AS in place of canonical ПЛАТЬ , despite the fact that in AS the letter ѡ is not used after simple consonants. However, the possibility of a spellout like ПЛА is admitted as a departure from the basic writing system. Accordingly, for AS the spellout ПЛѢТЬ is considered phonologically equivalent to ПЛАТЬ . Thus, this spellout is not aberrant, but simply graphically alternative. Another example is furnished by the following spellouts in MAR: ПѢНАЗЮ , ПѢНАЗОУ , ПѢНАЗОУ . According to the basic writing system of MAR, the letter ю must be used after ѡ, while the letter оу after з. Thus ПѢНАЗЮ /pěņezu/ is not only phonologically aberrant (з in place of canonical ѡ), but violates the graphics required by the basic writing system of MAR. The spellout ПѢНАЗОУ /pěņezou/ is phonologically aberrant, but follows MAR's graphics, and the spellout ПѢНАЗОУ /pěņedzu/ matches the canon in phonology, but violates the graphics required by the basic writing system of MAR.

Frequently, spellouts that violate the basic writing system of a given source contain graphically prohibited letter combinations: cf. $\text{MAR } \text{ТАЧѢ}$, ZOGR

ЧЪСЪ, AS ПЪАТЬ, AS ОСТАВИЖ, MAR ПРѢАЖИЖ, MAR ПЪНАЗЮ, and many others. These letter combinations are prohibited not only in the writing system of these sources, but in the normalization as well. Thus, the phonological representation cannot be obtained using the basic writing system. In these cases phonological representations can be reverse-engineered. If the form shows mentioned cases of departure from the basic writing system of the source (as in the case of ЧЪСЪ and ПЪАТЬ), the phonological representation is obtained from the phonological equivalence of those spellouts: ЧЪСЪ is equivalent to ЧАСЪ, and thus /časʲ/ is the phonology; ПЪАТЬ is equivalent to ПАТЬ, and thus /pɛtʲ/ is the phonology. If, on the other hand, the spellout does not show any expected departures from the basic writing system (cf. PS SIN ЗЕМИЖ) grammatical analysis is necessary, which would compare the canonical and aberrant derivations of the corresponding forms. PS SIN ЗЕМИЖ for canonical ЗЕМЛѢЖ /zemlʲo/ from ЗЕМЛ + Ж, where the last consonant of the workstem is kamorated, and the terminal is /o/; ЗЕМЛ is the substitutively softened alloform of the root <313> (ЗЕМ, ЗЕМЛ); this root has an aberrant assortment resulting from an aberrant version of the substitutive softening alternation. Thus, ЗЕМ is the aberrant alloform of ЗЕМЛ, and the morphological skeleton ЗЕМ + Ж is aberrant. Further, this morphological skeleton yields the phonological form /zemʲo/. Table 137 shows some examples.

Table 137. Evaluation of alternative spellouts: special cases

	Phonology of the spellout (mss.)	Canonical form	Phonology of the canonical form	Evaluation
MAR ЗЕМЛИЖ	<i>zemlʲo</i>	ЗЕМЛѢЖ	<i>zemlʲo</i>	gr
MAR ЗЕМЛѢ	<i>zemlʲa</i>	ЗЕМЛѢА	<i>zemlʲa</i>	gr
PS SIN ЗЕМЛАЖ	<i>zemlʲo</i>	ЗЕМЛѢЖ	<i>zemlʲo</i>	gr
PS SIN ЗЕМИЖ	<i>zemʲo</i>	ЗЕМЛѢЖ	<i>zemlʲo</i>	ph and gr
PS SIN ЗЕМЪИЖ	<i>zemʲoʒo</i>	ЗЕМЛѢЖ	<i>zemlʲo</i>	ph
SAV ЗЕМЫЖ	<i>zemʲoʒo</i>	ЗЕМЛѢЖ	<i>zemlʲo</i>	ph
MAR ПЪНАЗЮ	<i>pɛnɛzju</i>	ПЪНАЗОУ	<i>pɛnɛdzju</i>	ph and gr
MAR ПЪНАЗОУ	<i>pɛnɛdzju</i>	ПЪНАЗОУ	<i>pɛnɛdzju</i>	canonical
MAR ПЪНАЗОУ	<i>pɛnɛzju</i>	ПЪНАЗОУ	<i>pɛnɛdzju</i>	ph
ZOGR ЧЪСЪ	<i>časʲ</i>	ЧАСЪ	<i>časʲ</i>	gr
AS ПЪАТЬ	<i>pɛtʲ</i>	ПАТЬ	<i>pɛtʲ</i>	gr
AS ОСТАВИЖ	<i>ostavʲo</i>	ОСТАВЛѢЖ	<i>ostavlʲo</i>	ph and gr
AS ВЪЗЛЮБЕНЪ	<i>vɔzlʲubɛnʲ</i>	ВЪЗЛЮБЛѢНЪ	<i>vɔzlʲublʲɛnʲ</i>	ph and gr

Consider in detail the spellout PS SIN ЗЕМЫЖ (PS SIN 16, 11) showing combined aberrations. First, it shows the aberrant pairing м||мь in place of the canonical м||мл (see § 141 below); second, њ in place of the canonical ѣ (see § 140 below).

§ 138. A note on the phonological representations of alternative spellouts

It is taken as a basic convention that an aberrant spellout differs from the corresponding canonical one in its phonological representation, while a graphically alternative spellout is identical to the canon in the phonology but differs only in the writing. This solution is fairly arbitrary and somewhat simplistic, but avoids vicious indeterminacy both for the grammarian and the reader.

The convention itself is debatable in two aspects: first, one may like or dislike its sense, and second, one may like or dislike the demarcation line drawn in the material.

As for the sense of the notion, graphic mismatches in the general case can reflect not only graphic differences, but also phonological ones. Distinct spellouts can correspond to phonologically identical strings (cf. Russian *лиса* ‘fox’ /lisa/ and *леса* ‘forests’ /lisa/; cf. also English *need* vs. *knead*), and identical spellouts can correspond to phonologically distinct strings (cf. Russian *конечно* ‘finite’ /kon’ěčno/ and *конечно* ‘of course’ /kon’ěšno/, or *села* ‘sat’ /s’ela/ and *села* ‘villages’ /s’ola/; cf. also English *lead* ‘guide’ /li:d/ and *lead* ‘heavy metal’ /lɛd/). Thus, alongside the convention adopted here, solutions that do not adopt it may also be linguistically acceptable. Table 138 shows the possible diversity of imagined grammatical interpretations (ph 2 and ph 3 below) of different aberrant spellouts of two forms: for canonical *въсь*, aberrant forms *вєсь*, *вѣсь*, *всь*, and for canonical *мънози*, aberrant *мѣнози*.⁷

Table 138. Possible phonological interpretations of alternative spellouts

Spellout Interpretation	въсь	вєсь	вѣсь	всь	мънози	мѣнози
ph 1	vʙsʙ	vesʙ	vʙsʙ	vsʙ	mʙnodzi	mʙnozi
ph 2	vesʙ	vesʙ	vesʙ	vesʙ	mʙnozi	mʙnozi
ph 3	vʙs	vʙs	vʙs	vʙs	mʙnodzi	mʙnodzi

The line ph 1 corresponds to the solution adopted in this book; ph 2 and ph 3 show alternatives, of which there are many more. Of course, we have no data that allow us to select phonological representations on the basis of their phonetic shape. Indirect data that lead outside of the facts of the sources immensely complicate the logic of the construction. It must be remembered that in the general case the same grammatical form can have different phonetic shapes (new and old, formal and informal, etc.). In any case, these problems lie outside of the aims of this book, as belonging not to the canonical OCS language but to the language of the specific source and various hypotheses about the evolution of OCS and its many variants in space and time.

The question of the demarcation line between graphically alternative and aberrant forms, in terms of the basic convention adopted here, depends entire-

⁷ Grammatical solutions that interpret these alternative spellouts as graphically alternative are not considered here, but of course not excluded as possibly acceptable solutions.

ly on the rules that assign phonological representations. These rules are given by the basic correspondence of each source and by some specific conventions. Of course it would be possible to establish somewhat different basic correspondences from those adopted in this book while maintaining the basic convention on alternative and aberrant spellouts.

Segmental aberrations

§ 139. General

Aberrations are divided into *segmental*, *paradigmatic*, and *lexemic* (or *lexical*). Segmental grammar deals with segmental and lexemic aberrations. Segmental aberrations are divided into atomic and modifying aberrations (or simply modifications). In atomic aberrations, the substituted entities are single segments; in modifications, the substituted entities are segmental rewrite rules (individual $mph \Rightarrow ph$ /norm rules or individual rules of replacement by an alternation). Segmental aberrations are described below. In lexemic aberrations, the substituted entities are individual lexemes, and are noted alongside corresponding canonical lexemes (in the lists of commented lexemes in the main text of the book). See details in Ch. 24, *Supplement*, § 886–897, *Excursus on aberrations*; see overview of lexical aberrations *ibid.*

§ 140. Atomic aberrations

Atomic aberrations attack the phonological or morphophonological representations of wordforms.

Atomic aberrations targeting phonological representations
All such aberrations are shown in Table 140.1.

Table 140.1. Atomic aberrations of phonological representations

Aberration	Canonical form	Aberrant form
$dz \Rightarrow z$	лънози / <i>lʲnɔdʒi</i> /	лънози / <i>lʲnɔzi</i> /
$(V_1 +) j (+V_2) \Rightarrow \emptyset$	покаати / <i>pɔkajati</i> /	покаати / <i>pɔkaati</i> /
$V_1V_1 \Rightarrow V_1$	приметъ / <i>priimetʲ</i> /	приметъ / <i>primetʲ</i> /

The aberration $(V +) j (+V) \Rightarrow \emptyset$ could be treated as a modification that attacks morphophonological representations, canceling the *j* epenthesis rule. For example, for покаати we have *mph* representation пɔ.кa.а.т.и, which in the canonical derivation corresponds to /*pɔkajati*/, and without *j* epenthesis to /*pɔkaati*/. Cf. also великаа Mk 13, 2 маа, and outside of the benchmark word list зълодѣа (ЕУСН 63b, 10; Lk 23, 33 маа), оѣа (Mt 25, 8 маа), and many others among borrowings. Note that most spellouts without intervocalic *j* are those where the phoneme /*j*/ in the phonology corresponds to epenthetic *j* in the morphophonol-

ogy. Forms of the lexeme *вожни* [вoж.ьj.ь] in SUPR are notable here: the spellout *вожня* occurs more than 40 times, while *вожня* occurs only once (SUPR 294, 13), and there are no other spellouts of this wordform without *j*; same in MAR. These facts point to treating this aberration as a modification, but the technically simpler solution adopted in this book does not contradict the data.

The aberration $dz \Rightarrow z$ may be treated as attacking phonological or morphophonological representations.

Only the aberration $V_1V_1 \Rightarrow V_1$ must necessarily attack phonological representations: so, in the example above we have *приметъ* [пpи.ьм.етъ] /prijmetъ/.⁸

Notes

1°. The aberration $(V+)j(+V) \Rightarrow \emptyset$ (intervocalic *j* loss) can be found in aberrant forms of long adjectives, cf. *новалго* for *новаѣго* and similar, and Præ forms of the type *дѣлаагъ*, which are treated in this grammar as resulting from paradigmatic aberrations (cf. § 394, 617 below). 2°. Aberrant forms of the iotated imperfect of the type *исъхнѣашѣ* can be treated as hypercorrections (insertion of *j* into a hiatus), or as departures from *i* epenthesis rules in the *mph* \Rightarrow *ph*/norm transition (see § 69–70 above). In this book these forms are treated as resulting from paradigmatic aberrations (see § 471 below).

Atomic aberrations targeting morphophonological representations

These are the so-called *yer* aberrations. There are four of them; they are listed in Table 140.2.

Table 140.2. Atomic *yer* aberrations of morphophonological representations

Aberration	Canonical form	Aberrant form
Fall $ъ \Rightarrow \emptyset, ъ \Rightarrow \emptyset$	кѣто вѣси	кто вси
Strengthening $ъ \Rightarrow ѡ, ъ \Rightarrow ѣ$	шѣдѣ вѣлии [vel.ьj.ь] \Rightarrow /velii/	шедѣ вѣлеи [vel.ьj.ь] \Rightarrow /velei/
Confusion $ъ \Rightarrow ѡ, ѡ \Rightarrow ѣ$	кѣто шѣдѣ	кто шедѣ
Regression canceling of the rule $ьj \Rightarrow ij$	пнѣж [pъj.ѡ] \Rightarrow /pijѡ/	пнѣж [pъj.ѡ] \Rightarrow /pъjѡ/

Notes

1°. All *yer* aberrations are particular deformations of *mph* \Rightarrow *ph* rules.⁹ Aberrant forms that only show the application of *yer* aberrations have the same *mph* represen-

⁸ In the general case, aberrations may apply in sequence, one after another, so that an aberration may apply to a spellout that is already aberrant, cf. *давание* \Rightarrow *даание* \Rightarrow *даніе*. There is no need for such sequential aberrations if the omission of intervocalic *j* is treated as attacking morphophonological representations.

⁹ Accordingly, *yer* aberrations could be classed under the following group (i.e. modifications). In reality their place is intermediate, of sorts. For informal reasons they are treated as atomic.

tation as the corresponding canonical form, but their phonological representation differ: [k.ʔ.t.o] ⇒ /kʔto/ ⇒ кʔто and [k.ʔ.t.o] ⇒ /kto/ ⇒ кто; [pʲj.ɔ] ⇒ /pʲjɔ/ ⇒ пʲиж and [pʲj.ɔ] ⇒ /pʲjɔ/ ⇒ пʲиж, cf. also велен. In *yer* regression, the aberrant derivation simply bypasses one of the mph ⇒ ph rules,¹⁰ while in the classical triad (fall/strengthening/confusion) the aberrant derivation adds new rules, which are given above (Table 140.2, column 1). 2°. A special group of aberrations, dealing with aberrant spellouts corresponding to the canonical combinations ии, џи, adjoins *yer* aberrations. Cf. in мар отъ тоужднхъ Mt 17, 25 and отъ тоужднхъ Mt 17, 26 (for canonical отъ тоужднхъ); ас азъ же вѣмъ и Jn 8, 55 (for canonical азъ же вѣмъ и); and others. The latter are separated into their own group because the boundary between graphics and phonology is hard to draw here, cf. a spellout like благъи Lk 18, 18 ас, where the string џи can have two analyses.¹¹

§ 141. Modifying aberrations

Here two types of aberrations are distinguished: first, aberrant cluster rewrite rules (i.e. aberrant mph ⇒ ph/norm); second, aberrant pairings in alternations (see Table 141).

Table 141. Modifying aberrations

Aberrant cluster rewrite rules		
1.1°	з + ц ⇒ сц з + ч ⇒ сч з + ч ⇒ шг	исцѣлѣти for canonical ицѣлѣти [из.цѣл.и.т.и] вѣсчѣстїе for canonical вѣчѣстїе [вѣз.чѣт.ѣ.ѣ] вѣштїслнь for canonical вѣчислнь [вѣз.чѣт.т.л.н.ѣ]
1.2°	к + т, г + т ⇒ ц	помощь for canonical помошть [по.мог.т.ѣ]
1.3°	(C) {вλ} ⇒ C° (з, с) {λ, џ} ⇒ ж, ш (т, л) {β} ⇒ шт, жд	оумръштѣленъ for canonical оумрътѣленъ кѣшнѣаше for canonical кѣшнѣаше, бежнѣго for canonical без џнего сѣмоштѣж for canonical сѣмогѣж
Aberrant pairings by alternation		
2.1°	Velar palatalization	людьсци (NPlmPlen) for canonical людьстин небесъсцѣемъ (LSgnPlen) for canonical небесъстѣемъ
2.2°	Substitutive softening (dentals)	насъщени for canonical насъштѣни (и-Part of насъштѣти)
2.3°	Substitutive softening (labials)	оставѣж for canonical оставѣж, пристѣжпъ for canonical пристѣпъ, възлѣювенъ for canonical възлѣюленъ, ѣвѣеню for canonical ѣвлѣеню

This table shows artificial spellouts of aberrant forms (and their canonical analogs), which show only the segmental changes discussed here, corresponding to spellouts cited in the indicated paragraphs.

¹⁰ See *yer* rules creating the phonemes и and џ before j (see above § 72, rule 3°).

¹¹ See more details on the classification and morphophonological interpretation of *yer* aberrations in § 898–899, *Excursus on yer aberrations*. Havlík proposed the rule that regulates alternative *yer* aberrations: fall, strengthening, or confusion, as the case may be.

Survey of the sources

§ 142. Treatment scheme for segmental idiosyncrasies of a source

The typical format for treatment of the sources is as follows: text samples are given first, then a table showing the basic writing system, and then departures from that writing system. Other segmental idiosyncrasies of a source are then listed in the following order: (1) allographs (for the letters ѡѣ, и, ѡ, and others); (2) mixing of letters (з/ѕ, ѡѣ/ѡ, ю/ѡѣ);¹ (3) rendition of the kamorated letters; (4) alternative alternations and combinations with epenthetic *l*; (5) omission of intervocalic *j*; (6) rendition of the *yers*; (7) rendition of the combinations -ни-, -ѡни-; (8) additional commentary on text samples.

Codex Marianus

§ 143. Text samples²

Mark 4, 26–28

¹ ГЛАШЕ ТАКО ЕСТЬ ЦАРАЕСТВЕНЕ БЖИЕ. ² БКОЖЕ ЧЛКЪ ВЪМБТААТЪ СЪМА ВЪ ЗЕМЛЖ.
³ СЪПИТЪ. ⁴ ВЪСТААТЪ НОШТЬ И ДНЬ. ⁵ СЪМА ПРОЗБАДАТЪ. ⁶ РАСТЕТЪ БКОЖЕ

- ¹ The replacement of the letter *ѕ* by the letter *з* is the result of the corresponding segmental aberration. However, the technical term *mixing* is used in the following overview of the sources.
- ² Here, as in other text samples for other sources, figures above the line indicate the numbering of text fragments—sequences between dots. In the commentary, these numbers are referred to in parentheses.

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не вѣстѣ онѣ· ⁷о себѣ бо землѣ плодитѣ сѧ· ⁸прѣжде трѣвѣж по томѣ же класѣ·
⁹по томѣ же и пышеницѣ въ класѣ·

Matthew 15, 22–28

¹⁰и се жена хананиска· ¹¹отъ прѣдѣлѣ тѣхъ ишедъши· ¹²възъпи глѣжшти·
¹³помилуи ма гнѣ снѣу дѣвдѣвъ· ¹⁴дъшти моѣ зѣлѣ бѣсѣноуѣтѣ сѧ· ¹⁵онѣ
же не отъвѣшта еи словесе· ¹⁶и пристѣпше оученици его молѣхъж и глѣжште·
¹⁷отъпоусти иѣ ѣко възпиетѣ въ слѣдѣ насѣ· ¹⁸онѣ же отъвѣштавѣ рече·
¹⁹нѣсмѣ посѣланъ· ²⁰тѣкмо къ овѣцамъ погъивѣшимъ домоу изъвоу· ²¹она же
пришедъши поклони сѧ емоу глѣшти· ²²гнѣ помози ми· ²³онѣ же отъвѣштавѣ
рече· ²⁴нѣстѣ добро отати хлѣба члѣдомъ и поврѣшти псомъ· ²⁵она же рече еи
гнѣ· ²⁶и бо и пси ѣдатѣ отъ кроупицъ падаѣжштихъ сѣ трапезы господен своихъ·
²⁷тѣгда отъвѣштавѣ иѣ рече еи· ²⁸и жено вельѣ естѣ вѣра твоѣ· ²⁹вѣди тебѣ
ѣкоже хошгеши· ³⁰и исцѣлѣ дъшти еѧ во тѣ часѣ·

Matthew 20, 8–14

³¹вечероу же бѣи(въ)шю· ³²глѣ гнѣ винограда· къ приставѣнникуоу своему·
³³призови дѣлатела· ³⁴и даждѣ имѣ мѣздѣ· ³⁵наченѣ отъ послѣдънихъ до
прѣвѣнихъ· ³⁶пришедъше же иже въ единѣж на десѣте годинѣ· ³⁷приѣса по
пѣнѣзю· ³⁸и пришедъше прѣвѣни мѣнѣхъж сѧ вѣште приѣти· ³⁹и приѣса по
пѣнѣзоу· ⁴⁰приемѣше же рѣпѣтаахъ на гнѣ глѣжште· ⁴¹како сѣѧ послѣдънѣѧ·
⁴²единѣ часѣ сѣтворыша· ⁴³и равѣнѣи намѣ сѣтворилѣ ѣ еси· ⁴⁴поне сѣшенимъ
таготѣ дне и варѣ· ⁴⁵онѣ же отъвѣщаѣ рече единомуу ихъ· ⁴⁶дрѣже не
обиждѣ тебе· ⁴⁷не по пѣнѣзоу ли сѣвѣштахъ сѣ товоѣж· ⁴⁸възѣми свое и иди·
⁴⁹хоштѣ же семоу послѣдъномуу дати ѣко и тебѣ·

Mark 2, 8–17

⁵⁰что тако помѣшлѣѣте въ срѣдцихъ вашихъ· ⁵¹что естѣ оудѣѣ решти
ослабленоуемоу· ⁵²отъпоуштаѣтѣ ти сѧ грѣси· ⁵³ли решти възстани и
възѣми одрѣ твои и ходи· ⁵⁴нѣ да вѣсте ѣко власть иматѣ снѣ члѣвѣкы·
⁵⁵отъпоуштати на земли грѣхы и глѣ ослабленоуемоу· ⁵⁶тебѣ глѣж възстани и
възѣми одрѣ твои и иди въ домъ твои· ⁵⁷и възста авѣе и възатѣ одрѣ· ⁵⁸и
изиде прѣдѣ вѣсѣли· ⁵⁹ѣко дивлѣхъж сѧ вси и славлѣхъж бѣ глѣжште· ⁶⁰ѣко
николиже тако видѣхомъ· ⁶¹и изиде пакы къ морю· ⁶²и весь народъ идѣаше
къ [къ] немуу и оучаше ѣ· ⁶³и мнмо градъи иѣ видѣ левѣнѣж альфеова·
⁶⁴сѣдѣашта на мѣгъници· ⁶⁵и глѣ емоу по мѣнѣ грѣди· ⁶⁶въставѣ въ слѣдѣ
его иде· ⁶⁷и вѣстѣ [же] възлежашти емоу въ домоу его· ⁶⁸и мѣнози мѣгаре
и грѣшъници възлежѣхъж сѣ иѣмъ и сѣ оученикы его· ⁶⁹бѣхъж бо мѣнози· ⁷⁰и
по немъ идѣ· ⁷¹и кънижъници фарисен· ⁷²видѣвѣше и ѣдѣштѣ сѣ мѣгари и
грѣшъникы· ⁷³глѣахъж оученикомъ его· ⁷⁴что ѣко сѣ грѣшъникы ѣстѣ и пѣетѣ·
⁷⁵и слышѣвѣ иѣ глѣ имѣ· ⁷⁶не трѣбоуѣтѣ сѣдрави балиѣ нѣ болащен· ⁷⁷не
придѣ призѣватѣ праведъникъ· ⁷⁸нѣ грѣшъникы въ покаание·

§ 144. Basic writing system

The basic writing system of the *Codex Marianus* is given in Table 144.

Table 144. Basic writing system: *Codex Marianus*

		#	V	â, â, ð	«ш»	ц, с	C	к, г, х
Normalization	ε, ꝥ	ꝥ				ε		Prohibited
MAR	ε				ε			Prohibited
Normalization	ʌ, ʌʌ	ʌʌ				ʌ		Prohibited
MAR	ʌ, ʌʌ	ʌʌ		ʌ				Prohibited
Normalization	ʉʃ, ʉ	ʉʃ ~ ʉ		ʉ	ʉʃ			
MAR	ʉʃ, ʉ	ʉʃ ~ ʉ			ʉ		ʉʃ	
Normalization	ʁ, ʁʁ	ʁ ~ ʁʁ		ʁʁ	ʁ			
MAR	ʁ, ʁʁ	ʁ ~ ʁʁ		ʁʁ	ʁ			
Normalization	ɑ, ɑɑ, ʰɑ	ɑ ~ ɑɑ		ɑɑ	ɑ	ɑ ~ ʰɑ		ɑ
MAR	ɑ, ʰɑ	ɑ ~ ʰɑ		ʰɑ	ɑ	ɑ ~ ʰɑ		ɑ

«ш» stands for shibilants, C stands for simple consonants.

§ 145. Departures from the basic writing system

Rare departures are possible. Here are some examples:

- 1) ʌ ~ ʌ: ПОМОЛИТЕ СѦ Lk 22, 46;
- 2) ʉʃ ~ ʉ: ЧОУЖДААХЖ СѦ Jn 4, 27; СЖШГОУ Lk 11, 1 and elsewhere;
- 3) ʁ ~ ʁ: ПРИТѦЖИЖ Lk 18, 12; КОУПАЖ Lk 19, 13;
- 4) ɑ ~ ʰɑ: ТАЧѦЕ Jn 2, 10; ЧѦСѦ Lk 4, 5; МОЖѦАХЖ Lk 8, 19;
- 5) on the spellouts ПѦНѦЗОУ (39) and ПѦНѦЗОУ (47) see § 137.

§ 146. Allographs of the letter шт

MAR uses as free variants two allographs: шт and џ. Thus, in the fragments shown above we have ОУЪВѦШТАВЪ (27) and ОУЪВѦџАВЪ (45).

§ 147. Allographs of the letter и

MAR uses three allographs: и, ι and, less frequently, i. Cf. ВЪ ИСТИНѦМЪ Lc 16, 11; ВЪ ИСТИНѦ Lc 12, 44; ИЗБАВЛЕНИЕ Mt 20, 28, and likewise in the fragments shown above, where only и and ι are used.

§ 148. Allographs of the letter ы

Normally, the shape ы is used for the letter ы, but cf. ТАТЪБЫ ОБИДЪИ ЛЖАВЪСТВО ЛСТЬ СТОУДОДѦНИЕ Mk 7, 22; ВЪ ТОМЪ ЖЕ ДОМОУ ПРѦБЪВАИТЕ ѦДЖШТЕ И ПИЖШТЕ ѦЖЕ СЖТЪ ОУ НИХЪ Lk 10, 7 (see also § 156 below).

§ 149. A special spellout for the letter \aleph

In some occurrences we find a special version for the letter ϵ (rendered as \aleph in the norm), for instance \aleph (transliterated as Δ by Jagić). Such are: $\epsilon\epsilon\Delta$ Lk 24, 32 and Jn 5, 35; $\epsilon\Delta\Delta\epsilon$ Jn 6, 58; $\epsilon\Delta\epsilon$ Jn 19, 38. See § 622.

§ 150. Mixing of the letters ζ and ς

The letter ζ can occur in place of ς . Cf. in the fragments shown above: $\rho\zeta$ $\rho\epsilon\aleph\aleph\zeta\upsilon$ (37), $\rho\zeta$ $\rho\epsilon\aleph\aleph\zeta\upsilon$ (39) and $\rho\zeta$ $\rho\epsilon\aleph\aleph\zeta\upsilon$ (47), and elsewhere.

§ 151. Mixing of the letters κ and $\upsilon\zeta$, $\imath\kappa$ and υ

Sometimes we find $\upsilon\zeta$ in place of the expected κ , cf.: $\imath\upsilon\epsilon\tau\epsilon\alpha\epsilon\mu\upsilon\zeta$ (ASgf) Lk 12, 28; $\imath\upsilon\zeta\lambda\upsilon\beta\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$ Jn 14, 21; while sometimes we find κ in place of the expected $\upsilon\zeta$, cf.: $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ Lk 8, 23; $\imath\kappa\kappa\kappa$ $\epsilon\upsilon\zeta\imath\kappa$ Mt 7, 26, $\kappa\zeta$ $\imath\epsilon\imath\kappa$ Mt 8, 5; $\upsilon\imath\tau\kappa\tau\imath\tau\imath\zeta$ Jn 11, 57, $\imath\kappa\imath\kappa\imath\kappa$ Lk 23, 33.

§ 152. Rendition of kamorated letters

Kamorated letters occur in isolated cases. Such are, for example, $\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\imath\mu\lambda\epsilon$ Lk 16, 22; $\imath\upsilon\zeta\lambda\upsilon\beta\lambda\epsilon\imath\epsilon\imath\zeta$ Lk 20, 13, $\imath\mu\alpha\gamma\delta\alpha\lambda\gamma\imath\imath\imath$ Mt 28, 1 and Mt 27, 61, $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\imath\epsilon$ Mt 12, 6, $\zeta\epsilon\imath\mu\lambda\aleph$ Jn 12, 32, $\zeta\epsilon\imath\mu\lambda\imath\kappa$ Mt 25, 18.

There are no spellouts with kamora in the fragments shown above. Cf.: $\zeta\epsilon\imath\mu\lambda\imath\kappa$ (2), $\zeta\epsilon\imath\mu\lambda\epsilon$ (7), $\imath\mu\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\chi\kappa$ (16), $\imath\mu\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\delta\gamma\imath\imath\aleph$ (41), $\zeta\epsilon\tau\tau\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon\imath\mu\aleph$ (42) and others. Departures from the basic writing system are possible, cf.: $\kappa\upsilon\zeta\imath\mu\lambda\kappa$ Lk 19, 13 alongside with $\kappa\upsilon\zeta\imath\mu\lambda\imath\kappa$ Lk 19, 15, $\rho\imath\kappa\kappa\upsilon\zeta\imath\mu\lambda\kappa$ $\epsilon\aleph$ Mk 6, 21 alongside with $\kappa\lambda\upsilon\kappa\imath$ $\epsilon\aleph$ Lk 1, 9, and elsewhere.

§ 153. Substitutive softening

Epenthetic l is often absent. Cf. in the fragments shown above: $\rho\imath\imath\sigma\tau\kappa\upsilon\pi\imath\sigma\epsilon$ (16), $\imath\alpha$ $\zeta\epsilon\imath\mu\lambda\imath$ (55); but $\zeta\epsilon\imath\mu\lambda\imath\kappa$ (2), $\zeta\epsilon\imath\mu\lambda\epsilon$ (7), $\upsilon\sigma\lambda\alpha\beta\lambda\epsilon\imath\mu\upsilon\zeta$ (51), $\imath\imath\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\chi\kappa$ (59) and elsewhere.; cf. also $\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ Mk 8, 13 alongside with $\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\lambda$ Mt 13, 36, and elsewhere. See § 117, *Aberrant versions of replacements by the substitutive softening alternation*, § 141, *Modifying aberrations*.

§ 154. Omission of intervocalic j

This occurs fairly often. In the fragments above: $\rho\upsilon\kappa\alpha\imath\imath\imath$ (78); cf. also $\imath\epsilon\lambda\imath\kappa\alpha\aleph$ Mk 13, 2, but $\rho\upsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\epsilon$ Mk 15, 32; $\imath\upsilon\zeta\delta\alpha\imath\imath\imath$ Lk 14, 12, $\imath\delta\alpha\imath\imath\imath$ Mt 7, 11, $\imath\epsilon\chi\alpha\imath\imath\imath$ Lk 21, 25, and many others.

Here note also cases with deformed terminals: $\imath\upsilon\zeta\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\zeta$ (4), $\rho\upsilon\zeta\lambda\epsilon\beta\alpha\alpha\tau\zeta$ (5) and others.

§ 155. Rendition of the *yers*

All aberrations are possible. Cf. the following in the fragments shown above.

Strengthening: цѣсарествие (1), ишедъши (11), господен (26), во тъ часъ (30), наченъ (35), приемъше (40), весь (62); cf. also понесъшеимъ (44) (for понесъшшимъ with the terminal ѥ.имъ).

Fall: псомъ (24), пси (26), что (50) and others.

Confusion: възьми (48), възьми (53), възьми (56), възатъ (57); cf. also по томъ (8) and по томъ (9), and many others.

Regression: велѣ (28), съа (41), абъе (57), пьетъ (74).

§ 156. On spellouts for normalized combinations -ни- and -зи-

Standard spellouts in the fragments shown above: пръвънихъ (35); послѣднихъ (35), пръви (38), съдрави (76). Aberrant spellouts in the fragments shown above: погъбъшимъ (20), падажштнхъ (26) and others.

Likewise праведънихъ Lk 14, 14, etc.; отъ къихъ приемлѣтъ дани Mt 17, 25 and і рече има къихъ Lk 24, 19; cf.: отъ тоуждихъ Mt 17, 25 and отъ тоуждихъ Mt 17, 26; въ неправеднѣемъ жити Lk 16, 11. Likewise къто оубо естъ вѣрныи пристаьникъ и мждры Lk 12, 42; въистинѣ Lk 20, 21; въиуденхъ Jn 11, 54; аште оставимъ-и тако въси вѣрж имѣтъ въ нъ Jn 11, 48; видѣлы-и еси Jn 9, 37; cf. і протешетъ і Lk 12, 46. Aberrant spellouts with the strengthening of the *yers*: завѣтъ сѣон (сѣатон) свои Lk 1, 72 and others.

§ 157. Additional commentary on samples

1. On the letters w, k and φ in the spellouts w жено (28), левѣниж (63), альфедва (63), фарисен (71) see § 132.
2. Contracted imperfects are common, cf. молѣхж (16) and others, but also the regular imperfect is attested, cf. мынѣахж (38) and others.
3. грѣди (65) for грѣди, see also съвѣзавъше Mt 27, 2.

Codex Zographensis

§ 158. Text samples

Luke 5, 29–35

¹і еѣ народъ многоъ мѣтарѣ і инѣхъ іже еѣахж съ ѥимъ възлежаште. ²і рыпѣтаахж кънижѣици і фарисѣи. ³къ оученикомъ его глѣжште. ⁴по чьто съ мѣтари і грѣшникы ѣстѣ і пьетѣ. ⁵і отъвѣштавъ ісѣ рече къ ѥимъ. ⁶не трѣбоужтъ съдрави врачевъ. ⁷нъ болаште. ⁸не придохъ призвѣатъ правдѣникъ. ⁹нъ грѣшникы въ покаанье. ¹⁰они же рѣша къ ѥмоу. ¹¹по чьто оученици іоанови постаѣтъ съ часто. ¹²і молитвы творѣтъ. ¹³такожде

и фарисѣисци¹⁴ твои ѣдѣтъ и пѣжтъ¹⁵ онъ же рече къ нимъ¹⁶ еда можете снѣи брачьныѣ¹⁷ доидеже женихъ естъ съ нимни¹⁸ сътворити постити сѣ¹⁹ приджтъ же днье²⁰ егда отъѣтъ вждетъ отъ нихъ жейихъ²¹ тгда постѣтъ сѣ въ тѣ дни

Matthew 7, 1–8

²²не осждайте²³ да не осждени вждете²⁴ имъ же бо сждомъ сждите²⁵ сждѣтъ вамъ²⁶ и въ нѣж же мѣрж мѣрите²⁷ възмѣратъ вамъ²⁸ что же видиши сжчыць иж естъ въ оцѣ брата твоего²⁹ а брвѣна еже естъ въ оцѣ твоемъ не чюеши³⁰ ли како речеши братоу своему³¹ остави и изъмж сжчець из очесе твоего³² и се брвѣно въ оцѣ твоемъ лицемѣре³³ изъми прѣвѣ брвѣно из очесе твоего и тгда оузырниши изати и сжчыць³⁴ из очесе брата твоего³⁵ не дадите сѣгаго псомъ³⁶ ни помѣтаете енсеръ вашихъ прѣдъ свинѣми³⁷ да не попержтъ ихъ ногами своими³⁸ враштъша сѣ растрѣгнжтъ въи³⁹ просите⁴⁰ дасть сѣ вамъ⁴¹ шгѣте⁴² и обрштете⁴³ тлѣцѣте и отврзетъ сѣ вамъ⁴⁴ всѣкъ бо проси приемлетъ⁴⁵ и шгѣи обрѣтаетъ⁴⁶ и тлѣкжштоумоу отврзетъ сѣ

John 8, 2–11

⁴⁷ютро же пакы приде въ црковъ⁴⁸ и вси людие идѣахъ къ нему⁴⁹ и сѣдъ оучааше ѣ⁵⁰ привѣса же кнжнжницы и фарисѣи женж въ прѣлюбодѣани ѣтж⁵¹ и поставаше ѣ по срѣдѣ глѣша емоу⁵² оучителю си жена ѣта естъ нѣиѣ въ прѣлюбодѣани⁵³ въ законѣ намъ мси повелѣ⁵⁴ таковъѣа каменнемъ повивати⁵⁵ ты же что глѣши⁵⁶ се же рѣша искоушашште и⁵⁷ да бж имѣли на нѣ что глѣти⁵⁸ и сѣ же низъ поклонъ сѣ⁵⁹ прѣстомъ писаше на земни⁶⁰ бко же прилежѣхъ въпрашашште и⁶¹ възсклони сѣ и рече имъ⁶² же васъ без грѣха естъ⁶³ прѣжде врзѣи камень на нѣж⁶⁴ пакы поклонъ сѣ писаше на земни⁶⁵ слышавшше исхождахъ⁶⁶ единъ по единому⁶⁷ начьнъше отъ старьць⁶⁸ оста единъ⁶⁹ жена стѣашти по срѣдѣ⁷⁰ възсклонъ же сѣ и сѣ рече еи⁷¹ жено⁷² кѣде сжтъ иже на тѣа вѣждахъ⁷³ никъже ли тебе осжди⁷⁴ она же рече⁷⁵ никътоже гѣи⁷⁶ рече же и сѣ⁷⁷ ни азъ тебе осждаѣж⁷⁸ иди⁷⁹ отъ сѣлѣ не сгрѣшаи къ томоу

§ 159. Basic writing system

The basic writing system of the *Codex Zographensis* is given in Table 159 (p. 97).

§ 160. Departures from the basic writing system

Rare departures are possible. Here are some examples:

- 1) оу ~ ю: тлѣкжшгоумоу (46);
- 2) а ~ ѣ: шгѣте (41), чѣсѣ Mk 14, 35;
- 3) ѣж ~ ж: на землѣж Lk 22, 44; поставлѣж Mt 25, 21;
- 4) ѣа ~ а: десѣте Mk 10, 32; страждѣшгѣа Mk 6, 47; вѣждѣдетъ Jn 4, 13.

Table 159. Basic writing system: *Codex Zographensis*

		#	V	â, â̂, ð̂	<<ш>>	ц, с	C	κ, ρ, χ	
Normalization	ε, ѳ	ѳ			ε			Prohibited	
ZOGR	ε	ε							Prohibited
Normalization	Ɑ, ⱭⱭ	ⱭⱭ			Ɑ				Prohibited
ZOGR	Ɑ, ⱭⱭ	ⱭⱭ		Ɑ					Prohibited
Normalization	Ϸ, Ϸ̂	Ϸ̂ ~ Ϸ̂		Ϸ̂	Ϸ̂				
ZOGR	Ϸ, Ϸ̂	Ϸ̂ ~ Ϸ̂		Ϸ̂	Ϸ̂	Ϸ̂			
Normalization	ⱦ, ⱦⱦ, ⱦ̂	ⱦ ~ ⱦⱦ		ⱦⱦ	ⱦ	ⱦ ~ ⱦ̂		ⱦ	
ZOGR	ⱦ, ⱦ̂	ⱦ ~ ⱦ̂		ⱦ̂	ⱦ	ⱦ ~ ⱦ̂		ⱦ	

<<ш>> stands for shibilants, C stands for simple consonants.

§ 161. Allographs of the letter шт

Only шт.

§ 162. Allographs of the letter и

ZOGR uses three allographs: и, ι and, less frequently, ι. In the samples shown above note several spellouts with ι: τῆνοι (14), βῆραшаиѳшггε ι (59), сѳгѳѳшш (78).

§ 163. Allographs of the letter ѳ

The shape ѳ is usually used for the letter ѳ, but cf. μαλγιχῶ Mt 10, 42, οτῳιμετῳ Mk 4, 15 (see also § 170 below).

§ 164. A special spellout for the letter Ɑ

In some occurrences we find a special version for the letter Ɑ (rendered as Ɑ in the standard transliteration), for instance ϳ (rendered as Δ in the standard transliteration). Such are: ηεεΔ Mk 14, 13; ⱦΔΔИ Jn 6, 54; сΔИ Jn 1, 18 and Jn 6, 46; живΔИ Jn 6, 57; гρΔΔИ Mt 11, 3. See § 622.

§ 165. Mixing of the letters з and с

Occurs fairly often. Thus, for example: помозИ Mk 9, 22, мнози Mk 9, 26. Cf. the form вρъси (62) in the text sample above.

§ 166. Rendition of kamorated letters

The use of kamora is usual but inconsistent. The cases where kamora is missing are relatively rare; in the text sample above, see мѳгарИ (4) despite мѳгарѳ (1),

поставльше (51), поклонь (57), and others. Noteworthy are the occurrences of kamorated letters for phonemes н, л or р (hypercorrection effect); see кънижьѣнци (2), жеѣиухъ (20), бръвѣа (29) and свиѣиѣми (36) in the text sample above.

§ 167. Substitutive softening

In a number of spellouts the expected *l-epentheticum* is missing. Cf. на зѣми (58) and на зѣмли (63) in the text sample above; likewise пристѣпъ Mt 8, 19, корабь Mt 9, 1. Note also spellouts with kamorated labials: на зѣли Mt 9, 6; пристѣпѣ Mt 25, 24, despite пристѣплѣ Lk 10, 34; пристаვენъ Lk 5, 36, despite приставленъѣ and приставлѣетъ (Lk 5, 36). See § 117, *Alternative pairings in the substitutive softening alternation*, § 141, *Modifying aberrations*.

§ 168. Omission of intervocalic j

Occurs fairly often. In the text samples above: покаанъ (9); cf. also дааниѣ Mt 7, 11, but даѣти (in the same verse), сѣаниѣ Mt 12, 1, and others.

§ 169. Rendition of the yers

All aberrations are possible.

Strengthening: сжчець (31), but сжчыць (33); цръковь (47). Cf. also образось Mk 12, 16; родось Mt 11, 16; изо облака Lk 9, 35.

Fall: многоъ (1), дни (21), бръвѣа (29), псомъ (35), вси (48).

Confusion: възлежаште (1), въ ѣжъ (26), бръвѣно (33), цръковь (47), etc.

Regression: пьетъ (4), покаанъ (9), дънье (19), etc.

§ 170. On spellouts for normalized combinations -ни- and -ѣни-

The text samples above show the following aberrant spellouts: въ прѣлюводѣани (50) despite въ прѣлюводѣани (52), likewise съдравни (6); никъже (72).

Likewise for ѣни: дѣше нечистъи Mk 5, 8, вѣсновавъи сѧ Mk 5, 18, отъ малъихъ сиухъ Mt 10, 42, вбрѣтъи Mt 10, 39, въ днь сждъныи Mt 11, 24; for ни: оржыми Mk 14, 48; нъ болы васъ да вждетъ ѣко і мѣни Lk 22, 26. Cf. отыметъ Mk 4, 15 (for canonical отыметъ 3SgPrae from отати). Aberrant spellouts with yers strengthening: завѣтъ сѣои (сѣаои) сѣои Lk 1, 72; крѣплеи Mk 1, 7.

§ 171. Additional commentary on samples

1. Regarding the letter ф in the spellout фарисѣисци (13) and others see § 132.
2. Contracted imperfect occurs often, cf. исхождахъ (64), etc.
3. ѣжъ (28) (for canonical иже), the spellout with the particle жъ is a special feature of ZOGR.

Codex Assemanius

§ 172. Text samples

Luke 16, 24–31 (As 55b, 10–55d, 11)

¹о́че аврааме помѣоуи ма· ²и посылѣ лазара· ³да омочитъ конецъ прѣста своего въ водѣ· ⁴и оустоудитъ ѡзѣкъ мои· ⁵ѣко страждѣ въ пламени семѣ· ⁶рече же емоу авраам· ⁷чѣдо помѣни· ⁸ѣко възсприѡлъ еси благаа твоеѣ въ животѣ твоемѣ· ⁹и лазаръ такожде зылаа· ¹⁰нѣнѣ же съде оутѣшаетъ са а тѣи страждешѣ· ¹¹и надѣ възѣми сими между вами и нами· ¹²пропасть велиѣ оутверди са· ¹³ѣко да хотѡци минѣти не възмагаѣтъ· ¹⁴ни еже отъ тѣдѣ къ намѣ прѣходатъ· ¹⁵рече же моужѣ та· оубо о́че· да и пошлешѣ въ дом о́ца моего· имамѣ бо пять братиѡ· ¹⁶ѣко да съвѣдѣтельствовуетъ имѣ да не и ти приидѣтъ на мѣсто се мѣчное· ¹⁷гдѣ же авраамѣ· ¹⁸имѣтъ мосеа и прѣрокы· ¹⁹да послоушаѣтъ ихъ· ²⁰онъ же рече ни о́че аврааме· ²¹онъ аще кто оутѣ мрѣтвзнихъ идетъ къ нимѣ· ²²покаѣтъ са· ²³рече же емоу· ²⁴аще мосеа и прѣкъ не послоушаѣтъ· ²⁵ни аште кто отъ мрѣтвзнихъ възскрѣснетъ· ²⁶не имѣтъ вѣрѣни·

Luke 10, 33–37 (As 59b, 9–59c, 13)

²⁷самарѣниѣ же етерѣ грѣды· ²⁸и приде надѣ нь· ²⁹и видѣвъз и мѣсѣдова· ³⁰и пристѣплѣ обѡза строупы его· ³¹възливѡа оубо· ³²и вино· ³³въсаждѣ же и на свои скотѣ· ³⁴приведе и въ гостиньницѣ· ³⁵и прилежа емѣ· ³⁶и на оутриѣ ишедѣ· ³⁷въземѣ дѡва пѣнаса· ³⁸дастѣ гостиньникоу· ³⁹и рече емоу прилежи емѣ· ⁴⁰и еже аште принѣдвешѣ· ⁴¹азъ егда възвращѣтъ са въздама тѣ· ⁴²къто оубо отъ тѣхъ три мѣнитъ тѣ са бѣити искрѣни възпадоуемоу въ разбонниѣ· ⁴³онъ же рече· сътворен мѣстѣ съ нимѣ· ⁴⁴рече же емоу иѣ· ⁴⁵иди и тѣи твори такожде·

Matthew 13, 24–42 (As 126a, 12–126b, 28)

⁴⁶подобно естѣ цѣрѣство нѣсное· ⁴⁷чѣоу сѣавышоу доброе сѣма на селѣ своемѣ· ⁴⁸съпацемѣ же чѣкмѣ· ⁴⁹приде врагъ его· ⁵⁰и възсѣа плѣвелѣ по срѣдѣ пшеницѣ и отиде· ⁵¹егда же прозѡбе трѣва и плодѣ сътвори· ⁵²тогда вѣвша са и плѣвели· ⁵³пришедѣше же рабѣ гдѣна рѣша емоу гѣ· ⁵⁴не доброе ли сѣма сѣалѣ еси на селѣ своемѣ· ⁵⁵и отъ кѣдоу оубо иматъ плѣвели· ⁵⁶онъ же (ре)че имѣ· ⁵⁷врагъ чѣкъ то сътвори· ⁵⁸они же рѣша· ⁵⁹хоштеши ли· ⁶⁰да шедѣше възберемѣ ѡ· ⁶¹онъ же рѣче· ⁶²ни· ⁶³егда како възстрѣгаѣште плѣвели· ⁶⁴въстрѣгнете съ ними и пшеницѣ· ⁶⁵оставите коупно расти обоѣ до житѣвѣ· ⁶⁶и въ врѣма житѣвѣ· ⁶⁷рекѣ жителѣнемѣ· ⁶⁸шедѣше изберѣте прѣжде плѣвели· ⁶⁹и сѣважате ѡ въ снопы ѣко съжешѣи ѡ· ⁷⁰а пшеницѣ съберѣте въ житѣвѣ моужѣ· ⁷¹пристѣплѣше же оучениѣ его· ⁷²рѣша емоу гѣ· ⁷³сѣкажи намѣ прѣтѣж плѣвелѣ селѣвнихъ· ⁷⁴ѡвѣщавѣ же гѣ рече имѣ· ⁷⁵въсѣавѣ доброе сѣма естѣ сѣмѣ чѣкъ· ⁷⁶а село естѣ весь миръ· ⁷⁷доброе же сѣма сѣи сѣтѣ сѣмѣ цѣрѣвѣ· ⁷⁸а плѣвели сѣтѣ сѣмѣ непрѣзѣниѣ· ⁷⁹а врагъ възсѣавѣ ѡ естѣ диаволъ· ⁸⁰а житѣва кончане вѣка естѣ· ⁸¹а жителѣне айѣм сѣтѣ· ⁸²ѣкоже оубо плѣвели сѣвѣраѣтъ са· ⁸³и огнемѣ съжагаѣтъ са· ⁸⁴такѡ бѣдетъ и въ сѣконѣчане вѣка сего· ⁸⁵послетѣ

ГЪ АНѢЛЪН СВОВА⁸⁵ И СВЕРЖТЪ ѿ КОНЕЦЪ ЗЕМ^А ВЪСА СЪБЛАЗНЪТ⁸⁶ И ТВОРИЦАМЪ
БЕЗАКОННЕ⁸⁷ И ВЪВРЪГЖТЪ ЪА ВЪ ПЕШГЪ ОГНЬНЖ

§ 173. Basic writing system

The basic writing system of the *Codex Assemanius* is given in Table 173.

Table 173. Basic writing system: *Codex Assemanius*

		#	V	â, ã, ð	«ш»	ц, с	С	к, г, х
Normalization	ε, ιε	ιε			ε			Prohibited
AS	ε			ε				Prohibited
Normalization	Ɑ, ⱭⱭ	ⱭⱭ			Ɑ			Prohibited
AS	Ɑ, ⱭⱭ	ⱭⱭ		Ɑ				Prohibited
Normalization	οϣ, ιο	οϣ ~ ιο		ιο	οϣ			
AS	οϣ, ιο	οϣ ~ ιο		ιο	οϣ//ιο		οϣ	
Normalization	κ, ικ	κ ~ ικ		ικ	κ			
AS	κ, ικ	κ ~ ικ		ικ	κ//ικ		κ	
Normalization	α, ια, ϛ	α ~ ια		ια	α	α ~ ϛ	α	
AS	α, ϛ	α ~ ϛ		ϛ	α	α ~ ϛ	α	

«ш» stands for shibilants, C stands for simple consonants.

§ 174. Departures from the basic writing system

Rare departures are possible. Here are some examples.

- 1) Ɑ ~ Ɑ: spellouts with ⱭⱭ are typical for AS after simple consonants (in place of Ɑ expected by the basic writing system). In the samples above such are: ПѢТЬ (14), ГРѢДЪ (26); cf. also ДО ЖИТЪ (64), etc. It is noteworthy that such spellouts are primarily typical for root formatives, cf. also РАСПѢСА Mk 15, 25 (104a, 27), СѢДЕВЪ Mk 10, 37 (79a, 6) and are much more rare for functional formatives. So, e.g., there are fewer than ten spellouts СѢ given the usual СА, and likewise for МѢ and МѢ.
- 2) οϣ//ιο after shibilants, and ц, с: ю after ц, οϣ after с, while οϣ//ιο after shibilants. Examples: СЛЪНЦЮ Mk 16, 2 (12a, 3–4), СЛѢПЦЮ Jn 9, 17 (25a, 5–6), ПѢНАСОУ Mt 20, 2 (143b, 12); МЖОУ Lk 19, 7 (66c, 10–11) and МЖЮ Lk 1, 27 (145a, 15), МОУДАШГОУ Mt 25, 5 (85c, 27) and ГРѢДЖЦЮ Lk 9, 42 (58c, 24).
- 3) κ//ικ after shibilants, and ц, с: κ is used after ц, с, while κ//ικ after shibilants. Examples: ГОСТИННИЦЖ (33), ПРОШЖ Mk 6, 24 (153a, 15), ПОЛОЖИЖ Lk 11, 6 (69b, 1); ПРИГЪИЖ Mt 18, 23 (44b, 13) and ПРИГЪИ Jn 10, 6 (22d, 27). Note also the aberrant spellout ВЪСИЖ Mk 5, 33 (128a, 24).
- 4) α ~ ϛ: ЧѢТЪ Mt 24, 50 (85b, 25); И КОПЪ ПЛАШГѢИЦЖ И СЪНЕМЪ Ε ОБИГЪ ВЪ ПЛАЩАИИЦЖ Mk 15, 46 (11d, 9–10). Note the spellout ИЦѢТЕ Mt 6, 33 (36d, 24) in place of ИШТАТЕ or ИЦАТЕ (aberrant lmv spellout for ИСАТИ 3°, see details in § 620) according to the basic writing system.

§ 175. Allographs of the letter шт

The allographs шт and щ are used in As as free variants. Cf. in the text samples above: аще (23), аштє (24), etc.

§ 176. Allographs of the letter н

Three allographs are used in AS: н, њ, and њ. Cf. in the text samples above: ни њже (13), гостѣнѣицѣж (33), and гостѣнѣицѣж (37), etc.

§ 177. Allographs of the letter њ

The shapes њ and њн are used for the letter њ. Cf. in the text samples above: њњн (9), вѣрњн (25), бѣити (41), but грьѡдњ (26), etc. See § 183 below.

§ 178. Mixing of the letters з and ѕ

Occurs infrequently. Cf. in the text samples above: проѕѡвє (50) alongside the regular прѣнѡса (36).

§ 179. Rendition of kamorated letters

The kamora is not used. Cf. in the text samples above: молѣж (14), посѣлєши (14), земѡл (85), likewise за њѣжє Lk 8, 47 (57d, 24); cf. also разорѣж Lk 12, 18. There is a small number of aberrant spellouts, cf. створѣж Jn 14, 13 (29d, 11), but cf. the standard spellout in the preceding verse творѣж Jn 14, 12 (29d, 3).

§ 180. Substitutive softening

The expected *l-epentheticum* is absent in some spellouts: cf. оставѣж Jn 14, 18 (30a, 5–6), възлюбєнѣ Jn 14, 21 (30a, 25–26) and възлюбѣж Jn 14, 21 (30a, 28–29), but soon afterwards ѣвлѣж (30a, 29). The spellout земѣи occurs constantly (e.g., Mk 9, 20 [77c, 25]), cf. also the spellout земѡл (85) with the ligature м + л, likewise лѡно авраамѡє Lk 16, 22 (55b, 1). Spellouts with *l-epentheticum* predominate, cf. in the text samples above: прѣстѣплѣ (29), прѣстѣплѣше (70), cf. also ѡковѡѣ Mk 16, 1 (11d, 24), оставлєнѣиє Mk 1, 4 (137b, 23, for оставлєнѣиє). Imperfects like любѣашє Jn 11, 5 (79d, 4–5) can be treated as imperfects with a PRAE workstem (see details in § 469, *Present imperfect*), or as resulting from aberrant substitutive softening. See § 117, *Alternative pairings in the substitutive softening alternation*, § 141, *Modifying aberrations*.

§ 181. Omission of intervocalic *j*

Occurs fairly frequently. In the text samples above: *благаа* (7), *зълаа* (8), *сѣлаъ* (53), *въсѣавъи* (74), etc. Cf. however: *вътораѣ* Mk 12, 31 (115d, 3), *даѣахъ* Mk 15, 23 (104a, 15), *дрѣгаѣ* Mk 3, 5 (75a, 29).

§ 182. Rendition of the *yers*

All aberrations are possible, except for *yer* regression.

Strengthening: *конецъ* (3), *сѣтворен* (42), *весь* (75), etc.; cf. also *ѣко оученикотъ не оумьретъ* Jn 21, 23 (31c, 1–2), *мирос* (for *миръ съ*) Jn 9, 39 (22c, 13); *иноплемьникосъ* Lk 17, 18 (63c, 5–7).

Fall: *авраам* (6), *въ дом* (14), *кто* (20), *гостинникоу* (37), *въврѣжѣт* (87), etc.

Confusion: *посъи* (2), *прѣста* (3), *зълаа* (8), *оутврѣди* (11), *надъ нь* (27), *къто* (41), *врагъ* (56), *пристѣплъше* (70), *въса* (85), etc.

§ 183. On spellouts for normalized combinations -ни- and -ын-

Aberrant spellouts in the text samples above: *въсѣавъи* (74) and *въсѣавъи* (78); forms that follow the canon are e.g.: *хотѣши* (12), *мрътвънихъ* (20) and (24), *приждивеши* (39), *три* (41, GPI), *искръни* (41), *селънихъ* (72), *си* (76).

Other aberrant spellouts: *да не видѣши видѣтъ* Jn 9, 39 (22c, 14), and immediately below *и видѣши слѣпи бждѣт* (22c, 15–16); *пастъирь добръи* Jn 10, 11 (114a, 19), and soon afterwards *пастъирь добръи* Jn 10, 14 (114b, 8); cf. also *азъ же вѣмы и* Jn 8, 55 (21c, 23); *оубиѣмо и* Mt 21, 38 (46d, 5–6). Note here also the hypercorrect spellout *въ срѣдцихъ вашихъ* Mk 2, 8 (76a, 18).

§ 184. Additional commentary on samples

1. On the spellout *ѣ* and the letter *ѣ*, cf. spellouts *ѣвъѣцавъ* (73), *аѣѣи* (80), see § 132, § 133.
2. *сѣважатѣ* (68) for *сѣважитѣ* (Imv for *сѣвазати*); likewise Mt 13, 30 in *МАВ* and *ZOGR*; this verse is missing in *SAV*.
3. *нъиѣ* (9) for *нъиѣ*.

Psalterium Sinaiticum

§ 185. Text samples

Psalms 12

¹доколѣ гѣ забѣдѣши мѣ до конѣца· ²доколѣ отъврашгаѣши лице твое от мене·

³доколѣ положѣ съвѣтъ въ дѣш мои· ⁴болѣзнь въ срѣдци моемъ днь і ноштѣ· ⁵доколѣ възнесетъ съ врагъ мой на мѣ· ⁶призѣри оуслъши мѣ гѣ бже мой·

7просвѣти очи мои еда когда оуспѣнж во смръзти· 8еда когда речетъ врагъ мой (о)
 үкрѣпихъ съ на нѣ· 9сѣтжажаштеи ми въздрадоуѣхъ съ· 10аще съ подвижж·
 11азъ же на милостъ твоѣхъ надѣхъ съ· 12възрадоуѣтъ съ срѣдѣце мое о сѣи
 твоѣмъ· 13поѣхъ гдѣо благодарѣвѣвшюмоу мнѣ· 14въспоѣхъ имени гдѣо въшынюмоу·

Psalm 50

15помлоуи мѣа бже по величѣи милости твоѣи· 16ї по многыи мѣа щедротамъ твоимъ
 оцѣсти безаконныѣ моѣ· 17наипаче омыи мѣа отъ безаконныѣ моего· 18ї отъ
 грѣха моего очисти мѣа· 19ѣко безаконныѣ мое азъ знаѣхъ· 20ї грѣхъ мой прѣдъ
 мноѣхъ естъ възнѣхъ· 21тебѣ единому съгрѣшихъ ї зѣло прѣдъ тобою створихъ·
 22ѣко да оправдѣши съа въ словесе твоихъ· 23ї прѣпърши възнегда осждити съа·
 24се бо въ безаконны зачатъ есмъ· 25ї въ грѣсѣхъ роди мѣа мати моѣ· 26се бо
 рѣснотж възлюбилъ еси безвѣстѣнаа и таинаа прѣмждростъ твоѣхъ ѣвилъ ми
 еси· 27окропиши мѣа ософомъ очищѣ съа· 28омыѣши мѣа паче снѣга оуѣбѣа съа·
 29слоухоу моемоу даси радостъ и веселье· 30възрадоуѣхъ съа кости съмѣренныа·
 31утѣврати аще твое отъ грѣхъ моихъ· 32ї всѣ безаконныѣ моѣ оцѣсти· 33срдце
 чисто съзидѣ въ мнѣ бже· 34ї дхъ правъ онови въ жтробѣ мои· 35не отврзѣси
 мене отъ лицѣ твоего· 36ї дхъа сѣаго твоего не отыми отъ мене· 37въздаждь
 ми радостъ сѣи твоего· 38ї дхъмъ вѣдѣмъ оутврѣди мѣа· 39наоучѣхъ
 безаконныа пжтемъ твоимъ· 40ї нечѣстивїи къ тебѣ обратѣа съа· 41їзбави
 мѣа отъ крѣви бже бже сѣи твоего· 42възрадоуѣтъ съа ѣзыкъ мой правдѣ
 твоѣи· 43ї оустѣнѣ мои отврзѣши· ї оуста моѣ възвѣстѣа хвалѣ твоѣхъ·
 44ѣко аще би въсхотѣа жрѣтѣ далъ еимъ оубо· 45въсѣзжагаемъихъ же не
 благоволиши· 46жрѣтѣа бѣоу дхъ съкроушенъ· 47срдца съкроушена и съмѣрена
 бѣ не оучѣжитъ· 48оублажи гї благоволенемъ твоимъ сиона· 49ї да съзидѣтъ
 съа стѣны· їймъскы· 50тогда благоволиши жрѣтѣа правдѣ· 51възношенѣ
 въсѣзжагаемаа· 52тогда възложетъ на олтръ твои тельца·

Psalm 71

53съидетъ ѣко дождь на роуно· 54ї ѣко каплѣ капжштѣ на землѣ· 55въсѣбетъ
 въ дѣни его правдѣа· 56ї мѣножѣство мироу дождеже отыметъ съа лоуна· 57ї
 овладѣетъ отъ морѣ і до морѣ· 58ї отъ рѣкы до конца вселенныа· 59прѣдо нь
 припадѣтъ етиопѣни· 60ї врази его прѣстѣа положѣтъ· 61цѣсари тарьсѣсїїи отыци
 дары принесѣтъ· 62цѣри арабѣстїи саво дары принесѣтъ· 63ї поклонѣа съа емоу
 цѣри землѣстїи· 64всѣ ѣзѣци поработаѣтъ емоу· 65ѣко избавилъ еестъ ништа
 отъ слѣна· 66ї оубога емоу же бѣа помощѣника· 67поштѣдѣтъ ништа і оубога·
 68ї дшѣа оубогѣихъ сѣетъ· 69утѣа лѣхвы и отъ неправдѣа избавитъ дшѣа ихъ·
 70ї честѣно їмѣа его прѣдъ нимѣ· 71ї живѣа бждетъ дастъ съа емоу отъ золѣта
 арависка· 72ї помолѣа съа емоу възнѣхъ· 73въсѣ дѣнь благостѣитъ і·

§ 186. Basic writing system

The basic writing system of the *Psalterium Sinaiticum* is given in Table 186, p. 104.

§ 187. Departures from the basic writing system

Rare departures are possible. Here are some examples.

- 1) Several spellouts with $\sigma\zeta$ in place of the expected ζ , cf. $\text{в}^{\text{з}}\text{ш}^{\text{ь}}\text{ш}^{\text{н}}\sigma\zeta\text{м}^{\text{о}}\text{у}$ Ps 7, 18, but cf. also $\text{в}^{\text{з}}\text{ш}^{\text{ь}}\text{ш}^{\text{н}}\sigma\text{и}^{\text{о}}\text{е}\text{м}^{\text{о}}\text{у}$ (14) (for $\text{в}^{\text{з}}\text{ш}^{\text{ь}}\text{ш}^{\text{н}}\sigma\text{и}^{\text{е}}\text{м}^{\text{о}}\text{у}$).
- 2) A few spellouts with Ѡ after ц , с in place of the expected а , cf. $\text{л}^{\text{и}}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}$ (35); likewise Ps 104, 4, etc.; $\text{в}^{\text{л}}\text{и}\text{ц}^{\text{Ѡ}}\text{Ѡ}\text{н}^{\text{Ѡ}}\text{Ѡ}$ Ps 17, 13 (for canonical $\text{в}^{\text{л}}\text{и}\text{ст}^{\text{а}}\text{н}^{\text{н}}\text{и}^{\text{а}}$ GSG from $\text{в}^{\text{л}}\text{и}\text{с}\text{т}^{\text{а}}\text{н}^{\text{н}}\text{и}^{\text{е}}$), $\text{с}\text{т}^{\text{Ѡ}}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}\text{м}^{\text{Ѡ}}$ Ps 118, 105 (for canonical $\text{с}\text{т}^{\text{Ѡ}}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}\text{м}^{\text{Ѡ}}$ DPI from $\text{с}\text{т}^{\text{Ѡ}}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}$).
- 3) Spellouts with Ѡ in place of the expected а after shibilants, cf. $\text{в}^{\text{Ѡ}}\text{Ѡ}\text{п}^{\text{л}}\text{е}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}$ (Imv) Ps 46, 2; $\text{ч}^{\text{Ѡ}}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}$ Ps 22, 5; 74, 9, $\text{ч}^{\text{Ѡ}}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}$ Ps 10, 6; 15, 5, and $\text{ч}^{\text{Ѡ}}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}$ Ps 115, 4 (for canonical $\text{ч}^{\text{а}}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}$, there are no other spellouts); $\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}$ Ps 104, 30, and $\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}$ Ps 77, 45 (for canonical $\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}$).
- 4) $\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}$ // $\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}$ after shibilants, cf.: $\text{н}^{\text{а}}\sigma\zeta\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}$ Ps 33, 12 and $\text{н}^{\text{а}}\sigma\zeta\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}$ (39), etc.

Table 186. Basic writing system: *Psalterium Sinaiticum*

		#	V	λ, η, ρ	<ш>	ц, с	С	к, г, х
Normalization	ε, ιε		ιε			ε		Prohibited
PS SIN	ε				ε			Prohibited
Normalization	Ⲙ, Ⲙⲗ		Ⲙⲗ			Ⲙ		Prohibited
PS SIN	Ⲙⲗ				Ⲙⲗ			Prohibited
Normalization	σϛ, ιο		σϛ ~ ιο	ιο		σϛ		
PS SIN	σϛ, ιο		σϛ ~ ιο		ιο		σϛ	
Normalization	Ѡ, Ⲙⲗ		Ѡ ~ Ⲙⲗ	Ⲙⲗ		Ѡ		
PS SIN	Ѡ, Ⲙⲗ		Ѡ ~ Ⲙⲗ		Ѡ//Ⲙⲗ		Ѡ	
Normalization	ⲁ, Ⲙⲗ, Ѡ		ⲁ ~ Ⲙⲗ	Ⲙⲗ	ⲁ	ⲁ ~ Ѡ	ⲁ	
PS SIN	ⲁ, Ѡ		ⲁ ~ Ѡ	Ѡ	ⲁ	ⲁ ~ Ѡ	ⲁ	

<ш> stands for shibilants, С stands for simple consonants.

§ 188. On the spellouts of the word $\text{а}\text{н}\text{г}\text{е}\text{л}\text{ъ}$

The following spellouts are attested in PS SIN: $\text{а}\text{н}\text{г}\text{е}\text{л}$ - (6×), e.g. $\text{п}\text{р}^{\text{Ѡ}}\text{Ѡ}\text{д}\text{ъ}$ $\text{а}\text{н}\text{г}\text{е}\text{л}\text{ъ}$ Ps 137, 1; $\text{а}\text{н}\text{г}\text{е}\text{л}$ - (3×), e.g. $\text{в}^{\text{Ѡ}}\text{Ѡ}\text{ и}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}\text{л}$ Ps 102, 20, and $\text{а}\text{н}\text{г}\text{е}\text{л}$ - (2×), e.g. $\text{а}\text{н}\text{г}\text{е}\text{л}\text{ъ}$ $\text{л}\text{ю}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}$ Ps 77, 49. The letter Ѡ (transliterated as Ⲙ) is not attested outside the aforementioned spellouts.

§ 189. Allographs of the letter шГ

Two allographs are used in PS SIN: шГ and ш. Cf. $\text{ш}\text{Г}\text{е}\text{д}\text{р}^{\text{Ѡ}}\text{Ѡ}$ Ps 85, 15 and $\text{ш}\text{е}\text{д}\text{р}^{\text{Ѡ}}\text{Ѡ}$ Ps 102, 8; see also the examples in the text samples above $\text{с}\text{т}^{\text{Ѡ}}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}$ (2), $\text{н}^{\text{о}}\text{ш}\text{Г}\text{ъ}$ (4), $\text{н}\text{и}\text{ш}\text{Г}\text{а}$ (65), $\text{а}\text{ц}\text{е}$ (10), $\text{ш}\text{е}\text{д}\text{р}^{\text{Ѡ}}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}\text{м}^{\text{Ѡ}}$ (16), $\text{с}\text{ч}\text{и}\text{Ѡ}\text{Ѡ}$ (27), etc.

§ 190. Allographs of the letter и

Three allographs are used in PS SIN: и, и, and и. See in the text samples above: $\text{н}\text{а}\text{и}\text{Ѡ}\text{п}\text{а}\text{ч}\text{е}$ (17) and others. See § 132.

§ 191. Allographs of the letter њ

The allograph mainly attested in PS SIN is њ, but cf. *вышыньгѣ* Ps 90, 9.

§ 192. Mixing of the letters з and с

The occurrences of з in place of the expected с are infrequent. Cf. *отъврѣзѣмъ* (Imv for *отъврѣшати*) Ps 2, 3. In the text samples above we have *не отъврѣси* (35), *враси* (60).

§ 193. Rendition of kamorated letters

Kamora is not used. In the samples above, according to the basic writing system: *оубѣлиж* (28) and *землаж* (54), *вышынюмоу* (14), and many others. However, vacillation is possible, cf: *вышынюмоу* Ps 7, 18 and 81, 6; *приклонж* Ps 48, 5; *възвесемиж сѣ* Ps 103, 34 and *възвесеж сѣ* Ps 30, 8; *поухвалиж* Ps 55, 5 and *поухвалж* Ps 55, 11.

§ 194. Substitutive softening

In a number of spellouts the expected *l-epentheticum* is missing. In the text samples above we have *капжштитѣ* (54), but *капитѣ* (54). Cf. the spellouts of the word-forms of *земля*: *земѣтѣ* (cf. Ps 32, 5) and *землѣтѣ* (cf. Ps 32, 8); *земѣтъ* (Ps 21, 30), *земѣтъ* (cf. Ps 80, 11) and *землѣтъ* (cf. Ps 1, 4); *на земѣтъ* (Ps 16, 11), *земѣж* (Ps 77, 55) and *землиж* (cf. Ps 84, 10), *землаж* (cf. Ps 79, 10); *земи* (cf. Ps 43, 26) and *земли* (cf. Ps 40, 3).

See § 117, *Alternative pairings in the substitutive softening alternation*, § 141, *Modifying aberrations*.

§ 195. Omission of intervocalic j

Occurs fairly often. Cf. in the text samples above: *надѣахъ* (11), *безвѣстѣнаа* (26), *таннаа* (26), *въсѣсѣжагаемаа* (51).

§ 196. Rendition of the yers

All aberrations are possible.

Strengthening: *во сѣмрѣти* (7), *прѣдо нь* (59), *честно* (70), *день* (73), etc. Cf. also *во сѣмрѣт-и-хъ* Ps 72, 4 (for *въ сѣмрѣти ихъ*); *нечестниж* Ps 72, 6; *пришельци* Ps 38, 13 and *пришельци* Ps 104, 12; *деньница* Ps 109, 3; *день* Ps 36, 13; *денъ* Ps 18, 3; likewise *весь* Ps 36, 26 and *весь* Ps 19, 5; *врабѣи* Ps 10, 1, cf. also *сѣдѣвъ* (for *сѣдѣвъ*) Ps 47, 13; *ложь* Ps 115, 2, *крѣпокъ* Ps 7, 12, *собѣра* Ps 40, 7, *возъвахъ* Ps 65, 17; *во-чѣсти* Ps 48, 21, etc.

Fall: *от* (2), *миѣ* (13), *сѣвори хъ* (21), etc.

Confusion: конѣца (1), въ (4), на нѣ (8), въспомѣ (14), правѣдѣ (42), мѣножѣство (56), силѣна (65), etc.

Regression: веселье (29), безаконеньѣ (17), безаконные (19), безаконныѣ (32), възношеньѣ (51), etc. Cf. also безаконныѣ Ps 54, 11, велѣѣ (for canonical велѣна) Ps 49, 3, прѣрѣканъѣ Ps 30, 21.

Note cases of *yer* insertion: възнегда (23), cf. also възнегда Ps 4, 2; тогда (52), cf. тогда (50); cf. also когда Ps 37, 17 and когда (7).

§ 197. On spellouts for normalized combinations -ни- and -ын-

Aberrant spellouts in the text samples above are the following: безаконены (24) (for безаконныи LSg), въсесѣжагаемъихъ (45), оубогъихъ (68); forms that follow the canon are: многъимъ (16), омъи (17), нечѣстивїи (40), земльстїи (63), арависка (71), etc.

Other aberrant spellouts: прѣмждри (for прѣмждрын NSgmPlen) Ps 48, 11, пожрѣхомон (for пожрѣхомъ и) Ps 34, 25; змъи Ps 103, 26; възинстѣльнѣе (for въ истѣльнїе) Ps 29, 10, etc.

§ 198. Additional commentary on samples

1. Peculiar letters: ософомъ (27) for ISg from исопъ, Greek ὄσωπος; ѡтѣврати (31) and ѡтъ (69) have ѡ (cf. Greek ω) for initial о; see § 132.
2. Dropping of *ε*: мнѣ (36), cf. analogous spellouts in Ps 2, 8; 6, 2; 6, 9, etc. (altogether 16×).
3. Confusion of ж (Glagolitic ѣ) and о (Glagolitic э): тѣжж (43), cf. молитво ASg Ps 101, 18; молитво Ps 105, 44; 108, 4; помъно Aor3Sg Ps 105, 45; локъ in place of лжкъ Ps 75, 4; 77, 57, роками in place of ржками Ps 97, 8; потъ in place of пжтъ Ps 79, 10, поти in place of пжти Ps 80, 14, оумдритъ in place of оумдритъ Ps 104, 22, можемъ in place of мжжемъ Ps 17, 26, гослехъ in place of гжслехъ Ps 32, 2, добровѣ in place of джбровѣ Ps 73, 5, etc. Here also note үкрѣпихъ (8) for оүкрѣпихъ (Glagolitic э in place of ж).
4. Confusion of ѡ (Glagolitic ѣ) and *ε* (Glagolitic э): възложетъ (52), поштѣдитъ (67).
5. олтръ (52), Večerka gives олѣтарѣ, cf. олѣтаръ Ps 25, 6, ѡлѣтарь Ps 83, 4, алтарю Ps 42, 4.
6. етиопѣни (59) NPI for етиопѣнинъ ('Ethiopian', Greek Αἰθιοπεύς); тарьсьсїци (61) NPI for тарьсьсьскъ (Greek Θαρσίς), cf. тарьсьсьскыи Ps 47, 8; сава (62) for сава (Greek Σαβᾶ).
7. оѣци (61) for оѣци NPI from оѣокъ.
8. еестъ (65) for естъ.
9. бѣ (66) in емоу же бѣ for емоу же не бѣ.
10. золѣта (71) for злата.
11. благостѣитъ (73) for благословѣститъ.

Kiev Missal

§199. Text samples

2b, 8–17

¹мышѣ на всѣа дѣни всѣго лѣта обидѣцѣ. ²бѣ же тварь своѣж вельми помилуова. и по гнѣбѣ своємѣ. ³извои възпалити сѣа съпасениѣ ради чловѣчьска. ⁴и възсхотѣвъ намъ оутверди срьдцѣ нашѣ. ⁵и милостниѣ твоѣж просвѣти нѣни.

3a, 9–15

⁶по възсѣдѣ. ⁷просимъ тѣа гї дазы намъ. ⁸да свѣатѣ твои възсѣдѣ приемляще достоини бѣдемъ очищениѣ твоего. ⁹и вѣра твоѣ въ насъ да въздрастетъ.

4b, 1–6

¹⁰по възсѣдѣ. ¹¹дазы намъ всемогѣ бѣже. ¹²да бѣкоже нѣни еси небесьскына пища насъитилъ. ¹³такоже же и животъ нашъ силоѣж твоѣж оутверди.

6a, 1–8

¹⁴надъ оплатъмѣ. ¹⁵принесены тебѣ гї сы даръ же тѣни еси далъ и сътворилъ. ¹⁶црѣкѣве ради твоеѣа. ¹⁷и живота и прѣставленнѣ нашего ради. ¹⁸и съвѣстоуемъ нѣни. ¹⁹бѣко балъство естъ то живота вѣчнаго.

§200. Basic writing system

The basic writing system of the Kiev Missal is given in Table 200. The limited size of the source does not allow us to establish the basic writing system unambiguously for all positions shown in the table. Thus, there are no examples with /a/ after kamorated and some other consonants.

Table 200. Basic writing system: *Kiev Missal*

	#	V	â, ã, ð	<<ш>>	ц, с	С	к, г, х
Normalization	ѣ, ѣ	ѣ			ѣ		Prohibited
KIEV	ѣ			ѣ			Prohibited
Normalization	ѡ, ѡ	ѡ			ѡ		Prohibited
KIEV	ѡ			ѡ			Prohibited
Normalization	ѡѣ, ѡ	ѡѣ ~ ѡ	ѡ		ѡѣ		
KIEV	ѡѣ, ѡ	ѡѣ ~ ѡ		ѡ		ѡѣ	
Normalization	ѡ, ѡѡ	ѡ ~ ѡѡ	ѡѡ		ѡ		
KIEV	ѡ, ѡѡ	ѡ ~ ѡѡ	ѡѡ		ѡ		
Normalization	а, ѡ, ѣ	а ~ ѡ	ѡ	а	а ~ ѣ		а
KIEV	а, ѣ	а ~ ѣ	ѣ	ѣ//а	а ~ ѣ		а

<<ш>> stands for shibilants, С stands for simple consonants.

§201. Departures from the basic writing system

Here are some examples.

ѣ, а after shibilants and ц, ѕ, in the text samples above: мьшѣ (1), обидѣцѣ (1), etc., cf. сѣгрѣшатѣ 4а, 21; cf. also сръдыцѣ нашѣ API (4) and сръдыца нашѣ API 5а, 21.

§202. Rendition of the letter шт

In place of the letter шт of the normalization КИЕУ shows either ц, or шч (see §207 below).

§203. Allographs of the letter и

Three allographs are used in КИЕУ: и, і and ѳ.

§204. Allographs of the letter ъ

Two allographs are used in КИЕУ: ъ and ъи. Cf. in the text samples above: свѣтъи (8), всѣмогъи (11), принесенъи (15), and many others for NSgmPlen; otherwise: нъи (5), нъи (12), небесскъиѣ (12), насъитиѣ (12), тъи (15), нъи (18); likewise небъитиѣ 4а, 17; даръи 5б, 2; свѣтъиѣ 2а, 20, etc.; however, in one occurrence всѣмогъи бжѣ 2а, 13 and in one occurrence даръ съ принесенъи 7а, 20. See §210 below.

§205. Mixing of the letters з and ѕ

Cf. дазь (7), (11) for дасъ; дасъ, in turn, by the aberrant pairing д||ѕ instead of canonical д||жд. Cf. also такозе (13), тоузмъ 4б, 10–11. КИЕУ shows no examples of expected ѕ other than due to the application of this mechanism.

§206. Rendition of kamorated letters

Kamora is not used. Thus, according to the basic writing system, in the samples above we have: приѣмѣѣ (8); likewise вѣишьниѣ 3а, 4; беж негоже ба, 14–15, любѣвь 2б, 23, людинѣ 2а, 18.

§207. Substitutive softening

The *l-epentheticum* occurs as expected: приѣмѣѣ (8), прѣставленѣ (17); cf. also земьскаѣ 4а, 22–23; вѣжлюбленъиѣ 5а, 3–4.

In place of canonical т||шт, д||жд, and ст||шт in КИЕУ we find т||ц, д||з, and ст||шч; likewise ц in the suffixes of the *št*-participles and ц as the result of the simplification of the clusters к.т and г.т. In the samples above: обидѣцѣ (1), дазь (7), приѣмѣѣ (8), очшчениѣ (8), дазь (11), пицаѣ (12). Likewise: насъицени

ба, 22–23; обѣцѣниѣ 2а, 8–9; обѣцѣлъ 3б, 11; зашчѣти 2а, 17; помощь 6б, 15; помощыж 5а, 17. Note here also такозѣ (13) and тоузѣмъ 4б, 10–11.

See § 117, *Alternative pairings in the substitutive softening alternation*, § 141, *Modifying aberrations*.

§208. Omission of intervocalic *j*

Not observed. However, contracted forms in the adjectival declension are usual, as in вѣчьнаго (19).

§209. Rendition of the *yers*

Overall, *yer* aberrations do not occur. See however the spellout оплатѣмъ (14), and also 2б, 18; 3а, 24; 4а, 7; 4б, 16; 5б, 1, as opposed to оплатмъ 1б, 9; 6б, 10; 7а, 19; and the spellout въсѣхъ 7а, 22–23.

Cases of regression in the text samples above: сы (15), likewise сы NSgm 3б, 1 and помощыж 5а, 17.

§210. On spellouts for normalized combinations -ни- and -ын-

In the text samples above such are the spellouts свѣтъи (8), всемогъи (11), принесенъи (15); although всемогъни NSgm 2а, 13, cf. also принесенъи NSgm 7а, 20. See also § 204.

§211. Additional commentary on samples

1. оплатѣмъ (14) for оплатомъ is the twofold declension 1Sg from from оплатъ;³ the terminal that is typically attested in КИЕВ is ѣмъ; cf. образѣмъ 4б, 19. See details in § 399, *Intrusion of u-simplex or 2-duplex terminals*.
2. црѣкъвѣ (16) for црѣкъвѣ; cf. циркънаѣ 4б, 17 (for canonical црѣкъвьнѣ). Cf. PS SIN црѣкъвъ 78, 1.

Sava's Book

§212. Text samples

Mark 9, 17–29 (Sav 78–79)

¹члкъ единъ приде къ ісвѣ · ²кланѣаъ сѧ емоу и глѧ · ³оучителю приведохъ снѣ моу ⁴къ тебѣ · ⁵имжѣи дхъ нѣмъ и глаухъ · ⁶ниже аще колиждо иметъ и ⁷развѣнетъ и ⁸и пѣнъи тѣшитъ · ⁹скръгыца зжбъи своими · ¹⁰и оцѣпѣнѣетъ · ¹¹и

³ Cf. Večerka оплатъ 'Eucharist', borrowed from Latin *oblata*. This word is not part of the benchmark list in this grammar, absent from both PD and RD.

рѣхуѣ оученикомъ твоимъ да ижденжтъ ꙗко¹² и не възможъ¹³ онъ же рече имъ¹⁴ въ родѣ невѣрныхъ¹⁵ доколѣ бждж съ вами¹⁶ доколѣ трыплж възъ¹⁷ принесѣте і къ мнѣ и принесоша къ нему¹⁸ и видѣвъ дхъ сътрасе ꙗко¹⁹ и падъ на земли валѣше сѧ²⁰ пѣны тѣщи²¹ и възпроси ісѣ оца его²² колико лѣтъ отънелиже²³ се бѣистъ емъ²⁴ онъ же рече ему²⁵ изъ отрочинъ²⁶ и многаши і въ огонь възврьже²⁷ и въ водаж да і бѣи потопилъ²⁸ нъ аще хоцеши помози ми²⁹ милосръдовавъ о мнѣ³⁰ ісѣ же рече ему³¹ аще можеши вѣровати³² вса възможна вѣроуѣжциюму³³ и абне въззѣпи оцѣ³⁴ отрочате съ слъзами гла³⁵ вѣроуѣж гѣи помози моему невѣрствню³⁶ видѣвъ же ісѣ³⁷ іако сърицетъ сѧ народъ³⁸ запрѣти дхѣу нечистоу³⁹ гла ему⁴⁰ нѣмъ глѣхъ дше⁴¹ азъ ти велж изиди изъ него⁴² и въззѣпивъ и много сѧ пржжавъ⁴³ изиде и бѣистъ іако мрътвъ⁴⁴ и мнози глахъ іако ѡмръттъ⁴⁵ ісѣ же і имъ за ржжъ⁴⁶ въздвиже и постави⁴⁷ и възшъдъшию ему⁴⁸ въ домъ⁴⁹ оученици его възпрашахъ і единого⁵⁰ іако мзи не могохомъ изгнати его⁵¹ рече имъ⁵² тъ родъ ничимъже не можетъ изити⁵³ тѣкмо молитвоуѣж и постомъ⁵⁴

Matthew 14, 15–21 (Sav 39v)

⁵⁵поздѣ же бѣивъшию припадъ оученици его глѣще⁵⁶ поусто є мѣсто⁵⁷ и годъ юже минж⁵⁸ отъпѣститъ народъ⁵⁹ да шъдъше въ окръстьнаѧ вси⁶⁰ коупатъ себѣ брашна⁶¹ ісѣ же рече имъ⁶² дадите възъ имъ гисти⁶³ они же глаша⁶⁴ не имамъ съде⁶⁵ тѣкмо є хлѣбъ⁶⁶ и двѣ рибѣ⁶⁷ онъ же рече принесѣте сѣмо⁶⁸ и повеаѣ народоу⁶⁹ възлеци по трѣвѣ⁷⁰ и примъ є хлѣбъ⁷¹ и обѣ рибѣ⁷² и възврьвъ на нѣо стѣи⁷³ и прѣломъ дастъ оученикомъ хлѣбы⁷⁴ оученици народомъ⁷⁵ и ѣша вси и насытиша сѧ⁷⁶ и възаша извѣтѣкъы оукроуѣхомъ⁷⁷ бѣи⁷⁸ кошънищи пльнѣ⁷⁹ и глѣдъшихъ бѣ⁸⁰ мжжъ є тѣисацѣ⁸¹ развѣ женъ и дѣти⁸²

Matthew 14, 22–23, 25–34 (Sav 40v–41)

⁸³оубѣди ісѣ оученики своѧ влѣсти въ коравь⁸⁴ и варити его на онъ полъ морѣ⁸⁵ донъдеже отъпѣститъ народъ⁸⁶ и отъпоуциъ народъ възиде на горж единъ⁸⁷ помолитъ сѧ⁸⁸ поздѣ же бѣивъшию въ дѣж же годинж ноци⁸⁹ приде къ нимъ ісѣ по мороу ходѧ⁹⁰ и видѣвъше і оученици его по мороу ходѧща⁹¹ оубоаша сѧ глѣще⁹² іако призракъ естъ⁹³ отъ страха въззѣпнша⁹⁴ и гла имъ ісѣ⁹⁵ надѣните сѧ іако азъ есмь и не боите сѧ⁹⁶ отъвѣщаѧ же петръ рече ему⁹⁷ гѣи⁹⁸ аще тѣи єси повели ми прити къ себѣ⁹⁹ ісѣ же рече ему¹⁰⁰ приди¹⁰¹ излѣзъ же исъ коравлѣ петръ¹⁰² и хождаше по водѣ и приде къ ісѣ¹⁰³ вида же вѣтръ лютъ оубоѧ сѧ¹⁰⁴ нача потапѣти сѧ¹⁰⁵ въззѣпи гла гѣи спѣс мѧ¹⁰⁶ ісѣ же простъръ ржжъ лтъ его¹⁰⁷ и гла ему¹⁰⁸ маловѣре¹⁰⁹ почто сѧ сжмнѣ¹¹⁰ и влѣзъшию ему¹¹¹ въ коравь оулеже вѣтръ¹¹² сжщеи въ корави поклоннша сѧ ему¹¹³ глѣще¹¹⁴ іако тѣи єси въ истинж бжнѣи сѣи¹¹⁵ и прѣплъвъше¹¹⁶ придъ въ земьж геннисареѣѣ¹¹⁷

§213. Basic writing system

The basic writing system of *Sava's Book* is given in Table 213.

Table 213. Basic writing system: *Sava's Book*

		#	V	â, â, ð	<<ш>>	ц, с	C	к, г, х	
Normalization	ѣ, ѣ	ѣ			ѣ			Prohibited	
SAV	ѣ, ѣ	ѣ							Prohibited
Normalization	ѡ, ѡ	ѡ			ѡ			Prohibited	
SAV	ѡ, ѡ	ѡ							Prohibited
Normalization	ѣ, ѣ	ѣ ~ ѣ	ѣ	ѣ					
SAV	ѣ, ѣ	ѣ ~ ѣ	ѣ	ѣ					
Normalization	ѡ, ѡ	ѡ ~ ѡ	ѡ	ѡ					
SAV	ѡ, ѡ	ѡ ~ ѡ	ѡ	ѡ					
Normalization	ѡ, ѡ, ѡ	ѡ ~ ѡ	ѡ	ѡ	ѡ	ѡ ~ ѡ	ѡ		
SAV	ѡ, ѡ, ѡ	ѡ ~ ѡ	ѡ, ѡ	ѡ	ѡ	ѡ ~ ѡ	ѡ		

<<ш>> stands for shibilants, C stands for simple consonants.

§214. Departures from the basic writing system

Rare departures are possible. Here are some examples.

- 1) ѣ ~ ѣ: in some cases we find spellouts with the letter ѣ (word-initially or after vowels); such are, e.g., ѣГДА Mt 21, 40 (46v, 10), ѣДИНЪ Lk 14, 2 (62, 1), ПОКАѣТЪ Lk 17, 3 (64, 7), ѣМОУ Jn 12, 34 (128, 7).
- 2) ѡ ~ ѡ: Knjazevskaia, in her edition, in some cases notes ѡ in place of the expected ѡ (after consonants); such are, e.g., ПРИѡША and РАЗОУМЪША Jn 17, 8 (26, 14–15), ВАША Mt 5, 44 (30, 11). However, in Ščepkin's edition these spellouts show the expected ѡ.
- 3) In place of the expected ѡ at the word beginning from the root ѡ <1113> a few times ѡ is attested; in the text samples above such is the spellout ѡША (72), cf. also ѡДѡХЪ Lk 15, 16 (68, 2), ѡДЪ Mk 1, 6 (146, 7).
- 4) In case of the morphophonological ѡ after shibilants, ѡ can occur in place of the expected ѡ; cf. МНОЖЪША Mt 21, 36 (46v, 1).

§215. Allographs of the letter ш

Only ш occurs in SAV.

§216. Allographs of the letter н

Three allographs are used in SAV: н is the main one, but also ѡ, and, less frequently, ѡ can occur. See, in the text samples above: ПРИДЕ КЪ ѡВѡ (1), ѡ ЖЕ ѡ НМЪ (44), etc.

§217. Allographs of the letter ѡ

For ѡ we always have ѡ, in SAV; the only exceptions are: ВЪѡ Lk 15, 20 (68, 16), НЕДѡЖЪНЪ ѡ Mt 14, 14 (39v, 2–3); note also the spellout ѡЗОКОМЪ Mt 12, 18 (142v, 12).

§218. Allographs of the letter *ay*

Two allographs are used in SAV: *ay* occurs normally, *ʸ* less frequently; cf., in the text samples above: *εμʸ* (23), *γλʸχʸ* (39), *ʸμρʸβʸτʸ* (43), *σʸτʸπʸδʸσʸτʸη* (55), *πρʸβʸπλʸβʸβʸψʸε* (106), etc.

§219. A special spellout for the letter *Δ*

Spellouts with the letter *Δ* as an allograph of *Δ* can occur. Cf. *βʸψʸηΔ* Jn 15, 24 (104, 14), *σβʸψʸцΔ* Mt 25, 32 (70, 16–17), *κλΔτʸη* *сΔ* Mt 26, 74 (98v, 5), etc.

§220. Mixing of the letters *з* and *ѕ*

The letter *ѕ* is missing in SAV, only *з* occurs; cf., in the text samples above: *по мѠзѠ* (28), *по мѠзѠ* (35), *мнѠзѠ* (43). Cf. however the letter *ѕ* in the numeric value of ‘б’: *σʸτʸ ̅б̅ же гѠдинʸы* Mt 27, 45 (119v, 2).

§221. Rendition of kamorated letters

Kamora is not used in SAV. Thus, *λ̅η̅* and *ρ̅η̅* are rendered as *л̅ѣ* and *ρ̅ѣ*, while *̅η̅η̅* is usually rendered as *нѠη̅*. Such are, in the text samples above: *κλ̅η̅η̅η̅* (2), *β̅α̅λ̅ѣ̅ψ̅ε̅* (19), *μ̅ο̅ρ̅ѣ̅* (80), *κ̅ο̅ρ̅α̅β̅λ̅ѣ̅* (95), *π̅ο̅τ̅α̅π̅λ̅ѣ̅τ̅η̅* (98); likewise *исп̅λ̅ь̅н̅ѣ̅η̅* Lk 2, 40 (139², 10), but *исп̅λ̅ь̅н̅ѣ̅λ̅* Lk 2, 40 (144v, 1). Cf. also: *σ̅υ̅ч̅н̅г̅ε̅λ̅ѣ̅ю* (3), *τ̅ρ̅ь̅п̅λ̅ѣ̅* (16), *к̅ѣ̅ н̅ε̅μ̅ο̅γ̅* (17), *в̅ѣ̅ о̅г̅н̅ь* (26), *в̅ε̅λ̅ѣ̅* (40), *из̅ н̅ε̅γ̅ο̅* (40), *в̅ѣ̅ ο̅κ̅ρ̅ь̅σ̅τ̅ь̅η̅η̅Δ̅* (56), *к̅ѣ̅ н̅н̅м̅ѣ̅* (85), *λ̅υ̅τ̅ѣ̅* (97). However, cf. *по м̅ο̅ρ̅ο̅γ̅* (85), *по м̅ο̅ρ̅ο̅γ̅* (86) with *ρ̅ο̅γ̅* in place of the expected *ρ̅υ̅*; cf. also *ц̅ѣ̅̅ю* Mt 18, 23 (43v, 2), Mk 15, 18 (117v, 18).

§222. Substitutive softening

In a number of spellouts the expected *l-epentheticum* is missing. Such are, in the text samples above: *на з̅ε̅μ̅н̅* (19), *пρ̅ѣ̅λ̅ο̅μ̅ь* (70), *к̅ο̅ρ̅α̅β̅ь* (79), *к̅ο̅ρ̅α̅β̅ь* (103), *к̅ο̅ρ̅α̅β̅η̅* (104), *з̅ε̅μ̅ь̅ѣ̅* (107). Cf. also: NSg *з̅ε̅μ̅ь̅η̅* (4×) and *з̅ε̅μ̅λ̅ѣ̅* (2×); ASg *з̅ε̅μ̅ь̅ѣ̅* (3×) and *з̅ε̅μ̅λ̅ѣ̅* (7×); GSg *з̅ε̅μ̅ь̅λ̅* (2×) and *з̅ε̅μ̅λ̅Δ̅* (1×); LDSg only *з̅ε̅μ̅н̅*.

See § 117, *Alternative pairings in the substitutive softening alternation*, § 141, *Modifying aberrations*.

§223. Omission of intervocalic *j*

Relatively infrequent, cf.: *по ка̅η̅η̅η̅η̅η̅* Mt 9, 13 (36, 4), Mk 2, 17 (80, 2), Mk 1, 4 (145v, 19), *с̅ѣ̅η̅η̅η̅η̅η̅* Mk 2, 23 (73v, 8), etc. However: *д̅ѣ̅η̅η̅η̅η̅η̅Δ̅* Mt 26, 67 (98, 8), *д̅ѣ̅η̅η̅η̅η̅η̅ѣ̅* Mt 26, 67 (112, 14), *зн̅η̅η̅η̅η̅η̅η̅* Mt 1, 25 (137, 17–18), *г̅р̅ѣ̅η̅η̅η̅η̅η̅ѣ̅ сΔ* Jn 18, 18 (110v, 7); *с̅ѣ̅μ̅ѣ̅η̅η̅η̅η̅η̅η̅* Mt 22, 46 (47v, 9) and *с̅ѣ̅μ̅ѣ̅ψ̅ε̅* Jn 21, 12 (164v, 6).

§ 224. Rendition of the *yers*

All aberrations are possible with the exception of strengthening.

Fall: кѣ мнѣ (17), многаѣи (26), о мнѣ (29), вса (32), много (41), изгнати (48), etc.

Confusion: имѣциѣ (5), скръгъциѣ (9) (for canonical скръжьтати <837>), възможна (32), слѣзамн (34), въздвиже (45), възшѣдѣшю (46), въ (46), ничимѣже (50), постомѣ (51), сѣде (61), възврѣвъ (69), пльнѣ (75), etc.

Regression is not attested in the text samples above. In the manuscript as a whole there are sporadic examples, cf. на ѣтрыа (121, 1) in the title, and also неджжънъа Mt 14, 14 (39v, 2–3).

§ 225. On spellouts for normalized combinations -ни- and -зи-

Such are, in the text samples above, the following spellouts: невѣрънѣи (14) with the NSgmPlen, terminal ѣѣь, likewise нѣмѣи (39), глѣхѣи (39); гадѣшихѣ (76); but: дѣти (78), примѣ (67), etc. Cf. also lmv ѣмѣи Mt 6, 17 (73, 11); LSg w окаменѣнѣи Mk 3, 5 (74, 14–15); больнѣ Jn 15, 2 (27, 16; 102v, 2–3), ѣдарѣи Mt 26, 68 (112, 16), cf. ѣдарѣи Mt 26, 68 (98, 10); GPI дѣнѣи Mt 24, 29 (88, 7), NSgm искрънѣи Lk 10, 36 (56v, 5).

§ 226. Additional commentary on samples

1. Special letters: w (14), генисареѣѣь (107), see more details in § 132, *Transliteration*, § 869, *On the law of the velars*.
2. Contracted imperfect: възпрашахѣж (47), хождашѣ (96).
3. ѣчѣци (52) for ѣченици.
4. ѣ (53) for ѣстѣ.
5. гѣсти (59) and гадѣшихѣ (76) agree with the basic writing system, but cf. ѣшл (72).
6. ѣ̇ (62, 67, 77) for the number '5'; ѣ̇ж (84) for ASgf of the ordinal numeral '4'; ѣ̇и (74) for the number '12'.
7. рѣвѣ (63) and рѣвѣ (68), see § 892, *Lexical aberrations*.

Codex Suprasliensis

§227. Text samples

217, 25–219, 9⁴

¹сѣлоу чини сѣ коупьцоу нѣкотоу оуоумоу гънавъшоу вельежды своа и пасти а на мѣстѣ томъ ²пасажтемъ же сѣ вельеждомъ тоу ³по прилоучаю една отъ нѣхъ шьдши ⁴близъ вьси вьлѣзе въ нѣвж пасти хоташти ⁵тж же видѣвъ господиъ нѣвзы тоа ⁶тече изгънати ѣж ⁷изгонима же вѣпаде сѣ въ пѣровъ ⁸и изломи ногж прѣдънѣжж ⁹и которѣ бѣвѣши междоу господиномъ вельежда ¹⁰и господиномъ нѣвзы ¹¹поврѣже ѣж въ горѣ ¹²на мѣстѣ идеже лежаше сватъин ¹³неви||димъ никымъже ¹⁴шьдъ оубо господиъ еа въ крестинъ грады ¹⁵и повѣда кыязоу о нивѣ ¹⁶и како оклосниша емоу вельеждъ ¹⁷вельеждоу же оставеноу бывшоу тоу до четырь дънин ¹⁸и лежаштоу на мѣстѣ и покоушажштоу сѣ вьстати ¹⁹и разоленыа ногы ²⁰не можаштоу оутвердити ²¹стѣпи ²²и вѣниде емоу нога въ доупи||нж пештерънѣжж ²³идеже бѣахж мошти сватъихъ ²⁴и авиѣ оутверди сѣ нога вельеждоу и бѣистъ сѣдрава ²⁵пришдъ же господиъ его ²⁶пригече къ нѣмоу ²⁷вельеждъ же видѣвѣи и ²⁸и стрѣже ногж свож и тече и сѣрѣте и ²⁹онъ же видѣвѣи и и въ оужасти бѣвѣ ³⁰хвалѣше и славыаше господа ³¹въпрашахж же его дроужина емоу ³²что ѣстъ прѣславънои се ³³онъ же рече имъ азъ оставихъ и на мѣстѣ храмъ сѣштгъштгъ ³⁴они же рѣша емоу гради и покажи намъ ³⁵да видимъ извѣстѣнѣе мѣсто то ³⁶и шѣдъше на мѣсто обрѣтоша доупинж великж ³⁷и авиѣ нѣкотоури отъ нѣхъ рѣша емоу ³⁸по истинѣ сватааго дометиа мѣсто се ѣстъ ³⁹и оубо съде обрѣтемъ и сѣтъа мошти его ⁴⁰и шѣдъше привѣдоша попы да творатъ молитвы на мѣстѣ ⁴¹они же мотъкыи и рѣла вьземъше копаша ⁴²и обрѣтъше мошти изнесоша съ пѣсньми и хвалами

557, 23–559, 4

⁴³въ тѣхъ же мѣстѣхъ разбонници нѣцини таште сѣ ⁴⁴тако имѣныа обиліе бѣаше въ манастири ⁴⁵подъкопавъше стѣнж ноштѣж ⁴⁶вѣлѣзоша въ манастирь и вса съкроушивъше ⁴⁷и вьсѣде понскавъше и ничсоже обрѣтъше ⁴⁸на сѣ обратиша неистовоу оустрьмыение ⁴⁹единъ же нѣкын отъ нѣхъ ⁵⁰хота съспоспѣшникъ своныхъ оугасити бѣшеные ⁵¹въсхвѣтивъ съ земля камыкъ ⁵²врѣже на главж прѣподовьнааго ⁵³и толми и гавзи ⁵⁴такоже изволеннимъ и дѣло съкончати ⁵⁵правъдънъин же съ стѣпа хотѣаше сѣлѣсти ⁵⁶сѣтъин же анина авиѣ оубѣдѣвъ само то отъ сѣааго дѣа ⁵⁷призѣва едѣного обвѣчнѣ ⁵⁸слоугоуѣжштгааго емоу льва ⁵⁹и прѣдъложи емоу гади многы ⁶⁰и гла емоу обило гадъ ⁶¹хоштѣши бо се на пѣтъ отити дѣзгъ ⁶²и просивъ хартиж написа сице въ нен ⁶³о оѣ гавыено ми бѣи ⁶⁴тако нападение нѣкоѣ отъ розбонникъ пострадавъ ⁶⁵хоштѣши съ стѣпа сѣлѣсти ⁶⁶дѣзжнъ съи мыштение

⁴ Sever'janov gives a note to the text fragment marked by || (13)–(22): “written by the unskilled hand of scribe no. 2, whose writing teems with corrections”.

маловръменно възприати⁶⁷ нъ оустави оустръмыенье то⁶⁸ да не възмъздыа троуднааго⁶⁹ рек'ше црѣствиа вѣчьнааго лишиши са⁷⁰ тѣгда же навѣзавъ на възж звѣри⁷¹ послаа его заповѣдавъ⁷² ни единомуу мимондѣштнихъ пжтѣмъ пакости сътвори⁷³ звѣр' же оустръмыаше са къ манастироу⁷⁴ да съкончатѣтъ повелѣноу⁷⁵ сълоучаѣштни же са на пжти⁷⁶ видѣште издалеча⁷⁷ съ великиимъ оустръмыениимъ теченыа приходаштѣ⁷⁸ мнѣште на извѣденне имъ прѣдълежати⁷⁹ звѣрноюуоумоу нашѣствию⁸⁰ онъ же окъз отъ пастоуѣха женомъ⁸¹ тако идѣаше на повелѣныа стѣааго⁸² и ни единомуу пакости твора⁸³ пришѣдѣшоу же юмоу къ манастироу⁸⁴ и ногѣтъми свонми двѣри держштоу⁸⁵ и ѣсшѣдъ нѣкъзи отъ живѣштнихъ тоу видѣ⁸⁶ и текъ повѣда оучителю своѣмоу⁸⁷ глѣ тако звѣр прѣвеликъ стонтъ прѣдъ двѣрьми⁸⁸ онъ же рече сътворивъ молитвѣ братѣ отъврѣзи юмоу да влѣзетъ⁸⁹ жтрѣ же бзвѣз звѣр⁹⁰ и ногама прѣднима опѣрѣ са о стлѣпѣ⁹¹ възж же къ прѣподобноуоумоу горѣ въздѣвѣ⁹² подааше книжица прѣподобноуоумоу⁹³ онъ же примѣ и почѣтъ⁹⁴ подиви са възвѣштению бзвѣшоуоумоу о томъ къ стѣоуоумоу⁹⁴ и послоушанию дивнихъ звѣри⁹⁵ и прославивъ бѣ⁹⁶ стави са⁹⁷ отъ начатиа⁹⁸ еже бѣ отъмъштгеныа помъслиаъ

565, 14–566, 14

⁹⁹юньць приведенъ на даръ бѣи¹⁰⁰ и тоу крѣмимъ възшѣствимъ лжааго бѣса въздивѣа¹⁰¹ и толма гнѣвомъ движе са¹⁰² такоже ни пастоуѣха знати ни ѣного никогоже миловати¹⁰³ нъ вса сълоучаѣштѣа са оуѣвити¹⁰⁴ иже оуравѣ са отъ привазаныа¹⁰⁵ и ѣз ограда излѣзѣ¹⁰⁶ ровѣи и гнѣваа са бе-чиноу¹⁰⁷ нападаа на сѣрѣтаѣштѣаа его¹⁰⁸ и оустръми са на възжтрѣнѣи дворъ и влѣзе въ гатѣхоульницѣ¹⁰⁹ на братѣж тоу дѣлаѣштѣж¹¹⁰ на оутѣж довлѣѣштѣаа странѣнимъ¹¹¹ такоже приноужденомъ имъ бзгити боазныж юньца¹¹² самѣмъ са възврѣшти въ пештѣ хлѣбныж¹¹³ и ѣволити паче въ огни сѣгорѣти¹¹⁴ нежели отъ того събоденомъ бзгити¹¹⁵ видѣахъ бо его бечисаюу бѣшеныа¹¹⁶ чловѣколюбвѣзи же бѣ¹¹⁷ не опалимъ а съблюде¹¹⁸ въ пламени огньѣмъ¹¹⁹ молитвож правѣднааго палмъи огньѣзи погасивъ¹²⁰ прочии же вси отъ оужасеныа юньца на хлѣвинѣи горѣ влѣзшоа¹²¹ правѣдныи же оуоуѣз паштѣ бѣгаѣштѣнихъ¹²² пѣтѣаже къзи извѣтъ сѣмѣтеныа того¹²³ тако юньць гнѣва испальнѣ бзвѣз и ѣс хлѣва искочивъ¹²⁴ гонитъ вса на толицѣ¹²⁵ такоже юмоу и въ гатѣхоульницѣ влѣсти¹²⁶ стѣзи же сѣшавъ глаголѣи тѣ¹²⁷ и въздѣвѣ рѣцѣ на небо¹²⁸ и молитвѣж сътворивъ¹²⁹ иде на сѣрѣтеныа юньцоу¹³⁰ на хлѣвинахъ же стоаштѣи¹³¹ видѣште его оустръмыение къ юньцоу¹³² мироуѣште правѣднааго¹³³ ставѣахъ и гласѣи¹³⁴ оуклонити са гнѣва и възбѣшеныа юньца¹³⁵ правѣдныи же ничсоже никоуоуже не отъвѣштѣавъ¹³⁶ нъ вѣрож таже на бѣ оутѣрѣдивъ са¹³⁷ приближивъ са къ юньцоу¹³⁸ и коснѣвъ са его рѣкама¹³⁹ и възстапивъ гнѣвъ словесѣи кротѣкъыми¹⁴⁰ рѣкож понмъ¹⁴¹ въведе въ свон хлѣвъ къ паслемъ

249, 18. In the text samples above we see *ы* in (13)—(22). See § 240 below.

§ 233. Allographs of the letter *ѣ*

Two allographs are attested in SUPR: normally *ѣ* and less frequently *ѣ́*; cf. *ѣмѣ* 410, 30.

§ 234. A special spellout for the letter *ѣ*

In SUPR we find some spellouts with the letter *ѣ̄* in place of the expected *ѣ* or *ѣ́*. Such are: *гоиѣашѣ* 41, 16, alongside *гонѣашѣ* 214, 16; *лазарѣ̄* 431, 27, alongside *лазараѣ* 457, 17 and *лазара* 303, 11.

§ 235. Mixing of the letters *з* and *с*

In SUPR only *з* is attested, never *с*. Cf. however in the numeric meaning ‘6’:
ѣ̄ златиць 120, 5.

§ 236. Rendition of kamorated letters

The use of kamora is common but inconsistent. Kamora is missing fairly often, see in the text samples above: *о нивѣ́* (15) and *въ ѣ̄нѣ̄ж* (4), *ѣ̄читѣлю* (86), *чловѣ́колюбѣ̄вѣ̄зѣ̄и* (116), *сѣ̄бѣ̄юде́* (117); cf. also *манаѣ̄търоу* (73) and *манаѣ̄тироу* (83), likewise *манаѣ̄търъѣ̄* GScg 44, 1 and *манаѣ̄търъѣ̄* API 292, 6. Cf. also *нѣ̄нѣ̄а* 287, 11; *нѣ̄нѣ̄а* 356, 11, and *нѣ̄нѣ̄ѣ́* 317, 1; *моѣ̄ашѣ* 287, 7 and *моѣ̄ашѣ* 298, 7; *мѣ̄нѣ̄ж* 48, 7.

Note that the stem *огн-* presents only three occurrences without the kamora in SUPR: in the text sample above *огнѣ́нѣ́мь* (118), and also *огнѣ́* 526, 8 and *огнѣ́* (DSg) 263, 12. Cf., in the text sample above: *огнѣ́* (113), *огнѣ́нѣ́и* (119).

§ 237. Substitutive softening

In a number of occurrences the regularly expected *l-epentheticum* is missing. Cf.: *остаѣ̄ноу* (17), *разлоѣ̄меныѣ̄* (19). SUPR specific spellouts with *ь* occur frequently; cf. in the text samples above: *слаѣ̄вѣ̄ашѣ* (30), *ѣ̄стрѣ̄мьѣ̄нѣ̄нѣ̄* (48), *ѣ̄стрѣ̄мьѣ̄нѣ̄* (67), *ѣ̄стрѣ̄мьѣ̄ашѣ* (73), *ѣ̄стрѣ̄мьѣ̄нѣ̄нѣ̄мъ* (77), *ѣ̄стрѣ̄мьѣ̄нѣ̄нѣ̄* (131), *стаѣ̄вѣ̄ахъ* (133); likewise *земѣ̄а* (51), despite *земѣ̄а* 106, 2 and 129, 9. See § 117, *Alternative pairings in the substitutive softening alternation*, § 141, *Modifying aberrations*.

§ 238. Omission of intervocalic *j*

Fairly frequent, cf.: *покаѣ̄ти* 134, 9, *покаѣ̄вѣ̄шоу* 483, 16, but also *покаѣ̄вѣ̄* 362, 25–26, *покаѣ̄вѣ̄шѣ* 386, 26, all from *покаѣ̄ти*; likewise *сѣ̄ѣ̄ти* 266, 5, *сѣ̄ѣ̄лѣ̄* 369, 23. Cf. also *сѣ̄ѣ̄ѣ̄го* (38) and similar.

§239. Rendition of the yers

All aberrations are possible.

Strengthening: *въземъше* (41), and also *въземъши* 80, 17, *въземъ* 25, 20, etc.; cf. also: *весь* 36, 21; 95, 5; *день* 14, 8; 15, 18, etc.

Fall: *шьдши* (3), *что* (32), *вса* (46), *ничсоже* (47), *съспоспѣшникъ* (50) (for *съспоспѣшьникъ*), *толми* (53), *многъи* (59), *троуднааго* (68), *мнѣште* (78), *прѣдѣнима* (90), *кѣнища* (92), *оурвавъ* (104), *правъднъи* (121), *правъднааго* (132), *правъднъи* (135), *ничсоже* (135).

Cases of confusion of the *yers* aberration are fairly frequent. Here are some examples from the text samples above.

1. In prefixes and prepositions; *въ* and *въз*: *вълѣзе* (4), *въ* (43), *вълѣзоша* (46), *въ ѣи* (62), *вънѣтрѣниі* (108), *вълѣзоша* (120), *въведе* (141); *въземъше* (41), *възмъздыа* (68), *въздѣвъ* (91), *възвѣштению* (93), *въздивыа* (100); *съ* and *отъ*: *сърѣте* (28), *сълѣсти* (55), *сърѣтаѣштѣа* (107), *сѣматеныа* (122), *сърѣтеные* (129); *отъ ѣиухъ* (37).
2. In roots; bound occurrences: *поврѣже* (11), *врѣже* (52), *длѣгъ* (61), *оустръмыеные* (67), *оустръмыениие* (131), *оутврѣдивъ* (136); in the root *шьд*: *пришьдъ* (25), *шьдъше* (36), *шьдъше* (40), *пришьдъшоу* (83), *ѣсшьдъ* (85); other occurrences: *опъръ* (90), *отъмъштеные* (98).
3. In suffixes; *ѣн*: *пештерънѣжъ* (22), *прѣславъноѣ* (32), *правъднъи* (55), *длѣжнъ* (66), *бечислъноѣ* (115); *ѣд*: *правъднъи* (121).
4. In terminals; nominal flections: *господиномъ* (9), *господинъ* (14), *изволенимъ* (54), *великыимъ* (77), *оустръмыениимъ* (77), *приходаштъ* (77), *о томъ* (93), *въшьствиимъ* (100), *гнѣвомъ* (101), *пештъ* (112), *плиштъ* (121); verbal flections: *паждъ* (60); cf. also *ѣсмъ* 1Sg 16, 8, etc., *ѣимъ* 1Sg 377, 16, *дамъ* 1Sg 60, 28, etc.
5. Regression: *имѣныа* (44), *ноштѣжъ* (45), *бѣшеные* (50), *възмъздыа* (68), *теченыа* (77), *повелѣные* (81), *отъмъштеные* (98), *въздивыа* (100) (in place of *въздивна*, from *въздивнати*), *привазаныа* (104), *братѣжъ* (109), *бозаныжъ* (111), *бѣшеные* (115), *оуржасеныа* (120), *сърѣтеные* (129), *възвѣшеныа* (134).

§240. On spellouts for normalized combinations -ни- and -ын-

Canonical spellouts predominate, the aberrant spellouts in the text samples above are the following: *никымыже* (13), *сватъихъ* (23), *видѣвыи* и (27, 29), *прѣдѣнима* (90), *кротъкыи* (139). Cf. canonical spellouts *живѣштѣихъ* (85), *великыимъ* (77), and many others.

§241. Additional commentary on samples

In the text samples above various paradigmatic aberrations are attested.

1. Terminal deformation, as in such spellouts as *некотороуоумоу* (1), *сватааго* (38), etc.; or, such forms as *изволенимъ* (54) and *оустръмыениимъ* (77) in place of *изволеніиѣмъ*, *оустръмлѣниѣмъ*, etc. (replacement of the terminal

- емь by the terminal ьмь); or, forms of the contracted imperfect, namely: лежаше (12), хвалѣше (30), славыгаше (30), подагаше (92), etc.; or, new ш-Part: съкроушивше (46), възсхвативъ (51), etc.
2. Spellout ѿсшѣдъ (85) for canonical ишьдѣ. Cf. ишшедѣшюу 223, 1; исьшедѣше 321, 21–22; иъхъодѣшюу 235, 19–20, etc.
 3. Spellout съспоспѣшникъ (50) for съпоспѣшьникъ.
 4. Spellout сжштѣштѣ (33) for сжштѣ.
 5. Special letters: w attested in w (63), cf. Greek ω; replaces the initial o; γ attested in кѳрестинъ (14), cf. Greek υ in εἰς τὴν Κυρεστῶν πόλιν.
 6. розбонникъ (64) has an aberrant form of the prefix, cf. in the same passage: розбонници (43); likewise, розвити 522, 8–9 in spite of развивъ 438, 10; розличьнѣа 556, 3 in spite of различьнѣи 179, 15. Likewise робѣ 48, 28 in spite of рабѣ 101, 26.
 7. лжкааго (100) for лжкавааго.
 8. пѣгтааже (122) for пѣгтааше lmf according to Sever'janov and Meyer.

PART II

Paradigmatics

Acquaintance

The part of the book entitled *Paradigmatics* describes paradigmatic synthesis (wordform generation) in OCS in terms of classical paradigmatic construction. The goal of this auxiliary chapter is to fix the terminology and to mention some particular issues which would be confusing without explanation. These clarifications concern only the sense of the notions under discussion, while their content¹ is treated in the rest of this Part, and in the dictionary.

§242. Lexemes and wordforms

A *paradigmatic construction* is a certain kind of classification of *wordforms*. Each wordform belongs to a particular *lexeme*, and each lexeme contains a fixed set of wordforms, ranging from one to several dozen. For example, *рогъ*, *рога*, *роѡѣ*, *роѡи* are wordforms of one lexeme, while *роѡѣ* and *рожьць* are wordforms of different lexemes. Likewise, the wordforms *сѡ*, *себе*, *себѣ*, *си*, *собоѡж* are different wordforms of one lexeme, while *себе* and *тѣбе*, *оу нама* and *вама* are wordforms of different lexemes.

Lexemes are units of the lexicon; wordforms are linear strings in a text. In each lexeme one of the wordforms is selected as the *starting* one. This starting form, first, is used as the name of the lexeme itself (and thus lexemes are represented in the dictionary by this wordform), and second, the starting form supplies the primary segmental material for constructing all other (so-called *oblique*) wordforms.

§243. Paradigms and grammatical categories

Within lexemes, wordforms are located in special containers. Some wordforms may be in more than one slot of the same container. These containers are known as *free paradigms*; a container filled with the wordforms of some lexeme is called

¹ Following Carnap, the sense is the *intension* and the contents is the *extension*.

a *paradigm* of that lexeme. Unwieldy paradigms can be broken up into subparadigms.² A single slot in the paradigm is called a *paradigmatic cell*.

Paradigms are formed by *grammatical categories*. Each grammatical category is a finite set of *category values*. Accordingly, each paradigmatic cell receives a name, which is its address in the free paradigm, i.e. its address in terms of the categories that form that free paradigm.

Table 243 shows a free substantive paradigm, and paradigms of the lexeme страна.

Table 243. An example of a free paradigm and a paradigm of the lexeme страна

Number \ Case	Sg	Du	Pl
N			
A			
G			
L			
D			
I			

Number \ Case	Sg	Du	Pl
N	страна	странѣ	странѣ
A	странѣ	странѣ	странѣ
G	странѣ	странѣ	странѣ
L	странѣ	странѣ	странѣ
D	странѣ	странѣ	странѣ
I	странѣ	странѣ	странѣ

There are two *grammatical categories* here: (1) number, with three category values, Sg (singular number), Du (dual number), and Pl (plural number), and (2) case, with six category values, N (nominative), A (accusative), G (genitive), L (locative), D (dative), I (instrumental).

The free paradigm has 18 cells; each cell has a unique name: NSg, ASg, ..., LDu, etc. There are 11 distinct wordforms in the paradigm of the lexeme страна. Some wordforms are found in more than one cell, e.g. the wordform странѣ is found in four cells: LSg, DSg, NDu, and ADu.

§244. Grammatical description of a wordform

The list of names of all cells that contain a given wordform in a given paradigm is called its *grammatical description*. For example, the wordform страна has the description (NSg); the wordform странѣ has the description (ASg); the wordform странѣ the description (LDSg, NADu).

§245. The paradigmatic address and the paradigmatic call

An expression of the form $X(L)$, where X is the grammatical description of the wordform A , and L is its lexeme, is called the *paradigmatic address* of the wordform A . The name of the lexeme fixes which lexeme we are dealing with, and its description fixes the member of that lexeme. For example, LDSgNADu (страна)

² The separation into subparadigms corresponds to differences in the morphological composition of the corresponding forms. In particular, the forms within each subparadigm have the same workstem.

is the paradigmatic address of the wordform СТРАНЪ; DIDu (СТРАНА) is the paradigmatic address of the wordform СТРАНАМА.

An expression of the form $K(L)$, where K is the name of one paradigmatic cell, and L is some lexeme, is called the *paradigmatic call* of a wordform A , namely the wordform which occupies cell K of the paradigm of lexeme L . For example, LSg (СТРАНА) is the paradigmatic call of the wordform СТРАНЪ. The same wordform can be generated by other paradigmatic calls, such as DSg (СТРАНА), or NDU (СТРАНА), or ADu (СТРАНА). In other words, a paradigmatic call mentions one specific paradigmatic cell, where a given wordform is found, while the paradigmatic address mentions all paradigmatic cells containing that wordform.

§246. The paradigmatic construction

The term *paradigmatics* can refer both to an object of study (a component of the grammar of a language), as well as the result of the study (a part of the written grammar). In the latter sense, paradigmatics is a *paradigmatic construction*—a set of various grammatical objects (paradigms, lexeme classes, terminal sets, etc.), which are connected with each other in some way. Fundamental to any paradigmatic construction is a system of paradigmatic names of all wordforms under investigation, which is given in terms of category values of the grammatical categories.

It is important that the system of paradigmatic names of wordforms be created in such a way that

the same system of names works both for construction (building of forms), and for selection (syntax) of the needed wordforms of a given lexeme.³

The system of paradigmatic names adopted in the present grammar is syntactically effective, i.e. the conditions stated above are met. No demonstration of this claim is undertaken here, because syntax is left outside of the scope of this work.

§247. A note on paradigmatic calls and paradigmatic addresses

A paradigmatic *call* contains *disjoined* grammatical descriptions (i.e. it points to one paradigmatic cell), while a paradigmatic address contains *conjoined* ones (i.e. it points to all paradigmatic cells containing a given wordform). It is easy to see that, on the one hand, paradigmatic calls correspond to synthesis and paradigmatic addresses to analysis; on the other hand, paradigmatic addresses are morphological names of wordforms, while paradigmatic calls are syntactic names of occurrences of wordforms. In constructing a text we need a certain paradigmatic cell. It does not matter that the same form may be found in other cells. In reading a text, we need to determine the paradigmatic address of a wordform,

³ Cf. Čistovič's thesis for segmental grammar, which states that the system of phonetic features that defines the phoneme inventories must be created in such a way that the features allow both an articulatory and acoustic interpretation (see Čistovič).

and be ready to consider all corresponding syntactic hypotheses.⁴

§248. A note on the term *wordform*

A wordform is commonly understood as a pair comprising the signifier and the signified. Under this view, *странѣ* (LSg), *странѣ* (DSg), *странѣ* (NDu), and *странѣ* (ADu) are four different wordforms. This is the treatment found in Zaliznjak 1967, for example. In this book, a wordform is a one-sided unit (cf. the notion of *segment* in Zaliznjak 1967). Below we sometimes use the term *form* as an approximate synonym of the term wordform.

§249. Grammatical classes of lexemes

Different lexemes can have the same free paradigms or can differ in their free paradigms. For example, *градъ*, *цело*, *жена* have the same free paradigm as *страна*—the same grammatical categories are applicable to these lexemes. On the other hand, lexemes *новъ* and *градъ* have different free paradigms: the free paradigm of *новъ* is formed not only by the categories of case and number, but also by the category gender (its category values are m ‘masculine’, n ‘neuter’, and f ‘feminine’). All lexemes are classified into grammatical classes such that two lexemes belong to the same grammatical class if they have the same free paradigms.

The following grammatical classes are distinguished in OCS: V (verbs), S (substantives), and A (adjectives). There is also a trivial class containing lexemes whose free paradigms have just one cell. Lexemes and wordforms of the first three classes (V, S, and A) are called *paradigmatic*, while the forms of the trivial paradigmatic class are called *extraparadigmatic*.⁵

Paradigmatics studies only paradigmatic lexemes and wordforms.

§250. Morphological composition of wordforms

Every wordform is representable as a string of formatives, which can be seen in its morphophonological representation, cf. *пришьдъшоу* — *при.шьд.ъш.оу*, *ѣмоу* — *ј.емоу*, *странж* — *стран.ж*, *оустръми* — *оу.стръм.и*, etc. The morphological composition of any paradigmatic wordform assumes two morpho-

⁴ Usually, paradigmatics is presented with a view of synthesis, i.e. data needed to build particular wordforms are given explicitly. They can be analyzed using a technique called *analysis-by-synthesis*.

⁵ The grammatical class of lexemes is explicitly given in the PD. The division into grammatical classes is closely related to the traditional division into parts of speech, but is not identical to it. For the main grammatical classes the following relationship holds: nouns correspond to substantives (S), adjectives to adjectives (A), verbs to verbs (V); pronouns and numerals are distributed between substantives and adjectives; all others are found in the general class of uninflected (r) lexemes, which are here called *extraparadigmatic*. Traditional names of parts of speech, viz. the words *noun*, *adjective*, *verb*, *pronoun*, *numeral*, *adverb*, *conjunction*, *preposition*, *particle* can be used in this book in their common and somewhat imprecise meaning.

logical components: the *stem* and the *terminal*.⁶ This bipartite morphological composition corresponds to the bipartite composition of the paradigmatic call and paradigmatic address: the stem is responsible for assigning a wordform to some lexeme, while the terminal places the wordform in paradigmatic cells. In fact, two different wordforms of the same lexeme in the general case have identical or similar stems and different terminals: *стран.а*, *стран.ж*, *стран.ѣ*, and *ржк.а*, *ржк.ж*, *ржц.ѣ*.

§ 251. Morphological skeleton and inflectional spellout

The morphological composition of a wordform is explicated by two morphological representations, of which the deeper one is called the *morphological skeleton*, and the one closer to the surface the *inflectional spellout*. The morphological skeleton is modified into the inflectional spellout by *boundary adjustment rules*, or simply *boundary rules*. Thus, the morphological skeleton *ржк + ѣ* is modified into the inflectional spellout *ржц=ѣ*; the morphological skeleton *рек + ѣахъ* into the spellout *реч=ѣахъ*, etc. An inflectional spellout is modified into the phonological or graphic one by the *mph* ⇒ *ph/norm* rules: *ржц=ѣ* into *ржцѣ*, *реч=ѣахъ* into *речаахъ*, etc.

§ 252. Examples of morphological spellouts

As an example, consider a short passage from a text (Mt 8, 28–30), where each paradigmatic wordform is represented by its morphological skeleton (top row) and its inflectional spellout (bottom row). Extraparadigmatic forms and loans outside of the benchmark list of wordforms are parenthesized. Morphologically anomalous forms, for which no morphological composition is established, are placed in square brackets.

(н)	пришьд.ъш + оу	ј + εмоу	(на)	он + ъ	пол + ъ	(въ)	стран + ж
(н)	пришьдъш=оу	ј=εмоу	(на)	он=ъ	пол=ъ	(въ)	стран=ж

(геръгесиньскж)	сърѣт + остє	ј + ъ	дъв + а	вѣсьн + а	(отъ)
(геръгесиньскж)	сърѣт=остє	ј=ъ	дъв=а	вѣсьн=а	(отъ)

гробншт + ъ	ј + нхъ	исход.ашт + а	лют + а	сѣл + о	(гак)	(нє)
гробншт=ъ	ј=нхъ	исходашт=а	лют=а	сѣл=о	(гак)	(нє)

мог + ѣаше	ни.к + ъ.то.же	минж.т + и	пжт + ѣмь	т + ѣмь	(н)	с + ε
мож=ѣаше	ни.к=ъ.то.же	минжт=и	пжт=ѣмь	т=ѣмь	(н)	с=ε

⁶ The terminal can be null, cf. 2-3SgAor *моли=0*, and in exceptional cases can be altogether absent, cf. *шт-Part мола*].

ВЪЗЪПН + СТЕ	ГЛАГОЛЪ.ЖШГ + А'	Ч + Ъ.ТО	[ЈЕСТЪ]	[НАМА]	(Н)	[ТЕБЪ]
ВЪЗЪПН=СТЕ	ГЛАГОЛЪЖШГ=А'	Ч=Ъ.ТО	[ЈЕСТЪ]	[НАМА]	(Н)	[ТЕБЪ]
(НСОУСЕ)·	СЪИН + Е	БОЖИЈ + Ъ'	ПРИШЪД.Л + Ъ	(ЛН)	[ЈЕСИ]	(СЪМО)· (ПРОБЪДЕ)
(НСОУСЕ)·	СЪИН=Е	БОЖИЈ=Ъ'	ПРИШЪЛ=Ъ	(ЛН)	[ЈЕСИ]	(СЪМО)· (ПРОБЪДЕ)
ВРЪМ.ЕН + Е	МЖЧИ.Т + Ъ	[НАСЪ]·	БЪ = 0	(ЖЕ)	(ДАЛЕЧЕ)	(ОТЪ) · ñ + ЕЮ'
ВРЪМ.ЕН=Е	МЖЧИТ'=Ъ	[НАСЪ]·	БЪ = 0	(ЖЕ)	(ДАЛЕЧЕ)	(ОТЪ) · ñ = ЕЮ'
СТАД + 0	СВИНИЈ + Ъ'	МЪНОГ + 0	ПАС.ОМ + 0'			
СТАД=0	СВИНИЈ=Ъ'	МЪНОГ=0	ПАСОМ=0'			

As the examples show, the terminals in the morphological skeleton and inflectional spellout are always identical, while the stems may differ. The latter fact reflects the two-step nature of paradigmatic synthesis: on the first step, a morphological skeleton is constructed, which consists of a workstem and a terminal; on the second step, the workstem undergoes certain segmental rewrite rules, which are regulated by boundary adjustment rules. These rules, which leave terminals untouched, generate the inflectional spellout. For example, from the morphological skeleton $\text{МОГ} + \text{'ЪАШЕ}$ we have $\text{МОЖ}=\text{'ЪАШЕ}$ (imperfect); from the morphological skeleton $\text{МОГ} + \text{'ЪТЕ}$ we have $\text{МОС}=\text{'ЪТЕ}$ (imperative); from the morphological skeleton $\text{МОГ} + \text{Ж}$ we have $\text{МОГ}=\text{Ж}$ (1SgPrae); from the morphological skeleton $\text{МОГ} + \text{ЕШИ}$ we have $\text{МОЖ}=\text{ЕШИ}$ (2SgPrae).

Workstems of the nominal forms of verbs (infinitive, supine, and participles) show separately the suffix of these nominal forms, cf. $\text{ПРИШЪД.ЪШ} + \text{ОУ'}$, $\text{НСХОД.АШГ} + \text{А}$, $\text{МНЖ.Т} + \text{И}$, $\text{ГЛАГОЛЪ.ЖШГ} + \text{А}$, $\text{ПРИШЪД.Л} + \text{Ъ}$, $\text{МЖЧИ.Т} + \text{Ъ}$, $\text{ПАС.ОМ} + \text{0}$.

§ 253. Examples of paradigmatic addresses and paradigmatic indices

A paradigmatic address is assigned to a wordform. A lexeme containing that wordform receives a paradigmatic index that shows which grammatical class the lexeme belongs to (cf. below the superscript index before the lexeme's name), and, within the grammatical class, the lexeme's paradigmatic class (cf. below the symbols after the lexeme's name). Paradigmatic indices are shown in the PD. Table 253 (p. 129) shows examples for the wordforms of the three verses from Mt 8, 28–30 (§ 252).

Notes to Table 253

- 1°. The paradigmatic address of participles contains, first, the grammatical description of the participle as an ordinary A-lexeme (cf. DSgmnGLDumnfBrev in DSgmnGLDumnfBrev [ш-Part (прити)]); second, it shows the type of participle (cf. ш-Part in DSgmnGLDumnfBrev [ш-Part (прити)]), and finally, it shows the starting form of the parent verb (cf. прити in DSgmnGLDumnfBrev [ш-Part (прити)]). Cf. also НСХОДАШТА , ГЛАГОЛЪЖШТА , ПРИШЪЛЪ , ПАСОМО .

Table 253. Examples of paradigmatic addresses

Form in text	Paradigmatic address	Lexeme and index	Notes
пришьдъшоу	DSgmnGLDumnfBrev [ш-Part (пригн)]	^V пригн 0	1°
ѡмоу	DSgmn (*и)	^{A*} и 2/р	2°
онъ	NASgm (онъ)	^A онъ 2/р	
полъ	NASgGPI (полъ)	^S полъ 2/м	
странъ	ASg (страна)	^S страна 2/ф	
сърѣтосте	3Du2PIAor (сърѣсти)	^V сърѣсти 0	
и	ASgmADunf (*и)	^{A*} и 2/р	2°
дъва	NADum (дъва)	^A дъва 2/р	2°
бѣсьна	GSgmnNSgfNADumNAPInBrev (бѣсьнъ)	^A бѣсьнъ 2/а	
гробнштѣ	GPI (гробнштѣ)	^S гробнштѣ 2/п	
иуъ	GLPImnf (*и)	^{A*} и 2/р	2°
исходашта	GSgmnNADumNAPInBrev [шт-Part (исходити)]	^V исходити 1	1°
люта	GSgmnNSgfNADumNAPInBrev (лютъ)	^A лютъ 2/а	
сѣло	NASgnBrev (сѣло)	^A сѣло 2/а	2°
можааше	2-3SgImf (мошти)	^V мошти 4с	
никътоже	NASg (къто)	^A къто 0/р	3°
минжти	Inf (минжти)	^V минжти 5	4°
пжтъмъ	ISg (пжтъ)	^S пжтъ 1/м	
тѣмъ	ISgmn (тѣ)	^A тѣ 2/р	
възъписсте	3Du2PIAor (възъпити)	^V възъпити 0	
глаголъшта	GSgmnNADumNAPInBrev [шт-Part (глаголати)]	^V глаголати 3	1°
чьто	NASg (чьто)	^A чьто 0/р	3°
сынѣ	Voc (сынъ)	^S сынъ 2/м	5°
божини	NASgmLSgmnLDSgfNADunfNPImGPImnfPImnBrev (божини)	^A божини 2/а	2°
пришьлъ	NASgmBrev [л-Part (пригн)]	^V пригн 0	1°, 2°
врѣмене	GLSg (врѣмъ)	^S врѣмъ 0/п	
мжчигъ	3SgPrae, Sup (мжчиги)	^V мжчиги 1	4°
иѣю	GLDumnf (*и)	^{A*} и 2/р	2°, 6°
пасомо	NASgnBrev [м-Part (пастн)]	^V пастн 4с	1°

Notes to Table 253 (continued)

- 2°. The anaphoric 3rd person pronoun is defective, in that it has no nominative forms. The arbitrary form *и is used as the starting form. Also defective are дъва (*duale tantum*), сѣло (no other forms), and божини (see § 305). л-Part have no form except the short forms of the direct cases (N and A).
- 3°. Although semantically and syntactically къто in combination with clitics (никътоже) is a lexeme that is different from къто, paradigmatically къто is considered the starting form for никътоже. The lexemes къто and чьто are unique and defective (see more details in § 379).
- 4°. The infinitive and supine each have one wordform; accordingly, their grammatical description is limited to the indication of the subparadigm.

- 5°. Voc is a so-called secondary form with a grammatical description that is not standard for substantives.
- 6°. The anaphoric pronoun *и has free and ad-prepositional forms. The form here (иѣю) is ad-prepositional. However, the opposition between free and ad-prepositional forms is not part of the grammatical description of the corresponding wordforms.

§254. Paradigmatic synthesis

Paradigmatic synthesis is the algorithm that matches inflectional spellouts to paradigmatic calls. Here are some examples.

Paradigmatic calls	Inflectional spellouts
ASg (страна)	СТРАН=Ж
GPlm (*и)	Ј=ИХЪ
GPln (*и)	Ј=ИХЪ
GPlf (*и)	Ј=ИХЪ
2SgImf (можти)	МОЖ=ЪДАШЕ
3SgImf (можти)	МОЖ=ЪДАШЕ
Sup (мжчити)	МЖЧИТ=Ъ

As these examples show, different paradigmatic calls can correspond to the same wordform. However, in the general case, a paradigmatic call cannot correspond to more than one wordform.

Paradigmatic synthesis takes place in three stages: 1) building the workstem, 2) selecting the terminal, and 3) applying boundary adjustment rules. The first two steps result in the morphological skeleton; the third step gives the inflectional spellout.

All three stages can require information on the paradigmatic class of the lexeme, which is contained in the *paradigmatic dictionary* (PD). The first stage requires information on the morphophonological representation of the starting form, which is also contained in the paradigmatic dictionary. The second stage uses the terminal catalogs.⁷ Table 254 (p. 131) shows intermediate results in the synthesis of several wordforms.

⁷ It is useful to note that, on the one hand, the segmental material for the needed workstem is found in the starting wordform of the lexeme that is retrieved from the paradigmatic call (roughly speaking, the needed workstem is the result of *segmental transformations* of the segmental component of the paradigmatic call), and on the other hand, the segmental material for the terminal is retrieved from the given catalogs according to the grammatical description of the paradigmatic call (i.e. the needed terminal is the result of *selecting* from a list).

Table 254. Examples of paradigmatic calls and inflectional spellouts with intermediate forms

Paradigmatic call	Dictionary data	Workstem	Terminal	Inflectional spellout
ASg (страна)	стран.н.а страна 2/f	стран	ж	стран=ж
GPIm (*и)	ј.ь *и 2/p	ј	иХъ	ј=иХъ
GPIn (*и)	ј.ь *и 2/p	ј	иХъ	ј=иХъ
GPIf (*и)	ј.ь *и 2/p	ј	иХъ	ј=иХъ
2SgImf (мошти)	мог.т.и мошти 4с	мог	ѣаше	мож=ѣаше
3SgImf (мошти)	мог.т.и мошти 4с	мог	ѣаше	мож=ѣаше

§255. Paradigmatic classes

Each paradigmatic lexeme belongs to a particular paradigmatic class. (Normally, the paradigmatic classes of the verb are called *verb classes* or *conjugations*, while the paradigmatic classes of the nominal are called *declension types* or simply *declensions*). With some simplification, we can say that two lexemes belong to the same paradigmatic class if, in constructing their wordforms, they follow the same alternatives among those that are supplied by the rules of paradigmatic synthesis. In other words, they follow the same *paradigmatic standard*. For example, the V-lexemes *глаголати* and *исходити* belong to different verb classes: they use different suffixes of the *шт-Part*, cf. *исход. шшт + а* and *глагол. шшт + а*.

The so-called *unique lexemes* form a peculiar class that stands by itself. Their paradigms are so irregular that it makes no sense to build oblique forms according to any rules. Their paradigms are given directly. Accordingly, formally speaking, their oblique forms are not assigned any morphological representation.⁸

It is important to stress that a lexeme's association with a particular paradigmatic class is its lexical feature, which in the general case cannot be derived from any other feature of the lexeme, i.e. not from its morphophonological, syntactic, or semantic features. This general observation is not undermined by the fact that in some special cases a lexeme's paradigmatic class correlates with some other property (e.g. all verbs with a root infinitive are either class 4 verbs, or unique).

⁸ However, certain forms among unique lexemes may be sufficiently regular and their morphological spellouts may be sufficiently transparent. Such forms are supplied with morphological representations, but those representations are not built by rules but are given directly in paradigms. Cf. in the examples above such forms of unique lexeme as *сърѣт=сѣте*, *възъпи=сѣте*, *врѣмен=ε*, etc.

§256. Profiles

The profile of a lexeme is an abbreviated paradigm that contains only some *key forms*, i.e. a kind of questionnaire that covers those key forms. The profile includes forms that show the application of the nontrivial component of the paradigmatic synthesis rules. Thus, the profile is a convenient format for showing all paradigmatic particularities of a given lexeme. It visually shows the paradigmatic standard of a given paradigmatic class. Here is an example profile for the verb ПЛАКАТИ.⁹

ПЛАКАТИ 3			
1, 2SgPrae	ПЛАЧ=Ж, ПЛАЧ=ЕШИ	1, 2-3SgAor	ПЛАКА=ХЪ, ПЛАКА=∅
2PlImv	ПЛАЧ=ИТЕ	1SgImf	ПЛАКА=АХЪ
шт-Part	ПЛАЧ.А , ПЛАЧ.ЖШТ=И	ш-Part	ПЛАКА.ВЪ , ПЛАКА.ВЪШ=И
л-Part	ПЛАЧ.ЕМ=	н-Part	ПЛАКА.Н=

Profiles can be used in place of general rules of paradigmatic synthesis to build called forms of any lexeme.

§257. The paradigmatic dictionary and the benchmark list of lexemes and wordforms

All lexemes in the *benchmark list of lexemes* are represented in the *paradigmatic dictionary*. Each lexeme has a graphic and a morphophonological representation of its starting form, and a *paradigmatic index*, which indicates the paradigmatic class to which the lexeme belongs. Because paradigmatic indices of different grammatical classes do not intersect, the index can also easily indicate grammatical class. Paradigmatic indices of verbal lexemes begin with an Arabic numeral (from 0 to 7); paradigmatic indices of nominal lexemes begin with expressions of the form *n/x*, where *n* is an Arabic numeral (from 0 to 2). For example, we have *пробости* 4с, *възбърати* 3^{о*}, *оублажити* 1 for verbs, and *богъ* 2/м, *божин* 2/а, *богазнь* 1/ф for nominals.

Each wordform of each lexeme from the benchmark list may be built according to the rules of paradigmatic synthesis. Thus, the benchmark list of lexemes defines the *benchmark list of wordforms*. In the general case, the rules build all oblique wordforms not only in the graphic and phonological shape, but also create their morphophonological and inflectional spellouts, as well as the morphological skeleta.

§258. Workstems

As indicated above, three stages enter into building a called wordform: creation of the workstem, selection of a terminal, and the application of boundary adjust-

⁹ The symbol | indicates the absence of a terminal in the forms of a paradigmatic lexemes; ∅ stands for a zero terminal.

ment rules. The primary segmental content for building a workstem is given by the starting wordform, more exactly, its workstem.

The workstem of the starting wordform is retrieved from its morphophonological representation that is given in the paradigmatic dictionary. So, for the A-lexemes **новъ** and **съпасовъ** we find the morphophonological representations **нов.ъ** and **съ.пас.ов.ъ** in the dictionary. The workstems of these forms are **нов** and **съ.пас.ов**, respectively. To arrive at e.g. the forms ⟨LPIṃBrev⟩, we build morphological skeleta: **нов + ѣхъ**, **съ.пас.ов + ѣхъ**.

In the simplest cases all wordforms of a lexeme use one and the same workstem, but often a paradigm contains several workstems. For example, the lexeme **гражданинъ** has two workstems: **гражд.ан.ин** and **гражд.ан**. The former, shown in the starting form, is used in the forms of the singular; the latter is used in the forms of the plural (cf. NPI **граждане**). In OCS, the existence of several workstems within a lexeme is commonplace for verbs and exceptional for nominal paradigms. For example, the V-lexeme **плакати** has two workstems: **плач** (in the personal forms of the present, imperative, and **шт-** and **м-** participles), cf. **плач + еши** (Prae) and **плака** (the rest of the forms), cf. **плака + хъ** (Aor), **плака + въ** (ш-Part).

The set of workstems and their distribution among paradigmatic cells is determined by the paradigmatic class. Also, the rules that build the workstems themselves may be different in different paradigmatic classes.

§ 259. Selection of the terminals

In terminal inventories, both nominal and verbal, terminals are not unordered, but assembled into so-called *sets*. A set of terminals is a table whose cells are labeled in the same way as the paradigmatic cells of free paradigms. Terminals occupy those cells. Table 259.1 shows two sets of verbal terminals in the personal present form subparadigm. Table 259.2 shows two sets of personal aorist forms.

Table 259.1. Prae terminal sets

Number \ Person	Sg	Du	Pl
1	ж	ивѣ	имъ
2	иши	ита	ите
3	итъ	ите	итъ

Number \ Person	Sg	Du	Pl
1	ж	евѣ	емъ
2	еши	ета	ете
3	етъ	ете	итъ

Table 259.2. Aor terminal sets

Number \ Person	Sg	Du	Pl
1	охъ/хъ	оховѣ/ховѣ	охомъ/хомъ
2	ε/0	оста/ста	осте/сте
3		осте/сте	оша/ша

Number \ Person	Sg	Du	Pl
1	ъ	овѣ	омъ
2	ε/0	ета	ете
3		ете	ж

The terminals are collected in such a way that the forms of one lexeme take the terminals of one set, while different lexemes can take different terminals, each from its own set. For example, the lexeme *любити* takes the terminals *ж*, *иши*, *итъ*, etc., while the lexeme *плакати* takes the terminals *ж*, *еши*, *етъ*, etc.

The paradigmatic call specifies the name of the paradigmatic cell that corresponds to the paradigmatic address of the terminal. However, in the general case, there may be several terminals with that address, e.g. for the address ⟨2SgPrae⟩ we find two terminals from different sets, viz. *иши* and *еши*. As can be seen from the examples, even a single cell in a set can contain more than one terminal.

Terminal selection rules are mixed, in that they contain both paradigmatic and morphophonological mechanisms. If a given subparadigm corresponds to several sets, the selection of the set is determined by the paradigmatic class of the lexeme. The corresponding identically named terminals are called *paradigmatic variants*. Such are, for example, the terminals ⟨2SgPrae: иши⟩ (in *люб + иши*, *любити*), and ⟨2SgPrae: еши⟩ (in *нес + еши*, *нести*).

If a given cell contains more than one terminal, their selection is determined by the morphophonological rules, i.e. rules that take into account the morphophonological information from a given workstem. Such identically named terminals are called *morphophonological variants*. Such are, for example, ⟨3DuAor: остє/стє⟩ (*остє* in e.g. *мог + остє*, but *стє* in e.g. *плака + стє*). Here, the selection is by CVC agreement. Likewise for personal terminals, e.g. ⟨LPImn: ѣхъ/ихъ⟩ (*ѣхъ* in e.g. *нов + ѣхъ*, but *ихъ* in e.g. *ништ + ихъ*). Here, the selection is by the twofold rule.

§260. Boundary adjustment rules

Boundary adjustment rules, or boundary rules, are segmental rewrite rules that apply in the transition from the morphological skeleton to the inflectional spellout. Boundary rules effect certain segmental transformations of the workstem, which are replacements by some alternation. The choice of the rewrite rule can be determined by the grammatical properties of the called wordform and by the paradigmatic class of its lexeme. For example, from *мог + ъ* we have *мог=ъ* (1SgAor), but from *мог + є* we have *мож=є* (2SgAor); from *мог + ѣашє* we have *мож=ѣашє* (2SgImf), but from *мог + ѣтє* we have *мос + ѣтє* (2PlImv); from *трып + ж* we have *трыпл=ж* (1SgPrae for *трыпѣти*), but for *тєп + ж* we have *тєп=ж* (1SgPrae for *тєти* [тєп.т.и]).¹⁰

Note that, within each subparadigm, wordforms of a given lexeme have a single workstem. However, in some paradigmatic cells the final consonant of the workstem may undergo certain segmental rewrite rules in the transition between the morphological skeleton and the inflectional spellout (in the majority of cases, these rules involve replacement by an alternation). Thus, the inflectional spellouts of different forms of a subparadigm may contain stems that differ in

¹⁰ At boundaries between formatives within a workstem, ordinary rules mapping morphophonological into phonological representations apply, i.e. the *mph* ⇒ *ph*/norm rules.

the segmental shape of their final formative. Cf. 1SgPrae *мог + ж / мог=ж*, but 2SgPrae *мог + еши / мож=еши*; *трып + ж / трыпλ=ж*, but *трып + иши / трып=иши*.

§261. Morphologically anomalous forms

Certain forms in a paradigm may be irregular to such an extent that it makes no sense to endow them with a morphological composition. In the majority of cases, such *morphologically anomalous* forms (marked by ∇) are found in unique lexemes. However, anomalous forms are possible among lexemes belonging to standard paradigmatic classes (cf. the form 2SgImv ∇виждаь in the verb видѣти). Such, for example, are вѣстѣь 3SgPrae (вѣдѣти); даси 2SgPrae (дати); нама DIDu (азь); насѣ GLPI (азь); тѣбѣ LDSg (ты). Anomalous forms are given by lists. (See further details in Ch. 24, *Supplement*, § 877–885, *Excursus on the grammatical regularity of canonical wordforms*).

All morphologically anomalous forms are canonical.

§262. Secondary forms

Some lexemes may contain *secondary forms*, i.e. which are present only in some lexemes of a grammatical class. Some secondary forms belong to the ordinary free paradigm of their class as morphological doublets of the corresponding primary forms, while others have no primary analogs and have a special grammatical description. The distribution of secondary forms is not precisely defined.

Secondary forms are given by a list. (See more details in Ch. 24, *Supplement*, § 877–885, *Excursus on the grammatical regularity of canonical wordforms*).

All secondary forms are canonical.

§263. Paradigmatic effects

Comparing paradigmatic standards of different paradigmatic classes makes it possible to assign some operations to a special class of *paradigmatic effects*. Paradigmatic effects are, so to speak, supplementary operations. First, they make it possible to describe the formation of marginal subclasses of the basic paradigmatic classes (the so-called *irregular verbs* and *deformations* of declension types). Second, they make it possible to represent paradigmatic aberrations. The same paradigmatic effect in some cases forms a paradigmatic standard of the main paradigmatic class, and in others forms a marginal subclass, and yet in others forms an aberrant paradigmatic derivation that creates an aberrant form. For example, the substitutive softening paradigmatic effect creates the standard for class 3 verbs (type плакати), creates a subgroup of irregular verbs in class 4 (group брати), and creates the paradigmatically aberrant form мѣштѣтъ (for canonical мѣтѣтъ) in class 3°.

In terms of their content, paradigmatic effects can be classified according to six basic types, shown in Table 263 on p. 136.

Table 263. Paradigmatic effects and their types

Effect's name	Where represented
Effects applying to workstems	
Substitutive softening	Verb
Unstable root vocalism	Verb
Syncopated stems in paradigm	Nominal
Expansion of alien workstem	Verb, nominal
Effects applying to terminals	
Terminal deformation	Verb, nominal
Alien terminals in paradigm	Verb, nominal

§264. Aberrant forms and paradigmatic aberrations

Paradigmatic aberrations and aberrant forms generated by them are studied in paradigmatics. Most of the material concerning paradigmatic aberrations is treated in the special chapters (Ch. 13, *Aberrant nominal forms in sources*, and Ch. 22, *Aberrant verbal forms in sources*). However, overviews of some groups of aberrant forms are included in the main body of this grammar: in particular, aberrant forms of unique lexemes are treated in Chs. 12, *Unique nominal lexemes* and 21, *Unique verbs*. Ch. 20, *An overview of verb classes* examines some aberrant forms of the imperfect.

§265. Benchmark task of paradigmatics

In this grammar, the benchmark task¹¹ of paradigmatics of OCS is formulated as follows: supply a *grammatical analysis* of any wordform from the *benchmark list of wordforms*.¹² Namely:

- 1) determine the paradigmatic address of a given wordform;
- 2) determine the paradigmatic class of the parent lexeme (i.e. find it in the paradigmatic dictionary);
- 3) construct a *paradigmatic derivation* of the wordform, i.e. form a paradigmatic call (or several paradigmatic calls), apply to it sequentially all necessary rules of paradigmatic synthesis, noting intermediate forms and references to rules applied, and make sure that the result matches the starting shape of the wordform under study;
- 4) from the derivation, extract the morphological representations of the wordform (its morphological skeleton and inflectional spellout).

Goals 3) and 4) do not apply to morphologically anomalous wordforms.

¹¹ A benchmark task is the content that (1) must be provided by the relevant part of the grammar, and (2) where success can be evaluated relatively formally. A grammar may pursue other aims that are more weakly controlled and lie outside of the benchmark task.

¹² See § 3 on the benchmark list of wordforms.

In case a manuscript text (from the benchmark corpus of texts) is being analyzed, a wordform may lack a paradigmatic derivation. In that case, one must first find a canonical analog for that wordform. In order to do this, it is necessary to (1) make a hypothesis about the paradigmatic address of the wordform, and (2) construct a canonical wordform with the same paradigmatic address. Then the wordform under study can be compared with the derived canonical wordform, and their differences can be attributed to the application of some *aberration* (see Part II, Ch. 13, and Ch. 22 on paradigmatic aberrations, and Part I, Ch. 6 on segmental aberrations). If the wordform being inspected is not representable as a result of aberrations, it must be treated as corrupt. In that case, hypotheses about its prototype are not controlled by grammar (cf. ερ̄ε̄ργου for ερ̄ε̄ργου, SAV Mt 8, 32).

The Nominal

CHAPTER 9

Free nominal paradigms

§266. Nominal lexemes and their free paradigms

Lexemes of two grammatical classes, *substantives* (S) and *adjectives* (A), are nominal. Here are the free paradigms of adjectives (A) and substantives (S):

A-lexeme		m	n	f	S-lexeme		
Sg	N				Sg	N	
	A					A	
	G					G	
	L					L	
	D					D	
	I					I	
Du	N				Du	N	
	A					A	
	G					G	
	L					L	
	D					D	
	I					I	
Pl	N				Pl	N	
	A					A	
	G					G	
	L					L	
	D					D	
	I					I	

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§267. Grammatical categories

Free paradigms of nominal lexemes are formed by the categories of *case* (both for adjectives and substantives), *number* (both for adjectives and substantives), and *gender*, only for adjectives. The category of case has six values: *nominative* (N); *accusative* (A); *genitive* (G); *locative* (L); *dative* (D); *instrumental* (I).

The category of number has three values: *singular* (Sg); *dual* (Du); *plural* (Pl). The category of gender has three values: *masculine* (m); *neuter* (n); *feminine* (f).

For adjectival lexemes, gender is an inflectional category, i.e. wordforms of the same lexeme can have different gender. Cf. **НОВЪ** (m) ~ **НОВО** (n) ~ **НОВА** (f); **ОНЪ** (m) ~ **ОНО** (n) ~ **ОНА** (f). For substantives, gender is a word-classifying category, i.e. all wordforms of a lexeme have the same gender, cf. the masculine nouns **ГРАДЪ**, **КОНЬ**, **ОТЦЪ**, the neuter nouns **СЕЛО**, **ПОЛЪЕ**, **СЛОВО**, and feminine nouns **РАЖКА**, **РАБЪИНИ**, **КОСТЪ**.

It is necessary to distinguish syntactic gender, which determines agreement with adjectival lexemes and anaphora, and morphological gender, which determines the paradigmatic shape of a lexeme, especially the choice of feminine endings. In the majority of cases syntactic gender coincides with morphological gender, but this is not always the case. For example, the lexemes **КРЪМЪЧНИ** and **ЮНОША** have masculine syntactic gender and feminine morphological gender.

§268. Substantives and adjectives

For many nominal lexemes, there is no sharp boundary between adjectives and substantives in OCS. The reason is that not only substantive free paradigms can be represented as a narrowing of adjective free paradigms (by eliminating the gender opposition), but also the paradigmatic shape of substantive lexemes for the majority of nominals can be represented as a narrowed form of the paradigmatic shape of adjectival lexemes. For example, the noun **МГНѢВЪ**, **ЧРѢВО** and **ДѢВА** are inflected in the same way as the adjective **ЛѢВЪ** 'left' in the masculine, neuter, and feminine genders, respectively. Cf. **GSgm ЛѢВА** and **GSg ГНѢВА**, **GSgn ЛѢВА** and **GSg ЧРѢВА**, **GSgf ЛѢВЪ** and **GSg ДѢВЪ**.

For nominals without suffixes that follow the main declension type, the distinction between adjectives and substantives found in dictionaries is based on the word's meaning, and is to some extent arbitrary. For example, in Večerka, we find independent dictionary entries for **ДРОУГЪ** 'other', an adjective, **ДРОУГЪ** '(male) friend', a masculine noun, and **ДРОУГА** '(female) friend', a feminine noun. Likewise, there is an entry for the neuter noun **СОУХО** 'dry land', and another for the adjective **СОУХЪ** 'dry'. However, for nominals such as **БЛАГЪ**, **ДОБРЪ**, **ЗЪЛЪ**, or **СЛѢПЪ**, the same dictionary gives an adjective entry with an indication of their substantive use.¹

¹ The paradigmatic dictionary in this book treats this question in a way that is maximally similar to Večerka's dictionary. However, in contrast to Večerka, there are no separate entries for participles. Some other departures are discussed in comments to specific lexemes.

On the other hand, suffixed nominals in the majority of cases can be sharply identified as adjectives or substantives. Such are, for example, the suffixed adjectives *адовъ*, *горькъ*, *плодънъ*, *пльтьскъ*, and suffixed substantives such as *ловыць*, *дльгота*, *в'бтвиѣ*, *падѣннѣ*. Likewise, adjectives and substantives are neatly opposed if the nominal follows a properly substantival (1–simplex) or properly adjectival (2–pron) declension type. This is the case, e.g., for *мпжть* (GSg *пжти*), *ркость* (GSg *костти*), and for pronominal adjectives *тъ* (GSgm *того*), *нашь* (GSgm *нашего*).

Long and short adjectives

§269. General

In OCS, most adjectival lexemes show two sets of forms: the so-called *short* forms (also called indefinite, shown as Brev), and *long* forms (also called definite, shown as Plen). The terms “short adjective” and “long adjective” refer to short and long adjectival forms, respectively. For example, *новъ* is Brev and *новъин* is Plen for NSgm; *нова* is Brev and *новаиго* is Plen for GSgm, etc. The paradigmatic, lexicographic, and grammatical statuses of this opposition are not correlated.

§270. Paradigmatics

From a paradigmatic point of view, short and long adjectives can be treated as separate lexemes of the same grammatical class, namely adjectival, each of which has a full set of forms given by the free paradigm of A-lexemes. The corresponding identically named wordforms differ only in their terminals: short adjectives take the terminals of one set (2-base), while long adjectives take those of another (2-combi). Thus, each paradigmatic cell corresponds to two forms, a short and a long one: for NSgm *нов=ъ* and *нов=ъин*; for GPlm *нов=ъ* and *нов=ъинхъ*, etc. Short and long adjectives form correlated lexeme pairs, whose members are only distinguished by their paradigmatic classes. Workstems for such pairs are identical. E.g. we have *нов=ъ* (Brev) and *нов=ъин* (Plen); *пльтьск=ъ* and *пльтьск=ъин*; *лют=ъ* and *лют=ъин*; *мысльн=ъ* and *мысльн=ъин*. The starting form of the short adjective serves as the starting form for building any short adjectival forms as well as any long adjectival forms.

Thus, from a paradigmatic point of view, there is a regular set of doublets. Similar paradigmatic doublets are observed for single lexemes, for example, in the case of parallel verb classes, cf. *с'бти* 4v and *с'бяти* 3.

§271. Lexicography

In the lexicographic practice, long and short adjectives are usually unified in a single dictionary entry, whose main representative is taken to be the short adjective.

§272. Grammatical status

Some adjectives lack short forms (e.g. *кѡтѡръин*), while some other adjectives lack long forms (e.g. *инъ*). Wherever a pair exists, the lexical meaning of the short and long form is considered to be identical. At the same time, the problem of the rule that regulates the choice of the long vs. short adjective form in OCS has no clear solution. Accordingly, there is no clarity whether the long ~ short opposition is a grammatical one.

Treating members of correlative long ~ short pairs as separate lexemes entails that the opposition is word-classifying. Generally speaking, word-classifying oppositions can be grammatical.² Treating members of correlative long ~ short pairs as a single lexeme entails that the opposition is an inflectional one. The final word on this problem remains for syntactic analysis, and is thus outside of the goals of the present work.

§273. Technical conventions

This book treats the difference between short and long forms of adjectives as one of *representations*. Different representations, although they have the same free paradigms, belong to the same lexeme. The starting form of that lexeme is stipulated to be NSgmBrev. The representation type is included in paradigmatic addresses and paradigmatic calls, although formally these indications are not part of grammatical properties, because they are not appropriately correlated with grammatical categories that form free adjectival paradigms. This opposition is only found among adjectival lexemes that follow the basic twofold declension type. As discussed in §275, *л*-participles are systematically defective. All other lexemes are treated as having long forms.³

Participles

§274. General

Participles comprise a special group of adjectival lexemes. Participles are deverbal adjectives that are connected in some way with their parent verb. Along with participles, some verbs may have derived adjectives that are not participles. Cf. for *видѣти*, *видѣнь* (*н*-Part) and *видьнь*, an ordinary adjective. The paradigmatic, lexicographic, and grammatical status of participles calls for special clarification.

² In order to justify the opposition as grammatical, one must supply fairly detailed information on the rules that select the members of the opposition. Unfortunately, in the present case such rules are not precisely known for OCS.

³ In reality, there are many adjectives where one of the representations is not attested; cf. *кожнь* (only two glosses in SUPR, both of them long forms: *кожньжжъ*), *козьль* (only two glosses, both of them short forms). Some authors are inclined to find systematic defectiveness by representations, cf. Vaillant, § 86.

§275. Morphology and paradigmatics

Each participle belongs to one and only one parent verb. Morphologically, participles are regular derivatives of the verb, which are connected with it by transparent morphological rules. Each of the six participles contains its own set of suffixes that are attached to the verb's workstem. Cf., e.g., the *м*-Part (любити): workstem ЛЮБ.ИМ=: ЛЮБИМЪ; *м*-Part (нести): нес.ом=: несомъ; *н*-Part (творити): тврѡ.ен=: тврѡиенъ; *н*-Part (нести): нес.ен=: несенъ, etc. Participle formation rules are tightly intertwined with the general system of paradigmatic synthesis of verb forms.

All participles follow the main twofold declension type. *шт*- and *ш*-participles depart from this standard (see an overview of all participles in Ch. 25, § 918).

From a paradigmatic point of view, a participle is an ordinary adjectival lexeme that fits into the adjectival free paradigm. Just like other adjectives, it has long ~ short pairs. An exception is found in *л*-participles: they only have forms of the direct cases and are not paired by the long ~ short feature (they only have short forms).

However, participles are part of the free paradigm of the verb, thus forming special subparadigms.

§276. Lexicography

Apart from a few exceptions, every participle is identified with a unique parent verb, although not every verb has all potential participles. Absence of a participle may be caused by a verb's syntactic, lexical, or, less commonly, by its morphological properties. While some restrictions can be obvious (e.g. intransitive verbs do not form passive participles, i.e. *м*-, *н*-, and *т*-participles), in the general case the paradigmatic dictionary in this book does not mark presence or absence of participles.⁴

The lexicographic convention, generally speaking, is not to give separate entries for participles, but to include them under their parent verb. The lexical meaning of the verb and the participle are treated as identical, and information on presence or absence of a participle for a given verb is not explicitly stated.⁵

⁴ Note that participial stems actively participate in further derivations, and the presence of a participle is not necessary. Thus, we have *притѣжаніе*, where there is no *н*-participle for *притѣжати*. There is *слоутиѣ* without a *т*-participle for *слоути*, etc.

⁵ Existing dictionaries are often inconsistent in handling participles. First, some participles are given as separate lexemes, both when finite forms of the parent verbs are not attested (cf., for example, *раслабленъ*: there is no entry *раслабити* in *Večerka*), and when finite forms are attested (cf. *блаженъ*: *Večerka* contains both of the entries *блаженъ* and *блажити*). Second, some participles are fixed in their nominal or adjectival use, and the lexicographic shape is not consistent: cf. *свършыенъ*, marked *part.adj.*; there is the entry *свършыити*. *бѣшенъ* is marked *adj.*; there is the entry *бѣсити*. Differences in lexicographic treatment in any case do not reflect any paradigmatic properties of the lexemes. In the present grammar, all adjectival lexemes, representable as some participle of some verb, are treated the same, namely simply as participles, and not given in the dictionary separately from their parent verbs.

§277. Grammatical status

Participles occupy an intermediate position: on the one hand, they are forms of a verbal lexeme, and on the other, they are independent adjectival lexemes. As forms of some lexeme, they should be opposed to non-participles by some category, but there is no such category. As separate lexemes, they should not be tightly connected paradigmatically with their parent lexemes, but such a connection is apparent (for example, participles reflect the division of verbs into paradigmatic classes). In this sense OCS participles are nothing special, sharing the sad fate of intermediate status common in other languages.

§278. Technical conventions

In this book, all participles are treated as representing the corresponding subparadigm of the parent verbs. Grammatical descriptions and inflectional spellouts of participles reflect their grammatical duality. The symbol of the subparadigm that indicates which of six potential participles a given form belongs to is part of the grammatical description of the participle (both disjoined and conjoined). In the inflectional spellout, the stem shows a suffix: e.g. for the form *пасомо* we write *пас.ом=о* NASgnBrev [м-Part (пастн)]. For *пришьдъшжж*, we write *пришьд.ъш=жж* ASgfPlen [ш-Part (притн)]. On the inflectional spellouts of syncopated forms of *шт-* and *ш-*Part see more details in § 307 and below (the overview of classes 2/a* and 2/a**).

Comparatives

§279. General

The so-called *degrees of comparison*, or *comparatives* (Compar), form a special group of adjectival lexemes. Comparatives are derived deadjectival adjectives, related to their parent lexeme by transparent morphological connections. For comparatives there exists a certain set of suffixes, attached to the parent adjective's workstem. The resulting suffixed stem takes adjectival terminals, the same ones that ordinary, unsuffixed stems take. Cf., for example, Compar (новъ) нов.ѣј.ьш=: ASgfBrev нов.ѣј.ьш=ж, ASgfPlen нов.ѣј.ьш=жж, APlmBrev нов.ѣј.ьш=л, APlmPlen нов.ѣј.ьш=лль, etc. (see comparative suffixes in § 920, and peculiarities in declension in § 307–313). From a paradigmatic point of view, the comparative is an ordinary adjectival lexeme, possessing all case, number, and gender forms, and correlated by the long ~ short feature.

§280. Lexicography

Except for a few isolated lexemes (e.g. *вѣштнн*, without an ordinary adjectival parent lexeme), for each comparative there is a unique parent lexeme, although

not all adjectives possess comparatives. There is a systematic absence of comparatives for adjectives that follow the pronominal declension type; for others, it is hardly possible to distinguish grammatical defectivity from accidental absence in texts.

Lexicographically, comparatives are not shown separately in dictionaries, but are given under the entry of the parent adjective. The carrier of the lexical meaning is the workstem; the comparative suffix marks the syntactic possibilities of the lexeme, and possibly a transparent semantic shift.

§ 281. Technical conventions

According to tradition, comparatives are not given as separate entries in the dictionary. The only exceptions are *comparativum tantum*. Such are the following 14: БОЛНИ, ВЛШТНИ, ГОРНИ, ЛОУЧИИ, МЪНИИ, НАИВЛШТНИ, НАНСКОРЪБИ, НАИТРЪБЛНИ, ПРЪВЪШИИ, СОУЛЪБИ, СОУЛНИ, ТАЧАИ, ОУНИИ, ОУТРЪБИ. Accordingly, this grammar gives the rules for forming comparatives (see Ch. 25, *Summary*, § 919–924). The grammatical descriptions and inflectional spellouts of comparatives reflect their grammatical duality. The symbol Compar is part of the grammatical description of the comparative (both disjoined and conjoined). E.g. we write ASgfBrev [Compar (СЛАВЪНЪ)] for the form СЛАВЪНЪБИШЖ. In the inflectional spellout, the stem contains a suffix: e.g. we write СЛАВЪНЪ:ѣј.ЫШ=Ж, БОЛЪ.ЫШ=И.

Secondary nominal forms

§ 282. The list of secondary forms

Secondary forms are attested for a small number of lexemes. Such are: 1) vocative forms (Voc), 2) personal dative forms (D₂) with the terminal ОВИ/ЕВИ, and 3) ad-prepositional forms of the pronouns *И and ИЖЕ (see § 318). Voc forms are considered possible for all substantive morphologically masculine and feminine lexemes, and for adjectival lexemes in the twofold declension type in case they are used as masculines. Such are, for example, ОТЬЧЕ for ОТЬЦЪ, СЪИНЕ for СЪИНЪ, ДЪВО for ДЪВА. On the formation of vocative forms, see § 355, and also Vaillant, § 81. Personal dative forms are only possible for masculine and neuter substantive lexemes in the twofold declension type. For their formation, see § 356, and Vaillant, § 59.

Formation of nominal forms. Terminals and paradigmatic classes

General

§ 283. Morphological composition of nominal forms

The majority of nominal forms have a morphological skeleton of the following shape: [workstem + terminal]. For example, $\rho\kappa\kappa + a$ for $\rho\kappa\kappa a$, NSg ($\rho\kappa\kappa a$); $\rho\kappa\kappa + \kappa$ for $\rho\kappa\kappa\kappa$, ASg ($\rho\kappa\kappa a$), $\rho\kappa\kappa + \text{ʃ}$ for $\rho\kappa\kappa\text{ʃ}$, DLSg ($\rho\kappa\kappa a$); $\lambda\text{ʉ}\beta\lambda.\text{ʉ}\text{ʃ} + \epsilon$ for $\lambda\text{ʉ}\beta\lambda\text{ʉ}\text{ʃ}\epsilon$, NPImBrev [ʃ -Part ($\lambda\text{ʉ}\beta\text{ʃ}\text{ʃ}\text{ʃ}$)]. The inflectional spellout corresponds to the morphological skeleton component by component, and can only differ from it in some cases in the segmental shape of the last formative of the workstem. In the examples above we have $\rho\kappa\kappa + a \text{ — } \rho\kappa\kappa=a$, $\rho\kappa\kappa + \kappa \text{ — } \rho\kappa\kappa=\kappa$, $\rho\kappa\kappa + \text{ʃ} \text{ — } \rho\kappa\kappa=\text{ʃ}$, etc.

For a small number of morphologically anomalous forms, the inflectional spellout and the morphological skeleton is not established. Such are the forms of unique lexemes, e.g. $\text{ʃ}\text{ʃ}\text{ʃ}$, GLPI for $a\text{ʃ}\text{ʃ}$, and syncopated forms of $\text{ʃ}\text{ʃ}\text{ʃ}$ -, ʃ -Part, cf. NSgmnBrev for $\text{ʃ}\text{ʃ}\text{ʃ}$ -Part: $\lambda\text{ʉ}\beta.\text{ʃ}$], $\text{ʃ}\text{ʃ}\text{ʃ}.\text{ʃ}$], and for ʃ -Part: $\lambda\text{ʉ}\beta\lambda.\text{ʃ}$], $\text{ʃ}\text{ʃ}\text{ʃ}.\text{ʃ}$]. (See more details on morphologically anomalous forms in Ch. 24, *Supplement*, § 881, *Excursus on the grammatical regularity of canonical wordforms*).

§ 284. Nominal form construction procedure

Three steps are necessary in order to build a nominal form: (1) construct a workstem (see § 286 below), (2) find the terminal (see § 287 below), and (3) apply boundary adjustment rules (see § 288 below). These steps build the inflectional spellout of the called wordform; transition from that spellout to the phonological or graphic one is handled by the general $\text{mph} \Rightarrow \text{ph/norm}$ rules (see § 63–77).

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The following information is required for these steps. The primary information includes (1) the grammatical description of the called wordform; (2) the graphic shape of the starting wordform of the parent lexeme of the called wordform. These facts are part of the paradigmatic call. The secondary information includes (3) the morphophonological representation of the starting wordform, and (4) the paradigmatic index of the parent lexeme of the called wordform. These data are retrieved from the paradigmatic dictionary.

After the necessary data have been collected, one can proceed to the synthesis of the called wordform.

Forms of unique lexemes are not constructed by rules. Their paradigms are given wholesale, or by samples (see Ch. 12, *Unique nominal lexemes*). Likewise, secondary forms are not built using general rules (see special rules in § 355 for Voc, § 356 for D₂, and § 318 for ad-prepositional forms of the lexemes *и and иже). Morphologically anomalous nominal forms either belong to unique lexemes, or are built by rules; the latter is the case for anomalous forms of шг- and ш- participles.

§ 285. Starting forms of nominal lexemes

In the majority of cases the starting form is given in the dictionary. For adjectives it is the NSgmBrev form. For substantives it is the NSg form. For defective lexemes, the dictionary shows the first form in the representational order.¹ For example, *врата* (2/n *plurale tantum*), *дъва* (2/p *duale tantum*), *прочни* (2/a *plenum tantum*).²

The situation is different for adjectival lexemes of participles and comparatives. Their starting forms are not shown in the dictionary, but are built by special rules from parent lexemes (verbs and ordinary adjectives). On the rules deriving starting forms of participles see Ch. 25, *Summary*, § 918; on comparatives, see Ch. 25, *Summary*, § 919 and ff. Note that шг- and ш-Part and Compar have not one but two starting forms, expanded and syncopated, representing two different workstems of the corresponding paradigm.

¹ Note that the order of the cells in free paradigms is not arbitrary. For example, the order of the cases, N, A, G, L, D, I, reflects the order of the observed joints.

² Let us list all such lexemes. *Pluralia tantum* substantives: *цѣдра, пѣсли, боукъви, вон, врата, гжсли, дрожня, дръва, дѣти, кѣнигы, кѣнижница, лѣдвня, людне, ножница, ноздри, носила, оми, осьпы, плаушта, прьси, пѣготы, пѣта, оуста, чари, чрѣсла*. *Pluralia tantum* adjectives: *трне, четъре*. *Dualia tantum* adjectives: *дъва, оба*. *Plena tantum* adjectives: *котгоръи, прокъи, прочни*. The adjectival lexemes *сѣло* and *рано* are represented by a single form NASgmBrev, which is shown in the dictionary. Defectivity of unique lexemes is not shown outside of the starting forms in these lists. For the anaphoric 3rd person pronoun, the fictional spellout *и is taken to be the starting form; for the defective lexeme of the reflexive pronoun, it is the form *са* (ASg).

§ 286. The first step: building the workstems

In the general case, all forms in nominal paradigms have the same workstem, and thus finding the workstem for any oblique form amounts to extracting it from the starting form. This is not true in the following special cases: (1) in unique lexemes (their paradigmatic index has the symbol 0 above the slash, e.g. *слово 0/п*);³ (2) in lexemes of class 2/а* (*штг-* and *ш-Part*), 2/а** (*Compar*); and (3) in lexemes of class 2/м** (*type гражданинъ*). Lexemes in these three groups have two workstems, an expanded and a syncopated one. Table 286.1 shows examples for all such special cases, and gives references to their more detailed treatment.

Table 286.1. Expanded and syncopated stems in declension

Lexeme	Workstems		
	Syncopated	Expanded	
слово 0/п	слов	слов.ес	Ch. 12
2/а* штг-Part (любити)	люб.а	люб.аштг	§ 307–313
2/а* штг-Part (нести)	нес.ы	нес.жштг	§ 307–313
2/а* штг-Part (любити)	любл.ь	любл.ьш	§ 307–313
2/а** нов'ѣи	нов.ѣj	нов.ѣj.ьш	§ 307–313
2/м** гражданинъ	граждан	граждан.ин	§ 329–332

As these examples show, the expanded stem contains the syncopated one, and in all cases except class 2/а*, the syncopated stem can be derived from the expanded one by dropping the last formative. In class 2/а*, the syncopated stem contains an uninterpretable sequence, apparent scraps of some formative. Word-forms of *штг-* and *ш-* participles that contain syncopated stems are morphologically anomalous, and thus it is not necessary to interpret those fragments.

If a lexeme contains both an expanded and a syncopated stem, it is necessary not only to construct those stems, but also to distribute them in the paradigm correctly. Forms with expanded stems are called *expanded*, while forms with syncopated stems are called *syncopated*. In this inflectional class, and in the relevant group of unique lexemes, the distribution of expanded and syncopated stems in the paradigm is identical.

In all other, normal cases, any oblique form's stem coincides with the workstem of the starting form. Thus, workstems can be derived by dropping the terminal in the starting form. Table 286.2 (p. 152) shows some examples.

³ Note that finding the workstem of unique lexemes is not necessary for the application of paradigmatic synthesis rules. Formally, workstems of unique lexemes fall outside of the aims of this book.

Table 286.2. Workstems of nominal forms

Lexeme	Starting form mph spellout	Workstem mph spellout
2/a БЛАГЪ	БЛАГЪ	БЛАГ
2/a ВЪСТОЧЪНЪ	ВЪЗ.ТОЧ.ЪН.Ъ	ВЪЗ.ТОЧ.ЪН
1/f МОШГЪ	МОГ.Т.Ъ	МОГ.Т
2/f* РАБЪИИ	РАБ.ЪИИ.И	РАБ.ЪИИ
2/m КРАИ	КРАЈ.Ъ	КРАЈ
2/f* СВИНИ	СВИН.Ъ.И	СВИН.Ъј
2/n ВЪШЕСТВИЕ	ВЪЗ.ШЪД.СТЪ.Ъј.Е	ВЪЗ.ШЪД.СТЪ.Ъј
2/f ВЪНА	ВЪИ.А	ВЪИ
2/a ПРОКЪИ <i>plenum tantum</i>	ПРО.К.Ъј.Ъ	ПРО.К

§287. Second step: selection of the terminal

The catalog of nominal terminals contains many different sets. The set is chosen according to the inflectional class of the lexeme using Table 299 (p. 161) or Table 302 (p. 163). Lexemes of class 2/a require two sets: 2-base and 2-combi, the former for short forms and the latter for long forms.

Once the terminal set is chosen, for adjectival lexemes it is necessary to select the terminal that answers the paradigmatic call, and for substantive lexemes, the terminal must also agree with the morphological gender of the substantive that is marked in the paradigmatic index. For substantive lexemes, the terminal must agree with the morphological gender of the substantive that is marked in its paradigmatic index. For example, in the set 1-simplex we have two terminals whose addresses are distinguished only by gender: ⟨ISgm⟩ ЪМЪ (cf. ПЖТЬМЪ for ПЖТЬ for 1/m) and ⟨ISgf⟩ ЪЖ (cf. МЪИСЪМЪЖ for МЪИСЪ for 1/f). After the address is selected, if the cell contains only one terminal, the selection is made. However, in twofold sets (2-base, 2-pron, 2-combi), a single cell can contain two terminals, written with a slash. In that case the terminal is selected by the twofold rule (see § 86): the underslash terminal is chosen if the workstem ends in a morphophonologically soft consonant or epenthetic *j*, otherwise the overslash terminal is chosen. For example, in the set 2-base the address ⟨ISgf⟩ contains ОЖ/ЕИЖ. Accordingly, for stem НОВ the correct terminal is ОЖ (НОВОЖ), while for НИШГ it is ЕИЖ (НИШГЕИЖ).

For inflectional classes whose indices contain stars, we must take into account paradigmatic effects of alien terminals in the paradigm, and syncopated stems in the paradigm (see more details in § 301, *Deformations*).

On terminals of secondary forms see § 355–356.

§288. Third step: boundary adjustment rules

Nontrivial boundary adjustment rules apply only in paradigmatic classes that take twofold terminals (sets 2-base, 2-pron, 2-combi), and only when the workstem ends in a velar (к, г, χ). In these cases, the velar palatalization rule $\kappa \rightarrow \upsilon$ applies

before terminals beginning with *и* or *ѣ*. For example, for DLSg (ржкка) we have ржк + ѣ ⇒ ржц=ѣ; for NPI (врагъ) we have враг + и ⇒ враѕ=и, etc. On the other hand, boundary rules are vacuous in such cases as NPI (ржкка): ржк + ѣ ⇒ ржк=ѣ; DLSg (зѣмѣта): зѣмѣ + и ⇒ зѣмѣ=и; GSg (ржкка) ржк + ѣ ⇒ ржк=ѣ; Gsg (зѣмѣта): зѣмѣ + ѣ ⇒ зѣмѣ=ѣ. Boundary rules take morphological skeleta and produce inflectional spellouts—i.e. the output of paradigmatic synthesis.

In order to derive the final shape of the synthesized form, it is necessary to remove the sign = and apply standard mph ⇒ ph/norm rules. Thus, ржц=ѣ ⇒ ржцѣ; враѕ=и ⇒ враѕи; ржк=ѣ ⇒ ржкѣ; зѣмѣ=и ⇒ зѣмѣи; зѣмѣ=ѣ ⇒ зѣмѣѣ; крај=ь ⇒ краи; крај=и ⇒ краи; крај=ѣ ⇒ краѣ, etc.

Nominal terminals

§ 289. A catalog of terminals

The catalog contains seven terminal sets. Tables 289.1 and 289.2 (see pp. 154 and 155) show all sets of nominal terminals.

§ 290. Explanation of notation

1. Neighboring cells with identical content are unified, which gives a clear spell-out of the joints between cells in the free paradigm. For example, in all sets, N and A are only distinguished in feminine singular and in masculine plural.
2. A cell in a set can contain one terminal (e.g. ⟨GSgm⟩ in the set 2-base), or two terminals. In the latter case they are separated by a slash (/) that indicates twofold variance. Terminals of the hard subtype are shown above the slash (overslash), terminals of the soft subtype are shown below the slash (underslash). See § 86, *The twofold rule*.
3. The set *c*-simplex shows terminals that are distributed by lexeme, separated by commas (see Ch. 12 for the declension of unique lexemes). The NSg cells arbitrarily show ∅; an alternative solution might assume forms without a terminal here (cf. aberrant камъ|т; имѣ|н; ѣѣѣ|ѣ), as in the participles несы|ог молѣ|.
4. Some cells show two spellouts of a terminal, graphics and morphophonology, cf. ии and иѣ.и in ⟨NPIm⟩ of the 2-combi set. A period separates boundaries between the components of bicomponential terminals; see § 295 below.

Table 289.1. Twofold terminal sets

Number			Gender		
Basic twofold: 2-base		Pronominal: 2-pron		Combined: 2-combi	
Number	Case	m	n	f	Non-standard Set
Sg	N	Ъ/Ь	О/Е	А	АПА АІ.А ЖІЖ
	A		О/Е	Ж	ЖІ.Ж
	G	А	ОПА/ЕПА ОІ.А/ОІ.А	Ж	ЖІ.Ж
	L	Ъ/И	ОИ/ЕИ ОІ.И/ОІ.И	Ж	ЖІ.Ж
	D	ОУ	ОИ/ЕИ ОІ.И/ОІ.И	Ж	ЖІ.Ж
Du	I	ОМЬ/ЕМЬ	ОЖ/ЕЖ ОІ.Ж/ОІ.Ж	Ж	ЖІ.Ж
	NA	А	Ъ/И	Ж	ЖІ.Ж
Pl	GL	ОУ		Ж	ЖІ.Ж
	DI	ОМА/ЕМА	ОЖ/ЕЖ ОІ.Ж/ОІ.Ж	Ж	ЖІ.Ж
	N	И	ОИ/ЕИ ОІ.И/ОІ.И	Ж	ЖІ.Ж
Pl	A	Ъ/А	А	Ж	ЖІ.Ж
	G	Ъ/Ь		Ж	ЖІ.Ж
	L	ЪХЪ/ИХЪ	Ж	Ж	ЖІ.Ж
	D	ОМЪ/ЕМЪ	Ж	Ж	ЖІ.Ж
Pl	I	Ъ/И	Ж	Ж	ЖІ.Ж

Table 289.2. Monovariate terminal sets

Number		Gender Case	Standard set		nonstandard sets			
			i-declension 1-simplex		c-simplex			u-simplex
			m	f	m	n	f	m
Sg	N	ь	ь		∅	и, ∅		
	A							
	G	и		ε			оу	
	L							
	D							
	I							ь.м.ь
Du	NA	и		ε.м.ь		ь.м.ь		
	GL	и.о. б.ж.о.у					ь.и	
	DI	ь.м.а						о.в.и
Pl	N	и.е. б.ж.ε	и	ε	и	о.в.ε		
	A	и						
	G	и.и. б.ж.ь		ε.х'ь			о.в.ь	
	L	ь.х'ь						
	D	ь.м'ь		ε.м'ь			ь.х'ь	
	I	ь.м.и						ь.м.и

§ 291. The paradigmatic meaning of terminal sets

Each lexeme follows one set of terminals from one of the *standard sets*, i.e. all forms in the paradigm of the same lexeme take the terminals of the same set. Thus, standard terminal sets determine the paradigmatic standard of nominal lexeme classes. Accordingly, the opposition between standard sets is a paradigmatic one: the selection by a lexeme of a particular terminal set is determined by its paradigmatic class.

Nonstandard terminal sets do not create independent declension types. However, being part of particular nominal paradigms, they sometimes create *deformed paradigms* (paradigmatic classes 2/f*, 2/a*, 2/a**, 2/m*, 2/m**), and in other cases they create *aberrant wordforms*. In the case of the personal dative (D₂), they create *secondary wordforms* (terminals from the 2-duplex set). These terminals are also found in the paradigms of unique lexemes.

§292. An overview of terminal sets

Terminal sets are classified, on the one hand, as standard vs. nonstandard, and on the other, as twofold vs. monovariate, as shown in Table 292. The table shows synonymous names of terminal sets that are found in the literature, and in this book.

Twofold terminal sets differ from monovariate ones in that some cells have two variants of terminals, cf. *ъ/ь*, *ѣ/и*, etc. Such terminals are called twofold. In these cases, the two versions of the terminals are each other's morphophonological variants distributed by the twofold rule.

Table 292. Overview of terminal sets

	Standard	Nonstandard
Twofold	Basic twofold 2-base Pronominal twofold 2-pron Combined twofold 2-combi	New 2-base 2-duplex
Simple (monovariate)	<i>i</i> -declension 1-simplex	c-simplex u-simplex

§293. Overview of terminal types

All terminals are either twofold or monovariate, and bicomponential (the first component separated from the second component by a period in morphophonological representations) or monocomponential. Monocomponential terminals, in turn, can be monosyllabic or disyllabic.

In the combined set (2-combi) all terminals are bicomponential; in the basic set (2-base), only one terminal is bicomponential, viz. ISgf *ѡѣ/ѡѣѣ*. In the pronominal set (2-pron), there are four such terminals, viz. GSgf *ѡѣѣ/ѡѣѣѣ*, LDSgf *ѡи/ѡи*, ISgf *ѡѣѣ/ѡѣѣѣ*, and GLDumf *ѡѡ/ѡѡ*. See Table 293.

Table 293. Overview of terminals in standard sets

	Monocomponential		Bicomponential		
	Monosyllabic	Disyllabic			
Twofold	<i>ъ/ь</i> <i>ѡ/ѡ</i> <i>ѣ/ѣ</i> <i>ѣ/и</i> <i>ѣ/и</i>	<i>ѡѡ/ѡѡ</i> <i>ѣѣ/ѣѣ</i> <i>ѡѣ/ѡѣ</i> <i>ѣѣ/ѣѣ</i> <i>ѡѡѣ/ѡѡѣ</i> <i>ѣѣѣ/ѣѣѣ</i> <i>ѡѣѣ/ѡѣѣ</i> <i>ѣѣѣ/ѣѣѣ</i> <i>ѡѣѣѣ/ѡѣѣѣ</i> <i>ѣѣѣѣ/ѣѣѣѣ</i>	<i>ѡѣ.ѡѣ.ѡѣ</i> <i>ѡѣ.ѡѣ.ѡѣ</i> <i>ѡѣ.ѡѣ.ѡѣ</i> <i>ѡѣ.ѡѣ.ѡѣ</i> <i>ѡѣ.ѡѣ.ѡѣ</i>	<i>ѣѣ.ѣѣ.ѣѣ</i> <i>ѣѣ.ѣѣ.ѣѣ</i> <i>ѣѣ.ѣѣ.ѣѣ</i> <i>ѣѣ.ѣѣ.ѣѣ</i> <i>ѣѣ.ѣѣ.ѣѣ</i>	<i>ѣѣ.ѣѣ.ѣѣ</i> <i>ѣѣ.ѣѣ.ѣѣ</i> <i>ѣѣ.ѣѣ.ѣѣ</i> <i>ѣѣ.ѣѣ.ѣѣ</i> <i>ѣѣ.ѣѣ.ѣѣ</i>
Monovariate	<i>ѡ</i> <i>ѣ</i> <i>и</i> <i>ѡѣ</i> <i>ѣ</i>	<i>ѡѡ</i> <i>ѣѣ</i> <i>ѡѣ</i> <i>ѣѣ</i> <i>ѡѣ</i> <i>ѣѣ</i> <i>ѡѣ</i> <i>ѣѣ</i> <i>ѡѣ</i> <i>ѣѣ</i>	<i>ѡѣ.ѡ</i> <i>ѡѣ.ѡѡ</i> <i>ѡѣ.ѡѡ</i> <i>ѡѣ.ѡѡ</i> <i>ѡѣ.ѡѡ</i> <i>ѡѣ.ѡѡ</i> <i>ѡѣ.ѡѡ</i> <i>ѡѣ.ѡѡ</i> <i>ѡѣ.ѡѡ</i> <i>ѡѣ.ѡѡ</i>	<i>ѡѣ.ѡѡ</i> <i>ѡѣ.ѡѡ</i> <i>ѡѣ.ѡѡ</i> <i>ѡѣ.ѡѡ</i> <i>ѡѣ.ѡѡ</i>	<i>ѣѣ.ѣѣ</i> <i>ѣѣ.ѣѣ</i> <i>ѣѣ.ѣѣ</i> <i>ѣѣ.ѣѣ</i> <i>ѣѣ.ѣѣ</i>

§ 294. Disyllabic monocomponential terminals in standard sets

All such terminals contain the consonant χ or μ , except for the peculiar terminal $\sigma\sigma/\epsilon\sigma$; cf. Table 294.

Table 294. Disyllabic monocomponential terminals in standard sets

Initial \ Final	$\chi\zeta$	$\mu\zeta$	$\mu\beta$	$\mu\alpha$	$\mu\sigma\gamma$	$\mu\eta$
α	$\alpha\chi\zeta$	$\alpha\mu\zeta$		$\alpha\mu\alpha$		$\alpha\mu\eta$
β	$\beta\chi\zeta$	$\beta\mu\zeta$	$\beta\mu\beta$	$\beta\mu\alpha$		$\beta\mu\eta$
σ/ϵ		$\sigma\mu\zeta/\epsilon\mu\zeta$	$\sigma\mu\beta/\epsilon\mu\beta$	$\sigma\mu\alpha/\epsilon\mu\alpha$	$\sigma\mu\sigma\gamma/\epsilon\mu\sigma\gamma$	
β/η	$\beta\chi\zeta/\eta\chi\zeta$	$\beta\mu\zeta/\eta\mu\zeta$	$\beta\mu\beta/\eta\mu\beta$	$\beta\mu\alpha/\eta\mu\alpha$		$\beta\mu\eta/\eta\mu\eta$

§ 295. Bicomponential terminals

Bicomponential are terminals that consist of two formatives. The first component of such terminals can be a suffixal formative or one of the inflectional terminals; the second component can only be inflectional. Table 295 (continued on p. 158) shows all bicomponential nominal terminals and their decomposition.

Table 295. Decomposition of bicomponential terminals

	m	n	f
NSg	(2-combi) $\zeta\dot{\iota}.\beta/\beta\dot{\iota}.\beta$	(2-combi) $\sigma\dot{\iota}.\epsilon/\epsilon\dot{\iota}.\epsilon$	(2-combi) $\alpha\dot{\iota}.\alpha$
ASg			(2-combi) $\mu\dot{\iota}.\mu$
Simple composition of the form 2-base + 2-pron.			
GSg	(2-combi) $\alpha\dot{\iota}.\epsilon\sigma$		(2-combi) $\zeta\dot{\iota}.\alpha/\alpha\dot{\iota}.\alpha$, (2-pron) $\sigma\dot{\jmath}.\alpha/\epsilon\dot{\jmath}.\alpha$
In (2-combi) $\alpha\dot{\iota}.\epsilon\sigma$, simple composition of the form 2-base + 2-pron: $\alpha + \sigma\sigma/\epsilon\sigma$.			
In (2-combi) $\zeta\dot{\iota}.\alpha/\alpha\dot{\iota}.\alpha$, nontrivial composition of the form 2-base + 2-pron: $\zeta\dot{\iota}/\alpha + \sigma\dot{\jmath}.\alpha/\epsilon\dot{\jmath}.\alpha$.			
In (2-pron) $\sigma\dot{\jmath}.\alpha/\epsilon\dot{\jmath}.\alpha$, simple composition of the form $\sigma\dot{\jmath}/\epsilon\dot{\jmath} + 2$ -base: $\sigma\dot{\jmath}/\epsilon\dot{\jmath} + \zeta\dot{\iota}/\alpha$.			
LSg	(2-combi) $\beta\dot{\iota}.\epsilon\mu\beta/\eta\dot{\iota}.\epsilon\mu\beta$		(2-combi) $\beta\dot{\iota}.\eta/\eta\dot{\iota}.\eta$, (2-pron) $\sigma\dot{\jmath}.\eta/\epsilon\dot{\jmath}.\eta$
In (2-combi) $\beta\dot{\iota}.\epsilon\mu\beta/\eta\dot{\iota}.\epsilon\mu\beta$, simple composition of the form 2-base + 2-pron: $\beta/\eta + \sigma\mu\beta/\epsilon\mu\beta$. Note that the canonical terminal $\eta\dot{\iota}.\epsilon\mu\beta$ is unattested: sources show only aberrant forms with terminals $\eta\mu\beta$ and $\eta\mu\mu\beta$.			
In (2-combi) $\beta\dot{\iota}.\eta/\eta\dot{\iota}.\eta$ nontrivial composition of the form 2-base + 2-pron: $\beta/\eta + \sigma\dot{\jmath}.\eta/\epsilon\dot{\jmath}.\eta$.			
In (2-pron) $\sigma\dot{\jmath}.\eta/\epsilon\dot{\jmath}.\eta$ simple composition: $\sigma\dot{\jmath}/\epsilon\dot{\jmath} + 2$ -base.			
DSg	(2-combi) $\sigma\gamma\dot{\iota}.\epsilon\mu\sigma\gamma$		See LSg
Simple composition of the form 2-base + 2-pron.			

Table 295 (continued). Decomposition of bicomponential terminals

	m	n	f
ISg	(2-combi) ъі.нмь/ьі.нмь		(2-base=2-pron) ој.ж/еј.ж, (2-combi) жі.ж, (1-simplex) њ.ж
<p>In (2-combi) ъі.нмь/ьі.нмь nontrivial composition of the form 2-base + 2-pron: оль/емь + ъль/нмь → ъ/ь + ъль/нмь, where the first component is the auxiliary formative ъ/ь, identified with the terminal ъ/ь (NASgm, (2-base)).</p> <p>In (2-combi) жі.ж nontrivial composition of the form 2-base + 2-pron: ој.ж/еј.ж + ој.ж/еј.ж → ж + ж, where both participants of the composition lose the inserted formative ој/еј.</p> <p>In (2-base=2-pron) ој.ж/еј.ж simple composition ој/еј + ж, where ж is the (ISg) mark (§ 297).</p> <p>In (1-simplex) њ.ж simple composition њ + ж.</p>			
NADu	(2-combi) аі.а	(2-combi) ъі.н/ні.н	
Simple composition of the form 2-base + 2-pron.			
GLDu	(2-combi) оуі.оу, (2-pron) ој.оу/еј.оу, (1-simplex) њ.оу		
<p>In (2-combi) оуі.оу nontrivial composition of the form 2-base + 2-pron: оу + ој.оу/еј.оу.</p> <p>In (2-pron) and (1-simplex) simple composition of the form ој/еј + 2-base and њ + 2-base.</p>			
DIDu	(2-combi) ъі.нма/ьі.нма		
<p>Nontrivial composition of the form 2-base + 2-pron: ома/ема, ама + ъма/нма with the substitution of the first component (ома/ема, ама are terminals 2-base) by the auxiliary formative ъ/ь.</p>			
NPI	(2-combi) ні.н, (1-simplex) њ.ε	(2-combi) аі.а	(2-combi) ъі.а/аі.а
<p>In (2-combi) simple composition of the form 2-base + 2-pron.</p> <p>In (1-simplex) simple composition њ + ε, where ε terminal from the c-simplex set.</p>			
API	(2-combi) ъі.а/аі.а	See NPI	
Simple composition of the form 2-base + 2-pron.			
GPI	(2-combi) ъі.нхъ/ьі.нхъ, (1-simplex) њ.ь		
<p>In (2-combi) simple composition of the form 2-base + 2-pron.</p> <p>In (1-simplex) simple composition њ + 2-base.</p>			
LPI	(2-combi) ъі.нхъ/ьі.нхъ		
<p>Nontrivial composition of the form 2-base + 2-pron: ъхъ/нхъ, ахъ + ъхъ/нхъ with the replacement of the first member of the compound by the auxiliary formative ъ/ь.</p>			
DPI	(2-combi) ъі.нмъ/ьі.нмъ		
<p>Nontrivial composition of the form 2-base + 2-pron: олъ/емъ, алъ + ълъ/нмъ with the replacement of the first member of the compound by the auxiliary formative ъ/ь.</p>			
IPI	(2-combi) ъі.нми/ні.нми		(2-combi) ъі.нми/ьі.нми
<p>In (2-combi) ъі.нми/ні.нми simple composition of the form 2-base + 2-pron.</p> <p>In (2-combi) ъі.нми/ьі.нми nontrivial composition of the form 2-base + 2-pron: ами + ъми/нми with the replacement of the first member of the compound by the auxiliary formative ъ/ь.</p>			

§296. Simple and nontrivial compositions

Terminals in the 2-combi set may result from simple or nontrivial composition. In simple composition, two formatives are simply placed next to each other. In nontrivial composition, the result, i.e. the bicomponential terminal, cannot be represented as a sequence of formatives. The sequence is simplified: the suffixal formative oj/ej is deleted, and disyllabic monocomponential terminals that are the first member of the composition are replaced with the auxiliary formative $\text{ь}/\text{ь}$. All nontrivial compositions are listed in Table 296.

Table 296. Nontrivial compositions

Address	Composition	Mapping
GSgf	$\text{ь}/\text{ь} + \text{oj.ь}/\text{ej.ь}$	$\text{oj}/\text{ej} \Rightarrow \emptyset$
	$\text{ь.ь}/\text{ь.ь}$	
LDSgf	$\text{ь}/\text{н} + \text{oj.н}/\text{ej.н}$	$\text{oj}/\text{ej} \Rightarrow \emptyset$
	$\text{ь.н}/\text{н.н}$	
ISgmn	$\text{омь}/\text{емь} + \text{ь.нь}/\text{ннь}$	$\text{омь}/\text{емь} \Rightarrow \text{ь}/\text{ь}$
	$\text{ь.ннь}/\text{ь.ннь}$	
ISgf	$\text{oj.ж}/\text{ej.ж} + \text{oj.ж}/\text{ej.ж}$	$\text{oj}/\text{ej} \Rightarrow \emptyset$
	ж.ж	
GLDu	$\text{оу} + \text{oj.оу}/\text{ej.оу}$	$\text{oj}/\text{ej} \Rightarrow \emptyset$
	оу.оу	
DIDu	$\text{ома}/\text{ема}, \text{ама} + \text{ь.ма}/\text{нма}$	$\text{ома}/\text{ема}, \text{ама} \Rightarrow \text{ь}/\text{ь}$
	$\text{ь.нма}/\text{ь.нма}$	
LPI	$\text{ьхъ}/\text{нхъ}, \text{ахъ} + \text{ьхъ}/\text{нхъ}$	$\text{ьхъ}/\text{нхъ}, \text{ахъ} \Rightarrow \text{ь}/\text{ь}$
	$\text{ь.нхъ}/\text{ь.нхъ}$	
DPI	$\text{омъ}/\text{емъ}, \text{амъ} + \text{ь.мъ}/\text{нмъ}$	$\text{омъ}/\text{емъ}, \text{амъ} \Rightarrow \text{ь}/\text{ь}$
	$\text{ь.нмъ}/\text{ь.нмъ}$	
IPIf	$\text{амн} + \text{ь.мн}/\text{нмн}$	$\text{амн} \Rightarrow \text{ь}/\text{ь}$
	$\text{ь.нмн}/\text{ь.нмн}$	

Note that ISgf terminals use the arbitrary monocomponential terminal ж , which is not represented for that paradigmatic cell in any of the terminal sets, but is found in compositions. Such are:

- 1) the simple composition $\text{oj}/\text{ej} + \text{ж}$, which creates the terminal $\text{oj.ж}/\text{ej.ж}$ (ISgf 2-base and 2-pron);
- 2) the simple composition $\text{ьj} + \text{ж}$, which forms the terminal ьj.ж (ISgf 1-simplex),
- 3) the nontrivial composition of the type 2-base + 2-pron, which forms the terminal ж.ж (ISgf 2-combi from $\text{oj.ж}/\text{ej.ж} + \text{oj.ж}/\text{ej.ж}$).

§297. On the terminals oj/ej and жж

The terminal $\text{oj.ж}/\text{ej.ж}$ as part of 2-base is a unique one: this set has no other bicomponential terminal. At the same time, 2-pron contains four bicomponential

terminals, and they all contain the formative σ_j/ϵ_j as their first component; these are: $(\sigma_j/\epsilon_j).a$, $(\sigma_j/\epsilon_j).n$, $(\sigma_j/\epsilon_j).o_f$, and $(\sigma_j/\epsilon_j).k$. Thus, it turns out that the terminal $(\sigma_j/\epsilon_j).k$ in 2-base is secondary, in that it is a nonstandard terminal from a different set, namely from 2-pron. The primary member of 2-base is the mono-componential terminal k . This interpretation fully agrees with the composition $k + k \Rightarrow k_1k$ as part of 2-combi, and with the observed aberrant spellouts such as сѢ ВОІЕВОДѢК SUPR 72, 19; cf. also пРАВЪДАКѢК PS SIN 30, 2. See § 403.

§ 298. On the etymology of 2-combi terminals

As is well-known, long adjectival forms, i.e. forms that take 2-combi terminals, are reflexes of case-number forms of combinations containing a short-form adjective with the pronoun *и, where those anaphoric pronominal forms function as a postpositive article. The synchronic description presented above does not contradict this accepted etymology, even though it is different in some details (see Van Wijk, p. 292–295; Lunt 2001, § 4.3–4.4).

Declension types

§ 299. Paradigmatic classes of nominals: declension types and inflectional classes

The division of nominal lexemes into paradigmatic classes must line up with the similarities and differences in their paradigmatic behavior, in such a way that information on a lexeme's paradigmatic class ensures the correct application of the algorithm of paradigmatic synthesis. Roughly speaking, two lexemes belong to the same paradigmatic class if they are declined in the same way—in other words, if they follow the same paradigmatic standard. Membership of a lexeme in a paradigmatic class is shown in the paradigmatic dictionary.

In partitioning the set of lexemes into classes we distinguish larger classes, which are called *declension types* (there are three types, namely: basic twofold, pronominal twofold, and monovariate), and smaller classes, called *inflectional classes*, of which there are eight, each with its own paradigmatic index: 2/a, 2/p, and 1/a for adjectives and 2/m, 2/n, 2/f, 1/m, and 1/f for substantives. Declension types only take into account the terminal set, and reflect different morphological mechanisms (twofold vs. monovariate); inflectional classes further distinguish adjectives from substantives, and, in the latter case, morphological gender. The digit in the paradigmatic index shows whether the lexeme is monovariate (1) or twofold (2); the letter specifies the inflectional class: simple adjectives (a); pronominal adjectives (p); substantives that are masculine (m), neuter (n), and feminine (f). In the inflectional class 2/a, the set 2-base builds short forms, and the set 2-combi builds long forms. The partitioning is shown in Table 299.

Table 299. Standard inflectional classes and terminal sets

Classes Types	Adjectival lexemes	Substantive lexemes divided by gender		
		S(m)	S(n)	S(f)
Basic twofold	2-base and 2-combi	2-base		
	2/а НОВЪ/НИШГЪ	2/м ГРАДЪ/КОИЪ	2/п СЕЛО/ПОЛІЕ	2/ф ЖЕНА/ЗЕМЛІА
Pronominal twofold	2-pron	None		
	2/р ТЪ/НАШЪ			
Monovariate	1-simplex			
	1/а ТРИЕ	1/м ПЖЪ	None	1/ф КОСТЬ

The eight inflectional classes shown above are basic, or standard, inflectional classes. Monovariate declension is also called *i-declension*. Twofold declension types (basic and pronominal) are sometimes unified under the term *twofold declension*. The pronominal twofold type can be simply called *pronominal*. Twofold types distinguish *soft* and *hard* subtypes (in the Table 299, the overslash form is an example of a lexeme of the hard subtype, and the underslash form is an example of a lexeme of the soft subtype). Whether a given lexeme belongs to the hard or soft subtype is determined unambiguously by the ending of its workstem: a lexeme belongs to the soft subtype if its workstem ends in a morphophonologically soft consonant or vowel, and otherwise belongs to the hard subtype.

The classification does not show marginal subclasses of the main classes (the so-called *deformations*; see § 301), and *unique* lexemes, which are outside of this classification (see details in Ch. 12, *Unique nominal lexemes*).

§ 300. A note on the notion of declension type

The notion of paradigmatic class by itself does not take into account those differences in the paradigmatic behavior of lexemes that stand in complementary distribution in an obvious way according to some traits of the lexeme. In other words, differences in behavior are treated as properly paradigmatic only when they are a lexical feature of the lexeme, and are not derivable from any of its other features (including its other lexical features).

For this reason, substantive lexemes of the three genders are unified under a common declension type.⁴ Gender differences in terminals (cf. NSg in 2-base: masculine *ъ/ь*, neuter *о/е*, feminine *а*, e.g. ^Мградъ, ^Мкоиъ; ^Нсело, ^Нполие; ^Фжена,

⁴ Trubeckoj was the first to introduce such a distinction in inflectional types for OCS, namely by unifying nouns of different genders into one declension type (Trubeckoj 1954); see also Lunt 1974, Lunt 2001. For modern Slavic languages this distinction can be found in Zaliznjak's *Russian nominal inflection* (Zaliznjak 1967).

Ῥεμλτα) stand in complementary distribution by a word-classifying characteristic of substantive lexemes, namely by its morphological gender. The fact that substantives and adjectives are served by the same set of terminals (2-base) allows us to classify them in the same declension type. Likewise, the same declension type contains both the so-called hard and soft subtypes, cf. Ῥραδъ and Ῥκοиъ, and likewise Ῥελο and Ῥπολιε, Ῥжена and Ῥεμλτα (see more details on the twofold rule in § 85–91).

The classification adopted here differs from the tradition found in Slavic studies (with etymological classification of lexemes by morphophonological stem types, into *a-stems, *ja-stems, etc.). Here, several traditional classes are unified into a single class. A system with so few classes is not always convenient in practice. The resulting working classification, i.e. the classification into inflectional classes, that is found in this book and fixed in the paradigmatic dictionary, is considered in more detail in § 302.

Table 301. An overview of deformations

Declension type	Index	Alien terminals	Syncopated stems
Basic twofold	2/a* шт- and ш-Part § 307–313	NSgf и, NPlm ε	See morphology and distribution of syncopated stems in § 307–313
	2/a** Compar § 307–313		
	2/m* дѣлатель § 329–332	NPlm ε	None
	2/m** гражданинъ § 329–332		гражданин — Sg and Du гражданин — Pl
	2/f* рабъи § 345–348	NSgf и	None
Pronominal	2/p* вьсь § 319–320	Mixing of soft and hard terminals	None

§ 301. Deformations

Deformations of standard inflectional classes are created by paradigmatic effects that destroy specific paradigmatic cells. Outside of the destroyed cells, the lexeme follows the paradigmatic standard that is defined for the superordinate standard class. Paradigmatic effects that create deformations amount to replacing a terminal with some other, “alien” terminal (the alien terminals in the par-

adigm effect), or in destroying the unity of workstem (the syncopated stems in the paradigmatic effect). An overview of deformations is shown in Table 301. See details in Ch. 11, *An overview of nominal classes*.

§302. List of inflectional classes

Table 302 shows an exhaustive list of all inflectional classes, taking into account deformations and unique lexemes, and the terminal sets that correspond to them.

Table 302. List of inflectional classes

Class	Declension	Index	Examples	Terminal sets		
A	Twofold	2/a	новъ/ништъ	2-base and 2-combi	§ 303–306	
		2/a*	штг- and ш-Part		§ 307–313	
		2/a**	Compar			
		2/p	тъ/нашь	2-pron	§ 314–318	
	2/p*	вьсь, сиць	§ 319–320			
Monovariate	1/a	трѣ	1-simplex	§ 321–322		
S	Twofold	2/m	градъ/коѣ	2-base	§ 326–328	
		2/m*	дѣлатель		§ 329–332	
		2/m**	гражданинъ			
		2/n	село/полюе		§ 338–340	
		2/f	жена/земля		§ 342–344	
		2/f*	рабъиин		§ 345–348	
	Monovariate	1/m	пжтъ	1-simplex	§ 333–335	
		1/f	кость		§ 349–351	
	Unique		0/n	има etc. ¹⁾	Mixed	§ 358–366
			0/f	дъшти etc. ²⁾		§ 367–370
			0/m	господь, десять		§ 371–374
0/s			азь, ты, сѧ	§ 381–382		
0/p			сь, кѣи, кѣто, чѣто	§ 375–380		
A		0/a	четъире		§ 383–384	

¹⁾ Here are all 22 unique lexemes with the index 0/n: агна, брѣма, врѣма, жрѣба, има, исто, клюса, козья, коло, небо, овья, око, осьла, отроча, писма, плема, слово, сѣма, тѣло, оухо, числа, чоудо.

²⁾ Here are all 14 unique lexemes with the index 0/f: брады, боукъви, дъшти, жрынъ, локы, любы, мати, неподы, прѣлюбы, свекры, смокы, хоржгы, цръкы, цѣлы.

Clearly, apart from unique lexemes, every inflectional class corresponds to a particular terminal set. This is not the case only for adjectival lexemes 2/a, because each such lexeme has two paradigms: a paradigm for short forms (2-base), and a paradigm for long forms (2-combi). Conversely, the same terminal set can serve several inflectional classes distinguished by gender (in the case of substantival lexemes), or by the application of various paradigmatic effects.

An overview of nominal classes

Adjectives

Class 2/a: НОВЪ/НИШТЬ

§ 303. Class membership

This class contains about 1000 lexemes.¹ The distinction between hard and soft subtypes is made by the final sound of the workstem. Possible ends of the workstem are shown in Table 303.

Table 303. Possible ends of workstems in class 2/a

Hard subtype		Soft subtype				
Simple	к, г, х	ц, с	ъ, ѣ, ѣ	Shibilants	ј	V(i)
СЛАВЪ СВИНЪ СЫГЪ	БЛАГЪ ШИРОКЪ ЛИХЪ	Only ниць	орьлъ ближьнъ матѣрь	лъжь пѣшь отъчь пророчъ	БОЖИ [БОЖ.Ь]=Ь]	БОУИ [БОУ.И]=Ь]
About 900		About 100				

¹ Večerka's dictionary sometimes lists wordforms with adverbial use as separate lexemes. Cf. the two entries ТЪЧНО and ТЪЧНЫ. The present grammar treats all such forms under the corresponding adjectival lexemes.

§ 304. Profiles

Here are the profiles of some type representatives.²

	новъ 2/а					
	Short			Long		
	m	n	f	m	n	f
NSg	новъ	ново	нова	новъин	новоіе	новага
ASg			новъж			новъжж
NPI	нови	нова	новы	новиин	новага	новыьа
API	новы			новыьа		

	тихъ 2/а					
	Short			Long		
	m	n	f	m	n	f
NSg	тихъ	тихо	тиха	тихъин	тихоіе	тихага
ASg			тихъж			тихъжж
NPI	тиси	тиха	тихы	тисиин	тихага	тихыьа
API	тихы			тихыьа		

	добль 2/а					
	Short			Long		
	m	n	f	m	n	f
NSg	добль	добліе	доблга	доблнин	добліеіе	доблгага
ASg			добльж			добльжж
NPI	доблн	доблга	добльа	доблнин	доблгага	добльаьа
API	добльа			добльаьа		

	божин [бож.бј.ь] 2/a <i>breve tantum</i>			прочин [проч.ыі.ь] 2/a <i>plenum tantum</i>		
	Short			Long		
	m	n	f	m	n	f
NSg	божин [бож.бј]=ь]	божиніе [бож.бј]=іе]	божина [бож.бј]=а]	прочин [проч=ыі.ь]	прочіеіе [проч=іі.іе]	прочага [проч=аі.а]
ASg			божинж [бож.бј]=ж]			прочжж [проч=жі.ж]
NPI	божин [бож.бј]=и]	божина [бож.бј]=а]	божиньа [бож.бј]=а]	прочин [проч=иі.и]	прочага [проч=аі.а]	прочльа [проч=аі.а]
API	божиньа [бож.бј]=а]			прочльа [проч=аі.а]		

§ 305. A note on long/short forms

Some adjectival lexemes have no short forms. Such are прочин, прокъин, and которъин. For many lexemes, long forms are not attested; it is difficult to identify

² On aberrant contracted forms of full adjectives see § 394–395.

among them the class of systematically defective ones. Some suffixes can create morphophonological problems for long forms, e.g. the suffix *ьј* (cf. *божин*). The dictionary does not mark such adjectives in any way (see details in Vaillant, § 86).

§306. Word-formation characteristics

This class can contain both root and suffixal adjectives. Table 306 shows examples.

Table 306. Word-formation adjectives subtypes

	Hard subtype	Soft subtype
Root	новъ, старъ, нагъ, свинъ, тѣснъ, таснъ, лѣвъ, прѣвъ	боѹи, соѹи, шоѹи, говаждъ, кънажъ, лъжъ, добѣль, вельеждъ
Suffixal	рабьскъ, лъживъ, въсокъ, веселъ, славынъ, юговъ	львини, божини, дальнѣ, искрънѣ, осьль

Many nominals belonging to the soft subtype are the result of *segmentless substitutive softening* (see § 864). Such are, for example, *говаждъ*, *лъжъ*, *добѣль*, and also such adjectives as *осьль* or *вельеждъ*, which are possessive for substantives (cf. *осьль*, *вельеждъ*).

Class 2/a*: шт-Part and ш-Part, and class 2/a**: Compar

§307. Class membership

These classes contain all шт- and ш-participles (2/a*) and all comparatives (2/a**). Recall that the starting forms of the adjectival lexemes under consideration are not listed in the dictionary.³ For participles, these lexemes are formed by the rules of paradigmatic synthesis of verb forms (see Ch. 25, *Summary*, § 918); for comparatives they are formed by the comparative formation rules (see Ch. 25, *Summary*, § 919 and ff).

§308. Paradigmatic peculiarities

The paradigms of the lexemes under consideration show two differences from standard behavior of the class 2/a.

First, they distinguish *syncopated* and *expanded* wordforms and workstems (the syncopated stems in the paradigmatic effect), and, accordingly, have two starting forms: syncopated and expanded (see below, § 309–311).

Second, in some forms they take terminals from a nonstandard terminal set (the alien terminals effect). (See below in Table 312, p. 170).

³ This is not the case for the 14 *comparativum tantum* lexemes, which are listed in § 281.

§ 309. Starting forms and workstems, syncopated and expanded

All three classes of adjectives under discussion have two starting forms: a syncopated one for forming syncopated forms, and an expanded one for expanded forms. The starting forms for all three adjective classes are the same:

Syncopated	Expanded
NSgmBrev	NSgfBrev

Table 309 shows examples of syncopated and expanded starting forms and their workstems.

Table 309. Examples of syncopated and expanded *штг*- and *ш*-participles and comparatives (Compar)

Syncopated		Expanded	
Starting form	Workstem	Starting form	Workstem
<i>штг</i> -Part (молити)			
мол.ѡ [молѡ]	мол.ѡ	мол.ѡштг=и [молѡштги]	мол.ѡштг
<i>штг</i> -Part (нести)			
нес.џ [несџ]	нес.џ	нес.џштг=и [несџштги]	нес.џштг
<i>ш</i> -Part (молити)			
мол.ь [моль]	мол.ь	мол.ьш=и [мольши]	мол.ьш
<i>ш</i> -Part (нести)			
нес.ъ [несъ]	нес.ъ	нес.ъш=и [несъши]	нес.ъш
Compar (новъ)			
нов.ѳј=ь [новѳи]	нов.ѳј	нов.ѳј.ьш=и [новѳиши]	нов.ѳј.ьш
Compar (гржебъ)			
гржел=ь [гржелъ]	гржел	гржел.ьш=и [гржелъши]	гржел.ьш

Starting forms of syncopated forms of *штг*- and *ш*-participles are anomalous. They have no terminals, and the *syncopated workstem* is the whole wordform itself.

Starting forms of syncopated forms of comparatives have the standard 2-base soft subtype terminal. As usual, to extract the syncopated workstem from the starting form it is sufficient to remove the terminal.

Expanded workstems in both participles and comparatives are derived according to general rules, namely by removing the terminal *и* from the expanded starting form.

As the examples show, in class 2/a** (comparatives), the syncopated stem differs from the expanded stem by the absence of the suffix *ьш*; in class 2/a* (participles), the syncopated stem contains a poorly interpretable string, a kind of fragment of the suffix of the expanded stem. Syncopated wordforms of *штг*- and *ш*-participles are morphologically anomalous. However, unlike all other anomalous forms, they are formed according to rules.

In all three classes of adjectives, expanded forms contain shibilants in the suffix, while syncopated forms show no suffixal shibilants.

§310. The distribution of syncopated forms

Tables 310.1 and 310.2 show the distribution of syncopated and expanded forms.

Cells that contain syncopated forms are marked by ⊗. While every participle has two distinct syncopated forms, NSgmnBrev and NSgmPlen, comparatives have three distinct syncopated forms, NASgmBrev, NASgnBrev, and NASgmPlen.

Table 310.1. Distribution of syncopated forms in $\omega\Gamma$ -Part and ω -Part

	2/a*: $\omega\Gamma$ -Part and ω -Part					
	Brev (short)			Plen (long)		
	m	n	f	m	n	f
NSg	⊗			⊗		
ASg						

Table 310.2. Distribution of syncopated forms in Compar

	2/a**: Compar					
	Brev (short)			Plen (long)		
	m	n	f	m	n	f
NSg	⊗	⊗		⊗		
ASg						

§311. Formation of oblique syncopated forms

The following holds for participles: the syncopated starting form occupies two paradigmatic cells, namely ⟨NSgmBrev⟩ and ⟨NSgnBrev⟩. In other words, ⟨NSgnBrev⟩ simply coincides with the syncopated starting form. The syncopated form ⟨NSgmPlen⟩ is formed by adding the terminal \mathfrak{b} to the syncopated workstem (or, in other words, by adding the terminal ⟨NSgm⟩ from 2-pron to the ⟨NSgmPlen⟩ form, i.e. in the same way as it happens in the transition from ⟨NSgmBrev⟩ to ⟨NSgmPlen⟩ in ordinary adjectives). For example, $\text{мол.л} + \mathfrak{b} \Rightarrow \text{мол.л.л.б} \Rightarrow \text{моллн}$, or $\text{мол.б} + \mathfrak{b} \Rightarrow \text{мол.б.б.б} \Rightarrow \text{моллнн}$.

The following holds for comparatives: the basic syncopated form occupies two paradigmatic cells, namely ⟨NSgmBrev⟩ and ⟨ASgmBrev⟩. In other words, syncopated forms (i.e. ⟨NASgnBrev⟩ and ⟨NASgmPlen⟩) are formed by adding to the workstem the corresponding 2-base terminals (for short adjectives) and 2-combi (for long adjectives) in their soft subtype, since syncopated workstems end in -j (the so-called new Compar), or a substitutively soft consonant (so-called old

Compar). Thus, we have, for example, NSgnBrev [Compar (новъ)]: нов.ѣj + ε ⇒ нов.ѣε; NSgmPlen [Compar (новъ)]: нов.ѣj + ѣ.ь ⇒ нов.ѣни, etc.

		2/a*: шг-Part and ш-Part					
		Brev (short)			Plen (long)		
		m	n	f	m	n	f
NSg	молл				моллн [молл.ь]		
ASg							

		2/a**: Compar					
		Brev (short)			Plen (long)		
		m	n	f	m	n	f
NSg	грѣбл=ь	грѣбл=ε			грѣбл=ни		
ASg							

§312. Formation of oblique expanded forms

In expanded forms, expanded workstems (which are extracted from the second starting form, namely NSgfBrev) take 2-base terminals (for short forms) and 2-combi terminals (for long forms), except those forms where nonstandard terminals intrude. These forms and terminals are shown in Table 312.

See § 394–396 for aberrant forms.

Table 312. Nonstandard terminals in inflectional classes 2/a* and 2/a**

NSgfBrev	NSgfPlen	NPImBrev	NPImPlen
н	ниа [нi.а]	ε	εн [εi.н]
моллшгн	моллшгниа	моллшгε	моллшгεн
нов.ѣниши	нов.ѣнишиа	нов.ѣнише	нов.ѣнишен

§313. Profiles

Here are the profiles of the corresponding models (the symbol ⊗ marks paradigmatic cells that contain syncopated forms).

		2/a*: шг-Part (молити) — молл, моллшгн					
		Short			Long		
		m	n	f	m	n	f
NSg	⊗ молл			моллшгт=н	⊗ моллн [моллi=ь]	моллшгт=εεε	моллшгт=ниа
ASg	моллшгт=ь	моллшгт=ε	моллшгт=ж		моллшгт=ни		моллшгт=жѣж
NPI	моллшгт=ε				моллшгт=εн		
API	моллшгт=л	моллшгт=а	моллшгт=л		моллшгт=лѣл	моллшгт=ала	моллшгт=лѣл

2/a*: ш-Part (молити) — мо́ль, мо́льши						
Short				Long		
	m	n	f	m	n	f
NSg	⊗ мо́ль		мо́льш=и	⊗ мо́лли [мо́льj=ь]	мо́льш=еє	мо́льш=ниѧ
ASg	мо́льш=ь	мо́льш=є	мо́льш=ѡ	мо́льш=нин		мо́льш=ѡѡѧ
NPI	мо́льш=є		мо́льш=ѧ	мо́льш=єи	мо́льш=ѧѧ	мо́льш=ѧѧѧ
API	мо́льш=ѧ			мо́льш=ѧѧѧ		

2/a**: new Compar новъ — новѣи						
Short				Long		
	m	n	f	m	n	f
NSg	⊗ новѣи	⊗ новѣє	новѣиш=и	⊗ новѣин*	новѣиш=еє	новѣиш=ниѧ
ASg	[нов.ѣj=ь]	[нов.ѣj=є]	новѣиш=ѡ	[нов.ѣj=ьj.ь]		новѣиш=ѡѡѧ
NPI	новѣиш=є		новѣиш=ѧ	новѣиш=єи	новѣиш=ѧѧ	новѣиш=ѧѧѧ
API	новѣиш=ѧ			новѣиш=ѧѧѧ		

* Forms NASgmPlen (on the pattern of новѣини) in new comparative forms are not attested in sources.

2/a**: old Compar грѣвь — грѣвьль						
Short				Long		
	m	n	f	m	n	f
NSg	⊗ грѣвьль*	⊗ грѣвьлє	грѣвьльш=и	⊗ грѣвьлли	грѣвьльш=еє	грѣвьльш=ниѧ
ASg	[грѣвьл=ь]	[грѣвьл=є]	грѣвьльш=ѡ	[грѣвьл=ьj.ь]		грѣвьльш=ѡѡѧ
NPI	грѣвьльш=є		грѣвьльш=ѧ	грѣвьльш=єи	грѣвьльш=ѧѧ	грѣвьльш=ѧѧѧ
API	грѣвьльш=ѧ			грѣвьльш=ѧѧѧ		

* In old comparatives, NASgmBrev (on the pattern of грѣвьль) are not attested in sources. For this reason the form NSgmPlen usually serves as the starting form in dictionaries. Likewise in the PD.

Class 2/p: тъ/нашь

§314. Class membership

This class contains 34 lexemes. These are: ѧкъ, вашь, вьсакъ, вьсѣкъ, дъва, дъвакъ, дъвои, ѣдинакъ, ѣдьнакъ, ѣдинъ, ѣдьнъ, ѣликъ, *и, иже, инакъ, инъ, какъ, коликъ, мон, нашь, оба, обоѧкъ, обои, овъ, онъ, самъ, свои, сѣликъ, такъ, твои, толикъ, трои, тъ, чии. The workstem may end in a morphophonologically soft consonant (ш or j), or a plain consonant or k.

§315. Notes on word formation

Some lexemes in this class are root lexemes, such as **тѣ** [(т).ѣ], **обѣ** [(об).ѣ], **дѣва** [(дѣв).а], while others are suffixal. Note the specifically pronominal suffixes **ак** {13} and **ој** {10}: **какъ** [к.ак.ѣ], **обоіакъ** [об.ој.ак.ѣ], **такъ** [т.ак.ѣ], etc.; **обон** [об.ој.ь], **дѣвон** [дѣв.ој.ь], **трон** [тр.ој.ь], etc. Pronominal lexemes with a suffix are attested in a few examples, which makes it difficult to determine their paradigmatic class (see Vaillant, §99–100).

§316. Combinations with clitics

The following complicates the question of the composition of wordforms for individual pronominal lexemes. In OCS, there are many combinations of the form $p + B_{\text{PRON}} + t + cl$, where p is the prefixal formative **ни** or **нѣ**, B_{PRON} is a lexical pronominal stem, t is a terminal and cl is a postpositive particle **же**, **жде**, or **ждо**.⁴ These combinations are intermediate between a free sequences of wordforms and a single, unitary wordform. Accordingly, it is difficult to determine the set of items in the class under discussion (the number 34 in §314 above shows the lexemes that are included in the paradigmatic dictionary). For example, this holds for the family **какъ**, **никакъже**, and **нѣкакъ** with the lexical stem **как**, and for the family **къто**, **никъто**, **никътоже**, **нѣкъто**. Syntactic behavior and the composition of these combinations is not altogether clear. The preposition is found between the prefixal formative (**ни** or **нѣ**) and root; cf. **ни + о + к.омь + же не радиши**, **не бесѣдоуѣа ни + къ + к.омоу + же**, etc.⁵

The paradigmatic behavior of these formations is determined entirely by the lexical stem, i.e. is identical for members of a single family. That is, e.g. **никътоже** is declined in the same way as **нѣкъто** and in the same way as **къто**.

In the present dictionary, such families are represented by a single item. Let us list all pronominal items that represent such families in the dictionary: **іакъ**, **іединъ**, **іедьнъ**, ***и** (however, contrary to this convention, **иже** is given as a separate item), **какъ**, **коликъ**, **такъ**, **тѣ**; **къ.то** (there is no isolated **къ**; this is a unique lexeme), and **чь.то** (there is no isolated **чь**; this is a unique lexeme); **къи** and **которыи**. Thus, **іакъ** represents **іакъ** and **іакъже**; **къто** represents **къто**, **нѣкъто**, **никъто**, **никътоже**, **къждо** and **къжде**, etc.

⁴ Some other particles are possible, cf. **любо: въ ѱеже мѣсто аште въпадетъ какъ любо скотъ то к томоу живо не излѣзетъ** SUPR 193, 15–17; **іакоже аште и к'то начьнетъ отъ заградьнъихъ и отъ винограду не т'чнѣж отъ плода нѣ и отъ листвина и отъ коіею любо сѣмене кѣжъ любо виуж да оукрадетъ немощно іемоу іестъ** SUPR 42, 16–20.

⁵ Syntactically anomalous combinations should be mentioned here, where the first element is in the absolute (NSgm) form such as **онъ + сица** (SUPR), **таковъ + съ** (CLOZ), the oblique forms are **онъсица** (attested as **азъ отъче: онъсица града епискоупъ поставьенъ іесмъ** SUPR 286, 17–19) and **таковъсъ** (attested as **таковъсъа бештинца** CLOZ 2a, 24).

§317. Profiles

Here are the profiles of some type representatives.

	тъ 2/p		
	m	n	f
NSg	тъ	то	та
ASg			тѣ
GSg	того		тойѧ
NPI	ти	та	ты
API	ты		

такъ 2/p		
m	n	f
такъ	тако	така
		такѣ
такого		тойѧ
таци	така	такты
такты		

	нашь 2/p		
	m	n	f
NSg	нашь	наше	наша
ASg			нашѣ
GSg	нашего		нашейѧ
NPI	наши	наша	нашаѧ
API	нашаѧ		

мон 2/p		
m	n	f
мон [мoј=ъ]	моиε [мoј=ε]	мога [мoј=а]
		моѣѣ [мoј=ѣ]
моиεго [мoј=εго]		моиѣѧ [мoј=εѧ]
мон [мoј=и]	мога [мoј=а]	моѣѧ [мoј=ѣ]
моѣѧ [мoј=ѣ]		

§318. The paradigms of the lexemes *и and иже

These two lexemes distinguish absolute (primary) and ad-prepositional (secondary) forms. The former begin with j-; the latter with ѡ-. Cf. рече ѡмоу, but рече къ ѡмоу, и мѣже глаголюѧ, but къ ѡимѣже приде. The root has two alloforms, j and ѡ, cf. (j)=εмоу [ѡмоу] and (ѡ)=εмоу [ѡѡмоу].

The lexeme *и (a 3rd person anaphoric demonstrative pronoun) is defective: it lacks nominative forms. The corresponding syntactic contexts contain тъ ('that one, this one'), or онъ ('the aforementioned one'). The relative pronoun иже is not defective in the same way.

Below is the complete paradigm of the lexeme *и.

	*и 2/р		
	м	п	ф
NSg	cf. иже	cf. иже	cf. иже
ASg	и/иъ [j=ъ]/[î=ъ]	и/иѣ [j=ѣ]/[î=ѣ]	иъ/иѣъ [j=ъ]/[î=ъ]
GSg	иго/иѣго [j=го]/[î=го]		иън/иѣнъ [j=ън]/[î=ън]
LSg	иель/иѣель [j=ель]/[î=ель]		иен/иѣен [j=ен]/[î=ен]
DSg	иелюу/иѣелюу [j=елюу]/[î=елюу]		
ISg	инь/иѣинь [j=инь]/[î=инь]		иѣнъ/иѣѣнъ [j=ѣнъ]/[î=ѣнъ]
NADu	cf. иже	cf. иже	
GLDu	ию/иѣю [j=ю]/[î=ю]		
DIDu	инма/иѣинма [j=инма]/[î=инма]		
NPI	cf. иже	cf. иже	cf. иже
API	иъ/иѣъ [j=ъ]/[î=ъ]	иъ/иѣъ [j=ъ]/[î=ъ]	иъ/иѣъ [j=ъ]/[î=ъ]
GPI	иуъ/иѣуъ [j=уъ]/[î=уъ]		
LPI			
DPI	инъ/иѣинъ [j=инъ]/[î=инъ]		
IPI	ини/иѣини [j=ини]/[î=ини]		

Illustrations

посъла дъва отъ оученикъъ своиуъ. и гла има. идѣта въ вьсь ѣже естъ прѣмо вама. и абье вьходашта въ иѣ. обрашггета жрѣбьць привъзанъ на иельже нѣстъ не оу никтоже отъ чкъ въсѣлъ. отрѣшша и приведѣта. и аште вама къто речетъ чьто се дѣта. рыцѣта ѣко гъ трѣвоуетъ. и и абье пакы посълетъ и сѣмо Mk 11, 1–3 Zogr.

и прѣшедъ отъ тждоу оузырѣ иѣкова зеведеова. и ноана брата его. и та въ ладни завъзаншга мрѣжа. и абье възъва ѣ. и оставльша отъца своего зеведеа въ ладни съ наемъникы. по иель идете Mk 1, 19–20 Mar.

и рече оученикомъ своимъ. да естъ при иель ладница народа ради. да не сътжажатъ елюу. многы бо исцѣли. ѣко нападахъ ель хоташте прикоснати сѣ ель. елико имѣахъ раны Mk 3, 9–10 Mar.

и сѣмъ рабъ твоиуъ оудржигъ. и ѣ любьаште-и-мъ твое въселятъ сѣ во иъ ps sin 68, 37.

прѣдо иъ припаджатъ етиопѣни. и враси его прѣстъ полижатъ ps sin 71, 9.

АШТЕ ЗАПОВѢДИ МОЯ СЪБЛЮДЕТЕ· ПРѢВЪЖДЕТЕ ВЪ ЛЮБЪВИ МОЕИ· ЪКОЖЕ АЗЪ·
ЗАПОВѢДИ ОЦА МОЕГО СЪБЛЮДОХЪ· І ПРѢБЫВАИЖ ВЪ НЕГО ЛЮБЪВЕ Jn 15, 10 ZOG.R.

Class 2/p*: ВЪСЬ

§319. Class membership

The class contains only two lexemes, **вѣсь** and **снѣць**.

§320. Paradigmatic peculiarities

Terminals of the hard and soft subtypes from the 2-pron set are mixed in this class. For the pronoun **вѣсь**, the twofold rule should produce hard subtype terminals, while for **снѣць**, it should produce soft ones. The actual distribution is shown in the paradigms below. It is useful to note that both paradigms use all hard subtype terminals that begin with Ѣ. There are no dual forms; for **вѣсь**, cf. the *duale tantum* lexeme **оба**.

ВЪСЬ 2/p*			
NSg			ВЪСА//ВЪСѢ
ASg	ВЪСЬ	ВЪСЕ	ВЪСѢ
GSg	ВЪСЕГО		ВЪСЕА
LSg	ВЪСЕМЬ		ВЪСЕИ
DSg	ВЪСЕМОУ		
ISg	ВЪСѢМЬ		ВЪСЕИЖ
NPI	ВЪСИ	ВЪСА//ВЪСѢ	ВЪСА
API	ВЪСА		
GPI	ВЪСѢХЪ		
LPI			
DPI	ВЪСѢМЪ		
IPI	ВЪСѢМИ		

СНѢЦЬ 2/p*		
СНѢЦЬ	СНѢЦЕ	СНѢЦА
		СНѢЦѢ
СНѢЦЕГО		СНѢЦЕА
СНѢЦЕМЬ		СНѢЦЕИ
СНѢЦЕМОУ		
СНѢЦѢМЬ		СНѢЦЕИЖ
СНѢЦИ	СНѢЦА	СНѢЦА
СНѢЦА		
СНѢЦѢХЪ		
СНѢЦѢМЪ		
СНѢЦѢМИ		

The wordforms **вѣса** and **вѣсѢ** are inflectional doublets. SAV and SUPR only show **вѣса**; Glagolitic sources predominantly have **вѣсѢ**. See the distribution in sources in Vaillant, § 99. In PS SIN and EUCH, only **вѣсиж** occurs (for canonical **вѣсѢж**); cf. **вѣсиж** *НОШТЬ* PS SIN 77, 14.⁶

⁶ Vaillant mistakenly cites this example as PS SIN 87,14; see Vaillant, § 99.

Class 1/a: трииѣ

§321. Class membership

The class contains only one lexeme, трииѣ. This *plurale tantum* lexeme has the following forms.

	m	n	f
NPI	трииѣ	три	
API	три		
GPI	трини		
LPI	трѣхъ		
DPI	трѣмъ		
IPI	трѣми		

§322. Illustrations

съ рече могъ разорити црѣквь бжннжъ ѿ трѣми дньми создати ѿ Mt 26, 61 MAR.

ѣко бо бѣ ѿна въ чрѣвѣ китовѣ три дни три же ношти тако бждетъ снъ чскы въ срѣдци землѣ три дни ѿ три ношти Mt 12, 40 ZOGH.

чесо ради мѣро се не продано бѣстѣ на трѣхъ сътѣхъ пенѣзы и дано ницимъ Jn 12, 5 SAV.

A note on adjectival forms of the оудобъ type

§323. Group membership

Some grammars treat adjectival forms like оудобъ as uninflectable adjectives, i.e. adjectives that belong to a separate inflectional class. However, the same grammars treat the same forms, or forms that are identical in relevant characteristics, as adverbs. Such are, e.g., испльнь, нанѣмъ, особъ, отъврнь, различъ, свободъ, соутоубъ, оудобъ (see Vaillant, § 138–139 and § 85). The present grammar considers such forms in all their uses as extraparadigmatic.

Illustrations

кнази содомьстнѣ и люднѣ гоморьстнѣ имже ржцѣ крѣве испльнь SUPR 136, 3–4; дньсь отъ мрѣтвѣинѣхъ вѣстаа лазарь многоу и различъ гнѣвоу раздрѣшннѣ намъ даетъ SUPR 303, 3–5; соутоубъ дньсь пришьствннѣ господьнѣ соутоубъ съмотрннѣ соутоубъ чловѣколюбннѣ соутоубъ съннннѣ вѣкоупѣ же съмѣрннѣ соутоубо къ чловѣкомъ посѣштннѣ SUPR 449, 1–5, cf. соутоубо дньсь пришьстнѣ гнѣ соутоубо съмотрннѣ соутоубо члѣколюбьствнѣ соутоубо сънннѣе вѣ коупѣ же ѿ съмѣрннѣ соутоубо къ чкомъ посѣштннѣ CLOZ 12b, 37–13a, 1.

Commentary on individual adjectival lexemes in the twofold declension

§324. List of commented lexemes (class 2/a and its deformations)

архнеренскъ. Violation of the law of the velars, see. § 869.

архнеревъ. See preceding word.

вездраѣтин. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword **вездраѣтин** for the hapax gloss **вездраѣтин** (SUPR 324, 22); this spellout is treated as aberrant in the PD.

воѣли. *Comparativum tantum.*

вратрънъ. Cf. **вратънъ**; for distribution in sources see Večerka.

вратънъ. See preceding word.

въдръ. Contra Večerka, who gives two headwords: **въдръ** and **въждръ**, the latter covering the hapax gloss **дѣло съврѣшааъ въждреж дшеж** SUPR 550, 20–21; this spellout is treated as aberrant in the PD.

въинънъ [**въ. (иъ). ѡнъ**] <1112>. Contra Večerka, who gives two variants of this headword: **въинънъ** and **въинънъ**. Only two glosses: **сѣоз (въинънъ бв, 39)** and **еучн (въинънъ трѣзвение 89b, 1–2)**.

въдовичъ. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword **въдовичъ**. Hapax gloss **ѡже оубогъа трепезы въдовича** (GSgf) **не похорѣли** SUPR 395, 25–26.

въсачьскъ. Cf. **въсѣчьскъ**; see § 850, suffix **ак** {13}; for distribution in sources see Večerka.

въсѣчьскъ. See preceding word.

вѣтрънъ. Cf. **вѣтрънъ**; for distribution in sources see Večerka.

вѣтрънъ. See preceding word.

вѣштѣни. *Comparativum tantum.*

гвоздинъ. Contra Večerka, who gives two headwords: **гвоздинъ** and **гвоздвинъ**, the latter covering the hapax aberrant gloss in SUPR. Cf.: **ѡце не виждж [...] ѣзвы гвоздинъа** (Jп 20, 25 AS) and **ѡштѣ не виждж [...] знаменьа гвоздвиннаго** (SUPR 506, 7). Cf. **гвозди** § 336.

геоньскъ. Violation of the law of the velars, see § 869.

гнжсънъ. Aberrant spellouts with **гноуѣ-** (all in SUPR).

гоѣни. *Comparativum tantum.*

горьнъ 'montane, mountainous'. Cf. **горънъ** 'upper, paramount'.

горънъ. See preceding word.

господънъ [[**господъ. ѡнъ. ѡ**]] 'belonging to the master' or 'belonging to the Lord'. Possessive from **господъ**. Cf. **господинъ** [[**господъ. инъ. ѡ**]] 'belonging to the master', possessive from **господинъ**.

грѣшьнъ. Shows aberrant forms by the pronominal declension, see § 402.

добръ. Aberrant spellouts **дѣвр-** in **зогр** (**дѣврѣе**, Mk 9, 42, 43, 45). Vaillant, § 31 mistakes the textual reference (Mk 5 in place of Mk 9); Večerka mistakes the number of occurrences of this aberrant form (see Vaillant, § 29, 31).

довольнъ [**до. (во). ѡнъ**] <85>. Aberrant spellouts: **довъл-, дѣвъл-, дѣвъл-**; for distribution in sources see Večerka. Cf. **довѣльство, довѣльѣти**.

дочапанънъ. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword **недочапанънъ**. Hapax gloss **отъ не дочапанънъа гажвинъи** SUPR 505, 22.

древьнъ. Contra Večerka, who lacks the headword **древьнъ**, and gives only **древльнъ**. The spellouts **древльн-** (cf. **поревъноуимъ: древльноуѣ блжъдноуѣмоу сѣоу** **зогр** 70a, 14–16) are treated as aberrant in the PD. Only canonical forms occur in **зогр, мар, рс син, супр**. Cf. **речено вѣстъ древльнъа** **Мт** 5, 21 **зогр**.

дрогъ. Shows aberrant forms by the pronominal declension, see § 402. Cf. **дрогъ** 2/*m*.

дрѣвънъ. Cf. **дрѣвънъ**. On the competition between suffixes **ѣн** and **ѡн**, see § 896.

дрѣвънъ. See preceding word.

дрѣселъ [[**дрѣс. ѣлъ**]]. Cf. **дрѣхъ** [[**дрѣхъ. ѡлъ**]]; for distribution in sources see Večerka.

дрѣхъ. See preceding word.

дъневнъ. See § 862 on the choice of suffix variant for **ов/ѣв** with the root **дън**.

дъньсънъ [**дънъ. ѡ. сънъ. ѡ**]]. Cf. **дъньшьнъ** [**дънъ. ѡ. шънъ. ѡ**]], for distribution in sources see Večerka. Based on the phrase **дънь + съ**.

дъньшьнъ. See preceding word.

джеравнъ. Cf. **джеровнъ**; for distribution in sources see Večerka.

джеровнъ. See preceding word.

живъ. Shows aberrant forms by the pronominal declension, see § 402.

житънь¹ <286> ‘vital’ and житънь² <285> ‘corn’ (adj.) are homonyms.

сѣло. Defective lexeme, shows this form only. Only in adverbial use.

земльскъ. Cf. *земьскъ*; for distribution in sources see Večerka.

земьскъ. See preceding word.

кесаѣвъ. Violation of the law of the velars, see § 869.

китовъ. Violation of the law of the velars, see § 869.

которъин [(которъ).ъ.и.ь]. *Plenum tantum*. Contra Večerka, who gives two headwords: *которъин* and *котеръин*, the latter covering the hapax gloss *котеръ*; cf. *котераго же отъ васъ оца възпроситъ снъ хлѣба: еда камень подастъ емоу* Lk 11, 11 MAR; this spellout is treated as aberrant in the PD.

лоучини. Comparativum tantum.

любивъ. Full adjective, rather than a ш-Part, as can be seen from the following occurrences: *любиви NPlmBrev SUPR 338, 2* (ш-Part would give *любивъшѣ*); *любивъжѣ ASgPlen SUPR 318, 21* (ш-Part would give *любивъшжѣ*).

малычкь ‘little’. Hapax gloss in EUCH: *мало кашница а воды третъен день да малечко* SUPR 44a, 22–24.

младеньчъ. Cf. *младеньчъ*. On the competition between suffixes *ен, ѣн, ѣн* see § 896.

младеньчъ. See preceding word.

мъногъ. Shows aberrant forms by the pronominal declension, see § 402.

мъѣни. Comparativum tantum.

мѣдънь. Cf. *мѣдѣнь*. On the competition between suffixes *ен, ѣн, ѣн* see § 896.

мѣдѣнь. See preceding word.

мѣдънь. Aberrant spellout *моуа*; for distribution in sources see Večerka.

надъневънь see *дъневънь*.

наивашгини. Comparativum tantum.

наискорѣни. Comparativum tantum.

наитрѣбѣни. Comparativum tantum.

напрасънивъ and *напрасънь* [на.(прас).ѣн.-] <706>. Contra Večerka, who gives the corresponding headwords without *ь*: *напрасн*-. PD follows Sadnik. In total 21 glosses, all in SUPR and all with yerless spellouts.

нзыѣнашьнѣ [(нзыѣ).ѣ.ш.ѣн.ь]. Contra Večerka, who gives three headwords: *нзыѣшгънѣ*, *нзыѣшьнѣ* and *нзыѣнашьнѣ*. The first

covers the hapax gloss in EUCH *нзыѣцьнѣе раздрочениѣ* (65a, 7), aberrant form of canonical *нзыѣнашьнѣ*; the other occurrences are in SUPR. Variations of the type *ня//нѣ* are standard for the basic writing system of SUPR, cf. *нзыѣшьнѣа* (NSg) SUPR 127, 29–30 and *нзыѣнашьнѣе* SUPR 488, 23–24.

нжждънь. Aberrant spellouts with *ноуждън*- in SUPR.

объходънь [объ.(ход).ѣн.ъ]. The starting form corresponds to the spellouts as found in the sources, contra the canonical standards (in the canon the spellout *оходънь* [объ.(ход).ѣн.ъ] is expected). For more details see § 640–641. See also *оходънь*.

оходънь [отъ.(ход).ѣн.ъ]. Only aberrant spellouts of the type with *отъходън*- are attested. For more details see § 640–641. See also *объходънь*.

оцѣтънь. Cf. *оцѣтънь*. On the competition between suffixes *ен, ѣн, ѣн* see § 896.

оцѣтънь. See preceding word.

пльтънь. Cf. *пльтънь*. On the competition between suffixes *ен, ѣн, ѣн* see § 896.

пльтънь. See preceding word.

полоучивъ. The gloss *полоучиви NPlmBrev* (SUPR 463, 26) shows that this is an adjective, rather than a new ш-Part from *полоучити*.

послѣдънь. Contra Večerka, who has only the headword *послѣдъни*; cf. however *NPlmBrev послѣдънь* Mt 12, 45 MAR. Shows aberrant forms by the pronominal declension, see § 402.

прапрждънь. Cf. *прѣпрждънь*; for distribution in sources see Večerka.

притъкъ. Following Večerka, two headwords are given: the substantive *притъкъ*¹ ‘chain link’ and the adjective *притъкъ*² ‘sharp’. Both *притъкъ*¹ and *притъкъ*² refer to hapax glosses; for *притъкъ*¹, *притокы* SUPR 318, 15; for *притъкъ*², *Сотра притъчаниши: нѣстъ бо тъчна похотъ пльтънаа имѣниѣни* нъ *пльтънаа притъчаниши паче и мжчънѣши* SUPR 371, 26–28. Cf. *бридъкъ* SUPR 76, 14.

прокъни. Plenum tantum.

противъ <714>. Only adverbial uses are attested: *противъ* 1x SUPR and *противъ* 58x. Likewise *противо* 5x in EUCH as a preposition.

прочи. Plenum tantum.

пръвъ. Shows aberrant forms by the pronominal declension, see § 402.

прѣвъшени. Comparativum tantum.

- прѣдѣнь** [(прѣ).д.ьн.ь] 'front'. Cf. **прѣждѣнь** [(прѣ).жд.ьн.ь] 'previous' with a substitutively softened basic component.
- прѣждѣнь**. See preceding word.
- прѣпрждѣнь**. Cf. **прапрждѣнь**; for distribution in sources see Večerka.
- равини**. Aberrant spellout **рѡв-** (SUPR 1x: 345, 2).
- равинискъ**. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword **рѡвинискъ**, rather than **равинискъ**. **Нарах** gloss in SUPR **рѡвинскоѡж** (562, 12).
- работѣнь**. Aberrant spellouts with **рѡботѣн-** (SUPR 1x: 367, 18).
- размѣшнь**. Contra Večerka, who has no such headword. The headword in the PD covers the **hарах** gloss **даша емоу пити оцѣть съ зльчнѡж размѣшнь** Mt 27, 34 ZOGR; cf. same verse in AS **размѣшенъ**. Večerka treats both glosses under the headword **размѣшнѣти**.
- рано**. Defective lexeme, shows this form only. Only in adverbial use.
- соугѡбѣ**. Aberrant spellouts with **соугѡб-** in CLOZ.
- соулѣни**. *Comparativum tantum*. New comparative.
- соулѣни**. *Comparativum tantum*. Old comparative; **hарах** gloss **соулѣ** SUPR 394, 11.
- сѡвѣзнь** 'prisoner'. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword **сѡвѣзнь** as a substantive.
- сѡлжкъ**. Aberrant spellouts with **слжк-**. See Sadnik, <<845>>.
- сыръ**¹. Cf. the substantive **сыръ**² 2/м.
- сѣдильнь**. Contra Večerka, who gives two headwords covering to the same glosses: **сѣдильна** (f.) and **сѣдильно** (n.).
- таньбнь**. Contra Večerka, who gives two substantive headwords: **таньбна** (f.) and **таньбно** (n.). The headword **таньбна** (f.) covers the **hарах** gloss **повѣдаж таньбнѣ а не прѡтлѣкоуѡж непрѡтлѣкованааго** SUPR 501, 24; the headword **таньбно** (n.) covers three glosses, including the following: **w таньбно дивьное и грѣдоє** SUPR 506, 16–17; Meyer treats it as a Voc (**таньбна**).
- тачан**. *Comparativum tantum*. Cf. **такъ** 2/р.
- тоуждѣ**. Contra Večerka, who gives three headwords: **штѡуждѣ**, **тоуждѣ** and **стоуждѣ** in the same dictionary entry. For the distribution of the variants according to the C-initial position see Večerka. In the PD all such variants are treated as aberrant. Also, aberrant spellout **тоуждѣмъ** in KIEV 4b, 10–11 (see § 117). Shows aberrant forms by the nominal declension, see § 402.
- оудѣбѣнь** [оу.(дѣб).ен.ъ] <271> 'caught'. Morphologically strange form (see Vailant, § 205). Contra Večerka and following Sadnik. Večerka gives only the headword **оудѣбѣнѣти**. **Нарах** gloss **нѣина соусана оудѣбѣна възѣтъ отъ безаконноу старцоу** (SUPR 135, 2–3). There is no lexeme **оудѣбѣнѣти** in this grammar.
- оуѣни**. *Comparativum tantum*.
- оутрънь**. Aberrant spellout **ютр-** in EUCH 49a, б.
- оутръни**. *Comparativum tantum*.
- хѣровимьскъ**. Violation of the law of the velars, see § 869.
- храбѣръ**, **храбѣръскъ**. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword without **ъ**: **храбръ** and **храбрьскы**. This grammar follows Sadnik; all 6 occurrences are in SUPR; four of them show **храбѣр-** and two show **храбѣр-**.
- црькъвьнь**. Aberrant gloss **црькъзнаѣ** in KIEV. Contra Večerka, who gives two headwords: **црькъвьнь** (46x) and **црькънь** (1x KIEV). In the PD such spellouts as **црьк-** are treated as aberrant. Cf. also the aberrant spellouts **црьк-** in KIEV and PS SIN: **црькъвѣ** KIEV ба, 4, **црькъовѣ** PS SIN 78, 1. Večerka has two different headwords also in this case: **црькы** and **црькы** (the latter covers the two aforementioned glosses).
- цѣлѡвьнь**. **Нарах** aberrant gloss: **цѣлѡвьзнаа** EUCH 41b, 17–18.
- чѣстивъ**. Aberrant spellout **чѣтивъ** 1x Lk 2, 25 ZOGR.

§325. List of commented lexemes (class 2/p and its deformations)

- вѡсакъ**. Contra Večerka, who normalizes the headword as **вѡсакъ**. This spellout, frequently found in the teaching manuals, is not attested in the OCS sources and contradicts its orthography. In the PD **вѡсакъ** and **вѡсѣкъ** are treated as doublet lexemes. On the suffix **ак** (ѣк) {13} see § 850. Aberrant forms following the adjectival declension are attested, see § 402.
- вѡсѣкъ**. See preceding word.
- дѡва**. *Duale tantum*. Aberrant form **дѡвама**: **никѡтеръы же рабѣ не можеть дѡвама гѡма работати** Lk 16, 13 ZOGR (cf. **МАР** **дѡвѣма**, also **дѡвѣма** ZOGR Mt 6, 24).

дѣвакъ. Contra Večerka, who does not give this headword. Hapax gloss ι дати жрътѣж по реченоу/моу въ законѣ гниг дѣвака грѣлнчншта ли дѣва птенѣца голѣбнна Lk 2, 24 MAR, likewise in ZOGR and AS. See Vaillant, § 109.

ѣдинакъ, ѣдѣнакъ, инакъ, обоакъ. Contra Večerka, who gives the headwords ѣдинако, ѣдѣнако, инако, and обоако. The sources do not attest adjectival use of these lexemes (for ѣдинако Večerka mentions a hapax gloss in the *Rila folios*).

ѣдинъ. Cf. ѣдѣнъ; for distribution in sources see Večerka. Aberrant forms with 2-combi terminals are also attested. Cf.: ѣдинааго Jn 5, 44 MAR (see also Vaillant, § 103). More details in § 402.

ѣдѣнакъ. See ѣдинакъ.

ѣдѣнъ. See ѣдинъ.

ѣликъ. See толикъ.

*и. Anaphoric third person pronoun, a defective lexeme lacking the nominative forms. Secondary (ad-prepositional) forms show the prothetic н which gives rise to the nonstandard alloform (\hat{n}), e.g.: съ \hat{n} его [сѣ + \hat{n} = его] cf. его [j = его], къ \hat{n} егоу [къ + \hat{n} = емоу], въ \hat{n} емь [вѣ + \hat{n} = емь], на \hat{n} ь [на + \hat{n} = ѣ]. Aberrant forms of the type беж \hat{n} его etc. are also possible (see § 637); e.g.: въ \hat{n} его любуѣ Jn 15, 10 ZOGR; беж \hat{n} его ничѣтоже не вѣстѣ Jn 1, 3 ZOGR.

иже. Third person relative pronoun. In the PD is listed as a separate headword. The

NSgm form is иже. Secondary (ad-prepositional) forms show the prothetic н which gives rise to the nonstandard alloform (\hat{n}), e.g.: ι приближиша са въ вѣсь въ \hat{n} же идѣашете Lk 24, 28 ZOGR. Aberrant form ижѣ for иже in ZOGR, e.g.: да бѣдете с \hat{i} ове оца вашего ижѣ естѣ на невесеухъ Mt 5, 45. (See Vaillant, § 96).

инъ. Shows aberrant Plen forms with 2-combi terminals; cf. инни же отъ столцихъ тѣ слѣшавъше глахъ (for canonical инни) Mt 27, 47 SAV. See § 402.

коликъ. See толикъ.

оба. *Duale tantum*.

самъ. Shows aberrant Plen forms with 2-combi terminals; cf. съде же и самое оуныиние отаго вѣстѣ SUPR 493, 1. See § 402.

селикъ. See толикъ.

сиць. Sadnik gives the lexeme сикъ, unattested in the OCS sources (see Vaillant, § 99). In the PD, following Večerka, this lexeme does not constitute a separate headword.

такъ. Shows aberrant Plen forms with 2-combi terminals; cf.: на такыа (APIm) SUPR 29, 18. More details in § 402.

толикъ, селикъ, коликъ, ѣликъ. Shows aberrant forms with 2-base and 2-combi terminals of the type толика (GSgmnBrev) and толикаево (GSgmnPlen). E.g.: амиⁿ гла вамъ ни въ изан толики вѣрѣ не обрѣтохъ Lk 7, 9 SAV (cf. толикоа вѣрѣ in the same passage in ZOGR and MAR; see Vaillant, § 100). More details in § 402.

Morphologically masculine substantives

Class 2/m: градъ/конь

§ 326. Class membership

This class contains more than 700 lexemes. The hard and soft subtypes are distinguished by the right edges of the workstem. Possible workstem right edges are shown in Table 326 (p. 181).

Table 326. Possible workstem right edges in class 2/m

Hard subtype		Soft subtype				
Simple	к, г, х	ц, с	лъ, ѱ, ѱ	Shibilants	ј	V(i)
градъ волъ	ликъ врагъ врѣхъ	отъць кѣнасъ	вѣплъ коѳъ сѣпѣрь	плачь вождъ ножь	кран строн	зѣлодѣи*
More than 500		Fewer than 200				

* Open stems are found outside of the benchmark list, namely among compounds.

§ 327. Profiles

Here are the profiles of some type representatives:

	градъ 2/m			врѣхъ 2/m		
	Sg	Du	Pl	Sg	Du	Pl
N	градъ	града	градѣи	врѣхъ	врѣха	врѣси
A	градъ	града	градѣи	врѣхъ	врѣха	врѣхѣи
L	градѣ	градѣи	градѣхъ	врѣсѣ	врѣхѣи	врѣсѣхъ

	вѣплъ 2/m			кран 2/m		
	Sg	Du	Pl	Sg	Du	Pl
N	вѣплъ	вѣплѣа	вѣплѣи	кран [крај=ь]	краѣа [крај=а]	кран [крај=и]
A	вѣплъ	вѣплѣа	вѣплѣи	кран [крај=и]	краѣа [крај=а]	кранѣ [крај=а]
L	вѣплѣ	вѣплѣи	вѣплѣхъ	кранѣ [крај=и]	краѣи [крај=и]	кранѣхъ [крај=и]

§ 328. Notes on word formation

Both root and suffixal substantives are possible in this class. Table 328 gives examples.

Table 328. Word-formation subtypes of masculine substantives

	Hard subtype	Soft subtype
Root	врагъ, отрокъ, родъ, дѣбъ, заходъ, зѣдъ, образъ	стражь, мѣжь, вождъ, коѳъ, вѣплъ, кран
Suffixal	оученикъ, двѣрьникъ, женихъ, козьлъ, грѣхъ	жрѣбѣць, градыць, врабин, сѣлоучан, пѣтишгъ

Many root nominals in the soft subtype result from *segmentless substitutive softening* (§ 864). Such are, for example, стражь, вождъ, ножь, вѣплъ, сѣпѣрь, плачь, клнчь.

Class 2/m*: дѣлатеѣль and class 2/m**: граждининъ

§329. Class membership

This class contains the following lexemes.

Subtype дѣлатеѣль 2/m*	Subtype граждининъ 2/m**
All those ending in -теѣль: властеѣль, жатеѣль, датеѣль, казатеѣль, латеѣль, гоубитеѣль, избавитеѣль, etc.; 60 total. All those ending in -аѣрь: рыбарѣрь, винаѣрь, кесаѣрь, цѣсаѣрь, вратаѣрь, клѣветаѣрь, млыгтаѣрь, грѣньчаѣрь, кѣючаѣрь; 9 total.	боѣларинъ, граждининъ, жидовинъ, жатеѣланинъ, исполинъ, крѣстианинъ, поганинъ, сполинъ; also житѣлинъ. ¹⁾
Total 69	Total 9

¹⁾ Plural forms of the lexeme житѣлинъ are the same as the plural forms of the lexeme житѣль; there are four Pl glosses in total: житѣль (Lk 15, 15 Zogr, MAR) and житѣль (Lk 15, 15 SAV, AS) for GPI.

Note that the subclass граждининъ contains all the substantive ending in -инъ except the following: господинъ, чловѣчинъ, воинъ, съвоинъ, окринъ, чинъ. The lexemes жатеѣль and жатеѣланинъ are derivational doublets. The граждининъ subclass contains also a large number of anthroponyms derived from place names, such as самарѣнинъ, plural самарѣане; галилѣанинъ, plural галилѣане.

§330. Profiles

Here are the profiles of the corresponding sample lexemes.

	дѣлатеѣль 2/m*		
	Sg	Du	Pl
N	дѣлатеѣль	дѣлатеѣла	дѣлатеѣле
A			дѣлатеѣль
L	дѣлатеѣли	дѣлатеѣлю	дѣлатеѣлихъ

Other forms on the pattern of кѣиъ, i.e. by the standard twofold declension type in its soft subtype.

	граждининъ 2/m**		
	Sg	Du	Pl
N	граждининъ	граждинина	граждане
A			гражданъи
L	граждининѣ	граждининоу	гражданѣхъ

Other forms in Sg and Du with expanded stems (such as граждинин), while Pl forms with syn-copated stems (such as граждин) on the pattern of градъ, i.e. by the standard twofold declension type in its hard subtype.

§331. Paradigmatic peculiarities

The subclass дѣлатеѣль 2/m* and граждининъ 2/m** take the NPl terminal ϵ from the nonstandard set c-simplex, instead of the expected и from the set 2-base.

All other forms have the expected terminals from the 2-base set. The subclass *гражданинъ 2/м*** distinguishes syncopated and expanded stems. Syncopated stems occur in Pl forms; expanded stems in Sg and Du forms. Syncopated stems can be derived from expanded stems, which are represented in the starting form, by removing the final suffixal formative *ин*. Thus, for the expanded stem *граждан.ин*, the syncopated stem is *граждан*; for the expanded stem *жатѣлѣан.ин*, the expanded stem is *жатѣлѣан*. See § 397 for aberrant form.

§332. Illustrations

а врагъ естъ всѣбавъи плѣвелъ днѣволъ· а жатва естъ коньчание вѣкоу· а *жатѣлѣ* (for *жатѣль*) сжтъ аѣли Mt 13, 39 ZOCR.

вечероу же бѣи(въ)шю· гла гнѣ винограда· къ приставъникоу своему· призови *дѣлатѣла*· и даждь имъ мѣздѣ· наченъ отъ послѣдънихъ до прѣвѣихъ Mt 20, 8 MAR.

у дже блаженъин· иегоже *цѣсаре* чѣтжтъ· *властеле* и вельмжжа любатъ SUPR 354, 5–6.

жатѣлѣне (for *жатѣлѣанинъ*) же ови клицаахъ ови течаахъ въ слѣдъ вѣлка SUPR 43, 24–26.

си слышавъ цѣсарь оуалъ· призѣва дѣва *болгарина*· има едномуу саторникъ· а дроугоуоумоу оуиктор' SUPR 195, 17–19.

и сътворѣ тѣ едного отъ *болѣоръ* своихъ SUPR 61, 3–4.

Class 1/м: пжтъ

§333. Class membership

This class contains 29 lexemes. Workstems can only end in simple consonants. Here are all the lexemes in this class: *боль*, *вепрь*, *гвоздь*, *голжвь*, *гость*, *грътань*, *днь*, *ѣлень*, *звѣрь*, *затъ*, *камень*, *корень*, *лакътъ*, *людие*, *ногъть*, *пазнегъть*, *печать*, *пламень*, *поконь*, *пръстень*, *пжтъ*, *ремень*, *степень*, *татъ*, *тръхъть*, *тъсть*, *оушидь*, *чрьвь*, *жгль*. See § 401 for aberrant spellouts that show alien terminals.

§334. Notes on word formation

Substantives in this class may be root lexemes; cf., for example, *гость*, *вепрь*, *жгль*, *тъсть*. They may also be suffixal, e.g. *ногъть* [(ног).ът.ь], *пръстень* [(пръст).ен.ь].

§335. Profiles

Here are the profiles of some type representatives:

	звѣрь 1/м		
	Sg	Du	Pl
N	звѣрь	звѣри	звѣриѣ
A	звѣрь	звѣри	звѣри
L	звѣри	звѣрию	звѣрьхъ

	пѣть 1/м		
	Sg	Du	Pl
N	пѣть	пѣти	пѣтиѣ
A	пѣть	пѣти	пѣти
L	пѣти	пѣтию	пѣтьхъ

Commentary on individual morphologically masculine substantive lexemes

§ 336. List of commented lexemes (class 2/м and its deformations)

- агньць.** Aberrant spellout **ѡгн-** in **СЛОЗ 7а, 4; 7а, 5.**
- архирєи.** Violation of the law of the velars, see § 869.
- блѹдъ.** Contra Večerka, who gives two substantive headwords: **блѹдъ** and **блѹдо.** No uses referable to the headword **блѹдо** are attested in the OCS sources.
- братръ.** Cf. **вратъ**; for distribution in sources see Večerka.
- вратъ.** See preceding word.
- вон.** *Plurale tantum*, cf. **воннъ, съвоннъ.**
- вратъ¹** ‘breaking wheel’ <117> and **вратъ²** ‘roof’ <89> are homonyms. The hapax gloss for **вратъ²** (**тогда ꙗ полѣтъ днаволъ въ сѣтъ градъ ꙗ постави ꙗ на вратѣ цркъвьнѣмъ** Mt 4, 5 SAV; cf. **ZOGR, AS на крилѣ**) would make it possible to assign the form **вратѣ** to the lexeme represented in the PD by the headword **врата** <89> (2/п, *Plurale tantum*), and thus allow the latter’s use in the singular. Nevertheless, the PD, following Večerka, distinguishes three headwords: **вратъ¹**, **вратъ²**, and **врата**.
- въторъкъ.** Contra Večerka, following Sadnik. In Večerka there is no headword **въторъкъ**, only **въторьникъ**; for the distribution of the spellouts under **titlo** in the sources see Večerka.
- въторьникъ.** See preceding word.
- гвозди.** Contra Večerka, who gives two substantive headwords: **гвозди** and **гвоздѣни**, the latter corresponding to the hapax gloss **исѹсовами гвоздѣними** SUPR 400, 28. In the PD this spellout is treated as aberrant.
- господинъ.** Shows no plural forms (see Vaillant, § 111, 66); cf. **господь**.
- градъ¹** ‘town’ <192> and **градъ²** ‘hail’ <191> are homonyms.
- грѣмъ** ‘shrub’. Contra Večerka, who does not register it as a headword, but gives only a reference to **САВЕКОВЪ**.
- декѡбрь.** Violation of the law of the velars, see § 869.
- доухъторъ** ‘pillow’. Contra Večerka, who normalizes the spellout of the headword as **дъухъторъ**. Hapax gloss **доухъторѣ** (Mk 4, 38 ZOGR).
- другъ.** Do not confuse: **другъ** ‘friend’ <248>, **држгъ** ‘stick’ <257>, **другъ** ‘other’ (adj.) <248>. Contra Večerka, in the PD there is no separate headword for **друга** ‘female friend’.
- држгъ.** See **другъ** ‘friend’ <248>.
- жидъ.** Contra Večerka, who treats all the glosses under the headword **жидовинъ**, even including the following: **жидомъ** DPI (e.g., SUPR 303, 7), **жиды** API (e.g., SUPR 315, 19), **жиды** IPI (e.g., SUPR 398, 6). In the PD **жидъ** and **жидовинъ** are different headwords. Aberrant forms are possible (cf. LPI **жидохъ** SUPR 496, 7). See § 399.
- жидовинъ.** See preceding word.
- житѣль.** Contra Večerka, who gives two headwords, **житѣлинъ** and **житѣль** in one dictionary entry. These are all attested forms: 1) NSg **житѣлинъ** (SUPR) for the headword **житѣлинъ**; and 2) GPI **житѣль** (2x) and **житѣль** (2x); the latter four glosses can be treated under both headwords. In the PD **житѣлинъ** and **житѣль** are different headwords.
- житѣлинъ.** See preceding word.
- жюпелъ** ‘sulfur’. Only three glosses: **жюпелъ** Lk 17, 29 MAR and the aberrant **жюпѣль** Lk 17, 29 ZOGR and **зюпелъ** PS SIN 10, 6.

- жатѣланинъ.** Cf. жатѣль; for distribution in sources see Večerka.
- жатѣль.** See preceding word.
- заждь** ‘back, posterior’. Contra Večerka, who gives two headwords: *заждь* (m.) and *зажда* (f.). The latter covers the hapax gloss *не дадимъ зажда днаволови* SUPR 91, 18. If assigned to the lexeme *зажда* (f.) the form is either *зажда* is (GSg) or (API), if assigned to the lexeme *заждь*, it can only be (API). The PD has no headword *зажда*.
- зми** [зм.б.б]. Cf. *змиа* [зм.б.а].
- исполинъ.** Cf. *сполинъ*.
- камзыкъ.** Cf. *камень* 1/m and *каменнѣ* 2/p; also the aberrant form (NASg) *камчы* in SUPR.
- кесарь.** Violation of the law of the velars, see § 869.
- кигъ.** Violation of the law of the velars, see § 869.
- коновъ** ‘kettle’. Aberrant spellout *коньвъ* 1x in PS SIN 59, 10.
- кораблиць.** Contra Večerka, who gives only the headword *корабиць*; in the PD the spellouts without *l̃* are treated as aberrant. The spellout *кораблиць* only 1x in ZGR.
- корабьникъ.** Contra Večerka, who gives only the headword *корабьльникъ*. Hapax gloss *корабьникомъ* (SUPR 119, 30).
- кръстинанинъ.** Contra Večerka, who gives two headwords *кръстианъ*¹ and *кръстинанинъ* in the same dictionary entry, while treating *кръстианъ*² as an adjective; cf. in the PD the headword *кръстианъ* 2/а. Contra Sadnik, all the lexemes showing the root shape *хръст* are withdrawn from the root <452> and are not included in the benchmark list of the PD.
- коумиръ.** Contra Večerka, who gives two headwords, *коумиръ* and *коумирь*, in the same dictionary entry. In the PD the spellouts with substitutive softening are treated as aberrant; more details in § 403.
- коупъ** <459>. Contra Večerka, who gives two homonymous headwords, *коупъ*¹ ‘hear’ and *коупъ*² ‘trade’. The PD follows Sadnik, where both meanings are treated under the root <<420>>.
- латѣль** [(ла).т.ел.б] <480>. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword *лататѣль*. Hapax gloss *лателихъ: прѣсѣдигъ въ лателихъ съ богатѣими* PS SIN 9, 29.
- мечь** <546> ‘sword’, following Večerka and contra Sadnik, who gives *мьчь*.
- миръ** <551>. Contra Večerka, who gives two headwords *миръ*¹ ‘peace’ and *миръ*² ‘world, universe’.
- младеништъ.** Cf. *младѣништъ*. On the competition between suffixes *ен*, *ын*, *ѣн* see § 896.
- младеньць.** See preceding word.
- непекоръ.** Contra Večerka, who gives two headwords *непекоръ* (m.) and *непекора* (f.) in the same dictionary entry; hapax gloss *въ непекорѣ* SUPR 148, 25.
- нжждьникъ** ‘violent person’. Aberrant spellout *ноужд-* in SAV Mt 11, 12.
- обрѣтѣльникъ** [об.(рѣт).ел.бн.ик.ъ]. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword *обрѣтѣльникъ* without *kamora*. Hapax gloss in SUPR 186, 21 without *kamora*. Cf. the headword *приобрѣтѣльникъ*.
- огнь.** Paradigmatic aberrancy is possible, see § 403.
- онми** ‘fighters’. *Plurale tantum*.
- оковъ.** Hapax aberrant gloss: *въ оковѣхъ* PS SIN 104, 18.
- оходъ** [от.(ход).ъ]. See § 640–641. Cf. *оходьникъ*.
- оходьникъ** [от.(ход).бн.ик.ъ]. See preceding word.
- пепель.** Cf. *попелъ*; for distribution in sources see Večerka.
- поганинъ.** Hapax gloss SUPR 560, 21.
- понеѣльникъ.** Spellouts frequently under *titlo*. *попелъ*. See *пепелъ*.
- прадѣдъ.** Cf. *прѣдѣдъ*; for distribution in sources see Večerka.
- прапрѣдъ.** Cf. *прѣпрѣдъ*, *прѣпрѣда*//*прапрѣда*; for distribution in sources see Večerka.
- приобрѣтѣльникъ** [при.об.(рѣт).ел.бн.ик.ъ]. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword *приобрѣтѣльникъ* without *kamora*. Hapax gloss in SUPR 160, 24 with *kamora*. Cf. the headword *обрѣтѣльникъ*.
- притъкъ.** See *притъкъ* in § 324.
- прѣдѣдъ.** Cf. *прадѣдъ*.
- прѣотыць.** Contra Večerka, who gives two headwords *праотыць* and *прѣотыць* in the same dictionary entry. Hapax gloss for *прѣотыць* in SAV 135r, 6.
- прѣпрѣдъ.** See *прапрѣдъ*.
- пътеньць.** On the competition between suffixes *ен*, *ын*, *ѣн* see § 896.
- рѣбичиштъ.** Contra Večerka, who gives the headword *рѣбичиштъ*. Hapax gloss *рѣбичиштъ* SUPR 235, 12.
- рабъ.** Aberrant spellouts with *рѣв-*; *рѣв-* predominates in SUPR, but *рѣв-* is attested 28x.

- размышлѣн. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword *розмышлѣн*; *hapaх* gloss with the aberrant spellout *роз-* in SUPR 543, 14–15.
- родъ. Contra Večerka, who gives two homonymous headwords, *родъ*¹ ‘kinship’ and *родъ*² ‘Gehenna, hell’. The PD follows Sadnik, who treats both meanings under the root <<761>>.
- скждьль ‘sherd’. Contra Večerka, who gives four headwords, *скждьль*, *скждьль*, *скждьль*, *скждьль*, in the same dictionary entry. Five glosses altogether, for distribution in sources see Večerka. Cf. *скждьльникъ*. (from Latin *scandula*, *scandella*, see Vasmer, *судель*).
- скждьльникъ. Contra Večerka, who gives three headwords, *скждьльникъ*¹ ‘potter’, *скждьльникъ*² ‘pitcher’, and *скждьльникъ* ‘pitcher’; the last two are in the same dictionary entry. Five glosses altogether.
- сполинъ <338>. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword *сполинъ* as reference to *исполинъ*. Aberrant GPI form *споловъ* in SUPR 485, 10. Cf. *исполинъ*, *hapaх* gloss in PS SIN 18, 6.
- стѣнь ‘shadow’ <909>. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword *стѣнь* 1/m. Cf. kamorated spellouts in SUPR: *сѣньцоу възходаштоу съкрѣтъ сѣ стѣнь* SUPR 417, 28–29. 14 occurrences, all are NASg forms, with masculine agreement. Cf. *сѣнь* 1/f <929>.
- сѣвъзъ ‘bond, union’. Aberrant spellout *сѣвъз-* SUPR 400, 14. Cf. *жза*.
- сынъ¹ ‘son’ <923> and *сынъ*² ‘tower’ <922> are homonyms.
- сыръ². Cf. the adjective *сыръ*¹ 2/a.
- сѣчь ‘battle’. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword *сѣчь* (m. or f.). *Hapaх* gloss *и прѣста сѣчь* PS SIN 105, 30.
- сѣчыць ‘executioner, headsman’. Cf. *сѣчыць*; for distribution in sources see Večerka.
- сждъ <936>. Contra Večerka, who gives two headwords *сждъ*¹ ‘court hearing’ and *сждъ*² ‘vessel’; the two are etymologically cognate; cf. *сѣсждъ* ‘vessel’ <936> and *сжди* ‘judge’ <936>.
- тродъ. Do not confuse: *тродъ* ‘effort, labor’ <971> and *трждъ* ‘disease’ <986>.
- трждъ. See preceding word.
- тѣсѣштъникъ. Cf. *тѣсѣштъникъ*; for distribution in sources see Večerka.
- тѣсѣштъникъ. See preceding word.
- херовимъ. Violation of the law of the velars, see § 869.
- хитонъ. Violation of the law of the velars, see § 869.
- хръбѣтъ. Aberrant spellouts *хрѣб-* and *хръб-*. *чари*. *Plurale tantum*.
- чловѣчинъ. Only two glosses in SUPR: *чловѣчине* (Voc).
- жъникъ. Cf. *жъникъ*; for distribution in sources see Večerka.
- жъникъ. See preceding word.
- жродъ. Contra Večerka, where *жродъ* is an adjective. Only in SUPR: *Вос жроде* 4x, NSg *жродъ* 1x.

§ 337. List of commented lexemes (class 1/m and its deformations)

- вепрь. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword *вепрь*. *Hapaх* gloss *взоба вепрь отъ лжга ѿнокъ дивьей поѣлъ естъ* PS SIN 79, 14.
- днь. Aberrant spellouts with terminals from the c-simplex set. Cf. e.g.: *днь* Mt 6, 11 MAR.
- камень. Cf. *камъикъ* 2/m and *камение* 2/n; aberrant form (NASg) *камъи* in SUPR.
- людие. *Plurale tantum*.
- оушндъ ‘fugitive’. 1x in SUPR 93, 11.

Morphologically neuter substantives

Class 2/n: СЕЛО/ПОЛИЕ

§ 338. Class membership

This class contains slightly more than 1000 lexemes. Hard and soft subtypes are distinguished by the right edge of the workstems; possible workstem right edges are shown in Table 338.

Table 338. Possible workstem right edges in class 2/n

Hard subtype		Soft subtype				
Simple	к, г, х	ц, с	â, î, ð	Shibilants	j	V(i)
СЕЛО ПИВО ЧАДО	БЛАГО МЛЪКО	ЛИЦЕ СРЪДЪЦЕ	ПОЛИЕ МОРИЕ	ЛОЖЕ ВЪШТАЕ	ВРЪБИЕ	None
More than 200		Fewer than 800				

§ 339. Profiles

Here are the profiles of some type representatives:

	СЕЛО 2/n		
	Sg	Du	Pl
N	СЕЛО	СЕЛЪ	СЕЛА
A	СЕЛО	СЕЛЪ	СЕЛА
L	СЕЛЪ	СЕЛОУ	СЕЛЪХЪ

	БЛАГО 2/n		
	Sg	Du	Pl
N	БЛАГО	БЛАСЪ	БЛАГА
A	БЛАГО	БЛАСЪ	БЛАГА
L	БЛАСЪ	БЛАГОУ	БЛАСЪХЪ

	ЛОЖЕ 2/n		
	Sg	Du	Pl
N	ЛОЖЕ	ЛОЖИ	ЛОЖА
A	ЛОЖЕ	ЛОЖИ	ЛОЖА
L	ЛОЖИ	ЛОЖОУ	ЛОЖИХЪ

	ЗЕЛНИЕ 2/n		
	Sg	Du	Pl
N	ЗЕЛНИЕ [ЗЕЛ.Ъj=ε]	ЗЕЛНИ [ЗЕЛ.Ъj=и]	ЗЕЛНИА [ЗЕЛ.Ъj=а]
A	ЗЕЛНИ [ЗЕЛ.Ъj=и]	ЗЕЛНИО [ЗЕЛ.Ъj=оу]	ЗЕЛНИХЪ [ЗЕЛ.Ъj=иХЪ]

§ 340. Notes on word formation

This class contains both root and suffixal substantives. Table 340 shows examples.

Root nominals of the soft subtype are the result of *segmentless substitutive softening* (see § 864). Such are, for example, *ложе*, *полие*, *морие*, *вѣштѣ*. A significant part of the nominals carries the suffixal determinant *ъj=ε*, often with *н-* or *т-*Part as the basic component, cf. *вниение*, *възнесение*, *исхождение*, *оустроение*, *оубитие*, *просоление*, *пѣтие*.

Table 340. Word-formation subtypes of neuter substantives

	Hard subtype	Soft subtype
Root	чрѣво, благо, чадѡ, вѣко, сѣно, месо, блатѡ, мѣсто	моріе, поліе, лице, плешгѣ
Suffixal	мжжѣство, стрѣкало, начало, врашньо, сѣчино	лице, джбнїе, лжжавѣствїе, сѣкровишгѣ, чадѣце, срьдѣце

Commentary on individual substantive morphologically neuter lexemes

§ 341. List of commented lexemes

авлѣнїе. Cf. the doublet lexeme павлѣнїе; for distribution in sources see Večerka.

павлѣнїе. See preceding word.

падра 'womb, inside' <1115>. *Plurale tantum*. Cf. падро 'mast' <1115>.

падро. See preceding word.

бездѣнїе [без.дѣн.бј.ѣ] 'abyss'. Aberrant spellouts with БЕЗДЕН-: СЖДЪБЪБІ ТВОЯ БЕЗДЕНІЕ МЪНОГО PS SIN 35, 7; ЗМНИВЕ И ВСА БЕЗДЕНІА SUPR 77, 5–6; ТА ПОЕТЪ СЛЪНЦЕ ТА СЛАВИТЪ ЛОУНА ТЕВѢ МОЛАТЪ СА ЗВѢЗДЫ ТЕВѢ ПОСЛОУШАЕТЪ СВѢТЪ ТЕБЕ ВОЛАТЪ СА БЕЗДЕНІГЪ EUCH 4a, 5–8; likewise въ БЕЗДЪНИИ SUPR 153, 30. Cf. бездѣна 2/f and бездѣнь 2/a.

благо. Contra Večerka, who has no headword благо, while the corresponding glosses are treated under the adjectival headword благъ.

блистанїе. Contra Večerka, who has the headword блисцанїе. Canonical spellouts with блист- (2x), aberrant with блисц- (4x). For distribution in sources see Večerka.

бранїе 'fight, battle'. Only two glosses in SUPR, both aberrant: бран-, бѣран-.

братѣство. Cf. вратѣство; for distribution in sources see Večerka.

братѣство. See preceding word.

бѣство [бѣг.ств.ѡ] 'escape'. Shows nonstandard form of the suffix; likewise with roots ЧЪТ <1076> (ВЕСЧЪСТВЪНЪ [без.чѣт.ств.бн.ъ]) and шѣд <1099> (ШЪСТВІЕ [(шѣд).ств.бј.ѣ]).

врата 'gate'. *Plurale tantum*. Cf. вратѣ¹ 'wheel' and вратѣ² 'roof'.

гребнишгѣ. Cf. aberrant гребнишгѣ (1x ZOGR).

дивѡ. Нарак gloss with the aberrant form дивеса PS SIN 104, 5: ПОМЯНГѢТЕ ЧЮДЕСА ЕГО ЪЖЕ СЪТВОРИ ДИВЕСА ЕГО И СЖДЪБЪБЪБІ ОУСТЪ ЕГО. Cf. дивѣ 2/m.

довѣльство [до.(вѣл).ств.ѡ]. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword довѣльство. Only two glosses, morphologically strange spellouts довѣльств- SUPR 494, 20; 494, 22. Cf. доволнѣ, довлѣти.

дрѣва. *Plurale tantum*.

дрѣво. Aberrant forms дрѣвесе SUPR 402, 9 and others.

дѣло. Aberrant forms дѣлесе SUPR 344, 11, дѣлесъ EUCH 89a, 17 and others.

їезеро. Contra Večerka and following Sadnik. Večerka gives two headwrds, їезеро (n.) and їезеръ (m.), in the same dictionary entry. їезеръ agrees in the masculine 2x ZOGR, SAV; in the PD these glosses are treated as aberrant.

желанїе. Contra Večerka, who gives two headwords, желѣнїе and желанїе, in the same dictionary entry.

желѣнїе. See preceding word.

закѡленїе. Contra Večerka and following Sadnik. Večerka normalizes the headword with ѡ: закѡленїе (лѣ by Večerka's transcription convention, equivalent to ѡ here). Out of the six glosses, only one spellout shows the kamora: на закѡлѣнїе EUCH 15a, 24. See § 438–440. Cf. also колѣнїе.

златѡ. Aberrant spellout золѣта in PS SIN 71, 15.

зѣло. Contra Večerka, who has no headword зѣло, while the corresponding glosses are covered by the adjectival headword зѣлъ. Cf. зѣлъ 1/f.

измѣнїе. Contra Večerka and Sadnik, who have no headword измѣнїе. Нарак gloss измѣнїе PS SIN 88, 52, see § 653.

каменїе. Cf. камень 1/m и камѣкъ 2/m, and also the aberrant form (NASg) камѣи in SUPR.

коление. Contra Večerka and following Sadnik.

Večerka normalizes the headword with λ : **КОЛѢННІЕ** (ЛЕ by Večerka's transcription convention, equivalent to λ here). The only two glosses in SUPR are without kamora: 57, 8; 57, 11. Cf. **ЗАКОЛЕННІЕ**.

крыштненіе. Aberrant spellout **КРЪСТЕНЬЕ** 1x CLOZ 2a, 18.

лажаніе [(лаі).а.н.ь.ј.є] 'ambush, intrigues'. Cf. **ЛАТѢЛЬ**.

лице. Aberrant forms **ЛИЧЕСЕ** SUPR 335, 14, **ЛИЧЕСА** SUPR 397, 18, see § 400.

ложесно. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword **ЛОЖЕСНА** *Plurale tantum* (because of the hapax singular gloss **ЛОЖЕСНО** NSg SUPR 249, 13).

люто. Hapax gloss of the aberrant form **ЛЮТЕСЕ** SUPR 341, 1 (**НИЧСОЖЕ ЗЪЛА НИ ЛЮТЕСЕ**). Cf. **ЛЮТЪ** 2/a.

напрасъннїе [на.(прас).ьн.ь.ј.є]. Contra Večerka and following Sadnik. Večerka gives the headword without **ь**: **НАПРАСНІЕ**. Hapax gloss **НАПРАСНІЕМЪ** SUPR 93, 22–23. Cf. **НАПРАСЪНЪ**, **НАПРАСЪННІВЪ**.

носна. *Plurale tantum*.

одоуѣннїе. Aberrant spellout **ОДЕЛ** 1x in EUCN; canonical ones in SUPR.

оржжнїе. Aberrant spellouts with **ЖРЖЖ** (2x PS SIN, 1x EUCN).

осръдованнїе. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword as **ОБЪСРЪДОВАННІЕ**. Hapax gloss **НЕ ТРЪПЪШЕ БО ВЪКО ЗА ОБЪСРЪДОВАННІЕ МЪШТИ ТВОЕЪ** **ВИДѢТИ ОУЪ НЕПРИГЪЗНИ МЪЖИМА РОДА ЧЪЧА** EUCN 4b, 2–6.

пианьство. Aberrant spellouts with **ПЪЪН** (ZOGR, MAR) and **ПЪАН** (SUPR). Cf. **ПИАНИЦА**.

плесно 'foot, sole'. Only Du, only three glosses (PS SIN, SUPR and EUCN).

плочшга 'lungs'. *Plurale tantum*. Contra Večerka, who normalizes the headword as **ПЛОШТА**. Hapax gloss SUPR 165, 10 **ПЛОШТА**.

подражаннїе. Aberrant spellouts with **ПОДРЪЖ**. For distribution in sources see Večerka.

породьство, порождьство. Following Večerka, two headwords: **ПОРОДЬСТВО** and **ПОРОЖДЬСТВО**. The former is for the hapax gloss **ПОРОДЬСТВОУ** SUPR 451, 16, the latter is for the hapax gloss **ПОРОЗЬСТВОУ** CLOZ 14a, 2. This latter is an aberrant spellout as it shows the substitutive softening by the alternative pairing **Д||З** (з) instead of canonical **Д||Ж**.

пѣннїе. Cf. **ПѣТНІЕ**; for distribution in sources see Večerka.

пѣтнїе. See preceding word.

пжга 'fettlers'. *Plurale tantum*.

РАМО 'shoulder'. Usually Du, see however: **РАМЪУХЪ** LPI SUPR 458, 9 and **РАМО** ASg EUCN 97a, 9.

родьство. Contra Večerka and following Sadnik. Večerka gives two homonymous headwords, **РОДЬСТВО**¹ 'birth, kinship' and **РОДЬСТВО**² 'Gehenna'. Sadnik treats both meanings under the same root <<761>>. Cf. **РОЖДЬСТВО**. For semantics and the distribution in the sources see Večerka.

рожднїе 'sprout, branch'. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword as **РАЖДНІЕ**. Only four glosses: 2x **РОЖД** (AS and SAV), and 2x **РАЖД** (ZOGR and MAR; Jn 15, 5). In the PD there is no headword **РАЖДНІЕ**, while the corresponding glosses are treated as aberrant. Cf. **РОЗГА** 'sprout, branch'.

рождьство. Aberrant spellouts with **РОЗЬСТВО** (MAR and CLOZ). Cf. **РОДЬСТВО**.

свѣштилo 'candle holder'. Cf. **СВѢТИЛО** 'lamp'.

соукъно 'wool cloth'. Only yerless aberrant spellouts, four glosses altogether, all in SUPR.

съзрьно. Contra Večerka, who has no headword **СЪЗРЬНО**, while the corresponding hapax gloss (SUPR 397, 6) is treated under the headword **ЗРЬНО**.

трѣзвеннїе. Aberrant spellout without expected substitutive softening for unattested **ТРѢЗВЛЕННІЕ**, cf. **ТРѢЗВИТИ**. Four glosses altogether, all in EUCN.

оупъваннїе. Contra Večerka, who gives two headwords, **ОУПЪВАННІЕ** and **ОУПЪВАННІЕ**, the latter covers the hapax gloss **И ВЕЛИЧАНЫА О СВОЕМЪ ОУПЪВАННІИ** SUPR 513, 21–22 (Večerka adds: «or in place of **О ОУПЪВАННІИ**?»).

оуста. *Plurale tantum*. Cf. **ОУСТЫНА** 2/f.

оутро. Aberrant spellouts with **ЮТР**-; for distribution in sources see Večerka.

чрѣсла. *Plurale tantum*.

чоувьство [(чоу).в.ьств.о]. Cf. **ЧОУНСТВО**. Three glosses altogether for **ЧОУВЬСТВО** and one for **ЧОУНСТВО**; all in SUPR.

ЧОУНСТВО [(чоуі).ьств.о]. See preceding word.

ШЬСТІЕ [ШЪД.СТВ.ь.ј.є]. Cf. **ШЬСТІЕ**; for distribution in sources see Večerka.

ШЬСТІЕ [ШЪД.Т.ь.ј.є]. See preceding word.

Morphologically feminine substantives

Class 2/f: ЖЕНА/ЗЕМЛЯ

§342. Class membership

This class contains more than 450 lexemes. Soft and hard subtypes are distinguished by the right edge of the workstem. Possible workstem right edges are shown in Table 342

Table 342. Possible workstem right edges in class 2/f

Hard subtype		Soft subtype				
Simple	к, г, х	ц, с	â, ã, ð	Shibilants	j	V(i)
ЖЕНА ЖАБА РОСА	ВЛАГА РЖКА МОУХА	ОВЫЦА СТЬСА	ЗЕМĀТА ВОŃТА ПЬРТА	ЧАША СВЪШТА ПРИТЪЧА	ЗМНА [з.м.бj=а]	ВЪТА [в'fj=а] ШИТА [шиj=а]
More than 250		Fewer than 200				

§343. Profiles

Here are the profiles of some type representatives:

	ЖЕНА 2/f		
	Sg	Du	Pl
N	ЖЕНА	ЖЕНЪ	ЖЕНЪ
A	ЖЕНЖ		
L	ЖЕНЪ	ЖЕНОУ	ЖЕНАХЪ

	ОВЫЦА 2/f		
	Sg	Du	Pl
	ОВЫЦА	ОВЫЦИ	ОВЫЦА
	ОВЫЦЖ		
	ОВЫЦИ	ОВЫЦОУ	ОВЫЦАХЪ

	МОУХА 2/f		
	Sg	Du	Pl
N	МОУХА	МОУСЪ	МОУХЪ
A	МОУХЖ		
L	МОУСЪ	МОУХОУ	МОУХАХЪ

	ТЖЧА 2/f		
	Sg	Du	Pl
	ТЖЧА	ТЖЧИ	ТЖЧА
	ТЖЧЖ		
	ТЖЧИ	ТЖЧОУ	ТЖЧАХЪ

	ЗЕМĀТА 2/f		
	Sg	Du	Pl
N	ЗЕМĀТА	ЗЕМĀН	ЗЕМĀН
A	ЗЕМĀТЖ		
L	ЗЕМĀН	ЗЕМĀЮ	ЗЕМĀТАХЪ

	ЗМНА 2/f		
	Sg	Du	Pl
	ЗМНА [з.м.бj=а]	ЗМНИ [з.м.бj=н]	ЗМНН [з.м.бj=а]
	ЗМНЖ [з.м.бj=ж]		
	ЗМНИ [з.м.бj=н]	ЗМНЮ [з.м.бj=оу]	ЗМНАХЪ [з.м.бj=ахъ]

§344. Notes on word formation

This class contains both root and suffixal substantives. Table 344 shows examples.

Table 344. Derivational subtypes of feminine substantives

	Hard subtype	Soft subtype
Root	жена, рѣка, вѣра	вѣпа, вѣжда, доуша, ѡса, кожа, тѣла, воура
Suffixal	ѡзвѣна, истина, соуѣта, срамота	оуѣница, тѣлица, пѣтница, вѣдовица, ѡдыца, зѣна, братѣна

In the soft subtype many root nominals are the result of *segmentless substitutive softening* (see § 864). Such are, for example, земѣла, тѣжа, соуша, прѣтѣча, одежда, коуплѣа, зорѣа.

Class 2/f*: рабѣѣи

§345. Class membership

This subtype contains the following 30 substantives: баѣи, бѣгостѣѣи, бѣгѣѣи, вѣгѣѣи, вѣтѣи, господѣѣи, грѣдѣѣи, корабѣѣи, краѣи, крѣмѣѣи, крѣстиѣѣи, кѣѣи, лаѣи, лѣгѣѣи, мѣлостѣѣи, мѣлѣѣи, поѣгѣѣи, правѣѣи, простѣѣи, роуѣѣи, рабѣѣи, самѣѣи, свиѣи, свѣтѣѣи, соѣѣи, сѣѣи, тѣѣи, тѣѣи, тѣѣи, тѣѣи, шарѣѣи. The starting forms (NSg) end in и (рабѣѣи=и). The workstem ends in a morphophonologically soft consonant, viz. j, ѣ, or шт (see examples in § 348 below).

§346. Paradigmatic peculiarities

Class 2/f* has the NSg и terminal from the nonstandard set c-simplex instead of the expected а from the set 2-base. All other forms have terminals from the set 2-base.

§347. Profiles

Here are the profiles of some type representatives.

	рабѣѣи 2/f*			сѣѣи 2/f*		
	Sg	Du	Pl	Sg	Du	Pl
N	рабѣѣи	рабѣѣи	рабѣѣиѣ	сѣѣи [сѣѣ.ѣ]=и]	сѣѣи [сѣѣ.ѣ]=и]	сѣѣиѣ [сѣѣ.ѣ]=ѣ]
A	рабѣѣиѣ			сѣѣиѣ [сѣѣ.ѣ]=ѣ]		
L	рабѣѣи	рабѣѣиѣ	рабѣѣиѣѣ	сѣѣи [сѣѣ.ѣ]=и]	сѣѣиѣ [сѣѣ.ѣ]=ѣ]	сѣѣиѣѣ [сѣѣ.ѣ]=ѣѣ]

§348. Notes on word formation

All substantives here are suffixal.

Suffix ьj	Suffix ьй̆	Suffix жшт/шт
сждин [сж.д.ьj.и] мльнин [мльн.ьj.и]	рабьй̆ин [раб.ьй̆.и] льгьй̆ин [льг.ьй̆.и]	т'ьисжшти [т'ьис.жшт.и]//т'ьисштти [т'ьис.шт.и]

Note that while for nominals formed with the suffixes ьй̆ and жшт/шт, class 2/f* is the only paradigmatic possibility, for substantives formed with the suffix ьj this is not the case: such substantives contain lexemes that follow the main twofold declension. Cf., for example, змнй [зм.ьj.а], братнй [брат.ьj.а], and some others.

Class 1/f: кость

§349. Class membership

This class contains slightly fewer than 200 lexemes. Possible workstem right edges are shown in Table 349.

Table 349. Possible workstem right edges in class 1/f

Morphophonologically soft: only ч, ш, шт			Others except к, г, х	
р'ьчь зльчь	м'ьшь кокошь	вешть мошть	скр'ьзь падь	вьсь кость

§350. Notes on word formation

Substantives in this class can be both root and suffixal. Examples:

Root	Suffixal
хоть, оутварь, твердь, сьн'ьдь, сьв'ьдь, соль, пать, ношт	тарость, гор'ьсть, боизнь, д'ьт'ьль, з'ьлодь, ст'ьд'ьнь

§351. Profiles

Here are the profiles of some type representatives.

	кость 1/f		
	Sg	Du	Pl
N	кость	кости	кости
A	кость	кости	кости
L	кости	костню	костьхъ

	вешть 1/f		
	Sg	Du	Pl
N	вешть	вешти	вешти
A	вешть	вешти	вешти
L	вешти	вештию	вештьхъ

Commentary on individual substantive morphologically feminine lexemes

§ 352. List of commented lexemes (class 2/f and its deformations)

- БЕЗДЪНА** [без.дън.а] <264>. Frequently aberrant spellout with **ь** alongside the canonical one. Aberrant spellouts **БЕЗДЕНЪ** for GPI in PS SIN: **ВЪСХОДЯТЪ ДО НЕБЪЗЪ І НИЗЪХОДЯТЪ ДО БЕЗДЕНЪ** (106, 26). Cf. **БЕЗДЪНЪ**, **БЕЗДЪННІЕ**.
- БЕСПОСАГА**. Contra Večerka, who gives the adjectival headword **БЕСПОСАГАН**. Нарах gloss **СУВЕКА БЕСПОСАГАА МАТЕРЕ И ДЪВНИЦА** SUPR 391, 26–27.
- БРАТНІА**. Cf. **БРАТРИНА**; for distribution in sources see Večerka.
- БРАТРИНА**. See preceding word.
- БРЪНІА** <54> ‘armor’. Contra Večerka and following Sadnik. Večerka gives the starting form **БРЪНІА** (*Plurale tantum*). Do not confuse with **БРЪНА** ‘dirt’ <56>.
- БРЪНА** ‘dirt’. See preceding word.
- ВЛНА¹** ‘wave’ <77> and **ВЛНА²** ‘fleece’ <108> are homonyms.
- ВЪДОВА** and **ВЪДОВИЦА**. The spellout of the root vowel follows Večerka, although the overwhelming majority of the attested forms show the root as **вѣд**. See § 681.
- ГЕОНА**. Violation of the law of the velars, see § 869.
- ГОСПОДА** ‘inn’. Cf. **ГОСПОЖДА**, **ГОСПОДЪИНИ** ‘lady’.
- ГОСТИНИЦА**. Cf. **ГОСТИННИЦА**; for distribution in sources see Večerka.
- ГОСТИННИЦА**. See preceding word.
- ДВЪРЬЦА**. Contra Večerka and following Sadnik. Večerka gives only the headword **ДВЪРЬЦА** (pl.f.).
- ДИВІА**. Contra Večerka and following Sadnik and Meyer. Večerka gives only the adjective **ДИВИИ**. Нарах gloss (**ДИВИИ** DSG SUPR 350, 17).
- ДИРА**. Aberrant spellout **ДИРЪ** (NSg) in ZOCR Mk 2, 21.
- ДРОЖИНА**. *Plurale tantum*.
- ДРАЗГА**. Нарах gloss **ІАКО ЛЕВЪ ВЪ ДРАЗДЪ** SUPR 12, 8.
- ДЖЕРАВА**. Cf. **ДЖЕРОВА**.
- ДЖЕРОВА**. Contra Večerka, who gives no headword **ДЖЕРОВА**, only **ДЖЕРАВА**. Aberrant spellout with **ДОБРОВ-** 1x in PS SIN 73, 5.
- ЗАРІА**. Cf. **ЗОРІА**.
- ЗМИА**. Cf. **ЗМИИ** [з.м.ь.і.ь].
- ЗОРІА**. Contra Večerka, who gives two headwords **ЗОРІА** (pl.f.) and **ЗАРІА**.
- ИЗОУЇШИНА** [из.(оуї).ьш.ин.а] ‘improvement’. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword without **КАМОРА**. Нарах gloss SUPR 314, 15–16 without **КАМОРА**. Cf. **ОУЇШИНА**.
- КЛІВЕТА**. Contra Večerka and following Sadnik. Večerka gives the headword **КЛІВЕТА** and its derivatives without **КАМОРА**.
- КРЪМА¹** ‘stern’ <448> and **КРЪМА²** ‘food, nourishment’ <447> are homonyms. Cf. **КРЪМЛА** <447> ‘food, nourishment’.
- КРЪМЛА**. See preceding word.
- КРЪМЪЧИИ**. Masculine agreement. Two glosses altogether, NSg **ДОУШЕВЪНЪИ КРЪМЪЧИ** (SUPR 474, 17) and ASg **КРЪМЪЧИИЖ ОУБИША** (SUPR 472, 13–14).
- КЪНИГЪ**. *Plurale tantum*.
- КЪНИЖИЦА**. *Plurale tantum*.
- ЛАДИИ** <483>. Contra Večerka, who gives two headwords **АЛЪДИИ** and **ЛАДИИ** in the same dictionary entry. Aberrant spellouts with **АЛЪД-** and **АЛД-**; for distribution in sources see Večerka.
- ЛАДВИНА**. *Plurale tantum*.
- МАТИЦА** ‘river of fire, hell’. Нарах gloss **МАТИЦЖ ОГЪННІАЖ** SUPR 525, 30.
- МЖКА¹** ‘flour’ <595> and **МЖКА²** ‘torture, suffering’ <595> are homonyms. Aberrant spellouts of **МЖКА²** with **МОУК-** (2x) and **МУК-** (1x) are attested in CLOZ.
- НОЖНИЦА**. *Plurale tantum*.
- НЖЖДА**. Aberrant spellouts with **НОУЖД-** in SUPR; for distribution in sources see Večerka.
- ОСЪПЪ**. *Plurale tantum*.
- ПАЖЧИНА**. Three glosses altogether: **ПАЖ-** (PS SIN) and the aberrant **ПАИЖ-** (SUPR) and **ПАОУ-** (PS SIN).
- ПИАНИЦА**. Aberrant spellout **ПЪІН-** 1x ZOCR Mt 24, 49. Cf. **ПИАНІСТВО**.
- ПРАПРЖДА**. Cf. **ПРЪПРЖДА**, **ПРЪПРЖДЪ**; for distribution in sources see Večerka.
- ПРЪГЪІНІА** [(пръгъїні).а] ‘mountain wilderness’. Contra Večerka, who gives two headwords **ПРЪГЪІНИ** and **ПРЪГЪІНІА** in the same

- dictionary entry. *Нарак* gloss *ѡстѣ же въ прѣгънѣхъ мѣсто то и въ непрѣходънѣхъ горахъ* SUPR 26, 19–20. See Durnovo 2000, p. 690–693.
- прѣпрѣда*. See above, *прпрѣда*.
- пѣготы*. *Plurale tantum*.
- робота*. Aberrant spellout *робот-* (SUPR 1x: 58, 1).
- радошта*. Only in the form *радоштами*: *възира са младѣншигъ радоштами въ чрѣвѣ моемъ* Lk 1, 44 ZOGR.
- розга*. Aberrant spellouts with *розг-* 2x ZOGR and MAR.
- рыба*. Aberrant spellouts with *риб-* 2x in SAV, SUPR. Cf. *рыбница*.
- рыбница*. Aberrant spellout *рибниц-* 1x in SAV. Cf. *рыба*.
- свинни*. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword *свинни* (f.); in the PD, following Sadnik; likewise Jagić's word index of MAR.
- седморица*. Aberrant spellouts with *седмериц-* (2x PS SIN).
- слоуга*. Masculine agreement.
- смокъвъница*. Aberrant spellouts with *смоков-*.
- сочани*. Shows both feminine and masculine agreement. Three glosses altogether.
- стража* 'guard'. Contra Večerka, who gives two headwords, *стража* and *стражда*, the latter covering the *harak* gloss *страждж: си словеса оутѣшнанагъ подаважшгѣ дроугъ дроугоу и дроугъ дроуга подоштанжшгѣ: какоже се страждж на рати творашгѣ: ношгѣ проваждаахж* SUPR 91, 27–30. The PD has no headword *стражда*, the corresponding gloss being treated as a morphologically strange spellout for *стражж* or *стражбжж*. Cf. *стражба* 'guard'.
- стражба* 'guard'. *Нарак* gloss in PS SIN: *варистѣ стражбѣзѣ очи мои* (76, 5). See preceding word *стража*.
- стыкльница*. Cf. *стыкльница*. On the competition between suffixes *ѣн* and *ын* see § 896.
- стыкльница*. See preceding word.
- спаства* 'salvation'. *Нарак* gloss SUPR 503, 4–5: *да ти доведж днѣ-съ-паствѣзѣ везѣднѣмъ*. Following Večerka and Meyer, this headword has been separated from *паства*.
- сѣчыца* 'executioner, headsman'. Cf. *сѣчыць*; for distribution in sources see Večerka.
- трѣва*. Aberrant spellouts with *трав-* (3x PS SIN).
- тъма* 'multitude'. Contra Večerka and following Sadnik. Večerka gives two homonymous headwords, *тъма*¹ 'darkness' and *тъма*² 'multitude'. The PD gives *тъма* for <993>/<<1017>> 'multitude' and *тъма* for <1002>/<<971>> 'darkness'. Sources attest spellouts with both *тъм* and *тъмъ* for both lexemes.
- тысашти*. Cf. *тысашти*; for distribution in sources see Večerka.
- тысашти*. See preceding word.
- оунышина* [(оуны).ѡш.бж.ин.а]. *Нарак* gloss SUPR 506, 1 with *kamora*. Cf. *изоунышина*.
- оустына*. Feminine gender evidenced by such glosses as *оустынахъ* LPI PS SIN 58, 8; *оустынами* LPI Mt 15, 8 ZOGR, MAR, etc. Most occurrences are in Du and Pl. Cf. *оуста* 2/n.
- чешоуга*. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword *чешоуга*. *Нарак* in EUSN: *ѣкоже чешоуа отъврѣгль еси отъ очюю его* 34b, 2–3.
- юноша*. Masculine agreement.
- жза* 'chains, fetters'. Aberrant spellout *вжз-* 1x SUPR 442, 27. Cf. *свѣжзъ* 'connection' and *жж* 'rope'.

§ 353. List of commented lexemes (class 1/f)

- пасли*. *Plurale tantum*.
- бладь*. Contra Večerka, who gives two homonymous headwords, *бладь*¹ 'windbag, chat-box' and *бладь*² 'chatter', and, moreover, the former is treated as masculine, while the latter as feminine; *бладь*¹ is attested as a *harak* gloss *то не тѣчыжъ бладь ѡсмъ нъ и жродъ* SUPR 156, 1. Only one lexeme is registered in the PD.
- възвнѣть*. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword *възвнѣтъ* (f.). Cf. и *азъ пришгъдъ оубо възалъ бѣхъ мое съ възвнѣтижъ* SUPR 370, 1.
- гжсли*. *Plurale tantum*.
- дрьколь*. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword *дрьколь* (m.). Cf. (NPI) *дрьколи* CLOZ 12b, 13.
- дѣти*. *Plurale tantum*.
- зълъ* 'evil deed'. Cf. *зълъ* 2/n.

кѣзнь. Cf. кѣзнь, for distribution in sources see Večerka.

кѣзнь. See preceding word.

мошть [(мог).т.ь]. Contra Večerka, who gives two headwords моштин ‘relics’ *Plurale tantum* and мошть ‘power’ 1/f (the latter covers four glosses). Only one lexeme is registered in the PD. Cf. also немощь 1/f.

мѣдлостъ [(мѣд).ь.л.ост.ь] ‘indolence’ <572>. Contra Večerka, and following Sadnik. Večerka gives the headword as мѣдлостъ. Only two glosses, both in CLOZ: мѣдлостъ-2b, 30 and 5b, 9. The spellout in Večerka shows the prohibited cluster дл.

ноздри. *Plurale tantum*.

пропадъ. Cf. пропастъ [про.пад.т.ь], for distribution in sources see Večerka.

пропастъ. See preceding word.

пръси. *Plurale tantum*.

сѣнь. Contra Večerka, who gives two homonymous headwords, сѣнь¹ ‘shadow, umbrage’ and сѣнь² ‘tent, tabernacle’. Only one lexeme is registered in the PD. Cf. стѣнь 2/m.

тагостъ. Cf. тажестъ, for distribution in sources see Večerka.

тажестъ. See preceding word.

Secondary forms

§354. General

Nominal declension contains two kinds of secondary forms:⁷ the vocative form (Voc), and the personal dative (D₂). Table 354 shows how they are distributed among inflectional classes.

Table 354. Distribution of nominal secondary forms

Paradigmatic class	2/m	2/n	2/f	1/m, 1/f
Secondary forms				
Voc	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
D ₂	Yes	Yes	No	No

§355. Formation of vocative forms

These forms take special markers and follow special boundary adjustment rules. Formation of vocatives is shown in Table 355. The workstem is the same as in primary forms.

Table 355. Vocative formation

Paradigmatic class	2/m	2/f	1/m, 1/f
Workstem right edge			
Morphophonologically soft except ц, с	оу	ε	и
ц, с	ε		No
Other			о
Boundary adjustment: in 2/m, к, г, х, ц, с are replaced with ч, ж, ш, ч, ж, respectively.			

⁷ Ad-prepositional forms of the pronouns *и and иже are also secondary; see § 318.

Vocative forms can be classified as paradigmatic only somewhat arbitrarily. Their special status makes them similar to adverbs and other extraparadigmatic forms. Accordingly, the markers *оу*, *е*, *о/е*, *и* are neither ordinary terminals nor ordinary suffixes. Cf. the marker at end of adverbial extraparadigmatic forms, such as *камо*, *къгда*, and some others.

Boundary adjustment rules are morphophonologically anomalous. In part, instead of the standard replacement by the velar palatalization alternation *к* → *ч*, vocatives use the anomalous replacements *ц* → *ч* and *с* → *ж* (see § 108).

Examples: (1) 2/m (substantives): *мжжъ* — *мжжоу*, *отыць* — *отыче*, *кънасъ* — *кънаже*, *сыинъ* — *сыине*, *валькъ* — *вальче*, *богъ* — *боже*, *доуѣхъ* — *доуше*; (adjectives): *слѣпъ* — *слѣпе*. (2) 2/f (substantives): *доуша* — *доуше*, *дѣвица* — *дѣвице*, *жена* — *жено*, *владъика* — *владъико*; (there are no such adjectives). (3) 1/f: *милость* — *милошти*; for 1/m only *господи* (господь 0/m).

All other inflectional classes lack vocative forms; the corresponding syntactic positions contain NSg.

Some nominal 2/m lexemes of the hard subtype show aberrant vocative forms in *оу*, cf. *сыноу* for *сынъ*. E.g. *помилоуи ма господи сыноу давидовъ* SUPR 392, 18–19.

Illustration

фарисею слѣпе: очисти прѣжде внѣтрнее стекльници: ꙗ поропсидѣ да бждетъ ꙗ внѣщнее има чисто Mt 23, 26 MAR; *чоудо велико обздържитъ ма княже* SUPR 157, 4–5 (cf. the aberrant form in *не льсти са князоу* SUPR 156, 7–8); *исъ рече еи: жено кде сжтъ иже на та важдаж: никъи же ли тебе не осжди* Jn 8, 10 MAR; *у зависти: оубоиствоу родителю: диваола обрѣтѣль: съмръти старѣишино* SUPR 388, 22–24; *сватъи артемонъ глагола: омрачене оумомъ: змие обветышавышиа: рабе дьбри огъныа: иште ли са отъмештеши не хота слышати* SUPR 231, 11–14; *бѣ вседържителю: ѣдинъи блаже и миносрѣде: послоушали всѣхъ въ истинъ работажити хъ тебѣ: покажи и о мьнѣ недостоинѣ рабѣ своелъ: свож благъиъж* SUPR 21, 26–22, 1.

ꙗ пристжплъ: примъи дѣ талантъ: принесе дроугжж дѣ талантъ: гла гѣ: дѣ талантъ ми еси прѣдалъ: се дроугжж дѣ талантъ: приобрѣтхъ ими: рече емоу гѣ его: добръи рабе благы: ꙗ вѣръны: о малѣ бѣ вѣрънъ: надъ многы та поставлж: выиди въ радость гѣ своего: пристжплъ же: примъи бѣ таланта: рече гѣ: бѣ таланта ми еси прѣдалъ: се дроугаѣ бѣ таланта: приобрѣтохъ има: рече емоу гѣ его: добръи рабе благы: вѣръне: о малѣ бѣ вѣрънъ: надъ многы та поставлж: выиди: въ радость гѣ своего Mt 25, 20–23 ZOCR.

§ 356. Formation of the personal dative D₂

The workstem is the same as in primary forms. The terminal *ови/еви* is from the 2-duplex set. For example, *богъ* — *богови*, *мжжъ* — *мжжеви*, *отыць* — *отыцеви*, *морѣ* — *морѣви*.

Illustrations

онъ же вѣдѣаше помышлениѣ ихъ: ꙗ рече чавѣкови имъштѣмоу соухъ
 ржжъ: вѣстани и стани по срѣдѣ: онъ же вѣста Lk 6, 8 MAR; достонитъ ли намъ
кесаревн дань дати: или ни Lk 20, 22 MAR; гла емоу июда не искарнотъскы: гї: и
 чѣто вѣстъ тако намъ хоцеши гавити сѧ: а не мировн Jn 14, 22 SAV; прѣдаешн
 рьци ми всѧ съдръжѣштѣаго: бѣсы владжштѣаго: моревн запрѣштѣжштѣаго
 SUPR 412, 5–7.

Unique nominal lexemes

§357. A list of unique nominal lexemes

There are 49 unique nominal lexemes. All lexemes in this class are listed in Table 357.

Table 357. Unique nominal lexemes

Unique substantive lexemes with fixed gender							
ИМЛА 0/п [7]	ОТРОЧА 0/п [7]	СЛОВО 0/п [6]	ОКО 0/п [2]	ЦРЬКЪ 0/ф [12]		МАТИ 0/ф [2]	0/м [2]
БРЪМА	АГНА	ИСТО	ОКО	БРАДЪ	ПРЪЛЮБЪ	ДУШТИ	ГОСПОДЪ
ВРЪМА	ЖРЪБА	КОЛО	ОУХО	БОУКЪВИ	СВЕКРЫ	МАТИ	ДЕСАТЬ
ИМА	КЛЮСА	НЕБО		ЖРЪНЪ	СЛОКЪ		
ПИСМА	КОЗЪЛА	СЛОВО		ЛОКЪ	ХОРЖЪ		
ПЛЕМА	ОВЪЧА	ТЪЛО		ЛЮБЪ	ЦРЬКЪ		
СЪМА	ОСЪЛА	ЧОУДО		НЕПЛОДУ	ЦЪЛА		
ЧИСМА	ОТРОЧА						
Unique nominal lexemes without fixed gender							
А [5]			S [3]				
СЪ 0/р	¹ КЪТО 0/р	³ АЗЪ 0/с ³ ТЫ 0/с ^{1,3} СА 0/с					
КЪИ 0/р	¹ ЧЪТО 0/р						
² ЧЕТЫРЕ 0/а							

¹ Only Sg forms. ² Only Pl forms. ³ Indeterminate morphological gender.

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Paradigms of model lexemes from each group are shown below. Doublet forms (//) can be present in the paradigms, i.e. forms that are both primary, both canonical, and are treated as equivalent (their distribution is not determined). The source of these doublets is the paradigmatic effect of alien terminals in the paradigm.

Also, the attribution of the terminals to their set is shown in the paradigms.

Group $\text{нм}\Delta$ 0/n

§ 358. Membership and model paradigm

This group includes $\text{вр}\text{ѣм}\Delta$, $\text{вр}\text{ѣм}\Delta$, $\text{нм}\Delta$, $\text{писм}\Delta$, $\text{плем}\Delta$, $\text{сѣм}\Delta$, $\text{чисм}\Delta$. Here is a model paradigm.

	Sg		Du		Pl	
NA	$\text{нм.}\Delta=0$	c-simplex	$\text{нм.}\epsilon\text{н}=\text{ѣ} //$ $\text{нм.}\epsilon\text{н}=\text{н}$	2-base// 1-simplex	$\text{нм.}\epsilon\text{н}=\Delta$	2-base
G	$\text{нм.}\epsilon\text{н}=\epsilon //$	c-simplex//			$\text{нм.}\epsilon\text{н}=\text{ъ}$	2-base
L	$\text{нм.}\epsilon\text{н}=\text{н}$	1-simplex			$\text{нм.}\epsilon\text{н}=\epsilon\text{хъ}$	c-simplex
D	$\text{нм.}\epsilon\text{н}=\text{н}$	1-simplex			$\text{нм.}\epsilon\text{н}=\epsilon\text{мъ}$	c-simplex
I	$\text{нм.}\epsilon\text{н}=\epsilon\text{мъ} //$ $\text{нм.}\epsilon\text{н}=\text{ьмъ}$	c-simplex// 1-simplex			$\text{нм.}\epsilon\text{н}=\text{ы}$	2-base

The source set of terminals of the given forms is shown to the right; cells are shaded if the corresponding forms are not attested for any lexemes in the group.

§ 359. Notes

- 1°. The workstem is the same in all forms. The final suffix of the stem is the finally ambivalent $\Delta/\epsilon\text{н}$, cf. $\text{нм.}\Delta/\text{нм.}\epsilon\text{н}$, $\text{вр}\text{ѣ.м.}\Delta/\text{вр}\text{ѣ.м.}\epsilon\text{н}$, etc.
- 2°. The only Du forms are $\text{нм}\epsilon\text{н}\text{ѣ}$ Mk 3, 17 ZGR, MAR and $\text{нм}\epsilon\text{нн}$ SUPR 113, 29. See Vaillant, § 72 on the distribution of forms.

Group $\text{отроч}\Delta$ 0/n

§ 360. Membership and model paradigm

This group includes $\text{агн}\Delta$, $\text{жрѣб}\Delta$, $\text{кѣнос}\Delta$, $\text{козья}\Delta$, $\text{овьч}\Delta$, $\text{осья}\Delta$, $\text{отроч}\Delta$. Here is a model paradigm:

	Sg	Du	Pl	
NA	отроч.а=θ c-simplex			
G	отроч.ат=ε//отроч.ат=и c-simplex//1-simplex			отроч.ат=ъ 2-base
L				
D	отроч.ат=и 1-simplex			
I				

The source set of terminals of the given forms is shown to the right; cells are shaded if the corresponding forms are not attested for any lexemes in the group.

§ 361. Note

The workstem is the same in all forms; the final suffix of the stem is the finally ambivalent а/ат, cf. отроч.а/отроч.ат, овъч.а/овъч.ат. See Vaillant, § 72 on the distribution of forms.

Group слово 0/n

§ 362. Membership and model paradigm

This group includes исто, коло, нево, слово, тѣло, чоудо. Here is a model paradigm.

	Sg	Du	Pl
NA	слово=о 2-base	слов.ес=ѣ// 2-base// слов.ес=и 1-simplex	слов.ес=а 2-base
G	слов.ес=ε// c-simplex//	слов.ес=оу 2-base	слов.ес=ъ 2-base
L	слов.ес=и 1-simplex		слов.ес=εуъ c-simplex
D	слов.ес=и 1-simplex		слов.ес=εмъ c-simplex
I	слов.ес=εмь// c-simplex// слов.ес=ьмь 1-simplex		слов.ес=ъи 2-base

The source set of terminals of the given forms is shown to the right; cells are shaded if the corresponding forms are not attested for any lexemes in the group.

§ 363. Notes

- Expanded and syncopated workstems are distinguished here. The syncopated stem is found in NASg (with the terminal о); the expanded stem has the suffix εс.
- All lexemes except исто show aberrant forms with a syncopated stem by the twofold declension type. Cf. поманѣша же оученици его ѣкоже се глааше и вѣржъша кнѣгамъ и словоу еже гла иѣ Jn 2, 22 AS (cf. словеси in MAR and ZOGR); кѣто же отъ васъ пекъти сѧ можетъ приложити тѣлѣ своему лакотѣ единѣ Lk 12, 25 MAR (cf. ZOGR тѣлесѣ); пропинамѣ неба ѣко и кожъ ps sin 103, 2.

On the distribution of forms, see Vaillant, § 72–73. On aberrant forms with stems expanded by the suffix *εс*, in the lexemes *днво*, *дрѣво*, *дѣло*, *лице*, *люто*, see § 400.

Group *ок0 0/n*

§ 364. Membership and model paradigm

This group contains *ок0*, *оуχ0*. Here are all the attested forms.

	Sg		Du		Pl	
NA	<i>ок=о</i>	2-base	<i>оч=и</i>	1-simplex	<i>оч.εс=а</i>	2-base
G	<i>оч.εс=ε//ок=а</i>	c-simplex//2-base			<i>оч.εс=ъ</i>	2-base
L	<i>оч.εс=ε//</i> <i>оч.εс=и//</i> <i>оц=ѣ</i>	c-simplex// 1-simplex// 2-base	<i>оч=ию</i>	1-simplex		
D	<i>оч.εс=и</i>	1-simplex	<i>∇очима</i>	Anomalous form		
I	<i>ок=ошь</i>	2-base			<i>оч.εс=ъи</i>	2-base

The source set of terminals of the given forms is shown to the right; cells are shaded if the corresponding forms are not attested for any lexemes in the group.

	Sg		Du		Pl	
NA	<i>оуχ=о</i>	2-base	<i>оуш=и</i>	1-simplex		
G			<i>оуш=ию</i>	1-simplex		
L						
D	<i>оуχ=оу</i>	2-base				
I			<i>оуш.εс=ъи</i>	2-base		

The source set of terminals of the given forms is shown to the right; cells are shaded if the corresponding forms are not attested for any lexemes in the group.

§ 365. Note

Expanded and syncopated workstems are distinguished here; the expanded stem contains the suffix *εс*. The root formative stands in the *ч* grade by the velar palatalization alternation before the suffix *εс*, as well as before the 1-simplex terminals (and in the anomalous forms *∇очима*, *∇оушима*), but in the *ц* grade before the corresponding 2-base terminals.

§ 366. Illustrations

LSg — *что же видиши сжъць ѡжъ естѣ въ оцѣ* (ZOGR, MAR, but *очеси* AS, *очесе* SAV) *брѣтра твоего· а брѣвна еже естѣ въ оцѣ* (ZOGR, MAR, AS, but *очесе* SAV) *твоемь не чюеши* Mt 7, 3 ZOGR.

GSg — *изъми прѣвѣ брѣвно из очесе* (ZOGR, MAR, but *ока* AS) *твоего и тѣгда оузриши изати и сжъць· из очесе* (ZOGR, MAR, AS) *брѣта твоего* Mt 7, 5 ZOGR.

Dsg — въ слоуꙗхъ оухоуꙗ оуслаꙗшаше мѣа PS SIN 17, 45.

ISg — доврѣе ти естѣ съ единѣмь окомь вьннѣти въ црѣне бжне нежелн овѣ очн имштюꙗ ити въ кеонж огньнжж Mk 9, 47 ZOGR.

NAPI — источникѣхъ водънънхъ прикладаема бѣхж очеса и акты сьребро слъзъти вьрштѣа капаахж по ланитама на земыж SUPR 397, 23–26; нънѣа же очеса срьдыць сьмѣживъше SUPR 401, 12.

GPI — съхранен аплы своѣа отъ блжда [...] и отъ вьзърѣннѣ на нѣа очесъ любуѣиць EUSN 37a, 8–13.

PI — стоудънож волеж: опрѣснъкы ѣдлтъ ни обрѣзани срьдыци нѣ оушесъти своѣи CLOZ 7a, 18–20.

For further details on the distribution of forms, see Vaillant, § 73.

Group цръкы 0/f

§367. Membership and model paradigm

This group includes врадъти, воꙗкъви, жрьнъти, локы, любъти, неплоды, прѣлюбъти, свекръти, смокы, хоржгы, цръкы, цѣлы. Here is a model paradigm.

	Sg		Du	Pl		
N	црък.ꙗ=∅	c-simplex		црък.ꙗв=н	1-simplex	
A	црък.ꙗв=ь	1-simplex		црък.ꙗв=ъ	2-base	
G	црък.ꙗв=ε//црък.ꙗв=н	c-simplex//1-simplex		црък.ꙗв=аꙗꙗ	2-base	
L				црък.ꙗв=амъ	2-base	
D	црък.ꙗв=н	1-simplex				
I	црък.ꙗв=нѣж	1-simplex				

The source set of terminals of the given forms is shown to the right; cells are shaded if the corresponding forms are not attested for any lexemes in the group.

§368. Notes

- 1°. The workstem is the same in all the forms; the last suffix of the stem is the finally ambivalent ꙗ/ꙗв.
- 2°. On the the use of the forms прѣлюбъти and прѣлюбъ see Vaillant, § 74.
- 3°. воꙗкъви is *plurale tantum*: only the API form is attested (4×): приими воꙗкъви твоѣа Lk 16, 6–7 ZOGR, MAR.

On the distribution of the forms and agreement peculiarities, see Vaillant, § 74.

Group **матн** 0/f

§369. Membership and model paradigm

This group includes **матн** and **дъштн**. Here is a model paradigm.

	Sg	Du	Pl
N	мат=н c-simplex		мат.εр=н 1-simplex
A	мат.εр=ь 1-simplex		мат.εр=ъ//мат.εр=ни 2-base//1-simplex
G	мат.εр=ε//мат.εр=н c-simplex//1-simplex		мат.εр=εхъ c-simplex
L			мат.εр=εмъ c-simplex
D	мат.εр=н 1-simplex		мат.εр=ьми 1-simplex
I	мат.εр=нъж 1-simplex		

The source set of terminals of the given forms is shown to the right; cells are shaded if the corresponding forms are not attested for any lexemes in the group.

§370. Note

Expanded and syncopated workstems are distinguished here; expanded stems contain the suffix **εр**. On the distribution of the forms, see Vaillant, § 74.

Lexeme **господь** 0/m

§371. Paradigm

Here are all the attested forms of the lexeme **господь**.

	Sg	Du	Pl
N	господ=ь 1-simplex		господ=ниε 1-simplex
A			
G	господ=н// господ=а// ∇господъ 1-simplex//2-base		господ=ни 1-simplex
L	господ=н 1-simplex	господ=ьма 1-simplex	
D	господ=н// господ=оу// ∇господю 1-simplex//2-base		
I	господ=ьль// господ=εль 1-simplex//c-simplex		

The source set of terminals of the given forms is shown to the right; cells are shaded if the corresponding forms are not attested for any lexemes in the group.

§372. Notes

- 1°. The morphologically anomalous forms are: ∇ господѣ (оупьвагте на гѣ PS SIN 4, 6), ∇ господю (проповѣдѣша възждѣ гѣ послѣшзствозуижшгоу Mk 16, 20 MAR).
- 2°. The secondary form of the personal dative (D₂) is господевн; the vocative form is господи.
On the distribution of forms, see Vaillant, § 66.

Lexeme ДЕСАТЬ 0/m

§373. Paradigm

Here are all the attested forms of the lexeme ДЕСАТЬ.

	Sg		Du		Pl	
N	ДЕСАТ=Ь	1-simplex	ДЕСАТ=Н	1-simplex	ДЕСАТ=Е	c-simplex
A					ДЕСАТ=Н	1-simplex
G	ДЕСАТ=Н	1-simplex			ДЕСАТ=Ъ	2-base
L					ДЕСАТ=ЕХЪ	c-simplex
D					ДЕСАТ=ЕМЪ	c-simplex
I					ДЕСАТ=НИЖ	1-simplex

The source set of terminals of the given forms is shown to the right; cells are shaded if the corresponding forms are not attested for any lexemes in the group.

§374. Notes

- 1°. The Sg and Du forms of the lexeme ДЕСАТЬ take terminals from the 1-simplex set; the terminal in lSg is of the feminine morphological gender. In Pl forms, the terminals are from the c-simplex, 1-simplex, or 2-base masculine morphological gender.
- 2°. In lSg, the form ДЕСАТЕ is possible, cf. ѣдинъ на ДЕСАТЕ ; in DPl, the form ДЕСАТЬМЪ (2x SUPR); in NADu, there is a harax form ДЕСАТѣ (ДЪВА ДЕСАТѣ и ПАТЬ СТАДИ Jn 6, 19 MAR).
On the use of forms and agreement, see Vaillant, § 102.

Pronouns **кѣи** 0/p and **сѣ** 0/p§375. Pronoun **кѣи**

Here is the paradigm of the pronoun **кѣи**.

		т	п	ф
Sg	N	кѣи [к=ѣі.ь]	коіе [к=оі.е]	кага [к=аі.а]
	A			кѣѣѣ [к=ѣі.ѣ]
	G	коіего [к.ој=его]		коіеѣѣ [к.ој=еј.ѣ]
	L	коіемѣ [к.ој=емѣ]		коіен [к.ој=еј.н]
	D	коіемѣѣ [к.ој=емѣѣ]		
	I	кѣимѣ [к=ѣі.нмѣ]		коіеѣѣѣ [к.ој=еј.ѣѣ]
Du	NA	кага [к=аі.а]	цѣѣн [ц=ѣі.н]	
	GL	коіеѣѣ [к.ој=еј.ѣѣ]		
	DI	кѣимѣѣ [к=ѣі.нмѣѣ]		
Pl	N	цѣи [ц=ні.н]	кага [к=аі.а]	кѣѣѣ [к=ѣі.ѣѣ]
	A	кѣѣѣѣ [к=ѣі.ѣѣѣѣ]		
	G	кѣиѣѣѣ [к=ѣі.нѣѣѣ]		
	L			
	D	кѣимѣѣѣ [к=ѣі.нмѣѣѣ]		
	I	кѣимѣѣѣѣ [к=ѣі.нмѣѣѣѣ]		

§376. Notes

- Expanded and syncopated workstems are distinguished here. The syncopated stem is *к*; the expanded workstem is derived by adding the suffix *ој* to the syncopated stem. The distribution is nonstandard (see paradigm). Note that the expanded stem takes the terminals from the pronominal set 2-pron, while the syncopated stem takes terminals from the combined set 2-combi. On the morphophonological spellout of the *lPl* terminal, see § 295.
- Aberrant forms with the expanded stem and pronominal terminals are: *GPl* *коіѣѣѣ* [к.ој=нѣѣѣ] Lk 24, 19 ZGR; *ASgf* *коіѣѣ* [к.ој=ѣѣ] CLOZ 4a, 37. Cf. also contracted forms *NASgm* *кѣи* in place of *кѣи* Mt 21, 31 MAR; *lSgf* *коіѣѣ* in place of *коіѣѣѣ* Lk 20, 8 MAR; *кѣѣѣѣ* in place of *коіѣѣѣѣ* SUPR 42, 19; *GSgf* *никоіѣѣѣѣ* Lk 23, 4 ZGR in place of *никоіѣѣѣѣѣѣ*; *lSgf* *коі* in place of *коіен* SUPR 512, 4. On the distribution of forms see Vaillant, § 95.

§377. Pronoun съ

Here is the paradigm of the pronoun съ.

		m	n	f
Sg	N	съ [с=ь]	се [с=ε]	си [с=и]
	A			снѣжъ [с.ьj=жъ]
	G	сеѣго [с=εго]		сеѣѡ [с=εj.ѡ]
	L	сеѣмь [с=εмь]		сени [с=εj.и]
	D	сеѣмоу [с=εмоу]		
	I	сени [с=имь]		сеѣжъ [с=εj.жъ]
Du	NA	снѣ [с.ьj=а]	си [с=и]	
	GL	сеѣю [с=εj.оу]		
	DI	сенима [с=имма]		
Pl	N	снии [с.ьj=и]	сн [с=и]	снѣѡ [с.ьj=ѡ]
	A	снѣѡ [с.ьj=ѡ]		
	G	снѣхъ [с=ихъ]		
	L			
	D	сенимъ [с=имъ]		
	I	сеними [с=ими]		

§378. Notes

- 1°. There is an anomalous distribution of twofold terminals. Contrary to the twofold rule, the soft terminals are used. In the bicomponential terminal, the first component is εj, instead of the оj expected from the phonological properties of the segment с.
- 2°. Expanded and syncopated workstems are distinguished; the synopated stem is с; the expanded stem is derived by adding the suffix ѡj to the syncopated stem. The distribution is nonstandard; see the paradigm. The terminals are from the soft subtype of the 2-pron set and the c-simplex set (NSgф и and NAPлн и).
- 3°. In NASg, there are aberrant forms with an expanded stem: снии [с.ьj=ь] for canonical съ [с=ь], снѣ [с.ьj=ε] for canonical се [с=ε], and снѣ [с.ьj=а] (1× SAV 164r, 12 in the title) for canonical си [с=и].
Cf.: трасомъ же да възкоусятъ подъ вечеръ мало кашница а воды третъен день да малечко да не ѣстъ же снии сласти и ѣко останетъ его да съжежетъ ѣ свѣща въ црѣкве EUCH 44a, 21–44b, 3; воєвода же магнъ ничъсоже ради потшта сѣ на снѣ старѣшинъство прити SUPR 47, 15; днѣконъство снѣ EUCH 58b, 19.
- 4°. Anomalous aberrant form сега: и глаше ѣко иоанъ крѣстанъ възста отъ мрѣтвѣхъ и сега ради силы дѣжѣтъ сѣ о немъ Mk 6, 14 MAR (cf. сега ради ZOGR, AS). Cf. кога SUPR 435, 22; нѣкога SUPR 275, 23.

Pronouns чѣто 0/p and кѣто 0/p

§379. General

These lexemes have no opposition by number or gender. The forms are only opposed by case, as shown below. These lexemes belong to the agreementless numberless agreement class.

	кѣто
NA	∇к=ъ.то
G	к=ого
L	к=омь
D	к=омоу
I	ц=ѣмь

	чѣто
NA	∇ч=ъ.то
G	∇чесо//∇чьсо//∇чесого
L	ч=емь//∇чесомь
D	ч=емоу//∇чесоמוу//∇чьсоמוу
I	ч=имь

§380. Notes

- 1°. In NA, there is the postpositive particle то, which can either remain (e.g. ни.ч.ъ.то.же) or be removed (e.g. ни.ч.ъ.же, к.ъ.жьдо) when combined with other postpositive particles. Cf. *и запрѣти имъ да ничесоже не въземляжтъ на пѣтъ Mk 6, 8 MAR (ничесоже ZOGR); двѣма сътома пѣнасъ хлѣбъ не довьлжтъ имъ да кѣжьдо ихъ мало чѣто приметъ Jn 6, 7 MAR; и идѣхъ вси кѣжьдо напати са въ свои градъ Lk 2, 3 MAR.*
- 2°. Generally, anomalous forms (marked by ∇) are not assigned an inflectional spellout. However, here an inflectional spellout is assigned to ∇кѣто and ∇чѣто.
- 3°. There is an anomalous aberrant G form кога SUPR 435, 22; нѣкога SUPR 275, 23. Cf. *не имате ли цѣсара розвѣ кесара: к'то въ оубо веде по поустьѣини: к'то ли крѣми: кога привъпиваетъ мѡуѣни глагола: гѣ цѣсароу:ли въ вѣкы и на вѣкы и иште SUPR 435, 21–24; сжшгоу бо великоуоу:моу отъцоу въ хъзингѣ: и молитвѣ творашгоу къ богѣ: въздрѣма са и оусънж малы: и видѣ нѣкога въ сватительстѣ лѣпотѣ възбоуждажшта и: и поносашта ѡмоу о сынѣ SUPR 275, 20–25.*

Pronouns азъ 0/s, тыи 0/s, and ѿа 0/s

§381. Paradigms

Here are the paradigms of all three lexemes.

		азъ
Sg	N	азъ
	A	ма
	G	мене
	L	мьнѣ
	D	мьнѣ, ми
	I	мъноуѣ
Du	N	вѣ
	A	на
	GL	наю
	D	нама
	I	нама
Pl	N	мы
	A	ны
	GL	насъ
	D	намъ, ны
	I	нами

		тыи
Sg	N	тыи
	A	та
	G	тебе
	L	тебѣ
	D	тебѣ, ти
	I	тобоюѣ
Du	N	ва
	A	
	GL	ваю
	D	вама, ва
	I	вама
Pl	N	выи
	A	
	GL	васъ
	D	вамъ, выи
	I	вами

		ѿа
N		
A		ѿа
G		себе
L		себѣ
D		себѣ, си
I		себоюѣ

§382. Notes

- 1°. The lexemes азъ and тыи are agreementless numbered (there is no opposition by gender, only opposition by number). The lexeme ѿа is agreementless numberless, and defective—there is no N form.
- 2°. All forms in these paradigms are anomalous, and accordingly lack inflectional spellouts (although in some forms it is easy to discern terminals, e.g. the terminal ѣ in LSg).
- 3°. The monosyllabic D forms (ми, ти, си in Sg, ва in Du, and ны, выи in Pl) are clitics. No clitic form is attested for DDu (азъ) (cf. Church Slavic на).
- 4°. There is an aberrant form ѣзъ for азъ: ѿ же отъвѣштавъ рече нмъ въпрошъ и ѣзъ выи единого словесе: ѿ отъвѣштагте ми Mk 11, 29 MAR (cf. азъ in ZOGR); мене for мене GSg only in PS SIN and EUCH, cf. проси оу мене и дамъ ти PS SIN 2, 8.

See Vaillant, § 97 on the distribution of forms.

Lexeme чѣтъъѣ 0/a

§383. Paradigm

Here is the paradigm of the lexeme чѣтъъѣ.

	Plm	Pln	Plf
N	чѣтъъѣ=ѣ	чѣтъъѣ=и	
A	чѣтъъѣ=и		
G	чѣтъъѣ=ъ		
L	чѣтъъѣ=ѣхъ		
D	чѣтъъѣ=ѣмъ		
I	чѣтъъѣ=ѣми		

§384. Notes

- 1°. The lexeme чѣтъъѣ is defective by number: there are no Sg or Du forms.
- 2°. The terminals are from the sets 1-simplex, 2-base, and c-simplex.
On the use of the forms and agreement, see Vaillant, § 102.

Aberrant nominal forms in sources

§385. General

This chapter examines aberrant nominal forms that show paradigmatic aberrations.¹ Paradigmatic aberrations of nominal forms are generated by the corresponding paradigmatic effects, most of which are of the type “alien terminals in the paradigm” (cf. *дароу* for canonical *дара* GSg, or *дѣне* for canonical *дѣннѣ* NPI). Aberrant forms of unique lexemes are treated in Ch. 12, *Unique lexemes*.

§386. Alien terminals

Aberrant nominal forms that are generated by the effect of the alien terminals in the paradigm contain terminals that differ from that which is assigned to the declension type of the lexeme. For example, the lexeme *даръ* 2/m should take the GSg terminal *а*, but the aberrant form *дароу* has the terminal *оу*. Every terminal belongs to a certain terminal set; accordingly, the aberrant form *дароу* contains a terminal from a different (alien) set (u-simplex).

The alien terminal effect accounts for a whole series of paradigmatic aberrations, depending on the set to which the alien terminal belongs, and the set which is assigned to the corresponding lexeme canonically.

Terminals from nonstandard sets intrude in the majority of cases, viz. the sets u-simplex, c-simplex, or 2-duplex. However, in some cases, terminals from standard

¹ Aberrant forms that show segmental aberrations are treated in Part I, *Segmental grammar*.

sets function as alien. However, it is possible to have aberrations where a non-standard terminal that is assigned by the canonical paradigmatic synthesis rules is replaced in the aberrant form by a nonstandard one. Such are, for example, the forms of *ш-Part* like *взвѣзшии* for canonical *взвѣзшии* (see § 396 below).

§ 387. Attestations of alien terminals in aberrant forms

Because terminal sets intersect, it is not always possible to determine the source set of an alien terminal in a given aberrant form. However, the assortment of alien terminals available to aberrant forms of lexemes in a given declension type is in part limited. An overview of possibilities is given in Table 387.

Table 387. Intrusion of alien terminals

Undergoer sets \ Intruding sets	2-base	2-pron	1-simplex
2-base	n/a	§ 402	§ 401, 403
2-pron	§ 402	n/a	None
1-simplex	§ 403	None	n/a
c-simplex	§ 397, 400		§ 401, 403
u-simplex	§ 399		None
2-duplex	§ 399		

§ 388. Set intersections

Terminal sets intersect, including standard and nonstandard terminal sets. For example, the 1Sg terminal *ѣмь* belongs to the nonstandard set c-simplex and the standard set 2-base (soft subtype). Besides, in certain cases, the observed aberrant terminal can be treated not only as resulting from its intrusion from a different set, but as a certain deformation of the canonical terminal. For example, the terminal *ѣмь* in the wordform *печатьѣмь* (1Sg) can be interpreted as the intrusion of the terminal *ѣмь* from the c-simplex set, and as strengthening in the canonical form *печатѣмь*.

Let us take for comparison all the sets from the masculine morphological gender (Table 388).

Some terminals are specific for a given set, in that they are not found in any other set. For example, the NPl *ѣ* terminal is specific to the c-simplex set. Note that, if we exclude the 2-duplex set, all remaining nonstandard sets (c-simplex and u-simplex) would contain only terminals specific to those sets, except *ѣмь* and *ѣмь*. The latter show their morphological independence in forms like *словѣѣмь* (unique), *печатѣмь* (aberrant), where the terminal *ѣмь* (or *ѣмь*) from the 2-base set is inappropriate given the twofold rule. However, these forms may be seen as a result of the strengthening of the terminals *ѣмь* and *ѣмь* (represented in the 1-simplex set).

Here, the spellouts in SAV are important, because SAV has no cases of strengthening. Indeed, in SAV we find *именемъ* Lk 10, 38, *людемъ* Lk 3, 18, *словесемъ* Jn 17, 20 and some others.

The terminal set 2-duplex, on the contrary, mostly contains nonspecific terminals, combined from u-simplex terminals (quasi hard subtypes), and 1-simplex (quasi soft subtypes).

Table 388. Terminal sets in the masculine morphological gender

		2-base	1-simplex	2-duplex	c-simplex	u-simplex
Sg	N	ъ/ь	ь		∅	
	A					
	G	а				
	L	ѣ/и	и	обн/евн	ε	оу
	D	оу				
	I	омъ/емъ	ьмъ	ъмъ/ьмъ	εмъ	ъмъ
Du	NA	а	и			ъи
	GL	оу	ио			обоу
	DI	ома/ема	ьма			ъма/ьма
Pl	N	и	иε	обε/εβε	ε	обε
	A	ы/а	и			
	G	ъ/ь	ии			
	L	ѣхъ/ихъ	ьхъ	ъхъ ¹ /ьхъ	εхъ	ъхъ ¹
	D	омъ/емъ	ьмъ	ъмъ/ьмъ	εмъ	
	I	ыи/и	ьми	ъми/ьми		ъми

¹ The terminal *ъхъ* is not attested; in its place we find *охъ*; see Vaillant, § 58–59.

§ 389. A note on ѣ-initial terminals

It is worth noting that terminals with initial *yers* with *yer* aberrations can be homophonous with eponymous terminals from other sets. However, the general problem of attributing each aberrant form to the type of aberration that it has undergone—and, accordingly, showing a terminal from one or another set—is neither posed nor resolved here. For example, the aberrant form *печатемъ* (for canonical *печатъмъ*) allows to interpretations of equal status: *intrusion* of c-simplex and *strengthening* of 1-simplex. Note that the terminal *ъхъ* is not attested in OCS texts (in its place we find the terminal *охъ*, see more details in Vaillant, § 58–59).

§ 390. A note on new twofold rule

Among 2-duplex terminals there are those that are specific to this set. Such are DSG *евн*, NPI *евε*, GPI *εвъ*, and DPI *ъмъ*. All these terminals are attested by a small number of forms. These are, for example, *мжжеви* Lk 1, 27 *мар*, *зогр*; *морєви*

SUPR 412, 6–7; ЗМНІЕВѢ SUPR 77, 5 (and also 227, 29 and 229, 24); ЗНОІЕВѢ SUPR 172, 29; ВРАЧЕВЪ Mk 5, 26 ZOGP, SAV; ЗМНІЕВЪ EUCH 4b, 19–20 and SUPR 467, 3.

Note that the forms with DSg *ови/єви* in personal name lexemes are treated in this grammar as secondary forms of the personal datives (*D*₂).

§391. Notes on the diachronic interpretation of the alien terminals in the paradigm aberration

1. Historical grammar establishes the existence of special declension types: *u*-declension² and *C*-declension,³ and distributes all lexemes into declension types of equal status (*o*-, *a*-, *i*-, *u*-, and *C*-declensions). The distribution is paradigmatic, i.e. determined by the dictionary. Accordingly, all observable aberrations except the aberrant forms that show specific 2-duplex terminals (such as, e.g., *зноіевѣ*), are treated as resulting from contamination of declension types. Of course, the sets of aberrant forms from the diachronic and synchronic points of views do not match. Indeed, such forms as, for example, LSg *домовѣ* are treated in a diachronically oriented grammar as canonical (they have terminals from the *u*-simplex set due to their membership in the *u*-declension), while in a synchronically-oriented grammar, they are treated as aberrant.

In historical grammar, forms resulting from the contamination of declension types have different status. Namely, the consonantal declension is considered moribund, and, accordingly, all consonant-declension forms are archaic, while forms of *o*-, *a*-, *i*-declensions among *C*-declension lexemes are innovations. Aberrant forms with *C*-declension terminals among lexemes that do not belong to this class are not expected. Likewise, *u*-declension is also considered moribund, but it is found among lexemes of the twofold declension type. Accordingly, from a diachronic point of view, the introduction of *u*-declension terminals into lexemes that do not belong to that class are treated as a contamination aberration

² The *u*-simplex set has terminals that are specific to this set. Such are GLSg *овѣ*, NADu *ѣи* and GLDu *ововѣ*. Lexemes that show aberrant forms with these specific terminals, from a diachronic point of view, are treated as belonging to an older declension type, the *u*-declension. Such are *волъ*, *даръ*, *домъ*, *полъ*, *родъ*, *санъ*, *сѣинъ*¹, *сѣинъ*², *чинъ* (9 lexemes altogether). These lexemes show diagnostic aberrant forms in different numbers. The lexemes *падъ*, *врѣхъ*, *гласъ*, *длѣгъ*, *дѣбѣ*, *миръ*, *радъ*, *станъ* (8 lexemes altogether) show diagnostic aberrant wordforms only in Sg. Let us also list all the lexemes that show aberrant Pl forms with the terminals *овѣ* or *овѣѣ*. These are *вѣсъ*, *гадъ*, *градъ*¹, *гроздъ*, *грознъ*, *грѣхъ*, *доухъ*, *жидъ*, *плодъ*, *попъ*, *потъ*, *садъ*, *сѣдъ*, *троухъ*, *ухъ*, *цвѣтъ* (16 lexemes altogether). Some of these lexemes show other aberrant forms with terminals that belong to both the *u*-declension set and the 2-duplex set. See more details in Vaillant, § 58–59.

³ The *c*-simplex set has terminals that are specific to this set. Such are NSgmfnASgmn *Ѡ*, GLSgmfnNPlm *ѣ*, NSgfNAPln *и*, LPlm *ехъ*. Lexemes that show aberrant forms with these terminals, from a diachronic point of view, are treated as belonging to the old consonant declension type (*C*-declension). Among masculine 1/m substantives, the following twelve are assigned to the old *C*-declension by historical grammar: *днь*, *ѣлень*, *камень*, *корень*, *лакѣтъ*, *ногѣтъ*, *пазнерѣтъ*, *печать*, *пламень*, *прѣстъень*, *ременъ*, *степень*. Not all of these lexemes show specific *C*-declension forms in OCS. See Vaillant, § 68–70.

(cf. the form иАДой , Vaillant, § 59, p. 112), and the corresponding forms are expected innovations.

Synchronic grammar lacks an instrument for distinguishing between these types of aberrations and assigning a different status to them as archaic or innovative forms.

2. Historical grammar offers a complete reconstruction of the *u*- and C-declension sets. Indeed, every lexeme of the corresponding type must in principle contain a full complement of forms. Accordingly, the following reasoning can be appropriately used in reconstructing terminal sets. Some lexeme *A* shows its membership in the C-declension (through forms with terminals specific to the c-simplex set, e.g. дѣнѣ NPI); the same lexeme has a form, e.g. IPI with the terminal ѣ (дѣнѣ). Thus, the canonical IPI terminal in the c-simplex set is ѣ . The fact that this terminal coincides with one that is established for the 2-base set should not put in doubt the claim to its membership in c-simplex, because terminal sets often intersect. Thus, for the canonical c-simplex set, historical grammar sets up the following terminals, among others: APImн ѣ , GPI ѣ , IPIm ѣ . Accordingly, forms like GPI дѣлаагѣлѣ , IPI ногѣтѣ are treated diachronically as containing C-declension terminals. On the other hand, in the present synchronic grammar, such forms are treated as containing 2-base terminals.

§ 392. Deformed terminals

A special type of aberration involves the replacement of a canonical terminal with a *deformed* one. In this case, the aberrant form does not depart from the canonically assigned terminal set: that set corresponds to the canonical requirement, but the canonical terminal is replaced with a deformed one. The majority of such aberrant forms are found among adjectives. Cf. ѣѣмь , ѣмь for canonical ѣѣмь (LSgmnPlen), оуоумоу , оумоу for canonical оуѣмоу (DSgmnPlen), etc.

§ 393. The order of examination of aberrant forms

Below, aberrant forms are discussed by declension type and inflectional classes, ordered by the number of forms and lexemes found in sources, from most to least numerous. The order is shown in Table 393 (p. 216). In each of the groups 1–7, we consider not only aberrations of the types shown in the table, but also aberrations of other types that are observed in the corresponding lexeme class that are found in a small number of aberrant forms.

On aberrations in unique lexemes, see Ch. 12, *Unique nominal lexemes*.

Table 393. Order of examination of aberrant nominal forms

Canonical	Aberrant	Aberration type	§§
1. Aberrations in long adjectival forms			
НОВАМЕГО	НОВААГО	Deformation of 2-combi set terminals	§ 394–395
2. Aberrant forms of adjectival lexemes in classes 2/a* (шт- and ш-Part) and 2/a** (Compar)			
БОЛЬШЕН	БОЛЬШИН	Replacement of nonstandard terminals by standard 2-base ones	§ 396
3. Aberrant forms of substantive lexemes in classes 2/m* (дѣлатѣль) and 2/m** (гражданинъ)			
дѣлатѣле	дѣлатѣли	Replacement of nonstandard terminals by standard 2-base ones	§ 397–398
4. Nonstandard terminals in lexemes of the main twofold declension type			
дарѣ	дароу	Intrusion of nonstandard u-simplex and 2-duplex terminals	§ 399
5. Nonstandard terminals in substantive lexemes in class 1/m			
дѣнне	дѣне	Intrusion of nonstandard c-simplex terminals	§ 401
6. Aberrant forms of adjectival lexemes in classes 2/a and 2/p			
мъногомь	мъносѣмь	Contamination of the standard sets 2-base and 2-pron	§ 402
7. Other aberrations in substantive lexemes of the main twofold and manifold declension			
звѣрне	звѣрн	Contamination of the standard sets 2-base and 1-simplex	§ 403

Aberrations in long adjectives: deformation of 2-combi set inflections

§ 394. General

The observed deformations of terminals in the 2-combi set have segmental underpinnings: elimination of intervocalic *j*, assimilation of vowels, and contraction. Some aberrant forms show each of these segmental operations in isolation. However, not all of the observed aberrant forms can be represented as a simple composition of certain segmental aberrations. The present grammar treats all such forms as derived by a paradigmatic aberration, namely terminal deformation.

Tables 394.1 and 394.2 show the most important models of aberrant forms. It does not include forms that are derived from canonical ones simply by removing the intervocalic *j*, and also forms that are homophonous with canonical forms of short adjectives. Thus, for example, the aberrant spellouts *новаа* and *нова* are not included in the table.

Table 394.1. Possible deformations in long adjectives (hard subtype)

		m	n	f
Sg	N	НОВЪИИ ⇒ НОВЪИ	НОВОИЕ	НОВАГА
	A			НОВЪИИ
	G	НОВАИЕГО ⇒ НОВААГО, НОВАГО		НОВЪИИ
	L	НОВЪИИЕМЪ ⇒ НОВЪИЕМЪ, НОВЪИИЕМЪ, НОВЪИИЕМЪ		НОВЪИИ
	D	НОВОУИЕМОУ ⇒ НОВОУИУМОУ, НОВОУИМОУ		
	I	НОВЪИИИМЪ ⇒ НОВЪИИИМЪ		НОВЪИИИ ⇒ НОВЪИИ
Du	NA	НОВАГА	НОВЪИИ	
	GL	НОВОУИО		
	DI	НОВЪИИИМА ⇒ НОВЪИИИМА		
Pl	N	НОВИИ	НОВАГА	НОВЪИИ
	A	НОВЪИИ		
	GL	НОВЪИИИХЪ ⇒ НОВЪИИИХЪ		
	D	НОВЪИИИМЪ ⇒ НОВЪИИИМЪ		
	I	НОВЪИИИМИ ⇒ НОВЪИИИМИ		

Table 394.2. Possible deformations in long adjectives (soft subtype)

		m	n	f
Sg	N	НИШТИИ ⇒ НИШТИ	НИШТИЕ	НИШТИГА
	A			НИШТИИ
	G	НИШТИИЕГО ⇒ НИШТИИАГО, НИШТИИАГО		НИШТИИИ
	L	НИШТИИЕМЪ ⇒ НИШТИИИМЪ, НИШТИИИМЪ*		НИШТИИ
	D	НИШТИИЕМОУ ⇒ НИШТИИУМОУ, НИШТИИМОУ		
	I	НИШТИИИМЪ ⇒ НИШТИИИМЪ		НИШТИИИИ ⇒ НИШТИИИ
Du	NA	НИШТИГА	НИШТИИ	
	GL	НИШТИИО		
	DI	НИШТИИИМА ⇒ НИШТИИИМА		
Pl	N	НИШТИИ	НИШТИГА	НИШТИИИ
	A	НИШТИИИ		
	GL	НИШТИИИИХЪ ⇒ НИШТИИИИХЪ		
	D	НИШТИИИИМЪ ⇒ НИШТИИИИМЪ		
	I	НИШТИИИИМИ ⇒ НИШТИИИИМИ		

* Canonical forms of the ништииемъ type are not attested.

§395. Illustrations

Below we use the same fragment (Mt 12, 35) from different sources as an example.

ZOGR — ДОБРЪИ ЧКЪ ОТЪ ДОБРААГО СЪКРОВИШТА ИЗНОСИТЪ ДОБРАА І ЗЪЛЪИ ЧКЪ ОТЪ ЗЪЛААГО СЪКРОВИШТА ИЗНОСИТЪ ЗЪЛАА.

MAR — ДОБРЪИ ЧЛВКЪ ОТЪ ДОБРАГО СЪКРОВИШТА ИЗНОСИТЪ ДОБРАА І ЗЪЛЪИ ЧЛВКЪ ОТЪ ЗЪЛААГО СЪКРОВИШТА ИЗНОСИТЪ ЗЪЛАА.

AS — добрѣи члкъ ѿ добрааго съкровишта износитъ добраѣ а злыѣи члкъ ѿтъ (з)лааго съкровища износитъ зылаа.

SAV — благы члкъ отъ блага съсѣда износитъ благага и лжкавы члкъ отъ лжкава съсѣда износитъ лжкавага.

The hard subtype LSgmnPlen forms, aside from canonical ones in -ѣемь and contracted ones in -ѣьмь, also show assimilated forms in -ѣѣьмь/-ѣѣамь (as процѣѣьмь SUPR 371, 18) only in SUPR and in -ѣамь (as вѣчнѣам AS Jп 6, 27) only in SUPR and AS.

тоу даниилъ въ прѣисподнѣимъ гробѣ адовѣ· тоу иеремина тако въ памѣ тиннѣи въ адьстѣамь гробѣ· и съмрътынѣѣмъ истьлѣнни SUPR 460, 29–461, 2; и о сынѣи гѣ нашего· гробнѣѣамь· по [съпа]съпаснѣи мжцѣ SUPR 447, 30–448, 1.

никотже бо рабѣ не можетъ дѣѣема гѣнома работати· любо единого възненавидѣт· а дроуѣаго възлюбитъ· ли единого дрѣжитъ см· а о дроусѣамъ не брѣщи въчнетъ Mt 6, 24 AS.

Aberrations in 2/a* adjectives (шт- and ш-Part) and 2/a** (Compar)

§396. Aberrant form types in classes 2/a* and 2/a**

Table 396 shows the grouping of the aberrations observed here.

Table 396. Aberrations in classes 2/a* and 2/a**

Canonical forms	Aberrant forms
Modified distribution of syncopated and expanded stems	
ASgmnPlen: боли Jп 15, 2 MAR	больши Jп 15, 2 AS ¹⁾
ASgnBrev: сжштѣ SUPR 380, 28	сы SUPR 327, 16 ²⁾
Replacement of nonstandard terminals by standard ones	
NPlmPlen: прихѣдѣштѣи Mk 6, 31 ZOGR	прихѣдѣштѣи Mk 6, 31 MAR ³⁾
NSgfPlen: большнѣ заповѣдѣ Mt 22, 38 MAR	большаа Mt 22, 38 AS ³⁾
Inclusion of nonstandard terminals ε and и in standard forms	
DPIPlen: възлежаштѣимъ Jп 6, 11 MAR	възлежаштѣемъ Jп 6, 11 ZOGR ⁴⁾
NPlnBrev: горыша Lk 11, 26 MAR	горыши Lk 11, 26 ZOGR ⁴⁾
Replacement of old comparatives by new ones	
люштѣшь Mt 12, 45 ZOGR	люѣиша SUPR 50, 23 ⁵⁾

Illustrations

- 1) Expanded in place of syncopated: всѣкж розгж о мнѣ не творѣцѣжж плода изьметъ ѣж· и всѣкж творѣцѣжж плодѣ отрѣбитъ ѣж· да плодѣ

БОЛШИ СЪТВОРИГ Jn 15, 2 AS; cf. болни MAR, болы SAV. Likewise: члкъ етеръ имѣ дѣва снѣи и рече МЕНЪШИ СНѢ ОЦЮ Lk 15, 11–12 AS, cf. мьни снѣ ею ZOGR, SAV; юнѣи ею MAR. Cf. also: зѣло лютѣ БѢСАШТЪ (NSgmBrev) са юноша приведенъ бѣстѣ къ блаженоуоумоу антонию SUPR 171, 16–18; въ зельмѣ же въдръженое копие въкорени са обличеные съи съгрѣшению [...] величие чоудесѣ аже сѣиин творѣаше въинѣ НАЗНАМЕНОУИЖШТЕ (NSgnBrev) до вѣка SUPR 560, 23–27.

- 2) Syncopated in place of expanded: вѣчною и присно съи (ASgnBrev) цѣсарьствни имѣа SUPR 327, 15–16; cf. и не мьни дрѣзо сжште реченое SUPR 380, 27–28. Likewise: и се жена етера сжши въ точени крѣве лѣтѣ бѣи и много пострадавши отъ много врачей и издавѣвши въсе свое и ни единомъ польза обрѣтѣши нѣ паче въ горее (ASgnPlen in place of горышею) въпадѣши Mk 5, 25–26 AS, cf. the Brev form in SAV въ горее въпадѣши; всѣкъ чѣъ прѣжде доброе вино даетѣ и егда оупыитѣ са ТАЧАЕ (ASgnPlen in place of тачаншею) Jn 2, 10 ZOGR, cf. the Brev form in AS тачае.
- 3) Standard in place of nonstandard: в[ѣ]ѣахъ бо приходѣштин (NPlmPlen) и оходѣштен мнози Mk 6, 31 MAR, cf. приходѣштеи и оходѣштеи ZOGR. Cf. also: не оубонте са оубо мнозѣхъ птицѣ лоучѣши (NPlmBrev) въи есте Mt 10, 31 MAR, cf. соулѣиши есте въи AS, but лоучѣше есте въи ZOGR. Cf. in SUPR: и самъ сынъ колѣбаше са акы овоште зыблемо отъ многа вѣтра братѣа же сжштаа (NSgfPlen) на сыноу ѿ в(з)сплншгтевавше съмагоша са SUPR 570, 9–12; but: сжштина же съде страдѣа благънхъ готовитѣ насъштаннне SUPR 290, 28–29.
- 4) Nonstandard or deformed terminals (in particular, with the inclusion of the nonstandard inflection ϵ in bicomponential terminals, e.g. еимъ for нимъ, еихъ for нихъ): принѣтъ же хлѣбѣи нѣ и хвалѣ въздавъ подастѣ оученикомъ а оученици възлежаштелмъ такожде и отъ рѣвоу еинко хотѣахъ Jn 6, 11 ZOGR, cf. възлежаштимъ MAR; in the nearby verse: събѣраша же и испѣниша дѣва на десѣте коша оукроухъ отъ пѣти хлѣбѣи мчънѣихъ иже избѣша ѣдъшенимъ Jn 6, 13 MAR, cf. the contracted form ѣдъшимъ in ZOGR.

Likewise in participles: и вси людие радовахъ са емоу о всѣхъ славънѣихъ бываѣшцеихъ отъ него Lk 13, 17 SAV, cf. бѣываѣштинхъ MAR, AS and бѣываѣштинхъ ZOGR; да възхвалѣто-и невеса и землѣ море и всѣ движаштѣ (NPlnPlen) съа въ немъ PS SIN 68, 35; помъшлениѣ прѣбываѣшциѣ (NPlnPlen) намъ въ дрѣзости EUCH 24a, 11–12.

Likewise in comparatives: и бѣываѣтѣ послѣдѣнѣа чѣоу томоу горыши прѣвѣхъ Lk 11, 26 ZOGR, cf. горыша MAR; и знаменниа же огню гаже видѣи и ѿна болъши еихъ сътворѣ SUPR 23, 11–13; и главѣ на възшъннимъ мѣстѣ положи и на неи множѣишиѣ чювствѣи оутѣрѣждѣ не застѣпаѣща дроутѣ дроуга власѣи же главѣ покрѣилъ еси да не вѣрѣдитѣ са измѣненнемъ вѣтрѣ EUCH 7b, 6–12.

- 5) New comparative in place of the expected old comparative: пакѣи же помъшлѣше кѣа инѣи мжкѣи лютѣиша изобрѣсти да въ тѣхъ иго погоуитѣ SUPR 50, 21–24; cf. егда же нечистѣи дѣхъ изидетѣ отъ чѣа

[...] тѣгда речетъ възвращѣ са въ храмъ мон' отъноудѣже изидѣ [...] тѣгда идетъ і полметъ съ совожъ 'ж' инѣхъ дхъ люшгъшь себе і възшедъше живѣтъ Mt 12, 43–45 ZOGR; ѡ великодушнѣи оумѣ тако на сѣдишти пакостника не подвиже са твои съмъислѣ нѣ паче крѣпѣи бѣстъ SUPR 63, 29–64, 2, cf. грядѣ же по мнѣ крѣплеи мене естъ Mt 3, 11 AS.

Aberrations in substantives of classes 2/m* (дѣлатель) and 2/m* (гражданинѣ)

§ 397. General

Aberrant forms only in the plural. The variety of possibilities are shown in Table 397.

Table 397. Aberration types in classes 2/m* and 2/m**

	Canonical forms	Aberrant forms
	Replacement of the nonstandard terminal ϵ by the standard 2-base terminal и	
NPI	сѡвѣдѣтелѣ Lk 24, 48 ZOGR граждане Lk 19, 14 ZOGR мъггарѣ Mt 9, 10 SAV	сѡвѣдѣтели PS SIN 26, 12 ѣтиопѣни PS SIN 71, 9 мъггари Mt 9, 10 AS ¹⁾
	Violation of the twofold rule and intrusion of 1-simplex and c-simplex terminals	
GPI	дѣлатель Mt 9, 37 ZOGR жидовъ SUPR 125, 29	дѣлатель Mt 20, 1 MAR ²⁾
IPI	родители Lk 21, 16 SAV мъггари Mk 2, 16 ZOGR	родители Lk 21, 16 ZOGR мъггары Mt 9, 11 SAV ³⁾
LPI	лателѣхъ PS SIN 9, 29 жидовѣхъ SUPR 406, 18	гражданехъ ⁴⁾ SUPR 362, 22
DPI	дѣлателемъ Mt 21, 33 MAR жидовомъ SUPR 537, 16	дѣлательмъ Mt 21, 33 SAV жытелѣнемъ Mt 13, 30 AS ⁵⁾

§ 398. Illustrations

- 1) NPI — і тѣ бѣ стоѣа при езерѣ ѣнисаретѣцѣ і видѣвъ дѣва корабница стоѣашга при езерѣ рѣбарѣ же ошьдѣше отъ нею плакаахъ мрѣжа Lk 5, 1–2 ZOGR; ѣко възшаша на мѣа сѡвѣдѣтели неправедни нѣже не сѡвѣдѣхъ PS SIN 26, 12; cf. ѣтиопѣни PS SIN 71, 9.
- 2) GPI — и шедѣ прилѣпи са єдиноу отъ жителѣ тоѣа странѣи и посѣла и на села своѣ пастъ свинни Lk 15, 15 MAR (likewise in ZOGR, but житель in SAV and AS); винограду чѣкъ насади і огради і оплотомѣ і ископа точило і

сѣзѣда стѣлпѣ ꙗ вѣдастѣ ꙗ тѣжателѣмъ ꙗ отиде ꙗ посѣла къ тѣжателѣмъ рабѣ въ врѣмѣ да отѣ тѣжателѣ приметѣ отѣ плодѣ винограда Mk 12, 1–2 ZOGR, MAR.

- 3) IPI — *лѣо азѣ члѣкѣ есмѣ подѣ властелѣы оучиненѣы лѣбѣа подѣ собою воя ꙗ глѣж семоу иди и идетѣ ꙗ дроугоу моу приди и придетѣ* Lk 7, 8 MAR (likewise in ZOGR, but властелѣ in AS); прѣдани же вѣдете *родителѣы ꙗ братрыж ꙗ родомъ ꙗ дроугѣы* Lk 21, 16 ZOGR (likewise in MAR, AS, but родителѣ in SAV); cf. Church Slavic персѣны, more details in Vaillant, § 71.
- 4) LPI — canonical form in the lexeme жидовинѣ: *рекѣ бо паулѣ о жидовѣхъ тако господа оумориша* SUPR 406, 17–18, etc.⁴ Aberrant forms: *гѣа же емоу жена самарѣнѣиꙗ како тѣы юден сѣы отѣ мене пити просиши женѣы самарѣнѣиꙗ сѣштѣ не прикасаѣштѣ бо сѣа юден самарѣнѣхъ* Jn 4, 9 ZOGR, MAR, AS.
- 5) DPI — canonical form in the lexeme жидовинѣ: *дигаволѣ же видѣ себе поустѣа по малоу вѣываѣштѣа повѣжденѣ сѣааго пришествениемѣ отѣ него прѣлѣштѣнѣимъ жидовомъ стрѣлѣж вѣложи такоже разгнѣвити елинѣы* SUPR 537, 13–17. Aberrant forms: *вѣдовици коен оубозѣ сѣꙗ иночадѣ юдѣначе сѣсѣы югоже носашти вѣ пазоусѣ мати юмоу вѣ врѣмѣ жатѣвѣ шѣдѣши да сѣверетѣ класѣы на пиштѣж севѣ ꙗ положи на земни сѣаа своего ꙗ къ жатѣлѣнѣемъ прѣстѣпивѣши ꙗ берѣшти класѣы вѣнезаапѣ влѣкъ пришедѣ обрѣте поврѣженѣ дѣтиштѣы никомоу же сѣштѣоу оу него* SUPR 43, 12–20.
члѣкъ единѣ вѣ богатѣ ꙗ иже насади виноградѣ ꙗ ископа вѣ немѣ точно ꙗ прѣдастѣ ꙗ дѣлателѣмъ ꙗ отиде ꙗ егда же приде врѣмѣ емати е посѣла рабѣы своѣа къ дѣлателѣмъ иматѣ вина своего Mt 21, 33–34 SAV; архиреи же ꙗ старьци сѣборѣ всѣ искаѣж лѣжа сѣвѣдѣтелѣ на їсаꙗ тако да оубиѣштѣ ꙗ ꙗ не обрѣтоша ꙗ многомъ сѣвѣдѣтелѣмъ прѣстѣпѣшемъ не обрѣтѣж Mt 26, 59–60 SAV 97v.

Nonstandard terminals in lexemes of the main twofold declension

§399. Intrusion of u-simplex or 2-duplex terminals

Possible aberrant forms are shown in Table 399 (p. 222).

⁴ However, forms жидовѣхъ (LPI) and жидовомъ (DPI) can be treated as aberrant forms with a restructured stem for the lexeme жидъ 2/m. The lexeme жидъ is attested only in PI, and in NPI (жидове, жидови), GPI (жидовъ), and LPI (жидохъ) only by aberrant forms. Cf. API and IPI жиды, and DPI жидомъ.

Table 399. u-simplex and 2-duplex terminals in aberrant forms

	Canonical forms	Aberrant forms	Source of the aberrant terminal
GSg	врѣха Lk 4, 29 AS	врѣхѹ Lk 4, 29 ZOGR ¹⁾	u-simplex
LSg	мирѣ SUPR 54, 22	мироѹ SUPR 267, 27 ²⁾	u-simplex
DSg	морю SUPR 28, 8	моревн SUPR 412, 6–7 ³⁾	2-duplex
ISg	образомъ Mk 16, 12 ZOGR	образъмь KIEV 4b, 19–20 ⁴⁾	u-simplex//2-duplex
NADu	сына: сѣа Mt 26, 37 MAR	сынъ: сѣы Mt 20, 21 MAR ⁵⁾	u-simplex
GLDu	сыноѹ: сѣоѹ Mt 27, 56 AS	сыновоѹ: сѣовоѹ Mt 20, 20 MAR ⁵⁾	u-simplex
DIDu	плештема PS SIN 90, 4	плештъма SUPR 469, 11 ⁵⁾	2-duplex//1-simplex
NPI	дарн SUPR 73, 22	дарове SUPR 210, 1 ⁶⁾	u-simplex//2-duplex
GPI	грѣхѹ Lk 1, 77 ZOGR	грѣховѹ Lk 1, 77 MAR ⁷⁾	u-simplex//2-duplex
LPI	доусѣхъ SUPR 40, 20	cf. дарохъ EUCH 98b, 20 ⁸⁾	u-simplex//2-duplex
DPI	отыцемъ SUPR 285, 19–20	отыцьмъ SUPR 284, 10 ⁹⁾	2-duplex//1-simplex
IPI	съ дары PS SIN 44, 13	даръмн EUCH 14b, 25 ¹⁰⁾	u-simplex//2-duplex

Illustrations

- GSg — не забѣди гласоѹ молитвѣникъ твоихъ PS SIN 73, 23; не мози оубо никтоже съ льстыж прити [...] не мози никтоже падоѹ имѣа въ оумѣ SUPR 420, 30–421, 1, cf. не бѣди [...] никътоже ѣда имъ въ срѣдыци съкрѣвена CLOZ 8a, 7–10.
- LSg — да прославитъ сѣ оцѣ о сѣоѹ Jn 14, 13 SAV 100v, 16, AS 29b, 11–13, cf. да прославитъ сѣ оцѣ о сѣѣ Jn 14, 13 ZOGR, MAR, SAV 25, 12–13, AS 93c, 14–15; источникъ на джебу бѣаше SUPR 353, 29–30, cf. привазаша сѣааго джебѣ соусѣ аворовѣ SUPR 18, 9–10.
- DSg — и рече ен за слово се иди и зиде бѣсѣ из дѣштере твоеѣа и шедѣши домови оберѣте отроковицѣ лежѣщи на одрѣ и бѣсѣ ишедѣшъ Mk 7, 29–30 MAR, ZOGR.⁵
- ISg — гласъмъ моимъ къ гѣи воззвахъ PS SIN 3, 5, but гласомъ моимъ къ гѣо воззвахъ PS SIN 76, 2; вси бо примѣшеи ножъ ножемъ погыбаѣтъ Mt 26, 52 SAV, cf. ножемъ ZOGR, MAR.
ен блаженъи ѿома испльнаи слово дѣлъмъ повьслѣдоѹи гласа своего SUPR 512, 23–24; воле оубо слѣзы оупоуштаѣши тако надѣ мрѣтвъмъ SUPR 457, 15–16; тогда събѣистъ сѣ реченое: неремиемъ прѣомъ гѣжцьмъ г(ла)сѣ оу рама слѣшанъ бѣистъ плачъ и рѣданне и выпль многъ Mt 2, 17–18 SAV.
- NADu, GLD, DIDu — тѣгда пристѣпи къ немоѹ мати сѣновоѹ зеведеовоѹ съ сѣма своима кланѣѣшти сѣа и просашти нѣчесо отъ него: онъ же рече ен чѣто хоштѣши: гѣа емоѹ рѣци да сѣдете съѣ сѣы моѣ: единъ о деснѣжъ тебе и единъ о шюжъ тебе: въ цѣрствини твоемъ Mt 20, 20–21 MAR; блажж ѿвсифа и никодима: бѣисте бо [...] прѣжде шестокрильнѣиныхъ богоѹ слоузѣ: не крильма нѣ плаштаницѣжъ бога покрѣвѣша SUPR 458, 4–8.⁶

⁵ On secondary forms D₂ see § 356.

⁶ The forms NADu and GLDu are attested only for the lexemes сынъ¹ and полъ.

- 6) NPI — жидове же възпнѣхъ глѣжштѣ аштѣ сего поустиши нѣси дроугъ кесареви Jn 19, 12 ZOGR; възстъ же на странахъ тѣхъ праздникъ великъ вьси во съшедъше са попове же и клирици облаши же и чрѣноризци и игоумени сътвориша праздникъ великъ SUPR 219, 17–22; начаша же змиеве глаголати чловѣчьскы гласы SUPR 229, 23–25, likewise: SUPR 77, 5; 227, 29; въ прѣпладьныѣ егуптѣстии зноеве оубо ничимъже сжтъ хоуждъши вавулоньскыа оноа пештъница SUPR 172, 28–173, 1.
- 7) GPI — слыша аама отча домъ испадъша чловѣка породьнааго гражданина безъ земайнааго троужданиа живжшта безъ дъжда крѣмашта са никаакоже потовъ или рыла или троудовъ или течениа на житиѣ трѣбоужшта присно зеленъимъ дженѣмъ веселашта са отъ цвѣтовъ въ цвѣтѣи прѣходашта отъ плодовъ въ плодѣи прѣходашта SUPR 429, 22–30; cf. не имамъ кѣде събирати плодъ моихъ Lk 12, 17 ZOGR, likewise MAR, AS, SAV. и жена едина сжци въ точени крове лѣтъ ѳи и много пострадавъши отъ врачевъ и иждивъши все свое и ни единомъ польза обрѣтъши Mk 5, 25–26 SAV (likewise ZOGR; cf. врачи in AS);⁷ и главѣи гнѣздициныхъ са змиевъ тоу съкроушиа еси EUCN 4b, 18–20; и вьсж зимж поливажштѣмъ намъ ѳдва о лѣто възмогаша са приати садове (NPI) многыа ради хоухотѣи (for соухотѣи) такоже глаголахъ и зноевъ великыихъ SUPR 301, 21–25.
- 8) LPI — се иже макка носатъ въ домоухъ црѣихъ сжтъ Mt 11, 8 ZOGR, likewise MAR, AS; вѣ инъгда и въ жидоухъ кжпѣа водьнаа SUPR 496, 7–8; милостъ же гнѣ отъ вѣка и до вѣка на воащинихъ съа его и правьда (е)го н(а) снѣохъ снѣвъ храниащинихъ завѣтъ его PS SIN 102, 17–18.
- 9) DPI — искаахъ лъжа съвѣдѣтелѣ на їса тако да оубнижтъ и не обрѣтж многъмъ же лъжъмъ съвѣдѣтелѣмъ пристжпшѣмъ не обрѣтж Mt 26, 59–60 SAV 11v. Cf. also: нѣниа оубо наша доуша тажкжжкь пльть акы велико брѣма съврьгъша (for съврьгъша) оудобъ пержтъ къ творьцоу и владъицѣи и своимѣи грѣхы сами са оувѣштаважтъ и сгрѣшениимъ простъиѣа просатъ SUPR 390, 8–13.
- 10) IPI — ѣко на разбоиника ли изидосте съ оржжыми и дрькольми ѣти мене Mk 14, 48 ZOGR (cf. съ [...] оржжи Jn 18, 3 ZOGR); обништажтъ же грѣхъми и неправъдами людѣе CLOZ 3a, 4–5, cf. своимѣи грѣхы SUPR 390, 11; ты вѣко гѣ посѣли нѣинѣ глѣ твоѣи и иждени трасавициж снѣж отъ раба твоего сего сжщжжжкь подъвѣнж вѣсоу емлжщжжжкь на врѣмена ѣко и вѣсѣ гравлжщжкь водж трасжщжжкь виѣлицѣж въ тѣлесѣи его мразацижжкь пльть его трасжщжжкь вѣсѣми оудъми его творацижкь клъчетъ зжѣты его притжжжжжкь дѣши его EUCN 44b, 18–45a, 3; и оутврьдиша печатлѣвжше гробъ съ стражжми SUPR 440, 25–26; егоже ради глѣж ти отъпоуштажтъ са еи грѣси мьнози ѣко възлюбѣи мьного а емоуже мьне отъда са меньшьми любитъ Lk 7, 47 MAR, likewise in ZOGR, but меньшими in AS.
On the aberrant forms of the vocative of the type *сыноу* see § 355.

⁷ Vaillant for the same verse cites the gloss *врачъ* from *Undolsky's fragments* (Vaillant, § 59).

§ 400. Expanded stems with the suffix *ec* as part of substantive 2-base lexemes

Such are hapax glosses *лютеце* SUPR 341, 1 (*ничсоже зъла ни лютеце*) from *люто* 2/п, *двесца* PS SIN 104, 5 (*поминѣте чоудеса его ꙗже сътвори двесца его и сждѣ[бъ]бѣи оустъ его*) from *диво* 2/п, *личесе* SUPR 335, 14, *личеса* SUPR 397, 18 from *лице* 2/п. Likewise, the lexemes *дѣло* and *дрѣво* show isolated uses with expanded stems in *ec* in SUPR and EUCH; cf. *дрѣвесе* SUPR 402, 9; *дѣлесе* SUPR 344, 11, *дѣлесъ* EUCH 89а, 17. Cf. *оучаше и всен мѣдрости* и *дѣлесе* и *словесе* SUPR 414, 8–9. With expanded stems, the terminals are c-simplex or 2-base.

Nonstandard and alien terminals in class 1/m substantives

§ 401. Intrusion of c-simplex and 2-base terminals

Possible aberrant forms are shown in Table 401.

Table 401. c-simplex and 2-base terminals in aberrant forms

	Canonical forms	Aberrant forms	Source of the aberrant terminal
NASg	камень SUPR 451, 6–7	камѣ SUPR 243, 6–7 ¹⁾	c-simplex
GSg	дѣни SUPR 375, 6	дѣне SUPR 122, 13 ²⁾	c-simplex
LSg	въ пламени Lk 16, 24 MAR	въ пламенѣ Lk 16, 24 ZOGR ³⁾	c-simplex
ISg	дньмь Lk 17, 4 SAV	дньемь Lk 17, 4 MAR ⁴⁾	c-simplex//2-base
GLDu	дньню Mt 26, 2 SAV	дньоу Mt 26, 2 ZOGR ⁵⁾	2-base
NPI	дньне Mt 9, 15 MAR	днье Mt 24, 22 MAR ⁶⁾	c-simplex
GPI	ногътѣи SUPR 117, 27	ноготъ EUCH 36b, 9	2-base
LPI	дньхъ Lk 2, 36 SAV	дньехъ Lk 2, 36 MAR	c-simplex
DPI	дньмъ Lk 2, 43 SAV	дньемъ CLOZ 14a, 34 ⁷⁾	c-simplex//2-base
IPI	ногътъи SUPR 140, 12	ногътъи SUPR 113, 30 ⁸⁾	2-base

Illustrations

- ASg — *чловѣколюбивъи же бѣ не опалимъи ѿ съблюде въ пламени огньнѣмь молитвоуж правдѣнааго пламъи огньнъи погасивъ SUPR 565, 27–29*. The intrusion of the \emptyset terminal (from c-simplex) is accompanied by the introduction of the syncopated stem.
- GSg — *штѣвѣштгавааше имъ юанъ глѣ азъ оубо водоуж крыштауж въи градетъ же крѣпѣи мене емоуже нѣсмь достоинъ отрѣшити ремеце сапогоу его Lk 3, 16 ZOGR* (likewise in MAR, AS, SAV).
- LSg — *юже во секъира при корене дрѣва лежитъ всѣко оубо дрѣво не твораштее добра плода посѣкайтъ и въ огнь вѣлагайтъ Lk 3, 9 ZOGR, SAV; и тѣ вѣзглашъ рече ѿче аврааме помилоуи мѣ и посѣли лазора да омочитъ коньць прѣста своего въ водѣ и оустоудитъ ѡзыкѣ мои ꙗко страждѣ въ пламене семь Lk 16, 24 ZOGR* (cf. въ пламени MAR, AS, SAV).

- 4) ISg — пакъи огради· честънъимъ ти крѣстома· и прѣчестънъимъ ти печатемъ· страхъ твои затвори въ мнѣ еусти 78b, 17–21.
Here also note the morphologically strange forms ISg in SUPR: единъ еднои припраглъ естъ богъ· а не еднъ мнозѣхъ· ни едномъ многъма· мльчи оубо господде· вѣдѣ та кто та пламымъ раждизае на ма SUPR 366, 19–23; извѣстити же емоу хота малы оубоавъша са· стража видома поусти льва велика зѣло· и страшна хранашта и· ноштинъ и дънниъ отъ оубиваиштинихъ поганънихъ съвѣта SUPR 292, 20–25; влъкъ ноштинъ присѣдѣаше оу тѣла на съблюденые ема· звѣздѣ свѣтълѣ синаиштини на мѣстѣ томъ идеже лежааше· дънниъ же орьлоу то же съконъчаваиштоу дѣло SUPR 537, 27–538, 1.
- 5) GLDu — Cf. in AS: вѣсте ꙗко по двою дню пасха бждет Mt 26, 2.
- 6) NPI — обличаиштъ та недвижими печате SUPR 452, 19–20 and обличаиштъ та· недвижими печати CLOZ 14a, 37.
- 7) DPI — горы въсокъма еленемъ· каменъ привѣжице заицемъ PS SIN 103, 18; Cf. the form with 2-base terminal: ꙗко бо знаменаномъ печатомъ· дѣвствънъимъ затвореномъ· хъ отъ дѣвви роди са· тако не отворстомъ сжштемъ· гробънъимъ печатомъ· хъо порождение бы^c CLOZ 14a, 39–14b, 2, cf. the parallel text in SUPR: знаменаномъ печатьма [..] гробънъимъ печатьма SUPR 452, 21–25.
- 8) IPI — егда отцемъ и матеремъ· источьницѣхъ водънъихъ· прикладаема бѣхъ очеса· и акъи сьребро слъзъи върашта капаахъ по ланитамъ на земыж· егда власи женьсти ногтъи забоми бѣахъ· печали ржгъ творѣахъ SUPR 397, 23–28; възвеселиша же са оученици пакъи· насладиша же са владъчьска образа и гласа· и лактъи ·ѳомъ потъикаахъ и намапаахъ очима· да тъкмо не вѣштаахъ брьвми к ѿмоу SUPR 502, 15–18.

Alien terminals in class 2/a and 2/p adjectives

§ 402. Contamination of 2-base, 2-pron, and 2-combi terminal sets

Some adjectival lexemes of the main twofold declension show aberrant forms with 2-pron terminals, while some pronominal declension lexemes show aberrant forms with 2-base terminals.⁸ The variety of possible aberrations of this type are shown in Table 402 (p. 226).

⁸ For several lexemes with terminals from different sets, the choice of their declension type (2/a or 2/p) is arbitrary; see details in Vaillant, § 99–100.

Table 402. Terminal contamination in classes 2/a and 2/p

Pronominal declension		
Lexeme	2-base (Aberrant)	2-pron (Canonical)
вьсѣкъ//вьсакъ 2/p	всацѣ LDSgf Jn 17, 2 SAV	вьсѣкомъ GSgf Jn 17, 2 ZOGR
коликъ 2/p	коликоу DSgmn Lk 15, 17 ZOGR	колицѣмъ ISgmn Lk 16, 5 ZOGR
толикъ 2/p	толики GSgf Lk 7, 9 AS	толикомъ GSgf Lk 7, 9 ZOGR
селикъ 2/p	селницѣ LSgmn SUPR 386, 22	Altogether 6 glosses are attested; none among them are forms specific to 2-pron.
Basic twofold declension		
Lexeme	2-base (Canonical)	2-pron (Aberrant)
мъногъ 2/a	многомъ ISgmn SUPR 34, 22	мнозѣмъ ISgmn SUPR 382, 15
тоуждъ 2/a	тоуждемъ DPlmn EUCh 60b, 7–8	тоуждемъ LSgmn Lk 16, 12 MAR
живъ 2/a	жива GSgmn Lk 10, 30 AS	живого GSgmn Lk 10, 30 SAV
грѣшьнъ 2/a	грѣшьноу DSgmn Lk 19, 7 ZOGR	грѣшьною GLDu SUPR 391, 16

Cf. for example: члкъ единъ съхоща(ш)е отъ нерѣлма въ ерихъ. и въ развоиникы въпаде' иже съвлькѣше и' и азъвы възложыше оставыше и елѣ живого сжца Lk 10, 30 SAV, cf. оставыше и' елѣ живъ сжштъ ZOGR and оставыше и елѣ жива AS.

Among class 2/a lexemes, aberrant forms are most frequent in the lexeme тоуждъ, мъногъ, дроугъ. Here are some examples.

тоуждъ — како съпоемъ пѣснь гнѣж на земли тоуждеі (for тоужди от тоуждини) ps sin 136, 4. Also, the initial consonant varies: штоужд- and стоужд-. Cf. тако и азъ есмъ вашего племени' штоуждъ же васъ дѣломъ SUPR 28, 2–3; како възпоемъ пѣснь господнѣж на земли стоуждин' что глаголеши пѣсни ли господна не поюши' на земли штоужден SUPR 418, 29–419, 2. Also: по тоуждемъ же не ѡдѣтъ' нъ бѣжатъ отъ него' ꙗко не знайтъ штоуждего гласа Jn 10, 5 ZOGR (cf. the same passage in AS: тоуждааго гласа). In KIEV 1x with з in place of жд: и не отъдазы нашего тоуждмъ 4b, 10–11.

мъногъ — съ мнозѣмъ пѣваннмъ на небо възидеши SUPR 384, 3–4 (cf. они же слышавыше идоша съ многомъ страхомъ сътворити повелѣное SUPR 37, 24–26 and съ плачемъ и многогымъ рыданнмъ глаголаше' како възврж к' тебѣ бже SUPR 528, 1–2); не оубоуте са оубо мнозѣхъ птицъ лоучыше есте въ Mt 10, 31 ZOGR (cf. и не сътвори тоу силъ много' за невѣрствие ихъ Mt 13, 58 ZOGR and и за оумножение безаконнѣ' ѡсакнетъ любви мъногыхъ Mt 24, 12 MAR); силъ же и ѡнѣмъ мнозѣмъ реченомъ бживышемъ пионнмъ' полемонъ и сжштнн съ ѡнмъ и весь народъ' помлъчаша послоншаншгте SUPR 129, 16–19 (cf. многомъ иже по истинѣ вѣровавшнмъ въ нѣ' съпоживъ съ ѡнми SUPR 11, 22–23); и тацѣми притѣчачи мнозѣми глше имъ слово' ꙗкоже можаахъ слышати Mk 4, 33 MAR (cf. и тацѣми притѣчачи многими' глааше имъ слово' ꙗкоже можаахъ слышати Mk 4, 33 ZOGR); благы рабе и вѣрне' въ малѣ бгыстъ

вѣренъ надъ мнозѣмѣ тѣ поставлѣ cloz 3a, 19–20 (cf. добры рабе благы и вѣрне: о малѣ бѣ вѣренъ надъ мѣногы тѣ поставлѣ Mt 25, 23 MAR, likewise in ZOGR, AS and SAV); глѣтъ бо аплѣ: мнозѣмѣ скръзььми: подобаетъ намъ вынѣти въ црѣство нѣское EUCH 69b, 11–13.

дрѣгъ — придж же воини: и прьвоумоу же прѣвиша голѣни: и дрѣгомоу распатоумѣ съ нимъ Jn 19, 32 SAV (cf. дрѣгомоу in the same verse in AS, f. 118b, 8, but дрѣгоумоу in ZOGR, MAR and AS, ff. 106a, 19–20 and 110b, 29). On the distribution of forms see Vaillant, § 100.

Among class 2/p lexemes, aberrant forms by 2-base are found for the lexemes ѣдинъ, инъ, самъ, такъ, всѣкъ//всакъ, толнкъ, коликъ, and селнкъ. The last lexeme is attested in oblique cases only by aberrant forms, see Vaillant, § 100. Here are some examples.

ѣдинъ — shows aberrant forms Plen with 2-combi terminals. Cf.: како вы можете вѣровати славѣ дрѣгъ отъ дрѣгѣ приемаишѣте: и славѣ ѣже отъ ѣдинааго бѣ не ищете Jn 5, 44 MAR; cf. also in the numeral sense: послѣдъ же възлежашѣмъ имъ: ѣдиноуемоу на десѣте ѣви сѣ Mk 16, 14 MAR (but ѣдиномоу на десѣте in the same verse in AS); въ ѣдинжѣ на десѣте годинѣ Mt 20, 9 MAR, SAV (but ѣдинѣ на десѣте in the same verse in AS). One separate case is the aberrant form with the 2-base terminal: ашѣ оубо тѣло твое все свѣтѣло бждетъ: не имъ части ѣдинѣ тѣмъны: бждетъ свѣтѣло все Lk 11, 36 MAR. See Vaillant, § 102–105.

инъ — shows aberrant forms Plen with 2-combi terminals. Cf.: ини же отъ столицихъ тѣ слышавъше: глѣхъ (in place of ини) Mt 27, 47 SAV.

самъ — shows aberrant forms Plen with 2-combi terminals. Cf.: сѣде же и самое оуныниие отѣто вьстѣ SUPR 492, 30–493, 1.

такъ — shows aberrant forms Plen with 2-combi terminals. Cf.: на такѣ бо напрасно гритѣ сѣ (APIm) SUPR 29, 18–19.

всѣкъ//всакъ — shows aberrant forms Plen with 2-combi terminals. Cf.: како же дастъ емоу власть всацѣ пѣти (LDSgf) Jn 17, 2 SAV 25v; in the same verse on folio 107 in SAV there is всакомъ; cf. всѣкою in the same passage in ZOGR, MAR.

толнкъ, селнкъ, коликъ — show aberrant forms Plen with 2-base and 2-combi terminals, of the type толнка (GSgmnBrev) and толнкаево (GSgmnPlen). Cf.: ами^и глѣ вамъ: ни въ изли толнкѣ вѣры не оверѣтохъ Lk 7, 9 SAV (cf. толною вѣры in the same passage in ZOGR and MAR); ни бѣ на оумъ възьмъ въ часъ тѣ: ни погоубьеныа толнкааго въздръжаныа и троудѣ помъсливъ или вѣмѣнивъ SUPR 525, 27–29; ѣликъ also belongs here. Only direct cases wordforms are attested, see details in Vaillant, § 100.

Other aberrations in substantives

§ 403. An overview of other cases

Isolated aberrant forms, attested in individual lexemes, are discussed below in the order shown in Table 403.

Table 403. Aberrant terminals: isolated cases

Canonical form	Aberrant form
1. Contamination of hard and soft subtypes	
коумиромъ SUPR 28, 11	коумиремъ SUPR 7, 9
мосѣови Jn 9, 29 MAR	мосѣеви EUCH 44b, 7
2. Contamination of types 2/m and 1/m and 2-duplex terminals intrusion	
звѣрьє PS SIN 103, 20	звѣри PS SIN 49, 10
врачемъ Lk 8, 43 SAV	врачен Mk 5, 26 AS врачевъ Mk 5, 26 ZOGR
3. c-simplex terminals intrusion into type 1/f	
кръви Lk 22, 44 SAV	кръвє Lk 22, 44 MAR
4. ISg(f) оѣж/єѣж terminal deformation	
силоѣж Mk 13, 26 MAR	силаѣ PS SIN 32, 16

1. A small number of aberrant forms breaks the twofold rule. Here are some glosses: *не оставыѣж бога сътворишааго небо и земыѣж* и *поклоиѣж са коумиремъ* SUPR 7, 8–9 (but *коумиромъ* SUPR 28, 11); *и тръжьникомъ расъипа пѣназѣи* и *дъскы опровръже* Jn 2, 15 MAR (but *пѣназа* Jn 2, 15 ZOGR); *такожде же и архирен ржгаиште са съ кънижъникы и старыцы* Mt 27, 41 MAR (but *старци* Mt 27, 41 ZOGR). On lexemes ending in *-тєль* and *-аѣ* (subtype 2/m*) see § 397.

The twofold rule is violated with respect to *o/ε*-initial terminals in the declension of borrowed substantives with stems ending in vowels or *j*. Such are, for example, in MAR: *андрѣови* Jn 12, 22; *архиреомъ* Mt 20, 18; Mt 26, 14; Mt 27, 3; Mt 28, 11, etc.; *архиреови* Mt 26, 57; Mk 1, 44. Likewise we find *фарисѣомъ* Lk 14, 3 ZOGR, *фарисеомъ* in SAV and AS, but *фарисѣемъ* Lk 14, 3 in MAR; *мосѣеви* EUCH 44b, 7 and *мосѣови* Jn 9, 29 MAR. Likewise *мосеови* Mt 17, 4 MAR, etc., *мосѣомъ* Jn 1, 17 ZOGR, but *мосеемъ* Mk 9, 4 MAR. Cf. in SUPR *июдеумъ* 448, 27 and 469, 5, but *василеемъ* 538, 7–8.

2. Aberrant forms of the lexeme *звѣрь* 1/m. Here are some glosses: *и въземъ дѣтишта отъ звѣрѣ дастъ матери* и *молитѣж сътворивъ отъпоустыи вьсѣхъ съ вькомъ* SUPR 44, 28–45, 1 (likewise in SUPR 49, 22 and 509, 28); *NP1 ѣко moi сжтъ вьси звѣри джебравънии скоти вь горахъ волови* PS SIN 49, 10. Cf. the form with 1-simplex terminal: *прѣдѣтъ вьси звѣрьє лжжъни* PS SIN 103, 20.

Aberrant forms of 2/m lexemes (intrusion of 1-simplex and 2-duplex terminals). Here are some aberrant glosses:

NPI — разгнѣваша же са тъмничьнии стражнѣ и разгнѣвавъше са въведоша ихъ паче выжтрѣ такоже не имѣти имъ никоѣже милости SUPR 134, 5; и шѣдъше стражнѣ тъмничьнии поаша сѣга и ведоша къ князю SUPR 184, 26.

GPI — и много пострадавъши отъ много врачен Mk 5, 26 AS; и много пострадавъши отъ много врачевъ Mk 5, 26 ZOGR.

IPI — и оутвърдиша печатлѣвъше гробъ съ стражми SUPR 440, 25–26.

The lexeme огнь 2/m shows many aberrant forms of this type, often violating the expected distribution of the 2-base form with *kamora* vs. 1-simplex form without *kamora*.⁹ Cf., for example: геонъскааго огни SUPR 453, 3; сльнцоу и огнѣ и водѣ SUPR 263, 12–13.

3. Aberrant forms of the lexeme кръвь 1/f. Here are some aberrant glosses: и жена едина сжщи въ точени кръве лѣтъ вѣ [...] слышавъши іса пришедъши създи прикоснѣ са ризѣ его глѣше бо тако аще прикоснѣ са ризѣ его сѣна бждѣ и авие исакнѣ источникъ крѣви ел Mk 5, 25–29 SAV; in ZOGR: и жена сжшти въ точени крѣви отъ дъвою на десате лѣтоу [...] си пристѣпши съ слѣда коснѣ са възкрили ризѣ его и авье ста теченье кръве ел Lk 8, 43–44 ZOGR; cf. also G or LSg: прибѣщилъ еси пльти и кръве естѣства твоего EUCN 78b, 7–9.

4. ISg(f) terminal deformation. Here are some glosses: не сѣетъ съ црѣ многъ силѣ и сполнѣ не сѣетъ съ множествомъ крѣпости своеѣ PS SIN 32, 16; сжштѣмъ сѣтинѣмъ въ тъмници приде доуѣ отъ кесарна и пришедъ въ севастии ѣ въ ѣ день сѣдъ съ воеводѣ повелѣ привести сѣга SUPR 72, 16–20; рѣдани же бждете родителы и братриѣ и родомъ и доуѣ Lk 21, 16 MAR.

Cf. also forms with contaminated terminals: правѣдѣѣ твоеѣ избави мѣ PS SIN 30, 2; ржкжѣ же пльть дрѣжаахъ а доушѣ бѣ порадоумѣахъ SUPR 511, 20–21.

⁹ Note that from the historical point of view, the lexeme огнь shifted its declension type, changing from the monovariate to the twofold declension. Subsequently, other 1/m lexemes also left that monovariate declension.

The Verb

The free paradigm of the verb

§404. The free paradigm

Here is the free paradigm of the OCS verb.

Inf		Sup	
л-Part			
т-Part			
Prae			
	Sg	Du	Pl
1			
2			
3			
Aor			
	Sg	Du	Pl
1			
2			
3			
Imv			
	Sg	Du	Pl
1			
2			
3			
Imf			
	Sg	Du	Pl
1			
2			
3			
шт-Part			
м-Part			
ш-Part			
н-Part			

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§ 405. Subparadigms: representations and systems

The verbal paradigm consists of 12 *subparadigms*, each of which belongs either to the *finite* or the *nominal representation*. Independently of the representation, all subparadigms are divided into three *systems*: the PRAE system, the IMF system, and the INF-AOR system. As a result, we have the following classification of subparadigms (Table 405).

Table 405. Subparadigms classes

Systems Representations	PRAE system	IMF system	INF-AOR system
Finite	Prae, lmv	lmf	Aor
Nominal	λ-Part, υπτ-Part	η-Part, υ-Part	λ-Part, τ-Part, Inf, Sup

The partitioning of subparadigms into two representations has both a syntactic and a morphological basis: different representations are formed by different sets of grammatical categories and have different morphological composition (see Ch. 15 below). The partitioning into systems also has a morphological basis. Namely, for every verbal lexemes, the wordforms of one system use the same workstem, while wordforms of different systems may differ in their workstems.¹

Finite and nominal representations

§ 406. Finite representations

Forms in finite subparadigms (also called *finite*, or *personal verb forms*) show an opposition by *person* (with three category values) and *number* (with three category values). They are represented by four *bundles*: Prae, lmv, lmf, and Aor. The lmv bundle is defective, in that it lacks 1sg and 3pl forms. Other bundles are opposed to each other in tense/aspect: the Prae bundle carries the non-past meaning, and the lmf and Aor bundles carry the past meaning. The grammatical descriptions of finite wordforms contain three components: person, number, and an indicator of the bundle, cf. 3SgPrae, 2–3SgAor, etc. In all bundles except Prae, the cells ⟨2Sg⟩ and ⟨3Sg⟩ are represented by the same wordform; ⟨3Du⟩ and ⟨2Pl⟩ are represented by the same wordform in all four bundles.

§ 407. Nominal representations

These are six *participles* and two *absolutives*, Inf and Sup. Participles are deverbal adjectives; absolutives are extraparadigmatic substantive forms, Inf (infinitive)

¹ Occasional departures from this principle are described as the alien stem expansion effect (notated λ or λ̄); see more details in § 440.

with the substantive inflection *и* (from the 1-simplex set), and *Sup* (supine) with the substantive inflection *ъ/ь* (from the 2-base set).

The six participles in this book are named by their suffix: *м-Part* (*м*-participles), *шт-Part* (*шт*-participles), etc.² Participle subparadigms have the free paradigm of the ordinary adjective. Their paradigmatic names (calls and addresses) contain (1) an adjectival grammatical description, (2) an indicator of one of the six participle, and (3) the name of the parent verbal lexeme to which they belong. For example, we have *ASgfBrev [ш-Part (трьпѣти)]* for the form *трьпѣвъшж*, *ASgfBrev [ш-Part (любити)]* for *люблъшж*, *ASgfBrev [м-Part (трьпѣти)]* for the form *трьпимж*, etc.

Grammatical descriptions of absolutes contain only an indicator of one of the two absolutes (*Inf* or *Sup*), e.g. *Sup(решти)* for the form *рештъ*.

Secondary verb forms

§ 408. An overview of secondary forms

Some verbal lexemes contain so-called *secondary* forms. These are the following: (1) *1SgPrae* (*вѣдѣти*): *Вѣдѣ*; see § 528; primary form *вѣмь*; (2) conditional (*Cond*), which are peculiar personal forms of the verb *вѣти* (e.g. *1Sg вимь*); see § 546, and some other forms of this unique verb; see § 544; (3) nonstandard aorist forms (e.g. *1Sg идъ*); see § 476–482.

² *шт-* and *м-Part* are the so-called active and passive present participles; *ш-* and *н-Part* are active and passive past participles; *л-Part* is the perfect participle, and *т-Part* is the infinitival participle, syntactically equivalent to *н-Part*.

Formation of verb forms

§ 409. Morphological composition of verb forms

Finite and nominal verb forms have different morphological composition (see Table 409). The morphological skeleton of finite forms contains two components: [verbal workstem + finite inflection]. The morphological skeleton of nominal forms has three components: [[verbal workstem + subparadigm suffix] + nominal inflection]. The first two comprise the workstem of the nominal form, which, in turn, contains two components: the workstem of the parent verb is the *basic component* in relation to the suffixes of nominal subparadigms, i.e. the participial suffixes, and the infinitival and supine suffixes.

Table 409. Morphological composition of verb forms

	Wordform workstem		Terminal
	Workstem of the verb	Subparadigm suffix	Finite or nominal inflection
Finite forms	рѣк	—	ѣши
	2SgPrae (рѣшѣти): (рѣк) + (ѣши) ⇒ рѣчѣши		
	плач	—	ѣши
	2SgPrae (плакаѣти): (плач) + (ѣши) ⇒ плачѣши		
Nominal forms	рѣк	ѣн	ѣ
	ASgBrev [н-Part (рѣшѣти)]: [(рѣк) + (ѣн)] + (ѣ) ⇒ рѣчѣнѣ		
	плач	ѣштѣ	ѣ
	ASgBrev [штѣ-Part (плакаѣти)]: [(плач) + (ѣштѣ)] + (ѣ) ⇒ плачѣштѣѣ		
	рѣк	ѣ	ѣ
Sup (рѣшѣти): [(рѣк) + (ѣ)] + (ѣ) ⇒ рѣшѣѣ			

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§410. Nominal forms in the paradigmatic synthesis of verbal paradigms

From the point of view of paradigmatic synthesis rules, the full morphological skeleton of finite forms—expressions of the form [verb workstem + finite inflection]—are equivalent to the workstem of nominal forms—expressions of the form [verb workstem + subparadigm suffix]. Within verbal synthesis rules, nominal forms are only built up to their workstems. Accordingly, nominal form suffixes are in a way equivalent to terminals of finite forms; selection and attachment of nominal terminals are outside of the responsibility of verbal synthesis: the construction of a nominal paradigm from a starting form and a nominal paradigmatic index is accomplished by nominal synthesis rules. Verbal synthesis is only responsible for building workstems.¹

Such a distribution of responsibility between verbal and nominal paradigmatic synthesis is dictated by the morphology of the corresponding forms. The reason is that verbal workstems are the same for finite and nominal forms within a system, and are distinguished only by the system to which the synthesized form belongs and by its lexeme. The rules of building workstems are the same, as are boundary adjustment rules. The boundary that is adjusted by these general rules is between the verbal workstem and the terminal for finite forms, and between the basic component and suffix of the nominal subparadigm for nominal forms.

In other words, the synthesis of nominal subparadigms in the verbal paradigmatic synthesis algorithm stops midway, halting with the workstem synthesis for the starting form of the corresponding nominal paradigm.²

§411. Verb form construction procedure

To build a called verb form, one must perform three steps: (1) build the workstem; see §413 below; (2) find the terminal (for finite forms) or the suffix (for nominal forms); see §414; and (3) apply boundary adjustment rules; see §415.

Each of these steps is regulated by its own block of rules. As a result of the first two steps, we have a morphological skeleton of the called wordform, i.e. an expression of the form [workstem V + terminal] for finite forms, and the morphological skeleton of the nominal stem of the called wordform, i.e. an expression of the form [basic component + suffix] for nominal forms. In the latter case, the basic component is the workstem of the parent verb of the relevant system.

¹ Note that, although it is natural to think of the starting point of paradigmatic synthesis as “starting wordform and paradigmatic index”, rather than “workstem of the starting form and paradigmatic index”, in reality the first step of synthesis rules is to extract the workstem from the starting form that is represented in the dictionary. See more details in Ch. 25, *Summary*, §916–918.

² Note that *urr-* and *u-* participles have nonstandard nominal paradigms (type 2/a*), and as such are served by not one but two starting forms that are distinguished by their nominal workstems. Accordingly, verbal paradigmatic synthesis must build not one but two forms (or two workstems). The first of these, NSgmBrev, has no terminal (cf. *люб.а* | *любл.ь*); the second takes the nonstandard terminal *и* (cf. *люб.ашт=и*, *любл.ьш=и*). See more details on the declension of *urr-* and *u-* participles in §308 and below.

As a result of the last step we get an inflectional spellout of the called wordform for finite forms, and a morphophonological representation of the stem of the called wordform for nominal forms.

To derive the final shape of the called wordform, the standard $\text{mph} \Rightarrow \text{ph}/\text{norm}$ rules must be applied. Note that boundaries between the workstem and terminal in the case of finite forms are adjusted twice: first by the boundary adjustment rules, then by $\text{mph} \Rightarrow \text{ph}/\text{norm}$ rules. Thus, e.g., from $\text{pек} + \text{ʼѠаχʼ}$ we have pеч.Ѡаχʼ by the boundary adjustment rules, and $\text{pеч.Ѡаχʼ} \Rightarrow \text{pеч} \text{ааχʼ}$ by $\text{mph} \Rightarrow \text{ph}/\text{norm}$ rules.

For unique verbs, forms are not built by rules. Their paradigms are given either wholesale or by individual profiles (see Ch. 21, *Unique verbs*). Morphologically anomalous forms are also not built by rules (see a list of morphologically anomalous forms in Ch. 19, *An overview of verb forms by system*).

The following input information is needed to perform the steps listed above. The primary information is (1) the grammatical description of the called wordform; (2) information on the membership of the synthesized wordform in a subparadigm in one of three systems, PRAE, IMF, INF-AOR (see above § 405); (3) the graphic spellout of the starting wordform of the parent lexeme of the called wordform. These data are contained in the paradigmatic call itself. Secondary information includes: (4) the morphophonological representation of the starting wordform; (5) a paradigmatic index of the parent lexeme of the called wordform. These data are extracted from the PD.

After gathering all of the necessary information, one can synthesize the called wordform (if it is finite), and the nominal stem of the called wordform (if it is nominal).³

§412. Starting forms of verbal lexemes

The starting form of a verbal lexeme is the infinitive. Infinitives are shown in the paradigmatic dictionary, in both their graphic (normalized) spellout, as well as in the morphophonological spellout. So, for the verbs вѠзлѠубити , познати , вѠжделѠти we find вѠз.лѠуб.и.т.и 1, пѠ.зна.т.и 4v, вѠз.желѠ.т.и 7, etc. The only defective lexeme that is not represented by the infinitive in the dictionary is the lexeme of the unique verb Ѡсшь , where the 1SgPrae form—the first form in the paradigm—is chosen as the starting form that is shown in the dictionary.

§413. The first step: building verbstems

In the general case, a verbal lexeme corresponds to several workstems, in such a way that different subparadigms use different workstems. Still, forms of a single subparadigm, and in most cases forms of a single system (PRAE, IMF, or INF-AOR) have the same workstem. Workstems are built in two steps: on the first step so-called *basic stems* are determined, and on the second step, workstems

³ To build the called wordform of participles one must go to the nominal synthesis rules.

are constructed from these basic stems. Thus, every workstem has as its source and antecedent some basic stem. Each verbal lexeme has either two or one basic stem. If there are two, they are distinguished as *expanded* and *truncated*. The assortment of basic stems of a given lexeme (one or two), and the shape of a basic stem, is determined by the segmental content of the infinitive and the verb's paradigmatic class.

When the assortment of basic stems is determined, one must select the basic stem that serves as the source of the workstem of a given verb form. This depends, on the one hand, from the paradigmatic class of the verb, and on the other, on the system to which the given verb form belongs (see below, rules of assignment of basic stems, § 427). The transition from a basic stem to the sought workstem is accomplished using rules that can change the segmental content of the basic stem of the source. These rules also take into account, on the one hand, the verb's paradigmatic class, and on the other, the system of the given wordform. Thus, a PRAE workstem, a IMF workstem, and an INF-AOR workstem is defined for every verbal lexeme, although for most verbs the IMF workstem coincides with either the PRAE or the INF-AOR workstem.

§ 414. The second step: the selection of the appropriate terminal or suffix

In the general catalog of suffixes and terminals (see § 455), all sets are distinguished as standard or nonstandard. The latter are used only among unique verbs, secondary forms, and aberrant forms. The sets are distributed among subparadigms. In the PRAE system, every subparadigm corresponds to two sets, where the choice is determined by the verb's paradigmatic class.

When the terminal set is determined, one must select the terminal from that set whose address corresponds to the paradigmatic call. The appropriate terminal is found if the cell contains only one terminal. However, some cells can contain several terminals or suffixes, where the choice is determined by the morphophonological features of the workstem. Specific rules governing that choice are shown for each such terminal set in the notes to the terminal catalog (§ 456–460).

§ 415. The third step: boundary adjustment

After the morphological skeleton is constructed, i.e. the workstem is built and the appropriate terminal of suffix is selected, one must apply the boundary adjustment rules (see § 461–462). These rules use both morphophonological information (cf. $\text{pек} + \text{еши} \Rightarrow \text{pеч}=\text{еши}$, but $\text{нес} + \text{еши} \Rightarrow \text{нес}=\text{еши}$), and properly grammatical information, such as information on the grammatical description of a form (cf. $\text{мог} + \text{ѣте} \Rightarrow \text{моу}=\text{ѣте}$ (Imv)), but $\text{мог} + \text{ѣаше} \Rightarrow \text{мож}=\text{ѣаше}$ (Imf), and information on its paradigmatic class; cf. $\text{люб} + \text{ж} \Rightarrow \text{любл}=\text{ж}$ (class 1), but $\text{грѣв} + \text{ж} \Rightarrow \text{грѣв}=\text{ж}$ (class 4).

Paradigmatic classes of the verb

Main paradigmatic classes

§ 416. Paradigmatic classes of the verb: acquaintance

The partition of the set of verbs into paradigmatic classes must be related to the similarities and differences in paradigmatic behavior in such a way that information on the membership of a verb in a paradigmatic class should ensure the correct application of the paradigmatic synthesis algorithm. Roughly speaking, two lexemes belong to the same paradigmatic class if they are conjugated in the same way, or, in other words, if they follow the same paradigmatic standard. Membership in a paradigmatic class is shown in the paradigmatic dictionary. This chapter shows the partition into classes used here and discusses its morphological underpinnings: the relationship between morphological composition of the infinitive (the left subtable) and the basic stems of the verb. The distribution of basic stems by system (the right subtable) determines the most important traits of the paradigmatic standard in a given class. The main paradigmatic classes and their type representatives are shown in Table 416 on p. 242.

§ 417. Unique verbs

The classification that determines the paradigmatic classes does not extend to unique verbs. They have individual paradigms that are neither similar to each other nor representable as a modification of some paradigmatic standard. These 19 verbs comprise a degenerate paradigmatic class: their paradigms are not built

by rules, but are given wholesale (see Ch. 21, *Unique verbs*). The verbs *дати*, *іасти*, *ієсмь*, *вѣдѣти*, and *имѣти* are called *athematic*.

Table 416. Main paradigmatic classes of verbs

Morphological type and composition of infinitive			Class number and sample word	Basic stems and distribution by systems		
Lexical component	Verb class suffix	Theme		PRAE	IMF	INF-AOR
Simple thematic			1 любити	Truncated		Expanded
люб	—	и		люб		люб.и
Simple thematic			2 трьпѣти	Truncated	Expanded	
трьп	—	ѣ		трьп	трьп.ѣ	
Simple thematic			3 плакати	Truncated	Expanded	
плак	—	а		плак	плак.а	
Simple thematic			4 несѣти	Only truncated		
нес	—	—		нес		
Suffixal thematic			5 двигѣти	Truncated		Expanded
двиг	и	ж		двиг.и		двиг.и.ж
Suffixal thematic			6 милувати	Truncated	Expanded	
мил	ов/оу	а		мил.ов/мил.оу	мил.ов.а	
Mixed			7 дѣлати желѣти	Only expanded		
дѣл жел	а ѣ			дѣл.а жел.ѣ		
Unique (class 0)						
дати	ієсмь 'to be'	ити	вѣпити	гънати		
іасти	бъгити	іати	сѣсти	плати		
вѣдѣти	хотѣти	стати	лешти	дѣти		
имѣти	до.вьлѣти	сѣпати	об.рѣсти			

§ 418. Main paradigmatic classes

The seven classes shown in Table 416 are called main paradigmatic classes, or simply verb classes. The partition into these classes does not take into account particularities that have to do with the presence of secondary or anomalous forms in the paradigm, as well as the presence of marginal subclasses, or of so-called irregular verbs. Membership of a verb in one of the seven main classes is shown in the paradigmatic index with an Arabic numeral at the beginning of the index.

§ 419. Splintering of the classification and irregular verbs

The partition is further somewhat splintered. First, the main class 4 is divided into three classes by the end of the truncated stem: C-final, V-final, or finally ambivalent. Accordingly, we have subclasses with the following type representatives: *нестти* 4c, *знати* 4v, and *клатти* 4h.

Second, within the main classes 3 and 4, there are subclasses of so-called *irregular* verbs, whose paradigms can be represented as certain deformations of the main paradigmatic standard of the corresponding class, which are caused by the application of paradigmatic effects (see a list of irregular verbs in § 434). *Regular* verbs are all verbs of classes 1, 2, 5, 6, and 7, and also (1) all class 3 verbs except irregulars, (2) all 4v verbs, and (3) all 4c verbs except irregulars. All 4h verbs are irregular. Roughly speaking, to build the paradigm of a regular verbs it is sufficient to know the segmental content of the infinitive and the main class to which the verb belongs, while to build the paradigm of irregular verbs, this information is insufficient.

All verbs in subclass *клатти* 4h contain a labile root. Classifying all the verbs in the *клатти* 4h class as irregular is necessary because the C-final version of the root cannot be predicted from the V-final version contained in the infinitive.

§ 420. Paradigmatic indices

In the general case, the paradigmatic index contains the number of the main class (Arabic numeral between 0 and 7), and an extension. Irregular verbs contain indices with extensions that deform the main paradigmatic standard. For example, we have the following regular verbs in class 3: *плакати* 3, *привлзати* 3, *пострадати* 3, and the following irregular verbs: *върати* 3^{o*}, *полиати* 3*, *смиати* 3*, *сътъкати* 3^o. In class 4, we have regular verbs *нестти* 4c, *знати* 4v, *възвестти* 4c, and irregular verbs *врѣштти* 4c*_ц, *вълатти* 4h*_д, *жръти* 4h*_ж, *начатти* 4h.

The paradigmatic index may contain the warning symbol ∇, which indicates the presence of morphologically anomalous forms. Cf. *видѣти* 2∇ (the form 2SgImv ∇виждь), *пешти* 4c∇ (imperative ∇пъцѣте and others forms). However, this symbol is not used for unique verbs and for verbs where morphologically anomalous forms are part of the paradigmatic standard of their class (such is the class *движѣти* 5 with morphologically anomalous n-participles like *двиговенъ*).

§ 421. The principle of paradigmatic equivalence of members of a family

Verbs concatenated with a prefix or the particle *сѧ* (less commonly *си*, cf. *мынѣти сѧ*, *пожалитти си*), and corresponding simple verbs, form a single *family*. Members of this family have equivalent paradigmatic behavior, and always belong to the same paradigmatic class. Accordingly, in paradigmatics the term “verb” often refers to an entire family. Quantitative data should be interpreted in the same way. For example, *мынѣти*, *мынѣти сѧ*, *помынѣти*, *помынѣти сѧ*, *сжмынѣти сѧ*, *оусжмынѣти сѧ*, and *сѧжмынѣти сѧ*, are counted as a single item. Both in the dic-

tionary and in the text of this book verbal lexemes with **сѧ** are shown without **сѧ**. Thus, members of pairs like **мѡнѣти**, **мѡнѣти сѧ** are not distinguished. On the other hand, prefixed and prefixless verbs are shown in the dictionary separately.

Classification of the infinitives

§ 422. Morphological composition of the infinitive

The infinitive has the following morphological composition:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{lexical} \\ \text{component} \end{array} + \begin{array}{l} \text{suffix of the} \\ \text{verb class} \end{array} + \begin{array}{l} \text{theme} \end{array} \right] + \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{infinitive} \\ \text{suffix } \tau \end{array} + \begin{array}{l} \text{inflection} \\ \text{и} \end{array} \right]$$

Here, the bracketed components are the basic component of the infinitive and its marker, respectively. The basic component, in turn, contains three morphological constituents, where the lexical component is present in every infinitive, while the suffixes of the verb class and themes may be absent. The lexical component may contain only the root, cf. **люб** in **любити**, a prefix with a root, cf. **вѣз**.(**люб**) in **вѣзлюбити**, or can contain a nominal suffix with a root, cf. (**бѣс**).**н** in **бѣснѡвати** [**бес**].**н**.**ов**.**а**.**т**.**и**], or both prefixes and suffixes, cf. **из**.(**бѣ**).**т**.**зч**.**ств** in **избѣтзчствовати** [**из**.(**бѣ**).**т**.**зч**.**ств**.**ов**.**а**.**т**.**и**].

§ 423. Morphological types of the infinitive

All possible combinations of verb class suffix with themes and the corresponding paradigmatic classes are shown in Table 423. Approximate count is shown for each class.

Table 423. Infinitive types

Verb class suffix \ Theme	Theme				
	Theme и	Theme ѣ	Theme а	Theme ж	No theme
No suffix	1 любити [350]	2 трьпѣти [50]	3 плакати [90]	None	4 нести [90]
Suffix и	None	None	None	5 движѣти [60]	None
Suffix ов/ев	None	None	6 милѡвати [100]	None	None
Suffix coincides with theme*	0 вѣпити [1]	7 желѣти [50]	7 дѣлати [350]	None	None

* Strictly speaking, the **и** in **вѣпити**, and the **ѣ** and **а** in the expanded stem in class 7 verbs are not themes, but verb classes suffixes. Accordingly, only verbs (and infinitives) in classes 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6 are thematic.

Clearly, the infinitive shape by itself does not give full information on the paradigmatic class, although in classes 4, 5, and 6, the infinitive uniquely determines the class.

§424. A note on class 4

In this class, the lexical component does not contain suffixes—there are neither verbal suffixes nor a theme. In other words, the infinitive marker *т.и* is attached directly to the root. The only formal exception is the verb (ЗВЛ)ШТИ [ЗВЛ.Г.Т.И] <310> ‘report, announce’ for the hapax gloss ЗВЛОМА (SUPR 475, 11). The verb ЗВЛШТИ, ЗВЛЖШИ is found in Sreznevskij; for later forms, ЗВЛГ should be seen as a unitary root formative.

§425. A note on class 7

Although in this class no subparadigm uses it, the truncated stem is present within the corresponding expanded stems. The expanders *а* and *ѣ* have a double function: these are ordinary themes from the point of view of the infinitive and expanded stems, and they are verbal suffixes from a paradigmatic point of view, since they are never truncated.

Basic verb stems

§426. Basic verb stems

Every verbal lexeme has a fixed *assortment* of basic stems, a full one (two basic stems), or a partial one (only one basic stem). There are two types of basic stems, *expanded* and *truncated*. A full assortment of basic stems contains an expanded and a truncated stem; a partial assortment contains either an expanded or a truncated one. Differences in the basic stem assortment and in their distribution across the paradigm determine the crucial equivalences and distinctions in the paradigmatic behavior of verbal lexemes, and, accordingly, the oppositions between paradigmatic classes, as shown in Table 416, *Main paradigmatic classes of verbs*.

The expanded basic stem differs from a truncated stem by the formatives it contains: an expanded stem can be represented as [truncated stem + theme]. Because the starting form of the verb (the infinitive) uses the expanded stem in all verbs that have it, the morphological composition of the infinitive correlates with the partition into paradigmatic classes, as shown in Table 416. The basic stem of a specific verb is defined to be the segmental string that instantiates the basic stem in the infinitive. So, e.g. ВЪР.А is the expanded basic stem of the verb ВЪРАТИ; СЪ.ПЪС.А is the expanded basic stem of the verb СЪПЪСАТИ; ВЪР is the truncated basic stem of ВЪРАТИ (cf. Прае ВЕРЖ, ВЕРШИ); ВЪЗ.ЛЕГ is the truncated basic stem of the verb ВЪЗЛЕШТИ (cf. Прае ЛЛГЖ, ЛЛЖШИ).

The segmental composition of basic stems of all regular and most irregular verbs is uniquely determined by the infinitive, as long as its morphophonological representation is given. In the graphic representation, the segmental composition of the truncated stem can be obscured in the subclass *нестти* 4с (cf. *пастти*¹ [пaд.т.и] and *пастти*² [пaс.т.и]). In the subclass *клатти* 4h the basic stem is truncated and finally ambivalent (there is no expanded stem); the infinitive contains its V-final version, while its C-final versions are given by lists (see § 434).

§ 427. Distribution of basic stems by systems

The distribution of the basic stems by subparadigms is given by Table 416, *Main paradigmatic classes of verbs*. Clearly, the distribution is organized in such a way that, in each class, subparadigms of a system are served by a single basic stem, either truncated or expanded. The distribution of basic stems by systems will be referred to as the *basic stem allotment rules*. These rules are shown in Table 427.

Table 427. Basic stem allotment rules

Classes \ Systems	PRAE	IMF	INF-AOR
1, 5	Truncated		Expanded
2, 3, 6	Truncated	Expanded	
4с, 4v	Truncated		
4h	C-final truncated		V-final expanded
7	Expanded		

The PRAE system uses the truncated basic stem whenever it is available (i.e. in all classes except 7); the INF-AOR stem uses the expanded basic stem whenever it is available (i.e. in all classes except 4). Meanwhile the IMF system uses the truncated stem in some classes and the expanded stem in others.¹ The general basic stem allotment rule subsumes the rule selecting C-final or V-final versions of finally ambivalent truncated stems in the class *клатти* 4h (although these verbs are considered irregular).

This selectivity of systems with respect to basic stems has morphophonological underpinnings. The issue is that systems are opposed by their typical terminals and suffixes: in the PRAE system, they are all V-initial, while in the INF-AOR system, they are mostly C-initial, and in IMF system they are mostly initially ambivalent. Meanwhile, expanded stems are V-final, while truncated stems are mostly C-final. (See more details in Ch. 24, *Supplement*, § 875, *On Jakobson's law*).

¹ Traditional Slavic linguistics uses the opposition between *present ~ infinitive stem*, which does not fully coincide with the expanded ~ truncated opposition which is adopted in this book.

§ 428. Basic stems and workstems and subparadigm systems

As has already been indicated, in constructing paradigms, basic stems become workstems, and every workstem corresponds to a particular basic stem which is its source. Expanded basic stems generate *expanded workstems*; truncated basic stems generate *truncated workstems*. Expanded basic stems undergo no segmental changes, i.e. the expanded basic stems and its corresponding workstem are segmentally identical; a truncated basic stem can generate truncated workstems that differ from their source by its segmental composition. However, workstems maintain the crucial opposition: truncated workstems are in the vast majority of cases C-final; expanded workstems are always V-final.

The following proposition holds of the organization of verbal paradigms: whatever the verbal lexemes, all the forms of a subparadigm have the same workstems; for regular verbs, all forms of a system have the same workstems.

Profiles of the type representatives for the main paradigmatic classes

§ 429. The paradigmatic standard and the profile

For every paradigmatic class, there is a *paradigmatic standard*: all the verbs of a single paradigmatic class follow the same paradigmatic standard, while verbs of different classes follow different standards. Verbs that follow the same standard select the same alternative in constructing their wordforms in all the forks in the paradigmatic path which are given by the paradigmatic synthesis rules. Similarities and differences of paradigmatic standards are easily observable in *profiles* of the corresponding type representatives.

Table 429 (p. 248) shows a list of profile forms and profiles of type representatives of the main paradigmatic classes. Profiles show the forms in the inflectional spellout.²

For every subparadigm, except the supine and λ - and τ -Part,³ there is one or two forms in the profile. These key forms are chosen so that they can be used in a maximally simple way to build the rest of the oblique forms.

Participles are represented in the profiles by their starting forms; for μ -, η -, and τ -Part, the workstem of the starting form (NSgmBrev) is listed in its place (because some verbs may lack the participle itself). The period separates the suffix of the participle. The NSgmBrev forms of $\omega\tau$ - and ω -Part are morphologically anomalous, in that they have no distinguishable terminal (symbolized by |).

² In other cases verb forms in profiles can be given in the graphic spellout.

³ These forms are trivially reconstructible from the infinitive. On supine forms see also § 88.

Table 429. Profiles of type representatives of the main verb classes

A list of profile forms		ЛЮБИТИ 1	
1, 2SgPrae 2Pl Impv št-Part m-Part	1, 2-3SgAor 1SgImpf š-Part n-Part	ЛЮБА=Ъ, ЛЮБ=ИШИ ЛЮБ=ИТЕ ЛЮБ.А ЛЮБ.АШТ=И ЛЮБ.ИМ=	ЛЮБИ=ХЪ, ЛЮБИ=0 ЛЮБА=ЪАХЪ ЛЮБ.А ЛЮБ.АШТ=И ЛЮБ.ИМ=
ТРЫГЪТИ 2			
ТРЫПА=Ъ, ТРЫП=ИШИ ТРЫП=ИТЕ ТРЫП.А ТРЫП.АШТ=И ТРЫП.ИМ=	ТРЫПЪ=ХЪ, ТРЫПЪ=0 ТРЫПЪ=АХЪ ТРЫПЪ.БЪ ТРЫПЪ.БЪШ=И ТРЫПЪ.И=	ПЛАЧ=Ъ, ПЛАЧ=ИШИ ПЛАЧ=ИТЕ ПЛАЧ.А ПЛАЧ.АШТ=И ПЛАЧ.ИМ=	ПЛАКА=ХЪ, ПЛАКА=0 ПЛАКА=АХЪ ПЛАКА.БЪ ПЛАКА.БЪШ=И ПЛАКА.И=
НЕСТИ 4			
НЕС=Ъ, НЕС=ИШИ НЕС=БТЕ НЕС.Ъ НЕС.АШТ=И НЕС.ОМ=	НЕС=ОХЪ, НЕС=Е НЕС=ЪАХЪ НЕС.Ъ НЕС.ЪШ=И НЕС.ИМ=	ДВИГН=Ъ, ДВИГНИ=ИШИ ДВИГН=БТЕ ДВИГН.Ъ ДВИГН.АШТ=И ДВИГН.ОМ=	ДВИГНЪ=ХЪ, ДВИГНЪ=0 ДВИГН=ЪАХЪ ДВИГНЪ.БЪ ДВИГНЪ.БЪШ=И ДВИГН.ОВ.ИМ=
МИЛОВАТИ 6			
МИЛОУЪ=Ъ, МИЛОУЪ=ИШИ МИЛОУЪ=ИТЕ МИЛОУЪ.А МИЛОУЪ.АШТ=И МИЛОУЪ.ИМ=	МИЛОВА=ХЪ, МИЛОВА=0 МИЛОВА=АХЪ МИЛОВА.БЪ МИЛОВА.БЪШ=И МИЛОВА.И=	ДЪЛАД=Ъ, ДЪЛАД=ИШИ ДЪЛАД=ИТЕ ДЪЛАД.А ДЪЛАД.АШТ=И ДЪЛАД.ИМ=	ДЪЛАД=ХЪ, ДЪЛАД=0 ДЪЛАД=АХЪ ДЪЛАД.БЪ ДЪЛАД.БЪШ=И ДЪЛАД.И=

§430. From the profile of a verb to its full paradigm

Because inside the given subparadigm workstems are the same, in order to obtain the oblique forms given a certain key form it is sufficient to replace the terminals. Since every lexeme takes the terminals from the same set— and in case a set contains morphophonological variants of terminals, their selection is determined by the workstem—it is not difficult to select the needed terminals.⁴

⁴ It is somewhat harder to build the profile of a verb given the profile of a type representative. So, practically speaking, profiles work as short summaries of paradigmatic synthesis rules, free of the grammatical apparatus. While useful as information carriers for beginners, they cannot reliably replace the full set of rules.

Workstems of the verb

Workstems of regular verbs

§ 431. The segmental content of basic stems

To build a workstem of a called verbal wordform, one must perform two steps: first, determine the *allotted basic stem* and its segmental content; second, transition from that allotted basic stem to the *sought workstem*.

The first step is the selection of the allotted basic stem. The search is performed according to the basic stem allotment rules (see Table 427), which indicate which basic stem serves the called wordform—expanded or truncated, and the case of the 4h class, whether the C-final or V-final version of the truncated stem is used in the given system. Once the selection of the truncated or expanded stem is made, one must find its segmental content.

The segmental content of the allotted basic stem for a given verb is determined by its infinitive. The expanded stem can be derived by removing the infinitive marker: *вѣз.лѹб.и.т.и\т.и:* *вѣз.лѹб.и;* *двиг.н.ж.т.и\т.и:* *двиг.н.ж;* *млн.ов.а.т.и\т.и:* *млн.ов.а*, etc. To arrive at the truncated basic stem in all classes except class 4, one must remove the theme from the expanded basic stem (i.e. the last vowel): *вѣз.лѹб.и\и:* *вѣз.лѹб;* *двиг.н.ж\ж;* *двиг.н*, etc. To arrive at the truncated basic stem of class 4 verbs, one must remove the marker of the infinitive *ти*, but in the subclass 4h, if the C-final version of the truncated stem is allotted, one must turn to the lists that indicate its segmental content (see the lists in § 434). Thus, for 4h: *кля.т.и* has a C-final truncated stem *кльн;* *мрѣ.т.и*

has the C-final truncated stem *мър*; *кла.т.и* has *кол*. For 4v we have: *зна.т.и* has *зна*; *по.ми.т.и* has *по.ми*; *на.сѣ.т.и* has *на.сѣ*.¹

The second step is the transition to the workstem. If the allotted basic stem is expanded, then the corresponding workstem is simply identical with it. This is the case for both regular and irregular verbs. If the truncated stem is allotted, then the transition to the workstem is accomplished through special rules (see § 432), in some cases changing the segmental content of the allotted basic stem.

These rules are separated into two blocks which apply sequentially: the first block ensures the creation of workstems for all regular verbs (§ 432–433); the second block introduces additional adjustments that are necessary for irregular verbs (§ 434–454). In the construction of irregular verb workstems, one first builds a half-baked product—the workstem of the verb as it would be if the verb were regular (by § 432), and then this half-baked product is completed by the rules of § 434 and ff.

§ 432. Workstem construction rules for regular verbs

Table 432 on p. 253 shows which paradigmatic classes and which workstems undergo paradigmatic effects that ensure the transition from basic stems to workstems. In each class, the first half-row shows allotted basic stems; the second half-row shows the workstem of a type representative that has undergone the paradigmatic effect determining the segmental content of the corresponding workstem; the third sub-row shows the paradigmatic effects in action.

¹ It is useful to emphasize that, while in other cases for technical simplicity the graphic representation of the infinitive is sufficient, in class 4c the morphophonological representation is absolutely necessary, since the graphics in these verbs conceals the root-final consonant; cf. for *пасти*¹ [*пад.т.и*] the stem is *пад*, while for *пастн*² [*пас.т.и*] it is *пас*.

Table 432. Workstems and paradigmatic effects

Class and type representative	PRAE system	IMF system			INF-AOR system
		Imf	н-Part	ш-Part	
любити 1	Truncated люб			Expanded люб.и	
	люб	любл • effect		любн	
трыпѣти 2	Truncated трып	Expanded трып.ѣ			
	трып	трыпѣ			
плакати 3	Truncated плак	Expanded плак.а			
	плач • effect	плака			
нести 4с	Truncated нес				
	нес				
знати 4v	Truncated зна				
	зна				
клати 4h	Truncated клл				
	кльн h effect			кль	
двиґнѣти 5	Truncated двиґн			Expanded двиґн.ж	
	двиґн		двиґнж ʒ effect		
милувати 6	Truncated мил.ов	Expanded мил.ов.а			
	мил.оу h and # effect	милова			
дѣлати 7	Expanded дѣла				
	дѣла				

All subclass клати 4h verbs are considered irregular; see § 434 below.

§ 433. Paradigmatic effects and construction of truncated workstems of the main paradigmatic classes

1. The *substitutive softening* paradigmatic effect (indicated by •). This effect calls for the replacement of the final consonant of the truncated basic stem by the pairings of the substitutive softening alternation. It applies in the workstem of the IMF system in the любити 1 class, and in the workstem of the PRAE system in the плакати 3 class.

2. The *alien stem expansion* paradigmatic effect (indicated by \downarrow or \downarrow). This effect expands leftward (\downarrow) or rightward (\downarrow) the scope of the workstems of neighboring subparadigms. The participants of this effect differ from case to case. In class 5, the INF-AOR workstem expands into the \mathcal{H} -Part subparadigm (\downarrow) (cf. ДВИГНЖ.ВЪШ=И). This effect introduces adjustments into the opposition of workstems that is set up by the basic stem allotment rules (see Table 427), but it applies only after the workstems themselves have been built.²

3. The *lableness in the paradigm* paradigmatic effect (indicated by h). This effect only applies in the verbs whose truncated stem is represented by a labile root, as in the КЛАТИ 4h class, or, as in МИЛОВАТИ 6 class, by a finally ambivalent suffix. This effect requires the selection of one of two alternative stems: a C-final one (cf. КАЪН for КЛАТИ 4h), or a V-final one (cf. КАА for КЛАТИ 4h). The choice is not only dictated by the CVC agreement rules, but additionally by the paradigmatic effect itself: in the IMF system, the stem is C-final, although some imperfect suffixes are themselves initially ambivalent. Thus, for \mathcal{H} -Part, we have a stem that consists of a C-final basic stem (КАЪН for КЛАТИ), and a V-initial participial suffix (ЕН); we have КАЪН.ЕН= (and likewise for \mathcal{H} -Part КАЪН.ЪШ=). This is the case despite the fact that the \mathcal{H} -Part suffix is initially ambivalent, $\mathcal{H}/\text{ЕН}$; the \mathcal{H} -Part suffix is also initially ambivalent, ($\text{ЪШ}/\text{ЫШ}$)/ ВЪШ . Certain verbs, viz. in all the verbs of МИЛОВАТИ 6 class and in some irregular verbs, in addition to the h effect, undergo the $\#$, see below.

4. The *C-final stem arrest* paradigmatic effect (indicated by $\#$). This effect only applies in those verbs whose truncated stem is represented by a labile root, or, as in the МИЛОВАТИ 6 class, by a finally ambivalent suffix. This effect requires, contrary to the CVC agreement rule, a V-final version of the truncated stem before the V-initial terminals and PRAE system suffixes. (The hiatus is eliminated by the epenthetic i). Thus, in class 6, out of the two versions of the truncated stem like МИЛ.ОВ and МИЛ.ОУ , this effect dictates the choice of the V-final one, МИЛ.ОУ for the PRAE workstem. Cf. also ПЪВВАТИ 3h* $\#$: the PRAE workstem is ПЪОУ , not ПЪВВ . (See below, § 465, *A note on the so-called j-present*).

A note on indices

As was noted above, paradigmatic indices of irregular verbs show all the paradigmatic effects that apply in them. However, in the indices of regular verbs, paradigmatic effects that are part of the standard of the corresponding class are not shown.

² This effect applies widely among irregular verbs, see Table 440 (pp. 258–259). See that table also for the linear order of subparadigms within a system. Alien stem expansion can only take place into immediately neighboring subparadigms.

Workstems of irregular verbs

§ 434. The list of irregular verbs

The full list of irregular verbs is given in the Table 434. The family is represented by a prefixed verb only if the simple verb is absent in the family (otherwise only for *ѡти* and *имати*). The index is shown only for the type representative of the group. Along with the starting form of the infinitive, key forms are also shown: 1SgPrae, and in some groups also key forms of other subparadigms. For some forms, their morphophonological spellout is shown.

Table 434. The list of irregular verbs

метати 3° group	пльвати 3h*# group	кръгити 4h*#∅ group
искати, искѡ	блѡвати, блѡѡж [блѡѡ.ж]	кръгити [кръгити.и],
ковати, ковѡ	пльвати, пльѡж [пльѡ.ж]	кръѡж [кръѡ.ж], крѡвенъ
метати, метѡ	клати 4h group	мъгити [мъгити.и],
ѡѡрѡвати, ѡрѡѡ	дѡжти, дѡмѡж	мъѡж [мъѡ.ж], мѡвенъ
ѡб.сновати, сновѡ	жити [жити.и], живѡж [живѡ.ж]	рѡгити [рѡгити.и],
сѡсати, сѡсѡ	сѡ.жатити, жѡмѡж	рѡѡж [рѡѡ.ж], рѡвенъ
тѡжкати, тѡжкѡ	клати, клѡнѡж	шити [шити.и],
пѡсати 3* group	на.чатити, чѡнѡж	шиѡж [шиѡ.ж], шѡвенъ
дѡжати, дѡжѡшѡж	раз.патити, пѡнѡж	пѡѡти 4h∅ group
зѡнати, зѡнѡж [зѡнѡ.ж]	вѡз.латити, вѡз.ѡмѡж	пѡѡти, пѡѡж
зѡдѡти, зѡждѡж	братити 4h° group	мрѡѡти 4h*∅ group
лѡнати, лѡнѡж [лѡнѡ.ж]	братити, брѡрѡж, брѡрѡѡхѡж	за.врѡѡти, врѡрѡж; врѡрѡлѡ, врѡрѡтѡж
пльзѡти, пльзѡжж	жрѡтити, жрѡнѡж, жрѡрѡѡхѡж	по.жрѡѡти, жрѡрѡж; жрѡрѡлѡ, жрѡрѡтѡж
пѡсѡти, пѡшѡж	жатити, жѡнѡж, жѡнѡѡхѡж	мрѡѡти, мѡрѡж; скѡврѡлѡ, скѡврѡтѡж
вѡз.сѡпѡти, сѡлѡпльѡж	клатити, колѡж, колѡѡхѡж	ѡб.прѡѡти, пѡрѡж; прѡрѡлѡ, прѡрѡтѡж
сѡнѡти, сѡнѡжж [сѡнѡ.жж]	мѡлѡтити, мѡлѡж, мѡлѡѡхѡж	раз.скѡврѡтити, скѡврѡрѡж; мрѡрѡлѡ, мрѡрѡтѡж
стрѡгѡти, стрѡгѡжж	трѡрѡтити, трѡрѡж, трѡрѡѡхѡж	про.стрѡѡтити, стѡрѡж; стрѡрѡлѡ, стрѡрѡтѡж
стѡлатити, стѡлѡж	пльѡтити 4h∅ group	влѡштити 4с*∅ group
трѡсѡти, трѡсѡжж	пльѡтити, пльѡвѡж	влѡштити, влѡѡжж, влѡченъ
чрѡпѡти, чрѡпльѡж	рѡѡтити, рѡвѡж	брѡштити, брѡгѡж, брѡженъ
вѡз.ѡмѡти, вѡз.ѡмѡлѡж	слѡѡтити, слѡвѡж	чѡстити 4с*∅ group
ѡбрѡтити 3°* group	на.трѡѡтити, трѡвѡж	ѡт.врѡѡстити, врѡзѡж
ѡбрѡтити, ѡбрѡж	ѡнитити 4h*∅ group	врѡштити, врѡгѡж
дѡрѡтити, дѡрѡж	ѡнитити [ѡнитити.и], ѡнѡж [ѡнѡ.ж]	вѡ.нѡстити, нѡзѡж
жѡдѡти, жѡдѡж	сѡ.ѡнитити [сѡ.ѡнитити.и], ѡнѡж [ѡнѡ.ж]	стрѡштити ² , стрѡнѡж
зѡвѡти, зѡвѡж	гнѡнитити [гнѡнитити.и], гнѡнѡж [гнѡнѡ.ж]	тѡлѡштити, тѡлѡжж
пѡратити, пѡрѡж	вѡ.лѡнитити [вѡ.лѡнитити.и], лѡнѡж [лѡнѡ.ж]	цѡвѡстити, цѡвѡтѡж
	пѡнитити [пѡнитити.и], пѡнѡж [пѡнѡ.ж]	чѡстити, чѡтѡж
		по.чрѡѡтити, чрѡпѡж

§ 435. Classification of irregular verbs

Irregular verbs are sorted into groups in such a way that a group contains verbs of a single paradigmatic class that show identical paradigmatic effects in the formation of their workstems, and the same distribution of workstems among subparadigms.

The set of applicable effects is reflected by the index.³

§ 436. Assortment and distribution of workstems of irregular verbs

Abnormalities in irregular verbs are limited to truncated workstems. On the one hand, the segmental content of the truncated stems can vary; on the other, different versions of truncated stems can be variously distributed among subparadigms.

§ 437. Segmental content of irregular verb workstems

Expanded workstems segmentally coincide with expanded basic stems, just as for regular verbs. Truncated workstems can be created by various paradigmatic effects not envisaged by the paradigmatic standard of the main classes that the irregular verbs belong to. In addition, irregular verbs may undergo special effects that are not found in regular verbs. Those are the following effects.

The *unstable root vocalism* paradigmatic effect (indicated by *). This effect requires the replacement of the root alloform shown by the infinitive (and, thus, in the basic truncated stem), by an alloform with different vocalism. For example, the PRAE workstem of the verb *пѣсати* 3* is not *пѣш*, but *пѣш*; the PRAE workstem of *чисти* 4с*Ѕ is not *чит*, but *чѣт*.

Particular realizations of the unstable root vocalism effect for every irregular verb are shown in Table 434.

The *absence of expected substitutive softening* paradigmatic effect (indicated by °). This effect cancels the application of substitutive softening that is expected in the paradigmatic standard of class 3. For example, the PRAE workstem of the verb *метати* 3° is not *мѣшт*, but *мет*.

For irregular class 4h verbs, where all roots are labile, the PRAE workstem requires discovery of an alternative C-final alloform of the labile root whose segmental appearance in the general case cannot be deduced from the shape of the V-final alloform represented in the infinitive. Thus, for *клати* we have *кלא/клян*; for *ѡти*, *ѡ/ѡм*. The labileness in the paradigmatic effect (h) also applies here.

The effects of unstable root vocalism and labileness in the paradigm can be seen as rules of replacement by fundamental alternations that require replace-

³ Not all groups have different indices, however. Thus, the groups *чисти* 4с*Ѕ and *влѣшати* 4с*Ѕ have the same index, but are distinguished by the distribution of workstems. Likewise the verb *пѣти* 4hЃ has the same index as the verbs in the *пловати* 4hЃ group, and has a different distribution of workstems. These groups have different realizations of the expansion of alien workstem in the paradigmatic effect.

ment of an alloform found in the starting form by an adjacent one in constructing the PRAE workstem. However, because the alternation is not free, it is impossible to predict whether a given formative shows that alternation (i.e. whether the root of the verb is stable or unstable); thus, the relevant verbs must be given by a list. And in this case it is easier to show the adjacent alloform directly instead of computing it by fairly arcane rules of replacement (see Ch. 24, *Supplement*, § 874, *On verbs with unstable root vocalism*).

The application of all these effects (except for the lableness in the paradigmatic effect that is part of the class 4h standard) is limited to the PRAE workstem, whose unity is not broken in any irregular verb.

The PRAE workstem is represented by the 1SgPrae form that is given in the lists of irregular verbs. Below, the workstem of the 1SgPrae form is indicated as «Prae», and the workstem of the Inf form as «Inf».

§ 438. Redistribution of workstems

For irregular class 3, the workstem in the PRAE system is «Prae»; the workstem in the IMF and INF-AOR systems is «Inf».

The alien stem expansion effect is widely represented in class 4 irregular verbs. In many verbs, this effect shifts the standard distribution prescribed by the allotment rules (see § 427, 432), which opposes two workstems: the PRAE and IMF workstems to the INF-AOR.

Particular realizations of the alien stem expansion effects for every group of irregular verbs are shown in Table 440 (pp. 258–259).

In all irregular verbs, «Prae» and «Inf» stems are opposed. In labile verbs «Prae» is C-final and «Inf» is V-final. In verbs that undergo °, *, h, and # effects, they shape the «Prae» stem, distinguishing it from the «Inf» stem.⁴ However, in some groups of irregular verbs, the combination of all these effects creates three distinct truncated stems in the paradigm (such are the groups *врати 4h°*, *крати 4h°*#* and *мрати 4h*°*).

§ 439. How to select the necessary workstem of irregular verbs

The needed stem can be found using type representatives of the group, whose workstems are shown in Table 440. If the stem is constructed by rules, they must apply in crucial order. First, PRAE and INF-AOR workstems must be built as if the verb had been regular; for class 4 verbs with a labile root, the C-final version is

⁴ Thus, the alien stem expansion effect either extends the «Prae» stem forward, outside of the PRAE system (up to Sup and Inf, as in the *чисти 4с*°* group verbs), or extends the «Inf» workstem backward, outside of the INF-AOR system (up to the Inf subparadigm, as in the case of *прати 4h°*). Because workstem expansion can only take place into immediately adjacent subparadigms, comparison of all observed realizations of the alien workstem expansion effect uniquely determines the order of subparadigms in the IMF system, and partly in the INF-AOR system.

determined only by lists.⁵ Then the PRAE workstem must be restructured with the adjustments required by segmental paradigmatic effects (all effects except alien stem expansion). Then, the resulting stems must be distributed by regular verb allotment rules (§ 427, 432), and then the adjustments required by alien stem expansion effect must be introduced according to Table 440.

§ 440. Distribution of irregular verb workstems by subparadigms

Table 440 shows the distribution of workstems for every irregular verb group.

Table 440. Irregular verb workstems

Group	PRAE system	IMF system			INF-AOR system		
		Imf	н-Part	ш-Part	л- and т-Part	Aor	Inf and Sup
метати 3°	Truncated мет мет ° effect	Expanded мета мета No effects					
пъсати 3*	Truncated пьс пнш • and * effects	Expanded пьса пъса No effects					
бърати 3°*	Truncated бър бер ° and * effects	Expanded бьра бьра No effects					
пльвати 3h*#	Truncated пльв пль h, # and * effects	Expanded пльва пльва No effects					
кльти 4h	Truncated C-final кльн			Truncated V-final кль			
	h effect is part of 4h class standard						
	кльн			кль			
	No additional effects						
брати 4h•	Truncated C-final бор			Truncated V-final бра			
	h effect is part of 4h class standard						
	бор • effect	бор			бра		
	No additional effects						
пловти 4h∩	Truncated C-final плов			Truncated V-final плов			
	h effect is part of 4h class standard						
	плов No additional effects			плов ∩ effect			
	No additional effects						
Group	PRAE system	IMF system			INF-AOR system		
		Imf	н-Part	ш-Part	л- and т-Part	Aor	Inf and Sup

⁵ These lists are not explicitly given. Practically, the C-final version is determined by the «PRAE» workstem that is shown in lists. This is the case for all groups except брати 4h•, кръгти 4h*#∩, вгити 4h*∩, and мръгти 4h*∩. In these groups, the effects •, *, and # must be undone in the «PRAE» stem.

Table 440 (continued). Irregular verb workstems

Group	PRAE system	IMF system			INF-AOR system		
		Imf	н-Part	ш-Part	л- and т-Part	Aor	Inf and Sup
вигти 4h*ɹ	Truncated C-final [вє]			Truncated V-final вѣ			
	h effect is part of 4h class standard						
	вѣ * effect			вѣ ɹ effect			
кръгти 4h*#ɹ	Truncated C-final крѣв			Truncated V-final крѣ			
	h effect is part of 4h class standard						
	крѣ * and # effects		крѣв * effect	крѣ ɹ effect			
пѣгти 4hɹ	Truncated C-final пѣ			Truncated V-final пѣ			
	h effect is part of 4h class standard						
	пѣ No additional effects		пѣ ɹ effect				
мрѣгти 4h*ɹ	Truncated C-final мрѣ			Truncated V-final мрѣ			
	h effect is part of 4h class standard						
	мрѣ			мрѣ	мрѣ		
	* and ɹ effects				No additional effects		
вѣшгти 4c*ɹ	Truncated вѣшк						
	вѣшк		вѣшк			вѣшк	
	* and ɹ effects					No effects	
	∅ effect		No additional effects				
чѣгти 4c*ɹ	Truncated чѣг						
	чѣг * and ɹ effects					чѣг No effects	
Group	PRAE system	IMF system			INF-AOR system		
		Imf	н-Part	ш-Part	л- and т-Part	Aor	Inf and Sup

The ∅ effect indicates the absence of the expected * effect.

Commentary of particular groups of irregular verbs

§ 441. МЕТАТИ 3° group

Departs from the paradigmatic standard only in the formation of the PRAE workstem: contrary to class 3 standard, there is no substitutive softening. See details and illustration in § 494–498.

§ 442. ПЪСАТИ 3* group

Departs from the paradigmatic standard only in the formation of the PRAE workstem: there is substitutive softening, according to the class 3 paradigmatic-

ic standard, and alternation in the root vocalism. See details in Ch. 24, *Supplement*, § 874, *On verbs with unstable root vocalism*.

§ 443. ВЪРАТИ 3°* group

Departs from the paradigmatic standard only in the formation of the PRAE workstem: contrary to class 3 standard, there is no substitutive softening; there is alternation in the vocalism. See details in Ch. 24, *Supplement*, § 874, *On verbs with unstable root vocalism*.

§ 444. ПЛЪВАТИ 3h*# group

Departs from the paradigmatic standard only in the formation of the PRAE workstem. The truncated stem is finally ambivalent; the vocalic realization of the root differs from the realization found in the infinitive (ь||ε); second, contrary to the CVC agreement rule, PRAE forms show V-final versions of the stem before V-initial terminals (see details in § 465, *A note on the so-called j-present*, and Ch. 24, *Supplement*, § 874, *On verbs with unstable root vocalism*).

§ 445. КЛАТИ 4h group

The choice of the C- or V-final truncated stem КЛА/КЛЪН is made according to the paradigmatic standard of the 4h class (Table 445).

Table 445. Workstems of the КЛАТИ 4h group verbs

Group	PRAE system	IMF system			INF-AOR system		
		Imf	н-Part	ш-Part	л- and т-Part	Aor	Inf and Sup
КЛАТИ 4h	Truncated C-final КЛЪН			Truncated V-final КЛА			
	h effect is part of 4h class standard						
	КЛЪН			КЛА			
Effects	No additional effects						

§ 446. БРАТИ 4h° group

The choice of the C- or V-final version of the truncated stem БОР/БРА is made according to the class 4h paradigmatic standard (Table 446). Substitutive softening that is not required by the paradigmatic standard applies in the PRAE system (see more details in § 465, *A note on the so-called j-present*).

Table 446. Workstems of the БРАТИ 4h* group

Group	PRAE system	IMF system			INF-AOR system		
		Imf	h-Part	ш-Part	л- and т-Part	Aor	Inf and Sup
БРАТИ 4h*	Truncated C-final БОР			Truncated V-final БРА			
	h effect is part of 4h class standard						
	БОР	БОР			БРА		
Effects	* effect	No additional effects					

§ 447. ПЛОУТИ 4h∫ group

The following is worth noting concerning the distribution of workstems in the ПЛОУТИ 4h∫ group (Table 447). Initially, the choice of the C- or V-final version of the truncated stem ПЛОУ/ПЛОВ is made according to class 4h paradigmatic standard. However, in the ш-Part subparadigm, the V-final stem is used (expansion of the INF-AOR stem into the IMF system). CVC agreement is ensured by the choice of the C-final version of the initially ambivalent ш-Part suffix.

Table 447. Workstems of the ПЛОУТИ 4h∫ group

Group	PRAE system	IMF system			INF-AOR system		
		Imf	h-Part	ш-Part	л- and т-Part	Aor	Inf and Sup
ПЛОУТИ 4h∫	Truncated C-final ПЛОВ			Truncated V-final ПЛОУ			
	h effect is part of 4h class standard						
	ПЛОВ			ПЛОУ			
Effects	No additional effects			∫ effects			

§ 448. БИТИ 4h*∫ group

The following is worth noting concerning the distribution of workstems in the БИТИ 4h*∫ group (Table 448). Initially, the choice of the C- or V-final version of the truncated stem БИ/[БЕj] is made according to class 4h paradigmatic standard (the shape БЕj is not found in the final version of the paradigm). In the PRAE system there is alternation in the root vocalism (the е||ь grade).⁶ The same stem is found in the Imf and h-Part subparadigms, by the basic stem allotment rules. However, in the ш-Part subparadigm, the V-final version of the stem is used (expansion of the INF-AOR stem into the IMF system, the ∫ effect). CVC agreement is ensured by the choice of the C-final version of the initially ambivalent ш-Part suffix. See details in Ch. 24, *Supplement*, § 874, *On verbs with unstable root vocalism*.

⁶ The ь vocalism in PRAE is supported by the systematic parallelism between the groups БИТИ 4h*∫ and КРЫТИ 4h*#∫, and also by the development of these paradigms in the descendants (cf. Russian *бить*, *бью*, *крыть*, *крою*). The diachronic interpretation of these forms does not support the solution adopted in this grammar.

Table 448. Workstems of the *вигти 4h*∫* group

Group	PRAE system	IMF system			INF-AOR system		
		Imf	н-Part	ш-Part	л- and т-Part	Aor	Inf and Sup
вигти 4h*∫	Truncated C-final [вєj]			Truncated V-final вѣ			
	h effect is part of 4h class standard						
Effects		вѣj		вѣ			
		* effect		∫ effect			

§ 449. *кръгити 4h*#∫* group

The following is worth noting concerning the distribution of workstems in the *кръгити 4h*#∫* group (Table 449). Initially, the choice of the C- or V-final version of the truncated stem *кръг/кръгѣ* is made according to class 4h paradigmatic standard (the shape *кръгѣ* is not found in the final version of the paradigm). In the PRAE system, there is alternation in the root vocalism (the *ъ||ъ* grade). By the # effect, the C-final version is arrested, and thus the stem is *кръг* (and not *кръгѣ*). The same stem is found in the Imf and н-Part subparadigms, by the basic stem allotment rule. However, the # effect does not apply in the н-Part subparadigm, and the stem is *кръгѣ*, by CVC agreement. In the ш-Part subparadigm, the V-final version of the stem is used (expansion of the INF-AOR stem into the IMF system). CVC agreement is ensured by the choice of the C-final version of the initially ambivalent suffix of ш-Part.

Thus, the н-Part stem, which shows the C-final version of the stem (*кръгѣ.ѣн*, *мъвѣ.ѣн*) that is required by the paradigmatic standard, stands separately from the rest. See more details in § 465, *A note on the so-called j-present*, and also Ch. 24, *Supplement*, § 874, *On verbs with unstable root vocalism*.

Table 449. Workstems of the *кръгити 4h*#∫* group

Group	PRAE system	IMF system			INF-AOR system		
		Imf	н-Part	ш-Part	л- and т-Part	Aor	Inf and Sup
кръгити 4h*#∫	Truncated C-final <i>кръгѣ</i>			Truncated V-final <i>кръг</i>			
	h effect is part of 4h class standard						
Effects		<i>кръг</i>	<i>кръгѣ</i>	<i>кръг</i>			
		* and # effects		* effect			
				∫ effect			

§ 450. *пѣгити 4h∫* group

The following is worth noting concerning the distribution of workstems in the *пѣгити 4h∫* group (Table 450). This group contains only the verb *пѣгити*. Initially, the choice of the C- or V-final version of the truncated stem *пѣг/пѣгj* is made according to class 4h paradigmatic standard. However, in the ш- and н-Part subparadigms, the V-final version of the stem is used (expansion of the INF-AOR stem

into the IMF system). CVC agreement is ensured by the choice of the C-final versions of the initially ambivalent ш- and н-Part suffixes.

Table 450. Workstems of the нѣтн 4hꙋ group

Group	PRAE system	IMF system			INF-AOR system		
		Imf	н-Part	ш-Part	л- and т-Part	Aor	Inf and Sup
нѣтн 4hꙋ	Truncated C-final нꙋ			Truncated V-final нѣ			
	h effect is part of 4h class standard						
	нꙋ			нѣ			
Effects	No additional effects			ꙋ effect			

§ 451. мрѣтн 4h*ꙋ group

The following is worth noting concerning the distribution of workstems in the мрѣтн 4h*ꙋ group (Table 451). Initially, the choice of the C- or V-final version of the truncated stem мрѣ/мѣр is made according to class 4h paradigmatic standard (the shape мѣр is not found in the final version of the paradigm).

In the PRAE system there is alternation in the root vocalism (the ε||ь grade). There is expansion of the PRAE stem into the IMF subparadigms, and also into the л- and т-Part subparadigms. In the latter, the V-final version of the PRAE stem мѣр/мръ is used by the CVC agreement rule. See more details in Ch. 24, *Supplement*, § 874, *On verbs with unstable root vocalism*.

Table 451. Workstems of the мрѣтн 4h*ꙋ group

Group	PRAE system	IMF system			INF-AOR system		
		Imf	н-Part	ш-Part	л- and т-Part	Aor	Inf and Sup
мрѣтн 4h*ꙋ	Truncated C-final мѣр			Truncated V-final мрѣ			
	h effect is part of 4h class standard						
	мѣр			мръ		мрѣ	
Effects	* and ꙋ effect				No additional effects		

§ 452. влѣштн 4с*ꙋ group

The following is worth noting concerning the distribution of workstems in the влѣштн 4с*ꙋ group (Table 452, p. 264). This group contains only two verbs, влѣштн and врѣштн. The paradigm contains two workstems opposed by vocalic realizations (the ε||ь grade); the realization of ь is found in the н-Part, ш-Part, and л- and т-Part subparadigms. This distribution of realizations by subparadigm is unique and violates the principle of opposition of vocalic realizations in the «PRAE» and «INF» workstems. If the observed vocalic realization (the ε grade, stems влѣк, врѣг) in the PRAE system (and also in Imf) is treated as secondary

(leveling of realizations by the Inf and Aor forms, the absence of expected vocalism change—a paradigmatic countereffect, indicated by \emptyset), then the distribution of primary vocalic realizations (i.e. *вльк*, *брьг* for the PRAE stem) corresponds to the ordinary alien stem expansion effect (here, of the PRAE stem into the IMF and INF-AOR systems): the distribution is identical to that found in the *мрѣти* 4h* ζ group. If the vocalic realization in the PRAE system and in Inf is not treated as secondary, then these two verbs must be considered unique.

Note that SUPR shows a generalization of the Inf vocalic realization to the participles in the IMF system (cf. *сзвлькъше* SUPR 103, 2); also Inf *вльчаахъ* SUPR 39, 5. Generally speaking, this makes it possible to consider aberrant all PRAE and IMF forms with the ϵ grade vocalic realization (the *вльк* stem).

Table 452. Workstems of the *вльшти* 4c* ζ group

Group	PRAE system	IMF system			INF-AOR system		
		Inf	н-Part	ш-Part	л- and т-Part	Aor	Inf and Sup
<i>вльшти</i> 4c* ζ	Truncated <i>вльк</i>						
	<i>вльк</i>	<i>вльк</i>			<i>вльк</i>		
Effects	* and ζ effects					No effects	
	\emptyset effect	No additional effects					

The \emptyset effect indicates the absence of the expected * effect.

§ 453. *чисти* 4c* ζ group

The following is worth noting concerning the distribution of workstems in the *чисти* 4c* ζ group (Table 453). Two workstems are opposed by vocalic realizations: «PRAE» *чьт* and «Inf» *чит*. The vocalism of «PRAE», though the alien stem expansion effect, is found in all forms except Inf and Sup.

Table 453. Workstems of the *чисти* 4c* ζ group

Group	PRAE system	IMF system			INF-AOR system		
		Inf	н-Part	ш-Part	л- and т-Part	Aor	Inf and Sup
<i>чисти</i> 4c* ζ	Truncated <i>чит</i>						
		<i>чьт</i>					<i>чит</i>
Effects	* and ζ effects					No effects	

§ 454. Profiles of type representatives of irregular verb groups

Every group of irregular verbs yields its own special paradigmatic standard, representable as a deformation of the paradigmatic standard of the superordinate main paradigmatic class, class 3 or classes 4c and 4h. Similarities and differences

of these standards can be observed in the profiles of representatives which are shown in Table 454. The list of profile forms is also found there.

Table 454. Profiles of irregular verbs

List of profile forms		МЕТАТИ 3°	
1, 2SgPrae 2PlImv шГ-Part л-Part	1, 2-3SgAor 1SgImf ш-Part н-Part/Г-Part	мет=ж, мет=еши мет=ѣте мет.ъ , мет.жшт=н мет.ом=	мета=хъ, мета=0 мета=ахъ мета.въ , мета.въш=н мета.н=
пѣсати 3*		бѣрати 3°*	
пиш=ж, пиш=еши пиш=итѣ пиш.а , пиш.жшт=н пиш.ем=	пѣса=хъ, пѣса=0 пѣса=ахъ пѣса.въ , пѣса.въш=н пѣса.н=	бер=ж, бер=еши бер=ѣте бер.ъ , бер.жшт=н бер.ом=	бѣра=хъ, бѣра=0 бѣра=ахъ бѣра.въ , бѣра.въш=н бѣра.н=
пльвати 3h*#		клати 4h	
плюѣ=ж, плюѣ=еши плюѣ=итѣ плюѣ.а , плюѣ.жшт=н плюѣ.ем=	пльва=хъ, пльва=0 пльва=ахъ пльва.въ , пльва.въш=н пльва.н=	кльн=ж, кльн=еши кльн=ѣте кльн.ъ , кльн.жшт=н кльн.ом=	кля=хъ, кля=0 кльн=ѣахъ кльн.ъ , кльн.ъш=н кля.т=
брати 4h*		пловити 4hд	
бор=ж, бор=еши бор=итѣ бор.а , бор.жшт=н бор.ем=	бра=хъ, бра=0 бор=ѣахъ бор.ъ , бор.ъш=н бор.ен=	плов=ж, плов=еши плов=ѣте плов.ъ , плов.жшт=н плов.ом=	плов=хъ, плов=0 плов=ѣахъ плов.въ , плов.въш=н плов.ен=
бнѣти 4h*д		кръѣти 4h*#д	
бъж=ж, бъж=еши бъж=итѣ бъж.а , бъж.жшт=н бъж.ем=	бн=хъ, бн=0 бъж=ѣахъ бн.въ , бн.въш=н бъж.ен=//бн.т=	кръѣ=ж, крѣ=еши крѣ=итѣ крѣ.а , крѣ.жшт=н крѣ.ем=	кръ=хъ, кръ=0 крѣ=ѣахъ кръ.въ , кръ.въш=н кръв.ен=
пѣти 4hд		морѣти 4h*д	
пож=ж, пож=еши пож=итѣ пож.а , пож.жшт=н пож.ем=	пѣ=хъ, пѣ=0 пож=ѣахъ пѣ.въ , пѣ.въш=н пѣ.н=//пѣ.т=	мор=ж, мор=еши мор=ѣте мор.ъ , мор.жшт=н мор.ом=	морѣ=хъ, морѣ=0 морѣ=ѣахъ морѣ.ъ , морѣ.ъш=н морѣ.т= (морѣ.л=)
вльѣти 4с*д		чнѣти 4с*д	
вльѣк=ж, вльѣч=еши вльѣц=ѣте вльѣк.ъ , вльѣк.жшт=н вльѣк.ом=	вльѣк=охъ, вльѣч=е вльѣч=ѣахъ вльѣк.ъ , вльѣк.ъш=н вльѣч.ен= (вльѣк.л=)	чьт=ж, чьт=еши чьт=ѣте чьт.ъ , чьт.жшт=н чьт.ом=	чьт=охъ, чьт=е чьт=ѣахъ чьт.ъ , чьт.ъш=н чьт.ен= (чьт.л=)

Verbal terminals and suffixes

Sets of terminals and suffixes

§ 455. A catalog of terminals and suffixes

Tables 455.1–3 (pp. 267–268) show the full catalog of verbal terminals and suffixes of nominal forms of the verb.

Table 455.1. Terminals and suffixes in the PRAE system

STANDARD SETS				NONSTANDARD SETS								
				Present (Prae) set								
<i>i</i> -conjunction set				<i>e</i> -conjunction set				Athematic set				
	Sg	Du	Pl	Sg	Du	Pl	Sg	Du	Pl			
1	ж	нвѣ	нмъ	ж	евѣ	емъ	[мъ]	[вѣ]	[мъ]			
2	нши	нта	нте	нши	нта	нте	[ш]	[та]	[те]			
3	нтъ	нте	лтъ	нтъ	нте	лтъ	[штъ]	[те]				
				Imperative (Imv) set								
<i>i</i> -conjunction set				<i>e</i> -conjunction set				Athematic set				
	Sg	Du	Pl	Sg	Du	Pl	Sg	Du	Pl			
1		нвѣ	нмъ		ѣвѣ/нвѣ	ѣмъ/нмъ						
2		нта	нте		ѣта/нта	ѣте/нте						
3	и	нте		и	ѣте/нте		ь					
Participial suffixes												
<i>i</i> -conjunction set				<i>e</i> -conjunction set								
				шт-Part								
NSgmBrev ѡ				NSgmBrev (ъ /ѡ)								
NSgfBrev ѡшт				NSgfBrev жшт								
				м-Part								
нм				(ом/ем)								

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Table 455.2. Terminals and suffixes in the IMF system

STANDARD SETS			NONSTANDARD SETS			
Imperfect (Imf) set						
Standard imperfect			Contracted imperfect			
	Sg	Du	Pl	Sg	Du	Pl
1	(ѣ)ахъ	(ѣ)аховѣ	(ѣ)ахомъ	(ѣ)хъ	(ѣ)ховѣ	(ѣ)хомъ
2	(ѣ)аше	(ѣ)ашета	(ѣ)ашете	(ѣ)ше	(ѣ)шета	(ѣ)шете
3		(ѣ)ашете	(ѣ)ахъ	(ѣ)шете	(ѣ)хъ	
Iotated imperfect						
	(ѣ)іахъ	(ѣ)іаховѣ	(ѣ)іахомъ	(ѣ)іахъ	(ѣ)іашета	(ѣ)іашете
	(ѣ)іаше	(ѣ)іашете	(ѣ)іахъ			
Participial suffixes						
ш-Part						
NSgmBrev (ъ/ь) ~ въ						
NSgfBrev (ъш/ьш) ~ въш						
н-Part						
ен ~ н, but ов.ен in class 5						

Table 455.3. Terminals and suffixes in the INF-AOR system

STANDARD SETS			NONSTANDARD SETS			
Aorist (Aor) set						
Standard			Root (type ндъ)			
	Sg	Du	Pl	Sg	Du	Pl
1	(о)хъ	(о)ховѣ	(о)хомъ	ъ	овѣ	омъ
2	ε ~ Ѡ	(о)ста	(о)сте		ета	ете
3		(о)сте	(о)ша		ете	ъ
Old sigmatic 1 (type нѣсъ)						
	съ	совѣ	сомъ	съ	ста	сте
		сте	са			
2-3Sg terminals						
гъ, стъ						
Nominal subparadigm suffixes						
т-Part, Sup, Inf						
т						
л-Part						
л						

§ 456. On notation

The slash separates versions of twofold terminals and suffixes (the hard subtype is above the slash, or *overslash*, the soft subtype below the slash, or *underslash*). Standard initial CVC ambivalence of suffixes is indicated with a tilde (e.g. еи ~ и). Versions of terminals that differ in the presence/absence of the initial vowel are shown with parentheses. Notation like (о)хъ in the aorist should be understood as охъ or хъ. In the imperfect, notations like (ѣ)ахъ should be understood as ѣ.ахъ or ахъ; (ѣ)хъ as ѣ.хъ or хъ (see selection rules below). The sign | in suffix tables shows that the corresponding wordform lacks a terminal. Parentheses enclose morphophonological variants of suffixes.

§ 457. Standard and nonstandard sets in a subparadigm

Nonstandard sets serve secondary, anomalous, or aberrant forms. All main class verbs, both regular and irregular, take terminals and suffixes from *standard sets*.

The *Præ athematic set* is shown, for reference, as it is normally found in grammars. This set is found in the forms of unique athematic verbs that are treated as anomalous and not subject to an analysis of the type [stem + terminal].

§ 458. Terminals and suffixes in the present system

The choice between *i*-conjugation and *e*-conjugation sets is determined by the verb class. *i*-conjugation sets are used in classes љюбити 1 and тръпѣти 2, and *e*-conjugation sets in all others, except unique verbs. In the *e*-conjugation, terminals in the lmv subparadigm and suffixes of participles show twofold variance: the underslash forms are used with stems ending in a morphophonologically soft consonant or a vowel, and overslash forms are used elsewhere.

Unique verbs may combine *i*- and *e*-conjugations. The division into conjugation does not extend to anomalous forms with athematic presents (дати, части, љсѣ, вѣдѣти, имѣти) and athematic imperatives: њдаждь (for дати 0), њтаждь (for части 0), њвѣждь (for вѣдѣти 0), њвиждь (for видѣти 2).

§ 459. Terminals and suffixes in the imperfect system

The choice between terminals of the type ахъ and ѣ.ахъ in personal forms of the imperfect is made according to the so-called *morphological balance rule* (Table 459): short stems are combined with long terminals and long stems with short terminals.

Table 459. Morphological balance rule

IMF workstem	lmf terminal set	Examples
Truncated	ѣ.ахъ type	љювл + ѣахъ (љювлѣахъ), нес + ѣахъ (несѣахъ)
Expanded	ахъ type	тръпѣ + ахъ (тръпѣахъ), плака + ахъ (плакаахъ)

In the workstems, the period in *ѣ.ахъ*-type terminals is often omitted. On the hiatus in *lmf* see § 69 and ff.

Nonstandard terminal sets in personal forms of the imperfect are only found among aberrant forms; the rule of morphological balance applies in nonstandard imperfects as well (see § 467–472).

The *ш*- and *н*-Part suffixes are initially ambivalent and distributed by the CVC agreement rule. The marker *ов.ен* is only found in the *двигнжти* 5 class, in the model *двигн.ов.ен.ъ*.

§ 460. Terminals and suffixes in the infinitive-aorist system

All standard set terminals are initially ambivalent, e.g. *охъ ~ хъ* etc., and distributed by the CVC agreement rule.

Nonstandard sets are only found in secondary forms (see § 476–482).

Suffixes of nominal forms are C-initial. In case the workstem is C-final, *mph* ⇒ *ph/norm* rules apply that eliminate some clusters (§ 74), cf.: *влад.л=ъ* ⇒ *влалъ*.

Boundary adjustment rules

§ 461. General

These rules replace the alloform of the last formative of the workstem in the morphological skeleton by the alloform that shows up in the synthesized wordform in its inflectional spellout. For example, for the form 2SgPrae of the verb *мошти*, in the morphological skeleton we have the alloform *мог* (cf. *мог + еши*); in the inflectional spellout we have the alloform *мож* (cf. *мож = еши*). The needed alloform can be obtained from the alloform found in the morphological skeleton using rules of segmental replacement by an alternation. Boundary adjustment rules indicate, first, which forms must undergo adjustment (this depends on both the paradigmatic class of the lexeme and on the grammatical address of the synthesized wordform); second, they indicate which replacement rule and by which alternation must effect the needed segmental change. In the example above, this alternation is velar palatalization, and the rule is *к* → *ч*.

Note that boundary adjustment may generate segmentally diverse stems in the inflectional spellout where the workstems are identical, cf.:

Prae (любити) before boundary adjustment rules		
лъб + ж	лъб + нвѣ	лъб + нмъ
лъб + нши	лъб + нта	лъб + нте
лъб + нтъ	лъб + нте	лъб + ѡтъ

Prae (любити) after boundary adjustment rules		
лъбл = ж	лъб = нвѣ	лъб = нмъ
лъб = нши	лъб = нта	лъб = нте
лъб = нтъ	лъб = нте	лъб = ѡтъ

Prae (моштн) before boundary adjustment rules			Prae (моштн) after boundary adjustment rules		
мог + ж	мог + евѣ	мог + емъ	мож=ж	мож=евѣ	мож=емъ
мог + еши	мог + ета	мог + ете	мож=еши	мож=ета	мож=ете
мог + етъ	мог + ете	мог + жтъ	мож=етъ	мож=ете	мог=жтъ

§ 462. Boundary adjustment rules

The boundary adjustment rules require replacement of workstem-final consonants as shown in Table 462.1.

Table 462.1. Boundary adjustment rules: consonants (verbs)

Grammatical forms	PRAE system	IMF system	INF-AOR system
Alternations			
Velar palatalization; κ → ч	Prae: before ε-initial terminals	Imf: before ѱахъ-type terminals; и-Part: before the suffix ен	Aor: before ε-initial terminals
Velar palatalization; κ → ц	Imv: before и- and ѱ-initial terminals	None	
Substitutive softening*	1SgPrae of class 1 and 2 verbs**		

* Not to be confused with substitutive softening that applies in the derivation of PRAE system workstems, in class 3 and irregular verbs of the брати 4h[•] group, and IMF system workstems, class 1.

** Cf. anomalous forms of the athematic Imv such as ∇виждь.

In constructing secondary aorists, viz. the old sigmatic 1 (type иѳсъ) and old sigmatic 2 (type рѳхъ), boundary adjustment rules require compensatory vowel lengthening¹ as shown in Table 462.2.

Table 462.2. Boundary adjustment rules: vowels (verbs)

Starting vocalism	ь	ε	ο	ρъ	лъ
Resulting vocalism	и	ѳ	а	рѳ	лѳ
Examples	чѳг + сѳ чѳг=сѳ (чѳсѳ)	жег + хѳ жѳг=хѳ (жахѳ)	бѳд + сѳ бѳд=сѳ (бѳсѳ)	врѳз + сѳ врѳз=сѳ (врѳсѳ)	No examples

Not to be confused with the change in vocalic realization that takes place in irregular verbs and morphologically anomalous imperatives such as ∇рѳѳте.

¹ This is a replacement by fundamental vowel alternations: vertical pairings for pure vocalism and horizontal ones for sonant vocalism; see § 125.

An overview of verb forms by system

The present system

§ 463. A general overview of forms

Table 463.1 shows all possible forms in the PRAE system.

Table 463.1. Forms in the PRAE system

Subparadigms	Canonical			Aberrant*
	Standard	Anomalous	Secondary	
Prae	лЮБѦЛѦЖ, лЮБИШИ	Athematic Prae (cf. ѦВѦМЬ, ѦВѦСИ)	Conditional 1SgPrae ѦВѦДѦ	In class 3 PRAE follows class 7 ВЛЗАѦЖ for ВЛЖЖ
Imv	лЮБИТЕ	Athematic Imv (cf. ѦВѦЖДЬ, ѦВИЖДЬ) ѦрыцѦте-type Imv	—	
шт-Part	лЮБѦ, лЮБѦШТИ	—	—	In class 5 PRAE follows class 3 ГЪБѦЛѦЖ for ГЪБИЖ
л-Part	лЮБИМЪ	—	—	

* Only aberrant forms that form a separate paradigmatic standard of some subparadigm are shown here.

The distribution of anomalous, secondary, and aberrant forms are shown in Table 463.2 (p. 274).

Table 463.2. Distribution of nonstandard forms in the PRAE system

Forms	Lexemes	§§
Athematic Prae	Athematic verbs	Ch. 21, <i>Unique verbs</i>
Athematic lmv	Athematic verbs	
Athematic lmv ∇ виждь	видѣти 2	§ 464
∇ рьцѣтѣ-type lmv	Class 4c verbs	
Conditional (cf. бимь)	бѣти	§ 546
1SgPrae ∇ вѣдѣ	вѣдѣти	§ 527–530
PRAE by class 7	Some Class 3 verbs	§ 608
PRAE by class 3	Some Class 5 verbs	§ 609

§ 464. Anomalous imperative forms

All imperative forms of the verbs рещти 4c ∇ , тещти 4c ∇ , пещти 4c ∇ , and жещти 4c ∇ are anomalous; there are no other anomalies in these verbs. The morphological anomaly is the replacement of the root alloform with ϵ vocalism by an alloform with ь vocalism. Thus, for example, we have $\text{рек} + \text{ѣте} \Rightarrow \text{рьц} = \text{ѣте}$, $\text{рек} + \text{и} \Rightarrow \text{рьц} = \text{и}$. Note that all these verbs have truncated stems ending in $\epsilon\text{к}$, $\epsilon\text{г}$.

The verb видѣти 2 has a morphologically anomalous lmvSg form ∇ виждь, analogous to athematic verbs, cf. даждь, вѣждь etc. (prefixed verbs with видѣти have standard imperatives).

Illustrations

І рече емоу и съ виждь никомоу же не повѣждь: нъ шедъ покажи са архиреови и неси даръ иже повелѣ мочи въ съвѣдѣние имъ Mt 8, 4 MAR; слыши дѣци и виждь и приклони оухо твое: и забжди люди твоѣ: і домъ оца твоего PS SIN 4, 11; but заповѣди вѣси не прѣлюбѣ дѣни: не оуби не оукради: не лъжа съвѣдѣтельствоуи: не овиди: чти оца твоего и мѣрь Mk 10, 19 MAR; не ревъноуіте лъжавьноуіжциимъ ни завиди творѣциимъ безаконение PS SIN 43б, 1.

не пыцѣте са оубо глѣжце: что ѣмъ ли что пиемъ: ли чимъ одеждемъ са Mt 6, 31 MAR.

І начаша етери плѣвати на нѣ: і прикрѣвати лице его: і мжчити і: і глѣти емоу: прорыци намъ хѣ кѣто естъ оударивъи тѣ Mk 14, 65 ZGR.

§ 465. A note on the so-called *j*-present

Forms in the PRAE system are mostly derived from truncated stems (otherwise only in the дѣлати 7 class, and in some unique verbs). In some cases substitutive softening applies, while in others it does not. Substitutive softening is the defining characteristic of class 3. However, special paradigmatic effects apply in several cases that destroy the paradigmatic standard of the class. First, in the groups метати 3° and върати 3°*, contrary to expectation, substitutive softening does not apply (метѣ instead of the expected мѣштѣ); second, in some class 4h

verbs substitutive softening does apply (the $\kappa\lambda\alpha\tau\iota$ 4h[•]); cf. 1SgPrae $\kappa\omicron\lambda\iota\kappa$, instead of the expected $\kappa\omicron\lambda\kappa$, and the imperative $\kappa\omicron\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon$ instead of the expected $\kappa\omicron\lambda\kappa\tau\epsilon$. Diachronically, substitutive softening can be interpreted as the transformation of the C + j combination. Accordingly, Prae forms that show substitutive softening are called *j*-present, which is understood as a special morphological means of present formation. Prae forms which in the present grammar are treated as subject to the C-final stem arrest effect (noted by #) could also be considered as *j*-presents. Such are, first, all standard PRAE forms in class 6 ($\mu\iota\lambda\omicron\upsilon\iota\kappa$, $\mu\iota\lambda\omicron\upsilon\iota\epsilon\sigma\iota$; $\mu\iota\lambda\omicron\upsilon\iota\kappa$, etc.), and, second, some verbs which are classified here as irregular (such are the groups $\mu\lambda\upsilon\alpha\tau\iota$ 3h*#, $\kappa\omicron\tau\upsilon\iota\tau\iota$ 4h*#). Introducing *j*-present in the description would have obviated violations of the CVC agreement rules: V-final variants would be selected before the C-initial formative *j*, which initiates PRAE terminals and suffixes in the *j*-present. However, setting up *j*-presents would be in contradiction to the cluster constraints that prohibit all C + j combinations.

The imperfect system

§ 466. A general overview of forms

Table 466 shows all possible forms in the IMF system.

Table 466. Forms in the imperfect (IMF) system

Subparadigms	Canonical	Aberrant*
Imf	$\lambda\upsilon\beta\lambda\iota\alpha\sigma\eta$	Contracted Imf: $\chi\omicron\tau\alpha\sigma\eta$ type Present Imf: $\alpha\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\sigma\eta$ type Iotated Imf: $\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\eta$ type
ш-Part	$\lambda\upsilon\beta\lambda\iota$, $\lambda\upsilon\beta\lambda\iota\sigma\iota$	New ш-Part in class 1: $\lambda\upsilon\beta\lambda\iota\epsilon\upsilon\tau$, $\lambda\upsilon\beta\lambda\iota\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota$ type Class 5 follows class 4: $\delta\upsilon\iota\gamma\iota$, $\delta\upsilon\iota\gamma\iota\sigma\iota$ type
н-Part	$\lambda\upsilon\beta\lambda\iota\epsilon\upsilon\tau$, $\delta\upsilon\iota\gamma\iota\epsilon\upsilon\tau$ $\nabla\omicron\beta\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota$, $\nabla\alpha\epsilon\beta\alpha\upsilon\tau\iota$	Class 5 follows class 4: $\delta\upsilon\iota\gamma\iota\epsilon\upsilon\tau$ type

* Only those aberrant forms that form a separate paradigmatic standard of some subparadigm are shown here.

For nonstandard imperfects see below (§ 467 and ff.). On other aberrant IMF forms see § 612 (terminals), § 609 (paradigmatic classes 5 and 4). For new ш-Part see § 473.

For н-Part of the verb $\omicron\beta\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota$ 4v see § 509. For н-Part of the unique verb $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\iota$ see § 548.

Nonstandard imperfects (personal forms)

§467. Contracted imperfect

Forms of the contracted imperfect use the nonstandard “Contracted imperfect” terminal set with terminals of the type $\text{‘}\text{ѣ.}\chi\text{’} \sim \chi\text{’}$. The workstem is the same as in the standard imperfect. The choice between terminals of the $\chi\text{’}$ vs. $\text{‘}\text{ѣ}\chi\text{’}$ type in personal forms of the imperfect is made according to the morphological balance rule: truncated stems are combined with long terminals like $\text{‘}\text{ѣ}\chi\text{’}$, while expanded stems are combined with short ones like $\chi\text{’}$, i.e. with C-initial ones. Cf. standard любѣлаахъ , contracted любѣлахъ ; standard трьпѣахъ , contracted трьпѣхъ ; standard несѣахъ , contracted несѣхъ etc. In all classes except 4v, contracted imperfect terminals are distributed by the CVC agreement rule. See more details in § 914–915, *Excursus on the morphology of personal forms of the imperfect*.

§468. Illustrations and distribution of contracted imperfects

Contracted imperfect forms (see Table 468) are found in all sources. SAV is special in that it only shows contracted imperfects.¹

Table 468. Contracted imperfect: illustrations

Verb	Standard imperfect	Contracted imperfect
въпнѣти 0	въпнѣахъ Mt 27, 23 AS	въпнѣхъ Mt 27, 23 ZOGR
ходити 1	ходдааше Mt 14, 29 ZOGR, AS	ходдаше Mt 14, 29 SAV, MAR
мошѣти 4с	можаахъ Jn 12, 39 MAR	можахъ Jn 12, 39 ZOGR
вѣнѣти 4h	вѣѣахъ Lk 22, 64 MAR	вѣѣхъ Mt 27, 30 MAR
вѣроваѣти 6	вѣроваахъ Jn 12, 37 ZOGR, MAR	вѣровахъ Jn 12, 37 AS
глагоумѣти 1	глагоумѣахъ сѣв PS SIN 118, 48	глагоумѣхъ сѣв PS SIN 76, 7
проганаѣти 7	проганааше SUPR 480, 22	проганааше SUPR 473, 13

амнѣи амнѣи глѣжъ тѣбѣ· егда юнъ бѣ· погасааше сѣв и ходдааше· галмо же хотѣше· егда же състарѣшеши сѣв· въздеждеши рѣцѣ (с)вои· и инъ тѣ поашетъ· и ведетъ галмо же не хоцеши Jn 21, 18 SAV.

ноштыжъ срѣдѣцемъ глагоумѣхъ сѣв· и кѣцааше дѣхъ мои PS SIN 76, 7.

ѣмонъ же рече имъ· чѣто зѣло сътвори· они же излѣха въпнѣхъ глѣжшгѣ· да распѣтъ бѣдетъ Mt 27, 23 ZOGR.

§469. Present imperfect

Present imperfect forms use the PRAE workstem and imperfect terminals, both standard and contracted. Because only truncated stems are used, all terminals

¹ Note the gloss $\text{искаахъ SAV Mt 26, 59}$, which is the only apparent non-contracted imperfect example, but the second letter а is subscribed; cf. $\text{искахъ SAV Lk 5, 18}$; SAV Jn 11, 8 .

are ѣ -initial ($\text{ѣ.ахъ}/\text{ѣхъ}$). For example, for $\text{зъвати } 3^{\circ*}$ we have $\text{зов} + \text{ѣаше}$: зовѣаше , given the canonical form $\text{зъва} + \text{аше}$: зъвааше . Forms of the present imperfect are the result of the alien stem expansion effect. Note that this effect can distinguish present imperfects from canonical ones only in classes $\text{любити } 1$, $\text{плакати } 3$, and $\text{миловати } 6$ (which canonically distinguish PRAE and IMF workstems), and also in some unique verbs. In class 3, present imperfect is only found with irregular verbs.

As for the $\text{любити } 1$ class, where canonical imperfects follow the model любѣлааше and present imperfects follow любѣаше , present imperfect forms have a double analysis in case the truncated stem ends in a labial or л , н , р . Forms such as любѣаше (see below мльвѣаше AS and мльвѣше SAV) can be interpreted as resulting from a segmental aberration (alternative pairings by the substitutive softening alternation, see § 117). Forms such as творѣаше can be interpreted as the graphic spellout not only of phonemic $/r\acute{e}/$ (as present imperfect), but also of phonemic $/r\acute{a}/$ (as canonical imperfect).

§470. Illustrations and distribution of present imperfects

Isolated forms of the present imperfect are found in all sources (see Table 470). SUPR is special in that present imperfect forms are common. Note that the unique verbs $\text{дати } 0$, $\text{цати } 0$, $\text{стати } 0$, $\text{обрѣсти } 0$, and $\text{гнати } 0$ show present imperfect, but the corresponding forms of these verbs are treated in this grammar as canonical; all other present imperfect forms are aberrant.

Table 470. Present imperfect: illustrations

Verb	Standard imperfect	Present imperfect
$\text{мльвити } 1$	мльвѣаше Lk 10, 40 ZGR	мльвѣаше Lk 10, 40 AS ¹⁾
$\text{приходити } 1$	приждаахъ SUPR 134, 15	приждѣахъ SUPR 568, 25
$\text{принимати } 3^*$	примааше SUPR 557, 15	примѣлааше SUPR 383, 26 ²⁾
$\text{пльвати } 3\text{h}^*\#$	пльваахъ Mk 15, 19 ZGR, MAR	пльвѣхъ Mk 15, 19 AS
$\text{зъвати } 3^{\circ*}$	зъвааше SUPR 473, 16	зовѣаше SUPR 516, 6 ³⁾
$\text{ждати } 3^{\circ*}$	ждааше SUPR 313, 22–23	ждѣахъ SUPR 125, 4–5 ⁴⁾
$\text{радовати } 6$	радовааше SUPR 105, 20	радѣаше SUPR 550, 11

Notes to Table 470

- 1) Cf. contracted forms in SAV: $\text{и се еи вѣ сестра именемь мариага таже и сѣдъши при ногоу їсоу слышаше слово его марта же мльвѣше о мнозѣ слоужьбѣ ставъши рече гїи не вѣржеши ли тако сестра моя единж ма остави слоужити тебе рыци оубо еи да ми поможетъ}$ Lk 10, 39–40 SAV. Cf. любѣше во ї марьтж и сестрж еа и лазора Jn 11, 5 SAV. Note also those spellouts in SAV that are ambiguous because of graphics (see § 221): $\text{чюдеса таже творѣше}$ Mt 21, 15; $\text{ови же за ланитж и оударѣхъ}$ Mt 26, 67 (f. 112); and also молѣше Mt 18, 29; Lk 8, 38; Lk 8, 41; Lk 15, 28; Lk 18, 11; Lk 22, 44, молѣхъ Mt 8,

- 31; Mt 15, 23; Lk 7, 4; Lk 8, 31, хочѣше Lk 23, 39, хочѣхъ Mt 27, 39; Mk 15, 29.
- 2) чловѣкъ бо мѡуѣси рече: кротчан паче всѣхъ чловѣкъ: иже на земли: тако пріемляаше сѧ и любыаше: такоже рещи лицемъ къ лицу: супр 383, 24–27; cf. also contracted forms: сѣна же толико пріемляаше: великоже тѣчьнѡ оума не поговѣити: весснїемъ супр 274, 24–26.
- 3) и потомъ нача кричати: и плачѣши приврѣже себе къ двѣремъ: и съ горьками слъзами зовѣаше сѣааго супр 516, 5–7.
- 4) Cf. also contaminated forms: ждѣхъ супр 36, 3; ждѣаше супр 72, 3.

§471. Iotated imperfect

Iotated imperfect forms use the IMF workstem, which takes terminals from a nonstandard set, viz. the “Iotated imperfect” set. These are terminals of the type ѣ.ѣхъ/ѣхъ. They are distributed by the morphological balance rule, just as in the standard imperfect. Cf. standard трѣпѣхъ, iotated трѣпѣѣхъ etc.

Note that iotated imperfect terminals can also attach to PRAE stems, forming the present iotated imperfect (regular or contracted).

§472. Illustrations and distribution of the iotated imperfect

Fewer than 25 aberrant iotated imperfect forms are attested (see Table 472, and also Diels, § 113.5; Vaillant, § 158).

Table 472. Iotated imperfect: illustrations

Standard imperfect	Iotated imperfect
<u>сѣхнѣаше</u> <u>супр</u> 345, 11	<u>їсѣхнѣаше</u> <u>супр</u> 476, 24 ¹⁾
<u>радѡвааше</u> <u>супр</u> 105, 20	<u>радѡѣаше</u> <u>супр</u> 550, 11 ²⁾
<u>боѡаше</u> <u>супр</u> 391, 15	<u>строѡѣаше</u> <u>супр</u> 389, 18 ³⁾

Notes to Table 472

- 1) сильнѡ словомъ: касааше сѧ соусѣ рѣцѣ: и тѣгда жде на слѡжбѣхъ отъсѣлааше: сильнѡ дѣломъ: проклинааше смоквѣницѣ и їсѣхнѣаше супр 476, 21–24; cf. видѣ смокве акы чловѣка бесплодна: оусѡуши иж словомъ акы богъ: рече не бѣди к' семоу отъ тебе плода въ вѣкы: и дѣло въ слѣдѣ идѣаше: и тоу авнїе смокты сѣхнѣаше супр 345, 4–11.
- 2) стѣнѣ оученикъ: вѣставыаше мрътвѣн: а ли оучитѣль: молитвѣ трѣвоѣаше: да мрътвѡаго вѣставитъ супр 307, 17–20.
- 3) Spellouts with double ѣ (cf. also творѣаше супр 473, 20–21) and with double ѣ, such as творѣѣаше супр 198, 5, cf. градѣѣаше супр 349, 21, начнѣѣхомъ супр 73, 9, прѣстанѣѣаше супр 515, 18, растварѣѣаше супр 297, 15, видѣѣхъ супр 112, 1, вѣдѣѣхъ супр 18, 17, растѣѣаше супр 40, 19–20, are sometimes treated as special forms that mark the contracted imperfect (with a special

phonetic treatment of these spellouts as indicating a long vowel, see Vaillant, § 158).²

New ш-participle

§ 473. New ш-Part of the *любивъ* type

New ш-participle is an aberrant ш-Part form in the *любити* 1 class. It uses the expanded, not the truncated stem. Cf. *люби + въ* (*любивъ*) for standard *любѣ + ъ* (*любѣль*). These forms result from the alien stem expansion paradigmatic effect, namely, the expansion of the INF-AOR workstem into the IMF system.

§ 474. Illustration and distribution of the aberrant forms

Some sources show no examples of the new participle. These are *PS SIN* and *AS*, as well as *CLOZ*. In *ZOGR*, *MAR*, and *SAV*, the new participle is represented by a few examples (see Table 474), while in *SUPR* the new participles are widely distributed (see details in Vaillant, § 162).

Table 474. New ш-participle: illustrations

Old ш-Part	New ш-Part
поушгъши Mk 10, 12 MAR	поустивъши Mk 10, 12 ZOGR
благословѣ Mt 26, 26 SAV	благословивъ Mk 8, 7 MAR, ZOGR
погубѣль Lk 15, 4 ZOGR, MAR	погубивъ Mt 10, 39 SAV
изволен EUCN 15a, 8	изволивъ EUCN 6a, 11
омрачъ SUPR 467, 6	омрачивъ SUPR 485, 1
пристѣпѣ SUPR 456, 11	пристѣпивъ SUPR 444, 22–23

In *SUPR*, as already said, new participles predominate. See, e.g., in Vita of St. Paul and St. Juliana: *отълаживъшоу бо сѧ адамѡу на оно мѣсто породы и еугъ единъ оставивъшоу пристѣпи диваѡлъ и оуподобивъ сѧ змиѣ прѣльсти ѡж и та жена прѣльсти адама SUPR 9, 12–16*; however, old participles are also attested, cf. in the same lectionary: *и рече зови паула и ѡлианиѡж и постави ѧ прѣдъ сѧднштемъ и прѣта има рече пристѣпша пожрѣта богомъ а не надѣита сѧ избѣжати ржкоу моею сѣтъи же паулъ осклавивъ сѧ (new ш-Part) рече не оставьж бога сътворьшааго небо и земьж и покладѡж сѧ коумиремъ SUPR 7, 2–9.*³

² *SUPR* shows a great variety of morphological and graphic variants of the imperfect. For example, for *творити* we find: *твориаше* 391, 18–19; *твораше* 200, 23; *творѣше* 18, 27; *твориаше* 473, 20–21; *творѣаше* 438, 19; *творѣше* 198, 5; *твориаше* 274, 27; *творѣше* 19, 29.

³ Cf. the homily of St. Eriphanius of Cyprus (*SUPR* 447, 28–471, 12): *[...] не начинаетъ великими рѣчми ибкыми къ пилатѡу да не въ сего раздражъ отъпадетъ прошенниѧ ни глаголетъ к ѡмоу даждъ ми тѣло ѡсово оумрачъшааго сльнце*

The infinitive-aorist system

§ 475. A general overview of forms

Table 475 shows all possible forms in the INF-AOR system.

Table 475. Forms in the infinitive-aorist (INF-AOR) system

Subparadigms	Canonical		Aberrant
	Primary	Secondary	
Aor	любихъ, несоухъ	type идъ Aor type нѣсъ Aor type рѣхъ Aor 2-3Sg -тъ 2-3Sg -стъ See also вѣти § 543–549	Class 5 follows class 4: Aor двигохъ for двигнѣхъ
л-Part	любилъ, неслъ	—	Class 5 follows class 4: л-Part двиглъ for двигнѣлъ
т-Part	клатъ		
Inf	любити, нести		
Sup	любитъ, несть		

For secondary aorists see § 476–482 below. For aberrant forms by paradigmatic class see § 609–610; for other aberrations in the INF-AOR system, see § 612–614.

Nonstandard aorists

§ 476. General

The forms of the aorist bundle include a series of secondary forms. All these forms are declared *nonstandard aorists* (or old aorists). In the description of these non-

прѣжде мала вѣремене и каменне раздровѣша и зельмѣ потрасѣша и гробѣи отвѣрзѣша
SUPR 454, 6–12;

[...] воле оубо ѿвѣспифе испрошини и принимъ вѣси ли оубо кого приятъ пристѣпль къ крѣстоу и сьнемъ исоуса вѣси ли оубо кого понесе SUPR 456, 9–12;

[...] обаче блажж рѣцѣ твои ѿ ивсифе послоужьшини. [...] блажж оуста твоа бе-сѣгости насъштѣша са и приложьша са къ исоусовомъ оустомъ и доуха сѣа отътѣждоу испльнѣша са: блажж очи твои приложьшини са къ исоусовама очима и свѣтъ истинънѣи отътѣждоу принѣмьши SUPR 457, 20–30;

[...] онъ истъин иестъ съкроушнѣн въ ѿрда^{нѣскѣ} хъ водахъ главы змиевъ вашнхъ съ истъ иестъ обличнѣн крѣстомъ и позороу сѣтворнѣн и ослабѣ жилы ваша: тъ истъин иестъ сѣбзавѣн и омрачъ и въ безднѣхъ посылавъ въ SUPR 467, 2–6.

standard aorists, the bundle is divided into two subbundles: the first contains all forms except 2–3Sg (called the *main subbundle* below), while the 2–3Sg form belongs in the second subbundle.

The main subbundle has three types of nonstandard aorists: *root* (нѣз type), *old sigmatic 1* (нѣсѣ type), and *old sigmatic 2* (рѣхѣ type).

For 2–3Sg there are two kinds of secondary forms: with the nonstandard terminal сѣѣ (бѣсѣ type; primary form бѣи=0), and with the nonstandard terminal ѣѣ (кѣлѣ type, primary form кѣл=0), both of which replace the standard zero terminal.

The secondary aorist is only possible among verbs with an athematic infinitive (class 4 and some unique verbs), and also among нж-dropping verbs of class 5. See more details on the distribution of secondary forms in § 481 below.

§ 477. Root aorist (нѣз type)

The workstem of the root aorist is the truncated C-final stem (the root). For unique verbs the stems are: нѣ for ити, ѣѣ for ѣти <1114>, сѣѣ for сѣсти, лѣг for лѣшти, рѣѣ for рѣсти (other unique verbs have no root aorist forms). Irregular verbs with unstable vocalism have the same vocalic realization as in «Præ».

Terminals are from the nonstandard “Root” set. All terminals of the root aorist are V-initial, while all stems are C-final.

Boundary adjustment follows the general rules (see § 462), namely: velars undergo replacement by the $\kappa \rightarrow \chi$ rule before ϵ -initial terminals. Thus, for мошти: мѣг + ѣ gives мѣг=ѣ, мѣг + ѣѣ gives мѣгѣѣ, мѣг + ѣѣ gives мѣгѣѣ etc.

Below are paradigms of personal forms of standard and root aorists of the verb ити 0.

	Standard aorist				Root aorist		
	Sg	Du	Pl		Sg	Du	Pl
1	нѣ=ѣхѣ	нѣ=ѣхѣѣ	нѣ=ѣхѣмѣ		нѣ=ѣ	нѣ=ѣѣ	нѣ=ѣмѣ
2		нѣ=ѣѣѣ	нѣ=ѣѣѣѣ			нѣ=ѣѣѣ	нѣ=ѣѣѣѣ
3		нѣ=ѣѣѣѣ	нѣ=ѣѣѣѣѣ			нѣ=ѣѣѣѣѣ	нѣ=ѣѣѣѣѣѣ

§ 478. Old sigmatic 1 (нѣсѣ type)

The workstem of the old sigmatic aorist is the truncated stem. It can be C-final (cf. нѣс: нѣс + сѣѣ), or finally ambivalent, in which case the V-final version is used (cf. кѣлѣ/кѣлѣн: кѣлѣ + сѣѣ). The only unique verb to use the old sigmatic aorist is ѣсти: the workstem is ѣѣ <1113>. Irregular verbs with unstable vocalism have the same vocalic realization as in «Præ».

Terminals are from the nonstandard “Old sigmatic 1” set. All terminals in this set are C-initial.

Boundary adjustment follows the general rules (see § 462). Compensatory vowel lengthening applies (by the following pairings: ѣ||и, ѣ||ѣѣ, ѣ||ѣѣѣ, ѣ||ѣѣѣѣ). Thus, for нѣсѣсти we have нѣсѣ + сѣѣ: нѣсѣ.сѣѣ; нѣсѣ + сѣѣѣѣ: нѣсѣ.сѣѣѣѣ, etc.

Clusters are eliminated by the standard $mph \Rightarrow ph/norm$ rules: $нѣс.сѣ \Rightarrow нѣсѣ$, $нѣс.совѣ \Rightarrow нѣсовѣ$ (see § 74).

Below are paradigms of the personal aorist forms of the verb $нѣсти$ 4с.

	Standard aorist			Old sigmatic 1 aorist		
	Sg	Du	Pl	Sg	Du	Pl
1	нѣс=оуѣ	нѣс=оуовѣ	нѣс=оуомѣ	нѣс=сѣ [нѣсѣ]	нѣс=совѣ	нѣс=сомѣ
2		нѣс=остѣ	нѣс=остѣ		нѣс=ста	нѣс=сте
3		нѣс=остѣ	нѣс=ошѣ		нѣс=сте	нѣс=сѣ

§ 479. Old sigmatic 2 (рѣхѣ type)

The workstem of the old sigmatic aorist is the C-final truncated stem. Irregular verbs with unstable vocalism use the same vocalic realization as in «Prae».

Terminals are C-final from the standard set.

Boundary adjustment follows the general rules (see § 462). Compensatory vowel lengthening applies (by the following pairings: $ь||и$, $ѣ||ѣ$, $о||а$, $рь||рѣ$, $ль||лѣ$). Thus, for $рѣшти$ [рѣк.т.и] we have $рѣк + хѣ$: $рѣк.хѣ$; $рѣк + ховѣ$: $рѣк.ховѣ$, etc. Clusters are eliminated by the standard $mph \Rightarrow ph/norm$ rules: $рѣк.хѣ \Rightarrow рѣхѣ$, $рѣк.ховѣ \Rightarrow рѣховѣ$ (see § 74).

Below are paradigms of the personal aorist forms of the verb $рѣшти$ 4с.

	Standard aorist			Old sigmatic 2 aorist		
	Sg	Du	Pl	Sg	Du	Pl
1	рѣк=оуѣ	рѣк=оуовѣ	рѣк=оуомѣ	рѣк=хѣ [рѣхѣ]	рѣк=ховѣ	рѣк=хомѣ
2		рѣк=остѣ	рѣк=остѣ		рѣк=ста	рѣк=сте
3		рѣк=остѣ	рѣк=ошѣ		рѣк=сте	рѣк=шѣ

§ 480. Secondary 2–3Sg forms

Secondary forms take the terminals $-стѣ$ or $-тѣ$, which attach to the infinitive workstem, $бѣгти$ 0: $бѣ + стѣ$; $клати$ 4h: $клат + тѣ$; $мрѣти$ 4h* \acute{c} : $мрѣтѣ$.

§ 481. Distribution of nonstandard aorist forms

As noted, the secondary forms described above are possible for a limited set of verbs. Such are, first, some verbs with an athematic infinitive from class 4с or unique (see lists below); second, 4h verbs in $-ати$; third, $нж$ -dropping class 5 verbs. Note that the latter also show nonstandard aorists by class 4, which are treated here as aberrant. Cf. the aorists of $оужаснѣти$: $оужаснѣшѣ$ (by class 5, the canonical, primary form); $оужасошѣ$ (by class 4, an aberrant form), and $оужасѣ$ (root aorist, a canonical, secondary form).

Distribution limits of secondary forms are shown in Tables 481.1 and 481.2. See Vaillant, § 153–156; on the distribution in sources see Vaillant, § 157.

Table 481.1. Distribution of nonstandard aorist forms: the first subbundle

Root aorist (идъ type)		Old sigmatic aorist 1 (нѣкъ type)		Old sigmatic aorist 2 (рѣхъ type)
Only among 4c and unique verbs, and all class 5 verbs with C-final roots		Only among 4c and unique verbs ending in simple consonants, and all 4h with infinitive in -ати		Only among 4c verbs with roots in κ, ρ, χ
Among 4c and unique verbs, secondary forms of the corresponding type are only attested for the following (the root-final consonant in parentheses):				
ѡти (д)	мошти (г)	ѡсти (д)	мѡсти (т)	вѡѡшти (к)
врѣшти (г)	пасти (д)	блѡсти (д)	нешти (с)	жешти (г)
ити (д)	°рѣсти (т)	вѡсти (д)	трѡсти (с)	°лѡшти (к)
красти (д)	сѣсти (д)	вѡсти (д)	цвѡсти (т)	рѡшти (к)
лѡшти (г)	трѡсти (с)	°врѣсти (з)	чѡсти (т)	сѣшти (к)
°лѣсти (з)		грѣти (б)		тѡшти (к)

Table 481.2. Distribution of nonstandard aorist forms: 2–3SgAor

2–3SgAor forms in сѣъ	2–3SgAor forms in ѣъ
Only among unique verbs: ѡсти, вѣти, дѡти	Only among 4h, 4v verbs: кѡлѡти, °пѡти, °чѡти, ѡти; °вѡти, жѡти, пѡти, пѣти; °жрѣти, мрѣти, °сѣрѣти, and из.мѣти

The observed constraints on the distribution of nonstandard aorists have a morphophonological, namely accentual, basis, as shown in Dybo’s work (Dybo 2000, p. 304–309, 366–370).

§482. Nonstandard aorists: illustrations

Tables 482.1 (p. 284) and 482.2 (p. 285) show a small selection of examples illustrating parallel uses of secondary (nonstandard) and primary aorist forms of the same verbs.

Table 482.1. Nonstandard aorist (main subbundle): illustrations

Standard aorist	Nonstandard aorist
придохомъ Mt 25, 39 SAV	придомъ Mt 25, 39 ZOGR, MAR, AS
прѣѣдоша Lk 8, 26 ZOGR	прѣѣдѣж Lk 8, 22 ZOGR
сърѣтосте Mt 8, 28 ZOGR	сърѣтетете Mt 8, 28 MAR ¹⁾
сѣдоша Mt 23, 2 AS	сѣдѣж Mt 23, 2 MAR
възлегоша Mk 6, 40 ZOGR	възлегѣж Mk 6, 40 MAR
приврѣгоша сѧ SUPR 448, 18	приврѣгѣж сѧ CLOZ 12b, 22 ²⁾
възмогоухъ SUPR 118, 24	възмогоѣ PS SIN 39, 13
ѣша Mk 8, 8 ZOGR	поѣся PS SIN 77, 45 ³⁾
погребоша Mt 14, 12 ZOGR	погрѣса Mt 14, 12 MAR ⁴⁾
For canonical пребодоша	пробаса Jn 19, 37 ZOGR, MAR, AS ⁵⁾
разврѣзосте сѧ Mk 7, 35 ZOGR	разврѣстете сѧ Mk 7, 35 MAR
процвѣтоша SUPR 450, 12	процвнса CLOZ 13b, 4
чѣтоша Jn 19, 20 SAV	чнса Jn 19, 20 MAR ⁶⁾
принесоша Mt 2, 11 SAV	възнѣса Lk 2, 22 SAV
сѣблюдохъ Jn 15, 10 ZOGR, SAV	сѣблюстѣ Jn 15, 10 MAR, AS
сѣмлатоша сѧ SUPR 466, 9	сѣмлатса сѧ PS SIN 17, 8 ⁷⁾
сѣтрасоша сѧ Mt 28, 4 ZOGR, SAV	сѣтраса сѧ Mt 28, 4 MAR; сѣтрасѣж сѧ Mt 28, 4 AS
пропаша Jn 19, 20 ZOGR	пропаса Jn 19, 20 MAR
рекоша SUPR 79, 15	рѣша SUPR 16, 17
нстekoша SUPR 503, 19	нстѣша PS SIN 104, 41 ⁸⁾
отъсѣкоша SUPR 64, 8	расѣша PS SIN 73, 5
сѣвлѣкоша, овлѣкоша Mt 27, 31 SAV	извлѣша PS SIN 36, 14 ⁹⁾
нсѣхоша Mt 13, 6 ZOGR (for нсѣхнжти 5)	нсѣхѣж Mt 13, 6 MAR ¹⁰⁾
штгезоша SUPR 450, 2–3 (for нчезнжти 5)	штгезѣж CLOZ 13a, 33
оѣжасосте сѧ Lk 8, 56 AS (for оѣжаснжти 5)	оѣжасете сѧ Lk 8, 56 MAR ¹¹⁾

Notes to Table 482.1

- 1) *и пришедѣшоу емоу иѣви на онъ полѣ въ странѣ керѣсинскѣ сърѣтетете и дѣва вѣсна отъ жалии исходаща люте сѣло Mt 8, 28 MAR; cf. сърѣтосте in ZOGR and AS, сърѣтоста in SAV).*
- 2) Cf. a whole series of old aorists: *потѣкѣж сѧ въ акрогонне и камень хѣ и сами сѣкроушиша сѧ приврѣгѣж сѧ въ тврѣды камень нѣ въ пѣнѣ влѣнѣ нѣхъ разидѣж сѧ потѣкѣж сѧ о наковалѣ неповѣдимѣмъ нѣ сами сѣтъ(ре)ни вѣша възнѣса на дрѣво камень и сѣшедѣ оѣмрѣтви ѣ CLOZ 12b, 20–27; cf. standard aorists in SUPR: *потѣкнѣша сѧ въ жгълѣнѣ о камень хѣ и сами сѣкроушиша сѧ приврѣгоша сѧ въ тврѣдинъ камень нѣ въ пѣнѣ влѣнѣ нѣхъ разидоша сѧ потѣкоша сѧ о наковалѣнѣ неповѣдимѣмъ нѣ сами сѣтърени вѣша възнесоша на дрѣво камень и сѣшѣдѣ оѣмрѣтви ѣ SUPR 448, 16–23.**
- 3) *посѣла на нѣ песѣя моухѣ и поѣся ѣ и жѣвѣи и погоуѣ ѣ PS SIN 77, 45; cf. in the Gospels: *ѣса же и насѣтнѣша сѧ и възаса (for възати 4h) изѣитѣкѣ оѣкроухъ сѣдѣ кошѣницѣ Mk 8, 8 MAR; cf. ѣша [...] възаша in ZOGR.**

- 4) Cf. a whole series of old aorists: и посълавъ оуѣбнѣхъ иона въ тѣмьници и принѣса главѣ его на мисѣ и даша дѣвници и несе матери своени и притѣпѣше оученици его възаса тѣло его и погрѣса € Mt 14, 10–12 MAR; cf.: принесоша [...] възаша [...] погревоша in ZOCR.
- 5) Canonical forms are not attested; и пакы дрогъшиа кѣнигы гѣлѣтъ възъратъ на него иже пробаса Jn 19, 37 ZOCR, [...] възъратъ на нь егоже пробаса MAR, AS; cf. the same Gospel verse cited in SUPR: да видатъ иудеи егоже сѣ (for canonical сѣтъ) проболи SUPR 504, 16–17.
- 6) сего же титла мъноши числа отъ иудѣи: ѣко влизъ бѣ мѣсто града: идеже пропаса иѣа Jn 19, 20 MAR. Note here also the contaminated form чиша Jn 19, 20 ZOCR.
- 7) и осънованѣ горъ сѣмьаса сѣа PS SIN 17, 8; сѣмьаса сѣа иъзѣци ї оуклониша сѣа црѣтвиѣ PS SIN 45, 7. Note here also the contaminated form сѣмаша: и видѣвъше и оученици ходаштъ по мору: сѣмаша сѣа гѣлѣште: ѣко призракъ естъ Mt 14, 26 MAR (likewise in AS, cf. сѣмаша сѣа in ZOCR); cf. also in PS SIN: ицѣли мѣа гї: ѣко сѣмаша сѣа кости моѣа PS SIN 6, 3.
- 8) Cf.: разврѣзе каменъ и истѣшиа воды: потѣшиа въ безводънѣиухъ рѣкы PS SIN 104, 41; likewise in EUCH: и потѣшиа воды и потоци наводъниша сѣа EUCH 5b, 7–9.
- 9) Cf.: оржже извѣшиа грѣшнии: нальшиа лжкъ свої: сѣстрѣлѣти ницаего ї оубогаего PS SIN 36, 14.
- 10) Cf.: сѣлѣнцоу же восиѣвъшио присвѣдѣ (for присвѣдѣти 5): и зане не имѣхъ корениѣ исъхъ Mt 13, 6 MAR; cf. присвѣдѣ [...] исъхоша in ZOCR.
- 11) Cf.: и оужасете сѣа родителѣ еѣа Lk 8, 56 MAR; cf. оужасосте сѣа in AS and оужаснѣста сѣа in ZOCR, and SAV with aberrant terminal ста in place of сте.

Table 482.2. Nonstandard aorists (2–3Sg forms): illustrations

Standard aorist	Nonstandard aorist
<u>отъда</u> Lk 7, 42 ZOCR, MAR, SAV	<u>отъдасѣтъ</u> Lk 7, 42 AS
<u>прѣвѣ</u> Jn 6, 56 ZOCR	<u>прѣвѣсѣтъ</u> Lk 1, 56 ZOCR
<u>изѣ</u> SUPR 138, 27	<u>сѣнѣсѣтъ</u> Mk 2, 26 MAR
<u>поѣа</u> Mk 12, 20 MAR, ZOCR	<u>поѣатъ</u> PS SIN 77, 70
<u>нача</u> Mt 14, 30 SAV	<u>начатъ</u> Mt 4, 17 SAV
<u>прострѣ</u> PS SIN 79, 12	<u>прострѣтъ</u> PS SIN 137, 7
<u>оумрѣ</u> SUPR 155, 18	<u>оумрѣтъ</u> Mk 15, 44 ZOCR
<u>вьспѣ</u> Jn 18, 27 SAV	<u>вьспѣтъ</u> Mk 14, 72 ZOCR, MAR ¹⁾
<u>ожи</u> SUPR 314, 4	<u>прижитъ</u> SUPR 482, 27
For canonical <u>измѣ</u> (<u>измѣти</u> 4v)	<u>измѣтъ</u> <u>сѣа</u> PS SIN 72, 21 ²⁾

Notes to Table 482.2

- 1) и вѣторицеѣхъ коуръ вьспѣтъ Mk 14, 72 ZOCR, кокотъ вьспѣтъ MAR; cf. пакы же петръ отврѣже сѣа и авне коуръ вьспѣ Jn 18, 27 SAV.
- 2) Canonical forms are not attested. In PS SIN 72, 21 we have ѣко разгорѣ сѣа срѣдѣце моѣ жтробѣ моѣ измѣтъ сѣа. The treatment of the form измѣтъ as

2–3SgAor agrees with the preceding aorist разгорѣ. Cf. Greek ὄτι ἐξεκαύθη (3SgAor) ἡ καρδία μου καὶ οἱ νεφροὶ μου ἠλλοιώθησαν (3PIAor); οἱ νεφροὶ ‘entrails’. Večerka treats the form измѣтъ as corrupt for измѣнитъ. The verb измѣти is absent in Večerka. Cf., however сѣмѣти, измѣнише with the same root <586>. Večerka’s treatment is based on taking the translation from the Greek too literally (the Greek verb ἀλλοιῶ can mean not only ‘change’, but also ‘be corrupted’). In addition, Večerka’s solution leads to a syntactic contradiction (the same phrase contains an aorist and a present, which is not found in the Greek).

Т-participles

§ 483. General

Т-participles are equivalent to н-participles syntactically and semantically, but differ from them radically in their morphology. Stems of н- and Т-participles figure in nominal derivations, the most common of which is the deverbal noun in ъ]=ε (оучѣнение, бѣгнѣ, etc.). Cf. also: клѣтва, брѣгѣва, оумрътвѣнѣ [оу.мръ.т.в.ѣ].ε]. Sometimes the participle itself is not attested in the sources, but its existence can be inferred through derivatives (see § 865, *A note on nominal stems and verbal platforms*).

For most verbs these participles are in complementary distribution: a verb that shows н-Part has no Т-Part forms, and vice versa. Otherwise for the verb сѣти 4v, cf. въсѣкъ иже слышитъ слова царствѣи ѿ не разоумѣваатъ приходитъ же неприбъзнь и въсхъгтаатъ сѣноє въ сѣдци его: се естѣ сѣноє при пжти Mt 13, 19 MAR, and несѣта ѿнѣва SUPR 243, 8; and the verb вѣдѣти 0 (see § 527–531).⁴

§ 484. The morphology of the forms

The suffix Т is attached to the INF-AOR system workstem. If the workstem is finally ambivalent, then Т-Part uses the V-final version of the stem (cf. клѣтъ for клѣти 4h). In case the truncated stem is C-final, clusters are transformed by general rules. In verbs of the мръѣти 4h*Ϛ group and чисѣти 4c*Ϛ group, the workstem has the same vocalic realization as in «Prae».

§ 485. Illustrations and distribution of Т-participles

Т-participle stems are only possible for verbs with athematic infinitives. It is attested for most verbs of class 4h, and also for the verbs сѣти 4v, оувѣсти 4c,

⁴ Dybo established the accentual distribution of Т- and н-participles, and, accordingly, their original complementarity (see Dybo 2000, p. 309–312). However, substantives derived from participles can show н- and Т-Part stems for the same verb. Cf. пѣнише and пѣтнѣ, оубиенѣнѣ and оубитнѣ.

отврѣсти 4с*Љ, извѣдѣти 0, and съзнити 0.⁵ Although the absence of attested forms does not always indicate the morphological impossibility of the corresponding stem, let us list the 4h verbs without T-Part stems: гнити, джти, клати, and брати, and also the group крзѣти 4h*#2.

For some verbs, the T-Part stem is attested but the participle itself is not. Such are, e.g. забъвенъ, but also забъгити and забъгитъ (вѣса си въ забъгитъ вѣложи сѣребролюбѣствие тѣгда SUPR 412, 1).

Illustrations

гла имъ пилатъ что створи ѿ нарицаемоуму хѣи глаша вси да распатъ бждетъ Mt 27, 22 SAV; начатами тиннами EUCN 16a, 22–23; ѣко стрѣлы въ ржцѣ сильнааго тако снѣв отятъихъ PS SIN 126, 4;⁶ обрашгете младыньць повитъ лежаштъ въ ѣслехъ Lk 2, 12 ZGR; прѣдъ очима нашими мѣсть кро[въ] ви рабъ твоихъ пролитъа PS SIN 78, 10; пѣта бѣахъ мнѣ оправданиѣ твоѣ PS SIN 118, 54; дивъ творитъ оумоу землѣ висшті повелѣнъемъ на водахъ а тажъка вѣштъ сжшти чѣто же кѣто речетъ море прострѣто видѣ и пѣсѣкомъ сѣвзано CLOZ 10a, 3–6.

свѣтъли свѣтъло оувастн въ цркъвнѣтѣмъ ликоуѣтѣ чрѣтозѣ SUPR 335, 7–9 (for оувастн 4с); гробъ отврѣстъ грѣтани нхъ ѡзвикънн свонни льцаахъ PS SIN 5, 10 (for отврѣсти 4с*Љ); извѣстъ са сѣтвори SUPR 363, 3–4 (for извѣдѣти 0); cf. also in nominal stems: шѣст (шѣстнѣ for ити 0), as well as съзнит (съзнитнѣ for съзнити 0).

⁵ The forms сатъ, сати ‘says, say’, which can be interpreted as T-Part for the verb сати (without any other forms; see Vaillant, § 216), in the present grammar are treated as extraparadigmatic and are thus not examined here.

⁶ Vaillant (§ 216) assigns the form отятъихъ to the verb тати, тѣнж 4h, while Večerka assigns it to the verb отати, отѣнж 4h. The verb тати, тѣнж 4h is not found in this grammar; accordingly, the interpretation follows Večerka.

An overview of verb classes

ЛЮБИТИ 1 class

§ 486. Class membership

This class contains about 800 lexemes. There are slightly over 300 distinct verbs. Possible right edges of the lexical component are shown in Table 486.

Table 486. Possible right edges of the lexical component in ЛЮБИТИ 1

Simple	к, г, х	ц, с	лъ, ѱ, р	Shibilants	ј	V(<i>i</i>)
лъБИТИ НОСИТИ	None	Only ГОБЪСИТИ	Only лъИИТИ оуИИТИ цѣсаРИТИ	ПРИБЛИЖИТИ ТОЧИТИ СЛОУЖИТИ	СТРОИТИ	ОБОУИТИ

§ 487. Notes on word formation

This class can contain both root and suffixal lexical components. Examples:

Root	Suffixal
лъБИТИ, САДИТИ, ПОГОПИТИ, ИЗМОРИТИ, РАСТОЧИТИ, СВѢТИТИ, ЛЪСТИТИ, ЗАОУШИТИ, КЛЮЧИТИ, МОЧИТИ	БОГАТИТИ, НАВОДНИТИ, ОЖЕСТОЧИТИ, ЗЪЛОБИТИ, ВЪПРАВЪДИТИ, ОТАГЪЧИТИ, ОУТАЖЪЧИТИ, ЧОУДИТИ

This class contains many denominal verbs (cf. дЪЖДИТИ, СЪГРѢШИТИ, ДАРИТИ), causatives, and iteratives (cf. ИЗБАВИТИ for ИЗБЪИТИ, НОСИТИ for НЕСТИ, ВОДИТИ for ВЕСТИ, ОУМОРИТИ for ОУМРѢТИ, ПИТИ for ПИТИ, etc.).

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§ 488. Connections with other classes

There are systematic correlations $1 \approx 7$, cf. *повѣдѣти* \approx *повѣждати*. There may be competition between classes 1 and 7. Note that exclusion from the benchmark dictionary of lexemes of class 7 verbs that are represented only by non-diagnostic forms (Imf) is normally not discussed, unlike in *Večerka*. Cf. *глоумити* and *глоумѣати* in *Večerka*, but only *глоумити* in the PD. See more details, including the meaning of the term *non-diagnostic*, in Ch. 24, *Supplement*, § 910–913, *Excursus on the contamination and competition between paradigmatic classes*.

трьпѣти 2 class

§ 489. Class membership

This class contains just under 150 lexemes; there are about 40 distinct verbs. Possible right edges of the lexical component are shown in Table 489.

Table 489. Possible right edges of the lexical component in the *трьпѣти* 2 class

Simple	к, г, х	ц, с	ѧ, ѧ̆, ѧ̇	Shibilants	j	V(i)
трьпѣти стъдѣти горѣти	None	None	None	кричати слъшати бѣжати	Only боѣти	Only стоѣти

§ 490. Notes on word formation

In this class, only the verb *слъшати* [(слъ).ш.ѣ.т.и] <844> contains a suffixal lexical component.

§ 491. Connections with other classes

Correlations $2 \approx 7$ are possible, cf. *възърѣти* \approx *възирати*, *съгорѣти* \approx *съгарати*, *блъштати* \approx *блнстати*.

Commentary on individual verbal lexemes

§ 492. List of commented lexemes of *любити* 1 class

авити. Cf. the doublet lexeme *ѧвити*; for distribution in sources see *Večerka*.

ѧвити. See preceding word.

*варити*¹ ‘anticipate’ <80> and *варити*² ‘cook’ <81> are homonyms.

възвѣсити. Morphologically strange form (2–3SgAor or NSgmPlen ш-Part) in SUPR: *съврѣши же животъ и съхрани прѣподобьнааго ноѧ: възвѣши же благословѣнниа чистителя мелхиседека и жрътвами искоушенааго прослави авраама* (232, 11–15).

възъарити. Nontrivial spellout of the starting form, see § 640–641.

въкоренити. Contra Večerka, who gives two headwords, въкоренити and оукоренити, in the same dictionary entry. For въкоренити only three glosses in SUPR. Cf. оукоренити.

въноушити. Aberrant spellouts with въноуш- in PS SIN and EUCN.

въррити. Contra Večerka, who has no headword въррити. Нарах gloss in PS SIN: ни върриша сѣ въ заповѣди его (77, 37).

говъзити. Following Večerka and contra Lunt; the latter gives говъзѣти according to class 2. Нарах gloss говъзѣцигѣ (annotation of the scribe) in PS SIN 127, 3. Cf. оуговъзити (Аор оуговъзи сѣ ѿива Lk 12, 16 ZOCR, SAV, AS). See § 910–913, *Excursus on the contamination and competition between paradigmatic classes*.

донти² [(дој).и.т.и] ‘breastfeed, milk’ <236> and донти¹ [до.(и).т.и] ‘reach’ <329> are homonyms.

замждити. Aberrant form of the root with моуд-; for distribution in sources see Večerka. Cf. мждити, помждити, прѣмждити, оумждити.

заштитити. KIEV attests aberrant spellouts of the infinitive, зашчитити.

извъснити. Nontrivial spellout of the starting form. See § 640–641.

кръмзити¹ ‘govern’ <448> and кръмзити² ‘feed’ <447> are homonyms.

къснити. Contra Večerka, who gives only the headword къснѣти (likewise in Sadnik). The PD has no headword къснѣти. Cf. ѿм къснѣаше Lk 1, 21 MAR.

мънити ‘diminish’. Kamorated spellouts are not attested as this lexeme is only attested in sources that do not use kamora; мън is the base for Compar мънин.

мѣнити¹ ‘consider, reckon’ <550> and мѣнити² ‘change’ <589> are homonyms.

мждити. Aberrant spellout with моуд-; for distribution in sources see Večerka. Cf. замждити, помждити, прѣмждити, оумждити.

нждити. Aberrant spellout with ноуд-; for distribution in sources see Večerka. Cf. понждити, принждити; likewise понждати, принждати.

обрѣменити <24>. Večerka gives also the headwords обрѣмѣити and обрѣмениати covering the нарах обрѣмѣаш SUPR 280, 1. The PD does not register the lexemes обрѣмѣити

and обрѣмениати. The spellout обрѣмѣаш in SUPR is treated as morphologically strange form for обрѣменити.

обвъходити [обвъ.(ход).и.т.и]. Cf. оходити [от.(ход).и.т.и]; more details in § 640–641.

овъзити [(овъз).и.т.и]. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword овъзити covering the нарах gloss ни ношено (о)възиаше сѣ SUPR 511, 27, which, however, can be also interpreted as ни ношено (е) възиаше сѣ, from възити 1, or as ни ношено (с)възиаше сѣ, from *съвъзити 1, because the manuscript is corrupted in this point; see the commentary by Sever’janov (SUPR 511, 27), as well as the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences phototype edition. In the PD this gloss is referred to the class 1 verb, see § 910–913, *Excursus on the contamination and competition between paradigmatic classes*.

окаменити. Cf. окамѣнити. On the competition between suffixes ен, ѣн, ѣн see § 896.

окамѣнити. See preceding word.

остѣпити¹ [об.стѣп.и.т.и] ‘surround’ and остѣпити² [от.стѣп.и.т.и] ‘step back’ are homonyms. See § 640–641.

ождити [от.(сжд).и.т.и]. Aberrant spellouts with отъ in SUPR.

отътрѣбити. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword отрѣбити. Out of seven glosses, one is with отъ (SUPR 299, 7–8), the other have отрѣб- (Jn 15, 2 MAR and elsewhere). In the PD the spellouts with отрѣб- are treated as aberrant (omission of ъ); normally, от.трѣб would have given острѣб.

оходити [от.(ход).и.т.и]. Cf. обвъходити [обвъ.(ход).и.т.и]; more details in § 640–641.

понти² [(пој).и.т.и] ‘make drink’ <651> and понти¹ [по.(и).т.и] ‘go, start out’ <329> are homonyms.

положити. PS SIN attests проложити: положиша ѿма ѣко овошгъное хранилиште: проложиха тропиє рарабъ твоихъ брѣшно пътицамъ небснзимъ пѣти прѣподовьнихъ твоихъ звѣремъ зельнымъ (78, 2). Večerka and Sever’janov treat this gloss as an erroneous spellout for положити; likewise in the PD.

помждити. Aberrant spellout of the root with моуд-; contra Večerka, who gives only the headword помоудити. Cf. мждити, замждити, прѣмждити, оумждити.

понждити. Contra Večerka, who gives only the headword поноудити. Нарах gloss with the root as ноуд-: SUPR 127, 5. In the PD this spellout is treated as aberrant. Cf.

- нѣдѣти, принѣдѣти; likewise понѣждати, принѣждати.
- прѣлюбити. Contra Večerka, who gives only the headword прѣлюбѣлати. Harax gloss а нѣже љ гонѣаше то тѣмъ прѣлюбѣаше и крѣмъаше SUPR 214, 16–17. See §910–913, *Excursus on the contamination and competition between paradigmatic classes*.
- принѣдѣти. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword принѣдѣти. All glosses with the spellout нѣдѣ (such as all those found in SUPR) are treated as aberrant in the PD. Cf. нѣдѣти, понѣдѣти; likewise понѣждати, принѣждати.
- прѣвратити. Aberrant spellouts правратити in PS SIN: праврати 77, 44 and правратишь сѣл 77, 57.
- прѣмѣдѣти. Contra Večerka, who gives only the headword прѣмѣдѣти. Only two glosses show the spellout of the root as мѣдѣ (both in SUPR); they are treated as aberrant in the PD. Cf. мѣдѣти, замѣдѣти, помѣдѣти, оумѣдѣти.
- радѣти ‘care for, look after’ <753>. Aberrant spellouts of the root as радѣ, for distribution in sources see Večerka (under the headwords радѣти and неродѣти).
- растворити¹ [раз.(твор).н.т.и] ‘melt’ <944> and растворити² [раз.(твор).н.т.и] ‘open’ <89> are homonyms.
- свѣтити. Cf. свѣтѣти 2.
- совѣтити. Harax gloss забѣдѣхъ і бѣхъ ѣко пѣтица совѣщѣиѣ сѣл на зѣдѣ PS SIN 101, 8.
- сѣмѣрити. Contra Večerka; in the PD the gloss вѣмѣриши вѣ оковехъ носѣтѣ его PS SIN 104, 18 is treated as a morphologically erroneous spellout for сѣмѣриши. Večerka gives the headword вѣмѣрити for this gloss; no such headword in the PD.
- оукоренити. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword оукоренити as reference to вѣкоренити. For оукоренити only three glosses (1x SUPR, 2x EUCH). Cf. вѣкоренити.
- оулоучити ‘obtain, reach’ <509>. Following Večerka and contra Sadnik, the PD has no headword олоучити, which Sadnik uses for the harax gloss нѣже егоже не створи нѣбо крѣстѣ възможе і егоже слѣныце не можаше оулоучити крѣстѣ възвѣвъ просвѣти CLOZ 10a, 26–28. At the same time, Sadnik treats the spellout оулоучити as erroneous for олоучити, from root олуч <510>/<<482>>.
- оумрътвити. The 1sgPrae is not attested. Likewise unattested are the forms of lmf and of the old 8-Part, except for two glosses in PS SIN 135, 18 оумръштѣвшюмоу and EUCH 39b, 5 оумръштѣвшюмоу showing an anomalous outcome of substitutive softening, тѣ → штѣл, in place of the expected тѣ → тѣл (double substitutive softening, see § 118). The anomalous substitutively softened base оумръштѣ- is also attested in the n-participles (SUPR 3x, PS SIN 2x, EUCH 1x), as well as in the secondary imperfective class 7 verb оумръштѣлати. In the PD the n-Part forms оумръштѣн- (4x SUPR) are treated as morphologically strange spellouts for оумръштѣлен-, rather than under the verb *оумрътити, mentioned with these forms in Večerka.
- оумѣнити. See мѣнити.
- оумѣдѣти. Contra Večerka, who gives only the headword оумѣдѣти. Harax gloss in SUPR, treated as aberrant in the PD. Cf. мѣдѣти, замѣдѣти, помѣдѣти, прѣмѣдѣти.
- оусъпити ‘put to sleep’. Contra Večerka, who gives only the headword оусъпати for the harax gloss оусъпи и повелѣнїемъ тѣомъ на ложи его EUCH 42b, 5–6. Cf. Church Slavic оусъпити (see Sreznevskij).

§ 493. List of commented lexemes of трыпѣти 2 class

- видѣти. Anomalous form lmv2Sg: ѽвидѣ in place of the expected види, only for the lexeme видѣти; for the others: завиди PS SIN 36, 1; обиди Mk 10, 19 ZOG and MAR; възненавиди Mt 5, 43 AS. On such aberrant forms as видѣди see § 620.
- оцѣоати [об.(стої).ѣ.т.и] ‘surround’. Only three glosses, all with aberrant spellouts of the prefix: обѣст- (MAR and SUPR), обѣст- (ZOG). Cf. оцѣоати.
- отѣстоати [отъ.(стої).ѣ.т.и] ‘stand apart, distance’. Cf. остоати.
- пльзѣти. Contra Večerka, who gives two headwords, пльзѣти 2 and пльзити 1, in the same entry. In the PD, following Sadnik and Lunt, only пльзѣти 2.
- свѣтѣти. Cf. свѣтити 1.
- сѣтрѣпѣти. Večerka gives the headword несѣтрѣпѣнъ covering just two glosses: несѣтрѣпѣна мѣка (SUPR 375, 3) and несѣтрѣпѣтна мѣка (SUPR 377, 30–378, 1). The former is treated, in the PD, as a regular n-Part from the verb сѣтрѣпѣти; the latter is considered an erroneous spellout for

несътръгъната or a morphologically strange form (a contamination of н- and т-Part).

пЛАКАТИ 3 class

§ 494. Class membership

This class contains just under 300 lexemes; there are just over 80 distinct verbs. Possible right edges of the lexical component are shown in Table 494.

Table 494. Possible right edges of the lexical component in пЛАКАТИ 3 class

Simple	к, г, х	ц, с	ъ, ѣ, ѣ	Shibilants	j	V(i)
страдати показати	пЛАКАТИ ЛЪГАТИ ДЪХАТИ	Only °ЛЛЦАТИ °РИЦАТИ °ТРЪСАТИ	None	None	ЗНАТИ	СЪБИТИ

§ 495. Notes on word formation

Normally the lexical component ends in a root formative; otherwise only for the following items: клокогати, кльчѣгати, ристати, рѣпѣгати, скръжьгати, исхѣдѣгати, шѣпѣгати. Cf. also: глаголати, кльветѣгати, колѣбѣгати, лѣбѣзѣгати, трѣпетѣгати.

§ 496. Connections with other classes

The following correlations are possible: 3≈0 (даѣгати ≈ даѣти), 3≈4 (сѣбѣгати ≈ сѣбѣти), 3≈5 (въстрѣсѣгати ≈ въстрѣгнѣти), 3≈7 (възѣмѣгати ≈ възѣмѣти). On the competition between classes 3 and 5, as well as between 3 and 7, see details in Ch. 24, *Supplement*, § 910-913, *Excursus on the contamination and competition of paradigmatic classes*.

§ 497. Irregular verbs

This class contains the following groups of irregular verbs: метати 3°, вѣрати 3°*, пѣсѣгати 3*, пльвѣгати 3h*#.

§ 498. A note on the метати 3° group

Many lexemes that belong here are poorly attested; some entirely lack the PRAE system. Table 498 (p. 294) shows the source data by family. Data from Sreznevskij's dictionary of Church Slavic are shown for comparison.

Table 498. Attestation of PRAE forms in the *метати* 3° group

	OCS PRAE forms		CS PRAE forms	
	Prae°	Prae•	Prae°	Prae•
<335> <i>искати</i> — 0, <i>въз</i> °, <i>из</i> °, <i>об</i> °, <i>по</i> °, <i>сън</i> °	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<545> <i>метати</i> — 0, <i>въз</i> °, <i>въ</i> °, <i>из</i> °, <i>отъ</i> °, <i>по</i> °, <i>при</i> °, <i>рѣ</i> °, <i>раз</i> °	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<919> <i>съсати</i> — 0	Yes	No	Yes	No
<992> <i>тъкати</i> — 0, <i>из</i> °, <i>на</i> °, <i>съ</i> °	Yes	No	Yes	No
<398> <i>ковати</i> — 0, <i>об</i> °, <i>по</i> °	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
<773> <i>ръвати</i> — <i>оу</i> °	No	No	Yes	No
<863> <i>сновати</i> — <i>об</i> °	No	No	Yes	Yes

“Yes” in the Prae° columns means that the attested forms in the PRAE system lack substitutive softening; “no” means that such forms are not attested. Conversely, “yes” in the Prae• columns means that the attested forms in the PRAE system show substitutive softening; “no” means that such forms are not attested. The symbol ° after the prefix, as usual, indicates the verb with the corresponding prefix from the relevant family. Likewise, the symbol 0 shows the presence of a prefixless verb in the family.

Commentary and illustrations

1. *искати* <335> and *метати* <545> show aberrant forms with substitutive softening; see § 615.
2. PRAE system forms such as *метж* may be assigned either to the verb *метати* 3° or to the verb *мести* 4c. In the present dictionary, 4c verbs are shown alongside 3° verbs only if there are glosses that are diagnostic for 4c that cannot be assigned to the class 3° infinitive. Such are *съмести* 4c, where the only gloss is *съметъше: пепелъ съметъше възъпаша въ рѣкѣ* (SUPR 80, 29–30), and *помести* 4c, gloss *пометенъ* (MAR, ZGR Mt 12, 44 and Lk 11, 25); *помести* 4c is alongside *пометати* 3° and *помѣтати* 7. Note that Sadnik assigns all PRAE forms of the *метж* type to class 4 verbs (we find the following headwords: *мести*, *въмести*, *отъмести*, *помести*, and *съмести*), and all forms with the root *мѣт* to class 7 verbs of the *мѣтати* 7 type, and all forms such as *мештж* to *метати* 3 type verbs (we find the following headwords: *въметати*, *възметати*, *изметати*, *отъметати*, *пометати*, *приметати*, *рѣметати*, *разметати*). In Večerka the separation of headwords is not consistent.
3. Verbs ending in *ъвати* (°*ръвати* <773>) and *овати* (*ковати* <398>, *сновати* <863>) form a separate group. The issue is that *ъв* and *ов* can be either a simple sequence of segments (cf. *лов* in *ловити*), or a representative of sonant vocalism. The paradigmatic standard expects substitutive softening in the PRAE stem. If the vocalism is pure, the PRAE workstem must end in a substitutively soft consonant, in this case *в* with epenthetic *l*; if sonant vocalism is present, then the workstem must end in *ъв/ъ* or *ов/оу* without substitutive softening (effect °, cf. *зъвати*, *зовъ*). Also possible is the C-final stem arrest effect (cf. *пльвати*, *плъкъ*; see § 465, *A note on the so-called j-present*). Accordingly, with sonant vocalism, the expected Prae forms are: *ръвъж//рънъж*, *ковъж//ковъж*, and *сновъж//сноуъж*. PRAE forms are attested only for the verb

ковати with root <398>. While not found in OCS, its sonant vocalism shows up in Church Slavic forms such as коуѣж.

оуръвати <773> is represented by a single gloss, юнѣць [...] иже оурвавѣ садъ отъ привазанья и їзъ оградѣ излѣзъ SUPR 565, 18–19. Večerka shows the present оуръвѣж, оуръвѣши (likewise Sadnik).

ковати <398>: PRAE forms are represented by the hapax gloss ковома (SUPR 161, 29).

основати <863>: PRAE forms are not attested.

In this grammar, PRAE with the ° effect is selected as canonical for these three verbs.

НЕСТИ 4 class

§499. Class membership

This class contains just under 350 lexemes. There are just under 100 distinct verbs. Possible right edges of the lexical component are shown in Table 499.

Table 499. Possible right edges of the lexical component in нести 4 class

Simple	к, г, х	ц, с	ъ, ѣ, ѡ	Shibilants	j	V(i)	Н
нести	решити	None	None	None	None	знати	клати
4с						4v	4h

Let us list all 4v class verbs: отъ.вѣти, °грѣти, на.доути, °знати, съ.мѣти ‘dare’ and из.мѣти, оу.нѣти, °спѣти, °сѣти, об.оути, по.чити and ис.почити, °чоути.

§500. Notes on word formation

The lexical component ends in a root formative; otherwise only for звѣстити [звѣ.г.т.и]; see §424. There is no expanded stem.

§501. Connections with other classes

4≈7 correlations are possible (възмошти ≈ възмагати). On the competition between class 4 and 5 verbs, see Ch. 24, *Supplement*, §910-913, *Excursus on the contamination and competition between paradigmatic classes*.

§ 502. Irregular verbs

This class contains the following groups of irregular verbs: *чисти* 4с*Џ, *влѣшти* 4с*Џ, *мрѣти* 4н*Џ, *вити* 4н*Џ, *крѣти* 4н*#Џ, *клѣти* 4н, *брати* 4н[•], *плѣти* 4н, *пѣти* 4н.

Verbs in the *влѣшти* 4с*Џ group (such are *влѣшти* <105> and *брѣшти* <58>) are not distinct from verbs in the *чисти* 4с*Џ group in their paradigmatic index. The difference between the paradigms is in the distribution of workstems; see details in Table 440, *Workstems of irregular verbs*. Note the substitution of the vocalic realization of the root in н-Part, ш-Part, and л-Part: *вьчєнъ* and *брѣженъ*.

The verb *пѣти* 4н is not distinct from *плѣти* 4н verbs in its paradigmatic index. The difference between the paradigms is in the distribution of workstems; see details in Table 440, *Workstems of irregular verbs*.

ДВИГНЖТИ 5 class

§ 503. Class membership

This class contains just under 150 lexemes. There are about 60 distinct verbs. Possible right edges of the lexical component are shown in Table 503.

Table 503. Possible right edges of the lexical component in *двигнжти* 5 class

Simple	к, г, х	ц, с	л̆, њ, р̆	Shibilants	j	V(i)
<i>дръзнжти</i>	<i>двигнжти</i>	None	None	None	None	<i>рннжти</i>
нж-dropping						<i>нж-keeping</i>

Verbs are called *нж-dropping* if they show root stem forms without the suffix н. For example, for the verb *двигнжти*, the secondary form of the root aorist is *двигъ*. Such are all the verbs with a closed root. All other verbs are *нж-keeping*. Such are *обнжти* [об.(ви).н.ж.т.н] and *по.винжти*, *°доунжти*, *зинжти*, *на.кънжти*, *по.манжти*, *°минжти*, *по.манжти* and *въз.по.манжти*, *въспланжти* [въз.(пла).н.ж.т.н], *плинжти*, *°плюнжти*, *°ринжти*, *исоунжти* [из.(соу).н.ж.т.н].

This class has a nonstandard marker of н-Part: *ов.ен*. Cf. *дръзновенаи* SUPR 560, 9.

When a root-final labial combines with a suffix-initial н, the result of cluster simplification is not straightforward (see details in § 871, *On the combinations ен, пн and мн*).

§ 504. Notes on word formation

The marker нж is immediately preceded by the root, including in the opaque verbs *гонєзнжти* <185> and *посагнжти* <698>.

§ 505. Connections with other classes

Correlations 5≈7 are possible (ИЧЕЗНИЖТИ ≈ ИЧАЗАТИ). On the competition between class 5 and 3 verbs, as well as between classes 5 and 4, see Ch. 24, *Supplement*, § 910-913, *Excursus on the contamination and competition between paradigmatic classes*. On aberrant forms by class 3 (cf. ГЪЫБЛѢЖ for ГЪЫБНИЖТИ) and by class 4 (cf. ОУСЪПЕ for ОУСЪНИЖТИ) see § 609.

МИЛОВАТИ 6 class

§ 506. Class membership

This class contains about 130 lexemes. There are slightly over 100 distinct verbs. The class marker is the twofold finally ambivalent suffix (ОВ/ЕВ)/ОУ. Possible right edges of the lexical component are shown in Table 506.

Table 506. Possible right edges of the lexical component in МИЛОВАТИ 6 class

Simple	к, г, х	ц, с	лъ, ѱ, ѱ	Shibilants	j	V(i)
сѣтѡвати дарѡвати	ликѡвати лихѡвати	польсеѡвати	цѣсарѣѡвати оутрѣнѣѡвати	врачевѡвати непыштѡвати	Only воеѡвати	None

§ 507. Notes on word formation

There are many denominals among the verbs of this class, cf. вѣровѡвати, дарѡвати, дрѡселѡвати, трѣѡвати. Many denominal verbs contain nominal suffixes as part of the lexical component. Such are, for example, шыѡтѡвати [шыѡ.ѡтѡ.ѡв.ѡ.т.и], пришыѡлѡтѡвати [при.шыѡ.л.ѡтѡ.ѡв.ѡ.т.и], ликѡсѡтѡвати [ликѡ.ѡтѡ.ѡв.ѡ.т.и], лѡкаѡѡвати [лѡкѡ.ѡв.ѡ.т.и].

Commentary on individual verbal lexemes

§ 508. List of commented lexemes of ПЛАКАТИ 3 class

алѡкѡти. On the aberrant spellouts of the root see § 807. Cf. гѡ: кѡгда тѡ видѣхѡмѡ лѡчѡштѡ ѡ натрѡухѡмѡ Mt 25, 37: лѡчѡштѡ ѡ лѡчѡѡ ѡ вѡ мар, ѡс, алѡчѡѡ ѡ вѡ сѡв.

вѡждѡдѡти. Aberrant spellout in мар: вѡждѡдѡтѡ Jn 4, 13.

вѡслѡпати 3* 'stream'. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword вѡслѡпати 3; two glosses only: шт-Part вѡслѡпѡлѡштѡѡ Jn 4, 14 ѡс and вѡслѡпѡлѡштѡѡ Jn 4, 14 зѡгр

(cf. Church Slavic вѡслѡпѡхѡмѡ; see Vailant, § 191).

дѡхѡти 3*. Contra Večerka, who has no headword дѡхѡти, but has дѡхѡти 3 and дѡхѡти 3/7. The PD gives the headwords дѡхѡти 3* and дѡхѡти 7. The glosses of PRAE with base дѡхѡ are assigned to дѡхѡти in the PD, cf. дѡхѡ ѡдеже хѡштѡтѡ дѡхѡѡтѡ Jn 3, 8 зѡгр, мар. The spellout дѡхѡѡтѡ (same verse in ѡс) is treated as aberrant spellout for

доушеть in the PD (see § 613), while Večerka refers this gloss to the verb дыхати 3/7.

исходатаати. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword исходатаати according to class 7. Hapax gloss послѣдъ же плодъ миренъ исходатааетъ EUSN 88b, 15–16. The PD assigns it to class 3 following Lunt (Lunt 1974, § 15.43).

ковати 3°. See § 498.

лапати¹ ‘wait for, lie in wait’ <480> and лапати² ‘yelp’ <479> are homonyms.

оковати 3°. See § 498.

основати 3°. See § 498.

остръгати 3*. Aberrant aorist остроуга SUPR 392, 15. See § 613.

плакати. Contra Večerka, who gives two homonymous headwords: плакати¹ ‘cry, pour out tears’ and плакати² ‘wash, rinse’ (cf.: рывари же ошьдыше отъ нею плакаахъ мръжа Lk 5, 2 ZOG, MAR, AS). However, the derivatives (про°, ов°, въс°, and въ°) are assigned to the same headword (semantically, to the verb плакати¹). Sreznevskij also distinguishes two different плакати, while assigning the pleophonic variant полокати, attested in late

Church Slavic texts, to the verb плакати² (analogous to Večerka’s плакати²). Only one headword in the PD, following Sadnik. Note that Vasmer suggests here two different etymologies (see Vasmer, плакать and полоскать).

поковати 3°. See § 498.

растръзати 3*. Contra Večerka, who gives two headwords растръзати 7 and растръзовати 7; the latter covers the hapax gloss растръзоваеетъ SUPR 350, 28. The PD has no headword растръзовати 7, while the corresponding gloss is treated as morphologically strange.

скръжътати. Contra Večerka, who gives two headwords in the same entry, скръжътати and скръгътати. In the PD only скръжътати and поскръжътати. Aberrant spellout in SAV скръгыца Mk 9, 18.

свъззати. Aberrant spellout свѣзавъше Mt 27, 2 in MAR.

сътъкати ‘communicate’. Hapax gloss with an aberrant spellout: стъкаша (SUPR 146, 20–21).

оуръвати 3°. See § 498.

§ 509. List of commented lexemes of нести 4 class

вести¹ [вед.т.и] ‘guide’ <75> and вести² [вез.т.и] ‘carry’ <84> are homonyms.

грысти [гръиз.т.и]. Following Večerka, who gives the headword грысти covering the hapax gloss идеже татъ не приближаетъ съ ни чръвь гризетъ ни тълѣ тълитъ Lk 12, 33 SAV.

грлсти. Aberrant spellout грѣди Mk 2, 14 MAR.

жешти. Anomalous forms of lmv with the vocalic realization ь: Вжъсѣте, see § 464.

жласати ‘indemnify’. Aberrant spellout жлѣдетъ 1x in SUPR 360, 13.

звѣшти [звѣ.г.т.и] <310>. The only class 4 verb where the lexical component contains a suffix.

измръмръти 4h*₄ [из.(мръ.мръ).т.и] ‘gnaw through (of worms)’. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword измръмрати with class 3 Prae: измръмръжъ, измръмръшин. Sadnik and Lunt agree with Večerka. Hapax gloss всѣхъ измръмръжитъ чръвые SUPR 238, 13.

измѣти <586>. Contra Večerka, who gives only the headword измѣнити. The headword измѣти in the PD covers the hapax gloss 2–3SgAor измѣтъ ps sin 72, 21: ѣко разгорѣ съ сръдыце мое жтроба моѣ измѣтъ

сѣ. Večerka treats this gloss as erroneous for измѣнитъ сѣ. See § 482.

кръгти. Aberrant spellouts with кри- in SUPR, CLOZ, SAV. Cf. окръгти, покръгти, съкръгти.

объути <1010>. OCS sources attest an anomalous n-Part form: Въобувен- Mk 6, 9 MAR and ZOG; Church Slavic attests the spellout обвѣн- (see Sreznevskij), analogous to such forms as крѣвенъ (from крѣгти 4h*₄). The verb обвути, on the ground of OCS sources, has been assigned to the class знати 4v, although etymologically it has a sonant root. The vocalic realization in Въобувен- results from leveling.

отешти <941>. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword обвѣшти. Hapax gloss in SUPR: по всен въселенѣи обвѣкло бѣаше SUPR 117, 8.

отъвѣти <137>. Contra Večerka, who does not give the headword отъвѣти, but has the headword отъвѣ, covering two aorist forms: отъвѣ (cf. Jn 1, 49 SAV, Jn 1, 50 AS) and отъвѣша (cf. Jn 8, 48 AS). Sadnik gives only a reference: отъвѣ see отъвѣшати <137>/<1072>. Considering that вѣт <137> can be merged with вѣ <139>, вѣти could

be treated as correlated to *вѣяти* 3, on a par with the correlation *сѣти* 4v/*сѣяти* 3. Nevertheless, in this grammar the roots <139> and <137> are kept separate, following Sadnik.

отъръгѣти <773>. Contra Večerka, who has no headword *отъръгѣти*. *Нарах* gloss *отъръвена*: *тетъка вонтъ са да не отъръвена бждетъ* SUPR 133, 11–12. Večerka assigns this gloss to the lexeme *отъръвати* (*отъръвъж*, *отъръвеш*), and is treated as an erroneous spellout for *отъръвана*. This opinion seems shared also by Sadnik's dictionary attesting the infinitive *отъръвати* but not the infinitive *отъръгѣти*. The postulation of the lexeme *отъръвати* is favored by the *hарах* gloss of the deverbal noun *отъръвание* (*дръжашти же него савини за ризы отъръвания ради отъ народа* SUPR 133, 9–10). However, in Church Slavonic the deverbal noun *отръвение* is attested (*поманж иерълимь дѣи [...] ѿръвения своего Book of lamentations 1, 7, Урур' Lixoj* quoted in Sreznevskij, 766; the meaning is 'exile'). Note that Vaillant (§ 204) inexplicably assigns the gloss *отъръвена* to the verb *отъринѣти*, while, at the same time, suggesting that the above-mentioned gloss *отъръвания* «sûrement il faut corriger [...] en отръвения». Instead, the form *отъръвения* certainly requires the infinitive

отъръгѣти, as well as the participle *отъръвена* (SUPR 133, 12).

отълати <334>. Aberrant spellouts with *отъль-*, *отъльн-* (INF-AOR system) and *отъльм-*, *отъльньм-* (PRAE system).

*пастн*¹ [пад.т.н] 'fall' <649> and *пастн*² [пас.т.н] 'graze' <659> are homonyms.

пешти. Anomalous *ь* vocalism in *lmv* forms: *Впыцѣте*. See § 464.

постръшти <894> 4с**ь*, *постригж* 'shear, cut'. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword *постришти*. Cf. the *Inf* forms *постръшти* 7x *вучн*.

решти. Anomalous *ь* vocalism in *lmv* forms: *Врыцѣте*. See § 464.

*стрѣшти*¹ [стрѣг.т.н] 'guard' <891> 4с, *стрѣгж* and *стрѣшти*² [стрѣг.т.н] 'shear' <894> 4с**ь*, *стригж* are homonyms. Contra Večerka, who assigns *стрѣшти*² to *стришти*.

смѣти <586> 'dare'. See § 914–915, *Excursus on the morphology of personal forms of the imperfect*.

сѣти. Contra Sadnik. Večerka distinguishes two meanings: 1. 'sow (of seeds)' (<<793>> in Sadnik) and 2. 'sift' (<<794>> in Sadnik). These two roots are merged in the PD.

тешти. Anomalous *ь* vocalism in *lmv* forms: *Втыцѣте*. See § 464.

Do not confuse the following pairs of lexemes:

дѣти, *дѣмж* 4h <268> 'blow' ~ °*доути*, *доуѣж* 4v <259>: *надоути* 'become proud'
жѣти, *жѣнѣж* 4h* <302> 'reap' ~ °*жаѣти*, *жѣмж* 4h <290>: *сѣжаѣти* 'compress'
жрѣти, *жрѣж* 4h* <292> 'sacrifice' ~ °*жрѣти* 4h**ь*: *пожрѣти*, *пожърж* <295> 'devour'
грѣти [грѣв.т.н], *грѣвж* 4с <190> 'row' ~ *грѣти*, *грѣж* 4v <154> 'warm'
спѣти [сѣ.(пѣ).т.н], *спѣж* 4h² <738> 'sing' ~ *спѣти* [(спѣ).т.н] 4v <872> 'succeed'
смѣти [сѣ.(мѣ).т.н], *смѣж* 4v <586> 'dare' ~ *смѣти*, *смѣж* 3* <858> 'laugh'
°*лити*, *лиж* 4h*² <491>: *пролити* 'pour out' ~ *лиѣти*, *лиѣж* 3* <491> 'pour'
брати [бра.т.н], *ворѣж* 4h* <42> 'make war' ~ *вьрати* [вьр.а.т.н], *берж* 3°* <24> 'gather'
клати [клад.т.н], *колѣж* 4h* <364> 'split' ~ *клати* [клад.т.н], *кладж* 4с <375> 'put'
°*чрѣти* [чрѣп.т.н], *чръж* 4с**ь* <1081>: *почръти* 'scoop up' ~ *чръпати* [чръп.а.т.н], *чръпѣж* 3* <1081> 'scoop'
*обити*² [об.ви.т.н], *обивж* 4h*² <95> 'entwine' ~ *обити*¹ [об.н.т.н], *обидж* 0 <329> 'surround'

§510. List of commented lexemes of *двигнѣти* 5 class

възньзнѣти <609>. Contra Večerka, who gives the following doubled headwords: *възньзнѣти*, *възнисѣти*; *въньзнѣти*, *вънисѣти*; *проньзнѣти*, *пронисѣти*; *оуньзнѣти*, *оунисѣти*. From among class 4 verbs, the PD

has only *вънисѣти* for the gloss *lmv* *въньзи*. With other prefixes there are only class 5 verbs. However, the PD treats glosses of the root *aroist* (cf. *оуньзж*), as well as AOR and IMF forms by class 4 (cf. *възьньзъ*,

пронъзъшоуоумоу) as secondary or aberrant for class 5 lexemes. Cf.: исплънь гъбж оцъта' възньзъ на тръсть' напѣаше і Mk 15, 36 ZOGR, MAR, etc. See § 910–913, *Excursus on the contamination and competition between paradigmatic classes*. Cf. възньзжти, проньзжти, оуньзжти.

възьзжти <609>. See above, възньзжти.

въспоманжти <550>. Aberrant spellouts with въспомѣн-; for distribution in sources see Večerka.

отъригжти <770>. Spellouts with the root in the shape ръг are not attested, contra Sadnik. Večerka mentions a spellout with ръг in *Enina Apostle*.

пљнжти. Cf. пљнжти; for distribution in sources see Večerka.

пљнжти. See preceding word.

поманжти <550>. Aberrant spellouts with помѣн-; for distribution in sources see Večerka.

присванжти [при.(св.л.д).н.ж.т.н] <147>. Nonstandard variant of the root вад (cf. оуваддати, оуванжти).

пронъзжти <609>. See above, възньзжти.

съгъзжти [съ.(гъб).н.ж.т.н] <210>. Večerka gives also the headwords съгъбати 7 and негъблъ for the hapax gloss from EUCN: простеръ на распонѣ' в'сѣ оуды свои х'ѣ в'же нашъ' съгъбаль еси в'сѣ негъблѣ 35b, 1–3. In the PD both съгъбаль and негъблѣ are treated as erroneous or morphologically strange; contra Večerka, the PD does not register the headwords съгъбати and негъблъ.

оуньзжти <609>. See above, възньзжти.

§511. List of commented lexemes of миловати 6 class

даровати. Aberrant дароваѣ in SUPR 481, 22, cf. canonical дароуѣ SUPR 535, 16 and elsewhere.

посѣтовати 'wail' <931>. Cf. сѣтовати 'lament, sorrow' <932>. The distribution of roots follows Sadnik.

сѣтовати. See preceding word.

оутрѣивѣвати 'get up early'. Aberrant spellout ютрѣн- 1x in PS SIN 126, 2.

цѣловати. Contra Večerka, who gives two headwords: цѣловати 6 and цѣлывѣвати 7. The PD does not register the headword цѣлывѣвати; the forms цѣлывѣвати Mk 15, 18 AS and цѣлывѣжтъ SUPR 542, 22 are treated as morphologically strange spellouts for цѣловати 6.

Дѣлати 7 class

§512. Class membership

This class contains more than 750 lexemes. There are more than 300 distinct verbs. Possible right edges of the lexical component are shown in Table 512.

Table 512. Possible right edges of the lexical component in дѣлати 7

	Simple	к, г, х	ц, с	лъ, ѣ, ѣ	Shibilants	j	V(i)
-а.т.н	капати	ласкати	клицати*	пѣйѣати	посѣждати	оувиѣати	ооуѣати
-ѣ.т.н	оукрѣпѣти	None	None				

* Such are the following 10 verbs: на.вѣцати, клицати, кльцати, по.морѣцати; °двиѣати, °жнѣати, по.мнѣати, по.сѣриѣати, осаѣати, °тѣѣати.

After morphophonologically soft consonants and vowels, the phonological opposition /a/ ~ /ѣ/ is neutralized. In the morphophonological representation,

in case of neutralization the spellout with *a* is adopted by convention;¹ in all other cases, *a* or ѣ is used; cf. *насъшгати* [на.съшт.а.т.и], *съмѣшати* [съ.мѣш.а.т.и], but *дѣлати* and *ицѣлѣти*, cf. also *питати* and *питѣти*.²

§513. Notes on word formation

A significant number of verbs show an open root closed by the suffixal prothetic consonant *v*; cf. *подавати*, *помавати*, *познавати*, *оубивати* (cf. *оубигати*), *поливати*, *почивати*, *одѣвати*, *припѣвати*, *оуспѣвати*, *сѣгрѣвати*, *насѣвати*, *оунывати*. A small number of verbs shows the prothetic consonant *v* after the suffixal formative ѣ (originally a verbal theme): *оуцѣпѣнѣвати*, *сѣдолѣвати*, *прѣдолѣвати*, *одолѣвати*, *измждрѣвати*, *разоумѣвати*, *проразоумѣвати*, *повелѣвати* (see § 865, *A note on nominal stems and verbal platforms*). In other cases the root vowel is closed by the nominal suffix, cf. *вѣньчати*, *продлѣжати*, *вльнѣати*, *дѣлати*, *слоушати*.

§514. Connections with other classes

The following correlations are possible: 7≈1, 7≈2, 7≈3, 7≈4, 7≈5. On the competition of classes 7 and 1, as well as 7 and 3, see Ch. 24, *Supplement*, § 910–913, *Excursus on the contamination and competition between paradigmatic classes*.

Many verbs ending in *-а.т.и* form correlative pairs of the form “starting verb ≈ secondary imperfective verb”, where the secondary imperfective verb belongs to class 7 and its correlate starting verb belongs to a lesser-numbered class. Such are, for example, the following. Class 1 verbs: *тазвити* ≈ *тазвлѣати*, *повѣдити* ≈ *повѣждаати*. Class 2 verbs: *сѣгорѣти* ≈ *сѣгарати*, *назырѣти* ≈ *назирати*. Class 3 verbs: *избѣрати* ≈ *избѣрати*, *напѣсати* ≈ *написати*, *възьмати* ≈ *възимати*. Class 4 verbs: *възмошти* ≈ *възмагати*, *пропати* ≈ *пропинати*. Class 5 verbs: *извѣгнѣжати* ≈ *извѣгати*, *ичезнѣжати* ≈ *ичазати*, *растрѣгнѣжати* ≈ *растрѣгати*. As can be seen from these examples, class 7 verbs often show the lengthened grade of the vocalism compared to the correlate of the lesser-numbered class, and, in some cases, the substitutively softened variant of the truncated stem.

Commentary on individual verbal lexemes

§515. List of commented lexemes of дѣлати 7 class

авлѣати. Cf. the doublet lexeme *тавлѣати*; for *тавлѣати*. See preceding word. distribution in sources see Večerka.

¹ Note that *трѣпѣти* 2 class always contains ѣ, cf. *слыш.ѣ.т.и.*, *дрѣж.ѣ.т.и.*

² In class 7, the opposition of the suffixal themes ѣ and *a* in some cases reflects a semantic opposition in aspect or Aktionsart, but in cases of segmental neutralization the semantic opposition is also neutralized. See details in Vaillant, § 228–241.

- блискати** <31>. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword **блискати** as reference to **блисцати**, and does not register the headword **блистати**. The PD gives **блискати** 7, **блистати** 7 and **блыштати** 2, while not registering the headword **блисцати** 7; for instance, **блискати** covers the hapax gloss **блискаѡштѣ** *СА* SUPR 336, 7–8; four spellouts with **шт-**Part **блисцаѡ**, **блисцаѡштѣ** are treated as aberrant for **блистати** (lexical aberration by the alternative pairing **ск||сц** in place of canonical **ск||ст**, see more details in § 111, 650).
- блистати** <31>. Covers only aberrant forms, such as **блисцаѡ** (4x). However, in SUPR **блистаннѣ** (2x). See also above, **блискати** and **блистаннѣ** (§ 341).
- въжделати**. Cf. **въжделѣти**; for distribution in sources see Večerka.
- вълати** [(въл).а.т.н] <77>. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword **въламати**, as also Lunt does. Sadnik gives **вълати**. Six glosses altogether, only two forms: **вълаѡ** and **вълаѡхъ**. Cf. Sreznevskij, **вълати** and **въламати**.
- въсължпати** ‘beg’. Hapax gloss in PS SIN with aberrant spellout **въсълпапакътъ** (108, 10).
- въсѣлати**. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword **въсѣлати**. Five glosses altogether, of which only one with the aberrant spellout of the root **въсѣлѣмѣ** PS SIN 112, 9.
- вътрѣтърати** <975>. 1x **вучн**, **вътрѣтъравъ** 55a, 8–9. Reduplicated stem of the type **гла.гол.ати**, **из.мръ.мръѣти**.
- гнѣшати**. Aberrant spellouts with **гнош-** in SUPR.
- одолѣти** <237>. Aberrant spellouts of the root **дел-**; for distribution in sources see Večerka. Cf. **одолѣти**, **одолѣвати** and others.
- желати**. Cf. **желѣти**; for distribution in sources see Večerka.
- желѣти**. See preceding word.
- заматѣрѣти** <541>. Aberrant spellout **заматѣр-** 1x in ZOGR.
- ицѣлѣвати** [из.(цѣл).ѣ.в.а.т.н] <1054>. Contra Večerka, who gives two headwords, **ицѣлѣвати** and **ицѣлѣвати**. Two glosses altogether, **ицѣлѣваѡхъ** SUPR 18, 26 and **иц(ѣ)лѣваашѣ** Lk 6, 19 AS 123b.
- клицати** <383> ‘shout’. Cf. **клицати** <387> ‘reflect’.
- клицати**. See preceding word.
- напитати**. Cf. **напитѣти**; for distribution in sources see Večerka.
- напитѣти**. See preceding word.
- обѡубожати** ‘become poor’ <37>. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword **обѡубожати**. Two glosses altogether, both are aberrant: **обѡубожавы** CLOZ 1a, 40 and **обѡубожавын** SUPR 326, 21.
- окрѣвати**. Aberrant spellouts of the root as **кри-** in SUPR, CLOZ, SAV.
- отъригати** ‘disgorge’ <770>. Spellouts with **ръг** are not attested, contra Sadnik. Večerka mentions one such spellout in *Enina Apostle*.
- питати**. Cf. **питѣти**, for distribution in sources see Večerka.
- питѣти**. See preceding word.
- подражати**. [по.(драж).а.т.н] ‘imitate, mimic’ <243>. Contra Večerka, who gives two headwords **подражати** and **подрѣжати** in the same dictionary entry. The PD does not register the headword **подрѣжати**, and treats the spellouts with **подрѣж-** as aberrant; for distribution in sources see Večerka.
- покрѣвати**. Aberrant spellouts of the root as **кри-** in SUPR, CLOZ, SAV.
- понжждати**. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword **понуждати**. Hapax gloss **понуждаемъ ѡсмъ** SUPR 432, 20. Cf. **нждити**, **понждити**, **принждити**, **принжждати**.
- принжждати**. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword **принуждати**. Two glosses altogether in SUPR, both in aberrant spellout with **оу**. Cf. **нждити**, **понждити**, **принждити**; **понжждати**.
- прѣмжждрати** <600>. The spellout **прѣмжждрати** is in the hapax gloss in SUPR: **не бо ѡси призванъ прѣмжждрати** *СА* SUPR 21, 23–24. See § 118, *Double substitutive softening morphophonological effect*.
- расъматрѣати** [раз.съ.(матрѣ).а.т.н] <542>. Contra Večerka, who gives two headwords, **расъматрѣати** and **расъмаштрѣати**; the latter covers two aberrant glosses in SUPR, **расъмаштрѣхъ** 301, 3 and **расъмаштраѡхъ** 545, 26.
- рискати** <772>. Following Večerka and contra Sadnik, who gives **рыскати**.
- смикати** <859>. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword **смѣкати**. Hapax gloss in SUPR: **смѣкаѡштнѣм са по земѣ** 496, 18.
- съматрѣати**. Cf. **съмѣтрѣати**; for distribution in sources see Večerka.
- съмѣтрѣати**. See preceding word.

Unique verbs

§516. General table of unique verb profiles

Tables 516.1–3 (pp. 304–305) show the profiles of all unique verbs and the paragraphs where the corresponding verb is examined in more detail. For reference, the inventory of profile forms is shown below:

Inventory of profile forms	
1, 2SgPrae	1, 2–3SgAor
2PlImv	1SgImf
шr-Part	шr-Part
л-Part	н-Part

Table 516.1, along with the main profiles, shows the forms of the Prae bundle, because these forms cannot be built using only profile forms.

Table 516.2, along with the main profiles, shows the forms of the Prae bundle for ‘to be’, and the additional bundles (Cond and Imf-Aor) for the verb БЪИТИ, because these forms cannot be built using only profile forms.

An m-dash (—) shows that there are no forms that permit the reconstruction of the corresponding subparadigm.

Table 516.1. Profiles and Prae of the unique verbs дати, части, вѣдѣти, имѣти

дати § 517–521		дати Prae		
дамь, даси даждь, дадиге дады, даджшти —	дахъ, да дадѣахъ//дадаахъ давъ, давъши дан=	дамь даси дастъ	давѣ даста дасте	дамъ дасте дадатъ
части § 522–526		части Prae		
гамь, гаси гаждь, гадиге гады, гаджшти гадом=	гахъ, га гадѣахъ гадъ, гадъши гаден=	гамь гаси гастъ	гавѣ гаста гасте	гамъ гасте гадатъ
вѣдѣти § 527–531		вѣдѣти Prae		
вѣмь, вѣси вѣждь, вѣдиге вѣды, вѣджшти вѣдом=	вѣдѣхъ, вѣдѣ вѣдѣахъ вѣдѣвѣ, вѣдѣвѣши вѣдѣн=	вѣмь//вѣдѣ вѣси вѣстъ	вѣвѣ вѣста вѣсте	вѣмъ вѣсте вѣдатъ
имѣти § 532–537		имѣти Prae		
имамь, имаси имѣтиге имы, имжшти —	имѣхъ, имѣ имѣахъ имѣвѣ, имѣвѣши имѣн=	имамь имаси иматъ	имавѣ имата имате	имамъ имате имѣтъ

Table 516.2. Profiles of the unique verbs ꙗсмь ‘to be’ and бѣти

‘to be’ § 538–542		‘to be’ Prae					
ꙗсмь, ꙗси — сѣ, сѣшти —	— — — —	ꙗсмь ꙗси ꙗстъ	ꙗсвѣ ꙗста ꙗсте	ꙗсмъ ꙗсте сѣтъ			
бѣти § 543–549		бѣти Cond (§ 546)			бѣти lmf-Aor (§ 544)		
бѣдѣ, бѣдѣши бѣдѣте бѣды, бѣджшти —	бѣхъ, бѣ бѣахъ бѣвѣ, бѣвѣши бѣвен=	бѣмь бѣ бѣ	— — —	бѣмъ бѣсте бѣша// бѣ	бѣхъ бѣ бѣсте	бѣховѣ бѣста бѣсте	бѣхомъ бѣсте бѣша

Table 516.3. Profiles of other unique verbs

хотѣти § 550–555		довѣлѣти § 556–560	
хотѣж, хотѣши хотѣтиге хотѣ, хотѣшти —	хотѣхъ, хотѣ хотѣахъ хотѣвѣ, хотѣвѣши хотѣн=	довѣлѣж, довѣлѣши — довѣлѣа, довѣлѣжшти —	довѣлѣхъ, довѣлѣ довѣлѣахъ — —
ити § 561–564		ити § 565–569	
идѣ, идѣши идѣте иды, иджшти идом=	идохъ, иде идѣахъ шѣдъ, шѣдъши —	идѣж, идѣши идѣте иды, иджшти —	идохъ, иде идѣахъ идѣ, идѣши —

Table 516.3 (continued). Profiles of other unique verbs

стати § 570–573		съпати § 574–577	
станѧ, станешИ станѣте станы, станжшТИ —	стахъ, ста станѣахъ ставъ, ставъши стан=	съпѧѧ, съпиши съпигте съпа, съпашТИ —	съпахъ, съпа съпаахъ съпавъ, съпавъши съпан=
въпити § 578–581		сѣсти § 582–585	
въпиѧ, въпиешИ въпитте въпиѧ, въпиѧшТИ —	въпихъ, въпи въпиаахъ въпивъ, въпивъши —	сѣдѧ, сѣдешИ сѣдѣте сѣды, сѣдѧшТИ —	сѣдохъ, сѣде сѣдѣахъ сѣдъ, сѣдъши сѣден=
лешТИ § 586–589		об.рѣсти § 590–593	
лагѧ, лажешИ лазѣте лагы, лагжшТИ —	легохъ, леже лежаахъ легы, легъши —	рѧштѧ, рѧштешИ рѧштте рѧштѧ, рѧштѧшТИ —	рѣтохъ, рѣте рѧштаахъ рѣтъ, рѣтъши рѣтен=
гънати § 594–597		дѣти § 602–605	
женѧ, женешИ женѣте жены, женжшТИ женом=	гънахъ, гъна женѣахъ гънавъ, гънавъши гънан=	деждѧ, деждешИ деждте дежда, деждѧшТИ —	дѣхъ, дѣ дѣаахъ дѣвъ, дѣвъши дѣн=
плѣти § 598–601, Prae: плѣвѧ, плѣвешИ, м-Part: плѣвом=			

The verb дати

§517. The main profile

Here is the profile of the main forms:

дати			
Prae	дамь, дасИ	Aor	да=хъ, да=0//да=стъ
Imv	дажд=ь, дад=итте	Imf	дад=ѣахъ//да=ѣахъ [дагаахъ]
шт-Part	дад.ы , дад.жшт=И	ш-Part	да.въ , да.въш=И
м-Part	—	н-Part	да.н=
Inf да.т=И, Sup да.т=ъ, л-Part да.л=ъ			

§518. Addendum to the main profile

Here are the paradigms of the personal forms of Prae and Imv:

	Prae			Imv		
	Sg	Du	Pl	Sg	Du	Pl
1	Вдамь	Вдавѣ	Вдамъ	—	дад=ивѣ	дад=имъ
2	ВдасИ	Вдаста	Вдасте	Вдажд=ь	дад=ита	дад=итте
3	Вдасгъ	Вдасте	дад=ѧтъ	Вдажд=ь	дад=итте	—

§519. Morphology of the forms¹

1. The root <216> shows up in two shapes in the paradigm of the verb *дати*: C-final *дад* and V-final *да*. Only the truncated stem occurs in the paradigm. The distribution of C-final and V-final stems is *nonstandard*. Forms of the PRAE system show a mix of *i*- and *e*-conjugations. Anomalous forms of the PRAE system represent the so-called athematic present.

2. Morphologically, imperfect *дадѣахъ* is a present imperfect (cf. *дадѣатъ*), while *дадѣахъ* is infinitival. The latter coincides with the *Inf* of the verb *давати* 3.

3. In addition to the standard 2–3Sg aorist of the *да* type, old aorists like *дастъ* also occur (see § 480).

§520. Family membership

There are 9 lexemes altogether. These are *дати*, *вѣдати*, *вѣздати*, *издати*, *отъдати*, *подати*, *придати*, *продати*, *прѣдати*.

Cf. also *давати* 3, °*давати* 7.

§521. Illustrations

PRAE — рече црь дѣвници· емоу же аште хоштеши дамъ ти Mk 6, 22 ZOGR; хоштѣ да ми даси оу сѣченѣ на блюдѣ главѣ· юана кръстителѣ Mk 6, 25 ZOGR; что ми дасте и азъ вамъ прѣдамъ i Mt 26, 15 SAV; и авне принесоша емоу· ослабена на одрѣ лежѣца· видѣвъ же ісѣ вѣрѣхъ нхъ· рече ослабенымоу надѣи сѣ чѣдо· отъдадатъ ти сѣ грѣси Mt 9, 2 SAV; вѣздаждѣ ми радостъ сѣнѣ твоего· і дхъмъ владѣчънемъ· оутверѣди мѣа PS SIN 50, 14; не дадите сѣгао псомъ· ни помѣтаите бисеръ вашихъ прѣдъ свинѣми Mt 7, 6 MAR; и тако аште кто видитъ матере чѣдолюбѣ мѣка не имѣштѣ· и свое чѣдо видашти плачѣште· и подадѣштѣ съсѣ· да не надон дѣтишга· нъ да отъ плача оуставитѣ· тако же и насъ видите SUPR 384, 18–23.

IMF — и не дадѣаше никомоу же мимо нести· съсѣдъ сквозѣ црѣковъ Mk 11, 16 ZOGR; не дадѣаше лмъ глати Lk 4, 41 ZOGR, but не даѣше in MAR; cf. also: такожде и ѣкоже бѣитъ въ дъни лотовъ· ѣдѣахъ и пигѣхъ· коуповаахъ и продаѣахъ· сѣдѣахъ зѣдѣахъ Lk 17, 28 MAR; можаше бо се муро продано бѣити на мьнозѣ· і дано бѣити ницинимъ Mt 26, 9 MAR; бѣ же канафа· давъни съвѣтъ иудеомъ· ѣко оу нѣе естѣ· единому чѣкоу оумьрѣти за люди Jn 18, 14 AS; тако се мати чѣдолюбѣ· подавъши съсѣ мѣденыцоу· веселитѣ сѣ дѣтишгѣ· привлачѣштоу макъкѣ пиштѣ мѣка SUPR 312, 3–6.

INF-AOR — вѣдѣаше бо ѣко зависти ради прѣдаша и Mt 27, 18 ZOGR; дѣва дѣлѣжника бѣсте занимодавцоу етероу· единъ бѣ дѣлѣженъ патниѣ сотъ динарь· а дроугѣ патѣѣ десѣтъ· не имѣцѣма же има вѣздати обѣма има отъда Lk 7, 41–42 MAR (likewise ZOGR, SAV, cf. обѣма отъдастѣ Lk 7, 42 AS); вѣзѣлѣахъ бо сѣ и дасте ми пѣсти· вѣздадѣахъ сѣ и напоисте мѣ Mt 25, 35

¹ On the distribution of the forms, see Vaillant, § 222.

SAV; ЮЖЕ ДВЪРИ ЗАТВОРЕНЪИ СЖТЪЪ І ДЪТН МОЛА СЪ МЪНОЖ НА ЛОЖИ СЖТЪЪ НЕ МОГЖ ВЪСТАТИ ДАТЪЪ ТЪБЪЪ Lk 11, 7 ZGR; АЦЕ НЕ БЪИ БЪИЛЪ ЗЛОДЪЪИ НЕ БЪИХОМЪ ЕГО ПРЪДАЛИ ТЪБЪЪ Jn 18, 30 SAV.

The verb **ѡСТН**

§522. The main profile

Here is the profile of the main forms:

ѡСТН			
Prae	ѡМЪ, ѡСН	Aor	ѡ=ХЪ, ѡ=0//ѡ=СТЪ
Imv	ѡЖД=Ъ, ѡД=НТЕ	Imf	ѡД=ЪДХЪ
шт-Part	ѡД.ЪІ , ѡД.ЖШТ=Н	ш-Part	ѡД.Ъ , ѡД.ЪШ=Н
м-Part	ѡД.ОМ=	н-Part	ѡД.ЕН=
Inf ѡСТН [ѡД.Т=Н], Sup ѡСТЪ [ѡД.Т=Ъ], л-Part ѡЛ=Ъ [ѡД.Л=Ъ]			

§523. Addendum to the main profile

Here are the paradigms of the personal Prae and Imv forms:

	Prae			Imv		
	Sg	Du	Pl	Sg	Du	Pl
1	ѡМЪ	ѡВЪ	ѡМЪ	—	ѡД=НВЪ	ѡД=НМЪ
2	ѡСН	ѡСТА	ѡСТЕ	ѡЖД=Ъ	ѡД=НТА	ѡД=НТЕ
3	ѡСТЪ	ѡСТЕ	ѡД=АТЪ	ѡЖД=Ъ	ѡД=НТЕ	—

§524. The morphology of the forms²

1. The root <1113> has two shapes in the paradigm of the verb **ѡСТН**: C-final **ѡД** and V-final **ѡ**. The paradigm of the verb only shows the truncated stem. The distribution of the C-final and V-final stems is *nonstandard*. The forms of the PRAE system are a mix of *i*- and *e*-conjugation. Anomalous PRAE system forms represent the so-called athematic present.

2. Along with the standard 2–3Sg aorist of the **ѡ** type, there is the old aorist of the **ѡСТЪ** type (see § 480). In other forms, alongside the standard aorist of the **ѡХЪ** type, there is the sigmatic aorist of the **ѡСЪ** type (see § 478).

3. The canonical м-Part is **ѡДОМЪ** (cf. SUPR 396, 5). However, there is a compound **звѣроѡдимъ**, once in SUPR: **воинъ оушиде хрѣвѣръинѣ плѣньникъ овѣча хѣво** **звѣроѡдино** SUPR 93, 11–12.

4. On the aberrant forms of the шт-Part, see § 622.

² On the distribution of the forms, see Vaillant, § 223.

5. Alongside the ш-Part *адъ*, there is the adjectival formation *ад.ивъ* (cf. the compounds *пльтогадивъ*, *кръвогадивъ*: *снѣ сотонинъ обьштъниче нечистъихъ бѣсовъ*; *бѣсѣнъинъ пьсе*; *кръвопивъинъ змию*; *пльтогадивъинъ мечоу*; *сверѣпѣи звѣринъ*; *не стъдиши ли са жъра каменню прѣдъ народомъ* SUPR 115, 26–30; *авие же акъи льви* *кръвогадивинъ*; *оустрѣмиша са на нѣ скръжьштжште зжѣти* SUPR 216, 22–24).

§525. Family membership

There are 5 lexemes in total. These are *асти*, *изѣсти*, *обѣсти*, *поасти*, and *сѣнѣсти*.³

§526. Illustrations

PRAE — *къде естъ обитѣль*; *идеже пасхъ съ оученикы моими сѣнѣмъ* Mk 14, 14 ZOGR; *къде хошгешн шедъше оуготовимъ да ѣси пасхъ* Mk 14, 12 MAR; *не пцѣте са оубо глѣжште чьто ѣмъ ли чьто приемъ ли чимъ одеждемъ са*; *всѣхъ бо сихъ ѣзыци штгтъ* Mt 6, 31–32 ZOGR; и глаголаша *емоу таждъ* се бо третнй *день естъ поѣже ничьсоже въкоуси* SUPR 19, 9–11; *ѣджшемъ же имъ*; *примъ иѣ хлѣвъ* и *блгсштъ*; *прѣломи* и *даѣше* оученикомъ *своимъ*; и *рече* *примѣте ѣдите се естъ тѣло мое* Mt 26, 26 MAR; *ѣдъи* *пльтъ мою* и *пьи* *кръв мою*; *въ мнѣ прѣбъиваетъ* и *азъ въ немъ* Jn 6, 56 AS; *ѣкоже бо бѣахъ* въ *дъни прѣжде* *потопа*; *ѣджште* и *пийште*; *женаште са* и *посагажште*; *до негоже дъне*; *въниде ноѣ въ ковчегъ* Mt 24, 38 ZOGR.

IMF — *вкле(ве)та* *важштаго* *таи* *искрънѣго* *своего*; *сего* *въигънахъ* *грѣдомъ* *окомъ* и *несытъномъ* *срдцемъ* съ *симъ* *не ѣдѣахъ* PS SIN 100, 5; *чловѣкъ* *нѣкто* *бѣ* *богатъ*; *имѣа* *скотъи* и *чрѣдъи* *многъи*; *чловѣкъ* *же* *пакъи* *бѣ* *оубогъ*; *имѣа* *телнцъ* *ѣдинъ*; *таже* *на* *трепезѣ* съ *нѣмъ* *ѣдѣаше*; и *чашъ* *ѣдинъ* съ *нѣмъ* *пиааше* SUPR 359, 27–360, 1; *егда* *же* *снѣ* *твонъ* съ *изѣдъ* *твое* *имѣние*; съ *любовѣицами* *прѣде*; и *закълаалъ* *емоу* *еси* *телець* *пигломъ* Lk 15, 30 AS; и *мрътвъиними* *вратъи* *извѣкъше* *тѣлеса* *сѣнъинихъ*; *поврзгоша* *на* *въсточнъинихъ* *странахъ*; *такоже* *изѣденомъ* *въгги* *имъ* *отъ* *псъ* SUPR 538, 24–26.

INF-AOR — *тогда* *начьнете* *глати* *ахомъ* *прѣдъ* *тобою* и *пихомъ*; и *на* *распжтнхъ* *нашихъ* *оучилъ* *еси*; и *речетъ* *гладъ* *вамъ*; *не* *вѣдѣ* *васъ* *отъкъдоу* *есте*; *отъстжпите* *отъ* *мене* *вси* *дѣлателе* *неправъдъни* Lk 13, 26–27 SAV; *вѣи* *наши* *ѣша* *манна* *въ* *поустъинѣи*; *ѣкоже* *естъ* *псано*; *хлѣвъ* съ *нѣесе* *дастъ* *имъ* *ѣсти* Jn 6, 31 ZOGR; *пепелъ* *акъи* *хлѣвъ* *ахъ* SUPR 297, 25 (cf. *пепелъ* *ѣко* *хлѣвъ* *ѣсъ* PS SIN 101, 10); *три* *смокви* *роди*; *аже* *възмъ* *старцъ* и съ *слъзами* *облобъизавъ*; *изѣ* SUPR 300, 24–25; *взоба* и *вепрь* *отъ* *лжга*; *ѣнокъ* *днвѣи* *поѣлъ* *естъ* PS SIN 79, 14; и *въистъ* *егда* *въниде* *иѣъ* *въ* *домъ* *ѣдиногъ* *кънаса* *фарисѣиска* *въ* *собоутъ* *хлѣба* *ѣстъ*; и *ти* *бѣахъ* *назиражште* и Lk 14, 1 MAR.

³ Večerka also lists *оѣсти* (once in *Hilandar folios*).

The verb вѣдѣти

§ 527. The main profile

Here is the profile of the main forms:

вѣдѣти			
Prae	вѣмь, вѣси	Aor	вѣдѣ=хъ, вѣдѣ=0
Imv	вѣжд=ь, вѣд=итѣ	Imf	вѣдѣ=ахъ
шт-Part	вѣд.ѣи , вѣд.ѣшт=и	ш-Part	вѣдѣ.въ , вѣдѣ.вѣш=и
м-Part	вѣд.ом=	н-Part	вѣдѣ.н=
Inf вѣдѣ.т=и, Sup вѣдѣ.т=ъ, л-Part вѣдѣ.л=ъ, т-Part вѣсѣт= [вѣд.т=]			

§ 528. Addendum to the main profile

Here are the paradigms of the personal Prae and Imv forms:

	Prae			Imv		
	Sg	Du	Pl	Sg	Du	Pl
1	∇вѣмь//∇вѣдѣ	∇вѣвѣ	∇вѣмъ	—	вѣд=ивѣ	вѣд=имъ
2	∇вѣси	∇вѣста	∇вѣсѣ	∇вѣжд=ь	вѣд=ита	вѣд=итѣ
3	∇вѣсѣ	∇вѣсѣ	вѣд=аѣ	∇вѣжд=ь	вѣд=итѣ	—

§ 529. The morphology of the forms⁴

1. The root <140> in the paradigm of the verb вѣдѣти shows only a C-final shape. The paradigm has two stems, a V-final one (the expanded stem вѣд.ѣ), and a C-final one (the truncated stem вѣд). The expanded stem occurs in the IMF and INF-AOR systems. The PRAE system forms show a mix of *i-* and *e-* conjugations. Anomalous PRAE system forms represent the so-called athematic present.

2. The canonical м-Part is вѣдомъ (cf. for example, SUPR 504, 30), but cf. вѣдимъ and compounds: оувѣдѣховѣ господа. истинноѣ слово вѣдимое SUPR 212, 29–30; ѡ свѣтѣ несповѣдимъи SUPR 426, 18–19; и не отъмешѣтѣ са свѣтаго доуха. нъ трепешѣтѣ его крѣпости. и несповѣдимъи силъ. поиж и славыѣ вѣиѣ SUPR 115, 17–20; да запрѣтитѣ ти гѣ дѣволе. безначальныѣ ѡ невидимыѣ сщѣствомъ ѡ недовѣдимъи силоѣ EUSN 56b, 11–14.

3. On aberrant шт-Part forms see § 622.

§ 530. Family membership

There are 12 lexemes in total. These are вѣдѣти, заповѣдѣти, извѣдѣти, исповѣдѣти, навѣдѣти, недовѣдѣти, повѣдѣти, проповѣдѣти, прооувѣдѣти, съвѣдѣти, съповѣдѣти, оувѣдѣти.

Cf. also °вѣдати 7, °вѣдовати 6.

⁴ On the distribution of the forms, see Vaillant, § 224.

§ 531. Illustrations

PRAE — идѣмъ въ ближнѣмъ вѣси и градѣи да и тоу проповѣдѣ: на се бо прид Mk 1, 38 AS; онъ же отъврѣже сѧ гл҃а не оумѣиѧ ни съвѣмъ что тѣи гл҃ши Mk 14, 68 MAR; тѣгда оувѣси въ часѣ вѣды твоѣа: тако естѣ богъ на небесехъ иже тобоиѧ хоулимѣи SUPR 195, 14–17; вѣстѣ бо отецъ вашъ и хѣже трѣбоуете: прѣжде прошенѣи вашего Mt 6, 8 MAR; отъвѣштгасте же имъ родителѣи его и рѣсте: вѣвѣ ꙗко съ естѣ сѣи наю: ꙗко слѣпъ сѧ роди: како же нѣи видитѣ не вѣвѣ: ли кто емоу отъврѣзе очи вѣ не вѣвѣ: самого въпросите: въздрастѣ иматѣ: самъ о себѣ да гл҃етѣ Jn 9, 20–21 MAR; да оувѣсте ꙗко власть иматѣ сѣи чѣкѣи на земли: отъпоуштгати грѣхѣи Mt 9, 6 ZOGR; си же естѣ жизнь вѣчнѣна: да съвѣдатѣ тебе истинѣна бѣ: и егоже посѣла иꙗ Jn 17, 3 SAV 26, 1–4; възшнѣе слово слыши: ꙗко възпои: слыши и прослави: слыши и проповѣждѣ: бѣи велѣи чюдеса CLOZ 13a, 34–37; възвеселите сѧ праведни о г҃и: исповѣдите памѣти сѣи его PS SIN 96, 12; иродъ бо боѣше сѧ ноана: вѣды и мѣжа праведѣна и сѣа Mk 6, 20 MAR; рече къ дроугомъ своимъ: кѣи мѣжи нанесѣ на зѣлосѣмртѣнааго сего не вѣдѣ: онѣмъ же недовѣдѣштемъ: и не отъвѣштгаштемъ ничсоже SUPR 111, 27–30; горе вамъ кѣнижнѣици ꙗ фарисѣи: ꙗ лицемѣри: иже есте ако ꙗ гроби неведѣми: ꙗ чѣи ходѣштеи вѣрхоу не видатѣ Lk 11, 44 ZOGR; тѣи небесѣици и земѣици: тѣи не видимѣи ꙗ видомъ: тѣи не вѣдомѣи и вѣдомъ бѣстѣ мене дѣла SUPR 504, 28–30.

IMF — не оу бо вѣдѣахъ кнѣи: ꙗко подоваетѣ емоу оꙗ мртѣвѣицихъ възкрѣсѣти Jn 20, 9 AS; прѣжде бо вѣдѣаше тако семоу естѣ бѣици: и кѣи оседѣланѣи оуготова SUPR 51, 1–3; и отъголи оувѣдѣнѣи бѣстѣ родъ иѣанновъ и епискоупство SUPR 295, 5–6; сътворивъ же четѣри десѣти дѣни отиде чистѣ къ господоу: прооувѣдѣвѣ прѣжде трѣи дѣни: съконѣчанѣи своеу SUPR 168, 15–18.

INF-AOR — тѣи заповѣдѣ заповѣди твоѣа: хранити ꙗ сѣло PS SIN 118, 4; бѣе оушима наши(ма) оуслѣшахомъ: оѣи наши повѣдѣшѣа намъ PS SIN 43, 2; посѣла ма: исцѣлитѣ съкроушенѣи сѣдцеи: проповѣдѣтѣ пѣнѣициомъ отъпоуштѣние: ꙗ слѣпѣи прозѣрѣние: отъпоустѣитѣ съкроушенѣи въ отърадѣ: проповѣдѣти лѣто гнѣ приѣто Lk 4, 18–19 MAR; ослѣпи бо имъ оумъ: хотѣ вѣити своиѧ слѣ: ꙗ хотѣ сътворити: да бѣ прѣстѣли: отъ зѣлѣи своеѣа: ꙗ да бѣ оувѣдѣи: ꙗко не възможнѣа начѣиѣти CLOZ 5a, 12–16; бѣстѣ нѣчто сѣе не вѣрѣнѣимъ не извѣсто: вѣрѣнѣимъ же и зѣло не извѣсто SUPR 210, 21–23.

The verb имѣти

§ 532. The main profile

Here is the profile of the main forms:

имѣти			
Prae	имамь, имаши	Аог	имѣ=хъ, имѣ=0
Imv	имѣ=нтє	Imf	имѣ=ахъ
шт-Part	им.ѣ , им.жшт=и	ш-Part	имѣ.въ , имѣ.въш=и
л-Part	—	л-Part	имѣ.л=
Imf имѣ.т=и, Sup имѣ.т=ъ, л-Part имѣ.л=ъ			

§ 533. Addendum to the main profile

Here is the paradigm of the personal Prae forms:

	Prae		
	Sg	Du	Pl
1	Вимамь	Вимавѣ	Вимамъ
2	Вимаши	Вимата	Виматє
3	Виматъ	Виматє	им=жтъ

§ 534. The morphology of the forms⁵

1. The root <334> in the paradigm of the verb имѣти shows only a C-final shape. The paradigm has two stems: a V-final one (the expanded stem им.ѣ), and a C-final one (the truncated stem им). The distribution of the C-final and V-final stems is *nonstandard*. Anomalous PRAE system forms represent the so-called athematic present.

2. Note that 3PI Prae, шт-Part, and the personal Imf forms coincide with the forms of the verb ѡти 4h, cf. им=жтъ and ѡм=жтъ [имжтъ]. However, the Imf forms of имѣти show the expanded stem (имѣ=ахъ etc.), while the forms of ѡти show the truncated stem (им=ѣахъ etc.).

3. 3PI Prae and шт-Part forms have aberrant alternatives by class 7. These are: имѣжтъ for имжтъ: имѣжтъ моу҃снѣ и пророкѣ supR 351, 29 (cf. имжтъ мосѣа и прѣкы да послау҃шаѣжтъ нхъ Lk 16, 29 MAR); да имѣжтъ паматъ житиѣа своѣѣа земѣа supR 418, 26–27 (cf. CLOZ 7a, 36–37 да имжтъ паматъ домашнѣнѣго житѣѣ); имѣжшт- for имжшт-: имѣжшт- такоже аштє к'то виднт' вѣдро злато' имѣжштє жтръ каменнє чьстѣноѣ носаштє на сєѣѣ си таина написана' хшгтетъ вѣдро видѣти' вѣштаниѣ дѣлѣма' ставѣѣѣтъ сѣ пакы' о жтрѣннѣмъ каменнѣ тѣшгитъ бо сѣ и каменнѣжж видѣти добротж' и ѣже на ѣмь писано таиноѣ оувѣдѣти supR 344, 3–10; имѣѣа for имѣ: не тѣ бо ѣстѣ трыпѣнѣвѣ ѣже трѣбованиѣ недонматъ' нѣ имѣлѣ обѣнѣѣ ти вѣ страданиѣ трыпѣ supR 92, 28–30; азъ чѣвкѣ єсмъ подѣ властєлѣ оу҃чнинѣнѣ' лмѣѣа подѣ совоѣж воѣа Lk 7, 8 MAR (in the same verse имѣѣа also in ZOGR, AS and SAV), cf. азъ чѣвкѣ єсмъ подѣ вѣкоѣж' лмѣѣ подѣ совоѣж воинѣы Mt 8, 9 MAR (in the same verse имѣѣ also in ZOGR, AS and SAV).

⁵ On the attestation of the forms, see Vaillant, § 225.

§ 535. Family membership

There are 2 lexemes. These are имѣти and недоимѣти.

Cf. also имати 3* [ь.м.а.т.и], ѣти 4h, °имати 7 [н.м.а.т.и].

§ 536. A note

The verb имѣти plus infinitive creates a construction with deontic modality or futurity. Cf. снѣ бо чѣкы иматъ прѣдати са въ рѣцѣ чѣцѣ Lk 9, 44 ZOCR, вѣроуѣи въ ма не иматъ въздѣдати са никогдаже Jn 6, 35 ZOCR; к'то иматъ ба винна сътворити SUPR 432, 19.

§ 537. Illustrations

PRAE — имамъ бо пѣть братрныа: ѣко да засъвѣдѣтельствоуѣтъ имъ да не и ти придѣтъ на мѣсто се мжчъное: гла же емоу авраамъ имѣтъ мостѣа и прѣкы да послоушаѣтъ ихъ Lk 16, 28–29 MAR; аиси ѣзвины имѣтъ и пѣтица нѣснъныа гнѣзда: а снѣ члчъ не иматъ къде главѣи подъклонгѣ Mt 8, 20 AS; аце бо възлюбите любѣцихъ васъ: кѣжъ мъздаж имате: и мѣтари такожде творѣтъ Mt 5, 46 SAV; оуста имѣтъ ї не възглыѣтъ: очи имѣтъ ї не видѣтъ: оуши имѣтъ ї не слышат: ноздри имѣтъ и не обонѣжатъ: рѣцѣ имѣ[мѣ]тъ ї не осѣжатъ: носѣ имѣтъ ї не поѣдѣтъ PS SIN 113, 13–15; имѣте вѣрж бѣниж Mk 11, 22 MAR; имѣштямоу бо въсьде дано бѣдетъ і избѣдетъ: а отъ не имѣштяаго і еже аште мнитъ са имѣ възато бѣдетъ отъ него Mt 25, 29 ZOCR.

IMF — вси бо имѣахъ ноана ѣко прѣка Mk 11, 32 MAR; видѣша бѣснѣнобавъшааго са сѣдѣца облъчена: і сѣмѣслашга имѣвъшааго лефеонъ і оубѣша са Mk 5, 15 MAR.

INF-AOR — все елико имашѣ продаждъ: и даждъ ницимъ: и имѣти имашѣ сѣкровице на нѣсхъ Lk 18, 22 SAV; ѣко помянѣ слово сѣое свое: еже имѣ къ аврааму рабѣ своему PS SIN 104, 42; пѣть бо мжжъ имѣла еси: і нзынѣ егоже имашѣ нѣстѣ ти мжжъ Jn 4, 18 ZOCR.

The verb ѣсмь

§ 538. The profile

Here are the personal forms of Prae and шт-Part:

	Prae		
	Sg	Du	Pl
1	Ѡѣсмь	Ѡѣсѣѣ	Ѡѣсмѣ
2	Ѡѣси	Ѡѣста	Ѡѣсте
3	Ѡѣстѣ	Ѡѣсте	ѣстѣ
шт-Part с.зѣ с.жшт=и			

§ 539. A note on defectivity

In most grammars, the verb ѣсмь <276> is unified into a single paradigm with the verb взѣти <16>, with a distinction in the present system between imperfective ‘to be’ forms (ѣсмь, ѣси) and perfective взѣти forms (вѣдѣ, вѣдѣши). The present grammar separates these verbs into two independent lexemes. The lexeme ѣсмь is defective, represented only by personal present forms and шт-participle.

§ 540. The morphology of the forms

1. The root <276> is anomalous, with two shapes: с and іє, both occurring in the Prae paradigm. 3PI Prae and шт-Part are formed from the C-final stem following the class 4c standard. Anomalous Prae forms represent the so-called athematic present.

2. On the aberrant шт-Part forms, see § 622.

§ 541. Family membership

There are no prefixed forms.

Concatenation with the particle нє in Prae forms that begin with іє-, gives ѣ: нє + ѣсмь ⇒ нѣсмь etc. 3PI usually shows нє сѣтѣ; a single aberrant spellout нѣ сѣтѣ in AS: ини же глаахъ син глі нѣ сѣтѣ бѣсѣноуѣщааго сѣ еда бѣсѣ слѣпѣнимъ очи отврѣсти можетъ Jn 10, 21.

§ 542. Illustrations

Prae — взи глѣте ма оучителѣ и гѣ и добрѣ глѣте ѣсмь бо Jn 13, 13 SAV; гїи вѣдѣхъ тѣ ѣко жестокоѣ еси члѣкѣ жьнѣ идеже нѣси сѣлѣ Mt 25, 24 MAR; дрѣже на неже еси пришлѣ тѣ створи Mt 26, 50 SAV; или нѣстѣ ми лѣтѣ сѣтворити еже хоштѣ въ своихъ ми аще око твое лѣкаво естѣ нѣ азъ благъ ѣсмь Mt 20, 15 AS; вамъ естѣ вѣдѣти тайнѣ црѣствіа нѣскаго а прочимъ въ притѣчѣхъ Lk 8, 10 SAV; і рече оученикомъ своимъ да естѣ при немъ лѣдиница Mk 3, 9 MAR; свѣтаа же рекоста глаголаховѣ ти многашди тако крѣстиана ѣсѣ и въ христоса имавѣ надеждѣ бѣсомъ же нечистѣнимъ не поклонивѣ сѣ ни богомъ твонмъ слоуживѣ SUPR 181, 11–16; онѣ же глаше имъ нѣсте ли чѣли николиже что створи дѣе егда трѣбова и възалѣка самъ и іже бѣхъ съ нимъ Mk 2, 25 SAV; не дѣвѣ ли на десѣте годинѣ есте въ дѣни аште кто ходитѣ въ дѣне не потѣкнетѣ сѣ ѣко свѣтѣ мира сего видитѣ Jn 11, 9 MAR; чѣто сѣтѣ словеса си о нихѣже сѣтазаета сѣ кѣ сѣбѣ лѣжшга і еста драсѣла Lk 24, 17 ZOGR; ѣко мои сѣтѣ вѣси звѣри дѣбравѣни PS SIN 49, 10; блажени есте егда поносѣтѣ вамъ Mt 5, 11 ZOGR; чѣдо тѣи вѣсѣгда съ мною еси і вѣсѣ моѣ твѣрѣ сѣтѣ Lk 15, 31 MAR.

шт-Part — свѣтелъ источникѣ сѣщии присно сѣи съ оцѣмъ EUCH 63a, 17–19; тѣ бо испрѣва нѣи сѣтворилѣ отѣ не сѣшѣтааго въ сѣшѣтеіе привѣдѣ SUPR 479, 27–29; сѣи на сѣлѣ да не възвратитѣ сѣ вѣспѣтѣ Mk 13, 16 MAR.

The verb БЪИТИ

§ 543. The main profile

Here is the profile of the main forms:

БЪИТИ			
Prae	БЖД=Ж, БЖД=ЕШИ	Aor	БЪИ=ХЪ, БЪИ=0//БЪИ=СТЪ
Imv	БЖД=ЪТЕ	Imf	See § 544 below
шт-Part	БЖД.Ы , БЖД.ЖШТ=И	ш-Part	БЪИ.БЪ , БЪИ.БЪШ=И
л-Part	—	л-Part	See § 548.3° below
Inf, БЪИ.Т=И, Sup БЪИ.Т=Ъ, л-Part БЪИ.Л=Ъ			

§ 544. Addendum to the main profile: aorist and imperfect

The verb БЪИТИ has three bundles that can be identified with the subparadigms of the personal forms of the aorist (Aor) and of the personal forms of the imperfect (Imf). The A and B bundles are the primary imperfect and aorist forms; the C bundle contains secondary forms.

A. Stem Б + imperfect terminals			
	Sg	Du	Pl
1	Б=ЪАХЪ	Б=ЪАХОВЪ	Б=ЪАХОМЪ
2	Б=ЪАШЕ	Б=ЪАШЕТА	Б=ЪАШЕТЕ
3		Б=ЪАШЕТЕ	Б=ЪАХЖ

B. Stem БЪИ + aorist terminals			
	Sg	Du	Pl
	БЪИ=ХЪ	БЪИ=ХОВЪ	БЪИ=ХОМЪ
БЪИ=0		БЪИ=СТА	БЪИ=СТЕ
		БЪИ=СТЕ	БЪИ=ША

C. Stem БЪ + aorist terminals			
	Sg	Du	Pl
1	БЪ=ХЪ	БЪ=ХОВЪ	БЪ=ХОМЪ
2	БЪ=0	БЪ=СТА	БЪ=СТЕ
3		БЪ=СТЕ	БЪ=ША

§ 545. Morphology of the imperfect and aorist forms

1. The A bundle has an anomalous stem shape. The forms *БЪАХЪ, *БЪАХОВЪ, *БЪАХОМЪ, *БЪАШЕТА from the A bundle are not attested (cf. Vaillant, § 158, 221).

2. The forms БЪХЪ, БЪХОВЪ, and БЪХОМЪ from the C bundle can be interpreted either as aorists from the aberrant stem БЪ, or as contracted imperfects from the stem Б. Likewise, БЪСТА and БЪСТЕ can be interpreted as aberrant replacements of *БЪАШЕТА and *БЪАШЕТЕ. Paradigmatically, A bundle forms are treated as primary Imf forms of the verb БЪИТИ, while B bundle forms as secondary Aor forms of БЪИТИ and corresponding prefixal verbs, and C bundle forms as secondary with respect to bundle A or bundle B forms. There are aberrant contracted imperfect forms corresponding to bundle A forms (in some cases coinciding with bundle C forms), cf. БЪШЕ SAV Jn 12, 2, БЪХЖ SAV Lk 8, 45.

3. Bundles A and C are not attested in prefixal verbs.
4. Note the aberrant 3Du form Б҃ѡСТА in SUPR for canonical Б҃ѡШЕТЕ.
5. Alongside the standard 2–3SgAor form Б҃Ъ, there is the old Aor form Б҃ЪСТЪ (see § 480).

§ 546. Addendum to the main profile: conditional

Here are all the attested forms (Vaillant, § 172):

	Sg	Du	Pl
1	ВѢИМЪ	—	ВѢИМЪ//ВѢИХОМЪ
2	ВѢИ	—	ВѢИСТЕ
3		—	ВѢЖ//ВѢИША

The forms ВѢИХОМЪ and ВѢИША show aorist terminals (cf. the B bundle above) with the secondary stem вѢ (alien terminals effect). Conditional forms enter into irrealis constructions with л-participles of the shape conditional + л-Part (see illustrations below in § 549).

§ 547. Family membership

There are 6 lexemes altogether. These are Б҃ЪТИ, ЗАБ҃ЪТИ, ИЗБ҃ЪТИ, ПРИБ҃ЪТИ, ПРѢБ҃ЪТИ, СЪБ҃ЪТИ.

§ 548. Commentary on individual lexemes

1°. Most grammars unify the verb Б҃ЪТИ <16> into a single paradigm with the verb К҃СМЪ <276>, with a distinction in the present system between imperfective ‘to be’ forms (К҃СМЪ, К҃СИ) and perfective Б҃ЪТИ forms (Б҃ЖДЖ, Б҃ЖДЕШИ). This is the case in Večerka and Sadnik. In the present grammar the corresponding forms are distributed between two independent lexemes.

2°. The prefixless verb Б҃ЪТИ is *sui generis* in that it is the only one with secondary forms; however, the secondary 2–3SgAor form with the terminal СТЪ is possible for prefixed verbs as well.

3°. The verb ЗАБ҃ЪТИ shows an anomalous н-Part: ВЗАБ҃ВЕНЪ. Derivatives show both an н-Part stem, cf. ЗАБ҃ВЕНИЕ, and a т-Part stem, cf. ЗАБ҃ЪТИЕ, ЗАБ҃ЪТЬ. For other verbs, н-Part is not attested, while т-Part is attested in derivatives, cf. Б҃ЪТИЕ, ИЗБ҃ЪТИЕ, ИЗБ҃ЪТЪКЪ, ПОВ҃ЪТЬ, ПРИВ҃ЪТЪКЪ.

§ 549. Illustrations

PRAE: АШТЕ Б҃ЖДЕТЪ ЕТЕРОУ ЧЛ҃ВКОУ ꙗ҃ко овецъ ѿ забл҃удитъ една отъ нихъ не оставитъ ли девати десатъ и девати на горахъ и шедъ иштетъ забл҃удышма Mt 18, 12 MAR; да святъи твои вѣсждъ приемающе достоини б҃жедемъ очшчениѣ твоего киев За, 11–13; молаште же са не лихо гл҃ѣте: ꙗ҃коже

и ѿзычьници· мьнатъ сѧ ꙗко въ многѣ глани своемъ оуслышани бжджтъ Mt 6, 7 ZOGR; бжди же слово ваше· еи· еи· и ни ни· лихоє бо сею отъ неприѣзни естъ Mt 5, 37 ZOGR; не забжди оубогынхъ твоихъ до коньца PS SIN 9, 33; егда постите сѧ· не бждѣте ꙗко упокрити· сѣтоуѣшште· просмраждашште бо лица своѣ· да виша сѧ авили чѣомъ посташште Mt 6, 16 ZOGR; а иже речетъ на дхъ сѣтъ не отъпоуститъ сѧ емоу· ни въ сѣ вѣкъ ни въ бжджции Mt 12, 32 MAR; егда же оубо они подвижаахъ сѧ· онъ же блюдѣаше· сѣбжджшште сѧ видѣ видѣнне дивно· силы нѣкымъ съ небесъ съходашта SUPR 92, 30–93, 3.

Cond: подобааше ти оубо въдати сѣребро мое трѣжъникомъ· и пришьдъ азъ възмѣлъ оубо бимъ свое съ лихвоѣ Mt 25, 27 MAR; ꙗко ѡште не законъ твоѣ поучение мое естъ· тогда оубо погыбѣлъ бимъ во сѣмѣрениі моемъ PS SIN 118, 92; ꙗко аште не гѣ би бѣлъ въ насъ· вьнегда въстати чѣвкомъ на ны· оубо живѣи пожрѣли нѣи бѣшѧ PS SIN 123, 2–3; аште не би съ бѣлъ зьлодѣи· не бимъ прѣдали его тебѣ Jn 18, 30 AS (cf. аште не би бѣлъ· съ зьлодѣи· не бихомъ прѣдали его тебѣ Jn 18, 30 ZOGR); аще ли бисте вѣдѣли· чѣто естъ милости хоштѧ а не жрѣтѣвѣ· николиже оубо бисте ождили неповинъныхъ Mt 12, 7 MAR; аште въ содомѣхъ бж силы бѣвъшѧ въ тебѣ· прѣбѣлы бж до (днѣс)ынѣго днѣ Mt 11, 23 MAR; горе тебѣ хоразинъ· горе тебѣ видѣсада· ꙗко аште въ тѣрѣ и сидонѣ силы виша бѣлы· бѣвъшѧ въ ваю· дрѣвлѣ· оубо въ врѣтшшти и попелѣ· сѣдшште покаали сѧ виша Lk 10, 13 ZOGR; они же испъниша сѧ везоумѣ· и глѣхъ дроугъ къ дроугоу· чѣто виша сѣтворили нѣви Lk 6, 11 MAR.

Imf (bundles A and C): и се лице яго образы измѣниаше· овогда оубо видѣти и бѣаше сѣда· овогда же отрока SUPR 121, 24–26; и не бѣ има чѣда· понеже бѣ елисаветъ неплоды· и оба заматорѣвъша въ днѣхъ своихъ бѣашете Lk 1, 7 MAR; алчѣнъ бо бѣхъ и дасте ми гѣсте (for canonical гѣсти)· жадънъ бѣхъ и напоисте ма· странѣнъ бѣхъ и наведосте ма· болѣхъ и присѣтшште мене· нагъ бѣхъ и облѣкосте ма SUPR 123, 20–23; тако· и въ егда сѣворите повелѣньнѧ вамъ· глѣте яко равни недостоини есмъ· еже длѣжъни бѣхомъ· сѣворити· сѣворихомъ Lk 17, 10 SAV; пришьдъ пакы обрѣте ѧ съпѣца· бѣсте бо очи имъ тѣготънѣ Mt 26, 43 SAV; бѣахъ же тоу женѣ мъногѣ из далече зьрашта· ѡже идѧ по нѣѣ· отъ галилеѧ слоужашта емоу Mt 27, 55 MAR; и сѣбѣра сѧ къ немоу народъ мъногъ· ꙗко самъ вѣлѣзъ въ корабъ сѣдѣаше въ мори· и всѣ народъ бѣша при мори на земли Mk 4, 1 MAR; и бѣаше съ адаломъ еѧ въ рѧи· ѡже видѣвъ диаволъ и въздрѣвъновавъ· сѣтвори погыбѣлъ има· отължчившоу бо сѧ адалоу на оно мѣсто породы· и еѧж единъ оставишоу· пристѧпи диаволъ· и оуподобивъ сѧ змиѣ прѣльсти ѡ· и та жена прѣльсти адала· и бѣаста (for canonical бѣашете) оба въ прѣслоушаниі бѣжи бѣвъша· и ѣзънана бѣста ис породънѣишта· дѣлати земьж рѣкама своимѧ SUPR 9, 9–19.

ш-Part, н-Part: ꙗкоже прѣдаша намъ бѣвъшѣи искони самовидѣи и слоугѣи словесе Lk 1, 2 MAR; не пѧть ли пѣтиць· вѣнитъ сѧ пѣназема дѣвѣма· и ни єдина отъ нѣхъ· нѣстъ забѣвена прѣдъ бѣмъ Lk 12, 6 ZOGR; забѣвенъ бѣхъ ꙗко мрѣтѣвъ отъ срѣдѣца PS SIN 30, 13.

INF-AOR: егда же придѧ къ немоу самарѣне· молѣахъ и да би прѣбѣлъ оу нѣхъ· и прѣбѣистъ тоу дѣва дѣни Jn 4, 40 ZOGR (likewise in MAR, AS); i

азъ оуничженъ і не разоумѣхъ ꙗко скотъ быхъ оу тебе PS SIN 72, 22; режъ боі застѣпникъ мой еси почто мы забы PS SIN 41, 10; къ инѣмъ же вѣмъ и дроугое прѣслав'но чоудо: прнезы вѣрныимъ хѣвовомъ оугодникомъ SUPR 565, 12–14; аще оубо въ неправдынѣемъ жити не бысте вѣрныи' въ истиннѣемъ кѣто вамъ вѣрж иметъ' и аще въ тоуждемъ вѣрныи не бысте ваше кто вамъ дастъ Lk 16, 11–12 SAV; і просвѣтѣ сѧ лице его ꙗко слѣнѣце' а ризы его быша бѣлы ꙗко свѣтъ Mt 17, 2 MAR; въ распаленые възпасти и страхъ бѣжи забыти SUPR 521, 12–13; аште въ содомѣхъ' биша силы былы' бывъшымъ въ тебѣ' прѣбылы быша' до днесьнѣаго дне Mt 11, 23 ZOCR.

The verb хотѣти

§ 550. The main profile

Here is the profile of the main forms:

хотѣти			
Prae	хощт=ж, хощт=ешн	Aor	хотѣ=хъ, хотѣ=0
Imv	хощт=итѣ	Imf	хотѣ=ахъ
шт-Part	хот.а , хот.ашт=и	ш-Part	хотѣ.въ , хотѣ.въш=и
м-Part	—	н-Part	хотѣ.н=
Inf хотѣ.т=и, Sup хотѣ.т=ъ, л-Part хотѣ.л=ъ			

§ 551. Addendum to the main profile

Here is the paradigm of the personal Prae forms:

	Sg	Du	Pl
1	хощт=ж	хощт=евѣ	хощт=емъ
2	хощт=ешн	хощт=ета	хощт=ете
3	хощт=етъ	хощт=ете	хот=атъ

§ 552. The morphology of the forms

1. The paradigm of the verb хотѣти <1038> shows two stems, a V-final one (the expanded stem хотѣ), and a C-final one (the truncated stem хот). The distribution of the C-final and V-final stem follows the трыпѣти 2 standard. PRAE system forms show a mix of *e*- and *i*-conjugations.

2. SUPR contains aberrant spellouts with хѣт vocalic realization. Here are all the glosses: и ниин мнози отъ братиѧ о ницѣже хѣштѣ глаголати SUPR 169, 1–3; чѣто же хѣштѣ глаголати SUPR 534, 11–12; и ишедъ же свѣтъиин антонини' възпраша и чѣто хѣште глагола паѣлъ' чрѣноризецъ хощтѣ быт SUPR 169, 20–22; рыци ми чѣто се хѣште быти SUPR 153, 7–8; они же оумѣвше ѧмоу

нозѣ и хлѣбъ прѣдложивше могаахъ и възкоусити онъ же ни слышати того хѣта горко въздъхнѣвъ рече ю горе мнѣ окаиноуоумоу SUPR 523, 22–25; повѣсивъ же га повелѣ дѣрати желѣзны ногъты дондеже чрѣва начънхтъ хѣтѣти извалити са на зельыж SUPR 113, 29–114, 2.

3. SUPR contains хошги (2SgImv in appearance) instead of the expected 2SgPrae хошгеши, cf. рече къ ѿемоу аште ми са хошги извѣстити принесж ти егоже въ глаголете крѣста и видаштѣ мнѣ поперн ѿ и отъврѣзи са его и се твора бждеш ми дроугъ приснън SUPR 65, 20–24.

4. The n-Part stem is represented in derivatives, cf. хотѣнне and похотѣнне.

§ 553. A note

The verb хотѣти plus infinitive creates a construction with deontic modality or futurity, cf. чыто естѣ знаменье егда хотатъ си възити Lk 21, 7 ZOGR; i полмъ нѣ пакы оба на десѣте начатъ имъ глати еже хотѣаше възити емоу Mk 10, 32 ZOGR; камы великъ ма хотѣ погнестн SUPR 276, 1–2.

§ 554. Family membership

There are 3 lexemes altogether. These are: хотѣти, възхотѣти, похотѣти.

§ 555. Illustrations

PRAE — отъ гѣ стопы чѣоу ѿправитъ сы ѿ пжть его възхоцетъ зѣло PS SIN 36, 23; и прѣдъ нимъ идете чѣковъ и ива^н. сѣа зеведеова глѣща емоу оучителю хоцевѣ да егоже аще просивѣ створиши нама иѣ же рече има что хоцета да творж вама Mk 10, 35–36 SAV; мзы не хоштемъ тебѣ зѣла никакогоже аште не ты самъ възхошгешн зѣло приобрѣсти себѣ SUPR 259, 2–5; събирахтъ же ерѣмена тажъка и не оудовъ носима и възлагахтъ на плешта члѣвска а прѣстомъ своимъ не хотатъ двигнжти ихъ Mt 23, 4 MAR; поштгади оудовъ своихъ варахисне и не възхошги безгоднѣ осждити себе SUPR 269, 13–15; вѣдѣаше бо искони иѣъ кто сжтъ не вѣроуѣжци и кто естѣ хотан прѣдати и Jn 6, 64 AS; пасжштемъ же са вельбѣдомъ тоу по прилоуваю една отъ ѿнихъ шѣши близъ вси вѣлѣзе въ ѿнѣж гаси хоташти SUPR 217, 28–218, 1.

IMF — а граждѣне емоу не хотѣахъ его и посълааша мѣлитѣж въ слѣдъ его глѣче не хоцемъ семоу да црѣствоуетъ надъ нами Lk 19, 14 AS; вѣзны же вливахъ са въ ладнж чѣко юже погразнжти хотѣаше Mk 4, 37 MAR; i възхотѣвъ намъ оутврьди срьдыцѣ нашѣ KIEV 2b, 14–16.

INF-AOR — мънози пророци и цѣре възхотѣша видѣти чѣже въ видите и не видѣша Lk 10, 24 MAR; син хотѣли възша да большемъ чѣстемъ достонни бжджтъ SUPR 73, 20–21; чѣко аще би възхотѣлъ жрѣтѣвѣ далъ бимъ оубо въсесъжагаемъихъ же не благоволиши PS SIN 50, 18.

The verb ДОВЬЛѢТИ

§ 556. The profile

ДОВЬЛѢТИ			
Prae	ДОВЬЛ=ѣ, ДОВЬЛ=ѣши	Aor	ДОВЬЛѢ=хъ, ДОВЬЛѢ=ѹ
Imv	—	Imf	ДОВЬЛѢ=ахъ
шт-Part	ДОВЬЛѢ.ѡ , ДОВЬЛѢ.ѡшт=и	ш-Part	—
л-Part	—	н-Part	—
Inf ДОВЬЛѢ.ти=и, Sup ДОВЬЛѢ.ти=ъ, л-Part ДОВЬЛѢ.л=ъ			

§ 557. The morphology of the forms

The verb ДОВЬЛѢТИ [до.(вьл).ѣ.т.и] <85> is poorly attested (see Table 559 on p. 320). The attested forms show class contamination.

§ 558. Family membership

There are no prefixed verbs with the root <85>.

§ 559. A note on the attestation of the forms of the verb ДОВЬЛѢТИ

The sources have only 33 glosses (see Table 559 on p. 320).

§ 560. Illustrations

PRAE — не пѣѣте са оубо на оутрѣни оутрѣни во днь собоиж печетъ са ДОВЬЛЕТЪ дни зълова своѣ Mt 6, 34 ZAGR; гѣла емѹ филиппѣ гѣ покажи намъ оца и ДОВЬЛЕТЪ намъ Jn 14, 8 SAV; ѣда како не ДОВЬЛѢИЕТЪ вамъ и намъ SUPR 369, 8–9; двѣма сътома пѣнасъ хлѣбъ не ДОВЬЛЖТЪ имъ да къждо ихъ мало чѣто приметъ Jn 6, 7 MAR; исхода же из домоу родителъ своихъ ни хлѣба възати въсхотѣ понѣ въ єдинъ днь ДОВЬЛѢИШТЪ на пиштѣ SUPR 547, 6–8.

IMF — не ДОВЬЛѢАХЪ воды развѣ на мало днии SUPR 549, 19–20; трѣвж прѣдъ дверьми гробништа своего растжштжж обрѣтаа и тж истирал гадѣаше єликоже ємоу ДОВЬЛѢШЕ SUPR 529, 1.

INF-AOR — длъженъ естъ въсѣкъ крѣштеныи самъ себе чѣста хранити ѣко цркъве бѹ сѣжж и о своєи женѣ ДОВЬЛѢТИ са CLOZ 2a, 39–2b, 1; ни аште и мѣ азъзици ДОВЬЛѢЛИ бѣша толѣкж добрж дѣтѣль мжж въспѣти SUPR 82, 25–27.

Table 559. Glosses of the verb *дoвoлbтu*

	ZOGR	MAR	AS	SAV	SUPR	CLOZ	EUCH
Inf	—	—	—	—	—	дoвoлbтu 2b, 1-2	—
Prae 3Sg	дoвoлbтu; Mt 6, 34; Mt 10, 25; дoвoлbтu; Jn 14, 8	дoвoлbтu; Mt 6, 34; Mt 10, 25; Jn 14, 8	дoвoлbт Mt 10, 25; дoвoлbтu; Jn 14, 8 (29b); дoвoлbтu; Jn 14, 8 (93b); Jn 6, 7	дoвoлbтu; Mt 6, 34; Jn 14, 8	дoвoлbтu; 41, 2-3; 41, 7; 41, 29; дoвoлbтu; 102, 18; 113, 1; 214, 3; 253, 2; 369, 9	дoвoлbтu; 9b, 2	дoвoлbтu; 91b, 1
Prae 3Pl	дoвoлbтu; Jn 6, 7	дoвoлbтu; Jn 6, 7	—	—	—	—	—
шт-Part NSgmBrev	—	—	—	—	—	—	дoвoлbтa 99a, 21-22
шт-Part ASgmBrev	—	—	—	—	дoвoлbтuштu 547, 8	—	—
шт-Part APInPlen	—	—	—	—	дoвoлbтuштuа 565, 22	—	—
Imf 3Sg	—	—	—	—	дoвoлbтaшe 82, 29; дoвoлbтuшe 529, 1	—	—
Imf 3Pl	—	—	—	—	дoвoлbтuшe 549, 19	—	—
Aor 3Sg	—	—	—	—	—	дoвoлbт 12a, 14	—
л-Part Plm	—	—	—	—	дoвoлbтuи 82, 26	—	—

The verb ити

§561. The profile

ити			
Prae	иД=ж, иД=ешн	Aor	иД=оХъ, иД=ε
Imv	иД=ѣтє	Imf	иД=ѣаХъ
шт-Part	иД.ъ , иД.жшт=и	ш-Part	шьД.ъ , шьД.ъш=и
л-Part	иД.ом=	н-Part	—
Inf н.т=и, Sup н.т=ъ, л-Part шьлъ [шьД.л=ъ]			

§562. The morphology of the forms

1. The root <329> in the paradigm of the verb ити shows two shapes of the truncated stem: C-final иД and V-final и. Their distribution follows the CVC agreement rule.

2. Alongside the standard aorist, there is the root aorist of the иДъ type (see §477).

3. л- and ш-Part are formed from the stem шьД (root <1099>); there is no н-Part; the т-Part stem is found in сънितिє; cf. also шьстниє [шьД.т.ь|.є], and the prefixed verbs пришьстниє, ошьстниє, дошьстниє.

§563. Family membership

There are 19 lexemes altogether. These are: ити, възити, възнити, донти, занти, изити, нанти, низъити, обити, отити, подъити, понти, прити,⁶ пронти, прѣвъзити, прѣдъити, прѣбити, разити, сънити.

§564. Illustrations

PRAE — бѣдите и молитє сѧ да не вънидете въ напасть Mt 26, 41 MAR; гї оуслъши молитвж моуж· и възпль мой къ тебѣ да прїдетъ ps sin 101, 2; положилъ еси тѣмж ї бѣистъ ноцѣ· въ неже прѣидѣтъ въси звѣрьє лжъни ps sin 103, 20; да прїдетъ съмрътъ на ны съидѣтъ въ адъ живи ps sin 54, 16; възскръснетъ еѣ и разидѣтъ сѧ врази его ps sin 67, 2; тѣ же ѡгда молиши сѧ· въниди въ клѣтъ своуж· и затвори двъри своѧ Mt 6, 6 SAV; възстанѣте подѣмъ· се приближи сѧ прѣдѧн ма Mt 26, 46 ZOCR; то же и тѣ сътвори аште видиши чловѣка днѧвола сътворыша сѧ· и прїдѣшта к тебѣ· тако же и тѣ одолѣи SUPR 381, 14–17; ѡ чловѣколюбствниѧ многа възсота· ѡ трѣпѣниѧ непрѣдомоє множество SUPR 394, 14–16.

⁶ This form contains a nonstandard prefix contraction. There are no forms with hiatus in OCS.

IMF — и прондѣше ѿ градъ всѧ и всѧ оучѧ въ сѣньмицихъ Mt 9, 35 SAV; старыца наю заповѣдь съкончычаювѣ: се помъисливъша ндѣаховѣ: и се лъвъ ндѣаше на сѣраштѣ нама: и оубоаховѣ сѧ зѣло SUPR 296, 29–297, 2; и ишедъ вонъ петръ плака сѧ горько Lk 22, 62 MAR; множъствоу оубо ратъничьскоу рашѣдъшоу сѧ по поуѣстѣи сѧ SUPR 292, 2–3; и кънижъници низъшьдъше отъ ѱѣлѧ глаахъ: ѣко вельзѣоулазъ иматъ: и ѣко о кънази бѣсѣ: изгонитъ бѣсѣы Mk 3, 22 ZOCR.

AOR — не придохъ призъватъ правѣдникъ: нъ грѣшникъы въ покаанье Lk 5, 32 ZOCR (cf. не придъ MAR); и изидосте оученика: и придосте въ градъ: и обрѣтосте ѣкоже рече има: и оубоготовасте пасхъ Mk 14, 16 ZOCR (cf. изидете [...] придете [...] обрѣтете MAR); въ пѣнъы вальны нхъ разидоша сѧ SUPR 448, 19–20; дрѣже на неже еси пришълазъ: то створи Mt 26, 50 SAV; приде жена отъ самария почрѣтъ воды: гла еи ѿ: даждь ми пити: оученици бо его ошли бѣахъ въ градъ Jn 4, 7–8 ZOCR; вълѣзъ же въ единъ о^т корабцию: иже бѣ симоновъ: моли и отъ зем^а възिति мало Lk 5, 3 AS.

The verb ѡТИ

§ 565. The profile

ѡТИ			
Prae	ѡД=ж, ѡД=ешн	Aor	ѡД=охъ, ѡД=ε
Imv	ѡД=ѣтѣ	Imf	ѡД=ѣахъ
шт-Part	ѡД.зи ѡД.жшт=н	ш-Part	ѡ.въ ѡ.въш=н
л-Part	—	л-Part	—
Inf ѡ.т=н, Sup ѡ.т=ъ, л-Part ѡ.л=ъ			

§ 566. The morphology of the forms

1. The root <1114> in the paradigm of the verb ѡТИ shows two shapes, a V-final one ѡ and a C-final one ѡД. Only the truncated stem is found in the paradigm. The distribution of C-final and V-final stems is *nonstandard*.

2. Along with the standard aorist, there is the root aorist of the ѡДъ type (see § 477).

§ 567. A note on the distribution of the forms

Generally, the verb is poorly attested; there are altogether 16 forms and 25 glosses, including aberrant ones, for the entire family;⁷ the Inf, Sup, л-Part, Prae, л-Part,

⁷ Here we list all 25 glosses: ѡди: възѣди Lk 5, 4 MAR, въѣди Lk 5, 4 AS; ѡхан: ѣха Lk 5, 4 ZOCR; ѡдѣмъ: прѣдѣмъ Lk 8, 22 MAR; ѡджшт-: ѣджштѧ Mk 6, 33 ZOCR, ѣджштѣмъ

and *н*-Part paradigms are not found at all. Table 567 shows the distribution of the attested forms by subparadigm and the number of the corresponding glosses.

Glosses with the stem *iaχa* are treated as aberrant (marked with *); the same in Lunt 1974, § 16.4. In *Imv* the stem *iaχa* occurs 1 time out of 4; in *ш*-Part, 2 times out of 7; for the whole verb, *iaχa* is found 3 times out of 25 for *ia* and *iaД* together. The choice of the type *ia/iaД* is treated as variation in the root formative, and is found also in other paradigms (cf. *ити*, *взѣти*, *дати*, *исти*), while the *ia/iaχa* choice is the variation between a simple and suffixal stem, which should not be found within a lexeme outside of *нж*-verbs.

Table 567. Distribution of the forms of *ати* by subparadigm

Prae	None		Aor	iaДe	3x
Imv	iaДи	2x		Imf	iaДoшa
	*iaχaи	1x	iaДж		3x
	iaДъмъ	1x	iaДъaχж		4x
шг-Part	iaДжшг-	3x	ш-Part	iaвъш-	5x
л-Part	None			*iaχaвъш-	2x
			н-Part	None	
Inf: none; Sup: none; л-Part: none					

Unfortunately, the starting forms *Inf* and *Prae* are reconstructed. Given that the forms with the stem *iaχa* are aberrant, the reconstruction can be based either on the *V*-final *ia* or the *C*-final *iaД*. Of course, the simplest solution is to assume the *V*-final stem for *Inf*, and the *C*-final stem for *Prae*. This is the reconstruction adopted in the present grammar.

Other authors make different assumptions. Vaillant (§ 214) uses the spell-out *ia(χa)ти*, without a grammatical interpretation. Diels lists the infinitive *iaχати* in the index, and a full list of forms in § 134.26. Večerka forms all infinitives from the stem *iaχa*. Sadnik does likewise, but in the root dictionary lists the reconstructed infinitive *ати* (**jati*).

The present grammar's paradigmatic dictionary contains cross-references: *iaχати* see *ати*, *взъѣхати* see *взъѣти*, etc.

§ 568. Family membership

There are 5 lexemes altogether. These are *ати*, *взъѣти*, *взѣти*, *приати*,⁸ *прѣати*.

Lk 8, 23 ZGR, MAR; iaДe: прѣѣДe Mt 9, 1 ZGR, MAR; прѣiaДe Mt 9, 1 SAV f. 37; iaДoшa: прѣѣДoшa Lk 8, 26 ZGR; iaДж: вѣДж Lk 8, 23 MAR, прѣѣДж Lk 8, 22 ZGR, Lk 8, 26 MAR; iaДъaχж: ѣДъaχж Jп 6, 17 ZGR, MAR; Jп 6, 17 ZGR, MAR; iaвъш-: прѣѣвъшoуmoу Mk 5, 21 ZGR; прѣѣвъшю Mk 5, 21 MAR, прѣѣвъше Mk 6, 53 MAR, Mt 14, 34 ZGR, MAR; iaχaвъш-: прѣѣχaвъше Mt 14, 34 AS, приѣχaвъше Mk 6, 53 ZGR.

⁸ The PD lists the headword *приати*², contra Večerka and following Sadnik. Večerka assigns the form *приѣχaвъше* Mk 6, 53 ZGR to the item *прѣiaχати*.

§ 569. Illustrations

PRAE — възбѣди въ глѣбинѣхъ Lk 5, 4 MAR (cf. виждь ѣхати въ глѣбинѣхъ ZOGR, въбѣди въ глѣбинѣхъ AS); и рече къ нимъ прѣдѣлѣмъ на онъ полъ езера и възбѣдъ (ЗРІАор) ѣдѣшгтемъ же имъ: оуспѣ Lk 8, 22–23 MAR.

IMF — и авиѣ възѣ корабль на землѣхъ въ ѿнже ѣдѣхъ Jn 6, 21 ZOGR; и прѣѣвъше приѣдъ на землѣхъ ѣнисаретъскъ Mt 14, 34 MAR (cf. и прѣѣхавше AS).

AOR — и прѣѣдоша на землѣхъ ѣнисаретъскъ Lk 8, 26 ZOGR (cf. и прѣѣдъ MAR).

The verb стати

§ 570. The profile

стати			
Prae	ста.н=ж, ста.н=ешн	Aor	ста=хъ, ста=0
Imv	ста.н=ѣте	Imf	ста.н=ѣхъ
шт-Part	ста.н.ы , ста.н.жшт=н	ш-Part	ста.въ , ста.въш=н
л-Part	—	н-Part	ста.н=
Inf ста.т=н, Sup ста.т=ъ, л-Part ста.л=ъ			

§ 571. The morphology of the forms

1. The paradigm of the verb стати <879> has two stems, a C-final one with the suffix н (ста.н), and a V-final one (ста); both are truncated. The C-final and V-final stems are distributed as follows: PRAE uses the C-final stem, while all other systems use the V-final one (but only the present Imf occurs). C-final stem forms follow the class 5 standard; V-final stem forms follow class 4v.

2. The н-Part stem is represented in derivatives, cf. станиѣ and станъ; пристаниште, останъкъ, възстаниѣ and some others. However, the т-Part stem is also found, cf. остатъкъ and остатниѣ.

§ 572. Family membership

There are 10 lexemes altogether. They are: стати, въстати, достати, настати, остати, пристати, прѣдѣстати, прѣстати, състати, оустати.

Cf. also стаати 3, стоати 2.

§573. Illustrations

PRAE — еда како не достанетъ вамъ и намъ: идѣте же паче къ продаиштинимъ и коупите себѣ Mt 25, 9 ZOGR; и вѣставъ запрѣти вѣтроу: и рече морю мльчи и оустани: и оулеже вѣтръ и възистъ тишина велнѣ Mk 4, 39 MAR; иѣ же рече останѣте емъ: по чьто иж троуждаете: добро бо дѣло съдѣла о мнѣ Mk 14, 6 ZOGR; блаженъи же чоудивъ са вѣрѣ него: на молитвѣ станевѣ рече ѡ дроуже SUPR 276, 15–16; вѣстані славо моѣ: вѣстані пьсалъгъиръ и гжслі: вѣстанж рано ї исповѣмъ съ т(ѣ)вѣ въ людехъ гї PS SIN 56, 9–10.

IMF — и сице не останѣахъ са стъидости SUPR 413, 18–19; многоу же часоу минжвъшоу: и ношти оуже прѣполовашти са: не прѣстанѣвше тлѣкжшти SUPR 515, 17–18; хлѣвъ нашъ наставъшааго дъне: даждъ намъ дънесъ Mt 6, 11 MAR; анѣлъ же гнѣ гави са сѣоуѣмъ⁸ съшъдъ съ невесе: въ образѣ мльниа: и приде к ѣемъ ставъ на въздоуѣ: окы трьми лакты движенъ отъ земаа: и прѣвзы стоа на мѣстѣ томъ многоу часы SUPR 567, 23–26; излѣзъ же ис коравыа приде на койн к ѣимъ: ставъ же рече слоугамъ своимъ: приведѣте ми ѣдного отъ ѣихъ SUPR 60, 10–13.

INF-AOR — лобъзаниѣ ми тъи не дастъ: сі же ѡтнелі вънидъ: не прѣста обловъзаяжци носѣ мон Lk 7, 45 AS; нога моѣ ста на правѣдѣ: въ цркъвахъ благословесѣстоуж тѣа PS SIN 25, 12; мзы же вѣстахъмъ (for canonical вѣстахомъ) и прости въхомъ PS SIN 19, 9; състаша са архiereи и кънижъници съ старьци: и рѣша глѣжште къ немоу Lk 20, 1–2 MAR; съ не вѣ присталъ съвѣтѣ: и дѣлаѣ ихъ Lk 23, 51 ZOGR; хота ѣвги свож сіаж: и хота сътворити да бж прѣстали: отъ зълъбы своеа CLOZ 5a, 12–14; двѣ на десате бо вѣста кошници оукроухъ осталѣ SUPR 428, 29–30; тоу паджтъ въсі творьштеи безаконение: въіриновени вѣіша и не можтъ стати PS SIN 35, 13.

The verb съпати

§574. The profile

съпати			
Prae	съп̂=ж, съп=иши	Aor	съпа=хъ, съпа=0
Imv	съп=ите	Imf	съпа=ахъ
шт-Part	съп.а , съп.ашт=и	ш-Part	съпа.въ , съпа.въш=и
м-Part	—	н-Part	съпа.н=
Inf съпа.т=и, Sup съпа.т=ъ, л-Part съпа.л=ъ			

§575. The morphology of the forms

1. The paradigm of the verb съпати <918> shows two stems: a C-final one (the truncated stem съп), and a V-final one (the expanded stem съп.а). The C-final and V-final stems are distributed as follows: the PRAE system uses the C-fi-

nal stem, while the INF-AOR and IMF systems use the V-final stems. The PRAE forms follow the *i*-conjugation.

2. The *n*-Part stem is found in the derivative **съпание**.

§576. Family membership

There are 2 lexemes altogether. These are: **съпати**, **посъпати**.⁹

§577. Illustrations

PRAE — **и** **приде** **и** **обрѣте** **и** **съпаштѣ** **и** **гѣ** **петрови** **симоне** **съпиши** **ли** **не** **възможе** **единого** **часа** **побѣдѣти** Mk 14, 37 MAR; **не** **плачате** **са** **нѣ** **стѣ** **во** **ѡмръла** **дѣвица** **нѣ** **съпитѣ** Lk 8, 52 SAV; **и** **рече** **имъ** **что** **съпите** **въста** **въше** **помолите** **са** **да** **не** **вънидете** **въ** **напастѣ** Lk 22, 46 ZGR; **ї** **въста** **ѣ** **ко** **съпиши** **гѣ** **и** **ѣ** **ко** **силенъ** **шюменъ** **отъ** **вина** PS SIN 77, 65; **бѣ** **въ** **малѣ** **оусъпе** **и** **съпаштѣ** **отъ** **вѣ** **ка** **отъ** **адама** **въскрѣси** SLOZ 12b, 7–9; **ѣ** **ще** **посъпите** **мюждю** (for canonical между) **прѣдѣ** **лы** **кри** **ѣ** **голжи** **посъреверѣ** PS SIN 67, 14.

IMF — **въздрѣ** **маша** **са** **вса** **и** **съпаахъ** Mt 25, 5 MAR; **ї** **аковъ** **съпавъ** **яко** **львъ** **и** **въста** **якоже** **скумынъ** SUPR 478, 25–26; **чловѣ** **къ** **же** **пакы** **бѣ** **оусогъ** **имѣ** **а** **телиж** **единж** **таже** **на** **трѣпезѣ** **съ** **нимъ** **идѣ** **аше** **и** **чашж** **единж** **съ** **нимъ** **пи** **ааше** **и** **на** **лонѣ** **кмоу** **съпааше** SUPR 359, 28–360, 2.

AOR — **азъ** **же** **оусънхъ** **ї** **съпахъ** **въстахъ** **ѣ** **ко** **гѣ** **застѣпнѣ** **мѣ** PS SIN 3, 6; **отъ** **срѣ** **ды** **скоуменъ** **посъпахъ** **съмжценъ** PS SIN 56, 5.

The verb **въпити**

§578. The profile

въпити			
Prae	въпи=хъ, въпи=еши	Aor	въпи=хъ, въпи=0
Imv	въпи=ите	Imf	въпи=ѣахъ [въпиаахъ]
шт-Part	въпи.а , въпи.хшт=и	ш-Part	въпи.въ , въпи.въш=и
л-Part	—	н-Part	—
Inf въпи.т=и, Sup въпи.т=ъ, л-Part въпи.л=ъ			

⁹ Večerka also gives **оусъпати** for the hapax gloss **оусъпи** (**оусъпи** **и** **повелѣ** **ниме** **твоимъ** **на** **ложн** **ѣ** **го** EUCN 42b, 5–6), which in the present grammar is assigned to the lexeme **оусъпити** 1, as is the case in Sadnik.

§579. The morphology of the forms

1. In the paradigm of the verb въпити [въп.и.т.и] <129> there is one stem: the V-final expanded stem въпи. The morphology of the forms follows class 7, but instead of the class 7 suffix (а or ъ) the verb shows a suffix from class 1, namely the theme и (see Vaillant, § 198).

2. The canonical imperfect is въпи=ѣахъ, въпи=ѣаше (contra the morphological balance rule), cf. the contracted imperfect въпиаша in Mt 20, 31 SAV.

§580. Family membership

There are 2 lexemes altogether. These are: въпити [въп.и.т.и], възъпити [въз.ъп.и.т.и]. The root is morphophonologically anomalous, with two shapes, ъп/въп.

§581. Illustrations

PRAE — сего дѣльма лазаре гради вънъ тебе єдного нзынѣоу възъпниж да съ странзы ходаштинимъ покажж сиж SUPR 311, 7–10; оученици его молѣхж и гліжце: отъпоустѣи ѣкѣ въпиетъ въ слѣдъ насъ Mt 15, 23 MAR; и се дхъ емлетъ і и вънезапж възъпиетъ и пржжаетъ сѣ съ пѣнами Lk 9, 39 SAV; проповѣдимъ спаса нашего въскрѣшеные паче же наше съпасение възъпиймъ SUPR 479, 13–14; оутроуд(и)хъ сѣ вопиа измалче грѣтань мои PS SIN 68, 4; глаѣ възпнѣцааго въ поустѣини оуготованте пжть гнѣ правзи творите стѣса его Mt 3, 3 AS.

IMF — они же излиха възпиѣахж гліце да распатъ бждетъ Mt 27, 23 AS (cf. въпнѣхж in ZOGR and MAR); хъ женамъ възъпнѣше CLOZ 14a, 23–24; и възъпнвѣ и много сѣ пржжавѣ изиде Mk 9, 26 SAV; кнази же велми възпнвѣше въсмиаша сѣ SUPR 138, 1–2.

INF-AOR — възпнхъ к тебе гї гї оуслыши гласъ мои SUPR 461, 21–22; і видѣвѣше и оученици ходаштъ по морю сѣмаша сѣ гліжште ѣко призракъ естъ і отъ страха възъпниша Mt 14, 26 MAR; і излѣзъ іс кораблѣ петръ хождааше на водахъ і приде кзи исви вида же вѣтрози крѣпкъзи оубоѣ сѣ і начынь оугапати възъпи гла гї спїи ма Mt 14, 29–30 ZOGR; гліж вамъ ѣко лице и сии оумалчѣтъ камене въпити иматъ Lk 19, 40 MAR.

The verb сѣсти

§ 582. The profile

сѣсти			
Prae	сѣд=ж, сѣд=ешн	Aor	сѣд=оухъ, сѣд=ε
Imv	сѣд=ѣтє	Imf	сѣд=ѣдхъ
шт-Part	сѣд.ъ , сѣд.жшт=н	ш-Part	сѣд.ъ , сѣд.ъш=н
л-Part	—	н-Part	сѣд.ен=
Inf сѣсти [сѣд.т=н], Sup сѣсть [сѣд.т=ъ], л-Part сѣлъ [сѣд.л=ъ]			

§ 583. The morphology of the forms

1. The paradigm of the verb сѣсти <798> shows two truncated stems that only differ in their vocalism: сѣд and сѣд. The pairing between the vocalic realizations is nonstandard: (л, ѣ) is not a pairing by any alternation (cf. °рѣсти <791> and лѣшти <482>). The root is anomalous. Both stems are C-final; forms follow class 4c standard.

2. Some verbs in this family have correlates in the тръпѣти 2 class; these are сѣсти ≈ сѣдѣти, and посѣсти ≈ посѣдѣти. Note that the personal Imf forms of these correlates coincide. Accordingly, there is no basis for assigning particular glosses to one or another lexeme. For example, in сѣдѣаше съ слоугами видѣти коньчинѣ Mt 26, 58 MAR, the form сѣдѣаше can be assigned either to the lexeme сѣсти 0 or to the lexeme сѣдѣти 2.

3. Along with the standard aorist, there is the root aorist сѣдъ etc. (see § 477).

4. The н-Part stem is found in the derivative сѣдение.

§ 584. Family membership

There are 7 lexemes altogether. These are: сѣсти, възсѣсти, осѣсти, посѣсти, просѣсти, прѣдъсѣсти, съсѣсти.

Cf. also сѣдѣти 2 and садити 1.

§ 585. Illustrations

PRAE — възненавидѣхъ црковъ лжкавъныхъ и съ нечѣстивыми не сѣдѣ ps sin 25, 5; даждъ нама да единъ о деснжихъ тебе а дроугъи о лѣвжихъ тебе сѣдѣвъ въ славѣ твоєи Mk 10, 37 SAV; югда са сѣдѣ (for canonical сѣдѣтъ) млѣко и осърѣѣе заградитъ пжть съсоу тьгда и дѣтиштъ плачетъ и мати болитъ SUPR 312, 6–9; ни вливайтъ вина нова въ млѣхы ветъхы аце ли же ни просѣдѣтъ са мѣси и вино пролѣетъ са и мѣси погыблѣтъ Mt 9, 17 MAR; нъ егда зъванъ бждеши шъдъ сѣди на послѣдънимъ мѣстѣ да егда

придетъ зъвавъин тѣ речетъ ти дроуѣже посади възше Lk 14, 10 MAR (like-wise ZOGR, SAV, AS); и гла оученикомъ сидѣте тоу дондеже шедъ помѣжъ са тамо Mt 26, 36 AS.

IMF — въздрѣмаша съ възсѣдъшеи на коня PS SIN 75, 7; възгнѣштъшемъ же огнъ по срѣдѣ двора и възкоупѣ сѣдъшемъ имъ сѣдѣаше петръ по срѣдѣ нхъ Lk 22, 55 MAR; рѣцѣте дъщери синовѣ се цѣръ твон градетъ тебѣ кротокъ и всѣдъ на осьла и жрѣба сѣа брьмнича Mt 21, 5 MAR.

INF-AOR — бко обидѣ мѣ пѣси мнози и сънемъ зъловѣзнихъ осѣде мѣ PS SIN 21, 17; на рѣцѣ вавулоньстѣ тоу сѣдохомъ и плакахомъ са поманжвше сионъ SUPR 418, 20–22 (cf. сѣдомъ PS SIN 136, 1 and CLOZ 7a, 30–31); и помолвивша са сѣдоста оба гаси хлѣбъ SUPR 524, 18–19; обраштета жрѣбѣцъ привязанъ на нѣмъже нѣстъ не оу никтоже отъ чѣкъ всѣлъ Mk 11, 2 ZOGR; на нѣмъже оубо мѣстѣ господъ съподобилъ ма юстъ сѣсти то на томъ подоба ми юстъ сѣдѣти мѣчаште дожи и до коньца жизни моѣа SUPR 205, 11–15.

The verb лѣшти

§ 586. The profile

лѣшти			
Prae	лѣг=ж, лѣж=ешн	Aor	лѣг=оухъ, лѣж=ε
Imv	лѣс=ѣте	Imf	лѣж=ѣахъ [лѣжаахъ]
шт-Part	лѣг.ы , лѣг.жшт=н	ш-Part	лѣг.ъ , лѣг.ъш=н
м-Part	—	н-Part	—
Inf лѣшти [лѣг.т=н], Sup лѣштъ [лѣг.т=ъ], л-Part лѣг.л=ъ			

§ 587. The morphology of the forms

1. The paradigm of the verb лѣшти <482> shows two truncated stems that only differ in their vocalism, лѣг and лѣж. The pairing between the vocalic realizations is nonstandard: (л, ε) is not a pairing by any alternation (also found in сѣсти <798> and °рѣсти <791>). The root is anomalous. Both stems are C-final; forms follow the 4c class standard.

2. Some verbs in this family have correlates in the трыпѣти 2 class; such are: лѣшти ≈ лѣжати, възлѣшти ≈ възлѣжати and облѣшти ≈ облѣжати. Note that the personal Imf forms of such correlates coincide. Accordingly, there is no basis for assigning particular glosses to one or another lexeme. For example, in мьздолмыци пришѣдъше възлѣжаахъ съ нѣомъ Mt 9, 10 ZOGR or съ мьгтари възлѣжааше и съ любодѣицами живѣаше SUPR 474, 1–2, the Imf forms can be assigned either to the lexeme възлѣшти 0 or to the lexeme възлѣжати 2.

3. Alongside the standard aorist, there is the root aorist лѣгъ (see § 477).

§ 588. Family membership

There are 4 lexemes altogether. These are: лешти, възлешти, облешти, оулешти.
Cf. also лежати 2 and лѣгати 3.

§ 589. Illustrations

PRAE — въсѣѣ слънѣце и совъраша сѣмъ и въ ложихъ своихъ љлѣжѣтъ PS SIN 103, 22; мнози ѡ възстокъ и отъ западъ придѣтъ и възљлѣжѣтъ съ авраамомъ и исакомъ и ѣковомъ въ црѣствѣи нѣсьнѣамъ Mt 8, 11 AS; и нѣждаашете и глѣшѣта облаши съ нама ѣко при вечерѣ естѣ и прѣклонилъ сѣ естѣ юже день и выиде съ нима облешѣ (Sup) Lk 24, 29 MAR; не дѣи емоу пакости ни рѣкама ни ногама ни вѣсемоу тѣлеси нъ въ едино мѣстѣ лази съвнѣвши сѣ EUCH 36b, 9–13.

IMF — игда же оумѣ нозѣ ихъ и прилѣтъ ризѣ своѣ и възлежѣ пакѣ рече нмъ вѣсте ли что створи хъ вамъ Jn 13, 12 SAV; игда възлежѣи въ гробѣ такоже въ чрѣвѣ хотѣаше отъвалити камъкъ отъ гроба SUPR 472, 27–29.

INF-AOR — и възставѣ запрѣти вѣтроу и рече морю мъчѣи и оустани и оулеже вѣтроу и възстѣ тишина вельѣ Mk 4, 39 ZOGR; и повелѣ имъ посадити љ всѣ на споды на споды на трѣвѣ зеленѣ и възлегоша на лѣхы на лѣхы по сътоу и пати десѣтъ Mk 6, 39–40 ZOGR (cf. възлежѣ MAR); сѣде петрѣ сѣде павелѣ сѣде сѣое еѣѣлие сѣде азъ покланѣвъ сѣ лещи хоцѣж EUCH 37b, 1–3; и възиде съ нима облещѣ и възѣ ѣко възлеже съ нима приемъ хлѣбѣ блѣи и прѣломъ даѣше нма Lk 24, 29–30 AS.

The verb об.рѣсти

§ 590. The profile

об.рѣсти			
Prae	рѣшт=ж, рѣшт=ѣши	Aor	рѣт=оухъ, рѣт=ѣ
Imv	рѣшт=нѣ	Imf	рѣшт=ѣахъ [рѣштѣахъ]
шт-Part	рѣшт.ѣ, рѣшт.жшт=и	ш-Part	рѣт.ѣ, рѣт.ѣш=и
м-Part	—	н-Part	рѣт.ѣн=
Inf рѣсти [рѣт.т=и], Sup рѣстѣ [рѣт.т=ѣ], л-Part рѣлѣ [рѣт.л=ѣ]			

§ 591. The morphology of the forms

1. The paradigm of the verb рѣсти <791> shows two truncated stems that differ in their vocalic realization and the final consonant: рѣт and рѣшт. The pairing between the vocalic realizations is nonstandard: (ѣ, ѣ) is not a pairing by any alternation (cf. сѣсти <798> and лешти <482>). The root is anomalous.

Both stems are C-final; PRAE forms follow the class 3 standard; the present *Imf* and all other forms follow the class 4 standard.

2. Alongside the standard aorist, there is the root aorist of the type (об)рѣтѣ (see § 477).

3. The *n*-Part stem, in addition to participles themselves (cf. сѣрѣтена бждѣвѣ SUPR 472, 12), is widely attested in derivatives: сѣрѣтениѣ, приобѣтениѣ, изобѣтениѣ, обѣтениѣ.

§ 592. Family membership

There are 4 lexemes altogether. These are: изобѣсти, обѣсти, приобѣсти, сѣрѣсти.

§ 593. Illustrations

PRAE — оукланѣиѣ сѣ страхѣи и отъвьсѣдѣ сѣдръжж сѣ како сѣраштѣ се дѣтѣниѣ кѣи ли обраштѣ исходѣ словоу SUPR 508, 15–17; шѣдѣ въ море въврѣси ждѣиѣ. и иже имѣши прѣжде рѣбѣж възьми и отврѣзѣ оуста еи. и обраштѣши статирѣ. тѣ въземѣ даждѣ имѣ за мѣ и за сѣ Mt 17, 27 MAR; дѣтѣ въ градѣ. и сѣраштѣтѣ въи чѣѣ. въ сѣждольницѣ водѣж несѣ (for саопісѣл несѣ). по ѣемѣ дѣтѣ Mk 14, 13 ZOGR; мѣдростѣиѣ нашеѣж изобраштѣмѣ истѣи(ж) SUPR 265, 30; сѣго радѣ обѣратѣтѣ сѣм ѣюдѣи моѣ сѣмо. и дѣнь(ѣ) испѣнь обраштѣтѣ сѣм въ нѣхѣ PS SIN 72, 10; приобрашти жѣзнь сѣбѣ. довѣлѣѣтѣ ти гѣже приѣл досѣждѣниѣ SUPR 253, 2–3.

IMF — рѣжжѣ же плѣтъ дѣрѣжаахѣ. а доушѣ бѣ порѣзоу мѣахѣ. и вѣнѣждѣ обраштѣаахѣ чоудѣсно. а жѣрѣждѣ страшно SUPR 511, 20–22; подобѣно естѣ цѣрѣствѣиѣ нѣбѣскоѣ. сѣкровѣштѣю сѣкрѣвѣноу на сѣлѣ. ежѣ обѣтѣ чѣѣ сѣкрѣи. и отъ радѣсти егѣ дѣтѣ. и все елико имѣтѣ продаѣтѣ Mt 13, 44 ZOGR; обѣтѣи дѣшѣ своѣж погѣубѣтѣ ѣж. а лже погѣубѣтѣ дѣшѣ своѣж мѣне радѣ обѣщѣтѣ ѣж Mt 10, 39 AS; бѣ намѣ приѣѣжѣиѣ и сѣла. помѣцѣникѣ въ сѣкрѣвѣхѣ обѣтѣшѣхѣ нѣи сѣло PS SIN 45, 2; оуклѣниѣ сѣ отъ сѣго пѣтѣи. да не сѣрѣтена бждѣвѣ свѣрѣпѣиѣиѣ ѣзѣкѣи SUPR 472, 11–12.

INF-AOR — дѣиѣволѣ. ино коу мѣрослѣжѣниѣ. ариѣнѣзѣскѣж хѣуѣж изобѣтѣ SUPR 186, 13–15; и пришьдѣшѣюмоу на онѣ полѣ. въ странѣж жѣрѣсѣиѣскѣж. сѣрѣтѣстѣиѣ и дѣва бѣѣсна. отъ грѣвиштѣ ѣхѣ. исходѣштѣ ѣюта сѣло Mt 8, 28 ZOGR (cf. сѣрѣтѣтѣ MAR and the aberrant spellout сѣрѣтѣстѣ SAV); абѣи же сѣходѣшѣю емоу. сѣ раби егѣ сѣрѣтошѣиѣ и гѣлицѣ. чѣко сѣнѣ ти жѣвѣ естѣ Jn 4, 51 AS (cf. сѣрѣтѣж in ZOGR and MAR); гѣи пѣтъ тѣлантѣ ми еси далѣ. и сѣ дроуѣжѣж пѣтъ тѣлантѣ приобѣтохѣ ими Mt 25, 20 AS (cf. приобѣтѣхѣ ZOGR and приобѣтѣ in MAR and SAV); колико сѣ бѣи трѣудѣлѣ да бѣи нѣкѣко обѣлѣ. понѣ ѣдногѣ за тѣ молѣштѣ гѣ SUPR 95, 11–13; прѣвѣзѣврѣвѣж ѣрѣстѣиѣж. сѣмѣтѣрашѣе коѣи бѣи приѣшѣлѣниѣ изобѣсти. да бѣи длѣгѣж и ѣютѣж имѣ сѣтворѣлѣ сѣмѣрѣтъ SUPR 88, 28–89, 1.

The verb ГЪНАТИ

§ 594. The profile

ГЪНАТИ			
Prae	ЖЕН=Ж, ЖЕН=ЕШИ	Aor	ГЪНА=ХЪ, ГЪНА=0
Imv	ЖЕН=ЪТЄ	Imf	ЖЕН=ЪАХЪ
шт-Part	ЖЕН.Ъ , ЖЕН.ЖШТ=И	ш-Part	ГЪНА.ВЪ , ГЪНА.ВЪШ=И
л-Part	ЖЕН.0Л=	н-Part	ГЪНА.Н=
Inf ГЪНА.Т=И, Sup ГЪНА.Т=Ъ, л-Part ГЪНА.Л=Ъ			

§ 595. The morphology of the forms

1. The paradigm of the verb ГЪНАТИ <153> shows two stems that differ in their vocalic realization: the truncated stem with ϵ vocalism, ЖЕН, and an expanded stem with ъ vocalism, ГЪНА. The root is anomalous. The stems are distributed as follows: the truncated stem in PRAE; all other systems use the expanded stem (in Imf the stem ЖЕН is the present imperfect).

2. The н-Part stem, in addition to participles themselves (cf. ИЗГЪНАНИ Jn 12, 42 МАР), is attested in the derivative ИЗГЪНАНИЕ.

§ 596. Family membership

There are 7 lexemes altogether. These are: ГЪНАТИ, ВЪГЪНАТИ, ИЗГЪНАТИ (PRAE ИЖДЕНЖ, ИЖДЕНЕШИ), ОТЪГЪНАТИ, ПОГЪНАТИ, ПРОГЪНАТИ, РАЗГЪНАТИ (PRAE РАЖДЕНЖ, РАЖДЕНЕШИ).

Cf. also ГОНИТИ 1.

§ 597. Illustrations

PRAE — граджштаго къ мьнѣ· не ижденж вѣнъ Jn 6, 37 ZOGR; блажени есте егда поносатъ вамъ· и ижденжтѣ въи· и рекжтѣ· въсѣкъ зѣлъ глѣ на въи· лъжжште мене ради Mt 5, 11 ZOGR; оуклони сѣя отъ зѣла· и твори добро· възици мира· и пожени· I PS SIN 33, 15; и рекжтѣ вамъ се съде се овѣде хъ· не изидѣте ни поженѣте Lk 17, 23 Mar; женжштин же погани видѣвъше тако въ плѣвницѣ въскочи бѣжа· възъмъше огнь запалиша плѣвницѣ SUPR 196, 19–22; възыпи гласомъ бѣсѣ идж идж· и исхождж ноуждею (for canonical нжждеж) и мжкож женомъ иесмъ· отъхождж отъ чловѣка· оуже к' томоу не приблнжж са къ сьмѣреноуоумоу и прѣпростороуоумоу паулоу· женетъ бо ма и не вѣдѣ камо идж SUPR 173, 15–22.

IMF — и сѣвзавъше иего сѣтвориша иемоу оноуштж· и гвоздиа острвы вънозиша въ оноуштж· и обоуша и· и бижште иего женѣахъ· такоже крѣви иего зельж полиати SUPR 17, 18–22; подажди ми влагж твонхъ цедротъ·

изгорѣвъшее грѣхъи срѣце мое: и отъгънавъ мракъ грѣховънъи: и въжьзи въ немь: искрж твоего мѣдиѣ EUCH 78a, 3–8; блажени изгънани правѣды ради: ꙗко тѣхъ естъ црѣство нѣское Mt 5, 10 ZOGR; движжцие сѣа да прѣселятъ сѣа снѣе его и възсхлѣпажтъ: и възгънани бжджтъ из домовъ своихъ PS SIN 108, 10.

INF-AOR — и дастъ намъ бгъ силаж: да ово отъ нихъ оубихомъ: овъи прогънахомъ SUPR 72, 28–29; и ютро пробрѣзгоу сѣло: възставъ изиде нѣъ и иде въ поусто мѣсто: и тоу молитвж дѣаше: и гънаша и симонъ и иже бѣахж съ нимь: и обрѣтѣше и глаша емоу: ꙗко вси иштжтъ тебе Mk 1, 35–37 Mar; аште мене изгънаша: и васъ ижденжтъ Jn 15, 20 ZOGR; виноградъ из ефоупта прѣнесе: възгъна ѣззыкы и насади PS SIN 79, 9; вѣровавъше же молахж сѣ: тако да бѣи шелъ и отъгъналъ лжакаваго того бѣса: дроузи же искоушажште такоже не иматъ съдолѣти SUPR 35, 28–36, 2; диваволъ [...] вида себе отъ многы благыа дѣтѣли мжжа и правѣднааго житиѣ на мнозѣ прогонима: възста на нѣ: хотан прогнати отъ прѣжденареченааго мѣста SUPR 514, 19–23.

The verb плѣти

§598. List of forms

This verb is represented in OCS by two forms (3 glosses):

плѣти			
Prae	плѣ.в=емъ	Aor	—
Imv	—	Imf	—
шт-Part	—	ш-Part	—
л-Part	плѣ.в.ом=	н-Part	—
Inf, Sup, л-Part forms not attested			

§599. The morphology of the forms

The root of the verb плѣти <685> is sonant, with H(I) vocalism. In OCS it is only found with the vocalic realization лѣ. The noun плѣ.в.а contains the nominal suffix в. The accepted reconstruction of the infinitive плѣти is based on Church Slavic (and Russian *полоть, полю, полешь*). The isolated PRAE forms observed in OCS could be assigned to the infinitive *плѣвати 3° (cf. °рѣвати 3°, ковати 3°, искати 3°, and others; see details in §498). The PD lists the infinitive плѣти, following the tradition (Vaillant, Večerka, Sadnik).

§600. Family membership

There are 2 lexemes altogether. These are: плѣти, исплѣти.

§ 601. Glosses

ХОШТЕШИ ЛИ ОУБО ДА ШЕДЪШЕ ИСПЛЪВЕМЪ ꙗ Mt 13, 28 ZGR, MAR; ДА [...] НАВЪКНЖТЪ ТАКО ПЛЪВОМА ЕСТЬ СЪМРЬТЬ· ДА СД ИСТРАСЖТЪ ГРОВИ· А МРЪТВНИ ВЪПЕРЕНИ БЪДЖТЪ НА ВЪСТАНИЕ SUPR 424, 29–425, 2.

The verb **дѣти**

§ 602. The profile

дѣти			
Prae	ДЕЖД=Ж, ДЕЖД=ЕШИ	Aor	дѣ=хъ, дѣ=0
Imv	ДЕЖД=ИТЕ	Imf	дѣ=ѣахъ [дѣаахъ]
шт-Part	ДЕЖД.А , ДЕЖД.ЖШТ=И	ш-Part	дѣ.въ , дѣ.въш=И
л-Part	—	л-Part	дѣ.л=
Inf дѣ.т=И, Sup дѣ.т=ъ, л-Part дѣ.л=ъ			

§ 603. The morphology of the forms

1. The paradigm of the verb **дѣти** <225> shows two stems: a C-final one (ДЕЖД) and a V-final one (дѣ). The stems differ in their vocalic realizations (ε||ѣ). The C-final stem is substitutively softened (PRAE follows class 3); the INF-AOR and IMF system forms follow class 4v.

2. Some verbs in this family have correlates in the **пакати** 3 class. Cf. **въздѣти** and **въздѣяти**, **здѣти** and **здѣяти**. Note that the personal Imf forms for such correlates coincide. Accordingly, there is no basis for assigning particular glosses to one or another lexeme. For example, **ютро прорѣзгоу сѣло· въставъ изиде исъ и иде въ поусто мѣсто· и тоу молитвѣ дѣаше** Mk 1, 35 MAR.¹⁰

3. Alongside the participles themselves (cf. **одѣни** SUPR 271, 11–12), the л-Part stem is found in the derivative **одѣниие**.

§ 604. Family membership

There are 5 lexemes altogether. These are: **въдѣти**, **въздѣти**, **здѣти**, **одѣти**, **придѣти**.

Cf. also **дѣяти** 3.

¹⁰ Contra Sadnik and following Večerka, there is no headword **дѣти** 0 in the PD, but only **дѣяти** 3, which means that the form **дѣаше** belongs to **дѣяти** 3.

§605. Illustrations

PRAE: ꙗко имени твоёмъ въздеждѣ рѣцѣ мои PS SIN 62, 5 (cf. въздѣвъ рѣцѣ мои PS SIN 27, 2); не пыцѣте сѧ: гл҃яще что ѣмъ ли что приемъ и въ что одеждемъ сѧ Mt 6, 31 SAV; вѣсѣ одеждѣтъ ризы: мене же правѣда SUPR 19, 19–20; въдежди прѣстѣ въ оуши его EUCH 31b, 18–19; въ ноштѣхъ въздеждѣте (for canonical въздеждите) рѣкы ваши PS SIN 133, 2.

IMF: мати же его и не испочивѣши въздѣвъши рѣцѣ и текжшти иде плачжшти сѧ до сѣааго мжжа: повѣдати ѣмоу своѣ бѣдѣ SUPR 43, 26–29; прѣдѣста цр҃ца о десноѣ тебе въ ризахъ позлащенахъ оуѣна прѣкоуѣена PS SIN 44, 10; вѣлѣзе же уподыакъ: рѣцѣ имѣи распрострѣтъ и въдѣнѣ на небо SUPR 555, 14–15.

INF-AOR: зѣвахъ къ тебѣ г҃и въсь день: въздѣхъ рѣцѣ мои PS SIN 87, 10; странѣнъ бѣхъ и въведосте ма: нагъ и оуѣсте ма Mt 25, 35–36 SAV; когда же та видѣхомъ странѣна и въвѣсомъ: ли нага и оуѣхомъ Mt 25, 38 MAR; сѣмоу здѣшѣ понести кр҃стъ его Mt 27, 32 ZAGR; приемъи глаухааго: приведѣнааго къ тебѣ: вѣдѣ прѣстѣ въ оуши его EUCH 31b, 20–22; то слышавши васнина на множаншѣ любовь приде: такоже видѣти своима очима старца: и помысли оуѣти сѧ въ мжжъскыи образъ: и ити к ѣмоу въ лаврѣ: и ѣже о себѣ съповѣдати томоу SUPR 299, 8–13.

Aberrant verbal forms in sources

§606. General

The present chapter treats aberrant forms of the verbs that show paradigmatic aberrations. The source of the observed aberrations are various paradigmatic effects.¹ Some paradigmatic effects apply both in derivation of canonical forms, where they shape the paradigmatic standard of some class, as well as in the generation of aberrant forms, deflecting their derivation from the assigned paradigmatic standard. For example, in building the PRAE workstems for the *метати 3^o* group of irregular verbs, the absence of substitutive softening effect (° symbol) applies, and the same effect leads to aberrant forms such as *колѣтє* (for canonical *колитє*) in the *врати 4h[•]* groups of irregular verbs.

§607. The order of examination of aberrant verbal forms

Some aberrant forms are treated above in Ch. 19, *An overview of verb forms by system* (aberrant imperfect forms and the new *ш*-Part of the *любивъ* type), and in Ch. 21, *Unique verbs*. All other aberrant forms are treated by paradigmatic class and system, as shown in Table 607 (p. 338).

¹ Some paradigmatic effects, namely those that lead to deformations in terminals, have segmental underpinnings, but are treated together with properly paradigmatic aberrations, for compactness of the overview of all aberrant verbal forms. For segmental aberrations, see Part I, *Segmental grammar*.

Table 607. Order of examination of aberrant verbal forms

Canonical	Aberrant	Aberration type	§§
Contamination of paradigmatic classes			
Прае покажеші	Прае показажеші	Contamination of classes 3 ~ 7	§ 608
Прае нсѣхнѣтѣ Аог оусѣхнѣ	Прае нсѣшетѣ Аог оусѣше	Contamination of classes 5 ~ 3 ~ 4	§ 609–610
Aberrations common to all systems			
Прае вѣштгаѣмѣ	Прае вѣштгаѣмѣы	Personal terminals aberrations common to all systems	§ 611–612
Прае жндѣтѣ	Прае жѣдѣтѣ	Aberrant root vocalism	§ 613
Аог жи	Аог жнѣѣ	Expansion of alien workstem	§ 614
PRAE system aberrations			
мѣтѣтѣ	мѣштѣтѣ	Substitutive softening in workstem	§ 615
плачѣштѣн	плачѣштѣн	Contamination of <i>i</i> - and <i>e</i> -conjugations	§ 616
продѣѣтѣ	продѣѣтѣ	Assimilation of initial V of 3SgPrae terminal	§ 617–618
покажнѣѣ жнѣѣн	покажѣѣ жнѣѣн	Other PRAE system forms	§ 620–622

Aberrations by paradigmatic class

§ 608. Contamination of classes 3 and 7

In the PRAE system, плакати 3 class verbs can show aberrant forms from the expanded stem by the class 7 paradigmatic standard. (On the paradigmatic attestation of the classes, see Ch. 24, *Supplement*, § 910–913, *Excursus on the contamination and competition between paradigmatic classes*). Table 608 shows some examples.

Table 608. Illustrations of the class 3 and 7 contamination aberration

	Canonical forms following class 3	Aberrant forms following class 7
вѣзати 3	сѣвѣжж SUPR 242, 7	сѣвѣзѣши EUCH 64a, 17–18
°всати 3	прѣпоѣшетъ сѧ Lk 12, 37 ZOGR, MAR	прѣпоѣсаецъ сѧ EUCH 97a, 11
искати 3°	възискѣштѣ PS SIN 21, 27	възискаѣштѣ Lk 2, 45 ZOGR ¹⁾
казати 3	покажж SUPR 504, 15	показаетъ SUPR 440, 16
кѣветати 3	оклевештѣши SUPR 408, 18	оклѣветаецъ Lk 3, 14 ZOGR, MAR, AS, SAV
лиати 3*	прѣлѣетъ EUCH 19b, 8–9	прѣлнѣѣштѣ сѧ Lk 6, 38 ZOGR, MAR
мазати 3	помажетъ SUPR 351, 2	помазаѣштѣ SUPR 256, 10
метати 3°	мететъ Mk 12, 41 MAR	метаѣштѣ PS SIN 125, 6
°рицати 3	наричѣши SUPR 162, 1	нарицаецъ сѧ Mt 10, 2 ZOGR
рѣзати 3	обрѣжжѣтъ Lk 2, 21 ZOGR, MAR, AS, SAV	обрѣзаецъ Jn 7, 22 ZOGR, AS
°сыпати 3	исыпажжѣтъ Lk 14, 35 MAR	исыпаецъ сѧ Lk 14, 35 ZOGR ²⁾

Notes to Table 608

- 1) оста отрокъ въ нерѣмѣхъ и не чюсте родителѣхъ мѣнѣвъша же и въ дружинѣхъ сѣщѣхъ прѣидостѣ дѣни пѣтъхъ и искаашете же его въ рождени и въ знани и не обрѣтѣша его възвратистѣ сѧ въ нерѣмѣхъ възискаѣштѣ его Lk 2, 43–45 AS (likewise in ZOGR, MAR, SAV); cf.: ѣдѣтъхъ нишѣти и насѣтѣтъхъ сѧ и въсѣхвалѣтъхъ гѣ възискѣштѣ его PS SIN 21, 27.
- 2) добро естѣ соль аштѣ же соль обочѣетъ о чѣмъ оубо осолитъ сѧ ни въ зѣлѣи ни въ гнои трѣбѣ естѣ вънѣ исыпаецъ сѧ Lk 14, 34–35 ZOGR; cf. [...] вонѣ исыпажжѣтъ ѣж Lk 14, 35 MAR.

§609. Contamination of classes 5, 3, and 4

This aberration applies to class 5 C-final *нж*-dropping verbs. In the PRAE system, aberrant forms follow the *плакати* 3 class paradigmatic standard, while in the INF-AOR system and in *ш*- and *н*-participles they follow the *нѣсти* 4c class paradigmatic standard. (See more details in Ch. 24, *Supplement*, § 910–913, *Excursus on the contamination and competition between paradigmatic classes*).

The system of forms is as follows (aberrant forms are shown after the // sign).

Prae	гъибнж//гъибѣж, гъибнѣши//гъибѣши	Aor	гъибнжхъ (secondary гъибъ)//гъибоухъ, гъибнж//гъибѣ
Imv	гъибнѣтѣ//гъиблнѣтѣ	Imf	гъибнѣахъ
шт-Part	гъибнѣ//гъибѣа, гъибнѣштѣ// гъибѣжштѣ	ш-Part	гъибнѣвъ//гъибъ, гъибнѣвъши//гъибѣши
л-Part	гъибнѣм=//гъибѣем=	н-Part	гъибнѣвен=//гъибѣн=
Inf гъибнжти, Sup гъибнжтъ, л-Part гъибнѣахъ//гъибѣа=ъ			

Among Aor forms there are canonical standard ones by class 5 (type *гъибнжхъ*), canonical secondary by class 5 (root aorists of the *гъибъ* type), and aberrant by class 4 (type *гъибоухъ*).

Aberrant lmf forms are not attested in OCS, although for Church Slavic Vaillant gives the present imperfect form by class 3 (ГЫБЛѢАХЪ, see Vaillant, § 207).

Note that class 5 is a new class relative to both classes 3 and 4c. The abundance of aberrant forms speaks to a not yet fully stabilized system of classes and paradigms during the examined time period. Subparadigms of different paradigmatic standards coexisted within a single lexemes; or, to put it differently, subparadigms had considerable autonomy (see Van Wijk).

§ 610. Illustrations and distribution of aberrant forms

The aberrant forms under discussion are found in all sources (Table 610, p. 340), and are possible for all *нж*-dropping verbs, i.e. all verbs that contain a C-final root. On the distribution of the forms, see Vaillant, § 205–207.

Table 610. Illustrations of the class 5 and 3, 5 and 4 contamination aberration

Canonical forms	Aberrant forms
PRAE (class 3 instead of canonical class 5)	
ИСЪХНЕТЪ Jn 15, 6 AS	ИСЪШЕТЪ Jn 15, 6 ZOGR, MAR, SAV
ІСАКНЕТЪ Mt 24, 12 MAR, AS, SAV	ІСАЧЕТЪ Mt 24, 12 SAV ¹⁾
ПОГЫБНЕМЪ Lk 8, 24 ZOGR	ПОГЫБЛЕМЪ Lk 8, 24 MAR, AS
ПОГЫБНЕТЕ Lk 13, 3 ZOGR	ПОГЫБЛЕТЕ Lk 13, 3 MAR
ВЪСКРЪСНІ PS SIN 81, 8	ВЪСКРЪШИ PS SIN 73, 22 ²⁾
ГЫБНЖШТЕ Jn 6, 27 AS	ГЫБЛѢЖШТЕ Jn 6, 27 ZOGR, MAR
ВЪЗДВИГНѢТЕ Lk 21, 28 ZOGR, MAR	ВЪЗДВИЖТЕ PS SIN 74, 6
Aor, л-, ш-, н-Part (class 4 instead of canonical class 5)	
ОУСЪХНЖ SUPR 396, 19	ОУСЪШЕ Mt 21, 20 MAR
КОСНЖ Mk 1, 41 ZOGR, MAR, AS, SAV	КОСЕ СА SUPR 561, 28
ІСАКНЖ Mk 5, 29 ZOGR, MAR, AS, SAV	ІСАЧЕ PS SIN 105, 9
ПРОТАГНЖ SUPR 14, 22	ПРОТАЖЕ SUPR 14, 17 ³⁾
ПОТЪКНЖША СА SUPR 448, 16–17	ПОТЪКОША СА SUPR 448, 20
ОУСНЖВЪШАГО SUPR 469, 26	ОУСЪПЫШНІХЪ SUPR 488, 10
НАВЪКНЖЛЪ SUPR 425, 30	ОБЪКАЛЪ SUPR 204, 15
ДЪХНОВЕНЬЕ SUPR 469, 8	ОТЪДЪШЕННІЕ SUPR 315, 1 ⁴⁾

Notes to Table 610

- 1) The verse Mt 24, 12 is attested twice in SAV. On folio 47: и за оумножения безаконна нхъ' ІСАЧЕТЪ любъи многыхъ, with aberrant Prae form; and on folio 87: и за оумножение безаконна ІСАКНЕТЪ любъи многыхъ, with canonical Prae form.
- 2) Cf. ВЪСКРЪШИ бже сжди пьрж твоѣж PS SIN 73, 22, and: ВЪСКРЪСНІ бже сжди земли PS SIN 81, 8.

- 3) сѣа же иоулиани прѣкръстивъши лице своеꙋ съ радостиѣхъ протаже възидъ своиѣхъ и сѣбѣца отъсѣче главѣхъ ии. видѣвъ же сватѣи паулъ сестрѣхъ своиѣхъ съконьчавъшъ сѣ о господи въздвигъ очи свои на небо благослови бога и прѣкръстивъ сѣ протажѣ възидъ своиѣхъ и оусѣченъ възидъ SUPR 14, 15–23.
- 4) анѣлѣ же гнѣ ави сѣ сѣоуѣмъ сѣшъдъ съ небесе въ образѣхъ мльниа и приде к ѿемъ ставъ на въздоуѣхъ окъи трѣми лактѣхъ движенъ отъ земля SUPR 567, 23–26; повѣгнѣвъ да не постижена (NDu) бждевъ иджшта SUPR 472, 10–11, cf.: дръзновеная SUPR 560, 9; неприкосновенъ EUCH 21a, 21.
- On the root aorists in the *движѣти* 5 class verbs see § 477, illustrations in § 482.

Aberrant personal terminals

§ 611. Decomposition of verbal terminals

Most personal terminals are combinations, i.e. can be represented as sequences of several formatives. Decomposing combined terminals allows a compact view of their aberrations. In combined terminals, the bundle marker is initial, followed by person and number markers. Root aorist terminals can be considered simple (and this type of aorist is sometimes called simple aorist), as long as initial *ε* and *ο* are treated as auxiliary formatives (in this case prothetic vowels). How combined terminals are representable as sequences of several components is shown in Table 611 (for brevity, 1Sg and 2Sg terminals and nonstandard imperfect bundles are not shown).

Within wholesale combinations, the mechanisms of alloform selection for individual formatives, as well as boundary adjustment rules, are, so to speak, forgotten. The whole combinations play the role of terminals, i.e. are distributed among sets, etc., as ordinary terminals, as if forgetting their bicomponential nature. The majority of observed aberrations are those of the final components (see aberrations 1–6, see Table 612.1 on p. 343); there is redistribution of components in aberration 7 (see Table 612.1).²

² Some aberrations, namely aberrations 1–3 from Table 612.1, can be interpreted as having a segmental origin (confusion of final *yers*).

Table 611. Decomposition schema for personal verbal terminals

Person/number markers (2nd component)					
3Sg	1Du	2Du	3Du, 2Pl	1Pl	3Pl
ε/0 or τʙ	βʙ	τα	τϵ	λʙ	λ/κ or τʙ
Athematic Prae: marker 0 (1st component)					
0 + τʙ	0 + βʙ	0 + τα	0 + τϵ	0 + λʙ	Standard
Standard Prae: η or ε conjugation marker (1st component)					
η + τʙ	η + βʙ	η + τα	η + τϵ	η + λʙ	λ + τʙ
ε + τʙ	ε + βʙ	ε + τα	ε + τϵ	ε + λʙ	κ + τʙ
Standard lmv: η or η/ʙ marker (1st component)					
η + ε/0	η + βʙ	η + τα	η + τϵ	η + λʙ	—
	η/ʙ + βʙ	η/ʙ + τα	η/ʙ + τϵ	η/ʙ + λʙ	—
Standard Aor: ο.χ or ο.ς marker (1st component)					
Root	ο.χ + ο.βʙ	ο.ς + τα	ο.ς + τϵ	ο.χ + ο.λʙ	ο.χ + λ
Root aorist: 0 marker (1st component)					
0 + ε/0	ο + βʙ	ε + τα	ε + τϵ	ο + λʙ	κ
Old sigmatic aorist I: ς marker (1st component)					
ς + τʙ	ς + ο.βʙ	ς + τα	ς + τϵ	ς + ο.λʙ	ς + λ
Standard imperfect: ʙ.αχ marker (1st component)					
ʙ.αχ + ε/0	ʙ.αχ + ο.βʙ	ʙ.αχ + ε.τα	ʙ.αχ + ε.τε	ʙ.αχ + ο.λʙ	ʙ.αχ + κ

χ is replaced with ω before front vowels ε and λ. ο in ο.χ or ο.ς is used in consonant-final stems. ε/0 behaves by CVC-agreement with the final segment of the preceding formative.

§612. Aberrant personal terminals

Tables 612.1 and 612.2 (pp. 343–344) give an overview of possible aberrations of personal verbal terminals, and illustrations. (On the distribution of aberrant forms, see Vaillant, § 147, 158).

Table 612.1. Forms with aberrant personal terminals: an overview

Systems		PRAE	IMF	INF-AOR
Aberrations				
1	мъ ⇒ мѣ 1SgPrae (athematic)	дамъ for дамь	No examples	No examples
2	мъ ⇒ мь, мѣ ⇒ мѣи 1Pl	дамь for дамъ and дамѣи for дамъ		идохомъ for идохомь
3	тъ ⇒ ть 3Sg, 3Pl	речеть for речеть		бъистъ for бѣистъ
4	стъ ⇒ Ѡ 2-3Sg	ѣ for ѣстъ		Cf. secondary 2-3SgAor forms бѣи//бѣистъ, пи//питъ
5	тъ ⇒ Ѡ 2-3Sg, 3Pl	може for можетъ	See below on запрѣщашеть sav Mk 7, 36	
6	те ⇒ та, 3Du та, те ⇒ тѣ, 2, 3Du	бѣдета for бѣдетѣ	идѣашета for идѣашетѣ	бѣиста for бѣистѣ
7	(ѣ)ашетѣ ⇒ (ѣ)астѣ (ѣ)ашета ⇒ (ѣ)аста 3Du2Pl, 2Du lmf	No examples	въпниааста for въпниаашета	No examples

Table 612.2. Aberrant forms of personal verbal terminals: illustrations

Canonical	Aberrant
Aberration 1 мъ ⇒ мѣ (1Sg, athematic presents and Cond)	
азъ бо дамъ Lk 21, 15 ZOGR	азъ бо дамъ Lk 21, 15 SAV
азъ възвалъ оубо бимъ Mt 25, 27 ZOGR	азъ възвалъ оубо бимъ Mt 25, 27 SAV
Aberration 2 мъ ⇒ мь (1Pl)	
мы вѣмъ Jn 9, 24 ZOGR	мы вѣмь Jn 9, 24 MAR
не бимъ прѣдали Jn 18, 30 AS	не бимь прѣдали Jn 18, 30 MAR
Aberration 2 мъ ⇒ мѣи (1Pl)	
мы вѣмъ Jn 9, 29 MAR	мы вѣмѣи Jn 9, 29 ZOGR
вѣштаемъ SUPR 380, 3-4	вѣштаемѣи SUPR 380, 2
поманѣхомъ SUPR 439, 18	поманѣхомѣи SUPR 439, 30
не бѣхомъ его прѣдали Jn 18, 30 SAV	не бѣхомѣи ти его прѣдали SUPR 433, 1-2
Aberration 3 тъ ⇒ ть (3Sg and 3Pl)	
приметъ Mk 12, 2 MAR	приметь Mk 12, 2 ZOGR
просатъ Lk 12, 48 ZOGR	просатъ Lk 12, 48 MAR
сжтъ PS SIN 9, 28	сжтъ PS SIN 11, 5
бѣистъ Jn 7, 43 SAV	бѣистъ Mk 2, 15 SAV

Table 612.2 (continued). Aberrant forms of personal verbal terminals: illustrations

Canonical	Aberrant
Aberration 4, 5 тъ ⇒ ∅ or стъ ⇒ ∅ ¹⁾	
достоитъ ли Mk 3, 4 MAR	достои ли Mk 3, 4 ZOGR
прозираѣтъ Mt 11, 5 ZOGR	прозираѣ Mt 11, 5 AS ²⁾
поусто естъ мѣсто Mt 14, 15 ZOGR	поусто е мѣсто Mt 14, 15 SAV
отъ пльти нѣстъ польса Jn 6, 63 AS	отъ пльти нѣ польса Jn 6, 63 MAR
проповѣстъ сѧ Lk 12, 3 MAR	проповѣ сѧ Lk 12, 3 AS
Aberration 6 те ⇒ та (3Du) or та, те ⇒ тѣ (2, 3Du)	
вѣроуѣта SUPR 445, 16	(2Du) вѣроуѣтѣ SUPR 445, 17
идѣашете Lk 24, 28 MAR, ZOGR, AS	(3Du) идѣашета SUPR 472, 23
поклонисте сѧ Mt 28, 9 ZOGR, MAR, AS	(3Du) поклонистѣ сѧ Mt 28, 9 SAV ³⁾
видѣсте Lk 2, 30 ZOGR, MAR, AS	(3Du) видѣстѣ Lk 2, 30 SAV
Aberration 7 ѣ.ашете ⇒ ѣ.асте (3Du2Plmf), ѣ.ашета ⇒ ѣ.аста (2Dulmf)	
помышлѣашете Mk 9, 33 MAR	(2Pl) помышлѣасте Mk 9, 33 AS
поношаашете Mt 27, 44 ZOGR	(3Du) поношаасте Mt 27, 44 MAR
искашета Lk 2, 49 MAR, AS, искашета ZOGR	(2Du) искаста Lk 2, 49 SAV
Aberration 6 + 7 ѣ.ашете ⇒ ѣ.аста//ѣ.астѣ (3Dulmf)	
зѣрѣашете Mk 15, 47 ZOGR	зѣрѣаста Mk 15, 47 AS ⁴⁾
идѣашете Mt 28, 8 ZOGR	идѣстѣ Mt 28, 8 SAV ³⁾

Notes to Table 612.2

- 1) Cf. also: бѣдѣ чрѣсла ваша прѣпоѣсана Lk 12, 35 ZOGR, MAR, AS, SAV; и на очищение намъ бѣдѣ KIEV 5a, 15–16; бѣдѣ днье его мали и ѣиппѣство его прѣли инѣ: бѣдѣ снѣи его сѣри и жена его въдова PS SIN 108, 8–9; some authors interpret these examples as 3Plmf, see Vaillant, § 150, see *ibid.* on the form процвѣтъ in PS SIN 89, 6. For 3Sglmf (ѣ)ашетъ instead of (ѣ)аше occurs only once in the benchmark corpus, запрѣцашеть SAV Mk 7, 36: и запрѣти имъ да никомоу же не повѣдатъ: елико же имъ запрѣцашеть они паче проповѣдаѣхъ. However, Knjazevskaĭa, in her edition of SAV, rejects even this single example, contra Van Wijk (§ 59.7, p. 321), and suggests another interpretation: запрѣцаше lmf + тъ NSgm, with a reference to parallel texts in ZOGR and MAR: еликоже имъ тъ запрѣцааше (ZOGR). On the distribution of such aberrant imperfect forms in Church Slavonic, see Vaillant, § 158.
- 2) слѣпи прозираѣ: хромни ходатъ: глоуци слѣшатъ: прокажени очицаѣтъ: сѧ: мрѣтви въстаѣтъ: и ници благовѣстѣствоуѣтъ Mt 11, 5 AS.
- 3) и ошѣдъши скоро отъ гроба: съ страхомъ и радостниѣ велиеѣ: текостѣ повѣдатъ оученикомъ его: егда же идѣстѣ: повѣдатъ оученикомъ его: и самъ іс сърѣте іа гѣа: радоуѣта ва сѧ: онѣ же пристѣпши: астѣ сѧ за нозѣ его: и поклонистѣ сѧ емоу Mt 28, 8–9 SAV; cf. и ошѣдъши скоро отъ гроба: съ страхомъ и радостниѣ велиеѣ: тѣсте възѣвѣститъ оученикомъ: егда же идѣашете възѣвѣститъ оученикомъ его: и се іс: сърѣте іа гѣа: радоуѣта

СА· ОНѢ ЖЕ ПРИСТЪПШИ· ЪСТЕ СА ЗА НОЗѢ ЕГО· І ПОКЛОНИСТЕ СА ЕМОУ Mt 28, 8–9 ZOGR.

- 4) МАРИА ЖЕ МАГДАЛЪНИ И МАРИА НОСИФОВА· ЗЪРЪАСТА КЪДЕ И ПОЛАГААХЪ Mk 15, 47 AS (ЗЪРЪАШЕТЕ ZOGR, MAR).

Aberrant root vocalisms

§ 613. General

This aberration is observed only in those verbs that canonically allow different root vocalism (see Table 613). These are irregular verbs with the unstable root vocalism paradigmatic effect (indicated by *), and 4c class verbs that show root vocalism alternation in lmv (the рѣшти 4c, тѣшти 4c, пѣшти 4c, жѣшти 4c group).³

Table 613. Aberrant root vocalisms: illustrations

Verb	Canonical	Aberrant
«lŋf» vocalism instead of «Prae»		
жѣдати 3 ^{o*}	жидѣште Lk 1, 21 ZOGR, MAR, AS	жѣдѣштиѣмъ SUPR 24, 17–18
	жидѣте SUPR 467, 8	жѣдѣте SUPR 465, 28
	жидѣтъ PS SIN 118, 95	жѣдѣ SUPR 310, 26 ¹⁾
«Prae» vocalism instead of «lŋf» ²⁾		
пѣсати 3 [*]	пѣсанѣ Jn 15, 25 SAV (for canonical пѣсанѣю)	писанѣ Jn 15, 25 MAR, AS
	пѣсахъ Jn 19, 22 ZOGR (for canonical пѣсахъѣ)	писсахъ SUPR 404, 7–8
	пѣсати Lk 1, 3 ZOGR (for canonical пѣсати)	писати Lk 1, 3 MAR
Vocalisms in the рѣшти group		
жѣшти 4	сѣжежетъ Lk 3, 17 ZOGR, MAR, AS	сѣжѣжетъ Lk 3, 17 SAV
	жегома Mk 1, 30 ZOGR, MAR	жѣгомѣѣмъ SUPR 476, 17
	зажеже EUCH 106b, 3	зажѣже Mt 22, 7 MAR, AS ³⁾
	вѣжеже SUPR 435, 4	пожѣже SUPR 22, 12; 22, 29
рѣшти 4	рече EUCH 92a, 12	рѣче EUCH 106a, 9

Notes to Table 613

- 1) Cf. present lmf in SUPR: жѣдѣхъ SUPR 36, 3, vocalic realization as in «lŋf», however, the workstem as in PRAE, and жидѣхъ SUPR 125, 4–5 with the «Prae» vocalic realization; cf. also canonical lmf жѣдааше in SUPR 313, 22–23.
- 2) Cf. also стрѣгати, стрѣгжж 3^{*} — острогжи (lmv) ми доуша грѣховънъѣ пѣготъѣ такоже острогга (Aor) вѣрнааго пѣготѣва прокоудж тѣлѣси SUPR 392, 14–16.

³ See § 552 on spellouts of the forms of the verb хотѣти with the root хѣт.

- 3) ꙗ слышавъ цѣрѣ тѣ разгнѣва са и посъла воѡ своѡ погочѣи оубица тѣи ꙗ градѣи нхъ зажѣже Mt 22, 7 MAR; cf. ꙗ слышавъ цѣрѣ тѣ разгнѣва са ꙗ посълавъ воѡ своѡ погочѣи оубица тѣи и градѣи нхъ зажеже EUSI 106a, 24–106b, 3.

Note here also the form дъшетъ for canonical дошетъ, representing a contamination of the verb stems of дъхати 3* and дыхати 7: дхъ иждеже хоцетъ дъшетъ Jn 3, 8 AS.

Alien workstem expansion

§614. Aberrant application of the alien workstem expansion effect

This paradigmatic effect applies in building canonical forms; cf. the paradigmatic standard of *двигнѣти* 5 class (expansion of INF-AOR workstem into *ш*-Part subparadigm), and also irregular class 4 verbs. A small number of aberrant forms that show this paradigmatic effect is found among irregular and unique verbs that lack an expanded stem (see Table 614).

Table 614. Aberrant application of the alien workstem expansion effect: illustrations

Canonical forms	Aberrant forms
Expansion of INF-AOR workstem into <i>ш</i> -Part	
закленъ SUPR 421, 30	закланъ SUPR 422, 1 ¹⁾
Expansion of PRAE workstem into Aor	
отръ Lk 7, 44 AS	отръе Lk 7, 44 ZOGR
жи SUPR 519, 2	живе SUPR 514, 9 ²⁾

Notes to Table 614

- 1) Cf. закленъ прѣди лежи (for canonical лежитъ) хѣъ того дѣлама закланъ бѣистъ и почто да съмиритъ небеснага да и агѣломъ та сътворитъ дроуга SUPR 421, 30–422, 3; cf. also бѣраніе SUPR 86, 13 и бѣраніа SUPR 86, 14 (with *yer* insertion), but бореніи SUPR 486, 27–28. Cf. also Вобоуveni Mk 6, 9 ZOGR (Вобоуveni MAR; cf. обѣveni in Church Slavic). Note that for the verbs клати 4h[•], брати 4h[•], млѣти 4h[•] *ш*-Part are not attested at all. However, cf. Church Slavic бравъ (ши), cf. Vaillant, § 201. Here note the aberrant spellout простръвъ SUPR 311, 6 (cf. canonical простръъ SUPR 353, 10), where, contrary to allotment rules, the V-final version of the labile root is used in the IMF system, and, accordingly, the C-final version of the *ш*-Part suffix.
- 2) Cf. съ маловрѣменьнаго сего житѣа соуѣт'наго отъврѣгъ са живе нѣ въ коен пештерѣ еѣ лѣтъ SUPR 514, 8–10, and: и обрѣтъ пештерѣ великѣ въ врѣзѣ рѣчынѣмъ камѣнѣ ѡ лѣтъ жи тоу SUPR 519, 1–2.

Cf. also in the Gospels:

	ZOGR	MAR	AS	SAV
Lk 15, 24; 15, 32	оживе	оживе	оживе	оживе
Lk 7, 44	отъре	отъре	отръ	отъре
Jn 12, 3	отръ	отръ	отръ	отъре

Other aberrations in the PRAE system

§615. Aberrations in substitutive softening in PRAE system

Aberrant forms are only observed among irregular verbs of the *метати* 3° group (substitutive softening contra expectation) and *врати* 4h• group (absence of substitutive softening contra expectation); see Table 615. (On *lmv* forms, see § 620 below).

Table 615. Aberrations in substitutive softening in PRAE workstem: illustrations

Verb	Canonical	Aberrant
метати 3°	мететъ Mk 12, 41 MAR	мештетъ Mk 12, 41 ZOGR
	отъметѡштинуъ сА SUPR 510, 4	помештѡште SUPR 137, 15
искати 3°	искѡтъ Mk 1, 37 AS	штѡтъ Mk 1, 37 ZOGR, MAR, SAV
жрѣти 4h•	пожрѡѡ PS SIN 53, 7	пожърѡтъ PS SIN 106, 22

§616. Contamination of *i*- and *e*-conjugation in PRAE system forms

In this aberration, forms take terminals or suffixes of an alien conjugation (see Table 616). Such forms can be personal (Præ and *lmv*), as well as participles (see also § 620–622 below).

Table 616. Contamination of *i*- and *e*-conjugation

Verb	Canonical	Aberrant
мазати 3	помажѡтъ Mk 16, 1 ZOGR, MAR	помажѡтъ Mk 16, 1 AS
плакати 3	въсплѡжѡтъ сА Mt 24, 30 MAR, SAV	въсплѡжѡтъ сА Mt 24, 30 AS
	плачѡштѣи Mt 5, 4 ZOGR, SAV	плачѡштѣи Mt 5, 4 AS
лъгати 3	лъжѡштѣи Mt 5, 11 ZOGR, SAV	лъжѡштѣи Mt 5, 11 AS
метати 3°	въметѣте Lk 5, 4 ZOGR, MAR	въметѣте Lk 5, 4 AS
имати 3*	прѣемѡжѡтъ Mt 17, 25 MAR	прѣемѡжѡтъ Mt 17, 25 AS
стѣлати 3*	стѣлѡштѣи SUPR 341, 12	стѣлѡштѣи SUPR 332, 30
горѣти 2	горѡѡ Lk 12, 35 SAV	горѡштѣи Lk 12, 35 ZOGR, MAR, AS ¹⁾

Notes to Table 616 (p. 347)

- 1) ВЖДЖ чрѣсла ваша прѣпоѣсана ꙗ свѣтильници горжштѣ Lk 12, 35 ZOGR, likewise in MAR and AS, but: и свѣтильници ваши горѣце in SAV; cf. also: стрѣлѣꙗ снѣнааго ꙗзоштренѣꙗ сѣ горжштѣми жгѣми поустꙗиннѣꙗми PS SIN 119, 4; и поааста благословаштѣ бѣ въ ровѣ огнѣнѣѣмъ горжштѣмъ SUPR 5, 24–26, but: и повелѣ принести свѣштѣ гораштѣ и прижагати лице пауле SUPR 13, 1–3.

§617. Aberrations involving initial vowel assimilation of the personal terminal (forms of the дѣлаатъ type)

In *e*-conjugation verbs, in vowel-final PRAE stems (ending in а, ѣ, or оу), the terminal-initial vowel *ε* assimilates to the final vowel of the stem: дѣла + етъ ⇒ дѣлаі.етъ ⇒ дѣлаетъ ⇒ дѣлаатъ.

Further contractions of the type дѣлатъ for дѣлаатъ, ицѣлѣтъ for ицѣлѣатъ. See illustrations in Table 618.

Necessary conditions for these modifications are only found among verbs of the classes знати 4v, миловати 6, and дѣлати 7, and also class 3, subtype даати 3.

§618. Illustrations

Table 618. Aberrations involving initial vowel assimilation of the personal terminal: illustrations

Verb	Canonical	Aberrant
Without contraction		
даати 3	даете Lk 6, 34 ZOGR	даате Lk 6, 34 MAR
продати 3*	продѣтъ Lk 5, 37 MAR	продѣатъ Lk 22, 20 MAR
сѣяти 3/сѣти 4v	сѣетъ Mk 4, 15 MAR	сѣатъ Mk 4, 14 MAR ¹⁾
трѣбовати 6	трѣбоуетъ Mk 11, 3 ZOGR	трѣбоуѣтъ Mk 11, 3 MAR ²⁾
отрѣшати 7	отрѣшаеѣ Lk 19, 33 ZOGR	отрѣшаате Lk 19, 33 MAR
гнѣвати 7	гнѣваешн сѣ SUPR 7, 30	гнѣваашн сѣ SUPR 403, 21
With contraction		
напати 7	напаеѣтъ Lk 13, 15 SAV	напѣтъ Lk 13, 15 ZOGR ³⁾
ицѣлѣти 7	ицѣлѣетъ Lk 7, 7 MAR, ицѣлѣѣтъ in AS and SAV	ицѣлѣѣтъ Lk 7, 7 ZOGR
отъвѣщавати 7	отъвѣщаваешн Jn 18, 22 SAV	отъвѣщаваашн Mt 26, 62 SAV ⁴⁾
познати 4v	познаетъ PS SIN 91, 7	познатъ PS SIN 73, 9
прѣбывати 7	прѣбываете SUPR 180, 7 and 413, 24	прѣбывате SUPR 33, 28

Notes to Table 618

- 1) Cf. in nearby verses: сѣѣи слово сѣатъ си же сѣтъ ѣже на пѣти ꙗже идеже сѣетъ сѣ слово ꙗ егда слѣшатъ ꙗвнѣ придетъ сотона ꙗ отъиметъ слово

сѣное въ срѣдцихъ ихъ и си такожде сжтѣ лже на каменнѣхъ сѣмени Mk 4, 14–16 in MAR; cf. the same verses in ZGR: сѣми слово сѣетѣ се же сжтѣ бже на пжти идеже сѣетѣ сѣ слово и егда оуслъшитѣ абие придетѣ сотона и отъметѣ слово сѣаное въ срѣдцихъ ихъ и си такожде сжтѣ лже на каменнѣхъ сѣмени.

- 2) и аще вама кѣто речетѣ что се дѣбата рѣцѣта бко гѣ его трѣбоуетѣ и абье посълетѣ и сѣмо Mk 11, 3 MAR; cf. дѣета [...] трѣбоуетѣ in ZGR.
- 3) кождо васѣ въ сѣботѣ не отърѣшаетѣ ли своего волоу ли осъла отъ бслин и ведѣ напаѣтѣ Lk 13, 15 ZGR; cf. кѣждо васѣ въ сѣботѣ не отърѣшаатѣ ли своего волоу ли осъла отъ бслин и ведѣ напаѣтѣ MAR.
- 4) This is the only example in SAV: ничесоже ли отъвѣщавашин что си сѣвѣдѣтельствоужтѣ Mt 26, 62 (f. 97v).⁴

§619. Note on the forms of the verb дѣяти in Supr

Among 2SgPrae forms with the quotative meaning ‘you say’ in place of canonical дѣиши (1x SUPR 402, 3–4) we find деши (1x SUPR 303, 23), and frequently дѣѣши (e.g., SUPR 306, 29–30; 307, 8). In the same syntactic function we find canonical 2SgImpv дѣи (дѣи SUPR 438, 23). Cf.: что оубо деши болини прѣдавѣини юда христоса поѣже оумѣ христосѣ нозѣ ѣмоу не бжди SUPR 303, 23–25; югда сѣрѣте нѣкого износима въ вратѣхъ мрътва не тѣчыж ли прикоснѣ сѣ одрѣ и въстави мрътвааго дѣѣши ли молитѣвы трѣбова тѣгда на въставѣиение оумѣрѣшааго и пакѣи инѣгда не тѣчыж ли слово рече надѣ дѣвицѣ талиѣа коумѣ дастѣ ѣж родитѣлема сѣдравѣ дѣѣши молити сѣ трѣбова тѣгда SUPR 307, 1–8.

§620. Aberrant forms of the imperative

Here we note, on the one hand, aberrant forms of the athematic imperative (вижди for canonical виждѣ), specific to EUCH, and on the other, imperatives that show ѣ-initial terminals, contrary to expected и-initial ones (вѣжатѣ for canonical вѣжитѣ); see Table 620 (p. 350).

In the first case, a nonstandard terminal is replaced by a standard one (alien terminals in the paradigmatic effect).

In the second case, the nature of the paradigmatic effect depends on the class. For example, in class 3, the twofold rule is broken; in the 4h^o class, substitutive softening is absent (колѣте for canonical колѣте). In other cases, the effects combine somewhat differently. Generally all the forms show confusion of tau-tonymous terminals with initial и (cf. 2PlImpv ите) and initial ѣ (cf. 2PlImpv ѣте).

⁴ The form побитѣ Mt 21, 41 SAV should be treated as an error for погубитѣ, cf. зѣлы зѣлѣ погубитѣ ѣ in MAR and AS (not in ZGR), rather than as a contraction from побѣитѣ, as suggested by Ščepkin because in this verb class neither the SAV text, nor any other source, shows such contractions.

In *SAV*, class 3 imperatives are represented exclusively by aberrant forms of this type (cf. Vaillant, § 149); other sources show aberrant forms alongside canonical ones.

Table 620. Aberrant forms of the imperative: illustrations

Verb	Canonical	Aberrant
Standard terminal <i>и</i> for <i>ь</i>		
видѣти 2	виждь EUCH 62b, 1	вижди EUCH 11b, 10 ¹⁾
заповѣдѣти 0	заповѣждь SUPR 187, 23	заповѣжди EUCH 51b, 13
подади 0	подаждь PS SIN 29, 8	подажди EUCH 34a, 1 ²⁾
ѣте/ите terminals		
сѣвазати 3	Unattested	сѣважате Mt 13, 30 ZOGR, MAR, AS ³⁾
показати 3	покажите Lk 17, 14 ZOGR, MAR	покажѣте Lk 20, 24 ZOGR, MAR
глаголати 3	глаголите Mt 6, 7 AS	глаголѣте Mt 6, 7 ZOGR, глаголате SUPR 46, 2
искати 3 ^o	Unattested	шгате Lk 12, 31 ZOGR ⁴⁾
имати 3*	Unattested	емѣте Jn 14, 11 AS 93b ⁵⁾
покрыти 4h*#2	покрыните Lk 23, 30 MAR	покрыѣте Lk 23, 30 ZOGR
пити 4h*2	питите Mt 26, 27 MAR, ZOGR, AS	пиате Mt 26, 27 SAV
въпити 0	възъпимъ SUPR 327, 11	въпиамъ SUPR 319, 29
заклати 4h ^o	заколите Lk 15, 23 MAR	заколѣте Lk 15, 23 ZOGR ⁶⁾
трѣти 4h ^o	сѣтримъ EUCH 98a, 9	сѣтрѣмъ SUPR 353, 5

Notes to Table 620

- 1) гї гї' призьри сѣ нѣси и вижди и посѣти винограда своего EUCH 11b, 10–11 (cf. бже сѣлъ обратї і призьри сѣ небеси і виждь і посѣти винограда своего PS SIN 79, 15), but: виждь сѣмѣренне мое и троудъ мон' и отъпоустї вѣса грѣхы моѣ виждь врагы моѣ ѣко оумъножиша сѣ на ма EUCH 75a, 21–25 (cf. виждь сѣмѣренѣе мое и троудъ мої и отъпоустї вѣсѣа грѣхы моѣ виждь врагы моѣ [...] PS SIN 24, 18–19).
Note also in MAR: визжь Jn 20, 27, a single corrupt form.
- 2) по вѣрѣ его отъврѣзи емоу очи и подажди емоу зракъ и дажди емоу шѣствовати вѣслѣды тебе и та славити EUCH 33b, 24–34a, 3.
Note that KIEV shows forms like дазь in accordance with the morphological peculiarities of the source (Д||з in place of Д||жд, see § 117). Cf. и сѣдравіе намъ дазь и доушыа нашѣа и тѣлеса очисти KIEV 4a, 11–13. Cf. подась KIEV 3a, 7, a single corrupt form.
- 3) сѣберѣте прѣвѣе: пѣвѣелъ и сѣважате ѣа въ снопы ѣко жешти ѣа Mt 13, 30 ZOGR.
- 4) обаче шгате црѣсѣ бжїѣ и си вѣѣ приложатъ сѣ вамъ Lk 12, 31 ZOGR; просїте и дастъ сѣ вамъ шгѣте и обратете тѣцѣте и отъврѣзетъ сѣ вамъ вѣсѣккъ во просїи прїемлетъ и шган обрѣтаетъ и тѣлкъштоумоу отъврѣзетъ сѣ Mt 7, 7–8 ZOGR.

Cf. in other gospels:

	ZOGR	MAR	AS	SAV
Mt 6, 33	шгтѣте	шгтѣте	ицѣте	(просите)
Mt 7, 7	шгтѣте	ицѣте	ицѣте	ицѣте
Lk 11, 9	шггате	шггиге	ицѣте	ицѣте
Lk 12, 31	шггате	ишггиге	None	None

Cf. also възшгтѣте бѣ і жива бждетъ дѣша ваша PS SIN 68, 33.

- 5) вѣроуиге мьнѣ· вѣко азъ въ оѣци· и оѣць въ мьнѣ· ашгте ми же ни· за та дѣла вѣрж емѣте ми Jn 14, 11 AS 93b. Cf. емиге Jn 14, 11 AS 29c with the loss of *l-epentheticum*, in place of canonical емлниге.
- 6) и приведъше тельць оупитѣнзи заколѣте Lk 15, 23 ZOGR (likewise in SAV, but заколниге in MAR and AS).

§ 621. Aberrant forms of m-participles

A small number of adjectival forms with the suffixes *ом* or *им* that do not agree with the paradigmatic class of their verb (see Table 621) can be seen as aberrant m-Part forms, as well as extraparadigmatic deverbal derivatives.

Table 621. Aberrant forms of m-participles: illustrations

Verb	Canonical	Aberrant
видѣти 2	видимъ SUPR 544, 26	ви́дома SUPR 292, 22 ¹⁾
лакати 3	Unattested	лакомъин SUPR 41, 26 from the aberrant Inf лакати ²⁾
питати 7	питаеми SUPR 223, 15	питомомъ SUPR 385, 27 ³⁾
вѣдѣти 0	несъповѣдомо SUPR 243, 9	ненсповѣдимъин SUPR 426, 18–19
пастн 0	падомъ SUPR 396, 5	звѣроадимо SUPR 93, 12

Notes to Table 621

- 1) стража ви́дома поусти льва велика зѣло· и страшна хранашгта и SUPR 292, 21–23; cf. въ съмѣрении же и тихости нрава· видимъ бѣаше прѣвѣзвал присно SUPR 544, 25–26.
- 2) въкопахомъ нивзи· и насѣахомъ сланоуѣтѣка и съзрьѣвъшоу емоу· такоже се видиши самъ· и мимондзи сиі лакомъин и прѣобидѣвъ страха твоего· несъгтомъ срьдѣцемъ тръза много SUPR 41, 23–28.
- 3) ѡ съборе влъкъ(мъ) паче крѣвниж питомомъ некли чловѣкомъ богоносьцемъ SUPR 385, 27–28; cf. и въпрашааше раба божна артемона· како звѣри сиа (for canonical сиа) оуловн· мьнѣаше бо комис· тако питаеми сжтъ и кротъци SUPR 223, 12–15; cf. in the Gospels: егда же снъ твои съ· изѣдзи твое имѣние съ любодѣицами приде· закла емоу телець питомъ Lk 15, 30 MAR (likewise ZOGR, питомъ in AS, оубипитѣнзи [for canonical оупитѣнзи] from питѣти 7 in SAV).

§ 622. Aberrant forms of шг- participles⁵

Some class 4c verbs, as well as some unique verbs, show aberrant shapes of suffixed syncopated *št*-participle forms; see Table 622. First, these are forms with the suffix *ж* or *л* instead of the expected *ы* (forms like *несж*, *несл*). Second, these are forms with a unique shape. Namely, in Glagolitic sources we find forms where instead of the letter *ы*, a special letter *ѣ* is used (cf. *ѣ*, the normal correspondent of Cyrillic *л*). This special letter is only found in such participle forms; in academic publications it is transcribed as *ъ* (*nasal ы*; Lunt 1974, 1.25, 4.311) or *Δ* (Vaillant, § 16). In Cyrillic editions of Glagolitic sources it is rendered as *Δ*, in forms such as *несΔ*, *несΔи* (for canonical *несы*, *несыи*). The шг-Part of the verb *горѣти* belongs here as well.

Table 622. Aberrant forms of шг- participles: illustrations

Verb	Canonical	Aberrant
<i>ы</i> ⇒ <i>л</i>		
несь 0	сын Mk 13, 16 MAR	сΔ Mt 12, 30 SAV ¹⁾
вѣдѣти 0	вѣды SUPR 53, 16 and elsewhere (14x)	вѣΔ SUPR 305, 3 ²⁾
градсти 4с	градын Mt 11, 3 MAR and elsewhere in (7x)	градΔи Lk 13, 35 MAR ³⁾
жити 4h	живын Jn 11, 26 ZOGR	живΔи Jn 11, 26 SAV
<i>ы</i> ⇒ <i>ж</i>		
несь 0	сын Mk 13, 16 MAR	сжи Jn 6, 46 MAR
градсти 4с	градын Jn 3, 31 MAR	граджи Jn 3, 31 AS ⁴⁾
стрѣшги 4с	Canonical form (стрѣгыи) is not attested	стрѣжї PS SIN 126, 2 ⁵⁾
жити 4h	живыї PS SIN 38, 6	живжї PS SIN 112, 5
<i>ы</i> ⇒ nasal <i>ъ</i>		
несь 0	сын Mk 13, 16 MAR	сΔи Jn 19, 38 MAR
пасти 0	ѣдын Jn 6, 54 AS	ѣΔи Jn 6, 54 ZOGR
градсти 4с	градын Mt 11, 3 MAR	градΔи Mt 11, 3 ZOGR
нести 4с	несы Jn 19, 17 MAR	несΔ Mk 14, 13 ZOGR ⁶⁾
жити 4h	живын Jn 6, 57 AS	живΔи Jn 6, 57 ZOGR
The verb <i>горѣти</i> 2: <i>л</i> ⇒ nasal <i>ъ</i>		
горѣти 2	гора Jn 5, 35 ZOGR	горΔ Jn 5, 35 MAR

Notes to Table 622

1) НЕ СΔИ СЪ МНОЖ НА МА ЕСТЪ· И НЕ СЪБИРААИ СЪ МНОЖ РАСТАЧАЕТЪ Mt 12, 30 SAV (ИЖЕ НѢСТЪ СЪ МНОЖ НА МА ЕСТЪ· І ИЖЕ НЕ СЪБИРАЕТЪ СЪ МНОЖ РАСТАЧАЕТЪ Mt 12, 30 ZOGR, likewise in MAR and AS); cf. also: оцѣ живΔи

⁵ On forms that violate the distribution of шг-Part suffixes by conjugation (плачшги for плачшги, горжшги for горшги), see § 616 above.

- и сди въ мнѣ: тѣ творитѣ дѣла Jn 14, 10 SAV f. 25 (оцѣ же прѣбывааи въ мнѣ: тѣ творитѣ дѣла Jn 14, 10 SAV f. 100, likewise in ZOGR, MAR and AS).
- 2) Cf.: вѣдѣ си вѣса прѣжде вѣгитиѣ имѣ: питааи истеса и срѣдѣца и истеса богѣ: вѣдѣи мѣсли чловѣчьскы SUPR 305, 3–5.
- 3) Cf. also: блгнѣ грѣдѣ въ имѣ гнѣ: блгнѣ грѣдѣ бѣ отѣ бѣ CLOZ 1a, 39–40.
- 4) грѣдѣ сѣ вѣше надѣ вѣсѣми естѣ: и сѣи отѣ земѣ: ѿ земѣ естѣ: и отѣ земѣ глѣтѣ: грѣдѣ отѣ нѣсе: надѣ вѣсѣми естѣ: еже вѣдѣ и слѣша: се послоушьствоуетѣ Jn 3, 31–32 AS.
- 5) аште не гѣ сѣзидетѣ домоу: вѣсоуе троудниша сѣ зиджштѣи: аште не гѣ стрѣжетѣ града: вѣсоуе бѣдѣ стрѣгжѣ PS SIN 126, 1–2; cf. some more examples from PS SIN: живѣи въ помостѣ вѣшнѣго: въ кровѣ бѣ нѣсьнаго вѣдворитѣ сѣ PS SIN 90, 1; блнѣ грѣдѣ въ имѣ гнѣ PS SIN 117, 26.
- 6) и посѣла дѣва отѣ оученикѣ своиѣ: и гла имѣ: дѣта въ градѣ: и сѣраштѣтѣ вѣ чѣ: въ скѣдальницѣ водѣ несѣ: по нѣмѣ дѣта Mk 14, 13 ZOGR (likewise in Lk 22, 10 ZOGR); cf. in both verses: вѣ скѣдальницѣ водѣ несѣ in MAR.

PART III

Addenda

Formative inventories: prefixes, roots, suffixes

§623. General

The goal of this part of the book is to give by list and to overview formative inventories for the three positional classes: prefixes, roots, and suffixes (terminal inventories are given in Part II, *Paradigmatics*, § 289 for nominals and § 455 for verbs). For prefixes and suffixes, complete lists are given, and for roots, lists of nontrivial classes. A complete list of roots is given in the root dictionary (RD).

For every positional class of formatives, the inventory uses a particular format for representing data, which is described before it is used.

On morphophonological representations

§624. Types of data

Full information on the morphophonological representation of a wordform assumes that the following data is available: 1) the sequence of formatives making up the wordform, i.e. the location of the formative boundaries and the segmental content of each component of that string (hereafter *parse*); 2) the position class of each component of the string (hereafter the *pRs scheme*); 3) which element of the inventory underlies the given occurrence of the formative (hereafter *identification*); see § 632–634.

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§ 625. Two aspects of the problems

For each type of data, there are two kinds of questions, external and internal. The external aspect concerns the reader and how they can discover the solution adopted in the grammar. The internal aspect concerns the author and the choice of one solution over another. Formally the grammar author is not responsible for explaining all the ins and outs of the grammar, but basic politeness compels the researcher to open up some of the backroom secrets. Below, short explanations are given for all of these data types, first from an external, and then from an internal point of view.

§ 626. Extraction of data from morphophonological representations

As long as some concrete morphophonological representation is given, its parse can be readily obtained, because it is given explicitly by periods. Cf. дѣвнѣца, дѣ.в.иц.а; съвъпльчєннє, съ.въ.пльч.єн.бј.є; невѣста, не.вѣ.д.т.а; сластьнъ, сла.д.т.ьн.ъ; рѣшти, рѣк.т.и etc.

To derive the pRs schema, it is sufficient to find the root formative, which is given in the dictionary in parentheses; all formatives preceding the root are prefixal, and all formatives following the roots are suffixal, except for the last one, which is the terminal.¹ Usually a wordform contains exactly one root formative; otherwise only in the rare cases of reduplication, cf. въз.((гла.гдл)).а.т.и for възглагдлати.

The following can be said on the identification of formatives. Identification of prefixal and suffixal formatives is not difficult. Every occurrence of a prefix, e.g. the prefix из, represents a single prefix из, cf. из.ѣ.д.т.и, из.бод.т.и, из.бѣ.т.и, из.мѣн.а, из.чит.т.и. Likewise, every occurrence of a suffix, e.g. the suffix т, represents one and the same suffix т, cf. из.бѣ.т.и, ѣ.д.т.л.и, за.бѣ.т.ь, из.бѣ.т.ьк.ь, без.чит.т.м.єн.ьн.ъ, дѣ.т.ѣл.ь, дѣ.т.ишт.ь, жл.т.ѣл.ь (indeterminacies that arise in some isolated cases can be resolved by list; see § 843). Identification of roots is less straightforward, because there are many homonyms among root formatives. However, every root is assigned a number that is shown in the dictionary. For example, we have съ.жл.т.и <290>, съ.жим.а.т.и <290>, and жл.т.ѣл.ь <302>, по.жл.т.и <302>; бѣдр.а <21> and бѣдр.ьн.ъ <20>, раз.бој.ьн.ик.ь <23> and бој.ѣ.зн.ь <38>, etc.

§ 627. Etymology and synchrony

Morphophonological representations treated in this book reflect morphophonology as part of the synchronic grammar of OCS, and as such need not fol-

¹ In some special cases the terminal is represented by two formatives, which is explicitly stated in terminal catalogs. A special case are some unique nominal lexemes, whose starting form contains zero inflection; see Ch. 12, the groups нмл 0/n (нмл=0), отрочл 0/n (отрочл=0), црькы 0/f (црькы=0). Wordforms of the so-called syncopated forms of шт- and ш-Part have no inflections at all (the sign |, cf. мол.а|).

low etymological facts.² Clearly, however, other things being equal, a choice of morphophonological representations that does not contradict etymology is preferable, even if only on the grounds of elegance.

In morphophonological representations, both the parse (and the entailed pRs schema that follows in most cases), and the identification can contradict etymology. Note that classic etymology is usually concerned with the origins of the root, focusing on external connections. In the general case, etymology not only fails to clarify problems of the parse, but does not even answer the question of whether some two words share a root. For example, the etymology that establishes the existence of two independent roots *каз* <362> (*казнь*) and *каз* <363> (*казати*), can remain silent on the attribution of the root formative in particular words to one or the other root, cf. *показывать*, *показа*, or *казныць*. Luckily, Sadnik’s dictionary takes the responsibility for establishing the “share a root” relation. But this dictionary does not show the parse. Thus, using this dictionary, one can determine whether two words, e.g. *воскъ* and *воштгага* share a root (they do not: *воскъ* <112>/<<1100>>, *воштгага* <113>/<<1101>>), but the segmental boundaries of the root and the pRs schema for *воштгага* cannot be determined using this dictionary. Thus, the parse finds no support in existing lexicographic resources.

§ 628. Parsing problems and roots: opaque stems

A general principle that forms the basis for dealing with non-obvious cases amounts to economy of inventories of atomic elements—roots, suffixes, and prefixes. Accordingly, a parse with smaller divisions is always preferable, i.e. a block of suffixes is never treated as a single unit in the inventory. For example, we have *т.ѣл* (about 100 occurrences for the block), and not *тѣл*; *ьн.ик* (about 200 occurrences for the block), and not *ьник*; *а.н.ьј* (more than 200 occurrences for the block), and not *аньј*, etc.

Of course, with respect to the parsing problem, hardest are the stems that are represented by isolates with unknown or dubious etymology, cf. *агода*, *бесѣда*, *челѣдь*, *чловѣкъ*, *огавнѣ*, *голѣнь*, *халжга*. A significant number of such words (in particular, all the ones listed above) are treated as having an *opaque parse*, in that any attempt to discern a non-atomic structure and register the root in the root inventory is considered inappropriate. Instead of a morphophonological representation, such words are assigned an arbitrary spellout of the following type: ((*агод*)).а, ((*бесѣд*)).а, ((*челѣд*)).ь, ((*чловѣк*)).ъ, ((*огав*)).ьј.ѣ, ((*голѣн*)).ь, ((*халжг*)).а, and likewise in derivatives: ((*чловѣч*)).ьск.ъ, ((*бесѣд*)).ов.а.т.и.³

² Recall that we are speaking of morphophonology and the morphophonological parse, and not on the so-called derivational parse. A statement of a morphophonological parse, e.g. *ѣд.т.а.и* (for *ѣдти*), *нѣ.вѣд.т.а* (for *нѣвѣста*), *дѣ.т.ишт.ь* (for *дѣтиштѣ*), and the identification of the roots in *ѣдти* and *ѣдти*, *нѣвѣста* and *вѣдѣти*, *дѣтиштѣ* and *дѣва* does not entail a claim on semantic connections between these words that are perceived by native speakers. The latter type of claims are part of derivational morphology, which is not investigated in this book.

³ From paradigmatic considerations all disyllables are treated as opaque, regardless of etymology. Thus, a single, negatively defined class of amorphous words contains both etymologically

A subsequence of the stem can be opacified even in some words where the root is identified without effort. From a parsing point of view, the pre- or post-radical remainder is treated as opaque. This is the case, for example, in *овзисити* [(овзис).и.т.и] <133> (the prefix is opaque: *от* + *взисити* should have given *отвзисити*, *об* + *взисити* should have given *обвзисити*; by general rules; see also commentary to the lexeme *овзисити*, § 492), and *пѣсньнъ* [(пѣсн).ьн.ъ] <738>.

Subsequences with an opaque parse can be called *opaque stems* or *opaque roots* in this book. In the root dictionary and in the morphophonological representations of the paradigmatic dictionary all such subsequences are explicitly indicated by double parentheses. In the text of the grammar in mph representations double parentheses can be dropped or substituted by single parentheses.

§ 629. Parsing problems and suffixes

Because the solution adopted and specified in the suffix dictionary makes it unnecessary to examine each individual lexeme—suffix *тѣл*, *ьник*, *ан* (see previous section) are simply absent from the dictionary—the parsing problem is solved mechanically. However, in some cases this generalization is violated, and parsing cannot be accomplished mechanically. Sometimes two adjacent suffixes turn out to be segmentally identical to a single suffix, cf. *а.т* in *плак.а.т.и* and *ат* in *бог.ат.ъ*, *ѣ.н* in *трьп.ѣ.н.ь.е* and *ѣн* in *гжс.ѣн.иц.а*. In every such case, the parse is accomplished individually for each lexeme or a grammatical class of lexemes on the basis of the totality of considerations which may not be explicitly spelled out. While establishing the suffix sequences *а.т* and *ѣ.н* for *плак.а.т.и* and *трьп.ѣ.н.ь.е* is grounded in verbal paradigmatics, any attempt to identify a suffix *ат* in *бог.ат.ъ* or *ѣн* in *гжс.ѣн.иц.а* inevitably leads into the derivational jungle.⁴

§ 630. Parsing problems and prefixes

Outside of the cases examined in § 628 (a prefix can be pulled into an opaque stem, e.g. *овзисити* etc.), there are no nontrivial situations involving prefixes.

opaque and etymologically transparent items. Among the latter, on the one hand, there are those such as *говор* (*говорити*), *попел* (*попелъ*), and, on the other, obvious borrowings such as *парада* ‘paradise’ or *къмотра* ‘godmother’ (Latin *commater*). On the other hand, monosyllables, regardless of etymology, are not assigned to the opaque class, cf. *внчъ*, (*внч*).ь <26>. On opaque stems containing pronominal roots, see § 785 and ff. below.

⁴ This jungle, aptly dubbed *бужениноведение* (which can be loosely translated as “cranberry studies”) by Sergej Krylov, fortunately is outside of the responsibility of the present grammar. Individual solutions are presented as arbitrary, i.e. not requiring supporting arguments. It is important, however, that the parsing task is not placed on the reader’s shoulders, but given explicitly in the dictionary.

§ 631. Problems with establishing of the pRs schema

Outside of the cases examined in § 628, there are no nontrivial pRs scheme issues.

§ 632. Problems with the identification of prefixes

In setting up morphophonological representations it is often difficult to determine whether a given lexeme contains the yerless variant of the prefix *от* or the prefix *об*, namely, in cases of stems beginning with the consonants *п*, *б*, *м*, *к*, *г*, *х*, *с*, *з*, *ч*, *ж*, *ш*, *шт*, *жд*, *ц*, and *с*. For example, the representation [об.(зъл).об.н.т.н] is established for *озълобнѣти*, while [от.(сѣр).ѣ.т.н] for *осѣрѣти*. Likewise for the prefixes *въ* and *въз*, cf. *въсѣпати*, [въ.(сѣп).а.т.н], but *въснати*, [въз.(сн).а.т.н]. See details in § 641.9°.

§ 633. Problems with the identification of suffixes

In setting up the morphophonological representations, suffix identification problems are reduced to the following three situations: 1) one suffix vs. a string, cf. *а.т* or *ат*, see § 629 above; 2) alloforms of one suffix or different suffixes, cf. *ак* and *к*, see § 842, *Alloformy of suffixes*; 3) intersection of assortments, cf. *ошт||ост* and *ошт||от* (specific cases are noted *passim*).

§ 634. Identification of roots

The choices for root identification made in this dictionary are close, to the extent possible, to Sadnik. In fact, for the purposes of the segmental grammar of OCS, it is unimportant how the lexemes containing the root *квз* are sorted into the two etymological bins, *квз* <362> and *квз* <363>. For many solutions adopted by Sadnik there are equally valid alternatives, but the choice of one solution over another may not always be justifiable convincingly. In such situations, of course, it is prudent to follow choices established earlier.

Splintering

The case is different for roots where Sadnik, following etymology, adopts nonstandard alloformy that violates certain systemic principles. For example, consonantal alternations are possible in OCS only in the final-C segmental position, but not in the initial-C position; thus, formatives like *град* and *жрьд* cannot be connected by regular segmental pairings (i.e. morphophonological ones). Accordingly, Sadnik's unified root *град/жрьд* <<253>> in the present dictionary is separated into two roots, *град* <192> and *жрьд* <293>, contrary to their known etymology. Let us list all roots that are separated contra Sadnik:

Sadnik number	New numbers in PD	Sadnik number	New numbers in PD
24	337 (искра) and 349 (паснь)	327	401 (покон) and 1072 (почити)
41	23 (бигти) and 26 (бичь)	328	408 (конць) and 1074 (начало)
51	34 (блѹсти) and 63 (вѣдѣти)	399	452 (крѣстити) and (хрѣстъ)*
93	373 (кесаѣрь) and 1058 (цѣсаѣрь)	437	372 (квасъ) and 474 (кѣсѣль)
108	362 (исказити) and 1065 (ичезнѣти)	640	660 (пешти) and 700 (потъ)
114	1059 (цѣстити) and 1075 (чистити)	798	909 (стѣбѣнь) and 929 (сѣбнь)
168	249 (дрѣва) and 253 (дрѣво)	813	840 (скѣдъ) and 1108 (штѣдръ)
214	153 (гѣнати) and 302 (жати)	858	867 (сокъ) and 868 (сокачни)
253	192 (градъ) and 293 (жрьдъ)	968	956 (истискати) and 1005 (тѣснь)
288	1021 (ходъ) and 1099 (шьствие)	1015	342 (нстѣканьнь) and 992 (тѣкнѣти)
301	1025 (хвѣтати) and 1048 (похѣтити)	1035	637 (оношга) and 1010 (обѣтити)

* All lexemes with χ -initial roots (cf. хрѣстъ) are outside of the benchmark list of wordforms.

Merger

In some cases, on the contrary, Sadnik's roots were unified (usually Sadnik's dictionary itself indicates such a possibility). For example, the root <<573>> is given for words невѣста, невѣстѣникъ, невѣстѣство, and, separately, <<1065>> for вѣдѣти and 73 other words. In this dictionary, these roots are unified. Let us list the roots that are unified contra Sadnik, ordered by number.

Sadnik numbers	PD number	Sadnik numbers	PD number
33 (вѣрати) and 63 (вѣракъ)	24	506 (поманѣти) and 521 (памѣть)	550
1078 (вѣналица) and 1085 (завѣти)	95	576 (поникиѣти) and 577 (вѣзникиѣти)	610
1093 (вѣштити), 1094 (вѣкъ) and 1096 (вѣльць)	105	633 (пастти) and 634 (спасение)	659
1103 (вѣрагъ) and 1107 (вѣражение)	115	623 (жрьдъ) and 761 (родъ)	755
1112 (вѣрхъ) and 1114 (сѣврѣшити)	126	788 (осѣдѣлати) and 795 (сѣсти)	798
573 (невѣста) and 1065 (вѣдѣти)	140	891 (сѣрѣха) and 897 (сѣронти)	892
242 (грѣти) and 257 (грѣхъ)	154	793 (сѣти) and 794 (сѣти)	926
1134 (сѣзрьѣти) and 1148 (зрьно)	322	988 (трѣбень 'sacrificial') and 989 (трѣва 'need')	981
195 (нѣтити) and 196 (понимати)	334	15 (обѣдъ) and 17 (идъ)	1113

For pronominal roots, a technical solution is adopted without any pretense at etymology. Sadnik's dictionary gives incomplete information on etymology. See details in § 805, *A note on personal pronoun roots*.

§ 635. The problem of establishing root alloforms

In some cases, morphophonological spellouts that differ in the segmental content of the root can be assigned to the same normalization. For example, for вѣдѣти <139>, along with the established morphophonological representation вѣдѣ.а.т.и

(вѣ alloform), there can be an alternative representation вѣј.а.т.и (вѣј alloform); for **ВИТАЛИЦА** <95>, both the alloform **вѣј** (as in the dictionary, **вѣј.а.л.иц.а**) and **виј** can be set up. The choice can be more or less motivated in various cases, but a dose of arbitrariness is inevitable here.

§ 636. The problem of borrowings

Clearly, classifying a given formative on the native ~ foreign scale is based on a variety of principles and yields different results depending on the overarching goals—etymological or synchronic. Indeed, from a synchronic point of view, external, morphophonological signs of alienness are important, such as an amorphous stem: violation of the CVC norm (a greater than monosyllabic “root”, cf. **ВИЛИТИСЪ** ‘type of pernicious insect’ < Greek φυλίτης, 1x **ЕУСН** 59a 17), violation of edge conditions (V-initial stems, cf. **АРОМАТЪ** below), and prohibited sequences of phonemes (cf. **ГЕОНА** below), and some others. A large class of new Greek and Latin borrowings, richly represented in the OCS corpus and excluded from the benchmark list of lexemes, shows such morphophonological signs of alienness. Such are, for example, **АКРОТОМЪ**, **АПОСТОЛЬСТВОВАТИ**, **АРОМАТЪ**, **АРХИТРИКЛИНЪ**, **АФЕДРОНЪ**, **ВИЛИТИСЪ**, **ГАЗОФИЛАКІА**, **ГАНЪГРЕНА**, **ГИСТЕРНА**, **ДИДРАГЪМА**, **ДИМОСИН**. However, from an etymological point of view, morphophonological anomalies are not a necessary condition of foreignness. Possible combinations are shown in Table 636.

Table 636. Morphophonological anomalies among borrowings

Synchrony Etymology	Are there mph anomalies?	
	Yes	No
Native	1 ОБА, АЗЪ, ОВОШТЕ	2 ГРАДЪ, ЛЮБИТИ, НЕСЪВѢДНЪ
Foreign	3 ГЕОНА, КИТОВЪ, ГЕРЪГЕСИНЬСКЪ, АДЪ	4 РАКА, ЛОУНА, РАИ

Because excluding borrowings from the benchmark list of words serves a synchronic, not an etymological goal, there was no attempt to draw a precise and justified boundary between these classes; it has been drawn arbitrarily. The native ~ foreign division in the present dictionary almost coincides with the division fixed in *Sadnik* (in the root dictionary): there, a large number of obviously alien words is excluded. More precisely, classes 1 and 2 are represented in *Sadnik* completely; classes 3 and 4, with a small number of lexemes (e.g. **мрѣкорна**, **кръстнианъ**, **коуцина**, **коумиръ**, **лоуна**, **хръвьтъ**, **говино**, **вѣсждъ**, **порода** are present, but **адъ**, **врѣхъ**, and **врѣхосъ** are not).⁵

⁵ Some obvious borrowings not included in *Sadnik* are found in our dictionaries—PD and RD. These are the following 18 lexemes: **адъ**, **адьскъ**, **адовъ**, **адовынъ**, **адовьскъ**, **аеръ**, **аерынъ**, **архирен**, **архиренскъ**, **архиреовъ**, **геона**, **геоньскъ**, **деклербъ**, **китъ**, **китовъ**, **херовимъ**,

Prefixes

§ 637. On the autonomous use of prefixal formatives

Most prefixal formatives have a double function, as a prefix that is part of a wordform, and as an autonomous form, a preposition or a conjunctive particle.

All prefixal formatives that have autonomous uses as prepositions are shown in Table 640 (p. 365) with an asterisk.

The prefixal formative **нѣ** functions as a conjunctive particle.

The prefixal formatives **ни** and **нѣ** combine only with pronominal stems, cf. **ни.кѣто**, **нѣ.кѣто**, and **ни.кѣто.жѣ**.

In combinations of the form prefixal formative (**вѣз**, **из**) + S or A, where (**вѣз**, **из**) function as autonomous forms, namely prepositions, the boundary between the prefixal formative and the following stems is treated by **mph** ⇒ **ph/norm** rules (just as in combinations of prefixes with stems). Cf. **вѣздържкоу** as **вѣздъръпътънъ**, **ичръва** as **ичисти**, etc. (See details in Ch. 24, *Supplement*, § 868, *On word-form boundaries...*). Aberrant spellouts are possible in combinations with ad-prepositional forms of the pronoun *и: canonical **вѣз ѿиго** and aberrant **вѣжѿиго** (see § 76, *Aberrant cluster rewrite rules*).

§ 638. Prefixes and opaque stems

Often it is impossible to reliably distinguish a construction of the type **p + R** from an amorphous root; in such cases it is treated as a morphophonologically opaque one. Recall that morphophonologically opaque words can contain etymologically transparent ones, cf. e.g. **порода** <697> ‘paradise’ (from Gk. *παράδεισος*), or **оноушта** <637>, as well as roots with unknown or unclear etymology, as, for example, **овоште** <629> or **потъпѣга** <701>.

§ 639. Prefixes and roots

Some prefixal formatives act as roots in some nominal stems. Cf. e.g. **ов:** (**ов**).**ышт.ь**, (**ов**).**ышт.ьств.о** <623>;⁶ also (**от**).**ыц.ь** <647>.

херовиньскъ, **хитонъ**. Note that completely excluding all alien items (broadly defined) from the benchmark lists would lead to the absence of all amorphous and etymologically opaque words (including such lexically integrated items as **господь** and **чловѣкъ**). The resulting sterile wordlist would give a misleading picture on the reality of OCS.

⁶ **обьдо** ‘treasure’ [(**обьд**).**о**] <626> can also be assigned here. Sadnik treats it differently: **обьдо** and **обьштъ** are assigned to different roots; cf. Vasmer’s etymology of *обдо*.

§ 640. An inventory of prefixal formatives

There are 28 distinct prefixal formatives. Morphophonological variants are listed across slashes; in other cases alloforms are separated by commas. The character of the alloformy is explained in notes.

Table 640. Prefixal formatives

Formative	Lexeme count	Examples	Notes
*БЕЗ	≈100	БЕЗДЪНА, БЕСТРАСТИЕ, БЕЧЕСТВОВАТИ, БЕШТИНЬНЪ, БЕЗДРЪПЪТЪНЪ, БЕЗОКОВАТИ	1°, 2°, 19°
*ВЪ/ВЪН	≈150	ВЪДАТИ, ВЪКОУСЪ, ВЪЖЕШТИ, ВЪНИТИ, ВЪНМАТИ	3°, 4°, 9°, 19°
*ВЪЗ	≈260	ВЪЗВЕСТИ, ВЪСТОКЪ, ВЪЖДАДАТИ, ВЪЗДРАСТИ, ВЪЗИСКАНИЕ	1°, 2°, 5°, 9°, 19°
ВЪ	<10	ВЪВРЪШТИ, ВЪГОНИТИ, ВЪГЪНАТИ, ВЪИНЕСТИ, ВЪРИНЖТИ	6°
*ДО	≈40	ДОВЕСТИ, ДОСТАТИ, ДОИТИ	19°
*ЗА	≈140	ЗАВИСТЪ, ЗАПРЪТИТИ, ЗАШТИГЪНИКЪ, ЗАЪАТИ, ЗАИМЪ	19°
*ИЗ	≈260	ИЗВЪСТЪНЪ, ИСХОДЪ, ИЗДРАДЪНЪ, ИЦЪАТИ, ИЖДЕШТИ, ИШТАДИЕ, ИЗЪСТИ	1°, 2°, 5°, 19°
*НА	≈150	НАРОДЪ, НАСЛЪДОВАТИ, НАЧАТИ, НАОУЧЕНИЕ	19°
*НАДЪ	only 1	НАДЪЛЕЖАТИ	19°
НАИ	<10	НАИТРЪБЕЛИ	17°
НЕ	≈150	НЕВЪГТИЕ, НЕЧЪСТЪ, НЕНАВИДЪТИ	7°
НИ	<10	НИКЪТО	7°
НЪ	<10	НЪКЪТО	7°
НИЗЪ	≈10	НИЗВЕДИТИ, НИЗЪХОЖДЕНИЕ, НИЗЪИТИ	
*ОБ	≈380	ОБЛИЧИЕ, ОБРЪСТИ, ОБИДЪТИ, ОСЫПАТИ, ОБЪДЪ	1°, 8°, 9°, 19°
ОТ, *ОТЪ	≈160	ОТЪВРЪШТИ, ОТЪСЪШТИ, ОТВРЪСТИ, ОТРОКЪ, ОСТЪПАТИ, ОТЪАТИ	9°, 10°, 19°
ПА	<10	ПАГОУБА, ПАЖЧИНА, ПАМАТЬ, ПАЖИТЬ	11°
*ПО	≈490	ПОВИНОВАТИ, ПОУВАЛА, ПОУАТИ, ПОАСЪ	19°
*ПОДЪ	≈20	ПОДЪЗЕМНИЕ, ПОДЪКОПАТИ, ПОДЪИТИ, ПОДЪАТИ	19°
ПРА	<10	ПРАДЪДЪ, ПРАПРЪДА, ПРАПРЪДЪ, ПРАПРЪДЪНЪ	12°
*ПРИ	≈200	ПРИЗРАКЪ, ПРИТЪЧА, ПРИТИ	13°, 19°
ПРО	≈140	ПРОЦВЕСТИ, ПРООУЧАТИ, ПРОКАЗА, ПРОИЗРИВЪ	
ПРЪ	≈220	ПРЪЛОМИТИ, ПРЪТЪКАНИЕ, ПРЪБОУТЬ, ПРЪАТИ	12°
*ПРЪДЪ	≈30	ПРЪДЪВАРИТИ, ПРЪДЪТЕЧА, ПРЪДЪИТИ	18°, 19°
РАЗ	≈160	РАЗБОИ, РАСПАТИ, РАЗДРОУШИТИ, РАЖДИЗАТИ, РАШИРИТИ, РАЗРИТИ	2°, 16°
СЖ, СОУ	≈20	СЖЕДЪ, СЖПРЪЖЪ, СЖМЪНЪТИ, СОУГОУЕЪ	14°
*СЪ/СЪН	≈350	СЪГРЪШАТИ, СЪТАЖАТИ, СЪИЗВЪСТОВАТИ, СЪАТИ, СЪНИКАТИ	3°, 19°
Ж, *ОУ	≈330	ЖРОДЪ, ЖДОЛЬ, ЖСОБИЦА, ОУДИВИТИ, ОУТЪХА, ОУЛЪИТИ	15°, 19°

§ 641. Commentary

1°. C-final prefixes that lack V-final alloforms often show aberrant spellouts with **ъ**, more rarely with **ь**. Cf. *БЕЗЪВРѢМЕНЬНОИЖ* SUPR 86, 30, *ИЗЪХОДАШГЕ* SUPR 267, 5, *ОВЪСТОИМЪ* Lk 21, 20 ZGR.

In exceptional cases aberrant spellouts are shown in the dictionary. These are: *БЕЗЪОУВЪСТВЪНЪ*, *ИЗЪЧИТАТИ*, *ОБЪХОДИТИ*, *ОБЪХОДЪНЪ*.

2°. All *з*-final prefixes behave relatively indeterminately before C-initial stems, with multiple repairs of resulting clusters. For example, for the verb *ИЗЧИСТИТИ* in the sources we find spellouts like *ИЗЧИСТ-* (cf. Mt 8, 3 AS), like *ИШТИСТ-* (cf. Mt 8, 2 ZGR, MAR), and like *ИЧИСТ-* (cf. Mt 8, 2 AS). For *БЕЗЧИСЛЬНЪ* we find spellouts like *БЕЧИСЛЬН-* (cf. SUPR 565, 26) and like *БЕШТИСЛЬН-* (cf. SUPR 448, 13).

The lexicographic tasks of the choice of the lexeme name for the dictionary is often not a simple one: grammatical consistency conflicts with avoidance of fictional spellouts. The practical compromise struck here is based on the following: all possible spellouts, including aberrant ones, are ordered by loyalty to the declared canonical form, which is ordered first. Least systematic are spellouts in case of boundaries of the type *з* + (*ц*, *ч*) (for the boundary of the type *з* + *ж*, the result is stable, cf. *ВЪЗ.ЖАД* ⇒ *ВЪЖДАД* 18×). See details in Ch. 24, *Supplement*, § 872, *On combinations with з-final prefixes*.

3°. *въ/вън* and *съ/сън* are morphophonological variants distributed by CVC agreement. Here are all lexemes with *н*: 1) *вън*: *ВЪНИТИ*, *ВЪНАТИ*, *ВЪНИМАТИ*, *ВЪНМАТИ*, *ВЪНОУШИТИ*, *ВЪНЖТРЬНЪ*; 2) *сън*: *СЪНИТИ*, *СЪНИТИЕ*, *СЪНИСКАТИ*, *СЪНОРИТИ*, *СЪНОУЗЪНЪ*, *СЪНИМАТИ*, *СЪНМЪ*, *СЪНМИШГЕ*, *СЪНМАТИ*, *СЪНАТИ*, *СЪНАТИЕ*, *СЪНѢДАТИ*, *СЪНѢДЕНИЕ*, *СЪНѢДЪ*, *СЪНѢДЪНЪ*, *СЪНѢСТИ*.

Note that these formatives can be C-final also when used as prepositions. Cf. *въ* + *ѡдра* ⇒ *ВЪНѢДРА*: *МОЛНГВА МОѢ ВЪ НѢДРА МОѢ ВЪЗВРАТИГЪ СЪ* PS SIN 34, 13, but also cf. *въ истинѡ* Lk 1, 3 AS.

However, V-final forms before vowels are possible, cf. *СЪОБЛѢШТИ* 1× EUCH, *СЪОБРАЗЪНЪ* 1× SUPR, *ВЪОБРАЗИТИ* 2× SUPR, *ВЪОРЖИТИ* 2× EUCH, 1× SUPR. Cf. also the aberrant spellout *СЪЖЗИ* SUPR 400, 14 (cf. canonical *СЪВЖЗЪ*).⁷ Likewise the adjectives *ВЪИСПРЪНЪ* and *ВЪИНЫНЪ*, formed from adverbial combinations *въ* + *испръ* and *въ* + *инѡ*. These forms are represented by isolated glosses in CLOZ, EUCH and SUPR, cf. *ВЪИНАѢ* CLOZ 6b, 39; *ВЪИНЫНО* EUCH 89b, 1; *ОТЪ ВЪИСПРЪНИИХЪ* EUCH 32a, 2–3; *ВЪИСПРЪНИИХЪ* SUPR 458, 26–27.

4°. In the combination *въ* + *ѣти*, the prefix appears in the V-final variant. By the *mph* ⇒ *ph/norm* rules, the outcome must be *въ#ѣ* → *въ#i'ѣ* → *ВЪѢ*, which agrees with existing Glagolitic spellouts: *ВЪѢДИ* Lk 5, 4 AS and *ВЪѢДЖ* Lk 8, 23

⁷ This form is absent in Večerka but is found in Meyer and Sadnik.

МАР. In the PD, the infinitive is shown as *въѡти*, which corresponds to the normalized version of Glagolitic sources, cf. *прѣѣхавъше* Mt 14, 34 АС, *прѣѣвъше* Mt 14, 34 ZОGR, МАР and others.

5°. In the combination *въз + ѣти*, we have the standard sequence of a C-final prefix and a V-initial root. Sources have spellouts like *възѣ-*; in the PD, the infinitive is written as *възѣти*.⁸

In a combination of a C-final prefix with a j-initial root, the threat of a prohibited combination is eliminated by a nonstandard alloform with a final ѣ; cf. *въз + јарити* ⇒ *възѣ + јарити* (SUPR *възѣаривъ* 112, 17, *възѣаривъ* 164, 21), *из + јаснити* ⇒ *изѣ + јаснити* (ЕУСН 53а, 25 *изѣѣсньшимъ*). In the PD, the starting forms of these lexemes are shown with the following spellouts: *възѣарити* [*възѣ.(јар).и.т.и*] <346> and *изѣяснити* [*изѣ.(јасн).и.т.и*] <349>.⁹ These spellouts are anomalous, because they contain nonstandard alloforms of the prefixes, *възѣ* and *изѣ* (these alloforms in their other occurrences indicate an aberrant spellout, cf. *изѣходити* for canonical *исходити*, *изѣобрѣсти* for canonical *изобрѣсти*). However, the spellouts *възѣарити* and *изѣяснити* cannot be treated as aberrant, because canonical analogs that do not violate syntagmatic rules cannot be constructed: these forms are canonical, albeit morphophonologically anomalous.¹⁰

6°. The prefix *въ* only occurs in PS SIN (*възврѣшти*, *въгонити*, *въгънати*, and *въринжти*), and СЛОZ (*вънесити*).

7°. The formatives *не* and *ни* are sharply distinct from all other prefixal formatives in their syntactic and derivational behavior. The particle *ни*, when combined with another lexeme, creates a separate lexeme only when the base is pronominal: *къто* and *никъто*, as well as *ни.къто.же* etc. The particle *не* can sometimes form a new lexeme, cf. *невѣста* or *недѣгъ*, while in other cases it shows a free association with a full lexeme, cf. *не пыѣте сѡ оубо глѡже что ѣмъ ли что приемъ ли чимъ одеждемъ сѡ* Mt 6, 31 МАР etc.¹¹

The formative *нѣ* is only found with pronominal bases, cf. *нѣкакъ*, *нѣколикъ*, *нѣкъин* (see § 316).

⁸ In Večerka's dictionary, the entry for *възѣхати* refers to the infinitive *възѡхати* — a form that is graphically and morphophonologically impossible. Evidently, the reconstruction is based on an analogy with *въѡхати*.

⁹ Otherwise in Večerka, where the names of these items are *възарити* and *изѣяснити*.

¹⁰ What could be treated as aberrant is the prefixation itself, but this issue is part of word formation and thus outside of the scope of this work.

¹¹ The question of independence of lexemes with *не* presents a difficult lexicographic problem. The wordlist in the PD does not attempt to solve this problem *de novo*, although, in some cases the choice made here may differ from Večerka in having fewer listed lexemes with *не-*. Paradigmatically, the lexeme with *не* is identical to the lexeme without *не*; cf. *правѣда* and *неправѣда* (both words included as independent ones in both Večerka and the PD), or *слава* and *неслава* (the latter word is found as independent in Večerka but not in the PD).

8°. While the rewrite rules for the combination *в + в* require a resulting *в*, with *в* eliminated (as in *ов + видѣти* ⇒ *овидѣти*), in a few cases a different outcome is possible for this cluster, namely the elimination of *в* and a preserved *в*. Cf. *овъисити* [(*овъис*), и.т.и] (SUPR 1x: *овъишааше сд* 511, 27), and *овъторити* [(*овътор*), и.т.и] (SUPR 3x: *овъторити* 569, 13; 570, 2; *овторити* 569, 22).¹² See also the commentary to the lexeme *овъисити* § 492.

9°. In the transition from the morphophonological representation to the graphic one, oppositions between some prefix pairs are neutralized. These are *ов ~ от*, *въ ~ въз*.

Distinguishing *ов + X* from *от + X* is quite difficult in cases where the stem begins with *п*, *б*, *м*, *к*, *г*, *х*, *с*, *з*, *ч*, *ж*, *ш*, *шт*, *жд*, *ц*, and *с*. In a few cases the indeterminacy is resolved by aberrant spellouts that reveal the prefix. For example, we have spellouts with *овъ* (*объ*) for *одръжати*, *озирати*, *осѣнити*: *овъдръжитъ* SUPR 224, 26, *овъзираа* SUPR 502, 25, *овъсѣнитъ* SUPR 10, 25; spellouts with *отъ* for *оходити*, *окръгити*: *отъходаа* Mt 25, 14 ZOCR, *отъкръшиа* Mk 2, 4 ZOCR. However, for a significant number of lexemes, a reconstruction of the morphophonological representation as *от + X* or *ов + X* is arbitrary.¹³ This is the case, for example, for *ов*.(*жег*).т.и for *ожешти*, *ов*.(*дежд*).а for *одежда*, *ов*.(*зъа*).ов.и.т.и for *озъловити*; vs. *от*.(*цѣжд*).а.т.и for *оцѣждати*, *от*.про.(*врѣг*).т.и for *опроврѣшити*, *от*.(*сыр*).ѣ.т.и for *осырѣти*. For several words, a spellout with *овъ*, which is found in the texts, is preserved in the lexical entry, even though it contradicts the canonical standard. This is the case in *овъходьнъ* [*овъ*.(*ход*).ьн.ъ] along with *оходьнъ* for [*от*.(*ход*).ьн.ъ], and *овъходити* [*овъ*.(*ход*).и.т.и] along with *оходити* for [*от*.(*ход*).и.т.и]. Several items remain homonymous: *остѣпити*¹ [*ов*.(*стѣп*).и.т.и] ‘surround’, and *остѣпити*² [*от*.(*стѣп*).и.т.и] ‘step away’.

Distinguishing *въ + X* from *воз + X* is difficult in those cases where the stem begins with *с*, *з*, *ч*, *ш*, *шт*, *жд*, *ц*, and *с*. In such cases the choice made in the dictionary is arbitrary. Cf. *въ*.*сыпати*, but *воз*.*сверѣпити*.

10°. The prefix *от/отъ* has two variants (alloforms) whose distribution is lexical. The same lexeme or even wordform shows spellouts in sources with *отъ* as well as *от*. Cf. *отвѣстити*: usually without the *yer*, but in SUPR, MAR, SAV and PS SIN we find forms with *yers*: *отъвръзѣтъ сд* Lk 11, 9 SAV 123; *отъвръзи* Mt

¹² *овоштѣ* for *ов + воск* can perhaps be included here; cf. Belorussian *обоч*.

¹³ Let us list the material for the stems (*от*, *отъ*) + *ход* and *ов + ход*:

With ъ/ь	Without ъ/ь	Večerka	Sadnik	PD
<i>овъход-</i> , <i>овъход-</i>	None	<i>овъходити</i>	<i>овъходити</i>	<i>овъ</i> .(<i>ход</i>).и.т.и: <i>овъходити</i>
<i>овъходьн-</i>	None	<i>овъходьнъ</i>	<i>овъходьнъ</i>	<i>овъ</i> .(<i>ход</i>).ьн.ъ: <i>овъходьнъ</i>
<i>отъход-</i>	<i>оход-</i>	<i>оходити</i>	<i>отъходити</i>	<i>от</i> .(<i>ход</i>).и.т.и: <i>оходити</i>
<i>отъход-</i>	None	<i>оходъ</i>	<i>отъходъ</i>	<i>от</i> .(<i>ход</i>).ъ: <i>оходъ</i>
<i>отъходьн-</i>	None	<i>оходьнъ</i>	<i>отъходьнъ</i>	<i>от</i> .(<i>ход</i>).ьн.ъ: <i>оходьнъ</i>
<i>отъходьник-</i>	None	<i>оходьникъ</i>	<i>отъходьникъ</i>	<i>от</i> .(<i>ход</i>).ьн.ик.ъ: <i>оходьникъ</i>

25, 11 MAR; *отъврѣзѡша* SUPR 301, 1; *отъврѣзѣшю* PS SIN 103, 28, *отъврѣзе сѣа* PS SIN 105, 17. In such cases the spellout is treated as aberrant. Note that in yerless cases, cluster transformations create the threat of homonymy between *от + X* and *об + X* (see 9° above).

Cf. aberrant forms with *отън-* in the lexemes *отъмати*, *отати*: *отънемьжштъ* SUPR 297, 4; *отънемьли грѣхъ мироу* SUPR 331, 25; *отъна ти оубожество* SUPR 348, 5–6.

11°. The prefix *па* only occurs in nominal lexemes. These are *пагоуба*, *пагоубьнъ*, *пагоубьникъ*, *пажитъ*, *памать*, *паматие*, *памативъ*, *пажчина* (and aberrant *пажчина*). Cf. *пазоуха*, *пазнегътъ*, *папрьтъ* with opaque stems.

12°. The prefix *пра* only occurs in nominal lexemes, and all have doublet forms with *прѣ*: *прадѣдъ*//*прѣдѣдъ*, etc. For the distribution of doublet forms among sources see Večerka.

13°. In *при + ити*, the resulting form is always contracted: *прити* (unlike the later Church Slavic *прити*). Cf. *и бѣваатъ дрѣво чѣко прити птицамъ нѣскимъ*; *и витати на вѣтвехъ его* Mt 13, 32 MAR; *помѣни мѧ гѣ егда придеши въ цѣрствии твоемъ* Lk 23, 42 MAR. The contracted form is treated as canonical, and is given as the name of the lexeme in the PD, even though *прити* does not violate any morphophonological constraints (cf. *приждити*).

14°. The variants *оу* and *сж* are lexically distributed. The stem *соугоуб-* always has *оу*; both variants are possible with the root *мьн* <550>, and spellouts with *оу* are treated as aberrant in the PD; in other cases, *сж* is found.

15°. The variant *ж* only occurs in nominal stems; these are *ждоль* and *ждолие*, *жтъль*, *жсобица*, and *жродъ*, with derivatives. Thus, *оу* and *ж* are lexically distributed alloforms.

16°. Words with the prefix *раз* can have aberrant forms with *роз*, cf. *развити* and *розвити*, *различьнъ* and *розличьнъ*. Spellouts with *роз* are mainly found in SUPR, but even there forms with *раз* predominate. For example, *разбонникъ* occurs about 30 times, while *розбонникъ* only twice.

17°. The formative *наи* is found in the benchmark corpus only in three adjectives: *наитрѣблии*, *наиваштти*, *наискорѣи*, the latter two only in adverbial uses. Cf. also the extraparadigmatic form *наипаче* (see Vaillant, § 91).

18°. For *прѣди*, cf. *прѣди текъ* Lk 19, 4 MAR, ZOGP and *прѣдтекъ* AS, see Vaillant, § 242–243.

19°. In autonomous use:

*без — без отъца Mt 10, 29 MAR (cf. безъ оца AS, безо оца ZGR); егда послаахъ въ безъ вѣлагалашта и бесъ пиръ и бесапогъ еда чесо лишени въисте Lk 22, 35 MAR; нѣстъ пророкъ вештъсти тѣкъмо въ своемъ отъчестви Mk 6, 4 ZGR (cf. бечѣсти MAR); самѣмъ вратомъ бездрожкоу о себѣ възати са велигъ SUPR 465, 29–30;

*въ — тѣ же егда молиши са въниди въ клѣтъ твоѣж и затвори двѣри твоѣж помолн са отцоу твоемоу въ таинѣ и отцъ твои видни въ таинѣ въздастъ тебѣ авѣ. молацие же са не лихо глѣте вѣкоже и язычъници мьнатъ бо са вѣко во мѣнозѣ глѣни своемъ оуслышани бжджтъ Mt 6, 6–7 MAR;

*въз — прняхомъ благодѣтъ въз благодѣтъ Jn 1, 16 ZGR; въздаахъ ми зѣлаа въз довраа PS SIN 34, 12; въс чѣто мьстити хоштете богови SUPR 388, 15–16; въс кран же бѣаше кезера баиѣ раждежена SUPR 76, 17–18;

*до — прискръбѣна естъ дѣша моѣ до смръзти Mt 26, 38 ZGR; аште имашн что до врага своего истръгни гнѣвъ SUPR 421, 26–27; въсходьатъ до небѣс и низъходьатъ до безденъ PS SIN 106, 26;

*за — вси оубо оученици развѣгоша са за страха нюденска SUPR 483, 11–12; слышасте вѣко речено въѣ око за око и зжѣ за зжѣ Mt 5, 38 ZGR, MAR; и мноси паче вѣроваша за слово его женѣ же глѣахъ вѣко оуже не за твоѣж бесѣдъ вѣроуемъ сами бо слышахомъ Jn 4, 41–42 AS; егдаже изгънанъ въѣ народъ въшьдъ же ѡтъ ѡж за ржкж и въста дѣвица Mt 9, 25 ZGR;

*из — обаче бѣ избавитъ дѣшъ моѣ из ржкы адовы PS SIN 48, 16 (but: їзбави мѣ издржкы врагъ моухъ PS SIN 30, 16); сжтъ бо каженици иже не чрѣва мѣтерѣ въшдъ тащи Mt 19, 12 SAV (but: нчрѣва MAR, AS), ичрѣва прѣжде деньница родихъ тѣа PS SIN 109, 3 (but: штрѣва PS SIN 21, 10); и запрѣти емоу неѣ глѣ оумльни изиди из него и сѣтрасъ и дхъ нечистъин и възъпневъ гласомъ велиемъ изиде иж него Mk 1, 25–26 MAR (cf. и запрѣти емоу неѣ глѣ оумльни и изиди ижнего и сѣтрасъ и дхъ нечистъи и възъпневъ гласъмъ велиемъ и изиде ижнего ZGR);

*на — да бждетъ волѣ твоѣ вѣко на нѣи и на землѣ Mt 6, 10 ZGR; вѣко слънице свое съѣатъ на зѣлы и благы и дждитъ на праведъны и на неправедъны Mt 5, 45 MAR; и не хотѣаше на длъзѣ врѣмени Lk 18, 4 AS;

*надъ — самарѣнинъ же етеръ градъ приде надъ нѣ Lk 10, 33 ZGR; кто оубо естъ вѣрѣны рабъ и мждры егоже постави гѣ надъ домомъ своимъ Mt 24, 45 MAR; гѣ въ сионѣ велеи и въсокъ естъ надо въсѣми людьми PS SIN 98, 2;

*об — и прѣѣдъ на землѣж гадаринъскж (ж) вѣже естъ об онъ полъ галилѣа Lk 8, 26 MAR; и отъвѣштавъ симонъ рече емоу наставъниче об ноштѣ въсж троуждьше са не ѡхомъ ничѣсоже по глѣоу же твоемоу въврѣжемъ мрѣжа и се сѣтворише обаша множество рыбъ много протрѣзаахъ же са мрѣжа цхъ Lk 5, 5–6 ZGR;

*отъ — и слышавъ неѣ отиде отъ тоудѣ въ корабли въ поусто мѣсто единъ и слышавъше народи по немъ идж пѣши отъ градъ Mt 14, 13 MAR; и иже на кровѣ да не сълазитъ въ домъ ни да вънидетъ възатъ чесо отъ домоу своего Mk 13, 15 MAR;

*по — отъвѣштавъ же петръ рече емоу гѣ аште тѣи еси повели ми прити къ тебѣ по водамъ Mt 14, 28 MAR; тамо оубо иже снидѣаше по прѣвѣмъ оуже

не ицѣлѣаше: [...] нъ съде по прѣвѣѣмъ въторъи сълазитъ по въторѣѣмъ третни и четвѣртъи SUPR 496, 15–20;

*подъ — коль кратъи въсхотѣхъ съвѣрати чѣда твоѣ: ꙗкоже кокошъ гнѣздо свое подъ крилѣ и не въсхотѣсте Lk 13, 34 MAR; гла емоу нѣтанайлъ како ма знаешини отъвѣ ѿ и рече емоу: прѣжде даже не възгласи тебе филиппъ: сѣща подъ смоковнижъ видѣхъ тѣ Jn 1, 49 SAV; оуширилъ естъ стопы мои подо мѣножъ PS SIN 17, 37; въсѣ покорила еси подъ носѣ его: овьцѣи и волы въсѣи PS SIN 8, 8;

*при — ницѣ же бѣ единъ именовъ лазаръ: иже лежаше при вратѣхъ его гноинъ Lk 16, 20 MAR; и нѣждаасте и глѣжца: обляси съ нама: ꙗко при вечерѣ естъ Lk 24, 29 AS;

*прѣдъ — петръ же стояше на дворѣ: и пристѣпи къ нему: едина раба глѣжца: и тѣи бѣ съ ѿмъ галилеискимъ: онъ же отърѣже сѣ: прѣдъ всѣми гла не вѣдѣ что глѣши: ишѣдъшю же емоу прѣдъ врата: оузырѣ и дрѣгата раба и гла емоу: тоу и съ бѣ чѣкъ съ ѿмъ назарѣвниномъ Mt 26, 69–71 SAV 112; оуготовалъ еси прѣдо множъ трапезъ: прѣдъ сътѣжѣиштинми мнѣ PS SIN 22, 5;

*съ — и огнь великъ нача жешти и: такоже съпадъшоу сѣ емоу съ конѣ оумирати SUPR 221, 27–29; не погоуби съ нечѣстивъицими дѣша моиѣ: и съ мѣжи крѣвзы (for крѣвни GPI) живота моего PS SIN 25, 9; ѿ сконьчаша сѣ въ соуѣтѣ дѣни ихъ: ѿ лѣта ихъ со тѣштанемъ PS SIN 77, 33;

*оу — марнѣ стоѣаше оу гроба вѣнѣ плачѣжци сѣ: принче въ гробъ: и видѣ дѣва айѣла: въ бѣлахъ ризахъ сѣдѣца: единог оу главзы и единог оу ногоу: идеже бѣ лежало тѣло нѣво Jn 20, 11–12 AS.

Roots

§642. General

Roots are the largest and most diverse class of formatives. There are about 1000 distinct roots in the benchmark corpus, including opaque ones, of which there are about two hundred. They are all presented in the root dictionary (RD), where for each root its alloforms are shown explicitly, and for each alloform, all lexemes that represent that alloform. Most roots are morphophonologically trivial and require no special discussion. At the same time, a relatively small group of root formatives (about 250) show various morphophonological peculiarities that require grammatical notes. The purpose of this section is to show and in some cases comment all such nontrivial roots.

Trivial are those roots where the vocalism is stable, the CVC schema is stable (i.e. the same in all alloforms), and where it agrees with the CVC norm. The diversity of assortment for trivial roots is limited by the application of two free alternations: velar palatalization for roots ending in *к*, *г*, or *х*, and substitutive softening for others. Here are examples of trivial roots: <69> бѣг (бѣгати), <70> бѣд (бѣда), <215> гжс (гжсѣница), <217> дав (давити).

§ 643. Root classes by main morphophonological features

Nontrivial roots are divided into several classes; below each class is treated separately. Even though certain morphophonological features of roots are at the basis of this classification, it is not a properly grammatical one; its purpose is to provide a clearer overview of a rather diverse mass of nontrivial root formatives. The membership of all classes is given by lists.

Two groups of *unique* roots stand separately: *anomalous* and *pronominal* ones. These groups include roots with peculiar assortments of alloforms, which do not fit with standard types of alloformy (see § 82 above). The division of these roots into anomalous (see list in § 806) and pronominal (see list in § 785) is relatively arbitrary.

All other nonstandard roots are divided into groups by two features crucial for this classification. The first feature concerns the vocalism: it can be stable or unstable, and in the latter case pure or sonant (cf. § 121 above).

The second feature concerns the CVC structure. For roots with sonant vocalism, the division by CVC structure type differs from the division that applies to roots with stable or unstable pure vocalism.

For sonant roots we have: 1) stable CHC structure (e.g. вѣрѣ <121>); 2) CH structure (e.g. мрѣ <539>); 3) HC structure (this is only the case for the root љп <516>); 4) H structure (such are only ор/ра <639> and љм/л <334>). All H-final roots are called *labile* (see § 128 above). All other possibilities are found only among unique verbs.

For other roots we have: 1) stable CVC structure (e.g. бѣд <70> or рок <766>), the so-called *closed* roots; 2) stable CV structure (e.g. зна <319> or сто <879>), the so-called *open* roots; 3) stable VC structure (e.g. ок <634> or ор <12>). All other possibilities are found only among unique verbs.

Table 644. Root classes and order of exposition

Vocalism	CVC structure	Example	Count	§§
Stable	CVC	бѣда	About 700	§ 649
	CV	знати	About 30	§ 652
	VC	око	About 40	§ 654
Unstable pure	CVC	нести носити	Slightly > 60	§ 656
	CV	стати стоати	Only 2	
	VC	разорити разарѣити	Only 1	
Unstable sonant	CHC	влачити влькъ	About 40	§ 682
	CH	мрѣти сѣмрѣть	About 60	
	HC	прнльпѣти прнлѣпити	Only 1	
	H	възати възимати	Only 2	
Unique	Pronominal		Slightly < 20	§ 785
	Amonalous		Slightly > 30	§ 806

§ 644. Order of exposition

Table 644 (p. 372) shows the classes of roots and the order of exposition below. The paragraph number contains the membership list for the corresponding class. For sonant vocalism roots, the order corresponds to the following order of the sonants: H(*n*), H(*m*), H(*n/m*), H(*u*), H(*j*), H(*r*), H(*l*). Within each group, roots are treated in order by number. The counts are given without opaque roots.

§ 645. Order of illustration for alloformy

The overview below presents alloformy data as follows. First, alloforms generated by consonantal alternations are not noted in the general case, because all consonantal alternations are free. For example, for root <766> the alloform *роц* is not explicitly shown, but only the alloform *рок* is (cf. *пророкъ*, NPI *пророци*). On the other hand, for root <23> (*вигти*), the alloform *въj*, represented only in oblique wordforms (forms of the PRAE system) is noted, because the alloforms *ви* and *въj* correspond by the fundamental vowel alternation, which is not free. Note that alloforms found only in oblique wordforms of some lexemes cannot be discovered from the root dictionary, which only lists starting forms of the corresponding lexemes.

§ 646. A note on unattested alloforms

Not all roots show all possible alloforms by all licit alternations. A pedantic approach to attestation in sources of various alloforms does not serve a substantive purpose from the point of view of grammar. Let us list a few examples. The root *клок* <385> is only represented by the lexeme *клокѡгати*; *сох* <870> only by the lexeme *посоха*, which in turn is found in the hapax gloss *посохамн* (SUPR); the root *лоук* <507> is found in the hapax gloss *лоуцѣ* (EUCH).¹⁴ Likewise for substitutive softening: the root *ѣѣд* <70> shows the alloform *ѣѣжа* (cf. *пѣѣждати*), while the root *ѣлѣд* <32> does not show a substitutively softened alloform.

In the overview of roots, unattested alloforms are not shown; e.g. the root <570> is represented by two lexemes, *моуѣа* (*моуѣ.а*) and *мъшница* (*мъш.ниц.а*). According to the velar palatalization alternation, we get the following alloforms: *моуѣ*, *моуѣс*, *моуѣш* and *мъш*, *мъс* and *мъш*. The alloform *моуѣс* is expected in the oblique forms of the lexeme *моуѣа* (e.g. LSg *моуѣсѣ*), but this lexeme is only found in a few NAPI glosses (*моуѣшы*). In fact, of the six expected alloforms, only two are attested. Thus, in Table 712, the *ъ* vocalism grade is illustrated by the alloform *мъш* (and not **мъш*).

On the contrary, if several alloforms corresponding to different consonantal alternation grades are attested, the table illustrates only the leading grade alloform. For example, in Table 705, the alloform *роуѣл* is not shown, even

¹⁴ The starting form *лоукъ* is reconstructible for this gloss, accordingly, the RD lists the root <507> by its alloform *лоук*, which is, formally speaking, unattested.

though it is expected in the paradigm of e.g. the verb *погубити*, and is represented in the lexeme *погубѣлати*. For root <810>, Table 674 lists the alloforms *свѣт*, *свит*, and *свѣтъ*, while the alloforms *свѣшт*, *свишт*, and *свѣштъ* are not listed. Likewise, for root <1050> in Table 676, only the alloforms *цвѣт*, *цвит*, and *цвѣтъ* are listed. However, while for root <810> the benchmark corpus attests substitutively softened alloforms, this is not the case for root <1050> (only *цвѣт*, *цвит*, and *цвѣтъ* are attested).

§647. A note on reconstructions of fictional alloforms and sources of alloformy

A stipulation that consonantal alternations are free, in place of fixing all attested alloforms, leads to the risky business of segmental reconstructions. We should, first, distinguish a reconstruction from a leading to a following grade (from observed *лѡуχ* to unobserved *лѡуѣ*) from the reverse direction (from observed *вѣис* to unobserved *вѣиχ*), and treat the former as better-grounded in synchronic grammar. Note that following grades of the substitutive softening alternation have intersecting series, and thus establishing the leading form of roots represented only by following grades in the majority of cases is impossible without etymological evidence (cf. *дѣшт* <267>: *дѣшти*, *ништ* <611>: *ништѣ*, *лишт* <678>: *лиштѣ*, *вѣшт* <94>: *вѣштѣ*, *вѣжда* <142>: *вѣжда*, *дѣжда* <263>: *дѣжда*, *мѣж* <601>: *мѣжѣ*, and many others). Second, we must distinguish intraparadigmatic reconstruction (e.g. *лѡуѣ* for the hapax gloss *лѡуѣѣ* *ЕУСН* 54a, 10) from interlexemic reconstruction (cf. *мѣш* in *мѣшина* to *мѣχ*), treating the former as better-grounded in synchronic grammar.¹⁵

§648. A note on variant spellouts of roots

1°. Some roots have unstable spellouts in the same lexemes, which show variability, not alloformy. Such variants are either (1) doublets, where both competing spellouts are canonical (cf. *авити*//*ѡвити*, *авлієннє*//*ѡвлієннє*), or (2) aberration, where one form is canonical and the other aberrant (cf. *нѣжда* and *ноужда*), or, finally, results from accidental mistakes by the scribe (cf. *χлѣбаѣ* *Мк* 10, 46 *МАР* for canonical *χлѣпати* or *χлѣбѣнѣи* *SUPR* 135, 6 for canonical *χлѣбѣнѣ*).

2°. Some types of variation are grouped as segmentally analogous, where a few roots show the same variation, cf. *рѣив* ~ *ривѣ*, and *крѣи* ~ *кри*. Some authors treat these as segmental aberrations. Such are, for example, *рѣи* ~ *ри*, *ра* ~ *ро*, *рѣѣ* ~ *ра*, *ла* ~ *лѣѣ*; see details in Vaillant, § 26–29 and ff., and also Diels, § 9–40. Such variants are listed in commentaries to particular lexemes that are found in the overview of nominal and verb classes.

¹⁵ Note that the reconstruction of all paradigmatic forms is taken as an axiom in synchronic paradigmatic grammar both for dead and living languages (albeit usually an implicit one). Otherwise only in special cases, where the grammatical investigation focuses on a very limited corpus of texts or on unstable grammatical parameters, as e.g. accent.

Roots with stable vocalism: standard

§ 649. Examples

Here are some roots of this class:

Root <345>	Root <37>	
јам	бог	бож
јамѡ, јамьнѡ	богѡ, богѡтъство	божини, божѡство

Cf. бос in the oblique forms of the lexeme богѡ: босѡ — 1Sg.

Root <1075>	
чист	чишт
чистѡ, чистити	очиштѡти

Alloform чишт is also in the paradigm of чистити, cf. чиштѡ, 1SgPraes (чистити). Alloforms цѣст and цѣшт are assigned to a different root <1059>, contra Sadnik.

§ 650. A note on roots ending in к, г, χ

Some roots show interlexemic alloformy in the final C position by the pairings к||ц, г||с, and χ||с. For example:

- for the к series, we have: <383> кликнѡти, кличѡ (segmentless substitutive softening), and also клицѡти; <610> никнѡти, as well as ниць;
- for the г series, we have: <1006> ѡгѡгнѡти, ѡгѡжѡти, and истѡсѡти; <279> пожагѡти [по.(жѡг).а.т.и] and вѡжисѡти, зажисѡти;
- for the ск series, we have: <31> блискѡ, блискѡти, бльштѡти, and бльштѡниѡ, as well as блистѡти and блистѡниѡ (and aberrant forms with the блисц root spellout);
- for the χ series, we have: <256> дрѡхѡ [((дрѡх).а.ѡ)], but дрѡселѡ [((дрѡс).ел.ѡ]; <107> вѡхѡвѡ, but вѡснѡти.

The same effect is found in some suffixes, e.g. ик and иц (see § 862). The number of roots with this effect is strictly limited: outside intrapardigmatic alloformy, replacements by the к||ц and г||с alternations lacks the freedom of the velar palatalization alternations. See also *A note on the pairings ц||ч and с||ж* in § 108, 115. The effect noted here in historical grammar is attributed to the so-called *third palatalization*.

Roots with stable vocalism: nonstandard

§ 651. General

All alloforms of some root can be nonstandard, i.e. violate the CVC norm (e.g. ѡк and ѡч <634>); or, one alloform can be standard and the other nonstandard

(e.g. да and даа <216>). All roots that contain nonstandard alloforms along with standard ones are in the unique class. In the present section we treat all roots whose alloforms all have the same CVC schema that departs from the CVC norm. These are: first, V-final, or open roots (e.g. зна <319>; see Table 652), and, second, V-initial ones (e.g. отъ <631>; see Table 654).

§ 652. Open roots

Table 652 shows all stable V-final roots; there are 29 of them. Commentary to particular roots follows.

Table 652. A list of open roots

Root number	Root shape	Key word	Commentary
14	ба	балин	
49	бри	бригва	
62	боз	бозуати	
97	ви	овение	
131	взы	взыа	
138	вѣ	вѣтвь, вѣѣа	
139	вѣ	вѣтръ, вѣѣати	
259	доу	надоути	4°
285	жи	жито	
319	зна	знати	
360	ка	кавание	
455	коу	коуати	
479	ла	лаати	2°
480	ла	латель	2°
534	ма	помаати	

Root number	Root shape	Key word	Commentary
547	ми	минжти	
586	мѣ	сѣмѣти	5°
617	ны	оуныти	
685	плѣ	плѣвель	
713	про	прокъ	1°
719	прѣ	прѣдѣль	1°
827	сквръ	скврѣна	
872	спѣ	поспѣти	
926	сѣ	сѣѣати	
939	та	татъ	
1061	ча	чаати	
1072	чи	почити	3°
1090	чоу	чоути	
1097	ши	шина	

§ 653. Commentary

1°. про <713>, прѣ <719>. Prefixal formatives function as roots (see об <623>, от <647> below).

2°. Not to be confused: ла <480>, лаати¹, латель 'seek, catch', and ла <479>, лаати² 'bark (of dogs)'.

3°. чи <1072>. Cf. коу <401>. On distinguishing the roots see § 634.

4°. доу <259> надоути. Contra Sadnik, the lexeme дымъ is excluded from the root доу <259>, and listed under root <268> in the present dictionary.

5°. мѣ <586>. Contra Sadnik, in addition to the verb сѣмѣти, the lexemes измѣти and измѣние are also treated under this root here. Večerka and Sadnik assign these lexemes to the headwords измѣнити <589> and измѣнѣние <589>.

For ИЗМѢТИ cf.: ꙗко разгорѣ съя срѣдѣце мое жтроба моѣ измѣтѣ съя, 2-3SgAor PS SIN 72, 21; for ИЗМѢНИЕ cf.: поносиша измѣние хѣ твоего PS SIN 88, 52.

§ 654. Vowel-initial roots

Table 654 contains all V-initial roots, excluding unique ones; there are 41 such roots. Commentary on particular lexemes follows.

Table 654. A list of vowel-initial roots

Root number	Root shape	Key word	Commentary
1	ав	авити	1°
3	агн	агньць	1°
5	ад	адъ	
8	аж	аице	
10	ап	вънезаапъ	6°
330	иг	игълинъ	3°
331	иг	иго	3°
332	игр	играти	3°
333	им	имъ	3°
335	иск	искати	3°
336	искр	искръиь	3°
337	искр	искра	3°
339	испр	въиспръиь	3°
340	ист	истина	3°
341	ист	истеса	3°
623	об	объштъ	4°
627	ов	овыца	
631	огн	огнь	5°
632	одр	одръ	
634	ок	око	
640	ор	орьлъ	

Root number	Root shape	Key word	Commentary
643	ос	осьлъ	
645	осм	осмь	
646	ост	острити	
647	от	отъць	4°
1011	оѹд	оѹдъ	
1012	оѹз	съноѹзынь	7°
1013	оѹзд	оѹзда	
1015	оѹм	оѹмъ	
1016	оѹн	оѹнин	
1017	оѹсм	оѹсмѣнь	
1018	оѹст	оѹста	
1019	оѹтр	оѹтро	8°
1020	оѹх	оѹхо	
1115	ѡдр	ѡдра	2°
1116	ѡтр	ѡбѡтрити	
1117	жг	жгълъ	
1118	жгл	жгла	
1119	жд	ждица	
1120	жтр	вънжтръиь	
1121	жч	пажчина	6°

§ 655. Commentary

1°. агн <3>, ав <1>. The vowel-initial anomaly can be repaired: cf. aberrant ꙗгньць (CLOZ); canon has doublet forms авити and ѡвити (and others sharing this root); see details of distribution among sources in Večerka.

2°. ѡдр <1115>. In combination with the preposition въ in SUPR and PS SIN, editions show a space, e.g. въ нѡдра. Cf. и молитва моѣ въ нѡдра моѣ възвратитѣ съя PS SIN 34, 13.

3°. иг <330>, иг <331>, игр <332>, им <333>, иск <335>, искр <336>, искр <337>, испр <339>, ист <340>, ист <341>. All these roots have a morphological и; an alternative treatment (жь or ѣь) is only possible in roots that

show clear evidence of Ъ. These are the pronominal root ЪН <1112> (инокъ) (cf. отънждьнъ, see § 804), and ЪМ/А <334>, a root with unstable sonant vocalism (cf. възьмати, see § 691).

4°. оБ <623>, оТ <647>. Prefixal formatives act as roots (see above про <713>, прѣ <719>).

5°. оГН <631>. On the vacillation between оГН and оГН see § 403.

6°. ап <10>. Cf. the aberrant възьзаѣпж Mk 13, 36 ZGR; жч <1121>, cf. aberrant spellouts, пажчинъ SUPR 274, 14–15, and паучина PS SIN 89, 10.

7°. оУЗ <1012>. Only in съноузънъ, hapax gloss пѣши и съноузни по ѿемоу хождаах SUPR 90, 7–8. Sadnik notes the possibility of identifying this with the root вжз/вжз <148> (cf. съвжзъ ‘connection’).

8°. оУТР <1019>. The aberrant spellout ютр is possible; for distribution among lexemes and sources see Večerka.

Roots with unstable pure vocalism: standard and nonstandard

§ 656. General

Roots with unstable pure¹⁶ vocalism differ in the number and composition of the vocalic realizations found in them. However, this property cannot form the basis of a useful classification, because the absence, in the benchmark list, of lexemes showing one or another vocalic realization of a root is entirely random. For example, the lexeme вѣскъ is not attested in OCS, but is found in Church Slavic, which is why in OCS this root <31> виск has a different assortment of vocalic realizations from <1050> цвьт and <810> свѣт.

Nonstandard roots with pure unstable vocalism that violate the CVC norm also belong here. They are <12> ор||ар (раз.ор.н.т.и), <819> си||сѣ (си.л.о), and <879> стѣ||ста (стѣ.ѣ.т.и).

Table 656 (p. 379) lists the roots in order by number. There are 68 roots with unstable pure vocalism.

§ 657–676 provide commentary on individual roots and groups of roots.

¹⁶ On the difficulties of matching a given root with a series of fundamental alternations, as well as on the opposition between pure and sonant roots, see § 677–680 below.

Table 656. A list of roots with unstable pure vocalism

Root number	Key word	Vocalism	§§	Root number	Key word	Vocalism	§§
12	разорити	о а	§ 657	609	ножъ	ь и~о	§ 671
18	извостити	о а	§ 657	660	пешти	ь е	§ 665
31	блъштати	ь и	§ 659	666	пъсати	ь и	§ 659
75	вести	ѣ ε~о а	§ 666	673	племъ	ε~о	§ 661
84	вести	ε~о	§ 661	676	плести	и ѣ ε~о	§ 672
93	вечерѣа	ь ε	§ 665	707	въпросити	о а	§ 657
101	висѣти	и ѣ	§ 663	709	просити	о а	§ 657
151	годъ	о а	§ 657	754	оурѣзати	ѣ~а	§ 662
156	гвоздъ	о а	§ 657	755	родъ	о а	§ 657
170	гнести	ε ѣ	§ 658	766	решти	ь и ѣ ε~о	§ 673
190	грети	и ѣ ε~о а	§ 667	810	свѣтъ	ь и ѣ	§ 674
196	гръмѣти	ъ о	§ 664	815	сѣшити	ε ѣ	§ 658
279	жешти	ь и ѣ ε	§ 668	816	село	ε ѣ	§ 658
281	желѣа	ε ѣ	§ 658	819	сило	и ѣ	§ 663
288	ждати	ь и	§ 659	824	скочити	о а	§ 657
315	сѣздати	ь и	§ 659	879	стоати	о а	§ 657
369	оукорити	о а	§ 657	886	сѣгна	ь и	§ 659
370	коснѣти	о а	§ 657	894	постригати	и ѣ	§ 663
377	клонити	о а	§ 657	916	сѣлати	ъ ы	§ 660
381	клепати	ε~о	§ 661	917	осѣпы	ъ ы	§ 660
426	краи	о а	§ 657	918	сѣпати	ъ ы	§ 660
433	окрочити	о а	§ 657	941	тешти	ь ѣ ε~о а	§ 675
481	оуловити	о а	§ 657	942	оутопити	о а	§ 657
484	вълѣсти	ѣ~а	§ 662	944	творецъ	о а	§ 657
486	сѣломити	о а	§ 657	948	теплостъ	ε~о	§ 661
499	лъсть	ь и	§ 659	956	сѣтискати	и ѣ	§ 663
512	лъгати	ъ ы	§ 660	957	тихъ	и ѣ	§ 663
535	мошти	о а	§ 657	992	тѣкати	ъ ы	§ 660
537	мокръ	о а	§ 657	1021	ходъ	о а	§ 657
542	сѣмотрити	о а	§ 657	1042	оуръ(м)нѣти	ъ о	§ 664
545	метати	ѣ ε~о	§ 669	1050	цвѣтъ	ь и ѣ	§ 676
548	полизати	и ѣ	§ 663	1065	ичезнѣти	ε ѣ	§ 658
602	новъ	о а	§ 657	1076	чѣсть	ь и	§ 659
607	нести	ѣ ε~о	§ 670	1099	шьствие	ь и	§ 659

§ 657. Roots with unstable o||a vocalism

Root number	o	a
12	разорити	разарѣати
18	избести	избадати
151	годъ, оугедити	оугаждати
156	пригвоздити	пригваждати
369	оукорити	оукарѣати
370	коснѣти	касати
377	клонити	клаиѣати
426	оукрон	кран
433	окрочити	искрачило
481	оуловити	оулавѣати
486	сълонити	съламѣати
535	моштити	помагати

Root number	o	a
537	мокръ, мочити	омакати
542	сълотрити	сълатрѣати
602	новъ, обновиити	обнавѣати
707	въпросити	въпрашати
709	простити	прашгати
755	народъ, родити	раждати
824	скочити	скакати
879	столъ, столати	стати, станъ
942	потопъ, оутопити	оутапати
944	творецъ, сътворити	тварь, прѣтварѣати
1021	ходъ, исходити	исхаждати

§ 658. Roots with unstable e||ѣ vocalism

Root number	e	ѣ
170	гнестити	оугнѣтати
281	желѣа, желѣтѣа	жалъ, жалити
815	секъѣра	сѣчь, сѣштити
816	село, селити	насѣлѣати
1065	ичезнѣтити	ичазати

§ 659. Roots with unstable ъ||и vocalism

Root number	ъ	и
31	блѣшгати	блискъ, блистати
288	жѣдати	ожидати
315	сълѣдати, зѣдъ	сълзидати
499	прѣблѣстити, лѣсть	прѣблѣшгати

Root number	ъ	и
666	пѣсати	написати, писма
886	стѣгна, стѣза	постигнѣтити
1076	чѣсть	чистити, число
1099	шѣствѣе	оушидѣ

§ 660. Roots with unstable ѣ||ы vocalism

Root number	ѣ	ы
512	лѣгати, лѣжь	облѣгати
916	сѣлати, сѣлъ	посѣлати
917	осѣпѣти	вѣсѣпати

Cf. among morphophonologically opaque roots лѣвъз/лѣвъиз <500>.

Root number	ѣ	ы
918	сѣпати, сѣнь	оусѣпати
992	тѣкати	затѣкати

According to Sadnik, истѣкати also belongs here. In the PD, ((истѣкати)).ѣ.н.ѣ is outside of root <992>.

§ 661. Roots with unstable е ~ о

Root number	е	о
84	вѣсти, вѣсло	возѣ
381	клепати	клопотѣ

Root number	е	о
673	племѣ	плодѣ
948	теплоствѣ	тѣпота

The vocalic change е ~ о (the old ablaut) is found in combination with a wider variety of vocalic realizations, such as грѣти/грѣвъ <190>, °мести/мотъла <545>, плѣсти/оплотѣ <676>, рѣшти/рокѣ <766>, тѣшти/токѣ <941>, вѣсти/вождѣ <75>, нести/поносѣ <607>. Note that the е ~ о pairing is not an adjacent one.

§ 662. Roots with unstable ѣ ~ а vocalism

Root number	ѣ	а
484	вѣлѣсти	вѣлазити

Root number	ѣ	а
754	оурѣзати	образѣ, въздражати

§ 663. Roots with unstable и||ѣ vocalism

Root number	и	ѣ
101	вѣсѣти	вѣзвѣсѣти
548	помѣзати	сѣмѣжити
819	силѣ	сѣтъ
894	постригати, постризати	стрѣшти*

Root number	и	ѣ
956	сѣтискати	тѣшити

Contra Sadnik, the lexeme тѣсѣнѣ (and the alloform тѣсѣнѣ) are excluded from the root <956>.

957	тихѣ, оутѣшити	оутѣха, оутѣшити
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* Not to be confused with стрѣгѣ <891>; see § 767.

§ 664. Roots with unstable ъ||о vocalism

Root number	ъ	о
196	грѣмѣти*	громъ

Root number	ъ	о
1042	охрѣ(м)нѣти	хромъ, хромьць

* Contra Večerka and Sadnik, where the headwords contain the spellout грѣм even though sources only have грѣм (SUPR, PS SIN). See details in § 681.

Cf. хѣт in aberrant forms from the root хѣт <1038>, e.g. хѣтитъ SUPR 534, 11.

§ 665. Roots with unstable ъ||е vocalism

Root number	ъ	е
93	въчерашнѣ	вечеръ

Root number	ъ	е
660	пыци*	пешти, печаль

* The vocalic realization with ъ only in lmv; cf. рѣк <766>, тек <941>, жег <279>.

Contra Sadnik, the root <700> потити, потъ, потънъ is excluded from the root пек <660>.

From a synchronic point of view, пек and пот are not connected by standard segmental pairings.

§ 666. Root <75>

ъ	о	е	ь
	водити	вести	
ы	а	ѣ	и
	прѡваждати	привѣса*	

* Only in nonstandard aorist forms.

§ 667. Root <190>

ъ	о	е	ь
	гробъ	грети	
ы	а	ѣ	и
	гравити	погрѣбати	погрѣбати

§ 668. Root <279>

ъ	о	е	ь
		жѣтити	жьси*
ы	а	ѣ	и
		въжагати	въжисати

* The vocalic realization with ъ only in lmv; cf. рѣк <766>, тек <941>, пек <660>.

§ 669. Root <545>

ъ	о	е	ь
	лотъила	метати	
ы	а	ѣ	и
		полѣбати	

§ 670. Root <607>

ъ	о	е	ь
	носити	нести	
ы	а	ѣ	и
		нѣса*	

* Only in nonstandard aorist forms.

§ 671. Root <609>

ъ	о	е	ь
	въносити		вънѣзнѣти
ы	а	ѣ	и
			вънѣсти

§ 672. Root <676>

ъ	о	е	ь
	оплѡтъ	плѣсти	
ы	а	ѣ	и
		съплѣтати	съплѣтати

§ 673. Root <766>

ъ	о	е	ь
	рокъ	рѣшти	ръци*
ы	а	ѣ	и
		прѣръѣкати	нарицати

* The vocalic realization with ь only in *lmv*; cf. жег <279>, тек <941>, пек <660>.

§ 674. Root <810>

ъ	о	е	ь
			свѣтъти
ы	а	ѣ	и
		свѣтъ	свѣтати

§ 675. Root <941>

ъ	о	е	ь
	токъ	тѣшти	тъци*
ы	а	ѣ	и
	таканнѣ	прѣтъкати	

* The vocalic realization with ь only in *lmv*; cf. рек <766>, жег <279>, пек <660>.

§ 676. Root <1050>

ъ	о	е	ь
			цвѣтѣши (ѡг цвѣсти)
ы	а	ѣ	и
		цвѣтъ	цвѣсти

Roots with unstable sonant vocalism: standard and nonstandard

§ 677. A note on the notion of sonant vocalism

The expression “the vocalism of a formative is sonant” can have both an etymological and a synchronic sense. Etymologically, it refers to the source of the vowel. E.g. the formative *врѣг* (*врѣгъ*) has an etymologically sonant vocalism, which follows from external comparison.¹⁷ Synchronically, the question is of the series—pure or sonant—of the fundamental vocalic alternations found in the formative. For example, the root <535>, with vocalic realizations *o* and *a* (*мошти*, *помагати*) has pure vocalism, while the root formative <570>, with the vocalic realizations *ъ* and *оу* (*мъшица*, *моуѣа*), has sonant vocalism (series *H(u)*).

It follows that synchronically speaking the opposition between pure and sonant vocalism is only defined for formatives with unstable vocalism. Thus, a significant number of etymologically sonant roots are not classified as so-

¹⁷ Cf. Russian *безе*, Old High German *berg*, Sanskrit *bṛhant*-.

nant synchronically. Such are, for example, сѣин <923> (сѣинѣ), дѣб <274> (дѣбѣ), пѣт <748> (пѣтѣ), пѣт <746> (пѣтѣ). Here also belong roots whose etymological sonanthood follows from modern Russian data, namely, such well-known sources of evidence as pleophony (reflexes such as *torot, teret, tolot, telet*, cf. брѣг <59>, Russian *берег*, млѣк <558>, Russian *молоко*), and vowel prothesis in liquid sequences (cf. прѣст <718>, Russian *перст*, врѣх <126>, Russian *верх*, тлѣст <961>, Russian *толстый*).¹⁸

Note

The many reflexes of the Proto-Slavic opposition between pure and sonant vocalism in the daughter languages (East Slavic in particular) raises the expectation of such a reflex in OCS, the oldest representative of Slavic. In reality, outside of the synchronic pure ~ sonant opposition, traces of this contrast are not found in OCS itself.¹⁹

We encounter the consequences of the etymological pure ~ sonant opposition in OCS in two ways. First, roots that are etymologically sonant show otherwise prohibited consonant combinations. Thus, тлѣст <961> shows the combination тл , prohibited and repairable outside of sonant roots (see details in § 62). An exception from a synchronic rule thus receives an etymological basis. Second, a distinction between etymologically pure (where Russian has a postposed vocalic element, cf. *крест*: крѣстѣ) and etymologically sonant (where Russian has a preposed vocalic element, cf. *перст*: прѣстѣ) combinations with liquids is at the basis of the addendum to Havlík's rule (see details in § 899, *Excursus on yer aberrations and Havlík's rules*).

§ 678. Unstable roots: pure ~ sonant

Because series and grades in the fundamental alternations intersect, a given root with unstable vocalism cannot always be easily classified as pure or sonant. For example, alloforms of the shape $P\text{ra}Q$ and $P\text{r}\text{e}Q$, where P and Q are segments or segment strings (possibly empty), can be treated under the pure pairing $\text{a}||\text{e}$ or the sonant pairing $\text{ra}||\text{re}$ (series $H(r)$).

Of course, if the vocalic realizations shown by a given root are not compatible with any sonant series but compatible with the pure series, this root contains pure vocalism (such is, e.g., root <535>, alloforms mor and mar). Likewise, if the vocalic realizations shown by a given root are not compatible with the pure series, but compatible with some sonant series, this root contains sonant vocalism. Such is, e.g., the root $\text{дo}||\text{e}$ <261> (the pure series has no $\text{o}||\text{e}$ vocalic realization), and also $\text{r}\text{r}\text{e}||\text{re}$ <207>.

¹⁸ Accordingly, synchronically such roots as $\text{гo}||\text{a}$ <192> ($\text{гo}||\text{a}||\text{z}^1$ 'town') and $\text{гo}||\text{a}$ <191> ($\text{гo}||\text{a}||\text{z}^2$ 'hail') are morphophonologically equivalent.

¹⁹ The fact that all handbook grammars of OCS are focused on the history of the language, and on comparative Slavic grammar, makes sonant vocalism a necessary part of every such OCS grammar.

The situation is more difficult in case vocalic realizations in a given root are compatible with both pure and sonant vocalism. Other things being equal, this root will be treated as pure; special considerations are required to treat it as sonant.

These special considerations usually amount to observations of adjacent alloforms (see details in § 873, *Commentary on segmental pairings*).²⁰ In the general case, the series which keeps most alloforms as adjacent is preferred, and adjacency is especially important for alloforms in a single paradigm (intraparadigmatic adjacency). The following principle, called the *rule of horizontal and vertical pairings*, is taken into account in intrapardigmatic alloformy: in sonant series intraparadigmatic alloformy is given by adjacent pairings horizontally, and in pure series vertically. Accordingly, preference is given to the series where this principle is not violated.

Consider, for example, roots <122>, врьз, врьз, and <323>, зъв, зов, зъв (Table 678.1–2).

Table 678.1. Embedding of the root врьз <122> into the table of fundamental alternations

Embedding of the root <122> in pure series				Embedding of the root <122> in H(r) sonant series			
ъ	о	е	ь	ър/ръ	ор/ра	ер/рѣ	ьр/рь
			врьз			врьз	врьз
ы	а	ѣ	и	ыр/ръ	ар/ра	ѣр/рѣ	ир/рь
		врьз				врьз	врьз

The alloform врьз can have two analyses, as representing the ьр/рь or the ир/рь grade, and so in the sonant embedding table it appears twice. The same is true of the alloform врьз. In the H(r) sonant series embedding, the root <122> shows horizontally adjacent alloforms врьз and врьз, while in the pure series embedding the corresponding alloforms are not adjacent. Given that these alloforms are found within the paradigm (verb °врьстн 4с*џ), the evidence from adjacency is important in assigning this root to the H(r) sonant series.

Table 678.2. Embedding of the root зъв <323> into the table of fundamental alternations

Embedding of <323> in pure series				Embedding of <323> in sonant series H(u)			
ъ	о	е	ь	ъв/ъ	ов/оу	ев/оу	ьв/ь
зъв	зов			зъв	зов		
ы	а	ѣ	и	ъв/ы	ав/оу	ѣв/оу	ив/и
зъв				зъв			

²⁰ A different consideration leads to treating root <891> стрък as sonant; see § 767 below).

In the case of root <323>, the rule of horizontal and vertical pairings is relevant. The embeddings shown above speaks in favor of treating this root under the H(*u*) sonant series: the alloforms *зъв* and *зов* are found within a single paradigm, *зъвати* 3^{о*}, Prae *зовеши*.

Other things being equal, a root is treated as pure. Such are, for example, the roots <81>, alloforms *вър* (*върѣти*) and *вар* (*варити*), <221>, alloforms *двър* (*двърь*), *двор* (*дворъ*), and *двар̂* (*двар̂ати*)²¹ (Table 678.3–4).

Table 678.3. Embedding of the root <81> into the table of fundamental alternations

Embedding of <81> in pure series				Embedding of <81> in sonant series H(<i>r</i>)			
ъ	о	ε	ь	ър/ръ	ор/ра	εр/рѣ	ьр/рь
			вър				вър
ы	а	ѣ	и	ыр/рь	ар/ра	ѣр/рѣ	ир/рь
	вар			вар			

Table 678.4. Embedding of the root <221> into the table of fundamental alternations

Embedding of <221> in pure series				Embedding of <221> in sonant series H(<i>r</i>)			
ъ	о	ε	ь	ър/ръ	ор/ра	εр/рѣ	ьр/рь
	двор		двър		двор		двър
ы	а	ѣ	и	ыр/рь	ар/ра	ѣр/рѣ	ир/рь
	двар̂			двар̂			

§ 679. On the roots <438> *кръгити* and <23> *вити*

The choice of series for these roots is not difficult: *кръгити* and *кръвенъ* unambiguously point to H(*u*), while *развон* and *оубица* point to H(*j*). However, the identification of alloforms with grades is not obvious. Moreover, different grades can correspond to different morphophonological spellouts, while the phonological forms are identical. For example, graphic Prae *внѣж* can be derived from two morphophonological representations: *въј=ж*, the ь grade (as in this grammar), or *виј=ж*, the и grade (see § 898–899 for details).

§ 680. On the roots <451> *въскръснѣти* and <855> *осльпнѣти*

The root <451> has two alloforms: *кръс* (*°кръснѣти*, *°кръсениѣ*, *°кръсновениѣ*, *°кръсати*), and *крѣс* (*°крѣснѣти*, *°крѣснѣтъ*, *°крѣшати*, *°крѣсениѣ*). The root can be embedded into three series: pure, H(*r*), and H(*j*). (Tables 680.1–3, p. 387).

²¹ Etymologically both of these roots are sonant. The present grammar considers them anomalous; see § 806.

Table 680.1. Embedding of root <451> into the pure series of fundamental alternations

ѡ	о	е	ь
			крѡс
ѡи	а	ѣ	и
		крѣс	

Table 680.2. Embedding of root <451> into the H(r) sonant series of fundamental alternations

ѡр/рѡ	ор/ра	ер/рѣ	ьр/рѡ
		крѣс	крѡс
ѡр/рѡ	ар/ра	ѣр/рѣ	ир/рѡ
		крѣс	крѡс

Table 680.3. Embedding of root <451> into the H(j) sonant series of fundamental alternations

[ѡj]/ѡ	oj/ѣ	[ej]/и	ьj/ѡ
	крѣс		крѡс
[ѡj]/ѡи	aj/ѣ	ѣj/и	иj/и
	крѣс		

крѡс and крѣс are adjacent only in the embedding into H(r); this is the solution adopted in the present grammar. However, etymologically this root belongs to H(j), showing not adjacent alloforms but alloforms paired by old ablaut (zero grade in иж-verbs and athematic forms, o-grade in и-verbs and nominals). See Vasmer, *крес* II.

The same reasoning applies to root <855> ослѡпнѡти.

§681. The choice of the canonical spellout for roots with ѡ or ѡ

As is well-known, the use of the letters ѡ and ѡ in sources is highly unstable (see § 898–899, *Excursus on yer aberrations and Havlík’s rules*), which in some cases makes difficult the choice of the canonical spellout for the root. Following etymology, as in Večerka and Sadnik, is not only theoretically questionable but sometimes not straightforward: in many cases, the etymology is not transparent. Lining up the canon to the practice of a single source is also a dead end, because each source is significantly unstable. Often the spellout adopted by Večerka and Sadnik is either not attested in sources at all (e.g. Večerka’s headwords грѡмѡти and вѡзгрѡмѡти: all spellouts have грѡм-; cf. <196>), or are attested by a minority of uses (thus, Večerka’s headword прѡстѡ: the spellouts прѡст- 3×, прѡстѡ- 7×; see <702>). Likewise in Večerka’s headword вѡдова: this item occurs 13×, but only once as вѡдѡ- (PS SIN 108, 9); other spellouts have ѡ, see <134>.

In this situation, a practically useful solution seems to follow the published standard. In the PD, the canonical spellout follows the choice in Večerka everywhere except for the following:²² 1) мръз <566>, not мръз; 2) мрък <567>, not мрък, мръч, not мръч, but мръц, following Večerka; 3) гръм <196>, not гръм; 4) смръд <861>, not смръд; 5) пръ <702> (пръсть), not пръ; 6) дль <234> in all entries; 7) тльк <962>, not тльк, and also 8) врьселне <57>, not врьселне.

§ 682. Overview table of roots with sonant vocalism

Roots with sonant vocalism are listed by series. The list by series is preceded by the overview table (Table 682), where a paragraph number with commentary is given for each root.

Note that for each root below, its series is shown (or two alternative series, see § 124), and all alloforms are listed, but alloforms are not identified with individual grades (see § 679, *On the roots <438> крѣти and <23> бити* for problems encountered in identifying grades).

There are 102 such roots altogether.

Table 682. List of roots with sonant vocalism

Root number	Key word	Series	§§	Root number	Key word	Series	§§
23*	бити	H(j)	§ 730	207	погрѣзити	H(n/m)	§ 693
24*	бьрати	H(r)	§ 742	210	гоувити	H(u)	§ 705
33	блѣдъ	H(n/m)	§ 692	220*	дьрати	H(r)	§ 750
36*	блѣвати	H(u)	§ 702	234*	предъланти	H(l)	§ 773
42*	брати	H(r)	§ 743	236*	дѣва	H(j)	§ 734
50	сѣбрьсати	H(u)	§ 703	261	дѣхати	H(u)	§ 706
58	брѣшги	H(r)	§ 744	268*	дѣти	H(m)	§ 689
63	бѣдѣти	H(u)	§ 704	286*	жити	H(u)	§ 707
77*	вльна	H(l)	§ 771	290*	сѣжати	H(m)	§ 690
89*	врата	H(r)	§ 745	292*	жрѣти	H(r)	§ 751
95*	повити	H(j)	§ 731	295*	пожрѣти	H(r)	§ 752
96*	воинъ	H(j)	§ 732	302*	жати	H(n)	§ 683
105	влѣшги	H(l)	§ 772	309*	зѣрѣти	H(r)	§ 753
117	врѣтѣти	H(r)	§ 746	310*	звонъ	H(n)	§ 684
121	врѣшги	H(r)	§ 747	312*	злакъ	H(l)	§ 774
122	отгрѣсти	H(r)	§ 748	314*	знати	H(j)	§ 735
154*	горѣти	H(r)	§ 749	322*	сѣзѣрѣти	H(r)	§ 754
171*	гнити	H(j)	§ 733	323*	зѣвати	H(u)	§ 708

* Asterisk marks those roots that do not agree with the CVC norm (of the shape CH).

²² This list includes roots with sonant combinations. Individual departures from Večerka in the question of ѣ vs. ѥ are noted *passim*.

Table 682 (continued). List of roots with sonant vocalism

Root number	Key word	Series	§§	Root number	Key word	Series	§§
327	зжѣъ	H(n/m)	§ 694	769*	рѣяти	H(j)	§ 739
334*	ѡти	H(n)	§ 691	773*	рыти	H(u)	§ 717
364*	клати	H(l)	§ 775	780*	роути	H(u)	§ 718
384*	клати	H(n)	§ 685	781	роуда	H(u)	§ 719
397*	коваѣство	H(u)	§ 709	825*	раскврѣти	H(r)	§ 763
438*	кзѣти	H(u)	§ 710	842*	сладоеть	H(l)	§ 780
451	вѣскрѣсити	H(r)	§ 755	844*	слоути	H(u)	§ 720
470*	покѣвати	H(u)	§ 711	855	слѣпыць	H(l)	§ 781
491*	вѣлѣти	H(j)	§ 736	856	вѣслѣпати	H(l)	§ 782
516*	прильпѣти	H(l)	§ 776	858*	смиати	H(j)	§ 740
526	лжкавъ	H(n/m)	§ 695	861	смрадъ	H(r)	§ 764
539*	мрѣти	H(r)	§ 756	863*	основати	H(u)	§ 721
550*	паматъ	H(n)	§ 686	866*	совати	H(u)	§ 722
553*	млѣти	H(l)	§ 777	877	срѣда	H(r)	§ 765
566	мрѣзость	H(r)	§ 757	883*	стѣлати	H(l)	§ 783
567	мрѣжѣти	H(r)	§ 758	888*	прострѣти	H(r)	§ 766
570	моуда	H(u)	§ 712	891	стража	H(r)	§ 767
571*	мыти	H(u)	§ 713	892*	строи	H(j)	§ 741
595	макъкъ	H(n/m)	§ 696	895*	островъ	H(u)	§ 723
597	мжити	H(n/m)	§ 697	897	стрѣгати	H(u)	§ 724
616	изноури	H(u)	§ 714	905	стѣдѣти	H(u)	§ 725
639*	орати	H(r)	§ 759	913	осѣрѣти	H(u)	§ 726
651*	пити	H(j)	§ 737	914	сѣхнѣти	H(u)	§ 727
658*	перьнатъ	H(r)	§ 760	934	исжѣти	H(n/m)	§ 699
664*	распати	H(n)	§ 687	954*	трыти	H(r)	§ 768
665*	опрѣти	H(r)	§ 761	962	талѣшѣти	H(l)	§ 784
670*	поути	H(u)	§ 715	966*	натроути	H(u)	§ 728
683	пльзати	H(l)	§ 778	973	трызати	H(r)	§ 769
688*	пльвати	H(u)	§ 716	984	тржсъ	H(n/m)	§ 700
693*	полъ	H(l)	§ 779	1006	тжга	H(n/m)	§ 701
702*	пръеть	H(r)	§ 762	1074*	начати	H(n)	§ 688
724	пржгъ	H(n/m)	§ 698	1081	почрѣти	H(r)	§ 770
738*	пѣти	H(j)	§ 738	1105*	шити	H(u)	§ 729

* Asterisk marks those roots that do not agree with the CVC norm. Root <516> is of the shape HC. Roots <639> and <334> are of the shape H. Others are of the shape CH.

Sonant roots with H(n) vocalism

§ 683. Root <302>

ЖА	ЖЬЊ
ЖАТИ	ЖЬЊЕШИ (from ЖАТИ)

<302> ЖАТИ has been split from <153> ГЪНАТИ, contra Sadnik.

§ 684. Root <310>

ЗВА	ЗВОН
ЗВАШТИ	ЗВОНЪ

ЗВА only in ЗВАШТИ [ЗВА.Г.Т.И].

§ 685. Root <384>

КЛЪН	КЛА	КАНН
КЛЪНЕШИ (from КАЛТИ)	КАЛТИ	ПРОКАННАТИ

§ 686. Root <550>

МЪН	МИН	МА	МЪБН
МЪНЪТИ	ПОМИНАТИ	ПАМАТЬ	МЪБНИТИ

The roots <<521>> МЪНЪТИ, ПАМАТЬ and <<506>> МЪБНИТИ, ПОМАНЖТИ are unified, contra Sadnik. See Vasmer, *память, мнить, помянуть*.

Contra Večerka, the spellouts ПОМЪБНЖТИ, ВЪСПОМЪБНЖТИ are considered aberrant. For the distribution in the sources see Večerka.

§ 687. Root <664>

ПЪН	ПА	ПИН	ПОН	ПЖ
РАСПЪНЕШИ (from РАСПАТИ)	РАСПАТИ	РАСПИНАТИ	ОПОНА	ПЖТА

§ 688. Root <1074>

ЧЪН	ЧА	ЧИН
НАЧЪНЕШИ (from НАЧАТИ)	НАЧАТИ, НАЧАЛО, НАЧАТЪКЪ, НАЧАТИЕ	НАЧИНАТИ, НАЧИНАНИЕ

Contra Sadnik, all forms with the root alloform КОН (cf. КОНЬЦЪ, ЗАКОНЪ) are not included in this root's membership. Etymologically КОН and ЧА show different vocalism grades, and the front (ЧА) and back (КОН) grades differ in their initial C position (cf. ГРАДЪ <192> and ЖРЪДЪ <293>).

Sonant roots with H(m) vocalism

§ 689. Root <268>

ДЪМ	ДЖ	ДУМ
ДУМЕШИ (for ДЖТИ)	ДЖТИ	ДУМЪ

The lexeme думъ is assigned to root <268>, contra Sadnik, where думъ is under root <259> (доуижити).

§ 690. Root <290>

ЖЪМ	ЖА	ЖИМ
СЪЖЪМЕШИ (for СЪЖАТИ)	СЪЖАТИ	СЪЖИМАТИ

§ 691. Root <334>

ЪМ	А	ЕМĀ	ИМ
ВЪЗЪМЕШИ (for ВЪЗАТИ), ВЪЗЪМАТИ	ВЪЗАТИ	ВЪЗЕМĀИШИ (for ВЪЗЪМАТИ)	ВЪЗИМАТИ

Sonant roots with H(n/m) vocalism

§ 692. Root <33>

БАЖА	БААА
БАЖАЪ	БАААЪ

§ 693. Root <207>

ГРЖЗ	ГРАЗ
ПОГРЖЗИТИ	ПОГРАЗИТИ

§ 694. Root <327>

ЗЖБ	ЗАБ
ЗЖБЪ	ПРОЗАБАТИ

§ 695. Root <526>

ЛЖК	ЛАК
ЛЖКАВЪ	НАЛАШТИ

§ 696. Root <595>

МЖК	МАК
МЖКА	МАКЪКЪ

§ 697. Root <597>

МЖТ	МАТ
МЖТИТИ	СЪМАТЕНИЕ

§ 698. Root <724>

ПРЖГ	ПРАГ
ПРЖГЪ	РАСПРАШТИ

§ 699. Root <934>

СЖЧ	САК
НСЖЧИТИ	НСАКНИЖТИ

§ 700. Root <984>

трѣс	трѣс
трѣсъ	трѣсти

§ 701. Root <1006>

тѣг	тѣг
тѣга	тѣгѣта

Sonant roots with H(u) vocalism

§ 702. Root <36>

бѣвъ	бѣвъ
бѣвати	бѣвѣши (for бѣвати)

§ 703. Root <50>

бръйс	бръйс
бръисало, събръисати	бръисъ

§ 704. Root <63>

бѣд	бѣд
бѣдѣти	вѣзбѣдѣти

§ 705. Root <210>

гъб	гъб	гъб
съгъбѣти	гъбѣти	гъбѣлъ

Contra Sadnik, the alloform бѣдѣ
<34> is separated from <63>

§ 706. Root <261>

дѣх	дѣх	дѣх
дѣхати*	дѣхѣши (for дѣхати), дѣхъ	дѣхати

* Contra Večerka and Sadnik, here only дѣхати 3* and дѣхати 7. See details in § 508.

§ 707. Root <286>

жив	жи
живѣши (for жити)	жити

Sonant vocalism H(u) is set up contra etymology: в is the marker of the present, see Meillet, § 218, 265.

§ 708. Root <323>

зѣв	зѣв	зѣв
зѣвати	зѣвѣши (for зѣвати)	призѣвати

§ 709. Root <397>

кѣ	кѣ	кѣ
кѣзнь	кѣзнь	кѣдѣство

§ 710. Root <438>

крѣв	крѣ*	крѣв	крѣ	крѣв
прикрѣвление	крѣѣши (for крѣити)	крѣвъ	крѣити	покрѣвати

* Only in PRAE and lmf of the verbs *крѣити. See § 449.

§ 711. Root <470>

кЪ	кЪВ
НАКЪИЖТИ	ПОКЪИВАТИ

The shapes кЪ/кЪВ represent the same vocalism grade, see Vaillant, § 192, 204.

§ 712. Root <570>

лЪШ	ЛОУХ
лЪШИЦА	ЛОУХА

§ 713. Root <571>

лЪВ	лЪ*	лЪИ	лЪВ
ОЛЪВЕНИЕ	ЛЪИЕШИ (for ЛЪИТИ)	ЛЪИТИ	ОУМЪИВАТИ

* Only in PRAE and Imf of the verbs °лЪИТИ. See § 449.

§ 714. Root <616>

нЪР	НОУР
ПРОНЪИРИТИ	ИЗНОУИРИТИ

§ 715. Root <670>

плЪ	ПЛОВ	ПЛОУ	ПЛАВ
ПЪИНИЕ	ПЛОВЕШИ (for ПЛОУТИ)	ПЛОУТИ	ПЛАВАТИ

§ 716. Root <688>

пЪВ	пЪУ	пЪИ
ПЪВАТИ	ПЪИЕШИ (for ПЪВАТИ), ПЪИИЖТИ	ПЪИИЖТИ

§ 717. Root <773>

рЪВ	рЪ*	РОВ	рЪИ	РОУ
ОУРЪВАТИ	РЪИЕШИ (for РЪИТИ)	РОВЪ	РЪИТИ	РОУНО

* Only in PRAE and Imf of the verbs °рЪИТИ. See § 449.

§ 718. Root <780>

ров	роу
рОВЕШИ (for роУТИ)	роУТИ

The variant рЮТИ, рИЕЖ (1x in *Hilandar folios*) is not part of the benchmark corpus of this grammar. See Vaillant, § 217.

§ 719. Root <781>

рЪЖД	роуД
рЪЖДА	роуДА

§ 720. Root <844>

СЛОВ	СЛОУ	СЛАВ	СЪИ
СЛОВЕШИ (for СЛОУТИ), СЛОВО	СЛОУТИ	СЛАВА	СЪИШАТИ

Cf. also the aberrant alloform слЪ (°слЪШАТИ in MAR, CLOZ, PS SIN).

§ 721. Root <863>*

СНОВ	СНЪВ
ОСНОВАТИ	ОСНЪВАТИ

* Alternatively, this root can be treated as belonging to the pure series. In the pure series, the alloforms СНОВ and СНЪВ show the pairing о||ъ, in the sonant series, the pairing ов||ъв. While neither of these pairings is adjacent, it is worth noting that the pairing ов||ъв is observed multiple times (cf. крѣв||крѡв <438>), while for the pairing о||ъ this root would be the sole representative. In Church Slavic, Prae forms like снѡуѣши are attested.

§ 722. Root <866>

СОВ	СОУ
СОВАТИ	НСОУНЖТИ

§ 723. Root <895>

СТРОВ	СТРОУ
ОСТРОВЪ	СТРОУТА

§ 724. Root <897>

СТРЪГ	СТРОУГ
СТРЪГАТИ	СТРОУЖЕШИ (fог стрѣгати), СТРОУТА

§ 725. Root <905>

СТЪД	СТОУД
СТЪДѢТИ	СТОУДЪ

§ 726. Root <913>

СЪР	СОУР
СЪРЪ	СОУРОВЪ

§ 727. Root <914>

СЪХ	СОУХ
СЪХНЖТИ	СОУХЪ

§ 728. Root <966>

ТРѠВ	ТРОУ	ТРАВ	ТРѢВ
НАТРѠВЕШИ (fог натроути)	НАТРОУТИ	ТРАВТИТИ	ТРѢВА

Cf. also the aberrant spellouts with трав- in place of трѢв- PS SIN (3×).

§ 729. Root <1105>

ШЪВ	ШЪ*	ШЫ
ШЪВЕНЪ [шъв.ѣн.ъ]	ШНѢШИ [шъ.ѣ.ѣши] (fог шнѣти)	ШНТИ [шъ.т.и]

* Only PRAE and lmf of the verbs °шнѣти. See § 449.

Sonant roots with H(j) vocalism

§ 730. Root <23>

вѣј*	БИ	БИЈ	БОЈ
БИЕШИ (fог БИТИ)	БИТИ	ОУБИАТИ	РАЗБОИ

* Only PRAE, lmf and the n-Part stem of the verbs of °БИТИ group; see § 448. Contra Sadnik, the lexeme БИЧЬ <26> is separated from root <23>.

§ 731. Root <95>

вѣј*	ВИ	ВИЈ	ВѢ
ПОВИЕШИ (fог ПОВИТИ) ВИАЛИЦА [вѣј.а.л.иц.а]	ПОВИТИ, ПОВИВАТИ, СЪВИТЪКЪ	ПОВИАТИ	ВѢНЬЦЪ

* Only PRAE, lmf and the n-Part stem of the verbs °ВИТИ, and in ВИАЛИЦА. The solution is arbitrary. See § 448.

Contra Sadnik, roots <<1078>> (only ВИАЛИЦА) and <<1085>> (°ВИТИ and others) are unified.

§ 732. Root <96>

ВИ	ВОЈ
ВИНА	ВОИНЪ

§ 733. Root <171>

ГНЬ	ГНИ	ГНЬј*	ГНОЈ
ГНЕСЬ	ГНИТИ	ГНИЕШИ (fог ГНИТИ)	ГНОИ

* Only PRAE, lmf and the n-Part stem of the verbs °ГНИТИ. See § 448.

§ 734. Root <236>

ДОЈ	ДѢ
ДОИТИ	ДѢВА

§ 735. Root <314>

ЗИЈ	ЗѢј	ЗИ
ЗИАТИ	ЗѢИШИ (fог ЗИАТИ)	ЗИИЖТИ

§ 736. Root <491>

лъј*	ЛИ	ЛИЈ	ЛѢј
ВЪЛИЕШИ (fог ВЪЛИТИ)	ВЪЛИТИ	ЛИАТИ	ЛѢИШИ (fог ЛИАТИ)

* Only PRAE, lmf and the n-Part stem of the verbs °ЛИТИ. See § 448.

§ 737. Root <651>

пѣј*	ПИ	ПОЈ	ПАЈ
ПИЕШИ (fог ПИТИ)	ПИТИ	ПОИТИ	ПАПААТИ

* Only PRAE, lmf and the n-Part stem of the verbs °ПИТИ, as well as the derivatives ПИАИЪ, ПИАИИЦА, ПИАИИСТВО, ПИАИИСТВЕНЕ. The solution is arbitrary. See § 448.

§ 738. Root <738>

пој	пѣ
појешн (for пѣти)	пѣти

Likewise the opaque stem ((пѣсн) in пѣснь и пѣсньнъ).

§ 739. Root <769>

ри	рѣј	рѣ
ринжти	рѣвати	рѣка

Also ривати [(ри).в.а.т.и] and ристати [(ри).ст.а.т.и].

§ 740. Root <858>

смиј	смѣј	смѣ
смиати	смѣиши (for смиати)	смѣхъ

§ 741. Root <892>

строј	страј	стрѣ
стронти	оустраати	стрѣха

Contra Sadnik, roots <<897>> стронти and <<891>> стрѣха are unified. See Vasmer, *стреха*.

Sonant roots with H(r) vocalism

§ 742. Root <24>

бѣр	вѣр	бир	брѣ	бор	бра
бѣрати	верешн (for бѣрати)	сѣбирати	брѣмла	сѣборъ	бракъ

Contra Sadnik, roots <<33>> бѣрати and <<63>> бракъ, are unified. See Vasmer, *брак II*.

§ 743. Root <42>

бор	бра
борѣиши (for брати), борыць	брати

§ 744. Root <58>

брыг	брѣг
брыгъ (for брѣшги)	брѣшги

брыгъ ш-Part. See § 452.

§ 745. Root <89>

вѣр	вѣр	врѣ	вор	вра
завѣрешн (for заврѣти)	верига	заврѣти	забора	врата

The stems ((твор) and ((тваѣ)) are morphophonologically anomalous in затворити, растворити, затваѣвати and their derivatives with prothetic т before the root, under the influence of stems with the prefix от, e.g. отворити.

§ 746. Root <117>

връг	врѣг	врат
връгѣти	врѣмла	вратити

§ 747. Root <121>

врыг	врѣг
връжешн (for врѣшги)	врѣшги

§ 748. Root <122>

врѣз	врѣз
отврѣзешн (for отврѣсти)	отврѣсти

§ 749. Root <154>

гор	гар	грѣ
горѣти	разгарати	грѣти

Contra Sadnik, roots <<242>> горѣти and <<257>> грѣхъ are unified. See Vasmer, *грех*.

§ 750. Root <220>

дѣр	дѣр	дир	дор	дар
дѣрати	дерешн (for дѣрати)	раздирати	раздоръ	оударити

Cf. дръколь <252> with the opaque stem ((дрькол).ь); the treatment (дрь).(кол).ь as a compound of <220> and <364> is also acceptable.

§ 751. Root <292>

жѣр	жрѣ
жѣрьць	жрѣтва

§ 752. Root <295>

жѣр	жрѣ
пожѣрешн (for пожрѣти)	пожрѣти

Do not confuse <292> жрѣти 'sacrifice' and <295> пожрѣти 'devour, swallow'.

§ 753. Root <309>

зѣр	зрѣ	зир	зор	зар	зра
зѣрѣти	зрѣцало	вѣзирати	вѣзоръ	озарити	призракъ

§ 754. Root <322>

зрѣ	зѣр	зор
зрѣно	зѣрѣлъ	сѣзорити

Contra Sadnik, roots <<1134>> зѣрѣлъ and <<1148>> зрѣно are unified. See Vasmer, *зреть* II, *зерно*.

§ 755. Root <451>

крѣс	крѣс
вѣскрѣснѣти	вѣскрѣсити

In this root, the sonant series H(j) is established etymologically; see details in § 680.

§ 756. Root <539>

мѣр	мрѣ	мир	мрѣ	мор	маѣ
мѣрешн (from мрѣти)	сѣмрѣтъ	оумирати	мрѣти	моръ	оумарѣти

Cf. also the reduplication in из.((мрѣ.мрѣ)).т.и for измрѣмрѣжтъ (1x SUPR 238, 13), contra Večerka, where we find измрѣмрѣти.

§ 757. Root <566>

мръз	мраз
мръзостъ, помръзихти	мразъ

Večerka and Sadnik give мръз in their headwords (see details in § 681).

§ 758. Root <567>

мръц	мрък	мрак
помръцати	мръкнѣти	мракъ

Večerka and Sadnik give мрък in their headwords (see details in § 681).

§ 759. Root <639>

ор	ра
орати	рало, ратан

Not to be confused with <12> (разорити, разарѣати).

§ 760. Root <658>

пър	пер	пар
пърати	перешн (from пърати), перьнатъ	парити

§ 761. Root <665>

пър	пер	прѣ	пир
опърешн (from опрѣти), попърати	поперешн (from попърати)	опрѣти	попирати

Do not confuse пърати <658> ‘fly, soar’ and °пърати <665> ‘shove, lean, quarrel’.

§ 762. Root <702>

пръ	пра
пръстъ	прахъ

Večerka and Sadnik give пръ in their headwords (see details in § 681). Not to be confused with <718> пръстъ ‘finger’.

§ 763. Root <825>

сквър	скврѣ	сквар
расквърешн (for раскврѣти)	раскврѣти	сквара

§ 764. Root <861>

смръд	смрад
смръдѣти	смрадъ

Večerka and Sadnik give смръд in their headwords (see details in § 681). Do not confuse with <862> (смръдъ ‘commoner’); although unifying these roots is possible, see Vasmer, *смерд*.

§ 765. Root <877>

сръд	срѣд
сръдъце	срѣда

Spellouts with сръдъц- predominate in sources. See details in § 681.

§ 766. Root <888>

сър	срѣ	стра
простърешн (for прострѣти)	прострѣти	страна

§ 767. Root <891>

стрѣг	страж
стрѣшти	стража

Do not confuse the verb стрѣшти¹ 4с ‘guard’ <891> with sonant vocalism with the verb стрѣшти² 4с*ц <894>, Prae стрижж, стрижешн ‘shear’ with pure vocalism. The verb стрѣшти 4с does not show unstable vocalism in the paradigm. However, in reality, it follows the pattern of влѣшти, врѣшти with sonant vocalism H(l) and H(r), with the lnf vocalic realization in the PRAE stem. However, for влѣшти and врѣшти the expected vocalic realization ѣ, ѣ is attested in OCS, while for стрѣшти the forms стрѣси, оустрыгъль are only found in Church Slavic (see Vaillant, § 213). Prae forms стрѣгж, стрѣжешн, are attested in the canon, while н- and ш-Part are not. The interpretation of the root <891> contradicts the conventions of § 677, *A note on the notion of sonant vocalism*, but ensures the morphophonological unity of стрѣшти 4с with the 4с* group of verbs with sonant vocalism, which are: врѣшти, влѣшти, тлѣшти, врѣшти, врѣсти, and чрѣти.

§ 768. Root <954>

тър	тръ	тир
търѣаше lmf, търѣешн Prae (for трѣти)	трѣти	вѣстирати

§ 769. Root <973>

тръг	трѣж	трѣс
истръгнжти	трѣжешн (for трѣсати)	трѣсати

§ 770. Root <1081>

чръп	чрѣп
чръпати, почръпешн (for почрѣти)	чрѣплиешн (for чръпати), почрѣти

Sonant roots with H(l) vocalism

§ 771. Root <77>

вль	вал	въл
вльна	валити	въллати

Alloform въл only in the lexeme въллати [въл.а.т.и] (spellouts въллаь, въллауѣ). See the comment to the verb въллати 7 (§ 515).

§ 772. Root <105>

вльк	влѣк	влак
влькѣши (for влѣшти), влькѣ	влѣшти	облакѣ

Contra Sadnik, roots <<1093>> влѣшти, <<1094>> влькѣ and <<1096>> вльчѣ are unified. See Vasmer, *волк, волчец*.

§ 773. Root <234>

дль	дъл
дльгота	продълити

Do not confuse <234> дль.г.ъ ‘long’ and <233> дль.г.ъ ‘debt’, дльжьбникъ.

§ 774. Root <312>

зел	зла
зеленѣ	злакѣ

§ 775. Root <364>

КОЛ	КАА	КАЛ
КОЛЪ, КОЛЪШИ (for КАЛТИ)	КАЛТИ	ЗАКАЛАТИ

§ 776. Root <516>

ЛЪП	ЛЪП
ПРИЛЪПЪТИ	ПРИЛЪПТИ

§ 777. Root <553>

МЕЛ	МАЉ	МАА
МЕЛЪШЕ Imf, МЕЛЪШИ Prae (for МАЉТИ)	МАЉТИ	МААТЪ

§ 778. Root <683>

ПЪЗ	ПЪЖ
ПЪЗАТИ	ПЪЖЕШИ (for ПЪЗАТИ)

§ 779. Root <693>

ПОЛ	(ПАА)*
ПОЛЪ	

§ 780. Root <842>

СОЛ	САА
СОЛЪ	СААДОСТЪ

* Alloform ПАА only in compounds (cf. ПААДЪНИЕ 'midday').

§ 781. Root <855>

СЪП	САЪП
ОСАЪПЪТИ	САЪПЪ

In this root, the sonant series H(j) is established etymologically; see details in § 680.

§ 782. Root <856>

СЪП	САЪПЪ
ВЪСАЪПАТИ*	ВЪСАЪПАЪШИ (for ВЪСАЪПАТИ)

* Contra Večerka and Sadnik, who give ВЪСАЪПАТИ; see details in § 508. Do not confuse roots <856> (ВЪСАЪПАТИ 'flow, stream') and <855> (САЪПЪ 'blind').

§ 783. Root <883>

СТЪЛ	СТЕЉ	СТИА
СТЪЛАТИ	СТЕЉЕШИ (for СТЪЛАТИ), ПОСТЕЉА	ПОСТИАТИ

§ 784. Root <962>

ТЪК	ТАЪК
ТАЪКЕШИ (for ТАЪКЪТИ), ТАЪКЪТИ	ТАЪКЪТИ

Pronominal roots

§ 785. Overview table

Table 785 lists the roots by number, indicating the paragraphs where these roots are treated in more detail.

Table 785. List of personal pronoun roots

Root number	Key word	§§	Root number	Key word	§§
7	АЗЪ	§ 786	628	ОВЪ	§ 796
82	ВАШЬ	§ 787	636	ОНЪ	§ 797
136	ВЬСЬ	§ 788	797	СЬ	§ 798
262	ДЪВА	§ 789	799	САМЪ	§ 799
343	*И, ЙЕГО, ЙНЕГО	§ 790	803	СВОИ	§ 800
350	ЙДИНЪ	§ 791	938	ТЪ	§ 801
359	КЪТО, ЧЪТО	§ 792	943	ТВОИ	§ 802
533	МОИ	§ 793	965	ТРОИЕ	§ 803
604	НАШЬ	§ 794	1112	ИНЪ	§ 804
624	ОБА	§ 795			

§786. Root <7>

АЗ
АЗЪ

Aberrant spellout
ѡзъ MAR Mk 11, 29.

§787. Root <82>

В-
ВАШЬ [(ВАШ).Ь]

ваш with an opaque suffixal extension; morphophonologically opaque в-initial wordforms that are part of unique lexemes тъ (ѡа, ѡаю, ѡасъ, etc.) and азъ (NDu ѡѡ) also belong to this root; cf. § 805, *A note on personal pronoun roots*.

§788. Root <136>

ВЬС		
ВЬСЬ [ВЬС.Ь]	ВЬСАКЪ [ВЬС.АК.Ъ] // ВЬСЪКЪ [ВЬС.ЪК.Ъ]	ВЬСАЧЬСКЪ // ВЬСЪЧЬСКЪ

Morphophonological anomaly. There is an anomalous variation in а- and ѡ-initial suffixes and terminals. Additionally, there is a confusion of variants with twofold terminals. In the lexeme вьсь some terminals are of the soft subtype, contrary to the morphophonological status of the final с. Cf. the declension of the lexeme вьсь (see § 320).

§789. Root <262>

ДЪВ		
ДЪВА	ДЪВАКЪ, ДЪВОИ	ДЪВОИЦА

§790. Root <343>

j, ð		
*И [j.Ь], ИЖЕ	ІАКЪ [j.АК.Ъ], ІАНИКЪ [(jЕЛ).ИК.Ъ]	ІЕТЕРЪ [(jЕТЕР).Ъ]

- 1) Nonstandard alloform ð in ad-prepositional wordforms of the lexemes *и and иже (see § 318).
- 2) jЕЛ and jЕТЕР with opaque suffixal extension.

§ 791. Root <350>

јѢД		
ЈЕДИНЪ//ЈЕДЫНЪ	ЈЕДИНАКЪ//ЈЕДЫНАКЪ	ЈЕДИНСТВО, ЈЕДИНАЧЪНЪ, ЈЕДИНІЕНІЕ

§ 792. Root <359>

К		
КЪТО [к.ъ.т.о], ЧЪТО [ч.ъ.т.о] КЪНИ [к.ъ.н.и], ЧНИ [ч.ъ.н.и]	КАКЪ [к.ак.ъ] КОЛИКЪ [(ко)л.ик.ъ]	КАКОВЪ, КОТОРЫИ [(кото)р.ы.и.ъ], ОУНИЧЪЖИТИ [оу.ни.чъ.ж.и.ти.и.], ОУНИЧЪЖАТИ, ОУНИЧЪЖЕНІЕ

- 1) к||ч alternation in the sole consonantal position.
- 2) кол and котор with an opaque suffixal extension; cf. the form котерааго 1× MAR Lk 11, 11 with the aberrant stem ((коте)р).
- 3) On the opaque stem ничъж see Vaillant, § 94.

§ 793. Root <533>

М	
МОИ [(м).о.и.ъ]	

Here also belong morphophonologically opaque м-initial wordforms as part of the unique lexeme азъ (ма, мене, мьнѣ, ми, etc.); see § 805, *A note on personal pronoun roots*.

§ 794. Root <604>

Н-	
НАШЪ [(наш).ъ]	

наш with an opaque suffixal extension. Here also belong morphophonologically opaque н-initial wordforms as part of the unique lexeme азъ (на, наю, насъ, etc.); see § 805, *A note on personal pronoun roots*.

§ 795. Root <624>

ОБ	
ОБА	ОБОИ [об.о.и.ъ], ОБОИКАКЪ [об.о.и.ак.ъ]

§ 796. Root <628>

ОВ	
ОВЪ [ов.ъ]	

Cf. the adverbial овамо, овогда and others.

§ 797. Root <636>

ОН	
ОНЪ [он.ъ]	

Cf. the compound онъсица 1× SUPR 286, 18. Cf. the adverbial онамо, онъде and others.

§ 798. Root <797>

С		
СЪ [с.ъ]	СИЦЪ [с.и.ц.ъ], СЕЛИКЪ [(се)л.ик.ъ]	СЕНИЦА [с.е.и.ц.а.], СИЦЕВЪ

- 1) сѣл with an opaque suffixal extension.
- 2) Cf. the compound онъсица 1× SUPR 286, 18.
- 3) Morphophonological anomaly: variant confusion with twofold terminals.

§ 799. Root <799>

САМ
САМЪ [САМ.Ъ]

§ 800. Root <803>

СВ, СОБ, СЕБ		
СА [(СА)]	СВОИ [(СВ).ОЈ.Ъ]	ПРИСВОЕНТИ, ПРИСВОЕНИЕ, СВОИСТВЪНЪ, СОВИТИ [(СОБ).И.Т.И], ПОСОБИЕ, ЖСОБИЦА, ПОСОБОВАТИ

Irregular alloformy: св, соб, себ (in себѣ, себѣ) and с (in the opaque са, си); see below § 805, *A note on personal pronoun roots*.

§ 801. Root <938>

Т		
ТЪ [Т.Ъ]	ТАКЪ [Т.АК.Ъ], ТОЛКЪ [(ТОЛ).ИК.Ъ]	ТАКОВЪ, ТАЧАН

тол with an opaque suffixal extension.

§ 802. Root <943>

ТВ, ТОБ, ТЕБ	
ТВОИ [(ТВ).ОЈ.Ъ], ТЪИ	

Irregular alloformy: тв, теб, тоб (in тебѣ, тобовѣ) and т (in the opaque тѣ, тѣ, ти); see below § 805, *A note on personal pronoun roots*.

§ 803. Root <965>

ТР	
ТРОИ [ТР.ОЈ.Ъ]	ТРИЕ [ТР.Ъ.Е], ТРОИНА, ТРОИЦА, ТРОИЧЪНЪ, ТРОИЧЪСКЪ, ТРЕТИИ [ТР.ЕГ.Ъ.Ъ], ТРЕТИЦА

§ 804. Root <1112>

ЫН		
ИНЪ	ИНАКЪ	ИНОКЪ [(И)Н.ОК.Ъ], ИНОКОСТЬ, ИНОЧЕСТВО, ИНОЧЪСКЪ, ВЪИНИНЪ [ВЪ.(И)Н.ЫН.Ъ], ОТЬИЖДЪНЪ

The shape of the root ын from the form отьиждьнъ [от.(ы)н.жд.ын.ъ], where жд is an adverbial marker.

§ 805. A note on personal pronoun roots

The etymology of personal pronouns is not entirely clear; likewise, different authors assign the pronouns to lexemes in different ways. Most wordforms are morphophonologically anomalous, and thus in this grammar have opaque stems (the boundaries between stems and suffixes or terminals are not established). In this grammar, the relation “belong to the same root” is identified with the purely formal feature “have identical initial consonant”. Thus, we have 1) “а-initial”: <7>; 2) “в-initial” combines Sadnik’s roots <<1050>> and <<1064>>; 3) “м-initial” combines Sadnik’s roots <<499>>, <<533>>, and <<558>>; 4) “н-initial”: Sadnik’s

root <<567>>; 5) “c-initial”: Sadnik’s root <<786>>; 6) “r-initial” combines Sadnik’s roots <<1020>> and <<1022>>.²³

Anomalous roots

§ 806. Overview table

Table 806 lists the roots by number, indicating the paragraphs where these roots are treated in more detail.

Table 806. List of anomalous roots

Root number	Key word	§§	Root number	Key word	§§
9	алъкати	§ 807	276	юсмь	§ 824
16	бъгти	§ 808	318	зми	§ 825
81	варигти	§ 809	329	игти	§ 826
85	вєлѣти	§ 810	482	лєшти	§ 827
107	влъхєвъ	§ 811	496	лнхъ	§ 828
111	воина	§ 812	654	пламень	§ 829
129	вѣпити	§ 813	763	ратъ	§ 830
132	навѣкижти	§ 814	791	оєрѣсти	§ 831
137	отъвѣтъ	§ 815	798	сѣсти	§ 832
147	оувѣнжти	§ 816	838	скжпость	§ 833
148	вѣзати	§ 817	885	стжпити	§ 834
153	гънати	§ 818	975	вѣтрѣтърати	§ 835
159	глаголати	§ 819	1010	оєрѣти	§ 836
216	дати	§ 820	1023	оужпити	§ 837
221	дворъ	§ 821	1108	штѣдѣти	§ 838
225	одѣти	§ 822	1113	ѣсти	§ 839
256	дрѣхъ	§ 823	1114	ѣти	§ 840

²³ The wordforms тѣ, тѣе, etc. cannot be located in Sadnik’s roots dictionary.

§807. Root <9>

АЛЪК
АЛЪКАТИ, АЛЪЧЫНЪ

The vocalism is etymologically sonant $H(l)$. The spellouts are unstable: canonical spellouts are rare; cf. aberrant forms ВЪЗАААК- МАР, ВЪЗААК-, ВЪСААК- ZOGR, ВЪЗЪААК- АС, ВЪЗААК- МАР, ЛАКОМЪ SUPR (1x: МИМОИДЫ СИІ ЛАКОМЪИ SUPR 41, 26).

The root АД <483> АДНИ has similar aberrant forms: АЛЪД, АД; see Večerka for the distribution of forms. Here also note the form АЛЪНИИ ‘fallow deer’ by Večerka and АЛЪНИИ by Meyer, reconstructed for the spellout МЪНИИ in SUPR: ЈДИНА ОТЪ МЪНИИ СЪЖШТИХЪ ВЪ ЛОДИНИИ SUPR 232, 30–233, 1; there are no other glosses. The lexeme АЛЪНИИ ‘fallow deer’ and, accordingly, its root, contra Večerka and following Sadnik, are not included in the PD.

§808. Root <16>

БЪВ	БЪИ	БЪИВ	БАВ	БЖД
ЗАБЪВЕНИЕ	БЪГИ	ЗАБЪВАТИ	ИЗБАВИТИ	БЖДЕШИ (ГОГ БЪГИ)

The vocalism is sonant $H(u)$. The anomalous alloform with the ж vocalism (cf. БЖД) is etymologically interpreted as n -infixation in the PRAE stem (cf. СЪСТИ: САДЖ <798>; ЛЕШТИ: АЛГЖ <482>; *РЪСТИ: *РАШТЖ <791>). Cf. also ВИ, БЪ, БЖ in the conjugation of the verb БЪГИТИ (see § 543–549).

§809. Root <81>

ВЪР	ВАР
ВЪРЪТИ	ВАРИТИ

The pairing of the alloforms ВЪР||ВАР is not adjacent either in the pure (ь||а) or in the sonant (ьр||ар) series. Etymologically, sonant vocalism is assumed. See Vasmer, *вар* II.

§810. Root <85>

ВЪЛ	ВЕЛ	ВОЛ
ДОВЪЛАЪТИ	ВЕЛАЪТИ	ВОЛИТИ

Cf. also the aberrant spellout ДОВЪАЛЪНЪ (regularly in SUPR, cf. 371, 19) in place of canonical ДОВОАЛЪНЪ; likewise ДЪВЪЛЪ- (ZOGR), ДЪВЪА- (МАР).

§811. Root <107>

ВЛЪХ	ВЛЪС
ВЛЪХВЪ	ВЛЪСНЖТИ

ВЛЪХ||ВЛЪС is a rare example of interlexemic alloformy of the root by the «к||ц» grades of velar palatalization; ВЛЪСНЖТИ (1x CLOZ, ЪЗЫЦИ ВЛЪСНЖШТЕІ CLOZ 1a, 15–16).

§812. Root <111>

ВОН	Ж
ВОНА	ОБЖХАТИ

The vocalism is sonant $H(n)$, initially ambivalent: в is the consonantal prothesis. Cf. the compound ВАЛОЖХАНИЕ [(ВАЛГ).о.(ж).х.а.н.ь.є] <27> x <111>.

§813. Root <129>

ВЪП	ЪП
ВЪПИТИ	ВЪЗЪПИТИ

Initially ambivalent: в is the consonantal prothesis. Etymologically sonant $H(u)$ (cf. Russian *выпь* ‘bittern’ and *воплъ* ‘scream’).

§814. Root <132>

ВЪК	ОҮЧ
НАВЪКНЖТИ	ОҮЧНТИ

The vocalism is nonstandard H(*u*). The alloformy is nonstandard: the vocalism alternation оҮ/ы is accompanied by a prothetic в word-initially and after vowels: ВЪКНЖТИ, НАВЪКНЖТИ. Likewise after consonant-final prefixes: cf. ИЗВЪКНЖТИ.

§815. Root <137>

ВЪ	ВЪТ
ОҮТЪВЪТИ	ПРИВЪТЪ

The vocalism is pure and stable. The alloformy is nonstandard: open ВЪ and closed ВЪТ alloforms with the Т consonantizer; cf. Д in Ъ/ЪД <1113>, Ъ/ЪД <1114>, И/ИД <329>, ДА/ДАД <216>, ДЪ/ДЪЖД <225>).

§816. Root <147>

ВЛА	СВА
ОҮВАНЖТИ	ПРИСВАНЖТИ

Anomalous extension of the initial C position. See Vasmer, *вянуть* (with the Indo-European *s-mobile*).

§817. Root <148>

ВЖЗ	ВАЗ	ЖЗ
СЪВЖЗЪ	ВАЗАТИ	ЖЗА

The vocalism is sonant H(*n/m*), initially ambivalent, в is the consonantal prothesis. Cf. aberrant ВЖЗА, СЪВЖЗЪ. Also here cf. СЪНОУЗЫНЪ <1012> by one of the etymological hypotheses.

§818. Root <153>

ГЪН	ГОН	ГАЙ	ЖЕН
ГЪНАТИ	ГОНИТИ	ИЗГАЙНАТИ	ЖЕНЕШИ (ГОГ ГЪНАТИ)

Anomalous instability of the initial C position: the vocalism alternation by advancement cooccurs with the consonantal alternation by the г||ж pairing in the initial C position. Normally, consonant alternations are only tied to the final C position. Accordingly, variation of the initial C position within the same root is impossible. This root is the only exception, because in all other cases such root pairs are split contra etymology (see § 873.6). Etymologically, the vocalism is sonant, as in ЖА/ЖЪН <302> (as in Sadnik); but there is no synchronic basis for finding sonant vocalism in <153>.

§819. Root <159>

(ГЛА.ГОЛ)
ГЛАГОЛАТИ

The vocalism is sonant H(*l*); there is reduplication; see § 41. Etymologically, root <159> is related to root <162> ГЛАСЪ (in which case с in ГЛАСЪ is a suffixal extension). See Vasmer, *голос* and *голололитъ*.

§820. Root <216>

ДА	ДАД
ДАТИ	ДАДАТЪ (ГОГ ДАТИ), ПОДАДИТЕЛЪ

The vocalism is pure, stable. The alloformy is nonstandard: open ДА and closed ДАД alloforms with the Д consonantizer, cf. И/ИД <329>, ДЪ/ДЪЖД <225>, Ъ/ЪД <1113>, Ъ/ЪД <1114>.

§ 821. Root <221>

ДВЬР	ДВОР	ДВАР̂
ДВЬРЬ	ДВОРЬ	ОУДВАР̂ІАТИ

The alloform pairing ДВЬР||ДВОР is not adjacent either in the pure (ь||о) or sonant (ьр||ор) series. Etymologically, sonant vocalism Н(и) is assumed. See Vasmer, *дверь*.

§ 822. Root <225>

ДѢ	ДЕЖА
ОДѢТИ, ДѢЛО	ОДЕЖДЕШИ (for ОДѢТИ), ОДЕЖДА

The vocalism is pure, unstable (е||ѣ). The alloforms are the open дѣ and closed деа with the consonantizer д; жа by substitutive softening; cf. и/ид <329>, да/даа <216>, ѣ/ѣа <1113>, ѣ/ѣа <1114>.

§ 823. Root <256>

ДРАХ	ДРАС
ДРАХАЪ	ДРАСАЕАЪ

ДРАХАЪ and ДРАСАЕАЪ are derivational doublets. ДРАХ||ДРАС is a rare example of interlexemic alloformy of the root by the velar palatalization grades «к||ц». See Večerka for distribution in sources.

§ 824. Root <276>

ЄС	С
ЄСТЪСТВО	СЖИТЪНЪ

Represented only by PRAE stems of the unique verb 'to be' (ѣсмы): in PRAE forms, the root cannot be parsed out (and the morphophonological spellout is not built); in шгт-Part the root is с: с.житт; cf. (с).житт.ьств.о and (ієс).т.ьств.о.

§ 825. Root <318>

ЗМ
ЗМИИ

The only root without a vowel outside of the pronominal ones; see etymology in Vasmer, *змея*.

§ 826. Root <329>

И	ИД
ИТИ	ИДЕШИ (for ИТИ)

The vocalism is pure and stable. The alloformy is nonstandard: open и and closed ид alloforms with the д consonantizer; cf. ѣ/ѣа <1113>, ѣ/ѣа <1114>, да/даа <216>, дѣ/дежа <225>.

§ 827. Root <482>

ЛОГ	ЛАГ	ЛЪГ	ЛЕГ	ЛАГ
СЪЛОГЪ	ПОЛАГАТИ	ЛЪГАТИ	ЛЕШТИ	ЛАГЖ (for ЛЕШТИ), ЛАЖАПА

An anomalous alloform with the so-called nasal infix in the PRAE stem and the nominal ЛАЖАПА (cf. БЪГИТИ — БЖДЖ <16>, СЪСТИ — СДЖ <798>, °РЪСТИ — °РАШТЖ <791>).

§ 828. Root <496>

ЛЪК	ЛИХ
СТЪЛЪКЪ	ЛИХЪ

The series isolation condition is violated: the final C position in different alloforms is occupied by members of different velar palatalization series. These are alloforms of the same root, contrary to the conventions of § 104.

§ 829. Root <654>

ПОЛ	ПЛА	ПАЛ	((ПОПЕЛ), (ПЕПЕЛ))
ПОЛЪТИ	ПАЛМЕНИ	ПАЛТИ	ПОПЕЛЪ, ПЕПЕЛЪ

The vocalism is sonant H(l). For ПОПЕЛЪ and ПЕПЕЛЪ with partial reduplication, the morphological parse is not established.

§ 830. Root <763>

РЕТ	РАТ
РЕТИТИ	РАТЬ

The vowel pairings is not embeddable in any sonant series. In the pure series, the pairing $\epsilon \sim a$ is not adjacent. The vocalism is etymologically sonant H(r). See Vasmer, *рать, ретивый*.

§ 831. Root <791>

РЪТ	РАШТ
СЪРЪСТИ	СЪРАШТА, СЪРАШТЕШИ (for СЪРЪСТИ)

An anomalous alloform with the so-called nasal infix in the PRAE stem and the nominal СЪРАШТА (cf. БЪГИТИ — БЖДЖ <16>, СЪСТИ — СДЖ <798>, ЛЕШТИ — ЛАГЖ <482>).

§ 832. Root <798>

САД	СЪДА	СЕД	САД
САДЪ	СЪСТИ	ОСЕДЪЛАТИ	САДЕШИ (for СЪСТИ)

An anomalous alloform with the so-called nasal infix in the PRAE stem (cf. БЪГИТИ — БЖДЖ <16>, ЛЕШТИ — ЛАГЖ <482>, °РЪСТИ — °РАШТЖ <791>). ОСЕДЪЛАТИ: contra Sadnik, roots <<788>> ОСЕДЪЛАТИ and <<795>> СЪСТИ are unified; see Vasmer, *седло, сидеть*.

§ 833. Root <838>

СКЖП	СКЮП
СКЖПОСТЬ	ПРОСКЮПСТВО

СКЖПОСТЬ 'greed' 1x in EUCH, ПРОСКЮПСТВО 1x in SUPR.

§834. Root <885>

СТЖП	СТОП	СТЕП
СТЖПИТИ	СТОПА	СТЕПЕНЬ

The vocalism is mixed: sonant H(*n/m*) and pure, $\sigma \sim \epsilon$.

§835. Root <975>

((ТРЪ.ТЪР))
ВЪТРЪТЪРАТИ

The vocalism is sonant H(*r*); there is reduplication, cf. из.мрь.мръ.т.и <539>, гла.гол.ъ <159>, see § 41. Etymologically, the root is a borrowing from Greek τάρταρος.

§836. Root <1010>

ΟΥ
ΟΒΟΥΤИ

The only root with no consonants in any of its alloforms. Contra Sadnik, where ΟΒΟΥΤИ is unified with ΟΝΟΥШТА [[(ΟΝΟΥШТ).а]. See Vasmer, *обуть, онуча*. Etymologically, the vocalism is sonant; cf. Church Slavic ОБЪВЕНЪ. In OCS Вобовѣнъ. See § 509.

§837. Root <1023>

ХЖП	ХАП
ОХЖПИТИ	ХАПАТИ

The vocalism is mixed: sonant H(*n/m*) and pure а. ОХЖПИТИ 'grab' for ОХЖПИВЪ SUPR 1X; ХАПАТИ for ХАПЪШТЕ SUPR 1X; ПОХЖПИТИ for ПОХЖПИТЪ EUCH 1X.

§838. Root <1108>

ШГЛАД	ШГЕД
ШГЛАДЪТИ	ШГЕДРЪ

The vocalism is mixed: sonant H(*n/m*) in ШГЛАД and pure ϵ in ШГЕД. Contra Sadnik, ШГЛАД/ШГЕД are not unified with СКЖД <840>; the latter root has stable vocalism (according to Sadnik, СКЖД, ШГЛАД, ШГЕД all belong to the same root).

§839. Root <1113>

Ъ	ЪД
ІАТЪ	ІАСТИ, ОВЪДЪ, ІАДЪ

The vocalism is pure and stable. The alloformy is nonstandard: open Ъ and closed ЪД with the consonantizer Д; cf. и/иД <329>, да/даД <216>, дѣ/дѣжД <225>, Ъ/ЪД <1114>. The root cannot be parsed out in PRAE forms of the unique verb ІАСТИ (the morphophonological spellout is not built). Contra Sadnik, the roots <<15>> ІАСТИ and <<17>> ІАДЪ are unified.

§840. Root <1114>

Ъ	ЪХ	ЪД
ІАТИ	See § 567	

The vocalism is pure and stable. The alloformy is nonstandard: open Ъ and closed ЪД with the consonantizer Д, (which also occurs elsewhere, cf. Ъ/ЪД <1113>, да/даД <216>, дѣ/дѣжД <225>, и/иД <329>), and ЪХ. Only in forms of the unique verb ІАТИ; see § 565–569.

Suffixes

§841. General

The catalog shown in Table 841.1 shows the suffixes in the following order: first are listed suffixes with a carrier consonant (§ 844–859), then suffixes without a carrier consonant (§ 860–861).²⁴ Within the first class, suffixes are listed alphabetically by the carrier consonant.

Table 841.1. Overview table of suffixes

Suffix number	Suffix	§§	Suffix number	Suffix	§§
{1}	оБ, ЬБ	§ 844	{30}	ЪИИ	§ 853
{2}	в	§ 845	{31}	ЪИИ	§ 853
{3}	аВ	§ 845	{32}	р, ор/ер	§ 854
{4}	иВ	§ 845	{33}	аѢ	§ 854
{5}	г, иг, ог	§ 846	{34}	ЪИѢ	§ 854
{6}	еЖ	§ 846	{35}	с/ес	§ 855
{7}	д, Ьд	§ 847	{36}	сТ, осТ/есТ	§ 855
{8}	зН, иЗН, ЬЗН	§ 848	{37}	ЬСК	§ 855
{9}	ај	§ 849	{38}	сТВ, ЪсТВ/ЬсТВ	§ 855
{10}	ој/еј	§ 849	{39}	т	§ 856
{11}	ьј	§ 849	{40}	аТ	§ 857
{12}	Ъј	§ 849	{41}	иТ	§ 857
{13}	к, аК	§ 850	{42}	оТ/еТ	§ 857
{14}	иК	§ 850	{43}	ЪТ/ЬТ	§ 857
{15}	оК	§ 850	{44}	х/Ъх	§ 858
{16}	Ък/Ьк	§ 850	{45}	иХ	§ 858
{17}	Ък	§ 850	{46}	оХ	§ 858
{18}	л	§ 851	{47}	оУХ	§ 858
{19}	еЛ	§ 851	{48}	(Ъш/Ьш)/ВЪш	§ 858
{20}	Ъл/Ьл	§ 851	{49}	иШТ	§ 859
{21}	Ъл	§ 851	{50}	ѡШТ, ѡШТ	§ 859
{22}	Ъл	§ 851	{51}	а	§ 860
{23}	л	§ 852	{52}	Ъ	§ 860
{24}	иМ, оМ/еМ	§ 852	{53}	и	§ 860
{25}	ьМ	§ 852	{54}	ѡ	§ 860
{26}	и/еИ	§ 853	{55}	(оВ/еВ)/оУ	§ 861
{27}	иИ	§ 853	{56}	ЪВ/ЪИ	§ 861
{28}	оИИ	§ 853	{57}	а/еИ	§ 861
{29}	ЪИ/ЬИ	§ 853	{58}	аТ/а	§ 861

According to their CVC schema, suffixes can be *standard*, which agree with the CVC norm, and have the shape VC, and *nonstandard*, including finally am-

²⁴ The carrier consonant is the first or only consonant of the suffix.

bivalent ones. All possible CVC schemata are shown in Table 841.2. Standard and nonstandard suffixes can be each other's alloforms.

Table 841.2. Classification of suffixes by CVC schema

	With carrier C		No carrier C	
	VC	C	V	H
Stable CVC schema	аГ	в	ѣ	(ѡв/ѡв)/ѡг
Unstable CVC schema	VC ~ C		H ~ HC	
	ѡсГ/ѡсГ, сГ		ѡ/ѡГ	

§ 842. Alloformy of suffixes

Alloformy claims for suffixes have no rigorous basis. The solutions adopted in this book are shown below in tables that show suffix inventories. Although the solutions are arbitrary, let us note some general principles.

1. Two suffixal formatives that show morphophonological variation are treated as alloforms that represent the same suffix. Such are twofold suffixes, e.g. сГ/ѡГ, and initially- or finally-ambivalent suffixes, e.g. и/ѡи (initially ambivalent) or ѡГ/ѡ (finally-ambivalent).

2. Two suffixal formatives that show standard segmental alloformy of the final consonant are treated as alloforms representing the same suffix. Such are suffixes that show different grades of the same series of the velar palatalization alternation, e.g. ик||ич||иц, and suffixes that show different grades of the same series of the substitutive softening alternation, e.g. ѡл||ѡл̣.

3. Two suffixal formatives are treated as alloforms of the same suffix if, in a large proportion of their occurrences, they manifest the same grammatical function. Such are participial suffixes {24} (им, ѡм/ѡм) and {50} (жштГ, ѡштГ).

Let us list the suffixes where unification of alloforms does not follow from these general principles.²⁵ These are:

(ѡв, ѡв) {1}	(к, ѡк) {13}
(г, иГ, ѡГ) {5}	(р, ѡр/ѡр) {32}
(ѡ, ѡѡ) {7}	(сГ, ѡсГ/ѡсГ) {36}
(зн, изн, ѡзн) {8}	(сГв, ѡсГв/ѡсГв) {38}

Note that the term “suffix” can, in the general case, refer, first, to the full family, including a nonstandard one, e.g. the suffix (г, иГ, ѡГ); secondly, to the pair

²⁵ Recall that many characteristics of suffixes that could be taken as evidence for or against unification remain unobservable or unknown for OCS; primarily, these are the accentual properties.

or triplet of standard alloforms that are smaller than the full family, e.g. $\text{ом}/\text{эм}$ or $\text{ов}/\text{ев}$; and finally, an alloform by itself, e.g. the suffix ов .

When families are shown, morphophonological variants are listed, but standard segmental ones are not. For this reason, for example, we write $(\text{к}, \text{ак})$ and not $(\text{к} \parallel \text{ч} \parallel \text{ц}, \text{ак} \parallel \text{ач} \parallel \text{ац})$, or (ελ) and not $(\text{ελ}, \text{ελ̂})$.

§843. On the intersection of suffix families

The alloformy relation adopted here was set up in such a way that different suffix families would not intersect; in other words, so that the shape of the alloform would unambiguously determine the suffix family to which the alloform belongs in all its occurrences. However, in several isolated cases this ideal was not reached. Let us list them.

Case 1°. The suffixal formative ен belongs to the family {26} (cf. нес.ен.ъ , пъш.ен.иц.а), as well as to the family {57} (cf. им.ен.ит.ъ).

Case 2°. The suffixal formative а belongs to the family {57} (cf. им.а) as well as to the family {58} (cf. от.роч.а).

Case 3°. The suffixal formative ъш belongs to the family {44} (cf. вет.ъш.а.т.и) as well as to the family {48} (cf. нес.ъш.и).

Luckily, all these cases are such that one of the families is represented by a highly limited group of lexemes, and are given by list in the suffix inventories.²⁶

Suffixes with a carrier consonant

§844. Group 1, carrier consonant в

Formative	Examples	Count
{1} $\text{ов}, \text{ев}$	$\text{оу'з'ълобити}, \text{з'ълобь}, \text{з'ълобеньъ}, \text{з'ълоба}, \text{оз'ълоб'ление}, \text{ж'тробеньъ}, \text{ж'троба};$ $\text{тат'ьба}, \text{жад'ьба}, \text{страд'ьба}, \text{сжд'ьба}, \text{таненьъ}, \text{страж'ьба},$ $\text{слоу'ж'ьба}, \text{дрои'ж'ьба}, \text{мольба}, \text{ц'б'льба}, \text{сват'ьба}, \text{врач'ьба}, \text{алч'ьба},$ $\text{л'б'чьба}, \text{валшьбеньъ}, \text{валшьба}$	≈ 40

²⁶ Segmentless substitutive softening adds somewhat to the number of intersections of suffix assortments, and this is a source of some indeterminacy. For example, in the lexeme радоща , it is formally impossible to tell whether ошт represents the suffix ост {36} or the suffix от {42} (the solution adopted is that this occurrence of ошт represents ост {36} and not от {42}). Likewise with поровощати (the solution adopted is that this occurrence of ошт represents от {42} and not ост {36}), or овыштъ (the solution adopted is that this occurrence of ышт represents ыск {37} and not ьт {43}). A few other cases of intersection, without any actual indeterminacy are possible due to consonantal alternations.

Notes on individual suffixes

{1} об: only with roots зъл and жтр.

{1} ъб: сждѣба <936> only in PS SIN. There are no canonical spellouts; spellouts with vocalism of the type сждѣб- are also absent. Cf. ѡтѣ лица твоего сждѣба моѣ издетѣ PS SIN 16, 2; сждобѣ твоиѣ ради PS SIN 47, 13.

§845. Group 2, carrier consonant в

Formative	Examples	Count
{2} в	давѣць, ставило, съставъ, съставлѣннѣ, рѣбитѣ, ловитѣ, дръжава, кричава, лѣстница, брѣтѣ, молѣтѣ, ѡцѣлѣвати, съпастѣ, листвѣ, чювьство, лиѣва, жрѣтѣ, оумрътвѣти, вѣтвѣнѣ, дѣва, вѣтѣ, плѣвелъ, пѣвьць, жѣтѣ, влѣхѣ, пиво	≈170
{3} ав	дѣрава, крѣвавъ, сѣднѣвъ, лѣжавъ, тѣнавъ, поѣнава, трѣсавѣ, скверѣнавъ	≈20
{4} ив	любѣвъ, правѣдѣвъ, гладѣвъ, завѣдѣливъ, жрѣдѣвъ, лѣживъ, милѣстѣвъ, зѣловѣвъ, разѣумѣвъ, лѣнѣвъ, лѣпотѣвъ, трѣпѣливъ, опасѣвъ, пѣготѣвъ, прѣтивѣство, прѣтивлѣннѣ, лѣстѣвъ, тѣтѣва, полѣчивъ, рѣчивъ, сѣчивѣ, тѣштѣвъ	≈70

Notes on individual suffixes

{2} в: 1) often acts as a consonantizer in verbal stems, cf. пиво, избивати, дръжава, etc.; 2) the ѡцѣлѣвати model is found in the following words: повелѣвати, сѣдолѣвати, прѣдолѣвати, одолѣвати, измѣдрѣвати, разѣумѣвати, прѣразѣумѣвати, ѡцѣлѣвати, оцѣпѣнѣвати.

{3} ав: not to be confused with the suffix sequence а.в, cf. раскопавати [раз.коп.а.в.а.т.и]. The suffix ав occurs in the eight listed items and their derivatives. In the final C position of the preceding formative, the grades are к, С°, and С°.

{4} ив: not to be confused with the suffixal marker of the new ш-Part (type люб.и.вѣ], люб.и.вѣш.и). Outside ш-Part, the sequence и.в is only found in при.вѣп.и.в.а.т.и <129>.

Commentary on individual lexemes

дръжава [дръж.ѣ.в.а] <250> from дръжати, as well as кричава <437> from кричати.

любѣвъ [люб.и.вѣ] <530>. Do not confuse with the new ш-Part люб.и.вѣ]; люб.и.вѣ is a plain adjective, cf. ти любѣви сѣтѣ пѣрѣмѣ SUPR 338, 2–3; праздѣнѣкомѣ любѣвѣжѣ црѣкѣвѣ хрѣстѣсовѣжѣ веселѣтѣ SUPR 318, 20–22.

плѣвелъ [плѣ.в.елѣ] <685>. The consonantizer в is found also in other nominal bases with this root, cf.: плѣва, плѣвѣница, плѣвѣнѣ, as well as in Prae плѣ.в.ж.

поѣнава [поѣ.ав.а] <664>, also поѣнавѣ the only base where the basic component in front of the suffix ав shows the С° grade.

тѣнавъ [тѣм.и.ав.ѣ] <952>, cf. тѣмѣно and тѣмѣннѣ.

тѣтѣва [тѣт.и.в.а] <1007>. On the verb тѣти see Vaillant, §216.

§ 846. Group 3, carrier consonant г, ж

Formative	Examples	Count
{5} г, иг, ог	длъгъ, длъгота, звашти, продължити; верига, острогъ	≈10
{6} ѣж	млатежъ, папежъ	<10

Notes on individual suffixes

{5} г: this suffix only in длъ.г and звл.г and derivatives.

{5} иг, ог: these suffixes in only the two listed lexemes. Cf. the opaque ((мъног)), ((чрътог)), ((сапог)), ((хъдож)), and also ((воштаг)), ((кръчаг)). A special group is formed by the following Germanic borrowings: ((кълаасъ).ь, ((пѣнаасъ).ь, ((кънаасъ).ь, ((кладаасъ).ь (and derivatives кънажъ and пѣнажъникъ).

{6} ѣж only папежъ <656>, млатежъ <597> and derivatives.

Commentary on individual lexemes

звашти [звл.г.т.и] <310> 'relate', cf. звонъ [звон.ъ] with a different grade of Н(н) vocalism. A hapax occurrence of suffixed lexical component among class 4c verbs.

верига [вер.иг.а] <89> 'chain' (SUPR and AS).

острогъ [ост.р.ог.ъ] <646> 'picket fence'.

§ 847. Group 4, carrier consonant д

Formative	Examples	Count
{7} д, ѣд	бридъкъ, чоудо, клада, гроздъ, пладъ, праздънъ, прѣдънѣ, сладъкъ, оуслаждати, стадо; правьда, прѣмьднѣвъ, вражьда	≈50

Notes on individual suffixes

{7} ѣд: is only found in the listed stems and their derivatives. Cf. овьдо [(овьд).о] <626>, listed as opaque, even though it is possible to parse as (овь).ѣд.о for root <623>: (овь).ышт.ь, (овь).ышт.ѣн.ь.ѣ (or (овь).д.о, cf. Vasmer, *обиход*, and also *обдо*).

Note the morphophonologically unusual spellout страждѣ, 1× SUPR 91, 29–30 for canonical стражьба, 1× PS SIN 76, 5. In Večerka we find the item стражьба for the above gloss from SUPR.

Commentary on individual lexemes

бридъкъ [бри.д.ъ.к.ъ] <49> 'sharp'. Hapax gloss in SUPR: бѣаше же и въздохъ стоуденъ и часъ бридъкъ (76, 13–14). The verb брити is not attested; to the same root must be assigned also бритва [(бри).т.в.а] 'razor': ꙗко бритва изощрена сътвориша еси лестъ PS SIN 51, 4.

прѣдънѣ [прѣ.д.ъ.нѣ.ь] <719>. Cf. прѣждънѣ [(прѣ).жд.ъ.нѣ.ь], see § 862.

§ 848. Group 5, carrier consonant *z*

Formative	Examples	Count
{8} зн, изн, ъзн	богазнь, болѣзнь, жизнь, любузнь, главизна, кагазнь, пригазнь, кѣзнь, кѣизнь, оукоризна	≈20

Notes on individual suffixes

{8} *изн* only in *главизна* [(глав).изн.а].

{8} *ѣзн* only in *любузнь* [(люб).ѣзн.ъ].

{8} *зн* in *оукоризна* [оу.кор.и.зн.а] and others.

§ 849. Group 6, carrier consonant *j*

Formative	Examples	Count
{9} ај	размъшлѣан, сълоучан, хѣдатан, лажая, беспосагага	≈20
{10} ој/еј	свои, присвоѣние, троица; сенца	≈20
{11} ѣј	дивна, змѣна, мрѣкорна, коуциа, дѣбие, шѣствѣе, безгоднѣ, люднѣ, чаганнѣ, знаннѣ, станнѣ, вѣнѣ, львѣи, жрѣбѣи, сѣдѣи, пѣси, дрожнѣа, оуѣшинѣа, божѣи, чѣи	≈890
{12} ѣј	верѣѣа; соуѣѣи, оуѣѣи, тачан; старѣѣиѣа	<10

Notes on individual suffixes

{9} *ај*: 1) suffixal stems in *ај* are mixed with expanded PRAE stems in *а*: cf. раз.(мъшл).а.т.и, раз.(мъшл).ај.ѣши — раз.(мъшл).ај.ѣ (1× SUPR with aberrant spellout *розъмъшлѣан*); 2) in stems such as *хѣдатан*, *повѣдатан*, there is the composition *ат.ај*, where the initial *а* in *ај* has no relation to the theme. Such are also *исхѣдатан*, *позоратан*; cf. also *ратан* [(ра).т.ај.ѣ].

{10} *ој/еј* is a twofold suffix, part of the set of nominal twofold terminals, cf. ISgf *ој.ѣ/еј.ѣ* (not included in the counts). In nominal stems the distribution follows the twofold rule; however, *еј*, contra this rule, is found in *сенца* [(с).еј.иц.а] (hарах gloss *сенци* Mk 6, 25 AS); here note also the aberrant spellout in *SAV*: *трѣцеѣѣ* [(тр).еј.иц.еј.ѣ] (Mt 26, 44) for *трѣцеѣѣ* [(тр).ој.иц.еј.ѣ] (this spellout is also treated as erroneous for *трѣтѣицеѣѣ*).

{11} *ѣј* — 1) often used in borrowed stems, cf. *мрѣкорна* [(мрѣкор).ѣ.а], *коуциа* [(коуц).ѣ.а] (cf. medieval Greek *κουκκία* Pl ‘beans’); 2) is found in bi-componential inflections of the standard twofold set of terminals (cf. *пѣт.ѣ.ѣ*); 3) the suffix *ѣј* should be distinguished from combinations of *ѣ* and *и* with epenthetic *і*. In particular, in old comparatives we have *ѣ*: *волѣи* [вол.ѣ.ѣ], likewise *гоѣи*, *мѣѣи* etc., and in the adjective *проѣи* [проѣ.ѣ.ѣ] (2/a *plenum tantum*).

{12} *ѣј* forms a substantive stem only in *верѣѣа*. In all other cases the stems are adjectival, viz. the new Compar, cf. *тачан* [(т).аѣ.ѣ.ѣ], *старѣѣиѣа*

[(стар).ѣј.ьш.ин.а]. The combination of the suffix *ѣ* with epenthetic *ј* is found in the stem *говѣинъ* [гов.ѣј.ьн.ъ] for *говѣти* <178>.

Commentary on individual lexemes
лажа [(лаж).ај.а] ‘broody hen’ <482> 1× AS Mt 23, 37 and *вєспосага* [вєз.(посаг).ај.а] ‘unmarried’ <698> 1× SUPR 391, 27 are morphophonologically anomalous. First, the suffix *ај* is supposed to attach to masculine substantives. Second, the substantive stem in *лажа* coincides with the truncated

PRAE stem, which is unusual for nominal stem formation. Cf. *сѣрѣшта* (see § 865).
оуѣшнина [оуѣ.ьш.ьј.ин.а] <1016>, cf. *изоуѣшнина* [из.оуѣ.ьш.ин.а], both words 1× SUPR.

§850. Group 7, carrier consonant *к*

Formative	Examples	Count
{13} к, ак	бракъ, врачънъ, злакъ, призракъ, зрьцало, прокъ, рѣка; вєсакъ, дѣвакъ, єдиначънъ, тачан	≈30
{14} ик	великъ, мѣченикъ, тѣчъникъ, златникъ, ближника, жжика, великота, величїе, рабчїиштъ; гжѣнница, грѣлица, пѣтица, вратаѣница, тронца, трончънъ; кораблѣнъ, снцъ	≈310
{15} ок	гѣбокъ, гржєтокъ, инокъ, иночєскъ, ожєсточити	≈10
{16} ѣк/ѣк	гладѣкъ, кротѣкъ, тетѣка, шипѣкъ, шипѣчанъ, отѣгѣчнїи; тѣжѣкъ, горѣкъ, отѣжѣчати; ѣдѣца, борѣць, рожѣць, чѣдѣце, дѣбрьца, конѣчїна, овѣца, овѣчь, цѣѣтъць, цѣѣтъчанъ, вѣнѣчати, грѣнѣчѣрь, корабѣчїи, крѣмѣчїи, кѣнїгѣчїи	≈170
{17} ѣк	владѣка, владѣчїница, камѣкъ	<10

Notes on individual suffixes

{13} *к, ак*: the alloform *к* is found after open roots, cf. *зр.к.ъ*, just as *ц* in *зрь.ц.а.л.о* 1× SUPR; *ак* is found only in pronominal stems. The anomalous shape of the suffix with an initial *ѣ* in pronominal stems with the basic component *вєс*, as in *вєс.ѣк.ъ*. The roots *вєс* <136> and *с* <797> show a morphological anomaly.

{14} *ик, иц*. The alloform *иц* is used as a marker of nominal stems in feminine lexemes. Otherwise only in *кораблѣнъ* and *снцъ*; see more details in § 864.

{15} *ок*: these are *вєсокъ, гѣбокъ, гржєтокъ, жєстокъ, инокъ* [їьн.ок.ъ], *широкъ*, and their derivatives.

{16} *ѣк/ѣк*. This is a twofold suffix; see details in § 863. The combinations *ѣк + ѣј/ѣк + ѣј* are found in the following names of occupations: *крѣмѣчїи, корабѣчїи, шарѣчїи, самѣчїи, кѣнїгѣчїи*; cf. also the opaque *сокачїи*; see details in Vaillant, § 63, 133. On these suffixes as nominal stem markers see details in § 864.

{17} **ЪК**: this suffix is found only in the lexemes listed above and their derivatives. Cf. ((МОТЪК)).А, ((ЈАЗЪК)).Ъ.

Commentary on individual lexemes
всѣакъ. This lexeme has the doublet **всѣкъ**.
 For distribution in sources see Vaillant, § 99.
 See the suffix {13} above.

дѣвакъ. No such headword in Večerka and Sadnik, who register the lexeme **кагръличништѣ** for the following glosses: **дати жрѣтвѣж** [...] **дѣва кагръличништа ли дѣва птенъца голъжна** Lk 2, 24 **МАР** (likewise in ZOGR and AS). Cf. the same verse in **SAV**: **дати**

жрѣтвѣж [...] **ѣ гръличница** ли **ѣ птенъца голъжна**. See Vaillant, § 109.

сницѣ. Cf. the derivational doublet **сникъ**, attested in Church Slavic sources. See Vaillant, § 99.

ближника and **жжика**. These are the only lexemes where the basic component in front of suffix **ик** shows C° grade, while having C° grade in the suffixless base. On segmentless substitutive softening see § 864.

§851. Group 8, carrier consonant л

Formative	Examples	Count
{18} л	дѣло, дѣлати, начало, обила, рало, рыло, дрѣхлъ, распалина, осла, число, гжсли, отъраслъ, недѣла, зръцало, жзилиштѣ	≈110
{19} ѣл	дрѣселъ, веселъ, пѣвелъ, обрѣтелъникъ; оучитѣлъ	≈100
{20} ъл/ъл	оседѣлати, жгълъ, жгъльнъ, игълинъ; козьлъ, мъдълость, свѣтълъ, разоумьанвѣ	≈40
{21} ъл	МОТЪЛА	Only 1
{22} ѣл	дѣтѣлъ, гыбѣлъ, кжпѣлъ, печаль, обрѣтѣлъ, приобрѣтѣлъ	≈20

Notes on individual suffixes

{18} **л**: this is the regular л-Part suffix (л-Part forms are not included in the counts). Outside of л-Part stems, the C-initial suffix **л** is possible both in V-final stems (cf. **дѣло**), and in C-final stems (cf. **гжсли** [гжд.т.л.и]).

{19} **ѣл**: outside of combinations of the type **т + ѣл** (such as **оучитѣлъ**), there are slightly over 10 lexemes. On **т + ѣл** combinations see § 864 below.

{20} **ъл/ъл**: this is a twofold suffix; see § 863, *A note on secondary twofold rule*. Cf. opaque **скждълъ** [(скждъл)].Ъ 'sherd' (from Latin *scandula*//*scandella*).

{21} **ъл**: only in **МОТЪЛА** <545>.

{22} **ѣл**: marks substantival feminine stems of the monovariate declension; otherwise only in **кысѣлъ** 2/а. Cf. the opaque **скрижалъ** [(скрижал)].Ъ.

Commentary on individual lexemes

осла [ост.л.а] <646>; cf. **остръ**.

число [чит.т.л.о] <1076>.

гжсли [гжд.т.л.и] <214>.

масло [маз.т.л.о] <536>.

мъдълость [(мъд).ъл.ост.ъ] <572>. Contra Večerka, who gives the headword **мъдлость**. The cluster **дл**, based on the spellout found in **CLOZ**, is prohibited in the canon, cf. **вѣд.л.ъ** [вѣлъ]. The shape of the suffix with front vowel is found in such forms as **завидьанвѣ**, **разоумьанвѣ**, **свѣтълъ**.

нєдѣлѣа [нє.(дѣ).л.а] <225>, this is the only lexeme where the suffix л is accompanied by segmentless substitutive softening in its paradigmatic shape; see § 864.

осєдѣлати [об.(сєд).ѣл.а.т.и] <798>. Sadnik splits осєдѣлати <<788>> from сѣсти <<795>>. In the RD, these two roots are merged. For осєдѣлати only two glosses are attested in SUPR (221, 17; 51, 3), both with ѣ; see § 863, *A note on secondary twofold rule*.

обрѣтѣльникъ [об.(рѣт).єл.ьн.ик.ъ] and приборѣтѣльникъ [при.об.(рѣт).єл.ьн.ик.ъ].

Here, the combination ел + secondary twofold rule, but without suffix т: the expected *nomen agentis* marker -тєль (and, further, also тєльнѣк.ъ) is supplied by the right edge of the root; cf. властєль [(влад).т.єл.ь]. Note that both lexemes are represented by hapax glosses in SUPR, respectively: обрѣтѣльнѣкъ 186, 21 (spellout without kamora), and приборѣтѣльнѣкъ SUPR 160, 24 (kamorated spellout). There are no other substantives ending in єл.ьн.ик.ъ. Do not confuse with обрѣтѣль [об.(рѣт).ѣл.ь], приборѣтѣль.

§ 852. Group 9, carrier consonant м

Formative	Examples	Count
{23} м	врѣмѣа, знаменитѣ, писмѣа, племеньнѣ, роумѣнѣ	≈30
{24} им, ом/ем	любиомѣ, пасомѣ; питомѣ, чаємьнѣ	<10
{25} ьм	гарьмѣ, крѣчьмѣгавати	<10

Notes on individual suffixes

{23} м: found in a limited set of substantival stems; see the list below under suffix {57} ѣ/єн. All these stems from lexemes with anomalous declension of the type врѣмѣа 0/n; corresponding lexemes are not attested for stems зна.м.єн and пла.м.єн. Outside of this list is only роумѣнѣ [(роуд).м.ѣн.ъ] <781>.

{24} им, ом/єм: 1) this is the regular м-Part suffix (м-Part forms are not included in the counts); the alloforms ом/єм are distributed by the twofold rule, the alloforms (ом/єм) ~ им are distributed by the class of the parent verb; 2) чаємьнѣ <1061> (1× EUCH) is the only case where a м-Part stem is expanded by a different suffix (see § 865, *A note on nominal stems and verbal platforms*).

{25} ьм: only found in гарьмѣ [(гар).ьм.ъ] <347> and derivatives, and in крѣчьмѣгавати [(крѣч).ьмл.а.в.а.т.и] <449>.

§ 853. Group 10, carrier consonant н

Formative	Examples	Count
{26} н/ен	страна, вина, вълна, браньскъ, останъкъ, близньць, грознь, казнь, пленица, оупразнити, стъгна, сънь, тина, тинавъ, оуснианъ, желъзнь, даганне, исповѣданне, постигнжти, дань, ложесно, роуно, скверна, сланъ, вѣньць, зрьно; оученикъ, сваштеникъ, чьтение	≈950
{27} ин	храмина, година, истина, осьлатинъ, сѣдинавъ, звѣринъ, звѣриньскъ, тишина	≈80
{28} оун	пѣстоунъ	Only 1
{29} ън/ьн	гжгънивъ, окржгънъ, соукъно; вѣдънь, разбонникъ, брашьно, брѣжънь, брвьно, чьстьнь, грѣшьнь, говѣинъ, лъжънь; гоумьно, ръвнителъ, съвѣтъникъ; близънъ, дньсьнъ	≈870
{30} ън	льгън, равън, кръстиянън, милостън, оустънъскъ	≈20
{31} ѣн	гжсѣница, дрѣвѣнъ, оловѣнъ, мѣдѣнъ, стьклѣница, жателанинъ, камѣнъ, пнианъ, пръвѣньць, тимѣно, трынѣнъ, оусмѣнъ, оуснианъ, роумѣнъ, шипъчанъ, цвѣтъчанъ, рожанъ, межданъ	≈40

Notes on individual suffixes

{26} н/ен is the regular initially ambivalent н-Part suffix, cf. вълнѣнъ.ен.ъ, but призьв.а.н.ъ (н-Part forms are not included in the counts). Frequently, the н-Part stem is found in further derivatives, cf. даганне, трыпѣнне (see § 865, *A note on nominal stems and verbal platforms*). Outside н-Part, the C-initial variant is possible after C-final stems, cf. (плет).н.иц.а [пленица], (съп).н.ъ [сънь].

{26} ен: the alloform ен of this suffix is not always easily distinguishable from ен, the alloform of the finally ambivalent suffix ен/а {57}. The majority of ен occurrences that belong to suffix {26} are originally participial stems (there is no clarity only for оудѣвѣнъ <271> and стоудѣнъ <905>); the set of stems that contain the alloform ен of the suffix ен/а {57} is given by list (see lists under the suffix ен/а, § 861).

{26} н: outside н-Part stems is found as part of the verbal marker н.ж, cf. постигнжти. Outside of verbal stems (see § 865, *A note on nominal stems and verbal platforms*) there are slightly under 100 lexemes, cf. пленица, страна, вълна.

{27} ин: in most cases is the marker of substantival feminine lexemes of the twofold declension, cf. храмина, истина. Otherwise for adjectives, cf. игълинъ, зминъ, and in nouns referring to persons, воинъ, поганинъ.

{28} оун: only in пѣстоунъ.

{29} ѣн/ьн is a twofold suffix (see § 863, *A note on secondary twofold rule*). See § 864 on forms with the marker -ьнъ.

{30} ѣн: this suffix marks morphologically feminine (2/f*) lexemes in the twofold declension, and is always accompanied by segmentless substitutive

softening of the final *н*. The kamoration is preserved in further derivatives, as in *поустъѣиѣникъ* (see § 864).

{31} ѣн: 1) in *гражданинъ*, *жатѣланинъ* and *плаштаница* and their derivatives, the final consonant of the basic component is found in the C[•] grade by substitutive softening; 2) spellouts with *ен* and *ѣн*, and also with *ын* compete in some stems. See details in Ch. 24, *Supplement*, § 896, *Lexicographic difficulties in registering lexical aberrations*.

§854. Group 11, carrier consonant *ρ*

Formative	Examples	Count
{32} ρ, ор/ер	даръ, добръ, доброта, хъгтръ, хъгтръць, пиръ, вѣтръ; десѣторъ, седморъ; заматорѣти, матеръ, пештера, стежеръ, вечеръ	≈60
{33} ар̆	цѣсаръ, грънчаръ, мзгтаръ, вратаръ, коварство	≈20
{34} ыр	секъира, пастъыръ	<10

Notes on individual suffixes

{32} ρ: there are slightly under 50 lexemes, but they are concentrated in a limited set of roots: *вратръ* <47>, *бъдръ* <63>, *вѣтръ* <139>, *даръ* <216>, *добръ* <235>, *дъбровка* <274>, *мокръ* <537>, *остръ* <646>, *пиръ* <651>, *хъгтръ* <1048>, *штѣдръ* <1108>.

{32} ор/ер: 1) this is a twofold suffix (see § 863, *A note on secondary twofold rule*). In PS SIN, there is the aberrant spellout *седмер-* (*седмерицеж* 78, 12; 11, 7); 2) this is a stem extension in the declension of the unique *дъшти*, *мати*: *дъштър-*, *матер-*; 3) cf. the opaque ((ѣтвор)).ъ, ((јетер)).ъ and ((котор)).ъ (in *МАР*, there is the spellout *котер-*: *котерааго же отъ васъ оца възпроситъ снъ хлѣба еда камень подастъ емоу* Lk 11, 11).

{33} ар̆: this suffix marks masculine (2/m*) lexemes in the twofold declension, and always shows segmentless substitutive softening of the final *ρ*. The kamoration is preserved in further derivatives, e.g. *вратарница* (see § 864 below).

{34} ыр only in *секъира* and *пастъыръ*.

Commentary on individual lexemes

заматорѣти [за.мат.ор.ѣ.т.и] <541>, cf. aberrant spellout with *заматер-* in ZOGK; see also canonical *матерство* [мат.ер.ств.о].

пештера [пек.т.ер.а] <660>, the alloform *ер* contra the standard twofold rule and following the secondary twofold rule, which allows both variants after *т* (as in *мат.ер//мат.ор*). See more details in § 863, *A note on secondary twofold rule*.

пастъыръ [паст.т.ыр.ь] <659>, shows the composition of suffix *ыр* plus the segmentless substitutive softening of the final *ρ* (see § 864).

§855. Group 12, carrier consonant c

Formative	Examples	Count
{35} c/εc	гньсь; истеса, чоудесьнъ, колесъница, ложесно, небесънъ, очесънъ, словесънъ	≈20
{36} ct, oστ/εct	пръсть, ристати; благость, мѣдълость, нагость, пакостъникъ, тѣгость, рѣвность, радостънъ, радошта; воуѣсть, горѣсть, доблієсть, тѣжєсть	≈70
{37} ьск	пророчьскъ, божьскъ, южьскъ, баиьскъ, земьскъ, койьскъ, полъскъ, пьсьскъ, развоискъ; обьштъ, обьштине	≈90
{38} ctв, ъств/ьств	бѣство, шьствине, бесчєствине; ликѣствовати; оубиство, божєство, цѣсарѣство, цѣсарѣствине, чоуиство, чоувьство, драхъство, мѣжъство, ремѣство, рождѣство, пространѣство, велинство, воннѣство, прѣзорѣство	≈170

Notes on individual suffixes

{35} c: only in гньсь [(гнь).c.ь] <171>. Cf. also as part of the opaque stem пѣсьнъ [(пѣсн).ь] <738>.

{35} εc: only as part of substantive stems that distinguish expanded (with the εc expansion) and syncopated (without a suffixal expansion) workstems in the declension (type слово 0/n and type око 0/n), and their derivatives (cf. словесънъ). Otherwise only in ложесно (for ложе 2/n).

{36} ct: only in пръсть [прѣ.ct.ь] <702>, ристати [ри.ct.а.т.и] <769> and their derivatives.

{36} oστ/εct is a twofold suffix (see § 863, *A note on secondary twofold rule*).

{37} ьск is a marker of adjectival lexemes (class 2/a). Otherwise only in вонска <96> 2/f 'war'.

{38} ctв: only with roots бѣг <69> (only бѣство), чѣг <1076> (бєчєствовати), and шѣд <1099> (шьствине).

{38} ѣств/ьств: is a twofold suffix (see § 863, *A note on secondary twofold rule*).

Commentary on individual lexemes

дньсьнъ [днь.ь.c.ьн.ь]. Here, c is effectively a root formative; this adjectival base derives from the phrase днь съ + ѣн.ь (on the adjectival marker -нъ see § 864). Cf. дньшьнъ.

рождѣство [рожд.ьств.о] <755>. Substitutive softening of the basic component; aberrant spellouts розѣство, порозѣство (MAR and CLOZ) by the alternative version of pairings of substitutive softening. Otherwise, родѣство [род.ьств.о]; for distribution in sources see Večerka.

радошта [рад.ошт.а] <752>. Substitutive softening used as marker of the substantive lexeme, cf. радость (more details in § 864). Only IP1 form is attested in the occurrences, cf.: възигра са младѣништѣ радоштами въ чрѣвѣ моемъ Lk 1, 44 ZOGK.

§ 856. Group 13, carrier consonant *т*, suffix *т* {39}

Formative	Examples	Count
{39} <i>т</i>	плакати, нести, власти, решти, остатниѣ, житниѣ, жрътнѣ, отвьрстниѣ, забътъ, сѣтъ, тать, пажитъ, сѣмрътъ, възвнѣтъ, врѣтнѣтъ, врата, вѣтръ, вѣтъ, сѣвнѣтъкъ, златъ; моштъ, чьстъ, чисмъ, число; невѣста, псли, врьста; чрѣсла, маслина, паства, оужастъ, изаштъничьскъ [из.(а).шт.ьн.ич.ьск.ъ]; оучитель, латель, гоувительство, родителѣвъ, слоужительница, стронительство	≈300

This is the regular *Inf*, *Sup*, and *т-Part* suffix, found both after vowels (cf. *сѣтъ*, *сѣмрътъ*) and after consonants (cf. *моштъ* [мог.т.ь], *власть* [влад.т.ь]). *Inf*, *Sup*, and *т-Part* forms are not included in the counts.

In *изаштъничьскъ* the basic component of the suffix *ьн*, which etymologically contains the *т-Part* stem (*ьти*), shows segmentless substitutive softening.

The combination *т.ѣл* has more than 80 occurrences. Altogether there are slightly fewer than 300 lexemes that contain the suffix *т*. It is not always easy to classify the basic stem as a verbal platform (see § 865, *A note on nominal stems and verbal platforms*), as opposed to a root or nominal stem. Outside of the verbal platforms shown above, there are fewer than 40 lexemes; here are some examples: (*сла*).д.т.ьн.ъ [слагътъ], (*страд*).т.ь [страгътъ], (*та*).т.ь [тагътъ], (*вра*).т.а [вратъ], (*за*).вн.д.т.ь [завнѣтъ], (*врьт*).т.а [врьста], (*зла*).т.ик.ъ [златикъ], *оу*.(жас).т.ь [оужастъ], (*чрѣз*).т.л.а [чрѣсла], (*іес*).т.ьств.о [іестъство], (*маз*).т.л.ин.а [маслина], (*мла*).т.ъ [млатъ], (*пж*).т.а [пжта].

The forms *къто* [(к).ъ.т.о], *чьто* [(ч).ь.т.о] <359> stand separately. Here *т* is the pronominal root <938>; the form *что* functions as a cliticized emphatic, cf. Russian *это, эта*, but *этом*.

§ 857. Group 14, carrier consonant *т*, other than suffix *т* {39}

Formative	Examples	Count
{40} <i>ат</i>	богатъ, обогаштати, крилатъ, перьнатъ, сжатъ, ходатан	≈20
{41} <i>ит</i>	падовитъ, именьитъ, знаменитъ, нарочитъ, рьбитъ	≈10
{42} <i>от/ѣт</i>	дльгота, лихотъкъ, наготовати, работьникъ, порабоштати, животъ, кокотъ; ништета, соѣета, тъштета, тъштетьнъ	≈60
{43} <i>ьт/ьт</i>	лакътъ, ногътъ, тръхътъ, рьпътъ, стръпътнвъ, шьпътати; кльчътъ, мьчътъ, скръжьтъ	≈20

Notes on individual suffixes

{40} *ат*: not to be confused with the sequence *а.т*, where *а* is the theme and *т* is the infinitive suffix. There are fewer than 20 lexemes with the suffix *ат*; they

are concentrated in a limited set of roots: *вог.ат* <37>, *крил.ат* <435>, *пер.ьн.ат* <658>, *сжк.ат* <937>. It is also found in the composition *ат + ај*: *ходатан*, *поводатан*, *позоратан*. Cf. the opaque stem in *печать* <662>.

{41} *ит*: not to be confused with the sequence *и.т*, where *и* is the theme and *т* is the infinitive suffix. This suffix marks adjectival lexemes, cf. *ядовитъ* 2/а. The only substantive lexeme is *рыбитъ* 2/м.

{42} *от/ет* is a twofold suffix; see § 863. Cf. the opaque stems in *клевета* <392>, *трепетъ* <968>.

{43} *ът/ьт* is a twofold suffix; see § 863. Cf. opaque stems in *папрътъ* <657>, *хръбьтъ* <1044>, *оцътъ* <648>.

§858. Group 15, carrier consonant χ, ш

Formative	Examples	Count
{44} χ/ъχ	<i>прахъ</i> , <i>обжхати</i> , <i>слоухъ</i> , <i>слоухати</i> , <i>грѣшьнъ</i> , <i>ветъхъ</i> , <i>обетъшати</i> , <i>кромѣшьнъ</i>	≈70
{45} иχ	<i>лънихъ</i> , <i>лънишьскъ</i> , <i>женихъ</i> , <i>жениховъ</i>	<10
{46} оχ	<i>кокошь</i> , <i>поустошь</i> , <i>юноша</i>	<10
{47} оуχ	<i>пастоухъ</i> , <i>гдрюшьнъ</i>	<10
{48} (ъш/ьш)/въш	<i>любѣши</i> , <i>несъши</i> , <i>плакавъши</i> ; <i>старѣшина</i>	<10

Notes on individual suffixes

{44} *χ*: there are slightly fewer than 70 lexemes with the suffix *χ*, but they are concentrated in a limited set of roots: *обжхати* [об.(ж).χ.а.т.и] <111>, *грѣхъ* [грѣ.χ.ъ] <154>, *прахъ* [пра.χ.ъ] <702>, *слоухъ* [слоу.χ.ъ] <844>, *смѣхъ* [смѣ.χ.ъ] <858>, *спѣхъ* [спѣ.χ.ъ] <872>, *стрѣха* [стрѣ.χ.а] <892>. Apart from these: *вънѣшьнъ*, *въчерашьнъ*, *домашьнъ*, *дньшьнъ*, *кромѣшьнъ*, *нзынѣшьнъ*, *оутрѣшьнъ*. Cf. aberrant forms with *шт*: *въчераштънъ*, *домаштънъ*, *нзынѣштънъ*. All these forms are anomalous from the point of view of the pRs schema: the vowel that precedes the suffix *ш* is an inflection.

{44} *ъχ*: only in *ветъхъ*, *ветъшати*, *обетъшати*, *обетъшнти*. Cf. suffix {48}, one of whose alloforms, viz. *ъш*, coincides with an alloform of this suffix {44}.

{45} *иχ*: only in the four lexemes listed above.

{46} *оχ*: only in the three lexemes listed above and derivatives.

{47} *оуχ*: only in *пастоухъ*, *пастоуховъ*, *гдрюшьнъ*.

{48} (*ъш/ьш*)/*въш*: 1) all three suffixes are morphophonological variants of the *ш*-Part suffix (twofold rule and initial ambivalence); *ьш* is the suffix in the expanded comparative forms (*ш*-Part forms and comparatives are not included in the counts). Outside of these forms, the suffix is only found in the superlatives *старѣшина*, *оунышина* and their derivatives; 2) see § 309 and ff. for the mark-

ing of syncopated *ш*-Part and Compar forms (cf. *нес.ъш.и* but *нес.ъ* | *любл.ыш.и* but *любл.ь* | *милова.въш.и* but *милова.въ*); see more details in § 309 and further.

§ 859. Group 16, carrier consonant *шт*

Formative	Examples	Count
{49} ишт	оубѣжиште, гноиште, козылиште, младениште, пѣтиште	≈40
{50} жшт, ѡшт	молашти, несжшти; сжштице, насжштѣнь, сжштѣство, тѣсжшти//тѣсѡшти	≈10

Notes on individual suffixes

{49} *ишт*: a marker of substantival lexemes of the twofold neuter (2/n) and masculine (2/m).

{50} *жшт*, *ѡшт*: 1) this is the regular suffix of expanded *шт*-Part forms (*шт*-Part are not included in the counts); distribution follows the class of the parent verb. See § 309 and ff. on the marking of the syncopated *шт*-Part forms (cf. *любл.ѡшт.и* but *любл.ѡ* | *нес.жшт.и* but *нес.ъ* | *плач.жшт.и* but *плач.ѡ*). Aberrant forms with *жц*, *ѡц* are found in *КІЕВ*, cf. 6b, 1 *противѡцихъ*; 2) outside of the participial stems, this suffix is only used in the doublet forms *тѣсжшти*//*тѣсѡшти* and their derivatives.

Suffixes without a carrier consonant

§ 860. Group 17, isolated vowels

Formative	Examples	Count
{51} а	плакати, давати, миловати, дѣлати, вѣсѣляти; раскопавати, свѣшгавати; оубѣало, величание, приазнь	≈250
{52} ѣ	бѣдѣти, бѣжати, боѣти, бѣдѣние, боѣзь, болѣзь; тѣлѣти, проказылѣти, измждрѣвати; дръжава, зърѣль, трыпѣливъ	≈110
{53} и	любити, дарити, долица, дѣлитель, ловитва, мѣрило, оукоризнь	≈90
{54} ж	движѣти, ринжѣти	—

Notes on individual suffixes

{51} *а*: this is the theme vowel that marks verb classes 3, 6, and 7 (and some unique verbs). It is found in infinitives and nominal derivatives with the corresponding verbal platforms (§ 865, *A note on nominal stems and verbal platforms*). Occurrences of this suffix as a theme are not included in the counts.

{52} ѣ: this is the theme vowel that marks verb classes 2 and 7 (and some unique verbs). It is found in infinitives and nominal derivatives with the corresponding verbal platforms (§ 865, *A note on nominal stems and verbal platforms*). Occurrences of this suffix as a theme are not included in the counts.

{53} и: this is the theme vowel that marks verb class 1; also found in the unique verb *въпити*. It is found in infinitives and nominal derivatives with the corresponding verbal platforms (§ 865, *A note on nominal stems and verbal platforms*). Occurrences of this suffix as a theme are not included in the counts.

{54} ꙗ: this is the theme vowel that marks verb class 5. It is only found in verb class 5. Occurrences of this suffix as a theme are not included in the counts.

§ 861. Group 18, finally ambivalent suffixes

Formative	Examples	Count
{55} (ов/ев)/оу	воевати, змиивъ, цѣсаріевъ, врачевъ, доушевынъ; миловати, врачевати; прѣполовление; джерова, въдовница, жидовинъ, дрьзновение, соуровъ, бѣсовскъ, грѣховынъ; дньевынъ	≈240
{56} ъв/ъи	любъвынъ, смокъвынъ, боукъви, црькъвынъ, цѣлъвынъ, жрынъвынъ; любъи, смокъи, хоржгы	≈30
{57} а/ен	иам, именитъ, обрѣмениги, бечисменьнъ, племеньнъ, пламень, знамение	≈50
{58} ат/а	ослатинъ, десать, девать, младатъце; отроча	≈20

All these suffixes except *ат* in reality have the shape *H*, and *ат* has the shape *HC*: the series *H(u)* {55}, {56}, and the series *H(n)* {57}, {58}. All except the suffix *ъв/ъи* represent the same grade of the vocalism. Arbitrarily, these suffixes are treated simply as finally ambivalent, rather than unstable in their vocalism. This solution permits us to limit fundamental alternations to roots. The alloform *ен* of the suffix *а/ен* is segmentally identical to the suffix *ен* (see § 853 above); all occurrences of the suffix *а/ен* are given below by list.

Suffixes *ат/а* and *а/ен* have segmentally identical alloforms; all the occurrences of the suffixes are given below by list.

Notes on individual suffixes

{55} (ов/ев)/оу: 1) the alloform *оу* is only found in PRAE class 6 verbs; cf. *чешоуа* with an opaque stem; also in compounds, cf. *полоуноштъ*; 2) *ов/ев* is distributed by the twofold rule; 3) this suffix is a class 6 verb marker, and a marker of adjectives; 4) the lexeme *дньевынъ* violates the twofold rule (on aberrant spellouts of the substantive *днь* see § 401, *Nominal aberrations*).

{56} *ъв/ъи* is distributed by the CVC agreement rule. There are about 30 lexemes with this suffix, concentrated in a limited set of roots. These are: *врадъи* <45>, *боукъви* <64>, *жрынъи* <294>, *локъи* <503>, *любъи* <530>, *неплодъи* <673>, *сверкъи* <805>, *смокъи* <860>, *хоржгы* <1037>, *црькы* <1051>, *цѣлы* <1054>. All these stems form lexemes in the anomalous declension of the type *црькы* 0/*f*.

{57} Λ/EH is distributed by the CVC agreement rule. All lexemes with this suffix are concentrated in a limited group of roots. Namely, this is the lexeme ИМА <333> and its derivatives, as well as roots that are marked by the suffix sequence M.EH ; such are: $(\text{БРЪ})\text{.M.EH}/(\text{БРЪ})\text{.M.}\Lambda$ <24>, $(\text{ВРЪТ})\text{.M.EH}/(\text{ВРЪТ})\text{.M.}\Lambda$ <117>, $(\text{ЗНА})\text{.M.EH}/[(\text{ЗНА})\text{.M.}\Lambda]$ <319>, $(\text{ПЛА})\text{.M.EH}/[(\text{ПЛА})\text{.M.}\Lambda]$ <654>, $(\text{ПИС})\text{.M.EH}/(\text{ПИС})\text{.M.}\Lambda$ <666>, $(\text{ПЛЕД})\text{.M.EH}/(\text{ПЛЕД})\text{.M.}\Lambda$ <673>, $(\text{СЪ})\text{.M.EH}/(\text{СЪ})\text{.M.}\Lambda$ <926>, $(\text{ЧИТ})\text{.T.M.EH}/(\text{ЧИТ})\text{.T.M.}\Lambda$ <1076> (cf. suffix {23} above). Conventionally, the following occurrences of EH have also been included here: КЕЛЕНЬ <352>, КАМЕНЬ <366>, КОРЕНЬ <414>, МЛАДЕНЬЦЬ <554>, ПРЪСТЕНЬ <718>, ПЪТЕНЬЦЬ <732>, РЕМЕНЬ <768>, СТЕПЕНЬ <885>, and also ЗЕЛЕНЬ <312>.

{58} $\Lambda\text{T}/\Lambda$ is distributed by the CVC agreement rule. It is only found in the declension of unique lexemes in the $\text{OTPOЧ}\Lambda$ 0/n group, viz.: АГНА <3>, ЖРЪБА <297>, КЛЮСА <393>, КОЗЬЛА <400>, ОВЬЧА <627>, ОСЬЛА <643>, ОТРОЧА <766>, and also in those listed in the table above and their derivatives.

§ 862. On the distribution of alloforms of polyvariate suffixes

Let us examine three cases, in order: 1) alloforms P and Q are morphophonological variants, e.g. H/EH ; 2) alloforms P and Q are related by *standard segmental alloformy*, e.g. $\text{ИК}\|\text{ИЦ}$; 3) alloforms P and Q stand in a relation of nonstandard alloformy, e.g. $(\text{ИГ}, \text{ОР})$.

In the cases 1 and 2, P and Q have definite segmental similarities and differences (in the case of twofold variance, they must have appropriate initial vowels; in case of ambivalence, they must have appropriate CVC schemata); in case 3, segmental similarities and differences are in the general case not regulated.

1. Alloforms P and Q are morphophonological variants. Although the distribution rules are included in the statement of alloformy itself (the twofold rule for twofold formatives, the CVC agreement rule for CVC-ambivalent ones), each particular pair of alloforms may depart from the expected distribution. For example, the twofold rule is in some cases violated in the distribution of the suffix $\text{ОВ}/\text{ЕВ}$ (cf. ДЪНЕВЪНЪ instead of the expected $^*\text{ДЪНОВЪНЪ}$; АРХИЕРЕОВЪ instead of the expected $^*\text{АРХИЕРЕЕВЪ}$); the CVC agreement rule is violated in the distribution of the suffix H/EH (cf. ГРОЗ.Н.Ъ instead of the expected $^*\text{ГРОЗ.ЕН.Ъ}$).

2. Alloforms P and Q are related by standard segmental alloformy. In this case, distribution rules are not part of the statement of the alloformy, which only covers the segmental pairings in the final C position. For example, we have $\text{ЫК}\|\text{ЫЦ}\|\text{ЫЧ}$ (cf. ВЛАДЫКА , ВЛАДЫЦЪ , ВЛАДЫЧЪСТВОИЕ), $\text{ИК}\|\text{ИЧ}\|\text{ИЦ}$ (cf. МЖЧЕНИКЪ , МЖЧЕНИЧЪСКЪ , ГЖСЪНИЦА), $\text{ЕЛ}\|\text{ЕЛ}$ (ВЕСЕЛЪ , ОУЧИТЕЛЬ).

The distribution of alloforms of polyvariate suffixes assumes a key difference between inflection and derivation: in the former case, forms are built by an algorithm which determines the transition from a paradigmatic call (the input to

the algorithm) to the wordform that answers the paradigmatic call (the output or result). There is nothing alike in derivation.

In inflection, in cases of morphophonological variation, the variant choice of a given formative is determined by the preceding formative that is part of the morphological skeleton. In cases where the preceding formative is itself polyvariate, the skeleton fixes one specific alloform; cf. *град.ѣ* (the workstem in the skeleton is *град*, not *гражд*); *кльн.ъш.и* (the workstem in the skeleton is *кльн*, not *кль*). In case of segmental alloformy, the segmental shape of a given occurrence of a formative is determined by segmental replacement rules: the final consonantal segment is replaced in the formative that stands last in the workstem. Thus, the morphological skeleton of the form *влад.ъц.ѣ* contains the workstem *влад.ък* (and not *влад.ъч* or *влад.ъщ*); the last consonant of the last alloform of the workstem is subject to the replacement *к* → *ц*, i.e. the alloform *ък* is replaced by the alloform *ъц*.

In derivation there are no rules of synthesis of derived stems. Thus, observations on the distribution of polyvariate formatives are limited to statements of allowed and prohibited adjacencies, i.e. by syntagmatics. Thus, in a derived stem like, *тѣж.ѣст.ь* or *тѣг.ѣст.ь*, we have no basis for taking as the starting alloform *тѣг* rather than *тѣж*, or vice versa. In the derived stem *кон.ьч.ьн.ъ* or *рожд.ьств.ѡ*, we have no basis for setting up the starting stem as *кон.ьч* or *кон.ьк* or *кон.ьн*, or, respectively, *род* or *рожд*. A question such as whether *тѣг* was replaced by *тѣж* before the suffix *ѣст/ѣст*, or, conversely, whether *ѣст/ѣст* takes the variant *ѣст* after *тѣг*, in the context of derivation is not posed and not discussed. Likewise, the question is not posed why *дѡбѣ.ьств.ѡ* shows a substitutively softened consonant, C° grade, while *пѡ.дѡб.ьств.ь.ѣ* shows the consonant in the C° grade. Cf. such full derivational doublets as *чѡрѣ.ьств.ѡ* and *чѡр.ь.в.ьств.ѡ*, (*прѣ.д.ьн.ь* and (*прѣ.жд.ьн.ь*, (*рожд.ьств.ѡ* and (*род.ьств.ѡ*. Lexeme pairs such as these realize alternative derivational models. The choice between them is not treated in this book.

Of course, paradigmatic rules that regulate segmental alloformy remain in force in derived stems: we have *двѣрьник.а* (GSg for *двѣрьникъ*), *двѣрьниц.ѣ* (LSg for *двѣрьникъ*), etc. However, the question of why *двѣрьникъ* in its starting form shows the suffix alloform *ик*, while *двѣрьница* shows the alloform *иц*, is not posed. Likewise, rules that regulate selection of morphophonological variants within a paradigm remain in force: cf. *ѡт.рѡч.ѡ*, but *ѡтрѡч.ѡт.а*, *имѡ*, but *им.ен.и*. However, the CVC agreement rule cannot explain why in *зѡл.к.ъ* the root is represented by the V-final variant, while in *зѡл.ен.ъ* by the C-final variant.

§863. A note on secondary twofold rule

The standard twofold rule requires the overslash (back) variant after C°. However, among twofold suffixes, this condition is obscured, cf. *ѡр/ѡр*: *замѡторѣти* and *замѡтерѣти*, *дѡѡторъ*, but *мѡтерѣство*, and some others. In this grammar, the twofold rule for suffixes is extended to allow underslash (front) variants after C°. The corresponding distribution of variants is called *secondary twofold rule*,

and suffixes that demonstrate such a distribution are called *secondary twofold suffixes*. Such a treatment significantly reduces the suffix inventory, unifying suffixes that differ in their initial vowels and that are distributed by the secondary twofold rule.

§ 864. Suffixes as markers of nominal stems

Most suffixes can function as markers of nominal stems. Each suffix usually corresponds to a particular paradigmatic class, with a distinction between soft and hard subtypes in case of twofold declension, cf. лжк.ав.ъ but пьс.бј.ь. In case of substantives, gender can vary, cf. шип.ък.ъ 2/m and тет.ък.а 2/f. In the following two cases, the picture is somewhat more complicated.

A note on morphological gender (двѣрьникъ — двѣрьница)

In this pair of lexemes, the stems contain the same string of formatives, and differ only in the grade of the final consonant of the final suffix. In such pairs, the difference in grades of the final consonant of the basic component regularly corresponds to a difference in morphological gender:²⁷ the grade к belongs to 2/m and the grade ц belongs to 2/f. Cf.: багъръница, блждъница, гжсѣница, грѣшьница, десница, златица, колесъница, мьздъница, жсбница, срачница, четворица, шоуница; but блждъникъ, съборъникъ, вратъникъ, вьгодъникъ, градъникъ, грѣшьникъ, понедѣльникъ, златикъ, молитвѣникъ, обьштъникъ, прадъникъ, тъчьникъ. Otherwise only for кораблиць 2/m and сиць 2/p.²⁸

A note on segmentless substitutive softening (коза — кожа)

In this pair of lexemes, the stems, while not different in the formatives they contain, differ only in the grade of the final C of the last formative (root in this case). In such cases, a difference in grade corresponds to a difference in inflectional subtype: коза 2/f belongs to the hard subtype, and кожа 2/f to the soft subtype. The segmental differences of these alloforms are related to the pairing by the substitutive softening alternation. Accordingly, the stem кож can be represented as коз + substitutive softening, as if the sequence коз acted as a basic component, and replacement by substitutive softening as a suffix. This stem-formation effect in this book is called *segmentless substitutive softening*. It is found where an occurrence of a substitutively softened formative is motivated neither by paradigmatic conditions nor by syntagmatic requirements of a following suffixal formative. Note that there are no suffixes that require the grade

²⁷ The suffixes нк(ъ) and нц(а) are often thought to belong to different families, and the suffix нц(а), as well as ѡц(ь), is seen to undergo the so-called third palatalization. See, for example, Хабургаев, § 122–123, 180–182.

²⁸ There is one more suffix (ък/ьк, ѣц/ьц), where the pairing к||ц is observed in the final C position in markers of nominal stems. The distribution of the alloforms of this suffix as markers of nominal stems is as follows: ьк is only found in adjectives (such are малъчкѣ, тжжкѣ and гоуькѣ); ѡц is only found in substantives (cf. рожьць, слъньце, овьца; slightly over 50); ѣк is found both in substantives (cf. тетъка, шипъкъ), and in adjectives (cf. мжкъкъ; slightly fewer than 50); ѣц is impossible as a separate nominal stem marker.

C° of the preceding suffixal formative by substitutive softening. Suffixes that can combine with a substitutively softened basic component also show stems with a basic component ending in a simple consonant, cf. (гражд).ѣн.ин.ъ, but (млад).ѣн.ыц.ь and similar. Segmentless substitutive softening often acts as a marker of nominal stems. Cf. among substantives: доухъ 2/m and доуша 2/f <261>, свѣтъ 2/m and свѣшта 2/f <810>; among adjectives: оудобъ and добль <235>; also among suffixal formatives: гор.ын.ъ and гор.ын.ь <186>. Often we find substitutive softening in suffixal lexemes that have no lexical correlates with a C° grade in the final position. Such are, first, all substantive lexemes with the marker тел.ь: cf. оучитель, мжчнтель, etc.;²⁹ second, a large proportion of adjectives with the marker ын.ь: cf. ближын, вечерын, вшыын, врховын, and many others. The result of segmentless substitutive softening is usually preserved in further derivatives, cf. the preserved kamoration in such derived stems as родителевъ, родителница, властельскъ [(влад).т.ел.ьск.ъ], мжчнтельство, etc.

Note that segmentless substitutive softening in some cases distinguishes pairs of lexemes that are regularly opposed in meaning. First, substitutive softening distinguishes possessive adjectives from possessor nouns, cf. елень and еленй, вельеждъ and вельеждь, пророкъ and пророчь, отыць and отычь, and many others; second, old comparatives from their parent adjectives, cf. гржевъ and гржебль (гржевл.ыш.и), хоудъ and хоудь (хоуд.ыш.и), лихъ and лишь (лиш.ыш.и).³⁰

In other cases simple vs. substitutively softened basic components are in variation, as in родство and рождество, земьскъ and земльскъ, or въдръ and въдрь; in such doublets, sometimes only a single variant is included in the canon (so, въдрь is aberrant and въдръ is canonical), or both variants are canonical (as in родство and рождество, земльскъ and земьскъ).

§ 865. A note on nominal stems and verbal platforms

Deverbal stems are a special category within nominal stems. Such stems can be represented bicomponentially: [verbal platform] + [nominal suffixes], e.g. [род.и.т] + [ел], [трьп.ѣ.н] + [ь]. Nominal suffixes are V-initial in their CVC shape. Accordingly, the verbal platform is expected to be C-final. This shape is ensured, first, by truncated stems in case of closed roots, and second, by stems of nominal forms, infinitive/supine or participles. шт- and ш-Part stems (active participles) rarely participate in forming verbal platforms for nominal stems (cf., however, сжштние, сжштство, and сжштын, шт-Part); other stems actively participate in nominal derivation. These are derivational patterns in -ание, -ение (the

²⁹ Thus, in this marker we have: suffix т + suffix ел + segmentless substitutive softening. The suffix ел is found as a marker of nominal stems without substitutive softening in the following cases: пѣвелъ, весель, драсель, джебелство. The composition of a C final suffix with segmentless substitutive softening could be seen in the suffixes аѣ and ѣи, but they have no alloforms of the grade C°. In the stem пактѣрь, there is a composition of the suffix ѣр and segmentless substitutive softening.

³⁰ Note that the present grammar has no suffix *j*, usually treated as a separate suffix seen in all places that the present grammar has segmentless substitutive softening.

n-Part platform), -тне; -тѣль, -атѣль, -итѣль (Inf platform); -ало, -ило (l-Part platform), and others. With this general background, some specific notes are in order.

1. Truncated stems in OCS form verbal platforms in a limited set of cases. Such are, for example, обрѣтѣльникъ [об.рѣт.ѣл.ьн.ик.ъ], обрѣтѣль [об.рѣт.ѣл.ь] гжєли [гжд.т.л.и]. Cf. also борьць, мольба, казнь, жизнь.
2. Open roots can form monosyllabic verbal platforms with the help of consonantizers, where the most common one is в. These platforms are predominantly found in suffixless nouns. Cf. пиво [пи.в.о], дѣва [дѣ.в.а], but also дѣ.в.иц.а, да.в.ьц.ь, чоу.в.ьств.о, пѣ.в.ьц.ь, and others.
3. A verbal platform that is formed by a PRAE stem that does not coincide with a truncated stem for the entire verbal lexeme is found in two lexemes, лажая [лаж.ај.а] (1× AS), and сършга [сѣ.ршг.а] (3× SUPR, PS SIN, EUCH). Cf. also in the root <276> the form ѡствѣто, etc.
4. Expanded basic stems in some cases may form verbal platforms using the consonantizer в. Cf. дрѣжава [дрѣж.ѣ.в.а], кричава [крич.ѣ.в.а].
5. The theme vowel of the expanded basic stem and the following C-initial suffix of the nominal forms or the consonantizer в constitute a block that, in its CVC schema, follows the suffixal standard (cf. [н + л], [а + л], [н + т], [а + т], etc.). It is sometimes difficult to distinguish the block from the corresponding suffixes (cf. оучитѣль [оуч.и.т.ѣл.ь], but ѡдовитѣ [ѡд.ов.ит.ѣ]). The block [ѣ + в] functions as a suffix in verbal stem derivation in the following six verbs: °велѣвати <85>, °долѣвати <237>, °мждрѣвати <600>, °оумѣвати <1015>, °цѣлѣвати <1054>, °цѣпѣнѣвати <1056>.

Supplement

§ 866. Trubeckoj's nonstandard phonology

Indeterminacy in the choice of the phonological inventory is nearly always present in descriptions of currently spoken languages. This problem becomes more serious when we are facing a dead language where only written data are available. Specific spellouts may have indeterminate phonological analysis, or more generally, the indeterminacy may lie in the inventory of phonemes, let alone the phonetic interpretation. Whether such ambiguity is motivated or not is a property of the language itself. This issue was first examined for OCS by Trubeckoj (1954), who showed that OCS can be analyzed with two equivalent phonemic inventories: one containing the *yod*, which we here call “standard phonological inventory”, and one without *yod*.¹ Another choice has to do with treatment of nasal vowels.² Trubeckoj treats the nasal vowels ϵ and φ as combinations of the form $e + \mathcal{N}$ and $o + \mathcal{N}$, where \mathcal{N} is a consonantal segment.³

Thus, there are two competing phonologies. The first one, which we here call *standard* or *yodful*, establishes the vowel inventory as in Table 23 (p. 15) and the consonant inventory as in Table 27 (p. 16), which we can notate as $Cu\{j\}$. This vowel inventory is also shown in Figure 4, left. The second phonology, which

¹ See discussion in Lunt 1974, § 2.4151.

² The presence of *yod* and treatment of nasal vowels are independent choices.

³ See Trubeckoj 1954, 61 and ff. What matters is the set of vowels; we do not treat in detail the feature set of yodless inventory. It is important that opposition by advancement is proportional and is found in all vowel phonemes except *e*.

we shall call *nonstandard* or *yodless* (with splitting of the nasal vowels), is based on the vowel inventory shown in Figure 4, right, and the consonant inventory $C \cup \{N\}$. The consonant inventory of the yodless phonology differs from that of the standard phonology by the absence of /j/ and presence of /N/.

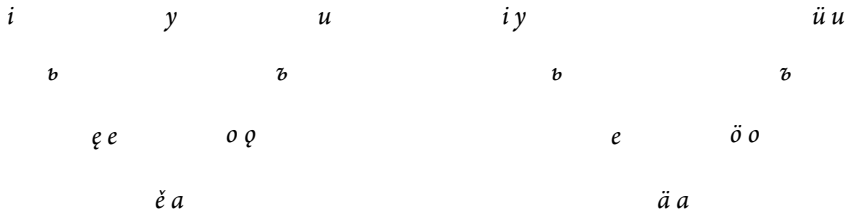


Figure 4. Yodful (left) and yodless (right) vowel inventories.

Yodless phonological representations can be derived from yodful ones by the following rules, applied in order:

1. Nasal splitting	2. j deletion
<i>ɔ</i> ⇒ <i>oN</i> <i>ɛ</i> ⇒ <i>eN</i>	<i>jo</i> ⇒ <i>ö</i> <i>ju</i> ⇒ <i>ü</i> <i>ja</i> ⇒ <i>ä</i> elsewhere <i>j</i> ⇒ \emptyset

For example: *ɔže* ⇒ *oNže* (жже ‘rope’), *jɔže* ⇒ *joNže* ⇒ *öNže* (ижже ASg for *и), *zeml’ɔ* ⇒ *zeml’oN* (землѣ ASg for земля), *vyjɔ* ⇒ *vyjoN* ⇒ *vyöN* (вѣиѣ ASg for вѣиѣ); *l’ubl’ɔ* ⇒ *l’ubl’oN* (любѣиѣ 1SgPrae for любити); *jɛti* ⇒ *jeNti* ⇒ *eNti* (ѣти Inf), *zeml’ɛ* ⇒ *zeml’eN* (землѣ GSg for земля); *jako* ⇒ *äko* (ѣко), *kon’a* ⇒ *kon’a* (коѣа GSg for конь), *kraja* ⇒ *kraä* (краѣа GSg for краи); *krajemь* ⇒ *kraemь* (краѣмь 1Sg for краи); *kraju* ⇒ *kraü* (краю DSG for краи), *jugь* ⇒ *ügь* (югь), *uxo* ⇒ *uxo* (ухь).

Clearly the yodless and yodful phonologies have the same sets of phonological contrasts, although in many cases the phonemic composition of words differs between the two analyses.

Yodless phonology with nasal splitting perfectly agrees with the graphics of early Glagolitic sources, and was designed as a representation of those sources by Trubeckoj. The earliest Glagolitic alphabet contains vowel letters⁴ that unambiguously match the 11 vowel phonemes of the yodless phonology:

<i>u</i>	<i>ü</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ö</i>	<i>ɓ</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ä</i>
Ѹ	ѹ	Ѻ	ѻ	Ѽ	ѽ	Ѷ	ѷ	Ѹ	ѹ	Ѻ

Glagolitic has special letters for *ü* and *ö*, while Cyrillic nasal letters ж, ѣ and ѡ are represented in Glagolitic by digraphs:

⁴ More precisely, vowel graphemes; cf. the three symbols for /i/, and the digraph for /y/.

Cyrillic	Ѡ (ǫ)	ѡ (ǫ or jǫ)	Ѣ (ǣ)
Trubeckoj's phonology	o + <i>N</i>	ö + <i>N</i>	e + <i>N</i>
Glagolitic	ǫ + Ɔ	ǫ + Ɔ	ǫ + Ɔ
	ǫƆ	ǫƆ	ǫƆ

Early Glagolitic lacks a letter corresponding to the phoneme /j/, as well as letters that match Cyrillic iotated ones.

Trubeckoj used his construction as an argument for the historical primacy of Glagolitic, which was controversial at the time. He showed that it was the primary alphabet designed by St. Cyril specifically for the Slavic language.

Trubeckoj also notes that the yodful/yodless distinction might have been relevant for Slavic dialects at the time Slavic writing was designed, and that the dialect that underlies OCS was yodless. Over time, OCS changed toward a yodful phonology, and the graphics of Cyrillic sources reflect this shift.

§ 867. On word-initial vowels

When a paradigmatic wordform begins with a vowel, its initial formative is non-standard. Indeed, the CVC norm requires both prefixes and roots to be C-initial. Phonology allows only the vowel *и* to be word-initial. In the mapping from morphophonological to phonological representations, all initial front vowels except *и* receive an epenthetic *і*. Thus, vowel-initial forms with vowels other than *и* are anomalous. The Tables 867.1–5 below compare initial V with initial *jV*. They include all relevant material.⁵

Table 867.1. Initial #а ~ #ја, #ѣ ~ #јѣ

mph	#а	#ја	#ѣ (іѣ)	#јѣ
ph	#a	#ja		
Membership	//ав <1> (авор) <2> агн <3> (агоа) <4> аа <5> (аер) <6> аз <7> ај <8> алѣк <9> (архїере) <11> (ашггер) <13>	//јав <1> јазв <344> јам <345> јар <346> јар <347> јасн <349>	іѣа <1113> іѣа <1114> іѣар <1115>	None
Count	11	6*	3	0

* Also #j.a with the pronominal root *j* <343>.

⁵ The anomalous, initially ambivalent root ѡп/вѡп <129> is a special case (see § 813). There are no other root or prefixal formatives with initial ѡ or ѡ. On initial ѡ see below in Table 867.3.

The combination $j^{\text{f}}k$ is allowed in mph representations, but can only occur at formative boundaries, cf. $\text{c}^{\text{r}}\text{p}^{\text{r}}\text{o}j^{\text{f}}.b.аш\epsilon$ lmf . This is due to the fact that the choice between mph representations with word-initial $\#j^{\text{f}}k$ vs. $\#ja$ is conventionally made in favor of ja . For example, for <349> we have $ja\text{c}^{\text{r}}n$ and not $j^{\text{f}}b\text{c}^{\text{r}}n$; for <345> $ja\text{m}$ and not $j^{\text{f}}b\text{m}$ (fama), etc. Cf. also the roots $ja\text{c}$ <348> (nocac^{r}), ap <10> ($\text{b}^{\text{v}}\text{nezalap}^{\text{r}}$) and $a\text{p}$ <12> ($\text{razap}^{\text{r}}\text{at}^{\text{r}}$), which are not attested word-initially. Also note the aberrant forms $\text{f}^{\text{z}}\text{z}$ (MAR) for $a\text{z}^{\text{r}}$, $\text{f}^{\text{g}}\text{ny}^{\text{c}}$ (CLOZ) for $ag\text{ny}^{\text{c}}$, and also $\text{b}^{\text{v}}\text{nezaf}^{\text{p}}\text{p}^{\text{z}}$ ($\text{Mk } 13, 36 \text{ ZOGR}$).

Table 867.2. Initial $\#o \sim \#jo$, $\#e \sim \#je$

mph	$\#o$	$\#jo$	$\#e$ ($i\epsilon$)	$\#je$
ph	$\#o$	None	$\#je$	
Membership	See below	None	$i\epsilon\text{c}$ <276>	(($je\lambda$), ($je\text{c}^{\text{r}}\epsilon\text{r}$) <343>, $je\lambda$ <350>, ($je\text{z}\epsilon\text{r}$) <351>, $je\lambda$ <352>
Count	30	0	1	4*

Monosyllabic	Polysyllabic (opaque)
op <12> ($\text{razop}^{\text{r}}\text{it}^{\text{r}}$), ob <623> ($\text{ob}^{\text{v}}\text{y}^{\text{c}}\text{g}^{\text{r}}$), ob <624> (oba), ob <627> ($\text{ob}^{\text{v}}\text{y}^{\text{c}}\text{a}$), ob <628> (ob^{v}), $og\text{it}$ <631> ($\text{og}^{\text{r}}\text{it}$), op <632> ($\text{op}^{\text{r}}\text{z}$), ok <634> (oka), on <636> (on^{z}), or <639> ($\text{ora}^{\text{r}}\text{it}$), or <640> ($\text{or}^{\text{v}}\text{b}^{\text{v}}$), os <643> ($\text{os}^{\text{v}}\text{b}^{\text{v}}$), $os\text{m}$ <645> ($\text{os}^{\text{v}}\text{m}^{\text{v}}$), ost <646> ($\text{ost}^{\text{r}}\text{z}$), ot <647> ($\text{ot}^{\text{v}}\text{y}^{\text{c}}$)	(($\text{ob}^{\text{v}}\text{z}^{\text{r}}\text{op}^{\text{r}}$) <130>, (($\text{ob}^{\text{v}}\text{z}^{\text{v}}\text{c}$) <133>, (($\text{ok}^{\text{r}}\text{it}$) <436>, (($\text{ob}^{\text{v}}\text{a}^{\text{v}}\text{it}$) <625>, (($\text{ob}^{\text{v}}\text{b}^{\text{v}}$) <626>, (($\text{ovo}^{\text{v}}\text{it}^{\text{r}}$) <629>, ((og^{v}) <630>, (($\text{oj}^{\text{v}}\text{m}$) <633>, ((ol^{v}) <635>, (($\text{on}^{\text{v}}\text{it}^{\text{r}}$) <637>, ((opa^{v}) <638>, (($\text{or}^{\text{v}}\text{z}^{\text{v}}$) <641>, (($\text{or}^{\text{v}}\text{z}^{\text{v}}\text{z}$) <642>, (($\text{os}^{\text{v}}\text{r}^{\text{v}}\text{z}^{\text{v}}$) <644>, (($\text{oc}^{\text{v}}\text{y}^{\text{c}}$) <648>

* Also $\#je$ with the pronominal root j <343>.

Also, the prefixal formatives ot/ot^{z} and ob belong to the same class.

Among extraparadigmatic formatives note the potentially correctable anomalous formative ϵ , which does not take epenthetic i , cf. $\epsilon\epsilon$.

Table 867.3. Initial $\#b \sim \#jb$, $\#n \sim \#jn$

mph	$\#b$ ($i\text{b}$)	$\#jb$	$\#n$ ($i\text{n}$)	$\#jn$
ph	$\#i$			
Membership	$i\text{b}\text{m}$ <334>, $i\text{b}\text{n}$ <1112>	None	nd <329>, ng <330>, ng <331>, $ng\text{r}$ <332>, nm <333>, nm <334>, nsk <335>, $nsk\text{r}$ <336>, $nsk\text{r}$ <337>, (($\text{is}^{\text{v}}\text{pa}$) <338>, $\text{is}^{\text{v}}\text{p}$ <339>**, $\text{is}^{\text{v}}\text{t}$ <340>, $\text{is}^{\text{v}}\text{t}$ <341>, (($\text{is}^{\text{v}}\text{to}^{\text{v}}\text{ka}^{\text{v}}$) <342>	None
Count	2	0*	14	0*

* Only $\#j.b$ and $\#j.n$ combinations with the pronominal root j <343>.

** Root <339> is attested only with a prefixal formative.

Also, the prefixal formative nz belongs to the same category.

Pairwise distinction between morphophonological $i\text{b}$, $j\text{b}$, $i\text{n}$, and $j\text{n}$, which are all realized phonologically as $/n/$, are not always well-supported. For ex-

ample, for root ЪМ <334> (ЪТИ), the mph representation without j, and with Ъ, rather than И, is supported by the paradigms of the verb ЪТИ and its derivatives (ВЪЗАТИ, ВЪЗЪМЕШИ; ВЪЗЪМАТИ, ВЪЗЪМЪЕШИ). However, in other cases the question cannot be so easily settled. For example, for root ИГ <330> (ИГЪЛИНЪ), the choice between ѝг, јг, иг, or јиг cannot be reliably motivated. This grammar makes the following arbitrary choice: the morphophonological representations ѝ, ј, and ји are marked, i.e. are assigned to particular formatives, only if that choice is supported by evidence. In all other cases, the spellout И is selected.

Table 867.4. Initial #оу ~ #јоу, #ж ~ #јж

mph	#оу	#јоу	#ж	#јж
ph	#u	#ju	#ɔ	#jɔ
Membership	оуч <132>, оу <1010>, оуа <1011>, оуз <1012>, оуза <1013>, (оукроп) <1014>, оум <1015>, оуи <1016>, оусм <1017>, оуст <1018>, оутр <1019>, оух <1020>	јоуг <353>, јоуи <354>	ж <111>, жз <148>, жг <1117>, жга <1118>, жа <1119>, жтр <1120>, жч <1121>	None
Count	12	2	7	0*

Cf. nonstandard alloforms въз <132>, вои <111>, вжз <148>. The roots оу <1010>, оуз <1012>, ж <111>, жч <1121> are only found with prefixal formatives.

* Only #ј.ж with the pronominal root ј <343>.

The prefixal formatives оу and ж also belong to this class.

Note also the aberrant spellout ютр- (ZOGR, MAR, SAV, PS SIN, EUCH), пѝжчин- (SUPR).

Table 867.5. Initial #а ~ #ја

mph	#а (ја)	#ја
ph		jɛ
Membership	а <334>, атр <1116>	јадр <355>, јаа <356>, (јаазык) <357>, јач <358>
Count	2	4*

The root атр <1116> is attested only with a prefixal formative.

* Also #ј.а with the pronominal root ј <343>.

§ 868. On wordform boundaries and loose and tight formative adjacencies

1. In separating an OCS text into linear units it is sometimes necessary to consider not just ordinary wordforms corresponding to single lexemes, but also *clitic groups*. A clitic group in the trivial case consists of a single wordform, but can also consist of a string of wordforms, each corresponding to its own lexeme. In the majority of cases, a nontrivial clitic group contains one ordinary wordform, called the clitic group's *head*, and accompanying *clitics*. The following sequences illustrate:

- 1) [prefix (clitic) + substantive or adjective lexeme (head)]: *кѣ + домоу, из + рѣкѣ*;
- 2) [verbal form (head) + *сѧ*, or some wordforms of the adjective lexemes *тѣ, съ, *и* (clitics)]: *воиати сѧ, видѣ тѣ, оставитѣ и*;
- 3) [nominal form (head) + some wordforms of the adjective lexemes *тѣ, съ, *и* (clitics)]: *народѣ съ, днь тѣ, помѣ и*.

Less commonly a clitic group can consist of a string of clitics, cf. *въ + *и + же — вънѣже*).

Membership in the class of clitics is a lexical property, and as such should be given by a list. It is a property of wordforms, not lexemes: some wordforms of a lexeme may be clitics while others may be full words. Most clitics are extraparadigmatic forms (conjunctions, particles, and prepositions), but some nominal and verbal wordforms are also clitics.⁶

2. Clitics have certain properties that distinguish them from ordinary forms. These properties manifest themselves in both syntactic and morphophonological behavior. From comparative Slavic grammar we know that clitics have particular accentual properties. Clitics form a certain linear unity with their head. Rewrite rules that may apply at boundaries within this unity are similar to those seen at formative boundaries within a wordform. For example, we have *из + рѣкѣ* ⇒ *издрѣкѣ*, just as *из + рѣшти* ⇒ *издрѣшти*; *из + чрѣва* ⇒ *ичрѣва*, just as *из + чисти* ⇒ *ичисти*. Such combinations are treated in the same way as the boundaries between prefixes and following formatives (i.e. by the general *mph* ⇒ *ph/norm* rules).

Combinations of a preposition with the pronoun **и*, which in this case takes an initial *ŋ*, in canonical OCS do not undergo any segmental rewrite rules (cf. *из него Mk 1, 25 MAR*). Aberrant combinations are possible where *зŋ* is mapped by an aberrant cluster rule (see § 77), cf. *из + њнего* ⇒ *из.њнего* ⇒ *ињњнего* (cf. *ињњнего Mk 1, 26 ZGR, ињ него Mk 1, 26 MAR*), also *без + њнего* (cf. *бењњнего Jn 1, 3 ZGR, бењнего Jn 1, 3 AS*) etc.

3. Boundaries between clitics and heads can also ignore Havlík's rule, which generate *yer* aberrations. So, canonical *рабѣ + тѣ* can be realized as *рабѣтѣ* (from the string *рабѣтѣ*), or *раб тѣ* (from the isolated string *рабѣ*).

4. Because some rules in OCS distinguish two types of adjacencies (tight and loose), the strength of boundaries between formatives ranges along the following scale: tight adjacency, loose adjacency, clitic adjacency, word adjacency (space between words).

5. The distinction between loose and tight adjacencies within a paradigmatic wordform lies within the domain of paradigmatics. In this book, each

⁶ OCS clitics are not well-studied. There may be insufficient OCS data to establish precisely the set of clitics. In this book, the set is not fixed, because there is no need to do so in view of the benchmark tasks of the grammar.

adjacency is defined as either loose or tight. The results of a perhaps arbitrary decision are shown in Ch. 4, § 69–71, *Rules of the first cycle*. Observed facts that contradict it are treated as aberrations.

§ 869. On the law of the velars

1. This law (Table 869) prohibits velar + front vowel combinations both in phonological and morphophonological representations, in the latter case within as well as across formatives.

Table 869. The law of the velars

	и	е	ѣ	ь	а
к	All such combinations are prohibited				
г					
х					

Among borrowings, formatives may show violations of this prohibition, but such violations cannot occur across formative boundaries.

Here are some examples.

Lexemes from the benchmark list	Lexemes outside of the benchmark list
кесара Jn 19, 15 MAR	кесариѣ SUPR 562, 5
китовѣ Mt 12, 40 MAR	кивогѣ PS SIN 131, 8
хитонѣ Jn 19, 23 ZOGR	антихунѣ SUPR 201, 12
архиреѣ Lk 23, 13 ZOGR	архитрикланѣ Jn 2, 9 ZOGR
геѡна SUPR 479, 18; геѡнѣ Mt 5, 22 ZOGR	герѣгесиноѡмѣ Mt 8, 28 SAV

For lexemes from the benchmark list, there is a fixed canonical spellout of the root formative that is shown in the dictionary. There are 13 lexemes in the PD and the benchmark list with prohibited combinations with velars; they are архирен, архиренскѣ, архиреѡвѣ <11>; геѡна, геѡнскѣ <157>, декѡберѣ <226>; кесарѣ, кесарѣвѣ <373>, китѣ, китѡвѣ <374>, херѡвнѣ, херѡвнѣскѣ <1026>; хитонѣ <1027>. In general, spellouts in the sources are unstable. All non-canonical spellouts are aberrant. Among attested spellouts of the forms of the lexemes геѡна (22 glosses), and геѡнскѣ (3 glosses), not a single one in the sources is canonical. For remaining lexemes, aberrant forms occur alongside canonical ones (see details in Večerka). Cyrillic transliterations of Glagolitic sources, as well as in Cyrillic sources, may include the letters *ĕ* and *ĕ̇*. These letters are used in Večerka's dictionary in names of headwords. Spellouts of lexemes outside the benchmark list cannot be distinguished as canonical vs. aberrant. The spellout закѣхѣ Lk 19, 5 MAR is noteworthy (see other spellouts of this lexemes and their distributions across sources in Večerka).

2. Prohibited combinations occur in morphological skeleta, but all such combinations are repaired by boundary adjustment rules. Indeed, workstems

ending in κ , γ , χ can take terminals beginning with front vowels. In the nominal declension, for example, we have $\text{в}r\alpha\gamma + \text{ʔ}$ (LSg), $\text{в}r\alpha\gamma + \text{и}$ (NPl), and many other examples, where prohibited combinations are repaired by boundary adjustment rules: $\text{в}r\alpha\varsigma = \text{ʔ}$, $\text{в}r\alpha\varsigma = \text{и}$. In conjugation we have $\text{м}o\gamma + \text{ε}ш\text{и}$ (Prae), $\text{м}o\gamma + \text{ʔ}т\epsilon$ (Imv), $\text{м}o\gamma + \text{ʔ}а\chi\text{ʔ}$ (Imf). After boundary rules we have $\text{м}o\text{ж} = \text{ε}ш\text{и}$ (Prae), $\text{м}o\varsigma = \text{ʔ}т\epsilon$ (Imv), $\text{м}o\text{ж} = \text{ʔ}а\chi\text{ʔ}$ (Imf). It is important to note that while boundary rules ensure compliance with the segmental law of the velars, those rules themselves are not segmentally decidable: which of several ways of removing prohibited velar combinations should apply to a particular form cannot be determined on the basis of the segmental context. The same potentially prohibited combination (in these examples, $\gamma + \text{ʔ}$), can result in different outcomes: $\text{м}o\gamma + \text{ʔ}а\chi\text{ʔ} \Rightarrow \text{м}o\text{ж}.\text{ʔ}а\chi\text{ʔ}$ (and later $\text{м}o\text{ж}a\chi\text{ʔ}$), but $\text{м}o\gamma + \text{ʔ}т\epsilon \Rightarrow \text{м}o\varsigma.\text{ʔ}т\epsilon$ (and then $\text{м}o\varsigma\text{ʔ}т\epsilon$).

3. Boundary adjustment rules prescribe the application of an alternation (or, more pedantically, a replacement by an alternation). Alternations differ from other mechanisms of segmental rewrite rules in that they are not representable as segmentally decidable rules. All segmentally decidable rules are included in the set of rules mapping morphophonological into phonological representations ($\text{mph} \Rightarrow \text{ph/norm}$). However, a different view of alternations is common, where alternations include the distribution of their grades as obligatory components (cf. Zaliznjak 1967, § 6.23–24). Under this approach, which is very well-established in linguistics, alternations as a mechanism of synchronic grammar almost perfectly copy diachronic sound changes. However, while making the connection between synchronic objects and their diachronic analogs is valuable, the connection is not clear when such diachronic analogs are included in the synchronic grammar without necessary restructuring.

4. As is well-known, the synchronic opposition ($\text{м}o\gamma + \text{ʔ}а\chi\text{ʔ} \Rightarrow \text{м}o\text{ж}.\text{ʔ}а\chi\text{ʔ}$) \sim ($\text{м}o\gamma + \text{ʔ}т\epsilon \Rightarrow \text{м}o\varsigma.\text{ʔ}т\epsilon$) results from different sources of the segment ʔ : from PIE $*\bar{e}$ vs. PIE $*oi, ai$. In the historical grammar, this is the opposition of two dynamic processes, first and second palatalization. In order to preserve segmental decidability of the corresponding rules, for a single phonetic segment ʔ some authors assign two morphophonological precursors, ʔ_1 and ʔ_2 . This leads to underlying representations of the type $\text{м}o\gamma + \text{ʔ}_1\text{а}\chi\text{ʔ}$ and $\text{м}o\gamma + \text{ʔ}_2\text{т}\epsilon$ (cf. Lunt 1974, *Epilogue*, § 4.2). In this book, such a move is not allowed in principle: the inventory of atomic units in phonological and morphophonological representations is the same. One advantage of the present approach is that it makes it unnecessary to distinguish ʔ_1 and ʔ_2 where there is no synchronic necessity to do so, e.g. in closed roots, $\text{в}\text{ʔ}_1\text{а}$ in $\text{в}\text{ʔ}\text{а}\text{ʔ}$, but $\text{п}\text{ʔ}_2\text{и}$ in $\text{п}\text{ʔ}\text{и}\text{а}$, making such choices a matter of etymology.

5. It is noteworthy that the synchronic law of the velars is not explicitly stated in grammars of OCS, neither by Vaillant nor Diels; only Lunt supplies a small paragraph in the section on phoneme combinations (Lunt 2001, § 2.412–2.4121,

and Lunt 1974, § 2.411–2.4111). Instructional grammars also ignore this law, e.g. Xaburgaev, Remneva, Gasparov.

6. The law of the velars is violated in aberrant spellouts that show the confusion of the *yers*. E.g. the following are attested: АС ѿѣкъ мори Lk 16, 24; къ намъ Lk 16, 26; къто Lk 10, 36; врагъ чѣкъ то сътвори Mt 13, 28; likewise кънѣзюу SUPR 218, 9–10; скръгыца Мк 9, 18 SAV.

§870. On partial neutralization of vowel advancement contrasts

Vowel advancement, represented by the four phoneme pairs (а ~ ѣ, о ~ е, ъ ~ ь, and ы ~ и), is contrastive in phonological representations after simple consonants (п, б, т, д, с, з, л, н, р, м, в): cf. басъ and бѣсъ, возъ and везъ, etc. In other contexts the contrast is almost entirely eliminated and the distribution is complementary. The opposition цѣ ~ ца is a special case (cf. тѣжцѣ, but отыца).

Table 870 shows the situation after mph-soft (row 1) and velars (row 2); for comparison, simple Cs are shown in row 3.

Table 870. Contrast and complementary distribution of vowels by advancement

Left context \ Vowel	Vowel							
	а	ѣ	о	е	ъ	ь	ы	и
1. mph-soft except ц, с	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+
2. Velars	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–
3. Simple Cs	а ~ ѣ		о ~ е		ъ ~ ь		ы ~ и	

For example, in the context after velars (row 2) we have only back members of the pairs: а, о, ъ, and ы. After mph-soft consonants, we have the front members е, ь, and и, and the back one for а ~ ѣ. In other words, for а ~ ѣ, the simple rule (front after mph-soft, back elsewhere) does not apply. This rule also does not apply word-initially and after vowels (see Table 51 on p. 34).

In morphophonological representations, vowels are opposed in advancement both after mph-soft consonants and word-initially, but these are contexts of *neutralization*, i.e. contexts where a morphophonological opposition is eliminated in the phonology. In this connection, note alternative spellouts with ѣ after mph-soft consonants (e.g. чѣсъ, молѣаше or молѣаше), relatively frequent both in Glagolitic and Cyrillic sources (of course, these spellouts are aberrant).

The prohibition against word-initial and postvocalic ъ and ы in morphophonological representations is ensured by alloformy. For example, the non-standard root formative ъп has the alloform вѣп that occurs word-initially, cf. вѣз.(ъп).н.т.и, but (вѣп).н.т.и. The suffix of ш-participles ыш/ъш has the alloform въш that occurs postvocally.

The fact that the opposition of vowels by advancement is in some way correlated with the oppositions between sets of consonants that are or are not com-

patible with front vowels, is largely behind the morphophonological mechanism of the twofold rule. See also § 866, *Trubeckoj's nonstandard phonology*.

§ 871. On the combinations *бн*, *пн*, and *мн*

These clusters are absolutely allowed, cf. *об.(нов).н.т.н* ⇒ *обновити*, *об.(слъп).н.ж.т.н* ⇒ *ослъпнѣти*. However, in some cases the labial is removed, i.e. *п.н*, *б.н*, and *м.н* combinations are mapped in canonical spellouts by the *c1c2* ⇒ *c2* rule, cf. *(тим).н.а* ⇒ *тина* (see § 75).

For *нж* verbs, the picture is rather chaotic, and the data are sparse. Some *нж* verbs do not have stems with the suffix *н* in the sources. For such verbs, all the attested forms are PRAE of class 3, or forms of class 4 (Aor, *л*-Part, *ш*-Part, *н*-Part). For example, there is the hapax gloss *охранѣ* (root aorist PS SIN 17, 46). All the data are shown in Table 871: these are all class 5 verbs with final labials.

The *c1c2* ⇒ *c2* column shows the infinitive without the labial if such a stem is attested. The “Stable” column shows the infinitive with a labial followed by *н*, if such a stem is attested. The “Unknown” column shows a hypothetical infinitive, if there is no stem with the *н* suffix in the sources at all.

Because the basic phonological form of the verb is uncertain, its spellout in the dictionary is also difficult to choose. In the paradigmatic dictionary we choose the same forms as in the following table.

Table 871. Spellouts of *нж* verb stems in sources and dictionaries

Root	Stem with the suffix <i>н</i>			Dictionary form	
	<i>c1c2</i> ⇒ <i>c2</i>	Stable	Unknown	Večerka	PD
кап	канѣти			канѣти	
каеп			закле(п)нѣти	закленѣти	закле(п)нѣти
льп			прила(п)нѣти	приленѣти	прила(п)нѣти
слъп		ослъпнѣти		ослъпнѣти	
съп	оусънѣти			оусънѣти	
топ		истопнѣти		истонѣти	истопнѣти
топ			оуто(п)нѣти	оутонѣти	оутопнѣти
трып			оутрь(п)нѣти	оутрьнѣти	оутрь(п)нѣти
гльб			оугла(б)нѣти	оуглабнѣти ог оуглабнѣти	оугла(б)нѣти
гъб	разгънѣти			разгънѣти	
гъб	съгънѣти			съгънѣти	
гъб		гъбенѣти		гъбенѣти	
гъб			изгъ(б)нѣти	изгъбенѣти	
гъб		погъбенѣти		погъбенѣти	
злаб		прозлабнѣти		прозлабнѣти	
хръм			охръ(м)нѣти	охрънѣти	охръ(м)нѣти

Illustrations

КАНЖТИ — ЗЕМЛѢ ПОТРИАСЕ СЯ ИБО НѢСА КАНЖША ОТЪ ЛИЦА БѢ СІНАИНА PS SIN 67, 9.

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ГЪИВНЖТИ — ДѢЛАИТЕ НЕ БРАШНО ГЪИВНЖШТЕЕ· НЪ БРАШНО ПРѢБЪИВАЖЦЕЕ· ВЪ ЖИВОТѢ ВѢЧНѢАМЪ Jn 6, 27 AS (cf. ГЪИВЛІЖШТЕЕ in ZOGR and MAR).

ПОГЪИВНЖТИ — ЪКО НЕ ВЪЗМОЖНО ЕСТЬ ПРЪКОУ ПОГЪИВНЖТИ КРОМѢ НЕРѢМА Lk 13, 33 MAR; МЪНИТЕ ЛИ ЪКО ГАЛИЛѢАНЕ СІИ· ГРѢШНІѢШЕ ПАЧЕ ВСѢХЪ ГАЛИЛѢАНЪ БЪША· ЪКО ТАКО ПОСТРАДАША· НИ· ГЛІЖ ВАМЪ· НЪ АШТЕ НЕ ПОКАЕТЕ СА· І ВСИ ТАКОЖДЕ ПОГЪИВНЕТЕ Lk 13, 2–3 ZOGR.

ПРОЗЪВЕНЖТИ — ШТЪ СМОКОВНИЦА ЖЕ НАОУЧИТЕ СА ПРИТЪЧИ· ЕГДА ОУЖЕ ВѢѢ ЕЯ БЖДЕГЪ МЛАДА І ЛИСТВИЕ ПРОЗЪВЕНЕГЪ· ВѢСТЕ ЪКО БЛИЗЪ ЕСТЬ ЖАТВА Mt 24, 32 ZOGR (likewise in MAR, AS, SAV); ЕГДА ПРОЗЪВЕНЖША ГРѢШНИЦИ· ЪКО ТРѢВА· І ВЪЗНИКЪ ВСИ ТВОРАШТИИ БЕЗАКОННИЕ PS SIN 91, 8.

§872. On combinations with 3-final prefixes

All combinations of the form (с, з) + (ч, ж, ш, шт, жд, ц, с) are phonologically prohibited. General cluster rewrite rules require c1c2 ⇒ c0 for зж (i.e. зж ⇒ жд), and c1c2 ⇒ c2 in other cases (deletion of the first consonant), see § 74, 75. This is seen in examples like из.жи.т.и ⇒ иждити, из.цѣл.а.т.и ⇒ ицѣлѣити, из.чист.и.т.и ⇒ ичистити, раз.шир.и.т.и ⇒ раширити. However, some prefixal lexemes are represented by aberrant forms, where the prohibited combination can either be preserved (cf. вецѣньнъ alongside canonical вецѣньнъ for вез.цѣн.ьн.ъ, or вецъстїе alongside canonical вецъстїе), or the cluster is repaired by c1c2 ⇒ c0, or there may be some other segmental aberrations, such as epenthesis of ъ. Some lexemes show only aberrant forms, which creates some lexicographic difficulties.

Table 872 on p. 442 compiles all the data.⁷

⁷ Data on the combination з.ж is not included, since there are no attested aberrations from the main rule c1c2 ⇒ c0.

Table 872. Forms in the dictionary and sources

	c1c2 ⇒ c2	c1c2 ⇒ c0	c1c2	Večerka	PD
БЕЗ.(ЦЪН)	БЕЦЪНЬНЪ		БЕСЦЪНЬНЪ	БЕЦЪНЬНЪ	
БЕЗ.(ЧИН)		БЕШТИНИЦА		°БЕШТИНИЦА ¹⁾	
БЕЗ.(ЧИН)			БЕСЧИННИЕ	БЕШТИНИЕ	°БЕСЧИННИЕ
БЕЗ.(ЧИН)		БЕШТИНЬНЪ	БЕСЧИНЬНЪ	°БЕШТИНЬНЪ	
БЕЗ.(ЧИГ)	БЕЧИСЛЬНЪ	БЕШТИСЛЬНЪ		БЕШТИСЛЬНЪ	БЕЧИСЛЬНЪ
БЕЗ.(ЧИГ)	БЕЧИСМЕНЬНЪ			БЕШТИСМЕНЬНЪ	БЕЧИСМЕНЬНЪ
БЕЗ.(ЧЪТ)	БЕЧЬСТВОВАТИ		БЕЗЪЧЬСТВОВАТИ	БЕШТЬСТВОВАТИ	БЕЧЬСТВОВАТИ
БЕЗ.(ЧЪТ)			БЕСЧЬСТВІЕ	БЕШТЬСТВІЕ	°БЕСЧЬСТВІЕ
БЕЗ.(ЧЪТ)			БЕСЧЬСТВЫНЪ ²⁾	БЕШТЬСТВЫНЪ	°БЕСЧЬСТВЫНЪ
БЕЗ.(ЧЪТ)	БЕЧЬСТІЕ		БЕСЧЬСТІЕ ³⁾	БЕШТЬСТІЕ	БЕЧЬСТІЕ
БЕЗ.(ЧЪТ)	БЕЧЬСТЫНЪ	БЕШТЬСТЫНЪ		БЕШТЬСТЫНЪ	БЕЧЬСТЫНЪ
БЕЗ.(ЧΟΥ)			БЕЗЪЧΟΥВЬСТВЫНЪ	БЕШТОУВЬСТВЫНЪ	°БЕЗЪЧΟΥВЬСТВЫНЪ
БЕЗ.(ЧАД)		БЕШТАДЫНЪ	БЕЗЧАДЫНЪ	°БЕШТАДЫНЪ	
БЕЗ.(ЧАД)		БЕШТАДІЕ		°БЕШТАДІЕ	
ВЪЗ.(ЧΟΥ)			ВЪСЧОУДИТИ	ВЪШТОУДИТИ	°ВЪСЧОУДИТИ
ВЪЗ.(ШОУМ)	ВЪШОУМЪТИ			ВЪШОУМЪТИ	
ВЪЗ.(ШЪД)	ВЪШЬСТВІЕ			ВЪШЬСТВІЕ	
ИЗ.(ЦЪЛ)	ИЦЪЛІАТИ		ИЦЪЛІАТИ	ИЦЪЛІАТИ	
ИЗ.(ЦЪЛ)	ИЦЪЛЪТИ		ИЦЪЛЪТИ	ИЦЪЛЪТИ	
ИЗ.(ЦЪЛ)	ИЦЪЛІЕНІЕ		ИЦЪЛІЕНІЕ ⁴⁾	ИЦЪЛІЕНІЕ	
ИЗ.(ЦЪЛ)	ИЦЪЛІТЕЛЪ			ИЦЪЛІТЕЛЪ	
ИЗ.(ЦЪЛ)	ИЦЪЛІТИ		ИЦЪЛІТИ ⁴⁾	ИЦЪЛІТИ	
ИЗ.(ЦЪЛ)	ИЦЪЛЪБА			ИЦЪЛЪБА	
ИЗ.(ЦЪЛ)	ИЦЪЛЪВАТИ			ИЦЪЛЪВАТИ	
ИЗ.(ЧЕЗ)	ИЧЕЗНЖТИ ⁵⁾	ИШГЕЗНЖТИ	ИЗЧЕЗНЖТИ ⁵⁾	ИШГЕЗНЖТИ	ИЧЕЗНЖТИ
ИЗ.(ЧЪЗ)	ИЧАЗАТИ	ИШТАЗАТИ	ИЗЧАЗАТИ	ИШТАЗАТИ	ИЧАЗАТИ
ИЗ.(ЧИСТ)	ИЧИСТИТИ	ИШТИСТИТИ	ИЗЧИСТИТИ	ИШТИСТИТИ	ИЧИСТИТИ
ИЗ.(ЧИГ)			ИЗЪЧИТАТИ	ИШТИГАТИ	°ИЗЪЧИТАТИ
ИЗ.(ЧИГ)	ИЧИСТИ	ИШТИСТИ		ИШТИСТИ	ИЧИСТИ
НЕ.ИЗ.(ЧИГ)		НЕНШТИСЛЬНЪ		°НЕНШТИСЛЬНЪ	
ИЗ.(ЧРЪП)	ИЧРЪПАТИ			ИШТРЪПАТИ	ИЧРЪПАТИ
ИЗ.(ЧАД)		ИШТАДІЕ		°ИШТАДІЕ	
ИЗ.(ШЪД)	ИШЬСТВІЕ			ИШЬСТВІЕ	
РАЗ.(ЦЪП)			РАСЦЪПИТИ	°РАСЦЪПИТИ	
РАЗ.(ЧИГ)		РАШТИСТИ		°РАШТИСТИ	
РАЗ.(ШИР)	РАШИРПАТИ			РАШИРПАТИ	
РАЗ.(ШИР)	РАШИРНТИ			РАШИРНТИ	

¹⁾ In Večerka's dictionary, the headword БЕШТИНЬНИЦА is for the hapax gloss БЕШТИНИЦА CLOZ 2a, 24–25.

²⁾ 1x aberrant spellout in SUPR: БЕСЧЬСТВЫНЖЪ 512, 7.

³⁾ БЕСЧЬСТІА in SUPR 74, 25–26.

⁴⁾ Also aberrant spellouts ІСТЪЛІЕНІѢ PS SIN 37, 4 and 37, 8, and ИСТЪЛІТЪ SUPR 115, 6.

⁵⁾ Večerka mistakenly notes only ИШГЕЗ- and ИЗЧЕЗ-; but there is also ИЧЕЗЪ PS SIN 101, 4. For ИЗЧЕЗНЖТИ SUPR 487, 3 shows a spellout with an apostrophe (*payerok*): ИЗЧЕЗЕ 487, 3.

The $c1c2 \Rightarrow c2$ column shows forms with the prefix-final $з$ deleted, if such a form is attested (the mapping according to $c1c2 \Rightarrow c2$ follows the general rule). The column $c1c2 \Rightarrow c0$ shows mappings by the $c1c2 \Rightarrow c0$ shema if such a spellout is attested. The $c1c2$ column shows attested forms preserving the prefix-final consonant (this mapping does not follow the general rule).

Uncertainty about the phonological shape of a word causes difficulties in selecting the starting form of a lexeme for inclusion in the dictionary. Here, the paradigmatic dictionary shows spellouts as seen in the following table, viz. the dictionary shows the form from the leftmost column—so to speak, the best of the attested forms.

A circle marks lexemes whose dictionary form is aberrant.

§873. On the types of segmental pairings⁸

1. Quasisegments and segmental pairings

Some sequences of segments are functionally equivalent to single segments. Such are, first, combinations of vowels with sonants in the sonant series of fundamental alternations (thus, $ъв \parallel зы$, $ор \parallel ра$ as $о \parallel а$, etc.). Second, these are clusters in consonant alternations (thus, $ск \parallel шгг$ behaves as $к \parallel ч$, $м \parallel мл$ as $з \parallel ж$, etc.). Such sequences are called *quasisegments*. The same string of segments can be a free segment sequence in some occurrences and a quasisegment in others. For example, $ск$ in $исказити$ is a free sequence, while in $иска̀ти$ it is a quasisegment. $ра$ in $рана$ is a free sequence, but a quasisegment in $бра̀ти$. To determine the nature of each string it is necessary to turn to morphophonological analysis and the alternations that are found in the relevant formative.

Each pair (x, y) , where x, y are segments or quasisegments, is called a *segmental pairing*. For example, $(а, ъ)$, $(ч, к)$, $(в, в\grave{\lambda})$, $(ра, рь)$ are segmental pairings, while the pair $р\epsilon$ and $р\grave{\lambda}$ is not a segmental pairings, because there is no quasisegment $р\epsilon$.

2. Phonological pairings

Some but not all segmental pairings are *phonological pairings*. For example, the vowels $ъ \parallel зы$, $о \parallel а$, $\epsilon \parallel ъ$, and $ь \parallel и$ form phonological pairings (ph pairings), while the vowels $а$ and ϵ , or $а$ and $о\psi$ do not. Phonological pairings are related to the accepted phonological classification of segments, but is not formally determined by it. The membership of the set of phonological pairings is given by a list. The simplest type of phonological pairings is one-dimensional, whose members are in opposition by a single phonological feature. The notion of phonological pairing is similar to Trubeckoj's notion of correlation, but is not identical to it. Ph pairing is a symmetrical relation: if $a \parallel b$, then $b \parallel a$. The most important phonological pairings are noted in the statements of inventories (§25, 31).

⁸ This discussion can be seen as a development of Trubeckoj's discussion of oppositions; see Trubeckoj 1939, Ch. III.

3. Morphophonological pairings

Some but not all segmental pairings are called *morphophonological pairings* (mph pairings). Namely, a and b form a morphophonological pairing if a and b participate in some alternation and belong to one series of that alternation, and a and b are segments or quasisegments. For example, $\kappa \parallel r$ form a ph pairing, but not a mph pairing; $\pi \parallel \pi\lambda$ forms a mph pairing, but not a ph pairing. Likewise, the pairings $\upsilon \parallel \upsilon$ and $\varepsilon \parallel \varepsilon$ do not form phonological pairings, while $\epsilon \parallel \text{ʔ}$ forms both a ph and a mph pairing.

The mph pairing relation is symmetrical: if $a \parallel b$, then $b \parallel a$. It is also transitive; if $a \parallel b$ and $b \parallel c$, then $a \parallel c$. All mph pairings are explicitly given by alternations. Morphophonological pairings may also be called *pairings by a given alternation*.

4. Adjacency

Some morphophonological pairings are *adjacent* and others are not. A given mph pairing $a \parallel b$ is adjacent by a given alternation A if a and b form adjacent grades of the alternation, a being the leading and b being the following grade. For each alternation, the adjacency relation is given explicitly by list, see Ch. 5. For example, the mph pairings $\circ \parallel \alpha$ and $\text{ʔ} \parallel \epsilon$ are adjacent by the fundamental vowel alternations ($\circ > \alpha$ and $\text{ʔ} > \epsilon$), while the mph pairings $\circ \parallel \epsilon$ and $\alpha \parallel \text{ʔ}$ are not adjacent.

The adjacency relation is antisymmetrical, i.e. if $a > b$, then it is not the case that $b > a$. All adjacent pairings are explicitly given by alternations, because the statement of alternations includes information on grade adjacency.

5. A note on notation

The parenthesized notation (x, y) is used to denote any segmental pairing. The sign \parallel is used for any phonological or morphophonological pairing, and also for the formatives containing it. So, we write $\kappa \parallel \upsilon$, $\circ \parallel \epsilon$, and also $\rho\sigma\kappa \parallel \rho\sigma\upsilon$, $\varepsilon\lambda \parallel \varepsilon\epsilon$. It is possible to show pairings transitively: $\text{ʔ} \parallel \epsilon \parallel \circ$. The sign \sim is used whenever it is necessary to indicate that the pairing is non-adjacent, or the formatives are not segmentally adjacent, e.g. $\circ \sim \epsilon$, $\varepsilon\lambda \sim \varepsilon\epsilon$. The sign $>$ is used whenever it is necessary to indicate adjacency: $\kappa > \upsilon$, $\text{ʔ} > \epsilon$.

6. Alloformy and pairings

Let G and H be some formatives of the same position class, and (x, y) a segmental pairing.

The formatives G and H are *comparable by the segmental pairing* (x, y) in segmental position t if G and H can be written as PxQ and PyQ , where P and Q are some (possibly empty) segment strings, and x and y replace the segmental position t in the formatives G and H , respectively.

For example, the formatives $\text{н}\sigma$ and $\rho\sigma$ are comparable by the pairing $(\text{н}, \rho)$ in the initial C segmental position. The formatives $\text{с}\text{ʔ}\Delta$ and $\text{с}\text{ʔ}\text{ʔ}\Delta$ are comparable by the segmental pairing $(\text{ʔ}, \text{ʔ})$ in the medial V segmental position. The formatives $\text{н}\kappa$ and $\text{н}\upsilon$ are comparable by the segmental pairing (κ, υ) in the final C segmental position.

If two formatives G and H are comparable by a morphophonological segmental pairing $x \parallel y$, we say that G and H are *comparable by the alternation* A if

the segmental pairing $x\|y$ is a morphophonological pairing by the alternation A , and the segmental position that is tied to alternation A is the same as the segmental position by which the formatives are compared.

If two formatives G and H are comparable by the morphophonological alternation $x\|y$, we say that they are *adjacent by alternation A* (or simply *segmentally adjacent*) if the segmental pairing $x\|y$ is a morphophonological pairing that is adjacent by the alternation A .

The alloformy relation, which determines the boundaries of formative families where all members are each others' alloforms, is not explicitly given in the present grammar (see § 640 for prefixes, § 642–840 and RD for roots, and § 841–861 for suffixes). Below we consider several properties of the alloformy relation. These properties can be understood in two ways: first, as criteria that help the grammar writer, and second, as properties of the proposed alloformy relation.

The comparability-by-alternation condition

This condition favors setting up alloformy of formatives that are comparable by some alternation. However, in some cases alloformy can be established for formatives that are segmentally comparable in some segmental position by a segmental pairing that is not morphophonological. For example, this is the case with the anomalous root formatives $\text{с\text{л}\text{д}}$ and $\text{с'\text{л}\text{д}}$, or $\text{л\text{л}\text{г}}$ and $\text{л\text{л}\text{г}}$ (these roots show intraparadigmatic alloformy).

The series isolation condition

This condition does not allow a family of formatives to contain formatives comparable by the segmental pairing (x, y) if x and y participate in alternation A but represent different series of that alternation. The only violation of this condition is found in root <496>, with the alloforms $\text{лн\text{ч}\|лнш}$ and $\text{л\text{т}\text{к}}$, which represent different series of the velar palatalization alternations (the series χ and κ). It is an anomalous root.

The condition on agreement between segmental adjacency and segmental position

This condition does not allow one family of formatives to contain formatives PxQ and PyQ with the pairing $x\|y$ by alternation A if the segmental position occupied by segments x and y is not the segmental position tied to the alternation A . According to this condition, a single etymological family, containing the root formatives $\text{г\text{р}\text{д}}$ and $\text{ж\text{р}\text{д}}$, is separated in this grammar into two different roots (<192> and <293>, respectively). Likewise for roots $\text{к\text{л}\text{з}}$ <362> and ($\text{ч\text{л}\text{з}}$, $\text{ч'\text{л}\text{з}}$) <1065>, $\text{х\text{с}\text{д}}$ <1021> and ($\text{ш\text{ь}\text{д}}$, $\text{ш\text{и}\text{д}}$) <1099>, $\text{с\text{к}\text{ж}\text{д}}$ <840> and ($\text{ш\text{т}\text{е}\text{д}}$, $\text{ш\text{т}\text{л}\text{д}}$) <1108>, etc. The only violation of this condition is found in root <153> $\text{г\text{ъ}\text{н}\text{а}\text{т}\text{и}}$, $\text{ж\text{е}\text{н}\text{ж}}$ (see § 818).

The segmental adjacency condition

This condition prefers alloformy between adjacent formatives, but does not prohibit a family from containing formatives that are not segmentally adjacent. This criterion applies also in determining the series of the fundamental alternations for specific formatives: according to this criterion, for example, the root

<451> крѣс is treated as representing the series $H(r)$, contrary to etymology that points to $H(j)$ (more details in § 678, 680). However, in several cases a single family contains alloforms that are not segmentally adjacent.

Note that the replacements that apply in paradigmatics are linked with the adjacency relation. Accordingly, intraparadigmatic alloformy that is generated by segmental replacement rules can only be segmentally adjacent alloformy. Because synchronic grammar seeks to reduce segmental alloformy that is generated by segmental pairings not found in paradigmatics, it seeks to reduce segmental alloformy generated by non-segmentally adjacent pairings.

§874. On verbs with unstable root vocalism

1. The behavior of verbs that show unstable root vocalism in the paradigm at first appears so peculiar that the distribution of vocalic realizations seems impossible to state except by a list. In reality, there are several principles at work here, which determine a fairly rigid order.

2. Whether a verb synchronically shows unstable root vocalism in its paradigm is a lexical property. Even if it is known that the root contains unstable vocalism, it is impossible to predict from some properties of this root whether a verb containing it has unstable vocalism. For example, the root $\rho\epsilon\kappa$ <766> has unstable vocalism, but none of the verbs with this root do so in their paradigms (cf. $\rho\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\iota$ 7, $\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$ 4, and $\rho\iota\kappa\alpha\tau\iota$ 3).⁹

Verbs with unstable root vocalism in their paradigms are possible only in the $\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\iota$ 3 and $\nu\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$ 4 classes.

3. The verbal paradigm does not contain more than two grades of fundamental alternations, and these grades must be adjacent. For example, we have:

жѣдати 3 ^{o*}	ь и	жѣдати, жидѣ
чисти 4с*Ѓ	ь и	чисти, чѣтѣ
бѣрати 3 ^{o*}	ьр ер	бѣрати, бѣрѣ
мрѣти 4h*Ѓ	(ьр/рь) рѣ	мрѣти, мѣрѣ, мрѣтъ

4. The grades represented in the verbal paradigm form either horizontal or vertical pairings, according to the rule of horizontal and vertical pairings. This rule states that verbs with pure vocalism must have vertical pairings, while verbs with sonant vocalism must have horizontal ones, as shown in Table 874.1.

⁹ The alternation in the vocalism observed in the lmv forms of the $\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$ group of verbs (lmv $\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon$), and in old aorists of the type $\nu\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon$ and $\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon$, is outside of the systematic principles stated above. In this grammar we do not consider the pairings between these forms as resulting from the unstable root vocalism paradigmatic effect.

Table 874.1. The distribution of horizontal and vertical pairings

Vocalism \ Pairing	Vertical	Horizontal
Pure	ь и чисти, чьтж; жьдати, жидж	None
Sonant	None	ь є, ь о, и ѣ вьрати, вьрж; зьвати, зовж; лиати, льиж

The following verbs violate this principle: 1) the verb *сѣрѣшати*, *сѣриж* from the group *чисти* 4с*ζ from root <894> with anomalous vocalism: pure vocalism shows the horizontal pairing и||ѣ in the paradigm; 2) verbs from the group *крьшати* 4h*#λ show the ь||ы grade pairing by the H(u) series. Here, «Inf» shows the heavy grade, and «Prae» shows the light grade, but by vertical and not by horizontal pairing, as expected for sonant vocalism. Note that no series from any horizontal pairing contains the grade ы.

5. Verbs with unstable vocalism show the opposition between two workstems: the workstem of the PRAE «Prae» system, and the workstem of the INF-AOR «Inf» system. The former is represented in all subparadigms of the PRAE system, and the latter in the forms Inf and Sup. For other subparadigms, the distribution of workstems is determined by allotment rules that may be distorted by the expansion of alien workstem effect. This effect does not destroy the unity of the workstem in the PRAE system, but can affect subparadigms of other systems, interfering with their unity.

It is sufficient to compare the workstems of «Prae» and «Inf» in considering the vocalic realizations. Here, the cross-class rule is in effect (Table 874.2).

Table 874.2 The distribution of heavy and light grades

Grade \ Class	Class 3	Class 4
Heavy	«Prae» чрьпльж	«Inf» чрьѣти
Light	«Inf» чрьпати	«Prae» чрьпж

Thus, knowing the vocalic realization in «Inf» and the alternation series found in a given root, one may predict the vocalic realization of the PRAE forms («Prae»).

For other subparadigms, the expansion of alien workstem effect applies.

§875. On Jakobson's law

1. In this grammar the principle that prohibits clusters and hiatuses at boundaries is called Jakobson's law. In other words, this law requires CVC agreement of the end of a formative with the beginning of the next formative: either C-final + V-initial, or V-final + C-initial. This law *proscribes* rather than *prescribes*, just as the law of the velars. It does not contain any instructions on what repairs might be undertaken in case an underlying form contains any precursor to the prohibited combination.

2. CVC agreement is widely represented in languages as a factor for selecting alloforms that differ by their initial C vs. V, or final C vs. V (CVC-ambivalent alloforms). These rules call for the selection of a C-final alloform before a V-initial one, and a V-final one before a C-initial one. These rules, for example, govern the selection of aorist terminals $\text{ox}^{\text{z}}/\text{x}^{\text{z}}$, $\text{oxov}^{\text{z}}/\text{xov}^{\text{z}}$, etc. However, CVC-ambivalence is not a property of all formatives, while all formative boundaries are subject to Jakobson's law.

CVC-ambivalence is simply one of the repair strategies for violations of Jakobson's law. In other cases, the threat of hiatus is avoided by consonant epenthesis (e.g. epenthetic *i*, cf. $\text{zna} + \text{e}^{\text{sh}} \Rightarrow \text{zna}^{\text{e}}\text{sh}$), while the threat of a cluster is avoided by cluster simplification (cf. $\text{gr}^{\text{eb}} + \text{ti} \Rightarrow \text{gr}^{\text{et}}\text{i}$).

3. Jakobson's law is a morphophonological principle that organizes morphophonology as well as morphology. In morphology, it is manifested in the opposition of truncated (C-final) and expanded (V-final) basic stems in the conjugation. This opposition materially expresses the opposition between systems: the PRAE system uses C-final stems and V-initial terminals; the INF-AOR system uses V-final stems and C-initial terminals; and the IMF system contains initially ambivalent terminals. This is the set of facts considered by Jakobson in his famous 1948 article.

§876. On the morphological composition of stems and wordforms

1. The morphological composition describes the organization of strings of formatives—wordforms and stems. The simplest representation of morphological composition is the pRs schema; however, the pRs schema does not show constituent composition. Although this book does not attempt a full description of constituency that reflects the entire derivational history of a stem or a wordform, in some cases it is necessary to use some information on constituent composition. Accordingly, we consider some special cases of partial constituent compositions.

2. In the paradigmatics, the most important information on constituency is given by the parse of a wordform into two components: the stem and the terminal. Two representations reflect this partition: a deeper one, the *morphological skeleton*, and one closer to the surface, the *inflectional spellout*.

Paradigmatic address	Graphics	Morphological skeleton	Inflectional spellout
ASgfbrev (ВЪСЕЛІЕНЬСКЪ)	ВЪСЕЛІЕНЬСКЖ	ВЪСЕЛІЕНЬСК + Ж	ВЪСЕЛІЕНЬСК=Ж
LSgfbrev (ВЪСЕЛІЕНЬСКЪ)	ВЪСЕЛІЕНЬСТ'Ѣ	ВЪСЕЛІЕНЬСК + 'Ѣ	ВЪСЕЛІЕНЬСТ'=Ѣ

The stem that appears in the morphological skeleton is called the *workstem* of the wordform.

3. In stem formation, the most important information on constituent structure involves the selection of the *basic component*, i.e. the part of the stem that precedes a given suffix. For example, if the wordform is ВЪ.(СЕЛ).ЕН.ЬСК.Ъ, then ВЪ.(СЕЛ).ЕН is the basic component for the suffix ьск, while ВЪ.(СЕЛ) is the basic component for the suffix ен.

4. For verbs, paradigmatic mechanisms are tightly intertwined with the mechanisms of stem formation, which requires considering more than two-component constituent structures.

A *lexical component* is a basic component that precedes a theme, or a class suffix, where one is present (in classes 5 or 6). The lexical component is found inside workstems.

Infinitive	Lexical component	Expanded basic stem	Truncated basic stem
ВЪЗ.НОС.Н.Т.И	ВЪЗ.НОС	ВЪЗ.НОС.И	ВЪЗ.НОС
ОУ.ЖАС.Н.Ж.Т.И	ОУ.ЖАС	ОУ.ЖАС.Н.Ж	ОУ.ЖАС.И
ВЪЗ.РЪВ.ЬН.ОВ.А.Т.И	ВЪЗ.РЪВ.ЬН	ВЪЗ.РЪВ.ЬН.ОВ.А	ВЪЗ.РЪВ.ЬН.ОВ

Examples such as these show that the *expanded basic stem* is just the basic component that precedes the infinitive suffix т, while the *truncated basic stem* is the basic component that precedes the theme.

5. Accounting for the morphological structure of nominal forms of the verb (infinitive, supine, and participles) requires access both to workstems of the corresponding nominal wordforms, i.e. fragments that precede a terminal, as well as to basic components by the suffixes of the nominal forms, i.e. fragments that precede suffixes of the participle and т of the infinitive and supine. Table 876 (p. 450) shows workstems as parts of morphological skeleta, and basic components for some forms.

It is easy to see that the basic component of nominal wordforms coincides with the workstem of finite forms: при.неє is the basic component in [(при.неє) + т] + [и], and the workstem in the morphological skeleton [при.неє] + [ж].

Table 876. Morphological skeleta and basic components

Nominal form	Graphics	Morphological skeleton	Basic component by nominal suffixes
Inf	принѣсти	[при.нѣс.т] + [и]	[(при.нѣс) + т] + [и]
Inf	миловати	[мил.ов.а.т] + [и]	[(мил.ов.а) + т] + [и]
1SgPrae (принѣсти)	принѣж	[при.нѣс] + [ж]	None
1SgPrae (миловати)	миловѣж	[мил.ов] + [ж]	None
DSgmnBrev [т-Part (расплати)]	расплатѣ	[раз.плат] + [ѣ]	[(раз.плат) + т] + [ѣ]
1SgAor (расплати)	расплатѣхъ	[раз.плат] + [хъ]	None
DSgmnBrev [ш-Part (расплати)]	расплатѣшѣ	[раз.плат.ш] + [ѣ]	[(раз.плат) + ш] + [ѣ]
1SgImf (расплати)	расплатѣхъ	[раз.плат] + [ѣхъ]	None

Excursus on the grammatical regularity of canonical wordforms

§877. General

Canonical wordforms exist on a scale of grammatical regularity. Grammatical regularity takes into account paradigmatic, morphophonological, and phonological properties of wordforms. Regularity on each of these axes is orthogonal to regularity on the others.

In the general case, a paradigmatic call corresponds to only one canonical wordform. However, this is not true in cases of so-called doublets, which are equally regular forms, cf. GLSg (слово) — словесе//словеси. Secondly, in some cases a paradigmatic call may correspond to two canonical wordforms, of which one is primary, and another is secondary. In this case, the primary forms have a higher measure of regularity, cf. for 1SgAor (ити), the primary form идѣхъ is more regular than the secondary form идѣ.

The opposition between canonical and alternative spellouts is defined for forms from sources. Alternative spellouts are possible for any form, regardless of its degree of grammatical regularity (on the classification of alternative spellouts see § 886–897, *Excursus on aberrations*).

Paradigmatic regularity and morphological anomalies

§878. A measure of grammatical regularity of paradigmatic classes

Both verbs and nominals have paradigmatic classes where the measure of regularity is defined. The most regular are standard classes—regular verbs of the main paradigmatic classes, and standard inflectional classes of nominals. Less

regular are marginal subclasses of the standard classes—irregular verbs and deformations of standard inflectional classes of nominals. Finally, the least regular class contains unique lexemes. Here is the distribution of these classes.

	Standard	Marginal	Unique
In nominals	2/a, 2/p, 2/m, 2/n, 2/f, 1/m, 1/f, 1/a	Deformations of the main declension types 2/a*, 2/a**, 2/p*, 2/m*, 2/m**, 2/f*	Unique nominal lexemes 0/a, 0/p, 0/m, 0/n, 0/f, 0/s
In verbs	Regular verbs of classes 1–7	Irregular verbs in classes 3 and 4	Unique verbs

Paradigmatic behavior of irregular verbs is described in terms of a given set of paradigmatic effects, which distort the paradigmatic standard of one of the main classes. Paradigmatic behavior of unique verbs cannot be represented as such a systematic departure, even though among unique verbs certain paradigmatic effects can still be observed.

Nominal lexemes in marginal paradigmatic classes show certain deformations of the paradigmatic standard of one of the standard declensional classes, which distinguish their paradigmatic behavior both from the main standard and from the behavior of unique nominal lexemes. Deformations of nominal paradigms are described in terms of a given set of paradigmatic effects. Paradigmatic behavior of unique nominals is not representable in terms of systematic departures from the standard of a main declension type, even though among unique nominals certain paradigmatic effects can still be observed.

In this way we can define a hierarchy of grammatical regularity of a lexeme as a whole. On this axis, unique lexemes are the least regular.

§879. Paradigmatic regularity of a single wordform

A measure of regularity of a given wordform can be established along two independent parameters. One parameter determines the grammatical status of the wordform in the paradigm of its lexeme; here we can distinguish *primary* and *secondary* wordforms. Another parameter concerns the morphological composition of this wordform. Here, we distinguish morphologically normal and *morphologically anomalous* wordforms, or *morphological anomalies*.

§880. Primary and secondary wordforms

The notion of secondary wordforms covers those which are in some sense super-numerary in the paradigms of their lexemes. Some are extra wordforms in the sense that they have no special place in the free paradigm. A limited number of lexemes have free paradigms that are extended by such additional wordforms. Others are extra in the sense that they occupy a paradigmatic cell that is already occupied by an eponymous primary wordform; these are “substitute” wordforms. For example, vocative forms for nominals, or the conditional of the verb вѣрѣти do not form part of a standard free paradigm of their grammatical class, leaving secondary additional forms. The secondary form вѣдѣти , 1SgPrae (вѣдѣти) coex-

ists with the eponymous primary form *вѣмь*, being its doublet. The same is true of so-called nonstandard aorists. Table 880 lists all groups of secondary forms.

Table 880. The inventory of secondary forms

	Grammatical description	Examples	
		Secondary	Primary analogs
Nominals	Vocative (Voc)	отъче	None
	Personal dative (D ₂)	чловѣкови	чловѣкоу
	Forms of *и and иже with prepositions	къ ѿемоу	None
Verbs	1SgPrae (вѣдѣти)	вѣдѣ	вѣмь
	Secondary set 1mf-Aor of бѣгити	бѣхъ etc.	бѣахъ or бѣыхъ
	Conditional (бѣгити)	бимь etc.	None
	Nonstandard aorists	идъ etc.	идохъ

§881. Morphologically anomalous forms

Forms that stand outside of the general rules of paradigmatic synthesis are considered morphologically anomalous. These forms are not built step by step. For this reason, generally speaking, for such forms there is no defined morphological structure, inflectional spellout, or even morphophonological representation. Anomalous forms may belong to paradigms of the main paradigmatic classes, as well as irregular verbs or deformed nominal paradigms, or to unique lexemes.

Let us list the groups of all anomalous forms.

Among *verb forms*, the following are morphologically anomalous:

- 1) All personal forms Prae except 3Pl of the unique verbs *дати*, *исти*, *вѣдѣти*, *имѣти*, and *ѣмь*; for these forms, the inflectional spellout is not established.
- 2) All forms of the conditional (secondary forms of the verb *бѣгити*).
- 3) The 2SgImv forms of the three athematic verbs *дати* (*даждь*), *исти* (*аждь*), *вѣдѣти* (*вѣждь*), and of the verb *видѣти* (*виждь*); for these forms we establish the following inflectional spellouts: *дажд=ь*, *ажд=ь*, *вѣжд=ь*, *вижд=ь*.
- 4) All Imv forms of the verbs *решити*, *пешити*, *тешити* and *жешити* (cf. *рыцѣте*, *пыцѣте*, *тыцѣте*, and *жыцѣте*); The Imv forms of such verbs have the following inflectional spellouts: *рыц=и*, *рыц=ѣте*, etc.
- 5) n-Part of the verb *обогити*: *Ѹбогивенъ* (see § 509).
- 6) n-Part of the verb *завѣгити*: *Ѹзавѣвенъ* (see § 548). (On the forms of n-Part of the verbs of the *движити* 5 class see § 420).

Among *nominal forms*, the following are morphologically anomalous.

- 1) Syncopated forms of *шг-* and *ш-* participles (see more details in § 309). They have an arbitrary morphophonological representation that ends in a fragment that is neither a suffix nor a terminal, cf. the syncopated forms *любл.ѣ*, *нес.зи*

and the expanded forms $\lambda\upsilon\beta\lambda.\text{ьш}=\text{н}$, $\text{нес.жшт}=\text{н}$. The symbol | shows that the form lacks a terminal.

- 2) The following forms of unique lexemes: господѣ (GSg) and господю (DSg) of the lexeme господѣ 0/m; the forms очима and оушима of the unique lexemes око 0/n and оухо 0/n; the form кѣто of the lexeme кѣто 0/p; the forms чѣто , чесо , чѣсо , чесога , чесомѣ , чесомоу , чѣсомоу of the lexeme чѣто 0/p, and all the forms of the lexemes азѣ 0/s, тѣи 0/s and сѣ 0/s. For all these wordforms no parse into formatives is established; otherwise only $\text{к}=\text{ѣ.то}$ and $\text{ч}=\text{ѣ.то}$.¹⁰

Segmental regularity and segmental anomalies

§ 882. Phonological and morphophonological regularity

Violations of phoneme syntagmatics can be *phonological* or *segmental anomalies*. *Morphophonological anomalies* are relatively rare cases of violations of the distribution of ambivalent formatives (CVC agreement violations), and of the distribution rules of twofold formatives (violations of twofold rule). Likewise, such are forms that contain anomalous and pronominal roots, opaque stems, forms with anomalous pRs structures (e.g. isolated reduplications; see § 41), and syn-copated forms шт- and ш- participles. Also, morphophonological anomalies include forms that contain an anomalous version of some formative (e.g. the prefix in възъярити).¹¹

§ 883. Violations of the CVC agreement rule

The only CVC-ambivalent prefixes are въ/вън and сѣ/сѣн . The prefixes от and отѣ are not morphophonological variants. On violations of the CVC agreement rule, see *Prefixes*, § 641.3°.

With labile roots, departures from CVC agreement are found in verbs with the C-final stem arrest paradigmatic effect (in the irregular verb groups плѣвати 3h*# and крѣти 4h*#). In class 4 verbs, the distribution of C- and V-final versions of the truncated workstem before initially ambivalent suffixes and terminals is given by the distribution rules for workstems.

The following suffixes are CVC-ambivalent. Initially ambivalent: {26} н/ен , {35} с/ес , {44} ч/ѣч , {48} (ѣш/ьш)/въш . Finally ambivalent: {55} (оѣ/ѣѣ)/оу , {56} ѣѣ/ѣи , {57} ѣ/ѣн , {58} ѣ/ѣт . See details on departures from CVC agreement for the suffix {26} н/ен in *Suffixes*, § 853. The suffix {55} (оѣ/ѣѣ)/оу as a class marker for class 6 миловати verbs shows the V-final variant before V-initial

¹⁰ Other departures from the paradigmatic standards of the main inflectional classes in nominal declension are described as deformations of that standard (cf., for example, the class 2/p* вьсь and снць).

¹¹ Morphophonological anomalies are not systematically marked in this book.

terminals and suffixes in violation of the CVC agreement rule due to the C-final stem arrest paradigmatic effect.

Among initially ambivalent terminals, the only departures from CVC agreement are found in nonstandard aorists (the old sigmatic 2 aorist, type ρβχζ).

§ 884. Violations of the twofold rule

The following suffixes are twofold: {10} οj/εj, {16} ζκ/βκ, {20} ζλ/βλ, {24} ομ/εμ, {29} ζη/βη, {32} ορ/ερ, {36} οστ/εστ, {38} ζστω/βστω, {42} οτ/ετ, {43} ζτ/βτ, {48} ζш/βш, {55} οβ/εβ. Departures from the twofold rule found in the benchmark list lexemes are described for suffixes in terms of secondary twofold rule (see § 863), and for nominal terminals in terms of deformations of main declension types.

Note separately the forms *сеница* [с.εj.иц.а] and *дньевьньз* [дън.εβ.ьн.ъ], which would be morphophonologically anomalous outside of the application of the secondary twofold rule.

Violations of the twofold rule are also possible among borrowed lexemes. For example, the lexeme *архиерей* has the form *архиерейомъ* (εμъ is expected by the twofold rule). See § 89.

§ 885. Phonological anomalies

Phonological anomalies are forms that contain prohibited combinations of phonemes, and forms that violate the CVC norm of the word. Because C-final wordforms are not found in canonical OCS, the only possible violators are the following: 1) V-initial forms; 2) forms with a hiatus; 3) forms with prohibited clusters; 4) forms violating the law of the velars.

Group 1 (V-initial). The only vowel allowed word-initially is the phoneme и; other vowel phonemes are prohibited there. Thus, all attested vowel-initial forms are phonologically anomalous. Nonstandard formatives that violate the CVC norm of their positional class are carriers of those anomalies: V-initial prefixes and V-initial roots. These are, for example, *обѣдъ*, *отъвѣсти*; *овъ*, *азъ*, *агньць*, *окоуца*. Full lists are found in *Prefixes*, § 640; *Roots*, § 654 (V-initial roots), § 785 (pronominal roots), and § 806 (anomalous roots). See also § 867, *On word-initial vowels*.

Group 2 (Hiatus). All hiatuses except *Ви* are prohibited. Accordingly, attested forms containing hiatus are phonologically anomalous. Hiatuses are found in the following groups of forms. (1) In loans inside root formatives. In the benchmark corpus these are <б> (*аеръ*), <11> (*архиерей*), and <157> (*геона*). (2) At boundaries between V-final prefix and V-initial root. Cf. *наоучити*, *пажнина*. (3) At boundaries between V-final root or suffix and V-initial terminal or suffix. Cf. *архиерейомъ*, *архиерейовъ*. Note that such forms are possible only among loans, and that in such cases their terminal or suffix shows the hard subtype, in violation of twofold rule. (4) In the personal forms of the imperfect, cf. *трынѣаше*

[трьп.ѣ=аше], плакааше [плак.а=аше], несѣаше [нес=ѣ.аше]. Note that there are aberrant forms where the hiatus is eliminated, cf. плажчина, трьпѣаше (the so-called iotated imperfect), трьпѣше (the so-called contracted imperfect).

Group 3 (Prohibited clusters). All attested forms with prohibited clusters contain it inside the root. Accordingly, syntagmatic anomalies are represented by roots. Prohibited clusters are found in two groups of roots: these are, first, roots that contain prohibited groups of the type C + liquid (л or р), as e.g. нравъ <615> or власъ <106>, and second, several isolated roots (cf. єдм <814>). The roots of the first group are etymologically sonant. Full lists are found in Ch. 4, § 62, *Lists of syntagmatic anomalies*.

Group 4 (velar law violations). Such forms are possible only in loans, cf. китъ, архирен, etc. See more details in § 869, *On the law of the velars*.

Excursus on aberrations

§886. Alternative spellouts and their canonical analogs

Our investigation starts with two spellouts. The first, call it *actual* (α^*), is a concrete spellout in a particular source. The other, (α) is its canonical analog. These two forms are spellouts of particular wordforms, and the grammatical interpretation of the canonical wordform α is transferred to the actual form α^* . Segment-by-segment comparison of α and α^* can establish whether these strings are identical or not.¹² In the first case we say that the string is a canonical spellout, or that the actual string α^* is an *alternative* spellout of the wordform α .

§887. Aberrant forms and aberrant derivations

Among alternative spellouts there is a class of *aberrant* spellouts or forms. Aberrant forms correspond to *aberrant derivations*, which are modified canonical derivations. The modification results from the application of *aberrations*, or operations that act on particular expressions of canonical spellouts.

Let the spellout α^* have α as its canonical analog. Let $\chi(A)$ be the paradigmatic call of the canonical form α , and Δ be its canonical paradigmatic derivation. In other words, the derivation Δ has $\chi(A)$ as its input and α as its output, and is constructed according to the rules of paradigmatic synthesis. The paradigmatic call of the aberrant form α^* is identical to that of its canonical analog. The derivation Δ^* , which takes as its input $\chi(A)$ and produces α^* as its output, is the aberrant derivation of the form α^* if it can be represented as the result of applying aberrations ($\delta_1, \delta_2, \dots, \delta_k$) to the canonical derivation Δ .

¹² If the source is Glagolitic, then α^* is a string of Glagolitic letters, while α is a string of Cyrillic letters. Because the Glagolitic \Leftrightarrow Cyrillic transliteration is fixed (see § 132), we can consider α^* to be a string of Cyrillic letters as well (so-called expanded Cyrillic).

§ 888. Objects substituted by aberrations

A given aberration of the form $\Lambda \Rightarrow \Lambda^*$ substitutes the expression Λ by Λ^* in the canonical derivation. Aberrations can substitute various objects: 1) segments (such aberrations are called atomic); 2) segmental rewrite rules, or segmental pairings in alternations (such aberrations are called modifying aberrations); finally, 3) workstem construction rules, or selection rules for terminals or suffixes of personal verb forms (such aberrations are called paradigmatic).¹³

§ 889. Domain and modality of application of aberrations

In the general case, aberrations are free, i.e. their domain of application is not restricted. The existence of the aberration $\Lambda \Rightarrow \Lambda^*$ assumes that every occurrence of the object Λ in any derivation Δ can be replaced by the object Λ^* . For example, the atomic aberration $\mathfrak{s} \Rightarrow \mathfrak{z}$ can be possible for any occurrence of the phoneme \mathfrak{s} (e.g. $\mathfrak{s}\text{'}\text{л}\text{л}\text{о}$ and the aberrant $\mathfrak{z}\text{'}\text{л}\text{л}\text{о}$, $\text{м}\text{'}\text{н}\text{о}\text{сн}$ and the aberrant $\text{м}\text{'}\text{н}\text{о}\text{зн}$, etc.).

Secondly, aberrations are in the general case *optional*, i.e. have the modality of permission rather than requirement. For example, in the same source we may find canonical forms alongside aberrant ones (e.g. in $\text{м}\text{а}\text{р}$, alongside canonical $\text{м}\text{'}\text{н}\text{о}\text{сн}$ there are aberrant forms $\text{м}\text{н}\text{о}\text{сн}$, $\text{м}\text{'}\text{н}\text{о}\text{зн}$, $\text{м}\text{н}\text{о}\text{зн}$, etc.).

In fact, however, some aberrations are restricted to particular sources. For example, the aberration $\mathfrak{s} \Rightarrow \mathfrak{z}$ is almost absent from $\text{а}\text{с}$ and $\text{р}\text{с}$ сн . In other cases it turns out that in a particular source an aberration applies in all eligible cases. For example, in $\text{с}\text{а}\text{в}$, the aberration $\mathfrak{s} \Rightarrow \mathfrak{z}$ applies always (there are no spellouts with \mathfrak{s} at all). Also, $\text{с}\text{а}\text{в}$ has no canonical imperfects, only contracted ones. A separate case are so-called *lexical aberrations* (see below), whose domain of application is limited to particular lexemes.

§ 890. A general overview of alternative spellouts

As indicated above, every alternative spellout α^* has a canonical analog α , and the grammatical interpretation of the canonical wordform α is transferred to the actual spellout α^* . A separate case are *morphologically strange spellouts*, whose canonical analog cannot be found. Such spellouts are not even called “alternative” (see below). All spellouts that are different from canonical ones are sorted as follows:

¹³ Formally, atomic aberrations substitute trivial segmental rewrite rules that are part of the $\text{mph} \Rightarrow \text{ph}/\text{norm}$. For example, the aberration $\mathfrak{s} \Rightarrow \mathfrak{z}$ is the replacement of the trivial rule $\mathfrak{s} \Rightarrow \mathfrak{s}$ by the alternative rule $\mathfrak{s} \Rightarrow \mathfrak{z}$.

Alternative spellouts			Morphologically strange
Graphically alternative	Aberrant	Erroneous	СЪГЪБАЛЪ
ѣко (canonical ꙗко) начѣати (canonical начати)	многъ (canonical мъногъ) плакаше (canonical плакааше)	врѣгрозѣ (canonical врѣгрозѣ) рарабѣ (canonical рабѣ)	

Graphically alternative spellouts differ from the rest in that they have the same phonological representation as their canonical analogs. All other alternative spellouts differ phonologically from canonical analogs. Graphically alternative spellouts are generated by alternative graphic rules, i.e. alternative rewrite rules from phonological to graphic spellouts, the so-called *basic writing systems* of a given source.

Erroneous spellouts are not generated by any mechanism. They are considered technical errors unrelated to grammar.

Morphologically strange forms are those that lack a canonical analog, and thus their grammatical properties can only be approximated. They are treated as random morphological errors. Bad morphology does not necessarily imply the action of some aberration; likewise, setting up a separate parent lexeme for such a form is also not always justified. Such are, for example, the forms не сътъръѣтъниа SUPR 377, 30–378, 1, визжь маѣ Jn 20, 27 (for виджь), растръзѣваѣтъ SUPR 350, 28 (for which Večerka supplies the entry растръзѣвати), съгъбалъ EUCH 35b, 2 (for which Večerka supplies the entry съгъбати), ѡврѣмѣла SUPR 280, 1 (for this hapax gloss Večerka supplies an entry with two starting forms ѡврѣмѣлати and ѡврѣмѣнати). Such morphologically corrupt or strange forms are sporadically noted in this book in comments under specific lexemes. Formally, being the remainder, they should be classified as erroneous forms, but they differ grammatically from ordinary mistakes, for example in that they have no canonical analog. Cf. the mistakes рарабѣ PS SIN 78, 2 for рабѣ, врѣгрозѣ Mt 8, 32 SAV for врѣгрозѣ, икованъѣа PS SIN 89, 12 for окованъѣа.

In some cases the same aberrant form may be the result of different aberrant derivations, and the difference may be that in one derivation, the form is interpreted as segmentally aberrant, while in another as paradigmatically aberrant. For example, the form пжтѣмь (for canonical пжтѣмь) can be interpreted as paradigmatically aberrant (intrusion of the nonstandard terminal емь), or as segmentally aberrant (strengthening of ѣ).

§891. Types of aberrations and aberrant forms

All aberrations and aberrant forms fall into three types: segmental, paradigmatic, and lexical.

Aberrant forms		
Segmental	Paradigmatic	Lexical
многъ (canonical мъногъ) ншгѣсти (canonical нчѣсти)	зѡвѣаше (canonical зѡвааше) пжтѣмь (canonical пжтѣмь)	рѣба (canonical рѣба) пица (canonical пишта)

Segmental aberrations apply to the paradigmatic derivation that generates the canonical analog of the corresponding aberrant form, replacing particular segmental rewrite rules in that derivation. The aberration consists of replacing some general segmental rewrite rule that applies in the canonical form by an alternative analog. Paradigmatic aberrations apply to the paradigmatic derivation that generates the canonical analog of the corresponding aberrant form, replacing either a workstem formation rule, or a terminal selection rule.¹⁴

In the general case, a segmentally aberrant form and its canonical analog have identical morphological skeleta, and for some types of segmental aberrations, identical morphophonological spellouts as well. On the other hand, paradigmatically aberrant forms and their canonical analogs have different morphological skeleta.¹⁵ Here are some examples.

Morphological skeleton		mph	Graphics	Aberration	
Segmental aberrations					
1	Canon	лѣногъ + ъ	лѣногъ	лѣногъ	ъ ⇒ 0
	Aberration	лѣногъ + ъ	лѣногъ	лногъ	
2	Canon	лѣногъ + и	лѣноꙑ.и	лѣноꙑи	ꙑ ⇒ ꙑ
	Aberration	лѣногъ + и	лѣноꙑ.и	лѣноꙑи	
3	Canon	по.могъ.т + ъ	по.могъ.т.ъ	помощтъ	г.т ⇒ шг/г.т ⇒ ц
	Aberration	по.могъ.т + ъ	по.могъ.т.ъ	помощь	
4	Canon	из.читъ + т=и	из.читъ.т.и	ичисти	ꙑ.ч ⇒ ч/ꙑ.ч ⇒ шг
	Aberration	из.читъ + т=и	из.читъ.т.и	ишгисти	
5	Canon	дѣскъ + ѣ	дѣстъ.ѣ	дѣстъѣ	ск ст/ск сц
	Aberration	дѣскъ + ѣ	дѣстъ.ѣ	дѣстѣ	
6	Canon	от.ста.вѣ + ен=	от.ста.вѣ.ен=	оста.вѣ.ен=	в вѣ/в вь
	Aberration	от.ста.вѣ + ен=	от.ста.вѣ.ен=	оста.вѣ.ен=	
Paradigmatic aberrations					
7	Canon	зѣвъ.а + аше	зѣвъ.а.аше	зѣвааше	Alien workstem
	Aberration	зѣвъ + ѣаше	зѣвъ.ѣаше	зѣвѣаше	
8	Canon	лѣногъ + ѡмь	лѣногъ.ѡмь	лѣногѡмь	Alien terminal
	Aberration	лѣногъ + ѣмь	лѣноꙑ.ѣмь	лѣноꙑѣмь	

Examples 1–2 illustrate atomic segmental aberrations; examples 3–6 are examples of modifying aberrations. In 3–4, canonical cluster rewrite rules from the mph ⇒ ph/normsystem are replaced with alternative ones.¹⁶ In 5–6, canon-

¹⁴ In sources that show an aberration of the type $x \Rightarrow x^*$, one can always expect *hypercorrection*, viz. an aberration of the form $x^* \Rightarrow x$. For example, in AS Lk 8, 29, we find the aberrant spellout with ъ, *желѣзынѣи* for canonical *желѣзыни*.

¹⁵ In the general case, an aberrant derivation can result from the application of several aberrations. An aberration δ_i can apply to an expression that has undergone another aberration δ_j , which can be distinct from δ_i , or identical to it.

¹⁶ In examples 3–4, the starting forms of the lexemes are aberrant. In these forms (not only starting forms, but oblique ones as well), the aberrant structure is the workstem. In example 3, it is the combination of the basic component with the suffix (по.могъ + т); in example 4, it is

ical alternation pairings are replaced by alternative ones, for boundary adjustment rules in 5 and workstem formation in 6.

§ 892. Lexical aberrations

In segmental and paradigmatic aberrations, the aberrant form and its canonical analog belong to the same lexeme whose name is its starting form; call it *A*. Both the canonical derivation α and the aberrant derivation α^* start from this starting form. Accordingly, the canonical and aberrant derivations have the same input, viz. the expression $\chi(A)$, which is the paradigmatic call of the wordform α of the lexeme *A*. In lexical aberrations, the input to the derivation differs: the canonical derivation of the canonical form α starts from some input *A*, while the actual form α^* starts from a different input, call it *A*^{*}. For example, this is the case in *рнбѣ* (α^*) for *рнба* (*A*^{*}), whose canonical analogs are *рѣбѣ* (α) for *рѣба* (*A*); *обѣцалъ* (α^*) for *обѣцати* (*A*^{*}), whose canonical analogs are *обѣшталъ* (α) for *обѣштати* (*A*), *земьж* (α^*) for *земьа* (*A*^{*}), whose canonical analogs are *землѣж* (α) for *землѣа* (*A*).

Because in this grammar inputs are not constructed by rule, but are retrieved from the dictionary of lexemes, the notion of aberration is not directly applicable to them. Within the limits of this notion, we must either recognize spellouts as erroneous, or introduce doublet lexemes into the dictionary (e.g. *обѣштати*//*обѣцати*, or *землѣа*//*земьа*), or, as is done here, establish a separate class of lexemic or lexical aberrations. Lexemes are the objects substituted by these aberrations. One lexeme together with its whole set of wordforms is considered canonical, and the other aberrant. For example, we have the canonical lexeme *рѣба* (*рѣба*, *рѣбѣж*, *рѣбѣы*, ..., *рѣбами*), and the aberrant lexeme *рнба* (*рнба*, *рнбѣж*, *рнбѣы*, ..., *рнбами*). Of course, because the corpus of texts is limited, not all wordforms are attested in both canonical and aberrant lexemes. It is also understood that aberrant lexemes are set up only if they are attested by at least one gloss, while canonical ones may be established also when they are only attested by aberrant forms. For example, we have 2× attestations of the aberrant lexeme *рнба* and 84× attestations of the canonical *рѣба*.

the combination of a prefixless stem with a prefix (*нз + чит*). Because this book does not deal with word formation, formally the notion of aberration is not applicable to these examples. What is aberrant in the examples considered here are boundary adjustment rules that must apply to the morphophonological representations of workstems retrieved from the dictionary (PD). Thus, the aberrations for oblique forms can be derived without any formal difficulties, which arise only for starting forms. Note that there is a similar problem when a formative that is part of a workstem is aberrant. Here we introduce the notion of lexical aberration (see below in § 892). However, in this particular case, that notion does not preclude a certain formal contradiction.

§ 893. Localizing lexical aberrations

Comparing the starting forms of canonical and aberrant lexemes localizes the aberrancy in one of the formatives. Below are some examples.

Canonical form	Aberrant form	Location
везврѣменьнѣ	вѣзвѣрѣменьнѣ	Aberrant prefix
отврѣсти	отѣврѣсти	
развити	рѣзвити	
рыба	рыба	Aberrant root
тоуждѣ	штоуждѣ	
заштитити	заштитити	
пишта	пица	
розга	рѣзга	
работа	рѣбота	
рождѣство	рѣзѣство	
гребниште	гребниште	
трѣва	трава	
просѣщ=	прѣсѣщ=	Aberrant suffix

Clearly, in some cases the aberrant lexeme shows an alternative alloform that is present in the assortment of the corresponding formative. For example, the aberrant lexeme *отѣврѣсти* (cf. canonical *отѣврѣшти*). In other cases, the aberrant lexeme contains an exclusive aberrant alloform that is not represented in the canonical assortment. For example, this is the case with the aberrant lexemes *вѣзвѣрѣменьнѣ* and *рѣзвити*. In a significant number of cases exclusive aberrant alloforms can be represented as members of an alternative assortment of the formative, generated both by canonical as well as alternative alternations.

For example:

Assortment <137>		Assortment <755>	
Canonical	Alternative	Canonical	Alternative
вѣт	вѣт	рѣд	рѣд
вѣшт	вѣшт, вѣщ	рожд	рожд, рѣс [the ms. spellouts have рѣс]
вѣ	вѣ	ражд	ражд [рѣс is unattested]

In these examples, alternative assortments are generated by the alternative pairings by the substitutive softening alternation (see § 117).

However, in other cases, e.g. *ръив* ~ *риив*, exclusive alloforms cannot be generated by segmental alloformy either in its canonical or in its alternative variant. In this class of exclusive alloforms that cannot be represented by segmental alloformy are, among others, all those where the initial C varies. Cf. *тоужд* (canonical) and *штоужд* and *штоужд* <988>, *штит* (canonical) and *штит* <1110>.

§894. A note on forms aberrant by the substitutive softening alternation

Aberrations that show alternative pairings by the substitutive softening alternations are unevenly attested in sources. Namely, alternative pairings for dentals are found not in all sources (attested in КИЕВ, PS SIN, MAR, SUPR, and CLOZ). КИЕВ never shows canonical pairings, while the others show occasional alternative pairings alongside the majority that are canonical. Alternative pairings for labials are found in all sources except КИЕВ. They are found especially frequently in SUPR.

The possible types of aberrations are shown in Table 894.¹⁷

Table 894. Aberration types

	Canonical	Aberrant	Source of substitutive softening
Segmental aberrations			
1	ОСТАВѢЖ	ОСТАВѢЖ (AS)	Boundary rule in 1SgPrae of classes 1 and 2
2	НАСЪШГЕНИ	НАСЪЩИЕНИ (КИЕВ)	Workstem IMF of class 1
3	ВЪЗЕМѢНИ	ВЪЗЕМАИ (SAV)	Workstem PRAE of class 3
Lexical aberrations			
4	ПИШТА	ПИЦА (КИЕВ)	Segmentless substitutive softening in nominal stems
5	ОСВАШГЕННА	ОСВАЩЕ (НЬЪ) (PS SIN)	The basic component is the н-Part stem of class 1
6	ІАВѢІАЕТЪ	ІАВЫІАЕТЪ (SUPR)	Secondary imperfective class 7 verb of a class 1 verb
7	РОЖДЪСТВА	РОЗЪСТВА (MAR)	Segmentless substitutive softening of the basic component
Others			
8	ДАЖДЪ	ДАЗЪ (КИЕВ)	Morphologically anomalous forms of the athematic imperative
9	ПРОСѢШТЕ	ПРОСЪЩЕ (КИЕВ)	Suffix of the шГ-Part
10	ЗАШТИТИ	ЗАЩИТИ (КИЕВ)	An alternative alloform of the root formative шЧИТ for canonical шТИТ*

* See below in § 895.

Lexical aberrations of types 4, 5, and 6 appear systematically in particular sources, and as such are not always marked in the lists of commented lexemes.

¹⁷ Note that the classic interpretation of spellouts aberrant by the alternative pairings in the substitutive softening alternation for labials simply treats them as lacking epenthetic *l*, i.e. as an atomic aberration of the form $l' \Rightarrow \emptyset$, cf. ПРИСТЪПѢЪ ⇒ ПРИСТЪПЪ (Mt 8, 19 ZAGR), ПОГОУБѢІЕНІЕ ⇒ ПОГОУБЪЕНІЕ (SUPR 215, 27–28), КАПѢЮ ⇒ КАПЪЮ (SUPR 499, 29), ЗЕМѢНЪ ⇒ ЗЕМНІ (PS SIN 54, 21), etc. (cf. Vaillant, § 39). However, Vaillant himself notes, regarding this phenomenon, that «il ne paraît pas d'origine proprement phonétique: les groupes du type *nĭ* sont conservés régulièrement à l'initiale, où l'on a toujours *nĭ*вѣтн 'cracher', *nĭ*юстн 'garder', etc., et la chute de *l* épenthétique n'intéresse que les désinences flexionnelles et les formations dérivées. Il s'agit d'une modification de l'alternance du type *n/nĭ* simplifiée en *n/n'>*».

Illustrations

1 — не оставиѣхъ васъ сирѣхъ· приѣхъ къ вамъ Jn 14, 18 as 30a (cf. не оставиѣхъ васъ сирѣхъ· приѣхъ къ вамъ Jn 14, 18 as 93d); єдинѣхъ славѣхъ хошѣхъ видѣти· и цѣсарєстѣвнє неbesьноє· зѣло любыѣхъ вышнѣхъ чєстѣхъ· мѣхъ сѣ боѣхъ гєwнєскѣхъ SUPR 88, 3–6.

2 — вѣсѣда твоего гї насъицєнє просимъ тѣхъ· отъ вѣсѣхъ протѣвѣщѣхъ сѣхъ намъ сѣпасє нѣхъ KIEV 6a, 22–6b, 2; марта же мѣвѣше о мнѣхъ слѣхъжѣхъ Lk 10, 40 SAV (cf. in the same verse: і марта мѣвлѣше· о мнѣхъ слѣхъжѣхъ ZOG); гї отрокъ ми лєжитъ въ храмнѣхъ· ослабєнѣ жилами· лѣтѣхъ іакѣ мѣхъ сѣ Mt 8, 6 SAV; іакѣ прїємѣлѣше сѣ и любѣше· іакѣже рєштѣ лицємъ къ лицѣхъ· и оустѣхъ къ оустѣмъ глаголаше· іакѣже дроугъ къ своємоу дроугѣхъ SUPR 383, 26–29.

3 — видѣ нѣа^н іса идѣща къ сєвѣхъ· и глѣ сє агнѣцъ бѣхъ вѣземѣ грѣхъ мира Jn 1, 29 SAV; не тольма прїємѣєтъ оустѣ прорѣхъска· іакѣже кротѣхънѣхъ и тѣхънѣхъ члѣхъкѣхъ SUPR 383, 19–21; cf. also for канѣхътѣ S: сѣнѣдєтъ· фѣко дождѣ на роуно· і фѣко каплѣ капѣштѣ на землѣхъ PS SIN 71, 6.

4, 7 — фѣкоже нѣхъ єсє неbesьскѣхъ пѣцѣ насѣтѣлѣхъ· іакѣже же і живѣтѣхъ нашѣхъ сѣлоѣхъ твоеѣхъ оутѣрѣдѣ KIEV 4b, 3–6; а дрѣхънѣ оучєннѣхъ корабнѣцємъ прїдоша· не бѣша бо далєчє отъ землѣ Jn 21, 8 SAV (cf. in the same verse: а дрѣхънѣ оучєннѣхъ корабнѣцємъ прїѣхъ· не бѣша бо далєчє отъ землѣ ZOG); likewise: на лицѣхъ всєлѣ землѣ Lk 21, 35 SAV); коѣхъ же тѣхъ прїведє въ манѣстѣрѣхъ· мѣлѣтѣхъ на крѣмѣхъ прїхѣдаштѣнѣхъ тоу стѣрннѣхъ SUPR 565, 3–5 (cf. потѣм же градѣцъ малѣхъ на брѣхъзѣхъ сѣтворнѣхъ· и тѣхъ въ рѣдѣхъкѣхъ часѣхъ дѣни дѣлаѣхъ отъ того крѣмѣхъ сєвѣхъ имѣше SUPR 519, 5–7).

5 — лицє дѣвнѣхъ· хѣдѣхъ дѣвнѣхъ· очнѣ дѣвнѣхъ· оскѣвѣннє дѣвнѣхъ· бєсѣда дѣвнѣхъ· а жѣтѣрѣа не дѣвнѣхъ SUPR 240, 11–13; нѣстѣхъ бо тѣнѣно єже не гѣвтѣхъ сѣхъ· ннѣ оутѣєно єже не бѣдєтѣхъ познѣно· и въ гѣвнєннє не прїдєтѣхъ Lk 8, 17 SAV; въ конєцѣхъ пѣлѣмъхъ пѣснѣ осѣвѣцє(нѣхъ) домоу дѣва PS SIN 29, 1; твоеѣхъ свѣтѣхъ вѣсємогѣхъ бѣже· фѣже сє нѣхъ прїємѣлѣхъ· на раздрѣшєннє· і на очнѣшєннє намъ бѣдѣхъ KIEV 5a, 13–16.

6 — да испрѣвѣ нѣхъ і очнѣтѣхъ· не нашѣхъ дѣлѣхъ радѣхъ· нѣхъ оѣтѣа твоего радѣхъ іже єсє оѣцѣлѣ намъ KIEV 3b, 8–12; ннѣ азѣхъ єсємъ сѣзѣдавѣннє сєбє· ннѣ азѣхъ погоубѣѣхъ сєбє· нѣхъ єстѣхъ гѣспѣдѣхъ сѣтворнѣхънѣ мѣхъ і тѣхъ оѣновнѣтѣхъ мѣхъ сѣлоѣхъ своєѣхъ· и тѣхъ мѣхъ нзѣвѣѣѣтѣхъ і хрѣннѣтѣхъ· нєпорѣхънѣа отъ рѣхъкѣхъ вашнѣхъ SUPR 269, 17–21; лицє гѣвѣѣѣтѣхъ печѣлѣхъ SUPR 474, 26; cf. also in the n-Part stem: мнѣлѣстѣвѣаѣхъ оѣцѣннѣхъ KIEV 2a, 8–9.

7 — дѣннѣ же бѣвѣзѣшоу розѣстѣа нрѣдѣвоа· пѣлѣса дѣштѣнѣ нрѣднѣднѣа по срѣдѣхъ і оугѣднѣ нрѣдѣвнѣ Mt 14, 6 MAR; соугѣѣѣѣхъ пакѣхъ глѣхъ жнѣнѣхъ· соугѣѣѣѣо розѣстѣо (here in the manuscript the letters ждѣ are written above the word)· въ коупѣхъ і пѣрозѣстѣвоу· і слѣшнѣ въ рѣхънѣхъ· соугѣѣѣѣо розѣстѣвоу· вєштѣнѣ· і вѣсплєштнѣ чѣдєса· нѣнѣлѣ марнѣ· мѣтєрнѣ хѣвѣхъ· рѣжѣстѣо єго бѣлѣгѣвѣстѣвоа· і нѣлѣ· мѣрнѣ мѣгдѣлѣннѣхъ· пѣрѣжѣдєннє єго· єже отъ грѣвоа· бѣлѣгѣвѣстѣвоа CLOZ 13b, 40–14a, 7.

8 — і сѣдѣрѣвнє намъ дѣзѣ· і доушѣхъ нашѣхъ і тѣлєса очнѣтѣ KIEV 4a, 11–13; пѣдѣзѣ намъ прѣснѣмъ тѣхъ вѣсємогѣхънѣ бѣже· бѣлѣжєннѣхъ радѣхъ мѣхъчєннѣхъ твоеѣхъ фѣлнѣштѣхънѣхъ вѣкоупнѣхънѣхъ молнѣтѣхъжѣ KIEV 2a, 12–16; cf. прннєснѣ прѣхъстѣа твое[є]го сѣлѣмо· і внѣзѣхъ рѣцѣхъ мѣн Jn 20, 27 MAR.

9 — мжченикъ твоиуъ гї чьсти чьствѣце молимъ тѣа просѣаце· да ѣкоже ѡ еси славоиъ твоиѣхъ небесьско[о]иъ оутврьдилъ· такоже же і нзи милостиѣхъ твоиѣхъ прѣми кїев 6b, 4–10; хрѣдѣтаѣацю блаженоумоу климентоу мжченикоу твоемоу кїев 1b, 11–13.

10 — твоѣ свѣатѣ всьсемоу бже· ѣже се нзи прїемлемъ· на раздрѣшннє· і на очншчннє намъ бждж· а тѣи самъ помощѣхъ твоиѣхъ вѣчьноиъ зашчггї нзи кїев 5a, 13–18; цѣсарьствѣ нашемъ гї милостѣхъ твоиѣхъ прїзѣри· і не отѣдадѣ нашего тоузмъ· і не обрѣти насъ въ плѣнъ народомъ поганьскѣимъ кїев 4b, 8–13.

§ 895. Synchronic aberrations and diachronic changes

Note that aberrations in synchronic grammar on the one hand, and dialectal differences understood to result from differences in sound changes on the other, while analogous in content, cannot be reduced to one another.

For example, historical grammar sets up the following sound changes:

Proto-Slavic	<i>tj</i>	<i>stj</i>	<i>skj</i>
Standard (i.e. canonical) OCS	št		
“Moravian” (i.e. KIEV)	<i>c</i>	šč	

In the synchronic grammar, the analog of this system of sound changes is the system of aberrant pairings by the substitutive softening alternation.

Grade C°	т	ст	ск
Grade C• (canonical)	шт		
Grade C• (KIEV)	ц	шч	

Cf. насытити, насыштєн=, but насыщен= in KIEV; очнштити, очнштєн=, but очншчен= in KIEV. There are no examples of the ск||шч pairing in KIEV (they could be expected, e.g., in the Prae forms of the verb искати). However, in KIEV we find the lmv form зашчггї, for the canonical infinitive заштггїтїтї. From an etymological point of view, this form shows a KIEV-specific development of *skj (or *sk + front vowel) into šč;¹⁸ however, in the synchronic grammar there is no aberrant pairing ск||шч, because the position here is the initial C, where no alternations take place. The aberrant form lmv зашчггї (for canonical заштггїтїтї) results from a lexical aberration (зашчггїтїтї for canonical заштггїтїтї).

§ 896. Lexicographic difficulties in attesting lexical aberrations

Because the corpus is rather limited, some lexemes represented by only a few glosses may be found only in aberrant forms. It is difficult to find a good lexicographic solution in such cases. Reconstructing canonical forms for inclusion in the dictionary, even if such a reconstruction seems obvious, runs the risk of inventing nonexistent lexemes. Nonetheless, in a few cases such a reconstruc-

¹⁸ See the etymological details in Van Wijk, § 18.

tion is performed in this work. For example, PD contains the fictional canonical lexeme *рабинскъ* for the hapax aberrant form *рѡбинскоѡж* SUPR 562, 12. In other cases PD shows the aberrant form. All such cases are discussed in comments under specific lexemes in the overview of paradigmatic classes.

In the general case, partial phonological differences between eponymous wordforms with the same meanings can occur either when one of the forms is canonical and the other aberrant, or when both are canonical. In the latter case the forms are doublets. For example, *ави сѡ* ZOGR and *ѡви сѡ* MAR (in Mk 9, 4) are forms of doublet lexemes *авити* and *ѡвити*. A special case are derivational doublets, where the lexemes differ in partially identical synonymous suffixes (cf. *младеньць* and *младѣньць*), or in alloforms of the basic components (cf. *родѣство* and *рождѣство*). It is hardly appropriate to develop formal criteria to distinguish doublets from aberrations, but the factual boundary between the two categories is explicitly drawn in this book. In extreme cases the distinction is quite clear and obvious (compare, on the one hand, *авити* and *ѡвити*, with more than 200 occurrences with a relatively even distribution across sources, and on the other hand, *розга* and *разга*, with 16 occurrences in the Gospels and PS SIN, out of which *разга* occurs once in ZOGR and MAR each). On the other hand, in many intermediate cases the decisions are relatively arbitrary.

Let us consider one example in more detail. Suffixal forms with the suffixes *ѡн* {31}, *ен* {57}, and *ын* {29} in some cases create competing lexemes. On the membership of stems with *ен* {57} see § 861. Note that spellouts with *ен* can be treated as containing not the suffix *ен* {57}, but as resulting of the strengthening of *ь* in the suffix *ын* {29}. This is the interpretation of only the form *мѡдѣнь* PS SIN 17, 35.

In other pairs of parallel forms some spellouts could be treated as aberrant, but a general overview of the cases does not seem to yield to a reasonable and nontrivial solution. This book treats all competing lexemes with these suffixes as independent canonical lexemes, i.e. doublets, because it does not appear that the distinction between the suffixes *ѡн* {31}, *ен* {57}, and *ын* {29} corresponds to a meaning difference.

Table 896 shows all the relevant material.

PD shows one, two, or three lexemes, depending on the attestation of forms: one occurrence for *багѡрѣница*, *младѣнь* etc.; two occurrences for *дрѣвѣнь* and *дрѣвѣнь*, *пѣтѣньць* and *пѣтѣньць* etc.; three occurrences for *младѣньць*, *младѣньць*, and *младѣньць*.

Table 896. Competing uses of the suffixes *ѡн*, *ын*, and *ен*

	Suffix <i>ѡн</i> {31}	Suffix <i>ын</i> {29}	Suffix <i>ен</i> {57}
<i>багѡрѣница</i>	3x SUPR	None	None
<i>власѣнь</i>	1x SUPR	None	None
<i>гѡсѣница</i>	1x PS SIN	None	None
<i>дрѣвѣнь</i>	5x SUPR, CLOZ	3x PS SIN, CLOZ	None
<i>бездрѣвѣнь</i>	None	1x SUPR	None

Table 896 (continued). Competing uses of the suffixes *ѣн, *ьн, and *ен

	Suffix *ѣн {31}	Suffix *ьн {29}	Suffix *ен {57}
каам*нъ	9× SUPR, EUCH, ZOGR, MAR, AS	None	None
окам*нитн ¹⁾	3× ZOGR, MAR, AS	None	5× ZOGR, MAR, SUPR
льн*нъ	1× SUPR	None	None
млад*ништъ	1× ZOGR	None	22× SUPR
млад*нъць	4× ZOGR, CLOZ	16× ZOGR, MAR, AS, PS SIN, SUPR	30× ZOGR, MAR, PS SIN, EUCH, SAV, SUPR, AS,
млад*нъчь	None	2× MAR, PS SIN	2× SAV, CLOZ
млад*нъство	None	None	3× SUPR, EUCH
млад*нъ	None	1× SUPR	None
можд*нъ	1× PS SIN [можданъ]	None	None
мъд*нъ	1× PS SIN	4× PS SIN, SUPR	None
мъд*ница	None	1× SUPR	None
олов*нъ	2× SUPR	None	None
оцѣт*нъ	1× SAV	3× ZOGR, MAR, SUPR	None
пи*ница	5× ZOGR, MAR, AS, SAV, SUPR	None	None
пи*нъ	2× PS SIN, SUPR	None	None
пи*нъствие	1× AS	None	None
пи*нъство	10× ZOGR, MAR, EUCH, SAV, SUPR	None	None
плаам*нъ ²⁾	2× SUPR	None	None
плашт*ница	11× MAR, AS, EUCH, SUPR	None	None
плашт*ничьнъ	1× EUCH	None	None
плат*нъ	1× SUPR	20× SUPR, EUCH	None
прахн*нъ	1× SAV	None	None
пръв*нъць	15× ZOGR, MAR, AS, PS SIN, EUCH, CLOZ, SAV, SUPR	None	None
път*нъць	1× ZOGR	None	6× MAR, AS, PS SIN, SAV
рож*нъ	1× PS SIN	None	None
роум*нъ	1× SUPR	None	None
стъка*ница	6× ZOGR, SUPR	5× MAR	None
тим*ние	2× PS SIN, EUCH	None	None
тим*но	1× PS SIN	None	None
трън*нъ	4× SAV	None	None
оум*нъ	1× ZOGR	None	None
оумни*нъ	5× MAR, AS, SAV	None	None
цвѣтъч*нъ	1× SUPR	None	None
шипъч*нъ	1× SUPR	None	None
ьачьн*нъ	4× ZOGR, AS	None	None

¹⁾ Cf. камень 1/т, каменнє 2/п, каменънъ 2/а, окаменїеннє 2/п.

²⁾ Cf. пламень 1/т, пламеньнъ 2/а.

§ 897. The task of describing aberrations and the task of describing sources

Although phonological effects encountered in sources are fairly diverse, they turn out to be representable as the result of a rather limited set of aberrations. Description of sources and description of aberrations are distinct undertakings. Description of sources is not a goal of the present work. Rather, our goal is to show that the canonical OCS proposed in this book satisfies the conditions formulated at the outset: namely, that the mapping between the canonical language to the observed sources is ensured by the writing systems as given, and by a limited list of aberrations. This book shows that the proposed list of aberrations is adequate, by showing how each aberration corresponds to aberrant spellouts observed in the texts of the sources. The completeness of the list is not shown explicitly; in a sense, completeness was not one of the goals. The convention is that any form that is non-canonical and attested in some source, if it cannot be represented as resulting from one of the fixed aberrations, it is treated as erroneous. For example, there are no aberrations that could represent the effects $\varkappa \Rightarrow \sigma$ or $\varkappa \Rightarrow \epsilon$, which are fairly frequently observed in PS SIN (see Ch. 7, *Survey of the sources*, § 198). Formally this means that all such spellouts are errors.¹⁹ However, this book does not apply the aberrant ~ erroneous distinction overly pedantically: some alternative spellouts are considered aberrant even when the available aberrations are insufficient to generate them.

This spellout of aberrant forms is not intended as a reconstruction of the mental actions of the creators of the manuscripts. Also, the above remarks apply to the grammar of aberrations as proposed here. Both the list of aberrations and their classification in a different grammar might be different.

Excursus on *yer* aberrations and Havlík's rules

§ 898. General remarks

The following reasons necessitate a detailed look at *yer* aberrations undertaken in the present excursus. First, these are the most frequent and salient aberrations. Second, these aberrations are the subject of many specialized works, and a treatment of the *yers* forms a necessary part of handbooks and textbooks. In

¹⁹ Of course, the factual boundary between aberrant and erroneous forms can hardly be drawn objectively. For example, for the canonical starting form *дѡвольнѣ*, along with the canonical forms, we have the spellouts *дѡвьльн-* SUPR, *дѡвьльн-* ZOGR, *дѡвьльн-* MAR. Formally, aberrant forms of the prefix are representable as resulting from the atomic *yer* aberration (hypercorrection), while the aberrant form of the root results from the aberrant distribution of root alloforms. However, it is also possible that these forms result from a poor grasp of the morphological composition of the stem, and as a result, an approximate reproduction of the form with a random distribution of vowels, generating a morphologically strange form (as in Russian *удвольствѡрительнѡ* for *удѡвлетѡрительнѡ* or English misanalysis *donzerly* for *dawn's early* in *dawn's early light*).

this domain the simplicity of the observed data is combined with a rather non-trivial grammatical interpretation of the facts.

The underpinnings of *yer* theory is simple: a single object (in some cases the phoneme ь, in other cases the phoneme ъ) has three alternative realizations: strengthening (realization of ь as ѡ and of ъ as ѣ); deletion (realization of both ь and ъ as 0); and confusion (realization of ь as ѣ, and of ъ as ь). Correspondingly, the theory aims to uncover the conditions on this triple alternative.

The nontrivial grammatical interpretation arises for two reasons. First, the status of the participants of the observed changes is unclear: do these segmental units belong to graphics, phonology, or morphophonology in the case of synchronic grammar, or to OCS or some etymological image of OCS in the case of diachronic and comparative-historical grammar? Second, the boundaries within which the behavior of these units is observed are not clearly set: is the observation limited to OCS data, or does it go beyond it both in time and in terms of dialects? The generalization on the triple alternative known in Slavic studies as *Havlík's rule* was first formulated as a sound law that applied in the change from older to newer forms of the language. Although the data of OCS sources are not in obvious contradiction with this rule, it can hardly be attributed to the synchronic grammar of OCS, or of single sources. Note that both the discovery of Havlík's rule and its subsequent verification rely on material which goes far beyond OCS, including, on the one hand, sources where *yer* aberrations are represented much more broadly than in OCS, and on the other, sources that altogether lack *yer* aberrations (such as the Ostromir Gospels). Thus, it turns out that in the scheme "old *A* ⇒ new *B*", for OCS, the source (*A*) is buried in etymology, while the outcome (*B*) belongs to the younger dialectal neighbors, in particular to Old Russian and other Church Slavic data that are not direct descendants of OCS.

The objects of comparison

While considering *yer* aberrations, we compare (1) a spellout in the source text, which is treated as a particular wordform; (2) the canonical morphophonological representation of that wordform; (3) the normalized spellout of that canonical wordform. Thus, for example, the spellouts *дѣнь* MAR Mk 9, 31, *дѣнь* MAR Mt 26, 17, and *дѣнь* MAR Mk 14, 12 (all NASg) are compared with (2) the morphophonological representation *дѣн.ь*, and (3) the normalized spellout *дѣнь*. The spellouts *дѣнии* MAR Lk 17, 22, *дѣнии* MAR Lk 20, 1, and *дѣнии* MAR Lk 8, 22 (all GPI) are compared with (2) the morphophonological representation *дѣн.ьј.ь*, and (3) the normalized spellout *дѣнии*. The spellout *дѣньѣ* MAR Mk 2, 20 (NPI) is compared with (2) the morphophonological representation *дѣн.ьј.ѣ*, and (3) the normalized spellout *дѣнииѣ*. The main object of study is the individual occurrence of ь in the morphophonological representation of the wordform. Each such occurrence is evaluated as having a standard or aberrant reflection in the

spellout of the source,²⁰ and, correspondingly, the terms “standard” ~ “aberrant” apply to such occurrences. Table 898 shows some examples.

Table 898. Objects of comparison

Source spellout	МАР Lk 17, 22 ДЪНИИ (GPI)	SAV Mt 11, 12 ДНИИ (GPI)	МАР Lk 8, 22 ДЪНИИ (GPI)	МАР Mk 2, 20 ДЪНЬЕ (NPI)	МАР Mk 9, 31 ДЕНЬ (NSg)
Normalization	ДЪНИИ	ДЪНИИ	ДЪНИИ	ДЪНИЕ	ДЕНЬ
mph representation	ДЪ ₁ Н.Ъ ₂ Ј.Ъ ₃	ДЪ ₁ Н.Ъ ₂ Ј.Ъ ₃	ДЪ ₁ Н.Ъ ₂ Ј.Ъ ₃	ДЪ ₁ Н.Ъ ₂ Ј.Є	ДЪ ₁ Н.Ъ ₂
1st occurrence (Ъ ₁)	Standard	Aberrant	Aberrant	Standard	Aberrant
2nd occurrence (Ъ ₂)	Standard	Standard	Aberrant	Aberrant	Standard
3rd occurrence (Ъ ₃)	Standard	Standard	Standard	None	None

Fall, strengthening, confusion, and regression of the *yers*

The following types of *yer aberrations* are possible.

1. In place of the *yer* occurrence in the morphophonological representation we find no vowel at all. For example, in the spellout ДНИИ (for ДЪН.ЪЈ.Ъ) SAV Mt 11, 12, there is no vowel in place of the first *yer* occurrence. In such cases we speak of the *fall of the yers* aberration.

2. In place of the *yer* occurrence in the morphophonological representation we find the letter ѻ in place of morphophonological њ, and the letter є in place of morphophonological њ. This is the case in the spellout ДЪНИИ МАР Lk 8, 22 for the second *yer* occurrence, and in the spellout ДЕНЬ МАР Mk 9, 31 for the first *yer* occurrence. In such cases we speak of the *yer strengthening* aberration.

3. In place of the *yer* occurrence in the morphophonological representation we find the letter њ in place of morphophonological њ, or the letter њ in place of the morphophonological њ. For example, this is the case in the spellout ДЪНИИ МАР Lk 8, 22 for the first *yer* occurrence. In such cases we speak of the *yer confusion* aberration.

4. In place of the *yer* occurrence in the morphophonological representation we find the letter њ in place of the expected normalized њ₁, or the letter њ in place of the expected normalized и, where the *yer* occurrence is adjacent in the mph form to *j* or *i*. Such *yer* occurrences surface as /y/ (њ₁) for /ъ/, and as /i/ (и) for /ь/ by the mph ⇒ ph rules. For example, this is the case in the spellout ДЪНЬЕ МАР Mk 2, 20 for the second *yer* occurrence, compared with the normalized ДЪНИЕ. In such cases we speak of the *yer regression* aberration.²¹

A note on the term “hidden yers”

In the mapping from morphophonological to the phonological and graphic (normalized) representations, њ and њ are realized as њ₁ and и, respectively,

²⁰ Because the mapping from graphics to phonology is unambiguous, it is immaterial whether the spellout is in letters or phonemes.

²¹ Spellouts with *yer* regression after *j* or *i* are not attested: aberrant spellouts observe the graphic prohibition against њ and њ after vowels. This applies to spellouts like *крањ for крај.њ, normalized краи, or *дњстоњнњ for до.стоњ.њн.њ, normalized дњстоинњ.

if they are adjacent to the phoneme *j* or the symbol *i*. Cf. *нов.ъі.ь ⇒ новъин*, etc. In pedagogical practice such instances of the letters *ы* and *и* are called *tense* or *hidden yers*.

Havlík’s rule

Havlík’s rule contains two subrules. Havlík-1 (H1 below) defines *yer* occurrences as *strong* (ъ) or *weak* (ь). Havlík-2 (H2 below) predicts the expected aberration—fall, strengthening, or confusion. In the present treatment, possible regression is treated as part of H2.

Here is the rule H1.

(H1)	In a given occurrence	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ъ is strong (ъ), if the next vowel is a weak yer (ь)} \\ \text{ъ is weak (ь) elsewhere} \end{array} \right.$
------	-----------------------	--

The rule is clearly recursive. It must be applied starting from the rightmost occurrence of *ъ* or *ь* in the morphophonological representation.

For example, we have *въз.ѣм.ъ* for *възьмъ*, *въз.ѣм.ѣши* for *възьмѣши*; *прн.іѣм.ъ* for *принимъ*; *свин.ѣј.ѣ* for *свинни GPI*, *свин.ѣј.и* for *свинни NLDSg*; *крѣст.ъ* for *крѣстъ*, *крѣст.а* for *крѣста*; *двѣр.ѣц.а* for *двѣрьца*, *двѣр.ѣн.ик.ъ* for *двѣрьникъ*; *дѣн.ѣ* for *дѣнь*, *дѣн.ѣј.ѣ* for *дѣниѣ*, *сѣ.бѣр.а.т.и* for *сѣбѣрати*; *бѣј.ѣши* for *бѣѣши*, *оу.бѣј.и* for *оуѣвин Imv*.

Note

The relevant linear unit is the clitic group, or the extended wordform, i.e. the wordform together with the adjacent clitics. Thus, Havlík-1 applies to strings such as *въ крѣви* (a possible aberrant spellout is *во крѣви PS SIN 29, 10*), *въ тъ часъ* (a possible aberrant spellout is *во тъ часъ Lk 12, 12 MAR*), *отъ сѣвѣдѣнни* (a possible aberrant spellout is *ото сѣвѣдѣнѣї PS SIN 118, 152*), *дѣнь съ* (a possible aberrant spellout is *днѣсъ PS SIN 2, 7*), *лежитъ съ* (a possible aberrant spellout is *лежитось Lk 2, 34 AS*), *избавитъ и* (a possible aberrant spellout is *избавитої PS SIN 21, 9*), *оуѣвинъ и* (a possible aberrant spellout is *оуѣвиѣмон Mt 21, 38 AS*, with a paradigmatically aberrant *Imv* terminal), *прѣдамъ и* (a possible aberrant spellout is *прѣдамен Mt 26, 15 MAR*), *рабъ тъ* (a possible aberrant spellout is *работъ Mt 18, 26 MAR, AS*), etc. (see § 868, *On wordform boundaries and loose and tight formative adjacencies*).

The rule Havlík-2 states that strong *yers* (i.e. the phonemes *ъ* and *ь* in corresponding occurrences) may be strengthened or confused, but may not fall; weak *yers* may fall or be confused, but not strengthened.²²

		Strengthening	Confusion	Fall
(H2)	Strong <i>yers</i>	Yes	Yes	No
	Weak <i>yers</i>	No	Yes	Yes
	If <i>ъ</i> or <i>ь</i> is hidden, regression is possible regardless of its status as strong or weak.			

²² This is the form of the rule as formulated by Antonín Havlík, and often the term “Havlík’s rule” covers only this statement.

Usually Havlík's rule on *yer* confusion is stated differently: only weak *yers* are claimed to be subject to confusion (cf. Lunt 1974, § 2.523–2.524; Lunt 2001, § 2.624 and ff.). However, the sources show many examples with *yer* confusion in strong positions. Cf. *възьми* Mk 2, 9 *МАР*; *бръвъно* Mt 7, 4 *ЗОГР*; *въшьдъшию* Mk 9; 28 *САВ*, *опъръ сѧ* SUPR 558, 28.

Yer aberrations in OCS sources

Like all other aberrations, *yer* aberrations show possible modifications of canonical spellouts. In other words, Havlík's rules allow certain realizations, rather than require them. Note that in general, OCS sources show canonical spellouts with *yers* more often than aberrant ones. Not all aberrant spellouts follow Havlík's rule. For example, the form *всь* (for *вьсь*), frequent in *Sav*, shows the fall of a strong *yer*.

Standard and anomalous *yer* aberrations

Specific *yer* aberrations that follow the Havlík-2 rule are called *standard yer aberrations*; those that do not follow the rule are called *anomalous yer aberrations*.

The following are examples of spellouts that show standard *yer* aberrations.

Fall (for weak occurrences of *yers*): *мнози* (for *мънози*), *кто* (for *къто*), *злоба* (for *зълоба*), *дом* (for *домъ*); *пожри* (for *пожьри*), *дни* (for *дъни*), *вси* (for *вьси*), *подобно* (for *подобъно*), *пси* (for *пъси*), *дам* (for *дамъ*).

Strengthening (for strong occurrences of *yers*): *сотъ* (for *сътъ*), *вопль* (for *въпль*), *дождъ* (for *дъждъ*), *золь* (for *зълъ*), *кровъ* (for *кръвъ*), *плоть* (for *плътъ*), *жерыцель* (for *жьрыцель*), *отеръши* (for *отъръши*), *юнои* (for *юн.ѣ.ь*, canonical *юнѣи*) PS SIN 118, 9; *шѣдъ* (for *шьдъ*), *весь* (for *вьсь*), *наченъ* (for *начьнъ*), *въземъ* (for *възьмъ*), *сжечь* (for *сжьчь*), *горешъ* (for *горьшь*); *сътворен* (for *сътвор.ѣ.ь*, canonical *сътвори*), *велен* (for *вел.ѣ.ь*, canonical *вели*), *дънен* (for *дън.ѣ.ь*, canonical *дъни*); *сънемъ* (for *съньмъ* NASg: *архирени* и *старыци*: и *кънижъники* и *весь сънемъ* Mk 15, 1 *МАР*), and *сонъмы* (for *съньмы* AP1: *прѣдадатъ бо вы на сонъмыг и на съньмицихъ вашихъ оубиждъ вы* Mt 10, 17 *МАР*).

Confusion (for weak occurrences of *yers*): *изъмж* (for *изъмъж*), *въсе* (for *вьсе*), *на зъдѣ* (for *на зьдѣ*), *приставъникъ* (for *приставьникъ*); *посълѣши* (for *посълѣши*), *азъ* (for *азь*), *сътъретъ* (for *сътърѣтъ*), *къто* (for *къто*), *рабъ* (for *равь*).

Confusion (for strong occurrences of *yers*): *възьми* (for *възьми*), *осъль* (for *осълъ*), *възьмъ* (for *възьмъ*), *пришьдъ* (for *пришьдъ*).

Yer confusion can give rise to prohibited combinations of velar with front vowels, cf. *кънижъници* Mt 23, 27 *МАР*, *отъгънавъ* SUPR 179, 17.

Regression (for hidden *yers*): *пъетъ* (for *пъ.ѣтъ*, canonical *пниетъ*), *дънье* (for *дън.ѣ.ѣ*, canonical *дъниѣ*), *абъе* (for *аб.ѣ.ѣ*, canonical *абниѣ*), *съмъ* (for *с.ѣ.мъ*, canonical *снмъ*), *невѣрью* (for *не.вѣр.ѣ.ю*, canonical *невѣрию*); also *змъи съ* PS SIN 103, 26 (for *зм.ѣ.ь с.ь*, canonical *зми съ* NSg), which shows regression and confusion of a weak hidden *yer*.

Sources show many examples of *yer* aberrations (*viz.* fall, strengthening, and confusion) that contradict Havlík's distributional rule. Below are some examples that show anomalous *yer* aberrations.

Anomalous fall (for strong occurrences of *yers*): тѣгда приде съ ѿмни исъ въ всь нарицаемѣжъ ꙗ҃нсимани Mt 26, 36 ZGR for въсь 1/f 'village, town'; и абие всь градъ изиде въ сърѣтєнне исѡу Mt 8, 34 SAV for въсь 2/p* (and also in SAV more than 10×); бѣ бо великъ днь въ тж сѣботѣ Jn 19, 31 SAV; трѣмн дньмн Mt 27, 40 SAV; Mk 15, 29 SAV; днь съ зимнѣ Mt 16, 3 ZGR; и ꙗ҃ко бѣистѣ днь събѣраша сѣ старьци людьщини и архирен и кѣнижньничи и вѣса и на сънмь свои Lk 22, 66 MAR.

Anomalous strengthening (for weak occurrences of *yers*): приде въ витанижъ идеже бѣ лазаръ ѡу мерон Jn 12, 1 MAR (for ѡу.мьр.ѣ.ь, canonical ѡу.мьрѣин); и се изношаахъ ѡу мерошѣ снѣ иночадѣ матери своен и та бѣ вѣдова Lk 7, 12 MAR; тѣмн ли единъ пришелецъ еси въ иерѡлѣмъ Lk 24, 18 AS; и шедъши домови обрѣте отроковицѣ лежѣцѣ на одрѣ и бѣсѣ шедъшѣ Mk 7, 30 MAR.

Standard *yer* aberrations in sources

The picture described above applies to OCS as a whole. However, each source shows its own peculiarities, not all of which are fully understood.

In different sources aberrant spellouts are distributed differently among lexemes and wordforms. One can thus assume that in different sources different aberrant spellouts could have the status of alternative variants. Cf. the distribution of forms of мѣногъ and кѣтѣ described in the Introduction.

The source SAV is unique in that it shows no strengthenings (cf. Ščepkin, pp. 94–113), and frequently shows forms with fall of strong *yers*, such as всь.

§ 899. An addendum to Havlík's rules for *yers* with liquids

The distinction between free and bound *yer* occurrences

Classical *yer* theory distinguishes two types of *yer* occurrences, which are called *free* and *bound* in the discussion below. In order for a *yer* to be bound, the following three conditions must be met.

1. The observed *yer* occurrence belongs to a root that etymologically shows sonant vocalism of the H(*r*) or H(*l*) series. For example, this condition is met for the wordforms грѣдѣ <197>, мрь.т.вѣ <539>, прѣстѣ <718>, and съ.бьр.а.т.и <24>, but not for the wordforms крьстѣ, крьст.а <452>, and двьр.ьц.а <221>.

2. The vocalic realization of the given alloform is V-final (i.e. has the form рѣ, рь, лѣ, ль, and not ѣр, ѣр, ѣл, ѣл). For example, this condition is met for the wordforms грѣдѣ, мрь.т.вѣ, and прѣстѣ, but not for the wordforms ѡу.мьр.ѣ.ь, съ.бьр.а.т.и.

3. The observed *yer* occurrence must be followed by a consonant. For example, this condition is met for the wordforms грѣдѣ, мрь.т.вѣ, прѣстѣ, and об.трѣ.т.и, but not for the wordform об.трѣ.

The behavior of bound *yers*

According to classical *yer* theory, bound *yers* cannot fall or strengthen, but show only confusion. Such occurrences are not classified as weak or strong. In the string of syllables that determines the weak vs. strong status of free *yers*, such

occurrences behave as ordinary (or full) vowels (cf. for example Vaillant, § 20; Lunt 1974, § 2.53–2.531).

Havlik's rule with the bound *yer* correction

Statements of the rules that take into account the bound vs. free *yer* distinction are shown below, even though no tools for making this distinction are provided in the present grammar.

H°	Select all bound <i>yers</i> ; apply H1° to free <i>yers</i> and H2° to all <i>yers</i>			
H1°	<i>yer</i> occurrence	strong (ꙗ)	If the following V is weak (ꙗ)	
		weak (ꙗ)	Elsewhere, including when the next V is a bound <i>yer</i>	
H2°		Strengthening	Confusion	Fall
	Strong	Yes	Yes	No
	Weak	No	Yes	Yes
	Bound	No	Yes	No

Here “yes” means ‘such a replacement is possible’, and “no” means ‘such a replacement is impossible’.

In other words, bound *yer* occurrences are not subject to the weak vs. strong distinction, and for the purposes of this distinction are treated as ordinary vowels. For example, in *сꙗмрътъ*, the first *yer* is free and weak (leading to possible fall, *смрътъ*), while in *сꙗбрьрати* the first *yer* is free and strong, because the second *yer* is free and weak (leading to possible strengthening, *сꙗбрьрати*).

The fact that the first *yer* in *сꙗмрътъ* is weak is shown by spellouts like *во сꙗмрътъи* PS SIN 12, 4 (for *въꙗ сꙗмрътъи*, not *въꙗ сꙗмрътъи*; see Vaillant, § 24), and *ото сꙗмрътъи* PS SIN 114, 7 (for *отꙗꙗ сꙗмрътъи*, not *отꙗꙗ сꙗмрътъи*; see Vaillant, § 20);²³ cf. also *въꙗ сꙗмрътъи мꙗкъсто* SUPR 489, 16 (for *сꙗмрътъи*, not *сꙗмрътъи*).²⁴

Bound *yers*, showing neither fall nor strengthening, are frequently subject to confusion: *прꙗста* (for *прꙗста*), *оꙗтврꙗди* (for *оꙗтврꙗди*), *мрътъвъꙗ* (for *мрътъвъꙗ*), *прꙗвъꙗе* (for *прꙗвъꙗе*); *грꙗтань* (for *грꙗтань*), *крꙗмити* (for *крꙗмити*), *скꙗрꙗбитꙗ* (for *скꙗрꙗбитꙗ*), *въꙗкъꙗ* (for *въꙗкъꙗ*), *наꙗꙗнꙗше* (for *наꙗꙗнꙗше*), *мꙗва* (for *мꙗва*).

Note that all spellouts with *yer* aberrations are subject to Havlik's rules without the bound *yer* correction (i.e. the rules H1 and H2). The three examples listed above (*во сꙗмрътъи*, *ото сꙗмрътъи*, and *сꙗмрътъи*) are within the range of errors due to anomalous *yer* aberrations.²⁵

²³ The ms. has *ото сꙗꙗꙗмрътъи*, repeating the prefix *сꙗ* across lines.

²⁴ The ms. shows *въꙗ сꙗмрътъи*: *с* is added above the line.

²⁵ Cf.: «[...] le vieux slave possédait un *r* et un *l* voyelles [...]. Il les note *рꙗ*, *лꙗ* (ou *рꙗ*, *лꙗ*, simple variante): *сꙗмрътъ* ‘mort’, *пꙗнꙗ* ‘plein’; mais le *ꙗ* qui suit *р* et *л* est graphique ou représente le léger accompagnement vocalique qui facilite l'émission de *r* et *l* voyelles, et ce n'est pas un *jer* réel. On le voit par deux faits: d'une part il n'est jamais vocalisé, tandis que les véritables groupes *рꙗ*, *рꙗ*, *лꙗ*, *лꙗ* connaissent la vocalisation des *yers* forts [...]; d'autre part, pour la répartition des *yers* forts et des *yers* faibles [...], le *рꙗ* de *сꙗмрътъ* est traité comme voyelle pleine, d'où gén. *сꙗмрътъи* SUPR 489¹⁶, *ото сꙗмрътъи* ‘de la mort’ PS SIN CXIV, 7, alors que le *ꙗ*

Note that Havlík's theory—both in the simplified version without bound *yer* correction, and in the more sophisticated version with bound *yer* correction—is based on comparative grammar of Slavic languages, where East Slavic data have the leading role.

Aberrant spellouts corresponding to canonical -ни-, -ѣни-

As is well known, many sources show forms with a single *н* instead of expected *ни*, or with a single *ѣ* instead of expected *ѣни*. Expected graphic *ни/ѣни* combinations are possible only across boundaries, where the first formative ends in *ѣј/ѣ*, *ѣј/ѣ*, *нј/н*, or *ѣ/ѣ*, and the second formative begins with *н/н* or *ѣ/ѣ*. For example, we have *при + иждити* (Inf, canonical *прииждити*), *гнѣј + н* (Imv, canonical *гнии*), *бѣј + н* (Imv, canonical *бни*), *нов.ѣ.ѣ* (NSgmPlen, canonical *новѣни*), *ништ.ѣ.ѣ* (NSgmPlen, canonical *ништни*), *ѣ.ѣиј + ѣц.ѣ* (canonical *ѣѣница*), *ѣ.ѣиј + ѣств.ѣ* (canonical *ѣѣниство*), *ѣ.мѣѣ + н* (Imv, canonical *ѣѣни*), *нов.ѣ.имѣ* (DPIPlen, canonical *новѣнимѣ*), *нов.ѣ.ихѣ* (LPIPlen, canonical *новѣнихѣ*); also *избавитѣ + н* (3SgPrae + ASgm(*н), canonical *избавитѣ н*),²⁶ etc.

The phonological and morphophonological interpretation of contracted spellouts is ambiguous. Phonologically we could assume the lack of a distinction between /i/ and /ii/. From a morphophonological point of view, several spellouts could show the effects of *yer* aberrations. For example, the spellout *новѣ* for *новѣни* (*нов.ѣ.ѣ*) could be interpreted as the fall of the last weak *yer*. Taking into account that in several sources spellouts with the letter *ѣ* are graphically indistinguishable from the sequence *ѣ + н*, the effect can also be seen as regression of the penultimate *yer*. The safest interpretation seems to be a graphic one: every phonological /ii/ can be written as *н*; every phonological /yi/ as *ѣ*. This treatment is supported by such infrequent forms as *на срѣдцихѣ вашнихѣ* Lk 21, 14 AS (for canonical *на срѣдцихѣ вашнихѣ*). However, such spellouts are also consistent with the phonological treatment of this phenomenon.

For most wordforms, sources show both canonical and aberrant spellouts, even though in some cases a certain standard is fixed. For example, *при + ити* (also in oblique forms, e.g. *при + идѣ* etc.) is always written as *прити*, while for *при + иждити* we only have forms like *прииждити*.

Given the ambiguity of the grammatical interpretations of forms in this class, all such forms are treated separately in the analysis of the sources.

de *крѣвь* est traité comme *jer* faible dans *во крѣви* PS SIN XXIX, 10» (Vaillant, §20). Given the generally unstable spellouts with *yers* observed in OCS, it seems unconvincing to maintain the distinction between free and bound *yer* occurrences in OCS itself.

²⁶ See more in § 868, *On wordform boundaries and loose and tight formative adjacencies*.

Excursus on the description of phoneme syntagmatics

§900. General

Syntagmatics studies allowed and prohibited adjacencies of units of a lower rank inside units of the immediately higher rank. For phonemes, there are two units of an immediately higher rank: formatives and wordforms. Because a wordform has two types of representations—morphophonological and phonological ones—the question of phoneme adjacencies can belong to either of these representations. In the case of morphophonological representations, adjacent phonemes can be within a formative or across a formative boundary. Thus, we have the syntagmatic situations shown in Figure 5.

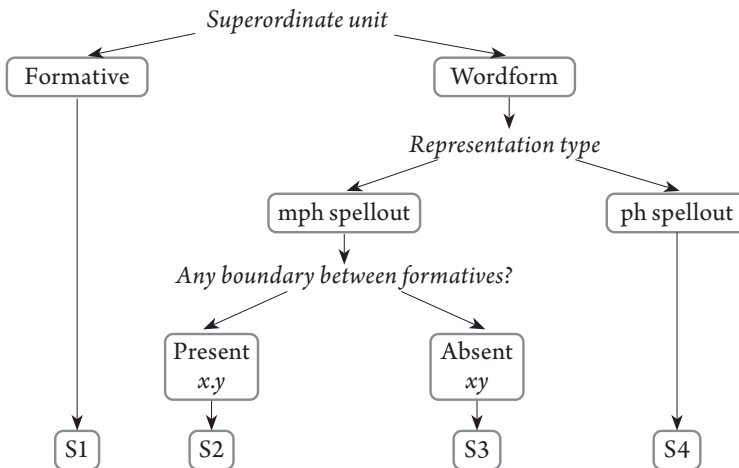


Figure 5. Four syntagmatic situations

In the general case, the syntagmatic situations S1–S4 are pairwise distinct. For example, a formative can begin with the vowel *ъ*, cf. *вѣукъ.ѣв.и* (situation S1), but the wordform in neither ph nor mph representation cannot begin with the vowel *ъ* (situations S2–S4).

To describe phoneme syntagmatics means the following: for each phoneme combination (including unit-initial and unit-final positions), and for each syntagmatic situation, one must establish a syntagmatic evaluation, which in the simplest case is binary: “allowed” vs. “prohibited”.

Fortunately, for OCS it is fairly simple to establish a syntagmatic evaluation for two immediately adjacent phonemes, because the syntagmatics of longer combinations is established by the recursive rule of *syntagmatic depth reduction*, namely:

xyz is allowed if and only if xy is allowed and yz is allowed;
 xyz is prohibited if and only if xy is prohibited or yz is prohibited.

Thus, the full picture of phoneme syntagmatics can be represented by four tables of the following form.

S1	a	b	...
a			
b			
...			
xy in formatives (mph)			

S2	a	b	...
a			
b			
...			
x.y in wordforms (mph)			

S3	a	b	...
a			
b			
...			
xy in wordforms (mph)			

S4	a	b	...
a			
b			
...			
xy in wordforms (ph)			

Here, a, b, \dots are phonemes or the symbol # (the space, or the left/right boundary),²⁷ and the table cells contain syntagmatic evaluations (usually “allowed” or “prohibited”).

Of course, such a way of representing syntagmatics is not very useful, and grammars usually use more compact and easy-to-use formats of presenting data. First, some rows or columns turn out to be equivalent, and this makes the tables shorter and more general. For example, the rows for $\kappa, \tau,$ and χ are equivalent in all four tables. Second, some situations may be equivalent or almost equivalent. Third, syntagmatic evaluations (“allowed” vs. “prohibited”) are to some extent elastic, and this permits us to unify some equivalent rows or columns. The issue is that some attested combinations are syntagmatic anomalies (cf. $\Delta\epsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\rho\zeta$ given the prohibited combination $\kappa\lambda$), while unattested ones can be treated arbitrarily as allowed or prohibited.

Now let us turn to how such a reduction in syntagmatic data is achieved in practice.

§901. Equivalence of rows and columns

The view of syntagmatics as the application of two ordered syntagmatic filters—the CVC schema filter, and particular filters in each allowed schema—gives a more general picture of syntagmatic data. Indeed, the OCS CVC filter prohibits a large number of theoretically conceivable combinations of phonemes, leaving only some groups of combinations for the particular filters. In the particular filters, the equivalence of rows and columns in most cases can be described using phonological features. For example, front vowels are syntagmatically equivalent, and opposed to back vowels (a special case is the phoneme /i/ word-initially and after vowels).

²⁷ From a syntagmatic point of view, the symbol # that marks the so-called loose formative adjacency (see § 69) is equivalent to the absolute beginning or end of a wordform.

§902. Equivalence of syntagmatic situations: statement of the problem

It turns out that the syntagmatic situations S1, S2, S3, and S4 are largely identical. In other words, it turns out that if some combination is allowed in one situation, it is also allowed in the other, and if some combination is prohibited in one situation, it is also prohibited in the other.

§903. Equivalence of syntagmatic situations: the syntagmatics of edge conditions and internal conditions

Note that the syntagmatic situation S1 is opposed to the situations S2–S4 in terms of the rank of the superordinate unit. In terms of syntagmatic possibilities, the situation S1 is opposed to the situations S2–S4 only in edge conditions. The syntagmatics of edge conditions deals with the availability of a given phoneme in the initial or final position of the superordinate unit, i.e. the possibility of edge combinations of the type $x\#$ or $\#x$. For both types of superordinate units the syntagmatics of edge and internal conditions should be considered separately.

For edge conditions, syntagmatics is limited to the evaluation of the CVC schema. Allowed and prohibited CVC schemata for isolated formatives and formative strings that make up a wordform are described by the CVC norm, which is established for each formative class (see § 36–37). What is allowed for some class of formatives may be prohibited for wordforms (e.g. C-final roots and suffixes are allowed, while C-final wordforms are prohibited).

For internal combinations, the situation S1 (within a formative) is equivalent to the situation S3 (within a formative inside a wordform).

Thus, situation S1 does not need to be considered as a separate syntagmatic situation.

§904. Morphophonology and phonology

Syntagmatic situations S2 and S3 belong to the morphophonology, while situation S4 belongs to the phonology. It is natural to expect that phonology allows fewer combinations than morphophonology. In other words, if some combination xy is allowed in the phonology (i.e. in S4)—see row 1 below—it is a fortiori allowed in the morphophonology (i.e. in S2 and S3). If some combination xy is prohibited in the morphophonology (i.e. in S2 and S3), it is a fortiori prohibited in the phonology (i.e. in S4)—see row 4 below. This is borne out by the facts.

The following is also true: if some combination xy is allowed inside a formative (the situation S3), then the combination $x.y$ is allowed across a boundary (the situation S2), and if some combination xy is prohibited in the phonology (the situation S4), it is prohibited inside a formative (the situation S3). This claim is called *Kuryłowicz's thesis* below.²⁸

²⁸ See Kuryłowicz 1948 and Kuryłowicz 1952.

However, among combinations that are prohibited in the phonology (i.e. in S4) and allowed in the morphophonology (i.e. in S2 or S3), some combinations are allowed across boundaries (situation S2), but not inside formatives (situation S3), in agreement with Kuryłowicz's thesis (see row 3 below), while others are allowed both across boundaries (situation S2) and inside formatives (situation S3), contra Kuryłowicz's thesis (see row 2 below). The possible combinations are shown in Tables 904.1–3.

Table 904.1. Possible combinations of evaluations in different syntagmatic situations

	S2 mph; boundary (<i>xy</i>)	S3 mph; inside formative (<i>xy</i>)	S4 ph
1	+ с.т	+ ст	+ ст
2	+ ж.ѣ	+ жѣ	– жѣ
3	+ т.т	– тт	– тт
4	– н.б	– нб	– нб

Facts corresponding to row 2 contradict Kuryłowicz's thesis, or rather some more general principles that underly that thesis. They are special circumstances that are represented by a few isolated cases. Outside of these special situations, the more general principle holds, which requires that in the mapping from mph to ph representations, formatives inside a wordform change their phonological shape only at boundaries.

These special circumstances (row 2) correspond to cases that have the following nonstandard morphophonological properties. First, all these cases have to do with the morphophonological representations of roots that undergo a change in their vocalism (e.g. жег.чъ ⇒ жѣг.чъ in the aorist). Second, the prohibition of the corresponding cases has graphic, not phonological content. All such special cases involve the allowance in the situation S2 of combinations of shibilants or j with ѣ, њ, or њ — combinations that are prohibited in the phonology. Thus, in the mapping between mph and ph, these combinations are replaced with combinations of the form shibilant or j + а, и, or ъ. Indeed, the spellouts жѣ and жа, (as well as жъ and жь, and жњ and жи) are phonologically equivalent, but the normalization prescribes only one spellout: жа, жь, and жи, but not жѣ, жъ, жњ.

Note that removing row 2 from the table makes the S3 and S4 columns equivalent, see Table 904.2 on p. 478.

Conversely, excluding column S3 makes rows 2 and 3 equivalent, see Table 904.3 on p. 478.

Table 904.2. Table 904.1 without row 2

	S2 mph; boundary (xy)	S3 mph; inside formative (xy)	S4 ph
1	+ Ϣ.Г	+ ϢГ	+ ϢГ
3	+ Г.Г	– ГГ	– ГГ
4	– н.Б	– нБ	– нБ

Table 904.3. Table 904.1 without column S3

	S2 mph; boundary ($x.y$)	S4 ph
1	+ Ϣ(.)Г	+ ϢГ
2	+ ж(.)Ѡ	– жѠ
3	+ Г(.)Г	– ГГ
4	– н(.)Б	– нБ

Thus, the syntagmatic situation S3, unlike the situations S2 and S4, is superfluous, outside of the special cases of row 2. There are only two situations that are distinct from each other: the morphophonological one (with the boundary ($x.y$) or without (xy), shown as $x(.)y$ in the Table 904.3), and the phonological one, and special cases are treated as such.

§ 905. The description format adopted here

Given the above considerations, in describing syntagmatics we will henceforth use tables that distinguish only two rows: mph and ph.

Moreover, the ph row can be understood to cover the syntagmatic situations S4 and S3 without distinguishing the type of representation to which it applies, except for special cases (see Table 904.1, row 2), which are marked in the comprehensive syntagmatic tables with a plus sign and a circle in the mph row. At the same time, the mph row can be understood to cover the situations S2 and S3 without distinguishing combinations with a boundary and without. In other words, a plus in the mph row can be understood as allowing the combination in the mph representation of the wordform. Indeed, if some combination, e.g. $\kappa\Gamma$, is allowed in the mph representation across formative boundaries (cf. $\rho\epsilon\kappa.\Gamma.\iota$), it is allowed in mph representations without any specification as to

the presence of the boundary. The fact that it is impossible inside a formative (there are no formatives of the type $\kappa\tau V$ or $V\kappa\tau$), follows from the fact that $\kappa\tau$ is prohibited in phonological representations, and does not belong to the set of isolated special cases.

Accordingly, in qualifying some combination as allowed or prohibited in the mph row, the presence of a boundary is not indicated. If we say that xy is morphophonologically allowed, this means that either $x.y$ or xy is allowed; if xy is prohibited, then both $x.y$ and xy are prohibited.

§906. On the agreement between syntagmatics and the $\text{mph} \Rightarrow \text{ph/norm}$ rules

A combination xy that is allowed in mph and prohibited in ph is called *repairable* if it is removed in the mapping between morphophonological and phonological representations, i.e. if $\text{mph} \Rightarrow \text{ph/norm}$ rules contain a rule of the form $xy \Rightarrow R$, where R is a single phoneme or a sequence of phonemes (cf. $\kappa\tau \Rightarrow \text{шт}$, $\text{рек.т.н} \Rightarrow \text{рештн}$, or $\text{дт} \Rightarrow \text{ст}$, $\text{пад.т.н} \Rightarrow \text{пастн}$). Note that the rules may also remove combinations that are prohibited in morphophonological representations. For example, the morphophonological representation зна.ѣши contains a prohibited hiatus аѣ , which is repaired by $\text{mph} \Rightarrow \text{ph/norm}$ rules.

The $\text{mph} \Rightarrow \text{ph/norm}$ rules must agree with the syntagmatics in that all combinations that are allowed in mph and prohibited in ph must be repairable. The converse is also true: the rules must not remove combinations that are allowed in ph, and, of course, should not introduce combinations prohibited in ph.

In terms of their logical status, these statements are conditions on the correctness and perfection of the grammar, and may be false in particular cases that are empirical violations of grammatical conditions. This grammar of OCS contains such empirical violations: first, some instances of ph-prohibited combinations are not removed (e.g. in сѣдмъ , дм is a prohibited combination, but the same combination дм is removed in e.g. плѣд.м.ѡ ; likewise, несѣаше contains a prohibited hiatus, ѣа , but the same hiatus is removed in e.g. сѣашн [сѣ.а.т.н]). Second, some allowed combinations in some instances are removed (see the example об.нѣм.ѣ.т.н [онѣмѣтн]). Of course, all such strange cases are listed individually.

§907. An extended evaluation system; anomalous cases

Along with the syntagmatic evaluation in term of “allowed” vs. “prohibited”, each combination can be characterized along the “checked” vs. “unchecked” scale (see Table 907 on p. 480). The combination xy is checked if it is represented in the benchmark corpus, and unchecked otherwise. All four cases are possible.

Table 907. Possible combinations of syntagmatic evaluations and checkedness

Checkedness Syntagmatic evaluation	Checked	Unchecked
Allowed	1 ни	3 ми
Prohibited	2 ки	4 пи

Of course, grammar writers seek to reduce the size of classes 3 and 2, but it is inevitable that these classes end up non-empty. The separation line on which the grammar writer focuses is the one dividing 1 and 3 from 2 and 4; the invisible distinction between 3 and 4 can be drawn on grammatical rather than empirical grounds. The boundary between 1 and 2 is the distinction between the norm and *anomalies*. Anomalies violate certain declared grammatical rules that are represented in the corpus, in the canonical set of forms. For example, we have canonical *китъь*, *китовъь*, which violates the law of the velars.

§ 908. A note on checkedness and uncheckedness

As a consequence of Kuryłowicz's thesis, any phoneme combination allowed in S3 is allowed in S2. That is, any combination that is allowed inside a formative is also allowed across boundaries. Kuryłowicz's thesis is true as long as the syntagmatic evaluation "allowed" is not split into two, "allowed and checked" and "allowed and unchecked". Indeed, given the limited segmental diversity of formatives it often turns out that some combination *xy* is checked in S3 but not in S2. For example, the combinations *с.к* and *к.в* are not checked in S2, while they are allowed and checked in S3 and S4 (cf. *дъска*, *квасъь*). All such combinations are considered allowed in S2.

Combinations that are not checked in S2, S3, and S4 can also be allowed. For example, among the combinations (п, в, м) + (т, д), only *п.т*, *в.т*, and *в.д* are checked (in S2), while all six combinations are considered syntagmatically allowed in *mph* and syntagmatically prohibited in *ph*. All such combinations must be repairable. They are repaired by the rule that in all such combinations deletes the first consonant (cf. *об.тѣк.т.и* ⇒ *отѣшти*, and *об.дѣ.т.и* ⇒ *одѣти*). Thus, among *mph* ⇒ *ph*/norm rules, there are many that are in some sense fictional.

§ 909. A note on the source of syntagmatic anomalies

Violators of syntagmatic prohibitions that are checked in the benchmark corpus of wordforms are syntagmatic anomalies. However, in the narrow sense, syntagmatic anomalies are only those words that contain phonologically prohibited strings of phonemes in phonological representations. For example, the wordform *знаѣши* /znaješi/ does not contain phonologically prohibited strings of phonemes, although the morphophonological representation *зна.ѣши* con-

tains a morphophonologically and phonologically prohibited hiatus. The wordforms *наоучити*, *седморъ*, and *китъ* contain phonologically prohibited strings of phonemes in phonological representations. Henceforth, this narrowing clarification is left out, since we shall not consider any other syntagmatic anomalies.

A syntagmatic anomaly can be carried by the wordform as a whole—as in the case of *наоучити*—or by a formative, as in the case of *китъ*, *седморъ*, *агньць*. The sources of syntagmatic anomalies should always be sought in the formatives that make up a wordform. These are either nonstandard formatives that violate edge conditions (i.e. the CVC norm of their class), as in *наоучити* (the V-initial root *оуч*) or *агньць* (the phonologically prohibited initial V), or formatives that contain phonologically prohibited strings of phonemes (i.e. syntagmatically anomalous formatives), as in the case of *китъ* (the phonologically prohibited string *ки*), or *седморъ* (the phonologically prohibited string *дм*).

Syntagmatic anomalies are either *potentially correctable* or *uncorrectable*. Correctable are those anomalies that contain in their phonological representation phonologically prohibited strings containing repairable phoneme combinations. Among the examples listed above, *седморъ* is a potentially correctable anomaly: it contains the repairable string *дм* (cf. *роуд.м.ѣн.ъ* ⇒ *роумѣнъ*). On the other hand, *наоучити*, *агньць*, and *китъ* are uncorrectable anomalies, as these forms contain absolutely prohibited phoneme strings (*аоуч*, *#а*, and *ки*), for which there are no repair rules.

This distinction has technically significant consequences. Potentially correctable anomalies must not be subjected to the *mph* ⇒ *ph*/norm rules: if they were to undergo those rules, they would lose their prohibited phoneme strings, change phonologically, and cease to be anomalous. To prevent this, such forms must not be fed as inputs to *mph* ⇒ *ph*/norm rules, and accordingly, such potentially correctable anomalies are given by a special list (see § 62). Of course, there is no technical need to create lists of uncorrectable anomalies.²⁹ Let us note that among natural uncorrectable anomalies are 1) all wordforms containing as a first formative one that begins with a non-front vowel (such as *овидѣти*, *отъдати*, *агньць*, *овьца*, *оучо*, *оугасати*, *жа*, etc.); 2) all wordforms containing absolutely prohibited clusters (e.g. *нравъ*, *шлѣмъ*, *црькы*, *чрьвь*, *пожрѣти*, *жласти*, *свѣзда*, *цвѣтъ*, *влькъ*, *врагъ*, etc.); 3) all wordforms containing prohibited hiatuses (i.e. VV but not Vi) in their phonological representations; these are all wordforms with a V-final prefix and a V-initial (but not *и*-initial) following formative (root or prefix), such as *наоучити*, *прѣовидѣти*, *приверѣсти*, etc., and all personal forms of the imperfect, such as *несѣаше*, *трьпѣаше*, *плакааше*, etc.

²⁹ They are uncorrectable for the very reason that there are no segmental rewrite rules that could change the phonological shapes of their formatives.

Excursus on the contamination and competition between paradigmatic classes

§910. General

Even though the distribution of wordforms into lexemes in this work is assumed to be given and is not formally subject of discussion, even though this procedure is generally quite transparent and familiar, and even though for the majority of cases the result of this procedure is fixed in the main lexicographic sources, still in some cases the grammar writer is faced with fairly nontrivial issues. Before turning to some of these questions in this excursus, note the following important consideration. Existing OCS dictionaries are designed to help readers of texts, and are not grammatical; each gloss that is attested in the corpus of texts must be reflected in the dictionary. The dictionaries do not care how the reader should arrive at the needed lexicographic entry. All such dictionaries do not concern themselves with whether some gloss will correspond to a separate dictionary entry, or a cross-reference, or whether a single gloss can be found under different lexemes in several different entries, whether the headword contains an attested base form of a word or a reconstructed one, and what the principles of reconstruction are. In this sense, with perhaps a few exceptions, Večerka's dictionary adequately meets its goals. However, many goals of a grammatical dictionary remain unsolved. In particular, the questions of distribution of wordforms among lexemes are either unaddressed in Večerka's dictionary or addressed inconsistently.

The task of separating wordforms into lexemes in the present case is made more difficult by two factors. First, because the data of the corpus is quite limited, most lexemes are not represented by a full set of their wordforms, and often by just a few forms. Such lexemes are called *incomplete*. For example, for *сѣхнѣти* we have only *сѣхнѣаше* SUPR 345, 11, for *извѣзати* we have only *извѣзавъше* SUPR 79, 22–23, for *оумаситити* only *оумаситѣль* PS SIN 22, 5 and *оумаситити* PS SIN 103, 15. Secondly, the corpus material contains both canonical and aberrant forms, and often classifying a given form as canonical or aberrant depends precisely on the distribution of the observed forms among lexemes.

§911. Preliminary assumptions and auxiliary concepts

In the discussion below we abstract away from all aberrations except paradigmatic class aberrations and the aberrant *ш*-Part of the *любивъ* type. In other words, we consider: 1) aberrant class 7 PRAE system forms within class 3 lexemes, cf. *оуѣзавѣжѣтъ*; 2) aberrant class 3 PRAE system forms within class 5 lexemes, cf. *оуѣльбѣжѣ*; 3) aberrant *ш*-Part, *н*-Part, *л*-Part forms, and personal class 4 aorist forms within class 5 lexemes, cf. *оуѣасоша*. Accordingly, examples from sources may show normalized spellouts replacing actually observed ones. Such spellouts show the effects under discussion but do not copy pedantically ev-

ery peculiarity of the forms actually attested in sources. For example, we write $\text{OYB}\lambda\text{ZAI}\text{ЖT}\text{T}\text{Ъ}$ for $\text{OYB}\lambda\text{ZAI}\text{ЖT}\text{T}\text{Ъ}$ PS SIN 9, 23; $\text{OY}\text{Г}\lambda\text{B}\lambda\text{B}\lambda\text{Ж}$ for $\text{OY}\text{Г}\lambda\text{B}\lambda\text{B}\lambda\text{Ж}$ PS SIN 68, 15; $\text{OY}\text{Г}\lambda\text{C}\text{O}\text{Ш}\lambda$ for $\text{OY}\text{Г}\lambda\text{C}\text{O}\text{Ш}\lambda$ SUPR 110, 15, etc.

Let us call a verbal wordform *paradigmatically determinate* if it can belong to a lexeme of only one paradigmatic class, and cannot belong to any lexeme of any other paradigmatic class. Otherwise, we will call the form *paradigmatically indeterminate*. For example, the form $\text{C}\text{Ъ}\text{Х}\text{И}\text{Ъ}\lambda\text{Ш}\text{Е}$ can belong only to class 5 (the infinitive $\text{C}\text{Ъ}\text{Х}\text{И}\text{ЖT}\text{И}$ is reconstructable), while the wordform $\text{ИЗВ}\lambda\text{ZAV}\lambda\text{Ш}\text{Е}$ can belong to both class 3 ($\text{ИЗВ}\lambda\text{ZATI}$, $\text{ИЗВ}\lambda\text{Ж}\text{ЕШИ}$), and to class 7 ($\text{ИЗВ}\lambda\text{ZATI}$, $\text{ИЗВ}\lambda\text{ZAI}\text{ШИ}$). Paradigmatically determinate wordforms are also called *diagnostic*, and paradigmatically indeterminate ones *non-diagnostic*.

Let us call a *megalexeme* the set of verbal wordforms with the same lexical component. For example, the wordforms $\text{ZACT}\text{ЖPAI}\text{E}\text{T}\text{Ъ}$, $\text{ZACT}\text{ЖPAI}\text{Ж}\text{ШT}\text{A}$, and $\text{ZACT}\text{ЖPI}$ are wordforms of the same megalexeme (these wordforms represent two paradigmatic classes, $\text{ZACT}\text{ЖPI}\text{ТИ}$ 1 and $\text{ZACT}\text{ЖPA}\text{ТИ}$ 7). Likewise for the wordforms $\text{ПРИЧ}\lambda\text{ШT}\text{A}\text{E}\text{I}\text{M}\text{O}$, $\text{ПРИЧ}\lambda\text{ШT}\text{A}\text{E}\text{I}\text{ШИ}$, $\text{ПРИЧ}\lambda\text{C}\text{TИ}$, $\text{ПРИЧ}\lambda\text{C}\text{TИ}\text{Х}\text{Ъ}$, $\text{ПРИЧ}\lambda\text{ШT}\text{Ъ}\text{ШИ}$ (classes 1 and 7). Attributing wordforms to the same megalexeme requires their lexical component to be represented by the same string of formatives, even though in different wordforms the root formative may be represented by different allomorphs. For example, the wordforms $\text{ZAT}\text{Ъ}\text{KH}\text{ЖT}\text{И}$ and $\text{ZAT}\text{Ъ}\text{KAI}\text{Ж}\text{ШT}\text{A}$ belong to the same megalexeme (the lexical components are $\text{ZAT}\text{Ъ}\text{K}$ and $\text{ZAT}\text{Ъ}\text{K}$); likewise for $\text{DY}\text{X}\lambda\text{A}\text{Ш}\text{Е}$, $\text{DY}\text{X}\lambda\text{I}\text{Ж}\text{ШT}\text{OY}$, $\text{DO}\text{Ш}\text{E}\text{T}\text{Ъ}$ (the lexical components are DYX and $\text{DO}\text{Ш}$); likewise for $\text{ZAD}\text{O}\text{ШИВ}\text{Ъ}$ and $\text{ZAD}\text{Ъ}\text{KH}\text{ЖT}\text{И}$ (the lexical components are $\text{ZAD}\text{O}\text{Ш}$ and $\text{ZAD}\text{Ъ}\text{X}$). On the other hand, the forms $\text{B}\text{Ъ}\text{C}\text{И}\text{T}\text{Ъ}\text{ C}\lambda$ and $\text{B}\text{Ъ}\text{C}\text{Ь}\text{HOY}\text{E}\text{T}\text{Ъ}\text{ C}\lambda$ belong to different megalexemes: their lexical components are $\text{B}\text{Ъ}\text{C}$ and $\text{B}\text{Ъ}\text{C}\text{.Ы}$, respectively.

Let us use the term *megafamily* to refer to a set of megalexemes sharing a root, if their lexical components differ only in the presence or absence of a prefix. The Table 911 (p. 484) shows the megafamily DYX <261>.

In the Table 911, all wordforms are somehow distributed between lexemes and classes. Let us call such a representation of a megafamily its *reduced distribution*. We use the term *simple membership* of a megalexeme or megafamily to describe the set of wordforms representing that megalexeme or megafamily.

Then the task of lexicography is to create a reduced distribution for each simple membership. In other words, each megafamily should be represented as distributed across lexemes and paradigmatic classes.

Table 911. The megafamily дъх <261>

	Class 1	Class 3	Class 5	Class 7
0		доушеѣтъ доушѣшѣти		дыхааше дыхаѣшѣти
вѣ			вѣдъхнѣвъши	
вѣз			вѣздъхнѣвъ вѣздъхнѣвъши вѣздъхнѣ вѣздъхнѣ	вѣздъхѣѣте вѣздъхѣѣ
за	задоушнѣвъ		задъхнѣти задъхнѣаше	
из			издъше издъхнѣ издъхъши издъхнѣти	издъхѣѣшѣти издъхѣ
отъ				отъдыхѣти

ш- and шт-Part are represented in the table by their base forms.

See § 508 for class 3* verbs дъхѣти, доушеѣтъ. Here and below, for simplification, PRAE forms with the base доуш are treated as representative of class 3*, while the aberrant form дышеѣтъ is ignored altogether.

§912. Constructing distributed megafamilies

Let us assign a class label to each grammatically characterized form. If the form is paradigmatically determinate, then its label is the number of the corresponding class. For example, задоушнѣвъ has the label 1, while издъхнѣ has the label 5. If the wordform is paradigmatically indeterminate, its label is a list of paradigmatic classes compatible with it. For example, дыхааше has the label 3/7. If the wordform is compatible with several classes and aberrant in one of them, then the class number where it is aberrant is shown in parentheses. For example, вѣздъхѣѣте has the label (3)/7.

Let us create a table (see Table 912.1, p. 485) where rows contain paradigmatic classes and columns contain prefixes. In the cells we place the labeled forms from some megafamily, so that 1) a cell for a prefix and a class contains all corresponding forms, and 2) paradigmatically indeterminate forms are placed in the table several times—in all columns corresponding to some class symbol in the label. Let us call the resulting table the *unreduced distribution* of the megafamily.

Table 912.1. Unreduced distribution of the дъх megafamily <261>

	Class 1	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Class 7
0		доушетъ 3 доушжштти 3 дыхаѣштти (3)/7 дыхааше 3/7			дыхаѣштти (3)/7 дыхааше 3/7
въ				дъхнѣвъши 5	
въз		дыхаѣте (3)/7 дыхаѣа (3)/7		дъхнѣвъ 5 дъхнѣвъши 5 дъхнѣ 5 дъхни 5	дыхаѣте (3)/7 дыхаѣа (3)/7
за	доушнвъ 1			дъхнѣжти 5 дъхнѣѣаше 5	
из		дыхаѣштти (3)/7 дыха 3/7	дъше 4/(5) дъхъши 4/(5)	дъше 4/(5) дъхнѣ 5 дъхъши 4/(5) дъхнѣжти 5	дыхаѣштти (3)/7 дыха 3/7
отъ		дыхати 3/7			дыхати 3/7

The unreduced distribution table can be abbreviated by leaving out forms with identical labels in each group. Here and below we consider such abbreviated tables. The Table 912.2 is the abbreviated version of the unreduced distribution table of the дъх <261> megafamily.

Table 912.2. Abbreviated table of the unreduced distribution of the дъх megafamily <261>

	Class 1	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Class 7
0		доушетъ 3 дыхаѣштти (3)/7 дыхааше 3/7			дыхаѣштти (3)/7 дыхааше 3/7
въ				дъхнѣвъши 5	
въз		дыхаѣте (3)/7		дъхни 5	дыхаѣте (3)/7
за	доушнвъ 1			дъхнѣѣаше 5	
из		дыхаѣштти (3)/7 дыха 3/7	дъше 4/(5)	дъше 4/(5) дъхнѣ 5	дыхаѣштти (3)/7 дыха 3/7
отъ		дыхати 3/7			дыхати 3/7

Some columns of this table contain forms that are diagnostic for their class, while others do not. Columns that contain forms diagnostic for their class are called *independent*, as opposed to *dependent* columns. Independent columns represent paradigmatic classes that cannot be eliminated from a megafamily (in Table 912.2 these are the columns for classes 1, 3, and 5). At the same time, dependent columns can in the general case be eliminated, and their forms redistributed among independent columns. Eliminating a dependent column means removing some redundant lexemes from a megafamily. For example, in

Table 912.2, the dependent column for class 4 can be removed, and the form $\text{дъше } 4/(5)$ remains in class 5, as aberrant for the class 4 aorist дъхнѣти . This eliminates a class 4 lexeme from this megafamily.

In constructing the reduced distribution, one must consider not individual megalexemes, but the entire megafamily. In creating the reduced distribution of a megafamily, the following criteria are suggested.

Minimizing the number of paradigmatic classes of a megafamily

Other things being equal, a reduced distribution with the smallest number of paradigmatic classes for a given megafamily is preferred.

Table 912.3 shows the unreduced megafamily $\text{ник } <610>$ and its reductions according to Večerka's dictionary, and the dictionary in the present work (PD).

Table 912.3. The $\text{ник } <610>$ megafamily

	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Večerka	PD
\emptyset	$\text{ничетъ } 3/4/(5)$	$\text{ничетъ } 3/4/(5)$	$\text{ничетъ } 3/4/(5)$	$\text{ницати } 3$	$\text{никнѣти } 5$
въз			$\text{възникнѣ } 5$	$\text{възникнѣти } 5$	$\text{възникнѣти } 5$
		$\text{възникоша } 4/(5)$	$\text{възникоша } 4/(5)$		
по		$\text{поникъше } 4/(5)$	$\text{поникъше } 4/(5)$	$\text{поникнѣти } 5$	$\text{поникнѣти } 5$
при		$\text{приниче } 4/(5)$	$\text{приниче } 4/(5)$	$\text{приникнѣти } 5$	$\text{приникнѣти } 5$

Classes 3 and 4 are dependent, while class 5 is independent. For this reason the reduced distribution needs only to show class 5.

Technically, this criterion requires eliminating dependent columns. However, in some megafamilies, different columns may be eliminated. Below this situation is described as *class competition*. Class competition is resolved according to the following criterion.

Competing class hierarchy

If among two competing classes one can be seen as relatively new (open), while another as relatively old (closed), then, other things being equal, the paradigmatically indeterminate lexeme is preferably attributed to the open class. Open classes are 1, 5, and 7.

As an example, consider two megafamilies where classes 3 and 7 compete.

$\text{кап } <367>$					
	Class 3	Class 5	Class 7	Večerka	PD
\emptyset	$\text{каплѣтъ } 3/(5)$ $\text{капаахъ } 3/7$	$\text{каплѣтъ } 3/(5)$ $\text{канѣша } 5$	$\text{капаахъ } 3/7$	$\text{капати } 3$ $\text{канѣти } 5$	$\text{канѣти } 5$ $\text{капати } 7$

$\text{клик } <383>$					
	Class 3	Class 5	Class 7	Večerka	PD
\emptyset	$\text{кличѣшти } 3/(5)$ $\text{клицаахъ } 3/7$	$\text{кличѣшти } 3/(5)$	$\text{клицаахъ } 3/7$	$\text{клицати } 3$	$\text{кликнѣти } 5$ $\text{клицати } 7$
въз		$\text{въскликнѣша } 5$		$\text{въскликнѣти } 5$	$\text{въскликнѣти } 5$

In these megafamilies, class 5 is represented by diagnostic forms (КАЖША 5, ВЪСКЛИКНЖША 5), and should be present in the reduced distribution of these megafamilies. On the other hand, classes 3 and 7 are represented only by non-diagnostic forms. Thus, there is competition between 3 and 7. By the criterion of minimizing the number of paradigmatic classes of a megafamily, one of the competing classes must be excluded. By the competing class hierarchy criterion, class 3 is excluded as being closed, while all present forms by class 3 with substitutively softened stem are treated as aberrant class 5 forms, while other forms (with an expanded stem) as canonical class 7 forms.

As these examples show, while excluding all paradigmatically indeterminate columns is impossible, there should be no more than one such column.

Let us show one more megafamily with class competition.

САГ <933>

	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Class 7	Večerka	PD
ДО	САЖЕШИ 3/4/(5)	САЖЕШИ 3/4/(5)	САЖЕШИ 3/4/(5)		ДОСАШТИ 4	ДОСАГНЖТИ 5
ОБ	САЖЖТЪ 3/(5) САСАИЖШТИ (3)/7 САСАША 3/7	САГЪШИ 4/(5)	САЖЖТЪ 3/(5) САГЪШИ 4/(5)	САСАИЖШТИ (3)/7 САСАША 3/7	ОСАСАТИ 3 and 7 ОСАГНЖТИ 5	ОСАГНЖТИ 5 ОСАСАТИ 7
ПО	САЖЖТЪ 3/(5)		САЖЖТЪ 3/(5)		ПОСАСАТИ 3	ПОСАГНЖТИ 5
ПРИ	САЖЖШТИ 3/(5)	САШТИ 4 САГОУЪ 4/(5)	САЖЖШТИ 3/(5) САГНЖТИ 5 САГОУЪ 4/(5)		ПРИСАСАТИ 3 ПРИСАШТИ 4 ПРИСАГНЖТИ 5	ПРИСАШТИ 4 ПРИСАГНЖТИ 5
ПРЪ	САЖЖШТИ 3/(5)		САЖЖШТИ 3/(5)		ПРЪСАСАТИ 3	ПРЪСАГНЖТИ 5

Note that the criteria formulated above do not resolve all difficulties that arise with competing classes, and sometimes the dictionary author must make arbitrary decisions that are not motivated by precisely defined factors; cf., for example, the megafamily НЪЗ <609>.

§913. Competition between classes 3 and 7, and 3≈7 correlative pairs

Class 3 has no paradigmatically determinate forms at all: all PRAE system forms in the general case can be treated as aberrant class 5 forms, and all system IMF and INF-AOR forms as class 7 forms. According to the criteria formulated above, there should be no megafamilies with lexemes of both classes 3 and 7. This is not the case, however. Lexemes of classes 3 and 7 in one megafamily are possible if the representatives of those classes differ in root vocalism. The majori-

ty of such pairs are those where class 3 is represented by an irregular verb with unstable root vocalism, and in class 7 the root occurs in a lengthened grade relative to class 3 infinitive vocalism (see § 26). These cases are the following: <24> БЪРАТИ ≈ БИРАТИ, <220> ДЪРАТИ ≈ ДИРАТИ, <261> ДЪХАТИ ≈ ДЫХАТИ, <315> ЗЪДАТИ ≈ ЗИДАТИ, <323> ЗЪВАТИ ≈ ЗЫВАТИ, <665> ПЪРАТИ ≈ ПИРАТИ, <666> ПЪСАТИ ≈ ПИСАТИ, <883> СЪЛАТИ ≈ СИЛАТИ, <334> ВЪЗ.ЪМАТИ ≈ ВЪЗ.ИМАТИ, <288> ЖЪДАТИ ≈ ЖИДАТИ. Other correlative pairs have a somewhat different structure: <973> ТРЪСАТИ ≈ ТРЪГАТИ, <992> ТЪКАТИ ≈ ТЪКАТИ, <500> ЛОВЪЗАТИ ≈ ЛОВЫЗАТИ, <512> ЛЪГАТИ ≈ ЛЫГАТИ, <545> МЕТАТИ ≈ МЪТАТИ, <916> СЪЛАТИ ≈ СИЛАТИ, <863> ОСНОВАТИ ≈ ОСНЫВАТИ.

Table 913.1 on p. 489–490 shows the summary of the $3^* \approx 7$ correlative pairs of the megafamily <334>.³⁰

In all other cases class 3 and class 7 lexemes cannot be combined in one megafamily. In this case, competition between classes 3 and 7 is resolved as follows.

Class 3 PRAE forms with substitutively softened truncated stems are treated as diagnostic, as long as the megafamily does not contain diagnostic class 5 forms (with the suffix *н*). If the megafamily has diagnostic class 3 forms, then paradigmatically indeterminate 3/7 forms in any lexemes are assigned to class 3, and no class 7 lexeme is established. If there are no diagnostic class 3 forms, then paradigmatically indeterminate 3/7 and 3/5 forms are assigned to classes 7 and 5, respectively.

³⁰ This megafamily contains class 0 verbs (ИМЪТИ, ИМАТЬ, and aberrant forms like ИМЪЖЪТЪ), class 3* verbs (ВЪЗЪМАТИ [ВЪЗ.ЪМ.А.Т.И], ВЪЗЕМЪЖ), class 4h verbs (ВЪЗАТИ, ВЪЗЪМЖ [ВЪЗ.ЪМ.Ж]), and class 7 verbs (ВЪЗИМАТИ [ВЪЗ.ИМ.А.Т.И], ВЪЗИМАЖ).

Table 913.1. Class 3 and 7 verbs of the megafamily имати <334>

	Бу class 3*		Бу class 7		Večerka	PD
	PRAE	IMF, INF-AOR	PRAE	IMF, INF-AOR		
0	емѣтъ Lk 9, 39 ZGR	имати Jn 5, 46 MAR имати SUPR 255, 4	None	See class 3	имати 3	имати 3*
вѣз	въземѣтъ Mk 6, 8 ZGR	възъмѣти SUPR 359, 4	въземѣтъ SUPR 134, 1	възъмѣше CLOZ 6a, 11	въземѣти 3 and 7	въземѣти 3* въземѣти 7
вѣи	вънемѣте Mt 6, 1 ZGR	вънемѣти Mt 16, 11 ZGR	вънемѣте Mt 6, 1 SAV	вънемѣти EUCH 82b, 11-12	вънемѣти, вънемѣти 3 and 7	вънемѣти 3* вънемѣти 7
вѣз.при	въспрнемѣтъ Mt 6, 5 MAR	въспрнемѣше SUPR 480, 19	None	See class 3	въспрнемѣти 3	въспрнемѣти 3*
за	заемѣтъ PS SIN 36, 21	None	None	None	заемѣти 3	заемѣти 3*
из	иземѣше SUPR 430, 15; иземѣ SUPR 426, 12; иземѣши Jn 10, 24 AS	None	None	None	иземѣти 3	иземѣти 3*
об	обемѣтъ Lk 6, 44 ZGR	обемѣше SUPR 396, 3	(о)бемѣтъ PS SIN 79, 13	None	обемѣти, обемѣти 3 and 7	обемѣти 3* обемѣти 7
от	отемѣштеноу Lk 6, 29 ZGR	None	None	None	отемѣти, отнемѣти and отнемѣти 3	отемѣти 3*

Table 913.1 (continued). Class 3 and 7 verbs of the megafamily имати <334>

	By class 3*		By class 7		Večerka	PD
	PRAE	IMF, INF-AOR	PRAE	IMF, INF-AOR		
по	поемѣжѣтъ Lk 17, 35 ZGR	понаша Mt 19, 3 SAV	None	See class 3	понимати 3 and 7	понимати 3*
подъ	подъемѣжѣтъ PS SIN 36, 24	подъимати EUCH 67b, 17; подъемѣмати SUPR 85, 8	None	See class 3	подъимати 3	подъимати 3*
при	примѣжѣтъ Lk 9, 48 ZGR	примахъ CLOZ 6b, 18; примати SUPR 548, 15–16; примѣмати Jn 7, 39 ZGR; примаше SUPR 308, 9; прималъ SUPR 262, 3	None	See class 3	примати 3	примати 3*
прѣ	прѣемѣжѣта SUPR 187, 22	None	None	None	прѣимати 3	прѣимати 3*
съи	сънемѣжѣтъ Lk 17, 37 ZGR, MAR	сънѣмѣхъ Lk 5, 15 MAR	None	сънѣмѣхъ Lk 5, 15 ZGR	сънѣмѣмати 3	сънѣмѣмати 3* сънѣмѣмати 7

As an example, consider Table 913.2 containing a table fragment for the **ВЛЗ** <148> megafamily, which shows competition between classes 3 and 7. All PRAE class 3 forms are diagnostic, because there are no diagnostic class 5 forms, and forms labeled 4/(5) (only in the **ОУВЛЗ**-megalexeme) are treated as class 4 forms, because that class contains the diagnostic INF-AOR system forms.³¹

Table 913.2. Lexeme type combinations in one megafamily

ВЛЗ <148>					
	PRAE 3	PRAE 7	3/7 forms	Večerka	PD
Ø	ВДЖЕТЪ SUPR 57, 25	None	ВЛЗААХЪ Lk 8, 29 ZGR	3 and 7	3
ВЪЗ	None	None	ВЪЗВАЗАША SUPR 61, 30	3	3
ЗА	None	ЗАВЛЗАИЖИТА Mt 4, 21 ZGR, AS	None	7	3
ИЗ	None	None	ИЗВАЗАВЪШЕ SUPR 79, 22–23	3	3
НА	None	None	НАВАЗАВЪ SUPR 558, 13	3	3
ОБ	None	None	ОБАЗАША SUPR 386, 3	7 and 3	3
ПРИ	ПРИВАЗАТЕ SUPR 12, 29	ПРИВАЗАИЖИТАДО SUPR 321, 22	ПРИВАЗАША SUPR 18, 9–10	3 and 7	3
СЪ	СЪВАЗЖЪ SUPR 242, 7	СЪВАЗАИИ EUCH 64a, 18–19	СЪВАЗА Mk 6, 17 MAR	3 and 7	3
*ОУ	None	ОУВЛЗАИЖИТЪ PS SIN 9, 23	ОУВЛЗАНЪ SUPR 311, 13	3 and 7	3

* Večerka distinguishes **ОУВЛЗАТИ**¹ 3 'bind, tie around' (**ОУВЛЗАНЪ** SUPR and **ОУВЛЗАНО** SUPR), and **ОУВЛЗАТИ**² 7 'get bogged down, mixed up', the latter for the hapax gloss **ОУВЛЗАИЖИТЪ** PS SIN 9, 23.

Lexemes whose class 3 PRAE forms are not attested (such are, for example, the families °дѣлати, °гнѣвати, °копати), including incomplete lexemes where PRAE forms are not attested at all (°ласкати, °шлатати), belong to the open class 7.

There are 85 verbs in class 3. The following seven verbs are a special case, in that an additional piece of evidence for their attribution to class 3 is the attestation of class 3 PRAE forms in Church Slavic manuscripts: **ИЗВАПАТИ**, **ПОЗОВАТИ**, **ПИСКАТИ**, **ПЛАСАТИ**, **ОУРЪВАТИ**, **ОСНОВАТИ**, and **ШЫПЪТАТИ**.³²

Here are these verbs:

³¹ The megalexeme is **ОУВЛСТИ**, represented by the following four forms: **ОУВЛСТЪ**, **ОУВЛЗОША**, **ОУВЛЗЕ**, **ОУВЛЗЪШИ**. In Večerka's dictionary these forms are distributed among the lexemes **ОУВЛЗИЖИТИ** 5 and **ОУВЛСТИ** 4.

³² Vaillant's grammar also classifies all of these verbs as class 3 on the basis of Church Slavic evidence, as does Lunt, except for the verb **ПЛАСАТИ**.

АЛЪКАТИ	ЗЫБАТИ	ЛОБЪЗАТИ	РИСТАТИ	СТЪЛАТИ
БЛЪВАТИ	ЗЪДАТИ	ЛЪГАТИ	РИЦАТИ	СЪЛАТИ
БРАТИ	ИМАТИ [Ъ.М.А.Т.И]	ЛЪГАТИ	РЪВАТИ	СЪСАТИ
ВАГАТИ	ИСКАТИ	ЛАЦАТИ	РЪЗАТИ	СЪПАТИ
ВЪПАТИ	КАПАТИ	МАПАТИ	РЪПЪТАТИ	СЪПАТИ
ВЪЗАТИ	КАЗАТИ	МАЗАТИ	РЪПАТИ	ТАПАТИ
ГЛАГОЛАТИ	КЛЕПАТИ	МЕТАТИ	РЪЗАТИ	ТЕСАТИ
ДАПАТИ	КЛОКОТАТИ	ОРАТИ	СКАКАТИ	ТРАТАТИ
ДРЪМАТИ	КЛЪЧЪТАТИ	ПИСКАТИ	СКРЪЖЪТАТИ	ТРЕПЕТАТИ
ДЪХАТИ	КЛЪВЕТАТИ	ПЛАКАТИ	СЛЪПАТИ	ТРЪЗАТИ
ДЪРАТИ	КОВАТИ	ПЛЕСКАТИ	СМИПАТИ	ТЪКАТИ
ДЪПАТИ	КОЛЪБАТИ	ПЛЪЗАТИ	СНОВАТИ	ХАПАТИ
ЖЪДАТИ	КЖПАТИ	ПЛАСАТИ	СТАПАТИ	ХОДАТАПАТИ
ЖАДАТИ	ЛАПАТИ ¹	ПЛЪВАТИ	СТЕНАТИ	ЧАПАТИ
ЗНАТИ	ЛАПАТИ ²	ПОЛАСАТИ	СТРАДАТИ	ЧЕСАТИ
ЗОБАТИ	ЛНАТИ	ПЪРАТИ	СТРЪГАТИ	ЧРЪПАТИ
ЗЪВАТИ	ЛИЗАТИ	ПЪСАТИ	СТРЪКАТИ	ШЪПЪТАТИ

Excursus on the morphology of personal forms of the imperfect

§914. Hiatus in imperfect forms

The systematically preserved hiatus in standard imperfect forms suggests loose paradigmatic adjacency between a string that we may call *Imfplatform*, and the terminal. Then *Imf* forms have the skeleton of the type [нес·ъ] + аше, and not нес + [ъаше]. Such a morphological skeleton assumes a two-step synthesis of the form. On the first step, the *Imf* platform is built, which is identical to the expanded stem for verbs that have an expanded stem ending in а or ъ, and for all other verbs is derived by adding the special appended ъ to the truncated stem.³³ For example, we have, on the one hand, platforms тръпъ, плака, милова, дъла, and on the other hand, лѡѡѡѡ + ъ (⇒ лѡѡѡѡѡ), двигн + ъ (⇒ двигнъ), нес + ъ (⇒ несъ), мог + ъ (⇒ можа), клън + ъ (⇒ клънъ), зна + ъ (⇒ знаѡѡѡ), съѡ + ъ (⇒ съѡѡѡ), чѡѡ + ъ (⇒ чѡѡѡѡѡ). The addition of the appended ъ results in the removal of the phonological hiatus according to the general rules (by adding an epenthetic ѡ). On the second step, the resulting *Imf* platform is concatenated with the personal terminals of the imperfect of the аше type (they all begin with а). This addition of personal terminals is what results in loose adjacency, and is not accompanied by ѡ epenthesis. We thus have: тръпъ#аше, плака#аше, милова#аше, дъла#аше; лѡѡѡѡѡ#аше, двигнъ#аше, несъ#аше, можа#аше, клънъ#аше, знаѡѡѡ#аше (знаѡѡѡаше), съѡѡѡ#аше (съѡѡѡаше), чѡѡѡѡѡ#аше (чѡѡѡѡѡаше).

³³ In class 1 verbs the truncated stem has substitutive softening of the final C.

Within this interpretation, the participles of the imperfect system are separated from personal forms: in the participles the suffixes are attached not to the special *Imf* platform, but to ordinary workstems—to expanded ones, if they end in *а* or *ѣ*, or to truncated ones otherwise, observing the CVC agreement rule so long as the participial suffixes are initially ambivalent. For example, we have the following participles: *любѣ.вши*, *несѣ.вши*, *кльнѣ.вши*, but *зна.вѣши*, *сѣ.вѣши*, *чю.вѣши*, as well as *трьпѣ.вѣши*, *плака.вѣши*, etc.³⁴

Note that the rules for building personal *Imf* forms proposed above are equivalent to those listed in the main part of this grammar, where the choice of *ѣаше*- or *аше*-type terminals is made according to a morphological balance principle: [long stems + short terminals] or [short stems + long terminals] (see § 459). However, the rules listed here are not equivalent to imperfect formation rules proposed by Vaillant, § 159, Van Wijk, § 59, and Lunt 1974, § 9.1–6. There, *Imf* forms are built directly from the *Inf* form by means of a rule of “vowel agreement between infinitive and imperfect”. Here is how Vaillant formulates this rule: «il est en -аахъ en regard de tous les verbes en inf. -ати, aor. -ахъ, quelle que soit leur flexion de présent: *знаахъ* ‘je connaissais’, inf. *знати* (prés. *знае*-); *глаголаахъ* ‘je parlais’, inf. *глаголати* (prés. *глаголе*-); *вѣроваахъ* ‘je croyais’, inf. *вѣровати* (prés. *вѣроуе*-) [...]. Il est de même en -аахъ en regard des verbes en inf. -ати: *авлаахъ* ‘je manifestais’, inf. *авлати* (prés. *авлае*-); *стоаахъ* ‘je me tenais’, inf. *стоати* (prés. *стони*-). Il est en -ѣахъ en regard des verbes en inf. -ѣти, aor. -ѣхъ: *оумѣахъ* ‘je savais’, inf. *оумѣти* (prés. *оумѣе*-) [...]».

§915. On the imperfects of the verbs *знати* and *сѣмѣти*

For the verb *знати* we find *Imf* *знааше* in *SAV* and *знааше* in *AS* (Mt 1, 25). The form *знааше* in *AS* is easily interpretable as aberrant for *знаааше*, with the “loss of intervocalic *j*” aberration. Considering that in *SAV* all *Imf* forms are contracted, these spellouts can be considered contractions of *знаааше*. This interpretation is supported by the form *сѣмѣаше* — *SAV* Mt 22, 46 (in *MAR* and *AS* there is the aorist *сѣмѣ*, not found in *ZOGR*), which is a contraction of *сѣмѣааше*. It is easy to see that the forms *знаааше* and *сѣмѣаше* cannot be derived using the classical rule of vowel agreement between the infinitive and the imperfect.

In *SAV*, however, we find the form *сѣмѣше* (Jn 21, 12), which in the present grammar is treated as aberrant for *сѣмѣааше* [*сѣ.мѣ*=*ѣаше*]. It is formed directly by a proportion like *оумѣти* : *оумѣше* (contracted imperfect to stan-

³⁴ As is well known, personal imperfect forms are an innovation from a historical point of view, whose etymology remains obscure. In this sense, separating personal forms of the imperfect from participles agrees with historical facts. Note that the *Imf* platform, which is not directly comparable either with the infinitive or with the present stem, could be treated as the first component of an analytical construction, where the “conjugated element -ахъ” (as Meillet called it) plays the role of an auxiliary verb. If we accept the hypothesis that the iotated imperfects are older, in this conjugated element (now *ахъ.ъ*, not *ахъ.ь*) we could see the root aorist from *ахъ*- (*Inf* *ати*, *ахати* 0; see § 565–569); cf. Meillet, § 293–297. As for the *Imf* platform, it is tempting to compare it with Russian *l*-less participles (cf. Zaliznjak 2004, § 3.39).

dard оум.ѣ=аше), $\text{сѣмѣти} : \text{сѣмѣше}$, which assumes treating the initial string сѣм as root: сѣм.ѣ.т.и by class 7 just like оум.ѣ.т.и 7. Analyzing сѣмѣти with the root мѣ is supported by the verb измѣти <586> from the same family (измѣтъ сѣл — 3SgAor PS SIN 72, 21, cf. also измѣниѣ — PS SIN 88, 52).

Summary

§916. Step-by-step construction of nominal wordforms¹

0. The called wordform is specified by its paradigmatic call, an expression of the form $K(L)$, where K is the name of some paradigmatic cell (the called property), and L is the name of some lexeme (the called lexeme).

1. Normally the called lexeme is given explicitly, but in the following four cases it is given indirectly, and the starting form must be constructed before proceeding further:

If L is a participle that is specified by a reference to the parent verb, then starting forms are built using verb synthesis rules; see §918. Once the starting forms are built, the participles must be assigned a paradigmatic index: $2/a^*$ for $urr-$ and $ur-$ Part, and $2/a$ for all other participles.

If L is a supine that is specified by a reference to the parent verb, then the starting form is built using verb synthesis rules, and the supine terminal is $\mathfrak{z}/\mathfrak{b}$ (2-base); see also §88.

If L is a comparative that is specified by a reference to the parent adjective, then starting forms are built using comparative formation rules, see §919 and ff. Once the starting forms are constructed, the comparatives must be assigned the paradigmatic index $2/a^{**}$.

¹ As noted, any wordform that can be constructed by rules can also be constructed using profiles of type representatives from the given inflectional class. See profiles of nominal lexemes in Ch. 11.

If *L* is a pronoun with a clitic, then the graphic strings corresponding to clitics must be detached, resulting in the basic pronoun that is found in the paradigmatic dictionary. After the called wordform is built, the clitics should be reattached. Clitics that are subject to this procedure are: prefixes *ни* and *нѣ*, and postfixal clitics *же*, *ждѣ*, *ждѡ*, *любѡ* (see details in § 316).

2. If the called lexeme is given explicitly, it must be located in the paradigmatic dictionary. Note its paradigmatic index *I* and the morphophonological representation of the starting form.

3. If the index *I* has the shape *0/x*, the lexeme is unique, and the called form can be found in the full paradigm of the lexeme, or built using a sample lexeme. See Ch. 12, *Unique nominal lexemes*, Table 357. Otherwise proceed further.

4. Build the workstem by discarding the inflection from the *mph* representation of the starting form. If the string ends in a vowel, add the symbol *i*.

5. If the called form is secondary, namely vocative (*Voc*) or personal dative (*D*₂), see construction rules in § 355, 356; if the called form is an adprepositional form of the pronominal lexemes **и* or *иже*, construction follows the paradigms given in § 318.²

6. For all other (primary) forms, find the standard terminal set that corresponds to the paradigmatic index of the called lexeme using Table 302. See § 289 for the catalog of nominal terminals.

7. In the terminal set, find the cell that corresponds to the called form. If the cell has several variants, find the needed variant using the twofold rule (§ 86) depending on the right edge of the workstem.

8. For marginal subclasses, introduce the necessary corrections:

2/ <i>a</i> *, 2/ <i>a</i> **	2/ <i>m</i> *, 2/ <i>m</i> **	2/ <i>f</i> *	2/ <i>p</i> *
§ 308–313	§ 330–331	§ 346–347	§ 320

9. Build the morphological skeleton of the form workstem + selected terminal.

10. Apply boundary adjustment rules, using § 288.

11. Using *mph* ⇒ *ph/norm* rules (see § 63 and ff), rewrite the morphophonological representation into a phonological one.

² See the full list of secondary forms for nominals and verbs in § 880.

§917. Step-by-step construction of verbal wordforms³

0. The called wordform is specified by its paradigmatic call, an expression of the form $K(L)$, where K is the name of some paradigmatic cell (the called property), and L is the name of some lexeme (the called lexeme).

1. Find the called lexeme L in the paradigmatic dictionary. Note its paradigmatic index I (the verb class is the first digit of the index) and the morphophonological representation of the starting form.

2. If the called form is a secondary aorist, construction follows the rules in § 477–480. Otherwise proceed.

3. If the index I contains the symbol ∇ , the paradigm contains anomalous forms. Check the form $K(L)$ against lists of anomalous forms in § 463 (PRAE), § 466 (IMF), or § 881, and if found, build it according to instructions found there. Otherwise proceed.

4. If the index I begins with 0, the lexeme is unique, and the called form can be found in the full paradigm or profile of the corresponding prefixless verb. See Ch. 21, *Unique verbs*, Table 516. Otherwise proceed.

5. Determine whether the called lexeme is a regular or irregular verb. If the index contains the symbols *, °, •, h, #, ♪, or ♫, then the verb is irregular, and regular otherwise.

6. Use the called property K to determine the system to which the called form belongs, and whether the called form is nominal (infinitive, supine, participle) or finite (otherwise). See § 405, Table 405.

7. Determine the basic stem (i.e. determine whether the expanded or truncated basic stem is needed) for the given system within the given class, using Table 427 (basic stem allotment rules).

8. Find the basic stem using the morphophonological representation of the lexeme using the rules in § 431.

9. Build the workstem for the subparadigm; see § 432 if the verb is regular. If the verb is irregular, use Table 440 (*Workstems of irregular verbs*) and the lists of key forms of irregular verbs, § 434.

³ As noted, any wordform that can be constructed by rules can also be constructed using profiles of type representatives of the corresponding class and subclass. See profiles of regular verbs in § 429, and profiles of irregular verbs in § 454.

10. Find the standard terminal or suffix set for the called subparadigm using the terminal catalog in § 455. The PRAE system has several sets; choose the set by conjugation class: *i*-conjugation uses classes 1 and 2, *e*-conjugation uses other classes.

11. In the terminal set, find the cell that corresponds to the called word-form. If there are several variants, determine the correct variant: using the morphological balance rule (§ 459) if the called form is a personal imperfect form; otherwise, using the CVC agreement rule (§ 93) or the twofold rule (§ 86).

12. Build the morphological skeleton of the form workstem + selected terminal of a finite form or suffix of a nominal form.

13. Apply boundary adjustment rules using § 462. The result is a morphophonological representation of the called form.

14. Using *mph* ⇒ *ph*/norm rules (see § 63 and ff), rewrite the morphophonological representation into a phonological one.

15. The result is the called form in case the called form is finite. For nominal form, the result is the stem, and the form must be completed using nominal form rules, see § 916 above.

§918. An overview of participles

Here are all the participles:

PRAE system	IMF system	INF-AOR system
шт-Part	ш-Part	л-Part
м-Part	н-Part	т-Part

Participle formation rules

The following suffixes are added to the workstem of the corresponding system:

шт-Part	
	Expanded suffixes
<i>i</i> -conj.	лшт
<i>e</i> -conj.	лшт

шт-Part	
	Syncopated suffixes
<i>i</i> -conj.	л
<i>e</i> -conj.	*(л/л)

м-Part	
	Suffixes
<i>i</i> -conj.	нм
<i>e</i> -conj.	*(ом/эм)

* The slash separates twofold rule variants.

ш-Part	
	Expanded suffixes
<i>i</i> -conj.	*(ъш/ьш) ~ в'ъш
<i>e</i> -conj.	*(ъ/ь) ~ в'ъ

н-Part	
	Suffixes
<i>i</i> -conj.	**ен ~ н or об.ен

* The slash separates twofold rule variants. The tilde separates CVC agreement rule variants.

** Before the suffix ен, the phonemes κ, ρ, χ are replaced by ч, ж, ш; об.ен is only found in class 5 verbs.

λ-Part	
Suffixes	
λ	

τ-Part	
Suffixes	
τ	

Cluster rewrite rules apply for C-final stems, e.g. λΕΤ.λ ⇒ λΕλ, ΒΑΔ.τ ⇒ ΒΑστ; note that for the irregular verbs in the groups λρβτн 4h*λ (§ 451), λλβштн 4с*λ (§ 452), and чнстн 4с*λ (§ 453) the workstem of λ- and τ-Part has the vocalic realization as in «Prae», distinct from the vocalic realization in «Inf».

Peculiarities in the declension of шт- and ш-participles (class 2/a*)

1. Distribution of syncopated and expanded stems:

Brev			
	m	n	f
NSg	Syncopated		Expanded

Plen			
	m	n	f
NSg	Syncopated		Expanded

2. Special terminalis:

NPlmBrev	ε	NSgfBrev	н
NPlmPlen	ε.н	NSgfPlen	н.а

Sample:

Brev			
	m	n	f
NSg	λδλλ		λδλλшт=н
ASg	λδλλшт=ь	λδλλшт=ε	λδλλшт=ж
NPI	λδλλшт=ε	λδλλшт=а	λδλλшт=а
API	λδλλшт=а		

Plen			
	m	n	f
	λδλλ.н	λδλλшт=εε	λδλλшт=н.а
	λδλλшт=нн		λδλλшт=жж
	λδλλшт=ε.н	λδλλшт=ага	λδλλшт=аа
	λδλλшт=аа		

Comparative construction rules

§919. Two types of comparatives: new and old

Comparatives are distinguished as old and new, which are two wordformation strategies (see below), where the new one is productive, while the old one is used in a limited set of adjectives. Because comparatives are represented by a small number of occurrences, it is difficult to establish with certainty their distribution in canonical OCS. Most likely, for certain adjectives only the old model is found. In some cases the comparative is only found in adverbial forms, as e.g. соуле (1x SUPR 394, 11, the old comparative, but the new comparative соулен 9x, including 4x adjectivally). In some cases the sources show an old and a new comparative for the same adjectives; arbitrarily, we treat new comparatives as aberrant in such cases (see § 396).

§ 920. Construction of starting forms: markers⁴

As noted above, for comparatives two starting forms are built: syncopated NSgmBrev, and expanded NSgfBrev. These forms result from attaching the following markers to the parent adjective workstem, as shown in Table 920. On *comparativum tantum* lexemes see § 281.

Table 920. Comparative markers

Form \ Type	Syncopated NSgmBrev	Expanded NSgfBrev
New comparative	ѣј.ь	ѣј.ьш.и
Old comparative	ь	ьш.и

In case the parent A-lexeme is a suffixed adjective with suffixes *ок* (глѣб.ок.ъ), *ък* (слад.ък.ъ), *ьк* (горѣ.ьк.ъ), the workstem for the old comparative is suffixless, cf. глѣб.ок.ъ — глѣбѣль, глѣбѣльши.

§ 921. Construction of starting forms: boundary adjustment rules

In the new comparative, *к* → *ч* replacement by the velar palatalization alternation. In the old comparative, *С* → *С** replacement by the substitutive softening alternation.

Examples

Old comparative. грѣбъ: грѣбѣ.ь, грѣбѣ.ьш.и; слад.ък.ъ: слад + ь ⇒ слажд.ь ⇒ слаждь, слажд.ьш.и ⇒ слаждьши.

New comparative. новъ: новѣи, новѣиши; горѣкъ: горѣкъ + ѣј.ь ⇒ горѣч.ѣј.ь ⇒ горѣчан, горѣч.ѣј.ьш.и ⇒ горѣчанши.

§ 922. Old comparatives

Lists of old comparatives attested in OCS sources are given in Table 922 on p. 501, with a note on authors of OCS grammars. The PD lists as separate lexemes *comparativum tantum* (noted by + in Table 922), while the symbol [+] notes that the PD only lists the parent lexeme.

For глѣбѣль cf.: глѣбѣшага SUPR 464, 4; for нанвѣштѣ: нанвѣштѣ SUPR 201, 20; for прѣвѣзѣшь: прѣвѣзѣши SUPR 469, 1; for нантрѣбѣль: нантрѣбѣши SUPR 339, 30; for твѣрьждѣ Vaillant notes the form ствѣрьзѣ CLOZ 11b, 14 (see Vaillant, § 89).

Diels, as well as and Lunt 1974, note the lexeme рачни for рачъшжж CLOZ 2b, 23. Večerka treats this form as ш-Part for рачити, and Vaillant apparently does the same. In the PD, following Večerka, this form is treated as ш-Part.

Cf. also such adverbial forms as пачѣ, ниже, драже (cf. EUCH 44a, 15) and others.

⁴ I.e. sequences that consist of a suffix and a terminal, a single suffix, or a single terminal.

Table 922. Old comparative forms

Parent lexeme	NSgmBrev	NSgmPlen	NSgfBrev	Vaillant	Lunt	Diels	PD
None	во́ль	во́лни	во́льши	+	+	+	+
высо́къ	вы́шь	вы́шини	вы́шьши	+	+	+	[+]
None	прѣ.вы́шь	прѣ.вы́шини	прѣ.вы́шьши	None	None	+	+
None	вѣштѣ	вѣштѣни	вѣштѣши	+	+	+	+
None	нан.вѣштѣ	нан.вѣштѣни	нан.вѣштѣши	+	None	+	+
гѣжѣкъ	гѣжѣль	гѣжѣлни	гѣжѣльши	+	None	None	[+]
None	гѣрь	гѣрни	гѣрьши	+	+	+	+
гѣжѣъ	гѣжѣль	гѣжѣлни	гѣжѣльши	+	+	+	[+]
крѣпъ, крѣпѣкъ	крѣпѣль	крѣпѣлни	крѣпѣльши	+	+	+	[+]
лихъ	лишь	лишини	лишьши	+	+	+	[+]
None	лоучь	лоучѣни	лоучьши	+	+	+	+
лютъ	люштѣ	люштѣни	люштѣши	+	+	+	[+]
None	мѣнь	мѣньни	мѣньши	+	+	+	+
сладѣкъ	слаждь	слаждѣни	слаждьши	+	+	+	[+]
None	соуль	соульни	соульши	+	None	+	+
тврьдъ	тврьждь	тврьждѣни	тврьждьши	+	None	None	[+]
None	нан.трѣбѣль	нан.трѣбѣлни	нан.трѣбѣльши	+	None	+	+
тѣжѣкъ	тѣжѣ	тѣжѣни	тѣжѣши	+	+	+	[+]
None	оунь	оуньни	оуньши	+	+	+	+
хѣждъ	хѣждь	хѣждѣни	хѣждьши	+	+	+	[+]
широкъ	ширь	ширьни	ширьши	+	+	+	[+]

§ 923. A note on comparative spellouts in sources

Due to graphic/phonological aberrations, spellouts ending in *-ни*, *-ъни* are often replaced by abbreviated spellouts with *-и*, *-ъи*. For new comparative forms, this results in the replacement of the canonical ⟨NASgmPlen⟩ ending in *-ни* (cf. *новѣни*) by an aberrant form ending in *-и* (cf. *новѣи*). Likewise, for old comparative forms this results in the replacement of the canonical ⟨NASgmPlen⟩ ending in *-ни* (cf. *гѣжѣлни*) by an aberrant form ending in *-и* (cf. *гѣжѣи*). For new comparative forms this eliminates the Brev ~ Plen opposition in direct cases in masculine singular: there is just one wordform of the type *новѣи*. Most likely, old comparatives also eliminate this opposition, where canonical ⟨NASgmBrev⟩ of the type *гѣжѣль* are not attested.

For these reasons, grammars⁵ note forms like *гѣжѣни* as canonical for ⟨NASgmBrev⟩ (i.e. the equivalence of long and short forms is postulated for these cells). Dictionaries follow the same principle. In this grammar, starting forms for *comparativum tantum* are given following the traditional approach (as in Večerka's dictionary), but the grammar sets up canonical paradigms that do distinguish short and long forms in these cells.

⁵ So in Vaillant, § 82, and Lunt 1974, § 4.19.

The contamination of spellouts in *-ни/-и* and *-ъи/-ы* in sources results in the corresponding effects in direct cases of the singular in *ш-* and *шт-* participles, and due to standard segmental changes, the forms ⟨NSgmPlen⟩ [шт-Part] (cf. *нес.ъѣ.ь — несъи*) and ⟨NSgmPlen⟩ [ш-Part] (cf. *нес.ъѣ.ь — несъи*) coincide for the corresponding verb classes. The choice of canonical forms in this grammar follows the standard approach for participles.⁶

§924. Illustrations

егда нечистѣ дхѣи изидетъ отъ чѣла прѣходитъ сквозѣ бездѣлаа мѣста шпта покоѣи и не обрѣтааа глѣтѣ възвращаа са въ домъ мой отъ нѣждоуже изидѣи и пришьдѣ обрѣтаетъ пометенъ оукрашенъ тѣгда идетъ и поиметъ дроугѣихъ горышь себе седмѣи и въшьдѣше живѣтѣ тоу и бѣвааѣтѣ послѣдѣнѣа чѣоу томоу горыши прѣвѣихъ Lk 11, 24–26 ZGR;

егда крѣпѣкѣи оуоржѣ са хранитъ свои дворѣ въ мирѣ сѣтѣ имѣниѣ его а понеже крѣплеи его нашедѣ побѣдитъ и и всѣ оржѣи его отъметъ на нѣже оупѣвааше и користъ его раздаатъ Lk 11, 21–22 MAR;

медъ бо каплетъ отъ оустѣноу женѣи блѣдѣнѣи таже въ врѣмѣ помажетъ грѣтанѣ твои нѣ послѣжде горьчае зльчи обрашѣеши и острѣе паче меча оубождоу остра SUPR 350, 30–351, 4;

блажѣ иѣсифа и никодима бѣисте бо прѣжде херовимѣ херовимѣиша бога въ себѣ носашта SUPR 458, 4–5.

⁶ So in Vaillant, § 83–84, and Lunt 1974, § 4.19.

1.

Mt 26, 31–75

[31] тѣгда глагола имъ исоусъ: вси вѣи съблзните сѧ о мнѣ въ снѣж ноштѣ: пѣсано бо естѣ поражж пастѣрѣи и разиджтѣ сѧ овѣца стада: [32] по възскръсновении же моемъ варѣж вѣи въ галилеи: [33] отъвѣштѣавъ же петрѣ рече кемоу: аште и вси съблзнатѣ сѧ о тебѣ: азъ николиже не съблзнѣж^(a) сѧ: [34] рече кемоу исоусъ: аминь глаголюж тебѣ: тако въ снѣж ноштѣ прѣжде даже кокотѣ не възгласитѣ: три кратѣи отъвръжеши сѧ мене: [35] глагола кемоу петрѣ: аште ми сѧ клѣчитѣ съ тобою оумрѣти: не отъвръжж сѧ тебе: такожде и вси оученици рѣша: [36] тѣгда приде исоусъ въ весь наричелж^(b) ѣтѣсимани: и глагола оученикомъ сѣдите тоу: дондеже шѣдъ помолѣж сѧ тамо: [37] и помлѣ петра: и оба сына зеведеова: начатѣ скръбѣти и тѣжити: [38] тѣгда глагола имъ исоусъ: прискрѣбна естѣ доуша моѧ до смърти: пождѣте сѣде и вѣдите съ мѣнож: [39] и прѣшѣдъ мало паде ницѣ мола сѧ и глаголюж: отъче мои аште възможно естѣ да мимондетѣ отъ мене чаша си: обаче не тако азъ хощѣж: нѣ такоже тѣи: [40] и възставъ отъ молитѣи приде къ оученикомъ и обрѣте ѧ съпаштѣ: и глагола петрови: тако ли не възможе единого часа побѣдѣти съ мѣнож: [41] вѣдите и молитѣ сѧ да не вѣнидете въ напастѣ: доухъ бо вѣдръ а плѣтъ немощѣна: [42] пакѣи вѣторицеж шѣдъ помолѣ сѧ глаголюж: отъче мои аште не възможетѣ чаша си мимонти отъ мене: аште не пнѣж кѣмъ вѣди воля твоѧ: [43] и пришѣдъ пакѣи обрѣте ѧ съпаштѣ: бѣсте бо очи имъ тѣжыцѣ: [44] и оставѣ ѧ пакѣи шѣдъ помолѣ сѧ третицеж^(c): тѣжде слово рекъ: [45] тѣгда приде къ оученикомъ: и глагола имъ сѣпните прочее и почиваетѣ: се приближи сѧ година: и сынъ чловѣчьскѣи прѣдаетѣ сѧ въ рѣкѣи грѣшныкомъ: [46] възстанѣте идѣмъ: се приближи сѧ прѣдаѣи ма: [47] и еште глаголюжштоу кемоу: се нюда единый отъ обою на десѣте приде: и съ нимъ народъ мѣногъ: съ орѣжжи и дрѣкольми: отъ архирен и старѣць людѣскѣиухъ: [48] прѣдаѣи же и дастѣ имъ знамение глаголюж: кѣгоже аште лобѣжж тѣ естѣ имѣте и: [49] и авнѣ пристѣплѣ къ исоусови рече кемоу: радоуи сѧ равѣви и обловѣза и: [50] исоусъ же рече кемоу: дроуѣже на ѣнеже еси пришьлъ тѣвори: тѣгда пристѣплѣше възложиша рѣцѣ на исоуса и ѧса и: [51] и се единый отъ сѣштѣиухъ съ исоусомъ: простѣръ рѣкѣи извлѣче ножъ свои: и оударѣ рава архиреова: оурѣза кемоу оухо: [52] тѣгда глагола кемоу исоусъ: възврати ножъ свои въ свое мѣсто: вси бо примѣшии ножъ ножемъ погѣбнѣтѣ: [53] ли мѣнитѣ ти сѧ тако не можж нѣиѧ оумолити отъца моего: и приставитѣ мнѣ вашѣ нежели дѣва на десѣте леѣона анѣлъ [54] како же оубо събѣдѣтѣ сѧ кѣнигы:

(a) MSU70 съблзнѣж.

(b) MSU70 наричелжѣж, i.e. by class 7; likewise below.

(c) MSU70 третицеж.

тако тако подобаше бѣти [55] въ тѣ часѣ рече исѹсъ народомъ тако
 на разбѣнника ли изидете съ оржжнѣмъ и дрькольми ѡтѣи ма по всѣмъ
 дньи сѣдѣахъ при васѣ въ црькѣве и не ѡсте мене [56] се же всѣ бѣстѣ
 да събѣдѣхъ са кѣнигы пророчьскыма тѣгда оученици всѣи оставльши
 и бѣжаша [57] они же имъше исѹса вѣса къ канѣфѣ архiereови
 идеже кѣнижъници и старьци събѣраша са [58] петръ же идѣаше
 по нѣмъ издалече до двора архiereова и въшьдъ вънѣтръ сѣдѣаше
 съ слоугами видѣти коньчинъ [59] архiereен же и старьци и сънъмъ
 всѣмъ искаахъ лѣжа съвѣдѣтельства^(a) на исѹса тако да оубиждѣтъ и
 [60] и не обрѣтѣхъ мнѣгома лѣжемъ съвѣдѣтелиемъ пристѣплѣшемъ
 послѣдъ же пристѣплѣша дѣва лѣжа съвѣдѣтелиа [61] рѣсте съ рече
 можъ разорити црькѣвъ божижъ и трѣми дньми създати ихъ [62] и
 въставъ архiereен рече ѡмоу ничесоже ли не отъвѣштаваѣши чѣто сии
 на тѣ съвѣдѣтельствоужѣтъ^(b) [63] исѹсъ же мълчааше и отъвѣштавъ
 архiereен рече ѡмоу закланнаж тѣ богомъ живымъ^(c) да речеши намъ
 аште тѣи ѡси христосъ сынъ божинъ [64] глагола ѡмоу исѹсъ тѣи
 рече обаче глагольхъ вамъ отъ селѣ оузырите сына чловѣчьскаѡго^(d)
 сѣдѣашга о деснѣжъ силѣи и градѣшга на облацѣхъ небесьскынхъ
 [65] тѣгда архiereен растрѣса ризы своѣмъ глагольхъ тако власвимнѣжъ рече
 чѣто ѡште трѣбоуемъ съвѣдѣтели се нѣина слышасте власвимнѣжъ ѡго
 [66] чѣто са вамъ мьнитѣ они же отъвѣштавъше рѣша повиннѣжъ
 ѡстѣ съмрѣти [67] тѣгда запльваша лице ѡго и пакости ѡмоу дѣаша
 ови же за ланитѣ оудариша [68] глагольшѣте прорьци намъ христе
 кѣто ѡстѣ оударни тѣ [69] петръ же вънѣ сѣдѣаше на дворѣ и
 пристѣпи къ нѣмоу ѡдина рабѣи глагольшѣти и тѣи бѣ съ исѹсомъ
 гаанленскымъ [70] онъ же отъвѣрже са прѣдъ всѣми глагольхъ не
 вѣмъ чѣто глаголюѣши [71] ишьдъшоу же ѡмоу въ врата оузырѣ и
 дроугага и глагола имъ тоу и съ бѣ чловѣкъ съ исѹсомъ назарѣаниномъ
 [72] и пакы отъвѣрже са съ клатвожъ тако не знажъ чловѣка [73] не по
 мѣносѣ же пристѣплѣше стоѣаштен рѣша петрови въ истинѣжъ и тѣи
 отъ нѣихъ ѡси нѣбо и бесѣда твоѡа авѣ тѣ творитѣ [74] тѣгда начатѣ
 ротити са и клати са тако не знажъ чловѣка и авнѣ кокотъ възгласи
 [75] и поманѣ петръ глагольхъ исѹсовъ иже рече ѡмоу тако прѣжде даже
 кокотъ не възгласитѣ три кратѣи отъвѣржеши са мене и ишьдъ вънѣ
 плака са горько

(a) Wordforms of the lexeme съвѣдѣтельство without kamora in MSU70.

(b) Wordforms of the lexeme съвѣдѣтельствovati without kamora in MSU70

(c) MSU70 живымъ: aberrant spellout for Plen (see § 394); likewise below.

(d) MSU70 чловѣчьскаѡго: aberrant spellout for Plen (see § 394); likewise below.

2.

Mt 27, 1–5

[1] оутроу^(a) же бзвѣшоу· съвѣтъ сътвориша вси архiereи и старьци людьстии^(b) на исоуса· тако оубити и· [2] и съвѣзавъше и вѣса и прѣдаша и понтьскоу^(c) пилатоу· икемоноу· [3] тгда видѣвъ нюда прѣдавъи его· тако осждиша и· раскаиавъ са възврати три десати сьереьриникъ· архiereомъ и старьцемъ· [4] глагольъ· сьгрѣшихъ прѣдавъ крзвъ неповиньж· они же рѣша· чьто естъ намъ· тзы оузъриши· [5] и поврыгъ сьереьро въ црькзвѣ отиде· и ошьдъ възвѣси са·

Jn 18, 29–40

[29] изиде же пилатъ къ ѿнимъ възнъ· и рече· кжжъ рѣчь приносите на чловѣка сего· [30] отъвѣшташа же и рѣша кемоу· аште не би бзълъ съ зьлодѣи· не бимъ прѣдали его тебѣ· [31] рече же имъ пилатъ· поимѣте и взы· и по закону вашемоу сждите кемоу· рѣша же кемоу нюден· не достонитъ намъ оубити никогоже· [32] да слово исоусово събждетъ са· еже рече клеплѣа коиежъ сьмрьтнж хотѣаше оумрѣти· [33] възиде же пакзы пилатъ въ преторъ· и въззва исоуса и рече кемоу· тзы ли еси цѣсарь нюденскъ· [34] отъвѣшта кемоу исоусъ· о себѣ ли тзы глаголюеши се· ли ини тебѣ рѣша о мьнѣ· [35] отъвѣшта пилатъ· кда азъ нюден есмъ· родъ твои и архiereи прѣдаша тѣ мьнѣ· чьто еси сътворилъ· [36] отъвѣшта исоусъ· цѣсарьство мое нѣстъ отъ сего мира· аште отъ сего мира би бзило цѣсарьство мое· слоугзы оубо мою подвисааьти са виша· да не прѣданъ бимъ нюдеомъ· нзыиѣа же цѣсарьство мое нѣстъ отъ сждоу· [37] рече же кемоу пилатъ· оубо цѣсарь ли еси тзы· отъвѣшта исоусъ· тзы глаголюеши тако цѣсарь есмъ азъ· азъ на се родихъ са· и на се придъ въ весь миръ· да сьвѣдѣтельствоуеж о истинѣ· всьѣкъ иже естъ отъ истинзы послоушаеитъ гласа моего· [38] глагола кемоу пилатъ· чьто естъ истина· и се рекъ пакзы изиде къ нюдеомъ· и глагола имъ· азъ ни единого винзы не обрѣтаж въ ѿнемъ· [39] естъ же обзичан вамъ да единого вамъ отъпоуштж на пасхж· хоштете ли оубо да отъпоуштж вамъ цѣсарѣа нюденска· [40] въззпниша же вси глаголюжште· не сего нъ вараавж· бѣ же вараава разбонникъ·

Jn 19, 1–15

[1] тгда же пилатъ поятъ исоуса· и би и· [2] и вони сьплетъше вѣньць отъ трьниѣа· възложиша на главж кемоу· и въ ризж прапржднж облѣша и· [3] и глаголаахж· радоуи са цѣсарю нюденскъ· и бинаахж и по ланитама· [4] изиде же пакзы пилатъ възнъ· и глагола имъ· се извождж и вамъ възнъ· да разоумѣете тако въ ѿнемъ винзы не обрѣтаж ни единого· [5] изиде

(a) MSU70 ютроу.

(b) MSU70 людьстии (see § 111).

(c) MSU70 понтьскоуоумоу; the headword in Večerka lacks ѣ: понтьскъ, although the sequence нт is a prohibited cluster (see § 59).

же исѡсꙋсъ възнѣ носѣ тръновѣ вѣнѣць и прапръждѣнъ ризѣ: и глагола имѣ се чловѣкъ: [6] ѡгда же видѣша и архиререн и слоꙋггы: възъпиша глаголюшѣте: пропъни и пропъни и: глагола имѣ пилатъ: поимѣте въи и пропънѣте: азъ бо не обрѣтаѣмъ въ нѣмъ вингы: [7] отъвъшѣташа ѡмоꙋ иꙋден: мѣи законъ имамъ и по законуꙋ нашемоꙋ длѣжнъ ѡстѣ оꙋмрѣти: тако сѣинъ божинъ творитъ сѣ: [8] ѡгда же слыша пилатъ се слово: паче оꙋбога сѣ [9] и възниде въ преторъ пакты: и глагола исѡсꙋсови: отъ кждоꙋ ѡси тгы: исѡсꙋсъ же отъвъѣта не сътвори ѡмоꙋ: [10] глагола ѡмоꙋ пилатъ: мнѣ ли не глаголюши: не вѣси ли тако власть имамъ пропатти тѣ: и власть имамъ поꙋстити тѣ: [11] отъвъшѣта исѡсꙋсъ: не имаша области на мнѣ: никѡѡже: ашѣ не би ти дано съ възше: сего ради прѣдавъи мѣ тебѣ боли грѣхъ иматъ: [12] отъ того пилатъ искааше поꙋстити и: иꙋден же възпиаахъ глаголюшѣте: ашѣ сего поꙋстиши нѣси дроꙋгъ кесарѣви: въсѣкъ иже сѣ творитъ цѣсарѣ: противитъ сѣ кесарѣви: [13] пилатъ же слышавъ та словеса: изведе възнѣ исѡсꙋса: и сѣде на сѣдинишѣти: на мѣстѣ наричемѣнемъ^(a) литостротѣ: евренскы же гаввата^(b) [14] бѣ же параскѣвѣнни пастѣ^(c) година бѣ тако шестага: и глагола иꙋдеоꙋ се цѣсарѣ вашъ: [15] они же възпиаахъ: възъми възъми пропъни и: глагола имѣ пилатъ: цѣсарѣ ли вашего пропънъ: отъвъшѣташа архиререн: не имамъ цѣсарѣ: тѣкъмо кесарѣ:

Mt 27, 23–36

[23] иѣмонъ же рече имѣ: чѣто зѣло сътвори: они же излиха възпиаахъ глаголюшѣте: да пропатъ бѣдетъ: [24] видѣвъ же пилатъ тако ничесоже оꙋспѣѣтъ: нѣ паче мѣзва бѣзваѣтъ: примѣ водъ оꙋмъи рѣцѣ прѣдъ народомъ глаголю: неповинънъ ѡсмъ отъ крѣви^(d) сего правѣдѣнаѣго^(e) въз оꙋзрѣте: [25] и отъвъшѣтавъше въси людинѣ рѣша: крѣвь ѡго на насъ и на чадѣхъ нашихъ: [26] тѣгда отъпоꙋсти имѣ вараавъ: исѡсꙋса же вивъ прѣдастъ имѣ да и пропънѣтъ: [27] тѣгда воини иѣмонови: прѣнимъше исѡсꙋса на сѣдинишѣти: събѣраша на нѣ въсѣ спѣрѣ: [28] и съвалкъше и: хламидоꙋ чрѣвлиеноꙋ одѣша и: [29] и съплетъше вѣнѣць отъ трънниѣ възложиша на главѣ ѡго: и трѣстъ въ десницѣ ѡго: и поклоуше сѣ на колѣноꙋ прѣдъ нѣмъ: рѣгаахъ сѣ ѡмоꙋ глаголюшѣте: радоꙋи сѣ цѣсарѣю иꙋденскъ: [30] и плѣнѣвъше на нѣ: приѣса трѣстъ: и вѣпаахъ и по главѣ: [31] и ѡгда порѣгаша сѣ ѡмоꙋ: съвалѣша съ нѣго хламидѣ: и облѣша и въ ризы своѣи: и вѣса и на пропатниѣ: [32] исходашѣте же обрѣтѣ чловѣка кꙋриненска: именовъ симона: сѣмоꙋ задѣша понести крѣстъ ѡго:

(a) See Footnote (b) on p. 504.

(b) Večerka гаввата, see distribution by sources *ibid*.

(c) MSU70 пастѣ (see § 111).

(d) MSU70 крѣве (see § 403).

(e) See Footnote (d) on p. 505.

[33] и пришьдъше на мѣсто наричемоѹ^(a) голъгота· ꙗже ѣстѣ наричемо^(b) краниево мѣсто· [34] даша ѹмоу пити оцѣтъ съ зльчнѣж^(c) съмѣшнѣъ и въкоушь не хотѣаше пити· [35] пропынѣше же и· раздѣлиша ризы ѹго· метжштѣ^(d) жрѣбнѣа· [36] и сѣдъше стрѣжаахъ и тоу·

Jn 19, 19–22

[19] напѣса же и титѣлъ пилатѣъ· и положи и на кръстѣъ· бѣ же напѣсано· исоусѣ назарен цѣсарь нюденскѣъ· [20] сего же титѣла мѣноси числа отѣ нюден· тако близѣ бѣ мѣсто града· идеже пропаца исоуса· и бѣ напѣсано евренскѣъ грѣчскѣъ и латиньскѣъ· [21] глаголаахъ же пилатови архирери нюденстни^(e) не пиши цѣсарь нюденскѣъ· нѣ тако самѣ рече· цѣсарь ѣсмь нюденскѣъ· [22] отѣвѣшта пилатѣъ· ꙗже пѣсахъ пѣсахъ·

Mt 19, 38–52

[38] тѣгда пропаца съ ѹнимъ дѣва разбонника· ѹдинога о деснѣж· и ѹдинога о шоуѣж· [39] мимоходаштен же хоулаахъ и покѣиважштѣ главами своими· [40] и глагольжштѣ· оува· разарѣаѹи црѣкѣвъ· и трѣми днѣми създааѹа ѹж· съпаци себе· аштѣ съинѣ божни ѹси· сълѣзи съ кръста· [41] такожде же и архирери рѣгажштѣ са· съ кѣнѣжнѣнкѣъ и старѣци и фарисеи глаголаахъ· [42] ннѣ съпаци· себе ли не можетѣ съпаци· аштѣ цѣсарѣ израилѣевѣ ѣстѣ· да сълѣзетѣ нѣиѹа съ кръста· и вѣрж имемѣ ѹмоу· [43] оуѣзва на бога да избавитѣ и нѣиѹа· аштѣ хоштѣтѣ ѹмоу· рече бо тако божни съинѣ ѣсмь· [44] тожде же и разбонника пропаѣа съ ѹнимъ поношаашѣтѣ ѹмоу· [45] отѣ шѣстѣаѹа же годинѣъ тѣма вѣстѣ по всѣи землѣ· до деватѣаѹа годинѣъ· [46] при деватѣѣи же годинѣъ· вѣзѣпи исоусѣ гласомѣ велиемѣ глагольа· ели ели лема савахѣтани^(f) ꙗже ѣстѣ бже мон бже мон· вѣскѣж ма ѹси оставилѣ· [47] ѹѣтери же отѣ стоѣштѣинѣх^(g) тоу· слѣшавѣше глаголаахъ· тако илиѣж зоветѣ· [48] и авнѣ текѣ ѹдинѣ отѣ ѹнѣх· и примѣ гѣжѣ· испльнѣ оцѣта· и вѣзньзньвѣ^(h) на трѣстѣ· напѣааше и· [49] а прочни глаголаахъ· остани да видимѣ· аштѣ придетѣ илиѣ съпастѣ ѹго· дроуѣгѣи же примѣ копнѣ· пробѣде ѹмоу ребра· и изиде вода и крѣвъ· [50] исоусѣ же пакѣ вѣзѣпивѣ гласомѣ велиемѣ· испѣсти доуѣхѣ· [51] и се катапѣтазма црѣкѣвънаѣа раздѣра са· съ вѣшьнѣаѹа⁽ⁱ⁾ краѣа до нижнѣнѣаѹа^(j) на дѣвоѣ· и землѣа

(a) See Footnote (b) on p. 504.

(b) See Footnote (b) on p. 504.

(c) MSU70 зльчнѣж.

(d) MSU70 метжштѣ.

(e) MSU70 нюденстни (see § 111).

(f) ели ели лема савахѣтани the whole sequence is foreign, namely from Aramaic.

(g) See Footnote (d) on p. 505.

(h) MSU70 вѣзньзньвѣ (see § 466).

(i) See Footnote (d) on p. 505.

(j) See Footnote (d) on p. 505.

ПОТРАСЕ СЯ· И КАМЕННЕ РАСПАДЕ СЯ· [52] И ГРОБИ ОТВРЪСА СЯ· И МЪНОГА
ТЪЛЕСА ПОЧИВАЮЩИИХЪ СВАТЪИХЪ ВЪСТАША·

Texts from the original manuscripts

Psalterium Sinaiticum

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ХВАЛА ПЪИГЪ ДАВА· [1] ЖИВЖИ ВЪ ПОМОШТИ ВЪШЫНЪГО·^(a) ВЪ КРОВЪ
БЯ НБЪСНАЕГО ВЪДВОРИТЪ СЯ· [2] РЕЧЕТЪ БОГЪ ЗАСТЪПНИКЪ МОИ ЕСИ ТЪИ· И
ПРИВЪЖИШТЕ МОЕ· БЪ МОИ ОУПЪВАЮЖ НА НЪ· [3] ЧКО ТЪ ИЗБАВИТЪ МЯ ОТЪ
СЪТИ ЛОВЧЫА· И ОТЪ СЛОВЕСИ МЫТЕЖЬНА· [4] ПЛЕШТЕМА СВОИМА ОСЪНИТЪ ТЯ·
И ПОДЪ КРИЛЪ ЕГО НАДЪВЕШИ СЯ· [5] ЦИГЪМЪ ОБИДЕТЪ РЪСНОТА ЕГО· НЕ ОУБОИШИ
СЯ ОТЪ СТРАХА НОШТЪНАЕГО· ОТ РЪЛЫ^(b) Л(Е)ТИШТИА ВЪ ДЕНЬ· [6] ОТЪ
ВЕШТИ ВО ТЪМЪ ПРЪХОДЫШТИА· ОТО СЪРИШТИА И ДЕМОНА ПОЛОУДЫНЪЕГО·
[7] ПАДЕТЪ ОТЪ СТРАНЪИ ТВОЕИА ТЪИСЫШТИ· И ТЪМА О ДЕСНЮЖ ТВОЮЖ·
КЪ ТЕБЪ НЕ ПРИТЪПИТЪ· [8] ОБАЧЕ ОЧИМА СВОИМА СЪМОТРИШИ· И ВЪЗДАНИЕ
ГРЪШЬНИКОМЪ ОУЗЫРИШИ· [9] ЧКО ТЪИ ЕСИ ГИ ОУПЪВАНИЕ МОЕ· ВЫШЫНЪГО
ПОЛОЖИЛЪ ЕСИ ПРИВЪЖИШТЕ ТВОЕ· [10] НЕ ПРИДЕТЪ КЪ ТЕБЪ ЗЪЛО· И РАНА НЕ
ПРИТЪПИТЪ ТЪЛЕСИ ТВОЕМО· [11] ЧКО АЛЪЛОМЪ^(c) СВОИМЪ ЗАПОВЪСТЪ О ТЕБЪ·
СЪХРАНИТИ ТЯ ВО ВСЪЧЪХЪ ПЪТЕХЪ ТВОИХЪ· [12] НА РЖКАХЪ ВОЗЪМЪЖТЪ ТЯ·
ЕДА КОГДА ПРЪТЪКНЕШИ О КАМЕНЬ НОГЪ ТВОЮЖ· [13] НА АСПИДЪ И ВАСИЛЬСКАА
НАСТЪПИШИ· И ПОПЕРЕШИ ЛЬВА И ЗМЪЪ· [14] ЧКО НА МЯ ОУПЪВА ИЗБАВЛЖ Г·
ПОКРЫЮЖ И ЧКО ПОЗНА ИМЯ МОЕ· [15] ВЪЗОВЕТЪ КО МНЪ И ОУСЛЫШЖ Г· СЪ
НИМЪ ЕСМЪ ВЪ СКРЪБИ· ИЗЪМЖ И ПРОСЛАВЛЖ Г· [16] ДЛЪГОТЪ ДЪНЕИ ИСПЛЪНЖ
Г· И АВЛЖ ЕМОУ СЪИНИЕ МОЕ·

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[1] МОЛИТВА НИЦАГО ЕГДА ОУНЪИЕТЪ ПРЪДЪ ГМЪ ПРОЛЪЕТЪ МОЛИТВЖ СВОЮЖ
[2] ГИ ОУСЛЫШИ МОЛИТВЖ МОЮЖ· И ВЪПЛЬ МОИ КЪ ТЕБЪ ДА ПРИДЕТЪ· [3] НЕ
ОТВЪРАТИ ЛИЦА ТВОЕГО· ОТЪ МНЕ· ВЪ НЪЖЕ ДЕНЪ ТЪЖЖЪ ПРИКЛОНИ КО МНЪ
ОУХО ТВОЕ· ВЪ НЪЖЕ ДЕНЪ ПРИЗОВЪ ТЯ· ЪДРО ОУСЛЫШИ МЯ· [4] ИДЕ ИЧЕЗЖ
ЧКО ДЫМЪ ДЪНИ МОИ· И КОСТИ МОЯ ЧКО СОУШИЛО СОСЪХЪ СЯ· [5] ПОВБЕНЪ
БЪИХЪ ЧКО СЪНО И-СЪШЕ СЪДЦЕ МОЕ· ЧКО ЗАВЪИХЪ СЪНЪСТНИ ХЛЪБЪ МОИ·
[6] УТЪ ГЛАСА ВЪЗДЪИХАНЪЪ МОЕГО ПРИЛЪПЕ КОСТЬ МОЪ ПЛЪТИ МОЕИ·
[7] ОУПОДОБИХЪ СЯ НЕУСЪИТИ ПОУСТЪИНЪИ·^(d) БЪИХЪ ЧКО НОЦЪИНЫИ ВРАНЪ НА
НЪИРИЦИ· [8] ЗАБЪДЪХЪ И БЪИХЪ ЧКО ПЪТИЦА СОБЪАЦИНЪ СЯ НА ЗЪДЪ· [9] ВСЪ
ДЕНЪ ПОНОШААХЪ МИ ВРАСИ МОИ· И ХВАЛЪЩИИ СЯ МНОЮЖ· КЛЪНЪАХЪ СЯ·
[10] ИДЕ ПОПЕЛЪ ЧКО ХЛЪБЪ ЧЪСЪ· И ПИГЪЕ МОЕ СЪ ПЛАЧЕМЪ РАСТВАРЪХЪ·

(a) For възшынъго (Sever'janov).

(b) For отъ стрълы (Sever'janov).

(c) See § 188.

(d) For поуствыныи (Sever'janov).

[11] ѡтѣ лица гнѣва твоего и ѣрости твоеѡ: ѣко възнесѣ низъврѣже мѡ:
 [12] дѣнье моѣ ѣко сѣнѣ оуклониша сѡ: и азѣ ѣко сѣно исохѣ: [13] тѣи
 же гѣ въ вѣкѣхъ прѣбѣываеши: и памѡ-т-воѣ^(a) въ родѣ і родѣ: [14] тѣи
 въскресѣ помилуеши сиона: ѣко врѣмѡ помилвати: ѣко приде врѣмѡ:
 [15] ѣко благоволиша раби твоѣ камень-е-го^(b) и прѣстѣтѣ его оуцѣдрѡитѣ:
 [16] и оубоѡитѣ сѡ ѡзѣщи имени гнѣ: и всѣ црѣи земьни славы твоеѡ:
 [17] ѣко съзидетѣ гѣ сиона: и ѣвѣтѣ сѡ въ славы своеѣ: [18] призьрѣ на
 молѣтѡ^(c) сѡмѣренѣиѣхѣ: и не оуничѣжи моленѣѣ ѡхѣ: [19] да напишѡтѣ
 сѡ си въ родѣ инѣ: і людѣе зиждѣми въсхвалѡитѣ гѣ: [20] ѣко принѣче
 сѣ възисотѣи сѣтѣѡ своеѡ: гѣ сѣ нѣи на земѣи призьрѣ: [21] оуслѣшати
 въздѣхѡне оковѡнѣхѣ: раздрѣшигѣи сѣтѣи оумрѣщивѣнѣхѣ: [22] възвѣстѣи
 въ сионѣ імѡ гнѣ: и хвалѣи его въ іѣмѣ: [23] егда сѣнѣмѡитѣ сѡ людѣе
 въкоупѣ: и црѣи работати гѣ: [24] отѣвѣща емоу на пѣти крѣпости своеѡ:
 оумалѣне днѣи моѡхѣ звѣстѣ^(d) мнѣ: [25] не възведѣ мнѣ въ прѣполовленѣе
 дѣнѣи моѡхѣ: въ родѣи родѣ лѣта твоѣ: [26] въ начѡтокѣхъ тѣи гѣ земѣи
 осѣнова: и дѣла рѣкоу твоею сѡтѣ нѣса: [27] та погѣбѣнѡитѣ тѣи же
 прѣбѣываеши: и всѣѣ ѣко рѣза обѣтѣшѡитѣ: и ѣко одѣало сѣвѣеши ѣ і
 измѣниѡитѣ сѡ: [28] тѣи же самѣ еси: и лѣта твоѣ исконѣчѣитѣ^(e) сѡ:
 [29] сѣнове рабѣ твоѡхѣ весѣлиѡитѣ^(f) сѡ: и сѣмѡ ихѣ въ вѣкѣхъ испрѡитѣ сѡ:

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псалмѣ дѣдѣвъ о тѣвари въсѣго мира: [1] блѣгси дѣше моѣ гѣ: гѣ вѣже
 мон възвелѣчилѣ сѡ еси сѣло: възисповѣданѣе: и вълѣпотѣж обѣчѣе
 сѡ одѣѡ^(g) сѡ свѣтомѣ ѣко и рѣзоѣ: [2] пропинаѡи неѡ ѣко и кожѣ:
 покрывѡи водами прѣвъзиспрѣнѣ его: [3] полагаѡи облакѣи възисхожденѣе
 свое: ходѣи на крилу вѣтѣрѣню: [4] творѣи аѣнѣлѣи своеѡ дѣхѣи: и слоѡитѣ
 своеѡ огнѣ пѡлѣщѣ: [5] оснѣывѡи земѣи на тѣрѣди своеѣ: не прѣклонитѣ
 сѡ въ вѣкѣхъ вѣкоу: [6] бездѣна ѣко и рѣза одѣнѣе еѡ: на горахѣхъ станѣитѣ
 възды^(g): [7] ѡтѣ запрѣщѣнѣѣ твоего повѣгнѣитѣ: отѣ гласѣ гроѡа твоего
 оустрашиѡитѣ сѡ: [8] въсходѣитѣ горы низъходѣитѣ въ полѣ: въ мѣсто еже
 еси осѣновѡлѣ имѡ^(h): [9] прѣдѣлѣ положи егоже не прѣидѣтѣ: ни обратѣитѣ
 сѡ покрѣитѣ земѣи: [10] посѣлаѡи истѡчѣникѣи во дѣбрѣхѣхъ: посрѣдѣ
 горѣхъ прѡидѣтѣ воды: [11] напоѡитѣ всѣѡ звѣри силѣнѣѡи⁽ⁱ⁾: жидѣитѣ
 оѡнагри⁽ⁱ⁾ въ жѡждѣхъ своеѡхъ: [12] на тѣи пѣтиѣѡи нѣнѣѡи прѣвѣтѡитѣ: отѣ

(a) For памѡитѣ твоѣ (Sever'janov).

(b) For каменѣе его (Sever'janov).

(c) Here o renders the first half of the Glagolitic sign for ж that was unfinished by the scribe (Sever'janov); see § 198.3.

(d) For възвѣстѣи (Sever'janov).

(e) For не исконѣчѣитѣ (Sever'janov).

(f) For весѣлиѡитѣ (Sever'janov).

(g) For воды (Sever'janov).

(h) For имѣ (Sever'janov).

(i) For сѣлѣнѣѡи (Sever'janov).

(i) For онагри (Sever'janov).

срѣдѣ камньнѣ дадытѣ гласѣ. [13] напѣѣа горѣ отѣ прѣвѣспрѣнѣхъ
своиѣхъ отѣ плода дѣлѣ твоиѣхъ насѣитѣ сѣ землѣ. [14] прозѣбаѣи
пажитѣ скотомѣ ѿ травѣ на слоужьбѣ чѣкмѣ. ѿзвестѣ хлѣбѣ отѣ
землѣ. [15] и вино възвеселитѣ срѣце чѣкоу. оумастѣ лице олѣимѣ
и хлѣбѣ срѣце чѣку оукрѣпитѣ. [16] насѣитѣ сѣ дрѣва польскаа.
кедрѣ ливанѣскыѣ-ѣа-же еси насадилѣ. [17] тоу пытиѣ оугнѣздытѣ сѣ.
еродово жилицѣ обладаетѣ имѣ. [18] горѣ възсокыѣ еленемѣ. каменѣ
прѣвѣжице заѣцемѣ. [19] сътворилѣ еси лоуѣнѣ въ врѣмна слѣнѣце позна
западѣ своѣ. [20] положилѣ еси тѣмѣ ѿ бѣстѣ ноцѣ въ неже прѣидѣтѣ
вѣси звѣрьѣ лѣжыѣ. [21] скоумѣ рѣкаѣще възхѣтѣте. ^(a) ѿ испросѣте оу
бѣ пиѣ сѣбѣ. [22] възсѣ слѣнѣце и собѣрашѣ сѣ. и въ ложиѣхъ своиѣхъ
лыгѣтѣ. [23] изидѣ чѣкѣ на дѣло свое. и на дѣланѣ своѣ до вечера.
[24] ѣко възвелѣчишѣ сѣ дѣла твоѣ гѣ. вѣ прѣмѣдростѣ створи.
испѣни сѣ землѣ тѣвари тѣоѣи. [25] се море великое пространство. тоу гади
и имѣже нѣстѣ числа животѣнаа малаа съ великѣми. [26] тоу корабли
прѣплаваѣтѣ. зѣнѣ сѣ ѿже създа рѣгати сѣ емоу. [27] вѣсѣ отѣ
тебе чаѣтѣ. да дасѣ пиѣ имѣ въ благо врѣмя. [28] давѣшю тебѣ
имѣ съверѣтѣ. отѣврѣзѣшю же тебѣ рѣкѣ възсѣчѣскаа. ѿспѣниѣтѣ сѣ
благости. [29] отѣвращѣшю же тебѣ лице възмыѣтѣтѣ сѣ. отѣимѣшѣ дѣхъ
ѿхъ ѿ ищѣзѣтѣ. и въ прѣстѣ своѣхъ възвратѣ ^(b) сѣ. [30] посѣлѣшѣ дѣхъ
своѣ съзидѣтѣ сѣ. и обновѣши лице землѣ. [31] вѣдѣ слава гѣи въ вѣкѣ.
възвеселѣтѣ сѣ гѣ о дѣлѣхъ своиѣхъ. [32] призѣаѣ на землѣ тѣвориѣ
ѣа триѣсти сѣ. прикасаѣи сѣ горахъ възскоуѣтѣ сѣ. [33] възпоѣ гѣи
въ животѣ моемѣ. поѣ бѣи моему доидѣже есмѣ. [34] да насладѣтѣ
сѣ емоу вѣсѣда моѣ. азѣ же възвеселѣ сѣ о гѣ. [35] исконѣчаѣтѣ сѣ
грѣшныѣ отѣ землѣ. и безаконныѣ. ѣко не бѣитѣ имѣ.

Codex Suprasliensis

From from the vita of St. Paul the Simple (Supr 171, 15–173, 26)

въ єдинѣ оубо отѣ дѣниѣ. зѣло люте бѣсашѣ сѣ юноша приведѣнѣ
бѣстѣ къ блаженѣоумѣ антонѣю. възврѣвѣ же великѣи антонѣи на
юношѣ. глагола водашѣнимѣ и. нѣстѣ се мое дѣло. о сѣмѣ бо чиноу
бѣсовѣстѣнѣ началѣнѣнѣ. нѣсѣ сѣ ѣште съподобилѣ блѣгодѣти.
нѣ сѣи дарѣ. паула ѣстѣ прѣпростааго. шѣдѣ же великѣи антонѣи къ
искоуѣсноуѣмоу паулоу. ведѣи и тѣи. и глагола емоу отѣне пауле. иждѣни
бѣсѣ сѣи отѣ члѣвѣка сѣго. да цѣлѣ идѣтѣ въ свои 172. домѣ. и
да прославиѣтѣ бога. глагола емоу пауле. а тѣи что. рече емоу антонѣи.
нѣсѣ празденѣ азѣ ино дѣло имамѣ. и оставѣвѣ тоу отрока великѣи
антонѣи. и възврати сѣ въ своѣ хѣзинѣ. възставѣ же безлѣбныѣи
старѣцѣ. и помѣлиѣ сѣ. и призваѣвѣ бѣсашѣтааго сѣ глагола. рече отѣцѣ

^(a) For възхѣтѣте (Sever'janov).

^(b) For възвратѣтѣ (Sever'janov).

антонни изиди изъ чловѣка бѣсѣ же съ хоулоуѣ въпниаше глагола не изидж зълзи старче ажжавънъ възъмъ же милотниж своѣж бниаше и по хрѣвътоу глагола изиди рече отъць антонни бѣсѣ же хоулы вѣшгтааше на антонниа и на павъла глагола большьми гладивага снѣгъ ненасъштенага таже николиже своимъ нѣста съгта кжж обьштинж имата съ мноуѣ что нзи мжчнта глагола павълъ излѣзеши ли или идж къ христосу и горе тебѣ иматъ сътворити похоули же и христоса сверѣпъин тѣ бѣсѣ въпни не изидж разгнѣвавъ же сд павълъ на бѣсѣ и ишедъ изъ хъзинъи своѣа въ прѣпладъные егуптѣстни зноуево оубо ничимъже сжтъ хоуждъши вавулоньскыа^(a) 173. оноу пештъница ставъ оубо на камени сватъин старьць на знои молаше сд богу глагола сице тѣ видиши їс хсе распатъин при пжнтѣстѣмъ пилатѣ тако не имамъ сълѣсти съ камене сего ни имамъ гати ни пити дондеже оумърж аште мене не оуслъши^(b) и ижденеши бѣса сего отъ чловѣка сего и свободу сего сътвориши отъ доуха сего нечистааго кште же глаголашгоу прѣпростоуоумоу и съмѣреноуоумоу паулоу їсоусовоу прѣжде съконъчаниа молитвѣи възьпи гласомъ бѣсѣ идж идж и исхождж ноуждено^(c) и мжкоу женомъ ѣсмъ отъхождж отъ чловѣка оуже к томоу не приближж сд къ съмѣреноуоумоу и прѣпростоуоумоу паулоу женетъ бо ма и не вѣдѣ камо идж и авне изиде бѣсѣ и прѣложи сд въ зми великъ тако седмь десатъ лакътъ и иде пльза къ чръмъноуоумоу мороу

From the vita of Isaac of Dalmatia (Supr 191, 21–193, 29)

тѣгда цѣсарь оуалъ и тѣ съвѣравъ воа своа готовяаше сд изити на сжпостатъи и възистъ исходаштѣ ѣмоу на полѣ глдатъ вои своихъ разгорѣвъ сд сѣтимъ доухомъ акъи инъ даниилъ о соусанѣ сватъин отъць нашъ исакни пристжпи къ зълочѣстъноуоумоу глагола цѣсароу отвръзи цркъви правовѣрънъихъ и оуправитъ ти господь пжтъ 192. твои прѣдъ товоуѣ онъ же видѣвъи и въ такомъ ништи образѣ и въ прѣтиштихъ старца прѣбидѣ и не отъвѣшта ѣмоу ни ѣдногo словесе не бо бѣ тѣгда тоу ни слѣда чръноризъчьска таче пакъи на оутрѣна исходашгоу ѣмоу ста прѣдъ ѣнимъ и рече цасароу^(d) отвръзи цркъви правовѣрънъихъ и одолѣиши врагомъ твоимъ и възвратиши сд съ миромъ цѣсарь же словеси силж почоувъ ѣже рече сѣими тако обратиши сд съ миромъ съвѣтовааше съ съвѣтникъи своимъ да отвръжтъ цркъви препоситъ же и прочни иже бѣахъ отъ арневы зълъа вѣрѣи паче съвратиша цѣсарѣ и наржгавъше сд ѣмоу оуслмаивъше сд словесемъ ѣго шиваахъ и хрѣзанъи послоушавъ же ихъ цѣсарь прѣбидѣвъи и понде възгодъникъ же божи беспрѣстани

(a) вавулонь|скыа: transition between folios 172 and 173.

(b) For оуслъшиши (Meyer).

(c) For canonical нжждеж.

(d) For canonical цѣсарю.

молиаше бога: да възкорѣ сътворитъ помощъ о правѣи вѣрѣ: по дѣвою же дѣнию оучинивъ цѣсарь воа свом: исхождааше на рать: блаженъи же прѣставъ и на пѣти пристѣпи къ нему: и имъ за оудж коиѣ его ставыаше и: глагола отърѣзи цркви правовѣрнѣиухъ: онъ же по обзичаю своему не прѣклоненъ 193. прѣвѣистъ: сѣштини же близъ цѣсара: внахъ и да отъстѣпитъ: и не можаахъ отътрѣгнѣти его: вѣистъ же отътого лиштъ: и сътекоша са мнози^(a) и различно кѣждо внахъ и: ови прѣтиемъ ови бичи: а друѣзи жѣзлимъ: и ѣдва нѣкого себѣ богъ попоустивъшоу: възмогаша отътрѣгнѣти рѣцѣ его отъ оудзи коиѣиа цѣсара: тѣгда цѣсаръ оуалъ възвѣсивъ са: възрѣвъ сѣмо онамо: видѣ мѣсто нѣкако: акъи вапж сѣштѣ исакъш: и тинѣ смрѣдѣштѣ плнѣж: и лѣсъ частъ въ ѣи: и трѣни зѣло люто и кѣпини: въ ѣеже мѣсто аште въпадетъ какъ любо скотъ: то к тому живо не излѣзетъ: съмотривъ оубо цѣсаръ мѣсто то: и оувѣдѣвъ тако сѣтъ смрѣтна кѣтъ: повелѣ върѣшти и тоу: и иде пѣтѣмъ своимъ: възрѣженоу же вѣивъшъ добыюмоу исповѣднику хѣвою исакноу: въ смрѣтнѣж пѣчинѣ: прѣвѣистъ цѣлъ: не примъ никакого же^(b) зѣла: авни бо силож господа нашего ꙗс хѣа: пришѣдъша дѣва агѣла издраста^(c) и ис тинѣ том: и изведъша и постависта^(d) на пѣти: и рекоста ему: миръ тебѣ крѣпи са и възмѣжан:

From the vita of St. John Climacus (Supr 275, 10–276, 23)

ѣднож оубо отъ дѣни: повелѣ отъць ѡванъ мѡсею ити нѣ на кою мѣсто: и копавшоу ровъ съвратити водѣ: и привести на напаганіе зѣлю: дошѣдъшоу же ему нареченааго мѣста: повелѣноу без лѣности творѣаше: зноу же въ прѣпладѣни вѣивъшоу: възлеже мѡуѣси подъ камъкомъ великомъ: и оуѣпъ почиваше: не хотѣи же зѣла рабомъ своимъ господъ вари по обзичаю: сѣштоу бо великоуоумоу отъцоу въ хѣзинѣ: и молан^(e) твораштоу къ богъ: въздрѣма са и оуѣнѣ малѣ: и видѣ нѣкого въ сватитѣлѣстѣ лѣпотѣ възвоудѣиштѣ и: и поносашта ему о сынѣ и глаголѣштѣ: ѡване како бес печали сѣпиши: а мѡисѣи въ велицѣ бѣдѣ прѣвѣиваатъ: авни же възкочивъ за оученика своего молитѣж твораше: таче пришѣдъшоу ему вечер: въпрашааше его: ѣда ти са что зѣло сътвори^(e) 276. онъ же рече: тако камъи великѣ ма хотѣи погнѣсти: почиваѣштоу ми въ прѣпладѣни подѣ ѣимъ: аште не бы мене напрасно възвѣвалъ: да оштоутивъ отъскочихъ: сѣмѣренѣи же отъць по истинѣ: ничесоже отъ видѣнѣиухъ сѣповѣдавъ таниѣ же благааго бога похвали бѣаше же и образъ: и цѣлитѣлѣ врѣдомъ невидимымъ: такоже нѣкѣгда нѣкто исакни именовъ: тажестниж плѣтолюбивааго

(a) The sequence *но*, left out at the end of the line, are restored by the editor.

(b) The letter *ε*, left out at the end of the line, is restored by the editor.

(c) The letter *а*, left out at the end of the line, is restored by the editor.

(d) The letter *а*, left out at the end of the line, is restored by the editor.

(e) *съ|твори*: transition between folios 275 and 276.

бѣса велики съдръжимъ и въ отъчаанни бѣвъ къ великоуоумоу семоу
отъцоу притече и съ слъзми и въплъмъ исповѣдааше свои врѣдъ
ратъ блаженъи же чоудивъ са вѣрѣ его на молитвѣ станевѣ рече
w дроуже и тако молитвѣнаа словеса съконьчаваахъ са иште ницоу
лежаштоу болаштоуоумоу господь творачи волж въгодньникомъ своимъ
тъ оуслышавъ и раба своего молитвѣи и облыгъча братъ томоу ратъ
и благодарствнста^(a) гѣ бѣ

From the vita of St. James the Faster (Supr 514, 6–517, 25)

бъстъ нѣкъзи отъшльць въ веснѣмъ градѣ порфѣриинъ нарицаемѣ
именемъ накввъ и съ маловрѣменьнааго сего житѣа соуегнааго
отъврѣтъ са живе нѣ въ коен пештерѣ еѣ лѣтъ толико же алъчбоиъ и
благъими дѣлѣи воспѣшивъ чьстѣнъ ави са и оугоднъ боу такоже кемоу
и даръ на бѣсы полуцити и многы инъи лѣчбѣи хѣа нашего творити
именемъ вси же мжжа житию диваште са к ѿемоу събираахъ са ихъже
множаниши безаконъинихъ самаранъ бѣахъ вѣрѣи мже вида к ѿемоу
приходашта бѣни чловѣкъ на мнозѣ оглашаа отъ бѣниихъ кѣнигъ на
истинънж вѣрж обраштааше нъ на родъ чловѣчьскъи искони вожи
днѣволъ и наипаче на ровъи сѣпаа нашего хѣа вида себе отъ многы
благъи дѣтѣли мжжа и правдѣнааго житѣа на мнозѣ прогонима
въста на нѣ хотѣи прогнати отъ прѣждѣнаречѣнааго мѣста вьлѣзъ бо
въ ѣдноаго отъ самаранъ искони и въниж истинъи отъвраштаиштинихъ
са приготова его събрати вьса послоушаиштал его дроугъи и
срьдоболж и рабъи на лагание сѣааго мжжа да и оуловивъ възможетъ
отъ странъ тѣхъ прогнати събравъше же са вси въ жилиште жьрца
своеаго и много мъсливъше и проказылѣвъше 515. коньчнѣ ѣдинъ
аша съвѣтъ и призвавъше бестоуднж женж и блѣднж даша еи два
дѣсѣти златиць и инѣ толико жде обѣшгтаваиште дати еи аште
възможетъ запати бѣию рабоу наквоу такоже имъ тоиъ виноиъ
възмошти отъ земѣа своеа съ стоудомъ мжжа отъгнати тѣми
обѣшггании побѣждѣна жена идѣтъ к ѿемоу поздѣ зѣло ноштиж
и тѣкнжвъши въ двѣри молааше его въвести ихъ ономоу же не
хоташтоу и на мнозѣ то сътворити отълагаиштоу прѣбывааше
вѣ стоуда тѣкжшги и съ многоиъ молитвоиъ молашти приати ихъ
и малъи оуврѣзъ и видѣвъ ихъ минѣаше мьчѣтоу бѣити и прѣкрѣтивъ
себе затворивъ заклочи двѣри и възвративъ са и ставъ на вѣстокъ
прилежно молитвж богови приношааше многоу же часоу минжвъшоу и
ношти оуже прѣполовашти са не прѣстанѣше тѣкжшги и великомъ
гласомъ въпышги помилоуи ма рабе бѣни еда како звѣрѣми изѣдѣна
бѣдъ прѣдъ главоиъ твоиѣи помъсливъ же правдѣнъи и вѣдѣи въ
мѣстѣхъ тѣхъ звѣрни множество въ размъшленъиа вьпадъ отъврѣзъ
двѣри и глагола еи отъкждоу пришла еси сѣмо коа ли нишгѣши она же
рече отъ манастирѣ ѣсмъ съде близъ сжштаааго и посла ма игоуменыа

^(a) Aberant form for 3DuAor(благодарствити).

донести просворжъ въ сыжъ вьсь и възвративъши ми са и идъшти въ манастирь омыркоухъ на мѣстѣ семь да молжъ та чѣче бѣжи помиланъ ма и прими да не бѣдѣ звѣрьми извѣдена 516. тѣгда же оуже оумилосердивъ са въведе ихъ и прѣдъстави въ ии водж и хлѣбъ вьлѣзъ самъ въ жтрьнѣжъ клѣтъкжъ заключи са оставивъ женжъ въ вьнѣшнии клѣтѣцѣ она же гадъши помлъча въ малъ часть и потомъ нача кричати и плачжшти приврже себе къ двьремъ и съ горъками слъзами зовѣаше сѣааго и прѣклонивъ са двьрыцами и видѣвъ ихъ одржимж и окзы въ мнозѣ болѣзни сжштжъ въ недооумѣнии бзыстѣ что си ии бѣдетъ или чѣто ии сътворишъ въпраша иа она же гла иемоу призри на ма и прѣкрести ма тако срьдъчножъ болѣзныжъ одржжма иемъ то слъшавъ излѣзъ и авиѣ наложи краджъ великжъ и лѣвжжъ своѣжъ ржкжъ възложи на огнь деснжжъ мажа отъ масла сѣзынухъ грѣаше ихъ теплостнижъ ржкы своѣа и прѣкрыштаа ихъ часто по прѣсемъ не прѣстааше она же своимъ стоудомъ трьпашти и хоташти иго оуловити и на похотѣныѣ зъло сѣааго привести гла иемоу молжъ ти са мажи ми срьдце на дльзѣ да ми прѣстанетъ одржжаштиа ма болѣзнь онъ же по сжштинъ въ немъ простости творѣше ии таже на врачѣжъ коупно же и проказыства лжкавааго вѣдзы и боа са иеда коли отъ многааго к ии попеченыа бесъмыртынжжъ болѣзнь нанесетъ до двою или до тринъ часть тако без милости лѣвжжъ ржкжъ къ огню придѣа трьпѣаше доиѣлиже оудове ржчынзынухъ прѣстъ изгорѣвше отъпадоша то же сотониньскзыимъ къзнемъ противыаа са творѣаше такоже иемоу отъ огнѣ привѣиважштжжъ болѣзныжъ несътръпимжжъ 517. зълоуемоу помзыслоу не нанти на срьдце она же прѣславное то видѣвъши и в себѣ бзывши видѣѣше^(a) во ржкжъ сѣааго отъ огнѣа оуже вьсж изгорѣвшжъ възплакавъши горцѣ и въздъхнжвъши припаде къ ногама сѣааго и ржкама своимъ бнжшти са въ прѣси выпнѣаше оу горе мынѣ окаанѣи и отъмѣнѣи оу горе мынѣ тако сынѣдъ иемъ огнѣа вѣчнааго оу горе мнѣ тако жиштѣ^(b) иемъ днаволе сѣзынъ же оужастнъ противжъ томоу бзывъ рече к иенъ вьстани жено и съ многожъ ноуждежъ възставивъ ихъ отъ земаа и прилежно молитвжъ сътворивъ гла ии повѣждъ ми что ти иестъ она же нѣколи пришедъши в са такоже бѣаше дѣло по вьсемоу ськаза иемоу тавивъши иемоу лжкавынзынухъ самарѣнѣ наипаче же сотонинно пооучение на правьднааго и възстание и авиѣ велми въздъхнжвъ рабѣ божии и много съ славословнимъ и съ слъзами благодаривъ бѣ огласи ихъ давъ же ии просворзы и посъла ихъ къ сѣоуоуемоу александроу еѣпоу дошъдъши же црькви вьса по слѣдованию бѣи прѣжде потомъ же и прѣподобноуемоу мжжоу исповѣда такоже и тѣ много огласивъ ихъ и оверѣтъ ихъ прилежно о зълынухъ таже сътвори кажштжъ са дастъ ии бесъмыртыа байж

(a) See § 471–472.

(b) In SUPR жиштѣ 2× for canonical жиштѣ. Here in the ms. ии is a late addition above the line (Sever'janov). See § 892–893, and also § 865.

From the vita of Konon of Isauria (Supr 43, 9–45, 1)

тако ꙗмоу житиѣ богъ почыте ꙗкоже и по съмрѣти ꙗго славынѣшиа сътвори ꙗште же къ симъ чоудесемъ и се възстѣ въдовни коѣи оубозѣ снѣ иночадъ ꙗдѣнче съсы ꙗгоже носашти въ пазоусѣ мати ꙗмоу въ врѣма жатвѣ шѣдъши да съберетъ класъ на пиштѣ себѣ положи на земли сѣа своего и къ жателѣнемъ пристѣпивъши и берѣшти класъ вънезаапъ влѣкъ пришедъ обрѣте поврѣженъ дѣтиштѣ никоу же сѣштоу оу него и възхутивъ и отиде жателѣне же оуслышавъше плача младеништа и мати почоувъши обрати са и разоумѣвъши своего зѣла възкрича съ вѣсѣми жателѣне же ови клицаахъ ови течаахъ въ слѣдъ влѣка и не постигъше ꙗго вратиша са мати же ꙗго и не испочивъши въздѣвъши рѣцѣ и текѣшти иде плачѣшти са до сѣаго мѣжа повѣдати ꙗмоу своѣхъ бѣдѣхъ 44. и дошѣдъши манастирѣ възкрича мати дѣтишта велими глаголѣшти сѣи кононе даждь ми сѣа моего онъ же оуслышавъ гласа плачоу възкочи къ двѣремъ по обѣчаю она же видѣвъши и похвативъши нозѣ ꙗго плака са горько онъ же възставивъ ѣхъ възпрашааше чѣто ѣстѣ вина онон же отъ печали не могѣшти исповѣдати съповѣдаша иже бѣша съ неѣхъ пришли и оуслышавъ бѣвѣше и попече са съ матерѣхъ дѣтишта и ставъ при вѣсѣхъ и въздѣвъ на высотѣ очи ꙗ рѣцѣ помолѣ са и призвавъ сѣоѣ тринемноѣ имѣ повелѣ бѣсомъ ити и обратити влѣка съ дѣтиштѣмъ цѣломъ они же призвани бѣвѣше и невидими скоро поидоша и постигоша и далече зѣло ꙗште младеништѣ въ оустѣхъ носаштѣ да ови похвативъше за оуши влѣчаахъ и дроузи же съзажда^(a) пориваахъ а дроузи бѣахъ и тако ведоша влѣка къ ногама сѣоуоумоу конооу и падъ положи дѣтиштѣ прѣдъ вѣсѣми ꙗкоже вѣсѣмъ възкричати гласомъ велимъ и отъ многоѣ радости просльзивъшемъ са славити бога о такои силѣ данѣи ꙗмоу и въземъ дѣтишта отъ звѣрѣ дастъ матери и молитѣхъ сътворивъ 45. отъпоустѣ вѣсѣхъ съ влѣкомъ

From the vita of St. Artemon of Laodicea (Supr 221, 14–225, 30)

слышавъ же комисъ тако вси крѣстиани събрали са сѣтѣ въ црѣкѣви коупно съ епискоупомъ повелѣ воинномъ своимъ осѣдѣлати ꙗмоу конѣ цѣсарьскѣ да възшѣдъ въ орѣжи^(b) своимъ въ црѣкѣве крѣвѣмъ проливание сътворитъ крѣстианомъ иметъ же епискоупа сининѣа и съ арѣмомъ презвѣтеромъ излѣзъ же изъ града и съ воинѣ бѣаше во црѣкѣви пѣти пѣприштѣ отъ града и прѣвелижаѣштоу са ꙗмоу къ црѣкѣви тако въ далѣ ꙗдногѣ пѣпришта възстрасе са и огнѣ великѣ нача жѣшти и ꙗкоже съпадъшоу са ꙗмоу съ конѣа оумрати принесѣше же одрѣ възложивъше и на нѣ принесоша въ преторѣ полоуношти^(c) 222. же бѣвѣшоу повелѣ комисъ свѣшта принѣсти

(a) For съ зажда; see § 336.

(b) For canonical орѣжин (Sever'janov).

(c) полоуношти: transition between folios 221 and 222.

и свѣтити по всемоу претороу· и прѣбывати съ нимъ воиномъ ѿго· и глагола къ домоستيكомъ своимъ васнь^(a) крѣстиани проклаша ма· и богъ ихъ мжчнтъ ма· глаголаша к ѿмоу домоестици· доврочѣстивни бози· и освѣштание богъиѿ артемиды· ти та имжтъ сънабдѣти· лютѣ же ѿмоу стражджшгоу и не могжшгоу тръпѣти болѣзни· повелѣ воиномъ своимъ шдъше въ црькѣве· и рѣшти пискоупоу^(b) сисинию тако богъ крѣстипанескъ великъ ѿстъ· помолн са оубо за ма къ богу· да възстанж и избеждж мжкы сѣа^(c) и поставыж ти златъ образъ въ градѣ семь· шедъше же воинн глаголаша епискоупоу ѿже слышаша· отъвѣштавъ же епискоупъ глагола имъ· шдъше повѣдите комитоу вашемоу· злато твое и сребро твое да бждетъ съ тобою· аште ли да вѣроуѣши въ господъ нашъ їс хс· то избеждеши болѣзни тол лютыа· томоу же рекъшоу вѣроуѣж тъчыж да избеждж сего· абнѣ же съдравъ бзыстъ· и повелѣ воиномъ своимъ възпрашти крѣкыгж имъ· да идетъ съ ними въ кесаринскын^(d) 223. градъ· изшедъшоу же ѿмоу из града лаодиѿнискааго· и шдъшоу трни попришттъ· сьрѣте и рабъ божин артемонъ· идъ из лова· дивнаа животы оулавываа словомъ хсвовомъ· всьлѣдѣствоваста же всьлѣдъ ѿго дѣва елени· и шестъ дивныхъ козъ· иже идоша къ епискоупоу сисинию· имѣаше бо епискоупъ сисинин· врѣтпоградъ красынъ· повелѣ же комисн ставити крѣкыгж· и възпрашааше раба божина артемона· како звѣри сиа^(e) оулови· мьнѣаше бо комисъ тако питаѣми сжтъ и кротыци· глагола же к ѿмоу рабъ божин артемонъ· словесемъ христосомъ^(f) си оуловыени бзыша· комисъ рече старче· тако ми ѿстъ разоумѣти тако крѣстипанъ ѿси· артемонъ рече· азъ отъ младеньства крѣстипанъ ѿсмъ· повелѣ же абнѣ комисъ веригы ѿмоу наложивъше на възъ· прѣдати и дѣвѣма воиннома· и всьлѣдовати ѿмоу дожи ї до кесаринска града· тъгда повелѣ сватъин артемонъ· еленьма и дивнимъ козамъ· нти къ епискоупоу къ врѣтпоградоу· они же съ спѣхомъ шдъше сташа близъ града· видѣвъ же а епискоупъ^(g) 224. глагола къ вратароу· отъкждоу придоша сиа дивнаа козы и елени і абнѣ же ѿдинъ отъ елению отвръзъ оуста своа рече· чловѣчскомъ гласомъ· рабъ божин артемонъ лтъ бзыстъ· нечистъинимъ комисомъ· и идъ въ кесаринскын градъ· съвззанъ прѣданъ бзыстъ дѣвѣма воиннома· намъ повелѣ прити къ врѣтпоградоу семоу· оужасенъ же бзывъ епискоупъ· о чловѣчстѣ гласѣ елѣн· и не имъ вѣрзы о стѣбѣмъ артемонѣ· повелѣ вратароу призввати диакона филеа· и

(a) Extraparadigmatic; 'perhaps, maybe'.

(b) For епискоупоу. Večerka has a separate headword, пискоупъ.

(c) For сѣа by the SUPR basic writing system, see §228. Cf. the footnote 17 in Sever'janov's edition: «the parchment is silent on the fluke that led the scribe to iotate the Δ».

(d) кеса|ринскын: transition between folios 222 and 223.

(e) For canonical сиа.

(f) For христосовомъ (Sever'janov).

(g) епи|скоупъ: transition between folios 223 and 224.

пришьдъшоу ѿмоу глагола къ ѿмоу епискоупъ· дитаконѣ филеа· видиши
 дивнаа силъ козъи и ѿлени· стоаша близъ града· глагола ѿмоу дитакъ·
 ен господи виждж· дивно чоудо ти имамъ съповѣдати филеа· ѿдинъ
 бо отъ ѿлению чловѣчьскомъ гласомъ глагола· тако презвѣтеръ и рабъ
 божии артемонъ· атъ бзѣвъ нечистымъ комисомъ· идеть въ кесарниж·
 и оужастъ обвѣдръжитъ ма о чловѣчьствѣ гласѣ ѿлене· и аште то тако
 ѿстъ· то гради възьми благословѣние· и иди въ кесарниж· съ ѿдинѣмъ
 слоугож· и испытан аште то ѿстъ 225. истина· велика бо печаль въ
 мнѣ ѿстъ· възьмъ же дитакъ благословѣние отъ епискоупа· и помоливъ
 са идѣаше пжтѣмъ· шъдъ оубо въ кесарниж· искаше раба господня
 артемона· бѣаше же сватъин въ темници· обрѣтъ же и дитакъ глагола
 къ ѿмоу· рабе бога възьнѣго· и пастоуше словесънънхъ овецъ· како
 нзи остави ѿдинъи и възпалъ ѿси въ ржцѣ томитѣли· и никътоже отъ
 насъ оувѣдѣ· развѣ ѿдинъ отъ дивинхъ животъ глагола епискоупоу·
 тако рабъ божии артемонъ· атъ бзѣвъ комисомъ нечистымъ иде въ
 кесарниж· не вѣровавъ же епискоупъ· того ради посъла ма сѣмо· аште
 истина ѿстъ ѿже слыша· великж бо печаль иматъ о тебѣ· глагола къ
 ѿмоу сватъин артемонъ· рабе божии филеа· шъдъ възвѣсти владыцѣ
 моемоу сватоуоумоу епискоупъ· да молитъ са за ма· да побѣждж
 нечистааго· и хрѣстоненавиднаго примъшлѣм· и вждж съпричастъникъ
 христосоу· ѿште бо нѣстъ въпрашание о мнѣ възло· шъдъ оубо
 възвѣсти епискоупоу· тако рабъ божии артемонъ въ темници сѣдитъ·
 и молитъ са да са молиши за ѿ·

PART IV

Dictionaries

How to use the dictionaries

Two dictionaries: their names and typical purposes

There are two dictionaries: paradigmatic (PD) and root (RD). The wordlists of these dictionaries coincide. In the PD, the unit (and the headword) is the lexeme; in the RD, it is the root (and the headword is the root's number). In the PD, each lexeme is supplied with a paradigmatic index, the morphophonological spellout of its starting form, and the number of its root. In the RD, each root is supplied with all the lexemes of the wordlist that contain it, and for each wordform the shape of its root formative is noted.

The paradigmatic dictionary should be used to determine if a lexeme belongs to the controlling lists of lexemes (§ 3), to find its paradigmatic index (which is necessary to build the paradigm), and to determine the morphophonological spellout of its starting form, and to find the lexeme's root and its number.

The root dictionary should be used to find the set of lexemes with a given root (among those from the controlling list), the alloforms of the root, and its number.

On the wordlists of the dictionaries

The wordlists are based on the wordlists of Večerka's and Sadnik's dictionaries. However, the wordlists here have been narrowed: first, in terms of the corpus of sources, and second, by filtering out certain grammatical parameters.

The benchmark source corpus includes only the following seven sources: ZOGR, MAR, AS, PS SIN, KIEV, SAV and SUPR. Accordingly, items that are not found in any of these sources may be excluded from the wordlist.

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The wordlist only contains paradigmatic lexemes (V— verbs, S — substantives, and A — adjectives): thus, items such as **АБИЊЕ**, **ИЗДРАДЪ**, **НЪ**, **НИ**, **ДОИДЕЖЕ** are excluded from the wordlist.¹

The wordlists does not includes compounds: thus, such items as **ДОБРОТВОРИТИ**, **ДОБРОЧЪСТНИЊЕ**, **КОЗЪЛОГЛАСОВАНИЊЕ** are excluded from the basic wordlist.

Toponyms, anthroponyms, and some other Greek and Latin borrowings are also not included, so, such items as **ДАМАСКЪ**, **ЕМАОУСЪ**, **ДАВЪИДЪ**, **КОЗМА**, **АКРОТОМЪ**, **АЛГОУИ**, **АЛСОСЪ**, **ГАЗОФИЛАЊИТА**, **ЕНКЕНИТА**.²

Paradigmatic dictionary

Spellouts and their order

Each word is represented by its starting, or dictionary form (which is the headword of the dictionary entry). For substantives (S) this is NSg, for adjectives (A) this is NSgmBrev, for verbs (V) this is the infinitive. All words are given in the normalization.

The order of words in the PD is inverse-alphabetic (see the alphabetic order in § 16). For homonymous entries, the headword is the starting form with a superscript index, cf. **ВЕСТИ**¹ (root **ВЕД** <75>) and **ВЕСТИ**² (root **ВЕЗ** <84>). To the extent possible, these indices agree with those in Večerka.

Structure of the entry

The dictionary entry, in the general case, contains four fields: 1) root number, 2) morphophonological spellout, 3) dictionary form (headword), and 4) paradigmatic index. Cf.:

773	(РОВ).Ъ	РОВЪ	2/м
927	((СЪВЕР)).ОВ.Ъ	СЪВЕРОВЪ	2/а
438	(КРОВ).Ъ	КРОВЪ	2/м
121	ВЪ. (ВРЪГ).ТИ	ВЪВРЪШТИ	4с*Ѓ
891	(СТРЪГ).ТИ	СТРЪШТИ ¹	4с
894	(СТРЪГ).ТИ	СТРЪШТИ ²	4с*Ѓ

The *root number* corresponds to the numbering in the root catalog, given in its entirety in the RD. In the morphophonological spellout, *parentheses* surround the root, and *double parentheses* frame an opaque root (an opaque stem; see § 628). Paradigmatic indices show the inflectional class; see details for *nom-*

¹ See details in § 276, 303 on participles and deadjectival adverbs. Some individual cases of departure from Večerka's lexicographic decisions are noted *passim*, e.g. in the lists of commented lexemes that are omitted from this translation (§ 324, 324, 336 and others; see also *Index of words*). Some compounds with **НЕ** are also excluded, such as **НЕСЛАВА** (Večerka has **СЛАВА** and **НЕСЛАВА**), **НЕВРЪДЪ** (Večerka has **ВРЪДЪ** and **НЕВРЪДЪ**).

² See details in § 636.

inals in § 302, and for *verbs* in § 416 and § 419 (regular and unique verbs), and § 454 (irregular verbs).

Structure of the paradigmatic indices

The index begins with an Arabic numeral. The digit 0 in verbs and nominals means that the lexeme is unique (cf. § 357 for nominals and § 516 for verbs). The index of nominals besides 0 can begin with 1 (monovariate, *i*-declension) or 2 (two-fold declension). In verbs, digits from 1 to 7 indicate paradigmatic class. Further symbols after the digit refer to the next levels of classification. For nominals, the symbols *a* and *p* indicate an adjective, while *m*, *n*, *f* and *s* indicate a substantive.

Other symbols

The symbol // indicates a doublet lexeme, cf. for example:

728	пра.(прж,д).а	прапрж,да//	2/f
728	пр'б.(прж,д).а	пр'бпрж,да//	2/f

The symbol ∇ indicates morphological anomalies in the paradigm, cf. for example:

98	(вид).ѣ.т.и	видѣти	2∇
766	прс.(рек).т.и	пррешти	4с∇

For other marks and symbols in extenders of paradigmatic indices see *Abbreviations and symbols*.

Root dictionary

Root spellouts and their order

The headword of the entry is the root number. Roots are arranged by number. Numbers are assigned alphabetically, namely: alloforms of the same root are sorted alphabetically, and then root numbers are assigned by the alphabetic order of the first alloforms of each foot. For example, the root with the alloforms (бор, бра) is given the number <42>, the root with the alloform боѣ the number <43>, and the root with the alloform брад the number <44>. Roots with coinciding alloform sets are numbered arbitrarily, cf. брад <44> and брад <45>.

Dictionary entry structure

In the general case the entry contains the following three fields: 1) root number (headword), 2) the segmental shape of the alloform, 3) the list of lexemes where

the given root is represented by the given alloform. Cf.:

<3> (see § 655)

АГН АГНЬЦЬ
 АГНА

<4>

((АГОД)) АГОДА

<9> (§ 807)

АЛЪК АЛЪКАНИЕ
 АЛЪКАТИ
 ВЪЗАЛЪКАТИ
АЛЪЧ АЛЪЧЬБА
 АЛЪЧЬБЫНЪ
 АЛЪЧЫНЪ

References to paragraph numbers are given for roots with commentary in the main part of the book.

The segmental shape of the alloform corresponds to the morphophonological spellout, and in some cases may fail to coincide with any graphic substring of the spellouts of corresponding lexemes. Cf. for the root <23> with the alloform бѡј, for *РАЗБОИ*, *ДУБОИСТВО* etc.

Lexemes that represent a given alloform are given in the dictionary in ordinary alphabetic order. The symbol // after a lexeme indicates the presence of a doublet. Cf. *ЈДИНЪ//* and *ЈДЫНЪ//*. A superscript index at the end of a lexeme distinguishes homonyms, cf. *ВЕСТИ*¹ (root *ВЕД* <75>) and *ВЕСТИ*² (root *ВЕЗ* <84>).

Paradigmatic Dictionary

15	(БАБ).а	БАБА	2/f
843	ОБ.(СЛАБ).а	ОСЛАБА	2/f
750	(РАБ).а	РАБА	2/f
277	(ЖАБ).а	ЖАБА	2/f
624	(ОБ).а	ОБА	2/p
235	ПО.(ДОБ).а	ПОДОБА	2/f
324	(ЗЪЛ).ОБ.а	ЗЪЛОБА	2/f
324	НЕ.(ЗЪЛ).ОБ.а	НЕЗЪЛОБА	2/f
1120	(ЖТР).ОБ.а	ЖТРОБА	2/f
210	ПА.(ГОУБ).а	ПАГОУБА	2/f
785	(РЪИБ).а	РЪИБА	2/f
291	(ЖЛАД).ЬБ.а	ЖЛАДЬБА	2/f
890	(СТРАД).ЬБ.а	СТРАДЬБА	2/f
936	(СЖД).ЬБ.а	СЖДЬБА	2/f
891	(СТРАЖ).ЬБ.а	СТРАЖЬБА	2/f
850	(СЛОУЖ).ЬБ.а	СЛОУЖЬБА	2/f
248	(ДРОУЖ).ЬБ.а	ДРОУЖЬБА	2/f
560	(МОЛ).ЬБ.а	МОЛЬБА	2/f
1054	(ЦЪЛА).ЬБ.а	ЦЪЛЪБА	2/f
1054	ИЗ.(ЦЪЛА).ЬБ.а	ИЦЪЛЪБА	2/f
939	(ТА).Т.ЬБ.а	ТАТЬБА	2/f
813	(СВАТ).ЬБ.а	СВАТЪБА	2/f
118	(ВРАЧ).ЬБ.а	ВРАЧЬБА	2/f
9	(АЛЪЧ).ЬБ.а	АЛЪЧЬБА	2/f
519	(ЛЪЧ).ЬБ.а	ЛЪЧЬБА	2/f

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107	(ВЛЪШ).ББ.А	ВЛЪШЬБА	2/f
981	(ТРЪБ).А	ТРЪБА	2/f
981	ПО.(ТРЪБ).А	ПОТРЪБА	2/f
212	(ГЖБ).А	ГЖБА	2/f
985	(ТРЖБ).А	ТРЖБА	2/f
250	(ДРЪЖ).Ъ.В.А	ДРЪЖАВА	2/f
158	(ГЛАВ).А	ГЛАВА	2/f
844	(СЛАВ).А	СЛАВА	2/f
274	(ДЖБ).Р.АВ.А	ДЖБРАВА//	2/f
437	(КРИЧ).Ъ.В.А	КРИЧАВА	2/f
664	(ПОИ).АВ.А	ПОИВА	2/f
344	(ЈАЗВ).А	ЈАЗВА	2/f
622	(ИИВ).А	ИИВА	2/f
1007	(ТАТ).ИВ.А	ТАТИВА	2/f
134	(ВЪД).ОВ.А	ВЪДОВА	2/f
274	(ДЖБ).Р.ОВ.А	ДЖБРОВА//	2/f
773	(РЪВ).А.Т.В.А	РЪВАТВА	2/f
481	(ЛОВ).И.Т.В.А	ЛОВИТВА	2/f
560	(МОЛ).И.Т.В.А	МОЛИТВА	2/f
49	(БРИ).Т.В.А	БРИТВА	2/f
659	(ПАС).Т.В.А	ПАСТВА	2/f
659	СЪ.(ПАС).Т.В.А	СЪПАСТВА	2/f
292	(ЖРЪ).Т.В.А	ЖРЪТВА	2/f
281	(ЖЕЛ).Ъ.Т.В.А	ЖЕЛЪТВА	2/f
302	(ЖА).Т.В.А	ЖАТВА	2/f
384	(КЛА).Т.В.А	КЛАТВА	2/f
497	(ЛИХ).В.А	ЛИХВА	2/f
262	(ДЪВ).А	ДЪВА	2/p
555	(МЛЪВ).А	МЛЪВА	2/f
249	(ДРЪВ).А	ДРЪВА	2/p
236	(ДЪ).В.А	ДЪВА	2/f
685	(ПЛЪ).В.А	ПЛЪВА	2/f
966	(ТРЪВ).А	ТРЪВА	2/f
103	(ВЛАГ).А	ВЛАГА	2/f
113	(ВОШТАГ).А	ВОШТАГА	2/f
776	(РОЗГ).А	РОЗГА	2/f
255	(ДРАЪЗГ).А	ДРАЪЗГА	2/f
89	(ВЕР).ИГ.А	ВЕРИГА	2/f
612	(НОГ).А	НОГА	2/f
850	(СЛОУГ).А	СЛОУГА	2/f
897	(СТРОУГ).А	СТРОУГА	2/f
446	(КРЪКЪИГ).А	КРЪКЪИГА	2/f
421	(КОТЪИГ).А	КОТЪИГА	2/f
701	(ПОТЪПЪИГ).А	ПОТЪПЪИГА	2/f
933	ПРИ.(САГ).А	ПРИСАГА	2/f
1022	(ХАЛЖГ).А	ХАЛЖГА	2/f
1006	(ТЖГ).А	ТЖГА	2/f
74	СЪ.(ВАД).А	СЪВАДА	2/f
364	(КАД).А.А	КАДА	2/f

364	прѣ.(кла).а	прѣклада	2/f
44	(брад).а	брада	2/f
829	((сковрад).а	сковрада	2/f
192	об.(град).а	ограда	2/f
424	(крад).а	крада	2/f
753	отъ.(рад).а	отърада	2/f
46	(бразда).а	бразда	2/f
1013	(оузда).а	оузда	2/f
53	(бръзда).а	бръзда	2/f
581	(мьзда).а	мьзда	2/f
305	(свѣзда).а	свѣзда	2/f
98	об.(вид).а	овида	2/f
98	за.(вид).а	завида	2/f
811	((свобод).а	свобода	2/f
109	(вод).а	вода	2/f
4	((агод).а	агода	2/f
187	((господ).а	господа	2/f
697	((пород).а	порода	2/f
1021	по.(ход).а	похода	2/f
456	про.(коуа).а	прокоуда	2/f
781	(роуа).а	роуда	2/f
703	(прав).ьд.а	правьда	2/f
703	не.(прав).ьд.а	неправьда	2/f
115	(враж).ьд.а	вражьда	2/f
70	(вѣд).а	вѣда	2/f
70	по.(вѣд).а	повѣда	2/f
140	не.сѣ.(вѣд).а	несѣвѣда	2/f
877	(срѣд).а	срѣда	2/f
1087	(чрѣд).а	чрѣда	2/f
22	((весеѣд).а	весеѣда	2/f
406	((коллад).а	коллада	2/f
728	пра.(пржда).а	прапржда//	2/f
728	прѣ.(пржда).а	прѣпржда//	2/f
891	(страж).а	стража	2/f
400	(кож).а	кожа	2/f
512	(лъж).а	лъжа	2/f
568	(мрѣж).а	мрѣжа	2/f
1006	(тлж).а	тлжа	2/f
225	на.(дежда).а	надежда	2/f
225	об.(дежда).а	одежда	2/f
544	(межда).а	межда	2/f
187	((госпожда).а	госпожда	2/f
781	(рѣжда).а	рѣжда	2/f
142	(вѣжда).а	вѣжда	2/f
303	(жлжда).а	жлжда	2/f
621	(нлжда).а	нлжда	2/f
514	по.(льса).а	польса	2/f
886	(сѣса).а	сѣса	2/f
356	(јлса).а	јлса	2/f

362	про.(каз).а	проказа	2/f
771	(риз).а	риза	2/f
400	(коз).а	коза	2/f
502	(лоз).а	лоза	2/f
194	(гроз).а	гроза	2/f
854	(сльз).а	сльза	2/f
148	(жз).а	жза	2/f
758	(рак).а	рака	2/f
30	(ближ).ик.а	ближика	2/f
148	(жж).ик.а	жжика	2/f
96	(вој).ьск.а	вонска	2/f
266	(дъск).а	дъска	2/f
950	(тет).ък.а	тетъка	2/f
419	(кот).ък.а	котъка	2/f
390	(клѣт).ък.а	клѣтъка	2/f
104	(влад).ък.а	владъка	2/f
472	(кък).а	къка	2/f
564	((мотък).а	мотъка	2/f
769	(рѣ).к.а	рѣка	2/f
526	(лжк).а	лжка	2/f
526	раз.(лжк).а	разлжка	2/f
595	(мжк).а	мжка ¹	2/f
595	(мжк).а	мжка ²	2/f
795	(ржк).а	ржка	2/f
1024	(хвал).а	хвала	2/f
1024	по.(хвал).а	похвала	2/f
66	((бъчел).а	бъчела	2/f
289	(жил).а	жила	2/f
663	(пил).а	пила	2/f
821	(сил).а	сила	2/f
607	(нос).н.л.а	носила	2/п
427	((крамол).а	крамола	2/f
693	(пол).а	пола	2/f
646	(осл).л.а	осла	2/f
1088	(чрѣз).т.л.а	чрѣсла	2/п
1046	(хочл).а	хочла	2/f
396	((ковъил).а	ковъила	2/f
545	(мот).ъил.а	мотъила	2/f
904	(стрѣл).а	стрѣла	2/f
345	(јам).а	јама	2/f
316	(зим).а	зима	2/f
448	(кръм).а	кръма ¹	2/f
447	(кръм).а	кръма ²	2/f
993	(тъм).а	тъма	2/f
1002	(тъм).а	тъма	2/f
845	(слан).а	слана	2/f
760	(ран).а	рана	2/f
888	(стра).н.а	страна	2/f
886	(стыг).н.а	стыгна	2/f

283	(ЖЕН).а	жена	2/f
661	((ПЕЛЕН).а	пелена	2/f
28	(БЛАЗН).а	блазна	2/f
158	(ГЛАВ).ИЗН.а	главизна	2/f
369	ОҮ.(КОР).И.ЗН.а	ОҮКОРИЗНА	2/f
969	((ТРИЗН).а	тризна	2/f
939	(ТАІ).ИИ.а	танна	2/f
939	(ТА).Т.ЬБ.ИИ.а	ТАТЪБИНА	2/f
169	(ГЛЖБ).ИИ.а	ГЛЖБИНА	2/f
96	(ВИ).И.а	вина	2/f
344	(ЈАЗВ).ИИ.а	ЈАЗВИНА	2/f
659	(ПАС).Т.В.ИИ.а	ПАСТВИНА	2/f
1033	(ХЛЪВ).ИИ.а	ХЛЪВИНА	2/f
151	(ГОД).ИИ.а	година	2/f
928	(СЪД).ИИ.а	СЪДИНА	2/f
248	(ДРОУЖ).ИИ.а	ДРОУЖИНА	2/f
775	((РОГОЗ).ИИ.а	рогозина	2/f
1047	(ХЪЗ).ИИ.а	ХЪЗИНА	2/f
1016	(ОҮЊ).ЬШ.Ъ.ИИ.а	ОҮЊШИНИНА	2/f
649	РАЗ.(ПАД).Л.ИИ.а	РАСПАЛИНА	2/f
848	(СЛИН).а	слина	2/f
536	(МАЗ).Т.Л.ИИ.а	МАСЛИНА	2/f
1040	(ХРАМ).ИИ.а	храмина	2/f
217	ОҮ.(ДАВЛ).ЕН.ИИ.а	ОҮДАВЛЈЕНИНА	2/f
260	(ДОУП).ИИ.а	ДОУПИНА	2/f
477	(КЖП).ИИ.а	КЖПИНА	2/f
952	(ТИМ).И.а	тина	2/f
842	(СЛА).Т.ИИ.а	СЛАТИНА	2/f
36	(БЛЪВ).ОТ.ИИ.а	БЛЪВОТИНА	2/f
340	(ИСТ).ИИ.а	ИСТИНА	2/f
1075	(ЧИСТ).ИИ.а	ЧИСТИНА	2/f
228	(ДЕС).АТ.ИИ.а	ДЕСАТИНА	2/f
766	ОТ.(РОЧ).ИИ.а	ОТРОЧИНА	2/f
408	(КОН).ЬЧ.ИИ.а	КОНЪЧИНА	2/f
647	(ОТ).ЬЧ.ИИ.а	ОТЪЧИНА	2/f
1121	ПА.(ЖЧ).ИИ.а	ПАЖЧИНА	2/f
749	(ПЖЧ).ИИ.а	ПЖЧИНА	2/f
957	(ТИШ).ИИ.а	ТИШИНА	2/f
880	(СТАР).Ъ.ЬШ.ИИ.а	СТАРЪНИШИНА	2/f
1016	ИЗ.(ОҮЊ).ЬШ.ИИ.а	ИЗОҮЊШИНИНА	2/f
623	(ОБ).ЬШТ.ИИ.а	ОБШТИНА	2/f
157	((ГЕОН).а	геона	2/f
664	ОБ.(ПОН).а	ОПОНА	2/f
91	(ВЕСН).а	весна	2/f
508	(ЛОУН).а	ЛОУНА	2/f
265	(ДУЪН).а	ДУЪНА	2/f
264	БЕЗ.(ДУЪН).а	БЕЗДУЪНА	2/f
77	(ВЛЪ).И.а	ВЛЪНА ¹	2/f
108	(ВЛЪН).а	ВЛЪНА ²	2/f

56	(брън).а	бръна	2/f
827	(сквърь).н.а	сквърна	2/f
1018	(оүст).ьн.а	оүстна	2/f
565	(мош).ьн.а	мошна	2/f
589	(мън).а	мъна	2/f
589	из.(мън).а	измъна	2/f
589	пръ.(мън).а	пръмъна	2/f
740	(пън).а	пъна	2/f
908	(стън).а	стъна	2/f
1055	(цън).а	цъна	2/f
78	(вап).а	вапа	2/f
656	(пап).а	папа	2/f
885	(стоп).а	стопа	2/f
960	(тлъп).а	тлъпа	2/f
825	(сквар).а	сквара	2/f
1115	(ѣдра).а	ѣдра	2/n
21	(вѣдр).а	вѣдра	2/f
660	(пек).т.ер.а	пештера	2/f
220	(дир).а	дира	2/f
337	(искр).а	искра	2/f
89	за.(вор).а	завора	2/f
186	(гор).а	гора	2/f
420	((котор).а	котора	2/f
466	((къмотр).а	къмотра	2/f
817	(сестр).а	сестра	2/f
815	(сек).ъир.а	секъира	2/f
146	(вѣр).а	вѣра	2/f
590	(мѣр).а	мѣра	2/f
428	(крас).а	краса	2/f
	see исто	истеса	
552	(мис).а	миса	2/f
955	(тис).а	тиса	2/f
778	(рос).а	роса	2/f
462	об.(коүс).а	окоүса	2/f
101	пръ.(вѣс).а	пръвѣса	2/f
694	((полат).а	полата	2/f
506	((лопат).а	лопата	2/f
89	(вра).т.а	врата	2/n
392	((клевет).а	клевета	2/f
545	об.(мет).а	омета	2/f
611	(ништ).ет.а	ништета	2/f
996	(тъшт).ет.а	тъштета	2/f
910	(соүј).ет.а	соүјета	2/f
487	((ланин).а	ланина	2/f
750	(раб).от.а	работа	2/f
703	(прав).от.а	правоа	2/f
603	(наг).от.а	нагота	2/f
234	(длъ).г.от.а	длъгота	2/f
1006	(тлъг).от.а	тлъгота	2/f

86	(вѣл).нк.от.а	великота	2/ѣ
948	(топл).от.а	топлата	2/ѣ
810	(свѣтъ).ьл.от.а	свѣтълота	2/ѣ
874	(срам).от.а	срамота	2/ѣ
790	(рѣсн).от.а	рѣснота	2/ѣ
354	(јоѣн).от.а	юнота	2/ѣ
516	(лѣп).от.а	лѣпота	2/ѣ
855	(слѣп).от.а	слѣпота	2/ѣ
235	(доб).р.от.а	доброта	2/ѣ
1108	(штѣд).р.от.а	штѣдрота	2/ѣ
823	(сир).от.а	сирота	2/ѣ
1101	(шир).от.а	широта	2/ѣ
832	(скор).от.а	скорота	2/ѣ
428	(крас).от.а	красота	2/ѣ
133	(въис).от.а	высота	2/ѣ
1075	(чист).от.а	чистота	2/ѣ
1075	не.(чист).от.а	нечистота	2/ѣ
730	(поуст).от.а	поустота	2/ѣ
957	(тих).от.а	тихота	2/ѣ
914	(соух).от.а	соухота	2/ѣ
430	(крас).а	кроста	2/ѣ
1018	(оуст).а	оуста	2/п
124	(врьт).т.а	вьрста	2/ѣ
140	не.(вѣд).т.а	невѣста	2/ѣ
1082	(чрьт).а	чрьта	2/ѣ
598	(мат).а	мата	2/ѣ
745	(пат).а	пата	2/ѣ
1060	(цат).а	цата	2/ѣ
664	(пж).т.а	пжта	2/п
870	по.(сох).а	посоха	2/ѣ
650	((пазоух).а	пазоуха	2/ѣ
570	(моух).а	моуха	2/ѣ
524	(лѣх).а	лѣха	2/ѣ
892	(стрѣ).х.а	стрѣха	2/ѣ
957	оу.(тѣх).а	оутѣха	2/ѣ
803	ж.(сов).иц.а	жсовница	2/ѣ
785	(рѣв).иц.а	рѣвница	2/ѣ
984	(трлс).ав.иц.а	трлсавница	2/ѣ
664	(поѣн).ав.иц.а	поѣнавница	2/ѣ
134	(вѣд).ов.иц.а	вьдовница	2/ѣ
766	от.(рок).ов.иц.а	отроковница	2/ѣ
484	(лѣз).т.в.иц.а	лѣзтвница	2/ѣ
1051	(црьк).ъв.иц.а	црькъвница	2/ѣ
236	(дѣ).в.иц.а	дѣвница	2/ѣ
1119	(жд).иц.а	ждница	2/ѣ
797	(с).еј.иц.а	сенца	2/ѣ
575	((мънож).иц.а	мъножница	2/ѣ
23	оу.(енј).ьц.а	оуѣница	2/ѣ
483	(лад).ьј.иц.а	ладница	2/ѣ

965	(тр).ет.ьј.иц.а	третница	2/f
653	(пал).иц.а	палица	2/f
95	(вьј).а.л.иц.а	внѣлица	2/f
946	(тел).иц.а	телица	2/f
236	(дој).и.л.иц.а	долица	2/f
199	(гръла).иц.а	грълица	2/f
814	(седам).иц.а	седмица	2/f
655	(пан).иц.а	паница	2/f
672	(плашт).ѣн.иц.а	плаштаница	2/f
651	(пьј).ѣн.иц.а	пиѣница	2/f
676	(плет).н.иц.а	пленица	2/f
132	(оуч).ен.иц.а	оученица	2/f
595	(мжч).ен.иц.а	мжченица	2/f
736	(пъш).ен.иц.а	пъшеница	2/f
730	(поушт).ен.иц.а	поуштеница	2/f
436	(крин).иц.а	криница	2/f
835	(скрин).иц.а	скриница	2/f
188	(гост).ин.иц.а	гостница	2/f
1073	без.(чин).иц.а	бештница	2/f
229	(десн).иц.а	десница	2/f
119	(врѣб).ьн.иц.а	врѣбница	2/f
158	въз.(глав).ьн.иц.а	възглавница	2/f
860	(смок).ъв.ьн.иц.а	смокъвница	2/f
685	(плѣ).в.ьн.иц.а	плѣвница	2/f
1052	(цѣв).ьн.иц.а	цѣвница	2/f
581	(мъзд).ьн.иц.а	мъздница	2/f
140	из.по.(вѣд).ьн.иц.а	исповѣдница	2/f
587	(мѣд).ьн.иц.а	мѣдница	2/f
214	прѣ.(гжд).ьн.иц.а	прѣгждница	2/f
33	(блжд).ьн.иц.а	блждница	2/f
771	(риз).ьн.иц.а	ризница	2/f
571	оу.(мъив).а.л.ьн.иц.а	оумъивальница	2/f
907	(стъкл).ьн.иц.а	стъклница	2/f
755	(род).н.т.ел.ьн.иц.а	родитѣльница	2/f
850	(слоуж).н.т.ел.ьн.иц.а	слоужитѣльница	2/f
1002	(тъм).ьн.иц.а	тъмница	2/f
188	(гост).ин.ьн.иц.а	гостиньница	2/f
270	(дън).ьн.иц.а	дънница	2/f
686	(плѣн).ьн.иц.а	плѣнница	2/f
930	(сѣн).ьн.иц.а	сѣнница	2/f
457	(коумир).ьн.иц.а	коумирница	2/f
186	(гор).ьн.иц.а	горница	2/f
1019	(оутр).ьн.иц.а	оутрница	2/f
1080	(чрън).иц.а	чръница	2/f
221	(двър).ьн.иц.а	двърница	2/f
403	(кол).ес.ьн.иц.а	колесница	2/f
285	(жи).т.ьн.иц.а	житница	2/f
699	(пост).ьн.иц.а	постница	2/f
579	(мъгт).ьн.иц.а	мъгтница	2/f

422	(кош).бн.иц.а	кошыница	2/ѣ
154	(грѣ).ш.бн.иц.а	грѣшыница	2/ѣ
660	(пек).т.бн.иц.а	пешгыница	2/ѣ
368	(кап).иштг.бн.иц.а	капиштгыница	2/ѣ
614	об.(ноштг).бн.иц.а	обноштгыница	2/ѣ
326	(зѣн).иц.а	зѣница	2/ѣ
907	(стыкл).ѣн.иц.а	стыклѣница	2/ѣ
17	((багър)).ѣн.иц.а	багърѣница	2/ѣ
215	(гжс).ѣн.иц.а	гжсѣница	2/ѣ
354	(јоѣн).иц.а	юница	2/ѣ
23	оѣ.(вој).ыц.а	оѣвоница	2/ѣ
262	(дъв).ој.иц.а	дъвоница	2/ѣ
248	(дроѣг).ој.иц.а	дроѣгоница	2/ѣ
965	(тр).ој.иц.а	троница	2/ѣ
442	(кроѣп).иц.а	кроѣпница	2/ѣ
880	(стар).иц.а	старница	2/ѣ
1071	((четвор)).иц.а	четворница	2/ѣ
814	(седм).ор.иц.а	седморница	2/ѣ
130	((вътор)).иц.а	въторница	2/ѣ
920	(сѣт).ор.иц.а	сѣторница	2/ѣ
1058	(цѣс).аѣ.иц.а	цѣсаѣница	2/ѣ
89	(вра).т.аѣ.иц.а	вратаѣница	2/ѣ
312	(зла).т.иц.а	златница	2/ѣ
540	(мат).иц.а	матница	2/ѣ
732	(пѣт).иц.а	пѣтница	2/ѣ
1103	(шоѣј).иц.а	шоѣјница	2/ѣ
875	(сроч).иц.а	срочница	2/ѣ
655	(пан).иц.иц.а	паничница	2/ѣ
766	про.(роч).иц.а	пророчница	2/ѣ
104	(влад).ѣич.иц.а	владѣичница	2/ѣ
371	(каш).иц.а	кашница	2/ѣ
570	(мъш).иц.а	мъшница	2/ѣ
266	(дъшт).иц.а	дъштница	2/ѣ
651	(пи).в.ыц.а	пивыца	2/ѣ
627	(ов).ыц.а	овыца	2/ѣ
1113	(іѣд).ыц.а	ідыца	2/ѣ
221	(двѣр).ыц.а	двѣрыца	2/ѣ
815	(сѣч).ыц.а	сѣчыца	2/ѣ
580	(мъш).ыц.а	мъшыца	2/ѣ
941	прѣдъ.(теч).а	прѣдътеча	2/ѣ
510	(лоѣч).а	лоѣча	2/ѣ
992	прн.(тѣч).а	прнтѣча	2/ѣ
1009	(тжч).а	тжча	2/ѣ
1064	(чаш).а	чаша	2/ѣ
354	(јоѣн).ош.а	юноша	2/ѣ
261	(доѣш).а	доѣша	2/ѣ
914	(соѣш).а	соѣша	2/ѣ
585	(мъш).а	мыша	2/ѣ
668	(пиштг).а	пиштга	2/ѣ

752	(рад).оштг.а	радошта	2/f
680	(плоуштг).а	плоушта	2/p
637	((оноуштг)).а	оноушта	2/f
1003	(тъштг).а	тъшта	2/f
810	(свѣштг).а	свѣшта	2/f
791	съ.(рѡштг).а	сърѡшта	2/f
478	(кжштг).а	кжшта	2/f
529	(лжштг).а	лжшта	2/f
698	без.((посаг)).ај.а	беспосагата	2/f
482	(лаж).ај.а	лажата	2/f
	see НАСЕЛНТИ	населѣната	
	see ОУСЕЛНТИ	оуселѣната	
	see ВЪСЕЛНТИ	въселѣната	
231	(див).бј.а	дивиѡта	2/f
318	(зм).бј.а	змиѡта	2/f
569	((мрѣкор)).бј.а	мрѣкорѡта	2/f
47	(брат).р.бј.а	братрѡта	2/f
47	(брат).бј.а	братѡта	2/f
464	(коуц).бј.а	коуцѡта	2/f
1097	(ши).а	шиѡта	2/f
281	(жел).а	желѡта	2/f
883	(стел).а	стелѡта	2/f
883	по.(стел).а	постелѡта	2/f
313	(земл).а	землѡта	2/f
447	(кръмл).а	кръмлѡта	2/f
85	(вол).а	волѡта	2/f
367	(капл).а	каплѡта	2/f
440	(кропл).а	кроплѡта	2/f
458	(коупл).а	коуплѡта	2/f
67	(бъил).а	бъилѡта	2/f
999	(тъл).а	тълѡта	2/f
225	не.(дѣ).л.а	недѣлѡта	2/f
19	(баñ).а	баñѡта	2/f
835	(скрññ).а	скрññѡта	2/f
111	(воñ).а	воñѡта	2/f
54	(бръñ).а	бръñѡта	2/f
720	((прѣгъññ)).а	прѣгъññѡта	2/f
826	(сквож).ьñ.а	сквожъñѡта	2/f
93	(веч).ер.ьñ.а	вечеръñѡта	2/f
309	(зар).а	зарѡта//	2/f
93	(веч).ер.а	вечерѡта	2/f
309	(зор).а	зорѡта//	2/f
65	(воур).а	воурѡта	2/f
665	(пър).а	пърѡта	2/f
665	раз.(пър).а	распърѡта	2/f
895	(строуі).а	строуѡта	2/f
1069	((чешоуі)).а	чешоуѡта	2/f
131	(въі).а	въѡта	2/f
138	(вѣі).а	вѣѡта	2/f

89	(вер).ѳј.а	верѳа	2/ѳ
343	(ј).ь.же	иже	2/р
482	(лож).е	ложе	2/п
148	(жж).е	жже	2/п
1071	(четър).е	четъре	0/а
8	(ај).ьц.е	анце	2/п
334	(им).ѳ.н.ьј.ьц.е	имѳнице	2/п
498	(лиц).е	лице	2/п
877	(срьд).ьц.е	срьдце	2/п
1092	(чад).ьц.е	чадце	2/п
675	(плесн).ьц.е	плеснице	2/п
852	(слън).ьц.е	слънице	2/п
48	(браш).ьн.ьц.е	брашнице	2/п
554	(млад).ѳт.ьц.е	младѳтце	2/п
677	(плешт).е	плеште	2/п
190	(гроб).ишт.е	гробиште	2/п
981	(трѳб).ишт.е	трѳбиште	2/п
438	по.(кров).ишт.е	покровиште	2/п
438	съ.(кров).ишт.е	съкровиште	2/п
1051	(црьк).ъб.ишт.е	црьквиште	2/п
1021	из.(ход).ишт.е	исходиште	2/п
936	(сжд).ишт.е	сждиште	2/п
974	(тръж).ишт.е	тръжиште	2/п
69	при.(бѳж).ишт.е	прибѳжиште	2/п
69	оу.(бѳж).ишт.е	оубѳжиште	2/п
936	(сжд).ьј.ишт.е	сждиште	2/п
482	въ.(лаг).а.л.ишт.е	вълагалиште	2/п
798	(сѳд).а.л.ишт.е	сѳдалиште	2/п
816	(сел).ишт.е	селиште	2/п
939	(гај).н.л.ишт.е	гаилиште	2/п
33	(блжд).н.л.ишт.е	блждиште	2/п
936	(сжд).н.л.ишт.е	сждиште	2/п
286	(жи).л.ишт.е	жилиште	2/п
148	(жз).н.л.ишт.е	жзилиште	2/п
1041	(хран).н.л.ишт.е	хранилиште	2/п
813	(свѳт).н.л.ишт.е	свѳтилиште	2/п
334	сън.(ьм).ишт.е	сънѳлиште	2/п
879	при.(ста).н.ишт.е	пристаниште	2/п
171	(гној).ишт.е	гноиште	2/п
368	(кап).ишт.е	капиште	2/п
298	(жоуп).ишт.е	жоупиште	2/п
309	по.(зор).ишт.е	позориште	2/п
619	(нър).ишт.е	нъриште	2/п
665	по.(пър).ишт.е	попъриште	2/п
89	(врѳ).т.ишт.е	врѳтиште	2/п
629	(овошт).е	овоште	2/п
1084	об.(чрьшт).е	очрьште	2/п
137	(вѳшт).е	вѳште	2/п
235	по.(доб).ьј.е	подобие	2/п

235	прѣ.по.(доб).бј.е	прѣподобіе	2/п
324	без.(зѣл).об.бј.е	безѣловіе	2/п
324	не.(зѣл).об.бј.е	незѣловіе	2/п
803	по.(соб).бј.е	пособіе	2/п
119	(врѣб).бј.е	врѣбіе	2/п
274	(дѣб).бј.е	дѣбіе	2/п
630	(огаб).бј.е	огабіе	2/п
241	сѣ.(драв).бј.е	сѣдравіе	2/п
195	(гроз).н.об.бј.е	грозновіе	2/п
495	(лист).в.бј.е	листвіе	2/п
235	по.(доб).бств.бј.е	подобѣствіе	2/п
526	(лѣк).ав.бств.бј.е	лѣкавѣствіе	2/п
1090	(чол).в.бств.бј.е	чолвѣствіе	2/п
555	без.(мльв).бств.бј.е	безмльвѣствіе	2/п
187	(господ).бств.бј.е	господѣствіе	2/п
1049	(хѣдож).бств.бј.е	хѣдожѣствіе	2/п
575	(мънож).бств.бј.е	мъножѣствіе	2/п
140	не.(вѣжд).бств.бј.е	невѣждѣствіе	2/п
1099	при.(шьд).л.бств.бј.е	пришьлѣствіе	2/п
140	сѣ.(вѣд).ѣ.т.е.л.бств.бј.е	сѣвѣдѣтелѣствіе	2/п
651	(пѣј).ѣн.бств.бј.е	пѣанѣствіе	2/п
705	(праз).д.ьн.бств.бј.е	празднѣствіе	2/п
756	(раз).ьн.бств.бј.е	разнѣствіе	2/п
146	не.(вѣр).бств.бј.е	невѣрѣствіе	2/п
1058	(цѣс).аѣ.бств.бј.е	цѣсарѣствіе	2/п
37	(бог).ат.бств.бј.е	богатѣствіе	2/п
276	(іес).т.бств.бј.е	іестѣствіе	2/п
86	(вел).нч.бств.бј.е	величѣствіе	2/п
1076	без.(чѣт).ств.бј.е	бесчѣствіе	2/п
104	(влад).ым.бств.бј.е	владымѣствіе	2/п
647	(от).ьч.бств.бј.е	отѣчѣствіе	2/п
1099	(шьд).ств.бј.е	шьствіе	2/п
1099	на.(шьд).ств.бј.е	нашьствіе	2/п
1099	нз.(шьд).ств.бј.е	ншьствіе	2/п
1099	при.(шьд).ств.бј.е	пришьствіе	2/п
1099	вѣз.(шьд).ств.бј.е	вѣшьствіе	2/п
107	(валъш).бств.бј.е	валъшьствіе	2/п
1099	сѣ.(шьд).ств.бј.е	сѣшьствіе	2/п
539	ол.(мръ).т.в.бј.е	олмръствіе	2/п
138	(вѣ).т.в.бј.е	вѣствіе	2/п
555	без.(мльв).бј.е	безмльвніе	2/п
581	вѣз.(мьзд).бј.е	вѣзмьздіе	2/п
109	на.(вод).бј.е	наводніе	2/п
151	без.(год).бј.е	безгодніе	2/п
151	ол.(год).бј.е	олгодніе	2/п
905	без.(стоуд).бј.е	бестоудніе	2/п
703	без.(прав).ьд.бј.е	бесправьдіе	2/п
877	ол.(срьд).бј.е	олсрьдніе	2/п
857	на.(слѣд).бј.е	наслѣдніе	2/п

531	(лоҫд).-бј.е	людне	1/т
793	по.(рѡд).-бј.е	порѡдне	2/п
1092	без.(чѡд).-бј.е	бештѡдне	2/п
1092	из.(чѡд).-бј.е	иштѡдне	2/п
641	((орѡд).-бј.е	орѡдне	2/п
612	подъ.(нож).-бј.е	подъножне	2/п
248	по.(дрѡуж).-бј.е	поддрѡужне	2/п
642	((орѡж).-бј.е	орѡжне	2/п
776	(рожд).-бј.е	рождне	2/п
263	без.(дъжд).-бј.е	бездъждне	2/п
177	((гобъс).-бј.е	гобъсне	2/п
502	(лоз).-бј.е	лозне	2/п
219	по.(дал).-бј.е	подалие	2/п
906	(стѣбл).-бј.е	стѣблие	2/п
312	(зел).-бј.е	зелие	2/п
90	(вес).ел.-бј.е	веселие	2/п
57	((брьсел).-бј.е	брьселие	2/п
301	(жьзл).-бј.е	жьзалие	2/п
97	об.(вн).л.-бј.е	обилие	2/п
435	въз.(крил).-бј.е	въскрилие	2/п
821	на.(сил).-бј.е	насилие	2/п
238	ж.(дол).-бј.е	ждолие	2/п
879	прѣдъ.(сто).л.-бј.е	прѣдъстолие	2/п
16	(бъ).л.-бј.е	бъилие	2/п
225	по.(дѣ).л.-бј.е	подѣлие	2/п
874	без.(срам).-бј.е	бесралие	2/п
313	подъ.(зем).-бј.е	подъземие	2/п
1015	без.(оум).-бј.е	безоумие	2/п
325	(зъив).а.н.-бј.е	зъивание	2/п
876	(сръб).а.н.-бј.е	сръбание	2/п
404	((колѣб).а.н.-бј.е	колѣбание	2/п
190	по.(грѣб).а.н.-бј.е	погрѣбание	2/п
678	не.(плишт).ев.а.н.-бј.е	неплиштѣвание	2/п
737	не.(пышт).ев.а.н.-бј.е	непыштѣвание	2/п
23	оу.(вн).в.а.н.-бј.е	оувивание	2/п
981	(трѣб).ов.а.н.-бј.е	трѣбование	2/п
981	по.(трѣб).ов.а.н.-бј.е	потрѣбование	2/п
600	(мждр).бств.ов.а.н.-бј.е	мждръствование	2/п
107	(влъх).в.ов.а.н.-бј.е	влъхование	2/п
752	(рад).ов.а.н.-бј.е	радование	2/п
752	об.(рад).ов.а.н.-бј.е	обрадование	2/п
877	об.(сръд).ов.а.н.-бј.е	осръдование	2/п
857	(слѣд).ов.а.н.-бј.е	слѣдование	2/п
857	на.(слѣд).ов.а.н.-бј.е	наслѣдование	2/п
22	((бесѣд).ов.а.н.-бј.е	бесѣдование	2/п
754	про.об.(раз).ов.а.н.-бј.е	прообрадование	2/п
959	(тлък).ов.а.н.-бј.е	тлъкование	2/п
519	из.(лък).ов.а.н.-бј.е	излъкование	2/п
14	(ба).л.ов.а.н.-бј.е	балование	2/п

1054	(цѣл).ов.а.н.бј.ε	цѣлованіе	2/п
863	об.(снов).а.н.бј.ε	основаніе	2/п
216	(да).р.ов.а.н.бј.ε	дарованіе	2/п
600	(мѣдр).ов.а.н.бј.ε	мѣдрованіе	2/п
72	(вѣс).ов.а.н.бј.ε	вѣсованіе	2/п
189	оу.(готов).а.н.бј.ε	оуготованіе	2/п
137	об.(вѣт).ов.а.н.бј.ε	овѣтованіе	2/п
932	(сѣт).ов.а.н.бј.ε	сѣтованіе	2/п
893	(страх).ов.а.н.бј.ε	страхованіе	2/п
496	(лих).ов.а.н.бј.ε	лихованіе	2/п
323	(зъв).а.н.бј.ε	зъваніе	2/п
323	при.(зъв).а.н.бј.ε	призъваніе	2/п
323	по.(зъв).а.н.бј.ε	позъваніе	2/п
323	въз.(зъв).а.н.бј.ε	възъваніе	2/п
323	прѣдъ.(зъв).а.н.бј.ε	прѣдъзъваніе	2/п
731	(пъв).а.н.бј.ε	пъваніе	2/п
731	оу.(пъв).а.н.бј.ε	оупъваніе	2/п
773	въз.(рѣв).а.н.бј.ε	въздръваніе	2/п
773	отъ.(рѣв).а.н.бј.ε	отъръваніе	2/п
16	прѣ.(бъв).а.н.бј.ε	прѣбъваніе	2/п
323	при.(зъв).а.н.бј.ε	призъваніе	2/п
470	по.(къв).а.н.бј.ε	покъваніе	2/п
571	оу.(мъв).а.н.бј.ε	оумъваніе	2/п
688	(пльв).а.н.бј.ε	пльваніе	2/п
688	за.(пльв).а.н.бј.ε	запльваніе	2/п
172	(гнѣв).а.н.бј.ε	гнѣваніе	2/п
172	про.(гнѣв).а.н.бј.ε	прогнѣваніе	2/п
535	прѣ.не.(маг).а.н.бј.ε	прѣнемаганіе	2/п
973	из.(трѣг).а.н.бј.ε	нстрѣганіе	2/п
69	при.(бѣг).а.н.бј.ε	прнебѣганіе	2/п
482	въз.(лѣг).а.н.бј.ε	възлѣганіе	2/п
794	на.(ржг).а.н.бј.ε	наржганіе	2/п
794	по.(ржг).а.н.бј.ε	поржганіе	2/п
104	об.(влад).а.н.бј.ε	обладаніе	2/п
649	(пад).а.н.бј.ε	паданіе	2/п
890	(страд).а.н.бј.ε	страданіе	2/п
890	по.(страд).а.н.бј.ε	постраданіе	2/п
216	въз.(да).н.бј.ε	възданіе	2/п
216	про.(да).н.бј.ε	проданіе	2/п
216	отъ.(да).н.бј.ε	отъданіе	2/п
786	(рыд).а.н.бј.ε	рыданіе	2/п
703	об.(прав).ьд.а.н.бј.ε	оправьданіе	2/п
315	(зьд).а.н.бј.ε	зьданіе	2/п
315	съ.(зьд).а.н.бј.ε	съзьданіе	2/п
1113	об.(ѣд).а.н.бј.ε	обѣданіе	2/п
140	по.(вѣд).а.н.бј.ε	повѣданіе	2/п
140	за.по.(вѣд).а.н.бј.ε	заповѣданіе	2/п
140	про.по.(вѣд).а.н.бј.ε	проповѣданіе	2/п
140	из.по.(вѣд).а.н.бј.ε	исповѣданіе	2/п

140	съ. по. (в'ѣд).а.н. ъј.ѐ	съпов'ѣданіе	2/п
216	прѣ. (да).н. ъј.ѐ	прѣданіе	2/п
798	прѣдъ. (с'ѣд).а.н. ъј.ѐ	прѣдъс'ѣданіе	2/п
303	(жад).а.н. ъј.ѐ	жаданіе	2/п
1035	об. (х'аад).а.н. ъј.ѐ	оухаданіе	2/п
243	по. (драж).а.н. ъј.ѐ	подражаніе	2/п
482	при. (леж).ѣ.н. ъј.ѐ	прилежаніе	2/п
250	(дръж).ѣ.н. ъј.ѐ	дръжаніе	2/п
250	въз. (дръж).ѣ.н. ъј.ѐ	въздръжаніе	2/п
250	об. (дръж).ѣ.н. ъј.ѐ	одръжаніе	2/п
250	по. (дръж).ѣ.н. ъј.ѐ	подръжаніе	2/п
250	оу. (дръж).ѣ.н. ъј.ѐ	оудръжаніе	2/п
69	(б'ѣж).ѣ.н. ъј.ѐ	б'ѣжаніе	2/п
69	оу. (б'ѣж).ѣ.н. ъј.ѐ	оуб'ѣжаніе	2/п
1006	при. (таж).ѣ.н. ъј.ѐ	притажаніе	2/п
1006	съ. (таж).ѣ.н. ъј.ѐ	сътажаніе	2/п
1006	съ. (тжж).а.н. ъј.ѐ	сътжжаніе	2/п
151	въ. (гажд).а.н. ъј.ѐ	въгажданіе	2/п
755	(ражд).а.н. ъј.ѐ	ражданіе	2/п
971	(троужд).а.н. ъј.ѐ	троужданіе	2/п
222	по. (двнз).а.н. ъј.ѐ	подвнзаніе	2/п
279	раз. (жнз).а.н. ъј.ѐ	ражднзаніе	2/п
973	(тръз).а.н. ъј.ѐ	тръзаніе	2/п
973	раз. (тръз).а.н. ъј.ѐ	растръзаніе	2/п
1006	въз. (т'аз).а.н. ъј.ѐ	въст'азаніе	2/п
1006	съ. (т'аз).а.н. ъј.ѐ	сът'азаніе	2/п
363	(каз).а.н. ъј.ѐ	казаніе	2/п
363	на. (каз).а.н. ъј.ѐ	наказаніе	2/п
363	по. (каз).а.н. ъј.ѐ	показаніе	2/п
363	оу. (каз).а.н. ъј.ѐ	оуказаніе	2/п
363	съ. (каз).а.н. ъј.ѐ	съказаніе	2/п
536	по. (маз).а.н. ъј.ѐ	помазаніе	2/п
500	((лобъз).а.н. ъј.ѐ	лобъзаніе	2/п
500	((лобъиз).а.н. ъј.ѐ	лобъизаніе	2/п
754	об. (р'ѣз).а.н. ъј.ѐ	обр'ѣзаніе	2/п
148	об. (ваз).а.н. ъј.ѐ	обвазаніе	2/п
148	при. (ваз).а.н. ъј.ѐ	привазаніе	2/п
941	(так).а.н. ъј.ѐ	таканіе	2/п
488	(ласк).а.н. ъј.ѐ	ласканіе	2/п
674	съ. (плеск).а.н. ъј.ѐ	съплесканіе	2/п
335	(иск).а.н. ъј.ѐ	исканіе	2/п
335	въз. (иск).а.н. ъј.ѐ	възисканіе	2/п
9	(алък).а.н. ъј.ѐ	алъканіе	2/п
407	((комък).а.н. ъј.ѐ	комъканіе	2/п
992	(т'ък).а.н. ъј.ѐ	т'юканіе	2/п
992	прѣ. (т'юк).а.н. ъј.ѐ	прѣт'юканіе	2/п
766	прѣ. (р'ѣк).а.н. ъј.ѐ	прѣр'ѣканіе	2/п
280	(жел).а.н. ъј.ѐ	желаніе	2/п
280	по. (жел).а.н. ъј.ѐ	пожеланіе	2/п

159	((гла. гол). а. н. бј.е	ГЛАГОЛАННИЕ	2/п
159	об.((гла. гол). а. н. бј.е	ОГЛАГОЛАННИЕ	2/п
916	по.(съл). а. н. бј.е	ПОСЪЛАННИЕ	2/п
225	(дѣ). л. а. н. бј.е	ДѢЛАННИЕ	2/п
334	(іѣм). а. н. бј.е	ИМАННИЕ	2/п
334	вѣз.(им). а. н. бј.е	ВѢЗИМАННИЕ	2/п
334	прн.(іѣм). а. н. бј.е	ПРИИМАННИЕ	2/п
254	(дрѣм). а. н. бј.е	ДРѢМАННИЕ	2/п
152	(ган). а. н. бј.е	ГАНАННИЕ	2/п
884	(стен). а. н. бј.е	СТЕНАННИЕ	2/п
319	(зна). н. бј.е	ЗНАНИЕ	2/п
319	по.(зна). н. бј.е	ПОЗНАНИЕ	2/п
384	за.(кланн). а. н. бј.е	ЗАКЛИНАНИЕ	2/п
550	вѣз.по.(минн). а. н. бј.е	ВѢСПОМИНАНИЕ	2/п
1074	на.(чинн). а. н. бј.е	НАЧИНАНИЕ	2/п
1074	оу.(чинн). а. н. бј.е	ОУЧИНАНИЕ	2/п
153	из.(гън). а. н. бј.е	ИЗГЪНАНИЕ	2/п
411	из.(коп). а. н. бј.е	ИСКАПАНИЕ	2/п
918	(сѣп). а. н. бј.е	СѢПАННИЕ	2/п
885	(стѣп). а. н. бј.е	СТѢПАННИЕ	2/п
885	за.(стѣп). а. н. бј.е	ЗАСТѢПАННИЕ	2/п
42	(бра). н. бј.е	БРАННИЕ	2/п
24	сѣ.(бир). а. н. бј.е	СѢБИРАННИЕ	2/п
888	прд.(стра). н. бј.е	ПРОСТРАННИЕ	2/п
24	из.(брь). а. н. бј.е	ИЗБЪРАННИЕ	2/п
24	сѣ.(брь). а. н. бј.е	СѢБЪРАННИЕ	2/п
220	(дър). а. н. бј.е	ДЪРАННИЕ	2/п
665	по.(пър). а. н. бј.е	ПОПЪРАННИЕ	2/п
666	(пис). а. н. бј.е	ПИСАНИЕ	2/п
666	на.(пис). а. н. бј.е	НАПИСАНИЕ	2/п
666	сѣ.(пис). а. н. бј.е	СѢПИСАНИЕ	2/п
666	(пѣс). а. н. бј.е	ПѢСАНИЕ	2/п
666	на.(пѣс). а. н. бј.е	НАПѢСАНИЕ	2/п
666	прѣдѣ.(пѣс). а. н. бј.е	ПРѣДѢПѢСАНИЕ	2/п
687	(плас). а. н. бј.е	ПЛАСАНИЕ	2/п
392	об.((клѣвет). а. н. бј.е	ОКЛѢВЕТАНИЕ	2/п
545	отъ.(мет). а. н. бј.е	ОТЪМЕТАНИЕ	2/п
1070	сѣ.(чет). а. н. бј.е	СЪЧЕТАНИЕ	2/п
668	вѣз.(пит). а. н. бј.е	ВѢСПИТАНИЕ	2/п
1076	по.(чит). а. н. бј.е	ПОЧИТАНИЕ	2/п
750	(раб).от. а. н. бј.е	РАБОТАНИЕ	2/п
879	(ста). н. бј.е	СТАНИЕ	2/п
809	(свнст). а. н. бј.е	СВИСТАНИЕ	2/п
31	(блнст). а. н. бј.е	БЛИСТАНИЕ	2/п
879	вѣз.(ста). н. бј.е	ВѢСТАНИЕ	2/п
784	(рѣп).ът. а. н. бј.е	РѢПЪТАНИЕ	2/п
1106	(шьп).ът. а. н. бј.е	ШЪПЪТАНИЕ	2/п
733	(пыт). а. н. бј.е	ПЫТАНИЕ	2/п
733	из.(пыт). а. н. бј.е	ИСПЫТАНИЕ	2/п

837	(скръж).бт.а.н.бј.ε	скръжѣтаннѣ	2/п
1082	на.(чрът).а.н.бј.ε	начръѣтаннѣ	2/п
791	съ.(рѣт).а.н.бј.ε	сърѣѣтаннѣ	2/п
1107	(шат).а.н.бј.ε	шатаннѣ	2/п
261	(дъх).а.н.бј.ε	дъханнѣ	2/п
261	из.(дъх).а.н.бј.ε	издъханнѣ	2/п
261	въз.(дъх).а.н.бј.ε	въздъханнѣ	2/п
261	съ.(дъх).а.н.бј.ε	съдъханнѣ	2/п
383	въз.(клнц).а.н.бј.ε	възсклнцаннѣ	2/п
766	на.(рнц).а.н.бј.ε	нарнцаннѣ	2/п
766	про.(рнц).а.н.бј.ε	прорнцаннѣ	2/п
61	(брац).а.н.бј.ε	брацаннѣ	2/п
86	(вела).нч.а.н.бј.ε	величаннѣ	2/п
284	об.(жест).оч.а.н.бј.ε	ожесточаннѣ	2/п
556	(мльч).ѣ.н.бј.ε	мльчаннѣ	2/п
408	(кон).бч.а.н.бј.ε	коньчаннѣ	2/п
408	съ.(кон).бч.а.н.бј.ε	съконьчаннѣ	2/п
707	въ.(праш).а.н.бј.ε	въпрашаннѣ	2/п
1020	за.(оуш).а.н.бј.ε	заоушаннѣ	2/п
844	об.(слоу).ш.а.н.бј.ε	обслоушаннѣ	2/п
844	по.(слоу).ш.а.н.бј.ε	послоушаннѣ	2/п
844	прѣ.(слоу).ш.а.н.бј.ε	прѣслоушаннѣ	2/п
844	(слаы).ш.ѣ.н.бј.ε	слаышаннѣ	2/п
844	оу.(слаы).ш.ѣ.н.бј.ε	оуслаышаннѣ	2/п
1018	по.(оушт).а.н.бј.ε	пооуштганнѣ	2/п
997	(тъшт).ѣ.н.бј.ε	тъштганнѣ	2/п
997	по.(тъшт).ѣ.н.бј.ε	потъштганнѣ	2/п
924	на.(съшт).а.н.бј.ε	насъштганнѣ	2/п
517	(льшт).ѣ.н.бј.ε	льштганнѣ	2/п
31	(бьшт).ѣ.н.бј.ε	бьштганнѣ	2/п
137	об.(вѣшт).а.н.бј.ε	обѣштганнѣ	2/п
137	(вѣшт).а.н.бј.ε	вѣштганнѣ	2/п
140	из.(вѣд).шт.а.н.бј.ε	извѣштганнѣ	2/п
137	оу.(вѣшт).а.н.бј.ε	оувѣштганнѣ	2/п
137	не.съ.(вѣшт).а.н.бј.ε	несъвѣштганнѣ	2/п
137	отъ.(вѣшт).а.н.бј.ε	отъвѣштганнѣ	2/п
1093	при.(чашт).а.н.бј.ε	причаштганнѣ	2/п
597	съ.(мѣшт).а.н.бј.ε	съмѣштганнѣ	2/п
76	(вај).а.н.бј.ε	ваганнѣ	2/п
216	(дај).а.н.бј.ε	даганнѣ	2/п
216	въз.(дај).а.н.бј.ε	въздаганнѣ	2/п
216	прѣ.(дај).а.н.бј.ε	прѣдаганнѣ	2/п
360	(кај).а.н.бј.ε	каганнѣ	2/п
360	об.(кај).а.н.бј.ε	окаганнѣ	2/п
360	по.(кај).а.н.бј.ε	покаганнѣ	2/п
480	(лај).а.н.бј.ε	лаганнѣ	2/п
534	по.(мај).а.н.бј.ε	помлаганнѣ	2/п
651	на.(пај).а.н.бј.ε	напаганнѣ	2/п
1061	(чај).а.н.бј.ε	чаганнѣ	2/п

1061	отъ.(чаі).а.н.бј.є	отъчание	2/п
491	про.(ані).а.н.бј.є	пролиание	2/п
820	(снј).а.н.бј.є	снание	2/п
578	по.(мъшл).а.н.бј.є	помъшлиание	2/п
377	(клаи).а.н.бј.є	клаиание	2/п
377	по.(клаи).а.н.бј.є	поклаиание	2/п
879	(стоі).ѣ.н.бј.є	стоание	2/п
879	на.(стоі).ѣ.н.бј.є	настоание	2/п
879	об.(стоі).ѣ.н.бј.є	остоание	2/п
879	до.(стоі).ѣ.н.бј.є	достоание	2/п
879	по.(стоі).ѣ.н.бј.є	постоание	2/п
879	съ.(стоі).ѣ.н.бј.є	състоание	2/п
879	прѣ.(стоі).ѣ.н.бј.є	прѣстоание	2/п
220	оу.(дар).а.н.бј.є	оудариание	2/п
93	(веч).єр.а.н.бј.є	вечериание	2/п
62	въз.(боуі).а.н.бј.є	възбоуание	2/п
139	(вѣі).а.н.бј.є	вѣиание	2/п
139	въз.(вѣі).а.н.бј.є	възвѣиание	2/п
225	(дѣі).а.н.бј.є	дѣиание	2/п
225	об.(дѣі).а.н.бј.є	одѣиание	2/п
225	съ.(дѣі).а.н.бј.є	съдѣиание	2/п
926	(сѣі).а.н.бј.є	сѣиание	2/п
926	раз.(сѣі).а.н.бј.є	расѣиание	2/п
190	(грев).єн.бј.є	гревение	2/п
190	по.(грев).єн.бј.є	погревение	2/п
210	по.(гъв).єн.бј.є	погъвение	2/п
327	про.(зав).єн.бј.є	прозавение	2/п
982	(трѣзв).єн.бј.є	трѣзвение	2/п
534	на.(ма).н.ов.єн.бј.є	намановение	2/п
251	(дръз).н.ов.єн.бј.є	дръзновение	2/п
688	(плі).н.ов.єн.бј.є	п्लीновение	2/п
383	(клик).н.ов.єн.бј.є	кликновение	2/п
383	въз.(клик).н.ов.єн.бј.є	възкликновение	2/п
815	оу.(сѣк).н.ов.єн.бј.є	оусѣкновение	2/п
370	прн.(кос).н.ов.єн.бј.є	прнкосновение	2/п
451	въз.(кръс).н.ов.єн.бј.є	възскръсновение	2/п
259	(доу).н.ов.єн.бј.є	доуновение	2/п
261	(дъх).н.ов.єн.бј.є	дъхновение	2/п
470	по.(кѣ).н.ов.єн.бј.є	покъновение	2/п
550	по.(ма).н.ов.єн.бј.є	помановение	2/п
966	об.(тров).єн.бј.є	отровение	2/п
16	за.(бъв).єн.бј.є	завъвение	2/п
571	не.(мъв).єн.бј.є	немъвение	2/п
571	об.(мъв).єн.бј.є	омъвение	2/п
438	прн.(кръв).єн.бј.є	прнкръвение	2/п
438	от.(кръв).єн.бј.є	окръвение	2/п
649	(пад).єн.бј.є	падение	2/п
649	на.(пад).єн.бј.є	нападение	2/п
649	въ.(пад).єн.бј.є	въпадение	2/п

649	отъ. (пад). ен. њј.є	отъпадение	2/п
1113	(іѣд). ен. њј.є	падение	2/п
1113	оу. (іѣд). ен. њј.є	оупадение	2/п
75	въ. (вєд). ен. њј.є	въведение	2/п
1113	из. (ѣд). ен. њј.є	изѣдение	2/п
1113	сън. (ѣд). ен. њј.є	сънѣдение	2/п
798	(сѣд). ен. њј.є	сѣдение	2/п
34	съ. (блѡуд). ен. њј.є	съблѡудение	2/п
362	про. (каж). ен. њј.є	прокажение	2/п
27	(блаж). ен. њј.є	блажение	2/п
27	об. (блаж). ен. њј.є	облажение	2/п
603	об. (наж). ен. њј.є	обнажение	2/п
754	про. об. (раж). ен. њј.є	прображение	2/п
754	прѣ. об. (раж). ен. њј.є	прѣображение	2/п
115	(враж). ен. њј.є	вражение	2/п
243	по. (драж). ен. њј.є	подражение	2/п
279	съ. (жеж). ен. њј.є	съжежение	2/п
279	раз. (жеж). ен. њј.є	раждежение	2/п
222	(движ). ен. њј.є	движение	2/п
222	въз. (движ). ен. њј.є	въздвижение	2/п
894	по. (стриж). ен. њј.є	пострижение	2/п
886	по. (стиж). ен. њј.є	постижение	2/п
482	при. (лож). ен. њј.є	приложение	2/п
482	по. (лож). ен. њј.є	положение	2/п
482	въ. (лож). ен. њј.є	въложение	2/п
482	прѣдъ. (лож). ен. њј.є	прѣдъложение	2/п
482	съ. (лож). ен. њј.є	съложение	2/п
482	прѣ. (лож). ен. њј.є	прѣложение	2/п
535	по. (мож). ен. њј.є	поможение	2/п
575	оу. (мънож). ен. њј.є	оумъножение	2/п
850	(слоуж). ен. њј.є	слоужение	2/п
850	по. (слоуж). ен. њј.є	послоужение	2/п
234	про. (дль). ж. ен. њј.є	продльжение	2/п
121	(врьж). ен. њј.є	врьжение	2/п
121	отъ. (врьж). ен. њј.є	отъврьжение	2/п
359	оу. (ничьж). ен. њј.є	оуничъжение	2/п
933	при. (саж). ен. њј.є	присажение	2/п
794	(ржж). ен. њј.є	ржжение	2/п
207	по. (гржж). ен. њј.є	погржжение	2/п
1006	(тжж). ен. њј.є	тжжение	2/п
1006	съ. (тжж). ен. њј.є	сътжжение	2/п
74	об. (бажд). ен. њј.є	обаждение	2/п
361	(кажд). ен. њј.є	каждение	2/п
842	на. (сла). жд. ен. њј.є	наслаждение	2/п
1028	про. (хлажд). ен. њј.є	прохлаждение	2/п
192	(гражд). ен. њј.є	граждение	2/п
192	въз. (гражд). ен. њј.є	възграждение	2/п
192	об. (гражд). ен. њј.є	ограждение	2/п
798	до. (сажд). ен. њј.є	досаждение	2/п

811	((свобод)).ен.бј.е	СВОБОЖДЕНИЕ	2/п
156	при.(гвожд).ен.бј.е	ПРИГВОЖДЕНИЕ	2/п
151	оу.(гожд).ен.бј.е	ОУГОЖДЕНИЕ	2/п
755	(рожд).ен.бј.е	РОЖДЕНИЕ	2/п
755	по.(рожд).ен.бј.е	ПОРОЖДЕНИЕ	2/п
1021	(хожд).ен.бј.е	ХОЖДЕНИЕ	2/п
1021	при.(хожд).ен.бј.е	ПРИХОЖДЕНИЕ	2/п
1021	про.(хожд).ен.бј.е	ПРОХОЖДЕНИЕ	2/п
1021	низ.(хожд).ен.бј.е	НИХОЖДЕНИЕ	2/п
1021	въз.(хожд).ен.бј.е	ВЪСХОЖДЕНИЕ	2/п
1021	въ.(хожд).ен.бј.е	ВЪХОЖДЕНИЕ	2/п
1021	низъ.(хожд).ен.бј.е	НИЗЪХОЖДЕНИЕ	2/п
1021	съ.(хожд).ен.бј.е	СЪХОЖДЕНИЕ	2/п
197	(гръжд).ен.бј.е	ГРЪЖДЕНИЕ	2/п
945	оу.(твръжд).ен.бј.е	ОУТВРЪЖДЕНИЕ	2/п
70	по.(вѣжд).ен.бј.е	ПОВѢЖДЕНИЕ	2/п
140	на.(вѣжд).ен.бј.е	НАВѢЖДЕНИЕ	2/п
127	(врѣжд).ен.бј.е	ВРѢЖДЕНИЕ	2/п
1087	(чрѣжд).ен.бј.е	ЧРѢЖДЕНИЕ	2/п
793	въ.(ражд).ен.бј.е	ВЪРАЖДЕНИЕ	2/п
33	(блѣжд).ен.бј.е	БЛѣЖДЕНИЕ	2/п
33	за.(блѣжд).ен.бј.е	ЗАБЛѣЖДЕНИЕ	2/п
33	съ.(блѣжд).ен.бј.е	СЪБЛѣЖДЕНИЕ	2/п
936	раз.(сѣжд).ен.бј.е	РАСѣЖДЕНИЕ	2/п
936	от.(сѣжд).ен.бј.е	ОСѣЖДЕНИЕ	2/п
936	по.(сѣжд).ен.бј.е	ПОСѣЖДЕНИЕ	2/п
566	съ.(мрѣз).ен.бј.е	СЪМРѣЗЕНИЕ	2/п
683	въз.по.(пльз).ен.бј.е	ВЪСПОПЛЬЗЕНИЕ	2/п
122	раз.(врьз).ен.бј.е	РАЗВРЪЗЕНИЕ	2/п
122	по.оу.(врьз).ен.бј.е	ПООУВРЪЗЕНИЕ	2/п
364	(кол).ен.бј.е	КОЛЕНИЕ	2/п
364	за.(кол).ен.бј.е	ЗАКОЛЕНИЕ	2/п
366	(кам).ен.бј.е	КАМЕНИЕ	2/п
319	(зна).м.ен.бј.е	ЗНАМЕНИЕ	2/п
947	(теп).ен.бј.е	ТЕПЕНИЕ	2/п
918	оу.(сѣп).ен.бј.е	ОУСѣПЕНИЕ	2/п
855	об.(слѣп).ен.бј.е	ОСЛѣПЕНИЕ	2/п
42	(бор).ен.бј.е	БОРЕНИЕ	2/п
414	(кор).ен.бј.е	КОРЕНИЕ	2/п
278	оу.(жас).ен.бј.е	ОУЖАСЕНИЕ	2/п
659	об.(пас).ен.бј.е	ОПАСЕНИЕ	2/п
659	съ.(пас).ен.бј.е	СЪПАСЕНИЕ	2/п
607	въз.(нес).ен.бј.е	ВЪЗНЕСЕНИЕ	2/п
607	при.(нес).ен.бј.е	ПРИНЕСЕНИЕ	2/п
607	въ.(нес).ен.бј.е	ВЪНЕСЕНИЕ	2/п
451	въз.(крѣс).ен.бј.е	ВЪСКРѣСЕНИЕ	2/п
762	въз.(раст).ен.бј.е	ВЪЗДРАСТЕНИЕ	2/п
1076	(чѣт).ен.бј.е	ЧѣТЕНИЕ	2/п
1076	по.(чѣт).ен.бј.е	ПОЧѣТЕНИЕ	2/п

791	об.(рѣт).ен.ьј.ѣ	обрѣтѣние	2/п
791	из.об.(рѣт).ен.ьј.ѣ	изобрѣтѣние	2/п
791	при.об.(рѣт).ен.ьј.ѣ	приобрѣтѣние	2/п
791	съ.(рѣт).ен.ьј.ѣ	сърѣтѣние	2/п
597	съ.(млат).ен.ьј.ѣ	съмлатѣние	2/п
567	по.(мрач).ен.ьј.ѣ	помрачѣние	2/п
660	по.(печ).ен.ьј.ѣ	попечѣние	2/п
766	на.(реч).ен.ьј.ѣ	наречѣние	2/п
766	про.(реч).ен.ьј.ѣ	проречѣние	2/п
766	отъ.(реч).ен.ьј.ѣ	отъречѣние	2/п
941	(теч).ен.ьј.ѣ	течѣние	2/п
498	об.(лич).ен.ьј.ѣ	обличѣние	2/п
498	раз.(лич).ен.ьј.ѣ	различѣние	2/п
941	(точ).ен.ьј.ѣ	точѣние	2/п
284	оу.(жест).оч.ен.ьј.ѣ	оужесточѣние	2/п
132	(оуч).ен.ьј.ѣ	оучѣние	2/п
132	на.(оуч).ен.ьј.ѣ	наоучѣние	2/п
509	по.(лоуч).ен.ьј.ѣ	полоучѣние	2/п
132	по.(оуч).ен.ьј.ѣ	пооучѣние	2/п
681	въ.(пльч).ен.ьј.ѣ	въпльчѣние	2/п
681	съ.въ.(пльч).ен.ьј.ѣ	съвъпльчѣние	2/п
567	(мръч).ен.ьј.ѣ	мръчѣние	2/п
992	по.(тъч).ен.ьј.ѣ	потъчѣние	2/п
132	на.(въч).ен.ьј.ѣ	навъчѣние	2/п
475	(къч).ен.ьј.ѣ	къчѣние	2/п
1077	въ.(чловѣч).ен.ьј.ѣ	въчловѣчѣние	2/п
815	из.(сѣч).ен.ьј.ѣ	исѣчѣние	2/п
815	отъ.(сѣч).ен.ьј.ѣ	отъсѣчѣние	2/п
526	раз.(лжч).ен.ьј.ѣ	разлжчѣние	2/п
526	отъ.(лжч).ен.ьј.ѣ	отължчѣние	2/п
595	(мжч).ен.ьј.ѣ	мжчѣние	2/п
258	(држч).ен.ьј.ѣ	држчѣние	2/п
258	оу.(држч).ен.ьј.ѣ	оудржчѣние	2/п
155	оу.(гаш).ен.ьј.ѣ	оугашѣние	2/п
162	въз.(глаш).ен.ьј.ѣ	възглашѣние	2/п
162	об.(глаш).ен.ьј.ѣ	оглашѣние	2/п
162	въ.(глаш).ен.ьј.ѣ	въглашѣние	2/п
428	оу.(краш).ен.ьј.ѣ	оукрашѣние	2/п
893	по.(страш).ен.ьј.ѣ	пострашѣние	2/п
893	оу.(страш).ен.ьј.ѣ	оустрашѣние	2/п
496	(лиш).ен.ьј.ѣ	лишѣние	2/п
607	(нош).ен.ьј.ѣ	ношѣние	2/п
607	из.(нош).ен.ьј.ѣ	изношѣние	2/п
607	въз.(нош).ен.ьј.ѣ	възношѣние	2/п
607	при.(нош).ен.ьј.ѣ	приношѣние	2/п
607	по.(нош).ен.ьј.ѣ	поношѣние	2/п
607	прѣ.(нош).ен.ьј.ѣ	прѣношѣние	2/п
707	(прош).ен.ьј.ѣ	прошѣние	2/п
707	из.(прош).ен.ьј.ѣ	испрошѣние	2/п

707	въ.(прош).ен.бј.е	въПРОШЕНИЕ	2/п
1020	за.(оуш).ен.бј.е	заОУШЕНИЕ	2/п
462	из.(коуш).ен.бј.е	изКОУШЕНИЕ	2/п
462	въ.(коуш).ен.бј.е	въКОУШЕНИЕ	2/п
782	раз.(роуш).ен.бј.е	разДРОУШЕНИЕ	2/п
443	съ.(кроуш).ен.бј.е	съКРОУШЕНИЕ	2/п
261	отъ.(дъш).ен.бј.е	отъДЪШЕНИЕ	2/п
133	(въш).ен.бј.е	въШЕНИЕ	2/п
133	въз.(въш).ен.бј.е	възвъШЕНИЕ	2/п
126	съ.(върш).ен.бј.е	съвърШЕНИЕ	2/п
72	(бѣш).ен.бј.е	бѣШЕНИЕ	2/п
72	въз.(бѣш).ен.бј.е	възбѣШЕНИЕ	2/п
591	съ.(мѣш).ен.бј.е	съмѣШЕНИЕ	2/п
872	(спѣ).ш.ен.бј.е	спѣШЕНИЕ	2/п
872	по.(спѣ).ш.ен.бј.е	поспѣШЕНИЕ	2/п
872	оу.(спѣ).ш.ен.бј.е	оуспѣШЕНИЕ	2/п
154	по.(грѣ).ш.ен.бј.е	погрѣШЕНИЕ	2/п
154	съ.(грѣ).ш.ен.бј.е	съгрѣШЕНИЕ	2/п
154	прѣ.(грѣ).ш.ен.бј.е	прѣгрѣШЕНИЕ	2/п
792	раз.(рѣш).ен.бј.е	раздрѣШЕНИЕ	2/п
792	из.(рѣш).ен.бј.е	издрѣШЕНИЕ	2/п
451	въз.(крѣш).ен.бј.е	възкрѣШЕНИЕ	2/п
792	от.(рѣш).ен.бј.е	отрѣШЕНИЕ	2/п
957	оу.(тѣш).ен.бј.е	оутѣШЕНИЕ	2/п
672	въз.(плашт).ен.бј.е	въсплаштЕНИЕ	2/п
1030	въз.(хлашт).ен.бј.е	въсхлаштЕНИЕ	2/п
762	(рашт).ен.бј.е	раштЕНИЕ	2/п
762	на.(рашт).ен.бј.е	нараштЕНИЕ	2/п
117	об.(врашт).ен.бј.е	обвраштЕНИЕ	2/п
117	раз.(врашт).ен.бј.е	развраштЕНИЕ	2/п
117	въз.(врашт).ен.бј.е	възвраштЕНИЕ	2/п
340	оу.(ишт).ен.бј.е	оуиштЕНИЕ	2/п
1075	от.(чишт).ен.бј.е	очиштЕНИЕ	2/п
1110	за.(штгншт).ен.бј.е	заштгнштЕНИЕ	2/п
699	(пошт).ен.бј.е	поштЕНИЕ	2/п
709	(прошт).ен.бј.е	проштЕНИЕ	2/п
1018	по.(оушт).ен.бј.е	пооуштЕНИЕ	2/п
730	по.(поушт).ен.бј.е	попоуштЕНИЕ	2/п
730	из.(поушт).ен.бј.е	испоуштЕНИЕ	2/п
730	съ.(поушт).ен.бј.е	съпоуштЕНИЕ	2/п
730	отъ.(поушт).ен.бј.е	отъпоуштЕНИЕ	2/п
682	въ.(пльшт).ен.бј.е	въпльштЕНИЕ	2/п
924	на.(съшт).ен.бј.е	насъштЕНИЕ	2/п
1048	(хъшт).ен.бј.е	хъштЕНИЕ	2/п
1048	въз.(хъшт).ен.бј.е	въсхъштЕНИЕ	2/п
623	(об).ьшт.ен.бј.е	обьштЕНИЕ	2/п
499	(льшт).ен.бј.е	льштЕНИЕ	2/п
499	прѣ.(льшт).ен.бј.е	прѣльштЕНИЕ	2/п
583	(мьшт).ен.бј.е	мьштЕНИЕ	2/п

583	отъ.(мышт).ен.ьј.е	отъмыштєннє	2/п
452	(крышт).ен.ьј.е	крыштєннє	2/п
140	из.(вѣд).шт.ен.ьј.е	извѣштєннє	2/п
140	въз.(вѣд).шт.ен.ьј.е	възвѣштєннє	2/п
810	об.(свѣшт).ен.ьј.е	освѣштєннє	2/п
810	про.(свѣшт).ен.ьј.е	просвѣштєннє	2/п
723	(прѣшт).ен.ьј.е	прѣштєннє	2/п
723	за.(прѣшт).ен.ьј.е	запрѣштєннє	2/п
723	въз.(прѣшт).ен.ьј.е	възпрѣштєннє	2/п
931	при.(сѣшт).ен.ьј.е	присѣштєннє	2/п
931	по.(сѣшт).ен.ьј.е	посѣштєннє	2/п
1059	от.(цѣшт).ен.ьј.е	оцѣштєннє	2/п
813	(свѣшт).ен.ьј.е	свѣштєннє	2/п
813	об.(свѣшт).ен.ьј.е	освѣштєннє	2/п
1093	при.(чѣшт).ен.ьј.е	причѣштєннє	2/п
597	въз.(мѣшт).ен.ьј.е	възмѣштєннє	2/п
597	съ.(мѣшт).ен.ьј.е	съмѣштєннє	2/п
23	(вѣ).ен.ьј.е	вѣннє	2/п
23	оу.(вѣ).ен.ьј.е	оувѣннє	2/п
1024	(хвал).ен.ьј.е	хвалєннє	2/п
1024	по.(хвал).ен.ьј.е	похвалєннє	2/п
77	отъ.(вал).ен.ьј.е	отъвалєннє	2/п
538	оу.(маѣ).ен.ьј.е	оумалєннє	2/п
654	(паѣ).ен.ьј.е	паѣннє	2/п
654	раз.(паѣ).ен.ьј.е	распаѣннє	2/п
828	об.(слабѣ).ен.ьј.е	ослабѣннє	2/п
843	об.(слабѣ).ен.ьј.е	ослабѣннє	2/п
190	(грабѣ).ен.ьј.е	грабѣннє	2/п
190	раз.(грабѣ).ен.ьј.е	разграбѣннє	2/п
235	по.(добѣ).ен.ьј.е	подобѣннє	2/п
235	съ.по.(добѣ).ен.ьј.е	съподобѣннє	2/п
324	об.(зѣл).обѣ.ен.ьј.е	озѣлобѣннє	2/п
210	по.(гоубѣ).ен.ьј.е	погоубѣннє	2/п
980	из.(трѣбѣ).ен.ьј.е	нстрѣбѣннє	2/п
530	(люубѣ).ен.ьј.е	люубѣннє	2/п
530	въз.(люубѣ).ен.ьј.е	възлюубѣннє	2/п
530	при.(люубѣ).ен.ьј.е	прилюубѣннє	2/п
985	(трѣбѣ).ен.ьј.е	трѣбѣннє	2/п
1	(авѣ).ен.ьј.е	авѣннє//	2/п
16	из.(бавѣ).ен.ьј.е	избавѣннє	2/п
1	об.(авѣ).ен.ьј.е	обавѣннє	2/п
217	оу.(давѣ).ен.ьј.е	оудавѣннє	2/п
158	об.(главѣ).ен.ьј.е	оглавѣннє	2/п
844	(славѣ).ен.ьј.е	славѣннє	2/п
703	(правѣ).ен.ьј.е	правѣннє	2/п
703	из.(правѣ).ен.ьј.е	исправѣннє	2/п
703	оу.(правѣ).ен.ьј.е	оуправѣннє	2/п
879	(ста).вѣ.ен.ьј.е	ставѣннє	2/п
879	на.(ста).вѣ.ен.ьј.е	наставѣннє	2/п

879	при.(ста).вл.ен.бј.е	приставление	2/п
879	оу.из.(ста).вл.ен.бј.е	оуниставление	2/п
879	от.(ста).вл.ен.бј.е	оставление	2/п
879	по.(ста).вл.ен.бј.е	поставление	2/п
879	оу.(ста).вл.ен.бј.е	оуставление	2/п
879	въз.(ста).вл.ен.бј.е	възставление	2/п
879	съ.(ста).вл.ен.бј.е	съставление	2/п
879	прѣ.(ста).вл.ен.бј.е	прѣставление	2/п
1	(јавл).ен.бј.е	јавление//	2/п
714	(прот).нвл.ен.бј.е	противление	2/п
693	прѣ.(пол).овл.ен.бј.е	прѣполовление	2/п
481	оу.(ловл).ен.бј.е	оуловление	2/п
602	об.(новл).ен.бј.е	обновление	2/п
602	по.(новл).ен.бј.е	поновление	2/п
340	не.(нст).овл.ен.бј.е	ненствование	2/п
539	оу.(мрь).штг.вл.ен.бј.е	оумрыштвление	2/п
816	въ.(сеъл).ен.бј.е	въселение	2/п
816	прѣ.(сеъл).ен.бј.е	прѣселение	2/п
549	оу.(мил).ен.бј.е	оумиление	2/п
874	об.(срамл).ен.бј.е	осрамление	2/п
486	прѣ.(ломл).ен.бј.е	прѣломление	2/п
964	(томл).ен.бј.е	томление	2/п
164	(глоумл).ен.бј.е	глоумление	2/п
447	(кръмл).ен.бј.е	кръмление	2/п
902	оу.(стръмл).ен.бј.е	оустръмление	2/п
85	из.(вол).ен.бј.е	изволение	2/п
560	(мол).ен.бј.е	моление	2/п
440	(кропл).ен.бј.е	кропление	2/п
459	съ.въ.(коупл).ен.бј.е	съвъкоупление	2/п
459	съ.(коупл).ен.бј.е	съкоупление	2/п
855	об.(слѣпл).ен.бј.е	обслѣпление	2/п
885	за.(стжпл).ен.бј.е	застжпление	2/п
885	при.(стжпл).ен.бј.е	пристжпление	2/п
885	прѣ.(стжпл).ен.бј.е	прѣстжпление	2/п
1046	(хоул).ен.бј.е	хоуление	2/п
1046	по.(хоул).ен.бј.е	похоуление	2/п
578	раз.(мъшл).ен.бј.е	размъшление	2/п
578	при.(мъшл).ен.бј.е	примъшление	2/п
578	по.(мъшл).ен.бј.е	помъшление	2/п
578	про.(мъшл).ен.бј.е	промъшление	2/п
578	оу.(мъшл).ен.бј.е	оумъшление	2/п
578	не.съ.(мъшл).ен.бј.е	несъмъшление	2/п
324	об.(зъл).ен.бј.е	озъление	2/п
999	из.(тъл).ен.бј.е	истъление	2/п
273	раз.(дѣл).ен.бј.е	раздѣление	2/п
1054	(цѣл).ен.бј.е	цѣление	2/п
1054	из.(цѣл).ен.бј.е	ицѣление	2/п
1041	съ.(храп).ен.бј.е	съхрапение	2/п
366	об.(кам).ен.бј.е	окаменение	2/п

705	оҧ.(праж).н.ен.ьј.е	оҧпражѣнненіе	2/п
350	(јѣд).нн.ен.ьј.е	ѣднѣнненіе	2/п
1073	(чнн).ен.ьј.е	чннѣнненіе	2/п
1073	оҧ.(чнн).ен.ьј.е	оҧчннѣнненіе	2/п
1073	съ.(чнн).ен.ьј.е	съчннѣнненіе	2/п
153	(гои).ен.ьј.е	гоиѣнненіе	2/п
153	не.по.(гои).ен.ьј.е	непогоиѣнненіе	2/п
153	про.(гои).ен.ьј.е	прогоиѣнненіе	2/п
408	без.за.(кои).ен.ьј.е	беззаконѣнненіе	2/п
377	по.(клои).ен.ьј.е	поклоиѣнненіе	2/п
377	въз.(клои).ен.ьј.е	възсклоиѣнненіе	2/п
377	прѣ.(клои).ен.ьј.е	прѣсклоиѣнненіе	2/п
617	оҧ.(нзы).н.ен.ьј.е	оҧнзыѣнненіе	2/п
923	оҧ.(сзын).ен.ьј.е	оҧсзынѣнненіе	2/п
923	въ.(сзын).ен.ьј.е	въсзынѣнненіе	2/п
77	(валь).н.ен.ьј.е	вальѣнненіе	2/п
684	из.(пльи).ен.ьј.е	изпльѣнненіе	2/п
827	(скவர்ь).н.ен.ьј.е	скவர்ьѣнненіе	2/п
827	об.(скவர்ь).н.ен.ьј.е	обскவர்ьѣнненіе	2/п
686	(плѣи).ен.ьј.е	плѣѣнненіе	2/п
686	об.(плѣи).ен.ьј.е	обплѣѣнненіе	2/п
589	(мѣи).ен.ьј.е	мѣѣнненіе	2/п
589	из.(мѣи).ен.ьј.е	измѣѣнненіе	2/п
803	при.(св).ој.ен.ьј.е	присвоеніе	2/п
892	(строј).ен.ьј.е	строеніе	2/п
892	не.(строј).ен.ьј.е	нестроеніе	2/п
892	оҧ.(строј).ен.ьј.е	оҧстроеніе	2/п
216	не.оҧ.по.(да).р.ен.ьј.е	неоҧподарѣнненіе	2/п
220	оҧ.(дар).ен.ьј.е	оҧдарѣнненіе	2/п
551	съ.(мир).ен.ьј.е	съмирѣнненіе	2/п
944	(твор).ен.ьј.е	твореніе	2/п
89	за.(твор).ен.ьј.е	затвореніе	2/п
944	раз.(твор).ен.ьј.е	раствореніе	2/п
944	съ.(твор).ен.ьј.е	сътвореніе	2/п
12	раз.(ор).ен.ьј.е	разореніе	2/п
369	по.(кор).ен.ьј.е	покореніе	2/п
369	оҧ.(кор).ен.ьј.е	оҧкореніе	2/п
542	съ.(мотр).ен.ьј.е	съмотрѣнненіе	2/п
460	(коҧр).ен.ьј.е	коҧрѣнненіе	2/п
616	из.(ноҧр).ен.ьј.е	изноҧрѣнненіе	2/п
542	оҧ.съ.(моштр).ен.ьј.е	оҧсъмоштрѣнненіе	2/п
1116	об.(аштр).ен.ьј.е	обаштрѣнненіе	2/п
590	съ.(мѣр).ен.ьј.е	съмѣрѣнненіе	2/п
38	без.(бој).ѣ.зн.ьј.е	безбогазннѣ	2/п
860	(смок).ъв.ин.ьј.е	смокъвиннѣ	2/п
477	(кжп).ин.ьј.е	кжпннѣ	2/п
1073	без.(чнн).ьј.е	бесчннѣ	2/п
408	без.за.(кон).ьј.е	беззаконнѣ	2/п
408	въ.за.(кон).ьј.е	въззаконнѣ	2/п

264	БЕЗ.(ДЪН).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	БЕЗДЪННИЕ	2/п
670	(ПЛЪ).Н.Ъ.Е	ПЛЪННИЕ	2/п
918	(СЪП).Н.Ъ.Е	СЪННИЕ	2/п
918	БЕЗ.(СЪП).Н.Ъ.Е	БЕСЪННИЕ	2/п
617	ОУ.(НЪ).Н.Ъ.Е	ОУНЪННИЕ	2/п
787	(РЪВ).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	РЪВЪННИЕ	2/п
408	БЕЗ.ЗА.(КОН).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	БЕЗАКОНЪННИЕ	2/п
56	(БРЪН).Ъ.Е	БРЪННИЕ	2/п
977	(ТРЪН).Ъ.Е	ТРЪННИЕ	2/п
706	НА.(ПРАС).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	НАПРАСЪННИЕ	2/п
178	(ГОВ).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	ГОВЪННИЕ	2/п
98	(ВИД).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	ВИДЪННИЕ	2/п
98	НЕ.НА.(ВИД).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	НЕНАВИДЪННИЕ	2/п
98	НЕ.(ВИД).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	НЕВИДЪННИЕ	2/п
98	ПРИ.(ВИД).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	ПРИВИДЪННИЕ	2/п
225	ОБ.(ДЪ).Н.Ъ.Е	ОДЪННИЕ	2/п
63	(ВЪД).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	ВЪДЪННИЕ	2/п
197	ВЪЗ.(ГРЪД).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	ВЪЗГРЪДЪННИЕ	2/п
905	(СТЪД).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	СТЪДЪННИЕ	2/п
140	(ВЪД).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	ВЪДЪННИЕ	2/п
140	ОУ.(ВЪД).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	ОУВЪДЪННИЕ	2/п
140	СЪ.(ВЪД).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	СЪВЪДЪННИЕ	2/п
798	(СЪД).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	СЪДЪННИЕ	2/п
85	(ВЕЛ).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	ВЕЛЪННИЕ	2/п
85	ПО.(ВЕЛ).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	ПОВЕЛЪННИЕ	2/п
280	(ЖЕЛ).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	ЖЕЛЪННИЕ	2/п
39	РАЗ.(БОЛ).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	РАЗБОЛЪННИЕ	2/п
237	ОБ.(ДОЛ).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	ОДОЛЪННИЕ	2/п
237	ПРЪ.(ДОЛ).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	ПРЪДОЛЪННИЕ	2/п
999	(ТЪЛ).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	ТЪЛЪННИЕ	2/п
999	БЕЗ.(ТЪЛ).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	БЕСТЪЛЪННИЕ	2/п
999	ИЗ.(ТЪЛ).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	ИСТЪЛЪННИЕ	2/п
586	ИЗ.(МЪ).Н.Ъ.Е	ИЗМЪННИЕ	2/п
334	(ИМ).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	ИМЪННИЕ	2/п
952	(ТИМ).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	ТИМЪННИЕ	2/п
1015	РАЗ.(ОУМ).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	РАЗОУМЪННИЕ	2/п
1015	СЪ.РАЗ.(ОУМ).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	СЪРАЗОУМЪННИЕ	2/п
1015	НЕ.ДО.(ОУМ).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	НЕДОУМЪННИЕ	2/п
550	(МЪН).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	МЪНЪННИЕ	2/п
550	СЖ.(МЪН).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	СЖМЪНЪННИЕ	2/п
738	(ПЪ).Н.Ъ.Е	ПЪННИЕ	2/п
978	(ТРЪП).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	ТРЪПЪННИЕ	2/п
978	СЪ.(ТРЪП).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	СЪТРЪПЪННИЕ	2/п
978	ПРЪ.(ТРЪП).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	ПРЪТРЪПЪННИЕ	2/п
309	(ЗЪР).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	ЗЪРЪННИЕ	2/п
309	ПРО.(ЗЪР).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	ПРОЗЪРЪННИЕ	2/п
309	ВЪЗ.(ЗЪР).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	ВЪЗЪРЪННИЕ	2/п
309	ПРЪ.(ЗЪР).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	ПРЪЗЪРЪННИЕ	2/п
665	(ПЪР).Ъ.Н.Ъ.Е	ПЪРЪННИЕ	2/п

665	раз.(пър).:ѳ.н.ѳј.є	распърѳъние	2/п
665	прѳ.(пър).:ѳ.н.ѳј.є	прѳпърѳъние	2/п
101	(вис).:ѳ.н.ѳј.є	висѳъние	2/п
668	(пит).:ѳ.н.ѳј.є	питѳъние	2/п
1038	(хот).:ѳ.н.ѳј.є	хотѳъние	2/п
1038	по.(хот).:ѳ.н.ѳј.є	похотѳъние	2/п
730	за.(поуст).:ѳ.н.ѳј.є	запоустѳъние	2/п
810	(свѳт).:ѳ.н.ѳј.є	свѳтѳъние	2/п
411	(коп).:ѳј.є	копие	2/п
831	за.(скоп).:ѳј.є	заскопие	2/п
972	(троуп).:ѳј.є	троупие	2/п
789	(рѳп).:ѳј.є	рѳпие	2/п
93	на.(веч).ер.ѳј.є	навечерие	2/п
221	прѳдъ.(двор).:ѳј.є	прѳдъдворие	2/п
186	подъ.(гор).:ѳј.є	подъгорие	2/п
965	(тр).:ѳј.є	трие	1/а
646	(ост).:р.ѳј.є	острие	2/п
1019	(оустр).:ѳј.є	оустрие	2/п
616	про.(нър).:ѳј.є	пронърие	2/п
146	не.(вѳр).:ѳј.є	невѳрие	2/п
146	без.(вѳр).:ѳј.є	безвѳрие	2/п
562	при.(морѳ).:ѳј.є	приморѳие	2/п
562	по.(морѳ).:ѳј.є	поморѳие	2/п
879	от.(ста).т.ѳј.є	остатие	2/п
23	оу.(вн).т.ѳј.є	оуѳвѳтие	2/п
97	въз.(вн).т.ѳј.є	възѳвѳтие	2/п
286	(жи).т.ѳј.є	житие	2/п
286	при.(жи).т.ѳј.є	прижитие	2/п
491	въ.(ан).т.ѳј.є	въанѳтие	2/п
329	сѳн.(н).т.ѳј.є	сѳнитѳтие	2/п
651	(пн).т.ѳј.є	пнтѳтие	2/п
651	оу.(пн).т.ѳј.є	оупнтѳтие	2/п
890	без.(страда).т.ѳј.є	бестрастѳтие	2/п
98	не.на.(внд).т.ѳј.є	ненаѳвѳстѳтие	2/п
122	от.(връз).т.ѳј.є	отвръстѳтие	2/п
979	(трѳст).:ѳј.є	трѳстѳтие	2/п
1076	без.(чѳт).т.ѳј.є	бечѳстѳтие	2/п
1076	не.(чѳт).т.ѳј.є	нечѳстѳтие	2/п
1099	(шьд).т.ѳј.є	шьстѳтие	2/п
1099	при.(шьд).т.ѳј.є	пришьстѳтие	2/п
1099	от.(шьд).т.ѳј.є	ошьстѳтие	2/п
1099	до.(шьд).т.ѳј.є	дошьстѳтие	2/п
1093	при.(чѳст).:ѳј.є	причѳстѳтие	2/п
1093	оу.(чѳст).:ѳј.є	оучѳстѳтие	2/п
844	(слоу).т.ѳј.є	слоуѳтие	2/п
844	про.(слоу).т.ѳј.є	прослоуѳтие	2/п
16	(бѳ).т.ѳј.є	бѳѳтие	2/п
16	за.(бѳ).т.ѳј.є	забѳѳтие	2/п
16	не.(бѳ).т.ѳј.є	небѳѳтие	2/п

16	из.(бъи).т.бј.е	ИЗБЪГТНИЕ	2/п
292	(жръ).т.бј.е	ЖРЪТНИЕ	2/п
539	оу.(мръ).т.бј.е	ОУМРЪТНИЕ	2/п
539	без.съ.(мръ).т.бј.е	БЕСЪМРЪТНИЕ	2/п
738	(пѣ).т.бј.е	ПѢТНИЕ	2/п
738	въз.(пѣ).т.бј.е	ВЪСПѢТНИЕ	2/п
926	(сѣ).т.бј.е	СѢТНИЕ	2/п
334	въз.(а).т.бј.е	ВЪЗАТНИЕ	2/п
550	па.(ма).т.бј.е	ПАМАТНИЕ	2/п
334	сън.(а).т.бј.е	СЪНАТНИЕ	2/п
664	за.(па).т.бј.е	ЗАПАТНИЕ	2/п
664	про.(па).т.бј.е	ПРОПАТНИЕ	2/п
664	раз.(па).т.бј.е	РАСПАТНИЕ	2/п
334	от.(а).т.бј.е	ОТАТНИЕ	2/п
1074	за.(ча).т.бј.е	ЗАЧАТНИЕ	2/п
1074	на.(ча).т.бј.е	НАЧАТНИЕ	2/п
334	(іа).т.бј.е	ІАТНИЕ	2/п
334	при.(іа).т.бј.е	ПРИІАТНИЕ	2/п
334	подъ.(іа).т.бј.е	ПОДЪІАТНИЕ	2/п
748	раз.(пжт).бј.е	РАЗПЖТНИЕ	2/п
729	(пржт).бј.е	ПРЖТНИЕ	2/п
498	об.(лич).бј.е	ОБЛИЧНИЕ	2/п
86	(вел).ич.бј.е	ВЕЛИЧНИЕ	2/п
498	раз.(лич).бј.е	РАЗЛИЧНИЕ	2/п
766	на.(рѣч).бј.е	НАРѢЧНИЕ	2/п
957	об.(тиш).бј.е	ОТИШНИЕ	2/п
535	по.(мог).т.бј.е	ПОМОШТНИЕ	2/п
623	(об).ышт.бј.е	ОБЫШТНИЕ	2/п
276	(с).жшт.бј.е	СЖШТНИЕ	2/п
138	(вѣі).бј.е	ВѢІНИЕ	2/п
695	(пол).е	ПОІЕ	2/п
562	(мор).е	МОІЕ	2/п
343	(і).ь	*и	2/р
757	(раі).ь	ран	2/м
426	(краі).ь	кран	2/м
75	по.(вод).ат.ај.ь	ПОВАДАТАН	2/м
1021	(ход).ат.ај.ь	ХОДАТАН	2/м
1021	из.(ход).ат.ај.ь	ИСХОДАТАН	2/м
639	(ра).т.ај.ь	РАТАН	2/м
309	по.(зор).ат.ај.ь	ПОЗОРАТАН	2/м
938	(т).ач.ѣј.ь	ТАЧАН	2/а**
509	при.(лоуч).ај.ь	ПРИЛОУЧАН	2/м
509	съ.(лоуч).ај.ь	СЪЛОУЧАН	2/м
509	по.(лоуч).ај.ь	ПОЛОУЧАН	2/м
132	об.(въч).ај.ь	ОБЪЧАН	2/м
394	при.(кѡуч).ај.ь	ПРИКѡУЧАН	2/м
578	раз.(мъшл).ај.ь	РАЗМЪШЛѦН	2/м
578	при.(мъшл).ај.ь	ПРИМЪШЛѦН	2/м
578	про.(мъшл).ај.ь	ПРОМЪШЛѦН	2/м

578	оу.(мышл̂).ај.ь	оумышл̂тан	2/м
64	(БОУК).ъв.и	БОУКъви	0/f
11	((архиреѣ).ь	архиреѣи	2/м
750	(рабѣ).ьј.ь	рабѣи	2/а
114	(вrabѣ).ьј.ь	вrabѣи	2/м
423	(крабѣ).ьј.и	крабѣи	2/f*
296	(жрѣбѣ).ьј.ь	жрѣбѣи	2/м
231	(дивѣ).ьј.ь	дивѣи	2/а
513	(лъвѣ).ьј.ь	лъвѣи	2/а
1086	(чрѣвѣ).ьј.ь	чрѣвѣи	2/м
483	(ладѣ).ьј.и	ладѣи	2/f*
156	(гвоздѣ).ьј.ь	гвоздѣи	2/м
936	(сѣдѣ).ьј.и	сѣдѣи	2/f*
115	(вражѣ).ьј.ь	вражѣи	2/а
37	(божѣ).ьј.ь	божѣи	2/а
14	(ба).л.ьј.и	баѣи	2/f*
86	(велѣ).ьј.ь	велѣи	2/а
981	нан.(трѣбѣл̂).ьј.ь	нантрѣбѣѣи	2/а**
40	(бол̂).ьј.ь	бол̂ѣи	2/а**
912	(соулі).ьј.ь	соуліѣи	2/а**
318	(зм).ьј.ь	змѣи	2/м
807	(свинѣ).ьј.и	свинѣи	2/f*
557	(мльнѣ).ьј.и	мльнѣи	2/f*
1016	(оуѣн̂).ьј.ь	оуѣн̂ѣи	2/а**
582	(мьѣн̂).ьј.ь	мьѣн̂ѣи	2/а**
461	(коури).ьј.ь	коуриѣи	2/а
154	(гор̂).ьј.ь	гор̂ѣи	2/а**
494	(лисѣ).ьј.ь	лисѣи	2/а
734	(пѣсѣ).ьј.ь	пѣсѣи	2/а
763	без.(ратѣ).ьј.ь	бездратѣи	2/а
965	(тр).ѣт.ьј.ь	трѣтѣи	2/а
651	(пн).т.ьј.ь	пнтѣи	2/а
833	(скотѣ).ьј.ь	скотѣи	2/а
137	(вѣтѣ).ьј.и	вѣтѣи	2/f*
359	(ч).ьј.ь	чѣи	2/р
868	((сокачѣ).ьј.и	сокачѣи	2/f*
713	(прод).ч.ьј.ь	продѣи	2/а
766	от.(рочѣ).ьј.ь	отрочѣи	2/а
509	(лоуѣч).ьј.ь	лоуѣчѣи	2/а**
468	((къѣнгѣ).ъч.ьј.и	къѣнгъчѣи	2/f*
800	(сам).ъч.ьј.и	самъчѣи	2/f*
1095	(шар̂).ъч.ьј.и	шар̂ъчѣи	2/f*
415	((корабѣ).ьч.ьј.и	корабѣчѣи	2/f*
448	(кръм).ьч.ьј.и	кръмъчѣи	2/f*
133	прѣ.(въшѣ).ьј.ь	прѣвъшѣи	2/а**
149	(вѣштѣ).ьј.ь	вѣштѣи	2/а**
149	нан.(вѣштѣ).ьј.ь	нанвѣштѣи	2/а**
1113	(ѣдѣ).т.л.и	ѣдѣи	1/f
214	(гжѣдѣ).т.л.и	гжѣдѣи	1/f

633	((о́жм)).и	оимн	2/m
750	(раб).ъи́.и	рабъи́и	2/f*
703	(прав).ъи́.и	правъи́и	2/f*
27	(благ).ъи́.и	благъи́и	2/f*
37	(бог).ъи́.и	богъи́и	2/f*
514	(льг).ъи́.и	льгъи́и	2/f*
187	((господ).ъи́.и	господъи́и	2/f*
197	(грѣд).ъи́.и	грѣдъи́и	2/f*
798	сж.(сѣд).ъи́.и	сжсѣдъи́и	2/f*
690	((поган).ъи́.и	поганъи́и	2/f*
452	(крѣст).ь.ѣ.ѣн.ъи́.и	крѣстѣнъи́и	2/f*
27	(благ).ост.ъи́.и	благостъи́и	2/f*
549	(мил).ост.ъи́.и	милостъи́и	2/f*
709	(прост).ъи́.и	простъи́и	2/f*
730	(поуст).ъи́.и	поустъи́и	2/f*
813	(свѣт).ъи́.и	свѣтъи́и	2/f*
23	раз.(вој).ь	развои	2/m
624	(об).ој.ь	овои	2/p
23	оу.(вој).ь	оувои	2/m
96	(вој).и	вои	2/m
803	(св).ој.ь	свои	2/p
943	(тв).ој.ь	твои	2/p
262	(дъв).ој.ь	дъвои	2/p
401	по.(кој).ь	покои	2/m
533	(м).ој.ь	мои	2/p
171	(гној).ь	гнои	2/m
320	(зној).ь	знои	2/m
426	оу.(крој).ь	оукрои	2/m
965	(тр).ој.ь	трои	2/p
892	(строј).ь	строи	2/m
892	оу.(строј).ь	оустрои	2/m
1062	(чар).и	чари	2/m
613	((ноздр)).и	ноздри	1/f
717	(пръс).и	пръси	1/f
190	по.(грнѣ).а.т.и	погрнѣати	7
1098	(шнѣ).а.т.и	шнѣати	7
1098	про.(шнѣ).а.т.и	прошнѣати	7
235	по.(доб).а.т.и	подобѣати	7
321	из.(зоб).а.т.и	изобѣати	3
321	об.(зоб).а.т.и	обзобѣати	3
321	по.(зоб).а.т.и	позобѣати	3
210	из.(гънѣ).а.т.и	изгънѣати	7
210	по.(гънѣ).а.т.и	погънѣати	7
210	прѣ.(гънѣ).а.т.и	прѣгънѣати	7
325	(зънѣ).а.т.и	зънѣати	3
404	((колѣб)).а.т.и	колѣбѣати	3
404	въз.(колѣб).а.т.и	въсколѣбѣати	3
190	по.(грѣбѣ).а.т.и	погрѣбѣати	7
327	про.(злѣ).а.т.и	прозлѣбѣати	7

14	об.(ба).в.а.т.и	ОБАВАТИ	7
216	раз.(да).в.а.т.и	РАЗДАВАТИ	7
216	при.(да).в.а.т.и	ПРИДАВАТИ	7
216	по.(да).в.а.т.и	ПОДАВАТИ	7
670	(плав).а.т.и	ПЛАВАТИ	7
670	прѣ.(плав).а.т.и	ПРѢПЛАВАТИ	7
534	по.(ма).в.а.т.и	ПОМАВАТИ	7
319	(зна).м.ен.а.в.а.т.и	ЗНАМЕНАВАТИ	7
319	по.(зна).в.а.т.и	ПОЗНАВАТИ	7
411	раз.(коп).а.в.а.т.и	РАСКОПАВАТИ	7
411	подъ.(коп).а.в.а.т.и	ПОДЪКОПАВАТИ	7
392	об.(клѣвет).а.в.а.т.и	ОКЛѢВЕТАВАТИ	7
879	въз.(ста).в.а.т.и	ВЪСТАВАТИ	7
514	об.(льг).ъч.а.в.а.т.и	ОБЛЪГЪЧАВАТИ	7
1006	об.(таж).ъч.а.в.а.т.и	ОТЪЖЪЧАВАТИ	7
408	(кон).ъч.а.в.а.т.и	КОНЪЧАВАТИ	7
408	из.(кон).ъч.а.в.а.т.и	ИСКОНЪЧАВАТИ	7
408	съ.(кон).ъч.а.в.а.т.и	СЪКОНЪЧАВАТИ	7
623	при.(об).ьштг.а.в.а.т.и	ПРИОБЪШТАВАТИ	7
137	об.(вѣштг).а.в.а.т.и	ОБВѢШТАВАТИ	7
137	(вѣштг).а.в.а.т.и	ВѢШТАВАТИ	7
137	за.(вѣштг).а.в.а.т.и	ЗАВѢШТАВАТИ	7
810	об.(свѣштг).а.в.а.т.и	ОСВѢШТАВАТИ	7
137	оу.(вѣштг).а.в.а.т.и	ОУВѢШТАВАТИ	7
137	съ.(вѣштг).а.в.а.т.и	СЪВѢШТАВАТИ	7
137	отъ.(вѣштг).а.в.а.т.и	ОТЪВѢШТАВАТИ	7
449	(кръч).ьмл.а.в.а.т.и	КРЪЧЪМЛІАВАТИ	7
177	((гобьс)).ев.а.т.и	ГОБЬСЕВАТИ	6
514	по.(альс).ев.а.т.и	ПОЛЬСЕВАТИ	6
118	(врач).ев.а.т.и	ВРАЧЕВАТИ	6
118	из.(врач).ев.а.т.и	ИЗВРАЧЕВАТИ	6
678	(плаништг).ев.а.т.и	ПЛИШТЕВАТИ	6
678	въз.(плаништг).ев.а.т.и	ВЪСПЛИШТЕВАТИ	6
623	(об).ьштг.ев.а.т.и	ОБЪШТЕВАТИ	6
737	не.(пъштг).ев.а.т.и	НЕПЪШТЕВАТИ	6
737	въз.не.(пъштг).ев.а.т.и	ВЪЗНЕПЪШТЕВАТИ	6
1019	(оутр).ьн.ев.а.т.и	ОУТРЪНІЕВАТИ	6
96	(вој).ев.а.т.и	ВОЈЕВАТИ	6
1058	(цѣс).ар.ев.а.т.и	ЦѢСАДИЕВАТИ	6
23	раз.(ен).в.а.т.и	РАЗЕНВАТИ	7
23	из.(ен).в.а.т.и	ИЗЕНВАТИ	7
23	по.(ен).в.а.т.и	ПОЕНВАТИ	7
23	оу.(ен).в.а.т.и	ОУЕНВАТИ	7
23	прѣ.(ен).в.а.т.и	ПРѢЕНВАТИ	7
95	по.(ен).в.а.т.и	ПОВЕНВАТИ	7
95	съ.(ен).в.а.т.и	СЪВЕНВАТИ	7
491	об.(ан).в.а.т.и	ОБЛИВАТИ	7
491	из.(ан).в.а.т.и	ИЗЛИВАТИ	7
491	въз.(ан).в.а.т.и	ВЪЗЛИВАТИ	7

491	по.(ли).в.а.т.и	поливати	7
491	про.(ли).в.а.т.и	прוליвати	7
491	въ.(ли).в.а.т.и	въливати	7
491	прѣ.(ли).в.а.т.и	прѣливати	7
651	оу.(пи).в.а.т.и	оупивати	7
129	при.(вѣп).и.в.а.т.и	привѣпивати	7
769	(ри).в.а.т.и	ривати	7
769	по.(ри).в.а.т.и	поривати	7
769	оу.(ри).в.а.т.и	оуривати	7
769	отъ.(ри).в.а.т.и	отъривати	7
1072	по.(чи).в.а.т.и	почивати	7
324	(зѣл).ов.ов.а.т.и	зѣлобовати	6
803	по.(сѣб).ов.а.т.и	пособовати	6
981	(трѣб).ов.а.т.и	трѣбовати	6
560	(мол).и.т.в.ов.а.т.и	молитвовати	6
225	(дѣи).ѣств.ов.а.т.и	дѣиствовати	6
225	съ.(дѣи).ѣств.ов.а.т.и	съдѣиствовати	6
493	(лик).ѣств.ов.а.т.и	ликѣствовати	6
493	съ.(лик).ѣств.ов.а.т.и	съликѣствовати	6
1090	(чоу).в.ѣств.ов.а.т.и	чоуѣствовати	6
755	ж.(род).ѣств.ов.а.т.и	жродѣствовати	6
857	на.(слѣд).ѣств.ов.а.т.и	наслѣдѣствовати	6
857	по.(слѣд).ѣств.ов.а.т.и	послѣдѣствовати	6
857	въз.(слѣд).ѣств.ов.а.т.и	въслѣдѣствовати	6
177	(гобьз).ѣств.ов.а.т.и	гобьзѣствовати	6
1099	при.(шьд).л.ѣств.ов.а.т.и	пришьлѣствовати	6
140	съ.(вѣд).ѣ.т.ѣл.ѣств.ов.а.т.и	съвѣдѣтелѣствовати	6
140	за.съ.(вѣд).ѣ.т.ѣл.ѣств.ов.а.т.и	засъвѣдѣтелѣствовати	6
880	(стар).ѣж.ьш.ин.ѣств.ов.а.т.и	старѣшиниѣствовати	6
705	(праз).д.ьн.ѣств.ов.а.т.и	праздньѣствовати	6
705	съ.(праз).д.ьн.ѣств.ов.а.т.и	съпраздньѣствовати	6
756	(раз).ьн.ѣств.ов.а.т.и	разньѣствовати	6
516	(лѣп).ѣств.ов.а.т.и	лѣпѣствовати	6
216	(да).р.ѣств.ов.а.т.и	дарѣствовати	6
600	(мждр).ѣств.ов.а.т.и	мждрѣствовати	6
146	(вѣр).ѣств.ов.а.т.и	вѣрѣствовати	6
1058	(цѣс).ар.ѣств.ов.а.т.и	цѣсарѣствовати	6
649	на.(пад).т.ѣств.ов.а.т.и	напастѣствовати	6
140	съ.(вѣд).т.ѣств.ов.а.т.и	съвѣстѣствовати	6
228	отъ.(дес).лт.ѣств.ов.а.т.и	отъдесатѣствовати	6
1076	без.(чѣт).ств.ов.а.т.и	бечѣствовати	6
1076	нѣ.(чѣт).ств.ов.а.т.и	нечѣствовати	6
766	про.(роч).ѣств.ов.а.т.и	пророчѣствовати	6
16	из.(вѣи).т.ьч.ѣств.ов.а.т.и	извѣгъчѣствовати	6
1099	(шьд).ств.ов.а.т.и	шьѣствовати	6
844	по.(слоу).ш.ѣств.ов.а.т.и	послоушьѣствовати	6
872	по.(спѣ).ш.ѣств.ов.а.т.и	поспѣшьѣствовати	6
850	(слоуг).ов.а.т.и	слоуговати	6
275	нѣ.(дѣг).ов.а.т.и	нѣдѣговати	6

752	(рад).ов.а.т.и	радовати	б
752	об.(рад).ов.а.т.и	обрадовати	б
752	въз.(рад).ов.а.т.и	въздродовати	б
752	по.(рад).ов.а.т.и	породовати	б
752	съ.(рад).ов.а.т.и	съродовати	б
98	(внд).ов.а.т.и	вндовати	б
151	не.(год).ов.а.т.и	негодовати	б
755	ж.(род).ов.а.т.и	жродовати	б
115	(враж).вд.ов.а.т.и	вражъдовати	б
1113	об.(ѣд).ов.а.т.и	обѣдовати	б
140	по.(вѣд).ов.а.т.и	повѣдовати	б
140	про.по.(вѣд).ов.а.т.и	проповѣдовати	б
140	из.по.(вѣд).ов.а.т.и	исповѣдовати	б
140	съ.по.(вѣд).ов.а.т.и	съповѣдовати	б
857	на.(слѣд).ов.а.т.и	наслѣдовати	б
857	по.(слѣд).ов.а.т.и	послѣдовати	б
857	въз.(слѣд).ов.а.т.и	въслѣдовати	б
857	по.въз.(слѣд).ов.а.т.и	повъслѣдовати	б
22	((бесѣд).ов.а.т.и	бесѣдовати	б
22	по.((бесѣд).ов.а.т.и	повесѣдовати	б
363	по.(каз).ов.а.т.и	показовати	б
363	съ.(каз).ов.а.т.и	съказовати	б
754	об.(раз).ов.а.т.и	образовати	б
754	прѣ.об.(раз).ов.а.т.и	прѣобразовати	б
251	(дръз).ов.а.т.и	дръзовати	б
754	отъ.(рѣз).ов.а.т.и	отърѣзовати	б
148	съ.(вѣз).ов.а.т.и	съвѣзовати	б
398	(ков).а.т.и	ковати	3°
493	(лик).ов.а.т.и	ликовати	б
398	об.(ков).а.т.и	окovati	3°
634	без.(ок).ов.а.т.и	безокovati	б
398	по.(ков).а.т.и	поковати	3°
335	въз.(иск).ов.а.т.и	възискovati	б
959	про.(тлѣк).ов.а.т.и	протлѣковати	б
879	не.до.(ста).т.ѣк.ов.а.т.и	недостатъковати	б
16	из.(бъ).т.ѣк.ов.а.т.и	избѣгътовати	б
14	оу.(ба).л.ов.а.т.и	оубаловати	б
281	(жѣл).ов.а.т.и	жаловати	б
660	(печ).ѣл.ов.а.т.и	печаловати	б
256	(драс).ел.ов.а.т.и	драселовати	б
97	об.(вн).л.ов.а.т.и	обниловати	б
97	из.об.(вн).л.ов.а.т.и	изобниловати	б
549	(мил).ов.а.т.и	миловати	б
549	по.(мил).ов.а.т.и	помилovati	б
1054	(цѣл).ов.а.т.и	цѣловати	б
334	по.(им).ов.а.т.и	понимovati	б
620	(нѣм).ов.а.т.и	нѣмовати	б
319	(зна).м.ен.ов.а.т.и	знаменовати	б
319	на.(зна).м.ен.ов.а.т.и	назнаменовати	б

333	(им).ен.ов.а.т.и	именовати	б
96	об.(вн).н.ов.а.т.и	обинovati	б
96	по.(вн).н.ов.а.т.и	повинovati	б
547	(ми).н.ов.а.т.и	миновати	б
547	прѣ.(ми).н.ов.а.т.и	прѣминовати	б
863	об.(снов).а.т.и	основати	3°
526	(лжк).ав.ьн.ов.а.т.и	лжкавьновати	б
787	(рьв).ьн.ов.а.т.и	рьвьновати	б
787	въз.(рьв).ьн.ов.а.т.и	въздрьвьновати	б
787	по.(рьв).ьн.ов.а.т.и	порьвьновати	б
705	(праз).д.ьн.ов.а.т.и	праздьновати	б
1079	(чрьм).ьн.ов.а.т.и	чрьмьновати	б
408	без.за.(кон).ьн.ов.а.т.и	безаконьновати	б
72	(бѣс).ьн.ов.а.т.и	бѣсьновати	б
766	(рѣч).ьн.ов.а.т.и	рѣчьновати	б
589	из.(мѣн).ов.а.т.и	измѣновати	б
589	прѣ.(мѣн).ов.а.т.и	прѣмѣновати	б
458	(коуп).ов.а.т.и	коуповати	б
458	из.(коуп).ов.а.т.и	искоуповати	б
806	((сверѣп)).ов.а.т.и	сверѣповати	б
216	(да).р.ов.а.т.и	даровати	б
600	(мждр).ов.а.т.и	мждровати	б
309	по.(зор).ов.а.т.и	позоровати	б
146	(вѣр).ов.а.т.и	вѣровати	б
146	въз.(вѣр).ов.а.т.и	възвѣровати	б
146	оу.(вѣр).ов.а.т.и	оувѣровати	б
866	(сов).а.т.и	совати	7
162	(глас).ов.а.т.и	гласовати	б
428	(крас).ов.а.т.и	красовати	б
72	въз.(бѣс).ов.а.т.и	възбѣсовати	б
189	((готов)).а.т.и	готовати	7
603	(наг).от.ов.а.т.и	наготовати	б
189	при.((готов)).а.т.и	приготовати	7
189	оу.((готов)).а.т.и	оуготовати	7
189	съ.((готов)).а.т.и	съготовати	7
1076	не.(чьт).т.ов.а.т.и	нечьстовати	б
140	из.(вѣд).т.ов.а.т.и	извѣстовати	б
140	съ.из.(вѣд).т.ов.а.т.и	съизвѣстовати	б
140	съ.(вѣд).т.ов.а.т.и	съвѣстовати	б
137	съ.(вѣт).ов.а.т.и	съвѣтовати	б
932	(сѣт).ов.а.т.и	сѣтовати	б
931	по.(сѣт).ов.а.т.и	посѣтовати	б
496	(лих).ов.а.т.и	лиховати	б
496	об.(лих).ов.а.т.и	облиховати	б
844	по.(слоу).х.ов.а.т.и	послоуховати	б
872	по.(спѣ).х.ов.а.т.и	поспѣховати	б
323	(зъв).а.т.и	зъвати	3°*
323	при.(зъв).а.т.и	призъвати	3°*
323	по.(зъв).а.т.и	позъвати	3°*

323	про.(зъѣ).а.т.и	прозъвати	3°*
323	въз.(зъѣ).а.т.и	възъвати	3°*
323	съ.(зъѣ).а.т.и	съзъвати	3°*
731	(пъѣ).а.т.и	пъвати	7
731	оу.(пъѣ).а.т.и	оупъвати	7
773	оу.(ръѣ).а.т.и	оуръвати	3°
16	(бъѣ).а.т.и	бъвати	7
16	за.(бъѣ).а.т.и	забъвати	7
16	из.(бъѣ).а.т.и	избъвати	7
16	при.(бъѣ).а.т.и	прибъвати	7
16	съ.(бъѣ).а.т.и	събъвати	7
16	прѣ.(бъѣ).а.т.и	прѣбъвати	7
16	съ.прѣ.(бъѣ).а.т.и	съпрѣбъвати	7
323	при.(зъѣ).а.т.и	призъвати	7
323	по.(зъѣ).а.т.и	позъвати	7
323	въз.(зъѣ).а.т.и	възъвати	7
323	съ.(зъѣ).а.т.и	съзъвати	7
470	по.(къѣ).а.т.и	покъвати	7
571	об.(мъѣ).а.т.и	омъвати	7
571	оу.(мъѣ).а.т.и	оумъвати	7
571	отъ.(мъѣ).а.т.и	отъмъвати	7
863	об.(снъѣ).а.т.и	оснъвати	7
617	оу.(нъѣ).в.а.т.и	оунъвати	7
438	за.(кръѣ).а.т.и	закръвати	7
438	при.(кръѣ).а.т.и	прикръвати	7
438	от.(кръѣ).а.т.и	окръвати	7
438	по.(кръѣ).а.т.и	покръвати	7
438	съ.(кръѣ).а.т.и	съкръвати	7
36	(блъѣ).а.т.и	блъвати	3h*#
36	из.(блъѣ).а.т.и	изблъвати	3h*#
36	об.(блъѣ).а.т.и	обблъвати	3h*#
688	(плъѣ).а.т.и	плъвати	3h*#
688	за.(плъѣ).а.т.и	заплъвати	3h*#
688	об.(плъѣ).а.т.и	оплъвати	3h*#
225	об.(дѣ).в.а.т.и	одѣвати	7
225	съ.(дѣ).в.а.т.и	съдѣвати	7
85	по.(вел).ѣ.в.а.т.и	повелѣвати	7
237	об.(дол).ѣ.в.а.т.и	одолѣвати	7
237	съ.(дол).ѣ.в.а.т.и	съдолѣвати	7
237	прѣ.(дол).ѣ.в.а.т.и	прѣдолѣвати	7
1054	из.(цѣл).ѣ.в.а.т.и	изцѣлѣвати	7
1015	раз.(оум).ѣ.в.а.т.и	разоумѣвати	7
1015	про.раз.(оум).ѣ.в.а.т.и	про.разоумѣвати	7
172	(гнѣѣ).а.т.и	гнѣвати	7
172	раз.(гнѣѣ).а.т.и	разгнѣвати	7
172	по.(гнѣѣ).а.т.и	погнѣвати	7
172	про.(гнѣѣ).а.т.и	прогнѣвати	7
172	съ.(гнѣѣ).а.т.и	съгнѣвати	7
1056	об.(цѣп).ѣ.н.ѣ.в.а.т.и	оцѣпѣнѣвати	7

738	при.(пѣ).в.а.т.и	припѣвати	7
872	оу.(спѣ).в.а.т.и	оуспѣвати	7
738	въз.(пѣ).в.а.т.и	въспѣвати	7
872	прѣ.(спѣ).в.а.т.и	прѣспѣвати	7
154	съ.(грѣ).в.а.т.и	съгрѣвати	7
600	из.(мждр).ѣ.в.а.т.и	измждрѣвати	7
926	на.(сѣ).в.а.т.и	насѣвати	7
279	при.(жѣг).а.т.и	прижагати	7
279	по.(жѣг).а.т.и	пожагати	7
279	въ.(жѣг).а.т.и	въжагати	7
279	съ.(жѣг).а.т.и	съжагати	7
482	на.(лаг).а.т.и	налагати	7
482	об.(лаг).а.т.и	облагати	7
482	въз.(лаг).а.т.и	възлагати	7
482	при.(лаг).а.т.и	прилагати	7
482	по.(лаг).а.т.и	полагати	7
482	прѣдъ.по.(лаг).а.т.и	прѣдъполагати	7
482	въ.(лаг).а.т.и	вълагати	7
482	подъ.(лаг).а.т.и	подълагати	7
482	прѣдъ.(лаг).а.т.и	прѣдълагати	7
482	съ.(лаг).а.т.и	сълагати	7
482	отъ.(лаг).а.т.и	отълагати	7
482	прѣ.(лаг).а.т.и	прѣлагати	7
535	из.не.(маг).а.т.и	изнемагати	7
535	прѣ.не.(маг).а.т.и	прѣнемагати	7
535	въз.(маг).а.т.и	възмагати	7
535	по.(маг).а.т.и	помагати	7
535	съ.по.(маг).а.т.и	съпомагати	7
698	((посаг).а.т.и	посагати	7
894	по.(стриг).а.т.и	постригати	7
770	отъ.(риг).а.т.и	отъригати	7
512	(лъг).а.т.и	лъгати	3
512	съ.(лъг).а.т.и	сълъгати	3
897	(стръг).а.т.и	стръгати	3*
973	раз.(тръг).а.т.и	растръгати	7
973	из.(тръг).а.т.и	истръгати	7
897	от.(стръг).а.т.и	остръгати	3*
973	въз.(тръг).а.т.и	въстръгати	7
512	об.(лъг).а.т.и	облъгати	7
69	(вѣг).а.т.и	вѣгати	7
69	из.(вѣг).а.т.и	извѣгати	7
69	при.(вѣг).а.т.и	привѣгати	7
69	по.(вѣг).а.т.и	повѣгати	7
69	въ.(вѣг).а.т.и	въвѣгати	7
69	отъ.(вѣг).а.т.и	отъвѣгати	7
482	(лѣг).а.т.и	лѣгати	3
794	(ржг).а.т.и	ржгати	7
794	на.(ржг).а.т.и	наржгати	7
794	по.(ржг).а.т.и	поржгати	7

216	(ДА).Т.И	ДАТИ	0
18	ИЗ.(БАД).А.Т.И	ИЗБАДАТИ	7
104	ОБ.(ВЛАД).А.Т.И	ОБЛАДАТИ	7
375	НА.(КЛАД).А.Т.И	НАКЛАДАТИ	7
375	ПРИ.(КЛАД).А.Т.И	ПРИКЛАДАТИ	7
375	ВЪЗ.(КЛАД).А.Т.И	ВЪСКЛАДАТИ	7
649	(ПАД).А.Т.И	ПАДАТИ	7
649	НА.(ПАД).А.Т.И	НАПАДАТИ	7
649	ПРИ.(ПАД).А.Т.И	ПРИПАДАТИ	7
649	РАЗ.(ПАД).А.Т.И	РАСПАДАТИ	7
649	ИЗ.(ПАД).А.Т.И	ИСПАДАТИ	7
649	ВЪ.(ПАД).А.Т.И	ВЪПАДАТИ	7
649	ПОДЪ.(ПАД).А.Т.И	ПОДЪПАДАТИ	7
649	СЪ.(ПАД).А.Т.И	СЪПАДАТИ	7
649	ОТЪ.(ПАД).А.Т.И	ОТЪПАДАТИ	7
890	(СТРАД).А.Т.И	СТРАДАТИ	3
890	ПО.(СТРАД).А.Т.И	ПОСТРАДАТИ	3
890	ПРЪ.(СТРАД).А.Т.И	ПРЪСТРАДАТИ	3
1113	ПО.(ІЪД).А.Т.И	ПОДАТИ	7
216	ИЗ.(ДА).Т.И	ИЗДАТИ	0
216	ВЪЗ.(ДА).Т.И	ВЪЗДАТИ	0
288	ОБ.(ЖИД).А.Т.И	ОЖИДАТИ	7
315	СЪ.(ЗИД).А.Т.И	СЪЗИДАТИ	7
216	ПРИ.(ДА).Т.И	ПРИДАТИ	0
216	ПО.(ДА).Т.И	ПОДАТИ	0
216	ПРО.(ДА).Т.И	ПРОДАТИ	0
216	ВЪ.(ДА).Т.И	ВЪДАТИ	0
216	ОТЪ.(ДА).Т.И	ОТЪДАТИ	0
471	ИЗ.(КЪИД).А.Т.И	ИСКЪИДАТИ	7
471	СЪ.(КЪИД).А.Т.И	СЪКЪИДАТИ	7
786	(РЪИД).А.Т.И	РЪИДАТИ	7
786	ВЪЗ.(РЪИД).А.Т.И	ВЪЗДРЪИДАТИ	7
703	ОБ.(ПРАВ).ЪД.А.Т.И	ОПРАВЪДАТИ	7
288	(ЖЪД).А.Т.И	ЖЪДАТИ	3 ^{o*}
288	ДО.(ЖЪД).А.Т.И	ДОЖЪДАТИ	3 ^{o*}
288	ПО.(ЖЪД).А.Т.И	ПОЖЪДАТИ	3 ^{o*}
315	(ЗЪД).А.Т.И	ЗЪДАТИ	3 [*]
315	СЪ.(ЗЪД).А.Т.И	СЪЗЪДАТИ	3 [*]
140	ПО.(ВЪЪД).А.Т.И	ПОВЪЪДАТИ	7
140	ЗА.ПО.(ВЪЪД).А.Т.И	ЗАПОВЪЪДАТИ	7
140	ПРО.ПО.(ВЪЪД).А.Т.И	ПРОПОВЪЪДАТИ	7
140	ИЗ.ПО.(ВЪЪД).А.Т.И	ИСПОВЪЪДАТИ	7
140	СЪ.ПО.(ВЪЪД).А.Т.И	СЪПОВЪЪДАТИ	7
1113	СЪН.(ЪД).А.Т.И	СЪНЪДАТИ	7
216	ПРЪ.(ДА).Т.И	ПРЪДАТИ	0
798	(СЪЪД).А.Т.И	СЪЪДАТИ	7
798	РАЗ.(СЪЪД).А.Т.И	РАСЪЪДАТИ	7
798	СЪ.(СЪЪД).А.Т.И	СЪСЪЪДАТИ	7
34	СЪ.(БЛОУД).А.Т.И	СЪБЛОУДАТИ	7

147	оу.(вад).а.т.и	оувадати	7
303	(жад).а.т.и	жадати	3
303	въз.(жад).а.т.и	въздавати	3
168	(глад).а.т.и	гладати	7
168	об.(глад).а.т.и	огладати	7
168	съ.(глад).а.т.и	съгладати	7
603	об.(наж).а.т.и	обнажати	7
185	(гонаж).а.т.и	гонажати	7
244	раз.(драж).а.т.и	раздражати	7
754	въз.(раж).а.т.и	въздражати	7
243	по.(драж).а.т.и	подражати	7
482	(леж).ф.т.и	лежати	2
482	на.(леж).ф.т.и	належати	2
482	об.(леж).ф.т.и	облежати	2
482	въз.(леж).ф.т.и	възлежати	2
482	при.(леж).ф.т.и	прилежати	2
482	въ.(леж).ф.т.и	вълежати	2
482	надъ.(леж).ф.т.и	надълежати	2
482	прѣдъ.(леж).ф.т.и	прѣдълежати	2
482	съ.(леж).ф.т.и	сълежати	2
222	(движ).ф.т.и	движати	2
222	по.(движ).ф.т.и	подвижати	2
30	при.(ближ).а.т.и	приближати	7
37	об.оу.(бож).а.т.и	обоубожати	7
37	по.оу.(бож).а.т.и	поубожати	7
575	(мънож).а.т.и	мъножати	7
575	оу.(мънож).а.т.и	оумъножати	7
234	про.(дль).ж.а.т.и	продължати	7
250	(дръж).ф.т.и	дръжати	2
250	въз.(дръж).ф.т.и	въздръжати	2
250	об.(дръж).ф.т.и	обдръжати	2
250	по.(дръж).ф.т.и	подръжати	2
250	оу.(дръж).ф.т.и	оудръжати	2
250	подъ.(дръж).ф.т.и	подъдръжати	2
250	съ.(дръж).ф.т.и	съдръжати	2
250	прѣ.(дръж).ф.т.и	прѣдръжати	2
359	оу.(ничъж).а.т.и	оучничъжати	7
69	(бѣж).ф.т.и	бѣжати	2
69	из.(бѣж).ф.т.и	избѣжати	2
69	при.(бѣж).ф.т.и	прибѣжати	2
69	оу.(бѣж).ф.т.и	оубѣжати	2
69	отъ.(бѣж).ф.т.и	отъбѣжати	2
548	съ.(мѣж).а.т.и	съмѣжати	7
1006	при.(таж).ф.т.и	притажати	2
1006	об.(таж).а.т.и	отажати	7
1006	съ.(таж).ф.т.и	сътажати	2
601	(мѣж).а.т.и	мѣжати	7
601	въз.(мѣж).а.т.и	възмѣжати	7
207	по.(грѣж).а.т.и	погрѣжати	7

257	въ.(дрѣжж).а.т.и	въдрѣжжати	7
724	(прѣжж).а.т.и	прѣжжати	7
1006	при.(тѣжж).а.т.и	притѣжжати	7
1006	съ.(тѣжж).а.т.и	сътѣжжати	7
811	(свобажд).а.т.и	свобаждати	7
156	при.(гважд).а.т.и	пригваждати	7
74	по.(важд).а.т.и	поваждати	7
75	про.(важд).а.т.и	проваждати	7
75	прѣ.про.(важд).а.т.и	прѣпроваждати	7
151	оу.(гажд).а.т.и	оугаждати	7
151	въ.(гажд).а.т.и	въгаждати	7
161	за.(глажд).а.т.и	заглаждати	7
842	на.(сла).жд.а.т.и	наслаждати	7
842	оу.(сла).жд.а.т.и	оуслаждати	7
755	(ражд).а.т.и	раждати	7
192	въз.(гражд).а.т.и	възграждати	7
861	про.(смражд).а.т.и	просмраждати	7
755	по.(ражд).а.т.и	пораждати	7
753	отъ.(ражд).а.т.и	отъраждати	7
798	до.(сажд).а.т.и	досаждати	7
798	по.(сажд).а.т.и	посаждати	7
1021	(хажд).а.т.и	хаждати	7
1021	при.(хажд).а.т.и	прихаждати	7
1021	из.(хажд).а.т.и	исхаждати	7
1021	прѣ.(хажд).а.т.и	прѣхаждати	7
63	въз.(воужд).а.т.и	възвоуждати	7
456	про.(коужд).а.т.и	прокоуждати	7
971	(троужд).а.т.и	троуждати	7
971	оу.(троужд).а.т.и	оутроуждати	7
263	об.(дъжд).а.т.и	одъждати	7
572	из.(мъжд).а.т.и	измъждати	7
198	съ.(гръжд).а.т.и	съгръждати	7
945	оу.(твъръжд).а.т.и	оутвъръждати	7
70	по.(вѣжд).а.т.и	повѣждати	7
173	въ.(гнѣжд).а.т.и	въгнѣждати	7
127	(врѣжд).а.т.и	врѣждати	7
1053	от.(цѣжд).а.т.и	оцѣждати	7
147	оу.(влжд).а.т.и	оувлждати	7
621	при.(нѣжд).а.т.и	принѣждати	7
621	по.(нѣжд).а.т.и	понѣждати	7
936	раз.(сѣжд).а.т.и	расѣждати	7
936	от.(сѣжд).а.т.и	осѣждати	7
936	оу.(сѣжд).а.т.и	оусѣждати	7
222	(двис).а.т.и	двисати	7
222	въз.(двис).а.т.и	въздвисати	7
222	по.(двис).а.т.и	подвисати	7
279	за.(жис).а.т.и	зажисати	7
279	при.(жис).а.т.и	прижисати	7
279	въ.(жис).а.т.и	въжисати	7

279	съ.(жнѣ).а.т.и	съжнѣсати	7
279	раз.(жнѣ).а.т.и	разжнѣсати	7
548	по.(лнѣ).а.т.и	полнѣсати	7
894	по.(сѣтрнѣ).а.т.и	посѣтрнѣсати	7
973	(трѣѣ).а.т.и	трѣѣсати	3*
973	по.(трѣѣ).а.т.и	потрѣѣсати	3*
973	прѣ.(трѣѣ).а.т.и	прѣтрѣѣсати	3*
973	раз.(трѣѣ).а.т.и	растрѣѣсати	3*
973	вѣз.(трѣѣ).а.т.и	вѣстрѣѣсати	3*
973	отъ.(трѣѣ).а.т.и	отътрѣѣсати	3*
973	прѣѣ.(трѣѣ).а.т.и	прѣѣтрѣѣсати	3*
933	об.(сѣѣ).а.т.и	осѣѣсати	7
1006	из.(тѣѣ).а.т.и	истѣѣсати	7
1006	вѣз.(тѣѣ).а.т.и	вѣстѣѣсати	7
1006	съ.(тѣѣ).а.т.и	сѣтѣѣсати	7
1006	отъ.(тѣѣ).а.т.и	отътѣѣсати	7
363	(каз).а.т.и	казати	3
363	на.(каз).а.т.и	наказати	3
363	по.(каз).а.т.и	показати	3
363	прѣѣдъ.по.(каз).а.т.и	прѣѣдъпоказати	3
363	оу.(каз).а.т.и	оуказати	3
363	съ.(каз).а.т.и	съказати	3
536	(маз).а.т.и	мазати	3
536	за.(маз).а.т.и	замазати	3
536	по.(маз).а.т.и	помазати	3
1065	из.(чѣз).а.т.и	ичазати	7
492	(лнз).а.т.и	лнзати	3
492	об.(лнз).а.т.и	облнзати	3
492	по.(лнз).а.т.и	полнзати	3
500	((лѣбѣз).а.т.и	лѣбѣзати	3
500	об.((лѣбѣз).а.т.и	облѣбѣзати	3
783	(рѣз).а.т.и	рѣзати	3
500	((лѣбѣиз).а.т.и	лѣбѣизати	7
500	об.((лѣбѣиз).а.т.и	облѣбѣизати	7
683	(пльз).а.т.и	пльзати	3*
122	раз.(врѣз).а.т.и	разврѣзати	7
122	от.(врѣз).а.т.и	отврѣзати	7
251	(дрѣз).а.т.и	дрѣзати	7
754	(рѣз).а.т.и	рѣзати	3
754	об.(рѣз).а.т.и	обрѣзати	3
754	оу.(рѣз).а.т.и	оурѣзати	3
754	отъ.(рѣз).а.т.и	отърѣзати	3
754	прѣ.(рѣз).а.т.и	прѣрѣзати	3
148	об.(вѣз).а.т.и	обвѣзати	3
148	(вѣз).а.т.и	вѣзати	3
148	за.(вѣз).а.т.и	завѣзати	3
148	на.(вѣз).а.т.и	навѣзати	3
148	из.(вѣз).а.т.и	извѣзати	3
148	вѣз.(вѣз).а.т.и	вѣзвѣзати	3

148	при.(вѣз).а.т.и	привѣзати	3
148	оу.(вѣз).а.т.и	оувѣзати	3
148	съ.(вѣз).а.т.и	съвѣзати	3
824	(скак).а.т.и	скакати	3
824	на.(скак).а.т.и	наскакати	3
824	вѣз.(скак).а.т.и	вѣзскакати	3
671	(плак).а.т.и	плакати	3
671	об.(плак).а.т.и	оплакати	3
671	про.(плак).а.т.и	проплакати	3
671	вѣз.(плак).а.т.и	вѣзплакати	3
671	вѣ.(плак).а.т.и	вѣплакати	3
537	об.(мак).а.т.и	омакати	7
859	(смик).а.т.и	смикати	7
772	(рик).а.т.и	рикати	7
488	(ласк).а.т.и	ласкати	7
674	(плеск).а.т.и	плескати	3
674	вѣз.(плеск).а.т.и	вѣзплескати	3
674	съ.(плеск).а.т.и	съплескати	3
335	(иск).а.т.и	искати	3°
335	об.(иск).а.т.и	обискати	3°
335	из.(иск).а.т.и	изискати	3°
335	вѣз.(иск).а.т.и	вѣзискати	3°
31	(блиск).а.т.и	блискати	7
335	сън.(иск).а.т.и	сънискати	3°
335	по.(иск).а.т.и	понскати	3°
667	(писк).а.т.и	пискати	3
956	из.(тиск).а.т.и	истискати	7
956	оу.(тиск).а.т.и	оутискати	7
956	съ.(тиск).а.т.и	сътискати	7
9	(алѣк).а.т.и	алѣкати	3
9	вѣз.(алѣк).а.т.и	вѣзалѣкати	3
407	((комѣк).а.т.и	комѣкати	7
992	(тѣк).а.т.и	тѣкати	3°
992	на.(тѣк).а.т.и	натѣкати	3°
992	из.(тѣк).а.т.и	истѣкати	3°
992	съ.(тѣк).а.т.и	сътѣкати	3°
992	за.(тѣк).а.т.и	затѣкати	7
992	по.(тѣк).а.т.и	потѣкати	7
992	прѣ.(тѣк).а.т.и	прѣтѣкати	7
903	(стрѣк).а.т.и	стрѣкати	3
903	по.(стрѣк).а.т.и	пострѣкати	3
766	прѣ.(рѣк).а.т.и	прѣрѣкати	7
815	по.(сѣк).а.т.и	посѣкати	7
815	про.(сѣк).а.т.и	просѣкати	7
815	съ.(сѣк).а.т.и	съсѣкати	7
815	отѣ.(сѣк).а.т.и	отѣсѣкати	7
941	при.(тѣк).а.т.и	притѣкати	7
941	из.(тѣк).а.т.и	истѣкати	7
941	прѣ.(тѣк).а.т.и	прѣтѣкати	7

364	за. (кал). а. т. и	закалати	7
280	(жел). а. т. и	желати	7
280	въз. (жел). а. т. и	въжделати	7
883	по. (стил). а. т. и	постилаати	7
364	(кла). т. и	клаати	4h*
364	за. (кла). т. и	заклаати	4h*
364	из. (кла). т. и	искаати	4h*
159	((гла. гол). а. т. и	глаголати	3
159	из. ((гла. гол). а. т. и	изглаголати	3
159	въз. ((гла. гол). а. т. и	възглаголати	3
159	об. ((гла. гол). а. т. и	оглаголати	3
159	про. ((гла. гол). а. т. и	проглаголати	3
159	съ. ((гла. гол). а. т. и	съглаголати	3
84	при. (вез). т. л. а. т. и	привеслати	7
77	(въл). а. т. и	вълаати	7
798	об. (сед). ъл. а. т. и	оседълаати	7
916	(съл). а. т. и	сълаати	3
916	по. (съл). а. т. и	посълаати	3
916	прѣдъ. по. (съл). а. т. и	прѣдъпосълаати	3
916	въз. (съл). а. т. и	въсълаати	3
916	по. (съла). а. т. и	посълаати	7
916	въз. (съла). а. т. и	въсълаати	7
916	отъ. (съла). а. т. и	отъсълаати	7
883	(стъл). а. т. и	стълаати	3*
883	на. (стъл). а. т. и	настълаати	3*
883	по. (стъл). а. т. и	постълаати	3*
883	подъ. (стъл). а. т. и	подъстълаати	3*
225	(дѣ). л. а. т. и	дѣлаати	7
225	из. (дѣ). л. а. т. и	издѣлаати	7
225	въз. (дѣ). л. а. т. и	въздѣлаати	7
225	при. (дѣ). л. а. т. и	придѣлаати	7
225	съ. (дѣ). л. а. т. и	съдѣлаати	7
540	(мат). и	мати	0/f
486	прѣ. (лам). а. т. и	прѣламати	7
334	(іѣм). а. т. и	имаати	3*
334	за. (іѣм). а. т. и	занмати	3*
334	об. (им). а. т. и	обимати	7
290	съ. (жим). а. т. и	съжимати	7
334	въз. (им). а. т. и	възимати	7
334	при. (іѣм). а. т. и	примати	3*
334	въз. при. (іѣм). а. т. и	въспримати	3*
334	вън. (им). а. т. и	вънимати	7
334	сън. (им). а. т. и	сънимати	7
334	по. (іѣм). а. т. и	понмати	3*
334	подъ. (іѣм). а. т. и	подънимати	3*
334	прѣ. (іѣм). а. т. и	прѣнимати	3*
268	на. (дѣим). а. т. и	надѣимати	7
334	об. (ѣм). а. т. и	обѣмати	3*
334	из. (ѣм). а. т. и	изѣмати	3*

334	ВЪЗ.(ЪМ).А.Т.И	ВЪЗЪМАТИ	3*
334	ВЪН.(ЪМ).А.Т.И	ВЪНЪМАТИ	3*
334	СЪН.(ЪМ).А.Т.И	СЪНЪМАТИ	3*
334	ОТ.(ЪМ).А.Т.И	ОТЪМАТИ	3*
254	ВЪЗ.(ДРЪМ).А.Т.И	ВЪЗДРЪМАТИ	3
319	(ЗНА).М.ЕН.А.Т.И	ЗНАМЕНАТИ	7
319	ЗА.(ЗНА).М.ЕН.А.Т.И	ЗАЗНАМЕНАТИ	7
319	НА.(ЗНА).М.ЕН.А.Т.И	НАЗНАМЕНАТИ	7
884	(СТЕН).А.Т.И	СТЕНАТИ	3
884	ВЪЗ.(СТЕН).А.Т.И	ВЪСТЕНАТИ	3
319	(ЗНА).Т.И	ЗНАТИ	4v
319	ПО.(ЗНА).Т.И	ПОЗНАТИ	4v
384	ЗА.(КАЛИН).А.Т.И	ЗАКАЛИНАТИ	7
384	ПРО.(КАЛИН).А.Т.И	ПРОКАЛИНАТИ	7
550	ПО.(МИН).А.Т.И	ПОМИНАТИ	7
550	ВЪЗ.ПО.(МИН).А.Т.И	ВЪСПОМИНАТИ	7
664	ЗА.(ПИН).А.Т.И	ЗАПИНАТИ	7
664	ПРО.(ПИН).А.Т.И	ПРОПИНАТИ	7
664	РАЗ.(ПИН).А.Т.И	РАСПИНАТИ	7
1074	ЗА.(ЧИН).А.Т.И	ЗАЧИНАТИ	7
1074	НА.(ЧИН).А.Т.И	НАЧИНАТИ	7
153	(ГЪН).А.Т.И	ГЪНАТИ	0
153	РАЗ.(ГЪН).А.Т.И	РАЗГЪНАТИ	0
153	ИЗ.(ГЪН).А.Т.И	ИЗГЪНАТИ	0
153	ПО.(ГЪН).А.Т.И	ПОГЪНАТИ	0
153	ПРО.(ГЪН).А.Т.И	ПРОГЪНАТИ	0
153	ОТЪ.(ГЪН).А.Т.И	ОТЪГЪНАТИ	0
153	ВЪГ.(ГЪН).А.Т.И	ВЪГЪНАТИ	0
367	(КАП).А.Т.И	КАПАТИ	7
942	ОҢ.(ТАП).А.Т.И	ОҢТАПАТИ	7
1023	(ХАП).А.Т.И	ХАПАТИ	3
381	(КАЕП).А.Т.И	КАЕПАТИ	3
411	(КОП).А.Т.И	КОПАТИ	7
411	ОБ.(КОП).А.Т.И	ОКОПАТИ	7
411	ПРО.(КОП).А.Т.И	ПРОКОПАТИ	7
411	РАЗ.(КОП).А.Т.И	РАСКОПАТИ	7
411	ИЗ.(КОП).А.Т.И	ИСКОПАТИ	7
411	ВЪ.(КОП).А.Т.И	ВЪКОПАТИ	7
411	ПОДЪ.(КОП).А.Т.И	ПОДЪКОПАТИ	7
918	(СЪП).А.Т.И	СЪПАТИ	0
918	ПО.(СЪП).А.Т.И	ПОСЪПАТИ	0
917	РАЗ.(СЪП).А.Т.И	РАСЪПАТИ	3
917	ИЗ.(СЪП).А.Т.И	ИСЪПАТИ	3
917	ОБ.(СЪП).А.Т.И	ОСЪПАТИ	3
917	ПО.(СЪП).А.Т.И	ПОСЪПАТИ	3
917	ПРО.(СЪП).А.Т.И	ПРОСЪПАТИ	3
918	ОҢ.(СЪП).А.Т.И	ОҢСЪПАТИ	7
917	ВЪ.(СЪП).А.Т.И	ВЪСЪПАТИ	3
917	ПОДЪ.(СЪП).А.Т.И	ПОДЪСЪПАТИ	3

856	въз.(слъп).а.т.и	въсълпати	3*
1081	(чръп).а.т.и	чръпати	3*
1081	на.(чръп).а.т.и	начръпати	3*
1081	из.(чръп).а.т.и	ичръпати	3*
1081	по.(чръп).а.т.и	почръпати	3*
1056	об.(цѣп).а.т.и	оцѣпати	7
476	по.(кжп).а.т.и	покжпати	3
1036	(хлжп).а.т.и	хлжпати	7
1036	въз.(хлжп).а.т.и	въсхлжпати	7
885	(стжп).а.т.и	стжпати	7
885	за.(стжп).а.т.и	застжпати	7
885	на.(стжп).а.т.и	настжпати	7
885	при.(стжп).а.т.и	пристжпати	7
885	от.(стжп).а.т.и	остжпати	7
885	оу.(стжп).а.т.и	оустжпати	7
885	въ.(стжп).а.т.и	въстжпати	7
885	прѣ.(стжп).а.т.и	прѣстжпати	7
154	раз.(гар).а.т.и	разгарати	7
154	въз.(гар).а.т.и	възгарати	7
154	съ.(гар).а.т.и	съгарати	7
42	(бра).т.и	брати	4h*
42	съ.по.(бра).т.и	съпобрати	4h*
42	прѣ.(бра).т.и	прѣбрати	4h*
332	(игр).а.т.и	играти	7
332	въз.(игр).а.т.и	възиграти	7
24	из.(внр).а.т.и	извнрати	7
24	съ.(внр).а.т.и	съвнрати	7
808	(свнр).а.т.и	свнрати	7
220	раз.(днр).а.т.и	разднрати	7
220	въз.(днр).а.т.и	възднрати	7
309	за.(знр).а.т.и	закнрати	7
309	на.(знр).а.т.и	назнрати	7
309	при.(знр).а.т.и	признрати	7
309	об.(знр).а.т.и	ознрати	7
309	про.(знр).а.т.и	прознрати	7
309	въз.(знр).а.т.и	възнрати	7
309	съ.(знр).а.т.и	съзнрати	7
539	оу.(мнр).а.т.и	оумнрати	7
665	по.(пнр).а.т.и	попнрати	7
665	прѣ.(пнр).а.т.и	прѣпнрати	7
954	об.(тнр).а.т.и	отнрати	7
954	из.(тнр).а.т.и	истнрати	7
954	въз.(тнр).а.т.и	въстнрати	7
954	прѣ.(тнр).а.т.и	прѣтнрати	7
639	(ор).а.т.и	орати	3
420	((котор)).а.т.и	которати	7
975	въ.((тръ.тър)).а.т.и	вътрътърати	7
24	(брь).а.т.и	брьрати	3°*
24	из.(брь).а.т.и	избрьрати	3°*

24	въз.(брь).а.т.и	възбрьрати	3 ^o *
24	при.(брь).а.т.и	прибрьрати	3 ^o *
24	съ.(брь).а.т.и	събрьрати	3 ^o *
220	(дър).а.т.и	дъррати	3 ^o *
220	раз.(дър).а.т.и	раздъррати	3 ^o *
220	из.(дър).а.т.и	издъррати	3 ^o *
220	въз.(дър).а.т.и	въздъррати	3 ^o *
220	об.(дър).а.т.и	одъррати	3 ^o *
220	прѣ.(дър).а.т.и	прѣдъррати	3 ^o *
658	(пър).а.т.и	пъррати	3 ^o *
665	за.(пър).а.т.и	запъррати	3 ^o *
665	по.(пър).а.т.и	попъррати	3 ^o *
665	раз.(пър).а.т.и	распъррати	3 ^o *
155	оү.(гас).а.т.и	оүгасати	7
278	оү.(жас).а.т.и	оүжасати	7
278	прѣ.(жас).а.т.и	прѣжасати	7
370	(кас).а.т.и	касати	7
370	при.(кас).а.т.и	прикасати	7
659	съ.(пас).а.т.и	съпасати	7
348	по.(јас).а.т.и	појасати	3
348	прѣ.по.(јас).а.т.и	прѣпојасати	3
949	(тес).а.т.и	тесати	3
949	про.(тес).а.т.и	протесати	3
1069	(чес).а.т.и	чесати	3
666	на.(пис).а.т.и	написати	7
666	съ.(пис).а.т.и	съписати	7
666	прѣ.(пис).а.т.и	прѣписати	7
919	(със).а.т.и	съсати	3 ^o
50	съ.(брьс).а.т.и	събрьсати	7
666	(пъс).а.т.и	пъсати	3*
666	на.(пъс).а.т.и	напъсати	3*
666	въ.(пъс).а.т.и	въпъсати	3*
666	съ.(пъс).а.т.и	съпъсати	3*
451	въз.(кръс).а.т.и	въскръсати	7
687	(плас).а.т.и	пласати	3
984	по.(трас).а.т.и	потрасати	7
984	съ.(трас).а.т.и	сътрасати	7
984	отъ.(трас).а.т.и	отътрасати	7
1025	(хврат).а.т.и	хвратати	7
967	(трат).а.т.и	тратати	3
392	(клеввет).а.т.и	клевветати	3
392	об.(клеввет).а.т.и	оклевветати	3
545	(мет).а.т.и	метати	3 ^o
545	раз.(мет).а.т.и	разметати	3 ^o
545	из.(мет).а.т.и	изметати	3 ^o
545	въз.(мет).а.т.и	възметати	3 ^o
545	при.(мет).а.т.и	приметати	3 ^o
545	по.(мет).а.т.и	пометати	3 ^o
545	въ.(мет).а.т.и	въметати	3 ^o

545	отъ.(мет).а.т.и	отъметати	3°
545	прѣ.(мет).а.т.и	прѣметати	3°
968	((трепет).а.т.и	трепетати	3
968	въз.(трепет).а.т.и	въстрепетати	3
1070	при.(чет).а.т.и	причетати	7
1070	съ.(чет).а.т.и	съчетати	7
102	об.(вигт).а.т.и	обвигати	7
102	(вигт).а.т.и	вигати	7
102	при.(вигт).а.т.и	привигати	7
810	(свигт).а.т.и	свигати	7
810	об.(свигт).а.т.и	освигати	7
1050	про.(цвигт).а.т.и	процвигати	7
102	прѣ.(вигт).а.т.и	прѣвигати	7
676	съ.(пангт).а.т.и	съпангати	7
668	(пигт).а.т.и	пигати	7
668	на.(пигт).а.т.и	напигати	7
1076	при.(чит).а.т.и	причитати	7
1076	по.(чит).а.т.и	почигати	7
1076	изъ.(чит).а.т.и	изъчитати	7
750	(раб).от.а.т.и	работати	7
750	по.(раб).от.а.т.и	поработати	7
385	(клок).от.а.т.и	клокотати	3
879	(ста).т.и	стати	0
879	на.(ста).т.и	настати	0
31	(блист).а.т.и	блистати	7
769	(ри).ст.а.т.и	ристати	3
769	при.(ри).ст.а.т.и	приристати	3
879	при.(ста).т.и	пристати	0
769	съ.(ри).ст.а.т.и	съристати	3
879	от.(ста).т.и	остати	0
879	до.(ста).т.и	достати	0
879	оу.(ста).т.и	оустати	0
879	въз.(ста).т.и	въстати	0
879	прѣдъ.(ста).т.и	прѣдъстати	0
879	съ.(ста).т.и	състати	0
879	прѣ.(ста).т.и	прѣстати	0
784	(ръп).ът.а.т.и	ръпъгати	3
784	по.(ръп).ът.а.т.и	поръпъгати	3
1106	(шьп).ът.а.т.и	шьпъгати	3
733	(пыгт).а.т.и	пыгати	7
733	об.(пыгт).а.т.и	обпыгати	7
733	по.(пыгт).а.т.и	попыгати	7
733	из.(пыгт).а.т.и	испыгати	7
733	въз.(пыгт).а.т.и	въспыгати	7
1048	по.(хъгт).а.т.и	похъгати	7
1048	въз.(хъгт).а.т.и	въсхъгати	7
837	(скръж).ьт.а.т.и	скръжъгати	3
837	по.(скръж).ьт.а.т.и	поскръжъгати	3
1082	(чрът).а.т.и	чръгати	7

1082	на.(чрьт).а.т.и	начрьтати	7
388	(кльч).бт.а.т.и	кльчтати	3
676	сь.(пльт).а.т.и	сьпльтати	7
545	въз.(мьт).а.т.и	възмьтати	7
545	при.(мьт).а.т.и	примьтати	7
545	по.(мьт).а.т.и	помьтати	7
545	въ.(мьт).а.т.и	вьмьтати	7
545	отъ.(мьт).а.т.и	отъмьтати	7
170	оу.(гнбт).а.т.и	оугнбтати	7
791	об.(рѣт).а.т.и	обрѣтати	7
791	из.об.(рѣт).а.т.и	изобрѣтати	7
791	при.об.(рѣт).а.т.и	приобрѣтати	7
791	сь.(рѣт).а.т.и	сьрѣтати	7
727	(прлат).а.т.и	прлатати	7
727	въз.(прлат).а.т.и	въспрлатати	7
727	сь.(прлат).а.т.и	сьпрлатати	7
1107	(шлат).а.т.и	шлатати	7
478	сь.(кжт).а.т.и	ськжтати	7
	see яти	яхати	
	see прияти ²	прияхати	
	see въяти	въяхати	
	see прѣяти	прѣяхати	
261	(дъх).а.т.и	дъхати	3*
261	(дых).а.т.и	дыхати	7
261	из.(дых).а.т.и	издыхати	7
261	въз.(дых).а.т.и	въздыхати	7
261	отъ.(дых).а.т.и	отъдыхати	7
	see възѣти	възѣхати	
111	об.(ж).х.а.т.и	обжхати	7
383	(клиц).а.т.и	клицати	7
766	на.(риц).а.т.и	нарицати	3
766	из.(риц).а.т.и	издрицати	3
766	про.(риц).а.т.и	прорицати	3
766	оу.(риц).а.т.и	оурицати	3
766	сь.(риц).а.т.и	сьрицати	3
766	отъ.(риц).а.т.и	отърицати	3
132	на.(въщ).а.т.и	навъщати	7
387	(кльц).а.т.и	кльцати	7
567	по.(мрьц).а.т.и	помрьцати	7
526	(лац).а.т.и	лацати	3
526	на.(лац).а.т.и	налацати	3
526	сь.(лац).а.т.и	сьлацати	3
567	об.(мрач).а.т.и	омрачати	7
941	раз.(тач).а.т.и	растачати	7
498	об.(лич).а.т.и	обличати	7
498	из.об.(лич).а.т.и	изобличати	7
86	(вел).ич.а.т.и	величати	7
86	въз.(вел).ич.а.т.и	възвеличати	7
437	(қрич).ѣ.т.и	қричати	2

437	въз.(крич).ѣ.т.и	въскричати	2
132	на.(оуч).а.т.и	наоучати	7
509	(лоуч).а.т.и	лоучати	7
509	съ.(лоуч).а.т.и	сълоучати	7
132	по.(оуч).а.т.и	пооучати	7
132	про.(оуч).а.т.и	прооучати	7
514	об.(льг).ъч.а.т.и	обльгъчати	7
1006	об.(тѣг).ъч.а.т.и	отѣгъчати	7
681	об.(пльч).а.т.и	опльчати	7
573	(мъч).ѣ.т.и	мъчати	2
1006	об.(тѣж).ъч.а.т.и	отѣжъчати	7
556	(мльч).ѣ.т.и	мльчати	2
556	по.(мльч).ѣ.т.и	помльчати	2
556	оуч.(мльч).ѣ.т.и	оучмльчати	2
556	прѣ.(мльч).ѣ.т.и	прѣмльчати	2
408	(кон).ъч.а.т.и	конъчати	7
408	об.(кон).ъч.а.т.и	оконъчати	7
408	до.(кон).ъч.а.т.и	доконъчати	7
408	из.(кон).ъч.а.т.и	исконъчати	7
408	съ.(кон).ъч.а.т.и	съконъчати	7
95	(вѣ).н.ъч.а.т.и	вѣньчати	7
394	(кѣоуч).а.т.и	кѣоучати	7
391	(кльч).ѣ.т.и	кльчати	2
526	раз.(лжч).а.т.и	разлжчати	7
526	отъ.(лжч).а.т.и	отължчати	7
795	по.(ржч).а.т.и	поржчати	7
162	(глаш).а.т.и	глашати	7
162	въз.(глаш).а.т.и	възглашати	7
162	при.(глаш).а.т.и	приглашати	7
162	об.(глаш).а.т.и	оглашати	7
428	оуч.(краш).а.т.и	оучкрашати	7
707	въ.(праш).а.т.и	въпрашати	7
707	по.въ.(праш).а.т.и	повъпрашати	7
707	съ.въ.(праш).а.т.и	съвъпрашати	7
893	оуч.(страш).а.т.и	оучстрашати	7
496	(лиш).а.т.и	лишати	7
957	об.(тиш).а.т.и	оттишати	7
462	об.(коуш).а.т.и	окоушати	7
462	по.(коуш).а.т.и	покоушати	7
462	из.(коуш).а.т.и	искоушати	7
462	въ.(коуш).а.т.и	въкоушати	7
844	(слоу).ш.а.т.и	слоушати	7
844	об.(слоу).ш.а.т.и	ослоушати	7
844	по.(слоу).ш.а.т.и	послоушати	7
844	об.по.(слоу).ш.а.т.и	опослоушати	7
844	прѣ.(слоу).ш.а.т.и	прѣслоушати	7
782	раз.(роуш).а.т.и	раздроушати	7
443	съ.(кроуш).а.т.и	съкроушати	7
914	от.(соуш).а.т.и	осоушати	7

92	об.(вет).ъш.а.т.и	обетъшати	7
92	(вет).ъш.а.т.и	ветъшати	7
844	(слазы).ш.ѣ.т.и	слазышати	2
844	про.(слазы).ш.ѣ.т.и	прослазышати	2
844	оу.(слазы).ш.ѣ.т.и	оуслазышати	2
126	съ.(врьш).а.т.и	съврьшати	7
72	въз.(вѣш).а.т.и	възвѣшати	7
101	об.(вѣш).а.т.и	обвѣшати	7
591	при.(мѣш).а.т.и	примѣшати	7
591	съ.(мѣш).а.т.и	съмѣшати	7
872	по.(спѣш).ш.а.т.и	поспѣшати	7
154	съ.(грѣш).ш.а.т.и	съгрѣшати	7
792	раз.(рѣш).а.т.и	раздрѣшати	7
451	въз.(крѣш).а.т.и	възкрѣшати	7
792	от.(рѣш).а.т.и	отрѣшати	7
957	оу.(тѣш).а.т.и	оутѣшати	7
175	(гнѣш).а.т.и	гнѣшати	7
175	въз.(гнѣш).а.т.и	възгнѣшати	7
37	об.(бог).ашт.а.т.и	обогаштати	7
117	об.(врашт).а.т.и	обвраштати	7
117	раз.(врашт).а.т.и	развраштати	7
117	въз.(врашт).а.т.и	възвраштати	7
117	оу.(врашт).а.т.и	оувраштати	7
117	съ.(врашт).а.т.и	съвраштати	7
117	отъ.(врашт).а.т.и	отъвраштати	7
117	прѣ.(врашт).а.т.и	прѣвраштати	7
762	въз.(рашт).а.т.и	въздраштати	7
709	(прашт).а.т.и	праштати	7
1109	отъ.(штгешт).а.т.и	отъштгештати	7
499	прѣ.(лишт).а.т.и	прѣлиштати	7
611	об.(ништ).а.т.и	обништати	7
1075	от.(чишт).а.т.и	очништати	7
1110	за.(штгништ).а.т.и	заштгништати	7
750	по.(раб).ошт.а.т.и	порабештати	7
1018	по.(оушт).а.т.и	пооуштати	7
730	(поушт).а.т.и	поуштати	7
730	по.(поушт).а.т.и	попоуштати	7
730	из.(поушт).а.т.и	испоуштати	7
730	въз.(поушт).а.т.и	възпоуштати	7
730	оу.(поушт).а.т.и	оупоуштати	7
730	въ.(поушт).а.т.и	въпоуштати	7
730	отъ.(поушт).а.т.и	отъпоуштати	7
166	по.(глышт).а.т.и	поглыштати	7
997	(тъшт).ѣ.т.и	тъштати	2
997	по.(тъшт).ѣ.т.и	потъштати	2
996	из.(тъшт).а.т.и	истъштати	7
924	на.(съшт).а.т.и	насъштати	7
1048	раз.(хъшт).а.т.и	разхъштати	7
1048	въз.(хъшт).а.т.и	възхъштати	7

623	при.(об).ышт.а.т.и	приобыштати	7
517	(льшт):ѣ.т.и	лыштати	2
31	(блышт):ѣ.т.и	блыштати	2
499	прѣ.(льшт).а.т.и	прѣлыштати	7
583	(мышт).а.т.и	мыштати	7
583	отъ.(мышт).а.т.и	отъмыштати	7
452	(крышт).а.т.и	крыштати	7
452	прѣ.(крышт).а.т.и	прѣкрыштати	7
137	об.(вѣшт).а.т.и	обѣштати	7
137	(вѣшт).а.т.и	вѣштати	7
137	за.(вѣшт).а.т.и	завѣштати	7
137	из.(вѣшт).а.т.и	извѣштати ¹	7
140	из.(вѣд).шт.а.т.и	извѣштати ²	7
140	въз.(вѣд).шт.а.т.и	възвѣштати	7
137	про.(вѣшт).а.т.и	провѣштати	7
810	об.(свѣшт).а.т.и	освѣштати	7
810	про.(свѣшт).а.т.и	просвѣштати	7
137	оу.(вѣшт).а.т.и	оувѣштати	7
137	съ.(вѣшт).а.т.и	свѣштати	7
137	отъ.(вѣшт).а.т.и	отъвѣштати	7
389	съ.(каѣшт).а.т.и	съкаѣштати	7
592	въ.(мѣшт).а.т.и	въмѣштати	7
723	за.(прѣшт).а.т.и	запрѣштати	7
723	въз.(прѣшт).а.т.и	възпрѣштати	7
931	по.(сѣшт).а.т.и	посѣштати	7
956	оу.(тѣшт).а.т.и	оутѣштати	7
1059	от.(цѣшт).а.т.и	оцѣштати	7
813	(свашт).а.т.и	сваштати	7
813	об.(свашт).а.т.и	осваштати	7
1093	при.(чашт).а.т.и	причаштати	7
597	въз.(мѣшт).а.т.и	възмѣштати	7
597	съ.(мѣшт).а.т.и	съмѣштати	7
796	въ.(рѣшт).а.т.и	върѣштати	7
1114	(іѣ).т.и	пати	0
76	из.(вај).а.т.и	извапати	3
216	(дај).а.т.и	дапати	3
216	раз.(дај).а.т.и	раздапати	3
216	из.(дај).а.т.и	издапати	3
216	въз.(дај).а.т.и	въздапати	3
216	при.(дај).а.т.и	придапати	3
216	по.(дај).а.т.и	подапати	3
216	про.(дај).а.т.и	продапати	3
216	въ.(дај).а.т.и	въдапати	3
216	отъ.(дај).а.т.и	отъдапати	3
216	прѣ.(дај).а.т.и	прѣдапати	3
360	(кај).а.т.и	капати	3
360	об.(кај).а.т.и	окапати	3
360	по.(кај).а.т.и	покапати	3
360	раз.(кај).а.т.и	раскапати	3

480	(лаі).а.т.и	лаіати ¹	3
479	(лаі).а.т.и	лаіати ²	3
534	на.(маі).а.т.и	намаіати	3
534	по.(маі).а.т.и	помаіати	3
651	на.(пај).а.т.и	напаіати	7
651	оу.(пај).а.т.и	оупаіати	7
892	оу.(страј).а.т.и	оустраіати	7
940	(тај).а.т.и	таіати	3
1021	из.(хрѣ).а.т.ај.а.т.и	исхрѣдатаіати	3
879	(стаі).а.т.и	стаіати	3
879	на.(стаі).а.т.и	настаіати	3
940	раз.(тај).а.т.и	растаіати	3
940	из.(тај).а.т.и	истаіати	3
879	от.(стаі).а.т.и	остаіати	3
879	вѣз.(стаі).а.т.и	вѣстаіати	3
879	прѣ.(стаі).а.т.и	прѣстаіати	3
1061	(чаі).а.т.и	чаіати	3
1061	при.(чаі).а.т.и	причаіати	3
1061	отъ.(чаі).а.т.и	отъчаіати	3
23	оу.(виј).а.т.и	оувиіати	7
231	вѣз.(днѣ).бј.а.т.и	вѣзднѣвиіати	7
95	по.(виј).а.т.и	повиіати	7
314	(зиј).а.т.и	зиіати	3*
491	(лиј).а.т.и	лиіати	3*
491	на.(лиј).а.т.и	налиіати	3*
491	об.(лиј).а.т.и	облиіати	3*
491	раз.(лиј).а.т.и	разлиіати	3*
491	из.(лиј).а.т.и	излиіати	3*
491	вѣз.(лиј).а.т.и	вѣзлиіати	3*
491	по.(лиј).а.т.и	полиіати	3*
491	про.(лиј).а.т.и	пролиіати	3*
491	вѣ.(лиј).а.т.и	вѣлиіати	3*
491	сѣ.(лиј).а.т.и	сѣлиіати	3*
491	прѣ.(лиј).а.т.и	прѣлиіати	3*
858	(смиј).а.т.и	смиіати	3*
858	по.(смиј).а.т.и	посмиіати	3*
858	про.(смиј).а.т.и	просмиіати	3*
858	оу.(смиј).а.т.и	оусмиіати	3*
858	вѣз.(смиј).а.т.и	вѣсмиіати	3*
710	(приј).а.т.и	приіати ¹	7
1114	при.(іѣ).т.и	приіати ²	0
820	(сиј).а.т.и	сиіати	7
820	об.(сиј).а.т.и	осиіати	7
820	про.(сиј).а.т.и	просиіати	7
820	вѣз.(сиј).а.т.и	вѣсиіати	7
77	(вал).а.т.и	валиіати	7
1024	по.(хвал).а.т.и	похвалиіати	7
77	отъ.(вал).а.т.и	отъвалиіати	7
219	оу.(дал).а.т.и	оудалиіати	7

365	(кал)	.а.т.и	каліати	7	
365	по.	(кал)	.а.т.и	покаліати	7
538	оу.	(мал)	.а.т.и	оу маліати	7
654	об.	(пал)	.а.т.и	опаіліати	7
654	по.	(пал)	.а.т.и	попаіліати	7
843	об.	(слабл)	.а.т.и	ослабліати	7
235	сз.по.	(добл)	.а.т.и	сз по добліати	7
235	оу.	(добл)	.а.т.и	оу добліати	7
210	по.	(гоубл)	.а.т.и	по гоубліати	7
836	об.	(скрзбл)	.а.т.и	оскрзбліати	7
980	по.	(трзбл)	.а.т.и	потрзбліати	7
980	из.	(трзбл)	.а.т.и	нстрзбліати	7
1	(авл)	.а.т.и	авліати//	7	
16	из.	(бавл)	.а.т.и	избавліати	7
1	об.	(авл)	.а.т.и	обавліати	7
217	по.	(давл)	.а.т.и	подавліати	7
844	про.	(славл)	.а.т.и	прославліати	7
481	оу.	(лавл)	.а.т.и	оу лавліати	7
602	об.	(навл)	.а.т.и	обнавліати	7
703	на.	(правл)	.а.т.и	направліати	7
703	из.	(правл)	.а.т.и	нсправліати	7
703	оу.	(правл)	.а.т.и	оу правліати	7
879	(ста)	.вл.а.т.и	ставліати	7	
879	на.	(ста)	.вл.а.т.и	наставліати	7
879	при.	(ста)	.вл.а.т.и	приставліати	7
879	от.	(ста)	.вл.а.т.и	оставліати	7
879	по.	(ста)	.вл.а.т.и	поставліати	7
879	оу.	(ста)	.вл.а.т.и	оу ставліати	7
879	взз.	(ста)	.вл.а.т.и	взз ставліати	7
879	сз.	(ста)	.вл.а.т.и	сз ставліати	7
879	прзб.	(ста)	.вл.а.т.и	прзб ставліати	7
1	(жавл)	.а.т.и	жавліати//	7	
344	(язвл)	.а.т.и	язвліати	7	
286	(живл)	.а.т.и	живліати	7	
714	(прот)	.ивл.а.т.и	протнвліати	7	
539	оу.	(мрб)	.штг.вл.а.т.и	оу мрбштгвліати	7
90	взз.	(вс)	.ел.а.т.и	взз ввс еліати	7
821	на.	(снл)	.а.т.и	насніліати	7
486	сз.	(ламл)	.а.т.и	сз ламліати	7
874	(срамл)	.а.т.и	срамліати	7	
874	об.	(срамл)	.а.т.и	осрамліати	7
874	по.	(срамл)	.а.т.и	посрамліати	7
874	оу.	(срамл)	.а.т.и	оу срамліати	7
620	об.	(нзмл)	.а.т.и	онзмліати	7
942	по.	(тапл)	.а.т.и	поттапліати	7
942	из.	(тапл)	.а.т.и	нсттапліати	7
459	при.	(коупл)	.а.т.и	прикоупліати	7
459	сз.вз.	(коупл)	.а.т.и	сз вкз коупліати	7
516	при.	(лзпл)	.а.т.и	прилзпліати	7

855	об.(сѣпѣлѣ).а.т.и	осѣпѣлати	7
453	оу.(крѣпѣлѣ).а.т.и	оукрѣпѣлати	7
1046	по.(хорѣлѣ).а.т.и	похорѣлати	7
1046	вѣз.(хорѣлѣ).а.т.и	вѣзхорѣлати	7
578	раз.(мѣшилѣ).а.т.и	размѣшиллати	7
578	при.(мѣшилѣ).а.т.и	примѣшиллати	7
578	по.(мѣшилѣ).а.т.и	помѣшиллати	7
578	сѣ.(мѣшилѣ).а.т.и	сѣмѣшиллати	7
273	раз.(дѣлѣ).а.т.и	раздѣллати	7
904	(стрѣлѣ).а.т.и	стрѣллати	7
904	сѣ.(стрѣлѣ).а.т.и	сѣстрѣллати	7
816	на.(сѣлѣ).а.т.и	насѣллати	7
816	вѣ.(сѣлѣ).а.т.и	вѣсѣллати	7
1054	из.(цѣлѣ).а.т.и	ицѣллати	7
153	из.(гаиѣ).а.т.и	изгаилати	7
153	по.(гаиѣ).а.т.и	погаилати	7
153	про.(гаиѣ).а.т.и	прогаилати	7
153	отъ.(гаиѣ).а.т.и	отъгаилати	7
377	(клаиѣ).а.т.и	клаилати	7
377	по.(клаиѣ).а.т.и	поклаилати	7
377	вѣз.(клаиѣ).а.т.и	вѣзклаилати	7
377	оу.(клаиѣ).а.т.и	оуклаилати	7
377	прѣ.(клаиѣ).а.т.и	прѣклаилати	7
847	вѣз.(слаиѣ).а.т.и	вѣзслаилати	7
42	вѣз.(бра).ѣ.а.т.и	вѣзбраилати	7
888	прѣ.(стра).ѣ.а.т.и	прѣстраилати	7
1041	сѣ.(храиѣ).а.т.и	сѣхраилати	7
28	сѣ.(блажѣиѣ).а.т.и	сѣблажѣилати	7
705	об.(праж).ѣ.а.т.и	опражѣилати	7
822	об.(сиѣиѣ).а.т.и	осѣиѣилати	7
1073	вѣ.(чиѣиѣ).а.т.и	вѣчиѣилати	7
111	об.(воѣиѣ).а.т.и	обѣиѣилати	7
111	(воѣиѣ).а.т.и	воѣиѣилати	7
923	вѣ.(сѣиѣиѣ).а.т.и	вѣсѣиѣилати	7
77	(вѣиѣиѣ).ѣ.а.т.и	вѣиѣилати	7
684	на.(пѣиѣиѣ).а.т.и	напѣиѣилати	7
684	из.(пѣиѣиѣ).а.т.и	испѣиѣилати	7
827	об.(скверъ).ѣ.а.т.и	оскверъиѣилати	7
686	(пѣиѣиѣ).а.т.и	пѣиѣилати	7
550	на.(мѣиѣиѣиѣ).а.т.и	намѣиѣиѣилати	7
589	из.(мѣиѣиѣиѣ).а.т.и	измѣиѣиѣилати	7
589	прѣ.(мѣиѣиѣиѣ).а.т.и	прѣмѣиѣиѣилати	7
929	об.(сѣиѣиѣиѣ).а.т.и	осѣиѣиѣилати	7
38	(бо).ѣ.т.и	боиати	2
38	вѣз.(бо).ѣ.т.и	вѣзбоиати	2
38	оу.(бо).ѣ.т.и	оубоиати	2
879	(сто).ѣ.т.и	стоиати	2
879	за.(сто).ѣ.т.и	застоиати	2
879	на.(сто).ѣ.т.и	настоиати	2

879	раз.(стої).ѣ.т.и	растопати	2
879	об.(стої).ѣ.т.и	остопати	2
879	до.(стої).ѣ.т.и	достопати	2
879	по.(стої).ѣ.т.и	постопати	2
879	оу.(стої).ѣ.т.и	оустопати	2
879	прѣдъ.(стої).ѣ.т.и	прѣдъстопати	2
879	съ.(стої).ѣ.т.и	състопати	2
879	отъ.(стої).ѣ.т.и	отъстопати	2
879	прѣ.(стої).ѣ.т.и	прѣстопати	2
80	(варѣ).а.т.и	варѣпати	7
221	оу.(дварѣ).а.т.и	оудварѣпати	7
221	въ.(дварѣ).а.т.и	вудварѣпати	7
944	(тварѣ).а.т.и	тварѣпати	7
89	за.(тварѣ).а.т.и	затварѣпати	7
944	при.(тварѣ).а.т.и	притварѣпати	7
944	про.(тварѣ).а.т.и	протварѣпати	7
944	раз.(тварѣ).а.т.и	растварѣпати	7
944	оу.(тварѣ).а.т.и	оутварѣпати	7
944	съ.(тварѣ).а.т.и	сътварѣпати	7
944	прѣ.(тварѣ).а.т.и	прѣтварѣпати	7
80	прѣдъ.(варѣ).а.т.и	прѣдъварѣпати	7
216	по.(да).ѣ.а.т.и	подаѣпати	7
12	раз.(аѣ).а.т.и	разаѣпати	7
309	об.(заѣ).а.т.и	озаѣпати	7
369	по.(каѣ).а.т.и	покаѣпати	7
369	оу.(каѣ).а.т.и	оукаѣпати	7
539	оу.(маѣ).а.т.и	оумаѣпати	7
600	оу.(мѣдѣ).а.т.и	оумѣдѣпати	7
93	(веч).ѣр.а.т.и	вечѣрати	7
600	прѣ.(мѣждѣ).а.т.и	прѣмѣждѣрати	7
551	съ.(миѣр).а.т.и	съмиѣрати	7
1101	раз.(шиѣр).а.т.и	рашиѣрати	7
542	съ.(матѣр).а.т.и	съматѣрати	7
542	раз.съ.(матѣр).а.т.и	расъматѣрати	7
542	съ.(мотѣр).а.т.и	съмотѣрати	7
1116	об.(латѣр).а.т.и	облатѣрати	7
460	въз.(коуѣр).а.т.и	въскоуѣрати	7
590	съ.(мѣѣр).а.т.и	съмѣѣрати	7
62	об.(боуѣи).а.т.и	обоуѣпати	7
455	(коуѣи).а.т.и	коуѣпати	7
1114	въ.(ѣѣ).т.и	въѣпати	0
139	(вѣѣи).а.т.и	вѣѣпати	3
139	въз.(вѣѣи).а.т.и	възвѣѣпати	3
139	про.(вѣѣи).а.т.и	провѣѣпати	3
139	въ.(вѣѣи).а.т.и	въвѣѣпати	3
225	(дѣѣи).а.т.и	дѣѣпати	3
225	за.(дѣѣи).а.т.и	задѣѣпати	3
225	на.(дѣѣи).а.т.и	надѣѣпати	3
225	из.(дѣѣи).а.т.и	издѣѣпати	3

225	въз. (дѣи).а.т.и	въздѣяти	3
225	при. (дѣи).а.т.и	придѣяти	3
225	об. (дѣи).а.т.и	одѣяти	3
225	съ. (дѣи).а.т.и	съдѣяти	3
225	прѣ. (дѣи).а.т.и	прѣдѣяти	3
769	(рѣи).а.т.и	рѣяти	3
769	по. (рѣи).а.т.и	порѣяти	3
1114	прѣ. (іѣи).т.и	прѣяти	0
769	отъ. (рѣи).а.т.и	отърѣяти	3
926	(сѣи).а.т.и	сѣяти	3
926	раз. (сѣи).а.т.и	расѣяти	3
926	про. (сѣи).а.т.и	просѣяти	3
926	въ. (сѣи).а.т.и	въсѣяти	3
190	(грѣи).т.и	грѣти	4с
190	по. (грѣи).т.и	погрѣти	4с
947	(тѣи).т.и	тѣти	4с
947	оу. (тѣи).т.и	оутѣти	4с
329	(и).т.и	ити	0
329	за. (и).т.и	занти	0
329	на. (и).т.и	нанти	0
939	(таіи).и.т.и	танти	1
1021	(хѣи).а.т.ај.и.т.и	хѣдтанти	1
939	по. (таіи).и.т.и	потанти	1
940	из. (таји).и.т.и	нстанти	1
939	оу. (таіи).и.т.и	оутанти	1
23	(вни).т.и	вити	4h*д
73	(ваб).и.т.и	вабити	1
828	(склаб).и.т.и	склабити	1
828	об. (склаб).и.т.и	осклабити	1
843	раз. (слаб).и.т.и	раслабити	1
843	об. (слаб).и.т.и	ослабити	1
190	(граб).и.т.и	грабити	1
190	раз. (граб).и.т.и	разграбити	1
889	оу. (страб).и.т.и	оустрабити	1
23	раз. (вни).т.и	развити	4h*д
23	из. (вни).т.и	извити	4h*д
23	въз. (вни).т.и	възвити	4h*д
23	при. (вни).т.и	привити	4h*д
329	об. (ни).т.и	овнити ¹	0
95	об. (вни).т.и	овнити ²	4h*д
235	по. (доб).и.т.и	подобити	1
235	при. по. (доб).и.т.и	приподобити	1
235	оу. по. (доб).и.т.и	оуподобити	1
235	съ. по. (доб).и.т.и	съподобити	1
324	(зъл).об.и.т.и	зълобити	1
324	об. (зъл).об.и.т.и	озълобити	1
324	оу. (зъл).об.и.т.и	оузълобити	1
23	по. (вни).т.и	повити	4h*д
246	(дроб).и.т.и	дробити	1

246	раз.(дроб).н.т.и	раздробити	1
246	съ.(дроб).н.т.и	съдробити	1
23	про.(би).т.и	пробити	4h*2
803	(соб).н.т.и	собити	1
23	оу.(би).т.и	оубити	4h*2
210	(гоуб).н.т.и	гоубити	1
210	из.(гоуб).н.т.и	изгоубити	1
210	по.(гоуб).н.т.и	погоубити	1
210	соу.(гоуб).н.т.и	соугоубити	1
210	оу.соу.(гоуб).н.т.и	оусоугоубити	1
23	низъ.(би).т.и	низъбити	4h*2
836	(скръб).н.т.и	скръбити	1
836	об.(скръб).н.т.и	оскръбити	1
23	съ.(би).т.и	събити	4h*2
23	прѣ.(би).т.и	прѣбити	4h*2
980	по.(трѣб).н.т.и	потрѣбити	1
980	из.(трѣб).н.т.и	истрѣбити	1
980	съ.(трѣб).н.т.и	сътрѣбити	1
980	отъ.(трѣб).н.т.и	отътрѣбити	1
530	(люуб).н.т.и	люубити	1
530	об.(люуб).н.т.и	облюубити	1
530	въз.(люуб).н.т.и	възлюубити	1
530	при.(люуб).н.т.и	прилюубити	1
169	оу.(глажб).н.т.и	оуглажбити	1
169	въ.(глажб).н.т.и	въглажбити	1
985	(тржб).н.т.и	тржбити	1
985	въз.(тржб).н.т.и	въстржбити	1
985	про.въз.(тржб).н.т.и	провъстржбити	1
1	(ав).н.т.и	авити//	1
16	из.(бав).н.т.и	избавити	1
1	об.(ав).н.т.и	обавити	1
16	про.(бав).н.т.и	пробавити	1
444	об.(кръв).ав.н.т.и	окръвавити	1
217	(дав).н.т.и	давити	1
217	по.(дав).н.т.и	подавити	1
217	оу.(дав).н.т.и	оудавити	1
95	за.(ви).т.и	завити	4h*2
844	(слав).н.т.и	славити	1
844	про.(слав).н.т.и	прославити	1
844	въз.(слав).н.т.и	въславити	1
827	об.(сквръ).н.ав.н.т.и	оскврънавити	1
703	(прав).н.т.и	правити	1
703	на.(прав).н.т.и	направити	1
703	из.(прав).н.т.и	исправити	1
703	оу.(прав).н.т.и	оуправити	1
966	(трав).н.т.и	травити	1
966	об.(трав).н.т.и	отравити	1
879	(ста).в.н.т.и	ставити	1
879	на.(ста).в.н.т.и	наставити	1

879	при.(ста).в.и.т.и	приставити	1
879	от.(ста).в.и.т.и	оставити	1
879	по.(ста).в.и.т.и	поставити	1
879	прѣдъ.по.(ста).в.и.т.и	прѣдъпоставити	1
879	оу.(ста).в.и.т.и	оуставити	1
879	въз.(ста).в.и.т.и	възставити	1
879	съ.въз.(ста).в.и.т.и	съвъзставити	1
879	прѣдъ.(ста).в.и.т.и	прѣдъставити	1
879	съ.(ста).в.и.т.и	съставити	1
879	прѣ.(ста).в.и.т.и	прѣставити	1
1	(јав).и.т.и	јавити//	1
344	(јазв).и.т.и	јазвити	1
344	оу.(јазв).и.т.и	оујазвити	1
95	из.(ви).т.и	извити	4h*2
982	(трѣзв).и.т.и	трѣзвити	1
230	(див).и.т.и	дивити	1
230	въз.(див).и.т.и	въздивити	1
230	по.(див).и.т.и	подивити	1
230	оу.(див).и.т.и	оудивити	1
286	(жив).и.т.и	живити	1
286	об.(жив).и.т.и	оживити	1
434	раз.(крив).и.т.и	раскривити	1
714	(прот).ив.и.т.и	противити	1
714	сж.(прот).ив.и.т.и	сжпротивити	1
481	(лов).и.т.и	ловити	1
693	прѣ.(пол).ов.и.т.и	прѣполовити	1
481	оу.(лов).и.т.и	оуловити	1
602	об.(нов).и.т.и	обновити	1
602	по.(нов).и.т.и	поновити	1
95	по.(ви).т.и	повити	4h*2
189	(готов).и.т.и	готовити	1
189	при.(готов).и.т.и	приготовити	1
189	оу.(готов).и.т.и	оуготовити	1
189	съ.(готов).и.т.и	съготовити	1
803	при.(св).ој.ьств.и.т.и	присвонствити	1
756	(раз).ьн.ьств.и.т.и	разьньствити	1
539	оу.(мрь).т.в.и.т.и	оумрьтвити	1
555	(млзв).и.т.и	млзвити	1
95	съ.(ви).т.и	съвити	4h*2
1078	(чръв).и.т.и	чръвити	1
1078	об.(чръв).и.т.и	очръвити	1
172	(гнѣв).и.т.и	гнѣвити	1
172	раз.(гнѣв).и.т.и	разгнѣвити	1
95	прѣ.(ви).т.и	прѣвити	4h*2
74	об.(вад).и.т.и	обадити	1
74	(вад).и.т.и	вадити	1
74	на.(вад).и.т.и	навадити	1
74	по.(вад).и.т.и	повадити	1
361	(кад).и.т.и	кадити	1

361	по. (кад). и.т.и	покадити	1
161	(глад). и.т.и	гладити	1
161	за. (глад). и.т.и	загладити	1
161	из. (глад). и.т.и	изгладити	1
161	по. (глад). и.т.и	погладити	1
842	на. (сла). д. и.т.и	насладити	1
842	въ. (сла). д. и.т.и	въсладити	1
1028	про. (хлад). и.т.и	прохладити	1
753	(рад). и.т.и	радити	1
192	(град). и.т.и	градити	1
192	за. (град). и.т.и	заградити	1
192	въз. (град). и.т.и	възградити	1
192	об. (град). и.т.и	оградити	1
192	прѣ. (град). и.т.и	прѣградити	1
861	об. (смрад). и.т.и	осмрадити	1
753	отъ. (рад). и.т.и	отърадити	1
798	(сад). и.т.и	садити	1
798	на. (сад). и.т.и	насадити	1
798	до. (сад). и.т.и	досадити	1
798	по. (сад). и.т.и	посадити	1
798	про. (сад). и.т.и	просадити	1
798	въ. (сад). и.т.и	въсадити	1
156	при. (гвозд). и.т.и	пригвоздити	1
173	(гнѣзд). и.т.и	гнѣздити	1
173	оу. (гнѣзд). и.т.и	оугнѣздити	1
173	въ. (гнѣзд). и.т.и	въгнѣздити	1
811	(свобод). и.т.и	свободити	1
75	(вод). и.т.и	водити	1
75	на. (вод). и.т.и	наводити	1
75	раз. (вод). и.т.и	разводити	1
75	из. (вод). и.т.и	изводити	1
75	прѣдъ. из. (вод). и.т.и	прѣдъизводити	1
75	въз. (вод). и.т.и	възводити	1
75	при. (вод). и.т.и	приводити	1
75	про. (вод). и.т.и	проводити	1
75	прѣ. про. (вод). и.т.и	прѣпроводити	1
75	въ. (вод). и.т.и	въводити	1
75	низъ. (вод). и.т.и	низводити	1
75	отъ. (вод). и.т.и	отъводити	1
151	(год). и.т.и	годити	1
151	оу. (год). и.т.и	оугодити	1
151	въ. (год). и.т.и	въгодити	1
673	(плод). и.т.и	плодити	1
673	при. (плод). и.т.и	приплодити	1
755	(род). и.т.и	родити	1
755	по. (род). и.т.и	породити	1
755	ж. (род). и.т.и	жродити	1
1021	(ход). и.т.и	ходити	1
1021	за. (ход). и.т.и	заходити	1

1021	на.(ход).и.т.и	находити	1
1021	при.(ход).и.т.и	приходити	1
1021	от.(ход).и.т.и	оходити	1
1021	до.(ход).и.т.и	доходити	1
1021	по.(ход).и.т.и	походити	1
1021	про.(ход).и.т.и	проходити	1
1021	раз.(ход).и.т.и	расходити	1
1021	из.(ход).и.т.и	исходити	1
1021	въз.(ход).и.т.и	въсходити	1
1021	прѣ.въз.(ход).и.т.и	прѣвъсходити	1
1021	объ.(ход).и.т.и	объходити	1
1021	въ.(ход).и.т.и	въходити	1
1021	прѣдъ.(ход).и.т.и	прѣдъходити	1
1021	низъ.(ход).и.т.и	низъходити	1
1021	съ.(ход).и.т.и	съходити	1
1021	прѣ.(ход).и.т.и	прѣходити	1
63	въз.(воуд).и.т.и	възвоудити	1
63	оуд.(воуд).и.т.и	оудвоудити	1
456	(коуд).и.т.и	коудити	1
456	про.(коуд).и.т.и	прокоудити	1
971	(троуд).и.т.и	троудити	1
971	по.(троуд).и.т.и	потроудити	1
971	оуд.(троуд).и.т.и	оудтроудити	1
905	оуд.(стоуд).и.т.и	оудстоудити	1
1045	об.(хоуд).и.т.и	охоудити	1
1090	(чоуд).д.и.т.и	чоудити	1
1090	по.(чоуд).д.и.т.и	почоудити	1
1090	въз.(чоуд).д.и.т.и	въсчоудити	1
1090	прѣ.(чоуд).д.и.т.и	прѣчоудити	1
703	об.(прав).бд.и.т.и	оправьдити	1
703	въ.(прав).бд.и.т.и	въправьдити	1
945	оуд.(тверьд).и.т.и	оудтверьдити	1
945	съ.(тверьд).и.т.и	сътверьдити	1
70	(вѣд).и.т.и	вѣдити	1
70	по.(вѣд).и.т.и	повѣдити	1
70	оуд.(вѣд).и.т.и	оудвѣдити	1
857	(слѣд).и.т.и	слѣдити	1
857	на.(слѣд).и.т.и	наслѣдити	1
857	из.(слѣд).и.т.и	ислѣдити	1
127	(врѣд).и.т.и	врѣдити	1
127	прѣ.(врѣд).и.т.и	прѣврѣдити	1
1053	за.(цѣд).и.т.и	зацѣдити	1
793	въ.(ржд).и.т.и	върждити	1
840	об.(скжд).и.т.и	оскждити	1
33	(блжд).и.т.и	блждити	1
33	за.(блжд).и.т.и	заблждити	1
33	про.(блжд).и.т.и	проблждити	1
33	съ.(блжд).и.т.и	съблждити	1
599	(мжд).и.т.и	мждити	1

599	за.(мжд).и.т.и	замждити	1
599	по.(мжд).и.т.и	помждити	1
599	оү.(мжд).и.т.и	оүмждити	1
599	прѣ.(мжд).и.т.и	прѣмждити	1
621	(нжд).и.т.и	нждити	1
621	при.(нжд).и.т.и	принждити	1
621	по.(нжд).и.т.и	понждити	1
747	раз.(пжд).и.т.и	распждити	1
936	(сжд).и.т.и	сждити	1
936	раз.(сжд).и.т.и	рассждити	1
936	при.(сжд).и.т.и	приссждити	1
936	от.(сжд).и.т.и	оссждити	1
936	по.(сжд).и.т.и	поссждити	1
936	оү.(сжд).и.т.и	оүссждити	1
936	съ.(сжд).и.т.и	съссждити	1
286	(жи).т.и	жити	4h
27	(блаж).и.т.и	блажити	1
27	об.(блаж).и.т.и	облажити	1
27	оү.(блаж).и.т.и	оүблажити	1
603	об.(наж).и.т.и	обнажити	1
244	раз.(драж).и.т.и	раздражити	1
243	по.(драж).и.т.и	подражити	1
30	при.(ближ).и.т.и	приблизити	1
286	при.(жи).т.и	прижити	4h
286	об.(жи).т.и	ожити	4h
482	за.(лож).и.т.и	заложити	1
482	на.(лож).и.т.и	наложити	1
482	об.(лож).и.т.и	обложити	1
482	въз.(лож).и.т.и	възложити	1
482	при.(лож).и.т.и	приложити	1
482	по.(лож).и.т.и	положити	1
482	въ.(лож).и.т.и	въложити	1
482	подъ.(лож).и.т.и	подъложити	1
482	прѣдъ.(лож).и.т.и	прѣдъложити	1
482	низъ.(лож).и.т.и	низъложити	1
482	съ.(лож).и.т.и	съложити	1
482	отъ.(лож).и.т.и	отъложити	1
482	прѣ.(лож).и.т.и	прѣложити	1
575	(мънож).и.т.и	мъножити	1
575	оү.(мънож).и.т.и	оүмъножити	1
286	по.(жи).т.и	пожити	4h
286	съ.по.(жи).т.и	съпожити	4h
850	(слоуж).и.т.и	слоужити	1
850	по.(слоуж).и.т.и	послоужити	1
850	оү.(слоуж).и.т.и	оүслоужити	1
248	съ.(дроуж).и.т.и	съдроужити	1
234	за.(дль).ж.и.т.и	задльжити	1
234	про.(дль).ж.и.т.и	предльжити	1
359	оү.(ничьж).и.т.и	оүничьжити	1

548	по.(мѣж).н.т.и	помѣжити	1
548	сѣ.(мѣж).н.т.и	сѣмѣжити	1
865	об.(снѣж).н.т.и	оснѣжити	1
1006	оу.(тѣж).н.т.и	оутѣжити	1
257	по.(дрѣж).н.т.и	подрѣжити	1
257	вѣ.(дрѣж).н.т.и	вѣдрѣжити	1
642	оу.(орѣж).н.т.и	оуорѣжити	1
642	вѣ.(орѣж).н.т.и	вѣорѣжити	1
1006	(тѣж).н.т.и	тѣжити	1
1006	вѣз.(тѣж).н.т.и	вѣстѣжити	1
1006	сѣ.(тѣж).н.т.и	сѣтѣжити	1
286	из.(жи).т.и	иждити	4h
286	при.из.(жи).т.и	прииждити	4h
988	оу.(тоужд).н.т.и	оутоуждити	1
263	(дѣжд).н.т.и	дѣждити	1
263	об.(дѣжд).н.т.и	одѣждити	1
177	(говьз).н.т.и	говьзити	1
177	оу.(говьз).н.т.и	оуговьзити	1
362	(каз).н.т.и	казити	1
362	про.(каз).н.т.и	проказити	1
362	раз.(каз).н.т.и	расказити	1
362	из.(каз).н.т.и	исказити	1
484	из.(лаз).н.т.и	излазити	1
484	вѣ.(лаз).н.т.и	вѣлазити	1
484	сѣ.(лаз).н.т.и	сѣлазити	1
484	прѣ.(лаз).н.т.и	прѣлазити	1
329	раз.(н).т.и	разити	0
754	за.(раз).н.т.и	заразити	1
754	об.(раз).н.т.и	образити	1
754	про.об.(раз).н.т.и	прообразити	1
754	оу.об.(раз).н.т.и	оуобразити	1
754	вѣ.об.(раз).н.т.и	вѣобразити	1
754	прѣ.об.(раз).н.т.и	прѣобразити	1
754	раз.(раз).н.т.и	раздразити	1
754	вѣз.(раз).н.т.и	вѣздразити	1
754	при.(раз).н.т.и	приразити	1
566	(мраз).н.т.и	мразити	1
566	об.(мраз).н.т.и	омразити	1
754	по.(раз).н.т.и	поразити	1
754	про.(раз).н.т.и	проразити	1
329	из.(н).т.и	изити	0
608	(низ).н.т.и	низити	1
185	(гноз).н.т.и	гнозити	1
609	вѣ.(ноз).н.т.и	вѣнозити	1
329	вѣз.(н).т.и	вѣзити	0
329	прѣ.вѣз.(н).т.и	прѣвѣзити	0
854	(сљз).н.т.и	сљзити	1
854	про.(сљз).н.т.и	просљзити	1
205	сѣ.(грѣз).н.т.и	сѣгрѣзити	1

207	по. (гръжз). н.т.и	погръжзити	1
77	(вал). н.т.и	валити	1
77	из. (вал). н.т.и	извалити	1
77	въз. (вал). н.т.и	възвалити	1
77	прн. (вал). н.т.и	прнвалити	1
1024	(хвал). н.т.и	хвалити	1
1024	по. (хвал). н.т.и	похвалити	1
1024	въз. (хвал). н.т.и	въсхвалити	1
1024	прѣ. (хвал). н.т.и	прѣхвалити	1
77	отъ. (вал). н.т.и	отъвалити	1
219	оу. (дал). н.т.и	оудалити	1
281	(жѣл). н.т.и	жалити	1
281	по. (жѣл). н.т.и	пожалити	1
281	съ. (жѣл). н.т.и	съжалити	1
538	оу. (мал). н.т.и	оумалити	1
654	(пал). н.т.и	палити	1
654	за. (пал). н.т.и	запалити	1
654	об. (пал). н.т.и	опалити	1
654	по. (пал). н.т.и	попалити	1
654	подъ. (пал). н.т.и	подъпалити	1
660	(печ). ѣл. н.т.и	печалити	1
660	об. (печ). ѣл. н.т.и	опечалити	1
660	въ. (печ). ѣл. н.т.и	въпечалити	1
654	оу. ((пепел)). н.т.и	оупепелити	1
816	(сел). н.т.и	селити	1
816	на. (сел). н.т.и	населити	1
90	(вес). ел. н.т.и	веселити	1
90	въз. (вес). ел. н.т.и	възвеселити	1
816	прн. (сел). н.т.и	прнселити	1
816	оу. (сел). н.т.и	оуселити	1
816	въ. (сел). н.т.и	въселити	1
816	прѣ. (сел). н.т.и	прѣселити	1
491	из. (ли). т.и	излити	4h*2
549	оу. (мил). н.т.и	оумилити	1
549	съ. (мил). н.т.и	съмилити	1
435	об. (крил). н.т.и	окрилити	1
435	въз. (крил). н.т.и	въскрилити	1
821	на. (сил). н.т.и	насилити	1
85	(вол). н.т.и	волити	1
85	из. (вол). н.т.и	изволити	1
181	об. (гол). н.т.и	оголити	1
560	(мол). н.т.и	молити	1
560	по. (мол). н.т.и	помолити	1
560	оу. (мол). н.т.и	оумолити	1
491	про. (ли). т.и	пролити	4h*2
842	об. (сол). н.т.и	осолити	1
963	оу. (тол). н.т.и	оутолити	1
578	(мысл). н.т.и	мыслити	1
578	раз. (мысл). н.т.и	размыслити	1

578	при.(мъисл).и.т.и	примъислити	1
578	до.(мъисл).и.т.и	домъислити	1
578	не.до.(мъисл).и.т.и	недомъислити	1
578	по.(мъисл).и.т.и	помъислити	1
578	про.(мъисл).и.т.и	промъислити	1
578	оү.(мъисл).и.т.и	оүмъислити	1
578	съ.(мъисл).и.т.и	съмъислити	1
1046	(хочл).и.т.и	хочлити	1
1046	об.(хочл).и.т.и	оучлити	1
1046	по.(хочл).и.т.и	поучлити	1
491	въ.(ан).т.и	вълити	4h*2
234	про.(дъл).и.т.и	продълити	1
999	(тъл).и.т.и	тълити	1
999	из.(тъл).и.т.и	истълити	1
71	(бѣл).и.т.и	бѣлити	1
71	оү.(бѣл).и.т.и	оүбѣлити	1
273	(дѣл).и.т.и	дѣлити	1
273	раз.(дѣл).и.т.и	раздѣлити	1
273	отъ.(дѣл).и.т.и	отъдѣлити	1
904	оү.(стрѣл).и.т.и	оүстрѣлити	1
1054	(цѣл).и.т.и	цѣлити	1
1054	из.(цѣл).и.т.и	ицѣлити	1
874	(срам).и.т.и	срамити	1
874	об.(срам).и.т.и	осрамити	1
874	по.(срам).и.т.и	посрамити	1
486	(лом).и.т.и	ломити	1
486	раз.(лом).и.т.и	разломити	1
486	из.(лом).и.т.и	изломити	1
486	при.(лом).и.т.и	приломити	1
486	съ.(лом).и.т.и	съломити	1
486	прѣ.(лом).и.т.и	прѣломити	1
964	(том).и.т.и	томити	1
964	оү.(том).и.т.и	оүтомити	1
1015	въ.раз.(оүм).и.т.и	въразоүмити	1
164	(глоүм).и.т.и	глоүмити	1
164	по.(глоүм).и.т.и	поглоүмити	1
1015	по.(оүм).и.т.и	пооүмити	1
448	(кръм).и.т.и	кръмिति ¹	1
447	(кръм).и.т.и	кръмिति ²	1
447	на.(кръм).и.т.и	накръмिति	1
447	въз.(кръм).и.т.и	въскръмिति	1
447	прѣ.(кръм).и.т.и	прѣкръмिति	1
902	оү.(стръм).и.т.и	оүстръмिति	1
1002	об.(тъм).и.т.и	отъмिति	1
42	(бра).н.и.т.и	бранити	1
42	въз.(бра).н.и.т.и	възбранити	1
888	про.(стра).н.и.т.и	пространити	1
1041	(хран).и.т.и	хранити	1
1041	съ.(хран).и.т.и	съхранити	1

171	(гни).т.и	гнити	4h*2
171	из.(гни).т.и	изгнити	4h*2
171	съ.(гни).т.и	съгнити	4h*2
283	(жен).и.т.и	женити	1
283	об.(жен).и.т.и	оженити	1
366	об.(кам).ен.и.т.и	окаменити	1
24	об.(брѣ).м.ен.и.т.и	обрѣменити	1
414	из.(кор).ен.и.т.и	искоренити	1
414	оу.(кор).ен.и.т.и	оукоренити	1
414	въ.(кор).ен.и.т.и	въкоренити	1
28	(блази).и.т.и	блазити	1
28	об.(блази).и.т.и	облазити	1
28	съ.(блази).и.т.и	съблазити	1
705	из.(праз).н.и.т.и	испразнити	1
705	оу.(праз).н.и.т.и	оупразнити	1
1073	(чин).и.т.и	чинити	1
1073	при.(чин).и.т.и	причинити	1
1073	оу.(чин).и.т.и	оучинити	1
1073	въ.(чин).и.т.и	въчинити	1
1073	съ.(чин).и.т.и	съчинити	1
153	(гон).и.т.и	гонити	1
153	из.(гон).и.т.и	изгонити	1
153	при.(гон).и.т.и	пригонити	1
153	по.(гон).и.т.и	погонити	1
153	про.(гон).и.т.и	прогонити	1
153	съ.(гон).и.т.и	съгонити	1
153	отъ.(гон).и.т.и	отъгонити	1
153	въг.(гон).и.т.и	въгонити	1
408	въ.за.(кон).и.т.и	възаконити	1
377	(клон).и.т.и	клонити	1
377	при.(клон).и.т.и	приклонити	1
377	по.(клон).и.т.и	поклонити	1
377	въз.(клон).и.т.и	възклонити	1
377	оу.(клон).и.т.и	оуклонити	1
377	подъ.(клон).и.т.и	подъклонити	1
377	прѣ.(клон).и.т.и	прѣклонити	1
349	изъ.(ясн).и.т.и	изъяснити	1
386	об.(каосн).и.т.и	окаоснити	1
469	(късн).и.т.и	къснити	1
790	въ.(рѣсн).и.т.и	върѣснити	1
329	вън.(и).т.и	вънити	0
329	сън.(и).т.и	сънити	0
994	из.(тън).и.т.и	истънити	1
751	оу.(рав).ьн.и.т.и	оуравьнити	1
109	на.(вод).ьн.и.т.и	наводьнити	1
77	(валь).н.и.т.и	вальнити	1
684	на.(пльн).и.т.и	напльнити	1
684	из.(пльн).и.т.и	испльнити	1
1002	об.(тъм).ьн.и.т.и	отъмьнити	1

79	по. (вап). њн. и. т. и	повапњити	1
827	(сквррь). н. и. т. и	скврњити	1
827	об. (сквррь). н. и. т. и	обскврњити	1
145	(в'ѣн). и. т. и	в'ѣнити	1
520	(л'ѣн). и. т. и	л'ѣнити	1
520	об. (л'ѣн). и. т. и	обл'ѣнити	1
520	раз. (л'ѣн). и. т. и	разл'ѣнити	1
686	(пл'ѣн). и. т. и	пл'ѣнити	1
686	по. (пл'ѣн). и. т. и	попл'ѣнити	1
550	(м'ѣн). и. т. и	м'ѣнити ¹	1
589	(м'ѣн). и. т. и	м'ѣнити ²	1
366	об. (кам). ѣн. и. т. и	окам'ѣнити	1
550	на. (м'ѣн). и. т. и	нам'ѣнити	1
589	из. (м'ѣн). и. т. и	изм'ѣнити	1
550	при. (м'ѣн). и. т. и	прим'ѣнити	1
550	въ. (м'ѣн). и. т. и	въм'ѣнити	1
589	прѣ. (м'ѣн). и. т. и	прѣм'ѣнити	1
740	(п'ѣн). и. т. и	п'ѣнити	1
929	об. (с'ѣн). и. т. и	ос'ѣнити	1
929	по. (с'ѣн). и. т. и	пос'ѣнити	1
908	об. (ст'ѣн). и. т. и	ост'ѣнити	1
1055	(ц'ѣн). и. т. и	ц'ѣнити	1
1055	съ. (ц'ѣн). и. т. и	съц'ѣнити	1
1016	(оу'ѣн). и. т. и	оу'ѣнити	1
582	(мь'ѣн). и. т. и	мь'ѣнити	1
582	оу. (мь'ѣн). и. т. и	оу'мь'ѣнити	1
329	до. (н). т. и	донити ¹	0
236	(дој). и. т. и	донити ²	1
236	на. (дој). и. т. и	надонити	1
236	отъ. (дој). и. т. и	отъдонити	1
401	по. (кој). и. т. и	поконити	1
401	прѣ. по. (кој). и. т. и	прѣпоконити	1
329	по. (н). т. и	понити ¹	0
651	(пој). и. т. и	понити ²	1
651	на. (пој). и. т. и	напонити	1
651	оу. (пој). и. т. и	оу'понити	1
329	про. (н). т. и	пронити	0
892	(строј). и. т. и	строити	1
892	при. (строј). и. т. и	пристроити	1
892	оу. (строј). и. т. и	оу'строити	1
892	съ. (строј). и. т. и	състроити	1
651	(пи). т. и	пити	4h*2
958	въз. (тлап). и. т. и	въстлапити	1
830	(скоп). и. т. и	скопити	1
440	(кроп). и. т. и	кропити	1
440	об. (кроп). и. т. и	окропити	1
440	по. (кроп). и. т. и	покропити	1
896	отъ. (строп). и. т. и	отъстропити	1
942	по. (топ). и. т. и	потопити	1

942	раз.(топ).и.т.и	растопити	1
942	из.(топ).и.т.и	истопити	1
942	оү.(топ).и.т.и	оүтопити	1
651	из.(пи).т.и	испити	4h*2
651	оү.(пи).т.и	оүпити	4h*2
458	(коүп).и.т.и	коүпити	1
458	из.(коүп).и.т.и	искоүпити	1
459	съ.въ.(коүп).и.т.и	съвъкоүпити	1
459	при.съ.въ.(коүп).и.т.и	присъвъкоүпити	1
459	съ.(коүп).и.т.и	съкоүпити	1
129	(въп).и.т.и	въпити	0
129	въз.(ъп).и.т.и	възъпити	0
918	оү.(съп).и.т.и	оүсъпити	1
516	при.(лѣп).и.т.и	прилѣпити	1
855	об.(слѣп).и.т.и	ослѣпити	1
453	(крѣп).и.т.и	крѣпити	1
453	оү.(крѣп).и.т.и	оүкрѣпити	1
1057	раз.(цѣп).и.т.и	расцѣпити	1
885	(стѣп).и.т.и	стѣпити	1
885	за.(стѣп).и.т.и	застѣпити	1
885	на.(стѣп).и.т.и	настѣпити	1
885	раз.(стѣп).и.т.и	растѣпити	1
885	из.(стѣп).и.т.и	истѣпити	1
885	при.(стѣп).и.т.и	пристѣпити	1
885	об.(стѣп).и.т.и	остѣпити ¹	1
885	от.(стѣп).и.т.и	остѣпити ²	1
885	оү.(стѣп).и.т.и	оүстѣпити	1
885	съ.(стѣп).и.т.и	състѣпити	1
885	прѣ.(стѣп).и.т.и	прѣстѣпити	1
1023	об.(хѣп).и.т.и	охѣпити	1
1023	по.(хѣп).и.т.и	похѣпити	1
80	(вар).и.т.и	варити ¹	1
81	(вар).и.т.и	варити ²	1
81	раз.(вар).и.т.и	разварити	1
81	въз.(вар).и.т.и	възварити	1
80	прѣдъ.(вар).и.т.и	прѣдъварити	1
216	(да).р.и.т.и	дарити	1
216	об.(да).р.и.т.и	одарити	1
220	оү.(дар).и.т.и	оүдарити	1
309	об.(зар).и.т.и	озарити	1
658	(пар).и.т.и	парити	1
346	(јар).и.т.и	јарити	1
346	възъ.(јар).и.т.и	възъјарити	1
925	по.((сьреєр)).и.т.и	посьреєрити	1
1108	оү.(штѣд).р.и.т.и	оүштѣдрити	1
355	оү.(јѣдр).и.т.и	оүјѣдрити	1
600	(мѣдр).и.т.и	мѣдрити	1
600	оү.(мѣдр).и.т.и	оүмѣдрити	1
658	въ.(пер).и.т.и	въперити	1

551	при.(мир).и.т.и	примирѣти	1
551	съ.(мир).и.т.и	съмирѣти	1
1101	раз.(шир).и.т.и	раширѣти	1
1101	оу.(шир).и.т.и	оуширѣти	1
12	(ор).и.т.и	орѣти	1
12	об.(ор).и.т.и	оборѣти	1
42	по.(бор).и.т.и	поборѣти	1
221	въ.(двор).и.т.и	въдворѣти	1
179	((говор).и.т.и	говорѣти	1
944	(твор).и.т.и	творѣти	1
89	за.(твор).и.т.и	затворѣти	1
944	при.(твор).и.т.и	притворѣти	1
89	от.(вор).и.т.и	отворѣти	1
944	по.(твор).и.т.и	потворѣти	1
944	раз.(твор).и.т.и	растворѣти ¹	1
89	раз.(твор).и.т.и	растворѣти ²	1
944	оу.(твор).и.т.и	оутворѣти	1
944	съ.(твор).и.т.и	сътворѣти	1
944	прѣ.(твор).и.т.и	прѣтворѣти	1
12	раз.(зор).и.т.и	раззорѣти	1
322	съ.(зор).и.т.и	съзорѣти	1
369	(кор).и.т.и	корѣти	1
369	по.(кор).и.т.и	покорѣти	1
369	оу.(кор).и.т.и	оукорѣти	1
539	за.(мор).и.т.и	заморѣти	1
539	из.(мор).и.т.и	изморѣти	1
539	оу.(мор).и.т.и	оуморѣти	1
12	сън.(ор).и.т.и	сънорѣти	1
130	((овъгтор).и.т.и	овъгторѣти	1
329	при.(н).т.и	прѣти	0
542	съ.(мотр).и.т.и	съмотрѣти	1
542	раз.съ.(мотр).и.т.и	разсъмотрѣти	1
646	(ост).р.и.т.и	острѣти	1
646	на.(ост).р.и.т.и	наострѣти	1
646	из.(ост).р.и.т.и	изострѣти	1
1116	об.(лтр).и.т.и	облтрѣти	1
460	(коур).и.т.и	коурѣти	1
460	въз.(коур).и.т.и	възкоурѣти	1
616	из.(ноур).и.т.и	изноурѣти	1
616	прѣ.из.(ноур).и.т.и	прѣизноурѣти	1
17	((багър).и.т.и	багърѣти	1
616	про.(нър).и.т.и	пронърѣти	1
913	оу.(сър).и.т.и	оусърѣти	1
146	(вѣр).и.т.и	вѣрѣти	1
146	оу.(вѣр).и.т.и	оувѣрѣти	1
146	въ.(вѣр).и.т.и	въвѣрѣти	1
590	(мѣр).и.т.и	мѣрѣти	1
590	на.(мѣр).и.т.и	намѣрѣти	1
590	раз.(мѣр).и.т.и	размѣрѣти	1

590	из.(мѣр).и.т.и	измѣрѣти	1
590	взз.(мѣр).и.т.и	взмѣрѣти	1
590	сз.(мѣр).и.т.и	сзмѣрѣти	1
590	прѣ.(мѣр).и.т.и	прѣмѣрѣти	1
1058	(цѣс).аѣ.и.т.и	цѣсѣрѣти	1
1058	оу.(цѣс).аѣ.и.т.и	оуцѣсѣрѣти	1
1058	вз.(цѣс).аѣ.и.т.и	взцѣсѣрѣти	1
155	(гас).и.т.и	гасити	1
155	по.(гас).и.т.и	погасити	1
155	оу.(гас).и.т.и	оугасити	1
278	оу.(жас).и.т.и	оужасити	1
162	(глас).и.т.и	гласити	1
162	взз.(глас).и.т.и	вззгласити	1
162	при.(глас).и.т.и	пригласити	1
162	об.(глас).и.т.и	огласити	1
162	про.(глас).и.т.и	прогласити	1
428	(крас).и.т.и	красити	1
428	оу.(крас).и.т.и	оукрасити	1
227	(дес).и.т.и	десити	1
607	(нос).и.т.и	носити	1
607	на.(нос).и.т.и	наносити	1
607	об.(нос).и.т.и	обносити	1
607	из.(нос).и.т.и	износити	1
607	взз.(нос).и.т.и	вззносити	1
607	прѣ.взз.(нос).и.т.и	прѣвззносити	1
607	при.(нос).и.т.и	приносити	1
607	по.(нос).и.т.и	поносити	1
607	про.(нос).и.т.и	проносити	1
607	вз.(нос).и.т.и	взносити	1
607	отъ.(нос).и.т.и	отъносити	1
778	(рос).и.т.и	росити	1
707	(прос).и.т.и	просити	1
707	из.(прос).и.т.и	испросити	1
707	взз.(прос).и.т.и	вззпросити	1
707	вз.(прос).и.т.и	взпросити	1
462	об.(коус).и.т.и	окоусити	1
462	по.(коус).и.т.и	покоусити	1
462	из.(коус).и.т.и	искоусити	1
462	вз.(коус).и.т.и	взкоусити	1
133	(взис).и.т.и	взисити	1
133	взз.(взис).и.т.и	вззвзисити	1
133	((овзис).и.т.и	овзисити	1
72	(вѣс).и.т.и	вѣсити	1
72	взз.(вѣс).и.т.и	вззвѣсити	1
101	об.(вѣс).и.т.и	овѣсити	1
101	взз.(вѣс).и.т.и	вззвѣсити	1
101	по.(вѣс).и.т.и	повѣсити	1
101	вз.(вѣс).и.т.и	взвѣсити	1
101	низъ.(вѣс).и.т.и	низъвѣсити	1

101	съ.(вѣс).и.т.и	съвѣсити	1
591	(мѣс).и.т.и	мѣсити	1
591	раз.(мѣс).и.т.и	размѣсити	1
591	при.(мѣс).и.т.и	примѣсити	1
591	оу.(мѣс).и.т.и	оумѣсити	1
591	съ.(мѣс).и.т.и	съмѣсити	1
451	въз.(крѣс).и.т.и	въскрѣсити	1
1025	по.(хвѣт).и.т.и	похвѣтити	1
1025	из.(хвѣт).и.т.и	исхвѣтити	1
1025	въз.(хвѣт).и.т.и	въсхвѣтити	1
37	(бог).ат.и.т.и	богатити	1
37	об.(бог).ат.и.т.и	обогатити	1
312	по.(зла).т.и.т.и	позлатити	1
379	(клат).и.т.и	клатити	1
672	отъ.(плат).и.т.и	отъплатити	1
117	об.(врат).и.т.и	обратити	1
117	(врат).и.т.и	вратити	1
117	раз.(врат).и.т.и	развратити	1
117	въз.(врат).и.т.и	възвратити	1
117	съ.(врат).и.т.и	съвратити	1
117	отъ.(врат).и.т.и	отъвратити	1
117	прѣ.(врат).и.т.и	прѣвратити	1
431	об.(крат).и.т.и	ократити	1
431	съ.(крат).и.т.и	съкратити	1
431	прѣ.(крат).и.т.и	прѣкратити	1
763	(рет).и.т.и	ретити	1
1109	отъ.(штет).и.т.и	отъштетити	1
1110	за.(шгит).и.т.и	зашгитити	1
329	от.(и).т.и	отити	0
750	по.(раб).от.и.т.и	поработити	1
700	(пот).и.т.и	потити	1
779	(рот).и.т.и	ротити	1
441	(крот).и.т.и	кротити	1
441	оу.(крот).и.т.и	оукротити	1
536	(маз).т.и.т.и	мастити	1
536	оу.(маз).т.и.т.и	оумасстити	1
762	(раст).и.т.и	растити	1
762	из.(раст).и.т.и	издрасстити	1
762	въз.(раст).и.т.и	въздрасстити	1
762	про.(раст).и.т.и	прорасстити	1
890	об.(страд).т.и.т.и	острастити	1
284	об.(жест).и.т.и	ожестити	1
340	оу.(ист).и.т.и	оуистити	1
1075	(чист).и.т.и	чистити	1
1075	из.(чист).и.т.и	ичистити	1
1075	от.(чист).и.т.и	очистити	1
188	(гост).и.т.и	гостити	1
699	(пост).и.т.и	постити	1
709	(просст).и.т.и	просстити	1

1018	(оуст).и.т.и	оустити	1
1018	на.(оуст).и.т.и	наоустити	1
1018	по.(оуст).и.т.и	пооустити	1
730	(поуст).и.т.и	поустити	1
730	об.(поуст).и.т.и	опоустити	1
730	по.(поуст).и.т.и	попоустити	1
730	раз.(поуст).и.т.и	распоустити	1
730	из.(поуст).и.т.и	испоустити	1
730	въз.(поуст).и.т.и	въспоустити	1
730	оу.(поуст).и.т.и	оупоустити	1
730	въ.(поуст).и.т.и	въпоустити	1
730	съ.(поуст).и.т.и	съпоустити	1
730	отъ.(поуст).и.т.и	отъпоустити	1
499	(льст).и.т.и	льстити	1
499	об.(льст).и.т.и	обльстити	1
499	оу.(льст).и.т.и	оульстити	1
499	въ.(льст).и.т.и	въльстити	1
499	прѣ.(льст).и.т.и	прѣльстити	1
583	(льст).и.т.и	льстити	1
583	отъ.(льст).и.т.и	отъльстити	1
452	(кръст).и.т.и	кръстити	1
452	раз.(кръст).и.т.и	раскръстити	1
452	прѣ.(кръст).и.т.и	прѣкръстити	1
1076	(чѣт).т.и.т.и	чѣстити	1
140	из.(вѣд).т.и.т.и	извѣстити	1
140	въз.(вѣд).т.и.т.и	възвѣстити	1
389	съ.(каѣст).и.т.и	съкаѣстити	1
592	въ.(мѣст).и.т.и	въмѣстити	1
1059	(цѣст).и.т.и	цѣстити	1
1059	от.(цѣст).и.т.и	отцѣстити	1
1093	при.чѣст).и.т.и	причѣстити	1
463	прѣ.(кѡст).и.т.и	прѣкѡстити	1
1111	об.(шгѡст).и.т.и	обшгѡстити	1
166	по.(главт).и.т.и	поглавтити	1
682	въ.(павт).и.т.и	въпавтити	1
784	об.(рѣп).ѣт.и.т.и	обрѣпѣтити	1
924	на.(сѣгт).и.т.и	насѣгтити	1
1048	по.(хѣгт).и.т.и	похѣгтити	1
1048	раз.(хѣгт).и.т.и	расхѣгтити	1
1048	из.(хѣгт).и.т.и	исхѣгтити	1
1048	въз.(хѣгт).и.т.и	въсхѣгтити	1
1048	съ.въз.(хѣгт).и.т.и	съвъсхѣгтити	1
810	(свѣт).и.т.и	свѣтити	1
810	об.(свѣт).и.т.и	освѣтити	1
810	про.(свѣт).и.т.и	просвѣтити	1
174	въз.(гнѣт).и.т.и	възгнѣтити	1
723	(прѣт).и.т.и	прѣтити	1
723	за.(прѣт).и.т.и	запрѣтити	1
723	въз.(прѣт).и.т.и	възпрѣтити	1

931	при.(сѣт).и.т.и	присѣтити	1
931	по.(сѣт).и.т.и	посѣтити	1
813	(свѣт).и.т.и	свѣтити	1
813	об.(свѣт).и.т.и	освѣтити	1
597	(мжт).и.т.и	мжтити	1
597	въз.(мжт).и.т.и	възмжтити	1
597	об.(мжт).и.т.и	омжтити	1
597	съ.(мжт).и.т.и	съмжтити	1
796	по.(ржт).и.т.и	поржтити	1
62	об.(воуі).и.т.и	обоуити	1
898	об.(строуі).и.т.и	остроуити	1
105	об.(влач).и.т.и	облачити	1
105	(влач).и.т.и	влачити	1
105	раз.(влач).и.т.и	развлачити	1
105	из.(влач).и.т.и	извлачити	1
105	при.(влач).и.т.и	привлачити	1
105	съ.(влач).и.т.и	съвлачити	1
764	(рач).и.т.и	рачити	1
567	об.(мрач).и.т.и	омрачити	1
567	по.(мрач).и.т.и	помрачити	1
498	об.(лич).и.т.и	обличити	1
86	(вел).и.ч.и.т.и	величити	1
86	въз.(вел).и.ч.и.т.и	възвеличити	1
824	(скоч).и.т.и	скочити	1
824	из.(скоч).и.т.и	искочити	1
824	при.(скоч).и.т.и	прискочити	1
824	въз.(скоч).и.т.и	възскочити	1
824	отъ.(скоч).и.т.и	отъскочити	1
824	прѣ.(скоч).и.т.и	прѣскочити	1
537	(моч).и.т.и	мочити	1
537	на.(моч).и.т.и	намочити	1
537	об.(моч).и.т.и	омочити	1
537	оу.(моч).и.т.и	оумочити	1
1072	по.(чи).т.и	почити	4v
1072	из.по.(чи).т.и	испочити	4v
433	об.(кроч).и.т.и	окрочити	1
941	(точ).и.т.и	точити	1
941	раз.(точ).и.т.и	расточити	1
284	об.(жест).оч.и.т.и	ожесточити	1
941	из.(точ).и.т.и	источити	1
132	(оуч).и.т.и	оучити	1
132	на.(оуч).и.т.и	наоучити	1
509	(лоуч).и.т.и	лоучити	1
509	по.(лоуч).и.т.и	полоучити	1
509	оу.(лоуч).и.т.и	оулоучити	1
509	съ.(лоуч).и.т.и	сълоучити	1
132	по.(оуч).и.т.и	пооучити	1
514	(льг).ъч.и.т.и	льгъчити	1
514	об.(льг).ъч.и.т.и	обльгъчити	1

1006	об.(тлѡг).ъч.и.т.и	отлагъчнѣти	1
681	(пльч).и.т.и	пльчнѣти	1
681	об.(пльч).и.т.и	опльчнѣти	1
681	оу.(пльч).и.т.и	оупльчнѣти	1
681	въ.(пльч).и.т.и	въпльчнѣти	1
475	(къч).и.т.и	къчнѣти	1
1006	оу.(тлѡж).ъч.и.т.и	оутлѡжъчнѣти	1
1077	въ.(чловѣч).и.т.и	въчловѣчнѣти	1
394	(клѡуч).и.т.и	клѡучнѣти	1
394	за.(клѡуч).и.т.и	заклѡучнѣти	1
394	при.(клѡуч).и.т.и	приклѡучнѣти	1
394	съ.(клѡуч).и.т.и	съклѡучнѣти	1
595	от.(млч).и.т.и	омлчнѣти	1
595	оу.(млч).и.т.и	оумлчнѣти	1
526	(лжч).и.т.и	лжчнѣти	1
526	раз.(лжч).и.т.и	разлжчнѣти	1
526	оу.(лжч).и.т.и	оулжчнѣти	1
526	отъ.(лжч).и.т.и	отължчнѣти	1
595	(мжч).и.т.и	мжчнѣти	1
595	оу.(мжч).и.т.и	оумжчнѣти	1
795	об.(ржч).и.т.и	обржчнѣти	1
258	оу.(држч).и.т.и	оудржчнѣти	1
795	по.(ржч).и.т.и	поржчнѣти	1
795	въ.(ржч).и.т.и	вържчнѣти	1
934	из.(сжч).и.т.и	исжчнѣти	1
934	прѣ.(сжч).и.т.и	прѣсжчнѣти	1
1105	(шъ).т.и	шнѣти	4h*#2
702	раз.(пра).ш.и.т.и	распрашнѣти	1
893	(страш).и.т.и	страшнѣти	1
893	по.(страш).и.т.и	пострашнѣти	1
893	оу.(страш).и.т.и	оустрашнѣти	1
496	(лиш).и.т.и	лишнѣти	1
957	(тиш).и.т.и	тишнѣти	1
957	оу.(тиш).и.т.и	оутишнѣти	1
970	(трош).и.т.и	трошнѣти	1
970	раз.(трош).и.т.и	растрошнѣти	1
1020	за.(оуш).и.т.и	заоушнѣти	1
261	за.(доуш).и.т.и	задоушнѣти	1
1020	вън.(оуш).и.т.и	въноушнѣти	1
782	(роуш).и.т.и	роушнѣти	1
782	раз.(роуш).и.т.и	раздроушнѣти	1
443	съ.(кроуш).и.т.и	съкроушнѣти	1
914	(соуш).и.т.и	соушнѣти	1
914	из.(соуш).и.т.и	исоушнѣти	1
914	оу.(соуш).и.т.и	оусоушнѣти	1
1105	съ.(шъ).т.и	съшнѣти	4h*#2
92	об.(вет).ъш.и.т.и	обетъшнѣти	1
126	съ.(вьрьш).и.т.и	съвьрьшнѣти	1
872	(спѣ).ш.и.т.и	спѣшнѣти	1

872	по.(спѣ).ш.и.т.и	поспѣшити	1
792	(рѣш).и.т.и	рѣшити	1
154	по.(грѣ).ш.и.т.и	погрѣшити	1
154	съ.(грѣ).ш.и.т.и	съгрѣшити	1
154	прѣ.(грѣ).ш.и.т.и	прѣгрѣшити	1
792	раз.(рѣш).и.т.и	раздрѣшити	1
792	от.(рѣш).и.т.и	отрѣшити	1
792	оу.(рѣш).и.т.и	оурѣшити	1
957	(тѣш).и.т.и	тѣшити	1
957	оу.(тѣш).и.т.и	оутѣшити	1
996	из.(тѣшг).и.т.и	истѣшгити	1
623	(об).ьшт.и.т.и	обьштити	1
623	при.(об).ьшт.и.т.и	приобьштити	1
956	(тѣшг).и.т.и	тѣшгити	1
956	по.(тѣшг).и.т.и	потѣшгити	1
329	подъ.(н).т.и	подъити	0
329	прѣдъ.(н).т.и	прѣдъити	0
329	низъ.(н).т.и	низъити	0
329	прѣ.(н).т.и	прѣити	0
104	(влад).т.и	власти	4с
104	съ.(влад).т.и	съвласти	4с
291	(жлад).т.и	жласти	4с
375	(клад).т.и	класти	4с
375	на.(клад).т.и	накласти	4с
375	въз.(клад).т.и	възкласти	4с
649	(пад).т.и	пасти ¹	4с
659	(пас).т.и	пасти ²	4с
649	на.(пад).т.и	напасти	4с
649	при.(пад).т.и	припасти	4с
649	до.(пад).т.и	допасти	4с
649	раз.(пад).т.и	распасти	4с
649	из.(пад).т.и	испасти	4с
649	оу.(пад).т.и	оупасти ¹	4с
659	оу.(пас).т.и	оупасти ²	4с
649	въ.(пад).т.и	въпасти	4с
649	низъ.(пад).т.и	низъпасти	4с
649	съ.(пад).т.и	съпасти ¹	4с
659	съ.(пас).т.и	съпасти ²	4с
649	отъ.(пад).т.и	отъпасти	4с
762	(раст).т.и	расти	4с
762	въз.(раст).т.и	възрасти	4с
425	(крад).т.и	красти	4с
425	об.(крад).т.и	окрасти	4с
425	из.(крад).т.и	искрасти	4с
425	оу.(крад).т.и	оукрасти	4с
762	по.(раст).т.и	порасти	4с
1113	(ѣд).т.и	ѣсти	0
1113	по.(ѣд).т.и	поѣсти	0
75	(вѣд).т.и	вѣсти ¹	4с

84	(ВЕЗ).Т.И	вести ²	4с
75	НА.(ВЕД).Т.И	навести	4с
75	ИЗ.(ВЕД).Т.И	извести ¹	4с
84	ИЗ.(ВЕЗ).Т.И	извести ²	4с
75	ВЪЗ.(ВЕД).Т.И	възвести	4с
75	ПРИ.(ВЕД).Т.И	привести ¹	4с
84	ПРИ.(ВЕЗ).Т.И	привести ²	4с
75	ДО.(ВЕД).Т.И	довести	4с
75	ПО.(ВЕД).Т.И	повести	4с
75	ПРО.(ВЕД).Т.И	провести	4с
75	ВЪ.(ВЕД).Т.И	въвести	4с
75	ПРЪДЪ.(ВЕД).Т.И	прѣдвести	4с
75	НИЗЪ.(ВЕД).Т.И	низвести	4с
75	СЪ.(ВЕД).Т.И	съвести	4с
75	ОТЪ.(ВЕД).Т.И	отвести	4с
75	ПРЪ.(ВЕД).Т.И	прѣвести ¹	4с
84	ПРЪ.(ВЕЗ).Т.И	прѣвести ²	4с
676	(ПЛЕГ).Т.И	плести	4с
676	ПРИ.(ПЛЕГ).Т.И	приплести	4с
676	ИЗ.(ПЛЕГ).Т.И	исплести	4с
676	СЪ.(ПЛЕГ).Т.И	съплести	4с
545	ПО.(МЕТ).Т.И	помести	4с
545	СЪ.(МЕТ).Т.И	съмести	4с
607	(НЕС).Т.И	нести	4с
607	НА.(НЕС).Т.И	нанести	4с
170	(ГНЕТ).Т.И	гнести	4с
170	ПО.(ГНЕТ).Т.И	погнести	4с
607	ИЗ.(НЕС).Т.И	изнести	4с
607	ВЪЗ.(НЕС).Т.И	възнести	4с
607	ПРЪ.ВЪЗ.(НЕС).Т.И	прѣвъзнести	4с
607	ПРИ.(НЕС).Т.И	принести	4с
607	ДО.(НЕС).Т.И	донести	4с
607	ПО.(НЕС).Т.И	понести	4с
607	ПРО.(НЕС).Т.И	пронести	4с
607	ВЪ.(НЕС).Т.И	вънести	4с
607	СЪ.(НЕС).Т.И	сънести	4с
607	ВЪИ.(НЕС).Т.И	вынести	4с
607	ПРЪ.(НЕС).Т.И	прѣнести	4с
1050	(ЦВИГ).Т.И	цвести	4с*Ѓ
1050	ПРО.(ЦВИГ).Т.И	процвести	4с*Ѓ
1050	ОТЪ.(ЦВИГ).Т.И	отцвести	4с*Ѓ
609	ВЪ.(НИЗ).Т.И	въннести	4с*Ѓ
1076	(ЧИГ).Т.И	чнести	4с*Ѓ
1076	ИЗ.(ЧИГ).Т.И	ичнести	4с*Ѓ
1076	ПРИ.(ЧИГ).Т.И	причнести	4с*Ѓ
1076	ПО.(ЧИГ).Т.И	почнести	4с*Ѓ
1076	ВЪ.(ЧИГ).Т.И	въчнести	4с*Ѓ
1076	ОТЪ.(ЧИГ).Т.И	отчнести	4с*Ѓ
1076	РАЗ.(ЧИГ).Т.И	рашгнести	4с*Ѓ

18	(БОД).Т.И	БОСТИ	4с
18	ИЗ.(БОД).Т.И	ИЗБОСТИ	4с
18	ПРО.(БОД).Т.И	ПРОБОСТИ	4с
18	СЪ.(БОД).Т.И	СЪБОСТИ	4с
204	(ГРЫЗ).Т.И	ГРЫСТИ	4с
1113	ОБ.(ЪД).Т.И	ОБЪСТИ	0
1113	ИЗ.(ЪД).Т.И	ИЗЪСТИ	0
484	ИЗ.(ЛЪЗ).Т.И	ИЗЛЪСТИ	4с
484	ВЪЗ.(ЛЪЗ).Т.И	ВЪЗЛЪСТИ	4с
484	ВЪ.(ЛЪЗ).Т.И	ВЪЛЪСТИ	4с
484	СЪ.(ЛЪЗ).Т.И	СЪЛЪСТИ	4с
484	ПРЪ.(ЛЪЗ).Т.И	ПРЪЛЪСТИ	4с
1113	СЪИ.(ЪД).Т.И	СЪИЪСТИ	0
791	ОБ.(РЪТ).Т.И	ОБРЪСТИ	0
791	ИЗ.ОБ.(РЪТ).Т.И	ИЗОБРЪСТИ	0
791	ПРИ.ОБ.(РЪТ).Т.И	ПРИОБРЪСТИ	0
122	РАЗ.(ВРЪЗ).Т.И	РАЗВРЪСТИ	4с*Џ
122	ПО.(ВРЪЗ).Т.И	ПОВРЪСТИ	4с*Џ
122	ОТ.(ВРЪЗ).Т.И	ОТВРЪСТИ	4с*Џ
122	ОУ.(ВРЪЗ).Т.И	ОУВРЪСТИ	4с*Џ
791	СЪ.(РЪТ).Т.И	СЪРЪСТИ	0
798	(СЪД).Т.И	СЪСТИ	0
798	ОБ.(СЪД).Т.И	ОСЪСТИ	0
798	ПО.(СЪД).Т.И	ПОСЪСТИ	0
798	ПРО.(СЪД).Т.И	ПРОСЪСТИ	0
798	ВЪ.(СЪД).Т.И	ВЪСЪСТИ	0
798	ПРЪДЪ.(СЪД).Т.И	ПРЪДЪСЪСТИ	0
798	СЪ.(СЪД).Т.И	СЪСЪСТИ	0
34	(БЛЮУД).Т.И	БЛЮСТИ	4с
34	СЪ.(БЛЮУД).Т.И	СЪБЛЮСТИ	4с
148	ОУ.(ВЛЗ).Т.И	ОУВЛСТИ	4с
33	(БЛАД).Т.И	БЛАСТИ	4с
597	(МАТ).Т.И	МАСТИ	4с
597	ВЪЗ.(МАТ).Т.И	ВЪЗМАСТИ	4с
597	СЪ.(МАТ).Т.И	СЪМАСТИ	4с
206	(ГРАД).Т.И	ГРАСТИ	4с
206	ОБ.(ГРАД).Т.И	ОГРАСТИ	4с
725	(ПРАД).Т.И	ПРАСТИ	4с
984	(ТРАС).Т.И	ТРАСТИ	4с
984	ОБ.(ТРАС).Т.И	ОТРАСТИ	4с
984	ПО.(ТРАС).Т.И	ПОТРАСТИ	4с
984	ИЗ.(ТРАС).Т.И	ИСТРАСТИ	4с
984	ВЪЗ.(ТРАС).Т.И	ВЪСТРАСТИ	4с
984	СЪ.(ТРАС).Т.И	СЪТРАСТИ	4с
984	ОТЪ.(ТРАС).Т.И	ОТЪТРАСТИ	4с
1010	ОБ.(ОУ).Т.И	ОБОУТИ	4v∇
259	НА.(ДОУ).Т.И	НАДОУТИ	4v
670	(ПЛОУ).Т.И	ПЛОУТИ	4h∫
670	ОТЪ.(ПЛОУ).Т.И	ОТЪПЛОУТИ	4h∫

670	прѣ.(плоу).т.и	прѣплюѣти	4h2
844	(слоу).т.и	слоуѣти	4h2
780	(роу).т.и	роуѣти	4h2
780	въз.(роу).т.и	въздоруѣти	4h2
966	на.(тρου).т.и	натруѣти	4h2
1090	(чу).т.и	чуѣти	4v
1090	по.(чу).т.и	почуѣти	4v
1090	оу.(чу).т.и	оучуѣти	4v
16	(бѣ).т.и	бѣѣти	0
16	за.(бѣ).т.и	забѣѣти	0
16	из.(бѣ).т.и	избѣѣти	0
16	при.(бѣ).т.и	прибѣѣти	0
16	сѣ.(бѣ).т.и	сѣбѣѣти	0
16	прѣ.(бѣ).т.и	прѣбѣѣти	0
571	(мѣ).т.и	мѣѣти	4h*#2
571	из.(мѣ).т.и	измѣѣти	4h*#2
571	об.(мѣ).т.и	омѣѣти	4h*#2
571	оу.(мѣ).т.и	оумѣѣти	4h*#2
571	отъ.оу.(мѣ).т.и	отъоумѣѣти	4h*#2
571	отъ.(мѣ).т.и	отъмѣѣти	4h*#2
617	оу.(нѣ).т.и	оунѣѣти	4v
773	(рѣ).т.и	рѣѣти	4h*#2
773	из.(рѣ).т.и	издрѣѣти	4h*#2
438	(крѣ).т.и	крѣѣти	4h*#2
438	за.(крѣ).т.и	закрѣѣти	4h*#2
438	при.(крѣ).т.и	прикрѣѣти	4h*#2
438	от.(крѣ).т.и	окрѣѣти	4h*#2
438	по.(крѣ).т.и	покрѣѣти	4h*#2
438	оу.(крѣ).т.и	оукрѣѣти	4h*#2
438	сѣ.(крѣ).т.и	сѣкрѣѣти	4h*#2
773	подъ.(рѣ).т.и	подърѣѣти	4h*#2
773	отъ.(рѣ).т.и	отърѣѣти	4h*#2
292	(жрь).т.и	жрьѣти	4h [•]
292	по.(жрь).т.и	пожрьѣти	4h [•]
954	(трѣ).т.и	трѣѣти	4h [•]
954	об.(трѣ).т.и	отрьѣти	4h [•]
954	сѣ.(трѣ).т.и	сѣтрыѣти	4h [•]
954	прѣ.(трѣ).т.и	прѣтрыѣти	4h [•]
843	раз.(слаб).ѣ.т.и	раслабѣѣти	7
843	об.(слаб).ѣ.т.и	ослабѣѣти	7
836	(скръб).ѣ.т.и	скръбѣѣти	2
836	об.(скръб).ѣ.т.и	оскръбѣѣти	2
836	по.(скръб).ѣ.т.и	поскръбѣѣти	2
836	въз.(скръб).ѣ.т.и	въскръбѣѣти	2
178	(гов).ѣ.т.и	говѣѣти	7
539	об.(морь).т.в.ѣ.т.и	омрьѣтвѣѣти	7
539	оу.(морь).т.в.ѣ.т.и	оумрьѣтвѣѣти	7
137	отъ.(вѣ).т.и	отъвѣѣти	4v
236	(дѣ).т.и	дѣѣти	1/f

225	за. (дѣ).т.и	задѣти	0
44	(брад).ѣ.т.и	брадѣти	7
225	въз. (дѣ).т.и	въздѣти	0
98	об. (внд).ѣ.т.и	овндѣти	2
98	оу.об. (внд).ѣ.т.и	оуовндѣти	2
98	прѣ.об. (внд).ѣ.т.и	прѣовндѣти	2
98	(внд).ѣ.т.и	вндѣти	2∇
98	за. (внд).ѣ.т.и	завндѣти	2
98	по.за. (внд).ѣ.т.и	позавндѣти	2
98	въ.за. (внд).ѣ.т.и	възавндѣти	2
98	не.на. (внд).ѣ.т.и	ненавндѣти	2
98	въз.не.на. (внд).ѣ.т.и	възненавндѣти	2
225	при. (дѣ).т.и	придѣти	0
225	об. (дѣ).т.и	одѣти	0
755	об.ж. (род).ѣ.т.и	обжродѣти	7
1045	об. (хуѣд).ѣ.т.и	охуѣдѣти	7
1045	оу. (хуѣд).ѣ.т.и	оухуѣдѣти	7
63	(вѣд).ѣ.т.и	вѣдѣти	2
63	за. (вѣд).ѣ.т.и	завѣдѣти	2
63	съ.на. (вѣд).ѣ.т.и	сънавѣдѣти	2
63	по. (вѣд).ѣ.т.и	повѣдѣти	2
225	въ. (дѣ).т.и	въдѣти	0
197	раз. (грѣд).ѣ.т.и	разгрѣдѣти	7
861	(смрѣд).ѣ.т.и	смрѣдѣти	2
861	въз. (смрѣд).ѣ.т.и	възсмрѣдѣти	2
905	(стѣд).ѣ.т.и	стѣдѣти	2
905	по. (стѣд).ѣ.т.и	постѣдѣти	2
905	оу. (стѣд).ѣ.т.и	оустѣдѣти	2
140	(вѣд).ѣ.т.и	вѣдѣти	0
140	на. (вѣд).ѣ.т.и	навѣдѣти	0
140	из. (вѣд).ѣ.т.и	извѣдѣти	0
140	не.до. (вѣд).ѣ.т.и	недовѣдѣти	0
140	по. (вѣд).ѣ.т.и	повѣдѣти	0
140	за.по. (вѣд).ѣ.т.и	заповѣдѣти	0
140	про.по. (вѣд).ѣ.т.и	проповѣдѣти	0
140	из.по. (вѣд).ѣ.т.и	исповѣдѣти	0
140	съ.по. (вѣд).ѣ.т.и	съповѣдѣти	0
140	оу. (вѣд).ѣ.т.и	оувѣдѣти	0
140	про.оу. (вѣд).ѣ.т.и	прооувѣдѣти	0
140	съ. (вѣд).ѣ.т.и	съвѣдѣти	0
32	(блѣд).ѣ.т.и	блѣдѣти	7
32	об. (блѣд).ѣ.т.и	облѣдѣти	7
798	(сѣд).ѣ.т.и	сѣдѣти	2
798	при. (сѣд).ѣ.т.и	присѣдѣти	2
798	по. (сѣд).ѣ.т.и	посѣдѣти	2
798	прѣ. (сѣд).ѣ.т.и	прѣсѣдѣти	2
303	(жлд).ѣ.т.и	жлдѣти	2
1108	(штлд).ѣ.т.и	штлдѣти	2
1108	по. (штлд).ѣ.т.и	поштлдѣти	2

840	(скжа).ѣ.т.и	скжаѣти	7
840	об.(скжа).ѣ.т.и	оскжаѣти	7
1114	въз.(ѣ).т.и	възѣти	0
566	(мрѣз).ѣ.т.и	мрѣзѣти	2
566	об.(мрѣз).ѣ.т.и	омрѣзѣти	2
683	(плъз).ѣ.т.и	плъзѣти	2
223	оу.(дѣе).ел.ѣ.т.и	оудѣеелѣти	7
85	(вел).ѣ.т.и	велѣти	2
85	по.(вел).ѣ.т.и	повелѣти	2
280	(жел).ѣ.т.и	желѣти	7
280	въз.(жел).ѣ.т.и	възжелѣти	7
553	(млѣ).т.и	млѣти	4н*
553	съ.(млѣ).т.и	съмлѣти	4н*
39	(бол).ѣ.т.и	болѣти	2
39	раз.(бол).ѣ.т.и	разболѣти	2
39	по.(бол).ѣ.т.и	поволѣти	2
237	об.(дол).ѣ.т.и	одолѣти	7
237	прѣ.об.(дол).ѣ.т.и	прѣдолѣти	7
237	оу.(дол).ѣ.т.и	оудолѣти	7
237	съ.(дол).ѣ.т.и	съдолѣти	7
237	прѣ.(дол).ѣ.т.и	прѣдолѣти	7
654	(пол).ѣ.т.и	полѣти	2
685	(плѣ).т.и	плѣти	0
685	из.(плѣ).т.и	исплѣти	0
85	до.(въл).ѣ.т.и	довълѣти	0
362	про.(каз).ьл.ѣ.т.и	проказылѣти	7
999	(тъл).ѣ.т.и	тълѣти	7
662	((печат).ьл.ѣ.т.и	печатълѣти	7
662	за.((печат).ьл.ѣ.т.и	запечатълѣти	7
999	раз.(тъл).ѣ.т.и	растълѣти	7
1054	(цѣл).ѣ.т.и	цѣлѣти	7
1054	из.(цѣл).ѣ.т.и	изцѣлѣти	7
586	из.(мѣ).т.и	измѣти	4ч
334	(им).ѣ.т.и	имѣти	0
334	не.до.(им).ѣ.т.и	недонимѣти	0
1015	(оум).ѣ.т.и	оумѣти	7
1015	раз.(оум).ѣ.т.и	разоумѣти	7
1015	по.раз.(оум).ѣ.т.и	поразоумѣти	7
1015	из.(оум).ѣ.т.и	изоумѣти	7
1104	въз.(шоум).ѣ.т.и	въшоумѣти	2
196	(гръм).ѣ.т.и	гръмѣти	2
196	въз.(гръм).ѣ.т.и	възгръмѣти	2
586	съ.(мѣ).т.и	съмѣти	4ч
620	об.(нѣм).ѣ.т.и	онѣмѣти	7
184	(гон).ѣ.т.и	гонѣти	7
702	из.(пра).х.н.ѣ.т.и	испрахнѣти	7
495	об.(лист).в.ьн.ѣ.т.и	облиствьнѣти	7
550	(мьн).ѣ.т.и	мьнѣти	2
550	по.(мьн).ѣ.т.и	помьнѣти	2

1002	об.(тъм).ѡн.ѣ.т.и	отъмьнѣти	7
550	сж.(мьн).ѣ.т.и	сжмьнѣти	2
550	оу.сж.(мьн).ѣ.т.и	оусжмьнѣти	2
550	сѣ.сж.(мьн).ѣ.т.и	сѣсжмьнѣти	2
1080	об.(чрѣн).ѣ.т.и	очрѣнѣти	7
72	вѣз.(вѣс).ѡн.ѣ.т.и	вѣзвѣсьнѣти	7
1056	об.(цѣп).ѣ.н.ѣ.т.и	оцѣпѣнѣти	7
738	(пѣ).т.и	пѣти	4hд
872	(спѣ).т.и	спѣти	4v
738	из.(пѣ).т.и	испѣти	4hд
872	при.(спѣ).т.и	приспѣти	4v
872	по.(спѣ).т.и	поспѣти	4v
872	оу.(спѣ).т.и	оуспѣти	4v
738	вѣз.(пѣ).т.и	вѣспѣти	4hд
872	прѣ.(спѣ).т.и	прѣспѣти	4v
738	сѣ.(пѣ).т.и	сѣпѣти	4hд
473	(кып).ѣ.т.и	кыпѣти	2
473	из.(кып).ѣ.т.и	искыпѣти	2
473	вѣз.(кып).ѣ.т.и	вѣскыпѣти	2
516	при.(льп).ѣ.т.и	прильпѣти	2
978	(трып).ѣ.т.и	трыпѣти	2
978	по.(трып).ѣ.т.и	потрыпѣти	2
978	сѣ.(трып).ѣ.т.и	сѣтрыпѣти	2
978	прѣ.(трып).ѣ.т.и	прѣтрыпѣти	2
806	вѣз.(сверѣп).ѣ.т.и	вѣсверѣпѣти	7
453	оу.(крѣп).ѣ.т.и	оукрѣпѣти	7
880	сѣ.(стар).ѣ.т.и	сѣстарѣти	7
880	прѣ.(стар).ѣ.т.и	прѣстарѣти	7
89	за.(врѣ).т.и	заврѣти	4h*д
825	раз.(скврѣ).т.и	раскврѣти	4h*д
89	про.(врѣ).т.и	проврѣти	4h*д
89	вѣ.(врѣ).т.и	вѣврѣти	4h*д
154	(грѣ).т.и	грѣти	4v
154	сѣ.(грѣ).т.и	сѣгрѣти	4v
295	по.(жрѣ).т.и	пожрѣти	4h*д
539	(мрѣ).т.и	мрѣти	4h*д
539	из.(мрѣ).т.и	измрѣти	4h*д
539	оу.(мрѣ).т.и	оумрѣти	4h*д
539	из.(мрѣ.мрѣ).т.и	измрѣмрѣти	4h*д
154	(гор).ѣ.т.и	горѣти	2
154	раз.(гор).ѣ.т.и	разгорѣти	2
154	из.(гор).ѣ.т.и	изгорѣти	2
154	вѣз.(гор).ѣ.т.и	вѣзгорѣти	2
154	сѣ.(гор).ѣ.т.и	сѣзгорѣти	2
541	за.(мат).ор.ѣ.т.и	заматгорѣти	7
665	об.(прѣ).т.и	опрѣти	4h*д
888	про.(стрѣ).т.и	прострѣти	4h*д
888	раз.про.(стрѣ).т.и	распрострѣти	4h*д
1081	по.(чрѣп).т.и	почрѣти	4c*д

913	от.(сѣр).ѣ.т.и	осзырѣти	7
81	(вѣр).ѣ.т.и	вѣрѣти	2
81	прѣ.вѣз.(вѣр).ѣ.т.и	прѣвѣзвѣрѣти	2
81	сѣ.(вѣр).ѣ.т.и	сѣвѣрѣти	2
309	(зѣр).ѣ.т.и	зѣрѣти	2
309	за.(зѣр).ѣ.т.и	зязѣрѣти	2
309	на.(зѣр).ѣ.т.и	назѣрѣти	2
309	при.(зѣр).ѣ.т.и	призѣрѣти	2
309	до.(зѣр).ѣ.т.и	дозѣрѣти	2
309	по.(зѣр).ѣ.т.и	позѣрѣти	2
309	про.(зѣр).ѣ.т.и	прозѣрѣти	2
309	оу.(зѣр).ѣ.т.и	оузѣрѣти	2
309	вѣз.(зѣр).ѣ.т.и	вѣзѣрѣти	2
322	сѣ.(зѣр).ѣ.т.и	сѣзѣрѣти	7
309	прѣ.(зѣр).ѣ.т.и	прѣзѣрѣти	2
665	(пѣр).ѣ.т.и	пѣрѣти	2
665	раз.(пѣр).ѣ.т.и	распѣрѣти	2
665	сѣ.(пѣр).ѣ.т.и	сѣпѣрѣти	2
665	прѣ.(пѣр).ѣ.т.и	прѣпѣрѣти	2
926	(сѣ).т.и	сѣти	4v
926	на.(сѣ).т.и	насѣти	4v
101	(внѣ).ѣ.т.и	внѣти	2
926	об.(сѣ).т.и	осѣти	4v
926	вѣ.(сѣ).т.и	вѣсѣти	4v
474	вѣз.(кѣис).ѣ.т.и	вѣскѣисѣти	7
474	вѣ.(кѣис).ѣ.т.и	вѣкѣисѣти	7
37	(бог).аг.ѣ.т.и	богатѣти	7
37	раз.(бог).аг.ѣ.т.и	разбогатѣти	7
490	(лет).ѣ.т.и	летѣти	2
490	вѣз.(лет).ѣ.т.и	вѣзлетѣти	2
490	по.(лет).ѣ.т.и	полетѣти	2
668	(пит).ѣ.т.и	питѣти	7
668	на.(пит).ѣ.т.и	напитѣти	7
668	вѣз.(пит).ѣ.т.и	вѣспитѣти	7
668	оу.(пит).ѣ.т.и	оупитѣти	7
668	прѣ.(пит).ѣ.т.и	прѣпитѣти	7
43	раз.(бог).ѣ.т.и	разбогѣти	7
1006	об.(тлг).от.ѣ.т.и	отлготѣти	7
441	оу.(крот).ѣ.т.и	оукротѣти	7
1038	(хот).ѣ.т.и	хотѣти	0
1038	по.(хот).ѣ.т.и	похотѣти	0
1038	вѣз.(хот).ѣ.т.и	вѣсхотѣти	0
284	об.(жест).ѣ.т.и	ожестѣти	7
730	за.(поуст).ѣ.т.и	запоустѣти	7
730	об.(поуст).ѣ.т.и	опоустѣти	7
961	об.(тлѣст).ѣ.т.и	отлѣстѣти	7
961	оу.(тлѣст).ѣ.т.и	оутлѣстѣти	7
810	(свѣт).ѣ.т.и	свѣтѣти	2
810	про.(свѣт).ѣ.т.и	просвѣтѣти	2

117	(врът).ѳ.т.и	врътѳти	2
334	об.(а).т.и	обати	4h
302	(жа).т.и	жати	4h*
302	по.(жа).т.и	пожати	4h*
290	съ.(жа).т.и	съжати	4h
327	(заб).т.и	зати	4с
334	из.(а).т.и	изати	4h
334	въз.(а).т.и	възати	4h
384	(кла).т.и	клати	4h
384	за.(кла).т.и	заклати	4h
384	про.(кла).т.и	проклати	4h
334	вън.(а).т.и	вънати	4h
334	сън.(а).т.и	сънати	4h
664	за.(па).т.и	запати	4h
664	при.(па).т.и	припати	4h
664	про.(па).т.и	пропати	4h
664	раз.(па).т.и	распати	4h
664	съ.(па).т.и	съпати	4h
334	от.(а).т.и	отати	4h
1074	за.(ча).т.и	зачати	4h
1074	на.(ча).т.и	начати	4h
1074	оу.(ча).т.и	оучати	4h
1074	въ.(ча).т.и	въчати	4h
334	(іа).т.и	іати	4h
334	за.(іа).т.и	заяти	4h
334	на.(іа).т.и	наяти	4h
334	при.(іа).т.и	прияти	4h
334	въз.при.(іа).т.и	въсприяти	4h
334	по.(іа).т.и	пояти	4h
334	оу.(іа).т.и	оуяти	4h
334	подъ.(іа).т.и	подъяти	4h
334	прѣ.(іа).т.и	прѣяти	4h
268	(дѣ).т.и	дѣти	4h
268	на.(дѣ).т.и	надѣти	4h
367	(кап).н.ж.т.и	канжти	5
654	въз.(пла).н.ж.т.и	въспланжти	5
534	по.(ма).н.ж.т.и	поманжти	5
210	(гъиб).н.ж.т.и	гъибжти	5
210	из.(гъиб).н.ж.т.и	изгъибжти	5
210	по.(гъиб).н.ж.т.и	погъибжти	5
167	оу.(гълб).н.ж.т.и	оугълб(б)жти	5
327	про.(заб).н.ж.т.и	прозабжти	5
698	((посаг).н.ж.т.и	посагжти	5
222	(двиг).н.ж.т.и	двигжти	5
222	въз.(двиг).н.ж.т.и	въздвигжти	5
222	съ.въз.(двиг).н.ж.т.и	съвъздвигжти	5
222	по.(двиг).н.ж.т.и	подвигжти	5
770	отъ.(риг).н.ж.т.и	отъригжти	5
886	по.(сгиг).н.ж.т.и	посгигжти	5

973	по.(тръг)	н.ж.т.и	потъръгнати	5
973	про.(тръг)	н.ж.т.и	протъръгнати	5
973	раз.(тръг)	н.ж.т.и	растъръгнати	5
973	из.(тръг)	н.ж.т.и	истъръгнати	5
973	въз.(тръг)	н.ж.т.и	възтъръгнати	5
973	отъ.(тръг)	н.ж.т.и	отътъръгнати	5
973	прѣ.(тръг)	н.ж.т.и	прѣтъръгнати	5
69	раз.(бѣг)	н.ж.т.и	разбѣгнати	5
69	из.(бѣг)	н.ж.т.и	избѣгнати	5
69	при.(бѣг)	н.ж.т.и	прибѣгнати	5
69	по.(бѣг)	н.ж.т.и	повбѣгнати	5
69	про.(бѣг)	н.ж.т.и	пробѣгнати	5
69	оу.(бѣг)	н.ж.т.и	оубѣгнати	5
69	въ.(бѣг)	н.ж.т.и	въбѣгнати	5
69	отъ.(бѣг)	н.ж.т.и	отъбѣгнати	5
933	при.(цаг)	н.ж.т.и	прицагнати	5
933	об.(цаг)	н.ж.т.и	осагнати	5
933	до.(цаг)	н.ж.т.и	доцагнати	5
933	по.(цаг)	н.ж.т.и	посагнати	5
933	прѣ.(цаг)	н.ж.т.и	прѣцагнати	5
1006	(таг)	н.ж.т.и	тагнати	5
1006	об.(таг)	н.ж.т.и	отагнати	5
1006	про.(таг)	н.ж.т.и	протагнати	5
1006	из.(таг)	н.ж.т.и	истагнати	5
1006	въз.(таг)	н.ж.т.и	въстагнати	5
1006	оу.(таг)	н.ж.т.и	оутагнати	5
1006	съ.(таг)	н.ж.т.и	сътагнати	5
185	(гонеэ)	н.ж.т.и	гонеэжати	5
1065	из.(чез)	н.ж.т.и	ичезжати	5
566	по.(моръз)	н.ж.т.и	поморъзжати	5
566	съ.(моръз)	н.ж.т.и	съморъзжати	5
683	по.(пльз)	н.ж.т.и	попльзжати	5
609	въз.(ньз)	н.ж.т.и	възньзжати	5
609	про.(ньз)	н.ж.т.и	проньзжати	5
609	оу.(ньз)	н.ж.т.и	оуньзжати	5
609	въ.(ньз)	н.ж.т.и	въньзжати	5
251	(дръз)	н.ж.т.и	дръзжати	5
207	по.(гръз)	н.ж.т.и	погръзжати	5
96	об.(ви)	н.ж.т.и	овинжати	5
96	по.(ви)	н.ж.т.и	повинжати	5
314	(зи)	н.ж.т.и	зинжати	5
688	(пльи)	н.ж.т.и	пльинжати	5
547	(ми)	н.ж.т.и	минжати	5
547	прѣ.(ми)	н.ж.т.и	прѣминжати	5
769	(ри)	н.ж.т.и	ринжати	5
769	въз.(ри)	н.ж.т.и	въздринжати	5
769	низъ.(ри)	н.ж.т.и	низъринжати	5
769	съ.(ри)	н.ж.т.и	съринжати	5
769	отъ.(ри)	н.ж.т.и	отъринжати	5

769	ВЪІ.(РН).Н.Ж.Т.И	ВЪІРННЖТИ	5
383	(КЛНК).Н.Ж.Т.И	КЛНКНЖТИ	5
383	ВЪЗ.(КЛНК).Н.Ж.Т.И	ВЪСКЛНКНЖТИ	5
610	(ННК).Н.Ж.Т.И	ННКНЖТИ	5
610	ВЪЗ.(ННК).Н.Ж.Т.И	ВЪЗННКНЖТИ	5
610	ПРН.(ННК).Н.Ж.Т.И	ПРННКНЖТИ	5
610	ПО.(ННК).Н.Ж.Т.И	ПОННКНЖТИ	5
573	ИЗ.(МЪК).Н.Ж.Т.И	ИЗМЪКНЖТИ	5
573	ПРО.(МЪК).Н.Ж.Т.И	ПРОМЪКНЖТИ	5
445	(КРЪК).Н.Ж.Т.И	КРЪКНЖТИ	5
567	(МРЪК).Н.Ж.Т.И	МРЪКНЖТИ	5
567	ОБ.(МРЪК).Н.Ж.Т.И	ОМРЪКНЖТИ	5
567	ПО.(МРЪК).Н.Ж.Т.И	ПОМРЪКНЖТИ	5
992	(ТЪК).Н.Ж.Т.И	ТЪКНЖТИ	5
992	ЗА.(ТЪК).Н.Ж.Т.И	ЗАТЪКНЖТИ	5
992	ПО.(ТЪК).Н.Ж.Т.И	ПОТЪКНЖТИ	5
992	ИЗ.(ТЪК).Н.Ж.Т.И	ИСТЪКНЖТИ	5
992	ВЪЗ.(ТЪК).Н.Ж.Т.И	ВЪСТЪКНЖТИ	5
992	ОҮ.(ТЪК).Н.Ж.Т.И	ОҮТЪКНЖТИ	5
992	ПРО҃.(ТЪК).Н.Ж.Т.И	ПРО҃ТЪКНЖТИ	5
132	ОБ.(ВЪК).Н.Ж.Т.И	ОБЪКНЖТИ	5
132	(ВЪК).Н.Ж.Т.И	ВЪКНЖТИ	5
132	НА.(ВЪК).Н.Ж.Т.И	НАВЪКНЖТИ	5
132	ИЗ.(ВЪК).Н.Ж.Т.И	ИЗВЪКНЖТИ	5
556	ИЗ.(МЛЪК).Н.Ж.Т.И	ИЗМЛЪКНЖТИ	5
556	ОҮ.(МЛЪК).Н.Ж.Т.И	ОҮМЛЪКНЖТИ	5
556	ПРО҃.(МЛЪК).Н.Ж.Т.И	ПРО҃МЛЪКНЖТИ	5
962	(ТЛЪК).Н.Ж.Т.И	ТЛЪКНЖТИ	5
815	ОҮ.(С҃ЪК).Н.Ж.Т.И	ОҮС҃ЪКНЖТИ	5
815	ОТЪ.(С҃ЪК).Н.Ж.Т.И	ОТЪС҃ЪКНЖТИ	5
595	ОҮ.(МЛК).Н.Ж.Т.И	ОҮМЛКНЖТИ	5
934	ИЗ.(СЛК).Н.Ж.Т.И	ИСЛКНЖТИ	5
1042	ОБ.(ХРЪМ).Н.Ж.Т.И	ОХРЪ(М)НЖТИ	5
382	ЗА.(КЛЕП).Н.Ж.Т.И	ЗАКЛЕ(П)НЖТИ	5
942	ИЗ.(ТОП).Н.Ж.Т.И	ИСТОПНЖТИ	5
942	ОҮ.(ТОП).Н.Ж.Т.И	ОҮТОПНЖТИ	5
516	ПРН.(ЛЪП).Н.Ж.Т.И	ПРНЛЪ(П)НЖТИ	5
855	ОБ.(СЛЪП).Н.Ж.Т.И	ОСЛЪПНЖТИ	5
978	ОҮ.(ТРЪП).Н.Ж.Т.И	ОҮТРЪ(П)НЖТИ	5
155	(ГАС).Н.Ж.Т.И	ГАСНЖТИ	5
155	ОҮ.(ГАС).Н.Ж.Т.И	ОҮГАСНЖТИ	5
278	ОҮ.(ЖАС).Н.Ж.Т.И	ОҮЖАСНЖТИ	5
370	(КОС).Н.Ж.Т.И	КОСНЖТИ	5
370	ПРН.(КОС).Н.Ж.Т.И	ПРНКОСНЖТИ	5
107	(ВЛЪС).Н.Ж.Т.И	ВЛЪСНЖТИ	5
474	ВЪЗ.(КЪІС).Н.Ж.Т.И	ВЪСКЪІСНЖТИ	5
474	ВЪ.(КЪІС).Н.Ж.Т.И	ВЪКЪІСНЖТИ	5
451	ВЪЗ.(КРЪС).Н.Ж.Т.И	ВЪСКРЪСНЖТИ	5
451	СЪ.ВЪЗ.(КРЪС).Н.Ж.Т.И	СЪВЪСКРЪСНЖТИ	5

259	(доу)	н.ж.т.и	доунжти	5
259	въз.(доу)	н.ж.т.и	въздоунжти	5
259	въ.(доу)	н.ж.т.и	въдоунжти	5
866	из.(соу)	н.ж.т.и	исоунжти	5
261	за.(дъх)	н.ж.т.и	задъхжти	5
261	из.(дъх)	н.ж.т.и	издъхжти	5
261	въз.(дъх)	н.ж.т.и	въздъхжти	5
261	въ.(дъх)	н.ж.т.и	въдъхжти	5
914	(съх)	н.ж.т.и	съхжти	5
914	из.(съх)	н.ж.т.и	исъхжти	5
914	оу.(съх)	н.ж.т.и	оусъхжти	5
914	съ.(съх)	н.ж.т.и	съсъхжти	5
63	въз.(въд)	н.ж.т.и	възвънжти	5
210	раз.(гъб)	н.ж.т.и	разгънжти	5
210	съ.(гъб)	н.ж.т.и	съгънжти	5
918	оу.(съп)	н.ж.т.и	оусънжти	5
470	на.(къ)	н.ж.т.и	накънжти	5
688	(плѡу)	н.ж.т.и	плѡнжти	5
688	въз.(плѡу)	н.ж.т.и	въсплѡнжти	5
147	при.(свад)	н.ж.т.и	присважти	5
147	оу.(свад)	н.ж.т.и	оусважти	5
550	по.(ма)	н.ж.т.и	поманжти	5
550	въз.по.(ма)	н.ж.т.и	въспоманжти	5
726	въз.(прад)	н.ж.т.и	въспражти	5
62	(боуі)	ь	боуи	2/а
910	(соуј)	ь	соуи	2/а
1103	(шоуј)	ь	шоуи	2/а
279	(жег)	т.и	жешти	4сV
279	за.(жег)	т.и	зажешти	4сV
279	об.(жег)	т.и	ожешти	4сV
279	по.(жег)	т.и	пожешти	4сV
279	оу.(жег)	т.и	оужешти	4сV
279	въ.(жег)	т.и	въжешти	4сV
279	съ.(жег)	т.и	съжешти	4сV
279	раз.(жег)	т.и	раздешти	4сV
279	из.(жег)	т.и	издешти	4сV
482	(лег)	т.и	лешти	0
482	об.(лег)	т.и	облешти	0
482	въз.(лег)	т.и	възлешти	0
482	оу.(лег)	т.и	оулешти	0
660	(пек)	т.и	пешти	4сV
660	по.(пек)	т.и	попешти	4сV
766	(рек)	т.и	решти	4сV
766	за.(рек)	т.и	зарешти	4сV
766	на.(рек)	т.и	нарешти	4сV
766	из.(рек)	т.и	издрешти	4сV
766	по.(рек)	т.и	порешти	4сV
766	про.(рек)	т.и	прорешти	4сV
766	оу.(рек)	т.и	оурешти	4сV

766	прѣдъ.(рек).т.и	прѣдърешги	4сѸ
766	отъ.(рек).т.и	отърешги	4сѸ
766	прѣ.(рек).т.и	прѣрешги	4сѸ
941	(тек).т.и	тешги	4сѸ
941	при.(тек).т.и	притешги	4сѸ
941	об.(тек).т.и	отешги	4сѸ
941	до.(тек).т.и	дотешги	4сѸ
941	по.(тек).т.и	потешги	4сѸ
941	раз.(тек).т.и	растешги	4сѸ
941	из.(тек).т.и	истешги	4сѸ
941	прѣдъ.(тек).т.и	прѣдътешги	4сѸ
941	съ.(тек).т.и	сътешги	4сѸ
941	отъ.(тек).т.и	отътешги	4сѸ
941	прѣ.(тек).т.и	прѣтешги	4сѸ
535	(мог).т.и	мошги	4с
535	из.не.(мог).т.и	изнемошги	4с
535	отъ.не.(мог).т.и	отънемошги	4с
535	прѣ.не.(мог).т.и	прѣнемошги	4с
535	въз.(мог).т.и	възмошги	4с
535	по.(мог).т.и	помошги	4с
535	прѣ.(мог).т.и	прѣмошги	4с
267	(дъшт).и	дъшги	0/f
105	об.(валѣк).т.и	обалѣшги	4с*Ѹ
105	съ.об.(валѣк).т.и	съобалѣшги	4с*Ѹ
105	прѣ.об.(валѣк).т.и	прѣобалѣшги	4с*Ѹ
105	(валѣк).т.и	валѣшги	4с*Ѹ
105	из.(валѣк).т.и	извалѣшги	4с*Ѹ
105	при.(валѣк).т.и	привалѣшги	4с*Ѹ
105	по.(валѣк).т.и	повалѣшги	4с*Ѹ
105	въ.(валѣк).т.и	въвалѣшги	4с*Ѹ
105	съ.(валѣк).т.и	съвалѣшги	4с*Ѹ
105	отъ.(валѣк).т.и	отъвалѣшги	4с*Ѹ
962	(талѣк).т.и	талѣшги	4с*Ѹ
962	съ.(талѣк).т.и	съталѣшги	4с*Ѹ
58	(ворѣг).т.и	ворѣшги	4с*Ѹ
121	(ворѣг).т.и	ворѣшги	4с*Ѹ
121	раз.(ворѣг).т.и	разворѣшги	4с*Ѹ
121	из.(ворѣг).т.и	изворѣшги	4с*Ѹ
121	въз.(ворѣг).т.и	възворѣшги	4с*Ѹ
121	при.(ворѣг).т.и	приворѣшги	4с*Ѹ
121	по.(ворѣг).т.и	поворѣшги	4с*Ѹ
121	от.про.(ворѣг).т.и	отпроворѣшги	4с*Ѹ
121	из.про.(ворѣг).т.и	изпроворѣшги	4с*Ѹ
121	въ.(ворѣг).т.и	въворѣшги	4с*Ѹ
121	низъ.(ворѣг).т.и	низъворѣшги	4с*Ѹ
121	съ.(ворѣг).т.и	съворѣшги	4с*Ѹ
121	отъ.(ворѣг).т.и	отъворѣшги	4с*Ѹ
121	вы.(ворѣг).т.и	выворѣшги	4с*Ѹ
891	(сгѣрѣг).т.и	сгѣрѣшги ¹	4с

894	(стрѣштити).т.и	стрѣштити ²	4с* ₄
894	по.(стрѣштити).т.и	пострѣштити	4с* ₄
815	(сѣштити).т.и	сѣштити	4с
815	раз.(сѣштити).т.и	расѣштити	4с
815	из.(сѣштити).т.и	исѣштити	4с
815	по.(сѣштити).т.и	посѣштити	4с
815	оу.(сѣштити).т.и	оусѣштити	4с
815	сѣ.(сѣштити).т.и	сѣсѣштити	4с
815	отъ.(сѣштити).т.и	отъсѣштити	4с
815	прѣ.(сѣштити).т.и	прѣсѣштити	4с
310	(звѣштити).г.т.и	звѣштити	4с
526	на.(лѣштити).т.и	налѣштити	4с
526	сѣ.(лѣштити).т.и	сѣлѣштити	4с
724	при.(прѣштити).т.и	припрѣштити	4с
724	раз.(прѣштити).т.и	распрѣштити	4с
724	въ.(прѣштити).т.и	въпрѣштити	4с
724	сѣ.(прѣштити).т.и	сѣпрѣштити	4с
933	при.(сѣштити).т.и	присѣштити	4с
998	(тѣштити).штити.и	тѣштити//	2/f*
998	(тѣштити).штити.и	тѣштити//	2/f*
359	(к).ѣштити.ь	къштити	0/p
713	(про).к.ѣштити.ь	прокъштити	2/a
359	((котор).ѣштити.ь	которкъштити	2/a
912	(соу).ѣштити.ь	соуѣштити	2/a**
832	нан.(скор).ѣштити.ь	нанскорѣштити	2/a**
1019	(оу).ѣштити.ь	оуѣштити	2/a**
605	(неб).о	небо	0/n
230	(див).о	диво	2/n
651	(пи).в.о	пиво	2/n
815	(сѣштити).ив.о	сѣштитиво	2/n
635	((олов).о	олово	2/n
844	(слов).о	слово	0/n
1021	(ход).ат.а.ѣштити.ь.ств.о	ходатанство	2/n
23	оу.(вн).ѣштити.ь.ств.о	оувнство	2/n
86	(вел).ѣштити.ь.ств.о	велнство	2/n
23	раз.(во).ѣштити.ь.ств.о	развоство	2/n
23	оу.(во).ѣштити.ь.ств.о	оувоство	2/n
62	(воу).ѣштити.ь.ств.о	воуство	2/n
1090	(чоу).ѣштити.ь.ств.о	чоуство	2/n
225	(дѣштити).ѣштити.ь.ств.о	дѣштитиство	2/n
225	сѣ.(дѣштити).ѣштити.ь.ств.о	сѣдѣштитиство	2/n
530	не.(люб).ѣштити.ь.ств.о	нелюбство	2/n
526	(лжк).ав.ѣштити.ь.ств.о	лжкавство	2/n
98	об.(внд).ѣштити.ь.ств.о	обндѣштитиство	2/n
714	(прот).ив.ѣштити.ь.ств.о	противство	2/n
923	(сын).ов.ѣштити.ь.ств.о	сынство	2/n
340	не.(ист).ов.ѣштити.ь.ств.о	неистовство	2/n
1090	(чоу).в.ѣштити.ь.ств.о	чоувство	2/n
236	(дѣштити).в.ѣштити.ь.ств.о	дѣвштство	2/n

673	НЕ.(ПЛОД).БСТВ.О	НЕПОДСТВО	2/п
187	((ГОСПОД)).БСТВ.О	ГОСПОДСТВО	2/п
755	(РОД).БСТВ.О	РОДСТВО	2/п
755	ПО.(РОД).БСТВ.О	ПОРОДСТВО	2/п
755	Ж.(РОД).БСТВ.О	ЖРОДСТВО	2/п
37	(БОЖ).БСТВ.О	БОЖСТВО	2/п
37	БЕЗ.(БОЖ).БСТВ.О	БЕЗБОЖСТВО	2/п
37	ОУ.(БОЖ).БСТВ.О	ОУБОЖСТВО	2/п
1049	((ХЪДОЖ)).БСТВ.О	ХЪДОЖСТВО	2/п
575	((МЪНОЖ)).БСТВ.О	МЪНОЖСТВО	2/п
974	(ТРЪЖ).БСТВ.О	ТРЪЖСТВО	2/п
601	(МЖЖ).БСТВ.О	МЖЖСТВО	2/п
755	(РОЖД).БСТВ.О	РОЖДСТВО	2/п
755	ПО.(РОЖД).БСТВ.О	ПОРОЖДСТВО	2/п
140	НЕ.(ВЪЖД).БСТВ.О	НЕВЪЖДСТВО	2/п
362	ПРО.(КАЗ).БСТВ.О	ПРОКАЗСТВО	2/п
14	(БА).Л.БСТВ.О	БАЛСТВО	2/п
223	(ДЕБ).ЕЛ.БСТВ.О	ДЕБЕЛСТВО	2/п
256	(ДРАХ).Л.БСТВ.О	ДРАХСТВО	2/п
85	ДО.(ВЪЛ).БСТВ.О	ДОВЪЛСТВО	2/п
810	(СВЪТ).БЛ.БСТВ.О	СВЪТЪЛСТВО	2/п
1099	ПРИ.(ШЪД).Л.БСТВ.О	ПРИШЪЛСТВО	2/п
235	(ДОБЛ).БСТВ.О	ДОБЛСТВО	2/п
210	(ГОУБ).Н.Т.ЕЛ.БСТВ.О	ГОУБИТЕЛСТВО	2/п
755	(РОД).Н.Т.ЕЛ.БСТВ.О	РОДИТЕЛСТВО	2/п
892	(СТРОЈ).Н.Т.ЕЛ.БСТВ.О	СТРОИТЕЛСТВО	2/п
1075	(ЧИСТ).Н.Т.ЕЛ.БСТВ.О	ЧИСТИТЕЛСТВО	2/п
595	(МЖЧ).Н.Т.ЕЛ.БСТВ.О	МЖЧИТЕЛСТВО	2/п
140	СЪ.(ВЪД).Ъ.Т.ЕЛ.БСТВ.О	СЪВЪДИТЕЛСТВО	2/п
767	(РЕМ).БСТВ.О	РЕМСТВО	2/п
633	((ОЪМ)).БСТВ.О	ОИМСТВО	2/п
888	ПРО.(СТРА).Н.БСТВ.О	ПРОСТРАНСТВО	2/п
651	(ПЪЈ).ЪН.БСТВ.О	ПИАНСТВО	2/п
452	(КРЪСТ).ЪЈ.ЪН.БСТВ.О	КРЪСТИАНСТВО	2/п
554	(МЛАД).ЕН.БСТВ.О	МЛАДЕНСТВО	2/п
283	(ЖЕН).БСТВ.О	ЖЕНСТВО	2/п
27	(БЛАЖ).ЕН.БСТВ.О	БЛАЖЕНСТВО	2/п
710	НЕ.(ПРИЈ).А.ЗН.БСТВ.О	НЕПРИАЗНСТВО	2/п
350	(ЈЕД).ИН.БСТВ.О	ЈЕДИНСТВО	2/п
96	(ВОЈ).ИН.БСТВ.О	ВОИНСТВО	2/п
879	ДО.(СТОЈ).БН.БСТВ.О	ДОСТОИНСТВО	2/п
880	(СТАР).ЪЈ.ЪШ.БН.БСТВ.О	СТАРЪШИНСВО	2/п
178	(ГОВ).ЪЈ.БН.БСТВ.О	ГОВЪИНСВО	2/п
705	(ПРАЗ).Д.БН.БСТВ.О	ПРАЗДЪНСВО	2/п
756	(РАЗ).БН.БСТВ.О	РАЗЪНСВО	2/п
696	(ПОП).БСТВ.О	ПОПСТВО	2/п
838	ПРО.(СКОУП).БСТВ.О	ПРОСКОУПСТВО	2/п
806	((СВЕРЪП).БСТВ.О	СВЕРЪПСТВО	2/п
600	(МЖДР).БСТВ.О	МЖДРСТВО	2/п

541	(МАТ).ЕР.ЬСТВ.О	МАТЕРЬСТВО	2/п
309	ПРѢ.(ЗОР).ЬСТВ.О	ПРѢЗОРЬСТВО	2/п
47	(БРАТ).Р.ЬСТВ.О	БРАТРЬСТВО	2/п
616	ПРО.(НЪР).ЬСТВ.О	ПРОНЪРЬСТВО	2/п
146	НЕ.(ВѢР).ЬСТВ.О	НЕВѢРЬСТВО	2/п
397	(КОВ).АР.ЬСТВ.О	КОВАРЬСТВО	2/п
1058	(ЦѢС).АР.ЬСТВ.О	ЦѢСАРЬСТВО	2/п
37	(БОГ).АТ.ЬСТВ.О	БОГАТСТВО	2/п
47	(БРАТ).ЬСТВ.О	БРАТСТВО	2/п
823	(СИР).ОТ.ЬСТВ.О	СИРОТСТВО	2/п
276	(ІЕС).Т.ЬСТВ.О	ІЕСТСТВО	2/п
140	НЕ.(ВѢД).Т.ЬСТВ.О	НЕВѢСТСТВО	2/п
924	НЕ.(СЪГТ).ЬСТВ.О	НЕСЪГТСТВО	2/п
539	БЕЗ.СЪ.(МРЬ).Т.ЬСТВ.О	БЕСЪМРЬСТВО	2/п
137	НЕ.СЪ.(ВѢТ).ЬСТВ.О	НЕСЪВѢТСТВО	2/п
148	(ЖЖ).ИЧ.ЬСТВ.О	ЖЖИЧЕСТВО	2/п
86	(ВЕЛ).ИЧ.ЬСТВ.О	ВЕЛИЧЕСТВО	2/п
33	(БЛЖД).ЫН.ИЧ.ЬСТВ.О	БЛЖДЫНИЧЕСТВО	2/п
634	БЕЗ.(ОЧ).ЬСТВ.О	БЕЗОЧЕСТВО	2/п
1112	(ІЫН).ОЧ.ЬСТВ.О	ИНОЧЕСТВО	2/п
766	ПРО.(РОЧ).ЬСТВ.О	ПРОРОЧЕСТВО	2/п
104	(ВЛАД).ЪИЧ.ЬСТВ.О	ВЛАДУИЧЕСТВО	2/п
647	(ОТ).ЫЧ.ЬСТВ.О	ОТЪИЧЕСТВО	2/п
1077	((ЧЛОВѢЧ).ЬСТВ.О	ЧЛОВѢЧЕСТВО	2/п
844	ПО.(СЛОУ).Ш.ЬСТВ.О	ПОСЛОУШЕСТВО	2/п
107	(ВЛЪШ).ЬСТВ.О	ВЛЪШЕСТВО	2/п
94	(ВЕШТ).ЬСТВ.О	ВЕШТСТВО	2/п
623	(ОВ).ЫШТ.ЬСТВ.О	ОВЫШТСТВО	2/п
276	(С).ЖШТ.ЬСТВ.О	СЖШТСТВО	2/п
69	(БѢГ).СТВ.О	БѢСТВО	2/п
253	(ДРѢВ).О	ДРѢВО	2/п
1085	(ЧРѢВ).О	ЧРѢВО	2/п
27	(БЛАГ).О	БЛАГО	2/п
331	(ИГ).О	ИГО	2/п
879	(СТА).А.О	СТАДО	2/п
173	(ГНѢЗД).О	ГНѢЗДО	2/п
1090	(ЧОУ).А.О	ЧОУДО	0/п
626	((ОБЪД)).О	ОБЪДО	2/п
1092	(ЧЛД).О	ЧЛДО	2/п
282	((ЖЕЛѢЗ)).О	ЖЕЛѢЗО	2/п
634	(ОК).О	ОКО	0/п
144	(ВѢК).О	ВѢКО	2/п
558	(МАѢК).О	МАѢКО	2/п
398	НА.(КОВ).А.А.О	НАКОВАЛО	2/п
798	(СѢД).А.А.О	СѢДАЛО	2/п
903	(СТРѢК).А.А.О	СТРѢКАЛО	2/п
1081	ПО.(ЧРЪП).А.А.О	ПОЧРЪПАЛО	2/п
639	(РА).А.О	РАЛО	2/п
639	(ОР).А.А.О	ОРАЛО	2/п

50	(БРЪИС).А.Л.О	БРЪИСАЛО	2/п
309	(ЗРЬ).Ц.А.Л.О	ЗРЬЦАЛО	2/п
225	ОБ.(ДЪБИ).А.Л.О	ОДЪБАЛО	2/п
816	(СЕЛ).О	СЕЛО	2/п
1066	(ЧЕЛ).О	ЧЕЛО	2/п
703	(ПРАВ).И.Л.О	ПРАВИЛО	2/п
879	(СТА).В.И.Л.О	СТАВИЛО	2/п
361	(КАД).И.Л.О	КАДИЛО	2/п
842	(СОЛ).И.Л.О	СОЛИЛО	2/п
1041	(ХРАН).И.Л.О	ХРАНИЛО	2/п
1080	(ЧРЪН).И.Л.О	ЧРЪНИЛО	2/п
435	(КРИЛ).О	КРИЛО	2/п
590	(МЪБР).И.Л.О	МЪБРИЛО	2/п
819	(СИ).Л.О	СИЛО	2/п
819	ОБ.(СИ).Л.О	ОСИЛО	2/п
810	(СВЪТ).И.Л.О	СВЪТИЛО	2/п
1050	(ЦВЪТ).И.Л.О	ЦВЪТИЛО	2/п
813	(СВАТ).И.Л.О	СВАТИЛО	2/п
433	ИЗ.(КРАЧ).И.Л.О	ИСКРАЧИЛО	2/п
941	(ТОЧ).И.Л.О	ТОЧИЛО	2/п
914	(СОУШ).И.Л.О	СОУШИЛО	2/п
810	(СВЪШГТ).И.Л.О	СВЪШТИЛО	2/п
403	(КОЛ).О	КОЛО	0/п
536	(МАЗ).Т.Л.О	МАСЛО	2/п
84	(ВЕЗ).Т.Л.О	ВЕСЛО	2/п
1076	(ЧИТ).Т.Л.О	ЧИСЛО	2/п
324	(ЗЪЛ).О	ЗЪЛО	2/п
773	(РЪИ).Л.О	РЪИЛО	2/п
1000	(ТЬЛ).О	ТЬЛО	2/п
225	(ДЪБ).Л.О	ДЪБЛО	2/п
306	(СЪБЛ).О	СЪБЛО	2/а
1004	(ТЪБЛ).О	ТЪБЛО	0/п
304	(ЖАЛ).О	ЖАЛО	2/п
1074	ЗА.(ЧА).Л.О	ЗАЧАЛО	2/п
1074	НА.(ЧА).Л.О	НАЧАЛО	2/п
1074	ВЪ.(ЧА).Л.О	ВЪЧАЛО	2/п
759	(РАМ).О	РАМО	2/п
761	(РАН).О	РАНО	2/а
881	((СТЕГН).О	СТЕГНО	2/п
176	((ГОВИН).О	ГОВИНО	2/п
99	(ВИН).О	ВИНО	2/п
504	(ЛОН).О	ЛОНО	2/п
482	(ЛОЖ).ЕС.Н.О	ЛОЖЕСНО	2/п
675	(ПЛЕСН).О	ПЛЕСНО	2/п
773	(РОУ).И.О	РОУНО	2/п
911	(СОУКЪ).ЪН.О	СОУКЪНО	2/п
55	(БРЪВ).ЪН.О	БРЪВЪНО	2/п
398	НА.(КОВ).А.Л.ЪН.О	НАКОВАЛЪНО	2/п
211	(ГОУМ).ЪН.О	ГОУМЬНО	2/п

322	(зрь).н.о	зрьно	2/п
322	съ.(зрь).н.о	съзрьно	2/п
48	(браш).ьн.о	брашьно	2/п
405	((колѣн)).о	колѣно	2/п
952	(тим).ѣн.о	тимѣно	2/п
930	(сѣн).о	сѣно	2/п
765	(рѣвр).о	рѣвро	2/п
925	((сърѣвр)).о	сърѣвро	2/п
1115	(ѣдр).о	ѣдро	2/п
83	(вѣдр).о	вѣдро	2/п
141	(вѣдр).о	вѣдро	2/п
351	((ѣзер)).о	ѣзеро	2/п
1019	(оутр).о	оутро	2/п
596	(мас).о	масо	2/п
29	(блат).о	блато	2/п
312	(зла).т.о	злато	2/п
1113	(ѣт).т.о	ѣто	2/п
285	(жн).т.о	жнто	2/п
341	(нст).о	нсто	0/п
561	((монист)).о	монисто	2/п
592	(мѣст).о	мѣсто	2/п
359	(к).ъ.т.о	къто	0/р
920	(сът).о	съто	2/п
579	(мъгт).о	мъгто	2/п
359	(ч).ь.т.о	чъто	0/р
522	(лѣт).о	лѣто	2/п
532	(люгт).о	люто	2/п
1020	(оух).о	оухо	0/п
843	(слаб).ъ	слабъ	2/а
750	(раб).ъ	рабъ	2/м
235	оу.(доб).ъ	оудобъ	2/а
409	((коноб)).ъ	конобъ	2/м
190	(гроб).ъ	гробъ	2/м
210	соу.(гоуб).ъ	соугоубъ	2/а
1032	(хлѣб).ъ	хлѣбъ	2/м
530	(люб).ъ	любъ	2/а
274	(дѣб).ъ	дѣбъ	2/м
327	(зѣб).ъ	зѣбъ	2/м
208	(грѣб).ъ	грѣбъ	2/а
444	(кръв).ав.ъ	кръвавъ	2/а
526	(лѣк).ав.ъ	лѣкавъ	2/а
526	прѣ.(лѣк).ав.ъ	прѣлѣкавъ	2/а
669	(плав).ъ	плавъ	2/а
928	(сѣд).ин.ав.ъ	сѣдинавъ	2/а
952	(тим).н.ав.ъ	тинавъ	2/а
827	(скврь).н.ав.ъ	скврьनावъ	2/а
241	съ.(драв).ъ	съдравъ	2/а
615	(нрав).ъ	нравъ	2/м
703	(прав).ъ	правъ	2/а

879	оꙋ.(ста).в.ъ	оꙋставъ	2/м
879	съ.(ста).в.ъ	съставъ	2/м
263	(дъжд).ев.ъ	дъждевъ	2/а
797	(с).иц.ев.ъ	сицевъ	2/а
118	(врач).ев.ъ	врачевъ	2/а
318	(зм).бј.ев.ъ	змиевъ	2/а
216	прѣ.(дад).н.т.ел.ев.ъ	прѣддидителевъ	2/а
755	(род).н.т.ел.ев.ъ	родителевъ	2/а
659	съ.(пас).н.т.ел.ев.ъ	съпасителевъ	2/а
132	(оꙋч).н.т.ел.ев.ъ	оꙋчителевъ	2/а
373	(кес).ар.ев.ъ	кесаревъ	2/а
1058	(цѣс).ар.ев.ъ	цѣсаревъ	2/а
982	(трѣзв).ъ	трѣзвъ	2/а
324	(зъл).об.ив.ъ	зълобивъ	2/а
324	без.(зъл).об.ив.ъ	беззълобивъ	2/а
324	не.(зъл).об.ив.ъ	незълобивъ	2/а
980	прѣ.(трѣв).ив.ъ	прѣтрѣвивъ	2/а
530	(люв).ив.ъ	лювивъ	2/а
230	(див).ъ	дивъ	2/м
160	(глад).ив.ъ	гладивъ	2/а
755	ж.(род).ив.ъ	жродивъ	2/а
703	(прав).бд.ив.ъ	правдивъ	2/а
703	не.(прав).бд.ив.ъ	неправдивъ	2/а
721	(прѣм).бд.ив.ъ	прѣмдивъ	2/а
286	(жив).ъ	живъ	2/а
243	по.(драж).ив.ъ	подраживъ	2/а
512	(лъж).ив.ъ	лъживъ	2/а
275	не.(дѣж).ив.ъ	недѣживъ	2/а
362	про.(каз).ив.ъ	проказивъ	2/а
132	по.(оꙋч).а.л.ив.ъ	пооꙋчаливъ	2/а
556	(мльч).ѣ.л.ив.ъ	мльчаливъ	2/а
172	(гнѣв).бл.ив.ъ	гнѣвливъ	2/а
98	об.(внд).бл.ив.ъ	обндъливъ	2/а
98	за.(внд).бл.ив.ъ	завндъливъ	2/а
98	не.за.(внд).бл.ив.ъ	незавндъливъ	2/а
70	по.(бѣд).бл.ив.ъ	повѣдъливъ	2/а
1015	раз.(оꙋм).бл.ив.ъ	разоꙋмливъ	2/а
63	(бѣд).р.бл.ив.ъ	бѣдрливъ	2/а
98	за.(внд).т.бл.ив.ъ	завистливъ	2/а
844	об.(слоꙋ).ш.бл.ив.ъ	ослоꙋшливъ	2/а
844	по.(слоꙋ).ш.бл.ив.ъ	послоꙋшливъ	2/а
978	(трѣп).ѣ.л.ив.ъ	трѣпливъ	2/а
1015	раз.(оꙋм).ив.ъ	разоꙋмивъ	2/а
879	въз.(ста).н.ив.ъ	въстанивъ	2/а
710	(прнј).а.зн.ив.ъ	прнѣзнивъ	2/а
213	(гжг).ън.ив.ъ	гжгънивъ	2/а
787	(ръв).бн.ив.ъ	ръвнивъ	2/а
706	на.(прас).бн.ив.ъ	напрасънивъ	2/а
520	(лѣн).ив.ъ	лѣнивъ	2/а

899	(строуп).ив.ъ	строупивъ	2/а
616	про.(нър).ив.ъ	пропъривъ	2/а
665	не.прѣ.(пър).ив.ъ	непрѣпъривъ	2/а
659	об.(пас).ив.ъ	опасивъ	2/а
739	(пѣг).от.ив.ъ	пѣготивъ	2/а
505	(лоп).от.ив.ъ	лопотивъ	2/а
714	(прот).ив.ъ	противъ	2/а
549	(млн).ост.ив.ъ	млностивъ	2/а
549	без.(млн).ост.ив.ъ	безмлностивъ	2/а
549	прѣ.(млн).ост.ив.ъ	прѣмлностивъ	2/а
499	(льст).ив.ъ	льстивъ	2/а
1076	(чѣт).т.ив.ъ	чѣстивъ	2/а
1076	не.(чѣт).т.ив.ъ	нечѣстивъ	2/а
900	(стръп).ът.ив.ъ	стръпѣтивъ	2/а
550	па.(мл).т.ив.ъ	памлативъ	2/а
941	въз.(точ).ив.ъ	въсточивъ	2/а
509	по.(лоуч).ив.ъ	полоучивъ	2/а
766	(рѣч).ив.ъ	рѣчивъ	2/а
893	(страш).ив.ъ	страшивъ	2/а
997	(тѣшт).ив.ъ	тѣштивъ	2/а
628	(ов).ъ	овъ	2/р
513	(льв).ов.ъ	львовъ	2/а
353	(юуг).ов.ъ	юговъ	2/а
5	(ад).ов.ъ	адовъ	2/а
11	(архиреѣ).ов.ъ	архиревъ	2/а
397	(ков).ъ	ковъ	2/м
359	(к).ак.ов.ъ	каковъ	2/а
938	(т).ак.ов.ъ	таковъ	2/а
841	(скж,дъл).ын.нк.ов.ъ	скж,дълънниковъ	2/а
398	об.(ков).ъ	окъвъ	2/м
481	(лов).ъ	ловъ	2/м
196	(гром).ов.ъ	громовъ	2/а
602	(нов).ъ	новъ	2/а
977	(трын).ов.ъ	трыновъ	2/а
773	(ров).ъ	ровъ	2/м
927	(сѣвер).ов.ъ	сѣверовъ	2/а
438	(кров).ъ	кровъ	2/м
438	за.(кров).ъ	закровъ	2/м
438	по.(кров).ъ	покровъ	2/м
438	съ.(кров).ъ	съкровъ	2/м
2	(авор).ов.ъ	аворовъ	2/а
895	об.(стров).ъ	островъ	2/м
913	(соур).ов.ъ	соуровъ	2/а
773	прѣ.(ров).ъ	прѣровъ	2/м
659	съ.(пас).ов.ъ	съпасовъ	2/а
374	(кит).ов.ъ	китовъ	2/а
189	(готв).ъ	готвовъ	2/а
340	(ист).ов.ъ	истовъ	2/а
340	не.(ист).ов.ъ	неистовъ	2/а

283	(жен).нх.ов.ъ	женнховъ	2/а
659	(пас).т.оуχ.ов.ъ	пастоуχовъ	2/а
785	(ръб).нт.в.ъ	ръбнтвъ	2/м
539	(мръ).т.в.ъ	мрътвъ	2/а
107	(влъχ).в.ъ	влъχвъ	2/м
513	(лъв).ъ	лъвъ	2/м
716	(пръв).ъ	пръвъ	2/а
518	(лѣв).ъ	лѣвъ	2/а
1033	(хлѣв).ъ	хлѣвъ	2/м
172	(гнѣв).ъ	гнѣвъ	2/м
27	(благ).ъ	благъ	2/а
27	прѣ.(благ).ъ	прѣблагъ	2/а
603	(наг).ъ	нагъ	2/а
115	(враг).ъ	врагъ	2/м
242	(драг).ъ	драгъ	2/а
243	по.(драг).ъ	подрагъ	2/м
242	прѣ.(драг).ъ	прѣдрагъ	2/а
704	(праг).ъ	прагъ	2/м
450	(кръчаг).ъ	кръчагъ	2/м
399	(ковъчег).ъ	ковъчегъ	2/м
60	про.(врѣзг).ъ	проврѣзгъ	2/м
222	въз.(двиг).ъ	въздвигъ	2/м
222	по.(двиг).ъ	подвигъ	2/м
37	(бог).ъ	богъ	2/м
37	не.(бог).ъ	небогъ	2/а
37	оу.(бог).ъ	оубогъ	2/а
482	за.(лог).ъ	залогъ	2/м
482	при.(лог).ъ	прилогъ	2/м
482	съ.(лог).ъ	сълогъ	2/м
482	прѣ.(лог).ъ	прѣлогъ	2/м
575	(мъног).ъ	мъногъ	2/а
575	прѣ.(мъног).ъ	прѣмъногъ	2/а
802	(сапог).ъ	сапогъ	2/м
774	(рог).ъ	рогъ	2/м
646	(ост).р.ог.ъ	острогъ	2/м
1083	(чрътог).ъ	чрътогъ	2/м
248	(дроуг).ъ	дроугъ	2/м
248	(дроуг).ъ	дроугъ	2/а
248	по.(дроуг).ъ	подроугъ	2/м
233	(длъг).ъ	длъгъ	2/м
974	(тръг).ъ	тръгъ	2/м
234	(дль).г.ъ	дльгъ	2/а
865	(снѣг).ъ	снѣгъ	2/м
59	(врѣг).ъ	врѣгъ	2/м
353	(юг).ъ	югъ	2/м
275	не.(дѣг).ъ	недѣгъ	2/м
527	(лѣг).ъ	лѣгъ	2/м
794	(рѣг).ъ	рѣгъ	2/м
257	(дрѣг).ъ	дрѣгъ	2/м

454	(кржг).ъ	кржгъ	2/м
724	(пржг).ъ	пржгъ	2/м
724	сж.(пржг).ъ	сжпржгъ	2/м
5	(ад).ъ	адъ	2/м
150	(гад).ъ	гадъ	2/м
160	(глад).ъ	гладъ	2/м
375	при.(клад).ъ	прикладъ	2/м
554	(млад).ъ	младъ	2/а
1028	(хлад).ъ	хладъ	2/м
649	за.(пад).ъ	западъ	2/м
752	(рад).ъ	радъ	2/а
192	(град).ъ	градъ ¹	2/м
191	(град).ъ	градъ ²	2/м
192	при.(град).ъ	приградъ	2/м
100	(виноград).ъ	виноградъ	2/м
861	(смерд).ъ	смердъ	2/м
798	(сад).ъ	садъ	2/м
1113	(їѣд).ъ	їадъ	2/м
1113	отъ.(їѣд).ъ	отъїадъ	2/м
489	(лед).ъ	ледъ	2/м
543	(мед).ъ	медъ	2/м
195	(гроз).а.ъ	гроздъ	2/м
98	(вид).ъ	видъ	2/м
287	(жид).ъ	жидъ	2/м
606	(невод).ъ	неводъ	2/м
151	(год).ъ	годъ	2/м
673	(плод).ъ	плодъ	2/м
871	(спод).ъ	сподъ	2/м
755	(род).ъ	родъ	2/м
755	на.(род).ъ	народъ	2/м
755	ж.(род).ъ	жродъ	2/м
1021	(ход).ъ	ходъ	2/м
1021	за.(ход).ъ	заходъ	2/м
1021	при.(ход).ъ	приходъ	2/м
1021	от.(ход).ъ	оходъ	2/м
1021	из.(ход).ъ	исходъ	2/м
1021	въз.(ход).ъ	въсходъ	2/м
1021	оу.(ход).ъ	оуходъ	2/м
1021	въ.(ход).ъ	въходъ	2/м
1021	съ.(ход).ъ	съходъ	2/м
1011	(оуд).ъ	оудъ	2/м
971	(троуд).ъ	троудъ	2/м
905	(стоуд).ъ	стоудъ	2/м
1045	(хоуд).ъ	хоудъ	2/а
197	(гръд).ъ	гръдъ	2/а
644	(оскръд).ъ	оскръдъ	2/м
315	(зъд).ъ	зъдъ	2/м
945	(твърд).ъ	твърдъ	2/а
862	(смръд).ъ	смръдъ	2/м

1113	об.(ѣд).ъ	обѣдъ	2/м
272	(дѣд).ъ	дѣдъ	2/м
272	пра.(дѣд).ъ	прадѣдъ//	2/м
272	прѣ.(дѣд).ъ	прѣдѣдъ//	2/м
32	(блѣд).ъ	блѣдъ	2/а
857	(слѣд).ъ	слѣдъ	2/м
127	(врѣд).ъ	врѣдъ	2/м
928	(сѣд).ъ	сѣдъ	2/а
798	сж.(сѣд).ъ	сжсѣдъ	2/м
35	(блѣд).ъ	блѣдъ	2/м
793	(рад).ъ	радъ	2/м
87	«вельбѣд»).ъ	вельбѣдъ	2/м
840	(скжд).ъ	скждъ	2/а
33	(блжд).ъ	блждъ	2/м
873	(спжд).ъ	спждъ	2/м
728	пра.(пржд).ъ	прапрждъ//	2/м
728	прѣ.(пржд).ъ	прѣпрждъ//	2/м
986	(тржд).ъ	трждъ	2/м
936	(сжд).ъ	сждъ	2/м
935	въ.(сжд).ъ	въсждъ	2/м
936	съ.(сжд).ъ	съсждъ	2/м
7	(аз).ъ	азъ	0/s
363	оу.(каз).ъ	оуказъ	2/м
484	за.(лаз).ъ	залазъ	2/м
484	въ.(лаз).ъ	вълазъ	2/м
484	съ.(лаз).ъ	сълазъ	2/м
754	об.(раз).ъ	образъ	2/м
566	(мраз).ъ	мразъ	2/м
608	(низ).ъ	низъ	2/м
84	(воз).ъ	возъ	2/м
851	(слоуз).ъ	слоузъ	2/м
52	(бръз).ъ	бръзъ	2/а
1047	(хъиз).ъ	хъизъ	2/м
251	(дръз).ъ	дръзъ	2/а
148	об.(жз).ъ	обжзъ	2/м
148	съ.(вжз).ъ	съвжзъ	2/м
262	(дъв).ак.ъ	дъвакъ	2/р
359	(к).ак.ъ	какъ	2/р
105	об.(влак).ъ	облакъ	2/м
312	(зла).к.ъ	злакъ	2/м
1112	(ѣн).ак.ъ	ѣнакъ	2/р
350	(ѣд).ин.ак.ъ	ѣдинакъ//	2/р
350	(ѣд).ьн.ак.ъ	ѣдънакъ//	2/р
24	(бра).к.ъ	бракъ	2/м
309	(зра).к.ъ	зракъ	2/м
309	при.(зра).к.ъ	призракъ	2/м
309	об.(зра).к.ъ	озракъ	2/м
567	(мрак).ъ	мракъ	2/м
567	при.(мрак).ъ	примракъ	2/м

136	(вѣс).ак.ъ	ВЪСАКЪ//	2/р
938	(т).ак.ъ	ТАКЪ	2/р
343	(j).ак.ъ	ІАКЪ	2/р
624	(об).ој.ак.ъ	ОБОІАКЪ	2/р
493	(лик).ъ	ЛИКЪ	2/м
86	(вѣл).ик.ъ	ВЕЛИКЪ	2/а
86	прѣ.(вѣл).ик.ъ	прѣВЕЛИКЪ	2/а
797	(сел).ик.ъ	СЕЛИКЪ	2/р
343	(жел).ик.ъ	ЕЛИКЪ	2/р
359	(кол).ик.ъ	КОЛИКЪ	2/р
938	(тол).ик.ъ	ТОЛИКЪ	2/р
773	(рѣв).ен.ик.ъ	рѣВЕНИКЪ	2/м
362	(каж).ен.ик.ъ	КАЖЕНИКЪ	2/м
27	(блаж).ен.ик.ъ	БЛАЖЕНИКЪ	2/м
27	об.(блаж).ен.ик.ъ	ОБЛАЖЕНИКЪ	2/м
132	(оуч).ен.ик.ъ	ОУЧЕНИКЪ	2/м
595	(мжч).ен.ик.ъ	МЖЧЕНИКЪ	2/м
813	(свѣшт).ен.ик.ъ	свѣШТЕНИКЪ	2/м
530	(любл).ен.ик.ъ	люБЛЕНИКЪ	2/м
530	въз.(любл).ен.ик.ъ	въЗлЮБлЕНИКЪ	2/м
447	(крѣмл).ен.ик.ъ	крѣМлЕНИКЪ	2/м
1021	из.(ход).ат.ај.ьн.ик.ъ	исХОДАТаниКЪ	2/м
411	(коп).ьј.ьн.ик.ъ	КОПИНИКЪ	2/м
23	раз.(вој).ьн.ик.ъ	РАЗВОНИКЪ	2/м
415	(кораб).ьн.ик.ъ	КОРАБНИКЪ	2/м
939	(тај).ьб.ьн.ик.ъ	ТАИБНИКЪ	2/м
235	нѣ.по.(доб).ьн.ик.ъ	НЕПОДОБНИКЪ	2/м
210	па.(гоуб).ьн.ик.ъ	ПАГОУБНИКЪ	2/м
981	(трѣв).ьн.ик.ъ	трѣВЬНИКЪ	2/м
16	из.(бав).ьн.ик.ъ	ИЗБАВНИКЪ	2/м
14	об.(ба).в.ьн.ик.ъ	ОБАВНИКЪ	2/м
216	раз.(да).в.ьн.ик.ъ	РАЗДАВНИКЪ	2/м
216	прѣ.(да).в.ьн.ик.ъ	прѣДАВНИКЪ	2/м
879	на.(ста).в.ьн.ик.ъ	НАСТАВНИКЪ	2/м
879	при.(ста).в.ьн.ик.ъ	ПРИСТАВНИКЪ	2/м
879	съ.(ста).в.ьн.ик.ъ	съСТАВНИКЪ	2/м
714	(прот).ив.ьн.ик.ъ	ПРОТИВНИКЪ	2/м
714	сж.(прот).ив.ьн.ик.ъ	сжПРОТИВНИКЪ	2/м
397	(ков).ьн.ик.ъ	КОВНИКЪ	2/м
773	(ров).ьн.ик.ъ	РОВНИКЪ	2/м
560	(мол).и.т.в.ьн.ик.ъ	МОЛИТВЬНИКЪ	2/м
225	съ.(дѣл).ьств.ьн.ик.ъ	съДѣлИСТВЬНИКЪ	2/м
74	съ.(вад).ьн.ик.ъ	съВАДЬНИКЪ	2/м
192	(град).ьн.ик.ъ	ГРАДЬНИКЪ	2/м
192	без.(град).ьн.ик.ъ	БЕЗГРАДЬНИКЪ	2/м
705	(праз).д.ьн.ик.ъ	ПРАЗДЬНИКЪ	2/м
581	без.(мьзд).ьн.ик.ъ	БЕЗМЬЗДЬНИКЪ	2/м
151	оуч.(год).ьн.ик.ъ	ОУГОДЬНИКЪ	2/м
151	въ.(год).ьн.ик.ъ	въГОДЬНИКЪ	2/м

1021	отъ. (ходъ). ън. ик. ъ	оходьникъ	2/т
456	про. (коудъ). ън. ик. ъ	прокоудьникъ	2/т
905	безъ. (стоудъ). ън. ик. ъ	бестоудьникъ	2/т
703	(правъ). ъд. ън. ик. ъ	правьдникъ	2/т
703	не. (правъ). ъд. ън. ик. ъ	неправьдникъ	2/т
70	по. (вѣдъ). ън. ик. ъ	повѣдьникъ	2/т
140	про. по. (вѣдъ). ън. ик. ъ	проповѣдьникъ	2/т
140	изъ. по. (вѣдъ). ън. ик. ъ	исповѣдьникъ	2/т
857	на. (слѣдъ). ън. ик. ъ	наслѣдьникъ	2/т
798	за. (сѣдъ). ън. ик. ъ	засѣдьникъ	2/т
33	(бладъ). ън. ик. ъ	бладьникъ	2/т
33	(блждъ). ън. ик. ъ	блждьникъ	2/т
243	по. (драждъ). ън. ик. ъ	подраждьникъ	2/т
597	(млатъ). еж. ън. ик. ъ	млатеждьникъ	2/т
222	по. (двнждъ). ън. ик. ъ	подвнждьникъ	2/т
468	((кѣннждъ). ън. ик. ъ	кѣннждьникъ	2/т
1049	((хждожъ). ън. ик. ъ	хждожьникъ	2/т
233	(длждъ). ън. ик. ъ	длждьникъ	2/т
974	(трждъ). ън. ик. ъ	трждьникъ	2/т
250	съ. вѣзъ. (држдъ). ън. ик. ъ	съвѣздрждьникъ	2/т
741	((пѣннждъ). ън. ик. ъ	пѣннждьникъ	2/т
148	(ждъ). ън. ик. ъ	ждьникъ	2/т
275	не. (дждъ). ън. ик. ъ	недждьникъ	2/т
642	((орждъ). ън. ик. ъ	орждьникъ	2/т
719	(прѣждъ). ън. ик. ъ	прѣждьникъ	2/т
621	(нждъ). ън. ик. ъ	нждьникъ	2/т
148	(ждъ). ън. ик. ъ	ждьникъ	2/т
1081	по. (чрьпъ). а. л. ън. ик. ъ	почрьпальникъ	2/т
556	(мльчъ). ѣ. л. ън. ик. ъ	мльчальникъ	2/т
816	прѣ. (селъ). ън. ик. ъ	прѣсельникъ	2/т
810	(свѣтъ). н. л. ън. ик. ъ	свѣтъильникъ	2/т
427	((крамолъ). ън. ик. ъ	крамольникъ	2/т
879	съ. (столъ). л. ън. ик. ъ	състольникъ	2/т
578	про. (мъислъ). ън. ик. ъ	промысльникъ	2/т
1046	(хочълъ). ън. ик. ъ	хочълникъ	2/т
841	((скждълъ). ън. ик. ъ	скждълникъ	2/т
225	(дѣлъ). л. ън. ик. ъ	дѣльникъ	2/т
1074	на. (чалъ). л. ън. ик. ъ	начальникъ	2/т
791	об. (рѣтъ). ел. ън. ик. ъ	обрѣтьельникъ	2/т
791	при. об. (рѣтъ). ел. ън. ик. ъ	приобрѣтьельникъ	2/т
225	по. не. (дѣлъ). л. ън. ик. ъ	понедѣльникъ	2/т
1040	безъ. (храмъ). ън. ик. ъ	безхрамьникъ	2/т
334	на. (иъмъ). ън. ик. ъ	наньникъ	2/т
334	съ. при. (иъмъ). ън. ик. ъ	съприньникъ	2/т
334	прѣ. (иъмъ). ън. ик. ъ	прѣиньникъ	2/т
1015	безъ. (оумъ). ън. ик. ъ	безоумьникъ	2/т
448	(кръмъ). ън. ик. ъ	кръмьникъ	2/т
347	(јаръ). ѣ. м. ън. ик. ъ	ярьменьникъ	2/т
216	прѣ. (да). н. ън. ик. ъ	прѣданыникъ	2/т

536	по.(маз).а.н.бн.ик.ъ	помазаньникъ	2/м
888	(стра).н.бн.ик.ъ	страньникъ	2/м
673	съ.(плѣд).л.ен.бн.ик.ъ	съплеменьникъ	2/м
766	не.из.(реч).ен.бн.ик.ъ	неиздреченьникъ	2/м
397	(кы).зн.бн.ик.ъ	кызньникъ	2/м
96	(ви).н.бн.ик.ъ	виньникъ	2/м
188	(гост).ин.бн.ик.ъ	гостиньникъ	2/м
408	за.(кон).бн.ик.ъ	законьникъ	2/м
408	без.за.(кон).бн.ик.ъ	беззаконьникъ	2/м
377	по.(клон).бн.ик.ъ	поклоньникъ	2/м
827	(скверь).н.бн.ик.ъ	скверньникъ	2/м
686	(плѣн).бн.ик.ъ	плѣньникъ	2/м
589	прѣ.(мѣн).бн.ик.ъ	прѣмѣньникъ	2/м
730	(поустъ).ыи.бн.ик.ъ	поустыиьникъ	2/м
887	(стлѣп).бн.ик.ъ	стлѣпникъ	2/м
885	за.(стжп).бн.ик.ъ	застжпникъ	2/м
885	прѣ.(стжп).бн.ик.ъ	прѣстжпникъ	2/м
804	(свар).бн.ик.ъ	сварьникъ	2/м
925	((сърєбр)).бн.ик.ъ	сърєбрьникъ	2/м
42	прѣдъ.(бор).бн.ик.ъ	прѣдъборьникъ	2/м
24	съ.(бор).бн.ик.ъ	съборьникъ	2/м
221	оу.(двор).бн.ик.ъ	оудворьникъ	2/м
309	по.(зор).бн.ик.ъ	позорьникъ	2/м
130	((взтор)).бн.ик.ъ	взторьникъ	2/м
221	(двѣрь).бн.ик.ъ	двѣрьникъ	2/м
665	сж.(пър).бн.ик.ъ	сжпърьникъ	2/м
462	из.(коус).бн.ик.ъ	искоусьникъ	2/м
763	(рат).бн.ик.ъ	ратьникъ	2/м
89	(вра).т.бн.ик.ъ	вратьникъ	2/м
392	((клѣвет)).бн.ик.ъ	клѣветьникъ	2/м
1110	за.(штит).бн.ик.ъ	заштитьникъ	2/м
750	(раб).от.бн.ик.ъ	работьникъ	2/м
890	(страда).т.бн.ик.ъ	страстьникъ	2/м
98	за.(вид).т.бн.ик.ъ	завистьникъ	2/м
98	не.на.(вид).т.бн.ик.ъ	ненавистьникъ	2/м
188	(гост).бн.ик.ъ	гостьникъ	2/м
652	(пак).ост.бн.ик.ъ	пакостьникъ	2/м
699	(пост).бн.ик.ъ	постьникъ	2/м
499	прѣ.(льст).бн.ик.ъ	прѣльстьникъ	2/м
583	(мьст).бн.ик.ъ	мьстьникъ	2/м
140	(вѣд).т.бн.ик.ъ	вѣстьникъ	2/м
140	не.(вѣд).т.бн.ик.ъ	невѣстьникъ	2/м
592	на.(мѣст).бн.ик.ъ	намѣстьникъ	2/м
1093	при.(члст).бн.ик.ъ	причлстьникъ	2/м
1093	съ.при.(члст).бн.ик.ъ	съпричлстьникъ	2/м
920	(сът).бн.ик.ъ	сътьникъ	2/м
1076	при.(чѣт).бн.ик.ъ	причѣтьникъ	2/м
137	оу.(вѣт).бн.ик.ъ	оувѣтьникъ	2/м
137	съ.(вѣт).бн.ик.ъ	съвѣтьникъ	2/м

748	(пжт).ьн.ик.ъ	пжтѣникъ	2/м
498	об.(лнч).ьн.ик.ъ	облнчѣникъ	2/м
1002	(тъл).ьн.ич.ьн.ик.ъ	тълѣннчѣникъ	2/м
766	от.(роч).ьн.ик.ъ	отрочѣникъ	2/м
941	из.(точ).ьн.ик.ъ	источѣникъ	2/м
995	(тѣч).ьн.ик.ъ	тѣчѣникъ	2/м
357	((жзѣч).ьн.ик.ъ	ѡзѣчѣникъ	2/м
795	по.(ржч).ьн.ик.ъ	поржчѣникъ	2/м
844	по.(слоу).ш.ьн.ик.ъ	послоушѣникъ	2/м
872	по.(спѣ).ш.ьн.ик.ъ	поспѣшѣникъ	2/м
872	съ.по.(спѣ).ш.ьн.ик.ъ	съпоспѣшѣникъ	2/м
154	(грѣ).ш.ьн.ик.ъ	грѣшѣникъ	2/м
708	(прашт).ьн.ик.ъ	праштѣникъ	2/м
535	по.(мог).т.ьн.ик.ъ	помоштѣникъ	2/м
1048	(хъшт).ьн.ик.ъ	хъштѣникъ	2/м
1048	въз.(хъшт).ьн.ик.ъ	въсхъштѣникъ	2/м
623	(об).ьшт.ьн.ик.ъ	обьштѣникъ	2/м
810	(свѣшт).ьн.ик.ъ	свѣштѣникъ	2/м
998	(тѣс).ьшт.ьн.ик.ъ	тѣсѡштѣникъ//	2/м
998	(тѣс).ьшт.ьн.ик.ъ	тѣсѡштѣникъ//	2/м
951	(тик).ъ	тикъ	2/м
312	(зла).т.ик.ъ	златикъ	2/м
169	(гѡжѣ).ок.ъ	гѡжѣокъ	2/а
1112	(ѣн).ок.ъ	инокъ	2/м
766	(рок).ъ	рокъ	2/м
766	за.(рок).ъ	зарокъ	2/м
766	на.(рок).ъ	нарокъ	2/м
766	об.(рок).ъ	оброкъ	2/м
766	при.(рок).ъ	прирокъ	2/м
1101	(шир).ок.ъ	широкъ	2/а
766	по.(рок).ъ	порокъ	2/м
766	про.(рок).ъ	пророкъ	2/м
713	(про).к.ъ	прокъ	2/м
766	от.(рок).ъ	отрокъ	2/м
867	(сок).ъ	сокъ	2/м
133	(вѣс).ок.ъ	вѣсокъ	2/а
941	(ток).ъ	токъ	2/м
941	об.(ток).ъ	отокъ	2/м
941	по.(ток).ъ	потокъ	2/м
284	(жест).ок.ъ	жестокъ	2/а
941	въз.(ток).ъ	въстокъ	2/м
209	(гржст).ок.ъ	гржстокъ	2/а
757	(рај).ьск.ъ	ранскъ	2/а
11	((архнере).ьск.ъ	архнеренскъ	2/а
750	(раѣ).ьј.ьск.ъ	раѣнскъ	2/а
936	(сжд).ьј.ьск.ъ	сжднскъ	2/а
286	(жи).т.ьј.ьск.ъ	житнскъ	2/а
31	(блнск).ъ	блнскъ	2/м
23	раз.(бој).ьск.ъ	развоискъ	2/а

112	(воск).ъ	воскъ	2/м
679	(поск).ъ	поскъ	2/а
576	(мъск).ъ	мъскъ	2/м
750	(раб).ьск.ъ	рабьскъ	2/а
118	(врач).ев.ьск.ъ	врачевьскъ	2/а
5	(ад).ов.ьск.ъ	адовьскъ	2/а
287	(жид).ов.ьск.ъ	жидовьскъ	2/а
72	(вѣс).ов.ьск.ъ	вѣсовьскъ	2/а
513	(льв).ьск.ъ	львьскъ	2/а
5	(ад).ьск.ъ	адьскъ	2/а
649	за.(пад).ьск.ъ	западьскъ	2/а
192	(град).ьск.ъ	градьскъ	2/а
187	((господ).ьск.ъ	господьскъ	2/а
755	ж.(род).ьск.ъ	жродьскъ	2/а
531	(люд).ьск.ъ	людьскъ	2/а
115	(враж).ьск.ъ	вражьскъ	2/а
37	(бож).ьск.ъ	божьскъ	2/а
353	(юж).ьск.ъ	южьскъ	2/а
601	(мжж).ьск.ъ	мжжьскъ	2/а
643	(ос).ьл.ьск.ъ	осьльскъ	2/а
755	(род).н.т.ел.ьск.ъ	родителъскъ	2/а
813	(свалт).н.т.ел.ьск.ъ	свалтителъскъ	2/а
104	(влад).т.ел.ьск.ъ	властелъскъ	2/а
313	(земл).ьск.ъ	земльскъ	2/а
695	(пол).ьск.ъ	польскъ	2/а
313	(зем).ьск.ъ	земьскъ	2/а
1026	((херовим).ьск.ъ	херовимьскъ	2/а
633	((оъм).ьск.ъ	омьскъ	2/а
690	((поган).ьск.ъ	поганьскъ	2/а
42	(бра).н.ьск.ъ	браньскъ	2/а
42	по.(бра).н.ьск.ъ	побраньскъ	2/а
452	(кръст).ьж.ьш.ьск.ъ	кръстьяньскъ	2/а
283	(жен).ьск.ъ	женьскъ	2/а
816	въ.(сел).ен.ьск.ъ	въселеньскъ	2/а
710	не.(при).а.зн.ьск.ъ	неприазньскъ	2/а
311	(звѣр).ин.ьск.ъ	звѣриньскъ	2/а
880	(стар).ьж.ьш.ин.ьск.ъ	старѣшиньскъ	2/а
157	((геон).ьск.ъ	геоньскъ	2/а
508	(лоун).ьск.ъ	лоуньскъ	2/а
19	(бай).ьск.ъ	байьскъ	2/а
410	(кои).ьск.ъ	койьскъ	2/а
730	(поуст).ьш.ьск.ъ	поустьяньскъ	2/а
41	((болар).ьск.ъ	боларьскъ	2/а
551	(мир).ьск.ъ	мирьскъ	2/а
457	((коумир).ьск.ъ	коумирьскъ	2/а
1039	((храбър).ьск.ъ	храбърьскъ	2/а
1058	(цѣс).ар.ьск.ъ	цѣсарьскъ	2/а
562	(мор).ьск.ъ	морьскъ	2/а
605	(нев).ес.ьск.ъ	невесьскъ	2/а

605	подъ.(неб).ьск.ъ	подънебесьскъ	2/а
734	(пъс).ьск.ъ	пъсьскъ	2/а
682	(пльт).ьск.ъ	пльтьскъ	2/а
137	(в'бт).ьск.ъ	в'бтьскъ	2/а
236	(д'б).т.ьск.ъ	д'бтьскъ	2/а
136	(вьс).ач.ьск.ъ	вьсачьскъ//	2/а
236	(д'б).в.ич.ьск.ъ	д'бвичьскъ	2/а
595	(мжч).ен.ич.ьск.ъ	мжченичьскъ	2/а
33	(блжд).ьн.ич.ьск.ъ	блждьничьскъ	2/а
23	оу.(бн).т.ел.ьн.ич.ьск.ъ	оубнтельничьскъ	2/а
763	(рат).ьн.ич.ьск.ъ	ратьничьскъ	2/а
890	(страд).т.ьн.ич.ьск.ъ	страстьничьскъ	2/а
334	из.(а).шт.ьн.ич.ьск.ъ	изаштьничьскъ	2/а
965	(тр).ој.ич.ьск.ъ	трончьскъ	2/а
1112	(ьн).оч.ьск.ъ	иночьскъ	2/а
766	про.(роч).ьск.ъ	пророчьскъ	2/а
722	об.(пр'бсн).ъч.ьск.ъ	опр'бснъчьскъ	2/а
104	(влад).ъч.ьск.ъ	владъчьскъ	2/а
357	(јазыч).ьск.ъ	язъчьскъ	2/а
1080	(чрьн).ьч.ьск.ъ	чрьньчьскъ	2/а
292	(жьр).ьч.ьск.ъ	жьрьчьскъ	2/а
1077	(члов'бч).ьск.ъ	члов'бчьскъ	2/а
136	(вьс).ъч.ьск.ъ	вьс'бчьскъ//	2/а
625	(облаш).ьск.ъ	облашьскъ	2/а
574	(мън).иш.ьск.ъ	мъншьскъ	2/а
107	(влъш).ьск.ъ	влъшьскъ	2/а
842	(сол).ишт.ьск.ъ	солиштъскъ	2/а
689	(п'лѹск).ъ	п'лѹскъ	2/м
507	(лоук).ъ	лоукъ	2/м
989	(тоук).ъ	тоукъ	2/м
514	(льг).ък.ъ	льгъкъ	2/а
161	(глад).ък.ъ	гладъкъ	2/а
842	(сла).д.ък.ъ	сладъкъ	2/а
49	(бри).д.ък.ъ	бридъкъ	2/а
905	(ст'ыд).ък.ъ	ст'ыдъкъ	2/а
857	по.(сл'бд).ък.ъ	посл'бдъкъ	2/м
788	(р'бд).ък.ъ	р'бдъкъ	2/а
566	(мр'з).ък.ъ	мр'зъкъ	2/а
683	(пльз).ък.ъ	пльзъкъ	2/а
853	(сльз).ък.ъ	сльзъкъ	2/а
148	(жз).ък.ъ	жзъкъ	2/а
595	(мак).ък.ъ	макъкъ	2/а
681	(пльк).ъ	плькъ	2/м
959	(тльк).ъ	тлькъ	2/м
874	без.(срам).ък.ъ	бесрамъкъ	2/м
879	от.(ста).н.ък.ъ	останъкъ	2/м
722	об.(пр'бсн).ък.ъ	опр'бснъкъ	2/м
994	(тън).ък.ъ	тънъкъ	2/а
1100	(шип).ък.ъ	шипъкъ	2/м

453	(крѣп).ък.ъ	крѣпъкъ	2/а
130	((вѣтор)).ък.ъ	вѣторъкъ	2/м
742	(пѣс).ък.ъ	пѣсъкъ	2/м
117	(врат).ък.ъ	вратъкъ	2/а
879	от.(ста).т.ък.ъ	остатъкъ	2/м
879	не.до.(ста).т.ък.ъ	недоостатъкъ	2/м
676	съ.(плет).ък.ъ	съплетъкъ	2/м
95	съ.(ви).т.ък.ъ	съвнтъкъ	2/м
992	при.(тѣк).ъ	притъкъ ¹	2/м
992	при.(тѣк).ъ	притъкъ ²	2/а
441	(крот).ък.ъ	кротъкъ	2/а
441	не.(крот).ък.ъ	некротъкъ	2/а
496	(лих).от.ък.ъ	лихотъкъ	2/м
846	((сланоуѣт)).ък.ъ	сланоуѣтъкъ	2/м
16	из.(бѣ).т.ък.ъ	избѣтъкъ	2/м
16	при.(бѣ).т.ък.ъ	прнебѣтъкъ	2/м
1071	((четврѣ)).т.ък.ъ	четврѣтъкъ	2/м
746	(пат).ък.ъ	патъкъ	2/м
1074	на.(ча).т.ък.ъ	начатъкъ	2/м
357	((ѣзъкъ)).ъ	ѣзъкъ	2/м
366	(кам).ък.ъ	камъкъ	2/м
1006	(таж).ък.ъ	тажъкъ	2/а
105	(вальк).ъ	валькъ	2/м
901	(стрѣк).ъ	стрѣкъ	2/м
154	(горѣ).ък.ъ	горѣкъ	2/а
538	(мал).ъч.ък.ъ	малъчыкъ	2/а
143	(вѣк).ъ	вѣкъ	2/м
1077	((чловѣк)).ъ	чловѣкъ	2/м
496	отъ.(лѣк).ъ	отлѣкъ	2/м
136	(вѣс).ѣк.ъ	вѣсѣкъ//	2/р
526	(лжк).ъ	лжкъ	2/м
528	съ.(лжк).ъ	сължкъ	2/а
937	(сжк).ъ	сжкъ	2/м
365	(кал).ъ	калъ	2/м
538	(мал).ъ	малъ	2/а
685	(плѣ).в.ел.ъ	плѣвелъ	2/м
654	((пепел)).ъ	пепелъ//	2/м
654	((попел)).ъ	попелъ//	2/м
300	((жолпел)).ъ	жолпелъ	2/м
90	(вес).ел.ъ	веселъ	2/а
256	(драс).ел.ъ	драселъ	2/а
301	(жъзал).ъ	жъзалъ	2/м
97	об.(ви).л.ъ	обилъ	2/а
549	(мил).ъ	милъ	2/а
110	(вол).ъ	волъ	2/м
85	до.(вол).ъ	доволъ	2/м
181	(гол).ъ	голъ	2/а
159	((гла.гол)).ъ	глаголъ	2/м
238	(дол).ъ	долъ	2/м

364	(кол).ъ	колъ	2/м
693	(пол).ъ	полъ	2/м
879	(стѡ).л.ъ	стѡлъ	2/м
879	прѣ.(стѡ).л.ъ	прѣстѡлъ	2/м
948	(топл).ъ	топлъ	2/а
578	за.(мъисл).ъ	замъислъ	2/м
578	по.(мъисл).ъ	помъислъ	2/м
578	про.(мъисл).ъ	промъислъ	2/м
578	съ.(мъисл).ъ	съмъислъ	2/м
990	(тоула).ъ	тоулаъ	2/м
256	(драх).л.ъ	драхлаъ	2/а
1117	(жг).ъл.ъ	жглаъ	2/м
841	((скждъл).ъ	скждлаъ	2/м
324	(зъл).ъ	злаъ	2/а
916	(съл).ъ	слаъ	2/м
400	(коз).ьл.ъ	козлаъ	2/м
640	(ор).ьл.ъ	орлаъ	2/м
643	(ос).ьл.ъ	ослаъ	2/м
418	(кот).ьл.ъ	котлаъ	2/м
810	(свѣт).ьл.ъ	свѣтлаъ	2/а
810	прѣ.(свѣт).ьл.ъ	прѣсвѣтлаъ	2/а
1001	ж.(тъл).ъ	жтлаъ	2/а
735	((пыцьл).ъ	пыцьлаъ	2/м
71	(бѣл).ъ	бѣлаъ	2/а
273	прѣ.(дѣл).ъ	прѣдѣлаъ	2/м
588	(мѣл).ъ	мѣлаъ	2/м
322	(зър).ѣ.л.ъ	зърѣлаъ	2/а
474	(кыс).ѣл.ъ	кысѣлаъ	2/а
1054	(цѣл).ъ	цѣлаъ	2/а
874	(срам).ъ	срамъ	2/м
1040	(храм).ъ	храмъ	2/м
799	(сам).ъ	самъ	2/р
814	(сѣдм).ъ	сѣдмъ	2/а
334	за.(іьм).ъ	замъ	2/м
1026	((херовним).ъ	херовнимъ	2/м
239	(дом).ъ	домъ	2/м
196	(гром).ъ	громъ	2/м
1042	(хром).ъ	хромъ	2/а
645	(осм).ъ	осмъ	2/а
1015	(оум).ъ	оумъ	2/м
1015	раз.(оум).ъ	разоумъ	2/м
164	(глоум).ъ	глоумъ	2/м
1104	(шоум).ъ	шоумъ	2/м
915	((съвалъм).ъ	съвалъмъ	2/м
1031	(хлъм).ъ	хлъмъ	2/м
200	(гръм).ъ	гръмъ	2/м
268	(дым).ъ	дымъ	2/м
334	сън.(ьм).ъ	сънъмъ	2/м
347	(јар).ьм.ъ	яръмъ	2/м

1102	(шлѣм).ъ	шлѣмъ	2/м
620	(нѣм).ъ	нѣмъ	2/а
1091	((чѣван)).ъ	чѣванъ	2/м
690	((поган)).ъ	поганъ	2/а
774	(рож).ѣн.ъ	рожанъ	2/а
559	(можд).ѣн.ъ	можданъ	2/а
1043	((хрѣзан)).ъ	хрѣзанъ	2/м
842	(сла).н.ъ	сланъ	2/а
299	((жорпан)).ъ	жорпанъ	2/м
116	(вран).ъ	вранъ	2/м
193	(гран).ъ	гранъ	2/м
712	((притран)).ъ	притранъ	2/а
888	про.(стра).н.ъ	пространъ	2/а
801	(сан).ъ	санъ	2/м
879	(ста).н.ъ	станъ	2/м
1100	(шип).ъч.ѣн.ъ	шипъчанъ	2/а
1050	(цвѣт).ъч.ѣн.ъ	цвѣтъчанъ	2/а
1017	(оусм).н.ъј.ѣн.ъ	оусниданъ	2/а
651	(пъј).ѣн.ъ	пианъ	2/а
452	(кръст).ъј.ѣн.ъ	кръстиданъ	2/а
271	оу.(дѣб).ен.ъ	оудѣбенъ	2/а
905	(стоуд).ен.ъ	стоуденъ	2/а
27	прѣ.(блаж).ен.ъ	прѣблаженъ	2/а
312	(зел).ен.ъ	зеленъ	2/а
28	(блaзн).ъ	блaзнъ	2/м
28	съ.(блaзн).ъ	съблaзнъ	2/м
195	(гроз).н.ъ	грознъ	2/м
530	(люѣв).ъзн.ъ	люѣвзнъ	2/а
282	((желѣз).н.ъ	желѣзнъ	2/а
1112	(иън).ъ	инъ	2/р
939	(таі).ън.ъ	таннъ	2/а
132	об.(въч).ај.ън.ъ	обвъчаннъ	2/а
183	((голжб).ин.ъ	голженнъ	2/а
287	(жнд).ов.ин.ъ	жндовиннъ	2/м**
807	(свин).ъ	свиннъ	2/а
860	(смок).ъв.ин.ъ	смокъвиннъ	2/а
350	(јед).ин.ъ	единъ//	2/р
187	((господ).ин.ъ	господиннъ	2/м
525	(ладв).ъј.ън.ъ	ладвиннъ	2/а
156	(гвозд).ъј.ън.ъ	гвоздиннъ	2/а
318	(зм).ъј.ин.ъ	зминнъ	2/а
338	((спол).ин.ъ	сполиннъ	2/м**
338	((испол).ин.ъ	исполиннъ	2/м**
330	(иг).ъл.ин.ъ	игълиннъ	2/а
286	(жи).т.ел.ин.ъ	житѣлиннъ	2/м**
690	((поган).ин.ъ	поганиннъ	2/м**
192	(гражд).ѣн.ин.ъ	гражданиннъ	2/м**
452	(кръст).ъј.ѣн.ин.ъ	кръстиганиннъ	2/м**
302	(жл).т.ел.ѣн.ин.ъ	жлѣтѣганиннъ	2/м**

710	НЕ.(ПРИ).А.ЗН.ИН.Ъ	НЕПРИАЗНИНЪ	2/а
96	(ВОЈ).ИН.Ъ	ВОИНЪ	2/м
96	СЪ.(ВОЈ).ИН.Ъ	СЪВОИНЪ	2/м
401	ПО.(КОЈ).ЫН.Ъ	ПОКОИНЪ	2/а
171	(ГНОЈ).ЫН.Ъ	ГНОИНЪ	2/а
965	(ТР).ОЈ.ЫН.Ъ	ТРОИНЪ	2/а
892	(СТРОЈ).ЫН.Ъ	СТРОИНЪ	2/а
879	ДО.(СТОЈ).ЫН.Ъ	ДОСТОИНЪ	2/а
879	НЕ.ПО.(СТОЈ).ЫН.Ъ	НЕПОСТОИНЪ	2/а
41	((БОЛАР).ИН.Ъ	БОЛАРИНЪ	2/м**
436	((ОКРИН).Ъ	ОКРИНЪ	2/м
311	(ЗВЪР).ИН.Ъ	ЗВЪРИНЪ	2/а
643	(ОС).БЛ.АТ.ИН.Ъ	ОСЪЛАТИНЪ	2/а
1073	(ЧИН).Ъ	ЧИНЪ	2/м
1077	((ЧЛОВЪЧ).ИН.Ъ	ЧЛОВЪЧИНЪ	2/м
178	(ГОВ).ЪІ.ЫН.Ъ	ГОВЪИНЪ	2/а
636	(ОН).Ъ	ОНЪ	2/р
310	(ЗВОН).Ъ	ЗВОНЪ	2/м
408	ЗА.(КОН).Ъ	ЗАКОНЪ	2/м
377	ПО.(КЛОИ).Ъ	ПОКЛОИЪ	2/м
664	РАЗ.(ПОИ).Ъ	РАСПОИЪ	2/м
1027	((ХИТОН).Ъ	ХИТОНЪ	2/м
349	(ЈАСИ).Ъ	ЈАСИЪ	2/а
229	(ДЕСИ).Ъ	ДЕСИЪ	2/а
711	(ПРИСИ).Ъ	ПРИСИЪ	2/а
983	(ТРЪСИ).Ъ	ТРЪСИЪ	2/м
1005	(ТЪСИ).Ъ	ТЪСИЪ	2/а
743	(ПЪСТ).ОУН.Ъ	ПЪСТОУНЪ	2/м
264	БЕЗ.(ДЪИ).Ъ	БЕЗДЪИЪ	2/а
918	(СЪИ).Н.Ъ	СЪИЪ	2/м
923	(СЪИИ).Ъ	СЪИИ ¹	2/м
922	(СЪИИ).Ъ	СЪИИ ²	2/м
843	НЕ.ОБ.(СЛАБ).ЫН.Ъ	НЕОСЛАБЪНЪ	2/а
812	(СВРАБ).ЫН.Ъ	СВРАБЪНЪ	2/а
939	(ТАІ).ЫБ.ЫН.Ъ	ТАИБЪНЪ	2/а
235	ПО.(ДОБ).ЫН.Ъ	ПОДОБЪНЪ	2/а
235	НЕ.ПО.(ДОБ).ЫН.Ъ	НЕПОДОБЪНЪ	2/а
235	ПРОЪ.ПО.(ДОБ).ЫН.Ъ	ПРОЪПОДОБЪНЪ	2/а
235	НЕ.ПРОЪ.ПО.(ДОБ).ЫН.Ъ	НЕПРОЪПОДОБЪНЪ	2/а
235	ОУ.(ДОБ).ЫН.Ъ	ОУДОБЪНЪ	2/а
324	БЕЗ.(ЗЪЛ).ОБ.ЫН.Ъ	БЕЗЪЛОБЪНЪ	2/а
190	(ГРОБ).ЫН.Ъ	ГРОБЪНЪ	2/а
246	(ДРОБ).ЫН.Ъ	ДРОБЪНЪ	2/а
1120	(ЖТРО).ОБ.ЫН.Ъ	ЖТРОБЪНЪ	2/а
210	ПА.(ГОУБ).ЫН.Ъ	ПАГОУБЪНЪ	2/а
210	СОУ.(ГОУБ).ЫН.Ъ	СОУГОУБЪНЪ	2/а
511	(ЛЪБ).ЫН.Ъ	ЛЪБЪНЪ	2/а
836	(СКРЪБ).ЫН.Ъ	СКРЪБЪНЪ	2/а
836	БЕЗ.(СКРЪБ).ЫН.Ъ	БЕСКРЪБЪНЪ	2/а

836	при.(скръб).ьн.ъ	прискръбънъ	2/а
836	прѣ.(скръб).ьн.ъ	прѣскръбънъ	2/а
325	не.по.(зъб).ьн.ъ	непозъбънъ	2/а
1054	(цѣл).ьб.ьн.ъ	цѣльбънъ	2/а
118	(врач).ьб.ьн.ъ	врачьбънъ	2/а
9	(алъч).ьб.ьн.ъ	алъчьбънъ	2/а
107	(вльш).ьб.ьн.ъ	вльшьбънъ	2/а
1032	(хлѣб).ьн.ъ	хлѣбънъ	2/а
981	(трѣб).ьн.ъ	трѣбънъ	2/а
981	по.(трѣб).ьн.ъ	потрѣбънъ	2/а
530	(люб).ьн.ъ	любънъ	2/а
327	(зѣб).ьн.ъ	зѣбънъ	2/а
985	(трѣб).ьн.ъ	трѣбънъ	2/а
218	(дав).ьн.ъ	давънъ	2/а
250	(дръж).ѣ.в.ьн.ъ	дръжавънъ	2/а
526	(лѣк).ав.ьн.ъ	лѣкавънъ	2/а
158	(глав).ьн.ъ	главънъ	2/а
844	(слав).ьн.ъ	славънъ	2/а
844	прѣ.(слав).ьн.ъ	прѣславънъ	2/а
751	(рав).ьн.ъ	равънъ	2/а
274	(дѣб).р.ав.ьн.ъ	дѣбравънъ//	2/а
879	оу.(ста).в.ьн.ъ	оуставънъ	2/а
263	(дѣжд).ев.ьн.ъ	дѣждевънъ	2/а
270	(дѣн).ев.ьн.ъ	дѣневънъ	2/а
270	на.(дѣн).ев.ьн.ъ	надѣневънъ	2/а
671	(плач).ев.ьн.ъ	плачевънъ	2/а
118	(врач).ев.ьн.ъ	врачевънъ	2/а
261	(доуш).ев.ьн.ъ	доушевънъ	2/а
344	(язв).ьн.ъ	язвънъ	2/а
777	((розвън)).ъ	розвънъ	2/м
230	(днв).ьн.ъ	днвънъ	2/а
542	съ.(мотр).ьл.ив.ьн.ъ	съмотръивънъ	2/а
622	(нв).ьн.ъ	нвънъ	2/а
790	(рѣсн).от.ив.ьн.ъ	рѣснотивънъ	2/а
714	(прот).ив.ьн.ъ	противънъ	2/а
714	съ.(прот).ив.ьн.ъ	съпротивънъ	2/а
549	(мл).ост.ив.ьн.ъ	млнлостивънъ	2/а
627	(ов).ьн.ъ	овънъ	2/м
107	(вльх).в.ов.ьн.ъ	вльхвовънъ	2/а
5	(ад).ов.ьн.ъ	адовънъ	2/а
905	(стоуд).ов.ьн.ъ	стоудовънъ	2/а
110	(вол).ов.ьн.ъ	волловънъ	2/а
844	бес.(слов).ьн.ъ	бесловънъ	2/а
501	въ.(лов).ьн.ъ	въловънъ	2/а
239	(дом).ов.ьн.ъ	домовънъ	2/а
96	(вн).н.ов.ьн.ъ	внновънъ	2/а
849	(слон).ов.ьн.ъ	слоновънъ	2/а
1089	(чрѣн).ов.ьн.ъ	чрѣновънъ	2/а
274	(дѣб).р.ов.ьн.ъ	дѣбровънъ//	2/а

438	сѣ. (кров). ѡн. ѣ	сѣкровьнѣ	2/а
146	(вѣр). ѡв. ѡн. ѣ	вѣровьнѣ	2/а
810	(свѣт). ѡв. ѡн. ѣ	свѣтовьнѣ	2/а
261	(доух). ѡв. ѡн. ѣ	доуховьнѣ	2/а
154	(грѣ). х. ѡв. ѡн. ѣ	грѣховьнѣ	2/а
560	(мол). н. т. в. ѡн. ѣ	молитвьнѣ	2/а
23	оу. (вн). ѡств. ѡн. ѣ	оубинствьнѣ	2/а
803	(св). о. ѡ. ѡств. ѡн. ѣ	свонствьнѣ	2/а
225	(дѣи). ѡств. ѡн. ѣ	дѣнствьнѣ	2/а
1090	(чоу). в. ѡств. ѡн. ѣ	чоувствьнѣ	2/а
1090	БЕЗЪ. (чоу). в. ѡств. ѡн. ѣ	БЕЗЪЧОУВСТВЬНЪ	2/а
236	(дѣ). в. ѡств. ѡн. ѣ	дѣвствьнѣ	2/а
37	(бож). ѡств. ѡн. ѣ	божьствьнѣ	2/а
601	(мѡж). ѡств. ѡн. ѣ	мѡжьствьнѣ	2/а
755	(рожд). ѡств. ѡн. ѣ	рождѣствьнѣ	2/а
216	БЕЗ. (да). р. ѡств. ѡн. ѣ	БЕЗДАРѢСТВЬНЪ	2/а
276	(ієс). т. ѡств. ѡн. ѣ	ієствьнѣ	2/а
1076	БЕЗ. (чѣт). ств. ѡн. ѣ	БЕЗЧѢСТВЬНЪ	2/а
292	(жрѣ). т. в. ѡн. ѣ	жрѣствьнѣ	2/а
302	(жа). т. в. ѡн. ѣ	жаствьнѣ	2/а
530	(люує). ѣв. ѡн. ѣ	люєвьнѣ	2/а
860	(смок). ѣв. ѡн. ѣ	смоквьнѣ	2/а
1051	(црѣк). ѣв. ѡн. ѣ	црѣквьнѣ	2/а
555	БЕЗ. (млѣв). ѡн. ѣ	БЕЗМЛѢВЬНЪ	2/а
1054	(цѣл). ѣв. ѡн. ѣ	цѣлвьнѣ	2/а
294	(жрѣн). ѣв. ѡн. ѣ	жрѣнвьнѣ	2/а
444	(крѣв). ѡн. ѣ	крѣвьнѣ	2/а
685	(плѣ). в. ѡн. ѣ	плѣвьнѣ	2/а
172	(гнѣв). ѡн. ѣ	гнѣвьнѣ	2/а
172	БЕЗ. (гнѣв). ѡн. ѣ	БЕЗГНѢВЬНЪ	2/а
253	(дрѣв). ѡн. ѣ	дрѣвьнѣ	2/а
253	БЕЗ. (дрѣв). ѡн. ѣ	БЕЗДРѢВЬНЪ	2/а
966	(трѣв). ѡн. ѣ	трѣвьнѣ	2/а
1085	(чрѣв). ѡн. ѣ	чрѣвьнѣ	2/а
150	(гад). ѡн. ѣ	гадьнѣ	2/а
375	БЕЗ. при. (клад). ѡн. ѣ	БЕСПРИКЛАДЬНЪ	2/а
554	(млад). ѡн. ѣ	младьнѣ	2/а
1028	(хлад). ѡн. ѣ	хладьнѣ	2/а
649	за. (пад). ѡн. ѣ	западьнѣ	2/а
192	(град). ѡн. ѣ	градьнѣ	2/а
192	за. (град). ѡн. ѣ	заградьнѣ	2/а
100	((виноград). ѡн. ѣ	виноградьнѣ	2/а
861	(смрад). ѡн. ѣ	смрадьнѣ	2/а
753	отъ. (рад). ѡн. ѣ	отърадьнѣ	2/а
350	(ієд). ѡн. ѣ	ієдьнѣ//	2/р
705	(праз). д. ѡн. ѣ	праздьнѣ	2/а
705	не. (праз). д. ѡн. ѣ	непраздьнѣ	2/а
692	(позд). ѡн. ѣ	поздьнѣ	2/а
98	(внд). ѡн. ѣ	вндьнѣ	2/а

98	НЕ.ЗА.(ВНД).ЫН.Ъ	НЕЗАВИДЫНЪ	2/а
811	((СВОБОД).ЫН.Ъ	СВОБОДЫНЪ	2/а
109	(ВОД).ЫН.Ъ	ВОДЫНЪ	2/а
109	БЕЗ.(ВОД).ЫН.Ъ	БЕЗВОДЫНЪ	2/а
151	БЕЗ.(ГОД).ЫН.Ъ	БЕЗГОДЫНЪ	2/а
151	ОҮ.(ГОД).ЫН.Ъ	ОҮГОДЫНЪ	2/а
151	ВЪ.(ГОД).ЫН.Ъ	ВЪГОДЫНЪ	2/а
673	(ПЛОД).ЫН.Ъ	ПЛОДЫНЪ	2/а
673	НЕ.(ПЛОД).ЫН.Ъ	НЕПЛОДЫНЪ	2/а
673	БЕЗ.(ПЛОД).ЫН.Ъ	БЕСПЛОДЫНЪ	2/а
697	((ПОРОД).ЫН.Ъ	ПОРОДЫНЪ	2/а
755	Ж.(РОД).ЫН.Ъ	ЖРОДЫНЪ	2/а
1021	ОТ.(ХОД).ЫН.Ъ	ОХОДЫНЪ	2/а
1021	НЕ.ПРО.(ХОД).ЫН.Ъ	НЕПРОХОДЫНЪ	2/а
1021	ИЗ.(ХОД).ЫН.Ъ	ИХОДЫНЪ	2/а
1021	ОБЪ.(ХОД).ЫН.Ъ	ОБЪХОДЫНЪ	2/а
1021	ВЪ.(ХОД).ЫН.Ъ	ВЪХОДЫНЪ	2/а
1021	ПРЪ.(ХОД).ЫН.Ъ	ПРЪХОДЫНЪ	2/а
1021	НЕ.ПРЪ.(ХОД).ЫН.Ъ	НЕПРЪХОДЫНЪ	2/а
1011	(ОҮД).ЫН.Ъ	ОҮДЫНЪ	2/а
456	ПРО.(КОҮД).ЫН.Ъ	ПРОКОҮДЫНЪ	2/а
971	(ТРОҮД).ЫН.Ъ	ТРОҮДЫНЪ	2/а
905	(СТОҮД).ЫН.Ъ	СТОҮДЫНЪ	2/а
905	БЕЗ.(СТОҮД).ЫН.Ъ	БЕССТОҮДЫНЪ	2/а
1090	(ЧОҮ).Д.ЫН.Ъ	ЧОҮДЫНЪ	2/а
905	НЕ.ПО.(СТҮД).ЫН.Ъ	НЕПОСТҮДЫНЪ	2/а
703	(ПРАВ).БД.ЫН.Ъ	ПРАВЬДЫНЪ	2/а
703	НЕ.(ПРАВ).БД.ЫН.Ъ	НЕПРАВЬДЫНЪ	2/а
703	БЕЗ.(ПРАВ).БД.ЫН.Ъ	БЕСПРАВЬДЫНЪ	2/а
877	ОҮ.(СРЬД).ЫН.Ъ	ОҮСРЬДЫНЪ	2/а
70	(БЪД).ЫН.Ъ	БЪДЫНЪ	2/а
70	БЕЗ.(БЪД).ЫН.Ъ	БЕЗБЪДЫНЪ	2/а
70	ПО.(БЪД).ЫН.Ъ	ПОБЪДЫНЪ	2/а
140	БЕЗ.(ВЪД).ЫН.Ъ	БЕЗВЪДЫНЪ	2/а
140	НЕ.СЪ.(ВЪД).ЫН.Ъ	НЕСЪВЪДЫНЪ	2/а
857	НЕ.ИЗ.(СЛЪД).ЫН.Ъ	НЕИСЛЪДЫНЪ	2/а
587	(МЪД).ЫН.Ъ	МЪДЫНЪ	2/а
1113	СЪН.(ЪД).ЫН.Ъ	СЪНЪДЫНЪ	2/а
127	(ВРЪД).ЫН.Ъ	ВРЪДЫНЪ	2/а
303	(ЖАД).ЫН.Ъ	ЖАДЫНЪ	2/а
33	(БААД).ЫН.Ъ	БААДЫНЪ	2/а
793	ИЗ.(РАД).ЫН.Ъ	ИЗДОРАДЫНЪ	2/а
1092	БЕЗ.(ЧАД).ЫН.Ъ	БЕШТАДЫНЪ	2/а
840	НЕ.(СКЖД).ЫН.Ъ	НЕСКЖДЫНЪ	2/а
33	(БАЖД).ЫН.Ъ	БАЖДЫНЪ	2/а
599	(МЖД).ЫН.Ъ	МЖДЫНЪ	2/а
599	НЕ.ЗА.(МЖД).ЫН.Ъ	НЕЗАМЖДЫНЪ	2/а
1112	ОТ.(ЫН).ЖД.ЫН.Ъ	ОТЫНЖДЫНЪ	2/а
728	ПРА.(ПРЖД).ЫН.Ъ	ПРАПРЖДЫНЪ//	2/а

728	прѣ.(прѣд).ьн.ъ	прѣпрѣдънъ//	2/a
936	(сѣд).ьн.ъ	сѣдънъ	2/a
936	от.(сѣд).ьн.ъ	осѣдънъ	2/a
935	въ.(сѣд).ьн.ъ	въсѣдънъ	2/a
27	(благ).ьн.ъ	благънъ	2/a
450	((кръчаж).ьн.ъ	кръчажънъ	2/a
482	при.(леж).ьн.ъ	прилежънъ	2/a
597	(млат).еж.ьн.ъ	млатежънъ	2/a
222	по.(движ).ьн.ъ	подвижънъ	2/a
468	((кѣниж).ьн.ъ	кѣнижънъ	2/a
886	не.по.(стиж).ьн.ъ	непостижънъ	2/a
37	без.(бож).ьн.ъ	безбожънъ	2/a
37	не.оу.(бож).ьн.ъ	неоубожънъ	2/a
400	(кож).ьн.ъ	кожънъ	2/a
535	въз.(мож).ьн.ъ	възможънъ	2/a
535	не.въз.(мож).ьн.ъ	невъзможънъ	2/a
612	(нож).ьн.ъ	ножънъ	2/a
512	(лъж).ьн.ъ	лъжънъ	2/a
233	(длъж).ьн.ъ	длъжънъ	2/a
69	оу.(бѣж).ьн.ъ	оубѣжънъ	2/a
59	(брѣж).ьн.ъ	брѣжънъ	2/a
1006	про.(тѣж).ьн.ъ	протѣжънъ	2/a
275	не.(дѣж).ьн.ъ	недѣжънъ	2/a
527	(лѣж).ьн.ъ	лѣжънъ	2/a
601	без.(мѣж).ьн.ъ	безмѣжънъ	2/a
794	(рѣж).ьн.ъ	рѣжънъ	2/a
1006	без.(тѣж).ьн.ъ	бестѣжънъ	2/a
225	без.на.(дежд).ьн.ъ	безнадеждънъ	2/a
225	об.(дежд).ьн.ъ	одеждънъ	2/a
263	(дѣжд).ьн.ъ	дѣждънъ	2/a
621	(нѣжд).ьн.ъ	нѣждънъ	2/a
514	по.(льз).ьн.ъ	пользънъ	2/a
756	(раз).ьн.ъ	разънъ	2/a
754	об.(раз).ьн.ъ	образънъ	2/a
754	не.об.(раз).ьн.ъ	необразънъ	2/a
754	съ.об.(раз).ьн.ъ	съобразънъ	2/a
566	(мраз).ьн.ъ	мразънъ	2/a
771	(риз).ьн.ъ	ризънъ	2/a
502	(лоз).ьн.ъ	лозънъ	2/a
194	(гроз).ьн.ъ	грозънъ	2/a
1012	сън.(оуз).ьн.ъ	съноузънъ	2/a
854	(сльз).ьн.ъ	сльзънъ	2/a
1024	(хвал).ьн.ъ	хвалънъ	2/a
1024	по.(хвал).ьн.ъ	похвалънъ	2/a
1024	без.(хвал).ьн.ъ	бесхвалънъ	2/a
1024	прѣ.(хвал).ьн.ъ	прѣхвалънъ	2/a
660	(печ).ѣл.ьн.ъ	печальнъ	2/a
660	без.(печ).ѣл.ьн.ъ	беспечальнъ	2/a
556	(мльч).ѣл.ьн.ъ	мльчальнъ	2/a

816	(СЕА).БН.Ъ	СЕЛЪНЪ	2/а
97	ОБ.(ВН).Л.БН.Ъ	ОВНАЛЪНЪ	2/а
97	ИЗ.ОБ.(ВН).Л.БН.Ъ	ИЗОВНАЛЪНЪ	2/а
361	(КАД).И.Л.БН.Ъ	КАДИЛЪНЪ	2/а
798	(СЪД).И.Л.БН.Ъ	СЪДИЛЪНЪ	2/а
821	(СИА).БН.Ъ	СИЛЪНЪ	2/а
595	(МЖЧ).И.Л.БН.Ъ	МЖЧИЛЪНЪ	2/а
39	(БОЛ).БН.Ъ	БОЛЪНЪ	2/а
85	(ВОЛ).БН.Ъ	ВОЛЪНЪ	2/а
85	ДО.(ВОЛ).БН.Ъ	ДОВОЛЪНЪ	2/а
85	НЕ.ПО.(ВОЛ).БН.Ъ	НЕПОВОЛЪНЪ	2/а
364	РАЗ.(КОЛ).БН.Ъ	РАСКОЛЪНЪ	2/а
842	(СОЛ).БН.Ъ	СОЛЪНЪ	2/а
879	СЪ.ПРЪБ.(СТО).Л.БН.Ъ	СЪПРЪБСТОЛЪНЪ	2/а
684	(ПЛЪН).Ъ	ПЛЪНЪ	2/а
1076	(ЧНТ).Т.Л.БН.Ъ	ЧИСЛЪНЪ	2/а
1076	БЕЗ.(ЧНТ).Т.Л.БН.Ъ	БЕЧИСЛЪНЪ	2/а
1076	НЕ.ИЗ.(ЧНТ).Т.Л.БН.Ъ	НЕИШТИСЛЪНЪ	2/а
578	(МЪСЛ).БН.Ъ	МЪСЛЪНЪ	2/а
578	СЪ.(МЪСЛ).БН.Ъ	СЪМЪСЛЪНЪ	2/а
578	НЕ.СЪ.(МЪСЛ).БН.Ъ	НЕСЪМЪСЛЪНЪ	2/а
1046	(ХУГ).БН.Ъ	ХУГЪЛЪНЪ	2/а
1117	(ЖГ).ЪЛ.БН.Ъ	ЖГЪЛЪНЪ	2/а
735	(ПЪЦЪЛ).БН.Ъ	ПЪЦЪЛЪНЪ	2/а
210	ПО.(ГЪЗБ).ЪЛ.БН.Ъ	ПОГЪЗБЪЛЪНЪ	2/а
273	НЕ.РАЗ.(ДЪЛ).БН.Ъ	НЕРАЗДЪЛЪНЪ	2/а
102	ОБ.(ВНТ).ЪЛ.БН.Ъ	ОВНТЪЛЪНЪ	2/а
1074	НА.(ЧА).Л.БН.Ъ	НАЧАЛЪНЪ	2/а
1074	БЕЗ.НА.(ЧА).Л.БН.Ъ	БЕЗНАЧАЛЪНЪ	2/а
1074	СЪ.БЕЗ.НА.(ЧА).Л.БН.Ъ	СЪБЕЗНАЧАЛЪНЪ	2/а
235	(ДОБЪЛ).БН.Ъ	ДОБЪЛЪНЪ	2/а
755	ПРЪБ.(РОД).И.Т.ЕЛ.БН.Ъ	ПРЪБРОДИТЕЛЪНЪ	2/а
1054	(ЦЪЛ).И.Т.ЕЛ.БН.Ъ	ЦЪЛИТЕЛЪНЪ	2/а
132	(ОУЧ).И.Т.ЕЛ.БН.Ъ	ОУЧИТЕЛЪНЪ	2/а
225	СЪ.(ДЪБ).Т.ЕЛ.БН.Ъ	СЪДЪБТЕЛЪНЪ	2/а
458	(КОУПЪЛ).БН.Ъ	КОУПЪЛЪНЪ	2/а
225	НЕ.(ДЪБ).ЪЛ.БН.Ъ	НЕДЪБЪЛЪНЪ	2/а
874	(СРАМ).БН.Ъ	СРАМЪНЪ	2/а
874	БЕЗ.(СРАМ).БН.Ъ	БЕСРАМЪНЪ	2/а
345	(ЈАМ).БН.Ъ	ЈАМЪНЪ	2/а
313	(ЗЕМ).БН.Ъ	ЗЕМЪНЪ	2/а
1061	(ЧАЈ).ЕМ.БН.Ъ	ЧАЈЕМЪНЪ	2/а
316	(ЗИМ).БН.Ъ	ЗИМЪНЪ	2/а
196	(ГРОМ).БН.Ъ	ГРОМЪНЪ	2/а
1015	(ОУМ).БН.Ъ	ОУМЪНЪ	2/а
1015	РАЗ.(ОУМ).БН.Ъ	РАЗОУМЪНЪ	2/а
1015	БЕЗ.(ОУМ).БН.Ъ	БЕЗОУМЪНЪ	2/а
164	НЕ.ПО.(ГЛОУМ).БН.Ъ	НЕПОГЛОУМЪНЪ	2/а
1104	(ШОУМ).БН.Ъ	ШОУМЪНЪ	2/а

1079	(чрьм).ьн.ъ	чрьмьнъ	2/а
1002	(тъм).ьн.ъ	тъмьнъ	2/а
1002	прѣ.(тъм).ьн.ъ	прѣтъмьнъ	2/а
890	нє.по.(страда).а.н.ьн.ъ	непостраданьнъ	2/а
250	вѣз.(дрьж).ѣ.н.ьн.ъ	вѣздрьжаньнъ	2/а
250	оу.(дрьж).ѣ.н.ьн.ъ	оудрьжаньнъ	2/а
1006	нє.(тлж).ѣ.н.ьн.ъ	нетлжаньнъ	2/а
342	((истоуқан).ьн.ъ	истоуқаньнъ	2/а
766	прѣ.(рѣк).а.н.ьн.ъ	прѣрѣканьнъ	2/а
159	нє.из.(гла.гол).а.н.ьн.ъ	неизголоаньнъ	2/а
888	(стра).н.ьн.ъ	страньнъ	2/а
1041	(хран).ьн.ъ	храньнъ	2/а
1041	сѣ.(хран).ьн.ъ	сѣхраньнъ	2/а
666	нє.из.(пис).а.н.ьн.ъ	неисписаньнъ	2/а
879	вѣз.(ста).н.ьн.ъ	вѣстаньнъ	2/а
879	нє.прѣ.(ста).н.ьн.ъ	непрѣстаньнъ	2/а
556	(мльч).ѣ.н.ьн.ъ	мльчаньнъ	2/а
360	по.(каі).а.н.ьн.ъ	покаганьнъ	2/а
360	нє.раз.(каі).а.н.ьн.ъ	нераскаганьнъ	2/а
1061	до.(чаі).а.н.ьн.ъ	дочаганьнъ	2/а
27	(блж).ен.ьн.ъ	блженьнъ	2/а
936	нє.от.(сѣжд).ен.ьн.ъ	неосжденьнъ	2/а
366	(кам).ен.ьн.ъ	каменьнъ	2/а
654	(пла).м.ен.ьн.ъ	пламеньнъ	2/а
673	(плед).м.ен.ьн.ъ	племеньнъ	2/а
333	бєз.(им).ен.ьн.ъ	бєзименьнъ	2/а
666	(пис).м.ен.ьн.ъ	писменьнъ	2/а
1076	бєз.(чит).т.м.ен.ьн.ъ	бєчисменьнъ	2/а
117	(врѣт).м.ен.ьн.ъ	врѣменьнъ	2/а
117	бєз.(врѣт).м.ен.ьн.ъ	бєзврѣменьнъ	2/а
885	(стєп).ен.ьн.ъ	стєпеньнъ	2/а
766	нє.из.(реч).ен.ьн.ъ	неиздреченьнъ	2/а
736	(пшь).ен.ьн.ъ	пшьеньнъ	2/а
28	(блзн).ьн.ъ	блзньнъ	2/а
360	по.(каі).а.зн.ьн.ъ	покагазнньнъ	2/а
286	(жи).зн.ьн.ъ	жизньнъ	2/а
369	оу.(кор).н.зн.ьн.ъ	оукоризньнъ	2/а
39	(бол).ѣ.зн.ьн.ъ	болѣзньнъ	2/а
96	нє.об.(вн).н.ьн.ъ	необвнньнъ	2/а
169	(глѣб).ин.ьн.ъ	глѣбвнньнъ	2/а
96	(вн).н.ьн.ъ	внньнъ ¹	2/а
99	(внн).ьн.ъ	внньнъ ²	2/а
96	нє.(вн).н.ьн.ъ	невнньнъ	2/а
96	бєз.(вн).н.ьн.ъ	бєзвнньнъ	2/а
96	по.(вн).н.ьн.ъ	повнньнъ	2/а
96	нє.по.(вн).н.ьн.ъ	неповнньнъ	2/а
659	(пас).т.в.ин.ьн.ъ	паствинньнъ	2/а
649	раз.(пад).л.ин.ьн.ъ	распалнньнъ	2/а
163	(глин).ьн.ъ	глиньнъ	2/а

536	(маз).т.л.ин.бн.ъ	маслинынъ	2/а
879	до.(стої).бн.бн.ъ	достоннынъ	2/а
311	(звѣр).ин.бн.ъ	звѣриннынъ	2/а
952	(тим).н.бн.ъ	тиннынъ	2/а
340	(ист).ин.бн.ъ	истиннынъ	2/а
1073	без.(чин).бн.ъ	бештиннынъ	2/а
1112	въ.(їн).бн.ъ	въиннынъ	2/а
408	за.(кон).бн.ъ	законнынъ	2/а
408	без.за.(кон).бн.ъ	безаконнынъ	2/а
408	подъ.за.(кон).бн.ъ	подъзаконнынъ	2/а
408	из.(кон).бн.ъ	исконнынъ	2/а
377	не.прѣ.(клон).бн.ъ	непрѣклоннынъ	2/а
91	(веси).бн.ъ	веснынъ	2/а
738	((пѣси).бн.ъ	пѣснынъ	2/а
852	без.(слън).бн.ъ	бесслънынъ	2/а
922	(сън).бн.ъ	сънынъ	2/а
270	(дын).бн.ъ	дыннынъ	2/а
77	(валь).н.бн.ъ	вальнынъ	2/а
56	(брьн).бн.ъ	брьнынъ	2/а
827	(скврь).н.бн.ъ	скврьнынъ	2/а
827	без.(скврь).н.бн.ъ	бескврьнынъ	2/а
827	прѣ.(скврь).н.бн.ъ	прѣскврьнынъ	2/а
98	не.на.(внд).ѣ.н.бн.ъ	ненавидѣнынъ	2/а
63	за.(бѣд).ѣ.н.бн.ъ	забѣдѣнынъ	2/а
840	не.об.(скжд).ѣ.н.бн.ъ	неоскждѣнынъ	2/а
999	(тъл).ѣ.н.бн.ъ	тълѣнынъ	2/а
999	без.(тъл).ѣ.н.бн.ъ	бестлъѣнынъ	2/а
999	не.из.(тъл).ѣ.н.бн.ъ	нестлъѣнынъ	2/а
589	не.из.(мѣн).бн.ъ	неизмѣнынъ	2/а
334	(им).ѣ.н.бн.ъ	имѣнынъ	2/а
589	не.прѣ.(мѣн).бн.ъ	непрѣмѣнынъ	2/а
550	сж.(мьн).ѣ.н.бн.ъ	сжмьнѣнынъ	2/а
740	(пѣн).бн.ъ	пѣнынъ	2/а
1055	без.(цѣн).бн.ъ	безцѣнынъ	2/а
631	(огн).бн.ъ	огнынъ	2/а
410	(коп).бн.ъ	копнынъ	2/а
730	(поуст).ън.бн.ъ	поустънынъ	2/а
813	(свѣт).ън.бн.ъ	свѣтънынъ	2/а
942	по.(топ).бн.ъ	потопнынъ	2/а
459	(коуп).бн.ъ	коупнынъ	2/а
459	въ.(коуп).бн.ъ	въкоупнынъ	2/а
516	при.(лѣп).бн.ъ	прилѣпнынъ	2/а
885	не.при.(стжп).бн.ъ	непристжпнынъ	2/а
885	от.(стжп).бн.ъ	остжпнынъ	2/а
885	не.по.(стжп).бн.ъ	непостжпнынъ	2/а
885	прѣ.(стжп).бн.ъ	прѣстжпнынъ	2/а
925	((сърєєр).бн.ъ	сърєєрнынъ	2/а
827	(скврь).н.ъ	скврьнынъ	2/а
20	(єєдр).бн.ъ	єєдрнынъ	2/а

6	((аер)).ьн.ъ	аерьнъ	2/а
660	(пек).т.ер.ьн.ъ	пештерьнъ	2/а
551	(мир).ьн.ъ	мирьнъ	2/а
24	из.(бор).ьн.ъ	изборьнъ	2/а
24	съ.(бор).ьн.ъ	съборьнъ	2/а
186	(гор).ьн.ъ	горьнъ	2/а
309	за.(зор).ьн.ъ	зazorьнъ	2/а
309	про.(зор).ьн.ъ	prozorьнъ	2/а
309	прѣ.(зор).ьн.ъ	prѣzorьнъ	2/а
369	не.по.(кор).ьн.ъ	неpokopьнъ	2/а
369	оу.(кор).ьн.ъ	оуkopьнъ	2/а
420	((котор)).ьн.ъ	которьнъ	2/а
977	(трын).ъ	трынъ	2/т
139	(вѣ).т.р.ьн.ъ	вѣтрьнъ	2/а
65	(боу).ьн.ъ	боурьнъ	2/а
1080	(чрын).ъ	чрынъ	2/а
665	раз.(пыр).ьн.ъ	распырьнъ	2/а
146	(вѣр).ьн.ъ	вѣрьнъ	2/а
146	не.(вѣр).ьн.ъ	невѣрьнъ	2/а
311	(звѣр).ьн.ъ	звѣрьнъ	2/а
590	без.(мѣр).ьн.ъ	безмѣрьнъ	2/а
590	съ.(мѣр).ьн.ъ	съмѣрьнъ	2/а
372	(квас).ьн.ъ	квасьнъ	2/а
278	оу.(жас).ьн.ъ	оужасьнъ	2/а
162	съ.(глас).ьн.ъ	съгласьнъ	2/а
378	(клас).ьн.ъ	класьнъ	2/а
659	об.(пас).ьн.ъ	опасьнъ	2/а
659	съ.(пас).ьн.ъ	съпасьнъ	2/а
428	(крас).ьн.ъ	красьнъ	2/а
706	на.(прас).ьн.ъ	напрасьнъ	2/а
1063	(час).ьн.ъ	часьнъ	2/а
605	(неб).ес.ьн.ъ	небесьнъ	2/а
605	подъ.(неб).ес.ьн.ъ	подънебесьнъ	2/а
844	(слов).ес.ьн.ъ	словесьнъ	2/а
844	без.(слов).ес.ьн.ъ	бесловесьнъ	2/а
1090	(чоу).д.ес.ьн.ъ	чоудесьнъ	2/а
1004	(тѣл).ес.ьн.ъ	тѣлесьнъ	2/а
634	(оч).ес.ьн.ъ	очесьнъ	2/а
462	из.(коу).ьн.ъ	искоуцьснь	2/а
462	не.из.(коу).ьн.ъ	ненскоуцьснь	2/а
135	(вьс).ьн.ъ	вьсьнъ	2/а
72	(бѣс).ьн.ъ	бѣсьнъ	2/а
591	не.при.(мѣс).ьн.ъ	непримѣсьнъ	2/а
591	не.съ.(мѣс).ьн.ъ	несъмѣсьнъ	2/а
451	въз.(крѣс).ьн.ъ	въскрѣсьнъ	2/а
175	(гнжс).ьн.ъ	гнжсьнъ	2/а
984	по.(тржс).ьн.ъ	потржсьнъ	2/а
312	(зла).т.ьн.ъ	златънъ	2/а
763	(рат).ьн.ъ	ратънъ	2/а

392	((КЛІВЕТ)).БН.Ъ	КЛІВЕТЪНЪ	2/а
545	ОТЪ.(МЕТ).БН.Ъ	ОТЪМЕТЪНЪ	2/а
968	((ТРЕПЕТ)).БН.Ъ	ТРЕПЕТЪНЪ	2/а
818	(СЕТ).БН.Ъ	СЕТЪНЪ	2/а
996	(ТЪШГ).ЕТ.БН.Ъ	ТЪШГЕТЪНЪ	2/а
910	(СОУГ).ЕТ.БН.Ъ	СОУГЕТЪНЪ	2/а
286	(ЖИ).Т.БН.Ъ	ЖИТЪНЪ ¹	2/а
285	(ЖИ).Т.БН.Ъ	ЖИТЪНЪ ²	2/а
750	(РАБ).ОТ.БН.Ъ	РАБОТЪНЪ	2/а
286	(ЖИВ).ОТ.БН.Ъ	ЖИВОТЪНЪ	2/а
1006	(ТРАГ).ОТ.БН.Ъ	ТРАГОТЪНЪ	2/а
833	(СКОТ).БН.Ъ	СКОТЪНЪ	2/а
700	(ПОТ).БН.Ъ	ПОТЪНЪ	2/а
516	(ЛЪП).ОТ.БН.Ъ	ЛЪПОТЪНЪ	2/а
537	(МОК).Р.ОТ.БН.Ъ	МОКРОТЪНЪ	2/а
1038	ПО.(ХОТ).БН.Ъ	ПОХОТЪНЪ	2/а
278	ОУ.(ЖАС).Т.БН.Ъ	ОУЖАСТЪНЪ	2/а
104	ОБ.(ВЛАД).Т.БН.Ъ	ОБЛАСТЪНЪ	2/а
842	(СЛА).Д.Т.БН.Ъ	СЛАСТЪНЪ	2/а
890	(СТРАД).Т.БН.Ъ	СТРАСТЪНЪ	2/а
890	БЕЗ.(СТРАД).Т.БН.Ъ	БЕСТРАСТЪНЪ	2/а
235	(ДОБЛ).ЕСТ.БН.Ъ	ДОБЛІЕСТЪНЪ	2/а
98	НЕ.ЗА.(ВИД).Т.БН.Ъ	НЕЗАВИСТЪНЪ	2/а
98	НЕ.НА.(ВИД).Т.БН.Ъ	НЕНАВИСТЪНЪ	2/а
646	(ОСТ).БН.Ъ	ОСТЪНЪ	2/м
27	(БЛАГ).ОСТ.БН.Ъ	БЛАГОСТЪНЪ	2/а
752	(РАД).ОСТ.БН.Ъ	РАДОСТЪНЪ	2/а
549	(МИЛ).ОСТ.БН.Ъ	МИЛОСТЪНЪ	2/а
699	(ПОСТ).БН.Ъ	ПОСТЪНЪ	2/а
600	ПРЪ.(МЖДР).ОСТ.БН.Ъ	ПРЪМЖДРОСТЪНЪ	2/а
1048	(ХЪГТ).Р.ОСТ.БН.Ъ	ХЪГТРОСТЪНЪ	2/а
441	(КРОТ).ОСТ.БН.Ъ	КРОТОСТЪНЪ	2/а
1018	ПО.(ОУСТ).БН.Ъ	ПООУСТЪНЪ	2/а
730	РАЗ.(ПОУСТ).БН.Ъ	РАСПОУСТЪНЪ	2/а
702	(ПРЪ).СТ.БН.Ъ	ПРЪСТЪНЪ	2/а
499	(ЛЪСТ).БН.Ъ	ЛЪСТЪНЪ	2/а
452	(КРЪСТ).БН.Ъ	КРЪСТЪНЪ	2/а
1076	(ЧЪТ).Т.БН.Ъ	ЧЪСТЪНЪ	2/а
1076	БЕЗ.(ЧЪТ).Т.БН.Ъ	БЕЧЪСТЪНЪ	2/а
1076	НЕ.(ЧЪТ).Т.БН.Ъ	НЕЧЪСТЪНЪ	2/а
1076	ПРЪ.(ЧЪТ).Т.БН.Ъ	ПРЪЧЪСТЪНЪ	2/а
140	БЕЗ.(ВЪД).Т.БН.Ъ	БЕЗВЪСТЪНЪ	2/а
140	ИЗ.(ВЪД).Т.БН.Ъ	ИЗВЪСТЪНЪ	2/а
140	ПО.(ВЪД).Т.БН.Ъ	ПОВЪСТЪНЪ	2/а
140	СЪ.(ВЪД).Т.БН.Ъ	СЪВЪСТЪНЪ	2/а
140	НЕ.СЪ.(ВЪД).Т.БН.Ъ	НЕСЪВЪСТЪНЪ	2/а
1093	(ЧАСТ).БН.Ъ	ЧАСТЪНЪ	2/а
1093	ПРИ.(ЧАСТ).БН.Ъ	ПРИЧАСТЪНЪ	2/а
1093	ОУ.(ЧАСТ).БН.Ъ	ОУЧАСТЪНЪ	2/а

682	(пльт).ьн.ъ	пльтънъ	2/a
682	без.(пльт).ьн.ъ	безпльтънъ	2/a
784	без.(рѣп).ът.ьн.ъ	бездрѣпътънъ	2/a
900	(стрѣп).ът.ьн.ъ	стрѣпътънъ	2/a
920	(сѣт).ьн.ъ	сѣтънъ	2/a
924	не.(сѣт).ьн.ъ	несѣтънъ	2/a
539	сѣ.(мрь).т.ьн.ъ	сѣмрьтънъ	2/a
539	без.сѣ.(мрь).т.ьн.ъ	безсѣмрьтънъ	2/a
648	(оцьт).ьн.ъ	оцьтънъ	2/a
810	без.(сѣѣт).ьн.ъ	безсѣѣтънъ	2/a
1050	(цѣѣт).ьн.ъ	цѣѣтънъ	2/a
137	не.отъ.(ѣѣт).ьн.ъ	неотъѣѣтънъ	2/a
522	(лѣѣт).ьн.ъ	лѣѣтънъ	2/a
522	без.(лѣѣт).ьн.ъ	безлѣѣтънъ	2/a
932	(сѣѣт).ьн.ъ	сѣѣтънъ	2/a
334	при.(ѣа).т.ьн.ъ	приѣатънъ	2/a
748	(пжт).ьн.ъ	пжтънъ	2/a
748	при.(пжт).ьн.ъ	припжтънъ	2/a
748	без.(пжт).ьн.ъ	безпжтънъ	2/a
1008	(тжт).ьн.ъ	тжтънъ	2/m
105	об.(владч).ьн.ъ	обладчнъ	2/a
671	без.(плач).ьн.ъ	безплачнъ	2/a
350	(јѣд).нн.ач.ьн.ъ	јѣдиначнъ	2/a
24	(бра).ч.ьн.ъ	брачнъ	2/a
567	(мрач).ьн.ъ	мрачнъ	2/a
567	прѣ.(мрач).ьн.ъ	прѣмрачнъ	2/a
498	раз.(лич).ьн.ъ	различнъ	2/a
498	сѣ.(лич).ьн.ъ	сѣличнъ	2/a
334	при.(ѣм).нч.ьн.ъ	приѣмчнъ	2/a
1015	раз.(оуѣм).нч.ьн.ъ	разоуѣмчнъ	2/a
1015	не.раз.(оуѣм).нч.ьн.ъ	неразоуѣмчнъ	2/a
672	(паштг).ѣн.нч.ьн.ъ	паштганичнъ	2/a
595	(мжч).ен.нч.ьн.ъ	мжченичнъ	2/a
736	(пъш).ен.нч.ьн.ъ	пъшеничнъ	2/a
860	(смок).ъв.ьн.нч.ьн.ъ	смокъвънчнъ	2/a
1015	не.раз.(оуѣм).ьн.нч.ьн.ъ	неразоуѣмьнчнъ	2/a
1002	(тъм).ьн.нч.ьн.ъ	тъмьнчнъ	2/a
403	(кол).ес.ьн.нч.ьн.ъ	колесьнчнъ	2/a
23	оу.(ѣој).ьч.ьн.ъ	оуѣоичнъ	2/a
965	(тр).ој.нч.ьн.ъ	трончнъ	2/a
420	не.((котор)).нч.ьн.ъ	некоторичнъ	2/a
766	на.(роч).ьн.ъ	нарочнъ	2/a
766	не.по.(роч).ьн.ъ	непорочнъ	2/a
766	от.(роч).ьн.ъ	отрочнъ	2/a
766	оу.(роч).ьн.ъ	оурочнъ	2/a
766	прѣ.(роч).ьн.ъ	прѣрочнъ	2/a
941	об.(точ).ьн.ъ	оточнъ	2/a
941	по.(точ).ьн.ъ	поточнъ	2/a
941	въз.(точ).ьн.ъ	въсточнъ	2/a

989	(ТОУЧ).ЫН.Ъ	ТОУЧЫНЪ	2/а
9	(АЛЪЧ).ЫН.Ъ	АЛЪЧЫНЪ	2/а
681	ПРЪДЪ.(ПЛЪЧ).ЫН.Ъ	ПРЪДЪПЛЪЧЫНЪ	2/а
995	(ТЪЧ).ЫН.Ъ	ТЪЧЫНЪ	2/а
879	ОТ.(СТА).Т.ЪЧ.ЫН.Ъ	ОСТАТЪЧЫНЪ	2/а
879	НЕ.ДО.(СТА).Т.ЪЧ.ЫН.Ъ	НЕДОСТАТЪЧЫНЪ	2/а
132	ОБ.(ВЪЧ).ЫН.Ъ	ОБЪЧЫНЪ	2/а
357	((ЈАЗЪЧ).ЫН.Ъ	ЈАЗЪЧЫНЪ	2/а
877	(СРЪД).ЫЧ.ЫН.Ъ	СРЪДЪЧЫНЪ	2/а
30	(БЛИЗ).Н.ЫЧ.ЫН.Ъ	БЛИЗНЪЧЫНЪ	2/а
408	(КОН).ЫЧ.ЫН.Ъ	КОНЪЧЫНЪ	2/а
408	БЕЗ.(КОН).ЫЧ.ЫН.Ъ	БЕСКОНЪЧЫНЪ	2/а
852	(САЪН).ЫЧ.ЫН.Ъ	САЪНЪЧЫНЪ	2/а
143	(ВЪЧ).ЫН.Ъ	ВЪЧЫНЪ	2/а
1077	((ЧЛОВЪЧ).ЫН.Ъ	ЧЛОВЪЧЫНЪ	2/а
143	ПРЪ.(ВЪЧ).ЫН.Ъ	ПРЪВЪЧЫНЪ	2/а
558	(МАЪЧ).ЫН.Ъ	МАЪЧЫНЪ	2/а
769	(РЪ).Ч.ЫН.Ъ	РЪЧЫНЪ	2/а
593	((МЪСАЧ).ЫН.Ъ	МЪСАЧЫНЪ	2/а
358	(ЈАЧ).ЫН.Ъ	ЈАЧЫНЪ	2/а
526	НЕ.РАЗ.(ЛЖЧ).ЫН.Ъ	НЕРАЗЛЖЧЫНЪ	2/а
526	ОТЪ.(ЛЖЧ).ЫН.Ъ	ОТЪЛЖЧЫНЪ	2/а
595	(МЖЧ).ЫН.Ъ	МЖЧЫНЪ	2/а
795	(РЖЧ).ЫН.Ъ	РЖЧЫНЪ	2/а
1009	(ТЖЧ).ЫН.Ъ	ТЖЧЫНЪ	2/а
48	БЕЗ.(БРАШ).ЫН.Ъ	БЕЗБРАШЫНЪ	2/а
893	(СТРАШ).ЫН.Ъ	СТРАШЫНЪ	2/а
893	ПРИ.(СТРАШ).ЫН.Ъ	ПРИСТРАШЫНЪ	2/а
730	(ПОУСТ).ОШ.ЫН.Ъ	ПОУСТОШЫНЪ	2/а
261	(ДОУШ).ЫН.Ъ	ДОУШЫНЪ	2/а
261	БЕЗ.(ДОУШ).ЫН.Ъ	БЕЗДОУШЫНЪ	2/а
261	ВЪЗ.(ДОУШ).ЫН.Ъ	ВЪЗДОУШЫНЪ	2/а
591	РАЗ.(МЪШ).ЫН.Ъ	РАЗМЪШЫНЪ	2/а
591	СЪ.(МЪШ).ЫН.Ъ	СЪМЪШЫНЪ	2/а
872	(СПЪ).Ш.ЫН.Ъ	СПЪШЫНЪ	2/а
872	НЕ.ПО.(СПЪ).Ш.ЫН.Ъ	НЕПОСПЪШЫНЪ	2/а
872	ОУ.(СПЪ).Ш.ЫН.Ъ	ОУСПЪШЫНЪ	2/а
154	(ГРЪ).Ш.ЫН.Ъ	ГРЪШЫНЪ	2/а
154	БЕЗ.(ГРЪ).Ш.ЫН.Ъ	БЕЗГРЪШЫНЪ	2/а
792	НЕ.РАЗ.(РЪШ).ЫН.Ъ	НЕРАЗРЪШЫНЪ	2/а
957	ОУ.(ТЪШ).ЫН.Ъ	ОУТЪШЫНЪ	2/а
154	(ГОР).ОУШ.ЫН.Ъ	ГОРЮШЫНЪ	2/а
94	(ВЕШГ).ЫН.Ъ	ВЕШГЫНЪ	2/а
94	БЕЗ.(ВЕШГ).ЫН.Ъ	БЕЗВЕШГЫНЪ	2/а
660	(ПЕК).Т.ЫН.Ъ	ПЕШГЫНЪ	2/а
1051	(ЦРЪК).ЪВ.ИШГ.ЫН.Ъ	ЦРЪКЪВИШГЫНЪ	2/а
668	(ПИШГ).ЫН.Ъ	ПИШГЫНЪ	2/а
368	(КАП).ИШГ.ЫН.Ъ	КАПИШГЫНЪ	2/а
629	((ОВОШГ).ЫН.Ъ	ОВОШГЫНЪ	2/а

535	(мог).т.ьн.ъ	моштѣнъ	2/а
535	не.(мог).т.ьн.ъ	немоштѣнъ	2/а
614	(ношт).ьн.ъ	ноштѣнъ	2/а
614	об.(ношт).ьн.ъ	обноштѣнъ	2/а
997	(тѣшт).ьн.ъ	тѣштѣнъ	2/а
623	(об).ьшт.ьн.ъ	обьштѣнъ	2/а
998	(тѣс).ьшт.ьн.ъ	тѣсаштѣнъ	2/а
276	(с).ьшт.ьн.ъ	сѣштѣнъ	2/а
276	на.(с).ьшт.ьн.ъ	насѣштѣнъ	2/а
276	съ.(с).ьшт.ьн.ъ	съсѣштѣнъ	2/а
635	((олов).ѣн.ъ	оловѣнъ	2/а
253	(дрѣв).ѣн.ъ	дрѣвѣнъ	2/а
587	(лѣд).ѣн.ъ	лѣдѣнъ	2/а
520	(лѣн).ъ	лѣнъ	2/а
686	(плѣн).ъ	плѣнъ	2/м
999	без.(тѣл).ѣ.н.ъ	бестѣлѣнъ	2/а
366	(кам).ѣн.ъ	камѣнъ	2/а
654	(пла).м.ѣн.ъ	пламѣнъ	2/а
1017	(оуѣм).ѣн.ъ	оуѣмѣнъ	2/а
781	(роуѣ).м.ѣн.ъ	роуѣмѣнъ	2/а
702	(пра).х.н.ѣн.ъ	прахнѣнъ	2/а
515	(льн).ѣн.ъ	льнѣнъ	2/а
977	(трын).ѣн.ъ	трынѣнъ	2/а
358	(ѣч).ьн.ѣн.ъ	ѣчьнѣнъ	2/а
106	(влас).ѣн.ъ	власѣнъ	2/а
682	(пльт).ѣн.ъ	пльтѣнъ	2/а
648	((оцѣт).ѣн.ъ	оцѣтѣнъ	2/а
354	(юѣн).ъ	юнъ	2/а
10	въ.не.за.(ап).ъ	вънезаапъ	2/а
1029	(хлп).ъ	хлпъ	2/м
864	(сноп).ъ	снопъ	2/м
696	(поп).ъ	попъ	2/м
1014	((оуѣроп).ъ	оуѣропъ	2/м
896	(строп).ъ	стропъ	2/м
942	по.(топ).ъ	потопъ	2/м
459	(коуп).ъ	коупъ	2/м
458	при.(коуп).ъ	прикоупъ	2/м
972	(троуп).ъ	троупъ	2/м
899	(строуп).ъ	строупъ	2/м
887	(стльп).ъ	стльпъ	2/м
125	((врьтѣп).ъ	врьтѣпъ	2/м
878	(срьп).ъ	срьпъ	2/м
516	(лѣп).ъ	лѣпъ	2/а
855	(слѣп).ъ	слѣпъ	2/а
516	прѣ.(лѣп).ъ	прѣлѣпъ	2/а
806	((сверѣп).ъ	сверѣпъ	2/а
453	(крѣп).ъ	крѣпъ	2/а
885	за.(стѣп).ъ	застѣпъ	2/м
81	(вар).ъ	варъ	2/м

804	(свар).ъ	сваръ	2/m
216	(да).р.ъ	даръ	2/m
880	(стар).ъ	старъ	2/a
1095	(шар).ъ	шаръ	2/m
346	(јар).ъ	яръ	2/a
235	(доб).р.ъ	добръ	2/a
235	прѣ.(доб).р.ъ	прѣдобръ	2/a
226	((деклвр)).ъ	деклвръ	2/m
1108	(штѣд).р.ъ	штѣдръ	2/a
1108	прѣ.(штѣд).р.ъ	прѣштѣдръ	2/a
632	(одр).ъ	одръ	2/m
63	(бъд).р.ъ	бъдръ	2/a
355	(јадр).ъ	ядръ	2/a
600	(мждр).ъ	мждръ	2/a
600	прѣ.(мждр).ъ	прѣмждръ	2/a
6	(аер).ъ	аеръ	2/m
927	((сѣвер)).ъ	сѣверъ	2/m
882	(стеж).ер.ъ	стежеръ	2/m
343	((јетер)).ъ	јетеръ	2/a
93	(веч).ер.ъ	вечеръ	2/m
13	((аштер)).ъ	аштеръ	2/m
551	(мир).ъ	миръ	2/m
457	((коумир)).ъ	коумиръ	2/m
651	(пи).р.ъ	пиръ	2/m
823	(сир).ъ	сиръ	2/a
537	(мок).р.ъ	мокръ	2/a
24	съ.(бор).ъ	съборъ	2/m
221	(двор).ъ	дворъ	2/m
179	((говор)).ъ	говоръ	2/m
944	(твор).ъ	творъ	2/m
89	за.(твор).ъ	затворъ	2/m
1071	((четвор)).ъ	четворъ	2/a
220	раз.(дор).ъ	раздоръ	2/m
309	за.(зор).ъ	зазоръ	2/m
309	по.(зор).ъ	позоръ	2/m
309	въ.(зор).ъ	възоръ	2/m
413	(кор).ъ	коръ	2/m
369	не.по.(кор).ъ	непоръ	2/m
832	(скор).ъ	скоръ	2/a
369	оу.(кор).ъ	оукоръ	2/m
539	(мор).ъ	моръ	2/m
814	(се,ди).ор.ъ	се,диоръ	2/a
130	((вѣтор)).ъ	вѣторъ	2/a
240	((дохътор)).ъ	дохъторъ	2/m
228	(дес).лт.ор.ъ	деслторъ	2/a
412	(копр).ъ	копръ	2/m
47	(брат).р.ъ	братръ	2/m
646	(ост).р.ъ	остръ	2/a
68	(бѣистр).ъ	бѣистръ	2/a

1048	(хъгт).р.ъ	хъгтръ	2/а
139	(вѣт).т.р.ъ	вѣтръ	2/м
461	(коур).ъ	коуръ	2/м
991	(тоур).ъ	тоуръ	2/м
1039	((храбър).ъ	храбъръ	2/а
17	((багър).ъ	багъръ	2/м
616	про.(нър).ъ	пронъръ	2/м
913	(сър).ъ	съръ ¹	2/а
913	(сър).ъ	съръ ²	2/м
25	((нисър).ъ	нисъръ	2/м
372	(квас).ъ	квасъ	2/м
278	оур.(жас).ъ	оуржасъ	2/м
106	(влас).ъ	власъ	2/м
162	(глас).ъ	гласъ	2/м
378	(клас).ъ	класъ	2/м
659	об.(пас).ъ	опасъ	2/м
659	сър.(пас).ъ	сърпасъ	2/м
1063	(час).ъ	часъ	2/м
348	по.(јас).ъ	појасъ	2/м
494	(лис).ъ	лисъ	2/м
607	при.(нос).ъ	приносъ	2/м
607	по.(нос).ъ	поносъ	2/м
707	въ.(прос).ъ	въпросъ	2/м
462	из.(коус).ъ	искоусъ	2/м
462	въ.(коус).ъ	въкоусъ	2/м
50	оур.(броус).ъ	оурброусъ	2/м
919	(сърс).ъ	сърсъ	2/м
734	(пърс).ъ	пърсъ	2/м
72	(бърс).ъ	бърсъ	2/м
521	(лърс).ъ	лърсъ	2/м
984	(тржс).ъ	тржсъ	2/м
938	(т).ъ	тъ	2/р
37	(бог).ат.ъ	богатъ	2/а
937	(сжк).ат.ъ	сжкатъ	2/а
937	об.(сжк).ат.ъ	обсжкатъ	2/а
312	(зла).т.ъ	златъ	2/а
435	(крил).ат.ъ	крилатъ	2/а
553	(мла).т.ъ	млатъ	2/м
672	(плат).ъ	платъ	2/м
658	(пер).ын.ат.ъ	перынатъ	2/а
47	(брат).ъ	братъ	2/м
117	(врат).ъ	вратъ ¹	2/м
89	(вра).т.ъ	вратъ ²	2/м
432	(крат).ъ	кратъ	2/м
879	сж.по.(ста).т.ъ	сжпостатъ	2/м
545	подър.(мет).ъ	подърметъ	2/м
968	((трепет).ъ	трепетъ	2/м
1113	(ѣд).об.ит.ъ	ѣдовитъ	2/а
673	(плод).об.ит.ъ	плововитъ	2/а

673	НЕ.(ПЛОД).ОВ.ИТЪ.Ъ	НЕПЛОДОВИТЪ	2/а
986	(ТРЖДА).ОВ.ИТЪ.Ъ	ТРЖДОВИТЪ	2/а
239	(ДОМ).ОВ.ИТЪ.Ъ	ДОМОВИТЪ	2/а
801	(САИ).ОВ.ИТЪ.Ъ	САИОВИТЪ	2/а
374	(КИТ).Ъ	КИТЪ	2/м
319	(ЗНА).М.ЕН.ИТЪ.Ъ	ЗНАМЕНИТЪ	2/а
333	(ИМ).ЕН.ИТЪ.Ъ	ИМЕНИТЪ	2/а
536	(МАЗ).Т.И.ТЪ.Ъ	МАЗИТЪ	2/а
766	НА.(РОЧ).ИТЪ.Ъ	НАРОЧИТЪ	2/а
1110	(ШТИГ).Ъ	ШТИГЪ	2/м
286	(ЖИВ).ОТЪ.Ъ	ЖИВОТЪ	2/м
402	(КОК).ОТЪ.Ъ	КОКОТЪ	2/м
833	(СКОТ).Ъ	СКОТЪ	2/м
676	(ПЛОТ).Ъ	ПЛОТЪ	2/м
676	ОВ.(ПЛОТ).Ъ	ОПЛОТЪ	2/м
700	(ПОТ).Ъ	ПОТЪ	2/м
381	(КЛОП).ОТЪ.Ъ	КЛОПОТЪ	2/м
762	(РАСТ).Ъ	РАСТЪ	2/м
762	ВЪЗ.(РАСТ).Ъ	ВЪЗРАСТЪ	2/м
1096	(ШЕСТ).Ъ	ШЕСТЪ	2/а
340	(ИСТ).Ъ	ИСТЪ	2/а
495	(ЛИСТ).Ъ	ЛИСТЪ	2/м
1075	(ЧИСТ).Ъ	ЧИСТЪ	2/а
1075	НЕ.(ЧИСТ).Ъ	НЕЧИСТЪ	2/а
1075	ПРЪ.(ЧИСТ).Ъ	ПРЪЧИСТЪ	2/а
563	(МОСТ).Ъ	МОСТЪ	2/м
699	(ПОСТ).Ъ	ПОСТЪ	2/м
709	(ПРОСТ).Ъ	ПРОСТЪ	2/а
709	ПРЪ.(ПРОСТ).Ъ	ПРЪПРОСТЪ	2/а
730	(ПОУСТ).Ъ	ПОУСТЪ	2/а
577	(МЪСТ).Ъ	МЪСТЪ	2/м
452	(КРЪСТ).Ъ	КРЪСТЪ	2/м
718	(ПРЪСТ).Ъ	ПРЪСТЪ	2/м
1094	(ЧАСТ).Ъ	ЧАСТЪ	2/а
784	(РЪП).ЪТЪ.Ъ	РЪПЪТЪ	2/м
715	(ПРЪТ).Ъ	ПРЪТЪ	2/м
921	(СЪТ).Ъ	СЪТЪ	2/м
924	(СЪИТ).Ъ	СЪИТЪ	2/а
1044	((ХРЪБЪТ).Ъ	ХРЪБЪТЪ	2/м
837	(СКРЪЖ).ЪТЪ.Ъ	СКРЪЖЪТЪ	2/м
123	(ВРЪТ).Ъ	ВРЪТЪ	2/м
1071	((ЧЕТВРЪ).ЪТЪ.Ъ	ЧЕТВРЪТЪ	2/а
657	((ПАПРЪТ).Ъ	ПАПРЪТЪ	2/м
648	((ОЦЪТ).Ъ	ОЦЪТЪ	2/м
388	(КЛЪЧ).ЪТЪ.Ъ	КЛЪЧЪТЪ	2/м
584	(МЪЧ).ЪТЪ.Ъ	МЪЧЪТЪ	2/м
137	ОВ.(ВЪТ).Ъ	ОВЪТЪ	2/м
137	(ВЪТ).Ъ	ВЪТЪ	2/м
137	ЗА.(ВЪТ).Ъ	ЗАВЪТЪ	2/м

137	из.(вѣт).ъ	извѣтъ	2/m
137	при.(вѣт).ъ	привѣтъ	2/m
810	(свѣт).ъ	свѣтъ	2/m
137	оу.(вѣт).ъ	оувѣтъ	2/m
1050	(цвѣт).ъ	цвѣтъ	2/m
137	съ.(вѣт).ъ	съвѣтъ	2/m
137	отъ.(вѣт).ъ	отъвѣтъ	2/m
380	((клеверѣт)).ъ	клеверѣтъ	2/m
532	(лоу).ъ	лютъ	2/a
224	(дѣв).аг.ъ	дѣвѣтъ	2/a
813	(свѣт).ъ	свѣтъ	2/a
813	прѣ.(свѣт).ъ	прѣсвѣтъ	2/a
746	(пѣт).ъ	пѣтъ	2/a
228	(дѣс).аг.ъ	дѣсѣтъ	2/a
987	(трѣт).ъ	трѣтъ	2/m
702	(пра).х.ъ	прахъ	2/m
893	(страх).ъ	страхъ	2/m
496	(лих).ъ	лихъ	2/a
496	прѣ.(лих).ъ	прѣлихъ	2/a
283	(жен).их.ъ	женихъ	2/m
574	(мън).их.ъ	мънихъ	2/m
957	(тих).ъ	тихъ	2/a
261	(доух).ъ	дохъ	2/m
261	въз.(дох).ъ	въздохъ	2/m
165	(глоух).ъ	глоухъ	2/a
844	(слоу).х.ъ	слоухъ	2/m
844	по.(слоу).х.ъ	послоухъ	2/m
443	оу.(кроух).ъ	оукроухъ	2/m
914	(соух).ъ	соухъ	2/a
659	(пас).т.оух.ъ	пастоухъ	2/m
92	(вет).ъх.ъ	ветъхъ	2/a
126	(врѣх).ъ	врѣхъ	2/m
594	(мѣх).ъ	мѣхъ	2/m
858	(смѣ).х.ъ	смѣхъ	2/m
872	(спѣ).х.ъ	спѣхъ	2/m
872	по.(спѣ).х.ъ	поспѣхъ	2/m
872	оу.(спѣ).х.ъ	оуспѣхъ	2/m
154	(грѣ).х.ъ	грѣхъ	2/m
530	(люв).ъи	лювъи	0/f
530	прѣ.(люв).ъи	прѣлювъи	0/f
	see тъи	въи	
468	((кѣниг)).ъи	кѣнигъи	2/f
1037	((хоржг)).ъи	хоржгъи	0/f
45	(брад).ъи	брадъи	0/f
673	не.(плод).ъи	неплодъи	0/f
503	(лок).ъи	локъи	0/f
860	(смок).ъи	смокъи	0/f
1051	(црьк).ъи	црькъи	0/f
1054	(цѣл).ъи	цѣлъи	0/f

	see азъ	МЪЫ	
294	(жрѣн).ъы	жрѣнъы	0/f
917	об.(сѣп).ъы	обсѣпъы	2/f
805	(свекр).ъы	свекръы	0/f
943	((тѣ))	тѣ	0/s
739	(пѣг).от.ъы	пѣготъы	2/f
395	(коб).ь	кобь	1/f
324	(зѣл).об.ь	зѣлобь	1/f
836	(скрѣб).ь	скрѣбь	1/f
1034	(хлѣб).ь	хлѣбь	1/f
183	((голѣб)).ь	голѣбь	1/m
138	(вѣ).т.в.ь	вѣтвь	1/f
51	(брѣв).ь	брѣвь	1/f
444	(крѣв).ь	крѣвь	1/f
120	(врѣв).ь	врѣвь	1/f
1078	(чрѣв).ь	чрѣвь	1/m
649	про.(пад).ь	пропадь	1/f
1113	(іѣд).ь	іадь	1/f
1067	((чѣлад)).ь	чѣладь	1/f
156	(гвозд).ь	гвоздь	1/m
1099	оу.(шинд).ь	оушиндь	1/m
187	((господ)).ь	господь	0/m
945	(тврѣд).ь	тврѣдь	1/f
293	(жрѣд).ь	жрѣдь	1/f
140	(вѣд).ь	вѣдь	1/f
140	по.(вѣд).ь	повѣдь	1/f
140	за.по.(вѣд).ь	заповѣдь	1/f
140	про.по.(вѣд).ь	проповѣдь	1/f
140	из.по.(вѣд).ь	исповѣдь	1/f
140	сѣ.(вѣд).ь	сѣвѣдь	1/f
587	(мѣд).ь	мѣдь	1/f
1113	сѣн.(ѣд).ь	сѣнѣдь	1/f
33	(блад).ь	бладь	1/f
664	(пад).д.ь	падь	1/f
1092	(чад).ь	чадь	1/f
891	(страж).ь	стражь	2/m
656	(пап).еж.ь	папѣжь	2/m
597	(мат).еж.ь	матѣжь	2/m
609	(нож).ь	ножь	2/m
512	(лѣж).ь	лѣжь	2/a
467	((кѣнѣж)).ь	кѣнѣжь	2/a
601	(мѣж).ь	мѣжь	2/m
307	(зажд).ь	заждь	2/m
192	(гражд).ь	граждь	2/m
75	(вожд).ь	вождь	2/m
988	(тоужд).ь	тоуждь	2/a
263	(дѣжд).ь	дѣждь	2/m
180	((говѣжд)).ь	говѣждь	2/a
87	((вельѣжд)).ь	вельѣждь	2/a

376	((КЛАДАЪ)).Ъ	КЛАДАЪЪ	2/м
839	((СКЪЛАЪ)).Ъ	СКЪЛАЪЪ	2/м
467	((КЪНАЪ)).Ъ	КЪНАЪЪ	2/м
741	((ПЪНАЪ)).Ъ	ПЪНАЪЪ	2/м
281	(ЖЪЛА).Ъ	ЖАЛЪ	1/ф
834	((СКРИЖАЛ).Ъ	СКРИЖАЛЪ	1/ф
660	(ПЕЧ).ЪЛА.Ъ	ПЕЧАЛЪ	1/ф
1118	(ЖГЛ).Ъ	ЖГЛЪ	1/м
39	(БОЛ).Ъ	БОЛЪ	1/м
238	Ж.(ДОЛ).Ъ	ЖДОЛЪ	1/ф
252	((ДРЪКОЛ).Ъ	ДРЪКОЛЪ	1/ф
842	(СОЛ).Ъ	СОЛЪ	1/ф
762	ОТЪ.(РАСТ).Т.Л.Ъ	ОТЪРАСЛЪ	1/ф
578	(МЪИСЛ).Ъ	МЪИСЛЪ	1/ф
324	(ЗЪЛ).Ъ	ЗЪЛЪ	1/ф
210	(ГЪИБ).ЪЛА.Ъ	ГЪИБЪЛА	1/ф
210	ПО.(ГЪИБ).ЪЛА.Ъ	ПОГЪИБЪЛА	1/ф
945	(ТВРЪДА).ЪЛА.Ъ	ТВРЪДАЪЛА	1/ф
476	(КЖП).ЪЛА.Ъ	КЖПЪЛА	1/ф
808	(СВИР).ЪЛА.Ъ	СВИРЪЛА	1/ф
102	ОВ.(ВИТ).ЪЛА.Ъ	ОВИТЪЛА	1/ф
429	(КРАСТ).ЪЛА.Ъ	КРАСТЪЛА	1/ф
225	(ДЪТ).Т.ЪЛА.Ъ	ДЪТЪЛА	1/ф
791	ОВ.(РЪТ).ЪЛА.Ъ	ОВРЪТЪЛА	1/ф
791	ПРИ.ОВ.(РЪТ).ЪЛА.Ъ	ПРИОВРЪТЪЛА	1/ф
415	((КОРАБЪЛ).Ъ	КОРАБЪЛЪ	2/м
235	(ДОБЪЛ).Ъ	ДОБЪЛЪ	2/а
216	(ДА).Т.ЕЛ.Ъ	ДАТЕЛЪ	2/м*
216	ВЪЗ.(ДА).Т.ЕЛ.Ъ	ВЪЗДАТЕЛЪ	2/м*
216	ПО.(ДА).Т.ЕЛ.Ъ	ПОДАТЕЛЪ	2/м*
315	(ЗЪДА).А.Т.ЕЛ.Ъ	ЗЪДАТЕЛЪ	2/м*
315	СЪ.(ЗЪДА).А.Т.ЕЛ.Ъ	СЪЗЪДАТЕЛЪ	2/м*
140	ПРО.ПО.(ВЪДА).А.Т.ЕЛ.Ъ	ПРОПОВЪДАТЕЛЪ	2/м*
216	ПРЪ.(ДА).Т.ЕЛ.Ъ	ПРЪДАТЕЛЪ	2/м*
243	ПО.(ДРАЖ).А.Т.ЕЛ.Ъ	ПОДРАЖАТЕЛЪ	2/м*
1006	(ТАЖ).ЪЛА.Т.ЕЛ.Ъ	ТАЖАТЕЛЪ	2/м*
363	(КАЗ).А.Т.ЕЛ.Ъ	КАЗАТЕЛЪ	2/м*
363	СЪ.(КАЗ).А.Т.ЕЛ.Ъ	СЪКАЗАТЕЛЪ	2/м*
335	ВЪЗ.(ИСК).А.Т.ЕЛ.Ъ	ВЪЗНИСКАТЕЛЪ	2/м*
480	(ЛА).Т.ЕЛ.Ъ	ЛАТЕЛЪ	2/м*
225	(ДЪЛ).Л.А.Т.ЕЛ.Ъ	ДЪЛАТЕЛЪ	2/м*
791	ОВ.(РЪТЪ).А.Т.ЕЛ.Ъ	ОВРЪТЪАТЕЛЪ	2/м*
710	(ПРИ).А.Т.ЕЛ.Ъ	ПРИАТЕЛЪ	2/м*
190	ПО.(ГРЕБ).Н.Т.ЕЛ.Ъ	ПОГРЕБИТЕЛЪ	2/м*
210	(ГОУБ).Н.Т.ЕЛ.Ъ	ГОУБИТЕЛЪ	2/м*
16	ИЗ.(БАВ).Н.Т.ЕЛ.Ъ	ИЗБАВИТЕЛЪ	2/м*
703	(ПРАВ).Н.Т.ЕЛ.Ъ	ПРАВИТЕЛЪ	2/м*
703	ИЗ.(ПРАВ).Н.Т.ЕЛ.Ъ	ИСПРАВИТЕЛЪ	2/м*
879	ВЪЗ.(СТА).В.Н.Т.ЕЛ.Ъ	ВЪСТАВИТЕЛЪ	2/м*

438	по. (кров).н.т.ел.ь	покровитель	2/m*
74	об. (вад).н.т.ел.ь	обадитель	2/m*
216	по. (дад).н.т.ел.ь	подадитель	2/m*
798	до. (сад).н.т.ел.ь	досадитель	2/m*
811	((свобод)).н.т.ел.ь	свободитель	2/m*
75	до. (вод).н.т.ел.ь	доводитель	2/m*
755	(род).н.т.ел.ь	родитель	2/m*
70	по. (бѣд).н.т.ел.ь	побѣдитель	2/m*
936	(сжд).н.т.ел.ь	сждитель	2/m*
286	(жи).т.ел.ь	житель	2/m*
850	(слоуж).н.т.ел.ь	слоужитель	2/m*
315	(знижд).н.т.ел.ь	зниждитель	2/m*
999	(тъл).н.т.ел.ь	тълитель	2/m*
273	(дѣл).н.т.ел.ь	дѣлитель	2/m*
1054	(цѣл).н.т.ел.ь	цѣлитель	2/m*
1054	из. (цѣл).н.т.ел.ь	ицѣлитель	2/m*
964	(том).н.т.ел.ь	томитель ¹	2/m*
964	(том).н.т.ел.ь	томитель ²	2/a
1041	(хран).н.т.ел.ь	хранитель	2/m*
153	(гон).н.т.ел.ь	гонитель	2/m*
787	(рьв).ьн.н.т.ел.ь	рьвнитель	2/m*
892	(строј).н.т.ел.ь	строитель	2/m*
659	съ. (пас).н.т.ел.ь	съпаситель	2/m*
707	(прос).н.т.ел.ь	проситель	2/m*
462	из. (коус).н.т.ел.ь	искоуситель	2/m*
1110	за. (штит).н.т.ел.ь	заштититель	2/m*
1075	(чист).н.т.ел.ь	чиститель	2/m*
452	(кръст).н.т.ел.ь	кръститель	2/m*
810	(свѣт).н.т.ел.ь	свѣтитель	2/m*
813	(свѣт).н.т.ел.ь	свѣтитель	2/m*
498	об. (лич).н.т.ел.ь	обличитель	2/m*
132	(оуч).н.т.ел.ь	оучитель	2/m*
595	(мжч).н.т.ел.ь	мжчитель	2/m*
126	съ. (врьш).н.т.ел.ь	съврьшитель	2/m*
104	(влад).т.ел.ь	властель	2/m*
225	съ. (дѣ).т.ел.ь	съдѣтель	2/m*
140	съ. (вѣд).ѣ.т.ел.ь	съвѣдѣтель	2/m*
302	(жа).т.ел.ь	жатель	2/m*
334	подъ. (іа).т.ел.ь	подъятель	2/m*
1015	без. (оумл).ь	безоумль	2/a
129	(въпл).ь	въплъ	2/m
400	(коз).ьл.ь	козьль	2/a
640	(ор).ьл.ь	орль	2/a
643	(ос).ьл.ь	осль	2/a
814	(седм).ь	седмь	1/f
276		юсмь	0
645	(осм).ь	осмь	1/f
216	(да).н.ь	дань	1/f
232	(длан).ь	длань	1/f

42	(бра).н.ь	брань	1/f
203	((грѣтан)).ь	грѣтань	1/m
905	(стоуд).ен.ь	стоудень	1/f
352	(јел).ен.ь	јелень	1/m
366	(кам).ен.ь	камень	1/m
654	(пла).м.ен.ь	пламень	1/m
768	(рем).ен.ь	ремень	1/m
885	(степ).ен.ь	степень	1/m
414	(кор).ен.ь	корень	1/m
718	(прѣст).ен.ь	прѣстень	1/m
1078	(чрьвлѣ).ен.ь	чрьвлѣнь	1/f
362	(каз).н.ь	казнь	1/f
360	(каі).а.зн.ь	кагазнь	1/f
360	по.(каі).а.зн.ь	покагазнь	1/f
710	(приј).а.зн.ь	пригазнь	1/f
710	не.(приј).а.зн.ь	непригазнь	1/f
38	(вој).ѣ.зн.ь	вогазнь	1/f
286	(жи).зн.ь	жизнь	1/f
397	(къ).зн.ь	къзнь	1/f
397	(кы).зн.ь	къизнь	1/f
39	(вол).ѣ.зн.ь	волѣзнь	1/f
953	(тин).ь	тинь	1/f
408	по.(кон).ь	поконь	1/m
738	((пѣси)).ь	пѣснь	1/f
270	(дън).ь	дънь	1/m
182	((голѣн)).ь	голѣнь	1/f
929	(сѣн).ь	сѣнь	1/f
631	(огн).ь	огнь	2/m
352	(јел).ей.ь	јелѣнь	2/a
426	въз.(крај).ьн.ь	въскранѣнь	2/a
183	((голѣви)).нн.ь	голѣвинѣнь	2/a
187	((господ)).нн.ь	господинѣнь	2/a
410	(коп).ь	копѣнь	2/m
454	об.(крѣг).ън.ь	окрѣгънѣнь	2/a
465	((къкън)).ь	къкънѣнь	2/m
245	(древ).ьн.ь	древьнѣнь	2/a
627	(ов).ьн.ь	овьнѣнь	2/a
126	(врьх).ов.ьн.ь	врьховьнѣнь	2/a
691	из.(под).ьн.ь	исподънѣнь	2/a
691	прѣ.из.(под).ьн.ь	прѣисподънѣнь	2/a
187	((господ)).ьн.ь	господънѣнь	2/a
857	по.(слѣд).ьн.ь	послѣдънѣнь	2/a
719	(прѣ).д.ьн.ь	прѣдънѣнь	2/a
877	(срѣд).ьн.ь	срѣдънѣнь	2/a
877	по.(срѣд).ьн.ь	посрѣдънѣнь	2/a
30	(ближ).ьн.ь	ближьнѣнь	2/a
608	(ниж).ьн.ь	нижьнѣнь	2/a
248	(дрож).ьн.ь	дрожьнѣнь	2/a
719	(прѣ).жд.ьн.ь	прѣждьнѣнь	2/a

148	съ.(вѡз).ьн.ь	съвѡзънѣ	2/а
219	(дал).ьн.ь	далънѣ	2/а
238	(дол).ьн.ь	долънѣ	2/а
721	(прѣм).ьн.ь	прѣмънѣ	2/а
540	(мат).ер.ьн.ь	матерънѣ	2/а
93	(веч).ер.ьн.ь	вечерънѣ	2/а
336	(искр).ьн.ь	искрънѣ	2/а
186	(гор).ьн.ь	горънѣ	2/а
339	въ.(испр).ьн.ь	въиспрънѣ	2/а
339	прѣ.въ.(испр).ьн.ь	прѣвъиспрънѣ	2/а
47	(брат).р.ьн.ь	братрънѣ	2/а
1019	(оутр).ьн.ь	оутрънѣ	2/а
1019	за.(оутр).ьн.ь	заоутрънѣ	2/а
139	(вѣт).т.р.ьн.ь	вѣтрънѣ	2/а
1120	(жтр).ьн.ь	жтрънѣ	2/а
1120	вън.(жтр).ьн.ь	вънжтрънѣ	2/а
270	(дън).ь.с.ьн.ь	дъньсънѣ	2/а
47	(брат).ьн.ь	братънѣ	2/а
452	об.(кръст).ьн.ь	окръстънѣ	2/а
104	(влад).ъч.ьн.ь	владъчьнѣ	2/а
239	(дом).а.ш.ьн.ь	домашънѣ	2/а
93	(въч).ер.а.ш.ьн.ь	въчерашънѣ	2/а
618	(нзын).ѣ.ш.ьн.ь	нзынъшънѣ	2/а
133	(въш).ьн.ь	въшьнѣ	2/а
133	съ.(въш).ьн.ь	съвъшьнѣ	2/а
133	прѣ.(въш).ьн.ь	прѣвъшьнѣ	2/а
270	(дън).ь.ш.ьн.ь	дъньшьнѣ	2/а
439	(кром).ѣ.ш.ьн.ь	кромъшьнѣ	2/а
128	(вън).ѣ.ш.ьн.ь	вънъшьнѣ	2/а
1019	(оутр).ѣ.ш.ьн.ь	оутрѣшьнѣ	2/а
909	(стѣн).ь	стѣнѣ	2/м
368	(кап).ь	капѣ	1/ф
944	(твар).ь	тварѣ	1/ф
944	оу.(твар).ь	оутварѣ	1/ф
269	(дъбр).ь	дъбрѣ	1/ф
332	(игр).ь	игрѣ	1/ф
88	(вепр).ь	вепрѣ	1/м
221	(двър).ь	двърѣ	1/ф
311	(звѣр).ь	звѣрѣ	1/м
785	(рзыб).ар.ь	рзыбарѣ	2/м*
99	(вин).ар.ь	винарѣ	2/м*
373	(кес).ар.ь	кесарѣ	2/м*
1058	(цѣс).ар.ь	цѣсарѣ	2/м*
1058	(цѣс).ар.ь	цѣсарѣ	2/а
89	(вра).т.ар.ь	вратарѣ	2/м*
392	(«клеввет»).ар.ь	клевветарѣ	2/м*
579	(мзыт).ар.ь	мзытарѣ	2/м*
201	(грън).ьч.ар.ь	гръньчарѣ	2/м*
394	(клѡуч).ар.ь	клѡучарѣ	2/м*

540	(мат).еѣ.ь	матѣрь	2/а
659	(пас).т.ѣѣ.ь	пастѣрь	2/м
665	сж.(пѣѣ).ь	сжпѣрь	2/м
797	(с).ь	съ	0/р
136	(вьс).ь	вьсь	2/р*
135	(вьс).ь	вьсь	1/ѣ
171	(гнь).с.ь	гньсь	1/ѣ
763	(рат).ь	рать	1/ѣ
939	(та).т.ь	тать	1/м
662	((печат)).ь	печать	1/м
763	(рет).ь	реть	1/ѣ
97	въз.(ви).т.ь	възвѣтъ	1/ѣ
286	(жи).т.ь	жить	1/ѣ
286	па.(жи).т.ь	пажить	1/ѣ
1038	(хот).ь	хоть	1/ѣ
1038	по.(хот).ь	похоть	1/ѣ
278	оу.(жас).т.ь	оужасъ	1/ѣ
104	об.(влад).т.ь	область	1/ѣ
104	(влад).т.ь	власть	1/ѣ
842	(сла).д.т.ь	сласть	1/ѣ
536	(маз).т.ь	масть	1/ѣ
649	на.(пад).т.ь	напасть	1/ѣ
649	про.(пад).т.ь	пропасть	1/ѣ
890	(страд).т.ь	страсть	1/ѣ
1006	(таж).ест.ь	тажестъ	1/ѣ
1096	(шест).ь	шестъ	1/ѣ
235	(добл).ест.ь	доблѣсть	1/ѣ
154	(горѣ).ест.ь	горѣсть	1/ѣ
62	(боуі).ест.ь	боуѣсть	1/ѣ
98	за.(вид).т.ь	завѣсть	1/ѣ
98	не.на.(вид).т.ь	ненавѣсть	1/ѣ
416	((корист)).ь	корѣсть	1/ѣ
843	(слаб).ост.ь	слабость	1/ѣ
703	(прав).ост.ь	правость	1/ѣ
539	(мръ).т.в.ост.ь	мрътвось	1/ѣ
188	(гост).ь	гось	1/м
27	(благ).ост.ь	благось	1/ѣ
603	(наг).ост.ь	нагось	1/ѣ
1006	(таж).ост.ь	тажось	1/ѣ
842	(сла).д.ост.ь	сладось	1/ѣ
752	(рад).ост.ь	радось	1/ѣ
1045	(хоуд).ост.ь	хоудось	1/ѣ
197	(гръд).ост.ь	гръдось	1/ѣ
905	(стѣд).ост.ь	стѣдось	1/ѣ
945	(тврѣд).ост.ь	тврѣдось	1/ѣ
840	(скжд).ост.ь	скждось	1/ѣ
566	(мръз).ост.ь	мръзось	1/ѣ
251	(дръз).ост.ь	дръзось	1/ѣ
417	(кост).ь	кось	1/ѣ

652	(пак).ост.ь	пакостъ	1/f
1112	(ѣн).ок.ост.ь	иннокостъ	1/f
281	(жѣл).ост.ь	жалостъ	1/f
549	(мил).ост.ь	милостъ	1/f
948	(тепл).ост.ь	теплостъ	1/f
572	(мѣд).ьл.ост.ь	мѣдлостъ	1/f
810	(свѣт).ьл.ост.ь	свѣтлостъ	1/f
71	(бѣл).ост.ь	бѣлостъ	1/f
620	(нѣм).ост.ь	нѣмостъ	1/f
711	(присн).ост.ь	присностъ	1/f
787	(рьв).ьн.ост.ь	рьвностъ	1/f
827	(скврѣ).н.ост.ь	скврѣностъ	1/f
520	(лѣн).ост.ь	лѣностъ	1/f
354	(юѣн).ост.ь	юностъ	1/f
453	(крѣп).ост.ь	крѣпостъ	1/f
838	(скжп).ост.ь	скжпостъ	1/f
880	(стар).ост.ь	старостъ	1/f
346	(јар).ост.ь	јаростъ	1/f
235	(доб).р.ост.ь	добростъ	1/f
63	(бѣд).р.ост.ь	бѣдростъ	1/f
600	(мждр).ост.ь	мждростъ	1/f
600	прѣ.(мждр).ост.ь	прѣмждростъ	1/f
832	(скор).ост.ь	скоростъ	1/f
646	(ост).р.ост.ь	остростъ	1/f
1048	(хѣт).р.ост.ь	хѣтростъ	1/f
441	(крот).ост.ь	кротостъ	1/f
284	(жест).ост.ь	жестостъ	1/f
1075	(чист).ост.ь	чистостъ	1/f
709	(прост).ост.ь	простостъ	1/f
924	(сыгт).ост.ь	сыгтостъ	1/f
924	не.(сыгт).ост.ь	несыгтостъ	1/f
532	(люгт).ост.ь	люгтостъ	1/f
813	(свѣт).ост.ь	свѣтостъ	1/f
957	(тих).ост.ь	тихостъ	1/f
202	(грѣст).ь	грѣсть	1/f
702	(прѣ).ст.ь	прѣсть	1/f
499	(льст).ь	льсть	1/f
499	прѣ.(льст).ь	прѣльсть	1/f
583	(мьст).ь	мьсть	1/f
979	(трѣст).ь	трѣсть	1/f
1003	(тьст).ь	тьсть	1/m
1076	(чѣт).т.ь	чѣсть	1/f
1076	не.(чѣт).т.ь	нечѣсть	1/f
1076	прѣ.(чѣт).т.ь	прѣчѣсть	1/f
140	(вѣд).т.ь	вѣсть	1/f
140	не.(вѣд).т.ь	невѣсть	1/f
140	из.(вѣд).т.ь	извѣсть	1/f
140	по.(вѣд).т.ь	повѣсть	1/f
140	сѣ.(вѣд).т.ь	сѣвѣсть	1/f

1068	(челюсть).ь	челюсть	1/f
1093	(часть).ь	часть	1/f
612	((пазнеръ).ь.т.ь	пазнеръть	1/m
612	(ногъ).ь.т.ь	ногъть	1/m
485	(лакъ).ь.т.ь	лакъть	1/m
682	(пльтъ).ь	пльть	1/f
976	(тръхъ).ь.т.ь	тръхъть	1/m
16	за.(бъи).т.ь	забъить	1/f
16	по.(бъи).т.ь	побъить	1/f
733	из.(пъитъ).ь	испытъ	1/f
924	(съитъ).ь	съитъ	1/f
539	съ.(мръ).т.ь	съмръть	1/f
523	(лѣтъ).ь	лѣть	1/f
390	(клѣтъ).ь	клѣть	1/f
819	(сѣтъ).т.ь	сѣть	1/f
224	(дѣв).ь.т.ь	дѣвять	1/f
328	(завтъ).ь	завть	1/m
550	па.(мла).т.ь	памлатъ	1/f
746	(платъ).ь	платъ	1/f
228	(дѣс).ь.т.ь	дѣсать	0/m
748	(пжтъ).ь	пжть	1/m
415	((кораблѣ).иц.ь	кораблиць	2/m
610	(ниц).ь	ниць	2/a
797	(с).иц.ь	сниць	2/p*
297	(жрѣбъ).ь.ц.ь	жрѣбьць	2/m
216	(да).в.ь.ц.ь	давьць	2/m
481	(лов).ь.ц.ь	ловьць	2/m
539	(мръ).т.в.ь.ц.ь	мрътвьць	2/m
738	(пѣ).в.ь.ц.ь	пѣвьць	2/m
192	(град).ь.ц.ь	градьць	2/m
98	(вид).ь.ц.ь	видьць	2/m
905	без.(стоуд).ь.ц.ь	бестоудьць	2/m
399	((ковъчѣж).ь.ц.ь	ковъчѣжьць	2/m
774	(рож).ь.ц.ь	рожьць	2/m
946	(тѣл).ь.ц.ь	тѣльць	2/m
1099	при.(шьд).л.ь.ц.ь	пришьльць	2/m
1099	от.(шьд).л.ь.ц.ь	ошьльць	2/m
1042	(хром).ь.ц.ь	хромьць	2/m
3	(агн).ь.ц.ь	агньць	2/m
554	(млад).ен.ь.ц.ь	младеньць	2/m
905	(стоуд).ен.ь.ц.ь	стоуденьць	2/m
732	(пѣтъ).ен.ь.ц.ь	пѣтеньць	2/m
363	(каз).н.ь.ц.ь	казньць	2/m
30	(близ).н.ь.ц.ь	близньць	2/m
188	(гост).ин.ь.ц.ь	гостиньць	2/m
408	(кон).ь.ц.ь	коньць	2/m
554	(млад).ьн.ь.ц.ь	младньць	2/m
1080	(чрън).ь.ц.ь	чръньць	2/m
95	(вѣ).н.ь.ц.ь	вѣньць	2/m

716	(прѣв).ѣн.ыц.ь	прѣвѣннѣць	2/м
554	(млад).ѣн.ыц.ь	младѣннѣць	2/м
732	(пѣт).ѣн.ыц.ь	пѣтѣннѣць	2/м
354	(јѣн).ыц.ь	юнѣць	2/м
830	(скоп).ыц.ь	скопѣць	2/м
869	(соп).ыц.ь	сопѣць	2/м
458	(коуп).ыц.ь	коупѣць	2/м
855	(слѣп).ыц.ь	слѣпѣць	2/м
880	(стар).ыц.ь	старѣць	2/м
632	(одр).ыц.ь	одрѣць	2/м
808	(свир).ыц.ь	свирѣць	2/м
42	(бор).ыц.ь	борѣць	2/м
944	(твор).ыц.ь	творѣць	2/м
413	(кор).ыц.ь	корѣць	2/м
1048	(хѣт).р.ыц.ь	хѣтѣць	2/м
292	(жър).ыц.ь	жърѣць	2/м
919	(сѣс).ыц.ь	сѣсѣць	2/м
687	(плас).ыц.ь	пласѣць	2/м
647	(от).ыц.ь	отѣць	2/м
647	прѣ.(от).ыц.ь	прѣотѣць	2/м
499	(льст).ыц.ь	льстѣць	2/м
1076	(чѣт).ыц.ь	чѣтѣць	2/м
1050	(цвѣт).ыц.ь	цвѣтѣць	2/м
532	(лют).ыц.ь	лютѣць	2/м
813	(свѣт).ыц.ь	свѣтѣць	2/м
105	ов.(владч).ыц.ь	овладчѣць	2/м
105	(вльч).ыц.ь	вльчѣць	2/м
815	(сѣч).ыц.ь	сѣчѣць	2/м
937	(сжч).ыц.ь	сжчѣць	2/м
593	(мѣсѣц).ь	мѣсѣць	2/м
308	(зајѣц).ь	зајѣць	2/м
671	(плач).ь	плачѣць	2/м
118	(врач).ь	врачѣць	2/м
546	(меч).ь	мечѣць	2/м
26	(бич).ь	бичѣць	2/м
134	(вѣд).ов.ич.ь	вѣдовичѣць	2/а
236	(дѣ).в.ич.ь	дѣвичѣць	2/а
383	(клич).ь	кличѣць	2/м
132	(оуч).ен.ич.ь	оученичѣць	2/а
595	(мжч).ен.ич.ь	мжченичѣць	2/а
714	(прот).нв.ьн.ич.ь	противьничѣць	2/а
703	(прав).ьд.ьн.ич.ь	правѣдъничѣць	2/а
841	(скждѣл).ьн.ич.ь	скждѣлъничѣць	2/а
347	(јар).ьм.ьн.ич.ь	јарьмьничѣць	2/а
28	(блзн).ьн.ич.ь	блзньничѣць	2/а
154	(грѣ).ш.ьн.ич.ь	грѣшьничѣць	2/а
437	(крич).ь	кричѣць	2/м
420	(котор).ич.ь	которичѣць	2/а
766	про.(роч).ь	пророчѣць	2/а

317	(злъч).ь	злъчь	1/f
627	(ов).ьч.ь	овьчь	2/a
481	(лов).ьч.ь	ловьчь	2/a
554	(млад).ен.ьч.ь	младеньчь	2/a
554	(млад).ьн.ьч.ь	младеньчь	2/a
354	(јоѣн).ьч.ь	юньчь	2/a
880	(стар).ьч.ь	старьчь	2/a
944	(твор).ьч.ь	творьчь	2/a
647	(от).ьч.ь	отьчь	2/a
1077	((чловѣч).ь	чловѣчь	2/a
766	(рѣч).ь	рѣчь	1/f
815	(сѣч).ь	сѣчь	2/m
394	(кѣюч).ь	кѣючь	2/m
82	((ваш).ь	вашь	2/p
625	((облаш).ь	облашь	2/a
604	((наш).ь	нашь	2/p
638	((опаш).ь	опашь	1/f
422	(кош).ь	кошь	2/m
402	(кок).ош.ь	кокошь	1/f
730	(поуст).ош.ь	поустошь	1/f
580	(мъш).ь	мъшь	1/f
744	(пѣш).ь	пѣшь	2/a
672	(плашт).ь	плаштъ	2/m
94	(вешт).ь	вештъ	1/f
660	(пек).т.ь	пештъ	1/f
678	(паншт).ь	панштъ	2/m
400	(коз).ьл.ишт.ь	козьлиштъ	2/m
611	(ништ).ь	ништъ	2/a
554	(млад).ен.ишт.ь	младеништъ	2/m
554	(млад).ьн.ишт.ь	младѣништъ	2/m
732	(пѣт).ишт.ь	пѣтиштъ	2/m
715	(прѣт).ишт.ь	прѣтиштъ	2/m
236	(дѣт).т.ишт.ь	дѣтиштъ	2/m
750	(раб).ич.ишт.ь	рабичиштъ	2/m
199	(грѣл).ич.ишт.ь	грѣличиштъ	2/m
766	от.(роч).ишт.ь	отрочиштъ	2/m
535	(мог).т.ь	моштъ	1/f
535	не.(мог).т.ь	немоштъ	1/f
535	по.(мог).т.ь	помоштъ	1/f
614	(ношт).ь	ноштъ	1/f
996	(тѣшт).ь	тѣштъ	2/a
623	(об).ьшт.ь	обьштъ	2/a
297	(жрѣб).ь	жрѣба	0/p
400	(коз).ьл.ь	козьла	0/p
643	(ос).ьл.ь	осьла	0/p
673	(плед).ьл.ь	плема	0/p
333	(им).ь	има	0/p
666	(пис).ьл.ь	писама	0/p
1076	(чит).т.ьл.ь	чисма	0/p

БРЪМА

24	(БРЪ).м.а	БРЪМА	0/n
117	(БРЪТ).м.а	БРЪМА	0/n
926	(СЪ).м.а	СЪМА	0/n
3	(АГН).а	АГНА	0/n
803	((СА))	СА	0/s
393	(КЛЮС).а	КЛЮСА	0/n
468	((КЪНИЖ).ниц.а	КЪНИЖИЦА	2/f
609	(НОЖ).ЪН.ниц.а	НОЖЪНИЦА	2/f
766	ОТ.(РОЧ).а	ОТРОЧА	0/n
627	(ОВ).ЪЧ.а	ОВЪЧА	0/n
525	(ЛАДВ).ЪЈ.а	ЛАДВИА	2/f
247	(ДРОЖД).ЪЈ.а	ДРОЖДИА	2/f

Root dictionary

<1> (see § 655)

ав авити//
обавити//
авъ авлѣти//
авлѣниѣ//
обавлѣти
обавлѣниѣ
јав јавити//
јавъ јавлѣти//
јавлѣниѣ//

<2>

(авор) аворовъ

<3> (see § 655)

агн агньць
агна

<4>

(агда) агда

<5>

ад адовъ
адовьнъ
адовьскъ
адъ
адъскъ

<6>

(аер) аеръ
аерьнъ

<7> (see § 786)

аз азъ

<8>

ај анице

<9> (see § 807)

алък алъканиѣ
алъкати
възалъкати

алъч алъчьба
алъчьбьнъ
алъчьнъ

<10> (see § 655)

ап вѣнездаапъ

<11>

(архнере) архнереи
архнереискъ
архнереовъ

<12> (see § 657)

аръ разарѣти

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ор	ОБОРНТИ ОРНИ РАЗОРНИ СЪНОРНИ	прѣбъивати сѣбъивати сѣпрѣбъивати
орѣ	РАЗОРѢНІЕ	<17> (БАГЪР) БАГЪРИТИ БАГЪРЪ БАГЪРѢНИЦА
<13> (ашгер)	ашгеръ	
<14>		<18> (see § 657)
БА	БАЛИИ БАЛОВАНІЕ БАЛСТВО ОБАВАТИ ОБАВЪНИКЪ ОУБАЛОВАТИ	БАД ИЗБАДАТИ БОД БОСТИ ИЗБОСТИ ПРОБОСТИ СЪБОСТИ
<15>		<19>
БАБ	БАБА	БАИ БАИНА БАИЬСКЪ
<16> (see § 808)		<20>
БАВ	ИЗБАВИТЕЛЪ ИЗБАВИТИ ИЗБАВЪНИКЪ ПРОБАВИТИ	БЕДР БЕДРЪНЪ
БАВЛ	ИЗБАВЛѢТИ ИЗБАВЛѢНІЕ	<21> БЕДР БЕДРА
БЪВ	ЗАБЪВЕНІЕ	<22> (БЕСЪД) БЕСЪДА БЕСЪДОВАНИЕ БЕСЪДОВАТИ ПОВЕСЪДОВАТИ
БЪИ	БЪИЛИЕ БЪИТИ БЪИТИЕ ЗАБЪИТИ ЗАБЪИТИЕ ЗАБЪИТЬ ИЗБЪИТИ ИЗБЪИТИЕ ИЗБЪИТЬКОВАТИ ИЗБЪИТЬКЪ ИЗБЪИТЬЧЕСТВОВАТИ НЕБЪИТИЕ ПОВЪИТЬ ПРИБЪИТИ ПРИБЪИТЬКЪ ПРѢБЪИТИ СЪБЪИТИ	<23> (see § 679, 730) БИ БИТИ ВЪЗБИТИ ИЗБИВАТИ ИЗБИТИ НИЗБИТИ ПОВИВАТИ ПОВИТИ ПРИБИТИ ПРОБИТИ ПРѢБИВАТИ ПРѢБИТИ РАЗБИВАТИ РАЗБИТИ СЪБИТИ ОУБИВАНІЕ ОУБИВАТИ ОУБИТЕЛНИЧЕСКЪ ОУБИТИ
БЪИВ	БЪИВАТИ ЗАБЪИВАТИ ИЗБЪИВАТИ ПРИБЪИВАТИ ПРѢБЪИВАНІЕ	

	ОУБИТИЕ	БЛАЖ	БЛАЖЕНИЕ
БИј	ОУБИПАТИ		БЛАЖЕНИКЪ
	ОУБИСТВО		БЛАЖЕНЬНЪ
	ОУБИСТВЪНЪ		БЛАЖЕНСТВО
	ОУБИЦА		БЛАЖИТИ
БОј	РАЗБОИ		БЛАЖЪНЪ
	РАЗБОИНИКЪ		ОБЛАЖЕНИЕ
	РАЗБОИСКЪ		ОБЛАЖЕНИКЪ
	РАЗБОИСТВО		ОБЛАЖИТИ
	ОУБОИ		ПРОБЛАЖЕНЪ
	ОУБОИСТВО		ОУБЛАЖИТИ
	ОУБОИЦА		
	ОУБОИЧЪНЪ	<28>	
БЪј	БИЕНИЕ	БЛАЖИ	СЪБЛАЖИПАТИ
	ОУБИЕНИЕ	БЛАЖИ	БЛАЖИ
			БЛАЖИТИ
<24> (see § 742)			БЛАЖИНЪ
БИР	ИЗБИРАТИ		БЛАЖИНИЧЪ
	СЪБИРАНИЕ		БЛАЖИНЪ
	СЪБИРАТИ		ОБЛАЖИТИ
БОР	ИЗБОРЪНЪ		СЪБЛАЖИТИ
	СЪБОРЪ		СЪБЛАЖИНЪ
	СЪБОРЪНИКЪ		
	СЪБОРЪНЪ	<29>	
БРА	БРАКЪ	БЛАТ	БЛАТО
	БРАЧЪНЪ		
БРѢ	БРѢМА	<30>	
	ОБРѢМЕНИТИ	БЛИЖ	БЛИЖИКА
БРЪ	БРЪРАТИ		БЛИЖИЙ
	ВЪЗВЪРАТИ		ПРИБЛИЖАТИ
	ИЗВЪРАНИЕ		ПРИБЛИЖИТИ
	ИЗВЪРАТИ	БЛИЗ	БЛИЗИНЪЦЪ
	ПРИБЪРАТИ		БЛИЗИНЪЧЪНЪ
	СЪВЪРАНИЕ		
	СЪВЪРАТИ	<31> (see § 659)	
		БЛИСК	БЛИСКАТИ
			БЛИСКЪ
<25>		БЛИСТ	БЛИСТАННИЕ
((БИСЬР))	БИСЬРЪ		БЛИСТАТИ
<26> (see § 730)		БЛЪШТ	БЛЪШТАНИЕ
БИЧ	БИЧЪ		БЛЪШТАТИ
<27>		<32>	
БЛАГ	БЛАГО	БЛѢД	БЛѢДУ
	БЛАГОСТЪИИ		БЛѢДѢТИ
	БЛАГОСТЪ		ОБЛѢДѢТИ
	БЛАГОСТЪНЪ		
	БЛАГЪ	<33> (see § 692)	
	БЛАГЪИИ	БЛАД	БЛАДЪ
	ПРОБЛАГЪ		БЛАДЪНИКЪ
			БЛАДЪНЪ

	БЛАСТИ	НЕОУБОЖЬНЪ
БЛЖД	БЛЖДИЛИШТЕ	ОБОУБОЖАТИ
	БЛЖДИТИ	ПОУБОЖАТИ
	БЛЖДЪ	ОУБОЖЬСТВО
	БЛЖДЪНИКЪ	
	БЛЖДЪНИЦА	<38>
	БЛЖДЪНИЧЬСКЪ	БОЈ
	БЛЖДЪНИЧЬСТВО	БЕЗБОГАЗНИЕ
	БЛЖДЪНЪ	БОГАЗНЬ
	ЗАБЛЖДИТИ	БОГАТИ
	ПРОБЛЖДИТИ	ВЪЗБОГАТИ
	СЪБЛЖДИТИ	ОУБОГАТИ
БЛЖЖД	БЛЖЖДЕНИЕ	<39>
	ЗАБЛЖЖДЕНИЕ	БОЛ
	СЪБЛЖЖДЕНИЕ	БОЛЬ
<34> (see § 704)		БОЛЬНЪ
БЛОУД	БЛЮСТИ	БОЛЪЗНЬ
	СЪБЛЮДАТИ	БОЛЪЗНЫНЪ
	СЪБЛЮДЕНИЕ	БОЛЪТИ
	СЪБЛЮСТИ	ПОВОЛЪТИ
		РАЗВОЛЪНИЕ
		РАЗВОЛЪТИ
<35>		<40>
БЛОУД	БЛЮДЪ	БОЛ
		БОЛНИ
<36> (see § 702)		<41>
БЛЪВ	БЛЪВАТИ	((болар))
	БЛЪВОТИНА	БОЛАРИНЪ
	ИЗБЛЪВАТИ	БОЛАРСЬСКЪ
	ОБЛЪВАТИ	
<37>		<42> (see § 743)
БОГ	БОГАТИТИ	БОР
	БОГАТЪ	БОРЕНИЕ
	БОГАТЪСТВО	БОРЬЦЪ
	БОГАТЪСТВО	ПОВОРТИТИ
	БОГАТЪТИ	ПРЪДЪБОРЬНИКЪ
	БОГЪ	
	БОГЪИИ	БРА
	НЕБОГЪ	БРАНИЕ
	ОБОГАТИТИ	БРАНИТИ
	ОБОГАШТАТИ	БРАНЬ
	РАЗБОГАТЪТИ	БРАНЬСКЪ
	ОУБОГЪ	БРАТИ
БОЖ	БЕЗБОЖЬНЪ	ВЪЗВРАНИТИ
	БЕЗБОЖЬСТВО	ВЪЗВРАИГАТИ
	БОЖИН	ПОВРАНЬСКЪ
	БОЖЬСКЪ	ПРЪБРАТИ
	БОЖЬСТВО	СЪПОВАТИ
	БОЖЬСТВОНЪ	
		<43>
		БОТ
		РАЗВОТЪТИ
		<44>
		БРАД
		БРАДА
		БРАДЪТИ

<45>	БРАД	БРАДЪИ	<58> (see § 744)	БРЪГ	БРЪШТИ
<46>	БРАЗД	БРАЗДА	<59>	БРЪГ	БРЪГЪ
<47>	БРАТ	БРАТИНА БРАТРИНА БРАТРЪ БРАТРЪИЪ БРАТРССТВО БРАТЪ БРАТЪИЪ БРАТЪСТВО		БРЪЖ	БРЪЖИЪ
<48>	БРАШ	БЕЗБРАШИЪ БРАШИНО БРАШИИЦЕ	<60>	БРЪЗГ	ПРОБРЪЗГЪ
<49>	БРИ	БРИДЪКЪ БРИГВА	<61>	БРЩ	БРЩАНИЕ
<50> (see § 703)	БРОУС	ОУБРОУСЪ	<62>	БОУ	БОУЕСТЪ БОУИ БОУИСТВО ВЪЗБОУАНИЕ ОБОУАТИ ОБОУИТИ
	БРЪИС	БРЪИСАЛО СЪБРЪИСАТИ	<63> (see § 704)	БОУД	ВЪЗБОУДИТИ ОУБОУДИТИ
<51>	БРЪВ	БРЪВИ		БОУЖД	ВЪЗБОУЖДАТИ
<52>	БРЪЗ	БРЪЗЪ		БЪД	БЪДОСТЪ БЪДРЪ БЪДРЛИВЪ БЪДЪНИЕ БЪДЪТИ ВЪЗБЪИЖТИ ЗАБЪДЪИИЪ ЗАБЪДЪТИ ПОБЪДЪТИ СЪНАБЪДЪТИ
<53>	БРЪЗД	БРЪЗДА	<64>	БОУК	БОУКЪВИ
<54>	БРЪИ	БРЪИНА	<65>	БОУР	БОУРИИЪ
<55>	БРЪВ	БРЪВИНО		БОУР	БОУРИА
<56>	БРЪИ	БРЪИНА БРЪИИЕ БРЪИИИЪ	<66>	((БЪЧЕЛ))	БЪЧЕЛА
<57> (see § 681)	((БРЪСЕЛ))	БРЪСЕЛИЕ	<67>	БЪИ	БЪИА
			<68>	БЪИСТР	БЪИСТРИЕ

<69>

бѣг бѣгати
бѣство
въбѣгати
въбѣгнжти
избѣгати
избѣгнжти
отъбѣгати
отъбѣгнжти
повѣгати
повѣгнжти
привѣгание
привѣгати
привѣгнжти
пробѣгнжти
разбѣгнжти
оубѣгнжти
бѣж бѣжаніе
бѣжати
избѣжати
отъбѣжати
привѣжати
привѣжиште
оубѣжаніе
оубѣжати
оубѣжиште
оубѣжьнъ

<70>

бѣд безвѣднъ
бѣда
бѣдити
бѣднъ
повѣда
повѣдитель
повѣдити
повѣдливъ
повѣдникъ
повѣднъ
оубѣдити
бѣжд бѣждати
бѣждение

<71>

бѣл бѣлгити
бѣлостъ
бѣлъ
оубѣлгити

<72>

бѣс бѣсити
бѣсованіе
бѣсовьскъ
бѣсъ
бѣсьновати
бѣсьнъ
възбѣсити
възбѣсовати
възбѣсьнѣти
бѣш бѣшение
възбѣшати
възбѣшение

<73>

ваб вабгити

<74>

вад вадити
навадити
обадигель
обадити
повадити
свада
свадникъ
важд обаждение
поваждати

<75> (see § 661, 666)

важд проваждати
прѣпроваждати
вед вести¹
въведение
въвести
възвести
довести
извести¹
навести
низвести
отъвести
повести
привести¹
провести
прѣвести¹
прѣдвести
свести
вод водити
въводити
възводити
доводитель

	ИЗВОДИТИ	СЪВЪРЪТИ
	наводити	
	низъводити	<82> (see § 787)
	отъводити	((ваш)) вашъ
	поводатан	<83>
	приводити	вѣдръ вѣдро
	проводити	
	прѣдъизводити	<84> (see § 661)
	прѣпроводити	везъ весло
	разводити	вестн ²
вожд	вождь	известн ²
<76>		привеслати
вај	вагание	привести ²
	извагати	прѣвести ²
		возъ възъ
<77> (see § 62, 771)		<85> (see § 810)
вал	валити	велъ велѣние
	възвалити	велѣти
	извалити	повелѣвати
	отъвалити	повелѣние
	привалити	повелѣти
валъ	валѣти	волъ волити
	отъвалѣти	вольнъ
	отъвалѣние	дволь
валъ	вална ¹	довольнъ
	валнити	изволити
	валннъ	неповольнъ
	валннѣти	волъ волѣ
	валннѣние	изволѣние
валъ	валѣти	валъ довѣльство
<78>		довѣльѣти
вап	вапа	
<79>		<86>
вап	повапнити	велъ велии
<80>		велинство
вар	варити ¹	великота
	прѣдъварити	великъ
варъ	варѣти	величание
	прѣдъварѣти	величати
		величнѣ
		величити
<81> (see § 678, 809)		величѣстнѣ
вар	варити ²	величѣство
	варъ	възвеличати
	възварити	възвеличити
	разварити	прѣвеликъ
вр	врѣти	<87>
	прѣвъзврѣти	((вельбѣдъ)) вельбѣдъ

((ВЕЛЬБЪЖДЪ)) ВЕЛЬБЪЖДЪ

<88>

вепр̃ вепрь

<89> (see § 62, 745)

вер̃ верига
верѣѣа

вор̃ завора
отворити

вра̃ врата
вратаѣница
вратаѣрь
вратъ²

вратъникъ
врѣ̃ вратъниште
въврѣ̃ти
заврѣ̃ти
проврѣ̃ти

((тваѣ̃р̃)) затваѣ̃рати

((твор̃)) затворити
затворъ
растворити²

((твор̃)) затворѣние

<90>

вес̃ веселиѣ
веселити
веселъ
възвеселити
възвеселѣати

<91>

весн̃ весна
весньнъ

<92>

вет̃ ветъхъ
ветъшати
обетъшати
обетъшити

<93> (see § 665)

веч̃ вечеръ
вечерѣ̃га
вечерѣ̃нъ
вечерѣ̃га
вечерѣ̃ание
вечерѣ̃ати
навечернѣ
въч̃ въчерашнѣ

<94>

вешт̃ безвештънъ
вештъ
вештънъ
вештъство

<95> (see § 731)

ви̃ завиѣ̃ти
извиѣ̃ти
обити²
повивати
повити
прѣ̃вити
съвивати
съвити
съвигъкъ
ви̃ј̃ повивати
въ̃ј̃ виѣ̃лица
вѣ̃ вѣ̃нъць
вѣ̃нъчати

<96> (see § 732)

ви̃ безвиѣ̃нъ
вина
виновънъ
винъникъ
винънъ¹
невинънъ
необинънъ
неповинънъ
обиновати
обинѣ̃ти
повиновати
повинънъ
повинѣ̃ти
во̃ј̃ во̃ѣ̃вати
вон̃
воннъ
воннъство
вонска
съвоннъ

<97>

ви̃ възвиѣ̃тиѣ
възвѣ̃тъ
изобилвати
изобильнъ
обилиѣ̃
обилвати
обилъ

	ОБИЛЪНЪ	ВЪЗВЪСИТИ
<98>		НИЗВЪСИТИ
ВИД	ВИДОВАТИ	ОБЪСИТИ
	ВИДЪ	ПОВЪСИТИ
	ВИДЪНЪ	ПРОЪВЪСА
	ВИДЪЦЪ	СЪВЪСИТИ
	ВИДЪНИЕ	ОБЪШАТИ
	ВИДЪТИ	
	ВЪЗАВИДЪТИ	<102>
	ВЪЗНЕНАВИДЪТИ	ВИГ
	ЗАВИДА	ВИТАТИ
	ЗАВИДЛИВЪ	ОБИТАТИ
	ЗАВИДЪТИ	ОБИТЪЛЪ
	ЗАВИСТЪ	ОБИТЪЛЪНЪ
	ЗАВИСТЪЛИВЪ	ПРИВИТАТИ
	ЗАВИСТЪНИКЪ	ПРОВИТАТИ
	НЕВИДЪНИЕ	
	НЕЗАВИДЪЛИВЪ	<103> (see § 62)
	НЕЗАВИДЪНЪ	ВЛАГ
	НЕЗАВИСТЪНЪ	ВЛАГА
	НЕНАВИДЪНИЕ	
	НЕНАВИДЪНЪНЪ	<104> (see § 62)
	НЕНАВИДЪТИ	ВЛАД
	НЕНАВИСТИЕ	ВЛАДЪКА
	НЕНАВИСТЪ	ВЛАДЪЧИЦА
	НЕНАВИСТЪНИКЪ	ВЛАДЪЧЪНЪ
	НЕНАВИСТЪНЪ	ВЛАДЪЧЪСКЪ
	ОБИДА	ВЛАДЪЧЪСТВИЕ
	ОБИДЛИВЪ	ВЛАДЪЧЪСТВО
	ОБИДЛИВЪСТВО	ВЛАСТЕЛЪ
	ОБИДЪТИ	ВЛАСТЕЛЪСКЪ
	ПОЗАВИДЪТИ	ВЛАСТИ
	ПРИВИДЪНИЕ	ВЛАСТЪ
	ПРОБИДЪТИ	ОБЛАДАНИЕ
	ОУБИДЪТИ	ОБЛАДАТИ
		ОБЛАСТЪ
		ОБЛАСТЪНЪ
		СЪВЛАСТИ
		<105> (see § 62, 772)
		ВЛАК
		ВЛАЧ
		ОБЛАКЪ
		ВЛАЧИТИ
		ИЗВЛАЧИТИ
		ОБЛАЧИТИ
		ОБЛАЧЪНЪ
		ОБЛАЧЪЦЪ
		ПРИВЛАЧИТИ
		РАЗВЛАЧИТИ
		СЪВЛАЧИТИ
		ВЛЪК
		ВЛЪЧ
		ВЛЪЧЪЦЪ
		ВЛЪШТИ
		ВЪВЛЪШТИ
<99>		
ВИН	ВИНАРЪ	
	ВИНО	
	ВИНЪНЪ ²	
<100>		
	((ВИНОГРАД))ВИНОГРАДЪ	
	ВИНОГРАДЪНЪ	
<101> (see § 663)		
ВИС	ВИСЪНИЕ	
	ВИСЪТИ	
ВЪС	ВЪВЪСИТИ	

извлѣшти
облѣшти
отъвлѣшти
повлѣшти
привлѣшти
прѣоблѣшти
сѣвлѣшти
сѣоблѣшти

<106> (see § 62)

влас власъ
власѣнъ

<107> (see § 62, 811)

влъс влѣснѣти
влъх влѣхвованнѣ
влъхвовѣнъ
влъхвѣ
влъш влѣшьбѣ
влѣшьбѣнъ
влѣшьскъ
влѣшьствѣннѣ
влѣшьство

<108> (see § 62)

вльн вльна²

<109>

вод безводьнъ
вода
водьнъ
наводнѣ
наводьнитѣ

<110>

вол воловьнъ
волъ

<111> (see § 812)

воѣ воѣга
воѣгати
обвоѣгати
ж обжѣгати

<112>

воск воскъ

<113>

(воштаг) воштага

<114> (see § 62)

враб врабѣннѣ

<115> (see § 62)

враг врагъ
враж вражѣннѣ
вражин
вражѣда
вражѣдовати
вражѣскъ

<116> (see § 62)

вран вранъ

<117> (see § 62, 746)

врат вратитѣ
вратъ¹
вратъкъ
възвратитѣ
обратитѣ
отъвратитѣ
прѣвратитѣ
развратитѣ
сѣвратитѣ
врашт възвраштати
възвраштѣннѣ
обвраштати
обвраштѣннѣ
отъвраштати
прѣвраштати
развраштати
развраштѣннѣ
сѣвраштати
оѣвраштати
врѣт врѣтѣти
врѣт безврѣменьнъ
врѣменьнъ
врѣма

<118> (see § 62)

врач врачевати
врачевъ
врачевѣнъ
врачевѣскъ
врачъ
врачѣба
врачѣбѣнъ
изврачевати

<119> (see § 62)

врѣб врѣбѣннѣ
врѣбѣница

<120> (see § 62)

врьв врьвь

<121> (see § 62, 747)

врьж врьжение
отъврьжение

врьг врьшги
взврьшги
вззврьшги
взврьшги
изврьшги
испроврьшги
низзврьшги
опроврьшги
отъврьшги
поврьшги
приврьшги
разврьшги
сзврьшги

<122> (see § 62, 678, 748)

врьз отврьзати
отврьстие
подувьрзение
разврьзати
разврьзение
врьз отврьсти
поврьсти
разврьсти
оуврьсти

<123> (see § 62)

врьт врьтъ

<124> (see § 62)

врьт врьста

<125> (see § 62)

((врьтъп)) врьтъпъ

<126> (see § 62)

врьх врьховьнь
врьхъ
врьш сзврьшати
сзврьшение
сзврьшителъ
сзврьшити

<127> (see § 62)

врьд врьдити
врьдъ
врьдънь

пръврьдити
врьжда врьждати
врьждение

<128>

вън вънъшьнь

<129> (see § 813)

въп въпити
привъпивати
въплъ въплъ
ъп възъпити

<130>

((вътор)) въторица
въторъ
въторъкъ
въторьникъ
((овътор)) овъторити

<131>

въи въиа

<132> (see § 814)

въик въикжти
извъикжти
навъикжти
обвъикжти

въиц навъицати
въич навъичение
обвъичан
обвъичаниъ
обвъичьнь

оуч наоучати
наоучение
наоучити
пооучаливъ
пооучати
пооучение
пооучити
прооучати
оучение
оученикъ
оученица
оученичь
оучителіевъ
оучителъ
оучителънь
оучити

<133>

ВЪИС ВЪЗВЪСИТИ
 ВЪСИТИ
 ВЪСОКЪ
 ВЪСОТА
 ВЪИШ ВЪЗВЪШЕНИЕ
 ВЪШЕНИЕ
 ВЪШЬНЬ
 ПРЪВЪШИИ
 ПРЪВЪШЬНЬ
 СЪВЪШЬНЬ
 ((ОВЪИС)) ОВЪСИТИ

<134>

ВЪД ВЪДОВА
 ВЪДОВИЦА
 ВЪДОВИЧЬ

<135>

ВЪС ВЪСЬ
 ВЪСЬНЪ

<136> (see § 788)

ВЪС ВЪСАКЪ//
 ВЪСАЧЬСКЪ//
 ВЪСЬ
 ВЪСЪКЪ//
 ВЪСЪЧЬСКЪ//

<137> (see § 815)

ВЪ ОТЪВЪТИ
 ВЪТ ВЪТИ
 ВЪТЪ
 ВЪТЪСКЪ
 ЗАВЪТЪ
 ИЗВЪТЪ
 НЕОТЪВЪТЪНЪ
 НЕСЪВЪТЪСТВО
 ОБЪТОВАНИЕ
 ОБЪТЪ
 ОТЪВЪТЪ
 ПРИВЪТЪ
 СЪВЪТОВАТИ
 СЪВЪТЪ
 СЪВЪТЪНИКЪ
 ОУВЪТЪ
 ОУВЪТЪНИКЪ
 ВЪШГ ВЪШТАВАТИ
 ВЪШТАНИЕ
 ВЪШТАТИ

ВЪШГЕ
 ЗАВЪШТАВАТИ
 ЗАВЪШТАТИ
 ИЗВЪШТАТИ¹
 НЕСЪВЪШТАНИЕ
 ОБЪШТАВАТИ
 ОБЪШТАНИЕ
 ОБЪШТАТИ
 ОТЪВЪШТАВАТИ
 ОТЪВЪШТАНИЕ
 ОТЪВЪШТАТИ
 ПРОВЪШТАТИ
 СЪВЪШТАВАТИ
 СЪВЪШТАТИ
 ОУВЪШТАВАТИ
 ОУВЪШТАНИЕ
 ОУВЪШТАТИ

<138>

ВЪ ВЪА
 ВЪНИЕ
 ВЪТВИЕ
 ВЪТВЪ

<139>

ВЪ ВЪВЪАТИ
 ВЪЗВЪАНИЕ
 ВЪЗВЪАТИ
 ВЪАНИЕ
 ВЪАТИ
 ВЪТРЪ
 ВЪТРЪНЪ
 ВЪТРЪНЬ
 ПРОВЪАТИ

<140>

ВЪД БЕЗВЪДЪНЪ
 БЕЗВЪСТЪНЪ
 ВЪЗВЪСТИТИ
 ВЪЗВЪШТАТИ
 ВЪЗВЪШТЕНИЕ
 ВЪДЪ
 ВЪДЪНИЕ
 ВЪДЪТИ
 ВЪСТЬ
 ВЪСТЬНИКЪ
 ЗАПОВЪДАНИЕ
 ЗАПОВЪДАТИ
 ЗАПОВЪДЪ
 ЗАПОВЪДЪТИ

засъвѣдѣтельствовати		съвѣстънъ	
извѣдѣти		съвѣстствовати	
извѣстити		съизвѣствовати	
извѣствовати		съповѣданіе	
извѣстъ		съповѣдати	
извѣстънъ		съповѣдовати	
извѣштганіе		съповѣдѣти	
извѣштгати ²		оувѣдѣніе	
извѣштгение		оувѣдѣти	
исповѣданіе	вѣжд	навѣждение	
исповѣдати		невѣждѣствие	
исповѣдовати		невѣждѣство	
исповѣдь			
исповѣдьникъ	<141>		
исповѣдьница	вѣдр	вѣдро	
исповѣдѣти	<142>		
навѣдѣти	вѣжда	вѣжда	
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невѣстъ	<143>		
невѣстъникъ	вѣк	вѣкъ	
невѣстъство	вѣч	вѣчнъ	
недовѣдѣти		прѣвѣчнъ	
несъвѣда			
несъвѣдьнъ	<144>		
несъвѣстънъ	вѣк	вѣко	
повѣданіе	<145>		
повѣдати	вѣн	вѣнити	
повѣдовати			
повѣдь	<146>		
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повѣстъ		въвѣрити	
повѣстънъ		възвѣровати	
проповѣданіе		вѣра	
проповѣдатель		вѣрити	
проповѣдати		вѣровати	
проповѣдовати		вѣровнъ	
проповѣдь		вѣрнъ	
проповѣдьникъ		вѣръствовати	
проповѣдѣти		невѣрне	
прооувѣдѣти		невѣрнъ	
съвѣдь		невѣръствне	
съвѣдѣніе		невѣръство	
съвѣдѣтель		оувѣрити	
съвѣдѣтельствне		оувѣровати	
съвѣдѣтельство	<147> (see § 816)		
съвѣдѣтельствовати	вад	оувадати	
съвѣдѣти		оуванжти	
съвѣствовати	важд	оуваждати	
съвѣстъ			

свѡд	ПРИСВАНЖТИ		о҃҃҃҃҃҃ДИТИ
<148>	(see § 655, 817)		о҃҃҃҃҃҃ДЬНИКЪ
вѡз	ВЪЗВѡЗАТИ	҃҃҃҃҃҃	о҃҃҃҃҃҃ДЬНЪ
	ВѡЗАТИ		о҃҃҃҃҃҃ДЖЕНІЕ
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	ИЗВѡЗАТИ	҃҃҃҃҃҃	҃҃҃҃҃҃АНАНІЕ
	НАВѡЗАТИ	<153>	(see § 683, 818)
	ОБѡЗАНІЕ	҃҃҃҃҃҃	ИЗ҃҃҃҃҃҃АИТИ
	ОБѡЗАТИ		ОТЪ҃҃҃҃҃҃АИТИ
	ПРИВѡЗАНІЕ		ПО҃҃҃҃҃҃АИТИ
	ПРИВѡЗАТИ		ПРО҃҃҃҃҃҃АИТИ
	СЪВѡЗАТИ	҃҃҃҃҃҃	ВЪ҃҃҃҃҃҃ГОНИТИ
	СЪВѡЗОВАТИ		҃҃҃҃҃҃ГОНИТЕЛЬ
	СЪВѡЗЫИЪ		҃҃҃҃҃҃ГОНИТИ
	о҃҃҃҃҃҃ВѡЗАТИ		ИЗ҃҃҃҃҃҃ГОНИТИ
	о҃҃҃҃҃҃ВѡСТИ		ОТЪ҃҃҃҃҃҃ГОНИТИ
вѡз	СЪВѡЗЪ		ПО҃҃҃҃҃҃ГОНИТИ
ѡж	ѡЖЕ		ПРИ҃҃҃҃҃҃ГОНИТИ
	ѡЖИКА		ПРО҃҃҃҃҃҃ГОНИТИ
	ѡЖИЧЬСТВО		СЪ҃҃҃҃҃҃ГОНИТИ
	ѡЖЬНИКЪ	҃҃҃҃҃҃	҃҃҃҃҃҃ГОИИЕНІЕ
ѡз	ОБѡЗЪ		НЕПО҃҃҃҃҃҃ГОИИЕНІЕ
	ѡЗА		ПРО҃҃҃҃҃҃ГОИИЕНІЕ
	ѡЗНАИШТЕ	҃҃҃҃҃҃	ВЪ҃҃҃҃҃҃ГЪНАТИ
	ѡЗЪКЪ		҃҃҃҃҃҃ГЪНАТИ
	ѡЗЫНИКЪ		ИЗ҃҃҃҃҃҃ГЪНАНИЕ
<149>			ИЗ҃҃҃҃҃҃ГЪНАТИ
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<150>			ПРО҃҃҃҃҃҃ГЪНАТИ
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<151>	(see § 657)	҃҃҃҃҃҃	ВЪ҃҃҃҃҃҃ЗГАРАТИ
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	НЕ҃҃҃҃҃҃ГОВАТИ	҃҃҃҃҃҃	БЕЗ҃҃҃҃҃҃ГРЪШЬНЪ
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	грѣшьникъ		проглаголати
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	сѣгрѣвати		гладѣкъ
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	сѣгрѣшати		изгладити
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	сѣгрѣшити	глажд	заглаждати
<155>			<162> (see § 819)
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	гаснѣти		гласити
	погасити		гласовати
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	оҮгасити		огласити
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			съгласнѣ
<156> (see § 657)		глаш	възглашение
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	гвоздѣ		оглашение
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	геоньскѣ		
<158>		<164>	
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	глава		глоҮмѣ
	главизна		непоглоҮмнѣ
	главьнѣ		поглоҮмити
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	господиѣ	<192>	
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	господь		възградити
	господъѣ		градити
	господьскъ		градъ ¹
	господьствіе		градъникъ
	господьство		градъѣ
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			градъць
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	гостиньница		оградити
	гостиньць		приградъ
	гостити		прѣградити
	гость	гражд	възграждати
	гостьникъ		възграждение
			гражданинъ
<189>			граждение
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	готовити		ограждение
	готовъ		
	приготовати	<193>	
	приготовити	гран	гранъ
	съготовати		
	съготовити	<194>	
	оуготование	гроз	гроза
	оуготовати		грозъѣ
	оуготовити		
<190> (see § 661, 667)		<195>	
грав	гравити	гроз	грозъ
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гравл	гравліеніе		грознъ
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грев	гревение	<196> (see § 664, 681)	
	грети	гром	громовъ
	погребение		громъ
	погребителъ		громъѣ
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	гровъ	гръд	възгръдѣние
	гровъѣ		гръдостъ
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гръжд	гръждѣннѣ		соуґоуѣынъ
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	гръличнштъ		съгънжти
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<201>			изгъѣвати
грън	гръньчарѣ		изгъѣнжти
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<203>			погъѣнжти
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граз	погразнжти	гъд	гъслн
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	погржженнѣ	<215>	
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<208>		<216> (see § 820)	
гржѣ	гржѣъ	да	бездарьствынъ
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гржст	гржстокъ		въдати
<210> (see § 705)			въздаганнѣ
гоуѣ	гоуѣитѣлъ		въздагати
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	пагоуѣьнъ		давьць
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дати		даръ	оҮдарѣганіе
издагати			оҮдарѣніе
издати		дир	въздирати
неоҮподаѣніе			дира
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отъдагати		дор	раздоръ
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<233> (see § 62, 773)

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ДЛЪЖ ДЛЪЖЪНИКЪ
ДЛЪЖЪНЪ

<234> (see § 62, 681, 773)

ДЪЛ ДЪЛГОТА
ДЪЛГЪ
ЗАДЪЛЖИТИ
ПРОДЪЛЖАТИ
ПРОДЪЛЖЕННЕ
ПРОДЪЛЖИТИ
ДЪЛ ПРОДЪЛЖИТИ

<235>				
доб	добростъ доброта добръ неподобьникъ неподобьнъ непрѣподобьнъ подоба подобати подобие подобити подобьнъ подобьствие приподобити прѣдобръ прѣподобие прѣподобьнъ съподобити оудобъ оудобьнъ оуподобити			прѣдолѣвати прѣдолѣние прѣдолѣти прѣдолѣти съдолѣвати съдолѣти оудолѣти
			<238>	
			дол	долъ долънъ ждолие ждоль
			<239>	
			дом	домашьнъ домовитъ домовьнъ домъ
			<240>	
			(дохътор)	дохъторъ
добл	доблѣсть доблѣстьнъ добль добльнъ добльство подоблѣние съподоблѣти съподоблѣние оудоблѣти		<241>	драв съдравие съдравъ
			<242>	
			драг	драгъ прѣдрагъ
			<243>	
			драг	подрагъ
<236> (see § 734)			драж	подражание подражателъ подражати подражение подраживъ подражити подражникъ
дој	доилица донти ² надонти отъдонти			
дѣ	дѣва дѣвица дѣвичь дѣвичьскъ дѣвьство дѣвьствьнъ дѣти дѣтиштъ дѣтскъ		<244>	драж раздражати раздражити
			<245>	
			древ	древьнъ
			<246>	
<237>			дроб	дробити дробьнъ раздробити
дол	одолѣвати одолѣние одолѣти			

	съдробити	<253>	
<247>		дрѣв	бездрѣвьнѣ дрѣво дрѣвьнѣ дрѣвѣнѣ
дрожд	дрождинѣ		
<248>		<254>	
дроуг	дроугонца дроугъ дроугъ подроугъ	дрѣм	въздрѣмати дрѣманіе
дроуж	дроужина дроужьба дроужьнѣ подроужіе съдроужити	<255>	
		дрѣзг	дрѣзга
<249>		<256> (see § 823)	
дръв	дръва	дрѣс	дрѣселовати дрѣселъ
		дрѣх	дрѣхлъ дрѣхлъство
<250>		<257>	
дръж	въздръжаніе въздръжаньнѣ въздръжати дръжава дръжавьнѣ дръжаніе дръжати одръжаніе одръжати подръжаніе подръжати подъдръжати прѣдръжати съвъздръжьникъ съдръжати оудръжаніе оудръжаньнѣ оудръжати	дрѣжг	дрѣжъ
		дрѣжж	въдрѣжати въдрѣжити подръжити
		<258>	
		дрѣжч	дрѣжченіе оудрѣжченіе оудрѣжити
<251>		<259> (see § 653)	
дръз	дръзати дръзновеніе дръзнѣти дръзовати дръзостъ дръзъ	доу	въдоунѣти въздоунѣти доуновеніе доунѣти надоунѣти
		<260>	
		доуп	доупина
<252> (see § 750)	(дрькол) дрьколь	<261> (see § 706)	
		доух	въздоухъ доуховьнѣ доухъ
		доуш	бездоушьнѣ въздоушьнѣ доуша доушевьнѣ доушьнѣ задоушити
		дъх	въдъхнѣти въздъхнѣти

	ДЪХАТИ	<269>	
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	ЗАДЪХНЖТИ	<270>	
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ДЪШ	ОТЪДЪШЕНИЕ		ДЪНЬ
ДЪХ	ВЪЗДЪХАНИЕ		ДЪНЬНИЦА
	ВЪЗДЪХАТИ		ДЪНЬНЪ
	ДЪХАНИЕ		ДЪНЬСЬНЬ
	ДЪХАТИ		ДЪНЬШЬНЬ
	ИЗДЪХАНИЕ		НАДЪНЕВЪНЪ
	ИЗДЪХАТИ	<271>	
	ОТЪДЪХАТИ	ДЪБ	ОУДЪБЕНЪ
	СЪДЪХАНИЕ	<272>	
<262> (see § 789)		ДЪД	ДЪДЪ
ДЪВ	ДЪВА		ПРАДЪДЪ//
	ДЪВАКЪ		ПРОДЪДЪ//
	ДЪВОН	<273>	
	ДЪВОНЦА	ДЪЛ	ДЪЛНТЕЛЪ
<263>			ДЪЛНТИ
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	ДЪЖДЕВЪНЪ		ПРОДЪЛЪ
	ДЪЖДИТИ		РАЗДЪЛНТИ
	ДЪЖДЪ	ДЪЛ	РАЗДЪЛІАТИ
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	ОДЪЖДАТИ	<274>	
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	БЕЗДЪННИЕ		ДЪБРОВА//
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<266>		ДЪГ	НЕДЪГОВАТИ
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ДЪШГ	ДЪШТИ		НЕДЪЖЪНЪ
<268> (see § 689)		<276> (see § 824)	
ДЪМ	ДЪМЪ	ЕС	ЕСТЬСТВО
	НАДЪМАТИ		ЕСТЬСТВО
ДЪ	ДЪТИ		ЕСТЬСТВОНЪ
	НАДЪТИ	С	НАСЖШТЪНЪ
			СЪСЖШТЪНЪ
			СЖШТНИЕ

	СЖШТЪНЪ	жел	желѣа
	СЖШТЪСТВО	жѣла	жалити
<277>			жаловати
ЖАБ	ЖАБА		жалостъ
<278>			жалъ
ЖАС	прѣжасати		пожалити
	о҃ужасати		сѣжалити
	о҃ужасение	<282>	
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	о҃ужаснѣти		желѣзо
	о҃ужасъ	<283>	
	о҃ужасънѣ	ЖЕН	ЖЕНА
	о҃ужасъ		ЖЕНИТИ
	о҃ужасънѣ		ЖЕНИХОВЪ
<279> (see § 668)			ЖЕНИХЪ
ЖЕГ	вѣжешти		ЖЕНЬСКЪ
	жешти		ЖЕНЬСТВО
	зажешти		ОЖЕНИТИ
	иждешти	<284>	
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	пожешти		ЖЕСТОСТЬ
	раждешти		ОЖЕСТИТИ
	сѣжешти		ОЖЕСТОЧАННІЕ
	о҃ужешти		ОЖЕСТОЧНИТИ
ЖЕЖ	раждежение		ОЖЕСТѢТИ
	сѣжежение		о҃ужесточеннїе
ЖИС	вѣжисати	<285>	
	зажисати	ЖИ	ЖИГО
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	ражданнїе		ЖИТЬНЪ ²
	раждансати	<286> (see § 707)	
	сѣжисати	ЖИ	ЖИЗНЬ
ЖѢГ	вѣжагати		ЖИЗНЬНЪ
	пожагати		ЖИЛИШТЕ
	прижагати		ЖИТЕЛИНЪ
	сѣжагати		ЖИТЕЛЬ
<280>			ЖИТИ
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	желание		ЖИТЬ
	желати		ЖИТЬНЪ ¹
	желѣннїе		ИЖДИТИ
	желѣти		ОЖИТИ
	пожелание		ПАЖИТЬ
<281> (see § 658)			ПОЖИТИ
ЖЕЛ	желѣтва		ПРИЖИТИ

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	принжити	жрѣѣ	жрѣѣцьѣ
	сѣпожити		жрѣѣѣ
жив	живити	<298>	
	животъ	жоуп	жоупиште
	животънъ	<299>	
	живъ	((жоупан))	жоупанъ
живѣ	живѣати	<300>	
<287>		((жоупел))	жоупелъ
жид	жидовинъ	<301>	
	жидовьскъ	жъзл	жъзаниѣ
	жидъ		жъзлъ
<288> (see § 659)		<302> (see § 683, 818)	
жид	ождати	жл	жатва
жъд	дождати		жатвънъ
	жъдати		жателѣанинъ
	пождати		жателѣ
<289>			жати
жил	жила		пожати
<290> (see § 690)		<303>	
жим	сѣжимати	жад	вѣждати
жа	сѣжати		жаданниѣ
<291> (see § 62)			жадати
жлад	жладъба		жадынъ
	жласти		жадѣти
<292> (see § 62, 751, 752)		жажд	жажда
жрь	жрътва	<304>	
	жрътвънъ	жал	жало
	жръти	<305> (see § 62)	
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	пожръти	<306>	
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	жърьчьскъ	<307>	
<293> (see § 62)		зажд	заждъ
жрьд	жрьдъ	<308>	
<294> (see § 62)		((зајѣц))	заѣцьѣ
жрын	жрынъвънъ	<309> (see § 62, 753)	
	жрынъѣ	зар	озарити
<295> (see § 62, 751, 752)		зарѣ	зарѣѣ//
жрѣ	пожрѣти		озарѣати
<296> (see § 62)		зир	вѣзирати
жрѣѣ	жрѣѣни		зазирати

	назирати	зла	злакъ
	озирати		златникъ
	призирати		златница
	прозирати		злато
	съзирати		златъ
зор	възоръ		златънъ
	зазоръ		позлатити
	зазорьнъ	<313>	
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	позорништѣ		земьскъ
	позоровати		подъземне
	позоръ	земл	земла
	позорьникъ		земльскъ
	прозорьнъ	<314> (see § 735)	
	прѣзорьнъ	зи	зинжти
	прѣзорьство	зиј	зинати
зоръ	зорга//	<315> (see § 659)	
зра	зракъ	зид	съзидати
	озракъ	зижд	зиждителъ
	призракъ	зид	зидание
зрь	зрьцало		зидателъ
зър	възърѣние		зидати
	възърѣти		зидъ
	дозърѣти		съзидание
	зазърѣти		съзидателъ
	зърѣние		съзидати
	зърѣти	<316>	
	назърѣти	зим	зима
	позърѣти		зимьнъ
	призърѣти	<317>	
	прозърѣние	злѣч	злѣчь
	прозърѣти	<318> (see § 825)	
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	прѣзърѣти		змиѣвъ
	оүзърѣти		змии
<310> (see § 684)			зминнъ
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звѣ	звѣшти	зна	зазнаменати
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	звѣриньнъ		знамение
	звѣриньскъ		знаменитъ
	звѣрь		знаменовати
	звѣрьнъ		знание
<312> (see § 774)			
зел	зеленъ		
	зелие		

	ЗНАТИ		ЗЪЛЪ
	НАЗНАМЕНАТИ		НЕЗЪЛОБА
	НАЗНАМЕНОВАТИ		НЕЗЪЛОБИНВЪ
	ПОЗНАВАТИ		НЕЗЪЛОБИЕ
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	ПОЗОБАТИ		НЕПОЗЪБЪНЪ
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зорь	ЗРЬНО	<327> (see § 694)	
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зър	ЗЪРЪЛЪ		ПРОЗАБАТИ
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			ПРОЗАБЕНЖТИ
<323> (see § 678, 708)		зъб	ЗЪБЪ
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	ПРИЗЪВАТИ		ЗАИТИ
	ПРОЗЪВАТИ		ИЗИТИ
	ПРОЪДЪЗЪВАННИЕ		ИТИ
	СЪЗЪВАТИ		НАИТИ
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	ПОЗЪВАТИ		ОБИТИ ¹
	ПРИЗЪВАННИЕ		ОТИТИ
	ПРИЗЪВАТИ		ПОДЪИТИ
	СЪЗЪВАТИ		ПОИТИ ¹
<324>			ПРИТИ
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	БЕЗЪЛОБЪНЪ		ПРОЪДЪИТИ
	ЗЪЛО		ПРОЪИТИ
	ЗЪЛОБА		РАЗИТИ
	ЗЪЛОБИНВЪ		СЪНИТИ
	ЗЪЛОБИТИ		СЪНИТИЕ
	ЗЪЛОБОВАТИ		
	ЗЪЛОБЪ		
	ЗЪЛЪ		

<330> (see § 655)

ИГ ИГЪЛНИЪ

<331> (see § 655)

ИГ ИГО

<332> (see § 655)

ИГР ВЪЗИГРАТИ
ИГРАТИ
ИГРЪ

<333> (see § 655)

ИМ БЕЗИМЕНЪНЪ
ИМЕНИТЪ
ИМЕНОВАТИ
ИМА

<334> (see § 655, 691)

ИМ ВЪЗИМАНИЕ
ВЪЗИМАТИ
ВЪНИМАТИ
ИМЪНИЕ
ИМЪНИЦЕ
ИМЪНЪНЪ
ИМЪТИ
НЕДОИМЪТИ
ОБИМАТИ
ПОИМОВАТИ
СЪНИМАТИ
ЬМ ВЪЗЪМАТИ
ВЪНЪМАТИ
ВЪСПРИИМАТИ
ЗАИМАТИ
ЗАИМЪ
ИЗЪМАТИ
ИМАНИЕ
ИМАТИ
НАИМЪНИКЪ
ОБЪМАТИ
ОТЪМАТИ
ПОДЪИМАТИ
ПОИМАТИ
ПРИИМАНИЕ
ПРИМАТИ
ПРИИМЪНЪ
ПРЪИМАТИ
ПРЪИМЪНИКЪ
СЪНЪМАТИ
СЪНЪМИШТЕ
СЪНЪМЪ

А СЪПРИИМЪНИКЪ
ВЪЗАТИ
ВЪЗАТИЕ
ВЪНАТИ
ВЪСПРИЪАТИ
ЗАЪАТИ
ИЗАТИ
ИЗАШТЪНИЧЪСКЪ
НАЪАТИ
ОБАТИ
ОТАТИ
ОТАТИЕ
ПОДЪЪАТЕЛЪ
ПОДЪЪАТИ
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ПРЪЪАТИ
СЪНАТИ
СЪНАТИЕ
ОУЪАТИ
ЪАТИ
ЪАТИЕ

<335> (see § 655)

ИСК ВЪЗИСКАНИЕ
ВЪЗИСКАТЕЛЪ
ВЪЗИСКАТИ
ВЪЗИСКОВАТИ
ИЗИСКАТИ
ИСКАНИЕ
ИСКАТИ
ОБИСКАТИ
ПОИСКАТИ
СЪНИСКАТИ

<336> (see § 655)

ИСКР ИСКРЪНЪ

<337> (see § 655)

ИСКР ИСКРА

<338>

((испол)) ИСПОЛИНЪ
((спол)) СПОЛИНЪ

<339> (see § 655)

ИСПР ВЪИСПРЪНЪ
ПРЪВЪИСПРЪНЪ

<340> (see § 655)

нст	нстина нстиньнъ нстовъ нстъ ненстовлѣние ненстовъ ненстовство оуистити
ншт	оуиштение

<341> (see § 655)

нст	нсто
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<342>

((нстоуқан))нстоуқаньнъ

<343> (see § 790)

j	гакъ *и нже
((jελ))	єликъ
((jεтєр))	єтєръ

<344>

jазв	газва газвина газвити газвьнъ оутазвити
jазвѧ	газвѧти

<345>

jам	гама гамьнъ
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<346>

jар	гарити гаростъ гаръ възъгарити
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<347>

jар	гарьмъ гарьмьникъ гарьмьничъ
-----	------------------------------------

<348>

jас	погасати погасъ прѣпогасати
-----	-----------------------------------

<349>

jасн	гаснъ изъгаснити
------	---------------------

<350> (see § 791)

jєд	єдинакъ// єдиначьнъ єдинъ// єдиньство єдинѣние єдънакъ// єдънъ//
-----	--

<351>

((jєзєр))єзєро

<352>

jєл	єелень єелѣнъ
-----	------------------

<353>

jоуг	юговъ югъ
jоуж	южьскъ

<354>

jоун	юница юностъ юнота юноша юнъ юнъць юнъчь
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<355>

jѧдр	оуѧдрити ѧдръ
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<356>

jѧс	ѧса
-----	-----

<357>

((jѧзъик))	ѧзъикъ
((jѧзъич))	ѧзъичьникъ ѧзъичьнъ ѧзъичьскъ

<358>

jѧч	ѧчьнъ ѧчьнѣнъ
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<359> (see § 792)

к	каковъ
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	КАКЪ	НАКАЗАНИЕ
	КЪТО	НАКАЗАТИ
	КЪИН	ПОКАЗАНИЕ
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(КОТОР)	КОТОРЪИН	ПОКАЗОВАТИ
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		КАПИШТЪНЪ
		КАПЪ

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	непокорѣ		поклаѣгати
	непокорѣнѣ		прѣклаѣгати
	покорити	клон	оѣклаѣгати
	оѣкоризна		вѣсклонити
	оѣкоризнѣнѣ		клонити
	оѣкорити		непрѣклонѣнѣ
	оѣкорѣ		подѣклонити
	оѣкорѣнѣ		поклонити
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			прѣклонити
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			заклати

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оукрасти

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крој оукраон

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кричати
кричь

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кровъ
покровителъ
покровиште
покровъ
съкровиште
съкровъ
съкровьнь
кръв окръвение
прикръвение
кръзи закръзити
кръгги
окръгги
покръгги
прикръгги
съкръгги
оукрагги
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съкръивати

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кроўш	сѣкроўшати сѣкроўшенне сѣкроўшити	кръшт крѣштати крѣштене прѣкрѣштати
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(«кръкыг») кръкыга		
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	прокоудьнъ		покоусити
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	коумиръскъ		окоушати
			покоушати
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	сѣвъкоупити	((кѣниж))	кѣнижица
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	кѣпиннѣ			прнлежѣнъ
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кѣшт	кѣшта			прнлогъ
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	лапати ¹			вѣложитти
	лагѣлъ			заложитти
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лов	ловитѣа			наложитти
	ловитти			низъложитти
	ловъ			обложитти
	ловьць			отъложитти
	ловьчь			подъложитти
	оуловитти			положеннѣ
ловѣ	оуловѣеннѣ			положитти
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	вѣлагати			прѣдъложитти
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	облагати			прѣложитти
	отълагати	лѣг		сѣложение
	подълагати			сѣложитти
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	СЪЛАЗИТИ		ВЪЛИГАТИ
	СЪЛАЗЪ		ИЗЛИГАТИ
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	ВЪЛѣСТИ		НАЛИГАТИ
	ИЗЛѣСТИ		ОБЛИГАТИ
	ЛѣСТВИЦА		ПОЛИГАТИ
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	СЪЛѣСТИ		ПРОЛИГАТИ
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	ЛЪСТЪ		ПОЛОУИЧИТИ
	ЛЪСТЪИЪ		ПРИЛОУИЧИ
	ЛЪСТЪЦЪ		СЪЛОУИЧИ
	ОБЛЪСТИТИ		СЪЛОУИЧАТИ
	ПРЪЛЪСТИТИ		СЪЛОУИЧИТИ
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	ЛОЗИИЪ		

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 ПОЛЪСЪНЪ

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<526> (see § 695)

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 СЪЛАЦАТИ
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 ЛЪКАВЪСТВО
 ЛЪКАВЪСТВО
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 ПРЪЛЪКАВЪ
 РАЗЛЪКА
 ЛЪЧИТИ
 ЛЪЧ НЕРАЗЛЪЧЪНЪ
 ОТЪЛЪЧАТИ
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ЛЪШТ ЛЪШТА

<530>

ЛЪУБ ВЪЗЛЪУБИТИ
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	любѣи		помошгѣ
	любѣзнѣ		помошгѣникъ
	любѣнѣ		прѣмошги
	нелюбѣство		прѣнемошги
	облюбити	мож	възможнѣ
	прилюбити		невъзможнѣ
	прѣлюбѣи		поможение
лоубѣ	възлюблѣение	<536>	
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	прилюблѣение		маслиннѣ
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	лютѣ		помазати
	лютыць		оумастити
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	помагание		омочити
	помагати		оумочити
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	изнемагати		оумалити
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	прѣнемагание		оумалѣение
	прѣнемагати	<539> (see § 756, 835)	
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мог	възмошги	мир	оумирати
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	мошги		изморити
	мошгѣ		морѣ
	мошгѣнѣ		оуморити
	немошгѣ	мръ	бесъмрътние
	немошгѣнѣ		бесъмрътѣнѣ
	отънемошги		бесъмрътѣство
	помошги		мрътвостѣ
	помошгине		мрътвѣ

	мрътвьць		помести
	омрътвѣти		пометати
	съмрътъ		приметати
	съмрътънъ		прѣметати
	оумрътвѣ		разметати
	оумрътвѣти	мѡт	съмести
	оумрътнѣ	мѣт	мѡтъѡла
	оумръштвѣѡати		взмѣтати
	оумръштвѣѡѣние		взмѣтати
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			прѣминжѣти
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мѡтрѣ	съмѡтрѣѡати		миѡстивънъ
	съмѡтрѣѣние		миѡстѣѡѣни
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<545> (see § 661, 669)			съмиѡнти
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	ѡмѣта		въспѡминѡти
	отзмѣтѡние		помѡнѡти
	отзмѣтати		мьнѣѣние
	отзмѣтѣнъ	мьн	мьнѣѣти
	пѡдзмѣтѣ		помьнѣѣти
			съсжмьнѣѣти

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	намѣнити	млѣч	млѣчаливѣ
	примѣнити		млѣчалникъ
млѣн	намѣнѣти		млѣчалнъ
млѣ	въспоманѣти		млѣчаннѣ
	памативѣ		млѣчаньнъ
	паматнѣ		млѣчати
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	поманѣти		оумлѣчати
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	безмлѣвьствнѣ		
	млѣва		

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<566> (see § 681, 757)

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МРЪЗЪКЪ
МРЪЗЪТИ
ОМРЪЗЪТИ
ПОМРЪЗНЖТИ
СЪМРЪЗЕНИЕ
СЪМРЪЗНЖТИ

<567> (see § 681, 758)

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ОМРАЧИТИ
ПОМРАЧЕНИЕ
ПОМРАЧИТИ
ПРЪМРАЧЪНЪ
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ОМРЪКНЖТИ
ПОМРЪКНЖТИ
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МРЪЦ ПОМРЪЦАТИ

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<569>

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<570> (see § 712)

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МЪШ МЪШИЦА

<571> (see § 713)

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ОМЪВЕНИЕ
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ОМЪИТИ
ОТЪМЪИТИ
ОТЪОУМЪИТИ
ОУМЪИТИ
МЪИВ ОМЪИВАТИ

ОТЪМЪИВАТИ
ОУМЪИВАЛЪНИЦА
ОУМЪИВАНИЕ
ОУМЪИВАТИ

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МЪЖД ИЗМЪЖДАТИ

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ПРОМЪКНЖТИ
МЪЧАТИ

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МЪНИШЬСКЪ

<575>

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ОУМЪНОЖАТИ
ОУМЪНОЖЕНИЕ
ОУМЪНОЖИТИ

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ПОМЪСАЪ
ПРИМЪСАТИТИ
ПРОМЪСАТИТИ
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ПРОМЪСАЪННИКЪ
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	помѣшлѣеннѣ		сѣмѣти
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	мѣстѣникѣ		намѣрити
	отѣмѣстити		прѣмѣрити
мѣштѣ	мѣштѣати		размѣрити
	мѣштѣеннѣ		сѣмѣрити
	отѣмѣштѣати		сѣмѣрѣнѣ
	отѣмѣштѣеннѣ	мѣрѣ	сѣмѣрѣати
			сѣмѣрѣеннѣ

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несъмѣсьнъ
примѣсити
размѣсити
съмѣсити
оумѣсити
мѣш примѣшати
размѣшьнъ
съмѣшати
съмѣшение
съмѣшьнъ

<592>

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намѣстынникъ
мѣшт възмѣштати

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<594>

мѣх мѣхъ

<595> (see § 696)

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оумакнѣти
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оумачити
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мжка²
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мжченикъ
мжченица
мжченичь
мжченичьнъ
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оумжчити

<596>

мас масо

<597> (see § 697)

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съмасти
съматение
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мжтити
омжтити
съмжтити
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възмжштение
съмжштание
съмжштати
съмжштение

<598>

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прѣмждити
оумждити

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мждрити
мждрование
мждровати
мждрость
мждръ
мждръство
мждръствование
мждръствовати
прѣмждрость
прѣмждростьнъ
прѣмждръ
оумждрити
мждръ оумждръвати
мжддръ прѣмжддрѣвати

<601>

мжж безмжжьнъ
възмжжати

	МЖЖАТИ		прѣнести
	МЖЖЪ		сънести
	МЖЖЬСКЪ	НОС	възносити
	МЖЖЬСТВО		въносити
	МЖЖЬСТВЪНЪ		износити
<602> (see § 657)			наносити
НАВĀ	ОБНАВĀЯТИ		носила
НОВ	НОВЪ		носити
	ОБНОВИТИ		обносити
	ПОНОВИТИ		отъносити
НОВА	ОБНОВАЕНИЕ		поносити
	ПОНОВАЕНИЕ		поносъ
<603>			приносити
НАГ	НАГОСТЬ		приносъ
	НАГОТА		проносити
	НАГОТОВАТИ	НОШ	прѣвъзносити
	НАГЪ		възношение
НАЖ	ОБНАЖАТИ		изношение
	ОБНАЖЕНИЕ		ношение
	ОБНАЖИТИ		поношение
			приношение
			прѣношение
<604> (see § 794)			
((НАШ))	НАШЪ	<608>	
<605>		НИЖ	НИЖЬНЪ
НЕБ	НЕБЕСЪНЪ	НИЗ	НИЗИТИ
	НЕБЕСЬСКЪ		НИЗЪ
	НЕБО	<609> (see § 671)	
	ПОДЪНЕБЕСЪНЪ	НИЗ	ВЪНИСТИ
	ПОДЪНЕБЕСЬСКЪ	НОЖ	НОЖЪ
			НОЖЬНИЦА
<606>		НОЗ	ВЪНОЗИТИ
((НЕВОД))	НЕВОДЪ	НЪЗ	ВЪЗНЪЗНИЖТИ
<607> (see § 661, 670)			ВЪЗНЪЗНИЖТИ
НЕС	ВЪЗНЕСЕНИЕ		ПРОНЪЗНИЖТИ
	ВЪЗНЕСТИ		ОУНЪЗНИЖТИ
	ВЪНЕСЕНИЕ	<610>	
	ВЪНЕСТИ	НИК	ВЪЗНИКНИЖТИ
	ВЪНЕСИТИ		НИКНИЖТИ
	ДОНЕСТИ		ПОНИКНИЖТИ
	ИЗНЕСТИ		ПРИНИКНИЖТИ
	НАНЕСТИ	НИЦ	НИЦЪ
	НЕСТИ		
	ПОНЕСТИ	<611>	
	ПРИНЕСЕНИЕ	НИШГ	НИШТѢТА
	ПРИНЕСТИ		НИШТЪ
	ПРОНЕСТИ		ОБНИШТАТИ
	ПРѣВЪЗНЕСТИ		

<612>

НОГ НОГА
 НОГЪТЪ
НОЖ НОЖЫНЪ
 ПОДЪНОЖИЕ
(пазнер) пазнергътъ

<613>

(ноздр) ноздри

<614>

НОШГ НОШГЪ
 НОШГЪНЪ
 ОВНОШГЪНИЦА
 ОВНОШГЪНЪ

<615> (see § 62)

нрав нравъ

<616> (see § 714)

НОУР ИЗНОУРИТИ
 прѣбноуриити
НОУРЪ ИЗНОУРѢНИЕ
НЪИР ПРОНЪИРИВЪ
 ПРОНЪИРИЕ
 ПРОНЪИРИТИ
 ПРОНЪИРЪ
 ПРОНЪИРЬСТВО

<617>

НЪИ ОУНЪИВАТИ
 ОУНЪИНИЕ
 ОУНЪИНѢНИЕ
 ОУНЪИТИ

<618>

НЪИИ НЪИИПЪШЪИИ

<619>

НЪИР НЪИРИШТЕ

<620>

НЪИМ НЪИМОВАТИ
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 НЪИМЪ
 ОНЪИМѢТИ

НЪИМЪ ОНЪИМЪЛАТИ

<621>

НЖД НЖДИТИ
 ПОНЖДИТИ
 ПРИНЖДИТИ

НЖЖД НЖЖДА
 НЖЖДЪНИКЪ
 НЖЖДЪНЪ
 ПОНЖЖДАТИ
 ПРИНЖЖДАТИ

<622>

ННВ ННВА
 ННВЪНЪ

<623> (see § 655)

ОБ ОБЪШГѢВАТИ
 ОБЪШГѢНИЕ
 ОБЪШТИЕ
 ОБЪШТИНА
 ОБЪШТИТИ
 ОБЪШГЪ
 ОБЪШГЪНИКЪ
 ОБЪШГЪНЪ
 ОБЪШГЪСТВО
 ПРИБЪШГАВАТИ
 ПРИБЪШГАТИ
 ПРИБЪШГТИТИ

<624> (see § 795)

ОБ ОБА
 ОБОПАКЪ
 ОБОИ

<625>

((ОБЛАШ)) ОБЛАШЪ
 ОБЛАШЬСКЪ

<626>

((ОБЪА)) ОБЪАДО

<627>

ОВ ОВЪНЪ
 ОВЪИИ
 ОВЪЦА
 ОВЪЧЬ
 ОВЪЧА

<628> (see § 796)

ОВ ОВЪ

<629>

((ОВОШТ)) ОВОШТЕ
 ОВОШГЪНЪ

<630>

((ОГАВ)) ОГАВИЕ

<631> (see § 655)

огн̑ огнѣ
огнѣнъ

осьла
осьлаѣтинъ
осьлъ

<632>

одр̑ одръ
одръць

<644>

((оскръдъ))оскръдъ

<633>

((оѣм)) онми
онмьскъ
онмьство

<645>

осм осмъ
осмь

<634>

ок БЕЗОКОВАТИ
око
оч БЕЗОЧЬСТВО
очесънъ

<646>

ост изострити
наострити
осла
острие
острити
острогъ
острость
остръ
остънъ

<635>

((олов)) олово
оловѣнъ

<647> (see § 655)

<636> (see § 797)

он̑ онъ

от̑ отъць
отъчина
отъчь
отъчьствие
отъчьство
прѣотъць

<637>

((оноушт)) оноушта

<638>

((опаш)) опашь

<648>

((оцьт)) оцьтъ
оцьтънъ
оцьтѣнъ

<639> (see § 759)

ор̑ орало
орати
ра̑ рало
ратан

<649>

пад̑ въпадати
въпадение
въпасти
допасти
западъ
западънъ
западъскъ
испадати
испасти
нападати
нападение
напасти
напасть
напастьствовати
низъпасти

<640>

ор̑ орълъ
орълъ

<641>

((оржд)) орждие

<642>

((оржж)) въоржжити
оржжие
оржжъникъ
оѣоржжити

<643>

ос̑ осьлаъ
осьлаъскъ

ОТЪПАДАТИ
 ОТЪПАДЕНИЕ
 ОТЪПАСТИ
 ПАДАНИЕ
 ПАДАТИ
 ПАДЕНИЕ
 ПАСТИ¹
 ПОДЪПАДАТИ
 ПРИПАДАТИ
 ПРИПАСТИ
 ПРОПАДЪ
 ПРОПАСТЬ
 РАСПАДАТИ
 РАСПАЛНА
 РАСПАЛНЪНЪ
 РАСПАСТИ
 СЪПАДАТИ
 СЪПАСТИ¹
 ОУПАСТИ¹

<650>
 ((пазочух)) пазочуха

<651> (see § 737)

пај напавание
 напавати
 оупавати

пи испити
 пиво
 пивьца
 пиръ
 пити
 питние
 питни
 оупивати
 оупити
 оупитние

пој напоити
 понти²
 оупонти

пъј пианица
 пианъ
 пианьствие
 пианьство

<652>
 пак пакостъ
 пакостъникъ

<653>
 пал паница

<654> (see § 829)

пал запалити
 опалити
 палити
 подъпалити
 попалити

палъ опалѣати
 палѣение
 попалѣати
 распалѣение

((пепел)) пепелъ//
 оупепелити

пла възспаланжти
 пламень
 пламеньнъ
 пламѣнъ

пол полѣти
 ((попел)) попелъ//

<655>
 пан паница
 паничица

<656>
 пап папа
 папежъ

<657>
 ((папрѣт)) папрѣтъ

<658> (see § 760)

пар парити
 пер възперити
 перьнатъ

пър пѣрати

<659>
 пас опасение
 опасивъ
 опасъ
 опасьнъ
 паства
 паствина
 паствиньнъ
 пастн²
 пасточуховъ
 пасточухъ
 пастъѣрь

	СЪПАСАТИ		ПРОПАТНІЕ
	СЪПАСЕНИЕ		ПЛАДЪ
	СЪПАСИТЕЛІЕВЪ		РАСПАТИ
	СЪПАСИТЕЛЪ		РАСПАТНІЕ
	СЪПАСОВЪ		СЪПАТИ
	СЪПАСТВА	пж	пжта
	СЪПАСТИ ²		
	СЪПАСЪ	<665> (see § 761)	
	СЪПАСЪНЪ	пир	попирати
	ОУПАСТИ ²		прѣпирати
<660> (see § 665)		прѣ	опрѣти
пек	пештера	пър	запърати
	пештерънъ		непрѣпъривъ
	пешти		попърание
	пештъ		попърати
	пештъница		попърште
	пештънъ		прѣпърѣние
	попешти		прѣпърѣти
печ	беспечальнъ		пърѣние
	въпечалнти		пърѣти
	опечалнти		распърати
	печалнти		распърънъ
	печаловати		распърѣние
	печаль		распърѣти
	печальнъ		съпърѣти
	попечение	пърѣ	сжпъръникъ
<661>			пърѣа
((пелен))	пелена		распърѣа
<662>			сжпърѣ
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	печатъ	пис	написание
	печатълѣти		написати
<663>			ненсписанънъ
пила	пила		писание
			писменьнъ
<664> (see § 687)			писма
пин	запинати		прѣписати
	пропинати		съписание
	распинати	пъс	съписати
пон	опона		въпъсати
	распонъ		напъсание
поѣ	поѣгава		напъсати
	поѣгавица		прѣдъпъсание
па	запати		пъсание
	запатнѣ		пъсати
	припати	<667>	съпъсати
	пропати	писк	пискати

<668>		ПЛОДИТИ
ПИТ	ВЪСПИТАНИЕ ВЪСПИТЪТИ НАПИТАТИ НАПИТЪТИ ПИТАТИ ПИТЪНИЕ ПИТЪТИ ПРЪПИТЪТИ ОУПИТЪТИ	ПЛОДОВИТЪ ПЛОДЪ ПЛОДЪНЪ ПРИПЛОДИТИ
ПИШТ	ПИШТА ПИШТЪНЪ	<674> ПЛЕСК ВЪСПЛЕСКАТИ ПЛЕСКАТИ СЪПЛЕСКАНИЕ СЪПЛЕСКАТИ
<669>		<675> ПЛЕСН ПЛЕСНО ПЛЕСНЬЦЕ
ПЛАВ	ПЛАВЪ	<676> (see § 661, 672)
<670> (see § 715)		ПЛЕТ НСПЛЕСТИ ПЛЕНИЦА ПЛЕСТИ ПРИПЛЕСТИ СЪПЛЕСТИ СЪПЛЕТЪКЪ
ПЛАВ	ПЛАВАТИ ПРЪПЛАВАТИ	ПЛИТЪ СЪПЛИТАТИ
ПЛОУ	ОТЪПЛОУТИ ПЛОУТИ ПРЪПЛОУТИ	ПЛОТЪ ОПОТЪ ПОТЪ
ПЛЪ	ПЛЪНИЕ	ПЛАТЪ СЪПЛАТАТИ
<671>		<677> ПЛЕШТ ПЛЕШТЕ
ПЛАК	ВЪПЛАКАТИ ВЪСПЛАКАТИ ОПЛАКАТИ ПЛАКАТИ ПРОПЛАКАТИ	<678> ПЛИШТ ВЪСПЛИШТЕВАТИ НЕПЛИШТЕВАНИЕ ПЛИШТЕВАТИ ПЛИШТЪ
ПЛАЧ	БЕСПЛАЧЪНЪ ПЛАЧЕВЪНЪ ПЛАЧЪ	<679> ПЛОСК ПЛОСКЪ
<672>		<680> ПЛОУШТ ПЛОУШТА
ПЛАТ	ОТЪПЛАТИТИ ПЛАТЪ	<681> ПЛЪК ПЛЪКЪ ПЛЪЧ ВЪПЛЪЧЕНИЕ ВЪПЛЪЧИТИ ОПЛЪЧАТИ ОПЛЪЧИТИ ПЛЪЧИТИ ПРЪДЪПЛЪЧЪНЪ СЪВЪПЛЪЧЕНИЕ
ПЛАШТ	ВЪСПЛАШТЕНИЕ ПЛАШТАНИЦА ПЛАШТАНИЧЪНЪ ПЛАШТЪ	
<673> (see § 661)		
ПЛЕД	ПЛЕМЕНЪНЪ ПЛЕМА СЪПЛЕМЕННИКЪ	
ПЛОД	БЕСПЛОДЪНЪ НЕПЛОДОВИТЪ НЕПЛОДЪ НЕПЛОДЪНЪ НЕПЛОДЪСТВО	

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<682>		ПЪОУ	ВЪСПЪИИЖТИ
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	ПЪЗТЪ		ЗАПЪВАТИ
	ПЪЗТЪИЪ		ОПЪВАТИ
	ПЪЗТЪСКЪ		ПЪВЪНИЕ
	ПЪЗТЪИЪ		ПЪВАТИ
ПЪЗТ	ВЪПЪЗТИТИ	<689>	
<683> (see § 778)		ПЪОУСК	ПЪОСКЪ
ПЪЗ	ВЪСПЪЗТИТИ	<690>	
	ПЪЗАТИ	((поган))	ПОГАИИЪ
	ПЪЗЪКЪ		ПОГАНЪ
	ПЪЗЪТИ		ПОГАИИИ
	ПОПЪЗТИТИ		ПОГАИСКЪ
<684>		<691>	
ПЪИ	ИСПЪИТИ	ПОД	ИСПЪИЪ
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	ПЪИЪ	<692>	
ПЪИ	ИСПЪИТИ	ПОЗД	ПОЗДЪИЪ
	ИСПЪИТИТИ	<693> (see § 779)	
	НАПЪИТИ	ПОЛ	ПОЛА
<685>			ПОЛЪ
ПЪ	ИСПЪТИ		ПРОПОЛОВИТИ
	ПЪВА		ПРОПОЛОВИТИТИ
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	ПЪВЕИИЦА	((полат))	ПОЛАТА
	ПЪВЕИЪ	<695>	
	ПЪТИ	ПОЛ	ПОЛИЕ
<686>			ПОЛИСКЪ
ПЪИ	ПЪИТИ	<696>	
	ПЪИЪ	ПОП	ПОПЪ
	ПЪИИИИКЪ		ПОПЪСТВО
	ПЪИИИИЦА	<697>	
	ПОПЪИТИТИ	((пород))	ПОРОДА
ПЪИ	ОПЪИТИТИ		ПОРОДЪИЪ
	ПЪИТИТИ	<698>	
	ПЪИТИТИТИ	((посаг))	БЕСПОСАГАТА
<687>			ПОСАГАТИ
ПЪС	ПЪСАТИТИ		ПОСАГИТИТИ
	ПЪСАТИТИ	<699>	
	ПЪСАТИТИ	ПОСТ	ПОСТИТИ
<688> (see § 716)			
ПЪИ	ПЪИТИТИТИТИ		

	постъ	исправлѣние
	постънникъ	направлѣати
	постъница	правлѣение
	постънъ	оуправлѣати
пошт	поштѣние	оуправлѣение
<700> (see § 665)		<704>
пот	потити	праг
	потъ	прагъ
	потънъ	<705>
<701>		праж
((потъпѣг))	потъпѣга	опражѣати
<702> (see § 681, 762)		оупражѣение
пра	испрахнѣти	испразнити
	прахнѣнъ	непразднъ
	прахъ	празднникъ
	распрашити	празднновати
пръ	пръстъ	празднъ
	пръстънъ	празднньствие
		празднньство
<703>		празднньствовати
прав	бесправднѣ	оупразнити
	бесправднъ	<706>
	въправдѣти	прас
	исправитѣль	напрасънѣвъ
	исправити	напрасънѣ
	направити	напрасънъ
	неправда	<707> (see § 657)
	неправднвъ	праш
	неправднникъ	въпрашание
	неправднъ	въпрашати
	оправданнѣ	повъпрашати
	оправдати	свъъпрашати
	оправдѣти	прос
	правило	въпросити
	правитѣль	въпросъ
	правити	въспросити
	правостъ	испросити
	правога	проситѣль
	правъ	просити
	правъѣи	прош
	правъда	въпрошѣние
	правднвъ	испрошѣние
	правднникъ	прошѣние
	правднничъ	<708>
	правднъ	прашт
	оуправити	праштънникъ
правл	исправлѣати	<709> (see § 657)
		прашт
		прост
		праштати
		простити
		простотъ
		простъ

	простъиѣи прѣпростъ проштгение	прѣстъ <719> (see § 653) прѣ прѣдъиѣ прѣждъникъ прѣждъиѣ
<710> приј	непригазникъ непригазнь непригазньскъ непригазньство пригазникъ пригазнь пригагелъ пригагн ¹	<720> (прѣгъиѣ) прѣгъиѣга
<711> присн	присностъ приснъ	<721> прѣм прѣмъднвъ прѣмъиѣ
<712> (притран) притранъ		<722> прѣсн опрѣснъкъ опрѣснъчьскъ
<713> (see § 653) про	прокъ прокъи прочини	<723> прѣт възпрѣтити запрѣтити прѣтити прѣшт възпрѣштати въспрѣштгение запрѣштгати запрѣштгение прѣштгение
<714> прот	противити противлгати противлгение противъ противъникъ противъничъ противънъ противъство сжпротивити сжпротивъникъ сжпротивънъ	<724> (see § 698) прлг възпрлшти припрлшти распрлшти съпрлшти пржг пржгъ сжпржгъ пржж пржжати
<715> прѣт	прѣтшигъ прѣтъ	<725> прлд прлсти
<716> прѣв	прѣвъ прѣвъиѣ	<726> прлд възспрлжати
<717> прѣс	прѣси	<727> прлт възспрлгати прлгати съспрлгати
<718> (see § 762) прѣст	прѣстенъ	<728> пржд прапржда// прапрждъ// прапрждънъ// прѣпржда//

	прѣпрждъ// прѣпрждьнъ//		пѣтица пѣтиштѣ пѣтѣньць
<729>			
пржт	пржтнѣ	<733>	
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		ран	рана
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	нарокъ		съристати
	оброкъ		о҃ривати
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	слѣдъ	<870>	
<858> (see § 740)		сох	посоха
смиј	вѣсмигати	<871>	
	посмигати	спод	сподъ
	просмигати	<872>	
	смигати	спѣ	непоспѣшьнъ
	оуѣсмигати	поспѣти	поспѣховати
смѣ	смѣхъ	поспѣхъ	поспѣхъ
<859>		поспѣшати	поспѣшание
смик	смикати	поспѣшити	поспѣшникъ
<860>		поспѣшествовати	приспѣти
смок	смокъвинїе	прѣспѣвати	прѣспѣти
	смокъвиннѣ	спѣти	спѣхъ
	смокъвиннѣ	спѣшенїе	спѣшенїе
	смокъвъница	спѣшити	спѣшьнъ
	смокъвъничьнѣ	съпоспѣшьникъ	оуспѣвати
	смокъвъннѣ	оуспѣти	оуспѣти
	смокъзы	оуспѣхъ	оуспѣшенїе
<861> (see § 681, 764)		оуспѣшьнѣ	
смрад	осмрадїти		
	смрадъ		
	смраднѣ		
смражд	просмраждати		
смрѣд	вѣсмрѣдѣти		
	смрѣдѣти		
<862> (see § 764)			
смръд	смръдъ		
<863> (see § 721)			
снов	основанїе		
	основати		
снъив	оснъивати		

<873>

спжд спждъ

<874> (see § 62)

срам бесрамие
 бесрамъкъ
 бесрамянъ
 осрамити
 посрамити
 срамити
 срамота
 срамъ
 срамянъ
 срамл осрамлѣати
 осрамлѣение
 посрамлѣати
 срамлѣати
 оуцсрамлѣати

<875> (see § 62)

срѣч срѣчица

<876> (see § 62)

сръб сръбание

<877> (see § 62, 765)

сръд осръдование
 сръдъце
 сръдъчънъ
 оуцсръдне
 оуцсръднъ
 срѣд посрѣдънъ
 срѣда
 срѣдънъ

<878> (see § 62)

сръп сръпъ

<879> (see § 657)

ста възстаати
 възставати
 възставитѣль
 възставити
 възставлѣати
 възставлѣение
 възстанивъ
 възстание
 възстанънъ
 възстати
 достати
 настаати

наставити
 наставлѣати
 наставлѣение
 наставъникъ
 настати
 недостатъковати
 недостатъкъ
 недостатъчънъ
 непрѣстанънъ
 остаати
 оставити
 оставлѣати
 оставлѣение
 останъкъ
 остати
 остатие
 остатъкъ
 остатъчънъ
 поставити
 поставлѣати
 поставлѣение
 приставити
 приставлѣати
 приставлѣение
 приставъникъ
 пристаниште
 прѣстати
 прѣдъпоставити
 прѣдъставити
 прѣдъстати
 прѣстаати
 прѣставити
 прѣставлѣати
 прѣставлѣение
 прѣстати
 стаати
 ставило
 ставити
 ставлѣати
 ставлѣение
 стадо
 стание
 станъ
 стати
 съвъставити
 съставити
 съставлѣати
 съставлѣение
 съставъ

	СЪСТАВНИКЪ		старѣшиньствовати
	състати		състарѣти
	сжпостатъ		
	оуставлѣние	<881>	
	оуставити	((стегн))	стегно
	оуставлѣти	<882>	
	оуставлѣние	стеж	стежеръ
	оуставъ	<883> (see § 783)	
	оуставьнъ	стѣл	постѣла
сто	достоанне		стѣла
	достоати	стил	постилати
	достоннъ	стъл	настъллати
	достонннъ		подъстъллати
	достоннство		постъллати
	застоати		стъллати
	настоанне	<884>	
	настоати	стен	въстенати
	непостоннъ		стенание
	остоанне		стенати
	остоати		
	отъстоати	<885> (see § 834)	
	постоанне	стѣп	стѣпень
	постоати		стѣпеньнъ
	прѣдъстоати	стоп	стопа
	прѣдъстолне	стжп	въстжпати
	прѣстоанне		застжпание
	прѣстоати		застжпати
	прѣстолъ		застжпити
	растоати		застжпъ
	стоанне		застжпникъ
	стоати		истжпити
	столъ		настжпати
	съпрѣстольнъ		настжпити
	състоанне		непостжпнъ
	състоати		непрстжпнъ
	състольникъ		остжпати
	оустоати		остжпити ¹
			остжпити ²
			остжпнъ
<880>	прѣстарѣти		пристжпати
стар	старица		пристжпити
	старость		прѣстжпати
	старъ		прѣстжпити
	старьць		прѣстжпникъ
	старьчь		прѣстжпнъ
	старѣшина		растжпити
	старѣшиньскъ		стжпание
	старѣшиньство		стжпати

	стѣжити	<891> (see § 663, 767)	
	състѣжити	страж	стража
	оустѣжити		стражь
	оустѣжити		стражьба
стѣплъ	застѣплѣние	стрѣг	стрѣшти ¹
	пристѣплѣние		
	прѣстѣплѣние	<892> (see § 741)	
<886> (see § 659)		страј	оустрајати
стиг	постигнѣти	строј	нестроѣние
стиж	непостижьнъ		пристроити
	постижение		строѣние
стьг	стьгна		строи
стьс	стьса		строинъ
<887> (see § 62)			строинтъль
стлъп	стлъпъ		строинтъльство
	стлъпникъ		строити
<888> (see § 766)			състроити
стра	пространѣ		оустроѣние
	пространити	стрѣ	оустрой
	пространъ		оустройти
	пространъство		строѣ
	прѣстрайѣти	<893>	
	страна	страх	страхованѣ
	страньникъ		страхъ
	страньнъ	страш	пострашенѣ
стрѣ	прострѣти		пострашити
	распрострѣти		пристрашьнъ
<889>			страшивъ
страб	оустрабити		страшити
<890>			страшьнъ
страд	бестрастнѣ		оустрашати
	бестрастьнъ		оустрашенѣ
	непостраданънъ		оустрашити
	острастити	<894> (see § 663, 767)	
	постраданѣ	стриг	постригати
	пострадати	стриж	постриженѣ
	прѣстрадади	стрис	постризати
	стрададанѣ	стрѣг	пострѣшти
	страдади		стрѣшти ²
	стрададѣ	<895> (see § 723)	
	стрададѣ	стров	островъ
	стрададѣ	строу	строуѣ
	страсть	<896>	
	страстьникъ	струп	отъструпити
	страстьничьскъ		струпъ
	страстьнъ		

<897> (see § 724)			оустъидѣти
строуг	строуга		
стръг	остръгати	<906>	стъбл
	стръгати		стъбланіе
<898>		<907>	
строуж	остроужити	стък	стъкльница
			стъкльница
<899>		<908>	
строуп	строупивъ	стѣн	остѣнити
	строупъ		стѣна
<900>		<909>	
стръп	стръпѣтивъ	стѣн	стѣнь
	стръпѣтънъ		
<901>		<910>	
стрык	стрыкъ	соуж	соужета
			соужетьнъ
<902>			соужн
стрым	оустрымити	<911>	
стрымл	оустрымліеніе	соук	соукъно
<903>		<912>	
стрѣк	пострѣкати	соул	соулѣи
	стрѣкало	соул	соулин
	стрѣкати		
<904>		<913> (see § 726)	
стрѣл	стрѣла	соур	соуровъ
	оустрѣлити	сър	осърѣти
стрѣл	стрѣлати		съръ ¹
	състрѣлати		съръ ²
			оусърити
<905> (see § 725)		<914> (see § 727)	
стоуд	бестоудіе	соух	соухота
	бестоудьникъ		соухъ
	бестоудьнъ	соуш	исоушити
	бестоудьць		осоушати
	стоуденъ		соуша
	стоудень		соушило
	стоуденьць		соушити
	стоудовьнъ		оусоушити
	стоудъ	сѣх	исѣхнѣти
	стоудьнъ		сѣсѣхнѣти
	оустоудити		сѣхнѣти
стъид	непостъидьнъ		оусѣхнѣти
	постъидѣти	<915>	
	стъидостъ	((сѣвалъм))	сѣвалъмъ
	стъидъкъ		
	стъидѣніе		
	стъидѣти		

<916> (see § 660)

сѣл възсѣлати
 посѣланиѣ
 посѣлати
 прѣдъпосѣлати
 сѣлати
 сѣлѣ
 сѣл възсѣлати
 отъсѣлати
 посѣлати

<917> (see § 660)

сѣп осѣпы
 сѣп възсѣпати
 нсѣпати
 осѣпати
 подъсѣпати
 посѣпати
 просѣпати
 расѣпати

<918> (see § 660)

сѣп бесѣниѣ
 посѣпати
 сѣниѣ
 сѣнѣ
 сѣпаниѣ
 сѣпати
 оѣсѣнжти
 оѣсѣпениѣ
 оѣсѣпити
 оѣсѣпати

<919>

сѣс сѣсати
 сѣсѣ
 сѣсѣць

<920>

сѣт сѣто
 сѣторица
 сѣтъникъ
 сѣтънѣ

<921>

сѣт сѣтъ

<922>

сѣн сѣнѣ²
 сѣнѣнѣ

<923>

сѣн сѣиновѣство
 сѣнѣ¹
 сѣн възсѣпати
 възсѣиѣниѣ
 оѣсѣиѣниѣ

<924>

сѣт насѣтити
 несѣтостѣ
 несѣтънѣ
 несѣтъство
 сѣтостѣ
 сѣтъ
 сѣтъ
 сѣшт насѣштаниѣ
 насѣштати
 насѣштѣниѣ

<925>

((сѣребр)) посѣребрѣти
 сѣребро
 сѣребрѣникъ
 сѣребрѣнѣ

<926>

сѣ възсѣвати
 възсѣти
 насѣвати
 насѣти
 осѣти
 просѣвати
 расѣваниѣ
 расѣвати
 сѣваниѣ
 сѣвати
 сѣма
 сѣти
 сѣтиѣ

<927>

((сѣвер)) сѣверовѣ
 сѣверѣ

<928>

сѣд сѣдина
 сѣдинавѣ
 сѣдѣ

<929>

сѣн осѣнѣти

	посѣнѣти		сѣдѣнѣше
	сѣнѣ		сѣдѣнѣше
сѣнѣ	осѣнѣати		сѣдѣтѣль
<930>			сѣдѣти
сѣнѣ	сѣнѣно		сѣдѣшѣ
	сѣнѣница		сѣдѣ
<931>			сѣдѣба
сѣтѣ	посѣтѣти		сѣдѣнѣ
	посѣтовати	сѣждѣ	оу сѣдѣти
	присѣтѣти		неосѣждѣнѣнѣ
сѣштѣ	посѣштѣти		осѣждѣти
	посѣштѣнѣ		осѣждѣнѣ
	присѣштѣнѣ		расѣждѣти
<932>			расѣждѣнѣ
сѣтѣ	сѣтованѣ		оу сѣждѣти
	сѣтовати	<937>	
	сѣтънѣ	сѣжѣ	осѣжатѣ
<933>			сѣжатѣ
сѣгѣ	досѣгнѣти		сѣжѣ
	осѣгнѣти	сѣжѣ	сѣжѣць
	посѣгнѣти	<938> (see § 801)	
	присѣга	тѣ	такѣвѣ
	присѣгнѣти		такѣ
	присѣшѣти		тачанѣ
	прѣсѣгнѣти		тѣ
сѣжѣ	присѣженѣ	((тол))	толѣнкѣ
сѣсѣ	осѣсѣати	<939>	
<934> (see § 699)		та	потанѣти
сѣкѣ	исѣкнѣти		таибѣнѣнкѣ
сѣчѣ	исѣчѣти		таибѣнѣ
	прѣсѣчѣти		таилѣшѣ
<935>			таина
сѣдѣ	вѣсѣдѣ		таинѣ
	вѣсѣдѣнѣ		таитѣ
<936>			татѣ
сѣдѣ	осѣдѣти		татѣба
	осѣдѣнѣ		татѣбина
	посѣдѣти		оу татѣти
	присѣдѣти	<940>	
	расѣдѣти	тајѣ	нѣстагѣти
	сѣсѣдѣти		нѣстанѣти
	сѣсѣдѣ		растагѣти
	сѣдинѣ		тагѣти
	сѣдинѣскѣ	<941> (see § 661, 675)	
		такѣ	таканѣнѣ

тач	растачати	<944> (see § 657)	
тек	дотешти нстешти отешти отътешти потешти притешти прѣдътешти прѣтешти растешти сътешти тешти	твар	тварь оутварь
теч	прѣдътеча течение	тварѣ	притварѣати протварѣати прѣтварѣати растварѣати сътварѣати тварѣати оутварѣати
ток	въстокъ отокъ потокъ токъ	твор	потворити притворити прѣтворити растворити ¹ сътворити творити творъ творьць творьчь
точ	въсточивъ въсточьнъ источити источьникъ оточьнъ поточьнъ расточити точение точило точити	творѣ	оутворити растворѣение сътворѣение творѣение
тѣк	истѣкати притѣкати прѣтѣкати	<945> (see § 62)	
<942> (see § 657)		тврѣд	сътврѣдити тврѣдостъ тврѣдъ тврѣдь тврѣдѣль оутврѣдити
тап	оутапати	тврѣжд	оутврѣждати оутврѣждение
тапл	нстаплѣати потаплѣати	<946>	
топ	нстопити нстопнѣти потопити потопъ потопьнъ растопити оутопити оутопнѣти	тел	телица тельць
<943> (see § 802)		<947>	
тв	твон	теп	тепенение теги оутеги
((тѣ))	тѣи	<948> (see § 661)	
		тепл	теплостъ
		топл	топлота топлъ
		<949>	
		тес	протесати тесати

<950>

тет тетъка

<951>

тик тикъ

<952>

тим тимѣние
тимѣно
тина
тиннавъ
тиньнъ

<953>

тин тинь

<954> (see § 768)

тир възстирати
истирати
отирати
прѣтирати
тръ отръти
прѣтръти
сътръти
тръти

<955>

тис тиса

<956> (see § 663)

тиск истискати
сътискати
оутискати
тѣшт потѣштити
тѣштити
оутѣштати

<957> (see § 663)

тих тихостъ
тихота
тихъ

тиш отишати
отишние
тишина
тишити
оутишити
тѣх оутѣха
тѣш тѣшити
оутѣшати
оутѣшение
оутѣшити
оутѣшьнъ

<958> (see § 62)

тлап възтлапити

<959> (see § 62)

тлък протлъковати
тлъкование
тлъкъ

<960> (see § 62)

тлъп тлъпа

<961> (see § 62)

тлъст отлъстѣти
оутлъстѣти

<962> (see § 62, 681, 784)

тлък тлъкжити
тлък сътлъштити
тлъштити

<963>

тол оутолити

<964>

том томителъ¹
томителъ²
томити
оутомити
томл томлѣние

<965> (see § 803)

тр третни
третница
трне
трон
троинъ
троница
троинчънъ
троинчъскъ

<966> (see § 728)

трав отравити
травити
тров отровение
троу натроутити
трѣв трѣва
трѣвънъ

<967>

трат тратати

<968>

((трепет)) възтрепетати

	трепетати трепетъ трепетънъ		тръжъство
<969> (тризи)	тризна	<975> (see § 835) (тръ.тър)	вътрътъратн
<970>	трош растрошити трошити	<976>	тръх тръхътъ
<971>	троуд потроудити троудити троудъ троудънъ оутроудити	<977>	трън тръние тръновъ трънъ трънънъ
	троужд троуждание троуждати оутроуждати	<978>	тръп потръпѣти прѣтръпѣние прѣтръпѣти сътръпѣние сътръпѣти трьпѣливъ трьпѣние трьпѣти оутръ(п)нжти
<972>	троуп троупие троупъ	<979>	тръст тръстие тръстъ
<973> (see § 769)	тръг въстръгати въстръгнжти истръгание истръгати истръгнжти отътръгнжти потръгнжти протръгнжти прѣтръгнжти растръгати растръгнжти	<980>	трѣб истрѣбити отътрѣбити потрѣбити прѣтрѣбивъ сътрѣбити
	тръс въстръсати отътръсати потръсати протръсати прѣтръсати растръсание растръсати тръсание тръсати	трѣбл истрѣблѣати истрѣблѣение потрѣблѣати	
<974>	тръгъ тръгъ тръж тръжиште тръжъникъ	<981>	трѣб потрѣба потрѣбование потрѣбънъ трѣба трѣбиште трѣбование трѣбовати трѣбъникъ трѣбънъ
		трѣбл наитръблѣни	

<982>	трѣзв	трѣзвеніе трѣзвити трѣзвъ	<992> (see § 660)	тѣк	вѣстѣкнѣти затѣкнѣти истѣкати истѣкнѣти натѣкати потѣкнѣти притѣкъ ¹ притѣкъ ² прѣтѣкнѣти сѣтѣкати тѣкание тѣкати тѣкнѣти оутѣкнѣти
<983>	трѣсн	трѣснѣ		тѣч	потѣчение притѣча
<984> (see § 700)	трѣс	вѣстрѣсти истрѣсти отрѣсти отѣтрѣсати отѣтрѣсти потрѣсати потрѣсти сѣтрѣсати сѣтрѣсти трѣсавица трѣсти		тѣк	затѣкати потѣкати прѣтѣкание прѣтѣкати
	трѣс	потрѣсѣнѣ трѣсѣ			
<985>	трѣбѣ	вѣстрѣбити провѣстрѣбити трѣба трѣбити трѣбѣнѣ	<993>	тѣм	тѣма
	трѣбѣл	трѣбѣленіе	<994>	тѣн	истѣнити тѣнѣкъ
<986>	трѣд	трѣдовитѣ трѣдѣ	<995>	тѣч	тѣчѣникѣ тѣчѣнѣ
<987>	трѣт	трѣтѣ	<996>	тѣшт	истѣштгати истѣштгити тѣштѣта тѣштѣтѣнѣ тѣштѣ
<988>	тоѣжд	тоѣждѣ оутѣждити	<997>	тѣшт	потѣштгание потѣштгати тѣштгание тѣштгати тѣштгивѣ тѣштгѣнѣ
<989>	тоѣк	тоѣкъ	<998>	тѣс	тѣсашти// тѣсаштѣникѣ//
	тоѣч	тоѣчѣнѣ			
<990>	тоѣл	тоѣлѣ			
<991>	тоѣр	тоѣрѣ			

	ТЪИСАШТЪНЪ ТЪИСАШТИ// ТЪИСАШТЪНИКЪ//		ОТАГОТЪТИ ОТАГЪЧАТИ ОТАГЪЧИТИ ПРОТАГНЪТИ СЪТАГНЪТИ ТАГНЪТИ ТАГОСТЪ ТАГОТА ТАГОТЪНЪ ОУТАГНЪТИ
<999>			
ТЪА	БЕСТЪЛЪНИЕ БЕСТЪЛЪНЪ БЕСТЪЛЪНЪНЪ ИСТЪЛИТИ ИСТЪЛЪНИЕ НЕИСТЪЛЪНЪНЪ РАСТЪЛЪТИ ТЪЛИТЕЛЪ ТЪЛИТИ ТЪЛЪНИЕ ТЪЛЪНЪНЪ ТЪЛЪТИ	ТАЖ	НЕТАЖАНЪНЪ ОТАЖАТИ ОТАЖЪЧАВАТИ ОТАЖЪЧАТИ ПРИТАЖАНИЕ ПРИТАЖАТИ ПРОТАЖЪНЪ СЪТАЖАНИЕ СЪТАЖАТИ ТАЖА ТАЖАТЕЛЪ ТАЖЕСТЪ ТАЖЪКЪ ОУТАЖИТИ ОУТАЖЪЧИТИ
ТЪА	ИСТЪЛЪНИЕ ТЪА	ТАС	ВЪСТАСАНИЕ ВЪСТАСАТИ ИСТАСАТИ ОТЪТАСАТИ СЪТАСАНИЕ СЪТАСАТИ
<1000>			
ТЪА	ТЪА	ТЖГ	ТЖГА
<1001>			
ТЪА	ЖТЪЛЪ	ТЖЖ	БЕСТЪЖЪНЪ ВЪСТЪЖИТИ ПРИТЪЖАТИ СЪТЪЖАНИЕ СЪТЪЖАТИ СЪТЪЖЕНИЕ СЪТЪЖИТИ ТЪЖЕНИЕ ТЪЖИТИ
<1002>			
ТЪМ	ОТЪМИТИ ОТЪМЪНИТИ ОТЪМЪНЪТИ ПРЪТЪМЪНЪ ТЪМА ТЪМЪНИЦА ТЪМЪНИЧЪНИКЪ ТЪМЪНИЧЪНЪ ТЪМЪНЪ	ТАС	ВЪСТАСАНИЕ ВЪСТАСАТИ ИСТАСАТИ ОТЪТАСАТИ СЪТАСАНИЕ СЪТАСАТИ
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ТЪСТ	ТЪСТЪ		
ТЪШТ	ТЪШТА		
<1004>			
ТЪБ	ТЪБАСЪНЪ ТЪБ		
<1005>			
ТЪБН	ТЪБЕНЪ	<1007>	ТАТ ТАТИВА
<1006> (see § 701)		<1008>	ТЖТ ТЖТЪНЪ
ТАГ	ВЪСТАГНЪТИ ИСТАГНЪТИ ОТАГНЪТИ	<1009>	ТЖЧ ТЖЧА

ТЖЧЫНЪ

<1010> (see § 836)
 оу обоуѣти

<1011>
 оуа оуаѣ
 оуаѣнъ

<1012> (see § 655, 817)
 оуз сѣноузынъ

<1013>
 оузда оузда

<1014>
 ((оукроп)) оукропъ

<1015>
 оум безоуміе
 безоумьникъ
 безоумьнъ
 въразоумити
 изоумѣти
 недооумѣніе
 неразоумичьнъ
 неразоумьничьнъ
 поразоумѣти
 пооумити
 проразоумѣвати
 разоумнвъ
 разоумичьнъ
 разоумъ
 разоумьливъ
 разоумьнъ
 разоумѣвати
 разоумѣніе
 разоумѣти
 сѣразоумѣніе
 оумъ
 оумьнъ
 оумѣти
 оумѣ

оумѣ безоумѣ

<1016>
 оуѣ изоуѣшина
 оуѣни
 оуѣнти
 оуѣшинна

<1017>
 оумсм оумсмънъ

оуСНИПАНЪ

<1018>
 оуст наоустити
 пооустити
 пооустьнъ
 оуста
 оустити
 оустьна
 оушт пооуштание
 пооуштати
 пооуштение

<1019> (see § 655)
 оутр заоутрънъ
 оутрне
 оутро
 оутръница
 оутрънѣвати
 оутрънъ
 оутръѣн
 оутръшьнъ

<1020>
 оух оухо
 оуш въноушити
 заоушание
 заоушение
 заоушити

<1021> (see § 657)
 хажд исхаждати
 прихаждати
 прѣхаждати
 хаждати
 ход въсходити
 въсходъ
 въходити
 въходъ
 въходьнъ
 доходити
 заходити
 заходъ
 исходатагати
 исходатаи
 исходатаинникъ
 исходити
 исходитге
 исходъ
 исходьнъ

находити	похвальнѣ
непроходьнѣ	прѣхвалити
непрѣходьнѣ	прѣхвальнѣ
низъходити	хвала
объходити	хвалити
объходьнѣ	хвальнѣ
оходити	хвалѣ
оходъ	похвалѣати
оходьникъ	похвалѣеніе
оходьнѣ	хвалѣеніе
похода	<1025>
походити	хвалѣ
приходити	въсхвалити
приходъ	исхвалити
проходити	похвалити
прѣвъсходити	хвалати
прѣдъходити	<1026>
прѣходити	(Херовимъ) херовимѣ
прѣходьнѣ	херовимьскѣ
расходити	<1027>
съходити	(Хитонъ) хитонѣ
съходъ	<1028>
оуходъ	хлад
ходатаи	прохладити
ходатаиство	хладъ
ходатаити	хладьнѣ
ходити	хлажд
ходъ	прохлаждение
хожд	<1029>
въсхождение	хлап
въхождение	хлапъ
исхождение	<1030>
низъхождение	хлаштѣ
прихождение	въсхлаштѣеніе
прохождение	<1031>
съхождение	хлъм
хождение	хлъмъ
<1022>	<1032>
(Халѣгъ) халѣга	хлѣбѣ
<1023> (see § 837)	хлѣбѣ
хлп	хлѣбѣнѣ
хѣп	хлѣбѣ
охѣпити	<1033>
похѣпити	хлѣвина
<1024>	хлѣбѣ
хвал	хламѣ
бесхвальнѣ	<1035>
въсхвалити	хлад
похвала	охладаніе
похвалити	<1036>
	хлѣп
	въсхлѣпати

ХЛЖПАТИ

<1037>
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<1038> (see § 664)
 ХОТ ВЪСХОТЪТИ
 ПОХОТЬ
 ПОХОТЪНЪ
 ПОХОТЪНИЕ
 ПОХОТЪТИ
 ХОТЬ
 ХОТЪНИЕ
 ХОТЪТИ

<1039>
 ((ХРАБЪР)) ХРАБЪРЪ
 ХРАБЪРЪСКЪ

<1040>
 ХРАМ БЕСХРАМЪНИКЪ
 ХРАМИНА
 ХРАМЪ

<1041>
 ХРАН СЪХРАНИТИ
 СЪХРАНЪНЪ
 ХРАНИЛИШТЕ
 ХРАНИЛО
 ХРАНИТЕЛЪ
 ХРАНИТИ
 ХРАНЪНЪ
 ХРАИ СЪХРАИПАТИ
 СЪХРАИЕНИЕ

<1042> (see § 664)
 ХРОМ ХРОМЪ
 ХРОМЪЦЪ

ХРЪМ ОХРЪ(М)НЖТИ

<1043>
 ((ХРЪЗАН)) ХРЪЗАНЪ

<1044>
 ((ХРЪБЪТ)) ХРЪБЪТЪ

<1045>
 ХОУА ОХОУДИТИ
 ОХОУДЪТИ
 ОУХОУДЪТИ
 ХОУДОСТЬ
 ХОУДАЪ

<1046>
 ХОУА ОХОУДИТИ
 ПОХОУДИТИ
 ХОУЛА
 ХОУЛИТИ
 ХОУЛЬНИКЪ
 ХОУЛЬНЪ
 ХОУЛА ВЪСХОУЛАТИ
 ПОХОУЛАТИ
 ПОХОУЛЕНИЕ
 ХОУЛЕНИЕ

<1047>
 ХЫЗ ХЫЗИНА
 ХЫЗЪ

<1048>
 ХЫГ ВЪСХЫГАТИ
 ВЪСХЫГИТИ
 НСХЫГИТИ
 ПОХЫГАТИ
 ПОХЫГИТИ
 РАСХЫГИТИ
 СЪВЪСХЫГИТИ
 ХЫГРОСТЬ
 ХЫГРОСТЪНЪ
 ХЫГРЪ
 ХЫГРЪЦЪ

ХЫШТ ВЪСХЫШТАТИ
 ВЪСХЫШТЕНИЕ
 ВЪСХЫШТЪНИКЪ
 РАСХЫШТАТИ
 ХЫШТЕНИЕ
 ХЫШТЪНИКЪ

<1049>
 ((ХЖДОЖ)) ХЖДОЖЪНИКЪ
 ХЖДОЖЪСТВО
 ХЖДОЖЪСТВО

<1050> (see § 62, 676)
 ЦВИТ ОТЪЦВИСТИ
 ПРОЦВИСТИ
 ПРОЦВИТАТИ
 ЦВИСТИ

ЦВЪТ ЦВЪТИЛО
 ЦВЪТЪ
 ЦВЪТЪНЪ
 ЦВЪТЪЦЪ
 ЦВЪТЪЧАНЪ

<1051> (see § 62)			
црьк	црькъвица црькъвиште црькъвиштѣнъ црькъвънъ црькы		цѣсарѣвати цѣсарѣвъ цѣсарѣити цѣсарѣица цѣсарѣ цѣсарѣ цѣсарѣскъ цѣсарѣствниѣ цѣсарѣство цѣсарѣствовати
<1052>			
цѣвъ	цѣвъница		
<1053>			
цѣд	зацѣдити		
цѣжд	оцѣждати	<1059>	цѣст
<1054>			оцѣстити цѣстити
цѣл	ицѣлителъ ицѣлити ицѣльба ицѣлѣвати ицѣлѣти цѣлителъ цѣлителънъ цѣлити цѣлование цѣловати цѣлъ цѣлъвънъ цѣлъы цѣльба цѣльбънъ цѣлѣти ицѣлѣити ицѣлѣение цѣлѣение		цѣшт оцѣштати оцѣштѣние
		<1060>	цѣт
			цѣта
		<1061>	ча
			дочаганънъ отъчаганниѣ отъчагати причагати чаганниѣ чагати чаемънъ
		<1062>	чар
			чари
		<1063>	час
			часъ часънъ
<1055>		<1064>	чаш
цѣн	бецѣнънъ сѣцѣннати цѣна цѣннати		чаша
<1056>		<1065> (see § 658)	чез
цѣп	оцѣпати оцѣпѣнѣвати оцѣпѣнѣти		ичезнѣти ичазати
<1057>		<1066>	чел
цѣп	расцѣпити		чело
<1058>		<1067>	((чѣлад)) чѣладъ
цѣс	въцѣсарѣити оцѣсарѣити	<1068>	((чѣлюст)) чѣлюсть

<1069>

ЧЕС ЧЕСАТНИ
(ЧЕШОУ) ЧЕШОУТА

<1070>

ЧЕТ ПРИЧЕТАТИ
СЪЧЕТАНИЕ
СЪЧЕТАТИ

<1071> (see § 62)

(ЧЕТВОР) ЧЕТВОРИЦА
ЧЕТВОРЪ

(ЧЕТВРЬ) ЧЕТВРЪТЪ
ЧЕТВРЪТЪКЪ

(ЧЕТЪР) ЧЕТЪРЕ

<1072> (see § 653)

ЧИ ИСПОЧИТИ
ПОЧИВАТИ
ПОЧИТИ

<1073>

ЧИН БЕСЧИННИЕ
БЕШТИНИЦА
БЕШТИНЬНЪ
ВЪЧИННИТИ
ПРИЧИННИТИ
СЪЧИННИТИ
ОУЧИННИТИ
ЧИННИТИ
ЧИНЪ

ЧИНЪ ВЪЧИНЪТАТИ
СЪЧИНЪЕНИЕ
ОУЧИНЪЕНИЕ
ЧИНЪЕНИЕ

<1074> (see § 688)

ЧИН ЗАЧИНАТИ
НАЧИНАНИЕ
НАЧИНАТИ
ОУЧИНАНИЕ

ЧА БЕЗНАЧАЛЪНЪ
ВЪЧАЛО
ВЪЧАТИ
ЗАЧАЛО
ЗАЧАТИ
ЗАЧАТИЕ
НАЧАЛО
НАЧАЛЪННИКЪ
НАЧАЛЪНЪ
НАЧАТИ

НАЧАЛТИЕ
НАЧАЛЪКЪ
СЪБЕЗНАЧАЛЪНЪ
ОУЧАТИ

<1075>

ЧИСТ ИЧИСТИТИ
НЕЧИСТОТА
НЕЧИСТЪ
ОЧИСТИТИ
ПРЪБИСТЪ
ЧИСТИНА
ЧИСТИТЕЛЪ
ЧИСТИТЕЛСТВО
ЧИСТИТИ
ЧИСТОСТЪ
ЧИСТОТА
ЧИСТЪ
ЧИШГ ОЧИШГАТИ
ОЧИШГЕНИЕ

<1076> (see § 659)

ЧИТ БЕЧИСЛЪНЪ
БЕЧИСМЕНЪНЪ
ВЪЧИСТИ
ИЗЪЧИТАТИ
ИЧИСТИ
НЕИШГИСЛЪНЪ
ОТЪЧИСТИ
ПОЧИСТИ
ПОЧИТАНИЕ
ПОЧИТАТИ
ПРИЧИСТИ
ПРИЧИТАТИ
РАШГИСТИ
ЧИСЛО
ЧИСЛЪНЪ
ЧИСЛА
ЧИСТИ
ЧЪТ БЕСЧЕСТВИЕ
БЕСЧЕСТВЪНЪ
БЕЧЕСТВОВАТИ
БЕЧЕСТНИЕ
БЕЧЕСТЪНЪ
НЕЧЕСТВОВАТИ
НЕЧЕСТНИЕЪ
НЕЧЕСТНИЕ
НЕЧЕСТОВАТИ
НЕЧЕСТЪ

нечѣстьнѣ	начрѣтати
почѣтениѣ	чрѣта
причѣтъникъ	чрѣтати
прѣчьсть	<1083> (see § 62)
прѣчьстьнѣ	((чрѣтог)) чрѣтогъ
чѣстивѣ	
чѣстити	<1084> (see § 62)
чѣсть	чрѣштг очрѣштѣ
чѣстьнѣ	
чѣтениѣ	<1085> (see § 62)
чѣтъць	чрѣѣв чрѣѣво
	чрѣѣвнѣ
<1077> (see § 62)	
((чловѣк)) чловѣкъ	<1086> (see § 62)
((чловѣч)) възчловѣчениѣ	чрѣѣв чрѣѣвини
възчловѣчити	<1087> (see § 62)
чловѣчинѣ	чрѣѣд чрѣѣда
чловѣчь	чрѣѣжд чрѣѣждениѣ
чловѣчьнѣ	
чловѣчьскъ	<1088> (see § 62)
чловѣчьство	чрѣѣз чрѣѣсла
<1078> (see § 62)	<1089> (see § 62)
чрѣѣв очрѣѣвити	чрѣѣн чрѣѣновнѣнѣ
чрѣѣвити	
чрѣѣвь	<1090>
чрѣѣвѣ чрѣѣвѣнѣ	чоуѣ бѣзъчоуѣвьствѣнѣ
<1079> (see § 62)	възчоуѣдити
чрѣѣм чрѣѣмьновати	почоуѣдити
чрѣѣмьнѣ	почоуѣти
	прѣѣчоуѣдити
<1080> (see § 62)	оуѣчоуѣти
чрѣѣн очрѣѣнѣти	чоуѣвьствѣнѣ
чрѣѣннло	чоуѣвьство
чрѣѣница	чоуѣвьствовати
чрѣѣнѣ	чоуѣвьствѣнѣ
чрѣѣнць	чоуѣдѣсьнѣ
чрѣѣнцьскъ	чоуѣдити
	чоуѣдо
<1081> (see § 62, 770)	чоуѣдѣнѣ
чрѣѣп нчрѣѣпати	чоуѣиство
начрѣѣпати	чоуѣти
почрѣѣпало	
почрѣѣпальникъ	<1091>
почрѣѣпати	((чѣван)) чѣванѣ
чрѣѣпати	
чрѣѣп почрѣѣти	<1092>
<1082> (see § 62)	чѣд бѣштѣднѣ
чрѣѣт начрѣѣтаниѣ	бѣштѣдѣнѣ
	нштѣднѣ
	чѣдо

	ЧАДЪ ЧАДЪЦЕ	ШЕСТЬОВАТИ ШЕСТИЕ
<1093>		<1100>
ЧАСТ	ПРИЧАСТНИЕ ПРИЧАСТИТИ ПРИЧАСТЪНИКЪ ПРИЧАСТЪНЪ СЪПРИЧАСТЪНИКЪ ОУЧАСТНИЕ ОУЧАСТЪНЪ ЧАСТЬ ЧАСТЪНЪ	ШИП ШИПЪКЪ ШИПЪЧАНЪ
ЧАШТ	ПРИЧАШТАНИЕ ПРИЧАШТАТИ ПРИЧАШТАЕНИЕ	<1101> ШИР РАШИРИТИ ОУШИРИТИ ШИРОКЪ ШИРОГА ШИРЪ РАШИРЪГАТИ
<1094>		<1102> (see § 62)
ЧАСТ	ЧАСТЪ	ШАЪМ ШАЪМЪ
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ШЪД	ВЪШЪСТВНИЕ ДОШЪСТИЕ ИШЪСТВНИЕ НАШЪСТВНИЕ ОШЪЛЬЦЪ ОШЪСТИЕ ПРИШЪЛЬСТВНИЕ ПРИШЪЛЬСТВО ПРИШЪЛЬСТВОВАТИ ПРИШЪЛЬЦЪ ПРИШЪСТВНИЕ ПРИШЪСТИЕ СЪШЪСТВНИЕ ШЪСТВНИЕ	<1108> (see § 838) ШТЕД ПРЪШТЕДРЪ ОУШТЕДРИТИ ШТЕДРОГА ШТЕДРЪ ШТАД ПОШТАДЪТИ ШТАДЪТИ
		<1109>
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ЗАШТИТЬНИКЪ
ШТИГЪ
ШТИШГЪ ЗАШТИШТАТИ
ЗАШТИШТЕНИЕ

<1111>
ШТОУТ ОШТОУТИТИ

<1112> (see § 655, 804)

ЫН ВЪИНЫНЪ
ИНАКЪ
ИНОКОСТЬ
ИНОКЪ
ИНОЧЬСКЪ
ИНОЧЕСТВО
ИНЪ
ОТЪИЖДЪНЪ

<1113> (see § 839)

Ѣ ПАТО
ѢД ПАДЕНИЕ
ПАДОВИГЪ
ПАДЪ
ПАДЬ
ПАДЬЦА
ПАСИ
ПАСТИ
ИЗЪДЕНИЕ
ИЗЪСТИ
ОБЪДАНИЕ
ОБЪДОВАТИ
ОБЪДЪ
ОБЪСТИ
ОТЪИДЪ
ПОИДАТИ
ПОИСТИ
СЪИЪДАТИ
СЪИЪДЕНИЕ
СЪИЪДЬ
СЪИЪДЪНЪ
СЪИЪСТИ
ОУИДЕНИЕ

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Ѣ ПАТИ
ВЪПАТИ
ВЪЗЪТИ
ПРИПАТИ²
ПРЪПАТИ

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ѢДР ПАДРА
ПАДРО

<1116>

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<1117>

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<1119>

ЖД ЖДИЦА

<1120>

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ЖТРОБЪНЪ
ЖТРЪИЪ

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Indices

Index of words

The index includes lexemes and wordforms (sometimes stems, e.g. **вѣран-** or **°доути**), both aberrant and canonical. The order is direct-alphabetic. Numbers refer to paragraphs. Upright (not italic) numbers indicate a lexeme (or group of lexemes, cf. **°доути**); boldface selects those mentions in the book where the lexeme is discussed as a sample lexeme from a paradigmatic class. In all other cases numbers are italic. Aberrant forms are shown in the spellout of a particular source.

Canonical lexemes are necessarily included in the index if they are mentioned in the dictionaries of commented lexemes (omitted in this translation) (under the overview of paradigmatic classes, Chs. 11 and 20), or in the commentary on individual lexemes (in the overview of suffixes, Ch. 23). Also included are all unique lexemes. Other lexemes are included selectively. Also selectively are included canonical wordforms (including secondary or anomalous forms or forms listed for comparison with aberrant ones).

Aberrant forms are necessarily included in the index where they are listed in the book as illustrating a particular aberration. Other aberrant forms are included selectively.

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Symbols and abbreviations

A	accusative case
A	the grammatical class of adjectives (A lexemes); may be used as superscript, cf. ^А БОЖИИ
Aor	aorist
Brev	short forms of adjectives
C	1) any consonant phoneme or letter 2) in CVC schemata, a single consonant or a consonant cluster
C°	leading grade of the substitutive softening alternation, simple consonant (see § 112)
C•	following grade of the substitutive softening alternation, substitutively soft consonant (see § 112)
Compar	comparative
Cond	conditional (see § 408)
D	dative case
D ₂	personal dative
Du	dual number
f	feminine gender; may be used as superscript, cf. ^Ф ЖЕНА
G	genitive case
H	sonant; sonant series of fundamental vowel alternations; H(<i>m</i>), H(<i>n</i>), H(<i>u</i>), H(<i>j</i>), H(<i>r</i>), H(<i>l</i>) are names of the sonant series
h	lableness in the paradigm paradigmatic effect (see § 433)
I	instrumental case
Imf	imperfect
IMF	imperfect system
Imv	imperative

Inf	infinitive
«Inf»	workstem of the infinitive form (see § 437)
INF-AOR	infinitive-aorist system
L	locative case
m	masculine gender; may be used as superscript, cf. ^M БОГЪ
mph	morphophonology, morphophonological (mph spellout, mph representation, mph pairing)
N	nominative case
n	neuter gender; may be used as superscript, cf. ^N НЕБО
norm	normalization, the graphic system of canonical OCS
p	prefix
P	pure series of fundamental vowel alternations
Part	participle
PD	Paradigmatic Dictionary in the present grammar
ph	phonology, phonological (ph spellout, ph representation, ph pairing)
Pl	plural number
Plen	long forms of adjectives
Prae	present
«Prae»	workstem of the 1SgPrae form (see § 437)
PRAE	present system
pRs	the stem's morphological composition schema by formative position classes (see p, R, s)
R	root
RD	Root Dictionary in the present grammar
r	the grammatical class of extraparadigmatic lexemes
s	suffix
S	the grammatical class of substnativ lexemes
S*	sibilants and shibilants as part of clusters (i.e. ч, ж, ш, шГ, жД, ц, and ѕ) (see § 59)
Sg	singular number
Sup	supine
t	terminals, or inflections
V	1) A single vowels 2) The grammatical class of the verbs (V lexemes)
Voc	vocative case
#	1) left or right edge of the word 2) loose formative adjacency (see § 53)
⦿	C-final stem arrest paradigmatic effect (see § 433)
•	substitutive softening paradigmatic effect (see § 433)
◦	1) absence of expected substitutive softening paradigmatic effect (see § 437) 2) part of a morphological composition, including with a prefix (see, e.g., § 481)
*	1) unstable root vocalism paradigmatic effect (see § 437) 2) variable ranging over segments (see, e.g., § 896) 3) precedes a reconstructed or non-existing form (cf., e.g., *и)
∫, ∫	alien stem expansion paradigmatic effect (see § 433)
=	separates stem and terminal in inflectional spellouts, e.g. СТРАИ=Ж, НЕС. ЕИ=

	in morphologically anomalous forms indicates the absence of a terminal, e.g. $\text{нѣс.ѳ} $
∇	morphologically anomalous form (see § 881)
⊗	paradigmatic cells of syncopated forms of urr-Part , ur-Part , and Compar (see § 310)
∅	empty segment string, zero; in paradigmatics, a zero terminal
×	replaces the word “times”
(), (())	in mph representations, single parentheses indicate the root; double parentheses indicate an opaque root
< >, << >>	single angled brackets indicate the root number in the PD and RD. Double angled brackets indicate the root number in Sadnik
	phonological or morphophonological pairing
>	adjacency
~	1) non-adjacent pairing 2) contrasting distribution of segments
//	doublet lexemes in the dictionaries

The meaning of any other auxiliary symbol is explained in the paragraph where that symbol is used.

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51. Anna Polivanova, *Old Church Slavic. Grammar and Dictionaries*, translated by Lev Blumenfeld, edited by Artemij Keidan, 2023.

This book contains a synchronic grammar and grammatical dictionaries of Old Church Slavic. The framework is based on a substantially revised version of the classical descriptive methodology. The intent is to improve on the classical monographs by Vaillant, Diels, Lunt in the direction of utmost completeness, explicitness, and deliberate consistency between the grammatical structure, the corpus of texts (limited to the seven oldest OCS manuscripts), and the dictionaries. The grammar is intended as a set of rules that provide a complete characterization of any OCS wordform. Peculiarities in the language of each source are described as systematic departures from canonical OCS, a conventional constructed variety primarily described by the grammar. The book is addressed to linguists working in Slavic studies, as well as to specialists in the general theory of grammar, especially phonologists and morphologists. Data from the dictionaries are freely available as a searchable database online.

Anna Polivanova graduated in linguistics in 1967 at the Moscow State University, where she also obtained her PhD in 1970. Her research activity started at the Machine Translation Laboratory under the supervision of Igor Mel'čuk. Since the end of the 1960s, she taught several courses at her home university, and since the 1990s, also in other universities located in Moscow. She authored three monographs and numerous articles ranging from phonetics to morphology and syntax, from the study of ancient languages to the problems of mathematical methods in linguistics.

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