PREFACE

This description of the structure of Old Church Slavonic is intended to present fully the important data about the language, without citing all the minutiae of attested variant spellings. The facts have been treated from the point of view of structural linguistics, but pedagogical clarity has taken precedence over the conciseness required for elegant formal description.

Old Church Slavonic was used over a period of some two hundred years and in various geographical parts of the Slavic world precisely at the time when the Slavic languages were undergoing rapid, fundamental, divergent changes. Some of these changes are doubtless reflected in the variant spellings in the few texts which have survived from this period, so that while most variations in grammar and vocabulary are the sorts of stylistic and idiosyncratic differences that are found in the standard or literary language of any single epoch, some important variant details result from different regional dialectal history. It has thus been necessary to include occasional references to historical and comparative linguistics in the first half of this book, although in principle these problems do not fall within the scope of a strictly descriptive, synchronic grammar.

It is necessary to normalize forms to present the grammatical structure as a consistent whole, and the normalization inevitably obscures the differences in the language of the various manuscripts. A clear picture of the different combinations of linguistic elements making up each of the texts is not to be achieved by lists of spelling variants or tables of percentages, but it is worth while to point out some of the striking variations. First-hand acquaintance with the texts and constant comparison of variant readings is the only way to arrive at an understanding both of the underlying unity of the texts as a whole and of the major and minor differences between them.

Little mention is made here of another type of comparison—the relationship of the OCS translated texts to the Greek originals. And yet it is in the Greek and in the translation technique that the explanations of hundreds of tiny problems (especially of syntax) are to be found, and certain major structural problems need to be posed in terms of the influence of Greek on OCS. However, so few students have enough Greek to profit by such comparisons that it did not seem worth the considerable space that
would be required. Excellent work in this field is available, though some scholars tend to forget that even a poor translator is governed by the structure of the language into which he is translating. The "Notes on Syntax" in Chapter Six are offered on the premise that something is better than nothing. It is particularly in this area that translation techniques need to be analyzed.

After forty years of teaching OCS and related topics in the history and structure of modern Slavic languages, my views on the nature of language and the models for describing language have evolved away from the Bloomfieldian structuralism of my training. The data of OCS have not changed importantly from the material described by scholars a century ago, although some details from imprecise editions have been discarded and a few new details must be accounted for. I continue to believe that every language is a coherent structure, and that each language can be described in terms of static and dynamic elements and learned by novices who do not have the slightest knowledge of its history.

Departures from tradition in classifying the data in no way change the facts themselves. The OCS verb, for example, is complicated, and classification will not make it less so. Xvaliti, veleti, and želěti do belong to different paradigms, whether one labels them IV A, IV B, and III 2 with Leskien, or IV, III 1 and III 2 with Diels, or II.8k, II.8e, I.k, and I.4a,2b with Koch. I believe that it is most efficient simply to encourage students to learn the form from which the rest of the paradigm can be generated according to rules (xvali-ti, velé-ti, but želěj-qta) and leave them to study the tables on pp. 114-117 and 136-137 for similarities and differences between paradigms. The present form of description is based on my belief that it is the morpheme that is the basic unit of communication.

A comparison of Old Church Slavonic—a language I believe to be a partially standardized written form of Late Common Slavic—with either its hypothetical ancestors or the descendants or collateral descendants of other forms of LCoS—is not the task of the synchronic description that takes up the first five chapters of this book. In the 1974 edition, I presented an epilogue ("Toward a generative phonology of OCS") that was based on a generative theory that proved to be too ambitious. Chapter Six in this book is an entirely new and relatively traditional sketch of the genesis of OCS (as a representative of Late Common Slavic).

This work was influenced by my teachers of long ago and by the students and colleagues I encountered during my years of teaching. I will not attempt to list them here. I can only express general thanks to the students who asked challenging questions and to their fellow-students and
the colleagues throughout the scholarly world who helped me (in direct or indirect ways) find some of the answers. Special gratitude is due to Thomas J. Butler for his help in reading proof.

This edition too I dedicate to the memory of Professor S. H. Cross of Harvard, who introduced me to the study of Slavic, and to Professor G. R. Noyes of the University of California, who gave me my first lessons in Old Church Slavonic.

Horace G. Lunt
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviations</td>
<td>xv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INTRODUCTION: EXTERNAL HISTORY AND SOURCES</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.0 Definition of OCS</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.1 Cyril and Methodius</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.2 Manuscripts (.21 The Name of OCS)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.3 Sources (.31 linguistic characteristics of OCS, “dialects”; .32 the “canonical texts”; .33 “*OCS” texts; .34 the study of OCS; bibliography)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER ONE: THE OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC WRITING SYSTEMS</strong></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.0 Glagolitic and Cyrillic (origin and use; .04 Latin letters)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 The letters, general (table; problems of transliteration; normalized and reconstructed forms)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 The use of individual letters (.21 consonantal; .23 vocalic: blocked vs. unblocked; .235 i-letters; .236 y; .237 b ò; .238 ì; .24 /j/)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Diacritics and other signs (.31 indications of iotization; .34 abbreviations)</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Punctuation</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 Numerals</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER TWO: THE SOUND SYSTEM</strong></td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Phonemics (.0 Phonology and orthography; .11 vowels; .12 consonants; .2 j; 4. phonotactic constraints; .5 syllable; .6 the jers (b ò); .61 tense jers; .62 the jer-shift; .625 *jì; .63 neutral jers; .65 spelling; .7 nasal vowels)</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Morphophonemics (.2 word structure; .3 consonant adjustment; .4 palatalization, KI, KAI; .5 alternating vowel morphophonemes; .6 iotation; .8 zero desinence; .9 apophony (ablaut))</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER THREE: DECLENSION</strong></td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.0 Fundamental notions (definitions, possible forms, types of declension, stem)</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE OF CONTENTS

4.1 The twofold nominal declension (.11 vocative; .12 foreign nouns; .13 genitive-accusative; .14 dative sing. -ovi and other relics of the ‘u-stems’; .15 instrumental sing. masc.-neut.; .16 masc. in -a; .18 feminines in -i; .19 comparatives and active participles) .......................... 54

4.2 Pronominal declension (words included; suffixes; substitutive softening; .21 vět, sice; .22 st; .23 ksto; .24 čsto; .25 *je; iže, tože, etc.; 26 contractions) ................................. 62

4.3 Compound declension (suffixes, assimilation, contraction; .31 comparatives, active participles; .32 mixture of declensions 64

4.4 Simple nominal declension (tense jers; trie; masculines; .11 anomalous type: jers, gen. ~ acc. sing., nom. pl., četyre, masculines, feminines, neuters) .......................... 71

4.5 Mixture of nominal declension types (.51 zverb, oganjb, gospodb; .52 -telj,-arjb; .53 pi. -ane; sing. -inv; .54 ș stems; .55 s-stems, oko, uxo) .............................. 75

4.6 Declension of personal pronouns (.61 ms-/mb-; .62 ny; .63 short datives; .64 genitive-accusative; .65 na, va) ...... 76

EXCURSUS

4.7 Formation of the Comparative (7.1 -ti; .72 -čti) .............. 77

4.8 Formation of Adverbs (.81 pronominal: position, time, manner; .82 adjectival: -ol-č; -sky) ............................. 79

CHAPTER FOUR: CONJUGATION ........................................ 81

5.0 Fundamental notions (.1 aspect; .2 inventory of forms; .3 components of a form; prefixes; .4 basic stem; .5 types of basic stem and suffix; .6 truncation, desinenence classes, underlying formulas, types of paradigm; .7 aspect morphology; .8 method of description; .9 person-number desinences) .. 81

6. The present tense (.1 suffixes; .2 stem; .3 KI-mutation; .4–8 irregularities) ................................................. 95

7. The imperative (.1 suffixes, alternations; .2 irregularities) . 98

8. The present participles (.1 suffixes, alternations; .2 irregularities) .............................................................. 99

9. The imperfect (.1 suffixes, alternations; .2 irregularities; .3 contraction; .4–6 special cases) ................................. 100

10. Aorists (types; .1 desinences; .2 truncation; .3 substitutive softening; .4 nq; .5 irregularities; .6 unproductive types, root-aorist suffixes, s-aorist suffixes, alternations; x-aorist;
/7 replacement of one type by another; /8 attested forms of unproductive aorists: root, s-, x-aorists, variants; /9 irregular verbs) ........................................ 102
11. Past participles (definitions; /1 past active participle; /2 resultative participle; /3 past passive participle) .... 108
12. Verbal substantive ........................................ 111
13. Infinitive and Supine (/1 suffixes; /2 stems and alternations; /3 ambiguities; /4 irregularities .................. 112
14. Compound tenses (/1 perfect; /2 the pluperfects; /3 the conditional; /4 the future perfect) .................... 112
15. The Individual Classes of Verbs .......................... 114
15.1 Verbs with basic stems in -i+ .......................... 114
15.2 Verbs with basic stems in -e+ .......................... 116
15.3 Verbs with basic stems in -a+ preceded by a soft consonant other than j ....................................... 118
15.4 Verbs with basic stems in -j-a+ ........................ 119
15.5 Verbs with basic stems in -ova+ or -eva+ .......... 121
15.6 Verbs with basic stems in -a+ preceded by a hard consonant other than v ..................................... 123
15.7 Verbs with the classifier -ηο+ ........................... 127
15.8 Verbs with zero classifier, stems ending in a consonant other than j ........................................... 131
15.9 Verbs with basic stems in aj+, -εj+, or -j-0+ ....... 136
16. Irregular verbs ............................................... 138

CHAPTER FIVE: NOTES ON SYNTAX AND VOCABULARY ...... 142
17. On adjectives (long and short forms; /1 vocatives) .... 142
18. On the use of the cases (/1 nominative; /2 accusative; genitive-accusative; /3 genitive; /4 locative; /5 dative; /6 instrumental) ............................................ 143
19. On the use of the prepositions (/1 prepositions used with only one case; /2 with two cases; /3 with three cases) ...... 151
20. On the syntax of the numerals ............................... 153
21. On the use of the verbal forms (/1 present; future expressions; /2 past tenses, aorist and imperfect; /3 participles; /4 infinitive; /5 supine; /6 se-verbs ............................... 153
22. Some other parts of speech (/1 da; /2 eda; /3 kako; /4 iže, eže) 163
23. On negation (/1 ne, ni; /2 existential, transitive; /3 rhetorical; /4 lexical; /5 idiomatic) ............................ 163
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24. Vocabulary and the structure of words (.1 nature of attested vocabulary; .2 meaning; .3 regional variants; .4 word-formation; .5 formants, persons; .7 other formants; .8 adjectives)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Indo-European and Slavic (.0 IE; .1 Slavic; .2 origins; .4 periodization; .6 modern Slavic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Methodology (.0 assumptions; .1 terminology; .12 palatalization; .13 iotation; .5 pleophony, nasal vowels)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Early IE to Pre-Balto-Slavic (.3 ruki-rule; .4 PBS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Vowels (Early Common Slavic to Middle Common Slavic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Changes (.1 satem palatalization; .2 progressive palatalization, BdC; .4 first regressive palatalization, KI; .5 sj zj &gt; š č; .7 Vowel Raising, Vowel Adjustment; .8 simplification of syllables; .82 Middle Common Slavic vowel system; .9 monophthongization)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Word-initial constraints (.2 prothetic w; .3 prothetic j)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Second regressive palatalization, KAI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Examples of derivation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Pre-Balto-Slavic compared with earliest Common Slavic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Examples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Specific problems (.1 continuant obstruents)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Initial vowels (.1 ē; .2 a-~ja-; .4 o-, wo-; o-, wo-; .5 je-~o-; 6 ju-~u-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. IE and OCS morphology (.1 form classes; .2 Slavic ~ IE declension; .3 consonant-stems; .4 vocalic stems)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Difficulties in history (.1 pronominal vs. nominal; .4 nominative, accusative; .5 accusative plural; .6 nominative plural; .7 u-stems; .8 i-stems; .9 vocative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Case-forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Pronominal forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Numerals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Conjugation in IE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Present system (.1 desinences; .17 irregular stems)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. Present markers (.1 apophonic roots; .2 terminology; 3. e, je)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. Nasal suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. Imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. Imperfect tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. Aorist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51–52.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53–65.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verb Index .................................................. 259
Subject Index .................................................. 262
ABBREVIATIONS

A = accusative
a., act. = active
Aslp = Archiv für slavische Philologie
As = Assemanianus
Bg = Bulgarian
ByzSl = Byzantinoslavica
C = any consonant
Cl, Cloz = Clozianus
Cz = Czech
comp. = comparative
D, dat. = dative
ECoS = Early Common Slavic
Eu, Euch = Euchologium Sinaiticum
Ev. = Gospel(s)
f., fem. = feminine
G, gen. = genitive
Gk = Greek
Gmc = Germanic
Go = Gothic
I, impfv. = imperfective
I, instr. = instrumental
IJS LP = International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics
inv. = imperative
impf. = imperfect
inf. = infinitive
J = St. John
JF = Južnoslovenski Filolog
KF = Kiev Folia
L = St. Luke
L, loc. = locative
LCoS = Late Common Slavic
m, masc. = masculine
Mar = Marianus
MCoS = Middle Common Slavic
Mk = St. Mark
Mt = St. Matthew
ms = manuscript
mss = manuscripts
n = note
n, neut. = neuter
N, nom. = nominative
O = Old
OCS = Old Church Slavonic
P = perfective
P, Pol = Polish
Ps. = Psalterium Sinaiticum
part. = participle
pass. = passive
pl., plur. = plural
RÉSI = Revue des Études slaves
Sa = Sanscrit
Sav = Savvina kniga
SC = Serbo-Croatian
sg., sing. = singular
Slk = Slovak
Sln = Slovene
SPb = Sanktpeterburg
Su, Supr = Suprasliensis
Vat = Vatican Cyrillic Palimpsest
Zo, Zogr = Zographensis
ZoF = Zograph Folia
/ = or
~ = alternates with; is opposed to

Numeration of the paragraphs is decimal; every number to the right of the
decimal point is to be read as a separate unit. Thus 15.642 = 15.6.4.2, i.e.
the second subdivision of 15.64, which is the fourth subdivision of 15.6.
For personal names in references (Diels, Vaillant, etc.) see the bibliogra-
phy, §0.341 (pp. 12-14). For details about the codices, see §0.321 ff.
(pp. 7-10). Citations are made by page and line for Cloz, Euch, Supr, and
KF; by chapter and verse for Zo, Mar, As, Sav, and Vat; and by psalm and
verse (Eastern numeration, as in the Septuagint) for Ps.