XI.—SYLLABUS FOR LECTURES ON SLAVONIC PHONOLOGY.

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THE Slavonic languages are a large branch belonging to the Indo-European family. They are closely related to the Baltic family (i.e. Old Prussian, now extinct, Lithuanian, and Lettish). They may be classed as follows: (1) the Eastern or Russian group, comprising Great Russian, White Russian, and Little Russian¹; (2) the South Slavonic group, comprising Slovene and Serbo-croatian (*Yugoslavs*), and Bulgarian; Old Church Slavonic, which is the language of the oldest Slavonic documents (going back to the second half of the ninth century A.D.), is a Bulgarian dialect; (3) West Slavonic languages: (a) Polish (documents since the second half of the fourteenth century); (b) the extinct Polabian² spoken in Holstein, Mecklenburg, Rügen and Altmark between Jeetze and the Elbe; a Wendish dialect survived in Hanover as late as the eighteenth century; (c) Sorabian (or Wendish) spoken in Lower and Upper Lusatia is a survival of the language of the Elbian Serbs³ (now spoken by about 150,000 people); (d) Czechoslovak (spoken in Bohemia,⁴ Moravia, Slovakia (= Slovak), and parts of Silesia), exhibiting documents as early as the end of the thirteenth century.

TRANSCRIPTION.

Slavonic vowels have the Continental value. *ɪ* is a very close *e*; *ʊ* is a very close *o*; *ě* was perhaps close long *e*, but in O.Sl. it is approximately *ya*; Czech *ě* = *ye*, *ę* like *in* in French *fin*; *o* like *o* in French *bon*; *y* is back (or mixed) *i*;

¹ Russian documents belonging to the eleventh century exhibit in general the characteristic features of Russian, though they are under the influence of Church Slavonic.

² Elbian Slavs, Obodrites and Luticians. The homes of the Pomeranian Slavs were in Brandenburg and Pomerania (Pommern). Slovincish (spoken in close proximity to Leba Lake) and Kashub (spoken on the left bank of the lower Vistula) are regarded by some scholars as remains of this branch, while others regard them as Polish dialects.

³ Whose original home reached as far as Köpenick, the River Fulda, Kissingen, and the borders of Würtemberg.

⁴ And Glatz in Prussia.

j = *y* as in English *yes*; *v* is pronounced as in English; *c* = *ts* as in E. *cats*, *č* like *ch* in N.E. *church*; *ch* = *χ* in Scotch *loch*, Welsh *broch*; *š* = E. *sh*; *ž* = French *j*; *dž* like E. *j* in *joke*; *l* is a velar *l* (we mark the *l* only if it is necessary to accentuate it); a stroke over a consonant denotes that the consonant is palatal.

By comparison with Indo-European languages we arrive at the approximate value of the sounds of the parental language. These are as follows: short vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*; *ə*; long vowels *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū*; diphthongs *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, *au*, *eu*, *ou*, and corresponding long ones. *ə* arose from the weakening of an original *ā*, *ō*, *ē*.

Nasals *ŋ* (like in E. singing).

ñ (palatal).

n, *m*.

Liquids *l*, *r*.

Spirants *j*, *v*; *s*, *z*; [*j*, *v* = (*ī*, *ŋ*)].

Explosives *p*, *ph*; *b*, *bh*; *t*, *th*; *d*, *dh*.

Palatal *k'*, *k'h*; *g'*, *g'h*.

These sounds appear also in syllabic value (being a weakening of older *el*, *er*, *em*, *en*), i.e. *l*, *r*, *m*, *n* sonants.

These appear (*a*) in Balto-Slavonic, Aryan, Albanian, Armenian (*satəm* languages) as sibilants; (*b*) in the classical languages, Teutonic, and Celtic as gutturals.

Guttural *k*, *kh*; *g*, *gh*.

Labio-velar *q^u*, *q^uh*, *g^u*, *g^uh*
appear

(*a*) in *satəm* languages as gutturals as in the other group; (*b*) in the classical languages the labial element is often preserved.

The quality of the primitive Indo-European syllable accent was of two kinds; one was "broken" or acute (´), the other was "slurred" or circumflex (˘); cf. Gk. Ἰσθμοῖ (locat.), θεοί (n. plur.), or Lith. *mergù* < *ā*; cf. Gk. σκιᾶ, gen. *mergōs*, Gk. σκιᾶς.

§ 1. Slavonic languages belong to the *satəm* group. As in Baltic, so also in Slavonic, the old aspirated explosives (*dh*, *bh*, *ph*, etc.) gave the same result as the unaspirated ones. Skt. *bháyate*, Slav. *bojati*, Lith. *bijaũs*; Skt. *dhā-*, Slav. *děti*, Lith. *dėti*. I.Eur. *s* was modified under similar circumstances in Aryan (> *š*), Slavonic (*ch*, *š*), and partly also in Lith. (*š*). Slavonic is closely connected with the Baltic group, and besides those already mentioned, there are some common features to both: (*a*) *ī*, *ŋ* = *ī*, *ū* appears for weakened *e*, *o*; (*β*) I.Eur. sonants appeared originally in both branches as *il* (*ul*), *ir* (*ur*), *im* (*um*), *in* (*un*); (*γ*) I.Eur. *eua*, *o* > *ouo*; (*δ*) Lith. *iau* = Sl. *ju*, I.Eur. *eu*; (*ε*) geminated consonants were simplified in both groups.

§ 2. *Accent*.—The original Slavonic accent had many ancient features. The best source of our information is one of the Serbocroatian dialects (called *č̌a*-dialect), which is comparatively most archaic in this respect; in all other dialects and languages

the accent has been more or less changed and even obliterated; in other Southern Slav. dialects the accent is at least free, so it is partly in Russian, but in West Slavonic the accent is a fixed one (Czech having the stress on the first syllable, Polish on the penultimate).

§ 3. The tables opposite contain the normal equivalents of the Indo-European sounds in Old Slavonic and Lithuanian.

$\check{e}$ + nas. + cons. > ϵ ; $\check{o}$ + nas. + cons. > φ ; e.g. *petŭ* = Lith. *peñktas*; *roka* = Lith. *rankà*. I.Eur. *i* + nas. + cons. > (at least in some cases) ϵ , e.g. *trpētŭ*, 3rd pl. of *ī* athem. flexion $*\bar{i}nt$. It has been suggested that: (a) Lith. *in*, *ūn* = Slav. ϵ , φ ; (β) while Lith. *in*, *ūn* > Sl. $*\bar{i}$, $*\bar{u}$ > *i*, *y*, but as regards the later (β) suggestion, it is not generally accepted; moreover there are no decisive instances for *u* + nas. + cons. (even for *a*).

1. In final syllables we meet with y (y^2), equivalent of an older nasal group; this is proved by the fact that after *j* this y appears as ϵ ; it is to be noted that φ appears even after *j* unchanged: *vlky* < *vlqons*; *konjē* < *ions*, *bery*: *znajē*, but *berq*: *znajq*, *rybq*: *duq*; *berqŭ*: *znajqŭ*, *berqŭa*: *znajqŭa*.

2. In final syllables instead of $\check{e}^2$, i (i^2) sometimes appears, e.g. *vlčē* < *vlkoī*, Skt. *vrke*, [but *beri* = ? *bheroīs* = *φέρω*, Skt. *bhāres*; *ti* = *toi* = Skt. *te* (dat.)]; it is not yet agreed what were the exact conditions of this difference.

3. It is clear that some sounds are of different origin; in cases where a different etymological value involves a different treatment we have marked these sounds with ¹, ². These signs will be used only when it is necessary to indicate the different etymological value, but it must be remembered that the difference of value does not imply any difference of sound.

$\check{e}^1$ (I.Eur. $\bar{e}$) palatalizes *k*, *g*, *ch* > $\check{c}$, $\check{z}$, $\check{s}$ and appears after palatals or *j* as *a*; i^1 (< *ei*, $\bar{i}$) changes *k*, *g*, *ch* > $\check{c}$, $\check{z}$, $\check{s}$.

$\check{e}^2$ (I.Eur. *ai*, *oi*) palatalizes *k*, *g*, *ch* > *c*, *dz* (*z*), *s* and appears after *j* as *i*; i^2 (< *ai*, *oi*) changes *k*, *g*, *ch* > *c*, *z*, *s*.

y^1 appears after *j* as *i*; y^2 appears after *j* as ϵ .

§ 3a.—*Final syllables*.—(i) In Proto-Slavonic all final consonants fell out and the preceding vowel remained, e.g. $*vlquōd$ > = (Skt. *vrkād*), Slav. *vlka*; *gostŭ* < $*gostis$, Skt. *agnīs*; *synu*, *sūnōus* (= Skt. *sunos*); *beri* < *beri*^{2s} < *bheroīs*, Skt. *bhāres*; *veze* = Skt. (*a*)*vahas*.

(ii) Syllables ending with a nasal. (a) Final *n* remains only in certain groups: *sn̄-jim̄*. (β) *om* > $\bar{u}$: *vez* = Skt. *avaham*; *vlqom* > *vlk̄*; *um*, *im* > $\bar{u}$, $\bar{i}$, *gostŭ* acc. sg. = Skt. *agnim*, *syn̄* acc. =

Skt. *sūnum*. So too $\eta > \text{ym} > \text{ь}$, *kamenь* = η . (γ) $-\tilde{a}m$, $-\tilde{a}m > \text{ь}$, *vlkь*, Lith. $-\tilde{a}$, Gk. $-\tilde{a}u$, but $\tilde{a}m > \text{o}$, $\tilde{e}m > \text{e}$, *rqlq*, cf. *τιμάν*; *berq* = Lat. *feram*; $m\tilde{e}$ = Skt. *mām*, $s\tilde{e}m\tilde{e} > s\tilde{e}m\tilde{e}n$. (δ) $ons > y^2$, *vlky* < *vlqons*, after $j > \text{e}$ *koñe* (< *ions*) *koñe*; $-uns$, $-ius > y$, i , *syny* < *sununs*, Goth. *sununs*, *gosti*, Goth. *gastins*, $-ont > \text{o}$, *vezq* (3rd pl.) = Skt. (a) *vahan* < $-ont$.

§ 4. *Gradation*.—The phenomena of vowel gradation (like Gk. *δίφρος*, *φέρω*, *φόρος*, *φώρ*, etc.), are complicated in Slavonic: (1) diphthongs are monophthongized before consonants, giving rise to *doublettes* like $i : \text{ij}$, $\tilde{e} : \text{oj}$, $u : \text{ov}$, etc., *biti*: $*b\text{ij}\text{q}$, O.Sl. *bijq*, *pēti*: *pojq*; *pluti*: *plovq*, etc. ($u : \text{ev}$ in *r'uti*: *revq*); (2) By metathesis (*vide* § 6) the old change $e : o$ is to be found in formation of some nouns: *viti*: $*voj\text{ь}$, *cvisti*, *cvēth*, etc., and in formation of causatives ($\tilde{i}$ verbs) *vezq*: *vožq*, cf. Skt. *vāhāmi*: *vāhāyāmi*, *piti*: *pojiti*, *būdēti*: *buditi* (< *ou*), etc. The old reduction (like *φέρω*: *δίφρος*, *λείπω*: *ἐλπιν*, *πέτομαι*: *ἐπτην*) is characteristic for some primary thematic presents (e.g. *σῆρῳ*, infinitive *suti* < *seupti* ($eu : u$); (β) *žьrῳ* $*žerti$, O.Sl. *žrēti*; *tlkῳ*, inf. $*telkti$ > O.Sl. *tlēsti*, *pьnῳ*, $*penti$ (but Lith. *pinti*, which would give in Slavonic the same result), i.e. *pēti*, etc. (2) Some, preterital *disyllabic* ($-\tilde{a}$) stems belonging to primary thematic presents (cf. Gk. *πέτομαι* *ἐπτην*), e.g. (a) *pьsa(ti)*: *pišq* (ei/i), (β) *zьvati*: *zovq*; *byra(ti)*: pres. *berq*. [Note also imperatives like *pъci*, *тъci*; ь is a weakening of e .]

The lengthening (cf. *sluti* ($k'l\tilde{e}u$): *slāva* ($k'l\tilde{o}v-$)) is to be found in the few s -aorists formed from the root, e.g. *věsь* (< *vēdsom*), *něsь* (pres. *nesq*), *grěsь* (pres. *grebq*), etc. A secondary (i.e. later) lengthening is *productive* in iterative formations in $-a$ ($o > a$, $\tilde{e} > \tilde{e}$, $\text{ь} > i$, $\text{ь} > y$), *byrati*: *-birati*; *žegq*: $*ž\tilde{e}gati$ > *žagati*. $o > a$ is also found in formations like *tvarjati* (derived from *tvoriti*).

§ 5. PRIMITIVE SLAVONIC.

I. Vowels.

	Short.		Long.
Non-palatal	ь o	a u y q	
Palatal	ь e	$\tilde{e}$ i e	

(a) Short non-palatal vowels and u, y after j or after a palatal

cons. arising from cons. + *j* are changed into corresponding palatal vowels: *ъ* > *ь*, *о* > *е*; *у* > *и*, but *ѣ* appears instead of *у*²; under same condition *ě*² became *и*: O.Sl. *vlkъ*: *konъ*; *rybъ*: *dušъ*; *město*: *mor'e*; **jъgo* (cf. L. *jugum*) **jъgo*² > *jigo* > *igo*; **jogo* > *jego*, **sjyti* (Lith. *siūti*) > *šiti*, *vlky*: *kraje*; *rybě*²: *duši*; *ě*¹ after *j* or palatals *č*, *ž*, *š* (palatalized by this *ě*¹) becomes *a* **sluchěti* > *slušati*. (b) A palatal vowel palatalizes the preceding guttural consonant; *j* palatalizes any preceding consonant (cf. also the footnote 1).

Palatalized gutturals: (a) *k*, *g*, *ch* before all palatals except *ě*², *i*², or before *j* > *č*, *ž* *š*²; (β) *k*, *g*, *ch* before *ě*², *i*² > *c*, *dz* (*z*), *s*, e.g. *rěčъ* < *rěkis*, *rekъ*: *rečeši*, but (β) *ryci*;—*bogъ*, *bože*, *božij*, but (β) *bodzi*;—**duchja* > *duša*, *duchъ*, but pl. nom. (β) *duši*, etc., etc. [but Czech *š* even in case (β), cf. *duše* < *dušě* (loc. of *duchъ*).]

If the guttural was preceded by *s*⁴ the whole group was palatalized, the results being **šč*, *ždž*, **sc*, **zdz* respectively; for the further development of these groups vide § 6, note 2, so it was **pleskjo* > **pleščjo*, **dyskě* > **dyscě* (O.Cz. *dscě*), **mozgъnъ* > **možd'žanъ*; **drezgě* > **drezdzě*.⁵ (a) *sj*, *zj* > *š*, *ž*, e.g. *pisati*, pres. *pišo* < *pisjo*; *voziti*, pres. *vožo* (**voztjo*); *snj*, *slj* gives the same result, i.e. *šn'*, *s'lj*, e.g. *myšljō*. (β) *kt* especially before the palatal vowel and *tj* gave the same result, yet the results differ in different languages; results of *dj* differ in different languages, vide § 6, II. [Note that the affricatæ go back to palatalized consonants.]

II. Beside the palatalization there is another sweeping tendency in Proto-Slavonic phonology, i.e. tendency to open syllables. This tendency explains: (1) why all the final vowels were dropped, vide § 3A; (2) why the diphthongs were monophthongized, vide § 3; (3) why the groups containing vowel + nas. + cons. were changed; and (4) why some consonantic groups were simplified (*explosive* + *s*, *t*, *n*; *dm* > *m*).

¹ O.Sl. *u'*, *r'*, *p'* and, of course, *č*, *ž*, *š*, *sl*, *žd*, *c*, *z*; *bl'* < *b'*, *pl'* < *p'*, *vl'* < *v'*, *m'j*, i.e. *j* was not preserved after a consonant.

² O.Sl. *jъ*, *ji* at the beginning of words > *i*.

³ *ь* had naturally the same effect in *ьl*, *ьr* < *l*, *r*. **gьlt*, **žьlt*, O.Sl. *žltъ*.

⁴ For *kv*, *gv* in the same position vide § 6, III.

III. (a) In Slavonic there is no group containing vowel + nas. + consonant; in such cases a nasal vowel resulted (for supposed $i > \bar{i}$, $u > \bar{u}$, vide § 3, VIII; for the end syllables this rule is, however, valid, vide § 3A), $pyno : peti$, $peš$.

(β) As regards the groups containing a vowel + liq. + cons., they gave different results in different languages.

IV. Consonantic groups : (a) *Explosive + s* > *s*, but **ks*, **kch* > *ch*, *kst* > *st*, **grěbsomъ* > *grěstъ*, 2nd pl. *grěste*; **rěksom* > *rěchъ*, 2nd pl. *rěste* [*ts* > *s* may, however, be as early as the Balto-Slavonic period], **bōdsom* > *basъ*; **ědsai* > *jasi*.

(β) A group of explosives was simplified (cf. **vědgolsъ* > O.Sl. *věglasъ*), especially explosive + *t* > *t*; but (1) *kt* especially before a palatal vowel has a special development, vide § 6, II. (2) Dental + *t* > *st* [This change is anterior to the Slavonic period] **dadtъ* > *dastъ*; **ědti* > *jastъ* (3) lab. + *t* > *t* **tepti* > *teti*, **dolbto* > *dlato*, **živti* > *žiti*.

(γ) Explosive + *n*: Dental or labial disappear before *n*, **gъbnqti* > *gъnqti*; praes. **klepnq* > *klenq*; aor. *zaklepe*, **vędnqti* > *venqti*, but gut. usually remains, e.g. *tknqti*, *trgnqti*, except in *skn* > *sn*, *těsknъ* > *těsnъ*.

(δ) *dm* > *m*: **dadmi* > *damъ*; **vědmo*... > *věmъ* (1st pl.); **ědmi* > *jamъ*; *mn* > *n*, **tmnq*, *tnq*, **ьmę* > *ьmę*, O.Sl. *imę*; (*dv* > *v* in *davě*, *věvě*, *javě*).

In compounds *bv* > *b*: **obvolkъ* > **obolkъ*, O.Sl. *oblakъ*.

(ε) *dl*, *tl*, vide § 6, V.

III. Epenthetic consonants appear in *ostrovъ* (*o-sreu-*), *sestra* (**szer-*), "soror," *nozdra* (*nosъ*), *męzdra*, cf. *męso*.

IV. *Prothetic consonants*.—Owing to the fact that in the Primitive Slavonic every word ended with a vowel, it was natural that before the following word, if beginning with a vowel, a consonant (*j* or *v*) developed; *j* developed before *e*, *ę*, *ě*, [Note *jě* > *ja*] *ъ*; *v* before *y*, *ъ*, exx. *jesmъ*, Lith. *esmi*; **eti* > *jeti*; *ědmъ* > *jamъ*; **ьmq* > **ььmq* (Cz. *jmu*, O.Sl. *jъ* > *i*), O.Sl. *imq*; **ьpiti*, *ььpiti*, *vyknqti*; *j* is sometimes found before *a*, *u*, e.g. *jutro*, Cz. *jitro*, bes. O.Sl. *utro*; *jagnъсь*, bes. *agnъсь*, Cz. *jehně*; seldom before *q*, *vqza* beside *qza*. Epenthetic *n* (found before

pronoun *je-* if it forms a group with a preposition and in some verbs composed with a preposition). This *n* was originally due to final *n* of some prepositions, e.g. *sn* (**sun*), *vb*, which in a group was preserved (*vide* § 3A, 3a), *sn-jimъ*, then analogically *u njego*, etc.

V. *Haplology*.—Haplology occurred as early as the Primitive Slavonic period in the declension of the fem. compound adjective, g.sg. *dobry-jeje* > *dobryje*, dat., loc. *dobrě-jeji* > *dobrěji*, etc.

§ 6. DISTINCTIVE POINTS OF DIFFERENT GROUPS OF SLAVONIC LANGUAGES.

I. Vowel + liquida + cons.: (1) *a*, *e* + liq. + cons.; if the vowel was at the beginning of the word it gave different results; it gave either (a) *rat*, *lat*¹, (*rět*, *lět*?) respectively in all the Slavonic languages; or (b) it resulted as South Slav. *rat*, *lat*, etc., but Russ. West Slav. *rot*, *lot*, etc. The different treatment is explained by different original accent, cf. O.Sl. *lakomъ*, Serb. *lākom*, Russ. *lakomyi*, Cz. *lakom* (i.e. Primitive *ólk-*), but O.Sl. *lakъtъ*, Serb. *la'kat*, R. *lokotъ*, Pol. *lokiet*, Cz. *loket*. [There is, however, found also O.Sl. *al*, *alkati*, *aldiji* beside *ladiji* = Cz. *lodí*.]

If the vowel is preceded by a consonant the whole group resulted as South Slav. Czech *tlat*, *trat*, *tlět*, *trět*, Russian *tolot*, *torot*, *telet*, *teret*, Polish *tlot*, *trot*, *tlet*, *tret*.

O.Sl. Czech *vřeteno* (Mn. Cz. *vřeteno*), Serb. *vreteno*; Russian *vereteno*, Pol. *wrzeciono* < *vřeteno*.

O.Sl. *platъno*, Czech, Serb. *platno*; Russian *połotno*, Pol. *plótno*.

[Sorb. agrees with Polish; Old Polabian stands nearer to Czech, at least, in *tolt* > *tlāt*, *tert* > *trit*, *trēt* (< **trēt*), as regards *tort* > *tort* (bes. *tart*), it is most likely not the original *tort*, but a later development]. (β) Prim. Slav. *r*, *l* appears in Sorb., Polish, and Russian as vowel + liq.

¹ *t* represents in this scheme any consonant (exc. *j*).

Primitive. Russ. Polish.

**držeti* *deržatʹ* *dzierżeć* Cz. *držeti* < O.Cz. *držěti* = O.Sl. *držati*.¹

**grbъ* *gorbъ* *garb* *hrb* Serb. *grba* *grbъ*.¹

**vlkъ* *volkъ* *wilk* *vlk* *vlk* > *vuk* *vlkъ*.¹

II. *kt* before a palatal vowel, *tj* > O.Sl. Bulg. *št*, Serb. *č*, Slov.

Russ. *č*, W.Sl. *c*.

dj > O.Sl. Bulg. *žd*, Serb. *đ*, Slov. *j*, Russ. *ž*, W.Slav. *dz* > *z*.

	O.Sl.	Serb.	Slov.	Russ.	Cz.	Pol.
* <i>pektъ</i>	<i>peštъ</i>	<i>peč</i>	<i>peč</i>	<i>pečъ</i>	<i>pec</i>	<i>piec</i> .

**světjā* *svěsta* *svijeta* *sveča* *svěča* O.Cz. *sviece* > *svíce* *świeca*.

**medjā* *mežda* *međa* *meja* *mežu* *mez(e)* *miedza*.

Note.—O.Sl. *št*, *žd* presupposes an **štʹš*, **ždʹž*. In O.Sl. **šč*, **sc*, **ždʹž*, **zdz* was changed to *št*, *st*, *žd*, *zd*; for this reason also Prim. Slav.

skj, etc. = O.Sl. *št*, Russ. O.Cz. *šč*, Mod. Cz. *štʹ*, O.Sl. *ištq*, Russ. *išču*.

stj, etc. = O.Sl. *št*, Russ. O.Cz. *šč*, Mod. Cz. *štʹ*, O.Sl. *puštenъ*,

Russ. *puščen*, O.Cz. *puščen*, Mn. *puštěn*.

In Prim. Slav. *skj*², *ski*² = O.Sl. **sc* > *st*, but Russ. Pol. O.Cz. *šč*, Mn.Cz. *št*, *дѣска*, dat. *дѣстѣ*, O.Cz. *škiepati*, Mn. *štīpati*, Russ. *ščēpatъ*, Pol. *ščepić*; for *ždʹž*, *zdʹz*, cf. O.Sl. **zyj* > *dъždъ*, Russ. *doždъ*, **zgě*², *dreždě*, cf. Cz. *na zábrěždě*, etc.

III. Gutturals + *v* before a palatal vowel becomes palatal only in S.Sl. and Russ. Pol. *gwiazda*, Cz. *hvězda*, O.Sl. *zvězda*, Russ. *zvězda*.

IV. *pj*, *bj*, *vj*, *mj* in S.Sl. Russ. *plʹ*, *blʹ*, *vlʹ*, *mlʹ*, O.Sl. *trplʹo*, Russ. *terplju*, O.Cz. **trpʹu* > *trpi*, Pol. *cierpię*, Mod. Bulg. *Ѡ*.²

V. *tl*, *dl* remains only in W.Sl.; in Russ. and S.Sl. > *l*, Russ. O.Sl. *pletъ*, Cz. *pletl*. Exc.: Cz. *šel*, Pol. *szedł*.

§ 7. The further development of the O.Sl. dialect.

I. (a) The original difference between *ъ* and *ѣ* is not kept; *ъ* > *ъ* and *ѣ* > *ѣ* in certain positions. (β) *ъ*, *ѣ* disappeared in certain positions, i.e. in endings and in open syllables, though they are usually written in endings. If there were two subsequent

¹ Spelt *držati* or *drъžati*, *vъlkъ*, etc.; where there was an original *lъ*, *rlъ*, *lъ*, *rlъ* the difference is kept, so far as the general rules of the development of *ъ*, *ѣ* permit, so **kruvim* > *krъvъ*.

² In a few cases, however, the process was the same perhaps at an earlier period, e.g. O.Sl. *plʹujq* (< **pieu-*), *plvati*, Cz. *plvati*.

syllables containing *ъ* or *ь*, in the first syllable *ъ* > *o*, *ь* > *e*, e.g. (a) *dlvĕ* besides *dlvĕ* = **dluv* . . . ; *tlma* instead of *tlma*. (β) *mnĕ* > *mnĕ*, *pysati* > *psati* ; the spelling *otecъ* (for *otichъ*, *vonъ* for *vynъ*) points to pronunciation *otec*, *von*. (But in spellings *vlchъ*, *vlchъ* the use of *ъ*, *ь* is arbitrary, *lb*, *lb*, *rb*, *rb* representing O.Sl. *l*, *r*, so that these instances do not belong to the above rules, vide § 6.)

II. *uj* > *ij*, *trije* (= **trejes*) > *trije*, *uj* > *yj*, *dobryjъ* spelt *dobryi* > *dobryjъ* spelt *dobryi*.

III. (a) *jb-* > *i*, **jbmĕ* > *imĕ*. (β) *-ji-*, *-jb-* is written *i*, but this is only a graphic, so both *krajъ* and *kraji* is spelt *krai* ; *ichъ* = *jichъ*. The Glagolitic spelling *ě* for both *ě* and *ja* suggests that *ě* at this time had a value similar to that of 'a, e.g. *kon'ě* for *kon'a*, yet considering that in case of original *ě* the preceding consonant was not palatal, e.g. *nĕmъ* (not *n'ĕmъ*!), we must not postulate an absolute identity of both sounds.

IV. The spelling *j* after a consonant expresses only a palatal timbre of the preceding consonant **orjĕ* > *or'ĕ*, but it is spelt also *orjĕ* (the ' is used mostly only for *l'*, *r'*, *n'*). Palatalization of *tr*, *dj*, *dv* sometimes occurs before *j*, e.g. O.Sl. *smoštr'ĕ*, *umrĕšt'ul'enije*, i.e. *umrĕšt'venije* for *umrĕt'venije*.

V. *Hiatus*.—In derivation: *i* ; *y* before a vocalic suffix becomes *uj*, *ij* ; *ъv*, *biti:byjen*, *kryti:krĭven* (cf. § 4, 1). *j* in intervocalic position disappears, especially in the compound declension of adjectives ; the hiatic vowels are then assimilated and even contracted: *dobrajego* > *dobraago* > *dobrago*, *dobrujemu* > *dobruumu*, *dobrumu*. In imperfects *ea* or *aa* is contracted in later MSS. > *ě*, *a*, *nesĕchъ* for *nesĕachъ*. In compounds: the only contraction we meet with is that of *i* + *i* > *i*, though even this is only regular in the case of *priiti* > *priiti* (to come).

VI. *Consonantic groups in compounds or groups*.—(1) Through palatalization of *sk*, *sg*, *stj* arose groups *sc* ; *śc* ; *zdz*, *źdz* which were according to § 6, II, simplified to *st*, *št*, *zd*, *žd*, and we find in combination with prepositions a similar tendency (this was the case when the final *ъ* of the preposition disappeared), though it is not persistent, e.g. besides *izčeliti*, *iscĕliti* we find *istĕliti*, *bez-čedъnъ* > *beštĕdъnъ*.¹⁾

¹⁾ N.B. *z* + *s* > *ss* > *s*, *vъzstati* > *vъstati*, etc.

(2) It is only natural that even in compounds a voiced cons. becomes voiceless before *s*, *ch* or voiceless explosive: *izprositi* > *isprositi*, *vъzchoditi* > *vъschoditi*: (a) *z* + *ž* > *žd*, **iz-ženq* > *iždenq*, so also Cz. **z-žar* > *žd'ár*. (β) Epenthetic *d*: *vъzradovati se* > *vъzdradovati se*. (γ) *ot* sometimes > *o*, *ošъdъ* for *otšъdъ*.

(3) Palatalization of *-z* before *u*, *l*, e.g. *iz n'ego* > *ižn'ego* "ex eo".

§ 8. *The further development of the rest of Slavonic languages can be dealt with only in summary way.* [Note.—Polish *w* = *v*, *cz* = *č*, *z* = *ž*, *sz* = *ž*, *rz* = *ř*, *a* = *o*.]

I. ѣ, ѣ (1) disappeared in all the Slav. languages under circumstances similar to those of O.Sl. (though it is spelt in Russian, ѣ expressing the palatal timbre of the preceding consonant *denъ* = *d'ehъ*). In S.Sl. ѣ = ѣ; this ѣ, in so far as it was retained, is in Bulg. and Slovene (*vide* 3) a mixed or a back vowel.

2. In cases of vocalization the languages proceeded similarly to O.Sl.: G.Russ. ѣ > *e*, ѣ > *o*, in Pol. and Cz. ѣ, ѣ > *e*, but in Pol. ѣ softens the preceding cons., in Cz. usually does not (though it facilitates the change *a* > *ě*, *vide infra*), in Serb. ѣ, ѣ > *a*: Russ. *sonъ*, P., Cz. *sen*, Serb. *san*, O.Sl. *sinъ*, but Cz., Russ. Serb. *sna*, *dъnъ* = Russ. *d'ehъ*(ѣ), Pol. *dzień*, Cz. *den*, Sorb. *dan*, *dъnъmъ* > Russ. *dniemъ*, Cz. *dnem*, etc.

II. *Nasals*.—The nasal pronunciation was kept only in Polish; traces of nasal pronunciation survive in Bulgarian, and Kashub, otherwise *o* > *u*, Slov. *o*; *e* > Russ. *ju*, Mod. Cz. *a*, *ě* (*e*) in long syllables *á*, *ie* (*é*, *i*),¹ Serb. Slovene *e*.

III. *Palatal influences and depalatalization*.—(a) (a) G.Russ. and Pol. *e* > *e* (i.e. it palatalizes the preceding consonant) in certain positions (which, however, are not identical), O.Sl. *nebo*, Russ. *nebo*, Pol. spelt *niebo*, Cz. *nebe*. (β) In Bohemian Cz. *á*, *ě* if preceded by a palatal consonant became (chiefly in the thirteenth century) *ě*, *ie* (i.e. *ie*, *iě*) (a) if followed by a syllable originally containing a palatal vowel, or (b) if it was at the end of a word

¹ For *a* : *ě* cf. III.

(in absolute auslaut) **duša* > O.Cz. *dušě* (Mn. *duše*), **trp'áce* > *trpiece*, etc.; in Slovak we find, however, *a*, e.g. *duša*.

This *ie*, *ě* develops then in Czech like the old *ě* = *ie* (Slovak *ie*) in short syllables *ě* (Slovak *e*), but instead of **lie*, **lě* there was already in the pre-literary period *lé*, *le*, *léto* (= O.Sl. *lěto*), *vóle* (< **volja*). *ě* of whatever origin remained only after labials, in all other cases it became *e*, *děti* [*d'ět'i*] > [*d'et'i*] spelt *děti*, *ie* becomes *í*. In Bohemian Cz. *ň* after a palatal consonant > *i*,¹ *l'ud* > *lid*. (γ) In Serb. *ě* > *e*.

(b) In Russian and Western Slavonic palatal vowels cause palatalization of the preceding *d*, *t*, *n*; in Czech, however, *e* has not this effect, though it is a palatal vowel (N.B. **Jane* > *Jěne* > *Jene*). In the Southern Slav. languages there is no palatalization of *t*, *d*, *n* before palatal vowels.

(c) *l*, *r*. *l* occurs in three varieties, *l*, *l'*, *l''*, but each language has generally either middle *l* or else *l* or *l'*. The L.Russ. has all three varieties, though *l* is rare; G.Russ. *l*: *l'*, Polish *ł*: *l'* Sorb. *l'*: *l*. The literary Czech knows only *l*, but there were two varieties (as late as the seventeenth century). In Czech dialects *l* > *u*: *daŭ* < **dal* = W.Russ. *daŭ*; in Serbian: *dao* (cf. *l* > *u*, Cz. *slunce*, Serb. *sunce*, Slov. *solnce*).

r. In Southern Slav. it is softened only before *j* (i.e. in case of old **r'j*). In W.Sl. or Russ. *r* > *ř*, also before palatal vowels. Czech (in the thirteenth century) *ř* > *ř'*.² So, too, Polish and Kashub, O.Sl. *zvěřь*, Pol. *zwierz*, Cz. *zvěř*.

IV. *Lengthening, etc.*—In W.Russ. *o*, *e* was lengthened in closed syllables; *ō* then > *uo* > *ui*, for *e* > *ē*, etc. *vide supra*. In Polish there was also a lengthening; traces of these once lengthened vowels survive as "closed vowels" (now short!). In Czech there was also a lengthening of short vowels, a lengthened *o* (i.e. *ó*) > *uo* > *û* **bŏgъ*, O.Cz. *bŏh* > (fifteenth century) *buoh* > *bûh* [*bûχ*]. Some Slovene or Serbo-Croatian dialects know a similar change of *o*.

V. (a) Diphthongization of *long* vowels is characteristic of the Bohemian Cz. *ú* in the fourteenth century *au* > *ou*; but in lit.

¹ So far as this change is traceable in Slovak, it is in words which might be of Bohemian origin.

² i.e. sound near to *rz*.

Cz. *ú* [*ũ*] is now kept in the beginnings of the word. Lit. Slovak has *ou* only in instrumentals of *ā* stems. The change *ý* > *ej* has not penetrated into Mod. lit. Czech.

VI. *Some other changes.*—*y* only remains in Great Russian, Polish, and there are some traces of it in Czech dialects (in literary language *y*, *ý* is spelt, but pronounced *i*, *í*); elsewhere it becomes *i*.

The change *g* > *h* is found in Czech (middle of the thirteenth century), in H.Sorb. and W. and L.Russian.¹ *je-*, *ju-*, appears in Russian as *o-*, *u-*, *jedinъ*, Russ. *odinъ*, *jucha*, Russ. *ucha*.

Contractions are found in Slav. languages in cases similar to those in O.Sl., e.g. in imperfects (O.Cz. *nesiech*, O.Sl. *nesěchъ* < *nesěachъ*; O.Pol. *mołwiach*, O.Russ. *vědjaše*, O.Sl. *věděaše*, in Mn. Czech, Polish and Slovene and Russ. the imperfects and aorists do not exist, but Serb. *plètijāh* = O.Sl. . . . *ěachъ*, cf. Bulg. and Lus.), in the compound declension of adjectives (so far as this was not obliterated by the direct analogy of **tъ*, *togo*, etc.), e.g. Cz. *dobrého* < **dobra-jego*, etc. (but Russ. *dobrogo* like *togo*, etc.).

Accent and quantity.—In Serbian the accent is free, the vowel may be either long or short, but in Slovene only accented syllables may be long. Russian has a free but expiratory accent, and there are no differences of quantity. Polish has a fixed expiratory accent on the penultima, all syllables are short (but in the fifteenth century there were still differences of quality, the only traces of long or lengthened syllables are now the "closed vowels"). Czech accents the first syllable and has long and short vowels as well.²

¹ Some Great Russ. and Polish dialects.

² The Czech vowel system may be summarized as follows:—

<i>*a</i> > <i>á</i> <i>*i</i> > <i>í</i> <i>*ie</i> > Mn. <i>í</i> <i>*u</i> > <i>ú</i> > Mn. <i>ú</i> , <i>ou</i> <i>y</i> > <i>ý</i> (dial. also <i>ej</i>).				
Shortened	<i>a</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ě</i>	Mn. <i>e</i> , <i>ě</i> <i>u</i> <i>y</i>
	<i>o</i> > <i>o</i>	<i>e</i> > <i>e</i>		
Lengthened	<i>o</i> > <i>ũ</i>	<i>é</i> > <i>é</i> , <i>í</i> .		

In some cases *é* may be an originally long vowel, i.e. if it stood for *ie*, *léto* (O.Sl. *lěto*).