

# **The Oktoikh 1629**

*Text and Commentary*

Irena Marijanović

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of Master of Philosophy

Department of Literature, Area Studies and European Languages

University of Oslo

Autumn 2007



# CONTENTS

<b>TRANSLITERATION OF THE CYRILLIC ALPHABET</b>	<b>VII</b>
<b>ABBREVIATIONS USED</b>	<b>VIII</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b>	<b>XI</b>
<b>PREFACE</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>CHAPTER I: PRELIMINARY REMARKS</b>	<b>3</b>
1.0 THE OKTOIKH: ITS HISTORY AND SIGNIFICANCE IN THE ORTHODOX LITURGY	3
1.0.1 Divine services of the Orthodox Church	3
1.0.2 The Greek and Slavonic Oktoikh	6
1.1 CONTENTS AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TEXT	7
1.1.1 Contents of the Kievan Oktoikh	7
1.1.2 Physical characteristics of the text	13
<b>CHAPTER II: ORTHOGRAPHY AND PRONUNCIATION</b>	<b>21</b>
2.0 SPACING, PUNCTUATION AND CAPITALISATION	21
2.0.1 Spacing	21
2.0.2 Spacing: beginning and end of the line	21
2.0.3 Punctuation marks	24
2.0.4 Capitalisation	24
2.1 DIACRITICAL MARKS AND SUPERSCRIPIT LETTERS	25
2.1.1 Oksia [ ´ ]	25
2.1.2 Varia [ ` ]	26
2.1.3 Kendema and superscript u [ ˘ ]	27
2.1.4 Iso [ ˝ ], [ ˘ ], [ ˙ ]	28
2.1.5 Velikij apostrof [ ˆ ]	28
2.1.6 Titlo [ ˘ ]	29
2.1.7 Pokrytie [ ˘ ]	31
2.1.8 Kratkaja, slitnaja, brevis [ ˘ ]	36
2.1.9 Horizontal spiritus [ ˘ ]	36
2.1.10 Trema [ ˘ ]	37
2.1.11 Psili, spiritus lenis, tonkaja [ ˘ ]	37
2.1.12 Kamora, circumfelx, oblečenaja [ ˘ ]	38
2.1.13 Paerok [ ˘ ], [ ˘ ]	39
2.1.14 Point [ ˘ ]	39
2.1.15 Absence of accentuation	40
2.2 DESCRIPTION OF ALPHABETICAL INVENTORY AND DISTRIBUTION OF LETTERS	40
2.2.1 Vowel and consonant letters	40
2.2.2 Orthography: distribution of letters	40
2.2.3 Spelling of Greek words: distribution of v, w, s, z, ψ	42
2.2.4 Distribution of a-letters	43
2.2.5 Distribution of e-letters	44
2.2.6 Distribution of z-letters	46

2.2.7 Distribution of i-letters	48
2.2.8 Distribution of o-letters	50
2.2.9 Distribution of u-letters	52
2.2.10 Distribution of jers	53
2.3 ORTHOGRAPHY AND PRONUNCIATION	53
2.3.1 Reflexes of diphthongs in liquid sonants	54
2.3.2 Presence/absence of second (progressive) palatalisation of velar consonants	56
2.3.3 Yodisation	58
2.3.4 Treatment of <b>ѣ</b> and <b>ѧ</b>	60
2.3.5 Dispalatalisation of consonants	64
2.3.6 Loss of word-initial j before rounded vowels	68
2.3.7 Loss of jers and attendant consequences	69
2.3.8 Rise of the “new a”/akan’e	73
2.3.9 Palatalisation of velar consonants and further developments	74
2.3.10 Assimilation in and simplification of consonant clusters	75
2.3.11 Mutation ‘a > ‘e	77
2.3.12 Treatment of <b>ѡ, Ѣ, ѣ, ѧ</b> in different environments after j	77
2.3.13 Development of the sequence an + n	79
<b>CHAPTER III: NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY</b>	<b>81</b>
3.0 DECLENSION OF NOUNS IN SINGULAR AND PLURAL	81
3.0.1 Singular declension	81
3.0.2 Plural declension	89
3.1 DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVES IN SINGULAR AND PLURAL	95
3.1.1 Singular and plural declension of short adjectives	95
3.1.2 Singular declension of long adjectives	98
3.1.3 Plural declension of long adjectives	99
3.2 COMPARATIVE FORMS AND SUPERLATIVES	101
3.3 A NOTE ON THE DUAL	101
3.4 NUMERALS: CARDINAL AND ORDINAL NUMBERS	102
3.5 PRONOUNS	103
3.5.1 Personal and reflexive pronouns	104
3.5.2 Demonstrative pronouns	105
3.5.3 Possessive pronouns	106
3.5.4 Miscellaneous	107
3.6 ADVERBS	108
<b>CHAPTER IV: VERBAL MORPHOLOGY</b>	<b>111</b>
4.0 THE INFINITIVE	111
4.1 THE PRESENT/FUTURE TENSE	111
4.2 THE IMPERATIVE	114
4.3 THE THREE PAST TENSES: IMPERFECT, AORIST AND PERFECT	116
4.3.1 Imperfect	117
4.3.2 Aorist	117
4.3.3 Perfect	119
4.4 PAST AND PRESENT PARTICIPLES	119
4.4.1 Past and Present Passive Participles	119
4.4.2 Present and Past Active Participles	122
<b>CHAPTER V: SYNTAX</b>	<b>127</b>
5.0 SINGLE VS. DOUBLE NEGATION	127

5.1 GENITIVE OF EXCLAMATION	128
5.2 DATIVE ABSOLUTE	129
5.3 NOUN IN NOMINATIVE CASE AS OBJECT OF INFINITIVE	129
5.4 VERB IMETI VS. NOMINAL SENTENCE	130
5.5 FUNCTION OF KOTORYJ	131
5.6 EXPRESSION OF POSSESSION	132
5.7 NEUTER PLURAL EXPRESSING ABSTRACT NOUNS	134
5.8 PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS WITH OT	134
5.9 SUBSTANTIVISED PARTICIPLES	135
5.10 BALKANISM DA + INDICATIVE	135
5.11 CONSTRUCTION <b>ѣже</b> + INFINITIVE	136
5.12 PREDICATIVE INSTRUMENTAL VS. PREDICATIVE NOMINATIVE	137
5.13 GENITIVE OF NEGATION	139
5.14 WORD ORDER	140
5.14.1 Position of copula	140
5.14.2 Position of attributive adjectives	141
5.15 FORMS OF VERB ‘BYTI’ WITH PRESENT ACTIVE PARTICIPLE	142
5.16 RELATIVE VS. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS	142
<b>CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION</b>	<b>143</b>
6.0 PHONOLOGY, MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX	143
6.1 GREAT RUSSIAN OR SOUTH-WESTERN REDACTION OF CHURCH SLAVONIC?	146
6.2 SMOTRYC’KYJ’S GRAMMATIKI AND THE 1629 OKTOIKH	147
<b>APPENDIX: THE KIEVAN OKTOIKH (TRANSCRIBED TEXT)</b>	<b>149</b>
<b>REFERENCES</b>	<b>205</b>



## *Transliteration of the Cyrillic Alphabet*

Cyrillic	OCS	CES	Br	R	U
а	a	a	a	a	a
б	b	b	b	b	b
в	v	v	v	v	v
г	g	g	h	g	h
д	d	d	d	d	g
е	e	e	e	e	d
є					e
ж	ž	ž	ž	ž	je
з	z	z	z	z	ž
и	i	i		i	z
і	i	i	i		y
й			j	j	i
к	k	k	k	k	j
л	l	l	l	l	k
м	m	m	m	m	l
н	n	n	n	n	m
о	o	o	o	o	n
п	p	p	p	p	o
р	r	r	r	r	p
с	s	s	s	s	r
т	t	t	t	t	s
у	u	u	u	u	t
ў			w		u
ф	f	f	f	f	f
х	x	x	x	x	x
ц	c	c	c	c	c
ч	č	č	č	č	č
ш	š	š	š	š	š
щ	št	šč	šč	šč	šč
ъ	ь	ь		”	”
ы	y	y	y	y	”
ь	ь	ь	’	’	’
ѣ	ě	ě			
ю	ju	ju	ju	ju	ju
я	ja	ja	ja	ja	ja
є	je	je			
э			é	é	
ѧ	ę	ja			
ѧ	ję	ja			
ѧ	o <sub>o</sub>	u			
ѧ	jo <sub>o</sub>	ju			
ѧ	ks	ks			
ѧ	ps	ps			
ѧ	th	th			
ѧ	o	o			
ѧ	i	i			

## *Abbreviations used*

A, acc.	accusative
act.	active
adj.	adjective
B	Bulgarian
Br	Belarusian
C	consonant
Ca	Cassubian
CES	Common East Slavonic*
Cz	Czech
ChSl	Church Slavonic**
CSBr	Contemporary Standard Belarusian
CSR	Contemporary Standard Russian
CSU	Contemporary Standard Ukrainian
Dan.	Daniel
D, dat.	dative
Deut.	Deuteronomy
dial.	dialectical
du.	dual
ed.	edition
ESl	East Slavonic
Exod.	Exodus
fem.	feminine
fol. <sup>r</sup>	<i>recto</i> side of the folio
fol. <sup>v</sup>	<i>verso</i> side of the folio
G, gen.	genitive
Gk	Greek***
Hab.	Habakkuk
I, instr.	instrumental
imperf.	imperfective
inf.	infinitive

---

\* Following Pugh (1996: 2–9), the terms ‘Ruthenian’ and ‘CES’ (Common East Slavonic) are used in this thesis. The former refers to the uncodified written language used in the Ukrainian and Belarusian territories from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. This term may be further qualified by either ‘Ukrainian’ or ‘Belarusian’ when a particular linguistic feature is characteristic of only one of the languages. The latter term is used to denote the period of linguistic development common to the three East Slavonic languages – Belarusian, Ukrainian and Russian – spanning approximately the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

It should be borne in mind that the nomenclature of East Slavonic languages both in relation to the earliest period of their development and their subsequent individual histories (especially with regard to Ukrainian and Belarusian), is a complex issue, a detailed examination of which lies beyond the remit of this dissertation. For a detailed discussion and references see, Danylenko (2006: 89–141) and Pugh (1996: 2–9).

\*\* The term ‘OCS’ refers to the first written Slavonic language as attested in the manuscripts written in the Cyrillo-Methodian literary tradition in the period spanning the 10<sup>th</sup> until the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The term ‘Church Slavonic’ (ChSl) is used to refer to the language in which manuscripts and texts, after the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, were written (Schenker 1995: 186–190). This term may be further qualified by the words ‘Moscow or (Great) Russian’, ‘South-Western’ (i.e. Ukrainian/Belarusian), ‘Bulgarian’, ‘Macedonian’ or ‘Serbian’ to refer to a particular local redaction of Church Slavonic (for further details see, Schenker (1995: 190–193) and Uspenskij (2002: 355–364). The term ‘Synodal Church Slavonic’ is used to denote the present-day form of Church Slavonic that is used in the Russian, Bulgarian, Serbian and other Orthodox churches (Mathiesen 1972: 70).

\*\*\* Accentual marks are not used in this thesis when rendering Greek words.



Isa.	Isaiah
L, loc.	locative
M	Macedonian
Mar.	<i>Codex Marianus</i>
masc.	masculine
Mk.	Mark
neut.	neuter
N, nom.	nominative
OCS	Old Church Slavonic**
Ostro. ev.	Ostromir's Evangeliary
P	Polish
part.	participle
pass.	passive
per.	person
perf.	perfective
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
pl.	plural
Po	Polabian
p.p.p.	past passive participle
PS	Proto-Slavonic
rev.	revised
R	Russian; sonant
Ru	Ruthenian*
S	Slovene
Sam.	Samuel
Sav.	<i>Savvina kniga</i>
SC	Serbo-Croatian
sg.	singular
Sl	Slovak
Sr	Sorbian (Upper and Lower)
SSL	South Slavonic
s.v.	<i>sub verbo</i>
U	Ukrainian
V	vowel
V, voc.	Vocative
WSl	West Slavonic
//	line break
*	postulated form



## *Acknowledgements*

I should like to thank Jan Ivar Bjørnflaten for his support throughout my studies and his generosity with advice, and all the other members of the department at the University of Oslo who have helped. I should also like to thank Professor Stefan M. Pugh of the University of St. Andrews, United Kingdom, for his willingness to respond to my queries on the Ruthenian language. In addition, I should like to give my thanks to Kate Freeman, Katharine Tatum and Benjamin Thomas for proofreading this dissertation, their friendship and support during this voyage into historical grammar. I should specially like to thank Elena Tkačenko for being a good friend and her readiness to help me with matters both linguistic and non-linguistic. Finally, I should like to express my gratitude to Inge Langaard, my mother Svjetlana and my sister Tatjana for their patience, encouragement and unstinting love.



## *Preface*

This thesis presents a comprehensive linguistic commentary on one of the fundamental liturgical texts in the Orthodox Church, namely the Oktoikh. As will become apparent in the following pages, *oktoikh* is simply a convenient label for several different types of service book used in celebration of weekly divine services. The text studied appears, on initial examination of its title page, to have been printed in Kiev, at Spiridon Sobol's press in 1629. However, both the date and the place of printing may be called into question. Zernova (1965) in her article on Spiridon Sobol's life and publishing history identifies three separate editions of the Oktoikh. All three, if we were to believe the information provided by the texts themselves, were printed in Kiev in 1629. Zernova, however, argues that only one of these was actually printed in Kiev in 1629, namely the Oktoikh in which the verses are separated from one another by small stars. The second and third editions appear to have originated in Belarus. The former was printed in Kutein or Bujniči after 1632 in which no special signs separating the verses are present. The later was published in Mogilev in 1638 where small crosses are used to break up the verses. *Prima facie*, the text under consideration seems to be the second edition as only punctuation marks are used to separate the verses. With that in mind, this text, for the sake of convenience, is referred to as either the Kievan or 1629 Oktoikh in the remainder of the dissertation.

Because of time restriction I have chosen to examine only the first two modes of the Kievan Oktoikh as well as the Preface comprising two short texts on the nature of prayer. The study consists of six chapters and an appendix that presents a transcription of the examined portions of the text. Every care was taken to render the text accurately and to preserve, as far as possible, its original orthographic conventions. Chapter I provides non-linguistic information pertinent to the 1629 Oktoikh. It gives a brief description of the Orthodox service and liturgical texts used in its celebration, the origin and types of *oktoikh*, as well as a detailed description of the contents and physical characteristics of the 1629 Oktoikh. Chapter II focuses on orthography. The first half of the chapter examines orthographic conventions of the Kievan Oktoikh, and explores issues such as spacing, punctuation, capitalisation, distribution of allographs, diacritical marks. In the second part, orthography is analysed from the point of view of its phonological significance; in other words, it considers what orthography may reveal about pronunciation. Chapter III gives a comprehensive analysis of nominal, adjectival and pronominal declension systems. This

chapter also discusses the use of numerals and adverbs in the 1629 Oktoikh. Chapter IV provides a detailed examination of the verbal morphology found in the text. Chapter V gives a short account of syntax in the 1629 Oktoikh – the focus here is primarily on syntactical features characteristic of Church Slavonic and those betraying vernacular influence. Chapter VI is a summary of the most important findings and their significance, as well as a conclusion.

The Kievan Oktoikh was printed little more than a decade later after one of the first comprehensive works on Church Slavonic grammar had been published, namely Smotryc'kyj's *Grammatiki slavenskija pravilnoe sintagma* (1619). Comparison is therefore made, where relevant, between features of the text at hand and Smotryc'kyj's newly codified version of Church Slavonic.

## ***Chapter I: Preliminary remarks***

### ***1.0 The Oktoikh: its history and significance in the Orthodox liturgy***

At its inception the Christian ritual must have been private in character. An individual prayed alone without intercession of a formally ordained minister. Since neither consecrated buildings nor a structured template for public worship was in existence, individuals could pray in places and ways that seemed appropriate to them. The Orthodox divine service has, with the passage of time, evolved into a public and highly systemised rite. This complexity permeates the whole monolith that is the Orthodox Church and everything pertaining to it: starting with the order of the divine services and types of service books used during their celebration to the architectural layout of the church building, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the function and appearance of the sacred vestments, vessels and other objects. A detailed examination of Orthodoxy lies beyond the scope of this study; however, the following pages briefly describe the main liturgical books and practices to set a backdrop against which the importance of the Oktoikh, as one of the fundamental Orthodox texts, will become apparent.<sup>1</sup>

#### *1.0.1 Divine services of the Orthodox Church*

The Orthodox liturgy comprises three distinct cycles: daily, weekly, and yearly. The daily cycle involves a celebration of divine services at fixed times during a twenty-four hour period, of which there are nine: Vespers, Compline, the Midnight Office, Matins, the First Hour, the Third Hour, the Sixth Hour, the Ninth Hour, and the Divine Liturgy. In the course of time, the practice of celebrating each service individually at a specific hour or time period was discontinued as the Church, having to condescend to the needs of ordinary Christians, began to celebrate several services at the same time. As a result, today only three services are celebrated during the course of a single day, namely, evening (the Ninth Hour, Vespers, and Compline), morning (the Midnight Office, Matins, and the First Hour) and daytime (the Third and Sixth Hours and the Divine Liturgy).

Both Vespers and Compline are services of evening prayer. The former, in which God is praised for the day that has passed, is celebrated just before the sunset. The latter, during

---

<sup>1</sup> The exposition in 1.0.1 is based on the information provided in Nemirovskij (2007), Slobodskoy (2001) and Wellesz (1961: 129–145) on the Orthodox liturgical rite.

which prayers are offered for the forgiveness of sins, is celebrated at 9 p.m. The Midnight Office, as the name implies, is held at midnight. Its focus is the prayer that Jesus Christ offers in the Garden of Gethsemane. Matins, a service of morning prayer, is celebrated at 3 a.m. during which God is praised for the night that has passed. The First Hour is celebrated between 6 a.m. and 9 a.m. in which the day to come is blessed. The Third Hour encompasses a period between 9 a.m. and 12 p.m. which is dedicated to the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the Apostles. The Sixth Hour is celebrated between 12 p.m. and 3 p.m. during which the Passion and Crucifixion of Jesus Christ is remembered. The Ninth Hour extends over a period of time between 3 p.m. and 6 p.m. which recalls the death on the Cross of Jesus Christ.

The Divine Liturgy is the main divine service of the Orthodox Church and is celebrated before the midday meal. It is dedicated to the earthly existence of Jesus Christ and the Mystery of the Holy Communion.

The liturgical texts used for the daily services are the Clergy Service Book and the Horologion (Gk Ωρολογιον).<sup>1</sup> The order for Vespers, Matins and the Liturgy can be found in the former, whilst the latter includes those parts of the daily service that remain unchanged throughout the year.

On each day of the year, a service is held in the memory of a particular saint or recalls a sacred event that has an important place in the history of the Orthodox Church; divine services of this kind are, therefore, part of the yearly or annual cycle. Such events can be either fasts or feast days, which, in turn, are either movable or fixed. The Monthly Menaion (Gk Μηναιον) contains hymns and prayers used for the celebration of the fixed feasts. It is divided into twelve volumes, one for each month of the year. The Orthodox Church distinguishes furthermore between three types of fixed feasts: those held in honour of Jesus Christ, the Theotokos,<sup>2</sup> and the great saints and the bodiless hosts of heaven (angels). The order of divine services for the movable feast days can be found in the Triodion (Gk Τριωδιον). The Triodion originally comprised a single volume but was subsequently divided into two books: the Lenten Triodion, containing services held during the Great Fast (Lent) and the Sunday services celebrated before Easter, and the Festal Triodion or Penetcostarion containing services celebrated from Easter to the feast of All Saints. The Bright

---

<sup>1</sup> The book is named after its original contents, viz. the prayers of the 'Hours'.

<sup>2</sup> A word used in the Orthodox Church to refer to the Virgin Mary (from Gk 'θεοτοκος' meaning 'God-bearer' or 'Birth-giver to God'). The equivalent term in Church Slavonic is 'Богородица'.



Resurrection of Christ (Easter) is the most important fixed feast in the Church calendar, in relation to which the rest of the yearly cycle of divine services is structured.

The weekly or seven-day cycle encompasses divine services celebrated on each day of the week dedicated to the memory of a particular sacred event or saint. On Sunday the Resurrection of Christ is celebrated; on Monday prayers and hymns are offered in honour of the bodiless hosts; on Tuesday St. John the Baptist is praised; on Wednesday, which is a fast day, Judas' betrayal of Jesus Christ is remembered; on Thursday the Apostles and St. Nicholas the Wonderworker are celebrated; on Friday, a fast day, the service is dedicated to the Passion and death of Jesus Christ; and on Saturday the Theotokos, Apostles, various martyrs and saints are celebrated, and the Departed remembered.

The Oktoikh contains liturgical texts for the entire weekly cycle, celebrated at Vespers, Compline, Matins and the Liturgy, as well as the Resurrectional material used for the Sunday services, namely at Small Vespers and the Midnight Office.<sup>1</sup> It is composed of eight segments, each of which forms a complete hymnal for one full week. Each segment is sung in one of the modes or *echoi* (Gk 'ηχοι'): the first segment is sung in the first mode, the second in the second mode, and so on.<sup>2</sup> At the end of a fully completed cycle, that is, after all eight segments have been sung, the cycle starts anew with the first segment in the first mode.

The Oktoikh is used in the course of no less than forty weeks each year during the celebration of the weekday services, from Monday after the feast of All Saints until Saturday of the 'meatfast week', and for a further six weeks during the Sunday services, from Sunday following the feast of All Saints up to and including the fifth week of the Great

---

<sup>1</sup> This type of Oktoikh is not the only one in existence as scholars were able to identify several other varieties. For further discussion, see 1.0.2.

<sup>2</sup> An '*echos*' originally referred to 'a liturgical designation of eight individual melodic patterns' that 'first, through constant usage, and later, by theoretical systems, were set into an invariant musical framework', whereas the same term is understood today as 'the Byzantine system of eight Church-tones' (Werner 1948: 214, 255).

The link between music and worship, on the one hand, and the supernal suitability of the number eight, on the other, appears to derive from the calendaric system known as the Pentacontade, prevalent in the Near East amongst the Sumerians, Akkadians and other peoples of that region. The basic unit is a Pentacontade, a period of seven weeks plus one day, that is to say, fifty days; a full year comprises seven Pentacontades and fourteen intercalary days. This division is in turn rooted in the concept of seven seasons and seven winds where the seven winds are identified with seven gods over which presides a supreme deity. This calendaric system, with its principle 'seven weeks plus one day', as well as the Gnostic idea of the Ogdoas, as an embodiment of the Supreme Being and a manifestation of the eight modes, finds a direct reflection in liturgical application of what is probably the first Oktoikh ever to be written, the Oktoikh of Severus of Antioch. This is a hymnal composed in eight modes for the main feasts of the ecclesiastical year; each mode was sung on one of the eight consecutive Sundays for seven weeks after Pentecost. The eight modes correspond to the eight Sundays, which in turn comprise a Pentacontade (Werner 1948: 211–255).

Fast. As previously mentioned, the Oktoikh lies at the heart of the Orthodox liturgy. It is the one liturgical book used most often in the celebration of divine services.

### *1.0.2 The Greek and Slavonic Oktoikh*

The question concerning the original creator of the Oktoikh still remains an open one, although its composition is traditionally ascribed to St. John of Damascus (also John Damascene, *Chrysorrhoeas*), an Orthodox monk and theological doctor of the Orthodox and Latin Churches (c. 675-749) (Parry et al. 1999: s.v. ‘John of Damascus’). His *Apologetic Treatise against those Decrying the Holy Images*, written in defence of the Iconodules, incurred the wrath of the Byzantine Emperor Leo III the Isaurian. The latter is said to have forged a letter in which John betrays caliph Abd al-Malik, at whose court John held a hereditary post of the chief councillor of Damascus. According to the legend the enraged caliph ordered that John’s hand to be cut off at the wrist, only for it to be healed whole again by the Virgin Mary. As a sign of gratitude, John is said to have written the Kanons<sup>1</sup> that are the backbone of the Oktoikh.

It is known, however, that the Oktoikh of Severus (written or simply revised by Severus, a Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch [512–519]) had already been in liturgical use from the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Further adjustments, rendering it suitable for the liturgical use in Orthodox churches and monasteries, were executed by the two famous hymnographers, Andrew of Crete (c. 660–740) and John of Damascus. Joseph the Hymn-writer (died 883), a monk of the Studios monastery in Constantinople, composed the weekday divine services. Over the course of time other important figures of the Orthodox Church have left their imprint on the Oktoikh: St Metrophanes of Smyrna (9th century), who wrote the Kanons of the Trinity for the Sunday Midnight Office; St Theophanes the Branded (775–845), the Bishop of Nicea, whose contribution includes the Kanons in all eight tones in honour of the bodiless hosts and the Departed; Theodore the Studite (759–862); the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII the Purple-born (905–959), and several others (Nemirovskij 2007; Wellesz 1961: 140).

The attempt to establish an exact date, or at the very least epoch, when the Oktoikh was translated from Greek into Church Slavonic is fraught with uncertainty: some maintain that it was first translated by St. Cyril and St. Methodius, although no evidence confirming

---

<sup>1</sup> ‘Kanon’ is the term applied to a type of a Byzantine hymn consisting of nine odes. For a more detailed description of ‘kanon’ and other types of hymns, see 1.1.1.

this assumption is to be found in the oldest extant manuscripts; others claim that it was translated by Clement of Ohrid (c. 840–916) as a few references in the Vita of Clement of Ohrid point in that direction. More unequivocal references do not start appearing until the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century when the translation is directly ascribed to Monk John, who lived in the Monastery of Great Lavra on Mount Athos, by one of his disciples. In all probability the complete Slavonic Oktoikh was not one man’s work; rather it was a product of a relatively slow process in which different parts of the book were translated by different individuals at different times (Nemirovskij 2007).

It is important to bear in mind that the name ‘Oktoikh’ can function, at best, as an umbrella term under which several other types are subsumed. Following Šelamanova’s work, Nemirovskij (2007) lists the following:

- (1) ‘The full or great Oktoikh’, or ‘*Parakletike*’ comprises the entire weekly cycle of divine services, that is to say, both Sunday and weekday services, for each of the eight tones.
- (2) ‘*Paraklitik*’ is a hymnal comprising only Kanons celebrated at Matins. The hymns are grouped according to tones, which in their turn are ordered according to days of the week.
- (3) ‘The anthological Oktoikh (*Oktoix izbornyj*)’ is a collection of hymns arranged according to hymnal types, which in turn are organised according to tones.
- (4) ‘The Resurrectional Oktoikh (*Oktoix voskresnyj*)’ includes divine services celebrated on Sundays only.
- (5) ‘The abridged weekly Oktoikh (*Oktoix sokraščennyj nedel’nyj*)’ is a hymnal for all seven days of the week, containing hymns in the second tone only.
- (6) ‘The six-day service book (*Šestodnev služebnyj*)’ includes all divine services celebrated on Sunday for each of the eight tones as well as weekday services, in which only one tone is assigned to each day.

## ***1.1 Contents and physical characteristics of the text***

### *1.1.1 Contents of the Kievan Oktoikh*

The Kievan Oktoikh can be readily identified as ‘*Šestodnev služebnyj*’. It is divided into four parts. The first part is a short preface entitled ‘НИЛА ПОСТНИКА ѿ ГЛАВИЗНЪ’ (‘from the chapters of Nil the Faster’) in which the reader of this book is given advice on how to pray

as well as how to understand the act of praying. The second part, comprising the main body of the text, contains the Sunday services for each of the eight tones. The third part encompasses the weekday services, from Monday up to and including Saturday, in which a different tone is sung on each day of the week, namely the first tone (ChSl ‘ГЛАСЪ А’) on Monday, the second tone (ChSl ‘ГЛАСЪ Б’) on Tuesday, and so on. СВѢТИЛНЫ ВОСКРЕСНЫ or Exapostilaria make up the fourth and final part. The term ‘СВѢТИЛНЫ’ refers to verses read at Matins after the Kanon has been sung; they bear the name ‘СВѢТИЛНЫ’ because their thematic content focuses on the idea of ‘spiritual light’. As is the case with the hymnal under analysis, such verses were traditionally placed at the end of the Oktoikh (D’jačenko 2007: s.v. ‘СВѢТІЛЕНЪ’).

The appellation *šestodnev* originally pertained to Byzantine and Bulgarian literary Biblical narratives recounting the story of the creation of the world in six days. They were written for the purpose of spiritual edification, although some of them also contained scientific tractates. Amongst the writers associated with this genre of Old Russian and Bulgarian literature are Vasilij the Great, Severian Geval’skij, Georgij Pisida, and John the Exarch. *Šestodnevny služebnye*, that is, ‘six-day service books’, began appearing in Russia in the 15<sup>th</sup> century although at that time they were not known by this name. For instance, the Synodal Codex on parchment, dating from the 15<sup>th</sup> century and donated to the monastery of St. Pantelejmon in Pskov by one Feodosija, her son Ilja and grandson Ivan in 1565, is an example of one such *šestodnev služebnyj*. The title-page however bears an inscription in which no reference is made to *šestodnev*: **НАЧАЛО С БОГОМ МОЛЕБНИКЪ ИМЕА СЛОУЖЕБЪ НЕВОЗВРАТНО ОСМИ ГЛАСАМ ТВОРЕНИЕ ПРЕПОДОБНА ОТЦА НАШЕГО ИОАННА ДАМАСКИНА**. It is from the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century that the term *šestodnev*, in the sense of ‘six-day service book’, is encountered, in hymnals written in Moscow. Hymnals with similar contents were produced in there throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It is interesting to note, however, that no other Slavonic press in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century, either in Vilnius, Kiev, Venice, Lvov or Serbian monasteries, printed this type of Oktoikh under the name *šestodnev*; rather service books of a similar type were called *Oktoikh* or *Osmoglasnik* (Nemirovskij 2007). This, indeed, is confirmed by the title-page in the Kievan Oktoikh, which has the following inscription: **ОКТОИХЪ СРЪЧЪ, ОСМОГЛАСНИКЪ ВОСКРЪНЫ ПО Ї НЕДЕЛЬ, ТВОРЕНІЕ ИОАННА ДАМАСКИНА ВЪ ДРЪКАРИИ СПИРИДОНА ГОБОЛА ГРКЪ АХЪКЪ (fol. 1<sup>r</sup>).**

At this point we shall turn to the structure of the Sunday service, in the first mode, as printed in the Kievan Oktoikh. We also examine, in some detail, the different types of

hymns found in it, namely sticheron (pl. stichera), apostichon (pl. aposticha), theotokion (pl. theotokia), kanon, troparion (pl. troparia), hirmus (pl. hirmi), and several others.

The Sunday service begins on Saturday evening with the evening service of Vespers. Slobodskoy (2001) explains that ‘following the example of Moses, who, describing the creation of the world by God, began the “day” with evening, the Orthodox Church begins the day with the evening services, Vespers.’ Vespers open with the three Resurrection Stichera (Gk *στιχηρα*, ChSl **стихиры**), hymns traditionally sung after a verse of a psalm. They belong to a Byzantine poetic form known as the troparion (Gk *τροπαριον*, ChSl **тропарь**) that initially referred to short prayers written in poetic prose and inserted after each verse of a psalm, but in the 5<sup>th</sup> century troparia assumed a strophic form, became longer and were sung after the three to six last verses of a psalm (Wellesz 1961: 171, 243). These stichera are called ‘resurrectional’ since they celebrate the Resurrection of Christ. The first mode of the Kievan Oktoikh begins with three such stichera although a heading, which would normally indicate this – **стихиры воскресны** or simply **воскресны** – is omitted.

Following the Resurrection Stichera are Stichera of Anatolios, customarily four in number. In Church Slavonic these are usually called **стихиры восточны** or just **восточны** since ‘Anatolios’, from Gk *ανατολη*, means ‘East’. They are ascribed to one Anatolios who is thought to have been either the Patriarch of Constantinople in the 5<sup>th</sup> century or a monk of the Studios monastery, Theodore the Studite (Nemirovskij 2007). In the first mode of the Kievan Oktoikh the same order is followed with the omission of the heading **стихиры восточны**.

Next comes a hymn referred to as the Theotokion (ChSl **богородиченъ** often abbreviated to **бѣо** in the Kievan Oktoikh). The term denotes either the ninth ode of a kanon, or, as is the case here, a troparion in honour of Theotokos, the Virgin Mary (Wellesz 1961: 242).

Between the Stichera of Anatolios and the Theotokion the so-called **слава** or doxology is sung – the text of this short hymn is left out the Kievan Oktoikh.

Following the Theotokion in the 1629 Oktoikh are the Resurrection Stichera of the Aposticha (in our text, ChSl **на стѣ (стиховнѣ) стѣры (стихиры) воскресны**) and the so-called Alphabetical Stichera (in our text simply referred to as **ины, стихиры**). The Aposticha are stichera sung between verses of selected psalms at Vespers and weekday Matins. They are singled out amongst other stichera as they begin with a hymn rather than a verse of psalm. With the exception of the first sticheron, they form an alphabetic acrostic following the

letters of the Greek alphabet – needless to say this idiosyncratic feature of the original Greek text has been lost in translation to Church Slavonic. There are twenty-four such stichera altogether, three for each of the eight modes (Nemirovskij 2007; Parry et al 1999: s.v. ‘aposticha’).

After the Aposticha the Doxology is sung as well as two Theotokia and the Resurrection Apolytikion. (The Church Slavonic term, also used in the Kievan Oktoikh, for the resurrection apolytikion is **ТРОПАЊ ВОСКРЕСЕНЬ**.) The apolytikion, also referred to as ‘troparion’, is a dismissal hymn sung at the end of Vespers (Nemirovskij 2007; Wellesz 1961: 140).

Following the service of Vespers is the Midnight Office that opens with the Kanon to the Holy Trinity, source of life. Before considering the description of the Kanon in the Kievan Oktoikh, it is necessary to take a closer look at the structure of this highly poetic Byzantine hymn. The kanon (Gk *κάνων*, ChSl **КАНОНЪ**) consists of nine odes (Gk *ὕμνοι*, ChSl **ПѢСНЬ**), each of which is made up of three troparia.<sup>1</sup> The nine odes are composed on the pattern of nine Biblical canticles and have the character of hymns of praise.<sup>2</sup> It is traditional, however, to omit the second ode – the Ode of Moses in Exodus – because of its mournful tone; it is consequently sung only during the Lenten weekday Matins. The choice of nine odes, as opposed to any other number, seems to be steeped in both mystical and religious symbolism: the number nine is identified with the nine ranks of the bodiless hosts, namely Archangels, Angels, Principalities, Thrones, Dominions, Seraphim, Cherubim, Powers and Rulers, as well as seen to reflect the threefold nature of the Trinity (since three times three is nine) (Nemirovskij 2007; Wellesz 1961: 37–38, 198–199).

Kanons, in both manuscripts and printed texts of South Slavonic origin, usually bore a long descriptive name. Thus, for instance, the Kanon to the Holy Trinity, in the first mode, in the Montenegrin *Oktoikh pervoglasnik* printed in Cetinje in 1494 has the following title: **КАНОН, С[ВѦ]ТЪ ИЖИВО НАЧЕЛНИ ТРОИЦИ · ТВОРЕНИЕ МИТРОФАНОВО · НУСЕ КРАЕ ГРАНЕ СІЕ СЕ · ЕДИНО ТЕ ПОЮ ТРІС[О]ЛН[Е]ЧНО КСТ[ЕСТ]ВО · ПѢСН · Ѧ · ГА[С], Ѧ · ІРМНС · ТВОМ ПОВѢДИТЕЛНА (Fol. 4<sup>v</sup>).** Byzantine kanons had the form of an acrostic, in other words, the initial letters of each

---

<sup>1</sup> In this context the term ‘troparion’ denotes a single stanza of the ode. We should also bear in mind that the number of troparia does not have to be limited to three – the actual number varies considerably and is dependant on the date, day of the week, importance of the saint celebrated on a particular day, etc.

<sup>2</sup> These are: (1) the Ode of Moses in Exodus (Exod. 15: 1–19), (2) the Ode of Moses in Deuteronomy (Deut. 32: 1–43), (3) the Prayer of Hannah (1 Sam. 2: 1–10), (4) the Prayer of Habakkuk (Hab. 3: 2–19), (5) the Prayer of Isaiah (Isa. 26: 9–19), (6) the Prayer of Jonah (Jonah 2: 3–10), (7) the Prayer of the Three Holy Children (Dan. 3: 26–56), (8) the Song of the Three Holy Children (Dan. 3: 57–88), (9) the Song of the Theotokos (Luke 1: 46–55), and the Prayer of Zacharias (Luke 1: 68–79).

troparion, when read consecutively, would form an acrostic phrase, the acrostic here being ‘ΕΔΙΝΟ ΤΕ ΠΟΥ ΤΡΙΣ[Ο] ΛΗ[Ε]ΧΝΟ ΚΣΤ[ΕΣΤ]ΒΟ’. Once translated into Church Slavonic, these hymns naturally lost their acrostic character, but the tradition of retaining their names remained nevertheless (Nemirovskij 2007). Such acrostic catch-phrases are omitted in the first two modes of the Kievan Oktoikh.

In the 1629 Oktoikh, the Kanon to the Holy Trinity consists of eight Odes, where the second one was duly omitted and consequently not printed. Traditionally each ode is preceded by a hirmus (Gk εἰρμος, ChSl Ирмосъ) – a model stanza that links the ode to the theme of the kanon and provides a metrical pattern for all troparia of an ode. There is a strong tendency to give only a few initial words of the hirmus rather than produce the entire text, with these usually placed after the number of the ode (Nemirovskij 2007). We observe an identical practice in the Kievan Oktoikh. Thus, for instance, the abridged headings of the first and third Ode are as follows: (i) На плоднѡцици Канонъ · сѣѣи, живѡначалнѣи · Тройци, Пѣснь , а · Ирмѡ · Твоѡ побѣдителяѡ десница·; (ii) Пѣснь , б · Ирмѡ · Единъ свѣдый ·.

The first, fourth, fifth, seventh, eighth and ninth Odes of the Kanon have altogether four troparia, of which three are elementary whilst the fourth one is the Theotokion. The third and sixth Ode have a somewhat different structure: after the fourth troparion, the Theotokion, first the refrain ‘ГДѢ ПОМЛѢИ’ is sung, followed by a Kathisma (Gk Καθισμα, ChSl сѣдаленъ)<sup>1</sup> and another Theotokion, which concludes the service.

Following the text for Vespers in the Kievan Oktoikh is the Sunday service for Matins. It begins with an abridged heading, functioning as a kind of a priest’s manual, that indicates the order in which the hymns are to be sung: На бѣгъ ГДѢ · Трѡ : глѡ , а · калѣ знамѣ , б, и бѡ · егѡ · писанъ , Всѡботѡ Навечерни · посѣмъ сѣдална · Воскресень · на а · стихолои глѡ , а ·. The service proper opens with two Kathismata of the Resurrection after which the Doxologies, Theotokia, Нупакое (Gk υπακοη, ChSl упакѡй) and three antiphons (Gk αντιφωνος, ChSl антифѡнъ) are sung. The term ‘hypakoe’ denotes an ecclesiastical hymn whose central motif is the proclamation of the resurrection of Jesus Christ to the world, whilst antiphons (also known as the Anavathmoi, ChSl степенны антифѡнны) are short troparia inspired by the ‘Songs of Ascent’ (Psalms 119–133). The latter are traditionally

<sup>1</sup> The term ‘kathisma’ (pl. kathismata) refers to a troparion which is sung while the congregation is seated (Wellesz 1961: 240).

sung by two separate choirs performing alternately as separate groups and in unison (Nemirovskij 2007; Wellesz 1961: 239–240)

Another abridged heading, giving the order of the hymns, is placed before the text of the Matins Resurrection Kanon: **ПРОКИМѢ · ГЛА , А · ННѢ ВОСКРѢНѢ ГЛЕТЪ ГДЪ · СТИ · СЛОВЕСА ГНА, СЛОВЕСА ЧИСТА · ТА\* · ВСАКО ДЫХАНІЕ · СТИ, ХВАЛИТЕ БГА · БВЛІЕ ВОСКРНОЕ · ВОСКРНІЕ ХБО · ПСАЛМЪ Н** . This Kanon comprises further four kanons of which three are printed here: the Resurrection Kanon (ChSl **КАНОНЪ ВОСКР[Е]С[Е]НЪ**) celebrating the resurrection of Jesus Christ; the Kanon of the Cross and Resurrection (ChSl **КАНОНЪ КРЕСТОВОСКР[Е]С[Е]НЪ**, in our text **КАНОНЪ КРЕСТЪ**) celebrating the resurrection as well as recalling of the Passion of Christ; and the Kanon to the Mother of God (ChSl **КАНОНЪ ПРЕС[ВЛ]ТѢЙ В[О]РОД[И]ЦѢ**) written in honour of the Theotokos, the Virgin Mary.

The Kanons are sung together, that is to say, all hymns of the first Ode of each of the three Kanons are sung first, followed by all hymns of the third Ode, then all hymns of the fourth Ode, and so on. (As mentioned earlier the second Ode, because of its mournful tone, is omitted.) Each Ode generally consists of three troparia, the third troparion usually being a Theotokion. However, the second, fourth, sixth, and eighth Odes of the Kanon to the Mother of God have only two troparia each.<sup>1</sup> Further, the eighth Ode of the Kanon of the Cross and Resurrection is supplemented by an additional fourth troparion in honour of the Holy Trinity, namely **ТРОИЧЕНЪ**. Only the Hirmi preceding the Odes of the Resurrectional Kanon in the 1629 Oktoikh are printed in full, all the others are given in an abridged form.

Following the sixth Ode two additional troparia are sung, namely the Kontakion (Gk **κοντακίον**, ChSl **КОНДАКЪ**) and Oikos (Gk **οίκος**, ChSl **ИКОСЪ**). The former denotes a troparion that is sung after the sixth ode of a kanon and modelled on a hirmus different to that of the ode. A kontakion always precedes the oikos, a troparion that structurally and thematically differs little from the kontakion, except in its greater length (D'jačenko 2007: s.v. 'КОНДАКЪ'; Wellesz 1961: 240–241).

After the three Kanons follow the Resurrection Stichera (in our text **НАХВАЛИТЕ СТИХИРИ**, also **ХВАЛИТЕ, ХВАЛИТНЫ**), other Stichera by Anatolios and the Beatitudes (ChSl **БЛАЖЕННЫ**). The term **ХВАЛИТНЫ** refers to stichera normally sung at Matins after the kanon and Psalms 149–150. Their name derives from the phrase that the Psalms usually begin with, for

---

<sup>1</sup> The seventh Ode of the same Kanon has also two troparia. However this could simply be an errata since the seventh Ode of the Kanon of the Cross and Resurrection, printed right above it, has an additional fourth 'БОДОРДИЧЕНЪ' that in the Moscow Patriarchy's 1962 edition of the Oktoikh is in fact one of the troparia belonging to the seventh Ode of the Kanon to the Mother of God.



instance, *хвалите Бога во святыхъ Его* (D'jačenko 2007: s.v. 'ХВАЛИТЕ'). The text of these psalms is, however, not printed in the Kievan Oktoikh. The term **БЛАЖЕННЫ** denotes stichera read at the Liturgy and derives its name from the practice of reading these together with the Beatitudes from the Gospel (D'jačenko 2007: s.v. 'БЛАЖЕННЫ'). The verses from the Gospel are not included in the Kievan Oktoikh.

The first mode concludes with the Sunday evening service which bears the following heading: **ВНЕД[ЛЮ] ВЕЧЕРЪ · СТИХИРЫ ПОКАЯННЫ · Киръ Юсифа · На Г[о]с[по]ди возвахъ , Гласъ, ѿ · Под[обенъ] · Прехвалныи ·**. It includes various hymns, namely the Stichera of Compunction (ChSl **СТИХИРЫ ПОКАЯННЫ**) and of the Bodiless Powers (ChSl **СТИХИРЫ БЕЗПЛОТНЫМЪ**), the Aposticha of Compunction (ChSl **НА СТИХОВИѢ СТИХИРЫ**) as well as two Theotokia.<sup>1</sup>

The structure of the second mode is identical to that of the first: the order of services and hymns follows the same pattern; only the texts themselves are different. There are minor differences, but these are not structural, rather they relate to factors such as the number of troparia in odes and whether or not a full text of a particular hirmus is given.

### *1.1.2 Physical characteristics of the text*

The Kievan Oktoikh is presently part of Prof. Jan Ivar Bjørnflaten's private collection. It is a medium-sized book with stiff covers, measuring approximately 15x20 cm. The back and front covers are each made of two thin wood boards, covered in brown leather. The book itself can be locked with two metal clasps. There are no flyleaves (it appears as if these were ripped out); there is a paste-down at the front (there are traces of handwritten text in black ink, however the ink has faded to such an extent that the text is no longer legible), and a paste-down at the back.

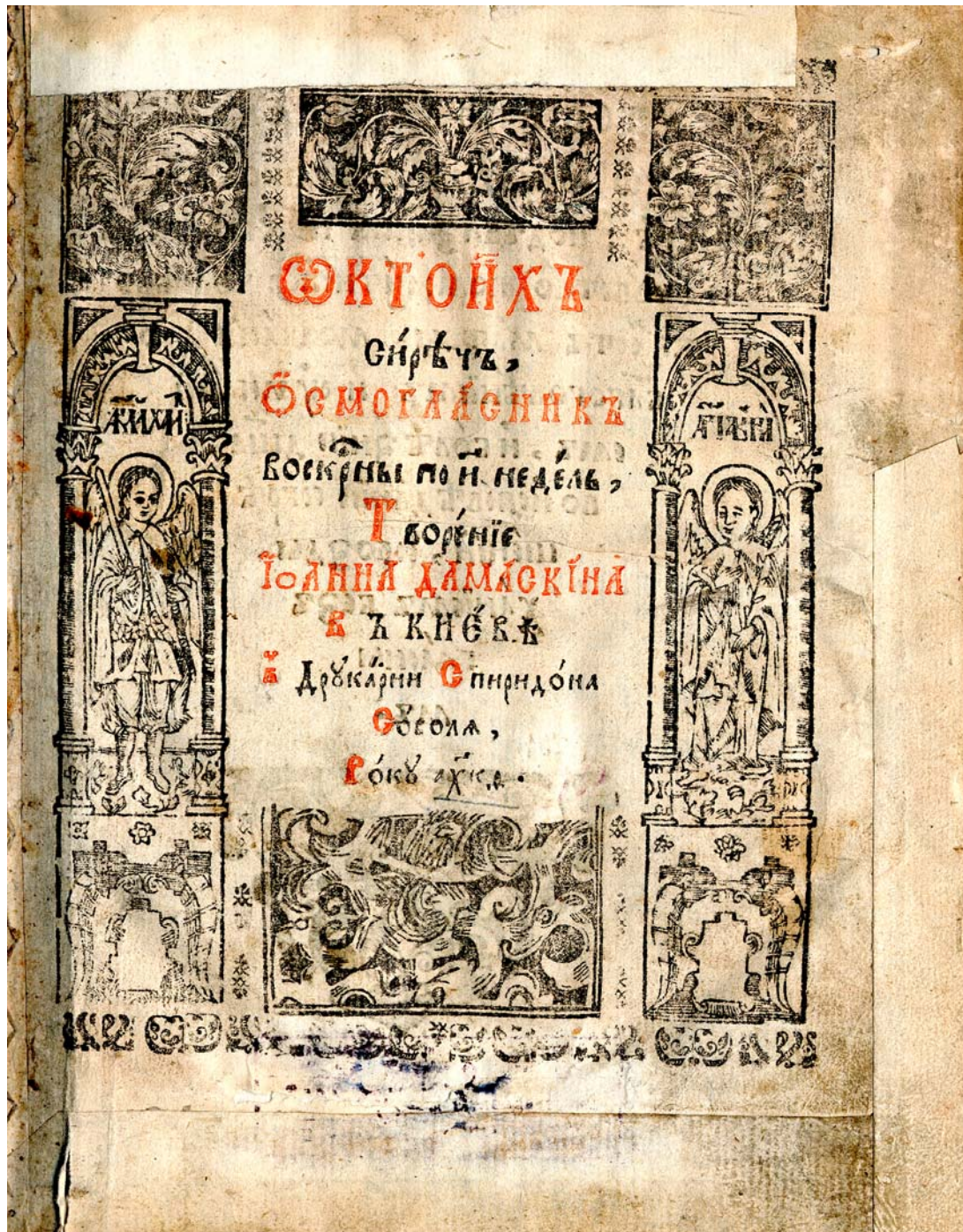
The description of the physical characteristics of the text block as well as the paper, on which the text is printed, is limited to the first page (fol. 1<sup>r</sup>), preface (fols. 1<sup>v</sup>–2<sup>r</sup>) and first two modes, namely, **ГЛАСЪ ѿ** and **ГЛАСЪ Ъ** (fols. 3<sup>r</sup>–28<sup>v</sup> and 29<sup>r</sup>–51<sup>v</sup> respectively). The paper, measuring approximately 18,5x14,5 cm, is cut to size and rather yellowed, stained, with what appears to be, water damage on a large number of pages. These however do not affect the legibility of the text. There appears to be no water mark designs on the paper.

---

<sup>1</sup> The various attributes – **ПОКАЯННЫ**, **ПРЕХВАЛНЫИ**, **БЕЗПЛОТНЫМЪ** – refer only to the thematic content, and not, to the type of hymn. The phrase '**Под[обенъ] · Прехвалныи**' indicates that the hymns below it are similar to the hymn, beginning with the word '**Прехвалныи**', with regard to the thematic content, mode, metre, etc.



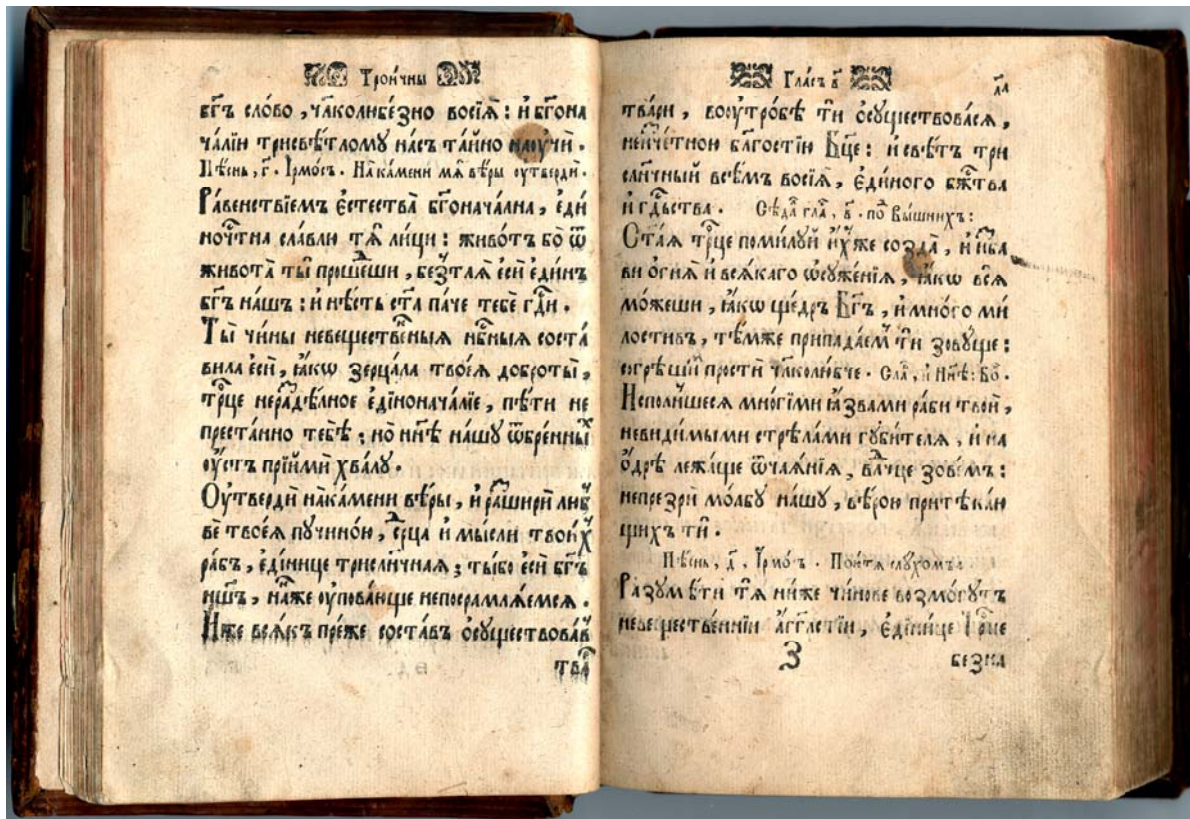
1. *The Kievan Oktoikh 1629*. Front cover.



2. The Kievan Oktoikh 1629. Title page.



3. The Kievan Oktoikh 1629. Sample text fol. 1<sup>r</sup>.



4. The Kievan Oktoikh 1629. Sample text fols. 32<sup>v</sup>–33<sup>r</sup>.

Furthermore the bottom right-hand corners of *recto* sides have been blackened owing to frequent leafing. Although the text, on the whole, is in excellent condition, the first four folios are rather damaged: the paper at the tail margin of fol. 1<sup>r</sup> has been thinned out, almost creating a hole, and white stripes of paper had been glued to the head, tail and fore-edge margins to prevent further disintegration and provide solidity; similar white strips of paper had been glued to the head, tail and fore-edge margins of fols. 2<sup>r</sup>, 2<sup>v</sup>, 3<sup>r</sup>, 3<sup>v</sup>, 4<sup>r</sup>, 4<sup>v</sup>; a single short paper strip had been glued to the fore-edge of fol. 1<sup>v</sup> and in the middle of fol. 2<sup>v</sup>. As a result the white paper strip partially obscures the first line on fol. 3<sup>v</sup>, whereas on fols. 4<sup>r</sup> and 4<sup>v</sup> some of the text is missing in the first two lines.

The block text, which is printed on fourteen gatherings, is complete. Five corrections in black ink had been made to the text on fols. 17<sup>r</sup>:13 (a superscript ‘ε’ with *pokrytie* is written above ‘ѡЦЕИ’), 27<sup>v</sup>:10 (where ‘ε’ is added after ‘т’ in ‘ИМЕНШЕТСА’), 34<sup>r</sup>:4 (where the second ‘8’ in word ‘ѢКШПИН8’ is corrected to ‘Ѣ’), 36<sup>r</sup>:7–8 (where the first ‘а’ in ‘ГПДАНАЧАЛНЮ’ is corrected to ‘ѡ’), and 51<sup>r</sup>:5 (where ‘ѡ’ in ‘ГЛАСѡ’ is corrected to ‘Ы’) by one or several previous owners.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, there are traces of red and blue pencil on fols. 2<sup>r</sup>, 13<sup>r</sup>, 18<sup>r</sup>, 20<sup>r</sup> and 40<sup>r</sup>; however, whatever had been written is no longer visible. The text is justified and printed across the page, rather than in two columns as is the case in, for instance, the *Oktoix pjatiglasnik*, printed in Venice in 1537. There are eighteen lines on almost all folios, the exception being the first page, the preface, the first and last pages of each mode, and several others. The text is printed in black ink with the exception of the first four folios where the headings, first letters of each troparion as well as certain words are printed in red ink.

The text in the Kievan Oktoikh is foliated and only alphabetic numerals are used. The foliation most probably begins on fol. 3<sup>r</sup> (although the white paper strips glued at the head of fols. 3<sup>r</sup> and 4<sup>r</sup> obscure any the numeral). The first numeral is ѿ on fol. 5<sup>r</sup> and the leaves to follow are numbered according to numerical value of each letter in the Cyrillic alphabet, e.g. г = 3, д = 4, е = 5. In numerals 11–19, the unit is surmounted by a *titlo* and always precedes the ten, following the Old Russian norm, for example, ѿѿ, ѿѿ; in numerals 20 and above, it is the ten that is surmounted by a *titlo* and precedes the unit, for example, ѿѿ, ѿѿ.<sup>2</sup> The numerals, used in foliation, are never preceded or followed by a point but always surmounted by a *titlo*, with the exception of ‘з’ on fol. 9<sup>r</sup>. In addition to foliation, the last

<sup>1</sup> On fol. 41<sup>r</sup>:15 the following mark is written between the letters ѿ and а: ` . We cannot however be certain if the mark is supposed to represent *varia* (a type of diacritic mark) or if it was added for some other purpose.

<sup>2</sup> There is an omission on fol. 41<sup>r</sup>: only ѿ was printed instead of ѿѿ.

line of each folio contains a catchword that anticipates the first word on the following page, with the exception of fols. 1<sup>r</sup>, 1<sup>v</sup>, 19<sup>v</sup>, where no such catchword is present, and fol. 13<sup>r</sup>, where the facilitating word, here the letter ‘л’, is not repeated on the following page.<sup>1</sup>

One would expect that in an Orthodox liturgical book, such as the Kievan Oktoikh, the year in which the text was printed would be given according to the Byzantine era (a system of chronologically measuring the passage of time since the creation of the world – *Anno Mundi*) (Schenker 1995: 183). This system was widely in use until the 18<sup>th</sup> century when an alternative, namely *Anno Domini*, was introduced under Peter the Great. However, in fact the reckoning system used in the Kievan Oktoikh is *Anno Domini*: вкѡиѡхъ сирѣчь, осмогласникъ Воскрѣсны по ѿ недель, твореніе Іоанна Дамаскина въ Дрѣкаріи Спиридѡна Соболѡ Грѣѡ дѣкѡ (fol. 1<sup>r</sup>).

---

<sup>1</sup> Schenker (1995: 184) explains the origin of this practice: ‘foliation ... was not introduced until the advent of printing, and in many instances considerably later. The process of putting loose *tetradia* in order was facilitated by the catchword at the bottom of each page’.





## ***Chapter II: Orthography and Pronunciation***

This chapter provides a detailed description of orthographic conventions in the Kievan Oktoikh. It focuses on such features as punctuation, spacing, capitalisation, the distribution of diacritical marks and superscript letters, distribution of allographs and lexical/morphological implications thereof, alphabetical inventory, as well as specific phonological characteristics, some of which may prove valuable in the final evaluation of the text at hand.

### ***2.0 Spacing, punctuation and capitalisation***

#### ***2.0.1 Spacing***

Spaces are used to separate words and punctuation marks throughout the text. Since the text is justified, these spaces vary in size depending on the number and length of words in the line. It is, however, interesting to note that proclitics (such as the monosyllabic prepositions **въ**, **изъ**, **съ**, **по**, **безъ**, **къ**, **ѡ**, **на**, **оу**, **за**, and **о**, and the particle **не**), enclitics (such as the particle **же**), and the reflexive particle **сѧ** virtually always coalesce with the word they precede, in the case of proclitics, or the word they follow, in the case of enclitics and the reflexive particle.<sup>1</sup> Instances of syntagmata written as a sort of a mini *scripta continua* are also attested: **всѧживотворѧщѧ** (9<sup>r</sup>:5), **возвеселимисѧ ... срадѧетѧмисѧ** (13<sup>r</sup>:4), **ѡверзошатисѧ** (30<sup>r</sup>:5), **преклонѧютисѧ** (47<sup>r</sup>:6).

The title page and two parts of the Preface each start on a fresh page, as do the first two modes. Furthermore each hymn, including the complete hirmi, is begun on a new line; the headings and names of hymns are usually begun on a new line.

#### ***2.0.2 Spacing: beginning and end of the line***

The first letter in the line, whether consonant or vowel, is never a superscript. On the other hand, the final letter in the line, if a consonant, tends either to be followed by a jer (<200x), or surmounted by a diacritical mark, which is usually a *paerok* (a diacritical mark

---

<sup>1</sup> Coalescence occurs sporadically with the proclitic conjunction **и** and particle **да**, the interjection **ѡ**/w, and enclitics such as the particle **во** and the pronoun forms **мѧ**, **тѧ**, etc. The reflexive particle **сѧ** precedes the verb only once: **тѧмжеѧ сѧ поклонѧемъ** (29<sup>v</sup>:13–14).

representing the front or back jer) (app. 100x), very occasionally a *superscript* и (6x) and one occasion the vowel letter ѡ:

(1) consonant + jer, e.g. НЕДЕЛЬ//, НАШЪ//, ЖИЗНЬ//, ВЪРЪ//НЫМЪ, РОЖДЪ//ШАГОСА, ОУМЕРТВИВЪ//, ЧЛКОЛЮБЕЦЪ//, ВСЪХЪ//, ОУМЪ//, ИХЪ//, ВСЕДЪТЕЛНЫМЪ//;

(2) consonant + *paerok*, e.g. ОУПРЪДНИЪ//, ЧЕР//ТОГЪ, ПРОСЛАВЛЕМЪ//, НИШИМЪ//, СОЗ//ДАВЪ, ПЪНЫМЪ//, СЪСЕНЪ//, СЪАНИЕМЪ//, НЕПРОСТРЪТЪ//, ФАРАОНИТЪ//СКАА;

(3) consonant + *superscript* и, e.g. ПОМЪ//ЛДЪ, ВЪКЪ//, РАДЪ//, ПРЕМЪНЪ//СА, ТЪМЖЕТЪ//, НЕДВИЖЪ//МЪ;

(4) consonant + superscript vowel, e.g. ПЛЕЦЪ//.

As a general rule, a vowel letter occupies the final position in the line (<1000x) and these are very occasionally surmounted by a superscript vowel (3x) or a *superscript* и (9x). Supralinear consonants above the final vowel in the line occur often (115x). However, these may represent either a combination of consonant + jer or consonant + full vowel.<sup>1</sup> The following is a selection of examples from each category:

(1) final vowel: ВРАЖИЪ//, ОСНОВАНІЪ//, ПРА//ВОСЛАВІЕМЪ, СВОБОДИ//ХОМЪСА, ОУМИРИ, ПРИ//ГВОЗДИ, АДАМА, ДОСТИГО//ША, ПРЕСЛАВНОЕ, РАДЪИ//СА, etc.;

(2) vowel + superscript vowel: ПОЮЦЪЪ, МЪЧЕНЪЪ, СМЪРТНЪЪ;

(3) vowel + *superscript* и: БЛГОЧЕСТИВЫЪ//, ПРА//ВЕДНЫЪ//, НЕДОСТЪ//НИИ, РАЗЪБЪ//, ТВЪ//, ТЪ//, ПРИ//ДЪТЕ, ПРЪТЪ//, ТВЪ//;

(4) vowel + superscript consonant: СЛАВЪИ//, ВОЗЫВАЮЩИЪ//, АГГЛАЪ//, СОПРЕСТОЛНАЪ//, ВСЕСИ//НЕ, ПЕРВОЗДАЪ//НАГО, СОХРАНИЪ//, СЛАВИЪ//, ДЕБЕЛСТВЪ//, РОЖЪ//ШДСА, etc.

The analysis of final letters in or above the line yields an interesting fact: the line-final position is almost exclusively reserved for full vowels, also *paerok* or the jers. Although, at first sight, this might seem peculiar, it is in fact motivated by a graphic-orthographic precept espoused by both South and East Slavonic literary traditions, namely the so-called ‘rule for the division of words’. In this connexion Sidorov (1966: 26) writes that ‘в основе орфографического правила, допускающего при переносе на конце строки только гласную, лежала естественная тенденция переносить по слогам. При таком переносе само собой получалось, что строка оканчивалась гласной, поскольку слоги в

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for example, ПРИШЕ//ШИ = ПРИШЕДЪШИ, МЪИ = МИРЪ, НАПЪТ//МИ = НАПАСТЬМИ, etc. and ТОИЪ = ТОИЖЕ, СОПРЕСТОЛНАЪ// = СОПРЕСТОЛНАГО, etc.

древнерусском языке были открытыми.’ This rule, with regard to early manuscripts, is observed with a far greater vigour in CES than SSI (Golysenko 2000: 9–10).

The exceptions in the 1629 Oktoikh are rare and can be divided into following categories: (1) lines in which headings or instructions are present (this may not always be the case as the headings/instructions themselves may end in a vowel) (see, for example, fols. 5<sup>r</sup>:15, 5<sup>v</sup>:7, 8<sup>r</sup>:5, 11<sup>v</sup>:5, 12<sup>v</sup>:11, etc.); (2) the abbreviated form of the word *христосъ* – *х̣с*, attested 2x (12<sup>r</sup>:10, 29<sup>r</sup>:8); (3) superscript consonants not representing a combination of consonant + jer/full vowel, attested 3x, e.g. *пригв̣з̣ди* (3<sup>v</sup>:11); *надѣ̣ю* (19<sup>r</sup>:9); *в̣д̣и* (19<sup>v</sup>:11); (4) abbreviated forms of p.p.p. *препрославленъ* - *препр̣д̣*, attested 2x (21<sup>r</sup>:6,17). An interesting example is the word *оупр̣д̣илъ* since, originally, the front jer followed *z* but with the insertion of the dental spirant *d* at morpheme boundary it should occur after *zd*, i.e. *оупразьнити / оупраздънити*.

A special group of words comprise those showing the reflexes of Proto-Indo-European syllabic \*-r-, e.g. *оум̣ѣ̣* (3<sup>v</sup>:12), *изм̣ѣ̣* (3<sup>v</sup>:15), *измер̣* (5<sup>r</sup>:8), *совер̣* (11<sup>r</sup>:11), *Нестер̣* (11<sup>r</sup>:18), *мер̣* (11<sup>r</sup>:10), *чер̣* (24<sup>r</sup>:1), *дер̣* (29<sup>v</sup>:2), *оумер̣* (29<sup>v</sup>:17), *м̣ѣ̣* (31<sup>r</sup>:5), *вездмер̣* (31<sup>v</sup>:5–6), *смер̣* (43<sup>v</sup>:14), *тв̣ѣ̣* (46<sup>v</sup>:11). What is intriguing about these examples where *paerok*/jer occurs together with the line-final *r*, is that the sequence *-eṛ/-eṛ-* seems to represent the so-called second pleophony (*-ьгь-*). The examples with the superscript *r* seem to be a combination of *r* + jer. Alternatively, if only *r* was intended, *r* might have been seen as syllabic and therefore its placement at line-beak warranted. In all likelihood, however, these examples are neither instances of syllabic *r* nor of second pleophony. The decision to place *r* and/or jer/*paerok* was motivated purely by recourse to already established patterns of usage present in earlier manuscripts. Since it was a common orthographic practice to end the line in a vowel with the tendency to divide the word into syllables, sequences of the type *-ьгь/-ьгь* are frequently attested at line-break. The sequence *-ьгь/-ьгь* appears, however, anomalous, seemingly breaking with the above outlined rule; such practice of word division may have arisen at an earlier stage when the sonant *r* had still had some of its syllabic quality (for examples and further discussion see Sidorov 1966: 24-26).

### 2.0.3 Punctuation marks

The following punctuation marks are attested in the Kievan Oktoikh: a single point, which may be placed either in the middle or at the bottom of the line ( · or .); a multiple point (:); a comma (,); and finally a multiple punctuation mark resembling the modern semicolon (;).

No special punctuation marks are used to indicate either questions<sup>1</sup> or direct speech, for instance:

questions: ѿ чѡдеси : како смѣрть вкѡси иже всѣхъ жизнь; (5<sup>r</sup>:5–7), Мѹроносица ... обрѣтоша яг҃ла сѣдѡща, чтѡ ищете; (26<sup>r</sup>:9–12), и кто крадетъ мертвеца, паче же и нага · (48<sup>v</sup>:15–16), etc.

direct speech: изволи мѡра просвѣтити, вопиюща и глѹща · воскресѹ измертвѹхъ Гдѹи слава тебѣ · (5<sup>r</sup>:7–9), апѡшмъ глѡхѹ воскресѣ Гдѹ · подадѡ мѡрѡви велѹю мѡть · (5<sup>r</sup>:14–15), Мѹроносица ... обрѣтоша яг҃ла сѣдѡща ... зовѹща воскресѣ Гдѹ неплачитесѡ прочее (26<sup>r</sup>:9–13), и глѡхѹ, рцѣте пакѡ намъ спѡшимъ, прѹйдоша оҹчнѹци и оҹкрадоша его: (48<sup>v</sup>:13–15), etc.

As already mentioned, the alphabetical numerals referring to page numbers, contrary to the general practice, are neither preceded nor followed by a point. On the other hand the use of points with alphabetical numerals denoting modes or odes varies from page to page: at times the numeral is both preceded and followed by a point (rarely either preceded [Гласъ · а] or followed by a single point [Гласъ б ·]); at other times the enclosing points are completely absent.<sup>2</sup>

### 2.0.4 Capitalisation

Pennington (1980: 190–191) remarks that '[c]apital letters, in the modern sense, do not exist in the seventeenth century; large and small letters are merely calligraphic variants', and indeed what is true of hand-written texts is also confirmed in the 1629 Oktoikh. Capital or, better perhaps, large letters are used in most words on the title page, as well as in the heading of the Preface. The initial letter of each new hymn, the two paragraphs in the Preface, and usually of words in headings and names of hymns, are large, sometimes with

<sup>1</sup> Smotryc'kyj (1619: Б/7<sup>v</sup>) uses (;) as a question mark – in our text whilst it is only sometimes placed at the end of an interrogative sentence, it also regularly appears in nominal sentences.

<sup>2</sup> Other combinations include a numeral enclosed by two commas, as in (Пѣснь , ѿ ), preceded by a comma and followed by a point and vice versa (Гласъ · а ; Пѣснь , ѿ ·), or rarely followed or preceded by a single comma (Глѡ , а; Пѣснь ѿ ,).

elaborate flourishes. No large letters are used to separate between new sentences except on two occasions: **ИТАКЪ СПРАВЪ** ... (2<sup>r</sup>:5), **ЛЮБОВЬ, ПЖЕ ЕСТЬ** ... (2<sup>r</sup>:11–12). In addition, large letters are used with *nomina sacra*, proper names, including names of ethnic groups and countries/cities, and possessive adjectives derived from these. The choice between a large and a small letter in such instances seems, however, to be arbitrary.<sup>1</sup> In this respect, the 1629 Oktoikh both follows and ignores Smotryc'kyj's (1619: Б/1<sup>r</sup>) first rule of orthography, namely that 'ВЪЦШИМИ ПИСМЕНЫ ПИШЕМА ВЫТИ НАЧАЛА СТИХѠ или ВЪРШѠ ... ИМЕНЬ СѠСТВЕНЬ; ПАКЪ, БГѠ, ГДѠ, ІС, ХС ... ДОСТОИНСТВЪ; ПАКЪ/ ЦАРЬ, ПАТРИАРХЪ.'

## 2.1 Diacritical marks and superscript letters

This section provides a description of supralinear signs found in the 1629 Oktoikh paying attention to such considerations as graphic representation, general historical information and distribution. A description of the functions of individual signs, with the exception of the *titlo/pokrytie*, *paerok*, superscript и and *kratkaia* will not be given in this study.<sup>2</sup>

The following diacritic marks are attested in the Kievan Oktoikh: (1) *oksia*, *acute*, *ostraja*: [ ' ]; (2) *varia*, *grave*, *tjažkaja*: [ ` ]; (3) *superscript и* and *kendema*: [ ~ ]; (4) *iso*: [ " ] and its variants: [ ^ ], [ ' ' ]; (5) *velikij apostrof*: [ ^ ]; (6) *titlo (vzmet)*: [ ~ ]; (7) *pokrytie*: [ ^ ]; (8) *kratkaia*: [ ~ ]; (9) *horizontal spiritus*: [ ^ ]; (10) *trema*: [ ~ ]; (11) *psili*, *spiritus lenis*: [ ' ]; (12) *kamora*, *circumfelx*: [ ^ ]; (13) *paerok*: [ ~ ], [ ' ]; (14) *point*: [ ' ].

### 2.1.1 Oksia [ ' ]

*Oksia* was originally one of the diacritic marks of the Polytonic Greek. It first appeared in the Čudovo New Testament 1355, and with time became one of the central diacritical marks in the *staropečatnaja sistema*. According to Smotryc'kyj (1619: Б/3<sup>r</sup>–4<sup>r</sup>), *oksia* should be placed above a short vowel in final and penultimate syllables, as well as above vowels, both short and long, in all other syllables. In the *staropečatnaja sistema*, *oksia* could be placed

<sup>1</sup> Both forms with large and small letters are attested: БГѠ/бгѠ, ХС/хс, ГДѠ/гдѠ, СѠсь/сѠсь, ДѠа/дѠа, БѠа/бѠа, СѠрафимѠ/сѠрафимѠ, АГѠ/агѠ, ВѠка/вѠка, ТѠца/тѠца, СѠнѠ/сѠнѠ, etc.; БжѠи/бжѠи, ДѠѠовѠ, ИсѠинѠ, ЯдѠамовѠ, ЯроновѠ, ЮдѠискѠ, еврейскѠ, etc.; ЈосифѠ, ЈаковѠ, еѠманѠилѠ, ПетрѠ, ЯдѠамѠ/адѠамѠ, etc.; ИзрѠаилѠтанѠинѠ, еврей, ЮдѠи/юдѠи, etc.; БѠвѠлонѠ, ИѠль, СѠионѠ/сѠионѠ, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The following discussion is based on the description of diacritical marks in Steensland (1997); *oksia* (15–19); *varia* (19–26); *kendema/superscript и* (34–40); *iso* (57–58); *velikij apostrof* (61–62); *titlo/pokrytie* (70–72); *kratkaia* (45–47); *horizontal spiritus* (54–55); *trema* (63–65); *psili* (50–52); *kamora* (26–33); *paerok* (68–70); *point* (65–67).

above any syllable within a single accentual unit with the exception of the final, which implies that it could be found above a final vowel of a word that stands before an enclitic.

In the Kievan Oktoikh, *oksia* appears more than 4400x above the non-final vowels а, ѡ, ю, њ, и/и, ы, ѣ, ѡ/о, е, e.g. нагрѡбѣ, пѣцѣю, много, начѡлнице, невидѣмыѡ, вопло//тѣтисѡ, вопѣше, неглѣнѣе, бысть, твоѣмѡ, слѡжатѣ, вышнѡго, лютыхѣ, чѣколѣбче. It is also regularly placed above final vowels of a word followed by an enclitic or reflexive particle, following thus the norm established by the *staropečatnaja sistema*, e.g. егѡже, еѡже, пригвоздѣсѡ, тыбо, емѡже, егдѡже, родѣсѡ, тѡбо. The use of double *oksia* within a single word is attested 13x: рѡдовѡхѡсѡ (5<sup>r</sup>:4), ѣдѣно//начѡлнѡго (6<sup>v</sup>:13–14), прелѣтныѣ (7<sup>r</sup>:9), Бѡродѣченѣ (7<sup>v</sup>:1), ѣдѣносѡщнѡсѡ (11<sup>r</sup>:6), ѣдѣноначѡлне (11<sup>r</sup>:10), зѡченѣши (12<sup>r</sup>:14), велѣ//чѡющыхѣ (12<sup>r</sup>:16–17), многѡдѣтѣи (27<sup>v</sup>:13), нѡпа//дѣмо (46<sup>v</sup>:8–9), Бѡродѣченѣ (51<sup>v</sup>:4). In only two instances *oksia* is placed word-finally where the words in question are not followed by an enclitic: прелѣтныѣ (fol. 7<sup>r</sup>:9), своѣ (fol. 42<sup>v</sup>:9).

### 2.1.2 *Varia* [ ` ]

In its standard form *varia* appears in the guise of reverse *oksia*. In the 1629 Oktoikh, it is rendered by a slightly different variant, having the form of a rather skewed, at times almost horizontal, line. *Varia*, like *oksia*, was one of the main diacritical marks of Polytonic Greek, which subsequently became part of the *staropečatnaja sistema*. Its usage in ESl accentuated texts began with the Čudovo New Testament 1355, although it is rarely encountered there. From the late 1630's one differentiates between use of *oksia* and *varia*: the former is placed above non-final syllables, whilst the latter above final open syllables. According to Smotryč'kyj (1619: Б/4<sup>r</sup>–4<sup>v</sup>) *varia* can be placed only above 'слогѣ кончаемый естествомъ дѡгѣи/ чистый: пакѡ, творѣи/ ѣи/ зѣлѡ/ ѡ/ оудивитѣное, чтѣи/ трѣи; и · прѡ · и двѡвремѣный чистый: пакѡ, лицѡ/ ѡ/творѣи/ ѡ/ несѡ : и прѡ '. In the *staropečatnaja sistema*, it was usually placed above the final vowel of the accentual unit, at times also above the final vowel of the word before the enclitic.

In the Kievan Oktoikh, *varia* is used more than 900x, in accordance with Smotryč'kyj's precept, above the final vowels: а, ѡ, ю, њ, и, ы, ѣ, о, е/е, e.g. грѣхѣ, дарѡвѡ, сѣсѣ, тебѣ, сѣгѡ, тогѡ, горѣ, тебѣ, приходѡ, носѡ, твоѡ, зѡвѡ. In an accentual unit comprising an autosemantic word and enclitic/proclitic, it is usual to find both elements accentuated, where *varia*, only sporadically *oksia*, is placed above the enclitic/proclitic, e.g. нѡ землѣи, нѡ

лѸтѢргїи, нà кáмени, нà кѸпарїсѣ, нà пѢвгѣ, нà сѢсѣнїе, зѢменѣ жѢ, лѢчшѢю жѢ, держáщаго жѢ, бѢгѸтѸчною жѢ, тебѢ бѸ, распáтїе бѸ, живѸтѣ бѸ. Word-medial use of *varia* is not attested.

### 2.1.3 *Kendema* and superscript и [ ̣ ]

*Kendema* appears to be related to another diacritic mark, namely *trema*: both through its name, as the Greek diacritic κεντεμα has the graphic form of a double point [ ̣ ], and its function, since *kendema* often replaced *trema*. The two diacritics in question may also be written in the same way.

The use of *kendema* in non-accentuated ESl manuscripts is observed from the 11<sup>th</sup> to the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century above the letters и and ѡ. In accentuated manuscripts, beginning with the Čudovo New Testament 1355, it is rarely encountered; from the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> until the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, it is attested above monosyllabic autosemantic words. From the 16<sup>th</sup> century *kendema* slowly falls into disuse. It had never been part of the *staropečatnaja sistema*, nor is it mentioned in Smotryč'kyj's grammar as one of the prosodic signs used in Church Slavonic.

In the 1629 Oktoikh, *kendema* is inconsistently used and encountered only 9x above *ižica* in words of foreign origin, e.g. мѸроносїца (3x), мѸроносáще (1x), мѸро (2x), ѿѸа (1x), ѣгѸпетскїа (1x), мѸѸсѣа (1x).<sup>1</sup> Generally speaking, a combination of *ižica* and *kendema* in loan words appears to be a staple occurrence in ESl texts, where this convention is also regularly observed in Smotryč'kyj's 1619 *Grammatiki*, *Ostrožskaja biblija*, *Mesjaceslov* (dating from the 16<sup>th</sup> century) and *Četveroevangelie* (dating from the 16<sup>th</sup> century) amongst others.

The use of a *kendema*-like mark, [ ̣ ], to denote a superscript и is attested in Russian manuscripts from the 16<sup>th</sup> century (with some examples already occurring in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, in *Efrosinovskij sbornik* and *Gennadievskaja biblija*). When replacing the letter и it functions either as a non-syllabic *ÿ* or syllabic *u*.

In the 1629 Oktoikh, the diacritic mark [ ̣ ] serves the same purpose. It is attested 41x in positions that are particularly common for other texts: (a) word-finally (specially after ѡ) 22x e.g. дарѢшї (4<sup>r</sup>:6), воскресї (5<sup>r</sup>:8), избавѢ (9<sup>r</sup>:3), сѡї (19<sup>r</sup>:4), рѢкáмї (20<sup>v</sup>:13), бѢжтвенѢй//шї (27<sup>v</sup>:14–15); (b) word-medially after a vowel 5x, e.g. прїде (15<sup>v</sup>:11), пѸте (36<sup>r</sup>:14), прѸде

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g. кѸпарїсѣ, ѿгнїѣ, мѸроносїцамѣ, лѸтѢргїи, впáкой, вѸръ.

(39<sup>v</sup>:18), мѡ (41<sup>r</sup>:1), нехѡдѡтѡственными (50<sup>v</sup>:7); (с) at line-break 14x, e.g. вѣѣ// (10<sup>r</sup>:17), премѣѣ//сѡ (19<sup>r</sup>:7–8), недвижѣ//мѡ (41<sup>r</sup>:8–9), твѡ// (48<sup>r</sup>:14).

#### 2.1.4 Iso [ ˘ ], [ ˘̄ ], [ ˘˘ ]

*Iso*, in what can be taken as its standard form, is a combination of two diacritic marks, namely *psili* and *oksia*. Other combinations are also attested, two of which are present in the 1629 Oktoikh, [ ˘̄ ] and [ ˘˘ ]. The former, *oksia* with a *horizontal spiritus*, is used with large letters И, І, Я, Й, Ё, О; the latter, a combination of *point* and *oksia*, occurs 3x in figures referring to the number of a gathering: ѐ́ р, ѐ́ д̄, ѣ́ д̄. In all other instances the standard form, [ ˘ ], is used.

*Iso* was not universally acknowledged as an independent mark so some, like Smotryc'kyj, simply regard it as a combination of *psili* and *oksia*. *Iso* was part of the *staropečatnaja sistema*. It is common in ESl manuscripts, but its usage word-initially was not established until the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

In the 1629 Oktoikh *iso* appears more than 400x above the initial vowels и , а, я, ё/ѳ, ю, ѡ/ѡ, and in a handful of examples is it placed word-medially (usually in prefixed or complex words): воѡбразилъ (6<sup>r</sup>:15), воѡбрази (33<sup>v</sup>:14), Бѣгоѡбразный Іѡсифъ (37<sup>r</sup>:4), Гоѡбразна (44<sup>v</sup>:13), Іѡковомъ (44<sup>v</sup>:14). As a rule, *iso* is not written together with other diacritic marks (cases with *trema*, *kratkaja*, *paerok* and *titlo/pokrytie* are not counted). The exceptions are few and far between, e.g. ѣли (1<sup>v</sup>:2), ѡнтифѡнъ (3x) (12<sup>v</sup>:4, 13<sup>r</sup>:2, 38<sup>r</sup>:13), ѐ́динъ (15<sup>v</sup>:8), ѡвѡвѡдъ (16<sup>r</sup>:4), ѡны (19<sup>r</sup>:3), ѡрѡгѡли (27<sup>v</sup>:11), ѡнѡнна (29<sup>r</sup>:1), воѡбрази (33<sup>v</sup>:14), as well as in the words ѡдѡмъ (5x) and ѡрѡсѡ (app. 30x). In headings it seems that *iso* can appear more than once within a single word, word-finally as well as word-medially, e.g. ѡѡлѡ постнѡвѡ ѡ глѡвизнѡ (1<sup>v</sup>:1), ѡѡѡло ѡѡтрѡнѡ (11<sup>v</sup>:6). Double *iso* is also present in the word ѡсифѡ (26<sup>v</sup>:13). The distribution of *iso* in the Kievan Oktoikh follows the general pattern observed in other texts, in which, as a rule, it was placed above initial vowels, seldom word-medially above open vowels, and only exceptionally in a word-final position.

#### 2.1.5 Velikij apostrof [ ˘̂ ]

Like *iso*, *velikij apostrof* is a combination of two diacritical marks, *psili* and *kamora*. It was part of the *staropečatnaja sistema*; on the other hand it is not listed as a separate diacritic



mark in Smotryc'kyj's *Grammatiki*. It becomes a common occurrence in manuscripts from the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

In the Kievan Oktoikh, *velikij apostrof* is attested 8x solely in combination with the interjection *o* (for examples see, 5.2.). Its shape, however, varies from example to example: *kamora*, in all examples, seems more like a *pokrytie*, whilst *psili* looks either like a *horizontal spiritus*, reversed letter *c* or superscript *s*. In one instance, *velikij apostrof* is entirely absent – ѿ чѢдеси новаго (31<sup>r</sup>:13), in ѿрекшихъ мнѣ (13<sup>r</sup>:3) only *psili* is present.

### 2.1.6 Titlo [˘ ]

*Titlo* has many different forms, but the one attested in the Kievan Oktoikh has its own name, namely *vzmet*. Its function is to indicate abbreviation, and it is primarily associated with *nomina sacra* and certain frequently used words. *Vzmet* is used more than 1000x above words where no superscript letters are present, whilst a combination of *vzmet* and superscript(s) is attested more than 80x, e.g. ѿче, очнѣ, бл҃гоуволи, совоскрси, бл҃годарствѣндо, б҃одѣтели, дѣствѣндо, бл҃гочтнѣ, трислнчнѣ, б҃олаво. *Vzmet* is also used with alphabetical numerals.

The following abbreviations are attested:

а҃гл-	ан҃гел-	м҃чнк-	м҃щеник-
б҃л҃г(о)-/б҃л҃ж-	благ(о)-/блаж-	н҃ш-	наш-
б҃г-/б҃з-	бог-/воз-	нѣ-/ нѣс-	неб-/ небес-
б҃е/б҃же	боже	н҃ѣ	нынѣ
б҃го	богородиченѣ	об҃ж-	обож-
б҃ц-	богородиц-	о҃ц-/ѿц-/ѿч-	от(е)ц-/отч-
б҃жї-	божї-	помл҃д-	помилд-
воскр҃с-	воскрес-	с҃т-	свѣт-
г҃л-	глагол-	с҃тъ-	свѣтител-
г҃-	господ-	с҃щен-/св҃щен-	свѣщен-
г҃н-	господн-	с҃мрт-	смерт-
д҃ѣд-	давид-	сл҃нц-	солнц-
д҃ѣ-	дѣв-	сп҃с-	спас-
д҃ѣц-/д҃ѣч-	дѣвиц-/дѣвич-	с҃н-	сын-
д҃ѣств-	дѣвств-	трисл҃нчн-	трисолнечн-
д҃н-	ден-	триб҃гтн-	трибогатн-

ДХ̄-/ДШ̄-/ДС̄-	ДХ-/ДШ-/ДС-	ОУЧНК-	ОУЧЕНИК-
ИӢ-	Израил-	Х̄-	ХРИСТОС-
Іс̄-	ІсѠс-	ХБ̄-	ХРИСТОВ-
КР̄ЩЕН-	КРЕЩЕН-	ЦР̄Ц-	ЦАРИЦ-
МР̄і-	Марі-	ЦР̄-	ЦЕСАР-
МТ̄р-/МТ̄-	МАТЕР-/МАТ-	ЦР̄К(О)В-	ЦЕРК(О)В-
МР̄ТВ-	МЕРТВ-	ЧЛ̄К-	ЧЕЛОВѢК-
МЛ̄ТВ-/МЛ̄Т-	МОЛИТВ-/МОЛИТ-	ЧЛ̄Ч-	ЧЕЛОВѢЧ-

There are several anomalous forms: ВГОРОДИЧЕНЪ (7<sup>v</sup>:1), БЛГОУТРОБИА (27<sup>r</sup>:5), НИѢ (23<sup>r</sup>:9), ГТАА (33<sup>r</sup>:5) where *vzmet* had been omitted; ТӢ (5<sup>v</sup>:12) where the *vzmet* is placed above the enclitic pronoun.

Uspenskij (2002: 314–315) observes that the custom of writing *nomina sacra* under a *titlo* had already been established in the period of the *second South Slavonic influence*, the origin of this practice ultimately harking back to the Greek language. Whereas prior to the *second South Slavonic influence*, there may not have been any significant semantic difference between full forms and abbreviated forms under a *titlo*, in its aftermath the *titlo* itself becomes a symbol of sacrality. Forms of the type ‘АГГЕЛЪ’ and ‘АГГЕЛЪ’ are no longer perceived as equivalent: whilst the former denotes a fallen angel, only the latter can refer to an attendant or messenger of God. This principle of semantic juxtaposition becomes an orthographic norm promptly assimilated into Church Slavonic and as such is codified in *Grammatiki* (1619: Б/8<sup>v</sup>): ‘ОУПОТРЕБЛЕМЪ ОБѢ [titlo and pokrytie] ѿ КАЛИГРАФЪ БЫВАЮ/ ѿ САМЫ ТОЧИЮ ИМЕНЕХЪ БОЖІИ, и БОЖІЕЙ ЧЕСТИ СЛДЖАЩИХ: ТАКЪ ГДЪ/ БГЪ/ ЦЦЪ/ ГНЪ/ ДХЪ С: ІС/ ХС/ ГПСЪ/ ДБА/ ЧТАА/ БЦА/ МРІА/ ЦРКОВЬ/ ЕВГЛІЕ, ГЛНЦЕ ПРВНОЕХС: и прѠ.’

From the list of abbreviations that appear under the *titlo*, it is clear that in the 1629 Oktoikh the concept of *titlo* as the marker of sacrality had been either ignored or, at the very least, applied without much regard for consistency as it is used in combination with both the sacred and the profane. Thus, we find that the words for the divine, such as *bogъ*, *děva*, *voskresenie* and *duxъ* appear side by side everyday, non-sacred words like *našъ*, *čelověkъ* and *tribogatyi*. In this connexion it is interesting to note that an expression such as ВЖЕ БГѠА (47<sup>r</sup>:4) is possible, where both ‘God’ and ‘pagan deities’ appear abbreviated and under a *titlo*.

### 2.1.7 Pokrytie [ ̂ ]

*Pokrytie* is generally regarded as a variant of *titlo* and is written above certain superscript letters, where the choice of letters varies from one historical period to another. In the Kievan Oktoikh, *pokrytie* is used with the following consonant letters:

- (1) в (25x), e.g. видѣ, родѣшемдсѣ, дрѣнна, видѣше, сохрани, ѡггѣдѣ, протѣныѣ, ѡбнѣлше, прѣдѣ, сокрѣшышаго;
- (2) г (21x), e.g. ѣдинствѣнна, трислѣчна, бѣ, сопрестолна, ѣтлскаѣ;
- (3) к (3x), e.g. ѡже (9<sup>v</sup>:10), тѣмо (19<sup>v</sup>:18), напоследѣдѣ (42<sup>v</sup>:2);
- (4) л (28x), e.g. безначѣное, всесѣне, ѡбѣксѣ, родитѣница, ѡбновѣ, ѡцмѣртвѣ, пѣвѣсѣ, сѣдѣ, совоскрѣсѣ, сѣ;
- (5) н (69x), e.g. ѣдѣ, неизречѣш, прегрѣшѣми, дѣствѣндю, ѡцрѣаше, ѣдинствѣный, свѣствѣныѣ, первоздѣнаго, блѣгодарствѣндю, неизречѣныѣ;
- (6) о (35x), e.g. трѣца, прѣркѣ, прѣрѣскими;
- (7) п (2x), e.g. трѣ (11<sup>v</sup>:7, 37<sup>r</sup>:2);
- (8) р (8x), e.g. ѡцмѣтвѣ (3<sup>v</sup>:12–13), мѣтвѣхѣ (3<sup>v</sup>:15–16), тѣѣ (25<sup>r</sup>:1), мѣтвѣхѣ (31<sup>r</sup>:5–6), ѣсчѣпѣемдю (32<sup>r</sup>:1), тѣѣ (32<sup>v</sup>:18), мѣѣ (34<sup>r</sup>:2), тѣѣдыни (46<sup>v</sup>:11–12);
- (9) с (< 500x), e.g. гѣди, воскрѣшемд, крѣтѣ, воскрѣнѣе, нѣндю, црѣтвѣе, ѡплѣмѣ, мѣтѣ, рѣтѣ, ѣстѣтво, ѡцмѣрдисѣ, нѣ, соѣстѣвѣнный;
- (10) ц (1x), e.g. чѣколюѣѣ (4<sup>r</sup>:6);
- (11) ч (1x), e.g. трѣѣ (46<sup>v</sup>:14);
- (12) ш (1x), e.g. прѣвѣше (41<sup>v</sup>:3);
- (13) щ (1x), e.g. воплѣсѣ (40<sup>v</sup>:16).

In addition, the consonant letters д, ж, з, м, т, х, the diagraph ѡ, the vowel letter ѡ, and the consonant group ст appear as superscripts without *pokrytie*:<sup>1</sup>

- (1) д (104x), e.g. вѣдѣ, рѣжшѣдю, мѣрѣ, прѣвѣныхѣ, вѣдѣти, срѣчныма, вѣчествѣдѣши, посрѣствѣѣ, прѣстѣтелницѣ, прѣстоѣтѣ;
- (2) ж (33x), e.g. зѣйдѣтелѣ, свѣбѣдшѣмд, надѣдѣдѣ, рѣдѣши, тѣѣ, стрѣдѣѣ, насладѣнѣе, ѣгѣ, прѣдѣ, пригѣвѣдѣсѣ;

<sup>1</sup> For examples of *superscript* и see, 2.1.3.

- (3) з (67x), e.g. вѣдѣ, пригвѣди, ѿбави, вѣведи, вѣдвигнѣвий, бѣ, провѣлашаше, оуѣвѣихомсѧ, ѿ, жѣнодавецѣ;
- (4) м (69x), e.g. воспрѣше, рождество, тѣ, слави, Серафѣски, ѿбавихомсѧ, припадѣе, поѣ, превозносѣ, прѣйшѣю;
- (5) т (35x), e.g. поѣсѧ, славѧ, достѣи, принѣси, бывѣе, восхѣди, слави, веселѣсѧ, прѣлѣе, рыдѣе;
- (6) х (46x), e.g. зовѣщи, возывѣющи, вопѣющи, наши, всѧческѣ, стѣ, послѣживши, воспѣвѣющи, вѣдрѣе, жени;
- (7) ѿ (170x), e.g. ѿправовали, ѿ, ѿче, ѿнодѣже, ѿверзе, ѿтчаѣниѧ, ѿдѣлилъ, ѿрѣшивъ, ѿстѣплѧ, бѣѿѿскаго;
- (8) ѧ (8x), e.g. поѣцѧ (8<sup>v</sup>:15), мѣчѣнѣ (9<sup>r</sup>:12), превѣгѧ (9<sup>r</sup>:15–16), плѣцѣ (14<sup>r</sup>:7), всѧкѧ (18<sup>v</sup>:1), ѿтѧ (18<sup>v</sup>:17), смѣртнѣ (30<sup>r</sup>:9), оуѣдивѣшаѣ (40<sup>r</sup>:15);
- (9) ст (12x), e.g. рѧдѣтѣнѣю (14<sup>r</sup>:16), нѣт (18<sup>v</sup>:5), ѣстѣтѣвѣ (19<sup>r</sup>:6), поѣтѣ (19<sup>r</sup>:8), ѣстѣтѣво (19<sup>v</sup>:11), рѧдѣтѣ (19<sup>v</sup>:18), лѣтѣцѧ (22<sup>r</sup>:12–13), вѣтѣ (25<sup>v</sup>:7), свѣтлѣтѣ (34<sup>v</sup>:7), напѣтѣми (38<sup>r</sup>:15–16), Пришѣтѣвовѣвѣ (40<sup>v</sup>:15), дрѣхлѣтѣ (42<sup>r</sup>:1).

Instances where more than one superscript letter is present within a single word are also common: вѣтѣвѣий, рѧномѣщѣе, ѿтѧ, вѣтѣвѣннѣ ѣстѣтѣвѣ, вѣначѧна, нейрѣчѣе, etc. There are two anomalous forms, most probably errata: смѣрти (30<sup>v</sup>:10) most likely a misprint for ‘смѣрти’, and the *pokrytie* is missing in the following word ‘Гѧтѣ’ (4<sup>v</sup>:7).

One of the main functions of superscripts is to allow the scribe or the editor of a printed text to shorten words and, in doing so, adjust the length of a line. With regard to the 17<sup>th</sup> century cursive writing and use of the superscript letters Pennington (1980: 196) writes that ‘[these] offer great scope for ornamental flourishes, but they are also functional, since they often take less space, often replace more than one letter, and also help to give words easily recognisable profiles’, an observation equally applicable to superscripts in printed texts. Most of the superscript letters in the 1629 Oktoikh differ little in graphic expression from their counterparts occurring in the line, with the exception of в, д, ж, з, т, х, and ѧ.

Words in which superscripts occur, with or without a *pokrytie*, can be roughly divided in two categories. In the first category supralinear letters are used in combination with an abbreviated word, having thus the same function as the *titlo*. In the second category supralinear letters appear either above unabbreviated words or above partially abbreviated words where the supralinear letter represents a combination of jer/full vowel + consonant.

### Category I: Partly abbreviated/unabbreviated words with superscript letters

The first category is further divided into two subcategories – superscripts appearing word-finally and superscripts appearing word-medially – in order to provide a more lucid exposition. For a discussion and examples of superscripts which are attested at line-break see, 2.0.2.

#### Category Ia: Supralinear letters occurring word-finally

A supralinear letter in word-final position is usually a consonant, very occasionally a vowel, e.g. *пребл̑г̑а, всл̑к̑а, оудивіш̑аѣ, ч̑та̑, ч̑вств̑о, вид̑ѣ, гл̑а, н̑а, т̑ѣ, їрм̑о, сл̑ав̑а, припад̑аѣ, н̑аш̑и, всл̑аческ̑и, б̑год̑ѣтел̑ны, дост̑оїт̑, под̑а̑т̑, рад̑о̑т̑, об̑нов̑и̑, жен̑и, бы̑т̑, сі̑л̑ні̑ѣ*. Most of the word-final consonant superscripts are a combination of consonant + jer (since all words in text ending in a consonant, where all letters are written in the line, are followed by a jer). In other instances they represent consonant + full vowel, e.g. *ѣг̑ѣ (= егѣже), сл̑а̑ (= слава), ѣдинств̑ѣн̑н̑а (= единственнаго), трисл̑н̑ч̑н̑а (= трислнчнаго), вс̑д̑б̑ѣ (= въ сдботѣ)*.

When an autosemantic word coalesces with an ensuing enclitic or the reflexive particle, the last letter of the word is sporadically written as a superscript, e.g. *избави̑х̑с̑а, по̑ѣс̑а, весел̑а̑с̑а, ѣд̑а̑же, т̑ѣ̑же, г̑в̑ис̑а, н̑а̑же, вопл̑а̑с̑а, преклон̑а̑ют̑ис̑а, б̑вор̑а̑ѣс̑а, рад̑ю̑с̑а*. The opposite is true when a proclitic coalesces with a following autosemantic word – in such instances, it is the final letter of the enclitic that is written as a superscript. As in the case of enclitics, examples are rare, e.g. *б̑с̑ѣ̑мени, ѣгр̑оба, б̑ѣ̑ца, по̑сл̑н̑цем̑ъ, ѣо̑ѣ̑т̑р̑обы, б̑ѣ̑ст̑л̑н̑і̑а*.

#### Category Ib: Supralinear letters occurring word-medially

Word-medially superscripts are attested in the following positions:

(1) at the end of a prefix, in particular with the prefixes *voz-*, *iz-* and *bez-*, e.g. *в̑вед̑и̑, ѣб̑ави̑, пр̑ѣст̑а̑тел̑ниц̑а, в̑д̑ви̑же, б̑нев̑ѣст̑на̑а, в̑д̑ви̑//гн̑д̑вы̑и, пров̑д̑глаш̑а̑ше, б̑ѣст̑ра̑ст̑ѣ, б̑ѣст̑ра̑ст̑і̑ѣ, б̑ѣна̑ч̑а̑на, ѣѣр̑еч̑ен̑ѣ, пр̑ѣст̑о̑л̑т̑, б̑с̑ѣ̑мен̑ом̑о, в̑д̑ви̑ша̑го, в̑ѣ̑ца̑ѣѣт̑, р̑ас̑м̑от̑р̑а̑ем̑ъ, пр̑ев̑о̑нос̑им̑ы, ѣпр̑ѣв̑арит̑ъ, ѣв̑ед̑ѣ, по̑л̑т̑ъ, р̑а̑ши̑ри̑;*

(2) in a group of two or more consonants, in which the initial consonant or the consonant cluster is a superscript, e.g. *пр̑и̑ш̑ѣ̑т̑ в̑ова̑ѣ, о̑ѣ̑пр̑а̑д̑н̑ил̑ъ, в̑ѣ̑ѣ, со̑д̑а̑ні̑ѣ, м̑ѣ̑т̑в̑ых̑ъ, о̑ѣ̑вл̑ѣн̑ъ, п̑ѣ̑н̑ми, по̑с̑р̑ѣст̑в̑і̑а, об̑в̑ок̑а, к̑о̑д̑а̑к̑ъ, т̑ѣ̑мо, ж̑и̑но̑дав̑ец̑и, ж̑и̑нь, ч̑и̑т̑ъ, со̑д̑а̑ѣ, ст̑р̑а̑т̑ѣ, х̑а̑д̑ѣа, по̑п̑о̑з̑ше̑с̑а;*

(3) within a root or at the boundary between a root and suffix/desinence of words showing the reflex of the sequence \*dj, where either *d* or *ž* can appear as superscripts, e.g. рѡѣшѣю, зидѣтелѡ, свѡбѡдшемѡ, надѣдѡ, рѡдши, рѡдѣетсѡ, стрѡда, заблѡдшее, наслѡдѣнїе, прѣде, надѣдею, свѡбѡдаема, дѡдѣ, ѡсѡжѣнѣ, снисхѡденїе, прохладѣюци;

(4) between a root and a suffix/desinence where the final letter in the root is written as a superscript (it is particularly prevalent in words containing the suffix -ьн- and before the past part. act. suffix -ѣс-), e.g. во//спрїѣше, безначѡное, ѡбрѡно, Герафѣски, прегрѣшѣми, ѡѣрѣше, прїишѣю, прѡтѣныѡ, родитѣница, воспрїѣше, пѡшемѡ, прѡдѣ, всесїна, блѡднаго, безакѡми, напѡтми, перевозѡнаго, пришеши, неѡна, слѡное;

(4a) sporadically the initial letter of the past part. act. suffix -vŭs- is rendered as a superscript, e.g. родѣшемѡсѡ, видѣше, воплотѣшагѡсѡ, сокрѡшѣшаго, пожѣша;

(4b) in adverbs, adjectives and adjectivised participles that have acquired an extra suffix -ьн- in which the initial *n* appears as a superscript, e.g. бѣтѣный, неизрѣченѡе, нескѡзнѡ, пригвождѣна, неизрѣченѡ, сѡщестѣныѡ, блѡгодарствѣнѣю, непѡстѡнѣный, непрѣстѡно, бѣѡвлѣно, неѡщестѣныѡ, трисїѡнаго, ѡѣмерщѣенѡе, ѡковѣныѡ, пригвождѣна.

We should bear in mind that the superscript letters occurring word-medially most probably do not represent a combination of consonant + jer, where such a sequence would normally be attested in the root/at the morpheme boundary in OCS. Unlike those appearing word-finally, the word-medial jers, in our text, are rarely attested in fully written out words, that is to say, in words containing no supralinear letters. A possible exception might constitute superscripts occurring at the end of a prefix since in association with prefixes *paerok* is attested quite regularly.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Other instances where the *paerok* occurs word-medially, not counting those at line-break, are exiguous.

Category II: Abbreviated words with superscript letters

The following abbreviations are attested in the 1629 Oktoikh:

АГГЛК-	АНГЕЛСК-	МЛАНЦ-	МЛАДЕНЕЦ-
АПЛ-	АПОСТОЛ-	МР-	МДДР-
БЛГТ-	БЛАГОДАТ-	НБ-	НЕБЕС-
БЛГТА-	БЛАГОДАТЕЛ-	НБ-	НЕДЕЛ-
БЛГВ-	БЛАГОСЛОВ-	ПО	ПОДОБЕНЪ
БЛГТ-	БЛАГОСТ-	ПРВ-	ПРАВЕДН-
БО-	БОГОРОДИЧЕНЪ-	ПРЕПРБ	ПРЕПРОСЛАВЕНЪ
БЖТВ-	БОЖЕСТВ-	ПРЧТ-	ПРЕЧИСТ-
ВЛК-	ВЛАДИК-	ПРТ(О)Л-	ПРЕСТОЛ-
ВЛЧЕСТВ-	ВЛАДИЧЕСТВ-	ПРТ-	ПРЕСВАТ-
ВЛЦ-	ВЛАДИЦИЦ-	ПРНО-	ПРИСНО-
ВЛЧН-	ВЛАДИЧН-	ПРРК-/ПРРЧЕСК-	ПРОРОК-/ПРОРОЧЕСК-
ВОСКР(Е)-	ВОСКРЕС(Е)-	Р(О)ЖТВ-	РОЖДЕСТВ-
ВОСКР(Е)Н-	ВОСКРЕСЕН-	СРЦ-/СРЧ-	СЕРДЕЦ-/СЕРДЕЧ-
ГД-	ГОСПОД-	СПЛЪ	СПАСЛЪ
ГН-/ГД-	ГОСПОДН-	СЪДА/СЪ	СЪДАЛЕНЪ
ГПДО-	ГОСПОДО-	СТР-	СТИХИР-
ГДТВ-	ГОСПОДСТВ-	СТРТ-	СТРАСТ-
ДВ-	ДАВИДОВ-	ТБ	ТОЙЖЕ
ДВВ-	ДВВСТВ-	ТРЦ-	ТРОИЦ-
ЕВЛ-	ЕВАНГЕЛ-	ТРОИ	ТРОЙЧЕНЪ
ЕСТТВ-	ЕСТЕСТВ-	ТРБ	ТРОПАРЪ
КАТАВА	КАТАВАСІА	ХРТ-	ХРИСТ-
КΩ	КОНДАКЪ	ЦРТВ-	ЦАРСТВ-
КРТ-	КРЕСТ-	ЧТН-	ЧЕСТН-
КРТОВБ	КРЕСТОВОСКРЕСЕНЪ	ЧТЬ	ЧЕСТЬ
МЛТ-	МИЛОСТ-	ЧТ-	ЧИСТ-
МЛРД-	МИЛОСЕРД-		

Although an overwhelming majority of abbreviations used in combination with *pokrytie* are words embodying the notion of sacrality, there is still some inconsistency in usage, the most notable being with the word *strastъ*. Curiously, *strastъ* may be written with or without

*pokrytie* and a superscript *s* irrespective of whether it denotes the Passion of Christ or simply ignoble human impulses. Compare, for instance the following sentences, ГТР̄ТІЮ ТВОЕЮ Х̄Е, ѿ СТРАСТЕЙ СВОБОДИ//ХОМЪСА (4<sup>v</sup>:8–9) or и СТРАШНА БѢСѠМЪ МЛА ПОКА//ЖИ и СТРАСТЕМЪ. (9<sup>v</sup>:12–13), with what could be seen as sacrilegious, нѠ и ННѢ СТР̄ТЕЙ МЛА ИБАВИ М8ЧЕНІ (9<sup>f</sup>:12) and и//СТРАСТІЮ БѢСТРАСТІЕ ПРИЕЛѢ (19<sup>f</sup>:11–12).

### 2.1.8 *Kratkaja, slitnaja, brevis* [ ˇ ]

The diacritical mark [ ˇ ] denoted originally three separate signs. It was (a) a sign of *ictus* (*perevernutaja kamora*) based on the form of *iso* used in *skoropis'*; (b) a sign for *shortness* (*kratkaja*); (c) a variant of *psili* or *dasia*. The practice of writing *kratkaja* above и was also part of the *staropečatnaja sistema*. It is listed in Smotryč'kyj's (1619: Б/6<sup>v</sup>–7<sup>f</sup>) grammar as one of the prosodic marks of Church Slavonic: ГЛИТНОЮ СЛИВАЕТСА : ПАКЪ, МОЙ /МАЙ / МЛОУСІЙ/ ЗМІЙ, и прѠ . ... ГЛИТНЮ ВСА СЛОГѠВЪ МѢСТА ПРИЕЛЮТ : ПАКЪ, ЧѢСТНЫЙ / ЧЕСТНѢЙШІЙ : и прѠ.

*Kratkaja* was primarily used in manuscripts dating from the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. Its use in the function of *psili* or *dasia* stopped in the 16<sup>th</sup> century owing to its multiple functions. In the 1629 Oktoikh *kratkaja* is exclusively and regularly used above the vowel letter и in the function of a non-syllabic *ŷ* (for examples and further discussion see, 2.2.7).

### 2.1.9 *Horizontal spiritus* [ ˆ ]

*Horizontal spiritus*, in addition to the standard form [ ˆ ], which differs from that of *kamora* in that it is narrower and less thickly defined, may be written as a form intermediate between a standard (*vertical*) *psili* and a *horizontal spiritus*. As such it is attested 1x in combination with the *velikij apostrof*, Ѡ̄ НЕПОСТЫЖИМАА (10<sup>v</sup>:8–9). Both *horizontal spiritus* and its intermediate variant may be seen as alternative graphic forms of *psili*. As a rule, *horizontal spiritus* is placed above open vowels, especially above broad letters such as Ѡ, ѡ, ѣ, ѡ (use above closed vowels is attested but rare). In the Kievan Oktoikh, in its standard form, it is placed 7x above open vowels: ІСАИНО (5<sup>f</sup>:16), ІЮДЕЙ (5<sup>v</sup>:8), ІИЗРАИЛЬТАНОМЪ (13<sup>v</sup>:1), ІЮДЕЙСТІИ (20<sup>v</sup>:11), ІАКОВЪ (21<sup>f</sup>:3), ІИЛЕВЫ (21<sup>v</sup>:1), ІСЕ (47<sup>f</sup>:6). As a part of the *velikij apostrof* above the interjection *o* it occurs 4x (5<sup>f</sup>:15, 5<sup>v</sup>:2, 17<sup>v</sup>:12, 23<sup>f</sup>:11); above alphabetical numerals referring to gatherings 3x: І, І Ꙗ, І Ѡ; above closed vowels 3x: ІНТИФОНЪ (37<sup>v</sup>:13), Ірмѡсъ (41<sup>v</sup>:1, 45<sup>v</sup>:6); and 1x above the preposition *o*: ѠПОДОБИ (35<sup>v</sup>:7).



### 2.1.10 Trema [ ̣ ]

*Trema* is encountered in manuscripts from various epochs. It is found in the *staropečatnaja sistema* in combination with the vowel letter *ı*. In many manuscripts *trema* was, as a rule, placed above the vowel letter *ı*, but the practice of placing the complex grapheme *ĩ* before vowels is regarded as emblematic of the *second South Slavonic influence*.

In the 1629 Oktoikh, the grapheme *ĩ* is encountered almost exclusively in pre-vocalic position, as well as before the non-syllabic *ı̣*, e.g. **тpиcї́лннѡе, пpї́дѣтѣ, вѡплѡцѣніе, бѣ́гслѡбіа, вѡпї́юцими, пѣрвїе, ѡсвѣ́шенїи, хѡтѣ́нїа, бжїе, ѡ́заренїе, смїрѣ́нїю, лѡвѡбію**. Exceptions are rare and can be divided into the following categories: (a) *ĩ* is sporadically encountered in words ‘**мїрѣ́**’ and ‘**ѣдїнѣ́**’ (as well as in complex words formed thereof), e.g. **вѡмї́рѣ́, вcемї́рнѣ́ю, ѣ́дїно, ѣ́дїноначалнѡе, ѣ́дїнїце, ѣ́дїновлáстнѣ**; (b) *trema* is omitted where the vowel letter *ı* is surmounted by another diacritical mark (here by *oksa*), e.g. **вѡзѡпї́емѣ́, сїа́, свѣ́рѣ́пїющї́, пpї́дѣши, сїе́**; (c) *9x и* is used instead, i.e. **кїе́вѣ́ (1<sup>r</sup>:7), вѡпїю́ща (5<sup>r</sup>:8), вѡтpїе́х (6<sup>r</sup>:17), пpевѣ́лїе (10<sup>r</sup>:11), вѡпїю́щїмѣ́ (23<sup>v</sup>:2–3), вѡсїа́вшаго (26<sup>v</sup>:12), вѡсїа́лѣ́ (25<sup>r</sup>:16), сїа́нїю́ (25<sup>r</sup>:17), дрѣ́внїи (32<sup>r</sup>:15)**; (c) once in a foreign word where, in accordance with the orthographic conventions of our text, *kendema* instead of *trema* and *ižica* would have been expected,<sup>1</sup> i.e. **мї́роносї́ца (19<sup>v</sup>:16)**; (d) miscellaneous above *ı* e.g. **ѡ́дївлáшесѡ, свѣ́щнї́че, бѣ́гѡрдї́ченѣ́, вѡпї́ющї́хѣ́, мнѡ́гїми**.

### 2.1.11 Psili, spiritus lenis, tonkaja [ ˊ ]

*Psili* is one of the diacritical marks of the Polytonic Greek and it was included in the *staropečatnaja sistema*. It is attested in manuscripts at various times, but it is only from the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century that its use is circumscribed to mark aspiration or as a variant of *iso* to indicate stress. In general, *psili* is placed above open vowels. In the *staropečatnaja sistema* it is normally used above initial vowels, not so often above medial, and rarely above final. According to Smotryč’kyj (1619: Б/6<sup>r</sup>) *psili* should be placed ‘**вначалѣ́ реченїи́ вѣ́ѣ ѡ гласнагѡ начинаемѣ́ славенскї́, и нѣ́коїхѣ́ греческїхѣ́ и латїнскїхѣ́: пакѡ, ѣ́внѡѣ́/ѡ́гнїцї́/ѡ́двєна́**’.

In accordance with both Smotryč’kyj and the *staropečatnaja sistema*, *psili* is attested more than 1000x above the initial vowels *а*, *е/є*, *и*, *о/ѡ*, *ѡѣ*, *ѡ*, e.g. **ї́лї, ѡ́бвї́чаемѣ́,**

<sup>1</sup> The form in question may be explained by the fact that *trema* in combination with *ižica* in loan words is an attested phenomenon, bearing also in mind that *trema* and *kendema* are closely related.

исповѣданіи, абы, избавлей, егò, еманѣилъ, оутверди, оумири, имѣше, источникъ, испросите, явленъ, адамъ, обновленіе. Instances where *psili* occurs medially are common (these are, as a rule, complex or prefixed words), e.g. блгоутробнаго, наоучи, непалима, братоубійственною, бгоубійцамъ, превраздѣми, вообразилъ, неискснаа, неизчетндю, неизреченномъ, боиноа, неичетей, соестетвеннымъ, фараонит//скаа. It never occurs word-finally.

### 2.1.12 *Kamora*, *circumfelx*, *oblečenaja* [ ^ ]

*Kamora* is one of the three fundamental diacritical marks used in Greek. It was a part of the *staropečatnaja sistema*. Use of *kamora* is attested in manuscripts dating from the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. It also appears in the Čudovo New Testament 1355 as well as later manuscripts, but it fell into disuse in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. According to Smotryč'kyj (1619: Б/4<sup>v</sup>–5<sup>v</sup>) *kamora* can occur in two places. First, above a penultimate long syllable before the short final one: 'Прекончаемый слогъ естество дѣгій/и/ы/и ѣтѣ состоацій, кончаемый естествомъ картѣ ... облачѣса : пакъ дѣво' сыне/ сѣло /свѣте / творите'. Second, above final long syllables ending in -ь: 'Реченіа едносложна и многосложна на кончаемѣ естество дѣгѣ оудареніе приелюцаа' ѣ утонченаа облачѣса : пакъ, сѣнь ... пѣтъ/ рѣкоатъ'.

In the Kievan Oktoikh, however, *kamora* appears 174x almost exclusively above final vowels in monosyllabic words whose structure is of the type CV and CCV, e.g. нѣ, тѣ, мѣ, вѣ, тѣ, ты, мѣ, вѣ, нѣ, сѣ, вѣ, всѣ, тлѣ, трѣ, всю, вѣе, всѣ. This practice is also attested in many other Russian manuscripts and also in those of East Bulgarian origin. The sole exceptions in the 1629 Oktoikh are two polysyllabic words *слѣво//словлѣ* (26<sup>f</sup>:4–5) and *тебѣ* (40<sup>v</sup>:10). The former form may be explained by the fact that in some manuscripts *kamora* was used above long open syllables. The vowels that were considered long varies from text to text, so that in the Čudovo New Testament *kamora* is frequently written above the letters оу, у, ѡ, whereas in the *Prolog* 1581 above ж, ѡ, ю. It is therefore possible that the final ю in *слѣвословлѣ* was perceived as long. The latter form is harder to explain although it has been pointed out that in some manuscripts, amongst them the Čudovo New Testament, the use of *kamora* is extended to include the final vowels, i.e. it is used instead of *varia*. Indeed the pronoun *тебе*, apart from a few exceptions where no diacritical mark is present, is consistently written with *varia* above the final vowel. (The particles *но* and *во* as well as the pronouns *ти*, *ми*, *си*, *ты*, *тѣ*, *мѣ*, *всѣ*, *всю*, *вси*, and the noun *тлѣ* are also written with *varia*.)

### 2.1.13 Paerok [ ˘ ], [ ˙ ]

Smotryc'kyj (1619: Б/5<sup>v</sup>–6<sup>r</sup>) uses three different signs to represent *paerok*: ерикъ, паеркъ and магкѡ. *Paerk* and *erik* are placed word-finally instead of ѡ and ѣ respectively, whereas *majhkaja*, above 'soft' consonants following a vowel. These rules are, however, generally ignored and *paerok* is usually placed between two consonants (or alternatively above one of them), less often after a vowel word-finally, in place of ѡ or ѣ. The custom of placing *paerok* above consonant clusters where etymologically neither *er* or *erъ* were present is also attested.

In the 1629 Oktoikh only *paerok* [ ˘ ] is attested and it occurs approximately 400x: word-medially, above one of the consonants in the cluster app. 100x, and word-finally, only after consonants, in place of the jers app. 300x, e.g. црѣкѣю, ѣ, нѡмъ, воспѡемъ, вкѡси, оуѡмъ//нымъ, ѡвѡша//госѡ, ѡстѡваго, тѡинство, ѡзваѡмъ//, ѡнѡши//те, богѡтство.

A different graphic variant, namely [ ˙ ], is used 5x: ѡѡбы (7<sup>v</sup>:5), ѡтѡждествѣ (8<sup>v</sup>:14), дѡѡмъ (9<sup>r</sup>:16), бѡжтѡвѣѡмъ//нымъ (9<sup>v</sup>:17–18), ѡвѡшагосѡ (11<sup>v</sup>:11). This variant is attested in some of the oldest extant manuscripts, such as *Mstislav's Evangelary*, but it only becomes prevalent at a much later stage.

Word-medially *paerok* may represent redundant or etymologically unjustified jers, the former being especially prevalent in complex words beginning with prefixes без- and воз-, e.g. разбѡйничее, нейзгѡланно, возвѣстѡилъ, возсы//лѡемъ, возвѣѡлъ, безневѣстнаѡ, беззакѡнѡй , безплѡтнымъ, ѡмманѡилъ. In about 50% of the cases *paerok* is used in combination with the prefixes *ob-*, *iz-*, *s-*, *pod-*, *bez-*, *raz-*, *voz-* and *v-*, approximately 20% within the root or at the morpheme boundary, and finally around 30% of attested instances are present at line-break. (For discussion and examples of *paerok* both medially and finally at line-break see 2.0.2.)

### 2.1.14 Point [ ˙ ]

As a diacritical mark *point* is attested at various times in history, although it was far more common in early than later writings. It was never part of the *staropečatnaja sistema*, nor is it mentioned by Smotryc'kyj. *Point* is normally written above open vowels, rarely above closed ones (these are usually either complex graphemes or were perceived as such). In the



When considering the question of inextricability between orthography, on the one hand, and morphology/lexical meaning, it is important to bear in mind the adoption of the *antistoechum* principle by Slavia Orthodoxa and its application to Church Slavonic. The impetus behind the antistoechum principle was the *second South Slavonic influence* whose principle goal was the revision and consequent creation of a Church Slavonic modelled closely on the pattern of Greek.

What, then, is *antistoechum*? Uspenskij (2002: 325) writes that in the Byzantine period the Greek orthographic norm was based on etymology, in other words, etymological differences that were no longer realised phonetically were preserved in spelling. In practice this meant that special attention was paid to the orthography of homonyms, of those words with identical pronunciation but different spelling – word lists of homonymic pairs, i.e. antistoecha (Gk ἀντιστοιχόν, lit. ‘opposition’), were devised and learnt using a mnemonic technique.

This principle, first espoused by South Slavonic literary tradition, and from which it was introduced into the East Slavonic, acquires a different expression once transposed into and adapted to Church Slavonic. As Church Slavonic is by and large phonetic in character the ‘opposition’ between homonymic linguistic elements becomes merely functional, unlike in Greek where it is rooted in etymological considerations. If in Greek pairs of the type χεῖρα ‘hand’ (nom. sg.) – χήρα ‘widow’ came about as a result of phonological development where the spelling reflects older pronunciation, in the Slavonic literary tradition such differentiation is purely artificial as it is based on differentiation of homonyms (Uspenskij 2002: 325).

Konstantin the Grammarian’s work *ГКАЗАНІЕ ИЗЪЯВЛЕННО Ѡ ПИСМЕНЕХ* is, for example, a grammatical tract devoted to the problem of ‘opposition’ between homonymic elements. The following is a summary of some of these ‘oppositions’: (1) ѡ : и, ї to distinguish between nom./acc. pl. (пѣрци : пѣрки), and nom. sg./pl. in adjectives, confusion of which may result in the Nestorian heresy as in *ѡДИНОРОДНИИ СЫ СѢНЬ* (being the only-begotten one) and *ѡДИНОРОДНИИ СИ* (the only-begotten ones); (2) ѡ : и to separate between мѡрѡно (pertaining to ‘myrrh’) and мѡрѡно (‘peacefully’, ‘calmly’); (3) ю : ѡ to separate between \*ї-stem and \*ѡ-stem dat. sg., e.g. поѡтѡ (‘road’): поѡтѡѡ (‘cord’), and юже (‘already’) and ѡже (‘cord’); (4) ѡ : ѡ to differentiate between pl./sg. and masc./fem., etc. (Worth 1983: 24–25). It is clear that for Kostenečĭkij different graphic variants of the same letter may themselves function as the bearers of lexical meaning or morphological markers, where the confusion between

them may lead to the confusion and change in meaning of the linguistic item in question. He espouses the view that there is a necessary and causal connexion between a word's graphic representation and the extralinguistic entity it denotes, where any change in orthography may lead to a shift in meaning.<sup>1</sup>

We should note, however, that the revision of Church Slavonic, in particular the application of the antistoechum principle, was not meant to encompass the whole language but only to be applied when ambiguity, engendered by homonymy, could give rise to blasphemy or heresy. By the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the danger of heresy, posed by the confusion of homophonous linguistic elements, was absent from theological debate – the principle of antistoechum was nevertheless preserved, having now only orthographic significance (Mathiesen 1972: 61–62). With this in mind, it is of interest, in the present analysis of the 1629 Oktoikh, to investigate how rigidly the editors at Sobol's press adhered to this principle, especially in relation to the rules for distribution of allographs outlined in Smotryc'kyj's grammar.

### 2.2.3 Spelling of Greek words: distribution of $\nu$ , $\omega$ , $\rho$ , $\xi$ , $\psi$

With the *second South Slavonic influence* there is a revival in use of the letters  $\psi$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\omega$ ,  $\rho$ ,  $\xi$ , which were initially introduced into Church Slavonic to render Hellenisms but had by the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century nearly become obsolete. As one of the main precepts of the *second South Slavonic influence* was a thoroughgoing Hellenisation of Church Slavonic, bringing the orthography of Greek loanwords into line with the original Greek spelling was seen as no less urgent (Uspenskij 2002: 304–305). Indeed, the same idea is repeated in Smotryc'kyj's (1619: Б/2<sup>1</sup>) grammar in which according to the fifth rule of orthography 'во Греческѣй реченіи орфографіи Греческой / в Латинскѣй Латинстей хранимѣи быти : и во Еврейскѣй Еврейстей · пакъ, Даниїл / Михаилъ / Мартинъ / Філодей'.

In the Kievan Oktoikh, Greek loans may fully reflect the original spelling, e.g.  $\mu\upsilon\rho\omicron$ - (Gk  $\mu\rho\omicron\nu$ ),  $\chi\epsilon\rho\delta\upsilon\upsilon\mu$ - (Gk  $\chi\epsilon\rho\upsilon\beta\iota\mu$ ),  $\alpha\gamma\gamma\lambda$ - (Gk  $\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ),  $\sigma\omega\eta\eta$  (Gk  $\Sigma\iota\omega\nu$ ),  $\kappa\upsilon\rho\eta$  (Gk  $\text{Κυρος}$ ),  $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$  (Gk  $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$ ),  $\Gamma\alpha\upsilon\beta\rho\iota\eta\lambda$  (Gk  $\Gamma\alpha\upsilon\beta\rho\iota\eta\lambda$ ),  $\mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\lambda$  (Gk  $\text{Μουσης}$ ),  $\upsilon\pi\alpha\kappa\omicron\eta$  (Gk  $\upsilon\pi\alpha\kappa\omicron\eta$ ),  $\kappa\upsilon\pi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  (Gk  $\kappa\upsilon\pi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ ),  $\kappa\epsilon\delta\rho\eta$  (Gk  $\kappa\epsilon\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ),  $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha$  (Gk  $\text{Ευα}$ ). At other times,

---

<sup>1</sup> Mathiesen (1972: 37) observes that 'Church Slavonic was no longer simply another language, a vehicle of communication with men and God, but an icon of given theological truth as well. And this icon was primarily visual rather than auditory, for only the written form of Church Slavonic, with its system of antistoecha, was really capable of serving as such an icon; the spoken form of Church Slavonic, with its numerous cases of theologically dangerous homophony, would have to pattern itself after the written form to be able to serve in this capacity.'

however, spelling reflects pronunciation: for instance, **пѣвѣ** (Gk *πευκη*) as *ižica* after vowels was pronounced as *v*, or in two curious examples where both the spelling and pronunciation are reflected **архѣгѣли** (*γγ* is pronounced as [ng]) and **Ѡввинѣ**. Other exceptions include words where (1) contrary to Smotryc'kyj's prescription, the Greek diphthongs *αι*, *ει*, *οι* are not preserved,<sup>1</sup> e.g., **εγ̃петскїѡ** (Gk *Αιγυπτιακος*), **лѣтѣргїи** (Gk *λειτουργια*), **Икосѣ/Икосѣ** (Gk *οικος*); (2) *и/й* is used instead of *ižica*, e.g., **Мѡйсею**, **Вавилонѣ** (Gk *Βαβυλων*), **Ѡтихирѣ** (Gk *τα στιχηρα*); (3) the Greek letter *β* is rendered as *ižica*, e.g. **кнотѣ** (Gk *κιβωτος*), **еврейскїѣ** (Gk *εβραϊκος*); (4) *Ѡ* for Greek omega, e.g. **Канонѣ** (Gk *κανων*, attested only 1x as **Канонѣ**), **Вавилонѣ** (Gk *Βαβυλων*), **Ѡнтифонѣ** (Gk *αντιφωνος*), **Ѡларонїѣ//скѡѡ** (Gk *του φαραω*); (5) miscellaneous, e.g. **Ѡдемѣ** (Gk *Εδωμ*), **Ѡлаомѣ** (Gk *ψαλμος*), **Ѡионѣ**, **мїроносицѣ**.

The letter **ѡ** is not attested, while **ѡ** is only used in alphabetical numerals.

#### 2.2.4 Distribution of *a*-letters

Traditionally in ChSl semi-uncial and in Cyrillic printing **ѡ** was used word-initially, with the exception of **ѡзыкѣ** 'tongue in the anatomical sense', and **ѡ** word-medially and word-finally (Pennington 1980: 195). The same rule is codified in Smotryc'kyj (1619: *ѡ/7<sup>v</sup>*): **ѡ**, **и ѡ**, **ѡличествѣютѣ: ѡномѡ сопрѣди реченїѣ, ѡвомѡ восрѣдѣ и в кѡци полагаемѡ. ѡкѡ, ѡвѡшесѡ.**

In the 1629 Oktoikh we observe a somewhat different distribution. The vowel letter **ѡ** indeed appears only word-initially were it stands for both OCS **ѡ** and **ѡѡ**, e.g. **ѡкѡѡ**, **ѡкѡѡже**, **ѡвлѣнѣ**, **ѡвїсѡѡ**, **ѡвлѣнїѣ**, **ѡвствѣннѡѡ**, **ѡзвѡмї**, **ѡзвѣннѡѡ**, **ѡже** (nom. sg. fem. of the 3<sup>rd</sup> per. personal pronoun \*ѡѡ), **ѡже** (acc. pl. masc. of the 3<sup>rd</sup> per. personal pronoun \*и). However, contrary to the ChSl practice, it is also used with the word *jazyk* in the sense of 'tongue'.<sup>2</sup>

Uspenskij (2002: 195–196) observes that although in Proto-Slavonic the phoneme /a/ did not appear word-initially, exception being the conjunction **ѡ** and its derivatives **ѡже**, **ѡче**, etc., vacillation in use between word-initial **ѡ/ѡѡ** is attested in ChSl texts. Words where **ѡ** is present word-initially are more often than not loan words. In addition, in many South Slavonic dialects word-initial iotisation disappeared as a result of phonological change, and

<sup>1</sup> Mathiesen (1972: 125) observes that although the Greek diphthongs in the modern Church Slavonic (first appearing either at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> or in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (or even earlier) depending on whether only grammar or orthography is taken into consideration) are, as a rule, transliterated letter for letter, with the exception of the following diphthongs: *αι* > *ε/ε*, *ει* > *ι*, *οι* > *ι*, *ου* > *ѡ/ ѡѡ*.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed discussion of this point see 2.2.6.

forms such as **агньць, азъ, агода**, that is, without word-initial iotisation, came to be seen as emblematic of ChSl in general. Such a trend is also present in the 1629 Oktoikh where the word-initial **а** is attested either (1) in loan words such as **абы, аминь, адамъ, аплшмъ, адъ, Авраамъ, Аввакъмъ, абелевою, Архагъли, Аароновъ, аггль**; (2) in words reflecting South Slavonic orthography such as **агнче, агнецъ**; (3) with the conjunction **а** and its derivatives, e.g. **а** (2x), **аще** (1x).

The vowel letter **а** is attested word-medially and word-finally in post-consonantal and post-vocalic positions, representing OCS **а, ѡ** or **ѡ**, e.g. **иставнѣа, тоа, распѣтїе, зиждитеа, та, носаше, славатъ, всакъ, кланяемса, зарамнѣ, утагчена, дрѣнаа, оубвихомса, прозавшю, проавлейса, бгавлено, проавлаа**. With regard to the post-consonantal position, if the preceding consonant is an affricate **ц** or **ч**, or sibilant **ш, щ, ж, жа** (<\*dj), only **а** is possible e.g. **блажацимъ, держащаго, страда** (nom. sg. masc. pres. part. act. indef.), **подвижатса, слѣжатъ, зачатїемъ, причащенми, лѣча** (acc. pl. fem.), **бѣа** (gen. sg. fem.), **утроковица** (gen. sg. fem.), **Мѣроносица** (nom. pl. fem.), **пѣвца** (acc. pl. masc.), **дѣа** (acc. pl. fem), **наша** (acc. pl. fem./masc.), **спаша** (acc. pl. masc.), **поюща** (acc. pl. masc.). The only exception is the pres. part. act. indef. nom. sg. masc. **плеѣ** (**а** is, however, written above the line).

The vowel letter **а** in a post-vocalic position is attested only in loan words, all of which are proper names, e.g. **Иоанна, Авраамъ, Иаковъ, Аароновъ**.

In Smotryc'kyj (1619: **0/2<sup>r</sup>; Ф/4<sup>v</sup>, 6<sup>r</sup>–6<sup>v</sup>**) the opposition **а : а** is also used to differentiate between homonymous grammatical forms: (i) active participle forms in the gen. sg. masc. and acc. pl. masc., e.g. **бывша ~ бывшаа, бующа ~ бующаа**; (ii) 3<sup>rd</sup> per. pl. aorist forms associated with neuter/masculine and feminine nouns respectively, e.g. **чтоша ~ чтошаа**. This orthographic principle is not used in the 1629 Oktoikh, e.g. **людіе беззаконніи ... честиваго оправдиша** (23<sup>r</sup>: 11–13), **чтныа жены · и обрѣтша** (25<sup>r</sup>:7), **чѣка ... иставѣвша** (27<sup>r</sup>:7–8), **паже вогробѣ спаша** (41<sup>v</sup>:17–18).

### 2.2.5 Distribution of e-letters

The vowel letter **ѣ** has a truncated variant **ѣ** that is attested 28x: it is used in combination with (1) *varia* (9x), e.g. **кромѣ** (8<sup>r</sup>:13), **вогдѣвинѣ** (9<sup>v</sup>:3), **комнѣ** (14<sup>v</sup>:16), **вотмѣ** (23<sup>r</sup>: 2), **бѣ** (24<sup>v</sup>:13), **гдѣ** (25<sup>v</sup>:3), **тебѣ** (2x) (30<sup>v</sup>:13, 31<sup>r</sup>:4), **горѣ** (38<sup>r</sup>:14); (2) and superscript letters (19x), e.g. **пѣнми** (6<sup>r</sup>:12), **тѣ** (7<sup>r</sup>:11), **тѣже** (2x) (10<sup>r</sup>:15–16, fol. 23<sup>v</sup>:14), **видѣше** (12<sup>r</sup>:7), **нѣ** (18<sup>v</sup>:5), **претерпѣ** (24<sup>v</sup>:5), **страшнѣ** (29<sup>v</sup>:7), **внѣдрѣ** (30<sup>r</sup>:14), **радѣно** (33<sup>v</sup>:10), **Гѣ** (37<sup>r</sup>:3),



ѠБѢ (41<sup>r</sup>:10), ВОГРО́БѢ (41<sup>v</sup>:17), ПЛѢНЫ (42<sup>r</sup>:2), СВѢ (42<sup>v</sup>:1), НЕСДМѢНОЮ (45<sup>r</sup>:1–2), ТЛѢНОМЪ (47<sup>r</sup>:14–15), ТѢ (50<sup>v</sup>:1), НЕТАЛѢНОЕ (50<sup>v</sup>:1–2).

In the 1629 Oktoikh, the vowel letters  $\epsilon$  and  $\epsilon$ , representing OCS  $\epsilon$  and  $\kappa$ , are both attested word-initially, the former appearing approximately 230x and the latter approximately 140x. In one third of instances the word-initial  $\epsilon$  is used with the word *edin-* and its compounds. In the remaining examples  $\epsilon$  is associated with: (1) the present tense forms of the verb *byti*, i.e.  $\epsilon$ СИ and  $\epsilon$ ТЬ; (2) the oblique cases of the 3<sup>rd</sup> per. personal pronoun \*И and the relative pronouns formed with the 3<sup>rd</sup> per. personal pronouns, e.g.  $\epsilon$ ГО,  $\epsilon$ ГОЖЕ,  $\epsilon$ ЖЕ,  $\epsilon$ ЮЖЕ; (3) the word  $\epsilon$ СТЕСТВО and its compounds, e.g.  $\epsilon$ СТЕСТВЕННЫХ,  $\epsilon$ СТЕСТВѠ; (4) miscellaneous (majority of which are foreign loans), e.g.  $\epsilon$ ГДАЖЕ,  $\epsilon$ ВЛСКАА,  $\epsilon$ ВРЕЙСКІИ,  $\epsilon$ ВЛА,  $\epsilon$ ДЕМА,  $\epsilon$ ГВЕТСКІА,  $\epsilon$ МАНДИЛЪ. In the case of the word-initial  $\epsilon$ , in approximately 55% of cases, this letter occurs with the present forms of the verb *byti*, in particular with 2<sup>nd</sup> per. sg. form *esi*. Other categories are also represented but to a lesser degree: (1) the word  $\epsilon$ ДИН- and its compounds (42x); (2) the 3<sup>rd</sup> per. personal pronoun/the relative pronoun (46x); (3) the word  $\epsilon$ СТЕСТВО and its compounds (12x); (4) miscellaneous (6x), of which foreign loans –  $\epsilon$ ДЕМЪ – occur only 2x.

In the 1648 Moscow edition of Smotryc'kyj's *Grammatiki*, as well as in Synodal Church Slavonic (for examples see, Mathiesen 1972: 126),<sup>1</sup> the opposition  $\epsilon$  :  $\epsilon$  is purely functional:  $\epsilon$  is used word-initially,  $\epsilon$  elsewhere. The distribution of these graphemes in the 1629 Oktoikh clearly does not reflect the RChSl orthographic practice since its occurrence in the word-initial position appears to be arbitrary.

In Ru texts, on the other hand, the grapheme  $\epsilon$  was used to indicate iotised pronunciation, i.e. [je], and  $\epsilon$  its absence, i.e. [e] (Pugh 1996: 22). If it is assumed that  $\epsilon$  in the Kievan Oktoikh reflects iotised pronunciation, then its presence word-initially reveals some interesting facts about church pronunciation. Uspenskij (2002: 178–180) observes that from the 11<sup>th</sup> century two orthoepic norms were established in ESl ChSl with regard to the pronunciation of the word-initial *e* in native and foreign words. According to the first norm, which was adopted as normative in RChSl, iotised pronunciation was present in words of either origin. According to the second, which became the hallmark of the South-Western redaction, the palatal glide /j/ was present in native but absent from foreign words. In the 1629 Oktoikh, native words may be spelt with either grapheme but there is a strong

<sup>1</sup> Mathiesen (1972: 70) defines Synodal Church Slavonic as the present-day form of Church Slavonic that is used in the Russian Orthodox Church.

tendency to use  $\epsilon$  with loan words ( $\epsilon$  appears 12x whereas  $\epsilon$  only 2x). Assuming that  $\epsilon$  indeed represents [je], a tentative conclusion may be drawn, namely that the pronunciation of foreign words follows the RChSl orthoepic norm.

Unlike  $\epsilon$ , instances of word-medial and word-final uses of  $\epsilon$  are rare (17x): (1) in a post-vocalic position (7x) e.g. **Киевъѣ** (1<sup>r</sup>:7), **припадаѣ** (9<sup>r</sup>:14), **разбойничее** (12<sup>v</sup>:1), **поемъ** (24<sup>v</sup>:3), **соестествен-** (3x) (6<sup>v</sup>:7, 7<sup>v</sup>:15, 9<sup>v</sup>:8); (2) with the voc. case (3x), e.g. **Хѣ** (17<sup>r</sup>:13, 24<sup>v</sup>:3, 24<sup>v</sup>:9); (3) at line break (1x), e.g. **прѣ//ставь** (37<sup>r</sup>:16–17); (4) miscellaneous (6x), e.g. **Первыи** (fol. 3<sup>r</sup>, heading), **Вечерниаа** (3<sup>r</sup>:1), **Оутрени** (11<sup>v</sup>:6), **Первовѣчноуѣ** (29<sup>r</sup>:1), **сїсе** (29<sup>r</sup>:7), **временемъ** (40<sup>r</sup>:10). The occurrence of the grapheme  $\epsilon$  in post-vocalic position may be of Ruthenian origin in which the presence of  $\epsilon$  in this environment signals iotised pronunciation (Pugh 1996: 27).

For Smotryc'kyj (1619: **ѧ/б<sup>v</sup>**) the opposition  $\epsilon$  :  $\epsilon$  has also a morphological significance, differentiating between sg./pl. respectively: **овомѣ вподобенѣ падежѣ множественныи . ономѣже единственныи слджащѣ** : **ѧкѡ той клеветѣ, тѣхѣ клеветѣ** : **той творѣ, тѣхѣ творѣ** : **тѣ твѣце** : **ты твѣце** ... **тѣ сїсеніем** : **ты сїсеніе**. In the 1629 Oktoikh this rule is observed on one occasion only **временемъ** (40<sup>r</sup>:10), otherwise the letter  $\epsilon$  is used in both sg. and pl.

## 2.2.6 Distribution of z-letters

The letter **з** is attested 14x, not counting its use in figures, i.e. **засыци** (4<sup>v</sup>:13), **засыки** (15<sup>v</sup>:2), **зладѣа** (16<sup>r</sup>:12), **засыкъ** (18<sup>r</sup>:14), **носѣ** (f22<sup>r</sup>:6), **зѣло** (26<sup>r</sup>:10), **засыки** (26<sup>v</sup>:4), **зміинюу** (27<sup>r</sup>:13), **злыми** (28<sup>r</sup>:11), **зѣра** (31<sup>r</sup>:8), **кнасъ** (38<sup>v</sup>:16), **засычна** (40<sup>r</sup>:6), **засыкѣ** (41<sup>r</sup>:2), **засыкъ** (47<sup>r</sup>:8–9). The consonant letter **з** is, on the other hand, attested approximately 600x.

Whereas prior to the *second South Slavonic influence* the letter **зѣло** may have been used to mark certain phonological changes, namely \*z that is the result of the second or third palatalisation of \*g, in its aftermath, it is primarily associated with the following seven words: **зѣзда**, **зѣръ**, **зѣіе**, **злакѣ**, **зміи**, **зѣла**, **зла** (and its compounds) (Mathiesen 1972: 130). An identical practice is observed in the Kievan Oktoikh, e.g. **зладѣа**, **зѣло**, **зміинюу**, **злыми**, **зѣра**.<sup>1</sup> The use of **з** to reflect the outcome of the second and third palatalisation, is singular, viz. **носѣ**, **кнасъ** and **зѣло**; in all other instances the letter **з** is used, e.g. **повѣѣ**, **врази**, **подвизаютса**.

<sup>1</sup> There are, however, three exceptions, **озлобленіа** (2x) (11<sup>r</sup>:7, 36<sup>v</sup>:15); **зладѣи** (42<sup>v</sup>:7).

An interesting and original use of the opposition **з/ѕ** occurs with the word *jazyk*, where the two letters seem to be in complimentary distribution. As the word *jazyk* had several different but related meanings – it could refer either to a part of the body (‘tongue’), speech or people/nation – the reformers of Church Slavonic deemed it necessary to disambiguate the word’s senses, especially since Greek clearly distinguishes between  $\epsilon\theta\nu\omicron\varsigma$  ‘people/nation’ and  $\gamma\lambda\omega\sigma\sigma\alpha$  ‘tongue/speech, language’. Konstantin the Grammarian, for instance, in **ГРΑΖΑΝΙΕ ΙΖΥΓΑΒΛΑΚΗΝΟ Ω ΠΙΣΜΕΝΕΧ**, exploits the difference in graphic expression between the two vowels **ε/κ** to differentiate between **εΖΥΚЬ** ‘people’ and **κΖΥΚЬ** ‘language’ (Worth 1983: 27). Imitating the South Slavonic orthography, East Slavonic scribes introduce a parallel opposition **ΛΖΥΚЬ** ‘tongue in the anatomical sense’ and **ΠΖΥΚЬ** ‘people/speech, language’, differing from Greek in that **ΛΖΥΚЬ** can only refer to the part of the body whereas **ΠΖΥΚЬ** can stand for both ‘people’ and ‘speech/language’. This distinction was promptly adopted into Church Slavonic and became codified in grammars in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It seems to be more characteristic of the Moscow redaction of Church Slavonic than that of South-Western Rus since it does not feature in the 1619 edition of Smotryc’kyj’s grammar but was included in the later 1648 Moscow edition. The distinction **ΠΖΥΚЬ /ΛΖΥΚЬ** does not appear to be wholly unknown in Kiev either as it appears in Pamva Berynda’s *Leksikon slovenorusskogo* (Uspenskij 2002: 329).

In the 1629 Oktoikh the vowel letters **π/λ** were not used as the means of disambiguation. It is plausible to assume that it was still felt necessary to preserve the distinction in some other way, namely by contrasting the forms with **з** on the one hand and those with **ѕ** on the other. The table below is a comparison between the 1629 Oktoikh, Archimandrite Ephrem’s English translation of Paraklitiki and the 1962 Oktoikh with regard to the opposition  $\epsilon\theta\nu\omicron\varsigma/\gamma\lambda\omega\sigma\sigma\alpha$ . It should be noted that the comparison is tentative as it is impossible to establish with certainty that the primary liturgical texts used in translation/copying were identical.

Table I

The letter <b>Ѣ</b>			The letter <b>З</b>		
1629 Oktoikh	1962 edition	English translation	1629 Oktoikh	1962 edition	English translation
<b>ѢСЫЦИ</b> (fol. 4 <sup>v</sup> )	<b>ѢЗЫЦЫ</b>	nation	<b>ѢЗЫКЪ</b> (fol. 6 <sup>r</sup> )	<b>ѢЗЫКЪ</b>	tongue
<b>ѢСЫКИ</b> (fol. 15 <sup>v</sup> )	<b>ѢЗЫКИ</b>	nation	<b>ѢЗЫКИ</b> (fol. 6 <sup>v</sup> )	<b>ѢЗЫКИ</b>	tongue
<b>ѢСЫКЪ</b> (fol. 18 <sup>r</sup> )	<b>ѢЗЫЦЫ</b>	tongue	<b>ѢЗЫЦИ</b> (fol. 13 <sup>r</sup> )	<b>ѢЗЫЦЫ</b>	tongue
<b>ѢСЫКИ</b> (fol. 26 <sup>v</sup> )	<b>ѢЗЫКИ</b>	nation	<b>ѢЗЫЦИ</b> (fol. 20 <sup>v</sup> )	<b>ѢЗЫЦЫ</b>	nation
<b>ѢСЫЧНА</b> (fol. 40 <sup>r</sup> )	<b>ѢЗЫЧЕСКАА</b>	nation	<b>ѢЗЫКОМЪ</b> (fol. 33 <sup>v</sup> )	<b>ѢЗЫКОМЪ</b>	not found
<b>ѢСЫКЪ</b> (fol. 41 <sup>r</sup> )	<b>ѢЗЫКОМЪ</b>	nation	<b>ѢЗЫКОМЪ</b> (fol. 44 <sup>v</sup> )	<b>ѢЗЫКОМЪ</b>	tongue
<b>ѢСЫКЪ</b> (fol. 47 <sup>r</sup> )	not found	not found	<b>ѢЗЫКОМЪ</b> (fol. 45 <sup>r</sup> )	<b>ѢЗЫКОМЪ</b>	tongue
			<b>ѢЗЫЦЫ</b> (fol. 48 <sup>r</sup> )	<b>ѢЗЫЦЫ</b>	nation

The use of **ѢСЫКЪ** to refer to ‘nation/people’ corresponds to a high degree with both the English translation and the 1962 Oktoikh, the single exception being **ѢСЫКЪ** (fol. 18<sup>r</sup>). From the context – **ДА ДВИЖЕТСА ВСАКЪ ѢСЫКЪ ЧЛѢЧЕСКІЙ И МЫСЛЬ · КЪ ПОХВАЛѢ ЧЛѢЧЕСКАГО ВОИСТИННОГО ОУДОБРЕНІА** – it is possible to interpret ‘**ВСАКЪ ѢСЫКЪ ЧЛѢЧЕСКІЙ**’ as ‘every human nation’, although ‘tongue’, in the anatomical sense, fits better with the word that follows, ‘thought’. On fol. 47<sup>r</sup> there is some ambiguity whether *jazyk* denotes ‘nation’ or ‘tongue’, since both interpretations appear plausible.<sup>1</sup>

The use of **ѢСЫКЪ** to denote ‘tongue’ is less consistent with the English translation and the 1962 Oktoikh. It is interesting that it may also mean ‘language/speech’, thus directly mimicking Greek, as on fol. 6<sup>v</sup>, unlike the norm of the Moscow redaction in which the words ‘language’ and ‘nation’ are subsumed under the same lexeme **ѢСЫКЪ**. The forms on fols. 33<sup>v</sup>, 44<sup>v</sup>, 45<sup>r</sup> unambiguously denote ‘tongue’ in the sense of body part. The forms on fols. 13<sup>r</sup>, 20<sup>v</sup> and 48<sup>r</sup> are most probably errata as ‘nation’ rather than ‘tongue/language’ is a more likely reading; the form on fol. 6<sup>r</sup> is ambiguous as both readings are plausible. Although the opposition **ѢСЫКЪ/ѢСЫКЪ** does not appear to be unequivocally discrete, the evidence is sufficiently strong to support the assumption that the distinction  $\epsilon\theta\nu\omicron\varsigma/\gamma\lambda\omega\sigma\varsigma\alpha$  is preserved through the graphic opposition **з : с**.

### 2.2.7 Distribution of i-letters

According to Smotryc’kyj (1619: **Ѧ/7<sup>r</sup>–7<sup>v</sup>**) ‘**И: И НАЧИНАТИ РЕЧЕНІА И КОНЧИТИ, И ВОВѢХ РЕЧЕНІА СРѢСТВЮЩИ Ѧ СОГЛАСНА ПОНѢ НАЧИНАЮЩИ СЛОЗѢ ПОЛАГАТИСА ... І: НИ НАЧИНАТИ РЕЧЕНІА НИ**

<sup>1</sup> The line in which the word appears is: **И ѢСЫКЪ ВСАКЪ БОГОСЛОВДЮЩЕ ВЕЛИЧАЕТЪ ТА.**

КѢЧИТИ ... НО ВСАКѢ ТОГѢДЕ РЕЧЕНІА ѿ ГЛАСНА ПОНЕ НАЧИНАЮЩІ СЛОГѢ ПРИПРАГАТИСА'. The exceptions are: (1) foreign loan words that either begin or end in *i*; (2) the prefix *pri-* where one should write *и* even when the ensuing letter is a vowel; (3) with adjectives and active participles in the gen. sg. fem. to distinguish between the gen. sg. and nom./voc. pl., cf. БЛАГИА ~ БЛАГІА, НИЩИА ~ НИЩІА, ЧТѢЩИА ~ ЧТѢЩІА.

In the 1629 Oktoikh, the opposition *ї/и* : *и* is preserved, in line with Smotryc'kyj's recommendation, where *ї/и* is regularly attested in pre-vocalic position word-medially, and *и* elsewhere (for examples and exceptions see 2.1.10). It is also encountered word-initially and elsewhere within a word in pre-consonantal position in words of foreign origin, e.g. **Исаино**, **Ирмосъ**, **Интифонъ**, **Иаковъ**, **Иосифа**, **Иванна**, **Иаковъ**, **Иудее**, **Ивны**, etc. The rule regarding the prefix *pri-* as well as use of *и* in gen. sg. fem. is ignored, e.g. **пріаѣ**, **пріеѣша**, **пріидѣте**, **Прійми**, ѿ **лести вражіа**, **славы твоеа сладкіа**, **егѣпетскіа лести рѣкописаніа**, **глубина мудрости вѣжіа**, etc.<sup>1</sup>

The opposition *ї/и* : *и* is also exploited to differentiate between two senses of the word *mir*, namely **миръ** (peace) and **міръ/міръ** (cosmos, universe). It is not, however, until after the *second South Slavonic influence* that the semantic differentiation between two meanings, through graphic juxtaposition of two variants of the letter *i*, occurs and becomes relevant in East Slavonic literary tradition. It first becomes entrenched in the orthographic system of the South-Western Rus, to which entries in the dictionaries of Lavrentij Zizanij (1596) and Pamva Berynda (1627), as well as the grammar of the Gerboveckij monastery (dating from the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century), testify. In the Moscow redaction of Church Slavonic this juxtaposition remains unknown, or is at least of little significance, until the church reforms instigated by Patriarch Nikon, after which it is readily adopted and codified in the Moscow redaction (Uspenskij 2002: 330–333 ).

Since the 1629 Oktoikh is of Ukrainian/Belarusian provenance, the opposition **миръ** : **міръ/міръ** would be expected. Out of 38 occurrences of *mir*, 28 are spelt in accordance with the above principle. The letter *и* instead of *ї/и* appears 7x, whereas the opposite, *ї/и* for *и*, is attested 3x. In adjectives/abstract nouns (8x) derived from the word *mir*, the vowel letter *и* is used 3x in words pertaining to cosmos: **премирныхъ** (17<sup>r</sup>:8), **мирская** (17<sup>r</sup>:13), **всемирная** (21<sup>r</sup>:16).

<sup>1</sup> The sole exception with the prefix *pri-* is the word **безприобщеніа** (22<sup>v</sup>:8). (Mathiesen (1972: 129) observes that the prefix *pri-* spelt with *и* is regularly encountered in Synodal Church Slavonic before the vowel letters *а*, *ѣ*, and *о*.)

The vowel letter **и** in combination with *kratkaja* is regularly used in post-vocalic position throughout the text to represent the palatal glide /j/ – an orthographic practice that accords well with Smotryč’kyj’s usage in the 1619 grammar. This Ukrainian/Belarusian feature, which was present in the South-Western redaction of ChSl, was absent from the Great Russian redaction where only **и**, pronounced as /i/, was written. The grapheme **й** and its pronunciation as /j/ was, however, adopted by the Great Russian redaction with Nikonian reforms in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Uspenskij 2002: 442).

The grapheme **й** occurs word-finally in the following positions: (1) in nouns of all three genders in the gen. pl., e.g. **страстей, мѣтей, настоѡнїй, ѿпрегрѣшенїй, людїй**; (2) in adjectives and pronouns in the dat./loc. sg. fem., e.g. **въкото́рой, сво́ей, ней, стѣ́й, вѣѣ́й, тво́ей**; (3) in the 2<sup>nd</sup> per. sg. imperative forms, e.g. **помѣ́й, дарѣ́й, радѣ́йсѧ, по́й**; (4) in nouns, adjectives, pronouns and participles in the nom./acc./voc. sg. masc., e.g. **бога́тый, вла́дныи, распны́йсѧ, сѣ́дѡй, проавлѣ́йсѧ, воспѣ́ваемыи, воспѣ́тыи, то́й, се́й, мо́й, злодѣ́й, вѣ́рїи, ходотѣ́й**. A lone example of the gen. pl. in **-и** is attested in the word **чиноначѡлїи** (17<sup>r</sup>:8) and is most likely an error.

In word-medial position /j/ is attested in a variety of lexemes and always following a vowel, e.g. **прї́ймї, прѣ́йде, ходотѣ́йствѣ́юци, братоѡ́убїйственною, Разѣ́бѡйничее, достѣ́йно, разѣ́бѡйникѡ**. Exceptions are rare and most often appear in connection with the words *voin-* and *-tai(n)-*, e.g. **тайно** (8<sup>v</sup>:10) but **та́инство** (17<sup>r</sup>:7), **о́убѣ́йсѧ** (17<sup>r</sup>:8), **та́инство** (f23<sup>v</sup>:17), **та́инства** (31<sup>v</sup>:11), **о́убѣ́ившисѧ** (37<sup>v</sup>:4); **во́ини** (25<sup>v</sup>:4) and **во́йни** (47<sup>v</sup>:11) but **во́инѡм** (5<sup>v</sup>:8), **во́ини** (11<sup>v</sup>:10), **во́инѡмѡ** (19<sup>v</sup>:8–9), **во́ини** (30<sup>v</sup>:16), **во́инства** (2x) (35<sup>f</sup>:5, 38<sup>r</sup>:12). Other examples include **Ѥса́ино, Трої́чны, сво́йственно, прої́зѣде, Прехѡ́лныи**, etc. It is interesting that in two instances, **во́инѡм** and **прої́зѣде**, *psili* is used instead.<sup>1</sup>

### 2.2.8 Distribution of o-letters

The opposition between two graphic variants of the vowel letter *o*, namely **о** : **ѡ** has, according to Smotryč’kyj (1619), several functions in Church Slavonic.

First, this juxtaposition is exploited to differentiate between homonymous case forms in the instr. sg. and dat. pl. in nouns belonging to \**o*-stem where **о** is written in the instr. sg. and **ѡ** in dat. pl., e.g. **человѣ́комѡ** vs. **человѣ́кѡмѡ**, **во́инѡмѡ** vs. **во́инѡмѡ** (1619: **ѡ**/7<sup>r</sup>). Second, to differentiate between adverbs and nom./acc. sg. short forms of neuter adjectives,

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that the presence of another diacritical mark prevented the use of *kratkaja*.

where *o* is associated with adjectives and *w* with adverbs, e.g. **вѣрно** vs. **вѣрнѡ** (1619: X/4<sup>r</sup>). Third, to separate between the acc. sg and gen. sg. where *w* functions a morphological marker of the gen. and *o* of the acc. case, e.g. **егѡ** vs. **его**, **тайнагѡ** vs. **тайнаго**, **просвѣщающагѡ** vs. **просвѣщающаго** (1619: З/7<sup>v</sup>, И/3<sup>r</sup>, Л/7<sup>v</sup>). In addition, *w* is used as a grammatical marker of the gen. pl. (-**ѡвѣ**) in nouns belonging to the \**o*-stem (see, for instance, the paradigm for the lexeme **грѣхѣ** (1619: Е/4<sup>v</sup>)). (Although Smotryc'kyj does not expressively recommend the use of *w* as the morphological marker for the gen. sg./pl., the distinction *o* : *w* is systematically applied throughout his work.)<sup>1</sup> Finally, *w* is used word-initially with prepositions/prefixes *o*(-), *ob*(-), *ot*(-).

These precepts are rather inconsistently applied in the 1629 Oktoikh, so much so, that the choice between *o* and *w* seems to be arbitrary. For instance, as the marker of the dat. pl. *w* is attested 23x whilst *o* 21x, e.g. **вѣкѡмѣ** (2<sup>r</sup>:14), **пѣрѡлѡмѣ** (13<sup>f</sup>:6), **чинѡмѣ** (23<sup>v</sup>:1), **вѣкѡмѣ** (25<sup>f</sup>:15), **вѣсѡмѣ** (35<sup>v</sup>:12), **зѡбѡмѣ** (38<sup>f</sup>:8). The adverbs ending in -*o* appear 66x whilst those in -*w* 47x, e.g. **неизреченно**, **бѣолѣпно**, **православно**, **ненавѣтно**, **всесилнѡ**, **непрестаннѡ**, **правовѣрнѡ**, **достойнѡ**. The gen. sg. pronominal and adjectival forms in -*w* are attested 22x whilst in -*o* app. 170x, e.g. **нѣегѡ**, **егѡ**, **своегѡ**, **великагѡ**, **члѣческагѡ**, **блѣгоуѣробнаго**, **ѣдиноначалнаго**, **своего**, **его**, **того**. Greek omega is regularly used with the preposition/prefix *ω* but with little consistency with others (*o* is attested app. 100x with the prepositions/prefixes *o*(-) and *ob*(-) whilst *w* app. 60x), e.g. **ωсѡженїа**, **ωдѣшвеннаа**, **ωчисти**, **ωнасъ**, **ωрѣжѣствѣ**, **ωзари**, **ѡбыидѣте**, **ωблїстати**, **ωбожитѣ** but **озаренїе**, **облїсташе**, **осѡженїа**, **обожаетѣ**, **очисти**, **одѣшвеннѡю**, **онейже**.

A different variant, namely *o*, is attested 10x: 7x with the interjection *o* (for examples see 5.2), and 3x word-initially with miscellaneous words, e.g. **ѡбыидѣ** (6<sup>v</sup>:16, 19<sup>v</sup>:1), **ѡвѣ** (48<sup>f</sup>:8).

In Synodal Church Slavonic the grapheme *o* appears as the first letter of a word, as the first letter after a prefix or in compound words: **отроча**, **многѡчитїи**, **ѡнѡдѡже**, **ѡблакъ**, **ѡбычай** (Mathiesen 1972: 127–129). In the 1629 Oktoikh, the letter *o* is used only 3x: twice with the preposition *o* (35<sup>f</sup>:3, 35<sup>v</sup>:7) and once word-initially in **ѡсмогласникѣ** (1<sup>f</sup>:3). Word-initially, either *o* or *w* is used, e.g. **очи** ~ **ѡко**, **ѡблаци**, **ѡкалнїе**, **ѡтроци**, **ѡца** ~ **ѡца**, **ѡтроковица**, **ѡбразѣ** ~ **ѡбразѣ**, **ѡгна**, **ѡдеждѣ**, **ѡвча**.

<sup>1</sup> This distinction was most probably based on corresponding oppositions in Greek where, for example, in the third declension the inflectional ending for the gen. sg. is -*oc* and -*ov* for the gen. pl.; in the second declension the nom/acc. sg. neut ending is -*ov* and in the gen. pl. -*ov*; similarly adjectives end in -*oc*, whilst derived adverbs in -*oc*. (Uspenskij 2002: 327).

### 2.2.9 Distribution of u-letters

One of the ChSl writing and Cyrillic printing conventions for the distribution of various u-letters is codified in Smotryc'kyj (1619: 1/7<sup>v</sup>) where 'оу вначалѣ реченій, њ же и ѱ/ средѣ и вкони оупотреблѣма вбращѣтса'. According to another orthographic principle, followed in a number of printed Muscovite texts dating from the late 1730s to mid-50s, оу was used in initially, but also medially and finally when under stress, whilst њ in unstressed syllables (Černyx 1953: 152–161).

The 1629 Oktoikh follows the orthographic convention recommended by Smotryc'kyj: the vowel letter њ regularly occurs in word-medial and word-final positions, e.g. преорѡженѡ, лѡкѡ, сѡдѡ, возведшемѡ, несѡмѣнно, разрѡшивѡ, сѡществѡ, крестѡ, whereas оу word-initially, e.g. оупованіе, оукрадено, оумерщвеніи, оугль, оубѡ, оумѡ, оутварѡ, оузѡ.

The seeming exceptions are complex words (15x) beginning with *blago-*, *ne-*, *na-*, *brato-* and *čelověko-*, e.g. бѡгооутробнаго (5<sup>v</sup>:4–5), наоучи (7<sup>f</sup>:11), наоучени (8<sup>v</sup>:10–11), неоудовѡ (8<sup>v</sup>:9), бѡгооуробенѡ (9<sup>v</sup>:11), братоубійственною (20<sup>v</sup>:7–8), бѡгоубійцамѡ (22<sup>f</sup>:11), блгооутробиѡ (27<sup>f</sup>:5), наоучи (32<sup>v</sup>:2), наоучилѡ (36<sup>f</sup>:7), чѡкоубійца (38<sup>f</sup>:7), чѡкоубійца (44<sup>v</sup>:2), бѡгооуханіѡ (48<sup>f</sup>:3), бѡгооутробиѡ (49<sup>v</sup>:10), наоучающе (50<sup>v</sup>:4). As all prefixes end in a vowel, the use of оу may have been motivated by the presence of a preceding vowel; an identical orthographic convention is also attested in *Ostrožskaja biblija* (Bulič 1893: 136). On one occasion the letter њ is attested word-medially following the prefix *na-*, viz. наѡчи (14<sup>f</sup>:17). The letter оу is used for OCS оу and ж, e.g. оутварѡ, оучникѡмѡ, оузѡ, вооутробоѡ; the letter њ for оу and ж, e.g. рѡкама, пѡтъ, зѡвомѡ, зѡвѡще, чѡдо, емѡже, слѡжаще, разѡмѣса.

The vowel letter ю occurs initially, medially and finally, representing OCS ю and ѣ, e.g. двою, читателю, людіе, соблюдай, лютеѡ, державою, еюже, вопіютѡ, чающи, юже, юноша. In addition, ю after the affricate ч is attested 1x with the adjective чѡственныѡ (11<sup>f</sup>:4). The vowel letter ю for OCS ж is attested 4x: (a) in adverbs ѡнюдѡже (27<sup>f</sup>:2) and ѡсюдѡ (38<sup>v</sup>:4); (b) with the noun in the acc. sg. стезю (39<sup>f</sup>:15); (c) with the adjective ѡнюдными (27<sup>f</sup>:17).

Smotryc'kyj (1619: 1/4<sup>v</sup>–5<sup>f</sup>, 6<sup>f</sup>–6<sup>f</sup>) furthermore uses the opposition њ : ю to separate between participle forms in the dat. sg. masc./neut. and acc. sg. fem., e.g. бившѡ ~ бившю, биющѡ ~ биющю. This rule is not observed in the 1629 Oktoikh, e.g. Гавріилѡ провѣщавшѡ (5<sup>v</sup>:15), свѣрѣпнющѡ, оугасити молимса, печь (23<sup>f</sup>: 8–9), тебѡ градѡщѡ (46<sup>v</sup>:13–14), мѡръ ... нарѡкѡ носѡщѡ (31<sup>f</sup>: 14–15).



### 2.2.10 Distribution of jers

The front and back jers are in an overwhelming majority of cases written word-finally, as a rule, indicating the softness or the hardness of the preceding consonant. The sole exception is the word *стихоло́н* (11<sup>v</sup>:9) where absence of the back jer may be seen as an erratum. This is in accordance with Smotryc'kyj's (1619: *л/7<sup>v</sup>*) recommendation which states that 'в самѡ точію кѡци реченіа оупотребляема бывають : ъ оубо, такоже варіше рѣхѡ, в ѡдбеленіе согласнаго реченіе кѡчацаго : ѡ/ же во ѡтѡченіе'.

Word-medially, at line break, the back jer is attested 8x whilst the front jer 1x, e.g. *Безъ//гласны//мъ* (1<sup>v</sup>:10–12), *вѣръ//нымъ* (4<sup>r</sup>:16–17), *рождъ//шагоса* (4<sup>v</sup>:5), *погребенъ//ный* (25<sup>v</sup>:5–6), *забъ//венныа* (41<sup>v</sup>:16–17), *неизъ//слѣднѡю* (42<sup>v</sup>:4–5), *собезъ//закѡнникомъ* (42<sup>v</sup>:7–8), *аггль//стїи* (45<sup>r</sup>:11–12), *безъсмеръ//тныи* (31<sup>v</sup>:5–6).

In addition, the jers are also sporadically attested in accentual units where the autosemantic word coalesces with an enclitic/reflexive particle, e.g. *оуподобьса, рождьса, тварьже, сдadtьса, адамомъже, поклоньсь, тѣмъже*. (In this environment the jer is usually either absent or replaced with a *paerok*.) Word-medially the jers are attested 12x, e.g. *гдѣство* (7<sup>r</sup>:10), *Израильтаномъ* (13<sup>v</sup>:1), *сѣльствомъ* (15<sup>v</sup>:1), *дошедъше* (25<sup>r</sup>:6–7), *свѣтлостьми* (27<sup>r</sup>:17), *гдѣства* (33<sup>r</sup>:4), *рождьшаа* (49<sup>v</sup>:7), *гдѣствїа* (50<sup>r</sup>:16), *подъвизайса* (1<sup>v</sup>:3), *гдѣми* (15<sup>v</sup>:10), *бѡпрїатъныа* (44<sup>r</sup>:11), *ймъже* (48<sup>v</sup>:4).

## 2.3 Orthography and pronunciation

The previous section explored orthography from a functional and/or morphological perspective; in this section the focus shifts to purely phonetic considerations. The features discussed have been selected for their dialectal and/or literary relevance. They are grouped according to the type of phonological phenomenon rather than chronologically.

This section considers the following:

1. Reflexes of diphthongs in liquid sonants
2. Presence/absence of second (progressive) palatalisation
3. Yodisation
4. Treatment of *ε* and *ѣ*
5. Dispalatalisation of consonants
6. Loss of word-initial *j* before rounded vowels

7. Loss of jers and attendant consequences
8. Rise of the “new *a*”/akan’*e*
9. Palatalisation of velar consonants and further developments
10. Assimilations in and simplification of consonant clusters
11. Mutation ‘*a* > ‘*e*
12. Treatment of ѡ, ѣ, ѥ, и in environments adjacent to *j*
13. Suffix **ѡНЪ/ѣНЪ** in OCS and ESl ChSl

### *2.3.1 Reflexes of diphthongs in liquid sonants*

#### 2.3.1.1 Elimination of jer-diphthongs

The reflexes of the sequences \*CǔRC/\*CǐRC yielded across the ESl linguistic territory the CъRC and CьRC groups respectively, in which a further development of the jers coincided with that of jers in the strong position, i.e. ѡ > о and ѣ > е.<sup>1</sup> By contrast, in the SSl languages, namely Bulgarian and Macedonian, the same sequences resulted in CRъC and CRьC forms with the jers following the sonant. In both languages, however, the jers in these groups had a merely graphic function, as they were obliterated before the general loss of jers, the syllabicity thus being transferred onto the sonants (Shevelov 1964: 467–468; 476–478).

With regard to ESl ChSl texts, written before the loss of jers, orthography follows the church pronunciation,<sup>2</sup> which in turn does not differ from the living pronunciation of the time: SSl forms of the type **ѡРЪГЪ**, **ѣМРЪТЪ** are regularly rendered in ESl as **ѡРЪГЪ**, **ѣМЪРЪТЪ**, where the jers precede the sonant in question. SSl spellings are also attested in the earliest extant texts, but as these, on the whole, merely reflect the orthographic practice of a protograph, such spellings became obsolete as the SSl influence waned. Changes engendered by the loss of jers duly affect the ecclesiastical pronunciation and are mirrored in the orthography: where the jers were vocalised they are pronounced as [o], [e] and written as ѡ, ѣ; where the jers disappeared they are no longer pronounced and consequently not

<sup>1</sup> A further development, idiosyncratic to the ESl territory and to a large extent limited to the Northern Russian territory, is the rise of the so-called “second pleophony” where an additional jer is present in CъRC/CьRC forms so that a sonant is flanked on both sides by a jer, e.g. *torog*, *verest* (gen.pl.), *oderenъ* (Shevelov 1964: 468).

<sup>2</sup> Uspenskij (2002: 118) defines ecclesiastical or literary pronunciation as the orthoepic norm of Church Slavonic. Ecclesiastic pronunciation may at times coincide with the living pronunciation, that is to say, not stand in direct opposition to it.

written (Uspenskij 2002:137–139, 150–151). The same tradition is observed in the 1629 Oktoikh, e.g. МЕРТВЫХЪ, ОУТВЕРДИ, СМЕРТЬ, ДЕРЗАЙТЕ, ДЕРЖАВѢ, СКОРБЕЙ.

The development of the \*CRÛC/\*CRĪC groups within the ESl languages where the sequences -гь-, -гъ-, -ль-, -лѣ- stand for a sonant + jer is significant. In Russian the jers were subject to vocalisation irrespective of whether they were in the strong or weak position, i.e. *крънь* yields *krov'* but *кръви* (dat. sg.) also becomes *krovi*. In Ukrainian and Belarusian, on the other hand, the jers were treated in the same manner as regular weak jers where a further development took place beginning in the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries, namely, an additional vowel, [y], was inserted after the sonants *r, l* (Shevelov 1964: 469–470). Pugh (1996: 34) identifies this trait as one of the peculiarities present in Ru, citing two examples from Meletij Smotryc'kyj's written corpus, e.g. ДРИЖАЧИ, ЗАДРИЖѢМО. In the 1629 Oktoikh lexemes with the \*CRÛC/\*CRĪC root, where the original jer was in the weak position, show Russian reflexes, e.g. ВОСКРЕСЕНІЕ (3<sup>r</sup>:5–6), ВОСКРЕСИ (4<sup>v</sup>:17), ВОСКРЕСЕНЪ (5<sup>v</sup>:7), КРЕСТѢ (13<sup>v</sup>:16), БЕЗПЛОТНЫМЪ, ПЛОТИ (gen. sg.), ВОПЛОТИСА.

### 2.3.1.2 Elimination of sonant diphthongs

The elimination of the Proto-Slavonic sequence #ǎRC yielded different results in ESl and SSl areas: although the short diphthongs, giving rise to circumflex vowels, were resolved through metathesis in both areas, compensatory lengthening of the vowel only took place in the SSl area, e.g. \*ǎlkŭt (PS) > *lakъtь* (OCS), *lokotь* (R), *lokŭt'* (U dial), *lokac'* (Br). (The long diphthongs, giving acute vowels, were resolved through metathesis and accompanied by vowel lengthening in all areas.) The resolution of liquid diphthongs word-medially, that is of *Cē/ěRC* and *Cā/ǎRC* sequences, took place at a later stage and was achieved through two different strategies, namely metathesis or pleophony. In SSl metathesis and vowel lengthening took place, whereas in ESl, where *Cē/ěRC* and *Cā/ǎRC* fell together, the liquid diphthong was resolved through insertion of an epenthetic vowel which gave rise to sequences of the type *CV<sub>1</sub>RV<sub>2</sub>C*, e.g. \*bāltǎ- (PS) > *balto* (OCS), *boloto* (U), *boloto* (R), *balota* (BR) (Schenker 1995: 93–95).

Lexemes with word-initial *pa-*, *la-* as well as metathetic forms were adopted into and made the literary norm of the ESl Church Slavonic – Uspenskij (2002:193) suggests that that the absorption of such lexemes might have been facilitated by already existing ESl forms such as *bratъ*, or where metathetic forms coincided with pleophonic as is the case with the lexeme *gradъ*, which could be perceived either as a metathetic counterpart of ESl

*gorodъ* or an everyday designation for a meteorological phenomenon *gradъ*. In the 1629 Oktoikh, only forms that show metathesis are attested, e.g. РАВЕНСТВІЕМЪ, РАБЪ, ПРЕ-, ВРАТА, ГРАДИ, ГЛАСОМЪ, СОГРАЖАНЕ, ВЛАСТИ, МЛАДЕНЕЦЪ, СЛАДКІА, ВРАЗИ.

The sole exception is the word ЧЕЛО//ВѢЧЕСКАА (40<sup>r</sup>:15–16). It is difficult, however, to regard this isolated instance as an unconscious intrusion of the vernacular since the tradition of writing pleophonic forms at line-break in order to abide by the rule for the division of words, when the words do not exactly fit the register of the line, is attested from earliest times. With regard to this particular lexeme, in *Izbornik 1076* the spelling ЧЛОВѢКЪ is observed with utmost rigor, only to be violated on a single occasion at line break ЧЕЛО//ВѢКЪ (Kandaurova 1968: 8–18).

### 2.3.2 Presence/absence of second (progressive) palatalisation of velar consonants

Broadly speaking, the phonological change whereby the velar consonants *k*, *g*, *x* mutated into *c*, *dz* (simplified to *z* in most Slavonic languages), *s* in ESl and SSl and *š* in WSl languages, before the front vowels *ě*, *i*, (< PIE diphthongs \*oi, \*ai), took place in the 6<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> century. Although the change was pan-Slavonic in character, the evidence of modern Slavonic languages shows that there was, on the whole, a strong impulse to eradicate the results of this mutation. Thus, with respect to declensional forms as well as imperative forms in the 1<sup>st</sup> per. sg ending in a velar consonant, the original results of the second palatalisation had been completely obliterated in CSR, owing to the analogical levelling,<sup>1</sup> but preserved in CSU and CSBr in the loc. sg. and in the dat. sg. of feminine nouns (Pugh and Press 1999: 33; Shevelov 1964: 294–297, 1979: 55–56, Wexler 1977: 68).

Mutation of velars in the dat./loc. of feminine nouns and the loc. sg. of masculine nouns appears to be a regular feature of Ruthenian. In non-literary texts, on the other hand, the \**ǫ*-stem nom. pl. ending in *-y*, written as *-i* after velars, appears to be the preferred standard (the original desinence *-i* with the ensuing mutation appears in biblical passages and similar) (Pugh 1996: 50, 53, 71–72). The desinence *-ax* is common in the loc.pl. of masculine nouns although the endings *-ěx/-ex* are attested in a number of words (Pugh 1996: 75–76). With regard to Russian, a complete absence of effects of the second palatalisation is attested in Novgorod-Pskov dialects as evidenced by the birch-bark *gramoty*, e.g. КѢЛЕ,

---

<sup>1</sup> Carlton (1991:124) argues, however, that owing to the lack of evidence of second palatalisation in non-literary written sources, namely the birch-bark *gramoty*, the problems with time scale as well as the complete absence of even the slightest trace of this mutation in the present-day dialects, it would be more logical to assume that the velar had not been reintroduced through levelling but had never been lost in the first place.

къркы, къ тетъкъѣ, други (nom. pl. masc.) (Zaliznjak 2004: 41–45).<sup>1</sup> In Great Russian dialects where palatalisation was present, non-mutated forms start appearing as a result of analogical levelling in manuscripts from the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Uspenskij 2002: 202).

The guardians of Church Slavonic were, as a rule, averse to any changes, be they morphological or phonological, and in this instance, the gradual disappearance of the effects of the second palatalisation from the vernacular had not been allowed to penetrate the sacred language. It is therefore of little surprise that the 1629 Oktoikh preserves these mutations in all positions, e.g. павыци (nom. pl. masc.), ѿтроци (nom. pl. masc.), мѣнци (nom. pl. masc.), побѣѣ (loc. sg. masc.), носѣ (nom. du. fem.), дѣѣ (loc. sg. masc.), рцѣте (imper. 2<sup>nd</sup> per. pl.). The apparent exception is the word (на) павѣѣ (loc. sg. masc.) (41<sup>v</sup>:13). It is possible to ascribe the absence of palatalisation to vernacular influence, however, it is unlikely that a Greek loan word, in competition with the already established ‘боръ’, would have widespread usage. It is more plausible to assume that this Hellenism became part of the Church Slavonic vocabulary at a rather late stage, by which time the second palatalisation had undoubtedly ceased to operate. (Indeed, the word does not feature in the *Staroslavjanskij slovar’* (1999), whilst the sole entry in Sreznevskij’s *Materialy* dates from the 15<sup>th</sup> century.)

The reflexes of the consonant cluster \*sk and \*zg before the front vowels *ě*, *i*, which differ not only with respect to the reflexes of *k*, *g* before these vowels, had also yielded disparate sequences across the Slavic linguistic territory. Shevelov (1964: 297) observes that ‘[t]he presence of *s*, *z* operated as a conservative factor or, more often, it prompted special changes’. In the following, only the outcomes of \*sk-mutation in the predesinential position are discussed, since these are the examples attested in the 1629 Oktoikh, e.g. аггастѣи (4x), Юдѣистѣи (1x).

In OCS, the mutation of \*sk engendered, apart from the anticipated *sc*, dissimilated forms in *st*, particularly emblematic of such canonical manuscripts as *Codex Assemanius* and *Codex Supraslensis*, e.g. *ljudьstii* ~ *ljudьskъ*, *pastě* ~ *paska*, *dьstě* ~ *dьska*. The presence of dissimilation may therefore point to the South-East Slavonic origin of the text in question: the *st*-reflexes are not only attested in the present-day Bulgarian and Macedonian dialects, but they are also prevalent in Middle Bulgarian/Middle Macedonian manuscripts (Shevelov 1964: 297).

---

<sup>1</sup> It is a moot point whether the lack of palatalisation shows that the original velar had been preserved, implying that the mutation had never taken place and the velar had only softened, or whether it is a case of a three-stage development, namely *kě* > *cě* > *kě*, where the last stage, *cě* > *kě*, shows a north-western dialectal feature whereby *c* passes into *k*. For further debate see, Bjørnflaten (1983, 1988, 1990) and Schuster-Šewc (1993) in defence of the three-stage argument and Zaliznjak (1991: 218–228) for the opposite view.

The development of *sk* before *ě*, yielded, however, a different result in the ESI languages: generally speaking, the sequence *sk* remained unchanged in this environment (where *k*, whether preserved from the period before the second palatalisation of velars or introduced through a secondary development *sc' > st' > sk'*, represents [k']) (Shevelov 1964: 297–300; Uspenskij 2002: 197; Wexler 1977: 68–69). The *sk*-reflex is attested in birch bark *gramoty*, e.g. **Полотьскѣ** (loc. sg. masc.), **смердыньскѣ** (nom. pl. masc.) (Zaliznjak 2004: 410, 668), as well as in 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> century texts from the Kiev-Polessie region, e.g. **въ члчскѣи дши, золобѣ женыскѣ, въ боури ... морьскѣи, очи члвчскѣ, по дѣскѣ, апостольскѣи цркви** (Shevelov 1979: 58–59).

In the 1629 Oktoikh only the *st*-reflexes are attested, reflecting thus the OCS influence. In Smotryc'kyj's *Grammatiki* (1619: I/6<sup>r</sup>), however, both the mutated and non-mutated forms are codified as normative in the nom. pl. masc., viz. **рѡссійстѣи ~ рѡссійскѣи**.

### 2.3.3 Yodisation

#### 2.3.3.1 Epenthetic *l*

Sequences with labial (*b, p, m, v*) + *j* resulted in an optional mutation labial + *l'*, i.e. *bj > bj* or *bl'*, *pj > pj* or *pl'*, *mj > mj* or *ml'*, and *vj > vj* or *vl'*. In all Slavonic languages the so-called epenthetic *l* is present in word-initial syllables, e.g. 'I spit' **плюѡж** (OCS), **плюю** (R), **плюю** (U), **плюю** (Br), **pluję** (P), **pliji** (Cz), **plujem** (SC), **плювам** (B). In non-initial syllables, that is, at morpheme boundary, the epenthetic *l* is retained only in Central Slavonic languages (R, U, Br, SC) but lost in B, M, WSI languages, e.g. **земля/коупенѣ** (OCS), **земля/куплен** (R), **земля/куплений** (U), **зямля/куплены** (Br), **ziemia/kupiony** (P), **země/koupen** (Cz), **zemplja/kupljen** (SC), **земя/купен** (B). Its absence from B, M, WSI languages is most probably engendered by instability of a fixed phonemic identity of *j*, which, in turn, facilitated loss of the epenthetic *l* through analogical levelling (Schenker 1995: 84–85; Townsend and Janda 1996: 90–91).

In the 1629 Oktoikh the epenthetic *l* at morpheme boundary is, on the whole, well preserved: (1) in present tense forms, (cf. 1<sup>st</sup> per. sg. vs. 3<sup>rd</sup> per. pl.), e.g. **славословлю, славлю/ славѣтъ**; (2) in past part. act. of Class IV verbs (*javiti ~ javl'*), e.g. **невѣстѣплѣ, престѣпашемѣ, оуподобльсѣ, невозлюбаше, павлей, избавлей, павшѣюсѣ, обновѣще, составаше, вставѣтъ**; (3) in verbal nouns and nouns formed with the suffix *-j-a*, e.g. **престѣпленіемѣ, совокѣпленіемѣ, озлобленіемѣ, стремленіемѣ, землѣ, вставленіемѣ, павленіемѣ, обновленіемѣ, очервленіемѣ**; (4)

in past part. pass. and adjectivised forms, e.g. **ѡКРОПЛЕНА**, **СОВОКЪПЛЕНА**, **ЧЕРВЕНО**, **ПАВЛЕНЪ**, **ѡДШЕВЛЕНЮ**, **БГОДВЛѢНО**; (5) in imperf. verbs derived from Class IV verbs as well imperfect forms the same class, e.g. **ПОТРЕБАЛЕТЪ**, **НЕПОСРАМАЛЕМСА**, **ИЗБАВЛАА**, **ОУДІВЛАШЕСА**, **ОБНОВАЛЕТСА**, **НАСТАВЛАЕМИ**, **ДИВЛАХЪ**. Vacillation between labial + *j* : labial + *l*' are attested in the following words: (1) **ОУМЕРЦВЕНІЕ**, **ОУМЕРЦВЕНІИ**, **ОУМЕРЦВЕНѢ** but **ОУМЕРЦВЛЕМЫЙ**; (2) **ПАЗВЕННЫА**, **ОУАЗВЕНАГО** but **ОУАВЛЕНЪ**, **ОУАЗВЛЕНЪ**; (3) **ЗЕМЛЕНІИ** (1x) but **ЗЕМ(Е)Н-** (8x); **ПРЕПРОСЛАВЕН-** (6x) but **ПРЕПРОСЛАВЕНЪ** (1x). The epenthetic *l* is never attested in the past part. pass./adj. **БЛАГОСЛОВЕНЪ** (15x).

Evidence from CES texts of Ukrainian origin suggests that, unlike the sequences *bl'*, *pl'*, and *ml'*, there was a tendency to restrict the use of *vl'* or for the cluster not to develop in the first place under certain conditions. Of relevance here is that in clusters of the type C + *vl'*, *l* was lost or did not develop, which in turn may explain the alternations *ujazv-/ujazvl-* and *umerščv-* and *umerščvl-* (Shevelov 1979: 70–72). On the other hand, forms such as *blagosloven-*, *preproslaven-* might have been influenced by corresponding forms in Bulgarian manuscripts, in which the loss of the epenthetic *l* is attested from the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Presence of the epenthetic *l* in **ЗЕМЛЕНІИ** is curious since there is no phonological reason why it should develop on morpheme boundary, i.e. **земльнъ** < \* **zēm-ĭn-**. A most likely explanation is that the adjective was derived from the noun **земля** < \* **zēm-j-ā**.

### 2.3.3.2 Reflexes of sequences \*dj and \*tj

A salient characteristics of the East Slavonic redaction of Church Slavonic, which established itself as a literary norm especially in the 11<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, is the presence of **ж** as the reflex of the Proto-Slavonic sequence \*dj. Here orthography mirrors the church pronunciation: forms showing reflexes of this sequence were pronounced as [ž] as a result of influence exerted by the vernacular (the sequence \*dj yielded ž in East Slavonic but žd in South Slavonic). On the other hand forms with **ч**, instead of **ѡ**, **шт** or **шч**, where *č/šč* are reflexes of Proto-Slavonic \*tj in ESl and SSl respectively, were regarded as specifically non-literary elements (Uspenskij 2002: 128, 1994, 33–34).

In the 1629 Oktoikh **ж** is attested in only a handful of instances, e.g. **ОУТВЕРЖЕНІЕ** (4<sup>v</sup>:3–4), **РОЖЕСТВЪ** (16<sup>r</sup>:1), **ПРЕЖЕ** (19<sup>v</sup>:5; 32<sup>v</sup>:17), **ИДЕЖЕ** (26<sup>v</sup>:2), **ЗАБЛДЖШАГО** (27<sup>r</sup>:1), **ПОСЛѢДИЖЕ** (27<sup>r</sup>:6), **ИДѢЖЕ** (29<sup>v</sup>:12), **ѡСДЖЕНІА** (33<sup>r</sup>:6), **НДЖНЫА** (47<sup>r</sup>:12), **СТРАЖІЕ** (48<sup>v</sup>:12), **СОГРАЖАНЕ** (51<sup>v</sup>:2), whereas **жд** appears to be the preferred standard (app. 70x); **ѡ**, on the other hand, is always written for the ESl reflex **ч**, except for a single past part. act. **ѠПРАВДЮЧИ** (2<sup>r</sup>:7). The

participle does not however appear in the liturgical text proper but in the preface where several other dialectal features are observed.<sup>1</sup>

#### 2.3.4 Treatment of ѣ and е

This section addresses the use of ѣ and е in the 1629 Oktoikh. In both OCS and CES the vowels *e* and *ě* stood for two distinct phonemes. However, in many manuscripts, both literary and non-literary and dating from various periods, confusion between the two letters is common. The evidence from modern East Slavonic dialects, namely that the reflexes of these two vowels have a different impact on the preceding consonant, seems to reflect a much earlier linguistic situation. Whereas in modern Ukrainian dialects the consonant remains hard, or is only partially softened, before the reflexes of *e* and is soft before those of *ě*, in the majority of Great Russian dialects the consonant is softened before the reflexes of both *e* and *ě*. This difference in pronunciation occurred in the past, where the opposition [C'ě ~ Ce] rather than [C'ě ~ C'e] (a pronunciation based on an old Kievan dialect in which such a correlation was present) was adopted as the orthoepic norm of Church Slavonic. In the South-Western Rus therefore the ecclesiastical pronunciation was not opposed to the living and indeed reflected further developments such as the fronting of *e* (< PS *ě* well as the so-called “new *ě*”) into *i*. By contrast, in the Great Russian territory the literary pronunciation was divorced from the living and retained in the Orthodox Church as normative until the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This orthoepic tradition has been preserved to present day by the priestless Old Believers (*staroobryadcy-bespopovcy*) (Uspenskij 2002: 163–173).

In the 1629 Oktoikh a number of instances where the original *ě* is replaced with *e*, rarely *i*, or where *ě* occurs instead of the original *e* has been attested. The remainder of this section discusses likely reasons for such alternations. For the sake of clarity the section has been further subdivided into two subsections: (1) spellings of *e* for *ě* and (2) words showing the results of passage of *e* > *i*.

---

<sup>1</sup> Another seeming exception is the word ѿжѣтъ (37<sup>v</sup>:2). Uspenskij (1994: 26) observes that forms with *čjužd-* cannot be regarded as true vernacular, non-literary forms of the type *svěča*. It is the case that in the East Slavonic redaction of Church Slavonic the form *čouž* (*čoužd-*, *čjuž-*, *čjužd-*) becomes the established written norm, whereas in the OCS and South Slavonic redaction the corresponding form is *štouždb* (from PS \*tjudj-). The reason for the presence of *č-* in this particular word does not seem to be rooted in phonological considerations; spellings with *č* appear to be a result of contamination of the words *чужоу* and *чудо*. Thus in the same way that the ESI form with *č-* is most likely occasioned by the spelling of the word *čudo*, in SSI one observes cases where *čudo* is also written as *štoudo*.



### 2.3.4.1 Spellings with *e* for *ě*

The confusion between *ε* and *ѣ* is present in literary texts although it is largely kept to specific lexemes: (1) spelling of OCS *ѣлесе* as *телесе* as well as *телеснымъ*; (2) frequent substitution of *ѣ* with *ε* in the loc./dat. endings of personal pronouns, i.e. *тебе*, *себе* for *тебѣ*, *себѣ*; (3) rendition of the suffix *-ѣль* as *-ель*, i.e. *гыбель*, *обитель*, etc. for *гыбѣль*, *обитѣль*, etc.; (4) *ѣ* is almost always supplanted by *ε* after the sonant *r*, more rarely after the sonant *l*, in metathetic forms (in the reflexes of the Proto-Slavonic sequences \*CerC and \*CelC), i.e. *предъ*, *время*, etc. for *прѣдъ*, *врѣмя*, etc. and *плень* for *плѣнь* (Uspenskij 2002: 170).

Shevelov (1979: 111–112) observes that the systematic appearance of *e*-spellings in oblique cases of the forms like *ѣло* is best explained in terms of positional shortening which occurred in the pre-pretonic syllable of trisyllabic forms. Whereas positional shortening is thus responsible for the alternation *ѣло* : *телеса*, the substitution of *ѣ* with *ε* in adjectival forms is in all likelihood based on analogical levelling since positional shortening does not occur in pretonic syllables. Furthermore, for Shevelov (1979:193–194), the regularity with which the substitution occurs during the CES period, in the forms listed under (2) and (3), is a direct reflection of the influence exerted by South Slavonic pronunciation: ‘The Bg pronunciation in which they heard the word had *ě* realised as an open sound of the *æ* type as was usual in Bg of the time. That pronunciation to the OU [Old Ukrainian] scribes could not be associated with their native *ě*, it was closer to their *e*. Hence it was grasped as *e* and so spelled’.

Uspenskij (2002: 170–171) rejects this hypothesis. In his view, factors other than the difference in ecclesiastical pronunciation are responsible for the resultant alternation in orthography. Substitution of *ε* for *ѣ* in forms listed in (1) and (2) may be a result of assimilation – regressive in the forms like *телесе* and progressive in the forms like *тебе*, *себе*. Here the fact that lexemes, both with the original *ě* and the substituted *e*, are accepted as normative seems to indicate that the distinction literary : non-literary is not based on the opposition *ѣ* : *ε* but is engendered by entirely different considerations. The significant factor may be the choice of the stem, so that the form *телесе* is not juxtaposed with *ѣлесе* but with the non-literary *ѣла*, i.e. \*s-stem vs. \*ǫ-stem, or the existence of multiple forms where one set is perceived as specifically vernacular, as is the case with the personal pronouns *тобѣ*, *собѣ*, whereas the other as common to both vernacular and literary sphere, as are the pronouns *тебе*, *себе*.

With regard to the metathetic forms Uspenskij agrees with Živov in that ESl ChSl forms were born out of the scribe's dependence on the living pronunciation: to insure the correct spelling the scribe abided by the rule which stated that one wrote **ѣ** where in living pronunciation one heard [ě], and **ѐ** where one heard [e]. Indeed in order to produce a metathetic form, such as **дрѣво**, the scribe would rely on the pronunciation of the corresponding vernacular pleophonic form **дерево**, where he would hear [e]. The distinction between literary : non-literary pronunciation was thus based not on **ѣ** : **ѐ** but metathesis : pleophony. The same precept could not be used in production of \*CeIC reflexes as the pleophonic form **млѣко** in the vernacular corresponded to **молоко** which could not guide him in his choice between **ѣ** or **ѐ**. For this reason the substitution in \*CeIC reflexes is not systematic and is limited to specific lexemes (such as in roots **облѣщ-**, **влѣщ-**) (Uspenskij 2002: 173–175; Živov 1999: 777–791).

In the 1629 Oktoikh the distribution of **ѐ** and **ѣ** in these environments follows, on the whole, the patterns described above. No substitution of **ѐ** for **ѣ** is present in personal pronouns – **тебѣ** is consistently written in the dat./loc. sg. and **тебе** in the acc./gen. sg. The feminine suffix **-ѣль** is rendered as **-ель** in the sole lexeme of this type attested in the text, namely **добродѣтелей, дѣтели** (2<sup>r</sup>:11, 45<sup>r</sup>:5–6) (cf. OCS **дѣтѣль**). In words of the **тѣло/тѣлесе** type the same distribution is present: we find **тѣло/дѣла** but **безтелесныхъ** and **телеснѣю** (19<sup>v</sup>:8, 26<sup>r</sup>:11). In the metathetic forms the sequence **рѣ-** is consistently written as **ре-** but the original **ѣ** is preserved in reflexes of \*CeIC, e.g. **прегражденіе, преславное, прежде, прегрѣшеніа, стрегѣщимъ, древомаъ, времяаъ, оумовредно, невредна, посредѣ, вочревѣ, нажребій, потреба, непотребныа, потребаетъ** but **плѣннымаъ, плѣнниаъ, плѣненъ**.

In the Kievan Oktoikh **побѣдѣннаа** (19<sup>r</sup>:14) occurs 1x but otherwise **побѣдѣтъ, побѣдѣннаа** (2x), **побѣждаѣтса, побѣдѣса**. This spelling might reflect the influence of dialects in which unstressed **ѣ** was regularly supplanted by **ѐ** as the two vowels fell together in one sound *e*. This phonological change took place in the central East Slavonic territories: in today's Belorussia, Northern Ukraine and Southern Great Russian territories. It is believed that the fusion of these two phonemes occurred in the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries (Shevelov 1979: 431–432; Filin 2006: 160–178). Owing to its singular occurrence, however, it might simply be an error.

Furthermore stressed **ѣ** is rendered by the grapheme **ѐ** in the following two lexemes: **оузрѣше, неизрѣнною** (cf. **зърѣти** OCS) betraying possibly a Belarusian influence where stressed *ě* was lost and fell together with *e* (Filin 2006: 160–178). Similarly, the spelling of

the word **НЕДЕАЛЬ**, **ВНЕДЕАЛЮ** (1<sup>r</sup>:4, 49<sup>v</sup>:8) for **НЕДЕАЛѦ** may be ascribed to the influence of the official administrative language, Belarusian-Ruthenian, and possibly to the influence exerted by the Bulgarian church pronunciation. The substitution of **Ѧ** by **ε** in this particular lexeme was widespread in URu texts (Shevelov 1979: 433).

In the 1629 Oktoikh forms such as **ВЕЛЕНІЕ** (3x), **ПОВЕЛЕНІЕ**, **НЕВИДЕНІА** occur side by side **ИСТАЛЕНІА**, **ТАЛЕНІЕ**, **ВОВИДѦНИИ**, **ДОЛГОТЕРПѦНІЮ**. These forms however, although rather unusual, were emblematic of the Ruthenian period and are well represented in the texts of time. They are pseudo-Slavonicisms which the scribes introduced in nouns derived from Class IV verbs ending in **-ѦТИ**. The impetus behind this reform was twofold: it was partly driven by a desire to expurgate from the written language what they erroneously believed to be instances of the “new **Ѧ**”, partly reflected the influence of the official administrative language (Shevelov 1979: 434).

The form **СВѦРѦПІЮЩЮ** (23<sup>r</sup>:8), OCS and CES have **СВЕРѦП-**, might be seen an instance of anticipative misspelling: the occurrence of the vowel letter **Ѧ** in the first syllable only anticipates the same letter which occurs in the next syllable. On the other hand, this substitution may reflect the general tendency to confuse **Ѧ** and **ε** in unstressed positions.

#### 2.3.4.2 Fronting of *e > i*

According to Shevelov (1979: 425–431, 437–439) the fronting of *e* (deriving from PS *ě* as well as the so-called “new *ě*”) into *i* is restricted to Ukrainian – there being no corresponding phonological change in neighbouring or co-territorial languages. This change, which emanated from South-Western Ukraine northwards did not initially extend to those areas, i.e. Northern Ukraine, where *ě* was phonetically realised as a diphthong [i<sup>h</sup>e]. The earliest attested examples began appearing in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century. In Northern Ukraine the passage of *e* into *i*, on the other hand, is twofold: the stressed *ě* ([i<sup>h</sup>e]) is gradually ousted by the South Ukrainian *i*, a process which started no later than in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, whilst the passing of the unstressed *ě*, through monophthongisation, into *e/i* began in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Indiscriminate use of the letters **Ѧ/и**, more often **и** for **Ѧ**, prevalent in Ukrainian texts dating from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, is a reliable indicator of the alternation in question, abating with the appearance of grammatical works concerned with the codification of language, such as Zizanij’s *Grammatika Sloven’ska* (1596), Smotryc’kyj’s *Grammatiki* (1619) and Berynda’s *Leksikon slavenorosskii i imen tolkovanie* (1627), where the



between the hard and soft *r* is rarely attested and is limited to direct cases: *рь* ~ *ръ*, e.g. *цръ* (2x) but *Цръ* (1x) (in oblique cases only soft desinences are attested *црю*, *црѣви*, *црѣм*); *тварь* (8x) but *Тварь* (8x); *лѣтъ* (2x) but *Лѣтъ* (2x); *ѡсвѣра* (1x). In addition two instances of confusion between *и* and *ы* are attested after *r* (such examples may also testify to the coalescence of etymological \**y* and \**i*): whereas the etymological \**y* is present in *рыданіемъ*, *сокрыса*, *закръѣ*, in *шестокрылатїи* the letter *ы* appears instead of *и* and in *оугризеніемъ* *ы* is replaced with *и*.

### 2.3.5.2 Dispalatalisation of postdentals

Being the results of either the palatalisation of velars or elimination of *j*-clusters through yodisation, the sibilants *š*, *šč*, *ž*, *žd* as well as the affricates *c*, *č* were originally palatalised. Their further phonological development is, broadly speaking, a history of gradual dispalatalisation, where somewhat different results obtain in the three East Slavonic languages. In CSR only the affricate *č* and the sibilant *šč* have retained their initial *softness*, whilst the sibilants *š* and *ž* had been hardened in the course of time (Borkovskij and Kuznecov 2006: 152–155).<sup>1</sup> In CSU, on the other hand, the dispalatalisation process has affected all three postdentals except when these occur in a specific morphological/phonetic environment.<sup>2</sup> The affricate *c* has been completely dispalatalised in CSR, although its initial palatalised character has been preserved to this day, chiefly in *cokan'e*-dialects; the situation in CSU and its dialects is more complex since the affricate has undergone only a partial dispalatalisation.<sup>3</sup> In Belarusian, on the other hand, the dispalatalisation process was all-embracing affecting both the postdentals and the affricate *c* (for further details and examples see Wexler 1977: 154–157).

<sup>1</sup> The affricate *č* has become dispalatalised in some Russian dialects, in particular those that had been characterised by *cokan'e* but since have lost it.

<sup>2</sup> The postdentals become palatalised in the following positions: (a) before *i* (that originates from *e* or *ě*), e.g. *žinka* ‘woman’, *šest* ‘six’, *ključi* ‘keys’; (b) in neuter nouns ending in *-a*, which are not expanded with the suffix *-at* in oblique cases, where the postdental in question may be long or short); (c) in the instr. sg. of feminine nouns ending in a consonant with a long postdental. With regard to the Ukrainian dialects, the question of dispalatalisation and/or retention of palatalised postdentals is more complex. Generally speaking, palatalisation is preserved in two dialect clusters, the first comprises Bukovyna and Pokuttia, Huc and Bojk, the other the south-western part of the West Polissian dialects. In the remaining dialectal zones – South-East, North and around 50% of the South-West – the distribution of palatalised/dispalatalised postdentals is (virtually) identical to that in CSU. For further details see Shevelov (1979: 549–556).

<sup>3</sup> In CSU the palatalised *c'* is found in the following positions: (a) word-finally; (b) before word-final *-a*, *-u*, *-i*; (c) in nouns formed with suffixes *-ec'*, *-yc'(a)*, etc.; (d) in roots we observe a mixed formula, both *c* and *c'* are present, although before *e* and *y* only a hard *c* can occur. In dialects, word-finally, palatalisation is found in Bojk and Central Transcarpathian dialects, whilst it is absent from the North Ukrainian dialects, Sjan, Lemk, Dniester, West Podolia, Pokuttia, Bukovyna and Hucul. For further details see Shevelov (1979: 619–622).

In manuscripts and printed texts, dating from earlier epochs, the dispalatalisation, or alternatively the lack of it, might be to a lesser or greater degree of certainty signalled by the choice of vowel letters immediately following **ж**, **жд**, **щ**, **ш**, **ц** and **ч**. One can tentatively posit that the so-called ‘simple’ letters **а** and **ѡ/ѡ҃**, as opposed to the ‘iotised’ letters **ѧ** (**ѧ**) and **ѡ**, the back jer instead of the front jer, as well as **ы** instead of **и**, when written after the postdentals or the affricate *c* indicate that these had hardened (Shevelov 1979: 551). The remainder of this section explores this hypothesis relative to the forms attested in the 1629 Oktoikh.

The spelling of *y* for *i* after the sibilants *š*, *šč* and affricates *c*, *č* occurs rarely and is attested in the following words: **величающыхъ**, **чыстымъ** (instr. sg. neut.), **зовщы**, **сокрѡшѣшаго**, **сѣдщыѧ**, **ншымъ/нашымъ** (3x), **любщыхъ**, **видщы**, **лицы** (instr. pl. neut. of ‘лице’) (2x), **языцы** (nom. pl. masc. of ‘языкъ’), **концы** (nom. pl. masc.), **вотрѣцы** (loc. sg. fem.), **лицы** (nom. pl. masc. of ‘лицъ’), **страстотерпы** (nom. pl. masc.). Such orthographic practice may be a reliable indicator of dispalatalisation of postdentals/affricate *c* where a clear phonological demarcation between the vowel letters **и** and **ы**, as is the case in Russian, has been preserved. The attested examples do not, however, lend themselves to such a simple interpretation for several reasons. To begin with, the 1629 Oktoikh’s Ruthenian origins should be taken into consideration. Since in Ukrainian the distinction between **ы** and **и** had been obliterated, the vowel **ы** should not be automatically taken as an indicator of postdental’s *hardness*. Shevelov (1979: 552) points out that this is notably the case with *y*-spellings encountered in URu texts. On the other hand, bearing in mind that the *y*-spellings are few and far between and that apart from a single exception (**непостыжно** (21<sup>r</sup>:11) but **непостиж-** (9x)) no other cases of confusion between **ы** and **и** are attested, these indeed seem to be authentic examples of dispalatalisation. Similarly, the occurrence of **ы** after the affricate *c* points to the same fact, namely, that the affricate in question had hardened.

It is interesting to observe that Smotryc’kyj (1619: **Ѣ/4<sup>r</sup>**, **5<sup>r</sup>–6<sup>v</sup>**) does not allow the ending **-ы** in the nom. pl. of the \*jǫ-stem neuter and masculine nouns ending in **-це** and **-ецъ** respectively (nor, for that matter, in the nom. pl. of \*ǫ-stem masculine nouns ending in a velar where the second palatalisation occasions the mutation *k* > *c*), listing the original ending **-и** as grammatically correct (cf. **языцы** nom. pl. masc. of ‘языкъ’, **страстотерпы** nom. pl. masc., etc.). On the other hand, in the instr. pl. of \*jǫ-stem nouns the original ending **-и** is relinquished in favour of either **-ами** or **-ы**, the latter indicating the dispalatalised nature of the affricate (cf. **лицы** instr. pl. neut. of ‘лице’) (Smotryc’kyj 1619:

ѣ/5<sup>r</sup>–6<sup>v</sup>). In a similar vein, the correct ending in the instr. sg. for \*jā-stems in -ца is -и (cf. **вотрѣцы** loc. sg. fem.) (Smotryc’kyj 1619: Д/2<sup>v</sup>–3<sup>r</sup>).

An additional complication is caused by the fact that the opposition **ы** : **и** may be exploited for morphological reasons, namely to demarcate between the plural and singular forms respectively. Such orthographic practice is typical of Synodal Church Slavonic (Mathiesen 1972: 136), e.g. **свѣцы** (nom.pl) vs. **свѣци** (loc. sg.). Furthermore Smotryc’kyj (1619: Ф/4<sup>v</sup>–7<sup>v</sup>) uses this antistoechum to separate between the instr. sg. and dat.pl. of past and present tense participles, e.g. **бѣюцимъ** (instr. sg.) vs. **бѣючимъ** (dat.pl.); **вѣцимъ** (instr. sg.) vs. **вѣчимъ** (dat.pl.). Consequently, the participle **сѣдѣши** (25<sup>r</sup>:16) as well as the attested nom. pl. forms are potentially ambiguous, allowing initially both interpretations: **ы** as the morphological marker of number or as the indicator of dispalatalisation. Owing, however, to the uncommonness of such spellings, the later interpretation seems more plausible: even if applied inconsistently, had the antistoechum **ы** : **и** been adopted as an orthographic principle, we would expect to find a greater number of such occurrences.

The spellings with **ѣ** as opposed to **ь**, in the same positions, predominate, although a few isolated instances with the front jer are also attested (5x), e.g. **рождѣшагосѣ** (1x) but **рождѣшаѣ** and **рождѣсѣ**; **(по/пре)даждѣ** (5x) but **дѣдѣ** (1x); **пригвождѣ** (1x); **свобождѣ** (1x); **чѣждѣ** (1x); **дождѣ** (1x); **иждѣ** (1x); **нашѣ** (14x); **воплощѣсѣ** (2x); **пецѣ** (5x); **лѣчѣ** (1x); **сирѣчѣ** (1x); **разбойничѣ** (1x) but **чѣчѣ** (1x); **ѣцѣ** (2x); **чѣколювецѣ** (9x); **мѣроносицѣ** (1x); **живодавецѣ** (1x); **вѣнецѣ** (1x); **наконецѣ** (1x); **всевидецѣ** (1x); **творецѣ** (1x); **младенецѣ** (1x); **лѣнецѣ** (1x). Bearing in mind that the Kievan Oktoikh had been printed some ten years after the first publication of Smotryc’kyj’s *Grammatiki*, the **ѣ**-spellings can, in this case, serve as a reliable sign of dispalatalisation since, as Shevelov (1979: 552 observes, ‘[o]nly after the regularisation of spelling by Meletij Smotryc’kyj (1619) did the palatalizing value of **ь** as a letter resume crystallizing’. The infrequent **ь**-spellings might be an echo of an earlier, Euthymian/Serbian, orthographic convention in which the front jer was perceived as nothing more than a sign indicating the end of a word.

With the exception of two lone examples, spellings with ‘iotised’ letters after the postdentals or the affricate *c* are not encountered (for examples and exceptions see, 2.2.4 and 2.2.9). The purported evidence of dispalatalisation furnished by use of ‘simple’ letters after the postdentals should be accepted with utmost caution for several reasons. First, even in OCS the choice between **ь** and ‘iotised’ letters after palatalised consonants, on the one hand, and **ь** and ‘simple’ letters after non-palatalised, on the other, appears to be arbitrary in

many instances so that “ju” prevailed over *u*, and *ь* over *ѣ*, but *а* over “ja”; yet there was much variety which depended on a particular scribe, the character of the postdental (“čju” more often than “žju”), etc.’ (Shevelov 1979: 551). Indeed, the apparent exception, ЧЮСТВЕННЫА (11<sup>r</sup>:4), may be an example of an influence by a particular orthographic convention adhered to in the texts which served as the basis for the 1629 edition. Second, with regard to the Ukrainian texts dating from the mid-11<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> century, one observes a general decline in use of ‘iotised’ letters (e.g. in charters published before 1450 one can find documents where only *u* is attested, similarly texts where solely *а* appears are attested from 1388 (Shevelov 1979: 552)).

### 2.3.6 Loss of word-initial *j* before rounded vowels

A phonetic change whereby the word-initial *j* was eliminated before the vowels *e* and *u* is typical of ESl linguistic community. (There is some doubt, however, whether the passage *e* > *o* was limited to ESl languages as the reflex *o* is attested elsewhere, cf. ещѣ (R) and още (B) (Bjørnflaten 2005b: 76).) With regard to the sequence *je-*, the change came about in two stages, the initial passage of *je-* into *e-* is further attended by that of *e-* into *o-*. Whereas the loss of *j* before *u* occurred irrespective of what might follow in the remaining syllables of a lexeme, the change *e-* > *o-* took place when the word-initial *je-* was under stress or before a syllable with an acute vowel. This change was seemingly precluded if the stress fell on the third syllable, in enclitics as well as if the following syllable contained the front *jer*. However, the rule does not account for all instances of word-initial *o* in ESl, e.g. ель, ёжь (< \*ježь), ольхѣ. Since the ‘iotised’ *u* and the sequence *je-/e-* became characteristic of Church Slavonic of Bulgarian, Macedonian and Serbian redactions in particular, an antithesis literary : non-literary, in the context of ESl literary tradition, became established at an early stage. The forms with the word-initial *j* were perceived as being saliently literary. Furthermore, in the wake of the *second South Slavonic influence*, with respect to the *ju-* spellings, absence of iotisation was circumscribed to (a) lexemes with the prefix оу-, e.g. оубогій, (b) words such as оуши, оуста, оумъ, оудъ, оучити, (c) lexemes that lack iotisation in SSl languages, e.g. оуроба, оуза (Jakobson 1929; Uspenskij 2002: 310–311).

The SSl orthographic model is observed with utmost consistency in the 1629 Oktoikh relative to both the word-initial *e-* and *ju-*, e.g. юноша, единственное, единъ. In addition, no hypercorrect forms of the type *jutroba* are attested, e.g. воутробѣ, оузъ, оугль.



### 2.3.7 Loss of jers and attendant consequences

#### 2.3.7.1 Changes in ecclesiastical pronunciation after the loss of jers

After the loss of jers the scribe could no longer rely on his living pronunciation to determine with any degree of certainty where the etymological jers and where the vowels *ѣ*, *ѝ* should be written. The impact on the Church Slavonic orthography and in turn on the ecclesiastical pronunciation was significant: since the jers in *weak position* were obliterated these were neither pronounced nor written, and where in *strong position* they were subject to full vocalisation that found expression both orally and orthographically. The jers' disappearance from the phonological canvas signals thus the demise of an earlier tradition where, in accordance with the established rules, the letters *ѣ* and *ѝ* were pronounced as [e] and [o] respectively.<sup>1</sup> As a result two orthoepic norms were established: in the South-Western Rus the jers were no longer pronounced having only an orthographic function, and in the Muscovy Rus where the jers were pronounced as reduced vowels (this tradition has been preserved until the present day by the *staroobradcy-bespopovcy*). Revision of these rules and the concomitant changes took place no earlier than the 14<sup>th</sup> century. However the earlier practice of rendering weak jers as full vowels continues in certain environments even after their elimination, as the loss of jers unleashed a host of undesired attendant phonological changes, namely the rise of different types of consonantal assimilations at morpheme boundaries, syncopal forms, devoicing of word-final consonants, etc. In order to preserve Church Slavonic from degradation and contamination from the vernacular, *ѣ*, for example, continues to be written and pronounced as [e] in suffixes such as *-ѣств-* and *-ѣск-* when these follow after the hushing sibilants or consonant clusters. In the following, the old ecclesiastical pronunciation becomes embedded in certain grammatical markers so that the suffixes such as *-ѣств-*, *-ѣск-* may now be written as *-ѣств-*, *-ѣск-* (Uspenskij 2002: 150–155). Examples of this kind abound in the 1629 Oktoikh, e.g. *дѣческиѣхъ, вслѣческими, члѣческое, мѣжеска, пришествіа, ѣстества*. Lexemes with the *-ѣств-* suffix, which appear in the line, are on a handful of occasions spelt with *ѣ* or *paerok*, e.g. *гѣств-* (2x), *сѣльствомъ, гѣствіа, богаѣство, таинство* (but also *таинство* (2x) and *Тайнство*).

---

<sup>1</sup> Šaxmatov (1969: 34–35) argues that provenance of such pronunciation is rooted in South Slavonic influence: since the loss and vocalisation of jers occurred earlier on the SSI territory than on the ESL, the East Slavonic clergy must have interpreted pronunciation of *ѣ*, *ѝ* as [e] and [o] as an overtly marked sign of literary pronunciation. As, at that time, it was impossible to distinguish between the weak and strong jers, from the point of view of one's own living pronunciation, the principle of rendering strong jers as full vowels unfurled to include the weak ones as well. For a more detailed discussion on orthographic practice of writing and ecclesiastical pronunciation of jers see Uspenskij (2002: 139–150).

Other words whose spelling reflects the old ecclesiastical pronunciation include: the spelling of the word **прѣдѣтеча** (OCS) as **предотеча**, prefixes/prepositions **съ**, **въ**, **къ**, **въз** as **со**, **во**, **ко**, **воз**, and words such as **оупѣва-** (Uspenskij 2002: 147,149).

Such orthographic rendition of the word **прѣдѣтеча** as well as the preposition/prefixes is especially emblematic of South-Western literary tradition. In Smotryč'kyj's *Grammatiki* (1619: Б/6<sup>v</sup>, Г/7<sup>f</sup>) sequences **ѣ**, **ѡ**, **кѣ**, corresponding to **со**, **во**, **ко**, as well as the aforementioned spelling of **предотеча** are attested. Examples of this kind, spelt either with a *paerok* or **о**, are numerous in the 1629 Oktoikh, e.g. **воспоемъ**, **возрадѣтѣса**, **восплещѣтъ**, **во исповѣданіи**, **вовѣки**, **во мѣрѣ**, **вославѣ**, **воведе**, **вмѣнихомѣса**, **котвоей**, **когровѣ**, **къ похвалѣ**, **ѣнимъ**, **сочѣки**, **совершити**, **созначална**; in addition, **предотеча** (16<sup>v</sup>:12) is also attested.

Spellings such as **оупова-** (from **оупѣва-**), in the period prior to the loss of jers, occurred as a result of the scribe's inability to apply the rule which stated to write **ѣ** and **ѡ** where in the corresponding CES lexemes one heard the sounds [ѣ] and [ѡ], and **о** and **е** where one heard [o] and [e] (Durnovo 1933: 64 in Uspenskij 2002:149). Since words like **оупѣвати** were not part of the vernacular and belonged solely to the literary sphere the scribe could not rely on the living pronunciation to produce the correct spelling. It seems that this particular form became the orthographic norm as in the 1629 Oktoikh we find the following examples: **оупованіе** (23<sup>v</sup>:5–6), **оуповахъ** (38<sup>v</sup>:8), **оуповающій** (47<sup>f</sup>:4).

### 2.3.7.2 The new ѣ

In general terms, the rise of the “new ѣ” from *e* is limited to syllables occurring before another syllable where etymologically a weak, front jer would have been present. This change, entailing a narrowing of *e* into *ě* in Southern Ukraine and diphthongisation of *e* into *ie* in Northern Ukraine, also comes to expression orthographically so that the original *e* in such positions is written as *ě*. The “new ѣ” is ultimately engendered by the loss of jers: the new spellings are already attested in the 12<sup>th</sup> century and confined to the newly closed syllables.<sup>1</sup> In other words, with the loss of jers, the opposition *e* : *ě* arises where the latter features in open syllables, e.g. *peči* (gen. sg.), and the former in the latterly closed ones, e.g. *pěč* < *pečь* (Shevelov 1979: 303). The evidence of Ukrainian texts from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century indicates a visible decline in the use of the “new ѣ”, a tendency partly induced by the reactionary attitude to orthography that ignored the existing phonetic reality and

---

<sup>1</sup> For an overview of most typical lexemes in which the “new ѣ” appeared as well as commentary see, Shevelov (1979: 303–313).

changes taking place therein. However its presence is attested in sufficiently large number of instances, in the majority of original positions, to warrant the assumption that the “new **ѣ**” was still very much a feature of the Ukrainian phonetic landscape (Shevelov 1979: 435–437).

Amongst other word groups, the “new **ѣ**” was present in the 3<sup>rd</sup> per. sg. of the *e/o* or Class I verbs – in the 1629 Oktoikh it appears on one occasion only, in the following verb: (АДЪ) СТѢНѢТЪ (19<sup>v</sup>:20).<sup>1</sup> It is peculiar, however, that “new **ѣ**” is attested in this particular environment: beginning in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, spellings with the “new **ѣ**” in the 3<sup>rd</sup> per. sg. are on the wane being replaced with the original *-e-*, a process most likely engendered by morphological levelling with respect to verbal forms in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> per. sg. (*berěť ~ bereši > beret’ ~ bereši*) as well as multiplicity of forms in the 3<sup>rd</sup> per. sg. (*berět’ ~ bere ~ beret* with subsequent reintroduction of *beret*). By the 14<sup>th</sup> century such spellings are virtually eradicated (Shevelov 1979 :303, 304). Its singular occurrence in the 1629 Oktoikh allows for nothing more but conjectural inferences: the form is either an erratum or betrays influence of an older text (which was perhaps used as one of the primary sources in the preparation of the 1629 edition).<sup>2</sup>

The “new **ѣ**” was also present in nouns and adjectives with a suffix beginning in *-b*. In the 1629 Oktoikh the “new **ѣ**” is attested in only one such adjective/adverb, namely ТРИДНѢВН- (6x) that alternates with *e*-spellings ТРИДНЕВН- (5x) and ТРИДНѢВНОВАВША (1x).

### 2.3.7.3 Development of *o* before syllables with weak jers

With the loss of jers, a new phonological change, which gave rise to the opposition between the “open *o*” and “closed *o*” (from the CES ъ and *o*) affected virtually the whole ESI territory. The passage of ъ into the “open *o*” was uniform across all dialects. The reflexes of *o*, on the other hand, yielded different results in the ESI dialects. In South Ukrainian dialects, *o* passed to the “closed *o*”, /*ô*/, in pre-weak-jer syllables, and was subject to further development: by the 17<sup>th</sup> century, it passed to *u*, eventually yielding *i* in CSU and *i*, *ü*, or *u* in the dialects. In Northern Ukraine, *o* in the same environment passed to a diphthong “*o*”. The diphthongal reflex is still present under stress in a large number of North Ukrainian

<sup>1</sup> The presence of the first *ě* may be due a general confusion between *e* and *ě* in unstressed syllables, cf. СТЕНАТИ ~ СТЕНЕТЪ (OCS).

<sup>2</sup> It should be pointed out that the presence of the “new **ѣ**” in liturgical writings was not perceived at all times as intrusion of the vernacular. The phonetic change in the spoken language was allowed to influence the church pronunciation, which was as a result reflected orthographically (Uspenskij 2002: 175–176). It seems that only later, under the sway of the *Second South Slavonic influence*, such spellings were deemed as undesirable and the vowel *e* was reinstated, sometimes erroneously.

dialects as well in Southern Belarus. In the Great Russian dialects, on the other hand, the distribution of “open *o*” and “closed *o*” depended on the presence or absence of autonomous stress: the phoneme /*ô*/ developed where *o* was under autonomous stress and the “closed *o*” elsewhere. Both South-Western and Great Russian church orthoepic norms adopted this change as normative, which could also be expressed orthographically. In the former the grapheme **ѡ** was used to represent “open *o*” and **Ѡ** for “closed *o*”. Such spellings occur, for example, in comments written in the margins of *Venskij Oktoix* (end of the 13<sup>th</sup> beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century), *Bybel'skij apostol* (first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century) and in *galicko-volinskoe evangelie* (first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century). In texts of Russian origin, the same opposition is expressed in several different ways (combinations of these are also possible): (1) **Ѡ** is used to express “open *o*” and **ѡ** “closed *o*”; (2) **Ѡ** and **ѡ** represent “open *o*” but the same letters surmounted by *kamora* (˘) “closed *o*”; (3) a narrow variant of **Ѡ** represents “closed *o*” and a broad variant of the same letter stands for “open *o*”; (4) a narrow variant of **Ѡ** represents “open *o*” and a broad variant “closed *o*” (Zaliznjak 1985: 173–179, 208–211; Shevelov 1979: 319–321; Uspenskij 2002: 176–178).

In the Kievan Oktoikh, the grapheme **ѡ** is used less frequently than **Ѡ**. In majority of instances, the presence of **ѡ** is restricted to traditional environments where the opposition **ѡ** : **Ѡ**, in all likelihood, carries no phonological significance.<sup>1</sup> It is used as a morphological marker, to separate between declinable and indeclinable morphological classes and with certain prepositions/prefixes (for examples see, 2.2.8). Possible instance of /*ô*/, graphically rendered with Greek omega, are attested in the following lexemes: **пѡѡтъ** (21<sup>v</sup>:10), **ѡгнезрачный** (49<sup>v</sup>:5), **ѡгненнѣ** (34<sup>r</sup>:5), **грѡба** (5<sup>r</sup>:11). The grapheme **ѡ** appears in pre-weak-*je*r syllables in the first three examples, which suggests that the distribution of “open *o*” : “closed *o*” follows the South Ukrainian principle outlined above. Since the text examined dates from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, it is further possible to analyse the phonetic value of **ѡ** as [u]. The last example – **грѡба** – is, however, more ambiguous as omega occurs in the open syllable. Such spellings are indeed attested in Smotryc'kyj's writings; they should, however, only tentatively be taken as representing [u] since the presence of Greek omega in this

---

<sup>1</sup> It should be borne in mind, however, that Russian texts belonging to the Northern type are characterised by the presence of /*ô*/ in the element *-go*, which can be either stressed or unstressed, in the gen. sg. of pronouns and adjectives. Similarly, with respect to nouns, /*ô*/ is present in the dat. pl. desinence *-omъ* in several Russian texts of Southern type (Zaliznjak 1985: 175). The latter is also characteristic of some Ukrainian dialects (Pugh 1996: 76). Although the possibility that the corresponding examples in the 1629 Oktoikh reflect the presence phoneme /*ô*/ cannot be excluded, I believe that the initial analysis of such forms, as having purely orthographic significance, is more plausible.

environment is analogical, that is, influenced by the spelling of the same grapheme in closed syllables (Pugh 1996: 41).

### 2.3.8 Rise of the “new *a*”/*akan*’*e*

In the 1629 Oktoikh an instance of what, on the first glance, appears to be *akan*’*e* is attested in the following lexeme  $\widetilde{\text{ГПДАНЧАЛНДЮ}}$  (=  $\text{ГОСПОДАНАЧАЛНДЮ}$ ) (36<sup>r</sup>:7–8).<sup>1</sup> This example is peculiar since *akan*’*e*, as a phonetic phenomenon present in both Br and R, is absent from U save for several small areas usually referred to as Northern Černihiv, North-East Sumy and Čornobyľ’ (for further details see, Shevelov 1979: 86–88). Although we cannot exclude the possibility that a Russian, indeed even Belarusian, typesetter or scribe may have been responsible for this slip, it is also possible that this is an instance of vowel assimilation across syllable boundary which, in Ukrainian, gave rise to the so-called “new *a*”. The passage of *o* into *a* was incomplete and unsystematic, and in relation to certain groups of lexemes piecemeal at best, its occurrence usually limited to the pretonic syllables followed by a (stressed) *a* in the next syllable. The change, originating in the north and halting at the Lithuanian-Polish border before 1569, can most likely be attributed to the influence the Belarusian *akan*’*e* exerted on the Ukrainian linguistic territory. It is first in the 16<sup>th</sup> century that the evidence of written records may be used as a reliable indicator of this change, owing to the sheer number of spellings with the “new *a*”, a trend which continued well into the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Shevelov 1979: 507–517).

In Slavonic verbs the Proto-Slavonic quantitative distinction between  $\check{a} : \bar{a}$ , yielding the alternation *o* : *a*, may serve as an aspectual marker where *o* marks the perfective and *a* the imperfective aspect. Such alternations are regularly found in OCS, e.g.  $\text{РОДИТИ} \sim \text{РАЖДАТИ}$ ,  $\text{РАЗОРТИ} \sim \text{РАЗАРЯТИ}$ ,  $\text{РАСТВОРИТИ} \sim \text{РАСТВОРЯТИ}$ ,  $\text{РАСЪМОТРИТИ} \sim \text{РАСЪМАТРИТИ}$ . In CSU the alternation is present in a handful of verbs, e.g.  $\text{-mohty} \sim \text{-mahaty}$ ,  $\text{skočyty} \sim \text{skakaty}$ ,  $\text{krojity} \sim \text{krajaty}$  (in South-Western dialects it is still productive and has contaminated verbs with pleophony *oro*, *olo*) (Shevelov 1979 :512). In CSR the same alternation is present in a number of verbs and is ‘still sufficiently alive’ to generate new aspectual pairs (Vlasto 1988: 47), e.g.  $\text{sprosit}' \sim \text{sprašivat}'$ ,  $\text{promočit}' \sim \text{promačivat}'$ ,  $\text{otopit}' \sim \text{otaplivat}'$ ,  $\text{vdolbit}' \sim \text{vdalbivat}'$ ,  $\text{oblagorodit}' \sim \text{oblagoraživat}'$ , etc. It is interesting to note that in the 1629 Oktoikh a number of imperfective forms have *o* where the imperfective marker *-a-* would be expected – such hypercorrect spellings may have been motivated by

<sup>1</sup> The apparent mistake was indeed corrected by a later hand to *o*.

the knowledge of the “new *a*”/akan’*e*, e.g. **ОБНОВАЛЕТСЯ** (12<sup>v</sup>:17–18), **ВЪВЪРЪЩЕСЯ** (19<sup>r</sup>:15), **СВОБЪДАЕМА** (19<sup>v</sup>:13), **РАСМОТРЕМЪ** (20<sup>r</sup>:2–3), **ПРИГВОЖДАЕМЪ** (30<sup>v</sup>:14), **ПРЕКЛОНИЮ(ТИ)СА** (47<sup>r</sup>:6) but also **РАЖДАЕТСЯ** (13<sup>v</sup>:16), **ПОКЛАНАЕМСА** (7<sup>r</sup>:1–2). In addition to the imperfective verbs, hypercorrections are attested in the following lexemes: **ПОКЛОНИНІЕ** (13<sup>r</sup>:8), **ХОДОТАЙСТВЮЩИ** (19<sup>r</sup>:5–6), **ХОДОТАЙ** (2x) (40<sup>v</sup>:15, 41<sup>v</sup>:7), **НЕХОДОТЪСТВЕННЫМИ** (50<sup>v</sup>:7).

### 2.3.9 Palatalisation of velar consonants and further developments

Sequences \*kū and \*gū are assumed to have existed in early PS and consequently the passage of \*ū to **ы** yielded Slavonic sequences **кы** and **гы**. In addition the Slavonic sequence **хы** was also possible, e.g. **рѣкы** (nom. pl.), **дѣлгыи** (nom. sg. masc.), **хытрыи**, **Кыевъ**. On the other hand, the combination of velar + front vowel, such as **ки**, **ги** and **хи**, was not possible since any such sequence would have been eliminated through palatalisation of the velars. In the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries both the velar consonant and the back vowel had undergone a phonological change whereby the former is palatalised whilst the latter is fronted, giving rise to previously impossible **ки**, **ги** and **хи** (Filin 2006: 304–307; Schmalstieg 1995: 28).

Of significance, in this context, are further developments after *ky*, *gy*, *hy* > *ki*, *gi*, *hi* in Ukrainian. Already towards the close of the 14<sup>th</sup> century the sequences *k’i*, *g’i*, *x’i* became the preponderant norm on the Russian/Belarusian speaking territories – such pronunciation now being standard in the CSR.<sup>1</sup> Ukrainian, on the other hand, was subject to a further phonological process, taking place in the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries, that neutralised the effects of this change, namely the coalescence of *i* and *y*, where *i* > *y*, i.e. *kysl-* > *kisl-* (12<sup>th</sup> c.) > *kysl-* (13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> c.). The phonetic result of this change in CSU and most of its dialects is an intermediate vowel of high-mid front-mid row, usually rendered as *y*.<sup>2</sup>

Shevelov (1979: 230–236) observes that as a result of this coalescence some texts reflect ‘a general confusion of the letters for *y* and *i* which was setting in from the 15<sup>th</sup> on and became widespread in the 17<sup>th</sup> c.’ In Kiev, most of Volhynia and northern Ukrainian dialects, where the distinction between *i* and *y* was obliterated, the choice between **и** and **ы** after velars, or in any other position, was arbitrary as it was not rooted in any real phonological considerations. It seems that those versed in grammar and literary language preferred to use **ы** after velars (and in doing so were consciously harking back to the OCS

<sup>1</sup> Exceptions are exiguous and limited to certain positions – at word junction especially after the preposition *k*, e.g. *k yzbam*, *k yzgorodi*, *tak y nado*, etc. and with the interjection *kyš’!*; in modern dialects the sequence *ky* is encountered in individual words, e.g. *kysa*, *kyska*, *kyka*, and others (Filin 2006: 307; Ivanov 1961: 112–113).

<sup>2</sup> For further details see Shevelov (1979: 379–385).

usage), whereas **и** in the same position smacked of popular taste. Even amongst the educated elite there was little agreement with regard to the orthographic practice of spelling *y* after velars: for instance, in St. Zizaniy's *Казанье святаго Кирилла патриаръхи* (1596) the sequences **кы, хы, гы** are encountered for the most part, Adelphotis (1591) has both **чловѣкы, женскихъ, долгый** and **чловѣки, женскихъ, долгий**, and still Smotryc'kyj (1619: Г/7<sup>v</sup>) in relation to the feminine nouns ending in *-ga/-ka/-ha* recommends specifically that in the gen. sg. and acc.pl. *i* should be used and not *y*.<sup>1</sup>

Given this state of affairs and keeping in mind that the text's Ruthenian origins, it is still more remarkable that the editors of the 1629 Oktoikh adhered with an unfailing consistency to just one orthographic convention, namely that velars should be followed by *i*, e.g. **вовѣки, ѿ дѣческихъ, пазыки, Герафѣски, паки, навраги, многимъ, грѣхи**.

It is, however, a matter of speculation why *i* is used after velars in the 1629 Oktoikh. It is possible that Smotryc'kyj's rule of writing **и** after velars had a direct bearing on the orthography. Or perhaps, that the *raison d'être* was born out of more pragmatic and democratic considerations, as the Oktoikh in question was intended for the Ukrainian everyman.<sup>2</sup> A further, equally plausible, reason is that the spelling reflects Russian/Belarusian influence.

### 2.3.10 Assimilation in and simplification of consonant clusters

#### 2.3.10.1 Simplification of consonant clusters in *l*-participles

Simplification of consonant clusters in *l*-participles of the type *reklъ, moglъ, umerlъ*, etc. with the loss of final *l*, engendered ultimately by the loss of jers, can be observed in written manuscripts from the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries. In Church Slavonic, however, the old forms are retained (Uspenskij 2002: 214). As expected no such simplifications are attested in the 1629 Oktoikh, e.g. **реклъ еси** (6<sup>v</sup>:2), **простерлъ еси** (10<sup>r</sup>:13–14), **воздвиглъ еси** (14<sup>v</sup>:17), **ѿверзлъ еси** (25<sup>r</sup>:5), **вознеслъ естъ** (43<sup>v</sup>:10–11).

<sup>1</sup> Although I was unable to find any other references with regard to the spelling of *y/i* after velars, the principle of using *i* and not *y* is consistently applied throughout the text and therefore does not seem to extend only to feminine nouns with a root in velar.

<sup>2</sup> Shevelov (1979: 232) mentions that 'Žuh 1569, in adapting the Bible by F. Skaryna to U[krainian] readers, substituted [y] for [i] after these consonants.'

### 2.3.10.2 Syncope

Syncope is attested on one occasion only, namely the plosive *t* is omitted between the fricative *s* and the nasal *n*, e.g. **самовласно** (48<sup>v</sup>:16), reflecting pronunciation which is found in all three East Slavonic languages,<sup>1</sup> otherwise only full **-стн-** spelling is present, e.g. **БЕЗСТРАСТНА, БЕЗНЕВѢСТНА, БѢГОЧЕСТНО, ЄДИНОВАСТНЕ, ВЛАСТНОЮ, ПРИЧАСТНИКА.**

### 2.3.10.3 Assimilations in consonant clusters

The only examples of consonant unvoicing in the 1629 Oktoikh are reflected in unvoicing of /z/ when this phoneme occurs finally in the prefix/preposition **из** and prefixes **воз, раз** followed by an unvoiced consonant, e.g. **истебе** (14x), **искорени** (2x), **исперва, исповѣданій, истлѣніа, искѣшеній, исхитилъ, вострѣбите, воспоемъ, восплецидъ, восходи, распатіе, распростерлъ, распадеса, растерзалъ.**<sup>2</sup> On the whole the etymological spelling is preserved in words with the prefix/preposition **без** or those with restored emphatic consonants, e.g. **рѣсмотремъ, рѣшири; нейчетною** (2x) but also **Неисчетенъ, неисчетнѣю, неисчетей, неизъ//слѣднѣю** (but only **исцѣлѣхѣ, исцѣлилъ, неисцѣпаемѣю**); **Безпривѣщеніа, безсѣмене, безплотнымъ, безтелесныхъ, бесѣменомѣ, безпомощѣ, бѣчлчїе, забезчисленное, безконечнѣю.**

The presence of emphatic or long consonants as well as the sequence *zdr* at morpheme boundary is also attested. Their occurrence in a seventeenth century, albeit liturgical, text can only be interpreted as a sign of conscious archaisation.

The loss of jers gave rise to sequences of identical consonants, whether original or through assimilation, which were now in a position adjacent to each other. The syllabic structure of Proto-Slavonic did not admit double consonantal clusters, so we find, for instance, that in OCS these were regularly simplified to single consonants, viz. *bezzakonie* > **беззаконіе**, *izcěliti* > **исцѣлити**, *bezstrastie* > **бестрастїе**, etc. (Vlasto 1988: 59–60). The opposing tendency towards their restoration, engendered in all likelihood by the presence of prefixes/prepositions which retained their unvoiced consonants, is observed in literary manuscripts from the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Sobolevskij 2005: 146–148). In the 1629 Oktoikh an attempt had been made to reinstate the lost consonants, e.g. **БЕЗСТРАСТНА, БѢСТРАСТѢ, БѢСТРАСТІЕ, БЕЗСМЕРТНЫИ, БѢСТРАСТНЫИ, БЕЗСМЕРТІЕ, БЕЗЗАКОННІИ, БЕЗЗАКОННИКИ, БЕЗЗАКОНЮЩАГО, ВОЗСЫЛАЕМЪ, ВОЗСТАВИ.** but contracted forms are also sporadically encountered, e.g. **БЕСМѢРТНЕ,**

<sup>1</sup> For Ukrainian see Pugh and Press (1999: 38–40), for Russian Haraldsson (2001: 26).

<sup>2</sup> Only other example is the words **гдѣ** (4x) and **вездѣ** (2x) but these spellings had been standardised both in the secular and sacred texts by the 17<sup>th</sup> century.



БЕСМѢРТНІИ, БЕСМѢРТНЫИ, БЕСМѢРТНОМѢ, БЕЗАКѢМИ, БОБЕЗАКОНІИ, НЕИЗРЕЧѢНОЮ (= НЕИЗРЕЧѢНЪ). Similarly, spellings with a dental stop between a spirant and a following *r*, whose occurrence had already become a rarity by the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, is only present in the verb *razdrušiti*, e.g. раздрѣшилъ, раздрѣшивши, раздрѣшивъ but also разрѣши, разрѣшивъ, разрѣшишася (cf. Израилѣтаномъ ~ OCS издраилитѣнинъ; разрѣши, разрѣшася, разрѣшеніе, разрѣшити ~ OCS раздрѣшити; неизреченномъ, неизреченно ~ OCS неизреченьнъ).

### 2.3.11 Mutation 'a > 'e

A curious spelling of the word *плицаница* in the 1629 Oktoikh as *плиценіцею* (37<sup>r</sup>:5) may possibly indicate a mutation of *a* > 'e, a change that occurs after *j*, postdentals or other soft consonants. The geographical borders of this phonological phenomenon, which can be dated to the late 14<sup>th</sup> or early 15<sup>th</sup>, coincide by and large with the territory of the pre-1569 Moldavian-Polish Ukraine save for the Carpathian region. The occurrence of umlaut after postdentals is typical of the South-Western dialects from Bukovyna to Sjan where the vowel *a*, irrespective of its origin, undergoes a mutation in both stressed and unstressed syllables after any palatalised/soft consonants (Shevelov 1979: 542–547).

Since this is an isolated incident it is impossible to make any assumptions regarding its general significance: what seems to be an instance of vernacular influence might in fact be nothing more than a misprint.

### 2.3.12 Treatment of Ъ, Ѣ, Ы, И in different environments after *j*

#### 2.3.12.1 Development of *i* in word-initial syllables

A feature typical of Ruthenian, at the time when the 1629 Oktoikh was published, was the loss of word-initial \**јь*. This phonological development, starting in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, was in all likelihood engendered by the coalescence of the prepositions/prefixes *сѣ* and *из*. After the loss of *j*ers, *s* yielded its voiced counterpart *z* before voiced consonants, whereas *iz* was rendered as *is* before voiceless consonants. The two forms *s/z* ~ *iz/is* were now understood as one where the initial *i*- became optional. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century it spread to the preposition *к* that functioned as a cluster-breaker. In the following the word-initial unstressed *i*- may be dropped in lexemes with an original (*j*)*i*- and a small number of foreign loanwords (Carlton 1991: 168–171; Pugh 1996: 31–32; Shevelov 1979: 268–272). The only example of this

change is attested in the second part of the Preface and not in the liturgical text proper, e.g. **знасъ** (4<sup>r</sup>:3).

#### 2.3.12.2 Treatment of word-medial post-vocalic *i* (*ji*)

Word-medially and word-finally in post-vocalic position *i* yielded *e* in the strong position whereas it was eliminated in the weak position – these reflexes are present, amongst other Slavonic languages, in Ukrainian, Russian and Bulgarian (although the last two also show *i*-reflexes). In OCS, on the other hand, such sequences usually yielded *i*. (Carlton 1991: 171; Lunt 2001: 37–38; Shevelov 1979:272–273). In the 1629 Oktoikh, in addition to those instances where the influence of Church Slavonic orthography is obvious **недостойнѣ**, **таинство**, **воинства**, a strong tense jer is almost without exception rendered as *e* in past part. act., e.g. **пріємша**, **пріємъ**, **пріємше** but **прійшѣю** (1x).

#### 2.3.12.3 Treatment of suffix *-ij-*: development of *i* before *j*

After the elimination of jers, the suffix *-ij-* is realised in the strong position in texts of Ukrainian provenance as *-ij-*, in Russian or RChSl as *-ej-*. In the 1629 Oktoikh two such examples are attested **смінною** (27<sup>r</sup>:13) and **житейскій** (28<sup>r</sup>:2). The former reflects either Ukrainian or OCS spelling, the latter being more likely given the literary context, whereas the latter may show an influence exerted by Russian or RChSl. Before the loss of jers and when in the weak position the spelling of this suffix was not of a particular significance owing to the flexibility in choice between *i* or *ь* before *j* in OCS orthography. After their elimination however the vowel *i* disappeared from both Ukrainian and Russian, a development which was also reflected in spelling: the suffix *-ije* was rendered as *-е* (Shevelov 1977: 273–275). In the 1629 Oktoikh only the expected spelling *-ije* is attested: **вставленіє**, **воскрѣсеніє**, **распѣтіє**, **оудобреніє**, **прегражденіє**, **црѣтвіє**, **члѣколюбіє**, **прореченіє**.

#### 2.3.12.4 Treatment of *ь + j* at morpheme boundary

A rather curious spelling of *y* for *i*, at morpheme boundary, is observed after the suffixes *iz-* and *ob-*; the following examples are attested: **сѣбыидѣте**, **вбыимѣте**, **изыйде** (2x), **прыйзыде** (2x), **сѣбыиде** (2x), **изыйти**, **сѣбыде**, **вбыдѣ**. On first glance it seems as if the spelling might reflect the fact that *i* in position after hard consonants is pronounced as *y* – a phenomenon observed in ESl manuscripts from the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Schmalstieg 1995: 46). Such pronunciation is preserved to the present day in CSR, e.g. **в избу** is phonetically realised as

[vŷzbu], etc. On the other hand, in Ukrainian the distinction between vowels *i* and *y* was obliterated in 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries, making it unlikely that *y* should be specifically used to signal the hardness of the preceding consonant. Another explanation is forthcoming, namely, that prefixes in -ъ followed by roots with initial *j*- gave rise to the so-called tense jers, i.e. the back jer was subject to the general phonological process whereby  $\text{ъ}jV > yjV$ . Since prefixes ending in -ъ regularly appeared elsewhere, a tug-o-war between the two forms ensued from which prefix + *y* emerged victorious: during the Ruthenian period *y* was generalised as a link between the prefix and the root beginning with *j*- or in consonant clusters. The change  $\text{ъ} > y$ , affecting in the beginning only prefixes ending in -ъ (*sъ, podъ, nadъ, peredъ*), eventually encompassed both those prefixes that ended in an optional -ъ (*otъ ~ ot*) and those that never had it (*vъz, roz, bez, iz*) (Shevelov 1979: 275–278).

#### 2.3.12.5 Treatment of *ъ* + *j* at morpheme boundary

In the gen. pl. of \*ī-stem nouns the expected ending *-ii* < \**ъjъ* is attested once, viz. **СОУМЪ ЛЮДИИ** (38<sup>v</sup>:7), and in all other examples the desinence *-ej* (< *-ъjъ*) is present, e.g. **СКОРБИИ, ЗАПОВѢДЕИ, СТРАСТЕЙ, НАПАСТЕЙ, МЛѢТЕИ**. In OCS the spelling was optional, *-ii* or *-bi*, but *-ii* was given preference in OCS of Bulgarian redaction. In URu texts the vacillation between the two endings was present throughout the entire period; however, the distribution was not entirely random since the *ej*-spellings occurred as a rule in texts originating from eastern and northern regions of Ukraine, whereas the *ii*-spellings were prevalent in the West and the Poltava region (Shevelov 1979: 278–282). The ending gen. pl. *-ej* is also typical of both Russian and RChSl (for examples see, Bulič 1893: 164–165).

#### *2.3.13 Development of the sequence *an* + *n**

In Proto-Slavonic the sequence *an* + *n*, used especially in formation of denominal adjectives denoting substance, yielded in OCS *-ѣнь*, or *-’ань/-ань* after *j* and postdentals; in CES, however, only the latter form is encountered and it appears in all environments. The ESl Church Slavonic texts use almost exclusively the **-АНЬ/-АНЬ** suffix, in which the presence of **-ѢНЬ** is, as a rule, explained by an influence of an OCS protograph (Shevelov 1979: 141; Uspenskij 2002: 190). Following this tradition such adjectives are duly rendered with the suffix **-АНЬ** in the Kievan Oktoikh as well, e.g. **ИЗРАИЛЬТАНОМЪ** (13<sup>v</sup>:1), **МѢДАНАА** (30<sup>f</sup>:7).



## *Chapter III: Nominal morphology*

This section examines the declensional categories of noun, adjective, numeral and pronoun as well as adverbs, as attested in the 1629 Oktoikh. Where appropriate these have been given a tabular form with illustrative examples and compared to the forms codified in Smotryc'kyj's *Grammatiki*. Where several competing desinences/forms were recorded only those deemed anomalous or seemingly anomalous are discussed in further detail. In addition, soft adjectival and nominal desinences are also listed (for those case forms encountered in the text) and separated from the hard declensions by a double slash (/). Since nouns were grouped according to the stem, for the sake of brevity and to avoid repetition, different stems are sometimes grouped together where endings are identical (see Tables II and IX). Furthermore, no examples of \*nt- and \*r-stem nouns in the plural have been attested.

### *3.0 Declension of nouns in singular and plural*

#### *3.0.1 Singular declension*

Table I: \*ō/\*jō-stems (incl. nouns with suffixes -telъ- and -arъ-)

<b>N</b>	-∅, -о // -∅, -е	masc.: емманѡилъ, бѣгъ, языкъ // ѡцъ, чѣлоубецъ, ходотай, Црѣ/Црѣ; пастырь, здатель neut.: мѣсто//прореченіе, срѣце
<b>G</b>	-а, -ѡ // -а/-а	masc.: свѣта, початѣѡ // мѡжа/црѣ, раа, зиждителя neut.: коварства // ислѣніа, гла҃ца, мора
<b>D</b>	-ѡ, -ови // -ѡ/-ю, -еви	masc.: гробѡ, хѣви // мертвецѡ, Мойсею, црѣви neut.: мѣстѡ // мѣрдію, срѣцѡ
<b>A</b>	-∅, -о, -а // -а/-а, -е,-∅	masc.: животъ, адама // ѡца, слодѣа, нажребій, вѣнецъ; пастыра, избавителя neut.: начало // вставленіе, пристанище
<b>I</b>	-омъ // -емъ	masc.: страхомъ // обычаемъ, ѡцемъ neut.: величествомъ // совеселіемъ, послѣнцемъ
<b>L</b>	-ѣ // -и	masc.: адѣ, бѣѣ, дѣѣ, зрацѣ // ѡци neut.: единоначалствѣ // исповѣданіи
<b>V</b>	-е // -е, -ю	masc.: животе, бжѣ, дшѣ, источниче // ѡчѣ, раю, црѣю, вседержителю



firmly established especially in the masculine animate nouns appearing in both secular and literary/liturgical writings. This desinence is still present in CSU and can be found in Belarusian dialects although CSBr generalised the *u*-ending. Its persisting longevity in the south may be ascribed to the influence of Polish in which the same ending has been preserved (Filin 2006: 366–377; Kolesov 2005: 265; Pugh 1996: 55–56).

4. Two collective nouns belonging to the \*jǝ-stem are attested denoting inanimate objects: **ѠДѢЛНІЕ** (16<sup>v</sup>:7, 45<sup>r</sup>:10), **КАМЕНІЕ** (20<sup>r</sup>:9). The predicate associated with the collective is in the singular, e.g. **очервлено плоти твоеѠ зрѠци ѠдѢЛНІЕ, ѠдѢЛНІЕ червлено носѠ, каменіе распадеѠ.**

Table II: \*ā-/\*jā-, \*ī-stems

<b>N</b>	-а//а/-а	слава, вѠка // <u>Ѡдиница</u> , земля, пѠстыни, предѠтеча
<b>G</b>	-ы/-и//а/-а, -ы	Ѡтмы, мѠки // ѠтѠца, тла, <u>Ѡдиницы</u>
<b>D</b>	-ѣ//и	горѣ // земли, лѠчи, ИсѠи, бѠгостыни
<b>A</b>	-Ѡ//ю/-Ѡ	вѠкѠ, клѠтвѠ // дѠцѠ, дѠшѠ, кожѠ, волю
<b>I</b>	-Ѡю//Ѡю	пѠчиною // бѠгѠтынею, братіею, надѠедею
<b>L</b>	-ѣ//и/-ы	вогѠбинѣ // вотвердыни, земли, <u>вотѠцы</u>
<b>V</b>	-Ѡ//Ѡ	горо, вѠко // лѠствице, мѠріе

*Commentary to Table II.*

*Remarks.* All flexions in the above table are Church Slavonic (underlined forms are discussed separately). The desinence in the gen. sg. of \*ā-stem nouns with a root-final velar is *-i* (see 2.3.9). After postdentals and the affricate *c* the ending for the gen. sg. is represented by the grapheme *-а* rather than *-а* reflecting in all likelihood dispalatalised nature of the consonants in question, viz. ѠтѠца (see 2.3.5).<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the loc. sg. ending *-y* in the word **вотѠцы** may be seen an instance of the same phenomenon. Examples of the \*ī-stems in the 1629 Oktoikh are exiguous – all three instances have been included in the table above.

1. A singular occurrence of a collective noun belonging to the *ja*-declension is the lexeme **братіею** (1<sup>v</sup>:2). In addition four nouns denoting male persons but belonging to the feminine declension are also attested, namely **Владыка**, **ІѠна**, **ИсѠиѠ**, **Ѡубійца**.

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that Smotryc'kyj allows two alternative orthoepic norms after postdentals and the affricate *c*, in the acc. sg. ending of soft masculine nouns, and the gen. sg./acc. pl. endings of soft feminine nouns, where *-а* may be pronounced as either *a* or *ja*; however only *-а* as may be written after these consonants (Smotryc'kyj 1619: Ѡ/6<sup>v</sup>).

2. The gen. sg. ending **-ы** in the lexeme **ЄДИНИЦЫ** (33<sup>v</sup>:8) appears to be anomalous since the ending **-а** would be expected in the soft feminine declension (or following the orthographic practice in the 1629 Oktoikh **-а**). Several alternative interpretations offer themselves. The ending **-ы** is attested on this occasion only and may therefore be a misprint. On the other hand, it may be of Ruthenian origin since the most common desinence for feminine nouns with both hard and hardened stems is **-ы** (Pugh 1996: 48–49). A further possibility is that the desinence may be seen to represent results of coalescence between soft and hard feminine declensions in which the endings were generalised on the pattern of the hard stems, a process which affected both Russian and Belarusian (Filin 2006: 360–366). Since conflation yielded alternations of the type *voda* (R)/*vada* (Br) ~ *vody* (R)/*vady* (Br) and *zemlja* (R)/*zjamlja* (Br) ~ *zemli* (R)/*zjamlj* (Br), the form **ЄДИНИЦЫ** may be seen as an instance of this where *y* for the expected *i* reflects the hardening of the affricate in question. The ending **-ы** after the affricate *c* in soft nouns eventually becomes codified in RChSl (Bulić 1893: 193–194).

Table III: \*ї-stem

<b>N</b>	-∅	masc.: <b>ГДѢ, ОГНЬ, ОУГЛѢ</b> fem.: <b>ТВАРЬ, ТВАРЬ, ЧѢТЬ, ПЕЦЬ</b>
<b>G</b>	-а/-а -и	masc.: <b>ЎСВѢРА, ОГНА, ПЕЧАТИ</b> fem.: <b>ЛЕСТИ, БЛГОСТИ</b>
<b>D</b>	(-Є)ВИ -и	masc.: <b>ГѢИ</b> fem.: <b>БЛГТИ, КОСМРТИ</b>
<b>A</b>	-а/-∅	masc.: <b>ГДА, ОГНЬ, ПѢТЬ</b> fem.: <b>СМРТЬ, ЖИЗНЬ, ДВЕРЬ, ПЕЦЬ, ТВАРЬ, ОУТВАРЬ</b>
<b>I</b>	-їю	masc.: no examples fem.: <b>ПЛОТІЮ, СТРѢТІЮ, ГОРСТІЮ</b>
<b>L</b>	-и	masc.: no examples fem.: <b>ВОКРѢПОСТИ</b>
<b>V</b>	-и -ь/-и	masc.: <b>ГДИ</b> fem.: <b>ДВЕРЬ, РАДОСТИ</b>

*Commentary to Table III.*

*Remarks.* All desinences in the above table are Church Slavonic (the flexions of the lexemes **свѣрь, огнь, Господь** are discussed separately). Vacillation between the front and the back jer



in lexemes with a word-final *r*, e.g. **ТВАРЬ** ~ **ТВАРЪ**, may be seen as a result of hardening of this consonant (see, 2.3.5).

1. The standard Church Slavonic desinence for the voc. sg. in nouns belonging to this stem is **-и**; the presence of the nom. instead of the voc. ending is highly irregular in liturgical contexts and should be therefore viewed as non-standard (for other examples see, 5.2). Further developments and changes in the vocative case, in fact its very existence as a separate form, met different destinies in the three ESl languages. The vocative case had been, generally speaking, obliterated from living pronunciation of the Great Russian dialects by the 14<sup>th</sup> century, its use circumscribed in the time that followed to a handful of words of address, namely *gospodine*, *gospože*, *brate*, *knjaže*, and certain liturgical expressions such as *Bože*, *otče*, *Gospodi*, *Xriste*. By contrast, Ukrainian has preserved the vocative case – its use, for instance, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century was not limited to religious contexts but it regularly, though less frequently, occurred in non-literary contexts as well; such forms have also been present in Belarusian throughout time – in CSBr the vocative case has been preserved to a lesser degree than in CSU (Filin 2006: 384–390; Sobolevskij 2005: 190–193).

2. The lexemes **СВѢРЬ**, **ОГНЬ**, **ГОСПОДЬ** even in OCS showed a mixed inflectional formula: **СВѢРЬ** and **ОГНЬ** frequently had the \*jǫ-stem gen. sg. desinence whereas **ГОСПОДЬ** was even more heterogeneous appearing with the \*ǫ-stem gen. and dat. sg. endings as well as the \*ǫ-stem dat. sg. fronted counterpart *-evi* (Lunt 2001: 75; Schmalstieg 1983: 86). The desinences attested in the 1629 Oktoikh coincide with such a mixed distribution. In Smotryc’kyj’s *Grammatiki* (1619:З/6<sup>Г</sup>) **ГОСПОДЬ** is not listed with other ‘regular’ \*ǫ-stem nouns but the following paradigm is given as normative in the sg.: nom. *-ь*, gen./acc. *-а*, dat. *-и* or *-(e)vi*, instr. *-емь*, loc. *-ѣ*, and voc. *-и*. (The presence of the hard rather than the soft desinence in **ѠСВѢРА** is most likely brought about by the dispalatalised nature of this consonant.)

Table IV: \*ǫ-stem

<b>N</b>	<b>-∅</b>	<b>СНѢ</b>
<b>G</b>	<b>-а</b>	<b>СНѢа, Ѡмира</b>
<b>D</b>	<b>-ови, -∅</b>	<b>мірови, СНѢ∅, СНѢовиже, почин∅</b>
<b>A</b>	<b>-∅, -а</b>	<b>міръ, Ѡдомъ, міра, СНѢа</b>
<b>I</b>	<b>-омъ</b>	<b>чиномъ, соснѢомъ</b>
<b>L</b>	<b>-ѣ, -∅</b>	<b>воміръ, водом∅, СНѢѣ</b>
<b>V</b>	<b>-е</b>	<b>СНѢе</b>

*Commentary to Table IV.*

1. The \*ŭ-stem originally comprised a small number of masculine nouns of which the lexeme **сынъ** is best attested. As a stem it was not productive showing from early times a tendency towards decadence: this declensional pattern loses its separate identity through coalescence with the \*ǫ-stem (Vlasto 1988: 91–94). That by the 17<sup>th</sup> century various \*ŭ-stems nouns were no longer perceived as belonging to the same group is exemplified in Smotryc’kyj’s *Grammatiki* (1619:Є/7<sup>r</sup>, Ж/6<sup>v</sup>) where the lexemes **сынъ** and **домъ** are treated separately, each paradigm conflating its own blend of \*ǫ- and \*ŭ-flexions. The former has the following endings in the sg.: nom. -ъ, gen./acc. -а, dat. -у or -ови, instr. -омъ, loc. -ѣ and voc. -е, whereas the latter nom./acc. -ъ, gen. -у, dat. -у or -ови, instr. -омъ, loc. -у and voc. -е. It appears that **сынъ** preserves the etymological endings only in the instr. and dat. sg. (even here it is given as an alternative ending), whilst in the word **домъ**, apart from in the dat. and voc., the original endings are present elsewhere. The same lexemes attested in the 1629 Oktoikh follow the declensions outlined in Smotryc’kyj – we should note however that the dat. sg. -ови occurs only once with the lexeme **сынъ** (13<sup>r</sup>:9) being far more common with the word **миръ** (13x).

2. When appearing in the acc. sg. the lexeme **сынъ** is always treated as animate having thus the gen. ending -а; it is however curious that the same quality of animacy is also extended to the word **миръ** when it denotes ‘universe, creation’ (see for instance fols. 5<sup>r</sup>:7, 19<sup>v</sup>:11, 20<sup>r</sup>:4, etc.; compare also with the 1962 Moscow Patriarchy edition of the Oktoikh where **миръ** in all these examples is rendered with the standard acc. ending).

Table V: \*r-stem

<b>N</b>	-и	дци, мѣи
<b>G</b>	-ѣ	бѣоматере
<b>D</b>	-и	мѣри
<b>A</b>	-ъ/-ь	мѣръ, мѣрь
<b>I</b>		no examples
<b>L</b>		no examples
<b>V</b>	-и	ѿбѣомѣи

*Commentary to Table V.*

1. All desinences in the above table are Church Slavonic. It should also be noted that the original nom. sg. in both **дци** and **мѣи** is preserved rather than supplanted by the acc., as

was usual in the consonant stems (Vlasto 1988: 99–100). The vacillation in the acc. between the front and the back jer may be motivated by the hardening of this consonant.

Table VI: \*ū-stem

<b>N</b>	-и, -ь	ЦР̑КВИ, ЛЮБОВЬ
<b>G</b>	-ѣ	ЛЮБѢ
<b>D</b>	-и	ЦР̑КВИ
<b>A</b>	-ѣ/ ѡ	ЦР̑КОВЬ, КРОВЬ
<b>I</b>	-ѣю/ ѣю	ЦР̑КВЮ, ЛЮБОВІЮ, КРОВІЮ
<b>L</b>	-и	ЦР̑КВИ
<b>V</b>	-и	ЦР̑КВИ

*Commentary to Table VI.*

1. All desinences in the above table, with the exception of -(ѣ)ю, are Church Slavonic. It should be borne in mind that from earliest times there was a tendency to supplant the original consonant stem endings, especially in the singular, with those from the \*ī-stem – an instance of this is the form ЦР̑КВИ with the loc. sg. in -и rather than the expected -ѣ. Furthermore the loc. sg. ending -и is codified in Smotryc’kyj as normative for both \*ū- and \*r-stem declensions (1619: 5/1<sup>v</sup>). The form ЦР̑КВИ for the original ЦР̑КЫ in the nom. sg. is a hybrid, whilst ЛЮБОВЬ for the original ЛЮБЫ in the nom. sg shows a rather common replacement of the nom. with the acc. sg. form (Lunt 2001: 74; Vlasto 1988: 100–101). The vacillation between the front and the back jer, e.g. ЦР̑КОВЬ ~ КРОВЬ may be seen to reflect the hardening of the word-final labial (Filin 2006: 329–331).

2. Bearing in mind that the sequence ѡ + j followed by a vowel yielded different reflexes in ChSl and ESL, where in the latter it gives rise to -iju and in the former to -ju, the form ЦР̑КВЮ stands out as markedly non-literary and as such is attested only in the preface to the Oktoikh.

Table VII: \*s-, \*n- and \*nt-stems

<b>N</b>	-o, -ь, -a	слово, чѣдо, шко; корень, пламень, камень, отроча,
<b>G</b>	-a, -и, -e	слова, тѣла, чѣдеси, словесе; безсѣмене, безсѣмени, Искорени, пламени, камене; овчате
<b>D</b>	-ѣ, -и	нѣѣ, словѣ, кнѣси; Камени
<b>A</b>	-o, -ь/ъ, -e	чѣдо, тѣло, слово; вопламень, камень; овча/овчате
<b>I</b>	-омъ	словомъ
<b>L</b>	-и,	накамени, водни
<b>V</b>	-e, -o	слове, нѣо

*Commentary to Table VII.*

*Remarks.* All desinences in the above table may be considered as Church Slavonic (peculiarities in declensional patterns will be discussed separately for each of the stems).

1. Nouns belonging to the \*s-stem, in virtue of the fact that their nom. sg. ending is identical to that of the hard neuter declension, show at an early stage a tendency to adopt the neuter \*ǫ-stem endings. This process was complete by the 16<sup>th</sup> century and as a result both declensions, the older with the *-es-* suffix as well as the newer based on the neuter \*ǫ-stem, are codified in Smotryc'kyj's grammar. There seems to be no difference in register, in other words, the forms *těla ~ tělese* are interchangeable. The only exception is the lexeme **слово** which must follow the \*ǫ-stem declension when it denotes the Second Hypostasis of the Trinity: in the acc. and voc. sg. it has the masc. endings *-a* and *-e* respectively but may be treated as neuter in the nom. (Smotryc'kyj 1619:Ж/2<sup>r</sup>). In the 1629 Oktoikh the same practice is observed, e.g. **слово же собезначаное, соестѣвенный снъ** (6<sup>v</sup>:6–7), **обращаѣи сѣнь смертнѣю вѣвѣчнѣю жизнь, сѣртїю своєю слоѣе бжїи** (21<sup>v</sup>:7–9). The presence of the gen. sg. ending *-и* for the expected *-e* in the lexeme **чѣдеси** shows, as noted earlier, the intrusion of the \*i-stem endings (this ending is not codified in Smotryc'kyj who retains the original *-e*).

2. The \*n-stem acc. sg. forms of **пламень**, **камень** ousted the expected **пламы**, **камы**. The gen./loc. sg. ending *-и* is taken from the \*i-stem and is not codified in Smotryc'kyj (1619:Ж/1<sup>r</sup>) who gives the etymological *-e* in these cases.

3. The lexeme **овча** is treated as both animate and inanimate although it is always used metaphorically to denote a misguided, sinful human being (cf. **Иже насвое рамо заблѣдшее овча вѣземше** (fol. 15<sup>r</sup>:13–14) and **заблѣдшаго овчате возвести** (27<sup>r</sup>:1)). The spellings with *л* rather than *ѣ* in lexemes like **отроча**, **овча** most probably reflect dispalatalised nature of the postdentals.

### 3.0.2 Plural declension

Table VIII: \*o-, \*jo- (incl. nouns with suffixes -telъ- and -arъ- and with stem in -an-)

<b>N</b>	-и, -ы, -ове, -а // -ы, -ие, -ѡ/-а, -е	masc.: <u>пазыци</u> , <u>Серафими</u> , <u>воины</u> , <u>врази</u> , <u>свѣтѡве</u> // <u>Юдеи</u> , <u>концы</u> , <u>страстотерпцы</u> , <u>мѡжіе</u> , <u>стражіе</u> ; <u>согражане</u> , <u>зрителе</u> , neut.: <u>Колѣна</u> // <u>Реченіѡ</u> , <u>срѣца</u>
<b>G</b>	-ѡ, -овѣ, -й	masc.: <u>рабѣ</u> , <u>аггѡлѣ</u> , <u>грѣховѣ</u> // <u>ѡцѣ</u> , neut.: <u>оустѣ</u> , <u>блѡгѣ</u> // <u>беззаконій</u> , <u>Юдей</u>
<b>D</b>	-омѣ/-омѣ // -емѣ	masc.: <u>грѣхомѣ</u> , <u>апѡломѣ</u> // <u>ѡцемѣ</u> , <u>юдеомѣ</u> ; <u>Израильтаномѣ</u> neut.: <u>зданіемѣ</u>
<b>A</b>	-и/-ы, -а // -ѡ/-а	masc.: <u>грѣхи</u> , <u>враги</u> , <u>рабы</u> // <u>пѣвца</u> neut.: <u>свѣтила</u> // <u>прегрѣшеніѡ</u> , <u>срѣца</u>
<b>I</b>	-ы/-и, -ѣми // -ми/ -и, -ы	masc.: <u>гласы</u> , <u>бѣзакѡники</u> , <u>глѣми</u> neut.: <u>сѡществы</u> // <u>сїѡнми</u> , <u>сѣченіи</u> , <u>нелицы</u>
<b>L</b>	-ѣхѣ, -ехѣ // -ихѣ, -ѣхѣ	masc.: <u>составѣхѣ</u> // <u>вомѡртвецѣхѣ</u> neut.: <u>внѣдрѣ</u> , <u>воратѣхѣ</u> // <u>вопрегрѣшеніихѣ</u>
<b>V</b>	as nom.	masc.: <u>херѡвими</u> // <u>юдеѣ</u> neut.: <u>начала</u> // <u>основаніѡ</u>

#### Commentary to Table VIII.

*Remarks.* The majority of plural endings in the table above are standard and can be readily identified as Church Slavonic; the underlined examples above may or may not be seen as normative, from the point of view of literary usage, and these will be discussed separately in the remainder of this section. Spellings with -ы instead of -и after the affricate *c*, viz. in the nom. pl. of words such as концы, страстотерпцы, пазыцы, лицы (nom. sg. ликѣ) or in the instr. pl. of words such as нелицы, as well as with -а for -ѡ in the acc. sg. of the soft masculine declension after the same consonant, viz. пѣвца, may be seen to indicate the hardness of the affricate in question. The presence of the back for the front jer in ѡцѣ (gen. pl.) is in all likelihood motivated by the same reason. In addition, in accordance with the orthographic practice in the 1629 Oktoikh, the grapheme *и* is always written after the velars, hence its presence in the acc./instr. pl. of \**o*-stems with a root-final velar, e.g. грѣхи, враги, бѣзакѡники. In the nom. pl. the latter also undergo a mutation, e.g. врази.

1. In the 1629 Oktoikh a lone example with the desinence *-ove* is attested, namely **свѣтѡвѣ** (35<sup>f</sup>:12) (in a similar syntagma attested in the First Tone we find the etymological nom. pl. ending, i.e. **свѣти бывающе вторїи** (27<sup>v</sup>:2)). In Smotryc'kyj (1619: 6/7<sup>v</sup>) not only this but other oblique etymological endings from the \**ŭ*-stem are allowed as alternative desinences in the hard masculine stem declensions for both animates and inanimates. The intrusion of the \**ŭ*-stem nom. pl. ending *-ove* and its fronted counterpart *-eve* in the \**ǫ*-/\**jǫ*-stem paradigms is attested from the earliest times, more often, although not exclusively, in association with animate nouns. Desinences of this kind are, for instance, encountered in OCS manuscripts, *Codex Supraslensis* amongst others, e.g. **доуѡвѣ**, **сѡдовѣ**, **змикувѣ**, etc. The frequency with which these endings appear in written materials varies relative to the three East Slavonic regions; in modern East Slavonic languages the flexions are no longer productive. Spanning the period from the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century the desinences *-ove/-eve* are frequently encountered in the southern and western territories of the East Slavonic zone, pertaining not only to the literary genre, hagiographic works for instance, but also to more secular quotidian texts like chronicles and *gramoty*, which leads to the conclusion that these were very much a part of the living language. In the east the situation was rather different; such forms were doubtlessly present but are encountered less frequently. Towards the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the endings *-ove/-eve* were in all likelihood obliterated from the vernacular although they seem to have been petrified in certain lexemes (more often than not in proper names especially when referring to national groups). Otherwise their presence in written text very often exuded a specifically literary flavour (Filin 2006: 390–394; Iordanidi and Krys'ko 2000: 77–85).

The nom. pl. forms **мѡжїѣ**, **стражїѣ** show the results of conflation between \**jǫ*- and \**ĭ*-declension where the desinence *-їѣ* is taken from the \**ĭ*-declension. Such examples are attested throughout the CES period (Iordanidi and Krys'ko 2000: 116–117) and Smotryc'kyj (1619: 6/5<sup>f</sup>) allows it as a normative alternative to the etymological *-ѣ*, *-и* of \**telъ*-, \**arъ*- and \**jǫ*-stems.

A single lexeme with the nom. pl. ending **-ы**, **воины** (11<sup>v</sup>:10), is also attested. Although it is difficult to say to what extent, if any, such forms stood out as non-literary, since these are also attested in Church Slavonic texts of both South and East Slavonic provenance. However, the fact that such a substitution is attested only once might indicate that the desinence **-ы** was not perceived to be on equal footing with the etymological ending. In addition, the nom. pl. desinence **-ы** is not codified in Smotryc'kyj's *Grammatiki* as an



In the instr. pl. of soft neuter nouns two competing desinences are attested: the expected *-и* and the abovementioned *-ми* from the \**ǫ*-stem e.g. *сѣненїи*, *сїаними*. Their distribution suggests slight preference for the latter which appears 5x whilst the former 3x.

In Smotryc'kyj's writings *-mi* is for the most part present in masculine and neuter soft stems, but it is also used in the consonant \**telʹ*-stems and with high frequency in the lexeme *люда-* (Pugh 1996: 77–78, 81). In a similar vein, in Smotryc'kyj's Church Slavonic the desinence *-mi* is present in the same categories, including the \**arʹ*-stem, but it is absent from the \**ǫ*-stems declensions in which the alternatives are either *-ы ог-ы/-ами*.

5. The loc. pl. ending *-ѣх* for the original *-ихъ* in *во мрѣтвецѣхъ* (20<sup>f</sup>:13), *лицѣхъ* (36<sup>v</sup>:15) may be indicative of the loss of distinction between the hard and soft masculine/neuter declension, a tendency that makes itself already apparent during the CES period (Iordanidi and Krys'ko 2000: 143). Alternatively since the affricate *с* had hardened the lexemes *мертвецъ* and *лице* may have been reinterpreted as belonging to the hard \**ǫ*-stem and declined accordingly. In *Grammatiki* masculine and neuter nouns belonging to the hard \**ǫ*-stem declension have two endings in the loc. pl.: both historically justified *-ѣхъ* and *-ехъ* (taken from the \**i*-stem) are presented as normative. Similarly for the soft masculine/neuter declension original *-ихъ* and borrowed *-ехъ* are recognised as correct. In the 1629 Oktoikh the desinence *-ехъ* is attested only once in the lexeme *внѣдрѣ* (19<sup>f</sup>:15) otherwise the expected *-ѣхъ* is attested in both masculine and neuter \**ǫ*-stem nouns.

6. The lexeme *Юдеи* has a peculiar declensional pattern, indicating that it was perceived to some degree as identical to \**telʹ*-, \**an*- and \**arʹ*-stem nouns. For instance, the following cases have the expected \**jǫ*-stem flexions: gen. pl. *Юдей* (5<sup>v</sup>:8), nom. pl. *Юдеи* (17<sup>f</sup>:16), but nom. pl. *Юдее* (47<sup>v</sup>:11), dat. pl. *Юдеемъ* (22<sup>f</sup>:11), voc. pl. *Юдее* (25<sup>v</sup>:9, 49<sup>f</sup>:1) seem to be taken from the consonant-stem declension (compare also with the declension provided in Smotryc'kyj according to whom the nouns in *-ий/-ей* have the following flexions in the plural: nom./voc. *-е*, gen. *-й*, dat. *-емъ*, acc. *-а*, instr. *-йми/-и*, loc. *-ехъ* (1619: S/6<sup>v</sup>–7<sup>v</sup>)).



Table IX: \*ā-/\*jā- and \*ū-stems

<b>N</b>	-ы //-а	силы // дѣла, мѣроносица, юноша
<b>G</b>	-ѣ	бѣдѣ // лѣчѣ, мѣроносицѣ
<b>D</b>	-амѣ	дѣламѣ, лѣчамѣ; црквиамѣ
<b>A</b>	-ы //-а	мѣлитвы // дѣла
<b>I</b>	-ами //-ами	сослезами // лѣчами, зарамы
<b>L</b>	-ахѣ	дѣлахѣ
<b>V</b>	as nom.	горы

*Commentary to Table IX.*

*Remarks.* All desinences in the above table are Church Slavonic. The occurrence of the back jer and the grapheme ѣ after the postdentals and/or the affricate ц is probably due to the hardness of these consonants.

1. The presence of the \* ā-stem ending -амѣ for the original -емѣ in црквиамѣ reflects the conflation of \*ā- and \*ū-stems. This process whereby the \*ū-stem had been transferred either to the \*ī- or \*ā-stem declension took place at a very early stage so that forms with \*ā-stem endings are already attested in OCS manuscripts (Jordanidi and Krys’ko 2000: 145–147; Lunt 2001: 76). Smotryc’kyj does not recognise this “innovation” as normative and opts for -емѣ which may be seen as an archaising feature (1619: 9/2<sup>r</sup>).

2. The lexeme ‘ray’ (OCS лѣча) is treated as a feminine in the 1629 Oktoikh.

Table X: \*ī-stem

<b>N</b>	-и, -іе	людіе, печати, дѣри, дѣти
<b>G</b>	-ей, ій	страстей, людій
<b>D</b>	-емѣ	страстемѣ, людемѣ, дѣтемѣ
<b>A</b>	-и	болѣзни, люди
<b>I</b>	-ми	пѣнми, свѣтлостѣми
<b>L</b>	-ехѣ	вѣнапастехѣ
<b>V</b>	as nom.	людіе, власти

*Commentary to Table X.*

1. All desinences in the table above are Church Slavonic and have the original endings. The gen. pl. ending -ий is attested on one occasion only in the lexeme людій, otherwise the regular ending is -ей (see also 2.3.12.5).

2. In the 1629 Oktoikh the lexeme ПЕЧАТЬ is treated as feminine (in OCS the same lexeme is treated as masculine).

Table XI: \*ŭ-stem

<b>N</b>	-ОВЕ, -И	ЧИНОВЕ, ЧИНИ
<b>D</b>	-ѠМЪ	ЧИНѠМЪ
<b>A</b>	-Ы	ЧИНЫ

*Commentary to Table XI.*

1. In the 1629 Oktoikh the nom. pl. of \*ŭ-stems has two variants: it can be either -И or -ОВЕ. As in the singular, the same tendency towards coalescence with the declensions of the \*ŏ-stem paradigm is thus present in the plural; during the CES period intrusion of the \*ŏ-stems endings is attested in the nom./gen./instr. pl. (Iordanidi and Krys'ko 2000: 74–92). Smotryč'kyj gives an extremely mixed declensional formula in the plural paradigm for the lexemes СЫНЪ and ДОМЪ; it suffices to look at the desinences for the nom. pl.: СЫИ/СЫОВЕ and ДОМИ. Not only is the original ending present but both the acc. and nom. pl. of \*ŏ-stem nouns are accepted as normative.

Table XII: \*s- and \*n-stems

<b>N</b>	-А	НѢСА; ПЛЕМЕНА
<b>G</b>	-Ъ	НѢСЪ, ЧѢДЕСЪ; ВРЕМЕНЪ
<b>D</b>	-ЕМЪ, -ЕМЪ	КНѢСЕМЪ; ВРЕМЕНЕМЪ
<b>A</b>	-А	НѢСА, ЧѢДЕСА
<b>I</b>		no examples
<b>L</b>	-ѢХЪ	НАНѢСѢХЪ
<b>V</b>	as nom.	НѢСА

*Commentary to Table XII.*

1. With the exception of the ending -ѢХЪ, all other desinences are not only Church Slavonic but also etymologically justified. The evidence of CES texts suggests that the dissolution of the original \*s-stem paradigm and consequent intrusion of the \*ŏ-stem flexions was more gradual in the plural than in the singular. The presence of \*ŏ-stem desinence -ѢХЪ is attested in the CES manuscripts but seems to be absent from OCS (Iordanidi and Krys'ko 2000:

133–140). This ending is also absent from *Grammatiki* where such lexemes are declined according to their original pattern showing the s-marker (1619: Ж/2<sup>Г</sup>).

2. The use of the grapheme *ѣ* instead of *е* reflects in all likelihood the orthographic convention whereby the dat. pl. forms are in such a manner distinguished from those in the instr. sg.

### 3.1 Declension of adjectives in singular and plural

#### 3.1.1 Singular and plural declension of short adjectives

Table XIII: Short adjectives (singular and plural)

<b>Nsg</b>	-∅ -о // -е -а	masc.: крѣпокъ, великъ, смѣртносенъ, страненъ neut.: достоино, <i>Исано</i> // члѣче fem.: проста, неразѣлна, блга
<b>Gsg</b>	-а // -а -а -и	masc.: держаѣна, Гдѣ neut.: собезначална, сопѣносѣина, мѣжека fem.: дѣчески
<b>Dsg</b>	-ѣ	neut.: нетлѣнноѣ
<b>Asg</b>	-∅, -а -о // -е -ѣ	masc.: всеродна, страшна, треновенъ, <i>Бѣвинъ</i> // Гдѣ neut.: непостыжно, непреложно, хѣо // мѣрне fem.: совершеннѣ, пресѣнноѣ
<b>Lsg</b>	-ѣ	masc.: новѣ, дѣѣ neut.: ѡгненнѣ fem.: грѣховнѣ
<b>Vsg</b>	-е -а	masc.: трисоставне, трислнѣне, единоначалне, блже fem.: безначална
<b>Npl</b>	-и, -ы -а	masc.: мѣрѣви, <i>адовы</i> neut.: преславна
<b>Apl</b>	-и	fem.: мѣрски
<b>Lpl</b>	-ахъ	fem.: вѣѣлахъ

*Commentary to Table XIII.*

*Remarks.* All desinences in the above table are standard Church Slavonic (the underlined forms which are discussed separately). As noted previously, after velars the grapheme *ы* is always written as *и*, viz. мѣрски (acc. pl.), дѣчески (gen. sg.). When modifying animate nouns or acting as nouns in the acc. sg. the adjective has the gen. sg. ending, e.g. падшаго

*АДАМА* *ВСЕРОДНА* ВОСКРЕСИ (4<sup>v</sup>:16–17), *СТРАШНА* БѢСѢМЪ МѦ ПОКАЖИ (9<sup>v</sup>:12), *ПРАВЕДА* ЖЕ НАДРЕВѢ ОСѢДИША (23<sup>r</sup>:13–14), etc. Some examples of possessive adjectives (given in italics) have been included here for the sake of illustration as virtually all of them appear in the short form.

1. By the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> century the short adjective pretty much ceased to function attributively now appearing in predicative constructions only. In relation to the 17<sup>th</sup> century Russian, Pennington (1980: 253) observes that possessive adjectives are regularly attributive and have short forms, whereas, with other types of adjective, short forms are used in a handful of fossilised expressions or Church Slavonic. Generally speaking, the latter appear only in the predicate, in the nom. sg./pl., and short forms in oblique cases are virtually non-existent. Similarly, Pugh's (1996: 90–92) investigation into the language of Pamva Berynda, Smotryc'kyj and Vyšenskyj reveals an identical trend – short adjectives in oblique cases in the singular are rarely attested and they do not appear to be present in the plural. When such short forms do appear in oblique cases the context is more often than not literary and/or ecclesiastical.

It is therefore no surprise that a liturgical text such the 1629 Oktoikh should exhibit a far richer spectrum in the use of short forms in both the sg. and the pl. In addition, short adjectives appearing in the nom. sg./pl. may also be used attributively, although for the most part these are confined to the predicate, e.g. *ВОДОМЪ ДВѢ СТРАХЪ* *ВЕЛИКЪ* (13<sup>r</sup>:5), *МѢСТО СЦѢНІА ПРѢТОЛЪ* *ВЫСОКЪ* (20<sup>v</sup>:2), *ВСА ПРЕСЛАВНА* · *ТВОА БЦЕ ТАИНСТВА* : *ЧИТОТОЮ ЗАПЕЧАТѢННА* (31<sup>v</sup>:10–11), *ПРОЦВИЛА ЕСТЬ ... ПЪСЫЧНА* *НЕПЛОДЦАА ЦРКВИ* (40<sup>r</sup>:5–6), *ВЫСОКЪ* *ПЛАМЕНЬ ВОЗНЕСА ЕСТЬ* (43<sup>v</sup>:10–11).

2. All suffixes used in formation of possessive adjectives, namely \*-ov-, \*-in-, \*-inj-, \*-j-, and \*-ij-, are attested in the 1629 Oktoikh (Pennington 1980: 254; Schenker 1995: 113, 120, 122):

(1) the suffixes *-ov-/-ev-* were used in derivation of desubstantival possessive adjectives from masculine nouns belonging to the \*ǫ-/\*jǫ-stems: *ДАВИДОВЪ* (e.g. 13<sup>r</sup>:5, 24<sup>r</sup>:10), *ХРИСТОВЪ* (e.g. 13<sup>r</sup>:14, 19<sup>v</sup>:21, 20<sup>v</sup>:12, etc.), *АДОВЪ* (e.g. 19<sup>v</sup>:15, 41<sup>r</sup>:17, etc.), *АБЕЛЕВЪ* (e.g. 20<sup>v</sup>:6–7), *ПІЛЕВЪ* (21<sup>v</sup>:1), *АДАМОВЪ* (21<sup>r</sup>:9), *ААРОНОВЪ* (22<sup>v</sup>:6), *СПАСОВЪ* (25<sup>v</sup>:8), *МІТРОФАНОВЪ* (31<sup>v</sup>:16), *ЛВОВЪ* (38<sup>r</sup>:9), *КРАНИВЪ* (46<sup>v</sup>:5), *МЪЧИТЕЛЕВЪ* (47<sup>r</sup>:12), *МЫТАРЕВЪ* (51<sup>r</sup>:15);

(2) the suffix *-in-* was used in formation of denominal possessive adjectives from nouns belonging to the \*ā-/\*jā-, \*ī-stems and feminine consonant stems: *ЕВИНЪ* (16<sup>v</sup>:14), *ИСЛИНЪ* (5<sup>r</sup>:16), *СМІИНЪ* (27<sup>r</sup>:13);

(3) the suffix *-ьнѣ-* is a combination of the suffixes *\*-ѣн-*, used in derivation of denominal adjectives, and *\*јѣ-*: **МАТЕРЕНЬ** (7<sup>v</sup>:5–6, 31<sup>v</sup>:1), **ГОСПОДЕНЬ** (13<sup>r</sup>:3, 21<sup>v</sup>:5, 22<sup>r</sup>:3, etc), **ВЛАДЫЧЕНЬ** (25<sup>r</sup>:14);

(4) the suffix *-ь-* was used in formation of desubstantival possessive adjectives from masculine nouns: **РАЗБОЙНИЧЬ** (12<sup>v</sup>:1, 49<sup>r</sup>:6), **ЧЛОВѢЧЬ** (27<sup>r</sup>:2), **ОТЕЧЬ** (30<sup>r</sup>:15, 34<sup>r</sup>:5, etc.).

(5) the suffix *-ьѣ-* was used in formation of denominal possessive adjectives from masculine nouns: **БОЖИИ** (4<sup>v</sup>:6, 11<sup>v</sup>:16, 25<sup>v</sup>:10, etc.), **ВРАЖИИ** (3<sup>v</sup>:7, 25<sup>r</sup>:1, 38<sup>r</sup>:16).

3. An interesting feature recurring several times in connexion with the possessive adjective **АДОВЬ** is absence of agreement with the noun this adjective qualifies, e.g. **ВРАТНИЦИЖЕ АДОВЫ** (nom. pl. masc.) (30<sup>r</sup>:6), **АДОВЫ ВРАТА** (acc. pl. neut.) (43<sup>v</sup>:3–4), but also showing correct agreement in **ВРАТА АДОВА** (acc. pl. neut) (19<sup>v</sup>:15), **АДОВА ВРАТА** (acc. pl. neut.) (42<sup>r</sup>:14) and **ВРАТНИЦИ АДОВИ** (nom. pl. masc.) (44<sup>r</sup>:1). Such examples may be interpreted as instances of syncretism in the nom./acc. plural. It seems that the tendency towards obliteration of gender distinction in the direct cases, reflected in the use of the acc. pl. endings in the role of the nom., and more tentatively the opposite substitution where the nom. forms appear in the role of the acc., had already become prevalent on the East Slavonic territory by the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries. The presence of such new endings in adjectives and participles is particularly telling. Since these, in attributive usage, are not the true bearers of the category of gender, gender and case distinction ceases to be significant and such lexemes become more susceptible to acquisition of new endings. In CES manuscripts nominative-accusative syncretism is attested not only in modifiers associated with feminine nouns, where these acquire the masculine nom. pl. flexions, but also in modifiers accompanying masculine nouns where the acc.pl. ending supplants that of the nom. In addition, the emergence of ‘genderless’ endings *-y/-yja* in modifiers qualifying neuter nouns are encountered from the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The introduction of the desinence *-y* in adjectival declensions in the nom./acc. pl. neut. and nom. pl. masc. might have been supported by the presence of the identical segment *-y-* in oblique cases (Iordanidi and Krys’ko 2000: 160–191).

4. Two indeclinable adjectives are also attested, viz. **СВѢДѢТЬ** (17<sup>r</sup>:1), **СВОБОДЪ** (25<sup>v</sup>:9).

### 3.1.2 Singular declension of long adjectives

Table XIV: Long adjectives (singular)

<b>N</b>	-ый/-ій // -ій -ое -аа // -аа	masc.: ПРАВЕДНЫЙ, ТРИСОСТАВНЫЙ, ПРРЧЕСКІЙ // ВЫШНІЙ neut.: СОБЕЗНАЧАНОЕ fem.: НЕИСКУСНАА, ПОВѢДИТЕЛНАА // ПОСЛѢДНАА
<b>G</b>	-аго // -аго -аго/-агѡ -ыа/-іа // -аа	masc.: БЛГОУТРОБНАГО, ЖИВАГО // ВЫШНАГО neut.: ТРИСЛІЧНАГО, НЕЗАХОДИМАГО, ЧЛЧЕСКАГѡ fem.: НЕВИДИМАА, ВИДИМАА, ЕГҀПЕТСКІА // ДРЕНАА
<b>D</b>	-омѡ -омѡ // -емѡ -ѣй // -іи	masc.: ЖИВОПРІЕМНОМѡ, РАВНОДѢТЕЛНОМѡ neut.: НЕИЗРЕЧЕННОМѡ // КНЕВЕЧЕРНЕМѡ fem.: ТРИСОСТАВНѣЙ // ВЖІИ
<b>A</b>	-агѡ/аго, -ый/-ій -ое -юю // -юю	masc.: ТРИСЛІЧНАГО, ВЕЛИКАГѡ, БЖТВЕННЫЙ, НЕПОСТОДННЫЙ, ЖИТЕЙСКІЙ // ДРЕВНІЙ neut.: ВѢРНОЕ, НОВОЕ, ПРЕСЛАВНОЕ fem.: ВСЕМІРНЮ, СТҀЮ, БЛГЮ // НЕВЕЧЕРНЮ
<b>I</b>	-ымъ // -имъ -ымъ/-имъ -ою	masc.: СОЕСТѢВНЫМЪ, БЖТВЕННЫМЪ, НЕВЕЧЕРНИМЪ neut.: ВСЕДѢТЕЛНЫМЪ, БГОДѢТЕЛНЫ, ЧЛЧЕСКІЙ fem.: ВСЕСИЛНОЮ, ДЕРЖАВНОЮ
<b>L</b>	-ѣмъ, -омъ -ѣмъ, -омъ -ѣй	masc.: СТѢМЪ, ХЕРДВИМЪСКОМЪ neut.: ВОТРИСІАННОМЪ, КРНѢМЪ fem.: СТѣй, ВДѣй, КРѢПЦѣй
<b>V</b>	-ый/-ій -ое -аа	masc.: СТЫЙ, ПРЕБЛГІЙ neut.: НЕИЗРЕЧЕННОЕ fem.: ПРТАА, ВСЕДѢТЕЛНАА, ПРЕБЛГАА // ѠЧАА

#### Commentary to Table XIV.

*Remarks.* All desinences in the above table are Church Slavonic. As a rule singular adjectival forms in the 1629 Oktoikh appear in the contracted form, namely in those case forms where the simplification process took place (for further details see Lunt 2001: 64–67). Such forms are present in OCS manuscripts as well early Church Slavonic texts like *Ostromir's Evangelary*; by the 13<sup>th</sup> century contracted endings became standard and were neutral with regard to register (uncontracted forms on the other hand remain markedly literary) (Lunt 2001: 64–67; Vlasto 1988: 113).

Whenever the initial desinential element *-y-* occurs after velar consonants it is written as *-i-* in accordance with the orthographic rule followed in the 1629 Oktoikh, viz. ПРРЧЕСКІЙ (nom. sg. masc.), ЕГҀПЕТСКІА (gen. sg. fem.), ЧЛЧЕСКІЙ (instr. sg. neut.), etc. Where followed

by front vowels, such as the case in the loc. sg. fem., the velar consonant in question undergoes mutation. As elsewhere in the text the grapheme **а** is written for **ѡ** after postdentals and the affricate **с** (**ѡѡѡ** voc. sg. fem.). Similarly, **-m-** in the instr./loc. sg. of masculine and neuter nouns is followed by a back rather than front jer reflecting the hardness of the consonant in question.

1. The pronominal loc. sg. desinence **-омъ** is in competition with the older OCS **-ѣтъ** – it appears however that the latter is preferred as it occurs 5x whereas the former only 2x. There seems to be no difference in register, or at the very least, **-омъ** is not perceived as a vernacular feature since both endings are codified in Smotryc’kij (see, for example, 1619: 3/7<sup>v</sup> and 3/8<sup>v</sup>).

2. Anomalous spellings in the following adjectival forms are in all likelihood misprints: **-ѡи** for **-ѡѡ** in **во оутровѣ дѣѡи** (35<sup>v</sup>:6); **-ѣмъ** for **-имъ** in the soft adjective **преисподень**, viz. **Бровѣ хѣ преисподнѣмъ** (41<sup>v</sup>:15); **-ію** for **-ою** in **любовію бжтвеннію** (50<sup>v</sup>:14) (the two last examples are probably retardative misspellings under the influence of **ю** in **любовію** and **ѣ** in **Бровѣ**).

### 3.1.3 Plural declension of long adjectives

Table XV: Long adjectives (plural)

<b>N</b>	<b>-іи/-ѡи</b> <b>-ѡѡ</b> <b>-ѡѡ</b>	masc.: <b>недостойніи, вѣрніи, Іудейстіи, вторѡи</b> // <b>ниціи</b> neut.: <b>земнаѡ, члѣскаѡ</b> fem.: <b>нѣныѡ, ѡтныѡ</b>
<b>G</b>	<b>-ѡхъ // -ихъ</b>	<b>измертвѡхъ, дѣческихъ // древнихъ</b>
<b>D</b>	<b>-ѡмъ/-имъ</b>	<b>безплотнымъ, плѣннымъ, многимъ</b>
<b>A</b>	<b>-ѡѡ</b> <b>-ѡѡ // -ѡѡ</b> <b>-ѡѡ, -ѡѡ // -ѡѡ</b>	masc.: <b>непотребныѡ, мертвыѡ, мирскаѡ</b> neut.: <b>земнаѡ, великаѡ, погребателнаѡ</b> // <b>вопреисподнѡѡ</b> fem.: <b>миродарныѡ, желѣзнаѡ</b> // <b>вечернѡѡ</b>
<b>I</b>	<b>-ѡми/-ими</b>	<b>мѡдрѡми, оумныѡми, непристѡпныѡми, прѣческиѡми</b>
<b>L</b>	<b>-ихъ // -ѡхъ</b>	<b>бѡначалныхъ // вопреисподнихъ, вышнихъ</b>
<b>V</b>	as nom.	masc.: <b>беззаконніи</b>

*Commentary to Table XV.*

*Remarks.* All desinences are standard Church Slavonic (the underlined forms are discussed separately). Plural adjectival forms, in the same way as those in the singular, appear in the contracted form (for further details see Lunt 2001: 64–67). Whenever the initial desinential

element *-y-* occurs after velar consonants it is written as *-i-* in accordance with the orthographic rule followed in this text, viz. *прѣческиими* (instr. pl.), *дѣческихъ* (gen. pl.), etc. Where followed by front vowels, such as in the nom. pl. masc., the velar consonant in question undergoes mutation.

1. The masc. pl. form *вторыи* (35<sup>r</sup>:12) may not be necessarily seen as an overt deviation from the Church Slavonic norm although as such it is not codified in Smotryč'kyj (possibly since *-yi* desinences in the nom. pl. masc. were also present in the 17<sup>th</sup> century Ruthenian) (for examples see, Pugh 1996: 96–97)). By the 15<sup>th</sup> century the desinence *-ыи* appears side by side the traditional *-ии* in Church Slavonic literary texts. The introduction of *-ыи* in the nom. pl. masc., whether a result of vernacular influence or independent parallel development within the literary establishment itself, reflects a more universal tendency towards removal of gender distinction, in which the acc. pl. ending *-ы* assumes the role of a generalised indicator of plurality (Iordanidi and Krys'ko 2000: 169–170; Živov 2004: 408–410).

2. Two anomalous forms in the plural have been attested in *вратабо мѣдѣнаѧ со крѣшилъ еси, и верѣѧ желѣзнаѧ ѣтерлъ еси* (30<sup>r</sup>:8–9) and *оуѣи крѣтомъ своимъ мирскаѧ конца* (17<sup>r</sup>:13–14), where for the expected acc. pl. fem./masc. ending *-ыѧ* the acc. pl. neut. desinence *-ѧѧ* is present instead. Apart from the fact that gender distinction became less significant in adjectives and participles, a further determinant might have facilitated the conflation of neuter with feminine and masculine declensions. In ESl ChSl texts, generally speaking, conflations of this kind might have been produced by the very equivocality of the last inflectional segment *-ѧ* in the nom./acc. pl. of neut. adjectival declension. Since this element subsequently coincided with the OCS soft desinence *-ѧ* in the nom./acc. pl. fem. and nom. pl. masc., artificial analogical levellings could have appeared even in the hard declension where the masc./fem. ending was *-ы*. An example virtually identical to ours is also attested in *Sil'vestrovskij Sbornik XIV*, viz. *съкрѣши врата мѣдѣнаѧ и верѣѧ желѣзнаѧ слови* (Iordanidi and Krys'ko 2000: 172).

Lack of agreement in *Нанѣо оуи пѣцаю срѣчныи* (37<sup>v</sup>:14) where the ending *-ыи* is used instead of the expected acc. du. neut. *-ѣи* was in all likelihood brought about by the scribe's inability to determine the correct gender of the noun in question (Živov (2004: 412) cites similar deviations in connexion with the lexeme *оуи* that are attested in the Moscow Menaion 1691).



### 3.2 Comparative forms and superlatives

Two Proto-Slavonic comparative suffixes *\*-jb/\*-je* and *\*-ějb/\*-ěje* and the common comparative oblique stems *\*-jbŝ/\*-ějbŝ* were used in formation of both long and short comparative adjectives, which were declined on the pattern of soft adjectives. Furthermore, in OCS/ChSl comparison is not expressed morphologically but through a comparative construction ‘person/thing something is compared to + comparative adjective + object of comparison in the genitive case’ (Lunt 2001: 60–61, 68–70, 77–78). Today this construction is present only in CSR. The following is a sample of examples from the 1629 Oktoikh: **ПВІСА ПРСТРАННѢЙШАА НБСЪ** (6<sup>f</sup>:1–2) (nom. sg. fem.), **И КЖІЗНІ АЧШЕЙ ВОЗВЕДИ** (fol. 33<sup>v</sup>:7) (dat. sg. fem.), **ЧРЕВО ПРСТРАННѢЙШЕЕ НБСЪ ВОСПОЕМЪ** (40<sup>v</sup>:12), **СТЪХЪ СТѢЙШЮ ТА РАЗДМѢЕМЪ** (44<sup>f</sup>:5), **БОЛШАГО НАСЪ ЧДЕСИ СПДОБИТЕ** (48<sup>v</sup>:11–12), etc.

Already, however, in the 12<sup>th</sup> century the first signs of decadence became apparent signalled by the lack of agreement between comparative adjectives and the nouns they qualify (Bulaxovskij 1958: 328–330; for examples see, Sobolevskij 2005: 227). In the 1629 Oktoikh the absence of agreement is present in the direct cases in the sg. as well as the pl.: **ВОПЕЦИ ДѢТИ ІІЛЕВЫ ЧІСТѢЙШИ ... ЗЛАТА** (21<sup>v</sup>:2–3) (nom. pl. fem.), **ВЛАСТИ БЖТВЕНѢИШІ, ХБІ МЛТЕСА** (27<sup>v</sup>:14–15) (voc. pl. fem.), **ХРАМЪ ГНЬ ПРЕВЫШЕ СІ** (41<sup>v</sup>:2–3) (nom. sg. masc.). The oblique stem is also generalised in nom. sg. by the 17<sup>th</sup> century hence we encounter forms of the kind **ИЖЕ ВСѢХЪ ВЫШШИ ХЕ** (40<sup>v</sup>:3) (nom. sg. masc.).

OCS and ChSl do not have any special means thorough which superlative forms could be expressed; the standard practice was addition of the intensifying prefix **прѣ-/пре-** to a positive adjective and examples of this kind abound in the 1629 Oktoikh, e.g. **НОВОЕ И ПРЕСЛАВНОЕ ЧДО** (5<sup>f</sup>:13–14), **ПРЕБЛГЛАА ЕДИНИЦЕ** (7<sup>f</sup>:13), **ТРЦЕ ПРЕСОВЕРШЕНАА** (10<sup>v</sup>:9), **ОБЕМЛАА ПРЕМРЬАА ГДЪ** (17<sup>v</sup>:13). In addition, **пре-** is attested with comparative adjectives as well, e.g. **ПРЕВЫШШИ ПВІСА ЧТА ПРНО ДБО, ВСЕА ВИДИМЫА И НЕВИДИМЫА ТВАРИ** (39<sup>f</sup>:8) (nom. sg. fem.), **ИЖЕ ВРЕМЕНЪ ПРЕВЫШШИ ВСАЧЕСКИХЪ** (40<sup>v</sup>:9). At times, however, comparative adjectives with the suffix *\*-ějbŝ* may carry a superlative, e.g. **ВЛАСТИ БЖТВЕНѢИШІ, ХБІ МЛТЕСА, В АЧШЮ ЖЕ И СОВЕРШЕНѢЙШЮ ВНИДЕ СѢНЬ** (16<sup>v</sup>:11–12), **ЕДИНА ПОСЛАНЦЕМЪ ДАЛА ЕСИ РАЗДМѢТИ НОВѢЙШЕЕ ЧДО** (24<sup>f</sup>:17–18).

### 3.3 A note on the dual

Although by the 17<sup>th</sup> century the grammatical category of dual had become obsolete in the living languages in the whole East Slavonic territory, it nevertheless remained present in the

written word; it is important to emphasise that such forms pertained exclusively to the higher style and when used smacked of overt Slavonicisms.<sup>1</sup> This part of the OCS heritage is preserved in *Grammatiki 1619* in which Smotryc'kyj reconstructs dual forms for all nominal and verbal categories in which dual originally occurred. In the 1629 Oktoikh the dual forms are naturally present and appear only in association with the numeral **ДВА** and nouns denoting parts of the body as well as live human beings that come in pairs. The following examples have been attested:

(1) the numeral **ДВА**: во **ДВОЮ СЪЩЕСТВѸ** (14<sup>f</sup>:12–13);

(2) living beings/body parts: но **ТАКѠ БЛ҃ГО ОУТРОБНАГО СВОИМА РѸКАМА НОСИШАА** (5<sup>v</sup>:4–5), **СРЧНЫМА ОЧИМА ДОБРОТѸ ВБЛИСТАТИ** (7<sup>v</sup>:10), **РѸКАМА ПРЧТЫМА ... ИСПЕРВА СОЗДА МАА** (13<sup>v</sup>:3–4), **РѸЦѸ** распротерла еси на **КРѸТѸ** (13<sup>v</sup>:4–5), **ТѸМЖЕ ВОВЕСЕЛІИ РѸКАМА ПЛЕЦѸ** (14<sup>f</sup>:7), **ПРОЗОРЛИВЫМА ЯВВАКѸМѸ ОУСМОТРИѸ ОЧИМА** (16<sup>f</sup>:3–5), на **НЕМѸЖЕ СТОАСТѸ ПРЧТІИ НОСѸ** (22<sup>f</sup>:5–6), **НАДРЕВѸ БЖТВЕННІИ ХѸВѸ ДЛАНИ ПРОСТРОШАСА** (22<sup>f</sup>:6–7), и **НАРѸКѸ** носаша (31<sup>f</sup>:15), **ЕГОЖЕ ТАКѠ МЛНЦА ПРЧТАА НАРѸКѸ** **СВОЕЮ** носивши (31<sup>f</sup>–31<sup>v</sup>:17–1), **НАНѸБО ОЧИ ПѸЦАЮ СРЧНЫИ** (37<sup>v</sup>:14), и **СОВЕЗЪЗАКѸНИКОМА** на **ДРЕВѸ ПРИГВѸДАЕТСА** (42<sup>v</sup>:7–8), **ИТАКѠЖЕ ИЗРѸКѸ** исхитилъ еси (47<sup>f</sup>:10).

Even though the use of the dual is circumscribed to the above named categories, the rule is applied somewhat inconsistently since dual forms may be supplanted by the plural, viz. **РѸКАМИ** да восплецидѹтъ **ТАСЫЦИ** (4<sup>v</sup>:13), и **РѸКАМѸ** да восплецидѹт (20<sup>v</sup>:13), **ВОВЕЗАКѸНІИ РѸКѸ СВОИХѸ** (38<sup>f</sup>:17). In addition, when functioning as the subject of the sentence the predicate associated with a dual form may be either in the dual or pl., viz. **СТОАСТѸ ... НОСѸ** ~ **ДЛАНИ ПРОСТРОШАСА**. Adjectives/pronouns qualifying the noun in the dual usually agree in number but the exception appear to be long adjectival forms in the nom./acc. case where the dual ending is replaced with the nom. pl., i.e. **НАНѸБО ОЧИ ПѸЦАЮ СРЧНЫИ**, **НАДРЕВѸ БЖТВЕННІИ ХѸВѸ ДЛАНИ**.

### 3.4 Numerals: Cardinal and ordinal numbers

With regard to *one* only the Church Slavonic variant with the word-initial (*j*)e- is attested; in the 1629 Oktoikh it is used in the sense ‘sole’, ‘the only one’ rather than having the meaning ‘number 1’. The singular paradigm is incomplete and no plural forms have been attested: **Н:**

<sup>1</sup> For further discussion on the category of dual see Živov (2004: 77–92) and Žolobov and Krys'ko (2001).

ЄДИѦ (masc.), ЄДИНА (fem.); **G:** ЄДИНАГО/ЄДИНАГѠ (masc.), ЄДИНОГѠ/ЄДИНОГО/ЄДИНАГО (neut.); **D:** ЄДИНОМѠ (masc.); **A:** ЄДИНАГО (masc.), ЄДИНО/ЄДИНОЕ (neut.), ЄДИНѠ (fem.); **L:** ЄДИНѠ (neut.), ВОЄДИНОИ (fem.); **I:** ЄДИНОЮ (fem.); **V:** ЄДИНЕ (masc.). The voc. ending -є and the gen. ending -аго, and the acc. ending -ое are borrowed from the hard masculine and neuter declensions respectively.

Other numerals appear rarely so the paradigms are incomplete, viz. *two*: ДВОЮ (loc. du. neut.); *three*: ТРИ (acc. masc./neut.), ТРЕМИ (instr. neut.), ВОТРЕХЪ (loc. neut.)/ТРИЕХЪ (loc. masc.). The form ТРИЕХЪ is formed on the nom. masc. form ТРИЕ (Bulič 1893: 309). Both variants, ТРЕХЪ and ТРИЕХЪ, are codified as normative in Smotryc'kyj (for the paradigm see, 1619: В/2<sup>v</sup>).

Similarly, ordinal numbers, whose declensional pattern follows that of the hard adjectives, are attested in a handful of instances: ВТОРЫИ (nom. sg. masc.), ПЕРВЮ (acc. sg. fem.), ВТРЕТИИ (acc. sg. masc.), ПЕРВОЕ (acc. sg. neut.), ѠПЕРВАГО/ПЕРВАГѠ (gen. sg. masc.); ПЕРВИИ, ВТОРИИ/ВТОРЫИ (nom. pl. masc.). In addition to ВТОРИИ a competing expression ДРѠГИИ is encountered once in the heading ДРѠГИИ КАНОНЪ (39<sup>r</sup>:13). From the perspective of Ruthenian language, the former may be considered as a Church Slavonic lexeme limited to literary/ecclesiastical contexts, whereas the latter appears in environments of more quotidian nature. Furthermore, whilst both adjectives mean 'second', ДРѠГИИ may also be used in the sense 'other' (Pugh 1996: 151–152). It is in this sense that ДРѠГИИ is used in the phrase ДРѠГИИ КАНОНЪ; in all other instances the pronoun НИЪ is attested (see, for example, 38<sup>v</sup>:10, 40<sup>v</sup>:8, 45<sup>v</sup>:6, etc.).

### 3.5 Pronouns

The main pronominal categories attested in the 1629 Oktoikh include the following: personal and reflexive, demonstrative, possessive, interrogative, relative and indefinite. Each of these, as well as several other, will be discussed in turn in the remainder of this section. For the most part however the paradigms are incomplete and very little deviation from the Church Slavonic standard is present.

### 3.5.1 Personal and reflexive pronouns

Table XVIa

	<i>1<sup>st</sup> sg</i>	<i>2<sup>nd</sup> sg</i>	<i>Reflexive</i>	<i>1<sup>st</sup> pl</i>	<i>2<sup>nd</sup> pl</i>
<b>N</b>		<b>ТЫ</b>	----	<b>МЫ</b>	<b>ВЫ</b>
<b>G</b>	<b>МЕНЕ</b>	<b>ИСТЕБЕ</b>		<b>НАСЪ</b>	
<b>D</b>	<b>МНѢ/МИ</b>	<b>ТЕБѢ/ТИ</b>	<b>СЕБѢ/СИ, СОБѢ</b>	<b>НАМЪ</b>	
<b>A</b>	<b>МЕНЕ/МА</b>	<b>ТЕБЕ/ТА</b>		<b>НАСЪ/НЫ</b>	
<b>I</b>		<b>ТОБОЮ</b>	<b>СОБОЮ</b>	<b>ИНАМИ</b>	
<b>L</b>		<b>ВЪТЕБѢ</b>		<b>ВНАСЪ</b>	

#### Commentary to Table XVIa.

1. All desinences in the above table are standard Church Slavonic with the exception of the form **СОБѢ** (2<sup>r</sup>:6) which was current in both Ruthenian and Russian in the same period (Pugh 1996: 111; Vlasto 1988: 124); like other non-literary characteristics observed thus far, this particular form is consigned to the Preface of the 1629 Oktoikh. Note also the presence of enclitic acc./dat. forms.

2. For examples of the dative of possession where enclitic forms **МИ**, **ТИ**, **СИ** are used to express this relation see Section 5.7.

Table XVIb

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<b>G</b>	<b>ЕГО</b>	<b>ИЗНЕА</b>		<b>ИХЪ/ЎНИХЪ</b>
<b>D</b>	<b>ЕМѢ/ЎНЕМѢ</b>			<b>ИМЪ</b>
<b>A</b>	<b>ЕГО/ЕГО/ЕГѠ/ЕГѠ, <sup>Н</sup>НАЖЕ</b>		<b>ВНЕ</b>	
<b>I</b>	<b>СНІ</b>	<b>СНЕЮЖЕ</b>		<b>СНИМИ</b>
<b>L</b>	<b>ВНЕМЪ</b>	<b>НА НЕЙ</b>		

#### Commentary to Table XVIb.

1. The above desinences are standard Church Slavonic. Whenever a third personal singular or plural pronoun is preceded by a preposition the epenthetic **н-** is introduced; in Smotryc'kyj the presence of the epenthetic *n-* in this environment is optional. The masc. sg. acc. form **НЪ** is attested **Зх, крѣта же ради разбойника воведѣ хс̄с̄ вѣ** (25<sup>v</sup>:16), **наже** (32<sup>v</sup>:16), **вонъ же вселса** (33<sup>v</sup>:13–14).

2. The gen. sg./pl. of these pronouns functions as the 3<sup>rd</sup> per. possessive pronouns, e.g. *НИЗЛОЖИВШЕМОѢ ДРЕВОМЪ ПРЕГРѢШЕНІА ЕГѠ, ХЪ БГЪ ВОЗОПІЕМЪ* (15<sup>r</sup>:14–15), *СВОЕЮ ДЕРЖАВОЮ РАЗДРѢШИВЪ ЕГѠ СИЛѢ* (18<sup>v</sup>:14–15), *МОЛЕНІЕМЪ ЕА ЩЕДРОТЫ ТВОА НАМЪ ДАРѢИ* (26<sup>v</sup>:10–11), *ЗѢБОМЪ ИХЪ НЕПРЕДАЖДЪ СІПСЕ СВОЕГО РАБА* (38<sup>r</sup>:8).

### 3.5.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Four demonstrative pronouns are attested in the 1629 Oktoikh, namely variants of the Proto-Slavonic \*tŭ, \*onŭ, \*ovŭ, \*sŭ:

1. \*tŭ: *ТОЙ* (nom. sg. masc.) (e.g. 3<sup>v</sup>:3/7, 4<sup>v</sup>:6), *ТОМѢ* (dat. sg. masc.) (e.g. 18<sup>r</sup>:4), *ТОГО* (gen.-acc. sg. masc.) (e.g. 27<sup>r</sup>:2); *ТА* (nom. sg. fem.) (e.g. 4<sup>r</sup>:17, 4<sup>v</sup>:1), *ТЮ* (acc. sg. fem.) (2<sup>r</sup>:6), *ТОА* (gen. sg. fem.) (4<sup>v</sup>:3); *ТѢ* (gen. pl) (50<sup>v</sup>:1);
2. \*onŭ: *ОНОГО* (gen.-acc. sg. masc.) (51<sup>r</sup>:16);
3. \*ovŭ: *ОВЪ* (nom. sg. masc.) (48<sup>r</sup>:8);
4. \*sŭ: *СЕЙ* (nom. sg. masc.) (48<sup>r</sup>:9), *СЕГО* (gen. sg. masc.) (42<sup>r</sup>:9); *СІЕ* (acc. sg. neut.) (43<sup>r</sup>:16, etc.); *СА* (nom. sg. fem.) (18<sup>v</sup>:2), *САА* (gen. sg. fem.) (18<sup>r</sup>:17); *САА* (acc. pl. neut.) (17<sup>v</sup>:8), *СИМЪ* (dat. pl. masc./fem.) (15<sup>v</sup>:12, 19<sup>v</sup>:17), *СИХЪ* (gen.-acc. pl. masc.) (39<sup>v</sup>:9).

After the loss of jers the demonstrative pronouns *съ* and *тъ* became either reinforced through addition of the 3<sup>rd</sup> per. sg. relative pronoun, i.e. nom. sg. *ТОЙ* (< \*tŭjŭ), *ТОЕ*, *ТАА* and nom. pl. *ТИИ*, *ТАА*, *ТЫЕ*, or through reduplication i.e. *ТОТЪ* (< \*tŭtŭ), *СЕСЬ* (< \*sŭsŭ) with remaining forms unchanged. The latter is typical of the northern whilst the former of the south-western ESl territory (Vlasto 1988: 311–312). As expected in the 1629 Oktoikh the reinforced forms predominate in the nom./acc. of both soft and hard pronominal declension, e.g. *ТОЙ*, *ТЮ*, *СЕЙ*, *СА* (Apln/Nsgf) but *ОВЪ* and *ТА*. In Smotryc'kyj's *Grammatiki* (1619: A/3<sup>r</sup>–8<sup>r</sup>) such forms are listed as normative side by side more traditional variants, e.g. *ТОЙ*, *ТАА*, *СЕЙ/СІЙ*, *САА/СИ* (Nsgf), *САА* (NApln). The remaining forms have standard ChSl endings (in Smotryc'kyj the acc./gen. sg. endings *-агѠ/-аго* in the pronouns *ОВЪ/ОНЪ* are borrowed from the masculine/neuter adjectival declension). Note also the presence of the acc. suppletive form with the stem in *sj-*, viz. *СІЕ* (acc. sg. neut.). In addition the pronoun *ТАКЪ* is attested 1x in the Preface, e.g. *СТАКОГО ПОЧАТКѢ* (2<sup>r</sup>:8–9).

The gen. sg./pl. forms of these pronouns may also function as a possessive pronoun of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person, e.g. *ТОА ОУБѠ ИМѢЩЕ ВЪРНОЕ ОУТВЕРЖЕНІЕ* (4<sup>v</sup>:3–4), *СЕГО ОЧЕРВЛЕНІЕ РИЗЪ* (16<sup>v</sup>:4–

5), ТЪ НЕТАЛЪНОЕ ЕСТЕСТВО (50<sup>v</sup>:1), НО СЕГО ГРѢХА ПОТРЕБЛАЕТЪ (42<sup>r</sup>:9–10), СЛАВЦИ ВЪРЮ СЕА ВОСПѢВАЮЩИ ЧЪДЕСА (18<sup>r</sup>:17).

### 3.5.3 Possessive pronouns

Table XVII

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<b>N</b>	НАШЪ, ТВОЙ, МОЙ	ТВОА, НАША	НАШЕ, ТВОЕ, МОЕ	ТВОИ, МОИ (m) ТВОА (n)
<b>G</b>	ТВОЕГО, НШЕГѠ, СВОЕГѠ, СВОЕГО	ТВОЕА	ТВОЕГО, ТВОЕГѠ, СВОЕГО, НАШЕГѠ	НАШИХЪ, СВОИХЪ, ТВОИХЪ, МОИХЪ
<b>D</b>	СВОЕМЪ, НАШЕМЪ, ТВОЕМЪ	КОТВОЕЙ, МОЕЙ	ТВОЕМЪ, СВОЕМЪ, КНАШЕМЪ, МОЕМЪ	НАШИМЪ, ТВОИМЪ, СВОИМЪ,
<b>A</b>	СВОЕГО, ТВОЙ, НАШЪ	СВОЮ, НАШЪ, ТВОЮ	ТВОЕ, НАСВОЕ, НАШЕ, МОЕ	НАША, ТВОА, МОА (f) НША, СВОА (m) НША, ТВОА, СВОА (n)
<b>I</b>	СВОИМЪ, ТВОИМЪ	ТВОЕЮ, СВОЕЮ	ТВОИМЪ, СВОИМЪ	СВОИМИ, ТВОИМИ, МОИМИ
<b>L</b>	ТВОЕМЪ	ТВОЕЙ, СВОЕЙ	ТВОЕМЪ	СВОИХЪ
<b>V</b>	НАШЪ, МОЙ			

#### Commentary to Table XVII.

1. The endings in the above table call for no special comment as all are standard Church Slavonic.
2. A short excursus on usage of *svoj* vs. *tvoj*, *moj* and *svoj* vs. *ego*, *eja* may be of interest here since in the wake of the Nikonian reforms use of the reflexive possessive pronoun *svoj* became circumscribed. Its presence was limited to the 3<sup>rd</sup> person, whilst in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> per. sg. the possessive pronouns *moj* and *tvoj* became *de rigueur* and a new literary standard. Consequently *svoj* is reanalysed as the possessive pronoun of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person hence the dutiful substitution of the gen. forms of personal pronouns *ego*, *eja* with *svoj* in this environment. This syntactic innovation was clearly rooted in and influenced by parallel Greek use in which possessive pronouns are available only for the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person; *svoj*, on the other hand, became equivalent to the Greek  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron$ . Earlier attempts to regulate the use *moj* and *tvoj*, corresponding to the Greek  $\mu\omicron\upsilon$  and  $\sigma\upsilon$  respectively, in those environments where *svoj* would have otherwise been present, may be traced to Maksim Grek. He

maintains this distinction in several liturgical texts but subsequently abandons the practice, with *svoj* carrying the victory over the literal rendition of Greek originals (Uspenskij 2002: 459–461).

It is interesting to note that the same rule regarding the use of *svoj* vs. *ego*, *eja* is codified by Smotryc'kyj (1619: Ц/6<sup>r</sup>): **Вмѣстѣ ВѢВРАТИТЕЛНѢ /ЕГѠ, ЕА, И ПРОЧІИХЪ ЕЮ ВСѢХЪ ПАДЕЖІИ/ ОУПОТРЕБАЮТЬ ГЛАВАНЕ БЛГОУПННѢ ПРИТЛЖАТѢННХЪ СВОИ, СВОА, СВОЕ.**

In the 1629 Oktoikh the rule concerning *svoj* vs. *moj*, *tvoj* is clearly ignored as the former is regularly attested in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person, e.g. **ОУТВЕРДИ ПРАВОСЛАВІЕМЪ ЦРКОВЪ СВОЮ ХЕ** (3<sup>v</sup>:16–17), **МЛТВЫ СВОИХЪ РАБЪ ВОТВОДЕ ЦРКВИ ПРИНОСИМА ТИ НЕПРЕЗРИ НО ТАКѠ БЛГОУТРОБНАГО СВОИМА РѢКАМА НОСИВШАА, НА СВОА РАБЫ ОУМЛРДИСА** (5<sup>v</sup>:3–6). On the other hand, in line with Smotryc'kyj, only *svoj* is attested with the 3<sup>rd</sup> person, e.g. **ПРЕГРѢШЕНІА НАМЪ УГНАЛЪ ЕСТЬ, ОБНОВІА СТРАНЕНЪ ПДТЬ СВОЕЮ КРОВІЮ** (16<sup>v</sup>:9–11), **ТАКѠ ДЦИ ПЕРСТНАГО ПАДШАГО АДАМА, БГѢ СОТВОРЕНА БЫСТЬ, И СВОЕГѠ СОДѢТЕЛА РОДИТѢНИЦА** (17<sup>r</sup>:4–6), **СВОЕЮ КРѢПОСТІЮ ОЖИВЛАА МЕРТВЕЦА ВОСКРѢСИА ЕСТЬ** (17<sup>v</sup>:15–16), **И ВОСХОДИ СВѢТЛО СОПЛОТІЮ СВОЕЮ ХС КОУЦѢ** (18<sup>r</sup>:2–3).

### 3.5.4 Miscellaneous

*Relative pronouns.* In the 1629 Oktoikh *иже*, *еже*, *таже* are regularly used in the direct as well as oblique cases in both the sg. and the pl., e.g. **ДАЛЪ ЕСИ НАМЪ РАБОМЪ ... УВѢТЫ СПІСИТЕЛНЫА · ТАЖЕ СОВЕРШИТИ СПОДОБИ·** (11<sup>r</sup>:9–12), **ЕДИНО ТРИСОСТАВНОЕ НАЧАЛО, СЕРАФИМИ НЕМОЛЧНУ СЛАВАТЪ ... ЕЖЕ И ВСАКЪ ТАЗЫКЪ ВѢРНУ ПОЕТЪ ПѢНМИ·** (6<sup>r</sup>:9–12), **ИКТВОИМЪ СВѢТОДАТЕЛНЫМЪ ЛДЧАМЪ · ПРИЗИРАТИ ПРНО, ИМИЖЕ НАСЫЩСА СЛАВЫ ТВОЕА СЛАДКІА** (10<sup>v</sup>:3–5), **РАНОЮЖЕ ТВОЕЮ ГДИ ИСЦѢЛХѢ ЮЖЕ ЗАНЫ ОУАВЛЕНЪ БЫСТЬ ХЕ** (18<sup>v</sup>:10–11), **ВОПЛОТИСА ИЖЕ ПРЕЖДЕ СЫИ БЕЗПЛОТЕНЪ СЛОВО ИСТЕБЕ ВСЕЧТАА, ИЖЕ ВСАЧЕСКАА ВОЛЕЮ ТВОРАИ** (19<sup>v</sup>:6–8), **ЧЕРТОГЪ СВѢТОВИДНЫЙ, ИЗНЕГОЖЕ ВСѢХЪ ВЛКА, ТАКѠ ЖЕНИ ПРОИЗЫДЕ ХС, ВОСПѢВАЕ ВСИ НЕПРЕСТАННУ ГЛЮЦЕ** (22<sup>v</sup>:13–15), etc. In addition the relative pronoun *который* is attested 1x in the Preface (see also Section 5.6).

*The isolative pronoun.* The pronoun *самъ* occurs only 4x in the nom. sg. masc.

*Distributive pronouns.* In the whole body of the text the pronoun *кѣждо/кѣжде* is attested 4x: three times in the Preface where the declensional ending replaces the word-final *о/е*, e.g. **КОЖДОМЪ, КОЖДЫИ** (2x) (2<sup>r</sup>:1, 3, 5) and on one occasion in the liturgical text proper where the original indeclinable particle *-ждо* is preserved and the initial element declined, e.g.

КОМЪЖДО (50<sup>v</sup>:11–12). In addition the pronouns **всакъ** and **всаческъ** are attested 19x and 10x respectively. The former has both long and short declensions, where the short forms are preferred in the preposited position whilst the long forms in the postposited position e.g. **всакѧ** тварь, **всакъ** языкъ, пѣснь **всакѧ**, **всакъ** похвалный ... законъ, **навсакій** часть, **вѧчествѧши всаческими**, **всаческѧ** црѣь, гдѧ **всаческѧ**.

*The totalising pronoun.* The pronoun **весь** is frequently encountered in the text. All desinences are standard Church Slavonic (for the discussion of the form **всѧ** see 2.3.4). In the nom./acc. sg. the pronoun is written with the back instead for the front jer, i.e. **весь**, possibly reflecting the hardness of the word-final consonant.

Table XVIII

	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<b>N</b>	<b>всѧ</b>	<b>вѣ</b>		<b>вси</b> (m), <b>всѧ</b> (n), <b>всѧ</b> (f)
<b>G</b>	<b>всѧ</b>		<b>всѧ</b>	<b>всѣхъ</b>
<b>D</b>				<b>всѧ</b> , <b>всѣмъ</b>
<b>A</b>	<b>всю</b>	<b>весь</b> , <b>всѧ</b>	<b>всѧ</b>	<b>всѧ</b> / <b>всѣхъ</b> (m), <b>всѧ</b> (n)
<b>L</b>				<b>вовсѣхъ</b>
<b>V</b>	<b>всѧ</b>			<b>всѧ</b> (n)

*Interrogative pronouns.* These are attested rarely, e.g. **что** оклеветасте сѣсово востаніе, **беззаконій** юдее (25<sup>v</sup>:7–9), **яще** не гдѧ, **быль** бы вѧсѧ, и **кто** доволенъ цѣль сохрѧненъ быти, ѿврага кѧпнѧ и чѧкоуѧбийца (38<sup>f</sup>:5–7), **кто** крадетъ мертвеца, паче же и нага (48<sup>v</sup>:15–16), **всю** ти достойнѧю пѣснь, наше приносѧ неможеніе (14<sup>f</sup>:15–16).

*The indefinite pronoun.* Only **нѣчто** is attested 1x: **Иже** всѣхъ вышши хѣ, оумалисѧ малымъ **нѣчимъ** ягѣскаго естества: страстїю плотскою . (40<sup>v</sup>:3–4).

### 3.6 Adverbs

By far the most common adverbial forms attested in the 1629 Oktoikh are deadjectival adverbs amongst which those formed by addition of the acc. sg. neut. desinence -ѧ (-w) predominate (the difference between -ѧ and -w spellings is purely orthographic and was discussed in 2.3.8); over a hundred such forms are attested, e.g. **вѣрно**/вѣрнѧ, **немолчно**/немолчнѧ, **нетлѣнно**, **достойнѧ**, **бѧгочестнѧ**, **немокрѧ**, **бѧолѣпно**, **ненавѣтно**, **славнѧ**/славно, **непрестѧннѧ**/непрестѧно, **согласнѧ**/согласно. Adjectives formed by addition of the loc. sg. neut. ending -ѣ and those derived from adjectives with the suffix -ѣск- with the



instr. pl. desinence -ы are encountered rarely (the latter forms are consistently written with *i* for *y*), e.g. with -ѣ: **нераздѣланѣ, мръѣ, бѣгодѣтелнѣ, дѣховнѣ, свѣтовиднѣ, теплѣ, чистѣ/чѣтѣ, лютѣ, бѣжтвенѣ, ѣвственѣ, всесилнѣ**; with -у: **Герафѣски, прѣрчески, вслчески (2x)**. Here can also be included other nominal adjectival forms such as: **кѣпно/кѣпнѣ/вокѣпѣ, сѣло, прѣнѣ/прѣно, древлѣ**.

The remaining adverbs can be grouped in the following categories:

1. Adverbs of time and place:

(a) adverbs with the suffixes -гда-, -(ж)дѣ and -дѣ: **вѣдѣ/вездѣ, гдѣ, ѡсюдѣ, ѡнюдѣ, ѡтѣдѣ, вневда, всегда, егда, тогда, иногда, идеже/идѣже, прѣжде/преже**;

(b) miscellaneous: **днѣ, долѣ, горѣ, низѣ, ннѣ, тамѣ/тамѣ, вынѣ**;

2. Adverbs of manner: **такѣ/такѣ** (the former is a general Slavic form whereas the latter is Church Slavonic; the former however is attested in the Preface and not the liturgical text proper), **такѣждѣ, вѣстиннѣ, вѣправдѣ, наединѣ, зачимѣ** (a feature of East Slavonic but does not pertain to ChSl, consequently it appears only in the Preface; see also Pugh 1996:189), **никакоже, ѣкѣже, сице, послѣди**;

3. Adverbialised comparatives and numerical adverbs: **свѣше, первѣе, ниже, пачѣ, прочѣе; Первѣе, исперва**.



## ***Chapter IV: Verbal morphology***

This chapter examines the verbal system of the 1629 Oktoikh, which is virtually identical to that of OCS. The following verbal categories are discussed: (1) infinitive, (2) present/future tense, (3) imperative, (4) compound and simple past tenses, and (5) active and passive participles.

### ***4.0 The Infinitive***

The infinitive marker in the 1629 Oktoikh is always written as *-ти*, e.g. *просвѣтити, сїсти, воплотитисѧ, ѡблнстати, помолитисѧ, облєгчити, славити, призирати, скорбити, воспѣватити, оугасити*. This desinence is present in OCS and may be regarded as pan-Slavonic in character: it was emblematic of Ruthenian as a whole whilst for Russian the 17<sup>th</sup> century appears to be a watershed with regard to its spelling. Infinitives with shortened desinence, namely *-tь* where the final unstressed *-i* disappears leaving behind a palatalised *t'*, were still a rarity in the written word even in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. A century later in standard Church Slavonic works and liturgical texts of Russian provenance the predominance of infinitives in *-ti* remains unchallenged. The situation in hybrid texts and well as those of more quotidian nature is rather different: whilst the former show an overt preference for the new truncated forms, compared to older texts, the presence of the full infinitive in the latter is sporadic at best (Živov 2004: 131–184). In standard contemporary East Slavonic languages *-ti* has been preserved in Ukrainian (*-ty*, e.g. *читати, знати*) but lost in Russian (*-t'*, e.g. *читать, знать*) and Belarusian (*-c' < -t'*, e.g. *чытаць, ведаць*) (Pugh 1996: 249–250).

### ***4.1 The Present/Future Tense***

The forms of the imperfective present tense and the perfective future tense will be discussed together as the desinential elements denoting person and number are identical and none specifically encodes either the present or the future tense. The thematic verbs are furthermore divided into two conjugational categories: the 1<sup>st</sup> Conjugation which encompasses verb classes characterised by the stem vowel *-e-*, e.g. *nesti ~ nes-e-* (e/o class), *kriknuti ~ krik-n-e-* (ne/no-class), *znati ~ zna-j-e-* (je/jo-class) and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Conjugation which is characterised by the stem vowel *-i-* and only comprises verbs from the half-thematic class, e.g. *slaviti ~ slav-i-*, *prositi ~ pros-i-* (see Table I below).

Athematic verbs occur rarely. The 2<sup>nd</sup> per. sg. of the verb **БЫТИ** is the most frequently encountered form. The following verbs are attested:

- (1) **БЫТИ**: **ЕСИ/ЕСИ** (22x) (2<sup>nd</sup> per.sg.); **ЕСТЬ/ЕСТЬ/ЕСТЬ** (7x), **ЕСТЬ** (3x), **НѢТ/НѢСТЬ** (2x) (3<sup>rd</sup> per. sg.); **ЕСТЕСМЫ** (1x) (1<sup>st</sup> per. pl.); **СЪТЪ** (2x) (3<sup>rd</sup> per. pl.);
- (2) **ИМѢТИ**: **ИМАШИ** (3x) (2<sup>nd</sup> per. sg.), **ИМАМЫ** (2x) (1<sup>st</sup> per. pl.), **ИМАМЪТЪ** (1x) (3<sup>rd</sup> per. pl.);
- (3) **(ПО)ДАТИ**: **ПОДАТЪ/ДАСЪТЪ** (2x) (3<sup>rd</sup> per. sg.); **ДАДАТЪ** (3<sup>rd</sup> per. pl.);
- (4) **СВѢДѢТИ**: **СВѢМЫ** (3x) (1<sup>st</sup> per. pl.).

Table I: Conjugation of thematic verbs

		1 <sup>st</sup> Conjugation	2 <sup>nd</sup> Conjugation	
<i>Singular</i>	1 <sup>st</sup>	-Ю/-Ю	<b>ЗОВЮ/ПОЮ</b>	<b>НАСЫЩУСА/СЛАВОСЛОВЮ</b>
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	-И	<b>ВЛЧЕСТВУЕШИ</b>	<b>ИВИШИ</b>
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	-ТЬ	<b>БЫВАЕТЪ</b>	<b>ПОВѢДИТЬ</b>
<i>Plural</i>	1 <sup>st</sup>	-МЪ	<b>ВОСПѢВАЕМЪ</b>	<b>ПРИНОСИМЪ</b>
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	-ТЕ	<b>ИЩЕТЕ</b>	<b>ПРЕВОЗНОСИТЕ</b>
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	-ТЬ/-ТЬ	<b>ВОСПЛЕЩУТЬ/ВОПІЮТЬ</b>	<b>СЛАВАТЬ</b>

The desinences in 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sg. and pl. of both conjugations call for no special discussion as these are Church Slavonic. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> Conjugation, 1<sup>st</sup> per. sg. verbal forms, where a mutable consonant is present, show the results of \*j-palatalisation, and specifically in the case of labials the epenthetic *l*, e.g. **НАСЫЩУСА**, **СЛАВОСЛОВЮ**, **ПРЕВОЗНОШУ**, **СЛАВЮ**. It is interesting that Smotryc'kyj (1619: **О/1<sup>v</sup>**, **Т/2<sup>f</sup>**) allows unmutated forms as normative: both the 1<sup>st</sup> per. sg. verbal forms without the epenthetic *l*, viz. **‘НА/ ЛЮ, И ЖДУ КОНЧАЦІИСА/ ОБІИ ОСТАВЛЯЮТЬ/ Ж, ОНІИ /А: МОГЩІИ ОБАЧЕ ТО И Ъ САМОМЪ ДЕМАТИ УСТАВИТИ: ПАКЪ/ СПЛЮ, ИЛИ СПЮ, СПИШИ: СЛАВЮ, ИЛИ/СЛАВЮ, ВИШИ’** and those where the root-final *d* does not undergo the expected mutation *dj* > *ž/žd*, viz. **‘НЕЧИТОЕ ЕДИНО/ КОИЖДО МАЛА СОГЛАСНЫМЪ УНЕЧИЩАЕМОЕ: ПАКЪ, ... БДЮ/ ГНѢЗДЮ/ ДОЖДЮ/... СЛЕЗЮ’**.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Generalisation of *j* instead of *l* in the 1<sup>st</sup> per. sg. of the half-thematic verbs took place in several Ukrainian dialectal regions the largest of which are Sjan, Bojk, Dniester, Western Podolia, Eastern Hucul, Bukovyna and Pokuttia; the process can be dated to the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. The absence of mutation in sequences \*dj in the same environment is also present in the Ukrainian dialects, namely in Central and West Polissia, Northern Slobožanščyna and the whole South-Eastern Ukraine; however the chronology of this change is obscure having possibly taken place either in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> or the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. It doubtful however that the such elements in *Grammatiki*, even if we allow for the sake of argument that forms *bdju*, *slezju*, etc. were present in the Ukrainian vernacular at that time, are representative of the living language. As the sole purpose of *Grammatiki* was to codify and standardise the usage of Church Slavonic, a conscious decision to include non-literary elements seems very much at odds with Smotryc'kyj's undertaking. In all likelihood Smotryc'kyj

The 1<sup>st</sup> per. pl. desinence in **-мѣ** is associated only with the athematic verbs in the 1629 Oktoikh. This ending is attested in OCS manuscripts, e.g. **вѣмѣ** in *Codex Zographensis*, **ѿтолѣмѣ** in *Codex Marianus*, and in CES manuscripts dating from the 11<sup>th</sup> century the same ending is sporadically present in both thematic and athematic verbs. Already by the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, **-мѣ** is well established in the role of the 1<sup>st</sup> per. pl. desinence amongst the athematic verbs; its presence in the thematic verbs in the 12<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries is noted but to a much lesser extent (Ivanov 1982: 39, 43, 58–59). The same distribution can be observed in *Grammatiki* (1619) where the endings **-емѣ/-имѣ** are associated with the thematic verbs, whilst **-мѣ** is reserved for the athematic class (for paradigms see, **О/1<sup>v</sup>**; **Т/2<sup>r</sup>**, **6<sup>r</sup>**, **8<sup>v</sup>**; **ѿ/7<sup>r</sup>**). The form **естемѣ** (**2<sup>r</sup>:2**) is a pure Polonism (*jestes-my*) and occurs once in the Preface to the Oktoikh.

It is, however, more difficult to interpret the exact status of desinences in the 3<sup>rd</sup> per. sg. and pl. with respect to Church Slavonic. The desinence **-тъ** is undoubtedly the preferred norm in the 1629 Oktoikh as only two thematic verbs have **-тъ**, namely **восплаещтъ** (**4<sup>v</sup>:13**) and **блговѣстѣють** (**19<sup>v</sup>:20**); even among the athematic verbs there seems to be a stronger preference for the unpalatalised *t*.

The standard OCS ending in the 3<sup>rd</sup> per. sg. and pl. is **-тъ**, although the zero ending in various verbal classes, as well as **-тъ** (more often than not attested in athematic verbs), is also sporadically encountered. In CES, on the other hand, the standard ending was the etymologically justified **-тъ** < \*tĭ, which was accepted at least in the early ESI ChSl as the literary norm.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, the verbal forms in **-тъ**, encountered in early CES texts of various genres, are in all likelihood Old Church Slavonicisms. From the 13<sup>th</sup> century, however, the number of forms with an unpalatalised *t* in CES steadily increased, becoming especially prevalent from the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> and throughout the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Since these occurred in such everyday writings as *gramoty* it is no longer possible to ascribe their presence to the South Slavonic influence; rather, the change in spelling must reflect the phonologic reality of everyday speech. The desinence **-тъ** is characteristic of 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> century manuscripts of Central and Northern Russian origin, and it is almost the only desinence present in those dating from the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Filin 2006: 438–449; Ivanov 1982: 35–67). Pugh's (1996: 258–259) analysis of Smotryc'kyj, Berynda and Vyšenskyj's language reveals that the unpalatalised variant is the norm where the palatalised ending is emblematic of athematic

---

includes these elements as normative alternatives in the belief they are ChSl (unmutated forms of this kind are attested in Bulgarian texts from the 13<sup>th</sup> century) (Shevelov 1979: 504, 735–736).

<sup>1</sup> For discussion on the zero ending in U, R and Br see Filin (2006: 438–449).

verbs only.<sup>1</sup> He concludes furthermore that although palatalised endings are attested in URu and BRu, on the basis of evidence provided by these three writers, the ending *-тъ* appears to be a natural alternative amongst others rather than an archaising feature.

Bearing all this in mind, how should the data regarding the 3<sup>rd</sup> per. sg./pl. desinences from the 1629 be interpreted? It is possible to see the unpalatalised endings of both thematic and athematic verbs as a direct reflection and continuation of the OCS tradition; but given the fact that the 1629 Oktoikh has Ruthenian origins, it is also possible to assume that *-тъ* simply reflects the Ruthenian norm. The palatalised endings may be seen as an archaising feature reflecting an older CES usage, especially the forms of the verb *быти* since the desinence *-тъ* is seldom used either by Smotryč'kyj, Berynda or Vyšenskyj's, in whose writings *-тъ* predominates, and as such is marked as the literary alternative in relation to the unpalatalised desinence.

In contemporary East Slavonic languages there is the following distribution:<sup>2</sup>

(1) In Russian, the desinence in the 3<sup>rd</sup> per. is *-t* for all verbal classes in the sg. as well the pl. with the exception of a handful of athematic verbs in which the palatalised *-t'* is preserved, i.e. *est'*, (*bog*) *vest'*, *nevest' čto*, *sut'*.

(2) In Belarusian, the opposition *-c'* (< *-t'*) ~ *-t* is not present. Here the choice between a zero ending and *-c'* in the sg. is dependent on the type of conjugation to which the verb belongs – the zero ending is present in the 1<sup>st</sup> conjugation whereas *-c'* predominates in the 2<sup>nd</sup>; only *-c'* is present in the pl.

(3) In Ukrainian, the distribution is similar to that in Belarusian: the zero ending predominates in the singular of verbal forms belonging to the 1<sup>st</sup> conjugation, whereas in the pl. of both conjugations and the singular of the 2<sup>nd</sup> the desinence *-t'* is present.

## 4.2 The Imperative

The CES imperative forms, which were initially identical to those of OCS, had undergone a series of changes by the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>3</sup> In the 1629 Oktoikh, however, virtually all forms conform to the OCS conjugation pattern. The 2<sup>nd</sup> per. sg. forms are preponderant – these represent 160 of the 232 imperative forms attested altogether.

<sup>1</sup> In *Grammatiki* (1619: 0/2<sup>v</sup>–2<sup>v</sup>, T/6<sup>v</sup>) the same divide is present: palatalised endings are solely found in athematic verbs whereas thematic verbs of both conjugations have the unpalatalised *-тъ*.

<sup>2</sup> The distribution of various endings in the dialects of all three languages is rather complex and will not be discussed here (see Filin (2006) for further discussion on the distribution of 3<sup>rd</sup> per. endings in the dialects: for Russian 438–440, for Belarusian 440–442, for Ukrainian 442).

<sup>3</sup> For changes in imperative forms see Belousov (1982: 132–153) for CES and Russian, and Pugh (1996: 267–269) for Ruthenian and CMU/CMBR).

The imperative forms in both CES and OCS were formed on the basis of the present tense stem to which the Indo-European optative \*-oi- (which passed to the Slavonic *-i* or *-ě*) and the personal endings (the *ø*-ending in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> per. sg., *-мъ* in the 1<sup>st</sup> per. and *-те* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> per. pl.) were added. The suffix *-i* is present in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> per. sg. of verbal Classes I–IV including the two athematic verbs *byti* and *iměti*; the remaining athematic verbs, i.e. *dati*, *ěsti*, *věděti*, use the suffix *-jь-* in the formation of singular forms. This suffix is also present in the pl. forms of Classes III–V with the exception of the verb *byti* where the ending *-ě-* is used. The ending *-ě-* is furthermore used in plural forms of Classes I and II. Common to both OCS and CES is the analogical substitution of *-ě-*, for the expected *-i-*, in verbs belonging to Class III (Lunt 2001: 98–99; Schmalstieg 1982: 107–108).

The imperative endings attested in the 1629 Oktoikh are presented in Table II:

Table II: Imperative

		Classes I, II	Classes III, IV	Class V
Singular	1 <sup>st</sup>	---	---	---
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	<b>-и/-й, -ь/-ъ</b>	I: <b>прійми, Сїси</b> II: <b>помани, Воскрїни</b>	III: <b>радѣйсѧ, Просїай, покажи</b> IV: <b>оутверди, оумири, презри</b> V: <b>подаждѣ/дѣдѣ</b>
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	no examples	no examples	<b>бѣди</b>
Plural	1 <sup>st</sup>	<b>-ѣмъ, -имъ</b>	I: <b>припадѣмъ</b> II: no examples	III: <b>вспомїмѣ</b> IV: <b>поклонимсѧ, прославимъ</b>
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	<b>-ѣте, -ите/ -йте</b>	I: <b>сѣбыидѣте, вбыимѣте, рцѣте</b> II: no examples	III: <b>возопїйте, пойте, неплачитесѧ, дерзайте</b> IV: <b>веселитесѧ, видите, видѣте</b> V: <b>дадите</b>
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	---	---	---

All the imperative forms in Table II are identical to those in OCS with the exception of **видѣте** (29<sup>v</sup>:12). This form might reflect the trend prevalent in early Ruthenian whereby the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. endings of Classes III and IV, that is *-im-*, *-ite*, were replaced with those from I and II, that is *-ěm-*, *-ěte* (Kernyckyj 1967: 248, 250). Alternatively, this is an isolated spelling it may simply be a retardative misspelling under the influence of the preceding

imperative's suffix -ѣ-: прѣ//дѣте и видѣте идѣже лежа гдѣ. In addition all plural forms of Class III verbs have the original endings -имъ, -ите/-йте .

### 4.3 The three past tenses: imperfect, aorist and perfect

A common trait in all three East Slavonic languages concerns the development of the past tense system where the imperfect and aorist were ousted and at a relatively early stage supplanted by the elliptic perfect. Already by the 14<sup>th</sup> century the perfect tense in CES had lost its original meaning, that of an action begun in the past but pertinent at the moment of utterance, and become the sole means of expressing any past action. The fact that both the perfect and the aorist may be used indiscriminately to encode a past action testifies to this development (Ivanov 1982: 97–107; Uspenskij 2002: 215–220). On the other hand, the difference between the aorist and imperfect in Church Slavonic contexts is reanalysed in aspectual terms: if the aorist may be freely interchangeable with the perfect forms of the type *javilь esi*, the imperfect is seen as its counterpart alternating with the perfect forms of the type *javljalь esi*. Thus there are now two different means through which aspectual difference may be expressed: the perf. aspect can be encoded either by the aorist or perfect forms of the type *javilь esi*, whereas the imperf. by the imperfect or perfect forms of the type *javljalь esi*. The presence of such doublets gave rise to mutual contamination – a phenomenon that is well attested in Church Slavonic grammars from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In these works perfect forms may intrude in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and/or 3<sup>rd</sup> per. sg. of the aorist and imperfect paradigms, and there may be a complete absence of differentiation between aorist and imperfect as their 3<sup>rd</sup> per. pl. forms are presented as normative alternatives in either of the respective paradigms (Remneva 2003: 183–186; Uspenskij 2002: 225–230).

Of interest is the appearance of ‘contaminated’ paradigms in the 2<sup>nd</sup> per. sg. of imperfect and aorist tenses, the main impetus behind which seems to be rooted in desire to resolve the problem of homonymy in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> per. sg. especially since homonymous verbal forms were not present in Greek (Uspenskij 2002: 236). The same tendency is reflected in Smotryc’kyj’s grammar (1619: 0/2<sup>r</sup>–3<sup>r</sup>) amongst others, namely *prexodjaščee*: чтохъ, челъ/ чла/ чло, чте; *nepredělnoe*: прочтохъ, прочелъ/ чла/ чло, прочте; *predšedšee*: читѧ, читалъ/ читала/ ло, читаше; *mimošedšee*: читѧ, читалъ/ ала/ ало, читаше.

In the 1629 Oktoikh no such substitutions are present. The 2<sup>nd</sup> per. sg. aorist forms, and on a single occasion an imperfect form, are regularly used throughout the text, e.g. *imperfect*: не терпаше вѧко зрѣти (43<sup>v</sup>:14); *aorist*: какъ распятіе прїѧтъ и смѣръть безгрѣшне да



мірови дарѡешѣ воскрѣніе (4<sup>r</sup>:5–6), Ты древле гавѣ Авраамѡ пакѡ пвиса трисоставенъ (5<sup>v</sup>:10–11), Ты бысть пакѡ безпомощѣ (20<sup>v</sup>:6), ѡпи твои гди, нагорѡ идеже повелѣ имъ прійдоша (26<sup>v</sup>:2–3), вратаѡ мѣднѡѡ сокрѡшилъ еси, и верѡѡ желѣзнѡѡ ѡтерлъ еси · и йведе насъ ѡтмы и сѣни смѣртныѣ и оузы наша растерза (30<sup>r</sup>:7–10).

#### 4.3.1 Imperfect

Of the simple past tenses comprising the early CES preterite inventory the imperfect tense was the first to disappear from the East Slavonic vernacular. Its conspicuous absence from 12<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> century works pertaining to *delavoj jazyk* as well as *gramoty* testifies to this development. The imperfect nevertheless survives during this period and later in the written word, becoming now characteristic of the ecclesiastical-literary genre (Ivanov 1982: 79–84). It is thus no surprise that imperfective forms are present in the 1629 Oktoikh, although significantly fewer numbers than the aorist. The imperfective is attested 25x; all forms appear contracted according to the CES pattern with the characteristic imperfective marker -а(а)-. The secondary suffix -тъ is not present in the 3<sup>rd</sup> per. With the exception of a lone 2<sup>nd</sup> per. sg. form, namely нетерпаше вѣко зрѣти (43<sup>v</sup>:14), the remaining forms are 3<sup>rd</sup> per. sg. or pl., e.g. радовахѡсѡ, вопіахѡ (2x), трепетахѡ, облишаше, проповѣдахѡ, провѣглашаше, гѣлаше, несогараше, слышахѡ, сказаше, измѣнашесѡ, поахѡ, Зрѡше, раздѣлаше, гѣлахѡ (2x), вопіаше (2x). The morphologic alternations are also preserved, e.g. оудѣвѣлашесѡ, блещѡхѡсѡ, воображаше, дѣвѣлахѡ, воспѣвахѡ, with the exception of нетерпаше where the epenthetic *l* is not present.

#### 4.3.2 Aorist

The number of attested aorist forms (these, as a rule, are formed on the pattern of the productive aorist) in CES manuscripts of the 11<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries is significantly greater than that of imperfective forms. Furthermore, these appear in a variety of genres, not only in texts of literary, Church Slavonic character, but in *gramoty* (albeit rarely), legal and administrative documents. Such evidence warrants the conclusion that the aorist vanished from the vernacular at a later stage than the imperfective and that unlike the latter it was part of the living language. However, aorist's longevity in the written word should not be seen as reflecting its presence in the spoken language: the fact that in the manuscripts of the 12<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries one encounters examples where imperfect is used instead of aorist, where the

aoorist forms do not agree in person/number with the subject of the sentence or are incorrectly formed unequivocally points to the fact that aorist had already by that time become alien to the spoken language (Ivanov 1982: 74–79, 89–92).

In the 1629 Oktoikh aorist tense is frequently used – such forms are attested more than 300x; in all instances they are formed on the pattern of the productive (see Table III below). Amongst the athematic verbs the following forms are encountered: **бѣ, быша, бысть** (4x), **предастьсѧ, пребысть**.<sup>1</sup> In addition a lone 3<sup>rd</sup> per. du. form is attested, namely **на немѣже стѡдстѣ прѣчтїи носѣ** (22<sup>r</sup>:5–6); the ending **-стѣ** for the expected **-сте** or even **-ста** may have been influenced by later SSL protographs in which this desinence is sporadically encountered with feminine and neuter nouns (Cejtlin, Večerka and Blagova 1999: 840). The same desinence for 3<sup>rd</sup> per. du. aorist forms, but only in association with feminine nouns, is codified in *Grammatiki* (see 1619: O/2<sup>r</sup>–3<sup>r</sup>). As expected the secondary desinence **-тъ/-ть** is attested in verbs with stems in etymological nasals and *-r-*, e.g. **прїаѣтѣ** (4<sup>r</sup>:5), **расплатсѧ** (5<sup>r</sup>:2), **пѡдѡтъ** (31<sup>r</sup>:5), **прострѣтъ** (43<sup>r</sup>:11), **прїаѣтъ** (49<sup>r</sup>:9). The secondary ending **-тъ**, modelled on the corresponding SSL ending **-тъ**, may be seen as an artificial innovation within ESl Church Slavonic literary tradition (Uspenskij 2002: 188–189). The same desinence is codified in *Grammatiki* (1619: O/2<sup>v</sup>): ‘**Нѣкїи глїи котретїемѡ прехождѡщаго лицѡ прїїѡлѡтъ /тъ, изрѡнѣ на/ ѡ, то кончѡцїи: ѡкѡ ѡ/ или ѡтъ, ѡ глѡ емлю: и сегѡ сложеннаѡ.**’

Table III: Productive aorist

		<i>Productive aorist – secondary sigmatic aorist</i>	<i>Productive aorist – ox-aorist</i>	
<i>Singular</i>	1 <sup>st</sup>	<b>-хѣ</b>	<b>оуповахѣ, оуслышѡ, прославїѡ</b>	no examples
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	<b>-ѡ, -ѣ</b>	<b>изволи</b>	<b>погребесѧ, воскрѣсе</b>
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	<b>-ѡ, -ѣ</b>	<b>пригвѡди, дарова, провѣщасѧ</b>	<b>воведе, ѡверзе, воскрѣсе</b>
<i>Plural</i>	1 <sup>st</sup>	<b>-(ѡ)хомѣ</b>	<b>свободихомѧ, избавихомѧ</b>	<b>вѣрѣтохомѣ</b>
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	<b>-(ѡ)сте</b>	<b>испросисте, оклеветасте</b>	<b>вознесосте</b>
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	<b>-(ѡ)ша</b>	<b>прописаша, оумертвиша</b>	<b>достигоша, прїїдоша</b>

<sup>1</sup> The unprefixed verb *byti* has two aorist forms, one formed from the stem *bě-* and the other from *by-*; the former is known as the imperfective aorist whilst the latter as the perfective aorist. Prefixed forms, such as *prebyti*, are formed only use the stem *by-* (Lunt 2001:108).

### 4.3.3 Perfect

The perfect tense was originally a compound tense comprising the present tense forms of the auxiliary verb *byti* and resultative *l*-participle, which expressed an action that took place in the past but whose consequences were still pertinent at the moment of utterance (Lunt 2001: 113). In the CES manuscripts from the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> as well as 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries perfects with the auxiliary verb are rarely attested; on the other hand elliptic forms are preponderant in texts from the same periods regardless of their genre. In the later period the presence of the auxiliary verb is probably nothing more than obsequiousness to tradition as the perfect no longer carried its original meaning, that of resultative action; rather the participle itself begins to act as a verbal form expressing past actions in general (Ivanov 1982: 92–95, 97–107).

In ChSl texts, at least early ones, the presence of the auxiliary verb was obligatory and its absence was an overt deviation from the ChSl standard. Nonetheless, elliptic forms in the 3<sup>rd</sup> per. sg. are indeed attested in *Codex Supraslensis* and several ChSl manuscripts of ESl provenance such as *Izbornik 1037* and *The Pandects of Antiochus*. In the following the elliptic forms become codified in various Church Slavonic grammars, amongst them in *Grammatiki* (1619) (see 2<sup>nd</sup> per. sg. in aorist and imperfect paradigms 0/2<sup>r</sup>–3<sup>r</sup>), as normative forms (Uspenskij 2002: 247–249).

In the 1629 Oktoikh the perfect always occurs in its original analytic form, e.g. **родила еси, пребыла еси, вообразилъ еси, оутвердилъ еси, составила еси, создала еси, ѿдѣлила еси, избавилъ ны есть, воскресилъ есть, обновилъ есть, родила есть**, with the exception of a lone elliptic form in **Х҃сѣ вѣдѣщихъ бл҃гъ явленъ первостѣль, прегрѣшенїа намъ ѿгнала есть, обновилъ страненъ пѣть своею кровїю** (16<sup>v</sup>:9–11).

## 4.4 Past and Present Participles

### 4.4.1 Past and Present Passive Participles

In the Kievan Oktoikh past passive participles are formed with the following passive formants: *-n-/-nn-* (*-n-* + adjectival suffix *-bn-*) is present in verbs whose stem ends in a vowel but *-en-/-enn-* if the stem ends in a consonant, the formant *-t-* is used with the verbs **пѣти, ѿверѣсти, пожрѣти**, e.g. **ѿверстѣ** (25<sup>r</sup>:8), **ѿпрепѣтыа** (45<sup>r</sup>:1), **пожрѣта бысть** (45<sup>r</sup>:17–18). The distribution of these formants does not differ from that in OCS (Lunt 2001: 110–111).

In the 1629 Oktoikh both long and short forms are attested but the former are more common:

(1) short forms: ПОГРЕБЕННА (3<sup>v</sup>:15), ЗНАМЕНАНЪ (5<sup>v</sup>:8), УТАГЧЕНА (9<sup>v</sup>:4), ПОСТАВЛЕННУМЪ (13<sup>r</sup>:6), ВОПЛОЩЕННОМЪ (15<sup>v</sup>:4), ЧЕРВЛЕНО (16<sup>v</sup>:7), ПАВЛЕНЪ (16<sup>v</sup>:7), СОТВОРЕНА БЫСТЬ (17<sup>r</sup>:5), ПОГРЕБЕЙ БЫВАЕ (18<sup>r</sup>:1–2), ОУАВЛЕНЪ БЫСТЬ (18<sup>v</sup>:11), ПРЕЦЕЙ (19<sup>r</sup>:9), СОЛГАЙ БЫСТЬ (19<sup>r</sup>:10), ПОВѢШЕЙ (34<sup>v</sup>:13), etc.;

(2) long forms: ПОГРЕБЕННЫА (17<sup>r</sup>:18–19), ПРОНАРЕЧЕННАГО (24<sup>r</sup>:13), ПОГРЕБЕНЪНЫИ (25<sup>v</sup>:5–6), НЕПРОДАНЫИ (25<sup>v</sup>:6), РОЖДЕННАГО (37<sup>v</sup>:7), ИБРАННЫИ (39<sup>r</sup>:15), СОКРЪШЕННЫИ (39<sup>v</sup>:3–4), УМРАЧЕННЫМЪ (43<sup>v</sup>:1), ОУАВЛЕННАГО (44<sup>v</sup>:1), etc.

The formant *-(e)n-* deserves further comment as p.p.p. in the 1629 Oktoikh may be spelt with either single or double *n*. The ‘double *n*’ was an innovation idiosyncratic to Church Slavonic literary tradition that in all likelihood harks back to OCS where such forms are sporadically attested, e.g. *ПОВЕЛѢННАГА* in *Savvina Kniga*; *НЕИЗГЛАГОЛАНЕНЪ*, *НЕИСПИСАНЕНЪ*, *ОСЖЖЕННА* in *Sinajskij Trebnik* (Sobolevskij 2005: 262); similar forms are also attested in Church Slavonic texts of ESl origin (for examples see, Sobolevskij 2005: 262–263). In contrast to Ruthenian, where *-(e)n-* forms were preponderant and stylistically unmarked, and subsequently only those survived in CSU and CSBr (Pugh 1996: 273–276), the evidence of Russian texts from 14<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries suggests that *-(e)nn-* forms gradually lose their markedly literary character and become the established orthographic norm where the *-(e)nn-* formant is used in long whilst *-(e)n-* is used in short participle forms (Kuz'mina and Nemčenko 1982: 380–381).

In Smotryc'kyj (1619: Б/2<sup>r</sup>–2<sup>v</sup>), however, the opposition *-(e)n-* : *-(e)nn-* is exploited for different purposes, namely to separate participles proper from adjectivalised participles respectively: ‘ИМЕНЕМЪ НА ЧИСТОЕ/ НЫИ, КЪЧАЩИСЯ ПРИЛИЧНЫ БЫТИ ДВА НН: ТАКЪ, СТРАННЫИ / СМирЕННЫИ / ИСТИНЫИ / ЗАКОННЫИ / УКАЛНЫИ и прѣ: причастіемъже едино; ТАКЪ, ЧИТАНЫИ / СМирЕННЫИ / ЧТЕННЫИ / УКАЛНЫИ / ВИДѢНЫИ: и прѣ ’. The same practice is observed in the 1629 Oktoikh with only a handful of exceptions: of approximately 70 adjectivalised participles attested only nine have the *-(e)n-* suffix, e.g. *НЕРОЖДЕННЫИ* (6<sup>v</sup>:5), *УДШЕВЛЕНЮ* (16<sup>v</sup>:17–18), *ПРЕЦЕЙ* (19<sup>r</sup>:9), *НЕПРОДАНЫИ* (25<sup>v</sup>:6), *СОЗДАНАА* (38<sup>r</sup>:12), *ЗАТВОРЕНЮ* (40<sup>r</sup>:1–2), *ОУАВЛЕННАГО* (44<sup>v</sup>:1), *РАСТОЧЕНАА* (46<sup>v</sup>:3–4), *СВЪЗАНУХЪ* (42<sup>r</sup>:11); with regard to participles proper only four

out of 28 attested use the formant *-(e)nn*, e.g. *поставленнѡмъ* (13<sup>r</sup>:6), *запечатлѣнна* (31<sup>v</sup>:11), *оболченна* (43<sup>v</sup>:18), *насажденно* (46<sup>v</sup>:5).

In OCS, past passive participles were, as a rule, formed from perfective verbs, those from imperfectives occurring rarely; similarly, in the 1629 Oktoikh an overwhelming majority of p.p.p. is perfective (see examples of short and long forms above) although imperfective forms are also attested. It should be taken into account that such imperfective passives only have attributive function or act as substantivised adjectives, e.g. *ѿ земли възываа тлѣнноє ми тѣло* (13<sup>v</sup>:5–6) *трисвѣтлѣю небечернюю зарю · единѣ нетлѣннѣ свѣтъ намъ восїавшю* (46<sup>v</sup>:1–2), *создвїже первозданнаго* (26<sup>r</sup>:1–2), *да члкъмъ единственнѣо трисїаннѣо твое гвїши бжтво* (6<sup>r</sup>:13–14).

In the 1629 Oktoikh, present passive participles are attested 64x and have the following suffixes: *-омъ*, *-емъ* and *-имъ*. In OCS the formant *-имъ* is used with half-thematic verbs, *-омъ* with verbs of Classes I and II, and *-емъ* with Class III verbs (Lunt 2001: 99–100). The same distribution of suffixes is found in the 1629 Oktoikh, e.g. *славимый, возносимый, незаходимаго, несѣкомаа, жегома, распинаемый, сказаемое, оумерщвллемый, свободлема, исполнаеми*; the exception is Class III verb *простирати* which has *-имъ* instead of *-емъ*, viz. *простираимъ* (50<sup>v</sup>:15). Of athematic verbs, only two forms are encountered *вѣдомо* *бди* and *недовѣдомаго*.

The participle forms may be either short or long, and are for the most part formed from impf. verbs (see examples above) although instances with perf. verbs as well those of both perf. and imperf. aspect are also attested, e.g. *невидимый* (perf./imperf.), *сдимъ* (perf./imperf.), *порѣгаема* (perf./imperf.), *неисчѣпаемѣю* (perf.), *неопалимѣ* (perf.). A relatively large number of present passive participles from perf. verbs is attested in texts of ESl origin; these are by and large derived from prefixed verbs and have completely lost their verbal character (Kuz'mina and Nemčenko 1982: 369). Furthermore the participles occur either in their proper verbal role or have an attributive function, e.g. *на херѣвїмскомъ престолѣ носимый вслчскїи црѣ, и вооцтробѣ твою дѣствѣнѣю вселиса прчтаа* (10<sup>r</sup>:6–8), *лици оумнїи невещественнїи сществѣ, твоими лдчами бжѣ ... озарѣми бываюѣ* (35<sup>r</sup>:11), *по волею сдимъ бысть* (44<sup>r</sup>:15); *знаемаго сїа* (14<sup>r</sup>:13), *квпина жегома* (15<sup>r</sup>:10), *собразъ чистаго ржтва твоего, распалаемѣ квпинѣ, гвї неопалимѣ* (23<sup>r</sup>:6–7).

#### 4.4.2 Present and Past Active Participles

Active participles, both short and long forms, are frequently used in the 1629 Oktoikh. Their function does not have to be purely verbal as these may also be attributive or act as substantivised adjectives.

In both CES and OCS the past active participle had the suffix *-vъš-* or *-ъš-* to which inflectional endings were added; the short and long paradigms follow the declensional pattern of soft adjectives. The former suffix was used with verbs whose infinitive stem ends in a vowel, *znati* ~ *znavъ(š)-*, the latter with those ending in a consonant, *nesti* ~ *nesъ(š)-*. Originally the nom. sg. masc. and neut. short and nom. sg. masc. long forms have endings in *-ъ*, *-ь* and *-vъ* (reflecting the underlying *ø*-ending). In OCS half-thematic verbs, such as *voplotiti*, *slaviti*, were regularly formed with the suffix *-ъš-* that was accompanied by the attendant *j*-palatalisation of the stem-final consonant, viz. *voplotiti* ~ *voplot-i* + *-ъš-* > *voplot-j-* + *-ъš-* > *voploščъš-*; in CES this verbal class was treated as any other verb with a stem-final vowel, using thus the suffix *-vъš-*.<sup>1</sup> This suffix was also used with Class II verbs in which the sequence *-nu-* would be lost (Lunt 2001: 108–109; Kuz'mina and Nemčenko 1982: 294–295).

In the 1629 Oktoikh the past active participle is attested approximately 230x, e.g. та прегражденіе вражды раздръшивши мѣръ воведе (4<sup>v</sup>:1–2), смерть оумертвѣвъ и жизнь намъ дарова падшаго адама всеродна воскреси, пакъ члѣколюбѣць (4<sup>v</sup>:15–16), Гавріилъ прорѣшавшѣ ти дѣо еже радѣи сѧ, и согласомъ воплоща всѣхъ вѣка вѣтебѣ стѣмъ квотѣ (5<sup>v</sup>:15–17), Гависа пространнѣйшаа нѣсъ, носившаа зѣдителя своего ва вселшемѣса вѣта · слава прошедшемѣ истебе: слава свождшемѣ нѣа (6<sup>r</sup>:1–4), произыйде прелѣтныи, оуподобльса намъ (7<sup>r</sup>:8–9), Иже насвое рамо заблѣдшее овча вземшемѣ, и низложившемѣ древомъ прегрѣшеніа егво, хѣ Бѣгъ возопіемъ (15<sup>r</sup>:13–15). With regard to half-thematic verbs, there is a slight preference for the older OCS variant – approximately 60 verbs are formed with *-ъš-* and 40 with *-vъš-*. Furthermore there seems to be no stylistic difference between the two forms although the suffix *-ъš-* is almost exclusively used with certain verbs. For example, *rožd-* (*roditi*) is attested 15x but *rodiv-* 1x (дѣо истебе неизречѣнн родѣшемѣса, молиса (9<sup>v</sup>:2–3)); *voplošč-* (*voplotisja*) 11x but *voplotiv-* 1x (хѣ же водѣствѣ родила еси, истебе воплотѣшагоса прѣчтаа (14<sup>v</sup>:10–11)).

<sup>1</sup> Such forms are also sporadically attested in OCS manuscripts such as *Codex Marianus* and *Codex Zographensis* but are standard in *Supraslensis* (Lunt 2001: 109).

Present active participles are frequently used in the 1629 Oktoikh – altogether such forms have been attested approximately 240x. Present tense participles are formed on the basis of the present stem to which the derivational suffix *-ш-* or *-щ-* is added, followed by inflectional endings. These, like past tense participles, are declined on the pattern of soft adjectives. The former suffix is present in Class I, II, III and V verbs, whilst the latter occurs in the half-thematics. The nom. sg. masc./neut. of verbs in stem-final consonant, Classes I and II, have the suffix *-ы*; Classes III and IV use *-а* (Lunt 2001: 99–100). Examples include: *но также изволи мира просвѣтити, вопиуща и глюща (5<sup>f</sup>:8), пребѣгаа единице, прійми молбы вопіющихъ, непрестанно (7<sup>f</sup>:13–14), Ты вса вѣки хотѣніемъ, своимъ пакъ бѣга составила еси · Внесшцихъ (8<sup>v</sup>–9<sup>f</sup>:17–1), Кто сый спсѣ иже изъ едема приходаа вѣнецъ носа треновенъ, очервленіе ризное имый (16<sup>f</sup>:7–9). In the liturgical text proper, only the ChSl suffix *-ш-/-щ-* is present; its CES alternative *-шч-/-щч-* is attested only once in the Preface to the text, viz. *Итакъ справъ собѣ тѣю книжницѣ, абысь в своей цркви вездѣ, вправдючи на ней каноны, бѣга живаго хвалиль (2<sup>f</sup>:5–8).**

Although most participle forms show agreement with the noun they qualify, a relatively small number of anomalous forms is attested, which are discussed in the remainder of this section. A number of changes affected the original CES active participle paradigm. These can be roughly divided into the following categories: (1) changes in the nom. sg. masc./neut. short forms ultimately giving rise to the formation of indeclinable participles – gerunds; (2) the presence of analogical levelling in formation of past participles from Class II verbs and those ending in the stem-final *-m*, *-n*, or *-d* on the pattern of verbs in stem-final vowel; (3) the presence of etymologically unjustified endings in singular and plural short forms; (4) generalisation of the oblique stem and intrusion of adjectival desinences in the long form.

1. *Indeclinable participles.* In works of CES origin apart from gerunds of the type *idja* and *vstavъ*, *šedъ*, forms in *-i* and *-e* are also encountered. These suffixes are not limited to gerunds associated with masc. nouns in the nom. sg. but also with those in oblique cases (Kuz'mina and Nemčenko 1982: 323–351). In the 1629 Oktoikh only the gerunds in *-i/-e* are attested and their number is exiguous, e.g. (1) nom. sg. masc. forms with *-i/-e* *животъ во ѿ живота ты прошеши (32<sup>v</sup>:5–6), мѣти пдчинѣ неисчѣпаемдю, свществендю пакъ имдши: тебѣ кланяющихса оуцедри и спси, пакъ чѣколювецъ · (31<sup>v</sup>–32<sup>f</sup>:18–3), Невещественаа древле лѣствица: и стрѣно оладѣвши пѣть морѣ, твое сказаще рѣтво чистаа (39<sup>v</sup>:11–13), мостъ бѣтвенный, иже ѿ землаа приводши всегда котомѣ (51<sup>f</sup>:7–8); (2) oblique cases in both the*

sg. and pl. with *-e/-i*: **Возведемѡ** пастыра великаго издаа хѣ, и стѣльствомъ егѡ апѣлы павѣ павыки **оупасше**, истинною и бжѣтвеннымъ дхѡмъ, вѣрній да послѣдимъ (for **оупасшемѡ**; 15<sup>r</sup>–15<sup>v</sup>:17–3), **примѣшается** хсѣ бгѣ оумѡ члѣскомѡ, **ходотайствѣющи** бжѣтвенны естѣтвѡ и **дебелствѡ** (for **ходотайствѣющемѡ**; 19<sup>r</sup>:4–6), **воадъже сошедѣ** пакѡ силенъ, иже тамо **пришествіа** **чающи** твоего, исхитилъ еси (for **чающа/чающихъ**; 31<sup>r</sup>:7).

2. *Analogical levelling in formation of past active participles.* Verbs whose stem ends in *-m*, *-n*, or *-d*, e.g. **взати** ~ **вземъ**, **зчати** ~ **зченъ**, **пасти** ~ **падъ**, start being analogically modelled on the pattern of verbs with a stem-final vowel, thus in CES texts we find **взавъ**, **зчавъ**, **павъ**. Class II verbs undergo a similar development where the suffix *-nu-*, originally absent from participle forms, is now present (Kuz'mina and Nemčenko 1982: 296, 298). In the 1629 Oktoikh, verbs of the type **взати**, **зчати**, **пасти** always show the underlying consonant that is made obscure in the infinitive, e.g. **распеншагосѡ** (3<sup>v</sup>:14), **пріємша** (4<sup>r</sup>:10), **падшаго**, **зченши** (12<sup>r</sup>:14), **вземшемѡ**, **Падъ** (19<sup>r</sup>:9) **воскрѣшемѡ** (3<sup>v</sup>:2), **прозавшю** (4<sup>r</sup>:10). The Class II verbs, on the other hand, in all instances but one, are formed on the older pattern, e.g. **вѡдвѣшаго** (19<sup>v</sup>:16), **подвигсѡ** (27<sup>r</sup>:4) but **вѡдвигнѡвый** (15<sup>r</sup>:15–16).

3. *Presence of etymologically unjustified endings in singular and plural short forms.* In the 1629 Oktoikh the nom. pl. fem. of short participles, both past and present, has the desinence *-e* instead of the expected *-a* (in Smotryč'kyj (1619) the short participle declension has been to a certain extent fused with the long, see **Ф/4<sup>r</sup>–7<sup>v</sup>**). As such spellings are encountered in all examined examples, the desinence in question appears to have a normative character, e.g. **мѡроносѣ** (5<sup>r</sup>:10), **зрѣѣ** (18<sup>r</sup>:10), **глѡѣ** (21<sup>v</sup>:4). **Рыдаюѣ** (25<sup>r</sup>:6), **плачѣѣсѡ** (26<sup>r</sup>:9); **воспріѣѣ** (5<sup>r</sup>:4–5), **необрѣтѣѣ** (5<sup>r</sup>:12), **оувѣдѣѣѣ** (5<sup>r</sup>:13), **оурѣѣ** (12<sup>r</sup>:6), **видѣѣѣ** (12<sup>r</sup>:7), **шѣдѣѣ** (12<sup>r</sup>:9). Anomalous forms of this kind were, however, a common occurrence in CES and can be explained in terms of tendency towards generalisation of inflectional participle endings on the pattern of masculine declension where *-e* functions as an indicator of plurality (Kuz'mina and Nemčenko 1982: 313, 316).

A lone nom. pl. masc. ending in *-и*, instead of *-e* which is encountered in all other cases, is attested in the following sentence: **Кровію** твоею хѣ, **очервлено** плоти твоеѡ **зрѣщи** **вдѣлніе** · **трепетомъ** дивлахѡ сѡ, **многомѡ** ти **долготерпѣнію**, **аггѣлстїи** чини **зовѣѣ** (45<sup>r</sup>:9–12). This anomaly may be explained in terms of analogical levelling on the pattern of soft nominal declensions, such as nouns of the type *конь* belonging to the \*jō-stem (nom. pl. *koni*), feminine nouns like *кость*, *мати*, *свекры* whose nom. pl. also has *-и* (Kuz'mina and



Nemčenko 1982: 317). In the plural, a single acc. masc. form in *-ε* is also attested, namely *прїде во ната Гдѣ разорити егѣпетскїа лсти рѣкописанїа, и просвѣтити симъ слѣжаще* (15<sup>v</sup>:11–13). The presence of this ending can be explained in terms of generalisation of *e*-forms as an indicator of plurality, coupled with and further supported by a general tendency in ESI language for syncretism of the nom. and the acc. case (Kuz'mina and Nemčenko 1982: 358).

In the singular forms the following etymologically unjustified endings are attested: (1) *-ε* instead of *-и* in the nom. sg. fem. appears 4x, e.g. *испрошающе* (8<sup>v</sup>:2–3), *имѣще* (8<sup>v</sup>:13, 33<sup>v</sup>:9), *вбрацающеся* (13<sup>r</sup>:1), *овнѣще* (13<sup>v</sup>:2), *терпѣще* (41<sup>r</sup>:15); (2) *-а* for *-и* in the nom. sg. fem., e.g. *Древле оубо клатвена бысть земля, абелевою очервленившася кровїю* (20<sup>v</sup>:7). The former may generally be considered in the light of the competition between desinences *-ε* and *-и* already observed in the masc. and fem. pl. forms. The latter was in all likelihood motivated by the presence of other elements with the ending *-а* which occur in the same sentence, i.e. *клатвена, земля*. This ending may also be analysed in terms of analogical development since the preponderant ending *-а* is present in the nom. sg. of both nouns and adjectives (Kuz'mina and Nemčenko 1982: 318–320).

4. *Generalisation of the oblique stem and intrusion of adjectival desinences.* The generalised oblique stem in the nom. sg. masc. of long participles, namely substitution of forms like *рѣкыи* with *рѣкшии*, is a phenomenon well-established in CES manuscripts (Kuz'mina and Nemčenko 1982: 364). In the 1629 Oktoikh, however, all long nom. sg. masc. forms appear in their original form, e.g. *павлей* (3<sup>r</sup>:5), *избавлей* (3<sup>v</sup>:4), *сздавый* (6<sup>v</sup>:8), *свѣдый* (14<sup>v</sup>:10), *имый* (16<sup>r</sup>:9), *Просвѣщей* (17<sup>r</sup>:12), *избавлалый* (18<sup>v</sup>:5–6), *излѣвый* (34<sup>v</sup>:13); only the long nom. sg. neut forms appear with the generalised stem, e.g. *воплощшеся* (39<sup>v</sup>:16), *поползшеся* (47<sup>r</sup>:16).

In addition, the analogical levelling takes place in the nom. pl. masc. and nom. sg. fem. long forms where the original desinences *-и* and *-иа* are replaced with the respective adjectival endings *-и* and *-аа*. The latter two forms are already preponderant by the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Kuz'mina and Nemčenko 1982: 364). In the 1629 Oktoikh *-и* and *-аа* are almost exclusively used in the nom. of short forms, e.g. *пришедшии* (25<sup>v</sup>:3), *стрегѣцїи* (25<sup>v</sup>:4, 47<sup>v</sup>:12), *Надѣющїися* (38<sup>r</sup>:14), *живѣщїи* (38<sup>v</sup>:1), *носишала* (5<sup>v</sup>:5), *осїавшала* (8<sup>r</sup>:13); *сѣлцала* (9<sup>r</sup>:6), *сїсаюцала* (9<sup>r</sup>:6), *заченшала* (15<sup>r</sup>:8), *прѣложшала* (34<sup>r</sup>:9–10), *рождшала* (41<sup>r</sup>:14–15). The only exception is *рождшиа* (35<sup>r</sup>:2).



## Chapter V: Syntax

A complete examination of the syntax of the Kievan Oktoikh is not undertaken in the following commentary; rather, the focus is primarily directed towards those syntactical features which are most characteristic of Church Slavonic, many of which are syntactical Hellenisms, or those betraying the influence of spoken, non-literary language.

### 5.0 Single vs. double negation

In all modern Slavonic languages negating any part of the sentence (except the predicate) requires obligatory negation of the predicate (cf. *nikto ne znaet, nikuda ne exal, ničego ne znaju* [R]; *ni(t)ko ne zna, nikuda nisam išao, ništa ne znam* [SC]; *nobeden ne ve, nikamor nisem šel, nič ne vem* [S], etc.).<sup>1</sup> Double negation is attested furthermore in the oldest extant Old Church Slavonic manuscripts: *ЕГДА НИКТОЖЕ НЕМОЖЕТЪ ДѢЛАТИ; АШТЕ НЕ БИ ОТЪ БѢ БЫЛЪ СЪ · НЕ МОГЛЪ БИ ТВОРИТИ НИЧЕСОЖЕ* (Mar. John 9: 4 and 33 respectively); *ОТВѢЩА ИС НЕИМАШИ ОБЛАСТИ НА МНѢ НИКОЕЛЖЕ* (Sav. John 19: 11).<sup>2</sup>

Uspenskij (2002: 319–321) observes that the attested use of single negation in Church Slavonic texts, prior to the *second South Slavonic influence*, is occasional in character. In other words, its use cannot be seen as reflecting the Church Slavonic norm, which was double negation, but stands out as an idiosyncratic feature of individual texts imitating the Greek original (the Greek language requires single negation in negative sentences). With the *second South Slavonic influence*, this syntactic Hellenism becomes firmly rooted in Church Slavonic: its usage is no longer seen as facultative but normative.<sup>3</sup> As a result, a contrast arises between what is now perceived as a native colloquial form – double negation – on the one hand, and a literary normative expression – single negation – on the other. Smotryč'kyj (1619: Ц/2<sup>v</sup>–3<sup>r</sup>) emphasises namely this point; he expressly warns against use of double negation in negative sentences, since two negative elements cancel each other, implying an affirmative sentence: ‘... И ПАКИ, НИ ЕДИНЪ ЗАПОВѢДЬ ТВОЮ НЕСОТВОРИХЪ : НО, НИ ЕДИНЪ ЗАПОВѢДЬ ТВОЮ СОТВОРИХЪ ... И ГЛАВАНЪ БО СРЪДБОЕ ѠРИЦАНІЕ ТВОРѢ ОУВѢЩАНІЕ’.

<sup>1</sup> For a more detailed discussion on negation in individual Slavonic languages see, Bernard Comrie et al. (2006): 232–233 [B], 290–291 [M], 361–363 [SC], 436–437 [S], 510–512 [Cz], 577 [SI], 666–688 [Sr], 740–742 [P], 786–787 [Ca], 820 [Po], 868–870 [R], 932–933 [Br], 984–985 [U].

<sup>2</sup> In Bjørnflaten (2005a: 16, 18, 22).

<sup>3</sup> For an opposing view, maintaining that single negation in ESl is a result of parallel development see, Borkovskij and Kuznecov (2006: 401–406).

Only a single negative sentence, with negated elements other than the predicate, is attested in the Kievan Oktoikh. Following the established norm, the negated proclitic *ne* is omitted: *иже никакоже подвижатса напѣт ми вражїими* (38<sup>r</sup>:15–16).

### 5.1 Genitive of exclamation

The genitive of exclamation, or the use of genitive in word groups after the interjections *o*, *ole* and *uvy* is another syntactical calque from Greek, which became preponderant in Church Slavonic as a result of the *second South Slavonic influence*. Prior to its introduction, the interjection *o* was used with two cases: either the nominative (*o duša*), which was associated with the *o* of lamentation and surprise, or the vocative case (*o duše*), which was used with the *o* of calling and exclamation. In the aftermath of the *second South Slavonic influence*, the genitive assumes the function previously ascribed to the nominative case (Jordal 1973: 149; Uspenskij 2002: 321–322). In Smotryc’kyj (1619: Ц/7<sup>v</sup>) this distinction is duly observed: ‘*ω, совѣтованїа : и ω, оудивленїа : родителномѡ сочиняютса : ꙗко, ω мене укааннаго члѣка : ω премѡдрѣ сѡдѣбѣ твоихъ х̃е ... ѿ, званїа : и восклицанїа : звателномѡ сочиняетса : ꙗкω, ѿ Іωанне : ѿ глѡбине богатства и премѡдрости и разѡма Божїа ...*’. Different diacritical marks as well as different allographs of omega are used to distinguish between the following types: *ω̃* for ‘lamentation’, *ω̇* for ‘surprise’, and *ѿ̃* for ‘calling and exclamation’.

In the Kievan Oktoikh the interjection *o* is scarcely ever used – it is found only 9x. The *o* of surprise with the gen. case is attested 4x: *ѿ̃ чѡдеси* (5<sup>r</sup>:5–6), *ѿ̃рекшихъ мнѣ* (13<sup>r</sup>:3), *ѿ̃паче оума чѡдесъ твоихъ* (24<sup>r</sup>:15), *ѿ̃ чѡдеси новаго* (31<sup>r</sup>:13); the *o* of calling and exclamation with the voc. case 5x: *ѿ̃бѡмѣти* (5<sup>v</sup>:2–3), *ѿ̃ непостыжимам* (10<sup>v</sup>:8–9), *ѿ̃ богатство и глѡбина мѡдрости бжїа* (17<sup>v</sup>:12), *ѿ̃какω людїе беззаконїи и непокорїви* (23<sup>r</sup>:11), *ѿ̃ х̃е мой* (37<sup>v</sup>:17). No distinction is made between the two allographs of omega – *ѿ̃* and *ω̃* – nor is it possible to discern a pattern in the use of diacritic marks.

On the other hand, the voc. of calling and exclamation without the interjection is prolifically used – it is attested more than 350x. It is interesting that the nom. instead of the voc. case, with this meaning, is attested 5x, as this might reflect the influence of the vernacular from which the voc. case disappeared at an early stage (for further discussion see p. XXXX): *радѡйсѡ блѣти источниче, радѡйсѡ лѣствице и дѡверь нѣнаа, радѡйсѡ свѣщниїче и рѡчко златаа и горо несѣкомаа* (13<sup>v</sup>:12–14), *ѿ̃ богатство и глѡбина мѡдрости бжїа* (17<sup>v</sup>:12), *пой гѡда всѡ тѡварь* (45<sup>v</sup>:11, 46<sup>r</sup>:10), *пой гѡда всѡ тѡварь* (45<sup>v</sup>:17).

## 5.2 Dative absolute

In OCS/ChSl the dative absolute construction was a common literary device that was used to render ‘a participial subordinate clause expressing various types of attendant circumstance’ is the (Lunt 200: 149). Both the subject and the participle in this construction are in the dative case. A further proviso requires that the subject of the main clause should not be identical to the subject of the relative clause; however this condition was frequently ignored. The dative absolute appears to be absent from both CES and contemporary Russian dialects (Vlasto 1988: 215–216).

There is some uncertainty regarding its origin. Uspenskij (2002: 254–255) sees it as calqued on a parallel Greek construction, in which the genitive instead of the dative case is used, but explains this difference in terms of the basic functions of the Greek genitive and the Slavonic dative, which, in his view, are almost identical. Jordal (1973: 154), on the other hand, perceives the Slavonic dative absolute as structurally further removed from the Greek genitive absolute and Latin ablative absolute than the latter two are from the Gothic dative absolute. He stops short of speculating further on their origins but suggests that the use of the dative absolute in Church Slavonic may have been motivated by the existence of the Greek genitive absolute.

In the Kievan Oktoikh the dative absolute construction occurs 8x: КАМЕНИ ЗНАМЕНАНЪ ѿ ЮДЕЙ, и воиномъ стрегущимъ, прѣтѣе тѣло твое : воскрѣе втретій днь спсе (5<sup>v</sup>:8–10), Гавриалъ провѣщавшъ ти дѣо еже радѣсѣ, и согласомъ воплощѣ всѣхъ вѣка втѣбѣ стѣмъ квотѣ, какъ жерече праведный дѣдъ (5<sup>v</sup>:15–18), тамъ бѣ прѣтолѣмъ поставленномъ, сѣдатъсѣ всѣка племена земнаѣ и гзыци (13<sup>f</sup>:5–6), Преиде сѣнь законнаѣ .блгти пришеши (30<sup>f</sup>:16–17), всѣдцѣ бо разоршѣсѣ, выше естества всѣ ми дарѣе (41<sup>f</sup>–41<sup>v</sup>:17–1), снимиже тѣбѣ градѣшъ покланѣющесѣ величаемъ (46<sup>v</sup>:13–14), Бгѣ распеншѣсѣ плотію и гзыкѣ всѣкѣ богословѣюще величаеѣ та (47<sup>f</sup>:8–9), рцѣте какъ намъ спѣшимъ, прійдоша оучѣнци и оукрадоша его (fol. 48<sup>v</sup>:13–14).

## 5.3 Noun in nominative case as object of infinitive

The use of a construction in which a noun, acting as the apparent direct object of an infinitive, is found in the nom. rather than the expected acc. case, e.g. *voda piti, trava kositi*, was a frequent occurrence in ESl. An overwhelming majority of these are fem. sg. nouns ending in *-a/-ja*. The noun in the nom. case can either precede the infinitive, or follow after it, occurring thus in the position a direct object is normally expected to occupy. Countless

instances of this syntactic phenomenon can be traced in writings dating from about the 13<sup>th</sup> up to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It typified the Muscovite legal and administrative language, as well as the speech of North-Western Russian dialects, especially the Novgorod dialect where it still persists. It is also encountered in the modern Ukrainian and Belarusian dialects.<sup>1</sup> Such a turn of phrase is generally not present in literary texts pertaining to the high style, i.e. those written in Church Slavonic, nor in Central or South Russian dialects (Borkovskij and Kuznecov 2006: 418–422; Filin 2006: 476–491; Uspenskij 2002: 261; Vlasto 1988: 220–221; Schmalstieg 1995: 146–148).

Vlasto (1988: 220–221) suggests that this is ‘an elliptical construction, stating the category word first irrespective of what follows.’ He also observes that its occurrence was motivated, if not engendered, by a Finnic substratum in Novgorod, a language in which a similar syntactic phenomenon is encountered, and further reinforced by ‘the instability of declension in Northern dialects where a nom./acc. developed in *a/ja*-stem nouns parallel to the nom./acc. identity in all other sg. nouns’ (for further discussion see also, Timberlake (1974)).

In the Kievan Oktoikh, the construction inf. + nom. is unequivocally attested only once, namely: ГѢТОМЪ ДѢХЪ ЧѢТЬ И ПОКЛОНАНІЕ, СЛАВА И ДЕРЖАВА, ТАКЪЖЕ ВѢЩЪ ДОСТОИИ И СИНОВИЖЕ ПРИНОСИТИ (13<sup>r</sup>:8–10). In all other instances the acc. case is used: СРЧНЫМА ОЧИМА ДОБРОТЪ УБЛИСТАТИ (7<sup>v</sup>:10), ВРАЗДМИ И ПРОСВѢТИ, ТВОРИТИ ВОЛЮ ТВОЮ СѢДЮ, БЛГДЮ, ВОКРѢПОСТИ СОВЕРШЕННЪ (8<sup>v</sup>:3–5), СЛАВИТИ ТА ... ЄДИНЪ НАДѢДЪ РАБОМЪ ТВОИМЪ (9<sup>v</sup>:5–6), И ННѢ НАНАСЪ, НАПАСТЕЙ СВѢРѢПНУЩЪ, ОУГАСИТИ МОЛИМСА, ПЕЦЪ (23<sup>r</sup>:7–9), И ПОСЛА ВОПАЗЫКИ ПРОПОВѢДАТИ СЛАВЪ ТВОЮ (26<sup>v</sup>:4–5), ВИДѢТИ СПОДОБИ, БЕЗНАЧАНДЮ И ЄДИНЪ ЗАРЮ ТРИСЛНЧНДЮ (34<sup>r</sup>:12–13).

#### 5.4 *Verb imeti vs. nominal sentence*

Generally speaking, the transitive construction *imeti* + direct object, giving way to the nominal sentence of the type *u menja* + nom., did not become obsolete in ESl but, with time, its functions were circumscribed to certain contexts. The latter is infrequently

<sup>1</sup> Lomtev (1956: 83–84) writes that the construction inf. + nom. is present in the Ukrainian, Belarusian and South Russian dialects where the noun, acting as the subject of the infinitive predicate, is at the same time an object of a presupposed experiencer of the action, which can be coded in the dat. case. Thus expressions of the type ‘*derevnja vidat*’, in addition to ‘*derevnja vidna*’, can be also analysed as ‘*derevnju vidat vsjakomu*’. Unlike the phrase *voda piti*, the noun in the nom. case is not the direct object of the infinitive, nor does the latter express an action that presupposes a direct object. ‘*Voda piti*’ and ‘*derevnja vidat*’ are both regarded as instances of ‘объектное сказуемое употребление инфинитива при именительном падеже подлежащего’. Filin (2006: 484–485), on the other hand, is not convinced, in the light of the available material, that inf. + nom. has ever been native to the Ukrainian language. With regard to Belarusian, the examples are scarce and largely confined to the administrative language (14<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries); Filin notes that such constructions are not present in the modern Belarusian dialects.

encountered in OCS as an alternative to the dative of possession, as well as in the ChSl manuscripts, dating from the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, where it almost invariably features in the context of family relationships. The transitive construction with *imeti*, on the other hand, remains a staple syntactic vehicle for rendering the idea of ‘having something in one’s possession’ in the ChSl texts and the high style generally (Danylenko 2006: 195–217; Vlasto 1988: 189–190).

In the Kievan Oktoikh the transitive construction with *imeti* is attested 14x; there are no instances of the nominal construction, e.g. **ТОА ОУБВ ИМДЦЕ ВЪРНОЕ ОУТВЕРЖЕНІЕ : ПОВОРНИКА ИМАМЫ (4<sup>v</sup>:3–4), И БО МЛРДАГО ИМАШИ ПОСЛДШАЮЩА ТВОА МОЛБЫ (7<sup>v</sup>:4–5), РАВНОСТОАТЕЛНЮ СОУЛД ПАКВ ИМДЦЕ (8<sup>v</sup>:13), ТЕБЕ БО ИМАМЫ ГРЪШНІИ ПРЪСТАТЕЛНИЦЪ (12<sup>f</sup>:2–3), ОЧЕРВЕНІЕ РИЗНОЕ ИМЫИ (16<sup>f</sup>:8–9), И МТРНЕ ДЕРЗНОВЕНІЕ КНЕМЪ ИМДЦИ (31<sup>v</sup>:1–2), МЛТИ ПДЧИМЪ НЕИСЧЕПАЕМДЮ, СДЦЕСТВЕНДЮ ПАКВ ИМДЦИ (31<sup>v</sup>–32<sup>f</sup>:17–1).**

### 5.5 Function of *kotoryj*

The form *kotoryj* originally functioned as an interrogative pronoun having the meaning ‘which of the two?’ or ‘which in a series?’, which has survived in modern Russian and Ukrainian in expressions such as *kotoryj čas?/kotoryj ty v klasse?* and *kotra hodina?* respectively. In CES, as well as in OCS and ChSl, it was used in the generalised sense ‘which (if any)?’, ‘whichever’; in the former the function of this pronoun eventually broadens so that it operates as a relative conjunction, a role it never assumes in either OCS or ChSl. In modern Ukrainian, in contrast to Russian, the use of this relative pronoun is rather circumscribed – it most often refers to something in particular, in addition to its previously mentioned usage in reference to a series (Pugh and Press 1999: 180–181; Vlasto 1988: 195–196).

In the Kievan Oktoikh, *kotoryj* is attested only once, in the following phrase: **ВЪДОМО ВЪДИ КОЖДОМЪ ... ИЖЪ ЕСТЕСМЫ ЦРКВЮ БГА ЖИВАГО КОЖДЫЙ ЗНАСЪ, ВЪКОТОРОЙ ... ПОТРЕБА НА КОЖДЫЙ ЧАСЪ ОУКАЗДЕТЪ (2<sup>f</sup>:1–5).** Here it clearly functions as a relative conjunction, which from a Church Slavonic perspective cannot be seen as reflecting anything else but vernacular usage. It is significant, however, that it occurs in the preface rather than in the liturgical text proper, where in addition to this non-literary element several others have been attested.

## 5.6 Expression of possession

Common to both ChSl and non-literary CES texts was the restricted use of the genitive of possession. Instead of the gen. case, possession was expressed either through possessive adjectives, a syntactic feature shared both by ChSl and CES, or through the dative of possession, this latter occurring primarily in ChSl (or CES texts strongly influenced by ChSl). The genitive of possession was used, in turn, only when the possessor was further modified by one or several qualifiers (Schmalstieg 1995: 148–149, 155–156; Uspenskij 2002: 451–458; Vlasto 1988: 213–215).

The rules governing expression of possession are also codified in Smotryc'kyj's *Grammatiki* (1619: Ө/2<sup>r</sup>–3<sup>v</sup>). In relation to possessive adjectives, he observes that 'обычно главноѣ на греческѣи діалектѣ свойство есть/существоватѣнѣ въ родитѣнѣи полагаемѣи/прилагателна сочинена себѣ неизмѣемѣ, въ прилагателѣи притѣжательнѣи своемѣи существоватѣнѣи въ родѣ числѣи падежи согласюшѣи/претворатисѣ.'<sup>1</sup> The rule is illustrated with the following examples: 'Начало премѣдрости страхъ гдѣнь, вмѣстѣи страхъ гдѣа : и, Книга рѣства іс хѣа : вмѣстѣи ісѣа хѣа.' Smotryc'kyj limits the use of the genitive of possession to three particular cases. First, where the possessor is modified by other words: 'Измѣемѣже инѣи себѣи прилагателѣи сочиненѣи/нѣжда есть въ родителнѣи превѣити неподвижнѣи . такѣи, глѣа гдѣа прѣсѣцающагѣи пламень огня : гдѣа ане гдѣнь'. Second, when a possessor and a pronoun, referring to it, occur in the same syntagma: 'равнѣи и ко послѣдѣющемѣи вѣноситѣномѣи/прѣидѣшагѣи естество притѣжѣи родитѣнѣи неподвиженѣи хранимѣи быти держитѣсѣ . такѣи ... Кто раздѣмѣи оумѣи гдѣнь; или кто совѣтникѣи емѣи бысть; гдѣа, ане гдѣень'. Third, with the combination of two nouns referring to two separate things or concepts: 'Двою существоватѣнѣи рѣличнѣи вѣщиѣи стекающѣсѣи/дрѣгое ихъ въ родитѣномѣи полагаемо бывати обыче: такѣи, ... Дѣхъ премѣдрости и раздѣи : Жало смерти : Мати щѣдротѣи'.

Of particular interest is the third case since it is exactly here that we expect the dative of possession, rather than the gen., to be used. Smotryc'kyj (1619: Ө/3<sup>r</sup>) is careful to point out elsewhere that 'вмѣстѣи родитѣнагѣи многажды дателнѣи сѣществителнѣи сѣществитѣнѣи свойствѣи сочинаетѣсѣ: такѣи, гдѣи и вѣко животѣи моемѣи: вмѣстѣи/ живота моемѣи . и, бжѣи гдѣи силамѣи всеи твари сѣдѣтелю: вмѣстѣи/ силѣи.' We are left wondering why the dative of possession had fallen into disuse.

<sup>1</sup> That is, 'what is a usual occurrence in Church Slavonic, in contrast to the Greek dialects: a noun in the gen. case that does not combine with other adjectives is changed into a possessive adjective that agrees with the noun it modifies in gender, number and case'.



The driving force behind a series of orthographic, orthoepic and syntactic changes taking place in Church Slavonic in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, of which broadening the function of the gen. case to include possession at the expense of the dat. is but one example, was the so-called *third South Slavonic influence*. This entails, broadly speaking, the opening of the Great Russian literary tradition to the influence of the literary tradition of the South-Western Rus'. Its main objective was further Hellenisation, rather than archaisation, of the language; this was to be achieved through bringing the Great Russian reduction of ChSl closer to that of the South-Western, as well as by introducing a greater number of Greek calques. The *third South Slavonic influence* finds its most concrete expression in the linguistic reforms initiated by Patriarch Nikon in the latter part of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1</sup>

It is thus of interest, in this context, to examine the treatment of possession in the Kievan Oktoikh, which was printed merely ten years after the publication of Smotryc'kyj's grammar and some twenty years before Patriarch Nikon's reforms.

The dative of possession is attested 54x, e.g. **ВОВѢКИ ВѢКѠМЪ, ПАСТЫРА ОВЦАМЪ ОУМЕРТВИША, ѠЦЕМЪ БГЪ, НАКОНЕЦЪ ВѢКОМЪ, ЧКѠМЪ КРѢПКАА ПОМОЩНИЦЕ, ПРАВДѢ СЛНЦЕ, ВРЕМЕНЕМЪ ТВОРЕЦЪ, ЖИВОТЪ ЧЛКОМЪ, СПСЪ МИРОВИ, ПОТОКИ ЩЕДРОТАМЪ**. Possessive constructions with the dat. case in which the possessor is accompanied by one or several qualifiers are rare – altogether twelve such instances are attested: **СПСЕ ДШАМЪ НАШИМЪ** (4<sup>r</sup>:12), **ЕДИНЪ НАДѢДЪ РАБОМЪ ТВОИМЪ** (9<sup>v</sup>:6), **НА СПСЕНІЕ ВСѢМЪ ЧЛКѠМЪ** (22<sup>r</sup>:7–8) **БГОУСЫЙЦАМЪ ЮДЕѠМЪ ЗАКОНПРЕСТЪПНОЕ НАВАЖДЕНІЕ** (22r:11–12), **НѢНЫМЪ ЧИНОМЪ РАДОВАНИЕ** (28<sup>v</sup>:1), **СПСЪ ДШАМЪ НШЫМЪ** (29<sup>v</sup>: 6), **СПСЕНІЕ ДШАМЪ НАШЫМЪ** (30<sup>v</sup>:4), **ИЗБАВИТЕЛЬ РОДЪ ЧЛЧЕСКОМЪ И НЕТАЛѢННОМЪ ЖИВОТЪ НАЧАЛНИЧЕ** (39<sup>r</sup>:3–4), **БЛЮСТИТЕЛА ... ДРЕВЪ ЖИЗНЕННОМЪ** (43<sup>r</sup>:2–3), **СПСЕНІЕ ВСѢМЪ НАМЪ** (45<sup>v</sup>:4–5); **ПРЕГРѢШЕНІЕМЪ МНОГИМЪ РАЗРѢШЕНІЕ** (50<sup>r</sup>:4). In addition, possessive constructions with the enclitic pronouns **ТИ, МИ, СИ**, which the Nikonian reforms made obsolete, are attested 29x, e.g. **ЖИВОПРІЕМНОМЪ ТИ ГРОБЪ, ТАЛѢННОЕ МИ ТѢЛО, ВОЗВЕСЕЛИ МИ СА ДХЪ, СРАДДЕТЪ МИ СА СРЦЕ, ВО ЧРЕВѢ ТИ, МОЛИТВАМИ СИ**.

Constructions with the genitive of possession, irrespective of whether the possessor is further modified by other elements, are far more numerous than those with the dat. case, the number of instances exceeding a little over 200. Of these, the construction of the type **БЛИСТАНІЕ БОЖЕСТВА** occurs 109x, whereas the construction of the type **БГЪ ѠЦЪ НАШИХЪ** 97x.

<sup>1</sup> For a more detailed discussion on the origin and impact of the *third South Slavonic influence*, as well as the changes it engendered, see Uspenskij (2002: 411–471).

These figures indicate that the genitive is clearly preferred to the dative of possession since one is twice as likely to come upon the former than upon the latter. Seen from a broader historical perspective, such distribution seems to reflect the language situation of the times: although at that point the dative of possession had not yet been ousted from Church Slavonic (one has to wait for twenty more years before Patriarch Nikon's reforms came into force) its usage was clearly being slowly marginalised. It is, however, difficult to discern the reason governing the choice between the gen. or dat. case (sometimes identical expressions or those with corresponding structure may be coded by either case, e.g. ГДЪ СЛАВѢ and ГДЪ СЛАВЫ, ПЕСНЬ ПРЕМЪДРЫХЪ and ПѢСНЬ БЕЗПЛОТНЫМЪ).

A mixture of the gen. and dat. in the same possessive construction is attested 4x: ВТОЖДЕСТВѢ ВОЛИ ХОТѢНІА (8<sup>v</sup>:14), ЦРКВИ ДШЕВНАА НЕИЗРЕЧЕННА СЛАВЫ ТИ (14<sup>v</sup>:13–14), ПАКЪ МТРЬ ЗИЖДИТЕЛА ТВАРЕМЪ (18<sup>r</sup>:8), ИМАШИ ПО ЕСТТВО ПАКЪ БГЪ ОУТРОБЪ ШЕДРОТЪ И МЛТЕМЪ И БЛГОСТЫНИ (49<sup>v</sup>–50<sup>r</sup>:17–1). The mixed formulae may have been motivated by the presence of more than one possessor.

Possession is also expressed through possessive adjectives, which are for the most part derived from proper names, e.g. ДАВИДОВЪ, ХРИСТОВЪ, ИЗРАИЛЕВЪ, АРОНОВЪ, ЕВИНЪ, МЫТАРЕВЪ, АДОВЪ, РАЗБОЙНИЧЪ, ЪЧІЙ, ГОСПОДИНЪ, БОЖІЙ, МИТРОФАНОВЪ.

### 5.7 Neuter plural expressing abstract nouns

In Greek, adjectives and pronouns in the neut. pl. can be used to express an abstract noun – a parallel construction is found in ChSl (Jordal 1973: 152; Uspenskij 2002: 258). The same construction is codified in Smotryc'kyj's *Grammatiki* (1619: ѿ/1<sup>v</sup>–2<sup>r</sup>) and its presence in Church Slavonic justified on the grounds of its occurrence in Greek. Following are the examples from the Kievan Oktoikh: АДАМЪ ЖЕ ВИДѢ ТА ЗИЖДИТЕЛА ВОПРЕИСПОДНИХЪ ('преисподниа' i.e. 'Hell', 5<sup>r</sup>:4–5), РОДИЛА ЕСИ ... ЕДИНАГО ... ПРОСВѢЩАЮЩАГО ЗЕМНАА (18<sup>r</sup>:6–8), ПРІИМИ ХВААЛЪ И ЧТЬ ... ТРЦЕ ПРЕСОВЕРШЕНАА, ВСА ОЗАРЯЮЩИ (10<sup>r</sup>:8–10), РОДИЛА ЕСИ ВСАЧЕСКАА УЩІАЮЩАГО ХА (18<sup>r</sup>:6), etc. The use of neut. pl. is also attested with substantivised participles: СОЗДАНАА ПАКЪ БГЪ СЫЙ МОЖЕТЪ (38<sup>r</sup>:11–12), И СОБРАТИ РАСТОЧЕНАА (46<sup>r</sup>:3–4).

### 5.8 Passive constructions with *ot*

In an overwhelming number of instances in CES, as well as in modern CSU and CSR, the agent of passive constructions is encoded by the instrumental case. In ChSl agency may be expressed by the construction ŵ + the gen. case. Needless to say, this is another

calque modelled on the Greek prepositional construction *υπο* + gen (Jordal 1973: 150; Uspenskij 2002: 258). In the Kievan Oktoikh the construction with the gen. case is attested 3x ('*ѿ*' in the first two constructions may also be interpreted as 'from'): *НАСАЖДЕНО ... ТРЕБОГАТОЕ ДРЕВО ... ТАКО ѿ ИСТОЧНИКА БЖТВЕННЫХЪ РЕБРЪ ТВОИХЪ ХЪ НАПАДЕМО* (46<sup>v</sup>:5–9), *ДА ... ОУБЪГНЕМЪ ТМЫ СТРАСТЕЙ ... ПРЕВБРАЗДЕМИ ѿ СВѢТА ВО СВѢТЪ* (50<sup>v</sup>–51<sup>r</sup>:17–2), *КАМЕМИ ЗНАМЕНАНЪ ѿ ЮДЕЙ* (5<sup>v</sup>:8).

### 5.9 Substantivised participles

A frequent syntactic phenomenon in Greek is substantivisation of participles. The substantivised participle loses its verbal meaning, that is, it no longer denotes a process but a person or thing involved in the process. The verbal meaning is thus converted into a meaning characteristic of the category of noun. A parallel construction is present in Church Slavonic (Uspenskij 2002: 255).

Substantivised participles are regularly used in the Kievan Oktoikh. Following are examples from the 1629 Oktoikh: *И ДАДИТЕ СЛАВЪ ВЪНЕМЪ ВОСКРЪШЕМОМЪ ИЗМЕРТВЫХЪ* (3<sup>r</sup>:2), *ПЛОТІЮ ВОЛЕЮ РАСПЕНШАГОСА НАСЪ РАДИ ... ВОСПОЕМЪ* (3<sup>v</sup>:14–16), *ПАДШАГО АДАМА ВСЕРОДНА ВОСКРЕСИ* (4<sup>v</sup>:16–17), *СЛАВА ВСЕЛШЕМОСѦ ВЪА* (6<sup>r</sup>:2–3), *ДѢО ИСТЕБЕ НЕИЗРЕЧѢНОУ РОДИШЕМОСѦ,* *МОЛИСА ОБЛЕГЧИТИ НАША СРЦА* (9<sup>v</sup>:2–3), *ТЫБО РОДИЛА ЕСИ НАМЪ ... ЦВѢТЫ ЗЕМЛЮ ОУКРАСИВШАГО* (22<sup>v</sup>:7–9).

### 5.10 Balkanism *da* + indicative

Unlike the constructions already discussed in this section, the use of *da* + indicative in final clauses or with the exhortative meaning is not a syntactic Hellenism. Since the presence of this construction, traditionally regarded as an exclusively Balkan feature, is also attested in East Slavonic – it is encountered in modern dialects of the central Polesie region, as well as in Novgorod birch bark *gramoty*<sup>1</sup> – Uspenskij (2002: 259–260) does not perceive it as a salient literary form. However, it may be juxtaposed and contrasted with an analogous, and expressly vernacular, East Slavonic variant, namely *inf.* + *dat.* case.

<sup>1</sup>Tolstaja (1984–1985: 783–785) observes that although *da* in Polesie-dialects is primarily used in coordinative constructions, *da*-constructions with exhortative (in combination with imperatives and in indirect speech) or purposive meaning are also present, e.g. *Нема дажджу. Дзеўки, да ву сабирайцеса да паваруйце кушыны да пабейце да их у калодзесь; Кажуть, шоб мазинец, першэ дитя, гриз зубами, да оно зиде.*

Zaliznjak (1986: 160–161) points out that in a number of *gramoty* the word *datъ* in combination with pres. and past verbal forms (also rendered as *dati* or *dad* before *by*) functions as a purposive conjunction, e.g. *а четь ѿмышѣ пришло, и вы имъ къне мѣи голубыи дайте съ людми, даме съхѣ не кладе; а не възме и вы во стадъ педъ людми* (no. 142, XII/XIV).

In the Kievan Oktoikh *da* + indicative appears 39x in both purposive clauses and independent clauses expressing exhortation. With regard to the latter, the present tense form of the verb, for the most part, occurs in the 3<sup>rd</sup> per. sg./pl., although the 1<sup>st</sup> per. pl. and 2<sup>nd</sup> per. sg. forms are also attested. The following is a sample of this construction: *Да члкъмъ єдинственное трисіанное твоє іавиши бжтво* (6<sup>r</sup>:13–14), *да тѡ поѣ вовса вѣкѣ* (10<sup>r</sup>: 18), *да блѣвитъ тварь всѡ гда, и превозноситъ вовса вѣки* (11<sup>r</sup>:1–2), *во дѣѣи безъ ѡца воплоща, да земныѡ обожитъ* (11<sup>v</sup>:4–5), *да плачѣтса людіє Юдейстїи ... гзыци же да веселѣса и рѣкаѡ да восплещѣт и да вопїютъ* (20<sup>r</sup>:11–14), *да тѡ бцѣ непрестанно величаемъ* (23<sup>r</sup>:9–10), *и нѣѣ на избави, нѣжныѡ мѣчителевы рѣки, да тѡ вси ѡбавлѣми величаѣ* (47<sup>r</sup>:11–13), etc.

Furthermore, in the preface to the 1629 Oktoikh, the conjunction *абы* + *l*-participle occurs twice: *и жъ естесмы цркъвю бга живаго кождый знась, въ которой абы мы пѣніѡ вѣдѣ ѡправовали емѣ; ꙗтакъ справъ собѣ тѣю книжницѣ, абысь въ своей цркви вездѣ, ѡ правѣючи на ней каноны, бга живаго хвалилѣ* (2<sup>r</sup>:2–4, 5–8).

Like the conjunction *da*, which was characteristic of older texts, *daby* + *l*-participle was used at a later stage in the high style as a variant of and alternative to native conjunctions modelled on *čto*, such as *čtob/čtoby*. The orthographic variant *абы*, which is still used in CSU and CSBr, may have been influenced by or directly borrowed from Polish, *aby*.

The presence of personal endings based on the present tense forms of the auxiliary verb ‘to be’ in *l*-participles is a Ruthenian feature, i.e. *абысь ... хвалилѣ, бысь ... постѣпилѣ* (2<sup>r</sup>:8–10). These endings, as the examples demonstrate, are frequently detached from the main verb and appended to other elements in the sentence such as pronouns, adverbs and conjunctions (Pugh 1996: 260–263).

### 5.11 Construction *єже* + infinitive

The use of the neut. sg. anaphoric pronoun *єже* in combination with the infinitive is frequently encountered in ChSl texts. The pronoun may be seen as having the function of a generalised article, potentially designating any gender. Since a parallel construction is found in Greek where the addition of the article ‘το’ in neut. sg. to an infinitive results in consequent nominalisation of the verb, some scholars consider the ChSl *єже* + inf. as an instance of a syntactic Hellenism. Uspenskij (2002: 258) cites the following example:

το δε καθισαι εκ δεξιων μου η εξ  
 ευωνυμων ουκ εστιν εμον δουναι  
 (Mk. 10: 40)

А КЖЕ СѢСТИ О ДЕСЬНЖИЖ МЕНЕ  
 И О ЛѢВЖИЖ · НѢСТЬ МЕНЕ ДАТИ·  
 (Ostr. ev. fol. 136a<sup>1</sup>)

It is interesting that Potebnja (1958: 348 cited in Jordal 1973: 156) uses the same example only to reach a diametrically opposed conclusion, namely that *еже* + inf is not calqued on the corresponding Greek expression, since *еже*, in the ChSl construction, functions neither as an article, as it does in Greek, nor as an anaphoric pronoun, but as a conjunction similar to the modern conjunction *čto*. The phrase *кже сѣсти* is not analysed as a nominalised verb but a pure verbal form *a čto sest'*.

This construction is also present in the 1629 Oktoikh where it is attested 4x: *распатіемъ же воздвиглъ ма еси, во еже вопити тебѣ сѣмъ гдѣ славы* (14<sup>v</sup>–15<sup>r</sup>:16–1), *покажи оубо и мое срѣце непреложно всегда, во еже славити тѣ теплѣ, и воспѣвати бл҃гоуспѣшнѣ* (35<sup>r</sup>:6–8), *и даждъ раздѣмъ еже воевѣхъ раздѣмити, и зрѣти, и величати и славити тѣ* (36<sup>v</sup>:6–8), *Гѣомѣ дхѣ, еже црѣтовати подобаетъ; ѡсцѣити и подвижати тварь* (38<sup>r</sup>:2–3).

Smotryc'kyj often uses the occurrence of a particular syntactic construction in Greek as an argument to support its use in ChSl. So, for instance, the use of adjectives in the neut. pl. to express abstract nouns in Greek warrants the conclusion that this construction should be accepted as normative in ChSl. However, although *еже* + infinitive is also present in Greek, Smotryc'kyj (1619: ѿ/4<sup>r</sup>) uses the same argument to justify the opposite: in this instance, its Greek origins make it unsuitable for the use in ChSl since such expressions cause 'раздѣла ѡмраченіе/ и Гочиненіа грамматична смѣтеніе'.

### ***5.12 Predicative instrumental vs. predicative nominative***

The qualitative difference between syntactic constructions featuring the predicative instrumental, on the one hand, and the predicative nominative, on the other, can be, broadly speaking, envisaged in terms of the contrast between the everyday, vernacular and literary language. The former is generally not encountered in early OCS (ChSl) or ESL, its usage limited to constructions with past tense forms of the verb *byti* denoting a change of state; in later texts, both sacred and profane, the use of the instr. case was no longer limited by such considerations (Vlasto 1988: 217–218). The latter is freely used in CES and ChSl and it appears to have been transposed into ChSl from Greek where a noun in the predicate in

combination with verbs ‘εμι’ and ‘υινομαι’ appeared in the nom case.<sup>1</sup> In the 1629 Oktoikh there is a clear preference for the nom. case, possibly owing to its Greek origin: **ВОИНЫ СТРЕГѸЩЕ, МЕРТВИ ... БЫША** (11<sup>v</sup>:10–12), **ДѢЦЕ ... ПРЕБЫЛА ЕСИ НЕУПАЛИМА** (15<sup>r</sup>:8–9), **ИБО СЛА ХРА БЫСТЬ СЛАВЫ ПРЕЖТВЕННЫА** (18<sup>v</sup>:2–3), **ТЫ БЫСТЬ ЯКѠ БЕСПОМОЩЕ** (20<sup>r</sup>:12), **ДРЕВЛЕ ОУБѠ КЛАТВЕНА БЫСТЪ ЗЕМЛА** (20<sup>v</sup>:6), **И НЕРАЗЛѸЧЕ БѢ Ѡ ОЦА** (24<sup>v</sup>:12–13), **ЧѢНОЕ БЖІЕ ЖИЛИЩЕ БЫВШИ ЧТАА** (27<sup>v</sup>:17), **СИЛА ... ВОСКРѢНІЕ ... И НЕТАЛѢНІЕ ... БЫСТЬ ХЕ БЖЕ** (39<sup>r</sup>–39<sup>v</sup>:17–1), **ХОДОТАЙ БГѸ И ЧЛКѠМ БЫСТЬ ХЕ** (41<sup>v</sup>:7), **ЕСТЕСТВѠ ЧЛЧЕСКѠ, СТРАТЕ И МРТВЪ БѠ ЕСИ** (42<sup>r</sup>:11–12), **ПѸСТЪ АДЪ И ОПОВЕРЖЕНЪ БЫСТЬ** (43<sup>r</sup>:6), **АГГЛАѠМЪ СОГРАЖАНЕ БЫША** (51<sup>v</sup>:2), etc. The only exception here being: **И ДѢЮ ПРЕБЫСТЬ** (30<sup>v</sup>:2).<sup>2</sup>

A similar tension between the use of the instr. and the acc. is observed in syntactic constructions with transitive verbs involving compound predicates in oblique cases. Typical of such constructions is the simultaneous use of two identical oblique cases (most often of the acc. case) usually associated with the verbs of possession (**ИМѢТИ, ПРИНАТИ, ПОНАТИ, ИМАТИ**), verbs of calling and naming (**НАРИЦАТИ, НАЗЫВАТИ, ГЛАГОЛАТИ, НАРЕЦИ**) and verbs denoting appointment (**ПОСАДИТИ, ПОСТАВИТИ, СОТВОРИТИ**).

Although constructions with the double accusative are found in ChSl, as well as CES,<sup>3</sup> the use of the instrumental, in such contexts, is normally attested only in non-literary texts. The instr. case in place of the double acc., sporadically observed in the oldest extant CES manuscripts, became more and more common from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and eventually came to replace it. The use of the double accusative, thus, although not restricted to ChSl became one of its salient characteristics because of the absence of the corresponding construction with the instr. (Bulaxovskij 1958: 300–304; Sprinčak 1960: 181–187; Vlasto 1988: 217–219).

In the Kievan Oktoikh, only constructions with the double accusative are attested: **И СТРАШНА БѢСѠМЪ МА ПОКАЖИ** (9<sup>v</sup>:12–13), **ХѢ БЕЗСТРАШНА МА ТВОРИЪ** (14<sup>r</sup>:1–2), **ѠБЛАКЪ ТА ЛЕГКІЙ НЕЛОЖНО ДѢО ИМЕНДЕМЪ** (15<sup>v</sup>:9–10), **ТѢМЖЕ ТА ЦРЦѸ И ВЛЦѸ ВСѢХЪ ... ПРОПОВѢДЕМЪ**

<sup>1</sup> On the basis of evidence provided by CES manuscripts, the choice between the predicative instrumental and the predicative nominative seems to be motivated by semantic distinction: the former denotes a transient characteristic, whereas the latter a permanent one (Schmalstieg 1995: 168).

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that the verbs ‘родити’ and ‘павитиса’ take the instr. case on two separate occasions: **ДѢЮ БО РОДИЛА ЕСИ** (5<sup>r</sup>:16–17) and **И ВѢЧНѢШИ ДѢЮ ПАВЛИСА** (42<sup>v</sup>:14) (cf. **ТАКО И ДѢАА РОДИЛА ЕСТЬ** (30<sup>v</sup>:1) and **ТАБО ПАВИСА НѢО И ЦРКВИ** (4<sup>r</sup>:17–18)).

<sup>3</sup> E.g. ‘а ныне слышю болену сестроу’ (*garmota* no. 705, beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century) and ‘рекль ѡси бьль во своѡмъ селѣ верши всѣ добры’ (*gramota* no. 195, beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century) (Zaloznjak 1995: 139); **ДѢМАЮЩЕ С НИМИ КОГО ЦРѠ ПОСТАВАТЬ** (I Nov. let., 133); **ПОСТАВЛЮ ЮНОШЮ КНАЗА ИМЪ И РѢГАТЕЛА УБЛАДАЮЩА ИМИ** (Lavr. let., 78); **ХОЩѸ ПОПАТИ ДЩЕРЬ ТВОЮ СЕБѢ ЖЕНѸ** (I Pskov. Let., 177), etc. (Sprinčak 1960: 182–183).

(18<sup>r</sup>:7–9), ТЕБЕ МЫСЛЕННЮ БЦЕ ПЕЩЬ, РАСМОТРАЕМЪ (20<sup>r</sup>:2–3), РЪЧКЪ ЗЛАТЮ ПРЧТЮ: ТРАПЕЗЪ БЖТВЕНАГО ХЛББА ЖИЗНИ, ИМЕНЕМЪ ТА (20<sup>r</sup>–20<sup>v</sup>: 17–1), ЕГОЖЕ БО ЛЕЦА НАРЕКОША (22<sup>r</sup>:12–13), ТЕБЕ РАСПЕНШАГОСА И ПОГРЕБЕННА · АГГЛЪ ПРОПОВѢДА ВЛКЪ (29<sup>v</sup>:10–11), НЕВРѢДНА ТВОРА МА ПРНО (35<sup>v</sup>:13), etc.

### 5.13 Genitive of negation

A truly pan-Slavonic trait is the use of genitive of negation, attested in OCS, ChSl and CES texts. It involves ‘a transitive verb that normally takes an accusative direct object, [which] when the verb is negated (or is subordinate to a negated verb) ... is [found] in the genitive’ (Lunt 2001: 164). The presence of a lexical item in the acc., functioning as the direct object of a negated verb in ChSl texts, may be ascribed to Greek influence (Jordal 1973: 149).

In the Kievan Oktoikh, negated transitive verbs are generally followed by a direct object in the gen., with the exception of negated imperatives where the nom. case is used. The negated object is found in the following instances: ЖЕНЫ ... НЕОБРѢТШЕ ПРЧАГО ТѢЛА ТВОЕГО (5<sup>r</sup>:10–12), СОХРАНИ МА СОБЛЮДИ, ДА НЕ ОГНЬ МЕНЕ ОПАЛИТЬ ГРѢХОВНЫЙ (12<sup>v</sup>: 14–16),<sup>1</sup> ЕВРЕИЖЕ ... ТВОЕА ВЛАСТИ НЕВѢДШЕ (30<sup>v</sup>–31<sup>r</sup>:17–1), И НѢСТЬ СѢА ПАЧЕ ТЕБЕ ГДИ (32<sup>v</sup>:7), НЕОСКДАѢЙ, ТЕБЕ ЛЮБАЩИХЪ (35<sup>v</sup>:4),<sup>2</sup> НЕПРЕДАЖДЪ СПСЕ СВОЕГО РАБА (38<sup>r</sup>:8),<sup>3</sup> ВОБЕЗАКОНІИ РЪКЪ СВОИХЪ : ДА НЕПРОСТРДѢ БЖТВЕНѢ ЖИВШЦІИ · НЕ ДАСТЪ БО ХСЪ ЖЕ ЖЕЗЛА, НАЖРЕВІИ СВОИ (38<sup>r</sup>–38<sup>v</sup>:17–2), МЕРЗОКЪ ИЖЕ НЕПРОПОВѢДАА ЕДИНАГО ДБЫА СНА (44<sup>v</sup>:17–18),<sup>4</sup> ПОЧТО БО КАМЕНЬ НЕСОХРАНИ КАМЕНЕ ЖИЗНИ (47<sup>v</sup>:12–13). Examples with the acc. case include: МЛТВЫ СВОИХЪ РАБЪ ВОТВОЕ ЦРКВИ ПРИНОСИМА НЕПРЕЗРИ (5<sup>v</sup>:3–4), ПРОШЕНІА ВѢРНО ПРОСАЩИХЪ ВСЕПѢТАА НЕПРЕЗРИ (17<sup>v</sup>:7–8), НЕПРЕЗРИ МОЛБЪ НАШЪ (33<sup>r</sup>:13), НЕПРЕЗРИ СТАДО СВОЕ (35<sup>r</sup>:1–2), НЕ ПРЕЛЖНОЕ ТИ, И БЖТВЕННОЕ ЕСТѢТВО НЕ ИЗМѢНИВЪ (36<sup>r</sup>:4–5), ЗАПОВѢДЪ ТВОЮ НЕПОСЛДШАВШЕ (38<sup>v</sup>:16), ИЖЕ ЗЕМНЫА СЛАДОСТИ НЕВОЗЛЮБАШЕ (51<sup>r</sup>:17–18),<sup>5</sup> etc.

<sup>1</sup> This example is admittedly ambiguous as the gen. and acc. forms of ‘азъ’ are identical.

<sup>2</sup> This example is ambiguous as the form ‘ЛЮБАЩИХЪ’ may be in the gen.-acc.

<sup>3</sup> See footnote 2.

<sup>4</sup> See footnote 2.

<sup>5</sup> It is possible to interpret ‘ЗЕМНЫА СЛАДОСТИ’ as gen. sg. fem. although acc. pl. fem. seems more likely.

## 5.14 Word order

### 5.14.1 Position of copula

Enclitics in Indo-European, according to the so-called Wackernagel's Law, tend to occupy second position in a sentence, following immediately after the first accentual unit<sup>1</sup> in that sentence. The enclitics in CES – such as the particles *же, ли, во*, the verbal form *бы*, or the pronoun forms *ми, ти, си, ма, та, са* – generally behave in accordance with the above rule.

Evidence provided by the Novgorod birch bark *gramoty* indicates that present tense forms of the verb *byti*, with the copular function, also tend to occupy the position immediately after the first accentual unit, the fact which, in Zaliznjak's opinion, confirms that the copula, i.e. *есмь, еси, есте, есвѣ, еста*, in this particular dialectical system was indeed an enclitic. The exception here are the sentences that begin with a direct request, *господине, Ивану еси молвилъ*, or where two or more accentual units are placed at the start of the sentence, *а боле того не виновтъ есмь никому ничимъ* (Janin and Zaliznjak 1986: 154–157).

In ChSl manuscripts, however, the second-place rule is frequently violated: whilst one generally adheres to it when the required word order is of the type *далъ есмь, единъ еси*, the same word order is also observed when the copula should be brought forward. For the purposes of illustration, Zaliznjak (1986: 158) provides data from the *Uspenskij sbornik*. The analysis of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> per. sg. shows that when the rule demands a word order of the type *далъ есмь*, it is observed in 46 out of 48 cases, whereas in only 50% of cases is the copula brought forward. These findings suggest that the word order *далъ есмь* is preferred, irrespective of whether it is sanctioned or not.

The dichotomy thus established between literary and non-literary placement of the copula was most probably engendered by differences in rhythm and stress. Whereas in CES the copula operated as an enclitic, in ChSl, which is a language independent from and weakly susceptible to vernacular influence, this function was seen as facultative, allowing for a greater freedom of placement of copula within a sentence.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> An accentual unit usually comprises an autosemantic word that may be preceded by one or more proclitics and/or optionally followed by one or more enclitics.

<sup>2</sup> Zaliznjak (1986: 154–155, 158) further observes that when forms of the verb *byti* (especially 3<sup>rd</sup> per. sg. form *естъ*) carry the meaning 'to exist, be', they function as autosemantic words free to occupy any position in the sentence. The literary language had, therefore, used already existing accentual variants of *byti* and expanded their usage to a new area, namely to enclitic verbal forms. Copulas with such a meaning will not be analysed in this study.



In the Kievan Oktoikh the present tense forms of the verb *byti*, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> per. sg. are attested app. 120x – the word order of the type *далъ есмь* is observed in every single instance, even when the copula should have been brought forward, e.g. *дѣю бо родила еси* (5<sup>r</sup>:17), *рѣцѣ распротрелъ еси на крѣтѣ* (13<sup>r</sup>:4), *оумерщвеніе пріалъ еси мене ради* (13<sup>v</sup>:7), *расплатіемъ же воздвиглъ ма еси* (14<sup>v</sup>:16–17), *ты разорилъ еси сокрѣшеніе хѣ* (21<sup>v</sup>:12), *ты бо родила еси едина* (37<sup>v</sup>:6).

#### 5.14.2 Position of attributive adjectives

A large number of linguistic studies have been dedicated to a highly problematic question concerning the original position of attributive adjectives, both ‘short’ and ‘long’, in CES. Although a complete description, taking into account all perspectives on this subject, lies beyond the remit of this investigation, of particular interest are findings obtained by Maria Widnäs (cited in Jordal 1973: 151–152). The examined linguistic material was sorted into two groups: on one side, the texts belonging to the CES literary tradition (legal codices and the works of Vladimir Monomakh) and, on the other, those classified as Church Slavonic. In the former, the preposition of adjectives was generally preferred, in contrast with the latter, where postposition normally occurred. There can be little doubt that postposited adjectives were adopted into ChSl from Koiné Greek, in which the same order is observed (Classical Greek requiring preposition of adjectives). Once introduced into ChSl, postposition remains one of its staple syntactic traits.

In the Kievan Oktoikh, postposition of one or several attributive adjectives, modifying the same noun, is attested 260x, whereas preposition, contrary to what is expected, is more frequent, occurring 387x. It is difficult to see what, if any, semantic difference there is between postposited and preposited adjectives. It has been observed that the possessive adjectives *божий* and *господьнъ* are always postposited, e.g. *божьи бжїа, людіе бжїи, слово бжїе, мѣръ бжїю, водворы гнѣ, словеса гнѣ*. Where two nouns in the same syntagma, modified by one or several attributive adjectives, stand in close proximity to or follow after each other, if the set of adjectives associated with the first noun is postposited, there is a strong tendency for the second set of adjectives to be preposited, and vice versa, e.g. *слово же собезначѣное, соестѣвенный снѣ* (6<sup>v</sup>:6–7), *единогѡ бжѣтва лѣчи трисоставнѣй, покланяемса вѣрнѡ* (7<sup>r</sup>:1–2), *тѣце вседѣтелнаѡ, и пребѣгаѡ единице* (7<sup>r</sup>:13), *помладѣ нѣ непотребныѡ своѡ рабы, тѣце пребѣгѣ* (9<sup>r</sup>:14–16), *просвѣти бѣгочаальный свѣте, поющаѡ твой свѣтѣ трислѣнный* (10<sup>v</sup>:1–2), *далъ еси намъ рабомъ твоимъ трислѣчне и единачачане всеіине бжѣ, свѣты*

сѢСИТЕЛНЫА (11<sup>г</sup>:9–11), ИЖЕ ДѢХНОВЕНІЕМЪ БЖѢТВЕННЫМЪ ДШѢ МИ ВЛОЖИВЪ, И ѠРѢШИВЪ ВѢЧНЫХЪ ОУЗЪ (13<sup>в</sup>:8–10), КШЮ ТИ ДОСТОЙНШЮ ПѢСНЬ, НАШЕ ПРИНОСИ НЕМОЖЕНІЕ, ТОЧІЮ ПѢСНЬ РАДОТНШЮ (14<sup>г</sup>: 15–16). The mixed formulae, where a noun is modified by both postposed and preposited adjectives, are also attested, albeit infrequently (17x): ПАДШАГО АДАМА ВСЕРОДНА ВОСКРЕСИ (4<sup>в</sup>:16–17), МИРОДАРНЫА ПРОСТИРАА ЛШЧА И СПѢСЕННЫА (33<sup>в</sup>–34<sup>г</sup>:17–1), ЕДИНОНАЧАЛНАА ТРЦЕ СТАА (34<sup>г</sup>:10), ВТЕМНѢМЪ ЗРАЦѢ АДОВѢ (44<sup>в</sup>:6–7), etc.

### 5.15 Forms of verb ‘byti’ with present active participle

Emblematic of ChSl texts is the use of ‘continuous tenses’ where the verb *byti* is combined with a pers. part. act. Such constructions were directly calqued on a corresponding Greek analytic periphrastic construction (Uspenskij 2002: 256; Vlasto 1988: 173).

In the 1629 Oktoikh only one such form is attested: СЪБЫДЕ НАСЪ ПОСЛѢДНАА БЕЗДА, НѢ ИЗБАВЛААИ, ВМѢНИХОМСА ПКО ОВЦА НАЗАКОЛЕНІЕ (18<sup>в</sup>:5–7).

### 5.16 Relative vs. demonstrative pronouns

A possible syntactic Hellenism and one typical of ChSl texts is the use of relative anaphoric pronouns, namely *иже*, *еже*, *яже*, in a sentence-initial position, instead of the demonstrative pronouns *тъ*, *сь*, and similar. The same construction is frequently attested in the 1629 Oktoikh: ИЖЕ ДѢХНОВЕНІЕМЪ БЖѢТВЕННЫМЪ ДШѢ МИ ВЛОЖИВЪ (13<sup>г</sup>:8–9), ИЖЕ АДА ПЛѢНИВЪ, И ЧЛКА ВОСКРСИВЪ · ВОСКРСЕНІЕМЪ СВОИМЪ ХѢ · СПОДОБИ НАСЪ ... ТЕБЕ ПѢТИ И СЛАВИТИ (24<sup>в</sup>:8–9), ИЖЕ НА ДРЕВѢ РАСПНЫСА, И ИЗМЕРТВЫХЪ ВОСКРСЕ ... ОЧИСТИТИ ГРХИ НША (30<sup>г</sup>:13–15), ИЖЕ ИСТОЧНИКЪ, И КОРЕНЬ ѠЦЪ СЫИ ВИНОВЕНЪ: ИЖЕ ... ТРИСЛНЧНЫИ СРЦѢ МОЕМѢ ПРОСВѢТИ СВѢТЪ (32<sup>г</sup>:4–7), ИЖЕ ВСАКЪ ПРЕЖЕ СОСТАВЪ ОСЩЕСТВОВАВЪ ТВАРИ, ВОУТРОБѢ ТИ ОСЩЕСТВОВАСА, НЕЙЧЕТНОЮ БЛГОСТІЮ БЦЕ (32<sup>г</sup>–33<sup>в</sup>:17–2), ИЖЕ НИКАКОЖЕ ПОДВИЖАТСА НАПÁТМИ ВРАЖІИМИ (38<sup>г</sup>:15–16), etc. The demonstrative pronouns *тъ*, *сь*, *овъ* are also used, e.g. ТАБО ПАВИСА НБО И ЦРКВИ (4<sup>г</sup>:17–18), СОВЪ ОУБѢШ ВОПЕЧАЛИ МѢСТО, ВЕСЕЛІА УБРАЗЫ ВОЗВѢЩАА · СЕЙ ЖЕ ВОСМРТИ МѢСТО ВЛКѢ ЖИЗНОДАВЦА ПРОПОВѢДА (48<sup>г</sup>:8–11).

## Chapter VI: Conclusion

### 6.0 Phonology, morphology and syntax

The analysis of the language of the 1629 Oktoikh, that is, of the liturgical text proper, does not on the whole reveal any radical departures from the ESl ChSl standard, be it in the field of phonology, morphology or syntax.

With regard to phonology, a set of common ESl ChSl features, which are shared by OCS, is also characteristic of the 1629 Oktoikh: (1) metathetic forms; (2) presence of the results of the second palatalisation of velars; (3) absence of the epenthetic *l* in lexemes *blagosloven-* and *preproslaven-*; (4) SSl reflexes of the sequences \*tj and \*dj, i.e. *šč* and *žd* respectively (with a strong penchant for *žd* over *ž*); (5) presence of (j)e- and ju- word-initially for the ESl o- and u-; (6) absence of simplification of consonant clusters in *l*-participles; (7) preservation of *i* before *j* in neut. nouns of the type *raspjatie*, and in the instr. sg. desinence -*iju* in fem. \*ī-stem nouns, *strastiju*.

In addition to these, a number of ESl features deemed as normative, at least at some stage, in the ESl redaction of ChSl is also attested: (1) ecclesiastical pronunciation of the jers as [o] and [e] in the prepositions *во*, *со*, *ко*, in the suffixes -*ѣств-* and -*ѣск-*, and in the lexemes *ѡповати* and *предѡтеча*; (2) ecclesiastical pronunciation and spelling of reflexes of the sequences \*CǔRC and \*CǐRC as CъRC > CoRC and CьRC > CeRC (where the jers were in the strong position); (3) spelling of reflexes of the sequence \*CerC as CreC, lexemes such as *тѣлесе* as *телесе*, the suffix -*ѣль* as -*ель*; (4) presence of the ‘new *ѣ*’; (5) pronunciation of *o* as *ô*; (6) presence of the formant -*ан-* in formation of denominal adjectives.

The same adherence to standard forms is present in nominal morphology. Virtually all substantival, adjectival and pronominal desinences are not only Church Slavonic but in an overwhelming majority of instances also historically justified. Anomalous examples are rare when compared with the apparent standard in the 1629 Oktoikh. The most common departures from historically expected forms show conflation of different stems, some of which can be listed here: (1) intrusion of \*ǔ-stem desinences in both the sg. and pl. of the \*ǒ-stem, e.g. -*evi/-ovi* in the dat. sg., -*ove* in the nom. pl., -*ov* in the gen. pl., -*mi* in the instr. pl. (also present in the \*jǒ-stem); (2) intrusion of \*ǒ-stem desinences in the sg. and pl. paradigms of the \*ǔ- and \*s-stems; (iii) presence of \*ī-stem endings in the \*jǒ-stem

declensions, e.g. *-ie* in the nom. pl. masc.; (iv) intrusion of \**ī*-stem endings in the consonantal declension especially in the gen./loc. sg. where *-i* is attested for the expected *-e*; (v) influence of the \**ǫ*-/*jǫ*-stems on the paradigm of \**ī*-stem, especially in connexion with the lexemes *gospod'*, *zver'* and *ogn'*. In adjectives, there was a tendency towards nom./acc. syncretism as well as the presence of the neut. pl. desinence *-aja* for the expected fem./masc. pl. in *-yja*. Furthermore, there was a lack of agreement between adjectives and the nouns these qualify in the dual and comparative degree of adjectives. These deviations, most of which had been engendered by changes that had already taken place either during the Proto-Slavonic or early CES period, should not be seen as expressly vernacular. Just as the selection, at times arbitrary in nature, of codified desinences in Smotryc'kyj's *Grammatiki* shows a particular blend of these changes, which for Smotryc'kyj represent the final, unadulterated version of Church Slavonic, any pre-Nikonian Church Slavonic text is likely to exhibit a different combination of its preferred flexions (see for example Bulič's (1893) comparison of three RChSl texts, namely *Ostrožskaja biblija* (1581), *Pervopečatnaja Moskovskaja biblija* (1663) and *Novaja biblija* based on the 1751 and 1756 editions of *Elizavetinskaja biblija*). Thus, it is not the presence of anomalous elements but a conspicuous absence of marked vernacular features that is characteristic of the 1629 Oktoikh: the so-called 'second' genitive and locative in *-u/-ju*, the personal pronoun dat./loc. sg. forms *sobě*, *tobě*, the adjectival endings *-ogo* in the gen. sg. masc./neut., *-oi/-ei* in the dat./loc. sg. fem., amongst others, are never used in the liturgical text proper.

Verbal morphology is similarly characterised by conservatism: (1) the infinitive marker is always *-ti* as is the 2<sup>nd</sup> per. sg. ending *-ši* in present tense forms (no instances of infinitives in *-t'* or present tense forms in *-š* were attested); (2) the imperative desinences for the sg. and pl. are identical to those in OCS; (3) the text abounds in past tense verbal forms long lost from the vernacular such as the aorist and the analytic perfect (the imperfect, with the characteristic CES imperfective marker *-a-*, is also present, although it occurs much less frequently than the aorist); (4) the nom. sg. masc./neut. desinence in present active participles is always *-y* rather than the CES *-a*; (5) the nom. sg. masc./neut. active participle forms retain their *ǫ*-ending rather than being supplanted by a generalised forms modelled on the oblique cases.

Syntax in the 1629 Oktoikh is characterised by a number of common ESl Church Slavonic constructions, some of which were introduced into the language under the influence of corresponding Greek syntactic expressions. The most notable of these include: (1) single instead of the characteristic Slavonic double negation; (2) genitive of

exclamation; (3) presence of dative absolute constructions to express various types of attendant circumstance; (4) use of the dative case to express the relation of possession; (5) construction ‘*da* + indicative’; (6) constructions of the type ‘*eže* + infinitive’; (7) presence of the predicative nominative with past tense forms of the verb *byti* as well as the double accusative with transitive verbs; (8) word order of the type *dalъ esmь*; (9) on a single occasion, a syntactic construction with a present active participle with the verb *byti*.

Although the text is not entirely free of vernacular influence, non-literary elements occur rarely and are for the most part confined to phonological phenomena: (1) absence of the second palatalisation of velars is attested once in **НА ПЕВГѢ**; (2) spelling of stressed and unstressed **ѣ** as **ε** in the following six lexemes **НЕДЕЛѢ**, **ВНЕДЕЛЮ**, **ПОБЕДИТЕЛНАА**, **ВЕЛЕНІЕ**, **ПОВЕЛЕНІЕ**, **НЕВИДЕНІА**; (3) the reverse phenomenon of spelling **ε** for **ѣ** in the lexeme **СВѢРѢПНУЩЮ**; (4) presence of fronting *e* > *i* in **СВѢРѢПНУЩЮ**; (5) possibly the influence of adjectival declension on the totalising pronoun *ves* ‘**ВСѢ**, **ВСИМЪ**’; (6) dispalatalisation of *r*’, e.g. **ТВАРЬ** (8x), **ЛѢТРЪ** (2x), **ШСВѢРА** (1x), **ШЕСТОКРЫЛАТІИ**, **ОУГРИЗЕНІЕМЪ**; (7) a lone example of the ‘new *a*’ or possibly *akan*’*e* in the adjective **ГѢДНАЧАЛАНЮ**; (8) a single instance of syncope in the adverb **САМОВАСНО**; (9) a single instance of mutation ‘*a* > *e*’ in the word **ПЛАЩЕНИЦЕЮ**; (10) substitution of the 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. imperative desinence *-ite* with *-ěte* in **ВИДѢТЕ**; (11) use of the nominative for the vocative case is observed 5x, namely **РАДѢСА БАГТИ ИСТОЧНИЧЕ**, **РАДѢСА ЛѢСТВИЦЕ И ДВЕРЬ НѢНАА**, **РАДѢСА СВѢЩНИЧЕ** и **рѣчко златаа и горо несѣкомаа**, **СѢ БОГАТСТВО И ГЛѢБИНА МѢДРОСТИ ВЖІА**, **ПОЙ ГДА ВСА ТВАРЬ** (2x), **ПОЙ ГДА ВСА ТВАРЬ**; (12) presence of the noun in the nominative case as a direct object of the infinitive, namely **СѢОМѢ ДХѢ ЧТЬ И ПОКЛОНАНІЕ**, **СЛАВА И ДЕРЖАВА**, **ПАКЪЖЕ ШЦѢ ДОСТОЙ И СИНОВИЖЕ ПРИНОСИТИ**.

With regard to the two short introductory texts, the second, beginning with ‘**ВѢДОМО ВѢДИ**’, deserves a special comment. As a foreword intended for the lay readership, it is characterised by a number of expressly non-literary features, all of which occur within no more than fifteen lines. Some of these may be seen as generally ESl such as the absence of *i* in the instr. sg. desinence *-iju*, namely **ЦРКВЮ**, the use of the reflexive personal pronoun **СОБѢ**, the presence of the indeclinable participle **ШПРАВЛЮЧИ** with the ESl reflex of the sequence \**tj* > *č*, the use of the gen. sg. desinence *-u* in the lexeme **СТАКОГО ПОЧАТКѢ**, or the adverb **ЗАЧИМЪ** (cf. R *začem*, U (dial.) *začim*). Others have a specifically Ruthenian flavour such as the absence of the word-initial \**ъ* in the preposition *iz*, viz. **ЗНАСЪ**, or the tendency for the personal endings, here *-съ*, not to be appended to the main verb but to some other element in the sentence, such as a pronoun, adverb or conjunction, such as **БЫСЪ ... ПОСТѢПИЛЪ**, **АБЫСЪ ...**

ХВАЛИЛЪ. In addition, a purely Polish form of the verb *byti* in the 1<sup>st</sup> per. pl. was also attested, namely *естесмы*.

### 6.1 Great Russian or South-Western redaction of Church Slavonic?

The presence of Ruthenian features in the foreword, as well as other Ukrainian/Belarusian characteristics, whether or not deemed normative, in the liturgical text proper (e.g. the dispalatalised nature of *r*, *č* and *šč*, mutation ‘*a > e*’, fronting of *e > i*, pronunciation of *o* as *u < ô* in the pre-weak-*jer* syllables, presence of the historically expected ending *-i* in the loc. sg. of \**jǝ-* and \**jā-*stems or *-ja* in the gen. sg. of \**jā-*stems after the affricate *c*,<sup>1</sup> consistent use of *ũ* throughout the text) suggest that the text may be classified as belonging to the South-Western redaction of ChSl. Further support is provided by the accentuation pattern present in accentual units comprising enclitics/proclitics. Whereas in pre-Nikonian Great Russian ChSl only a single accentual mark would be present in such a unit – usually *oksia* rather than *varia*, such as *vó imja*, *vó věki*, *vrazumí mja* – where the stress would fall on the enclitic, according to the South-Western orthoepic norm the accentual mark is placed either above the noun (*vo vě'ki*) or both the noun and the preposition (*vo` vě'ki*). Similarly, the evidence of South-Western ChSl texts suggests that the particle *bo* as well as the personal pronouns *mja*, *mi*, *tja*, *ti*, *se* may be accentuated in the same way as prepositions (Uspenskij 2002: 359–360, 439–442). In the 1629 Oktoikh, the South-Western accentuation pattern is the norm. The accentual mark is placed above the noun/adjective more than 100x, but cases with accentuation on both elements in the accentual unit also occur sporadically, e.g. **ВОКРѢПОСТИ** (8<sup>r</sup>:5), **НАСТАДО** (9<sup>r</sup>:17), **НАПѢРВЮ** (9<sup>v</sup>:17), **НА СВОѦ** (5<sup>v</sup>:6), **НА ХЕРДВІМЪСКОМЪ** (10<sup>r</sup>:6), **ВОВѢКИ** (10<sup>v</sup>:7), **НА СПІСЕНІЕ** (16<sup>r</sup>:6), **ВОГАСЫКИ** (26<sup>v</sup>:4), **НАРѢКЪ** (31<sup>r</sup>:17), **НА КВПАРИСѢ**, **И НА ПѢВГѢ** (41<sup>v</sup>:13), **ВОСТРАСТИ** (40<sup>r</sup>:8), **НАКАМЕНИ** (32<sup>v</sup>:3), **ВОДВОРЫ** (13<sup>r</sup>:3), **НАКОНЕЦЪ** (25<sup>r</sup>:14); (but also **НАЗЕМЛЮ** (23<sup>v</sup>:10), **НАЗЕМЛИ** (28<sup>v</sup>:1), **ВОДНИ** (7<sup>v</sup>:3, 34<sup>v</sup>:18), **НАРѢКЪ** (31<sup>r</sup>:15)). Accent marks are, as a rule, also placed above the particle *bo* and personal pronouns, e.g. **БО** (4<sup>v</sup>:14, 5<sup>r</sup>:16, 5<sup>v</sup>:1, 6<sup>r</sup>:14, 10<sup>v</sup>:11, 12<sup>r</sup>:2, etc.), **БѦ** (13<sup>r</sup>:5), **ГѢ** (5<sup>r</sup>:16, 41<sup>v</sup>:2), **МѢ** (28<sup>r</sup>:1, 9, 12), **МѦ** (25<sup>v</sup>:15, 28<sup>r</sup>:9, 10, 37<sup>v</sup>:15, 40<sup>v</sup>:16, etc.), **ТѦ** (16<sup>r</sup>:3, 19<sup>v</sup>:12, 22<sup>v</sup>:6, 34<sup>v</sup>:1, 36<sup>v</sup>:10, etc.), **ТѢ** (4<sup>r</sup>:2, 4, 5<sup>v</sup>:4, 14<sup>v</sup>:14, etc.).

<sup>1</sup> Compare, for instance, with the Russian redaction of Church Slavonic where the ending *-ě* after the affricate *c* in the loc. sg. fem./masc. and *-y* in the gen. sg. predominates (Bulič 1893: 193–194, 195–196, 230–231). See also Bulič (1893) for a comprehensive description of other features of RChSl and the 1648 Moscow edition of *Grammatiki*.

## 6.2 Smotryc'kyj's *Grammatiki* and the 1629 *Oktoikh*

Comparison of various aspects of the 1629 *Oktoikh* with recommendations and explicit rules codified in the 1619 edition of *Grammatiki* presents a variegated picture. For instance, with regard to the distribution of allographs only the most typical *antistoecha* were used: (1) **Ѡ** : **Ѡ** where the former is used word-initially and the latter elsewhere; (2) **и** : **ї** where the former is as a rule used word-initially and in other positions, and the latter in the post-vocalic position word-medially; (3) **ѡ** : **ѡ** where the grapheme **ѡ** is used word-initially and **ѡ** elsewhere. On the other hand, many rules are simply ignored, or little or no attempt is made to implement them with any degree of consistency. Thus, the analysis shows that (1) the spelling of foreign words only at times follows Smotryc'kyj's precept urging literal transcription; (2) the use of **и** : **ї** in adjectives to distinguish between the gen. sg. from other cases has not been attested; (3) various rules with respect to the opposition **ѡ** : **ѡ** are implemented only partially; (4) the opposition **ѡ** : **ѡ** in nouns to separate between the sg. and pl. forms occurs only once; (5) the occurrence of **ѡ** after *r* does not accord with Smotryc'kyj's usage, where **ѡ** is the norm. With regard to diacritical marks, an important difference between Smotryc'kyj's conception and actual usage in the 1629 *Oktoikh* concerns accentuation of enclitics such as *bo* and personal pronouns *mi*, *mja*, *ti*, *tja*. As discussed in the previous section, such proclitics bear accentual marks, although Smotryc'kyj (1619: E/5<sup>r</sup>–5<sup>v</sup>) warns against this practice. Rules governing capitalisation, punctuation and the use of *titlo* and *pokrytie* met similar fate: they are either overlooked or, at best, partially followed. There are also differences in flexional morphology. Substantival endings, that which according to Smotryc'kyj ought to be considered as correct ChSl desinences, do not always accord with the forms attested in the 1629 *Oktoikh* (see for example the consonantal declension). Similarly, in verbal morphology, the ending **-ѡ** in the present forms of the verb *byti* is, on the whole, less common than **-ѡ**; nor is the substitution of aorist/imperfect forms in the 2<sup>nd</sup> per. sg. with perfect present. In the field of syntax, the construction 'eže + infinitive' is present despite the fact that Smotryc'kyj deems it unintelligible.

It is curious that despite the importance of Smotryc'kyj's seminal work on Church Slavonic grammar, the publication of which must have made a significant impact on the educated elite of the time, no conscious effort had been made to align the 1629 edition with the precepts outlined in *Grammatiki*. Uspenskij (2002: 360–361) mentions two important factors responsible for the lack of uniformity within the South-Western literary tradition.

First, South-Western ChSl was characterised by and a subject to a significantly lesser degree of codification than the Great Russian ChSl. This difference is primarily engendered by the fact that Muscovy Rus had only one cultural centre, Moscow, whereas several such centres existed in the South-West, a fact that became more important with the advent of printing. Moscow became a publishing epicentre where divine books were subject to correction and editing (for an overview of different printing centres and their production see, Mathiesen (1972: 64–66)). No such centralised, unifying mechanism was present in the South-West: the publication of books took place in several different places (in Kiev, Vilnius and Lvov amongst others), that contributed to and engendered a much greater variety in Church Slavonic. Second, the production of liturgical texts did not necessarily have to be overseen or regulated by the Church authorities.



***APPENDIX: The Kievan Oktoikh (transcribed text)***



line 1 **ѠКТОИХЪ**  
line 2 **сѣрѣчь,**  
line 3 **Осмогласникъ**  
line 4 **Воскрѣны по ѿ недѣль**  
line 5 **Творѣнїе**  
line 6 **Иоанна Дамаскина**  
line 7 **Въ Киѣвѣ**  
line 8 **ѿ Дрѣкарїи Спиридѣна**  
line 9 **Сѣболѣ**  
line 10 **Рѣкѣ а҃хѣ**

Folio 1r

§§§§§

line 1 **И҃ЛІА ПОСТНИКІА ѿ ГЛАВІЗНЬ**  
  
line 2 **И҃ли о҃убо со брѣтїею молишица, и҃ли на**  
line 3 **ѣдїнѣ : подѣвизѣйца не ѡбычаемъ**  
line 4 **но чѣство помолїтїца : чѣство**  
line 5 **же ѣсть мѣтвы, молчанїе, со**  
line 6 **бл҃гоговѣнїемъ и о҃умилѣнї**  
line 7 **емъ, и болѣзнію дша,**  
line 8 **во исповѣданїи согрѣ**  
line 9 **шенїи, совозды**  
line 10 **ханїемъ безъ**  
line 11 **гласны**  
line 12 **мъ**

Folio 1v

§§§§§

line 1 **Вѣдомо вѣди кождомѣ бл҃гочестївы**  
line 2 **читателю, и҃же ѣстесмы цр҃квю б҃га**  
line 3 **живаго кождый знаєть, въкѣторой а҃бы**  
line 4 **мы пѣнїа вѣдѣ ѡправовали емѣ, потреба**  
line 5 **на кождый часъ о҃каздетъ. И҃такъ справъ**  
line 6 **собѣ тѣю книжницѣ, а҃бысь въ своѣй цр҃кви**  
line 7 **вѣздѣ, ѡ правдючи на ней канѣны, б҃га**  
line 8 **живаго хвалиль : зачїмъ бысь стакого**  
line 9 **почѣткѣ добродѣтелїи боазни в҃жїа ѡб**  
line 10 **дчївшица в҃ней, постѣпїль въ совершѣ**  
line 11 **нѣю мѣткѣ добродѣтелей любѣвь,**  
line 12 **и҃же ѣсть самъ б҃гъ. емѣже**  
line 13 **слава, чѣсть, и поклѣнь,**  
line 14 **вовѣки вѣкѣмъ :**

line 15 **ѦМИНЬ**

line 16 **ѦВ** **СТЫЙ**

Folio 2<sup>r</sup>

§§§§§

**Гласъ, Пѣрвый**

line 1 **Вечѣрнѡѡ нѡша мѡлитвы,**  
line 2 **прійми стѣый гди, и по**  
line 3 **дѡждѣ нѡмѣ ѡставленіе**  
line 4 **грѣхѡмѣ · ѡкѡ ты ѣдѣ**  
line 5 **ѣси , ѡвлей во мѣрѣ во**  
line 6 **скресеніе ·**  
line 7 **Ѧ**

Folio 3<sup>r</sup>

§§§§§

line 1 **Ѣвыидѣте людіе сиѡнѣ, и ѡбыимѣте<sup>1</sup>**  
line 2 **ѣгѡ, и дадите слѡвѡ ѡнѣмѣ ѡскрѣшемѡ**  
line 3 **измѣртвѣхѣ · ѡкѡ тѡй ѣсть бгѣ нѡшѣ,**  
line 4 **избавлей насѣ ѡ ѡезакѡнѣи нѡшихѣ ·**  
line 5 **Прійдѣте людіе поѣмѣ и поклонимсѡ хѣ,**  
line 6 **славѡще ѣгѡ измѣртвѣхѣ ѡскрсеніе · ѡкѡ**  
line 7 **тѡй ѣсть бгѣ нѡшѣ, иже ѡ лѣсти ѡрѡжѣи**  
line 8 **мѣрѣ избавлей ·**  
line 9 **Веселитесѡ нѣсѡ , ѡстрѡвѣите ѡсновѡнѣиѡ**  
line 10 **земли, ѡзопѣйте гѡры ѡвеселѣемѣ , сеѡ**  
line 11 **ѣммануѣлѣ грѣхѣи нѡша нѡ крѣтѣ пригѡѡ**  
line 12 **дѣ , иживѡтѣ нѡмѣ дарѡвѡ · смѣртѣ ѡѣмѣ**  
line 13 **тѡи , и ѡдѡма ѡскрѣси , ѡкѡ чѣлколюбецѣ ·**  
line 14 **Плѡтѣю ѡлею распѣншагѡсѡ нѡсѣ рѡди ,**  
line 15 **пѡстрадаѡша и пѡгребѣнна и ѡскрѣша измѣ**  
line 16 **тѡихѣ , ѡспѡемѣ глѡюще : ѡѣтверди пра**  
line 17 **ѡслаѡвѣемѣ црѣковѣ своѡ хѣ , и ѡѣмири**  
line 18 **жѣзнь**

Folio 3<sup>v</sup>

§§§§§

line 1 **жѣзнь нѡшѡ ѡкѡ .....**<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The diacritical marks in line 1 are obscured by the white strip of paper glued to the top of the page.

<sup>2</sup> The text in line 1 is obscured by the white strip of paper glued to the top of the page.



line 1 Црѣ сый небѣ и зѣмли непостижиме · во  
 line 2 лею распятса за члѣколюбіе , егѡже адъ  
 line 3 срѣтъ долѣ огорчиса , и прѣыхъ дша во  
 line 4 спрѣше радѡвахѣса · Адамъ же видѣ тѣ  
 line 5 зиждителя вопреиспѡднихъ , воста · ѿ  
 line 6 чѣдеси : какѡ смѣрть вѣдси йже всѣхъ  
 line 7 жизнь ; нѡ ꙗкоже избѡли мѣра просвѣ  
 line 8 тѣти , вопиѡща и глѡща , воскресѣ измѣр  
 line 9 твухъ Гди слава тебѣ ·  
 line 10 Жены мѣронѡсица · мѣронѡсѡще сотца  
 line 11 нѣмъ и рыданіемъ грѣба твоѡго · достигѡ  
 line 12 ша · и небрѣтше прѣтаго тѣла твоѡго ·  
 line 13 ѿ агглаже оувѣдѣвше ; нѡвое и преслѡвное  
 line 14 чѣдо · апломъ глѡхѣ воскресѣ Гдѣ · подадѣ  
 line 15 мѣрови велію мѣть · Слава , ѿ нѣ · бѡ ·  
 line 16 Сѣ испѡниса Ісѡино проречѣніе · дѣою бѡ  
 line 17 родѣла еси · и поржтвѣ ꙗкѡже прежде  
 line 18  Б  ржтва

Folio 5r

§§§§§

## Воскрны

line 1 ржтва пребыла еси , Бгѣ бѡ вѣ рожейса  
 line 2 тѣмже и ѣстѣво ѡновиса · нѡ ѿбѡ  
 line 3 мѣти , мѣтвы своѣхъ рабѣ вотвоѡ цркви  
 line 4 приносимы тѣ непрѣзри · нѡ ꙗкѡ блѡ  
 line 5 оутрѡбнаго своѣма рѣкама носивша ,  
 line 6 нѡ своѡ рабѣ оумлрдиса , и моли спсти  
 line 7 дша наша · Тропарь , воскресенъ , гла , а ·  
 line 8 Камени знаменанѣ ѿ Іюдѣй , и боиномѣ  
 line 9 стрегѣшимъ , прѣтѡе тѣло твоѡ : воскресѣ  
 line 10 втрѣтій днѣ спсе , дарѡ мѣрови жизнь :  
 line 11 сегѡ ради силы небныхъ вопіѡхѣ тѣ жи  
 line 12 знодавче : слава воскреснію тѣ хѣ , слава  
 line 13 црѣвію тѣ , слава смотрѣнію твоѡмѣ ,  
 line 14 едѣне члѣколюбче ·  богородиченъ ·  
 line 15 Гавріѡлѣ провѣщавшѣ тѣ дѣо ѣже радѣи  
 line 16 са , и соглѡсомъ воплощса всѣхъ вѣка  
 line 17 втебѣ стѣмъ квѡтѣ , ꙗкѡ же рече прѡ  
 line 18

ВЕДНЫ

§§§§§

ГЛА · а ·

А

line 1 ВЕДНЫЙ ДѢДЪ , ПАВІСА ПРОСТРАНИИШАА  
 line 2 НБСЪ , НОСИВШАА ЗНДИТЕЛА СВОЕГО : СЛА  
 line 3 ВА ВСЕЛШЕМШСА ВЪТЛ · СЛАВА ПРОШЕДШЕМШ  
 line 4 ИСТЕБЕ : СЛАВА СВОБОДШЕМШ НА , РОЖДЕСТВО  
 line 5 ТВОИМЪ · На полѣнощници Канонъ · СТЪИ,  
 line 6 живоначалнѣи · Тройци · Пѣснь, а · Ирмѣ · Твоѣ  
 line 7 побѣдителиаа десница · запѣлъ · Прѣтаа тройце  
 line 8 Бже нашъ слава тебѣ ·  
 line 9 ЕДИНО ТРИСОСТАВНОЕ НАЧАЛО , ГЕРАФИМИ  
 line 10 НЕМОЛЧНО СЛАВАТЬ , БЕЗНАЧАНОЕ ПРНОСѢ  
 line 11 ЦНОЕ , ТВОРИТЕЛНОЕ ВСѢХЪ , НЕПОСТИЖНОЕ  
 line 12 ЕЖЕ И ВСАКЪ ПАЗЫКЪ ВЪРНО ПОЕТЪ ПѢНИМИ ·  
 line 13 ДА ЧЛКВМЪ ЕДИНСТВЕННОЕ ТРИСИЛННОЕ  
 line 14 ТВОЕ ПАВИШИ БЖТВО : СОЗДАВЪ БО ЧЛВКА,  
 line 15 ПО УВРАЗД СВОЕМШ ВОУВРАЗИЛЪ ЕСИ , ОУМЪ  
 line 16 ЕМШ И СЛОВО И ДХЪ ДАВЪ , ПАКЪ ЧЛКОЛЮБЕЦЪ ·  
 line 17 СВЫШЕ ПОКАЗАВЪ ЕДИНСТВЕННОЕ ВОТРИЕХЪ  
 line 18 Б Б БГО

§§§§§

Тройчны

line 1 БГОНАЧАЛНЫХЪ СОСТАВѢХЪ ДЕРЖАВШ , ШЧЕ ·  
 line 2 РЕКЪ ЕСИ РАВНОДѢТЕЛНОМШ СШД СВОЕМШ  
 line 3 И ДХЪ : ПРИДѢТЕ СОШЕДШЕ ПАЗЫКИ ЙХЪ  
 line 4 РАЗМѢСИМЪ ·  
 line 5 ОУМЪ ОУБЕШ НЕРОЖДЕНЫЙ · ШЦЪ , ОБРАЗНО  
 line 6 МШДРЫМИ ПРОВѢЩАСА : СЛОВО ЖЕ СОВЕЗНА  
 line 7 ЧАНОЕ , СО ЕСТТВЕННЫЙ СШЪ : И ДХЪ СТЪИИ ,  
 line 8 ВДѢВЪИ ШСЛОВА СОЗДАВЫИ ВОПЛОЩЕИЕ ·  
 line 9 Пѣснь, г · Ирмѣ · ЕДИНЪ СВѢДЫИ ·  
 line 10 ТЫ ДРЕВЛЕ ПАВЪ АВРААМШ ПАКЪ ПАВИСА ТРИ  
 line 11 СОСТАВЕНЪ , ЕДИНСТВЕННЫЙЖЕ ЕСТТВОМЪ  
 line 12 БЖСТВА , БГОСЛОВІА ИСТИННѢИШЕЕ ОБРАНО  
 line 13 ПАВИЛЪ ЕСИ , И ВЪРНО ПОЕМЪ ТА · ЕДИНО  
 line 14 НАЧАЛНАГО БГА И ТРИСЛЧНАГО ·  
 line 15 ИСТЕБЕ РОЖЬСА БГОЛѢПНО НЕТАЛѢННО ШЧЕ,  
 line 16 ПРОСИА СВѢТЪ ШСВѢТА СШЪ НЕПРЕМѢНЕИ ·

line 17 и ДѸъ бжтвѣный, свѣтъ изыйде· и  
line 18 еді

Folio 6<sup>v</sup>

§§§§§

Глѧ, ѧ

Ѥ

line 1 едіногѡ бжтвѧ лѣчи трисостѧвнѣи, по  
line 2 кланѧемсѧ вѣрно и слѧвимъ·  
line 3 едіница трѣца пре естественѡ, не изглѧи  
line 4 нѡ пѧче смѧсла, оумными сществы слѧ  
line 5 витъсѧ, трестыми глѧсы немолчнѡ во  
line 6 піющими хвалѣ, ѧмиже согласнѡ поѣсѧ  
line 7 ѧнѧми, трисостѧвнѣи Гдѣ · Бгородиченъ·  
line 8 ѧстебе временнѡ безѣмене, произыи  
line 9 де прелѣтнѣи, оуподобьсѧ намъ неві  
line 10 димѣи · и едіное естѣтво и гдѣство ѡца  
line 11 и сѧи и ДѸа наоучи бце, тѣ тѧ слѧви·  
line 12 Гди помѧди · Гѣдѧ глѧ, ѧ· Пѣ: Грѣбъ твоѣ·  
line 13 Трѣце вседѣтелнаѧ , и преблѧѧ едінице,  
line 14 прійми молбы вопіющихъ, непрестѧннѡ,  
line 15 брѣнными оустнѧми : стѣ, стѣ, стѣ,  
line 16 воспѣваемъ Герафѣски · живодавче сѧси  
line 17 и оушедри, востѣи цркви твоѣи зовѣщи  
line 18 БГ слѧва

Folio 7<sup>r</sup>

§§§§§

Трѣичны

line 1 слѧва тебѣ : Бгородиченъ·  
line 2 Помѧди насъ ѧже ктебѣ возывѧющи ,  
line 3 прѧѧ чѧѧ , внощи и вѣдни вопіющи,  
line 4 ѡчисти нѣѧа прегрѣшеніѧ; ивѣ мѧрдаго  
line 5 ѧмаши послѣшѧюща твоѧ молбы : мѧ  
line 6 тернею оубѡ мѧтвою , ѡѣмши оумоли,  
line 7 Пѣснь , д · ѧрмѣ · Горѣ тѧ блѣти бжію·  
line 8 Просіѧи мѧ бѣгоначѧлнѧ трислѣчнѧ сѧ  
line 9 ѧнми, твоѣихъ бѣгодѣтелныхъ лѣчъ:  
line 10 ѣрчнѣма ѡчѣма добротѣ ѡблистѧти пѧ  
line 11 че оумѧ бѣгоначѧлнѣи свѣтлости , и свѣ  
line 12 тодѧтелнѣи , и слѧдкіѧ сподобѣи ·  
line 13 Пѣрвѣе нѣсѧ оутвердилъ еси Гди , и всю сѧ



line 14 лѢ ЙХЪ СЛОВОМЪ СВОИМЪ ВСЕДѢТЕЛНЫМЪ,  
line 15 И ДХОМЪ ОУСТЪ СО ЕСТЕѢВНЫМЪ ; СНИМИ  
line 16 ЖЕ ВЛЧЕСТВЪЕШИ ВСАЧЕСКИМИ , ВОТРИСИАИ  
line 17 НОМЪ ЕДИНОНАЧАЛСТВѢ БЖТВА.

line 18

ѿкѡ

Folio 7<sup>v</sup>

§§§§§

Гласъ, а̄.

5

line 1 Иѿкѡже<sup>1</sup> создáлъ мá еси пообразѢ своеѡмѢ  
line 2 и поподобію , б҃гоначáлнаѡ вседѢтелнаѡ  
line 3 Трѣце , несліáннаѡ едѣнице· вразѡми и  
line 4 просвѣти, творѣти волю твою стѣю,  
line 5 бл҃гѡю , вокрѣпости совершѣннѢ · бѢ·  
line 6 Родѣла еси ѡтрѣца едѣнаго прѣтаѡ , б҃гѡ  
line 7 начáлна снá воплѡщшасѡ нáсъ дѣлаѡ и  
line 8 стевѣ , и просвѣщáющаго зѣмнаѡ, три  
line 9 слѣчнаго бжтѡва, невечѣрнимъ свѣтомъ  
line 10 и сиáнми · Пѣсѣи, е̄ · ИрмѢ· Просвѣщѣй·  
line 11 Единовластѣтелнаѡ<sup>2</sup> трѣце, перѡвѡю áгг҃лѢ  
line 12 оутѡварѣ непристѡпными доброты твоѡѡ  
line 13 лѡчами , кромѣ посрѣствѣѡ о́сѣлѡшаѡ по  
line 14 ющихъ тá правослáвнѡ зарáми своѣи  
line 15 ми просвѣти, правослáвно тебѣ поѡущá·  
line 16 Ёдинствѣннаѡ б҃гоначáлнаѡ трислчнáѡ  
line 17 Трѣце, ннѣ ѡстѣѡ ѡже о́сѡществѡвáла  
line 18 БѢ еси

Folio 8<sup>r</sup>

§§§§§

Трѡйчны

line 1 еси забл҃гтъ воспѣвáетъ тá, прегрѣшѣ  
line 2 нѣи, искѡшенѣи· бѣдѡже и скѡрбей, испро  
line 3 шáюще ѡзбáвлѣнѣѡ·  
line 4 ѡца и снá и ст҃го дхá · едѣно ѡстѣѡ  
line 5 и бжтѡ вѣрнѣи слáвимъ , нераздѣлнѣ  
line 6 раздѣлноѡ· ·едѣнаго б҃га, невидѣмыѡ  
line 7 и видѣмыѡ тѡвѡри· б҃горѡдиченъ·  
line 8 Речѣнѣѡ всѣхъ прѣркъ прописáша , прѣтаѡ

<sup>1</sup> The diacritical mark above И in Иѿкѡже cannot be clearly seen.

<sup>2</sup> The diacritical mark above Е in Единовластѣтелнаѡ cannot be clearly seen.

line 9 твоѣ рѣтво неизречѣное, и неоудобѣ ска  
 line 10 зѣемое, ѣже мы познахомъ , тайно на  
 line 11 оучѣни, единственнѣ и трислѣчнѣ бжтва,  
 line 12 Пѣснь . ѿ . Ирмѣ , съвыиде насъ послѣднаѣ .  
 line 13 Равностоѣтелю сѣлѣ ѣкѣ имѣще трѣце  
 line 14 пресѣцнаѣ ѣтождествѣ воли хотѣнїѣ .  
 line 15 ѣдиница еси прѣста и неразѣлна . ты  
 line 16 оубо насъ силою своєю соблюди .  
 line 17 Ты всѣ вѣки хотѣнїемъ, своимъ ѣкѣ  
 line 18 блга

Folio 8<sup>v</sup>

§§§§§

Глѣ а

з

line 1 блга составила еси . Ѡнесѣщи хъ непости  
 line 2 жимаѣ трѣце . таже и члѣка создѣла еси,  
 line 3 нѣ и нѣѣ всѣкаго избѣвѣмѣ ѣвстоѣнїѣ,  
 line 4 безначѣлнѣ и сопрестѣлнѣ трѣце стѣл .  
 line 5 Ѡче и снѣ и дше . всѣживотворѣцѣ , и всѣ  
 line 6 стѣцѣлѣ, и всѣ спсѣющѣлѣ, ѣдиною сѣ  
 line 7 лою, тѣ слѣвѣ херѣвїми, и мы недостѣ  
 line 8 нїи хвѣлѣ тѣ воздѣемъ . Бгѣродиченъ .  
 line 9 Слѣца незаходїмаго храмъ была еси .  
 line 10 создѣвшаго и оучинївшаго свѣтїла ве  
 line 11 лїкаѣ всесїлнѣ, прѣчѣлѣ дѣво бгѣневѣ  
 line 12 сто , нѣ и нѣѣ стрѣтей мѣ ибѣви мѣчѣнїѣ .  
 line 13 Гї помлѣди, гѣ . Сѣдѣлѣ , глѣ . а . Пѣ ; Грѣвѣ твоѣ .  
 line 14 Припадѣѣ тѣ вѣрою Ѡсрѣца вопїюще , помлѣ  
 line 15 лѣи нѣ непотрѣбнѣмѣ своѣ рабы , трѣце пре  
 line 16 блгѣ Ѡче и снѣ со дхѣмъ : оумлѣрдисѣ все  
 line 17 млѣтивѣлѣ , настѣдо ѣже собрѣ мрѣѣ , непре  
 line 18 в стѣ

Folio 9<sup>r</sup>

§§§§§

Трѣичны

line 1 стѣннѣ слѣвѣще твою блгѣть . Бѣ .  
 line 2 дѣво истевѣ неизречѣнѣмѣ родїшемѣсѣлѣ , мо  
 line 3 лїсѣ ѣблѣгчїти нѣша срѣца воглѣвїнѣ Ѡ  
 line 4 чѣлнїѣ Ѡтѣлѣчѣна прѣгрѣшѣмїи : и вѣведї  
 line 5 Ѡоучнїнїѣ тѣжкїхъ , слѣвїти тѣ все

line 6 мѣтѣвалъ, ѣдѣнѣ надѣдѣ рабѣмъ твоѣмъ.  
 line 7 Пѣснь , ѣ . Ирмѣ . Тебѣ мысленнѣю бѣще пѣшь .  
 line 8 Слово бжѣе со ѣстественное ѣзарѣнѣе все  
 line 9 держѣтелѣ бѣга . ѣакѣже ѣвѣщасѣ : ѣже  
 line 10 оутѣбѣ бѣгодѣтелное вселѣнѣе , сотвори ѣ  
 line 11 же блѣгоутѣробенѣ , соѣщѣемъ твоѣмъ и  
 line 12 дѣхомъ , и стрѣшна бѣсѣомъ мѣ пока  
 line 13 жи и стрѣстемъ .  
 line 14 Дѣ твоѣго блѣгосѣрдѣа блѣко , покѣжеши  
 line 15 пѣчинѣ намъ , бѣна своѣго кѣнашемѣ по  
 line 16 слѣвъ смиренѣю , пѣки воѣбразѣлъ ѣси  
 line 17 напѣрѣвѣю свѣтлѣость . нѣ и нѣѣ бжѣтѣвѣн  
 line 18 нымъ

Folio 9v

§§§§§

Глѣ . ѣ .

к

line 1 нымъ мѣ вразѣмѣ дѣхомъ .  
 line 2 Трѣмѣ сѣѣнѣи ѣдѣно , бжѣтѣво слѣвимъ .  
 line 3 ѣѣца безначѣлнаго , бѣнаже сопрѣстѣолнѣ  
 line 4 и дѣа рѣвно слѣвимъ , воѣдѣноѣ держѣа  
 line 5 вѣ : ѣѣцѣ нашѣ бжѣ блѣвенѣ ѣси . бѣ .  
 line 6 На хѣрѣвѣмѣскомъ прѣстѣлѣ носѣимѣ .  
 line 7 всѣчѣскѣ црѣ , и воѣутѣробѣ твоѣ дѣствѣ  
 line 8 нѣю вселѣсѣ прѣчѣтаѣ , всѣхѣ изѣбавѣлѣ  
 line 9 ѣтѣлѣ ѣакѣ чѣколюбѣецѣ : нѣ и нѣѣ твоѣ  
 line 10 ми мѣ мѣтѣвѣми сохрани .  
 line 11 Пѣснь , и . Ирмосѣ . Чѣдо прѣвѣлие росѣдѣвѣцѣ .  
 line 12 Мѣнѣемъ бѣгодѣтелнѣ гѣдѣ всѣхѣ . три  
 line 13 состѣвнѣ и всѣдержѣтелю , нѣса прѣстѣрѣлъ  
 line 14 ѣси ѣакѣ кѣждѣ . тѣже и зѣмли ѣдѣлѣлъ  
 line 15 ѣси глѣвинѣ , всѣсилною тѣ горѣтѣю , тѣ  
 line 16 же и рабѣ своѣ оутѣрѣпѣи . любѣвѣю и вѣро  
 line 17 ю твоѣю чѣколюбѣе , дѣ тѣ поѣ воѣсѣ вѣкѣ .  
 line 18 В ѣ Про

Folio 10r

§§§§§

Трѣичны

line 1 Прѣсвѣтѣ бѣгонѣчѣлнѣ свѣтѣ , поѣщѣа  
 line 2 твоѣ свѣтѣ трѣслѣннѣ лиѣцы , ѣдинѣствѣ

line 3 ный жє сществомъ , иѣтвоймъ свѣто  
 line 4 дѣтелнымъ лѣчамъ · призираѣти ꙗꙑно ,  
 line 5 иѣмиже насыщѣса славы твоѣа сладкіа ,  
 line 6 и свѣтодѣтелнымъ и всебогатымъ , и пре  
 line 7 возношѣ тѣ вѣрно вовѣки.  
 line 8 Прійми хвалѣ и чѣть , ѡоумѣа ншегѡ , ѿ  
 line 9 непостижимѣа · трѣце пресовершенѣа ,  
 line 10 всѣа озарѣдщи и оумъ просвѣщающи ,  
 line 11 ѡблѣстїю и сілою своєю · тѣа вѣо славатъ  
 line 12 нѣныа сілы: имы землѣнїи немѡлно  
 line 13 вопїемъ и превозносї тебѣ вовѣки · вѣ  
 line 14 вознесѣ на нѣса · члѣское прїемъ ѣстѣтво  
 line 15 непрелѡжно , снѣ твоѣ прѣчѣтаа Бѣце, пре  
 line 16 мнѡжествомъ блѣгѣти , избавлѣа дрѣна  
 line 17 а тѣа : ѣмѣже и блѣгодарствѣнѡ воспѣва  
 line 18 емъ·

Folio 10<sup>v</sup>

§§§§§

Глѣ, а

ю

line 1 емъ : дѣблѣвитъ тѣаръ всѣа Гѣа , и пре  
 line 2 возносїтъ вовсѣа вѣки·  
 line 3 Пѣсьнъ, ѡ · Ирмѣ · ѡбразъ чѣтаго рождѣствѣ·  
 line 4 Сѣси сѣсїтелю тѣари , чѣствѣныа и оумѣ  
 line 5 ныа рабы своѣа , вѣсѡвскаго навѣта и  
 line 6 ѡзлѡблѣнїа , прѣтаа трѣце ѣдїносѣннаа  
 line 7 и соблюдаѣ своѣ стѣадо вынѣ ненавѣтно·  
 line 8 Дѣа глѣбїнѣ не ѣзчѣтнѣю , сщствѣныа  
 line 9 покажеши блѣгѣсти, дѣлѣ ѣсї налѣ рабѡмъ  
 line 10 твоимъ трїслнчнѣ иѣдїноначѣлнѣ всѣсї  
 line 11 не Бѣже, ѡвѣты сѣсїтелныа · ѣже соверѣ  
 line 12 шїти спѡдобї·  
 line 13 Призрї кнѣашимъ молбѣамъ, вѡтрїѣхъ  
 line 14 бѣгоначѣлныхъ сѡстѣвѣхъ , ѣдїнѣ всегдѣа  
 line 15 слѣвимыѣ Бѣже, и подѣждѣ рабѡмъ тво  
 line 16 имъ оутѣшенїе : мѣтѣвами прѣчѣтыа и все  
 line 17 пѣтыа бѣгомѣтере· Бѣгорѡдїченъ·  
 line 18 вѣ Нестерѣ

Folio 11<sup>r</sup>

§§§§§

<sup>1</sup> The diacritical mark above и cannot be clearly seen.

## Воскрѣны

line 1 Нестерпѣ естества зѣмнаго зрѣти во  
line 2 тлѣніе впадша , преслѣшаніемъ перевоздѣ  
line 3 наго , нò преклòнь нѣса снїде , неразлѣч  
line 4 сѧ : во двѣѣ безъ ѡца воплòсѧ , да зѣ  
line 5 мныѧ ѡбожитъ .  
line 6 **НАЧѢЛО ОУТРЕНИ.**  
line 7 На бгъ Гдѣ · Трò : глѧ , ѧ · камѣ знамѣ ,  
line 8 ѡ , и бò · егò · писанъ , Всѣботѣ Навечѣрни · Посѣм  
line 9 Сѣдална · Воскресенъ · на ѧ · стихолòн глѧ , ѧ ·  
line 10 Грòбъ твоѣ сїсе , воины стрегуще , мѣр  
line 11 тви ѡ ѡблистаниѧ ѧвлѣшагосѧ аггла  
line 12 быша , проповѣдающаго женамъ воскре  
line 13 сѣніе , тебѣ славимъ тлѣ потребитѣлѧ :  
line 14 тебѣ припадаемъ воскршемъ изъ грòба ,  
line 15 єдиномъ Бгѣ нашемъ · Слава , и ннѣ ·  
line 16 Мтръ тѧ вжїю свѣмы вси , двѣ войсти  
line 17 нзи

Folio 11v

§§§§§

Гласъ · ѧ ·

Г

line 1 нѣ и порождѣ ѧвлѣшюсѧ , любòвію при  
line 2 вѣгajúще котвоѣй блгти : тебѣ бò йма  
line 3 мы грѣшнїи прѣстѣлницѣ , тебѣ стѧ  
line 4 жѧхомъ внапѣстѣхъ сїсѣніе , єдинъ все не  
line 5 порòчнѣю · На ѡ · стѣлò · Сѣдална глѧ · ѧ ·  
line 6 Женѣ когрòбѣ твоѣмъ прїйдòша оураше  
line 7 и агглкòе ѧвлѣніе видѣше трепѣтахѣ ·  
line 8 грòбъ ѡблистѣше жїзнь , чòдо оудѣвлѣ  
line 9 шесѧ ймъ : сего ради шѣдше оучнкѣмъ  
line 10 проповѣдахѣ воскрніе : ѧда испровержѣ хсѣ ,  
line 11 ѧкѣ єдинъ крѣпокъ и сїленъ , и совостѧ  
line 12 ви оумѣршѧ всѧ , ѡсѣждѣніѧ стрѧхъ ра  
line 13 зрѣши сїлою крѣта · Слава , и ннѣ · Бò ·  
line 14 Зѧченши неòпѧлнѣ огнь бжтѣвенный ,  
line 15 и рòдши безсѣмени истòчника жїзни  
line 16 Гда : ѡбравòвѧннаѧ Бце · сїси тебѣ велї  
line 17 чѧющыхъ · впѧкой ·  
line 18 В ѧ Разбò

Folio 12r

§§§§§

Воскрны

line 1 Развѣйничее покаѣніе , рай Ѡверзѣ : плачъ  
line 2 же мурноѣсиць радость возвѣсти ; ѡк  
line 3 воскресѣ Гдѣ . подаѣ мѣрови велѣію млѣть .  
line 4 Степенна . гласъ . а̄ . Антифонъ . а̄ .  
line 5 Внегда скорбѣти мѣ . оуслыши моѣ бѣ  
line 6 лѣзни , Гдѣ ктебѣ зовѣ .  
line 7 Пвстыннымъ непрестаннѣмъ бжтвенное  
line 8 желаніе бываѣтъ , Ѡмира сѣтнаго кромѣ  
line 9 Сѣомѣ дхѣ чѣть и слава . ѡкже Ѡцѣ по  
line 10 добаѣтъ . кѣпноже и сѣмъ , сего ради поѣмъ  
line 11 трѣци єдинодержавнѣи . Антифонъ . б̄ .  
line 12 Вгѣры твоѣхъ вознесѣ мѣ законъ добродѣ  
line 13 телей . просвѣти бже да поѣ ти .  
line 14 Десною ти рѣкою прѣѣмъ ти слѣве . сохрани  
line 15 мѣ соблюди , да не ѣгнь менѣ ѣпалитъ  
line 16 грѣхѣвнѣи .  
line 17 Сѣтымъ дхѣмъ всѣка тварѣ ѣновла  
line 18 етса .

Folio 12<sup>v</sup>

§§§§§

Гласъ . а̄ .

а̄и

line 1 етса , паки ѡбращающеса на пѣрвое , рано  
line 2 мѣще бѣ ѣсть Ѡцѣ и слѣвѣ . Антифонъ . г̄ .  
line 3 Сѣрѣкшихъ мнѣ , внѣдемъ водѣборы Гдѣ ,  
line 4 возвеселѣмиса дхѣ , срадѣѣтмиса сѣце .  
line 5 Водѣмъ дѣѣ страхъ великъ ; тамъ бѣ  
line 6 прѣтолѣмъ поставлѣннѣмъ , сѣдѣтѣса  
line 7 всѣка племена зѣмнаѣ и ѣзыци .  
line 8 Сѣомѣ дхѣ чѣть и поклонѣніе , слава и  
line 9 держава , ѡкже Ѡцѣ достѣи и сѣновиже  
line 10 приносѣти : єдинство бѣ ѣсть Трѣца ѣсте  
line 11 ствомъ , ѣ нелицы . Прокимѣ . глѣ , а̄ .  
line 12 Ннѣ воскресѣ глѣтъ Гдѣ . Стѣ . Словеса гнѣ , слѣве  
line 13 са чѣста . Та , всѣко дыханіе . стѣ , хвалѣте бѣа .  
line 14 ѣвлѣе воскресѣное . Воскрѣніе хѣво . ѡалѣмъ н̄ .  
line 15 Канѣнъ , воскресѣнъ . глѣ , . а̄ . Пѣснь , ѣ ѣрмосъ .  
line 16 Твоѣ побѣдѣтелнаѣ десница . бѣо  
line 17 лѣпно вокрѣпости прослѣвиса , та

line 18 **ВО БЕСМѢРТНЕ ꙗ́кѡ всемогѹщаѡ , протѣны**  
line 19 **Г** **Ѧ**

Folio 13r

§§§§§

**Воскрѣны**

line 1 **сотрѣ , Израильтаномъ пѣть глѣбины**  
line 2 **ѡбнѡлще · запѣлъ · Глава Гѣ воскрѣнїю твоѣмѡ ·**  
line 3 **Рѡкама прѣтыма ѡ персти бѣгодѣтелнѣ ,**  
line 4 **исперва создà мѡ : рѡцѣ распростѣрлъ єси**  
line 5 **нà крѣтѣ , ѡ землѣ взывѡм тлѣнноє мѣ**  
line 6 **тѣло , єже ѡ двѣ прїалъ єси ,**  
line 7 **Оумерщвѣнїє прїалъ єси менє рѡди , и**  
line 8 **дшѡ смѣрти предалъ єси , иже дхновѣнїемѡ**  
line 9 **бжтвѣннымъ дшѡ мѣ вложивъ , и ѡрѣ**  
line 10 **шивъ вѣчныхъ оузъ , и совоскрѣсивъ , не**  
line 11 **тлѣнїемъ прослѡвилъ єси ·** **Еѡ :**  
line 12 **Рѡддїса блѣти источниче , рѡддїса лѣ**  
line 13 **ствице и двѣрь нѣнаѡ , рѡддїса свѣщнїче**  
line 14 **и рѡчко златѡ и гѡро несѣкѡмаѡ , ꙗ́же**  
line 15 **жизнодѡвца хѡ мїрови родїла єси ·**  
line 16 **Инь , Канѡнъ · Крестѡ · Катавѡ · Хѣ рѡдѡетса ·**  
line 17 **Хѣ ѡбожѡетъ мѡ воплощѡсѡ : хѣ мѡ**  
line 18 **ВОЗНО**

Folio 13v

§§§§§

**Глѡсъ ѡ**

**Ѣ**

line 1 **вознѡситъ смирѡсѡ : Хѣ безстрѡстна**  
line 2 **мѡ твѡритъ , стрѡда живодѡвецъ єсте**  
line 3 **ствѡмѡ плѡти : тѣмже воспѡю блѣгодарствѣ**  
line 4 **нѡю пѣснь , ꙗ́кѡ прослѡвисѡ ·**  
line 5 **Хѣ водѡвїже мѡ распинѡемый : Хѣ воскре**  
line 6 **сї мѡ оумерщвлѡемый : Хѣ жїзнь мѣ**  
line 7 **дарѡетъ : тѣмже вовесѣлїи рѡкама плѣщї ,**  
line 8 **пою сѣсѡ повѣднѡю пѣснь , ꙗ́кѡ прослѡви**  
line 9 **сѡ ·** **Бѣгорѡдичень ·**  
line 10 **Бѣга дѣце зачалà єси , хѡ же водѣствѣ ро**  
line 11 **дїла єси , истевѣ воплотїшагѡсѡ прѣтаѡ ,**  
line 12 **ѣдїнагѡ составѡмѡ єдинорѡднагѡ во двою сѡ**  
line 13 **щестѡвѡ , знѡемагѡ сѣна , ꙗ́кѡ прослѡвисѡ ·**

line 14 **И́нѣ Канѡнѣ , Пѣтѣи Бѣи . Твоѡ победѣтелнаѡ .**  
 line 15 **Кѡю ти достѡиннѡю пѣснь , на́ше принѡсѣт**  
 line 16 **немо́женіе , то́чию пѣснь ра́доу , е́же**  
 line 17 **Гавріѣлъ на́съ та́йно на́дчи . ра́дѡса бѣ**  
 line 18 **Г Б ДѢО ,**

Folio 14<sup>r</sup>

§§§§§

**Воскрѣны**

line 1 **ДѢО . мѣти безневѣстнаѡ .**  
 line 2 **Прѡ дѣѣи ѣ мѣтри црѡ вы́шнихъ сѣлъ ,**  
 line 3 **ѡчѣтаго срѣца дѡхѡвнѣ вѣрнѣи возопіемъ :**  
 line 4 **ра́дѡса бѣ ДѢО , мѣти безневѣстнаѡ .**  
 line 5 **Не ѡскѡзнаѡ бездна , твоѡго непостижѣ**  
 line 6 **маго рѣтѡвѡ всечѣтаѡ , вѣрнѣи несѡмѣнно**  
 line 7 **о́убѡ , чѣстѣ припадаѣемъ ти глѡще , ра́**  
 line 8 **дѡса бѣ ДѢО , мѣти безневѣстнаѡ ,**  
 line 9 **Пѣснь , Г . Ирмѡ .**  
 line 10 **Єдинѣ свѣдый члѣскаго сѡщества не**  
 line 11 **мо́женіе ѣ мѣтивно ѡне ѡбѡкъса ,**  
 line 12 **препѡши мѡ свѣше сѣлою воспѣвати**  
 line 13 **ти стѣи , цркви дѡшевнаѡ . не ѡречѣныѡ**  
 line 14 **слѡвы ти члѡколюбче .**  
 line 15 **Бѣтъ сѣи мѡѣ блѣже пѡдшаго о́щедрѣлъ**  
 line 16 **ѣси , ѣ снѣти комнѣ блѡгоѡзѡбѡливъ : ра́**  
 line 17 **спѡтѣемъже воздѡвѣглѡ мѡ ѣси , во ѣже**  
 line 18 **вопѣти**

Folio 14<sup>v</sup>

§§§§§

**Глѡ а .**

**Гѣ**

line 1 **вопѣти тебѣ стѣи Гѡдѡ слѡвы непостижѣ**  
 line 2 **мыѣ во блѣти .**  
 line 3 **Живѡтъ сѡстѡвнѣи сѣи Хѣ , во ѡстѡлѣ**  
 line 4 **вшаго мѡ , ѡкѡ мѣтивѣ Бѣтъ , ѡбѡксѡ :**  
 line 5 **ѡ перѣсть смѣрти сошедѣ влѡко , смѣрти держѡ**  
 line 6 **ѡ раздрѡшилѣ ѣси : ѣ мѣртѡвѣ триднѣвно**  
 line 7 **воскрѣсе , ѡнетѡлѣнѣи мѡ ѡблечѣ . Бѣо :**  
 line 8 **Бѣга зачѣншаѡ воо́утрѡбѣ дѡще , дѡмѡ**  
 line 9 **пѣтѣмъ , пребылѡ ѣси неѡпѡлѣма : тебѣ**  
 line 10 **ѡ кѡпинѡ жегѡма неѡпѡлѣнѡ , ѡвѣ преѡ**



line 11 **возвѣсти** , прійшдѣю ѡгнь непостоѡнный .  
line 12 **Инь** , Ирмосъ . Первовѣчномѡ ѡ ѡца .  
line 13 **Иже** насвое рамо заблѡдшее ѡвчѡ в зѣмше  
line 14 мѡ , и низложившемѡ дрѣвомѡ прегрѣ  
line 15 шѣніѡ егѡ , хѡ Бгѡ возопіемъ : вѡдѡви  
line 16 гнѡвый рѡгъ нашъ стѣ еси Гди .  
line 17 **Возвѣдшемѡ** пѡстыра великаго изѡда  
line 18 **Г ѣ** **хѡ**

Folio 15r

§§§§§

**Воскрѣны**

line 1 **хѡ** , и стѣльствомѡ егѡ аплы гѡвѣ гѡзы  
line 2 ки оупѡсше , истинною и бжтвеннымѡ  
line 3 дхѡмѡ , вѣрній да послѡжимъ . Бгѡ .  
line 4 **Иже** ѡ дѡбы бѡлею воплощенномѡ бѣсѣме  
line 5 ни хѡ , и рѡдшдѣю пороштѣ бжтвенною  
line 6 сілою , чтѡдѡ дѡвѡ сохрѡншемѡ , иже на дѡ  
line 7 всѣми Бгѡ возопіемъ : стѣ еси Гди .  
line 8 **Инь** , Ирмосъ . Ёдинъ свѣдый .  
line 9 **Сѡблѡктѡ** тѡ лѣгкій нелѡжнѡ дѡво именѡ  
line 10 емъ , прѣческиими наставлѣми глѣми ,  
line 11 прѣде бѡ нѡтѡ Гдѡ разорѣти егѡпетскіѡ  
line 12 лсти рѡкописѡніѡ , и просвѣтити сімъ  
line 13 слѡжѡще . Бгѡродиченъ .  
line 14 **Тебѣ** запечатлѣнный истѡчникъ , и за  
line 15 ключѣннѡ дѡверѣ всепѣтѡмъ , ликъ прѣче  
line 16 скій войстиннѡ наречѣ , свѣтовѣднѣ нѡмъ  
line 17 дѡбства тѡеѡго ѡбразы пішѡще , ѣже и по  
line 18 **ржтѣвѣ**

Folio 15v

§§§§§

**Глѡсъ ѡ**

**дѡ**

line 1 **рожествѣ** соблюѡ еси .  
line 2 **Пѣснь** , дѡ . Ирмосъ .  
line 3 **Гѡрдѡ** тѡ блѡгѡдѡти , бжтѡ прѣсѣннѡ , про  
line 4 зорлівыма йѡвѡкѡмѡ оѡсмотрѣвѡ очѡ  
line 5 ма истѣбѣ изыитѡ Илѣва , провѡглашѡше  
line 6 стѡго , на спѣніѡ наше и ѡбновлѣніѡ .  
line 7 **Ктѡ** сый спѣсѡ иже изѡ едѣма прихѡдѡ ,

line 8 вѣнецъ носѧ тренѡвенъ , ѡчервлѣнїе рїзъ  
 line 9 носѧ ѡмѡй , надрѣвѣ вїсимъ : тоѡ Іїлю  
 line 10 ѣстъ сѣѡй , на спїсѣнїе нѡше ѡ ѡбновлѣнїе .  
 line 11 Видїте людіе непокорївїи , ѡ стыдїте  
 line 12 сѧ , егѡже ꙗкѡ слодѣѧ вы вознесѡсте  
 line 13 на крѣтъ , оупїлатѡ испросїте оумоврѣдно  
 line 14 велѣнїе : сѣи смрѣти разрѡшївъ сїлѡ , бгѡ  
 line 15 лѣпно воскрѣсе ѡзгробѡ . Егорѡдиченъ .  
 line 16 Дрѣво тѡ дѣце животѡ свѣѡмы , не бѡ снѣ  
 line 17 ди плѡдъ смрѣтонѡсенъ члѡкѡмѡ ѡстѣбѣ про  
 line 18 Г Д Зѡбѣ

Folio 16<sup>r</sup>

§§§§§

### Воскрѣны

line 1 зѡбѣ , нѡ животѡ прѣносѣщнаго насладѣ  
 line 2 нїе , на спїсѣнїе нѡше ѡ ѡбновлѣнїе .  
 line 3 Инъ , Ірмѡсъ . Жѣлзъ ѡскѡрени .  
 line 4 Ктѡ еси красенъ ѡзѣдѣѡма , ѡ сегѡ ѡчервлѣ  
 line 5 нїе рїзъ ѡ винограда восѡрска ; красенъ  
 line 6 ꙗкѡ бгѡ , ꙗкѡ зѣменъ жѣ крѡвїю , плѡтъ  
 line 7 ское ѡдѣѡнїе червлѣно носѧ : емѡже по  
 line 8 емъ вѣрнїи слаѡа сїлѣ твоѣи ГДѡ ,  
 line 9 Хсѡ бѡдѡщихъ блгѡ ꙗвлѣнъ прѣвосѣтъль , прѣ  
 line 10 грѣшенїѡ нѡмъ ѡгнѡлъ ѣстъ , ѡбновїл  
 line 11 стрѡненъ пѡтъ своѣю крѡвїю : вѡ лѡчшѡю жѣ  
 line 12 ѡ совершенѣшѡю внїде сѣѡнъ , прѣдѡтѣча  
 line 13 нѡмъ востѡл . Егорѡдиченъ .  
 line 14 Еввинъ дрѣвнїи дѡлгъ ѡспросїла еси все  
 line 15 пѣѡл , ѡже нѡсъ рѡди ꙗвлѡшагѡсѡ нѡѡѡ  
 line 16 го ꙗдѡѡма : соедїнївъ бѡ себѣ чыстымъ  
 line 17 зачатїемъ плѡтъ мыслѣннѡю ѡ ѡдѡшевлѣ  
 line 18 нѡю :

Folio 16<sup>v</sup>

§§§§§

Гласъ ѡ .

ѣи

line 1 нѡю : ѡстѣбѣ прѡїде Хсѡ , едїнъ сѡгѡѡѡ со  
 line 2 вершенїемъ . Инъ , Ірмѡсъ . Гѡрѡ тѡ блѣти .  
 line 3 Слыши чѡдѣсъ нѡѡ , ѡ внѡшѡй зѣмле ,  
 line 4 ꙗкѡ дѡшї прѣрѣстнаго пѡдѡшаго ѡдѡѡма , бгѡ

line 5 сотворѣна вѣсть , и своѣгѡ создѣтелѡ родѣ  
 line 6 тѣница , на спсѣніе нше и ѡбновлѣніе . Б҃го .  
 line 7 Пѡемъ великое и страшное твоѣ таинство :  
 line 8 премірныхъ бѡ оутѣвса чиноначаліи  
 line 9 нѡта , сый спиде , ѡкѡ дождѣ на рѡнѡ ,  
 line 10 всепѣтаѡ , наспсѣніе наше и ѡбновлѣніе .  
 line 11 Пѣснь , ѣ . Ирмосъ .  
 line 12 Просвѣщѣй сіѡніѣ пришествіѡ твоегѡ  
 line 13 Хѣ , и ѡщѣй крѣтомъ своімъ мірскаѡ  
 line 14 кѡнца срѣца просвѣти свѣтомъ твоегѡ б҃го  
 line 15 разѡміѡ , правовѣрнѡ хвалѡщимъ тѡ .  
 line 16 Пѡстырѡ ѡвцамъ великагѡ Гдѡ , Іудѣи  
 line 17 дрѣвомъ крѣтнымъ оумертвиша . нѡ  
 line 18 самъ ѡкѡ ѡвца мѣртвѡѡ воадѣ погре  
 line 19 Д БѢННЫѡ

Folio 17r

§§§§§

Воскрѣсны

line 1 бѢННЫѡ , держѡвы смртнымъ избѡви .  
 line 2 Крѣтомъ своимъ смиреніе блговѣстивъ ,  
 line 3 и проповѣдалъ еси спсе мой , плѣннымъ  
 line 4 ѡставлѣніе : держѡщаго же посрами Хрѣте ,  
 line 5 нѡга и ѡбнищѡвша показѡлъ еси , Бже  
 line 6 ственнымъ си востаніемъ . Б҃го .  
 line 7 Прошеніѡ вѣрно просѡщихъ всепѣтаѡ  
 line 8 непрѣзри , нѡ прійми , и сіѡ доношѡй снѡ  
 line 9 своемѡ прѣтаѡ , Б҃гѡ єдиномѡ блгодѡте  
 line 10 лю : тебе бо предстѡтелициѡ стѡжѡхомъ .  
 line 11 Инъ Ирмосъ . Б҃гъ сый міра ѡцъ .  
 line 12 Ѡ богѡтство и глѡбинѡ мѡдрѡсти бжїѡ :  
 line 13 ѡвѣмѡлѡ премѡрѡѡ Гдѡ , ѡ коварства ихъ  
 line 14 избѡвилъ ны ѣсть : пострадаѡ бѡ волею  
 line 15 нѣмоцію плѡтскою , своєю крѣпѡстію  
 line 16 ѡживѡлѡ мертвѡѡ воскресѡлъ ѣсть .  
 line 17 Б҃гъ сый примѡшѡетсѡ плѡтію насъ рѡдѡ  
 line 18 и распи

Folio 17v

§§§§§

line 1 и распина́ется . и оу́мираетъ , и погребѣнъ  
 line 2 выва́е , и ѡбѣе воскрша́етъ , и восхо́ди свѣтло  
 line 3 соплотѣю своѣю Хс̄ ко̀ѡцѣ , снѣюже прїидетъ ,  
 line 4 и сп̄се бл̄гочестно томѣ послѣживши . Б҃го .  
 line 5 Сты́хъ стаа двѣ чтаа , сты́хъ стаго ро  
 line 6 дѣла еси вса́ческаа ѡсцѣающаго Ха́ изба  
 line 7 витела : тѣмже та црцѣ и влчцѣ всѣхъ ,  
 line 8 ꙗкѡ мѣрь зиждителя твारेма пропо  
 line 9 вѣдѣемъ .                    ѿнъ ѿрмосъ . Просвѣщѣй .  
 line 10 Веселѣтса нѣныа сѣлы зра́ще та , ра  
 line 11 дѣютса снѣми чл̄ческаа составлѣнїа :  
 line 12 ꙗко рѣжтвомъ твоимъ совокѣпишася двѣ  
 line 13 бѣе , тѣмъ та досто́йно сла́вимъ .  
 line 14 Да двѣжетса вса́къ ꙗзыкъ чл̄ческїй и  
 line 15 мысль . ꙗ похвалѣ чл̄ческаго воистиннѣ  
 line 16 оудобрѣнїа : дѣаа во прїиде ꙗвственнѣ ,  
 line 17 славащи вѣрою сѣа воспѣвающїй чдеса  
 line 18                                    Д В                                    Сла́ви

Folio 18r

§§§§§

## Воскресны

line 1 Сла́ви пѣснь вса́ка прѣрыхъ похвалнаа  
 line 2 дѣе мѣри вѣи приносимаа , ꙗко сѣа хра̄  
 line 3 бысть славы пребжтвеннаа , юже достой  
 line 4 нѣ славимъ .                    Пѣснь 5 , ѿрмосъ .  
 line 5 Обѣде насъ послѣдннаа бѣзна , нѣ и  
 line 6 збавлаа , вѣнїхомса ꙗко о́вца  
 line 7 назаколѣнїе , сп̄си люди своа вѣе нашъ ты  
 line 8 во крѣпостъ немощнымъ еси , и исправлѣнїе .  
 line 9 Согрѣшенїемъ первозданаго люте оу́звѣ  
 line 10 хомса : раноюже твоѣю Гдӣ исцѣлѣхѣ ,  
 line 11 еюже заны оу́звлѣнъ бысть хѣ . тыбо  
 line 12 крѣпость немощнымъ еси и исправлѣнїе .  
 line 13 Возвѣлъ ны еси иза́да Гдӣ , кита пѣста  
 line 14 сотвори всеа́дца всесѣла , своѣю держа  
 line 15 вою раздрѣшивъ егѡ сѣла : тыбо животъ  
 line 16 еси , свѣтъ , и воскрнїе . Б҃городиченъ .  
 line 17 Веселѣса оубѣ двѣ чтаа рода нашего пра  
 line 18                                    Дѣди

§§§§§

ГЛА́ А

31

line 1 ДѢДИ , ѿдѣма воспріѣше тобою ѿгѡ престѡ  
line 2 плѣнїе погѡвїша : ты бо ѡтаа прѣде рѣтва  
line 3 и порѣтваѣ еси . Инъ Ирмосъ . Оугрѡба Іѡны .  
line 4 Оумъ съ бѣстраѣте и невеществѣ , примѣ  
line 5 шаетса Хс Бгъ оумѡ члчскѡмѡ , ходотай  
line 6 ствѣючи бѣтвенны ѣстеѡ во и дѣбелствѡм  
line 7 плѡти , и вѣс ми приложѣ , вѣс ми премѣн  
line 8 са , да спсѣнїе ми пашемѡ податъ распинаѣ .  
line 9 Падъ прелщїенъ ѿдаа и сокрѡшиса , надѣ  
line 10 дею солгаи бысть дрѣвле ѡбоженїа : нѡ во  
line 11 стаѣт примѣшенїемъ словесѣ ѡбожаемъ , и  
line 12 страѣтїю бѣстраѣтїе прїелѣ : на прѣтлѣ ѿкѡ  
line 13 снѣ слави , сѣдай со ѡцемъ и дхѡм . Бгѡ :  
line 14 Нѣдръ неѡстѡплѣ бѣначана родїтелѡ , внѣ  
line 15 дрѣ ѡтыа ѡтроковица ѡворѡса , и бываѣ  
line 16 бѣмѣренъ прѣде бѣѡца воплощамъ , иже прѣ  
line 17 дѣ ѡртѡдѡи Хс : сегѡ не ичѣтеи страшенъ  
line 18 Д Г рѡдъ

§§§§§

Воскрѣны

line 1 рѡдъ и неиречѣнѣ . Инъ Ирмосъ . ѡзвѣидѣ насъ .  
line 2 Прѣстолатъ раболѣпно рѣтѡ твоѡмѡ , чїно  
line 3 ве нѣнїи , дивѡщесѡ достѡйно твоѡмѡ бѣ  
line 4 сѣмѣномѡ рѣтѡ прѡно дѣво : ты бо ѡтаа ,  
line 5 и преже рѣтва и порѣтваѣ еси . Бгѡ :  
line 6 Воплотїса иже преже сый безплѡтенъ ,  
line 7 слѡво и стѣвѣ всеѡтаа , иже всѡческаа  
line 8 вѡлею творѡи : иже безтелѣсныхъ вѡинъ  
line 9 стѡва привѣды ѡнебытїа , ѿкѡ всесїленъ .  
line 10 Кѡдакъ ГЛА́ А . Воскрѣслъ еси ѿко бгъ и грѡба восла  
line 11 вѣ , и мїра совоскрѣси еси ѣстеѡ во члѣческое , ѿко бгѡ вѡ  
line 12 пѣваѣ та и смртъ ищезѣ ѿдаже ликѡетъ вѡко , и сѡа  
line 13 ннѣ ѡ оузъ свѡбѡдаема радѡетса зѡвщы , ты еси иже  
line 14 вси подаа хѣ воскрнїе . Икосъ , Воскрѡшаго триднѣвно  
line 15 воспѡимъ ѿко бгѡ всесїна и врата ѡдова сокрѡшѣшаго  
line 16 и иже ѡ вѣка и грѡба ѡдѡвїшаго , мїроносица ѡвлѡша  
line 17 гѡса ѿкоже блгѡйволи ѣстъ прѣде сїмъ еже радѡитесѡ рѣ

line 18 ки и ꙗꙗло радѡт вѡвѣщаеѣ ꙗко еди тѡмо жинодавецѣ  
line 19 сы , тѣмже вѣрою, жены · оꙗчнко знаменїа повѣды  
line 20 блговѣствдють , и адъ стѣнѣт · и смртъ рыдае мѡжїе  
line 21 веселася : и вси снї раддюдса ѡ хвѣт воскрнїи, тыбо по

Folio 19<sup>v</sup>

§§§§§

Гласъ а̄

ӣ

line 1 даеши хѣ всимъ воскресенїе · Пѣснь, з̄ ꙗрмосъ ·  
line 2 Тебѣ мысленндоу бѣе пещъ , рѣсмотрѣ  
line 3 емъ вѣрнїи : ꙗкѡже бѡ спсе три ѡтро  
line 4 ки превозношаемыи, мїра ѡбновї ѣсть ,  
line 5 вочрѣвѣ тї совершенъ , воспѣваемыи  
line 6 ѡцемъ бгѣ блгословенъ еси ·  
line 7 Оꙗвоася землѣ , и сокрыася слнце , и  
line 8 и смѣрчеса свѣтъ , раздрася цркви бже  
line 9 ственнаа ѡпѡна , каменїе распадеся ,  
line 10 на кртѣ бо виситъ прѣникъ воспѣтый  
line 11 ѡцемъ бгѣ и препрославленъ ·  
line 12 Ты бысть ꙗкѡ безпомоще , и оꙗвлень  
line 13 во мртвѣцѣхъ волею насъ ради , превозно  
line 14 сїмый всѣ свободь , и державною рѡкою  
line 15 совоскрсїилъ еси , воспѣтый ѡцемъ бже  
line 16 и препрославленъ · Егорѡдичень ·  
line 17 Рѡчкѡ златдю прѣтдю : трапезѡ бжтве  
line 18 Д̄ а̄ наго

Folio 20<sup>r</sup>

§§§§§

Воскрны

line 1 наго хлѣба жїзни , именемъ тѣ чтал ·  
line 2 мѣсто сценїа прѣтолъ высѡкъ , нанемъ  
line 3 же бгѣ почїлъ ѣсть , прехвалный и пре  
line 4 возносїмый вѡвѣки ·  
line 5 Инъ ꙗрмосъ · ѡтрѡци вѡблгочестїи воспитани·  
line 6 дрѣвле оꙗбѡ клѡтвена быстъ землѣ , ѡбѡ  
line 7 левою ѡчервленївшася кровїю , братооꙗбїи  
line 8 ственною рѡкою : бгѡтѡчною же твоєю крѡ  
line 9 вїю , блгвїсѣ ѡкроплена , и играючи поѣ ,  
line 10 ѡцѣ нашихъ бже блгвенъ еси ·  
line 11 Да плачѡтсѣ людїе ꙗудейстїи бгѡпротївѣ

line 12 нїи дѣрзости оубїїенїа Хѣа : пазыци<sup>1</sup> жє дѧ  
line 13 веселѧса , и рѣкѧмъ дѧ восплещѣтѣ , и дѧ во  
line 14 пїютъ , Ѡцѣ нашихъ Бже блгвенъ єси .  
line 15 На кртѣ пригвѣдса волею насъ ради члко  
line 16 любче , и прѧвца ѿдѧма рѣкописанїе ра  
line 17 стерзалъ єси . тѣмже снїмъ непрестѧнѣ  
line 18 поэмъ

Folio 20<sup>v</sup>

§§§§§

Глѧ ѧ

ѧі

line 1 поэмъ , Ѡцѣ ншихъ Бже блгвенъ єси .  
line 2 Бгородиченъ .  
line 3 Тѧ бже лѣствицѣ , ѿаковъ пррчески разѣ  
line 4 мѣвѧетъ . тебѣ во ради превозносїмый  
line 5 на землї гѧвїса , и сочлки поживѣ , ѧкѣ  
line 6 блгоизволи , воспѣты Ѡцемъ Бгъ и препрѣ .  
line 7 Инъ , ѿрмосъ . Тебѣ мысленю бже пѣщъ .  
line 8 Радѣисѧ чѣтаѧ , истевѣ прѣйде пѧстырь  
line 9 ѧже воѿдѧмовѣ кожѣ ѣболксѧ воїстїнѣ .  
line 10 превѣносїмый всего мѧ ѣвчѧте . зами  
line 11 лосѣрдїе непостыжно , воспѣтый Ѡцемъ  
line 12 Бгъ и препрослѧвленъ .  
line 13 Радѣисѧ истѣчнїче прѣно живыѧ воды :  
line 14 радѣисѧ рѧю слѧдѣсти : радѣисѧ стѣно  
line 15 вѣрнымъ : радѣисѧ не ѧскѣсѣбѧчнѧмъ :  
line 16 радѣисѧ всемирнѧмъ радѣсти , єѧже ради  
line 17 нѧ восїѧ . воспѣтый Ѡцемъ Бгъ и препрѣ .  
line 18 € Пѣснь

Folio 21<sup>r</sup>

§§§§§

Воскрѣны

line 1 Пѣснь ѧ , ѿрмосъ .  
line 2 Вопѣщи дѣти ѿилевы , ѧкѣже вогорнї  
line 3 лѣ , добротѣю блчестїѧ чїстѣйши  
line 4 злѧта , блещѧхѣсѧ глѣюще : блгвїте всѧ  
line 5 дѣла Гнѧ , Гдѧ пѣйте и превозносїте  
line 6 єгѣ вовѣки .  
line 7 Волею всѧ творѧй и прѣтворѧйже : ѣбра

<sup>1</sup> The diacritical mark above п in пазыци cannot be clearly seen.

line 8 щáлй сѣнь смѣртнѡю вовѣчнѡю жízнь ,  
 line 9 сѣртїю своєю слóве вжїӣ : тебѣ непрестáно,  
 line 10 всà дѣла ѡ́кв Б҃га пшóуть и превознó  
 line 11 сáтъ вовѣки .  
 line 12 Ты́ разорилъ еси́ сокрѡшенїе х҃е и ѡ́каа  
 line 13 нїе , вовратѣхъ и́ вотвердыни ѡ́да , во  
 line 14 скр҃сѣ изъгрóва триднѣвнѡ : тебѣ непре  
 line 15 стáннѡ всà дѣла ѡ́кв Б҃га пóють и пре  
 line 16 вознóсáтъ вовѣки . Б҃городиченъ .  
 line 17 Иже<sup>1</sup> везсѣмене и́ пáче естества , ѡ́бли  
 line 18 стáниа́

Folio 21<sup>v</sup>

§§§§§

Глá а̄

к̄

line 1 стáниа́ вжѣтвѣннаго рѡ́дшю́ вїсера мнѡ  
 line 2 гоцѣннаго х̄а̄ , воспóимъ гл̄юще : бл҃гвїте  
 line 3 всà дѣла гн̄а́ Г҃да пóйте и превóносите́ егò  
 line 4 вовѣки . Инъ , їрмосъ . Ч҃до превелїе .  
 line 5 Прїйдѣте людіе́ поклóнимсá мѣстѡ , на  
 line 6 нѣмже́ стоа́стѣ прч̄тїи нóсѣ : надрѣвѣ  
 line 7 вжѣтвѣннїи хѣѣ́ длáни прострóшасá , на  
 line 8 спсѣнїе́ всѣмъ чл̄кѡмъ : и́ грóвъ животà  
 line 9 ѡ́бстоа́ще поёмъ , дà бл҃гвїтъ твáръ всà  
 line 10 каа́ Г҃да , и́ превозно́сїтъ егò вовѣки .  
 line 11 Сѡблїчїсá б҃гооубїйцамъ іюдѣѡмъ , за  
 line 12 конопрестѡпное́ наваждѣнїе : егòже́ вò лѣт  
 line 13 ца́ нареко́ша , востà ѡ́кв сїленъ , нарѡ  
 line 14 гáвсá бездмнѡмъ , печáтемъ : тѣмъ рá  
 line 15 джющесá поёмъ , дà бл҃гвїтъ твáръ всà  
 line 16 Г҃да и́ превозно́сїтъ егò вовѣки .  
 line 17 Вотрѣхъ́ сцѣнїи́хъ б҃гословáще и́ е́дїнѡ  
 line 18 Є́ в̄ гд̄твѣ́

Folio 22<sup>r</sup>

§§§§§

Воскр̄ны

line 1 гд̄твѣ́ слáвою , Серафїми́ пречїстїи́ со  
 line 2 стрáхомъ раболѣпно́ , трисостáвное́ слá  
 line 3 вáтъ вжѣтвò , снїмиже́ бл҃гочтнѡ во

<sup>1</sup> The diacritical mark above И in Иже cannot be clearly seen.





## Воскрѣны

line 1 вно, со ѿцемъ и бжтвеннымъ дхомъ ,  
 line 2 и гда сдша славѣ , бгословаще величаемъ .  
 line 3 Спси люди своа гди , иже стажа чтною  
 line 4 си крбвию : навраги крѣпость црви дарди :  
 line 5 и црквамъ твоимъ члколюбче , подаа  
 line 6 миръ бца млтвामी . Инъ, Ирмѣ . Тайнество .  
 line 7 Прослависа не изреченною силою твоєю  
 line 8 кртъ твои гди , твоє бо немощное паче  
 line 9 силы всаког ависа , иже силни оубо  
 line 10 низложишася наземлю : и ниции кнѣси  
 line 11 возводи ми бывають .  
 line 12 Оумертвиса мерзскаа наша смръть , изъ  
 line 13 мертвыхъ воскрениемъ , ты бо ависа сѣ  
 line 14 щимъ воадѣ хе дарствомъ : тѣже жинь  
 line 15 тл , и воскрєние , и свѣтъ составенъ , по  
 line 16 юще величаемъ . Егородиченъ .  
 line 17 Не изреченное двымъ тайнство , табо пре  
 line 18 столъ

Folio 23<sup>v</sup>

§§§§§

Гласъ . а .

кв

line 1 столъ хердвѣмскїи , и свѣтоносный черъ  
 line 2 тогъ показася , хѣ бга вседержителя :  
 line 3 юже блгочестноу ѡкв бцѣ величаемъ .  
 line 4 Инъ, Ирмосъ . образъ чтаго ржтва твоєгю .  
 line 5 Всакъ похвалный прчтаа законъ повѣ  
 line 6 ждѣтсѣ , величествомъ славы твоєа :  
 line 7 нѣ влчце , шрабъ недостѣйны твоихъ ,  
 line 8 шѡусердїа же тебѣ приносимдю , прїими  
 line 9 бцѣ соблгостїю пѣснь .  
 line 10 Искѣрени двѣва прозвблѣ еси , пррческа  
 line 11 го дѣо и бгѡшческаго : нѣ и двѣа ѡкв во  
 line 12 истиннѣ ты прославила еси , ѡкв рѣдши  
 line 13 пронареченнаго гда славѣ , егѣже достѣи  
 line 14 нѣ славимъ .  
 line 15 ѿпаче оумѣ чдѣсѣ твоихъ ; ты бо дѣо  
 line 16 едина послнцемъ дала еси раздѣлѣти но  
 line 17 вѣйшее чдѣо , всечтаа недовѣдомага ,  
 line 18 ѣ а егѣже

§§§§§

## Воскр̃сны

line 1 ́гѡже ради тѡ всѣ велич́аемъ .  
line 2 Нахв́алите · Стихи́ри · Гласъ , а̃ ·  
line 3 По́емъ твою́ Хѣ́ сп̃сѣннѣю ст̃рть · и̃  
line 4 сла́вимъ твоѣ́ воскр̃сеніе ·  
line 5 Расп̃лтіе претерп̃ѣ , и̃ см̃ртъ оу́пра́днѣ ·  
line 6 и̃ воскр̃сѣ́ изм̃ертвыѣ · оу́мири нш̃в̃ жи́нь  
line 7 Г̃ди · іакъ е́динъ всесі́ленъ ·  
line 8 Иже а́да пл̃внѣвъ , и̃ чл̃ка воскр̃сѣвъ · во  
line 9 ск̃р̃сеніемъ сво́имъ х̃е · сподобѣ́ насъ чѣ́  
line 10 стымъ ср̃цемъ · тебѣ́ п̃ѣти и̃ сла́вити ·  
line 11 Б̃гоу́боное твоѣ́ смотр̃еніе сла́вше · во  
line 12 піемъ ти́ Хѣ́ · роди́са ѡд̃вы и̃ неразл̃дѣ́  
line 13 вѣ́ ѡ́ца · пострада́ іакъ чл̃къ · и̃ во́лею  
line 14 претерп̃ѣ́ расп̃лтіе : воскр̃се́ изг̃рѡба · іакъ  
line 15 ѡчерт̃ѡга прошѣ́дъ , да́ сп̃сѣши́ міра : Г̃ди  
line 16 сла́ва тебѣ́ · Ины́ Г̃три : вост̃ѡчны ·  
line 17 Ёгда́ пригвозди́са надр̃евѣ́ кр̃тнѣмъ  
line 18 то́гда

§§§§§

Гласъ , а̃ ·

к҃г

line 1 то́гда оу́мертви́са держа́ва вра́жіа · твѡ́  
line 2 покол̃вѣ́са стра́хомъ тво́имъ · и̃ а́дъ  
line 3 пл̃внѣ́нъ вы́сть держа́вою ти́ · м̃ртвыа  
line 4 ѡг̃рѡвѣ́ воскр̃сѣ́ль еси́ · и̃ разбо́йникѡ ра́й  
line 5 ѡвер̃зль еси́ · Хѣ́ бже́ нашъ сла́ва тебѣ́ ·  
line 6 Рыда́юще сотщ́аніемъ грѡба́ твоѣ́го до  
line 7 шѣ́дше ч̃тныа́ жѣны · и̃ о́верѣ́тоша  
line 8 грѡ́вѣ ѡвер̃стъ : и̃ оу́вѣ́даша ѡ́ и̃г̃ла́ но́вое  
line 9 и̃ пресла́вное ч̃до · возвѣ́стѣша́ и̃пл̃омъ  
line 10 іакъ воскр̃сѣ́ Г̃дъ · пода́ мѣ́рови ве́лію  
line 11 мѣ́лостъ ·  
line 12 Стр̃а́стей тво́ихъ б̃ж̃твѣ́ннымъ іа́звамъ  
line 13 поклан̃́емъса́ х̃е бже́ · и̃ и́же в̃сио́нѣ́  
line 14 вл̃чн̃аго́ свц̃ен̃од̃ѣ́йства · ё́же наконѣ́ць  
line 15 вѣ́комъ , б̃гоу́влѣ́но б̃ывше : и́бо вот̃мѣ́  
line 16 сѣ́дащѣ́ сл̃нцѣ́ воси́а́ль еси́ пра́ведное ·

line 17 к̄невечѣрнемѸ наставлѣа сїа нїю : Г̄ди  
line 18 слѣва

Folio 25<sup>r</sup>

§§§§§

Воскр̄ны

line 1 слѣва тебѣ ·  
line 2 Любомѣтежный рѣде єврѣйскїи в̄ншїи  
line 3 те , гдѣ с̄тъ к̄пилатѸ пришедшїи · да  
line 4 рекѸтъ стрегѸщїи вѣи гдѣ с̄тъ печѣ  
line 5 ти грѣбныа , гдѣ преложїса погребѣнъ  
line 6 ныи · гдѣ проданъ бысть непроданныи ,  
line 7 како оукрадено быт̄ сокровище · что̀ окле  
line 8 ветѣсте с̄псово востанїе , беззаконїи  
line 9 їудее · воскрсе ѥже во мѣртвыхъ свобѣдъ ,  
line 10 дарѸа мїрѣи вѣлїю м̄лтъ ·  
line 11 Слѣва · Стихїра Єв̄лскаа · и Ннѣ , Превлѣвена ·  
line 12 в̄нелю · на лутѣргїи , бл̄жєны · Глѣсъ , а̄ ·  
line 13 Снѣди рѣди ѥзведѣ їзрѣаа враг̄ адѣама ,  
line 14 к̄ртѣа жѣ рѣди разбѣйника воведѣ х̄с̄ вѣ ,  
line 15 помани мѣ вопїюща , егда прїидеши во  
line 16 ц̄ртвїи сї ·  
line 17 Распѣтса безгрѣшне , и во грѣбѣ поло  
line 18 жїлса

Folio 25<sup>v</sup>

§§§§§

Глѣсъ , а̄ ·

к̄д

line 1 жїлса єсї волею : нѣ воскрсе їакѡ в̄гъ , со  
line 2 воздвїже первозданнаго , помани мѣ  
line 3 в̄зывающа егда прїидеши во ц̄ртвїи сї ·  
line 4 Покланѣюса с̄тртемъ твоимъ , слѣво  
line 5 словлїю воскрнїе твоє : со адѣамомъ жѣ и с̄рѣ  
line 6 бѣйникомъ , соглѣсомъ свѣтлымъ во  
line 7 пїю ; помани мѣ Г̄ди егда прїидеши во  
line 8 ц̄ртвїи сї ·  
line 9 Мл̄ронѣсица прїидѣша плѣчѣшеса , на  
line 10 грѣбѣ твоѣ Х̄ є Бж̄е с̄ѣло рѣно , в̄вѣлахъ  
line 11 рїзахъ ѡбрѣтѣша ѥг̄ла с̄ѣдѣща , что̀  
line 12 ѥщете ; зовѣща воскрсе Г̄дѣ неплѣчите  
line 13 са прѣче ·

line 14 Црковъ свою телеснѹ , триднѣвнымъ во  
 line 15 скрсилъ еси погребеніемъ , соудамомъ же  
 line 16 и ѿже ѿ ѿдѣла воскрсилъ еси Хѣ Бже : по  
 line 17 мѣни насъ вопіющѣхъ , егда прійдеши во  
 line 18 Ж в црѣтви

Folio 26r

§§§§§

Покалны

line 1 црѣтви си .  
 line 2 ѿпи твои гди , нагорѣ идеже повелѣ ѿмъ  
 line 3 прійдѣша сотщаніемъ , и видѣвше тѣ  
 line 4 поклонішася , ѿже и послѣ воисыки  
 line 5 проповѣдати слѣвѣ твою . Тройчна .  
 line 6 ѿцѣ поклонимся , и сѣна славословімъ ,  
 line 7 и прѣтаго дха вѣрніи воспѣмъ , вопіюще ,  
 line 8 и глѣюще : престѣмъ трѣце спси всѣхъ на . Его .  
 line 9 Мѣтръ твою приводимъ ти во мѣтвѣ ,  
 line 10 людіе твои хѣ , моленіемъ еѣ щедроты  
 line 11 твоѣ намъ дарѣи , датѣ прославлѣмъ ,  
 line 12 и згрѣва намъ восидѣвшаго .  
 line 13 Вне вечеръ . Стихирѣи Покалны . Куръ , ѿсифа .  
 line 14 На гди възвахъ , Гласъ , ѿ . пѣ . Прехвалныи .  
 line 15 ѿче преблгій . своѣго сѣна послѣлъ еси пре  
 line 16 блгаго гда . блднаго сѣна нарамѣ взѣ  
 line 17 ти .

Folio 26v

§§§§§

Гла ѿ

кѣ

line 1 ти . заблѣжшаго ѡвчѣте возвести . и  
 line 2 вовести того ѿнюдѣ спадѣ . во ѡградѣ  
 line 3 ѿггль твоихъ . непрелѣстныхъ силъ .  
 line 4 ѿче преблгій . мноюю подвигся своѣго  
 line 5 благоутрѣбіѣмъ блгтынею . приведе ѿнесѣ  
 line 6 щѣи ѿкв бгъ всѣческаѣ . послѣдиже соз  
 line 7 давѣ члѣка рѣкою своєю по ѡбразѣ своѣмъ .  
 line 8 егѣже истаѣвша престѣплѣніемъ заповѣ  
 line 9 дей . наздѣлъ еси ѿкв члѣколюбѣць .  
 line 10 Члѣколюбче гди . сѣнъ сѣи всеистинныи  
 line 11 нѣнаго родитѣла , ѿвѣлъся еси понасъ

line 12 сѣй сѣнь члѣчь · да мѧ члѣка прелцѣна лѣ  
line 13 стію сміиною , ѿкѡже ѡвчѧ нарамѡ свою  
line 14 вѣзѣмъ · возведѣши вооградѡ нѣнѡю ·  
line 15 Ины стѣры, Безплѡтнымъ · пѡ , тойже ·  
line 16 Безплѡтнїи аггѣли · вжїю прѣтлѡ престо  
line 17 ѡще · и ѡнїудными свѣтлостыми ѡбли  
line 18 Ж Г стаѣми

Folio 27<sup>r</sup>

§§§§§

Покаѡны

line 1 стаѣми · и свѣтолітїи вѣчными сїѡю  
line 2 ще , и свѣтивыѡюще втѡрїи · хѡ моли  
line 3 теса дарѡвати дшѡмъ нашимъ , мїръ  
line 4 и велїю мїлостъ ·  
line 5 Бесмртнїи аггѣли , живѡтъ войстиннѡ  
line 6 бесмртный · ѡперѡаго прїѣмше животѡ  
line 7 всебогѡтїи, прносѡщныѡ и чныѡ слѡвы  
line 8 зрїтеле , вы всегда показѡстеса · свѣ  
line 9 та исполнѡеми , и свѣщѡ соѡбращѡеми  
line 10 совокрѡплѣнїемъ и менѡетса ·  
line 11 Архѡггѣли , и аггѣли , начѡла , прѣтли ,  
line 12 гѡтѡиѡ , и серафїми шестокрылатїи, и  
line 13 многѡѡчїтїи , херѡвїи бжтѡвенїи , пре  
line 14 мрѡсти сосѡди · сїлы · власти бжтѡвенѣи  
line 15 шї, хѡи мѡтеса · дарѡватѡ дшѡмъ ншїмъ  
line 16 мїръ и велїю мѡтъ · Сла , и нѣѡ · бѡ ·  
line 17 Чтѡное бжїе жїлице бѡвши чѡтаѡ , собез  
line 18 плѡны

Folio 27<sup>v</sup>

§§§§§

Глѡсъ ѡ

кs

line 1 плѡными молиса · чтѣ совершїти мї  
line 2 пѡтъ житѣйскїи , ѿкѡ да непрѡваритъ  
line 3 вѣчеръ смртный неготѡѡа , и ѡслѣтъ мѡ  
line 4 воплѡментъ ѡгненнѡи мѡчїтисѡ · нѡ ты  
line 5 мѡ ѡсегѡ исхитї ·  
line 6 На стихѡвнѣ стїхїры · Глѡсъ ѡ ·  
line 7 Иѡкѡ пѡчина велїѡ согрѣшенїи моїхъ  
line 8 сїсе , и лѡтѣ погрѡжѡюса безакѡми мої

line 9 ми , дѣдъ мѣ рѣкѣ и спси мѣ , ѿкв Пе  
 line 10 трѣви Бже и помилди мѣ .  
 line 11 Икв помышленіи злыми и дѣлы ѡсѣ  
 line 12 дѣл мѣ еси спсе , мысль мѣ дарди ѡбра  
 line 13 ценіа Бже , да зовѣ ти спси мѣ блѣтлю  
 line 14 блгій , и помилди мѣ .  
 line 15 Млтвами Гди всѣхъ стыхъ и бца , твѣ  
 line 16 миръ даждъ намъ . и помилди насъ  
 line 17 ѿкв единыи щедры . Глава . и Ннѣ .  
 line 18 Ж д Нбнымъ

Folio 28<sup>r</sup>

§§§§§

Покаѣны

line 1 Нбнымъ чинѡмъ радѡваніе . и нѡземли  
 line 2 члкъмъ крѣпкаа помѡщнице .  
 line 3 прѣла Дѡо спси нѡ йже кте  
 line 4 вѣ привѣгяющихъ .  
 line 5 ѿкв нѡтѡ оупо  
 line 6 ваніе , повзѣ  
 line 7 Бце возло  
 line 8 жиѡ .  
 line 9 Тѡ , Ннѣ ѡпѣ  
 line 10 цѡеши . и  
 line 11 ѡпѣст .

Folio 28<sup>v</sup>

кз

Твореніе Іѡанна . Дамаскіна . Гласъ , в .

line 1 Первовѣчномѣ ѡ ѡца, рѡж  
 line 2 шдса вжїю слѡвѣ . воплощ  
 line 3 шдса ѡ дѡы мрїа , прїидѣ  
 line 4 те поклѡниѣса . распѡтїе  
 line 5 вѣ претерпѣвъ , и погребенію  
 line 6 предѡстъса ѿкв самъ восхотѣ . и вокрсе  
 line 7 измртвѡхъ , спсе мѣ влдѡщаго члка .  
 line 8 хс

Folio 29<sup>r</sup>

§§§§§

## Воскрѣны

line 1 Хс̄ сп̄сѣ н̄ашѣ . ѣже н̄аны рѣкописаніе при  
 line 2 гвѣждѣ . накрѣтѣ растерзà , и см̄рти дер̄  
 line 3 жавѣ оупразднилѣ ѣстѣ , покланѣемъса  
 line 4 триднѣвномѣ егѡ востанію .  
 line 5 Гоархагглы воспѣемъ хѣво воскрєсеніе . тѣ  
 line 6 бѣ ѣстѣ избавітелѣ и сп̄сѣ дшам ншым̄ .  
 line 7 и вославѣ страшиѣ и крѣпцѣи силѣ , п̄а  
 line 8 ки градѣтѣ сдѣити мїрѣ , егѡже создà .  
 line 9 Ины Стихїры , Востѣчны .  
 line 10 Тебѣ распѣншагоса и погребѣнна . аггль  
 line 11 проповѣдà влѣкѣ . и гл̄аше женамъ , при  
 line 12 дѣте и видѣте и дѣже лежà Гд̄ь . воскрєсе  
 line 13 бо ѣкѡже рече ѣкѡ всесилентѣ . тѣмже  
 line 14 са покланѣемъ едїномѣ бесмртномѣ .  
 line 15 живодавче хѣ помилди насѣ .  
 line 16 Крѣтомъ своимъ оупразднилѣ еси ѿ др̄е  
 line 17 ва клатвѣ . погребеніемъ своимъ оумер̄  
 line 18 твїлѣ

Folio 29<sup>v</sup>

§§§§§

Гласѣ , в̄ .

ки

line 1 твїлѣ еси см̄рти державѣ . востаніемъ  
 line 2 же своимъ просвѣтилѣ еси рѣдѣ чл̄чєскїй .  
 line 3 сегѣ р̄ади вопїемъ тї , бл̄годателю хѣ бже  
 line 4 н̄ашѣ слава тебѣ .  
 line 5 ѿверзѣшатиса . Гд̄и стр̄ахомъ врата  
 line 6 см̄ртнаа , вратнициже ѡдовы видѣвше  
 line 7 тѣ оужасѣшаса . вратабо мѣданаа со  
 line 8 крѣшилѣ еси , и верїа желѣзнаа ѣтерлѣ  
 line 9 еси . и иведѣ насѣ ѿтмы и сѣни см̄ртны̄ .  
 line 10 и оўзы н̄аша растерзà ,  
 line 11 сп̄сєнн̄ю пѣснь поюще , и оўстѣ возсы  
 line 12 лаемъ . прїйдѣте вси вѣдомъ Гд̄нь . при  
 line 13 падѣмъ гл̄юще . иже надрѣвѣ распный̄  
 line 14 са , и измѣртвухѣ воскрєсе . сый внѣдрѣ  
 line 15 ѿчїи . ѡчїсти грѣхї нша . Сла̄ и ннѣ . бѣ .  
 line 16 Прейде сѣнь законнаа . бл̄гти прише  
 line 17 ши . ѣкѡже бѣ кѣпина несогараше







line 8 ѡсіаѣ , б҃годѣйстви́мымъ сіа́ніемъ .  
line 9 Триси́а́ннаѣ е́ди́нице б҃гонача́ннаѣ ; вѣсѣ  
line 10 разорѣ грѣхѡвъ моѣхъ стра́стей мра́къ ,  
line 11 свѣ́тлыми зарáми твоѣми , ѣ сла́дки  
line 12 ми прича́щенми : ѣ сотвори твоѡ́ѣ непри  
line 13 косновѣ́ннаѣ сла́вы , цр҃ковѣ ѣ сѣ́нь ѡдѡ  
line 14 шевлѣ́ннѡю . б҃городиченъ .  
line 15 То́къ дрѣвний ѣстества на́шегѡ , постра  
line 16 да́ше неподѡбно . ѣ кѣтлѣ попо́дшеесѣ  
line 17 прѣ́тла . вопло́щсѣ ѣо́у́тробы твоѡ́ѣ  
line 18 б҃гѣ

Folio 32r

§§§§§

### Троїчны

line 1 б҃гѣ слѡво , чл҃колюбѣзно восіа̀ : ѣ б҃гона  
line 2 ча́лію трисвѣ́тломѡ на́сѣ та́йно нао́учи .  
line 3 Пѣснь , г҃ . Ирмо́съ<sup>1</sup> . Нака́мени ма̀ вѣры о́у́тверди .  
line 4 Ра́венствіемъ ѣстества б҃гонача́нна , е́ди  
line 5 но́чна сла́влю тѣ́ лици : живѡ́тъ бѡ ѡ  
line 6 живѡта́ ты проше́ши , безтла̀ еси́ е́динъ  
line 7 б҃гѣ на́шъ : ѣ нѣ́сть сѣ́ па́че тебе́ г҃ди .  
line 8 Ты́ чїны невесте́ственнаѣ нѣ́ннаѣ соста́  
line 9 вила́ еси́ , ѣкѡ зерца́ла твоѡ́ѣ доброты́ ,  
line 10 тр҃це нера́дѣ́нное е́динонача́ліе , пѣ́ти не  
line 11 престáнно тебе́ ; но́ ннѣ́ на́шѡ ѡ́вереннѣ́  
line 12 о́устѣ́ прїѣ́ми хва́лѡ .  
line 13 О́у́тверди нака́мени вѣры , ѣ ра́шири лю́б  
line 14 ве́ твоѡ́ѣ пѡчинѡю , ѣрца́ ѣ мысли твоѣхъ  
line 15 ра́бѣ , е́ди́нице трислѣ́ннаѣ ; ты́бо еси́ б҃гѣ  
line 16 ншѣ́ , на́же о́повáюще не́посрамлѣ́емсѣ .  
line 17 Иже<sup>2</sup> вса́къ прѣ́же соста́вѣ ѡ́свеществова́ѣ  
line 18 тѡ́

Folio 32v

§§§§§

### Гласъ в̄

ла

line 1 тѡ́ари , воо́у́тробѣ́ ти ѡ́свеществова́сѣ ,

<sup>1</sup> The diacritical mark above I in Ирмо́съ cannot be clearly seen.

<sup>2</sup> The diacritical mark above И in Иже cannot be clearly seen.



§§§§§

Гласъ в̄

лв

line 1 сп̄сѣнныа , црю смиреніа : соблюди ма̄  
line 2 в̄миръ твоёмъ , тыбо еси живѡтъ и мӣ  
line 3 вса́ческомѡ .  
line 4 Мойсею вкдпидѡ іакв іавіса вовидѣніи  
line 5 ѡгнениѣ , іггль наречеа ѡчее слово ,  
line 6 кна́мъ твоє проавлаа прише́ствіе , іма̄  
line 7 же всѣмъ іавѣ возвѣстїлъ еси , держа  
line 8 вѡ бѡначалїа едіаго , трисоста́внѡю .  
line 9 Ёстествоѡю , соприносѡщнѡю сла́вѡ прѣ  
line 10 лѡжшаа , единоначалнаа Трѣце ст̄аа , во  
line 11 спѣва́ющихъ т̄а правосла́ною вѣрою ,  
line 12 твоєа сла́вы видѣти сподобї , безнача́  
line 13 нѡю и едїнѡ зарю трислѣ́ннѡю . Е҃го :  
line 14 Содержїтеле́нъ посѡществѡ сый Е҃гъ слѡ  
line 15 во , всѣмъ вѣкѡмъ Дѡо м̄ти , вочрѣвѣ  
line 16 твоёмъ оудержа́са неизречѣ́нно чл̄ки при  
line 17 зыва́а ксовокдплѣнію едіаго гд̄тва .  
line 18                                   З в̄                                   пѣснь

Folio 34r

§§§§§

Троїчны

line 1 Пѣснь , в̄ , ірмѡ . Вовѣзднѣ грѣхѡвнѣ ѡдержї .  
line 2 Вои́телею ма̄ти , помїлди , в̄т̄а вѣрдю  
line 3 ци́хъ , Е҃же трислѣ́чне : и прегрѣше́нїи  
line 4 и́збави и ѡстра́стей и вѣдъ сп̄си .  
line 5 Неі҃гланною пдчїною бл̄гост̄ : не ѡбмысли  
line 6 мѡю твоєго сіа́нїа , и трисїа́наго вѣ́тѡа ,  
line 7 свѣтода́теленѡю свѣтлѡ́т дарди мӣ . Е҃го :  
line 8 Не и́згланно Дѡо вы́шнїи , чл̄вкъ бы́вѣ  
line 9 и́стевѣ , в̄чл̄ка вса́чески ѡбѡлкаа : и свѣ  
line 10 томъ ма̄ трислѣ́чнымъ ѡзарї .  
line 11 Сѣда́лна , Гла̄ в̄ . Пѡ , Вы́шнихъ и́ща .  
line 12 Хе Е҃же едіне пребл̄гїи , іже кро́вь свою  
line 13 на́съ ра́ди и́зліавыи : на кр̄тѣ повѣшеи ,  
line 14 совѣ́томъ ѡца́ твоєго и Дх̄а : сегѡ ра́ди  
line 15 дерза́юще зове́мъ : помїлди ста́до своє  
line 16 чл̄колю́бче .                   Сла́ва , и Ннѣ . Е҃го .  
line 17 Дѡо ч̄таа помїлди рабы́ своа̄ , и и́бави

line 18 ὀγνη ἢ ἑσάκις ἄδκι : ἐνόσι ἢ βόδι

line 19

зобѣщѣ

Folio 34<sup>v</sup>

§§§§§

ГЛА Б

ЛГ

line 1 зобѣщѣхъ снѣ твоѣмъ прѣтаа · непрезри  
line 2 стадо своѣ , мѣтвѣми хѣ тебе рѣжшїа ·  
line 3 Пѣснь , з · Ирмосъ · Ѡ тѣлѣ златѣ ·  
line 4 Ѡуоставлѣши прѣнъ , аггласкаа воинства  
line 5 кнепреложѣнїю , еди́не съ неймѣнне ἢ три  
line 6 составне гди : покажи оубо ἢ моѣ срѣце не  
line 7 прелѣжно всегда , во ѣже славити тѣ тѣ  
line 8 плѣ , ἢ воспѣвати блгочтнъ ·  
line 9 Лици оумнїи невестественнѣ сдѣществъ ,  
line 10 твоими лѣчами бже , еди́новла́стне ἢ три  
line 11 слѣчне ѡзарѣми бываюѣ , положѣнїемъ  
line 12 вторыи свѣтѣве : ѣже ἢ менѣ сїа́нїемъ ,  
line 13 ἢ причѣстїемъ покажи свѣтъ , ѣкв свѣ  
line 14 тодѣтель трисїа́ненъ ·  
line 15 Трисвѣтлымъ зарѣми ѡсвѣщаѣми Трѣце  
line 16 прѣтаа · в еди́ной державѣ , храни своа  
line 17 пѣвца Ѡпротивныхъ напѣстей : да тѣ  
line 18 З Г непре

Folio 35<sup>r</sup>

§§§§§

Троїчны

line 1 непреста́нно сла́вимъ , Ѡче ἢ снѣ , ἢ прѣты  
line 2 дше : вѣди́номъ бжтвѣ · Бгородиченъ ·  
line 3 Направлѣа насъ ἢ [в]озвышѣа кнѣсѣмъ  
line 4 не ѡскѣдѣи , тебе любѣщыхъ , ѣже зане  
line 5 ѣзрѣченѣе чѣколюбїе , бѣ чѣкъ во оутрѣбѣ  
line 6 дѣвы ἢ ѡбжївѣ чѣка ἢ напѣтлѣ славы со  
line 7 Ѡцѣмъ сѣдѣи · Пѣсн , и · Ирмосъ · Ѡподѣи ·  
line 8 Непристѣпнаа Трѣце , сопрѣносѣннаа , со  
line 9 безначѣлаа , бгоначѣлаа , не ѣзмѣн  
line 10 наа вовсѣхъ , кромѣ свѣтонѣсныхъ  
line 11 свѣйствъ , вѣсѣ лѣкавыи оупраздни сопо  
line 12 стѣтныхъ совѣтъ , ἢ смѣщенїа бѣсомъ :  
line 13 невѣдна творѣ ма́ прѣно , гди всѣческїи ·

line 14 Премѣдро и всемоушно , неописанное , три  
line 15 слѣчно единоначаліе , составашее міръ ,  
line 16 и соблюдающее твоёю силою , чиномъ все  
line 17 совершённомъ , вселіса въмоё сѣце , пѣти  
line 18 и слави

Folio 35<sup>v</sup>

§§§§§

Гласъ Ѣ

Ѧд

line 1 и славити тѣ немолчно сѣлики аггелски  
line 2 ми во всѣхъ вѣки .  
line 3 Премѣрсти ѡчѣла , непостижне , неизрече  
line 4 не жїи слове : не преложное ти , и бжтвѣн  
line 5 ное естество не измѣнивъ , ество члче  
line 6 ское восприѣлъ еси . и единственнѣ трѣцѣ  
line 7 чести всѣхъ наоучилъ еси . ѡакѡ гпдана  
line 8 чалндо во всѣхъ вѣки . Бгородиченъ .  
line 9 Правость и мдрость , иже всѣхъ напра  
line 10 вляющая , возлюби подостоанію , тѣ  
line 11 всечтдо дѣвѣ и свѣтоносндо : неказано  
line 12 прѣчѣла , втѣ вселіса : юже пѣсно слава  
line 13 ще , поёмъ зовѣще , блгвите всѣ дѣла  
line 14 гна гда , пѣте и превѣносите егѣ во вѣки .  
line 15 Пѣснь , ѡ . Ирмосъ , Иже прѣжде слѣца .  
line 16 ѡсвѣта вѣначална , собезначаленъ снѣ  
line 17 свѣтъ просїа , и со естественнѣ свѣтъ  
line 18 З Ѧ дхъ

Folio 36<sup>r</sup>

§§§§§

Троичны

line 1 дхъ изыйде , не изгланно бгѣлпнѡ , не  
line 2 тлѣннѣ ржтвѣ оувѣрѣми , вокдпѣже  
line 3 и не изреченномѣ исхожденію<sup>1</sup> .  
line 4 Восїаи восѣца трислѣчное бжтво , воспѣ  
line 5 вѣющихъ тѣ , трисїаннѣ свѣтомъ  
line 6 ти . и даждъ рѣзѣмъ еже во всѣхъ разѣ  
line 7 мѣти , и зрѣти твоё хотѣніе , блгѣе и  
line 8 совершённое , и величати и славити тѣ .

<sup>1</sup> The diacritical mark above и in исхожденію cannot be clearly seen.

line 9 **НЕ** и́сче́тенъ е́стѣвѡмъ сый ѿкѡ **БГ҃Ъ** , **НЕ**  
 line 10 и́сче́тнѡю пѣчинѡ **ЩЕДРО́ТЪ** ѿкѡ и́мѣа ,  
 line 11 о́ущедрѡа тѣрце прѣжде · та́ко и́ на́съ о́уще  
 line 12 дрѣ рабѣ своѡ , и́ ѿпрегрѣшенїи и́збави ,  
 line 13 и́ напѡстей и́ бѣдѣ ·  
 line 14 **СП҃СИ** ма́ сп҃се моѣ , ѿвса́каго и́скѡше  
 line 15 нїа и́злюбленїа , и́же во́трїехѣ лицѣхѣ  
 line 16 **ВОСПѢВА́ЕМЫЙ** , несказáннѡ е́динственнѣ  
 line 17 **БГ҃Ъ** **ВСЕСИ́ЛНЫЙ** , и́твоѡ ста́до сохрани ,  
 line 18 **БЦА**

Folio 36<sup>v</sup>

§§§§§

Гласъ , в̄ ·

лѣ

line 1 **БЦА** мѡлтѡами ·  
 line 2 **НА** **БГ҃Ъ** **ГД҃Ъ** · Трѡ · гла̄ , в̄ пї̄ ; **Всѣвѡ** , **вѣчер** · **Сгда**  
 line 3 **снїде** ; и́ **Б҃ГО** · **егѡ** · По̄ а̄ стї̄ , **Сѣ** **Воскр̄** · **Гла̄** **в̄** ·  
 line 4 **Бл҃го** ѡ́бразный **Іосифъ** , содрѣва снѣмъ  
 line 5 прѣчѡе тѣло твоѡ · плащенїцею чїтою  
 line 6 ѡ́бвӣв̄ , и́ **вонѡми** · **вогробѣ** **нѡвѣ** **закрѣ**  
 line 7 **положи** ; **но** **триднѣвно** **воскр̄се** **ГД҃Ъ** , по  
 line 8 **да** **мїрови** **вѣлію** **мѡть** · **Сла̄** , и́ **Ннѣ** · **Еѡ** ·  
 line 9 **Препрослѡвена** **есї** **вѣ** **поѡмъ** **та̄** : **крѡмѡ**  
 line 10 **во** **сна** **твоѡго** **низложїса** **ѡдѣ** : и́ **смѡрть**  
 line 11 **о́умертвїса** , **о́умерщѣнїи** **воста́хомъ** ,  
 line 12 и́ **животѡ** **сподобїхомса** , **раї** **воспрїѡхѡ**  
 line 13 **дрѣвнаго** **наслаждѣнїа** · **тѣмже** **бл҃года**  
 line 14 **ра́ще** **вопїемъ** **тї** , **радѡїса** **бл҃годѡтнаа**  
 line 15 **ГД҃ь** **стѡвѡю** · **На** **в̄** **стихѡлѡ** , **Сѣдѡ** · **Гла̄** , **в̄** ·  
 line 16 **Мурѡнѡсицамъ** **женѡмъ** , **при** **гробѣ** **прѣ**  
 line 17 **ста́въ** **ѡг҃ла** **вопїѡше** · **мѡро** **мѣртвѡмъ**  
 line 18 **І** **ѣсть**

Folio 37<sup>r</sup>

§§§§§

**Воскр̄ны**

line 1 **ѣсть** **достѡйно** , **Хс̄** **же** **истлѣнїю** **пѡвїса**  
 line 2 **чѡждѣ** : **но** **возопїте** **поюще** **воскр̄се** **ГД҃Ъ** ,  
 line 3 **пода** **мїрови** **вѣлію** **мѡть** · **Сла̄** : и́ **Ннѣ** ·  
 line 4 **Законъ** **о́утѡившїса** **естественнѡхъ** ·  
 line 5 **бжѣтѣннѡмъ** **ржѣтѡмѡ** , **дѣство** **совокѡпї**  
 line 6 **ла** **есї** : **тыбо** **родїла** **есї** **едїна** , **и́же** **прежѣ**



line 7 ТЕВѢ РОЖДѢННАГО БЕЗЛѢТНУ · ТѢМЖЕ ТѢ  
 line 8 БЦЕ ВЕЛИЧАЕМЪ · Упáкой , Глáсь · в̄ ·  
 line 9 ПОСТРТИ ШЕШЕ НАГРОБЪ ПОМАЗАТИ ТѢЛО  
 line 10 ТВОЕ ЖЕНЫ ХЕ БЖЕ , ВИДѢША АГГЛЫ ВОГРОБѢ  
 line 11 И ОУЖАСОШАСА : ГЛАСЬ БО СЛЫШАХЪ ѠНИХЪ ,  
 line 12 ꙗкѡ ВОСКРЪСЕ ГДЬ ПОДАДЪ МІРОВѢ ВЕЛІЮ МЛТЬ ·  
 line 13 Степенны , Глáсь в̄ · Антифóнъ , а̄ ·  
 line 14 НАНБѢ ОЧИ ПЩІАЮ СРЧНЫИ , КТЕВѢ СПСЕ ,  
 line 15 СПСИ МЛ ТВОИМЪ ОСІАНИЕМЪ ·  
 line 16 Помилди насъ согрѣшшихъ ти много ,  
 line 17 навсáкїй часъ Ѡ ХЕ МОИ · ДАДЪ МИ ѠВРА̄ ,  
 line 18 преже̄

Folio 37v

§§§§§

Глáсь в̄

л̄с

line 1 ПРЕЖДЕ КОНЦА ПОКААТИСА КТЕВѢ ·  
 line 2 СТѢМЪ ДХЪ , ЁЖЕ ЦРТВОВАТИ ПОДОВАЕТЪ ;  
 line 3 ѠЩАТИ И ПОДВИЗАТИ ТВАРЬ · БГЪ БО ЁСТЪ  
 line 4 ЕДИНОСЩЕНЪ ѠЦЪ И СЛОВЪ ·  
 line 5 АЩЕ НЕ ГДЬ , БЫЛЪ БЫ ВНАСЬ , И КТО ДОВО  
 line 6 ЛЕНЪ ЦѢЛЪ СОХРАЕНЪ БЫТИ , ѠВРАГА КЪ  
 line 7 ПНУ И ЧЛКОУБІЙЦА ·  
 line 8 ЗВѢМЪ ИХЪ НЕПРЕДАЖДЪ СПСЕ СВОЕГО РАБА ·  
 line 9 ЛВОВЫМЪ ОБРАЗОМЪ НАМА ПОДВИЗАЮТСА  
 line 10 ИБО ВРАЗИ МОИ ·  
 line 11 СТѢМЪ ДХЪ ЖИВОНАЧАЛІЕ И ЧЕСТЬ : ВСЛВО  
 line 12 СОЗДАНАМ ꙗкѡ БГЪ СЫИ МОЖЕТЪ СОБЛЮДА  
 line 13 ЕТЬ Ѡ ѠЦИ И СОСНѢМЪ ЖЕ · Антифóнъ , г̄ ·  
 line 14 НАДѢЮЩИИСА НА ГДА , ОУПОДОВІШАСА ГОРѢ  
 line 15 СТѢИ : ИЖЕ НИКАКОЖЕ ПОДВИЖАТСА НАПѢ  
 line 16 МИ ВРАЖИИМИ ·  
 line 17 ВОВЕЗАКѢНИИ РѢКЪ СВОИХЪ : ДА НЕПРОСТРѢТЪ  
 line 18 I в̄ БЖТВЕ

Folio 38r

§§§§§

Воскр̄ны

line 1 БЖТВЕНЪ ЖИВЩІИ · НЕ ДАСТЪ БО ХС ЖЕЗЛА  
 line 2 НАЖРЕБИИ СВОИ ·  
 line 3 СТЫМЪ ДХѢМЪ , ТОЧИТСА ВСАКА ПРЕМЪ

line 4 Дрость , ꙖсїодѸ бл҃гать ꙗꙗплѡмъ : и стрѣстѸ  
 line 5 ми вѣнчѡются мѣнци , и прѣци зрѣтъ .  
 line 6 Прокимѣ . Гл҃а , вѸ востѡни Гд҃и Бже мой повелѣнїе  
 line 7 твоимъ ѡмже заповѣда и сономъ людїи ѡвѣде тѡ .  
 line 8 Стї : Гд҃и Бже мой нѡтѡ оꙗповѡхъ спсїи мѡ . тѡ :  
 line 9 всѡко дыханїе : Стї: Хвалите Бга востѡхъ егѡ .  
 line 10 Ев҃лїе . Канѡ воскр҃енъ . Гл҃а , вѸ , Пѣснь ѡ , Ирмѡ .  
 line 11 Воглѡвїнѣ потопа дрѣвле фараѡнїтѸ  
 line 12 скам всѡ вѡинства , прѣорѡженѸ сї  
 line 13 лѸ , воплѡщсѡ слѡво , прѣспѣющїѡ грѣхї  
 line 14 потребїлѣ ѣстѣ : прѣславный Гд҃ь , ѡкѡ  
 line 15 прослѡвисѡ . запѣл . Гл҃а Гї воскр҃енїю твоѣмѸ .  
 line 16 Мїрный князь бл҃же : емѡже написѡхомъ  
 line 17 сѡ , заповѣдѣ твою непослѡшѡвше : кр҃тѡ  
 line 18 вѡ твоѡ ѡсѡдїсѡ . приложї вѡ тїсѡ ѡкѡ  
 line 19 мертвецѸ

Folio 38<sup>v</sup>

§§§§§

Гл҃асъ вѸ

лз

line 1 мертвецѸ ѡпадѣ влѡстною тї державою ,  
 line 2 и нѣмоцный ѡблїчїсѡ .  
 line 3 Избавїтель<sup>1</sup> рѡдѸ чл҃ческомѸ , и нетлѣнї  
 line 4 номѸ животѸ начѡлнїче : вѡмїрѣ прише  
 line 5 ствовѡвѣ . воскр҃енїемъ вѡ своимъ , разѸ  
 line 6 дрѡлѣ ѣсї смртнымъ пелены : ѣже славослѡ  
 line 7 вимъ всї , слѡвно вѡ прослѡвисѡ . Б҃го :  
 line 8 Превышши ѡвїсѡ чѣта прѣно Дво , всѡл  
 line 9 видїмымъ и невидїмымъ тѡари . зїждї  
 line 10 телѡ вѡ родїла ѣсї , ѡкѡ бл҃гоївѡбїи вопло  
 line 11 тїтїсѡ вооꙗтрѡбѣ твоѣї егѡже содерзно  
 line 12 венїемъ моли , спсїти дшѡ нѡша .  
 line 13 Дрд҃гїи Канѡнъ , кр҃товѡ . Гл҃а вѸ . Пѣснї , ѡ . Ирмѡ .  
 line 14 НетрѣннѸ неѡвѣчнѸ , немѡкрѣнѡ мѡрскѡю  
 line 15 шѣствовѡвѣ стѣзю , ѡбрѡнный вопїѡше  
 line 16 ѡиль , Гѡи поѣмъ слѡвнѡ вѡ прослѡвисѡ .  
 line 17 Сїла немѡцнымъ , воскр҃енїе пѡдшїмѡ .  
 line 18 І Г и не

Folio 39<sup>r</sup>

§§§§§

<sup>1</sup> The diacritical mark above И in Избавїтель cannot be clearly seen.

## Воскрѣны

line 1 и неплѣніе оумѣршимъ бысть хѣ Бже , іаже  
line 2 плѣтію стѣрть твоа : юже прославляемъ .  
line 3 Оущедри падшій образъ , и обнові сокрѣ  
line 4 шенный , содѣтель Бгъ и многомѣтивъ :  
line 5 оумертвѣвса всѣхъ оживи , іакъ про  
line 6 слависа . Егорѣдиченъ .  
line 7 Чіни аггѣстїи , рѣтвѣ твоёмѣ паче есте  
line 8 ственномѣ , слѣжатъ радѣющесѣ чѣтаѣ :  
line 9 сіхъ вѣ родиѣла еси Бга и Гда .  
line 10 Инъ канѣнъ . Прѣтѣи Бци . Глѣ вѣ . Ирмѣ . той .  
line 11 Невеществѣнаѣ дрѣвле лѣствица : и стрѣ  
line 12 но оладѣвши пѣтъ мѣрѣ , твоѣ сказа  
line 13 ше рѣтвѣ чїстаѣ , еже поемъ вѣлце ,  
line 14 іакъ прослависа .  
line 15 Сїла вышнѣаго сѣщество совершѣнное ,  
line 16 вѣжїѣ мѣрсти , воплѣщесѣ чѣтаѣ истевѣ ,  
line 17 кочлѣкомъ приближїса : іакъ прослависа .  
line 18 Прѣде

Folio 39v

§§§§§

Гласъ вѣ

ли

line 1 Прѣйде сквѣзѣ двѣрь непроходѣнѣю , затво  
line 2 рѣнѣю оутрѣбы твоѣѣ , правдѣ слнѣце чї  
line 3 стаѣ , и мїрови восїѣ : іакъ прослависа .  
line 4 Пѣснь , г , Ирмосъ .  
line 5 Процвїлѣ естѣ пѣстыїни іакъ криѣ гдї ,  
line 6 іазычна неплѣдѣщаѣ цркви прише  
line 7 ствїемъ ти . онѣйже оутвердїса моѣ срѣце .  
line 8 Тварь вострасти твоѣй ізмѣнѣшесѣ ,  
line 9 зрѣцїи тѣ вницѣтнѣ образѣ , безакѣ  
line 10 ники пордѣгаѣма , іже основѣвшаго всѣ  
line 11 вѣжтвеннымъ манѣвенїемъ ,  
line 12 ѿ пѣрсти побѣразѣ мѣ рѣкѣю своѣю сѣдѣвѣ ,  
line 13 и<sup>1</sup> сокрѣшенѣе пѣки вопѣрсти смѣртнѣй  
line 14 грѣхѣ хѣ , соше воадѣ совоскрѣси еси . Бгѣ :  
line 15 Чіни оудивїшаѣ аггѣстїи прѣтаѣ . и чело

<sup>1</sup> The diacritical mark above и cannot be clearly seen.

line 16 вѣческаа оустрашишася срѣца , ѡржѣствѣ  
line 17 твоѣ , тѣмже тѣмъ Бѣсѣмъ вѣрнѡ чтѣ . И ѿ Ирмѡ .  
line 18                                    І ѿ                                    Лѡкъ

Folio 40<sup>r</sup>

§§§§§

### Воскрѣсны

line 1 Лѡкъ сокрѣшиша силныхъ державою ти  
line 2 Хѣ , и силою немоцнии препосашася .  
line 3 Иже всѣхъ вышши Хѣ , оумалиша ма  
line 4 лымъ нѣчимъ Анггскаго естества : стра  
line 5 стію плѣтскою .                                    Бѣгородиченъ .  
line 6 Мертвѣ собезаконными воумниша .  
line 7 сіаа женамъ красенъ добротію Хѣ гави  
line 8 са воскрѣсеніемъ .                                    И ѿ Ирмѡсъ , тойже .  
line 9 Иже время превышши всѣческихъ .  
line 10 ѿкъв временемъ Творецъ , истевѣ Дѣво во  
line 11 лею младенецъ создася .  
line 12 Чрево пространѣйшее небсъ воспоѣмъ , его  
line 13 же ради адамъ , на небѣхъ радѣася живѣтъ .  
line 14                                    Пѣснь , ѿ , Ирмѡсъ .  
line 15 Прише въ вѣвѣ ѡдѣвы , ни ходотай ни аггль .  
line 16 но ты самъ гдѣ воплѣсся , и спсе всего ма  
line 17 чѣлка . тѣмъ вопію ти , слава силѣ твоѣй .  
line 18                                    Прѣстола

Folio 40<sup>v</sup>

§§§§§

### Гласъ вѣ

ѿ

line 1 Прѣстола сдишиши , ѿкъв ѡсвжѣнъ бже мѡ . не  
line 2 вопіа Гди , сдѣтъ износѣ гѣзыкѡ , илже  
line 3 страстію своєю , вселеннѣй содѣла спсѣніе .  
line 4 Гѣртію твоєю Хѣ , врагѡ ѡсквѣша ѡрѣ  
line 5 жиа . противнымъ же еже воидѣ сѡхѡжде  
line 6 ніемъ ти гради разрѣшишася , и смѣрти  
line 7 державѣ разорѣна бысть . Бѣгородиченъ .  
line 8 Тѣмъ пристанище спсѣнію , и стѣнѡ недвиж  
line 9 ма , Бѣе влѣще вси свѣмѣ . тыбо молитвѣ  
line 10 ми си , и бавлѣшѡ ѡбѣ дша нша . И ѿ , Ирмѡ .  
line 11 Оуслыша Ги , слѣное твоѣ смѡтрѣніе , и про  
line 12 слѣбѣ мѣрде , непостижимѡю силѡ твою .

line 13 ВѢДѢШИ НАДРѢВѢ ТѢ ХѢ ПРИГВОЖДѢНА ,  
 line 14 ѿЖЕ ѿКѢ ДѢЛА ТѢ НЕБОЛѢЗНЕННО РОЖД  
 line 15 ШАА : МѢРСКИ БОЛѢЗНИ ТЕРПАЩЕ .  
 line 16 ПОВѢДИСА СМРТЬ : МЕРТВѢ ПЛѢНИАЕТЪ  
 line 17 ѿДОВА ВРАТА · ВСЕАДЦѢ ВЪ РАЗОРШДСА , ВЫ  
 line 18 ШЕ

Folio 41<sup>r</sup>

§§§§§

Воскрѣсны

line 1 ШЕ ЕСТЕСТВА<sup>1</sup> ВСѢ МѢ ДАРѢ · Ирмосъ тойже ·  
 line 2 СѢ ПРЕВОЗНЕСЕСА БЖТВЕННАА ГОРА : ХРАМЪ  
 line 3 ГНЬ ПРЕВЫШЕ СѢ , БГОРОДИТѢНИЦА ГВЕСТВЕНѢ ·  
 line 4 ЗАКОНЪ ЕСТЕСТВЕННЫХЪ КРОМѢ ЕДИНА ДѢО  
 line 5 РОЖДШИ , ВЛАДѢЩАГО ТВАРІЮ , СПОДОВІСА  
 line 6 БЖТВЕНАГО ЗВАНІА · ПѢСНЬ , Е · Ирмосъ ·  
 line 7 ХОДОТАЙ БГѢ И ЧЛКѢМЪ БЫСТЬ ХѢ БЖЕ ·  
 line 8 ТОБОЮ ВЪ ВЛКО , ѿЖЕ КЪПЕРВОНАЧАЛНО  
 line 9 МѢ СВѢТѢ ѿЦѢ ТВОЕМѢ , ѿНОЦИ НЕВИДЕНІА ,  
 line 10 ПРИВЕДЕНІЕ ѿВРѢТОХОМЪ ·  
 line 11 ѿКѢ КЕДРЫ ХѢ , ВРАГѢМЪ ШАТАНІА СОКРѢ  
 line 12 ШІЛЪ ЕСИ · БОЛЕЮ ВЛКО ѿКѢ ѿЗВОЛИЛЪ ЕСИ,  
 line 13 НА КУПАРИСѢ , И НА ПЕВГѢ И КЕДРѢ , ПЛО  
 line 14 ТІЮ СВОЕЮ ВОЗДВИЗАЕМЪ ·  
 line 15 ВРОВѢ ХѢ ПРЕЙСПОДНѢМЪ , ПОЛОЖИША ТѢ  
 line 16 БЕЗЪДЫХАНІА МЕРТВА : НО СВОЕЮ РАНОЮ ЗАБѢ  
 line 17 ВЕННЫА И ГАЗВЕННЫА СПІСЕ : ѿЖЕ ВОГРОБѢ  
 line 18 СПАЩА,

Folio 41<sup>v</sup>

§§§§§

Гласъ вѣ

мѣ

line 1 СПАЩА , СЪ СОБОЮ ВОСКРЕСИЛЪ ЕСИ · БГО ·  
 line 2 МОЛИ СНА СВОЕГО И ГДА , ДѢО ЧТАА , ПЛѢНЫ  
 line 3 ѿЗБАВЛЕНІЕ ѿСОПРОТІВНЫХЪ НАСТОАНИЙ : НАТА  
 line 4 ОУПОВАЮЩИ СМІРЕНІЕ ДАРОВАТИ · Инъ Ирмосъ ·  
 line 5 ОУГЛЪ ІСАИИ ПРОАВЛЕЙСА СЛНЦЕ , ѿЗОУТРОБЫ  
 line 6 ДѢЧЕСКИ ВОСИА : ВОТМѢ ЗАБЛѢЖДШИ , БГО  
 line 7 РАЗДМІА ПРОСВѢЩЕНІЕ ПОДАВАА ·

<sup>1</sup> The diacritical mark above e in естества cannot be clearly seen.

line 8 Постѣтисѧ ѿвержеса ѿдѧмъ , вѣдшѧтъ  
 line 9 смертоноснаго дрѣва первѣе : но сегò грѣхѧ  
 line 10 потреблетъ , распѣса вторый ѿдѧмъ .  
 line 11 Естество<sup>1</sup> члѣскѧ , стрѧтѣ же и мѣртвѣ бы  
 line 12 еси , иже вѣстрастный невестественны бже  
 line 13 ствѣ , ѡновѧи еси оумерщвѣное хе , и ѿ вѣ  
 line 14 рѧмъ ѧдовы воскресивъ . Ирмосъ тойже .  
 line 15 Облаци веселѧ слѧдость кропитѣ сдѣи  
 line 16 наземли : ѧкѡ отрочѧ дѧстѣса , сѧи прѣде  
 line 17 вѣкѣ , ѿ двѣи воплощѣса бгѣ нашѣ .  
 line 18 И в Житію

Фолио ::<sup>p</sup>

§§§§§

Воскрѣсны

line 1 Житію и плѣти моѣи свѣтѣ восіѧ , и дрѧхлѣ<sup>т</sup>  
 line 2 грѣхѧ разрѣши , напослѣдѣ ѿ двѣи вѣсѣме  
 line 3 не воплощѣса вышній . Пѣснь , 5 . Ирмосъ .  
 line 4 Вобѣзднѣ грѣхѣвнѣи одержи . не иѣзъ  
 line 5 слѣднѣю мѧрдѧ твоѣго призывѧмъ вѣд  
 line 6 нѣ . ѿтлѧ бже мой возведи мѧ .  
 line 7 Икѡ злодѣи прѣвникъ осѣдѣса : и собезъ  
 line 8 законикѡма на дрѣвѣ пригвѣдѧетѣса . повѣи  
 line 9 нымъ ѡпѣщеніе своѣ дарѣющѧ кровію .  
 line 10 Единаго<sup>2</sup> оубѡ ради члѣка первагѡ ѿдѧма  
 line 11 дрѣвле вѣмирѣ видѣ смѣртъ : и единагѡ рѧ  
 line 12 ди сѧа бжѧмъ , ѧвисѣса воскрѣсеніе . бгѣ .  
 line 13 Неискомѣжно дѣо родѧла еси , и вѣчнде  
 line 14 ши дѣою ѧвлѣшѣса , истинными бжѣтва ,  
 line 15 сѧа и бгѧ твоѣго ѡбразы . Инъ , Ирмосъ .  
 line 16 Глѧсъ глѣ мѡлбы , ѿболѣзненымъ вѧко  
 line 17 дѣша оуслышѧвъ : ѡлютыхъ мѧ избѧви .  
 line 18 едѧи

Folio 42<sup>v</sup>

§§§§§

Глѧсъ в

мѧ

line 1 едѧнъ бѣ еси нашѣмѣ спсѣнію винѡвенъ .  
 line 2 Блюститѣлѣ положилъ еси падшемѣ херѣ

<sup>1</sup> The diacritical mark above e in Естество<sup>1</sup> cannot be clearly seen.

<sup>2</sup> The diacritical mark above e in Единаго cannot be clearly seen.

line 3 **вѣмъ** , и дрѣвѣ жизнѣннѣмъ нѣ видѣвѣ  
 line 4 ше тѣ двѣри ѿверзѣшасѣ , ꙗвѣбѣсѣ пѣть  
 line 5 творѣ разбѣйникѣ вѣрай .  
 line 6 Пѣсѣтъ ѡдѣ и ѡпроверженѣ вѣсѣтъ , смѣртѣю  
 line 7 ѣдинаго , ѡже бѣ много богѣтѣство собрѣ:  
 line 8 ѣдинѣ ѿ всѣхъ нѣ хсѣ истоци . Ирмѣ , тѣѡже .  
 line 9 Ёстѣство члѣче работѣюще грѣхѣ , влѣче  
 line 10 чѣтаѣ : тобѣю свѣбѣдѣ оуѣлѣчи . твѣѡй бѣ  
 line 11 снѣ ѡкѣ ѡгнецѣ , завсѣхѣ закалѣетѣсѣ .  
 line 12 Вопѣемъ тѣ всѣ , ѡстиннѣѡй бѣгомѣтри ,  
 line 13 прогнѣвѣвшѣмъ рабѣ ѡзбѣви : ѣдина бѣ  
 line 14 дерзновѣнѣе ко снѣ ѡмаши . Кѣ : Глѣсѣ , вѣ .  
 line 15 Воскрѣслѣ ѣси ѿ грѣба сѣсе всесѣланѣ , и ѡдѣ видѣ  
 line 16 чѣдо сѣе оуѣжасѣсѣ и мѣртвѣи востѣша твѣрьже ви  
 line 17 дѣшы , радѣйсѣ стѣбѣю ѡдѣмъ вѣкѣпѣ веселѣтѣсѣ :  
 line 18 и мѣтъ сѣсе мѣѡй , воспѣвѣетѣ тѣ прѣснѣ . Ирѣсѣ .  
 line 19 **И Г** **Ты ѣси**

Folio 43r

§§§§§

### Воскрѣсны

line 1 Ты ѣси свѣтъ ѡмрачѣннѣмъ , ты ѣси воскрѣсѣнѣе  
 line 2 всѣхѣ и живѣтъ члѣкомъ . и всѣхѣ сосѣбѣю воскре  
 line 3 сѣлъ ѣси . Смѣртнѣю держѣвѣ сѣсе разбѣръ , и ѡдовы  
 line 4 вратѣ сокрѣшилѣ ѣси слѣве , и мѣртвѣи оуѣзрѣвшѣ чѣдо  
 line 5 сѣе оуѣдивѣшасѣ , и всѣ твѣрь пѣпно радѣетѣсѣ ѡвоскре  
 line 6 сѣнѣи твѣѡемъ члѣколѣбче . Тѣмѣже и всѣ слѣвимъ и во  
 line 7 спѣвѣемъ твѣѡе снисхѣдѣнѣе и мѣръ сѣсе мѣѡй воспѣвѣ  
 line 8 етѣсѣ прѣснѣ . Пѣснѣ , вѣ . Ирѣсѣ .  
 line 9 Бѣгопрѣтивнѣе велѣнѣе , бѣзакѣнѣющѣа  
 line 10 го мѣчѣитѣла , высѣкъ плѣмѣнь во вѣ  
 line 11 нѣслѣ ѣстѣ . Хсѣже прѣстрѣтъ блѣгѣчѣивѣмъ  
 line 12 дѣтемъ хлѣдѣ дѣхѣвнѣй . сѣѡй блѣвѣнѣ и  
 line 13 прѣпрослѣвенѣ бѣтъ ѡцѣ нѣашихѣ .  
 line 14 Нѣтерпѣше влѣко зрѣти , грѣхѣомъ смѣр  
 line 15 тнѣмъ члѣка мѣчѣима . нѣ прѣшѣдѣ сплѣ  
 line 16 ѣси своѣю крѣвѣю , члѣкѣ вѣвѣ : сѣѡй блѣвѣнѣ  
 line 17 и прѣпрослѣвенѣ бѣтъ ѡцѣ нѣашихѣ .  
 line 18 Видѣвшѣ тѣ оуѣжасѣшасѣ ѡболѣнна во  
 line 19 **одеждѣ**

Folio 43v

§§§§§

line 1 о́дежда ѿмщѣніа : вратници ѡдови хѣ ,  
 line 2 безѡмнаго мѡчитѣла . раба вѡко прійде  
 line 3 бѡ изѡти . сый бл҃гвенъ и препрославленъ  
 line 4 бг҃ъ ѡцѣ нашихъ . бг҃о :  
 line 5 стѣхъ стѣйшю тѡ разѡмѣемъ , ѡкѡ  
 line 6 еди́нѡ рѡждшю бг҃а непрѣмѣннаго , дѣѡ  
 line 7 несквѣрнаа , мѣти безневѣстнаа . всѣмъ  
 line 8 бѡ вѣрныи источила еси нетлѣніе , бж҃твѣ  
 line 9 нымъ рж҃твѡмъ си . Инъ Ирмѡсъ .  
 line 10 вѣтїа гавишасѡ ѡтроци премѡдрїи дрѣ  
 line 11 вѣ : ѡ бг҃опріѡтѣнымъ бѡ дш҃а бг҃ословѡ  
 line 12 ще поѡхѡ : пребж҃твенный ѡцѣмъ бж҃е  
 line 13 благословенъ .  
 line 14 ѡсѡди прѡѡца дрѣвѣ , иже воѡдемѣ пре  
 line 15 сѡдшанїе . нѡ волею сѡдимъ высть , пре  
 line 16 стѡпшемѡ разрѣшѡа согрѣшенїа , пре  
 line 17 бж҃твенный ѡцѣмъ бг҃ъ , бл҃гвенъ еси  
 line 18 И́ д Г҃пль

Folio 44r

§§§§§

## Воскрѣсны

line 1 Г҃пль еси оуѡзвѣнаго гѡзыкомъ , заѡви  
 line 2 стїю чѡкооубїйца , воѡдемѣ болнымъ  
 line 3 оу҃грїзѣніемъ , волною стрѣтїю иѡцѣлїлъ  
 line 4 еси . пребж҃твенный ѡцѣмъ бг҃ъ , бл҃гвенъ .  
 line 5 Ходѡща мѡ всѣни смртнѣй , призѡаѡ  
 line 6 еси косѡвѣтѡ , иже вѣтемнѣмъ зрѡцѣ ѡдо  
 line 7 вѣ , блистанїе вложївъ бж҃твѡ . пребж҃е  
 line 8 ственый ѡцѣмъ бг҃ъ бл҃гвенъ еси . Ирмѡ , тѡ .  
 line 9 Зрѡше вноци Іаковъ оу҃бѡ , ѡкѡ вгадѡ  
 line 10 нїи бг҃а . воплощеннаже и҃стевѣ , свѣтло  
 line 11 стїю гавїса поющимъ . пребж҃твенный  
 line 12 ѡцѣмъ бг҃ъ бл҃гвенъ еси .  
 line 13 Со ѡбразна , иже втеѣѣ неизреченнаго  
 line 14 проѡвлѡа снїтїа , со Іаковомъ борѣт  
 line 15 са . иже волею совокѡпїса чѡкѡмъ чѡтаа .  
 line 16 пребж҃твенный ѡцѣмъ бг҃ъ бл҃гвенъ . бг҃о :  
 line 17 Мѣрзокъ иже непроповѣдѡа еди́наго  
 line 18 дѡвїа



§§§§§

Гласъ Ъ

ѠГ

line 1 дѣѡа сѡа , ѡпрепѣтыа трѣца . и несдмѣ  
line 2 ною вѣрою , и ꙗзыкомъ вопїа . преѡже  
line 3 ственный ѡцъ нашіхъ бже , блгвенъ еси .  
line 4 Пѣснь ѡ , ѡрмосъ .  
line 5 Пѣснь ѡгнена, иногда вовавилонѣ , дѣ  
line 6 тели раздѣлаше , бжїиѡ веленїемъ .  
line 7 хадѣа ѡпалающи , вѣрныаже прохлажа  
line 8 ющи поюща , блгвите всѡ дѣла гнѡ гда .  
line 9 Крѡвію твоєю хе , ѡчервлено плѡти твоѣа  
line 10 зраши ѡдѣанїе . трѣпетомъ дивлахѡ  
line 11 са, многомѡ ти долготерпѣнїю , ѡггль  
line 12 стїи чїни зовѡще . блгословите всѡ дѣ  
line 13 ла гнѡ гда .  
line 14 Ты моѣ мертвенное , ѡдѣалъ еси щѣдре  
line 15 безсмѣртїе востанїемъ си . сегѡ ради весе  
line 16 лѡщеса блгодарственно воспѣваютъ ти .  
line 17 ѡзбраннїи людіе хе . зовѡще тебѣ , по  
line 18 К жѣрта

§§§§§

Воскрѣны

line 1 жѣрта бысть смѣрть побѣднѡю . бго :  
line 2 Ты ѡже ѡцѡ неразлѡчнаго , воѡтробѣ  
line 3 безсѣмене зачѣнши , и бгомѡжнѡ пожї  
line 4 ша : неизречѣннѡ породїла еси бгородїте  
line 5 нице прѣтаа . тѣмже тѡ спсѣнїе всѣмъ  
line 6 намъ воспѣваемъ . ѡнъ , ѡрмосъ .  
line 7 Тѣлѡ златомѡ непоклонїшаса трибѡга  
line 8 тныа юнѡша . непрѣмѣннѡ живѡй бжїї  
line 9 ѡбразъ видѣвше . посрѣдѣ пламени во  
line 10 спѣвахѡ , ѡсѡществїасѡ поѡ гда всѡ  
line 11 тваръ и превозносїте егѡ вовѣки .  
line 12 Видѣнъ бысть накрѣтѣ пригвождаемъ ,  
line 13 ѡже богатыѡ во мѣти . волею погребѣса ,  
line 14 и триднѣвнѡ воскрсе , ѡзбавїлъ еси всѡ  
line 15 зѣмныа члколюбче . вѣрою поющихъ .  
line 16 поѡ гда всѡ тваръ и превозносїте егѡ

line 17 вовѣки .

line 18

ИЗБАВИ

Folio 45<sup>v</sup>

§§§§§

Гласъ Ѣ

ѠД

line 1 ИЗБАВИТИ ИЗЪСТАВНІА , ПРОШЕДЪ ВОПРЕ  
line 2 ИСПОДНАА СЛѠВЕ БЖІИ , ЕГОЖЕ СОЗДАЛЪ ЕСИ  
line 3 ХЕ , СИЛОЮ ТВОЕЮ БЖТВЕННОЮ , И БЕИСТАВ  
line 4 НІА<sup>1</sup> СОТВОРИ , СЛАВЫ ПРНОСЦНЫА ТВОЕА  
line 5 ПРИЧАСТНИКА СОДѢЛА . ДА ПОЕ ГДА ВСА ТВАРЬ ,  
line 6 И ПРЕВОЗНОСИТЕ ЕГУ ВОВѢКИ . Ирмо , тѡ .  
line 7 ИВІСА НАЗЕМЛИ ТЕБЕ РАДИ , И СОЧЛКИ ПО  
line 8 ЖИВЕ : БАГТИЮ НЕИЗРЕЙНОЮ И СИЛОЮ . ЕМДЖЕ  
line 9 ПОЕМЪ ВСИ ВЪРНИИ ЗОВДЦЕ . ѠСДЦЕСТВИ  
line 10 АСА ПОИ ГДА ВСА ТВАРЬ , И ПРЕВОЗНОСИТЕ  
line 11 ЕГУ ВОВѢКИ .  
line 12 ВОИСТИНѠ ТА ЧТАА , ПРОПОВѢДАЮЩЕ СЛА  
line 13 ВИМЪ БЦѠ . ТЫБО ЕДИНАГО ПОРОДИЛА ЕСИ  
line 14 ѠТЦА ВОПЛОЩЕНА . ЕГОЖЕ СО ѠЦЕМЪ И ДХОМЪ  
line 15 ВСИ ПОЕМЪ . ДА ПОЕТЪ ГДА ВСА ТВАРЬ , И  
line 16 ПРЕВОЗНОСИТЕ ЕГУ ВОВѢКИ .  
line 17 ПѢСНЬ , ѡ . Ирмосъ .  
line 18 К Ѣ БЕЗНАЧА

Folio 46<sup>r</sup>

§§§§§

Воскресны

line 1 БЕЗНАЧАЛНА РОДИТЕЛА СІЪ БГЪ И ГДЪ ,  
line 2 ВОПЛОЩЕСА Ѡ ДѢЫ НАМЪ ІАВІСА , Ѡ  
line 3 МРАЧНАА ПРОСВѢТИТИ , И СОБРАТИ РАСТО  
line 4 ЧЕНАА : ТѢМЪ ВСЕХВАЛНЮ БЦѠ ВЕЛИЧАЕМЪ .  
line 5 ІАКѠ ВРАИ НАСАЖДЕННО ВО КРАНИЕВѢ СІСЕ ,  
line 6 ТРЕБОГАТНОЕ ДРЕВО , ТВОЕГО ПРЧАГО КРТА  
line 7 ВОДОЮ И КРОВІЮ БЖТВЕННОЮ , ІАКѠ Ѡ ИСТО  
line 8 ЧНИКА БЖТВЕННЫХЪ РЕБРЪ ТВОИХЪ ХЕ НАПА  
line 9 АЕМО , ЖИВОТЪ НАМЪ ПРОЗАБЛА ЕСТЬ .  
line 10 НИЗЛОЖИ СИЛНЫА РАСПНЫІСА , ІАКѠ ВСЕ  
line 11 СИЛЕНЪ , И ЕЖЕ НИЗѠ ЛЕЖАЩЕЕ ВОАДОВѢ ТВЕ  
line 12 ДЫНИ , ЕСТЕСТВО ЧЛЧЕСКОЕ ВОЗНЕСЛЪ ЕСИ ,

<sup>1</sup> The diacritical mark above и in *вѣиставнѣа* cannot be clearly seen.

line 13 на̀ѡчѣмъ посади прѣтлѣ : снѣмиже тебѣ  
 line 14 градѣщѣ поклоняюще величаемъ · Трой̃ :  
 line 15 Еди́ницѣ трислѣчнѣ, трѣцѣ еди́носѣщнѣю ,  
 line 16 правосла́внѡ пою́ще вѣрнѣи сла́вимъ · не  
 line 17 пресѣ́кѡмо бж̃твѣ́ное е́стество · трисвѣ̃  
 line 18 тлѣю

Folio 46<sup>v</sup>

§§§§§

Гласъ б̃

м̃е

line 1 тлѣю невечернюю зарю · еди́нѣ нетлѣ́ннѣ  
 line 2 свѣ́тъ на́мъ восі́авшю · Инъ , Ирмо́сь ·  
 line 3 Вѣ́сь еси́ желáніе, вѣ́сь сладóстѣ двѣ́мъ снѣ·  
 line 4 бж̃е бг̃ѡм̃ гд̃и , стѣ̃ пресѣ́тѣ̃ · тѣ́мъ же  
 line 5 тлѣ̃ всѣ̃ ѣрождѣ́шею велича́емъ ·  
 line 6 Колѣ́на небесныхъ преклоня́ютсѣ И́се ,  
 line 7 и́ зѣ́мныхъ і́акѡ зижді́телю , и́ преиспó  
 line 8 дни́хъ же : бг̃ѣ̃ распѣ́ншесѣ плóтію · и́ і́а  
 line 9 сы́къ всáкъ богословѣ́юще велича́етъ тлѣ̃ ·  
 line 10 І́акѡ же и́зрѣ́кѣ і́схиті́лъ еси́ а́довы́хъ  
 line 11 вѣ́рїи , свлзáныхъ влѣ́ко дш̃а , и́ ннѣ̃ на̃  
 line 12 и́збáви , нѣ́жнѡмъ мѣ́чїтелевы́ рѣ́ки , да̃  
 line 13 тлѣ̃ всѣ̃ и́бавлѣ́ми велича́е̃ · Ирмо́ , тѣ̃ ·  
 line 14 Жѣ́злѣ̃ крѣ́пости да́стсѣ , е́стество̃ тлѣ̃  
 line 15 ном̃ѣ̃ : слóво бж̃їе̃ вочрѣ́вѣ̃ тѣ̃ чта̃м , и́ сіе̃  
 line 16 во́зста́ви , до̃ а́да попóлзшесѣ · тѣ́мъ же  
 line 17 тлѣ̃ всѣ̃ , і́акѡ бц̃ѣ̃ велича́емъ ·  
 line 18 К̃ г̃ Юже<sup>1</sup>

Folio 47<sup>r</sup>

§§§§§

Воскрѣсны

line 1 Юже<sup>2</sup> і́зволилъ еси́ влѣ́ко , прї́ймї мл̃ти  
 line 2 вно́ мóлѣвѣ̃ мтр̃е̃ тво́е̃мъ ѡ́нась , да̃ тво́е̃мъ  
 line 3 бл̃гтї̃ всáческа̃ испóлнѣ́тсѣ · да̃ тлѣ̃  
 line 4 і́акѡ бл̃годáтелѣ̃ велича́емъ ·  
 line 5 На̃ хвалі́те , ст̃р̃ы · Воскрѣ́сны : Гласъ б̃ ·  
 line 6 Всáко ды́ханіе̃ и́ всá твáрь , тебѣ̃ слá  
 line 7 витъ̃ гд̃и : і́акѡ кр̃тóмъ см̃рть о́упр̃а

<sup>1</sup> The diacritical mark above ю in юже cannot be clearly seen.

<sup>2</sup> The diacritical mark above ю in юже cannot be clearly seen.

line 8 ДНІЛЪ ЕСИ · ДА ПОКАЖЕШИ ЛЮДЕМЪ ЁЖЕ ИЗЪ  
 line 9 МРТВЫХЪ ТВОЕ ВОСКРЕСЕНІЕ , ІАКЪ ЕДИНЪ  
 line 10 ЧЛВКОЛЮБЕЦЪ ·  
 line 11 ДА РЕКЪТЪ ІЮДЕЕ , КАКО ВОЙНИ ПОГРЪБИША  
 line 12 СТРЕГЪЩІИ ЦРЪ : ПОЧТО БЪ КАМЕНЬ НЕСО  
 line 13 ХРАНИ КАМЕНЕ ЖІЗНИ · ИЛИ ПОГРЕБЕННАГО  
 line 14 ДАДАТЪ , ИЛИ ВОСКРЪШЕМО ДА ПОКЛОНАСЪ :  
 line 15 ГЛЮЩЕ СНАМИ · СЛАВА МНОЖЕСТВЪ ЦЕДРО  
 line 16 ТВОИХЪ , СПСЕ НАШЪ СЛАВА ТЕБЪ ·  
 line 17 РАДЪИТЕСЪ ЛЮДИЕ И ВЕСЕЛИТЕСЪ , АГГЛЪ СЪ  
 line 18 ДАИ

Folio 47<sup>v</sup>

§§§§§

ГЛАСЪ ВЪ

МЪ

line 1 СЪДАИ НАКАМЕНИ ГРЪБНЕМЪ , ТОИ НАМЪ  
 line 2 БЛГОВЪСТИ РЕКЪ · ХЕ ВОСКРСЕ СПСЪ МИРОВИ :  
 line 3 И ИСПОЛНИ ВСАЧЕСКАМ БЛГОУХАНИА · РА  
 line 4 ДЪИТЕСЪ ЛЮДИЕ И ВЕСЕЛИТЕСЪ ·  
 line 5 АГГЛЪ ОУБЪ ЁЖЕ РАДЪИСЪ , ПРЕЖДЕ ТВОЕГО  
 line 6 ЗАЧАТИА ГДИ · БЛГОДАНЪИ ПРИНЕСЕ · АГГЛ  
 line 7 ЖЕ КАМЕНЬ СЛАВНАГО ГРЪБА ТВОЕГО , ВОТВОЕ  
 line 8 ВОСКРЕНІЕ ШВАЛИ , СЪВЪ ОУБЪ ВОПЕЧАЛИ  
 line 9 МЪСТО , ВЕСЕЛИА ШБРАЗЫ ВОЗВЪЩАА · СЕЙ  
 line 10 ЖЕ ВОСМРТИ МЪСТО ВЛКЪ ЖИЗНОДАВЦА ПРО  
 line 11 ПОВЕДА НАМЪ , ТЪМЪЖЕ ВОПИЕМЪ ТИ ·  
 line 12 БЛГОДАТЕЛЮ ВСЪХЪ ГДИ СЛАВА ТЕБЪ ·  
 line 13 ИНЫ СТИХІРЫ ВОСТОЧНЫ ·  
 line 14 ВОЗЛІАША МЪРО СОСЛЕЗАМИ НАГРЪБЪ ТВО  
 line 15 ЖЕНЫ · И ИСПОЛНИШАСЪ РАДОСТИ ОУСТА И,  
 line 16 ВНЕГДА ГЛАТИ ВОКСРСЕ ГДЪ ·  
 line 17 ДА ПОХВАЛАТЪ ІАЗЫЦЫ И ЛЮДИЕ ХА БГА НА  
 line 18 К Д ШЕГО ,

Folio 48<sup>r</sup>

§§§§§

ВОСКРЕСНЫ

line 1 ШЕГО , ИЖЕ ВОЛЕЮ НАСЪ РАДИ РАСПЪТИЕ ПРЕ  
 line 2 ТЕРПЪВША , И ВОАДЪ ТРИДНЕВНОВАВША ,  
 line 3 И ПОКЛОНАТЪСЪ ЕГЪ ТРИДНЕВНОМЪ ВОКСРСЕ  
 line 4 НИЮ , ИМЪЖЕ ПРОСВЪТИШАСЪ ВСЕГО МИРА



Покаѡны

line 1 **И**коже<sup>1</sup> Ѡ грѡба воскрсиѡ а́дама прева́гїи :  
line 2 сице ѡкв Бгъ дрѡвѡ мїр спсѡ еси . Слава .  
line 3 Ѡца просла́вимъ и Гнѡ покло́нимса ,  
line 4 и Дха ст́аго вси вѣрнїи воспоймъ . и Ннѣ .  
line 5 Ра́ддїса прѣле ѡгнезра́чный . ра́ддїса  
line 6 Мти неискѡсомѡжнам . ра́ддїса Дѡ ,  
line 7 ѡже Бга члкъмъ рѡждьшам .  
line 8 Внедѡлю Вечеръ , на Гди возва́хъ : Стихи́ры . по  
line 9 ка́лны , Гла́съ ѡ . подѡбенъ : Егда Ѡдрѡва тѡ .  
line 10 Имѣай блгоу́тробїа и́сточникъ . и  
line 11 стача́аже бѡзды мѡтей , и потѡки  
line 12 щедрѡтамъ , ѡче прева́гїи и снѡ сло́во  
line 13 ѡчеѡ , и дше ст́ий несозда́нное ѡтество ,  
line 14 прїймї моленїе и мѡтвѡ на́шѡ : всѣмъ  
line 15 ѡже вопрегрѣшенїи сѡзимъ подаѡ про  
line 16 ценїе , ѡкв Бгъ щедръ и члколюбець .  
line 17 Имашї по ѡсттвѡ ѡкв Бгъ оутрѡбѡ ще  
line 18 дро́тъ

Folio 49<sup>v</sup>

§§§§§

Гла́съ ѡ

ми

line 1 дро́тъ , и мѡтемъ и блгостыни : тѣмъже  
line 2 мо́лимъ тѡ хе спсе на́шъ , и припадаю  
line 3 ще зове́мъ прнѡ вопїю́ще . дарѡй раво́м  
line 4 сво́ймъ , прегрѣшенїемъ мно́гимъ разрѣ  
line 5 шенїе : и про́ценїе всѣмъ ѡхже согрѣши  
line 6 хѡ вси . ѡкв Бгъ щедръ , и члколюбець .  
line 7 Спсти хотѡ всѣхъ спсе , ѡкв Бгъ ѡхже  
line 8 ра́ди вочлчивса , гавїлса еси члкъ спси  
line 9 на́съ покланя́ющїхса тво́ймъ заповѣ  
line 10 де́ неприше́лъ вѡ еси члколюбче пра́ведни  
line 11 ки спсти , но ѡже вопрегрѣшенїихъ ѡко  
line 12 ва́ныа на́съ мно́гими грѣхї : разрѣши  
line 13 ти ва́тїю , крценїа ст́аго . ѡкв щедръ ,  
line 14 и члколюбець .  
line 15 Ины стїры , стымъ аггломъ . Гла́ ѡ . по , тѡйже .  
line 16 Прѡтоли херѡвїими и серафїими , гдѡствїа  
line 17 же и сїлы , и ва́сти чтныа агглі :

<sup>1</sup> The diacritical mark above **И** in **И**коже cannot be clearly seen.

line 18

Л Б

архаггли

Folio 50<sup>r</sup>

§§§§§

Воскресны

line 1 Архаггли,<sup>1</sup> и начала сними, еже тѣ неглѣ  
line 2 ное ѣстество составлшемъ . пѣснь непре  
line 3 станныю согласну поютъ , единою вотрцы  
line 4 сщество , вса наоучающе чести , сралеи  
line 5 но единочтно и сопртбно .  
line 6 Перви невестественныхъ лица , бгонача  
line 7 ствѣа зарѣ , неходотѣственными сѣни  
line 8 подѣмлюще , починѣ ихъ прочимъ пода  
line 9 вають , бжтвеныа свѣтлости , и прино  
line 10 сатъ намъ сѣхъ любовнымъ закономъ ,  
line 11 подостаінію такожде , крчнѣи комѣж  
line 12 до чтотѣ со прилежаніемъ .  
line 13 Горѣ квысотѣ дша , горѣ срчное ѡко , и  
line 14 оумнаа стремленіа любовію бжтвеннію  
line 15 имѣще , во дшахъ своихъ простираимъ  
line 16 всегда , ѣкв да ѣже ѡтѣдѣ лѣчами ѡбли  
line 17 стаеми , оубѣгнемъ тмы страстей , чаю  
line 18 це

Folio 50<sup>v</sup>

§§§§§

Гласъ Б

мѣ

line 1 це со агглы предстѣти страшномъ пртблѣ  
line 2 зиждѣтелѣ , и превобразѣми ѡ свѣта  
line 3 во свѣтъ . Глава , и нѣѣ : Бго :  
line 4 Множество аггль , сѣа твоѣго прчѣтаа ,  
line 5 воспѣвають трисѣтими гласѣ . ѣкв пре  
line 6 столъ томѣ сѣщѣ ѡгнезрѣченъ , и полѣта  
line 7 ѡдшевлѣннаа . мѣстѣ бжтвенный , ѣже  
line 8 ѡ землѣ приводѣщи всегда ктомѣ . ра  
line 9 дѣисѣ ѡбравѣннаа вопіюще ти согласна ,  
line 10 со архаггломъ Гаврїиломъ , ѣкв рѣжши  
line 11 истѣчникъ радости .  
line 12 На стѣхѣвнѣ стѣры покаіны . Гласъ , Б .

<sup>1</sup> The diacritical mark above И in Архаггли cannot be clearly seen.

line 13 **С**огрѣши ти спсе ѿкѡ влѣдныи снѣ · прїи  
line 14 ми мѡ ѡче кающасѡ , и помѡди мѡ бѣ ·  
line 15 **В**опїю ти хѣ спсе , мытаревѡи гласомъ : очї  
line 16 сти мѡ ѿкѡже ѡного , и помѡди мѡ бѣ ·  
line 17 **И**же зѣмныѡ слѡдсти невозлюбаше стра  
line 18 **Л** Г **С** Т О

Folio 51<sup>r</sup>

§§§§§

### Покаѡны

line 1 стотѣрпцы · нѣнымъ блѡгомъ сподобїша  
line 2 сѡ , и ѡггломъ согражане быша : гди мо  
line 3 литвѡми ѡхъ помѡди и спси насъ ·  
line 4 **С**лѡва, и **Н**нѣ · **Б**городиченъ ·  
line 5 **Р**ѡддїсѡ **М**рїе **Е**це, цркви неѡборї  
line 6 маѡ , пѡчеже стѡл , ѿкѡже  
line 7 **В**опїетъ прркъ : стѡ цер  
line 8 кви твоѡ дївна  
line 9 **В**опрѡвдѡ ·

line 10

**В**сѡбѡтѡ

Folio 51<sup>v</sup>



## References

### Works cited

- Ambrosiani, P. 1991, *On Church Slavonic Accentuation: The Accentuation of a Russian Church Slavonic Gospel Manuscript from the Fifteenth Century*, Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm.
- Belousov, V.I. 1982, 'Istorija form povelitel'nogo naklonenija', in R.I. Avanesov and V.V. Ivanov (eds.), *Istoričeskaja grammatika russkogo jazyka: morfologija, glagol*, Izdatel'stvo Nauka, Moskva, pp.132–153.
- Bjørnflaten, J.I. 1983, 'On the History of the Common East Slavic Morphological Alternation /K→C/ in the Nominal Flexion of the Three East Slavic Languages', The Ninth International Congress of Slavists, Kiev–Tromsø.
- 1988, *Dialectical Sound Changes in Russian: Innovations vs. Archaisms. The Case of the Second Regressive Palatalisation of Velars in North East Slavic*, University of Oslo, Oslo.
- 1990, 'The birch bark letters redeemed', *Russian Linguistics*, 14, pp. 315–338.
- 2005a, *Eldre Slaviske tekster: Innledninger, kommentarer, ordforklaringer*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., Unipub, Oslo.
- 2005b, *Innføring i slavisk og russisk språkhistorie*, Unipub, Oslo.
- Borkovskij, V.I. and P.S. Kuznecov 2006, *Istoričeskaja grammatika russkogo jazyka*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., URSS, Moskva.
- Bulič, S. 1893, *Cerkovnoslavjanskije élemety v sovremennom'' literaturnom'' i narodnom'' russkom'' jazykě* (microfiche), Čast I, Tipografija I.N. Skoroxodova, S.-Peterburg.
- Carlton, T. A. 1991, *Introduction to the Phonological history of the Slavic Languages*, Slavica Publishers, Columbus.
- Comrie B. and G.G. Corbett (eds.) 2006, *The Slavonic Languages*, Routledge, London.
- Bulaxovskij, L.A. 1958, *Istoričeskij kommentarij k russkomu literaturnomu jazyku*, Radjan'ska škola, Kiev.
- Černyx, P.Ja., 1953, *Jazyk Uloženia 1649 goda: Voprosy orfogarii, fonetiki i morfologii v svjazi s istoriej uloženoj knigi*, Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, Moskva.
- Danylenko, A. 2006, *Slavica et Islamica – Ukrainian in Context*, Verlag Otto Sagner, München.
- Filin, F.P. 2006, *Proisxoždenie russkogo, ukrainskogo i belorusskogo jazykov*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., URSS, Moskva.
- Golyshenko, V.S. 2000, 'Konec stroki i priemy ego markirovanija v rannem vostochnoslavjanskom pis'me', in A.M. Moldovan and V.V. Kalugin (eds.), *Lingvisticheskoe istočnikovvedenie i istorija russkogo jazyka*, Drevlexranilišče, Moskva, pp.9–25.
- Haraldsson, H. 2001, *Russisk fonetikk*, Unipub, Oslo.
- Iordanidi, S.I. and V.B. Krys'ko 2000, *Istoričeskaja grammatika drevnerusskogo jazyka: Množestvennoe čislo imennogo sklonenija*, Tom I, Azbukovnik, Moskva.
- Ivanov, V.V. 1961, *Kratkij očerk istoričeskoj fonetiki russkogo jazyka*, Učpediz, Moskva.
- 1982, 'Istorija vremennyx form galgola', in R.I. Avanesov and V.V. Ivanov (eds.), *Istoričeskaja grammatika russkogo jazyka: morfologija, glagol*, Izdatel'stvo Nauka, Moskva, pp.25–131.
- Jordal K. 1973, 'Greko-russkie sintaksičeskie svjazi', *Scando-Slavica*, Tomus XIX, pp. 143–164.

- Kandaurova, T. N. 1968, 'Slučai orfografičeskoj obuslovlennosti slov s polnoglasijem v pamjatnikax XI–XIV vv.', in V.V. Vinogradov (ed.), *Pamjatniki drevnerusskoj pis'mennosti: jazyk i tekstologija*, Izdatel'stvo 'Nauka', Moskva, pp. 7–18.
- Kernyc'kyj, I.M. 1967, *Systema slovozmyny v ukrains'kij movy: na materialax pam'jatok XVI st.*, Naukova dumka, Kyiv.
- Kolesov, V.V. 2005, *Istorija russkogo jazyka*, Izdatel'skij centr 'Akademija', S.-Peterburg.
- Kuz'mina, I.B. and E.V. Nemčenko 1982, 'Istorija pričastij', in R.I. Avanesov and V.V. Ivanov (eds.), *Istoričeskaja grammatika russkogo jazyka: morfologija, glagol*, Izdatel'stvo Nauka, Moskva, pp. 280–411.
- Lomtev, T.P. 1956, *Očerki po istoričeskomu sintaksisu russkogo jazyka*, Izdatel'stvo moskovskogo universiteta, Moskva.
- Lunt, H.G. 2001, *Old Church Slavonic Grammar*, 7<sup>th</sup> ed. rev., Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.
- Mathiesen, R.C. 1972, *The Inflectional Morphology of the Church Slavonic Verb*, Dissertation, Columbia University.
- Nemirovskij, E.L. (cached 07.06.2007), *Švajpol't Fiol' i vozniknovenie slavjanskogo knigopečatanija* (Glava IV: Knigi/Oktoix 1491 g.), [online]. Available from RSL (Rossijskaja gosudarstvennaja biblioteka): <[http://memory.rsl.ru/nemirov/ch4\\_oc1.htm](http://memory.rsl.ru/nemirov/ch4_oc1.htm)>, [22.09.2006].
- Nimčuk, V.V. (ed.) 1979, *Hramatyka*, Naukova dumka, Kyiv, (fascimile edition with analytical text by Nimčuk).
- Pennington, A.E. 1980, *O Rossii v carstvovanie Alekseja Mixailoviča: Text and Commentary*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Pugh, S.M., 1996, *Testament to Ruthenian: A Linguistic Analysis of the Smotryc'kyj Variant*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Pugh S.M. and I. Press, 1999, *Ukrainian: A Comprehensive Grammar*, Routledge, London.
- Pul'kina, I.M. and E.B. Zaxava-Nekrasova 2004, *Russkij jazyk: Praktičeskaja grammatika s upražnjenijami (dlja govorjaščix na anglijskom jazyke)*, 11<sup>th</sup> ed., Izdatel'stvo 'Russkij Jazyk', Moskva.
- Remneva, M.L. 2003, *Puti razvitija russkogo literaturnogo jazyka XI–XVIII vv.*, Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta, Moskva.
- Schenker, A.M. 1995, *The Dawn of Slavic: An Introduction to Slavic Philology*, Yale University Press, London.
- Schmalstieg, W.R. 1983, *An Introduction to Old Church Slavic*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. rev., Slavica Publishers, Columbus.
- 1995, 'An Introduction to Old Russian', *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, Monograph no. 15, Washington.
- Schuster-Šewc, H. 1993, 'Noch einmal zur Datierung und zu den Ergebnissen der 2. Palatalisation der Velare in Slavischen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Altrussischen', in Slavistische Studdien zum XI. Internationalen Slavistenkongress in Preßburg/Bratislava, Bohlau-Verlag-Köln-Weimar-Wien, pp. 491–502.
- Shevelov, G. Y. 1964, *A Prehistory of Slavic: The Historical Phonology of Common Slavic*, Universitätsverlag, Heidelberg.
- 1979, *A Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language*, Universitätsverlag, Heidelberg.
- Sidorov, V.N. 1966, *Iz istorii zvukov russkogo jazyka*, Izdatel'stvo 'Nauka', Moskva.
- Slobodskoy, S. (16.07.2001), *The Divine Services*, [online]. Available from: <[http://www.fatheralexander.org/booklets/english/church\\_services.htm#n13](http://www.fatheralexander.org/booklets/english/church_services.htm#n13)>, [14.08.2006].
- Smotryc'kyj, M. 1619, *Grammatiki slavenskija pravilnoe sintagma*, see Nimčuk 1979.
- Sobolevskij, A.I. 2005, *Lekcii po istorii russkogo jazyka*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., URSS, Moskva.

- Sprinčak, Ja.A. 1960, *Očerk russkogo istoričeskogo sintaksisa*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., Radjans'ka škola, Kiev.
- Steensland L. 1997, 'Russkaja akcentografija: Pravila i tendencii v upotreblenii nadstročnyx znakov v russkix rukopisjax, preimuščestvenno XV i XVI vekov', *Slavica Lundensia*, vol. 17.
- Šaxmatov, A.A. 1969, *Očerk sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo jazyka*, C.H. Van Schooneveld (ed.), Mouton, The Hague.
- Timberlake, A. 1974, *The Nominative Object in Slavic, Baltic, and West Finnic*, Verlag Otto Sagner, München.
- Tolstaja, S.M. 1984–1985, 'Sojuz (častica) da v polesskix govorax', *Zbornik matice srpske za filologiju i lingvistiku*, vol. 27–28, pp. 781–788.
- Townsend, C.E. and L. Janda 1996, *Common and Comparative Slavic: Phonology and Inflection with special attention to Russian, Polish, Czech, Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian*, Slavica, Columbus.
- Uspenskij, B.A. 1994, *Kratkij očerk istorii russkogo jazyka (XI-XIX vv.)*, Gnosis, Moskva.
- 2002, *Istorija russkogo literaturnogo jazyka (XI-XVII vv.)*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. rev., Aspekt Press, Moskva.
- Vlasto, A.P. 1988, *A Linguistic History of Russia to the End of the Eighteen Century*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Wellesz, E. 1961, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Werner, E. 'The Origin of the Eight Modes of Music', *Hebrew Union College Annual*, vol. XXI, pp. 211–255.
- Wexler, P. 1977, *A Historical Phonology of the Belorussian Language*, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, Heidelberg.
- Worth, D.S. 1983, *The Origins of Russian Grammar: Notes on the state of Russian philology before the advent of printed grammars*, Slavica Publishers, Columbus.
- Zaloznjak, A.A. 1985, *Ot praslavjanskoj akcentuacii k russkoj*, Nauka, Moskva.
- 1991, 'Berestjanye gramoty pered licom tradicionnyx postulatov slavistiki i vice versa', *Russian Linguistics*, 15, no.3, pp. 217–245.
- 1995, *Drevnenovgorodskij dialect*, Škola "Jazyki ruskoj kul'tury", Moskva.
- 2004, *Drevnenovgorodskij dialect*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Jazyki slavjanskoj kul'tury, Moskva.
- Zernova, A.S. 1965, 'Belorusskij pečatnik Spiridon Sobol'', *The Book: Researches and materials*, Simposia X, pp. 126–145.
- Živov, V.M. 1999, 'Vъ plěnu u angelovъ, na dikomъ bregě – ax!', in Fleishman et al. (eds.), *Essays in Poetics, Literary History and Linguistics: Presented to the Viacheslav Vsevolodovich Ivanov on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, OGI, Moscow, pp. 777–791.
- 2004, *Očerki istoričeskoj morfologii russkogo jazyka XVII-XVIII vekov*, Jazyki slavjanskoj kul'tury, Moskva.
- Žolobov, O.F. and V.B. Krys'ko 2001, *Istoričeskaja grammatika drevnerusskogo jazyka: Dvojstvennoe čislo*, Tom II, Azbukovnik, Moskva.
- Jakobson, R. 1929/1971, 'Remarques sur l'évolution phonologique du russe comparé à celle des autres langues slaves', *Selected Writings I: Phonological Studies*, Mouton, The Hague–Paris.
- Janin V.L. and A.A. Zaloznjak 1986, *Novgorodskie gramoty na bereste: iz raskopok 1977–1983 godov*, Nauka, Moskva.

## Dictionaries

- Cejtlin, R., R. Večerka and Ė. Blagova (eds.) 1999, *Staroslavjanskij slovar' (po rukopisjam X–XI vekov)*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Izdatel'stvo 'Russkij Jazyk', Moskva.
- D'jačenko, G. 2007, *Polnyj cerkovno-slavjanskij slovar'*, Izdatel'stvo 'Otčij dom', Moskva.
- Fasmer, M. 1987, *Ėtimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka* (trans. by O.N. Turbačev and ed. by B.A. Larin), vols. I–IV, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Progress, Moskva.
- Parry, K., D.J. Melling, D. Brady, S.H. Griffith and J.F. Healey (eds) 1999, *The Blackwell dictionary of Eastern Christianity*, Blackwell, Oxford.
- PPBĖS: *Polnyj pravoslavnyj bogoslovskij ěnciklopedičeskij slovar'* (reprint) 1992, vols. I–II, Moskva.
- Sreznevskij, I.I. 1893, *Materialy dlja slovarja drevnerusskogo jazyka*, Sanktpeterburg, vols. I–III, (reprint 2003, Znak).

## Primary sources

- Archimandrite Ephrem (30.08.2007), *The Paraklitiki or Oktoichos*, Tones I and II, [online]. Available from <http://www.anastasis.org.uk/>: <[http://www.anastasis.org.uk/tone\\_1.htm](http://www.anastasis.org.uk/tone_1.htm)>, <[http://www.anastasis.org.uk/tone\\_2.htm](http://www.anastasis.org.uk/tone_2.htm)>, [12.08.2006].
- KO/1629O: *Oktoixъ, sirěčъ Osmoglasnikъ* 1629, Spiridon Sobol', Kyiv, (in J.I. Bjørnflaten's private collection).
- OP: *Oktoix pervoglasnik* 1494, Cetinje, (cached 05.07.2007), [online]. Available from RSL (Rossijskaja gosudarstvennaja biblioteka): <<http://memory.rsl.ru/oct-cet/cont.htm>>, [15.12.2006].
- OSO: *Oktoixъ, sirěčъ Osmoglasnikъ* 1962, vol. I, Moskovskaja Partiarxija, Moskva.