

THE DECLINE OF THE INFINITIVE IN BULGARIAN

A thesis submitted to the University of Oxford for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Trinity Term 1980 by C.M. MacRobert, Somerville College.

The thesis traces the changes in the use of the infinitive in Bulgarian from the tenth century, when it was employed in a wide range of constructions, to the seventeenth century, when its occurrence was severely limited and it had been replaced in most constructions by clauses introduced by the conjunction da.

The sources used are either believed to be original Slavonic compositions or are held to betray influence from colloquial Bulgarian: the Lives of SS. Cyril and Methodius, the sermons of St. Clement of Ohrid, the Treatise of Cosmas against the Bogomils; the Trojanska Priča, the state documents of Bulgaria and Wallachia up to the mid fifteenth century, the Prayers of Cserged and a portion of the Tikhonravovski damascene.

All constructions containing infinitives or da-clauses have been excerpted from these texts. A series of tables shows the number of times each type of construction occurs and their syntactic peculiarities: identical or distinct subjects of main and subordinate verb, tense and mood of subordinate verb, and word-order. Attention is also given to formal developments in the infinitive. Unusual or doubtful constructions are commented on, and difficulties in linguistic interpretation which the various texts present are discussed.

The findings from the sources are used in an assessment of four types of explanation which have been advanced for the decline of the infinitive in Bulgarian: a) that it arose from a need to avoid ambiguity caused by the formal coincidence of infinitive and finite parts of the verb; b) that the da-clause was preferred because it was clearer; c) that the change spread to Bulgarian from one of the other Balkan languages; d) that the infinitive is liable to be lost, either through simplification or in order to increase redundancy, when there is extensive contact between speakers of different languages.

ABSTRACT

The change from infinitives to clausal constructions is a characteristic of languages of the Balkan area - Greek, Bulgarian and Macedonian, Roumanian and Aroumanian, Albanian - which distinguishes them from their Indo-European cognates, and from most other languages of the world. It is therefore interesting both as an unusual linguistic development and as a probable instance of syntactic interaction between geographically contiguous languages.

The thesis is an attempt to examine, in as much detail as the scanty historical records permit, how this change took place in Bulgarian, and to consider in the light of their evidence the relative merits of the various explanations which have been offered for the change, whether as a Bulgarian development or as a Balkan phenomenon. Thus, although attention is given mainly to Bulgarian, it is hoped that the conclusions may be in some part a contribution to Balkan studies. It is also hoped that the body of factual material presented, which is drawn from published sources either not previously studied from this point of view or not studied so fully, may be of use to other investigations of the history of Bulgarian. The findings are held to add fresh evidence to those in the most detailed work on the subject, Mirchev's monograph of 1937, some of whose conclusions are disputed in the thesis.

The object of research is defined as the Bulgarian language from the tenth to the seventeenth centuries, that is, from its first written records to the date when its syntax had developed to approximately its modern state. For practical reasons Bulgarian and Macedonian are not distinguished in the thesis, although their separate status as modern languages is recognized.

The thesis is divided into seven chapters. The first sets out, with justifications, the scope of the subject and outlines the several hypotheses which have been put forward to account for the decline in the use

of the infinitive in Bulgarian. These fall into four types: a) that formal coincidence of the infinitive with finite parts of the verb, brought about by phonetic change, led to syntactic confusion and so to the replacement of the infinitive by clauses; b) that the clauses introduced by the conjunction da which have largely supplanted the infinitive were preferred as a more explicit construction; c) that Bulgarian ceased to use its infinitive under the influence of some other Balkan language - Thracian or Old Albanian, Greek or Balkan Romance - which already lacked the infinitive; d) that contact between speakers of different languages is liable to result in the loss of the infinitive, either by a process of simplification or in the interests of increasing redundancy and with it communicative efficiency. The suggestions made by the main proponent of this last view, Rosentsveig, about the process of change are outlined. He believes that clauses replace infinitives first in constructions where the subject of the infinitive may vary, and only later in constructions where it is predictable, particularly where it coincides with the subject of its governing verb. The method of analysis of material in the main body of the thesis is dictated in part by his proposed scheme of the change.

The methods chosen to find material on which to test these hypotheses and the manner in which the material is presented are then explained. Chapters 2-6 contain this factual material. It is drawn from texts selected on two criteria: either that they are probably original compositions in Slavonic and so relatively free from the syntactic interference to which translations are subject; or that they are commonly held to contain non-literary features derived from colloquial Bulgarian. All constructions involving infinitives or da-clauses are excerpted from the texts. They are split up according to type and the numbers of times each type of construction occurs are set out in tables: infinitives or da-clauses which complement various verbs (Table I), impersonal expressions (Table II), governing expressions other than verbs - nouns, pronouns, adjectives,

adverbs (Table III); and other infinitival or clausal constructions - final, consecutive, co-ordinative, conditional and imperative (Table IV). In addition Table I is sub-divided to show the occurrence of these subordinate constructions when they share the subject of their governing verbs and when they take different subjects. Three further tables provide other information about the constructions. Table V shows the tense and mood of the verbs in da-clauses; this is in order to check Rozentsveig's contention that the change from infinitive to da-clause was not motivated by the possibility of marking differences of tense or mood in the clause. Table VI indicates how often infinitives are separated from their governing expressions, or da from its dependent verb, by non-enclitic words, and Table VII notes any instances in which infinitive or da-clause is placed before its governing expression. These last two tables are intended to trace the development of characteristic Bulgarian word-order. Each table is followed by comments which supplement the information provided by the table itself and deal with unusual or doubtful constructions. At the end of each set of tables any formal developments in the infinitive are noted.

Chapter 2 attempts to establish the use of the infinitive and the da-clause in the earliest attested variety of Slavonic, Old Church Slavonic, since this is held to be closely akin to, or identical with Old Bulgarian. The evidence of the Old Church Slavonic Canonical MSS is reviewed with reference to Mirchev's claim that incipient limitation of the use of the infinitive can be detected in them. It is concluded that the evidence for this is very slight and comes mainly from one text, that of Suprasliensis. Data from supposedly original Slavonic works, the Lives of SS. Cyril and Methodius, a number of sermons attributed to St. Clement of Ohrid, and the Treatise of Cosmas against the Bogomils, are then presented and the legitimacy of using these texts, which survive in late, mostly Russian MSS, as sources for the early history of Bulgarian is discussed. It is concluded that these texts agree substantially with the Canonical Old Church Slavonic MSS (excepting Suprasliensis) and with reconstructed Common Slavonic

in their use of da-clauses and infinitives. Minor differences are listed, and it is noted that in Old Church Slavonic imperative da-clauses differ from other constructions introduced by da in not admitting non-enclitic words between da and the verb. Finally it is remarked that at this stage there appears to have been only a limited overlap in the distribution of infinitive and da-clause, which could have provided a starting-point for the spread of the one at the expense of the other but does not show that such a spread was already under way.

Chapter 3 examines the fourteenth century Trojanska Priča, which had been said to exhibit colloquial Bulgarian features. The Priča is thought to derive from a Croatian or Serbian source, and so it is argued that its usage must be compared with that of available fifteenth and sixteenth century Croatian or Serbian texts of the same story, to see whether the Bulgarian version has significant differences and particularly whether it uses the da-clause more than they do. It is found that the sixteenth century Serbian version favours the use of the infinitive, but that this may reflect a development in the Serbian literary language; and that the fifteenth century Croatian version and the Bulgarian one do not differ markedly on the point at question, except that the Bulgarian version lacks the supines after verbs of motion which are characteristic of the Croatian text, and tends instead to use da-clauses. It is concluded that the Priča's syntax is too close to that of a possible Croatian source for it to cast direct light on fourteenth century Bulgarian colloquial usage.

In Chapter 4 the small corpus of Bulgarian mediaeval state documents, and the larger body of Wallachian documents of the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, written in a variety of Bulgarian with some Serbian influence, are investigated. The Bulgarian documents are found to be conservative and conventional in their language and to reveal syntactic changes only indirectly through errors in observing a literary norm. To some extent this is true of the Wallachian documents also, but it is argued that,

because they are more numerous and cover a wider range of subject-matter and style, it is possible to make a distinction between formulaic and non-formulaic expressions in them, and that in the latter the infinitive can be seen to be considerably limited in its use, occurring mainly after a small group of modal and auxiliary verbs. The problems of interpreting the Wallachian documents and estimating their value as evidence for spoken Bulgarian are discussed, and it is concluded that if they are directly based on the spoken language they show that the infinitive was restricted in its occurrence by the fifteenth century, but that if their non-formulaic usages belong to a chancery language inherited by Roumanian speakers from Bulgaria, an earlier date must be given to this restriction.

Chapter 5 draws on the Prayers of Cserged for further evidence that the infinitive was only used in a very limited distribution with modal and auxiliary verbs from an early date. The considerable difficulties which these texts present and their relevance to the development of the main body of Bulgarian dialects are discussed. Some similarity is found between their language and that of the Wallachian documents and it is concluded that at the least they testify to a highly circumscribed use of the infinitive in a sixteenth century Bulgarian dialect, and, if taken together with the Wallachian material, may be held to show that the change was substantially complete by the late thirteenth century.

In Chapter 6 the use of the infinitive and the da-clause in seventeenth century Bulgarian based on the spoken language is described. It is found to be similar to that discovered in Chapters 4 and 5, with the further development that the infinitive is clearly not obligatory in any construction. It is noted, however, that the infinitive is still formally distinct from the finite parts of a number of common verbs.

Finally, in Chapter 7, the principal findings of Chapters 2-6 are summarized. It is emphasized that while the infinitive has an extremely restricted distribution by the seventeenth century, it shows no signs of formal confusion with other parts of the verb. It is argued that this

state had been reached at the latest by the fifteenth century, and possibly a hundred years earlier still. The difficulties of drawing conclusions from literary sources about the detailed chronology of changes in the colloquial language are pointed out. Certain syntactic changes which accompanied the switch from infinitive to da-clause are noted: restrictions in the positioning of the infinitive within the sentence, and increasing strictness of word-order in the da-clause.

The four hypotheses outlined in Chapter 1 are then subjected to criticism, on general grounds and in the light of the findings of Chapters 2-6. The first one is dismissed both as inherently implausible and as conflicting with the evidence of Chapters 2-6, which indicates that the infinitive remained a formally distinct category while it was being supplanted by the da-clause. The second hypothesis is found to be untenable on its own because it is contradicted by the evidence of other languages. Of the several versions of the third hypothesis, that which seeks the impetus to change in the influence of Greek is argued to be the best supported, but only by circumstantial evidence. It is pointed out that a Thracian or Albanian source for the loss of the infinitive is not subject to proof and is historically unlikely, as is also the spread of this change from Balkan Romance to Bulgarian. The fourth hypothesis is approved as coming nearest to offering a testable explanation of the loss of the infinitive as a simplification brought about by contact between languages, but it is observed that this account stands in need of further elaboration. The suggestion that redundancy, rather than simplicity, was the motivating factor is rejected as less likely. It is shown that the findings of Chapters 2-6 provide some support for Rozentsveig's claim that the advantage of the da-clause lay in its personal marking of the subject rather than its marking of tense and mood of the verb, and that they do not seriously conflict with his detailed scheme of the process of change from infinitive to clause; but it is pointed out that they can be taken to

imply the operation of other factors, of semantic equivalence between the two types of construction, in addition to the main syntactic one which he proposes.

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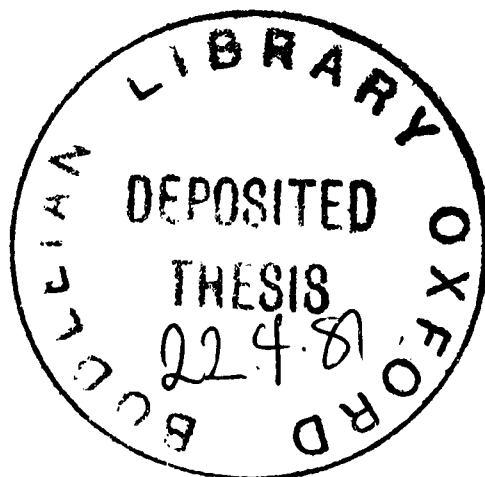
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PREFACE

A large part of the preliminary work for this thesis was done while I held bursaries from the British Council during 1976 and 1977 in Bulgaria, and a scholarship from the Council to study in the U.S.S.R. during 1977-78. Numerous members of the Universities of Sofia, Moscow and Leningrad, the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (Institute for the Bulgarian Language), the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. (Institute of Slavonic Studies) and various archives in the U.S.S.R. gave me help and advice. In particular my thanks go to my Bulgarian teacher, Kh.Ts. Georgiev of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, my supervisors, I. Dobrev of Sofia University and N.V. Kotova of Moscow University, and also to V.Yu. Rozentsveig of the Maurice Thorez Paedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages in Moscow, for repeated opportunities to consult them on my work.

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So many other people have helped me in various ways that it is impossible to mention them all here; but I cannot pass by my College supervisor, Professor A.M. Davies, who has given me constant guidance and illuminating comments. I have also to thank G. Tulloch for his pains in proof-reading the final version of the thesis, and I must own myself especially indebted to J.S. Bach, whose music was a source of comfort to me in the tasks of checking and correction.

My greatest debt of gratitude is to my two University supervisors in Oxford: the late Professor R. Auty, who first aroused my interest in Bulgarian and Macedonian; and Dr. A.E. Pennington, who oversaw the later stages of the work, and whose generous expenditure of time, attention and

advice has given me much encouragement.

After assistance from so many sides, I alone must be answerable for the mistakes and shortcomings which remain.

ERRATUM

For Pritcha, Troyanska Pritcha, read Priča, Trojanska Priča throughout

ABBREVIATIONS

- AKK - Angelov, Kuev and Kodov 1970.
- An. Boll. - Analecta Bollandiana.
- aor. - aorist.
- A.sl.Ph. - Archiv für slavische Philologie.
- Ass. - Assémanianus.
- BDA - Bălgarski dialekten atlas.
- Cloz. - Clozianus.
- indic. - indicative.
- Mar. - Marianus.
- per. - person.
- P.G. - Patrologia Graeca.
- plur. - plural.
- pres. - present.
- Ps. Sin. - Psalterium Sinaiticum.
- Sav. Kn. - Savvina Kniga.
- sing. - singular.
- Supr. - Suprasliensis.
- VC - Vita Constantini (see Grivec and Tomšič 1960)
- V Clem. - Vita Clementis (see Tunitsky 1972)
- VM - Vita Methodii (see Grivec and Tomšič 1960)
- Zap.Imp.Akad.Nauk - Zapiski Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk.
- Zogr. - Zographensis.
- Z.sl.Ph. - Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie.

Addenda

- acc. - accusative.
- diff. - different.
- fem. - feminine.
- gen. - genitive.
- instr. - instrumental.
- masc. - masculine.
- subj. - subject.

CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION

A. Subject-matter

In Common Slavonic the infinitive was a formally distinct grammatical category, taking an ending -ti which it shared with no other parts of the verb. In the course of the development of Bulgarian the functions of the infinitive became more and more limited and its form less clearly marked, and other expressions, in particular clauses introduced by the conjunction da, replaced it. As both the infinitive and its replacements are recognizable by morphological markers, no attempt is here made to define them in general terms of grammatical function or meaning. Their respective uses at various periods are the subject-matter of Chapters 2-6. However the word 'infinitive' implies a similarity between the category so designated in Bulgarian (and other Slavonic languages) and the 'infinitives' of other languages, in some of which, e.g. English and German, unambiguous formal marking is absent. This implied comparison makes the decline in the use of the Bulgarian infinitive typologically interesting because it is an unusual development. There are more instances in which languages have developed a distinct form or forms to be used in the functions commonly associated with the term 'infinitive'.¹

B. Scope

I. Time-limits: the study starts with the earliest documentation, the Old Church Slavonic MSS of the tenth and eleventh centuries, because these are held to reflect a language very close to Old Bulgarian² if not identical with it, as is assumed in the historical grammars of Mirchev 1963 and Koneski 1966. They thus provide the earliest attestation of the

1. See Meillet 1931 on the various origins of infinitives in the Indo-European languages.

2. See the standard grammars of Old Church Slavonic, e.g. Diels 1932, Lunt 1974; also Ch.2, Introduction, below.

use of the infinitive in Bulgarian, the starting-point from which the change in use developed. Indeed, it has been suggested by Iliev 1921 and Mirchev 1937 that the change can already be seen to have been in process in these earliest texts, and so they must be taken into account here.

The study continues up to the seventeenth century, because texts of this date show a usage which is essentially that of modern East Bulgarian dialects, in which infinitives are still to some extent formally distinct but limited to a very narrow range of optional constructions. Thus reduction in the use of the infinitive is covered here, but not its final loss, since this may be held not to have taken place in all varieties of Bulgarian.

In modern literary Bulgarian the infinitive has lost its ending -ti and become homophonous with the 3rd per. sing. pres. or aor. indic., e.g. ходи, чете, рече, говори, каза, писа, бра, видя, игра. It is used principally with the auxiliary недейте in the negative imperative, although it may also be found, especially in conservative or colloquial usage, after the verbs мога, смея, стига and before the auxiliary ща in one form of the periphrastic future.³ In the modern literary language it is in fact no longer a freely occurring word but merely a component of a morphologically complex form,⁴ and might more appropriately be termed the 'stem-form of the verb'.

The Eastern dialects of Bulgarian retain the infinitive to a slightly greater extent than does the literary language. In some dialects, e.g. those of Smolsko, Troyan, Momchilovtsi,⁵ infinitival forms survive which do not coincide with any other part of the verb, e.g. до, на, ре/рек, мок,

3. Contrast the successive descriptions of the form and use of the infinitive in e.g. Beaulieux 1933 pp.203 and 329-30, Andreichin 1944 pp.318-19, Andreichin, Popov and Stoyanov 1977 p.250.

4. See Andreichin 1953: "инфинитивната форма не е самостоятелна дума в изречението, а е само съставен елемент в една сложна морфологична форма."

5. See Kanchev 1968 p.47, Kovachev 1968 p.184 and Kabasanov 1956 pp.54-55 respectively.

фле, пле, оти, доне which correspond to the Old Bulgarian донти, нанти, рещи, моши, взлѣсти, плѣсти, отити, донѣсти. In addition a fuller form of the infinitive is retained in some dialects e.g. that of Momchilovtsi and the isolated dialects in the Banat and among immigrants from the Aegean coastland, in expressions such as:

i. видѣ го ѿ; позна го ѿ (Kabasnov 1956 p.55)

ii. Мѣстуту и видек'; Ни ѿ чук' да гърми; Гу ѿ пузнак' (Stoikov 1967⁶ p.253)

iii. не ѿ видет'; ни ѿ познат (Ivanov 1977 p.188)

According to Miletich 1903, the same expressions were in use in other East Bulgarian dialects at the turn of the present century:

iv. ně jè čut; ne jè vid'ät; čut go (Miletich 1903 p.140); ně je poznät; mërì ně je gled'ät; vid'ät' je (ibid. p.271)

In some places the infinitive still survived in its full form:

v. ně jè uznäti vèšte; ne ni b'äše pöznäti, takvës nösìjъ to b'äše (ibid. p.139 and p.140)

Miletich regards as infinitives the words ending in -ti in expressions like:

vi. t'äs ägneta sè za klätì; tuk ìma m'ästö za spätì; täs udè je za pìti (ibid. p.140); tös sapùn ni jè za mìti; dëbëlö nëštö - ni jè za šìti; ti si za bìti, mōmčè (ibid. p.196)⁷

This is an unusual construction in Slavonic and Deyanova 1979 speculates that in Bulgarian it may be due to the influence of some neighbouring non-Slavonic language, just as similar constructions in Serbo-Croat are attributed to Italian or German influence. However as Văglenov 1955 argues, the construction with za is open to an alternative interpretation, as за and a verbal noun in -тъе or -тие, which in East Bulgarian dialects would have been subject to the reduction of unstressed [e] to [i] which is found in

6. Full infinitives in -ti are also found in this dialect (ibid.), but these may be due to Croatian influence.

7. Miletich argues for the infinitival interpretation on p.140. On the other hand, in 1912 p.98 he prefers to take similar forms in -ti as verbal nouns.

the East Bulgarian dialects.⁸

In the West Bulgarian dialects the infinitive has been lost beyond trace,⁹ though the evidence of the former Aegean dialects described by Ivanov 1977 suggests that its final disappearance in the West may have been comparatively recent. Modern literary Macedonian also lacks the infinitive completely and the Macedonian dialects only rarely preserve it in the negative imperative.¹⁰

II. Area: 'Bulgarian' is here used as a covering term, to include the varieties of South Slavonic current in Bulgaria and Macedonia during the period in question, for parts of which these regions, today separate countries, were included in one political unit, e.g. during the first Bulgarian Empire, under the Greeks in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in the reign of Ioann Asen II in the thirteenth century.¹¹ No implication is intended that present-day Macedonian and Bulgarian are one and the same language; they have different established norms, as can be seen by comparing the standard grammars, e.g. Koneski 1967 and Andreichin, Popov and Stoyanov 1977, and by examining the Bugarsko-Makedonski rečnik 1968. Nor is it assumed that within the period under study the Slavonic dialects spoken in these areas developed in the same ways and at the same rate; but they are held to have started from the same type of Slavonic, or from varieties minimally differing in syntax,¹² and have undergone, so far as can be seen, largely the same processes of grammatical change, especially where the infinitive is concerned. The historical sources do not

8. See Stoikov 1962 p.127

9. Compare BDA III 1975, map 216 with BDA I and II 1964 and 1966, maps 184 and 287.

10. See Koneski 1966 pp.150-153. He also mentions sporadic attestations of infinitives in Macedonian of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

11. See Zlatarski 1970-1972, e.g. I/2 pp.50-51, II pp.11-15, III pp.340-41.

12. See Mirchev 1963 and Koneski 1966, whose sources for the earliest history of Bulgarian and Macedonian overlap.

allow one to trace the development of individual dialects continuously and so any study can only present a generalized account of the changes that took place.

The spread of the da-clause at the expense of the infinitive in Serbian is not included in the present investigation, although it might seem a promising source of information since it is apparently a change still in progress.¹³ It is in fact a subject of such magnitude that it deserves to be treated in a separate study; but there is an additional reason why it is not taken into consideration here, namely that the date and nature of the change in Bulgarian need to be as far as possible established before the relevance of the Serbian development can be properly assessed. It is usually suggested¹⁴ that the loss of the infinitive spread from the South-East to Serbian, starting in the East Serbian dialects perhaps as early as the ninth to thirteenth centuries.¹⁵ If so early a date is posited, it can be questioned whether the change spread, or whether the East Serbian dialects took part in a single change together with Bulgarian. This is not an empty question, since if the Bulgarian infinitive was lost under non-Slavonic influence (see below C. II c p.7) the process of change could have been different from one by which Serbian dialects gave up using the infinitive under Bulgarian influence. Also one cannot assume that loss of the infinitive in modern Serbian is proceeding in exactly the same way as it did in the dialects of Macedonia and Bulgaria.

C. Aims

I. To collect a body of material bearing on the use of the infinitive within the period and area delimited above; to present it in a form in which it may readily be useful to scholars studying this topic or related

13. See Sławski 1958, Gudkov 1958, Ivić 1972.

14. See Sławski 1958, Grickat 1975 pp.73-116, Sedláček 1970, who points out long-standing differences between Serbo-Croat and Bulgarian and Macedonian in the internal syntax of the da-clause.

15. See Popović 1960 pp.241-261, especially p.259.

ones, e.g. other aspects of the development of the spoken language, variation of norms in the literary language; and to consider problems in its interpretation. This is the subject-matter of Chapters 2-6.

II. To assess the various explanations of this change which have been put forward. These are of four main kinds:

a) The hypothesis of purely internal change. According to this view, proposed by Miklosich 1871 and 1883,¹⁶ Miletich 1923 and Togeby 1962, the loss of the infinitive originated in homophonic clash with finite parts of the verb. The infinitive lost its final -i by the twelfth century¹⁷ either because it was replaced by the supine¹⁸ or more probably through phonetic change as Mirchev 1937 argues, though the precise causes of this shortening and of the subsequent loss of -t from the infinitive by the fourteenth century remain unclear. The result of these changes was to make most infinitival forms homophonous with contemporary finite parts of the verb, the 3rd per. sing. pres. indic. or the 1st per. sing. pres. indic. and 2nd and 3rd per. sing. aor. indic. It is supposed that such homophony led to syntactic incoherence because finite verbal forms appeared to stand in constructions where they were incongruous and that consequently they were replaced either by more appropriate finite verbal forms or by da-clauses. This account has been given in particular of the development of the periphrastic future to its present common construction of a future particle ѡе followed by the present tense of the verb. The stages in such a change are envisaged roughly like this:

хоѡѡ, хоѡѡѡѡ and infinitive, at first ѡѡ ѡѡѡѡѡѡ, then ѡѡ ѡѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ; reduced ѡѡ, ѡѡ ѡѡ ѡѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ; reinterpretation of ѡѡ ѡѡ ѡѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ as two 3rd per. sing. forms

16. See Miklosich 1883 p.873.

17. See Mirchev 1963 p.211 for twelfth century examples, but also Marguliés 1927 *passim* for instances of infinitives in -tѡѡ in Suprasliensis.

18. Suggested by Mladenov 1929 p.268, Belić 1969 p.80; but as Vaillant 1967 shows, the supine was more limited in use and perhaps in formation than the infinitive, and there are signs in the earliest texts that it was being superseded by the infinitive. The formal coincidence of the two categories is thus probably not due to spread of the supine.

and extensions of the new interpretation to the other persons to give щъ се моля, щеш се молиш etc.; finally reduction of the redundant inflected auxiliary to a particle, usually ще.

b) The assumption that finite verb constructions are universally preferred to infinitival ones. This, though not stated outright, is implicit in the suggestion that clauses replaced infinitives because they were clearer, less vague, i.e. because the subject and tense of a verb in a subordinate clause are explicit, while they may have to be understood from the context in an infinitival construction. This view is put forward particularly by Iliev 1921 and Mirchev 1937, who hold that the switch from infinitives to da-clauses can be seen to have been under way even in the earliest records of Bulgarian (see Ch.2).¹⁹

c) Appeal to the influence of other, neighbouring, languages. This stems from the observation that while Bulgarian and Macedonian differ from the other Slavonic languages in their reduced use of the infinitive, they agree in this point with neighbouring, more distantly related languages: Greek, Roumanian and Aroumanian, the Tosk dialect of Albanian. These 'Balkan' languages also share other grammatical and lexical peculiarities, which together have moved linguists to look on the Balkans as an area of convergent linguistic development and its languages as constituting a Sprachbund.²⁰ The fundamental work on this subject is Sandfeld 1930; there is a more recent review in Schaller 1975.

Usually the source of these common developments is sought in one language, either the antique Balkan tongue from which Albanian is descended,²¹ or Greek, or the Latin spoken in the Balkans from which Roumanian and Aroumanian derive. The first account, which attributes lack of an infinitive and other Balkan developments to the influence of a Thracian substratum,

19. A similar account of loss of the infinitive in other languages is given by Bacinschi 1946 and by some writers on the Greek infinitive, e.g. Hesseling 1892, Burguière 1960.

20. This term was introduced by Trubetzkoy 1928 p.18.

was put forward by Miklosich 1862 and taken up in modified form by Weigand 1924 who believed that any Thracian influence on Bulgarian was mediated by Roumanian in the period just before the 2nd Bulgarian Empire. More recently Gabinsky has urged the Thracian origin of the change, especially in his books of 1967 and 1970. He argues that loss of the infinitive occurs in an area which largely coincides with that in which Thracian was spoken in antiquity and where it probably continued to be spoken at least in the more inaccessible regions well into the 1st millennium AD, ultimately becoming Albanian. Thracian is assumed not to have possessed an infinitive because there are no traces to be found in Albanian of an infinitive of the kind familiar in the other Indo-European languages: the infinitival construction of the Geg dialect, once also current in the Tosk dialect according to Gabinsky 1970 and Zhurga 1974, consists of a preposition me followed by a past participle. Thus the limitation or disappearance of the infinitive in other Balkan languages - Slavonic, Romance, Greek - is attributed to the working of substratum influence from a language which had no infinitive.

The Greek source of the Balkan loss of infinitives has often been upheld, notably by Sandfeld 1902 and 1930.²² The Greek infinitives have been lost from the modern language, except as the etyma of a few verbal nouns and as a component in one of the perfect tenses.²³ In their place is used a clause introduced by ὅτι (earlier *ὅνα*), which can be seen to encroach on the sphere of the infinitive in New Testament Greek or even before that, in the writings of Polybius, according to Hesseling 1892 and Aalto 1953. Thus replacement of the infinitive by a clause is attested earlier in Greek than in the other Balkan languages and as the Southern Balkans and the Black Sea coast were inhabited more or less continuously by Greeks from antiquity into the medieval period and the rule of Byzantium extended North to the Danube in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there was ample opportunity

22. See Gallis 1969 and Schaller 1975 for further bibliography.

23. The Greek dialects of Pontus and of Southern Italy retain infinitives in a few constructions with verbs, see Hesseling 1892 and Rohlfs 1958.

for the Greek clausal construction to penetrate other Balkan languages. A parallel development is found by Rohlf's 1958 and 1967 in the South Italian dialects which have restricted the use of their infinitives under local Greek influence.

Balkan Romance has been proposed as the origin of several Balkanisms, including the loss of the infinitive, by Reichenkron 1962 and 1966,²⁴ who sees them as the effects of predominant falling rhythm in the languages of that area. In his view the Balkan languages tend to place stress initially in the word-group or clause, and therefore to put the most important and informative component of an expression at the beginning: so the conjunction which introduces the clausal replacement of the infinitive comes to be the modal marker, instead of the infinitival ending. He thinks Balkan Latin, and its descendent Roumanian, more likely to have influenced spoken Bulgarian than Greek, whose influence he believes to have been primarily literary.²⁵

d) The theory of change through interaction between languages. The difference between this and the type of explanation under c above is that here the stimulus to change is not located in one particular language, but in the linguistic disruption which arises when speakers of different languages come into contact with each other. Schröpfer 1956 suggests that the analytical syntax of Bulgarian, including the use of the da-clause instead of the infinitive, results from interaction between the Slavs and the Turkic-speaking Bulgars: 'Das Neubulgarische und seine Vorstufen ... scheinen aus einer Kompromißsprache erwachsen zu sein, die sich zwischen den wolgabulgarischen Erobern und den Slaven herausbildete, wie solche auch heute in militärisch besetzten Gebieten entstehen'.²⁶

24. See Klagstad 1963 for a similar theory.

25. Rosetti 1958 also takes Greek to have influenced the other Balkan languages as a superstratum, through its cultural superiority.

26. Schröpfer 1956 p.145.

The notion of a Kompromißsprache has been worked out in more depth by Rozentsveig in several works, especially those of 1972 and 1976. He argues that when a language is used both by native and by non-native speakers, it is liable to be modified in the following way: the non-native speakers use it incorrectly, making systematic mistakes (based on the grammatical patterning of their own tongue); the native speakers, observing that certain constructions cause difficulty to foreigners and are wrongly used or misunderstood by them, tend to avoid these constructions in their own speech. They replace them by more transparent ones, in Rozentsveig's terms by constructions which are derived from underlying structure by a smaller number of rules; and they will even violate rules which they would normally apply, if they think that their speech will be made more intelligible to foreigners in this way. The non-native speakers in turn imitate the modified variety of the language which is presented to them and modify it further, to produce maximal transparency and regularity, and this version of the grammar is generally adopted. Rozentsveig regards this process as simplification, because it cuts down the number and complexity of rules connecting underlying and surface grammatical structure.

Infinitival constructions are liable to such simplification because they are less transparent than clauses. Infinitives are not marked for person and number and so the hearer may have to infer from the semantics of the main verb whether the infinitive which depends on it shares its subject or not. If a verb may take an infinitive with either the same or a different subject, that subject must be made explicit, and this is generally done by putting it in a different case, or a different order in relation to its verb, from the normal one for subjects. The subject of the infinitive may then not be formally distinguished from the direct or indirect object of the infinitive: in Latin both subject and object may be in the accusative; in Old Church Slavonic subject and indirect object may both be in the dative. Rules are also needed to determine which governing

expressions take the infinitive and which take clauses with inflected verbal forms. Verbs in subordinate clauses require fewer rules because the same ones for marking the subject apply to them as to main verbs.

Rozentsveig suggests that when the need for simplification arises the infinitive will first be excluded from those constructions for which the rules are most complex, where the main verb and the infinitive take different subjects although they can elsewhere, even preferably, share a single subject (with verbs of thought, speech, sensation and volition). Next the infinitive will be lost in constructions where it always takes a different subject from the main verb (after factive verbs). At this point the infinitive is used only when its subject is identical with that of the main verb (i.e. mostly with modal verbs), but the rules for its use are still complicated since it is in complementary distribution with clauses after some main verbs, e.g. those of sensation and volition. Consequently further simplification takes place, by which clauses oust the infinitive after verbs of sensation and volition altogether, and ultimately after modal verbs as well.

Rozentsveig's outline of the way in which native and non-native speakers interact to change a language is adopted by Hauge 1977,²⁷ who however sees redundancy, rather than simplification, as the most likely outcome of contact between languages. He holds that a number of salient Balkanisms, including replacement of the infinitive by a clause, exemplify the development of redundancy in the interest of more efficient communication. Redundancy is increased by the use of the da-clause instead of an infinitive in constructions where main and subordinate verbs are bound to take the same subject, i.e. with modal verbs.

All these explanations are discussed and criticized, both on general grounds and in the light of the findings of Chapters 2-6, in Ch.7.

27. Tsiv'yan 1965 especially Ch.7 takes a similar view of the effects of contact between languages, which she illustrates by the development of the nominal system in the Balkan languages.

D. Treatment of materials

I. Sources: It is difficult to find texts which reflect developments in the spoken language within this period and area. Many of the texts which survive are translations from other languages, above all from Greek; consequently, in order to eliminate as far as possible foreign literary influence on syntax, works originally composed in some variety of South Slavonic are given preference, even if they have been preserved in Russian, not Bulgarian copies. Such compositions - the Lives of SS. Cyril and Methodius, the sermons attributed to St. Clement of Ohrid and the Treatise of Cosmas the Priest against the Bogomils - are drawn on in Ch.2 and are discussed more fully there.

Most Bulgarian MSS extant from the period under study belong to the conservative tradition of Church Slavonic. The term Church Slavonic is not used here in the highly specific sense given to it by some Bulgarian scholars, such as Ivanova-Mircheva 1977 who restricts it to refer to the Russian Church Slavonic which exercised an influence on Bulgarian literary usage in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Here Church Slavonic is employed to cover a much wider range of attempts to conform to some literary norm. Such norms derive ultimately from Old Church Slavonic (the difference between this and Church Slavonic is explained in Ch.2 Introduction especially p.28), but they underwent modifications, both of a deliberate, systematic kind²⁸ and sporadically when their users failed to observe them and introduced features from the spoken language. The types of Church Slavonic used in Bulgaria in this period could hardly be summed up in one description, especially as they include both Bulgarian and Serbian Church Slavonic; they must rather be defined negatively, by contrasting them on the one hand with the usages of Old Church Slavonic, from which they diverge to some extent, and on the other hand with the occasional

28. See Talev 1973 Chapters 3-4 on fourteenth century Bulgarian norms of Church Slavonic.

inconsistencies which reveal that the written norm did not agree with spoken practice. So Church Slavonic in Bulgaria is characterized both by its retention of old derivational morphology and vocabulary to the exclusion of new, and by its resistance to the syntactic innovations of the spoken language, most of which are counted as Balkanisms: the reduction of the case system and of the use of infinitives and participles; the development of a post-posed definite article, of analytic forms of comparative and superlative, and of enclitic pronominal reduplication of direct and indirect objects. In the later part of the period it is also distinguished by Serbian features (see Chapters 3, 4 and 6).

As works written in the Church Slavonic tradition, by virtue of that tradition, show little or no evidence of decline in the use of the infinitive, preference is given to texts which are generally held to depart more or less radically from the norms of Church Slavonic.²⁹ These are the Troyanska Pritcha, the Bulgarian and Wallachian State Documents of the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, the Prayers of Cserged and the seventeenth century Modern Bulgarian version of the sermons of Damascene the Studite (see Chapters 3-6). These sources are stylistically diverse and so it is not easy to make comparisons of syntax between them. They are also all written under more or less direct influence of some other languages - Latin and Serbo-Croat, Greek, Roumanian, German and Hungarian - and may even owe their independence of Church Slavonic to such influence (see Chapters 4 and 5). The disadvantages entailed by these foreign influences are inescapable and one can only try to make allowance for them.

II. Collection of material: All instances of infinitives and of clauses introduced by da have been excerpted from the sources, with sufficient of

29. See the discussion of sources for the history of Bulgarian in Mirchev 1963 pp.8-25. The selection of texts used in this thesis is inevitably very similar to that drawn on by Ivanova-Mircheva 1962 in her study of the development of the future tense in Bulgarian.

their context to make clear, except when there is actual ambiguity, what construction is used. This method is open to two objections. Firstly, not all da-clauses are equivalent to, or replacements of, infinitives. The particle da is used throughout the period to introduce 1st and 3rd per. imperatives, and in many texts da acts as a co-ordinating as well as a subordinating conjunction. Neither of these functions appears ever to have overlapped with the use of the infinitive. But these constructions have to be included in the corpus because they cannot always be distinguished with certainty from constructions which replaced the infinitive, and because they are relevant to the changes in the internal syntax of da-clauses which took place during the time in which they came to supersede infinitives. Secondly, it may be felt a short-coming that no attention is paid to the replacement of the infinitive by other expressions than the da-clause, particularly by verbal nouns, which can be used in Modern Bulgarian in constructions where an infinitive would once have been admissible.³⁰ This possibility is disregarded because verbal nouns are found as alternatives to infinitive and da-clause alike from the beginning of the period³¹ and because it would be difficult to follow any development in their use through the sources, since in some of these, particularly the State Documents, verbal nouns are very rare.

III. Presentation and analysis of material: This is guided by the two aims which were set out in C.I and II above (pp.5-11): to give full information about the occurrence of infinitives and da-clauses in the sources investigated, and to show how far they support or conflict with the various explanations which have been outlined.

As citation of all the material would be needlessly and tediously lengthy, the findings are presented in the form of numerical tables, and

30. See Deyanova 1979a for some examples.

31. See Milev 1962 especially pp.86-87.

only those constructions are quoted which are in some way remarkable or problematical. The tables are of a very simple kind: they merely state the number of times particular constructions occur in a given text. No attempt is made to reduce these numbers to percentages or to make statistical comparisons between the various sources used. The nature of the subject and of the sources would make this a difficult undertaking and one of doubtful validity. To make a statistical study of syntax one requires large sample stretches of text, in order to ensure that the number of times a construction occurs is significant, and one needs to have several samples from each text in order to check for consistent usage and eliminate or at least allow for stylistic variation. But many of the texts used here, especially those in Chapters 4 and 5, are too short to serve as good samples, let alone to supply several samples, and can only be taken together as a corpus. As well as differing in length, the sources are stylistically diverse and so their material cannot be compared in a straightforward way; in particular it is an essential part of the style of the State Documents examined in Ch.4 that they employ formulaic constructions as well as freely formed ones, and the need to distinguish between these, so far as is possible, would greatly complicate statistical sampling. Finally, I question whether a statistical approach is as helpful in an historical study of the kind attempted here as it might be in an analysis of syntactic divergence between different types of literature, i.e. in stylistic study. When dealing with stylistics one may be mainly concerned to establish characteristic occurrence of constructions and may disregard infrequent deviations. In historical investigation of the present type, where one tries to trace, through the medium of a more or less normalized literary usage, the developments of a spoken language, one has to rely precisely on those occasional departures from the normal rule which in purely statistical terms may be insignificant. The conclusions which one draws from stray deviations of this kind can only be tentative;

but they may constitute the sole available evidence of change.

The tables are organized in the following way. The first, second and third in each section show the numbers of infinitives and of da-clauses governed respectively by verbs, impersonal expressions and parts of speech other than verbs - nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs. The number of times a governing expression occurs is indicated in a separate column, since several infinitives or da-clauses may be governed by a single expression. In each Table I the columns for infinitives and da-clauses are sub-divided to show whether they share the subject of their governing verb or have a different subject from it. In the comments on each of these tables any passive or negated verbs in the infinitive or in a da-clause are noted. They are not presented in tables because they occur infrequently.

Table IV deals with other constructions in which either the infinitive or the da-clause is involved: final expressions, in which either may be used; 1st and 3rd per. imperatives and other non-subordinated constructions in which infinitives are very rare; and expressions which are represented only by da-clauses: co-ordinative, consecutive and conditional constructions. In addition the various conjunctions which are to be found before infinitives or da-clauses, and whose precise value is often difficult to determine, are enumerated in this table, as well as being mentioned in brackets in the other tables to which their constructions seem to belong (see Conventions below, p.22).

Table V is concerned only with da-clauses, for it shows the various tenses and moods of the verbs which are found in them. The sixth and seventh tables, on the other hand, cover both infinitives and da-clauses and both have to do with word-order: Table VI states in how many instances out of the whole number in any text an infinitive is separated from its governing verb, or da from the verb which it introduces, by other, presumed non-enclitic, elements (see Conventions on enclitics, p.22-23); Table VII gives the number of times that infinitives or da-clauses are placed

before their governing expressions.

Chapters III and IV have eighth tables which show the distribution of short infinitives.

The material in Tables I-IV has been excerpted in order to show the use, and potentially the changes in use of the infinitive and the da-clause in their various possible constructions within the period under study. It is also intended to supply ways of testing some of the hypotheses about why the infinitive came to be supplanted by the da-clause, particularly those which appeal to the greater clarity or explicitness of the da-clause, to the advantage it possesses in marking the subject of its verb overtly. The same consideration prompts the inclusion of the information about tense and mood in da-clauses in Table V: these categories are excluded from the infinitive in Slavonic languages and can only be expressed in clauses with finite verbs (tense, but not mood, can be marked in participles), as the Canonical Old Church Slavonic texts examined in the Introduction to Ch.2 show. Their evidence also suggests that the choice of a clause might sometimes be motivated by the need for a passive or negated subordinate verb.

Tables VI and VII are meant to discover whether the changing functions of the infinitive and da-clause were correlated to changes in their combinatorial possibilities in the sentence. As Mincheva 1968 remarks, in Old Church Slavonic word-order in da-clauses was free, but in modern Bulgarian da is proclitic on its verb and may be separated from it only by other enclitics. Its association with the verb is so close that Goľab 1954 and Maslov 1962 both suggest that it should be categorized as a morphological marker, a part of the subjunctive mood of the verb, rather than a conjunction comparable to че, ако, като etc.³²

At the end of each section, after the last table, attention is given to the forms of the infinitives which are attested in the material of that

32. See Deyanova 1979b for modifications of this view and retorts to some of the objections which have been made to it.

section (except in Ch.2, where the MSS are too distant from their originals to provide information on this point relevant to the history of Bulgarian); and any signs of confusion between the infinitive and finite parts of the verb are noted in order to test the explanation outlined in C II a, p.6.

When the material is analyzed according to the principles implied by the tables, certain problems arise, which can all be subsumed under the head of syntactic indeterminacy. A number of them are due to the multiplicity of ways in which, da may be used: as modal particle, co-ordinating conjunction, or subordinating conjunction introducing consecutive, final, complementary or conditional clauses. It may therefore be uncertain whether a da-clause should be regarded as subordinated or not, since it may be understood either as an imperative or as dependent on an expression involving the idea of command, or even as a loosely attached final clause (see especially Ch. 4 passim). Likewise, although in particular instances da-clauses may be clearly co-ordinative or clearly consecutive in sense, it is not feasible to draw a firm dividing line between these constructions, since in its co-ordinating function da has the sense 'and so/and then'. Occasionally, too, it is not clear whether a da-clause is consecutive or final, as in sentences like 'I shall mince the onion finely so that you won't notice it'. In the tables co-ordinative and consecutive da-clauses are treated together; other indeterminacies among da-clauses are commented on.

Granted that an infinitive or da-clause is subordinate, it may yet not be obvious whether it depends on the whole main clause or is governed by one particular element in it. A semantic distinction may be at issue here. For instance, when the main verb of the sentence is some part of 'to pray' and there is an attendant infinitive or da-clause, this may be taken either as dependent on the main verb, as an expression of the content of the prayer, or as a final construction, dependent on the whole main clause and expressing the purpose which motivates the prayer. These two senses are not always distinct, or worth distinguishing, since one may often suppose the content of a prayer to include a formulation of its hoped result; but it is not

difficult to find instances in which content and purpose could plausibly be different, e.g. 'Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation'. Again, when a subordinate clause is used with the verb 'to beware' it may be understood either as the complement, the event of which one is to beware, or as a final clause conveying the aim of the precaution. Often the distinction is an idle one, but it is possible to imagine instances in which it would be real, e.g. 'beware that you do not blow the horn, lest you wake the sleepers'. In this sentence 'that you do not blow the horn' complements 'beware' in the same way as the pronoun does in 'beware of them'.

Elsewhere, particularly with verbs of motion, there is no semantic difference between complementary and final subordinate expressions. Nevertheless, one may wish to treat dependent expressions which share the subject of the verb of motion (expressions in which the supine could be used when it existed, see the Introduction to Ch.2, III B, p.49) separately from those which have a different subject. For example, 'I went to see them' is comparable to 'I went to their house' in a way that 'I went in order that they should see me' is not.

Similar difficulties are met in determining the syntactic relationships of infinitives and da-clauses to governing expressions other than verbs. Three groups can be distinguished. In the first, nouns and adjectives, e.g. 'command, possibility, willing, ready, free, glad', can be said to take complements just as the semantically related verbs do. In the second, pronouns and adverbs, and less often nouns, have a double syntactic function, both in the main clause and the subordinate one. This is the type of construction found in 'I don't know where to sit / what to eat; there is nothing to do; the time has come to leave'. The third group consists of nouns and pronouns which are explicated by subordinate expressions. The commonest of these in the material examined here are the pronouns 'this' and 'that' used to anticipate final expressions, as in 'For this I was born, and for this I have come into the world, to bear witness to the truth'.

These three groups can overlap so that it may not always be worth distinguishing them, and they do not form a part of the classification used in the tables but are merely mentioned in the comments. Further, when the main verb is the Slavonic БЪИТИ, it can be difficult to decide whether an infinitive, or less often a da-clause, is governed in one of these ways, or is actually the subject of БЪИТИ used either modally or as a copula. Examples of this problem are to be found particularly in Ch.2, the section on the Sermons of St. Clement, Tables II and III, pp.102 and 105.

It may be felt that the grammatical framework presupposed by the tables is inadequate, if it admits these kinds of indeterminacy. And indeed, no especial validity is claimed for the principles on which the tables are based. Rather, they and the terminology which accompanies them have been chosen for practical reasons: the aim has been to present the material without the technicalities of any more specific linguistic approach than a broadly traditional one, but in a manner which, it is hoped, is explicit and perspicuous, so that the information provided could be incorporated in more sophisticated linguistic analysis. Some assumptions are of course made about the categories and the working of grammar, e.g. the distinction between nouns, verbs, adjectives etc.; the distinction between subordination of a clause to a single word, in which function it is here termed the 'complement' of that word and is considered grammatically parallel to a nominal or pronominal complement, and subordination to a whole clause. Related to this is the assumption that certain words require particular kinds of complements, either nominal or clausal (or infinitival) or both, and that these requirements must be satisfied in the syntactic analysis of the sentence: so 'to be able' calls for an infinitival or clausal complement, 'to want' and 'to beware' for either a nominal or a clausal/infinitival complement, 'to order' and 'to send' for a clause or infinitive and a nominal complement which is the subject of that clause or infinitive. In order to apply Rozentsveig's hypothesis to the material it is also

assumed that one can reasonably talk about a subject of an infinitive, and about whether it coincides with the subject of the main verb, or with some other person referred to in the sentence, even if no such subject of the infinitive is overtly expressed. (This assumption is supported by the equivalence in the history of Bulgarian between the infinitive and the da-clause where the subject is obligatorily marked.) As far as possible constructions are not treated as differing from each other unless they can be distinguished in some specific way, which should preferably be syntactic, though it must be obvious from what has been said above that different kinds of da-clause can sometimes only be distinguished on semantic grounds. Where this principle cannot be followed, the difficulty is explained and the ad hoc solution outlined, either in the Conventions below, p.22, or in the discussions in the various chapters.

However, while it is not claimed that the grammatical analysis adopted here is ideal, the indeterminacy which it admits is considered not to be necessarily a disadvantage. On the contrary, in a study of historical change an analysis which produced a straightforward exhaustive classification of the material could be regarded as suspect. If one takes the view³³ that grammatical change tends to operate by gradual modification of a system, proceeding from sporadic deviations to generalization of a new pattern, then one may expect, even hope, to find inconsistency and indeterminacy within the usage at one stage or another in the period of change. Particularly in the study of syntactic change, when one is trying to trace the extension of one construction at the expense of another, it should be natural to find places where it is unclear whether the construction which is spreading is used in its old function or in one which it has taken over. For it is a point repeatedly made, notably by Sandfeld 1902 and Gabinsky 1970a, but too little emphasized, that such change must start from some similarity, or rather overlap, between the two constructions, since

33. See for example the recent work summarized in Labov 1972.

otherwise there is no reason why the construction which is lost should be supplanted by another unrelated in function, nor why it should be lost at all.

IV. Conventions: In all the tables question-marks are used to indicate the numbers of passages where the MS readings either vary or are obscure, and these are discussed in the comments which follow each table. Numbers enclosed in brackets show the incidence of co-ordinated verbs after da or infinitives after their governing expressions.

The occurrence of ѣже, ѣако, ѣако, ѣаа, ѣаево etc. with infinitives or da-clauses is given in Table IV. In addition these conjunctions are noted in Tables I-IV when they enter into the constructions dealt with in these tables. They are put in brackets if they are only sporadically found with particular governing expressions.

In Tables I-III the order in which the governing expressions are listed is arbitrary, though constant from one section to another. It bears a rough relation to frequency of occurrence. The governing expressions are cited in normalized spelling.

In Table I 'diff. subj.' normally means 'subject (of the infinitive or da-clause) which coincides with the direct or indirect object of the main verb' except in construction with governing verbs of volition, entreaty and precaution, where it simply means 'subject not identical with that of the main verb'. Any other isolated exceptions to this rule are explained in the comments.

Supines are tabulated together with infinitives, since they appear from the earliest texts onwards to have been in free variation with infinitives. Their presence is noted in the comments to Table I.

For the purposes of Table VI 'enclitics' are those of modern Bulgarian which may stand between da and its verb: the short oblique-case personal pronouns, the negative and interrogative particles не and ли. In earlier stages of the language's history the personal pronouns were probably not, or not always, enclitic. Havránek 1963 argues from the evidence of word-

order that in Old Church Slavonic the accusative forms ѡѡ, ѡѡ, ѡѡ could be either stressed or enclitic. However, it is not usually possible to ascertain from the written sources exactly where stress was placed; and to fix the stages in the development of enclitic pronouns in Bulgarian on the basis of word-order would be a separate study in itself. Therefore the forms from which enclitics derive are themselves treated as enclitics here, although it is recognized that this solution may distort the truth in some places.

In Ch.2 the sources examined contain a large number of quotations, mainly from Scripture. As far as possible these have been abstracted from the material which is supposed to be original and are tabulated separately. However in some places Biblical allusions are found whose language seems not to be modelled directly on that of their originals, and these are included in the Slavonic material (see especially the sections in Ch.2 on the Sermons of St. Clement and the Treatise of Cosmas).

The quotations which illustrate the comments are all taken from published sources. Where possible editions which reproduce the punctuation and orthography of the MSS have been used. In the quotations punctuation, spelling and abbreviations have been preserved, but minor variation in letter-form, and diacritical marks with the exception of the stresses in the damascene text investigated in Ch.6, have been omitted as irrelevant to the study of syntax. There are three exceptions to this rule. The Life of St. Cyril in Ch.2 is quoted from the edition of Grivec and Tomšič 1960, although abbreviations are expanded and punctuation modernized in it, because its division of the text facilitates reference. The Treatise of Cosmas (Ch.2) and the Wallachian documents (Ch.4) are also published with expanded abbreviations and modern punctuation. In these instances editorial punctuation is omitted from quotations, in case it should prejudice syntactic interpretation.

CHAPTER II : OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC AND OLD BULGARIAN

Introduction

The earliest direct and extensive records of any Slavonic language are furnished by the Old Church Slavonic Canonical MSS, the principal of which are the Gospel texts Zographensis, Marianus, Assemanianus and Savvina Kniga, the psalter Psalterium Sinaiticum, the liturgical books Euchologium Sinaiticum and Kiev Folia and the collections of sermons in Clozianus and Suprasliensis.¹ On palaeographical and linguistic grounds these MSS are dated to the late tenth and the eleventh centuries, but their texts are held to have originated during the late ninth century in the translations made by SS. Cyril and Methodius and their immediate associates.

As natives of Thessalonica, a Greek city in a Slavonic-speaking area, SS. Cyril and Methodius were conversant both with Greek (the language of their education) and with an early South Slavonic dialect.² The variety of South Slavonic, characterized by such conservative features as the etymologically correct retention of the reduced vowels ѣ and ѥ, which can be seen to underlie the language of the Old Church Slavonic Canon is taken to correspond to the Thessalonican dialect, and the Slavonic phonology of Thessalonica is presumably reflected in the Glagolitic alphabet, which is now generally ascribed to St. Cyril's invention.³ This alphabet implies certain phonological peculiarities which were not common to all

1. See Kul'bakin 1922 for a discussion of the criteria on which the Old Church Slavonic Canon is based. He includes the Russian Gospel Lectionary Ostromir. I prefer here to exclude it, since it systematically exhibits linguistic features alien to the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition and since it adds nothing to the present syntactic study.

2. See VM Ch.5, the Emperor Michael III's remark to SS. Cyril and Methodius: **ВЪІ БО ІЄСТА СЕЛОУНАНИНА ДА СЕЛОУНАНЕ ВЪСН УНСТО СЛОВѢНЬСКЪІ БЕСѢДОУЮТЬ.**

3. See Vlasto 1970 pp.40-44.

the Slavonic dialects of the Balkans: the open pronunciation of ѣ, the marginal status of /j/ in the phonemic system, perhaps the outcomes of Common Slavonic *tj and *dj, if Trubetzkoy's 1954 interpretation of Glagolitic is accepted. Certain lexical items of Old Church Slavonic are also attributed to the Thessalonican dialect, particularly by L'vov 1966. Distinctive characteristics in morphology and syntax are not so apparent, but their possible existence should not be discounted. It must also be borne in mind that the language of the Slavs around Thessalonica was probably more deeply influenced by Greek than were varieties of Slavonic spoken further North.

However, most of SS. Cyril and Methodius's literary work in Slavonic was accomplished as part of their missionary activity in Moravia, an area where West Slavonic, not South Slavonic was spoken, though at this early date the differences between the two were apparently minor ones which did not hinder mutual comprehension. A translation of the Gospels, probably a Lectionary rather than a full version,⁴ was started before they left Constantinople for Moravia (see VC Ch.14). The Church services, and presumably the Psalter and the Lectionary from Acts and the Epistles, were translated early in the Moravian mission (VC Ch.15). They were available when SS. Cyril and Methodius visited Rome in 868, presented their Slavonic Church books for Pope Hadrian's blessing and celebrated the Liturgy in Slavonic (VC Ch.17). St. Methodius afterwards added substantially to this body of material, translating the rest of the Bible (except Maccabees) and other Church books (VM Ch.15) into Slavonic before his death in 885. Translations were also made of Latin and Old High German texts current in Moravia, as the Kiev Folia and Euchologium Sinaiticum Foll.72a-73a bear witness. It appears that the linguistic form, as well as the content of

4. See Zhukovskaya 1976 Ch.4 on the different types of Gospel MS known among the Slavs and their chronology.

the Slavonic texts translated in Moravia was dictated in some measure by local conditions. The Kiev Folia exhibit a language which, at least in phonology, is a systematic compromise between South and West Slavonic. It is an easy surmise that in the course of more than twenty years' ministry to the Moravians St. Methodius and his followers, some of whom were native to Moravia,⁵ incorporated at least some features of the local manner of speech into their new Slavonic literary language. Occasional Moravianisms survive in the Bulgarian and Macedonian copies of the Church books which were made after St. Methodius's death and the expulsion of his disciples from Moravia: certain lexical variants in the Gospel MSS are derived from a Moravian recension by L'vov 1966 and West Slavonic phonology can be traced in such forms as роубѣства (Mar. Matth.14.6, Cloz. Fol.14a.1,3) небѣзѣства (Ps. Sin. Ps.24.7), оубаце (Ps. Sin. Ps.29.1).⁶

If at one stage the Gospels, Psalter and other Church books presented a similar appearance to that of the Kiev Folia, they must have been subjected to a very thorough revision South of the Danube. Even in the Glagolitic tradition⁷ which was preserved by St. Methodius's disciples SS. Clement and Naum in Macedonia Moravianisms are found only sporadically. This is the less surprising if weight is attached to the testimony of their short Lives,⁸ that both men originated from Moravia, and if it is remembered that in the exodus from Moravia (V Clem. Chapters 13-16) they may not have been able to carry with them all their teacher's works, though they may have been able to use the copies which St. Methodius deposited in Constantinople shortly before his death (VM Ch.13). In East

5. For example Gorazd, see VM Ch.17, V Clem. Ch.2.7, Ch.12.35.

6. See Diels 1932 p.131.

7. Represented by the Canonical MSS Zographensis, Marianus, Clozianus, Psalterium Sinaiticum, Euchologium Sinaiticum, Assemanianus and a few fragments.

8. See Ivanov 1970 pp.312,316; but these Lives are late and of doubtful reliability.

Bulgarian there was a greater departure from the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition. The Greek-based Cyrillic alphabet was adopted and the Canonical MSS in which it is used, *Savvina Kniga* and *Suprasliensis*, show a more or less markedly different, Eastern vocabulary. Tseitlin 1977 discusses these and related morphological features, especially in *Suprasliensis* and also in some Glagolitic MSS (notably *Euchologium Sinaiticum*).

The Canonical texts are thus written in a composite language which embraces elements from at least three or four Slavonic dialects of the late ninth and early tenth centuries: Thessalonican, Moravian, Macedonian and East Bulgarian. Furthermore, the MSS in which these texts survive, being the outcome of copying over a hundred to a hundred and fifty years, incorporate later alterations, as the result both of deliberate revision and of scribal error. At this early period it seems to have been permissible to modify the language of sacred texts in accordance with local spoken usage⁹ (though the number of conflicting variant forms in the eleventh century MSS may indicate that their scribes no longer felt free to revise what they copied). As a consequence, it is often difficult or even impossible to establish the original readings of SS. Cyril and Methodius's translations, and scholars differ over the principles which may be applied to this task as well as the assessment of their findings: for example, while it is agreed that the first Gospel translation was a Lectionary and that the full text of the four Gospels was translated later, though probably still in Moravia, the relationship between the extant Lectionaries, the short *Aprakos* Gospels *Assemanianus* and *Savvina Kniga*, and the full, or *Tetra*, Gospels *Zographensis* and *Marianus* is disputed. Horálek 1954 follows the principle that freer translation which preserves the idiom of Slavonic and does not adhere literally to the Greek original is the mark of SS. Cyril and Methodius's work; so he considers that the texts of the full

9. See Zhukovskaya 1976 passim.

Gospels in the MSS Zographensis and Marianus are on the whole nearer in their Lectionary portions to St. Cyril's first translation and in the remaining passages and in sporadic revisions to the Moravian usage of St. Methodius. In his view the Lectionaries Savvina Kniga and, still more, Assemanianus, though they preserve some old readings, show signs of textual revision in Bulgaria. On the other hand L'vov 1966 thinks that the Graecizing features of Assemanianus may have been original to St. Cyril's translation and may have been expurgated as work proceeded in Moravia on the full Gospels. Both these scholars disagree with the earlier opinion of Vondrák, discussed by Horálek and repeated by Vlasto 1970, that the parts of the full Gospel translation which were added to the original Aprakos version represent an inferior translating technique.

The Old Church Slavonic of the Canonical texts, then, is not a homogeneous variety of early South Slavonic, nor a fully normalized literary language. It includes variant forms of differing date and local provenance, and it is only because such variants are comparatively infrequent and because of the predominance of old usages close to Common Slavonic, that Old Church Slavonic can be distinguished from the varieties of Church Slavonic which came to be used as literary norms in Russia, Serbia, Bulgaria, and elsewhere.

As the earliest stage in the development of a Slav literary language, Old Church Slavonic has a particular interest for the historian of South Slavonic, since it may be supposed to be comparatively little removed from the spoken practice of its time. Nevertheless, it cannot be taken as direct evidence for what was spoken, both because it is, as has been explained, a mixed tongue, combining elements from South and West Slavonic, and because, being almost entirely a language of translation, it is under the direct influence of Greek and to a lesser extent of Latin and Old High German. Old Church Slavonic should not be equated with Old Bulgarian, Old Macedonian or Old Serbian. However it is legitimate to draw on the Old

Church Slavonic Canonical texts for evidence about the earliest period in the written history of the South Slavonic languages, particularly of Bulgarian and Macedonian, as Mirchev 1963 and Koneski 1966 do. There are two reasons which justify this procedure: firstly that the language of the original texts of SS. Cyril and Methodius, so far as it can be perceived through the later accretions in the MSS, appears practically to have coincided in phonology and morphology with Common Slavonic; and secondly that the usage of the Canonical MSS (if the Kiev Folia are set aside) is consonant with the assumption that the texts were transmitted within the lands where South Slavonic languages, above all Bulgarian and Macedonian, have been spoken. Thus the Canonical MSS provide evidence for an early stage, probably a common one, in the development of the South Slavonic languages, and also include features from slightly later stages in their diverging histories. One may fairly suppose that the language of these MSS was acceptable to Slavs South of the Danube, though it probably did not coincide in all points with the spoken practice of any of them.

It is particularly difficult to assess the reliability of the Old Church Slavonic Canonical texts as evidence for the syntax of early South Slavonic. Imponderables such as the conceivable syntactic differences between early South Slavonic dialects, or possible stylistic variety in the syntactic usage of the Slavs, must be set aside; the main problem is to determine at what points these studiously faithful translations, mostly of Greek, followed their originals so literally as to do violence to Slavonic syntax. The structures and categories of New Testament Greek and of ninth century Slavonic resembled each other enough to allow close, even word-for-word translations of many passages. Consequently differences between the syntax of the two languages can only be detected, with more or less certainty, either by finding conflicting translations, one closer in construction to the Greek than another, in the texts, or by checking the usage of Old Church Slavonic against the hypothetical syntax which is ascribed to Common Slavonic on the basis of comparison between the Slavonic

languages. The latter course is not free of circularity, since Old Church Slavonic is used in the reconstruction of Common Slavonic.

A further problem is presented by the absence of Greek originals for parts of Euchologium Sinaiticum and Suprasliensis¹⁰ and the uncertainty surrounding the Greek Gospel text. The early Slavonic short Aprakos appears to derive from a Greek version (not the one current in Constantinople, according to Horálek 1954) which contained variants not ordinarily recorded in critical editions of the New Testament.¹¹

Those studies which touch on the ways of rendering Greek infinitival constructions, such as Pastrnek 1903, Słoiński 1908, Grünenthal 1910-11, Kurz 1937-39, Milev 1962 and Vaillant 1964, show some clearcut divergences between the idioms of Greek and of Old Church Slavonic. In particular, the Greek construction of preposition, article and infinitive to convey temporal or causal circumstance (ἐν τῷ, πρὸ τοῦ, μετὰ τό, διὰ τό + infinitive) is usually rendered in Old Church Slavonic by a subordinate clause. Old Church Slavonic has no close equivalent to the Greek preposed definite article, and the combination of preposition and infinitive appears not to be natural to it. In oratio obliqua, too, Slavonic uses a clause or participle where Greek could have an infinitive, e.g. after мѣнѣти, глаголати, вѣдѣти, and when an infinitive is found in Slavonic with these verbs it is probably due to Greek influence.¹² Old Church Slavonic lacks the tensed infinitives of Greek, and its preference in reported speech for finite verbs or participles, which can be marked for tense, bears out the observation of Brecht 1974, that infinitives which do not distinguish tense are

10. Clozianus Foll.1b.21-3a.23 contains a homily for which no Greek original has been found. It is thought by some, e.g. Vašica 1949, to be an original Slavonic composition by St. Methodius.

11. See Zhukovskaya 1976 pp.234-41.

12. See Vaillant 1964 pp.362-63, Vaillant 1977 pp.214-15. Conversely, under Greek influence the participle replaces the infinitive as the complement of прѣстати.

not a convenient mode for indirect speech. In indirect deliberative questions, on the other hand, of the type 'I do not know what to do / what I am to do', Old Church Slavonic translates Greek finite verbs with infinitives.

There are only a few types of construction in which the Old Church Slavonic texts are generally agreed to abandon native usage for a Greek style, and they occur rarely. Pacnerová 1964 suggests that the following infinitival constructions stem from Greek influence: infinitives introduced by prepositions; ѣже + infinitive in imitation of τό + infinitive;¹³ the accusative and infinitive - when Old Church Slavonic specifies the subject of the infinitive, it puts it in the dative; final infinitives rather than final clauses; the historic infinitive; оутворѣдѣти, (сѣ)творѣти governing the infinitive;¹⁴ and ѣако + infinitive to render ὥστε + infinitive. The Gospels usually translate the last of these constructions in its consecutive sense by ѣако + indicative, in its final sense by аа + indicative, but they sometimes use the infinitive and Suprasliensis does so regularly for the consecutive sense.¹⁵ To Pacnerová's list may be added the use of the infinitive after ѣгаа and вѣнегаа, which Pastrnek 1903 finds quite frequently in the psalter for ἐν τῷ + infinitive or even for a Greek clause, e.g.:

Ps.36.33. ὅταν κρύνηται αὐτῷ - ѣгаа сѣдѣти сѣа емоу

With the above minor exceptions, the distribution of infinitives in Old Church Slavonic is generally held to be in accordance with Slavonic idioms. The studies of Rothe 1954, drawing on the Gospels and Suprasliensis, and Pacnerová 1964, based on the Gospels alone, agree largely in

13. Kurz 1937-37 suggests that combinations of ѣже + infinitive which have the function of subject may not be simply an imitation of the Greek article + infinitive, but may be used to emphasize this function of the infinitive.

14. Yet in Clozianus Fol.4b.23-24. πάντα ταῦτα εἰς λήθην ἐνέβαλεν ἡ φυλακὴ ἀργυρία is translated as вѣсе то сѣребролѣѣствѣе сѣтворено естъ зазѣиѣти

15. See Rothe 1954 Ch.4.

their findings, though the details of their classifications differ. Pacnerová recognizes four main types of construction: a) the infinitive as complement of phasal and modal verbs; b) the infinitive as qualifier of nouns and as object, or occasionally subject, of verbs which unlike phasals or modals take a different subject from that of the dependent infinitive; c) the infinitive in final function after verbs, especially verbs of motion, adjectives and nouns; d) clauses where the infinitive stands alone, e.g. after ѠАКО or interrogative pronouns, or in indirect speech or modal constructions with БЪИТИ, or in debitative sense in Mark 2.22 and Luke 5.38. Rothe's categories are: a) prolativ infinitive, which shares the subject of the main verb and is found typically in the future periphrases with ХОТѢТИ, ИМАТИ, ВЪУАТИ, НАУАТИ described by Birnbaum 1958, but also after many verbs which appear in Pacnerová's second and third groups, such as ЖЕЛАТИ, НАДѢАТИ СЯ, ТРѢБОВАТИ, УАГАТИ, ОБѢЩАТИ, СЪВѢЩАТИ etc., verbs of motion, and МОУТИ; b) infinitives with governing verbs which take a different subject - this class coincides with the rest of Pacnerová's second group and includes verbs that take an infinitive of indirect speech, but not reflexives of these verbs, so that НОУАТИ is placed here but НОУАТИ СЯ belongs to Rothe's first group; c) impersonal constructions of all kinds, in which Rothe, unlike Pacnerová, holds that the infinitive is not to be regarded as the subject; d) ѠАКО(ЖЕ) + infinitive in various functions. The infinitive after interrogative pronouns is placed by Rothe in his first group, since the subject coincides with that of the governing verb. His criteria are thus purely syntactic, whereas Pacnerová's are syntactico-semantic; but the constructions which they find are the same. And these constructions are recognized by Vondrák 1928 in his account of the uses of the infinitive common to the early stages of the Slavonic languages. The only other infinitival constructions which he mentions are a few marginal ones such as the Russian ЗНАТЬ НЕ ЗНАЮ or ТАК СКАЗАТЬ.

Thus, with the exception of the few obvious imitations of Greek, the

usage of Old Church Slavonic is regarded as compatible with a hypothetical early South Slavonic dialect in which infinitives were still normally used in a variety of constructions, though not in a way exactly parallel to Greek. This view is challenged, however, by Mirchev 1937.¹⁶ He argues that the beginning of the process by which the infinitive was supplanted by the da-clause in Bulgarian is to be found in the Old Church Slavonic texts, in passages where a Greek infinitive is translated by a da-clause. It follows from this that the use of the infinitive to translate similar constructions must be attributed to Greek influence and must have been to some extent unnatural to South Slavonic dialects of the time. Mirchev does not incline to the view of Kul'bakin 1921, that da-clauses increased in the transmission of the Gospel texts in Bulgaria during the tenth and eleventh centuries, and that older readings can be found in some MSS later than the Canonical ones, e.g. in the Miroslav Gospel. In Mirchev's view there is too great a degree of agreement between the Canonical versions of the texts for one to suppose that much textual alteration took place during that time. Consequently he appears to consider the wide-spread use of da-clauses original to the language of the first translations, and this means that he must assume much more and greater fluctuation between literal and free translation in the work of SS. Cyril and Methodius than has generally been suspected.

Kurz 1937-39, Sławski 1945 and Horálek 1948 and 1954 raise various objections to Mirchev's interpretation. They point out that the distribution of the infinitive was simply different in Slavonic and in Greek, and that in some places a Slavonic infinitive might have been stylistically inappropriate, in others, as already explained, grammatically impossible as a translation of a Greek infinitive. They suggest that πρὸς τό and τοῦ + infinitive were felt by the translators to have a stronger final sense

16. A monograph which modifies Iliev's article of 1921 on the same subject.

than would be conveyed by a simple infinitive. They also believe that Old Church Slavonic tended to avoid an infinitive with a different subject from that of the governing verb.¹⁷ In some passages, as they remark, the Greek itself varies between an infinitival construction and a clause introduced, e.g., by ὅτι, and there may have been other instances of this which are hidden from us by our ignorance of the Greek Gospel text which was used for the first Slavonic translations. It should be added that the number of da-clauses for Greek infinitives in later Bulgarian Gospel MSS rather decreases than increases,¹⁸ but this is because they were corrected according to a Greek text, and they can provide very little information about the development of spoken Bulgarian syntax.

A full re-examination of the use of infinitives and da-clauses in Old Church Slavonic will not be attempted here, but the relevant passages from the Gospels, the Psalter and Suprasliensis, the texts on which Mirchev draws, will be considered¹⁹ and it will be pointed out that only a few of

17. This calls for qualification: it is normal in Old Church Slavonic for verbs such as ВЕЛѢТИ, ЗАПОВѢДАТИ, ААТИ, ОУУНТИ to take infinitives with different subjects.

18. I have found evidence of this, for example, in comparing the thirteenth century Bulgarian Dobreishovo Gospel with Marianus.

19. The passages quoted are taken from Mirchev's article and from Horálek 1954, Kurz 1937-39 and Pastrnek 1903. In addition I have checked through Suprasliensis finding da-clause complements and comparing them with the Greek originals when these are known, but I have not attempted a complete comparison of the text of Suprasliensis with its Greek sources, and so have not, for example, noted places where Suprasliensis renders a Greek clause with a Slavonic infinitive.

Unless otherwise stated, the Old Church Slavonic text of the Gospels is quoted from Marianus. The Greek New Testament is quoted from Nestlé 1971 with variants from Tischendorf 1869-72 and the Psalms from Rahlfs 1965. No attempt has been made to seek out possible Greek originals beyond the variants given in these standard editions, nor to determine priority when more than one Greek reading may have been known to the translators and copiers of the Old Church Slavonic texts. Similarly the relationships between the different Old Church Slavonic Gospel texts in their various MSS are not examined and no systematic consideration is given to the question of which variants belong to which stages in the Old Church Slavonic translation of Scripture. The question is indeed relevant, but, as is clear from Zhukovskaya 1976, it calls for so many other aspects of any passage - lexical, morphological, phonological - to be taken into account, as well as the textological setting, that any attempt at answers would be far beyond the scope of the present study.

reads ἵνα ... ἀποτιμηθῶσι, and the Slavonic may derive from this construction.

In other places the choice of a da-clause can only be attributed to free translation:

iv. A.sl.Ph. XVIII p.153. ἐπέτρεψε τῷ σακελλαρίῳ αὐτοῦ ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ καλέσαι εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν αὐτοῦ δώδεκα ὀνόματα πτωχοὺς ὀφείλοντας μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀριστῆσαι - повелѣ сакелароу своѣмоу въз ѣдихъ дѣнь ѣдихъ привести ѣ маѡмоути·на трапезѣ своѣ да оѣдоу҃хѣтѣ съ нмѣ (Supr. 121.8-10)

v. P.G. 48 p.779. ὁ οὖν ταπεινότερον μὴ παρατησάμενος ποιῆσαι, πῶς τὸ ὑψηλότερον παρητήσατο ἂν ποιῆσαι; - да же сѣмѣрнѣиша не отъврѣже сѧ сътворити·како взише (sic) да взи отъврѣгѣтѣ сѧ сътворити (Supr. 303.28 - 304.1)

See also I B, p.37.

vi. Z.sl.Ph. XI p.315. τοῦτο λογισάμενος ἡ πεύθειν αὐτὸν ἀρνήσασθαι τὸ τοῦ Κυρίου ὄνομα ἡ τιμωρήσασθαι πρὸ τοῦ ἐνεχθῆναι τὸν ἄγιον Κώνωνα - се помзислѣвъ·или да о҃убѣшѣтѣ отъврѣшѣ сѧ христосова имене·или да мѣхѣтѣ же҃го доу҃ждае прѣведѣнъ сѣдетѣ ѣтии кононъ (Supr. 46.18-22)

The first da-clause here is most naturally taken as direct speech with da used as an optative particle, but the second changes to indirect speech as in the Greek. The choice of da-clauses can also be explained by the presence of the pronoun τοῦτο - се, see II B ix, xiii, pp.47 and 48.

There are several specific differences between the structures of Old Church Slavonic and of Greek which impel the use of a da-clause to render an infinitive. The most obvious of these are the existence of a conditional mood and the lack of a true passive voice, especially of a passive infinitive, in Old Church Slavonic. The Slavonic conditional mood has no exact equivalent in Greek and its use is independent and difficult to define. Bräuer 1957 suggests that in final clauses it conveys a wish to achieve a certain end, modified by doubt whether its achievement is possible; it is also used in unreal conditionals. His collection of examples on the whole supports his interpretation, since the majority express desired events which did not in fact take place, e.g.:

Mark 9.22. καὶ πολλάκις καὶ εἰς πῦρ αὐτὸν ἐβάλεν·καὶ εἰς ὕδατα ἵνα

ἀπολέση αὐτόν - и мѣножицеѣхъ і въ огнь вѣвръже·и въ водахъ да и би погов-
бихъ

Cloz. Fol.5b 1-3. θέλεις μαθεῖν πόσα ἐποίησεν ὥστε αὐτὸν ἀνακτῆσασθαι -
хочешъ ли оубѣдѣти колико створи да би логыи вѣилъ

However some of Bräuer's examples show that the distinction between the conditional and the indicative after da is a fine one and that they may be almost free alternatives:

John 11.53. ἐβουλεύσαντο ἵνα ἀποκτείνωσιν αὐτόν - сѣвѣшаша да и бѣ
оубилахъ

John 12.10. ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἵνα καὶ τὸν Λάζαρον ἀποκτείνω-
σιν - сѣвѣшаша же архiereи. до и лазара оубиѣхъ (so also Matth. 26.4)

Mark 10.13. καὶ προσέφερον αὐτῷ παιδία ἵνα αὐτῶν ἄψηται - і приноша-
ахъ къ нему дѣти. да ѣа коснеть

Luke 18.15. προσέφερον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ βρέφη ἵνα αὐτῶν ἄπτηται - при-
ношаахъ же къ нему и младенца да би сѣа ихъ коснѣлъ

Whatever reasons the Slavonic translator may have had for choosing the conditional mood in these and other passages, it is clear that, having done so, he was bound to use da-clauses, since Old Church Slavonic had no conditional infinitive, no parallel to the Greek ἄν + infinitive. This accounts for a number of examples such as:

B. i. John 4.40. ἡρώτων αὐτὸν μεῖναι παρ' αὐτοῖς - моуѣахъ и да би прѣ-
вѣилъ оу ннхъ

Similarly Luke 8.38, Supr. 529.27-28.

ii. Mark 7.24. οὐδένα ἤθελεν γινῶναι - не хотѣаше да би и кѣто уѣолъ

Similarly Luke 19.27.

The Greek passive may be translated into Old Church Slavonic in three ways: a) with the auxiliary verb вѣити and a passive participle; b) with an active verb and the reflexive pronoun сѣа; c) with the corresponding active construction. The first of these is rare when an infinitive is called for, and seems to be avoided. So in Savvina Kniga Luke 18.26 δύναται σωθῆναι is translated by спенъ вѣити but the passage with the same Greek wording in Matth. 19.25 appears as спасти сѣа. Moreover the use of the passive

participle may be excluded altogether if the rection of the verb in Old Church Slavonic differs from that in Greek. As Bräuer 1957 points out, this applies to ποσλοῦμητι, which takes the dative and so cannot be used in the passive:

C. i. Matth. 20.28. ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθεν διακονηθῆναι ἀλλὰ διακονῆσαι καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ - ѿнъ ѡбсѣи. не прѣде бо да послужатъ емоу. нъ послужитъ. и дати ѡшъ своеѡ

Zographensis has ποσλοῦμητι и дати. The parallel place in Mark 10.45 reads the same in Marianus, Zographensis and Savvina Kniga, but Assemanianus has нъ да послужитъ и дати доуша. These variations reflect the obsolescence of the supine at this time: Zographensis replaces it by the more generally used infinitive; the scribe of Assemanianus may have mistaken it for the homophonous 3rd per. sing. indic. pres. and have treated it as a continuation of the construction да послужатъ емоу while admitting the infinitive дати in the same final function.

Probably the second course, of using the active verb and the reflexive pronoun, was also sometimes excluded, though for semantic rather than syntactic reasons, e.g.:

ii. Matth. 18.25. ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ὁ κύριος πραθῆναι καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἔχει, καὶ ἀποδοθῆναι - повелѣ ѿъ его да прода-датъ | и женѡ его и ѡааа. | вѣсе елико имѣаше. | отъдати и

This is the reading of Marianus, Zographensis and Assemanianus. Savvina Kniga has повелѣ емоу ѿъ продаати сѡ и женѡ и вѣсе имѣниѣ своеѣ, which is marginally ambiguous and according to Horálek 1948 probably shows revision to bring the translation closer to the Greek construction. The same motive presumably explains the change in construction to отъдати. Similarly Luke 19.15, Supr. 107.5.

iii. Matth. 5.13 εἰς οὐδὲν ἰσχύει εἶτε εἰ μὴ βληθὲν ἔξω καταπατεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων - ни ѡбсѡмоу же вѣдетъ къ томоу да ѡсѣипана вѣдетъ вѣнъ. и поппраѣма ѡкъ (Zogr. - the passage is lacking in Mar.)

It seems likely that the meaning and the explicit presence of the agent - ѡкъ - require the passive participle rather than the reflexive

*ICZIPATHI CA or *DA CA ICZIPAETZ to be used.

Even when a reflexive verb is appropriate, the construction in which it appears may dictate the use of a da-clause, not an infinitive:

iv. Zap.Imp.Akad.Nauk VIII.III.3.pp.59-60. ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς τῇ ἐπιούσῃ εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν Τύγριν εὐρεθῆναι ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίων ῥ, ἔνθα ὑπῆρχον τὸ πρότερον, κακέῤσε τὸ κριτήριον γενέσθαι κατ' ὄφιν τοῦ δολίου - повелѣ на оутриѣ на рѣцѣ тигрьстѣ да сѣмъ обрѣшѣтѣ ·иже и прѣвѣе бѣша ·тоужде сѣдоу бѣити прѣдъ лицемъ льстиваго (Supr. 59.30 - 60.3)

The use of an infinitive here to translate εὐρεθῆναι would imply that the order was given to the subjects of да сѣмъ обрѣшѣтѣ, whereas in fact it is given to some unspecified third person who is to see that the martyrs appear by the Tigris. Therefore a da-clause is needed to avoid ambiguity, while the second infinitive can be reproduced (how idiomatically it is hard to judge) in the Slavonic сѣдоу бѣити.

Elsewhere in Suprasliensis another way of solving this problem is found. Margulies 1927, Angelowa 1929 and Rothe 1954 cite places where an active infinitive is used and an active plural participle which is understood as going with the implicit plural subject of that infinitive, the unspecified person or persons to whom the command is given:

A.sl.Ph. XVIII p.187. ἐκέλευσεν λαμπάδας ἐξημμένας ἐνεχθῆναι - повелѣ свѣшта вжегаше принесть (Supr. 152.28)

P.G. 115 p.104. ἐκέλευσε κατενεχθέντας αὐτοὺς [...] ἀναληφθῆναι - повелѣ снзѣмаше ꙗ [...] вєсти (Supr. 183.19)

A.sl.Ph. XVIII p.185. ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀναρτηθέντα [...] ξεέσθαι - повелѣ ꙗго обѣснвѣше [...] сѣтрѣгати (Supr. 149.19)

This is presumably feasible only when the Greek passive infinitive is accompanied by a passive participle in agreement with the subject of the infinitive, so that when the construction is turned round into the active the participle can indicate the subject which is to be understood with the infinitive. As there are no such participles in the examples under ii and iv, this solution could not be applied to them.

It also appears probable, as Slawski 1945 suggests, that in Old Church

Slavonic certain verbs only take infinitives which share the same subject. The evidence of the Canonical MSS suggests strongly that when χοῦτετι and its complement have different subjects, the complement must be a da-clause:

D. i. John 21.22. ἐὰν αὐτὸν θέλω μένειν ἕως ἔρχομαι, τί πρὸς σέ; - αὐτε χοῦτετι αα τζ πρὲβδετε. αονηδεже приах.уѣто ε тебѣ (Zogr. - the passage is lacking in Mar.)

Similarly Luke 19.14, Supr. 154.24-26, 258.30 - 259.2, 295.23-24, 380.2-5, 413.3-4.

ii. Z.sl.Ph. XI p.305. οὐ τοιούτους θέλει εἶναι τοὺς ὄντας αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοιαύτας ἔχειν καρδίας οἷος ἐστὶν αὐτός - не тацѣхъ χοῦτετε αα βχαхъ нже гемоу схъ свои нъ така срѣца нмѣти накоже гестъ самъ (Supr. 33.29 - 34.1)

Compare I C ii and iv, pp.38-39, for the change from da-clause to infinitive as an attempt to adhere to the Greek syntax.

iii. An. Boll. I p.466.14. εἰπάτω ὁ λίθινος ὑμῶν θεὸς τί θέλει τυθῆναι αὐτῷ - αα ρεγетъ камѣнзин богъ вашъ.уто χοῦτετε αα гемоу закολахъ (Supr.116.11-13)

This passage is complicated by the problem of rendering the passive infinitive τυθῆναι; but if the assumption of the present section is correct, that χοῦτετι only admits an infinitive with the same subject, then the use of the infinitive is excluded here.

The same explanation can be applied to the only example in the Psalter of a Greek simple infinitive which is translated by a da-clause:

iv. Ps.103.27. πάντα πρὸς σέ προσδοκοῦσιν, δοῦναι τὴν τροφήν αὐτοῖς εὐκαίρως - всѣ отъ тебе уахъ αα даси пишъ имъ въ благѣ времѣ

The same rules probably apply to уахати as to χοῦτετι: *уахъ αα ти would mean 'wait/expect to give'.

The rection of verbs of command and entreaty also varies between infinitive and da-clause. The examples with da-clauses in the Gospels are limited to one in which μολιητι takes a complement with the same subject and two in which ρεψи introduces indirect command:

E. i. Luke 22.40. προσεύχεσθε μὴ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς πειρασμόν - μολиτε са αα не взвнидате въ напастъ

ii. Luke 9.54. θέλεις εἰπωμεν πῦρ καταβῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀνα-
λῶσαι αὐτούς; - ХОШЕШЬ ЛИ И РЕЧЕВѢ ДА ОГНЬ СЪННДЕТЪ СЪ НЕБЕСЕ И ПОБѢСТЪ И

iii. Luke 12.13. εἰπὲ τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου μερίζασθαι μετ' ἐμοῦ τὴν κληρο-
νομίαν - РЪЧЬ БРАТОУ МОЕМОУ ДА РАЗДѢЛИТЪ СЪ МЗНОУЖ ДОСТОѢНЬЕ

In New Testament Greek the suppletive pair λέγειν and εἰπεῖν may govern either indirect statement, expressed by a clause introduced by ὅτι or by the accusative and infinitive, or else indirect command, for which they may take an infinitive or a ἵνα-clause. In Old Church Slavonic they are regularly translated respectively by the verbs глаголати and рещи, regardless of the type of expression which they govern; and the Old Church Slavonic follows the Greek constructions for indirect command except in ii and iii above and in Luke 19.15 (see I C ii, p.38). One must conclude that, so far as the use of рещи as a verb of command is natural to Old Church Slavonic, and not simply a calque on Greek, the construction which it takes is the da-clause. Verbs such as (по)велѣти, заповѣдати which introduce only indirect command generally take infinitives in the Old Church Slavonic Gospels; but this gives no ground to suppose that the da-clauses after рещи have replaced infinitives.

Suprasliensis presents a different picture. There the da-clause after verbs of command and after молити with the same or a different subject is indubitably acceptable usage:

iv. Acta SS. Maii VII p.248. καὶ ἤξιωσεν αὐτοῖς ἐξευμενίσασθαι τὸν δεσπότην Χριστὸν συμμαχῆσαι ὑπὲρ ἀληθοῦς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως - И ПОУСТИ И ДА С И ПОМОЛАТЪ ВЛАДИЦѢ Х С ОУ ДА СЪПОВОРЕТЪ ЗА ИСТИНЪН ЖИЖ И ПРАВЖИЖ ВЕРЖ (Supr. 188.30 - 189.2)

v. An. Boll. XXII p.397. ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ εἰσελθεῖν ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ - МОЛН-
СТА И ДА ВЪННДЕТА ВЪ ТЪМНИЦѢ (Supr. 255.24-25)

vi. Z.sl.Ph. XI p.307. παρηγγελεν μηδαμοῦ φανῆναι μηδὲ ἀδικῆσαι τινα - ЗАРЕЧЕ РЕМОУ ДА НИК ДАЖЕ СА НЕ РАВИТЪ НИ ПАКОСТЬ СЪТВОРИТЪ КОМОУ (Supr. 36.25-26)

vii. Z.sl.Ph. XI p.311. ἐδέοντο ἀνεθῆναι ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς ὀδύνης - МОЛНАЖ СА РЕМОУ ДА ОСЛАБИТЪ НМЪ ОТЪ МНОГЪ И БОЛѢЗНИ (Supr. 39.16-17)

viii. A.sl.Ph. XX p.190. κέλευσον τῷ ἱερεῖ σου ἀνοῦξαι κἀγὼ εἰσέρχομαι

καὶ κελεύει ὁ κόμης ἀνοῦξαι τὸν ναόν - повели жрьцоу своѣмоу да отвръзетъ цръквѣ·и азъ вьнидѣ·тѣгда повелѣ комисъ жрьцоу да отвръзетъ (Supr. 228.19-21)

Similarly Supr. 188.16-19, 233.29-30, 268.17-18, 294.25-26, 309.21-22 (verbs of command); Supr. 192.21-23, 203.13, 206.15-16, 255.24-25 (μολιτι).

There remains but a handful of instances which have to be individually discussed:

F. i. Mark 7.27. ἄφες πρῶτον χορτασθῆναι τὰ τέκνα - остани да прѣвѣ насъитатъ сѧ ѡааа

Here again some equivalent has to be found to a passive infinitive, but it is unclear why *остани ѡааа прѣвѣ насъитити сѧ is not possible, unless because остати does not admit an infinitival complement; there are no examples of this verb with the infinitive in the *Lexicon Palaeoslovenicum*. остани is a translation of ἄφες commonly used in all full Gospels and Lectionaries of the Canon, but не дѣйте is also found in Marianus, Zographensis and Savvina Kniga, e.g. in:

Luke 18.16. ἄφετε τὰ παιδία ἔρχεσθαι πρὸς με - не дѣйте дѣтии приходяти къ мѣнѣ (Mar. and Zogr.)

ii. Luke 22.37. ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ γεγραμμένον δεῦτε τελεσθῆναι ἐν ἐμοί, τό· καὶ μετὰ ἀνόμων ἐλογίσθη - ѣко еште писаное се подобаетъ да съконъудатъ сѧ о мѣнѣ·еже и сѧ безаконьникъи вѣмѣни сѧ

The Greek passive infinitive does not here impel the choice of the da-clause, as the parallel passage shows in:

Luke 24.44. ὅτι δεῦτε πληρωθῆναι πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Μωϋσέως καὶ τοῖς προφήταις καὶ ψαλμοῖς περὶ ἐμοῦ - ѣко подобаетъ съконъудати сѧ вѣсѣмъ написанымъ·вѣ законѣ мосѣовѣ и прѣцхъ и пѣлѣмѣхъ о мѣнѣ

The distinctively Slavonic construction here with a nominal dative subject of the infinitive which itself acts as subject to подобати is more common than the construction of Luke 22.37, where подобати may be said to have a nominal subject, писаное се, and is complemented by a da-clause. Though it is not impossible that this passage betrays the spread of the da-clause at the expense of the infinitive, it may rather be motivated by a desire to avoid involved syntax, to make the еже refer back to a nominative rather

than to a dative such as one would have in: *ЕШТЕ ПИСАНОУЕМОУ СЕМОУ ПОДОБА-
ЕТЪ СЪКОНЫАТИ СѦ О МѢНѢ ЕЖЕ ...

iii. Z.sl.Ph. XI p.302. ἄλλα ἄπλανῶς θέλει γνωρίζεσθαι παρὰ τῶν προσ-
ερχομένων αὐτῷ - НЪ БЕСЪБЛАЗНА ХОШТЕТЪ ДА СѦ ПОЗНАТЕТЪ ОΤЪ ΠΡΗΧΟΔΑΨΤΗΙΧЪ
КЪ НЕМОУ (Supr. 28.14-16)

It is hard to see why *ХОШТЕТЪ ПОЗНАТИ СѦ should not be possible here,
unless because a finite verb is preferred when the agent of a passive ex-
pression is explicit (compare I C iii, p.38).

iv. A.sl.Ph. XVIII p.184. καὶ τί σοι ἔδοξεν ἐπαναχωρῆσαι τῆς τοιαύτης
στρατείας καὶ μὴ μᾶλλον χρήσιμον ἑαυτὸν τοῖς τε θειοτάτοις βασιλεῦσι καὶ
τοῖς αὐτῶν νόμοις καταστῆσαι; - Υ'ΤΟ ΤΗ ΒΖΙСТЪ ДА ΟΤΗΔΕ ΟΤЪ СВОЕГО ВОИНЫ-
СТВА·А НЕ ПАЧЕ СЕБЕ ΟΥСТРОИТИ·И НА ПОТРЕБѦ СЪТВОРИТИ·СВѦАТЪИНЫМЪ ЦѢСАРЕМЪ
И ЗАΚΟΝΟМЪ НМЪ (Supr. 147.13-16)

The da-clause here, with its aorist verb, is clearly a consecutive one
and not equivalent to an infinitive. The rest of the passage is syntactic-
ally somewhat confused; the infinitive СЪТВОРИТИ probably represents an
attempt to return to the Greek construction (compare I C ii, p.38, iv, p.
39, I D ii, p.40).

v. A.sl.Ph. XX p.18. ἡγάλλοντο ἐπευχόμενοι τῷ τυράννῳ ἐδράσαν καὶ ἀ-
μετανόητον γενέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰς τοὺς χριστιανοὺς μανίαν - РАДН БЗІШѦ
СЛАВАШТЕ ТОМИТЕЛѦ·ДА ТВОРѦДО И НЕПОСТѦПНО БЖДЕТЪ·ИЖЕ ΟΤЪ НЕГО НА КРЪСТЪАНЪІ
БѢШЕНИТЕ (Supr. 215.14-17)

СЛАВАШТЕ, though a possible, does not seem a happy translation of ἐπευ-
χόμενοι here, and leaves the da-clause to be taken as a final one; but even
if some other verb, such as *ΜΟΛΗΑΨΤΕ СѦ, were used, a da-clause would
probably still be required since the subject of the subordinate verb does
not coincide with the subject or object of the main verb.

vi. Acta SS. Maii VII p.253. εἰρήνην καὶ ὁμόνοιαν φεύγεις; φεύγειν σε
ἐν τῷ τάχει καὶ ἐκ τῶν εὐκτηρῶν κελεύω - МНРА И СЪВЪКОУПЪРЕННѦ БѢГАТЕШН·
ДА БѢГАТИ ТИ ΟΤЪ СΒѦАТЪΙΝХЪ ЦРЪКЪВЪ ВЕЛѦ (Supr. 200.10-12)

This is not an example of a mixed construction in which subordinate dä
introduces an infinitive (see II A vi, p.45), but simply co-ordinative da
linking the sentence with what goes before, as in Dogramadzhieva 1968, and

followed by an infinitival construction which imitates Greek word-order rather closely.

vii. P.G. 62 p.761. ἅπαξ γὰρ τοῦ πατρός με ἀλλοτριώσας σπεύδει καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀποστῆναι - ѣднѡѣхъ бо оуца ѡа лншнѡѣхъ тѣштнѣхъ сѡ да нъ бога ѡа кроуѣхъ сѣтворнѣхъ (Supr. 366.25-27)

Presumably the construction of a da-clause with тѣштнѣхъ сѡ was proper to the Old Church Slavonic of Suprasliensis. This does not necessarily mean that an infinitive would earlier have been used here.

viii. Z.sl.Ph. XI p.313. ἀδύνατον αὐτῷ μὴ παρ' εὐθὺ μαστίγων πειρασθῆναι - нѣмощьно ѣмѡу ѣсѣхъ да нѣ тоу лѣнѣхъ рѡнѣхъ вѣзмѣхъ (Supr. 42.20-21)

ix. A.sl.Ph. XVIII p.161. καὶ διὰ πολλὰ ἄξιός ἐστι ζῆν, ἥθους τε ἔνεκα καὶ ἐπιεικείας - нрѡва дѡбрѡго рѡднѣ нъ кроѡстнѣ дѡбро ѣсѣхъ да жнѡешн (Supr. 129.28-29)

The last two passages, viii and ix, are not noted by Mirchev, who concentrates on complementation of verbs. In viii the double negative may invite the use of the da-clause. In ix a clause is necessary in order to emphasize the subject of the verb. Contrast the general principle stated shortly afterwards:

A.sl.Ph. XVIII p.161. καλὸν ἐστὶ τὸ ζῆν - дѡбро ѣсѣхъ жнѣн (Supr. 130.1)

II. Greek ὥστε, article, or preposition + article, and infinitive translated by a da-clause

Although Mirchev cites a number of such passages, and some more can be found in Kurz 1937-39, the majority can be dismissed on the ground that they are final or occasionally consecutive expressions rather than complements of governing verbs, and that consequently a da-clause translates them more appropriately than an infinitive would in Old Church Slavonic (see Pacnerová 1964). This explanation covers instances from the Gospels like:

A. i. Matth. 2.13. μέλλει γὰρ Ἡρώδης ζητεῖν τὸ παιδίον τοῦ ἀπολέσαι αὐτό - хѡщѣхъ бо нрѡдѣхъ нѣсѡатнѣ оуѡуѡѣхѣ да поѡуѡѣтѣхъ ѣ (Ass. - the passage is lacking from Mar. and Zogr.)

Similarly Matth. 24.45, Luke 5.7, 24.16, 24.45.

ii. Matth. 6.1. προσέχετε δὲ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ὑμῶν μὴ ποιεῖν ἔμπροσθεν

τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι αὐτοῖς - ВЪНЕМАЛѢТЕ МИЛОСТЪІНА ВАШЕѦ НЕ
ТВОРИТИ ПРѢДЪ УЛВКЪІ ДА ВІДИМИ ВЪДѢТЕ ИМИ (Sav. Kn. has ДА НЕ ВІДИМИ ...)

Similarly Matth. 23.5, Mark 13.22.

The same explanation also applies to several passages where in addition the da-clause is made necessary by the use of the conditional mood, e.g.:

iii. Luke 22.31. ἰδοὺ ὁ σατανᾶς ἐξητήσατο ὑμᾶς τοῦ συνιᾶσαι ὡς τὸν
 οὔτον - СЕ СОТОНА ПРОСИТЪ ВАСЪ ДА БИ СѢЛЪ ЪКО ПШЕНИЦѦ

Similarly Luke 4.29, 4.42, 5.1, 20.20.

In the Psalter, as Pastrnek 1903 notes, though the construction τοῦ + infinitive is most often rendered by the infinitive in Psalterium Sinaiticum (x72, and x2 by the supine), in twenty seven instances da-clauses are used to translate them, and there are a few places where a da-clause corresponds to τό or εἰς τό + infinitive; but almost all examples are clearly final. For Suprasliensis, unfortunately, no such thorough study of syntax and translator's technique exists,²⁰ but some of the passages which Mirchev quotes can likewise be dismissed, e.g.:

iv. Acta SS. Maii VII p.250. ἀνεκουνώσατο τοῖς ἔγγιστα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ
ἀνοῦξαι τὰς Ἐκκλησίας - СЪВѢТОВАШЕ СЪ СЪВѢТНИКЪІ СВОИМИ ДА ОТВРЪЗЖЪТЪ
ЦРЬКЪВИ (Supr. 192.13-14)

v. A.sl.Ph. XXXV p.47. ἤγγισαν εἰς χωρίον Λακοζάρων χάριν τοῦ ἀποσκήσασαι
μικρόν - ДОНДОШѦ НА СЕЛО ДА ПОУНѢЖЪТЪ МАЛО (Supr. 18.4)

Similarly Supr. 132.10, 137.15, 208.13, 209.3. To these may be added Supr. 202.22-25, 174.14-20, where the Greek has ὥστε + infinitive; and the mixed construction which combines da with an infinitive on a Greek model:

vi. P.G. 49 p.375. τοσαύτη γὰρ ἦν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ διδασκάλου, ὥς καὶ
πόρνας ἐπισπᾶσθαι εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπακοήν - ТОЛНКО БО СІЛА ВѢШЕ ОУЧЕНТЕЛѦ·
ДА И ВЪДНИЦѦ ПРИВЛѢШТИ НА СВОЕ ПОСЛОУШАНИЕ (Supr. 408.20-21)

However other passages cannot be so easily explained. In the Gospels there are four places where the nouns ΔΕΗΝΕ or ΒΡΕΜΑ appear to be the

20. Marguliés 1927 gives many comparisons between Greek and Old Church Slavonic but does not attempt to be exhaustive. Rothe 1954 draws largely on Suprasliensis as well as the Gospels but does not distinguish their usages in his conclusions.

governing expression:

B. i. Luke 2.6. ἐπλήσθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ τεκεῖν αὐτήν - исплзньша сѧ дьнне роаити еи (in Zogr., Mar. and Sav. Kn.) дьнне да роаитъ (Ass.)

ii. Luke 2.21. ὅτε ἐπλήσθησαν ἡμέραι ὅκτ' τοῦ περιτεμεῖν αὐτόν - егда исплзньша сѧ осмь дьнни да и обрѣжѧтъ

iii. Luke 21.22. ὅτι ἡμέραι ἐκδικήσεως αὐταί εἰσιν τοῦ πλησθῆναι πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα - ѡко дьнне мѡштениго си сѧтъ да исплзньшѧтъ сѧ вѣсѣ написанаа

It is possible to take the da-clause here as final and dependent on the whole sentence, rather than as a complement of дьнне or мѡштениго.

iv. Luke 22.6. ἐζήτει εὐκαιρίαν τοῦ παραδοῦναι αὐτόν ἄτερ ὄχλου αὐτοῦς - искааше подобна вѣмене да и прѣдастъ нмъ безъ народа

This, like iii, can be taken as a final da-clause. It is worth noting that Matth. 26.16 reads ἐζήτει εὐκαιρίαν ἵνα αὐτόν παραδῶ, and this may have exerted an influence on the parallel passage in Luke. A few Greek MSS have ἵνα in both Gospels.

v. Matth. 10.1. ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ὥστε ἐκβάλλειν αὐτά, καὶ θεραπεύειν πᾶσαν νόσον - дастъ нмъ властъ. на дѣхъ не-ynchstixъ да нзгонѧтъ ѱ. и цѣлѧти вѣсѣкъ недѣгъ

This can probably be regarded as another example of a final/consecutive da-clause, since власть is complemented by на дѣхъ неynchstixъ.

vi. Luke 17.1. ἀνένδεκτόν ἐστιν τοῦ τὰ σκάνδαλα μὴ ἐλθεῖν (some Greek MSS lack τοῦ) - не възможно естъ да не прѣдѧтъ сканѣдѧли

If the Greek original had a simple infinitive, it is hard to see why the passage should not have been treated as the parallel:

Luke 13.33. οὐκ ἐνδέχεται προφήτην ἀπολέσθαι ἔξω Ἱερουσαλὴμ - не възможно естъ прѣкоу погъивѧти кроуѣ нѣрса

It may be that the negation of the subordinate verb prompts the use of the da-clause (compare I F viii, p.44).

More remarkable is a da-clause where one might expect a supine:

vii. Matth. 13.3. ἰδοὺ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπεύρων τοῦ σπεῖρειν - се нзидѧе сѣиѧ да сѣетъ

Contrast the parallel places in Mark 4.3 and Luke 8.5:

ἰδοὺ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπεύρων σπεῖραι (τοῦ σπεῖραι in some MSS) - се нзидѧе

It is possible that, as in I C i, p.38, the supine сѣатъ may have been mistaken for 3rd per. sing. pres. indic. (compare Mark 4.14. сѣиши слово сѣатъ) and the да then have been inserted to clarify the construction; but perhaps the presence of τοῦ or ὥστε is sufficient to prompt the use of да-clauses in i-vii above by a rather scrupulous translator.

The Psalter offers four places where interpretation is uncertain:

viii. Ps. 22.6. καὶ τὸ ἔλεός σου καταδιώξεται με πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς μου, καὶ τὸ κατοικεῖν με ἐν οἴκῳ Κυρίου εἰς μακρότητα ἡμέρων - и мн-
ЛОСТЪ ТВОѦ ПОЖЕНЕТЪ МѦ ВЪСѦА ДЪНІ ЖІВОТА МОЕГО:И ДА ВЪСЕЛѦ СѦА ВЪ ДОМЪ
ГНЪ ВЪ ДЛЪГОТѦ ДЪНН

The connexion of τὸ κατοικεῖν ... to what precedes is loose; it is perhaps parallel to τὸ ἔλεός σου; but the Slavonic да-clause could be taken as an independent optative.

ix. Ps. 26.4. μὴν ῥητήσάμην παρὰ Κυρίου, ταύτην ἐκζητήσω· τοῦ κατοικεῖν με ἐν οἴκῳ Κυρίου πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς μου, τοῦ θεωρεῖν με τὴν τερπνότη-
τητα τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ ἐπισκέπτεσθαι τὸν ναὸν αὐτοῦ - ΕΔΙΝΟГО ΠΡΟΣΙΧЪ ОТЪ ГНЪ
ТОГО ВЪЗІШТѦ:ДА ЖІВѦ ВЪ ДОМОУ ГНІ ВЪСѦА ДЪНІ ЖІВОТА МОЕГО ДА ЗЪРѦ КРАСОТЪІ
ГНѦ:И ПОСѦШТАѦ ЦРКВІ СѢТЪІА ЕГО

The да-clauses are required here because they complement the pronouns ΕΔΙΝΟГО - ТОГО (compare I A vi, p.36, xiii below, p.48, and the conclusions of this chapter).

x. Ps. 35.4. οὐκ ἐβουλήθη συνιέναι τοῦ ἀγαθύναι - не изболѣ РАЗΟΥМѢТИ
ДА ОУБЛАЖІТЪ

The Greek τοῦ ἀγαθύναι can be taken as directly dependent on συνιέναι, which governs the genitive, but it is not clear that the translator has so regarded it. He may have understood it as a final expression; and even if he did not, the infinitive may not have been idiomatic after РАЗ-
ΟΥМѢТИ.

xi. Ps. 105.23. καὶ εἶπεν τοῦ ἐξολεθρεῦσαι αὐτούς - и рече ДА Ѧ ПО-
ТРѢБЛѦ

The construction τοῦ ἐξολεθρεῦσαι seems in context to convey an unful-
filled threat or promise. The Old Church Slavonic turns this into direct

speech (compare I A vi, p.36).

Mirchev's examples from Suprasliensis include a few interesting ones with τοῦ and one with πρὸς τῷ + infinitive:

xii. Z.sl.Ph. XI p.312. ἀπελθοῦσα τοῦ συναγαγεῖν στάχους πρὸς διατροφήν - шѡдѡши да сѡберетѣ класѣи (Supr. 43.14-15)

Compare vii above, p.46.

xiii. Zap.Imp.Akad.Nauk. VIII.III.3 p.12. τοῦτο γὰρ εἶχεν ὁ δόλιος βούλημα τοῦ μόνον αὐτοῦς ἀπογεύσασθαι τῆς ἐαυτῶν βρώσεως καὶ κοινωνοῦς εἶναι τῆς πίστεως καὶ, εἰ τοῦτο πεῦσειεν, τιμῶν μεγίστων καὶ δωρεῶν ἀξιόους ὑπάρχειν - се бо имѣаше лѣстнѣзи на оумѣ·да тѣмъѣхъ вѣкоуѣатѣ отъ брашнѣи ѣмоу·и обѣштѣникомъ вѣити вѣрѣ·да аште то сѣтворѣтѣ·ѣестѣнзиимъ и великѣимъ даромъ достоини бѣдѣт (Supr. 58.10-14)

The da-clause here is a defining expression referring back to се, not a complement of имѣаше на оумѣ (compare I A vi, p.36, and II B ix, p.47). обѣштѣникомъ вѣити is doubtless an attempt to adhere as closely as possible to the Greek once the basic construction has been established (compare I C ii, p.38, iv, p.39, I D ii, p.40, I F iv, p.43). The translation continues more freely, turning the third Greek infinitive into a final clause dependent on the whole of what preceded.

xiv. A.sl.Ph. XVIII.p.154. καὶ ἵνα τί ἐρωτᾷς τὸ ὄνομά μου; καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶ θαυμάσιον· πλὴν ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ὁ πτωχὸς ὁ ἐλθὼν πρὸς σέ[...] ὥτινι δέδωκας τὰ δώδεκα νομίσματα[...] καὶ πρὸς τῷ γινώσκειν με ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκεῖνης ἀφ' ἧς ταῦτά μοι παρέσχες ἐν ἀπλότῃ καρδίᾳ μετὰ μακροθυμίας ὥρπσε σε γενέσθαι Κύριος πρόεδρος - и ꙗже вѣпраша ꙗши имѣне моего·то и то уоудѣно ꙗстѣ·обавѣ азъ ꙗсмъ оубоуѣи·пришедѣи къ тебѣ[...] ꙗмоуѣе да азъѣ на десѣте златицѣ[...] и да оубѣси ꙗко отъ дѣне того отънелиже пода ми сѣ азъготрѣпѣниꙗемъ и простомъ сръдѣемъ ꙗреѣе тѣѣ ꙗꙗ патрѣархѣу вѣити (Supr. 122.4-16)

The Greek construction πρὸς τῷ + infinitive seems but loosely related to what precedes, which is a narrative of past events. The sequence of ideas is equally loose in the Old Church Slavonic and it is easiest to take да оубѣси ... as an imperative periphrasis: 'you are to know that ...'

xv. A.sl.Ph. XVIII p.155. ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἀπέσταλκέ με Κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦ εἶναι μετὰ σου - се послалъ мѣ ꙗстѣ ꙗꙗ да бѣдѣ сѣ тобоюѣ (Supr. 123.2-3)

Unless the presence of τοῦ prompted the use of a da-clause here, there seems no reason why послалъ should not take an infinitive or even a supine.²¹

xvi. Combeffis I p.326. πάλιν οὖν παρεκάλουν τοῦ μὴ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς αὐτό
- И МОΛΑШТОУ МИ ПАКЪИ ДА БЪИХЪ НЕ ВЪШЕЛЪ ВЪ ТѢЛО (Supr. 167.25-27)

The da-clause is unavoidable here, see I B, p.37.

III. Greek ὥστε, article, or preposition + article, and infinitive translated by a Slavonic infinitive

Lists of these from the Gospels, the Psalter and Suprasliensis are to be found in Kurz 1937-39. A number of them are clearly final or consecutive in sense. These must be supposed to be more or less unidiomatic imitations of Greek if the assumption of section II is to be upheld, that Old Church Slavonic prefers to render such expressions as clauses introduced by da or by ѣко(же):

A. i. Matth. 21.32. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἰδόντες οὐδὲ μετεμελήθητε ὕστερον τοῦ πιστεῦσαι αὐτῷ -- ВЪИ ЖЕ ВНАДѢВЪШЕ И НЕ РАСКААСТЕ СѦ ПОСЛѢДЪ ѣАТИ ЕМОУ ВѢРЪ

Similarly Luke 9.51, 12.42 and many places in the Psalter.

ii. Luke 5.17. καὶ δύναμις κυρίου ἦν εἰς τὸ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτόν (τοῦ ἰᾶσθαι as a variant) -- И СИЛА ГНѢ БѢ ЦѢЛИТИ ѣ

Similarly Matth. 13.30.

In some places Greek τοῦ + infinitive stands after a verb of motion and is translated by a Slavonic infinitive or the supine, a verbal category which Old Church Slavonic does not share with Greek and which is used exclusively in construction with verbs of motion:

B. i. Matth. 11.1. μετέβη ἐκεῖθεν τοῦ διδάσκειν καὶ κηρύσσειν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτῶν -- прѣиде отъ тѣхъ оучитъ. и проповѣдаѣтъ въ градахъ ихъ

Similarly Matth. 3.13, Luke 1.77, 8.5, 24.29, 2.24, 2.27.²²

As the supine, like the conditional mood, can only be used independently of Greek it must surely have been natural to the spoken Slavonic

21. See Meyer 1944, Vaillant 1967.

22. See Kurz 1937 pp.292-26.

of at least some of the translators. The da-clauses after verbs of motion in II B vii, p.46, and xii, p.48, are then all the more curious.

There are also a few instances where the Slavonic infinitive can be taken as a complement of verb, noun or adjective:

ii. Luke 1.9. ἔλαχε τοῦ θυμιᾶσαι - κλ-ιουи сѧ емоу покaднѣ

The construction is personal in Greek but impersonal in Old Church Slavonic.

iii. Luke 1.57. ἐπλήσθη ὁ χρόνος τοῦ τεκεῖν αὐτήν - исплъни сѧ врѣмѧ роaднѣ еи (дѧнѣ роaднѣ еи in Zogr. and Ass.)

Whether the infinitive here is regarded as an imitation of Greek or as the normal Old Church Slavonic complementary construction with врѣмѧ or дѧнѣ, is a problem that hangs together with the interpretation of II B i-iv, p.46.

iv. Luke 1.73-74. ὄρκον ὃν ᾤμοσεν πρὸς Ἀβρααμ τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν τοῦ δοῦναι ἡμῖν ἀφόβως ἐκ χειρὸς ἐχθρῶν ῥυσθέντας λατρεύειν αὐτῷ - клатвоиѣ еиже клатъ сѧ.кѧ авраамоу отцю нашемоу дати намъ вестраха. издржѣи вѣгъ нашихъ нъ-бавльшемъ сѧ.сложнѣи емоу

In the Greek τοῦ δοῦναι ... is a defining expression which complements ὄρκον, the object of ᾤμοσεν, reporting the content of the oath; but in the Old Church Slavonic дати should be taken as the complement of клатъ сѧ, since клатвоиѣ еиже is in the instrumental, not the accusative as the object of the verb.

v. Luke 4.10. ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ τοῦ διαφυλάξαι σε - ѣко аѣлѣмъ сѡиѣмъ заповѣстъ о тебѣ сѧхранѣи тѧ

vi. Luke 10.19. ἰδοὺ δέδωκα ὑμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφεων καὶ σκορπίων - сѧ датиѣ вамъ властъ настѧпати на змиѣѧ и скорѧпиѣѧ

Contrast II B v, p.46.

vii. Luke 24.25. ὃ ἀνοήτοι καὶ βραδεῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ πιστεύειν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφῆται - ѡ несѧмѧислѧнаѧ и мѧдѧна сѧѧмъ.вѣрѡвати о вѣсѣхъ ѣже глашѧ прѡци

IV. Greek clauses rendered by infinitives in Old Church Slavonic

Some instances of Old Church Slavonic infinitive for Greek clause can be

explained by variants in the Greek or by influence from parallel places:

A. i. Mark 11.16. καὶ οὐκ ἤφιεν ἵνα τις διενέγκῃ σκεῦος διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ (διενέγκειν τινα as a variant) - ꙗ не дадеаше никому же мнмо нести сѣсѣдъ сквозѣ ѿрѣвъ

ii. Mark 14.35. καὶ προσήχето ἵνα εἰ δυνατόν ἐστὶν παρέλθῃ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ ὥρα (προσήχето εἰ δυνατόν παρελθεῖν as a variant) - ꙗ моѣаше сѧ да аште вѣзможѣно естѣ мнмо ндеѣтъ отъ него ꙗсѣ except in Zogr. which has: да[...] мнмо ити

It looks as though the text of Zogr. has been imperfectly corrected from the reading of the other Canonical Gospels to agree with a Greek MS which had παρελθεῖν.

iii. John 1.27. οὐδ' οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγὼ ἄξιος ἵνα λύσω αὐτοῦ τὸν ἱμάντα τοῦ υποδήματος - емоу же азъ нѣсмъ достоиѣъ да отрѣшѣ ремѣнь сапоговъ его (Mar., Zogr. Ass. reads: достоиѣъ отрѣшѣиѣ)

Assemanianus may echo Luke 3.16. οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς λύσαι τὸν ἱμάντα - нѣсмъ достоиѣъ отрѣшѣиѣ ремѣне

In two places single Old Church Slavonic MSS have supines for Greek ἵνα-clauses:

iv. Luke 19.4. ἀνέβη ἐπὶ συκομορέαν ἵνα ἴδῃ αὐτόν - вѣзлѣзе на соукомарѣиѣ вѣдѣтъ нѣа in Ass. (да вѣдѣтъ ꙗ in Mar. and Zogr., lacking in Sav. Kn.)

v. John 11.31. οὗτις ὑπάγει εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον ἵνα κλαύσῃ ἐκεῖ - ꙗко ндеѣтъ на гробѣъ плакатѣ сѧ in Sav. Kn. (да плаветѣ сѧ тоу in Mar., ꙗ плаветѣ сѧ тоу in Zogr.)

In Old Church Slavonic the infinitive appears to be obligatory in certain subordinate clauses introduced by an interrogative pronoun which is used indefinitely (such clauses usually have the force of an indirect deliberative question). In New Testament Greek the infinitive is possible in these constructions, and is found in Matth. 8.20, Luke 9.58, 12.17, 14.14, and John 8.6; but the subjunctive can also be used:

B. i. Matth. 15.32. καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν τί φάγωσιν - ꙗ не ѡмѣтъ ꙗесо ѣсти

Similarly Mark 6.36, 8.1-2, Luke 5.19, 11.6. In some places Old Church Slavonic seems also to differ from Greek in requiring a pronoun in such

infinitival expressions:

ii. Luke 14.14. οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἀνταποδοῦναι σοι - НЕ ΗΜΑΤΖ ΤΗ ΥΕCΟ ΒΖΖ-ΔΑΤΗ ΤΗ

Similarly John 8.6.

Some of the few remaining examples may be explicable by Greek variants which are not attested, but some may reflect the diverging usage of Greek and Old Church Slavonic:

C. i. Matth. 20.10. οἱ πρῶτοι ἐνόμισαν ὅτι πλεῖον λήμψονται - ΠΡΩΒΗΗ ΜΩНѢАХЖ СѦ ВѦШТЕ ΠΗΗΑΤΗ (Zogr. in its eleventh to twelfth century portion has ѢКО ВѦШЕ ΠΗΗМЖТЪ)

It is tempting to explain the presence of the infinitive by positing a Greek variant *πλεῖον λήψεσθαι, since indirect statement in Old Church Slavonic is normally expressed with ѢКО + indicative or with a participle. The reading in Zogr. may thus be more idiomatic, at the same time as being a correction based on the Greek cited above.

ii. Matth. 27.32. τοῦτον ἠγγάρευσαν ἵνα ἄρῃ τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ - СЕМОУ ΖΑΔѢША ПОНЕCТΗ КРCТЪ ЕГО (ΔΑ ΠΟΝΕCΕΤЪ ΚΡΖCΤЪ ЕГО in Ass)

The object of the Greek verb is τοῦτον referring to Simon of Cyrene and the ἵνα-clause is a final one, describing the service which he was conscripted to do. In the Old Church Slavonic ПОНЕCТΗ КРCТЪ ЕГО fulfils the function of direct object of ΖΑΔѢША and the person on whom this task is imposed stands in the dative, СЕМОУ. Thus the use of the infinitive is determined by the construction of the verb used to translate ἀγγαρεύειν.

iii. Mark 9.25. ἐγὼ ἐπιτάσσω σοι, ἔξελθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ μηκέτι εἰσέλθης εἰς αὐτόν - АΖЪ ΤΗ ВЕЛѢЖ ΗΖΗΤΗ ΗΖ НЕГО.Ι Κ ΤΟΜΟΥ НЕ ΒΩΗΗΔΗ ВЪ НЪ (ΗΖΗΔΗ ... НЕ ΒΩΗΗΔΗ in Zogr., ΗΖΙΤΙ НЕ ΒΩΗΗΤΙ in Ass., ΗΖΗΔΗ only in Sav. Kn.)

If one may assume, as Horálek 1954 does, a Greek Aprakos original which had infinitives rather than imperative and aorist subjunctive, the readings of Marianus and Zographensis can be seen as corrections of the text of Assemanianus to bring it in line with more standard Greek MSS.

iv. Luke 5.38. ἀλλὰ οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς καινοὺς βλητέον - НЪ ВΗΗΟ НОВО ВЪ МѢХЪΙ НОВЪΙ ΒΩΛΗΒΑΤΗ

The same also in Mark 2.22. These are the only examples in the Slavonic Gospels of an infinitive used to express a direct injunction. I have come upon one parallel in Suprasliensis:

v. A.sl.Ph. XVIII p.188. χρὴ οὖν ἀποφύνασθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ - да оуже оубо отъвѣтъ сѣтворити нанъ (Supr. 153.28-29)

It emerges from these four sections that in the Old Church Slavonic translations of Scripture the number of places where a da-clause renders a Greek infinitive without obvious motivation in the structure of Old Church Slavonic is so small as to be negligible. In fact, if the assumption made under I F i, p.42, is correct, that остати does not take the infinitive, then the only relevant examples are possibly I E i, p.40, where the governing verb is молити, I F ii, p.42, with подобати in an involved construction and those in section II B i-vii, pp.46-47, where da-clauses correspond to the Greek τοῦ + infinitive as complements of дѣньє, възможно with a double negative, нѣтити and, in the Psalter, the pronouns єдинъ - тѣ.

In Suprasliensis a preference for the da-clause is by contrast clearly observable. It is most obvious with verbs of command and entreaty, as seen in section I E, p.41; but it also extends to хотѣти with the same subject as its complement in I F iii, p.43, as well as to passages comparable to those from Scripture mentioned just above: мошѣно with a double negative in I F ix, p.44, and da-clauses for Greek τοῦ + infinitive after ити and послѣати in II B xii and xv, p.48, and се in I A vi, p.36, and II B xiii, p.48. One may conclude, as Margulíes 1927 does, that the language of Suprasliensis is based on East Bulgarian dialects, and that in them the da-clause was already somewhat more widely used in the tenth to eleventh centuries than in the Slavonic dialects which played a part in the first translations of Scripture. Given the marked literalism of some places in the Suprasliensis translations, one must also suppose that it reflects different translating techniques, less uniformly faithful and idiomatic than that of the first Gospels versions.

It is particularly difficult to assess the significance of the

unmotivated da-clauses in the Gospels. Although most of them correspond to toŭ + infinitive, not to the simple infinitive, they may not be adequately explained by the wish to render exactly the force of toŭ. The translators of the Gospels seem to have followed a principle of producing as nearly as possible a word-for-word correspondence with the Greek, but there is abundant evidence, e.g. in Grünenthal 1910-11, that they were prepared to depart from it in order to preserve Slavonic idiom. As the translations were made for the use of the Moravians, to whom constructions modelled on Greek would have been unfamiliar, it seems fair to assume that no great violence is done to the Slavonic syntax in the majority of cases where it coincides with the Greek; but this assumption is not safe in every instance. Besides, it may be that the translators' use of certain native Slavonic constructions owes its impulse to the activating influence of Greek. Birnbaum 1958a contends that a construction which is possible but not widespread in a language may be stimulated to more frequent or wider use through the influence of another language which commonly employs a comparable construction. If this is so, it must be a nice matter to distinguish native from loan syntax.

This survey, then, leaves the question open whether the infinitive or the da-clause is a more natural complement of nouns such as дѣньге and вѣѣма (see II B i-iv, p.46, III B iii, p.50), of нѣвѣзможно (II B vi, p. 46), whether supine/infinitive or da-clause is normal after verbs of motion (II B vii, p.46, III B i, p.49, IV A iv and v, p.51) in the Old Church Slavonic translations of Scripture, or whether, perhaps under Greek stimulus, there was a free choice between these constructions. It is to obviate the complications of disentangling native usage from Greek influence that, in the main part of this chapter, texts will be examined which are believed to be original compositions in Old Church Slavonic. They are not included in the Canon, for they survive in MSS of later date, of the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, and their phonology and morphology are more or less adapted to later norms, most often Russian ones. The

possibility of syntactic modification, whether under the influence of Slavonic vernacular languages or of the rules of Church Slavonic, cannot be excluded, but comparison with the usage of Old Church Slavonic provides a partial check; and the apparent absence in almost all the MSS of specifically Bulgarian features is some guarantee that the texts are not affected by later stages in the development towards loss of the infinitive.

THE LIFE OF ST. METHODIUS

The Life of St. Methodius is thought, on grounds of language and content, to have been written soon after the Saint's death in 885 but before the expulsion of his followers from Moravia in 886 since that event is not mentioned. The earliest extant copy of the Life is a Russian MS of the twelfth century.²³ This copy is thought to depend on a MS which was brought from Moravia to Russia, both because of the Moravian lexical elements in it, e.g. БЪСЖАДЪ, МЪША, and because of its close proximity in the Russian MS to the Martyrdom of St. Vitus.²⁴ The other MSS of the Life of St. Methodius are of a much later date, fifteenth to seventeenth century. Bodiansky's edition of 1865 lists seven, to which Angelov and Kodov 1973 add six more. Their readings are considered on the whole inferior to those of the twelfth century MS,²⁵ but will be mentioned here when relevant. Quotations are taken from the complete edition of the MS in Kotkov 1971.

Not only translated quotations from the Bible, but also passages from the letters of Pope Hadrian II and Pope John VIII are tabulated separately below, on the assumption that the Slavonic follows the Latin

23. The so-called Uspensky Sbornik.

24. See Grivec and Tomšič 1960, p.20.

25. See the critical editions of Lavrov 1930, Grivec and Tomšič 1960, Angelov and Kodov 1973.

which is no longer extant.

Table I. Verbs governing infinitive or da-clause with identical or distinct subjects

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>Da-clause</u>	
	<u>of verb</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff. subj.</u>
ХОТѢТИ	4	4			
ВЪСХОТѢТИ	1	1			
ЖЕЛАТИ	2	2			
МОЩИ	7	8			
НЕ МОЗИ	1	1			
НАУАТИ	4	9			
ВЕЛѢТИ	2		2		
ИМѢТИ	2	2			
СЪМАЩТИ	1	1			
УОУТИ	1				1
ОБѢЩАТИ СѦ	1	1			
ОУСТИТИ	1		1		
БѢДИТИ	1			1	
СЪТВОРИТИ	1		1		
БЛЮСТИ СѦ ЕДА	1			1	

Quotations from Greek and Latin

ХОТѢТИ	2	1		2
ВЪЗМОЩИ	1	1		
НАУАТИ	1	1		
ПОСЪЛАТИ	1			1
ДАТИ	1		1	
ОУПЪВАТИ	1	1		
ВЪЗДВИГНАТИ	1		1	
ОУМЪІСЛИТИ	1	1		

Comments

The instance of сѣмѣсти seems to be an error for сѣмѣти:

i. тѣгда не сѣмѣста сѣ штрѣши ни·ѣа ни цѣра (Fol.105b.12-14)

Lavrov conjectures a conjunction и before the second infinitive in:²⁶

ii. и штолѣ оустити начатъ неприѣзнь блязнити·многми кѣзньми ѹлѣуь-скын родъ (Fol.102g.32 - 103a.3)

The conjecture is unnecessary, since блязнити can be understood as dependent on оустити with an unspecified subject.

не можн is tabulated separately from моши because it is used to form the negative imperative:²⁷

iii. то не можн горы ради штавити оуѣениѣа своѣго (Fol.105g.4-6)

There seems to be a parallel to this, although with да instead of the imperative mood, in:

iv. инъ сего да не можетъ сѣтворити развѣ тебе (Fol.105b.4-6)

The clause introduced by ѣда како is treated as the complement of блѹости сѣ in the absence of any other candidate for this function:

v. блѹадѣте сѣ ѣда како хотѣше жѣлѣзнѣ городѣ констанзмъ тѣмѣньмъ про-внѣти·можгъ вашъ излѣѣте (Fol.106g.15-19)

The passage with бѣдѣти is unusual in that the subject of the main and the subordinate verbs is the same:

vi. бѣдѣша и·да бѣша и сѣтили архнепсѣа на ѹстьное мѣсто (Fol.105a.4-7)

An infinitive here would be most naturally understood to take as subject the object of бѣдѣти. The use of a да-clause is in any case required by the conditional mood.

There is one passive infinitive and one instance in a translation of a passive verb in a да-clause:

vii. пачѣ во можешн кѣмъ спсѣнь бѣти (Fol.105g.6-8)

26. See Lavrov 1930 p.68.

27. See Gălăbov 1968 on the distribution and use of this form of negated imperative in Old Church Slavonic and its outcome in modern Bulgarian.

viii. нже хоцеть да бы въсакъ уѣвкъ спсєнъ былъ и въ разоумъ истинъ-
нын пришълъ (Fol.104b.13-17) I Tim. 2.4.

Table II. Impersonal constructions with infinitive or da-clause

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
	<u>of governing word</u>		
възможно есть	1	1	
достонтъ	2	2	
добро (бы)	1	1	
нѣсть	1	1	
<u>Quotations from Greek and Latin</u>			
достонтъ	2	3	

Comments

In a number of later MSS²⁸ бы is added after добро in:

i. добро ти са крѣсти снѡу·волею своею на своѣи земли (Fol.107v.
5-7)

The MSS Bodyansky Nos.4,6,7 also replace възможно by невъзможно in:²⁹

ii. какѡ же нѣсть възможно уѣвкѡу съ бѣмъ глати (Fol.103b.25-26)

There is an example of the modal use of нѣсть + infinitive in:

iii. да аще и обращеть нѣсть нѣмѡу живота имѣти (Fol.108a.28-30)

Table III. Nouns, pronouns and adjectives governing infinitive or

	<u>da-clause</u>		
	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
	<u>of governing word</u>		
	<u>Nouns</u>		
клатва	1		1
кнаженнѣ	1	1	
врѣмя	1	1	

28. Bodyansky Nos.4-7.

29. This alteration is presumably an echo of the Kanon, Tone 6, Ode 9.

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
<u>of governing word</u>			
<u>Pronouns</u>			
УЪТО	1	1	
<u>Adjectives</u>			
ГОТОВЪ	1	1	
<u>Quotations from Greek and Latin</u>			
<u>Nouns</u>			
ОБЪІУАН	1		1
<u>Comments</u>			

Two of the three types of construction mentioned in Ch.1 D III, p.19, are found here. The adjective ГОТОВЪ and the nouns КЛАТВА and ОБЪІУАН belong to the first type, equivalent to predicates. So КЛАТВА takes a da-clause, as does ЗАКЛАТИ in the Life of St. Cyril (see Table I, p.69, below):

i. ПОСЪЛА КЛАТВОУ НА НА-ДА НЕ ПОЮТЬ МЪША РЕКЪШЕ СЛОУЖЬБЫ (Fol.107a 16-18)

This is the only negated complement in Tables I-III.

The nouns ВРЕМА and КНАЖЕНИЕ and the pronoun УЪТО are of the second type: they have grammatical roles both in relation to main verbs and to their subordinate infinitives, e.g.:

ii. КНАЖЕНИЕ ЕМОУ ДАСТЬ ДЪРЖАТИ СЛОВѢНСКО (Fol.104v.24-25)

iii. НЪ НЕ БОУДЕТЬ УЪТО СТОРОИТИ (Fol.107g.7-8)

Alternatively iii could be taken as a modal use of НЕ БОУДЕТЬ + infinitive 'It will not be possible to do anything' rather than 'There will be nothing to do'. (see Ch.1 D III, p.20).

Table IV. Other constructions with infinitive or da-clause

	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
Imperative		1
Co-ordinative/Consecutive	1	7

	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
Final		10 (5)
ѦАКО	1	
ѦАА		1
<u>Quotations from Greek and Latin</u>		
Imperative	1	2
Co-ordinative/Consecutive		2
Final		5
<u>Comments</u>		

The infinitive after ѦАКО is treated here as consecutive, though it could conceivably be final:

i. ВЪ МНОГЫ НАПАСТИ ВЪПАДЪШЕ·ШТ НЕПРИѦАЗНИ ... ѦАКО СѦ СЪКОНЬУАТИ
НА НЕМЪ АПѦЛЬСКОМѢ СЛОВЕСИ (Fol.108b.22-30)

In Pope Hadrian's letter there is apparently an independent infinitive used for an injunction:

ii. СЪ ЖЕ ѦДИНЪ ХРАНИТИ ОБЫУАИ (Fol.106b.22-23)

The one original imperative da-clause has been noted under Table I iv, and the instance of ѦАА КАКО under Table I v, on p.57.

A corruption has been suspected³⁰ in:

iii. ПОСЪЛА ЦѢРЬ ПО ФИЛОСОФА БРАТА ѦГО ВЪ КОЗАРЫ·ДА ПОРАТЪ И СЪ
СОБОЮ НА ПОМОЩЬ (Fol.104g.20-23)

As Grivec and Tomšič 1960 point out,³¹ the text is good, since da is here used co-ordinatively.

The syntax is loose in:

iv. ДОБРО ТИ СѦ КРЪСТИ СНОУ·ВОЛЕЮ СВОЕЮ НА СВОЕИ ЗЕМЛИ ДА НЕ ПЛЪ-
НЕНЪ НОУДЪМИ КРЪЩЕНЪ БОУДЕШИ НА УРОЖЕН ЗЕМЛИ·И ПОМАНЕШИ МА (Fol.107v.6-11)

I take и поманеши ма to be co-ordinated to what precedes - 'and (then) you will remember me' - rather than strictly part of the final clause introduced by da.

30. See, for example, Lavrov 1930 p.71.

31. See Grivec and Tomšič 1960 p.154.

Table V. Tense and mood of verbs in da-clauses

	<u>Imperative</u>	<u>Co-ordinative/</u> <u>Consecutive</u>	<u>Complementary</u>	<u>Final</u>
Imperative		1		
Present	1	2	2	8
Aorist		4		
Conditional			2	6 1?
<u>Quotations from Greek or Latin</u>				
Imperative	1	1		
Present	1		2	2
Aorist		1		
Conditional			2	3
<u>Comments</u>				

The conditional is conjectured in:

i. нъ на корѣждо лѣто и врѣмѣ изъбра моужа и равн людымъ дѣла ихъ и подвигъ да <быша> сѧ тѣмъ подобаше вси на доброу оустили (Fol.103a. 6-11)³²

The two imperative moods in the translated material occur in a construction which involves first co-ordinative, then imperative da:

ii. и въз роукоу его соутъ шт ѿ ѿ и шт апсльскаго стола вьса словѣньскыи страны да его же прокльнетъ проклатъ а его же ститъ тѣ стѣ да боуди (Fol.108a.17-22)

The complementary da-clauses with conditional verbs are those dependent on хотѣти (see Table I viii, p.58) and уоути:

iii. кого уоуѣши оуѣ и оуѣнтелю уѣстьныи въз оуѣѣницѣхъ своихъ да бы шт оуѣѣнии твоего тебѣ настольникъ былъ (Fol.109a.3-7)

32. The conjecture is supported by the conditional in the parallel reading to be found in the next work in the same MS, the Encomium of SS. Cyril and Methodius, Fol.110a.6-9: да быша сѧ тѣмъ подобаше животъ бесконъуныи обрѣли.

Table VI. Infinitives separated from their governing expressions, and da separated from its dependent verbs, by non-enclitic elements

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Separated occurrences</u>
	<u>of construction</u>	
Infinitive	44	17 (5)
Imperative <u>da</u>	1	
Co-ordinative/		
Consecutive, <u>da</u>	7	6
Complementary <u>da</u>	4	1 (4)
Final <u>da</u>	15	4 (1)
<u>Quotations from Greek and Latin</u>		
Infinitive	10	8
Imperative <u>da</u>	1	
Co-ordinative/		
Consecutive <u>da</u>	2	1
Complementary <u>da</u>	4	1
Final <u>da</u>	5	
<u>Comments</u>		

The infinitive may be separated from its governing expression by the subject or object of the main verb, by the subject of the infinitive, or a participle in agreement with it, by the direct or indirect object of the infinitive, and by adverbs and adverbial phrases.

In da-clauses other subordinate clauses and participial expressions may intervene between da and its dependent verb:

i. да и о томъ не хота похочлти своего раба бѣ млстивъи възложи въз
срдце цсрю (Fol.108a.30 - 108b.1)

ii. да аще сзхранить ю и прѣбоудеть бесзмьртнъ аще ли прѣстоупить
сзмьртню оумьреть (Fol.102g.19-23)

The subject of the da-clause may also precede its verb and so may adverbs, e.g.:

iii. да тоу гави бѣ философѹ словѣньскыи книгы (Fol.105b.20-22)

However stressed elements are preposed to the imperative da-clauses rather than placed between da and the verb, see Table I iv, p.57, and Table V ii, p.61.

Table VII. Verbs governing preposed infinitives

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Preposed infinitives</u>
	<u>of construction</u>	
НАУАТИ	9	3
ИМАТИ	2	2

Comments

The two examples with ИМАТИ have future sense:

- i. НАКО ПРЕДАТИ ТИ ИМАТЬ НА ВЪСКОРЪ (Fol.107v.22-23)
- ii. А МОГА СЛОВЕСА ПОМИНАТИ ИМАТА (Fol.107g.6-7)

The other three have НАУАТИ in the aorist. There are no examples of preposed da-clauses.

Remodelling of infinitives

There are no examples of this.

THE LIFE OF SAINT CYRIL

The date of composition and authorship of the Life of St. Cyril are not precisely known, but the detailed knowledge of the Saint's early life and Byzantine background which it displays suggest that it was written by one of his close associates and at least with the help of his brother St. Methodius. Meyvaert and Devos 1955 have demonstrated that the Life must have been written before 882, probably indeed before St. Methodius's second visit to Rome.

The earliest complete MSS extant date from the second half of the fifteenth century; though some passages appear in a fourteenth century Bulgarian MS.³³ Among the fifteenth century MSS are several Serbian ones:

33. See Angelov and Kodov 1973 pp.47-48.

the two copies made by Vladislav Gramatik in 1469 and 1479, a copy found at the Monastery of Neamt̃ in Roumania, another which belonged to the Monastery of St. Onuphrius in L'vov. Closely related to these are three seventeenth century MSS, one from the Hilandar Monastery, a second from the St. Onuphrius Monastery, and a Russian copy made in Hilandar patently from a Serbian MS. These have all been published either wholly or in part. There is also an unpublished copy in a MS of 1598 which Angelov and Kodov 1973 characterize as South Slavonic and which is kept in the Hopovo Monastery in Serbia.³⁴

The other complete MSS are all Russian and range in date from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. According to Angelov and Kodov 1973 they are known to number at least forty.³⁵ Four others whose whereabouts and character are now uncertain have been cited by previous scholars.³⁶

Excerpts from the Life have been found in a number of Russian and Ukrainian MSS from the late fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries. These are noted by Angelov and Kodov 1973.³⁷ Of more interest, however, are the two passages, on the mission to Moravia and the death of St. Cyril, which are included in Croat Glagolitic MSS of the Office of the Saint. These date from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries and have been published by Radovich 1968.

Although at least five hundred years separate the probable date of composition from the earliest complete MSS of the Life of St. Cyril, the substance of the Life appears to have been transmitted with very little omission or corruption. Where such changes are found, their explanation as revisions - in the MSS of Vladislav Gramatik, for example - or as

34. See Angelov and Kodov 1973 pp.34-45, Nos.1,2,9,12; 44,45,46; 18.

35. See Angelov and Kodov 1973 pp.35-45 passim for archival details.

36. See Angelov and Kodov 1973 pp.45-46.

37. See Angelov and Kodov 1973 pp.49-59.

adaptation to a different use in the Glagolitic Office - is obvious. The Life has been shown by Dvorník 1933 to be historically reliable if allowance is made for its hagiographical character.

It is far more complicated to assess the linguistic evidence that the text affords. This is because no one MS or group of MSS that we have is clearly closer to the original than the others are. For this reason it has been published in a number of different ways: Šafařík 1873 and Dümmler and Miklosich 1870 base their editions on single MSS but correct freely where other MSS seem to provide better readings; Pastrnek 1902 and Lehr-Spławiński 1959 reconstruct a composite text which attempts to present the appearance which the work might have had when it was first written. Bodyansky 1863-73 takes a different way, publishing sixteen MSS with a minimum of annotated correction where the texts seem to him obviously corrupt. His edition is on the whole accurate and because it covers MSS which represent all but one of the major groups within the textual tradition it has served as a foundation for subsequent study. The critical editions of Lavrov 1930 and of Grivec and Tomšič 1960 are based on it. Lavrov prints Bodyansky's MS.No.1 in full with a minimum of emendations and a critical apparatus containing a large number of variants from Bodyansky's other fifteen MSS and an additional four MSS. He also supplies excerpts from a MS, now mislaid, from the collection of Barsov and from the MS Vat Slavo 12 in the Vatican Library. Grivec and Tomšič give the text of the Serbian Hilandar MS. Angelov and Kodov 1973 print Vladislav Gramatik's copy of 1469 with selections of variant readings from a further eleven MSS as well as those used by Lavrov, but with less detail.

As Lavrov's apparatus indicates, the Russian tradition can be divided into three main groups: 1. Bodyansky Nos.2,7,15; 2. Nos.5,6,8,9,14; 3. Nos.4,10,11,12. No.3 is a hybrid between the second and third groups as is No.14 in Chapters I and II; No.1, though nearest to the first group, goes its own way. Of Lavrov's additional MSS those abbreviated as Л and

H go with the first group while P and C belong to the second one. The Vatican MS, as Lavrov shows by the excerpts which he publishes, stand apart from the other Russian variants.

I have checked Bodyansky's edition against the MSS and examined twenty three³⁸ of the unpublished complete Russian MSS which Angelov and Kodov list, and have found that almost all of them belong to one or other of the three groups which Bodyansky's and Lavrov's editions indicate. The exceptions are the copy in a sixteenth century psalter³⁹ which is very close to, probably directly dependent on Bodyansky No.1, and a MS from the Pogodin collection⁴⁰ which belongs to the same tradition as the Vatican MS.

The South Slavonic MSS which have been studied by Grivec and Tomšič and by Angelov and Kodov seem all to derive from one tradition, to which the L'vov MSS, the Hilandar Serbian MS and that of Neamt are closest. Vladislav Gramatik's two copies are revised and elaborated - especially that of 1469 - as Angelov and Kodov remark in their apparatus. The Russian copy made in Hilandar also shows signs of revision. The South Slavonic tradition is nearer to the second and third Russian groups than to the first group. This is also true, according to Radovich, of the Glagolitic tradition for Chapters XIV-XV, found in two breviaries. However, the Glagolitic MSS which contain part of Ch.XVII appear to have derived it from a source distinct from that of any of the Cyrillic MSS.

The textological work of van Wijk 1941 and 1941a, Kyas 1966, 1969 and 1971 and Radovich 1968 rests on that of Bodyansky and Lavrov, for these three scholars analyze the relations which the MSS bear one to another in

38. I have not seen the seventeenth century MS in Vilnius (Angelov and Kodov 1973 p.42 No.38) but judge by the few mentions of it in their critical apparatus that it is related to the first Russian group.

39. See Angelov and Kodov p.40 No.26.

40. See Angelov and Kodov p.38 No.14.

the attempt to establish which groups of MSS are innovatory and so less reliable to use in reconstructing the text.

Radovich and van Wijk concur in applying two criteria to the reconstruction of the text of the Life. One is that variants which can fairly be supposed to go back to the ninth century, because they have parallels in the Old Church Slavonic texts, especially in those that show Moravian influence, should be given preference; the other, that readings should be considered better supported if they are found in MSS belonging to different branches of the tradition than if they are attested only in one branch.

Kyas takes a slightly different view. He gives first place to the second Russian group, which, though its text has sizable lacunae, retains in his opinion more old words than do the others, and he relies on the third Russian group and the South Slavonic one to supply its deficiencies. The first Russian group he thinks of secondary importance, as representing a Russian revision of the text; still more No.1 and the Vatican MS. He does not discuss, in his review of 1969, Radovich's diagnostic use of the variants of the probable original СЪ ВАРДОНЪ ОУЕМЪ СВОИМЪ Ch.XIV 12, although it is apparent from this that here at least the tradition of the first group is the best, since these MSS read СЪ ВАРДОНЪ ДАДЕЮ СВОИМЪ rather than СЪ ПРАВДОНЪ (Н) ОУМОМЪ СВОИМЪ as in the other two Russian groups or СЪ ВАРДОНЪ И ОУМОМЪ СВОИМЪ in the South Slavonic tradition.⁴¹

In the account that follows no one tradition will be preferred to the others. Where the relevant passages have variants in the published MSS - that is, in Bodyansky's editions, Grivec and Tomšič's edition of the Hilandar MS and Radovich's Glagolitic breviaries - they will be cited and discussed. Deviations in individual MSS will be disregarded, except for the variants in the Vatican MS, which seems to present a separate tradition, and in Bodjansky No.1, published by Lavrov 1930 and often quoted.

41. Five of the unpublished Russian MSS related to the first group have ОУЕМЪ. See Angelov and Kodov 1973 pp.37-43 Nos.11,29,30,31,43, for archival details.

When a reading is cited as typical of a group of MSS, it appears in the form which it has in the first member of that group according to`Bodyansky's numbering: so passages representative of the first group come from No.2, those for the second from No.5 and for the third from No.4. No.1 is taken with the first group unless otherwise stated. The South Slavonic group is represented by the readings of the Hilandar MS. When all MSS agree, quotations are given from Grivec and Tomšič's edition of the Hilandar Serbian MS for convenience of reference.

Excerpts from the letter of the Emperor Michael in Ch.XIV are treated separately as translated material. The letters of the Khazar Khagan and of Rastislav of Moravia were no doubt also written in some other language than Slavonic, but they are not presented as formally in the Life as the Emperor's is and it will be assumed that they are summarized rather than translated verbatim. The same assumption is made about the Invention of the relics of St. Clement and the description of St. Cyril's Disputation at the Khazar court. It appears that St. Cyril wrote accounts of both these episodes, presumably in Greek,⁴² and that the Vita draws on them but does not translate and quote them in full.

Table I. Verbs governing infinitive or da-clause with identical or distinct subjects

	<u>Occurrence</u>		<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>Da-clause</u>	
	<u>of verb</u>		<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>
ХОТЕТИ	19	5?	19	5?		
ВЪСХОТЕТИ		1?		1?		
РАУНИТИ		2?		2?		
ИЗВОЛИТИ		1				1
МОЩИ	32	1?	36	2?		

42. See VC Ch.VIII 18 and Ch.X 95-96 and the Slavonic version of the Invention of the relics of St. Clement published in Lavrov 1930.

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>Da-clause</u>	
	<u>of verb</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>
НАУАТИ	11	13	6?		
ВЕЛѢТИ	2		1		1
НЕ ВЕЛѢТИ	2		2		
ПОВЕЛѢТИ	7 1?		11 4?		
ЗАПОВѢДАТИ	1		1		
РЕЩИ	1?		1?		
НАРЕЩИ	1?		2?		
ГЛАГОЛАТИ	2?		2?		
(НЕ) БРАНИТИ	1		2		
ПРИВЕСТИ	1?	1?			
ИТИ	1	1			
РАЗЪИТИ СЯ	2	2			
ИМѢТИ	6 7?	7 7?			
ИМѢТИ thematic	2?	2?			
ДАТИ	2		2		
ДРЪЗНѢТИ	2	2			
НАДѢРАТИ СЯ	1 1?	1 1?			
НЕПЪЩЕВАТИ	1?	1?			
ОУМОЛИТИ	1		2		
ЗАКЛАТИ	1				2
ОТРЕЩИ СЯ	1	1			
ОУЧИТИ	1		1		
НАОУЧИТИ СЯ	1	1			
НАВЪИКИТИ	1	1			
ОУСТИТИ	1		1		
НОУДИТИ	1		1		
ТВОРИТИ СЯ	2	2			
СЪТВОРИТИ	3		2		1

	<u>Occurrence</u>		<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>Da-clause</u>	
	<u>of verb</u>		<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>
ОСТАВЛЯТИ	1			1 2?		
СЗВѣщати сѧ	1?		1?			
ПОКОУшати сѧ	1		1			
ДОСТИГНѢТИ	1		1			
НЕ ЛѢНИТИ сѧ	1		1			
<u>Quotations from Greek</u>						
ХОТѢТИ	3	3?	3	2?		2?
МОЩИ	2		2			
ВЕЛѢТИ	1	1?			3?	2?
НЕ БРАНИТИ	1			1		
ПОИТИ		1?		2?		
СѢСТИ	2		3			
ВЪСТАТИ	1		1			
ГРАСТИ	1		1			
ИМѢТИ		1?		1?		
ПРОСИТИ	1	1?			1?	2?
ВЪПРАШАТИ сѧ		1?				1?
МОЛИТИ сѧ	1	1?				1 1?
ОУЧИТИ	1			1		
ТВОРИТИ	1			1		
СЪТВОРИТИ	1					1
МЪНѢТИ сѧ		1?		1?		
ПОДВИГНѢТИ	1			2		
ПОДВИГНѢТИ сѧ		1?		2?		
ОУТВѢРДИТИ		1?		1?		

Variants

а) ХОТѢТИ

1. да иже кто хоще^т то слыша подобити сѧ емѣ (Ch.1.4) in No.1; подобитъ се in the other MSS, a better reading because it supplies the sentence

with a main verb.

2. ^Жотроуа не хоташе дати са по уюжь сосець никак^Жо (Ch.2.3) in the 1st Russian group; хотѣ in the Vatican MS; взсхотѣ in the 3rd Russian group and Vladislav's MSS; раун in the 2nd Russian group and the remaining South Slavonic MSS.

3. како хощеть быти оустроенъ (Ch.2.6) in the 1st Russian group; имать быти in the other MSS.

4. како дати емоу хоще^Т бѣ бѣа и (оу)строителѧ (Ch.2.7) in the 1st Russian group; дати имать ремѣ in the other MSS.

5. събравше се епископы и съ всеми люд'ми хотеше и проводити устно (Ch.18.22) in the South Slavonic MSS; the Russian MSS lack хотеше, see g 2.

6. хощѣ да вси языки глѣте паче же да прорицаете (Ch.16.21) in the Russian MSS; вельо же взсѣмь вамь глаголати рѣззкомь паче же да прорицаете in the South Slavonic MSS. I Cor.14.5. Grivec and Tomšič point out⁴³ that the South Slavonic reading here agrees with early MSS of the Apostol.

7. и хоташи^М взнити възбранисте (Ch.16.20) in the 1st and 3rd Russian groups and the South Slavonic MSS, except Hilandar which omits this, as does the 2nd Russian group. Luke 11.52.

8. аще ли уесомоу наоучити се хотеть (Ch.16.52) in the South Slavonic MSS only, which include I Cor.14.34-37, omitted in the Russian MSS.

b) взсхотѣти see a 2.

c) раунити

1. See a 2.

2. knimžeme poslati rači (Ch.18.8) in one Glagolitic MS;⁴⁴ ремоу же (ма) бѣ приставилъ in the full versions.

d) моши

1. нако^Ж бы моглъ кто едино навыкнѣти ѿ нѣ (Ch.4.3) in the Russian MSS except No.1; накоже ни единъ ѿ нѣ навыиуе in No.1; накоже би едино штѣ

⁴³. See Grivec and Tomšič 1960 p.89

⁴⁴. See Radovich 1968 p.51.

НИХЪ НАВЫКНѸТИ in the South Slavonic MSS.

2. НАНѢ не МОЖЕ^Т НИКТО^Ж ВЪЗРѢТИ а не ли РОДИТИ и (Ch.9.23) in the 1st and 3rd Russian groups; НАНЪ же не МОГОУТЬ ЗРѢТИ АГГЛИ in the 2nd Russian group; НАНЪ же не МОЖЕТЪ НИ ВЪЗРѢТИ а не МЕНЪ ли РОДИТЬ и in the South Slavonic MSS.

e) НАУАТИ

1. ТИ НАУНѢ^Т ТИ ГЛАТИ (Ch.9.6) in the 3rd Russian group; и ГЛАГОЛѢТЬ in the other MSS.

2. НАУА ЕМОУ ДАРЫ МНОГЫ ДАТИ (Ch.11.45) in the 1st Russian group; ДА ЕМОУ ДАРЫ МНОГЫ in the 2nd Russian group and in the 3rd with ДАА; ДАТА (ДАТАШЕ) ЕМОУ ДАРЪ МНУГЪ in the South Slavonic MSS.

3. и НА^У ВЕСѢДО ПИСАТИ ЕУЛѢСКОЮ (Ch.14.14) in the 1st and 3rd Russian groups and the South Slavonic MSS; ПИСАШЕ ВЕСѢДО in the 2nd Russian group.

4. и ТОГДА БЪ УРОДЕСА НАУА ТВОРИТИ (Ch.17.3) in the 1st and 3rd Russian groups and the South Slavonic MSS; и АБІЕ БЪ ТВОРАШЕ УРОДЕСА in the 2nd Russian group.

5. БОЛѢТИ НАУА (Ch.18.1) in the 1st Russian group; ВЪ БОЛЕСТЬ ВПАДЕ in the 2nd Russian group; ВЪПАДЕ ВЪ БОЛѢЗНЬ in the 3rd Russian group and the South Slavonic MSS.

6. НАУАША СВѢТИТИ НА^А НИ^М (Ch.18.26) in No.1, the 2nd and 3rd Russian groups and the South Slavonic MSS; ПОВЕЛѢША СВѢЩИ ГОРѢТИ НАА^М НИ in the 1st Russian group.

f) ВЕЛѢТИ

1. See a 6.

2. БОГЪ же ВЕЛИТЬ ВСАКОМОУ ДА БЪ ВЪ РАЗУМУ ИСТИНЪНЫИ ПРИШЪЛЬ и НА БОЛЪШИ СЕ УИНЫ СТЕЖАЛЬ (Ch.14.16) in the South Slavonic MSS and the 1st and 3rd Russian groups; (НОУДИЛЪ in the 1st, ПОДВИГЛЪ in the 3rd); БЪ ВЕЛИТЬ ВСАКОМОУ В РАЗУ^М ИСТИНЪНЫИ ПРИТИ и НА БОЛЪШИ СА УИНЫ СТАЖАЛЪ in the 2nd Russian group.

g) ПОВЕЛѢТИ

1. See e 6.

2. повелѣ възсѣмъ сѣши и искоренити и и сзжѣши (Ch.12.22) in the South Slavonic MSS and the 2nd Russian group; сѣши ис корени и сзжѣши in the 1st and 3rd Russian groups.

3. повелѣ же аплѣкз [...] ^спѣти ^анѣ нимъ и сзтворити провозженіе емѣ такоже и самомѣ папѣжѣ сзтворити (Ch.18.14) in No.1; сзтворили in the other Russian MSS and in the South Slavonic MSS, which add взѣше.

4. повелѣ ^жаплѣкз тако сзтворити и пакы сзбраши са еппѣ ^мвсѣ и чѣрныцѣ ^ми всѣ ^млюде провѣдти ^аего ^суѣно (Ch.18.22) in the Russian MSS; see a 5 for the South Slavonic MSS.

h) глаголати

1. глагола не творити ^муѣсти сѣшымъ ^миконѣ (Ch.5.1) in the Russian MSS; не творите in the South Slavonic MSS.

2. уто глаголетѣ противѣ сѣмоу прѣвзѣ законъ дръжати (Ch.10.15) in the South Slavonic MSS; рѣкше дѣржати in the Russian MSS.

i) привести

1. аще приведеши ю сѣбѣ имѣти ^мподрѣжіе (Ch.3.8) in the Russian MSS; имѣе in the South Slavonic MSS.

j) Supines

In Ch.10.94 and Ch.10.101. in the 1st and 2nd Russian groups, and in Ch.15.8 in all Russian MSS раззѣти са, взстѣти and ити take supines.

k) понти

1. понан с нимъ спѣшно оутвердѣти рѣчѣ и ^авсѣмъ ^срѣцѣмъ взискати бѣ (Ch.14.19) in No.1 and the 2nd Russian group; подвигни са in the 1st and 3rd Russian groups and the Glagolitic MSS; for the South Slavonic MSS see x 1. Letter of the Emperor Michael.

l) имѣти

1. See a 3.

2. See a 4.

3. уто имамъ нареши и (Ch.9.24) in the South Slavonic MSS and the 2nd and 3rd Russian groups; имѣемъ in the 1st Russian group.

4. ароуѣзѣ имамъ дѣти (Ch.10.22) in all MSS except the Vatican MS вѣдѣтъ.

5. ѣако и дрѣвѣ имамъ дати мѡуѣови (Ch.10.23) in all MSS except No.1, which has имѣа.

6. ѣако бѣити имать тако (Ch.10.35) in the South Slavonic MSS and the 2nd and 3rd Russian groups; ѣако бѣдѣ^т тако in the 1st Russian group.

7. ѣако шть дѣвѣ имать родити се (Ch.17.12) in the South Slavonic MSS and the 3rd Russian group; ѡ дѣвѣ са емоу ѣ родити in the 1st Russian group; ѡ дѣвѣ са родить in the 2nd Russian group.

8. не имать вас вѣдѣти (Ch.6.58) in the South Slavonic MSS and the 3rd Russian group; вѣ не вѣдѣ^т in the other Russian MSS. Mark 16.18.

m) имѣти thematic see l 3 and 5.

n) надѣѣти са

1. и надѣѣ^м са тако бѣити^ж (Ch.10.19) in the 1st Russian group; неп'щѣемъ in the other Russian MSS and the South Slavonic ones.

o) неп'щѣвати see n 1.

p) просити

1. не ѡ сиѣхъ прошѣ тъкмо нѣ и вѣроуѣющимъ словесемъ вѣ ме да вѣси ѣдино бѣдоу (sic) (Ch.16.15) in the South Slavonic MSS; вѣпрашаго in the 3rd Russian group, вѣпрашага in No.1; молю in the 1st Russian group; lacking in the 2nd Russian group. John 17.20.

2. нѣ сѣзданию цркви просите да ви нѣбиваѣте (Ch.16.29) in all MSS except the 2nd Russian group, which has да нѣбываѣте.

q) молити see p 1.

r) рѣши see h 2.

s) нареши

1. нареуѣ^м ли вѣ того ради дрѣвѣ и оуѣмо^м и шерѣстѣ^м уѣсть творити и кланѣтиса (Ch.10.85) in the Russian MSS; нареуѣ молитвѣи того ради дрѣвоу и оуѣмомъ и шрѣстемъ уѣсть творите и кланѣѣте се in the South Slavonic MSS.

t) оставѣѣти

1. но не ѡставѣѣ^т уѣѣа рода ѡпасти оуѣбленіемъ (ѡслабленіемъ) и вѣ со-
блѣзнѣ непріѣзнѣнѣ прити и погнѣноути (Ch.1.1) in the 1st and 3rd Russian

groups and the South Slavonic MSS; Ѡ напасти in the 2nd Russian group; принти is lacking in the Vatican MS.

u) сзвѣщати сѧ

1. по семъже добра таа родителѧ сзѣщавъша сѧ не сзходити сѧ (Ch.2.5) in the South Slavonic MSS; сзѣщавъша (сѧ) не сходиста сѧ in the Russian MSS.

v) мнѣти сѧ

1. аще кто мнитъ сѧ пророкъ вѣити (Ch.16.54) in the South Slavonic MSS only. I Cor.14.37.

w) подвигнѣти сѧ see k l.

x) оутврѣдити

1. подвигни сѧ с нимъ спѣшно и оутврѣди рѣчь всѣмъ сръдцемъ вззискати бога (Ch.14.19) in the South Slavonic MSS only, see k l.

Comments

It would be rash to draw conclusions from this limited set of variants about the relations which the several traditions may bear one to another or about which readings are to be preferred. Variants shared by the South Slavonic MSS and the 2nd and 3rd Russian groups may seem more acceptable than their counterparts in the 1st Russian group, particularly if they preserve apparently old words such as раунти, непѣсѣвати. Yet words such as хотѣти, надѣрати сѧ cannot be held specifically Russian or alien to the Old Church Slavonic lexicon and are only in doubt because the other groups of MSS offer some more distinctively Old Church Slavonic term, and it would be bold to declare that one was faced with a Russian innovation rather than with revision at some point in the South Slavonic tradition of the text.

The choice between readings of the whole Russian tradition and ones supplied only in the South Slavonic MSS is a more substantial one: only the Russian MSS have хотѣти + da-clause, привести, понти, рѣши, нареши + infinitive, and supines; only the South Slavonic group has сзвѣщати сѧ, мнѣти сѧ and оутврѣдити + infinitive. Apart from these discrepancies, the textual differences which have been noted affect the frequency with which

the infinitive occurs with individual verbs, but only marginally its pattern of use. After вѣлѣти it appears to alternate with the da-clause; its construction with подвигнѣти сѧ is also not beyond doubt. It is possible, if No.1 and the 1st Russian group are to be trusted, that thematic имѣти as well as the athematic verb should be listed as taking an infinitive though one that belongs rather under Table III. The sense seems as good if athematic имѣти as future auxiliary is read and the other examples under i above can be taken as evidence that the future periphrasis with имѣти + infinitive was liable to be edited out of No.1 and the 1st Russian group.

The da-clauses with просити (въпрашатѣ) are treated as complements here (see Ch.1, Conventions, p.22) because they report the substance of the prayers and so differ from the final clause expanding сего in:

- i. сего ли ради въпрашаѣте да прѣвѣи законъ дръжите (Ch.10.5)

The construction of a da-clause with изволити is found in:

- ii. послахъ доухъ нашъ къ дѣвѣи изволѣ да родитъ (Ch.6.31)

This is in part a reference to the Koran 19.17: 'Then We sent to her Our spirit, who took for her the form of a human being, shapely' (Bell 1937). I have not found any explanation from the text of the Koran of the participial expression in the Slavonic.

Passive infinitives are found in Ch.2.6, see a 3, p.71, and in:

- iii. хотѣтъ благословени бѣити и шепѣзани въ градѣ неросолниѣцѣ (Ch.10.38)

- iv. творите сѧ благословени бѣити (Ch.10.68)

The second of these is perhaps rather a verbal adjective with a copula than a passive.

Negated infinitives occur in the variants h 1 and u 1, pp.73 and 75, and in:

- v. штрѣкль сѧ ѣсмь штънѣдъ никогоже не наоуѣити сѧмоу (Ch.3.24)

- vi. нъ вѣсѧ подвигни не лѣнитѣ сѧ (Ch.14.19)

Table II. Impersonal constructions with infinitive or da-clause

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
	<u>of governing word</u>		
ДОСТОИТЪ	3 4?	3 4?	
ПОДОВАЕТЪ	2?	2?	
ЕСТЬ	2?	2?	
БЪІ	3?	4?	
БАХОУ	1?	1?	
ДОСТОИНО	1?	1?	
НЕПОДОВЬНО ЕСТЬ	1	2	
УТО ЕСТЬ			
СЛАЖДЪШЕ НО	1	2	
ПОТРѢБА ЕСТЬ	1?	1?	
ОБЪІУАН ЕСТЬ	1	1	
<u>Quotations from Greek</u>			
НЕ ВЕЛИТЪ СѦ	1?	1?	
ПИСАНО ЕСТЬ	1?	3?	
СРАМЪ БО ЕСТЬ	1?	1?	

Variants

а) ДОСТОИТЪ

1. тѣмъ же не ДОСТОИТЪ на^с ЗАЗНАТИ (Ch.6.47) in the 1st Russian group; не ПОДОВАЕТЪ намъ ЗАЗНАТИ in the other Russian MSS and the South Slavonic ones.

2. которомѣ оубо ДОСТОИТЪ съвѣтѣ СТОЯТИ (БЫТИ) (Ch.11.6) in the South Slavonic MSS and the 1st and 2nd Russian groups; ПОДОВАЕ^Т СТОЯТИ in the 3rd Russian group.

3. ДОСТОИ^Т тебѣ тамо ИТИ (Ch.14.7) in the 1st Russian group; ПОТРѢБА ЕСТЬ тебѣ тамо ИТИ in the other Russian MSS, the Glagolitic MSS and the South Slavonic MSS.

4. нмнже ДОСТОИТЪ въ книгахъ СЛАВИТИ бога (Ch.16.3) in the South Slavonic MSS and the 1st and 3rd Russian groups; ДОСТОИНО in the Vatican MS;

нмь же єсть славити б҃га in the 2nd Russian group.

b) подобаетъ see a 1 and 2.

c) єсть

1. See a 4.

2. See Table I 1 7, p.74.

d) бы

1. See Table I d 1, p.71.

2. како бы земными нб҃наа премѣншѹ излетѣти ис телесе сего и съ б҃гомъ жити (Ch.4.5) in the Russian MSS; прѣмѣнилъ in the South Slavonic MSS, see Table IV.

3. съвѣтъ творахоу кымъ сѧ бы пакы пѣтѣ^м в'мѣстити в' первыи чинъ (Ch.11.5) in the Russian MSS; взмѣстили in the South Slavonic MSS.

e) бахоу

1. нарекше днѣ въ нже бахоу сѣти о всѣхъ снѣ (Ch.9.35) in the 1st Russian group; въ нже всѣдѹ о всѣхъ снѣ сътворатъ in No.1; въ н'же всѣдоу'ють ш всѣхъ снхъ in all other MSS.

f) достонно see a 4.

g) потрѣба єсть see a 3.

h) не велитъ сѧ

1. не велит' бо сѧ нмь глаголати (Ch.16.51) in the South Slavonic MSS only. I Cor.14.34.

i) срамъ єсть

1. срам' бо єсть въ цр҃кви женѣ глаголати (Ch.16.52) in the South Slavonic MSS only. I Cor.14.35.

j) писано єсть

1. писано бо єсть въ еѡаггельскыихъ книгахъ молити за врагы и добро дѣлати и навнѣшимъ и гонѣшимъ и ланитѹ шбращати бн҃юшимъ (Ch.6.34) in the South Slavonic MSS. The Russian MSS have imperatives, not infinitives, following the Greek of Luke 6.27-29.

Comments

достонѣ + infinitive is at least as well attested in Old Church

Slavonic as ПОДОБАЕТЪ + infinitive (see the Lexicon Linguae Palaeoslovenicae) and as it is unanimously attested from some places in the Life it has a claim to be held original in others where it has rivals.

Some of the constructions tabulated here are hardly distinguishable from those of Table III:

- i. РАКОЖЕ ШЕЗІУАН РЕСТЬ БОГАТИЩЕМЪ ГЛѢМЛЕНІЕ ТВОРИТИ ЛОВИТВОЮ (Ch.3.10).
- ii. УТО БО РЕСТЬ МНѢ СЛАЖДЪШЕ НА СЕМЪ СВѢТѢ НЪ ЗА СВЕТОУЮ ТРОИЦЮ ЖИВОУ ВЪІТИ ѿ ОУМРѢТИ (Ch.6.8)

Table III. Nouns and pronouns governing infinitive or da-clause

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
	<u>of governing word</u>		
	<u>Nouns</u>		
ВЛАСТЬ	1	1	
МОЛИТВА	1		1
СЛОУЖЬБА	1		1
ГОДИНА	1?		1?
УАСЪ	1?		2?
ПРЕДѢЛЪ	1	1	
ОБРАЗЪ	1	1	
РАДЪ	1	1	
ЛЮБЗВЪ	1		1
	<u>Pronouns</u>		
СЕ	1		1

Quotations from Greek

	<u>Nouns</u>		
ОБЛАСТЬ	1	1?	1?
ЗАВѢТЪ	1	1	
ВРЕМЯ	1?	1?	

Variants

a) ГОДИНА

1. ꙗ^к са приближи година да покон приимъ прѣстави^тса на вѣнѣю жизнь (Ch.18.7) in all Russian MSS; ꙗкоже приближи ѹасъ да пакъи приметъ и прѣставитъ се въ вѣнѣю жилища in the South Slavonic MSS. The Glagolitic MSS employ a different construction: egdaže približise bžnomu kurilu preš'stie otsego v̄ka or iegda približise vrime otšastiě ego ot sego v̄ka.⁴⁵

b) ѹасъ see a 1.

c) область

1. елико же ѿ приало ѿ дасть ѿ область да ѹада бѣиа бѣдоу (Ch.16.14) in the 1st Russian group and the South Slavonic MSS; шѣласть ѹада^м бѣимъ быти in the 3rd Russian group; lacking in the 2nd Russian group.

d) время

1. сего ради дастьса до времени ражающаго родити (Ch.10.61) in No.1. It is not clear what this means, or whether времени is in fact the governing expression here. All other MSS have родитъ, adhering to the Greek in Micah 5.2.

Comments

The three types of construction outlined in Ch.1 D III, p.19 can be distinguished here. The first is found in e.g.:

i. дасть ꙗко власть надъ своимъ домомъ и въ царевѣ полатоу съ дръзновениемъ взходити (Ch.4.6)

The second is exemplified by:

ii. сего ради оуда того оурѣзаетъ прѣдѣль да не прѣстоупати ꙗко да не нъ прѣвоу съврѣстнѣю адамовоу шѣразъ да не проуимъ въ тѣ ходити (Ch.10.78)

This is the only example of a negated infinitive in this table.

The construction with година or ѹасъ seems to belong under this head. So too, if those readings are accepted, do the expressions ѹто имѣмъ and имѣа дръгын + infinitive which occur as variants under Table I 1 3 and 5, pp.73-74.

The da-clauses after се, слоужба and любѣвь belong to the third type,

⁴⁵. See Radovich 1968 pp.51 and 55.

since they expand the pronoun or define the nature of the service or the love:

iii. СЕГО ЛИ РАДИ ВЪПРАШАЕТЕ ДА ПРЪВЪІ ЗАКОНЪ ДРЪЖИТЕ (Ch.10.5)

iv. ШТАДАДИМЪ И И СЛОУЖ'БОУ ДА БОУДЕТЬ ВИНЛОТНИКАРЬ ОУ ПАТРИАР'ХА ВЪ СВЕТЪИ СОФІИ (Ch.4.15)

v. БОЛ'ШЕ СЕГЕ ЛЮБЬВЕ НЕ МОЖЕТЪ НИКТОЖЕ РАВИТИ НА СЕМЪ ЖИТИИ НЪ ДА СВОЮ ДОУШѦ ПОЛОЖИТЬ ЗА ДРѦГЪІ (Ch.6.38) John 15.13.

Table IV. Other constructions with infinitive or da-clause

	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>da-clause</u>
Imperative		9 (5) 1?
Co-ordinative/Consecutive	1 1?	6 4?
Final	2 2?	10 (1)
ЕДА		1
РАКО	1	1?
<u>Quotations from Greek</u>		
Imperative		15 6 (1)?
Co-ordinative/Consecutive	3?	
Final	1 1?	7 (1) (1)?

Variants

a) Final infinitive

1. See Table II d 2, p.78.

2. СЕДМЪ ДЕСЕТЪ НЕДЕЛЬ ДО ХРИСТА ИГОУМЕНА РЕЖЕ РЕСТЬ УЕТЪРИИ СТА И У ЛЕТЪ ЗАПЕЧАТЛѢТИ ВИДѢНІЕ ПРОРОЧЬСТВА (Ch.10.46) in the South Slavonic MSS and the 1st and 2nd Russian groups; ВИДѢТИ or ВЪДѢТИ И ЗАПЕЧАТЛѢТИ in the 3rd Russian group. The syntax of this passage, which is based on Dan.9. 24-27, is not clear in the Slavonic.

b) Consecutive infinitive

1. И ВЪЗЛЮБЛЪ ВЕЛ'МИ СЛОВЕН'СКЪІИ КНИГЪІ НАОУЧИТИ СЕ ИМЪ (Ch.15.19) in the South Slavonic MSS only; И ВЪЗЛЮБИ ВЕЛМИ СЛОВЕН'СКЪІИ БѢКВЫ И НАОУЧИ СА И in the Russian MSS.

2. аще послѣдшающе мене послѣдшаѣ^Т (послѣдшанте) по всемѦ хранити законъ

(Ch.10.39) in the Russian MSS; хранн(те) in the South Slavonic MSS. Deut. 11.22.

3. и ѿверзашася[...]оуши глѡхѣхъ оуслышати книжнаа слова (Ch.15.3) in No.1; оуслышатъ in the 1st and 2nd Russian groups, as in Isaiah 35.5; оуслышаша in the 3rd Russian group and the South Slavonic MSS.

4. вѣсакъ нже вѣзрѣтъ на женоу похотѣти ѣи (Ch.15.15) in the South Slavonic MSS and the 1st and 2nd Russian groups; вѣсакъ вѣзрѣвы на женѡ с похотѣю in the third Russian group.

c) Imperative da-clause

1. даръ оубо велии да вѣдѣ^Т требѡущ^М его (Ch.4.14) in the 1st Russian group; да вѣдѣ^Т is lacking in the other MSS.

2. вѣса зѣмля да поклонит' ти се и поѣтъ тебѣ и да поѣт' же имени твоѣмѡ (Ch.16.12) in the South Slavonic MSS and the 1st and 2nd Russian groups; и поѣтъ тебѣ is lacking in the 3rd Russian group.

3. аще кто не разумѣѣ^Т да оуѣи^Тса и разѡмѣѣ^Т (Ch.16.55) in the 1st Russian group; да (не) разѡмѣваѣтъ in the South Slavonic MSS; the da-clause is lacking in the other Russian MSS. I Cor. 14.38.

4. There are four imperative da-clauses in the translation of I Cor. 14.34-37 in Ch.16 which is included only in the South Slavonic MSS.

d) Co-ordinative or Consecutive da-clause

1. да ѣакоже еси сѣѣа трѡца слѡга и ѡуеникъ шеаъ противи са нмъ (Ch.6.6) in No.1 only; то or ты in the other MSS.

2. да и женоу ѣмоу дадѣте (Ch.6.28) in the South Slavonic MSS; the Russian MSS have то, not да.

3. да шѣзѣуаѣ стоуанѣѣ ннѣи дрѣжеѣ (Ch.8.1) in the South Slavonic MSS only; the Russian MSS have а.

4. и нни мнѡзи разлѣнѣхъ неаѡгъ. нзѣзѣше да ѣако же плѣн'ници плѣн'шин христа нарек'ше и светаго климента нзѣзѣше (Ch.17.4) in the South Slavonic MSS only; the Russian MSS simply have такѡже or omit the phrase.

e) Final da-clause

1. могу^Т бо по единомѡ вси прѡѡѣствовати да вси оуѣа^Тса и вси

оутѣшаша ютца (Ch.16.48) in the Russian MSS; вси оуѣдѣса и is lacking in the South Slavonic MSS. I Cor. 14.31.

f) ѣда

1. внанимъ ѣда что възето (соудѣ^T) шть н-его (Ch.18.22) in the South Slavonic MSS; аще есть цѣлѣ in the Russian MSS. This is the only clause of its kind, and is not included in the other categories in the tables.

g) ѣако да

1. ѣако мати нзи рѣсть заклела ѣако иже.наю прѣвѣре на соудѣ ндетъ да принесетъ и въ свои брати монастырь и тоу и.погребетъ (Ch.18.16) in the South Slavonic MSS only; the Russian MSS have да instead of ѣако.

Comments

The one original consecutive infinitive is introduced by ѣако:

i. спѣваше пауче в'сѣх' оуѣеникъ въ книгахъ паметію скорою вел'ми ѣако и днѣѡ възити (Ch.3.9)

The two final infinitives both come after main clauses with вѣдати:

ii. и оуѣеникъи събравъ и вѣдасть и (а) оуѣити (Ch.15.1)

iii. и вѣда(въ) до ѡ оуѣеникъъ оуѣитисе имъ (Ch.15.19)

An equivalent construction with a да-clause is found in:

iv. вѣдаше рѣго оуѣителрѣмъ да се оуѣитъ (Ch.4.1)

The other да-clause after вѣдати is required by its conditional mood, which conveys an intention which was not realized:

v. вѣдаваше рѣго донлици да и бы донла (Ch.2.3)

One of the да-clauses which have here been taken as co-ordinative could be interpreted as final:

vi. просимъ мѡжа книжна шть васъ да аще.прѣпритъ рѣвреѣ и срацинзи то по вашѡ се вѣрѡ имѣмъ (Ch.8.5)

Another да-clause which is ambiguous, between consecutive and final sense, is:

vii. житіе же рѣго навлѣаетъ по малѡ сказаемо ѣакъже бѣ да иже хошетъ то се слыши (слыша) подобитъ се рѣмоу (Ch.1.4)

Table V. Tense and mood of verbs in da-clauses

	<u>Imperative</u>	<u>Co-ordinative/</u> <u>Consecutive</u>	<u>Complementary</u>	<u>Final</u>
Imperative		2 2?		
Present	9 (5)	1? 3 ?	6 (1) 1?	6 (1)
Aorist		1?		
Conditional			2	4
<u>Quotations from Greek</u>				
Present	15	6 (1)?	7 (2)	6 (1?)
Conditional			1 (1)?	1 (1)
<u>Comments</u>				

With the exception of the passage quoted under Table I a 1, p.70, all the variants concern the use of the da-clause, not its tense or mood. The example of co-ordinative da quoted under Table IV d 3, p.82, is followed by a participle, not a finite verb, and has been excluded from Table V.

The conditional is used in complementary da-clauses after сътворити, молитва, велѣти, see Table I f 2, p.72, and:

i. ВЪ МОЛИТВАХЪ прѣбываше да бзи шербѣль желаніе сръдця своего (Ch.3. 26)

ii. ТО НЕ бзи ли могль сътворити да бзише и син испрѣва писмензи пишѡще бесѣдзи свое славили бога (Ch.15.6)

In ii the conditional in the da-clause is motivated by that in the main clause, as in the final clause in:

iii. иже ни бзи въ свои рѣзѣикъ истоу во вѣрѡ христѣан'скѡ сказалъ да се бзише и инзи странзи зрѣше подобили намъ (Ch.14.3)

велѣти may also take a da-clause with the indicative:

iv. ТАКО велимъ да се крѣститъ во лѣгѡ иже хощеть (Ch.11.38)

When da is used before an imperative verb, it is tabulated as co-ordinative, but it may also reinforce the imperative sense:

v. ТО ТЪИ нзи на сил'нѣи хощеши бзѣти да не глаголи нам' тацѣхъ прѣтъу (Ch.5.15-16)

vi. НЕ ТРѢПЛѢЮ ОУБО жеждѡ да поурѣпи водѡ си (Ch.12.3)

Table VI. Infinitives separated from their governing expression, and da separated from its dependent verb, by non-enclitic elements

	<u>Occurrence</u>		<u>Separated occurrences</u>	
	<u>of construction</u>			
Infinitive	110 (16)	37 (7)?	58 (7)	22 (5)?
Imperative <u>da</u>	9 (5)	1?	(1)	
Co-ordinative/				
Consecutive <u>da</u>	6	4?	3	2?
Complementary	8 (1)	1?	1	1?
Final <u>da</u>	10 (1)		4	
<u>Quotations from Greek</u>				
Infinitive	15 (1)	15 (3)?	8	11 (2)?
Imperative <u>da</u>	15	6 (1)?		
Co-ordinative/				
Consecutive <u>da</u>				
Complementary <u>da</u>	8	3?	2	2?
Final <u>da</u>	7 (1)	(1)?	5 (1)	(1)?

Variants

a) Infinitival constructions

1. See Table I d 2, p.72.

2. ѦАКО И ДИВОУ БЫТИ (Ch.3.9) in the 2nd and 3rd Russian groups and the South Slavonic MSS; ѦАКО И ДИВИТИСА ВСѢМЪ in the 1st Russian group. I take и to be enclitic.

3. ТВОА КРАСОТА И МАРТЬ НѢАН^Т МА ИЗЛИХА ЛЮБИТИ ТА (Ch.4.13) in the Russian MSS; ШТЪНОУДАЪ ИЗЛИХА НОУАНТЬ МЕ ЛЮБИТИ ТЕ in the South Slavonic MSS.

4. НО ЕЖЕ МОГОУТЬ ВСѢ ДѢАТИ (Ch.6.21) in the 3rd Russian group; ВСИ МОГОУ^Т ДѢАТИ in the 1st and 2nd Russian groups; without the pronoun in the South Slavonic MSS.

5. МОЖЕТЪ КАГАНА (И) УРѢАТИ (Ch.9.24) in the South Slavonic MSS and the 1st and 2nd Russian groups; МОЖЕТЪ УРѢАТИ КАГАНА in the 3rd Russian

group.

6. ѡако не может са въз ѹлѡѡка вмѣстити бѣъ (Ch.9.28) in the 2nd Russian group; ѡако не може^Т бѣ възмѣстити са въз ѹлѡка in No.1; ѡако не може^Т възмѣстити са бѣ въз ѹлѡка in the 1st Russian group; ѡако не может[?] се възмѣстити въз ѹловѡка богъ in the South Slavonic MSS and the 3rd Russian group.

7. в'си еззици хотеть благословени бѣти (Ch.10.38) in the South Slavonic MSS and the 2nd Russian group; бѣти бѡвѣни in the other Russian MSS.

8. аще хоцеши покон шѡрѣсти доушамъ нашимъ (Ch.10.100.) in all MSS except No.1, which has аще хоцеши поконти дѡша наша.

9. егда сѣдетъ (сѡудѡи) ветхѡи дѡньми соуданти възсѣмъ еззицѡмъ (Ch.11.36) in all MSS except the 2nd Russian group, which has егда сѣдетъ соуданти вет'хѡи дѡньми и соуданти ... This is surely a slip for сѡудѡи in the other Russian MSS.

10. и х'же не можаше никтоже ни проучсти ни сказати (Ch.13.3) in all MSS except No.1, which has никтоже не можаше ни поучсти ни сказати.

11. то како азъ могѡ то шѡрѣсти (Ch.14.10) in the South Slavonic MSS; како могу азъ шѡрѣсти in the 2nd Russian group; како могѡ и азъ то шѡрѣсти in the 3rd Russian group; како азъ то могѡ обѡрѣсти in the 1st Russian group.

12. аще ли не хоцете шть сѡхъ разѡмѣти (Ch.16.9) in the South Slavonic MSS and the 1st and 3rd Russian groups; аще не хоцете разоумѣти книгъ in the 2nd Russian group.

13. и абнѣ богъ наѹе ѹродеса творити (Ch.17.3) in the South Slavonic MSS and the 3rd Russian group; и тогда бѣ ѹродеса наѹа творити in the 1st Russian group (for the 2nd group, see Table I e 4, p.72).

b) Da-clauses

1. да покон принмъ прѣстави^Тса на вѣѹнѡю жизнь (Ch.18.7) in all the Russian MSS except the Vatican MS, which lacks покон принмъ (for the South Slavonic MSS, see Table III a 1, p.80).

2. нъ да своѡ доушѡ положить за дрѡгы (Ch.6.38) in the South Slavonic MSS and the 1st Russian group; да своѡ положить дѡшѡ in the 2nd

Russian group; да положить своего дѣла in the 3rd Russian group and No.1.

John 15.13.

Comments

The infinitive may be separated from its governing verb by the subject, or a participle agreeing with the subject, of either verb; by the complement of the infinitive; by the direct or indirect object of either verb; and by adverbial expressions, including the dative absolute.

Between да and its dependent verb whole subordinate clauses may stand:

i. да аще Христосъ богъ вашъ есть поутѣ не творите какоже велитъ (Ch. 6.33)

ii. како мати нѣ ѿ заклала да и наго первѣе на соу^А на^Т да принесетъ
брата въ свои монастырь и тоу и погребетъ (Ch.18.16)

Apparently here the separation of да (which is found only in the Russian MSS, see Table IV g 1, p.83) from its verb has led to a reduplication of the conjunction. The first да is regarded as an emphatic anticipation of the second one and is not included in the tables.

The subject or object of the dependent verb and its adverbial modifiers may also stand immediately after да. There is only one instance in which an imperative да-clause is so interrupted, and there the object is placed before a second, co-ordinated, verb in the clause:

iii. три месеци да пиетъ въ дрѣвѣхъ вашихъ а стѣзѣхъ се не прикасаетъ
(прикасаетъ) (Ch.15.10)

It is remarkable how in the series of these imperative да-clauses in Ch.16.43-47, starting with всѣ же къ за^Тданію да звѣдаютъ I Cor. 14.27, stressed elements are always preposed to the да-clauses, although the Greek originals, simple 3rd. per. imperatives, do not prompt one word-order rather than another. It is only with the final clause in I Cor. 14.31 that interposition is found: да вси (оу^Тчѣса и вси) оутѣшайотса.

Table VII. Verbs governing preposed infinitives

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Preposed infinitives</u>
	<u>of construction</u>	
ХОУЪТИ	19 5?	2?
НАУАТИ	13 6?	1 1?
ИМЪТИ	8 6?	1 2?
<u>Quotations from Greek</u>		
ХОУЪТИ	3 2?	1?

Variants

1. ТО КАКО АЗЪ С ВАМИ СѦ ПРЪТИ ХОЩЪ (Ch.5.5) in No.1; с ВАМИ СЕ ХОЩЪ ПРЪТИ in all other MSS.

Comments

The examples with ХОУЪТИ and ИМЪТИ can all be taken as future periphrases. The two instances of НАУАТИ are both in the past tense.

It may be interesting that the preposed infinitive is separated from its main verb only by enclitics, and that apparently only one infinitive is preposed at a time:

i. КАКО ШЕРЪСТИ РЕГО ИМАМЪ И ИЗНЕСТИ ИЗ МОРА (Ch.8.16)

The quotation, in the South Slavonic MSS only, follows the Greek word-order of I Cor. 14.35.

THE SERMONS OF ST. CLEMENT

St. Clement, the disciple of SS. Cyril and Methodius and continuer of their work, is the subject of two Lives, one written in Greek by Theophylactus, Archbishop of Ohrid, at the beginning of the twelfth century, and the other by Demetrius Chomatianus, who occupied the same See in the early thirteenth century.⁴⁶ Tunitsky 1970 shows that the later Life is based on the earlier and longer one and on some additional, perhaps local,

46. See Ivanov 1970 p.314 for the justification of the latter attribution.

tradition; Theophylactus's Life in its turn probably derives its factual details from earlier Slavonic sources, particularly a Slavonic Life of St. Clement written by someone who knew him. The historical reliability of Theophylactus's Life and its probable sources are discussed by Tunitsky 1970. According to these Lives, published in Tunitsky 1972 and Ivanov 1970 and to the two versions of the Life of St. Naum, another follower of SS. Cyril and Methodius, which are published in Ivanov 1970, St. Clement was attached to St. Methodius from an early age and was involved in the Moravian mission, possibly from its beginning. When it was disbanded in 885-86 after the death of St. Methodius, Clement, Naum and Angelarius made their way to Bulgaria; and here St. Clement worked for about thirty years, first as a teacher and then from 893 as a bishop, until his death in 916. The location of his diocese is uncertain, but he seems to have been based for much of the time, if not continuously, in Ohrid. As well as his normal episcopal duties and the work of training a Slavonic clergy, St. Clement found time to continue the literary activities of which he had no doubt had experience in Moravia, translating and composing books for the use of the young Slavonic Church. He is said to have contributed much to hymnography and to have written a large number of sermons, suited to the understanding of a people newly converted to Christianity. They are supposed to have treated the major festivals of the Church and a number of Saints' days.⁴⁷

Not many of St. Clement's sermons are known beyond doubt to be extant. Sixteen⁴⁸ have been found which at least in some MSS are ascribed to Clement, Saint, Bishop or Archbishop, СЛОВѢНЬСКЪИ or БЕЛНУЬСКЪИ.⁴⁹

⁴⁷. See V Clem. Ch.22.66.

⁴⁸. One of these, on St. Thomas, is clearly a reworking of another, the Exhortation for Feast-days, so that the number of distinct sermons is rather fifteen.

⁴⁹. See V Clem. Ch.20.62 that St. Clement was Bishop of Δρεβενύτζας ἡτοῦ Βελύτζας.

The same compositions are in other MSS attributed to other writers, most often to St. John Chrysostom, sometimes by an easy confusion to Pope Clement.⁵⁰ As an encomium of St. Demetrius by Gregory Tsamblak stands in some MSS under St. Clement's name, even these explicit attributions may not be entirely reliable.⁵¹ A considerable number of anonymous or mis-attributed sermons are more or less confidently held to be the work of St. Clement, on various grounds: similarity to his accepted works in style, lexis and manner of exposition; co-occurrence with those works; historical probability.⁵² The Lives of SS. Cyril and Methodius, examined above, have also sometimes been attributed to St. Clement's authorship, e.g. by Vondrák 1903 and others.⁵³

It is possible that the common traits which have been identified in the sermons attributed to St. Clement characterize the products of a single literary school or period, rather than a single author.⁵⁴ A study of early Slavonic sermons and their authorship is beyond the scope of the present work; consequently the material discussed below is based only on the fifteen sermons (excluding the one adapted to St. Thomas) which bear St. Clement's name and the Homily on a Saint or Martyr which is found in a twelfth century MS between two other sermons explicitly ascribed to St. Clement and which has been connected with the Moravian period, especially by Vondrák 1903, on grounds of its textual relation to the second Freising Fragment. As the many other sermons thought to be by St. Clement have been ascribed to him at least partly on linguistic grounds, their usage

50. See Angelov, Kuev and Kodov 1970 p. 550.

51. See Angelov, Kuev and Kodov 1970 pp. 221-22

52. See Lavrov 1898, 1901 and 1906, Sobolevsky 1903-06, Stoyanovich 1905 Angelov et al. 1970-77, passim.

53. See Grivec and Tomšič 1960, Angelov, Kuev and Kodov 1973.

54. See Sobolevsky 1908 p. 271 on the difficulty of distinguishing the styles of different authors in this period.

presumably should not differ significantly from that of the named compositions whose style is taken to be that of St. Clement. If any proposed work of St. Clement were found to diverge markedly in its linguistic practice from the established corpus, this could be a reason to exclude it from that corpus altogether.

The edition used here is that of Angelov, Kuev and Kodov 1970 (hereafter abbreviated to AKK), which has photographs of the oldest available MSS against which the printed versions of the sermons have been checked. It includes a selection of variant readings, which are mentioned here when relevant, among them the second versions of the Encomium of St. Cyril and the Sermon on the Trinity, the Creation and the Last Judgement. As the sermons survive in MSS of widely separated date and provenance, they are here divided into two groups, the earlier MSS (twelfth century Russian ones) and the later ones (thirteenth to sixteenth century Russian, Serbian and Bulgarian MSS):⁵⁵

A. i. The Exhortation on Feast-days, in a twelfth century Russian MS, AKK No.1, pp.55-66.

ii. The Homily on a Saint or Martyr, ibid., AKK No.4, pp.88-100.

iii. The Homily on Sunday, ibid., AKK No.8, pp.151-57.

iv. The Encomium of Lazarus, in a twelfth century Russian MS, AKK No.30, pp.548-76.

v. The Sermon for Palm Sunday, ibid., AKK No.31, pp.586-97.

vi. The Homily on Easter, ibid., AKK No.32, pp.598-611.

B. i. The Encomium of the Prophet Zacharias and the Birth of St. John the Baptist, in a fourteenth century Russian MS, AKK No.9, pp.158-85.

ii. The Encomium of St. Demetrius, in a Russian MS of 1490, AKK No.14, pp.221-37.

iii. The Encomium of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, in a Bulgarian MS of 1359, AKK No.15, pp.238-86.

55. The page-references to the edition include the archival details.

iv. The Encomium of St. Clement, Pope of Rome, in a fourteenth century Russian MS, AKK No.16, pp.287-305.

v. The Encomium of St. John the Baptist, in a fourteenth century Serbian MS, AKK No.22, pp.378-96. AKK note that this sermon depends on two Greek ones ascribed to St. John Chrysostom,⁵⁶ but the dependency is one of thematic treatment and rhetorical style, not of direct quotation.

vi. The Encomium of St. Cyril, in a thirteenth century Bulgarian MS and a fourteenth century Serbian one, AKK No.25, pp.415-42.

vii. The Encomium of the Forty Martyrs, in a Serbian MS of 1598, AKK No.27, pp.511-24.

viii. The Sermon on the Trinity, the Creation and the Last Judgement, in a fifteenth century Russian MS, AKK No.34, pp.620-59 (Two versions).

ix. The Homily on the Transfiguration, in a thirteenth century Russian MS, AKK No.38, pp.722-44.

x. The Encomium of the Dormition of the Mother of God, in a thirteenth century Serbian MS, AKK No.40, pp.752-74 (also in a Bulgarian MS of the fourteenth century, which AKK print in extenso but which is substantially the same as the Serbian one.

The Biblical references in these sermons are often paraphrases rather than word-for-word quotations. I have tried to differentiate between mere reminiscences and passages which reproduce the Greek construction or use an equivalent Slavonic one, such as:

i. Exod. 33.20. οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἴδῃ ἄνθρωπος τὸ πρόσωπόν μου καὶ ζήσεται
- НЕ МОЖЕТЪ БО УЛОВѢКЪ ВНАДѢВЪ ЛИЦА МОЕГО И ЖИВЪ БЫТИ (No.15 Fol.68a)

ii. Luke 1.9. ἔλαχε τοῦ θυμιᾶσαι εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ κυρίου
- БЗІ СЛУЖАЩЮ ЗАХАРИИ ПО ФИННУ УРЕДЗИ СВОЕГО ПРИБЛИПИТИ КЪ ОЛТАРЕВИ ПОКЛ-
АНТИ ТЪМНІ-АНОМЪ СѢА-А СѢЗІИХЪ (No.9, Fol.317a)

iii. John 13.34. ἐντολὴν καὶ νὴν δίδωμι ὑμῖν ἵνα ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους

56. See Migne P.G. 50 pp.799-806.

- СИ ЗАПОВѢДАЮ ВАСЪ ДА ЛЮБИТЕ ДРУГЪ ДРУГА (No.38 Fo.213a)

iv. John 11.11. ἄλλα πορεύομαι ἵνα ἐξυπνίσω αὐτόν - НЪ НДѢМЪ КЪ НЕМОУ ДА И ВЪЗБΟΥДИМЪ (No.30 Foll.102b-103a)

Where Greek direct command is rendered by indirect constructions with повелѣти + infinitive, as in No.30 Fol.103b and No.34 Fol.57a-b, they are not counted as translations.

There are several parallel allusions to the Creed, which however seem to be based on some other Slavonic version than those extant:⁵⁷

- i. ПАКЪИ ХОТА ПРНТИ ВЪ СЛАВѢ БЖЬСТВА СВОЕГО СОУДИТИ ЖИВЪИМЪ И МЪРТ-ВЪИМЪ (No.31 Foll.105b-106a)
- ii. ДНЬ ВЪНЖЕ ХОЩЕ ПРНТИ.СОУДИТИ ЖИВЪИ^М И МРТВЪИМЪ (No.14 Fol.424b)
- iii. ЕГДА ПРИДЕТЬ СНЪ БЖИИ ВО СЛАВѢ СВОЕГО БЖТВА.СОУДИТИ ХОТА ЖИВЪИ^М И МРТВЪИ^М (No.34 Fol.62a)
- iv. И ПАКЪИ ГРЕДЫИ ВЪ СЛАВѢ БЖТВА СВОЕГО, СОУДИТИ ХОТЕ ВЪСЕЛЕНЪИИ (No.22 Fol.209a)

These are treated as quotations.

Table I. Verbs governing infinitive or da-clause with identical or distinct subjects

<u>Group A</u>	<u>Occurrence</u>		<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>da-clause</u>	
	<u>of verb</u>	"	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>
ХОТѢТИ	7	1?	8	1?		1
ВЪСХОТѢТИ	2		2			
МОЩИ	1		1			
НЕ МОЖѢИМЪ	2		2			
НАУАТИ	1		1			
ВѢЛѢТИ	3			5		
ПРНТИ	3		4			
ПРИХОДИТИ	1		1			
СЪНИТИ	1		2			

57. See Gezen 1884.

	<u>Occurrence</u>		<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>da-clause</u>	
	<u>of verb</u>		<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>
имѣти	2		2			
молити (сѧ)	1		1			
просити	1		1			
навѣікнѣти	1		1			
потѣшити сѧ	2		2			
подвигнѣти сѧ	3	1?	8	1?		
написати	1		2			
<u>Quotations from Greek</u>						
хотѣти	1		1			
моуи	1		1			
ити	2		1		1	
прити	1		1			
имѣти	1		1			
искати	1		1			
<u>Group B</u>						
хотѣти	18	(1) 5?	18	(1) 5?		
вѣсхотѣти	3		3			
желати	1		2			
изволити	3	1?	3	1?	1	
моуи	13	6?	14	6?		
не моуѣмъ		1?		1?		
вѣзмоуи	7	2?	9	2?		
науати	3		3			
вѣлѣти	1				1	
повѣлѣти	9				11	
заповѣдати	1				1	
посѣлати	1				1	
прити	5	1?	5	1?		
варити	1		1			

	<u>Occurrence</u>		<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>da-clause</u>	
	<u>of verb</u>		<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>
имѣти	6	3?	8	3?		
вздати	1			1		
сѣмѣти	2		2			
сѣподобити	1			1		
сѣподобити сѧ	1		1			
просити		1?		1?		
обзѣкнѣти	1		1			
оубѣждати	1			1		
наоустити	1					1
ноудити	2			2		
трѣпѣти	1	1?	1	1?		
подвигнѣти	1			1		
подвигнѣти сѧ	5		5		1	
потѣшити сѧ	2		1	1?		1?
помѣшлѣти	1		1			
непѣщевати		1?		1?		
мѣнѣти		1?		1?		
покоусити сѧ	1		2			
постигнѣти	2		2	1?		
оуѣинити		1?		1?		
видѣти		1?		1?		
<u>Quotations from Greek</u>						
хотѣти	4		4			
моуи	4		4			
не моуѣте		1?		1?		
вѣзмоуи	2		3			
науѣти	1		2			
не велѣти	1		1			

	<u>Occurrence</u>		<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>Da-clause</u>	
	<u>of verb</u>		<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>
посълати	1	1?		1	1?	
прити	2		2			
прѣдзѣти	2		3			
пристѣпѣти	1		1			
имѣти	2		2			
сѣмѣти	1		1			
непѣщевати	1			1		
трѣбовати	3		3			
мѣдѣти		1?		1?		
кѣсѣти		1?		1?		

Variants

Group A

a) хотѣти

1. приудастнѣ хотѣ створи(ти) · своемоу црѣствию (No.8 Fol.27b). The infinitive is here conjectural, see AKK p.157 Fn.8.

b) подвигнѣти сѣ

1. тѣма оубо възроужьше сѣ подвигнѣмъ сѣ тѣши во истотѣ прѣпрово-
дѣвъше сѣа постѣнѣи дѣи (No.31 Fol.105b); прѣпроводѣти in a fourteenth century Bulgarian MS (AKK p.597 Fn.35)

The very few other textual differences which might be held relevant to this group occur at the earliest in fifteenth century Russian MSS.

Group B

a) хотѣти

1. коѣ скв'рны шмѣти хоуеши (No.22 Fol.208a); коѣ скв'рны шмѣти
имашѣи in almost all other MSS (AKK p.395 Fn.19)

2. како ли хоуеши того танѣти (No.34 Fol.59b); моуеши in two sixteenth century Russian MSS (AKK p.645 Fn.61)

3. да на кѣи оуспѣхъ намъ хоуеѣтъ быти братѣ житиѣ сѣго временѣа
сласть (No.34 Fol.62a); боудѣтъ in a sixteenth century MS (AKK p.645 Fn.112)

4. приде на нъ црь асиринскы· како прѣхтѣ градъ (No.15 Fol.68b); плѣнить града in a fourteenth century Russian MS, принати хотѣ in another fourteenth century Russian MS (AKK p.284 Fn.72)

5. непостыднѣ радость его· хоташе исповѣдати (No.16 Fol.98b); хоташе исповѣдаемъ in a fifteenth/sixteenth century Russian MS (AKK p.304 Fn.86)

b) изволити

1. смерть на дѣла изволи въз(с)пріати (No.14 Fol.424a-b); смерть на ради плотіе пріатъ in a sixteenth century Russian MS (AKK p.236 Fn.40)

c) мощи and възмощи

1. See a 2.

2. не могли зрѣти созданіа своего· злымъ бѣсомъ повинувъшѣ (No.34 Fol.58b); не трѣпа же мѣтвыи гъ бгъ нашъ своего созданіа зрѣти in two sixteenth century Russian MSS (AKK p.645 Fn.43)

3. и не могше его принудити на то (No.16 Fol.97b); не възмогша in a fifteenth/sixteenth century Russian MS (AKK p.304 Fn.52)

4. егоже похвалы·ни жъ языкъ изрещи, ни оумъ постигнетъ· пѣбно хвалити (No.15 Fol.70b); възмогаеть изрещи in four Russian MSS of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (AKK p.284 Fn.125); постигнѣт и мѹжетъ in two sixteenth century Russian MSS (AKK p.284 Fn.126)

5. не могли оугодити (short version of No.34 Fol.127a) and in two sixteenth century Russian MSS (AKK p.645 Fn.37) where the long version lacks this phrase altogether.

6. егоже оумирающе с' собою не можем ѿнести (No.34) in two sixteenth century Russian MSS, lacking in the long and short fifteenth century MSS (AKK pp.645-46 Fn.114)

7. не мѹзѣмъ лишатиса цртва нѣнаго (No.34) short version only Fol.129a.

8. не вкоушанта его (No.34 Fol.57b); не мѹзѣте вкоусити in a sixteenth century Russian MS (AKK p.645 Fn.26)

d) прити see a 4.

e) послати

1. се азъ послѹю аггѣла моего прѣ лицемъ моимъ, и тѣ оуготовити поутѣ мое

прѣ мною (No.22 Fol.208b); оуготовитъ in all other MSS (AKK p.396 Fn.29)

f) имѣти

1. See a 1.

2. да имать ма простити (No.34) short version only Fol.129a.

3. ниже имать положити в немъ стрѣлы ни щита (No.15 Fol.69a); lacking in two sixteenth century Russian (AKK p.286 Fn.75)

g) просити

1. не проси смрти вкоусити (No.40 Fol.249a); нелѣпо (есть) гени сымръть вькѣсити in the fourteenth century Bulgarian copy (Fol.257b) and a fifteenth/sixteenth century Russian MS (AKK p.773 Fn.9)

h) трѣпѣти see c 2.

i) потѣшити сѧ

1. потѣш^исѧ добрыми дѣлы. оугодни емоу гавитисѧ (No.34 Fol.59a); да нехзли оугодни емоу авимсѧ in two sixteenth century Russian MSS (AKK p.645 Fn.55)

j) непышевати

1. то непышѣнмо ли тамо оутанти ю (No.34 Fol.59b); мнимъ in two sixteenth century Russian MSS (AKK p.645 Fn.63) and то мнимо ли сѧ и тамо оутанмъ in the shorter version (Fol.128a)

k) мнѣти see j 1.

l) оуинити

1. в немже кждо ихъ ѡуиненъ стоитъ (No.15 Fol.70a); стоити оуини^иенъ бѣ in several Russian and Serbian MSS of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries (AKK p.284 Fn.118 and 119)

m) мѣдити

1. ноудить мон гѣ прити (No.34 Fol.60a); моудить in the shorter version (Fol.129a); кзснитъ in two sixteenth century Russian MSS (AKK p.645 Fn.78)

n) кзснѣти see n 1.

o) видѣти

1. к'то видѣ коли в^алкоу ѡ раза просеца крщени^а шущени^а требующа

(No.22 Fol.208b); кто внѣ коли зижантелѣ ѿ брениѣ просити шущеніа in five Serbian and Russian MSS of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries (AKK p.396 Fn.30)

Most of these variants affect either the absolute frequency of infinitival constructions or the relative frequency of the infinitive in combination with one or other governing verb. In only one instance, that under j 1, does the da-clause appear as an alternative to the infinitive. This is the reading of the two sixteenth century Russian MSS; the long and short fifteenth century versions of No.34 both have an infinitive here. Their short version agrees in some places with the long one, in others with the two sixteenth century MSS, and is probably a composite, as it is patently an abbreviated text, according to Tunitsky 1904. It is not clear that the readings of the fifteenth century MS are necessarily to be preferred to those of the sixteenth century ones, which are distinguished by such antique lexical specimens as плещѡща, искрени for ближнѣи, стѣнь and in grammar by the locative case without a preposition after нападаша.

Comments

As was explained in Ch.1 IV, p.22, da-clauses and infinitives depending on хотѣти and изволити are tabulated here regardless of their subjects:

i. не хотѣ да никѣтоже ѿ насъ погѣбенѣтъ (No.31 Fol.105b)

ii. изволи гѣ бѣ прѣвѣстномуу тѣлоу его поунти (No.25 Foll.38b and 211b)

They seem on semantic grounds complementary, not final constructions.

In Group A verbs of motion commonly take supines; infinitives are found only twice after прити (one of these being a quotation from the Creed) and once after приходити. In Group B only three supines occur, two after прити and one after пристѣпити.

Three verbs in Group B appear in the passive, so that the same subject serves for both governing verb and infinitive, see variant 1 1 and:

iii. и посланъ есмь блговѣстити тебе сего (No.9 Fol.318a). Luke 1.19.

iv. непщеванъ бзѣ во шѣро неутѣзѣхъ оумрети (No.16 Fol.98a). Wisdom

3.2.

They are nevertheless tabulated in the active voice, as taking infinitives with different subjects, since no evidence has been found to suggest that passive verbs, which are rare in Slavonic (see I B, p.37), are more or less likely to take infinitives than active ones.

The only passive complement is infinitival:

v. какo гавлена нмоути быти дѣла мога, прѣ селицѣмъ народомъ, (No.34 Fol.63a)

There are two negated infinitives:

vi. пѣвигнемса и мы тѣмъ дѣло оупѣвнѣ а не шпасти ш того снѣзства (No.34 Fol.61b)

vii. какo бо можетъ прикосноути се сѣмъ, шгъны бжтвѣнѣмъ. ты не сѣгорѣти (No.22 Fol.208b)

The only instance in which both governing verb and complement are negated is that with a da-clause under i above.

Table II. Impersonal constructions with infinitive or da-clause

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
<u>Group A</u>	<u>of governing words</u>		
достонѣтъ	2	3	
подобаетъ	2	2	
есть	1	1	
лѣпо есть	1	1	
<u>Group B</u>			
достонѣтъ	1	1	
подобаетъ	3	4	
есть	1	1	
нѣсть	2?	4?	
подобѣно есть	1	1	

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
	<u>of governing words</u>		
ПОТРЕБНО БЫСТЬ	1	1	
ЛЪПО ЕСТЬ	2	2	
НЕЛЪПО (ЕСТЬ)	1?	1?	
СЖЩЕЕ ЕСТЬ	1	2 1?	
РАВН МН СМ РАЗОУМЬНО	1		1 1?
НЕ БЖДЕТЪ ЛЪЗЪ	1	3	

Quotations from Greek

ПОДОБАЕТЪ	1	2
БЫСТЬ	1	1
НЕВЪЗМОЖЬНО ЕСТЬ	1	1

Variants

a) НѢСТЬ

1. НѢ БО КОМЪ ПРИТЪКНУШИ. ПОДОБНЫ ПОХВАЛЫ ГЕМУ ИЗРЕШИ (No.16 Fol.98a);
НѢ БО КОМОУ СРАВНИТИ ЕГО И ПОДОБНЫ ПОХВАЛЫ ИЗРЕШИ in a fifteenth/sixteenth century Russian MS (AKK p.304 Fn.73)

2. ДА ЕГО НЕ ПИГА НИ РАМЪ (No.34 Fol.60b); ДА ЕГО МН НѢ РАСТИ И ПИТИ
in two sixteenth century Russian MSS (AKK p.645 Fn.84)

b) НЕЛЪПО (ЕСТЬ) see Table I g 1, p.98.

c) СЖЩЕЕ ЕСТЬ

1. В НА СУЩЕЕ ГЕСТЬ КОМУ ДА ИЛИ ЗЛОВОЮ ЛИ ЛѢНОСТЬЮ·И ЛАСКО(С)РДЬСТВОМЪ М҃К҃У ПРИГТИ·ЛИ УТОГОЮ И ВЪЗДЕРЖАННЕМЪ И МЛТНЕЮ ЦР҃ТВО НѢНОЕ·И ЖИЗНЬ ВЪУНОЮ ПРИГТИ (No.16 Fol.99b-100a); НѢНОЕ ПРИГТИ И ЖИЗНЬ ВЪУНОЮ ПОЛОУИТИ in a fifteenth/sixteenth century Russian MS (AKK p.305 Fn.138)

d) РАВН МН СМ РАЗОУМЬНО

1. АЩЕ ШЕРѢТОХЪ БЛГТЬ ПРѢДЪ ТОБОЮ·ТО РАВН МН СМ РАЗОУМНО ДА ВИЖАХ ТА·
И РАЗОУМѢХ РАКО ШЕРѢТѢ БЛГТЬ (No.15 Fol.68a); И РАЗОУМѢХ lacking in a sixteenth century Russian MS (AKK p.283 Fn.50) The Slavonic syntax departs from the Greek of Exodus 33.13.

Comments

The construction of БЪИТИ as a modal verb with an infinitive is to be distinguished from its use as copula linking the subject and a complement which consists of an infinitive. The former use is exemplified, with НѢСТЬ in the sense 'it is not possible' in variants a 1 and 2. As copula ЕСТЬ is found with an infinitival complement in:

i. лихоголаниѣ ꙗже ѣсть ꙗже просити оу бѣ бѣтѣства (No.1 Fol.23b and similarly in No.34 Fol.61b)

The positive verb БЪИТИ is also used to translate ἔλαχε,⁵⁸ in example ii on p.92.

Table III contains some constructions which might arguably be tabulated here. Equally, some passages treated here could be taken as examples of infinitives dependent on a noun or pronoun, see variants a 1, c 1, d 1 and:

ii. того рѣство ѣ·нєвъз'мож'но оумоу члѣвѣю нзърєши (No.22 Fol.209b)

The only passive is infinitival:

iii. тако бо пѣашє нзъ гроба исхищєнѣ ꙗєи бѣити (No.40 Fol.249b)

Table III. Nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs governing infinitive or da-clause

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
<u>Group A</u>	<u>of governing word</u>		
	<u>Nouns</u>		
врѣма	1	2	
	<u>Pronouns</u>		
се (ѣже)	3	4	1
	<u>Adjectives</u>		
длѣжѣнѣ	2	4	
достонѣнѣ	1	1	

58. Perhaps by a confusion with the Greek construction of ἐγένετο + infinitive, see Mark 2.23, Luke 16.22, Acts 4.5 and Luke 1.8.

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
	<u>of governing word</u>		
ГОТОВЪ	1	1	
	<u>Adverbs</u>		
КАКО	1	1	
<u>Quotations from Greek</u>			
	<u>Nouns</u>		
ВЛАСТЬ	2	2	
<u>Group B</u>	<u>Nouns</u>		
ВОЛЯ И ЖЕЛАНІЕ	1	1	
ОБЛАСТЬ	1	1	
ВЪХОЖДЕНІЕ	1	1	
ВРЕМЯ	3	4	
КРЕЩЕНІЕ	1	1	
	<u>Pronouns</u>		
КТО	1 2?	1 4?	
ИЖЕ	1	1	
СЕ ЕЖЕ	1	1	
ТО (ЕЖЕ)	2	1	1
	<u>Adjectives</u>		
ВСЕМОЩЕНЪ	1	2	
ДЛЪЖЕНЪ	1?	1?	
ДОСТОИНЪ	1?	1?	
НЕОБЪЯВЛЕНЪ	1	1	
	<u>Adverbs</u>		
ГДЕ	1	1	
КАКО	1?	1?	
ДОКОЛЪ	2	2	
<u>Quotations from Greek</u>			
	<u>Nouns</u>		
ВЛАСТЬ	1	1	

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
	<u>of governing word</u>		
ГОДЪ	1	1	
	<u>Pronouns</u>		
СИ	1		1
	<u>Adjectives</u>		
ДОСТОИНЪ	2	2	

Variants

a) КТО see Table II a 1 and c 1.

b) ДОЛЖЕНЪ

1. ДОЛЖНИ ЕСМЫ И МЫ БРАТИЕ. ВОЗПИТИ КЪ БОУ (No.34 Fol.60a); ДОСТОИНИ ЕСМЫ in the short version (Fol.128b)

c) ДОСТОИНЪ see b 1.

d) КОЖДО О СВОИХЪ ДѢЛѢХЪ НАУЧЕТЪ ПЕШІ. КАКО ШЕЩАЕТЪ ГЕМУ БѢ ЛИ КАКЪ ШЕШЪ ПРИМЕТЪ (No.16 Fol.99b); ШЕЩАТИ in a fifteenth/sixteenth century Russian MS (AKK p.305 Fh.130)

Comments

The three types of dependence noted in Ch.1 D III, p.19, are found here. The first, comparable to the dependence of an infinitive on a main verb, is exemplified by the constructions with adjectives and with the nouns ВОЛЯ И ХОТѢНІЕ, ВЛАСТЬ, ОБЛАСТЬ, ВЪХОЖДЕНІЕ. After НЕОБЪЯДЛИВЪ the infinitive seems to have the sense of an implicitly negated consequence:

i. КАКО НЕШЕЯДЛИВЪ ГЕ БѢ БРАТИЕ ЗАБЫТИ ТРОЦА ВАШЕГО (No.27 Fol.367a)

In the second type, the governing word functions adverbially to the infinitive, e.g.:

ii. НЪ НѢ ВРЕМЕНЕ ШКРИТИ ГЕЕ (No.22 Fol.209a)

iii. ЕДИНЪ ПЯТЪ ГОНА. ИМЖЕ ВЪЗЫТИ НА НѢСА (No.25 Foll.37b and 211a)

iv. ДОКОЛѢ ЖЕ НЪІ ГЕСТЬ ПУСТОШИ СЕИ ПРИЛПѢТИ ДОКОЛѢ НЕ НАСЪІТИТИ СА ИМѢНИНА ВЪСКОРѢ ИМОТЕКУША (No.9 Fol.321b)

This is the only negated infinitive.

v. НЕ БѢ БО КАКО БЕСТРАСТИ ПЛЪТИ СЕИ ШУИСТИТИ (No.32 Fol.107a)

vi. пѣны похвалы нѣ кому приложити (N . 25 Foll.38b and 211b)

(See also Table II variants a 1 and c 1). In passages where the main verb is быти it does not seem possible to decide whether the infinitive depends on this verb in its modal use (see comments on Table II, p.102) or on the pronoun or adverb.

Thirdly, infinitives (sometimes with еже) and da-clauses may define their governing pronouns, as in:

vii. си же соуть дѣла сотонина·идоложьртвни·[...]лѣжа·клатвопрестѣплєннє·и еже клати сѧ бжнимъ именимъ (No.4 Fol.25b)

viii. на сѧ бо придохъ да живыми и мъртвыми шладаю (No.30 Fol.103a)

When the pronominal expression is того ради, which generally stands at the beginning of the main clause, anticipating the da-clause, it could be omitted without substantially affecting the sense, its function being emphatic, and the da-clause could be treated simply as a final or consecutive one:

ix. того ли ради за вы оучитель бы беззаконни·да на законодавца възстае (No.30 Fol.103b)

Further it is not always easy to decide whether it is antecedent to the da-clause or refers back to what precedes, as in:

x. потребно бы показати славу бжества своего·си оучникомъ да и ти несмущаютъ сѧ·да того ради възведе на фаворьскую гору·пониъ съ собою Петра и Павла·и·известо имъ творѧ·нако·есть·снъ бжн·да не матутъ сѧ (No.38 Foll.214b-215a)

Passages such as this are treated under Table IV.

Table IV. Other constructions with infinitive or da-clause

	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
<u>Group A</u>		
Imperative/Absolute	2	8
Co-ordinative/Consecutive		12
Final (нако)		18 (2)
еже	2 (3)	
нако		1

	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
<u>Quotations from Greek</u>		
Imperative (ѿако)		3
Co-ordinative/Consecutive		1
Final (ѿако)		5
ѿако		2
<u>Group B</u>		
Imperative/Absolute	1	14 (2) 2?
Co-ordinative/Consecutive	2 1?	18 (3) 4?
Final	2	30 (4) (1)?
еже	3	
ѿако	1?	
еда		2 1?

Quotations from Greek

Imperative	9 (1) 2?
Co-ordinative/Consecutive	1 1?
Final	2 1?

Variants

a) Consecutive infinitive

1. тѣ блѡѣница просвѣтѣ шмывати нозѣ ісовѣ.и власы своими штираюши (No.34 Fol.60a); шмываюши in the shorter version Fol.128b.

b) Imperative da-clause

1. съ нѣмже да помолити се за ны (No.25) in the fourteenth century Serbian MS Fol.212b; мѣнса in the thirteenth century Bulgarian MS Fol.40b and a fourteenth century Russian MS (AKK p.442 Fn.143)

2. исцѣленна ѿ бѣ да приемѣ (No.34) in the short version only Fol. 128a.

3. ѿ всего древа ѿаѣ (No.34 Fol.57b); да ѿаѣ in a sixteenth century Russian MS (AKK p.645 Fn.22)

4. да боудѣть урєсла ваша препоѣсана (No.34) in the shorter version only Fol.128b.

c) Co-ordinative or Consecutive da-clause

1. ТАКЪ ЖЕ БѢ ОУИТЕЛЬ СЪ. ДА АЩЕ ГДЕ ОЩЕШАШЕ КАКОВѢ ХОУЛѢ О БЖВНѢМЪ ОБРАЗѢ, ТО КАКО КРИЛАТЬ ПРѢЛѢТАШЕ НА ВЪСЕ СТРАНЫ (No.25) in the Serbian MS Fol.211a; НАДЕЖЕ БО АЩЕ СЛЫШАШЕ КАКОВѢ ХОУЛѢ Ш БЖТВНѢМЪ ШЕБРАЗѢ ТО КАКО КРИЛАТЬ ПРѢЛАТАШЕ ВСѢ СТРАНЫ in the Bulgarian MS Fol.38a and in a fourteenth century Russian MS (AKK p.440 Fn.24)

2. ЗА К҃Ю Б҃ДАЕМЪ ОС҃ЩНИ (No.38 Fol.215b); preceded by ДА in a fourteenth century Russian MS and a seventeenth century one (AKK p.744 Fn.34)

3. БѢ МЛТИВЪ ЕСТЬ. ДА ИМАТЬ МА ПРОСТИТИ (No.34) short version only Fol.129a.

4. ЕГОЖ ОУМИРАЮЩЕ СЪ СОБОЮ НЕ МОЖЕМ ШНЕСТИ НИ ПОНѢ ШХОДАЩЕ НЕ РАД-
АЕМЪ ЕГО ХВѢ БРАИ^Т (No.34) in two sixteenth century Russian MSS, one of which has ДА after НИ (AKK p.645-46 Fn.114)

5. ТѢМЪ ЖЕ НЕ ПРИДѢ ПРИЗВАТИ ПРАВЕДНИКЫ.НО ГРѢШНИКЫ НА ПОКАНИИЕ (No.34 Fol.59a); ДА ТОГО РАДИ НЕ ПРИДОУХЪ in the shorter version Fol.128a.

d) Final da-clause

1. See Table II a 2, p.101.

2. ЧТО СТОРИМЪ ДА СПСЕМ СѦ (No.9) in all MSS except the preferred one Fol.321b (AKK p.185 Fn.37)

e) КАКО see Table I a 4, p.97.

f) ЕДА

1. ЕДА КАКО СѢНЬ ПРѢХОДИТЬ (No.34 Fol.62a); КАКО БО И ДЫМ ИЗУЕЗАЕТ И КАКО СѢНЬ ПРѢХОДИТ in two sixteenth century Russian MSS (AKK p.645 Fn.113)

Comments

In most places it is clear whether да is a modal particle introducing an imperative or whether it serves as a co-ordinating or subordinating conjunction; but when the verb which follows it is itself imperative, да may be taken either to reinforce the verbal modality or to be a co-ordinative conjunction (see comments on Table V, p.110).

When the verb is clearly indicative, the да-clause has to be

interpreted by context and, perhaps, word-order (see Conclusions, p.144). It may be possible to take a da-clause either as an instance of co-ordination, expressing what follows from the previous clause, or as an imperative, e.g.:

i. ВЪ ТЪ ДНЬ ВЪСКРСЕ ГЬ БЪ НАШЬ ИЗ МЪРТВЫХЪ·НИЗЛОЖИВЪ АДА·И СМЪРТИЮ СВОЕЮ ПОПРАВЪ·ГОРКОУЮ И ЗЛОУЮ ПРѢСТОУПНОУЮ ВАШЮ ВОЛЮ·ДА СЛАВЪІ АБЛА ВЪПЛЪЩЕНИА ХБА·И ВЪСКРСЕНИА ЕГО·И НАТЪКА ВИДИМАГО СЕГО МИРА РАДОУЮЩЕ СЯ ПРАЗНУЕМЪ ВЪ ТЪ ДНЬ (No. 8 Fol.27a)

Again, a da-clause can sometimes be understood either as final or as imperative:

ii. ПОСЛУШАИТЕ БРАТѢ ДА СЪКАЖЮ ВАМЪ·ДНЬ СИИ УТНЗИ·КАКОВАНА ВЪ НЬ НАВИША СЯ (No.38 Fol.214b)

iii. НЪ СВОЕГО РАДИ МЛРАДИ СПСЕ НИ БАНЕЮ ПАКЫВНЕНСКОЮ·ДА ѿ ВРЪГШЕ СЕ НЕУЪСТИНА И ПЛЪТЪСКЫИХЪ ПОХОТѢИ,ЦѢЛОМОУДРЬНО И ПРАВЕД'НО И БЛГОВѢРНО ПОЖИВЕМЪ,ВЪ НИИНАШНЕМЪ ВѢЦѢ (No.22 Fol.207a)

I have taken these as final da-clauses, but they could be exhortations.

Occasionally da is repeated, when a participial expression stands before the finite verb of a final or imperative clause:

iv. НАШЕГО КАНАНИА ЖАДАЕТЬ НЕ ХОТА ДА НИКЪТОЖЕ ѿ НАСЪ ПОГЪІЗНЕТЬ·ДА ВСИ ПОКАНИЕМЪ ШУИСТИВЪШЕ СЯ КЪ НЕМОУ ПАКЪІ ДА ВЪЗВРАТИМЪ СЯ (No.31 Fol.105b)

v. НЪ ДА ШСТАВЛШЕ ИРОДѢНСКО БЕЗАКОННІЕ·ЛАЗОРЕВО БЛГОДАРСТВО ДА ПОХВАЛИМЪ (No.30 Fol.103b)

These seem to be anticipations for the sake of clarity and emphasis (and see Conclusions, p.144).

The da-clause is preceded by нако in two passages:

vi. ІСЪ ЖЕ ШБРАЗЪ ПОКАЗАНА НАМЪ нако да ѿ НБСЬСКАГО БЖСТВА ПРИНЕСЕТЬ ВЪСА СЛОУЖЕНИА (No.30 Fol.103a)

vii. СЪВѢТЪ ТВОРАХОУТЬ НА НЪ нако да НЕ ЕДИННОГО ІСА ОУБИЕМЪ НЪ И ЛАЗОРА (No.30 Fol.103b and No.31 Fol.104b with a 3rd per. verb) John 12.10

In both places the da-clause could be said to expand the content of a noun, образъ or свѣтъ; in No.30 the use of the 1st per. conveys a quotation of direct speech.

In Group B нако once precedes an infinitive, see variant e.

еда, which can sometimes be equivalent to да не, here introduces negative rhetorical questions in No.9 Fol.317a and No.34 Fol.62a and in-direct statement after не вѣдаху in No.38 Fol.214b.

The infinitival constructions noted as Imperative/Absolute are:

viii.вѣ негоже бѣ възселитъ сѧ причастнѣмъ животворящаго хн телесе. не уистѣе ли злата.не свѣтлѣе ли слнца.не понавлѣати сѧ по всѧ днн ^сутотѣ.нако орьлз и горѣ възлѣтати оумзъмъ (No.8 Foll.27b-28a)

ix. но ты права твори теуеніа ногама своимѧ.да възможешн оубѣжати. всѣхъ злз послоушати оубо бѣа.уто ти вѣ законѣ написавъ повелитъ творити (No.34 Fol.61a)

They are modal in character and can be glossed: 'Should he not be renewed' and 'You must listen'.

The most interesting final infinitives are those which are combined with a da or are parallel to a da-clause:

x. далъ ти ^сѣ бѣ.да хвалоу емоу воздаемъ.ти да строиши е добрѣ а не скотъскы вѣ не ^мживеши [...]но да корзмити нмъ алзующага (No.34 Fol.60b)

xi. мѣсто сътворишь въ сѣ бжнѣо страѣ.да просвѣтитъ дше и срца наша прѣбывати въсьгѧ въ алканы [...]и въсакого зла въѣръжеше се и дѣлы добрыми да оукраши се накоже и сы прѣсвѣтлн мннцн (No.27 Fol.369a-b)

See also the construction with da and infinitives under Table II c 1, p.101.

Table V. Tense and mood of verbs in da-clauses

	<u>Imperative</u>	<u>Co-ordinative/</u> <u>Consecutive</u>	<u>Complementary</u>	<u>Final</u>
<u>Group A</u>				
Imperative		3		
Present	8	5	2	18 (2)
Aorist		4	1	
<u>Quotations from Greek</u>				
Present	3	1	1	5

	<u>Imperative</u>	<u>Co-ordinative/</u>	<u>Complementary</u>	<u>Final</u>				
		<u>Consecutive</u>						
<u>Group B</u>								
Imperative		5	1?					
Present	14 (2)	1?	9 (3)	3?	2	1 (1)?	30 (4)	(1)?
Aorist		4						
Imperfect				1?				

Quotations from Greek

Present	9 (1)	2?	1	1?	1	2	1?
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Comments

The variants have all been discussed above. Clauses introduced by εαα are not included here.

When the verb after da is imperative, it is hard to tell whether da functions as a reinforcing modal particle or is a co-ordinative conjunction:

i. тѣхъ бо утѣ и стѣти достоино утѣоще да подвигнемъ сѧ и сами добрымъ подвигомъ (No.1 Fol.24b)

ii. да есте вѣдоуще брате како днь есть праздникъ стго имрк. да съберѣте сѧ въ цркви на мѣтвѣ (No.1 Fol.23b)

iii. аще оубо не вѣдасть сѧ своего то извѣдаше и изъ олтарѧ да вниѣ и (No.9 Fol.319b)

iv. пакы гредыи въ славѣ бжтва своего, соудити хѣте вселен'нѣи. и възати комоужо противѣу дѣломъ его. да того ради того послушанте (No.22 Fol.209a)

Such constructions have all been tabulated here as co-ordinative.

For the complementary clause with an aorist verb, see Table III ix, p.105.

Table VI. Infinitives separated from their governing expressions, and da separated from its dependent verbs, by non-enclitic elements

	<u>Occurrence</u>		<u>Separated occurrences</u>	
	<u>of construction</u>			
<u>Group A</u>				
Infinitive	43 (18)	3?	22 (9)	2?
Imperative <u>da</u>	8		(1)	
Co-ordinative/				
Consecutive <u>da</u>	12		9	
Complementary <u>da</u>	3		3	
Final <u>da</u>	18 (2)		7 (2)	
<u>Quotations from Greek</u>				
Infinitive	8		5	
Imperative <u>da</u>	3		1	
Co-ordinative/				
Consecutive <u>da</u>	1		1	
Complementary <u>da</u>	1			
Final <u>da</u>	5		2	
<u>Group B</u>				
Infinitive	128 (17)	27 (3)?	61 (9)	11(2)?
Imperative <u>da</u>	14 (2)	2?	(2)	
Co-ordinative/				
Consecutive <u>da</u>	18 (3)	4?	17 (2)	4?
Complementary <u>da</u>	2	1 (1)?		1?
Final <u>da</u>	30 (4)	(1)?	13 (4)	1?
<u>Quotations from Greek</u>				
Infinitive	32 (3)	2?	16 (1)	
Imperative <u>da</u>	9 (1)	2?	1 (1)	
Co-ordinative/				
Consecutive <u>da</u>	1	1?	1	1?
Complementary <u>da</u>	1			

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Separated occurrences</u>
	<u>of construction</u>	

Final da 2 1?

Variants

a) Infinitival constructions

1. See Table I c 2, p.97.

2. ВЪ ТРЕТИИ ЖЕ ДНЬ ПОВЕЛѢ ИЗВѢСТИ ИСЬ СЕБЕ ТРАВОУ СЪМЕНИТОУ (No.34 Fol.57a); ПОВЕЛѢ ЗЕМЛИ.ИЗВѢСТИ in the short version Fol.126a.

b) Da-clauses

1. БЫІ И ВКОУПѢ БѢ И УЛѢКЪ.ДА УЛѢКА ИСТОРГНѢ ѿ ЛЬСТИ НЕПРИНАЗНЕНЫ (No.14 Fol.424a) - ДА ИСТОРГНѢ НА in a sixteenth century Russian MS (AKK p.236 Fn.39)

Comments

The range of elements which may stand between the infinitive and its governing expression is comprehensive; the subject, direct or indirect object of a governing verb or an adverbial expression qualifying it, or a participle qualifying the subject; the subject (in the dative), direct or indirect object of the infinitive, its complement, adverbial expressions qualifying it or participles qualifying its subject: Similarly da and its subordinate verb may be separated by the subject, objects and qualifiers of the verb.

There are two places where da used as a modal particle is separated from its following verb by stressed elements;

i. ТИ ДА ВЪ ПОТѢ ЛИЦА ТВОЕГО ЯСИ ХЛѢБЪ ТВОИ (No.34 Fol.58a)

This is a translation of Genesis 3.19: ἐν ἰδρωτί τοῦ προσώπου σου φάγη τὸν ἄρτον σου. The other is cited under Table IV vii, p.108.

Table VII. Expressions governing preposed infinitives

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Preposed infinitives</u>
	<u>of construction</u>	
<u>Group A</u>		
ХОТѢТИ	8 1?	2
ПРИТИ	4	1

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Preposed infinitives</u>
	<u>of construction</u>	
ДОСТОИНЪ	1	1
<u>Quotations from Greek</u>		
ИМѢТИ	1	1
<u>Group B</u>		
ХОТѢТИ	19 5?	6 2?
ПОВЕЛѢТИ	11	1
ПРИТИ	5 1?	2
ИМѢТИ	8 3?	3 1?
СЪМѢТИ	2	1
ВЪЗМОЩИ/ПОСТИГНАТИ	9 2?/2 1?	1?
<u>Quotations from Greek</u>		
ХОТѢТИ	4	2

Variants

See Table I B a 1, a 4, c 4, pp.96-97.

Comments

The doubtful reading with ВЪЗМОЩИ or ПОСТИГНАТИ is peculiar in being the only example of a preposed infinitive which does not stand immediately in front of its governing expression (discounting enclitics).

The constructions with ИМѢТИ, and some of those with ХОТѢТИ, have future sense.

In five or six places both a preposed and a post-posed infinitive depend on the same verb, e.g.:

i. УЖИВИТИ НЫ ХОТА И РАЗДРѢШИТИ НЫ ѿ ОУЗЫ СЪМЪРТЪНЫ НА (No.32 Fol. 107b)

ii. ШЕЛИУИТИ ТА ИМАТЬ.И ВѢУНѢИ МОУЦѢ ПРЕДАТИ.ПРОТИВОУ ДѢЛОУЪ (No.34 Fol.63b)

THE TREATISE OF THE PRIEST COSMAS AGAINST THE BOGOMILS

The НЕДОСТОЙНОГО КОЗЪМЪ ПРОЗВЪИТЕРА БЕСѢДА НА НОВО-НАВИВШОЮ СЯ ЕРЕСЬ БОГѠМЪЛЮУ is a substantial original work of Old Bulgarian literature, written to refute the Bogomil heresy which began to spread in Bulgaria during the tenth century. The title of his work varies between the MSS; that quoted above is the title given in the oldest and best MSS, but these were written in Russia in the late fifteenth century. The date of composition of the Treatise is a matter of dispute, which ranges over more than two centuries.

The arguments over the dating of the Treatise are summarized in Obolensky 1948 (Appendix I) and discussed at more length in Begunov 1973. Though the work has been placed as early as the first third of the tenth century and as late as the early thirteenth century, a majority of scholars, including Obolensky and Begunov, suppose it to have been written in the later part of the tenth century. The evidence for this is of two kinds: internal (references to datable events in the text itself) and external (quotation from the Treatise in other, dated, texts).

Cosmas states that the Bogomil heresy appeared in Bulgaria В ЛѢТА ПРАВОВѢРНАГО Ц(А)РА ПЕТРА (Fol.6b), i.e. 927-969. This sounds as if it was written after Tsar Peter's reign, though the expression might have been used while he was still on the throne. As Cosmas does not refer to the Tsar as Saint, Popruzhenko 1936 suggests that he is likely to have written before 972, by which year Peter had been canonized. If this interpretation of the passage is accepted, a fairly close dating for the Treatise is established. However, this is a little difficult to reconcile with Cosmas's reference to ИВАНЪ ПРОЗВЪИТЕРА НОВАГО ЕРОЖЕ И Ѡ ВАСЪ САМЪХЪ МНОЗИ ЗНАЮТЬ БЫВШАГО ПАСТОУХА И ЕКСАРХА ИЖЕ ВЪ ЗЕМЛИ БОЛЪГАРЬСТЪИ (Fol. 67a). This is generally taken to mean that Ioann Exarch who was active during the reign of Symeon, 893-927. The dates of his birth and death are not known; but he must have lived to a great age to be personally known, as seems to be implied, to many of Cosmas's readers after 969.

Trifonov 1923 and 1939 holds that Cosmas's 'new' Ioann is the priest of that name who lived in Ohrid in the early eleventh century, when Ioann of Debar was Archbishop there, and who translated the Lives of St. Antony and St. Pancras. Ioann of Ohrid would be 'new' by contrast with the Ioann Exarch of the early tenth century, who could himself be 'new' only in comparison with one of the Fathers of the Church, such as St. John Chrysostom. Yet as the passage in question comes immediately after an appeal to the example of living which the Fathers gave, such a comparison would not be a strained one. Furthermore, it is not known of Ioann of Ohrid either that he was an Exarch or that he was a person of such moral stature as would prompt Cosmas to hold him up as an example to his readers.

Cosmas also mentions the troubles and hardship of contemporary life in Bulgaria. This, though not specific, is consonant with the events of the reign of Tsar Peter's successor, Boris II, when the country suffered under the incursions of Russians and Greeks. This was, however, not the only period at which the Bulgarians were afflicted by invasions during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The earliest surviving fragment of the Treatise is part of a twelfth century Russian MS.⁵⁹ Earlier than this, though, Begunov finds that the series of anathemas included in the ЗАПОВѢДИ ascribed to Metropolitan Georgii of Kiev (1062-79) correspond closely to those which Cosmas directs against the Bogomils. Unless these places in the two compositions derive from a common lost source, the anathemas in the ЗАПОВѢДИ can best be explained as coming, perhaps indirectly through a Bulgarian compilation, from the Treatise.⁶⁰ In this case the Treatise itself must have been composed by the early eleventh century.

It is thus safe to suppose that Cosmas wrote after the time when SS. Constantine and Methodius and their associates were active, but that

59. See Begunov 1973 pp.34-38, 400-01.

60. See Begunov 1973 pp.28-33, 398-99.

his Treatise was contemporary with, or slightly earlier than, the oldest Slavonic MSS extant.

Extracts from the Treatise are found in Bulgarian and Serbian MSS of the fourteenth century, but the first complete ones that survive are Russian ones of the late fifteenth century. From Begunov's textual comparison of these and subsequent MSS and from his critical apparatus, it is clear that the number of crucial variants is not large. The two best MSS are those designated by Begunov as K, which he prints in extenso, and V, which was published by Popruzhenko 1936 and is the basis for Vaillant and Puech's translation and study of 1945. K was written c.1491-92 by a scribe called Dosifei, who noted that he copied it from a MS which he believed to be a good five hundred years old; V is dated 1494. The seventeenth century MS which Begunov refers to as D is closely related to K. A third branch of Begunov's stemma is represented by the sixteenth century MS Q, by the slightly defective late fifteenth century Kb, and by the idiosyncratic sixteenth century A. The twelfth century Russian fragment appears to belong to this branch of the tradition too. The remaining MSS, including the one other fifteenth century copy, R, are either defective, in a way that shows them to be interdependent, or are nineteenth century copies of the MSS already mentioned.⁶¹

In the following examination quotations are from Begunov's edition of K. Variants offered by V, D, Q, Kb, and by A if supported by these or the other MSS of V's branch, are taken into account. The most important variants are of course those where all other MSS agree against K, and these are very few.

Except for a passage from St. John Chrysostom, and an anathema from one of the Church Councils,⁶² the relevant quotations all come from the

61. See Begunov 1973 pp.483-523 for archival details, and in particular Ch.3 pp.162-94 on the textology of the Treatise.

62. See Vaillant and Puech 1945 p.44-45.

Bible. For the most part they are quoted exactly, but the Slavonic context in which they are placed sometimes imposes a different grammatical analysis from that proper to their Greek originals. For example, two separate verses are conflated so that an infinitive and a da-clause alike appear to depend on an adjective:

i. Eph. 5.28, 32. οὕτως ὁφείλουσιν καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἀγαπᾶν τὰ ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας ὡς τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα ... ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἵνα φοβῆται τὸν ἄνδρα - тако сѡтъ мужи долзъни любити своѣ жены акы своѣ телеса а жены да са боѣтъ мужъ своиъхъ (Fol.56b)

A Greek final clause is so incorporated into the text that it is most readily understood as a third person imperative:

ii. Eph. 4.14. ἵνα μηκέτι ᾤμεν νήπιοι, κλυδωνιζόμενοι καὶ περιφερόμενοι παντὶ ἀνέμῳ τῆς διδασκαλίας ... - наше бо житіе на н(ε)б(ε)сехъ есть ω̅νη̅ο̅α̅δ̅же̅ н̅ сп(а)са̅ уа̅емъ̅ г(о)с(по)а̅ і̅с̅у(с)̅ х̅(ρ̅ι)с̅(т)а̅ да̅ κ̅ то̅моу̅ не̅ боу̅-а̅емъ̅ младеци̅ плава̅юще̅ пор̅ѣ̅ва̅ем̅и̅ вса̅ц̅ѣ̅мъ̅ в̅ѣ̅тро̅мъ̅ оу̅г̅е̅н̅ь̅а̅ (Fol.39a)

In another passage, се̅ бо̅ до̅бро̅ н̅ пр̅і̅а̅т̅но̅ пр̅е̅д̅'̅ сп(а)с̅омъ̅ на̅ш̅имъ̅'̅ в̅(о)г̅омъ̅ (Fol.35a) is immediately followed by a string of six infinitives apparently dependent on се̅, which are taken from Titus 2.9 where their rather distant governing expression is παρακᾶλει. Such constructions, although adapted to their new contexts, are treated as direct quotations from Greek, since they reproduce the infinitive or clause of their originals. On the other hand, an infinitive or da-clause which is introduced without warrant into a quotation is counted as an original Slavonic usage, e.g.:

iii. Gen. 9.1. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε καὶ πληρώσατε τὴν γῆν - н̅ повелѣ̅ ѿ̅ не̅го̅ оу̅множити̅ са̅ у̅(ε)л̅(о̅в̅ѣ)комъ̅ на̅ з̅ем̅ли̅ (Fol.51b)

It has been repeatedly remarked, e.g. by Trifonov 1923, that the translation of Scripture used is not that of the Old Church Slavonic Canon but a revised version, at least of the Apōstol.⁶³

63. See Vaillant and Puech 1945 pp.41-44.

Table I. Verbs governing infinitive or da-clause with identical or distinct subjects

	<u>Occurrence</u>		<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>Da-clause</u>	
	<u>of verb</u>		<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>
ХОТЕТИ	45	2?	51	2?		
ИЗВОЛИТИ	3		3			
МОЩИ	21	3?	22	3?		
НЕ МОЗЕМЪ	2		2			
НАУАТИ	4		4			
ВЕЛЕТИ	11	1?		13	3?	
ПОВЕЛЕТИ	5			7		
ПРЕЩАТИ	1					1
ПОПОУСТИТИ	3			3		
ПРИТИ	1		1			
СКАУИТИ		1?		1?		
ИМЕТИ	1	1?	1	1?		
ДАТИ	4			5		
ПРЕДАТИ	1			1		
СЪМЕТИ	2		2			
ДРЪЗНЕТИ	1		1			
УАГАТИ	3		3			
НАДЪГАТИ СЯ	2		3			
БОГАТИ СЯ	1		1			
СЪПОДОБИТИ СЯ	2		2			
ОУМОЛИТИ	1			1		
ОБЩАТИ	1			1		
ОБЩА(ВА)ТИ СЯ	2		3			
ПОЖУАТИ СЯ	1		1			
ОУЧИТИ	7			8		
НАОУЧИТИ	1			1		
НАКАЗАТИ	1			1		

	<u>Occurrence</u>		<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>Da-clause</u>	
	<u>of verb</u>		<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>
оуказати	1			3		
прѣлѣстити	1			2		
оустити		1?		1?		
понаѣдити сѧ	1				1	
доуѣсти еже	1		1			
оставити	1					1
мѣнѣти	1		1			
мѣнѣти сѧ	1		1			
блѣости сѧ еда	1					1
пещи сѧ	1		1			
мѣислити	1		1			
вѣдѣти	1		1			
оумѣти		1?		1?		
покоушати сѧ	3		3			
блѣзнити сѧ		1?		1?		
<u>Quotations from Greek</u>						
хотѣти	9	1?	8	1?		1
желати	1		1			
изволити	1		1			
искати		1?		1?		
любити	1		1			
моуи	5		6			
вѣзмоуи	1		1			
науати	2		2			
велѣти	3			8		
не бранити	1			1		
вѣзбранѣти	2			4		
запрѣщати	4			9		

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>Da-clause</u>	
	<u>of verb</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>
посълати	1				2
поставити	1		1		
прити	3	4			
тещи	1?	1?			
имѣти	2	2			
дати	2		4		
прѣдати	2		1		1
съподобити сѧ	1	2			
молити (·наво)	2			1	1
молити сѧ	1			1	
оуѹити	1		1		
наоуѹити	1		1		
наоуѹити сѧ	1	1			
бл҃гости сѧ	2			1	1
вѣдѣти	1	1			
оумѣти	1	1			

Variants

a) хотѣти

- 1. аще бо сѧ хошеши въздержати и оувѣрити (Fol.51a); и оувѣрити lacking in Kb, Q and A.
- 2. можеши ли тѣхъ страсти въсприати (Fol.44a); хошеши in Kb and Q.
- 3. свою правдоу хоташе поставити (Fol.45b.); ишѣше in Kb and Q. Rom. 10.3.

b) моши

- 1. See a 2.
- 2. аще богатъ еси то м(н)л(о)ст(ы)нами и м(о)л(н)твами можеши сп(а)сти сѧ (Fol.43a); можеши lacking in Kb, Q and A.
- 3. и земныя стр(а)сти ихъ кто скажеть (Fol.44a); может in Kb, может пости in Q, inviting emendation to можетъ постигнати.

c) ВЕЛѢТИ

1. аще бо ап(о)с(то)ломъ тольма великомъ и с(ва)тымъ соущемъ ВЕЛИТЬ ПОСЛАШАТИ (Fol.16b); ПОСЛАЖИТИ (и) СЛУШАТИ in A and another MS, M.

2. НИ ВЕЛАЩЕ ШПИВАТИ СЯ Ч(Е)Л(О)В(Ѣ)КУМЪ НИ ШЕБѢДАТИ С(А) (Fol.27b); ВЕСЕЛАЩЕ in Kb and Q.

d) ТЕЩИ

1. с радостию ТЕЩИ на предлежащии тебе подвигъ ВЗИРАНА на наудалника вѣрѣ и с'вершителя л(соу)с(а) (Fol.49b); ВЗИРАТИ in V. Hebr. 12.1-2.

e) СКАУИТИ

1. то ѡмъ его внѣ СКАУЕТЬ или неподобнага МЫСЛИТЪ (Fol.58b); МЫСЛИТИ in Kb, Q and two MSS of a different branch of Begunov's stemma, R and Eg.

f) ИМѢТИ

1. аще кого разоумѣсте дрѣжаща еретичьскѡ вѣрѡ ти ОУМѢЕТЬ кто въ васъ ОУИТИ оуиште и (Fol.38a); ИМѢЕТ in Kb and Q.

g) ОУСТИТИ

1. тѣхъ ОУСТЫ ХОЛИТИ вса преданага с(ва)тѣи ц(е)ркви (Fol.17a); ХОУЛИТЬ in A and a number of the MSS which Begunov considers related to V (R, Mo, Eg, S, As).

h) ОУМѢТИ see f 1.i) БЛАЗНИТИ СЯ

1. писаниемъ же словесы ПОКРЫТИ БЛАЗНАТ СЯ (Fol.32b); ПОКРИТѢХЪ in V, ШПОКРИТѢХЪ in Kb, Q and A.

After the verb ПРИТИ both the infinitive and the supine occur. The supine is found mainly in the fifteenth century MSS K, V, R but not Kb, which has only infinitives, and in the sixteenth century MS A.

Comments

The Treatise provides illustration of the remarks in Ch.1 D III, pp.18-19, about the difficulty of interpreting clauses after the verbs 'to pray' and 'to beware'. In some places it seems possible to understand infinitives and da-clauses as complements of these verbs, expressing the content of the prayer or the event to be avoided:

i. оумоли с(ы)на своего избавити сѧ намъ ѿ всякого зла (Fol.20a)

ii. бдите молаше сѧ на всякъ часъ да сподобите сѧ оубѣжити всѣхъ хотащихъ быти (Fol.42a) Luke 21.36.

iii. бл҃годоуше сѧ еда на лѣкахъ а не вѣстинѣ кают сѧ (Fol.38b)

Yet these expressions could be understood as final, and when молити (сѧ) or бл҃гости (сѧ) has a noun acting as complement, the following da-clause is treated as a final one, under Table IV, e.g.:

iv. моли сѧ ѡ мнѣ да сп(а)сѣ сѧ твоими м(о)л(и)твами (Fol.21a)

v. бл҃годѣте сѧ ихъ да не погѣбите еже здѣласте (Fol.38a) II John 1.8.

The verbs мнѣти and мнѣти сѧ usually take participles in the Treatise, and this seems to be a distinctively Slavonic usage.⁶⁴ There are three exceptions:

vi. не мните яко придохъ разорити закона или прор(о)кѣ (Fol.21b) Matth. 5.7.

vii. сами оубица быша Х(ри)с(то)вы мнѣше ѡморити вѣсм(е)ртнаго (Fol.10b-11a)

viii. колици мнит сѧ горши си сподобити сѧ мѡцѣ поправити с(ы)на в(о)жиа и кровь завѣтнѣю простѣ непщевавъ (Fol.14a)

The constructions in vii and viii differ from the more usual participial ones, such as мнѣше на правовѣрны сѡща (Fol.7a), in that the infinitives have future reference rather than conveying present or past time.

In construction with an infinitive, the verbs вѣдѣти and мзислити do not introduce indirect statement, which might require distinction of tenses, but have the sense 'to know how to' and 'to intend' and so do not call for tensed complements:

ix. поиши ходатаа вѣдѣшаго ѡказати ти пѣтъ въ ц(а)рство божіе (Fol.42a)

x. всю любовь и вѣрѣ хр(и)стіанскѣю погѣбити мыслати (Fol.25b)

There is one passive infinitive which complements a verb:

xi. и не можеш прошенъ быти (Fol.44b)

Negated infinitival complements are found with the verbs оучити and

⁶⁴. See Vaillant 1964 p.362.

вѣлѣти in original Slavonic passages, and with научати, вѣлѣти, запрѣщати and бл҃гости сѧ in quotations from Greek. None of these governing verbs is itself negated.

In one place a verb of motion is followed by a da-clause with a negated passive verb that shares the same subject:

xii. и познавшѣ бѣгашѣ ихъ да не с ними шѣждѣши бѣдѣте (Fol.8a)

This, which might seem parallel to the infinitive or supine after a verb of motion, is tabulated as a final clause under Table IV and not included here, both because бѣгати is complemented by ихъ and because negated infinitives and supines are not found after verbs of motion.

Table II. Impersonal constructions with infinitive or da-clause

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
	<u>of governing word</u>		
ПОДОБАЕТЪ	7 2?	14 3?	
СЪЛЖУНТЪ Сѧ	1 2?	1 2?	
ЛЖУНТЪ Сѧ	1 2?	1 2?	
ЕСТЬ	5	5	
НЕ МОЩЬНО	5	5	
НЕ ЛЪЗѢ	3	3	
(НЕ) ПОВЕЛѢНО ЕСТЬ	4 1?	6 1?	
НѢСТЬ ВЪЗЪБРАНЕНО	1	2	
НЕ ПОДОВЬНО ЕСТЬ	1	1	
ЛѢПО ЕСТЬ/			
НѢСТЬ ЛѢПО	7	7	
НѢСТЬ ПОЛѢЗЬНО	1	1	
ОУНѢ ЕСТЬ	2	4	
СРАМЪ ЕСТЬ ЕЖЕ	1	1	
НѢСТЬ ГРѢХА	1	1	
<u>Quotations from Greek</u>			
ПОДОБАЕТЪ	5	5	

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
	<u>of governing word</u>		
ИЗВОЛИТЪ СЯ	1	1	
ЕСТЬ	1	1	
НЕ БЖДИ	1	1	
ОУНЕ ЕСТЬ/БЪ1/БЪ	3	4	2
ДОБРО ЕСТЬ	1	1	
БЛАГО ЕСТЬ	2	3	
ГОДЪ ЕСТЬ	1	1 1?	
СРАМЪ ЕСТЬ	1	1	
НЖЬДА ЕСТЬ	1	1	
УРЕДА ЕСТЬ	1	1	

Variants

a) ПОДОВАЕТЪ

1. ТѢМЖЕ ПАУЕ ПОДОВАЕТЪ У(Е)Л(ОВѢ)КѢ Ш СИХЪ УИСТИТИ СЯ ДѢЛЕСЪ (Fol. 27b); ПОДОВАЕТЪ lacking in Kb and Q.

2. АЩЕ БО ВЪДОВИЦАМЪ ПОВЕЛѢНА ЕС(ТЬ) ПОСАГАТИ КОЛЪМИ ПАУЕ МѢЖАТИЦАМЪ НЕ ПОВЕЛѢНО ЕС(ТЬ) РАЗЪЛѢУАТИ СЯ (Fol. 53a); ПОДОВАЕТ (ПАУЕ/НЕ) in Kb, Q, A and a later MS, U.

3. ВСЯ БО НАЖЕ ХОТАЩЕ ДѢЛАТИ И БЕСѢДОВАТИ ПОДОВАЕТЪ ПРЕЖЕ ПОМЫШЛАТИ АЩЕ ЛЮБА СѢТЬ Б(О)ГѢ И АЩЕ СѢТЬ НА ПОЛЪЗѢ Д(ОУ)ШИ ТО С РАДОСТІЮ ТВОРИТИ И Г(ЛАГО)ЛАТИ АЩЕ ЛИ НИ ТО ДАЛЕЧЕ ТАКОВАГО ХОДИТИ (Fol. 36a); ГЛАГОЛИТЕ in Kb and Q.

b) СЪЛЖУНТЪ СЯ

1. АЩЕ ЛИ ТИ СЛОУНТЪ СЯ РАЗСЫПАТИ С(Я) МѢСТѢ (Fol. 45a); СЯ ЛѢУНТЬ in Kb and Q.

2. АЩЕ ЖЕ ЛОУНТ СЯ КОМѢ ИХЪ ПО НѢЖИ ВЪ ГРАДѢ ЛИ НА ТОРЗѢ ШЕРѢСТИ СЯ (Fol. 49b); СЛѢУНТ in Kb and Q.

c) ЛЖУНТЪ СЯ see b 1 and 2.

d) ПОВЕЛѢНО ЕСТЬ see a 2.

е) ГЛАГОЛЪ ЕСТЬ

1. ТВОРИТИ ПРАВЕДНАЯ И ИСТИННО ГЛАГОЛЪ ЕСТЬ Б(О)ГЪ ПАЧЕ НЕЖЕ ЛИ ЖРЕТЕ Ж(Е)РТВЫ (Fol.61b); жертн in Kb and Q.

The verb повелѣти sometimes stands in the passive taking as its subject the object of the dependent infinitive:

i. ВСА ПАТЕНА ВРАТА ШВЕРЗСТА ИМОУЩЕ РАЖЕ ПОВЕЛѢНА СОУТЬ ЗАТВОРИТИ (Fol.31a)

ii. ВСА БО ПОВЕЛѢНА СДѢТЬ ВЪ СЛАВУ Б(О)ГОУ ТВОРИТИ (Fol.36a)

A variant of ii, in Kb and Q, has есть instead of сдѣть, but if the plural passive participle is retained, as Begunov's apparatus implies, then Kb and Q clearly have a corrupt reading.

Comments

In almost all instances the infinitive is the subject or complement of the impersonal expression. The one exception is:

i. НЕ МОЩНО ТВОРА СП(А)СТИ СЯ СИЦЕ ЖИВѢЩЕМЪ (Fol.50a)

Here the infinitive functions as object of ТВОРА.

The subject of the infinitive, here as elsewhere in Old Church Slavonic, stands in the dative when it has no other grammatical function in the sentence;⁶⁵ e.g. b 1 above.

The verb есть with the infinitive may either have a modal value or be a copula, e.g. respectively:

ii. Ш ТѢХЪ БО ЕМЪ ЕС(ТЬ) СЛОВО ВЗДАТИ НА СДѢ Б(О)ЖИИ (Fol.50a)

iii. ТО ЕС(ТЬ) ВЗАТИЕ КР(Е)СТА Г(О)С(ПОД)НА ТО ЕСТЬ ШВРЕШИ СЯ СЕБЕ (Fol.39b)

Passive infinitives are found twice:

iv. АЩЕ СЯ ИМЪ ЛЮБИТЬ ПОЗНАНШЪ БЫТИ Ш КОГО (Fol.49b)

v. ДНЕ БО ТИ ЕСТЬ КЛОСНО ВЗНИТИ ВЪ Ц(А)РСТВО Б(О)ЖІЕ НЕЖЕ СЪ ВСѢМИ ОУДЫ ВЗВЕРЗЖЕНО БЫТИ ВЪ ПЕЩЬ ВЪУНАГО ШГНА (Fol.29b) Matth. 18.8.

Negated infinitives occur with ПОДОБАЕТЪ and ПОВЕЛѢНО ЕСТЬ in the

65. See Vaillant 1964 p.361.

original Slavonic,,and with ДОБРО ЕСТЬ and ОУНЕ БЪІ in quotations.

Table III. Nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs governing infinitive
or da-clause

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
	<u>of governing word</u>		
	<u>Nouns</u>		
ВОЛѦ	2	1	1
ВЛАСТЬ	1	1	
ПОЛЬЗА	1	1	
ОУСПѢХЪ	1	2	
ПАГОУБА ЕЖЕ	1	1	
	<u>Pronouns</u>		
КЪТО	1?	1?	
СЕ ЕЖЕ	1 1?	1 1?	
ТО ЕЖЕ	7 1?	1 1?	6
КОЕ	1?	1?	
	<u>Adjectives</u>		
МОЩЬНЪ	2	2	
НЕДОСТОИНЪ	3	3	
ДЛЪЖЬНЪ	10	10 2?	
РАДЪ	1		1
БЛѢДЪ	1	1	
<u>Quotations from Greek</u>			
	<u>Nouns</u>		
КОЛѦ	1	1	
СИЛА И КРѢПОСТЬ	1	3	
ГЛАДЪ	1	1	
	<u>Pronouns</u>		
КЪТО	1	1	
УЪТО	2	1 1?	

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
	<u>of governing word</u>		
се	3	6	3
	<u>Adjectives</u>		
достойнъ	1	1?	
длъжънъ	1	1	1
испъзненъ			
и сплънъ	1	2	
простъ	1	1	
	<u>Adverbs</u>		
нако	5	5	

Variants

a) къто

1. ища кого бы сзм'кнѣтъ съ вѣры (Fol.6a); сѣмкнѣти in all other MSS except D.

b) уѣто

1. не пецѣте сѣ уѣто ѣсти или уѣто пити въ уѣто ли шблечете сѣ (Fol.35b-36a); пиеѣ in the other MSS except V, D and R. Matth. 6.25.

c) сѣ

1. всего ж(е) единого не ѡвѣдѣлъ еси еще еже а(оу)шѣ своѣю положити за братію своѣю (Fol.61b); сѣго in the other MSS except D and A.

d) то

1. еже въ крѣпцѣ терпиши приходяща на напасти ѿ б(о)га и ч(е)л(овѣ)къ [...]то ес(тъ) взатіе кр(е)ста г(о)с(под)на (Fol.39b); терпѣти in V, Q and A.

e) коѣ

1. тѣм'же коѣ ес(тъ) оуѣ с тобою ли емѣ смѣшаѣти сѣ или с люво-дѣницею (Fol.51a); смѣшати in V, and three later MSS, Eg, S and As.

f) длъжънъ

1. всѣ ж(е) должни есмы съ свѣтум' пріати ѡмѣющих' да не взт'ше и без ѡма [...]бѣает' трѣба' нашъ не бо но и мнози въздаѣрати сѣ имѣюще женьи

злыѣ ꙗже нецѣлободныѣ ꙗ и уресъ волю жеѡзъ своихъ' взъдержати сѧ мѡужи

(Fol.50a-b); взъдержати twice in most other MSS except V and D.

g) достоннѡ

1. то нѣс(тъ) и житію достоннѡ (Fol.8a); жити in Kb, Q and A.

In a quotation from Titus 1.9 most MSS render δυνατός by исполненѡ, (Fol.64a), but Kb and Q either ~~add~~ or replace it by и силенѡ.¹

Comments

It is sometimes hard to decide whether a construction belongs here or in Table II, for example variant e 1. Similarly variant a 1 has been included here, because it seems of the same kind as the quotation:

i. сѡпостатъ вашъ дѣаволъ акы левъ рыкаѣ ꙗ ходитъ ища кого пожърети (Fol.65a) I Peter 5.8.

However a 1 could be treated under Table II as a rare example of an infinitive with the conditional auxiliary.

The combination of еже and the infinitive is generally considered a calque on the Greek construction of article and infinitive and so it is interesting to note the number of times that it occurs in original Slavonic sections of the Treatise. Sometimes it seems to mark a quotation, as in variant c 1, or in:

ii. аще ли в которыхъ' книгахъ' доуелъ сѧ еси еже крѣити ѿ братіа словеса в(о)ж(е)ственаѣ (Fol.61b)

Elsewhere еже + infinitive stand in apposition to (and separated from) the pronouns се and то, as in variant d 1 or in:

iii. не хѡдѡ же ес(тъ)грѣхъ и се еже(е) зрѣти бесъ сѡмненіа ꙗ лица жеѡвска (Fol.36b)

They may also stand in apposition to a noun which they define:

iv. блѡди сѧ оубо лоукаваго и високобѡлаго бѣса ꙗ ти не всѣетъ въ с(е)рдце пагоубы еже мнѣти сѧ великѡ соущѡ (Fol.44b)

So also with польза and оуспѣхъ. These are the only nouns defined by their dependent expressions in the table; other nouns and adjectives take infinitives or da-clauses in the first two functions noted in Ch.I D III, p.19.

The pronouns се and то when dependent on prepositions (usually ради

or дѣла) are complemented by da-clauses, e.g.:

v. не бо есмь рожен на то да уервѣ оугодимъ паче в(о)га (Fol.42a)

vi. видиши ли ѣко того ради пожалъ еси женоу и ты того дѣла еси шла замѣжъ да мирни бѣдете а не которни (Fol.51a)

Of the two original occurrences of воля one seems to mean 'will' while the other rather signifies 'liberty, free rein':

vii. и наѣху ны воли свои да по заповѣдемъ его поживше избавимъ са лютейихъ мѣхъ (Fol.7b)

viii. и не дажь воля на с(е)рдци си взискати римани и ер(оу)с(а)л(и)ма (Fol.45a)

In both passages the dependent expression could be taken as final in sense.

The adjectives моушнъ, длзжнъ, исплзненъ and простъ agree with the person who is understood as the subject of the dependent infinitive. This is not necessarily true of the other adjectives some of which agree with the objects of their infinitives, e.g.:

ix. блѣди же сѣтъ видѣти ѿ лицемѣрнааго поста (Fol.7a)

It is interesting that the one adjective which here takes a da-clause, радъ, does not qualify the subject of that clause:

x. но и радъ бѣди да ти са братъ ими сп(а)с(е)тъ (Fol.62a)

Table IV. Other constructions with infinitive or da-clause

	<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>Da-clause</u>	
Imperative/Absolute	2	3?	9	1?
Co-ordinative/Consecutive	4	2?	16	1?
Final			34 (2)	1(1)?
еже	4	2?		
егда			1	2?
ѣко(же)	4	1?		
<u>Quotations from Greek</u>				
Imperative/Absolute	1	3?	62 (3)	
Co-ordinative/Consecutive	4		2	
Final	4		29 (2)	

	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
еже	1	
ѣко(же)	8	2

Variants

a) Imperative/Absolute infinitive

1. See Table I b 2, p.120

2. See Table II a 1, p.124.

3. тако и ѿди еретика не тоуѣто то еже не наоучитъ его но и нѣкого
ѿ хѣдоуимныхъ развратитъ (Fol.9a); развратити in A and R, Mo, Eg and S.

4. нѣс(ть) волею ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)ч(е)скою николиже было прор(о)чество
но ѿ с(ва)тааго а(оу)ха водими г(лаго)лаша с(ва)тин е(о)жи ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)ци
(Fol.22b); водити in Kb. II Peter 1.21.

5. изволи сѧ а(оу)хѣ с(ва)томоу и намъ никоеѣже бола вамъ прилагати
тажести развѣ сихъ сѣшихъ нѣжальныхъ и похвалати сѧ вамъ ѿ требъ кѣмьрьскъ
и ѿ крови и ѿ м(е)ртвеуины и ѿ влѣженіа (Fol.27b); оудалати сѧ in all
other MSS except D, without the preceding и in Kb, Q and A. Acts 15.28-29.

6. аще ли не въздрѣжати сѧ то да женатъ сѧ и посагають (Fol.52b);
въздрѣжат in all other MSS. I Cor. 7.9

There is a patent corruption in many MSS of a quotation from Proverbs
8.15: мною ц(а)ри ц(а)рьствѣють и могѣти ѡ мнѣ дерзжати землю (Fol.
33b); держати in Kb, Q and A and могѣтъ, могѣти, могѣши etc. in these
and other MSS.

b) Consecutive infinitive

1. еретици же мысли ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)ч(е)скыѧ имѣюще самовольствомъ
шканиѣша не познаша истиннааго ѿвѣнія (Fol.9a); познати in all other MSS
except D.

2. и толики сѧ ѡмѣрѣтъ своиѣ дѣлеса и м(о)л(и)твѣ ѣкоже и мнѣ тѣхъ
ниѣтоже зла имѣша (Fol.32b); мнѣти ихъ in all other MSS except D.

c) Imperative da-clause

1. но да слышать и ѡ томъ паѣла г(лаго)люща (Fol.23b); lacking in D.

d) Co-ordinative or Consecutive da-clause

1. но поучивати хота и урѣвѣ годѣ такъ творитъ ѿмѣща сѧ приснѣхъ своихъ то вѣры сѧ ѿмѣщеть (Fol.43a); да for то in Kb, Q and A.

e) Final clause

1. хотѣхъ же и ѿмолѣати ш снхъ многыи ради блади ихъ но бою сѧ болѣша шсѣждениѧ ѣда како намъ молѣущемъ нѣкоторымъ сзблзунит сѧ на прелесть ихъ и погыбнетъ немошнымъ братъ в нашемъ разѣмѣ (Fol.6b); ѣгда in V, A, R and some later MSS.

f) ѣже

1. See Table III d 1, p.127.

2. но и то на велико шсѣждениѣ имъ есть иже творца н(ѣ)бѣ и земли ш(т)цемъ нарицати словесы (Fol.31b); ѣже in A only, but it must be held correct unless the infinitive is a corruption.

g) ѣда

1. See e 1.

2. ѣгда сѧ мене ради послалъ в(ог)ъ рать на землю (Fol.42a); ѣда in V, Kb, Q, A and some later MSS.

h) ѣакоже see b 2.Comments

There are two absolute infinitives original to the Slavonic:

i. именемъ в(ог)ѣмилъ а понстинѣ рещи в(ог)ѣ не милъ (Fol.6b)

ii. и спроста рещи всѧ развратиша на свою си пагѣбѣ (Fol.31a)

The imperative infinitive translates a Greek imperative mood:

iii. и г(оспод)ъѣ такоже творити к нимъ (Fol.35b) Eph. 6.9.

The ѣда-clause cited under variant g 2 is also absolute.

It is not always easy to decide whether a construction should be counted as consecutive or final, e.g.:

iv. проклатъ весь иже не прѣвѣдетъ въ всѣхъ писаннымъ въ книгахъ законнымъ ѣакоже сзтворити а (Fol.11a, 13a, 18b) Gal. 3.10

v. ти есть расмотрилъ въ с(ѣ)раци своемъ ѣако набаѣти дѣвство свое (Fol.53a) I Cor. 7.37.

vi. ТАКЪ БО ЕСТЬ ШЕБІУАН ДІАВОЛЪ И ШСЛѢПЛАЕТЪ ОУИ И ОУМАЛАЕТЪ ГРѢХЪ
ДА ТВОРАЩЕН ЗЛАГА МНАТ СЯ НЕ ТВОРАЩЕН ЗЛА НИЧЕСОЖЕ (Foll.25b-26a)

The first of these is here taken to be consecutive, the second and third to be final.

Again, the da-clauses introduced by ѹАКО are susceptible of more than one interpretation. One is treated as complementary but could be final:

vii. И МОЛИТЕ АРДГЪ ЗА АРДГА ѹАКО ДА ИСЦѢЛѢТЕ (Foll.36b-37a) James 5.16.

The other is based on a Greek imperative, and ѹАКО seems to mark the quotation of direct speech, but it could be treated as a complementary clause:

viii. СЕ ЗАПРѢЩАХУМЪ ВАМЪ ѹАКО ИЖЕ НЕ ХОЩЕТЪ ДѢЛАТИ ДА НЕ ѹАСТЬ (Fol. 49a) II Thess. 3.10.

The exceptionally large number of imperative da-clauses among the quotations from Greek is due to the frequency with which Cosmas uses the formula of anathema: ἀνάθεμα ἔστω - ПРОКЛАТЪ ДА БѢДИ or ДА БѢДИ ПРОКЛАТЪ.

Table V. Tense and mood of verbs in da-clauses

	<u>Imperative</u>	<u>Co-ordinative/</u> <u>Consecutive</u>	<u>Complementary</u>	<u>Final</u>
Imperative	1			
Present	8 1?	14 1?	12	33 (2) 1 (1)?
Aorist		1		
Perfect		1		
Conditional				1
<u>Quotations from Greek</u>				
Imperative	1	2		
Present	61 (3)		10 (3)	28 (2)
Conditional			2	1
<u>Comments</u>				

The two imperative da-clauses with imperative verbs are very similar one to another:

i. НИКТОЖЕ ВАСЪ ДА НЕ БѢДИ АРДГЪ НИЪ (Fol.7b)

ii. мнѣже бо рече да не бѣди хвалити сѧ (Fol.11a) Gal. 6.14.

There seems no reason to take da here as anything but a reinforcing modal particle, perhaps showing obsolescence of the 3rd person imperative forms. On the other hand, da surely translates οὖν in:

iii. на мѡυcиинѣ столѣ cѣдоша жрѣци да ꙗже велѧтъ вамъ творити творите и влѣдѣте (Fol.16b) – ἐπὶ τῆς Μωϋσέως καθέδρας ἐκάθισεν οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ φαρισαῖοι. πάντα οὖν ὅσα ἐὰν εἰπῶσιν ὑμῖν ποιήσατε καὶ τηρεῖτε Matth. 23.2-3.

Formally the first verb after da could be indicative, but it is more naturally taken as imperative because it is conjoined with the imperative влѣдѣте.

The single original final clause with a conditional verb is dependent on a clause which itself contains a conditional:

iv. иѡа кого бы cзм'кнѣтъ cъ вѣры дабы боша часть была cъ нимъ въ мѣкахъ (Fol.6a)

The same applies to one of the quotations:

v. оуѣ бы емѣ да быша повѣсили жерновъ на выю его и потопили в морьстѣи глѣбинѣ (Fol.33a) Matth. 18.6.

The other conditional expresses an unrealized possibility:

vi. поуто оубо не дадахѣ сребра моего кѣпцемъ да быхъ пришехъ взххъ свое с' прибыткомъ (Fol.65a) Luke 19.23.

Table VI. Infinitives separated from their governing expression, and da separated from its dependent verb, by non-enclitic elements

	<u>Occurrence</u>		<u>Separated occurrences</u>	
	<u>of construction</u>			
Infinitive	206 (31)	19 (6)?	97 (15)	9 (2)?
Imperative <u>da</u>	9	1?		
Co-ordinative/				
Consecutive <u>da</u>	16	1?	14 (2)	
Complementary <u>da</u>	12		7	
Final <u>da</u>	34 (2)	1 (1)?	18	

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Separated occurrences</u>
	<u>of construction</u>	
<u>Quotations from Greek</u>		
Infinitive	75 (27) 7 (2)?	28 (2) 1?
Imperative <u>da</u>	62 (3)	2
Co-ordinative/		
Consecutive <u>da</u>	2	
Complementary <u>da</u>	12 (3)	4
Final <u>da</u>	29 (2)	13
<u>Comments</u>		

Infinitives may be separated from their governing expressions by the subject and qualifying participle, the direct and indirect objects, the complement, of main verb or infinitive; by a variety of adverbs and adverbial phrases; and by interjections, such as ρεγε, inserted into quotations, or by a vocative noun. Words with all these functions (except interjections) within the da-clause, and combinations of such words, may likewise intervene between da and its verb.

One of the two quotations containing imperative da-clauses whose verbs are separated from da is that cited under ii on p.117, as an example of adaptation to a new context. The other is:

i. αще бо болить рече кто въ васъ да призветъ попы ц(ε)рковныи и да м(о)л(и)твѣ творятъ наа нимъ (Fol.37a) James 5.14.

The second da-clause here renders προσευξάσθωσαν ἐπ' αὐτόν; possibly the Slavonic verb and its object form a set phrase, comparable to прѣлѣбѣи творити, the equivalent of μουχεύειν.

Table VII. Expressions governing preposed infinitives

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Preposed infinitives</u>
	<u>of construction</u>	
хотѣти	51 2?	6
прѣдати	1	1
аръзѣхти	1	1?

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Preposed infinitives</u>
оуунти	8	2
мѣслити	1	1
покоушати сѧ	3	1 1?
блазнити сѧ	1?	1?
подобаетъ	14 3?	1
есть	5	1
лѣпо есть ,	7	1?
срамъ есть еже	1	1
нѣсть грѣха	1	1
длѣжнѣ	10 2?	2

Quotations from Greek

научати	2	2
есть	1	1
годѣ есть	1 1?	1
достоннѣ	1?	1?

Variants

a) дрѣзнѣти

1. кѣи бо бѣсѣ коли противилѣ сѧ есть б(о)ж(е)ствѣ или хѣлити дѣрѣзнѣлѣ б(о)жѣю тварѣ (Fol.9b-10a); дѣрѣзнѣлѣ хѣлити in A, R and several MSS related to R and V.

b) покоушати сѧ

1. тожѣ еретици разорити похѣшають сѧ (Fol.30b); похѣшають сѧ разорити in V and the MSS related to it.

c) лѣпо есть

1. како ес(ть)намѣ прилежати лѣпо ш порѣченѣмѣ стадѣ (Fol.65b); како ес(ть) лѣпо in Kb and Q.

Comments

Many of these infinitives have clearly been preposed for rhetorical effect. For instance, parallel word-order in clauses of similar content

is achieved by this means in:

i. и твое сзѣлѡженіе нѣс(ть) емоу възбранену в(ого)мъ с тобою сово-
кѡпнѣи сѧ нѣс(ть) грѣха (Fol.51a)

The normal order of main verb and infinitive is inverted for greater emphasis in:

ii. и всю любовь и вѣру хр(и)стіаньскѡю погѡбѣти мыслати (Fol.25b)

Cosmas's ordering of words seems sometimes to be deliberately involved, e.g. in:

iii. вѣдѣ же ныи ш(т)ца ꙗже по истинѣ нарѣцати подобаетъ чєрньца (Fol.49a)

Three of the infinitives preposed in quotations follow the order of the Greek. The other two are found in a repeated quotation:

iv. зараваго оу҃ченіа не послѡшати на҃учѣтъ (Fol.1.28b and 63a) - τῆς
ὁυ̑λαινοῦσης διδασκαλίας οὐκ ἀνέξονται II Tim. 4.3

Stressed elements may stand between infinitive and governing verb:

v. ненавнѣти его свою сѧ оу҃ати (Fol.10b)

Only one of several co-ordinated infinitives is preposed, e.g.:

vi. но азъ рече в(о)гата есмь да пострадати хо҃ю въ манастири и
сп(а)сти а(оу)шѣ свою (Fol.41a)

CONCLUSIONS

The interpretation of the materials presented in the preceding four sections of this Chapter is fenced about with difficulties. It can hardly be too much stressed that most of the texts used here have survived in Russian copies, often written five centuries or so after the original composition, and that consequently they were open to prolonged Russian influence which could conceivably have produced significant alterations in their syntax. The problem is not lessened by the absence of obvious Russianisms. Church Slavonic was long regarded as the appropriate language for hagiography and homiletic, and the norms of Russian Church Slavonic were based on the usage of the earliest, Old Church Slavonic, literature which was brought to Russia from the South and South-West.

It would therefore be surprising to find in copies of the Lives of SS. Cyril and Methodius, the sermons of St. Clement or the Treatise of Cosmas expressions and constructions which were proper to vernacular Russian and were excluded from ecclesiastical writings, e.g. the conjunctions чтобы, ать, ажбы.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, Russian Church Slavonic cannot safely be regarded as reflecting a direct and unmodified tradition from the earliest texts, free of the various influences of Old Russian and Greek syntax and of later Russian or South Slavonic developments in ecclesiastical literary style. So, for example, an Old Church Slavonic text preserved in a Russian MS tradition may have escaped a Bulgarian tendency to replace infinitives by da-clauses, but there is no immediate guarantee that the number of its infinitival constructions has not been increased in accordance with notions of syntactic propriety current among Russian scribes at one time or another.

The influence of Greek on the composition of these texts must be pervasive. Their models were Greek ones; they contain numerous translated quotations from Greek, and also paraphrases and reminiscences of Scripture; and it is natural to suppose that Greek syntactic patterns familiar to the authors were incorporated into original Slavonic passages, though the presence of such borrowings is hard to demonstrate. For example, in St. Clement's sermons, Table I variant o 1, pp.98-99, there are alternative readings with внѣсти complemented by a direct object in the accusative and either a participle agreeing with the object or an infinitive. The construction of accusative and infinitive is held to be a Graecism in Old Church Slavonic; but is it in this instance a later, Graecizing, revision or an original reading which was replaced by an expression more natural to Slavonic? And can it in fact be called more Greek than the participial construction, when verbs of perception can take a participle as complement

66. See Borkovsky 1979 p.217 ff.

in Greek?⁶⁷

Allowance must also be made for differences of style between and within the texts which have been used as sources here. The Lives are largely narrative and, in comparison with much hagiography, fairly simple and unrhetorical in style except in their formal introductory sections. The sermons, on the other hand, are essentially a rhetorical genre, and Cosmas's Treatise often uses a similar manner of exhortation. Thus divergences between the syntax of these works may be determined by generic style as well as by the personal usage of different authors or by different time and place of composition. For example, preposed infinitives occur in the Lives only with the main verbs ἡμῶν, ἡμῶν and possibly ἡμῶν, whereas in the sermons and still more in the Treatise their range of occurrence is much wider. This probably represents one of the stylistic differences between plain narrative and homily.

Caution must be exercised in drawing comparisons between these texts, because of their disparate length. It is not necessarily significant, for example, that the Life of St. Methodius contains only one non-complementary (consecutive) infinitive while the sermons supply three absolute, two consecutive and two final infinitives and the Treatise may have even more such constructions, for the Life is shorter than the two latter sources and so not likely to have as many examples of any one usage. It is more remarkable that the two Lives have respectively about fourteen and eight da-clauses with conditional verbs whereas there are no conditionals in da-clauses in the sermons and only four in the Treatise; but even here one must remember that the sermons are all short, some no longer than one printed page, and that they may exclude conditionals by chance. Again, the Life of St. Cyril affords no examples of interrogative pronouns or adverbs with dependent infinitives, but where these constructions do appear they are probably not numerous enough for their absence to be

67. See Goodwin 1959 para.1582, p.340.

significant.

Further, some of the constructions of individual words with the infinitive or the da-clause occur too rarely to be of much weight. Single instances of ЛѢНИТИ СЯ, ВАРИТИ with infinitives, of УОУТИ, НАВИ СЯ РАЗОУМЬ-
НО with da-clauses are not sufficient ground for general statements about the permissible constructions with these words. The evidence presented in the tables may at best allow generalizations about the types of construction admitted by different semantic or syntactic classes of words.

With these provisos, one may proceed to remark on the high degree to which the findings of the sets of tables coincide both with each other and with the studies of Pacnerová and Rothe based on the Old Church Slavonic Canon (see pp.31-32). The salient discrepancies are few:

- a) ѡжє + infinitive, a Graecizing construction according to Pacnerová, is absent from the Lives but appears in original Slavonic passages in the sermons and the Treatise (see pp.102, 105 and 128) where its function is most often that of a defining expression in apposition to a noun or pronoun.
- b) Final infinitives are also in Pacnerová's view due to Greek influence and so it is remarkable that they do occur in original Slavonic works, twice in the Life of St. Cyril and six times among the sermons and the Treatise. It is possible that the infinitives in the Life should rather be treated as complementary, like the infinitive after ВЪДАТИ in the Encomium of St. Demetrius:

i. и оуѣеникъѣ събравъ и въдасть и оуѣити (VC Ch.15.1)

ii. и въда до ꙗ оуѣеникъъ оуѣити се имь (VC Ch.15.19)

iii. срѣе свое вдаа всеѣа оутреневати въплощешомѣа словеси бѣго
(AKK No.14 Fol.423b)

A da-clause is also found after this verb in the Life of St. Cyril:

iv. въдаше ꙗго оуѣителѣмь да се оуѣитъ (VC Ch.4.1)

- c) The infinitive after (съ)творити is thought by Pacnerová to be modelled on Greek usage, but this verb and its reflexive take only infinitival

At the beginning of this chapter several suggestions were tentatively made about possible and preferred constructions in Old Church Slavonic (see Introduction I-IV, pp.35-54). Some of these lose rather than gain credibility from the evidence of the subsequent sections: passives are no rarer in the infinitive than in da-clauses (see I C, pp.38-39, and the comments on the various Tables I-III); negated infinitives are also to be found, though it is true that none of them depends on a negated governing expression (see II B vi, p.46, and the comments on the Tables I-III). On other points the tables are inconclusive: they conflict over the proper construction with время (see II B i-iv, p.46, III B iii, p.50, and the first three Tables III, pp.58, 79, 102-03) and with verbs of command and entreaty (see I E, pp.40-42, and the Tables I), though the weight of the evidence is in favour of infinitives with these words and with потѣшити са against the surmise in I F vii, p.44. No conclusions can be drawn about constructions with verbs which are not attested in the sources for the tables, such as остати (I F i, p.42) and забѣти (IV C ii, p.52). Similarly, the usage with рещи is not clarified by a single variant reading in the Life of St. Cyril (II E ii, iii, pp.40-41 and h 2, p.73), and the three instances of уагати in the Treatise (p.118) all share the subjects of their dependent infinitives and so cast no further light on the surmise about the construction with differing subjects in I D iv, p.40.

However, some of the suggestions in the Introduction seem to be borne out by the material of the tables. The hypothesis that хотѣти takes an infinitive when the subjects of governing and governed verb coincide, a da-clause when they differ (I D i-iii, p.40), is confirmed by an example in the sermons (Table I i, p.99). Some additional support for this is provided in the pattern of constructions with изволити and волѣа: the verb takes an infinitive with the same subject but either an infinitive or a da-clause when the subjects are distinct (see pp.68 and 94), and волѣа

in the sense of 'will, pleasure' is found with a da-clause when the subject of the subordinate verb is not the same as the person who does the willing (Treatise, Table III vii, p.129). Similarly, paaz takes a da-clause with a subject distinct in reference from the noun with which paaz agrees (Treatise, Table III x, p.129).

In the Introduction it was suggested that the normal complement of demonstrative pronouns was the da-clause. (I A vi, p.36, II B ix, xiii, pp.47-48). This is well supported for ce and to by the Life of St. Cyril, the sermons and the Treatise, if one assumes that the alternative construction used to define pronouns, eje and the infinitive, is a product of Greek influence in the sermons and the Treatise.

As was pointed out in the comments on ^{the} Treatise Table I vi-x, p.122, the verbs mnēti (ca), vēdēti and mzicanti only appear with an infinitive when its temporal reference is unambiguous, and so they do not admit an infinitival construction to express indirect statement (see also IV C i, p.52). This agrees with Brecht's remarks on the limited use of tenseless infinitives (see pp.30-31), and if one considers the other verbs in the Tables I which take infinitives, it is clear that tense-marking would be superfluous, because the action expressed by the infinitive is always most naturally understood as succeeding that of the main verb (or in a few instances as simultaneous with it, e.g. with moši, oymēti, vēdēti, trzpnēti).

The Tables II bear unanimous witness that impersonal constructions employ infinitives, against the examples in I F ii, viii, ix, pp.42 and 44.

In what has been said so far, the constructions found in quotations have not been taken into account. This is not only because they must be assumed to be influenced by the languages (usually Greek) of their sources; an additional reason is that in texts which have been preserved in MSS of later date than the original composition, Biblical quotations are likely to have been altered to correspond to revised versions of

Scripture. Editing of this kind can be seen to have been practised in the various MSS traditions of the Life of St. Cyril (see Table I a 6, p.71, and Table III c 1, p.80). The quotations in Cosmas's Treatise are apparently not taken from the earliest Slavonic translation of the Bible (see p.117). Furthermore, some quotations, especially in the sermons (see pp.92-93), are paraphrases, rather than exact translations, at least of the standard Greek text. Until such time as the various Slavonic versions of Scripture and their Greek originals have been established, the evidence of the quotations can hardly be evaluated, except by the general comment that the picture of syntactic usage that they present is not very different from that of the original Slavonic passages.

Yet the quotations can be used to supplement in a few points the information already collected. The distribution of complements suggested above for ХОУЪТИ is strikingly confirmed. The only instances where the subjects of this verb and of its subordinate expressions do not coincide are precisely those where it takes a da-clause, although the Greek has an accusative and infinitive construction: see p.58 viii (complicated by the use of the conditional), p.71 a 6, and in the Treatise:

- i. ХОУЪ же ДА БЕС ПЕЧАЛИ БѢДѢТЕ (Treatise Fol.52b) I Cor. 7.32.

Occasionally НАКО is introduced into quotations without obvious motivation in the Greek, apparently to act as a marker of reported speech, see p.108 vii in the sermons. This usage is noted in Old Russian by Borovsky 1979. НАКО is otherwise used to render εἰς τό, πρὸς τό, τοῦ. Whereas τοῦ + infinitive is generally translated either in this way or by simple final infinitives, in one place a da-clause is used:

- ii. НЗ ОУСТЗ МЛАДЕНЬЦЪ И СЗСОУШИХЪ СЗВЪРШИЛЪ ЕСИ ХВАЛОУ ВРАГЪ ТВОИХЪ РАДИ ДА РАЗДРОУШИШИ ВРАГЪ И МЪСТЪНИКА (AKK No.31 Fol.104a) Ps. 8.3.

This presumably reflects a desire to avoid the final infinitive.

On the other hand, the da-clauses with ИТИ and ПОСЛАТИ in quotations reproduce clauses in the Greek originals where these are known, in the sermons and the Treatise. There is thus nothing to contradict the

consistent evidence of the original Slavonic material, that verbs of motion take the infinitive or supine as complement (contrast II A v, p.45, B vii, xii, xv, pp.46 and 48, III B, pp.49-50 and IV A iv, p.51).

Comparison of the quotations with the original Slavonic material reveals one more interesting peculiarity. It is only in the quotations, and only occasionally, that elements which are likely to have been stressed intervene between the da which introduces a 1st or 3rd per. imperative and the following verb (see pp.108 vii, 112 i, 134 i). The restriction by which only enclitics may be placed between da and its verb seems to apply solely to the imperative or optative da-clause and may be a distinguishing characteristic of it, though I have tried not to rely on it in assigning da-clauses to this or other classes.

The conditional is found both in original Slavonic passages and in quotations, most often, as has been mentioned, in the two Lives. It is of course a distinctively Slavonic form, whose presence in quotations signals a degree of independence from Greek (see pp.36-37). Bräuer 1957 suggests that the use of the conditional in Old Church Slavonic is perceptibly different from that of Old Russian: in Old Church Slavonic the conditional can occur freely, as a semantically marked form, in final and complementary da-clauses; in Old Russian its occurrence is limited by syntactic and semantic factors. Bräuer finds that it is more or less confined to complementary da-clauses, and particularly to those that express indirect request, i.e. after verbs meaning 'to pray' and 'to ask' rather than verbs of command, and after verbs meaning 'to send' when the subject of the da-clause is distinct from the subject and object of the governing verb and the da-clause conveys the reported request or command which the person who is the object of the main verb is sent to give, e.g. 'He sent a messenger to his allies, that they should gather their forces'. However, Bräuer allows that this difference in usage is less obvious in the earliest Old Russian Sources, perhaps because of Old Church Slavonic

influence, and according to Borkovsky it is not well-founded.⁶⁸ It can at least be concluded that the distribution of the conditional in the Life of St. Cyril does not show signs of revision during the later Old Russian period, and this is itself valuable information, since revision has been suspected in some branches of the Russian MSS tradition (see pp.67 and 76).

There is a small group of short Slavonic works which have not been included in the foregoing examination, because they are short and isolated or because their interpretation raises difficulties. So far as their evidence can be relied on, it agrees fairly well with that of the longer texts. The Treatise on Letters of the monk Khrabr, though it was probably written before the end of the ninth century, survives only in MSS of the fourteenth century and later, among whose variant readings it is often hard to decide which is preferable (see Kuev's edition and commentaries of 1967). The only construction of interest here is НѦЖ-АѦТН СѦ and an infinitive with the same subject, found in some though not all of the earlier, more complete MSS, notably in Kuev's Nos.2 and 8 which contain the passage on which the dating of this work is based. This may conflict with ПОНѦАНТН СѦ and a da-clause with the same subject in the Treatise, but it accords with НѦАНТН and an infinitive with a different subject in the Life of St. Cyril and the sermons, giving a pattern comparable to that of (НА)ОУУНТН and (НА)ОУУНТН СѦ.

The forty-second sermon in the Commentated Gospel of the Priest Constantine, a contemporary of St. Clement, is not known to have a Greek original and so is attributed to Constantine himself. In Jagić's edition of 1873 of the thirteenth century Serbian MS, three constructions are worth noting. МОЛНТН is followed by an infinitive with the same subject; a da-clause is used where one might have expected an infinitive, after

68. Borkovsky 1979 pp.129-30; but his statement of Bräuer's position seems less than precise.

verbs of volition with the same subject:

i. НАСЪ БО РАДИ ПРѢКЛОНИ НЕБЕСА И СНИДЕ ВЪЗДЛАКАЛЪ И ВЪЖДЕДЛАЛЪ (sic)
ДА ПРИШЕРѢЩЕТЪ РОДЪ УЛОВѢУЬСКЪ (p.34)

There is an example, the only one I have met in these texts, of a da-clause placed before the main verb; but it is co-ordinated with a participial phrase and the two give the reasons for the action of the main verb:

ii. ШНЪ ЖЕ МНЛОСТНВЪ СЫ И ДА НЕ РАВИТЬ СЕ ПРОТНВ'НЪ ЗАКОНУ МОИСЕШУ
ШПОУСТИ Ѥ (p. 34)

The twelfth century Russian MS of this work adds two prefaces, one in acrostich verse, the other in prose, which have been most recently published by Kuev 1974. Presumably they are also by Constantine. The acrostich poem is in dodecasyllabic verse with caesura after the fifth or seventh syllable. This makes corruptions which infringe the metre readily detectable and gives some guarantee of authenticity to passages which conform with it; but it also means that the syntax may have been somewhat distorted to fit the verse, and so not too much weight should be placed on the occurrence here of ПОСЛАТИ with a da-clause and differing subjects or ПРОСИТИ and РОУЦѢ БО СВОИ ГОРѢ.ВОЗДАЮ ПРИСНО with infinitives which imply the same subject. The brief prose introduction includes one passage of note here:

i. ОУБѢЖАЕНО ВЪЗВЪШЕ ВѢРЪНЪИМЪ ЕТЕРЪІ УЛѢКЪІ.СЪКАЗАНИЕ СѢАГО ЕВАН-
ГЛІА ПРѢЛОЖИТИ ОТЪ ГРЪУЬСКА РАЪІКА.ВЪ СЛОВѢНЬСКЪ (Kuev No.1, p.189)

This resembles the passive construction with ОУУНИТИ found in a variant in the sermons (see p.98, l 1).

The second homily in Clozianus also lacks a known Greek source and has been attributed by some to St. Methodius.⁶⁹ Three of its constructions are interesting because they run counter to the tendencies which have been observed in other texts. One is a preposed infinitive which does not stand immediately in front of its governing verb:

i. АШТЕ ОУБО ЛЮБИТИ ПРАВДАЖ ВЛАДЪІКАМЪ ЗЕМЛА.БЖІЕ СЛОВО ВЕЛІТЪ

69. See Vařica 1949 and Dostál 1959 pp.127-28.

(Fol.1b.21-22)

The other two are imperative da-clauses in which stressed elements intervene between the da and the verb:

ii. ѢКОКОЖЕ (sic) ЗАКОНЪ ПИШЕТЪ·ДА НИКЪИЖЕ ОУБО ОТЪ ВЛАДЪИКЪ·ОТЪ НЕПРИѢЗНИ·ОБЛАДАНЪ СЪ ОУСТЪНАМА СВОИМА·ИСПОВѢДАѢ СЕБЕ ВѢРНА СРДЦЕМЪ·ДАЛЕЧЕ ОТЪСТОИТЪ БѢ (Fol.2b.25-29)

This is complicated by incorporating a quotation, Matth. 15.8.

iii. СЕГО РАДИ ТРАСЪИ СѢ І ТРЕПЕШТА·ДА БѢИ ХРАНИТЪ ЗАКОНЪ (Fol.2b.37-39)

The remaining ten imperative da-clauses in the homily all conform to the suggested rule of non-interruption. The homily also contains several negated infinitives, governed by ДЛЪЖЬНЪ and by post-posed ПОКОУШАТИ СѢ. Citations are from the edition of Dostál 1959.

The Encomium of SS. Cyril and Methodius is closely associated with the Lives of these saints, both because it usually stands after one or other of them in MSS and because its text is directly related to theirs (see Fn.31, p.61). It exists in two versions, a fuller one found in the twelfth century Russian Uspensky Sbornik immediately after the earliest copy of the Life of St. Methodius and in a number of fifteenth century and later Russian MSS, and a shorter one included in Vladislav Gramatik's MSS of 1469 and 1479 and in the 1598 Hopovo MS.⁷⁰ In its longer form the work is attributed to St. Clement;⁷¹ the author is not however named in any of the MSS. The following remarks are based on the text of the twelfth century MS as published by Kotkov 1971.

This text provides an example of ОУТВѢРЪДАНТИ with a dependent infinitive, a construction which Pacnerová considers Greek in inspiration:

i. И ОУМЪ ОУТВѢРЪДАНТА·ДОСТОИНО ПОСЛѢДОВАТИ СТОПАМЪ ВАЮ (Fol.115v.23-25)

There is an instance of СЪЛАТИ with a direct object which is the subject of a dependent da-clause; this occurs in Pope Hadrian's Bull Gloria in

70. See Angelov, Kuev and Kodov 1970 pp.475-78.

71. See Angelov, Kuev and Kodov 1970 pp.443-446.

excelsis Deo and corresponds to посълати + da-clause in the Life of St. Methodius, though the wording is not exactly the same. There is also an example of вѣдѣти governing an infinitive with the same subject which is related to the reading in the Life with a da-clause:

ii. патрѣнархъ оуслышавъ подвигъ его вѣдиша и поставити митрополита въ устьѣхъ мѣстѣ (Fol.111b.8-12)

It is conjectured⁷² that the plural verb here is correct, the passage being derived from the similar one in the Life where the subject of вѣдиша is цѣрь и патрѣнархъ (Fol.105a.2-3). In the Life, however, вѣдиша is complemented by a da-clause with a conditional verb (see p.57, vi), and so it appears that one or other text has undergone grammatical revision. Something similar has happened in:

iii. приближи же сѧ врѣмѧ покон приѣти прѣстѣому и прѣвлѣному оцѣю нашѣму и оучителю константиноу философу (Fol.113g.6-11)

The Life of St. Cyril has a da-clause or a verbal noun in the parallel place, see Table III a 1, p.80. The corruption and abbreviation of these two passages in the Encomium make it seem likely that the Lives have the original readings. The versions in the Encomium would then be particularly important as evidence of early literary revision in which da-clauses were replaced by infinitives. The only other example occurs in fifteenth and sixteenth century MSS of St. Clement's sermon on the Trinity, the Creation and the Last Judgement, see p.98, variant i 1.

The only other notable construction in the Encomium is a defining infinitive in apposition to a noun:

iv. въ бо нѣмоу данъ даръ дѣховънынъ ѣзыкъ глати ѣко и апѣлоу (Fol.110v. 15-17)

The Tables III show that the syntax of expressions defining nouns varies. They may be either da-clauses or infinitives, usually but not invariably introduced by ѣже; that is to say, it is like the pattern of defining expressions with demonstrative pronouns. By contrast, nouns such as

72. See Angelov, Kuev and Kodov 1970 p.474 Fn.35.

ВОЛЯ, ВЛАСТЬ, СИЛА, ВЪХОЖДЕНИЕ, ГЛАДЪ, which are formally and semantically related to verbs or adjectives, take complementary infinitives as those verbs and adjectives would do, except in certain explicable instances (МОЛИТВЪ with a da-clause and conditional verb, see p.84 i, or КЛАТВА with a da-clause in the Life of St. Methodius, see below on КЛАТИ) and so do nouns which have a grammatical function in their dependent infinitival phrases, except perhaps for ГОДИНА and УАСЪ (see p.80 a 1), which possibly should not be treated as comparable to КОГДА or КАКО + infinitive, but as nouns with defining da-clauses.

Such vacillation is the more significant because on the whole the tables display a rather well-marked separation of the functions of infinitive and da-clause. The distribution with nouns has just been outlined; adjectives (except for РАДЪ, see p.129, x), interrogative pronouns and adverbs, and impersonal expressions always take infinitives in the original Slavonic material. The verbs of Tables I also mostly have infinitival complements, though some may admit da-clauses under particular syntactic conditions (ХОТѢТИ and ИЗВОЛИТИ with a difference in subject). The da-clause is apparently the normal form of final expression and, if one accepts КАКО and ЕЖЕ with the infinitive to be imitations of Greek syntax, the native Slavonic consecutive and defining clauses also normally take da and a finite verb.

There are a few verbs, though, which are found only with da-clauses: УОУТИ, ПРОЩАТИ, ЗАКЛАТИ, ВЛЮСТИ СЯ; and a few more which occur both with infinitives and with da-clauses: ИЗВОЛИТИ, ВЕЛѢТИ, (НА)ОУСТИТИ, МОЛѢТИ СЯ, ПОДВИГНѢТИ СЯ, ПОТЪЩИТИ СЯ. It is perhaps not surprising that verbs of command should allow a form of construction which is also used for direct imperatives. The da-clauses after ВЕЛѢТИ, ПРОЩАТИ and ОУСТИТИ observe the rule that da and its verb should be contiguous stressed elements, and indeed, the da-clause could be understood as a direct 3rd per. command in:

- i. ТАКО ВЕЛИМЪ ДА СЕ КРЪСТИТЬ ВОЛѢЮ ИЖЕ ХОЩЕТЪ ШТЬ СЕГО ДЪНЕ (VC

Ch.11.38)

Were it not for the convention which governs the inclusion of verbs taking complements with different subjects, the number of da-clauses with these verbs would be greater and other verbs could be added to the list, particularly verbs of motion.

The verbs which freely admit da-clause complements are united by the difficulty in determining whether those clauses are actually complementary or final. The distinction, as explained in Ch.1, p.19, is sometimes a fine one, e.g. with МОЛНТИ СѦ, and may not always be worth making, e.g. with БЛГОУСТН СѦ and the verbs of motion. The point to be emphasized here is that those infinitives which overlap with da-clauses in grammatical meaning or function, those which have obvious final sense or can be interpreted as defining expressions, are the ones which do in fact overlap with them in distribution. Some such alternation is only to be expected at the beginning of a change from the use of one type of construction to another; but it does not show that a change had already begun, nor is it to be regarded as a starting-point from which the da-clause was bound to spread at the expense of the infinitive. It can only be claimed that in Old Church Slavonic - and by extension in Old Bulgarian - the infinitive and the da-clause appear to have been, in certain limited functions and syntactic contexts, equivalent and interchangeable.

CHAPTER 3 : THE TALE OF TROY

In the mid fourteenth century a translation was made of the Greek Chronicle of Constantine Manasses for the Bulgarian Tsar Ioann Alexander (1331-1371). The two principal MSS in which it is preserved were written during his reign: one, now preserved in Moscow and published in a critical edition by I. Bogdan 1966, is dated 1344/1345; the other, at present in the Vatican Library and published in a photographic edition by Duichev 1963, was probably copied soon afterwards.¹ The second MS is adorned with illuminations, among which are pictures of Ioann Alexander and his sons, and it includes a number of additions from other sources to the Chronicle text of the 1344/1345 MS. The most substantial of these additions is the version of the Siege of Troy known as the Троянска притча or Троянска повест, which is inserted on Foll. 42a-62a, after Constantine Manasses's own account of the same legend. The language of the Pritcha differs strikingly from that of the Bulgarian translation of the Chronicle, as can be seen repeatedly in the linguistic study of Boissin 1946. The Chronicle is written in a variety of Bulgarian Church Slàvonic which shows indeed some traces of popular influence, e.g. in the possessive adjectives,² but its norms are conservative by comparison with the usages of the Pritcha, which resemble or foreshadow those of modern Bulgarian: the apocopated forms of the verbs 'to be' and 'to want' and of the 3rd per. sing. pronoun in the accusative-genitive and the dative; the short infinitive without final -и; the analytic formation of the comparative degree by means of по- and the positive degree of the adjective; -зи and -то suffixed to demonstrative and relative pronouns, generalization of the stem ко- rather than къи- in the interrogative pronoun, къи as the

1. See the introductions to Duichev 1963 and Boissin 1946.

2. See Boissin 1946 p.54.

nominative of the 1st per. plur. pronoun; -ѣмь and -ѣ as 1st and 3rd per. plur. endings of the aorist tense, and the plural in -ѣ of the perfect participle; a tendency to confuse the use of the accusative and the locative after prepositions which may express direction or location; and the periphrastic future tense formed with the auxiliary verb 'to want'. These peculiarities of the Pritcha, and a few more isolated morphological features, prompt Mirchev 1963 to say that it is written in comparatively unconstrained popular language and consequently is held to be a reliable source for Middle Bulgarian.³

The version of the story of Troy given in the Pritcha is found in the mediaeval literature of other Slavonic peoples. There are two Croatian Glagolitic MSS of the fifteenth century: one is a fragment of a Čakavic and Ikavic version (published in Jagić 1866 and here referred to as Primjeri); the other, which is complete, has both Čakavic and Kajkavic elements (published in Jagić 1868 and here referred to as Prilozi). A Serbian version, Štokavic and Ekavic, exists in an early sixteenth century MS in Sofia (published in Ringheim 1951, here known as Sofia). A fourth MS, seventeenth century Čakavic in Roman letters, has not been published but is described by Marinković 1961 and copiously quoted in that article and in Vasilev 1971. Both these two scholars and also Mazon 1935 and Ringheim 1951 have attempted to establish the textological relationships between the versions offered by these MSS and have all arrived at similar conclusions: that, though the various texts clearly originate from one source, and though they coincide not only in the outline of their story but also in details of phraseology, they diverge in number and order of minor episodes and in choice of expression in a way that excludes any direct relation between them. That is to say, not only can no one of them be shown to depend on one of the others, but no

3. See Mirchev 1963 p.18: Повестта е писана на сравнително свободен народен език, поради което се ползува със славата на един от най-надежните среднобългарски езикови паметници.

two or more display the kind of similarities which would allow one to derive them with confidence from a single intermediary in the textual development from the original. It is true that Marinković proposes a Čakavic redaction from which Primjeri and Prilozi would both stem, and suggests that the seventeenth century Čakavic version may depend on the fifteenth century Primjeri; but as Primjeri consists only of the beginning of the Tale, up to but not including the Judgement of Paris, this hypothesis rests rather on the absence of conflicting evidence than on much positive support. There are some slight signs that the texts of the Cyrillic MSS, Sofia and the Pritcha, derive from a Glagolitic tradition,⁴ but it is unclear whether these two fuller versions are expansions of the Tale as found in Prilozi and the seventeenth century MS, or whether, on the contrary, the extant Čakavic and Kajkavic MSS represent abbreviations of the original.⁵

That original is generally agreed to have been a Western European, Latin-based one. The thematic structure of the Tale resembles that of several Western mediaeval vernacular versions of the same story,⁶ the personal and place names are patently Latin, not Greek, in form, and there are a few obscure readings which seem to be explicable as corruptions of Latin.⁷ Whether the Slavonic translation was made directly from Latin or through the mediation of some other language, Hungarian as Hadrovics 1955 suggests, Greek according to Ringheim 1951, has been the subject of much ingenious hypothesis and dispute.⁸ The question

4. See Ringheim 1951 p.276 and Hamm 1953.

5. The Russian versions of the Tale derive from a copy of the Bulgarian one, according to Tsonev 1892.

6. See Veselovsky 1888, Tsonev 1892 and Hadrovics 1955 for details.

7. See Hadrovics 1955, especially on триглавна (Pritcha Fol.47b) as a rendering of in triclinio (pp.60-61).

8. See Hamm 1953 and 1960 for reviews of these two proposals. The principal objection to them is that they do not solve more problems than does the hypothesis of direct Latin origin, while requiring a larger array of additional assumptions than it does.

is relevant here only in so far as it touches the immediate source of the Pritcha. Hadrovics's theory involves the assumption that the various Slavonic versions arise from independent translations of his hypothetical Hungarian one; it does not seem to be essential to his argument whether the Bulgarian one derives directly from Hungarian or viâ Croatian, and in fact he accepts without discussion the usual view, which is the latter. Ringheim's attempt to find the sources of the Tale in Byzantine Greek, rather than Latin literature, and to explain the phonetic peculiarities of the proper names as they appear in the Slavonic texts by the putative influence of North Greek dialectal pronunciation, might have prompted him to suggest that a Slavonic translation was as likely to have been made first in Bulgaria as further West; he also, however, seems satisfied that the Pritcha depends on a (Serbo-)Croat tradition.

The grounds for deriving the Pritcha from a Croatian version are partly those of historical probability. If the Western origin of the Tale is accepted, then it is plausible that it should first have been translated in a Western Slavonic area, where there was contact with Latin-based culture (whether Hungarian or not) and from there have been passed on to the East. The pronunciation of Latin implied by the spelling of proper names in all the MSS is, according to Hadrovics, that which was current in central Europe, from Poland down to Slovenia and Croatia;⁹ Veselovsky 1888 finds traces of it also in the Serbo-Croat Alexandria and the Belorussian Bova and Tristan stories.¹⁰ In addition, however, traces of Western South Slavonic linguistic influence have been found in the Pritcha. Tsonev 1892 surmises that some places in the Pritcha show misunderstanding of a Croatian source:

і. и поиде въ нѣкои дѣнь•ловъ ловити•понеже драго моу бѣше ловити (Pritcha Fol.42a) – и в' ники д'нь поуе ловити пригода се ему прити н' баднь липъ отокъ (Primjeri, and Prilozi p.57)

9. See Hadrovics 1955 pp.63-65.

10. See Veselovsky 1888 pp.98-99, 137-38.

ii. ДАЖАДЪ НАМА НАЮ ѠВѢТЪ еже насн (sic) реклѣ (Pritcha Fol.46a) - дан нама ѹВѢТЬ ѹа са нама обещалѣ (Primjeri, and similarly in Prilozi p.59 and Sofia Fol.225a)

He also suggests that some items of vocabulary in the Pritcha are Croatian: приѹа, кралѣ, застава, прѣварити, направити, заложн своѣ главѣ на срѣщѣ; and that examples of the confusion of и and ѣ betray an Ikavic source: прѣложн (Fol.53b), царѣца (Fol.47b), прѣжти (passim, but it seems possible to take it literally and not as a mistake for приати) and the proper names прѣнамоушѣ (Priamus) and брѣжѣнда (Briseis). Jagić 1868 and Mazon 1935 add to this list жинѣолѣ (Fol.42a) from ѣолѣ инѣинѣ (Primjeri, and Prilozi p.57), and пришеѣлѣ, прижѣа (Fol.42a) from *приѣешѣ (приешѣ in Primjeri and Prilozi p.57), прѣкиѣ (Primjeri, прикиѣ in Prilozi p.58), in which they see transcription from Glagolitic of the Croatian renderings of Ida, Phryges and Phrygia. Mazon suggests that дрѣжеоушѣ (Fol.54b) arose from крѣжеоушѣ (Prilozi p.66, Sofia Fol.246a) (Chryses) by a confusion of the Glagolitic letters † and ѣ; it may, however, simply be a dittography, since it occurs after а and the name appears elsewhere in this passage as рѣжеоушѣ.¹¹ He also points out that the Hungarian, German and Italian loan-words in the Slavonic versions of the Tale might most naturally be expected to have entered from the West. Boissin in turn remarks on the use of отокѣ (Pritcha Fol.42a) in the sense of 'island' as a Serbo-Croat feature, and on ѣонѣикѣ (Pritcha Fol.56a), apparently a corruption of ѣонѣикѣ or ѣонѣикѣ (see Sofia Fol.250b), and suggests that минѣрѣѣ (Pritcha Foll. 52b and 53a) is a Serbo-Croat genitive form. Clearly not all these points are equally cogent; in particular it is hard to tell what words were current with what meanings in one or other dialect at a time for which there is little evidence about dialects. Nevertheless, there is sufficient ground here for all the scholars

11. In fact these two letters are not particularly like each other in Croatian Glagolitic, see Vajs 1932. I owe this observation to Dr. A.E. Pennington.

mentioned to assume that the Pritcha was taken from a Western South Slavonic source, perhaps Croatian Glagolitic.

If this is accepted, then the possibility cannot be excluded that other linguistic characteristics of the Pritcha come from its Croatian source and thus that it is not to be treated uncritically as reliable evidence for fourteenth century popular Bulgarian. Mirchev indeed, in his article of 1968, stresses the unexpectedly limited occurrence of grammatical innovations in the Pritcha. Where syntax is concerned, its comparatively modern, non-literary appearance depends, he says, mainly on the reduction in infinitival constructions, the use of participles as finite verbs, and the analytic formation of the comparative degree of adjectives. In some respects he finds it grammatically conservative in comparison with other sources for Middle Bulgarian: it retains the distinctions of case with but little confusion, it employs the dual often, it has few examples of the adnominal dative which is characteristic of Bulgarian and no certain ones of prepositional phrases introduced by na with genitive or dative function, nor any instances of the postposed definite article; yet the evidence of thirteenth century Bulgarian sources conflicts with all of this except, perhaps, the rarity of genitive na-constructions.¹² But the absence of specifically Bulgarian developments which leads to the appearance of archaism in a fourteenth century Bulgarian MS agrees well enough with the picture presented by fifteenth century Croatian or early sixteenth century Serbian MSS of the Tale of Troy, and, a fortiori, with a hypothetical thirteenth or fourteenth century Western South Slavonic source.

Vasilev 1972, discussing the problem of distinguishing Middle Bulgarian traits in the Pritcha, suggests that only those forms and constructions which cannot be paralleled from the other versions of the Tale

12. See Mirchev 1966, and Mirchev 1963 and Steinke 1968 passim.

are to be considered beyond doubt Bulgarian. The application of this criterion adds a few adverbs and nominal and verbal stems to the list of distinctively Bulgarian features of the Pritcha given on pp.151-52; on the other hand, it eliminates the various apocopated forms, the periphrastic future, the short infinitive and possibly the confusion of the accusative and locative after prepositions of direction and location.¹³ Vasilev also remarks that many of the infinitival constructions which Mirchev regards as constituting a distinctive pattern of usage in the Pritcha are matched in the other versions.

As a matter of principle, therefore, the material of the Pritcha must be compared at least with that of Prilozi and Sofia before any conclusions are drawn from it about Middle Bulgarian. In the following examination of that material (which is tabulated in full, since Mirchev 1968 gives examples of the various types of infinitival construction but does not enumerate the individual constructions or deal in detail with the da-clauses) the comparable usages of Prilozi and Sofia are described in additional tables. The body of examples from Primjeri is not large enough to be tabulated and is simply mentioned in the comments. This method of presentation does not show what constructions correspond to each other in the different versions of one passage, but such correspondences are often not particularly enlightening, e.g.:

iii. и рѣ ѿ менѣлаѣ понти съ нѣ на вонскѣ (Pritcha Fol.48b) - и посла к нему менѣлауш' цар' да иде с ним' париж' на вонску (Prilozi p.61) - и посла к нему ц(а)рь менѣлаушъ говорѣхъ моу ш парижоу ал(е)з(а)нѣ на-
правлѣн се направлѣн се да погѣшь со мноу на вонскоу (Sofia Fol.232a)

Such loosely parallel passages, which are frequent, lend some colour to Ringheim's suggestion that the text of the Tale was handed down at least in part by oral tradition.¹⁴

13. Sofia shares some further morphological peculiarities with the Pritcha which lead Vasilev 1971 to suppose that it may have some basis in North-West Bulgarian.

14. See Ringheim 1951 pp.273-76.

Citations from the Pritchka are taken from Duichev's edition of 1963. The references are given by folia, not page numbers, so that most of them hold good also for the 1966 reprint of I. Bogdan's edition; but in the Vatican MS two folia have been left unnumbered between Fol.56 and Fol.58, and these are here referred to as Fol.57 and Fol.57*, whereas Bogdan numbers the folia in strict sequence and so renumbers those after Fol.57. Prilozi and Sofia are cited from the editions of Jagić 1868 and Ringheim 1951. Primjeri is quoted in my own Cyrillic transcription of Jagić's Glagolitic edition of 1866.

Table I. Verbs governing infinitive or da-clause with identical or distinct subjects

<u>Pritchka</u>	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>Da-clause</u>	
	<u>of verb</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>
ХОТѢТИ	43	43	1?	1	
аросопатед ХОТѢТИ	11	11			
БОЛИТИ	1	2			
НЕДѢИТЕ	1	1			
МОЩИ	13	13			
НАУАТИ	29	31			
ПОВЕЛѢТИ	6		5		2
ПОРЖУИТИ	3		4		
ЗАПОВѢДАТИ	1		1		
ВЪЗЪБРАНѢТИ	1				1
РЕЦИ	9		11		
ГОВОРИТИ	1		1		
ПРОРИЦАТИ	1				1
ПОУСТИТИ	8		2		6
ПОВЕСТИ	1		1		
СЪСТАВИТИ	2		2		
ПОИТИ (ЕДА)	6	4		3	
ПРИТИ	2	1		2	

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>Da-clause</u>	
	<u>of verb</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>
ИЗЪИТИ (давно)	2			2	
ЛЕЩИ	1	1			
ПОКЛАКНЖТИ	1	1			
ДАТИ	3		4		
СМѢТИ	4	4			
МОЛИТИ СЯ	1				1
КЛАТИ СЯ (іако)	2	2			
СЪТВОРИТИ	1				3
ВѢДѢТИ	1				1
ОУМѢТИ	3	3			
<u>Prilozī</u>					
ХОТѢТИ	34	33		1	1
аросоратед хотѣти	6	8			
МОЩИ	20	21			
ПОУЕТИ	8	8			
ЗАУЕТИ	3	3			
ПРИУЕТИ	1	1			
ПОВѢДАТИ	1				1
ЗАПОВѢДАТИ	2		1		1
РЕЩИ	9		7		3
ПРАВЛѢТИ	1				1
ПОСЛАТИ	4		3		1
ИТИ	1	1			
ПОИТИ	2	2			
ПРИТИ	2	1		1	
ПОВѢГАТИ	1			1	
ВСТАТИ ЗА НЕ	1	1			
ГРЕСТИ	1	1			
ИМѢТИ	3	3			

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>Da-clause</u>	
	<u>of verb</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>
ДАТИ	3		3		
СМѢТИ	5	5			
ПРОСИТИ КАКО	2				4
ОБЪЩАТИ	1	2			
УЧИТИ	1		1		
НАУЧИТИ СЕ	1	1			
УЧИНИТИ	4		1		3
НЕ ЧИНИ	1	1			
МНѢТИ	1				1
ПОМЕНѢТИ	1				1
УМѢТИ	3	3			
ВИДѢТИ	1				2
<u>Sofia</u>					
ХОТЕТИ	81	84			
аросоратед ХОТЕТИ	5	5			
ЖЕЛѢТИ	1	1			
ВЪЖДЕЛѢТИ	1	1			
ВОЛИТИ	1	1			
МОЩИ	23	23			
НАУЕТИ	6	6			
ЗАУЕТИ	3	3			
ОУЕТИ	2	2			
ПОВЕЛѢТИ	1		1		
ЗАПОВѢДАТИ	5		5		
РЕШИ	20		16		4
ПРОРЕШИ СЕ	2				2
ГОВОРИТИ	1				1
ПРАВЛѢТИ	1				1
НЕ КАШИ	1	1			

	Occurrence	Infinitive		Da-clause	
	<u>of verb</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>
послати	5		3		2
приставити	1		1		
понти еда	6	6		1	
прити	3	4			
походити	1	1			
ѡстати	1	1			
грести	1	2			
поклєкноути	1	1			
отриноути се	2	2			
имѣти	1	1			
дати	3		3		
подати	1	1			
смѣти	8	8			
соумнѣти се	3	3			
оумсоумнѣти	1	1			
молити еда	2				3
ѡбѣнѣти	1	1			
клети се како	2			2	
наоучити се	2	4			
оуставлѣти	1				1
оучинити	2				2
направити се	1			1	
оставити	1				1
имѣти	1				1
оумѣти	2	2			
видѣти	1				1
слышити	1				1
оузнести се	1			1	

Comments .

Primjeri has eight verbs which take complements of this kind: хотѣти, моуи, поуети, смѣти, понти governing infinitives with the same subjects and реши as a verb of command followed by an infinitive with a different subject.

The queried item in the Table stands for a place in the Pritcha where a form may be taken either as a finite verb or as a shortened infinitive:

i. родит са ѿ жены твоеа снъ, за коего хоуѣ изгорѣти троа грааъ и разоритъ са·и не останеъ камень на камени (Pritcha Fol.43a)

See p.178 on remodelling of the infinitive.

The apocopated form of хотѣти appears in the Pritcha as шж, ше(шь),¹⁵ ше(тъ). From the other versions шү (Primjeri and Prilozi), неш?, тѣше (Prilozi), кю, кѣ, кѣ (Sofia) are treated as apocopated, but not forms such as ошү, хтѣ, х(о)кѣмо. Parallel passages in the Pritcha show that the long and apocopated forms of хотѣти could be used interchangeably, and that the simple perfective present could be substituted for either:

ii. ш александѣ фарижю нинѣ ма любвишь·нж приндеъ врема и оставиши ма·и рѣ ен александръ ш гѣе оннеѡше не хоуж азъ тебе шставити (Pritcha Fol.45b)

iii. и рѣх ти александѣ фарижю·нинѣ ма любвишь а потомъ принде врема како ма хоуеши оставити·и ты са мнѣ клзньше, не шж тебе оставити (Pritcha Fol.52a)

It is possible that хотѣти + да-clause is used with full volitional sense in:

iv. и хотѣхъ да погоубать, ацилееша и ѡрекшеша (Pritcha Fol.54a)

In the places where the past tense of хотѣти takes an infinitival complement, it expresses an action which is on the point of being performed but is immediately frustrated, e.g.:

v. и хотѣше погоубити менелаоуша црѣ и оурекшиша аше не би ѿ прѣгашь

...

15. I. Bogdan 1966 reads зане го не ше[шь] на опатъ доуакатъ (Pritcha Fol. 57a) but the MS has ше. This was pointed out to me by G. Tulloch.

застѣпнѣ (Pritchа Fol.51b-52a)

The distinction is a fine one however, as the intention expressed in iv also fails of achievement. In Prilozi there seems to be no difference in sense between хотѣти with a da-clause and with an infinitive:

vi. али хощешъ да умрѣшъ ти и твои братъ (Prilozi p.62)

vii. с кога хоще погинути троѣ до фундамента (Prilozi p.60)

The table shows that the main group of da-clause complements in the Pritchа is those dependent on поустити and the verbs of motion. The use of the da-clause with поустити allows the object of the main verb to be left implicit:

viii. да поустити да врзгѣтъ сѣна его пѣѣ ора^Мло (Pritchа Fol.49b)

It also permits nice semantic distinctions, as in:

ix. и поустити великыѣ влзныѣ на море да погоубитъ вса корабла грѣцкыѣ до конца (Pritchа Fol.50a)

Here the waves are the mere instrument of destruction, and this is emphasized by giving the same subject to the main verb and to the complement which expresses the intended result.

Some of the clausal complements of verbs of motion, though they are included in this table because they fit the syntactic criterion of identity of subject, may have extra shades of meaning not normally expressed in complementary clauses:

x. и понаѣ съ г^Арами по градѣхъ, еда сѣ тако оутантъ да сѣ не приуас-титъ тронскон крѣви (Pritchа Fol.49b)

xi, та нзыдан п^А троѣ на брань давно би шделѣ (sic) некторю кралю (Pritchа Fol.55a)

These constructions seem to have a more markedly final sense, combined perhaps with a doubt that the goal will actually be attained, than does a simple da-clause with the indicative such as:

xii. да повели нмъ да нзыдаѣ на морскыи отокъ да си възимаѣтъ що е коен драго (Pritchа Fol.53b)¹⁶

16. This passage is missing from I. Bogdan 1966.

Where these verbs take simple da-clauses, however, it is not clear that there is any marked difference in sense from their construction with infinitives:

xiii. и поустнѣша нанѣкша, да нѣ^т ацилеша (Pritchа Fol.53a)

xiv. и поустнѣста пакы оурекшеша искати ацилеша (Pritchа Fol.53a)

xv. азъ нѣсмь пришелъ да слоужѣ на златѣ или висрѣ (Pritchа Fol.48a)

xvi. азъ не принѣ^ѡ слоужити тебѣ злата ради или сребра ни на иномъ добытцѣ·нѣ да видѣ коа нѣ^с усть на твоємъ дворѣ (Pritchа Fol.47a)

These alternations are probably motivated by considerations of style.

The da-clause in xvi may be due to its wide separation from the governing verb; none of the infinitives are separated from verbs of motion by more than a few words.

Sofia, which has only infinitives and an ѣда-clause with a conditional verb after verbs of motion, supplies obvious contrasts to the Pritchа:

xvii. понеже си пошелъ съ братомъ своимъ да нандѣшь у^с а срамотѣ да оставишь (Pritchа Fol.50b)

xviii. кои си пошлъ шерѣсти у^с а срамотоу шставн^т(и) (Sofia Fol. 236b)

xix. и поустнѣста шѣа црѣ ацилешоу брѣженѣ гѣ^а да разговоритъ его (Pritchа Fol.55a)

xx. и посласта шѣа ц(а)ра теоуцера и оурикшиша молн^т(и) анцилеша (Sofia Fol.250a)

The examples of повелѣти with da-clauses are exactly paralleled by others with infinitives.

The constructions of дати with the infinitive noted for Prilozi and Sofia are all ones in which дати has the sense 'to allow, suffer someone to do something' and its indirect object, which stands in the dative, is also the subject of the infinitive, which itself functions as the direct object of its governing verb, e.g.:

xxi. дантѣ ми видѣти (Prilozi p.61)

There are three possible examples in the Pritchа of this syntactic pattern, but in all of them it is more natural to understand the main

verb as 'to give' than as 'to allow', e.g.:

xxii. и дааше емоу ѿ вѣра свож части и пити (Pritcha Fol.57*b)

This should mean 'he gave him (something) to eat and drink from his own supper' rather than 'he let him eat and drink of his own supper'. When the main verb has a noun or pronoun as direct object, the infinitive should perhaps be treated as a final one, e.g.:

xxiii. и да а оурекию повести пѣ трож (Pritcha Fol.51a)

The da-clauses dependent on сѣтворити in the Pritcha and on оучинити in Prilozi and Sofia are placed in Table I even though their subjects do not coincide with the subject, or direct or indirect object of their governing verbs and though they could be interpreted as consecutive clauses. The reason for this is that they seem to complement the verb in the same way as the infinitive does, e.g.:

xxiv. и оучиню те видѣти каи хоше напрѣд бити (Prilozi p.60)

xxv. аще ли са похвалишь, да хошѣ та сѣтворитѣ да та не вѣроуѣтъ (Pritcha Fol.46b)

In Prilozi and Sofia da is used freely to introduce indirect statement after the verbs говорити, правлати, прорещи се, мнѣти, поменѣти, слышити, видѣти and рещи, which also takes da-clauses expressing indirect command. In the Pritcha only two da-clauses convey indirect statement, after вѣдѣти and прорицати, and in each instance da is combined with another conjunction which is used to introduce indirect speech:

xxvi. да вѣси нако ѿ сели да сѣтвори аъз да инь никто тебе не прѣ-
варитѣ ни прѣльститѣ (Pritcha Fol.61a)

xxvii. и научашѣ прорицати о злѣмъ дѣлѣ трож града нако би троа не
стоалъ до врѣмене нѣ да са би разорилъ, въ прѣнамощево врѣмѣ (Pritcha
Fol.46b)

In xxvii the conditional mood makes the prophecy sound more like a threat or promise than a statement of what is to come. See also the comments on Table IV.

In the Pritcha клати са and сѣставити take negated infinitives:

xxviii. и оурекшишъ сѣстави воловы не шрати (Pritcha Fol.49b)

xxix. и покланѣ ацилешъ клати са ѣако не рѣвати трож (Pritcha Fol. 58a)

Negated da-clause complements are found after сѣтворити and вѣзбранѣти.
The other texts have only negated da-clauses, even where the Pritcha has infinitives:

xxx. кльнѣ ^c<е> тебе анцилѣ ^шѣако векѣ да не рѣвоу прѣнамоуша кралѣ
(Sofia Fol. 259a)

Table II. Impersonal constructions with infinitive or da-clause

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
<u>Pritcha</u>	<u>of governing word</u>		
подобно ѣсть	1	1	
драго бѣше	1	1	
нестъ срамота	1	1	
трѣбѣ	2	2	
<u>Prilozi</u>			
пригода се	1	1	
бѣше	1	1	
прореуено бѣ	1		1
достойно е	1	1	
не бѣ драго	1	1	
трѣбѣ	1	1	
<u>Sofia</u>			
могло би	1	2	
дааше се	1	1	
мнитъ се	1		1
е	1	1	
види се	1	1	
подобно ^c ѣ	2	1	1
право ѣ	1	1	

Comments

Primjeri shares two of Prilozi's impersonal constructions: пригода се with the infinitive and прогучено вѣ with two da-clauses, one of them negated. It also has a third construction:

i. да не бѹди каменъ на каменѣ остати

In the Pritcha прзвое and дроугое are taken to be adverbial to the implied verb 'to be' in:

ii. прзвое трѣвѣ довести ацилеша ферлешева сѣна·и дроугое трѣвѣ привести пилоташа петичева сѣна (Pritcha Fol.52b)¹⁷

Compare the parallel place in Prilozi:

iii. нанпрѣи е тревѣ нанти ацѣлиша (Prilozi p.63)

Sofia however has at this point a construction which has to be placed under Table III:

iv. едно притрѣвно ꙗко(т) нанти аныцилѣша пелеоушевѣи (Sofia Fol. 239b)

Table III. Nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs governing infinitive or da-clause

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
<u>Pritcha</u>	<u>of governing word</u>		
	<u>Nouns</u>		
вѣра и клатва	1		2
срокъ	1	1	
	<u>Pronouns</u>		
что	1	1	
се еже	2	2	
то	3		5
	<u>Adjectives</u>		
радъ	2	2	
готовъ	1	1	

17. I follow the word-division in I. Bogdan 1966. Alternatively one could read: прзво е трѣвѣ ... дроуго е трѣвѣ.

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
	<u>of governing word</u>		
ПОДОБЪРЪ	1	2	
	<u>Adverbs</u>		
КАКО	1	1	
<u>Prilozi</u>	<u>Pronouns</u>		
ТО	2	1	1
УА/КАН	2	2	
ТОГАН	1		1
	<u>Adjectives</u>		
БОЛИ	1	1	
<u>Sofia</u>	<u>Nouns</u>		
ЗАПОВѢД (ѣре)	2		2
РОК	1	1	
	<u>Pronouns</u>		
УЕСА	1	1	
ЕДНО	1	1	
	<u>Adjectives</u>		
РАДЪ	3	3	
ГОТОВЪ	1	1	1
БОЛИ	1	1	
<u>Comments</u>			

There are no examples of these constructions in Prāmjeri.

The three categories into which these constructions were divided in Ch.1 D III, p.19, can be discerned here. The first, comparable to the complementation of verbs, is represented by the use of da-clauses with the nouns КЛАТВА and ЗАПОВѢД and infinitives with adjectives. Remarkable among these is the construction of РАДЪ with an infinitive whose subject is not identical with the person to whom the adjective applies:

i. ВЕЛИИ РАДА ЕСМУ СЕМОУ БЫТИ (Pritchā Fol.43b)

This contrasts with the da-clause used in Cosmas's Treatise after РАДЪ,

see Ch.2, p.129, x.

подовръз and боли occur in equivalent passages:

ii. а ты еси поучѣнъ г^ань и подовръз игрецъ играти и веселити сѧ съ г^амми (Pritcha Fol.56a)

iii. а ти си боли в трон танца играти с госпамми (Prilozi p.65 and similarly in Sofia Fol.247a)

Sofia co-ordinates an infinitive and a da-clause after готовъ:

iv. и готовъ ѣсѣмъ принмати моукоу за тебѣ неголи да примоу прѣую сѣмрь (Sofia Fol.231b)

This may help to explain the curious parallel in the Pritcha:

v. готовъ есмъ приѣти мѣкы. нежели длъго мѣумъ вѣдѣ по твоєи лѣпотѣ (Pritcha Fol.48a)

Secondly there are the words which have a grammatical function in the infinitival expression which depends on them, e.g.:

vi. и не имѣхъ ѹто ѡвѣщати оурекшишоу (Pritcha Fol.59b)

The constructions with дати which were discussed under Table I (p.165, xxii and xxiii) could be regarded as similar to vi here.

The third category covers the defining expressions after то, тогда, се and ѣдно. There is some vacillation here:

vii. азъ о сѣмъ веселъ есмъ, нако есѣ самодрѣца. а о сѣмъ нѣсмъ весель. еже наю дружина слоужити намъ (Pritcha Fol.47b)

viii. ка то ест' маненост' оставити трою (Prilozi p.65)

ix. ки е то разум' да вих' ѣ дала мою х'щер' под трож (Prilozi p.62)

The variation of construction in Prilozi is probably explained by the need to use the conditional in ix. The infinitival construction in the Pritcha is more curious, since еже + infinitive is normally held to be a calque on Greek (see Ch.2, p.31), characteristic of literary, not popular usage, and since the subject of the infinitive stands in the nominative, in contrast to i. се is also complemented by еже + infinitive in:

x. како се можетъ быти, еже повести дѣщеръ мож тамо (Pritcha Fol.50b)

By contrast, то is always complemented by a da-clause, e.g.:

xi. ѡ млада того нѣсмъ сѣтворилъ. да спаша витеза погоубла (Pritcha

Fol.57*b)

Two of the da-clauses in the Pritcha which complement to are negated.

Table IV. Other constructions with infinitive or da-clause

	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
<u>Pritcha</u>		
Imperative		18 (1)
Co-ordinative/Consecutive		34 (8)
Final	2	19 (2)
εμε	2	
εαα		1
κακο	1	1
κακο		1
ααβνο		4
<u>Prilozi</u>		
Imperative		2
Co-ordinative/Consecutive		15
Final	1	12
Conditional		3
εαα κακο		1
κακο		2
ζα ηε	1	
<u>Sofia</u>		
Imperative/Absolute	1	13
Co-ordinative/Consecutive		23 (4)
Final	5	26
ερε		1
εαα		5 (1)
κακο		5
<u>Comments</u>		

Primjeri has two examples of co-ordinative/consecutive da-clauses

and two final ones.

The two final infinitives in the Pritcha are not unlike the infinitival constructions with ДАТИ described under Table I (p.165, xxii and xxiii):

i. и СЪБРАВША СИЛНЪ ВОИСКЪ ПОНТИ ПОДЪ ТРОЖ (Pritcha Fol.49a)

ii. и ВЪЗА НАКОУПА ВЪДРО ПОУРЪСТИ ВОДЪ (Pritcha Fol.61b)

In i, ВОИСКЪ could be the subject of ПОНТИ, though it seems more natural to assume identical subjects for СЪБРАВША and the infinitive. In ii, ПОУРЪСТИ might be dependent on ВЪДРО, since this word expresses the implicit instrument with which the action of the infinitive is to be performed.¹⁸

Sofia contains what appears to be an absolute infinitive:

iii. АЛИ Е ПОНТИ А НА ПОНТИ (Sofia Fol.234b)

Ringheim conjectures that КТО governing the infinitive has been omitted.¹⁹

Some of the conjunctions which are included in the table as introducing infinitives or da-clauses, or, in the cases of ЕДА and ДАВНО, as being equivalent in some contexts to da, are also used in other sorts of clause: In the Pritcha НАКО introduces indirect statement. In all three texts КАКО is used as a subordinating conjunction, with or without da, after verbs of speech and perception, and to introduce defining complements of то, and in Prilozi and Sofia it can be a final conjunction followed by a verb in the conditional mood. The conjunctions ЕДА and ЕРЕ also have a variety of functions in Sofia. Da itself appears in a number of different kinds of clauses, above all in Prilozi, where it may introduce the prothesis of conditional sentences. Such multi-purpose use of these conjunctions is not peculiar to the texts of the Tale of Troy, and a full range of parallels from Serbo-Croat can be found in Grickat 1975. It is sometimes difficult, however, given so many possibilities,

18. This was suggested to me by I. Dobrev.

19. See Ringheim 1951 p.46.

to decide which construction is being used in a particular passage.

Some of these difficult places have already been mentioned. Under Table I (p.163, x, xi) it was pointed out that the complements of verbs of motion when introduced by ДАВНО or ЕДА carry a strong connotation of frustrated intention. The same is true of the other three instances of ДАВНО in the Pritcha, which are included among the final clauses in Table IV, e.g.:

iv. и възѧ жена егова сѧа его, и метнѧ прѣ фарига егова ДАВНО Сѧ БИ
ВЪЗВРАТИЛЪ·а он сѧ не хотѣше възвратити (Pritcha Fol.57b-57*a)

See also Table I xxvii, p.165, on the problems of interpreting da-clauses.

Some da-clauses may be taken as either final or co-ordinative, e.g.:

v. приди кѧ мнѣ, ДА ТИ ПОВѢМЪ вѣса танны тронскыѧ (Pritcha Fol.46b)

vi. и поржунста прѣ-амоушоу кралю сзжени тѣло его·и вѣспати вѧ
крзѧгѧ·ДА СТВОРИМЪ гробѧ его на далеунои зѣми (Pritcha Fol.58b)

vii. да поустѧ да възгѧтѧ сѧа его прѣ орало^М·ДА АЩЕ БѧДЕТЪ БѢСЕНЪ, то
прѣорат си щетѧ сѧа (Pritcha Fol.49b)

The da-clauses in v and vi are here understood as final, though they could be taken as co-ordinative or consecutive. The third da-clause in vii is counted as co-ordinative with a strong consecutive sense, on the assumption that a final clause would have perfective present tense verbs and not the periphrastic future forms which appear here.²⁰ Again, while a consecutive interpretation has been preferred here it would be possible to understand as final the da-clauses in:

viii. и наречуѧ нѧа градоу томоу своимъ именемъ ДА М^Ѧ Е нѧа прижѧ
градоѧ (Pritcha Fol.42a)

ix. то именова своимъ именемъ ДА МОУ БѧДЕТЪ нѧа илишнѧ градоѧ (Pritcha
Fol.42b)

The grammatical organization of the formula in which the goddesses make their offers to Paris is similarly vague:

20. This would be comparable to the strict limitation on the tense of verbs of final da-clauses in modern Bulgarian, described by Genadieva-Mutafchieva 1970.

х. присѣди снѣ златѣа аблѣкѣи повѣждѣ мене наплѣпшѣа, областна бо
есмѣ любовнѣа да ти дамѣ добра любовѣа да та любовна имать добрыѣ
гѣаи да ти дамѣ добра гѣа еленѣа (Pritcha Fol.45a)

Here, and in many other places, da is used as a connective whose sense seems imprecise and has to be glossed as 'and, then, so, but', e.g.:

- xi. елено цѣце любови ма да та любѣа (Pritcha Fol.47b)
- xii. аще ли ми не даси да понестѣ шѣа мож главѣа голѣа по тронскыи
знѣдѣи к томоу мене не видиши (Pritcha Fol.56b)
- xiii. а о семѣ нѣсмѣ весельеже наю дружина слоужити намѣа да
блюдѣ са тогоа да не приидѣ уоужѣе добро и възметѣ нашѣа уѣсть и бѣдѣ
томоу велика уѣаа нама велика срамота (Pritcha Fol.47b)

The last passage is also an example of the uncertain scope of da. Usually it is clear which verbs are to be counted within a final or complementary da-clause, but not always, as with the second da-clause here; and after co-ordinative da it is often hard to tell whether a string of predicates linked by и are all governed by the da or whether its force extends only to the first succeeding verb. The same problems are met in the other versions of the Tale.

Table V. Tense and mood of verbs in da-clauses

	<u>Imperative</u>	<u>Co-ordinative/</u> <u>Consecutive</u>	<u>Complementary</u>	<u>Final</u>
<u>Pritcha</u>				
Imperative		7 (8)		
Present	18 (1)	23 (2)	23 (4)	13 (2)
Aorist		3 (4)		
Perfect		1 (1)		
Conditional			3	6
<u>Prilozi</u>				
Imperative		3		
Present	2	6	12 (2)	9
Aorist		3	3	
Perfect			1	

	<u>Imperative</u>	<u>Co-ordinative/</u> <u>Consecutive</u>	<u>Complementary</u>	<u>Final</u>
Future Perfect			1	
Conditional		3	6 (1)	3
<u>Sofia</u>				
Imperative		7 (4)		
Present	13	15	22 (1)	24
Aorist		1	1	
Perfect			2	
Conditional			3 (1)	2
<u>Comments</u>				

The three conditional da-clauses in Prilozi have verbs in the conditional mood. In Primjeri, the two co-ordinated constructions with da have imperative verbs, while the other four da-clauses take the present tense.

In the Pritcha the conditional mood occurs in complements to ВЪЗЪБРАНЪТИ, ПРОРИЦАТИ and ПОИТИ and is always used after ДАВНО, expressing an intention which is not fulfilled.²¹ This is not invariably part of the meaning of the conditional in the Pritcha, for the conditional in indirect statement is used of an event, the fall of Troy, with which the story culminates, see Table I xxvii, p.165. Again, when Ulysses demands, as a rhetorical device, to have the dead Achilles returned to him, the Greek chiefs' reaction is expressed thus:

i. и дашъ ѿ оръжје ахилешево·да имъ не би просилъ ахилеша (Pritcha Foll.59b-60a)

The intention of the da-clause here is realized, for, Achilles's arms once in his possession, Ulysses indeed does not repeat his request for the man.

21. It is true that the aim of one of the ДАВНО-clauses is ultimately achieved, in Briseis's appeal to Achilles, p.163 xi, but not as a result of that appeal.

When an imperative plural coincides formally with a 2nd per. plur. pres. indic., and is preceded by da, it is impossible to tell, unless from context, whether one has to do with co-ordinative da and an imperative or with modal da and the indicative, e.g.:

ii. ДА ПРИСЖАДТЕ МНѢ СНЕ ОРЖНЕ, А НЕ ДАВАНТЕ Е ОУРЕКШОУ НА ПЛѢШНЕВА ГЛАВА (Pritcha Fol.59b)

As the Pritcha frequently uses the periphrastic imperative - ДА ВѢСИ, ДА ВѢСТЕ, ДА ѠВѢСТЬ ЦАРСТВО ТИ - as well as the simple imperative, the distinction is a purely formal one.

Table VI. Infinitives separated from their governing expressions, and da separated from its dependent verbs, by non-enclitic elements

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Separated occurrences</u>
<u>Pritcha</u>	<u>of construction</u>	
Infinitive	155 (12) 1?	58 (1)
Imperative <u>da</u>	18 (1)	4
Co-ordinative/		
Consecutive <u>da</u>	34 (8)	12 (5)
Complementary <u>da</u>	26 (4)	4
Final <u>da</u>	19 (2)	4 (1)
<u>Prilozi</u>		
Infinitive	115 (6)	42 (3)
Imperative <u>da</u>	2	
Co-ordinative/		
Consecutive <u>da</u>	15	8
Complementary <u>da</u>	23 (2)	1
Final <u>da</u>	12	4
Conditional <u>da</u>	3	
<u>Sofia</u>		
Infinitive	205 (9)	96 (1)
Imperative <u>da</u>	13	

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Separated occurrences</u>
	<u>of construction</u>	
Co-ordinative/		
Consecutive <u>da</u>	23 (4)	9
Complementary <u>da</u>	29 (1)	4
Final <u>da</u>	26	7
<u>Comments</u>		

In all three versions the range of elements that may intervene between main verb and infinitive is comprehensive: the subject, direct and indirect objects of the main verb, any of which may also be the subject of the infinitive, the direct and indirect objects of the infinitive, and adverbs and adverbial phrases. Several such elements may occur together; and occasionally interjections may also separate verb and infinitive. Primjeri has five infinitives separated from their governing expressions by similar combinations of elements.

There are a few examples in the Pritcha of mutual dislocation, where the components of a noun phrase are split up and stand in alternating sequence with a main verb and its dependent infinitive:

- i. и не смѣаше ни единъ пристѣпнѣ вѣтезъ к нему (Pritcha Fol.50a)
- ii. то сиквози ѡрѣ роухо носити по тебе (Pritcha Fol.57*а)

Da and its dependent verb may be separated by the subject or object of the verb, by adverbs and adverbial phrases, by subordinate clauses and participles, by the preposed infinitive and by vocative interjections. There are no examples of interrupted da-clauses in Primjeri.

The Pritcha and Sofia have a few instances of an apparently pleonastic da. The two examples of this in the Pritcha are:

- iii. оподши са симъ златымъ меуемъ по оржию своему да егда^А идеш
на рвань, да азъ ѿ тебе не погынѣ а ты ѿ мене (Pritcha Fol.55b)
- iv. и сказа има како има вѣрѣ изломнѣ да аще велита да тѣло его
принесѣ к вама (Pritcha Fol.58a-b)

The second passage, iv, which has its fellow in Sofia, could be taken as

a co-ordinative da - 'and so' - followed by da used as a modal particle in a 1st per. command; and this is how it is tabulated here. In iii, however, there is surely a single final da-clause, complicated by containing an adverbial clause.

The other three interrupted imperative clauses in the Pritchа are:

v. н рѣ нмъ да вы снх долы насзипа до краа снх бо вы шѣщахъ
(Pritchа Fol.46b)

vi. н рѣ емоу ацилешъ, да азъ то створа-да азъ понесх ектора на своєю плещоу въ трохъ (Pritchа Foll.57*b-58a)

I. Bogdan's punctuation of these two passages with a colon before the first da in each suggests that he understands the da-clauses as direct speech, as offers made by the speakers, and this interpretation is followed here. It may be, however, that the constructions should rather be treated as indirect speech introduced by da after рече with a switch to the direct style in the person of the verb. Compare the final clause with a 1st per. plur. verb in Table IV vi, p.172.

Table VII. Verbs governing preposed infinitives

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Preposed infinitives</u>
<u>Pritchа</u>	<u>of construction</u>	
apocopated хотѣти	11	3
<u>Prilozi</u>		
apocopated хотѣти	8	1
моуи	21	1
<u>Sofia</u>		
хотѣти	84	9
<u>Comments</u>		

Primjeri has one example of an infinitive preposed to apocopated хотѣти.

In Prilozi apocopated хотѣти and моуи jointly govern their preposed infinitive.

None of these infinitives is separated from its governing verb by

stressed elements.

Table VIII. Expressions governing apocopated infinitives (without -н)

	<u>Occurrence with</u>	<u>Occurrence with</u>
<u>Pritcha</u>	<u>infinitival constructions</u>	<u>apocopated infinitives</u>
хотѣти	43 1?	1 1?
apocopated хотѣти	11	4
моуи	13	2
<u>Prilozi</u>		
послати	3	3
ити	1	1
понти	2	2
грести	1	1
направлѣти плав'	1	1

Comments

Because of its scribal convention of abbreviating the infinitival ending -ити to -ѣ, Sofia does not distinguish the long from the short infinitive, except in the isolated оулесть governed by моуи (Fol.265a).

Primjeri has no apocopated infinitives.

The three preposed infinitives in the Pritcha are all apocopated.

In view of their occurrence solely after expressions implying movement, the forms in Prilozi which are tabulated here as apocopated infinitives should probably rather be termed supines.

Remodelling of infinitives

One of the infinitives in the Pritcha has been reformed so that its stem is that of the present tense: поурѣсти instead of поурѣсти. Prilozi and Sofia have a few more: отнѣти, пролеѣти, ужгати in the one, ѡнѣти, прѣстаноути, поурѣсти, врькы, шъвълькы in the other. The increase probably reflects the hundred to a hundred and fifty years' difference in date between the writing of the Pritcha and of the other two MSS.

CONCLUSIONS

Even when allowance is made for the disparities in phraseology and in length between Sofia (the longest version), the Pritcha and Prilozi (the shortest of the three), the tables reveal syntactic differences between them which demonstrate yet again the divergencies in the Slavonic tradition of the Tale of Troy. No straightforward comparison can be made of the Pritcha's usage with that of the Serbo-Croat version on which it was based; for Sofia and Prilozi offer two distinct Serbo-Croat traditions, both further removed in time from the original Slavonic translation of the Tale than is the Pritcha itself. Thus one must not only try to identify distinctive Bulgarian traits, but also make surmises, based on fifteenth and sixteenth century Serbo-Croat material, about the syntax of thirteenth or early fourteenth century Western South Slavonic, in order to interpret the tables satisfactorily. In addition, though information is here sought about the development of the spoken Bulgarian language, the three sources which are being compared are all written in a conventionalized literary language (if less highly conventionalized and conservative than that of religious literature) in which the characteristic constructions of speech doubtless appear only sporadically and with some distortion, as Grickat 1975 explains in her first chapter.

The main question is whether da-clauses occur as complements, of verbs or of other parts of speech, more often in the Pritcha than in the Serbo-Croat versions. A gradual spread of da-clauses at the expense of the infinitive has taken place - indeed is still in progress - in Serbo-Croat, but except in the Eastern Serbian dialects it has not been carried as far as in Bulgarian and Macedonian, and in the West there is little sign of it at all (see Ch.1 B II, p.5). Sławski 1958 outlines the process as it is seen in sources of the thirteenth to seventeenth centuries from Dubrovnik, showing that while some attested alternations between infinitive and da-clause go back to Common Slavonic, new ones are found, e.g. after *moći* from the fifteenth century on, whereas in Bosnian

literature of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries such innovations are exceptional.

As there is no doubt that the Bulgarian loss of the infinitive was essentially complete by the early seventeenth century (see Ch.6) if not some time before then (see Chapters 4, 5 and 7), it seems fair to suppose that it started earlier than in most of the Serbo-Croat dialects, especially the Western ones, and in particular that it might manifest itself in a Bulgarian copy of a Croatian text even in the fourteenth century. At first glance the Pritcha seems to bear this out: it contains more da-clauses than Prilozi does, and as many as Sofia, or more, if the da-clauses expressing indirect statement are excluded from the count (x2 in the Pritcha, x8 in Prilozi, x10 in Sofia); and the proportion of da-clauses which may be motivated by the need to distinguish tense or mood in the complement - i.e. to use a perfect, future perfect or conditional verb after da - is lower in the Pritcha (see Table V, pp.173-74). Sławski's findings prompt the hypothesis that the difference between the Pritcha and its thirteenth or fourteenth century source would have been still more marked.

If, however, a more careful comparison is made between the Pritcha and each of the other two texts separately, this conclusion seems less certain. In fact the proportion of infinitival to da-clause complements in the Pritcha differs very little from that in Prilozi: 165 +1? : 30 in the Pritcha, 121 : 25 in Prilozi. It is in Sofia that infinitival complements predominate: 210 of them to 30 da-clauses, that is, about 6.5 : 1 instead of the 5.5 : 1 of the Pritcha and 5 : 1 of Prilozi. If the indirect statements introduced by da in the three texts are subtracted from these totals, the proportions are approximately 6 : 1 in the Pritcha, 7 : 1 in Prilozi and 10.5 : 1 in Sofia. It is surprising to find a higher proportion of infinitival complements in a sixteenth century East Serbian MS than in a fifteenth century Croatian one. The explanation may indeed be that Sofia preserves a more conservative text

than the other versions do.²² Alternatively, though, it may exemplify what Deyanova 1974 finds in a study of Štokavic literature from the thirteenth to the twentieth century: that notwithstanding the general trend towards limitation in the use of the infinitive (as a complement of nouns), between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries an increase can be observed in its occurrence. This was presumably a phenomenon of the literary language; in Sofia it would arise as the result of editing, such as Marinković supposes to have been carried out.

The differences between the Pritcha and Prilozi raise other, less perplexing, problems. In some points they probably reflect differences in the historical development of Bulgarian and Serbo-Croat: the frequency of the conditional mood in da-clauses, which is greatest in Prilozi, is, according to Goľab 1954, a feature which distinguishes Serbo-Croat from Bulgarian, since in the former language da is still a conjunction which admits contrasts of mood in its following verbs, while in the latter one it has in Goľab's view become itself a marker of subjunctive modality. Whether the da-clauses with conditional verbs (arguably all final, see Tables I xi, p.163, IV iv, p.172, V i, p.174) which do occur in the Pritcha are traces of influence from its Serbo-Croat source or reflect an earlier stage in the development of the Bulgarian verbal moods, before the specialization of da, remains an open question. Again, the use of da as a conjunction introducing indirect statement, which at the most generous estimate is rarer in the Pritcha than in either Prilozi or Sofia, is typical rather of Serbo-Croat than of Bulgarian. It is indeed not unknown in Bulgarian, but it is semantically marked in comparison with the normal conjunction ue²³ whereas in Serbo-Croat it is unmarked in opposition to ueto²⁴ according to Grickat 1975, who also

22. See Marinković 1961, Vasilev 1971.

23. See Genadieva-Mutafchieva 1970 pp.37-58.

24. See Grickat 1975 pp.117-34, especially p.130.

adduces some evidence of its early use in this function in Eastern South Slavonic.²⁵ Likewise, da introducing conditional or concessive clauses, though it happens to be found here only in Prilozi, is a usage proper to modern Bulgarian²⁶ and was probably current in the mediaeval period.²⁷ If da in these two functions was replaced by other conjunctions, hako and ame, when the Tale of Troy was taken into Bulgarian literature, this may have been dictated by the norms of the literary language, to which both these conjunctions belonged, and may not tell anything about fourteenth century spoken Bulgarian.

On the other hand, the imperative da-clauses of the Pritcha and Sofia and in particular the 2nd per. periphrastic imperatives are a construction which according to Sedláček 1970 spread from the South-East as a typically Balkan development, another instance of modal da ousting modal distinctions within the verbal conjugation, such as the simple imperatives. Prilozi provides no evidence for or against this conjecture, for it has neither imperative da-clauses of this kind, nor equivalent imperative forms of the verb, but omits the relevant phrases altogether.

Prilozi is also set apart from the other two versions by its use of supines (see Table VIII, p.178). In modern times these are a peculiarity of the Western Slavonic area, of Slovene, Sorbian and, vestigially, Czech.²⁸ The distribution of the apocopated infinitive, formally identical with the supine, in the Pritcha betrays no trace of the supine's use.

The nature of the divergencies between the Pritcha and Prilozi in the use of the da-clause and infinitive, together with the specifically

25. See Grickat 1975 pp.158-71.

26. See Genadieva-Mutafchieva 1970 pp.171-99.

27. See Grickat 1975 pp.205-08 and Mirchev 1963 p.243.

28. See Vaillant 1966 pp.128-29.

Bulgarian modifications singled out by Vasilev 1972, invites the inference that the Bulgarian Pritcha was produced from a Serbo-Croat Tale of Troy mainly by phonological (or orthographical) and morphological adaptation, and that grammatical changes were made only in the rare instances where the grammar of the source text conflicted with the rather conservative norms of fourteenth century Bulgarian Church Slavonic. This hypothesis can explain the unusually correct use of cases in the Pritcha and the absence of indubitably Bulgarian syntactic constructions. Its stumbling-block is the analytic comparative, which is not paralleled in Prilozi and Sofia. Yet this is attested in fourteenth century Bulgarian MSS, and those of a religious character,²⁹ so that it may have seemed to the adaptor who produced the Pritcha (and who was presumably not the same man as the translator of the Manasses Chronicle) proper to the type of literary language used in secular literature.

If all this is so, then the relative distributions of infinitive and da-clause in the Pritcha can be assumed to be consonant with what was allowed in literary Bulgarian of the time, but not to bear any direct relation to their distribution in the spoken language. Yet indirectly they betray development in spoken syntax, since they reveal a change in the more conservative written word from the usage which was established in Ch.2. Some of the da-clause complements of the Pritcha were already found in Old Church Slavonic: with verbs of command, МОЛИТИ, КЛАТВА, ТО. The da-clauses after СЪТВОРИТИ do not necessarily conflict with the traditional infinitival construction with this verb, because their subjects do not coincide with the direct object of СЪТВОРИТИ (see Table I xxv, p.165). What is new is the free use of da-clauses with verbs of motion (including ПОУСТИТИ). Even if the instances with ДАВНО and ЕДА are omitted from the score as final, not complementary

29. See Mirchev 1951.

clauses, (see Table I x, xi, p.163), the Pritcha has eleven da-clauses after verbs of motion, against seven infinitives with the same verbs (поустити, понтн, притн, изыитн) and a further infinitive with повестн. In Prilozi there are only two clear da-clause complements of verbs of motion:

i. пришал' сам' к тебе да ти служу нѣ на златѣ ни на ниед'ном' блатѣ (Prilozi p.61)

ii. и ѣкша тѣлѣмоннша посласта да гре искат' ацѣлиша (Prilozi p.64) (The da-clause after повѣгати has a conditional verb). The common verbs of motion, as has been seen, mostly take the supine. Sofia, for whatever reason, adheres to the traditional infinitival complementation of verbs of motion except in one place where it has a clause introduced by ѣда with a conditional verb after понтн, and:

iii. и посла ц(а)рь оурикшиша оузопѣть оу грѣке клитемищри ц(а)р(н)ци да привѣ(ѣ)тъ хитѣрь агаменона ц(а)ра (Sofia Fol.236b and similarly Fol.263b)

The other innovation is the use of a da-clause after хотѣти without a change of subject. It is paralleled in Prilozi, but if the assumptions made above about the way in which the Pritcha's source was adapted are correct, it cannot have been repugnant to Bulgarian written norms and presumably still less so to the spoken language. In the comments to Table I iv, p.162, it was suggested that the construction may be employed to make a grammatical and semantic distinction, between хотѣти as a full verb meaning 'to want' and as the future auxiliary, but this, though it may motivate, does not make less radical a change by which the da-clause could stand in a construction from which it had previously been normally excluded.

The Pritcha is isolated in Bulgarian literature. The few other secular narratives extant in MSS of Bulgarian redaction, the Tales of Alexander and of Aesop,³⁰ are thought to derive entirely from Greek

30. Published in Syrku 1884.

sources and are written in a Bulgarian Church Slavonic which lacks the modernistic peculiarities of the Pritchka. In the absence of a body of comparable material, and of detailed information about the development of Bulgarian Church Slavonic syntax, the Pritchka can be used as a source for the history of the Bulgarian language, literary or colloquial, only with the greatest caution.

CHAPTER 4 : THE STATE DOCUMENTS OF BULGARIA AND WALLACHIA

THE BULGARIAN CHARTERS

The vicissitudes of Bulgarian history have spared but a handful of mediaeval state documents.¹ Among them are seven written in a variety of literary Middle Bulgarian. These date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and are charters, either establishing or confirming the rights of monasteries to certain lands, or permitting the merchants of certain foreign cities to trade freely in Bulgaria:

i. The charter of Ioann Asen II (1218-1241) to the Vatopedi monastery on Mt. Athos. This charter (here known as Vatopedi) is undated, but is assumed to have been written soon after 1230 when Ioann Asen's victory at Klokotnitsa over Theodore Comnenus extended Bulgarian rule across the Balkans, from the Adriatic coast to South-East Thrace and Thessaly, including Mt. Athos.² Ioann Asen subscribes himself as ruler of the Bulgarians and the Greeks in this charter and in Dubrovnik, see ii.

ii. The charter of Ioann Asen II to the city of Dubrovnik, granting its merchants freedom to trade anywhere in his realm (Dubrovnik). The same arguments apply to the dating of this charter as to Vatopedi.

iii. The charter of Konstantin Asen (1258-1277) to the monastery of St. George at Virgino,³ undated (Virgino).

iv. The charter of Ioann Alexander (1331-1371) to the Zographou monastery on Mt. Athos, dated March 1342 (Zographou).

v. The charter of Ioann Alexander to the monastery of St. Nicolas at Orekhovo, dated 1 December 1347 (Orekhovo).

1. See Duichev 1943 Introduction, especially pp. ix-xxviii.

2. See Zlatarski 1972 pp.340-42.

3. See Ivanov 1970 pp.579-80 for the demonstration that this, not Virpino as in Il'insky 1970, is the correct form of the place name.

vi. The charter of Ioann Shishman (1371-1392) to the Rila monastery, dated September 1378 (Rila).

vii. The charter of Ioann Shishman to the monastery of the Mother of God on Vitosha, undated but presumably written before the Turks took Sofia in 1382 (Vitosha).

The first of these is published by Lascaris 1930 and the other six by Il'insky 1970 and by Ivanov 1970, who makes minor emendations which are not relevant to the present study. Il'insky and Ivanov also print the charter of Ioann Stratsimir to the burghers of Braşov, but this is omitted from consideration here, because its language betrays heavy Serbo-Croat influence. The same applies to the treaty between Mikhail Asen and the city of Dubrovnik which is appended to Il'insky's edition. Quotations are taken from Lascaris and Il'insky.

The charters reveal a profound Byzantine influence on Bulgaria in the Second Empire, which appears to have continued the administrative and fiscal system imposed during the preceding two centuries of Greek rule.⁴ Many of the terms denoting state officials and taxes in the charters are loans from Greek, and most of the others have obvious equivalents in Byzantine usage, as can be seen in the commentaries on the texts in Duichev 1943. Religious terminology is as usual directly or indirectly derived from Greek.

They also betray a more pervasive influence of Greek on mediaeval Bulgarian, signalled by loan-words which are not technical terms but every-day expressions: κλησούρα (Dubrovnik 8, 10) - κλεισούρα, ληβαλα (Virgino passim) - λεβάδιον, παναγηνρ (Virgino 16, 30) - πανηγύρις, αρομ (Virgino 20) - δόμος, σηνορ (Virgino passim) - σύνορον, ζεβгарь (Rila 62) - ζεугάριον, χωρα (Dubrovnik passim) - χώρα, and ανεπсен (Zographou 39, 59) - ἀνεψιός, though it may be used only to apply to the

⁴. See Angelov 1959.

Byzantine Emperor.⁵ To these may be added words whose spelling shows that they entered Bulgarian from spoken Greek: κομααζ (Virgino 101, Orekhovo 31) - οικδομoδoν, περζπερα or περζπερζ (Virgino 88, 93, Zographou 57, 65, 49); ^{υπερπυρρον} Greek verbs which have been adapted to Bulgarian morphological patterns: енгарепсати (Virgino 104, Orekhovo 33, Rila 63) - αγγάρ-εφα, μετεχати (Virgino *passim*, Vitosha 5, 7) - μετέχω, perhaps πατηти (Dubrovnik 12) - επαθα;⁶ and the use of the Greek preposition παρά (Virgino 86) apparently as an equivalent to прѣз (Dubrovnik 11). The Greek place-names which occur among Slavonic ones in Virgino likewise suggest a widespread use of Greek at some date: καταφηγζ (Virgino 46) - καταφύγιον, κσιλοπηγαζ (Virgino 21) - *ξυλοπηγάδιον.

In their form, too, the Bulgarian charters are dependent on Greek models. Lascaris 1931 points out that the material appearance, organization of content and formulaic expressions of the Bulgarian chancery documents reproduce Byzantine diplomatic conventions of the same period, with only slight traces of Western influence, e.g. in the manner of dating. It does not appear that any of the seven charters under consideration is actually a translation, though it is conceivable that there was also a Greek version of Zographou, which involved negotiation with the Byzantine Emperor; but their usefulness as a source for the Bulgarian language of their time is clearly limited, not only by the narrow syntactic scope and formulaic character of the language of legal documents, but also by the circumstance that the original model for that language was a foreign one.

The charters differ in date, local provenance, length, style and content. Vitosha may be separated from Vatopedi and Dubrovnik by more

5. All these words are still commonly used in modern Bulgarian, see Filipova-Bairova 1969.

6. This word, which also occurs in the Wallachian documents, is sometimes derived from Balkan Latin patiri, see e.g. Djamo-Diaconiță 1971, compare Roumanian a păți.

than a hundred and forty years. It may be, moreover, that parts of the wording especially of Virgino and Orekhovo have been taken from pre-existing charters to which reference is made in these documents (for the practice of duplicating the wording of a charter in copies made to confirm it, see below on the Wallachian charters, p.205). On palaeographical, orthographical and linguistic grounds Il'insky suggests that Virgino and Rila were written by scribes from a West Bulgarian school, influenced by Serbian;⁷ it may not be merely coincidental that the monasteries in whose favour these two charters were made were both situated in Western Bulgaria. Il'insky also tentatively connects Dubrovnik with Macedonian scribal traditions.⁸ The other four charters lack definite local traits. Virgino, the longest, extends to a hundred and fourteen lines, while the shortest, Dubrovnik, is only thirteen lines long. As can be seen from the list on p.186, only one of the charters, Dubrovnik, deals with trading rights. The other six either grant specified lands to certain monasteries and exemption from taxes and duties to which the people on those lands would normally be liable, or else reiterate and confirm grants and exemptions already made. On the whole the difference in subject-matter is mirrored by differences in style and presentation: the charters concerned with monasteries usually start with a more or less elaborate introduction, in which the general considerations of piety are adduced (the arenga)⁹ and the particular occasion stated (the narratio)⁹ which gave rise to the provisions of the charter; terms of respect are repeatedly used to refer to the monastery which is to benefit from the charter; and at the end there is a section threatening anyone who infringes the terms of the charter with the so-called poena spiritualis,⁹ God's curse and condemnation on the Day of Judgement, excommunication,

7. See Il'insky 1970 pp.52-55, 86-87.

8. See Il'insky 1970 pp.54, 86.

9. See D.P. Bogdan 1938 for these terms.

the lot of Judas. The first features, the arenga and narratio, are absent from the commercial charter, the second, the use of honorifics, is less marked - partly because the document itself is shorter - and the third is replaced by the briefer poena temporalis which promises royal displeasure. However, Lascaris 1931 points out that the earliest monastic charter, Vatopedi, conforms to the pattern of the commercial charter; and the penalties provided in Virgino combine the spiritual - God's curse - with the temporal - fines of money.

Nevertheless, as the seven charters have much in common that is of interest for the present study, and as some of them are rather short to be taken on their own, in the tables that follow they will be treated as a single corpus. Features which seem distinctive in one or other charter will be noted, and so will doubtful readings in Vatopedi and Virgino, which have suffered damage and can only be read with difficulty and some conjecture.

Table I. Verbs governing infinitive or da-clause with identical or distinct subjects

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>Dá-clause</u>	
	<u>of verb</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>
ХОТѢТИ	3	4			
аросопатед ХОТѢТИ	1	1			
НЗВОЛИТИ	1	1			
БЛАГОМЗВОЛИТИ	4	4			
НАУАТИ	2	2			
ПОВЕЛѢТИ	1		2		
ЗАПОВЕЛѢВАТИ	1		3		
БРАНИТИ	1		1		
ПОСЪЛАТИ	2		4		
ВЪЛѢСТИ	1 2?	3 6?			
ВЪЛАЗИТИ	1	1			

	<u>Occurrence</u>		<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>Da-clause</u>	
	<u>of verb</u>		<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>
имѣти	5	2?	6	15?		
смѣти	6		10	2?		
сподобити сѧ		2?	2?			
молити	1			5		
пооучити сѧ	1		3			
поревновати	1		2			
обрѣсти сѧ	1		1	1?		
метехати	4		8			

Comments

The queried figures in the table stand for conjectural readings and doubtful interpretations.

а) Conjectures

i. великѧ шр҃гнѧ <имѧе патити ѿ цр҃кви> (Vatopedi 23-24)

This is Lascaris's conjecture on the strength of the parallel passage at the end of Dubrovník.

ii. а ѿ работникѧ цр҃кви посилаемоу по всѧ врѣмена по хорѧ и по град-
овѧхъ бранѧ въспрѣмати что да не вѣлазѧ ни забавлѧѧ ни пакостеть мет-
(охоми) ни селомъ ни людемъ ст҃аго геѡргиѧ ни...имѧ по хорѧ цр҃кви ни
сѣвастъ ни дѡка ни кастрофилакъ ни прахторѧ [...] ни трѣ(в)нинѧ ни слонов-
шинѧ ни комада ни м(ит)ати ни кошар'шинѧ [...] ни грѧ знати ни бл҃гости
и ни темница бл҃гости ни шрати ни кшпати виногрѧ ни сѣно косити ни жати
и цр҃инѧ възати улѣкѡ ст҃аго геѡргиѧ ни на кшемъ трѣгѡ ни дѧвото възати
ни мостнинѧ ни улѣка гареѡати ни кшнѣ ни вола ни шла (Virgino 97-104)

According to Il'insky¹⁰ имѧ is a very uncertain reading and the series of infinitives may rather be injunctions, parallel to the da-clause.

iii. аще ли се кто шврѣщеть ѡхоищренемъ дѧволоимъ прѣстѡпѧ сѧ
повелѧна и попр(ати с)его хрисѡвѡла тѡмѡ да естъ сѧпер бѣ (Virgino
107-08)

б) Doubtful constructions

i. аще кто вълѣзе на метохиѧ ст҃аго геѡргиѧ ѡ конемъ либо селѣ безъ

10. See Il'insky 1970 p.20, Fn. on line 98.

архидаритова въпрошениѣ·или въ планиноі·или пашища·или въ забѣлж·или въ ловища роіѣна или звѣрна·или лѣсь и дрѣво ѡсѣши въ црков'нишѣ брьдѣ или водѣницѣ поставити на црковнои водѣ·коѣа тече ѿ црковна извода·или конен пасти на црковнои земли·или водѣ повѣе прѣз црквенѣж землиж·или нивѣ пошравѣ безъ игѡменова блвениѣа (*Virgino* 88-92)

Here the infinitives can be taken as depending on вълѣзе, though the construction changes unaccountably to a finite verb and then to a past participle, so that the connexion with the main verb would seem not to have been strongly felt at a distance. Earlier in the same document, however, вълѣсти is itself governed by another verb and the following infinitives may depend on either of the two:

ii. никштори влѣлецѣ цркви ни влѣл'ци гвѣрѣши по црствѣ ми·да не·има вълѣсти въ село рѣуици·ни сѣдѣти ни свѣзати·ни глобѣ възати·ни^и дохокѣ възати (*Virgino* 42-43)

There is a similar passage in *Rila*:

iii. никто ѿ таковыѣ да не смѣеть насиліѡ вълѣсти въ села·и въ люди·того монастырѣ цртва ми стго шца·насиліѡ хлѣба възати·ни коуѣта оуѣти·ни ногоѡ вѣхма стати на дворѣ ихъ (*Rila* 64-66)

The infinitives are surely to be understood as all dependent on смѣеть, given the repetition of насиліѡ and the semantic implausibility of making the last infinitival expression depend on вълѣсти.

Both the examples of сподобити са as a personal verb with a dependent infinitive are doubtful. They occur in *Zographou*:

iv. искаѣж бѡ таковое село и црне бывши прѣжде насъ и краліе и подаваѣж и много тысаща·и не сподобившѣ са поѣтиѣ (*Zographou* 30-32)

The last word in this passage could be divided up as the infinitive and the neuter sing. acc. pronoun referring to село, but the scribe himself probably thought of поѣтиѣ as a noun, since he uses и, not ѣ, at the end of infinitives.

v. и понеже таковомоу и издавна желаемому и доброумоу прошеніюу сподоби са примати цртво и (*Zographou* 52)

However this is interpreted, the syntax seems confused. If the subject of сподоби са is цртво и, one might expect прошеніюу to be in the

accusative, as the object of приати; if the construction is impersonal, цѣтво ѿ might have appeared in the dative, as the subject of приати, or, if са were to be taken with both сподоби and приати with прошеніюу as their common subject, then цѣтво ѿ might have been put in the instrumental case as the agent (see also under Tables. II i, p.194, IV-iv, p.198).

c) Other comments

Zographou displays some inconsistency over the case in which the subject of reflexive infinitives with passive sense is placed:

i. и тыѣ повелѣ ѿсѣши са и не взимати са ни до единого уаты (Zographou 50-51)

Here the subject of the infinitive, тыѣ, is in the accusative. (In Old Church Slavonic the infinitives might well have been active with тыѣ as their object and an implicit indefinite subject, see Ch.2 Introduction I C, pp.38-39.) Contrast:

ii. и заповелѣвати цѣтво ми имѣти и обздржати явленношмоу монастырю цѣтва ми реуенное селш. хантакз. бес крамолы весма непотзкновенно и непоколѣлемо и нешмлемо. сз възсѣкымз прилежаніемз и прибыткомз его. реще же и не задѣвати са стажаннишмз того възсечестнаго монастырѣ за по- дааніе. реуенныимз патъдесатимз перпирѣмз (Zographou 54-58)

The subject of задѣвати са, стажаннишмз, stands in the dative although the sense seems to be similar to that of the previous example, a command to unspecified persons not to meddle with the things which appear as the subject of the infinitives. Perhaps in ii the construction with стажаннишмз echoes the preceding infinitival expression, in which the dative subject явленношмоу монастырю may also function as indirect object of заповелѣвати. These two passages contain the only examples of negated complementary infinitives.

The two instances of послати are past participles passive and the persons whom they qualify are the subjects of the dependent infinitives:

iii. а ѿ всѣхз болѣрз и работникз цѣва ми. малынх же и великыѣ. посилаемыхз. по всѣ врѣмена по всеи хорѣ. възсприемати дани. и сздржати възсѣкыѣ работы цѣва ми (Orekhovo 26-28 and similarly in Virgino, see a ii)

The one occurrence of apocopated хотѣти is in the sanctio of Dubrovnik:

iv. и милости не ще ⟨н⟩мѣти ⟨н⟩ж велик⟨ж⟩ ⟨н⟩мае шргнж патити ѿ црѣми (Dubrovnik 12)

It is interesting to observe that there are some examples of what Sandfeld 1930, and following him Kazazis 1965, singles out as a characteristic Balkan construction, the use of co-ordination rather than subordination of one verb to another, e.g.:

v. кого изволитъ гѣ бѣ црѣ вѣуныи и посадитъ на прѣстолѣ моемь (Rila 94-95)

vi. да не поуѣнтсѧ и пометнетъ ни порѣшитъ сѧи бѣгошебразныи. хрѣсту-вѣлѣ црѣва ми (Orekhovo 43)

One may compare with this:

vii. да не поуѣнтсѧ оуати уто или пороушити и попрати сиково даро-ваніе црѣва ми (Rila 97-98)

Table II. Impersonal constructions with infinitive or da-clause

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
	<u>of governing word</u>		
достонѣтъ	1	2	
сподоби сѧ	1?	1?	
лѣпо есть	2	2	
бѣгоуѣно есть	1	1	

Comments

The uncertain instance of сподоби сѧ as an impersonal verb with an infinitive has been discussed under Table I b v, p.192.

It seems best to take the last two infinitives in the following passage as dependent on достонѣтъ:

i. и ѡзрѣвши црѣво ми и поревноуѧ сѧмъ и хотѧ приложити сѧмъ и покра-сити уѣстѣ достоннѧ бѣгодарениемъ сѧврзшити хотѧ накоже достонѣтъ про-свѣтити црѣво ми и направити кожедо мѣсто и кож либо црѣковъ (Orekhovo 13-15)

Duichev 1943, in his modern Bulgarian translation of the charters, treats

these two infinitives as final in sense and НАКОЖЕ ДОСТОИТЪ as an interposed comment.¹¹ He apparently takes ЦРВО МН to be the object of ПРОСВѢТИТИ and this would be an attractive interpretation were it not that in other places the subject of an infinitive can be found in the nominative or accusative and not in the dative which the first two impersonal expressions in the table take. If the two infinitives in i are regarded as dependent on ДОСТОИТЪ, ЦРВО МН may be either the subject or the object of ПРОСВѢТИТИ; and the general sense of НАПРАВИТИ.КОЕЖДО МѢСТО.И КОЖАМБО ЦРКОВЪ - 'to adorn each place and every/any church' - is more consistent with the statement of a general principle than of a particular aim.

Table III. Nouns, pronouns and adverbs governing infinitive or da-clause

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
	<u>of governing word</u>		
	<u>Nouns</u>		
ВЛАСТЬ	1	8	
ШВЛАСТЬ ЕЖЕ	2	6	
ШРИЗМО	1		3 (3) 1 (8)?
МАНОВЕННЕ ЕЖЕ	1	1	
	<u>Pronouns</u>		
СЕ	1	1	
УТО ЕЖЕ	2	4	
	<u>Adverbs and adverbial phrases</u>		
КАКО И КОЕЖ			
ВЕЩИЖ ЛИ ДѢЛОМЪ	1	2	

Comments

The first two items in the table take infinitival complements of the first type mentioned in Ch.1 C III, p.19, comparable to the

11. See Duichev 1943 p.131.

complements of verbs in Table I. All the other infinitives tabulated here are of the second or, mostly, of the third, defining, kind, and occur in the arengae or narrationes of the monastic charters, where the choice of words is normally ornate and the syntax elaborate:

i. нѣ та възсѣ.ни въз уѣоже възмѣнѣахъ сѧ црѣтвоу ми,противѧ и како имѧаше желаніе и попуеніе и ревноваше зѣлѡ днѣ и нощѣ промышлѣхъ како и коеж вещь ли дѣломъ изъшѡбрѣсти и подати томоу възсѣуестношмоу дшмоу стѣго и славнаго великшмъченика и побѣдоносца георгіа,достоеніе нѣкое.недвижи-мо и неѡемлемо (Zographou 24-28)

ii. елма оубо быстѣ мановеніе бѧ шѣа и гѧ нашего иссоу хрїста.ходо-танствомъ сѧщыѧ и истиньныѧ прѣуистыѧ и прѣблѣгословеныѧ влѣуцѧ и бгѡ-родителницѧ,на стѣи горѣ адшнстѣи еже быти въз неи пристанище спсѣенноу възсѣкон дшн хрїстиан'стѣи паѣе же православнѣи.и сѣ оусрѣднемъ прѣбѣга-хшои въз неи (Zographou 1-4)

iii. се ѡбо нѣ бѣолюбнѧ дѣло брѣгъщере.скровища оі иманиѧ даати нѣ стоимъ и бѣвѣноимъ црѣквѧмъ (Virgino 1-2)

iv. бѣгоуѣстив'но у'то.и сѣло бѣооугодно.и всѣми похвално.еже нѣ стымъ.и бѣтвнымъ црѣквѧмъ.теплѧ любовѣ имати.израдно оукрасити.даром'же и повелѣниемъ црѣкымъ (Orekhevo 1-2 and similarly Rila 1-3)

Dubrovnik starts:

v. дава црѣмн:ѡризмѡ си:хѡрѣ всен дѣбровнишсѣѣи.любовнѣи^и:<н> <в>се-вѣрнѣимъ гѡ<стѣмъ> црѣмн:да ѣадѡ хѡдаѣтѣ пѡ всен хѡрѣ црѣмн(Dubrovnik 1-2)

The provisions which follow can be taken as da-clauses dependent on ѡризмѡ; but there are difficulties, both in the general grammatical interpretation of da-clauses, and in the analysis of these particular ones, which will be discussed under Tables IV, p.197, and VI ii, p.200.

Table IV. Other constructions with infinitive or da-clause

	<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>Da-clause</u>	
Imperative			14	1?
Imperative/Final	1	10?	67 (8)	1?
Final	3		2	1 (1)?
еже	6 (9)			

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
понеже	2
ѣко	1(1)?
развѣ	3

Comments

a) Conjectures

The possible imperative infinitives have been quoted under Table I a ii, p.191. The other places where readings have to be completed by conjecture are:

i. да не сѣди никши владѣцъ по дръжава црѣва ми·ни да подав ... зѣ ...
ни·на лю^а стаго геѡргиѣ (Virgino 75-76) - подаваетъ?

ii. и да ... проклѣ^т трьклѣ^т ѿ гѣ бѣ вседръжит^т(ел)ѣ (Virgino 110) -
есть or бждетъ?

iii. <блг>шизвѣл(и црѣ м)и даршват(и стѣмѣ мшнастрою прѣ)стѣи ж брѣи
еж(е вѣ с)тѣи гѡрѣ нарицаемзи(ж ватшпедскыи с)елш нарицаемше:с(е)малто.
лежжее <в>ѣ стра(нѣ сѣрстѣи ѣкш) с(е) селш с людами и съ всѣми мѣ прави
нами и ст(аси и прилежаннемъ и прие)зѣткш(м)ѣ·да дрѣжзѣть и шбладает(ѣ)
у(естныи т)ш(и) м(шнѣс)тирѣ(Vatopedi 1-6)

b) Other comments

The category Imperative/Final reflects the frequent syntactic indeterminacy which is characteristic of the central sections of these texts. It may seem surprising that the language of legal documents should regularly admit more than one interpretation; in fact the indeterminacy can arise precisely because of the limited content, the legal nature of the charters. Their main purpose is to set forth certain decrees about what is or is not to be done, and it is immaterial to their application whether the clauses, or occasionally infinitives, which express them are taken as dependent on the initial formula, such as дава црѣм:шризмш си (Dubrovnik 1) or прашаѣ и освобажаетъ црѣтво ми (Rila 51), or as independent imperatives. It is indeed conceivable that the da-clauses which stand soon after the announcement of the decree would have been felt to be governed by it, while those which come later in the

text - Virgino, for example, has nearly thirty such clauses spread over about a hundred lines - would have been taken as imperatives. The distinction is particularly fine in the short formulae of penalties in Virgino, where a 3rd per. imperative is followed by a da-clause:

i. БЖДИ НА НЕМЪ КЛАТВА БЖИНА·И СТОИ^Х ПРАВОВЪР'НОИ^Х ЦРЕН·И ДА ПЛАТИ АНМОСИ^Н·Д·ЗЛАТИЦЬ (Virgino 78-79 and similarly but without БЖДИ 92-93)

These two da-clauses are counted here as imperatives, since they are conjoined with obviously imperative expressions, but this may not be sufficient ground for treating them as different from the prescriptive da-clauses which precede and follow them. Again, only context serves to distinguish the **probable imperative** da-clause at the end of Dubrovnik from the **series** of clauses which complement уризуу:

ii. КТУ ЛИ НМЪ СПАКШТИ:У <ш>УМ ЛИБУ[...]ТУ ДА Е ВЪСТЪ:ТУИ Е ПРШТИВ-НИК(Ъ) <ц>^СРМИ (Dubrovnik 10-11)

The other simple imperative da-clauses in the table all occur in the poena spiritualis, where they are unambiguous, since a human prince may appeal for, but not command, the damnation of transgressors.

Unmistakably final clauses are rare in these texts. One is found in the passage introduced by conjectural ѣко in Vatopedi, see a iii above. The other two are specially marked by понеже:

iii. то вса да дръж^Т стѡи гев^Ргнє горгос и побѣдоносець·и въ нѣ на-сто^Тящи^Си ѹтнои архимадр^Ти шб'навленигемъ сегш ХРИСШВѢЛШ понеже да го нм^Т цр^Сми ходатаг^А и помощника·въ всако^Х напастѣ и ратехъ (Virgino 95-96 and similarly in Zographou 66-70)

There is at least one place in which a simple infinitive is used equivalently to da-clauses:

iv. и да обладау^Тжтъ и шбздръжатъ прѣподобнии иншци еже въ оградѣ стѡго и славнаго великшмжчєнника и побѣдоносца гев^Рг^Аи.нѣ реуєнныимъ сєлшмъ бес крамолы вєсма непотъзовєно и незыблемо, сз в^Ссѣмъ прилежъни^Аємъ и прибыткомъ его·обаує ни задѣвати кто стажанишмъ того в^Ссєуєстнаго монастирѣ за подданнє патъдєсатимъ перпирѣмъ (Zographou 61-65)

If нм^Т is incorrect in Table I a ii, p.191, the number of examples is considerably greater. It may be that the infinitives which stand after

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Separated occurrence</u>
	<u>of construction</u>	
Imperative/		
Final <u>da</u>	67 (8) 1?	2
Final <u>da</u>	2 1 (1)?	
<u>Comments</u>		

Infinitives may be separated from their governing expressions by the subject of the main verb, the subject of the infinitive, the direct object of the infinitive and by adverbs and adverbial phrases modifying the main verb or the infinitive.

The two interrupted imperative or final da-clauses are parallel ones in Rila and Vitosha:

i. нѣ възѣ да ѿгонѣмъ бываѣ^т,и да ѿстоѣтъ далече ꙗвлениѣмъ сего златопечатѣннаго слова цѣтва ми (Rila 66-68 and similarly Vitosha 15)

The number and syntax of the complementary clauses in Dubrovnik is regulated by the precise meaning attached to certain words:

ii. ѡризѡмъ[...] да ꙗдо хѡдѣтъ по всеи хѡрѣ цѣмъ:с кѣпѣхъ какѣхъ <ли>ѡ: или нѡсѣ^т:или же нѣ или кѣпѣхъ какѣхъ лиѡ нѡсѣ^т:и да кѡѣ лиѡ земѣ или хѡрѣ. а ѡнаѣ^т[...]или в земѣ арбанаскѣхъ:или в сѡлѣнѣ:наѣтъ:поѡсѣ^т:да си кѣпѣхъ:и прѡдаѡѣтъ:сѡсѣ^т:ѡсѣ^т всѣхъ пакѡсти ... (Dubrovnik 1-8)

Duichev's translation, which omits ꙗдо, reads as if the first da introduced a clause parallel to the second one and какѣхъ <ли>ѡ, кѡѣ лиѡ meant 'any'; but if the adverb and adjectives were to be taken rather as 'wherever', 'whatever', the first da would be anticipatory and everything between it and the second da would be a series of adverbial clauses summed up by поѡсѣ^т immediately before the da-clause proper.¹²

Table VII. Verbs governing preposed infinitives

The infinitive is preposed to its governing verb only once:

i. и хѡта приложити сѣмъ.и покрасити ѹзѣтъ достоинѣхъ.ѡблѣгодарениѣмъ

12 See Duichev 1943 p.43.

СЪВРЪШИТИ ХОТА (Orekhovo 13-14)

This example occurs in the elevated introduction to the charter and is preceded by another participial expression in which infinitives stand after ХОТА, so that the preposing of СЪВРЪШИТИ is probably due to a wish for variety.

Remodelling of infinitives

With the exception of ВЪСПРИЕМАТИ, which however is found in Old Church Slavonic MSS,¹³ there are no examples of infinitives reformed on present stems in the Bulgarian charters. There are of course new infinitives of verbs borrowed from Greek (see p.188). There are also apparently no apocopated infinitives.

THE WALLACHIAN DOCUMENTSIntroduction

During the later Middle Ages the official literary language, ecclesiastical and civil, used in large parts of what is now Roumania, was Slavonic. In the North-Eastern area, Moldavia, it was based on East Slavonic usage; in the South, Wallachia, on the Northern bank of the Danube, its norms were derived from Bulgarian and, as time went on, from Serbian. Wallachian state documents written in Slavonic are extant from the later fourteenth century onwards.

The vocabulary and toponymy of Roumanian show plainly that it was considerably influenced by a type of Slavonic closely akin to Bulgarian.¹⁴ The earliest loan-words, which are characterized by such ancient features as retention of nasal vowels and unmetathesized liquids, probably date back to the pre-literary period in the second half of the first millenium A.D. and indicate that during and after the Slav expansion Southwards

13. See the Lexicon Linguae Palaeoslovenicae under приимати.

14. See Densușianu 1901 Ch.5.

there were settlements of Slavonic speakers to the North of the Danube. It is not known how long such settlements may have persisted - very little is known at all about the inhabitants of the Transdanubian area before the fourteenth century - and layers of later borrowing from Slavonic languages indicate continued contact between Slavs and Romance speakers; but it is generally held by Roumanian scholars¹⁵ that Slavonic ceased to be widely spoken there by the thirteenth century. Descriptions of this region from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries testify to the Romance character of the language commonly spoken there.¹⁶

This should mean that by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the variety of Slavonic used in the Wallachian chancery was essentially a literary language, preserved by tradition and no more the vehicle of every-day intercourse than was Latin at the same time in Poland or Hungary. At most it would be conceivable that a number of the scribes themselves were of Slavonic origin, perhaps refugees from the advance of the Turks through the Balkans.¹⁷ There is however no firm evidence for this in the earlier documents, which rather give the impression that the diplomatic usages of Wallachia, well established by the later fourteenth century, were formed to some extent independently of Bulgarian influence, since they include Western as well as Byzantine features.¹⁸ Thus Roumanian studies of the language of fourteenth and fifteenth century Wallachian documents regard it not as a reflection of any living, contemporary usages but as a traditional book-tongue, based on Bulgarian of an earlier date, increasingly contaminated by Serbian norms, and subject to

15. See, for example, Pătruț 1971.

16. See Jireček 1897, pp. 601-02.

17. Stancheva-Daskalova 1966 suggests that the documents of the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries have morphological peculiarities specific to South-West Bulgarian or Macedonian dialects, which may be explicable by Slav immigration into Wallachia after the Turkish conquest of the Kingdom of Serbia.

18. See D.P. Bogdan 1938.

incalculable influence from the native Roumanian of its writers.¹⁹

This view has been challenged, notably by Miletich 1896 and more recently by Bernshtein 1948. They object that the earlier documents contain so much idiomatic Bulgarian of a colloquial kind that they must have been written by people fluent in Bulgarian for readers similarly at home in the language. Bernshtein contends that the Roumanians did not move into the plain between the Danube and the Transylvanian Alps (whether they moved South from Transylvania or North across the Danube) until the thirteenth century, and that they found there a Slavonic-speaking population which they only gradually assimilated in the course of the next few centuries. He considers that this Slavonic, which was so close to Cisdanubian Bulgarian that it can be termed a Bulgarian dialect, was still in widespread spoken use in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and was basically the type of Slavonic familiar to the chancery scribes, though they modified it more or less in the light of what they knew of Bulgarian and Serbian literary norms.

These two interpretations will be more fully discussed in the conclusions at the end of this chapter. Here it need only be pointed out that, whichever one accepts, the Wallachian documents must be recognized as a source of some importance for the history of Bulgarian. The essentially Bulgarian character of the language in which they were written in the fourteenth and earlier fifteenth centuries is not disputed.²⁰ The question is whether it rests on written or spoken tradition, and of what date.

It is no simple matter to extract information from this source about the Bulgarian language, however, because allowance has to be made for both Serbian and Roumanian influence. A few Serbian elements are found sporadically from the end of the fourteenth century onwards: ǫ instead of

19. See I. Bogdan 1905 Introduction and Djamo-Diaconitǎ 1971 Introduction.

20. Except by Barbulescu, see Djamo-Diaconitǎ 1971 pp.9-10.

х, -омъ as an instr. fem. sing. ending and -га instead of -го in the acc./gen. animate masc. and the gen. masc. and neuter of pronouns and adjectives. During the fifteenth century others, such as к for ш, appear; but they are normally employed in haphazard alternation with their Bulgarian equivalents²¹ and do not become frequent until the second half of the century, with the reign of Radu III (1462-1474). Most of the instances of Roumanian influence which Djamo-Diaconiță 1971 records likewise occur in documents of the late fifteenth century, with the natural exception of proper names. In the first half of the century only a handful of aberrant uses of prepositions,²² and the word гаге (oare),²³ can be taken as signs of interference from Roumanian. This is not to say that the usage of the early documents was not affected in other ways by Serbian and Roumanian, but merely that such influence, particularly on syntax, cannot be readily identified.

Consequently the material presented in the following two sections will be drawn from the earlier body of documents, written before discernible Serbian and Roumanian features became frequent. 1462, the end of Vlad II's first period of rule, is taken as an arbitrary but convenient stopping-point. A few documents of earlier date than this are omitted because Serbian elements predominate in them so obviously that they can be said to be written in a different type of language from the others. These Serbian documents are either issued by or addressed to foreign rulers - to Stefan Lazarević of Serbia, the Emperor Sigismund, John Hunyadi, Razgon Stefan of Timișoara - and this is no doubt the reason why they employ different conventions from those of internal charters and correspondence with Brașov. They are listed below.

21. See, for example, Djamo-Diaconiță 1971 p.217.

22. See Djamo-Diaconiță 1971 pp.304-07.

23. This word is found in the modern Bulgarian dialect of Enina, near Kazanlak, according to Kitipov 1970 p.111.

The corpus falls into two parts (which are distinguished in Djamo-Diaconiță's study of 1971). One comprises charters granting lands and exemptions from taxes or service to monasteries or nobility. These documents are highly formulaic. Not only the overall composition, but even the details of wording differ little from one to another, and there are several series of copies of the same text made in consecutive reigns as each ruler confirmed his predecessor's gifts to a particular monastery. The differences between them are usually negligible. Their language is consequently extremely conservative and would indeed be of little interest, were it not for two circumstances: firstly, that occasionally a formula is altered, or garbled, in a way which may be significant of change; and secondly, because in the syntactic constructions which are under examination here they provide striking contrasts with the second group of documents.

The charters of the first group are all published in Panaitescu and Mioc 1966. The earliest (No.6) dates from the reign of Vladislav I, probably from 1374; the last, as has been said, is from the time of Vlad II (No.118, 1459). Between these, No.31 from Stefan Lazarević, Nos. 44, 46, 47, 62 from the Emperor Sigismund, No.97 from John Hunyadi are omitted because they exhibit heavier Serbian influence than usual; Nos. 58 and 120 are left out because they are much damaged and can only be read by conjecture; and Nos.40, 50, 54, 55, 69, 70, 71, 78 and 114 are included in the second group.

This second group of documents is made up of charters granting trading rights and of letters addressed to the burghers of Brașov from the rulers of Wallachia or their ministers. In fact the charters form a series like those found in the first group, but the comparative informality of their style justifies treating them with the letters. The earliest is taken from Kałuźniacki 1878: No.1, from Mircea I to the city of L'vov, tentatively dated 1390 but apparently later redated to

about 1409.²⁴ No.5 in the same edition, from Vlad I to the cities of Cracow and L'vov in 1439, is also included. The rest are from I. Bogdan 1905, Nos.1 (Mircea I, 1413) to 73 (Vlad II, uncertain date) and Nos.206 (reign of Dan II - 1431?) to 215 (reign of Vlad I, uncertain date). No. 30, to Razgon Stefan, is omitted because it is Serbian; No.31 is too much damaged, and too short, to be worth consideration, and Nos.69 and 216 happen to have no relevant constructions.

Thus the tables which follow present material written over a space of ninety years by a number of different people. Where the date or provenance of any particular construction seems important, it is supplied in the comments.

In the editions of Panaitescu and Mioc and of I. Bogdan abbreviations are expanded and superscript letters are brought down on to the line. The editors do not state how they treat $\overset{T}{-H}$, the abbreviation of the infinitival ending $-HTH$, although I think it likely that this occurs in the documents (it is to be found in those published by Kałuźniacki). Consequently I have to assume that the editions faithfully reproduce a distinction in the MSS between infinitives ending in $-TH$ and those ending simply in $-T$. This is implied by Djamo-Diaconiță,²⁵ whose study is based on an independent examination of MSS and photocopies.²⁶

24. See Istoria României 1962 vol.II p.296. I have not found a detailed discussion of the dating of this charter.

25. See Djamo-Diaconiță 1971 p.224.

26. See Djamo-Diaconiță 1971 p.16.

A. CHARTERS TO MONASTERIES AND NOBLESTable I. Verbs governing infinitive or da-clause with identical or distinct subjects

	<u>Occurrence</u>		<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>Da-clause</u>	
	<u>of verb</u>		<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>
ХОТѢТИ	15	1?	18	1?		
ХТѢТИ	4		4			
аросоратѣ хотѣти	15		14		2	
ВЪСХОТѢТИ	2				2	
ПОЛЮБИТИ	1				1	
ИЗВОЛИТИ	15		5	10		
ПРОИЗВОЛИТИ	2			2		
БЛАГОПРОИЗВОЛИТИ	3		3			
БЛАГОИЗВОЛИТИ	13		46			
БЛАГОВОЛИТИ	4			4		
ПОВЕЛѢТИ	3			3		1
ПОВЕЛѢВАТИ	8			7		1
ХОДИТИ	1				1	
ГРАСТИ	1				1	
ПРИСТЯПИТИ ЕЖЕ	1		1		1	
ИМѢТИ	28	1?	31	2?		
ДАТИ	1					1
ПРОДАТИ	3			2		1
СМѢТИ	36	2?	37	2?		
ПОСМѢТИ	1		1			
ДРЪЗНѢТИ	2	1?	4	2?		
МОЛИТИ	1					1
МОЛИТИ СЯ ТАКО	1					1
ОБѢЩАТИ	1		1			
ЗАКЛИНАТИ	1					6
ОУСТАВИТИ	1					3

	<u>Occurrence</u>		<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>Da-clause</u>	
	<u>of verb</u>		<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>
НАКАЗАТИ СѦ ЕЖЕ	1		2			
УСЛОБАЖДАТИ	2					2
ПОМИСЛИТИ ТАКО	1				1	
СМОТРЕТИ		1?		1?		
ИЗБРАТИ	24			24		3
УТБРАТИ	1			1		
ИСКАТИ	1				1	
ПОИСКАТИ	7		7		1	
ПОКЪСИТИ (ТАКО)	22	2?	6	2?	19	1?
РЕВНОВАТИ	1		1			
ПРИЛАГАТИ	1					1

Comments

The doubtful readings with the verbs ХОТЕТИ, ИМЕТИ, СМЕТИ, ДОЗНАТИ, СМОТРЕТИ, ПОКЪСИТИ are places where some letters or words are not legible, or not clearly so, and have been supplied by plausible conjecture, usually based on comparison with similar passages in other documents.

The table shows that the documents admit various verbs and constructions as alternatives one to another. One must however weigh both the dates at which equivalent expressions occur and, when they are found in the same charter, their context, whether in religious or legal formulae or in some more variable part of the document. It is instructive to look in this way at the occurrence of the verbs of volition which head the table. In its full form ХОТЕТИ is found mainly after 1430 in formulae which make up part of the poena spiritualis or temporalis:

i. и ХОЩЕТ УМРЕТ ВЪ УРГІА ГОСПОДСТВА МИ (No.95 - 1441 and similarly in No.106 - 1451)

ii. ТАКОВИ ХОЩЕТ УМРЕТИ СЪПРЕМИ СЪ ЛРЪУИСТОЖ БОГОРОДИЦЖ И ПРІАТИ ЗЛО И УРГІА УТ ГОСПОДСТВО МИ (No.117 - 1458)

The latter half of ii is a variant of the more common ИМАТ ПРІАТИ ВЕЛИКУ

злѡ и шрѣхѡ шт господарствомѡ and is used in three other documents (Nos. 72 - 1431, 103 - 1451, 111 - 1453). The other formulaic use of хотѣти is first found in a charter issued by Mircea I:

iii. или кто шт господарѡ нже хошетѡ настати по моему трагѡ (No.16 - 1392?)

It is copied in several other charters granted to the monastery of Tismana (Nos.22 - 1400-1418, 53 - 1424, 64 - 1429-1430, 89 - 1439). Of the five remaining instances, three from before 1430 may be motivated by a religious context, e.g.:

iv. да ест пища божественнымъ иншомъ еже хштатъ быти и прѣбывати въ тѣхъ свѣтыхъ храмѣхъ въ вѣчнѡе възпомянаніе паучеже и за здравіе телесное господарство мѡ (No.26 - 1402-1418)

The other two cannot be so explained:

v. аще би хотели продавати швици и свина (No.106 - 1451)

vi. варе кто хошетъ бити кжелар (No.94 - 1441)

On the other hand, the apocopated forms of хотѣти are not found after 1430, except in a unique variant of one of the formulae quoted above:

vii. злѡ шетъ прихити и великѡ шрѣхѡ шт господарства мѡ (No.94 - 1441)

About half of them are accounted for in formulae:

viii. глшва ли сѡ шетъ ѡуинити по тѣхъзи влата дѡшегѡбина ли (No.28 - 1404-1406 and similarly Nos.33 - 1407, 48 - 1421)

ix. кто ли сѡ шетъ покоушит шт болѣр господарства мѡ велицѣхъже и малыхъ или шт работник господарства мѡ посылаемыхъ по милостехъ и по работахъ господарства мѡ ꙗко да позабаватъ бжѡи что (No.34 - 1407-1418, and similarly Nos.27 - 1402-1418, 35 - 1409, 38 - 1415, 42 - 1418)

The versions of the formula in ix which predominate in later documents are also current at the beginning of the fifteenth century:

x. кто ли сѡ бы покѡсилъ нѣкто шт сзродникъ наш или инъ[...] ꙗко да позабавитъ село поданное въ монастыр свѣтыхъ горы (No.19 - 1398)

xi. кто ли сѡ покѡсит разшрити сѡе повелѣніе господарства мѡ и записаніе (No.11 - 1389-1400)

All the other examples of apocopated хотѣти with the infinitive come

in the charter of Mircea I and are non-formulaic. The same applies to the four occurrences of хтѣти, which though they are copied from one charter into another are not formulaic:

xii. ешеже и шт пучл варе колико се хтат находити по тѣх влата до гае им ест хотар монастырскыи уловѣкѣ да им възимат вамѣ шт пучл и нныи вѣса работи колико се хтат приложит (No.28 - 1404-1406 and also No. 48 - 1421)

It may be that хтат should be regarded as the 3rd per. plur. of apocopated хотѣти, corresponding to the 3rd per. sing. щет which is the only other apocopated form to occur in this group of documents (see further in section B, Table I i-iv, pp.228-29).

There are two da-clauses after щет:

xiii. хто щет да си даст за дѣшѣ или винограда или нивие или водѣницѣ или кѣшиѣ или добыток или бѣди что (No.42 - 1418)

This does not seem essentially different in content from:

xiv. варе хто си щет прѣдат дѣшѣ и иманіе си въ монастыр шт козиѣ (No.27 - 1402-1418)

The da-clause of xiii occurs in the charter which contains the two examples of въсхотѣти with da-clauses:

xv. варе хто въсхошет шт своего произволеніа или слоуга господства ми или болѣрини или княз да си прѣдаст дѣшѣ въ монастырѣх господства ми въ кодмѣнѣ и въ козиѣ или село въсхошет да приложит (No.42 - 1418)

The concentration of da-clause complements here may be peculiar to the usage of the scribe who wrote the document. The other da-clause with щет is:

xvi. кто ли щет забавити томѣзи уловѣкѣ или шт болѣр или шт князов или за посадж или за вама или за кѣларство да позабавит томѣзи уловѣкѣ (No.29 - 1401-1418)

This is one of several places where a co-ordinated infinitive and da-clause depend on the one main verb:

xvii. ш нхже нзберет господаѣ богѣ да бѣдет господинѣ землевласкомѣ ли шт сѣршаникѣ нашѣ ли шт иноплѣ(ме)ник быти господинѣ землевлаское (No.24 - 1401-1406)

xviii. .кон. ли би пристѣпилъ посрѣдъ васъ штъ болѣрѣхъ господства ми еже възати или иныхъ работъ да вы разваждатъ ѿдрѣте въ главѣхъ възѣкого (No.33 - 1407)

Such switches of construction are not the general rule, but they may indicate a lack of confidence about the handling of infinitival constructions and certainly show that infinitive and da-clause could be equivalent as complements of the verbs хотѣти, избрати, пристѣпити.

The examples of полюбити are also early:

xix. а стануѿлова жена аще полюбютъ (sic) да възметъ мѣжа да естъ волна ѿзетъ (No.11 - 1386-1392)

xx. вѣре кто шетъ полюбити штъ болѣрскихъ селъ великихъже и малыхъ да доидетъ в село монастырско да естъ слободенъ възакыа дажебы (No.29 - 1404-1418)

The second of these, xx, can be paralleled elsewhere; indeed, it seems that in this group of documents an infinitive always governs a da-clause, never another infinitive:

xxi. а ни ннѣ ннѣи добытокъ да не смѣетъ ходити да пасетъ безъ волы монастырскѣхъ (No.32 - 1406)

xxii. да не смѣетъ ни помислити ꙗко да позабаваѣтъ монастырскимъ людемъ (No.39 - 1417-1418)

xxiii. а кто ли сѣ шетъ покоѣситъ да ишетъ да штъмнетъ штъ монастырѣ (No. 42 - 1418)

The last of these, like several other passages in which шетъ покоѣситъ or смѣетъ покоѣситъ is followed by a clause introduced by (ꙗко) да, may be influenced by the frequent construction of покоѣсити as a main verb with a dependent da-clause. However, покоѣсити governs an infinitive only when it is itself the main verb, not subordinated to хотѣти or смѣти. Three instances of this, and one conjectural one, are found in fourteenth century charters, e.g.:

xxiv. кто ли сѣ покоѣситъ сѣ ꙗ потворити (No.6 - 1369-1376)

There are also later examples, in Nos.91 - 1440 and 103 - 1451.

There are certain other signs of unfamiliarity with the traditional uses of the infinitive. One is failure to put the subject in the dative

when it differs from that of the main verb, as in xvii above or in:

xxv. КЪ СМ ПОВЕЛѢВАТ ГОСПОДСТВО МН МН (sic) САМОВЛАСНО БИТИ ИИШКОМ
ВЪ ШБОЮ МОНАСТИРЕХ (No.53 - 1424)

This is a distortion of the phrase which appears correctly with САМО-
ВЛАСТНЫМ in No.7 - 1385 and the other charters in the same series.

Another significant deviation is the combination of da-clause and infinitive:

xxvi. ВЪ ЗАКОНѢ ПОВЕЛѢ ГОСПОДЬ БОГЪ СЫНШЬ ИСРАИЛОВШ ДА НА ВЪСѢКО
ЛѢТО ДЕСАТСТВОВАТИ ЕЛИКА АЩЕ СТАЖАТ (No.20 - 1400?, whereas No.19 - 1398
has ДЕСАТСТВѸТЪ)

xxvii. ДА ОУТВѢРДИТЬ ТАКОВЖА ЗАПОВЕД ВЪ ЗАКОННИК И ВЪ МОНАСТИРИ КАКО
НА ВЪСАКЖА ГРЕДАЩА ГОДИНЖА ВЪСПОМИНАНИЕ И КОЛИКО (misprint for колнзо?)
ДА СЕ ТВОРИТИ РАДИ ДСОПШАГО БРАТА НХ САХАКА И ТѢМ ВЪСѢМ ВЪ РѸД И РѸД
(No.101 - 1450)

A third, more radical departure from tradition is the use of co-ordination instead of subordination. This results in constructions like those mentioned under Table I of the Bulgarian charters, v-vii, p.194, such as:

xxviii. КТО ЛИ СА ПОКОУСИТ ШТ БОЛѢРЪ ГОСПОДСТВА МН ВЕЛИЦѸЖЕ И МАЛИХ
ИЛИ ШТ РАБОТНИК ГОСПОДСТВА МН И ПОСРАМИТ СЪН ХРИСОВѢЛЪ ГОСПОДСТВА МН
(No.21 - 1400-1403)

xxix. БЛАГОПРОИЗВОЛИ ГОСПОДСТВО МН И ДАРОВАХ СЪН ВЪСЕПРѢПОУИТАНЫ
ХРИСОВѸЛ ГОСПОДСТВА МН БОЛѢРОМ ГОСПОДСТВА МН (No.66 - 1429 and similarly
in No.35 - 1409)

xxx. КТО ЛИ ДРЪЗНЕТ МАКАРЪ И САМО ГОСПОДСТВО МН ИЛИ ШТ СИНОВѢ ГОСПОД-
СТВА МН ИЛИ КТО ШТ ГОСПОДЪ ИЖЕ ХОЩЕТЪ НАСТАТИ ПО МОЕМЪ ТРАГѢ И ПОИЩЕТЪ
РАЗОРНИТИ СІЕ ПОТВѢРЖАНИЕ (No.16 - 1392? and four others of the same
series)

The conjunction та is also used in this way:

xxxi. КТО СА БИ ПОКУСИЛ ТА БИ ПОЗАБАВИЛ СЕШМ МОНАСТИРСКИМ (No.72
1431)

So is co-ordinative да, see under Table IV

There remains a large number of infinitives in Table I; but the majority of these occur either in standard formulae or in contexts with

religious, and therefore high-style, features, e.g.:

xxxii. кто ли дрѣзнеть шт снх всѣх что разорити или прѣложити злѣ да е проклат шт господа бога вседръжителѣ (No.7 - 1385)

xxxiii. а да благоволит богъ нже въ тронци славимыи па быти ми да и малш въ жити сем не имам дати тѣуѣ единоу или приложити к томѣ шт богшданны: (sic) мнѣ нш и всегда имам давати и прилагати томѣ монастырю въ еже быти ми въ спасеніе дѣши и въ прѣмененіе и покрыв и здравіе тѣлѣ моему (No.17 - 1392)

xxxiv. рєвнѣж послѣдствовать древнимъ царемъ и господамъ еже земнаа въ благодѣтелствѣ мирнѣ прѣпроводиша и небесномуу царствію сподобившася (No.20.- 1400?)

xxxv. нже обещахъ непрѣзрети моленіа его но съ всѣхъ ѡсердіемъ мола са емѣ ако да ми бѣдетъ помощныкъ и покровитель доуши и тѣлѣ зде и въ бѣдѣшии вѣкъ (No.74 - 1433)

xxxvi. како прѣнебрегоша слова господство ми да са дрѣзныи накажѣт еже слѣшати слово а не прєшєнѣти (No.39 - 1417-1418)

The last of these examples, xxxvi, has no religious bearing, but seems to be in high style, witness the use of еже. It is also the only instance of a negated infinitive in these charters. There are two examples of a negated verb in a complementary da-clause, in xxxiii above and in:

xxxvii. и снѣа въсѣ мола въсѣкога настолиника да не потворитъ никтоже (No.6 - 1374)

The expressions in which имѣти and смѣти are combined with infinitives are almost all formulaic, being part of the usual minatory clause at the end of the charter. Though there is some variety in the particular verb which follows смѣти, in all examples except one the passage is of this type:

xxxviii. да го не смѣет никто потѣкнити ни шдншм власѣ (No.29 - 1404-1418?)

The exception to this rule is in:

xxxix. нш и се да посмѣю рєши (No.17 - 1392)

Again, almost all instances of имѣти and the infinitive take the form of a poena temporalis, as in:

xl. таковы имат приѣти шрѣна и наказ шт господства ми (No.21 - 1400-1403)

Likewise the compounds of волити and брати all occur in formal or formulaic expressions. It looks as if the choice of infinitive or da-clause after поискати may be stylistically determined, for though it always comes in the same context, the passage with the da-clause is specific and practical, while that with the infinitive is generalized:

xli. и поишет да разшрит шбршк нже прилшжи господство ми томѣзи монастырю (No.17 - 1392)

xlīi. а аще ли пошет (sic) разшрити и посрамити прешендѣв оуставленое и свободителни (sic) родителѣ господствами (No.39 - 1417-1418)

The same may hold between xxv above and the construction of повелѣвати with a da-clause in:

xlīii. такози повелѣват господство ми възѣм работником господства ми и кефалием дрѣстерским кон бжѣи сжѣцем и главеньком възѣкын да се варѣтъ шт монастырска блата (No.28 - 1404-1406)

But there does not seem to be a clear stylistic difference between xxvi above, where повелѣти takes a da-clause of sorts, and the infinitival construction in:

xliv. повелѣ господство ми писати сѣ семѣ оутвержденомѣ хрисовѣлѣ и поставити сѣ въз предреченнымъ шбителн (No.17 - 1392)

Elevated style is probably also marked by the use of the infinitive in:

xlv. и прѣдашѣ намъ молитвож и постом и милостина шгрѣвати сѣ шт грѣх нашихъ (No. 19 - 1398 and copied in No.20 - 1400, where it is followed by a quotation from Matth. 25.34 ff. which includes the infinitival complement of дати: и дасте ми ѣсти)

In contrast to this are:

xlvi. и прѣдавамъ емѣ тои да помолит ш дѣшах нашихъ (No.19 - 1398)

xlvii. потшм мѣ даде и господство ми да подигнеть монастырь въз хотари рибнином въз лихѣре (No.91 - 1440)

There remains only one infinitival construction which cannot be explained on grounds of style or formulaic expression:

xlvi. сзмотрих разширети и хштар монастырю (No.10 - 1389)

Like most of the infinitives already cited which call for special comment, this is found among the early documents in the group, before 1430 and mostly before 1420. One might be tempted to conclude that the evidence of the whole group shows a reduction in the use of the infinitive; in fact it rather reveals that the language of the early charters is less standardized and formal, somewhat more varied, than that used after 1430. This impression is strengthened by the dating of the isolated non-formulaic da-clause complements of ходити and грати (No.32 - 1406), пристѣпити (No.33 - 1407), молити (No.6 - 1374, see xxxvii above), успо-баждати (Nos.35 - 1409 and 52 - 1424), искати (No.42 - 1418). The da-clauses with оуставити and прилагати are also of early date:

xl. пакы оустави господство ми по сзвѣтѣ како по смрзти кѹр нико-димовѣ да нѣст никыи господарѣ воленѣ да постави на мѣстѣ томѣ старѣишинѣ ни архіереи ни инѣ кто нѣ како реуеѣ кѹр никодимѣ и како ѡставитѣ такози да дрѣжѣтъ нже тамо иншии и сами да си полагаѣтъ старѣишинѣ (No.6 - 1374)

1. и ешеже мѡ прилагам да имат шрок шт кѣшѣ господства ми на всѣко лѣто (No.35.- 1409)

The da-clauses which depend on заклинати are formulaic in character and similar to those governed by заклинаніе, see Table III

Table II. Impersonal constructions with infinitive or da-clause

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
	<u>of governing word</u>		
изволи са	1	1	
благонзволи	1?	2	
быти	1		2
должен	1?	1	
швиуно	1	1 1?	1?
<u>Comments</u>			

Three of the constructions tabulated here seem to betray syntactic confusion:

i. кѣ сѣмъ благонзволѣи господствѣ ми бити шентели коамѣнскаѣ въ по-
виновени сѣ всѣмъ преписанѣмъ выше писанномѣ монастырѣ и штѣ тѣмѣ шлѣдо-
вати сѣ (No.9 - 1388)

Either this **is intended as a personal** construction and has господствѣ ми
by mistake for господство ми, or it lacks the сѣ which would make it com-
parable to нзволѣи сѣ господствѣ ми сѣздати монастырѣ (No.10 - 1389).

ii. ниже поновитъ ѣакоже дѣлженъ естъ всѣкомѣ христѣанинѣ творити (No.17
- 1392)

To be coherent this requires either дѣлжно or всѣкѣи христѣанинѣ.

iii. да поновитъ и да оутвердитъ ѣакоже естъ шенуно православноѣмъ гос-
подарѣмъ творити да и дрѣзѣи тоговѣѣ повелѣнѣѣ творити (No.39 - 1417-1418)

However iii is interpreted, it reveals an imperfect grasp of the tradi-
tional use of the infinitive, for either творити should be творѣт if the
да-clause is a final one, or, if да is here a co-ordinative conjunction,
дрѣзѣи should be in the dative.

The да-clauses which depend on быти occur early and in a high-style
passage, see Table I xxxiii, p.213.

Table III. Nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs governing infinitive
or da-clause

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
	<u>of governing word</u>		
	<u>Nouns</u>		
желаніѣ ѣако	1		1
власть	1	1	
сила	4	4	
повелѣніѣ ѣако/			
ѣако	3		3
заповѣдѣ ѣако	1		1
шризмѣ ѣако	7		13
овѣщаніѣ ѣако	1		1
заклинаніѣ	5		15

	<u>Occurrence</u> <u>of governing word</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
	<u>Pronouns</u>		
ТО /ЩО	1		1
	<u>Adjectives</u>		
ВОЛЪНЪ	6 1?	3 1?	4
ГОТОВЪ	1	1	
	<u>Adverbs</u>		
ТАКО	1		1
<u>Comments</u>			

The complements tabulated here are of the first and third kinds mentioned in Ch.1 D III, p.19. The nouns and adjectives all take the first type of complement; most of them are used in formulae. Thus the nouns повелѣніє, уризмо, обѣщаніє occur in introductory clauses of the dispositio, the central part of the charter in which its provisions are stated, e.g.:

i. дарова мѣ господство ми снє всесудное и прѣпоуѣтенное уризмо
господства ми ѣако да сѣ стану юлови шунни жѣпанѣ влѣкѣлѣ (No.11 - 1389-1400)

Such more or less standardized openings, which are to be found throughout the corpus, usually employ the noun хрисовѣл, followed by a string of da-clauses preceded by ѣако, which are treated under Table IV. The only reason for separating them from the da-clauses introduced by expressions involving уризмо etc. is that these nouns, unlike хрисовѣл, can be taken as derived from verbs (урисовати, повелѣти, заповѣдати, обѣщати, заклинати), in which case the da-clauses which follow them may be said to depend directly on these nouns rather than on the whole phrase. In either event the same problem arises: how far does the influence of the governing expression extend, at what point in a succession of da-clauses may subordination give place to simple 3rd per. imperative? For example, the passage quoted under i continues:

ii. и дѣца стануѡлова да сѣ сынове жѡпанѡ влѣкѡлѡ въ мѣсто рожден
нихъ сыновѣ наа въсѣмъ шуннамъ и наа въсѣмъ добиткомъ ѡакоже и рожденни
сѣнове и аще роди жѡпан влѣкѡл дѣцѣ да сѣ стануѡлова дѣца и влѣкѡлова
братѣа едни како и дрѡзи наа въсѣ а стануѡлова жена аще полюбѣютъ (sic)
да възметъ мѣжа да ест волна ѡзети нѣ наабор шт шунни (No.11 - 1389-1400)

By the time one reaches the last da-clause here, it is probably idle to ask what, if anything, governs it (see also Table IV i-iii, p.220).

The construction with заклинаніе raises a similar difficulty. This noun is used to introduce the poena spiritualis in:

iii. еще же и заклинаніе поставлѣтъ господство ми по сѣмрѣти господства
ми кѡгѡ изберетъ господѣ богъ вити господинѣ влашкѡи землѣ[...]та аще по-
уететъ и поновитъ и ѡтверзѣтъ сѣи х(рн)совѡл господства ми и тѡгѡ господѣ
бога (sic) да поуететъ и сѣхранитъ и ѡтверзѣтъ въ господства его аще ли не
поуететъ и не ѡтверзѣтъ нѣ поперетъ и порѣшитъ и расипетъ и тогѡ господѣ богъ
да посрамитъ и поперетъ и ѡубиетъ его зае тѣломъ а въ нѣ въѣкъ дѡша его и да
иматъ ѡуестіе с ѡѡда и сѣ аріемъ (No.103 - 1451 and four succeeding docu-
ments)

These same formulae are used, not only preceded by еще заклинатъ господ-
ство ми (No.21 - 1400-1403) or by еще же и заклинаніемъ поставихъ господ-
ство ми (No.24 - 1401-1406), but also in all their many other occurrences without any introductory expressions. The last set of instances is placed in Table IV as 3rd per. imperatives and it seems forced to treat those preceded by заклинатѣ or заклинаніе separately.

The infinitival complements of nouns first occur in a document of the fourteenth century:

iv. елико по силѣ послѣдовати изѡшлихъ прославити прославльшаго ма
бога (No.9 - 1388 and three subsequent charters in the same series; an-
other, No.56 - 1424, replaces the infinitive by a participle, послѣдѡуѣи)

v. да не иматъ никто власти поставити игѡмена (No.9 - 1388)

Like сила, the adjective готовѣ takes its infinitive early and in a religious context, before the quotation from Matth. 25.34 ff.:

vi. да готовѣи бѣдемъ оуслѣшати шнѣ гласъ (No.20 - 1400?)

In the construction of infinitives with вольнѣ, on the other hand, at best only a tendency to this kind of restriction can be discerned, in:

vii. и по нас кои хоме бити благоуѣстиви никто да их не вольнь по-
колѣвати (No.64 - 1429/1430)

viii. <и сїе записанїе господства ми никто да нѣсть вшен прѣложити
ни иже по мнѣ> господарь егоже <богъ благоволит ни калогерїе жителе
монастирстїи> (No.10 - 1389)

Otherwise infinitives and da-clauses complement this adjective apparently
at random, and in one passage jointly:

ix. нѣ тѣмъ калѣгерє да сѣ волни ловити или добыток монастирскыи
да пасет (No.32 - 1406)

All the examples with infinitives occur before 1430; the first da-clause
is found in No.6 - 1374, and the latest in No.91 - 1440.

The da-clauses dependent on pronoun and adverb define their governing
expressions:

x. и еше що ест закон ꙗко даи да ловат господствѣ ми морѣни и то ѡсвода-
ѣдѣмъ да ест монастирю (No.35 - 1409)

xi. и такѡ приложихъ и оутокмихъ съ егоуменом поп кѣр іосиф ѣако да
запишет въ поменник мнѡнастирскѡго прѣжде жоупана радѣла родителѣ их и по-
том матерє их (No.101 - 1450)

It is possible that the da-clause in xi should be regarded as the comple-
ment of приложихъ и оутокмихъ, comparably to the passage with повелѣвати
in Table I xliii, p.214.

Table IV. Other constructions with infinitive or da-clause

	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>	
Imperative/Final/			
Complementary (ѣако)		394 (15)	5?
Co-ordinative		27	
Final (ѣако)	2	43	1?
Conditional		3	
еже	3 (1)		
ѣако(же)		62	1?
ѣако		3	
развѣ		4	

Comments

It is difficult to find criteria for distinguishing different kinds of da-clause in this group of documents. The problem of deciding whether a clause is subordinate or not has already been touched on in the comments to Table III, pp.217-18. The same difficulty was met in analyzing the Bulgarian charters (see pp.197-98); but it is more acute here, since there seems no reliable way even of singling out indubitable imperative da-clauses. It is most usual for the poena spiritualis to be expressed by da-clauses and the poena temporalis in the form of a future tense with the auxiliaries имѣти or хотѣти, e.g.:

i. ТАКОВШМУ ДА М҃У ЄСТ СВѢТЪ І НІКОЛАЄ СЪПРЪЗНИКЪ ВЪ СѦ ВѢКЪ И ВЪ БѢДѦЩИ И ХОЩЕТЪ ПРИѢТИ ВЕЛИКО ЗЛО И ШРГІА ШТ ГОСПОДСТВА. МН (No.72 - 1431)

But instances can also be found in which both appear in the future tense:

ii. КТО ЛИ СѦ ПОКѢСИТЬ ТОИЗІ ИМАТЪ ПРИАТИ ГНѢВЪ БОЖІИ И КЛАТВѦ СВѢТЫХЪ ТИ ШТЦЪ И НАКАЗЪ И ШРГІА ШТ ГОСПОДСТВА. МН (No.30 - 1406?)

Equally, strings of da-clauses may be used for both poenae, without apparent discrimination:

iii. ТАКОВЫИ ДА ЄСТ ПРОКЛАТ ШТ ПРѢУИСТѦ БОГОРОДИЦѦ И ШТ ВЪСѢХЪ СВѢТЫХЪ И БОГОНОСНЫХЪ ШТЦЪ И НИКОДИМОВѦ КЛАТВѦ ДА ИМАТЪ К ТОМУ И ШТ ГОСПОДСТВО. МН ДА ПРИИМЕТЪ ВЕЛИКО ЗЛО И ШРГІА (No.32 - 1406)

The last type in particular makes it seem artificial to attempt any distinction between imperative da-clauses and the other da-clauses of which these charters are largely composed.

It is possible to be somewhat more confident about final clauses.

There is surely an unambiguous expression of intent in:

iv. БЛАГОИЗВОЛИ ГОСПОДСТВО. МН ТАКОЖЕ И ГОСПОДСТВОУ СИЦЕ И СЕМОУ ВЪСПРИЕМНИКЪ БЫТИ ШЕНОВИТИ ОУБО ПОМѢНЪ РѢДИТЕЛѢ МОЕГО СВОЕЖЕ РАДИ ДѢШЪ СЪ ХРАМЪ ПРѢСВѢТЫХЪ ВЛАДИУИЦѦ БОГОРОДИЦѦ И ПРИСНОДѢВЫ МАРИѦ НАЗДАТИ И ОУКРѢПИТИ ВСѢКЫМИ ПРИЛОГЫ И ДОХОДЦИ НЕ ТЪУИХЪ СЕ НѦ И ЕЛИКА ПРИ РѢДИТЕЛИ МШЕМЪ ПРИЛОЖИСѦ СѦ МОНАСТІРЮ ВСѢ ПОТВРЪДИТИ И ОУКРѢПИТИ СЛАВЫ РАДИ БОГА МОЕГО ВЪ ХВАЛЖЕ И УБСТИ ПРѢСЛАВНЫѦ ВЛАДИУИЦѦ МОЖ И ПРѢУИСТЫХЪ БОГОРОДИЦѦ ТАКО ДА СІѦ ОБРѢЩѦ ВЪ ЖИВШТѢ ГОСПОДСТВА МОЕГО КРѢПИТЕЛѢ И ПОМОЩНИЦѦ ВЪ СТРАШНЫЕЖЕ ДѢНЪ СЪДА ЖИЗНИ ВѢУНЫХЪ ХОДАТАИЦѦ (No.7 - 1385)

The second and third da-clauses likewise seem to be final in:

v. ВЪ СЪДСТВО ВЛЪЧЕСКО ДА И СЪБЕРѢТ НА ВСАКО ЛѢТО САМИ КАЛШГЕРИ
ПЪЕЛАРСТВУ ДА ИМ ЕСТ МЕА ЗА ПОТРЕБѢ МОНАСТИРСКО ДА ВШСКЪ ДА БѢДЕТ ВЪЗ
ЦРЪКВИ (No.17 - 1392)

Again, after the main verb дати, da-clauses are most easily taken as final; but this depends partly on their content and proximity to the main verb, e.g. in:

vi. И ТАКОУИ ВЪІ ШРИСОУЕТЪ ГОСПОДСТВО МИ ТОУИ ВЪІ СМЪ.ДАЛЪ ДА ЗНАЕТЕ
КАКОНО (sic) НѢКОЕМѢ КНАСѢ ИЛИ БОЛѢРИНОУ ГОСПОДСТВА МИ ДА ИМЪ СТЕ ВЪ
ШУИИИИ И ВЪ ШХАБЪ ТА ПАКЪІ ДНЕС ИЛИ ѢТРѢ ДА ВЪІ ВЪЗЪМЪ ТА ДА ВЪІ ДАМЪ ДРОУ-
ГОМѢ ИИ ВЪІ СМЪ ДАЛЪ ЗА ДѢШЪ РОДИТЕЛИ ГОСПОДСТВА МИ И ЗА МОА ДА СТЕ ВЪ
ОБЛАСТИ МОНАСТИРЪ ТИСМѢНЪСКЪІИ ТАКО И СЪ ВЪСѢ ВЛАТА ШО ЕСТ ПРИЛОЖЕНО И
ДА СТЕ ВЪ ПОСЛАШАНИЕ ШТ ВЪСѢХ СЛОУЖБАХ И ДАЖДАХЪ И ШТ ПОСАДЪ И ШТ КЪБЛИ
ОХАБНИ И ШТ КОШНИЦИ ОХАБНИ А НѢКТО АЩЕ ВЪІ ВЪЗЪЛЖЕТЕ НѢКАКО СИ ДА СА НЕ
ОУВѢРИТЕ НИКАКО (No.33 - 1407)

I take all the da-clauses except the first and the last here to be final, but the point is arguable, especially for the penultimate one. The dividing line is still more hazy in a passage such as:

vii. СИА ВЪСА ПРИЛАГА И ПОТВРЪЖДА ГОСПОДСТВО МИ СЪ ВЪСАКЪІИ ПОВЕЛАНІ-
АМЪ И ѢТВРЪЖДЕНИЕМЪ ДА БѢДѢТ НЕПОДВИЖНА И НЕПОЛѢИМА (sic) ДО ЖИВОТА
ГОСПОДСТВА МИ И СЪІНОВЪ ГОСПОДСТВА МИ (No.64 - 1429/1430)

As in other bodies of material, it is occasionally unclear whether a da-clause should be regarded as complementing the main verb or as final, e.g. the clauses in viii and ix, which are here counted as final but might be held, especially that in ix, to complement the preceding verbs:

viii. ДА ПОМОЛИТ Ш ДѢШАХ НАШИХ ТАКО ДА МИ ПОКРИЕТ БОГЪ МОЛИТВАМИ ЕГО-
ВѢИИ ВЪ ДЪНЪ СЪДАНЪІИ (No.19 - 1398)

ix. ДА СИ ПОСТАВАТ УЛОВѢКА ДА СЪБИРАТ ДОУША МОНАСТИРСКЪІ (No.28 - 1404-1406)

The most obvious example of a conditional da-clause is in:

x. Ш ИИЖЕ ИЗБЕРЕТ ГОСПОДЪ БОГЪ ДА БѢДЕТ ГОСПОДИНЪ ЗЕМЛЕ ВЛАСКОМѢ ЛИ
ШТ СЪРШАНИКЪ НАШЪ ЛИ ШТ ИНОПЛЕ(МЕ)НИКЪ БЫТИ ГОСПОДИНЪ ЗЕМЛЕ ВЛАСКОЕ ТОИ
ДА ИМАТ ПОНОВИТИ И ПРЕХВАТИТИ СИЮ УИСТНОМЪ ХРИСОВ ГОСПОДСТВА МИ ПО НЕГО
ГОСПОДЪ БОГЪ ДА ПОНОВИТЪ ЗАЕ С ТѢЛОМ И ДА СЪХРАНИТЪ ВЪ БОДЕШОМЪ ВѢЦѢ ДѢША
ЕГО (No.24 - 1401-1406)

The other two run:

xi. варе що да ест достоѣніе или шт сел или шт влата или шт цигани
взсѣки да са варѣват шт достоѣніе монастырско (Nos.56 - 1424 and 77 -
1436)

This da-clause is not very different from one treated as a complement of
избрати:

xii. кшго изберет господъ богъ быти господинъ влашкии земли или шт
сзродник господство ми или бѣди кш да бѣдет господинъ на столѣ господ-
ства ми (Nos.26 - 1402-1418 and 37 - 1415)

The conjunction ѣако(же) is used mainly to introduce the provisions
of the charters (see its distribution in Table III). It occurs typically
at the beginning of a list of provisions, after an expression such as
дарѣва господство ми сзи хрисовѣл светомѣ монастыроу X (*passim*). The
alternative, како, which is found, together with ѣако, only in Nos.48 -
1421 and 103 - 1451, is presumably a Serbism.²⁷

Of the two final infinitives, one has been quoted under Table I xxxiii,
p.213. The other depends on a main clause with the verb даровати and so
is equivalent to a da-clause (see vi above):

xiii. та възсѣ притежават и дарѣть господства ми тѣмъ свѣтъимъ монас-
тыремъ быти въ отчинѣ и въ шхѣбѣ до живота господства ми (No.49 - 1421)

Table V. Tense and mood of verbs in da-clauses

Among several hundred da-clauses, only two do not have present indic-
ative verbs. These two are practically identical:

i. хто са би покѣсил да позабавил аще и влас един (No.52 - 1424 and
similarly in No.94 - 1441)

Da can here be understood as a co-ordinative conjunction comparable to
та which is also followed by the conditional mood in a parallel passage
quoted under Table I xxxi, p.212.

27. See Grickat 1975 pp.111-12. The use of како rather than ѣако is a
feature which distinguishes Ioann Stratsimir's charter to Braşov from
the other Bulgarian charters, see p.187.

Table VI. Infinitives separated from their governing expressions, and da separated from its dependent verbs, by non-enclitic elements

	<u>Occurrence</u>		<u>Separated occurrences</u>	
	<u>of construction</u>			
Infinitive	199	(47) 7?	92	(25) 1?
Imperative/Final/				
Complementary <u>da</u>	394	(15) 5?	5	
Co-ordinative <u>da</u>	27		25	
Complementary <u>da</u>	66	(27) 1?	2	(1)
Final <u>da</u>	43	1?	4	
Conditional <u>da</u>	3			

Comments

Infinitives may be separated from the words that govern them by: the subject of the main verb and its qualifying expressions, adverbs modifying the main verb; clauses; the subject, complement or object of the infinitive, adverbial expressions qualifying the infinitive; combinations of these. Only two short infinitives without final -и are so separated:

i. БЛАГОИЗВОЛИ ГОСПОДСТВО МИ ВОЗДВИГНѢТЪ (No.9 - 1388)

ii. КАКО СИ ЦЕТ ДѢШѢ УСТАВѢТЪ ѿ МОНАСТѢРѢ УТ КОЗѢЖ (No.27 - 1402-1418)

The large number of separated long infinitives occur mostly in formulaic expressions, after main verbs such as смыти, похосити, избрати and the compounds of волити, but never after хотѣти.

Da may be separated from the verb which follows it by: the subject of that verb, an adjective or participle qualifying the subject, an adverb or adverbial phrase, or a conditional clause. Combinations of separating items do not occur. By far the most frequent construction is that in which da is followed by a conditional clause and then by another da-clause, e.g.:

iii. ДА АЩЕ ПОИШЕТИ И ПОУТЕТ И ОУТВЕРДИТИ СИН ХРИСТОВЪ ГОСПОДСТВА МИ ТѢ ТАКѢВАГО ДА ОУТВЕРДИТИ ГОСПОДЪ БОГЪ И ДА ѸКРѢПИТИ ВЪ ГОСПОДСТВѢ ЕГѢ (No.25 - 1402-1403)

All the co-ordinative clauses tabulated are of this type, except that one has a participle instead of a conditional clause. It might seem that the first da in such constructions anticipates the second one, as in passages quoted in Ch.2, p.87 ii and p.108 iv and v; but in fact da in this use is equivalent to the co-ordinative conjunction та, and several later charters in the same series as No.25 read та (Nos.38 - 1415, 94 - 1441, 99 - 1445).

Most of the examples of interrupted da-clauses are early; apart from co-ordinative clauses, the only instance later than 1430 comes in No.89 - 1439, where it is copied in a series which started in No.7 - 1385. The most interesting interrupted clauses are, in view of the surmise expressed in the Conclusions to Ch.2, p.144, those which can be understood as imperatives:

iv. си гдѣже сѧ шѣрашѣт коумеркъ или кѡпень или некоупенъ да сѧ ни-
кто смѣеть покоушитъ шт кѡмеркѣрь и да позабавитъ телѣгамъ монастыр-
скымъ (No.30 - 1406? and similarly in Nos.45 - 1419 and 64 - 1426)

v. аще ли поновит и твердит и приложит монастырю да господь богъ
приложит емѡ лѣта долга и живот вѣунын (No.17 - 1392)

Table VII. Verbs governing preposed infinitives

There is one place in which the infinitive is preposed to the verb which governs it:

i. да не смѣет шт рода или шт сзродника тугшъи уловѣка понскати ниже
слово рѣши за тоъи понеже хто сѧ шѣт покѡситъ да ишѣт прѣа шѣт велико злш
и шргѣж шт господства ми (No.27 - 1402-1418)²⁸

This is also the only example of an infinitive without final -ти (see Table VII). The coincidence is striking, as is its combination with an unquestionable use of apocopated хотѣти as a future auxiliary. The construction thus bears all the marks of popular, rather than literary, usage.

28. The word-division is mine. Panaitescu and Mioc print: хто сѧ шѣт
покѡситъ да и (end of printed line) шѣт прѣашѣт велико злш.

Table VIII. Verbs governing apocopated infinitives (without -и or -ти)

	<u>Occurrence with</u> <u>infinitival constructions</u>	<u>Occurrence with</u> <u>apocopated infinitives</u>
хотѣти	18 1?	2
хтѣти	4	1
apocopated хотѣти	14	9
благонзволити	46	1
имѣти	31 2?	1
смѣти	37 2?	6 1?

Comments

Infinitives without final -и appear throughout the corpus, up to 1458 (No.117), though they are slightly more frequent in the earlier half. There is only one instance of an infinitive without final -ти, which has been cited under Table VII i, p.224. Apocopated infinitives occur indifferently in formulaic and unique expressions, and may be juxtaposed to full infinitives, e.g.:

i. ешеже и шт пучел варе колико се хтат находити по тѣх влата до гае им ест хотар монастырскыи уловѣкз да им възимат вамѡ шт пучел и инь! възса работи колико се хтат прилѡунт (No.28 - 1404-1406)

As was mentioned under Table VI i and ii, p.223, apocopated infinitives are separated from their governing verbs only in two places.

Remodelling of infinitives

There are no examples of this among the charters examined here.

B. LETTERS AND TRADING CHARTERS

Table I. Verbs governing infinitive or da-clause with identical or distinct subjects

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
	<u>of verb</u>	<u>same subj.</u> <u>diff.subj.</u>	<u>same subj.</u> <u>diff.subj.</u>
хотѣти	12	12	\
хтѣти	16	13	4

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>Da-clause</u>	
	<u>of verb</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>
аросоратед хотѣти	106	99		8	
ще	1?				
взсхотѣти	2			1	1
любити	4			3	1
раунти	1			1	
недѣитѣ	1				
моуи	12	12			
вззмоуи	1	1			
порѣунти	1				1
запрѣтити	1				1
шрисовати					
нако/како	7				11 1?
реуи (како)	5			2	4
говорити	1				1
писати (како)	4				5
пѣскати	2			2	
пѣстити	3		1	1	1
штпроводити	1				1
довести	1				1
ити	2			3	
доити	4			4	
поити	2			2	
штити како	1			1	
ходити	4	4		2	
спѣшити	1			1	
имѣти	14	14			
давати/дати	11		8		3
смѣти	8	8			
надѣати са	1				1

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>Da-clause</u>	
	<u>of verb</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>
сподозити	2		1		1
молити	4				4
молити се	1			1	
просити (ѣако)	9				14
шѣщавати се (ѣако)	2			1	6
давати вѣрѣ и дѣшѣ	1				1
клѣти на вѣрѣ и					
на дѣшѣ	1				1
принмати на верѣ и					
на дѣшѣ	1			1	
ѣзѣти на главѣ	1				1
дати си главѣ ѣако	1				1
наѣчити	2				3
стиснѣти	2				2
направити	1				1
сторити	1				1
ѣчинити (ѣако)	2				2
оставити	13			1	16
оставлѣти	2				3
прѣложити	1				2
шлѣзѣтити (ѣако)	4				5
мислити	1			1	
помислити	1			1	
гледати (ѣако)	2			1	1
изѣрати	1		1		
искати	1				1
требовати	1			1	
похѣсити (ѣако)	6	1		5	
мѣжити се (ѣако)	3			2	1

	<u>Occurrence</u>		<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>Da-clause</u>	
	<u>of verb</u>		<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>
ЃТЗКМНТИ						
КАКО/КАКО	3				5	
ЃТЗКМНТИ И						
НАПРАВНТИ КАКО	1				1	1
ЃЛАГАТИ СЕ	1				1	
ОСТАТИ	1				1	
БЫТИ	1				1	

Comments

The chronological distribution of these documents is different from those in the preceding group. Here the greatest concentration of the most informal letters in the 1430s and 1440s; only seventeen documents in the corpus date from before 1430, and of these, four have basically the same text, Nos.5 - 1421, 8 - 1422, and 11 - 1424 being issued to confirm No.1 - 1413.(No.49 - 1437 belongs to the same series). To judge by its opening words, No.7 - 1424-1427 may likewise reiterate earlier documents now lost. These and No.1 - 1390? in Kaŕuŕniacki are trading charters, less traditional and formulaic in language than the documents in group A, but more formal and conservative in expression than the letters. Consequently, a feature which appears only after 1430 cannot be treated ipso facto as new, since it may be absent from the earlier documents by chance; and on the other hand, peculiarities which are attested before 1430 are of particular interest.

The point is illustrated by the conjugational pattern of apocopated ХОУЪТИ. The present tense normally runs: УЖ, ?(2nd per. sing. not attested), УЕ(Т), УЕМЪ, УЕТЕ; the 3rd per. plur. УЖТ occurs thrice (Bogdan emends it to УЖ in No.45 - 1433-1437):

i. АКО УЖТ ИМЪТИ УТ КЖДЪ ВЪАТИ А ТІЕ МЪ УЖТ ПЛАТИТ(No.3 - 1415-1418)

ii. А КОЖАЛМЪНЕ НХ УЖТ ДОВЕСТИ ДО МЕНЕ (No.33 - 1431?)

However, in rather more instances (x 9) an apparently equivalent form,

хѣтѣ or хѣтѣ(тѣ), is used, and two of these are early:

iii. тѣмо на единѣ мѣстѣ гдѣ си хѣтѣ кѣпѣ развезати ѿ тръговище тѣ да си платѣ вѣ и що полюба да си кѣпѣ (No.1 - 1390? in Kaŕuŕniacki)

This charter also contains the 3rd per. sing. хѣтѣ.

iv. тѣзи вѣре колици бѣшовѣни хѣтѣ поминѣт поминѣт да им не вѣзмете (No.12 - 1424?)

It is tempting to suppose that хѣтѣ was the normal 3rd per. plur., in at least some usages, of apocopated хотѣти (see also above, A Table I xii, p.210, and Ch.5, p.276); but the pattern is more complicated than this. On the one hand хѣтѣ, like хѣтѣ, can be used as a future auxiliary and хѣтѣ is an alternative to хѣтѣ in:

v. и тѣзи ви пѣстихъ нѣколици волове и краве вѣшен мѣлости на чѣст да ви ихъ раздѣлите и коли хѣтѣ бѣти а господство ви ми пишете книгѣ кѣ гос-подства ми да знамъ колико ви сѣ дали (No.70 - 1456-1459)

vi. понеже аще хѣтѣ погинѣт сѣзи землѣ и тѣе хѣтѣ погинѣт и землѣ господина ми кралѣ не хѣтѣ имѣти покомъ (No.23 - 1432?)

On the other hand, the 3rd per. sing. forms хѣтѣ, хѣтѣ and хѣтѣ and the 2nd per. plur. хѣтѣ seem always to have volitional sense, e.g.:

vii. а томъ сѣ пакъ шѣре и не хѣтѣ донѣти (No.215 - 1433-1440 and similarly in No.73 - 1457-1461)

viii. сѣго радѣ кто хѣтѣ да донѣ а шѣ да донѣ (No.73 - 1457-1463 and similarly in No.72 - 1456-1462)

ix. шѣти азъ хѣтѣ и лѣовилѣ сѣ чѣстихъ да излѣзѣ (No.215 - 1433-1440)

As these forms are limited to a few later documents they may represent another usage, not directly connected with that of хѣтѣ

The Serbisms хѣ and хѣмо, which are found once each, in No.43 - 1434? and 207 - 1431?, are tabulated as instances of apocopated хотѣти.

The most striking form derived from хотѣти is the particle хѣ; but its interest is lessened by the possibility that its one occurrence may be due to a scribal error, a haplology from да аще:

x. да вѣре що ви сѣмъ просилѣ ѿ прѣвѣ книгѣ да хѣ ми бѣнѣте волѣ за този да имамъ и азѣ и вѣе чѣстѣ шѣ господина воеводѣ(ѣ)данѣ ми ѿ знанѣе

на скорое (No.215 - 1433-1440)

The correlations between date of document and construction with the various volitional verbs are also worthy of note. Although apocopated хотѣти is used from the earliest documents onwards, it is not found in combination with da-clauses before 1430. The first example is:

xi. а вѣе говорите понеже ѡх да плѣна с тѣрци зема господина ми кралѣ (No.23 - 1432?)

Both here and in the later examples ѡх followed by da seems to have the sense 'intend to, mean to' especially of an action which is uncertain or frustrated; so in three instances it is negated and once it appears in the past:

xii. и пакъ ѡехъ да допѣстимъ ѿ го дѣкатарѣ а тѣе поидоше къ немѣ и не знамъ ѡо мѣ рекоше а тои се пакъ ѡпре и не хте донти (No.215 - 1433-1440)

It is difficult to find parallel places in the earlier documents where an infinitive has been used rather than a da-clause. Even in those passages where ѡх comes closest to a volitional sense it can be taken as a straight-forward future auxiliary:

xiii. и тази ѡх дрѣжат толко вѣе да дрѣжите (No.6 - 1424-1427)

xiv. не ѡете ли их педепсат да знаете не ѡем азъ ѡставит ѡловѣци господства ми вѣ пагѣхъ (No.16, - 1427-1432)

Thus one cannot conclude from the absence of da-clauses after apocopated хотѣти in the early documents that this construction did not come into use until after 1430.

One of the four instances of любѣти and a da-clause with the same subject is early (No.14 - 1427?) and so is the one possible example of вѣсхотѣти followed by a da-clause with the same subject, though it may be that all the da-clauses in this passage should be understood as imperative:

xv. и еше же брашовѣннинъ кон вѣсхощет да идет на брод дѣнавѣ да прѣидет със кѣпла да даст вамъ тѣрмо на рѣкел и на брод а нигде вѣ земли господства ми (No.11 - 1424)

The single instance of раунти with a da-clause occurs in No.214 - 1437?

The full verb хотѣти, which is combined only with infinitives (usually long ones, see Table VIII) is not found before 1430. It appears either in forms such as хокѣ and хове or in the company of other Serbisms and so may itself be a mark of Serbian influence. It is noticeable that No.5 - 1439 in Kaŕuŕniacki, the trading charter of Vlad I to the cities of Cracow and L'vov, which exhibits several Serbian features such as тѣо and the consistent use of ѣ and е for ж and л, uses full хотѣти, whereas No.1 - 1390? in Kaŕuŕniacki from Mircea I to L'vov has цѣ^т and хтат (see iii above):

xvi. тѣо ѡ хотѣ^л до зѣмли гѣамн донти[...]и тѣо ѡ хотѣ^л донти съ кѣпнѣ^м[...]хто лн ѡ хотѣ^л ѡ вѣ н до тѣрѣкон зѣмли понтн (No.5 - 1439 in Kaŕuŕniacki)

There seems to be no other, semantic or stylistic, explanation for the use of хотѣти and the infinitive; it is not formulaic and can be employed in future constructions, e.g.:

xvii. и кѣга ѣа ѣсхѣкѣ да се съ шнимн разѣмрнте ѣа ѡн хѡщѣ казати прѣѣѣ тѡгѡ на ѣднѣ неѣѣлю како да ѡн не ѣѣѣт пагѣѣѣ (No.44 - 1431-1433 /1436-1437)

While the language of this group of documents is much more varied than than of the Wallachian charters under A, it is not devoid of formulaic expressions, and these account for a number of the other infinitives in Table I. This is true in particular of the constructions with дати. All the infinitives occur in formulae of the type:

xviii. и тѣѣн ѡн даѡам ѣзнати (No.24 - 1432-1433?)

In the three places with da-clauses, даѡати or дати has the sense 'to let, allow':

xix. ѡѣѣ да не да бѡгѣ да плѣна (No.23 - 1432?)

xx. како го вѣѣ тѣратѣ и не даѡатѣ мѣ да ѡннт моѡ слѣѣѣѣѣ (No.37 - 1431-1432? and similarly in No.40 - 1432-1433?)

It may be mere chance that all examples are from after 1430.

Some occurrences of имѣти with the infinitive are likewise formulaic,

since they enter into the standard threat:

xxi. таковыи има^Т прѣати великоу злу и шрѣжѣ ш^Т гвѣам^А (No.1 - 1390? in Kaŕuźniacki, and in ten other documents)

The earlier documents have variations on this:

xxii. понеже имат господство ми великоу зло ѡуинити томѡмѡзи (sic) уловѣкѡ (No.2 - 1418-1420 according to Panaitescu and Mioc)

xxiii. варе кто се би покѡсиль да им позабавит аще и влас един имат изгинѣт шт родителѣ господства ми и шт господство ми (No.3 - 1415-1418)

Later имѣти is occasionally found in non-formulaic expressions, as a future auxiliary:

xxiv. нѣ за едно имам взати шт вас двоинѣ и помного (No.32 - 1430-1431)

The use of смѣти is also in itself formulaic, since it is one of the normal verbs, with покѡсити, to stand in minatory clauses, but there is more variety in the infinitives which it governs, depending on the particular activities which are forbidden in one or other document.

The infinitival constructions with ходити and сподобити, although they are rare, also present the appearance of formulae:

xxv. а шни да сѣ слѡбѡни ходити по всен земи и швласти гвѣам^А продавати и кѡпѣвати (No.1 - 1390? in Kaŕuźniacki and similarly in No.71 - 1458-1459?)

This contrasts with the non-formulaic passages:

xxvi. нѣ нѣ шставлѣм да ходат слободно да се хранат (No.56 - 1438-1446)

xxvii. та наѡ на зема да плѣнат и да расипат (No.20 - 1432?)

Equally one may contrast the piece of epistolary etiquette in No.43 with the less purely conventional wish in No.23:

xxviii. и да спѡда(ш)бит богъ сѣмѡ писанію моемѡ шрѣсти ви здравех и веселех (No.43 - 1434?)

xxix. и да сподоби богъ да сѣ приближит господинѣ крал да станемо прѣд ним (No.23 - 1432?)

In the pre-1430 documents there is only one verb of motion, понтити with a да-clause, and no example of сподобити.

Occasionally formulae are borrowed from the more highly conventionalized style of the documents discussed under A:

xxx. кѡго нѡбереть гь бѣ бити гнѣ^а владшкон земли (No.5 - 1439 in Kaŕ-uźniacki)

xxxі. кто сѧ шет покѡсит прѣстѣпити сын хрисовѣа господаства мѧ (No. 17 - 1431)

The five places in which покѡсити takes a da-clause are all dated before 1430, and in only one of them (No.11 - 1424) is this verb itself an infinitive dependent on шет. Furthermore, co-ordinative constructions with та appear with покѡсити from an early date:

xxxіі. еще же кто сѧ шет покѡсит шт болѣр господаства мѧ велицѣх же и малих бѣа да ест кѡпен тоижи кѡмеркѣ бѣа да ест кѡмѡ либо милость дадена та приложит та не стоит на що сѧм ѡтворѣил и законил на прѣвом законѣ (No.1 - 1413 and three others in the same series, Nos.5 - 1421, 8 - 1422 and 49 - 1437)

The free use of da-clauses and co-ordination with this verb is thus in force earlier than in the documents of section A, see Table I xxiii, xxiv, xxxi, pp.211-12.

Co-ordinative constructions are also found with other verbs, e.g.:

xxxііі. а нинѣ ест дошел ханеш до мене та ми кажет шти ест оу него меѡз и поставѣ и восѣкѣ (No.214 - 1437?)

xxxiv. а вне сте запрѣтилиѣ вашим злим людемѣ та гонат слѡги господаства мѧ (No.32 - 1430-1431)

The only non-formulaic infinitives which remain are those governed by моуи, възмоуи and пѡстити, which are all attested after 1430, and the one with неѡвѣите (No.2 - 1418-1420)

The table makes it clear that there are very many verbs in this corpus which can be said to be complemented by da-clauses. Apart from those already discussed, however, only a limited number are attested in the early documents: запрѣтити, рѣши, давати вѣрѣ и дшѣ, ѡуинити, оставити, оставлѣти, трѣбовати (once each) and хрисовати, просити, шѣщавати се (twice each). Among these early texts, and still more in the more numerous later ones, there are places where it is hard to decide whether a

da-clause should be treated as complementary or as final. One reason for this is that the clause allows more variety of construction than the complementary infinitive. For example, the infinitive and the da-clause in the following two passages seem to be equivalent:

xxxv. ДА И ДРՃԶԵԽԶ ՍԾՏԻՏԻԱ ԿԵԼՈՎԱԽԻ (No.212 - 1432-1437)

xxxvi. А ВІЕ ГО ПԾՏԻՏԵ ДА ДОНДЕТ (No.25 - 1431-1433)

However the entries for пԾԿԱԽԻ and пԾՏԻՏԻ in the table include passages where the subjects of main verb and subordinate one are identical, e.g.:

xxxvii. ПОНЕЖЕ ПԾՏԻԽ Ծ ГОСПОДИНА КРАЛԷ ДА СЯ ПЛАУА ШТ ВАС (No.27 - 1431-1433)

xxxviii. НЖ ПԾՍԱԽ ДА МИ ВЗЪМЕТ МОА ПРАВА ОУИНА И МОА ЗЕМЛИЦА (No.63 - 1451-1452)

These are not strictly comparable grammatically to xxxv and xxxvi, but it seems likely that the use of the da-clause in them gives the choice between making the subject of the subordinate verb the same as the subject or the object of the main verb. That is, whereas the equivalent infinitival construction *ПԾՍԱԽ ВЗЪАԽԻ МОА ПРАВА ОУИНА ... could leave the subject of the subordinate verb implicit, to be understood as some unspecified third person whose business is to carry out the will of the main subject, the da-clause can be so used as to indicate that the prime actor is the subject of the main verb, while the unnamed object of пԾԿԱԽԻ is, as it were, merely the instrument by which the action expressed in the subordinate clause is implicitly carried out (see Ch.3 Table I ix, p.163 for a parallel distinction in the Pritcha). On the other hand, in constructions where the subject of the da-clause is distinct both from the subject and from the object of the main verb, the da-clause is more plainly final and does not rival the traditional infinitival construction, e.g.:

xxxix. АЗЪ ДОНԾՏԻԽ ПԱԿ ДО ВАС ДА МИ ГО ДАСТЕ (No.24 - 1432-1433)

xl. И ТՃԶИ ВИ ПԾՏԻԽ НՅКОЛИЦИ ВОЛОВЕ И КРАВЕ ВАШЕИ МИЛОСТИ НА ҮЕСТ ДА ВИ ИХ РАЗДЕЛИТЕ (No.70 - 1456-1459)

The same liberty is involved when ОСТАВИТИ takes a da-clause whose subject is not, as usually, identical to the object of the main verb. In the table all three examples which follow are admitted on equal terms:

xli. азъ си вставиъ дѣца да се заколат (No.54 - 1438-1444?)

xlii. и да ми имаѣт мои сираци правниѣ шѣ ныѣх понеже не щем си вставит въ срамотѣ да им гинет (No.54 - 1438-1444?)

xliii. азъ мое не щѣ оставит с моимъ главомъ срамотно да загѣбимъ (No.63 - 1451-1452)

Da-clauses after вслободити are dealt with in the same way as after молити and влюсти са in Ch.2 (see, for example, p.122, ii-v): that is, they are treated as complements of the verb only where there is no other candidate for this function:

xliv. и вслободѣте да ходит пѣтъ слободно (No.210 - 1431-1433?)

xlv. тѣзи ви всвобаждаѣт господство ми шѣ всего и шѣ кѣмѣрѣ да не дасте нигдаѣ (No.13 - 1420-1424)

In xliv the da-clause is taken to complement the main verb, in xlv it is regarded as final.

The da-clause with быти is curious and may be a scribal error, e.g. for *щете да:

xlvi. аще сте да ми поможете елате поскоро (No.21 - 1432?)

Table II. Impersonal constructions with infinitive or da-clause

There are only two such constructions in the whole corpus. They both occur in the passage:

i. и не мни ми са да е добро да и дрѣзѣхъ пѣститѣ келтовати (No.212 - 1432-1437)

Elsewhere мнит се can take a different type of complement:

ii. то и двѣрѣ да знате шѣ ми ест велики жал на вас нѣ ми се мнит шѣ и вамъ жалъ бѣти (No.37 - 1431-1432?)

The words е and бѣа are taken to be fossilized parts of быти, meaning '(what)ever' and 'whether' respectively, and not to be impersonal verbs in:

iii. нж се съберете и стонте готови да е въз кон вас фтаса рѣу господа-
ства ми въз тои вас да доидете (No.19 - 1432?)

iv. бѣди да ест кѡпен тоиѣи кѡмеркъ бѣди да ест комѡ либо милость да-
дена (Nos.1 - 1413, 5 - 1421, 8 - 1422, 11 - 1424 and 49 - 1437)

Compare кѡди ктѡ in the charters of section A, e.g. in Table IV xii,
p.222.

Table III. Nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs governing infinitive
or da-clause

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
	<u>of governing word</u>		
	<u>Nouns</u>		
волѣ (ѣако)	2		3
волѣ и хтѣниѣ	1		1
шриѣмо ѣако	3		3
рѣу	2		2
надежда	1		1
закон			
ѣако / како	7		7
работа	1		1
служба	1		3
знаниѣ ѣако	1		2
аѣи	1		1
	<u>Pronouns</u>		
кто (ѣако)	2		2
що (како)	2	1	1
тоѣи	2		3
	<u>Adjectives</u>		
достойн	1		1
длѣжен	1		1
волен	9	8	4
слободѣи	1	1	

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
	<u>of governing word</u>		
ГОТОВ	1		1
	<u>Adverbs</u>		
КАКО	2		2
ШТКАДЪ	2	2	

Comments

Here too the three kinds of complement distinguished in Ch.1 D III, p.19, are found. The first kind is represented by the da-clauses after a number of the nouns - ВОЛѢ, ЖТЕННЕ, ШРИЗМО, РѢУ, НАДЕЖДА, ЗНАНИЕ - and by the complements of the adjectives. The only adjective which occurs in the early documents takes an infinitive and is probably formulaic (see Table I xxv, p.232). It cannot be directly compared with any others. The adjective ВОЛЕН, which is apparently synonymous with СЛОВОДЕН, is attested only in documents from the 1430s, and it is not clear under what circumstances it governs the infinitive or the da-clause. In two places where it takes infinitives there is perhaps a greater concentration than usual of Serbisms (Nos. 38 - 1431-1432? and 41 - 1431-1433?), but this is not obviously so in the third, No.48 - 1433-1437.

The second type of complement is found with the pronouns КТО and ШО and the adverbs. Again, the only examples from before 1430 contain infinitives, governed by ШТКАДЪ:

i. АКО ШЖТ НМѢТИ ШТКАДЪ ВЗАТИ А ТІЕ МѢ ШЖТ ПЛАТИТ АЩЕ ЛИ НЕ БИ НМАЛ АЛЖНИКОТ ШТ ККАДЪ ПЛАТИТ А ОНЪ ДА СИ БІЕ ШУИ ШО НЪ СІ Е ДАЛ ДОБИТЬКЪ Ѣ ДОБРА УЛОВѢКА (No.3 - 1415-1418)

Of the later instances, one uses the traditional infinitival construction:

ii. ТА ВА(РЕ) ШО УЕ НМАТ БЕСѢДОВАТИ КЪ ГОСПОДСТВО БИ А ВАША МИЛОСТЪ ДА ГО ВѢРѢТЕ (No.68 - 1456-1459)

As a whole this passage is formulaic; it is a standard ending found in many of the letters.

Otherwise the da-clause is the rule:

iii. ѸѢ НЕМАТ КТО ДА МИ СТОИТ НА ПРѢД (No.34 - 1431?)

iv. И НА КѡГѢ МѢ ѸСТАВИ КАКО ДА МИ БЖДЕТ ВЪ НЕВОЛИ ПОМОЩНИК (No.23 - 1432?)

v. А ВІЕ МИ КАЖЕТЕ ДА ЗНАМ КАКО ДА ѸНИНЖ (No.21 - 1432?)

The other da-clause with deliberative како is a direct reported question:

vi. И ДОИДОШЕ КЪ МЕНЕ И РЕКОШЕ МИ ТАКОЖИ КАКО ДА ПРЕМѢСТИШ ХЕРЕГИЖ Ѹ БРАШОВ ДА ѸЗЪМЕШИ ѸБСТЪ ѸТ НАС ДА Ж ДАШИ БРАШОВѢНОМЪ (No.215 - 1433-1440)

The construction with аен is grouped with these, but could be regarded as final:

vii. Ѹ КОГО НАИДЖТ МЕД ДА МѸ ПОСТАВАТ АЕНЪ ДА Ж ѸТНЕСЕТ Ѹ ХАРАГИЖ (No.35 - 1431?)

The remaining da-clauses are defining expressions dependent on nouns - ЗАКОН, РАБОТА, СЛУЖБА - and pronouns - ѸО and ТОЗИ, e.g.:

viii. СІАЗИ РАБОТА СЪС ВАШИМ ЛІ ЕСТ СЪВѢТОМ И СЪС ВАШЖ ВОЛА ДА ВЪЗНИ-
МЖТ ВАМЖ ѸТ ГРАД (No.15 - 1427-1431)

ix. И ТѸЗИ ЕСТ ДРѸГА МЕД ОѸ ИВАНА ѸО ЕСТ ДЛЪЖЕН СИНѸ МАТИНОВѸ ТА ДА Ж ДАДЕТ ДА МИ Ж ДОНЕСЖТ И ЗА ТОЗИ ДА СТОИТЕ ДА Ж ДАСТ (No.214 - 1437)

As with the charters of section A (see Table III xi, p.219), it is sometimes hard to tell whether a da-clause complements the main verb or expands the adverb такожи:

x. И ТАКОЖИ ДА ѸУНИНТЕ КАКО ВЛАД ДА ХОДИТ ВЪСЕГДА К МЕН(Е) СЛОБОДЕН (No.209 - 1431-1433?)

xi. И ТАКОЖИ ВИ ѸРИСѸЖТЪ (sic) ГОСПОДСТВУ МИ КАКО НИ ЕДИНШГѢ ѸЛОВѢКА ДА НЕ ѸСТАВИТЕ ДА ИДЕ ПРѢС ПЛАНИНЖ Ѹ ВЛАШКѸ ЗЕМЛЮ (No.38 - 1431-1432?)

There are also instances of this with направити and ѸТЪКНИТИ in No.64 - 1452?. All these da-clauses have been placed in Table I.

Paratactic constructions are used as an alternative to the da-clauses of this table, e.g.:

xii. И <Н>А ТѸМ ДА ВИ ЕСТ Ѹ ЗНАНИЕ ВАРЕ МИ СТЕ ПОРѸУАЛИ ѸТ ГРЕВ ПЕТРА И ѸТ КАКОВА Ѹ ТѸМ РАЗѸМЕХ И НА ТѸМ ЕСТ МОА ВОЛѢ КАКО ВАРЕ СЪ КИМ ХОКЕТЕ ѸМИРЕТЕ СЕ СЪ ШНИМИ И ТРЪЗѸНТЕ И ХРАНЕТЕ СЕ ИЛИ СЪ МОЛАШВЕНЕ ИЛИ СЪ ВЛАСИ НЖ ТѸК<М>О ДА НЕ НОСИТЕ ТАМО ШВИЗИ ЗЛИ ПЕНЕЗИ ИЛИ МЕДЪ (No.44 - 1431-1433/1436-1437?)

Table IV. Other constructions with infinitive or da-clause

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
Imperative/Final/	
Complementary	175 (2)
Co-ordinative	42 (1) 2?
Final	54
Conditional/Concessive	18
ѹако	33
како	18
иꙗꙗади	1
ꙗꙗꙗади	1
макаꙗ	2
ꙗти	1
ꙗде	1
нека	2
та	8

Comments

It is no easier to determine the function of a da-clause in this group of documents than in the other Wallachian ones or the Bulgarian charters. Once more, the characteristic pattern is for the document to start with some formula of injunction and continue in a string of da-clauses, whose dependence on the opening expression may be vague from the beginning and becomes more implausible the further they are removed from it. Even the distinctions which have been made here between the various uses of the da-clauses are sometimes hard to uphold and are prompted more by subjective interpretation of passages than by any clear objective criteria. In the two following examples the underlined da-clauses have been taken as final, but could be understood as imperative:

i. и такоꙗи да ѡуиниште како влад да ходит вꙗсегда к мен(е) слободен
да ест на вꙗсѣко врѣме кꙗи мен(е) вꙗш ꙗловѣкꙗ да не лиꙗсат ꙗт ꙗде ꙗ ꙗом
ꙗнаꙗ да вꙗи каꙗꙗ (No.209 - 1431-1433?)

ii. ѿпишете ѿ книгѣ и запечатете да верѡх да се мѡуимъ и азе съ вами
за вашъ уѣсть да кажѣ и азъ господинѡ ми колико помощъ щетъ имати ѡт вас
да мѡ бѣдетъ радо срѣще да бѣдетъ съ вѣсѣ волѣ къ вамъ пакъ за вашѡ
уѣсть (No.215 - 1433-1440)

On the other hand, in the passage quoted under Table III vi, p.238, the second and third da-clauses, which could be thought to express purpose, have been treated here as co-ordinative. These are examples in which it is particularly difficult to decide which construction one is faced with; most of the instances included under one or other heading in the Table are clearer-cut, but this is because their context elucidates them, not on the whole because they are formally differentiated.

The two queried co-ordinative da-clauses, exceptionally in this section, occur in places where the reading is obscure, rather than conjectural. One of these has already been discussed under Table I x, pp.229-30. If it is emended to read да аще, it is comparable to:

iii. защо прошѡ азъ вас ѡтти що сте вѣ мене просили азъ ви съмъ съ-
твориѡ волѣ ѿ господина ми воевѡда(ы) и ест готова да що прошѡ азъ ѡт
вас а вие ми не дадоште знаніе да аще ѡуимите тѣхъзи работѣ вѣ мене азъ
съмъ вашъ прѣат(е)лъ и любимъ вашѡ уѣсть (No.215 - 1433-1440)

The other is discussed under Table V i, p.242.

There is little difference over these constructions between the early documents and the later ones. Before 1430 there are at most only four examples of co-ordinative da, but this may be simply because the number of documents from that time is small. The same consideration may explain why there are no instances of изради, заради, ѡти or нека among them. It is more interesting that, while eighteen of the thirty three instances of нако occur in early texts, нако appears only twice before 1430 in this context:

iv. того ради тѣка се оухватиле ѡба ханѣша и газда стонкова како да
дадѡт добитѣхъ и скѡлища стонкова и рекоше прѣдъ господство ми како ино да
нѣст (No.14 - 1427?)

It seems likely that the increased frequency of нако is a mark of Serbian influence (see section A Table IV Fn.27, p.222).

The diversity and overlap in the uses of conjunctions in these documents is considerable and is probably not to be accounted for merely by the mixing of different literary traditions. Thus, нако and нако are not only used before a variety of da-clauses - final, complementary, conditional - but also introduce indirect speech. They share this function with the less literary ути and уѣ:

v. и на тым да вам ест ѿ знаніе како думде кѣ мнѣ мои слѣга влад и такози ми каза како го вие тѣрате и не давате мѡ да уинит мою слѣжеѡ (No.37 - 1431-1432?)

vi. тугу рад! да знате ути ты кази граждѣны сна их шет господство ми ут главы си (No.15 - 1427-1431)

vii. тѡзи да знаете уѣ додохъ людіе ут влашкѣ зема та ми казахъ уѣ алдѣ ест ѡмрѣл (No.34 - 1431?)

Both ути, уѣ and also понеже can also be used as causal conjunctions.

In addition, уѣ and шо are found in functions similar to the complementary one of da:

viii. како имам надежда уѣ немот кто да ми стоит напред (No.34 - 1431?)

(Here the clause which complements надежда has a different subject from that of имам, unlike the example of надежда with a da-clause in Table III.)

ix. а онѣ да си вие уини шо нѣ си е алл дохитѣк ѿ добра уловѣка (No.3 - 1415-1418)

The clause which complements the form of vow вити уини here contains a past tense verb, unlike the da-clauses which follow comparable expressions in Table I.

The conjunction та is used in all the functions of da except that of introducing an imperative clause, and may be combined with da apparently to reinforce its final sense:

x. нѣ ходѣте право и живѣте с ними лѣпо и добрѣ да се не плачат ут вас помнигѣ родителю господства ми както до нинѣ либо господствѡ ми та да си уѡх нѣш(о) рѣуи ут рѡдителѣ господства ми възради рѣу(и) вашѣ (No.2 - 1415-1418)

Table V. Tense and mood of verbs in da-clauses

	<u>Imperative/</u>	<u>Co-ordinative</u>	<u>Complementary</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>Conditional/</u>
	<u>Final/Complementary</u>				<u>Concessive</u>
Imperative	1	6			
Present	172 (2)	29	2?	164 (33)	1? 54 16
Aorist		4			
Perfect	2	5 (1)	1		
Conditional			1		2

Comments

There is one place where da seems to be used to reinforce an imperative form of the verb:

i. и да кѡпуѡхт люди господарства ми въ земли вашей и да оставляете
всѣхъ кѡпль да дохождъ въ земли господарства ми и хлѣбъ и желѣзо или бѣди
уто да ходетъ свободно (No.4 - 1421)

There are other places where da precedes an imperative, but in these it can be taken as a co-ordinating conjunction, since it is not itself preceded by a conjunction such as и above:

ii. азъ сези добитък давамъ на твоа рѣкъ да уини какъ знаешъ (No.213 - 1437?)

Even an imperative da-clause may follow co-ordinative da or its equivalent, та:

iii. того ради хто любитъ да кѡпуѡва а ѡи да ходи свободно макаръ и на
само море а за добитка колико естъ знатъ го ханъшъ сѣе колико естъ стонковъ
да да го стѣ дали сѣе (No.14 - 1427?)

iv. и тѡзи естъ мой слѡга мартинъ та сѣ 7 хиліадъ флоринъ ѡ него и петъ
сто(т)инъ та да го стѣ стиснѣ да ми добитокъ донесетъ (No.214 - 1437?)

v. тѡзи щетъ донти жена бонкова да възметъ скѡлища господарства ми та да
ж не бѣнговате понеже естъ работа господарства ми (No.61 - 1432-1446)

Of the two complementary clauses which do not have present indicative verbs, one resembles the imperative da-clauses with perfect verbs quoted under iii and iv above:

vi. и такози ви шриѡдетъ господарство ми яко да сѣ стѣ варѡвале ѡтъ сѣхъ-
зи брѡшовѣнѣнъ не гразѣте ихъ нѣ имъ възимайте вамъ правѣ (No.2 - 1418-1420)

The da-clause could be taken as a direct imperative, parallel to those which follow it.

The other complementary clause contains a conditional:

vii. не смъ ли и азъ достойнъ да бихъ могъ быхънит право моиъ сиромашом (No.54 - 1438-1444)

The conditional mood is also used in unreal conditional clauses:

viii. да елика вамъ изреуеъ да го вероете шти сѣ мое истинниъ реуи нако да бисте слышали шти самниъ моиъ остъ (No.43 - 1434?)

ix. да ходетъ и ваше люде къ намъ кѣповати и продавати слободно безъ ни една грижѣ и безъ пагѣбѣ нако да би ходили ѣ ваше землѣ такожде да ходетъ и наше люде къ вамъ слободни (No.71 - 1458-1459?)

Table VI. Infinitives separated from their governing expressions, and da separated from its dependent verbs, by non-enclitic elements

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Separated occurrences</u>
	<u>of construction</u>	
Infinitive	185 (3)	21
Imperative/Final/		
Complementary <u>da</u>	175 (2)	3
Co-ordinative <u>da</u>	42 (1) 2?	24 1?
Complementary <u>da</u>	166 (33)	4
Final <u>da</u>	54	2
Conditional/		
Concessive <u>da</u>	18	
<u>Comments</u>		

Infinitives may be separated from the verbs which govern them by: the subject of both main verb and infinitive; the subject of the infinitive (see Table I xxviii, p.232); the direct or indirect object of the infinitive; adverbs qualifying either main verb or infinitive; combinations of these. There are five instances in which a shortened infinitive is thus separated. Two of them are found together in the one document:

i. НЕ ЩЕМ АЗЪ УСТАВИТ УЛОВЪЦИ ГОСПОДСТВА МИ ВЪ ПАГѢБЖ НЖ ЩЕМ АЗЪ
ИЗЪМЖСТИТЪ МОИМЪ УЛОВЪКЪМ (No.16 - 1427-1431)

The other three all come from the 1430s:

ii. и коего би уловѣка ХОТЕЛ ІВАН(Ъ)ШЪ ѠХВАТИТ (No.38 - 1431-1432?)

iii. УТИ ГО ЩЖ УТ ВАС ИСКАТ (No.48 - 1433-1437)

iv. нищо вы НЕ МОГЖ ИНО ПИСАТ (No.212 - 1432-1437)

Da may be separated from the verb which follows it by the subject or direct object of that verb, adverbs qualifying it, or various types of subordinate clause - conditional, relative, causal, temporal. Clauses intervene only between co-ordinative da and its verb. In two places what has been counted as co-ordinative da could alternatively be intended to reinforce a following imperative da-clause, since no verb stands between the two:

v. УТИ ЕВО ТѠРЦИ ГДЕ СА ПАДНЖЛИ ПО ДѠНАВѠ ПО ВЖСѢХЪ БРОДОВОХ ТА НАДѠ
НА ЗЕМА ДА ПЛѢНАТ И ДА РАСИПАТ ДА ПОСКОРО ДЕНИЖ И НОШИЖ ДА СПѢШИТЕ ДА
ДОНДЕТЕ НА ПОМОЩЪ (No.20 - 1432?)

vi. и ако сте приѣтели наши ДА ИНО ДА НЕ СТОРИТЕ (No.28 - 1431-1433)

In most other interrupted da-clauses it is the object of the verb which precedes it, e.g. in the imperative expressions:

vii. ДА ИМ ВАМЖ НЕ СМѢТЕ ВЪЗАТИ (No.9 - 1422 and similarly in No.10 - 1422?)

viii. АЩЕ ЛИ Ж УТПРОВОДИТ ѠКРАДОМ ДА СИ ГЛАВЖ ИЗГѠБИТ (No.35 - 1431?)

The complementary clauses, one in No.10 - 1422?, the others all after 1430, are all interrupted in the same way as the imperatives, except for:

ix. и кзга НА ѠСХЖКѠ ДА СЕ СЪ ШНИИ РАЗМИРИТЕ (No.44 - 1431-1433/1436-1437?)

Only final clauses are interrupted by the subject placed before the verb:

x. ДА ГА ПРОЖЕНЕМО УТ ЗЕМЛЕ ДА И ВИ С МИРШМЪ ПРѢБИВАТЕ И АРѠЗИ ХРИ-
СТИАНЕ ДА ПОУИВАЮТЪ (No.39 - 1432-1433?)

xi. и прилѣпих се ш вас НАКО ДА МОИ СИРАЦИ ИМАЖТ МИЛО УТ ВАС И ДА СЕ
ХРАНАТ СВОБОДНО И ВАШИ И НАШИ И САМО И ТАМО (No.54 - 1438-1444)

In some passages the intervening element is clearly emphasized, but this

does not seem to apply in all places, e.g.:

xii. а помного вамж да имз не смѣте възати понеже кои са би покѣсил да възмет вамж повыше то таковы имат приати велико зло и шрѣа господства ми тако невѣрник господства ми ниако не шет быти и варе на коем трзсѣ продадет са постав тѣка да си вамж платитъ а докле не продадет вамж да не дадет (No.10 - 1422?)

Table VII. Verbs governing preposed infinitives

Only apocopated хотѣти takes a preposed infinitive, in five places. The earliest of these is:

i. шти ты нази граждѣны сна их шет господствоми шт главы си (No.15 - 1427-1431)

The others all occur in the 1430s, two of them in one document (No.34 - 1431?). All the infinitives except one lack the ending -ти: сна, уека, развали, ѡмрѣ. The exception is:

ii. вставит ви шж ѡкраи горѣ (No.34 - 1431?)

This cannot be explained by the presence of ви between infinitive and verb, since one also finds:

iii. и мир съ власи да не уините аше ли ѡвините да знаете азъ развали ви шж мир (No.33 - 1431?)

There is also one instance of a non-preposed infinitive without -ти, see Table VIII

Table VIII. Words governing apocopated infinitives (without -и or -ти)

	<u>Occurrence with</u> <u>infinitival constructions</u>	<u>Occurrence with</u> <u>apocopated infinitives</u>
хотѣти	12	1
хтѣти	13	6
apocopated хотѣти	99	62
моуи	12	7
възмоуи	1	1
имѣти	14	4
дати	8	1

	<u>Occurrence with</u> <u>infinitival constructions</u>	<u>Occurrence with</u> <u>apocopated infinitives</u>
СМѢТИ	8	2
БОЛЕН	8	3
ШТКЪДЪ	2	1

Comments

There is one instance of an infinitive without -ти which stands after its verb:

- i. ДА УЕН (sic) СИ ЩЕ ИСКА СВОЕ ДА ГО ЌЗЕ (No.213 - 1437?)

For the other short infinitives of this kind, see Table VII.

Before 1430 only apocopated ХОТѢТИ (with ХТАТ as its 3rd per. plur.), ИМѢТИ and СМѢТИ are attested with shortened infinitives. It is interesting that while a shortened infinitive may be used in formulaic expressions, it is not itself a formulaic element; for example the short infinitive in No.1 is not copied in the other documents of the same series:

- ii. ТЪ ТАКОВИ ИМАТ ПРИХТ ВЕЛИКО ЗЛО И ШРГНХ ШТ ГОСПОДСТВА МИ (No.1 - 1413; ПРИАТИ in Nos.5 - 1421, 8 - 1422, 11 - 1424, 49 - 1437)

Remodelling of infinitives

There is a single example of this in the corpus:

- i. АЗЕ СЪ ВАМИ МОГЪ А БЕЗ ВАС НЕ МОГЪ СТАНЪТИ ПРЕД НИМИ (No.19 - 1432?)

This replaces the traditional СТАТИ. The same generalization of the present stem has produced the aorist СТАНАХ and the perfect participle СТАНАЛ in modern Bulgarian.

CONCLUSIONS

The three kinds of documents which have been examined in this chapter are generally held to have some bearing on the history of the Bulgarian language. At the least they all reflect, more or less purely, the conventions of Bulgarian chancery language in the thirteenth to fifteenth

centuries; it is possible to take the view that most of them owe their composition to native Bulgarian speakers. Nevertheless it would be patently wrong-headed to draw from them any conclusions which presupposed that these documents present a single continuous tradition. Many reasons for this have already been given. The documents were written in a number of different places by different people whose own Bulgarian usages, whether native or not, doubtless also differed. The scribes also varied in the literary norms which they observed: in each group of documents some texts contain Serbian features, though the degree of obvious Serbian influence is much greater in the Wallachian documents, above all in the letters in section B, than in the fourteenth century Bulgarian charters Virgino and Bila. The phraseology was conventionalized and could be maintained with little alteration within one tradition for scores of years, though the particular conventions would vary according to the nature of the document. The effect of all these factors in combination is that, although altogether the texts span a period of more than two hundred years, the changes of usage between and within the groups of documents cannot be said to reflect in a straight-forward way the developments in the spoken language during this time, nor even, pace Bernshtein, a shift from well-established chancery conventions to something more like current colloquial language.

The Bulgarian charters may serve as a starting-point, an illustration of the norms on which the Wallachian documents were in part based. In part: for, as was mentioned in the Introduction to them, p.202, Wallachian diplomatic practice drew on Eastern models, taken presumably from Bulgaria, and on Western ones; and also because the majority of the small body of Bulgarian charters exemplify only the more elaborate style of document. They are comparable to the Wallachian charters of section A. Only the earliest, Dubrovnik, can be compared to the trading charters issued to Braşov or L'vov which are dealt with in section B; and there are no extant Bulgarian parallels to the Wallachian letters which supply

much of the material for that same section. This is why it cannot be confidently asserted that the letters represent a break with tradition, that they ignore established conventions and employ something approaching colloquial speech instead.²⁹ As no examples of letters of this kind survive from Bulgaria, it is impossible to tell what conventions they might have observed and how far the Wallachian ones diverge from them.

There are three points to be made about the language of the Bulgarian charters. The first is that it is if anything rather more conservative within its limited scope than the language of the Troyanska Pritcha. In the charters the verbs of Table I are complemented exclusively by infinitives, with no trace of alternation between infinitive and da-clause after verbs of command or request or motion, nor of the da-clause governed by ХОТѢТИ with the same subject; all these constructions were discovered in the Pritcha. The charters also admit only infinitival complements of impersonal and non-verbal expressions, apart from УОНЪМО which is part of the opening formula introducing the da-clauses of which any charter is mainly composed; and they include some final infinitives, which can be regarded as an artificial, literary usage, probably derived more or less recently from Greek (see Ch.2, p.31).

It is not surprising that the Bulgarian charters present a more conservative picture than the Pritcha, since they constitute a smaller body of material which in part is up to a hundred years older than the Pritcha, and rest on a tradition which goes further back still. Against this, however, there is the second point, which is this: the earliest charters, Vatopedi, Dubrovnik and Virgino, even though they may not stand at the beginning of the Bulgarian chancery tradition, are slightly less conventionalized in language and composition than the later ones. It was

29. See Bernshtein 1948 especially pp.67 and 80-81.

pointed out in the introduction to them (p.190) that Vatopedi displays a simplicity and a choice of formulae which are otherwise characteristic of secular charters, not of ones addressed to monasteries. Whether by chance or no, Virgino has a larger number of non-literary Greek loan-words than the later long charters. Dubrovnik is of course to be treated separately, since it is the only commercial charter in the group; but it is still worth noticing that it has the only example (and one of the earliest known in Bulgarian) of apocopated ХОТЪН.³⁰ This may mean no more than that commercial documents employed a less formal, literary style than did charters granting land, especially to monasteries; but it shows that the stylistic distinction had started more than a Hundred years before the earliest surviving commercial documents and letters from Wallachia.

Thirdly, notwithstanding the conservatism of their language, the Bulgarian charters do reveal an imperfect mastery of the traditional uses of the infinitive. This is seen in the vacillation between infinitive, finite verb and participle in Virgino (see Table I b i, pp.191-92); in the confused or conflicting constructions of Zographou and Orekhovo, where the subject of the infinitive is not put in the dative or the infinitive seems to be reinterpreted as a verbal noun (see Table I b iv, v, pp.192-93, c i, p.193, Table II i, p.194, Table IV iv, vii, pp.198-99); and in the use of co-ordinating constructions rather than subordinating ones with infinitive or da-clause in Orekhovo and Rila (see Table I v-vii, p.194).

To a considerable extent these remarks can be applied to the Wallachian charters of section A. Their similarity to the Bulgarian charters is not immediately obvious, because they are greater in number and employ some different vocabulary. However, it has already been explained, particularly under Tables I-III, that the majority of relevant

30. See Mirchev 1963a.

contractions in the Wallachian charters, whether they involve infinitives or da-clauses, are either formulaic, recurring in many of the documents as the set way of expressing a provision, or else are attempts at high style writing in the florid introductory passages. In either case a linguistic tradition has been followed which, in so far as it is Bulgarian, is basically the same as that of the Bulgarian charters themselves. Neither the abundance of infinitives dependent on ХОТЕТИ, ИМЕТИ, СМЕТИ, БЛАГОУЗВОЛИТИ etc., nor the regularity with which nouns such as УРИЗМО, ПОВЕЛЕНИЕ, ЗАКЛИНАНИЕ are followed by da-clauses can be taken as evidence of anything except the accepted usage of a certain style of chancery language.

As in the Bulgarian charters, infringements of the traditional rules for infinitival constructions indicate that their use was to some degree unnatural to the writers of the Wallachian documents. As well as deviations found in the Bulgarian corpus - the subject of the infinitive not put in the dative (Table I xvii, xxv, pp.210-12), change of construction from an infinitive to a da-clause governed by the same expression (or vice versa) (Table I xvii, xviii, pp.210-11), and co-ordination where one might expect subordination (Table I xxviii-xxx, p.212) - there are a few places where da is itself followed by an infinitive, and if these are not mere slips of the pen they may show that to some writers the two constructions were equivalent (Table I xxvi, xxvii, p.212, Table II iii, p.216). It may be that the absence of infinitives governed by infinitives in this body of texts is another symptom of this (Table I xxi-xxiii, p.211).

More informative are the unusual, non-formulaic expressions, particularly those which are called for by the specific subject-matter of individual charters. Almost all of these involve da-clauses, as complements to ПОВЕЛЯВАТИ, ХОДИТИ, ГРАСТИ, ДАТИ, ПРЕДАТИ, МОЛИТИ, ИСКАТИ, ПОИСКАТИ, ОУСТАВИТИ, ПРИЛАГАТИ and the verbs of volition (Table I passim) and in the construction with ТО/ЩО (Table III x, p.219); and almost all

of them are early. It might be mere chance that the early documents cover a wider range of subject-matter than the later ones, and so give more opportunity for non-formulaic constructions to emerge. On the other hand, the early charters from Wallachia are distinguished by other peculiarities which cannot be explained by their content. They contain the majority of the significant errors listed in the preceding paragraph; apocopated ХОТѢТИ is with one exception confined to them (Table I vii, p.209); most of the rarer, less purely formulaic passages of high-style writing, which include a number of infinitival constructions, are to be found among them (Table I xii, p.210, xxxix, p.213, xlviii, p.215, Table III v, p.218); and the principal formulaic variations between infinitive and da-clause, after ПОКЪСИТИ, ПОВЕЛѢТИ, ВОЛЕИ, date from the early period (Table I xxiv, p.211, xxvi and xlv, pp.212 and 214, Table III vii-ix, p.219). It thus appears that the Wallachian charters betray a development in tradition towards greater standardization and, if the use of apocopated ХОТѢТИ and of the short preposed infinitive are taken to be marks of informal style, towards greater formality, more strikingly than does the Bulgarian corpus.

A development of this kind is not easy to explain, especially if one accepts that Wallachian chancery practice was already established by the time of the earliest surviving charters, a view generally approved, and elaborated by Bernshtein 1948,³¹ and that the language in which it was conducted was to its scribes a book-tongue, not a medium of everyday communication (see Introduction, pp.202-03). If the Wallachian scribes learnt how to write charters from models similar to the Bulgarian documents which are still extant, then their earlier attempts at imitation are curiously uneven. Of course this conclusion does not allow for the probability that they would have based their usage on a much larger and more heterogeneous body of Bulgarian documents which have since been

31. See Bernshtein 1948 Ch.2.

lost. As they have been lost it is impossible to gauge how much the Wallachian charters owe to them.

It is also hard to tell how far the tendency towards standardization was related to the gradually increasing Serbian influence on the language of the Wallachian chancery. In principle one would expect Serbian influence to inhibit the spread of da-clauses, both because the Serbian language has retained infinitives longer than have Bulgarian and Macedonian, and because there are signs of a preference for infinitival constructions in the Serbian literary language from the fifteenth century onwards (see Ch.3 Conclusions, pp.179-81). How these factors might have affected the Wallachian documents is not clear, since it is indeed not clear what importance the scribes attached to their sporadic Serbisms. In the earlier texts these seem to extend only to orthographical convention, but later they spread to choice of morphs and words, and may even reflect knowledge of spoken Serbian dialects (see Introduction Fn.17, p.202) and not just be an imitation of literary norms.

The second group of Wallachian texts, the letters and trading charters, contrasts strikingly with the first one. Yet the differences between them should not be exaggerated. The trading charters are essentially formulaic, though their characteristic formulae are shorter, simpler and in a lower stylistic register than those of the land charters. Even the letters, which at first reading often give an impression of spontaneous composition based on the spoken word, have an underlying framework of set expressions, as I. Bogdan 1905 notes. There is the opening phrase, ПИСЕТ ГОСПОДСТВО МИ ПРОГАРЕМ ВСЕМ, the immediate preface to the message, ДАВАМ ОЗНАТ or ДА ВИ ЕСТ О ЗНАНИЕ, the threat of displeasure at non-compliance, the final injunction, ИНО ДА НБЕСТ or ИНО НЕ ШЕСТ БИТИ, and the recommendation of the bearer of the letter, ТОЗИ ПОСТИХ Х ДА ЕЛИКА ВИ РЕЧЕТ ДА ГО ВЪРЮТЕ or similar words. It is a measure of the different, less pretentious nature of these formulae that they do not give rise to the kind of errors which were found in the Bulgarian and

Wallachian land charters: there are no examples of confused constructions - da followed by an infinitive instead of a finite verb, infinitive and da-clause both governed by one expression - there is only one place (out of a total of two) in which a complement to the subject of the infinitive is not in the dative case which one might expect (in Kaľuźniacki No.5 - 1439, where it occurs in a formula typical of the land charters), and there are no final infinitives at all.

Furthermore, there is less variation between infinitival and clausal complements than in the other Wallachian documents. The only words which seem to admit either complement freely are БОЛЕН and ПОСТИТИ; other expressions which take both infinitive and da-clause do so, apparently, to mark a semantic distinction (between apocopated ХОТЕТИ as verb of volition and as future auxiliary, see Table I xi-xiv, p.230), or a difference in style (e.g. the two instances of СПОДОБИТИ, Table I xxviii and xxix, p.232), or because a formula requires the infinitive (with ХОДИТИ, ДАТИ, perhaps ПОКЌСИТИ, see Table I xxv and xxvi, p.232, xviii-xx, p.231, xxxi, p.233). The others take one construction or the other; and most of them take the da-clause. If Table I is re-examined in the light of the comments on it, it will be found that infinitives occur in non-formulaic use only after a small group of verbs, all of which, except ПОСТИТИ, take the same subject as their infinitives. These verbs are: apocopated ХОТЕТИ, especially in its function as future auxiliary, МОУИ and ВЪЗМОУИ, ИМѢТИ (rarely), СМѢТИ and the negated imperative auxiliary НЕДАѢТЕ. Full ХОТЕТИ is probably a Serbism (see p.231), and it is conceivable that the exclusive use of the infinitive after МОУИ and ВЪЗМОУИ also owes something to Serbian influence, since all examples occur after 1430. In Table III the few infinitives appear to occur freely and some of them, with СЛОВОДЕН and ШТКХАДѢ, are early, but there is competition after БОЛЕН with da-clauses, and this implies a conflict of usages. The very scanty evidence under Table II suggests that impersonal expressions were complemented by da-clauses.

Another way in which these texts differ from all the others which have been examined previously is that the proportion of infinitives separated from their governing expressions by probably stressed elements is noticeably smaller. In particular apocopated infinitives are very rarely so separated in any of the Wallachian texts. Their preponderance with the verbs which most freely take the infinitive, apocopated ХОТѢТИ, МОУИ, НМѢТИ, СМѢТИ in both groups of Wallachian texts, especially in the earlier ones, may reflect increasing limitations on the syntactic freedom of the infinitives used in informal language. One may contrast the predominance of full infinitives in formulaic dependence on БЛАГОУЗВОЛИТИ in section A, on ДАТИ in section B.

The sparsity of letters before 1430 makes it difficult to judge what linguistic developments there may have been in this time. Serbian influence certainly grows from 1430 onwards, as the use of КАКО rather than НАКО and of full ХОТѢТИ with the infinitive shows. The data of the early documents are therefore all the more important, and it is particularly interesting to find them in agreement with the early charters of section A over the distribution of short infinitives, the use of apocopated ХОТѢТИ and of the short preposed infinitive, a wide range of da-clause complements especially after verbs of volition, request and command, and co-ordination as an alternative to subordinate verbal complements.

There remains the troubled question of colloquial influence, Roumanian or Bulgarian. A few quotations will serve to show how much like spoken idiom the letters can sound:

i. и да не дрѣжите злих людѣ посрѣд вас що их не любѣт господарство ми да не прѣбываѣт посрѣд вас ни господарство ми да не дрѣжит зли людѣ (No.4 - 1421)

ii. того ради ако го дасте то добрѣ а виѣ щете ходит слобод(но) и безъ грижѣ и не щет ви бавѣват ни стояка ни ништо (No.14 - 1427?)

iii. и тѣзи ви дават господарство ми ѣ знание понеже ветѣи дѣкати мет-
нахъ сибивѣне того ради и виѣ помного с ними да не ходите уѣ кого наидѣ
уѣ ходит сѣ ветѣи дѣкати зло мѣ шѣ ѣунит и мир сѣ власи да не уините

аще ли ѿиините да знаете азъ развали ви шж мир (No.33 - 1431)

iv. и такази да знаете шти ево тѣрци гдѣ сѧ паднѣли по дѣнавѣ по
вѣсѣхъ бродовохъ та нѣдѣ на зема да плѣнат и да расипат да поскоро деннѣ
и ношиж да спѣшите да дондете на помѣшъ шти ако нам бѣдетъ зло и вамъ шетъ
бити позлѣ (No.20 - 1432?)

v. да кто ще слзгати да мѣ ебе пѣс женѣ и матере мѣ (No.23 - 1432?)

vi. за този сѣмъ разѣмел шти ви мое слѣге терате и не давате им да
хватаютъ шнехъ неверне люди господинѣ ми кесарю и мене тѣгѣ ради да
знаете шти ми естъ вѣ(л)ми жал на васъ за тѣзи равшѣ нѣ пакъ глѣдате како
и вамъ да не бѣде жал (No.40 - 1432-1433?)

vii. и да знаете ѣ се си време се не веровахъ на дрѣгого ѹловѣка да
ми пишетъ книгѣ снѣ тѣкмо на логодѣта шефана (No.212 - 1432-1437)

viii. азъ имъ рекохъ такози що ми естъ реклѣ вонвода азъ шж ѿиинити
тѣ рекоше а ние не шемъ штавити железа шт камаре азъ имъ рекохъ вие не
сте волѣни да ми запрете нишо пакѣ ми рекоше тие поѹекан ни шт съботѣ
за ѣи дѣни да си пѣстимо ѹловѣка до вонва(ѣи) (No.215 - 1433-1440)

Yet it cannot be taken for granted, on the basis of modern conceptions of what may normally be put in writing, that these passages reproduce faithfully the very words of Radu II, Alexandru Aldea, Vlad I etc. whether in their original language or in translation. As D.P. Bogdan 1938 points out, a number of people were usually involved in the composition of one of these documents. It was no matter of one man setting down his message as he thought it out, nor even usually of an official taking down his master's dictated words - this is why the quotation under vii above is remarkable - but rather a process of repeated editing as the contents of the letter were communicated by the prince to one of his ministers, such as the logothet, from him to a senior member of the chancery whose business it was to draft the document, and perhaps in turn to another scribe who actually wrote it. In this process there was some scope for modification of the original expressions, and there is no way of telling how far the Wallachian scribes felt obliged to adhere to the exact wording of the messages which they were entrusted to send.

Even if some of the passages quoted above seem unlikely ever to have

been part of official epistolary convention, it does not follow that they must have been composed by native Bulgarian speakers. There are several reasons for this. In the first place, much of this apparently correct and idiomatic Bulgarian syntax and phraseology can be translated word-for-word into correct, idiomatic Roumanian. This can be seen in the Roumanian versions supplied by the various modern editors, which often preserve even the ambiguities of the da-clauses. Presumably the reverse process could have been as successful. Secondly, there are undoubtedly a few traces of Roumanian influence on the language of the documents from the first half of the fifteenth century onwards (see Introduction, p.204)³² and one may suspect interference from another language in the occasional deviations from what seems to have been the rule in Bulgarian. In particular, the interposing of non-enclitic elements between da and its dependent verb in imperative clauses (see the Tables VI) is odd, when one considers that this was very rare in earlier Bulgarian literature and in the modern language is inadmissible. The examples in section B are almost all post-1430 in date and could be put down to Serbian influence, since according to Sedláček 1970 there was greater freedom of word-order within da-clauses in mediaeval Serbian than in Bulgarian; but the instances in section A are rather too early to be explained in this way, as they date from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

Besides these links with Roumanian, it must be remembered that any spoken language has its clichés and set expressions, no less than a written one; and it is possible to have a fluent command of a number of these expressions without having spoken the language from infancy or even having a degree of overall mastery of the language that approximates so-called native knowledge. In fact the dichotomy between native and non-native speaker may here be misleading. In fourteenth and fifteenth

32. See also Djamo-Diaconită 1971 pp.321-23 on early calques from Roumanian; but their weight is diminished by our ignorance of contemporary Bulgarian idiom, and at least one, мн се мнмт, is surely native to Slavonic.

century Wallachia there were doubtless people, at least in official circles, who could both write and speak Bulgarian with reasonable ease. Not only was a Bulgarian variety of Church Slavonic used as the literary and religious language, but there were certainly occasions for dealing with Bulgarian speakers, both in communication and movement across the Danube and within what is now Roumania. At Braşov, the city to which the correspondence studied in section B was addressed, there was a Bulgarian community at least from 1392,³³ which had its own church in which Bulgarian was used up to the eighteenth century.³⁴ The quarter of the city in which it stands is still known as Schei. This was not the only Bulgarian settlement in Transylvania. Another is attested in the sixteenth century at Rîjnau, in the quarter known as Bulgaria or Pulgerey; in 1576 the Schei there requested a priest from the Bulgarians of Braşov.³⁵ A similar request came from Reşinar at the end of the fifteenth century, presumably from a similar Bulgarian colony.³⁶ It is probable that there were Bulgarians elsewhere in Transylvania from the end of the thirteenth century (see Ch.5). In Braşov some of the city's scribes and messengers appear to have been supplied by the Bulgarian community. The civic accounts for the sixteenth century (those of the fifteenth are lost) contain mentions of payment made to Bulgarians who served in these ways; in particular an item of 1530 records sums paid to one 'Stoykan Bolgaro qui in scribendis et interpretandis litteris sermone Bolgarico scriptis civitati et provinciae ad optata dominorum inservivit'.³⁷ The presence of Bulgarians in Wallachia during this period is not apparently attested, nor is it known

33. See Miletich 1896 p.12, and p.16 for the tradition that they were invited to Braşov to assist in building the Black Church in 1385.

34. See Maslev 1967.

35. See Miletich 1896 pp.13 and 23-24, and Maslev 1967.

36. See Miletich 1896 p.13.

37. See Miletich 1896 pp.25-28.

whether the Wallachian Voevodas employed Bulgarians to carry on their side of the correspondence with Braşov; but it is clear that their scribes would not have lacked opportunity to hear and speak Bulgarian, and that a knowledge of that language would have been a recommendation for this office. Unless the scribes of the Wallachian documents knew Bulgarian rather well, it is hard to account for their correct observance of morphological patterning. An example of this has emerged in this chapter (see pp.225 and 246 on the remodelling of infinitives): the infinitival forms, of which there are over four hundred occurrences, all conform to the requirements of Bulgarian. That is, they are either traditionally correct, or, in the single instance of remodelling, agree with the usage of modern Bulgarian. This degree of accuracy would normally be regarded as evidence of a fairly thorough knowledge of a language.

Unfortunately even less is known about the syntax of Roumanian in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries than about Bulgarian. The earliest Roumanian texts extant date from the sixteenth century. Diaconescu 1977 shows that in these early texts infinitives are used in a wide range of constructions, similar to the traditional infinitival uses of Slavonic; but the historical studies of Meyer-Lübke 1895 and Asan and Vasiliu 1956 reveal that from the first the infinitive alternates in all constructions with clauses introduced by the conjunction să. The subsequent development of Roumanian is therefore towards the limitation of infinitival constructions rather than the extension of să-clauses to syntactic contexts from which they had previously been excluded. In its early stages written Roumanian was influenced by the Church Slavonic which it superseded as literary language, and it would require a large and detailed study to disentangle native uses of infinitive and să-clause from Slavonicisms. Unless one assumes that there was an uncommonly conservative oral tradition in Roumanian before the period of literacy, however, infinitives must have been part of spoken use in a number of constructions, perhaps

concurrently with clauses, up to the sixteenth century. They can hardly have been less used in the fourteenth century. There is no sure ground here for confident assertions; at most it may be said that there is no positive evidence that the distribution of infinitives and da-clauses in the more colloquial Wallachian letters is based on calque from Roumanian, and that the notion of such influence from Roumanian becomes somewhat implausible if one believes that infinitives were rather more freely used in fourteenth century Roumanian than in the variety of spoken Bulgarian which seems to underlie the texts of the Wallachian documents.

For, to sum up, even through the veil of a conservative literary language in the Bulgarian charters can be glimpsed a thirteenth and fourteenth century Bulgarian in which infinitives were used only in constructions where their subjects did not need to be specified and probably only in proximity to their governing expressions. How very limited the use of the infinitive was in the fourteenth century becomes more apparent in the Wallachian charters and plain in the letters, though matters of detail, such as whether infinitives could be used only after verbs with the same subject or also with some other verbs and non-verbal governing expressions, are still unclear. The problem which is left unsolved is one of dating. One may hold that the non-formulaic constructions of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century Wallachian texts are taken from spoken practice, either by scribes whose native language was Bulgarian, or at least by people who had a good practical knowledge of that tongue although they used Roumanian as their first language. In this case the Wallachian documents can be treated as a source of information only on the language of the second half of the fourteenth century and the early fifteenth century and one must look to the scanty evidence of texts like the Pritcha and the Bulgarian charters to try to learn how much earlier the infinitive had become so curtailed in its use. The other possibility is that the Wallachian usages, even in the letters, were based principally on scribal tradition. This would mean that they

had been established by the mid fourteenth century and that they drew on the colloquial language of an earlier period, going back to the beginning of the fourteenth century or even to the thirteenth century. This may seem a less plausible interpretation; but the presence of non-literary forms in the Dubrovnik charter of 1230 prevents one from dismissing such a view out of hand. It remains to decide which of the alternative explanations of the Bulgarian and especially of the Wallachian chancery language is the more compatible with the other evidence for the developments in Bulgarian during the later mediaeval period.

CHAPTER 5 : THE PRAYERS OF CSERGED

The texts known as the Prayers of Cserged were found in three early nineteenth century MSS written in Roman letters. They consist of German Lutheran hymns, canticles, prayers and a catechism, translated into a variety of Slavonic closely akin to the Bulgarian dialect which according to Miletich 1903 and 1926¹ used to be spoken in North-East Bulgaria; the language also shows some affinity to that of the Wallachian documents discussed in Ch.4. It is remarkable at once for its conservatism and for its apparent freedom from Church Slavonic influence, a combination of characteristics unparalleled in Bulgarian literature of any period.

So far as it is known, the history of these texts and of the people who used them is equally remarkable. The three MSS came from the Transylvanian village of Kis Cserged, which lies a little to the South of Blaj. A Bulgarian community there seems to be attested at least as far back as the beginning of the fourteenth century, when reference is made in 1306 to Chergeod Bulgaricum, quae est nobilium de Gyogh;² the epithet Bolgar is applied to it in other documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.³ The Bulgarians of Cserged appear to have been converted to Lutheranism during the sixteenth century, for in 1593 the village is reported ~~not~~ to have paid a tax imposed by the Saxon Evangelical Diet, and in 1620 it is said that: 'die Bulgaren von Gross- und Klein-Cserged bezeugen ... einmüthig, dass sie von jeher stets bulgarische und sächsische Pfarrer gehabt hätten und seit Menschengedenken der Gerichtsbarkeit der evang. sächsischen, niemals aber der der magyarischen .. Kirche unterstanden

1. See Miletich 1903 p.66 ff, 1926 Introduction.

2. See Zimmermann and Werner 1892 p.232.

3. See Zimmermann and Werner 1892 p.47, Píč and Amlacher 1889 pp.264-65.

seien!'.⁴ Indeed, twelve Lutheran pastors are known to have served before 1620 in the two villages, and five of these were Bulgarians.⁵ In 1647, too, the Roumanian inhabitants complained that: 'die seit alters dort wohnenden Bulgaren einen evang. luth. sächsischen Pfarrer hätten, sie dagegen keinen Geislichen^{<sic>} und kein Gotteshaus besäßen!'.⁶ This testifies to the long-standing of a separate Bulgarian community in the two Csergeds. In the eighteenth century the Bulgarians were distinct from the Roumanians: in 1789 the Lutheran pastors of the two villages complained that the steward of the Banffy estate, to which the villages now belonged, was compelling the Bulgarian members of their congregations to abandon their ancestral tongue and confession for the Roumanian language and the Uniate Church.⁷ It was only in the nineteenth century that the knowledge of Bulgarian finally died out there. The first of the MSS, that of 1803, was written precisely for this reason. The pastor of Kis Cserged gave it to J.K. Eder, apparently at his request, for Eder writes: 'Rutheni in Reussdörfl, Bongard et Csergöd majore ac minore sensim in Valachos abeunt ita, ut post aliquot annos vix ullum apud eos linguae pristinae superfuturum esse vestigium videatur. Hoc magis operam dedi, ut haec specimina, precationes et cantilenas complexa, atque per sacrorum ministrum in Csergöd accurate descripta obtinerem ...'.⁸ By 1856 Bulgarian had ceased to be spoken in Cserged a decade before, and elsewhere in Transylvania it had fallen out of use some scores of years earlier.⁹

Thus when the Bulgarian scholar Mihetich visited Kis Cserged in 1895 he found no-one there who could understand Bulgarian. Yet out of the

4. See Píř and Amlacher 1889 p.266.

5. See Jireřek 1898 p.120.

6. See Píř and Amlacher 1889 p.266.

7. See Píř and Amlacher 1889 p.267.

8. See Miklosich 1884 p.125.

9. See Miklosich 1856 p.106.

village's eight hundred inhabitants about six hundred, who made up the Lutheran congregation, called themselves Bolgari and faithfully repeated, often by heart, Bulgarian hymns and prayers which were unintelligible to them. The elderly among them could recall their parents' using words such as кравата, овцата, теленце and had been told that in their grandparents' day Bulgarian was still spoken in the home.¹⁰

It is not clear how widespread Bulgarian settlement in Transylvania may have been. By the time Miletich made his investigations, the Lutherans of Baumgarten and Reussdörfchen retained only the title Šchei (Slavs) with no trace or memory of speaking Bulgarian. However, Bulgarian expressions had still been in use there a hundred years before, when a few were published, together with a rather garbled Bulgarian version of the Lord's Prayer, as examples of 'Servian' spoken by the people of Reussdörfchen, in the Siebenbürgische Quartalschrift for 1793.¹¹ Miletich found in the church records of the two villages, which went back to the beginning of the eighteenth century, that certain surnames of probable Bulgarian origin were used both there and in the two Csergeds, and that there was some movement between Baumgarten and Cserged. Similarly family names in an estate inventory indicate the presence of Bulgarians in Peterfalva, a village near Cserged, during the eighteenth century.¹⁰

Earlier references are less explicit: one has to assume that the people of Reşinar and Rîjnau sent to the Bulgarian community in Braşov (see Ch.4 Conclusions, p.257) for priests to minister to them because they were themselves Bulgarian-speaking. The presence of Slavs in Reussdörfchen is attested by its name, villa Ruthenica, as far back as 1380, and in 1435 two serfs, Rutheni, are reported to have fled from the village of Karatsontelke, not far from Cserged;¹⁰ but one cannot be sure

10. See Miletich 1896a.

11. See Matov 1891.p.232.

that the term Ruthene was used in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as indiscriminately as it was in the eighteenth, to cover Bulgarians. Thus the extent of Bulgarian settlement in Transylvania in the mediaeval period is unknown, though it surely spread beyond Kis Cserged.

It is also uncertain when and why Bulgarians came to live in Cserged and possibly elsewhere in the region. The account generally accepted, which was put forward by Jireček 1898 and supported by Nikov 1920 who supplies a few more references to Bulgarians in fourteenth century Transylvania, rests on arguments of plausibility. It is proposed that the Bulgarians were prisoners of war, taken during the campaigns of Stephen, later V of Hungary, South of the Danube in 1261 and 1266. The de Gyogh family, who owned Kis Cserged at the beginning of the fourteenth century, were supporters of Stephen in the later thirteenth century and were rewarded for faithful military service by various grants of land.¹² It is plausible to suppose that they joined in Stephen's campaigns against Bulgaria and brought back prisoners as agricultural work-force. This is taken to be the reason why, as far as can be seen, the Bulgarians of Cserged were always serfs, unlike those of Baumgarten or of Braşov, where they settled of their own accord and remained free artisans.¹³

The language of the texts from Kis Cserged fits well with Jireček's hypothesis. It has been described at length by Miletich 1926 who finds that it is related to the dialect which used to be spoken in parts of North-East Bulgaria, before movements of population largely replaced it by dialects from further South. By the end of the nineteenth century it survived only around Shumen and Provadiya, but in the eighteenth

12. See Zimmermann and Werner 1892 pp.94, 97-98, 105, 164.

13. See Miletich 1896a pp.176-77, 186-89.

The suggestion of Píř and Amlacher 1889, that the Bulgarians of Cserged were formerly Bogomil heretics, is less plausible. The seventeenth century description of their traditional practices, quoted by Píř and Amlacher pp.268-280, is compatible with their having been Orthodox before they became Lutherans.

century it had stretched as far West as Svishtov, from where a mid eighteenth century damascene MS is extant with characteristic features of the dialect.¹⁴ The principal of these is the development of /ɹ/ to /o/ in the masc. sing. definite article, whereas in other positions /ɹ/ gives rise to an open back unrounded vowel, the modern Bulgarian /ǎ/. It is this peculiarity, clearly reflected in the texts from Cserged, which mainly links them with the dialect of Shumen and Svishtov. Other phonological similarities go to support the connexion, e.g. the change of /kh/ to /f/, the interchange of /yu/ and /i/ and, in common with the whole body of East Bulgarian dialects, the alternation of /ya/ and /e/ as the outcome of earlier /ɛ/.¹⁵

Where the language of Cserged differs from that of the Svishtov damascene it does so by greater conservatism, apparently reflecting an earlier stage in the development of the dialect. The most important differentiating feature is the retention of the Common Slavonic nasal vowels, which in some Bulgarian dialects had been denasalized by the twelfth century. In the Cserged Prayers nasal quality is lost regularly only in absolute final position; elsewhere in the word both nasality and the accompanying distinction of front or back vowel are preserved in an overwhelming number of instances. The few false nasals and even fewer missing ones are not sufficient, given the orthographical obscurities and corruption of the texts and the possibilities of analogical influence, to weaken the impression that the speakers of this dialect in Transylvania continued to pronounce nasal vowels up to the time when the texts were written, and indeed as long as they spoke Bulgarian.¹⁶

14. See Miletich 1923.

15. See Stoikov 1962 pp.63-67 on the Mysian dialects. He points out however, p.64, that the /o/-reflex of /ɹ/ in the definite article is to be found in a few other East Bulgarian dialects (as well, of course, as in the Western dialects in which /o/ is the regular outcome of /ɹ/) and so it is not strictly speaking a diagnostic feature of the Mysian dialects.

16. See Miletich's account of his attempt to take down prayers from dictation, 1896 a pp.165-66.

The grammatical system of the Cserged dialect invites the label Early Modern Bulgarian. The declension of nouns, adjectives, pronouns and the article is reduced to three cases: nominative-accusative, genitive-accusative (of animate masculines only), and dative. As in the Svishtov damascene, both the noun and its suffixed definite article are declined. The genitive case which survives for masculine animates is used for the object of the verb and after prepositions. It is rare in attributive constructions with nouns, where the dative case is normal. The dative is also used for the indirect object; the modern Bulgarian construction with на which has replaced both the functions carried out here by the dative seems to have been only incipient in the Cserged dialect, and mainly used for linking nouns to verbs or deverbal nouns.¹⁷ The repetition of the direct and indirect object by short enclitic pronouns is frequent. Thus the language of the texts presents at once a declensional system comparatively well-preserved for modern Bulgarian, typical rather of the Eastern than the Western dialects, and syntactic features - the postposed definite article, pronominal reduplication of objects, occasional use of a prepositional phrase instead of an oblique case of the noun - which, though they may early have become current in spoken Bulgarian, were more or less thoroughly excluded from the written language for hundreds of years.

It is no doubt also significant, as Miletich points out,¹⁸ that while the texts show a heavy influence of Hungarian and Roumanian on the vocabulary, and a less obvious, but no less profound influence of Greek, to which attention is drawn by Mirchev 1952, there is no trace in them of modern Turkish loans (Old Bulgar, however, is represented by the word Belek, i.e. белер). This indicates that the Bulgarian settlement of Kis Cserged took place before Turkish had come to be widely spoken South of

17. See Miletich 1926 pp.58-59.

18. See Miletich 1926.

the Danube, and that the inhabitants did not later have frequent enough contact with Cisdanubian Bulgarians to pick up Turkish words from them.¹⁹

Though the texts may retain features, notably the nasal vowels, from the thirteenth century, it cannot be assumed without more ado that their language is in other respects unchanged from that spoken by the Bulgarians when they first came to Cserged. The loan-words just mentioned are sufficient disproof of this. It is another open question, when the texts were first written down and so what period of the dialect's history they reflect. As they are translations of Lutheran devotional literature, the earliest possible date for them is clearly the mid sixteenth century; and indeed Jireček 1898 suggests that the translations are most likely to have been made soon after the conversion of the Bulgarians in Cserged, i.e., in the late sixteenth century, when they are known to have had some Bulgarian pastors. This again is an argument on the basis of what is plausible. Miletich attempts to fix some termini for the translations by comparing them with editions of the Lutheran Hymnal published in Transylvania; but one cannot safely assume that the pastor of Cserged would have had the latest edition at his disposal, nor that his hymnal would necessarily have been a local publication, and so all Miletich's investigations provide, as he admits, is a tentative terminus post quem for a correction in the MS of 1830.²⁰

As has been mentioned, the texts survived in three nineteenth century MSS. The earliest of these, that of 1803 made for Eder, was deposited in the library of the Royal Hungarian Museum and was published by Miklosich in 1884.²¹ The second, of 1812, was that found in use by Miletich

19. There was some contact in the eighteenth century, when some of the villagers fled to join the more privileged Catholic Bulgarians who had settled in the Banat, see Miletich 1896a pp.192-94.

20. See Miletich 1896a p.198.

21. According to Jireček 1898 p.116 this edition merely contains 'einige Proben' from the MS, but Miklosich says nothing about this.

on his visit to Cserged in 1895 and published by him in 1896a and again in 1926.²² The third MS was dated 1830 and was published in 1856 by Miklosich. He was shown it by Timotheus Cipariu of Blaj, who donated it to the Austrian National Library, as Preinerstorfer 1978 reports.

It is a matter for regret that the MSS have not been readily available for re-examination, because their published versions have been based on differing editorial principles. Miklosich publishes the 1803 and 1830 MSS in their original Roman script and orthography, but revises the word-divisions and punctuation according to his understanding. He makes emendations either in an appended critical apparatus or in brackets in the text. Miletich prints the Roman original of the 1812 MS without alterations. His interpretation and proposed emendations are presented in the Cyrillic transcriptions which he adds, usually without comments. In his second edition, of 1926, he notes most, though not all of the more important variant readings from the 1803 and 1830 MSS, and prints in Roman and Cyrillic the few texts from those MSS which were not included in the 1812 MS. This edition also differs from the 1896a one in the character of its Cyrillic transcriptions, which are intended to convey Miletich's phonological interpretation of the Roman script instead of simply giving the equivalent modern Bulgarian words, as was done in the earlier edition. Miletich also supplies the probable German originals of most of the texts in the 1812 MS. His two editions are further distinguished by a certain number of misprints and omissions. Miklosich's editions cannot be checked against each other in this way, but Miletich reports that on a cursory comparison of the 1803 MS with its printed version he found that Miklosich had in a number of places

22. He also found a fourth MS, dated 1833, but did not publish it, since it had been written to the dictation of elderly people who knew the texts by heart and presented them in a very corrupt and curious form, see Miletich 1896a p.162.

23. The present location of the 1812 MS is unknown; Professor Mihăilă has suggested to me in conversation that it may be in Cluj.

misread the MS.²⁴

The task of interpreting the texts as we have them is therefore complicated by the need to allow for mistakes in the editions. It is clear that the nineteenth century MSS were themselves very far from correct and indeed were probably written by people who had at best a most imperfect understanding of their contents. There are some patently faulty word-divisions in the 1812 MS, and a few passages are entirely obscure. On the other hand an examination of the printed texts, especially that of 1812, seems to me to show convincingly that the MSS derived from a written tradition which was started by people who did understand much or all of what they wrote. Thus though there are instances in which words are wrongly divided, far more often they are split up correctly; and frequently when several forms are written together as one word which according to modern Bulgarian convention would be separated, they can be accounted for as members of a single stress-group.²⁵ Again, on the whole it is nouns, especially nomina sacra, which have initial capitals in the 1812 MS. Whoever first wrote these words with capital letters must have understood and been able to recognize at least them, in order to be able to distinguish them in this way.

The difficulties which one meets in reading the texts are due not so much to corruptions as to the lack of system in their spelling. They provide a particularly clear illustration of the problems in adapting the Roman alphabet to write a Slavonic language. To give but one example: the sound /s/ may be represented in any of seven ways - s, ſ, ſs, ss, ß, sz, z. These, and in one place the graph š, can also be used for /sh/; all of them except z are also used for /zh/, which is occasionally represented by sh, and four of them - s, z, sz, ß - may in addition stand

24. See Miletich 1926.

25. This kind of division into prosodic units rather than what are now treated as words is also found in the seventeenth and eighteenth century Bulgarian damascene MSS.

for /z/. Amid this hotch-potch of German and Magyar spelling conventions one can glimpse traces of a system: in the 1812 MS there is a marked tendency, for example, to use ß for /s/ or /z/ and s or ſ or ſs for /sh/ and /zh/, and this amounts almost to a rule for such common words as the future auxiliary ſta and the preposition ßaß. It is noticeable, moreover, that the orthographical inconsistencies of the texts seem to reflect uncertainty about how to represent certain sounds, not about what the sounds themselves were. That is to say, they involve precisely those sounds which have to be conveyed by the means of digraphs or diacritics in the Roman alphabet. There is comparatively little vacillation over the representation of vowel-sounds, and this suggests that the tradition was a written, rather than an oral one, since vowels are generally more difficult to define than consonants and more likely to have been taken down from dictation inconsistently. Nevertheless, the indeterminacies of the spelling sometimes render the sense uncertain, especially when f and ſ are confused, as they may be either by copyists or by editors, giving, for example, in No.24 (1812) nift, 'no-one', where 1830 has nist, 'nothing', or in No.14 (1812 and 1830) karft, 'blood', but karßt, 'cross' in 1803. Fortunately the peculiarities of spelling do not usually hinder one from distinguishing infinitives and da-clauses in the texts. Where the orthographical irregularities do cause problems of interpretation for the present study, they are noted in the comments to the tables.

Quotations are taken here from Miletich's edition of 1926, since it is the fullest, including the texts found in the 1803 and 1830 MSS which are not in the 1812 MS. The corresponding German passages which Miletich appends are also quoted; but on the whole the Bulgarian translations are rather free, and where they depart from their German originals, or German parallels have not been found, English glosses are provided, based on Miletich's interpretations.

Table I. Verbs governing infinitive or da-clause with identical or distinct subjects

	<u>Occurrence</u>		<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>Da-clause</u>	
	<u>of verb</u>		<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>
ſta	116	3?	113	2?	3	1?
ies	5		5			
oraduva �a	1					2
nide(te)	23	2?	23	2?		
mogam	20		10		10	
poroncsva	1					1
puſta		1?				1?
puſti (otti)	2					2
dode	1	1?			1	1?
ieda	2				2	
tunuva ('sink')	1				1	
daite		1?		1?		
moli	4				1	6
primoli	1					1
ucsi	1	1?				1 2?
pomaga	4					4
ostavi	2					2
biruva ('succeed')	1				1	
enieduva ('grant')	3					4
vist	1				1	
cse/ste		6?		5?		1?

Comments

The governing verbs are cited in the 3rd per. sing. pres., which is generally the most often attested form. Exceptions to this rule are the three imperatives nide(te), daite and vist; the verb mogam, 'I can', which is more recognizable in the 1st per. sing. pres. (see viii-xii below); the verb ſta, 'I will', which is cited in its 1st per. sing. pres. form

to distinguish it as a conjugated verb from the possible occurrences of invariable cse/ste (see below, xxiii-xxvii)

The queried entries in the table are places where the interpretation of the texts is uncertain. Some of these are trivial. The Lord's Prayer, which is so garbled as to suggest oral transmission, renders 'führ' uns nicht in Versuchung' as:

i. dani Bo(ve)ni. Sspriteui (misprint for Sspiteni in the 1896 edition?) (1812 No.9 and similarly in the other two MSS; 1803 seems least corrupt: dei ni Bova ißpetényi)

It is not difficult to make out that this is probably Miletich's (не) де(и) ни зова на испитани. Another example of the negated imperative auxiliary nide can be restored in:

ii. ftoie deti (deto 1830) nidu ott farga (1812 No.31.3) - dein Kind wirst du verlassen nicht (ott farga, according to Miletich, by error for отфърга, 'reject')

In other places it is less easy, even with the help of the German, to determine the sense of the Bulgarian text:

iii. zantui pufta Bog nevolya, nafto menß doßonuva (da doßnuva 1830 and da doßonuva in Miletich's 1896a edition) na viakuito sivenye (1812 No.32.13) - darum schickt Gott die Trübsal her, damit eu'r Fleisch gezüchtigt wird, zur ew'gen Freud erhalten

The sense of doßonuva is unknown and can only be conjectured to be approximate to gezüchtigt. Elsewhere German parallels may be lacking altogether and interpretation can be more uncertain, especially when it is not supported by spelling, e.g.:

iv. Usime tebe data falime, i tvoie jume da golyemime (1812 No.2.6) - 'We learn to praise you; and to magnify your name'?

In the other passage with this main verb it is spelt ucsent:

v. Daßa ubudime gore kakni ucsent Bventi pißmo Bilne da sa griflime cse i nam nie da umrem (1812 No.19.7) - Nun lassen wir ihn schlaffen, und gehn heim all unsere Strassen, schicken uns auch mit allem Fleiss den der Tod kommt uns gleicherweiss

This last passage is an instance of the difficulty which sometimes arises

in this, as in other material, about deciding whether a da-clause is dependent on an adjacent main verb, or on the whole main clause as a final expression, or should be construed as parallel to other independent da-clauses with imperative sense: 'let us bestir ourselves, as the Holy Scriptures teach us, to take great care, for we also must die' or '....let us take great care ...'. One of the da-clauses which can be taken as subordinate to moli is ambiguous in this way:

vi. cse, nie Balezent bossa-ta Barba, kotra da ie buieme, bogu da Ba molime, prostenie je milla da dobime (1830 No.xxxv) - 'for they do not weep at God's anger, which let us fear. Let us pray to God, that we may win forgiveness and mercy' or '... let us win forgiveness and mercy'

The most important problems, however, are those which touch the infinitival constructions of these texts. It can be seen from the table that these are extremely limited; in fact the limitations are rather greater even than the table shows. There are only three verbs which beyond doubt take the infinitive - ſta, mogam, nide(te) - and the infinitive is always an apocopated one, without final -ti. Consequently it may be more accurate to understand pitie as a noun in:

vii. daite mi pitie (piti 1830) cse mnie Bent (1812 No.29.5) - 'give me a drink/to drink, for I am thirsty' - mich dürst so hart ohn Unterlas

Moreover, while nide(te) takes only the infinitive, ſta and mogam can also govern a da-clause and in some contexts seem to prefer a clause. There are eight instances of negated mogam followed by a da-clause, against only one in which it has an infinitive:

viii. da ne moie gaulot obre hatalma i putiere na naß (1812 No.10, but incomplete and supplemented by the 1803 MS) - 'that the devil may not be able to gain might and power over us'

According to Miletich there is another example in:

ix. Na moieme li na niedin tkip napalni nasto ott bosite poroncsenie (1830 No.i)

He transliterates this as не моіеме ли на ниедин кип напълни нящо от божи-те поръчание - 'are we not able in any way to fulfil anything

of God's commandments'; but Na is the spelling of the adversative conjunction elsewhere in this same text, and if it is so understood here the sense is rather 'but can we in any way fulfil anything ...', analogously to:

x. Moieme li napalni deBentaf porontsenie B nasto dobroBtarenie (1830 No.i) - 'can we fulfil the ten commandments by our good works'

On the other hand, there are two clear instances of positive mogan followed by a da-clause, as well as the eight in which it takes an infinitive:

xi. toim oie da primenie (1803 prineni) moie Btrach faf veBelie (1812 No.15.1) - mein Unglück kann er wenden

xii. Sto moie da ie Bokoti (1830 No.xxxv) - 'who can reckon it'

It so happens that the three examples of fta with a da-clause are also negated:

xiii. J nift (nist 1830) neste daie Blusa (1812 No.24.3) - 'and no-one will listen to it' - und will doch Niemand werden fromm

xiv. Zlantzofoto (Zlantzto-to 1830) Ba potemnuva i videlo togo Bkriva ne ste da prevgiva prige tolkoß greß (1812 No.24.7) - 'the sun is darkened and hides its light, it will not pass by?'²⁶ such sins' - Die liebe Sonne kann nicht mehr zusehen und entsetzt sich sehr, darum verliert sie ihren Schein

xv. fto neste daie Buferi, Bog nego goste Bafarli (1812 No.32.5) - 'who will not endure it, him will God cast out' - wer denn in Gottes Nam'n nicht will, zuletzt muss er des Teufels Ziel mit schwerem G'wissen leiden

These are not the only examples of negated fta: there are eleven instances in which it is followed by the infinitive (in 1812 No.33.5 ve is a copyist's error for ne, as the German version makes clear). Thus it is not the mere negation which impels the use of the da-clause; rather, the verb fta seems in these places to have full volitional force, whereas in other passages it is a future auxiliary, albeit sometimes with a shade

26. See Matov 1891 p.238.

of volitional meaning:

xvi. togis ta stem fali i ti stem Bpolava zarant tvoie dobrina atto tvui deti, i nas-tumu niamu stem bi na pomast faf Bakva liptza, i ne stem oBtavi Biratzi-te faf nie nevolia (1830 No.xli) - 'then we shall praise you and laud you for your goodness as your children, and shall help our people in every need, and will not leave the orphaned in trouble'

xvii. Vaß de ott Bmart Bi osival faf greabt ne maßtes ostavi (1812 No.4.4) - 'as you have come from death to life you will not leave me in sin' - Weil du vom Tod erstanden bist, werd ich im Grab nicht bleiben
There are also two places where Miletich proposes readings with positive ßta and a da-clause, but these are both uncertain:

xviii. Toi Begni ßtebe dani nas ißpravi, I tvoie hora nam deal, dane od deliß (1812 No.28.7) - Der hilf uns allensammt allhier zugleich und mach uns Erben in sein's Vaters Reiche

Miletich renders this as тои ще ни с тебе да ни нас исправи. и твоје хора нам дәл да ни одделиш. He thus takes Begni as ще ни, although ße is an unparalleled alternative to the normal ßte and the anticipation of ni nas by gni is syntactically curious. If the German is used as a guide to the meaning, it may seem more satisfactory to interpret Begni as a variant of the adverb Begi, 'always', and the first da-clause as the expression of a wish, parallel syntactically to the second one.

xix. Sto na Bvetot Bam patil aß, tuika vißam poßotsil vaß vieste dago patete (1812 No.32.3) - 'what I have suffered in the world, this I have shown you, you (too) shall suffer it' - Was ich gethan und g'litten hie in meinem Leben spät und früh, das sollt ihr auch erfüllen

Miletich transliterates the last clause here as вие ще да го патите. The combination of a future particle ste with a da-clause is surprising here, since it is a comparatively rare construction even in modern Bulgarian. It is surely not impossible that some other construction is here corrupted, either вие щете да го патите by a haplology or perhaps ви е с(е)те да го патите, i.e. an impersonal expression similar to:

xx. Bentem gie numai da umrem (1812 No.32.10) - wir müssen alle sterben

It must be said, however, that the spelling of the verb ßta is not

entirely uniform, and that there are some possible instances of its reduction to an unchanging particle followed by the infinitive. The predominant pattern of its conjugation is: ta, tes, te, teme, tete, hant, with s as an alternative to ta. (The 3rd per. plur. recalls XTAT in the Wallachian letters, see Ch.4, p.229.) In five passages, though, the 2nd per. sing. is apparently written ies, e.g.:

xxi. Tiies zandi Batta Lißto (1812 No.18) - 'You will judge all people' - Hirnach wirst du zukünftig sein ein gertrenger (sic) Richter

xxii. cse Bnam i vearovam csepene otti ne maies ott farli (1812 No.31.4) - 'for I know and believe firmly that you will not cast me off' - so weiss ich und glaub festiglich, wer Gott vertraut, dem mangelts nicht
The alternation of tes and ies, apparently unmotivated, is an odd one, and the only remote parallel is the change of a voiced fricative to /y/ in the conjugation: mogam, mos, moie, moieme (*moiete? not attested), mogant. Five of the remaining queried places contain a deviant spelling of the 3rd per. sing. of ta:

xxiii. toi te pomaga fto u nego Cse ide (1812 No.27.3) - er kann erretten alle, die zu ihm treten

xxiv. Batta Bveat tse (cse 1830) bißantuva, Csliak i ma(r)ha i gadina Bette ima tyachta nevolye (1812 No.32.5) - All Kreatur bezeuget das, was lebt im Wasser, Laub und Gras, sein Leiden kanns nicht meiden

xxv. pоторо Bi Blab i bolnav i vainiko cse umiras (1812 No.32.6) - sieh, morgen ist er schwach und krank, bald muss er auch gar sterben

xxvi. Na goßbe-te cse ideme Bäß haine podobenie, podobite tvoie szartze Bäß prava veara proti boga (1830 No.xxxviii)

xxvii. I faf násse dane, Bila cse prosime, cse nineßme Bbrani Bif faf gedna veara, otti ti Bose ot nás dáBa fgoliemis (1812 No.6.4)

Miletich transliterates xxvi and xxvii, which have no known German parallels, as на гозбе-те ше (sic) идёме със хаине (с)подобени; (с)подобите своёе сърце със права вёра проти бога and и фёф наше дёне сила ще просиме, че нине сме сбрани сиф фёф иедна вёра, оти ти, боже, от нас да (не) са фголиемиш and similarly in xxiii-xxv he takes cse ide, tse bißantuva, cse umiras as ще иде, ще бизантува, ще умираш. The problem is that cse

is otherwise the normal spelling of the Bulgarian conjunction ue, which is used either to introduce indirect speech, as an alternative to otti, or as the conjunction for causal clauses. In these functions it usually stands at the head of its clause, but there are exceptions to this:

xxviii. Iedna kniga cse Ba ste csett, f kotraie napißano, ka Bog ste Bandi Star imladi, nist ne Ba ste pokriva (1812 No.25.3) - 'for? a book will be read in which is written how God will judge both old and young, nothing will be hidden' - Darnach wird man ablesen bald ein Buch, darinn geschrieben, was alle Menschen, jung und alt, auf Erden han getrieben (Miletich omits cse from his transliteration of this passage)

xxix. ott tuka viak neſte ißle dor kraniot filér cseſte plati (1812 No.32.14) - 'he will never come out from there until he pays the last farthing'

xxx. Bantui Bluſaite Chriſtusa, darde csegiemate um danè panète faf prapodenie (1812 No.32.10) - 'therefore listen to Christ, while you have your wits, lest you fall into the abyss' - Wer sich in Christo nicht ergiebt, weil er lebt in der Gnadenzeit, ewig muss er verderben

In xxix and xxx (and also in 1812 No.25.6) cse seems to stand with dor(de) as a compound conjunction. If the instances of cse which Miletich treats as 3rd. per. sing. ue are reconsidered in the light of xxviii-xxx, it can be seen that while future tenses are not excluded by the sense of the passages, in all but one, xxiii, cse could have the value of a causal connective, 'for' or 'as':

xxiv. 'for all the world bears witness, man and goods? and beast all have their trouble'

xxv. 'next? you are weak and ill and poor wretch! for you are dying'

xxvi. 'as we go to be entertained in the proper garments, make your heart ready with true faith in God'

xxvii. 'for? in our days too we ask for strength, as we are all gathered together in one faith, that you, O God, should be magnified (by us)',²⁷.

27. Miletich 1926 renders Ba fgoliemis in the sense 'despise' and emends by adding a negative. This seems unnecessary.

This explanation covers the three places, xxv-xxvii, where the verb which follows cse is in some other person than the 3rd. sing. That is to say, it is at best doubtful whether the use of the invariable future particle of modern Bulgarian, ue, with the present tense of the main verb is proper to the Cserged texts.

There remain only three uncertain readings in the table, and one of these is probably due to an error in copying at some stage:

xxxi. Apa vi Blet malo vreme, Baß Chriſtusa tebe bi faf nebe (1812 No.32.15) - Ihr aber werdt nach dieser Zeit mit Christo hab'n die ew'ge Freud'

Here tebe bi is presumably, as Miletich conjectures, a mistake for *tete bi, 'you will be'. There may also be corruptions in the two other passages:

xxxii. tonßi ste biti Ieſus Christ die na Bvetot Biti doſel, Batta Bveat da ißkupil (1812 No.25.5) - 'that will be you, O Jesus Christ, who came into the world to save the whole world' - mit dir geh (ich) in den Himmel ein, den du uns hast erworben

That is, as Miletich corrects, съта свѣт да искупиш.

xxxiii. Dane bande ſtanal gore Bvetot ieſtal Bißaginal (1812 No.26) - und wär' er nicht erstanden so wär' die Welt vergangen

Here Miletich restores the short infinitive загина, as in:

xxxiv. dane Bande rodeno Biß Bme stele zagina (1812 No.23.1) - wär' uns das Kindlein nicht geboren, so wär'n wir allzumal verlorn

As in the Wallachian letters (see Ch.4, p.234), the use of clausal complements allows greater freedom of construction in:

xxxv. Pomagai Bventa Troitza moie jume da bande faf Knigata napißano (1812 No.25.4) - O Jesu! hilf zur selben Zeit von wegen deiner Wunden, dass ich im Buch der Seligkeit werd eingezeichnet funden

There are no negated infinitives, but negated da-clause complements are found with the main verbs pomaga, moli, primoli and vist, e.g.:

xxxvi. Chriſtusa da molime cse Ba rodi Barant naß, da ne Bagineme (1812 No.23.4) - Ei du süsser Jesu Christ, der du Mensch geboren bist, behüt uns for der Höllen

Table II. Impersonal expressions with infinitive or da-clause

	<u>Occurrence</u> <u>of governing word</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
e/be	7 1?		7 1?
trebuva	2		2
laha Ba	1		2
volie e	2		3
kai e dalgo	1		3

Comments

In these constructions the da-clauses function as the subject of their sentences, e.g.:

i. i ni e volie Baß pomast tvui-tumu Bventa duha, da Ba obarnime pak proti tebe, i da hodime Blet tvoie porontsenie (1830 No.ix) - 'and our desire is to turn back to you with the help of your Holy Spirit and to follow your commandment'

The most frequent impersonal expressions are those in which e/be is used as a modal verb, e.g.:

ii. Bakaf muie da ottide dabi Bbral Batta komora, Blatto i Brebo i dobro i ste Bi tie muie da umrent (1812 No.32.9) - 'everyone must pass away, even if he may have gathered all (kind of) treasure, gold and silver and goods, with all these he must die?' Ein'm Reichen hilft doch nicht sein Gut, dem Jungen nicht sein stolzer Mut, wenn einer hätt die ganze Welt, Silber und Gold und alles Geld, noch muss er an den Reihen Miletich takes the last clause here as съ (в)си тие му ie да умре

iii. karstyot naßmartnimu csaß tomu be dago noßi (1812 No.39.3) - und das Kreuz zu seinem Tod musst er selber tragen

The doubtful place in which a da-clause could be taken to depend on e in its modal use has been discussed under Table I xix, p.275.

There is one other passage in which a da-clause could be taken to depend on an impersonal verb:

iv. aße Ba kalnam, otti manne ne mnie liptzuva grehovitti-tumu Bmart, ni Ba oraduvam na togovo zagubenie, na da sa obarne i da sivii (1830 No.xli) - So wahr als ich lebe/ spricht der ^{<sic>}HErr/HERR/ Ich habe

keinen gefallen am tode des Gottlosen/ sondern daß sich der Gottlose bekehre von seinem wesen/ und lebe (Ezek. 33.11, from Luther 1534)

It seems preferable to treat the da-clauses here as dependent on Ba oraduvam and parallel to na togovo zagubenie, and so they are included under Table I.

Table III. Nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs governing infinitive or da-clause

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
	<u>of governing word</u>		
	<u>Nouns</u>		
putiere	1		2
dodenie	2		2
nadeßen	1		1
veßta	1		1
csaß	1		1
rand	3		8
	<u>Pronouns</u>		
fto	1		1
zarant tuika	1		2
kotri	4		4
	<u>Adjectives</u>		
dulsni	1		2
dostoini	1		1
	<u>Adverbs</u>		
kam	1		1

Comments

The complementary clauses fall into the three kinds mentioned in Ch.1 D III, p.19. The first is that in which government is similar to that exercised by verbs, e.g. with putiere, nadeßen, dodenie and the adjectives:

i. ottam Ste be Dodenie da zandi sivi j umarli (1812 No.16) - Von

dannen er zukünftig ist zu richten die Lebendigen und die Todten

Secondly there are the constructions in which the governing expression can be said to have a function in its dependent da-clause, e.g.:

ii. Kogiß ßme fmlogo nevolya i nimam kam da ßa danam (1812 No.37.1) - 'when we are in great trouble and have nowhere to turn' - Wenn wir in höchsten Nöthen sein und wissen nicht, wo aus noch ein

iii. cse druga pomaſt mie nimame ott gyaula fto dani ßlobodi (1812 No.2.1) - 'for we have no other help who might free us from the devil'

The da-clauses with kotri are also of this kind; in one of them the da-clause adds a final sense:

iv. cse bog ni je pußtil jeden oßtar prandt, ßaß kotre da ni barßka deti-te je baste-te (1830 No.xxxv) - 'for God has sent us a sharp rod with which to chastise us, children and fathers'

In the others the da-clause is rather a subordinated imperative, e.g. in the passage quoted under Table I vi, p.273.

The third kind of da-clause, which defines its governing expression, is exemplified in the places where a da-clause is anticipated by a pronoun, e.g.:

v. Na za sto ni poroncsva bog, da ßtarime dobre? - Ne zarant tuika, da platime nas-te greßi illi da dobime nebentzka hora (1830 No.i) - 'but for what (reason) does God command us to do good? - Not for this (reason), that we should make recompense for our sins or that we should win the heavenly kingdom'

This kind of da-clause is also found in apposition to nouns, such as veßta and rand:

vi. Kolku randove trebuvant faf poenitentia illi szpovada-ta? Dva: parvo, da valuva csliako-t togovi-te greßi i bose; ftoßo, da zame greßin-tem prostenie ot bosa-ta Bluga (1830 No.vi) - 'How many things are needed in the poenitentia or confession? - Two; firstly, that a man should confess his sins (Miletich amends to наперед бора); secondly, that he should receive pardon for his sins from God's minister'

Table IV. Other constructions with infinitive or da-clause

	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
Absolute		2
Imperative		
Co-ordinative/		70 (1) 1?
Consecutive		5 2?
Final		48
Conditional		10 (1)
otti		10
fto		1

Comments

The wide range of uses which the da-clause has in these texts gives rise to syntactic ambiguities which are not always elucidated by comparison with the German. The German equivalent may give the key to the interpretation of the da-clauses in a passage such as:

i. bandini Bmilla primaß Begift. Data fallime Baß tsißto Bartze, i Begi da ti Bpolavame, tvoia beßada date darsime, faf viakuito daßa Blasime (1812 No.37.6-7) - Steh uns in unserm Elend bei, mach uns von allen Plagen frei. Auf dass von Herzen können wir nochmals mit Freuden danken dir, gehorsam sein nach deinem Wort, dich allzeit preisen hier und dort

This is not so in e.g.:

ii. Togiß Bme nadeßen numai Bients da Ba Bbirame fgedno Bif data molime tebe Boga, da ni mentuvas ott Bakvo Blo (1812 No.37.2) - So ist diess unser Trost allein, dass wir zusammen ingemein dich anrufen, o treuer Gott! um Rettung aus der Angst und Noth

The final sense in which the second da-clause here is understood in the table is only arguably more plausible than an imperative one.

It is further unclear under what conditions an imperative da-clause is required rather than a simple imperative form of the verb. In the translation of the Ten Commandments, for example, one finds:

iii. Parvo-to: da nimas litzca boga napred manne; ftoro-to: ni de zañs napraßno tvüiu gospodinu bogu jume; tretie-to: praßniko-t poszventivai;

csetvarto-to: da pocsitas basta i matera, da ti bande dobre i da traies dalgo na zemai-ta; penta-to: ni de ubi; scheßta-to: ni de kurvi; szedma-to: ni de krada (1830 No.i) - 'First: you shall have no heathen? god before me; second: do not take the name of your Lord God in vain; third: keep the sabbath holy; fourth: you shall honour your father and mother, that it may be well with you and that you may live long upon the earth; fifth: do not kill; sixth: do not commit adultery; seventh: do not steal'

The expression Falla da Bande Faf nebe Bogu (1812 No.1.9) - 'praise be to God in heaven' - is apparently equivalent grammatically to Falati bande Blati Bafta (1812 No.26) - 'praise be to you, precious? Father' (Miletich suggests злати баща).

The queried imperative da-clause has been discussed under Table I xviii, p.275. Another construction is also doubtful:

iv. Bantui jella da gie ißgori i vernyeto ie Blobodi (1812 No.24.10) - drum mach einmal mit ihr ein End und lass uns sehn den lieben jüngsten Tag

Miletich's transcription makes it plain that he takes the da-clause here to be subordinate to jella: зантыі іела да іе изгори(ш) и верние-то (о)-слободи(ш); but such an interpretation requires the two verbs after the da to be corrected to the 2nd per. sing. indic., whereas if da is taken as a co-ordinating conjunction they are, as they stand, acceptable 2nd per. sing. imperatives, parallel to jella itself: 'so come and destroy it by fire and free the faithful'. There is no exactly comparable passage, but da introduces clauses which may as well be co-ordinated as consecutive in:

v. i ni Bi pußtil tvoie szventa szina Christusa Iesusa, da ni e ißkupil togova Bventa karf (1830 No.ix) - 'and you have sent us your holy Son Christ Jesus, and/so that he has ransomed us by? his holy blood'

vi. pußti Angeleto, da nego umraßiha nift i ma done foha ießtye doßit (1812 No.31.6) - 'he sent the angels, and/so that they (i.e. the lions to whom Daniel was cast) did him no harm and they brought him food enough' - sein'n Engel sandt' er hin und liess ihm Speise bringen gut durch seinen Diener Habacuc

On the other hand, the da-clause seems best taken as consecutive in:

vii. Sztoril (sztori 1830) nam faf Chriřtusa Boga takva viara, řto da vearovame, Christus Bagrehovityite otti gie umral (1812 No.30.3) - 'give us such faith in Christ our God that we may believe that Christ has died for our sins'

In the Cserged texts present or future conditional clauses start with the conjunction as (i.e. аше?), but unreal conditionals are introduced by da (see also under Table V i, p.286). They are sometimes preceded in addition by otti, and then the sense seems to be 'as if', e.g.:

viii. Nitt (nist 1830) ne Blusa ucsenyeto, Bakaf tengli na Lakomtzto, otti ni kogist toi da dode napred Bosoto Bandenie (1812 No.24.2) - Mann fragt nich nach der guten Lehr; der Geiz und Wucher noch vielmehr hat überhand genommen gar, noeh sprechen sie: es hat kein G'fahr

ix. Hiklantztoto ie Bahando, krivina greři na varhu otti Bog danego vidi, i ne kogist dago Bokoti (1812 No.24.4) - Es ist doch eitel Büberei, die Welt treibt grosse Schinderei, als ob kein Gott im Himmel wär

The otti da clauses here may be glossed: 'as if he were never to come before God's judgement' and 'as if God did not see and kept no account of it'. I wonder if the same interpretation should not be put on:

x. Use ař vearovame mnje numai f nego, togiř ni darsi nebentzió-t basta zarant togovo draga szina, attui da bandeme mnje napalnile bosite poroncsenie (1830 No.i) - 'thus if we have faith in him alone, then our Heavenly Father treats us for the sake of his dear Son as if we had fulfilled God's commandments'

However, Miletich's transcription implies that he understands the da-clause as a 1st per. plur. imperative: а ти да бѣндеме мнѣ напълнѣ божѣ-те порѣчѣнѣ...

Elsewhere otti precedes final da-clauses, e.g.:

xi. miluva ma manne Blatte Iesus Chriřtus, řto řa ři rodil csliak zarant manne, otti da dobandem zarant tebe mui tem greřim prostenie i da obrenstem milla pri tvoia nebenztiitago basta boga zarant tvoie řvento i alduvano jumme, otti da traitem řegy pořlet tvoie volia i řvento porontsenie (1803 No.vii) - 'have mercy on me, precious? Jesus Christ, who were born as man for my sake, that I may gain forgiveness of my sins for your sake and that I may find mercy with your Heavenly Father for the sake of your holy and blessed name, that I may always live according to

your will and your holy commandments'

In one instance otti stands before a complementary clause:

xii. puβtini βventi Ago Duha, otti dai toii veβeli Barant Ieβusa (1812 No.25.8) - 'send us the Holy Spirit to rejoice us for Jesus's sake'

The two absolute da-clauses are:

xiii. na dalgo bog ne ste pritarpe, vist, da ne pane faf zandenie, viacuito jes zaginna βaβ giaulu-tu tkinuva, vai, o vai numai da βa rodi (1830 No.xxxv) - 'God will not be patient for long, see that you? do not fall into condemnation, you will perish for ever with the torments of the devil, alas, alas that ever you? were born'

xiv. bogat uboga natiβka, sirako-t numai da pliβka, bogatiu βakulia da βa natiβka (1830 No.xxxv) - 'the rich oppresses the poor, the beggar has only to peep for the rich man's purse to shut'

Alternatively the first da-clause in xiv could be regarded as a conditional.

Table V. Tense and mood of verbs in da-clauses

	<u>Imperative/</u>	<u>Co-ordinative/</u>	<u>Complementary</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>Conditional</u>
	<u>Absolute</u>	<u>Consecutive</u>			
Imperative		2?			
Present	70(1)	1?	2	86 5 (1)? 48	4 (1)
Aorist		2			
Perfect		1		1?	2
Conditional					4
<u>Comments</u>					

The queried passages have all been discussed under the preceding tables. Some of them, such as the complementary clause with a perfect verb, Table I xxxii, p.278, are undoubtedly due to textual corruption. The co-ordinative and consecutive da-clauses with non-present verbs have also all been quoted under Table IV iv -vi, p.283.

The tense and mood of verbs in conditional da-clauses call for some comment. These are all unreal conditionals to which the use of the

conditional mood is natural, especially when the verb in the apodosis is also in the conditional, e.g.:

i. Batta Bvead rad biBa blasil, da ne bi bil t*ei* mlogo tyin kotri karBtyene patent (1812 No.32.4) - Gern wollt die Welt auch selig sein, wenn nur nicht w*är* die schwere Pein, die alle Christen leiden

However, there are other possibilities: it appears that combination with otti conveys unreality without the conditional, as in Table IV viii-x, p.284, or in:

ii. prach i pepeli dava oti nikogijt Da bande rodem iB ma ternimi Trup tai Babanduvam (1812 no.8.2) - obschon verschwindt des Leibes Ehr, als wenn er nie w*är* kommen her aus meiner Mutter Leib

The same holds good when the verb of the apodosis is in what one might call the unrealized future-in-the-past, as in the passages quoted under Table I ~~xxxi~~ and ~~xxxiv~~, p.278. The use of bande with the past participle active in ~~xxxiv~~ may be a significant feature of the dialect, since it is a construction characteristic of Serbo-Croat, not of Bulgarian, at the present day;²⁸ on the other hand there are similar constructions in the Svishtov damascene.²⁹

Table VI. Infinitives separated from their governing expressions, and da separated from its dependent verbs, by non-enclitic elements

	<u>Occurrence</u>		<u>Separated occurrences</u>	
	<u>of construction</u>			
Infinitive	151	6?	6	
Imperative/				
Absolute <u>da</u>	70 (1)	1?	1?	
Co-ordinative/				
Consecutive <u>da</u>	5	2?	1?	
Complementary <u>da</u>	86	5 (1)?	3	1?

28. See Belić 1969 pp.156-57.

29. See Miletich 1923 p.55.

	<u>Occurrence</u> <u>of construction</u>	<u>Separated occurrences</u>
Final <u>da</u>	48	2?
Conditional <u>da</u>	10 (1)	
<u>Comments</u>		

The infinitive may be separated from the verb which governs it by their common subject, by adverbs or adverbial phrases, and by the direct or indirect object. With the exception of these six instances (three with the verb mogam, two with ſta and one with ni de), only nide(te) is ever separated from its infinitive, even by enclitic pronouns. Almost without exception enclitics are placed before mogam and ſta, not between them and their dependent infinitives; the exceptions are two places where moieme stands first in the sentence and is followed by the interrogative particle li (see Table I ix, x, pp.273-74), the instances in which ſta is preceded by its infinitive (see Table VII) and:

i. toi ste otvori nebentski vrata, ſlobonie faf sivenie steme otta (1812 No.4.5) - 'he will open the gates of heaven, he will grant me freedom (i.e. free entry?) into life' - der wird die Himmelsthür aufthun, mich führen zum ew'gen Leben

Between da and its verb may stand the subject of the verb or adverbs qualifying the verb. Only in the uncertain instance of an interrupted imperative da-clause does the full form of the pronominal direct object intervene (see Table I xviii, p.275).

Table VII. Verbs governing preposed infinitives

There are only two examples of this:

i. Tomuzika Bog ſte da zakvo dobro, Dusa j Trupa hrana muſte blasi i zekoi grezi tomus muſte proſti, kronuva go ste (1812 No.11.1) - 'him will God give every good thing, he will bless him with food for body and soul and forgive him all his sins, he will crown him'

ii. Eſai ias Profetas Bi Beſſe napiſal, rodi ſa ſte Meſſias, ott Cſiſta de vitza (1812 No.23.2) - 'the prophet Isaiah had written: the Messiah will be born of a pure virgin'

Remodelling of infinitives

It has been explained under Table I that, with one possible exception (vii, p.273), all the infinitival forms in the Cserged Prayers are shortened by the loss of final -ти or -сти: Ба for ВЪЗАТИ (1830.No.iv), pregie for ПРИАТИ (1812 No.23.3), vide for ВИДѢТИ (1812 Nos.5.7, 26), otti for ОТИТИ (1812 No.30.3), obre for ОБРѢСТИ (1812 No.25.6), iβle for ИЗЛѢСТИ (1812 Nos.29.8, 32.14), do for ДОИТИ (1812 No.25.1), βabi for ЗАБЪИТИ (1812 No.2.3), βbra for СЪБРАТИ (1812 No.32.16) etc. However there are some indubitable instances of infinitives reformed on the present stems of their verbs: prigiema (1812 No.32.11) - but ПРИЕМАТИ is attested in Old Church Slavonic³⁰ - live for ЖИТИ (1812 Nos.5.3, 19.3), krada for КРАСТИ (1830 No.i), βova for ЗЪВАТИ (1812 No.25.2), blidi for БЛЮСТИ (1812 No.25.4), βtana for СТАТИ (1812 Nos.19.1, 2, 5, 5.5), and probably also csett from УТЕ instead of УИСТИ (1812 No.25.3). The infinitive csui for УОУТИ looks as if it may owe something to the influence of the present УОУЕ, and zane in Jni de zane naβ na Jβpitanie (1812 No.1.7) may be an alternative to Ба, with scribal confusion of n and the m which one would expect from ВЪЗЕМЕ; unless this form is simply a corruption of the βova which appears in the straight-forward versions of the Lord's Prayer (see Table I i, p.272).

CONCLUSIONS

In the Prayers of Cserged the infinitive is reduced to the very limited distribution which is characteristic of the more conservative Eastern dialects of modern Bulgarian: it is used only in the periphrastic future and the negative imperative, i.e. practically as a bound stem-form of the verb, and optionally with the verb 'to be able'. This stem-form of the verb is less readily separated from the main verb than the dependent infinitive was in earlier stages of Bulgarian (see Tables VI in Chapters 2,

30. See the Lexicon Linguae Palaeoslovenicae under ПРИИМАТИ.

3 and 4) or indeed than the comparable present-day forms are, since in modern standard Bulgarian enclitic pronouns must stand between ѡе and the main verb, not before ѡе. The difference in ordering of elements may have been brought about by the change from an inflected auxiliary verb, ѡа, to the invariable future particle ѡе, which is itself enclitic; but this can hardly be demonstrated. In the Svishtov damascene the mutual ordering of ѡа and the enclitic pronouns is not fixed.

The only other possible vestige of an infinitive (see Table I vii, p.273) can be compared in form, though not in construction, to the infinitives in -и or -иѡ which survive in modern Bulgarian dialects (see Ch.1 B I, p.3).

So marginal, then, was the status of the infinitive in an isolated Bulgarian dialect of the later sixteenth or early seventeenth century. The questions that arise are these: how isolated had it been up to that time, and how far did it deviate from the main body of Bulgarian dialects? What outside influences may have worked on it to bring it to the state in which it is attested? When did its verbal syntax acquire the appearance which it has? The answers can only be tentative in the extreme.

To take the first question: there is no evidence of contact between the people of Cserged and other Bulgarian-speakers during the three centuries from when Cserged is first mentioned as Bulgaricum to the time when the translations of the German hymns and prayers were probably made. It is by no means impossible that there was some contact, at least intermittently; as was explained at the beginning of this chapter, there were certainly Slavs in other villages of Transylvania in this period, and from 1392 at Braşov there was a Bulgarian settlement which became known in other parts of the country.(see Ch.4 Conclusions, p.257). However, movement between these communities has not been reported, except for the links between Braşov and Reşinar and Râjmau in the late fifteenth and

sixteenth centuries, and there is no way of demonstrating it from internal evidence, from the language of the texts, since we are ignorant of the varieties of Bulgarian which may have been spoken elsewhere in Transylvania.³¹ The only connexion that can be made is with the language of the Wallachian State documents, particularly the trading charters and letters which were described in Ch.4 section B. It is no simple matter to compare these sources with the texts from Cserged, because they are governed by very different orthographical and stylistic conventions. Lingering literary influence in the letters inhibits the use of the postposed definite article, of pronominal reduplication of the direct and indirect objects, and of prepositional phrases in place of the full range of cases; one is left to rely on slips and inconsistencies as signs of an underlying grammatical system at least as far advanced towards analyticity as that of the Cserged texts. Yet it emerges from the findings of Ch.4 that where the infinitive is not preserved as a feature of traditional formulaic style, its use in the Wallachian documents is almost as limited as in the Bulgarian spoken in Transylvania. There are also some points of detailed similarity which suggest that, so far as the Wallachian letters reflect a spoken usage, it is one which has some affinity to the Bulgarian of Cserged. The two varieties of language seem to have almost the same peculiar present tense conjugation of apocopated хотѣти (see Ch.4, p.210 xii and p.229 iii, iv, and above, p.276). They also share a number of Greek loan-words typical of colloquial Bulgarian: комат, трапеза, хар, хора, липсва, парясам, сполавам, сосам, ела(те), ката, макар, оти.³² Some of these could have been loans through Roumanian, but others, particularly ела(те), ката, оти, are not held by Mihăescu 1966 to have been current in mediaeval Roumanian. They

31. Except for the language of the Bulgarian immigrants into the Banat in the eighteenth century, see Miletich 1897.

32. See Mirchev 1952, Djamo-Diaconiță 1971 pp.349-57.

testify to a degree of familiarity with Greek which would be unexpected in Wallachia and still more in Transylvania. Doubtless, as Mirchev argues, they are evidence of the considerable influence of spoken Greek on Bulgarian up to the thirteenth century (see also Ch.7, p.326).

On the other hand, there are important differences between the Bulgarian of Cserged and that spoken Bulgarian usage, of whatever date, which exerted an influence on the language of the Wallachian letters. The latter lack, for example, that remarkable conservative feature of Cserged, the retention of the nasal vowels, which in itself indicates a long severance of continuous contacts with the majority of Bulgarian dialects.

The language of Cserged is also set apart by the kinds of influence from other languages which can be detected in it. Greek has already been mentioned. One has also to reckon with German, Hungarian and Roumanian. Perhaps surprisingly, there is rather little direct evidence of German influence. It should be apparent from the quotations made above that the Cserged texts are far from being literal, or even at all times faithful translations, and they contain at most only a handful of loans from German: mester, zugai, probably potientzta, predicatori and poenitentia, possibly klotz.³³ Thus German seems not to have had a significant part in forming the every-day language of the Cserged Bulgarians up to the time at which the texts were translated. However, it can be seen to have had some effect on their religious language. There is a striking absence in the texts of the traditional Slavonic terminology of the Orthodox Church, except in such fundamentals as Bog, Bventi Ago Duha, pri Csista (i.e. прѣвнста?) de vitza, grezi, Karßtiene, which could all be coincidental, or inevitable, correspondences. The religious vocabulary is otherwise largely new, either borrowed, e.g. gyaul, profetas, hora, putiere, martiri, mentuva ('to save', see below on Hungarian and

33. See Miletich 1926 glossary.

Roumanian), testament, or else calqued from German, e.g. naſ Lyab katta deſni for unser tägliches Brot, gore stanantie for Auferstehung, Jſpitanie for Versuchung, ſedniden for jüngster Tag, poroncsenie presumably for Gebot, dobroſtorenje for gute Werk, bosata vecsera perhaps for Heiliges Abendmahl.³⁴ Traces of German influence on the syntax can also be discerned, particularly in the occasional use of the passive instead of the reflexive verbs more natural to Slavonic idiom (and used to the exclusion of the passive in the Wallachian material), e.g.:

i. Pomagai ſventa Troitza moie jume da bande faf Knigata napiſano (1812 No.25.4) - O Jesu! hilf zur selben Zeit von wegen deiner Wunden, daſſ ich im Buch der Seligkeit werd eingezeichnet funden.

ii. komu stete prosti greſi-te, tomuſ hant be prostenie komu i stete ſadarse, tomusz hant be ſadarsenie (1830 No.vi) - welchen jr die sunde erlasset/ den sind sie erlassen/ und welchen jr sie behaltet/ den sind behalten (John 20.23, from Luther 1534)

iii. sto steſ ſvenſa na zeme-ta, ste be ſſvenſano i faf nebe-to, i sto stes raſvenſa na szema-ta ste bi raſvenſano i faf nebe-to (1830 No.vi) - Alles was du auff erden binden wirst/ soll auch im himel gebunden sein; und alles was du auff erden lösen wirst/ soll auch im himel los sein (Matth. 16.19, from Luther 1534)

All this is further proof of the isolation of the Cserged community from the Bulgarian cultural main-stream.

A much deeper impression was made on the language by Hungarian and Roumanian, as was to be expected after several hundred years in Transylvania. In fact it is difficult to disentangle the contributions from these two languages, because many words could have been borrowed from either of them. Most of the words which Miletich derives from Hungarian are attested in Roumanian, though often in Transylvanian usage heavily influenced by Hungarian. The texts contain only a few words of Hungarian origin which are not attested in some variety of Roumanian,³⁵ e.g.

34. I owe information on German Lutheran terminology to Mrs. O. Sayce.

35. In Dictionarul limbii române and Dictionarul limbii române literare contemporane.

bizantuva from bizonyít, valuva from vall, Elenßigove from ellenség, enieduva from enged, hirdetuva from hirdet and rendeluva, which is probably from rendel rather than Roumanian rîndui. In most instances it does not seem possible to distinguish the source, e.g. between Hungarian ment and Roumanian mîntui for mentuva. Thus although the number of specifically Roumanian loan-words is not great (vare from oare, vrazmas from vrăjmaş, domnuva from domni, komora from komoară, magnuva from mîhnui, naduliva from năduli, numai from numai, pazitor from păzitor, raşa from rază, salas from sălaş, suferi from suferi, urma from urmă, haina from haină, and a few others less certain), it may be that most of the loan-words which entered the Bulgarian dialect of Cserved in Transylvania came from or through Roumanian. Indeed at least some of the Slavonic vocabulary seems to have come through Roumanian mediation, e.g. vestezuva from vesteji, dobanda from dobîndă, manka from mîncă, nevoies from nevoias, podoba from podoabă, poftei from pofti, spovada from spovadă. There are other words of Slavonic origin in the texts which have become current in Roumanian, but as they are attested in Bulgarian with the same meanings they cannot confidently be treated as signs of Roumanian influence, e.g. skampa, bolnaf, gadina, mila, navadi, naprašna, sirac.³⁶

Although the combined lexical influence of Hungarian and Roumanian is far more obvious in the texts from Cserved than it is in the Wallachian documents, the problems which were outlined at the end of Ch.4, pp.256-59, concerning the identification of syntactic contamination from these languages, particularly Roumanian, are as intractable here. There does not appear to be any obvious syntactic imitation of Roumanian; even the placing of enclitic pronouns before the future auxiliary, rather than between it and the infinitive, though it agrees with Roumanian usage and may have been reinforced by it, cannot be attributed solely to contact with Roumanian, since the order of the enclitics vis-à-vis the

36. See Rechnik na bălgarskiya ezik on the meanings of these words.

future auxiliary was not fixed in seventeenth and eighteenth century Bulgarian. (see above, p.289, and Ch.6 Table VI, p.311). On the other hand, simply by virtue of its similarity to Modern Bulgarian, the syntax of the Cserged texts has much in common with that of Modern Roumanian. Once again one can only venture the supposition that if in the sixteenth century and later, at the time when the Cserged translations were made, Roumanian still used its infinitives in a fairly wide, though optional, range of constructions, then it is not likely that the extremely limited use of the infinitive in Cserged resulted from adopting Roumanian syntactic patterns at an earlier period.

There remain two possibilities: either that the dialect of Cserged happened independently to follow essentially the same path of development as the other East Bulgarian dialects and at about the same rate; or that its syntax is like that of Modern Bulgarian because it had already in the thirteenth century shared in changes which gave rise to the modern system, before its speakers came to be isolated in Cserged. Against the first position one may urge the conservative character of the Cserged dialect: its well-maintained three-case declensional system, its preference of possessive adjectives and the possessive dative to prepositional constructions with na, its retention of present participles³⁷ and, most remarkable, of the nasal vowels in so large a proportion of etymologically correct positions. It may be that one should add to these the lack of co-ordinating constructions with n or ta, such as one finds in the Wallachian documents or the damascenes (see Ch.4, pp.212 and 233, Ch.6, p.307). If the language of sixteenth or early seventeenth century Cserged was on the whole rather more conservative than that of the early seventeenth century Bulgarian damascenes, then it is perhaps odd that its development from infinitives to the use of the da-clause should have been as far

37. In four places: 1812 No.23.2, 1812 No.39.4, 1830 No.ix, 1803 No.vii.

advanced. But against these considerations, and the suggestion that the infinitive may have been limited to use with a few auxiliary and modal verbs in Bulgarian of the thirteenth century, one may object; firstly that conservatism in some aspects does not necessarily imply that a language is resistant to all change, and secondly that we have next to no direct knowledge, and only fragmentary and inadequate indirect information, about the colloquial usage of thirteenth century Bulgarian.

Taken by themselves, in fact, the Prayers of Cserged are of limited help as a source for the history of Bulgarian. They give some information, not without its ambiguities, about the lexis of thirteenth century Bulgarian and indicate that at that time certain developments - denasalization, the generalization of the preposition на - had not taken place in all dialects. It is only when considered in conjunction with the evidence of the Wallachian letters, and with the support of the damascene texts, that they give inviting, though not undeniable, grounds for believing that many of the crucial developments towards modern Bulgarian had already taken place by the beginning of the fourteenth century and in particular that the infinitive had been replaced by the да-clause in most, perhaps all its functions except that of complementing auxiliary and modal verbs.

CHAPTER 6 : THE TIKHONRAVOVSKI DAMASCENE BOOK

From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century a considerable number of MSS were written and copied in Bulgarian containing compilations of edifying literature, largely sermons, taken from various sources. These MSS vary both in language and in content¹ but they came to be generally known as damascenes - дамаскини - because translations of the Greek sermons of Damascene the Studite were traditionally included in them, especially in the earlier ones of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The sermons of Damascene the Studite were written in the earlier half of the sixteenth century and were first published in 1557-58 in Venice. By the beginning of the seventeenth century they had been several times translated into Church Slavonic. One of these translations was made in Western Bulgaria,² probably not from the printed edition but from a MS of the Greek text which included the sermon on the Ten Commandments, first published with the other sermons of Damascene in 1630.³ This Church Slavonic version in turn was translated more than once during the seventeenth century, with some reference back to one or other of the original Greek texts, into varieties of Bulgarian not far removed from the modern language. There appears to have been a version characterized by dialectal features of Central Bulgarian,⁴ from which stem several redactions, one of which is represented by the Tikhonravovski damascene published by Demina 1971, the Troyanski damascene published by Ivanova 1967, the Kopriashinski damascene published by Miletich 1908, and some others. Another

1. See Petkanova-Toteva 1965 Chapters 4 and 5.

2. See Ilievski 1960.

3. See Demina 1968 p.50.

4. See Demina 1973.

Modern Bulgarian translation was made in North-East Bulgaria and gave rise to the Svishtovski damascene published by Miletich 1923. .

The textological relationships between these various compilations containing sermons by Damascene the Studite have been most thoroughly examined in Demina 1968, and attention has been drawn to their dialectal differences in the studies of Velcheva, e.g. that of 1961. There remains scope for much further investigation of the individual damascenes, of their generic development and interdependence, and of the historical and local variations in their language. The present chapter does not attempt to contribute to that investigation, which would be long and complex and would require material from the many unpublished damascenes. Here damascene literature is used merely as a source of evidence for the state of the Bulgarian language in the early seventeenth century.

It is not immediately obvious that this is a legitimate undertaking. In principle the Modern Bulgarian damascene texts could be subject to the influence both of their Church Slavonic sources and, either through them or directly, of their ultimate Greek original. Furthermore, their orthographical conventions, and in some points their morphological usage, are largely based on those of Serbian Church Slavonic,⁵ and this can obscure or even distort their similarity to Modern Bulgarian, e.g. in the retention of the 3rd per. plur. aorist ending -ше rather than -ха. Nevertheless, despite potential interference both from earlier versions of the damascenes and from the literary conventions which applied to the Modern Bulgarian versions themselves, it is sufficiently apparent that in most aspects of syntax and morphology these versions departed from Church Slavonic norms and adhered to usages closely resembling those familiar in the Modern Bulgarian spoken language. Unfortunately there has not yet been any full-scale comparison made between the Greek and

5. See Babov 1968, Velcheva 1966.

Church Slavonic translations and the Modern Bulgarian ones, but even a brief examination of the passages from the Church Slavonic which Demina 1968 cites and her parallel columns with Modern Bulgarian versions shows that they differ radically and unpredictably from each other, that is, that the translator did not systematically employ one means of rendering Church Slavonic infinitives, for example, or relative pronouns⁶ in Bulgarian. Any influence of Greek on the Modern Bulgarian redaction represented by the Tikhonravovski MS (Demina's first Modern Bulgarian type) was probably indirect,⁷ since it can be seen to derive (as does also the second Modern Bulgarian type recognized in Demina 1968) from the Church Slavonic, retaining occasional Slavonicisms.⁸ Comparison of passages from the Tikhonravovski damascene and Damascene's Greek text⁹ reveals that while their constructions are sometimes parallel, they often diverge:

i. καὶ τότε θέλω ἔλθειν καὶ εἰς τὰ θαύματα (ιη) - н тогѡ̀зи ꙗ̀кѡ сѡзѡ̀хъ н за ѡбѡдѡ̀та (Fol.81b)

ii. ἤγουν ὅπου δὲν δύναται τις νὰ τὴν καταλάβῃ (ιη) - де ꙗ̀ко не може ꙗ̀коу ꙗ̀зѡ̀мѣ ꙗ̀кѡ ѡ̀ ѡ̀бѡ̀дѡ̀тѣ (Fol.82a)

iii. καὶ ἤθελα παύσειν ἕως αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον μου (ιη) - н ꙗ̀кѡ ꙗ̀мѣ до-тѡ̀ка ꙗ̀а сѡ̀бѡ̀рѡ̀шѡ̀мѣ сѡ̀лѡ̀воꙗ̀ (Fol.84a)

Only one damascene, that known as Tikhonravovski, is examined in detail here. There are two reasons for choosing it. One is that it is available in a good edition (Demina 1971) suitable for philological investigation. The other is that, as Demina 1968 shows, much of its text represents a fairly early stage in the transmission of the Modern Bulgarian version of the sermons of Damascene, a stage which is shared

6. See Demina 1975.

7. The damascenes of Demina's fourth type; of which the Svishtovski damascene is one, are thought to be based in part directly on a Greek text, see Petkanova-Toteva 1965 pp.72-84.

8. See Demina 1968 *passim*, Velcheva 1961.

9. Quoted here from the edition of 1561, the earliest available to me.

notably by another unpublished MS, the Protopopinski damascene, and from which others in the same branch of the tradition, such as the Kopri-shtenski and Troyanski damascenes, diverge. It might be supposed that the Svishtovski damascene would be the obvious example of early Modern Bulgarian to take for this study, because its dialect seems to have been akin to that of the Cserged Prayers (see Ch.5, pp.264-65). But the version which appears in the Svishtovski damascene is probably a later one which drew to some extent on that represented by the Tikhonravovski damascene;¹⁰ and the Svishtovski damascene itself is a copy of the mid eighteenth century, almost a century later than the damascene MS which has been chosen for use here. It seemed more important to draw on as early evidence for Modern Bulgarian as could easily be found than to attempt to follow through the development of one dialect when no dialectal continuity could be attained in the other sources of this thesis. Moreover, a comparison of parts (the sermons on St. Nicholas and on the Archangels Michael and Gabriel) of the Tikhonravovski and Svishtovski damascenes revealed that any differences between them in the use of infinitives and da-clauses are slight and probably insignificant.

The greater part of the Tikhonravovski damascene (up to Fol.266b) was written by one scribe, probably in the 3rd quarter of the seventeenth century.¹¹ The bulk of it consists of sermons both by Damascene the Studite and by others; e.g. Epifanii of Tŕrnovo, rendered into early Modern Bulgarian; but it also includes a series of instructions on the duties of a priest (Foll.211a-215a, Nos.22-30 in Demina's edition) which are written in Church Slavonic and are peculiar to this MS. The sermons in Modern Bulgarian are not from a single source but go back to two distinct translations, one using a dialect characterized by the use of the suffix -zn to demonstrative pronouns and adverbs, the other preferring

10. See Demina 1968 p.90.

11. See Demina 1971 Palaeographical Description.

pronouns and adverbs in -ѡ.¹² This means that at least one stage of a MSS tradition, or more probably several stages, according to Demina 1968, must underlie the text of the Tikhonravovski damascene, and that while the MS itself dates from after 1660 or so, its language is that of the first half of the seventeenth century.

The material presented in the tables below is drawn from one sermon, that on the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, Foll.81a-108b, No.11 in Demina's edition. It derives from the sermon on the same subject in Damascene's Θησαυρός (No.1η) and, in the торазн variety of the Modern Bulgarian translation, figures in most of the seventeenth century damascenes and is included in the Svishtovski damascene. It is one of the longest sermons and so provides a good sample of the constructions under consideration here. For completeness's sake, however, the constructions which involve infinitives in the other Modern Bulgarian sermons of the Tikhonravovski damascene (including those copied by the second and third scribes¹³) have been excerpted and are cited on the few points where they modify the picture presented by the sermon on the Archangels. The points of difference are too few, and the body of material thus collected too large, for it to be useful to tabulate findings from the whole damascene.

Table I. Verbs governing infinitive or da-clause with identical or distinct subjects

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>Da-clause</u>	
	<u>of verb</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>
ѡз	80	16		70	
желѡе	1			1	
недѡнте	4	4			
може	23	5		21	

12. See Velcheva 1964, Demina 1968.

13. The fourth scribe added the last sermon of the damascene, which is in Church Slavonic.

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>Da-clause</u>	
	<u>of verb</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>
ВЪЗМОЖЕ	1			1	
НАУНЕ	6			6	
ПОУНЕ	1			1	
ПОВЕЛИ	1				1
ПОВЕЛѢВА	1				1
РЕЧЕ	14			1	16
ЗАРЪЧА	2				2
ДОМА	1				1
КАЖЕ	1				1
ПОКАЗА	1				1
ПѢСТИ	3				7
ПѢДА	5				5
ПОПѢДА	1				2
РАСПѢСТИ	1			1	
ДОВЕДЕ	3				3
СЪБЕРЕ	1				1
СЪБЕРЕ СЕ	2			3	
ИДЕ	1			1	
ПОИДЕ	5			5	
ДОИДЕ	12			13	
ОТИДЕ	1			1	
ПРИИДЕ	1				1
ИЗЛѢЗЕ	2			2	
ДОЛѢЗЕ	2			2	
ТЕЧЕ	1			1	
ЕЛАТЕ	2				2
СѢДЕ	1			1	
СТАНЕ	1			1	
ПРИПАДНЕ	1			1	

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>Da-clause</u>
	<u>of verb</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>	<u>same subj.</u> <u>diff.subj.</u>
прииникне	1			1
дов'таса	1			1
има	1			1
дава	3			3
даде	1			1
смѣе	4			4
наде се	2			2
ѹака	2			2
молн	2			2
молн се (давно)	5			5
помолн се (давно)	3			3
призовава	1			1
ѹчн	2			2
послѣша	3			4
насили	1			1
насилѹва	1			1
присили	1			1
пѹстави	2			2
помогне	1			1
ѹѹова се	1			2
боѹа се	2			2
оставн	9			9
оставлѹа	1			1
прѣстане	1			1
знае	1			1
надема се	1			1
наговори се	5			9
зговори се	1			1

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>Da-clause</u>	
	<u>of verb</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>	<u>same subj.</u>	<u>diff.subj.</u>
ище	4			4	
поска	2			2	
зема	5			5	
ѡзема	1			1	
посегне	1			1	
потрѡди се	1			1	
ради	1			1	
ѡтѡмн	1				1
натѡмн	3			3	1
пристане	1			2	

Comments

The distribution of infinitives here is in the main representative of the whole damascene. In particular it is typical that in this sermon infinitives occur only after the present tense forms of ѡзъ¹⁴ and може (positive or negated); when these verbs occur in past tenses, they take da-clauses. Usually ѡзъ with the infinitive seems to be a periphrastic future, but it can be taken as having volitional force in:

i. бѣ не бра́ни а̀ггѣла,ако ѡѣ злѣ́ быѣ,ако ѡѣ до́брь (Fol.82a-b)

When it is followed by a da-clause, it may be either future auxiliary or main verb, e.g.:

ii. и как’ ѡѣ да бѡ́де това́ (Fol.88a)

iii. и попи́тъ го за́ ѡмето мѡ,и не ѡѣ да ми́ ка́же (Fol.88b)

iv. и а́зь зна́ѣ ѡѣ с’мь грѣ́шница,и́ ѡѣ да сѣ́ мѡѡѡ (Fol.103b)

The ambiguity of this construction can be seen particularly well in another sermon, that on St. George, in which the Emperor Diocletian says to the martyr:

14. ѡзъ is used as the citation form, rather than 3rd per. ѡѣ as for other verbs, in order to make clear that the conjugated verb is in question and not the invariant particle.

v. сегà да вѣда ако прѣ́ нашите оуи сторѣшь магіа, та не щѣшь на да ѡговарѣшь. ато и да тѣ се не щѣ а тѣ щѣшь да дѣмашь (Fol.301a-b)

The first щѣшь is volitional, the second future.

However other passages in the damascene reveal that the use of the infinitive is not quite as limited as it would appear from the table. On the one hand, the limitation of tense in the infinitival constructions with щѣ and може, though it holds in the great majority of instances, has occasional exceptions; e.g.:

vi. не щѣхъ та прѣ́да на сѣмръть (Fol.307a)

vii. и пакъ аггла не можахѣ видѣ́ ѡнѣа влѣсѣви какъ вѣто е (Fol.245a)

viii. или не вѣ́ мо́гль ѡнѣа трѣ́те ѡтроци избавиль (sic) да гѣ́ не ѡметнѣть вѣ пѣшь (Fol.117a)

ix. и кѡн когѡ мо́жаше заврътѣ́ ѡдѣрюваше го гдѣ́ сѣ́ слѣ́ваше (Fol.252a)

Again, while it is most usual for only the first complement of a verb to be an infinitive and any following ones to be da-clauses, as in x, coordinated infinitives can be found, for example in xi-xiv:

x. тогáзи сѣ́ щѣ́ ѡрѣ́ ѡ то́нзи свѣ́тъ. и да излѣ́за и да ѣ́дѣ, ато мѣ́ тѣ́ на твоа ѣ́сть наставляишъ (Fol.170b)

xi. а́ми гѣ́ щѣ́ гонѣ́ и мѣ́и (Fol.114a)

xii. ато са щѣ́ сѣ́ ка́а и пла́ка (Fol.219a)

xiii. а́зъ пакы́ щѣ́мъ погледѣ́а и настави́ на прѣ́ва твоа́ по́усть (Fol.31a)

xiv. мо́же́ и мрѣ́твыѣ́ вѣ́скрѣ́си́ и до́вѣ́ на мѣ́ръ и на про́шъка (Fol.20b)

On the other hand, there are a few instances in the damascene in which other verbs take the infinitive. The verbs смѣ́е and нема́, although more often they take da-clauses, are twice followed by infinitives:

xv. ны́ѣ не смѣ́емъ сто́ри тѣ́зи ра́бота (Fol.71b)

xvi. а́ми пакъ а́зъ не смѣ́а то́ва сто́ри да ѣ́дѣ сѣ́съ тѣ́е (Fol.78a)

xvii. за́щѡ сѣ́сеніѣ́ не́мате́ ѡ нѣ́го видѣ́ (Fol.18a)

xviii. и пакъ не́ма́т вѣ́ у́тѡ сто́ри (Fol.303b)

The last of these could be counted under Table III.

In one further passage the positive има is used apparently as a future auxiliary with a dependent infinitive, but this is isolated:

xix. тѣк'мо имаѣте оупованіе на бѣ и имате сѣ избѣвн ѿ тѣзи сѣмрѣтъ (Fol.136a)

There are, it is true, other infinitival constructions dependent on personal verbs in the damascene, but these either occur in the Church Slavonic sermons or are obviously quotations, in Church Slavonic, inserted into the Modern Bulgarian, such as:

xx. изволивъи спсѣніа нашѣго радѣ въплѣтити се ѿ сѣѣе вѣе и прѣно-
дѣѣи мѣріе (Fol.260b)

Such Church Slavonic uses are distinguished by the long form of the infinitive.

Finally, it needs to be stressed that the use of the infinitive does not appear to be obligatory in any construction. Even with the negated imperative недѣи(те) the occasional da-clause can be discovered, sometimes in conjunction with infinitives, or with a different subject from that of недѣи(те), but also without these motivating factors:

xxi. а недѣи сеѣнѣ та дѣмѣ нѣщо и ника(к')во, и да дѣмашь непрѣиунъи (sic) рѣун (Fol.4b)

xxii. и недѣѣте да спѣме катѣ ѣ тѣш'кы' сѣнь грѣхѣвнѣи (Fol.219a)

xxiii. и недѣи да встѣнѣшь тѣка въ срѣе діѣвол'ско (Fol.48a)

The da-clauses present problems which are familiar from previous chapters: the difficulty of distinguishing complementary from final clauses, the possibility of taking a clause as dependent either on a verb or on a noun, and the greater freedom in choice of subject which a clause allows, e.g.:

xxiv. и распѣсти да сѣбере что сѣ наѣел'ни господарѣ (Fol.91b)

xxv. елате да направѣи^м єдного нѣола (Fol.95a)

xxvi. прѣдѣте да ѣлѣзѣи^м братіе оу црква, да влгодаримъ вѣ (Fol.102a)

Table II. Impersonal expressions with infinitive or da-clause

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
	<u>of governing word</u>		
ПОДОБАЕ	3		9
ТРЕБѢВА	1		1
АРИИШЕ СЕ ДАВНО	1		1
НЕ Е ВЪЗМОЖНО	1		2
НѢ Е ПОДОБНО	1		1
ДОСТА Е	2		2
ПОВОЛѢ Е	1		2
ПОДОВРѢ Е	1		1

Comments

A single example with an infinitive from another sermon in the damascene may run counter to the general tendency exhibited here to use da-clauses in impersonal constructions:

i. и дрѣгы аг҃лы сѣс' трѣбы да потрѣбеть з' голѣмь гла.да ѣ уіотъ
ѿ истока до зѣпада (Fol.196a)

This is comparable to the infinitival constructions which survive in some Modern Bulgarian dialects, see Ch.1 B, p.3. However, the verb 'to be' is also complemented by a clausal construction:

ii. и рѣкоха ѹе ѡѣ е да сѣ възнесѣ пакъ на нѣса (Fol.177a)

This is also the only clear instance in the damascene of the modern future construction with a particle ѡѣ and the present tense of the main verb.

Otherwise infinitives in impersonal constructions appear to be a mark of Church Slavonic influence, whether in the Church Slavonic sermons or preserved in the Modern Bulgarian version, e.g. at the beginning of the Life of St. Simeon Stylites:¹⁵

15. See Demina 1968 p.155.

iii. слѣху се и мене грѣшномѹ антѡнію написати (Fol.9a)

In the Modern Bulgarian portions of the damascene co-ordination is occasionally preferred to subordination and so in contrast to iii one finds:

iv. и слѣху се та сѣ разболѣ (Fol.103a)

v. слѣхѹ се и засыромахѣ онази момѧ (Fol.105a)

Table III. Nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs governing infinitive or da-clause

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
	<u>of governing word</u>		
	<u>Nouns</u>		
нивола	1		1
любовъ	1		1
власть	1		1
повелѣніе	2		3
дѣмь	2		4
клетва	1		1
обычан	1		1
срамъ	1		1
работа	1		1
уговѣства	1		5
сѣмѣ	1		1
вода	1		1
	<u>Pronouns</u>		
кои	2		3
нѣкои	1		1
тѣх	1		3
что	8		8
това	1		1
	<u>Adjectives</u>		
щѣнѣнь	1		1

	<u>Occurrence</u> <u>of governing word</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
	<u>Adverbs</u>		
КАК	3		4
КОЛКОТО	3		4
<u>Comments</u>			

The sermon on the Archangels contains only da-clause complements of other parts of speech than verbs. This is characteristic of the whole damascene but an exception does occur:

i. и не зна́емъ уто́ стóри (Fol.268b)

The infinitive at the beginning of the sermon on Drunkenness derives from the Church Slavonic version:

ii. сло́во по́уче́нiе къ црѣмъ[...]и възсѣ хрѣтианѣмъ не опи́вати се ви́нѣмъ (Fol.208a)

Similarly, quotations are marked out by the use of the long infinitive in constructions of this type:

iii. а́ль еси́ вое́шии? се́ те́бе знаме́нiе вѣ́жати ѿ ли́ца лѣ́кѣ (Fol.161b-162a)

The da-clauses here encompass the three types mentioned in Ch.1 D III, p.19. Those which complement the adjective and many of the nouns are of the first type, comparable to the complements of verbs. The second type is represented by the da-clauses with the adverbs, with кон, нѣкон and уто, and with certain nouns, e.g.:

iv. прѣ́е на се́бе тѣ́зи ра́бота да ю́ съврѣши (Fol.102b)

v. а́ко не́ има́ самъ си́ сѣ́ме да ю́ засѣе (Fol.84a)

vi. а́ко ли́ се нѣ́кон на́нде да не послѣша твоѣ́ повелѣ́нiе (Fol.92b)

The third, defining type of construction can be seen in:

vii. сѣ́с? пѣ́т?тѣ́х? си́ не́говьѣ́те у́роу́ствы. си́рѣ́. да вѣ́ды. да о́кѣси.
да у́роу́е, да помирѣ́ше да похвѣ́не (Fol.81a)

viii. и изъве́рѣ ѿ тѣ́. или́ трѣ́ го́динъ. да вѣ́де гла́въ по си́у?кѣ́ зѣ́млю.
или́ трѣ́ мѣ́си, да вѣ́гашъ ѿ роу́ство. или́ тѣ́к?мо́ трѣ́ днѣ́, да вѣ́де мо́рь (Fol.89b)

Table IV. Other constructions with infinitive or da-clause

	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
Imperative (нека)		55
Consecutive		33
Final (отн, защо, ради)		52
Conditional (макар)		3
нека		1
давно		5
отн		1
защо		5
ради		1
макар		1

Comments

Clauses of the kinds tabulated here need little comment. They can be found throughout the damascene and are comparable to those of Modern Bulgarian. Indeed the difficulty is that da-clauses are so freely used that their precise function is not always clear. In particular the borderline is not easy to draw between subordinated consecutive clauses and independent da-clauses expressing a command, proposal or wish, e.g.:

1. ако ищете да послѣшате мене, вѣго и доврѣ да имате на зѣмля да радѣте. и на вѣлаго мѣсто да сѣ наслади дѣла вѣша. ако ли не щете да послѣшате мене. орѣже да вѣи пораде (Fol.107a)

The conjunctions отн and защо and the preposition ради are all used to introduce - or reinforce - final da-clauses. Clauses introduced by давно are discussed under Table V.

Table V. Tense and mood of verbs in da-clauses

	<u>Imperative</u>	<u>Consecutive</u>	<u>Complementary</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>Conditional</u>
Present	54	32	324	51	3
Perfect			2		
Conditional	1	1	2	1	

Comments

The most interesting constructions here are those in which da-clause complements do not take the present tense. The two perfect tenses are both found after verbs of cognition and so are close to being examples of indirect statement introduced by da:

- i. внѣл' лѣ сѣ нѣкогы такѧ да тѣ с'мь сторилъ (Fol.87a)
- ii. знѣеш' лѣ нѣкое добро да сѣ сторила (Fol.105b)

There are also examples of da-clauses with the present tense after види:

- iii. ѧко бѣи нѧ внѣль бѣ уѣ ходѣи по хрѣтиѧн'скыи законъ. да сѣ боимъ бѣ, и да смѣ смѣренни и крот'кы, и да имаме любовь междѣ себѣ сѣ. и да ѣ стрѣ бѣжи оу наше срѣе. и бѣ бѣи се за нѧ ѣмѣтивилъ (Fol.106b-107a)

The conditional mood is used in two complementary clauses after давно:

- iv. мѣнаше се бѣ давно бѣи бѣ ѡнѣгдѣ помогнѣл' мѣ (Fol.100b)
- v. ишѣха нѣкоа крѣвына давно вѣха наишлѣ да гѣ затрѣють (Fol.92b)

However, давно does not require the conditional, and can be used in parallel to da and the present:

- vi. помѣи се бѣ давно те послѣша, и да из'бѣви нѧ ѡ това плѣн'ствѣ (Fol.91a)

The conditional mood is used in a non-subordinated da-clause to express a wish:

- vii. и пакъ да нѣ бѣи бѣлѣ злѣ това прѣ бѣ (Fol.89a)

Table VI. Infinitives separated from their governing expressions, and da separated from its dependent verbs, by non-enclitic elements

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Separated occurrences</u>
	<u>of constructions</u>	
Infinitive	25	5
<u>Da</u> -clauses of		
all kinds	471	

Comments

The infinitive may be separated from its governing verb by: their

common subject, the direct object of the infinitive, an adjectival complement of the infinitive, or adverbial phrases; elsewhere in the damascene also by a combination of the vocative and some adverbs, but this is an unusually large amount of intervening material. It should be noted that the enclitic personal pronouns do not stand in fixed position next to auxiliaries: they may precede or follow.

There are no examples of da-clauses with stressed words preceding the verb in this sermon.

Table VII. Infinitives and da-clauses preceding their governing verbs

	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Preposed occurrences</u>	
	<u>of construction</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Da-clause</u>
ѡѣ	16	4	
каже	1		1

Comments

Throughout the damascene preposed infinitives are only found depending on ѡѣ, which they immediately precede. They appear to be semantically equivalent to the constructions in which the infinitive follows the governing ѡѣ and examples of the two types of word-order quite often occur in juxtaposition, possibly because of a prosodic rule by which ѡѣ, being enclitic, may not stand immediately after the conjunction и:

- i. а́же ѡѣ а̀ѡ и сѡдѣи́ имъ ѡѣ (Fol.224a)
- ii. а́же ѡѣмь за́е, ѡ а̀рѡ́гы а̀ѡмы, и по́каза ѡѣ въ ѡ (Fol.84a)
- iii. и а̀ѡ ѡѣтъ та гы ѡѣтъ и́звѣди (Fol.145b)

Preposed da-clauses are rare, but occur in this sermon and elsewhere:

- iv. амѣ кни́гыте цѣ́ковны и́накъ за́рѣуа́тъ. да сѣ́ не опи́вамѣ ка́ждѣ. за́що
е пи́тан'ство ма́нка и ко́рень на си́у'кыте грѣ́хове (Fol.108a)
- v. да сѣ́ ѡ́жени не ѡѣ (Fol.133a)

One of the final da-clauses precedes its main clause, but it follows an introductory радѣ:

- vi. амѣ ра́дѣ мно́го да сѣ́ не ба́вниѣ. та́ ѡ́малѣх'ме а̀ѡмыте (Fol.94a)

from the 3rd per. sing. pres. are found rather more often than the others - approximately 670 : 600 occurrences over the whole damascene.

CONCLUSIONS

The sermons from which the material discussed above has been drawn are beyond doubt written in a variety of early Modern Bulgarian. Admittedly their orthography is based on that of Serbian Church Slavonic; and the choice of vocabulary may also reflect to some extent their Church Slavonic source. It seems that a number of words were carried over from the Church Slavonic version of Damascene's sermons and only gradually replaced in the Modern Bulgarian ones by terms from the spoken language. This can be seen if one compares the Tikhonravovski and Svishtovski damascenes.

Notwithstanding this, the bulk of the sermons in the Tikhonravovski damascene must be held to be written, as far as grammar and syntax are concerned, in an approximation of the spoken language of their time, and not in some debased and faulty attempt at Church Slavonic. It is plain from the contents of the damascene that there were those in seventeenth century Bulgaria to whom the distinction between Church Slavonic and Bulgarian was quite clear. The Church Slavonic portions of the MS (Foll. 211a-215a and the last sermon) differ from the rest in such important respects as the use of a full range of cases, not just a three-case system, in the absence of the postponed definite article and the auxiliary ѡѡ, and in the presence of a wide variety of infinitival constructions: after verbs such as ЛѢНИТИ СЕ, ТЪЩИТИ СЕ, НАУАТИ, with verbs of movement, verbs of command, in impersonal expressions, as complements of nouns and with final sense. The infinitive in these texts is always the long one in -ТИ.

At the same time the possibility of Church Slavonic influence on individual constructions in the Modern Bulgarian texts cannot be excluded. However, as was explained at the beginning of this chapter, the Modern

Bulgarian often differs in its choice of construction from the Church Slavonic. For this reason it is surely fair to assume that when they coincide it is because they both admitted freely the construction in question, except when there is some clear indication of Church Slavonic influence on the Modern Bulgarian, e.g. the use of the infinitive in -ТН.

It may then be concluded that the infinitive in early seventeenth century Bulgarian was restricted to a very small group of constructions, mainly after the verbs ЩЕ and МОЖЕ and the imperative НЕДЪН(ТЕ). Even with these its use was optional, and after the verbs СМЪЕ, НМА, НЕМА and impersonal modal Е, and in deliberative indirect questions, the da-clause was preferred, though an infinitive was still admissible. Moreover it tended to be used only in what can be called unmarked contexts: after a present, not a past tense of the main verb, and preferably straight after its governing verb, without intervening stressed elements.

It is remarkable that, in spite of this very limited use, the infinitive was undoubtedly still a formally distinct category in Bulgarian of this period. The Tikhonravovski damascene contains a considerable number of frequently used infinitives which are either unlike any other parts of their verbs, or coincide only with the 3rd per. sing. aor. or the 1st per. sing. pres. Probably others were used which are not attested in this text. Their existence may be supposed to have reinforced the functional distinction of other infinitives from the 3rd per. sing. pres. with which they might be formally identical.

Thus by the seventeenth century the use of the infinitive in Bulgarian, as shown in the Tikhonravovski damascene, was never obligatory; but so far as the infinitive was used, it was not confused with other parts of the verb.

CHAPTER 7 : CONCLUSIONS

The Findings of Chapters 2-6

In the five preceding chapters it has emerged that, while there was a marked decline in the use of the Bulgarian infinitive between the ninth and the seventeenth centuries, its functions coming to be very limited, it was not lost as a formal category within this period.

Most of the material examined presents considerable problems of interpretation. Yet when all due allowance has been made for these difficulties, it still seems likely that the sharp decline in the use of the infinitive, to the point at which it was only, and optionally, permitted after a few auxiliary and modal verbs (principally ѡхъ, нѣаѣм(те) and мора), came before the seventeenth century, the period for which this situation is attested beyond doubt. How much earlier the change may have taken place is a question which hangs on the interpretation of Chapters 4 and 5. Taken together, these can be held to show that in the spoken language the infinitive had been reduced to the limited use typical of present-day East Bulgarian by the late thirteenth century. If this conclusion is thought too bold, at least the evidence of the two chapters indicates that the change had been carried through by the fifteenth century.

There remains a large hiatus, between the ninth to tenth centuries and the thirteenth to fourteenth, which is not bridged by sources of a kind which might reveal changes in colloquial usage, except indirectly, by occasional mistakes. To fill this gap and to attempt to reconstruct the process of syntactic change from infinitive to da-clause, one has to rely on a handful of instances in Suprasliensis where the Slavonic departs from the known Greek original (see Ch.2) and on details of usage in the Troyanska Pritcha and the charters and letters (see Chapters 3 and 4).

The points on which Suprasliensis differs from the rest of the Old Church Slavonic Canon and the other sources used in Ch.2, particularly its readiness to admit da-clauses with verbs of command and after хотѣти with the same subject, cannot be dismissed; but it is difficult to gauge their significance until more is known about the date and method of translation of the various parts of Suprasliensis and about its precise Greek sources.¹

The problem which attends the interpretation of Chapters 3 and 4 is to determine what relations, if any, hold between the changes in a literary language and the colloquial speech of its users. In Ch.3 it is argued that the Pritcha modifies the linguistic practice of its probably Croatian original only where this conflicted with Bulgarian norms for secular literature. If this argument is accepted, one may conclude that the Bulgarian literary language of the fourteenth century tolerated the da-clause after хотѣти with the same subject and that the da-clause with verbs of motion was freely admitted, perhaps even preferred to the infinitive. As these constructions appear to have been only tolerated sporadically in Old Church Slavonic, mainly as approximations to Greek syntax, they represent a development in the literary norm. This may reasonably be assumed to derive from the colloquial language, in which they were presumably already well established. But it is not clear that one is entitled to conclude from the absence in the Pritcha of da-clauses after certain other verbs, e.g. 'to be able', that such constructions had not yet entered spoken usage. One may at most surmise that relative chronology is here reflected: that the literary language was less resistant to the use of da-clauses with verbs of motion and volition because these had been longer current in speech.

How far removed the Pritcha was from colloquial language can be seen

1. See the report of recent work on this text in Wassilew 1977.

by comparing its use of the infinitive with the limited range of infinitival constructions in the less formulaic parts of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century Wallachian charters and letters. In these, where the da-clause predominates, a still more doubtful question arises: when the infinitive is used non-formulaically, as it appears to be with ΥΤΟ, ΩΤΗΧΑΘ and ΒΟΛΕΗ as well as with a few auxiliary and modal verbs, can one take it that such constructions still lingered in colloquial usage, or at least had been part of the spoken language until recently; or is their use to be regarded as purely literary, with no direct bearing on the order of events in the obsolescence of the infinitive? The first alternative finds some support in Ch.6, where it appears that a variety of infinitival constructions were retained in optional use during the seventeenth century.

The materials of Chapters 2-6 also reflect a gradual restriction of the infinitive's freedom of placing within the sentence. Particularly in the Wallachian letters, the Prayers of Cserged and the Tikhonravovski damascene the infinitive is rarely separated from its governing expression by stressed elements, it is not negated, and in the damascene there are signs of a tendency to have only one dependent infinitive in a construction. These can all be taken as symptoms of a shift from free to bound form.

The internal syntax of the da-clause can also be seen to grow stricter. The rule by which only enclitics may intervene between da and its following verb in imperative da-clauses is extended to other types of da-clause, perhaps quite early (see Ch.5). A wider study of word-order would be needed to determine whether this development was bound up with the decline of the infinitive and the spread of the da-clause, or whether it was part of more comprehensive changes in the structure of Bulgarian.

The formal development of the infinitive deserves a fuller treatment than the passing attention which it has received here. The

chronology and causes of its dropping first -i and then -t have not been firmly established. The infinitive without -i goes back at least to the twelfth century (see Ch.1, p.6, Fn.16). The earliest attested infinitive without -t appears to be in the Sbornik of 1348,² though the Prayers of Cserged may supply evidence for its use in the thirteenth century. The Wallachian letters contain the first concentration of these forms, which are mostly found preposed to the future auxiliary. It is tempting to see in this construction the origin of the infinitive without -t, as a sandhi variant resulting from simplification of the consonant cluster /tsht/;³ but the supporting evidence is slim. It is important to note that the loss of final -t in the infinitive is attested several centuries later than the comparable curtailment of the 3rd per. sing. pres. indic., examples of which are found in Old Church Slavonic, particularly in Suprasliensis;⁴ and that, as was pointed out in Ch.1, infinitives in -t and even in -ti have survived in Bulgarian dialects up to the present day. The loss of the infinitival ending thus seems to be a separate process from changes in the endings of finite parts of the verb.

Review of the Explanatory Hypotheses

In Ch.1 four types of explanation were outlined which have been put forward to account for the decline of the infinitive. These can now be assessed, both on general grounds and on the basis of the above findings:

a) The hypothesis of purely internal change (see Ch.1, pp.6-7)

In its most extreme form, e.g. as put forward by Togeby 1962, this

2. See Vondrák 1928 p.416 : ХОУЖ СВОБОДИ. He also cites from the Ohrid Apostol ПРИДЕ ЗАГОВѢСТИ, but this translates Eph. 2.17. ἐλθων εὐηγγαλίζοντο.

3. Compare the occurrence of the short infinitive in Serbo-Croat when preposed to the future auxiliary, see Belić 1969 p.80.

4. See Margulíes 1927 passim.

is open to challenge on grounds of principle. For homonyms to call for differentiation, as he claims the infinitive and the 2nd and 3rd per. sing. aor. did, they must first clash, that is, there must be contexts in which their non-differentiation leads to confusion. It is not prima facie obvious that such clashes between infinitive and aorist would have been frequent or serious, nor why they should have been resolved, if they arose, by replacing the infinitive by a da-clause or a paratactic construction, rather than by reforming the aorist endings. There seems here to be an implicit assumption that the infinitive can be more readily dispensed with; but this, indeed the whole hypothesis, is not supported by the evidence of other languages in which the infinitive is formally identical with other parts of the verb. In English and German, for example, the infinitive has for some time been homophonous with several present tense forms, and yet continues to flourish. In many constructions of these languages, it is true, to or zu are prefaced to the infinitive and protect it from confusion with finite parts of the verb, but not in its frequent use with auxiliary and modal verbs.

These general objections also apply to Miklosich's and Miletich's more restricted version of this hypothesis, which seeks only to explain the development of the Modern Bulgarian future tense by reinterpretation of ambiguous forms. Again, it is hard to see why the superficial ambiguity of ще се моли should have caused native Bulgarian speakers difficulty when they could turn to the other five persons - щъ се моли, щеш се моли, щеме се моли, щете се моли, щът се моли - for syntactic clarification.

As well as being intrinsically implausible, the hypothesis of homonymic clash and reinterpretation faces objections of fact. Velcheva 1968, while allowing that the future may have developed in some dialects on the above pattern, suggests that in many the sequence of events was a different one: that here, as elsewhere, the infinitive was replaced

by a da-clause, that the conjugation of щъ then became redundant and was reduced to invariant ще, and that then da was also redundant and was dropped.⁵

Velcheva's suggestion gains support firstly from the attestation of ще + da and the present tense as an alternative to ще + present in some dialects.⁶ (In the standard language itself the construction is sometimes used, to express conjecture as in Той ще да е в общежитието.) The other compound tenses which employ parts of щъ follow it by da: the future-in-the-past, щях да + present, and the narrative tense, щял да + present. This is consonant with a general change from infinitive to da-clause after the auxiliary щъ. Thirdly, in some dialects the form of the future particle can most easily be explained as a contraction of щъ да or ще да. Iliev 1921 and Stoikov 1960, who incline to an account of the development of the future similar to Velcheva's, derive the forms жа, жъ, же of Central Bulgarian dialects in this way, through ше да, шда and жда, and Stoikov cites examples of жда from nineteenth century descriptions of Bulgarian dialects.⁷

Finally, the findings of Chapters 5 and 6 fit ill with the hypothesis of homonymic clash. In both the Prayers of Cserged and the Tikhonravovski damascene the infinitive is extremely restricted in use but in form is still distinct from all other parts of a number of common verbs. Though there is some evidence up to the seventeenth century that infinitives were liable to be remodelled on the present

5. She relates the retention of the infinitive with the future auxiliary in Eastern dialects to the absence of a separate verb of volition such as the Western искам or сякам, and the consequent need to distinguish volitional щъ with the da-clause from щъ as future auxiliary with the infinitive.

6. See, for example, Miletich 1903 passim.

7. A comparable development is described by Boretzky 1971 in Eastern Serbian, where the verb 'to be able' is reduced to an uninflected particle: ne moŹ najdeŹ; ja ne moŹ te pogubim. He takes this to result from dropping da from the construction, concurrently used, of invariant 3rd per. sing. pres. moŹe da + present.

stem of the verb, there is none to suggest that they were confused with finite parts of the verb, present or aorist.⁸

b) The assumption that finite verb constructions are universally preferred to infinitival ones (Ch.1, p.7)

This has the advantage over a that it offers an explanation, not merely of the loss of the infinitive, but of its replacement by a rival construction. On its own, however, it is patently inadequate, since it rests on an implicit linguistic universal which can more easily be disproved than confirmed. Anyone who claims that da-clauses were substituted for infinitives because they were more transparent and precise constructions which allowed more regular grammatical patterning in subordinate clauses has then to explain why Common Slavonic, and a number of other Indo-European languages, came to develop infinitives, and why most of the Slavonic languages persist in using them. Like the notion that phonetic change is motivated by ease of pronunciation, this hypothesis of the greater clarity of finite constructions cannot stand by itself as a reason for change but must, if it is relevant at all, be conditioned by some other factor.⁹

c) Appeal to the influence of other, neighbouring languages (Ch.1, pp.7-9)

The general objection to the accounts grouped under this head is that they are vague and difficult to prove or disprove. Given that

8. Mirchev 1937 quotes examples from the Vrachansko Gospel of 3rd per. sing. or plur. apparently in place of infinitives; but the critical apparatus of Tsonev 1914 pp.185-87 shows that the two 3rd per. sing. are probably the débris of da-clauses, attested in other MSS, which have here been imperfectly corrected to infinitives.

The proposals of Gălăbov 1961 and Ivanchev 1976 that infinitives were lost in certain other constructions by misinterpretation of surface structure have been dealt with by Mirchev 1962 and Deyanova 1977.

9. Galton 1967 attributes the loss of the infinitive in Bulgarian and Macedonian to a similar though more specific cause: he sees it as part of a tendency in these languages to concrete grammatical expression of spatio-temporal relations. His explanation of the loss of the infinitive (pp.85-86) can only be assessed within his wider thesis, which deals mainly with changes in the nominal system. Taken in isolation, his account merely states that Bulgarian and Macedonian use finite verbs, not infinitives.

there is evidence of contact between two languages, and that one is known to have had constructions of a kind which subsequently appear in the other, syntactic influence, unlike morphological or lexical borrowing, still cannot be demonstrated beyond doubt, since a syntactic construction by its nature does not contain elements which can be identified as deriving from a specific language. Disproof is as difficult; it may at most be tentatively assumed that if the language which is supposed to be the recipient of syntactic influence displays related innovations which cannot be paralleled in the proposed source language, contact between them is not, or not the only cause of change.

The nature of the influence is also not explained in sufficient depth. If one is to believe that reduction in the use of infinitives spread from one Balkan language to the others, some account of the special position of the source language is required to show why change operated in this direction, rather than in the opposite one of creating infinitives where they were lacking.

More particular objections can be urged against the hypothesis of a Thracian source of the infinitive's loss. It is in a sense an empty proposal, since we have no information about the syntax of the antique Balkan languages. It suffers, moreover, from the very argument which is put forward to supply this dearth of facts. Albanian is said to be the modern descendant of Thracian, and because the quasi-infinitival construction of Geg Albanian does not resemble the infinitives of other Indo-European languages, the conclusion is drawn that it was developed comparatively late, and that Thracian lacked an infinitive (see Ch.1, pp.7-8). But if Thracian was the source of the clausal constructions which have replaced the infinitive in other Balkan languages, how did Albanian, the direct continuation of Thracian, come to develop a type of infinitival construction, and only later in the Tosk dialect go over to clauses? If it is retorted that the loss of the infinitive may have originated in some other ancient language than the fore-runner

of Albanian, then the evidence of Albanian is clearly irrelevant and there is no telling whether the Balkan substratum language - Thracian, Illyrian or other - had infinitives or not.

Further, it is necessary to be clear about what a substratum language is. The term is generally used of a language which, having been spoken for some time concurrently with another, imported tongue in circumstances of more or less perfect bilingualism, dies out but leaves its mark on the language which survives.¹⁰ Menéndez-Pidal 1950 points out that there may be some delay between the disappearance of the substratum language and the emergence in historical records of traces of its influence on the surviving language, but this is because such traces are excluded as vulgarisms from the literary norm of the dominant language.¹¹

Very little is known of the whereabouts of the Thracians, or the Albanians, during the first fifteen hundred years AD. The case which Stadtmüller 1941 makes for continuous Albanian inhabitation of the Adriatic hinterland since ancient times is based largely on arguments ex silentio. The considerable number of Slavonic loan-words which he quotes from Albanian testifies to contact between the two languages before the sixteenth century, the time from which the first records of Albanian date. By contrast, the Slavonic languages of the Balkans offer but a small number of loans which can confidently be referred to Albanian.¹² This is not in itself proof that Albanian did not exercise an influence on Slavonic, since Albanian loan-words may have been lost, just as Beshevliev 1937 suggests that Greek administrative terms were replaced by Turkish ones; but a hypothesis of Albanian influence is weak,

10. See, for example, Trost 1968.

11. His examples are taken from the phonological developments due to an Iberian substratum which are suppressed for some centuries in Spanish under the continuing influence of Latin.

12. See the discussion of loan-words in Sandfeld 1930, especially p.68.

because unsupported by identifiable elements passed from the one language to the other.

A more serious stumbling-block is presented by the evidence of Old Church Slavonic and its chronological implications. It was found in Ch.2 that there was no substantial difference between the infinitival syntax of Common Slavonic and that of Old Church Slavonic, both as attested in the translated texts of the Canonical MSS (Suprasliensis excepted) and as it appears in works which are held to be original Slavonic compositions. In the ninth century Old Church Slavonic was a newly created language which lacked pre-established norms and was presumably based in the first place on spoken usage. Thus there was no reason for it to suppress any types of colloquial construction as inappropriate or incorrect (unless, conceivably, literary Greek grammar affected it more profoundly than is usually assumed, see Ch.2). It may be concluded that any external influence which worked to eliminate infinitives came into play after the ninth to tenth centuries. Yet the Slavs had already been settled for about three centuries in the Balkans; and, while there is insufficient historical evidence to determine the period of maximum contact between Slavs and their predecessors in the Balkans, it is strange to suppose that Thracian or Old Albanian should have left no substratum traces in Slavonic between the sixth and ninth centuries and then, subsequently, should have influenced Slavonic syntax radically and the Slavonic vocabulary to a negligible degree.

Similar chronological objections can be made to Schröpfer's suggestion that the syntactic changes of Bulgarian originated in contact with the Turkic-speaking Bulgars, i.e. mainly before the creation of Old Church Slavonic (see Ch.1, p.9)

Gabinsky 1970, who urges the claim of Thracian to be the source of the Balkan loss of infinitives, allows that its influence on Bulgarian and Macedonian may have been indirect, mediated by Greek or by Balkan

Latin. The possibility that these languages abandoned the infinitive because of Thracian influence calls for separate assessment, which lies beyond the scope of this thesis; but the nature and results of contact between them and Bulgarian must be considered here.

The strongest case can be made for Greek influence on Bulgarian syntax. The historical development of colloquial Greek appears to be at least as difficult to trace as that of Bulgarian, because conservative norms based on the classical language inhibited literary usage for many centuries. Nevertheless, it emerges from the studies of Hesseling 1892, Aalto 1953 and Burguière 1960 that the construction which has replaced the infinitive in Modern Greek was already expanding in use at the beginning of the Christian era and that by the thirteenth century it had probably replaced the infinitive, except in the periphrastic future with θέλω and optionally with a few verbs such as δύναμαι, ἔχω, ἐμπορῶ. Thus Greek restricted the use of its infinitives early enough to have influenced Balkan Slavonic; and similarities have been observed in the manner and results of the changes in the two languages. In both the infinitive was retained longest in the future tense, and the development of the Greek future as outlined by Bănescu 1915 shows striking parallels with Bulgarian. The modern languages, according to Sandfeld 1902, display a closer resemblance to each other than to the other Balkan languages in the distribution of the da- and vd'-clauses after verbs of perception and in the strictness of their internal syntax. It must be noted that Kazazis 1965 finds differences of detail between Greek and Bulgarian in the complementing of adjectives by vd'- and da-clauses, but the divergence is a minor one which may have to do rather with the differing idiomatic application of adjectives than with the use of clauses which replace the infinitive.¹³

13. Greek admits constructions of the type 'He is easy/difficult to please' in which the adjective agrees with the object of the dependent verb, whereas Bulgarian does not allow them.

As was remarked in Ch.1, Greeks and Bulgarians were long in immediate contact, and it is likely that this contact was particularly close during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when Byzantium ruled Bulgarian and Macedonia, that is, in the period when radical changes in the grammatical structure of Bulgarian can be seen to have taken place and, it is here argued, the use of the infinitive came to be severely limited. During the same time loan-words were taken from Greek into Bulgarian which have apparently remained current ever since (see Chapters 4 and 5). These are not confined to the most readily borrowed words, nouns, but include verbs, adjectives, prepositions and conjunctions. Greek has also had a marked effect on the verbal morphology of Bulgarian, providing it with the formatives -ac(в)ам, -ис(в)ам, -ос(в)ам, which derive from the common Greek sigmatic aorist stem but are used in Bulgarian, as Beshevliev 1937 points out, to form verbs from Slavonic and Turkish as well as from Greek roots. Pace Miletich 1934, who holds that Bulgarian does not show signs of deep influence from neighbouring languages, borrowing of this kind, which affects the whole vocabulary and even the morphology of the receiving language, seems good evidence of every-day colloquial contact between the languages, and not merely of the literary and cultural dependence of mediaeval Bulgaria on Byzantium.

Many, though not all of the Greek mediaeval loans into Bulgarian are also found in other Balkan languages, as Popović 1953-55 and Mihăescu 1966 show for Serbo-Croat and Roumanian respectively. Together they convey the impression, probably not subject to proof, that Greek may have been used as a lingua franca, perhaps particularly for trading purposes, throughout the Balkans.

There is then at least strong circumstantial evidence for a Greek source of the Bulgarian decline of the infinitive; and a supporting parallel can be found in the Southern Italian dialects which have reduced their use of the infinitive, according to Rohlf's 1958,

and adopted certain other Balkan idioms which he details in 1967, under the influence of Greek spoken in the same area. The parallel is not perfect, since Rohlf's reports that the Italian dialects may retain the infinitive after verbs of perception as well as the verb 'to be able'; but the Greek dialects of Italy, like the equally peripheral Pontic dialects described by Dieterich 1898, retain more infinitival constructions than does the main body of Greek dialects.

The drawbacks of this hypothesis as it is commonly presented are of the general kind outlined above: that it is not, as it stands, susceptible of proof or disproof but only of being rendered more or less plausible by the addition or rejection of corroborative circumstances; and that it does not explain why infinitives should be lost, rather than created. It also calls for an account of the Greek loss of the infinitive, a question on which, again, the present thesis cannot do more than touch. The studies of this change have generally sought its cause in Greek itself, in hypotheses similar to a and b above (by Hesseling, Bănescu and Burguière) or in the supposedly over-developed and instable infinitival syntax of the classical language, according to Kurzová 1966 and 1969. Aalto 1953 explicitly rejects the possibility that Greek lost its infinitives under the influence of other Balkan languages. Greek was of course used as a medium of communication by non-native speakers all over the Mediterranean area at least from Hellenistic times; but this does not appear to have been put forward as a possible cause of syntactic change, as it might be on the strength of the hypothesis under d below.

The same difficulties apply to the proposal that the infinitive's decline spread from Balkan Romance to Bulgarian. In addition, as was remarked in Chapters 4 and 5, the loss of the infinitive appears to have been less far advanced in Roumanian as first attested in the sixteenth century than in Bulgarian. The direction of influence between

Romance and Slavonic in the Balkans has been disputed: for example, Skok 1933 suggests that the shortening of the infinitive started in Roumanian and spread to Bulgarian during a period of contact under the Second Bulgarian Empire, whereas Beneš 1955 argues for the reverse process. Contact between the languages is indisputable, but the evidence of loan-words, as was pointed out in Ch.4, speaks mainly for the influence of Balkan Slavonic on Roumanian. Except in dialects which have been in recent contact with Roumanian, the number of words borrowed into Bulgarian is not large, and their position in the language less significant than that of the Greek loans.¹⁴

The hypothesis that Balkan Romance prosodic peculiarities acted as an impulse to syntactic change is put forward by Reichenkron and Klagstad apparently in the first place to account for the development of postposed definite articles. As applied to the loss of the infinitive, it is at best weak. It presupposes that clause and infinitive were already to a considerable degree equivalent, for otherwise the conjunction which introduced the clause could hardly take over the modal functions of the infinitive. It fails to account for the survival of the redundant subjunctive in Greek, Albanian and Roumanian after the conjunctions vd, të and să had come to express modality. Also, in assuming a tendency to falling rhythm, i.e. to stress the first element in a phrase and so to transfer communicative function to that element, it conflicts with the proclitic nature of da in Bulgarian. Finally it has the disadvantage of being again untestable, because our knowledge of the prosodic development of Bulgarian is meagre.

d) The theory of change through interaction between languages (Ch.1, pp.9-11)

Rozentsveig's hypothesis that loss of the infinitive is a simplification which characteristically results from contact between

14. See Capidan 1924, Sandfeld 1930.

speakers of different languages has two advantages over the other explanations which have been considered. Firstly, it offers a reason why infinitives should be lost - that this makes the working of a language simpler to master - and provides a conditioning factor, the need for simple structures when speakers of differing competence are trying to communicate with each other. Secondly, it puts forward a detailed scheme of how the loss takes place, which is open to testing against historical findings.

Yet even this account is not as explicit and complete as might be desired. It is self-evident that not all contact between languages leads to loss of infinitives, and so the kind of contact which does have this effect needs to be specified, so far as this is possible. In particular one wishes to know how close the contact has to be, what the rate of change is, what degree of ungrammaticality native speakers will permit themselves in the interests of effective communication and what happens to the other language or languages involved.

Rozentsveig offers a comparison with the development of pidgin languages, whose structure he suggests is the result of radical simplification. The analogy is not entirely happy, partly because the origin of pidgins and their probably related créoles is itself a subject of dispute¹⁵ and partly because the Balkan treatment of the infinitive is different from the typical one in pidgin languages. If one sets aside the many pidgins which have arisen from the interaction of European and African or Asian languages and looks to instances such as the original Lingua Franca described by Schuchardt 1909 or Russenorsk, the trading pidgin of Russians from the Northern ports and Norwegian fishermen described by Broch 1927,¹⁶ one finds indeed that they dispense with

15. See DeCamp's introduction to Hymes 1974 and the literature cited there.

16. See also Lunden's review of the subject in 1978.

infinitives: but so they do with verbal inflection as a whole. The verb is an invariant form, which may in fact coincide with the infinitive in one or other source language. The same seems to be true of the French and English créoles from which Rozentsveig 1970 quotes.

The verbal systems of the Balkan languages do not show a marked tendency to morphological reduction. The Bulgarian verb, in particular, is distinguished in comparison with the other Slavonic languages by its multiplicity of forms. It must be allowed that the inflexional patterning of verbs in the Balkan languages probably presented many points of similarity among themselves (as part of their common Indo-European heritage) from the beginning and so posed fewer problems for the interchange of languages than sharply differing systems would. Yet one is still bound to suppose that the conditions of linguistic contact in the Balkans were different from those which attended the development of a pidgin between Russian and Norwegian, also both Indo-European languages.

It is a remarkable feature of linguistic interaction in the Balkans that although it has produced considerable convergence between the languages involved, it has not resulted in the acceptance of one common tongue or the evolution of a new language which cannot be regarded as a direct continuation of a pre-existing one. It is indeed plausible to suppose that there have been many individual instances in the Balkans during the past 1,500 to 2,000 years in which people have gone over from one language to another, or have seen their children grow up to speak a different language, or have improvised a makeshift pidgin in order to communicate with others, or have employed a commonly known lingua franca (see above on Greek); but on the whole the inhabitants of the Balkans have preserved the distinction between their languages tenaciously, and even when a dialect has undergone profound external influence, as in the Cserged variety of Bulgarian examined in Ch.5, there is still no doubt about its proper affiliation, as there tends to

be over a pidgin or créole.

This is not the place even to sketch the political and social history of the Balkans; but it may be tentatively suggested that their peculiar convergent linguistic developments are at least in part the result of social circumstances different from either those which create pidgins or those which lead to the replacement of one language by another: a longer, more continuous and stable contact between speakers of different languages than is initially enjoyed by users of pidgins; less intimate mixing than may be needed for one language to supplant another, e.g. through frequent intermarriage; and possibly, on the level of every-day intercourse, fairly equal social relations between different linguistic groups, so that there has been little motive for a dominant people either to impose its own language or to use an institutionalized pidgin in converse with socially inferior groups, instead of attempting to learn their languages. Grammatical changes as considerable as those of the Balkan languages seem also to presuppose that the speakers who permitted them were not concerned to maintain firm norms in their spoken usages.

No doubt it is dangerous to argue from present-day circumstances to the past; but descriptions of Balkan social organization in the last hundred years fit the requirements just suggested remarkably well. Up to modern times it has been common, even normal to find fairly stable multilingual communities, such as the one in Prizren described by Pavlović 1958, in which the spread of one language at the expense of the others is at best slow. Linguistic distinctions have been maintained by differences in religion and in way of life, e.g. between Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim as described by Jireček 1891 and between settled agriculturalists or artisans and the semi-nomadic Aroumanian and Albanian shepherds whose way of life goes back, according to Gyóni 1951, at least to the eleventh century. Récatas 1934 and Weigand 1924

both remark, as does Pavlović more recently, that these divisions have tended to be reinforced by endogamy. Récatas attaches especial importance to the rôle of women in preserving and transmitting the language of the Aroumanian shepherds, while their men-folk spent more time away from the home and in contact with other languages. It is impossible to judge how widespread such social patterns were in the past, but there are some examples which go back for several hundred years. An outstanding one is the Bulgarian community of Cserged, which appears to have retained its language for five hundred years and only abandoned it under pressure. Another is provided by the Spanish-speaking Sephardic Jews who came to the Balkans at the end of the fifteenth century and continued to use Spanish up to modern times, although with traces of Balkan influence, e.g. in the limitation of infinitival constructions according to Gabinsky 1967a. The isolation of the Pavlikyane, formerly a heretic sect and more recently Catholics, which is reflected in their archaic dialect, dates still farther back.¹⁷ Finally, until recent times the standardized literary languages of several of the Balkan peoples have been highly conservative and distant from spoken practice, which appears not to have been subjected to normalization. The nearest parallel to these conditions for linguistic change and to their apparent effects is not the sudden and disruptive contact which seems to give rise to pidgins, but rather the stable co-existence, on relatively even terms, of groups of people set apart from each other by language, creed and habit of life which is described in Southern India by Gumperz and Wilson 1968.

The linguistic nature of the Balkan loss of infinitives is also different from the characteristic development of pidgins. If one adopts the distinction drawn by Mühlhäusler 1974 between simplification

17. See Miletich 1912 pp.71-98, Jireček 1891 pp.108-12.

and impoverishment - though he allows that it is not an easy distinction to make - one may see this Balkan development as an example of simplification without impoverishment, whereas the reduction of verbs to invariant forms in pidgins exemplifies both processes. Simplification in his view is achieved by increases in regularity, by abandoning unmotivated exceptions to the general application of rules, while impoverishment is a more extreme reduction which obliterates distinctions that are required for effective communication and so have to be reinstated in some other guise. For example, if verbs cease to be inflected to mark tense distinctions, some compensatory device, such as temporal adverbs, will be introduced. Similarly the subject, 1st, 2nd or 3rd per., of the verb needs to be indicated, either in the verbal endings of the Balkan languages or commonly by pronouns in pidgins and créoles. By contrast the infinitive is dispensable. Its loss in Bulgarian has caused at the most stylistic impoverishment, which in the modern literary language is corrected by using verbal nouns as an alternative to the somewhat cumbersome da-clause; and its abolition seems an obvious instance of simplification, reducing the number of inessential morphological distinctions in the verbal system and allowing a more general application of the rules for concord of subject and verb, as Burguière 1960 and Rozentsveig in his various works observe.

Rozentsveig presents his model of change as one that may work between any languages. The possibilities considered under c above would be special cases in which lack of the infinitive in one language would merely make simplification by its loss in the other language slightly more likely.

There are two ways in which Rozentsveig's hypothesis can be challenged. One is by showing that loss of the infinitive is not a simplification, or that simplification is not its principal motivation. As Mühlhäusler points out, it is not a straight-forward matter to

demonstrate absolute simplification, to show that one language or construction is without qualification or compensation simpler than another; and such a judgement may depend on the type of grammatical analysis which one employs. Rozentsveig assumes a grammatical model which recognizes underlying and surface structure, and defines simplification as a reduction in the number of rules needed to derive the latter from the former. This seems readily convertible into Mühlhäusler's terms, for the smaller the number of rules, the more general, presumably, must be their application. If, on the other hand, one were to take, say, obligatory surface marking of categories as a measure of simplicity, it is not so obvious that the infinitive would be less simple than the finite verb, which calls for obligatory and sometimes redundant marking of person, number, tense and mood.

Hauge 1977 suggests that a need for redundancy, rather than simplicity, to ensure successful communication in conditions of imperfect bilingualism, has provided the impulse to many of the Balkan grammatical developments, and instances inter alia the redundant marking of finite verbs subordinated to phasal and modal main verbs ('to begin', 'to cease', 'to be able', 'to dare'). The notion of redundancy is hardly more precise than that of simplification. It is hard to decide which element in a redundant marking of a linguistic form, category or structure is superfluous, or to weigh different kinds of redundancy against each other: the redundant signalling of certain types of subordinate construction by means of the infinitive, for example, against the redundancy in personal endings which results from using finite verbs in all constructions. It also seems likely that simplification of the kind discussed above and redundancy are interrelated, since the extension of rules to a wider range of applications will tend to bring about overlap and redundancy. To make his case cogent, therefore, Hauge would have to give clear examples of redundancy which is not conditioned by simplification - redundancy introduced for its own

sake. The decline of the infinitive will not serve this purpose, especially if it took place in the way that Rozentsveig suggests, for according to his hypothesis it was lost first in constructions which called for the subject of the infinitive to be distinguished, and only at the end in constructions where the subjects of governing verb and infinitive were bound to coincide. Thus redundant marking was a late consequence of the change and hardly an initial motivation.

The second way of testing Rozentsveig's hypothesis is to see whether his outline of the process by which the infinitive is lost agrees with the available evidence. It must be allowed that the findings of Chapters 2-6 on the whole support his proposals. The infinitive appears to have been replaced by the da-clause after verbs of volition with a distinction of subject before it ceased to be used with the same subject, still more before it fell out of use with the verb 'to be able'.

Rozentsveig dismisses the importance of tense marking in the switch from infinitive to da-clause, and this appears to be just. In Old Church Slavonic, when both were used, clauses were the natural means of distinguishing tense or mood in subordinate constructions; but as in the Slavonic languages the infinitive is tenseless and so is used in constructions where tense is irrelevant or can be automatically inferred, it is not surprising that the Tables V do not show an increased variation of tenses in the da-clauses which replace the infinitive.

Rozentsveig's proposed model of change is confined to verbal complements. In principle this is a short-coming, but it does not seriously hinder the present study, in which very little information, and that of debatable significance, has been found on the use of infinitives and da-clauses in impersonal constructions and in subordination to expressions other than verbs. Such scanty data as are available are consonant with the principles of Rozentsveig's hypothesis.

Impersonal constructions require the subject of the infinitive to be specified, except when it is indefinite, as in the example with modal е in Ch.6 Table II, p.306. It is presumably a simplification to complement them with da-clauses, which indicate the subject of the verb without the special provision of putting it in the dative case, which can be seen in Chapters 3 and 4 to have led to mistakes. The infinitive lingers as complement of pronouns, adjectives and adverbs longest where its subject is unambiguous: in indirect deliberative questions with pronouns and adverbs after the verb 'to have', which shares the subject of the infinitive, and after adjectives, particularly Болен in Ch.4, which qualify the subject of the infinitive.

However, the findings of Chapters 2-6 suggest some modifications of Rozentsveig's hypothesis. The changes in the word-order of the da-clause render it less than a complete simplification, since the subject of its verb may not immediately precede it, as it can in a main clause. This, as Goľab, Maslov and Sedláček hold, may well be symptomatic of a shift in the function of da from conjunction towards modal particle.

More important is the difficulty of checking Rozentsveig's proposed order of change. The nature of the sources, as has been repeatedly stressed, makes a chronology very hard to establish; but it appears that the da-clause was current as a complement of verbs of command, and possibly also of verbs of motion with the same subject, at least as early as of хотѣти with a different subject. This does not agree with Rozentsveig's scheme, in which infinitives with predictably different subjects from their governing factive verbs, and infinitives which share the subject of the main verb should give place to da-clauses later than infinitives after volitional verbs with a distinction of subject.

The evidence is too slim to bear much weight, but it suggests that other factors besides Rozentsveig's main syntactic one may be

involved in the change. In Ch.1, p.21, it was observed that there must have been some point of equivalence between infinitive and da-clause for the change from one to the other to be feasible. The constructions with verbs of command and motion are instances of this. The infinitive subordinated to a verb of command is loosely equivalent to the independent imperative da-clause which may be prefaced by such a verb; and the supine or infinitive governed by a verb of motion is more strictly parallel to a final da-clause. In both instances the effect of ~~extending~~-the da-clause is to abolish a distinction which is primarily syntactic and to make explicit the semantic equivalence. This does not conflict with Rozentsveig's outline of interaction between native and non-native speakers; it merely takes up what is implicit in his hypothesis, that they are likely to simplify by using a single syntactic pattern in constructions which are semantically of one kind. Unfortunately it complicates his hypothesis by adding a factor, making the order of change less predictable and more dependent on the particular structures initially used in the language which undergoes the change.

How secure the evidence for this proposed modification, and indeed for Rozentsveig's hypothesis, is and whether further evidence can be found for or against them, are questions which must wait on further research. The results of the present study are offered as preliminary work on which it is hoped others may build and which they are invited to revise.

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1. I consulted this article in the U.S.S.R., and unfortunately omitted to note the page references, which I have not been able to check.